A Constellation of Courts

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Some reflections on the ceremonial and image of the kings and queens of the House of Habsburg in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries

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INTRODUCTION: STABLES, STATE VEHICLES AND THE MODERN COURTIER

One of the departments of the Spanish royal households that underwent the greatest transformation during the sixteenth century was the Stable (Caballeriza) incorporating changes that would be even more significant in the following century. This department was responsible for expressing the majesty of the sovereigns beyond the palace and presenting the

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royal image and figure to their subjects and the rest of the world. From the mid-sixteenth century, this area of the household increased in importance and significance in the court; gradual changes in the organization, structure, and functions of the Stables were designed to respond better to the needs of the royal service, and adjust to new socio-economic realities and the obligations of etiquette and formal ceremony which were being codified throughout this period. An analysis of this development reveals, amongst other things, the transformation of the medieval organizational model into a modern one, more suited to the baroque court. Various circumstances contributed to such a radical transformation of the Stable. The development of the royal household caused the Burgundian Stable to gradually assume pre-eminence over its Castilian counterpart, whilst the establishment of the court in Madrid brought in its wake the restructuring of certain ordinances of the royal household. There is no doubt that the Stable was subject to the most changes in this respect, being required to fulfil a different mission and acquire a set of competences it did not have when the court travelled about. Thirdly, the introduction and systematic use of state vehicles also changed the Stables in various ways: apart from increasing expenditure and the number of servants, it modified the protocols and ceremonial associated with the king and queen, as well as their public image. It is to these latter questions that we are going to devote our attention here, with illustrations drawn from a wide-ranging set of pictorial sources.


3 Spanish pictorial sources relating to our topic of interest are, unfortunately, rather scarce; for this reason and to underline, in passing, the broad geographical spread of the
THE CEREMONIAL AND IMAGE OF THE HOUSE OF HABSBURG

When we speak of state vehicles, we are referring to a series of vehicles already in use by princes and lords in the medieval period, such as the litter, or introduced into the Stable in the course of the sixteenth century, such as sleighs, coaches, carriages and sedan chairs. The emblematic state vehicle of medieval times was, of course, the litter. This was a kind of box covered in decorative upholstery and hung on two poles and borne by two horses. Litters were mainly used by ladies of rank, although since before the mid-fifteen hundreds men had also begun to use them, as we know that Charles V and Philip II used them and that they were in

phenomena we are analysing, we will make use of more than a hundred images from French, German, Dutch, Flemish, English and Polish sources. The absence of paintings, drawings and engravings of state vehicles in Spain during this period contrasts with the intensity and duration of the debate sustained in the literature of the time. For this aspect, see Alejandro López Álvarez, Poder, lujo y conflicto en la corte de los Austrias: coches, carrozas y sillas de mano, 1555–1700 (Madrid, 2007), 319–616.

4 It was said of Charles V that he had used them when he was ill, and was carried about in them when he was “indisposed,” Historia del invencible emperador Carlos Quinto, rey de España, compuesta por su majestad cesárea, in Manuel Fernández Álvarez (ed.), Corpus documental de Carlos V (Salamanca, 1979), 4: 519, 556. It is, in fact, emperor Charles V who is associated with the only litter in existence from before the eighteenth century, an example of the kind used for travelling and without much decoration (MCM 10008046), see Eduardo Galán Domingo, “De las Reales caballerizas a la colección de carruajes del Patrimonio Nacional,” Arbor 665 (2001): 227. This is reproduced in Eduardo Galán Domingo (ed.), Historia del carruaje en España (Madrid, 2005), 87. The Madrid example is very similar to the one used by the emperor in an anonymous picture where he is shown taking his leave, in 1552, of John Frederick, the Magnanimous, elector of Saxony (SFG, Inv. 63/ SG/ 22), reproduced in the exhibition catalogue Ernst der Fromme (1601–1675), Bauherr und Sammler (Gotha, 2001), 53. There were some which were much more decorated. See the one used by the elector of Palatinate in 1556 for his entry into Heidelberg in the woodcut by Michael Ostendorfer in Hollstein’s German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts 1400–1700 (hereafter Hollstein’s German Engravings), 30: 178–179. One copy of this woodcut has been recently acquired by the Government of Bavaria, SND (ND. G 14). For this item, see the exhibition catalogue Von Kaiser Gnaden, 500 Jahre Pfalz-Neuburg (Augsburg, 2005), 295-296.

5 On his way to the Monastery of El Escorial in 1583, Friar Miguel de Alaejos, the prior, fell ill and Philip II ordered “that he should come to San Lorenzo in his litter lest he came to harm. This litter had belonged to the Emperor Charles V, and only these three had ever been in it, the Emperor, our Lord the King and the prior of San Lorenzo,” see Memorias de fray Juan de San Geronimo in CODOIN, 7: 70. In another letter written at the time, Philip II comments: “this litter is one which belonged to my lord, the Emperor, may he be in glory, and is large, although no bigger than the average, and is good for such things, although I brought another small one that I left here because it did not seem as suitable,” Fernando Bouza (ed.), Cartas de Felipe II a sus hijas (Madrid, 1998), 107, 109.
common use amongst courtiers. The sleigh was a wooden, horse-drawn structure open to the elements, with seating for one or several people, which slid over the snow on two smooth runners. These also supported the passenger compartment, which tended to be rich and varied in its decoration. The sleigh was used for excursions and rides, rather than for travelling, and for games and masques, weather permitting. It was introduced into Castile in the time of Philip II, who attempted to make it a permanent feature of his Stable shortly after he had discovered it on his travels, since it had been common in northern and central Europe for some time. It was never quite as common as in the courts of central Europe, but was nonetheless kept in use for a long time, reflecting the mutual influence between the Habsburg households.

Despite the importance of the litter, sleigh and sedan chair, the vehicle that really changed the Stable, royal image and ceremonial was the coach. From the end of the thirteenth century, apart from the usual litter, ingenious wagon-like contrivances, mainly used by women and noted for their luxurious upholstery and cushions, began to be constructed in the French Burgundy area. These wagons were technically improved

6 See the comments by Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, *Libro de la Cámara Real del príncipe don Juan e oficios de su casa e servicio ordinario* and *Adición o segunda parte de los oficios de la Casa Real*, 1547, published as *Libro de la Cámara real del príncipe don Juan* (Madrid, 1870), ix–xii, 163–164.

7 Bouza, *Cartas de Felipe II*, 136, 149, 162. One, sent by Rudolph II arrived at the court in 1593, and must have been copied, Almudena Pérez de Tudela and Annemarie Jordan Gschwend, “Luxury Goods for Royal Collectors,” in *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistoriches Museums Wien*, vol. 3 (2001), 79.

8 Heinrich Kreisel, *Prunkwagen und Schlitten* (Leipzig, 1927), 129ff; also Fritz Fischer, *Dem Volk zur Schau: Prunkschlitten des Barock* (Munich, 2002), 13ff. The Renaissance mind considered the sleigh a luxury item and princes were often depicted in their sleighs, witness Breu’s famous engraving in which Charles V appears with his sister Mary, king Ferdinand and his wife Anna, illustrated in *Hollstein’s German Engravings*, 4: 198. For emperor Ferdinand I and his wife in a sleigh, see the engraving by Amberger, in *ibidem*, 2: 4. Other engraved images of gentlemen and ladies in sleighs by Beham, in *ibidem*, 3: 242.

9 When the king, queen and royal children wanted to go for a sleigh ride in the winter of 1625, examples had to be brought from the royal Stable and the house of the German ambassador so that there would be time to get them ready, AGP, *Administrativa*, leg. 1046 (no pagination), and *Libro de noticias particulares, así de nacimientos de príncipes, como entrada de Reyes* (Madrid, 2005), 40. They still featured in Stable inventories at the end of the seventeenth century.

10 For sedan chairs, see *infra*.

in the mid-fourteenth century in Hungary by adding a suspension system, consisting of leather straps or chains which made them much more comfortable when travelling, hence their name chars branlants or hanging coaches. Their use was widespread throughout the Habsburg Netherlands and the Empire, and particularly in Italy, the cradle of a good many court innovations. Further technical improvements modified these carriages, and they eventually came to be known as kocsi, or coaches, from the name of the Hungarian town Kocs where they originated. These new vehicles began to be much sought after in the princely courts towards the middle of the sixteenth century. In Italy, there were quite a lot of them; in the Imperial court, Ferdinand I delighted in using them and gave them away as state gifts, whilst his son-in-law, Albert V of Bavaria was accused by his counsellors of wanting to travel only by coach, neglecting the noble art of horsemanship in his attempts to imitate the emperor. In 1540, Francis I, king of France received a coach as a gift from the duke of Mantua, and he was so thrilled with it that he decided to copy it in order to have others in his court. Shortly afterwards, they started to be used in the Spanish court, giving rise to the first complaints concerning their use and requests to ban them in the Cortes held in 1555.

13 Joseph Jobe, Au temps des cochers (Lausanne, 1976), 15–16.
15 Carmelo Occhipinti, Carteggio d’arte degli ambasciatori estensi in Francia, 1536–1553 (Pisa, 2001), 48; Monique Châtenet, La cour de France au XVI siècle: Vie sociale et architecture (Paris, 2002), 126.
16 Cortes de los antiguos reinos de León y de Castilla (Madrid, 1883–1903), 5: 688–689.
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The royal coaches

The appearance of coaches in Castile and their incorporation into the Royal Stable took place relatively late compared to other kingdoms but they were rapidly assimilated. Amongst other reasons, a series of changes were taking place in the Spanish Monarchy that paved the way for using the coach as an element to promote the distancing of the monarch. The coach was a means of creating hierarchy and marking social distinctions, an instrument of political integration and social control; in other words, a highly useful way of reinforcing and displaying the new conditions and power relations that were being forged at court. The changes can be appreciated from 1560 onwards, and are consolidated especially from 1585. After 1600, the image of the sovereign is indistinguishable from that of his vehicles, a process that culminates in the second half of the century when carriages form the stuff of royal propaganda and an indispensable element in enhancing the sacred mystery of the king.

The king in his coach: changes in ceremonial and etiquette

Although the stereotypical image of the sixteenth century noble was the man on horseback, the gradual use of the coach amongst princes influenced the development of new representations and royal images. The coach harked back to a series of elements from Antiquity where the use of the chariot was associated with gods, heroes, and certain dignitaries. For that reason, when vehicles began to be used in princely courts, it was entirely consistent to attempt to link them to sacred and secular power. This explains why, by the time of Philip II, the monarch was represented in a chariot like the sun gods, or the heroes of ancient

17 For a more detailed analysis of the changes in the royal image occasioned by the coach, see López Álvarez, Poder, lujo y conflicto, 39–126.
18 So, for example, Jacobo da Trezzo, in 1555, cast a bronze medal which associated Philip II with Apollo driving the sun chariot, an emblem with important precedents in classical medals and was repeated in what later became the impress par excellence of the king, the one designed by Ruscelli, which appeared in Venice in 1566. Virgilio Bermejo, “Prínceps ut Apolo: Mitología y alegoría solar en los Austrias hispanos,” in Actas del I Simposio Internacional de Emblemática (Teruel, 1994), 480ff; idem, “En torno a los resortes de la imaginaria política en la Época Moderna: Numismática y medallística en la iconografía de Felipe II,” in Lecturas de historia del Arte, 4 (1994), 230–242; Víctor M. Mínguez, “Los emblemas solares, la imagen del príncipe y los programas astrológicos en el arte efímero,” Actas del I Simposio Internacional de Emblemática, 209–253. For Ruscelli’s medal, see Andreu Galera i Pedrosa, “Un emblema solar para Felipe II,” ibidem, 457–467.
Rome. Francisco de Guzmán presented the king in this way, being carried by ladies as he was being armed as a knight, in his *Triumphos morales* or *Moral Triumphs* (fig. 1), from which the following lines are taken:

\[\text{After they had girded on his arms}\]
\[\text{The ladies taking him by the hand}\]
\[\text{Raised him onto a triumphal chariot}\]
\[\text{After the fashion of the Roman triumphs}\]
\[\text{And they sat him in the centre}\]
\[\text{In the manner of the Spaniards of old}\]
\[\text{When they went into battle in olden times}\]
\[\text{According to the stories told today.}^{19}\]

From a more prosaic point of view, the use of the coach was a factor in the new ceremonial arrangements in the Stable. Shortly after becoming king, Philip II issued a series of instructions concerning the new ceremonial to be followed in this department. The first, drawn up in 1561

![Fig. 1 – Philip II is armed as a knight by some ladies in this engraving as well as in the *Triumphos morales* by Francisco de Guzmán, 1565 (BNE R 6877 fol. 179).](image)

\[^{19}\text{Francisco de Guzmán, *Triumphos Morales*, 1565, BNE, R 6877, fol. 179. Some years earlier an engraving was made representing queen Isabella of Castile being driven in another triumphal chariot, accompanied by the following lines:}\]
\[\text{She will come in a triumphal chariot}\]
\[\text{And will bring for company}\]
\[\text{A number never seen before}\]
\[\text{Of Virtues, with tenacity}\]
\[\text{Being chief amongst her virtues,}\]

Hernando de Acuña, *El caballero determinado*, 1553, BNE, R 10359, fol. 77r. This is reproduced in the exhibition catalogue, *Los Austrias: Gráfados de la Biblioteca Nacional* (Madrid, 1993), 212–213. See also, somewhat later images of Elizabeth I of England mounted on other triumphal chariots, Roy C. Strong, *Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I* (Oxford, 1963), 103, 121. There is also the 1585 fresco depicting a solemn entry by the Polish king, Casimir Jagellon, in 1485; Teresa Zurawska, “Polnische Prunkwagen und Schlitten im 16.–18 Jahrhundert,” in *Achse, Rad und Wagen, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Landfahrzeuge*, vol. 10 (2002), 32, fig. 3. For other later examples, see below.
or shortly afterwards, set out the order of ceremony to be followed by his officers when they accompanied the king’s horse in public.\(^{20}\) This plan became rather complicated, according to information from 1563, when other officers were included, such as the musicians or the master of the horse himself, in another rite of passage carried out when livery or mourning was issued to the servants.\(^{21}\) The ceremonial for the king’s outings by coach, very similar to those on horseback, and with a distinct Burgundian stamp, must also have been formulated during these years. This ceremony was carried out in the following way: when the king announced he was going out, the master of the horse would propose which coaches or horses were available and give orders to his subordinates to make them ready. The following day, the master of the horse would go to the stable and check that his orders had been carried out and then return to the palace, whence, at the appointed time for the king to leave, he would order the coach or horse to be brought to the palace in a procession following the protocols mentioned previously. When the horse or coach arrived, the king, surrounded by his guards, would come down to board it, followed, to his right, by the lord steward, with the master of the horse to the right of him, and the sumiller de corps to the monarch’s left, whilst the captain of the Royal Bodyguard was to the right of the master of the horse. If the king was travelling by coach, the three senior officers entered the vehicle with him, although only the lord steward did so without being summoned, whilst the others waited for a sign from the king. If the king was going into the country, travelling, or setting off on a military campaign, it was the privilege of the master of the horse to attend upon him, whether serving him his food or dressing him.\(^{22}\) This practice made it clear that the vehicle had become a space for courtly ritual and socializing, and

\(^{20}\) Memoria de la orden q se a de guardar en acompañar el cavallo que se llehare para Su mag.d el dia q sale en publico y los oficiales de la Cavalleriza que estan obligados a acompanarlo desde que sale de ella y el lugar que a cada uno toca, IVDJ Envío 7 (II) fol. 57r.

