



ROYAL STUDIES JOURNAL

2018

v

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Rachael Ball



WINCHESTER
UNIVERSITY PRESS



Court Cities Celebrate Prince Baltasar Carlos: Loyalty, Status, and Identity in the Early Modern Spanish World¹

Rachael Ball

UNIVERSITY OF ALASKA ANCHORAGE

Abstract: Upon the birth of the Spanish prince Baltasar Carlos in 1629, Spanish subjects feasted and put on pageants and processions in celebration. Numerous *relaciones*, or official reports, recounted the responses to the royal birth in the court cities of Madrid and Lima. Although the authors of these *relaciones* sought to project royal power, they also alluded to the ways in which local experiences, rank, race, and the particular aims of Spanish subjects complicated their imperial identities and their performances of loyalty. Subjects were not merely spectators; they were also participants and actors in these festivals. By performing loyalty to the new prince, people in court cities advanced their own corporate and individual agendas. In the process, they rewrote their relationships to the crown and each other.

Keywords: Spanish monarchy; festivals; royal birth; court cities; Madrid; Lima; performance; identities



n 19 October 1629, the Spanish monarch Philip IV had good news to share: two mornings earlier the queen-consort Isabel of Bourbon had safely given birth. The king expressed his “infinite gratitude to God” in a short letter that he dictated to the Duke of Bejar.² This missive was one of many dispatched to courtiers, royal officials, and ecclesiastical authorities to announce the birth of Baltasar Carlos.³ Spanish subjects quickly prepared to celebrate, and those with ready access to the monarch made immediate displays of loyal sentiments.⁴ It is plausible that many felt relieved. The royal couple had consummated their marriage in 1619 and acceded to the throne in 1621. Since then, the queen had suffered numerous miscarriages and had given birth to several daughters, whose lives had all been tragically cut short during early childhood. The newborn prince did have an older half-brother, named Juan José de la Tierra who was the offspring of Philip IV and the famous actress María Calderón. However, it was for Baltasar Carlos that nobles, officials, and guilds commissioned celebratory plays and festivals.

The infant prince's baptism took place on the first Sunday of November at the Church

¹ I wish to convey my gratitude to Patrick O'Banion and Lisa Voigt for reading early drafts of this essay and to my students, Khafani Abel and Caroline Streff, for their perceptive questions and comments. I also thank the anonymous reviewers of the *Royal Studies Journal* for the insightful feedback they provided.

² Archivo Histórico Nacional (hereafter AHN), Nobleza, Osuna, Caja 274, Doc. 5.

³ AHN, Inquisición, Libro 362, “Registro de Despachos de Gracia y Gobierno de los Inquisidores Generales, 1618-1631,” fol. 187r.

⁴ Archivo de la Real Chancillería de Valladolid, Cédulas y Pragmáticas, CAJA 10, No. 21.

of San Juan in Madrid. The event offered “an unshrouded view of the Court” ruled over by the Planet King. Philip IV now had an heir to his kingdoms on which the sun never set.⁵ Bernardo de Quiros, a playwright, poet, and judges’ auxiliary, memorialized the sacral event in a *relación*, or official account, that described how “the rains stopped [and] the winds calmed” so that the heavens smiled upon the ceremony. Quiros also noted that the earthly creatures of the court mobilized to construct stairs and paint decorations, to adorn fountains with taffeta, and to ready fireworks for a magnificent display once darkness fell upon the court city. He assured his readers that Baltasar Carlos “was the prince among princes of his century.”⁶

The ostentatious baptism followed the General Etiquette, which the Hapsburg court had established for just these types of events. It set forth dictates about the decoration of festive spaces and other minute details.⁷ The baptism and Quiros’ account of it were only the beginnings of the pageants and fêtes that took place throughout the Spanish Empire and the *relaciones* that retold them for posterity. Nobles, royal and municipal authorities, ambassadors, and guilds all staged celebrations that fostered their connections to Baltasar Carlos as loyal vassals and imperial subjects. Their reactions reaffirmed rank and social hierarchies. However, corporate groups and individuals attempted to take advantage of the occasion to renegotiate their cultural and social capital in Spanish urban environments. Many advanced their own status by performing loyalty to the Hapsburg monarchy and through a complex mixture of enthusiasm for their prince and the savvy coopting of festive traditions and symbols.

Spanish subjects of varied ranks and backgrounds had complex experiences in the two court cities of Madrid and Lima. This article highlights and examines the participatory action of two Spanish nobles and of two corporate groups in each location. In Madrid, the auxiliaries who assisted the city’s magistrates put on an elaborate festival and parade in an effort to more closely align themselves with the crown and its association with justice. The Duke of Medina de las Torres arranged celebrations as part of his role in the royal household; yet, he also used this as an opportunity to further garner favor with the king. The fêtes given by the Count of Chinchón, the Viceroy of Peru and guilds of Lima, particularly a spectacular performance of the fall of Troy staged by a Dominican *casta* confraternity, highlight the challenges of far-flung administration and the agency of subjects of colour. Members of this confraternity promoted themselves as surpassing others in their demonstrations of loyalty and their knowledge and skills. Taken together, these festive events show that, although there were continuities in the ways subjects celebrated, local concerns and contexts shaped the meanings and displays of vassalage and their representations in official accounts.

Early Modern Festive Culture

Historians and cultural critics, such as Roy Strong and José Antonio Maravall, once saw the culture of European courts and the use of theater and performance as a means of

⁵ Bernardo de Quiros, *Relación verdadera de las grandiosas fiestas que se hizieron en Madrid al bautismo del Príncipe nuestro señor* (Madrid, 1629), fol. 374-375v.

⁶ Quiros, *Relación verdadera de las grandiosas fiestas*, fol. 374-375v.

⁷ Victor Mínguez and Immaculada Rodríguez Moya, “La esperanza de la monarquía. Fiestas en el imperio hispánico por Felipe Próspero,” in *Visiones de un imperio en fiesta*, ed. Immaculada Rodríguez Moya and Victor Mínguez (Madrid: Fundación Carlos Amberes, 2016), 95-99.

exercising political hegemony. They viewed rituals and festivities as primarily subservient to absolutist aims.⁸ Although early modernists have become less prone to using monolithic categories like absolutism and more cautious when regarding the success of royal propaganda campaigns, certainly monarchs and their supporters sought to make use of festivals. Recently, Helen Watanabe O’Kelly has compellingly argued that early modern festival books did not simply provide historical retellings of events. These accounts provided narratives of varying quality that were “meant to be biased,” as authors amended past or even future celebrations to suit the commissioning body or individual.⁹

Similarly, José Jaime García Bernal contends that Spanish *relaciones* and chronicles served a sort of triumphalist historiographical purpose, and that this style reached its height during the seventeenth century. Official accounts of festive events contained information and propagandistic elements that served to self-affirm the power of the court.¹⁰ Twice in his comprehensive survey, *El fasto público en la España de los Austrias*, he points to the celebrations of the birth of Baltasar Carlos as examples that combined the elements of mythical monarchy and the participation of the urban populace. However, each time his explanations, which focus on the commemorations for the prince in Granada, are brief.¹¹ Bernal does not directly address the ways in which urban dwellers simultaneously used their participation in these particular festivals to advance their own agendas and needs.

