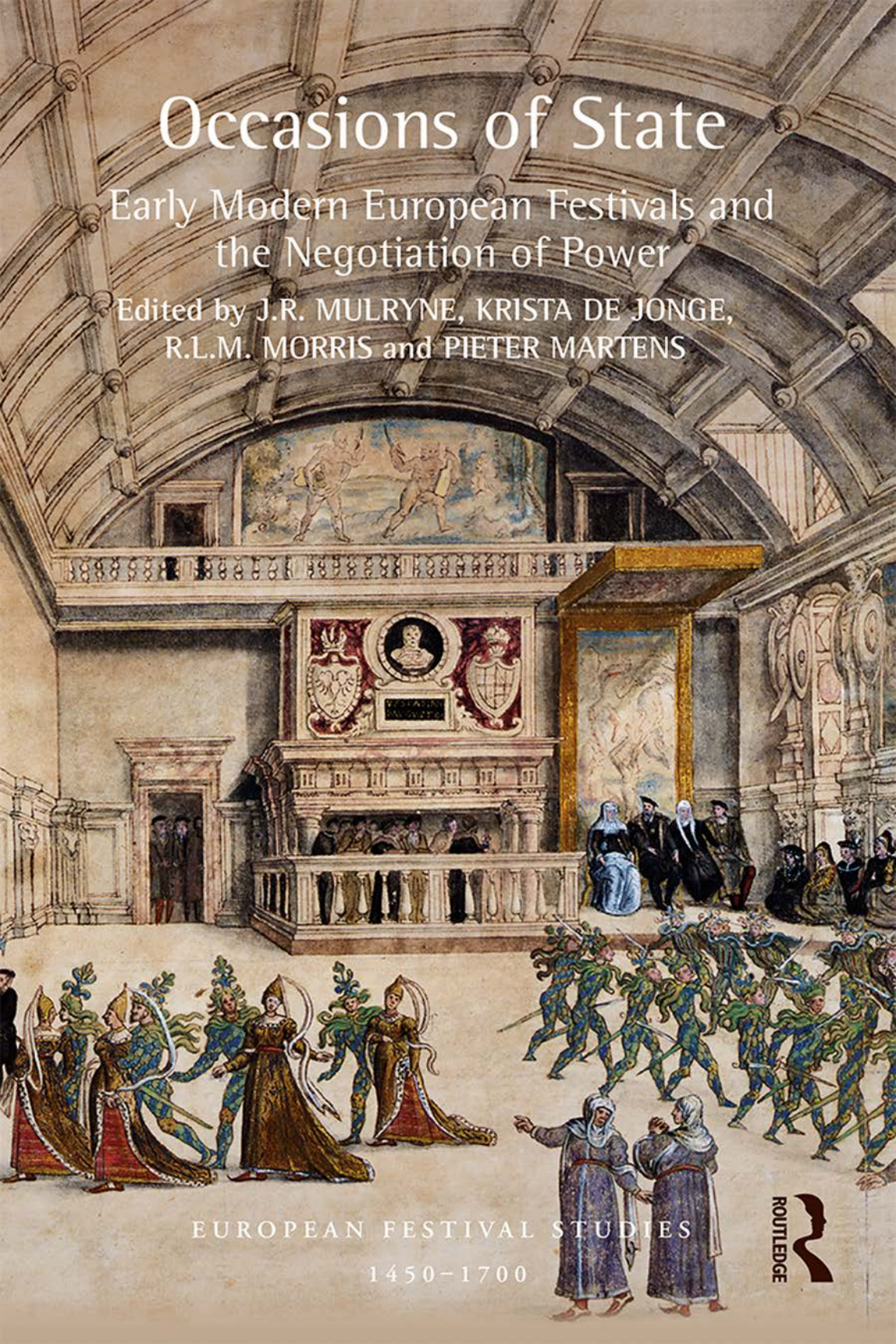


Occasions of State

Early Modern European Festivals and
the Negotiation of Power

Edited by J.R. MULRYNE, KRISTA DE JONGE,
R.L.M. MORRIS and PIETER MARTENS



EUROPEAN FESTIVAL STUDIES

1450-1700

ROUTLEDGE

Occasions of State

This sixth volume in the European Festival Studies series stems from a joint conference (Venice, 2013) between the Society for European Festivals Research and the European Science Foundation's PALATIUM project. Drawing on up-to-date scholarship, a Europe-wide group of early-career and experienced academics provides a unique account of spectacular occasions of state which influenced the political, social and cultural lives of contemporary societies. International pan-European turbulence associated with post-Reformation religious conflict supplies the context within which the book explores how the period's rulers and élite families competed for power – in a forecast of today's divided world.

