

**THE REPRESENTATION OF CULTURE IN GOLDEN AGE
MADRID: BETWEEN ATTRACTION AND REPUGNANCE.**

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ABSTRACT.

This thesis will examine literary representations of the city of Madrid from the late sixteenth to seventeenth century, with a specific focus on the period of 1600-1650. My analysis incorporates a multi-genre approach that will include historiography, ephemeral text, festival books, poetry, *entremés* and prose fiction in order to provide the widest consideration of early modern Madrid through the literature it produced. Several scholars of Golden Age Madrid, such as García Santo-Tomás, Elliott, and Romero-Díaz, have highlighted the need to move away from the static Maravallian dichotomy of power and resistance by which the Baroque has been characterised, and towards an approach that instead examines it from a point of view of its dynamism.

The literature of early modern Madrid presents a conflictive image of both attraction and repugnance. On the one hand, there is an 'official' discourse of the city that looks to the court as its frame of reference, representing a powerful court capital. However, on the other hand, the same literature projects an 'unofficial' discourse, a dystopian nightmare where people starved to death in the streets, alienated and alone. The literature of early modern Madrid illustrates this crisis of representation between the two 'worlds' of the city that simultaneously narrate a city of extremes.

This thesis will analyse the way in which this dual image of the city, its culture and the experience of living in it is produced with such a high degree of intensity within this period of urban development. It will also consider how the experience of the city is revealed through the literature it produced, demonstrating how representations of the city transcend concepts of power and marginalisation.

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NOTE.

When citing texts that are manuscripts or published before the nineteenth century, I have edited them using the following criteria: the accentuation and punctuation have been modernised according to current academic standards, and abbreviated words have been cited in full (for example: *q = que*). Original spelling has been preserved.

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INTRODUCTION.

In 1561 when Philip II chose to settle the Spanish court in Madrid, it set into motion a ripple effect that changed the infrastructure of the city, the people and the culture it produced in an explosive and profound way. In the space of just one year after the announcement to settle the court in Madrid, the population had increased by 250% to an estimated 25,000.¹ In the space of forty years, the population exceeded 80,000 people.² Alongside this meteoric demographic rise, Madrid became a space of culture and the centre of artistic production. In the same streets where Luis de Góngora and Francisco de Quevedo traded their famous acerbic verses in a game of literary fisticuffs, and insults directed at one's large nose were parried by jibes at the other's myopia, there blossomed a glut of literary representation that mirrored the monstrous growth of the city. Madrid not only became a producer of culture with an unusual concentration of writers and poets vying for attention and patronage and a backdrop for this new literature, but also, increasingly, its protagonist, and what Pedro Ruiz Pérez terms as 'el marco comunicativo de toda la nueva literatura.'³

A cursory consultation of the Catálogo Colectivo del Patrimonio Bibliográfico Español results in a list of some 866 publications between the years of 1600 and 1650 that feature the word Madrid in the title, a small measure of the quantity of new literature that was produced in the wake of the court's move to Madrid.⁴ Under the employ of Philip IV there were 223 writers in personal service to the king, which was triple the number of his predecessor Philip III, whose count totalled 76.⁵ These figures expose the fundamental connection between Madrid and the literature it produced, as well as the role the court played in its generation, linking the growth of the city with the cultural zenith of Spain known as the *Siglo de Oro*. However, if these figures give a sense of the deluge of literature that followed the court and its establishment in Madrid, they do not give a sense of the experience and exploration of the city reflected in the literature as a legacy of this sudden conurbation and explosive growth. The statistics cannot reflect the stench of the streets juxtaposed with the

¹ Alfredo Alvar Ezquerra, *El nacimiento de una capital Europea: Madrid entre 1561 y 1606* (Madrid: Turner, 1999), p. 33.

² Alvar Ezquerra, p. 33.

³ Pedro Ruiz Pérez, 'La Corte como espacio discursivo', *Edad de Oro*, 17 (1997), 195-212 (p. 199).

⁴ Catálogo Colectivo del Patrimonio Bibliográfico Español: <http://www.mcu.es/bibliotecas/MC/CCPB/index.html> [Date accessed: 19 July 2013].

⁵ J. H. Elliott, 'The Court of the Spanish Habsburgs: A Peculiar Institution?', in *Politics and Culture in Early Modern Europe: Essays in Honour of H. G. Koenigsberger*, ed. by Phyllis Mack and Margaret C. Jacob (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 5-24 (p. 22).

elaborate displays of the court, the way the landscape shifted with the light of the day, and above all, the way in which the literature the city produced possessed a conflictive quality that simultaneously expressed admiration and repugnance.

This wild vacillation between attraction and repugnance and the way in which texts of early modern Madrid simultaneously represented its culture as straddling two extremes forms the core of my thesis. My thesis will focus on an examination of this polarised representation that came to define Madrid as it developed into a metropolis, the experience of the early modern city, and how its inhabitants perceived their geography. In examining the representation of culture in early modern Madrid, it becomes clear that the image the literature produced in its most artistically productive period transcends the traditional Maravallian binary of the struggle between power and resistance, which suggests a static quality to the way in which early modern culture was produced. In the most culturally and artistically productive era of Spain, the definition of its culture in terms of a static binary, and thus defining it by a lack of movement, seems at odds with dynamism reproduced in the literature of the city. The representation of early modern Madrid in the literature it produced is flooded with concepts of movement and progress, whether resulting from fear and mistrust, or awe and exaltation. There is therefore a need to examine this literature of attraction and repugnance that defined early modern Madrid and its culture as a dynamic force that exhibited a fluidity, and presented a kaleidoscopic, shifting image of the city.

Archival records, *pregones* and treatises announcing new statutes and laws, *relaciones* and formal historiographies of the city all give a view of the city from a socioeconomic perspective that describe the process of urbanisation in a way that provides the facts and statistics. For example, the *Pregon general* of 1613 legislated convivial affairs of the city that suggested moves towards hierarchical organisation. Prostitutes were forbidden from wearing a *mantilla* in church or bringing a prayer cushion, while innkeepers were forbidden to keep bread, meat or fish in their establishments.⁶ Madrid had no sanitation, to the effect that waste was thrown into the streets alongside the carcasses of dead animals, and attempts were made to curb this behaviour.⁷ Regulations were brought into effect regarding the places in which specific types of food could be

⁶ Anon, *Pregon general para la buena gobernación desta Corte* (Madrid: por la viuda Alonso Gomez, 1585), [no pagination], p. 2.

⁷ Anon, *Pregon general mandado guardar por los señores Alcaldes de la casa y Corte de su Magestad para el buen gobierno della*, in *El bando de policía de 1591 y el pregon general de 1613 para la Villa de Madrid*, ed. by Agustín González de Amezúa y Mayo (Madrid: Artes Gráficas Municipales, 1933), pp. 27-38 (p. 34).

sold.⁸ In 1590, Philip II ordered a decree to create a Junta de Policía, a group tasked with municipal cleanliness, order and decoration.⁹

Chronicler Gil González Dávila tells that 10,000 houses were required in order to lodge the court in Madrid following the results of a survey commissioned by the court in order to count buildings and amenities of the court.¹⁰ On the theme of numbers, Alonso Núñez de Castro's description of the Plaza Mayor of Madrid in the revised 1675 edition of his *Libro historico politico* perhaps crystallises this statistical representation of the process of urbanisation:

Tiene su asiento en medio de la Villa quatrocientos y treinta y quatro pies de longitud, de la latitud treientos y treinta y quatro, y en su circunstancia mil y quinientos treinta y seis. Está fundada toda sobre pilastras de sillería quadradas de piedra berroqueña. Las casas tienen cinco suelos, con el que forma el soportal hasta el ultimo terrado, y desde los pedestales, hasta el tejaroze segundo setenta y un pies de altura.¹¹

Núñez de Castro's account goes on to describe the Plaza Mayor in minute detail, cataloguing its 477 windows, the number of houses and people living there, alongside the capacity and the materials used in its construction. However, if Núñez de Castro's account provides a useful source for the consideration of the process of urbanisation in early modern Madrid, it flattens the image of the city into a static, idealised one that preserves the greatness of the Plaza Mayor for prosperity, rather than bringing the city to life.

The literature of Golden Age Madrid is precisely the force that does bring the city to life, transplanting the statistics and documents that chronicle its progress through urbanisation into the space and experience of the individual. The construction of the image of urbanisation of early modern Madrid presents a particular topography and maps the city in terms of buildings, dimensions and numbers. What is more interesting, however, is the experience of this city, the way in which the literature constructs the impact of the city on its inhabitants, and how the topographic imaginary of the city in its literature interacted with urban reality. In place of the accounts bemoaning the filth in the streets of the city, Salas Barbadillo's

⁸ Alvar Ezquerro, p. 253.

⁹ Fernando Marías, 'City Planning in Sixteenth-Century Spain', in *Spanish Cities of the Golden Age: The Views of Anton van den Wyngaerde*, ed. by Richard Kagan (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1989), pp. 84-105 (p. 87).

¹⁰ Gil González Dávila, *Teatro de las grandezas de la Villa de Madrid, Corte de los Reyes Católicos de España* (Madrid: Thomas Iunti, 1623), p. 333.

¹¹ Alonso Núñez de Castro, *Libro historico politico: Solo Madrid es Corte y el cortesano en Madrid*, 3rd edn (Madrid: Roque Rico de Miranda, 1675), pp. 9-10.

evocation of 'la música destos chapines' elegantly evokes the filth of a city that necessitated particular shoes to raise the skirts of an early modern Madrilenian woman out of the gutter.¹² Francisco de Quevedo's *El buscón* depicts the inner circles of a thieves' gang in a city that lacked much in the way of law enforcement, as well as the endemic hunger of the city drawn from the reality of failed harvests and widespread poverty. Above all, Salas Barbadillo's short text entitled *Los mirones de la Corte* demonstrates how those in the city were conscious of this change and began to offer a critical evaluation on the experience of the city, demonstrating the relationship of the individual with their space:

Crecen los edificios: aumentase el numero de los Ciudadanos, y la corona de la virtud es menor cada día. El gasto opulento, la soberbia pompa, solo debida al decoro, la deidad terrena de los Reyes, hoi se desprecia, hoi se profana.¹³

This interaction between the individual and their space is particularly important with the attachment of meaning to place in the literature of early modern Madrid. The Plaza Mayor became the locus for bullfights and court pomp, while many a disparaging comment was cast the way of the River Manzanares, whose lack of flow was the subject of many a court joke, as well as being the primary space of gossip in the court city among the servants and washerwomen. The Calle Mayor was the space of shopping and ostentation, and the Prado was the space of picnics, and, after dark, the illicit encounters between men and women. The literature of early modern Madrid presents a dynamic image of the city's progress through urbanisation to expose the psychological impact of urban change. It represents the experience of the city in a way in which cannot be chronicled or documented and transcends the meticulous statistics to project a conflictive, contradictory experience of early modern Madrid that vacillates between fear and awe, attraction and repugnance.

CURRENT RESEARCH

The studies of José Deleito y Piñuela and Marcelin Defourneaux have provided a fundamentally important grounding in my research for their almost exhaustive examination of all aspects of Golden Age Madrilenian culture. Defourneaux's *Daily Life in Spain in the Golden Age*, published in 1979, provides an invaluable basis for the conceptualisation of early modern life and a picture of the concerns of individuals of the era, in

¹² Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo, *La sabia Flora malsabidilla*, ed. by Dana Flaskerud (Newark, DE: Juan de la Cuesta, 2007), p. 100.

¹³ Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo, *Los mirones de la Corte* in Francisco Mariano Nifo, *Caxon de Sastre, o Monton de muchas cosas buenas, mejores o medianas*, 6 vols (Madrid: Imprenta de Miguel Escribano, 1781-1782), V (1781), pp. 290-304 (p. 300).

particular linking these to literary and travel account sources.¹⁴ Deleito y Piñuela's extensive bibliography covers all aspects of the Spanish and Madrilenian Golden Age, and in particular his *Sólo Madrid es Corte*, published in 1942, establishes a firm grounding in linking literature to place in Madrid. Deleito y Piñuela's work is fundamental for discovering the early modern topography of the city from archival sources and tracing a journey through the key spaces of Madrid, as well as public buildings, municipal organisation and the supply of food. Other works of Deleito y Piñuela, including his serialised essays in the journal *Revista de la biblioteca, archivo y museo*, consider other important aspects of Philip IV's reign, such as royal entertainments, fiesta, religious proceedings and marginal life in Madrid that represent a complete picture of early modern reality.¹⁵ Mary Elizabeth Perry's contribution to early modern life in Seville has provided a useful counterpoint and urban contemporary, as well as a vital presentation of marginal life in the city.¹⁶ More recently, important demographic developments from archival research have been put forward in Alfredo Alvar Ezquerra's *El nacimiento de una capital Europea* (1999). Alvar Ezquerra's study presents the city in terms of population, socioeconomic factors such as income according to area, urban hygiene and provision of resources and the urban morphology of Madrid that have been instrumental in providing a factual picture, as well as a historically-accurate grounding to consider the size and scale of Madrid.

In the last decade, the subject of the early modern city and the representation of it within its literature has yielded extremely useful studies that have been deeply influential to my research. Karen Newman's *Cultural Capitals: Early Modern London and Paris* (2009) has provided vital information on the early modern contemporaries of Madrid and the experience of the city in a broader concept.¹⁷ Newman links the cultural production of the early modern period to the city, examining the imprint of urbanisation on literature and artistic creation. Newman's examination of the city in its crucial period of cultural production focuses on both high and low experience of the city, of stench, noise and splendour.

On the subject of early modern Madrid, Jesús Escobar's *The Plaza Mayor and the Shaping of Baroque Madrid* (2004) provides an analysis of the development of urban space in Madrid, focusing on the Plaza Mayor as the central element of early modern monarchical discourse in the city, and tracing its construction as the culmination of the establishment of capital

¹⁴ Marcelin Defourneaux, *Daily Life in Spain in the Golden Age*, trans. by Newton Branch (London: Allen & Unwin, 1970).

¹⁵ See in particular: *El Rey se divierte* (1955), ...*También se divierte el pueblo* (1954) and *La Mala vida en la España de Felipe IV* (1951).

¹⁶ Mary Elizabeth Perry, *Crime and Society in Early Modern Seville* (Hanover, NH: New England University Press, 1980).

¹⁷ Karen Newman, *Cultural Capitals: Early Modern London and Paris* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007).

cityhood.¹⁸ Enrique García Santo-Tomás' *Espacio urbano y creación literaria en el Madrid de Felipe IV* (2004) has provided a compelling argument for the need to consider the development of urbanisation alongside artistic creation in the city, using urban space and the senses to explore the noises, tastes, smells, tactile experiences and conversations of early modern Madrid.¹⁹ He implements the concept of a 'humanistic geography' of the city that explores the experience of it and how urban space influences artistic creation. This consideration of urban space is continued in *Modernidad bajo sospecha* (2008), which focuses on the works of Salas Barbadillo in his presentation of the city.²⁰ On a similar note, Nieves Romero-Díaz's *Nueva nobleza, nueva novela: reescribiendo la cultura urbana del barroco* (2002), provides fuel to the fire in her consideration of urban culture within the urban nobility of Madrid that examines the *novela cortesana* as a mode of restabilising identity in the face of the destabilising force of urbanisation.²¹ María José del Río Barredo's work on the practice of court ritual and its link to the city has also provided an instrumental resource for the conceptualisation of the main force of change in the city: the court.²²

An analysis of the current research demonstrates that it is clear that the representation of urban culture in early modern Madrid is a nascent field, and that there is not yet much research that explores the way in which literature represents the city and its interaction with the court at a specific point in its urban development. Court culture in the context of the capital city has been notably analysed by both Norbert Elias and Jean-Marie Apostolidès. Both of these studies provide invaluable insight into the way in which court culture functions in an urban context, detailing the strata of the court society, as well as the glory of court displays brought into an urban context for a mass audience, however both have chosen to focus their gaze on early modern Paris under the reign of arguably the most glorious French monarch, Louis XIV. The analysis of María José del Río Barredo focuses on court culture in the city of Madrid, however does not consider this subject alongside the factor of urbanisation in the early modern period, which is the core concept of my thesis. Nieves Romero-Díaz provides a consideration of how a specific social group interacted with the developing city in the process of urbanisation through the

¹⁸ Jesús Escobar, *The Plaza Mayor and the Shaping of Baroque Madrid* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

¹⁹ Enrique García Santo-Tomás, *Espacio urbano y creación literaria en el Madrid de Felipe IV* (Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2004).

²⁰ Enrique García Santo-Tomás, *Modernidad bajo sospecha: Salas Barbadillo y la cultura material del siglo XVII* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto de Lengua, Literatura, y Antropología, 2008).

²¹ Nieves Romero-Díaz, *Nueva nobleza, nueva novela: reescribiendo la cultura urbana del barroco* (Newark, DE: Juan de la Cuesta, 2002).

²² See in particular: *Madrid, urbs regia: la capital ceremonial de la Monarquía Católica* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2000).

literature it produced, demonstrating the need to explore the link between artistic creation and urbanisation further. José Deleito y Piñuela's extensive research on the city of Madrid focuses on providing a historical record found through archival research. Although Deleito y Piñuela does provide links between the city and its literature, it seems that these refer less to the experience of the city, and more to the fact that the city appears in literature.

Marcelin Defourneaux's research on the early modern life in Spain approaches the subject this thesis analyses, but focuses on a wider context rather than specifically on the city of Madrid. The same is true of Mary Elizabeth Perry's research on the city of Seville which provides fascinating insight into the early modern subculture of another instrumentally important city, the gateway to the Indies. Karen Newman's more recent work on the experience of life in early modern London and Paris begins to demonstrate a growing trend towards approaching the experience of life in these cities amid rapid urbanisation, and Enrique García Santo-Tomás' analysis of early modern Madrid in relation to the five senses broaches the subject of urbanisation in early modern Madrilenian literature. The field of early modern urban culture and its representation in literature is a subject that has notably picked up speed in the recent years, with the work of Karen Newman and Enrique García Santo-Tomás showing that attention is beginning to surge. The relative recentness of these publications, which have shown up in just the last decade, show how little has yet been unearthed from this fundamentally important period of artistic creation, and how much there is yet to discover. My research aim is to present a more comprehensive overview to build and complement what has already been accomplished and to add to understanding on early modern urban cultural production in Madrid.

In response to the current research, the focus of my research is to provide an experience of early modern Madrid through the literature it produced, focusing on non-canonical writers, whose works have not received much critical focus in the context of their representation of Madrid. In a city filled to the brim with writers, it is clear that much research has already been completed on the frontrunners of Madrilenian literature and their links to the city, such as Luis de Góngora, Francisco de Quevedo and Lope de Vega, writers who represent the cipher for readings of early modern Madrid and the culmination of its artistic peak. On the subject of lesser-known writers, however, there is much less research. Writers such as Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo, Baptista Remiro de Navarra and Luis Vélez de Guevara represent but three of the lesser-known voices within whose oeuvre the essence of early modern Madrid is inexorably contained. However, the problem of the canonical writers of the city, often commissioned to write through royal caprice or through patronage, is that their work bears the traces of this influential relationship, presenting an unambiguously glowing portrait of early modern Madrid, of promenading in parks and tales of the trifles of the rich. It is the non-canonical writers whose work more roundly provides a representation of what it was to live

in early modern Madrid, unflinchingly describing the vicissitudes of its urban existence from depravity to decency. This non-canonical voice of the city in turn produces a dystopian representation of the city that is discordant with the canonical image, and therefore provides a fundamental point of departure for this thesis. This analysis of the city will provide a complimentary reading of the representation of urbanisation of the early modern city alongside the canonical authors of the city. My particular focus throughout this thesis has been centred on dystopian representations of the city, and the way in which the reality of urban life in Madrid was brought to life through literature.

LITERARY METHODOLOGY

The literary basis for this study involves the analysis of multiple genres and authors in order to expose a representation of early modern Madrid at its most diverse and full iteration. This wide variation of texts in turn also offers a way in which to trace how the texts written about the city within a specific time period show violent oppositions in the way the city of the court is represented, demonstrating how this representational conflict of early modern Madrid was a deeply rooted facet of the literature and culture it produced, often within the trajectory of the works of one sole writer. This representational conflict forms the basis of cultural representation of the city and the present study, where the extreme vacillation between admiration and repugnance for early modern Madrid is exposed through the intensity of literature produced.

Three historiographical texts focused on the subject of Madrid provide the basis for a topographic imaginary of the early modern capital, particularly in their provision of facts and figures that quantify the buildings, streets and population of the city as of the year of their publication. Gil González Dávila, Jerónimo de Quintana and Alonso Núñez de Castro, whose works were published in 1623, 1629 and 1658 respectively, provide contemporary, historically important studies of the city in key stages of its urban development, as well as providing a primary form of propagandistic panegyric narration on the subject of the city and court. In terms of other documentary references that detail the city, festival books and ephemera such as *relaciones* by José Pellicer y Tovar, Almansa y Mendoza and Jerónimo de Barrionuevo provide a glorious, proto-journalistic approach to viewing the early modern city and court, mapping the processional routes of the court and space of the court fiesta, as well as mapping the discourse of power onto the morphology of the city.

Travel accounts of the city provide a different and intriguing perspective of the city. The accounts of French countess Marie-Catherine Le Jumel de Barneville (known as Madame d'Aulnoy) and Antoine de Brunel, the travelling companion of François van Aerssen, the son of a diplomat, both travelled through Spain, and more specifically Madrid, in the latter end of the century. Brunel's visit occurred in the later years of Philip IV's reign,

while the text of Madame d'Aulnoy's visit surfaced in 1691. Both accounts are quite obviously coloured by the product of their time and of tense geopolitical relations between France and Spain. They provide invaluable anecdota that unflinchingly reveal the extremes of the city from court pageantry to the filth and stench of the streets. The early modern travel accounts provide a critical exploration of the city of Madrid in a way in which the historiographical chronicles cannot, and reveal different modes of experiencing and spatialising the city.

Poetry was a key mode of representing the developing urban context of early modern Madrid, and the city housed some of the most glorious poets of the Baroque period, all clustered within a few streets of one another in the court city, vying for patronage and acclaim. In this evocation of a literary Madrid, there is the natural progression of poetry as the language of the court, and one of its key modes of representation. To this end, two volumes of poetry featuring prominent and celebrated poets of the court have proven useful to my analysis of the interaction between the court and urban space. One such volume was dedicated to the new Buen Retiro palace in 1635, and was entitled *Elogios al Palacio Real del Buen Retiro*, a volume of poetry dedicated to eulogising the glory of the new palace and collated by Diego de Covarrubias y Leyva. Another important volume of poetry that surfaced in Madrid was the *Anfiteatro de Felipe el Grande*, collated by chronicler José Pellicer y Tovar in 1631 to celebrate the heroic act of the king having expertly shot and killed a bull. These poetry volumes provide insight not only into the way in which the court spatialised itself through displays of hunting and great palaces, but also the way in which the court then used this urban space as a means for the projection of its image and ideologies.

Much of the focus of this thesis has been given over to the analysis of the works of several authors involved in the representation of Madrid and its developing capital cityhood. Francisco de Quevedo, Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo, Luis Vélez de Guevara, Alonso de Castillo Solórzano, Luis Quiñones de Benavente and Baptista Remiro de Navarra are the key authors for this study that represented the literary brilliance of early modern Madrid. Many of the authors were born and died in the city, while others, the outsiders, suffered the alienation of the city. They exposed the city through genre and narrative in order to provide a cultural and experiential representation that depicted the city at both its most glorious and most repugnant. Although the literature of Quevedo is largely considered as a canonical narrative for early modern Madrid, it is the exploits of his eponymous hero Pablos in *El buscón* that go against the grain and explore the way in which the city breeds themes of alienation, repugnance and degradation. Delving into Pablos' world, Quevedo has his protagonist suffer every bodily humiliation at the hands of the city, an exception to the rule of canonical writings that describe the urban experience of early modern Madrid. Quevedo's *buscón*, however, has received much critical attention for its representation of the grotesque of both the individual and the city, most notably in James Iffland's *Quevedo*

and the Grotesque.²³ Using Quevedo's exploration of the degradation of the city, my analysis will implement this framework to build on existing research and reveal more of the repugnant in early modern Madrid, hinted at by one work of Quevedo, but unabashedly exposed by the less prominent non-canonical authors.

The works of Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo perhaps represent the most complete picture of the social destruction of the inhabitants of Madrid, demonstrating a decisive proclivity for displaying the image of misanthropy, a catalogue of human failings brought on by the urban process, as well as spatialising the infrastructure of the city.²⁴ Salas Barbadillo was born, lived and died in Madrid, excepting years of study and two years spent in exile, and his work evokes not only a timeline of change in the city, but a revelation of the quotidian, everyday events, of people and courtly life. Salas Barbadillo's most well known publication was perhaps *La ingeniosa Elena* published in 1612 (originally published under the title of *La hija de Celestina*), a female picaresque tale of the eponymous Elena and her adventures in Madrid as a prostitute. Salas Barbadillo was also the author of *El caballero puntual* (1614), *La casa de placer honesto* (1620), and *Don Diego de Noche* (1623), among other publications.

The texts I have chosen to focus on, however, are some of Salas Barbadillo's lesser known works, including two collections of shorter narratives: *Fiestas de la boda de la incansable malcasada*, published in 1622 and *Coronas del Parnaso, y Platos de las Musas*, published posthumously in 1635. These texts present a multi-genre examination of Madrid in its golden age, featuring short *comedias*, texts set in a fictional epistolary format, songs and *bailes* that provide fascinating insight into the interplay between genre, social change and differing representation of the city. Another short text entitled *Los mirones de la Corte*, published inside a later volume collated by Francisco Mariano Nifo, also represents this concept of urban change, with the foregrounding of the role of the observer highlighting the consciousness of change in Madrid and its need for expression and representation. The pinnacle of the representation of the social field of early modern Madrid and its developing urban environment is revealed in Salas Barbadillo's 1621 lesser known novel *La sabia Flora malsabidilla*, a love intrigue tale set in Madrid whereby the eponymous Flora, a former prostitute sets about to restore her honour, lost to a man named Teodoro. The text focuses on a darkness and

²³ James Iffland, *Quevedo and the Grotesque*, 2 vols (London: Tamesis Books, 1978-1982).

²⁴ Enrique García Santo-Tomás' publication *Modernidad bajo sospecha: Salas Barbadillo y la cultura material del siglo XVII* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto de Lengua, Literatura, y Antropología, 2008) provides an in depth, invaluable bibliographical analysis of the works of Salas Barbadillo alongside an examination of his work in line with social change in the seventeenth century.

bleakness of the city revealed through the attitudes of its characters that exposes a social destruction and disassociation endemic in the surge of urbanisation.

Luis Vélez de Guevara's novel *El diablo cojuelo*, published in 1641, provides a similar outlook on the city in the later stages of Philip IV's reign. The action is episodic, and while only three chapters are focused specifically on the representation of Madrid, the narrative reveals a lonely evocation of the city predominantly at night revealing a phantasmagoria of social conditions and deception, as well as an urban labyrinth that loses the reader as much as the protagonist. Vélez de Guevara's vision of the city commentates on the social hierarchy of the city at all levels, suggesting a more deeply rooted consciousness of social change in connection with the changes in urban space.

From a stylistic perspective, the writings of acclaimed *entremesista* Luis Quiñones de Benavente, whose short theatrical interludes provided entertainment between longer theatre pieces and a keen satirical eye for particular social conventions and processes that provided a commentary of the society residing in the court capital. Among his works, *Jocoseria*, published in 1645, provides the best selection of entremeses, jácaras and *loas* that reflect the comedic value of the genre, as well as presenting a lively portrait of early modern Madrid. The value of works such as this calibre reflect a theatrical, recreational representation of the court city, as well as a geographical, spatial and topographical richness, specifically in Quiñones de Benavente's text, that demonstrates a self-consciousness of society and behaviours.

Finally, two specific novels by Baptista Remiro de Navarra and Alonso de Castillo Solórzano, along with Juan de Zabaleta, have each provided intriguing portrayals of the city that yield a valuable discussion of the social condition of the city, and the way in which it distorted those within as the process of urbanisation advanced. Remiro de Navarra's *Los peligros de Madrid*, published in 1645, is a text misogynistic dedicated to the exposure of how the women in the city had become corrupted and materialistic, while Castillo Solórzano's *Las harpías en Madrid* presents a cast of female *pícaras* characters whose existence in the city is motivated purely by financial gain and survival, tricking men out of their money by methods of dissimulation.

This multi-genre approach to viewing the representation of culture in early modern Madrid provides a crucial foundation to comprehending the way in which the city created and fostered literature that simultaneously sought to glorify and denigrate the city. The historiographical texts present a city as it was designed to be seen by the court, the projection of an image that provides valuable insight into both a quantification of the parameters defining the ideal early modern city, as well as exactly what Madrid was perceived to be as of a specific year. The festival books and *relaciones* provide weight to this image, shaping the glory of the court

within text and providing an important documentary basis that supports this image of glory. Travel writing on the subject of Madrid provides yet another facet of urban life, narrating the social and cultural while depicting a landscape and identity of the city. In the *entremés*, there is the vivid spatial representation of the city that affords the texts strong sociohistorical and sociocultural value. The novels that represent the city, such as Quevedo's *El buscón* and the works of Salas Barbadillo provide characters and a cast that reveal, ultimately, the culture of the court as much as they reveal the alienation, degradation and social destruction of the city.

THEORY

Early modern culture has been notably defined by José Antonio Maravall in *The Culture of the Baroque*, originally published in 1975. Maravall is a central theorist, although implicitly, to the structure of my argument, which is underpinned by the endeavour to refute the static dichotomy of power and resistance that forms the core of his argument. In particular, I will examine the way in which Maravall describes the Baroque as a predominantly urban culture that provides a link between the heightened artistic production of the period to the hub of the city. Using the work of Stephen Greenblatt as a counter-argument, I intend to implement a close reading of Maravallian theory in order to emphasise the dynamism and complexities of the development of culture in early modern Madrid.

The crux of Maravall's argument revolves around the violent opposition between the dominant classes and the pressure from the middle and marginal classes as a means for defining early modern culture, qualifying this as 'the complex phenomena of violent contrast and contortion that characterise the baroque'.²⁵ Maravall's thesis deals with the conceptualisation of the early modern period as a historical structure, rather than one that caters to a particular set of aesthetic or culturally productive conditions. This violent contrast, he explains, was a response and consciousness to socioeconomic crisis endemic in Europe, and Spain in particular that began at the end of the sixteenth century and carried on throughout the seventeenth century, widening the gap between rich and poor. The culture of the baroque was fostered and established under these specific conditions by the social elite and monarchy, and reached its cultural zenith and most productive time period between 1605-1650.²⁶

In Maravall's synopsis of the way in which early modern culture developed, he draws out four specific threads of its social characteristics which all focus on the interplay of power, authority and control: a guided,

²⁵ José Antonio Maravall, *Culture of the Baroque: Analysis of a Historical Structure*, trans. by Terry Cochran (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986), p. 24.

²⁶ Maravall, p. 4.

mass, urban and conservative culture. At the heart of these four characteristics, Maravall describes a manipulative, repressive power in social elites and an absolutist monarchy that manufactured the intense artistic cultural production in the early modern period. In the simplest of terms, Maravall's core thesis draws a link between the intense cultural production of the early modern period and a specific set of sociocultural circumstances. The concept of a guided or *dirigida* culture forms an important backbone to the subsequent forms of culture Maravall describes, because it explains the way in which the nobility and monarchy established a mass culture for the purposes of ensuring the lower classes were able to identify with monarchical power, pinpointing and pandering to the 'internal mechanism of their motivations'.²⁷

Maravall's core thesis presenting culture as the result of a society in conflict and crisis has received much critical attention from scholars in the years since its publication, which emphasises a need to redefine the parameters within which it operates. J. H. Elliott's review of the text underlines that Maravall's base thesis is in essence reductive and represents a failure to understand the political and social organisation of the world upon which he applies his theory:

It is a pity that Maravall did not undertake a closer analysis of seventeenth century court society, which might have suggested to him some of the limits to ideological control.²⁸

Nieves Romero-Díaz, in the introduction to her study on the role of the *novela cortesana* in the definition of the early modern nobility, points out the need for redefinition of the static way in which Maravall describes the manipulation of culture by the nobility and monarchy as a unidirectional force, met without passivity or response in the lower echelons of society.²⁹ Julian Weiss cites a paradox at the centre of Maravall's thesis regarding the way in which he defines 'culture', as well as pointing out the inadequacy of his argument on the development of this culture in terms of noble interests, which would then resolutely designate the two primary forms of artistic production, art and drama, as serving purely propagandistic purposes.³⁰ David Castillo points out that Maravall employs a 'retroactive fixation of meaning' that reveals his work to be hampered by his own

²⁷ Maravall, p. 59.

²⁸ J. H. Elliott, 'Concerto Barroco', *New York Review of Books*, 34:6 (1987), 26-29 (p. 28).

²⁹ Nieves Romero-Díaz, *Nueva nobleza, nueva novela: reescribiendo la cultura urbana del barroco* (Newark, DE: Juan de la Cuesta, 2002), pp. 16-17.

³⁰ Julian Weiss, 'Maravall's Materialism', *Yearbook of Comparative and General Literature*, 45/46 (1997/98), 181-187 (p. 182).

'dated gaze'.³¹ Hernán Vidal explains that the Baroque is in danger of becoming a 'forced correlation between an aesthetic category elaborated [...] in narratives prepared as reconstruction of the socio-political logic of a historical period.'³² Furthermore, a more recent essay by Ruth MacKay highlights the dangers in overestimating the way in which this manipulated culture was received by its audience, which was, according to Maravall, designed to frighten them into obedience.³³

Maravall's conceptualisation of the Baroque as an urban culture is perhaps of the most interest to the present study, as it links early modern artistic production and consumption to the city, and the city is a central concept in my thesis. The explanation of the way in which the artistic and cultural production of the early modern period interacted with the city functions as an expansion of his core argument, focusing on the largely deliberate creation of culture in response to hierarchical social pressure:

In the seventeenth century, it was the urban populations that proved disturbing to those in power, and the politics on control was usually directed toward them, which even translated into topographical changes in the baroque city.³⁴

Maravall establishes a causal link between the literary production of the early modern period with the development of urbanisation and urban morphology in a direct way. There is some merit in the way Maravall explains the link of literature to the urban, to a point. Maravall's linking of literary production and the development of early modern urbanisation emphasises how artistic production was produced and consumed predominantly in urban centres during the early modern period, and showed a progressive protagonism of the city in the literature it produced:

This reference to the geography of the city that is contemplated in the baroque has an apparent sociohistorical significance. From the outset, we are made to see that its protagonists live in the cities and move from one city to another; the action happens there; the great fiestas animating the seventeenth century take place in their ambit, with such a contrast of light and shadow.³⁵

³¹ David Castillo, 'Maravall on Culture and Historical Discourse: A Question of Methodology', *Yearbook of Comparative and General Literature*, 45/46 (1997/98), 177-181 (p. 178).

³² Hernán Vidal, 'Aesthetic Categories as Empire Administration Imperatives: The Case of the Baroque', in *Hispanic Baroques: Reading Culture in Context*, ed. by Nicholas Spadaccini (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 2005), pp. 20-51 (p. 20).

³³ Ruth MacKay, 'The Maravall Problem: A Historical Inquiry', *Bulletin of the Comediantes*, 65 (2013), 45-56 (p. 50).

³⁴ Maravall, pp. 104-5.

³⁵ Maravall, p. 105.

This protagonism of the city in literature in the early modern period is particularly well established in the glut of literature that exists solely devoted to the court capital of Madrid, which began to take a definitive starring role in the artistic production of the city from the court's return in 1606. Maravall also acknowledges the development of a theme of rejection of urbanisation in text that provides a parallel urban discourse to the admiration and panegyric of the early modern city.

However, if Maravall does acknowledge the crucial importance of the city as a protagonist and developmental factor of early modern literature, he is in danger of overstating the role of the ruling classes in the formation of this culture:

Those in power lived in the city and from there promoted the development of a baroque culture in defence of their own interests; those down below were incorporated into the urban milieu, some because it favoured their possibilities of protest, others because that was where the cultural resources [*resortes*] of the baroque presented them with means of integration.³⁶

Maravall's emphasis of the hierarchical dichotomy that formed in the early modern city describes the culture that formed as a means to subdue the subculture of thieves, beggars and vagabonds, and thus a means for the repression of those not encompassed within the ruling classes. With regards to this, the dynamism of the early modern city and the speed at which it developed seems to have been elided in favour of a static hierarchical template that does not reflect this fundamental movement of the early modern city. The relationship between artistic development and the city in the early modern period, while inevitably the product of complex sociocultural and historical situations, cannot be reduced to the manifestation of ruling class interests.

However, while the current study does not espouse Maravall's theories on the formation of Baroque culture, it is clear that they are relevant, and should warrant not only comment, but interrogation. The literature produced and consumed in early modern Madrid challenges Maravall's reductive theory that culture was produced in the interests of the ruling classes in response to pressure from the middle and marginal classes. It challenges, too, the static nature of Maravall's template for cultural production, exploding with dynamism, movement and above all, manifesting polarised reactions to the development of the city within the work of one author, or one piece of literature. The Madrilenian authors that are the focus of this thesis were caught in this perpetual tension between attraction and repugnance for the city, seen through its manifestation in the literature they produced. Salas Barbadillo commented endlessly on the experience of human life in the city, inherently morally diseased and corrupt, yet a subject that evidently kept

³⁶ Maravall, p. 125.

him rapt, if going by the volume of his writings on the subject. Vélez de Guevara describes the city in the most intimate of detail, peeping through the windows and lifting the roofs of the city, again giving a sense of morbid curiosity, of being unable to tear one's gaze from the experience of Madrid.

The ripples of this kind of polarisation are felt elsewhere in the literature of early modern Madrid, with authors and text featuring two simultaneous discourses, one of admiration and one of dissent. Francisco de Quevedo wrote of the splendour of the court in poetry and prose juxtaposed alongside its anti-discourse picaresque *El buscón*, a narrative that revels in filth and disgust. The literature produced in early modern Madrid demonstrates how Maravall's thesis seems too narrow, too static to accommodate the complex outpourings of a city in a constant state of change. Change is the preoccupation of another important early modern theorist, Stephen Greenblatt, who, although not responding to Maravall's static hierarchical dichotomy, seems to address it as a key point in his analysis of renaissance cultural development, *The Swerve: How the Renaissance Began*, published in 2011:

Something happened in the Renaissance, something that surged up against the constraints that centuries had constructed around curiosity, desire, individuality, sustained attention to the material world, the claims of the body. The cultural shift is notoriously difficult to define, and its significance has been fiercely contested.³⁷

Greenblatt's thesis, which is a treatment how the republishing of a rare poem, *De rerum natura* by Lucretius, uses the poem as a form of catalyst, aligning its rediscovery in 1417, with a key cultural shift, a 'swerve', to use the term coined by Greenblatt, that changed cultural and artistic focus. This shift was defined by a movement from medieval thought, ruled by gods, angels and demons, to the renaissance, which began to focus on the human condition, of things more tangible:

The transformation was not sudden or once-for-all, but it became increasingly possible to turn away from a preoccupation with angels and demons and immaterial causes and to focus instead on things in his world; to understand that humans are made of the same stuff as everything else and are part of the natural order.³⁸

The key to this cultural shift from gods to men that breached the borders of modern life, according to Greenblatt, had a notably different characteristic to the static binary proposed by Maravall:

The key to the shift lies not only in the intense, deeply informed revival of interest in the pagan deities and the rich meanings that

³⁷ Stephen Greenblatt, *The Swerve: How the Renaissance Began* (London: Vintage, 2011), pp. 9-10.

³⁸ Greenblatt, p. 10.

once attached to them. It lies also in the whole vision of a world in motion, a world not rendered insignificant but made more beautiful by its transience, its erotic energy, and its ceaseless change.³⁹

Where Maravall's theory of early modern cultural production incorporates a lack of movement implicit in its hierarchised structure, Greenblatt's theory of the way in which early modern culture developed emphasises the opposite, the inherent change and movement found in the literature of early modern Madrid.

This more active, dynamic view of early modern cultural production with its preoccupation with man, earthly creatures and more tangible matters is relevant to my reading of the representation of culture in early modern Madrid. The texts I have selected for analysis reveal the complexities of the experience of early modern Madrid, often through the eyes of those who lived there, in a more visceral, exploratory way. The exploration and analysis of the material world, the city of Madrid, is the axis of the literature, leaving gods and angels behind to focus on man's relationship to his constructed world, the city. Greenblatt's analysis of the cultural shift at the borders of early modern life, although relevant to my thesis, has not directly underpinned my theoretical approach. However, the importance of the way in which Greenblatt explores how culture develops and changes expresses a culture of dynamic oscillation in place of the Maravallian static dichotomy provides a fundamental dynamic of the current study.

Another influential theorist whose works have proved fruitful to my thesis is Michel de Certeau. Certeau's thesis on the subject of writing historiography, *The Writing of History*, originally published in 1975, has been a valuable resource in the way it examines the relationship between the historian, his society and the practice of writing history within specific sociocultural parameters. Certeau examines the historiography within the context of the institutions in which it operates, which focuses on the way in which specific societies choose to transmit history. At the heart of this thesis is the consideration of history writing as an inherently paradoxical structure that is representative of both truth and fiction. As a point of departure for his study, Certeau reiterates the need to consider the way in which history and historiography function in the society that produces them:

Before knowing what history says of a society, we have to analyse how history functions within it. The historiographical institution is inscribed within a complex that permits only one of a kind of production for it and prohibits others.⁴⁰

³⁹ Greenblatt, p. 10.

⁴⁰ Michel de Certeau, *The Writing of History*, ed. and trans. by Tom Conley (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), p. 68.

Certeau's study of the production of historiography has proven an invaluable resource in the way in which it highlights the fundamental links between historiography and the society that produces it, as well as emphasising it as a structure that both draws the past and the present closer together, and establishes a distance between them. That is to say, Certeau's thesis underscores how the selection of historical events and their subsequent organisation and writing in text both defines the present, historicises it and highlights a way in which a society prioritises the transmission and selection of information according to its own designs. This practice, Michel de Certeau explains, is the key to the way in which a society can understand the structures and practices that comprise it. This aspect of Certeau's research is integral to the structure of my first chapter, particularly in the way it provides an exploration of the link between history and literature and the motivations behind early modern historiographical production in Madrid during a key period of its development.

One of Certeau's most renowned studies involves an examination of what he terms the 'practice of everyday life', the way in which individuals operate in society under the particular constraints of politics, culture and the economy. In this regard, his chapter entitled 'Walking in the City' has been particularly useful in the way it analyses the relationship of man to his modern urban world, describing how the urban 'text' is comprised of multiple fragmentary journeys through the city at ground level. This conceptualisation of the city and man's relationship to it bears echoes of Walter Benjamin's *Arcades* project that describes the urban processes of nineteenth century Paris, evoking the cultural character trope of the *flâneur*, the leisurely observer character whose function in text was solely related to his gaze.⁴¹ To this end, the work of M. Christine Boyer (*The City of Collective Memory*, 1994) has provided complementary studies to the concepts laid out in Michel de Certeau's consideration of urbanisation. Boyer's study focuses on the relationship between image, history and urbanisation, considering the role of memory in the topography and morphology of the modern city. This development of an observational response to urbanisation underpins my second chapter on the subject of the urban transformation of the city, which analyses man's link to his urban world and the experience of the city through its changing streets and skylines.

The research of Jean-Marie Apostolides analyses the function of the king and his court in the creation of nationhood in the court of Louis XIV, forming an integral foundation for my third chapter. His publication, *Le roi-machine: Spectacle et politique au temps de Louis XIV* (1981), is a consideration of the myths, images and symbols that create concepts of nationhood and unity in the court of the Sun King. The study largely focuses on the relationship between power and image. A particularly

⁴¹ See Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, trans. by Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin (London: Belknap Press, 1999).

interesting part of his study resides in his conceptualisation of a *mythistoire* that is narrated by the state in order to mythologise the king and implement recognisable narratives to make sense of the discourses of the contemporary reality. Mythistory, as described by Apostolidès, gave the actions of the court or state a coherence that facilitated the dissemination and inculcation of behaviours, beliefs and symbols that required interiorisation on a mass scale. Apostolidès's analysis is applicable in parts to early modern Madrid, for which contemporary chroniclers invented a mythological narrative to befit the court and implant the greatness of origins into the story of the city. It is within this framework of myth and legend that the city began to be re-presented in seventeenth century Madrid, with the reassembling of ancient history in the present. Apostolidès' theory of the 'mythistoire' presents an important grounding in my analysis of the way in which the court used mythology to define the history, present and future of the city through the historiographies produced in the early modern period in my first chapter, as well as extending to my third chapter in his explanation of the way in which the mythology of the court was used on a grander, more public scale.

Norbert Elias' *The Court Society*, originally published in 1969, is an instrumental work that has laid the theoretical foundations of my third chapter as well as providing a fundamental understanding of the central organisational structure of Madrid, the court, and the way in which it shaped the city. Elias' research was carried out in the 1930s, but his conceptualisation of the function and form of the court society still remains relevant. At the core of Elias' thesis on the court and court society is the way in which a relationship between the two developed and functioned, an early modern symbiosis where the court needed its society as much as the society needed the court for confirmation of social status. Norbert Elias focuses the gaze of his examination of this social field and institution specifically on the *ancien régime* court of Louis XIV, using it as the epitome of the structures and organisation of the court society, but many of his concepts are applicable to the court society of early modern Spain, and the way in which it spatialised itself in the city of Madrid.

Elias saw the court as a nucleus structure around which the society of the court, the nobility, existed and interacted with it, which he designated as a 'social constellation':

At such a 'court' hundreds and often thousands of people were bound together in one place by peculiar constraints which they and outsiders applied to each other and to themselves, as servants, advisers and companions of kings who believed they ruled their countries with absolute power and on whose will the fate of all

these people, their rank, their financial support, their rise and fall, depended within certain limits.⁴²

This social constellation organised itself within particular parameters that informed others within of a particular hierarchy revolving around the symbolic representation of status as a way to stand out. Elias applies his relational structure of the early modern court in an innovative way, by using the structure of noble houses as a way in which he decodes the structure, space and power relations at play in the royal palace, the central spatial axis of the court that both afforded proximity and distance from the king according to status.

CHAPTER STRUCTURE

Using Certeau's examination on the production of historiography, the first chapter of my thesis analyses the way in which the historiographical process and the production of court histories at key points in the urban development of Madrid shaped a new narrative for the city. Focusing on three crucial chroniclers of the early modern period whose works span from 1623 until 1650, this chapter will in the first instance examine the way in which urban historiography created, developed and informed ideas of cityhood, using the well-known structure of the early modern chronicle as a means to proving the greatness of Madrid. Gil González Dávila, Jerónimo de Quintana and Alonso Núñez de Castro all penned instrumental chronicles that provide a contemporary consideration into the concepts of cityhood and *capitalidad* of the early modern period, with structured narratives detailing in their minutiae, the inner-workings of a developing early modern city. Certeau's research on the way in which the writers of history prioritised the display of information is key in this chapter, as each of these chronicles and their use of information shows how historiography can change how a city is and can be seen. The chronicles trace Madrid from a proud city reflected in each meticulous statistic, to a city of fabulous mythological beginnings and even later, to a steadfast defence of a city in the hands of a monarchy in decline. This, above all, shows how the historiographies of the Madrid interacted both with the city and with one another.

Taking Apostolidès' theory on the creation of 'mythistoire' in court narrative, this chapter will then examine how these early modern chronicles implemented Greek and Roman history and mythology in order to both construct a narrative for a city without one, and used the tropes, imagery and symbols of mythology in order to establish the ideologies of the monarchy and bring coherence to a confusing stage of urban development. Although versions of this narrative had been in circulation since the mid-sixteenth century in scholarly works in a more theoretical

⁴² Norbert Elias, *The Court Society*, trans. by Edmund Jephcott (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983), p. 35.

form, the story of the creation of Madrid regained importance and was revived anew, retold and amplified in a pivotal moment of history to form as the building blocks of urban image. As the final part of the formation of cityhood and city image in Madrid, this chapter will analyse the rise of San Isidro, the former peasant renowned for his piety whose ascension to patron saint in 1622 was the product of a hasty process governed more by the imperative of keeping up appearances and projecting a complete image of the city than of the acknowledgement of an obscure twelfth century labourer. This chapter will analyse the way in which these three images of the city form a composite of the city in its prime stage of urban development.

Chapter Two aims to analyse this initial conceptualisation of early modern urbanisation and translate it onto the streets of the city, providing an insight into the way in which literature reflects changes in the physical environment of Madrid. Following Certeau's examination of the relationship between man and his urban world, this chapter will analyse the experience of the city from ground level, using Certeau's allegory of pedestrian discovery of the city to show how journeying through Madrid brought new encounters with its developing urban status in literature. Implementing Certeau's theory of the experience of the city, this chapter will provide a contrast to first chapter, showing how those in the city experienced it throughout its urban change in contradiction with the panoptic perspective provided by the historiographies. Using four emblematic loci of the city that were fundamental spaces in the early modern period, this chapter seeks to analyse the effect of changing physical space in literary representation, showing how literature creates an urban topography of the city. The Plaza Mayor, Calle Mayor, Prado and the transitory space of the coach all possessed an established metonymic conceptualisation of space that immediately intimated specific behaviours and activities in early modern Madrid in literary representation. However, as the city began transform and the population began to grow, meaning of space became plural, and the quest to comprehend the city became destabilised in the form of spaces with multiple semantic significance. Early modern representation of urban space in Madrid provides a record of this reaction to the changing urban environment in its literary reflex, recording confusion, fear and social disengagement in the contamination of emblematic space.

Chapter Three will take this conceptualisation of urban space further with the consideration of the way in which the court and court society, the crucial power structure, spatialised itself and interacted with its capital city. Applying Elias' allegory of the way in which the court society organised itself within the houses of the court, this chapter will analyse how the court used the city as a stage for the display of various forms of its power. This relationship between the court and its city was in equal measure defined by fear, as represented by the use of the streets and plazas for the purposes of the Inquisition, and awe, represented in rejoicing and displays broadcasting the glory of the monarchy. Analysing

specific activities and loci of the court, such as the palace, the royal hunt, the court fiesta and the religious topography of the court, this chapter aims to analyse the ways in which the court impinged on the space of the city, and utilised its space in order to project its image and principles across the city in both ephemeral and more permanent ways. Often, these displays and grandiose buildings in the city were constructed both at great cost, and to the cost of the general population, whose needs were forgone in favour of fiesta, and as such presented a clear narrative in regard to the projection of court discourses and the importance of the projection of image. This chapter will also reintegrate the theories of Apostolidès and his analysis of how his theory of 'mythistoire' translated and extended into the city sphere, using his description of the 'espace mythique' to extend the use of mythology in the context of art, court celebrations and ceremonies to disseminate ideologies of the monarch over the captive population. Drawing on the themes of the first chapter, this chapter seeks to analyse the way in which the court perpetuated its invented mythologies and translated them into the physical space of the city, as well as the way the city was used in order to either control or allow visibility of the king.

Chapter Four will take on the perspective of the crowds who gathered in the streets to watch the court fiesta in order to analyse the way in which early modern Madrid became a source of alienation and isolation for its inhabitants in representation. This representation of the city demonstrates the development of a narrative of repugnance in reference to early modern Madrid that functioned as a violent opposition to the glittering, grandiose image projected by the court and laid out in the first and third chapters. The overarching theme of darkness in the representation of early modern urban Madrid exposes not only anxieties towards the process of urbanisation reflected in the literature where the city became transformative and dangerous after dark, but also a poison endemic in the city that contaminated its inhabitants with the blackness of modernity and the inherent evil of the city, and contaminated the utopia presented by the court. This chapter will also examine the city in its capacity as a force of alienation between its inhabitants, exposing the social disconnection and lack of interaction between characters in the text that points to the key theme of the deception of the city and the distortion of the people in it.

CONCLUSION

The literary representation of early modern Madrid illustrates a world of stark contrasts between elation and misery, wealth and poverty that provides a conflictive image wrought by dichotomy. Furthermore, the literature of the city brings to light a tension point between official and unofficial discourses of the city, as well as a conflict between the real city and its representation. The experience of the city in the sights, smells, noises and interactions are what make its representation in text, a

confusing miasma of interactions with the new, the disgusting and the marvellous to define a city making sense of urbanisation in the early modern period.