\(^{21}\) La orden que se ha de tener en acompañar al Cavallerizo maior de su casa a Palacio el dia que se viste Librea o Luto General, es la sig.te, RAH 9/683, fols. 191r–191v. The order was given on August 15, 1563, when livery was put on.

\(^{22}\) La forma que tenia y guardaba el rey Felipe II quando habia de salir en publico o en coche, RAH, K-58, fols. 196–200v. This ceremony became rather more complex as the years wore on, as can be seen in the Plantta de el acompanamiento que el dia que sale a caballo en público lleba su magesttad, en Etiquetas de palacio ordenadas por el año de 1562 y reformadas el de 1617, AHN, Consejos, lib. 1189, fols. 236r–237r.
that the master of the horse had become one of the three most senior servants, controlling all service to the monarch outside the palace. From then on the king made increasingly regular use of his vehicles,\textsuperscript{23} gradually modifying his traditional image as a knight on horseback. One of the results of this was that pictorial representations of the royal coaches began to abound.\textsuperscript{24} However, it was in the 1580s when the use of state vehicles proved decisive in emphasizing the remoteness of the figure of the king, the result of the process of institutionalizing the Monarchy. From that time on, and in close parallel with changes in palace etiquette and the pragmatic sanction of 1578 which restricted carriages to those who could afford to have them drawn by four horses, with the aim of making them the particular preserve of courtiers the coach made a special contribution to the glorification and remote grandeur of the sovereign, a phenomenon that crystallized in 1585–1586; from then on, very few people had close access to Philip II.\textsuperscript{25} It was precisely in 1585 that the Stable was given fresh instructions, the exact contents of which we are unaware, but which enable us to suppose that – in view of what happened in

\textsuperscript{23} From 1560, the Stable and its coaches would be charged with providing for the increasing mobility of the king, who left the palace “so frequently and at such odd hours,” as stated in \textit{La orden que se ha de tener de aquí adelante}, IVDJ, Envío 7 (II), fol. 48r. One traveller stated in 1577 that Philip II went “hunting by coach in the countryside three or four times a week,” José García Mercadal, \textit{Viajes de extranjeros por España y Portugal: Desde los tiempos más remotos hasta comienzos del siglo XX} (1st ed. 1948; Valladolid, 1999), 2: 403.

\textsuperscript{24} Amongst the first images of state vehicles in Spain is the coach which appears in the portrait \textit{Las infántas Isabel Clara Eugenia y Catalina Micaela}, painted around 1568–1569 by Sánchez Coello (MDRM 00612070). For French examples, see the 1569 engraving by Du Cerceau, in Wackernagel, \textit{Der französische Krönungswagen}, fig. 2a; also the famous drawing by Antoine Caron, “La Cour de France quittant le château d’Anet” in the Louvre Museum, reproduced in Châtenet, \textit{La cour de France au XV siècle}, 17. A tapestry based on this drawing, and made between approximately 1582 and 1585, is still preserved today in the Pitti Palace in Florence, see exhibition catalogue, \textit{Les Trésors des Médicis: La Florence des Médicis une ville et une cour d’Europe} (Paris, 1999), 82–83. For Imperial images, see drawings by Jost Amman of Maximilian II’s entry into Nuremberg in 1564, in Kreisel, \textit{Prunkwagen und Schlitten}, figs. 4, 5, pp. 23, 28, 29. Although not directly related to the Holy Roman Emperor, see the carriage on the triumphal arch erected on the occasion of Maximilian’s entry into Vienna in 1563, \textit{Hollstein’s German Engravings}, 22: 187.

\textsuperscript{25} José Martínez Millán and Carlos Javier de Carlos Morales (eds.), \textit{Felipe II (1527–1598). La configuración de la Monarquía hispana} (Valladolid, 1998), 245. For the pragmatic sanctions of 1578, see López Álvarez, \textit{Poder, lujo y conflicto}, 152–156.
later years—coaches had to emphasize, more than ever before, royal distance and majesty. At about this time, the use of the vehicles by the king and royal children was systematically referred to in festive accounts; the coach became a state gift;\(^{26}\) access to the palace entrance was controlled;\(^{27}\) the coach was used in the ceremonial framework of meetings and farewells; it served to regulate the distance of the monarch; and was particularly used in entries into major cities.

In the latter cases, it can be clearly seen how the coach changed ceremonial practice and the image of the king. Philip II sought, like other sovereigns, to regulate his public appearances, by showing himself on each occasion as he thought most appropriate. This can be observed from the very beginning of his reign, when, wishing to be present at the ceremonial of the Spanish queens, he took part secretly, invisibly, yet nonetheless publicly, by means of rumour. This fact, which already had precedents, was evident at the entries of queens in 1560 and 1570. Sebastián de Orozco wrote of Isabella of Valois’s entry into Toledo:

> And all this our Lord, the king saw and observed, disguised with other gentlemen, according to rumour, because I did not see him. At least, if I saw him I didn’t recognize him. And this is to be believed, because it was not a thing to miss seeing.\(^{28}\)

\(^{26}\) Some examples of these gifts are found in AGS, E. leg. 403 fols. 138 and 140; García Mercadal, *Viajes*, 2: 537–538; Relación del viaje de Conde de Lemos a Roma, 1600, in Francisco Rafael de Uhagón (ed.), *Relaciones de los siglos XVI y XVII* (Madrid, 1896), 282; also Félix Labrador Arroyo (ed.), *Diario de Hans Khevenhüller, embajador imperial en la corte de Felipe II* (Madrid, 2001), 489.

\(^{27}\) The possibility of the vehicle entering the palace was an indicator of the social status of its owner. To prevent access to the palace entrance there were eight gatekeepers. Entry of the coaches through the palace gateway was controlled with particular zeal from the middle of the 1590s, creating a few problems of protocol, BPR II/ 2149, doc. 111; José Ignacio Tellechea Idígoras, *El ocaso de un rey: Felipe II visto desde la Nunciatura de Madrid, 1594–1598* (Madrid, 2001), 196. For discussion of this, see BA 51-VI-37. In 1609, the same thing was repeated, Orden que se dio a los Porteros de Cadena para la entrada de los Coches y Cavallos en el Zaguan de Palacio, AGP, Administrativa, leg. 623 (no pagination). The limited access to the palace entrance was frequently questioned, in 1622 and 1664, for example, AHN, Consejos, leg. 7136 (no pagination). For the French case, see, Wackenagel, *Der französische Krönungswagen*, 22.

\(^{28}\) Relación y memoria de la entrada en esta cibdad de Toledo, del rey y reina nuestros señores don Felipe y doña Isabela y del recebimiento y fiestas y otras cosas, año de 1561 in Uhagón, *Relaciones históricas*, 193; at another time: “they say they have seen our Lord, the King, disguised and pretending to be someone else,” *ibidem*, 200.
Equally, on the occasion of the entry of Anne of Austria into Segovia, Báez de Sepúlveda wrote that the king had been secretly watching:

> It is said, by the way, that His Majesty ambled in disguise across the fields on a white hackney, and that he arrived at the awning, where they say he saw our lady, the Queen, for the first time, and in the same disguise, saw her again in various parts of the city. Four or five other men in disguise accompanied His Majesty.  

However, in 1599, king Philip III no longer went on horseback to see his wife, but, after eating, the monarch left “secretly in a coach” to see the queen’s entry. As we have pointed out, these changes had become firmly established by approximately 1585, as various accounts of the time make clear. We know, for example, that in 1584, the prince left the palace on the day he took his oath, in an open carosse, sitting on his governess’s lap. Another account from the same year highlighted this ritual concealment of the king by commenting on his “leaving secretly in a coach,” the royal princesses and the ladies in theirs, and the princesses flouting the rules by taking the vehicle round the outside of the town instead of through the expected streets. The coach offered

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29 Jorge Báez de Sepúlveda, *Relación verdadera del recibimiento que hizo la ciudad de Segovia a la magestad de la reyna nuestra señora dona Anna de Austria, en su felicísimo casamiento que en la dicha ciudad se celebró*, 1570 (Segovia, 1998), 75.

30 *Relación de la entrada de sus magestades en Madrid, el domingo 26 de octubre de 1599*, RAH, 9/3764, fol. 13r. Going out in secrecy did not necessarily imply travelling incognito but the absence of company, as is indicated in another account which stated that after going to the palace from San Jerónimo “through another gate, his Majesty entered a coach, the Marquis of Denia with him and one of the Marquises of Velada’s sons, a menino, and they rode through the streets, although with their faces covered [but] with the curtains of the coach drawn back, for everyone saw them without any other coach or servants except for two or three of the marquis’s,” *Entrada de la Reyna en Madrid* in Jenaro Alenda y Mira (ed.), *Relaciones de solemnidades y fiestas públicas de España* (Madrid, 1903), 1: 130.

31 Jerónimo de Sepúlveda, *Historia de varios sucesos y de las cosas notables que han acaecido en España y otras naciones desde el año de 1584 hasta el de 1603*, in Julián Zarco Cuevas (ed.), *Documentos para la historia del monasterio de San Lorenzo el Real de El Escorial* (Madrid, 1924), 4: 5.

32 *Relación del Juramento del Príncipe nuestro señor don felipe tercero de este nombre, en el su Real monasterio de san Jheronimo de la Villa de Madrid*, RAH, 9–426, fols. 181–182. In the Constable of Castile’s ‘obedience’ to the pope in 1586, we learn of the frequent use of ‘unmarked’ coaches to travel to Rome in secret, to lodge in an ambassador’s house, and so on, *Relación del viaje que hizo a Roma el Condestable de Castilla* in Ughón, *Relaciones históricas*, 184–186, 192.
security and discretion which were impossible to achieve on horseback: being able to see without necessarily being seen was a great advantage for a king who wanted to be inaccessible without being invisible, and who adopted different measures to regulate his appearances in public. In this respect, the vehicles broadened the range of possibilities for the monarch’s appearances in public, offering him specific new ways of showing himself, allowing himself to be seen, quite unlike the reserve supposedly typical of Spanish monarchs. On the other hand, as this information reveals, a careful political strategy was set in motion; the aim was to regulate the royal appearances, and this further heightened the mystery surrounding a monarch ever disposed to conceal himself or let himself be seen, depending on his inclination. This could be achieved, for example, by eliminating an escorting vehicle, or by concealment, using the curtains of the coach; the curtains made it easier than ever before, thanks to the technical advances popularized by the trapezoidal box over the semicircular one used until then, to ride with the curtains drawn, or open and allowing the occupants of the coach to be seen (fig. 2).

From then on, in fact, the monarch showed himself quite regularly to his subjects in his coach with the curtains drawn back in order to be better appreciated, regulating his presence in public and to the extent to which he saw fit. In 1591, returning from the reception of the duke of Savoy, the king, the prince and the duke took the high street “with the coach constantly open to view.” On his return from Aragon, the king and their highnesses entered Madrid and, after visiting the empress in the Convent of the Discalced Carmelites, they went to the palace “with the coach open to view, and the people lamenting at the sight of His Majesty, thin and old, much more so than when he had left Madrid.” From that time on, as Cabrera de Córdoba would relate, the king drove

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33 Compare the close boxes of the hanging car, like the one belonging to Frederick III, constructed around 1451 (LJG, Inv. no. 248), or the one used by the prince elector of Saxony, John Frederick the Magnanimous, in his wedding to Sibylla of Cleves, in 1527 (in the Veste Coburg, but destroyed in 1945, reproduced in Kreisel, Prunkwagen und Schlitten, figs.1B, 2 and 4A), with the open carriages used at the weddings of John Casimir, duke of Saxe-Coburg, in 1586 and 1599 (KVC, Inv. no. 12, 2 and no. 12, 3, reproduced in Axel Gelhaar, “Die Kobelwagen, Karossen und Kutschen im Besitz der Kunstsammlungen der Veste Coburg,” in Achse, Rad und Wagen: Beiträge, 7 (1999), 78–84).
round Madrid in his coaches with his children to show his strength and spirit and to “demonstrate to his court and his enemies that he was not as finished as they said he was, which brought joy to his people, who loved them.”\textsuperscript{34} The prince followed the same custom, the novelty

of it attracting his courtiers’ attention.\textsuperscript{35} His entry into court in 1598, by then as king, took place “in a coach with the curtains open.”\textsuperscript{36} The king, the infanta and their duennas left for Valencia the same way in 1599.\textsuperscript{37} The public coach ride became the customary way for the king and queen to show themselves at court, to see and be seen and was used more frequently than the supposed invisibility of the monarch would lead us to believe, as numerous accounts bear witness.\textsuperscript{38} From 1600, the sovereign even governed from one, as meetings and councils took place there.\textsuperscript{39} The

\textsuperscript{35} Shortly before Philip II died, the prince left on Midsummer’s Eve by coach for the Prado of San Jerónimo with the marquises of Velada and Denia, and Cristóbal de Moura, “which he had never done before, and the coach was open until he returned at two in the morning.” When he became king, the first news of his journeys always repeated the same thing: that Philip would leave by coach in the afternoon, accompanied by the same personages, on his daily visit to his sister, Tellechea, \textit{El ocaso de un rey}, 256, 303.

\textsuperscript{36} \textit{Relacion de la entrada que hizo nuestro señor don felipe tercero deste nombre, en la villa de Madrid}, RAH, 9/425 (42), fol. 55r.

\textsuperscript{37} \textit{La jornada que el cardenal Arçobispo de Sevilla mi señor prosigue de Madrid a Valencia} in \textit{Relaciones breves de actos públicos celebrados en Madrid de 1541 a 1650}, ed. J. Simón Díaz (Madrid, 1982), 40.

\textsuperscript{38} T. Pinheiro da Veiga related the king’s clandestine sorties by coach in Valladolid: “And so you will not be surprised that the king too might be seen in a coach, in disguise, alone and without a guard, just some nobles dressed as rustics, sprawled out as if in a ladies’ coach; and since some had come on ahead saying they thought the king was on his way, that the coaches should be stopped as he approached, it was thought a joke and a thousand jibes were made: that they were a bunch of rogues, that the king of hearts would be riding in it, and about which, ‘it’s said, the king laughed heartily later with his queen, saying that they had offended him at his own feast,’” Narciso Alonso Cortés (ed.), \textit{Fastiginia: Vida cotidiana en la Corte de Valladolid}, 1605 (Valladolid, 1973), 58. In the procession of San Isidro in 1620, the king left for the church of San Andrés by coach after eating at the palace, and went out again in it with his children “to see the Court and the Grandees that there were” at the altars set up in various parts of Madrid, Francisco Bravo, \textit{Avisos de Madrid}, BNE, MSS. 18666/67–68, fol. 78r. In 1623, it was noted that the king had taken a coach ride to San Jerónimo, “with the curtains open and, taking unusual streets,” or that he had passed by in his vehicle “with the curtains closed, and in secret, with two other coaches behind,” \textit{Relación del gran recibimiento que ... Felipe IV hizo al Príncipe de Gales y Entrada en público del Príncipe Carlos de Inglaterra en la Corte de Madrid}, in Simón Díaz, \textit{Relaciones}, 200 and 201.