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(V&A, 2009) and *Treasures from Budapest: European Masterpieces from Leonardo to Schiele* (Royal Academy of Arts, 2010). Her publications include *Handmade in Britain* (2011) and *The Story of Scottish Design* (co-edited with Philip Long, 2018) as well as contributions to Michael Snodin and Nigel Llewellyn (eds), *Baroque 1620–1800: Style in the Age of Magnificence* (2009); Sarah Medlam and Lesley Ellis Miller (eds), *Princely Treasures: European Masterpieces 1600–1800* (2010); and Elizabeth Miller and Hilary Young (eds), *The Arts of Living: Europe 1600–1815* (2015).

Fabian Persson completed his doctoral thesis ‘Servants of Fortune’ in Lund and is now Lecturer and Associate Professor in History at Linnaeus University in Sweden. His main expertise lies in the history of the early modern Swedish court and aristocracy, but he has also written on patronage, corruption, elites, aristocratic marriage and duelling. His publications in English include contributions to Nadine Akkerman and Birgit Houben (eds), *The Politics of Female Households* (2013); Dries Raeymaekers and Sebastiaan Derks (eds), *The Key to Power? The Culture of Access in Early Modern Courts* (2016); and John Adamson (ed.), *The Princely Courts of Europe* (1999).

Nikola Piperkov completed his doctoral thesis, ‘Les visages de Mercure: éloquence, commerce, alchimie et arts d’imitation à l’époque moderne’, in July 2018, in History of Art at the University of Paris I, Panthéon-Sorbonne. His research focuses on the iconography of Mercury in the early modern period, with a particular emphasis on hermetic, alchemical and hieroglyphic theory in Renaissance Florence, Paris, Prague, Antwerp and Haarlem. Nikola was awarded a scholarship by the French School in Rome in 2015, and was granted a doctoral position by the University of Paris I, Panthéon-Sorbonne, where he supervised courses on Italian Renaissance art and theory. He also worked as a teaching assistant at the University of Lyon II Lumière, where he took responsibility for courses on Italian Renaissance and mannerism, early modern numismatics, French academic art and historiography. Currently, Nikola is president of the Association of Art et Histoire de Lyon Philibert de L’Orme.

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Preface and acknowledgements

The present volume, the sixth in our *European Festival Studies* series, differs, like its immediate predecessors *Architectures of Festival in Early Modern Europe* (2018) and Felicia Else, *The Politics of Water* (2019), from earlier volumes in the series, in the important respect that these volumes are published under the Routledge imprint of the Taylor and Francis Group. This follows the sale in late 2015 of the former Ashgate Publishing Limited to Taylor and Francis, bringing to an end a long and fruitful relationship between Ashgate and ourselves, not only taking in the beautifully produced, thoroughly edited scholarly books in the series but also others which preceded them, including the two-volume *Europa Triumphans* (2004), published in collaboration with MHRA, which has since become an indispensable resource for students and scholars working in the field. It would be inexcusable if we did not reiterate here our appreciation of Ashgate's work, and especially the encouragement and expertise of the firm's Managing Director, Rachel Lynch. We now anticipate equally cordial relations with staff and agents of Routledge, an anticipation which has been confirmed, as acknowledgements below attest, by the experience of working with this volume and its predecessors.