Using the non-canonical writers of the city as a mouthpiece for its representation in their literature, this thesis aims to interrogate and challenge the maravallian synthesis that the artistic fertility of the baroque period was manipulated and ruled by a dichotomy of power and resistance. This thesis seeks to prove that one period of cultural production cannot be constrained by the limitations of Maravall's thesis, nor can it be definitively defined as the product of a society in crisis. The cultural productivity of Madrid in the early modern period was a situation infinitely more complex, with the resulting product, its literature, defined by movement and a responsiveness to the changes in cultural and sociocultural environment. Furthermore, this thesis aims to demonstrate how the non-canonical authors writing in and about the city expose it with a remarkable vibrancy and richness of detail that functions alongside existing studies to provide a complementary reading of early modern Madrid and opens new avenues for further research. As the manufactured capital city and court of Spain, it is clear that the literature produced in and for Madrid bears traces of its extraordinary journey through urbanisation that have not received much attention until now. The social and cultural shockwaves that came about as a result of the rapid urbanisation experienced in early modern Madrid reverberate through its literature, revealing a rich seam of information about how its contemporaries negotiated explosive urbanisation. This thesis aims to explore the representation of urban culture in early modern Madrid, using its literature to show how the city was a paradoxical force upon its inhabitants, simultaneously the image of power and greatness alongside anxiety and despair.

CHAPTER ONE. CREATION: HISTORY, HISTORIOGRAPHY AND THE CREATION OF CITY IMAGE.

On the subject of history, early modern lexicographer Sebastián de Covarrubias, author of the *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* published in 1611, describes it in its first instance as a narration:

HISTORIA, es una narración, y exposición de acontecimientos passados y en rigor es de aquellas cosas que el autor de la historia vio por sus propios ojos, y da fee de ellas, como testigo de vista.¹

According to Covarrubias, history is the conflation of narration and truth, the threading together of past events into a story. It is also a testimony of events collected and organised in a way in which provides the most broad spectrum of the truth. Similarly on the fusion of history, truth and narrative, Enrique Cock, a sixteenth century Dutch traveller in Spain whose work will be discussed later in this chapter, remarks on the convergence between the roles of the poet and historian in the foreword to his panegyric poetic text *Mantua Carpetana, heroice descripta*:

La misión esencial de poetas e historiadores es transmitir a la posteridad las hazañas de los hombres y trazar una representación de la vida humana veraz y deleitosa.²

Concepts of history, for Enrique Cock, are similar to those of poetry. The mission of both the poet and the historian is to transmit and record the great deeds and heroic exploits of human life that trod the line between truth and entertainment. It was under these circumstances that the concepts of truth and fiction, narrator and historian blurred in a very deliberate and necessary way to bring the story of a city and the clarification of its image into sharp focus.

At this juncture where the concepts of truth and fiction coalesce and become less distinct is the literary genre of historiography, which forms the basis of analysis for this chapter. Historiography, the process of writing history, by its very nature is a story about the truth, or truthful events. It occupies both a narrative and academic status, as the twentieth century cultural theorist Michel de Certeau explains:

¹ Sebastián de Covarrubias Horozco, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* (Madrid: Luis Sanchez, 1611), s.v., fol. 56^r.

² Enrique Cock, *El Madrid de Felipe II visto por el humanista holandés Enrique Cock*, ed. and trans. by Eugenio Hernández Vista (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Madrileños, 1960), p. 23. All citations of Enrique Cock are taken from the Spanish translation of the text from the cited edition.

Playing on both sides, at once contractual and legendary, both performative writing [...] and mirror writing, historiography has the ambivalent status of 'producing history' [...] and also of 'telling stories' – that is, it imposes the constraints of a power, and it provides loopholes.³

If history is considered to be an event or series of events that exist unalterably in the past in a static and unchangeable way, it is the practice of writing such events, redacting them and exposing them to a new focus or era, historian or bias that brings narrative to the past, reorganising it into historiographical text. The historiographical narrative represents an image of history. It is a narrative that approaches truth in the same way as an asymptote, presenting every image of it in its relation of true events, but never quite reaching its zenith:

Si el objeto de estudio es la historiografía, el problema parece agudizarse porque el objeto de análisis son textos, discursos elaborados, coherentes y cerrados. Discursos que no pretenden presentarse como interpretaciones, sino 'relatos reales' de los hechos pasados. [...] Discursos con la fuerza de una narrativa organizada, con una trama que siempre tiene principio y fin, personajes, acciones, conflictos y desenlaces, espacios y tiempos, con todo lo que esto implica de persuasión por su verosimilitud. Verosimilitud que nosotros, inconscientemente, tendemos a asumir como verdad histórica, en el sentido de pasado real vivido.⁴

Tereza Amado's study on the historiography of the time of the Austrias explores the interaction of fiction with historical text. Historiography, describes Pierre Nora, a twentieth century theorist whose work concentrates on memory and its role in connection with place and history, is the 'reflexive turning of history upon itself', evoking the duality of the historiographical narrative that represents a history of a history.⁵

The meaning and power of history and those who told it in Golden Age Madrid was central to the success of its creation as a capital city and seat of the Spanish court. The establishment of *capitalidad* and images of urbanisation in the city were another important facet of the movement toward concepts of modernity that established Madrid as not just a city but *the* city, and furthermore, a capital. The idea of what it meant to be urban was developing in the early modern world, with texts representing

³ Michel de Certeau, *The Writing of History*, ed. and trans. by Tom Conley (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), pp. 87-8.

⁴ María Tereza Amado, 'El pensamiento historiográfico español bajo los austrias', *Rivista di Storia della Storiografia Moderna*, 15 (1994), 59-93 (pp. 61-62)

⁵ Pierre Nora, 'Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Mémoire*', *Representations*, 26 (1989), 7-24 (p. 11).

images of urbanisation in vast numbers of people, buildings and food consumed by the enormous corpus housed in the capital. Renaissance ideals of the perfect city formed the basis of contemporary early modern comprehension of what the city should be and the correct attributes it should possess. The key proponents of the ideal Renaissance city were thinkers such as Alberti and Botero, who had theorised the equation that comprised the perfect city. Translations of Giovanni Botero's work entitled *Delle cause della grandezza delle città* had been in circulation in a Spanish translation from the year of 1603, suggesting the filtration of urban thought into Spanish society. The treatise, published inside another volume *Della Ragion di Stato*, described the constituent parts of the Renaissance city and provides the cornerstone for the analysis of Renaissance urban thought. His treatise focuses on the importance of urban magnificence, the fertility of its soil and the importance of geographical location. Among Botero's ideas was the concept of *grandezza* that focused on the people living there as one of the main aspects that gave the city its power:

Llamase ciudad muchos hombres recogidos en un lugar, para vivir con felicidad, y grandeza de la ciudad se llama, no el espacio de sitio o lo que rodean los muros, sino la muchedumbre de los vezinos y su poder, y los hombres se juntan movidos del autoridad, o de la fuerza, o del plazer, o del provecho que dello les resulta.⁶

Botero's treatise on the city focuses on the social opportunities it provided, a place made great not by the location or the construction of the walls that fortified it, but only by the amount of people there who validated its greatness. The work of Leon Battista Alberti, too, shaped concepts of the urban world of the Renaissance. His work, *De re aedificatoria*, focuses on the constructions of the city, the architectural blueprint that each city should emulate in order to be considered legitimate.

The key difference between the urban development of Madrid and its contemporaries was the fact that Madrid had been established as a capital city only recently relative to such as Paris or London. Where other European capitals had grown organically, Madrid had experienced a process of urbanisation that was entirely artificial, linked intrinsically with the presence of the court. Moreover, at the foundation of any powerful court is a history, a self-perpetuating narrative that both defines the past greatness of the empire, and one that prepares for its futurity and continuity. This self-perpetuating narrative that should have defined the basis of the identity of the city and how it explored its myths and origins was one thing that was absent from much of the urban development of Madrid compared with other cities in Spain:

⁶ Giovanni [Juan] Botero, *Razon destado con tres libros de la grandeza de las ciudades de Juan Botero, traduzido de Italiano en Castellano por Antonio de Herrera* (Burgos: Sebastian de Cañas, 1603), fol. 144^r.

Depuis les chroniques médiévales, toutes les villes d'Espagne et souvent même les plus modestes peuvent se prévaloir d'un nom antique qui est associé à des mythes de fondation très détaillés. Ces récits, qui combinent toujours étymologie et mythologie, exaltent simultanément l'ancienneté du nom de lieu, la bravoure du héros fondateur et la noblesse des origines.⁷

Even the smallest of towns in Spain possessed a story originating in the medieval period that allowed them to place a judgement on the historical and cultural value of the place in which they lived. Even the smallest cities had a patron saint that characterised the city. Madrid, however, had neither until a little while after the rest of the country, and it was this fundamental imperative to build a narrative in reverse, backdate the origins of the city and create a story that glorified the city and royal court that filtered into the contemporary urban narrative.

When Michel de Certeau explains that 'the gesture which attaches ideas to places is precisely the historian's gesture', he may be said to be describing the way in which historiography interacted and reacted with its subject space, attaching images and ideologies to the city of Madrid.⁸ The art of chronicling had long existed as a literary tradition, moving from extolling the greatness of the king to extolling the greatness of country as the ages wore on. The historiographical discourse of Madrid, however, wrought a new direction in its more academic, archaeological iteration in the decade of the 1620s, where it came to prominence as the building blocks of a city formed in retrospect. The key focus of this new historiographical discourse that began to take shape in Golden Age Madrid was not about its past history insofar as the chronicling and recounting of past events went. Neither was it propelled by an imperative to chronicle the greatness of king and monarchy. The new historiographical discourse delved far deeper back into the past to an ancient world formed by legend and myth, the worlds of Ancient Greece and Rome in order to establish a foundation narrative for a new city.

These historiographies that intercalated the myths of Ancient Greece and Rome into the urban history of Madrid appeared at significant moments in the history of the city and court, underscoring historical narrative and its power. Two texts appeared in quick succession, a mere six years apart in the decade of the 1620s extolling the greatness of Madrid, and the antiquity of its origins alongside its urban accomplishments. Another appeared at the latter end of the reign of the Habsburgs in 1658. The urban historiographies that retextualised the history of Madrid from the

⁷ Agnès Delage, 'Mantua Carpetana: La construction d'une légende toponymique de la fondation de Madrid', in *L'imaginaire du territoire en Espagne et au Portugal (XVI^e – XVII^e siècles)*, ed. by François Delpech (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2008), pp. 61-77 (p. 63).

⁸ Certeau, pp. 56-7.

year of 1620 onwards sought to fill the narrative void that their authors perceived within the history of the city. The main orchestrators behind this new urban historiographical discourse were Gil González Dávila, Jerónimo de Quintana and Alonso Núñez de Castro. Gil González Dávila was a royal chronicler, whose work dedicated to King Philip IV was entitled *Teatro de las grandezas de la Villa de Madrid*, published in 1623. Jerónimo de Quintana, also a royal chronicler, dedicated his volume *A la muy antigua, noble y coronada Villa de Madrid*, published in 1629, to the city itself, citing the culmination of his work as for the love of the *patria*. The text of Alonso Núñez de Castro advertised the glory of Madrid in its very title, which was *Solo Madrid es Corte*, which was published in 1658.

Mythology was the framework by which these narratives of Madrid in the seventeenth century operated, a framework common to other periods of history and other monarchs:

La machine étatique secrète sa propre mythologie, celle de l'*Imperium romanum*; elle lui permet de penser et renforcer son pouvoir, elle donne une coherence à sa politique et un sens à ses actions.⁹

Jean-Marie Apostolidès' study in part examines the mythological narrative that formed part of the underlying formation of state ideologies and concepts of nationhood at the court of Louis XIV. His term, *mythistoire*, or mythistory, describes the blending of the two narratives and their slippery relationship with one another in order to create a sense of collective identity with the implementation of Roman myth. Within this framework of the mythistory, Apostolidès describes how the actions of the court of state were afforded a coherence to their actions that aided in the propagation of its discourse on a mass scale.

The stories that were told about early modern Madrid and the way in which they re-presented the early modern city in retextualised myths of antiquity demonstrates how particular aspects of narrative were selected to the end of constituting an urban image and identity. If the historiography of early modern Madrid is to be considered as the creation of a particular set of images or discourses, then the way in which the text links these to become a composite image to represent the city in line with a particular moment in time or ideology, such as that of the Spanish court, is fundamental to their comprehension. Moreover, in the trajectory of a historiographical literature, the way in which these images link in a historiographical timeline and how they are reconstituted and repeated over time reveals how they play a part in a wider discourse. The creation of a narrative for Madrid represented an enterprise, a gift, a project that transformed a blank slate with the glories of ancient civilisations,

⁹ Jean-Marie Apostolidès, *Le Roi-Machine. Spectacle et politique au temps de Louis XIV* (Paris: Editions de Minuit, 1981), p. 66.

disassembling the discourses of old and reassembling them brick by brick, word by word into a narrative that befitted the court.

The historiographies of Golden Age Madrid during a particular period from the proclamation of capital status in 1561 to after the 1620s reveal a thematic chronology in the way in which the subject of Madrid was treated. There exist two defining and differing periods within this narrative timeline that trace the development of the mythologies and image creation of the capital city from its inception, and trace, too, the shifting methods of the art of chronicling that altered the focus from a monarch-centric *historia pro persona* chronicle to one that reflected the country, the *historia pro patria*.¹⁰ These two clearly defined periods of historiographical production related to the subject of Madrid comprised the fifty-year period following the establishment of capital cityhood in 1561 and the narratives of the 1620s and beyond, which represent the most complete, self-reflexive iterations of the historiography of Madrid and the narrative of its mythologies. Between these periods of historiographical production lay a hiatus period, where the court temporarily reinstalled itself in Valladolid for five years, taking most of its population and the developing economy with it.

AMBROSIO DE MORALES, LAS ANTIGÜEDADES DE LAS CIUDADES DE ESPAÑA, 1575

The historiographical representation of Madrid in the sixteenth century is comparatively thin compared to that of the seventeenth century, with its narratives of regularly three hundred pages or more which eulogised the city of Madrid to its maximum. The discussion of any truth in the mythologies that comprised the narrative of the capital city, however, was already underway before the emergence of the historiographies of the seventeenth century. Ambrosio de Morales was a sixteenth century historian, who was commissioned to conduct an archaeological study on the cities of Spain following his continuation of a work commenced some twenty years prior by royal chronicler Florián de Ocampo in 1553 entitled the *Crónica general de España*. Morales' text, the title of which was *Las antigüedades de las ciudades de España*, was published in 1575 and comprised an archaeological examination of Roman occupation in cities throughout Spain. It presented the Roman artefacts and ruins they held and their possible basis in Roman history. His text sought to anchor the narrative of Roman occupation in Spain in indisputable fact, tangible proof in the sense of ruins and coins.

Among the cities of Spain Morales analysed was Toledo, which had been an established Roman civic centre named *Toletum*. His examination of

¹⁰ Richard L. Kagan, *Clio and the Crown: The Politics History in Medieval and Early Modern Spain* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), p. 27.

Toledo uncovers tantalising evidence of Roman occupation there in the form of stones and coins thought to hail from the Roman era:

Y yo he visto una moneda antigua de Romanos que a lo que pude juzgar por la semejança tenía el rostro de Marco Antonio el Capitán de Julio César. Porque también en las pocas letras que se podían leer, avía estas dos. AN. con el principio de su nombre. De la otra parte tenía el Celete o cavallo ligero, que se usa en las más de las monedas antiguas de Españoles. Abaxo estaban estas letras: TOLE, donde parece que dize Toletum.¹¹

Morales' description of the coinage located in Toledo that bore the face of Mark Antony provides the most tangible proof that Toledo had previously been a site of Roman occupation and was worthy of note in his urban descriptions. The study continues with detailed chapters describing Roman relics in other cities, such as Léon, Tarragona and Cartagena, among a long list of other smaller locations. It is a curious thing, then, that Madrid is not mentioned at all in Morales' examination of the prime locations of Roman settlement in Spain, given the undisputed status of antiquity attributed to it in later narratives. A cursory search of the earlier chronicles of Florián de Ocampo reveals very little mention of Madrid at all in regards to its role in important historiographical record. Morales' text makes no mention of the capital city of Spain in any meaningful analytical fashion in the entirety of its pages, instead bearing only the reference to the supposed Latin toponym of Madrid, Carpetania, upon which he expresses some doubt as to the legitimacy of the name:

En la variedad de nombra unos a esta región Carpentania y otros Carpetania, no hay con que averiguar cosa cierta, por no hallarse este nombre escrito en piedra ni en moneda antigua que pudiera quitar la duda. (Morales, fol. 76^v)

The short section on the existence of a region or place named Carpetania that included the city of Madrid totals less than one and a half pages of Morales' analysis. Morales does not quarrel with the idea that it may have existed, but does signal the semantic confusion of its epithets as well as postulating where they may have originated from an etymological perspective:

Yo he pensado algunas vezes que el verdadero nombre de esta región es Carpentania, movido por pensar que fue possible le diessen los Romanos este nombre, por la multitud de los carros llamados carpentos que en ella hallaron. (Morales, fol. 76^v)

¹¹ Ambrosio de Morales, *Las antigüedades de las ciudades de España, que van nombradas en la Coronica, con la averiguacion de sus sitios, y nõbres antiguos* (Alcalá de Henares: Juan Iñiguez de Lequerica, 1575), fols 90^r-90^v.

Morales' analysis states he finds it credible that the region of Carpentania had gained its name due to the multitude of chariots that circulated its streets. This analysis formed the basis of the later legends invented in the historiographical literature of the seventeenth century that appended a 'Mantua' in front of the word Carpentania to create a legendary place with chariots filling the streets that Morales only touched on.

Morales' examination of any aspect of the capital city of Spain and seat of the court is concluded as quickly as it begins, a curious absence in an otherwise complete and informative text detailing the Roman minutiae of the rest of Spain. The title page of *Las antigüedades* demonstrates that, along with a dedication to the Venetian ambassador to the court of Charles V, Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, Ambrosio de Morales played a significant role with regard to pre-1600 historiographical production as the royal chronicler of Philip II and successor to Florián de Ocampo. However, the omission of detail on the capital city of Spain suggests that although Madrid was the capital city and seat of the court, it was a city with no historical or archaeological merit, a city that had no history to analyse. In short, it was not yet important enough.

ENRIQUE COCK, MANTUA CARPENTANA, HEROICE DESCRIPTA, 1582

This perspective had begun to change in the following ten years however, when Enrique Cock's panegyric poem surfaced in 1582: *Mantua Carpentana, heroice descripta*. Enrique Cock's text is a lengthy 500-line poem written in Latin hexameter, devoted entirely to the subject of the court city. It demonstrates that the myths of the founding years of Madrid were already in circulation long before the stylised, embellished narratives found in the historiographies of the 1620s. Little is known about Enrique Cock, however he was an important figure in the court of Philip II, elevated in status to the level of serving in the *Archeros Reales* and accompanying the king on his journeys as a chronicler, as well as serving under the Duquesa de Feria on several occasions.¹²

It is clear from the outset of Cock's poem, and indeed the prologue, composed in prose, that he intends to perpetuate the myth of Mantua Carpentana and give life to the legends. He signs off the prologue not in Madrid, but in 'Mantua de los Carpentanos', already eliding the space between narrative and reality, present and past, and reimbuing the myth with meaning in a new narrative framework. The poem explores the court city in all facets: its legendary history, an examination of its key areas, palaces, culture, pastimes and climate as well as more esoteric topics such as the women and the agricultural produce. Cock's poem depicts a series of snapshots of various realities of the city at a specific point in its

¹² Alfredo Alvar Ezquerro, 'Enrique Cock: Un humanista holandés en la España de Felipe II', *Hispania: Revista Española de Historia*, 52:181 (1992), 521-557.

timeline. Some of his representations are the calculatedly minor, quotidian events that glimmer with hints of hidden splendour the Spanish court had to offer, while others, such as his account of the bullfights, are outright objects of marvel. Enrique Cock's account creates a living, framed tableau of the city, moments caught in movement that reflect its grandeur within the court of Philip II.

Enrique Cock's section on the mythic origins of the court is interesting in terms of its narrative content, because it surfaced less than ten years after that of the archaeological findings of Ambrosio de Morales. The exclusion of an analysis of the city of Madrid on the part of Ambrosio de Morales suggests either a lack of historical information or pertinent comment on the subject, or a lack of desire, or faith in the recently-proclaimed capital city to include it in his exhaustive study of the Roman influences on Spain. However, a mere ten years later and the historiographical poem of Enrique Cock is suggestive that the circulation of the myths of Madrid had already begun and he was merely re-narrating a well-known story. Enrique Cock's re-telling of the Madrilenian narrative starts with the Ancient Greeks, in Hesperia:

Hay un lugar gratísimo en Hesperia situado en el centro de sus tierras, noble y llevado en alas de la fama a todas partes. Y hay en él una antigua ciudad, morada ingente de los reyes hispanos, asomado a un río fecundo, muy dulce para sus habitantes, que con el arado trabajan los campos Carpetanos. (Cock, p. 5)

Cock's reference to the *reyes hispanos* suggests an overarching motive for writing, particularly in the knowledge of his later position as royal chronicler, and reinforces the introductory prose to his work that describes Madrid as 'patria propia' (Cock, p. 19). Within the first few lines of Cock's poetic narrative, there is the foregrounding of a *locus amoenus*, an idealised space that represents the ancient past of Madrid. It is lush, verdant and full of roaming beasts:

Antes del nacimiento de Dios – que la distancia no me engañe – había allí un espeso bosque, cuando todavía Ursaria no había sido eregida, umbroso mansión de Silvano rodeada de selvas. El madroño extendía sus ramas por todas partes, la encina no había sufrido la herida del hacha, animales varios y numerosos erraban por los montes de nadie conocidos, y el lobo, y la serpiente, y el oso buscador de miel, y el jabalí devorador de bellotas. (Cock, p. 25)

Cock situates his narrative in a time before Roman Madrid, referred to by its epithet Ursaria, and even before the birth of Christ. This is a tactic that perpetuates the invented myths of Madrid being older than Rome itself, fomented by Jerónimo de Quintana in chronicles later in the seventeenth century. Cock's poem also uses the metaphor of the Garden of Eden, which sets the city of Madrid alongside Biblical levels of perfection. The use of the metaphor of Eden suggests the heralding of the creation of something

great, and a temporal alignment suggesting the place of Madrid in antiquity, older than Rome itself. Cock depicts an abundant space full of trees, wolves, snakes, boar and bears, all presided over by the Roman deity Silvanus, the protector of the forest. The continual imagery of an idealised space and the Biblical myths contribute to the parallel discourse on the creation of a city and its cityhood, transposing and implanting ideologies and symbols of Madrid into the text. Within a few lines evoking the ancient flora and fauna of a land before time, Cock retextualises the *oso y madroño*, the two parts of the Madrilenian crest, into legitimate players in his narrative, forging the crest of Madrid and reiterating the greatness of the city, both present and past.

The cornucopian imagery that defines the early years of Madrid's existence continues as an underlying narrative throughout Cock's poem, alongside the effigies of Roman gods and goddesses that personify specific elements of the city. Diana appears, the goddess of the hunt, immortalised in the forest; Venus, the goddess of love, embodies the love conquests of the Prado; Bacchus represents the plentiful food and wine of the city. Cock reiterates this cornucopian image in a description of the palace gardens of the Casa del Campo and the hunting lodge of the Pardo:

Recorramos con la mirada el panorama del Aquilón y contemplaremos manantiales de abundantes aguas, huertas y amenas frondas y abundante bosque en las orillas del río. (Cock, pp. 29-30)

The city appears immortalised and shrouded in mythology, implementing fictions of the past in order to establish a description of the city in its contemporary present time.

The rest of Cock's poem is both formulaic and exhaustive, yet represents a Madrid with a recreational atmosphere. He evokes the religious foundations of the city, but is vague about the specific amount, simply referring to the amount as many. In addition to this recreational atmosphere, there is a strange feel of hazy temporality in Cock's description, in part due to the use of language and casual nature in which he blends mythology with the present tense. Cock's poem demonstrates a lack of distancing from the past creating an immediacy and dreamlike quality that represents the city of Madrid as an idealised, perfect space. However, as an early representation of a developing city, Cock's account of Madrid represents snapshots of its life in all its facets. The movement of Cock's text from one topic to another suggests a desire to create a freeze frame of a city that was in perpetual movement:

Puede uno admirar aquí elevados edificios de mármol y aureados techos. Los hispanos admiran esas mansiones, que en un tiempo fueron chozas, admiran las puertas, el bullicio, las calles empedradas, pues esta ciudad levantó tanto su cabeza sobre las

otras como los cipreses entre los flexibles mimbres. (Cock, pp. 36-7).

He depicts the houses, people admiring the elaborate architecture that had once been nothing but mere shacks, the paved streets, the whirl of people and the tallness of the buildings that had sprung up to tower over the streets like cypress trees. Cock's treatment of Madrid is intriguing, particularly because it presents an immediacy of the city that is absent from other chronicled accounts. He later described the city as 'confluencia de gentes innumerables de todas partes' (Cock, p. 39), a tangle or confluence of innumerable people in all places at once. What emerges in Enrique Cock's narrative is not the recounting of glorious tales set in a reframed textual environment as with the later chronicles, then, but a flattening of the present 'reality' of the poem:

Myth serves to flatten the complexity, the nuance, the performative contradictions of human history; it presents instead a simplistic and often uni-vocal story.¹³

Duncan Bell's study on the relationship between mythology and memory provides an interesting analysis of the use of mythology in the early modern Madrilenian context, describing how myth can function to simplify the complexities of a particular sociocultural context, such as a city in the process of urban development with multiple threads of narrative, in order to present a structured, coherent narrative that binds these complexities and softens their sharp edges.

The hiatus period of the city of Madrid did produce interesting texts that referred to the city, but were the product of new agenda, new fears. The safety net that comprised the forty-year stay of the court in the capital city of Madrid had been ripped away, and rumours had begun to circulate in the late 1590s that the king was planning to move the court to Valladolid. Cristóbal Pérez de Herrera, a doctor and *costumbrista* writer, addressed two texts to the king himself imploring him to reconsider the move: *Las muchas calidades y grandezas de Madrid*, published in 1597, and *Los desórdenes en los tratos, bastimientos y otras cosas de que esta villa de Madrid al presente tiene falta*, published in 1600. The five-year hiatus period of the court changed the historiography in Madrid in specific, ideological ways. Pérez de Herrera's texts on the city of Madrid, while not strictly historiographical in the way they were composed, nor the reasons under which they were composed, were the implementation of a utopic ideal of Madrid similar to that of Enrique Cock's but with a very different agenda. The eulogisation of the splendour and grandeur of the court city in Pérez de Herrera's narratives were a foregrounding of the level of historiographical narrative that was to follow in the 1620s and beyond. It

¹³ Duncan Bell, 'Mythscapes: memory, mythology, and national identity', *British Journal of Sociology*, 54:1 (2003), 63-81 (p. 75).

was also a plea for the king to remain in the city and to avoid it being abandoned by the court.

GIL GONZÁLEZ DÁVILA, JERÓNIMO DE QUINTANA AND ALONSO NÚÑEZ DE CASTRO

The ideological shift between the texts pre-court hiatus period and those that followed it is palpable. From 1620, the production of historiographical texts and chronicles seemed to be on the rise, and the way in which mythology and history functioned within them changed. Where the previous narratives had implemented a Roman and Greek narrative of Madrid in less extensive terms, this theme became one of the key foci of the later historiographical text, shaping not just the story of Madrid, but the way in which city became the most glorious version of itself. However, it was not just the re-appearance of myth and legend that drove the historiographic tradition into a new era. There was the impulse, too, to quantify and document Madrid in a moment in time at the height of its greatness. There were royal positions created purely for the purpose of counting the things the city possessed, the *apostador mayor*, whose quantitative analysis of the city was to be the outstanding proof of the greatness of Madrid. There was the hasty canonisation of a patron saint to create a figurehead for the new urban narrative, and long, drawn out hagiographies extolling the virtue of his life, his humility, and above all, the fact that he was Madrilenian. It was in the historiographical narratives of Jerónimo de Quintana, Gil González Dávila and Alonso Núñez de Castro that the projection of the greatness of the court and the city of Madrid reached its peak, and the court began to display the full implications of its power. All three narratives described aspects of city life in Madrid that were expected in a chronicle, a standard discourse that evoked the glory of the city, its fortuitous climate and location and its veritable lists of illustrious people that had lived and died there. If the chronicles represented an official discourse of the court, its mouthpiece in text, then they reflected this in the way in which they presented the city of Madrid in new ways that documented the change in times and the onslaught of urbanisation.

Gil González Dávila foregrounded the figures and facts of Madrid as the primary part of his discourse, choosing first to offer proof of the greatness of the city in terms of data and history before moving onto the contemporary urban discourse reflected in his detailed descriptions of municipal organisation and the *Consejos* of the city. Jerónimo de Quintana's text focused heavily on the historical and mythical origins of Madrid, covering a history that led from antiquity to modernity, underscoring a discourse that positioned fiction as truth. The second book of his text was devoted entirely to the examination of illustrious inhabitants that glorified the city, and an examination of noble family names prevalent in the city. The third book entitled 'De la Grandeza de la Coronada Villa de Madrid' chronicled the greatness of Madrid in urbanisation and recounted tales of the king and court's glory. Alonso

Núñez de Castro opened his discourse with his gaze focused irrevocably on the court, which was evidently the centre of his text rather than the city itself. He then moved onto the subject of the *cortesano* in an advice text, a marker of the growth of the city and the need for the recipients of Núñez de Castro's texts to understand the way of the city, its whims and behaviours.

Michel de Certeau's analysis provides fundamental insight into the way in which these texts prioritised different structures and ways of presenting information:

All historiographical research is articulated over a socioeconomic, political and cultural place of production. [...] It is therefore ruled by constraints, bound to privileges, and rooted in a particular situation. It is in terms of this place that its methods are established, its topography of interests can be specified, its dossiers and its interrogation of documents are organized.¹⁴

As Certeau's analysis shows, the prioritisation of information and structuring of the texts was a product of social environment. Gil González Dávila's text was published two years into the reign of Philip IV and foregrounds the presentation of facts and figures before the discussion of Madrilenian history, suggesting a need to reiterate the greatness of the court and city with a new king at the helm. Alonso Núñez de Castro's text published in 1658, late into the reign of Philip IV, uses the court as the focus of its discourse, suggesting a decline in social confidence in the king and court in terms of the government. Spain was known to be in a decline by this point, and it was possible that public support for the court was waning, hence Núñez de Castro's reiteration of the fact that 'solo Madrid es Corte'. Jerónimo de Quintana's text in its sociocultural context is a particularly interesting case. It was published in 1629, at the end of the first decade of the rule of Philip IV, and had been a difficult time period for Madrid and its inhabitants. The city had been blighted by drought and starvation from 1621-3, and then the cost of living had begun to spiral, there were bad harvests and the *vellón* currency was reissued, a worthless currency that evoked a monarchy on the brink of bankruptcy.¹⁵ Jerónimo de Quintana chose to situate a narrative of a reconstituted mythology and history of the city at the forefront of his text.

Madrid, for all three chroniclers, was the discourse itself. Theirs were not texts that set out to prove that Madrid was the biggest or greatest capital compared to its contemporaries. Madrid simply did not need to compete, nor did it condescend to do so, as the subtitle to a comparative chapter on other courts in Núñez de Castro's text explains succinctly: 'de otras cortes,

¹⁴ Certeau, p. 58.

¹⁵ J. H. Elliott, *Imperial Spain 1469-1716* (London: Penguin, 2002), p. 334.

con quien no quiere Madrid competencias'.¹⁶ This ideological centrality of Madrid was of particular interest to the Golden Age chroniclers, whose interest in its perfect geometrical symmetry in the geographical location that made it the centre of Spain seemed to serve to only perpetuate its greatness. Madrid was not just the site of a court or the city. Madrid was these things, but in the superlative; it was *la Corte*. The geographical centrality of the capital city and the concept of central rule was prevalent in Renaissance thought, as the writings of Franciscus Titelmans, a contemporary of Erasmus, demonstrate: 'Rex et princeps debe esse in medio Regni non lateri in angulo,' which explains how the king and prince should rule from the centre, not from the corners of their empire.¹⁷ Luis Cabrera de Córdoba, a sixteenth century historian, comments in similar terms:

Era razón que tan gran Monarquía tuviese ciudad que pudiese hazer el oficio de coraçón, que su principado y asiento está en el medio del cuerpo para ministrar igualmente virtud a la paz i a la guerra a todos los Estados.¹⁸

The fact that Madrid was in the centre of Spain held powerful ideological weight in the historiographies that defined it, showing off the court at the centre of the networks of the country, its nucleus and nerve centre. Gil González Dávila defines the location of Madrid in its geographical coordinates within the first chapter of his historiographical narrative:

Tiene su asiento Madrid en medio de las Españas y es el centro que dista uniformemente de las partes de su círculo, tirando líneas derechas a los puertos de los mares que ciñen aquestos Reynos. Está apartada de la Equinoccial en 40 grados de latitud, y 26 minutos.¹⁹

Citing the centrality of Madrid in terms of the rest of Spain was a prevalent detail in all three historiographical texts. Jerónimo de Quintana also comments on the centrality of Madrid, heralding it as the yoke of Spain, the nexus point that held the country together by way of central rule:

¹⁶ Alonso Núñez de Castro, *Libro historico politico: Solo Madrid es Corte y el cortesano en Madrid* (Madrid: Andrés García de la Iglesia, 1658), fol. 11^r.

¹⁷ Cited in Alfredo Alvar Ezquerro, *Felipe II, la Corte y Madrid en 1561* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1985), p. 40.

¹⁸ Luis Cabrera de Córdoba, *Filipe Segundo, Rey de España* (Madrid: Luis Sanchez, 1619), p. 254.

¹⁹ Gil González Dávila, *Teatro de las grandezas de la Villa de Madrid, Corte de los Reyes Católicos de España* (Madrid: Thomas Iunti, 1623), p. 4.

Cabeza del mas dilatado y poderoso Imperio que conoce el mundo, Madre y abrigo de todas las naciones, y ultimamente yema y centro de toda España.²⁰

Alonso Núñez de Castro adds in his text the proximity of Madrid to the town of Pinto, the name of which derived from the Latin *punctum*, meaning centre:

Según el parecer de varios Cosmógrafos, esta sita la Coronada Villa de Madrid en el corazón de Europa, porque la villa de Pinto, distante solas tres leguas, se llamo assí del nombre Latino Punctum por ser el centro de la Europa. (Núñez de Castro, fol. 3^r)

Núñez de Castro's proof of the centrality of Madrid extended far beyond the borders of Spain and instead introduced the image of Madrid as the central point of Europe. The positioning of this information in all three texts at the very beginning of the historiography draws on and foregrounds themes of monarchical power right from the beginning of the text.

STATISTICS OF URBANISATION

Alonso Núñez de Castro begins his text on Madrid with a discussion of the meaning of the word *corte*, as though suggesting the natural melding of the city and its court into a single power, inextricably creating an ideological link between the two concepts that had remained unsteady since the court hiatus period. With this conceptual blending, he also linked concepts of the condition of being urban, cementing an image of early modern urbanisation, of people and the hustle and bustle of the city:

Otros, con gran verisimilitud juzgaron, que se llamava Corte porque la suma diversión y la variedad de ocupaciones de los Cortesanos haze que parezcan cortos los días. (Núñez de Castro, fol. 2^r)

Núñez de Castro describes the city in social terms, the space of imagined interactions and the people. In some ways, it shows the success of the city, that it was busy and full, and in others it shows an undercurrent of anxiety and a sense of dislocation.

The discourse of the developing urbanisation of Madrid was a theme of the chronicles, the small details of progress that reflected the growing size of the city, the number of buildings that had been built and the amount of bread the inhabitants ate. The chronicle of Gil González Dávila details the visit of the *apostador mayor*, a post specifically appointed in the service

²⁰ Jerónimo de Quintana, *A la muy antigua, noble y coronada Villa de Madrid: historia de su antigüedad, nobleza y grandeza* (Madrid: Imprento del Reyno, 1629), fol. 1^r.

of the king to count the houses, streets, plazas and the number of balconies (of which there were 80,000):

Toda esta curiosidad resultó de la visita que hizo de Aposentadores el Licenciado don Diego de Corral y Arellano del Consejo de Castilla, que tardó por medio de sus ministros seys meses en contar las calles y casas de la Corte, y después se hizo este computó se han edificado muchas. (González Dávila, p. 333)

The *apostadores* had spent six months in the city, simply to count the level of its greatness, the quantity of dwellings and therefore conjecture as to the number of its people:

Madrid tiene en este año 1623 10,000 casas, en estas de aposento 1593. Libres por merced y privilegio Real, 1725. De tercera parte que llaman de malicia, 5436. En este año 1623 tiene la Casa de su Majestad 1257 personas de aposento y la de sus hermanos 431. (González Dávila, p. 333)

According to the report cited by González Dávila, there were 10,000 houses in Madrid by the year of 1623, an astronomical number that provides a record of the sprawling size of the city and its level of growth. Gil González Dávila cites the number of houses in which the court had right to lodge its members under the law of the *regalia de aposento*, which stated that the court had the entitlement to a lodging for its members in any dwelling that boasted more than one floor. The city houses counted by the *apostador* in the year of 1623, then, the court lodged its members in just over 15% of the total. Small quantifiable details were reflected in the historiographies and portray in small measure a particular image disseminated by the court. The small detail of the amount of houses the capital possessed, and the number the court had the right to inhabit, is telling of the narrative of power that the court began to weave over the city, the total dominion of the court over the urban process and its command of urban space.

There is a sense of hyperbolic development and urban growth within the historiographical timeline, wherein each text draws from the figures and facts of its predecessor and seems to amplify them in accordance with the passage of time. González Dávila details the urban redevelopment the city had undergone:

Tiene la villa 399 casas, 14 plaças, 10 mil casas, Casa de Moneda, 13 Parroquias con sus anejos, 25. Conventos de Religiosos, 20. Monasterios de monjas, 15. Hospitales, una capilla, un colegio, 4 Hermitas y dos Humilladeros. (González Dávila, p. 11)

Jerónimo de Quintana also quantified the city in terms of the number of people and buildings it had, tracing the urban evolution from the year the court first moved to Madrid until 1628:

Fue tanta la extensión y el aumento de las casas y edificios sumptuosos que, de dos mil y quinientas y veynte casas que tenía Madrid quando su Majestad traxo desde Toledo a ella la Corte que fue el año de mil y quinientos y sesenta y tres, en las quales quando mucho avría, conforme a buena razón y prudente discurso, de doze mil a catorce mil personas, y avía el de mil quinientos y noventa y ocho, en que su Majestad murió, repartidas en treze Parroquias doze mil casas, sacado el computó dellas de los libros del Real Aposento, y en ellas conforme a las razones y conjeturas que se pueden fundar y hazer en una máquina tan grande, que se ponen en manos y consideración del lector, trecientas mil personas y más, y no deve causar admiración. (Quintana, fol. 331^v)

Quintana's account sets the city's population at around 14,000 people when the court originally moved there in the sixteenth century, but reported an astounding population estimate of 300,000 people by the year of 1628, an increase of 2500%. A third edition of Núñez de Castro's historiography which was an amplified, more full edition of its initial 1658 publication, describes the city in similar terms: Madrid in 1675 had sixteen plazas, sixteen thousand houses and thirty convents, a far cry from the figures of Quintana cited at the end of the 1620s.

González Dávila did not solely record the number of buildings, but the amount of food the people of Madrid consumed and consequently the way people lived:

Consume cada año quatrocientos y diez mil carneros, onze mil vacas, sesenta mil cabritos, diez y ocho mil cabeças de ganado de cerda, quinze mil terneras y cada mes ciento y veinte mil cantaros de vino, sin lo que entra para Señores y Principes, que es otra máquina grande. (González Dávila, p. 6)

González Dávila's representation of the city provides seventeenth century images of the urban that were quantitative and colossal in scale, a human experience of the city that goes beyond description in terms of numbers. In a week, he explains, the city of Madrid demanded a weekly levy of 3388 bushels of wheat in the form of baked bread from the 507 villages in the vicinity:

Los lugares que tienen obligación de acudir cada semana con pan cozido de 12 leguas al derredor son quinientas y siete, y entran cada semana tres mil trezientos y noventa y nueve hanegas sin lo que se massa en Madrid y viene a casas particulares, que es una suma sin número. (González Dávila, p. 6)

These figures of human habitation of the city alongside González Dávila's figures that constituted the physical city were a means towards a definition of the capital city in the Golden Age. Madrid cast a heavy toll on

its surrounding area and the figures of Dávila and Núñez de Castro reveal that the court consumed more than could be counted by any *apostador* or record book. In the second book of Dávila's chronicle, the collecting of data continues, with the description of the city parishes creating a topography that counted the number of streets and houses, the number of churches, and the number of people baptised in the year of 1620 using church registers. San Ginés, by example, had 72 roads and 2113 houses, while San Martín, one of the oldest parishes, had 105 streets and 2300 houses (González Dávila, p. 226; p. 228). It was the quantitative magnificence that formed the backbone of the power of the court.

The projection an image of Madrid was furthered by contemporary references to buildings or structures within the city that shaped its physical environment and changed the skyline. The concept of place was an aspect that was hugely important to the representation of the urban image; it shaped the environment and the figures that comprised it into a topography, spaces of activity. The representation of structures, buildings and places within the chronicles was an elaboration of its greatness by way of creating a narrative tableau that captured a particular static image of a city that was in constant movement. The attempts of González Dávila, Quintana and Núñez de Castro to record and document an urban image of the city were a cumulative continuous process, a synthesis of finding meaning in a city that was in a process of developing and changing.

THE URBAN LOCUS AMOENUS

Within the textualised space that was beginning to evoke the urban image of Madrid, there was a parallel space and image that also merited textual evaluation. The beautiful climate and salubrious airs of Madrid, the pure crystal waters, the fertility of the trees and strolls through the parks and orchards, as well as the abundance of the marketplace introduced the cornucopian allusion, the *locus amoenus*, within the urban context. It was represented in the greener spaces of gardens, woods and parks that had been inserted, sometimes purposely, into the urban environment, initiating a contiguity of space that did not lose its quality of urbanisation despite its appearance to the contrary, an oasis surrounded by the bricks and mortar that created the architectural sprawl of the urban.

Alongside classic chronicling methods involving a discussion of the airs, the pure waters of the river and nature's bounty of fruit that adorned the market stalls, the image of the *locus amoenus* alongside that of the urban was perhaps a tempering one that lessened the anxiety of being caught up in a place that was a developing maze of some four hundred streets. The *locus amoenus* the representation of an idealised space of safety, a space free from the anxiety of the urban process, a narrative retreat in the form of the verdant spaces of Madrid and the cornucopian marketplace of plenty. Gil González Davila's text, though it does not prioritise a mythic space in the narrative, does set up this allusion to the *locus amoenus* in

reference to the climate of Madrid and the richness of the foods the fertile lands were able to produce: 'Goza Madrid de aires puros y delgados, de cielo sereno y claro, que promete a sus vecinos una salud muy constante' (González Dávila, p. 5).

The purity of the air and perfect climate lead into a reference to the recreational qualities of Madrid, the space of hunting for previous kings, which positions it as a space of hunting, forests and a menagerie of animals roaming the woodland. The climate of early modern Madrid was neither too hot or cold, the winters and summers mild, and the spring and autumn a seasonal celebration reminiscent of paradise. González Dávila continues the theme of reference to the Garden of Eden with reference to a cornucopia of fruits produced in the region of Madrid rather than the city itself, creating a green space around it that perpetuated the metaphor: 'Abunda de viñas y de olivares, como en Ocaña, Yepes, Pinto, y Valdemoro. Muchas frutas muy sazonadas y buenas que riegan Tajo y Jarama' (González Dávila, p. 6). The image of the tree-lined rivers full of fish, of the countryside surrounding Madrid, with its grapevines, olive trees and trees ripe with fruit described both a plentiful idyll and a measure of the power the city exercised over the surrounding countryside, listed almost as a possession or extension of the city, as though the city of Madrid had bestowed its greatness on the lands that surrounded it.

The use of the idyllic image in Jerónimo de Quintana's text, rather than a secondary narrative device, forms the foundations of the argument of the antiquity of Madrid found in the first part of the text. Within the first few pages, Jerónimo de Quintana evokes a providential wonderland, boughs heavy with ripe fruit, and woodlands full of stags, roe deer and rabbits:

El terrón de la tierra es nobilísimo, precioso, grasso, y muy fértil, que da nobles y preciosos frutos, escogido pan en mucha abundancia, generosos vinos, regaladas y saludables frutas, sabrosas legumbres y verduras. (Quintana, fol. 1^v)

The foregrounding of an idyllic space from the outset of Quintana's narrative sets up a narrative space that anticipates the later myths regarding the founding myths of the city as well as the reference to the *madroño*, the strawberry tree that made up part of the crest of Madrid. The implementation of the *locus amoenus* evokes a land before and outside of civilisation that is uncorrupted and a refuge from the continuing process of modernity that further distanced the present from the past. Unlike González Dávila however, Quintana relates the greenery and fertility of Madrid to the green spaces that existed within it, the gardens and *prados* that provided relief from the structure of the city itself:

De la fertilidad del suelo y felices aspectos de sus Astros, nace el tener Madrid amenísimos sotos, frescos y apacibles prados, deleitosas riberas y dehesas llenas de sustento y pasto para el

ganado, casi infinitas huertas y jardines con variedad de flores y rosas olorosas. (Quintana, fol. 2^r)

The hyperbolic landscape of Quintana develops into an artificial form that related to the topography and urban landscape of Madrid in the contemporary moment. The connection to the space of refuge, the relief from the onslaught of the urban process, is captured in the gardens, *paseos* and riverbanks of the city, the shady areas that provided a glimpse of escape with beautiful flowers and shady trees.

Alonso Núñez de Castro similarly incorporates this imagery within the framing of the urban context, employing a cornucopian allusion in reference to the marketplace of Madrid:

Para ver huertas, tampoco es necesario salir de la Corte: ¿que Vera de Plasencia, que Riberas del Ebro, como la Plaza de Madrid? Donde toda fruta se halla, toda se vende, y aún parece goza privilegios del Paraíso, pues contra las leyes del tiempo, es esta huerta en todos los tiempos fecunda. (Núñez de Castro, fol. 7^v)

The marketplace of Madrid in Plaza Mayor, according to the evocation of Núñez de Castro, was the green space of Madrid in microcosm, a space of the city that represented its fertility and bounty despite the fact that the Plaza Mayor itself stood as a marker of urban progress. Núñez de Castro described a lack of temporality about the Plaza Mayor, a timelessness of the paradise that did not depend upon the seasons and presenting a metaphorical garden of the city that was forever bountiful. It represents a place of indeterminate temporality that counterbalances the influx of new experiences and information that the historiographies of the court capture in their image of urbanisation.

MADRID VERSUS THE WORLD: URBAN CONTEMPORARIES

The concept of a contemporary alongside which Madrid could be compared was a facet that was incorporated in the Madrilenian panegyric narratives. It was not so much the act of comparison that was the fundamental exercise, because Madrid was, according to the narratives, incomparable, but rather the formality of the enterprise that emphasised the greatness of Madrid, and showed it to be the greatest, the most advanced, the most genteel of cities. Alonso Núñez de Castro's chapter which compares Madrid with other courts seems more of a nod to the structure of the classic urban chronicle, rather than an actual academic comparison, and the transparency of its construction is obvious. The cities he selected as appropriate comparators for Madrid were separated into two categories, the ancient and the modern. With the comparison of the ancient courts, he listed the Spartans, the Carthaginians, the Minoans and the Thracians among others, all representative of the historical image of

strength and power. By the act of comparing them with early modern Madrid, their historical power was projected onto the city.

Among the early modern cities that Núñez de Castro considers worthy contemporaries of Madrid, he mentions cities such as Frankfurt, Heidelberg, Ingolstadt in Bavaria, Cologne, as well as Florence, Modena and Rome. He devotes a few superficial words to each, perhaps mentioning their beauty, size, or notable aspects:

Famosa en el mundo Colonia por la multitud hermosa de sus Templos, por diez Iglesias Colegiales, veinte y cuatro Conventos de Religiosos, y Monjas, y diez y nueve Parroquias, bien necessita de tantas demostraciones piadosas para borrar la infamia de haber sido Patria de Agripina, madre de la crueldad. (Núñez de Castro, fols 11^r-11^v)

Cologne, famous for its beautiful temples and religious foundations, was only apparently so in order to atone for the cruelty of the empress of Rome and wife of Claudius, whose birthplace it was. Florence, he describes, is the most beautiful, the 'Dama entre todas las ciudades de Italia' (Núñez de Castro, 11^v). Elsewhere in Núñez de Castro's text there appear comparisons to other early modern cities in terms of the way in which the houses of Madrid appeared:

No quiero negar que en lo exterior, sean mas hermosos a una mano los edificios de otras Cortes, pero aunque no quieran me han de conceder a mí, que Madrid, y sus edificios por adentro, ya para la conveniencias de la vida, ya para la magnificencia, hazen a todos los demas, la ventaja, que una hermosa sin arte, a una sea con afeites. (Núñez de Castro, fol. 3^v)

The question was not that Madrid had more unattractive building exteriors than other courts, but that it had more beautiful, ornate interiors that were preserved for the visual delight of those within. The particularly interesting aspect of Núñez de Castro's comparison, however, is the way in which it systematically avoids the major capitals of early modern Europe, aside from Rome, choosing to focus on lesser cities. London, Paris and Vienna represent early modern urban comparators that are glaringly absent from Núñez de Castro's comparison, reinscribing the locus of Madrid and the court itself as the epitome of power alongside the lesser cities. Interestingly, Núñez de Castro's text is the only one to project this form of a pseudo-comparative discourse, and neither Quintana nor González Dávila broach the subject of a comparison with any other contemporary early modern city in such an overt or complete way, choosing not to feature other cities as the axis of their discourse on the city.

'ILLUSTRIOUS MADRILENIANS': THE NOBLE CORPUS

Another marker of the representation of urban image in Madrid is reflected in its people, the discourse of which filled the entirety of Jerónimo de Quintana's second book, and much of Gil González Dávila's. The representation of the population reflects people from particular social groups, or people considered of particular social or cultural importance to the city, a selected human representation of the city. Jerónimo de Quintana explains the purpose of their inclusion at the beginning of his second book:

Aviendo de tratar de la nobleza de esta nobilissima villa, título que le dan todos los instrumentos públicos antiguos, a quien no solo ennoblecen sus antiguos Mayorazgos con sus valerosas hazañas sino principalmente sus santos naturales con la excelencia de sus virtudes. (Quintana, fol. 103^r)

Quintana's representation of the *nobleza* of Madrid he proposes in his introduction is not related to the upper echelons of social class, but rather the native saints of the city that imbued it with the greatness of Catholicism. The later part of Quintana's second book, however, does go into a list of noble surnames, explaining their provenance, their nobility, and their right to be included within the list. He describes particular influential surnames well-known in Madrid, such as Gato, which was, according to Quintana, an old Madrilenian name:

Este Apellido es de mucha antigüedad en esta Villa y de no menos nobleza y estimación [...] Tuvo principio en uno de los primeros Conquistadores de Madrid, tan animoso y valiente. (Quintana, fol. 220^v)

Quintana's choice of a surname, the family of which contributed to the enterprise of the Reconquest in order to elucidate upon the meaning and origins of well-known surnames prevalent in Madrid, is a small example of the way in which the early modern historiographies projected a particular kind of identity through these lists of illustrious city-dwellers. The cross-section of people that made the cut was varied, from saints native to Madrid to important social figures belonging, though not exclusively, to the nobility. Gil González Dávila's list includes an ecclesiastical grouping such as Saint Damascus, various popes including Pope Paul V, San Isidro; culturally important people such as New World voyager Gregorio López, and finally, the royal family.