\textsuperscript{39} F. Bermúdez de Pedraza said of the Councils of State and War, that they were superior to the others because they were presided over by the king himself, that “exalted by such a sovereign President, they follow the Royal figure like a shadow wherever he is for the future contingencies that normally occur whilst still on the road; and H.M. leads the Council of State in his coach,” \textit{El secretario del rey}, 1620, ed. Manuel Carrión Gutiérrez (facsimile edition, Madrid, 1973), fol. 1v.
vehicle ended up being used so frequently by the monarch that Gascón de Torquemada never ceased to comment on the fact that a few days after his arrival at the Portuguese court, Philip III had taken a ride on horseback, “giving everyone in Lisbon a good day, because from the time he had arrived, he had taken the coach each time and they were looking forward to seeing him on a horse.”

In any case, the most important manifestation in this process of distancing and exalting the monarch was the entry by coach, a practice that changed the traditional chivalric entry, on horseback and under a canopy, dating from the beginning of the fourteenth century. The ceremonial associated with the Royal Entry was fundamental to the political life of Castile, where communication with vassals was closer and more intense, and the king made his power manifest, receiving submission and fealty from his subjects. The entry required considerable paraphernalia in the way of participants, decoration and rich finery to properly frame an event of such importance as a prince making contact with his vassals. It was a fundamental part of it that the entry should make it possible for the monarch to be seen at close quarters and on his horse, surrounded by important figures and guards, but relatively accessible nonetheless, and, above all, with his whole body visible. However, in the course of the modern age, this traditional dialogue, bordering on the theatrical, between governor and governed, was gradually reduced to an affirmation by the monarch and the submission of the citizens, in favour of a ceremony which was increasingly elitist and courtly and less populist. The institutionalization of the Monarchy begun by Philip II was also reflected in this sphere, contributing, through the use of the coach, to the process of modifying the festival and underlining the sovereign power of the king.

42 It was precisely Philip IV’s entry into Valencia in 1645 in a carriage that Rafael Narbona Vizcaíno indicated as the beginning of the process which dismantled the ceremonial developed between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries, “Las fiestas reales en Valencia entre la Edad Media y la Edad Moderna (siglos XIV–XVII),” *Pedralbes* 2, no.13 (1993): 463–472, esp. pp. 465n, 472.
The coach had prevailed over the horse for travelling because it afforded greater comfort; although the king used to leave the court on a horse, it did not take him long to transfer to a coach for most of the journey and then mount his horse again for the entry into cities. This practice was maintained virtually without change until 1585 when the urban entry in a coach began to be frequent.\textsuperscript{43} The first of the entries in a coach on that journey to Aragon took place in Guadalajara, where the bridge had to have a couple of stones removed so that the monarch’s carriage could cross it,\textsuperscript{44} but the most notorious was in Barcelona.\textsuperscript{45} This practice became somewhat more common in later years. In 1592, on the journey to Tarazona, the king entered Segovia one Sunday night “with no public welcome,” although festive lights were placed “in every street.” The prince entered on horseback and the king and royal princess in their coach and they went as far as the Alcázar.\textsuperscript{46} That same year, the monarch also entered Valladolid in a vehicle, and after receiving his vassals in an arbour, “he entered by the aforementioned Puerta del Campo, and crossed the Plaza Mayor and the Platería and went to lodge in his palace.”\textsuperscript{47} The use of the coach highlighted both the distance and the sacred quality of the king, a remoteness brought out in another account of the same entry in which the author, trying

\textsuperscript{43} Entries into towns in coaches had already occurred before, such as in 1570 in Lora del Río, but at that stage, the process of distancing the king had not yet reached its definitive formulation and the political importance of a measure of this kind was not as great as it would be years later. José González Carballo, “Felipe II en Lora (28 de abril de 1570),” http://es.geocities.com/loradelrio/felipe.htm.

\textsuperscript{44} Francisco Layna Serrano, Historia de Guadalajara y sus Mendozas en los siglos XV y XVI, 2nd ed. (Guadalajara, 1995), 3: 274, 276, 463, 465.

\textsuperscript{45} Enrique Cock, Anales del año ochenta y cinco, in Mercadal, Viajes, 2: 511. Cabrera de Córdoba did not mention the use of the coach but wrote that he entered at night “to avoid very ancient ceremonies held by the Catalans as sacred and immutable, but inappropriate to the greatness of the present monarchs and omitted so many times by their early lords,” Felipe II, rey de España, 3: 1089. An account of the event gave the information that the king had entered Barcelona “in a coach and without a reception,” Relacion de la entrada de su magestad en Barcelona in Alenda y Mira, Relaciones, vol. 1, no. 319.

\textsuperscript{46} Enrique Cock, La Jornada de Tarazona que su magestad hizo el año 1592 recopilada por Enrique Cock, arquero del rey nuestro Señor, Notario y Escrivano apostólico in Mercadal, Viajes, 2: 572. The king also entered Simancas by coach, where he arrived at sunset and “ordered the coach to be opened on all sides and he slowly climbed the hill which, once the bridge over the Pisuerga has been crossed, leads into the town,” ibidem, 577.

\textsuperscript{47} Cock, La jornada de Tarazona, 578. Eyewitness accounts of the king’s entry with the royal princess in a coach and the prince on horseback, in Tellechea, El ocaso de un rey, 17.
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to make the opposite point, emphasized precisely the fact that, in order to be able to see the monarchs well, the king and the infanta entered Valladolid in an:

open carosse so that everyone might easily see the Royal personages inside, because that was what His Majesty had wished, to give satisfaction and comfort to his beloved people who had so longed to see him; and for the same reason, His Majesty granted another special favour and mercy, which was to request that his Highness, the Prince, should enter on a horse beside the carriage, which certainly comforted all those who were watching him.\textsuperscript{48}

This approach was underlined some time later, in Pamplona; after receiving the viceroy, the bishop, the clergy and the elders of the city in some tents, the king travelled by coach:

as far as the city, and on entering the gate, where the canopy was set up, His Majesty drove under it as far as the main church or Cathedral... and there he alighted and went to pray, according to custom, and on his return, he went to the Viceroy's palace where he lodged.\textsuperscript{49}

These entries, with the monarch riding in a carriage, question the alleged inflexibility and universal application of the rules of etiquette that prescribed entry into a city on horseback. In fact, it was observed that use of the coach gradually prevailed towards 1600\textsuperscript{50} and two decades later it had become quite usual. So, in the entry into Trujillo in 1619, the king entered in “the richly brocaded coach, drawn by six

\textsuperscript{48} Relacion de un Sacerdote Ingles escrita a Flandes ... de la venida de su Magestad a Valladolid, y al Colegio de los Ingleses, y lo que allí se hizo en su recibimiento; cf. Zarco Cuevas, Documentos para la historia del monasterio, 4: 137. Despite opening up the vehicles, the effect of the coach was to separate the king, make him distant, even when accounts indicated the opposite. Thus, for example, in 1600, the queen entered Segovia “in a coach dressed in bright red in full view of everyone and went straight to her palace,” Relacion de la entrada del Rey don Philipe terçero nuestro señor, en la ciudad de Segovia, el año de mil y seisçientos in Alenda y Mira, Relaciones, no. 459.

\textsuperscript{49} Cock, La Jornada de Tarazona, 595.

\textsuperscript{50} Occasionally, the carriage was used for the queen's Entry, as described by Gilles du Faing, who travelled with Albert of Austria, Margaret of Austria and the infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia in 1599–1600. Arriving at Villarreal, the queen was to enter on a hack, but went by coach instead because of the wet weather, in Mercadal, Viajes, 2: 650 and 652. In Barcelona, the queen, infanta and ladies all entered a coach, see, ACA, Consejo de Aragón, leg. 1350.
white horses and with the coach open to view.” This trend continued with his son, Philip IV, who increasingly shrank from direct contact with the world from horseback; he preferred to make his entries by coach, as is clear from his trip to Andalusia in 1624 where it was the norm, as most of the royal entries were made in a coach. This practice, seen in other

51 Relacion y Historia Verdadera que trata de la Jornada que hizo el Rey nuestro señor Don Phellipe Tercero Al Reyno de Portugal fazer Cortes a la Ciudad de Lisboa, y a jurar Al Principe Don Phellipe Quarto nuestro señor, 1622, in Pedro Gan Jiménez, “La jornada de Felipe III a Portugal (1619),” Chronica Nova, no. 19 (1991), 411–412.
52 The king entered Malaga in a coach “as in the other cities,” in Gascón de Torquemada, Gaceta y nuevas, 193. So that the monarch could enter Tarifa “on a straight path, and without the coaches twisting and turning, many houses at the entry [to the town] were
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European courts, was also reflected in visual representations of the royal family53 (fig. 3).54

The coach and the sacred character of kingship

The beginning of the seventeenth century, particularly from 1611 when use of the coach was institutionalized, gave impetus to the royal vehicle as one way of bringing out the sacred quality of the king. The pragmatic sanction of that year forbade anyone who had not obtained a licence from the Council of Castile from riding in a coach. These licences, which had been granted regularly throughout the reign of Philip III and the early years of Philip IV, led to the coach becoming the strict monopoly of the elites governing the Monarchy, that is to say, the aristocracy at court, the ministers and servants of the royal household, high-ranking ecclesiastics and anyone closely associated with them in the major cities, especially the chaplains of the cathedral chapters and municipal leaders. In this context of sumptuary competition, investing the royal vehicle with an aura of sacredness was accentuated even further, as we can see from several poems of those years, in which the monarch’s coach ascended to the celestial court and was compared with the purchased and demolished,” Pedro Espinosa, Bosque de Doña Ana, 1624, in Francisco López Estrada (ed.), Pedro Espinosa: Obra en prosa (Malaga, 1991), 397.

53 In France, entry on horseback was the rule until the mid-seventeenth century. Exceptions began to be made under Louis XIII, who, at the beginning of the 1620s, entered some cities in a carriage, Wackernagel, Der französische Krönungswagen, 21n. Reproductions of carriages for royal entries are, however, quite common from 1630 onwards, especially in the Empire. See, for example, engravings of the entry of Ferdinand III into Regensburg in 1652 and into Augsburg in 1653, John Roger Paas, The German Political Broadsheet, 1600-1700 (Wiesbaden, 2005), 8: 117–118, 129. The engravings made to celebrate the triumphal entry of the exiled dukes of Mecklenburg into Güstrow in 1631 are previous to these, Paas, German Political Broadsheet, 5: 157–160. See also, those of the ceremonial entry of Gustavus Adolphus into Nuremberg in 1632, Paas, German Political Broadsheet, 6: 122. William III’s entries by carriage into The Hague in 1691, in Hollstein’s Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts ca. 1450–1700 (hereafter, Hollstein’s Dutch and Flemish Etchings), 36: 184–185.

54 The second wife of king Sigismund III, archduchess Constance of Habsburg entered Krakow in a coach in 1605. The image is captured in what is known as the “Stockholm Scroll” or the “Polish Scroll,” an anonymous painting fifteen metres long, kept in the Royal Castle of Krakow (ZKW/1528). See the exhibition catalogue, The Eagle and the Three Crowns: Polish-Swedish Relations across the Baltic from the 16th to the 18th Century (Wroclaw, 2002), 2: 26; also Zurawska, “Polnische Prunkwagen und Schlitten,” 34 and 40.
Fig. 4 – In this image, engraved to commemorate the death of Rudolph II in 1612, the emperor can be seen being driven to the Sala d’Olimpo in a vehicle drawn by a lion and some eagles (FBG Biogr. fol. 593/1 (98)).

Eucharist. It is significant that, on the death of emperor Rudolph II in 1612, an engraving should be made, depicting his ascent to heaven in a carriage, an illustration of the degree of interest in such topics in the courts at the time (fig. 4). The sacred character of kingship

55 Alonso de Ledesma compared a ride in the royal coach to the Ascension in Tercera parte de conceptos espirituales, 1612, BNE, R 16027, fol. 93. José de Valdivieso also emphasized the sacred nature of the king’s coach comparing him with Christ in Romancero espiritual, 1612, ed. José María Aguirre (Madrid, 1984), 121–123.

56 FBG, Biogr. fol 593/1 (98).
gathered more strength in later times, when the royal coach tended to be compared with a monstrance or tabernacle:

Long live the glorious monarch, the Lion of Spain!
In a coach, to whom
Phoebus may yield in lofty grandeur,
Since he exceeds him in primacy,
He is the colour of the goddess Flora, with fringe of gold
And a blessed monstrance of priceless treasure.57

New images were superimposed over this one, notably that of the vehicle as a metaphor for government. These are dealt with at length in collections of emblems,58 the most outstanding of which is Romeyn de Hoooghe’s engraving of Charles II offering his state coach when he meets a priest carrying the viaticum, in 1685 (fig. 5).59 This image highlights

57 Descripción de la augusta felicísima venida a esta imperial villa de Madrid de los católicos reyes D. Carlos II y Doña María Luisa de Borbón su digna Consorte, 1679, BNE, VE 113-22, fols. 4r–v.
58 See for example Phaeton in Alciato, Emblemas, ed. Manuel Montero Vallejo (Madrid, 1975), 120; Juan Pérez de Moya, Philosophia secreta de la gentilidad, 1585, ed. Carlos Clavería (Madrid, 1995), 244. Apart from references to Phaeton, political thinkers and moralists also liked the metaphor of the coachman and the chariot, see Hernando de Soto, Emblemas moralizados, 1599, ed. Carmen Bravo-Villasante (facsimile edition, Madrid, 1983), fols. 61–63; Sebastián de Covarrubias Orozco, Emblemas morales, 1610, ed. Carmen Bravo-Villasante (Madrid, 1978), Centuria II, emblem 69; Saavedra Fajardo, Idea de un príncipe político cristiano representada en cien empresas, 1640, ed. Francisco Javier Díez de Revenga (Barcelona, 1988), 446–447. Father Nieremberg wrote in 1649 that the government of a republic “could not only be likened to a ship but also to a chariot, and it was in this way that Divine Providence and the government of the Hebrew people was revealed to the prophet Ezekiel, in that chariot of four mysterious beasts, covered with eyes, because those who pull the chariot of the republic along are the magistrates who have to be very attentive and alert,” Epistolario, ed. Narciso Alonso Cortés (Madrid, 1957), 87.
59 BNE, Est. 13987. For this image, see López Álvarez, Poder, lujo y conflicto, 117–126; Antonio Álvarez-Osorio Alvariño, “Virtud coronada: Carlos II y la piedad de la Casa de Austria,” in Pablo Fernández Albareda, José Martínez Millán and Virgilio Pinto (eds.), Política, religión e inquisición en la España Moderna (Madrid, 1996), 27–57. In the context of the state coach as a metaphor for government, there is a curious precedent in the interesting motif painted by Mazo in 1666, in his portrait of queen Mariana, now in the National Gallery, London. In the middle ground the young prince can be seen with his governess and her daughter, and a little further back, a coach used by Charles round the palace, and whose construction in 1660 we believe we have identified, AGP, Administrativa, leg. 1046 (no pagination). It is probably the same one that appears in a 1674 inventory in which “three luxurious little coaches” are marked, one of which is noted as being “a small calash used by H.M in the Palace, of crimson and gold material, with golden wheels and four curtains, two large and two small, of bright
Fig. 5 – Charles II offering his carrosse to the Eucharist, engraving by Romeyn de Hooghe, who celebrated the monarch meeting the viaticum, as it was being taken to a sick man, 1685 (BNE Est. 13987).