The volume published here takes its origin from a collaboration between the Society for European Festivals Research, responsible for the first three volumes in the series, and the European Science Foundation's Research Network, PALATIUM. This collaboration, encouraged by the ESF, led to a joint conference of the two organisations under the title 'Making Space for Festival 1400–1700: Interactions of Architecture and Performance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Festivals'. This was held in March 2013 in the Palazzo Pesaro Papafava, the University of Warwick's research and teaching facility in Venice. The conference proved a fruitful collaboration between PALATIUM's interests in – among much else – the architectural features of European palaces, great houses and outdoor locations and SEFR's main concern with festivals of the courts and cities of fifteenth-, sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe, their staging, their texts and the historical and cultural circumstances which shaped them and to which they responded. A great deal of common ground emerged at the conference, leading to a

decision by an editorial group drawn from both organisations to publish two volumes of related essays in our series, after contributors had undertaken further research, presented their conclusions in an appropriate scholarly format on the basis of editorial guidance and comment and secured permission for the illustrations which now enhance and further extend the book's scholarship. It has been rewarding to work with contributors to the two volumes, who include both early-career and experienced researchers and those whose professional background lies in museums, archives and libraries, as well as those whose prime affiliation lies in universities.

Books like these accumulate many debts. I should like to repeat here an acknowledgement of our special debt to Margaret Shewring (University of Warwick; Co-Convenor of SEFR), whose many hours of sustained and meticulous work have extended from the *Architectures* volume into and throughout the present book. Without her otherwise unacknowledged and expert labours, the present volume, like its predecessor, would not have been published, and certainly not in a timely fashion, given the disruption caused by the sale of Ashgate. It is no exaggeration to say that Margaret's meticulous editorial and scholarly work has made the continued viability of the series possible. Alongside her we should acknowledge the co-editors of the two associated volumes, Krista De Jonge, Richard Morris and Pieter Martens. Their work has contributed very greatly to ensuring the maintenance of high scholarly standards throughout both volumes. We would also like to thank the conference's Scientific Committee: Brigitte Bøggild Johansen (National Museum of Denmark); Monique Chatenet (Centre André Chastel, INHA, Paris); Iain Fenlon (King's College, University of Cambridge); PALATIUM Co-Chair Bernardo J. García (Fundación Carlos de Amberes); PALATIUM Coordinator Pieter Martens (Vrije Universiteit Brussel); Co-Convenor SEFR, Margaret M. McGowan (University of Sussex); and Co-Convenor of SEFR, Margaret Shewring.

As with *Architectures*, we have acquired new obligations as this volume has gone through the press. We have been exceptionally fortunate to work with Jennifer Morrow (Routledge) and as an agent for Taylor and Francis with Autumn Spalding of Apex CoVantage. We could not have hoped for more encouraging and expert collaborators, both of whom went beyond the extra mile to ensure that our books were treated with the greatest care and with enthusiastic commitment to become beautifully produced volumes. Behind them – from our perspective – have stood the colleagues from both organisations, who have worked so well to take our volumes through the press. We must also thank Mr Max Novick of Taylor and Francis, who expertly steered our volumes into the otherwise unfamiliar publishing network of his firm.

The work collected in this volume has been financially supported by the European Science Foundation (ESF) through its support of the Research Network 'PALATIUM. Court Residences as Places of Exchange in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe (1400–1700)'. Financial and in-kind support

has also come from the University of Leuven; Trinity College, University of Cambridge; and from the University of Warwick's Humanities Research Centre, Institute of Advanced Studies, Department of Theatre Studies, Centre for the Study of the Renaissance and Early Modern Forum. At the time of the conference we were the beneficiaries of hard and willingly given work by staff of the Palazzo Pesaro Papafava, especially Chiara Croff, and by postgraduate students (at the time) Tracy Cattell, Leila Zammar, Melanie Zefferino and Pesala Bandara (all University of Warwick). We are particularly pleased and encouraged that several of these former students have continued to contribute to Festival studies, three to the successful completion of a doctorate. We should also like to acknowledge invaluable IT help and guidance from Warwick's Robert Batterbee, and from Matthew Growcoat, who provided a comprehensive audio-visual record of the occasion. Roberta Warman enlivened the conference and its preparation by her sheer delight in taking part and by her experienced knowledge of the inner workings of the University and its research and teaching facility. Sue Rae, also of Warwick, contributed administrative and secretarial skills without complaint, indeed with eager interest, despite the burdens that were sometimes placed on her. Special thanks are due, in addition to Professor Krista De Jonge, to our co-editors Pieter Martens of the Vrije Universiteit Brussel, who helped unstintingly during the preparations for the conference and in the editing of this book, drawing on his longstanding, much-admired work for PALATIUM, and R.L.M. (Richard) Morris of Trinity College, Cambridge, who in addition to his knowledgeable and meticulous work as co-editor of the volume was the first to draw up proposals for its contents and their order.