This particular cross-section of society represented in Quintana's text is the projection of a particular social image, the social image of the court. Both Gil González Dávila and Jerónimo de Quintana represent people that had been active cultural contributors and active in establishing the

greatness of the city. Gregorio López, for example, was a doctor native to Madrid and baptised in the parish of San Gil, whose interest in improving the life of others led him to found a hospital in the New World. He wrote a famous book on the natural properties of herbal remedies to diseases plaguing the early modern world, Quintana notes in his catalogue of people that were important writers of Madrid (Quintana, fol. 296^v). Gil González Dávila describes the virtues of Saint Damascus in detail, while Jerónimo de Quintana deems it necessary to include a chapter proving that he was a native of Madrid in response to doubt cast by other historians:

Todos los quales tienen afirmativa y constantemente que [San Damaso] es de Madrid, cuya autoridad excede en número y antigüedad a la de los autores contrarios [...], de que nació en Madrid, y se bautizó en la Iglesia Parroquial de San Salvador de esta Villa. (Quintana, fols 108^r-108^v)

This piecemeal selection and presentation of a particular view of society follows a certain logic, selecting only those deemed worthy to stand for the image of the city, and the image of the court. The particular preoccupation with ecclesiastical figures mirrors the way in which the city became densely populated with churches and religious foundations within a few years, the projection of a sacred core identity for the city. The long lists of names, in a way, represent the extension of a social field of the court, a list of historical contributions that augment the image of the city in a cultural way.

THE NAMING OF MADRID: MANTUA CARPETANA

The naming of Madrid and the presentation of a toponymic evolution made the image of the city through the mythical history and overall proof of the antiquity of the city. The toponymical development of the city was a seeking of origins that corroborated the legendary story, and it was the primal language of the city, the language of its identity coiled up in the quality of being Madrilenian and what it meant. However, the early modern chroniclers did not necessarily reach an agreement in their linguistic analysis of where the early modern iteration, Madrid, had originated. There was a particular timeline to the many appellations of Madrid covered in the chronicles that alluded to the ideologies and symbologies of particular time periods and civilisations. Mantua Carpetana was the beginning, an etymological ground zero for all the narratives, which was followed by Viseria, land of the dragon. There were then the Roman appellations Maiorito or Maioritum and Mageritum and Matrice, as well as Ursaria. After this, there came Mayrit, the Moorish invasion, and finally Madrid in its final form.

The name of Mantua Carpetana, the oldest of these iterations of Madrid, seems to have been a composite of two heterogeneous elements that elaborated upon two different threads of narratives, linked together by the

early modern panegyrists. In the first instance, there is the toponym of Mantua, a term that evoked both the mythical founders of the city, and the name of a pre-existing city in Italy. The Carpetana part of the name referred to the civilisation that had called the site of Madrid their home, and the two toponyms combined to create one, the story of its formation linked in history. It was not so much the explication of the name of Mantua Carpetana or its subsequent forms that were important, however, but the narration that formed around the explication of them, the impulse to find and draw powerful meaning and symbols just from the name of the city. Mantua Carpetana remained an important referential and ideological toponym for Madrid in the years to come, more so than its other epithets. Pedro de Teixeira's famous map of Madrid, the *Topographia de la villa de Madrid* that surfaced in the year 1656, bore as its subtitle 'Mantua Carpetanorum sive Matritum, urbs regia', indicating that the concept of Mantua Carpetana was still one irrevocably tied to specific concepts of the glory of the city and its court.

Gil González Dávila describes a version of the toponymic evolution of the name Madrid in his 1623 text, tracing a movement from Mantua Carpetana to the contemporary Madrid. This linguistic evaluation does not foreground the Roman occupation of Madrid as a particular influence in the history of its toponymy. He does, however, state that the name Madrid had evolved from the time of the Moors:

Madrid es nombre Árábigo; los pláticos en la lengua dicen que significa lugar cercado de fuego, otros Madre de las ciencias por ser la Universidad donde los Moros leían el Alcoran. Otros, que significa casa de aires saludables, de cielo sereno y claro, tierra fértil y abundante. (González Dávila, p. 4)

The toponym of Madrid, according to González Dávila came from the Arabic, meaning 'surrounded by fire', or that it was the place of science from an ancient university, the site of which had been Madrid. He does mention the Roman iterations of Madrilenian toponymy in a passing comment, but these are not foregrounded as the axis of his argument: 'Las historias Latinas de España la dan nombre de *Mageritum*, y *Maioritum*. (González Dávila, p. 4) In fact, Gil González Dávila is not far wrong with his assertion of Madrid as a name deriving from Arabic; research has proved that, etymologically at least, Madrid derived irrevocably from the Moorish appellation of *Mayrit*, pronounced *Majerit*.²¹

The Greek and Roman toponyms provide the focus of Jerónimo de Quintana's narrative, in which it seems that he is not only keen to promote the symbols of antiquity, but refute the statements of previous historians. The axis of Quintana's argument in the entirety of his first book depends on the proof of antiquity and origins, and González Dávila's assertion of

²¹ Ana Ruiz, *Medina Mayrit: The Origins of Madrid* (New York: Algora Publishing, 2012), p. 193.

the etymological development of the name Madrid from the Arabic is not a theory he espouses. After citing the investigations of Juan López de Hoyos and the Colegio Imperial, who also adopted the theory of the Moorish origins of the name of Madrid, he states:

Y aunque aya sido verdad que los Moros en su tiempo tuvieron en este lugar su Universidad, con todo esso este nombre Madrid no es Árábigo, ni los Árabes se le dieron, porque significasse tener aquí sus Escuelas. Lo cierto es que es derivado del que los Romanos le pusieron llamándole Maiorito, el qual con el tiempo vino a corromperse, y a llamarse Magerito. (Quintana, fols 21^v-22^r)

Quintana's text goes on to cite canonical texts that espouse his theory of the way in which the name of Madrid had evolved, citing the archbishop Don Rodrigo Jiménez de la Rada and twelfth century monk and deacon Juan el Diácono among others that supported the ideologies of the Roman empire as the true origin of the name Madrid. Quintana's argument is that Madrid originated from the Roman variant Maiorito over time by way of corruption and is a neat sidestep past any question of Arabic derivation, because, as Quintana explains, the origins of Madrid were simply older. The pseudo-scientific citation of canonical texts in support of his argument, however, is not coincidental; Quintana was a *licenciado* with a specialisation in the discipline of theology.²² His references are therefore calculated and skewed in order to include theology in the framing of the legendary history of Madrid. This reveals a thought process that avoids the discussion of the Muslim history of Madrid, preserving the image and sanctity of a Catholic Madrid that aligns much more closely with the designs of the monarchy.

Mantua Carpetana was one of the iterations or identities of Madrid that began to develop as a standalone thread of narrative in the decade of the 1620s and one that was to be eternalised as the founding myths of Madrid, reinforcing the protagonism of the city in text. The narrative of Mantua Carpetana in its most complete form began to be narrativised and disseminated from 1629 onwards with Jerónimo de Quintana's text *A la muy antigua, noble y coronada Villa de Madrid*, however Gil González Dávila did make brief reference to it six years earlier. The actual concept of Mantua Carpetana, however, was not a new one. It had been mentioned and analysed in the mid-sixteenth century by the chroniclers of the time; Antonio de Nebrija made reference to it in 1545.²³ The narrative of Prince Ocno Bianor, the fictive founder of Madrid, was also not an entirely new one, and had appeared in a chronicle that focused on the history of the

²² Mercedes Agullo Cobo, *El licenciado Jerónimo de Quintana: cronista de Madrid* (Madrid: Artes Gráficas Municipales, 1974), p. 8.

²³ José María Sanz García, 'Madrid, Mitos y Utopía', spec. issue of *Anales de Geografía de la Universidad Complutense*, 1 (2002), 33-125 (p. 70).

nation written by Francisco Tarafa, *De origine, ac rebus gestis Regum Hispaniæ liber, multarum rerum cognitione refertus*, published in 1553.²⁴

The toponymic imaginary of Madrid had thus already begun its narration in the mid-sixteenth century, with the story of Ocno Bianor already in circulation in literature. The narrative provided by Tarafa was the first narrative link that gave the city of Madrid the beginnings of an identity that linked the name to a narrative and elaborated upon the bones of a story. However, it was not until much, much later that chronicles of the city added flesh to the bones and breathed life into its characters, imbuing them with the symbols and ideologies that created the idea of the city in the early modern period. The particular trait that differentiated the sixteenth century chronicles from those a century later, however, was the key to the production of city image in Madrid, and it lay in the fabrication of the story.

Although previous texts had drawn attention to the possible existence of Mantua Carpetana and its location somewhere in the region of Madrid, none had anchored it to the capital city of Spain in quite such a decisive way as Jerónimo de Quintana. As legend told, the founding of the city and forging of its legend was down to an intrepid, self-sacrificing Greek prince named Ocno Bianor, who was sent on a quest of a divine order:

Entre estos capitanes por este tiempo passó a España el Principe Ocno Bianor, hijo de Tiberio, o Tiberino Rey de la Toscana y de los latinos y de la Hada Mantho. (Quintana, fol. 5^v)

In the description of how the Greeks came to be in Spain, Quintana introduces Ocno Bianor, who was the son of Tiberio, and the seer Mantho, and the key founder of Madrid. Prince Ocno was born an orphan with an aptitude for arms and his mother's skill of divining, as well as a desire to explore the world. He received a vision that he should found a great city in Spain, which he did so in 879 AD, and named it Mantua after his mother, appending the word Carpetana in order to differentiate it from the Mantua already established in Italy.

The full narrative of Ocno Bianor first appeared in the text of Quintana, however a reference in Quintana's text to the entrance into the city of Margaret of Austria, the bride of Philip III in 1599, shows that the symbol of the mythical Greek prince and the preoccupation with origins in the city of Madrid were beginning to become significant. The 1599 city entrance of the new queen was particularly relevant because it involved iconography

²⁴ 'Mantuum civitatem postea Viseriam, vulgo *Madrid* dictam, his temporibus Ocnus Tyberini Latinorum Regis filius à nomine matris Mantus, filiæ Tiresiæ condidit, aliamque in Italia.' Francisco Tarafa, *De origine, ac rebus gestis Regum Hispaniæ liber, multarum rerum cognitione refertus* (Antuerpiæ: in aedibus Ioannis Steelsij, 1553), p. 38.

that projected the origins of the city in the forms of enormous effigies of Ocno and his mother:

Y en confirmación della el año passado de mil y quinientos y noventa y nueve, entre los arcos, triunfos, y trofeos de diversas memorias y historias antiguas que se hicieron para la entrada de la serenísima Reina D. Margarita de Austria muger del Católico Rey D. Felipe III de gloriosa memoria, [...] se fabricaron en la Puerta que llama de Alcalá, tres arcos altos de ladrillo, [...] y por remate de los dos menores se pusieron dos bultos grandes muy perfectamente acabados con estremado arte de estatura gigantea, el uno del Principe Ocno, con las llaves doradas de la Villa en las manos, dándolas a su Magestad; el otro de su madre Mantho, ofreciéndola una corona, en señal que la recibía por su Reina y señora. (Quintana, fol. 6^v)

Quintana's evocation of a culturally important event such as a royal entrance and its link to the mythological iconography serves a dual purpose. The first is that it proves that this mythological narrative was already in circulation in some form before his retelling of the tale, and the second is the way in which this iconographic representation of the core mythologies of the city is seen to interact with the urban fabric of the city itself, in huge effigies, ephemeral decorations of the court fiesta that narrates the mythology bound up within the court's own discourse of power.

This narrative was replicated in the 1658 publication of Núñez de Castro, perpetuating the narrative within the framework of the image creation of Madrid. Núñez de Castro's recapitulation of the story includes a note in the first edition that other unnamed historians had critically evaluated the veracity of the founding myths of Madrid and found the narrative lacking:

Que el Principe Ogno, Fundador de Madrid, fuesse de nación Griego sobre muchas conjeturas de los historiadores, lo confirman las Armas que descubrió un acaso, en una de las puertas antiguas desta Corte donde estava esculpida una sierpe divisa de que usavan los Griegos en sus vanderas, y timbre con que señalavan los Pueblos, sujetos a la fuerza de las armas. Entre Egipcios, y Romanos, fue el dragón divisa de la dignidad imperial. (Núñez de Castro, fol. 3^r)

Núñez de Castro's mention of the question of legitimacy in regards to the tale of Ocno Bianor and his mythical founding of Madrid since the development of the myth in Jerónimo de Quintana's tale is an interesting nuance in the way in which the creation of mythologies were not universally accepted by all of the early modern urban chroniclers. Núñez de Castro overcomes any doubt that Ocno Bianor was truly from the race of Ancient Greeks, using physical proof of the coat of arms found within Madrid depicting a dragon, the legendary icon of the Greeks. Jerónimo de Quintana also offers information as to the provenance of the serpent or

dragon that appeared to represent proof of Greek residence in Madrid, citing historian Fray Juan López de Hoyos on the matter: 'Que en nuestro Castellano dicen, o Mantua, esta culebra, o dragón, significa las memorias de los primeros fundadores que te cercaron' (Quintana, fol. 6^r).

The proof of origins was fundamental to the mythic narrative in the urban historiographies of Madrid. The proof of findings of Greek antiquity made the myth tangible, transporting it to the present in the very structure of the city, making it accessible to the inhabitants. Another aspect of the chronicles that made the myths of Greece more accessible was in Jerónimo de Quintana's text, which transposes the topographies of Mantua Carpetana and Maiorito onto contemporary early modern Madrid, creating a topographical blending of past and present in the space of the city. According to Quintana, the limits of Mantua Carpetana began at the Puerta de Vega, tracing a journey behind both the houses of the Duke of Uceda and the Marquis of Pobar and following the ruins of the ancient walls around the city:

La cual [Mantua Carpetana] era un pueblo pequeño, si bien fuerte y murado, cuya cerca, empeçando por la Puerta de la Vega, subía por detras de las casas del Marques de Pobar y de las suntuosas del Duque de Uzeda, haziendo división entre ellas y lo que se solía llamar la guerta de Ramón, que cae enfrente de la Casa Real de la Moneda. Rematava este lienço en el arco de Santa María [...]. Continuava a aquel arco antiguo la muralla, subiendo por junto a una calle que se llama de la Parra y va a dar a las casas que oy son del Príncipe de Esquilache, y de allí bajaba por otra que está enfrente de S. Gil, donde devía de aver otra puerta para salir a los lugares circunvezinos, cerrando con el Alcaçar, y dividiendo lo que es aora el Parque, se juntava con la Puerta de la Vega por la otra parte. (Quintana, fols 3^v-4^r)

By transposing a map of ancient ruins onto that of early modern Madrid, Quintana is able to elide the space between past and present to resuscitate it in such a way that it was living among those in the city, breathing its past glory into the structures and buildings that made up the contemporary early modern present. Quintana describes the parameters of the Roman civilisation that had lived in Madrid too, tracing the lines of its walls to prominent points around the city that were ideologically, culturally or spatially important. It was not just the memory of the walls that Quintana evokes in the topography of the ancients, but also the fortresses and entrances that comprised the old settlement, a spectral image of a past civilisation that gave the contemporary early modern present a further dimension of semantic meaning.

Quintana's mapping of the Romans in Madrid follows much the same lines, following the construction of the walls in order to prove the parameters of their existence, as well as the differentiation between the two distinct civilisations that had made Madrid glorious. Quintana's evocation of the

ruined walls of previous civilisations that allows the conjecture for their size and topography implements the ruins in terms of the contemporary city. He historicises the present, and makes the glorious origins of Madrid more coherent. His attempts to describe the ancient topography overlaid on the map of contemporary early modern Madrid suggest a narrative assimilation of sorts, where the separate narratives have fused together, the ruins of the past represented in the urban fabric of the present. Quintana conjectures later that the appearance of a stone depicting a dragon in a structure considered to be from the Roman era of Madrid was the result of conserving memory, a self-conscious recognition of history:

Y aunque esta puerta es una de lo que después llamaron Maiorito, el qual no es fundación de Griegos, es muy creíble que estava en alguna de las de nuestra Mantua y derribándola pusieron la piedra en que estava esculpido este Dragón en la Puerta-cerrada, para que no se perudiesse esta memoria. (Quintana, fols 6^r-6^v)

The iconography of the dragon in the Puerta Cerrada represented a narrative layering of history where even the greatest civilisations such as the Romans recognised the greatness of their origins. As Quintana had described earlier, ‘al presente es todo un cuerpo’, calling attention to the discursive confluence that made up the early modern historical narrative of Madrid.

In the chronology of toponyms that were used to refer to Madrid in the chronicles, the heavy imprint of the Roman Empire and resuscitation of a long-past historically great civilisation is keenly felt. The title page of Jerónimo de Quintana’s text even depicts the Greek and Roman iconographies of the dragon and bear alongside one another, cementing the link between them in the hand they both played in the foundation of Madrid, alluding to a doubly great foundation and the assimilation of both into early modern Madrid. However, if the Greeks had played their part in founding the great city of Mantua Carpetana on the site of Madrid, then it was the narrative of the Romans that built the site into a great metropolis, Maiorito. Madrid was the new Ancient Rome of the Golden Age, and it was tellingly the only city and civilisation that the chroniclers considered worthy pitted against Madrid. There was a particular self-veneration of Madrid that came through the resuscitation and retextualisation of Roman greatness, the transposition of particular images that created a discourse of meaning within the urban panegyrics that characterised the Madrid of the seventeenth century. Fernando Marías’ analysis of city planning in Golden Age Spain notes the prevalence of this retextualisation of Ancient Rome in the spatial organisation of early modern cities:

Local political and cultural leaders imposed new images on the old cities, often intending to convert them into Second Romes, New Romes or New Jerusalems.²⁵

The image of a New Rome was a prevalent one in the early modern period, and carried important ideological weight. The narrative of Ancient Rome was the discourse of ancient power and might, and by aligning Madrid with this narrative in its historiographies, there is the suggestion that it should be considered its more modern equal.

The retextualisation of Rome onto the city of Madrid began with the tenuous argument that Madrid was, in fact, older than Rome itself, a positioning that not only secured the ideological legitimacy of Madrid in comparison to cities such as contemporary Rome, but also positioned it as the centre of the Catholic faith. The founding date of the city by the legendary prince Ocno Bianor is cited by Quintana as just before the birth of Christ:

De lo dicho, se sigue claramente que nuestra Mantua Carpentana es más antigua que la gran ciudad de Roma, patria de tantos Césares, señora de tantas naciones, y teatro de tan varios triunfos, de cuya fundación al Nacimiento de Christo Señor nuestro no passaron más de setecientos y cincuenta años, y de la de nuestra nobilíssima Villa hubo ochocientos y setenta y nueve, como queda dicho. (Quintana, fol. 9^v)

Although Madrid is positioned as being older than both Rome and Christianity, Ancient Rome and its civilisation was still the paragon up to which early modern Madrid held its achievements. In the chapters relating to the early topography and scenography of Madrid in its ancient form, there is the allusion to a mountainous topography that maps the seven famed hills of Rome:

Estrivan los edificios de Madrid sobre cabeças de montes como la soberbia Roma, pero tan fecundos de aguas dulces que cada passo se descubren manatales y se fabrican fuentes. (Núñez de Castro, fol. 3^r)

Núñez de Castro's description of the hills of Rome plays on the way in which court literature of early modern Madrid is drawn to images of *alteza*, so that the height of the famous seven hills and the mountains of Madrid become symbolic of majesty.

²⁵ Fernando Marías, 'City Planning in Sixteenth-Century Spain', in *Spanish Cities of the Golden Age: The Views of Anton van den Wyngaerde*, ed. by Richard Kagan (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1989), pp. 84-105 (p. 85).

The evocation of a past narrative framed within the present is a theme of Quintana's narrative. He states many times that Madrid in its earliest iteration was older than that of Rome, later going onto elaborate that the Romans counted the passage of years using a different method, and decoding this system proved the antiquity of Madrid in comparison. On the subject of how the Romans defined the passage of time, Quintana described a day of city-wide annual celebration that was dated to the day the city was founded:

Que fundó Romulo la ciudad de Roma y Eusebio que desde entonces se tuvo este dia veinte y uno de Abril por festivo entre los Romanos, por esta fundación, la qual fue después de la nuestra Mantua ciento y veinte y cinco años. Y que esta fundación de Roma, o población, como otros quieren, aya sido la principal consta, lo primero, porque los Romanos tuvieron por día festivo el día en que la fundó, como queda dicho. (Quintana, fols 9^v-10^r)

Citing Eusebius, a Roman historian, Quintana's text on the dating of the Roman Empire is specific with its delivery of factual information, a perfect chronology that due to the alternative counting methods of the Romans, proves beyond all doubt that Madrid was older than both Christ and the Roman Empire. In other words, his method of argumentation shoehorns his argument to fit his underlying discourse that Madrid was better than Rome.

In a later chapter, Quintana depicts the physical remnants of the Roman civilisation, the ghosts of ancient buildings preserved in the early modern context that represented proof of their existence. He details the form of a column at the Puerta de Moros and the ruins of sepulchres, as well as conjecturing the possible meaning of inscriptions. Alonso Núñez de Castro similarly draws on the eternality of Ancient Rome:

Roma, Augusto Nido de las Aguilas del Imperio, Teatro de las Grandezas, fecunda Patria de los Césares [...], Tesoro de las reliquias de la Christiandad, Universidad de los primeros hombres del mundo, Clima fertilíssimo de ingenios, en toda cultura de letras excelentes, y en los Estudios Politicos casi inimitable, tiene por cabeça a la que lo es también de la monarquía de la iglesia: tiene su asiento en la mayor parte de Italia sobre las cabeças de siete Montes, en las mas provables conjeturas se empeçó la fundación de Roma el año de 2336 de la Creación del mundo. (Núñez de Castro, fols 16^r-16^v)

Alonso Núñez de Castro, like Quintana, considers antiquity fundamentally important in the making of a 'true' city:

No menos autoriza a una Ciudad las antigüedades, enbueeltas en sus ruinas, que los edificios sumptuosos con que el siglo presente la

hermosea Roma en esta parte con dificultad será competida.
(Núñez de Castro, fol. 17^r)

The exercise of comparing Madrid with Rome showed that Rome offered the template of the perfect city, with its solid foundations in antiquity. Núñez de Castro devotes a chapter to the antiquity of Rome, citing its plazas and buildings as steeped in a rich history that he admits would be difficult for Madrid to compete with. The centrality of Rome and its eternality in Núñez de Castro's discourse comes to a head when he positions Ancient Rome as the cultural centre:

Las pirámides, columnas, estatuas, solo las contará quien supiere las que hubo en el mundo ilustres, porque como Roma le sujetó con su orgullo, traxo a si quanto famoso encontró en todas las naciones: Egipcios, Griegos, Africanos, todos trabajaron para enriquecer a Roma, y hazer eterno su vencimiento en los trofeos de mármol, y pórfidos, que sacaron de sus Provincias los Romanos. (Núñez de Castro, fol. 19^r)

In the use of the phrase 'hacer eterno', there is yet again the sense of perpetuity, a lack of a temporal boundary that separates the past from the present. However, Núñez de Castro, with finality on the subject of the eternality of Rome, equally describes the need for the tales of Ancient Rome to remain in the past: 'Asi para que viviesse Madrid, fue necessario que se convirtiesse en cenizas la antigua Roma' (Núñez de Castro, fols 23^r-23^v).

No two nations could be quite so great and exist simultaneously. The empire of Ancient Rome had to fall, in effect, for the city of Madrid to thrive. When the past of Rome is resuscitated in the context of the narrative that reflected the early modern present, the distance that separated the past and present dissipates. Michel de Certeau underlines the importance of maintaining this distance in historiographical discourse in order to maintain the concept of difference from historical period to another:

More important than reference to the past is the introduction of the past by way of an assumed distance. A gap is folded into the scientific coherence of a present time, and how could this be, effectively, unless through something that can be objectified, the past, whose function is to indicate alterity?²⁶

Michel de Certeau describes how the implementation of the past in historiography works as a point of contradistinction from the present, it is the point of difference and the preservation of the gap between them that reinforces such a difference. In the historiographies of the early modern period, this distance between the past and present created order in a

²⁶ Certeau, p. 85.

narrative present, with the organisation of past history and fact such as that of the Romans and Greeks, as well as the history of the city, intercalated to create an organised narrative of the present. At points, however, the historiographical discourses of both Quintana and Núñez de Castro escape this distancing from the past by allowing it to invade the present. The transposition of an ancient topography onto the urban early modern present of Madrid and the description of Roman artefacts incorporated into the city expresses both an eternality of the past in the present while suspending the passage of time in a sort of freeze frame of the city. It is almost as though the flattening of distance between past and present in the historiographies was a narrative that served in contradistinction to the transformative nature of the urban process the chronicles aimed to document.

SAN ISIDRO AND THE QUEST FOR A PATRON SAINT

The cult of San Isidro was the final piece of the quest for urbanisation and self-identity in the city of Madrid in the early modern period. It was not necessarily the factor of San Isidro as the patron saint of the city that was interesting, but rather the impulse to canonise a patron saint within the period of a few years, when Madrid had been previously unrepresented by a religious figurehead. The canonisation of San Isidro was a hurried, hasty affair that from beginning to completion spanned only three years. The process began in 1619, with the beatification of the patron saint by the current pope, Paul V under the reign of Philip III, and ended with the patron saint's canonisation under the reign of Philip IV with joyous, lustrous celebrations that were spread across the whole city. The canonisation process in itself cost 700,000 *reales* from beginning to end, demonstrating that the invention of a story that would best encapsulate the glory of early modern Madrid was expensive.²⁷

The history of San Isidro is a collision of fact and fiction, the blurring of the chronology of the life of a person who existed in a historical sense with that of a man elevated to a quasi-godlike status, able to perform miracles yet retain his humility and godliness. Historically, he was a twelfth century labourer, a native of Madrid, and a man of no particular bloodline or importance. He married a pious woman named María de la Cabeza, and was a pious man himself, working a life as a farmhand and always hearing mass in the mornings before his day of manual labour. His life, from a historical perspective, was not extraordinary, but yet by the time of his canonisation, he had become legendary, a spearhead for the campaign of urbanisation in Madrid. There were particular miracles that defined the life of Isidro, and elevated his narrative to that of saintly status. The specific miracles that confirmed his saintly status generally involved his

²⁷ María José del Río Barredo, 'Literatura y ritual en la creación de una identidad urbana: Isidro, patrón de Madrid', *Edad de Oro*, 17 (1998), 149-168 (pp. 156-7).

piety, which was such, in one case, that despite being late to his employment as a labourer due to hearing mass, which made him unpopular with the other labourers, the angels themselves aided him in ploughing the fields:

Quiso comprobar el caso, caminó a las aradas, y vio que venía tarde, acercóse con el ánimo indignado, y vio que junto a su Isidro andaban otros yugueros con bueyes blancos arando: admiróse, detuvóse, y conoció que eran Angeles, que le ayudavan a arar. (González Dávila, pp. 20-21)

Another recounted miracle of the story of San Isidro positions him in an almost retextualised Last Supper narrative, where upon feeding some hungry birds with the grain from his sack on the way to the mill, his sack was replenished by the time he arrived there, filling the sack of his companion as well. As much as Isidro was a friend to animals, he was also one to his fellow men, and the Christian image of his being able to produce food to feed many in an emulation of the Last Supper narrative, saw him able to feed the poor and hungry strays he gathered in their numbers on his way home.

The miracles and narrative surrounding the life of San Isidro in Quintana's text are long and full. Where González Dávila dedicated a sum total of two pages to the patron saint of Madrid, Jerónimo de Quintana dedicated the best part of his second book to his eulogisation, more than seventy pages describing his life and exploits in a total of thirty chapters. It is interesting that Gil González Dávila's telling of the story of San Isidro should be so superficial and concise a mere year after Isidro's canonisation in 1622, which had seen city-wide celebrations that were lavish and ornate. González Dávila's two-page account of the patron saint, half a page of which is taken up by a portrait of the man himself, underlines the key parables surrounding the patron saint, but does not assign him a personality or character in the same way the later account of Quintana did. González Dávila primarily provides an account of the celebrations that had taken place following the beatification of the patron saint, describing the ornate decorations and majesty of the event:

Celebró la villa de Madrid a los 15 de mayo del año 1620 la beatificación deste glorioso confessor con grandeza, y asistencia de las personas Reales. [...] Yva el cuerpo del Santo en una urna fabricada de bronze y plata de maravillosa hechura, que le ofrecieron con devoción y piedad en nombre de S. Eloy. Las calles estaban compuestas de ricas tapizerías, altares adornados de inestimable riqueza, y arcos triunfales de admirable arquitectura, donde estava pintada la vida y hechos de tan famoso varón, dedicados a su memoria perpetua. (González Dávila, p. 22)

González Dávila's account also includes a redaction and translation of a letter from Pope Paul V, stating the intention to canonise Isidro, and a date

on which this was to be performed. González Dávila's account, however, does not protagonise Isidro as a character of the city, rather it protagonises the role of the city and not the role of its saint.

Jerónimo de Quintana, on the other hand, focuses intently on telling the story of Isidro, giving him a narrative voice in snippets of retold, imagined conversations and situations that explain the miracles and parables that made up his tale. In the establishment of a character of San Isidro Quintana invents a personality that stands as an encoded set of behaviours, broadcast to the population and easily interiorised through the shroud of narrative. San Isidro was an invention of the court. Although the cult of San Isidro had existed for some centuries prior to his canonisation, it was this monarchical campaign to create the necessary elements of the city that gave voice to his narrative. He was an invention, and despite the obviousness of this fact, he was received as the legitimate patron saint of Madrid.

Quintana evokes a character who at base level represents particular personality traits. Quintana's Isidro is kind, pious and unselfish. He is chaste and humble. He is a labourer, yet finds time for others. Above all, at the core of his identity is the fact that he is intrinsically Madrilenian. In this sense, however, there is a conflict in the Isidro identity created for the city to interiorise; he was a labourer and a poor man, yet he was narrativised within the parameters of a particular social group filled with well-known noble families. Furthermore, the canonisation of San Isidro was directly contradictory to the projection of a noble civic identity. In fact, the analysis of María José del Río Barredo has found that the nobility did, indeed, express reticence at the prospect of canonising a labourer as the spearhead patron saint that would best represent the city.²⁸

Perhaps it was this essential conflict within the base character of Isidro, between his humble origins and his illustrious destiny, that best represented the cross-section of the inhabitants of Madrid from poor to rich in a way in which a collective identity could develop in the city that appealed to an increasingly heterogeneous population. The celebrations of his canonisation and beatification and beatification involved society at all levels, whether participating or observing. The evolution of the San Isidro narrative in Jerónimo de Quintana's text is suggestive of this retextualisation of the patron saint as a personality to promote collective identity within early modern urban Madrid; Isidro was rewritten to have a voice and a personality. The analysis of María José del Río Barredo conjectures that this characterisation of Isidro functions as a tactic that serves to both deify the king in piety and humility, as well as elevating the greatness of the humble patron saint:

²⁸ Cited in Matilde Fernández Montes, 'San Isidro, de labrador medieval a patrón renacentista y barroco en la Villa y Corte', *Revista de Dialectología y Tradiciones Populares*, 56:1 (2001), 41-95 (p. 66).

Aparte de subrayar la humildad como paradójica virtud de los monarcas más poderosos de la cristiandad, la literatura hagiográfica y festiva de fines del XVI y principios de XVII no olvidó asociar a Isidro con la defensa y patrocinio de la monarquía.²⁹

Río Barredo describes a paradoxical humility ascribed to the character of the king by proxy of narrative juxtaposition in the Isidro narrative, as though the king were almost an incarnation of Isidro's well-known virtues. Isidro, as the patron of the city, was the culmination of the mythological narrative in human form, a heroic, iconographic figure that represented the identity of the population in a way in which was entirely artificial, but universally accepted. Isidro was a symbolic characterisation of the city, whose canonisation occurred amid starvation, poor harvests and disease plaguing the city. In this sense, the agricultural, labourer aspect of his persona can be seen to represent a nourishing, cleansing influence on the city, a representation of plentiful crops, good harvests and food for all.

CONCLUSION

The historiographies of early modern Madrid were an initial exercise in image creation of the court, a concentration of image, iconography and ideology that best reflected the designs of the court. In a city that was changing at such a velocity, and with very little history or narrative that preceded the arrival of the court, the discourse of the city was fragmented and discontinuous, with the meaning of space and place simultaneously being created and eroded, reinvented and destroyed. This fragmented image of the city as life within began to change was, in part, stabilised by the urban historiographies of González Dávila, Quintana and Núñez de Castro, whose accounts of the city represented the city at specific points of its timeline. They rendered specific freeze frames of the urban development of Madrid in astonishing detail. The chronicles bridged the tension point between the social early modern urban reality and the literary iteration of Madrid that began to flourish as the city became a discursive subject. In these freeze frames, it is the contemporary consideration of what it was to be urban related in facts, figures and lists that quantify a seemingly chaotic, unquantifiable process, with a chronology of development revealed when viewing all three texts together. This evocation of the early modern city, however, also brings a logic or coherence to the social reality of the city, quantifying its consumption, structures and colossal magnificence in a way that imposed a structure on the chaotic reality with an ordered, formulaic narrative that distilled concepts of what a city should be.

The influence of antiquity on the creation mythologies of the city was pronounced and influential, with each chronicle bearing the spectres of Greek and Roman civilisation. The narrative of antiquity gave narrative

²⁹ Río Barredo, 'Isidro, patrón de Madrid', p. 163.

and characters to the city, serving the purpose of creating a story that resonated with the glory of the ancients for a city that did not have one. The insertion of Greek and Roman mythologies into the narrative of the city provided at once an instantly recognisable core narrative that reconstructed mythology and iconography into a new, more modern concept, inscribing these age-old narratives with the new focus of the court and its projection over the city of Madrid. It represented the reconstruction of old iconography and narratives, such as the legend of a great hero, in the present in order to create a meaningful iteration of a well-known narrative structure, as Jean-Marie Apostolidès describes:

L'imaginaire de l'Antiquité charpente la réalité sociale du XVII^e siècle; il l'organise en lui donnant une forme et un sens compréhensibles.³⁰

The use of antiquity in the urban mythologies therefore provided a structure for social reality in the form of a relatable, recognisable narrative that was retextualised into a new one, a palimpsest, for the purposes of a new time. Apostolidès refers to this technique in its totality as the workings of the 'machine étatique', the state machine. This 'state machine', he explains, is the way in which concepts of nationhood, and the way in which people understand national identity, are created by the state:

D'un côté, l'appareil étatique se trouve étroitement lié à la nation [...] puisque la nation s'invente dans l'État, à travers lui, par incorporation dans l'homme qui en est la tête.

Although describing the concept of nationhood at the court of Louis XIV, Apostolidès analysis of the way in which the state functioned to create ideas of nationhood to be interiorised by the public. On a much smaller scale, the historiographic and mythological production of early modern Madrid reflects this process and the relationship of power between court and city.

The resuscitation of myth in Madrid was fundamental in defining it as a city, with the interaction between the historical and the mythical bearing a reciprocity that José María Sanz García refers to as the 'historification' of myth, and the 'mythification' of history:

En la pugna entre la verdad y el mito encontramos a menudo la historificación del mito, pero al tiempo, la mitificación de lo histórico. Superabundan los ejemplos a dar, pero el lector puede encontrarlos a medida que vaya entrando en este ensayo cargado de *alegorías madrileñas*, en las que cada cronista o decidor que

³⁰ Apostolidès, pp. 67-8.

analicemos destruye, con sesudos argumentos, unas fábulas, para crear otras.³¹

Sanz García's analysis exposes the way in which the mythology of Madrid underwent a constant process of being written and re-written, showing myriad ways in which the city was re-presented in alignment with the demands of reality. In this duality between history and myth, there seems to be a nuance of the mythology used in the three Madrilenian discourses as an estrangement from modernity, almost as if the intense focus on history and myth serves as a form of nostalgia that softens the blow of advancing modernity. This in particular is an undercurrent of Núñez de Castro's text, but the colossal figures of González Dávila, and the long narrative of Quintana reveal this undercurrent of urban anxiety. The urban development of the city was an alarming process, and the chronicles, documenting facts and figures as fast as they could, were no doubt already outdated soon after publication.

In terms of the creation of an image or conceptualisation for a city that had very little in the early modern period, there were three specific strands of narrative invented by the court. These three discourses projected particular images that combine to create a panoptic historiographical representation of the city, a composite image in which is revealed the early modern conceptualisation of the urban process, and the relationship between the court, its power, and the image of the city. The figure of Isidro was the popular or collective image, an image for the people of the city, a pious patron saint hastily canonised within a period of a few years. The chronicle of the city itself, the statistics and facts, was the urban image as chroniclers grappled with an ever-changing subject. The creation of a mythology for the court represented the mythic image, the retextualisation of mythology with a new agenda. In their totality, these three discourses combined to project a new city image for Madrid, one that emphasised the power of ancient nations, and above all, the power of the court. Through the linking of these three discourses, and a timeline of past, present and future that ensured a narrative futurity for the city, the city's image was retextualised and renarrated by the court in a way in which emphasised the fact that everything was how it should be, and indeed how Alonso Núñez de Castro described: 'solo Madrid es Corte.'

³¹ Sanz García, p. 34.

CHAPTER TWO. TRANSFORMATION: THE NEW BABYLON AND POLYSEMY OF URBAN SPACE.

The process of urbanisation in early modern Madrid brought with it new modes of visualising the city, and created images that contributed to a way of furthering understanding of what it signified to be a part of such a dynamic process. Sebastián de Covarrubias provides a primary definition and literary source of what concepts of 'city' and 'cityhood' meant in 1611 that underscores the fundamental connection between space, government and people:

CIUDAD, del nombre Latino *civitas*, à *cive*; *civis autem dicitur 'à coeundo, quod vinculo quodam societatis cives in unum coeant cœtum & sub iisdem legibus vivant.* De manera que ciudad es multitud de hombres ciudadanos, que se ha congregado a vivir en un mesmo lugar, debaxo de unas leyes, y un gobierno. Ciudad se toma algunas veces por los edificios; y respóndele en Latín, *urbs*. Otras vale tanto como el regimiento, o ayuntamiento; y en Cortes el procurador que representa su ciudad.¹

Covarrubias foregrounds the population of the city as the primary definition of the word 'ciudad', a definition that re-emphasises Renaissance philosopher Giovanni Botero's theory of the urban populations as playing a major role in augmenting the *grandeza* of a city.² As secondary definitions, Covarrubias expands his conceptualisation of the city to include municipal organisation and the physical structures that comprised visible markers of the process of urbanisation, the architecture that defined the skylines and topography of the city seen in city views of the era. Although these secondary definitions of the city are perhaps considered the most tangible markers of urbanism, Covarrubias' explanation of cityhood emphasises the crucial nexus between the city and its human population in a way in which suggests how human interaction shapes concepts of cityhood and the experience of the city in the early modern period. Covarrubias' definition of *ciudad* also points out that Spanish has no way of differentiating between *urbs*, the built city, and *civitas*, the city state or people. Of course, Madrid in early modern text is referred to as *villa*, rather than *ciudad*. Despite becoming the capital city of Spain, its cityhood undeniable, Madrid remained without the defining epithet of *ciudad*, as well as a cathedral that would define it as a city.

¹ Sebastián de Covarrubias Horozco, *Tesoro de la lengua castellano o española* (Madrid: Luis Sanchez, 1611), s.v., fol. 288^r.

² See Chapter 1, p. 25, n. 6.

The city views of Anton van den Wyngaerde in 1562 and Pedro de Teixeira in 1656 represent over the span of nearly a century just how these new modes of visualising the city were beginning to develop. Wyngaerde was a Flemish topographical artist who was commissioned by Philip II in 1561 to produce a visual record of the important cities of Spain.³ Wyngaerde's *Vista de Madrid* depicts Madrid at the dawn of its capital city status, showing a view of the new capital from the west, with the Alcázar palace and Casa de Campo occupying the foreground and the city walls enclosing the tops of buildings. A little less than a century later, Pedro de Teixeira's *Topographia de la villa de Madrid* visualised the city and its urban progress in a new way. The map, which is spread over twenty folios, is a topographical image of the city that renders it in astonishing detail from the side streets to every last tree in the gardens of the Buen Retiro gardens. In comparison to Wyngaerde's panoramic vision of the city, Teixeira's map chronicles the change in visualising urban space, its size, progress and how spaces linked together, as well as the experience and understanding of the city.

Literature reveals this developing relationship between urban space and the experience of urbanism, as well as the navigation of a new urban map, both social and physical, that governed this consciousness of urban transformation. Luis Quiñones de Benavente's *entremés cantado* entitled *El casamiento de la calle Mayor con el Prado viejo*, published in 1645, represents the beginnings of this new understanding of the city, depicting in text how urban spaces related to one another, and thus forming a literary map of the city.⁴ The text presents actors who are representing physical spaces in the city, which shows an understanding of the specific metonymic meaning that spaces in early modern Madrid such as the Prado had developed. Some spaces of Madrid developed specific meanings or specific activities that connoted who the people in that space were and represented the urban space of Madrid as a whole. As the characters appear to the audience, they reveal a journey through the space of the city, as well as a contemporary consideration of the meaning of that space:

Yo soy la Puerta del Sol,
que a pesar de los paseos,
me buelven Puerta Cerrada,
la multitud de cocheros,
y passo mi vida comprando, y vendiendo. (*El casamiento de la calle Mayor con el Prado viejo*, fol. 143^r)

³ J. N. Hillgarth, *The Mirror of Spain, 1500-1700: The Formation of a Myth* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2000), p. 252.

⁴ Luis Quiñones de Benavente, *Entremés cantado. El casamiento de la calle Mayor con el Prado viejo*, in *Joco seria, burlas varias, o reprehension moral, y festiva de los desordenes publicos: en doze entremeses representados, y veinte y quatro cantados* (Madrid: Francisco García, 1645), fols 141^v-145^r.

The Puerta de Sol, for example, is represented in terms of its socioeconomic function, a mercantile space filled with vendors of fine fabrics, with the space so full of coaches that it might be renamed the Puerta Cerrada, another space in the city. However, as much as space in the city became metonymic, it also became plural and polysemic, a shifting overlay of meanings that developed alongside urbanism, destabilising the meaning of space to make it transformative, and dangerous. The Prado, the locus of picnics and upper class leisure pursuits in the city, by night became the place where women and men of the city would meet for illicit sexual encounters after dark. The Calle Mayor, the space of shopping and promenading, became a battleground of material ostentation as well as the space of iniquitous women driven by greed that would beg gifts from men on the street.

At the heart of the literary representation of urban space in Madrid there is this internal conflict between metonymy and polysemy, between literary urban space and its reality. Teixeira's map, like Covarrubias' early modern conceptualisation of cityhood and Benavente's *entremés*, represents the development of a new language that narrates the experience of the city within a perpetually changing space, revealing ways of understanding this transformation and urban unfamiliarity. Whether the city is discovered through fear, awe or confusion, the selective geography and changing landscape represented by literature shows how space can define, challenge and obscure the representation of identity and the human interaction with early modern Madrid. The literature of change in the city displays two sides of the same coin. On the one hand, there is the elaboration of a restricted topography of the city, of four emblematic spaces that define it, the action and agents within its space. On the other hand, the literature reveals how urbanisation destabilises this meaning, and destabilises comprehension of the city.

THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF URBAN CHANGE

The consciousness of change forms an undercurrent of much early modern literature on the subject of Madrid, referencing new buildings, more people, more noise and unusual sights that document a reaction to the transformation of the city. The historiographies of the city were simultaneously establishing a discourse of Madrid as a space of cohesion and order, while much of the literature of the city undid this image, expressing the city as a space of confusion, change and anxiety. Salas Barbadillo's *Los mirones de la Corte*, published in 1620, depicts a group of four men whose sole purpose it is to observe the city and provide a critical evaluation of it:

¿Qué cosas mira? ¿Y de quales se admira? Porque quien no junta estas dos partes, indigno es de tan grave título: que hacer empleo de los ojos en nada que no levante la consideración del

entendimiento, carece de alabanza, y es poner ocupación en el ocio; pues la parte más principal queda sin ejercicio.⁵

Salas Barbadillo's four *mirones* are defined by their need to observe and critically evaluate the city, representing a human experience of early modern Madrid. The everyday events the four men witness, such as a butcher fiddling his scales to overcharge customers and the tricks of an ingenious poor man, as well as new buildings, people and circumstances reveal a consciousness to the changes of the city:

Suspéndeme infinito, y justamente me suspende en el ver en Madrid tanto edificio nuevo, y luego ocupado, nacenle cada año nuevas calles, y las que ayer fueron arrabales, hoy son principales, y tan ilustres, que aquí está la elección ociosa, porque todo es igual. (*Los mirones de la Corte*, p. 295)

Mauricio, one of the *mirones*, remarks upon his astonishment at the velocity of urban growth in Madrid, where each day new houses spring up, and how the topography of his environment changes day by day, demonstrating a consciousness of change where new buildings and streets replace the old, creating a plurality of the ways to perceive space.

Reactions of this nature to the changing landscape of Madrid flood its literature. Luis Vélez de Guevara's protagonist Don Cleofás remarks that 'Cada día [...] ay cosas nuevas en la Corte', after experiencing its hive of activity where a group of women appear to be trading names, clothes and identities in a square in Madrid.⁶ The text tells the tale of a fugitive student named Don Cleofás, who after fleeing from justice comes upon a devil trapped in a bottle in the attic of an astronomer. Upon freeing the devil, the student is taken on a phantasmagorical journey to various cities in Spain with the purpose of exposing the everyday miseries of each one. In the city of Madrid, the devil lifts the roofs of its houses, revealing people sleeping, dying, being robbed and revels in their petty misfortunes as a result of living at court. Vélez de Guevara also evokes the movement and tempo of the city, a continually changing scenery that has its own rhythm in the dance step of the *cruzado*:

Ya començavan en el puchero humano de la Corte a herbir hombres y mugeres, unos azia arriba y otros azia abaxo, y otros de través, haziendo un cruzado al son de su misma confusión. (*El diablo cojuelo*, fol. 22^v)

⁵ Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo, *Los mirones de la Corte* in Francisco Mariano Nifo, *Caxon de Sastre, o Monton de muchas cosas buenas, mejores o medianas*, 6 vols (Madrid: Imprenta de Miguel Escribano, 1781-1782), V (1781), pp. 290-304 (p. 291).

⁶ Luis Vélez de Guevara, *El diablo cojuelo: novela de la otra vida* (Madrid: Imprenta del Reyno, 1641), fol. 25^r.

Castillo Solórzano's 1631 *Las harpías en Madrid*, a tale relating the misadventures of a group of female adventuresses in the city, sets the scene of the city in the form of an old woman giving advice to the protagonists prior to their journey to Madrid: 'la corte es el lugar de los milagros y centro de las transformaciones.'⁷

The literary representation of change was not always positive, however, relating the city as a hellish, unfamiliar maze of confusion and deception. References to Madrid as a second Babylon run as an undercurrent of this conceptualisation of change in the city; Vélez de Guevara's *El diablo cojuelo* refers to it as 'esta Babilonia Española, que en la confusion fue esotra con ella segunda deste nombre' (*El diablo cojuelo*, fol. 9^v), evoking the way in which the city has become disturbing, unsettling and unfamiliar in the wake of the confusion of urbanisation. Antonio Liñán y Verdugo's advice text for newcomers to the court entitled *Guía y avisos de forasteros que vienen a la Corte*, published in 1620, was written precisely so that visitors could succeed in the city amid the 'descomodidad y confusión desta Babilonia de Madrid'.⁸ Taking the form of an episodic narrative whereby each chapter represented different visions of the city, Liñán y Verdugo's text represents a tour of the city for a naïve newcomer and a lesson in how to avoid its dangers by a wise courtier named Don Diego. Adding to this theme of Madrid as the new Babylon, Don Diego later describes Madrid as a place where the line between truth and fiction was blurred and ill defined: 'Pero en esta babilonia de la confusion de la vida de Corte, de quatro cosas que se ven, no se han de creer las dos' (*Guía y avisos*, fol. 32^v).

This theme of confusion revealed the anxiety of urban change. Salas Barbadillo's *La sabia Flora malsabidilla*, which was published in 1621, reveals how life and society in Madrid had become muddled, miserable and dark, revealing the core deception of the city and the atmosphere it fostered. The narrative relates a tale of deception, revolving around the protagonist, Flora, who is a prostitute seeking revenge on a former lover, Teodoro, for ruining her honour:

El día de hoy están todas las cosas tan confusas, que parece que no se ven con distinción, porque no es día, sino obscurísima, y siempre continuada; los que vivimos en la edad presente (dije vivimos, pase por consuelo de la misma desdicha, ya que no por verdad en el efecto), al fin los que remamos con la miseria deste siglo, necesitamos de mucha advertencia, y de igual sufrimiento; porque la virtud todos la predicán, pocos la siguen.⁹

⁷ Alonso de Castillo Solórzano, *Las harpías en Madrid*, ed. by Pablo Jauralde Pou (Madrid: Castalia, 1985), p. 48.

⁸ Antonio Liñán y Verdugo, *Guía y avisos de forasteros, a donde se les enseña a huir de los peligros que hay en la vida de Corte* (Madrid: por la viuda de Alonso Martin, 1620), fol. 1^v.

⁹ Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo, *La sabia Flora malsabidilla*, ed. by Dana Flaskerud (Newark, DE: Juan de la Cuesta, 2007), p. 203.

Salas Barbadillo's portrait of life in the city exposes a confusion and darkness within, revealing it as a corruptive force upon its suffering inhabitants. The quote above provides a valuable point of departure for the discussion of the impact of urban change on its inhabitants and how literature created a topography of early modern Madrid.

THE PLAZA MAYOR

Reactions to the transformation of the city in literature were most keenly felt in the key loci that made up an emblematic topography, a map of specific spaces that projected a particular urban image. The Plaza Mayor of Madrid was the hub of the city, a nerve centre that provided a nexus point between both worlds within the city: the court, and the people. Contemporary representation in literature points to its importance as a theatrical space, one that celebrated the power and pomp of the court in lustrous displays, bullfights and equestrian games. In Pedro de Teixeira's map as in early modern reality, the Plaza Mayor occupies a prominent central position in the experience of the city, simultaneously feeding the masses with bread from the Casa de la Panadería, and displaying the power and authority of Philip IV.

The construction of the Plaza Mayor commenced in 1617 under the orders of Philip III, but its planning and construction spanned four decades.¹⁰ Changes in architectural design led to a new appreciation of square or more uniform plazas, rather than the haphazard polygons that dotted the landscape before Madrid was conferred capital status. The Plaza Mayor as a characteristic of the urban space of early modern Madrid was a leviathan of construction towering over the city with its five stories, adorned with balconies that allowed for the overseeing of the court, and 434 feet by 334 feet in dimension, according to contemporary chronicler Jerónimo de Quintana.¹¹ Its entrances and exits were arterial, leading off in the north to the Calle Mayor, and to other prominent streets in the early modern period, such as the Calle de Atocha.

The Plaza Mayor was an emblematic space, one that was instantly recognisable as a feat of the court's creation in Madrid. It was completed in 1619, and so is not as well represented as other emblematic spaces of the city; but it soon began to filter into the texts as a key space within the city. It was the space that projected the image of the court *par excellence*, a key structure of the city, and prioritised space that represented the city of Madrid by its very name. The chronicler Jerónimo de Quintana depicts the

¹⁰ Jesús Escobar, *The Plaza Mayor and the Shaping of Baroque Madrid* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 104.

¹¹ Jerónimo de Quintana, *A la muy antigua, noble y coronada Villa de Madrid: historia de su antigüedad, nobleza y grandeza* (Madrid: Imprento del Reyno, 1629), fol. 375^r.