a complex set of circumstances in the court at that time. Giving way to the Eucharist formed part of the heritage of ancient traditions in the House of Austria that urgently needed reform at a particular moment in the history of Castile, in this case in an attempt to guarantee the continuity of the dynasty. Furthermore, what was being demonstrated was that the privilege of entering the royal coach was a prerogative of the King of Kings. Seen in the context of the metaphysical thought of the time, Charles II’s offering to the viaticum revealed the subordination

to view this image, please refer to the print version of the book

red and gold, lined in ‘cloth of gold’ of the same colour,” AGP, Administrativa, leg. 1079 (no pagination). Using the interpretation of the painting suggested by Mercedes Llorente “Imagen y autoridad en una regencia: los retratos de Mariana de Austria y los límites del poder,” Studia Historica 28 (2006): 211–238, we believe that the coach in the background of the scene represents the government to which the future sovereign was destined after the regency of his mother. Otherwise, a representation of this kind is a special case, in the opinion of R.H.Wackernagel, with whom I discussed the painting in 2006. It is reproduced in López Álvarez, Poder, lujo y conflicto, fig. 32.
to religion advocated by the regime and, by interweaving the topos of the chariot or charioteer, Charles was handing over the reins of the kingdom to God. In addition, the king was also demonstrating that he was carrying out the pragmatic sanctions which prohibited the use of the French *grand carrosse* type of vehicle that had appeared in 1674 and 1684 and was showing himself in one which was characteristic of Castile, and considered at the time to be of the kind typically used by the emperor. The coach, which had allegedly belonged to Charles V,

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60 *Pragmatica que su Magestad manda publicar sobre la reformacion en el exceso de Traxes, lacayos, y coches, y prohibicion del consumo de las mercadurias de Francia... y otras cosas*, 1674, BNE, R 23879 (18), fols. 5v–7r and AHN, Consejos, leg. 51438/1 and *Pragmatica que su magestad manda publicar para que se guarde, execute, y observe la que se publicó el año de 1674 sobre la reforma en el Exceso de Trages, Lacayos, y Coches, y otras cosas en esta contenidas*, 1684, BNE, R 23879 (23).

61 Around the early 1680s, there was still a common belief, which had arisen about 1620, that the emperor had introduced the coach into Castile, see Condesa de Aulnoy, *Viaje por España en 1679 y 1680*, ed. Marta Corominas and Mercedes M. Villalta (Barcelona, 1962), 1: 166–167, 169, and 171–172; Juan de Bolea, *Medula literaria de noticias*, ca. 1693, BNE, MS. 9489, fols. 17r–v. This tradition was vindicated in the engraving by showing a coach considered to be contemporary whilst linking it with his figure; an “ecclesiophany” appears in the top half of the illustration, a break in the burst of Glory enabling an allegory of the Church to be seen whilst other figures hold up a
and the scene of piety were twin reminders of the Castilian stamp at that time in the court of Charles II. It is very tempting to relate this image to another one composed in the same year which, despite their thematic differences, clearly parallels it, since the emperor is shown riding in a triumphal chariot (fig. 6). The sacred nature of the king and his vehicle shows a clear parallel with the motif of the king in his triumphal chariot that had appeared in the mid-sixteenth century. It was quite common at the time, in all the courts of Europe, to represent the monarch in that way, surrounded by the more or less elaborate sacred symbolism used to celebrate good government or military triumphs, dynastic union or the royal couple.63

62 Amongst other royal images in a triumphal chariot, see that of Louis XIII, produced in 1625 by Lucas Vosterman, in which we can see the king being crowned as he drives a chariot drawn by four horses trampling over certain important figures on the ground, as they pass under a triumphal arch. Piety and Religion are allegorised to right and left of the vehicle, *Hollstein’s Dutch and Flemish Etchings*, 43: 108, 110. Another example is Matheus Merian the Elder’s 1638 engraving of Ferdinand III, in *Hollstein’s German Engravings*, 26: 155. In one allegory of Maximilian II of Bavaria, engraved by Philipp Kilian, the prince can be seen on a medal, borne along by allegorical figures, which, in turn, are in a chariot drawn by lions, *ibidem*, 18: 81. In the glorification of William III of England engraved by Joachim von Sandrart, the monarch appears in a two-wheeled, horse-drawn chariot, *Hollstein’s German Engravings*, 40: 169. Johannes Van Vliet represented the triumph of Frederick Henry, prince of Orange, who is in a triumphal chariot accompanied by the Virtues, and driving over Tyranny and Envy. This image is comparable to another very similar one, in which the prince is passing through a triumphal arch, *Hollstein’s Dutch and Flemish Etchings*, 41: 213, and 24: 8–9. Another engraving from 1632, author unknown, shows Gustavus Adolphus in a two-wheeled vehicle, drawn by two eagles as he is crowned with a laurel wreath; a second one represents the sovereign riding in a chariot whilst being celebrated as the liberator of the Protestant religion in Germany, Paas, *German Political Broadsheet*, 6: 139, 141ff, 340. Other engravings were composed on the occasion of the peace in the middle of the century, in which triumphal chariots appeared. See the one of emperor Ferdinand III signing the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, Paas, *German Political Broadsheet*, 7: 349 and those of the triumphal entry of John George I, Elector of Saxony, where he is portrayed in a chariot as guarantor of peace in the Empire in 1650, and also celebrating peace, Paas, *German Political Broadsheet*, 8: 95, 289–291. The same personage appears in another engraving, riding in a chariot just before passing under a triumphal arch, *German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts*, 19: 96.

63 In the allegory of the reign of Ferdinand Maria and Henrietta Adelaide, the two monarchs are shown riding in a triumphal chariot, drawn by four horses, engraving by E. Hainzelmann, *Hollstein’s German Engravings*, 12a: 106–107. See also the engraving marking the wedding of the king of Poland, *Hollstein’s German Engravings*, 52: 87.
The significance that state vehicles assumed in composing both the royal and courtly imaginary in the second half of the seventeenth century also led to the ambassadors’ vehicles playing an important role in promoting the image of the monarch in courts abroad. Coaches, horses, and the Stable in general were the most favourable elements for the ambassador to project the power of the monarch he served, as well as his own status, given the fact that he was an impressive figure in the public sphere. At a reception, the ambassadors’ coaches conveyed to the host the high political regard in which their lord was held, whilst the status of the envoy was also perceived in the use he was able to make of his own vehicles and those of the monarch. Moreover, depending on the power they represented and in accordance with their own economic means, this was how the ambassadors maintained their own Stables and their vehicles in them. In this way, the ambassador underlined the rites of passage of his sovereign and the extraordinary circumstances that had taken place in his court, seeking to leave the best opinion possible of his lord, even as he took part in the ceremonies of the court welcoming him, as well as those for the other envoys, showing the relations between the different Crowns. For these reasons, vehicle and Stable alike were at the centre of ritual confrontations in disputes over etiquette and the violent clashes occasioned by them. The most important act that an ambassador could perform was the public entry, an event that normally had considerable propagandistic repercussions. During this public act, the kind, number and deployment of the coaches not only testified to the wealth of the envoy and his monarch, but also made it possible to give expression to a programme of iconography relevant to the objective of the embassy or the image of the Crown. Moreover, the ambassadors’ parade with their coaches and servants not only had to remain in the memory of the spectators; the event had to be rounded off with some account of the event and some engraving which showed,

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64 The most illustrative case is the iconographic programme used to decorate the carosses used by the marquis of Fontes in the embassy to Rome in 1716, José Calvet de Magalhães, Elsa Garret Pinho and Silvana Bessone, *Embaixada do Marquês de Fontes ao Papa Clemente XI* (Lisbon, 1996). For the Spanish case, see the drawing of the back of a carosse commissioned, according to tradition, by the viceroy of Naples between 1650 and 1670, today in the Rensi Collection, Museum der Bildenden Künste, Leipzig, vol. 12: 30, reproduced in López Álvarez, *Poder, lujo y conflicto*, 514.

65 For the role of the state vehicle in the accounts of Spanish embassies, see *Carta escrita de la corte de Francia a 24. de junio 1679. en que viene Relación de la magnífica, y pomposísima Entrada, que hizo en París el Excelentísimo señor Marques de los Balbases, Embajador Extraordinario de Su Magestad al Rey Christianíssimo*, BPR, III/ 6527 (7);
in detail, the sumptuousness of the vehicles and the way the entourage was deployed.\textsuperscript{66}

\section*{The Stable, state vehicles, and the queen}

Just as in the king’s household, so too the queen’s Stable underwent significant changes from the second half of the sixteenth century. State vehicles were not exempt from these changes, since their use modified the ceremonial and image of the Catholic queen to a large extent. In the case of Isabella of Valois (1559–1568) and Anne of Austria (1569–1580), whose households, and therefore their Stables, were organized along Castilian lines, the role played by the litter and the coach can be followed in some detail in the decades between 1560 and 1580, along with the introduction of Burgundian elements into ceremonial, especially relating to arrangements made for the entries in 1570 and through the etiquette of 1575. The absence of a queen in the final two decades of the sixteenth century brought that process to a halt. However, from the reign of Margaret of Austria (1598–1611) onwards, the establishment of a new image of the queen becomes apparent, stemming in large part from the Stable and the coaches. Amongst the novelties of the period is the development of a new ceremonial involving the sedan chair.\textsuperscript{67}

\textit{Descripción de la pomposíma entrada que a 14. de setiembre del presente año 1679. hizo el Excelentísimox señor Duque de Pastrana, y Francavilla, Príncipe de Melito, Conde de Saldaña... & Embajador Extraordinario de Su Magestad, al Señor Rey Christianíssimo, BPR, III/ 6527 (3). For the embassy to Paris in 1700, \textit{Relación de la entrada en París del Excelentíssimo señor Condestable de Castilla, y Leon, Embasador Extraordinario del Rey Catholico al Christianíssimo, y su Audiencia en Versalles}, 1701, AHN, \textit{Nobleza Frías}, Caja 62/44. The account, together with other documents, was published by the duke of Frías, “El cumplimiento del testamento de Carlos II: La embajada del Condestable de Castilla a Felipe V de España y Luis XIV de Francia,” \textit{Hispania} 97 and 98 (1964), 43–45 and 263–284 respectively.\textsuperscript{66} This kind of pictorial document is scarce in Spain. The engraving made to mark the embassy sent to Rome, led by the duke of Segorbe, to Pope Clement X in 1676 can be consulted in BNE, Inv. 15478, reproduced in López Álvarez, \textit{Poder, lujo y conflicto}, fig. 22. Among the most interesting specimens are the engravings by Gommarus Wouters of the entry of cardinal Francisco Maria de Medici into Rome in 1687 and that of prince Anton Florian of Liechtenstein in 1692, also into Rome; \textit{Hollstein’s Dutch and Flemish Etchings}, 54: 46–47, 50–51. See also the engraving by A. Schoonebeek of the arrival of the ambassadors at the palace of Rijswijk in 1697, \textit{Hollstein’s Dutch and Flemish Etchings}, 26: 26.\textsuperscript{67} For the general evolution of the queens’ Stables, Félix Labrador Arroyo and Alejandro
Litters and coaches: changes in the queen’s ceremonial (1560–1580)

Until the mid-sixteenth century, the Stable of the Spanish queen had not played a significant role amongst the departments of her household, organized according to the Castilian model of queen Isabella the Catholic. In it, horses and mules were the main means of transport and representation. Apart from these, the only vehicle used by the queens from medieval times had been the litter, a distinctive sign of her power and status. By the mid-sixteenth century, a series of courtly scenarios and rituals of Burgundian and Italian influence, in which etiquette played a leading role, had been established in the Spanish court, promoting the ritual adoration of the prince. In addition, it became the order of the day for the various social groups in attendance to try to outdo each other in ostentatious luxury. Litters at that time were plainly at the peak of their vogue in Castile and the arrival of queen Isabella of Valois emphasized this process even further. Indeed, in France and Burgundy, litters were very common and had, for some time, been an indispensable item for queens, who used them for outings, rides, journeys and public entries. In fact, according to French ceremonial, until approximately 1600, queens mainly used the litter for their entries, whilst wheeled vehicles were reserved for ladies...
of lower rank.\textsuperscript{70} When Isabella of Valois came to Spain, she did so in a litter, as was the norm at the time\textsuperscript{71} and used it, following French tradition, to carry out several of the ceremonies in which she took part, such as the entry into Rheims for the coronation of the king; the queen rode to this ceremony in her litter, under a canopy of white damask borne by four dignitaries, who took her to the church.\textsuperscript{72} After the queen had entered Spain, the royal entourage continued to Pamplona; here, French protocol was followed once more, and Isabella, who claimed that it had been cold,\textsuperscript{73} made her entry in a litter beneath a canopy carried by municipal leaders, whilst a troupe of children, dressed as men-at-arms, surrounded her vehicle and fired arquebus salvos\textsuperscript{74} (fig. 7). There was no shortage of people who favourably compared the entry in an open litter with one on horseback, from which, undoubtedly, the personage would have been better viewed:

\begin{quote}
... she made her entry in a litter, open at both sides, and it was no less beautiful to see, than if she had entered on a horse, they were followed in procession by her ladies and young women\textsuperscript{75}.
\end{quote}

Once in Castile, entries reverted to customary usage, and unlike her entry into Pamplona, when she arrived at Toledo, the queen left her litter and mounted a white hackney in order to “ride freely, so that all the people, who wanted nothing less, could enjoy seeing her.”\textsuperscript{76} Nonetheless, there

\textsuperscript{70} Théodore and Denys Godefroy, \textit{Le ceremonial françois, ou description des ceremonies, rangs et seances, observees en France en divers Acts, & Assemblées solennelles}, 1649, FBG, H 2\textsuperscript{o} 369, 1: 733, 745, 747, 793, 806, 850, 873, 959 and 964ff.


\textsuperscript{72} Louis Paris, \textit{Négotiations, lettres et pièces diverses relatives au règne de François II} (Paris, 1841), 115. This ceremony had taken place in September 1559. For comments about the entry into Bordeaux, see González de Amezúa y Mayo, \textit{Isabel de Valois}, 3: 16.


\textsuperscript{74} Alphonse de Ruble, \textit{Le traité de Cateau-Cambresis} (Paris, 1889), 263.

\textsuperscript{75} Paris, \textit{Négotiations, lettres et pièces diverses}, 184.