As we now write, four years have passed since the date of a thoroughly memorable and rewarding conference. Much has happened to both PALATIUM and SEFR during that time. Both have continued to publish their work, with PALATIUM reaching the end of its funding support. SEFR has material for new volumes, both monographs and collections, either based on research conferences, one of which was held as part of the Mons, European City of Culture celebrations, or on the research endeavours of individual scholars, some of whom have investigated their topics for many years. We look forward to a productive future, encouraged by the achievements of the two volumes to which we make reference here.

Ronnie Mulryne
Krista De Jonge
September 2017



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Introduction



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The power of ceremony

J.R. (Ronnie) Mulryne¹

This book focuses, as its title indicates, on *Occasions of State*. Both terms are relevant. The festivals about which contributors write are *occasional*, that is to say specially devised to respond to a particular historical moment. Equally, they are state- or municipality-sponsored and therefore intent on exercising authority and demonstrating power. A preoccupation with power – political, military and social – has shadowed, it could be said, every significant development in the history of early modern – and today’s – Europe. More to the point, a concern for power underpins every royal or civic entry, every carousel and *giostra*, every negotiation and gift-giving, every extended progress-journey featured here. While objectives and scale vary, common political and social characteristics emerge, from the conspicuous expenditure and spirit-crushing commitment of resources demanded by Charles V’s travels to far-flung Habsburg domains, to the local, religious and family issues that prompted extraordinary preparations for the reception in Rome (December 1655) of Queen Christina of Sweden.

Power, and the acquisition of power, is the common theme of the following chapters, ranging from straightforward aggression to more sophisticated and aesthetically highly developed forms of coercion or persuasion. Yet it is the tension and the kinship between power and ceremony which occupy the attention of contributors. Two ways only of exercising power were available – arguably – to the early modern state, that is to say war and ceremony. The present book places emphasis on the second, while recognising common ground between the two. Wars and rumours of war condition our response to almost every occasion of pageantry rooted in the occasions with which these chapters deal. There are moments, perhaps surprisingly, when war and ceremony seem interchangeable, as when, for example, Berta Cano-Echevarría and Mark Hutchings describe in vivid detail how the wily political brains at Philip III’s court managed to conceal hostility under the cloak of ceremony. Spanish manipulation, the two authors tell us, turned a politically charged English peace-embassy into ‘an extended courtly pageant’,

¹ Quotations in this Introduction, other than those identified in footnotes, are taken from the relevant chapter of this book.

with the whole episode becoming ‘an expression of hospitality as power’ – a near-symbiotic relationship, as this book explores it, between the apparently antithetical concepts of Ceremony and Power.

The enigma of identity

It would be common ground among today’s popular as well as sophisticated commentators that a confident identity serves as ‘empowerment’ – for individuals, nations or international groupings. The topic is met head-on by Richard Morris, whose assessment of ‘German’ identity in the book’s first chapter draws on specialist disciplines from anthropology via sociology on to the more familiar shores of historical analysis. Morris brilliantly shows how the identity of the German nation remains ‘a somewhat fraught and problematic one in historiography’. He develops the discussion, with specific reference to the history of the Holy Roman Empire, into how German self-identity, today as in the past, may be understood as conditioned by prevailing awareness among its people of the country’s past. A nation’s identity may be closely related to nationalism. The sociologist and political historian, Michael Hechter, quoted by Morris, offers a double view of nationalism as empowering yet fraught with risk. ‘Nationalism and its close cousin, ethnicity’, Hechter writes, ‘currently are the most potent political forces in the world’, adding significantly, ‘there is a pervasive interest in containing its [nationalism’s] dark side’. Morris, for his part, summarises ‘the religious upheavals of the Reformation’, the ‘various political conflicts including the Schmalkaldic War’, ‘the Thirty Years War’, and ‘the ever-present Ottoman threat’, as a potent brew of ingredients traceable in large part to the competing nations’ efforts to establish their national identities. The cost in human lives, cultural artefacts and humane values, when set alongside today’s conflicts, may be assessed as comparably great.