Plaza Mayor in intricate detail, giving its dimensions as well as its circumference in order to give a sense of its size. He positions the Plaza Mayor as the nerve centre of the city, the ultimate in construction and beauty:

Tras los edificios Reales se siguen los públicos, entre los quales el más suntuoso de todos, y que entre los que tiene esta villa tiene el primer lugar, es la plaça mayor, porque es de la mas hermosa fábrica que tiene España. (Quintana, fol. 375^r)

Quintana's opening description of the Plaza extends beyond Madrid and places the Plaza in the wider context of the whole of Spain, thus presenting it as a stage for the monarchy. He also provides a portrayal of the structure of the Plaza Mayor, with brick-fronted houses five stories high, decorated with granite pillars and with its entrances big enough for a man on horseback to enter. He quantifies the windows, the houses and the capacity of the Plaza Mayor in ever-increasing numbers:

Tiene en ciento y treinta y seis casas, que ay en la plaça, quatrocientas y sesenta y seis ventanas con sus balcones de hierro con grande conformidad, igualdad, y correspondencia; tiene capacidad en las fiestas publicas para gozar dellas cincuenta mil personas, y viven en toda ella de ordinario tres mil y setecientos moradores. (Quintana, fol. 375^v)

Quintana counts 136 houses with more than three times their amount in 466 windows, with the entire structure capable of holding 50,000 people on a day of court celebration. These numbers were important not for their statistical value, but because they offered irrevocable proof to the early modern reader that Madrid was the most populous and grandest city, and therefore capable of sustaining the Spanish monarchy. The Plaza Mayor, with its capacity and ornate detail, stood as a projection of the image of the court in Madrid, a measure of its glory.

Foreign travellers also provide useful aesthetic anecdotes of the structure of the Plaza Mayor. Antoine de Brunel, who was the mentor and travelling companion of François van Aerssen, grandson of a famed Dutch diplomat of the same name, penned meticulously detailed memoirs of their travels through Spain in *Voyage d'Espagne* published in 1666. The text provides a sociocultural consideration of the city and court in the later part of the reign of Philip IV, dating his account from 1654, however also includes useful scenic description:

La plaça Mayor est fort belle, elle est un peu plus longue que large, et à tous ses côtés on voit des maisons uniformes, que sont les plus hautes de Madrid. Elles sont toutes entourées de deux ou trois

rangs de balcons pour servir aux spectacles des fêtes des taureaux, qui sont les plus célèbres cérémonies d'Espagne.¹²

Brunel's description of the Plaza Mayor underlines its uniformity, height and festive function in its balconies, evoking a sense of an all-encompassing viewing platform that extended around the entirety of the Plaza Mayor owing to its primary purpose of being the locus for the spectacles of the court. At the later end of the century, Marie-Catherine Le Jumel de Barneville, a French author of fairy tales known as Madame d'Aulnoy, also published memoirs of her time in Spain, which is believed to have been between 1679 and 1680.¹³ The account of Madrid appears to have first been published in 1691 and is set out in epistolary format to an unnamed recipient in the format of fifteen lengthy letters. Her tenth letter includes a very similar description of the Plaza Mayor, drawing attention to its uniformity, height and structure:

Cette place est, ce me semble, plus grande que la Place Royale. Elle est plus longue que large, avec des portiques, sur lesquels les maisons sont bâties et sont toutes semblables, faites en manière de pavillons, à cinq étages, et à chacun un rang de balcons, sur lesquels on entre par de grandes portes vitrées. Celui du Roi est plus avancé que les autres, plus spacieux, et tout doré.¹⁴

Much like Brunel's account, Marie-Catherine d'Aulnoy focuses on the splendour of the Plaza Mayor, depicting finer details such as gold ornamentation on the royal balcony and the splendid decorations on a day of court display:

Je n'ai jamais rien vu de plus éblouissant. Le balcon du Roi est entouré de rideaux verts et or, qu'il tire quand il ne veut pas qu'on le voit. (*Relation du voyage d'Espagne*, III, p. 28)

Madame d'Aulnoy's observations of the dazzling nature of court spectacle in the Plaza Mayor introduce a crucial part of its function as a space in which to view the king and the splendour of the court. Royal chronicler Andrés Almansa y Mendoza, who wrote protojournalistic *relaciones*, small news articles on the court, reports many celebrations of this nature in the

¹² Antoine de Brunel, *Voyage d'Espagne, Contenant entre plusieurs particularitez de ce Royaume, Trois Discours Politiques sur les affaires du Protecteur d'Angleterre, la Reine de Suede, & du Duc de Lorraine* (Cologne: Pierre Marteau, 1666), p. 26.

¹³ Nathalie Hester, 'Travel and the Art of Telling the Truth: Marie-Catherine d'Aulnoy's *Travels to Spain*', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 70:1 (2007), 87-102 (p. 88).

¹⁴ Marie-Catherine Le Jumel de Barneville [Madame d'Aulnoy], *Relation du voyage d'Espagne*, 3 vols (La Haye: Henri van Bulderen, 1692), III, 2nd edn, p. 26.

Plaza Mayor between 1621 and 1626, underscoring its emblematic and metonymic importance in a new spatial language of the court:

Hubo toros en la Plaza Mayor, y por ser los días cortos, comieron los Reyes en la Plaza. No hubo desgracias; sino muy buenas suertes y muchos caballeros. Hubo grandes vitores y pañuelos. Fue una tarde muy lúcida, y los Reyes estuvieron muy gustosos.¹⁵

Almansa y Mendoza's account of a day of bullfighting in the Plaza Mayor exposes its importance as a festive space, foregrounding the way in which the structure functioned as a stage for court spectacle.

This is also the premise of Luis Quiñones de Benavente's *Entremés del gorigori*, which was apparently first published posthumously in 1700; its original date of composition is uncertain. The text takes up the view of a society obsessed with the observation culture fostered by the court, taking the narrative from ground level and raising it to the balconies from which the inhabitants of the city could watch events of the court unfold. Don Estupendo Ordoñez de Argamaza is a gentleman living in a house in the Plaza Mayor, and is looking forward to watching a bullfight from his window when he is visited by a squire of a foreigner, Don Meliloto, and is ordered to vacate his home so that the visitor can watch the bullfight instead:

¡Qué gran pensión es esta,
de vivir en la plaça un Cavallero,
que todo el año paga su dinero,
y el día que ha de ver la fiesta en ella
le echan de casa y quedase sin vella!¹⁶

Don Estupendo's outrage at being ousted from his home on the day of a bullfight leads him to concoct a ridiculous scheme so that he may remain in his home to watch the event. Enlisting the help of two passing women, he offers them the chance to share his balcony with him if they play along with his ruse. He pretends to have perished from the plague in the hope that the contagion will force Don Meliloto to stay away, and asks the women to mourn his death, as well as sew him into a makeshift body bag. His plan ultimately fails as the foreign interloper, not to be put off, returns with a priest who begins to perform the funeral rites, or the namesake of the play, the *gorigori*. As the text closes, he is left prone and bound in his shroud, while the women and Don Meliloto enjoy the spectacle.

¹⁵ Andrés Almansa y Mendoza, *Noticias de Madrid, 1621-1627*, ed. by Angel González Palencia (Madrid: Ayuntamiento. Sección de Cultura e Información, 1942), p. 43.

¹⁶ Luis Quiñones de Benavente, *Entremés del gorigori* (Sevilla: Imprenta Real de D. Diego López de Haro, 1700), p. 2.

Luis Quiñones de Benavente's *entremés* is one that satirises the culture of the observer that began to permeate both the social reality of the city and its literature in the early modern period. Don Estupendo is clearly a man of some social standing or wealth, as he is able to rent one of the properties in the Plaza Mayor, whose uniform balconies and windows overlooked the glory of many court proceedings. The culture of spectatorship that developed with the Plaza Mayor was a specific one in response to the process of urbanisation. The many windows and balconies of the Plaza Mayor were available to rent on the day of the bullfights or other spectacles that demanded participation and inevitably their limited number created a false demand that left inhabitants of the court paying through the nose in order to witness the splendour of court pomp and circumstance. José Deleito y Piñuela notes that the tenants of the Plaza Mayor, despite living there, were not permitted to use their own balcony to view the bullfight except in the morning of the day it occurred, and additionally that they were obligated to receive visitors into their house to use their balcony in their stead.¹⁷ To rent a balcony or window in the Plaza Mayor was an expensive enterprise in Madrid, entirely dependent on how high the window was. The prices started at 3 *ducados* for the very highest windows and balconies on the fifth floor, and escalated to 12 *ducados* for the rental of a first floor window.¹⁸

The irony of Don Estupendo's remarks about the amount of money he squanders in rent for the privilege of living in the Plaza Mayor, shows the nature of the culture in urban Madrid and an inability to assimilate the new rules that accompanied urbanism:

Reinas más, ya sabrán ustedes:
que en tales días, los que casas tenemos
en la plaza, este achaque padecemos. (*Entremés del gori gori*, p. 2)

Don Estupendo's awareness of his situation makes his anger at being ejected from his home on the day of a spectacle all the more comical, almost as though his desire to see the court from his balcony in the Plaza Mayor has overtaken his knowledge that it is forbidden. He desires to be an active participant of the show of the court and its theatricality, but every attempt he makes is foiled. The fact that the court used the Plaza Mayor as its space for the projection and dramatisation of itself signified that it required active participation. The tale of Don Estupendo is therefore a paradoxical one: the protagonist of the tale desires to become an active participant of the court, yet he is caught in an impossible situation by its legislation.

Interestingly, Luis Quiñones de Benavente's text presents a one-sided view of this obsession with observation in early modern Madrid. His text does

¹⁷ José Deleito y Piñuela, *También se divierte el pueblo: recuerdos de hace tres siglos*, 2nd edn (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1954), p. 141.

¹⁸ Deleito y Piñuela, p. 143.

not seek to dwell on the action below, he merely represents a cast of characters who are all equally consumed by the visual culture of early modern Madrid and the participation it commanded from spectatorship. The two women who aid Don Estupendo in his plan are quick to forget him as they rush to the balcony to claim their space:

Amiguita a el balcón
a ver los toros, la pasión
del deseo está llamando:
vamos apriessa volando,
que [ya] desea mi cuidado
ver las damas, galanes y terrado. (*Entremés del gori gori*, p. 7).

Interestingly, this inherent theatricalisation of the space of the Plaza Mayor is extended to its more mundane activities. Salas Barbadillo's *Coronas del Parnaso y Platos de las Musas*, a volume posthumously published in 1635, was a collection of disparate works into a sole volume under a larger frame narrative. One of these particular works, *Los desposados disciplinantes*, a burlesque text in a partly epistolary format intercalated into the mix of narratives, describes a journey through the streets of Madrid, ending at the Plaza Mayor:

Yace entre la Puerta de Guadalaxara, y Plaçuela de Santa Cruz por una parte, y por otra parte las calles Mayor, y de Toledo, un sitio bellísimo, cuyos edificios jayanes son tan descomunales, y sobervios, que se pueden poner a tu por tu con las Estrellas: tan espacioso, y dilatado, que en él pisan los hombres mucha tierra, y los abriga mucho Cielo, este pues es capaz de tan inmenso número de gente, que si de todo el pueblo español que se suele juntar en el a celebrar los publicos regozijos si formara un militar ejército, fuera bastante beverse todo el mundo.¹⁹

Here Salas Barbadillo produces an image of the Plaza Mayor that theatricalises its structure and exposes the impact of urbanisation on human experience. He represents the Plaza Mayor in terms of its size, choosing a military semantic field that reflects the enormity of the structure from ground level and using words such as 'jayanes', meaning 'giant', and 'descomunales', meaning 'out of the ordinary', as well as describing it as spacious, extensive and immense. He reinforces this image of its magnitude and height by saying one could reach the stars from it, and emphasising its unimaginably large capacity. This evocation of the Plaza Mayor reveals Salas Barbadillo's admiration for the structure, which was completed during his lifetime in Madrid.

¹⁹ Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo, *Los desposados disciplinantes*, in *Coronas del Parnaso, y Platos de las Musas* (Madrid: Imprenta del Reino, 1635), fols 92^v-127^r (fols 103^v-104^r).

Salas Barbadillo's depiction of the Plaza Mayor as a theatrical space extends to its everyday processes, such as the marketplace and place to buy bread in the city. Even these mundane, quotidian processes, when housed within such a space, become singular and represent the glory of the court on a smaller level:

Hallase acompañado todo el año de las fértiles y amenísimas fruterías, que debaxo de sus caxones portátiles tienen una huerta perpetua y movediza, [...] alagueña, y brindadora golosina para los muchachos inocentes y para las mujeres glotonas. (*Los desposados disciplinantes*, fol. 104^r)

The evocation of its function as a marketplace to feed the growing population of the city comes in second to its showy function of court projection, a fact which is evoked by calling the 'market garden' of the Plaza Mayor 'movediza', and its baskets 'portátiles', stressing their ephemeral nature. This contrast of the two functions of the Plaza Mayor is compounded by the fact that it offered sweet treats and delicacies, but only for those who could afford it. However, it is interesting that the depiction of these mobile market stalls has its parallel image in the mobile theatre carts on days of court celebration where *autos sacramentales*, morality plays of one act, were performed and formed a tableau throughout the city.

Salas Barbadillo's *Los mirones de la Corte* furthers this image of the theatrical in the city with the depiction of those going about their daily lives in the Plaza Mayor as actors in an ever-changing scenery and elevating the tedium of everyday life to the spectacle of the court:

Porque la Plaza de Madrid es teatro admirable, y para representantes de un entremés, ningunos mejores, ni más entretenidos. (*Los mirones de la Corte*, pp. 297-8)

Salas Barbadillo's evocation of the Plaza Mayor in this context creates an image of the urban process as almost a series of movements and machinations that represent a theatrical performance, a choreography that was well-rehearsed. The Plaza Mayor, of course, was the stage of the city where the theatrical often crossed over to performances in the streets, however, the kind of spectatorship described by Salas Barbadillo evokes parts of the city not often considered as the players in a theatrical set. Some of the characters described in *Los mirones de la Corte* portrayed as part of this bigger, urban theatrical production are the *regatonas*, the female hawkers of the Plaza Mayor:

Quatro Repúblicas, todas compuestas de humildes miembros, admiro yo para mi entretenimiento en este lugar: una es la de las mugeres placeras, comúnmente llamadas Regatonas, a quien sin ofensa de su decoro, llamo República libre. Estas, pues, senadores de la insolencia, y magistrados del licencioso language, me

entretienen, quando sobre pequeños intereses se dan la batalla.
(*Los mirones de la Corte*, p. 297)

In Claudio's description, the female hawkers of the Plaza Mayor become active agents of the theatrical production, despite their crass and bawdy behaviour. It is almost as though these shifty female characters and the sharing of their space with that of the majesty of the court both trivialises the court projection and use of that space, as well as creating a caricature of social types within it that were not as well represented in the reports of court grandeur and pomp.

The creation of caricature within the space of the Plaza Mayor is seen in the over-exaggeration of these women and their behaviour in the space, who are described as 'senadores de la insolencia, y magistrados del licencioso lenguaje'. The language describes them in typically masculine political and judicial fields of occupation, elaborating on their proclivity and aptitude for both licentious behaviour and insolence, as well as their standing outside the norms of society. The use of 'licencioso' in particular describes a deeper context of prostitution, of promiscuity and unprincipled manners, in which they are described by Salas Barbadillo as experts. The *regatona* was necessarily an urban, economically-focused character that existed within the city, forming part of its economic ecosystem despite the illicit behaviours inherent in her persona. According to Margarita Mele Marrero, the word *regatona* also falls under the nomenclature for prostitution in Golden Age Spain, which correlates with Salas Barbadillo's comment on their licentious nature and the mercantile function they served.²⁰ The description of the *regatonas* as part of the theatre of the city acts as a sociocultural comment here on a social reality hidden by courtly displays that Salas Barbadillo uses in contradistinction to the glimmer of the court. These *regatonas*, characters functioning outside of both the law and society, were the representation of a life sometimes more dramatic than that of the court itself.

THE CALLE MAYOR

Just beyond the many windows and balconies that comprised the Plaza Mayor was the Calle Mayor, the main artery of the city, as well as other important shopping zones of the city that branched off it, such as the Puerta de Guadalajara and Platerías. The Calle Mayor fulfilled a necessary socioeconomic function; it was where the shops were situated. When the literature of the early modern period referred to the Calle Mayor, it referred to a specific part that stretched between the Puerta del Sol and the Calle de Ciudad Rodrigo, a particular zone of socioeconomic

²⁰ Margarita Mele Marrero, 'Mujeres o monturas: designaciones de prostitutas en Inglaterra y España durante los siglos XVI y XVII', *Atlantis*, 19:1 (1997), 237-244 (240).

importance in the city.²¹ In this space, the fine goods of the city were stocked in shops running its length; there were fine fabrics and foods, jewellers and silversmiths as well as other artisans all waiting to ply their trade with the passing public, who used the space as a form of *paseo*. It dominated, both in a socioeconomic fashion and in a visual one, running almost the length of the urban space portrayed in the Teixeira map, and boasting some of the highest houses in the streets of Madrid, as well as forming part of the processional route of the court.²² The Calle Mayor was the space of the city in which to see and be seen, for its rich environment and cosmopolitan atmosphere rendered it the space of those who had more time to be idle and enjoy the simple act of browsing. The Calle Mayor was for the public to see and be seen by one another, a place of mutual appreciation and appraisal.

Representations of the space of the Calle Mayor and the socioeconomic zone around it tend towards this cosmopolitan aspect that involved the delight of the eye, both in the lustrous goods stocked in the shops as well as the visual delight of seeing others in their finery, spending in an ostentatious manner. Salas Barbadillo's *El comissario contra los malos gustos*, an intercalated tale in *Fiestas de la boda de la incansable malcasada* describes the space of the Calle Mayor in particular as one that was microcosmic of the city and its court, a diverse representation of people and activities:

¿Creys vos que ay más mundo que esta Corte?
Essa calle Mayor es todo el mundo,
Donde se sabe todo, y miente todo,
Porque también es mapa deste modo.²³

The character speaking in the above excerpt is Alexandro, the eponymous character of the text who is the self-styled 'comisario de malos gustos'. He serves as a critical, vitriolic character who acts as a judge on the bad habits of the inhabitants of the city, among whom are a coach driver, a late-riser and a seasoned traveller who wants to leave the city to explore the world further. It is to this would-be explorer that Alexandro addresses his comment, evoking the Calle Mayor as representative of the world in microcosm, but also of a human experience of the city, a space full of people. The Calle Mayor is also portrayed as a space of lies and illusion with pretenders mixing with the rich in a battle of ostentation, suggesting that it was a space in which those that inhabited it or passed through it were complicit in the culture it created, highlighting the difficulty in discerning social class from appearance.

²¹ Deleito y Piñuela, p. 31.

²² Deleito y Piñuela, p. 45.

²³ Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo, *El comissario contra los malos gustos*, in *Fiestas de la boda de la incansable malcasada* (Madrid: Viuda de Cosme Delgado, 1622), fols 83^v-92^r (fol. 89^v).

Salas Barbadillo continues this concept of the Calle Mayor as a microcosmic space of the city in *Los desposados disciplinantes*, describing it parenthetically as ‘tal pienso yo que es la calle mayor de Madrid, porque es la abreviatura del Orbe’ (*Los desposados disciplinantes*, fol. 92^v). This microcosmic evocation of the Calle Mayor is one shared by Baptista Remiro de Navarra’s description of the street in *Los peligros de Madrid*, a cutting narrative of the faults of women in the city, which was published in 1646. The text is split up into ten chapters which detail particular zones of danger in the city, and these zones leave no space as a safe haven in Madrid for the unassuming gentleman. Through the character of Doña Apuleya, a prostitute whose real name is Blasa Merina, Remiro de Navarra repeats the image of the microcosmic Calle Mayor through the lady’s perambulations through the city in a borrowed coach: ‘en un coche discurrió la calle Mayor, no solo de Madrid, sino del mundo.’²⁴ As a world in and of itself, the Calle Mayor is primarily projected as a space that opened up new social and consumerist possibilities in the city.

The sixth *peligro* deals specifically with the topic of the dangers of the Calle Mayor, depicting an image of vivid cosmopolitanism and spending that opens up a discourse on shopping:

¡Calle Mayor de Madrid, que en esta variedad te aclamará el orbe!
!Oh, tú, paseo de los días tempestuosos del invierno, donde
sustentas más coches que piedras! (*Los peligros de Madrid*, pp. 117-
8)

Remiro de Navarra foregrounds the bustling, busy nature of the space filled with coaches, shops and consumers keen to spend their money in order to project a specific image of themselves. Salas Barbadillo’s evocation of the Puerta de Guadalajara at the western end of the Calle Mayor in *Los mirones de la Corte* echoes this sense of a consumerist zone of the city:

Suelo pasar por esa puerta de Guadalajara, y quedarme suspenso
por largo espacio, viendo varear a muchas Mercaderes con vestidos
de seda, llenos de tanta guarnición, no los sacan mejores en sus
bodas muchos Caballeros de Ciudad. (*Los mirones de la Corte*, p.
294)

Claudio is shown here admiring the great space of the street and the fine, ornate silks on display, the best of the city. Salas Barbadillo builds on the description of this area of Madrid with a depiction of the Platerías area in his *entremés Las aventureras de la Corte*. The Platerías was an area of the Calle Mayor just past the Puerta de Guadalajara that was famed for its jewels and silversmiths, a place of luxury and of rich inhabitants of the city:

²⁴ Baptista Remiro de Navarra, *Los peligros de Madrid*, ed. by María Soledad Arredondo (Madrid: Castalia, 1996), p. 61.

Yaze entre la calle Mayor, y la plaçuela, que dizen ser San Salvador, la una habitada de mercaderes, y la otra de escrivanos [...] un sitio a quien llaman la platería. Este pues mas luzido que la armería de Milán, es armería de amor, cuyos bulcanos, aunque no dioses, tratantes en mejores metales, porque labran en vez del yerro elado, lo mas rubio, lo mas brillante del oro, lo mas cándido, lo mas terso de la plata, forjan armas contra el esquadrón inaccessible de Venus, contra la belleza, aunque humana, tanto mas inhumana quanto se convida para mayores humanidades.²⁵

Salas Barbadillo's text *Las aventureras de la Corte* was published in *Fiestas de la boda de la incansable malcasada* in 1622, and tells the tale of two acquaintances. Floro is a resident of Madrid, and Marcio has recently arrived from Valladolid to seek his fortune by using his daughters, who he describes as *tomajonas*, in order to exploit the men of Madrid to line his own pockets. Platerías is represented as a dual space dominated both by the forging of arms of war, unrivalled by the armouries of Milan, its metal smithies likened to the forges of the gods, working molten iron more beautiful and bright than gold, and by the forging of arms of love, an ironic warning of the dangers from a particular type of female agent arising from the process of urbanisation of which men should be wary.

This fundamental socioeconomic function of the Calle Mayor is reinforced by Castillo Solórzano's eponymous *harpías* in a visit to the Puerta de Guadalajara so that the eldest sister of the first two *estafas*, Feliciana, can be treated to some new fabric by the object of her affections, a Milanese gentleman:

Salió, pues, el milanés a la puerta de Guadalajara, y en una de aquellas tiendas donde tenía crédito sacó lo necesario para dos vestidos, uno de damasco negro y otro de color, con mucha guarnición de oro. (*Las harpías en Madrid*, p. 83)

The context of this episode relates to the core theme of the book, where the women prowl the city in search of men to target and exploit for material gain. Feliciana and her sister, the two main protagonists presented at the beginning of the narrative, are journeying to Madrid in order to seek their fortunes among the men of Madrid; their escapades in the city occupy the majority of the text. The extract above not only reveals the space of the Calle Mayor in its socioeconomic context, but also that the Puerta de Guadalajara was metonymic in early modern Madrid of being the place in which to purchase fine fabrics in order to look the part, even if the person in question had not earned the status they projected.

²⁵ Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo, *Las aventureras de la Corte*, in *Fiestas de la boda de la incansable malcasada* (Madrid: Viuda de Cosme Delgado, 1622), fols 114^v-125^r (fols 121^{r-v}).

Castillo Solórzano's text emphasises the role of the Calle Mayor in early modern literature that describes it in terms of developing materialism and a culture of conspicuous spending, leading the inhabitants of the city to become idle and leisurely, squandering their money on ostentatious treasures. Salas Barbadillo also depicts this representation of the Calle Mayor in *La sabia Flora malsabidilla*, emphasising this connection with the space that engendered laziness and wasteful expenditure:

Mientras no decís que os cuesta vuestro dinero, baratísimo os sale, que todo lo demás en un hombre ocioso como vos, que está en esta Corte sin negocios que le ocupen, antes es un entretenido empleo del tiempo. Si no habéis sido salteado en la Puerta de Guadalajara y en la Platería, de nada podéis formar justificada queja. (*La sabia Flora malsabidilla*, p. 119)

Roselino, the cousin of Teodoro, addresses Marcelo, Teodoro's brother, in this cutting portrait of the idle crowds that gathered along the Calle Mayor in order to spend money, describing how a man of leisure with nothing meaningful to occupy him, such as Marcelo, must have stumbled across the space of the Calle Mayor in his time in the city. Roger Chartier terms this form of behavioural development in the early modern context as the character of the 'desocupado ocupado', an oxymoron that defines this practice as the process of occupying leisure with no clear social purpose, which in turn is a development of this form of space in the city.²⁶

However, literature draws a fine line between leisure and wilful idleness in early modern Madrid, and many authors use the space of the Calle Mayor in order to expound a discourse on obsessive consumerism and materialism, the contamination of urban space by leisurely, selfish pursuits. This in particular is a concern of Remiro de Navarra, whose representation of the Calle Mayor depicts a space full of coaches, of people obsessed with both promenading the street and engaging in the practice of ostentatious spending:

Estaba la Calle Mayor de Madrid, desde los ricos umbrales de la Puerta de Guadalajara hasta el Hospital de los Italianos, digo que estaba este espacio tan a presa de coches que, divididas en la calle tres hileras, parecían cadenas, cuya diversidad de eslabones ataba cada uno las jaulas de los coches, en quienes iban mil locuras. (*Los peligros de Madrid*, pp. 117-8)

These 'mil locuras' Remiro de Navarra describes is represented in a cross-section of society, a varied number of people that were not of any particular social class or status. All in the coaches of the Calle Mayor, Remiro de Navarra depicts a fraudster, a husband, a doctor, as well as

²⁶ Roger Chartier, 'El tiempo que sobra. Ocio y vida cotidiana en el mundo hispánico de la modernidad', *Historia, Antropología y Fuentes Orales*, 31 (2004), 99-112 (99).

many women and a *pretendiente*, an early modern definition for someone seeking a place in the court. The narrative evokes a space so full of inhabitants of the city each doing their shopping in a performative and ostentatious manner that the coaches were stuck end to end like the links of a chain. This emphasises a deeper message of the Calle Mayor as a socioeconomic area where the people in it are portrayed as trapped in this self-feeding materialist frenzy, and the contamination of the space by humans and money. The use of 'mil locuras' additionally portrays this materialistic behaviour as sickness or malady that has occurred as a result of the development of urbanisation. This is re-emphasised in the image in which the end-to-end coaches are portrayed as cages, both trapping those inside within the space and within their sickness of materialism.

Remiro de Navarra reiterates the image of this obsessive relationship between humans in the city and their money throughout his sixth chapter, using the locus of the Calle Mayor as the space that fosters and intensifies this socioeconomic environment:

Dile a la multitud de tus tiendas no parezca están en sitio de sitio con los que van a ellas, reñidos con su dinero, a gastallo con algunas que la cursan. Hay inventado tanto sobre el poder del dinero que no tengo qué añadir, sólo acuerdo que la vida es lo más: quien come vive, quien tiene dinero come, quien no lo tiene no come y quien no come se muere. (*Los peligros de Madrid*, p. 117)

This snapshot of the Calle Mayor projects the image of those occupying its space as having become enemies with their money, as though it was not necessarily the people of the space, but the money that was the antagonist. It seems as though there is a sense of resentment towards money in the above excerpt, for having contaminated urban space and the population of the city. The Calle Mayor becomes defined by this process of spending money to be seen by others. Remiro de Navarra's reflection of this particular urban space in Madrid is one that disintegrates into a discourse on the corrupting power of money as a marker of the urban process, and reflects the devolution of a refined space of artisanal creation into a space that reflected the teetering between dripping in jewels and bankrupting misery because of the culture it created.

This affected behaviour in the Calle Mayor is also commented on by Salas Barbadillo, in his *Coronas del Parnaso*. In the eighth section there appear a series of letters addressed to various recipients that precede the play that follows, *El galán tramposo y pobre*. The final letter provides an image of the Calle Mayor and the behaviours it engendered:

Passea v. m. la calle mayor en su carrocilla, tan afectada y singular como el dueño, y dando v. m. ocasión a que le pidan, se halla en un

estrechísimo passo porque lo que su vanidad le persuade, su miseria le contradize.²⁷

The letter is addressed to Señor Sédulo, seemingly a gentleman who has returned to Madrid from a visit to the Indies, and who is depicted as vain and miserable as a result of his time there. As Salas Barbadillo evokes the process of his assimilation in the developing city, he uses the Calle Mayor as the locus for the artificiality of the man's affected behaviours, suggesting how although these behaviours have occurred as a result of his trip to the Indies and a self-created sense of importance from being the lord of a small community, the behaviours are multiplied and exposed within the space of the Calle Mayor.

If the space of the Calle Mayor is represented in early modern literature of the city as a contaminated space where money ruled, there is a definite tendency towards attributing this behaviour specifically to women. Remiro de Navarra's entire text focuses on the behaviour of the woman in the streets of the city, outside of the domestic sphere, as iniquitous beings out to exploit and steal from men. There is equally a sense that the process of urbanisation is a factor in the development of this female behaviour, and that the conditions of living in a city where there were vast amounts of people and appearances were deceptive played a decisive role in shaping the early modern urban woman.

This type of woman was sometimes known as the *pedigüeña*, and she was not a prostitute or necessarily a woman of ill repute. She was a woman who had the gift and sole purpose of ambushing a man in the most genteel of manners, asking for little gift or trifle with the bat of an eyelid, a woman characterised by her obsessive petty vanities, yet not afraid to obtain them by any means possible. The *pedigüeña* was a character who took her identity necessarily from the transformation of urban space in Madrid and the development of a materialist consumerist atmosphere that existed particularly in the Calle Mayor, where the finest jewels and artisanal products were the preferred loot.

Remiro de Navarra's portrayal of women in the Calle Mayor is revealed in his sixth chapter, where he narrates the tale of Doña Urraca, a young woman, and Don Policarpo, an older gentleman of fifty years. Don Policarpo is described as 'un caballero mozo que había cincuenta años que estaba en la Corte' (*Los peligros de Madrid*, p. 120), suggesting an experience of both the city and life that should have alerted him to the ingenuity of the women in the Calle Mayor. He is described as a rich man, who at the beginning of the narrative is riding behind his own coach on the back of a borrowed horse, the passenger of which is Doña Urraca, a maiden of twenty-six years old. The journey leads them to the Calle

²⁷ Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo, 'Epístola XIX', in *Coronas del Parnaso, y Platos de las Musas* (Madrid: Imprenta del Reino, 1635), fols 249^v-250^r (fol. 249^v).

Mayor, a space of danger in the city for a rich man in the company of a pretty woman:

En todas partes hay peligros de gastar con mujeres, pero en la calle Mayor más que en ninguna. Allí, un paso de las tiendas – más peligroso que el de Sierra Morena – donde hay tocados, medias, dulces, y tan innumerables cosas, es mentar la sogá, mentir la vida. En la Calle Mayor, se le ha de referir a una dama una batalla. (*Los peligros de Madrid*, p. 122)

Remiro de Navarra explains that this problem of women setting out to trick men is endemic across the entire city, but that the Calle Mayor was a particularly dangerous place for a man due to its concentration of shops stocking tempting trinkets for waiting women. The evocation of women in this space serves as a compelling contemporary argument on the inherent triviality of the interests of women, at their core represented as superficial beings motivated only by economic gain. The final line of the above excerpt, however, characterises these women as an urban battle, reflecting the impossibility for the urban male of avoiding them without emptying the contents of his moneybag.

Salas Barbadillo's *La sabia Flora malsabidilla* also espouses this view of women outside of the domestic sphere, where the Calle Mayor and its surrounding zones are represented as the most expensive for a man looking for love in the city due to the likelihood of becoming a target of the women operating within this space:

Yo, amigo, siempre he buscado las damas menos celebradas, porque suelen ser las otras más caras y menos sanas [...] porque estas socarronas, a título de la porfía, suben de precio el gusto [...] y hallo por más hermoso lo que me sale más moderado de precio; excuso las ocasiones, procurando que las salteadoras de nuestras bolsas no me encuentren en tan malos pasos como son la Platería, calle Mayor, y puerta de Guadalajara. (*La sabia Flora malsabidilla*, p. 166)

Roselino, the cousin of Teodoro, explains in this passage how the less expensive women are, the more beautiful he finds them, as those that frequented the areas of the city such as the Calle Mayor did not have honest intentions for seeking out men within that space. This representation of women is echoed within other narratives of Salas Barbadillo, such as *Las aventureras de la Corte*:

Aquí donde hasta las piedras reciben perfección puliéndose, y afeitándose, y entonces se hazen vendibles imitando a las mugeres, que despues de avernos puesto en el mismo estado nos vendemos por ellas, recibiendo en precio de nuestra hermosura lo mismo que buscamos para aumento della. (*Las aventureras de la Corte*, fol. 121^v)

Using the jewels and their production process as a metaphor, Salas Barbadillo applies this same premise to the women that populated this area of the city, who projected the image in their outward appearance of well-mannered, genteel women of good social standing in order to prey upon uninitiated men. In this sense, women in the Calle Mayor can be seen as a commodity, whose affection, or the appearance of it, can be bought by the gift of a few trinkets. In addition to this, Salas Barbadillo evokes these women as selling themselves both as and for jewels in order to be able to buy yet more jewels.

THE PRADO

If the behaviour of women in the Calle Mayor was a particular concern of early modern writers of the city, then the feminine behaviours depicted as part of the representation of space in the Prado were another matter entirely. The Prado was a green space in Madrid overlooked by the palace of the Buen Retiro, and its primary function was a site of recreation in the city. It was a space metonymic for its leisurely pursuits such as picnics, and the focus of the afternoon *paseo*, as well as genteel music and lazy afternoons spent enjoying fashionable iced beverages and the many fountains. Teixeira's 1656 representation of the Prado de San Gerónimo on the map provides an urban image of it, showing a set of three banks of trees with two paths running between that allowed for coaches and pedestrians. It was bordered on its western side by noble houses and intricate gardens, with the grounds of the Buen Retiro to its south.

Quintana's chronicle *A la muy antigua, noble y coronada Villa de Madrid* portrays an idyllic image of the Prado that focuses on the beauty of natural surroundings and its fountains:

La del prado de san Gerónimo es muy celebrada, y con razón, por dos calles que ay de álamos, y las muchas taças y fuentes que ay en ella con graciosísimos remates, acompañadas de muchas huertas a la parte de la Villa. (Quintana, fol. 377^v)

Quintana's depiction of the development of green space within the city as becoming a fashionable activity, with the fountains and shade of the trees providing relief from the afternoon in the dust and heat of Madrid. Gil González Dávila's representation of the Prado portrayed it in similar terms of its function, foregrounding it as a space of greenery to the west of the city:

Para el entretenimiento de la gente de la Corte tiene el Prado, y la Casa del Campo adornada de arboledas, frutales, fuentes, y estanques.²⁸

²⁸ Gil González Dávila, *Teatro de las grandezas de la Villa de Madrid, Corte de los Reyes Católicos de España* (Madrid: Thomas Iunti, 1623), p. 13.

Dávila foregrounds this space in as one of entertainment for the inhabitants of the city. The tree-lined *paseo* of the court was constructed in the later half of the sixteenth century in order to bring the countryside into the city.²⁹ The popularity of this particular activity and of the culture of seeing and being seen in Madrid was such that traffic circulation laws were brought into effect to manage the sheer quantity of coaches that filled the space of the Prado.³⁰

Literature references this green space in Madrid simply as the Prado, although toponymically there were two places that bore this specific name. Green space on the periphery of the city simply did not require any other epithets to give a sense of its function or importance. Juan de Zabaleta's *Día de fiesta por la tarde*, a *costumbrista* text published in 1659, paints a portrait of an everyday reality of the people of the city and their day-to-day activities. His text features a description of the physical space of the Prado in this respect as a space of relaxation on the day of a court celebration:

Tienen prevención de arboledas vecinas las poblaciones numerosas, donde el agua de las fuentes hagan un deleitosísimo paseo. Éste, en Madrid, se llama el Prado.³¹

This particular excerpt is framed within a larger passage of the *paseo común* and a description of the inhabitants of the city taking their leisure. Zabaleta's evocation of the Prado portrays a tree-lined space with the trickling fountains that feature prominently in early modern narrativisation as both the elaboration of the artistic and functional aspects of the space, as well as the marker of urbanisation in the sophisticated engineering required for their installation. Alongside this representation of the country brought into the urban, he depicts the activity of walking the Prado as one universal to Madrilenian society, an activity favoured by all sexes, classes and ages:

Concurren al paseo común todas la edades de la vida, pero la juventud está más numerosa. Salen a campo por diferentes damas y galanes, de la forma que corren al mar de los ríos, tan de la misma forma que corren a su perdición. (*El día de fiesta por la tarde*, p. 28)

²⁹ Deleito y Piñuela, p. 62.

³⁰ Concepción Lopezosa Aparicio, 'Paseos por la imagen de lo cotidiano: un contexto para multiples realidades', in *Congreso Internacional de Imagen y Apariencia, Universidad de Murcia, Murcia, Spain November 19-21, 2008*, [no pagination], in *Dialnet* <<http://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=2929410>> [accessed 20th October 2012].

³¹ Juan de Zabaleta, *El día de fiesta por la tarde* (Dueñas: Simancas Ediciones, 2006), p. 34.

Zabaleta's conceptualisation of the Prado and the mixing of the sexes in these afternoon strolls plays on the association between the fertility of green spaces in the city and themes of love and sexuality. The latter are precisely those that were drawn out in literary representation of the Prado after dark, when the space changed from an atmosphere of genteel leisure to one more transformative and sexually charged.

If walking or riding along the Prado was a seventeenth century social institution, it was also, like walking the Calle Mayor, a way to broadcast wealth and the hierarchy of society by the display of particular social symbols, such as the use of the coach, in a way that was meaningful to all echelons of society. In terms of the projection of the courtly image of the city, this representation of the Prado, as a space of relaxation and genteel entertainment, was the one that was championed, a space where the most decorated of the city could enjoy decorated surroundings. On the subject of the Prado as a space of relaxation, Remiro de Navarra's representation of the space involves a characterisation of the women within it. The focus of Remiro de Navarra's description of the Prado is very much centred on the interaction of the female with material culture:

A los pradistas, en tanto que yo alivio las mías con mis quejas, no hay en El Prado otras voces que “¡Dennos limonada!”, y esto tan sucesivo que estorban los unos a los otros los ecos. Bien se advierte que no tiene cara quien descaradamente pide; no han precedido dos palabras cuando la tercera sale con limonada o dulces. (*Los peligros de Madrid*, p. 151)

Remiro de Navarra's narrativisation of the space reflects a broken idyll, where the idealisation of a *locus amoenus* of trickling fountains and beautiful green space is shattered by the noise of the women clamouring for lemonade in the expectation that the men present will provide the goods for them. As the clock strikes six in Remiro de Navarra's eighth chapter, Doña Prisca de Sandoval y Rojas is descending upon the Prado, which is already filling with her like-minded female compatriots. She has dressed herself in diamonds, pearls and an ornate outfit that best projects the image of her desired, but not actual, social rank. The key aspect of the Prado for Baptista Remiro de Navarra, however, is that the women characterised within this particular space of the city are inherently reprehensible for their obsession with the materialist culture of the city, and their behaviour is deliberately calculated to bring about the onset of the downfall of the urban man:

Hay algunas, las muchas o las todas, que, si no piden por necesidad o costumbre o codicia, piden por hacer mal y daño, dejando a un hombre sin el dinero que aun ellas no han menester. (*Los peligros de Madrid*, p. 151)

Remiro de Navarra portrays the women *pradistas* as creatures obsessed with trivial trinkets and petty vanities, fashions brought on by the process

of urbanisation. Salas Barbadillo similarly uses the locus of the Prado in his *entremés El Prado de Madrid y baile de la capona* in order to launch a critique aimed at society. The context of the narrative is a group of four people, two men and two women, enjoying the delights of the Prado one late afternoon, commenting on the sights and activities occurring therein and witnessing the early evening surge of coaches appearing full of men and women furtively fraternising under the cover of darkness. Salas Barbadillo uses the Prado and discussion between his characters in order to criticise court spending and trivial fashions that had developed in Madrid:

Robledo: Este es el prado, este es el hermoso
mayorazgo de Abril.
Rosales: Buen mayorazgo,
cuya renta se gasta siempre en flores.³²

The socioeconomic critique begins with the description of the flowers in the Prado, introducing a theme of sexuality and the theme of primogeniture that contributes to the underlying fiscal discourse and critique of royal spending.

The conversation then turns to the fountains of the Prado, describing the level of their ingenuity as pieces of urban artifice. Salas Barbadillo uses the fountains of the Prado as a metaphor for the poor economic state of Spain, however, subverting their beauty and expense of the fountains that populated the Prado by alluding to spending habits of the monarchy that had seen it plunge into bankruptcy more than once:

Robledo: Tales fuentes salud las considero,
de quien fue el cirujano el fontanero.
Fuentes de plata son estas corrientes.
Rosales: Fuentes de rico son, y no de enfermo,
¿mas si es plata el corriente que dilata,
como ay tanto vellón y poca plata?
Robledo: Porque toda la plata que trahemos
es como la que ves en este prado,
que aunque brilla tan bella, y tan lasciva,
es plata passagera, y fugitiva. (*El Prado de Madrid*,
fols 142^v-143^r)

Early modern representations of the Prado and of Madrid in general often point to the ingenuity and sophistication of the fountains distributed over the city, as well as the aesthetic that elevated the architectural merit and artifice of the city. However, Salas Barbadillo eschews this representation of the fountains in order to reveal a discourse that exposes the worries

³² Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo, *El Prado de Madrid, y baile de la capona*, in *Coronas del Parnaso, y Platos de las Musas* (Madrid: Imprenta del Reino, 1635), fols 142^v-146^v (fol. 142^v)

over the very specific, very real social problems occurring in the reign of Philip IV. In the century after the court moved to Madrid, the crown declared bankruptcy four times: 1576, 1596, 1607 and 1627.³³ These bankruptcies occurred alongside the issuing of the worthless copper *vellón* currency, poor harvests, a fourfold increase in the price of goods and spiralling taxes and living costs. The fountains, structures and behaviours of the Prado in Salas Barbadillo's account, then, all take on the function of a commentary on these socioeconomic concerns and counteract the lavish expense and leisure of the space. The running water and its shining, reflective qualities are likened to silver, prompting Rosales to note the fact that if the fountains did, in fact, spout silver, then there would be no need for the amount of *vellón* currency in circulation, and thus, the state of the Spanish economy would be in a better situation. In addition to comparing the water in the fountains of the Prado with the fleetingness of money, Robledo describes how it is similar to the beautiful women on the Prado, who so beautiful and tempting, yet as fugitive as the money itself.

The text exposes a catalogue of anxieties related to the transformation of the physical space of the Prado, which prioritised high spending on public artifice and a focus on materialism, yet leaving other areas of the city poverty-stricken and its inhabitants dying of plague. No wonder Salas Barbadillo's ironic comment later in the text, then, that reads '¿Que llegue el mundo a tal vellaqueria que hasta la nieve es ya mercaderia?' (*El Prado de Madrid*, fol. 145^r), a stark comment relating to the fashion of selling iced beverages on the Prado to those that could afford them. This comment, together with those on the fleetingness of money, reveals how the process of urbanisation and transformation in the city were seen as dangerous and fraught with a contamination of both the minds of the inhabitants and the entire social system in which they lived and on which they placed significance. Salas Barbadillo's anger at this urban contamination of society, that placed high value on petty things in the obsession with the outward projection of image, then, reaches its zenith in the next lines, where Roselio makes the following caustic remark, encapsulating the frustration of living in the city of Madrid:

Presto valdrá dineros el granizo,
 (o mundo y cuantas son las necesidades)
 dineros valen ya las tempestades. (*El Prado de Madrid*, fol. 145^r)

Ice had become a fashionable commodity for those who could afford it in seventeenth century for Madrid, and the Prado was the space in which to enjoy it, with its high footfall of the high society of Madrid and, consequently, those with the capital to enjoy the cosmopolitan culture.³⁴

³³ Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, trans. by Siân Reynolds, 2 vols (London: Fontana, 1975), II, p. 897.

³⁴ Marcelin Defourneaux, *Daily Life in Spain in the Golden Age*, trans. by Newton Branch (London: Allen & Unwin, 1970), p. 65.

In Roselio's remark of capitalising on the weather of Madrid and selling the hail to its inhabitants, the continual sociocultural commentary on the various vanities and obsessions of the inhabitants of the city comes to the fore and reaches its caustic peak.

Salas Barbadillo's text also touches on the latent sexuality of the space of the Prado as dusk falls, which exposes a representation of the Prado that developed with intensity in early modern literature on the subject of Madrid. Using the natural surroundings and flora and fauna, he reveals a transformative space of the Prado characterised by sexual metaphor, where April's *mayorazgo* of flowers foreshadows sexual fertility and hastily made marriages as a result of illicit nocturnal couplings within it. This theme comes to the fore in particular when Doña Julia comments upon the behaviours occurring within the space of the Prado:

Este Prado es común a los casados,
deleite es de maridos, y mugeres,
igualmente dos sexos se recrean,
porque ellos pacen, y ellas se pasean. (*El Prado de Madrid*, fol. 144^r).

The Prado is a popular locus for married men and women, but not for family pursuits. Both sexes complicitly indulge in adulterous pursuits, the men gazing ('grazing') and the women gazed at ('strutting'). The words *recrearse* and *deleite* suggest sexual fraternisation rather than entertainment, the second phonetically close to *delito*, which refers to a misdemeanour rather than a leisure activity. Playing on the assonance of *pacer* and *pasear*, the men are depicted as the beasts, lowing livestock grazing and burdened by animal impulses, and the women shown strolling in a leisurely manner suggestive of leading a merry dance. There is a lack of specificity in the characterisation of these couplings on the Prado that represents them in terms of sex and social role, faceless men and women that almost seem disassociated from the boundaries of society, corrupted by urbanism and the anonymity of an ever-growing population.

The men are depicted as the beasts by Salas Barbadillo, lowing livestock grazing and innocently burdened by animal impulses, and the women are shown strolling in a leisurely manner suggestive of leading a merry dance, playing on the assonance of 'pacer' and 'pasear'. There is a lack of specificity in the characterisation of these couplings on the Prado that represents them in terms of sex and social role, faceless men and women that almost seem disassociated from the boundaries of society, corrupted by urbanisation and the anonymity of an ever-growing population.

Doña Tomasa adds to Doña Julia's description of the coaches appearing in the Prado, with the coaches coupling, male and female, which hints at what occurs within:

D. Julia: ¿Que ay coches hembra y macho?

D. Tomasa: Si amiga, y como tanto se han juntado,
por esso han producido, y aumentado. (*El Prado de Madrid*, fol. 144^r)

The sense of this, of course, is ironic, simultaneously a reflection of the saturation of the coach in urban space, and a reference to Salas Barbadillo's earlier reflection on the flowers of the Prado coming to fruition in the bearing of fruit later on, which of course led to hurried marriages to avoid social scandal:

Estafeta es de gustos, y de amores,
que haze en el prado bodas de repente. (*El Prado de Madrid*, fol. 144^v).

The locus of the Prado in the context of Salas Barbadillo's *entremés*, then, is representative of the ramifications of an increased promiscuity of sociability brought on by the corruptive processes of urban progress. Interestingly, these men and women protagonists of Salas Barbadillo's *entremés* are not elaborated upon in terms of their relationships to one another, suggesting an ambiguity of the group which is ironic given the sociocultural context that involved the representation of the space as the mixing of sexes and sexual misconduct. The use of the natural surroundings as a form of metaphor for the sexual activity on the Prado is a tactic repeated in Salas Barbadillo's *La sabia Flora malsabidilla*. Instead of the metaphor of fertility in flora and fauna, Salas Barbadillo introduces a more predatory, savage theme that reinvents the women as beasts to be hunted by the male hunters of the court, reinscribing the theme of the bestial within this particular narrative context: 'De la Corte se salen los cazadores / olvidándose en ella del mayor bosque' (*La sabia Flora malsabidilla*, p. 186).

This predatory evocation of the city shows these hunters losing themselves in the woods of the city, in a metaphor describing perhaps the way in which the men of the city lost their sensibilities in the face of beautiful, manipulative women. This particular couplet, which features in Claudio's declamation of the vices of the city and court in a long series of *seguidillas*, follows a mention of witches sacrificing a goat, a reference to the horns of cuckoldry, of the men of the city being taken for fools while their wives were presumably taking their leisure on the Prado: 'A un cabrón se le ofrecen en sacrificio / porque ven el retrato de sus maridos' (*La sabia Flora malsabidilla*, p. 186).

The description of meat and flesh reveals the sexuality of the space in a more consumerist, materialist society that focused its attention on material goods, where everything could be bought and sold for a price:

Ya de Madrid el Prado su nombre pierda,
y desde hoy le llamemos mercado o feria.
Júntanse allí del gusto los mohatrerros,

lonja es donde se tratan cambios de Venus.
 Si ir al Prado dejares tu esposa, ¡ay loco!
 mientras ella va al Prado, te lleva al Soto.
 Como corren los tiempos libres y alegres,
 muchas salen al Prado por darse un verde. (*La sabia Flora malsabidilla*, p. 187)

The use of a mercantile lexis with reference to transactions of Venus contributes to this implementation of the exchange of flesh that occurred on the Prado after nightfall, where there were fraudsters, *mohatrerros*, a term usually used to refer to hawkers of expensive or counterfeit goods, but here refers to the dissimulation of rank that occurred when the light disappeared in favour of the moon. Drawing on the previous reference to cuckoldry, Salas Barbadillo describes how, if a man's wife is to go to the Prado, he should run to the Soto, emphasising the image of cuckoldry further.

Juan de Zabaleta's portrait of the Prado similarly follows this template of the representation of a space of sexuality. As the day turns to night in Zabaleta's narrative, the coaches appear instantaneously, full of people of different sexes, ages and classes:

Apenas se ha desaparecido el sol, cuando se aparecen en el Prado los coches, cargados de diferentes sexos, y de diferentes estados. Van a tomar el fresco, y en un zapato alpargatado con ruedas, se aprietan seis personas. Las que no van en los estribos, se quemán. (*Día de fiesta por la tarde*, pp. 34-5)

Juan de Zabaleta's description of the people of the city converging at the Prado as soon as the sun has disappeared carries with it a duality of meaning. On the one hand, it describes an escape from the heat of the day and stench of the city streets, denoted by his evocation of the passengers in the coaches vying for the spot by the edge of the coach in order to catch the most of the breeze in the stagnant city air. However, the fact that such an act occurred after dark, as soon as the sun had disappeared, and the reference to the plurality of social classes and mixing of sexes invites a discourse on the corruption of this urban space of greenery in terms of a hotbed of improper sexual practices, where men and women could mix freely, regardless of social class.

In his dissection of the social tropes partaking in the daily stroll in the Prado, Zabaleta touches on the subject of the passing of the hours. During the day, the pastoral element of the green space is revealed, with the representation of seated, beautiful women being courted by passing, pacing men. Zabaleta draws on the inherent allusion to flora and fauna to describe these women as the flowers of the locale, with the men as bees buzzing around their chosen lady:

Ellas, sentadas, toman mejor la semejanza de flores, porque la toman hasta en la estatura; ellos, andando cerca de ellas y hablándolas como en susurro, imitan mucho a las abejas. (*El día de fiesta por la tarde*, p. 28)

As the hours passed in the Prado, however, these flowers that had bloomed so beautifully during the day become less so under the cover of night, hiding in the shadows to shield their ugliness and lesser social status and replaced by women much less salubrious:

Las mujeres eran feas, hacían afeite de las sombras de la noche. Fealdad de mujer en duda, es hermosura casi evidente. Trampa es, y agudísima, de esta casta de animales presentarse sin luz a tiro del antojo de los hombres. (*El día de fiesta por la tarde*, p. 39)

The women of quality who had occupied the space in the light of day have been replaced with those of a lesser kind, who are less respectable and altogether less attractive, deceiving men with their 'cariño del oído' (*El día de fiesta por la tarde*, p. 40), yet disappointing to the eye. Zabaleta characterises these women who made the night their time to mix with society as serpents, snakes who were visually not fit for the obsessive culture of the court and city where the culture of the eye dominated:

Lllaman ordinariamente a las mujeres feas sierpes, porque espantan la vista. [...] Las culebras naturalmente tienen enemistad con la luz y aman las sombras; en ellas engordan, en ellas medran. (*El día de fiesta por la tarde*, p. 40)

Zabaleta's representation of the women, with sweet voices, wit and ugly faces who charm the men nonetheless, reinforces the Prado as a space of illicit sexual activity. The women in this particular space are more dangerous, transgressive, and potentially harmful to social status than a simple conversation by moonlight. In order to survive the vicious society brought on as a result of urbanization, a few tricks are required: fine clothes, good manners, and usually, the use of a coach.