Of course, absolutist aims did not perfectly map on to reality. Participants and writers of *relaciones* had agency and made choices. In these ways, royal and civic celebrations paralleled the religious ones that took place to consecrate churches or honor saints. The festivals themselves sometimes provoked conflict and tension. Kathleen Rowe has pointed out that in the 1610s and 1620s during the co-patronage debate that divided many Spaniards into supporters of Santiago or Saint Teresa, “many municipalities supported festivals for Teresa’s patron sainthood against the objections of their cathedral chapters.”¹² The expense of feast days and supplying lavish decorations for churches and public spaces also exacerbated competition between confraternities and drained their financial resources in the process. According to many reformers, these days disrupted work and productivity. They promoted vice as much as they inspired piety. Festivals also became targets of polemicists and opponents of luxury and theater because of the ways the profane world encroached on the sacred when actors and actresses performed on feast days like Corpus Christi.¹³ Still, these events had their adherents, and some writers celebrated them anew in *relaciones* that served moral and didactic purposes rather than seeking to accurately reflect what happened.¹⁴

⁸ Roy Strong, *Art and Power: Renaissance Festivals, 1450-1650* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984); and José Antonio Maravall, *La cultura del barroco: análisis de una estructura histórica* (Barcelona: Ariel, 1980).

⁹ Helen Watanabe-O’Kelly, “The Early Modern Festival Book: Function and Form,” in *Europe Triumphant: Court and Civic Festivals in Early Modern Europe*, ed. J. R. Mulryne, Helen Watanabe-O’Kelly, and Margaret Shewring (Burlington: Ashgate, 2004), 1:8.

¹⁰ José Jaime García Bernal, *El fasto público en la España de los Austrias* (Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, 2006), 92.

¹¹ García Bernal, *El fasto público en la España de los Austrias*, 232, 254.

¹² Kathleen Rowe, *Saint and Nation: Santiago, Teresa of Avila, and Plural Identities in Early Modern Spain* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2011), 168.

¹³ Rachael Ball, *Treating the Public: Charitable Theater and Civic Health in the Early Modern Atlantic World* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2017).

¹⁴ Guiseppina Ledda, “Informar, celebrar, elaborar ideológicamente. Sucesos y “casos” en relaciones de los siglos xvi y xvii,” in *La Fiesta: Actas del II Seminario de Relaciones de Sucesos*, ed. Sagrario López Poza and Nieves Pena

Several recent studies like Ruiz's *A King Travels* have focused on festivals as sites of exchange if not ones of potential cultural, social, and even political contestation.¹⁵ John Hunt argues that resident ambassadors jockeyed for spatial dominance beyond the court and into Rome's streets during the seventeenth century. They used ceremonies to celebrate royal births and processions in the process.¹⁶ Festive occasions could exacerbate competition and provide an opportunity for conflict, but outright defiance of authority on the part of Spanish subjects was not particularly common. Ambivalence, redirection, and negotiation were less overt but regularly employed strategies for subjects in polycentric monarchies.¹⁷ At times, would-be revellers had to delay because they lacked the resources to celebrate immediately. This was the case in Havana when the city fathers received the news of the birth of the future Philip IV.¹⁸

Taking advantage of the opportunities festivals provided enabled some subjects and allies to promote their family name, display their wealth and charitable largesse, and advance their own private or corporate agendas. Scholars have noted that some even adopted new forms of ritual and celebration in order to facilitate the process. For instance, Gabriel Gaurino has overturned claims that Neapolitans rejected or were disinterested in the festival practices and styles imported by the Hapsburgs. By using festival books and diaries, he convincingly argues that most complied with the demands to participate in Spanish festivals and that many did so not only willingly, but enthusiastically.¹⁹ When the Spanish ambassador in Rome received the official news of the birth of Baltasar Carlos, he and his household mobilized to celebrate, and in so doing, enabled Spaniards living in Rome, as well as the city's wider populace, to take part in the festivities.²⁰ These entertainments included the performance of a Spanish *comedia* that was met with great applause. The Castilian poet Gabriel Corral, who was at the time residing in Rome, described in a *relación* how the "humble players [performed] such happy discourses and with phrases so witty, using such hilarious costumes" that it was impossible for the crowds not to enjoy the performance.²¹

Scholars have also traced how nobles self-fashioned their identities through family, patronage, and performance. They have examined how authorities and urban dwellers from an array of classes utilized space and created networks. In doing so, they have threaded together strands of more nationalist political historiographies with those of the social and cultural dynamics. Recently, a number of focused studies have interrogated the political culture, civic

Sueiro (A Coruña: Sociedad de Cultura Valle Inclán, 1998), 202.

¹⁵ Teofilo Ruiz, *A King Travels: Festive Traditions in Late Medieval and Early Modern Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 8.

¹⁶ John Hunt, "The Ceremonial Possession of a City: Ambassadors and their Carriages in Early Modern Rome," *Royal Studies Journal* 3, no. 2 (2016): 70.

¹⁷ Diana Carrío-Invernizzi, ed., *Embajadores culturales: transferencias y lealtades de la diplomacia española de la Edad Moderna* (Madrid: Universidad de Educación a Distancia, 2016).

¹⁸ Biblioteca Nacional de Cuba José Martí, C.M. Pérez, No. 9.

¹⁹ Gabriel Gaurino, "Spanish Celebrations in Seventeenth-Century Naples," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 37, no. 1 (Spring 2006): 25-41.

²⁰ Ángel Rivas Albaladejo, "Viaje, casa, secretaría, celebraciones y algunos aspectos culturales de la embajada del VI conde de Monterrey en Roma," in *I rapporti tra Roma e Madrid nei secoli XVI e XVII: arte diplomazia e politica*, ed. Alessandra Anselmi (Roma: Gangemi editore, 2014), 310-339.

²¹ Gabriel de Corral, *Epístola que refiere las fiestas que al Dichoso nacimiento del Príncipe de España hizo el Conde de Monterey en Roma, Embaxador de Filipo Quarto* (Rome, 1629), 11-12.

identity, and social dynamics of agents performing in pageants and festivals.²² Historians and literary scholars have examined the expressions of identity and loyalty to monarchies and dynasties that took place in both private and public locations during ceremonies and festive occasions. Sometimes they have done so by closely exploring the careers of particular dramatists and poets.²³

The commemorations of Baltasar Carlos's birth in Madrid and Lima provide examples of the type of ostentatious displays designed to produce obedience and loyalty to the crown during a particular historical moment. Indeed, the birth of the prince resulted in "a royal propaganda campaign designed to foster belief among the king's subjects that he would grow into a ruler who would bring about a return to the glorious days of his great-grandfather Philip II."²⁴ The authors of a number of the *relaciones* that described the festive events in elaborate and sometimes exaggerated detail provided a projection of this monarchical power and loyal obeisance. Although some of these particular authors were not the recipients of direct commissions, they sought patronage and favor in exchange for their texts, which themselves became celebratory commemorations inviting their readers to remember or to imagine magnificent, mostly orderly, and joyous processions and other proceedings.