Morris takes a benign view of the role played by festive ceremony as a culturally active agent promoting national identity and associated social and political cohesion. Ceremony, ritual action and a common rhetoric may combine, he argues, to underpin an in-state community of rulers, elites and common people. Such community was, undoubtedly, challenged by the day’s happenings, by privations and by the dissident views of interested parties. Yet Morris argues persuasively that, *in potentia*, early modern festival served as a rhetorically crafted strategy to bring into being state-centred structures among which in a time of turbulence contemporaries might live – a beneficent role for ceremony and its privileged power.

The sinews of peace

In a book so fully occupied with war and titled *Occasions of State*, it is scarcely surprising that three chapters, by Robert J. Knecht, Nikola Piperkov and (jointly) Berta Cano-Echevarría and Mark Hutchings, are devoted to

the celebration of peace – to what, rather loftily, the Irish poet W.B. Yeats, deploring its absence, called ‘the ceremony of innocence’.² If war and ceremony may be seen as parallel sources of power, peace serves as the alternative to the first and affirmation of the second. Yet, to cite a famous and characterising instance, William Shakespeare’s *Henry V* draws on contemporary political experience to foreground the tensions between the two terms. Early spectators thrilled to the play’s ‘patriotism’ – or nationalism – as Henry exhorts his followers at besieged Harfleur to sacrifice their lives willingly in England’s cause.³ The play’s climax, however, directly juxtaposes Henry’s marriage, the supreme ceremony of political self-fashioning among early modern societies, with the Duke of Burgundy’s overwhelmingly powerful plea⁴ on behalf of the ‘naked, poor and mangled peace’ of defeated France. When Henry instructs, ‘Do we all holy rites: / Let there be sung *Non nobis* and *Te Deum*’,⁵ the student of festival will recognise typical elements of early modern festival ceremony. Would the sinews of peace hold firm for Henry V into the following reign? Playgoers of the Elizabethan theatre, aware of history to come, knew they wouldn’t – a dramatic rehearsal of the fragility undermining peace in so much dear-bought early modern rhetoric and performance of festival.

Even if the tensions underlying festival celebrations of peace are not given as much emphasis as in Shakespeare’s disturbing play, Robert Knecht’s vivid examination of the Bastille banquet of December 1518 persuasively demonstrates the instabilities written into what he calls the contemporary requirement for ‘a new phase of international diplomacy that called for display and magnificence on an unprecedented scale’. The signing of the Treaty of London promised much towards the delivery of peace between the major powers. Subsequent moments did indeed produce gains, including words spoken at a ceremony before the high altar of St Paul’s, when the English king Henry VIII and French ambassadors mutually swore to uphold a perpetual peace between the two lands – though even this scarcely served as the vaunted step towards ‘universal’ peace. The grand banquet staged at the Bastille in October reflected in fact – consciously or unconsciously – the existence of an undeniable threat level, despite a nervous repeated emphasis in the written text on peace.

As Knecht points out, the Bastille banquet served as part of a prolonged celebration of the 1518 treaty. The Bastille itself, a powerful, silent presence in the celebrations, was by no means associated with peace, given its origin in the English–French Hundred Years War and its capture by Henry V in 1420. The celebrated Field of Cloth of Gold, boasting *détente* via a trial of

2 Easter 1916.

3 *Henry V*, Act 3, scene 1. References to Shakespeare’s plays are to *The Oxford Shakespeare: The Complete Works*, eds Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988).

4 *Henry V*, Act 5, scene 2.