THE COACH

The final space that became a space of transformation in the city of Madrid was a moving one, whose journey traced across a map of the city a world of new social encounters and both the projection and dissimulation of identity within one sole space. The coach was common to the early modern urban context in cities across Europe as a form of travel; however, it is the way in which it is represented both as an agent of transformation and as a factor of urbanisation in the texts that portray Madrid that becomes particularly interesting in the early modern period. The image of the coach encapsulated the obsession with visual and outward appearance in Madrid, as well as being a marker of modern life and the contamination

of urban space. Karen Newman's analysis of the popularity of the coach in London and Paris describes the way in which it offered new modes of social encounter typical of urban life:

The coach's popularity needs to be understood in part as a means of re-establishing the social distinctions put in jeopardy by the 'promiscuous sociability' of the newly congested, burgeoning urban environment of the street.³⁵

In Madrid, however, the representation of the coach only exacerbated the problem of transformative identity, as Baptista Remiro de Navarra ironically notes in *Los peligros de Madrid*:

Con ser tantos en Madrid, nadie tiene coche. Mirarás al que va en uno de cuatro mulas, y le envidias luego: es un paje o gentilhombre que va por su señor al Palacio. (*Peligros*, p. 87)

The coach in Madrid is the marker of dissimulation within urban space according to Remiro de Navarra, whose description of the coach shows both its saturation of the city, both as a new space in its own right and by occupying urban space. Moreover, this particular space, more than any other, was dominated by the representation of hierarchical ambiguity, where those within often were enjoying the piggyback ride of identity that it afforded without the necessary social status to back it up. The coach was a vehicle that disrupted social practices as well as describing a journey within the city, a process of experiencing the context that was uniquely urban.

Salas Barbadillo's *El Prado de Madrid, y baile de la capona* describes coaches as the 'bajeles de la tierra' (fol. 144^v), boats of the land. Núñez de Castro depicts them as the gondolas of Madrid, and Madame d'Aulnoy recalls a summer *fiesta* in which the coaches entered the river when the flow was low, as though they were boats. Even in the narratives of the ancient history of Madrid, the coach had a prominent role as the forming the namesake of its Ancient Greek iteration, Mantua Carpetana, and the image of Roman coaches rattling up and down the ancient streets (Quintana, fol. 10^r). The coach was part of the urban identity of the city, one that helped to define the court and city environment as a sea, whether referring to its stormy waters or the sea of people within it.

Castillo Solórzano picks up on this theme of Madrid as a sea, and images of the maritime abound in *Las harpías en Madrid*, as well as in other novels of his such as *Teresa de Manzanares*. The advice given to the 'harpies' at the beginning of the former when they wish to move to the centre of

³⁵ Karen Newman, *Cultural Capitals: Early Modern London and Paris* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007), p. 73.

transformation is that Madrid is an ocean in which seafaring vessels of every kind could sail:

Es Madrid un maremagno donde todo bajel navega desde el más poderoso galeón hasta el más humilde y pequeño esquife [...] (*Las harpías en Madrid*, p. 48)

The word *maremagno*, simultaneously evokes both an ocean and a space of confusion; *-magno* also gives an evocation of enormous size. The duality of Madrid in Castillo Solórzano's representation is the aspect that irrevocably draws the 'boats' in the author's metaphor towards the city, a centre of attraction common to all.

This seafaring theme conceives the city as an oceanic space where the coach is necessary to traverse it, socially and physically. The use of this metaphor suggests the difficulty of representing the city at this time. It evokes enormous size as well as the fluidity and lack of stability that characterised this particular period of Madrid's history when it was in a continuous state of transformation and renewal. It also suggests a lack of fixed borders and topographical reference points in the physical structure of the city, the absence of mooring points for the inhabitants to make sense of their world.

The coach was also the marker of movement, of the transitory, both on the small scale of itself and on a wider scale of the velocity of urban life and the speed at which it progressed. Its movement within the physical space of the city is represented in the early modern Madrilenian narratives as a discovery or exploration of that space and of how people moved through it. The concept of traversing urban space and the creation of a topographical narrative within that space was studied by twentieth-century theorist Michel de Certeau in *The Practice of Everyday Life*. He describes the fundamental process of creating a topography of the city by linking the spaces together through the narrative of a journey:

Their story begins at ground level, with footsteps. [...] Their swarming mass is an innumerable collection of singularities. Their intertwined paths give their shape to spaces. They weave places together.³⁶

Although de Certeau is depicting the city in the context of the twentieth century and a journey of it via the eyes of the pedestrian, the key point underlining his thesis is that the experience of the city begins at street level, where the singular, individual experiences of the city coalesce into a representation of its topography and the spaces. The coach of Madrid, just like the footsteps described by de Certeau, represents this fundamental

³⁶ Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. by Steven Rendall (London: University of California Press, 1984), p. 97.

experience of the city. It becomes the base point linking together a narrative of separate images and experiences into a continuous composite image. It maps urban space and reveals how inhabitants perceived the city while moving through it.

As for coaches as a form of social currency that promoted new forms of sociability, Remiro de Navarra's *Los peligros de Madrid* depicts them as theatres of the city in miniature:

No ocupó igual tumulto de coches a la Calle Mayor, que son teatros donde se representan los enredos de la comedia del mundo. Más tragedias han sucedido verdaderas en los coches, que fingidas en las escenas o tablas. (*Los peligros de Madrid*, p. 119)

Remiro de Navarra describes the coach not only as a stage for the petty dramas of urban living of a cross-section of society, but also as one where society could act out its games: being seen in a coach was tantamount to possession of it and therefore conferred social status.

Madame d'Aulnoy recounts in her letters the exact social organisation of the coach: who could have how many mules or horses pulling theirs, and the hierarchy of social conventions surrounding its use:

Le Roi seul peut avoir six mules à son carrosse, et six à ses carrosses de suite. Ils ne sont pas semblables aux autres, et on les distingue, parce qu'ils son couverts d'une toile cirée verte, et ronds par dessus comme nos grands coches de voiture. (*Relation du voyage d'Espagne*, II, 120)

This portrait of the king and his six-mule carriage goes on to describe the etiquette when inhabitants of the city were passed by the king in his coach. As a mark of respect they were expected to draw their curtains so as not to see the monarch, a surprising detail in a city that depended on the culture of the eye. Madame, however, left her windows open 'à la mode Française' so as to see the display of the court (*Relation du voyage d'Espagne*, III, p. 13).

Early modern representations of the coach often tend to portray it as contaminating the city by being a repository of obsession with social status or its dissimulation; they see coaches becoming a trap for those that use them, both blocking physical movement in the city because there are so many, and trapping those within, obsessed with material culture. Remiro de Navarra's *Los peligros de Madrid* describes the Calle Mayor as being so crammed with coaches that they were end to end like links in a chain. Salas Barbadillo's *La sabia Flora malsabidilla* also draws on this sensation entrapment within the coach, where the added lack of movement is suggestive of social frustrations, the double-edged sword of having the means for mobility but being unable to move:

Y visité esa que llaman calle Mayor, que yo la intitulo estanque de coches y ciudad con casas de madera (porque esto parecen en ella los coches parados y detenidos); he visto infinito número de cansados. (*La sabia Flora malsabidilla*, p. 229)

Molina, the servant of Teodoro, describes a city comprised entirely of houses made of wood, where people prioritise their existence inside a coach more than their life outside of it. *Estanque* means ‘a pond or pool’, but its verb form *estancar* means ‘to block or hold back’; the frustrated inhabitants of the city are caught in the thrall of the coach.

Salas Barbadillo’s *El Prado de Madrid y baile de la capona* furthers this picture of the coach gradually saturating social and urban space. Doña Julia gives a description of so many coaches arriving on the Prado that they seem to cover the green, tranquil space:

D. Julia: Por allí viene un coche, veinte, ciento, mil.
 D. Tomasa: ¿Como mil? Sin duda estás borracha, uno veo y no mas.
 D. Julia: Yo mil millones.
 que en este prado es justo que repares,
 no entran con unidad, sino a millares. (*El Prado de Madrid*, fol. 144^r)

Doña Julia’s comment on the coaches suddenly appearing in their numbers causes her compatriot to enquire whether or not she has drunk too much wine. Julia’s wild hyperbole suggests an anxiety towards this new social trend so often associated with immorality, part of a wider anxiety towards urbanization and the uncontrollable saturation of population in the city, as her later exclamation at the people arriving shows:

Jesús y quanta gente viene en tropa,
 tres clérigos a mula, y en un coche,
 dos viudas, o viudez loçana y verde,
 tales vienen, que a ellas comparado
 ellas las verdes son, y el seco el prado. (*El Prado de Madrid*, fol. 145^r)

Doña Julia’s apparent hallucination describes a troop, an army of people; her exclamation evokes both a social fear of the coach as a social contaminant and a sense of the population spilling out of the walls of the city like a monstrous corpus.

A portrait of the early modern obsession with the coach and the entrapment of inhabitants of Madrid within a material culture is the subject of an anecdote in Luis Vélez de Guevara’s *El diablo cojuelo*. It tells

how obsession with the culture of the image led a couple to spend all their riches on a coach in order to elevate their status. Unable to afford the horses to pull it, they are stuck with their immobile status symbol:

Buelve allí, y acompáñame a reír de aquel marido y muger, tan amigos de coche, que todo lo que avían de gastar en vestir, calçar y componer su casa lo han empleado en aquel que está sin cavallos agora, y comen y cenan y duermen dentro dél, sin que ayan salido de su reclusión, ni aún para las necesidades corporales, en quatro años que ha que le compraron; que estan encochados, como emparedados, y ha sido tanta la costumbre de no salir dél, que les sirve el coche de conchas, como a la tortuga y al galápago, que en tarascando cualquiera de ellos la cabeza fuera del la buelven a meter luego, como quien la tiene fuera de su natural (*El diablo cojuelo*, fols 15^v-16^r)

Vélez de Guevara satirises this couple as 'amigos de coche', as though this affiliation to material culture in early modern Madrid were something voluntary. The couple have sold all their belongings in order to afford the ostentatious symbol of the coach, but yet are not afforded the social freedom they expected. Instead they remain trapped, like tortoises, bearing the heavy burden of their socially driven choice. There they live, eat and sleep, yet instead of allowing them access to a more elite echelon of society, they are stuck in their reclusion. Vélez de Guevara's story ends by showing the fate of this socially obsessed pair. They decide to rent their coach in order to recoup money, and are considering building an attic extension and sharing their home with some like-minded friends:

Y pienso que quieren aora labrar un desván en el para ensancharse, y alquilalle a otros dos vezinos, tan inclinados a coche, que se contentarán con vivir en el cavallette de él. (*El diablo cojuelo*, fols 16^{r-v})

The idea of building an extension onto a coach is simultaneously comical and depressing, a stark portrait of a city obsessed with the culture of the image. The metaphor of the coach as an entrapment, social and physical, is continued later in Vélez de Guevara's portrait of the city, where he describes the proceedings of a funeral:

-¿Que entierro es este tan sumptuoso que passa por la calle Mayor?
 -preguntó don Cleofás, que estava tan aturdido como la mulata.
 -Este es el de nuestro Astrologo – respondió el Cojuelo-, que ayunó toda su vida, para que se lo coman todos estos en su muerte, y siendo su retiro tan grande quando vivo, ordenó que le passeassen por la calle Mayor después de Muerto, en el testamento que hallaron sus parientes.
 -Bellaco coche -dijo don Cleofás- es un ataúd para ese passeio. (*El diablo cojuelo*, fols 102^v-103^r)

The now deceased astrologer in whose attic Cleofás took refuge and unleashed the devil, after having spent his life hidden away from society, is finally able to ride in a coach, which becomes a coffin for the dead man, entombing him in an image of material culture in his final funeral promenade along the Calle Mayor.

The coach features as a different means of social entrapment for Castillo Solórzano's adventuresses, who use it to swindle and entrap men. The women find new freedom in the city with the use of the coach, where they are able either to contravene social customs fraternising with men on the Prado, or to fall in with the appearance of a particular social status. Zabaleta's *El día de fiesta por la tarde* focuses on the particular social concern of women in their efforts to obtain a coach to take them to the afternoon celebrations of Santiago el Verde, a popular spring court *fiesta* on the banks of the Manzanares:

Un mes antes del día del Sotillo, está pensando la dama que ha de ocupar aquella tarde estribo en coche, qué gala sacará que embelese los otros coches. (*El día de fiesta por la tarde*, p. 92)

Zabaleta's text describes how the women of the city would spend the month beforehand thinking of the coach in which they would ride in style, painting these society *damas* as constrained by petty vanities. Quiñones de Benavente does the same in his *entremés* entitled *Los coches*, one of his first known published works, printed in 1634 in *Segunda parte de las comedias del maestro Tirso de Molina*.³⁷ The text opens with two women, Doña Quiteria and Doña Aldonça who are consumed by their own vanity, describing at length the beauty of their countenance, their hands and hair, as well as the perfect temperaments that make them paragons of femininity. The two change their tune when Don Vinoso enters the scene. His absurd name hints at drunken behaviour and stupidity. He arrives with two other women, Juana and Antonia, who soon reveal that they are not of the social status they appear to be:

Antonia: ¿De que sirve buscallo, y rebuscallo,
 haziendo ademanitos por la calle?
Juana: No busco a nadie, no señora Antonia,
 que siempre fui buscada.
Antonia: Y aún buscona.³⁸

³⁷ Germán Bleiberg, Maureen Ihrie and Janet Pérez (eds), *Dictionary of the Literature of the Iberian Peninsula*, 3 vols (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1993), II (L-Z), p. 1341.

³⁸ Luis Quiñones de Benavente, *Los coches, entremés famoso*, in *Doze comedias las mas grandiosas que asta aora han salido de los meiores, y mas insignes poetas, segunda parte* (Lisboa: Empreanta de Pablo Craesbeeck, 1647), fols 277^r-280^r (fol. 278^r).

Antonia's riposte to Juana regarding the likelihood of her being a *buscona*, a character that references the *buscón* of Francisco de Quevedo in a feminine form, suggests in this context her conniving, stealing ways that lead her to employ questionable games of sexual morality in order to obtain overpriced luxuries and the contents of a man's pocketbook. The intention of all four women, however, becomes clear as soon as Don Vinoso reveals a specific piece of information:

D. Vinoso: Alábenme, que todo lo merezco.
 Antonia: ¿Pues porque?
 D. Vinoso: Piensan que hablo a troche, y moche,
 Pues con cavallo, y medio tengo un coche.
 D. Quiteria: Coche, sónome.
 D. Aldonça: Coche, gran vocablo.
 Antonia: Coche, sabroso embuste.
 Juana: Dulce hechizo. (*Los coches*, fol. 278^v)

Don Vinoso has a coach, and apparently one and a half horses to pull it; the women suddenly become interested. They may think he is speaking nonsense, but Don Vinoso speaks the social language that elicits an immediate reaction. As though rapt and in a trance, they chorus the word 'coche', one by one evoking the importance of the coach as a form of social currency. Doña Aldonça describes it as a 'gran vocablo', evoking its social possibilities that could open doors and boost social status, whereas Antonia describes its function for dissimulation. Juana describes the coach as a spell or enchantment, evoking the way in which the coach holds society captive. As the women squabble over the coach, it is Doña Quiteria who provides the link between the feminine and the coach:

D. Quiteria: Ahora bien, en oyéndolo del coche,
 nos pusimos mas blandas que manteca,
 que en tentación cochil toda hembra peca,
 escoxa de las dos la que quisiere,
 y rebiente de la otra con sus zelos. (*Los coches*, fol. 279^r)

Doña Quiteria's critique of her own sex is perspicacious, elaborating upon the prominent discourse of the coach as a feminine space in early modern Madrid, representative of women outside of the domestic sphere. Doña Quiteria describes how material objects like the coach transform their behaviour; they are now meek, beguiling and flattering creatures rather than the ones consumed with vanity in the first part of the text. Women, therefore, are presented as more vulnerable to the dangers of the urban process, swayed easily into vice and sin as soon as they are outside in the urban environment rather than inside the domestic sphere. As the women beg one by one to spend time in the coach that evening, they count between them their most genteel attributes, such as a moderate appetite, in order to convince the fortunate Don Vinoso to pick them. One of the

women, Doña Aldonça, refuses to play the game, saying simply ‘yo no pido’, leading to Don Vinoso choosing her over the others:

D. Aldonça: Yo no pido.
 D. Vinoso: Ya no puedo sufrirlo, vive Christo,
 tuyo es el coche, tuyo es el marido,
 que es gracia de las gracias, yo no pido:
 parabienes me den los hijos de Eva,
 que no pido, en muger es cosa nueva. (*Los coches*, fol.
 279^v)

Don Vinoso chooses Doña Aldonça as a rarity in Madrilenian society, a woman who does not ask for gifts from a man and therefore is unsullied by material culture. The play ends, however, with Doña Aldonça promising to lend the coach to the other three women as she has married a man that owns one, which satisfies them and repeats the core message: the women have not learned a thing from the exchange. Quiñones de Benavente’s *entremés* is a double-edged critique that highlights the coach as a feminine space within early modern Madrid, as well as the effect of a material, urban environment on the personalities of women.

Remiro de Navarra depicts the coach as determining how a woman behaves for the day, deciding whether she will be garrulous or take a more humble identity: ‘Si hay coche, Condesa de Buendía; si no le hay, Marquesa de Rafez’ (*Los peligros de Madrid*, p. 57). However, if Doña Aldonça becomes Don Vinoso’s chosen bride in Luis Quiñones de Benavente’s narrative due to her humility, Salas Barbadillo’s *La sabia Flora malsabidilla* turns the spotlight on the topic of female morality in the space of the coach:

Por Madrid en los coches se vende carne,
 y es ya carnicería cualquiera calle.
 No sé cómo se vende, no hay quien lo entienda,
 siendo ellos los carneros la carne dellas.
 Aquí son ministriles mujeres y hombres,
 ellos tocan cornetas, ellas bajones.
 De Cupido las fiestas celebra el suelo,
 que de instrumentos se oyen todos de hueso. (*La sabia Flora malsabidilla*, p. 186)

This volley of couplets forms part of Claudio’s poetic ire on the vices of the court and city of Madrid. He describes the coaches as mobile meat markets, able to sell their wares in any street of the city. Trading flesh for money or other goods was known to take place in the space of the coach. Under the benign gaze of Cupid and Venus, gods of love, the men and women make music in the coach, first with their respective ‘instruments’ (obviously obscene in connotation—up and down), emphasising the theme of cuckoldry in ‘de hueso’. In the next few lines the metaphor of this trading of flesh is taken further: ‘Véndese por el peso mi niña bella / y

saldráme muy cara, porque es muy necia' (*La sabia Flora malsabidilla*, p. 186)—selling his daughter pound for pound will not end up well, as she is brainless.

Instead of the coach retaining its social value that correctly distinguished the classes and those with status from those without, the thrall of the coach was such that it muddied class definition further, becoming a marker of both urbanism through its ubiquity all over the city, and of the anxieties contained therein, where it concealed identity and allowed people to appear to be what they were not. The coach as a feminine space became linked in the early modern literature of Madrid ever more specifically to the behaviour of transgressive females outside the domestic sphere. Castillo Solórzano's 'harpías' are predominantly portrayed outside the home environment, in a coach or with men, acquiring gifts or small trifles as well as winning a coach when one of their targets is unexpectedly assassinated. The majority of Remiro de Navarra's women are likewise depicted outside of the home. Salas Barbadillo portrays men and women frolicking in their coaches in the Prado, the mobile brothels of the city.

The coach as a space was both the trajectory or topography of that space, and a self-contained space in its own right; a journey through the city, a navigation of the social system, and a source of frustration when movement within the system became impossible. The preoccupation with the coach thus expressed various forms of anxiety in the face of urbanized modernity, as Enrique García Santo-Tomás also concludes in his study of the works of Salas Barbadillo:

El coche penetra así en el callejeo urbano como un elemento contaminante, síntoma de una modernidad que atenta contra los principios básicos de convivencia y cohesión social, pero que a ojos del lector constituye un ameno y divertido objeto de lectura.³⁹

Enrique García Santo-Tomás' analysis draws attention to the discursive confluence that described both a leisure activity in the early modern urban representation of Madrid, as well as the incompatibility of the discourse that describe the coach as a contamination of the urban, and feeding into social anxieties as the structure of the city moved towards modernity.

CONCLUSION

The city underwent a process of transformation in the early modern period, leading to an intense literary effort to represent and comprehend it. Certain spaces held metonymic status as the symbolic loci of state

³⁹ Enrique García Santo-Tomás, *Modernidad bajo sospecha: Salas Barbadillo y la cultura material del siglo XVII* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto de Lengua, Literatura y Antropología, 2008), p. 137.

power and splendour, commerce, or leisure; but these then developed a semantic plurality that destabilised their everyday meaning and displaced it into something less innocuous and more frightening. Countering the attempt to see the city for what it really was, we find a certain blindness or refusal to see. The restricted topographies these texts represent is undermined by the plurality of discourses they provoked. These reflect the frustrations of developing identity within a shifting, transforming environment.

The Plaza Mayor, Calle Mayor, Prado and coach were emblematic of a new urbanism, instantly recognisable as the spaces of court society, each with a specific sociocultural meaning. The Plaza Mayor showcased the authority of the court, with its bullfights and displays of power. The Calle Mayor was the catwalk of those who wanted to be seen, and to display their wealth; the Prado, the same but dedicated to relaxation; and the coach was the mobile marker of social status. One by one, these spaces become contaminated in early modern literature, overall evoking a feeling of being trapped, fear, and a destabilisation of identity. García Santo-Tomás calls this a 'convivencia discursiva', a discursive cohabitation where multiple narratives occupied the same spaces simultaneously, elaborating upon different versions of the urban text.⁴⁰ Michel de Certeau points out how inhabitants create meaning in the city space, and how this interacts with the urban reality:

What is it then that they spell out? Disposed in constellations that hierarchize and semantically order the surface of the city, operating chronological arrangements and historical justifications, these words [...] slowly lose, like worn coins, the value engraved on them, but their ability to signify outlives its first definition. [...] These names make themselves available to the diverse meanings given to them by passers-by; they detach themselves from the places they were supposed to define and serve as imaginary meeting-points on itineraries which, as metaphors, they determine for reasons that are foreign to their original value but may be recognized or not by passers-by. A strange toponymy that is detached from actual places and flies high over the city like a foggy geography of 'meanings' held in suspension, directing the physical deambulations below.⁴¹

De Certeau's analysis describes how the meaning of a place and the actual place interact in the city to provoke a conflict between reality and its representation. In Madrid, the rapid pace of urbanization led to confused meanings, exposing the frictions and anxieties of different classes as they experienced the city's transformation. As William R. Blue notes in his

⁴⁰ Enrique García Santo-Tomás, 'Artes de la ciudad, ciudad de las artes: la invención de Madrid en *El diablo cojuelo*', *Revista Canadiense de Estudios Hispánicos*, 25:1, 117-135 (p. 119).

⁴¹ Certeau, p. 104.

analysis of the portrayal of the city in the plays of Tirso de Molina:

The way a group describes, depicts and structures its geography whether in maps, narratives, poetry, or drama, entails a set of beliefs about how its locale is and thus how the people who inhabit that space are.⁴²

The representation of geography in narrative is defined by identity, and by the social class of the people interacting with that space. This is one reason why the representation of transforming space in Madrid is kaleidoscopic, and produced with such intensity.

The Plaza Mayor became the space of a miniature, uncivilised theatre at ground level with coarse-mouthed *regatonas* and the disengaged, uninterested observer, as well as those desperate to witness the court but prohibited from doing so from their balconies. The Calle Mayor became the space of female vice and materialism, feeding into the obsessions of the rich and a catalogue of social status, or the illusion of it. The space of the Prado became the locus for sexual advances and hastily made marriages, and the coach became dominated by the materialistic desires of a woman outside her domestic sphere, a woman made modern, urban, and uncontrollable.

The early modern narrative, more than anything, demonstrates a reaction to a lack of control in the continually shifting environment of urban Madrid. This reaction became apparent in the descriptions of space, an attempt to fix borders and meanings while the space morphed into something new and incomprehensible. The projected meaning of space was fractured and fragmented in the wake of urbanization and the literature it created, where a cascade of newness, modernity and reactions to transformation to both physical and ideological environments were factors that both defined and undefined the identities of the inhabitants of Madrid and the way in which they experienced their world in the city. The city, in all its complexities, had come to mean new, disturbing things that were not aligned with the court projection of the city. As the urban process advanced, it was not only the spaces that were subject to a loss of meaning, however. The urban process left a blackness in Madrid and a population of people brutalised, disgusted and alienated as they began to feel the full force of the transformation of the city.

⁴² William R. Blue, *Spanish Comedy and Historical Contexts in the 1620s* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996), p. 87.

CHAPTER THREE. PROJECTION: THE COURT, POWER AND URBAN SPACE.

Alonso Núñez de Castro's *Solo Madrid es Corte* by its very title highlights a fundamental dialogue between the court and the city. The book reveals a contemporary consciousness of the way in which the spatiality of the city could be used to enhance royal power:

No puede negarse que los Palacios sumptuosos, ya en la hermosura de la fábrica, ya en la hermosura de los atavíos, son adorno que hazen plausible la Magestad, como también el acompañamiento de Guardas, criados, y confidentes que sirven a las ceremonias de respeto, con que, a fuer de Deidades humanas, deven ser venerados los Príncipes.¹

On the subject of magnificence of the royal palace, Núñez de Castro underscores the necessity of adornment of the monarch in terms of his courtiers and residence. According to him, magnificence afforded the monarch majesty, it authorises the discourses of the monarch, and above all, a particular level of adornment – ‘se peca en el exceso como tambien en el defecto’ – makes the king, in the author’s words, ‘plausible’.

The link between the court, power and space evoked by Núñez de Castro formed the basis of a causal relationship of sorts: the court caused the urban structure of the city to change, with new buildings constructed, old eyesores demolished and streets widened for better passage. Norbert Elias notes this correlation of space and power in other aspects of the courtly sphere, showing how the spatial configuration of noble houses is a cipher for decoding the structure of the court:

The town residences of the nobility, the *hotels*, show in a fairly clear and simple form the sociologically relevant needs of this society with respect to accommodation which, multiplied, telescoped together and complicated by the special governmental and representative functions of the kings, also determine the structure of the royal palace which is to house the society as a whole.²

The configuration of noble houses in *ancien régime* France involved a series of organising rules and principles. Husband and wife had separate apartments within the house; the layering of antechambers before meeting rooms, as well as a strict upstairs-downstairs segregation, exposed a particular spatiality in life at court that projected the image of

¹ Alonso Nuñez de Castro, *Libro historico politico: Solo Madrid es Corte y el cortesano en Madrid* (Madrid: Andrés García de la Iglesia, 1658), fol. 14^v.

² Norbert Elias, *The Court Society*, trans. by Edmund Jephcott (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983), pp. 43-4.

power within its walls. Roger Chartier, commenting on Elias' work, clarifies this peculiar relationship between the court and its spatiality: 'court society was a figuration in which the greatest social difference is manifested in the greatest spatial proximity.'³ J. H. Elliot likewise comments on the way visitors to the king approached: 'In Spain, the king was approached through a succession of rooms, each one more exclusive of access than the one before.'⁴ Even within the ambit of merely noble houses, the power revolved around distance and proximity and the control of who could see the lord. The projection of power and royal display in all its forms were not aspects of court life specific to Spain, and celebrations of the court were similar across Europe, reaching their zenith, perhaps, at the dazzling court of Louis XIV later in the seventeenth century.

The specific impact of this mapping of power upon Madrid lay in the way in which the court used space in and contiguous to the city for the purposes of propaganda. David Sánchez Cano's investigative work on fiesta books describes how the court's relationship with propaganda such as festival books changed over the course of reigns, and why this relationship with urban space grew to become particularly important. In the reigns of Philip II and III, court display was not counted as a priority, with Philip II actively avoiding spectacle while his successor Philip III was known for incompetence to rule.⁵ However, in the reign of Philip IV, more efforts were made to record and project the glory, power and authority of the court, and preserving how the court therefore interacted with urban space.

Pedro de Teixeira's chart (Appendix A) goes some way to providing a visual image of the very primary way in which the court claimed urban space in Madrid over the years. It maps the power of the court in a topography filled with churches and religious foundations, palaces and hunting lodges, as well as processional routes that represented a more ephemeral use of urban space by the court, though court celebrations and processions on the city amounted to one hundred even without counting the numerous fiestas designed for more recreational purposes, or for convents or confraternities.⁶ The map, which renders the image of urban

³ Roger Chartier, *Cultural History: Between Practises and Representation*, trans. by Lydia G. Cochrane (Cambridge: Polity, 1988), p. 86.

⁴ J. H. Elliott, 'The Court of the Spanish Habsburgs: A Peculiar Institution?', in *Politics and Culture in Early Modern Europe: Essays in Honour of H. G. Koenigsberger*, ed. by Phyllis Mack and Margaret C. Jacob (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 5-24 (p. 11).

⁵ David Sánchez Cano, '(Failed) Early Modern Madrid Festival Book Publication Projects: Between Civic and Court Representation', in *Writing Royal Entries in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Marie-Claude Canova-Green, Jean Andrews and Marie-France Wagner (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), pp. 93-111 (p. 96).

⁶ María José del Río Barredo, 'Cultura popular y fiesta', in *Madrid: Atlas histórico de la ciudad, siglos IX-XIX*, ed. by Virgilio Pinto Crespo and Santos

space in astonishing detail, serves to underline the contrast between the ordinary, residential buildings for the inhabitants of the city, almost invisible, and the rambling spaces upon which the court stamped its ownership, as well as the streets of noble palaces and their gardens, the *huertas* of the palace and recreational spaces. Teixeira's iconography thus shows the symbols of power and in the way in which the court spatialises the city on a grand scale.

Teixeira's map reveals the impressive size of the royal palaces dotted around the core of the city. The Alcázar, the old Muslim stronghold, seems small in comparison to the sprawling nature of the Buen Retiro palace, whose gardens occupy more than double the space of the physical architecture of the palace on the eastern flank of the city. The Casa de Campo, flanking the western side, is even less defined by its architecture, filled with trees and ponds to characterise it as a favoured hunting spot for the king. Above the Casa de Campo, the Pardo sits by the bank of the river to the northwest of the city, occupying yet more of its space with the king's leisure retreats.

However, it is in the key of the map that the depth of the relationship between space and power in the court city becomes apparent. Teixeira's map lists an astonishing 57 convents and monasteries in the city by the year of 1656, princely religious foundations that all cut into the landscape with elaborate, large buildings and fine gardens, apparently necessary accoutrements for a religious order. Noble palaces, such as that of the Duke of Lerma opposite the Buen Retiro on the Prado de Atocha, occupy further space, and the topographical demarcations of vast, ornate gardens can be seen facing the palace of the Buen Retiro. Even without considering the way in which the court occupied parts of the city on the days of fiesta, Teixeira's map already provides a visual encounter with the spatiality of the early modern court of Madrid, and how it functioned and impinged upon urban space in order to narrate the logic of its discourses of power over the population.

The most tangible expression of the power of the Habsburg court in Madrid is expressed in the monumental buildings that litter the Teixeira map with their grand forms, forming an architectural narration of power in urban space. Speaking of Paris in the reign of Louis XIV, Jean-Marie Apostolidès compares this configuration of an 'espace mythique' to the contemporary creation of a mythical history for the city:

Au temps mythique vient s'ajouter un espace mythique, celui de la ville capitale. Les artistes au service de l'État vont transformer Paris en une nouvelle Rome. En quelques années apparaissent des

places, des églises, des statues, des arcs de pierre qui témoignent de Louis-Auguste.⁷

The creation of this 'mythic space' extended the ideologies and politics of the court into urban landscape. Its triumphal arches, churches and statues were all calculated to project the power of the godlike monarch, and so inculcate awe in the minds of the population.

THE PALACE

The royal palace was a symbolic structure that spoke of the dynastic succession of kings and princes within its hallowed walls, and it occupied the greatest proportion of space within the city. It was the household of the king, a residence, a hunting ground and place of leisure, the space of the court society and, in the council chambers on the lower floors of the Alcázar, the political and administrative nerve centre of the monarchy and administrative offices.⁸ This impressive power of the royal palace is illustrated in a diagram of the Escorial by cosmographer Abraham Ortelius, who is most famous for his *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* of 1570, the first atlas of the world, dedicated to Philip II. His plate of front elevation and gardens of the Escorial is a primary representation of the imposing power of the architecture of the palace within its milieu.

The role of creation myths that shaped the narrative of Madrid also play a role in shaping the image of the royal palace. In the court of Louis XIV, Apostolidès points to the role of the palace as the locus that concentrated concepts of the deification of the king:

La déification mythohistorique du monarque se réalise lors de grands spectacles, entrées, ballets, carrousels, fêtes de cour. L'image solaire de Louis XIV se trouve multipliée dans les douze premières années de son règne; elle est répandue en peinture, en gravure, en sculpture et en médaille; elle sera ensuite fixée à Versailles.⁹

According to Apostolidès, the palace represents the way in which the court perpetuates its mythological narrative that forms the basis for the image of the city. For Louis XIV, the glorious palace of Versailles was the topographical, ideological fixing point for the monarchy to perpetuate the mythology of the court and city. For the reigns of Philip II and III, this locus was perhaps best represented in the Escorial and Alcázar palaces. The Escorial was the Catholic bastion that anchored the ideologies of the monarchy, whereas the Alcázar formed an important part of the city's ceremonial topography. For Philip IV, under the aegis of the Count-Duke

⁷ Jean-Marie Apostolidès, *Le Roi-Machine. Spectacle et politique au temps de Louis XIV* (Paris: Editions de Minuit, 1981), p. 78.

⁸ Elliott, p. 8.

⁹ Apostolidès, p. 86.

of Olivares, the mythology of the city was perpetuated in the sprawling leisure palace of the Buen Retiro, and the myth of the *rey planeta* was projected through the space of the palace. This, above all, downplayed the relationship between the court and city, but used this relationship of distance to foreground the power of the king.

Among the many palaces that existed within the possession of the Habsburg monarchy in the early modern period, the court counted five palaces in and around the city of Madrid that actively occupied space within its geographical confines, without including the old Catholic bastion of the Escorial palace favoured by Philip II, 42 kilometres outside of the city. Front and centre was the oldest palace of the Alcázar, which occupied a space overlooking the Manzanares river. There was also the Zarzuela palace near El Pardo, the Casa de Campo, and finally the Buen Retiro. In the extended edition of Núñez de Castro's chronicle on the city, the comparative running costs of these various royal households of the king including food and lodging are listed. These figures give a small sense of the scale, size and magnificence of the structure of the court in Madrid in the early modern period:

La jornada del Pardo se regula en veinte y seis días, y en ellos importa el gasto, y carruage ciento y cinquenta mil ducados.

La jornada de Aranjuez se regula en un mes, y su gasto, y carruage, en ciento y setenta mil ducados.

La estancia del Retiro se regula en otro mes, y su gasto con las raciones que le dan a criados, en ochenta mil ducados.¹⁰

The incredible costs of lodging the royal households and their servants for a month give a sense of the magnificence and opulence of the court.

The Alcázar was a palace that incorporated the structure of a ninth century Muslim fortress, although it had seen expansion and renovation throughout the early modern period. Due to its central location, the Alcázar palace was frequently the end point of many processional routes where the king is depicted in celebration texts as observing the proceedings from one of the many windows, and was the administrative centre of the monarchy. It was bordered by the river and to its western side, with trees and parkland of the Campo del Moro, affording it both a view over urban sprawl of the city and a view of the river. The Alcázar was a richly adorned palace, and Philip IV made many improvements to its image by having the rooms decorated by the Italian artist Luca Giordano, as well as adorning the interior space of the palace with paintings by Titian, Rubens, Velázquez and Murillo.¹¹ Jerónimo de Quintana passes

¹⁰ Alonso Núñez de Castro, *Libro historico politico: Solo Madrid es Corte y el cortesano en Madrid*, 3rd edn (Madrid: Roque Rico de Miranda, 1675), p. 217.

¹¹ José Deleito y Piñuela, 'La vida madrileña en tiempo de Felipe IV', *Revista de la biblioteca, archivo y museo*, 16 (1927), 432-453 (p. 432).

brief comment on the structure in a chapter devoted to the description of the royal palaces of the city, emphasising its leisure capabilities:

Del Palacio Real, morada antigua de los ínclitos Reyes de España, y antiguamente llamado Alcazar por su gran fortaleza [...], solo afirmamos que es una de las más capaces y de mayor grandeza y sumptuosidad que tiene Príncipe alguno en el Orbe. [...] Dentro de sus puertas tiene deleytosas jardines, la huerta que llaman de la Priora, con todo género de frutales y cristalinas fuentes que la hazen amena y de grande recreación, y el Parque llena de caça, assí de gamos y venados como de liebres y conejos.¹²

Quintana's description of the Alcázar evokes its spatiality in a more recreational sense, depicting the space around it in terms of its recreational capabilities, where the gardens of the court were rich with fruit, rabbits and fountains to provide entertainment and leisure space for the court. This image of leisure plays on the contrast between the exterior and interior of the structure. To the outer world, the Alcázar presents itself as a fortress of grandeur, however within its walls – 'dentro de sus puertas' – it offers a space of recreation and pleasure. Madame d'Aulnoy depicts a similar representation of the exterior façade on her visit to the capital at the later end of the century:

Il est bâti de pierres forts blanches. Deux Pavillons de brique terminent la façade; le reste n'est point régulier. Il y a derrière deux cours quarrées, bâties chacune des quatre côtez. La première est ornée de deux grandes Terrasses qui regnent tout du long. Elles sont élevées sur de hautes Arcades; des Balustres de marbre bordent ces Terrasses, et des Bustes de la même matière ornent la Balustrade.¹³

The countess evokes a spatiality of the court in its terraces and borders in way in which brings the structures of its power into being and makes them tangible. She depicts a fortitude to the outer walls of the Alcázar that reinforce the image of its power. The space of the Alcázar palace is described in its minutiae in the chronicle of Gil González Dávila, who evokes not only a sense of the interior structure of the palace, but also the antechambers and rooms in which the court operated, the power centre of the palace, foregrounding, above all representations of its space, the power of the monarchy:

¹² Jerónimo de Quintana, *A la muy antigua, noble y coronada Villa de Madrid: historia de su antigüedad, nobleza y grandeza* (Madrid: Imprento del Reyno, 1629), fol. 374^r.

¹³ Marie-Catherine Le Jumel de Barneville [Madame d'Aulnoy], *Relation du voyage d'Espagne*, 3 vols (III), 2nd edn (La Haye: Henri van Bulderen, 1692), pp. 4-5.

Lo interior del palacio se compone de patios, corredores, galerías, salas, Capilla, Oratorios, aposentos, retretes, parques, jardines y huertas, y camina la vista atravesando valles, ríos arboledas y prados, y se detiene en las cumbres de las sierras de Guadarrama.¹⁴

Within this long list, González Dávila manages to depict the scale of the interior of the palace. This similarly emphasises a theme of leisure within the walls of the palace, rather than any overt representation of the monarchy's power. The central structure of the Alcázar palace was based around two patios in the centre, where there were rooms for the various *consejos*, among others. The most interesting aspect of the spatialisation of the Alcázar of Madrid, however, is the way in which González Dávila depicts how the interior space delivering the reader or visitor to the king leaves an increasing impression of monarchical power with each new *sala*. The description advances, room by room and gallery by gallery, each new room with paintings or curios to behold:

Más adelante está una sala de ciento y sesenta pies de largo, y treinta y cinco de ancho, en ella come su Magestad en público; se representan comedias, máscaras, torneos y fiestas, y en ella dio las gracias al Rey Felipe III. (González Dávila, p. 310)

Within this episode there is the narrative unfolding of the interior of the king's palace in a way in which mimics how access to the king was controlled in the court society. This depiction in turn suggests the play between power and space in the interior of the palace, and the control of access to the king through myriad antechambers.

If the Alcázar is one that narrates the power of the court, its administrative nucleus and the control of the visibility of the king within its myriad antechambers, the Buen Retiro is the spatialisation of the court in its most glorious and cultural iteration. It was a grandiose behemoth of a palace that emphasised the leisurely side of the monarchy in contradistinction to the seriousness of the power palace in the Alcázar. The Buen Retiro was important in the urban morphology of the city due to its sheer size, however it was not just important in spatial terms; it was a feat of design and architecture in its ornate gardens, aviary and fountains, yet not in its unassuming façade, constructed of granite and timber.¹⁵ The striking lack of exterior grandeur of the Buen Retiro provides a contrast to that of the Alcázar, depicted as a fortress of white stone.

Where the Alcázar palace and gardens occupied a central space in the middle of the bustle of the city and is characterised by the silent, private

¹⁴ Gil González Dávila, *Teatro de las grandezas de la Villa de Madrid, Corte de los Reyes Católicos de España* (Madrid: Thomas Iunti, 1623), p. 309.

¹⁵ John Brown and John Huxtable Elliott, *A Palace for a King: The Buen Retiro and the Court of Philip IV*, rev. edn (London: Yale University Press, 2003), p. 65.

power of the monarch, the Buen Retiro occupied a space outside the centre, contiguous to the city, but with enough space between the public of the city and the palace to isolate it while still being within visiting and visible distance. There is a fundamental distinction to be made in the representation of these two palaces, and the way in which they narrated the discourse of royal power, however they seem to function as complementary courtly structures. As González Dávila's evocation of the Alcázar shows, the palace spatialised the concept of the monarch within its interior structure as a hidden, unreachable, private being. This emphasises a discourse of a distanced, repressive monarchical power, highlighting the privilege culture that was formed, based on the desire to see or interact with the monarch at all. The Buen Retiro, on the other hand, represented a different iteration of royal persona altogether. The representation of the Buen Retiro palace was the narration of a discourse of the king on display, the greatness of the monarch for all to see, particularly reinforced by its proximity to the city. The theatrical productions, the fights between exotic animals and the collection of art: these were all part of the calculated display of the king. This in turn drew attention away from the reality of power and instead reinforcing a more cultured, majestic image of the king.

The palace was built on the advice of Gaspar de Guzmán, the Count-Duke of Olivares and *valido* to Philip IV. Construction of the palace began in 1632, after acquiring the lands necessary from the Marquesses Povar and Tavera.¹⁶ The building of this extravagant structure took place at a time when poverty was rife in Madrid, and as a result there were many critics of the intention to build such a frivolous space for the court, among which were prominent literary figures, such as Quevedo and Matías de Novoa. The Buen Retiro represented the artistic, cultural side of the monarchy, housing more than enough artwork to please the king's eye and that of its poets, and it had its own pond for the staging of plays for royal entertainment. It was also spatialised by two patios, with four bordered sides that were built with windows and balconies that were reserved for other court entertainments, such as bullfights and equestrian feats of skill, a monument to the cultural projection of the court, and the way in which the king projected a particular visibility in regards to this aspect of his image. The Buen Retiro was a large, sprawling palace, and the findings of Brown and Elliott note that by 1640, the palace covered an area that was almost half as large as the entire city itself.¹⁷ Despite the fanciful adornment, expensive plays, artwork and leisurely nature of the palace, Núñez de Castro's findings in the extended edition of his chronicle of the city already cited above found a month's lodging with food and travel expenses at the Buen Retiro almost fifty percent cheaper than a visit to any other palace in the king's possession.

¹⁶ Antonio Bonet Correa, 'El palacio y los jardines del Buen Retiro', *Revista de Cultura Militar*, 9 (1997), 19-27 (p. 20).

¹⁷ Brown and Elliott, pp. 79-81.

Antoine de Brunel, on his mid-century visit to the city, does not think much of the structure at all, citing that the Count-Duke had spent his money on something that was neither grand, glorious, nor worth the extravagant sum:

D'un costé de la Ville, il y a le *Prado*, qui est une grande allée où l'on va ou Cours, et auprès duquel est un grand bastiment, mais assez bas, qui est une maison du Roy nommée le *Büen Retiro*. Le Duc d'Olivarez, pendant son Ministère, dépensa beaucoup de millions pour une pièce qui n'est pas grande chose.¹⁸

Madame d'Aulnoy's take on the spatialisation of the palace describes the palace in similar terms, a low, unassuming building that does not project the image of a powerful court:

Le Buen Retiro est une maison Royale à l'une des portes de la Ville. Le Comte-Duc y fit faire d'abord une petite maison qu'il nomma *Galinera*, pour mettre des poules fort rares qu'on lui avait données; et comme il alloit les voir assez souvent, la situation de ce lieu, qui est sur le penchant d'une coline et dont la veuë est très agréable, l'engagea d'entreprendre un bâtiment considerable. Quatre grands corps de logis et quatre gros Pavillons font un quarré parfait. On trouve au milieu un parterre rempli de fleurs, et une fontaine, dont la Statuë, qui jette beaucoup d'eau, arrose quand on veut les fleurs et les contrallées par lesquelles on passe d'un corps de logis à l'autre. Ce bâtiment a le defaut d'estre trop bas. Les Appartemens en sont vastes, magnifiques, et embellis de bonne peinture. Tout y brille d'or et de couleurs vives, dont les plafonds et les lambris sont ornez. (Aulnoy, III, pp. 6-7)

Both French travellers describe a distinct lack of grandeur in reference to the exterior of the Buen Retiro, both a product of their times in reference to a tense relationship between France and Spain and the period of war between 1635 and 1639, as well as being accustomed to more grandiose royal courts and palaces. As Aulnoy describes the inside structure of the Retiro, there is the sociocultural reference to the structure of the *gallinero*, the birdhouse used to house rare birds, but also the butt of many detractors of the Buen Retiro, who likened the structure to the hen-pecking by politicians and governors of the monarch. Despite her unimpressed reaction to the exterior of the palace, however, Aulnoy does praise the richness of the interiors of the palace, swathed in beautiful colours and paintings with ornate decoration.

¹⁸ Antoine de Brunel, *Voyage d'Espagne, Contenant entre plusieurs particularitez de ce Royaume, Trois Discours Politiques sur les affaires du Protecteur d'Angleterre, la Reine de Suede, & du Duc de Lorraine* (Cologne: Pierre Marteau, 1666), p. 29.

When the Buen Retiro came to exist as a space within the literature of the city, rather than urban chronicles and travel accounts, however, it seemed almost as though its dimensions had become exaggerated, with the space it occupied in the representation of itself becoming bigger, somehow, than the space it physically occupied in the city. A fundamental way in which the court projects the image of the Retiro in literature is evoked in a laudatory volume of poems collated by Diego de Covarrubias y Leyva, the *guarda mayor*, or chief keeper of the Buen Retiro palace itself. The volume, entitled *Elogios al Palacio Real del Retiro*, was published in 1635 and dedicated to the Count-Duke of Olivares. It features the works of esteemed writers of the age, many belonging to the literary academies of the court, such as Luis Vélez de Guevara, Juan Pérez de Montalbán and royal chronicler José Pellicer y Tovar, and contains some 35 poems all eulogising the Retiro. It focuses on praising the new palace, the narrativisation of its splendour in a piece of calculated court propaganda that at once fixes a particular image of the palace and monarch, as well as describing the space of the royal residence. The introduction and address to the reader written by Covarrubias set up the iconographies and symbols at play within the rest of the text, already aligning the power of the monarch with that of the emperors of Rome in ‘tan augusto monarca’, and references to Domitian’s amphitheatre.

The poems themselves coalesce in an iconographic representation of the space within the palace, threading the Greek and Roman creation mythologies of the city into the space of the Retiro to project the image of a godly, mythological king. Within this iconographic approach that centres the monarch within the constellation of court society, there are threads of the analysis of Apostolidès, whose analysis finds an ‘espace mythique’ in the palace as a part of the overarching mythistory endemic in the creation of the city image illustrated in contemporary chronicles. The main focus of the poems within the volume, however, is the *salón* of the Buen Retiro, the dazzling Salón de Reinos that housed much of the art of the palace, and cultivated the artistic and cultural persona the monarchy began to espouse under the guidance of Olivares. The Hall of Realms was the most iconographic and significant room in the Buen Retiro. It was originally designed as a royal box for times of court festivities with twenty windows lining the walls, but it was converted into a throne room when the Retiro was declared a royal palace.¹⁹

Within the *Elogios* collection, there is the elaboration of a cultural discourse that functions in parallel to contemporary views of the palace as a frivolous and squandering enterprise amid multiple socioeconomic problems such as bad harvests, poverty and plague. This discourse, that tells of the glory of kings, of bright colours and plays on the theme of light, seems to seek to efface the problems while positioning the monarch and the cultural feat of the palace as the central discursive theme. One of the key discourses of the volume focuses on the deification of the king, by

¹⁹ Brown and Elliott, p. 150.

focusing on the themes of art, spectacle, references to mythology and military victories as a way by which the palace is spatialised. Repeated allusions to the Retiro palace as a theatre or amphitheatre foster this image, as well as referencing court spectacle. Royal chronicler José Pellicer y Tovar's sonnet on the subject of the kingdom of Castile and León uses this imagery in its first stanza:

Esse Mayor que todo el edificio
Magnífico Salón, Theatro grave
A donde aún el silencio apenas cave,
Por ser siempre menor que su artificio.²⁰

In this first stanza, Pellicer y Tovar's sonnet captures the magnificence of the room, a space where even silence refuses to fall for fear of being less great than the spectacular nature of the room itself. Pedro Rosete Niño's sonnet dedicated to the Hall of Realms depicts the space in similar terms, marrying poetry, power and art:

Está al valor, este al poder sagrado
Palestra Imperial, Orbe Ceñido,
De Victorias que el Arte ha conseguido,
De Reynos que el Pincel ha fabricado.
(Rosete Niño, 'Al Salón del Buen Retiro', sign. D1^v)

Rosete Niño's sonnet, like Pellicer's, draws attention to the space of the Hall of Realms as an imperial arena, the theatre of war and victory, as well as the victory of the art adorning the walls of the space. Additionally, it draws attention to the art and artifice to aesthetise the reality of power, emphasising a cultural victory of art over a military one.

The evocation of the paintings adorning the walls of the Hall of Realms in the poetry is a particularly important discursive element, because it not only recreates the space within the most glorious room of the palace in terms of exposing its cultural aspects, but also exposes the relationship between poetic text and allegorical painting that was prevalent at the time. This was a discursive element, too, of Vicente Carducho's 1633 text *Diálogos de la pintura*, which reinscribes the contemporary link between poetry and art, and the importance of linking image and text in this way.²¹ The paintings of the Hall of Realms were especially commissioned by the court, and represented different forms of allegory and iconography.²² The

²⁰ José Pellicer y Tovar, 'Al mismo assumpto', *Elogios al Palacio Real del Buen Retiro, escritos por algunos ingenios de España*, ed. by Diego de Covarrubias y Leyva (Madrid: Imprenta del Reyno, 1635), sign. D3^r.

²¹ Vicente Carducho's *Diálogos de la pintura* is a treatise that focuses on the subject of the value of painting. The text involves the intercalation of discussion of art and portraiture with poetry from notable poets of the time, such as Lope de Vega and Francisco López de Zárate.

²² Brown and Elliott, p. 150.

most prominent collection was the set of twelve battle scenes depicting the victories won by Philip IV's armies, as well as five equestrian portraits and ten paintings depicting the life and trials of Hercules.²³ Brown and Elliott note that five paintings from this collection of battle scenes depicted military events occurring in the year of 1625 alone.²⁴ In the paintings of the Salón de Reinos, the room is depicted in terms of the interaction between two particular images of the king: one that expressed his military power, and one that aligned him with godlike status.