Consequently, these texts sometimes purveyed untruths and exaggerated interpretations. Yet, they frequently discussed real events that took place, and, although this was not the intended purpose of many of these texts, they can reveal some of the limits on royal power in shaping imperial identities and subjects' behavior in Spain's global empire. This was true of the celebrations for Baltasar Carlos's birth, which fostered competition as well as cooperation, and invited the potential for disorder while they sought to reaffirm orderly hierarchies. Even orderly participants exercised agency and used these pageants for their own ends. In other words, these celebratory performances of loyalty also paradoxically allowed subjects to advance their own agendas sometimes at cross-purposes with the monarchy whose very dynastic continuation they celebrated. Other times, they might not have undermined royal authority and power, yet that did not mean that participants did not challenge the power or prestige of other noble, corporate, or ecclesiastical groups or individuals as Spanish subjects in Madrid and Lima rewrote their relationships to the monarch and to each other.

Celebrating in the Court and Capital

Madrid had grown rapidly after Philip II moved the court there in 1561, and about 150,000 people lived in the court city around the time of Baltasar Carlos's birth. In the seventeenth century, chroniclers like Gil González Davila sought to redefine Madrid as the

²² Maria Jose del Rio Barredo, "Ritual of the Viaticum: Dynasty and Community in Habsburg Madrid," in *Exploring Cultural History: Essays in Honour of Peter Burke*, ed. Melissa Calaresu, Joan-Pau Rubies, and Filippo de Vivo (Burlington: Ashgate, 2010); Gabriel Gaurino, "The Reception of Spain and its Values in Habsburg Naples: A Reassessment," in *Exploring Cultural History: Essays in Honour of Peter Burke*, ed. Melissa Calaresu, Joan-Pau Rubies, and Filippo de Vivo (Burlington: Ashgate, 2010).

²³ Felipe Pedraza Jiménez, "Rojas Zorilla y las fiestas reales," in *Literatura, política y fiesta en el Madrid de los siglos de oro*, ed. José María Díez Borque (Madrid: Visor Libros, 2009), 125-145.

²⁴ Alejandra Franganillo, "The Education of an Heir to the Throne: Isabel of Borbón and Her Influence on Prince Baltasar Carlos," in *The Formation of the Child in Early Modern Spain*, ed. Grace Coolidge (Burlington: Ashgate, 2014), 143.

head of the most extensive empire in the world. King, courtiers, and citizens all worked to make it an unparalleled ceremonial capital.²⁵ Many *madrileños* imagined their city as the centre of a New Rome with territorial, literary, and historical aspirations that are apparent in the official accounts of festivals. Members of the nobility spent a great deal of time and substantial portions of their wealth establishing households and pursuing positions at the court. The court provided nobles with a stage on which to intrigue against each other, gain privilege, and maintain or lose favour. María José del Río Barredo observes that court festivals converted the city into an extension of the court with its political intrigues and games.²⁶ The many corporate bodies and overlapping jurisdictions in Madrid also added to the complexities of negotiating daily life and the ceremonial performance of rank and power there. Moreover, members of the royal family and its households physically participated in these festivals that sought to project the Hapsburg crown's dynastic continuity and power.

The authors of *relaciones* provide varying detailed retellings of the celebrations of the birth of Baltasar Carlos. They impressed upon readers the scope and munificence of the Spanish crown and assured them of a promised return to glorious global prominence under the king and his new son and heir. However, these *relaciones* also demonstrate some of the mechanisms subjects and corporate groups used to redirect these projections of power to their own benefit. Both Madrid's *alguaciles*—an auxiliary force who assisted the Alcaldes de Casa y Corte (Magistrates of the Royal Household and Court) and enforced their judgments and decrees—and the Duke of Medina de las Torres used the festivals to promote their own reputations and standings by celebrating the new prince.

The pageant sponsored by the magistrates' auxiliaries took place on 11 November 1629 and reveals some of the intricate ways court and municipality overlapped. The number of *alguaciles* had increased in early seventeenth-century Madrid, much to the consternation of the merchants and artisans whom they policed and at times to the annoyance of the king and his councils. According to Ruth MacKay, the court regularly heard city dwellers' grievances about their excessive use of violence and taking bribes.²⁷ The auxiliaries performed festive loyalty, and this advertised their influence and power while demonstrating their obedience to the king and his new heir. It was a chance to align their interests with those of the monarchy. By directing their own pageant rather than merely assisting with one sponsored by the judges themselves, the *alguaciles* both figuratively and literally wrote themselves into the ceremonial landscape of the court city.

According to one of the printed *relaciones*, the *alguaciles* had decided to gather in the Calle del Príncipe—an appropriate choice to begin their processions—and their performance of loyalty and homage was a “grand triumph” and one that they sought to communicate “to the most remote of nations.” They performed their roles with all “the vitality associated with the greater nobility.”²⁸ The *alguaciles* were not a group that consisted of only high-ranking nobles with clearly delineated status. Consequently, this exaggerated comparison can be read as

²⁵ María José del Río Barredo, *Madrid, Urbs Regia: La capital ceremonial de la Monarquía Católica* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2000), 8-14.

²⁶ Río Barredo, *Madrid, Urbs Regia*, 151-152.

²⁷ Ruth MacKay, “*Lazy Improvident People*”: *Myth and Reality in the Writing of Spanish History* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), 64-65.

²⁸ Anon., *Relación verdadera, que trata de la insigne fiesta, que los Alguaziles de Corte hizieron a su Magestad, por el nacimiento del Príncipe* (Madrid, 1629), Ar.

an overcompensation on the part of what was actually a heterogeneous group whose members came from a variety of social backgrounds.

They had also picked Saint Martin's day. The author of the *relación* only briefly alluded to Saint Martin and his legendary division of his cloak to cover a beggar who was later revealed to be Christ. Nonetheless, it is likely that the court city's auxiliaries wanted to associate themselves with the saint's care of the poor and downtrodden and with the agricultural activity and bounty of pork slaughtering that traditionally took place in Spain on his feast day.²⁹ This is perhaps ironic since a month later a decree forbade them from entering into slaughterhouses and from reweighing goods.³⁰ They also may have wished to connect themselves more clearly to the queen consort by choosing the feast day of a saint who, while widely celebrated, was also closely associated with the French monarchy.³¹

A second published account, possibly authored by the aforementioned Bernardo de Quiros, describes the auxiliaries' pageant. This *relación* aimed to help them climb the social ladder and physically affix themselves to the magistrates and the court in print. Indeed, a copy of this *relación* was fastened into the books of government of the Magistrates of the Royal Household and Court. The account claimed that some sixty of the city's *alguaciles* mounted their steeds, and performed their acts of homage to the person of the king in a grand and completely voluntary manner.³² The lavish performance can be read as a mechanism for reinforcing the status of the *alguaciles*, who undertook their duties in the public sphere of Madrid where the king and courtiers as well as the general public, with good reason, scrutinized them. As was common, the account also included some poetic verses that memorialized the event. In this case, the anonymous author threaded the auxiliaries' event to the purportedly universally celebrated festivities that had preceded it. The *relación* highlighted the king's visibility in the processions. Taking poetic license, the author included such details as a claim that the ringing of bells was so gloriously loud that even "deaf persons heard" and prisoners "sang and shouted."³³

The account is revealing in what it omitted as well as in what it included. The account did not address any specific cases of sudden sight, hearing, or healing among persons with disabilities or illnesses in Madrid. Nor did it mention the fact that these performances were business transactions in which the musicians and artisans who adorned the carriages got paid for their services. The owners of homes and businesses along the routes were obligated by orders from the municipality to do things like provide balcony space for spectators and candles and torches.³⁴ The festival's commissioners were Pedro Vergel and Pedro de Sierra. Although it referred to jubilation, dances, and the performance of *comedias* and stage plays, it is not surprising that the *relación* made no mention of the commissioners' reputations for carousing, dancing, and playgoing.³⁵ Instead the account focuses on how they presided over the triumphal

²⁹ Anon., *Relación verdadera*, sig. Ar.