5 *Henry V*, Act 4, scene 8.

strength, proved the most magnificent of all the festival occasions of the age, inviting comparison, according to one contemporary eyewitness, with ‘the miracles of the Egyptian pyramids and the Roman amphitheatres’. Such solid ancient structures sit oddly with the rhetoric of festival, which characteristically combined professions of diplomatic amity with national self-glorification. The ironies in this case, however, proved more accidental and meteorological than scripted. Spectators can scarcely have missed the blow to national prestige that accompanied Henry’s defeat in a wrestling match, and *per contra* the fate of the French king’s magnificent tent, brought to a premature end by wind and rain. In this as in so many instances, the sinews of peace turned out to be slack: England and France soon reverted to their age-old enmity.

The peaceable city

If Henry VIII and Francis I – and Cardinal Wolsey – aimed by the Treaty of London to secure the peace of Europe, the French silk-manufacturing and publishing city of Lyon (Lyons) was animated a century and a half later by a more modest ambition, summarised by Nikola Piperkov’s title as ‘the allegorical transformation of Lyon into a city of peace’. Lyon’s 1660 celebrations followed the signing the previous year of the Pyrenees Peace Treaty, an event greeted by a wave of optimistic expectation across France and Europe. According to a formal provision, the treaty was to be sealed by the wedding of the Spanish Infanta, Maria Teresa, to Louis XIV of France. The Lyon festival was restricted as it transpired to a *cavalcade*, together with a *Te Deum* in the Cathedral Church of Saint John, but it featured also within the processional celebration a set of enterprising allegories ‘invented’ by a native of Lyon, the Jesuit antiquary, choreographer and scholar of music and dance, Claude-François Ménéstrier. Piperkov focuses on the festival’s main allegorical feature, a triumphal arch celebrating the Pyrenees treaty. Notably, even the situation of the arch close to a bridge on the road between Habsburg and Bourbon domains is invested with significance as it figured shared hope for the new peace. According to Ménéstrier, a lavish use of fireworks provided a paradoxical means of quenching the flames of war. He tells us that it is peace, not war, that ‘makes a monarch worthy of honour’. To the contrary, the modern commentator Olivier Chaline writes that under the Valois and Bourbon administrations of *ancien régime* France, ‘the cult of the warrior-prince was one of the central themes of palace iconography, and the business of preparing for and waging war was a recurrent, almost normative, aspect of the business of the court’.⁶ Here the values of peace and of war are sharply and controversially set in opposition.

6 John Adamson (ed.), *The Princely Courts of Europe: 1500–1750* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1999), p. 82.

A valid commonplace of festival criticism – given new life and pertinence in this book – remarks that ‘the point of the festival *is* the audience’.⁷ Lyon’s celebrations underscore this assertion by including, in line with the occasion’s common theme, a surprisingly large number of one-off events foregrounding peace. Ménestrier counts no fewer than twenty-six of these, each sponsored by citizens of private means. Even if many were stimulated by a desire for personal prestige rather than political conviction, such widespread support for the festival’s topic speaks of an unusual single-mindedness among the better-off populace. Sir John Hale cites Philip de Commines (*c.* 1500) as his early modern authority when writing that in this period ‘Europe was doomed to be fissured by mutual hostilities’.⁸ It is against this backdrop that we have to see the brave – or blinkered – optimism of the burghers of Lyon. Within a short period of years, Europe had fallen once again into its customary belligerent ways.

Theatre of peace and hostility

Berta Cano-Echevarría and Mark Hutchings turn their attention to another, largely city-based, set of festivals, though in this case with strong international resonances. Again, as their chapter title declares, the topic is peace: ‘Valladolid 1605: a theatre for the peace’. To quote the authors, ‘For several weeks the Castilian city of Valladolid, briefly the seat of the Spanish court, served as a theatre for the ratification of the Anglo-Spanish peace, formally bringing to an end twenty years of conflict’. The term ‘theatre’ is well-chosen, for the story the chapter has to tell is a dramatic one, featuring a narrative that for content, pace and temper echoes the instructions of its royal Spanish director, Philip III, and his court. The English ambassador, the Earl of Nottingham,⁹ is cast on occasion as a bit-player, despite his role as deputy for the English king. Wry, often wounding, humour on the part of the Spanish had the effect of separating French theatrical personnel – actor, director, ‘inventor’ – privy to the concealed aims of the events – from a Spanish and English audience. Cano-Echevarría and Hutchings explain: ‘like theatre, with its demarcated space, audience, actors, and script, international relations were conducted through rituals of performance’. It proved easy in this instance to overturn rituals, given Spanish disdain for Anglo-Spanish diplomatic protocol.