In the poetic evocation of these paintings, therefore, there is the reciprocity between image and text like that advocated by Carducho. The specific pieces of art that inspired the poets to encapsulate the glory of the new palace tended towards military themes that exposed a triumphant glory: the recapturing of a place or the depiction of the crests of the regions of Spain, united under the crown. Four poems, for example, are dedicated to the theme of a particular painting, Juan Bautista Maíno's *The Recapture of Bahia*, painted in 1633, which commemorated a military enterprise undertaken ten years earlier, the recapture of the Brazilian port of Salvador de Bahia from the Dutch. Gabriel de Roa, Alonso Pérez de las Cuentas y Zayas, Ana Ponce de León and Andres Carlos de Balmaseda all concentrate their eulogies on the subject of the Buen Retiro on this painting, choosing to project a particular ideology rather than represent the palace itself, so as to replace its image of recreation and frivolity with the greatness of military victory, and above all the victory of the politics of the monarch:

Tanto imitar el natural procura,
Cuanto formar Fray Juan quiso en su Idea,
Y lo informe pincel fácil asea
Con gala, con destreza, y con blandura.

Del Revelde Olandés armas rendidas,
Victorias de Filipo dilatadas,
Y en sucintos Perfiles reduzidas,

Mejor que en bronce, en lino están gravadas,
Porque escritas no tienen, ni esculpidas.
El vivo aliento que les da pintadas.
(Ponce de León, 'A la pintura que fray Juan Baptista pintó para el Retiro de la expulsión de los Olandeses del Brasil', sign. D2^r)

Ana Ponce de León's sonnet parallels the skills of the painter in depicting the scene with such beauty and vivid colours, and the skills of the monarch for having brought such a feat to fruition, as though the king himself had entered the fray. In this, there is the allusion drawn between the paintbrush and the sword, with both requiring a particular level of skill,

²³ Brown and Elliott, p. 150.

²⁴ Brown and Elliott, p. 173.

training and dexterity in order to wield them to their full potential. The conceit of equating the powers of the paintbrush and the sword is an image also used in the final tercet of Pedro Rosete Niño's contribution:

Vendrá el Revelde a tributar dos glorias,
Una a la espada, para las hazañas,
Al Pincel otra, para las memorias.
(Rosete Niño, 'Al Salón del Buen Retiro', sign. D1^v)

The repetition of this image of parallelism between the paintbrush and the sword describes the power of the monarch. Rosete Niño's sonnet, too, foregrounds this concept of the linking of poetry, art and power by attributing to the paintbrush a power equal to that of the sword.

This image of imperial power is repeated in both Pellicer y Tovar's sonnet on the kingdom of Castile y León and Juan de Solís' sonnet on the paintings of the coats of arms of the 24 kingdoms that formed Spain in the reign of Philip IV. Juan de Solís, in the first stanza, refers to the size of the empire as a measure of the power of the monarch:

Teatro, Que grandezas representa
De Españoles Monarchas, y Pintura
Que, ilustre de artificio, y hermosura,
Su Imperio en dilatado Mapa ostenta.
(Solís, 'Al Príncipe nuestro señor en alabança del Salón...', sign. C1^r)

Solís initially represents the paintings of the coats of arms as a map, depicting the Spanish Empire at its most large and grandiose, and as a theatre enacting the greatness of the monarchy. The tercets focus on the greatness and centrality of the figure of the king:

Donde, o Príncipe Sacro, en los Blasones
De quien tu ardiente espíritu recibe,
Si no nuevo valor, nuevos deseos,

Estudies, Generoso, emulaciones.
En tanto, que otra estancia se apercibe,
No mejor, más Capaz a tus trofeos.
(Solís, sign. C1^r)

Addressing the young prince and heir to the throne, Baltasar Carlos, Solís evokes a glorious futurity in the image of the young prince, an inspiration to be a great and powerful king like his father. Solís' poem could also refer to the portrait of the young prince alongside Philip III, Philip IV and their queens in a series of equestrian portraits, which represented the dynastic succession of the monarchy, thereby suggesting a sense of the present and future continuity of the glory of the court.²⁵

²⁵ Brown and Elliott, p. 163.

A sense of colour and illumination pervades the poems, and the sun in particular forms an important underlying image in reference to the king, positioning him as the central figure around which orbited his constellation of the court society, as well as the shining, dazzling glory much like that which was attributed to Louis XIV, the *Roi-Soleil*. This particular theme of the poetry paints the space as a dazzling one, filled with light and vivid colours: 'Este espejo del día', begins Luis Vélez de Guevara's contribution to the volume (Vélez de Guevara, 'Al Buen Retiro', sign. A2^r). José de Valdivielso's offering to the collection is even more explicit in its allusions to light in the representation of the palace. His *silva* similarly focuses on the Salón de Reinos and radiates with light and references to the sun:

Este Regio Palacio
 Embidia del carbunco, y del topacio,
 De la casa del Sol, casa luciente,
 Del Sol, que hermoso coronó su frente
 De rayos de Laurel, a quien la fama
 Sol de dos mundos, y Rey solo aclama:
 Salón florido, tocador de Flora,
 Camarín de la aurora,
 Guardajoyas del día
 Y de la primavera
 Bella tapicería.
 (Valdivielso, 'Al Salón del nuevo Palacio', sign. A1^{r-v})

The first half of Valdivielso's poem is dedicated to this theme of the dazzling and illuminated, with references to beautiful jewels such as rubies and topaz evoking the sense of beauty and reflection of light hitting their surfaces. The allusions to light intensify with the references to the 'casa del Sol, casa luciente', which depicts the Buen Retiro as flooded in light, consumed and defined by the sun, such was its radiance, both in the realm of its size and in the cultural contribution in the form of its art collection in the Salón de Reinos. As the light shines into the room, the colours of the pieces of art in the Salón become illuminated too, shining brighter and becoming a dressing table or jewellery box of light and colour ('camarín de la aurora, / guardajoyas del día'). This theme of illumination is repeated throughout the poems in multiple references to a 'casa del Sol' and similar representations of the Salón de Reinos that paint the king and court society as the constellation Norbert Elias came to describe centuries later, holding the king as the most important being at its centre. Philip IV, of course, was known as the *rey planeta*, rather than the Sun King, but this allusion to illumination within the poems reinscribes this representation of power and greatness.

These themes reach their culmination in the final poem by Pellicer, a lengthy ode to the palace that draws on the already established discourses of the mythification of the king, the theme of cultural illumination and the

military prowess reflected in the Hall of Realms in order to deliver a powerful portrait of the palace and monarch. Allusions to the classical in Pellicer's poem are used to show the greatness of the palace, and reveal it as an architectural feat, despite the fact that contemporary critics both local and foreign did not feel it was grand enough for a king. Allusions to pyramids, Babylon and labyrinths provide an evocation of the scale and size of the palace, as well as aligning it as an eighth wonder of the world, a 'máquina ilustre, monte de edificios':

Calle la bárbara Menfis
 Con sus Pirámides, callen
 Del sudor de Babilonia
 Los espléndidos afanes.
 (Pellicer y Tovar, 'Panegírico al Palacio Real del Buen Retiro', sign. F1^r-H1^v, at F3^r)

To this end, Pellicer also cites examples of classically recognised greatness in order to emphasise the centrality of the figure of the monarch, as well as the greatness of the surroundings. He uses the effigy of Rome in particular, of Augustus Caesar, in order to enhance the image of the king. This effect, in turn, is augmented by the resuscitation of great monarchs closer to home, once again reinscribing the power and centrality of the monarch through a historical family tree of dynastic succession:

Los Ramiros, los Alfonsos,
 Pedros, Fernandos, y Jaymes,
 Aragonesas Reliquias
 de los Eudones y Aznares.
 (Pellicer y Tovar, sign. F1^r-H1^v, at G3^v)

Pellicer's ode to the palace presents the culmination of the thematic development of the volume of poetry, focusing on the mythologisation of the space of the palace and its king in order to present a glorious and powerful monarch whose strength is unparalleled, Herculean, and whose cultural achievements in turn emphasise this particular projection of his persona in the space of the Buen Retiro.

In terms of the particular cultural spatialisation of the Retiro in other ways, however, Luis Quiñones de Benavente's short *entremés* entitled *Las Dueñas* exposes a theatricality of the palace that reveals yet more of the grounds and outside space surrounding the Retiro. The *entremés*, which featured in his 1645 collection of short plays and narratives entitled *Jocoseria*, was designed specifically to be staged on and around the area of the Estanque of the Buen Retiro, a man-made lake in its grounds that was known for its fantastical plays with the open-air surroundings and body of water allowing for the representation of mock sea battles. It was also a space in which the renowned talents of Cosme Lotti were able to shine in the scenography and lavish sets with machinery for added artifice. Cosme Lotti was an Italian scenographer who was headhunted by Philip IV in

1626 from the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and was representative of the continued efforts of the monarchy to foreground the magnificence of the king and his patronage of the arts in more elaborate and grandiose ways.²⁶ By trade, Lotti was a hydraulic engineer, though he was specifically renowned for the invention of his *tramoyas*, which allowed for changes in scenery, and by which the characters in the act could be seen to fly.²⁷ Núñez de Castro commented on this new mode of theatrical production in 1658, when he referred to this machinery employed by Lotti and the spectacle it afforded the eyes:

En las Comedias de tramoyas que han admirado la Corte, el objeto mas delicioso a la vista han sido las mudanças totales del Teatro, ya proponiendo un Palacio a los ojos, ya un Jardín, ya un Bosque, ya un Río picando con arrebatado curso sus corrientes, ya un Mar inquieto en borrascas, ya sossegado en suspensa calma. (Núñez de Castro, fol. 8^r)

Núñez de Castro's account of the stage machinery relates the visual delight of the early modern palace theatre, where the eyes could take in a palace, a garden, or a sea without moving from the audience. This delight to the eyes and admiration of the court spectacle was a costly affair, but within the space of the Buen Retiro for the delight of the court, it imbued the space of the court with the theatrical, a concept that spilled over into the rest of the city.

The plot of Quiñones de Benavente's *Las Dueñas* and the characters are both largely inconsequential to the commentary on the theatricality of the space provided by the author. The plot relates the adventures of a merry band of revellers on the night of San Juan, whose decision to head to the Estanque in order to celebrate the evening exposes the fact that the Manzanares has completely dried up, and is therefore an unsuitable locale for their celebrations. The subtitle of the play – 'que se hizo en el Estanque' – however, reveals a fundamental connection between the Buen Retiro and a form of court theatricality that developed within its space and supported the projection of the image of the court as a patron of the arts. In this respect, Quiñones de Benavente's text is necessarily self-referential, and the text draws attention to this fact through the dialogue depicting the space and stage machinery of the Estanque, in addition to in turn drawing attention to its own status as a theatrical production:

Peral: ¡Que teatro tan solemne,
 que tramoyas tan vistosas!
Todos: ¿Quien las hizo?
Peral: Cosmelot.

²⁶ Brown and Elliott, p. 47.

²⁷ Paul C. Castagno, *Theatrical Spaces and Dramatic Places: The Reemergence of the Theatre Building in the Renaissance* (Tuscaloosa, AL: The University of Alabama Press, 1996), p. 127.

Insigne en aquestas obras.²⁸

This self-referentiality of the text provides a comic simultaneity that both draws attention to the *entremés* as a work of theatre in its own right, but also the layering of narration in which Benavente uses his piece of theatre to in turn make a comment on theatre in the space of the Retiro palace itself. The reference to the machinery, and to Cosme Lotti, draws attention to the spectacular process of the theatre in the Retiro, and how the space of the palace, and thus the projection of the image of the king, had become defined by a theatricality in early modern Madrid. Quiñones de Benavente's *entremés* not only devotes space to the topography of the court, but also provides insight into the process of the theatre in the city, exposing the way in which it became a performance. References to a 'fiesta naval' in the text evoke images of mock sea battles, as well as the image of the king watching the proceedings of the entertainment from a boat on the Estanque itself:

Las representaciones teatrales y fiestas acuáticas en el estanque del Buen Retiro fueron de gran aparato y espectacularidad, de la que, en ocasiones, participaba el pueblo y cortesanos, mirando desde la orilla, en una suerte de teatro dentro del teatro, pues veían, a su vez, a rey y nobles que contemplaban la escena desde las barcas.²⁹

The theatrical exploits of mock naval battles in the Estanque of the Buen Retiro palace, then, represent another way in which the court used the space of the palace for theatre.

Quiñones de Benavente also draws attention to the illumination and scenery of the Retiro, lit up for the representation of plays and entremeses such as his own. There is a reference to an early modern version of stage lighting in the exclamation of one of his characters, describing how the space of the Estanque is where 'el agua y el fuego se han hechos amigos' (*Las Dueñas*, fol. 170^v), describing the artifice required to stage the plays. This is repeated later in the text, with the reference to the glittering lights in the sun, moon and stars that reflect off the surface of the water:

Luisa:	¿Que Sol y Luna le adornan?
Todos:	Mil lunas, y mil soles vemos.
Niña:	¿Y que estrellas la guarnecen?

²⁸ Luis Quiñones de Benavente, *Entremés cantado de las Dueñas. Que se hizo en el Estanque del Retiro, entre las compañías de Prado, y Roque*, in *Joco seria, burlas varias, o reprehension moral, y festiva de los desordenes publicos: en doze entremeses representados, y veinte y quatro cantados* (Madrid: Francisco García, 1645), fols 168^v-172^v (fol. 170^r).

²⁹ José María Díez Borque, 'Teatro español del siglo XVII: Pluralidad de espacios, pluralidad de recepciones', in *El teatro del Siglo de Oro ante los espacios de la crítica: encuentros y revisiones*, ed. by Enrique García Santo-Tomás (Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2002), pp. 140-172 (p. 149).

Todos: De las luzes los reflejos. (*Las Dueñas*, fol. 172^r)

This allusion to the stars twinkling and reflecting on the water also gives the image, too, of forms of stage lighting being reflected in the water of the Estanque, appearing like stars on the water, and emphasises further the sensation of illumination that underlines representation of the Retiro Palace.

The difference in the projection of image and relationship with urban space between the two main palaces of the golden age is particularly fascinating. On the one hand, the Alcázar projects the king as a private, hard-to-reach persona, which speaks volumes of the power of prestige and privilege, creating power through his absence. On the other hand, the glory and sumptuousness of the Buen Retiro palace enhance the centrality of the monarch as a figure of culture, aligned with the greatest leaders of the Roman Empire in order to emphasise the court as a producer of culture.

THE ROYAL HUNT

The parks and hunting grounds of Madrid were the theatres of action in the city, the way in which the king could project the image of might and pure power to the watching crowds. The hunt was an elite enterprise that only a select few could participate in, but it was a fundamental exercise in power for the monarchy, an institution of early modern Spanish life that required the king to hunt. It was not that the royal hunt in itself was an activity specific to the early modern Spanish court; the hunt was a prominent activity of any court. When the Spanish court came to Madrid, however, the proximity of the hunting grounds to the metropolitan centre offered a new form of visibility and ostentation to project the image of the court across the city.

The royal hunt had a strict order and organisation to it that emphasised the ceremonial glory of the king in ascending levels of power: the trumpeters were first, followed by the hawkers, servants and the *catarriberas*, who were servants who tracked the falcon and caught it as it descended with its prey. Following this came the hunters, the master of the hunt and finally the king himself.³⁰ Juan Mateos, the master of the hunt of Philip IV, describes the importance of the exercise in his 1634 text entitled *Origen y dignidad de la caça*:

La Dignidad deste noble exercicio se conoce fácilmente, por ser propia acción de Reyes y Principes, y el Maestro mas docto que puede enseñar mejor el Arte militar teórica y prácticamente. Los

³⁰ Carmelo Lisón Tolosana, *La imagen del rey: monarquía, realeza y poder ritual en la Casa de los Austrias* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1992), p. 124.

Bosques son escuelas, los enemigos las fieras; y así con razón es llamada la Caça viva imagen de la guerra.³¹

Mateos' reference to the importance of the royal hunt links it with the art of war, a way of training kings and future kings to fight on the front lines to defend the monarchy and country. This image that linked hunting and war was a common one, but it was also potent. The image of the royal hunt as the living image of war, with the beasts portrayed as the enemies and the woods the military academy, was a statement in itself, then, of the power of the monarch and his aptitude as a powerful military leader.

The royal hunt was, in its most basic form, an exercise in machismo, the subservience of beast to one man, the king. Such was the importance of the hunt in the city of Madrid that the entire structure of the city was altered in a fundamental way, so that there were dense woods, ponds and arenas in which the king could practice his sport on the outer edges of the city. The Casa de Campo and El Pardo were the main spaces in which this sport was represented, the places of boars, rabbits and bears that ended up at the business end of the arquebus of Philip IV, who was said to be a great hunter and a good shot.³² The breeding of animals for this purpose of hunting and court pageantry is alluded to in some descriptions of the Alcázar palace, with references to a breeding ground for animals in its surrounding structure, perhaps referencing the artificial hunting practices of the court, as well as the court entertainment of placing exotic animals in an arena to fight to the death.³³ The importance of the royal hunt becomes apparent in the richness of the material chronicling the frequent occurrences. Jerónimo de Barrionuevo's chronicles of the minutiae of court life in the decade of the 1650s depict many hunts in which the king heroically slays a boar or a wolf:

Mató el Rey un lobo muy grande el otro día, y costóle de cebar para que viniese a sus manos, 18,000 reales, de diversos animales que le ponían vivos, sin perdonar asno viejo. Pusieron la cabeza dél en el jardín contra lor. Es como la de un caballo. Han ido muchos a verle, entre ellos el Patriarca, que dijo: "Aquí falta poner: 'Costó esta muerte 18,000 reales.'"

El miércoles vino el Rey del Escorial de otra caza, donde se dice ha gastado 30,000 reales.³⁴

Barrionuevo's evocation of the king killing a wolf and then placing its head on a pike for all to witness his might is the representation of court power

³¹ Juan Mateos, *Origen y dignidad de la caça* (Madrid: Francisco Martinez, 1634), x.

³² Brown and Elliott, p. 33.

³³ José Deleito y Piñuela, *El rey se divierte: recuerdos de hace tres siglos*, 2nd edn (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1955), p. 101.

³⁴ Jerónimo de Barrionuevo, *Avisos (1654-1658)*, ed. by A. Paz y Mélia, 4 vols (I) (Madrid: Imprenta y Fundación de M. Tello, 1892), p. 252.

par excellence, despite the note that it had cost 18,000 *reales* to keep the wolf fed for such an exercise. The note that many had come to observe the decapitated wolf's head similarly reinscribes the importance of the royal hunt in preserving and spatialising power in the city. Barrionuevo's *relaciones* provide yet another fascinating snippet in a news item regarding the link between catastrophic political or economic events and the necessity of reinscribing monarchical power on such occasions:

Sábado 23, que fue el día que su Majestad supo la pérdida de sus galeones, se fue luego al Pardo a cazar. Púsose a las tres a caballo con los monteros. Sobrevino tal tempestad de aguacero, viento y truenos, que se hundía del mundo, o quizá el cielo lloraba de congoja. (Barrionuevo, II, pp. 540-1)

On the 23rd September 1656, Barrionuevo writes, the king had heard word of the loss of his galleons, which may have been the ship *Nuestra Señora de las Maravillas*, on a home journey from the Bahamas loaded with gold when it ran aground and split in two. Upon hearing the catastrophic news, Barrionuevo recounts that the king immediately chose to go hunting, an odd response, perhaps, but equally one that could be read as having been calculated to redress the balance in a confident display of the monarch's skill and power with the royal hunt, if not a human response of frustration and anger. Velázquez's famous painting *La Tela Real* similarly evoked this costly enterprise and spectator sport; it portrays the king slaying a boar while members of the court watched from outside an arena that contains the beast, cornered in order for the king to project the image of monarchical power. The hunt was of such importance that, on the visit of the Prince of Wales in 1623, the itinerary included at least two hunting expeditions in order to prove the glory of the monarch to the prospective husband of the Infanta.³⁵

The Casa de Campo was a large space to the west of the city that overlooked the Manzanares, well known for housing within its structure the bronze equestrian statue of Philip III created by Giovanni Bologna and Pietro Tacca in 1616 (later relocated to the Plaza Mayor of Madrid). Jerónimo de Quintana's depiction of the space evokes a green, lush space primarily used for the leisure of the king, despite the fact that the royal hunt was far from a leisure activity:

De la otra parte de las vertientes de Mançanares está la Casa Real del campo, poblada de arboledas, mirtos y arrayanes. Causan amenidad a la vista los jardines curiosos, y al olfato conortan varias y olorosas flores; el apacible ruydo que hazen al despeñarse los cristales de las ingeniosas y sumptuosas fuentes recrea el oído, junto con la suave harmonía de las parleras aves; al gusto ofrece su deporte la fruta regalada [...]. Y para mayor grandeza está a la entrada la estatua de bronze de Filipo Tercero en un cavallo de lo

³⁵ *El rey se divierte*, p. 186.

mismo, de seiscientas arrobas de peso, que embió a este gran Monarca desde Florencia el gran Duque de Toscana, tan al natural, que admira. (Quintana, fol. 374^r)

Quintana's depiction of the Casa de Campo evokes the *locus amoenus* metaphor, painting a restful, green space in the midst of the city that formed a retreat. He describes the hunting grounds of El Pardo in similar terms, with references to a space rich in game and beasts roaming, ready to be picked off for the kill by the monarch:

Goza este sitio de verdes y apacibles florestas, está cercado de montes, y bosques poblados de todo genero de caza, venados, ciervos, gamos, liebres, conejos, y jabalíes, es la campiña a proposito para caça de bolateria, de mucho deleyte y recreación. (Quintana, fol. 374^v)

Quintana's description of this particular form of the spatiality of the court again depicts the space as a retreat from the city, rich in game and greenery in order to take his leisure from the pressures of court life, with the added bonus of falconry allowing him to show off more skills deemed appropriate for a monarch.

Velázquez' *La Tela Real*, however, foregrounds an important nuance of the royal hunt that is not presented in the daring exploits of derring-do that glorified the king as a mighty hunter. The depiction of the enclosure into which the boar was released exposes a discourse on the artificiality of this enterprise in the court as a means to creating and spatialising power. To this end, a volume of poetry describing a single event in the hunting expeditions of the king replicates this sense of the royal hunt as an artificial enterprise. The volume, which is entitled *Anfiteatro de Felipe el Grande*, surfaced in 1631 and is a collection of poems collated by the royal chronicler José Pellicer de Tovar on the subject of a minor event of the king shooting an enraged bull from his box in the Buen Retiro using an arquebus. The volume contains contributions from prominent poets and writers of the age, such as Francisco de Quevedo and Lope de Vega, all praising the marksmanship and power of the monarch in some 87 pieces of panegyric verse dedicated to this minor hunting event.

There is an immediate undercurrent of the theatrical through the poetry. The poem by Antonio de Solís begins with the line '¿De qué te admiras, pueblo bullicioso?', drawing attention to the need for the discourse of power to be witnessed interiorised and disseminated among those watching.³⁶ The poem by the Marquis of Javalquinto, a gentleman of the bedchamber of the king, reinscribed the three parallel images of the theatre of the Retiro, the theatre of the royal hunt and the theatre of war

³⁶ Antonio de Solís, 'Epigrama LX', in *Anfiteatro de Felipe el Grande*, ed. by José Pellicer y Tovar (Sevilla: Imprenta de E. Rasco, 1890), p. 92.

by alluding to a Greek theatrical production, replete with a 'chorus', the audience of the spectacle:

Espectáculo nuevo, alterno coro,
 En teatro real, inquieta fama,
 A ver en competencia fiera llama
 Oso, tigre, león, caballo y toro.
 (Javalquinto, V, p. 37)

In Javalquinto's poem, there is again the emphasis on a form of witnessing in the allusion to a Greek theatrical production, the emphasis on the need for a witness to the king's great feat as emphasised by Barrionuevo's note on the display of a wolf's head for the viewing of members of the court. Many other poems in the collection reinscribe this theatricality of the royal hunt, pointing to the role of the spectator as a way in which the monarch could legitimise his power, as shown in the *Tela Real* by Velázquez. The most prominent theme of the poems, however, is the way in which they express the power and skill of the king, connecting this particular representation of the king in urban space as defined by a godly physicality.

The parallel images of man and beast, civilisation and barbarism, are implemented to this end. Much is made of the savagery of the beast and its wild ferocity in opposition to the skill and piety of the king, who has tamed the beast and forced it to yield to the metal of the arquebus:

¿De qué te admiras, pueblo bullicioso?
 Si el acierto del rey bastó a moverte,
 Menos hazaña es que un rey acierte,
 Cuanto es más que los hombres poderoso.
 Si la suerte de un bruto, que ambicioso
 En la piedad del rey buscó su muerte,
 Solo llamara la ignorancia suerte,
 Morir de los rigores de un piadoso.
 (Antonio de Solís, LX, p. 92)

In the above extract, the bull is represented as having met its fate at the hands of such a pious, skilful king, whose hand both prevents the bull from suffering, yet also represents almost a benediction.

It is not the struggle between man and beast that represent the crux of the discourse within the collection, however. Across the entirety of the poems there are two specific images attributed to the king as a way of reinscribing his power. Pellicer's foreword to the collection foreshadows this imagery in his reference to the eulogisation of the deeds of kings: 'Es tan antiguo el uso de celebrar las acciones heroicas de los reyes' (Pellicer y Tovar, p. 14). In his introduction, Pellicer evokes the world of Greek and Latin myth, with references to Jason, Theseus and Hercules, classical

heroes famed for their strength, in order to frame the hunting prowess of Philip IV.

Several of the poems frame the king as Jupiter, the Roman king of the gods, underlining the exaggerated power of the monarch:

A las armas de Júpiter rendido
 El terror de las fieras, el que ahuyenta
 Cuantos la selva monstruos alimenta,
 Más que venciendo mereció vencido.
 (Juan de Solís, XVIII, p. 50)

Juan de Solís' poem presents the bull yielding to the power of Jupiter, a mythological characterisation of the king that is later underlined in the final tercets of the poem by a reference to 'Jove hispano', the mortal Spanish king of the gods. The king is also framed as Caesar himself in several poems, yet again depicting a powerful ruler, albeit more earthly and historically great than the heroes of Roman mythology:

Sea de hoy más, ¡o César castellano!
 Ceder a tu valor fortuna cierta,
 Pues tanta fiera se festeja muerta
 De que fué intento de tu heroica mano.
 (Hipólito Pellicer de Tovar, XXIV, p. 56)

Hipólito Pellicer de Tovar's poem dedicated to the episode of the king and the bull draws on Roman history, rather than mythology, in order to align the king with another great ruler, describing him as a Spanish Caesar and thus imbuing him with the greatness of a historic rule. The remainder of his verses reflect this ideological portrayal, underlining the Philip IV's power and greatness by evoking Rome, Mount Olympus and the emperor Domitian in order to reinforce the king as a reincarnation of past greatness. These references to a godlike king echo the positioning of the Hercules-king imagery seen in the Hall of Realms of the Buen Retiro, and were not an unusual representation of the early modern period, with Henri IV of France also positioned as the 'Hercule Gaullois'. Philip IV, however, is positioned as a quasi-god, an earthly deity that emphasises his mortality. This allusion to the mythological, however, does form an echo of the creation myths of Madrid, centring the king firmly as the emblematic figure of the mythical space of the city. The fundamental aspect of this volume of poetry in terms of the court and its spatial relationship to the city, is the seriousness in the way in which the poets celebrate the minor event of the king having shot a bull. It is not the content of the poems themselves, but rather the fact that this collection exists at all, that describes the importance of the royal hunt, and thus the importance in the topography of the court in the city of Madrid.

THE CHURCH AND RELIGIOUS FOUNDATIONS

On the subject of Spanish religious devotion, French traveller Barthélemy Joly, adviser and almoner of Louis XIII, has this to say about a church sermon experienced while on his travels between 1603 and 1604:

C'est pourquoy deux choses me trouboient aux sermons d'Espagne, ceste véhémence extrême, presque turbulente, du prédicateur et les soupirs continuelz des femmes, si grans et véhémens qu'ilz perturboient toute l'attention.³⁷

Joly's evocation of the devotional rites of seventeenth century Spain provides an almost comical account of an ululating preacher throwing himself about in the pulpit fighting for his voice to be heard over the loud, continual sighs of the women of the congregation. Joly's account, however tinged by the antagonistic relationship between the two countries, does serve as an interesting point of departure on the subject of how the church functioned within early modern Spanish society, and thus early modern Madrilenian society, for the delivery of particular ideologies to its people.

In 1600 there were already 30 convents and monasteries built in Madrid, with another 35 in the process of being built by the middle of the century according to Jesús Escobar.³⁸ González Dávila cites 20 monasteries and 15 convents for the year of 1623 without counting the churches (González Dávila, p. 11). Jerónimo de Quintana counts 73 religious buildings in Madrid as of the year 1629, counting convents, monasteries and hospitals among them:

Ha crecido tanto esta devoción que de setenta y tres Templos que tiene esta Villa entre Parrochias y Conventos, Hospitales, y recogimientos, los treinta y quatro dellos son dedicados a la Virgen santíssima. (Quintana, fol. 383^r)

It is interesting that Quintana should cite an increase in religious devotion as the catalyst Madrid's increasingly ecclesiastical landscape, because this urban development of the city was not one that was led by the piety of its inhabitants. By the time Philip IV came to the throne, one third of the buildings in Madrid were ecclesiastical buildings, amid a chronic lack of appropriate housing for the steadily growing population of the city.³⁹ In the year of 1656, Pedro de Teixeira's topographical map of the city represents a total of 57 convents and monasteries alone, without counting

³⁷ Barthélemy Joly, 'Voyage de Barthélemy Joly en Espagne (1603-1604)', ed. by L. Barrau-Dihigo, *Revue Hispanique*, 20 (1909), pp. 459-618 (p. 554).

³⁸ Jesús Escobar, *The Plaza Mayor and The Shaping of Baroque Madrid* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 34.

³⁹ Luis Cervera Vera, 'La época de los Austrias', in *Resumen histórico del urbanismo en España*, ed. by A. Garcíá y Bellido et al (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios de Administración Local, 1968), pp. 171-209 (p. 201).

the many churches that had sprung up in the city, occupying much of its possible residential space. In early modern society the church was an important part of urban infrastructure, fulfilling not only a strong economic role in Madrid, but also offering collective acts of piety and worship for the inhabitants, a structure by which inhabitants told the time, shared gossip and experienced social interaction and navigated the city. The saturation of the church in the urban topography of Madrid, however, was not the reflection of the needs of the inhabitants.

The astonishing way in which the church began to take over the early modern city of Madrid provides a specific way in which the court extended its sphere of power over the city. Madrid was a capital city without a cathedral, yet this did not prevent the city from developing its established religious topography that began in the reign of Philip II and continued with vigour for years to come. The interaction between the court and a religious topography, then, was not so much to inculcate devoted worshipping behaviours in the public of Madrid, but to elaborate upon a very important aspect of the projection of the monarchy: the king's relationship with God and the relationship of the court with its religious orders. The religious orders and convents, of course, needed to be present at court in order to obtain funding, noble or royal patronage and prominence, and this is one reason as to why they proliferated over the city landscape with such intensity.

The deification of urban space in Madrid revealed two specific character traits about the king within this creation of a space of power. The first was that he was the central figure, the quasi-divine king and pious leader of the 'Corte Católica', an epithet and ideological conceptualisation of the court that began to surge to the fore in the seventeenth century.⁴⁰ The second was that it provided a reminder of the potential of the king's repressive power in the very public executions of heretics under the Spanish Inquisition. The way in which this played out in the city was in the continual building of religious foundations, and the use of the Plaza Mayor for the *autos da fe*, as well as the topography of the religious celebrations that formed a more temporary courtly occupation of space. González Dávila's documentation of the religious foundations of the city provides insight into the former, with the second book of his work reading as lengthy lists of the convents, monasteries and other religious foundations the city boasted by 1623. González Dávila's evocation of this aspect of the court also involves a discussion of the parishes of the city, describing above all, the parish churches and their most notable baptisms. Although this represented a form of ecclesiastical architecture that was not directly a product of the court, their number in Madrid was a marker of population growth, wealth and the movement from city to capital.

⁴⁰ María José del Río Barredo, *Madrid, urbs regia: la capital ceremonial de la Monarquía Católica* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2000), p. 9.

Even more interesting is González Dávila's revelation of the fact that in all these parish churches, convents, monasteries and other religious foundations, one million masses were heard each year, an astounding figure that serves not as historical fact, but as a reminder of the sheer saturation of the church within Madrilenian urban space:

En todas estas Parroquias, Hospitales, Capillas, Hermitas y Humilladeros se dizen en cada año un millón de misas, y tienen mil y quarenta y ocho lámparas de plata. (González Dávila, p. 308)

González Dávila's evocation of such an enormous number of masses heard in the city combines with the comprehensive list of religious foundations (47 are listed in the index) to underline the centrality of the church as a marker of capitalhood and urban growth.

This exaggeration of the religious foundations in the court is similarly demonstrated in Antonio Liñan y Verdugo's *Guía y avisos de forasteros que vienen a la Corte*. In the final chapter the characters are discussing the merits of choosing a lodging in close proximity to a church. Don Antonio, an old courtier, remarks that this stipulation would be unlikely to present a problem, 'porque pocas calles ay ya en esta Corte, que merezcan este nombre, que no aya Iglesia, Monasterio o Parroquia o Hospital'.⁴¹

Liñan y Verdugo depicts the court city as filled with ecclesiastical buildings, where there were very few streets that were not occupied by a religious foundation. Perhaps even more interesting than this aside is the discussion that follows, which entails a list of every religious foundation in the city up until 1620:

Por la parte de Oriente que mira al Mediodía, siguiendo la calle de Atocha hasta la plaça Mayor, está, aún antes de entrar en Madrid, nuestra Señora de Atocha, Monasterio de Religiosos de la Orden de santo Domingo, y el Monasterio de santa Isabel, de monjas Agustinas Recoletas, Monasterio Real, y fundación de las donzellas, hijas de criados de su Magestad; luego, a pocos passos, el Hospital General y frontero dél las Monjas Capuchinas, y a corto trecho destos los Desamparados, el Hospital de Antón Martín, las niñas de N. S. de Loreto, las Monjas de la Madalena, la Parroquia de San Sebastián, el Monasterio de la Santíssima Trinidad, el Monasterio de los Religiosos de santo Domingo, que se llama el Colegio de Atocha, y la Parroquia de santa Cruz. (Liñan y Verdugo, fols 146^r-146^v)

Liñan y Verdugo's list is five pages long, and the above excerpt reveals a mere snippet into its level of detail. The list covers the religious

⁴¹ Antonio Liñan y Verdugo, *Guía y avisos de forasteros, a donde se les enseña a huir de los peligros que ay en la Corte* (Madrid: Viuda de Alonso Martin, 1620), fol. 146^r.

foundations of the city in a comprehensive manner from compass point to compass point, reinscribing the city as a space saturated in the influence of the church. As the city of residence for the *rey católico* and ruler of the Catholic Court, this reinforced ecclesiastical topography perhaps underlines not only the quasi-divinity of the king, but also, through the structure of the religious buildings, the ubiquity of his image all over the city. With this ubiquity came power and devotion.

When the king did choose to appear in public in the city, one particular reason was in order to participate in religious celebrations, exposing another way in which the court occupied the city space, since the celebrations took the form of ornate, solemn processions through its streets, for example at Corpus Christi or during Easter Week. Quintana notes in his chronicle that there were so many such processions in Madrid that he could not list all of them (Quintana, fol. 386^r). Chronicler Almansa y Mendoza describes a processional route on the day of Corpus Christi in the city in the twelfth letter of his *Cartas*:

Comenzó a salir, como suele, de la iglesia de Santa María (Perroquia más antigua), a las nueve de la mañana, y se acabó cerca de las tres de la tarde; bajó por la puerta de la casa, que se quemó, del Almirante de Castilla, y por la del duque de Pastrana, y por las caballerizas del Rey, derecha a la puerta de Palacio, subió hasta San Juan, y, por la puerta de la casa que se está labrando del conde del Olivares, a la calle de Santiago, y salió a la puerta de Guadalajara, y bajó por la Platería, y casa del marqués de Cañete, a la Iglesia donde había salido.⁴²

Almansa y Mendoza's chronicle relates the Corpus Christi procession of 1623 during the visit of the Prince of Wales, which contextualises the particularly splendid nature of the procession in this instance, a motive to best display the glory of the Spanish court to a potential match from another land. Almansa y Mendoza's report of a circular processional route around the city ending up where it started for the day of Corpus Christi is even more evocative of the spatiality of the court in this respect. This particular fiesta took place in the very centre of the city so that the king's appearance would not be missed by those watching in the streets.

The procession involved the participation of multiple religious orders, and the adornment of the streets with drapes and embroideries, as well as an altar in front of the palace:

Estuvieron todas las calles y partes dichas ricamente aderezadas de colgaduras y tapicerías [...] y frontero de Palacio hubo un altar con

⁴² Andrés de Almansa y Mendoza, *Cartas de Andrés de Almansa y Mendoza: Novedades de esta Corte y avisos recibidos de otras partes, 1621-1626* (Madrid: Imprenta de Miguel Ginesta, 1886), p. 198.

grandiosas joyas y riquezas, y un dosel nuevo, de seda, plata y oro, el mejor de esta calidad se ha visto. (Almansa y Mendoza, p. 198)

Almansa y Mendoza's account of the processional routes reveals the court at the height of its splendour, defined by expensive jewels and embroideries used in the ephemeral celebrations. One of the particularly interesting aspects of Almansa y Mendoza's account is the lengthy list of the processional order, ranging from kettledrums and trumpeters to religious clerics and finally the king and his brother Don Carlos bringing up the rear of the procession. The level of detail in this description extends past the spatial order of the court procession, and depicts circumstantial details such as the colours worn by those taking part, and the numbers of religious orders, people, crosses and pennants displaying the glory of the court. The participation of the king and his brother in the procession underlined both the quasi-divine and humble projections of the king's image.

This quasi-divine image of the king reached its apogee in the repressive power spectacles of the *autos da fe* that weeded out the heretics and non-believers in what Andrew Keitt describes as 'a ceremonial capital of post-Tridentine Catholicism, a city dedicated to the externalization of religious form.'⁴³ Whereas the religious celebrations of Corpus, with its plays, music and dancing represented the piety of the monarchy, the burning of heretics projected darker image of religious dominion. The first *autos* of the reign of Philip IV were staged in 1621 to celebrate the young monarch's ascent to the throne, establishing this repressive power from first moment of his reign.⁴⁴ When the construction of the Plaza Mayor was finished, these 'proofs of faith' took place inside its imposing structure before an audience of crowds drawn either by fear, morbid curiosity, or both. The Plaza Mayor was the nucleus of the city, and the way the space was successively transformed for the projection of specific forms of power – bull fights, processions, *autos da fe*, or *juegos de cañas*, contrived to blend images of the court both at its most glorious and at its most fearsome extremes.

José Deleito y Piñuela's examination of autos in the reign of Philip IV reveals the way in which these types of court event took on their own spatiality in an auto of 1632. Scaffolding was constructed specifically for the event in the Plaza Mayor, replete with an altar for sentencing the penitents. In a religious procession designed to display the Catholicism of the court, a formation of 700 members of all the religious orders in the city was assembled for the event.⁴⁵ The king was seen to observe the

⁴³ Andrew Keitt, *Inventing the Sacred: Imposture, Inquisition, and the Boundaries of the Supernatural in Golden Age Spain* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2005), p. 35.

⁴⁴ José Deleito y Piñuela, 'La vida madrileña en tiempo de Felipe IV', *Revista de la biblioteca, archivo y museo*, 11 (1926), 330-342 (p. 337).

⁴⁵ Deleito y Piñuela, 11 (1926), p. 340.

proceedings from the royal balcony. Citing an anonymous account of the event, Deleito y Piñuela's account reveals the exact dimensions of the space in which those sentenced were to be burned, a 50-foot square brazier just outside the Puerta de Alcalá. These details evoke the repressive religiosity of the court, from the huge procession that preceded the auto down to the small space in which the penitents were burned, manifesting above all the almighty power of the monarch.

COURT FIESTA AND PROCESSION

Perhaps the most glorious spatialisation of the court and its power was represented in the many fiestas, celebrations and processions of the early modern era, which celebrated anything from the canonisation of a hastily chosen saint, the completion of a new palace, or the dynastic ceremony of royal succession in the household of the king. José Deleito y Piñuela cites only 13 established fiestas and processions annually in Madrid.⁴⁶ This figure, however, is made up only of official feasts in the religious calendar, and does not account for the many other fiestas that occurred in Madrid in the early modern period. In fact, fiestas annually amounted to over 100, according to the analysis of María José del Río Barredo.⁴⁷ Despite relating largely to the interests of the court in Madrid, the festivities were financed and organised by the city councils, rather than being of royal arrangement.⁴⁸

Amid the boisterous noise and action of the court fiesta, procession and *entrada* ceremonies was the elaboration of a particular kind of spatiality of the court that roamed along a route through the entire city, ensuring the maximum visibility of the king and therefore the widest propagation of the discourses of the court. Although this particular relationship between the court and urban space was one that was largely temporary, in the form of drapes and decorations of the city, makeshift stages and other structures built specifically for the days of procession and itinerant processions, contemporary accounts exude a glitter of their own. David Ringrose describes that Madrid court festivities functioned on two different levels of spatiality. One of these involved the appropriation and occupying of streets and plazas for a few hours, and the other involved the creation of a new, imagined world within the city:

En otro nivel, tenían lugar en un mundo creado, que utilizaba calles y plazas como tablado teatral sobre el que se creaba otra ciudad imaginaria.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Deleito y Piñuela, 11 (1926), p. 333.

⁴⁷ See above at n. 5.

⁴⁸ Sánchez Cano, p. 97.

⁴⁹ David Ringrose, 'Madrid, Capital Imperial (1561-1833), in *Madrid: Historia de una capital*, ed. by Santos Juliá, David Ringrose and Cristina Segura (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1994), pp. 121-251 (p. 160).

This imagined world Ringrose depicts was represented in the way in which court festivities effectively hid the reality of the city behind displays, drapes and tableaux, masking the everyday misery of the streets with decorations and creating an alternate reality of Madrid.

The court fiesta used the extensive urban space outside the walls of the palace in order to inculcate the ideologies of the monarch before a huge crowd of spectators gathered to watch, as Apostolidès explains:

Il s'agit d'une fresque vivante, déroulée dans un décor urbain, et qui suscite des émotions intenses, des cris, des pleurs, des bravos d'admiration. La musique, les costumes, la pompe du cortège, l'aura que émane du couple royal, tout éblouit d'une façon extérieure; c'est la recherche d'une émotion baroque, vive, brutale, à fleur de peau.⁵⁰

Although describing the proceedings of French court displays in the time of Louis XIV, Apostolidès encapsulates the inherently urban nature of the courtly fiesta, and the importance of the link between the court and city in eliciting devotion and loyalty from the inhabitants. The fiesta was an event that needed to take place in a city, and needed spectators. Even the early modern chroniclers were sensitive to this concept, with González Dávila's remark that 'la fiesta quiso que fuese pública' (González Dávila, p. 196) in relation to the celebrations of 1623, revealing understanding of the reciprocal relationship between the court, urban space and the public of Madrid. The deluge of accounts of court fiestas in chronicles, festival books and accounts by travellers demonstrate how fundamental this relationship was to the court's expression of its power.

The fiesta was the representation of the court at its most extraordinary, and this in particular is the reason why accounts of court pomp and circumstance such as the fiesta or procession focus on the superabundance of visual detail, the glorious colours, processional order, fireworks and drapes of the city. The royal chronicler Andrés de Almansa y Mendoza noted in a *relación* about the birth and baptism of the Infanta Margaret María in 1623 that 'si las narraciones fueran solo memoria de los sucesos, ni tuvieran gusto ni utilidad.'⁵¹ The representation of the ephemeral in the fiesta was a way to present the court in all its ephemeral glory, and the minutiae of visual detail, the rich silks and draperies, and the liveries worn during the equestrian games, were all part of that glory. To narrate the fiesta as just the sequence of its ephemeral events, Almansa says, would reflect nothing of its true meaning.

⁵⁰ Apostolidès, p. 148.

⁵¹ Andrés de Almansa y Mendoza, *Relación verdadera del felice parto y baptismo dela Infanta nuestra Señora, Mascara, libreas, banquetes, y grandezas destos dias* (Madrid: Diego Flamenco, 1623), no pagination (p. 1)

The many displays of the early modern Spanish court were not cheap. The monarchy exorbitantly spent sums of money to project the image of monarchical glory. The inaugural fiestas for the Buen Retiro cost 300,000 ducats, a sum to which the city contributed, in the loosest sense of the word, 40,000 ducats.⁵² The temporary plaza constructed next to the Buen Retiro palace to celebrate the arrival of the king of Hungary in 1637 cost 100,000 ducats.⁵³ Antoine de Brunel reports that each royal *consejo* was charged 3,000 crowns to pay for the San Isidro fiestas:

Celle-cy se nomme la Feste de S. Isidore, Protecteur de la Ville, et c'est elle qui en fait des frais, ce qui fait qu'elle ne passe pas pour Feste Royale. Il en couste néanmoins au Roy, car on m'a dit qu'à chaque Conseil il donne de regal ce jour là 3000 écus. (Brunel, pp. 110-11)

Considering the volume of the courtly celebrations annually in the city of Madrid, the cost of impressing visitors and underlining the power of the court must have been a major drain on the royal finances.

The topography of the fiesta changed throughout the Habsburg period, reflecting a change in the message mediated to the population. However, while the route changed, David Ringrose notes that the ceremonial centre of the imaginary city often coincided with economic centre of the physical city.⁵⁴ This inevitably altered the way in which the court moved through the city, shifting from a route governed by the topography of prominent churches and religious foundations, as seen in the Corpus and auto da fe processions, to a route chosen for highest visibility. As with religious processional routes, changes were made to the space of the city in order to allow for a greater volume of traffic and, obviously, for a greater volume of spectators.

The *entrada* or joyous entry procession of Ana of Austria into the city in 1570, in the reign of Philip II, followed a topography focused on religion, with a route winding through the city, that beginning at the Prado, passed the churches of San Jerónimo and Santa María, before ending at the Alcázar. This was a typical processional route for an *entrada* ceremony, reprised for later entrances such as the 1623 visit of the Prince of Wales.⁵⁵ Juan Antonio de la Peña's account of royal celebrations on the 21 August 1623 for the betrothal of the Infanta María Teresa to Prince Charles of

⁵² *El rey se divierte*, p. 211.

⁵³ Francisco Javier Pizarro Gómez, 'Arte y espectáculo en las fiestas reales del Retiro en 1637', *Norba-arte*, 7 (1987), 133-140 (p. 134).

⁵⁴ Ringrose, 'Madrid, Capital Imperial (1561-1833)', p. 181.

⁵⁵ David Ringrose, 'A Setting For Royal Authority: The Reshaping of Madrid, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries', in *Embodiments of Power: Building Baroque Cities in Europe*, ed. by Gary B. Cohen and Frank A. J. Szabo (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2008), pp. 230-248 (p. 233).

England includes a day of bullfights and *juegos de cañas*, a procession of 60 horses saddled and decorated with ornate cloths, and 24 coaches entering the Plaza Mayor from the Calle Imperial, underscoring the scale and grandeur of the fiesta.⁵⁶ González Dávila focussed not so much on the processional topography of the celebrations as the decorations and lustre of the event, the ephemeral draperies and evocation of colour that made the event glorious:

Algo antes el Príncipe, por la mucha instancia que el Rey hizo tomó al Príncipe a su mano derecha, y acompañados de la grandeza y nobleza de la Corte, con ricas y extraordinarias libreas de telas de colores y bordados, y de toda la Guarda de a pie y de a cavallo [...] començaron a caminar con gran concurso de gente por las calles, que estavan aderezadas, y a trechos, cosas que entretenían al pueblo. (González Dávila, pp. 196-7)

González Dávila's account stresses the importance of the court being witnessed. In his colourful evocation of the procession, he describes the people of the city standing in the decorated streets in order to watch the proceedings, the silent, yet necessary, participants in the display of the glory of the monarchy.

Lope de Vega composed a notable account of the canonisation celebrations of San Isidro in 1622, an account that was commissioned by the king, and dedicated to the city of Madrid, featuring a *justa poética* or a poetry competition, fireworks, plays, a procession and the decoration of the streets. The text is split into parts, with a prologue at the beginning describing the procession and celebration itself, followed by two plays penned by Lope for the occasion, *La niñez de San Isidro* and *La juventud de San Isidro*, which were both staged during the fiesta. Following the plays, Lope presents the *justa poética*, showing the literary glory of the fiesta, with the most esteemed writers of the court writing verses on specific themes surrounding the event. The inclusion of the plays and poetry in particular illustrates the importance of the relationship between the court and literature in the space of the city. Lope de Vega's evocation of these celebrations presents court at its most glorious and spectacular, showing the city wholeheartedly embracing the artificiality of the canonisation of a patron saint whose rise to sainthood took a mere few years to complete. Lope's description of the adornment of the city is meticulous and rich with iconographic detail, telling the story of the monarchy and the capital:

No dando lugar el tiempo a que se executassen las traças que para quatro sumptuosos Arcos estavan hechas, pareció ser a propósito

⁵⁶ Juan Antonio de la Peña, *Relación de las Fiestas Reales, y juego de cañas, que la Magestad Catolica del Rey nuestro señor hizo a los veynte y uno de Agosto deste presente año, para honrar y festejar los tratados desposorios del serenissimo Principe de Gales, con la señora Infanta doña María de Austria...* (Sevilla: Gabriel Ramos Vejerano, 1623), no pagination (p. 2).

la fábrica de ocho Piramides de setenta y quatro pies en alto, fundadas sobre un pedestal de doze pies y medio y siete de ancho.⁵⁷

These pyramids Lope depicts were placed in other prominent points around the centre of the city, such as the Puerta de Guadalajara, the Calle de Toledo and the Plaza de la Cebada. The pyramids establish a revered mythological discourse of the greatness of the ancient Egyptians, and are accompanied by smaller pedestals upon which were situated golden figures of prominent concepts or people, each bearing an inscription and an insignia. Spain, for example, was represented with the insignia of a woman with a sceptre and a crown presiding over two worlds, representing the Spanish Empire and the Americas, whereas Madrid was represented as a peacock whose tail-feathers open to flatter and bask in the rays of the sun with their 'eyes':

Un pavón Real, los ojos en el rostro del Sol, haziendo vistosa rueda los de sus plumas en sus rayos. En la lengua Latina: *Philippo praesente splendeo*: y en la lengua común:

La presencia de Filipe

Cesar divino Español

Convierte mi rueda en Sol. (Lope de Vega, xviii)

This iconography of Madrid shows the king as a 'divine Caesar' presiding over the city, his presence bringing illumination to Madrid like a human Apollo.

Lope's description also includes the altars constructed in the city for the many religious orders taking part in the celebrations, as well as the adornment and draperies of the city. The description of the placement of these altars in particular evokes a secondary topography of the court and how it filled the space of the city with iconographical adornments of the fiesta. Lope also describes a garden in the Plaza de la Cebada planted especially for the occasion, again reinscribing the fundamental relationship between the court and urban space within the context of the court fiesta: 'Previnose en la plaça de la Cevada un jardin, y huerta, de ducientos pies de largo, y ciento y ochenta de ancho, por medio de la qual passasse la procesion' (Lope de Vega, xxxv-xxxvi). Lope's depiction of the garden shows an imagined topography: the garden is represented as heaving with flowers and fruit to suggest the plentiful nature of the city, and is replete with an effigy or representation of Isidro manning the plough, the renarrativisation of one of the saint's most popular fables.

Lope continues his account with the description of the dances in the Plaza de Palacio and a depiction of the procession, where the streets were so full

⁵⁷ Lope de Vega, *Relación de las fiestas que la insigne villa de Madrid hizo en la canonización de su bienaventurado hijo y patron San Isidro, con las Comedias que se representaron, y los Versos que en la Iusta Poetica se escribieron* (Madrid: Viuda de Alonso Martin, 1622), no pagination (xv).

that it was impossible to walk in them. He details the numerous banners, crosses and dances over the celebration period, the richness of the costumes for his plays, the fireworks and the extraordinary event of a *juego de cañas* on pretend horses in the Plaza de Palacio:

Los fuegos fueron notables, assí en la plaça de Palacio tres noches, con un juego de cañas de treynta personas, en cavallos fingidos, un toro, y un estafermo, una montería de ciervos, y osos, que entretuvo la vista por largo espacio, con diferentes invenciones de fuego. (Lope de Vega, l)

This scene reveals the spectacular culmination of the court fiesta in costly fireworks and an equestrian game involving the popular bullfight and the hunting of deer and bears in a celebration of the canonisation of the patron saint.