³⁰ Archivo de Villa de Madrid, Sección 2, Leg. 159, No. 145.

³¹ Yossi Maurey, *Medieval Music, Legend, and the Cult of St. Martin: The Local Foundations of a Universal Saint* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 15.

³² AHN, Libro de Gobierno 1.214; Anon., *Relación de la famosa mascara que hizieron los Alguaziles de la Casa y Corte de su Magestad, al nacimiento del Príncipe España, nuestro señor Baltasar Carlos Domingo* (Madrid, 1629), fol. 418v.

³³ Anon., *Relación de la famosa mascara que hizieron los Alguaziles de la Casa y Corte de su Magestad*, fol. 419v.

³⁴ Archivo de Villa de Madrid, Libros de Acuerdos, Tomo 37, fol. 377.

³⁵ Alejandro Martín Ortega, *Pedro Vergel: alguacil de la casa y corte de su majestad* (Madrid: Grafica Clemares, 1965).

carriage much as they presided over enforcing the judges' decrees in Madrid.³⁶

Nonetheless, the commissioners' tastes had schooled them in public performance and in the ways the past could be manipulated to present narratives. The author observed that the births of princes had a long and illustrious history, and this was no less true of the glorious ancestors of the infant prince. Vergel, Sierra, and the others who assisted the Magistrates of the Royal Household and Court had put on a procession that was so "gallant and elegant" that even the "triumphs of the Ancient Romans" could not match its perfection.³⁷ By drawing parallels to the Ancient Romans' victorious entries into the centre of their world, the author not only grounded such festive traditions in history, but also affirmed that the Hapsburg monarchs of Spain were the heirs to the imperial power of Rome—indeed they were superior to them.

Of course, making classical allusions was common. The *relación* by Quiros about the prince's baptism alluded to how the inhabitants of the court city had participated in such a way that their endeavours were equivalent to carrying the weight born by Aeneas's ship.³⁸ Quiros was but one of many Spanish writers who drew comparisons to the Ancients and staked out claims for the Spanish superseding them in deeds and glory—if not always in resultant titles and honours.³⁹ The *loa*, or prologue, that accompanied the *relación* called the court "another Troy."⁴⁰ Marie Tanner has argued that, although claims to Trojan descent were common in medieval and Renaissance Europe, the Hapsburgs amplified their claims to a mythic genealogy. Her study ends with the period of Philip II's reign, but his own "last descendants" included Baltasar Carlos and Carlos II. They inherited the legacy of these imagined mythic pasts that rooted the family tree of the Hapsburgs "in the Judaic priest-kings, the Roman emperors, the Greek and Trojan heroes, and their Frankish progeny."⁴¹

The judges' auxiliaries and many spectators of the events knew that Spanish subjects were similar to Ancient Rome in their diversity. They also sometimes openly rebelled like those in the Roman World had. For the Spanish, the lengthy war with the Dutch, which had reopened in the 1620s, was an example of such disobedience. For the festival moment, the empire was at peace and the procession projected this peace and order—created and managed by the *alguaciles*—across territory, ethnicity, and rank, as it moved through the streets and as the reader became witness through the *relación*. According to the other published account of the same series of events, while some of the participants wore the costumes of Spaniards or Austro-Hungarians, others dressed as Indians "gallantly adorned and bringing with them many beardless youths, dressed in the colours and styles of their masters."⁴² Although it is possible that the Indians referred to here were individuals whom historians today would term creoles, it is more probable, since the author termed them *indios* rather than *indianos*, that these participants represented members of the Indian nobility. The beardless youths represented

³⁶ AHN, Libro de Gobierno 1.214, fol. 418v.

³⁷ AHN, Libro de Gobierno 1.214, fol. 418r.

³⁸ Quiros, *Relación verdadera de las grandiosas fiestas*, fol. 374-375v.

³⁹ David Lupton, *Romans in a New World* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003), 19.

⁴⁰ AHN, Libro de Gobierno 1.214, fol. 419v.

⁴¹ Marie Tanner, *The Last Descendants of Aeneas: The Hapsburgs and the Mythic Image of Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 107.

⁴² Anon., *Relación verdadera, que trata de la insigne fiesta, que los Alguaziles de Corte hizieron a su Magestad, por el nacimiento del Príncipe* (Madrid, 1629), Av.

lower-ranking indigenes and possibly African slaves as well. Given the precedents of contracting with individuals of colour to perform, and considering the presence of many Amerindians and people of African descent in seventeenth-century Iberia, probably at least some of the participants were persons of colour even though their performances may have mixed anachronistic elements and European imaginings of the exotic.⁴³

Alongside these representations of the diverse peoples of the empire came symbols of its wealth. Mexican cochineal adorned the twelve mules that pulled the giant triumphal float, which was in the shape of a large ship. Such luxurious representations of the global economy and the power of the Spanish Empire were in the late 1620s both still very real and also, in some ways, increasingly ephemeral. The fleet system depicted in the parade was in need of refurbishment and reorganization. Indeed, a few months later, the Viceroy of Peru suggested that it sail biennially in order to buy the Peruvian fleet time to better shore up its defences.⁴⁴ English and Dutch privateers, such as Piet Heyn, had escalated their attacks on Portuguese merchant ships and Spanish coastal communities throughout the Atlantic. Only the year before, Heyn had captured numerous Spanish ships, taking enormous amounts of silver, gold, and cochineal. Spaniards may have regretted that those ships had not had the same smooth passage as this triumphal float did through the streets of Madrid. In this rather liminal moment heightened by ritual, the losses could be forgotten; it promised a return to a golden age in which ships would successfully arrive in Spanish ports with their precious cargoes intact.