\textsuperscript{76} Álvar Gómez de Castro, \textit{Recibimiento que la Imperial ciudad de Toledo hizo a su Magestad de la Reyna nuestra señora doña Ysabel, hija del Rey Henrrico II de Francia: quando nuevamente entro en ella a celebrar las fiestas de sus felicissimas bodas, con el Rey don Philippe nuestro señor. II. deste nombre}, BNE, R 9385, fol. 10v. Something similar occurred in Alcalá in 1560, where we know that the queen had arrived in an “extremely luxurious litter,” \textit{El recebimiento que la Universidad de Alcalá de Henares hizo a los Reyes ... cuando vinieron de Guadalajara tres días después de su felicísimo casamiento, in Relaciones de los reinados de Carlos V y Felipe II}, ed. Amalio Huarte, 2 vols (Madrid, 1941), 1: 157.
was close access to the vehicle when the queen, shortly before she arrived at the city: “found the children of the Christian Doctrine and others from this city, who, in good order and smartly groomed, went ahead of H.M., and she consented to let some of them enter the litter, and there she stroked them and delighted in touching such pretty hair.”

From that time on, the queen began to be seen in her litter at various ceremonies: when the prince took his oath as heir, for example; in rides to the church; and even with the vehicle’s curtains open, as when she visited a bullfight with princess Juana, accompanied by the king, the prince and don John of Austria. It is, in any case, highly significant

Similarly, before arriving at Guadalajara, the queen stepped down from the litter in order to take a hackney for the entry into the city, Ruble, *Traité de Cateau-Cambresis*, 265. The same thing happened in Bayonne in 1565, where she arrived in a state vehicle with her brothers and sisters, but then entered on horseback, González de Amezúa y Mayo, *Isabel de Valois*, 2: 231, 3: 315. Brantôme related, of this entry, that she was on a magnificently and richly harnessed hackney, completely embroidered with pearls belonging to the late empress when she made her entry into the cities, which was said to be worth more than a hundred thousand ecus, or even more, some said. She was very elegant on horseback, and she displayed herself well there; for she was so beautiful and pleasant that everyone was delighted with her, trans. *Des dames*, in *Œuvres complètes*, 11 vols. ed. Ludovic Lalanne (Paris, 1866), 8: 12.

that an act so typical of the Habsburgs as the bow or curtsy to the Christ in the Eucharist should be performed by the queen in her litter; it was related that, until her death, whenever her path crossed with the viaticum in the street, she would get down from the vehicle with her ladies and having knelt to worship it, she would accompany it on foot to the sick person’s house, even escorting it later with her retinue to the church it had emerged from.\textsuperscript{78}

Even so, it was the coach that was to take on the truly significant role in the changes made in the ceremonial of the Stable and the image of the queen, as had been the case for the king. This was not the first time that a queen had used a state vehicle of this kind in Castile, since it was recalled that, some time before, archduchess Margaret had brought with her various chariots, as they were called in these kingdoms, when she had arrived to marry prince John.\textsuperscript{79} However, it was the first time they were used as a matter of course and when they began to give rise to changes that were crucial to the way the Stable was structured.\textsuperscript{80}

From the beginning of the reign, and with increasing frequency, use of the coach came to be habitual in the queen’s household. Isabella, who had brought her “charriots branlants” with her from France, and which added to the existing coaches in Philip II’s Stable,\textsuperscript{81} made good use of them during the time she stayed with princess Juana in Toledo between 1560 and 1561, when they often used a vehicle to make excursions.

\textsuperscript{78} Relación y memoria de la entrada en esta cibdad de Toledo, in Uhagón, Relaciones históricas, 72, 82, 84 and 90. Also González de Amezúa y Mayo, Isabel de Valois, 3: 107, 1: 316, who quotes a funeral eulogy written on the death of the queen by Monsignor Vigor, the royal preacher, 293–294.

\textsuperscript{79} There are comments about Margaret’s vehicles, “each one with four wheels and four horses” in Fernández de Oviedo, Libro de la Cámara Real, 163–164. Their existence in Spain is attested by the discovery that, amongst archduchess Margaret’s belongings given by the Catholic Monarchs to the lords San Piqué and de Veere in September 1499, there were, in addition to litters, various samples of cloth suitable for a vehicle and the portable platform used to carry the litter, José Ferrandis, Datos documentales para la historia del arte español (Madrid, 1943), 3: 46, 47–48, 49–50. Fernández de Oviedo also pointed out that this kind of vehicle, not yet known as a coach, was used by the ladies of Germana de Foix in Margaret’s entry into Toledo in 1526: “She entered in a litter covered with black woollen cloth, […] and behind the litter, three or four aged duennas, and further behind, ten or twelve ladies, and following these a four-wheeled French vehicle with some more women,” Relación de lo sucedido en la prisión del rey Francisco I de Francia, BNE, MS. 8756 fols. 36–39.

\textsuperscript{80} For the introduction of new posts into the Stable of queen Isabella associated with the use of coaches, see Labrador Arroyo and López Álvarez, “Las caballerizas de las reinas,” 93–109.

\textsuperscript{81} Paris, Négociations, lettres et pièces diverses, 196–199, 201–203.
into the surrounding area. According to the diary of one of her ladies, in the month of May, 1560, the queen and princess went for a ride in the coach to various places at least once a week. This became so customary that Catherine recommended to her daughter that, for the good of her health, she should not travel by coach or horse, but only in a litter or on foot.\(^82\) In 1567, ambassador Fourquevaux communicated the news of Isabella’s possible pregnancy to her mother, Catherine de Medici, asking her to write to the duchess of Alba, chief lady-in-waiting to the queen, to take care of the queen’s health and try to make her take exercise, “because they think in the palace that the Queen can only travel by coach or litter,” said the ambassador, as if walking were beneath the dignity of Her Royal Majesty.\(^83\) By that time, the number of coaches had multiplied\(^84\) (as had the coachmen to drive them), and they were no longer used only by the queen, who used them for travelling and for hunting, but also by her ladies.\(^85\)

However, the most important thing, in our opinion, is that the coach served to project the queen and her ladies in a new light; it was transformed into a space for socializing and an instrument for establishing hierarchy amongst the courtiers.\(^86\) We think that, by initially following French tradition, which was less rigid in this respect, queen Isabella showed that she was more accessible than she was later. An example of this is that Brantôme should tell how, in 1564, he had seen her leaving the palace and getting into her vehicle: “toujours à la portière, comme c’estoit sa place ordinaire: aussi telle beauté ne debvoit estre recluze au dedans, mais descouverte” [always sitting by the door as it was her usual place; also, such beauty should never be hidden away

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\(^{84}\) From the data we know of, the queen had at least seven vehicles during her reign, AGS, CSR, leg. 79, fols. 113, 128, 131, 146, 147 and 148. This figure is not insignificant, since Elizabeth I of England had eleven coaches available between 1564 and 1603, Julian Munby, “Queen Elizabeth’s Coaches: the Wardrobe on Wheels,” \textit{The Antiquaries Journal}, 83 (2003), 311–367.  
\(^{85}\) González de Amezúa y Mayo, \textit{Isabel de Valois}, 1: 189, 287 and Edmond Cabié, \textit{Ambassade de Jean Ebrard seigneur de Saint-Sulpice de 1562 à 1565 et mission de ce diplomate dans le même pays en 1566} (Albi, 1903), 365, 368 and 386.  
\(^{86}\) The coach was a bone of contention between the servants of queen Isabella of Valois, such as Madame de Clermont and the countess of Ureña. The vehicle was also at the root of the complaints made by the duchess of Montpensier to Philip II concerning the treatment given to Alba de Liste’s daughter, one of the queen’s ladies, González de Amezúa y Mayo, \textit{Isabel de Valois}, 1: 165, 166; Paris, \textit{Négotiations et lettres}, 519–520.
inside, but be on view]. Similarly, when the queen visited Pamplona, after returning from Bayonne, “she rode through the city in her coach, to the general satisfaction of the townsfolk, and the people who went to see her.” The public appearances of the queen formed part of a rather ambivalent strategy, which aimed, on the one hand, to project the sovereign as a remote and sacred figure, whilst, at the same time, strengthening the bonds with her vassals. The image of the queen, as had been the case with the king, was also associated with her state vehicles, transformed, additionally, into an element of courtly taste and distinction.

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The rules of etiquette drawn up for queen Anne of Austria in 1575 are further evidence of the growing importance of the use of vehicles in court: the protocol for receiving the queen’s coach into the palace was accorded prime importance, giving the master of the horse a much more prominent role than he had had in the Castilian tradition. This was a question that had come to the fore again after 1560. We know that the procedure for receiving the queen’s coach was similar to the one for receiving the king’s coach: the order was given to the master of the horse to be at the palace to direct the reception of the animals or vehicles which would be used for the queen’s journey. This regulation, following Burgundian practice, is quite clear about the status that the

87 Brantôme, Des dames, 8: 82.
88 Estebán de Garibay, Compendio historial de las Crónicas y universal historia de todos los reynos de España, 1571, BNE, R 823, p. 653.
89 Joanna of Austria, daughter of emperor Ferdinand I and wife of the duke of Tuscany, commissioned a luxury coach through her brother, archduke Ferdinand II of Tyrol which she never got to enjoy because her husband neither approved of her independent attitude, nor did he wish her to ride through the streets of Florence in a vehicle, Hilda Lietzmann, “Der florentinische Wagen: Eine Kutsche für Giovanna d’Austria,” Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst 54, no. 3 (2003): 167.
90 Probably the first pictorial representation of a state vehicle in Spain can be linked to Isabella of Valois. It is an architectural drawing, attributed to Diego de Siloé (which dates it no later than 1563), and shows scenery for the theatre, most probably for one of the works performed in the palace. The drawing can be found in MNA/GDG 107786/D, and is reproduced in the exhibition catalogue Carolus (Madrid, 2000), 372. In France, the coach had already provided the illustration which, in 1547, accompanied the poem by queen Margaret of Navarre “La Coche,” reproduced in Wackernagel, Der französische Krönungswagen, 14. On the same topic in the Germanic field, see the woodcut by Nicolaus Solis to mark the wedding in 1568 of Renata of Lorraine and William V, duke of Bavaria, in which the bride’s coach can be seen, reproduced in Kreisel, Prunkwagen und Schlitten, fig. 3 and pp. 23, 24, 28. Dated some time later, in 1579, is a drawing of the countess palatine Anna Maria’s vehicle used at her wedding, reproduced in Wackernagel, Staats- und Galawagen der Wittelsbacher, 2: 16.
office had attained, since the master of the horse, now part of the palace inner circle, only served the queen directly on special occasions.\textsuperscript{91} It was the equerries, whose number had increased in recent times, who were generally responsible for accompanying the retinue, which gained, as a result, in elegance and distinction. They would be on horseback if the queen went out in a vehicle and on foot if she was riding her hackney.

The instructions were as follows:

On those occasions when the Queen has to go out, and the abovementioned Princes are accompanying her, neither the Master of the Horse, nor the Princes’ tutor are to go behind the Grandees, and the Master of the Horse must ensure that he goes to the palace to carry out his duties, and give the order for the coaches, litters, or hacks, together with any other necessities to accompany the coach, litter or horse that the Queen uses; and the equerries will go on horseback and other officers of the Stable on foot, so that no one is missing, not even the footmen, but if the Queen is to go on horseback, the equerries will go with her on foot.\textsuperscript{92}

The moment when the animals and vehicles were handed over went to the very heart of the rules of etiquette; once more, another Burgundian element. This influence is also noticeable in the routine orders to be followed by the master of the horse whenever the queen went out, which aimed to ensure that the equerries carried out their functions; these were to exalt and set the queen apart by surrounding her, and so enhance the pomp and remoteness of the sovereign when she was out and about in the locality:

\textsuperscript{91} For example, during queen Anne’s entry into the city of Burgos, Philip II indicated the place that his wife’s master of the horse should occupy: “then the queen will go under the canopy, which is to be carried for her by the municipal leaders, as is customary, and next to Her Majesty, to one side, whoever is serving her as master of the horse will walk under the canopy, so that he is at hand should she require anything,” L. Pérez Bueno, “Del casamiento de Felipe II con su sobrina Ana de Austria,” \textit{Hispania} 28 (1947): 399. For the entry into Madrid, the master of the horse led the palfrey by the reins of the bridle, together with the other equerries, Jean Lhermite, \textit{El pasatiempos de Jehan Lhermite: Memorias de un gentilhombre flamenco en la corte de Felipe II y Felipe III} (Madrid, 2005), 489, 511. For changes in the figure of the master of the horse serving the queen, see Labrador Arroyo and López Álvarez, “Las caballerizas de las reinas,” 112–115.

\textsuperscript{92} For the king’s Stable, see López Álvarez, “Evolución de la Caballeriza,” 296, 313–314. For the queen’s etiquette, see \textit{Etiquetas de la Casa de la reina Ana}, 1575, AGP, Sección Histórica, Caja 49, exp. 3. This citation here and the following ones.
Whenever the Queen goes out to a Church, Monastery or Chapel, or to some festivity, or anywhere else in the place where she happens to be, the E querries will accompany her on foot, with heads uncovered, and on either side of the hack, coach, or litter which the Queen might be using, maintaining the authority and respect due to her; they will not talk to her, except to answer if she asks them a question and the Master of the Horse will arrange this and for the other Officers to walk there, as appropriate.\textsuperscript{93}

The importance of the Stable in the public representation of the queen, following the model of the king, was given a decisive impetus when, in 1570, several entries into Burgos, Valladolid and Segovia were organized for Anne of Austria in the Burgundian manner. These entries remained the model for later years and became part of the etiquette of the Spanish Monarchy.\textsuperscript{94} Despite this, numerous elements of the first decades of the second half of the sixteenth century failed to develop as foreseen because of the early death of the queen and the subsequent absence of one for almost twenty years.

\textit{The image of the queen after 1598}

During Philip III’s reign, the court was institutionalized, the protocols and ordinances of the royal household were laid down and court ceremonial consolidated. It was in this context that the queen’s household came to assume a hitherto unusually high profile, establishing itself as a model after a period when it had, in fact, been absent. Contrary to the often maintained position, it was queen Margaret herself who was to play a major role in bringing this about and in the image of the Crown communicated to the vassals. In this mission, her Stable was to acquire

\textsuperscript{93} This regulation was repeated in the one issued to the equerries who were ordered to take great care that “whenever the Queen goes out, they should go to the palace, taking with them all the equipment of the Stable when the Queen goes out nearby, or to some Monastery, or Orchard, even if it is just to go outside. If it is not for a long journey, they must walk on both sides of the Queen’s hack, litter or coach, and in this matter and everything else they are to obey the master of the horse and follow whatever instructions he gives them.” From this regulation and the previous one, we gather that the equerries went on horseback on longer journeys.

considerable influence as that section of the household responsible for representing the royal couple to the world.\textsuperscript{95} From that moment, the ceremonies carried out with a state vehicle, the number used, and particularly their sumptuousness and luxury, frequently became the stuff of royal propaganda. From that time, the image of the queen was to display ostentatious wealth, much of it centred on the state vehicles, although the image had, simultaneously, to be brought into line with those which sought to project her as a Catholic queen and a model for the court. Therefore, in Ferrara, where she was to receive a highly luxurious carosse as a gift from the pope, when he invited her after her marriage by proxy on November 15, 1598:

\begin{quote}

to take a short ride in her carosse around Ferrara, … so that the people could see her, which they greatly desired, … Her Majesty the Queen very wisely responded, as a good Christian should, that having taken Communion the very morning of her marriage, it was not appropriate to go out and see frivolous things in the streets, nor did she want to be seen, except in the churches and nunneries.\textsuperscript{96}
\end{quote}

The extreme wealth of the queen’s Stable had been anticipated by the austere Philip II, who proposed an impressive escort of vehicles for Margaret, having a coach, a litter and twelve spare coaches built in Milan.\textsuperscript{97} As we have already mentioned, the Holy Father had also…

\textsuperscript{95} In fact, in the etiquette and ceremonial of the royal household, compiled in definitive form in the middle of the seventeenth century, it is noticeable that when the queen showed herself in public, the Stable clearly played a prominent role. This was the case when they went to mass, with the king on horseback and the queen in a coach; for the festive entry into Madrid; and for excursions by coach or on horseback, see especially Christina Hofmann, \textit{Das Spanische Hofzeremoniell von 1500–1700} (Frankfurt, 1985), 95–96, 160–161, and 174–175.