One year later, Juan Antonio de la Peña's description of the bullfight and equestrian entertainments attended by the Prince of Wales shows that, despite an enforced period of austerity proposed by the Count-Duke Olivares in response to the dire economic circumstances and empty royal coffers, the celebrations of the court continued to be even more spectacular. Prince Charles' visit was motivated by negotiations to marry the Infanta María Anna in a political alliance to begin the healing process after years of tension since the unsuccessful marriage between Catherine of Aragon and Henry VIII that ended with her banishment.

Interestingly, Peña's account does not focus on the main spectacle of the event, the equestrian exercise in which the king took part and that formed the draw of the title of the text. Instead, a large proportion of the text is given over to the events that preceded, which evoke the monarchy in perhaps one of its showiest forms, a procession of the king's nobles, equerries and horsemen:

Seguíase la cavalleriza, dando principio todos los Cavallerizos, pages del Rey, y oficiales della, descubiertos, ante un rico cavallo en que avía de correr su Magestad, todos muy galanes y bizarros. Yvan quatro palafreneros, quatro herradores con sus bolsas de terciopelo carmesí, [...] doze lacayos de respecto, y sesenta cavallos alazanes, jaeces blancos y negros, con bozales de plata bruñida, color negro y blanco, cubiertos con tellices nuevos de terciopelo carmesí, bordado en ellos de tela de oro el nombre de Felipe Quarto, con borlas de oro y seda y flueco de lo mismo. [...] Salieron quarenta moços de cavallos a lo Turco [...], y tras todos los cavallos con notable magestad y grandeza, trahían a hombros un vistoso cavalgador con sus gradillas de madera de caova, embutido de

listas de évano, cubierto de tafetán encarnado con fluecos de oro y plata.⁵⁸

Juan Antonio de la Peña's account is astonishing, not least due to the level of detail it contains. It uses the colour of the clothes as a way to describe the identity of prominent figures taking part in the display, as well as for the purposes of providing detail of the spectacular nature of the event. The sheer number of fine horses being paraded through the Plaza Mayor as well as the handlers, rare breeds of horse, rich clothes and the use of iconography and royal insignia create an impressive, unforgettable visual reminder of the greatness and power of the king. Despite not focusing on the main event, the king's participation, the grandiose nature of the description highlights the importance and solemnity of such an occasion.

Antoine de Brunel also provides an account of the Spanish court celebration in the depiction of a bullfight in the Plaza Mayor in 1654. He notes that despite the relative frequency of court celebrations in the city, nobody ever wanted to miss seeing one, encapsulating the focus on spectatorship and participation in Madrid:

Bien que ces Festes soient ordinaires, et qu'à Madrid on en célèbre chaque année trois ou quatre, il n'ya pas un Bourgeois qui ne veuille la voir toutes les fois qu'elle se fait, et qui n'engageast ses meubles plutôt que d'y manquer faute d'argent. (Brunel, p. 110)

Brunel's evocation of the court-created culture that was so desperate to view these spectacles adds weight to the conceptualisation of the court display as a space whereby the court mediated its messages to a mass audience. Brunel's account is particularly fascinating, however, in the way in which it spatialises the court, taking to the balconies and observing the seating positions of royal party as a way in which to describe power relations:

C'est sans doute une très-belle veüe que celle de la place ce jour là: Elle est toute parée du plus beau monde de *Madrid*, qui se range aux Balcons qui sont tapissez de draps de diverses couleurs, et accommodez avec le plus de pompe qu'il se peut. [...] Celuy du Roy est doré, et est couvert d'un dais. La Reyne et l'Infante y sont à ses costez, et sur le recoin son Favory, ou Premier Ministre. (Brunel, pp. 109-10)

Brunel's description of the court exposes the way in which it organised itself, even down to the seating arrangements during the bullfight: even the spectators were orchestrated and choreographed, and there was strict control of how the public were able to view the king. It demonstrates, too,

⁵⁸ Juan Antonio de la Peña, *Relacion de las fiestas reales y juego de cañas que la Majestad Catolica del Rey nuestro señor hizo...* (Madrid: Juan Gonçalez, 1623), fol 1^v.

the way in which the relationships of reciprocal interdependence functioned within the space of the city, and how the court society interacted with the city.

The height of this spectacular spatialisation of the court is perhaps best reflected in the way in which spaces were constructed by the court specifically for the dissemination of its greatness on a grand scale. The topography of the city was deliberately changed in order to accommodate the many celebrations of the court, with temporary, elaborate structures built at the palaces in order to best display the glory of the king. Chronicler Andres Sanchez de Espejo provides an instrumental contribution to this aspect of the spatialisation of the court in a treatise entitled *Relación ajustada a la verdad y repartida en dos discursos*, published in 1637. The second of his discourses is the relation of ten days of court fiestas that took place at the Buen Retiro palace in February 1637, to celebrate the Hungarian monarch Ferdinand III being elected *Rey de Romanos*, the title given to a future Holy Roman emperor who has not yet been crowned by the Pope. Grand celebrations were planned at the Buen Retiro; the event was particularly important due to the fact that Ferdinand III was Philip IV's brother-in-law, having married the Spanish Infanta María Anna, who had been previously slated to marry Prince Charles of England in 1623.

In order to best house the celebrations at the Retiro, however, a huge structure of 600 feet by 530 feet was built, replete with inward-facing windows and balconies for watching the spectacle of the court. It was bordered on its south side by the Prado, with the Puerta de Alcalá to the north and the convents of San Jerónimo and Carmelitas Descalzos to the east and west.⁵⁹ Sánchez Espejo makes a direct reference to the plaza in his text, noting particularly that it had been built specifically for this occasion:

Hizieron su entrada este día a las cinco de la tarde, gozada casi de toda la Corte, con tanta alegría, como si hubiera sido larga ausencia por medio de la plaza que se hazía para la primera demostración, sino la mayor de todos los regozijos.⁶⁰

Sánchez Espejo goes onto describe the structure of this ephemeral plaza situated next to the Buen Retiro, evoking its great size and ornate decorations:

Haziéndole bello y apacible campo, y si la antigüedad en su imposible no halló quien le pusiera puertas, ya lo vemos facilitado en nuestro tiempo los límites que le puso, dándole de longitud seiscientos pies lineares, y de latitud quinientos y treinta, que es

⁵⁹ Pizarro Gómez, p. 134.

⁶⁰ Andres Sánchez de Espejo, *Relación ajustada a la verdad y repartida en dos discursos* (Madrid: Maria de Quiñones, 1637), fol. 13^v.

casi en cuadro, con la atención, que en su lugar diré. Cércole quando le merecía su belleza de finos jaspes, de dóricas columnas, de pórpidos costosos, que embidieran los tiempos (por ser corto el que tenía) de madera (que si baxa materia), no se costó con más de cien mil ducados. Repertióla en dos ordenes de ventanas de a diez pies en quatrocientas y ochenta y ocho, sin el balcón de la Reyna nuestra Señora, y ya hecha plaça se adornó desta manera. (Sánchez Espejo, fols 13^v-14^r)

Sánchez Espejo later notes the way in which the structure is ornately decorated for the purposes of distinguishing between social classes, drawing on the balustrades and doric columns for each window, as well as the seating arrangements for the lower classes. The decorative detail of this structure, decorated with infinite windows, balustrades and columns and draped in rich cloths, shows the lengths the court went to in order to project and display itself in the city, building a huge plaza evocative of the Plaza Mayor outside the city centre in order to house the spectacular celebrations of the court. It was the many windows of the ‘amphitheatre’ that emphasised the fundamental need of the king to be witnessed:

Esta pues imaginaria máquina, afrenta de Romana potencia, embidia de Griega astucia, pasmo de futuros siglos, y remedo, si no décima Maravilla del mundo, fue plaça, fue palestra y anfiteatro donde el Quarto Felipe ostentó al Orbe (en regozijados y no vistos triunfos de glorias) venerados respetos y obediencia de vasallos, vigilancia, dechado, y atención de valido, cuidado y gasto de Villa, aliento y sumisión de plebe, aclamado concurso de infinito vulgo. (Sánchez Espejo, fol 14^v)

Sánchez Espejo’s account of the function of the plaza constructed in the space contiguous to the Retiro palace reinscribes the essential components of the fiesta, in its entertainment, its ostentation of the corpus of the court, the great cost and the role of the public of the city, whose participation legitimised the discourse projected by the court.

CONCLUSION

The way in which the court used the topography of the city for the purpose of ritual and propaganda is the key to understanding the way in which the process of urbanisation functioned and developed in early modern Madrid, and how it interacted with the court. David Ringrose’s analysis of the courtly displays in Madrid at this time emphasises the way in which the morphology of the city developed as an interaction between rebuilding Madrid as a manifestation of royal authority in its palaces, hunting grounds and churches and spontaneous urban development.⁶¹ Furthermore, from the way in which urban space in Madrid developed for

⁶¹ Ringrose, ‘Madrid, Capital Imperial (1561-1833)’, p. 160.

and around the structure of the court, particularly in the reign of Philip IV, it becomes clear that the court was sensitive to need to use urban space for the projection of power in order to reach its desired audience.

The space of the palace, the household of the king, occupied vast swathes of land across the city in a monument to his power and authority over the population. Despite the Alcázar Palace occupying a central space in the city, the imperative felt by Philip II from the moment he set foot in the city to acquire vast stretches of land around the palace describes the way the court occupied space in the city in a very primary manner, occupying its centre, but physically distancing itself from the public.⁶² The two principal palaces of the king are represented in very different ways in early modern literature, each establishing their own specific discourse of power. Representation of the Alcázar depicts it as a palace where the power of the king was reflected in the spatial limitations of access, the physical distancing and privacy of the monarch. The Buen Retiro, on the other hand, was the spatialisation of a more public monarch, whose concerns were altogether more recreational. At the Buen Retiro, rather than hiding away and maintaining relationships of distance, the monarch was a quasi-divine figure that was aligned with the glorious cultural surroundings of art and literature, underscoring the cultural progress of the monarchy, as well as the spectacular nature of the court and the conceptualisation of the monarch on display. Its Hall of Realms, which housed the most splendid paintings of the palace, was a bid to subvert criticism of the frivolity of the leisure palace by reiterating the military glory of Philip IV, as well as projecting an underlining theme of light that both centres the king as the *rey planeta* and encompasses the sensation of a cultural illumination.

In the spatialisation of the royal hunt, which occupied yet more still urban space, there is the continuation of this discourse of greatness, which is reflected in the accounts of Barrionuevo in particular. In the poems eulogising of the king's shooting of a bull, the monarch is aligned with Caesar and with mythological heroes symbolizing the power, skill and might of the monarch, inculcating a discourse on the skills of the monarch at war. The religious topography of the court functioned to similar effect in the city of Madrid. The astonishing way in which the church and other ecclesiastical foundations took over space in the city underlines the piety and quasi-deification of the king as the head of the Catholic monarchy. The spatialisation of the religious fiestas such as Corpus Christi maximised the visibility of this fact. The celebrations of the court were a more ephemeral instance of the same phenomenon, built around a temporariness and rapidity. Structures built in the city, such as the one of 1637 at the Buen Retiro, reveal the way in which the court used the fiesta as the primary, most spectacular and most massive way of projecting its

⁶² José Manuel Barbeito, 'La Capital de la Monarquía, 1535-1600), in *Madrid: Atlas Histórico de la Ciudad, siglos IX-XIX*, ed. by Virgilio Pinto Crespo and Santos Madrazo Madrazo (Madrid: Fundación Caja de Madrid, 1995), pp. 32-39 (pp. 34-35).

image through insignia, iconography and great effigies that told a particular narrative, as noted by Jean-Marie Apostolidès:

[Le spectacle] ne s'agit pas, pour le spectateur, pour maîtriser ses impressions individuellement, mais au contraire, de s'y laisser prendre pour se fondre dans la collectivité pour retrouver un état unitaire et primitif.⁶³

The function of the court fiesta was precisely to inspire this collective devotion: it allowed for the mass inculcation and projection of a specific image of the court in a short space of time. In the celebrations of the 1623 visit of the Prince of Wales, the city saw the most spectacular, most glorious iteration of the image of the court amid a time of austerity and poverty, in order to court the esteem of another nation. The celebrations of the Buen Retiro in 1637 were likewise designed to give a snapshot of the glory of the court.

The four different discourses of power combine to create a composite image of the court and its reign over the city as a repressive force, but nevertheless one that was emphatically glorious, continually asserting the validity of its existence through ritual and ceremony and its monopoly of the space in the capital. On this latter aspect, the anthropologist Clifford Geertz remarks:

Such centers [...] are essentially concentrated loci of serious acts, they consist in the point or points in a society where its leading ideas come together with its leading institutions to create an arena in which the events that most vitally affect its members' lives take place.⁶⁴

Geertz's analysis of the way in which power functions in the urban centre focuses on the collaboration of leading institutions in order to project a composite image of power. In early modern Madrid, these two institutions were the court and the church, and within the urban topography of the city they found a captive audience that successfully legitimised the authority of the court, and in which the court was able to constitute its power.

In the decisive way in which the court occupied urban space in early modern Madrid, there is a link between two parallel Madrids, in effect: the court, and the people of the city, who were its spectators. The exorbitant cost of the constant displays and building of churches and palaces were projects undertaken at the cost of the spectators the court so needed to legitimise its power, while poverty, disease and starvation were brushed aside on fiesta days and shrouded with tapestries in order to glorify the

⁶³ Apostolidès, p. 148.

⁶⁴ Clifford Geertz, *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology* (New York: Basic Books, 2008), p. 122.

court. At a time of endemic financial and socioeconomic crisis in the city, the court spent money on a continual parade as a means to reasserting its authority, exacerbating the already fast-forming gap between the luxury of royal spectacle and the poverty of society. However, as Helen Watanabe O'Kelly notes, in her study of the role of court festival books, stable monarchs did not need court festivities, whereas unstable monarchies needed them to reassert dominance and stability in uncertain times.⁶⁵ While the court used urban space as a means to re-establish equilibrium in Madrid, the spectators for which the displays were intended, the other Madrid, starved, suffered and finally died in its streets.

⁶⁵ Helen Watanabe O'Kelly, 'The Early Modern Festival Book: Function and Form', in *Europa Triumphans: Court and Civic Festivals in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by J. R. Mulryne, Helen Watanabe O'Kelly and Margaret Shewring, 2 vols (I) (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 3-17 (p. 4).

CHAPTER FOUR.
ALIENATION: DISTORTED BODIES AND SOCIAL DESTRUCTION
IN THE CITY.

In 1658, Alonso Núñez de Castro's *Solo Madrid es Corte y el cortesano en Madrid* offers up the following advice to the uninitiated people of the city in the second part of his text, an advice text to those seeking their fortune in the city: 'Que nadie en la Corte oiga verdades, pues que nadie les dice.'¹ Núñez de Castro tells that Madrid is the place defined by a web of lies, where nobody tells the truth because nobody knows precisely what the truth is. Pedro Fernández de Navarrete's *Conservación de las monarquías y discursos políticos*, a text published in 1626 in a bid to inspire positive change in the city amid its urban chaos describes Madrid as the resting place of thieves and idlers:

Y es cosa digna de reparar el ver que todas las calles de Madrid están llenas de holgazanes y vagamundos, jugando todo el día a los naypes, aguardando la hora de ir a comer a los conventos, y las de salir a robar las casas, y lo que peor es, el ver que no sólo siguen esta holgazana vida los hombres, sino que están llenas las plaças de pícaras holgazanas, que con sus vicios inficionan la corte, y con su contagio llenan los hospitales.²

Fernández de Navarrete's vision of Madrid as full of idlers, gamblers and syphilitic prostitutes who swindled their food from the convents and robbed houses reveals an infection of the city, a contagion and contamination of urban space with a corrupt corpus of people. Navarrete's depiction of Madrid shows that already, an early modern consciousness of urban space as the epitome of repugnance and contamination was developing, and filtering into literature. Francisco de Quevedo's *El buscón* depicts Madrid as the locus of degradation and site of ruin on the road to the city:

“No está para más” – dijo luego – “que es pueblo para gente ruin. Más quiero, ¡voto a Cristo!, estar en un sitio, la nieve a la cinta, hecho un reloj, comiendo Madera, que sufriendo las supercherías que se hacen un hombre de bien”.³

¹ Alonso Núñez de Castro, *Libro historico politico: Solo Madrid es Corte y el cortesano en Madrid* (Madrid: Andrés García de la Iglesia, 1658), fol. 65^v.

² Pedro Fernández de Navarrete, *Conservacion de monarquías y discursos políticos*, 4th edn (Madrid: Benito Cano, 1792), p. 93.

³ Francisco de Quevedo, *La vida del Buscón llamado Don Pablos*, ed. by Domingo Ynduráin (Madrid: Cátedra, 2008), p. 189.

Pablos' travelling companion, a bad poet, provides a representation of the city that underscores the fundamental dichotomy of early modern literary representation of Madrid, and the simultaneity of two clashing discourses that evoked both intense attraction and repugnance towards the capital city of Spain in its early modern period.

Degradation, corruption, misery and contagion: this was the distorted mirror represented in early modern representation of the city, where the monstrous, spectral souls of the city lived nocturnal existences, stole, died, fornicated and urinated in the streets and became the beasts to the beauty of the city of the court. Primarily, this was the representation of the underworld, the seedy underbelly of the existence of the city that was hidden by the continual displays of the court, a 'subculture' of people that developed necessarily in the urban environment, notes Mary Elizabeth Perry:

A better approach is to define the underworld as a subculture within the city. It grew up in a context of rapid urban development. It was spawned in congestion, commercial activity, and anonymity. As an alternative culture that spilled over from city to city, the underworld offered one solution to the social dislocations of rapid urbanization.⁴

Contamination, parasites, demons and darkness abounded in these new representations of the city, showing a reflexivity and awareness of degradation that was produced intensively during the early modern period of Madrid, alongside its glittering image projected by the court, and there is the forging of Madrid as a sickness that needed a purgative, and that purgative was the corpus of literature catching the city in its most repugnant moments, venting the spleen of Madrid.

URBAN CONTAMINATION AND THE PARASITES OF MADRID

The filth and stench of Madrid was by no means anything particularly special in its contemporary context. Madrid was, like any burgeoning city in Europe, overpopulated and moving towards urbanisation, but still a long way short in terms of sanitary provision. For example, the practice of disposing of human waste by methods of defenestration preceded by a shout of '¡Agua va!', which did not necessarily help those beneath to avoid an untimely shower. Representations of early modern Madrid consistently refer to the stench and filth of the streets, the choking airs and the rotting carcasses of animals in the streets, particularly in relation to characterising the lower classes of the subculture of the city. Norbert Elias' study entitled *The Civilizing Process* draws this intrinsic link between

⁴ Mary Elizabeth Perry, *Crime and Society in Early Modern Seville* (Hanover: New England University Press, 1980) p. 22.

social class, filth and shame, and how these three concepts developed over time to create the corpus of specific echelons of society:

There are people before whom one is ashamed, and others before whom one is not. The feeling of shame is clearly a social function molded according to the social structure.⁵

Elias' analysis of the fundamental civilising processes that began to develop in the history of society exposed the crucial nexus between filth and shame that began to develop around the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. He attributes the particular shame of repugnance to be a development of the upper echelons of society, thus conversely describing the lower echelons in contradistinction of this fact, as inherently unashamed of corporeal matters, closer to pigs than humans. Representation of stench and filth in early modern Madrilenian narrative was not only a matter of class, then, but it was a symptom of the contamination of the city, the sickness and plague affecting the sensibilities of morality and good behaviour.

The representation of filth in the narrative space of Madrid, then, was the first point of a discourse on the contagion and sickness of the city. Plague was very much a real fear in the early modern European world. A consequence of this was that there existed the prevailing belief that the smell of putrescence and decay in the streets was the true cause of illness and death, and that the vapours in the air were deadly.⁶ The representation of the filth of Madrid was due to a dual imperative that all at once tapped into the fear of contagion, both from the perspective of public health, and one that feared the impending moral infection that the influences of the city inevitably had on its inhabitants, the marker and metaphor of a more serious moral contagion. Vélez de Guevara's *El diablo cojuelo* refers to the 'hora menguada' at night, a fatalistic time of chance that evoked both the night as the lifting of the veil between worlds, as well as the chance of dodging past an open window only to be showered in excrement, as well as a man urinating in the streets of the night city and the culture of taking purgatives, a descent into degradation. This sort of episode is also upon by travellers to the city, such as Madame d'Aulnoy, who recounts the tale of the inopportune showering of the page of a nobleman charged with looking after the horse while he visits his mistress in the city:

Pendant que les Cavaliers sont avec leurs maîtresses, les Laquais gardent leurs chevaux à quelque distance de la maison. Mais il leur arrive très souvent une aventure fort désagréable; c'est que les

⁵ Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process*, trans. by Edmund Jephcott (New York: Urizen Books, 1978), p. 138.

⁶ Jo Wheeler, 'Stench in Sixteenth-Century Venice', in *The City and the Senses: Urban Culture since 1500*, ed. by Alexander Cowan and Jill Steward (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 25-38 (p. 26).

maisons n'ayant point de certains endroits commodes, on jette toute la nuit par les fenêtres, ce que je n'ose vous nommer. De sorte que l'amoureux Espagnol, qui passe à petit bruit dans la ruë, est quelquefois inondé depuis la tête jusqu'aux pieds.⁷

Madame d'Aulnoy's uncharacteristically coy reference to the throwing of excrement from windows in the city relates a comical episode of the page of a nobleman ending up receiving the contents of the commode while waiting for his master and performing his duty. She continues to note that this episode is one of the worst things about life in Madrid, exposing the unhappy squalor of the streets:

C'est une des plus grandes incommoditez de la Ville, et qui la rend si puante et si sale que l'on n'y peut marcher le matin. Je dis le matin, parce que l'air est vif et a tant de force, que toute cette vilenie est consumée avant midi. (*Relation du voyage d'Espagne*, III, p. 130)

The countess here describes the filth of the streets as preventing a lady of quality such as herself of being able to walk in the streets in the mornings, however she notes that the airs are so potent that by midday, the stench has been consumed. Madame d'Aulnoy, as was her wont as a French traveller poisoned by the strained relationship between France and Spain, complains endlessly about the filth in Madrid. The hot summers were choking with dust, and in one particular account she reports the carcass of a horse, having been left in the streets to rot, the next day was reduced to powder and baked in the oppressive heat. Antoine de Brunel similarly reports the practice of throwing human excrement into the streets, in particular referring to the punishment of a woman having been caught disposing of the waste in the middle of the day:

Comme les ruës sont les égouts generaux, on seroit sujet à y estre arrosé, s'il estoit permis de jeter à toute heure par les fenestres ce qu'on ne veut point dans les maisons; mais depuis qu'il es jour jusques à dix heures du soir il est déffendu, sous peine pécuniaire, de rien verser. Et il me souvient d'avoir vu une femme qui s'en oublia, que les Sergens qui veillent à ces petits profits allèrent aussi tost mettre à l'amande, qui est de soixante réaux de billon, c'est à dire de cinq écus.⁸

⁷ Marie-Catherine Le Jumel de Barneville [Madame d'Aulnoy], *Relation du voyage d'Espagne*, 3 vols (III), 2nd edn. (La Haye: Henri van Bulderen, 1692), p. 129.

⁸ Antoine de Brunel, *Voyage d'Espagne, Contenant entre plusieurs particularitez de ce Royaume, Trois Discours Politiques sur les affaires du Protecteur d'Angleterre, la Reine de Suede, & du Duc de Lorraine* (Cologne: Pierre Marteau, 1666), p. 136.

Luis de Góngora and Lope de Vega likewise comment on the stench and filth of the city in more poetic terms, preferring the evocation of aromatics such as herbs and resins in order to describe the unsanitary conditions of the streets. Góngora's 1588 sonnet to the city, entitled *Grandes, más que elefantes y que abadas* refers to 'lodos con perejil y hierbabuena', with the references to the herbs of parsley and sweet mint creating a binary link between the stench of the city and the more pleasant scent of the herb. Lope de Vega's *El acero de Madrid* also draws on the aromatic nature of the streets of the city through the *gracioso* character of Beltrán, the servant of Belisa. The description of the foul stench of the city functions in the context of an ironic juxtaposition with a eulogisation of Madrid's airs by Riselio and Lisardo. While they describe the wonderful, fresh nature of Madrid's airs, the servant Beltrán's cynical remarks serve as the perfect comical foil to Lope's tricky love drama:

Vientos, que en Madrid soléis
llevar de sus sucias calles
más licuidámbar y agalia
que hay en treinta Portugales.⁹

In Lope's description of the streets of Madrid, the allusion to resinous, sticky substances works in a similar way to Góngora's 'lodos de perejil', where the clinging mud of Madrid's streets is transformed into a rich, aromatic resin, the poetic reminder of commodity and material culture in the streets of Madrid. Alonso de Castillo Solórzano, too, uses the filth of the streets as a metaphor in some of his poetry. In his anthology entitled *Donaires del Parnaso*, the depiction of the streets in *A las novedades de Madrid* envisions a mire of mud, with the stuck pigs of coches trying vainly to move through it:

Coches hay azota calles,
y aquí entra bien el distingo,
si, por cubiertos de lodo,
son coches, o son cochinos.
Coches hay, cuyos caballos,
macerados en su tiro,
con el hipo de cebada,
nunca serán hipogrifos.¹⁰

As a depiction of the mire of the Calle Mayor, Castillo Solórzano's interpretation of the filth of the city exposes an image of mud-covered coaches in a Madrilenian winter deluged by filth-laden muddy streets. Playing on the assonance between 'coches' and 'cochinos', there is

⁹ Lope de Vega, *El acero de Madrid*, ed. by Stefano Arata (Madrid: Castalia, 2000), p. 213.

¹⁰ Luciano López Gutiérrez, *Donaires del Parnaso de Alonso de Castillo Solórzano: edición, estudio y notas* (unpublished doctoral thesis, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2003), I, 6, vv. 25-28.

simultaneously the image of mud-covered coaches struggling through the mire, yet also a bestial image of the coaches in their comparison to pigs. Castillo Solórzano repeats this metaphor in his episodic narrative *Tardes entretenidas*, which was a decameron style narrative of intercalated tales published in 1625. As an interlude in between two of the longer narratives, the poem was devoted to the subject of a woman the narrator had seen on the Calle Mayor:

La calle Mayor escoges,
donde, en piélagos de lodo,
nadan caballos jaspeados
entre coches pecinosos.¹¹

The repeated image of a frustration of movement in these examples of Castillo Solórzano is encapsulated in this reference to mud and the beasts of the city being stuck in it in various ways. In the first instance, Castillo Solórzano draws on the image of the pig, and in the second, the image of the horses swimming through the mud of the city, thrashing in a fit of panic. Castillo Solórzano evokes the physical struggle of movement through the filth of the city, as well as on an ideological plane with the coach a sociocultural marker of hierarchy. In these instances, Madrid is characterised by its putrefaction, its odours, and its contamination, which are carried around on the breeze of the city. This feeds into an image of the plague in Madrid, with the salubrious airs and currents of the city carrying the moral contagion and spreading it around the people, infecting them with vice and immorality.

As a personification of the filth of the streets, the early modern literature of Madrid filled the narrative space of the streets of the city with spectral, parasitic characters evoked through literature who fed off society, surviving on the people and culture of the court. If the representation of the filth and stench in the streets was the representation of an illness in the city and its morality, one of the fundamental symptoms of this malaise was the narrative representation of this parasitic element of the inhabitants of the city, the bottom feeders who fed off the environment of the city in order to survive. These characters were often, but not always, marginalised and lower class citizens such as the pícaro, or thieves, cheats and prostitutes, however this sort of representation of the parasitic culture engendered by the court in the city was not limited to these obvious social types lower down the ladder. Francisco Santos' *Día y noche de Madrid* characterises the *buscona* women of Madrid in his portrayal of the city as mantilla-clad bats, linking them with a sense of inherent evil in the night of the city, while Castillo Solórzano's female adventuresses dress themselves up in their finery and give every appearance of upper class. Salas Barbadillo's *Las aventureras de la Corte* puts forward a harsh

¹¹ Alonso de Castillo Solórzano, 'El socorro en el peligro', in *Tardes entretenidas, en seis novelas*, ed. by Emilio Cotarelo y Mori (Madrid: Librería de los Bibliófilos Españoles, 1908), pp. 212-215 (p. 213).

criticism of these parasites of Madrid, poisoned by the court and drunk on image, in a discourse on the buscona character of Madrid, who often trod the fine line between prostitute and courtesan in early modern Madrilenian society and was the subject of much ire among authors of the city for her parasitic way of conducting life. The text opens with a discussion of the disproportionately high cost of living in Madrid, with Floro bemoaning the level of ostentation in the court city compared to the moderate customs of Valladolid:

Gran atrevimiento fue el de V. m. señor Marcio, y casi resolución aconsejada por su desdicha el dexar a Valladolid lugar moderado en las ostentaciones y acomodado en los gastos, y venirse a esta Corte tragona de mayorazgos, y arrastradora de Príncipes. ¿Que ha de hazer en la Corte un hombre de sus años de V. m. pues las canas son blancas, y no de moneda, antes sus impedimentos la quitan?¹²

Marcio's recent move to the city of the court is one deemed unwise by his companion Floro, who immediately foregrounds the city as the place of ostentation, conspicuous spending and excess, aspects which serve as the key catalyst for the success of Marcio's plan explained later in the text. Furthermore, the implementation of a lexis that included words such as 'tragona' and 'arrastradora', foregrounds the image of the city as a place of fundamental deception, setting up the scene for the dialogue at hand. Marcio's response to his friend is that 'en quien tiene habilidad es mayor el recibo' (*Las aventureras de la Corte*, fol. 115^r), denoting that those who have knowledge of the city can survive in it, and reinscribing his intention to manipulate the culture of the city to his advantage. His enterprise, then, involves his three daughters, who he intends to exploit in order to live comfortably in Madrid:

Por esso digo yo que esta V. m. muy visño en la milicia o malicia cortesana, antes no puede vivir aquí sino es quien tiene hijas, y más si han professado como las mías en la tomajonería. (*Las aventureras de la Corte*, fol. 115^r)

Marcio's response to his companion explains that rather than a financial burden in the city of Madrid, his three daughters are a veritable boon without whom the family would not survive, as they are practised in the art of *tomajonería*, the art of taking, or specifically, taking everything. Moreover, the assonance on the use of 'milicia o malicia' communicates both an evil to the courtly world, a toughness and ruthlessness, as well as the allusion to militia, which imparts a form of militaristic choreography to the action of the city, a particular precision of movement and behaviour that is reflected in the daughters in their art of taking. As the father of these three women, he fully intends to use their skills as social and

¹² Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo, *Las aventureras de la Corte*, in *Fiestas de la boda de la incansable malcasada* (Madrid: Viuda de Cosme Delgado, 1622), fols 114^v-125^r (fols 114^v-115^r).

economic parasites to become one himself, preying on the skills of his daughters on an easy road to riches. The daughters themselves are not characterised by character traits or social ability in particular, although these are implicit in the exposition of their swindles. Rather, the women are characterised solely in terms of tactility, of gestures and movement of the body:

Essa [es] la industria, essa es la fineza del ingenio, que sin ser mugeres de mal vivir ponen cerca a una bolsa, y assaltando las murallas de una faltriquera, la toman. (*Las aventureras de la Corte*, fol. 115^v)

With a few gestures, the movement of a skirt or the gesture of a hand, the women avail themselves of the moneybags of those in the city, with this tactile characterisation reinforced later when Floro describes their quick hand gestures as like ghosts of hands, so quick and barely seen: ‘¿Estas fantasmas de manos y vasquiña andan por la Corte y no las [c]onjuran?’ (*Las aventureras de la Corte*, fol. 120^r). These ghostly hands so capable of robbing a man with the shift of a skirt reduces the characterisation of the daughters to this mode of disassociated tactility, of using hands to steal rather than as a form of sociability in the city. In an increasingly alienating urban environment, the role of phatic social interaction in the city, such as the gesture or handshake, becomes transformed into a devalued form of social interaction, devaluating in turn, particular social structures that were fundamental markers in the city. Instead of learning new forms of experiencing the sociability of the city, the daughters instead subvert social interaction, making the city an alienating, unfamiliar landscape teeming with hands to rob and grab. Interestingly, the women are limited by specific urban borders that define them in terms of urban space in early modern Madrid. The topographical limits of their existence and characterisation are such that they are defined by three spaces in the city, in the socioeconomic triangle that ran from the Calle Mayor to the Platerías. The limited spatial boundaries define their existence in a purely, ruthlessly economic way: they are two-dimensional characters that exist purely as an exposition of the parasitic culture of the city that engendered scurrilous behaviours. This frustrated topography equally translates into a frustration in the social sphere, with the narrowness of their ambit suggesting a lack of social movement.

The skills of the women in their financial enterprise are such that the family is able to survive the rigours of the city, and because of them, their father Marcio is able to feed them and pay for their living costs:

Al fin señor en Madrid comemos, vestimos, y pagamos casa, porque aqui tiene gran luzimiento, y aparato la industria del ingenio. (*Las aventureras de la Corte*, fol. 116^r)

As a result of the ‘ingenio’, ingenuity or wit, of the daughters, the family is able to survive in the city, particularly, as Marcio points out, because the

city fosters and celebrates those that are able to put their wits to use in the city. As Marcio's daughters present themselves one by one in the narrative, the ways in which they function in society within their role are explained, with the emphasis on the differentiation between them and the common prostitute. As the daughters explain, they are more discerning, and aim for rich targets who are well dressed yet ugly, a marker of money:

Se le llegó un hombre al parecer forastero, monstuoso [sic] de barba, pelón en la cabeça, y en el vestido peloso, porque ella era [illegible], y de terciopelo de dos pelos. (*Las aventureras de la Corte*, fol. 117^v)

Interestingly, it is the masculine body that is more fully fleshed out in the narrative, whereas the females who use their femininity and the charms of their corporeality are blandly described, or barely at all. The intention of the more full descriptions invites the reader to consider the subject from the perspective of these swindling women, whose focus on the rich fabrics the man is wearing, the fact that he is obviously not local and the fact that he wears a wig mark him as the bullseye in a sociocultural target, a catch that is both unaware of his surroundings, uninitiated to the ways of the city and can be persuaded to part with some money. One daughter in particular, Beatriz, the least capable of her sisters' art, has been given a ring by a wooing gentleman, who has promised it to her without any obligation after she pretended to be married and unavailable:

Que ha muchos días que me sigue los pasos por otra a quien devo de parecerme mucho, y haze conceto de que soy muger casada, no he querido recibir ninguna dádiva [...] y a lo que él me dixo, de partida para Sevilla donde estará algunos dias, llamándome mi señora doña Antonia, que tal deve de ser el nombre de la que piensa que soy, me dio esta sortija, en quien estos siete diamantes forman una estrella [...]. Impórtunome el platero, y algunos circunstantes, diziéndome, que en recibirla no me obligava a nada, por que el señor don Luys era cavallero muy galante. (*Las aventureras de la Corte*, fol. 122^r)

Beatriz's boon is a case of pure luck in the city, having been bestowed with an expensive ring of seven diamonds by a gentleman in an apparent case of mistaken identity, reinscribing the underlying themes of the city as a space of alienation, full of people to the degree that nobody knows who one another is. As she reflects on her prize, she describes it as one of her best triumphs:

Esta es la sortija triunfo de mi vitoria, y la que pienso guardar toda mi vida, para memoria de tan grande hazaña. (*Las aventureras de la Corte*, fol. 123^r)

If Beatriz intends to keep her prize as a memory of her success of winning a prize from an admirer, her father has other ideas, planning to sell the

spoils of her greatest victory in order to keep the family afloat in the city of the court, bringing to the fore a discourse of the value of money in contradistinction to the material culture developing in the city.

The character of Floro serves as a form of conscientious objector in Salas Barbadillos' narrative, and his dismay at the way in which the father guiltlessly enlists the help of his daughters in order to manipulate the sociocultural order of the city is apparent in his linking of the women to the buscona female:

Donde las fieras harpías
del vil linage buscón,
solamente por tomar
salen a tomar el sol. (*Las aventureras de la Corte*, fol. 115^v)

Drawing the link between the buscona and the night, Floro's recitation of the verses describes how these women of the night took even the sun and left only blackness in the city. With the close of the narrative, news arrives from the maid of one of the sisters, Dorotea, that she has been taken to the prison of the city, demonstrating a brief fragment of accountability for the women and their father who live off the efforts of others in the city. The crux of the narrative, however, is the fact that despite the ingenuity of the women at their enterprise, it is ultimately their father who benefits from their hard work, and he hoards his daughters jealously as his only means to survive the city. The busconas of Salas Barbadillo's text expose a discourse on the way in which sociability in the city has become corrupted: the women, with their sweet conversation, gestures and light hands, represent a subverted form of sociability in the city in the way in which their gestures mimic the image of tactility and of an intrinsic interaction, yet are devoid of any real connection or interaction.

Castillo Solórzano's *Las harpías en Madrid* and Remiro de Navarra's *Los peligros de Madrid* focus on the representation of similar female characters of the literary early modern urban Madrid, and follow suit with particular aspects of their characterisation that site them within the boundaries of a specific topography. These women, however, are relatively more free within the realms of their spatiality of the city, with trips to the Prado and Pardo increasing their zone of operation in the city, and thus the scope for their new sociability as well as the danger for other inhabitants. Their occupation in the city is much the same as that of the anti-heroines of Salas Barbadillo's tale, however with the key distinction that the women do not operate under the instructions or control of a masculine figure, they enact their schemes in the city for their own benefit, and their own financial gain.

Remiro de Navarra's representation of women in *Los peligros de Madrid* represents their parasitic nature in early modern Madrid as something inherent, generated by the dual factors of both being in the city and a general female propensity to vice. Remiro de Navarra's evocation of

women demonstrates that this materially motivated parasitism was an aspect of the urban that both nourished the city in a socioeconomic manner, and formed the main point of danger for the urban man. The women of his text are represented within particular zones, yet their characterisation is unsurprisingly two-dimensional and misogynistic, with each woman functioning in the text as a continual quest for goods that someone else would pay for. The disembodied female voices of *Los peligros de Madrid* on the Prado asking for lemonade to any particular recipient of their message show a distinct devaluation and disconnection from social structures, however the women of Remiro de Navarra's narrative, for the most part, rely on particular forms of social interaction in the city in order to gain the best result.

Castillo Solórzano's women behave in much the same way as those of Remiro de Navarra, with their focus on the manipulation of social interaction as a means to financial gain being their enterprise in varying guises for the majority of the narrative. Even before the first swindle, the women set foot in Madrid and are immediately consumed with the idea of marketing themselves as women-about-town, positioning themselves in the city in places that might help them meet particular types of men, as well as aligning themselves with women who have the means to give their quest in the city a boost. These women, as embodiments of the inherent parasitic nature of the court, reveal their true nature even before the body of the narrative has begun, by the way in which the women seize upon the coach of a dead suitor after his untimely demise. After having wooed Feliciano for eight months with jewels and fine outfits and succumbing to the every wish of the three women, Fernando meets an untimely demise at the hands of an old enemy while on leave from the city. The lengthy courtship of Feliciano exposes this parasitic culture endemic in the women of the city, with an extended courtship of eight months denoting her attachment to receiving material goods for a long period of time. The true measure of the women, however, comes in the death of the first suitor, and their inheritance of his coach. As they learn the tragic news, it is the mother of the women who focuses their attentions on their enterprise once more:

Toda nuestra felicidad y descanso consiste en conservar este coche y que la Corte nos juzgue poderosas y con hacienda para poder sustentarlos; ésta nos falta, del mismo coche ha de salir su conservación y muchos más provechos; [...] en piélagos estamos donde hay bien que bracear todas las que aquí estamos, despabilen los ingenios y sepan que este coche, disfrazado con dos cubiertas y conducido por dos tiros de caballos, diferentes de los que ha tenido, podrá servir de cubierta de nuestras casas y de dar autoridad a nuestros embelecos.¹³

¹³ Alonso de Castillo Solórzano, *Las harpías en Madrid*, ed. by Pablo Jauralde Pou (Madrid: Castalia, 1985), p. 67.

As Teodora tells her daughters, the entirety of their future happiness is in the coach they have somehow inherited, which will guarantee their success and the appearance of social status in the city. As they disguise the coach and swap the horses of its previous, now defunct owner, the parasitism of society and the devaluation of social structures in their appropriation of the coach is exposed.

In other texts there are nuances of this social parasitism linked with the aims of deception in the city. Vélez de Guevara's *El diablo cojuelo* evokes a curious scene of women trading names, clothes and identities in the city and becoming other people:

Con esto, salieron desta calle a una plaçuela donde avía gran concurso de viejas que avían sido damas cortesanas, y moças que entravan a ser lo que ellas avían sido, en grande contratación unas con otras. Preguntó el Estudiante a su camarada que sitio era aquel, que tampoco le avía visto, y el le respondió:

-Este es el baratillo de los apellidos, que aquellas damas pasas truecan con estas moças alvillas por medias traídas, por çapatos viejos, valonas, tocas y ligas, como ya no las han menester; que el Guzmán, el Mendoza, el Enrriquez, [...] y otros generosos apellidos los ceden a quien los ha menester aora para el oficio que comiença, y ellas se quedan con sus patronímicos primeros de Hernández, Martínez, López, Rodríguez, Pérez, Gonçález, etcetera; porque al fin de los años mil, buelven los nombres por donde solían ir.¹⁴

This representation of women squabbling over outfits and names in Madrid re-emphasises this anxiety of social parasitism in a more overt way, drawing on the fundamental deception of the experience of life in Madrid and devaluing the social construct of the name as a means for attributing social value or hierarchy to an individual. As the women trade names and become another identity for the day, the final bastion of social standing in an increasingly heterogeneous society becomes meaningless for those higher in the echelons of society.

The characterisation of the parasitic character, such as Castillo Solórzano's busconas and Salas Barbadillo's adventuresses, in early modern Madrilenian narrative space is the physical manifestation of an invasion, the symptom of an illness in the city with regard to the organising principles of social structure. In a highly volatile transforming urban environment where crucial structures are destabilised, the literature of Madrid reflects an anxiety built on both the deception of the city, and the fear of social ostracisation. As the culture of the capital city developed, the society it engendered, particularly in the shadow of the court, gave rise to

¹⁴ Luis Vélez de Guevara, *El diablo cojuelo: novela de la otra vida* (Madrid: Imprenta del Reyno, 1641), fols 24^r-25^r.

new forms of sociability and a new hierarchy, as well as new symbols of wealth and status. The social and material parasitism and the feeding off others for a self-serving end is an endemic characterisation of the early modern period in the city, where the game plan was simply to survive.

THE DARKNESS OF THE CITY

The metaphor of darkness pervades much of early modern literary representation of Madrid, contrasting the brightness and glitter of the court with the quiet and disquiet of the night. Alonso de Castillo Solórzano's female busconas in *Las harpías de Madrid* take advantage of the cover of night in order to enact their schemes on the Prado, whereas Francisco Santos' *Día y noche de Madrid* contrasts the city of night and day in a quest to expose the transformative danger of the city after dark, evoking familiar spaces as shadowy pits of vice and fear. One of the key senses that was used to experience the city, sight, is obscured and blinded by the encroaching, claustrophobic darkness, heightening the other senses in its absence and providing another experience of the city that focuses on the importance of seeing and being seen.

By day, sight and observation was the fundamental way that inhabitants of the city experienced urban life and the projection of the glitter of the court, but by night, with this most vital of senses removed and this glitter unseen, the streets of the city became dangerous, transformative and shadowy. Luis Vélez de Guevara's phantasmagorical narrative of Madrid entitled *El diablo cojuelo* encapsulates this nocturnal, fatalistic element of the city in the early modern period. The narrative begins by establishing itself as occurring predominantly in the night of the city, at eleven o'clock on a July night:

Daban en Madrid, por los fines de Iulio, las onze de la noche en punto, hora menguada para las calles y, por faltar la luna, juridición y término redondo de todo requiebro lechuzo y patarata de la muerte. (*El diablo cojuelo*, fol. 1^r)

Exploiting the assonance of the word 'lechuzo' in this context, Vélez de Guevara draws attention to the famed nocturnal bird, the owl, in Spanish 'lechuza'. Furthermore, according to the lexicon of thieves' cant called *germanía*, collated by the pseudonymous Juan Hidalgo in *Romances de germanía de varios autores*, first published in 1601, 'lechuza' is defined as a 'ladrón de noche', a thief who operated exclusively in the darkness of the night.¹⁵ The darkness of the text is foregrounded in these first few lines, with the absence of moonlight and the transparency of the veil between

¹⁵ Juan Hidalgo, *Romances de germanía de varios autores con el vocabulario por la orden del a. b. c. para declaración de sus términos y lengua* (Madrid: Antonio de Sancha, 1779), p. 180.

life and death contributing to the complete lack of light in the darkness of the city.

Vélez de Guevara's nocturnal Madrid, however, is far from the silent crushing darkness characteristic of nocturnal narratives, despite the demon's evocation of the hour as being that of relative silence in the city:

A tiempo que su reloj dava la una, hora que tocava a recoger el mundo poco a poco al descanso del sueño; treguas que dan los cuydados a la vida, siendo comun el silencio a las fieras y a los hombres. (*El diablo cojuelo*, fol. 9^r)

At the time of one o'clock in the morning, the bustling activity of the city as the demon describes is supposedly given over to sleep, leaving the battles of the day behind in what should be a restful slumber, with those in the city sleeping silently like beasts. The evocation of the inhabitants of Madrid entering a restful slumber for the night stands in contradistinction to the nightmarish nature of the activity the demon shows Don Cleofás in the perpetual night of Madrid. The city, however, is depicted as bubbling, heaving with people at such an hour, yet the activity in its totality is enshrined by this continual feeling of darkness and night, particularly in the way behaviours change in the city after the day is done. Vélez de Guevara implements a lexis of darkness in the way in which he describes the city, which furthers the metaphor of darkness in the text. The attic in which Don Cleofás finds the magical demon is likened to a dark cave, 'espelunca', and the coach that takes the dead astrologer around the city in a final *paseo* becomes a tomb or coffin, evoking a nuance of claustrophobia in the nocturnal darkness of the city, where it becomes choking and inescapable. The darkness of the night echoes the darkness of the actions of the people, who are drinking, urinating in the street, fornicating and dying in the blackness of the city, presenting an image of the city surrounded in the decay of morality, highlighted only by the darkness and hidden in daytime.

In Luis Vélez de Guevara's narrative, there seems to be little hope or escape from the blackness that contaminates the city, oozing from its every pore. The heightening of the senses in the city and surfeit of sensuality in lieu of the sense of sight is evoked in the image of an exhausted father driven half-mad and kept from rest by the crying of his children:

Diferentemente le sucede a ese otro pobre y casado que vive en esotra casa mas adelante, que después de no haber podido dormir desde que se acosto, con un organo al oído de niños tiples, contraltos, terceruelas y otros mil guisados de voces que han inventado para llorar. (*El diablo cojuelo*, fol. 16^v)

The toll of fatherhood weighs heavily on the father as the voices of his children crying taunt him in the darkness and keep him from sleep where

the multitude of voices in simultaneous soprano, contralto and tenor shake him out of his somnambulistic state. The crying children are described by Vélez de Guevara in terms of operatic, musical terms, and this creates a disturbing image where the simultaneity of their wailing and its incongruity with the silence and darkness of the city creates an image of discordance. This sense of urban discordance emanating from the blackness of the city is continued in the chaos of the madhouse, where even with the subdued silence, there is the implication of noise in the way in which its doorway is painted with tambourines, guitars, and other percussion instruments, the incongruity of which inside the space creates the illusion of noise:

Con esto, salieron del soñado (al parecer) edificio, y enfrente del descubrieron otro, cuya portada estava pintada de sonajas, guitarras, gaitas çamoranas, cencerros, cascaveles, ginebras, caracoles, castrapuercos, pandorga prodigiosa de la vida, y preguntó don Cleofás a su amigo que casa era aquella que mostrava en la portada tanta variedad de instrumentos bulgares, -que tampoco la he visto en la Corte, y me parece que ay dentro mucho regocijo y entretenimiento. (*El diablo cojuelo*, fols 27^v-28^r)

In the portrayal of the noise of the city, there is the comparative silence of the madhouse in contradistinction to the bustling activity elsewhere, where Don Cleofás remarks that it sounds like a space of entertainment due to the implication of its decoration. There is the implied sensual quality of the city, too, in the tactile interaction between two robbers and their target, the smell from the two men who have spent all night taking purgatives, the stench of the ill and dying and the sounds of hubbub of a city in perpetual motion. This hyper-sensuality of the city comes to the fore in the nocturnal evocation of the city, but alarms and floods the remaining senses. Rather than playing to the senses and unifying them to create a complete representation of the city, the senses become dislocated from one another, making the experience of the city all the more heightened and disturbing. Even those that have managed to rest and escape from the wild senses of the city in its continual frenzy are described as in the process of suffering nightmares, as though escape from the city is unattainable:

En esotra casa mas arriba esta durmiendo un mentiroso con una notable pesadilla, porque sueña que dize verdad. Allí un Vizconde, entre sueños, está muy vano porque ha regateado la Excelencia a un Grande. (*El diablo cojuelo*, fol. 19^r)

The dreaming liar of Vélez de Guevara's vision, when he finally reaches sleep, is plagued by the nightmares of truth-telling when his enterprise and existence is, by definition, the falsehoods he tells, while the viscount, between wakefulness and dreaming, is said to be pleased with the haggling of his status of excellency from a grandee. The theme of the darkness of the night in Madrid manifests itself in a discourse of the

appearance in Madrid versus its reality, where the darkness of the city masked infinite deceptions and infinite lies in Vélez de Guevara's narrative phantasmagoria.

Quiñones de Benavante's entremés entitled *Don Gaiferos y las busconas de Madrid* was another early modern narrative set in Madrid that implemented darkness in the city, using it as a device of characterisation for the female characters of the text rather than the urban context itself. The women of the narrative descend like bats into the streets as the hour strikes seven in the evening in order to use the darkness as a cover for their schemes. The narrative opens with a *dama*, María, and her maid Inés, and the immediate reference to the time of day, which is the trigger point for the rest of action outside of the home. At seven o'clock, María exclaims 'pues fuera hemos de ir,' as though it is a compulsion or the sole purpose of their existence in the city.¹⁶ They head to the city to enjoy the night, to 'roam free', as designated by the use of the word 'campar'. From the title of the text, the enterprise of the two women is made clear in that they use the environment of night, with its ability to blur the vision and allow them to complete their schemes. They are busconas, women whose ambit is the unclear social status of the transformative space in the city, who manipulate the ruptures in the system by duping gullible male inhabitants into providing them with gifts, money and other material goods:

Saber buscar la vida
la gala, la comida
sin trabajar, diciendo aquí un donaire
y allí un pesadumbre envuelta en chanzas. (*Don Gaiferos y las Busconas de Madrid*, p. 613)

In the above excerpt, María's focus on being able to make her own life in the city is a skill that keeps her from hunger and destitution. Hunger has forced her into this nocturnal enterprise, and the shame has been suspended:

Saberse bandear por esas calles,
buscar, pedir, sacar, sea lo que sea,
es campar, o salir a pecorea. (*Don Gaiferos y las Busconas de Madrid*, p. 613)

In the use of the word 'pecorea', there is the assonance with 'pecora', implying prostitution as the reason behind María's nocturnal existence on

¹⁶ Luis Quiñones de Benavente, *Entremés famoso: Don Gaiferos y las Busconas de Madrid*, in *Colección de entremeses, loas, bailes, jácaras y mojigangas desde fines del siglo XVI a mediados del XVIII*, ed. by Emilio Cotarelo y Mori, 2 vols (II) (Madrid: Bailly-Baillière, 1911), pp. 613-617 (p. 613).

the streets of the city. As vision blurred after dark, it was precisely the space for her to not be witnessed or seen in the city. As the eponymous Don Gaiferos enters the scene, he is cursing the darkness of the night, the blackness of the city confounding his sight and senses:

¡Que noche hace tan impertinente!
 ¡Oigan la noche cita mal segura
 que falsa está, preciándose de obscura!
 señora noche, ¿no habrá de barato
 una estrella siquiera? (*Don Gaiferos y las Busconas de Madrid*, p. 614)

The blackness of the night in the city is not the preferred environment of Gaiferos, whose curses on the night castigate it for being so dark, and plead for more light from even just one star. Don Gaiferos, knowing the city, understands the dangers of the night and the darkness it brings: 'Bien está así, escuchadme ahora / la noche tiene cara de traidora [...]' (*Don Gaiferos y las Busconas de Madrid*, p. 614). Don Gaiferos' fatal flaw in the city as a seasoned urbanite, then, is conceptualisation of the night as the most dangerous aspect of the city. It is not the night that is the traitor, but the women, such as María, hiding in it.