Both official accounts of this festival emphasized the grandeur of the celebration and the joy felt throughout the capital on Saint Martin's Day. The *alguaciles* capitalized on the feast day as well as the significant event in the life cycle of the monarchy. Their festivities lasted so long that, as night fell in court city, subjects lit large candles and "the stars shone to emulate their good example."⁴⁵ This light—just like the official reports of it—projected the image of loyalty. More performances of fidelity could also be found among the men and women who crowded the palisades, which had been constructed for the procession, in order to catch a glimpse of their monarch and the other participants as the procession made its way to the Convent of the Discalced Carmelites and on to the Plaza Mayor and the Puerta de Guadalajara, where the court celebrated and "all was full of jubilation."⁴⁶

Another fête for the infant Hapsburg took place several days later on 22 November 1629. Ramiro de Guzmán the Duke of Medina de las Torres directed this lavish affair. Previously the Marquis of Toral, Ramiro de Guzmán had married his kinswoman, María de Guzmán y Zúñiga, the daughter of Philip IV's favourite, the Count-Duke of Olivares, in 1625. The following year Doña María died while giving birth to a stillborn girl. Since the couple had no surviving children to become heirs, don Ramiro inherited the dukedom. His ascent at Philip IV's court continued, and he became the king's Sumiller de Corps that same year. This position afforded him the privilege of sleeping in the king's chamber and significant access to him during ablutions and meals. The king and queen dined separately from each other and from

⁴³ David Sanchez Cano, "Dances for the Royal Festivities in Madrid in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *Dance Research: The Journal of the Society for Dance Research* 23, no. 2 (Winter 2005): 134; Nancy van Deusen, *Global Indios: The Indigenous Struggle for Justice in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015).

⁴⁴ Peter Bradley, "Maritime Defense of the Viceroyalty of Peru (1600-1700)," *The Americas* 36, no. 2 (1979): 162-163.

⁴⁵ AHN, Libro de Gobierno 1.214, fol. 419r.

⁴⁶ AHN, Libro de Gobierno 1.214, fol. 419r.

the other guests even at royal banquets, so this was a notable exception to the limited access to the Hapsburg monarch's table.⁴⁷

Medina de las Torres became one of the king's most trusted and intimate favorites, and in 1628 Philip named him to the position of General Treasurer of the Crown of Aragón. However, the duke also drew scorn, contempt, and envy from established Spanish elites. Some even gossiped that he was the true father of Philip IV's illegitimate son Juan José de la Tierra.⁴⁸ Although the duke's involvement in the celebrations of the prince's birth was expected due to his position at court as Sumiller de Corps, the success of the festivals also provided Medina de las Torres with opportunities to further entrench his position, to advertise his personal loyalty to the monarch who favored him, and to display his munificence to friends and foes alike as the court city jubilantly celebrated. Furthermore, the festival may have enabled Medina de las Torres to establish his relationship with the king as one more fully independent from that of his influential father-in-law. In late 1629 and early 1630 there was more political in-fighting and court intrigue than usual, as Philip IV made plans to lead a military campaign into Mantua and increasingly distanced himself from the Count-Duke of Olivares.⁴⁹ Since ultimately Olivares did not fall from power for another decade, we can only speculate whether or not this strategy would have been successful.

According to the *relación* printed in the court city, Medina had arranged for innumerable festival lights to be hung and for a procession of sixty-six high-ranking participants, all at the city's expense. The progress of royalty and grandees was a sight to behold and to hear: lavish clothing and sumptuous jewels were on display; trumpets sounded, and "the fires that burned were so brilliant [and] so warm" that it was brighter than a day in July.⁵⁰ Medina himself was in the parade's first pair of high-ranking participants. Another anonymous account of the pageant published in Seville claimed everyone was dressed with such sumptuousness that it "would require many volumes" to justly describe their regalia.⁵¹

By organizing this celebration, Medina de las Torres publicized his prominent position at court, and as luck would have it, his timing was auspicious. It was the day after the queen's first appearance since giving birth—an act that Laura Oliván Santaliestra has argued the queen's supporters used to transform her body from weak and potentially disabled to beautiful and virtuous.⁵² The synchronicity allowed the duke to link himself more closely to the monarchy in the eyes of the inhabitants of the court city. The author of the *relación* printed in Seville commented on the "robustness of health" of the monarchy.⁵³ By implication, this health and harmonious balance extended to the body politic. Nobles like the duke played a

⁴⁷ Jodi Campbell, *At the First Table: Food and Social Identity in Early Modern Spain* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2017), 55.

⁴⁸ R.A. Stradling, *Spain's Struggle for Europe, 1598-1668* (London: Hambledon Press, 2003), 147-176.

⁴⁹ J.H. Elliott, *Richelieu and Olivares* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 103.

⁵⁰ Anon., *Relación de la famosa mascara que hizo el señor Duque de Medina de las Torres en alegría del nacimiento del Príncipe de España Baltasar Carlos Domingo* (Madrid, 1629), 1.

⁵¹ Anon., *Grandiosa relación de la famosa mascara, que a onra de el nacimiento dichoso de nuestro Serenissimo Príncipe, don Baltasar Carlos Domingo, ordenó el señor Duque de Medina de las Torres, en que entró el Rey nuestro señor, y su Alteza el señor Infante Don Carlos* (Sevilla, 1629).

⁵² Laura Oliván Santaliestra, "Isabel of Borbón's Sartorial Politics: From French Princess to Hapsburg Regent," in *Early Modern Habsburg Women: Transnational Contexts, Cultural Conflicts, Dynastic Continuities*, ed. Anne J. Cruz and Maria Galli Stampino (Burlington: Ashgate, 2013), 236-237.

⁵³ Anonymous, *Grandiosa relación de la famosa mascara*.

critical role in the maintenance of this elaborate organism. Since King Philip IV and the Count-Duke of Olivares comprised the final pair in the procession, as the *relación* enumerated, the festive event provided visual confirmation of the power and presence of the monarch.

The motivations of festival patrons and commissioners were complex. When the royal family was physically present the stakes were particularly high for those seeking favour or hoping to maintain their privileged positions, such as Medina de las Torres. The anonymous author of the account printed in Seville referred to the fact that “the glory of the same presence of the greatest monarch that [had] ever been known” is what made the event “so elegant” and “so gallant.”⁵⁴ For lower-ranking spectators in Madrid a matrix of factors converged in these festive moments. Likely, some of the happiness stemmed from the generosity of the crown, which pardoned many criminals, first in the court city on the day of the prince’s birth and then later in dispatches sent throughout its realms.⁵⁵ Some jubilation stemmed from the largesse of high-ranking participants, who gave alms to the poor in a very visible act of Baroque Catholic piety, and some of it was coerced through legal decrees regulating behaviour. During the fêtes staged by the *alguaciles*, residents of Madrid who committed acts of violence or resistance might face the consequences at the hands of the judges’ auxiliaries should their authority be resisted at the very moment they commanded the attention of the whole court. As was typical for such events, those subjects of the crown whose homes were along the routes of these processions could be fined if they did not light candles and luminaries to provide the desired brilliance and warmth for the procession. In other words, authorities took measures to try to control public space and prevent wayward behaviour with physical barriers and legal decrees.

Race, Rank, and Revelry in Lima

The news of Baltasar Carlos’s birth took much longer to cross the Atlantic and reach the Indies. In January of 1630 the Spanish government dispatched royal letters of patent announcing the prince’s birth to officials in Spain’s domains in the Americas, including one to the Viceroy of Peru Luis Jerónimo Fernández de Cabrera y Bobadilla, the Count of Chinchón.⁵⁶ Although the news arrived in Havana in early May, it did not make it to Lima for several more months.⁵⁷ The diarist Juan Antonio de Suardo recorded the eventual receipt of the good tidings that kicked off proclamations and celebrations on Sunday, 3 November 1630. The fêtes that followed provided the occasion for the Viceroy to perform munificent and benevolent acts that both demonstrated his power as a royally appointed official and allowed him to report his own dutiful vassalage back to Madrid. They also enabled corporate groups, such as the Confraternity of Nuestra Señora del Rosario, to create significant opportunities for themselves.