\textsuperscript{96} Felipe de Gauna, \textit{Relación de las fiestas celebradas en Valencia con motivo del casamiento de Felipe III}, 2 vols. (Valencia, 1926), 1: 37–38, 42, 65. However the chronicler indicated that on the following Monday she went to visit a church and a monastery in the company of her mother, the archduchess, and her principal ladies, “in their carosses, with archduke Albert and other Grandees of Spain, also accommodating them in other carosses every day that they went out.”

\textsuperscript{97} Philip II, in a written communication to the Constable of Castile on June 3, 1598, instructed him to have everything ready to receive archduchess Margaret, and that some Spanish clothing should be made ready for her. He sent 200,000 ducats to defray expenses, AGS, E. leg. 1285, no. 15. The king also wrote to ambassador San Clemente on the same day, mentioning that there was a shortage of the necessary coach horses for Milan, AGS, E. leg. 2450 (no pagination). More information about the preparations in AGS, E. leg. 182 (no pagination). The choice of Milan for coach building was not
presented the queen with an extraordinary vehicle in Ferrara. In the entry into this city, the sovereign, accompanied by the pope’s legate cardinals, went up to:

a sumptuous carrosse of crimson velvet, completely harnessed in gold, with six beautiful horses adorned in the same way, two coachmen in matching livery and just two seats. And once Her Majesty had entered with her mother, the Archduchess, and both were seated inside the carrosse, then the lord Cardinals and the legates climbed into a similarly sumptuous carrosse.  

However, the height of luxury, as far as carosses are concerned, was attained in Milan, where the richness of the vehicles was completed with an impressive ceremonial. Furthermore, the entry, in this case, had a special significance since, after the death of Philip II, Margaret was no longer a princess, but the queen of the Catholic Monarchy and arrived in the city as a duchess in her own right. Furthermore, Milan was the first city on her journey towards the peninsula which was subject to the Spanish Crown. So, as she made her entry into this major city, the queen was presented with an extremely sumptuous state vehicle, which Gauna describes as:

a very expensive, sumptuous carrosse, never seen before, because it was made to the following standards of luxury: instead of wood, the complete coach body, pillars, and roof, both inside and out, were made of wonderfully well-wrought solid silver, and upholstered in an exquisite brocade richly embroidered in relief, and with fine pearls, diamonds and rubies. The same brocade on the uppermost point of the ceiling was embroidered with the escutcheon and armorial bearings of the king, Philip III of Spain and duke of Milan, made from diamond points and pearls, and with many emeralds of inestimable value; and on the back of the same carrosse was another escutcheon and armorial bearings, embroidered like the ones above, belonging


to the queen and duchess of Milan. The four wheels of the said carosse and all the rest of it were made of incorruptible wood, gilded over and wonderfully carved, drawn by twelve horses of the same strange colour with their blankets and harness of black velvet and all embroidered in fine gold and silver thread. Each of the horses had a sash of gold and silver cloth, all of them studded with pearls and priceless jewels; each had a garland on its head and a head piece of solid silver, even down to the engraving. They were driven by six coachmen in costumes of different brocade, covered with pearls and variously coloured feathers.

It is highly significant, according to testimony, that the queen made her entry into Milan in this vehicle, showing her communion with the dukedom, a fact which was ritually underlined by the salvoes that accompanied the queen as she entered her coach, passed through the city walls, and alighted from her carosse in a sophisticated ceremonial that surprised all those who took part in it. The very entry by state vehicle expressed the queen's power over her city, and recalled the triumphal entries of the victorious Roman generals:

In that same luxurious carosse, Her Majesty the Queen entered, together with the Archduchess, her mother, after having alighted from the litters in which they came on horseback [sic] and behind this carosse followed six carosses belonging to the principal ladies of the Queen and the Archduchess, and, all the abovementioned nobles entered in order along the street, the Milanese interspersed with the Spanish: except that Archduke Albert and His Eminence Cardinal Aldobrandino both went

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100 Gauna, *Relación de las fiestas celebradas en Valencia*, 1: 70. This Milan coach should be included in the *Brautwagen* series, that is bridal coaches, common from the Middle Ages, some of which were very famous, for example, those of Catherine of Austria, wife of Charles I of Baden-Baden (1447), Leonor of Portugal who married emperor Frederick III (ca. 1451), Beatrice of Anjou, second wife of the Hungarian king, Matthias Corvinus (1476), or Isabella Gonzaga who married in Mantua (1490), and so on. See further, Herbert Haupt, “‘Der goldene Wagen’ der österreichischen Herzogin Katharina (1420–1493),” in *Livrustkammaren: Journal of the Royal Armoury Stockholm* 14 (1976–1978): 173–194. However, the carosse decoration, with the escutcheons of the royal couple and pearl embroidery is quite similar to other later examples, such as that of the vehicle used by the duchess Maria Anna of Bavaria to make her entry into Graz in 1600, see also idem, “Der Brautwagen der Königin Anna vom Jahre 1611: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Festwagens und seiner Funktion im Hochzeitszeremoniell der frühen Neuzeit,” in *Achse, Rad und Wagen: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Landfahrzeuge*, vol. 1 (1991): 21–25. The state vehicles of Renata of Lorraine and the countess palatine mentioned above were of the same kind.
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together in front of the abovementioned carrosse of Her Majesty the Queen.

At the same time, the entry by state vehicle was a metaphor for entry into the urban space of the city, underlined by a tremendous salvo at that precise instant, and again on the entry into the city itself:

There was great joy in the castle of Milan when Her Majesty the Queen set foot in the abovementioned carrosse in order to enter the city which was expressed by firing more than four hundred pieces of artillery and swivel-guns, not to mention all the other arquebuses which also fired a salvo, and as she entered through the city gate, the same artillery and arquebuses fired yet another salvo, which was really something to see and hear.

The same thing was repeated on their arrival at the palace as the queen was leaving the coach:

It being more than ten o’clock at night, when, with their abovementioned accompanying escort, they all arrived at the royal palace; here, in the courtyard, Her Majesty the Queen followed by her mother, the Archduchess, stepped down from the luxurious coach in which they had arrived, with the help of his Eminence, Cardinal Aldobrandino and Archduke Albert accompanying them, and at that precise moment and hour, the complete artillery of the Castle of Milan fired another salvo, ..., and, together with the arquebusier infantry, with great joy and in harmony with the sound of the fifes and drums of war, leaving Her Majesty the Queen and everyone in her entourage astounded at the roar of the artillery and the cries of the people, making it seem as if the entire city was falling to the ground.¹⁰¹

¹⁰¹ Gauna, Relación de las fiestas celebradas en Valencia, 1: 70, 73–74. The queen’s Entry was carried out on horseback and under a canopy, according to other sources, Paola Venturelli, “La solemne entrada en Milán de Margarita de Austria, esposa de Felipe III (1598),” in María Luisa Lobato and Bernardo J. García García (eds.), La fiesta cortesana en la época de los Austrias (Valladolid, 2003), 240. Amongst the paintings produced for the queen’s funeral rites in Florence in 1612, her entry into Milan was recreated, in which the queen appeared on horseback and under a canopy. See the exhibition catalogue Glorias efímeras: Las exequias florentinas de Felipe II y Margarita de Austria (Madrid, 1999), 250–251. If the entry really took place in this way – on horseback and under a canopy – Gauna’s account is all the more interesting, putting forward a richer, more complex image of the queen in symbolic terms, in which, as previously noted, the state vehicle is regarded as a metaphor for government.
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From the time of her arrival in Spain, the queen went about in similar sumptuous style. One reflection of this is the fact that the luxury of the vehicles used by the queen and her retinue never ceased to be commented on in festive narratives. Luxury of this kind in the Stable, particularly the state vehicles, was identified from this point onwards with the image of Margaret and her ladies, something which is readily understandable, considering the army of servants in that institution responsible for maintaining it; the state vehicles of the queen, in fact, were constantly being renovated, partly because they rapidly lost their newness, but also because of the need to be fashionable and to have the most luxurious and sophisticated Stable possible, as was the case every time a journey to Portugal was planned. The queen brought out new vehicles for every new ceremony, in lavish displays of luxury. One such occasion was the mass given in honour of the prince in San Llorente in Valladolid, although there were others.

This process showed no signs of slackening, not even on the death of the queen; on the contrary, from 1611, and following the pace set by the institutional use of the coach, it acquired fresh impetus, as was demonstrated in the exchange of princesses in 1615. Through this exchange, the infanta Anne of Austria went to France as the wife of Louis XIII and princess Isabella of Bourbon was welcomed into Spain as the wife of the crown prince, the future Philip IV, in a context of renewed ritual confrontation between the two courts. The display of the catholic court in Burgos, where the weddings were to be celebrated by proxy, was already largely based on the wealth and luxury of the Stable of the king and the courtiers of greatest influence. In fact, the focal point of the retinue that went to the cathedral where the proxy marriage ceremony took place was the future queen’s state vehicle, the royal coach,

102 The ladies hardly ever went out on horseback anymore, as Pinheiro da Veiga commented on the entry of the royal couple into the consistory in Valladolid, which had been “a very pleasant sight since it was unusual to see the ladies entering on horseback, with so much harmony and majesty” in Fastiginia, 125–126.
103 The preparations for the visit to Portugal naturally included the construction of new coaches, about which Cabrera de Córdoba duly provided information in January 1602 and October and November 1604, Relaciones, 127, 164, 228 and 229. Expenses for the queen’s vehicles, in AGS, CJH, leg. 444, fajo 15, and leg. 489, fajo 15, nos. 30–31.
104 Pinheiro, Fastiginia, 100–101.
105 Pedro Mantuano, Casamientos de España y Francia, y viaje del Duque de Lerma llevando la Reyna Christianissima Doña Ana de Austria al paso de Beobia, y trayendo la princesa de Asturias nuestra señora, 1618, BNE, R 11.067, pp. 123–125, 152–155 and 156–166.
with prince Philip, his sister, Anna, queen of France, and the other royal children inside. According to one account, this coach was:

very luxuriously upholstered inside, embroidered outside with large precious stones, studs and wheels, and all the woodwork inside and out richly decorated, and drawn by six very large Neapolitan sorrels with richly embroidered crimson velvet trappings: this coach was driven by two coachmen and two coach boys, clad in crimson velvet with full ceremonial gold embroidery.\(^{106}\)

It was precisely the state vehicles at the moment of the exchange that provided the contrast between the Catholic and the French courts. It was said of the gifts that the duke of Uceda had left on a flat stretch of ground by the river that there were:

three very opulent items so that our Lady, the Princess, when travelling to Spain could ride in them. They were a large carosse, a litter and a sedan chair, all studded with gold, with brocade curtains, silver wheels, six horses, and two famous mules, and richly dressed footmen carrying the sedan chair.

The contrast with the vehicles on the French side was stark:

The French had, on their side of the river, for the queen, a litter with crimson velvet and silver handrails and a good coach, and, for the other ladies, two coaches and no litter, and when they had left for France, they sorely missed what they had left behind in Spain.

The ceremony and etiquette which awaited the future queen of France displayed the inferiority of that court, as was seen at the critical moment when the princesses took their leave:

there were lots of tears on the part of the ladies who were moving to France, as well there might be considering what awaited them, because as they were completing the move, they all found themselves in the fields not knowing in which coaches or litters they were supposed to travel, nor who was to look after them.\(^{107}\)

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\(^{106}\) Relacion del desposorio que se celebró en la Cyudad de Burgos entre la serenissima Infanta de España Doña Ana y el Christianissimo Príncipe Luys de Francia, 1615, BNE, MS. 2348, fol. 193r.

\(^{107}\) Relacion de la Jornada de las entregas de las Serenissimas Señoras Doña Ana Reyna de França, y Doña Isabel Princesa de España, hechas en los meses de Otubre y Noviembre de
The images of the king and queen were inseparably linked to those of their Stables and coaches, and, from time to time, became essential instruments in the war of propaganda between the two courts. Proof of all this is that Pieter van der Meulen was commissioned to paint a picture of the occasion, and in which the vehicles ranged on each side of the river where the exchange took place appear in some detail.\textsuperscript{108} Although it was produced at a later date and in a different context, the image of the queen of France’s carrosse is reminiscent of a 1651 engraving representing the occasion of the king on his way to the \textit{parlement} in Paris to declare his coming of age (fig. 8).\textsuperscript{109} There are countless other examples of princely European courts in which the queens’ coaches played a major role, whether at their weddings, entries into cities\textsuperscript{110} or for other reasons.\textsuperscript{111}

\textit{este año de 1615}, BNE, MS. 2348, fols. 226r, 227r and 228r. This account indicated that an accompanying retinue of some three thousand people took part in the queen of France’s departure from Burgos, “so many litters, carrosses, carts, horses and mules hired and mules presented as gifts, that to tell it all would need several large books,” \textit{ibidem}, fol. 219.

\textsuperscript{108} This is a reference to \textit{El intercambio de princesas en el río Bidassoa} (RMEM 00621531). It is reproduced in Galán, \textit{Historia del carruaje}, 111.

\textsuperscript{109} N. Cochin, \textit{Marche du Roi allant au Parlement pour la déclaration de sa majorité}, 1651, BNE, Qb 1–1651 (September 7). Less detailed, but nonetheless interesting in this connection and closer in time, is the 1610 engraving by Crispijn de Passe de Oude representing queen Maria de Medici, \textit{Hollstein’s Dutch and Flemish Etchings}, 15: 258. Also worthy of mention is one of his engravings made in 1638 in which the queen’s state vehicle can be seen, with the queen inside it, \textit{Hollstein’s Dutch and Flemish Etchings}, 14: 173.

\textsuperscript{110} See the engravings made in 1614 by W.-P. Zimmermann to mark the wedding of the duke of Bavaria, reproduced in the exhibition catalogue, \textit{Wittelsbach und Bayern: Um Glauben und Reich. Kurfürst Maximilian I}, 2 vols. (Munich, 1980), 2: 145–147. Also the wedding vehicle used by Friedrich Ulrich, duke of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel at his wedding to Anna Sophia, marchioness of Brandenburg in 1614, Paas, \textit{German Political Broadsheet}, 1: 313. One of the engravings made for the occasion of Ferdinand II’s entry into Regensburg in 1622 showed, in detail, the state vehicles of the empress and her ladies, Paas, \textit{German Political Broadsheet}, 4: 112. See also, the engraving of the entry into Munich of Adelaide, princess of Savoy in 1652, Paas, \textit{German Political Broadsheet}, 8: 111. Among the most famous cases is the coach in the engraving of the entry into Paris of Louis XIV and his queen consort, Marie-Thérèse in 1660, Paas, \textit{German Political Broadsheet}, 357. See also the drawing, in Wackernagel, \textit{Der französische Krönungswagen}, fig. 3b.