As the action develops in the pitch-black city environment, Gaiferos happens across the lurking María, who claims that he has bumped into her and broken one of her *chapines*, an early platform shoe that hoisted an urban woman's skirts out of the filth of the gutter. The dialogue between the pair in the darkness develops into a discussion of money, with the darkness hiding María's shame as she requests money from Gaiferos:

María: ¿Dónde trae usted...?
 Gaiferos: ¿Qué?
 María: La moneda.
 ¿Quiere darme un escudo?
 Gaiferos: El de mis armas.
 María: Pues bajémoslo algo, sea un ducado.
 Gaiferos: ¿Qué es ducado? No tengo ni aún condado,
 que se los diera a pares.
 María: ¿Y de un real?
 Gaiferos: Eso sí, el de Manzanares.
 María: Pues sean unos cuartos.
 Gaiferos: Un relojillo tengo que da hartos. (*Don Gaiferos y las Busconas de Madrid*, p. 615)

The economic focus of the dialogue characterises María as an entirely fiscally motivated woman, as well as satirising this culture of women developing in the urban context. As María continues to beg, her requests for money diminish in sum, but each request is parried by Gaiferos with a witty, cutting rebuttal that plays on these financial terms with secondary meanings and homophonic sounds. Gaiferos, at least initially, is presented

as the victor of this battle of wits, and well aware of the dangers of the urban context. María, however, uses the darkness of the city as a way in which to obtain the things that she needs. Feigning that her shoe is broken in the darkness due to the fault of Gaiferos, she is able to obtain some ribbons, a needle and a handkerchief from him, as well as some of his money. As the *entremés* closes, María, now disguised, reappears with her maid and a policeman, informing the unfortunate Gaiferos that he has been robbed by a woman under the cover of darkness, reinscribing the traitorous qualities of the night:

Haga el sambenito gala
con damas deste jaez
disimule, y escarmiente
de andar al anochecer. (*Don Gaiferos y las Busconas de Madrid*, p. 617)

Quiñones de Benavente's short play is one that underscores the city as a dangerous space during the night, where even the most experienced of citizens such as Gaiferos are not immune to the dangers and the dissimulation of people into the shadows.

Salas Barbadillo's *El galán tramposo y pobre* that features in *Coronas del Parnaso*, y *Platos de las Musas* as the final tale of the nine *platos* is another text that centres the axis of its narrative around the contrast of night and day, darkness and light. The protagonist, Don Lope, is a Madrilenian gentleman with something of a reputation for wooing the ladies, and over a period of three days and nights, he attempts to woo some women in a nocturnal visit to the garden of their homes, having been given the invitation to do so by Doña Isabel, a widow:

En la puerta de el jardín de mi casa
que sale al campo os espero esta noche
entre doze y una; mi voluntad os llama,
y mucho mas la soledad del sitio.
Dios os guarde.¹⁷

Doña Isabel's nocturnal invitation hints at the cover of darkness as a way in which the two can converse in the privacy of the dark, with none of the added irritations of the daytime impeding them from having a discussion alone. In this context, then, the night of the city is used for the advancement of a social relationship, where outside the constraints of the daytime, a man and a woman could meet without chaperones and enjoy a snatched encounter with one another.

¹⁷ Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo, *El galán tramposo y pobre*, in *Coronas del Parnaso, y Platos de las Musas* (Madrid: Imprenta del Reino, 1635), fols 251^v-310^v (fol. 257^v).

However, as Don Lope takes his leave of his lady, he contrasts the darkness of the night with the lightness of the stars, creating the distinction of light and dark within text and dispelling the shadows of darkness:

Jamas entendí que diera
 la noche luzes tan claras
 entre sus sombras ávaras
 liberal y lisongera.
 Que en la ilustre claridad
 que vuestra belleza embia
 renace Fenix el día
 y muere la oscuridad. (*El galán tramposo y pobre*, fol. 259^v)

Lope's ode to the night draws the parallel between the stars in the night sky and Isabel's beauty, which is such that it cuts through the darkness like starlight, and forces the darkness of night into submission with the breaking of dawn, metaphorised here in the theme of the fiery phoenix regenerating the night into the light of day. This theme of the contrast between night and day is a continual theme of the narrative:

O noche mas bien vestida
 que fue el día precedente
 pues mas el sol está presente
 todo luz y todo vida.
 A larga ausencia de Febo,
 sepulta su claridad
 pues tanta serenidad
 a tu silencio le debo. (*El galán tramposo y pobre*, fol. 261^r)

In the above excerpt, Lope contrasts the liveliness of the day with the serenity of the night. The night is presented as a solace from the constant conversations and chattering of the daytime of the many visitors, friends and acquaintances whose long conversations throughout the text occupy most of its narrative space. Interestingly, the cheating gallant Lope is absent for almost the entirety of the scenes of the narrative that are set in the daytime, with the action centred around the discussion of his scurrilous persona with regard to his treatment of women, as though the world in daytime is too lively and bright for him in contradistinction to the night. Salas Barbadillo's narrative diametrically opposes night and day in a way in which invites a dangerous atmosphere between men and women. As Lope woos Doña Isabel through the gate in her garden after midnight, his absence and lack of characterisation during the daytime demonstrate how his characterisation is fractured by the passing of night and day, and his selfish and underhand behaviours come to the fore in the dark of the night.

ALIENATION

The theme of alienation is a fundamental element in the literary representation of the early modern capital city of Spain, where alienation could be narrativised through the lonely experience of a city despite the saturation of people crushed into it, or the crushing alienation of failing to integrate in a social manner. Salas Barbadillo's eponymous *mirones* in *Los mirones de la Corte* show nuances of urban alienation in the way in which they have become disassociated from the urban environment, and to a certain extent, from the actions of the people in it. They view the events of society in the Plaza Mayor with a curious, almost amused detachment as though they are the audience and the events they are witnessing are a theatrical production:

Pense yo, que era el único Mirón Cortesano, y el primero, y el último, que había hallado este alto modo de recrear el entendimiento, pero al fin los pensamientos de los hombres se encuentran, y ninguno puede decir con verdad, que es peregrino, y singular.¹⁸

The designation of this observational role in society articulates a self-reflexivity, positioning the speaker, Claudio, as a character who distances himself from society, choosing instead to remain on the periphery of it and maintaining a passive relationship with his surroundings. The way in which the four characters of the text observe their society is dispassionate, and disconnected:

Suelo yo admirarme mirando un Estampero, que con veinte reales de mercadería empleados, parte en estampas, parte en coplas de ciego, come, viste, paga casa, y aun le sobran dineros; y por el contrario, un Mercader, grande ministro de telas y brocados, morir de hambre, como Midas entre el mismo oro. (*Los mirones de la Corte*, p. 292)

As the characters view the events of the Plaza Mayor, the representation of a maker of poor quality engravings earning a crust contrasted with the purveyor of fine silks unable to make ends meet like Midas surrounded by his gold shows the inherent disconnection of the characters from the tableau they witness. Quite apart from being alienated from society as a result of a failure to integrate or having been ostracised, the characters of Salas Barbadillo's text are seemingly self-alienated from society by choice and meet its deceptions head-on, choosing not to integrate at all.

¹⁸ Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo, *Los mirones de la Corte* in Francisco Mariano Nifo, *Caxon de Sastre, o Monton de muchas cosas buenas, mejores o medianas*, 6 vols (Madrid: Imprenta de Miguel Escribano, 1781-1782), V (1781), pp. 290-304 (p. 292).

Luis Vélez de Guevara's *El diablo cojuelo* represents the crushing solitude of urban living in the solitude of a black night, where the distance from the subject narrative itself, viewed from the top of a bell tower only compounds this sensation of isolation in the city of perpetual night. It also compounds a lack of rootedness as Don Cleofás struggles to define, and be defined by, the space in front of him. The fundamental aspect of Vélez de Guevara's narrative of the night of the city, however, is that even in the darkness, Don Cleofás is able to really observe and experience the city, watching the parts of its existence that should not be able to be observed and exposing the city in all its seediness. This is reinscribed by the layers of detail included in the text that offer the most intimate of micro-narratives relating to the inhabitants, without names or faces, professions or personalities. The tableau of society revealed shows faceless ghosts of the city going about their somnambulistic business, occupying roles but not demonstrating any social interaction with one another, just as Don Cleofás, observing them, does not. The inhabitants of the city seem disconnected and disassociated, shadowy placeholders for the city of the day, going about preordained routines, and it is in these people that Vélez de Guevara exposes the terminal social breakdown of Madrid.

One of the primary ways in which the text exposes the alienation of the city is from the lack of interaction within the narrative itself. The scenes it presents as markers of a Madrilenian existence are disparate and unconnected with one another, moving swiftly from topic to topic with no respite until the narrative is flooded with intimate, micro-detail of the existence of the city. C. George Peale's analysis of *El diablo cojuelo* describes one of its key characteristics as its ability to evoke a flexible, multiple, heterogeneous vision of the city, and it is precisely this concept of heterogeneity that is reflected in the narrative structure of the text, almost as though the alienation of the city is saturated throughout the very bones of the narrative.¹⁹

This disconnection in the structure of the narrative itself is continued in the image of the urban landscape created in the text. The topographical details of the narrative, such as the church bell tower, the Prado and the Calle de los Gestos are few and far between, failing to provide much orientation or direction in which the narrative is moving through the city. The sparse topographical points of reference together with the motion of the lexis provide the sensation of being lost in the city, in all its intimate detail, pausing in moments of brief inertia to resituate or reinscribe a particular topographical marker, before moving off again into the fray, exposing a blur or cinematic representation of continuous scenes performed over and over again. The crux of alienation in Vélez de Guevara's representation of the city, however, is the way in which it brings into sharp focus the intrinsic aloneness of the people of the city, partially

¹⁹ C. George Peale, *La anatomía de El Diablo Cojuelo: Deslindes del género anatómico* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina, 1977), p. 131.

through this movement of the narrative that leaves characterisation and personalities far behind.

From the outset, the players in Vélez de Guevara's vision of the city are vaguely described, 'figuras' in the theatre of the city playing preordained roles, and already formless, defined by very little other than social condition. Rather than characters and names, there are social tropes, such as the avaricious old gentleman, the thieves, gamblers and cheating tailors and butchers of the city occupying general roles predisposing them to particular traits. Except when the revelation of facial features is a key component of the narrative, Vélez de Guevara's depiction of the city obscures faces, either distorting them in the mirrors of the Calle de los Gestos, with masks or prostheses, or with thick beards that obscure a clear image of the face:

Mira allí -prosiguio el Cojuelo- como se está quexando de la orina un Letrado, tan ancho de barba y tan espeso, que parece que saca un Delfín la cola por las almohadas. (*El diablo cojuelo*, fols 11^r-11^v)

The obstruction of a facial image in the text builds on the consciousness of alienation, because the face and the expression are fundamental parts of human social interaction that have been removed in Vélez de Guevara's text. Thus, both as a reader and in inter-relationships in the text, the obstruction of the face strips away a key form of reference in the way in which humans relate to one another.

This crushing loneliness of the city is evoked in the multiple solitary existences that form the composite image of society in *El diablo cojuelo*. The text depicts the people of the city as necessarily alone, and even when engaged in some form of social interaction, it is either through malice or quarrel, or through the bleary-eyed waking sleep that is characteristic of the inhabitants, such as the tale of the barber:

Mira allí, prosiguió el Cojuelo, aquel Barbero, que soñando se ha levantado, y ha echado unas ventosas a su mujer, y la ha quemado con las estopas las tablas de los muslos, y ella da gritos, y él, despertando, la consuela diciendo que aquella diligencia es bueno que esté hecha para quando fuere menester. (*El diablo cojuelo*, fols 20^v-21^r)

As the half-asleep barber dreams, he gets up in a somnambulistic state and hurts his wife while administering a prophylactic; she begins to shout and wakes the man up. During the main part of the action in this scene, the barber's sleeping state shows a passivity and noncommittal nature to social interactions in the city, and the same is true of those alone in the city. There is the relation of a man who is readying himself to marry a bride brought to him through a matchmaker, unaware of her ugliness and stupidity, 'una doncella tarasca, fea, pobre y necia.' (*El diablo cojuelo*, fol. 21^r) It seems that the inhabitants of Vélez de Guevara's vision of the city

go out of their way to avoid social interaction, rather than embracing the new opportunities of sociability the process of becoming a city entailed. The narrative of Vélez de Guevara depicts the city as a space of abject loneliness and misery, where people, despite their best efforts are social conditions with indistinct faces that single them out from others like them. In this distinct lack of connectedness between people, there is the inherent destruction of human relationships, shown in the text by the characters doing harm to one another, robbing, purging, fighting and in the case of an old man with a beautiful daughter, hoarding her from the sight of men to keep her for himself.

THE DISTORTED CORPUS OF THE CITY

Early modern representations of the body point to a tangle of arms and legs in the context of the city to the impression that wherever the gaze fell there was a proliferation of people of all nations, social classes and sexes. Beasts, organs and viscera and disparate limbs fractured from the wholeness of human form created disturbing creatures lurking in every city shadow as a small part of a wider discourse on the corruption of the city. Quevedo's *El buscón* narrates with visceral glee the misadventures of antihero Pablos, who is spat on, covered in excrement and humiliated in the city, and the bodily contortions of the thieves getting dressed. Vélez de Guevara's city of faceless crowds, disparate limbs and the grotesque fragility of the human body portrays a body chewed up and spat out by the monstrous organism of the city, while Quiñones de Benavente's perfect females in entremés *Los coches* are characterised solely by their disembodied, disassociated socially perfect physical attributes, avoiding any depth of characterisation at all. Norbert Elias' analysis of the development of a shame culture in society in regards to, in particular, physical functions, but also the exposure of the body, describes the role of social class alongside the insertion of the corporeal in text:

The situation is similar with the exposure of the body. First it becomes a distasteful event to show oneself exposed in any way before those of higher or equal rank; with inferiors it can even be a sign of benevolence. The social reference of shame and embarrassment recedes more and more from consciousness.²⁰

Elias' analysis of this condition of shame demonstrates the way in which particular kinds of bodily exposure were accepted or denigrated dependent on social class, which inculcated feelings of shame within society. The exposure of the body in early modern literature, then, as well as revealing the corpus of the city in all its monstrosity, was dependent on social class, with repugnance being the key marker of the lower echelons of society. The representation of a distorted physiognomy in the narrative space of early modern Madrid took three particular forms: the

²⁰ Elias, p. 139.

fragmentation or fracturing of the human body, the grotesque fragility of the body, and the bestial body, the beasts of the city. The relationship between Madrid and its grotesque corpus in text represented a way in which to textualise the body of the marginalised, as well as augment the growing contagion of the city.

The discontinuous corporeality of Vélez de Guevara's *El diablo cojuelo* is a fundamental construction of the narrative and the way in which people are portrayed in the city. The fact that the narrative begins with the conceptualisation of a crippled devil, already distorted and broken is an irony of the text, as the devil shows the city in its most broken, fragmented form to his liberator Don Cleofás. The narrative opens with the intense physicality of the city, a 'pepitoria humana', as well as a 'puchero humano', portraying the inhabitants of the city as a human stew that suggests that they are already homogenous, mixed together and entangled so as to become amorphous pieces of the urban environment. This 'human stew' makes up the 'carne del pastelón de Madrid' (*El diablo cojuelo*, fol. 9^v), the meat or flesh of the city that suggests the central role of people in the construction of images of urbanisation. Vélez de Guevara's focus on the physicality of the city presents the image of disparate limbs, arms and legs, hands and feet, without any differentiation between sexes, ages, or personalities:

Quedó Don Cleofás absorto en aquella pepitoria humana de tanta diversidad de manos, pies, y cabeças, y haziendo grandes admiraciones dixo:

- ¿Es posible que para tantos hombres, mujeres y niños hay lienço para colchones, sábanas y camisas? (*El diablo cojuelo*, fol. 10^r)

The city is construed as a variety of hands, legs and heads, creating an incomplete, incoherent image of the human body. These people are not humans, they are mere fragments of humans, and in turn, this invites a sociocultural comment on the effect of the urban process on the inhabitants of the city, a violent process that fractured the relationship between people, how they understood themselves and how they interacted with their environment in recognition of this understanding. In the text, Don Cleofás questions whether or not it is possible that there are enough sheets, mattresses and shirts for such an enormous quantity of people, and there is an incongruity in the items mentioned with the body parts evoked in the text, a disconnection between both groups of signifiers that contributes to an overall image of confusion and chaos in the city, a place where nothing quite fits together.

This sensation of corporeal fracturing intensifies as the text continues. The text moves further and further away from the complexities of the complete human form further into an irreconcilable dislocation of the sense of the body, almost as though these inhabitants of the city have become alienated from themselves, from the flesh and bone that comprises the body. In the vivid description of the inhabitants of the city

undressing for a night of sleep, there is the implication of body parts in the enumeration of articles of clothing yet the body is absent itself from the process:

Aviendo una priesa notable a quitarse çapatos y medias, calçones y jubones, basquiñas, berdugados, guardainfantes, polleras, enaguas y guardapiés, para acostarse hombres y mugeres, quedando las humanidades menos mesuradas, y bolviéndose a los primeros originales. (*El diablo cojuelo*, fol. 9^r)

The body becomes a ghost in the above excerpt, where there is the implication of its presence in the articles of discarded clothing, but yet a sense of corporeal unity becomes even more fractured with the contradiction of its simultaneous presence and absence in the text. The people of the city become dehumanised, reduced to the implication of body parts with a list of the clothing they have shed. The physicality of the city is amplified further in a visit to the Calle de los Gestos, which was the space of gambling in the city, and therefore a space of quick gestures and underhand motives. The narrator describes a narrow street full of mirrors, where women and men appear to be trying on masks and pulling faces at one another:

Y don Cleofás iba siguiendo a su camarada, que le avía metido por una calle algo angosta, llena de espejos por una parte y por otra, donde estaban muchas damas y lindos mirándose y poniéndose de diferentes posturas de bocas, guedexas semblantes, ojos, vigotes, braços y manos, haciéndose cocos a ellos mismos. (*El diablo cojuelo*, fols 23^{r-v})

The imagery of a grotesque gallery of dislocated human features mirrors the representation of the arms, legs and heads of the first *tranco*. The excerpt, however, implies the double horror of the reciprocal images of these disembodied mouths, eyes and arms pulling grotesque faces at one another reflected in the mirrors lining the street. These distorted faces and the masks which replicate an even more distorted image of the face amplify this alienation or disassociation from the human body, revealing a relationship between the body and city which is confused. The distorted physiognomy portrayed by Vélez de Guevara is amplified further and turned on its head in the depiction of an inhabitant of the city getting ready for bed in the elaboration of his nightly ritual:

Pero buelve alli los ojos, verás como se va desnudando aquel hidalgo que ha rondado toda la noche, tan Cavallero del milagro en las tripas como en las demas facciones, pues quitándose una cavellera queda calvo; y las narices de carátula, chato; y unos vigotes postizos, lampiño; y un brazo de palo, estropeado; que pudiera irse más camino de la sepoltura que de la cama. (*El diablo cojuelo*, fols 18^v-19^r)

The use of the word 'estropeado' suggests the distortion of the human body in the narrative to the point at which it has broken, drawing on the inherent fragility of the human form in the city, broken by the ravages of its society and culture. The man in the excerpt is getting undressed at the end of the day, removing items that are revealing of the façade of the society he participates in. Each night he removes his wig and becomes a bald man, removes a prosthetic nose, a fake moustache and a wooden arm, yet ironically through this process becomes a more whole iteration of himself. Vélez de Guevara's representation of the fractured urban physiognomy involves a degree of dehumanisation in regards to the inhabitants presented for scrutiny. They are shadow beings that are reduced to body parts and faceless, passive players in his scene of the city given typecast roles and names, sexes and ages but not personalities or individual identities beyond the superficiality of their activity occupying them at the specific moment they are being observed.

From the fragmentation of the human body in early modern representation in Madrid, there is also a movement towards images of the bestial, an anthropomorphism of beasts in the city, yet also the reverse in the animalism of its people. Luis de Góngora's famous sonnet *Grandes, más que elefantes y que abadas*, composed in 1588, is one particularly striking expositive account of these beasts in the city, as its verses depict the exotic elephants in the grandees with their over-inflated sense of importance as well as a description of their social class, reference to a gift of an elephant and a rhinoceros made to Philip II from the governor of Java in 1581.²¹ The exotic animals have their parallel in the beasts lurking in the coaches, and the evocation of the thin veil that separates them from the beasts pulling them: 'carrozas de a ocho bestias, y aún son pocas / con las que tiran y que son tiradas.'²² These two lines from Góngora's sonnet introduce the theme of the bestial in the urban narrative space of Madrid, building on a concept of animality in the court in particular. This image of the bestial city, a city roamed by beasts, is particularly prevalent in *El diablo cojuelo*, as well as the representation of a court celebration and procession in the city by Zabaleta, who likens its participants to animals. Whether the bestial element of representation is used in a more innocuous way to comment on herd mentalities in the city, or whether it is used as a further disturbing distortion on the inhabitants of the city, there is an intensity of allusions to an animalistic representation of the inhabitants of the city, as though the urban process had dehumanised them in some way.

The representation of animals in early modern literature, and exotic animals in particular, taps into a fashion prevalent in the Spanish court of importing and collecting these beasts as a sign of power and

²¹ Diane Chaffee-Sorace, *Góngora's Poetic Textual Tradition: An Analysis of Selected Variants, Versions and Imitations of His Shorter Poems* (London: Tamesis, 1988), p. 28.

²² Luis de Góngora, *Todas las obras de Luis de Góngora en varios poemas* (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1633), fol. 18^r.

magnificence.²³ Since the discovery of the New World, the Spanish imagination had been captured by the new, exotic species found there, and importing these animals was a time-consuming and costly exercise that only the richest of society, such as the court, could afford. The collecting of animals as a power symbol had been an activity of the court since medieval times, but it is precisely this fascination with the exotic as a representation of both power and the mysterious unknown that began to filter into early modern literature that mimics the menagerie of the court.

Juan de Zabaleta's description of a court procession in *El día de fiesta por la tarde* plays on this bestial motif in a representation of a procession more for the people of the city rather than the court, where the inhabitants taking part in the festivities become animals, elephants, panthers and hyenas, all taking part in the spring pilgrimage to the hermitage of San Marcos just beyond the Puerta de Fuencarral. Zabaleta begins his chapter on this yearly ritual with a warning of the narrative he is about to reveal: 'Atención, pues, a la fiesta que cada año hacen a los hombres otros hombres transformados en brutos.'²⁴ Zabaleta's warning statement in his text already dehumanises the lower classes of the city attending the celebration, referring to unrefined, brutish behaviours that align them with the animals they are portrayed alongside. The lexis opens this theme of the bestial within the people of the city, with mentions of 'bestias fieras', as well as the juxtaposition of more majestic, exotic animals, such as elephants and tigers that seem incongruous in the same narrative space as the savage beasts. As the people emerge from the Puerta de Fuencarral, there is the added sensory description of the general noise and hubbub they are making, shouts and noise more characteristic of animals than humans.

One by one, particular members of society are picked out in the description, characterised in terms of their dress and personality and revealed as their animal iterations. Zabaleta evokes a fat man, almost as broad as he is tall, with a thick neck and eyes glinting with displeasure in the fray of the celebrations:

Sale un hombre de mediana estatura, poco menos ancho que largo, corto y erizado el cabello, [...] grueso el pellejo de rostro, el color sin luz, los ojos desagrado dormido, los bigotes sin gobierno, el cuello corto, los brazos mal tirados, las manos en forma de cucharones. (*El día de fiesta por la tarde*, p. 108)

After describing every single physical flaw of the character and reconstituting him in text as a grotesque set of constituent parts, his style

²³ Carlos Gómez-Centurión Jiménez, 'Exóticos pero útiles: los camellos reales de Aranjuez durante el Siglo XVIII', *Cuadernos dieciochistas*, 9 (2008), 155-180 (p. 158).

²⁴ Juan de Zabaleta, *El día de fiesta por la tarde* (Dueñas: Simancas Ediciones, 2006), p. 107.

of dress is observed, before finally he becomes an elephant of the city, slow and ugly:

Éstos son los elefantes de la fiesta deste día, pesados y feos. Gustan de andar en tropas, y son amigos de honra y de estimación. Ésta tiene entre ellos extrañas y ridículas ceremonias y palabras. No gustan de mover pependencias, pero, ocasionados, riñen. (*El día de fiesta por la tarde*, p. 108)

These fat men of the court are like elephants, lumbering and ugly, fat and dull, whose preoccupation with ceremony, honour and the particular use of language makes them ridiculous, particularly in their attempts to surround themselves with like-minded citizens. The next animal in Zabaleta's menagerie is a panther described in terms of the parasitic ways of the *gorrona*, whose enterprise in this context is to appear as beautiful as she is able by dressing herself up and concealing the ugliness of her face in order to latch onto an unsuspecting male and gain material goods. By likening her to the panther, she is a dangerous and unpredictable female to be viewed from afar:

La pantera es un animal que se cubre de pellejo tan hermoso, por la variedad de sus colores, que con ellos llama los animales de que ha de sustentarse, y de tan fiero rostro que los ahuyenta. Pues, ¿qué hace para sustentarse? Esconde el rostro y enseña la gala. Lo mismo hacen estas mujeres. (*El día de fiesta por la tarde*, p. 109)

As Zabaleta's menagerie continues, the descriptions of the people becoming shorter and shorter, causing a textual collision with the narrative of the people at the celebration and the underlying discourse of the animals of the city, brought out by the wine, drunken behaviour and mixing of the sexes that the pilgrimage of el Trapo brought out in society. The people, therefore, become the animals and in the case of the hyena, the animals become people, interiorising and embodying particular traits that make them less human:

Hiena. Este animal adormece a los que se acercan. Esta mujer, con la respiración envinada, causa sueño a los que se le avecinan. La hiena imita la voz humana, esta bestia la imita: no dirán cuando habla sino que es mujer. (*El día de fiesta por la tarde*, p. 110)

In the above excerpt, the comparison is drawn between a drunken woman, lulling people to sleep with the wine on her breath, with the predatory instincts of a hyena who puts those who approach it to sleep in a more figurative and dangerous sense. The hyena is described to imitate the human voice, while the woman with her inane drunken laughter, imitates the hyena. In a reversal of roles, the hyena is exposed as an ironically more morally-upstanding character, a beast ruled by animal instincts, yet cunning and ruthless in contradistinction to the vacuous, frivolous behaviour of the drunk woman at the celebration of el Trapo. The

juxtaposition of these animals in Zabaleta's text with the urban context provides a sensation of unfamiliarity and incongruity that functions in underlining the intense discourse of the breakdown of sociability in the city, where inhabitants become alienated from themselves, and removed from their human forms.

THE CITY AS HELL

From the shadowy beasts in the city whose tenebrous forms lurked in the darkness of the night and revelled in the immorality that the urban process was wont for breeding, the representation of early modern Madrid began to descend into an underworld haunted by ghosts, witches, vipers and demons, a hotbed of vice and immorality, supernatural beings and the image of dystopia that stood in contradistinction to the image of the court. This image of the inherent malevolence of the city was represented in the lexis of Salas Barbadillo's *El comisario contra los malos gustos*, a text which depicts the unhappiness of an inhabitant of the city who finds fault and evil in every aspect of its existence. The protagonist and aforementioned *comisario*, Alexandro's, task is to protect against the bad tastes of the city that have infected it like a contagion. As he passes judgement on the habits of those in the text who spend too much money and sleep too late, there is the implementation of a lexis that explores this inherent malevolence of the city in the responses of Alexandro to his peers' bad habits:

Dime hombre ¿si tienes al oydo
Algun demonio executor de engaños,
Que te aconseja tan perversos daños?²⁵

As the narrative continues and characters appear for their judgement one by one, the lexis of evil intensifies like a contagion in the text, and more and more of the narrative space is taken up with the theme of an urban sickness. Alexandro passes a sentence on a malcontent of the city, who takes no pleasure in any aspect of Madrid at all:

Mi gusto es no tener en nada gusto
De quanto hazen, o dizen otros hombres,
Y aun me ofenden las flores y las luzes,
Murmuro yo de Abril las galas bellas,
Y censuro el ornato en las estrellas. (*El comisario contra los malos gustos*, fol. 85^v)

The malcontent of Madrid is a man who has become not only disassociated from Madrilenian society, but has come to detest it to the degree that he is

²⁵ Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo, *El comisario contra los malos gustos*, in *Fiestas de la boda de la incansable malcasada* (Madrid: Viuda de Cosme Delgado, 1622), fols 83^v-92^r (fol. 85^r).

rendered completely unable to find any beauty in the urban corruption it had become. Instead of finding beauty in the stars, or enjoying pleasantries with other inhabitants, the man finds only a negative reaction to the city, as though the whole city has become corrupt and ruined. Alexandro's reaction to this depicts the man as the poison of the city himself, as though he has poisoned the city for others, rather than having become poisoned by the evils of the city itself:

Hombre vete a vivir entre los aspides,
 Vomita tu veneno con los sierpes,
 Y no quieras qual falso cocodrilo
 Emponçoñar la Corte, con tu estilo,
 ¿No vives despreciado y miserable? (*El comissario contra los malos gustos*, fols 85^v-86^r)

The alliteration in the first two lines of the excerpt, 'vete', 'vivir', 'vomita' and 'veneno' force a jarring violence into the stream of invective that highlights the allusion to the snake, the cold-blooded creature to which the naysayer of the city has been likened. This allusion to the reptilian intensifies with the reference to the crocodile, and works in contradistinction to the warm-blooded quality of humanity. It provides a symbolic link of this particular character in the text to the Biblical fall of man, as well as intimating that his disaffected views on society somehow render him subhuman. The malcontent man of the city is depicted as someone whose words are venom, poisoning the space of the city and contaminating it with his ire. This allusion to poison continues a reference to an urban contagion that was beginning to surge to the fore in early modern literature referencing Madrid. The poisoning of society forms part of a wider lexis that instils the metaphor of the city as hell, with use of words such as 'demonio', 'engaño', 'infierno', 'pecado' and 'monstruo' to build the image of the city as a space that has been compromised and corrupted.

This conceptualisation of the monstrous in Salas Barbadillos' *comedia* is an image interiorised in the personalities of the inhabitants of the city, rather than the invention of a supernatural demonic being that presides over the evil of the city, such as in Vélez de Guevara's *El diablo cojuelo*. Salas Barbadillos' narrative refers purely to the contagion of the city spread by the people that made it, its human inhabitants, showing the intrinsic part that formed the city to be morally corrupt. There is the depiction of sloth, flattery, apathy, and misery, sins of human nature that contribute to the underlying discourse of the monstrous being within each urban inhabitant, caused by a symbiotic process of being corrupted by one another, and corrupted by the influences and new temptations of the city.

Vélez de Guevara's *El diablo cojuelo* is, at the base level of its narrative, a guided tour of the city of Madrid by a crippled demon, bringing the narrative directly into the clutches of hell itself with a narrator spawned from the underworld. The alternative title of the novel refers to it being

'de la otra vida', already inscribing allusions to the underworld interiorised in the Madrilenian night, as well as the other lives of the inhabitants during their nocturnal hours. From the moment the narrative begins, this sense of otherworldliness is encapsulated within the text, which represents the city as an organism, alive and monstrous, that swallows coaches on the Prado and chews its inhabitants up only to spit them out again. The impending demonic tableau of the city that is to be revealed is in part foreshadowed in the dialogue between Don Cleofás and the crippled devil at the beginning of the narrative. As Don Cleofás interrogates the devil as to his identity, the devil parries each mention of a Biblical demon with the purpose they serve in the torment of humanity:

-¿Eres Lucifer? -le repitió don Cleofás.
 -Ese es demonio de dueñas y escuderos -le respondió la voz.
 -¿Eres Satanás? -prosiguió el Estudiante.
 -Ese es demonio de sastres y carniceros -volvió la voz a repetille.
 -¿Eres Bercebú? -volvió a preguntarle don Cleofás. Y la voz a respondelle:
 -Ese es demonio de taures, amancebados y carreteros. (*El diablo cojuelo*, fol. 5^r)

As the demon describes the other named devils, there is the reference to particular social roles that describe particular forms of lies in the city. There is a specific demon for tailors, known for their swindling, lying ways, and the butchers whose representation foregrounds them in early modern Madrid as more than likely to sell cat meat in place of other meats. Lucifer is in the characterisation of the exacting landladies and deceiving squires of the city, while Beelzebub favours the cardsharps and the stupid. In the city of Vélez de Guevara, there is a demon interiorised and guiding the actions of each person and each profession.

With the theme of the demons living among the people in the city, the theme of the city as an inherently evil place is established in the narrative, with the people pertaining to everyday existence characterised within a framework of deception that represents the whole metaphor of the urban process in early modern Madrid. The demon, then, goes onto describe himself:

Demonio más por menudo soy, aunque me meto en todo: yo soy las pulgas del infierno, la chisme, el enredo, la usura, la mohatra; yo truje al mundo la çarabanda, el déligo, la chacona, el bullicuzcuz, las cosquillas de la capona, el guiriguirigay, el çambapalo, la mariona, el avilipinti, el pollo, la carretería, el hermano bartolo, el carcañal, el guineo, el colorín colorado; yo inventé las pandorgas, las jacaras, las papalatas, los comos, las mortecinas, los títeres, los bolatines, los saltambancos, los maese corales y, al fin, yo me llamo el Diablo Cojuelo. (*El diablo cojuelo*, fols 5^{r-v})

The way in which the crippled demon describes himself remains within these parameters of deception and lies, and he characterises himself in the realms of particular social roles just as he has with the other devils. He is characterised in the loan shark, the gossip and the fraudster, all social roles known for their defrauding ways and inherent deception. Furthermore, however, the devil refers to himself as having brought particular types of dance into the world, such as the 'zarabanda', the 'déligo' and the 'hermano Bartolo'. These dances that the demon mentions in quick succession form a dizzying frenzied sensation of movement surrounding his description of himself, but also refer to low-class, lascivious and grotesque dances, such as the 'zambapalo', that impart a specific kind of sexuality to his characterisation. There is the implicit image in the depiction of this demon of the meeting of human flesh and a hedonism that he is able to impart in the minds of the people of Madrid. With the frenzy of lascivious dancing integral to the demon's character comes the cacophony of music and noise that makes his presence in the world felt, and stands out in contradistinction to the silence of the Madrilenian night.

The devil characterises himself as the inventor of noise and discord, denoted by the use of the word 'pandorgas', a word that Covarrubias describes as signifying 'una consonancia alocada, y de mucho ruido, que resulta de variedad de instrumentos.'²⁶ The creature surrounds himself with the discordance of musical instruments playing all at once in a chaos to the ears, a description that contrasts with the strict choreography of the volley of dances upon which he bases his identity. In the final flourish of his self-identification, the demon refers to himself as the inventor of crass humour in the literary genre, the *jácara*, as well as being incarnate in the flesh of the dying beasts, reinscribing an underlying discourse of the animality of the city. The term used by Vélez de Guevara is 'mortecinas', and refers to the flesh of a dead animal, stemming from the noun 'mortecino', meaning 'animal que se murió de su muerte natural, sin violencia', with a secondary meaning of a person close to death, if taken from a definition from the late eighteenth century.²⁷ The devil also draws the parallel between himself and a puppet-master, tightrope walker and the master of conjuring tricks, all performative arts that describe his function in the text as laced with theatricality as well as the art of illusion and deception. The devil's self-characterisation is complex, with the swift movement of the text in continuous lists of socioculturally important dances mirroring the jumpy movement in the choreography of the text, where each night the inhabitants of the city perform their repetitious routines, and undress themselves for bed. The devil is conceptualised in terms of chaos and deception, and therefore is the supernatural

²⁶ Sebastián de Covarrubias Horozco, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* (Madrid: Luis Sanchez, 1611), s.v., fol. 576^v.

²⁷ Esteban Terreros y Pando, *Diccionario castellano con las voces de ciencias y artes y sus correspondientes en las tres leguas francesa, latina e italiana [...]*, 5 vols (II) (Madrid: Viuda de Ibarra, 1787), s.v. [p. 622].

manifestation of the city, with all its vices, its lies and the deceptions of its people unable to stay still as though in a perpetual dance.

As the devil begins to show the young student around the city, allusions to the demonic side of the city fall away in favour of a discourse of the deception of the city, made clear by the brilliance of the day having been stripped away. Allusions to the demonic abound in the narrative, where the reference to the Prado swallowing coaches on a summer's eve references a katabatic tradition and implies the entrance to the underworld, while the coven of witches between San Sebastián and Fuenterrabía cultivate their dark arts in what the demon describes as the 'antecámara de Luzifer' (*El diablo cojuelo*, fol. 12^v). Overt references to the diabolical, however, fall away in order to foreground the discourse of the very real hell of the city, one that is more credible but more easily dissimulated in the urban bustle. The metaphor of the city as hell, for Vélez de Guevara, was the exposition of it as the locus for deception.

This in itself is a frightening conceptualisation of the city, because it involves a measure of truth, as well as a sense of the metaphor of the city as hell being of the own making of the inhabitants. There is a sense of the inevitability of a descent into a nightmare in a city whose inhabitants are unable to tear themselves away from their propensity to vice and sin. Thus, as the veil of darkness falls over the city, the veil between the two worlds, 'la otra vida', as Vélez de Guevara describes it, becomes more permeable, and the inherent deception of the city by day is revealed by night. At the heart of the city's malevolence is this deception that is upheld by the inhabitants by day, yet eschewed by night when they all return to their alienating existences. As Don Cleofás remarks to the devil, of a lowly *fregona*, or washerwoman of the city, dressed in a borrowed outfit and feigning the appearance of someone she is not: '-Un moño y unos dientes postizos y un guardainfante pueden hazer esos milagros -dijo don Cleofás' (*El diablo cojuelo*, fol. 26^r).

The fact that the fundamental hell of the city turns out to be of a very human origin rather than of a devilish incarnation shown by a crippled demon subverts the expectation of the supernatural in the narrative. Despite the demon's use of magic to lift the roofs of the houses in the city and later the use of a magic mirror, the images he reveals of early modern Madrid reveal humans performing deeds all of their own doing, independently. The depiction of thieves breaking into a man's house, of a man urinating in the street and a man jealously hoarding his beautiful daughter and keeping her from marriage and all to himself are behaviours that are at base level, completely human, and not created by any magic or supernatural power. Perhaps it is this inherently human core of the image of Madrid, then, that is the most frightening in *El diablo cojuelo*, because it represents an uncontrollable, unstoppable process.

CONCLUSION

This self-reflection of the city as presented by a devil reveals the key irony of the city in new, repugnant ways that condemn urbanisation as the cause of an unstoppable process. Alexandro in Salas Barbadillo's *El comissario contra los malos gustos* describes his ire at the way the people of the city have become, clamouring their complaints and receiving their sentences as though he were a judge of lawful process. The city, at its core, is rotten, and the people in it are suffering from the same malaise. In the stench and filth of the city, there is the very primary, sensory contamination of urban space in the most basic of terms, due to the negligence of the people of the city, who have failed to maintain their habitat, and live in the filth that was so often hidden by grandiose court displays. Further contamination of urban space is seen in the people of the city themselves, living off others and feeding off the economy and social atmosphere in the city as a means for their own survival, the fleas and lice of the court personified in the character of the buscona and pícaro.

In the representation of the city at night, there is an inherent transformative danger that parries the image of the daytime, with Vélez de Guevara's *El diablo cojuelo* evoking the image of a perpetual night of misery in the city, and Quiñones de Benavente's *Don Gaiferos y las Busconas de Madrid* completing the image of a night that erased the sense of sight while heightening the other senses and tricking the unfortunate gentleman into being robbed by the sweetness of conversation in an unseen lady's voice. In the darkness, too, there is an alienation that resides in every pore of the city, demonstrating a destruction of social interaction that results in murder, brawls and robbery, rather than the choreographed, practiced social interactions that formed the glue of early modern society.

This sensation of social isolation and destruction in social interaction intensified in the representation of the distorted, corrupt and monstrous corpus of the city, where dislocated and grotesque bodies show an image of distortion of the people of the city who have become contaminated by its vices and sin. In the bestial representation of the inhabitants of the city, the image of the human removed from the city incorporates this discourse of the destruction of sociability, with the corruption of the human being into an animal revealing bestial instincts and unrefined, dangerous behaviours. Finally, it is the disintegration of the city into a living hell that brings the discourse of the city to completion, where the souls of the city are condemned to their corruption, condemned to their vices, and condemned to their eternal deception of their own making. The composite image of these early modern discourses, then, is the inherent deception of the city, a city of lies and untruths that exposes a repugnant reality behind the glitter of the court. The early modern literature detailing the representation of the city of Madrid exposes a discourse of a people

brutalised, alienated and disgusted by the innate evil and blackness of the city, souls both damned and condemned to their urban existence of their own making.

CONCLUSION.

The conversation shared by Quevedo's *buscón* Pablos and his travelling companion Don Toribio provides a fundamental point of departure in evoking the representation of extremes that appeared with startling simultaneity in the representation of early modern Madrid:

“Lo primero ha de saber que en la corte hay siempre el más necio y el más sabio, más rico y más pobre, y los extremos de todas las cosas; que disimula los malos y esconde los buenos, y que en ella hay unos géneros de gentes como yo, que no se les conoce raíz ni mueble, ni otra cepa de la que decienden los tales.”¹

The first thing to know about Madrid, explains Don Toribio, is that it is a place of extremes, a place that polarises all within. As one of the most widely read texts on Early Modern Madrid, Quevedo's dystopian nightmare reveals in the way in which the literary representation of the experience of the city is polarised, unflinchingly illustrating extremes of rich and poor, wise and stupid and attraction and repugnance.

This thesis has set out to examine how these two extremes of Madrid simultaneously appear in the literary representation of the city amid a time of intense cultural and artistic production and sociocultural change. The transformation of Madrid towards urbanisation provoked spatial and experiential changes in the city, and altered the way in which its inhabitants experienced and perceived their geography. These new modes of experiencing the city have led to a split literary representation, a crisis of representation that vacillates between admiration for its grandeur and courtly image, and repugnance directed towards the poverty, filth and starvation. From this point of departure, this thesis has additionally highlighted the need to move away from the traditional Maravallian conceptualisation of the Baroque culture as a manifestation of the ideological control of the ruling classes in response to pressure from the margins. The development of culture in early modern Madrid was more than the static universal model proposed by Maravall; it was dynamic, fluid and responsive.

However, if Maravall's model upon which he bases the development of Baroque culture is reductive and static, there is some merit to the way in which he examines it in terms of a conflict at base level. While the development of culture in early modern Madrid could have, at least in part, been as a result of the interaction between power and resistance, I feel that a more compelling argument could be made in favour of the representation of culture in Madrid as having developed as a result of the conflict between its projected literary image and its reality.

¹ Francisco de Quevedo, *La vida del Buscón llamado Don Pablos*, ed. by Domingo Ynduráin (Madrid: Cátedra, 2008), p. 211.

The detailed analysis of multiple textual genres produced in and about early modern Madrid has allowed me to examine the way in which literature navigates the experience of the city and its changing landscape, sociability and sociocultural systems. Through historiography, poetry and ephemeral text, I have analysed the construction of an image projected by the court that stands as one half of the two 'worlds' of the city created simultaneously in the early modern period. These genres were the voices of the court. As a foil to this projected image of court grandeur in Madrid, I have analysed genres such as the *entremés* and prose fiction in order to present an alternative experience of the city that exposes the experience of everyday, street-level reality. Moreover, my analysis has focused on a close reading of less prominent non-canonical texts in order to complement existing readings of the Baroque that focus on canonical works as a way of representing the experience of the city.

The primary experience of the city is presented through the court. The court made the city in both a physical and ideological sense, determining its spatial organisation and the narratives it told to its population. The historiographies of Madrid created the illusion of city existence and identity through an illustrious population, incredible statistics of urbanisation showing off urban development and demographic grandeur, the canonisation of a patron saint and the retextualisation of Roman and Greek myth in foundational narrative involving a divinely-ordained prince. Jerónimo de Quintana's retelling of a little-known narrative of a Greek prince named Ocno Bianor perhaps represents the culmination of this illusion of city existence, a narrative appearing in its most complete form in 1628, so readily accepted by a society that had already jubilantly celebrated the canonisation process of San Isidro a few years before and accepted the figurehead for the city that completed its image. This power narrative is continued in the representation of the court occupying urban space, with festival books and poetry perpetuating the glory of the court; references in poetry and ephemeral text of the majesty and power of the king evoked through palaces, hunting grounds and days of festivities.

However, in order for Maravall's unidirectional thesis to function in terms of the cultural development and representation of Madrid, there lies the assumption of the fact that this presentation of Madrilenian culture was met without resistance by a passive audience. It is clear, however, that the literature of early modern Madrid is characterised by anything but passivity. This literature increasingly reflects anxiety towards the city, criticism, depravity and a fury of impotence that contests the projected image of the court and its ability to manipulate its cultural development. Alongside the exaltation of Madrid in Núñez de Castro's *Solo Madrid es Corte* is a second part, which is an advice text that involves the oblique condemnation of the social behaviours created by the self-same structure he praises in the first part, showing how Baroque culture transcends this binary opposition of power and resistance.

The literature of the city first and foremost reflects an intensity of movement and dynamism that counteracts Maravall's static theory of cultural development. Luis Vélez de Guevara's *El diablo cojuelo* speeds through the streets of Madrid and its people, rarely pausing for breath before launching into the next tableau in a 'puchero humano', while Alonso de Castillo Solórzano's *harpías* experience city space through the windows of a stolen coach. Salas Barbadillo's *mirones* observe the hustle and bustle of a day in the Plaza Mayor, while Antoine de Brunel and Madame d'Aulnoy's reports of a day at the bullfights evoke the continual flurry of movement and the roars of the crowds. Festival books similarly evoke this dynamism, with the continual processions of the streets detailing a movement through urban space. Early modern representation is saturated with this concept of movement in reference to Madrid, and no sooner had the chronicles documented in painstaking detail the amount of people and houses in the capital in order to freeze-frame the city, the figure increased.

The representation of early modern Madrid reflects a consciousness of urban change, a contemporary examination of what it means to become a city, whether this manifests as admiration, or anxiety towards the new urban geography. Salas Barbadillo's *entremés Los mirones de la Corte* evokes this new representation of the city that deals with its physical, visual transformation, and how reactions to inhabitants perceiving a new geography and map of the city filtered into the representation of culture in Madrid. Through texts such as *El Prado de Madrid, y baile de la capona*, also by Salas Barbadillo, alongside travel narratives and Luis Quiñones de Benavente's *El casamiento de la calle Mayor con el Prado viejo*, we are given a representation of how people within related meaning to space in the early modern world, and moreover how spaces linked together in the city. There is also a mapping of the early modern world of Madrid through text, a literary urban topography that attributes a character or personality to specific, emblematic places in the city that provide not just a representation of Madrid in and of themselves, but how space is used and prioritised in text. The Plaza Mayor is represented as the place of court display and bullfights, whereas the Calle Mayor is a commercial hub of beautiful jewels and goods. The Prado becomes the space of picnics and bubbling fountains among lush, verdant surroundings, and the coach, the ultimate status symbol that told those in the city who was someone of any consequence.

This same consciousness of the changes to urban morphology also manifests in an endemic anxiety in early modern literature, a loss of fixation of borders and a polysemy of space. Baptista Remiro de Navarra's *Los peligros de Madrid* reveals the city evoked by a man consumed by the dangers of women, transposing their inherently petty, vain personalities on urban space to the degree that each place of the city becomes dangerous. The Prado in Salas Barbadillo's *El Prado de Madrid, y baile de la capona* evokes how women outside of the domestic sphere, let loose in the city, appear together with men on the Prado after dark to engage in

illicit relations. The Calle Mayor becomes the place of obsessive consumerism, and a culture consumed by the conspicuous spending. The coach in Castillo Solórzano's *Las harpías en Madrid*, once a symbol of social standing in the city, becomes one of ambiguity, allowing those within to shed their lower class status and pose as higher-class women of means. Eventually, the reader becomes lost in the city as the places, once emblematic and anchoring boundaries, become confused and transformative. Vélez de Guevara's *El diablo cojuelo* seeks to lose the reader at every turn, removing any sense of geographical safety from the city and evoking instead a maze of anxiety and unmoored lurching from place to place while it is the readers to fix the boundaries of the space of Madrid into some kind of coherent order.

Representation of the city furthermore points to new sociocultural practices and commentary that developed and have come to define the city and spaces within. Salas Barbadillo's *El Prado de Madrid* criticises the alarming development of new modes of behaviour in the Prado as well as the over-spending and consequent bankruptcy of the monarchy. Remiro de Navarra criticises the materialism of women in the city, obsessed by small trinkets and money, and so too does Castillo Solórzano in his treatment of his *harpías*, exposing new, alarming modes of behaviour developed as a result of transitioning into a city. The literature exposes the artificiality of life in Madrid, a quagmire of affected behaviours that comprise Zabaleta's *El día de fiesta por la tarde*. Increasingly, the cultural representation of Madrid turns on its own people representing not only a cast of lowlifes, as suggested by Maravall's conceptualisation of a power and resistance dichotomy, but also middle and upper class anxieties and endemic pessimism.

In the end, the representation of culture in early modern Madrid illustrates a destruction of society at all levels. The city is the place where people use others to achieve their own ends. Quiñones de Benavente's Don Gaiferos is tricked by a *buscona* in the streets of Madrid at night, the *harpías* of Castillo Solórzano charm their way to fine gifts and Salas Barbadillo's *aventureras* do likewise to win prizes of diamond rings. This representation of culture in the city is not limited to women. Alexandro, the *comissario de los malos gustos*, adjudicates the miserable existence of those in the city who have become disaffected and disassociated from Madrid, illustrating a population in as much crisis as the monarchy. Moreover, communication between characters in literary text is stilted in Luis Vélez de Guevara's *El diablo cojuelo* at all levels of social class. The dreaming barber, the sleeping liar dreaming of telling the truth and the thieves robbing a rich man represent an endemic deception, pessimism and ultimate social destruction of the city characterised by malign interactions with others as a result of the confusion and corruption in the city. At the forefront of early modern Madrilenian literary representation is this social malaise represented in a city of liars and thieves.

What all these themes cumulatively reveal, then, is the way in which human participation, or human interaction with the city, forms a key part of its cultural development in Golden Age Madrid, filtering into literary consciousness as a catalogue of hopefulness, anxieties, changes in sociocultural behaviours as a result of urbanisation, and pessimism of change. Rather than place these within a static model of power and marginalisation that is suggestive of a control element between the ruling classes and the rest of the population, this experience of attraction, repugnance and interaction of society with the city is seen at all levels, from the representation of court grandeur, to middle class social commentators such as Salas Barbadillo's *mirones*, and to street rats at the bottom of the social pyramid.

Through a close reading of non-canonical texts and authors, it is clear that the picture painted by literature of early modern Madrid is far more complex than the binary opposition offered by Maravall. Everything in the court city had a literary reflex, either good or bad, that was not necessarily dictated by the ideological manipulation of culture by the court. Murmurings of dissent and anxiety towards the city are reflected in the literature alongside awe and admiration. Above anything else, the literary representation of Madrid illustrates a city beyond complete ideological control. The court may have been able to impose control on the physical world of the city and its spatial organisation, but the characters of its literature reveal the full force of its psychological impact: stuck between gasping in awe and gasping in shock.

APPENDIX A.

Pedro de Teixeira – *Topographia de la villa de Madrid*, 1656.



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