Some historians have made it seem as though the “severe and austere” Count of Chinchón loathed festivals due to their cost and propensity for allowing disorder, but the vast

⁵⁴ Anon., *Grandiosa relación de la famosa mascara*, 4.

⁵⁵ AHN, Libro de Gobierno 1.214, fol. 16 and Archivo General de Indias (hereafter AGI), Indiferente General, 429, Libro 37, fol. 201v-202r.

⁵⁶ AGI, Indiferente 429, Libro 37, fol. 203r-204v.

⁵⁷ Biblioteca Nacional de Cuba José Martí, C.M. Pérez, No. 5, fol. 74.

number that took place during his tenure at least partially complicates this view.⁵⁸ The costs of putting on festivals were real, and urban historians have demonstrated the perennial indebtedness of town councils and guilds that resulted from this aspect of public life. Yet, because festivals provided potential to build social and cultural capital and could showcase royal and ecclesiastical authority, administrators deemed them necessary. The fact that the monarch was far away rather than physically present while the viceroy, who represented the king, was highly visible, in some ways, heightened this necessity in Spain's overseas kingdoms.⁵⁹ Chinchón may have felt the financial pinch of living up to these expectations, and he definitely complained about the lack of money, magistrates, and competent men. Nonetheless, he allowed and facilitated spectacular celebrations to take place over several months in order to commemorate the illustrious royal birth.

Lima was smaller than Madrid, but it was a court city and of great importance to the vast holdings of the Spanish monarchy. By the seventeenth century it had expanded far beyond its original layout. Inhabitants of the viceregal capital had built numerous churches, homes, and monasteries. The city had a "fluid and hybrid urban culture ... that reflected the diversity of Peru and the Spanish Empire."⁶⁰ It was this populace that mobilized to celebrate the birth of their prince in the immediate aftermath of the arrival of the news and then in the weeks that followed.

Suardo recorded in his *relación*, which although commissioned by the viceroy reads like a daybook, that all of Lima could hear the cannon salute that preceded the announcement of the royal birth at seven o'clock that morning. The town council's scribe Alonso de Carrion served as the town crier, reading the king's decree to the crowd of "well-dressed" gentlemen and other onlookers. With the accompaniment of more military salutes, city officials and revellers then proceeded from the Palace to the Cathedral for a thanksgiving mass. As night fell, a procession of thirty-nine gentlemen made their way through Lima's streets. Suardo pronounced that their performances were all very good. However, two of the *alcaldes*, don Francisco Luxán and don Francisco Flores, accompanied by "great quantities of servants with large white candles," particularly distinguished themselves. Young men competed in footraces before the viceroy and archbishop, and a round of fireworks was set off in the middle of the plaza at some time after ten o'clock that night.⁶¹ The sounds of celebration, which included voice, song, bells, and guns, in addition to the visual impact of the processions, illuminations, and pyrotechnics all served as "urban connectors ... uniting the city in praise of" Prince Baltasar Carlos and the Hapsburg monarchy.⁶² Similarly, Suardo's account notes another mechanism of festive solidarity and unity: the Count of Chinchón had come down the stairs to speak to each of the thirty-nine participants.⁶³

Less than a week later, on 9 November 1630, the viceroy reported to the Council of

⁵⁸ Eduardo Torres Arancibia, *Corte de virreyes: el entorno del poder en el Perú en el siglo XVII* (Lima: Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2006), 118.

⁵⁹ Alejandro Cañeque, *The King's Living Image* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 120-123.

⁶⁰ Alejandra Osorio, *Inventing Lima: Baroque Modernity in Peru's South Sea Metropolis* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 24.

⁶¹ Juan Antonio Suardo, *Diario de Lima*, ed. Rubén Vargas Ugarte, (Lima: Universidad Católica del Perú, 1935), 90-91.

⁶² Geoffrey Baker, *Imposing Harmony: Music and Society in Colonial Cuzco* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), 31.

⁶³ Suardo, *Diario de Lima*, 91.

the Indies that “the Captain Antonio Pacheco who brought the news of the prince’s birth took a long time to arrive in [Lima].” This was rather fitting: the same month Baltasar Carlos was born, Chinchón had bemoaned that he was in a state of “notable confusion resulting from the lateness of the mail and intelligence from Spain.”⁶⁴ He assured the Council that, in spite of the delayed communications, officials and subjects in the Viceroyalty of Peru had begun the preparations for “the processions, festivals and demonstrations of joy that are customary for such a happy event.” The count also reported that he had made substantial resources and manpower available for the celebrations, which invited participation from a variety of sectors of Lima’s society.⁶⁵ He did this even as he suffered from physical ailments that Suardo claimed kept him up at night.⁶⁶ Only the illness of his wife and the largest earthquake Lima had experienced in some forty years could postpone the festive activity at the end of the month.⁶⁷ By December, the pageants were back on.

As befitted a court city, its ceremonies involved elaborate displays. According to Osorio, “ostentation was the principal marker of status, power, and authority, and appearance became a highly valued and discriminating social marker.”⁶⁸ Lisa Voigt has noted that festivals and the accounts of them “serve as testaments to local grandeur” and urban magnificence.⁶⁹ Thus, a year after festival lights and fireworks lit up the skies in Madrid and the *comedias* sponsored by the Spanish ambassador in Rome were performed, subjects of the Spanish crown in Lima experienced many of the same types of entertainments. This was normal for Spanish subjects in the cosmopolitan centers of the Spanish Empire. Performances of plays and interludes took place, as did gun salutes and a military parade. There were processions of decked-out carriages and bullfights with guilds providing bulls and lances. These entertainments did have some drawbacks and could at times be not only dangerous, but also a mechanism for exclusion. For instance, the Protector General of the Hospital of Santa Ana had to appeal to the viceroy because many indigenous inhabitants of the city were seeking care as a result of goring and other wounds caused by the bulls. The viceroy responded by forbidding the indigenous subjects who fell under the hospital’s purview from entering the plaza during bullfights on the pain of fifty lashes.⁷⁰

In spite of such concerns, Lima’s cathedral chapter commissioned the poet Rodrigo de Carvajal y Robles to compose some verses about the festivities. He dedicated them to another boy of high rank, the Count of Chinchón’s son Francisco Fausto Fernandez, a toddler of about the same age as the prince.⁷¹ The birth of the viceroy’s son had also been celebrated with a festival that, although not as magnificent as those for the prince, included a promenade of gallantly dressed high-ranking *limeños* and dramatic performances. The pageants to commemorate the royal birth were significant undertakings that must have provided a mixture

⁶⁴ AGI, Lima 42 (ED 061 R 24), No. 13.

⁶⁵ AGI, Lima 43 (ED 061, R. 25-27), No. 17.