\textsuperscript{111} In Spain, it is worth remembering the image of Isabella of Bourbon sitting comfortably in her coach during a royal hunt, in the picture of 1636–1639 by Velázquez and Mazo, “La montería del Hoyo (La tela real),” whose English title is “Philip IV Hunting Wild Boar (The Royal Enclosure),” in the National Gallery, London (cat. no. 179), copy in the Prado, illustrated in Galán, \textit{Historia del carruaje}, 140. See also, the
Fig. 8 – This engraving is a fine example of the interest shown in exhibiting the splendour of royal vehicles in the European courts of the mid-seventeenth century, N. Cochin, *Marche du Roi allant au Parlement pour la déclaration de sa majorité*, 1651 (detail), (BNF Qb 1–1651 (September 7)).

**Ceremonial use of the Sedan chair**

The list of modifications to the queen’s Stable in terms of state vehicles would be incomplete without reference to the sedan chair. Until now, this has been considered as a simple artefact of no great significance, particularly when compared with the coach, carrosse and litter; however, we believe that its use deserves special consideration. Although we do not know much about its typological development, nor exactly how it originated, the earliest pictorial evidence that we are aware of shows a sort of box, more or less close and of no great size, supported on poles and transported by servants. But, beyond its formal appearance, a series of very significant elements replete with symbolic meaning came

paintings by Adam Frans van der Meulen, showing the coach of the queen consort, Marie-Thérèse before her entry into Arras in 1677, illustrated in ibidem, 113 or those by the same painter, illustrated in Wackernagel, *Der französische Krönungswagen*, figs. 5d, 6a, b and c.

112 The occasionally found assertion that the sedan chair was a device of inferior category compared with the coach cannot be sustained, S. Bessone, “El camino hacia el carruaje,” in Galán, *Historia del carruaje*, 107.

113 When categorizing them, we have sometimes regarded them as a development of the litter, A. López Álvarez, “Silla de manos,” in *Gran Enciclopedia Cervantina*, ed. C. Alvar (forthcoming).

114 See WLBS, Cod. Hist. qt 148b, fol. 5, and Pietro Bertelli, *Diversarum nationum habitus*, 1594, BNE, ER 3567, nos. 31A and 31B.
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together in these portable chairs. In the beginning, they brought to mind andas, a structure made of horizontal parallel poles, and used in religious processions to carry sacred images. However, these andas harked back to similar items already used in Antiquity and well known at the time, as well as to the equally famous objects used by kings and local chiefs in Spanish American culture, particularly among the Mexicans and Incas. In addition, we should not forget that the sedia gestatoria, or portable papal throne, on which the pope had long been carried about by an assigned corps of footmen, was in fact a form of andas. Its use was described in some considerable detail in compilations on Roman ceremonial, as well as in the Capella ritual.

115 There are interesting reflections in Sergio Bertelli, Il corpo del re: Sacralità del potere nell’Europa medievale e moderna, 2nd ed. (Florence, 1995), 132ff.
116 Andas was the name used from medieval times to refer to the litter in Castile. In brief, it was a sort of close box used for transporting people.
117 Alonso Carranza, for example, wrote of the Roman litters that they were carried “on the shoulders, as they are by hand today,” and that they cost much more [then] than in his time, “because of their wonderful structure, with windows on all sides, and so capacious that there were beds and seats in them, and the Romans brought along their writing tablets and writing desks, and on the way, they read, wrote and carried out their business, surrounded by countless servants, and borne on the shoulders of six or eight,” Señor, la prematica del Rey don Felipe III, 1622, BNE, VE 28-12, fol. 4r. All in all, the most interesting reflections on the classical precursors to the sedan chair are those of the eighteenth century. Chronologically speaking, the first approach is that of Johan Alstorph, De lectis veterum diatribe, 1704, WLBS, altern. Oct. 29. In the same vein, but much briefer, is the minor treatise by Johan Heinrich Blank, De lectulis et lecticis romanorum lucubratoriis dissertatio antiquaria, 1758, BSB, 4 Exeg. 323 u. However, the most interesting for its breadth and systematic treatment is Carl Christian Schramm, Abhandlung der Porte-Chaises oder Trage-Sänftten durch Menschen oder Thiere, in allen Vier Theilen der Welt, nach der Critic, Mechanic, Histoire, dem Recht, wie auch Cammer- und Policey-Wese ausgeführct und erläutert, Nuremberg, Nuremberg, 1737, USBK, WCV93. We are preparing a study on this topic to be published shortly.
118 See the study by Fr. Martín de Murua, Historia general del Perú, origen y descendencia de los incas, ed. Manuel Ballesteros-Galbouis (Madrid, 1987), passim, as well as that written by Francisco López de Gómara, La conquista de México, 1552, ed. José Luis de Rojas (Madrid, 1987), passim.
119 For information about the antiquity of the papal brotherhoods of the Palafrenieri and Sediari, see Matizia Maroni Lumbrasso and Antonio Martini, Le confraternite romane nelle loro chiese (Rome, 1963), 47–50.
120 The Capella ceremony involved organizing a procession in which the cardinal deacons, priests and bishops followed the various principal figures, see Francesco Sestini de Bibbiena, Il Maestro di camera, 1689, FBG, Geog. 8° 2735/2, (2), p. 35.
when the new pope took office, just as it was the object of frequent artistic representations from the last third of the sixteenth century, becoming a common sight in later papal iconography (fig. 9). In addition, travelling by sedan chair became a notable privilege in the Vatican. The cardinals could ride in them, although special permission from the pope was required to enter the papal palace and consistory.

All these precedents undoubtedly influenced the proliferation of similar instruments in the princely courts of Europe from the middle of the sixteenth century. Together with a process clearly designed to affirm the sacred quality of kingship in such important circumstances, it is also likely that purely physical necessities contributed to their development, since in increasingly sedentary courts, the mobility of

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121 When the new pope took office, the ceremonial for the occasion included a cavalcade of great pomp, and with the largest number of people ever to take place in Rome, to the Basilica of St. John Lateran, “non restando Ambasciador, Prencipe, o Signore, che non serva in questa occasione Sua Santità.” The pope left with a great entourage: “hà delle bande il uso Maestro di Camera, e coppiere, e d’attorno numero grandissimo do Paggi, e Palafrenieri, e gli altri cardini. Cavalcano dopo S. Santità.” As he entered the church, the pope, “portato in sedia sotto il Baldachino, quiu i scende, e si pone in ginocchioni,” Sestini, Il Maestro di camera, 60–62.

122 See the papal throne in the entry procession to St. John Lateran to open the holy door in the year 1575, FBG, Opp Gr 2º 1106/1 (9). It is reproduced in the exhibition catalogue, Barock im Vatikan: Kunst und Kultur im Rom der Päpste, 1572–1676 (Leipzig, 2005), 91. Identification of the pope with the portable throne can equally be seen in the diatribes directed against him from the Protestant ranks; see the first in Luther, Passional Christi und Antichristi, 1521, BSB, Res/4 H. eccl. 870, 9 fol. 13. Rather later is that of a certain Totentanz, or Dance of Death, published in 1588, in which the pope was being carried on his throne, accompanied by his cardinals and soldiers represented by skeletons, whilst Death condemned the pontiff: “Wie g’fallen Euch Bapst die ding/ Ihr tanzten auch an diesem Ring:/ Sie dreyfach Bron mußt Ihr mir lon/ Und ewers Sessels rühwig stobn,” in Hollstein’s German Engravings, 59: 152–156.

123 See La cavalcatura con le sue ceremonie dun Pontefice nuovo quando piglia possesso a Santo Giovanni Laterano, FBG, Opp Gr 2º 1106/1 (168). In an engraving representing the floor of the conclave set up for the vacant see of Gregory XV in 1623, the new pope can also be seen being borne in public to St. Peter’s in a sedan chair and under a canopy, FBG, Opp. Gr 2º 1106/1 (20). Another example from 1656 is in Bertelli, Il corpo del re, 135, fig. 37. Also of great interest is the famous painting by Giovanni Maria Morandi, “Pope Alexander VII in the Corpus Domini Procession,” kept in the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Nancy. It is reproduced in Barock im Vatikan, 315.

124 An engraving from approximately 1591, in which Innocence IX can be seen in his sedan chair, being carried on the shoulders of footmen and surrounded by the Guard, FBG, Opp Gr 2º 1106/1 (22).

125 Girolamo Lunadoro, Relazione della Corte di Roma, 1642, FBG, Geogr. 8º 2735/1, pp. 85–86.
Fig. 9 – The proliferation of sedan chairs among princes was undoubtedly due to the example set by the pope’s *sedia gestatoria*. This 1591 engraving represents Innocence IX in his chair being carried on the shoulders of his *palafrenieri* [footmen] and surrounded by his guard (FBG Opp Gr 2o 1106/1 (22)).
the sovereign in the palace or relatively reduced urban spaces, seems to have increased. If the litter had been the most effective means of transport for moving about inside and outside the city until the mid-sixteenth century, it seems that, from that time onwards, some items of a more domestic nature began to be fashionable, serving as a throne, a seat, and a means of transport. There is abundant testimony of great interest concerning this kind of vehicle in the Italian courts prior to the seventeenth century, and structures similar to *andas* were also used in the English court of Elizabeth I. We find, some time later in the Imperial court, something like a chair placed on poles, which combined the need to carry the monarch about with the ritual worship of him. One was used in the ceremonials for the coronation of Mathias in 1612 (fig. 10). Although this image is exceptional for its time, when it was the norm to represent the emperor on horseback and under a canopy, or walking beneath a canopy, it was not unique; the use of this chair can be seen in another engraving from 1636 depicting the coronation of Ferdinand III.

128 For the occasion of the coronation of Mathias in 1612, Wilhelm Peter Zimmermann engraved a plate where the emperor appeared under a canopy and on a chair placed on *andas*, being carried by some dignitaries GNM, Inv. HB 129, Kapsel 1255. It must certainly have been a series since there is another by the same author, entitled “Krönungseferlichkeiten auf dem Römerberg in Frankfurt,” GNM, Inv. HB 17570, Kapsel 1255. It is significant that the first news of sedan chair porters in the Imperial court (Sänftenknechte) appears in 1615, when four of them are mentioned in a list of servants of emperor Mathias. This information was kindly provided by Dr. J. Hausenblasová, February, 2008.
129 FBG, Biogr. fol. 593/1 (111).
130 FBG, Pol. 8o 1393/1 (3), fig. E. For the coronation of the emperor Maximilian in Frankfurt in 1562, FBG, Hist. 8o 1160/2 (no pagination).
131 At the moment of leaving for the banquet, to be exact, *Hollstein’s German Engravings*, 46: 51.
Fig. 10 – During the celebrations marking the coronation of Mathias in 1612, the emperor was transported in a kind of chair on andas and carried beneath a canopy, engraving by Wilhelm Peter Zimmermann (GNM, Inv. HB 129, Kapsel 1255).

The phenomenon of the sedan chair, whether in the form of more or less close boxes or of andas supplied with seats, was introduced into Castile quite early on. Amongst the first references to them in the Spanish court are those belonging to Isabella of Valois and Anne of Austria. Some time later, they appear to have attained some degree of importance in Philip II’s household, probably when the health problems which prevented him from moving about freely on his own coincided with his interest in attributing symbolic significance to himself. At that time, various

132 The first reference we have is a record of the existence of a “chair to be carried on the shoulders and in which they carried the Queen,” AGS, CSR, leg. 79, fol. 128. As for Anne of Austria, we know that during her first pregnancy, the order from Philip II in El Escorial was that: “if the queen wants to leave the palace, remind her to go in a chair so that she doesn’t have another fall,” Henry Kamen, Philip of Spain (New Haven-London, 1997), 206.
devices were built for the purpose of transporting the monarch from place to place. The most famous of these, now reconstructed, is the so-called gout chair, designed to alleviate the monarch’s gout pains.\textsuperscript{133} This chair was not, however, the only special device that enabled the king to be carried. In the course of time, others, which we know something about, were constructed. For the journey which was to be his last, in June 1598, Philip was so weak “that he simply could not abide being shaken about in the coach,” and was “carried in the arms of several men in a chair specially constructed for that purpose, in the form of a small litter and with almost all the comforts of the gout chair.”\textsuperscript{134} Significantly, the pope’s nuncio also provided information about similar objects.\textsuperscript{135} It

\textsuperscript{133} The articulated chair, kept in El Escorial (ME 10014120), was drawn and described by Lhermite, \textit{Pasatiempos de Jehan Lhermite}, 639, plate 9. See also the exhibition catalogue, \textit{Felipe II un monarca y su época: Un príncipe del Renacimiento} (Madrid, 1998), 456 and 547–548. Lhermite said of it: “This special chair for gout was one of the best pieces of furniture to be found and the most comfortable that H.M. could have, not for its value in terms of material or luxury, but because of the immense comfort it afforded him in all his illnesses, and although it was only made of wood, leather and ordinary pieces of iron, it was worth ten times more than its weight in gold or silver. What more admirable object could a Prince and great monarch have than the goods and wealth that the good Lord has provided for his ease and comfort, principally during those times in his old age when he is burdened with major illnesses like those that afflicted this good king? He used this chair, then, to rest and relax all the limbs of his body when he left his sick bed, since he could remain seated in it from the morning, when he got up, till night when he lay down to sleep, when the king dressed in the most lightweight clothes, ..., he lay there as if he was in his own bed, since the seat was roomy and wide, measuring more than two and a half feet across, and its back could recline or fold forward by pulling the small handles which are marked HHHH in the figure. It was more than seven feet long and a small mattress made of crimson taffeta and stuffed with horsehair, which was certainly soft and cool, was placed behind his back, and brought the king great comfort,” \textit{Pasatiempos de Jehan Lhermite}, 251–252. This piece of furniture already existed in 1595, since we know that the king received the prince of Orange while reclining on it, \textit{ibidem}, 258.

\textsuperscript{134} He was transported in it by two men chosen from among his footmen who carried him, not without considerable effort. In his chair, he visited San Lorenzo, both inside and out, Lhermite, \textit{Pasatiempos de Jehan Lhermite}, 398, 399–400.