⁶⁶ Suardo, *Diario de Lima*, 91.

⁶⁷ Suardo, *Diario de Lima*, 98.

⁶⁸ Osorio, *Inventing Lima*, 87.

⁶⁹ Lisa Voigt, “Imperial Celebrations, Local Triumphs: The Rhetoric of Festival Accounts in the Portuguese Empire,” *Hispanic Review* 79, no. 1 (Winter 2011): 20.

⁷⁰ Suardo, *Diario de Lima*, 94.

⁷¹ Rodrigo Carvajal y Robles, *Fiestas de Lima por el nacimiento del Príncipe Baltasar Carlos, Lima, 1632*, ed. Francisco López Estrada (Seville: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 1950).

of anxiety and stress as well as commemorative entertainment and opportunities to mark or rewrite their status for many of Lima's citizens. As literary scholar Mark Davis observes, pageants were a way for participant communities to tell stories about themselves. He has noted how this particular poetic account focuses to an extraordinary degree on the bullfights involved during the festivals and that the author by turns insulted the black participants and admired them. His account also “makes it clear that at least some of the Black participants in this event [performed] on horseback” wearing feathered crests and white ruffs. This was a violation of legal statutes.⁷²

Carvajal's account provides evidence of the efforts at renegotiating status by projecting Spanish identity across boundaries of rank, race, and class and of the *limeño* elite's potential resistance to such efforts. A significant percentage of Lima's population of about 25,000 was of African descent. Historical demographers estimate that there were almost 12,000 Africans and 1,116 *mulatos* in the city in 1619. At this time, there were only 9,706 Spanish subjects of European birth or descent living in Lima. While the number of those designated as “black” increased to 13,620—about 25% of whom were free persons of colour—by 1636, the number of those classified as *mulato* declined to 861.⁷³ These numbers should be read not just in basic demographic terms, but also with a consideration of the fact that the seventeenth century was one in which the number of caste designations proliferated in many parts of the Indies and in which boundaries between these groups could at times harden in statute while they blurred in reality. Suardo's account also highlights some of these issues. He opined that the bullfights performed on the 14 January 1631 “were not very good but were very entertaining and risible.” His primary critique resulted from the fact that they were performed by the “very ridiculous figures” of thirty black men with “capas and Milanese caps.”⁷⁴

One of the three *mulato* confraternities in Lima, the Confraternity of Nuestra Señora del Rosario, which had formed under the supervision of the Dominican order, took advantage of the festivals to establish themselves as loyal vassals of the crown.⁷⁵ In February of 1631 its members staged one of the most dramatic festive events during the series of celebrations when they mounted an elaborate spectacle of the Trojan War. This pageant lasted several days, utilized elaborate stage machinery, and culminated in another display of fireworks and bullfights. Many of those who participated in this spectacle were free persons of colour. A number of Lima's *mulatos* were artisans and had regular social dealings with peninsular Spaniards, creoles, *mestizos*, Indians, and black slaves in Lima. Their strategic spectacle highlights their knowledge of the Hapsburg claims to be the descendants of Troy as well as the heirs of Rome.⁷⁶

Not only was this particular contribution to these festivals among the most elaborate, it was also one that drew significant attention from those who enshrined these events in *relaciones*.

⁷² Mark Davis, “Communities of Color Vie to Perform Their Loyalty to the Crown in Rodrigo de Carvajal y Robles' *Fiestas de Lima* (1632),” (presentation, Annual Sixteenth Century Society and Conference, Milwaukee, WI, October 26-29, 2017).

⁷³ Frederick Bowser, *The African Slave in Colonial Peru, 1524-1650* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974), 339-341.

⁷⁴ Suardo, *Diario de Lima*, 109.

⁷⁵ Jean-Pierre Tardieu, *Los Negros y la Iglesia en el Perú siglos XVI-XVII* (Quito: Centro Cultural Afroecuatoriano, 1997), 1:511.

⁷⁶ Tanner, *The Last Descendants of Aeneas*.

The poet Carvajal condescendingly observed that the event the confraternity staged “exceeded the expectations that one could have of their talents.”⁷⁷ Although most of the contributions made by the various guilds to the festivities received only a brief mention in his diary, Juan Antonio Suardo devoted a number of pages to the performance, which he claimed cost the huge sum of 15,000 *patacones*.⁷⁸ According to Suardo, the viceroy and his wife, as well as the judges of the high court and their wives, watched from the palace balcony as the drama began with a triumphal carriage bearing a portrait of Philip IV and the four commissioners of the festival.

Once again, subjects of the Spanish crown made use of comparisons to Antiquity. During this festival, they portrayed themselves as not only free and loyal but also as living up to “new standards both of heroism and of literary achievement.”⁷⁹ Intermixed with the Greek legends about the kidnapping of Helen and the ensuing attack on Troy were more modern messages of devoted vassalage: Hector proclaimed (while in the throes of dying at the hands of the Greeks) that “the King of Spain, for his just laws, is more powerful and strong” than those who had taken Troy.⁸⁰ The guild also underscored both its loyalty and its rising status by incorporating representations of prominent Spanish officials, such as the Duke of Escalona and the Count-Duke of Olivares, as columns of support. The confraternity members fought jousts and bore triumphal arches. Eventually on the fourth day, the famed Trojan horse appeared, the Greeks won, and the festival ended with another triumphal procession of carriages that bore the portrait of Philip IV away in all stateliness.

Sonia Rose has observed that this was the first time that Lima’s guild of *mulatos* organized such a celebration as a corporate body.⁸¹ Her reading of this festival event suggests that it provided them with an opportunity to further their integration into Lima’s society as an independent group. Certainly, the sumptuousness of the festival that they put on made their guild highly visible in the public eye, and performing loyalty in this case carried with it different meanings for both participants and viewers than such demonstrations of loyal vassalage did for Spaniards in Madrid. This performance paradoxically enabled this guild to exercise agency within the scripted ceremonial bounds of the festival. Perhaps, it even—at least for the festival moment—enabled its members to revise their history or at least their place in the providential histories that connected Trojan and Argonautic legends to the Hapsburg dynasty whose continuation they commemorated in their festival.

Jouve Martín argues that this staging of Troy’s fall was part of *mulatos*’ efforts to “differentiate themselves from the much larger black population” of the city.⁸² They

⁷⁷ Carvajal y Robles, *Fiestas*, 97.

⁷⁸ Suardo, *Diario de Lima*, 115. A *patacón* was a coin valued at 8 reales. Although the exchange rate was not quite 1:1 due to things like freight charges, this is essentially the equivalent of 120,000 loaves of bread or a little over the amount that could purchase 120,000 pounds of meat in Castile around this time. On exchange rates see John McCusker, *Money and Exchange in Europe and America, 1600-1775* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 100, 299-301.

⁷⁹ Lupher, *Romans in a New World*, 31.

⁸⁰ Suardo, *Diario de Lima*, 112.

⁸¹ Sonia Rose, “Un grupo en busca de afirmación: las fiestas de los mulatos de Lima por el nacimiento del príncipe Baltasar Carlos,” in *La formación de la cultura iberoamericana virreinal II: el siglo XVII*, ed. Karl Kohut and Sonia Rose (Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2004), 375-405.