\textsuperscript{135} He related how, shortly before he died, the king had ordered “a kind of stretcher to go about in” to be made “with docile horses to pull it along.” He also related how he went out in a sort of chair used to carry him round the palace, “carried by four footmen, one at each corner, and he didn’t seem to use the small litter he had had made; and because he came out of the inns at four or five in the afternoon, one went at the front with an awning or large parasol to shade him and cover the chair to protect him from the sun; and eighteen or twenty people accompanied him on foot,” Tellechea, \textit{El ocaso de un rey}, 177, 253 and 255.
is worth remarking that the gout chair was not only of practical use but was used on state occasions, as can be deduced from some of the comments made about the preparations for the wedding of Philip and Margaret:

When this is finished, His Majesty will be able to go and dine making his way through the festivities in the very same gout chair until he reaches the top of the stairs, where he will be able to change chair with the passageway covered by drapes, and if he no longer feels like attending part of the evening, he can then leave at any time by the same exit.\textsuperscript{136}

In this context, briefly outlined here, the use of sedan chairs by Margaret of Austria seems to take on a deeper significance than is apparent at first glance. Apart from using them on her journey to Spain,\textsuperscript{137} once she was in Madrid, she began to travel about in a sedan chair in 1601, when she was six months pregnant, using them “for pleasure” and “for greater safety” to visit monasteries or make other visits. However, the remote and sacred character of the queen’s image being promoted also led to this vehicle being used for entries, as was the case in January 1602, when the queen went to the reception in Leon in a chair, with the king beside her on a horse, both under a canopy, perhaps due once more to a possible pregnancy. The same thing happened in Zamora and Toro, and the following year in the entry into Burgos.\textsuperscript{138} This new practice brought with it a sharp rise in the number of sedan chair porters to carry the sovereign about. They were attached to the Stable and it is precisely in 1602 when their entry into service is first detected.\textsuperscript{139}

In the complex political situation of those years, due in large measure to the negotiations over the \textit{millones},\textsuperscript{140} the urban entries of the queen

\textsuperscript{136} AGS, E. leg. 182 (no pagination).
\textsuperscript{137} Ambassador San Clemente was sent some sedan chairs from Florence, see the exhibition catalogue, \textit{Glorias efímeras}, 74.
\textsuperscript{139} Those responsible for carrying the queen’s chair were the porters. In Margaret’s household they began to serve in 1602 with the entry of two servants, increasing in 1603 to ten, then twelve, and remaining Stable at this number throughout the queen’s lifetime. We do not know who carried out this function before that date. We have a report that, on some special occasions like the baptism of prince Philip, other servants, such as bedmakers also served, Cabrera de Córdoba, \textit{Relaciones}, 246.
\textsuperscript{140} Cabrera de Córdoba, \textit{Relaciones}, 332, 341–342 and 374; María José del Río Barredo, \textit{Madrid, Urbs Regia: La capital ceremonial de la Monarquía Católica} (Madrid, 2000), 88–92.
in a chair under a canopy and with the monarch riding beside her seem
to us to suggest a subtler argument, of greater importance than mere
precaution concerning her pregnancies. As with the coach, the queen’s
entries in a chair set her at some distance from the onlookers, enhancing
her sacred character; however, at the same time, and unlike the coach,
the chair gave easier access to her for those members of the urban elite
who had to escort the queen at close quarters in the entry procession.\footnote{Furthermore, contemplating the queen in a kind of monstrance or
tabernacle, or on a throne, an appropriate place from which she could be
revered, drew a parallel with the same behaviour of the monarchs when
they travelled, which Diego de Guzmán described some time later:

Then their Majesties left for the city of Leon and Zamora, where
they were welcomed under a canopy, since it was the first time…. Their Majesties gave many demonstrations of their piety and
religion in these places, viewing, worshipping, and very gently
and devoutly kissing the many beautiful relics there are in these
cities in rich gold and silver chests, putting their Royal heads
inside them.\footnote{The image of the queen in a sedan chair recalled a series of sacred
images of the monstrance and the throne.\footnote{For outstanding figures to accompany the queen on foot was a sophisticated way
of showing authority. M. Lisón y Biedma recalled some time later “that it is not such a
remote memory, when it was a sign of increased importance to have ten or twelve old
men in front of the chair and the most senior of them to offer his arm to the queen,”
\textit{El Tapaboca que azotan. Respuesta del bachiller ignorante, al Chiton de las taravillas,
que hizieron los Licenciados Todo se sabe, y Todo lo sabe}, 1630, in \textit{La vida turbulenta de
Quevedo}, Luis Astrana Marín (Madrid, 1945), 603–604. For the accompaniment of
queen Margaret in her entries into Venice, Mantua and Lodi in a litter, see Giovanni
Battista Grillo, \textit{Breve tratatto di quanto sucesse alla maestà della regina d. Margherita
d’Austria … fino alla città di Genova}, 1604, BNE, 2/12869, pp. 8, 33 and 60.}

\textit{Diego de Guzmán, Reyna catolica: Vida y muerte de D. Margarita de Austria Reyna de
España}, 1617, BNE, R 25370ff. 131r–132r.}

\textit{Father Flórez told how, on the day of his baptism in 1629, prince Balthasar Charles
had been transported in a chair made of quartz which aroused the admiration of
those attending, as it was an “anticipation of the diaphanous eternal throne which
that baptismal ceremony began to make him worthy of,” cf. Ana Martínez Arancón,
\textit{Geografía de la eternidad} (Madrid, 1987), 217. One account of the baptism described
the chair used: “from the seat upwards, everything was made of quartz crystal so fine
that hardly any flaws could be spotted, and adorned in silver, with four crows of the
same metal, and on top of the aforementioned chair, there was a cimborrio, or tower-
like dome, a span high, made of solid silver and covered in gold. The Lady Countess of
Olivares was in the chair holding a fan, and … the new-born prince was in her arms …}
on her death in Florence in 1612, where the leitmotif of the funeral decoration represented the spiritual virtues over Death, and the practice of them as the only means of attaining Christian bliss and eternal fame, significantly showed the queen being carried in a sedan chair (fig. 11). Along with this, various factors affected the importance granted to the sedan chair as a means of representing the queen. One

She went by showing him off on all sides, because she was being carried slowly, as four valets and four grooms of the closet were carrying her along at the side wearing bright red sashes and golden lace trimming,” Anonymous, Segunda y mas verdadera relacion del Bautismo del Príncipe de España nuestro Señor, Baltasar Carlos Domingo, con todos los nombres de los Caballeros, y titulos que yvan en el acompañamiento, in Simón Díaz, Relaciones, 382.

144 Exhibition catalogue, Glorias efímeras, 219.
145 Engraving by R. Schaminossi, in Giovanni Altoviti, Essequie della Sacra Cattolica e Real Maestà di Margherita d’Austria (Florence 1612), fig. 4. See also Benedetto Veli’s painting of the funeral on which the engraving is based, Margarita de Austria, reina de España, es recibida en Bussolengo por los embajadores de la República de Venecia, reproduced in Glorias efímeras, 238–239.

To view this image, please refer to the print version of the book
of these, characterizing it as the proper vehicle for women, began precisely in Margaret’s time. By then, sedan chairs had been common for some time in a number of European courts, and indeed were in quite general use, as for example in Castile and some places in Italy, such as Genoa and Naples. In Castile the use of sedan chairs was considered inappropriate for men, except for the old and infirm, so an attempt was made to consolidate the restriction of their use to women by institutionalizing them; this was effected by a process that banned men from riding in them unless they had a licence from the Council of Castile. In addition, the use of the sedan chair was controlled so

146 Although there are earlier testimonies to its use, the first complaints about the proliferation of sedan chairs came from the Madrid Cortes of 1583–1585, where they were criticised because of the multiplication of their numbers after the obligatory increase in horses per coach due to the pragmatic sanction of 1578, as well as being considered an excessive expense and unnecessary novelty: “Removing coaches if they do not have four horses has provided a reason for women to go about in sedan chairs with curtains, and apart from it being a breach of authority, even if some (women) can afford to do so, they provide an excuse for those who cannot so readily, they do it, all the more so since the point about curtains in the streets is that they are reserved for images. We beseech His Majesty to prohibit and ban them,” Actas de las Cortes de Castilla (Madrid, 1861–2006), 7: 834. §LXV. The monarch responded that “we shall look into it and make provision for what is best.”

147 See the comments made in 1593 by the nuncio Camilo Borguese about the use made in Madrid of objects similar to the “covered chair in the Genoese style,” Mercadal, Viajes, 2: 625.

148 It was the general opinion that the chair ought to be for women and only those men who were old and sick should use it. Thus it was said of the bishop of Barbastro that he visited his diocese, “his virtue and zeal overcoming as many difficulties as the extreme ruggedness of the terrain in some areas could offer him, to the point where he even had to be carried in a chair over the places which were impassable or unsuitable for travelling on horseback,” Saturninno López Novoa, Historia de la muy Noble y muy Leal ciudad de Barbastro y descripción geográfico-histórica de su diócesis, Barcelona, 1861 (facsimile edition, Zaragoza, 1981), 1: 181. In February 1599, Cabrera de Córdoba told how the duke of Terranova, “prevented by his gout,” approached to kiss the hands of the monarch “in the chair in which he had been carried.” In 1601, when peace was sworn with France, he mentions repeatedly that the Constable went to church in a chair because he did not feel well. Similarly, when in January 1606 the position of lord steward to the queen was given to don Juan de Borja, uncle of the duke of Lerma, he indicated that although suffering with his feet through extreme gout, he went to church in a chair, without missing the councils of State and Portugal. Finally, in 1608, the count of Miranda went “discreetly” to Alcalá in a sedan chair because he was ailing, Cabrera de Córdoba, Relaciones, 6, 102, 269 and 332.

149 Pragmatic sanction in Nueva Recopilación, Libro VII, Título XII, Ley VIII. The reasoning put forward by the councillors, which does not appear in the Recopilación, was to justify the ban on the grounds that, apart from “other drawbacks” which might
that, in certain places, those without the requisite social status should not have access to them. Thus, on June 23, 1609, the municipal leaders ordered that all sedan chair porters should only be present in the Plazuela de Herradores, not in the Plaza de Santa Cruz, or other areas. The elimination of the Plaza de Santa Cruz must have created problems of access for those who lived in the San Jerónimo, San Sebastián and Lavapiés neighbourhoods. These areas, particularly the latter, were full of actors and prostitutes.¹⁵⁰

The power of these objects in the ritual glorification of the queen led to the creation of a new ceremonial which we think must have been drawn up in 1623.¹⁵¹ In that year, some festivities were organized for the reception of the Prince of Wales in which, as Enríque Flórez said: “the attention devoted to lavishing magnificence and majesty was recognized.” So it was that, at the first bullfight spectacle, queen Elisabeth of Bourbon arrived in a coach with the infanta, but:

follow, they had seen “the excess and disorder of men of all ages using the sedan chair needlessly and without any justification whatsoever except that of comfort and pleasure, that it had been introduced only a few years before this report and, being such an indecent thing, the praiseworthy and necessary exercise of horses is being forgotten,” BNE, VE 40-75.

¹⁵⁰ San Sebastián was one of the neighbourhoods where people went in search of pleasure and actors and ladies of the court lived nearby. Lavapiés was not a neighbourhood where the wealthy lived; it was partly an area of houses of ill-repute. It should not be forgotten that prohibitions concerning prostitutes using coaches and chairs were issued a little later, in 1611, López Álvarez, Poder, lujo y conflicto, 568–573.

¹⁵¹ In 1622, the queen suspecting that “she was pregnant when she had to move to Aranjuez, made the journey in a sedan chair, taking five days to cover the seven leagues. But the precaution only served to ease her concern since the desired effect that her suspicions had promised did not come to fruition,” Enrique Flórez, Memorias de las reinas Católicas, 1761 (facsimile edition, Valladolid, 2002), 2: 925.

¹⁵² Flórez, Memorias de las reinas católicas, 2: 926.
This order, which must have extended to other moments of the queen's life and which forced the horsemen to go on foot, caused a few complaints, such as this rather indignant assertion, made some time during the 1620s by Francisco of Portugal about gallants accompanying the ladies beside the coach step:

> Escorting the Queen's chair brought the degradation of their privileges in its wake, for the respect of the favourites broke this jurisdiction quite unnecessarily, for only courtesy dismounts the gallants, as that region is beyond the reach of power.\(^{153}\)

Certain orders issued in 1638, regarding the placing of the equerry in charge of the hacks in the procession, show that accompanying the chair was consolidated into the ceremony in later years.\(^{154}\) Alonso Carrillo also reported this ceremonial, asserting that the grandees normally accompanied the king and queen on foot and on horseback:

> “but paying more specific and due obligation to the queens, walking in front of their Majesties whenever they are pregnant and carrying them in a chair for greater safety in childbirth and the comfort of their health.”

He glossed this statement as follows:

> I should not omit to say that if the King and Queen are in the Buen Retiro and the Queen is pregnant, when Her Majesty enters Madrid (since that palace is at some distance, though not a great one from the town), the Grandees accompany Her Majesty on horseback, riding behind the sedan chair, with no change in the foot escort with respect to other Nobles and Officers of the Royal Household, but when they reach the inhabited part of the City (which is in the part of Madrid facing the Retiro near the well-known Capuchin Convent) the Grandees dismount from their horses and join the escort, taking up their position immediately in front of the chair.\(^{155}\)

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\(^{153}\) Francisco de Portugal, *Arte de galantería*, 1670, BNE, R 4593, pp. 51–52. The work was written some time before since the author frequented the court of Philip IV and died in 1632.

\(^{154}\) *Sobre el lugar que debía ocupar el Cavallerizo de los Quartagos en el acompañamiento de la Reina dª. S. M. fuese sola*, AGP, Sección Histórica, Caja 49, exp. 13.

\(^{155}\) Alonso Carrillo, *Origen y dignidad de Grande de Castilla*, 1657, BNE, R 313152/2, fol. 32r.
With the passage of time, flirting in the chair and escorting those of high rank gradually spread throughout the court. Finally, all that remains to be said is that the importance of the ceremonial of the chair can be seen in the fact that it was actually renewed at the beginning of the eighteenth century, a time when, thanks to certain technical improvements – basically the construction of sturdier and more compact wooden boxes – the sedan chair enjoyed an extraordinary resurgence.

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156 In 1658, Barrionuevo related that almost every day that the countess of Niebla spent at the house of her father, the court favourite, her husband, the count, “walks beside the chair throwing out compliments; so that she drives him wild just with this refinement, and great things and courtesies are expected of him,” Avisos, BAE, 222, p. 153.

157 When the countess of Salvatierra, wife of the former viceroy of Peru, left for Spain following the death of her husband “she left in a sedan chair, carried by two Spanish footmen; and one of the sides of the chair was held by the lord viceroy Count of Alba de Aliste, and the other by Don Juan Enrique, her son. And accompanying them to the landing stage were the lord Archbishop, Don Pedro de Villagómez, all the judges of the Royal Assizes and all the noble gentlemen of this city,” in Josephe de Mugaburu, Diario de Lima: 1640–1694 (Lima, 1935), 35.

158 In 1707, an ordinance was issued concerning the way the queen should go about Madrid in a chair, Reglamento que dio el Sr. Rey Don Felipe Quinto para la salida de la Reyna en silla desde Palacio a visitar a Nra Señora de Atocha convocando a todos los Caballeros, oficiales mayores y menores de la Cavalleriza de la Reyna: Orden que deven guardar en el acompañamiento los Gefes, coches de la Persona y uso de silla, solo para la camareera Mayor, BPR, II/2893, fols. 271r–275v. For some changes in the court at that time, see Carlos Gómez-Centurión Jiménez, “Etiqueta y ceremonial palatino durante el reinado de Felipe V: el reglamento de entradas de 1709 y el acceso a la persona del rey,” Hispania 56/3, no. 194 (1996): 965–1005.