⁸² José R. Jouve Martín, “Public Ceremonies and Mulatto Identity in Viceregal Lima: A Colonial Reenactment of the Fall of Troy (1631),” *Colonial Latin American Review* 16, no. 2 (2007): 180.

accomplished this by placing themselves in the lettered culture of Lima. Moreover, their festival also occurred within the framework of competition between confraternities and the rivalries between Dominicans and Franciscans in the New World. The members of the Confraternity of Nuestra Señora del Rosario drew lines of demarcation not only between themselves and the larger black populace but also attempted—and in this case succeeded—in outdoing the other *mulato* confraternities in the City of Kings. Their use of tales from Antiquity also placed their festive spectacle in conversation with others that had already been performed over the preceding weeks in Lima and over the course of the previous year on the other side of the Atlantic as well as with future pageantry, such as the celebration featuring Minerva and Pallas put on by the Royal University in Lima.⁸³

Staging Helen's capture and the Trojan War clearly drew the attention of Lima's officials and intellectual elite. When the confraternity members could not finish the performance on the fifth of January as had originally been planned, the Viceroy gave them permission to utilize the plaza for another day.⁸⁴ Undoubtedly, it impressed other spectators as well. The confraternity's performance projected respectability and economic stability, and it advertised the guild's artisanal superiority. Suardo admired numerous technical aspects of the pageantry. He noted that the boat that carried Paris was "very intriguing and richly constructed" and described how the carriage in which the God Mars rode had "two plaques in significant letters expressing the courage of the Prince" at its base.⁸⁵ He also complimented the confraternity, describing their performance as orderly and "universally liked by all" for its "ceremonial brilliance."⁸⁶

As the Dominican guild of *mulatos* made their preparations and took the spotlight, some marginalized members of Lima's society also had a chance to take at least limited advantage of the opportunities provided by the days of celebration. This included many prisoners. In accordance with the monarch's orders and longstanding customs, which also took effect in Madrid during this period of thanksgiving and merriment, the Count of Chinchón issued numerous pardons; some executions were commuted to sentences of exile from the city, and a number of debtors were released and allowed thirty days to make good with their creditors.⁸⁷ Since the city's jail was in a state of disrepair and ruin, these acts of celebratory mercy were well-timed for municipal and royal officials as well as for those inmates who were released.⁸⁸ However, the king's pardon did not apply to everyone. The royal decree stipulated that those who had "committed crimes of lessee majesty, the abominable sin of sodomy, the giving of false testimony ... [or] the counterfeiting of coins" should not be freed.⁸⁹

As a result, some punishments were still carried out even amidst the festive celebrations of the prince's birth. For colonial spectators, who frequently witnessed gruesome events such as the execution of Thomas Buesso who was burnt at the stake on charges of sodomy and bestiality during the course of the pageantry, the ritual of capital punishment provided another opportunity to congregate, eat, drink, and be seen as loyal and pious

⁸³ Suardo, *Diario de Lima*, 116-118.

⁸⁴ Suardo, *Diario de Lima*, 114.

⁸⁵ Suardo, *Diario de Lima*, 112-113.

⁸⁶ Suardo, *Diario de Lima*, 115.

⁸⁷ AGI, Indiferente 429, Libro 37, fol. 201v-202r.

⁸⁸ AGI, Lima 43, No. 57.

⁸⁹ AGI, Indiferente 429, Libro 37, fol. 202r.

subjects.⁹⁰ Criminal activity and violence also continued in the City of Kings. On 19 November 1630, Lima's shoemakers put on a bullfight and featured a procession of coaches covered to look like a verdant forest. At the same time, two men fought a duel at the horseman's inn. One died, and the other took refuge in the Convento de Santo Domingo.⁹¹

Suardo recorded these events rather dryly and without much consideration for the men's motivations. He dismissed the duel as the result of words "of little importance." Since his account chronicled the quotidian as well as the extraordinary events of Lima, it did not need to follow the same generic formulae of other *relaciones* of specific festival events. Nonetheless, where celebrations and pageantry were concerned, Suardo often made claims that were similar (if less exaggerated) to those of other writers and poets. For instance, he described the guild of merchants' bullfights as "the best so far," and the fireworks they put on of an "infinite quantity and diversity."⁹² Although at one point he claimed the formal exit at the end of the first day of the elaborate festival put on by the Confraternity of Nuestra Señora del Rosario was "prolix," he also recounted their verses, observed that at the end of the second day "everyone exited the plaza with great order and harmony," and admitted these pageants had "been the best that had been put on in this Kingdom."⁹³

Conclusion

The official reports, poems, and letters that commemorated the celebrations of Prince Baltasar Carlos's birth promoted idealized images of successful, splendid, and orderly processions, gun salutes, and varied witty and delightful performances from expected constituencies and from unexpected groups of subjects who "exceeded expectations." They were projections of power and unity that were meant to overcome the vast distances of empire and harken back to classicized and sacral time. Written by loyal subjects who desired patronage, favour, and enhanced reputation, the propagandistic elements that promised a glorious return of Hapsburg wealth and power to be realized by the king and his heir should come as no surprise. However, they also suggest the malleability of the power they projected and the ways individual subjects and corporate groups manipulated this power for their own ends as they operated in real time, even if authors of *relaciones* glossed over the multifaceted motivations of individuals and corporate groups.

Performing loyalty enabled subjects to advance their own agendas. Even when the monarch was physically present, these celebrations could have contested meanings as people vied for attention and proximity to the king. In some cases, loyal vassals could even kiss the king's hand.⁹⁴ Certainly, these festivities did not put an end to fighting, jealousy, and rivalries in Lima or Madrid even during the weeks of celebration. Petty crime and the acts of violence continued on the streets of Lima such as the aforementioned duel during the shoemakers' procession. Suardo recorded another violent attack amidst the days of revelry when a woman of colour attacked a Spanish woman in the church of Nuestra Señora de la Merced and

⁹⁰ Suardo, *Diario de Lima*, 92-94.

⁹¹ Suardo, *Diario de Lima*, 95.

⁹² Suardo, *Diario de Lima*, 103-104.

⁹³ Suardo, *Diario de Lima*, 113-115.

⁹⁴ AHN, Libro de Gobierno 1.214, fol. 418v.

seriously wounded her.⁹⁵

The fêtes provided opportunities for competition and conflict to escalate, as courtiers and guilds competed to outdo each other in the performances of civic pride and loyal subjecthood that the festivals entailed. They also provided opportunities for disorder and crime to take place, and physical barriers and legal requirements had to be put in place in an effort to maintain appropriate levels of courtesy and decorum along the routes of processions. Administrators and royal officials frequently bemoaned the expenses and potential problems of social control that such celebrations created. In the end, celebrating dynasty was more complicated than the authors of official accounts would have their readers believe. Even when everything went splendidly and rivalled the glorious entries of Roman emperors, it was not only the monarchy that stood to gain because celebrating the birth of the prince turned subjects into agents in the early modern Spanish World.

⁹⁵ Suardo, *Diario de Lima*, 92.