King Philip’s script-writing tactics emerge from this chapter’s story as an exercise in exasperatingly witty manipulation. Ambassador Nottingham’s

7 See Cano-Echevarría and Hutchings.

8 John Hale, *The Civilization of Europe in the Renaissance* (London: HarperCollins, 1993), p. 94.

9 Charles Howard, who served as Lord High Admiral under Elizabeth I and James VI and I, and had experience as ambassador to France, was a significant figure in England, unused to the cavalier treatment he received on the present embassy.

rage at being (as he saw it) wantonly delayed for two hours in an orchard – following a month side-lined with his followers in Galicia – recognisably mimics an actor’s unhappiness with an unsatisfactory script. Philip’s provocative treatment of the English climaxed, inevitably, with the question of religion. Sectarian weakness on the part of the visitors was keenly monitored by their Spanish hosts and taken as representing a victory over a confessional enemy: all the guile of Catholic ritual was deployed to tempt unwary Protestants, some of whom fell to temptation. The main event of the embassy visit, however, the entry into Valladolid, managed to reconcile religion and diplomacy by masking its ostentatious Catholicism under the guise of a traditional Pentecost procession, coupled with celebrations for the christening of the royal heir, the future Philip IV. The entry’s deliberate confusions were intensified by Philip III going to the length of processing on foot, an unprecedented sign of goodwill. Throughout, Spanish pride struggled with a mischievous spirit of condescension towards the English, rising at times to derision. The sinews of peace survived for the moment, even if under more-than-considerable strain.

When sinews are stretched

Fabian Persson’s aptly titled chapter, ‘The shield of ceremony’, addresses the seeming paradox of its sub-title: ‘civic ritual and royal entries in wartime’. Can ceremony be accommodated to war? Are the claims of war so overwhelming that ceremony becomes irrelevant? Spectators of Shakespeare may be reminded – again – of the belligerence that surrounds Henry V’s overtures to besieged Harfleur, within the play’s troubled preoccupation with power. Persson accepts that ‘in early modern Europe, loyalty between ruler and subject was fundamental’, but acknowledges too that the political and social contract was ‘sometimes’ broken. What was to be done? Common sense would suggest that even in times of full-on conflict the bonds represented by customary joyous entries might have at the least a subordinate role to play.

Persson exemplifies the diplomatic role of ceremony, even in wartime, by focusing on the European conquests of Swedish monarchs who into the eighteenth century led military campaigns in person. Captured towns had to be entered. The conquering king and the subject town needed to strike a deal. A mutually binding civic accord confirmed by customary ceremonies offered benefits to both. Persson lays out the alternatives: ‘If a town resisted, and was sacked’, he writes, ‘its citizens would be subject to plunder and violence’; ‘consequently, it became all-important to negotiate ways to open the gates [of a besieged city] to foreign rulers that would ensure an orderly take-over’. In the absence of consent, the capitulations of Würzburg (1631) and Lemberg (1704) offered, he indicates, ‘dreadful examples of the atrocities that awaited a sacked town’, while ‘horrific massacre’ and ‘plunder’ occurred at the fall of Frankfurt an der Oder (also 1631). The alternative

scenario may be represented, Persson notes, by the settlement negotiated by Gustavus Adolphus at Riga in 1621, when the customary rituals of handing over and return of town keys, kissing of hands and singing *Te Deum* played a role in securing a mutually acceptable peace. The more vexed case in comparison is that of Frankfurt am Main, complicated by the town's allegiance to Protestantism, set alongside its political loyalty to the Habsburg emperor, which issued eventually, if with difficulty, in shared agreement. If the stretched sinews of peace were to be restored, negotiation and ceremony could, Persson shows, work together even in the most unpropitious circumstances to secure temporary if not necessarily lasting accord.

Dance to the music of time

Dance is the form of artistic expression which, more than any other, brings together a full range of arts: music (both instrumental and vocal), spectacle (including costume and staging), accomplished verse and the movement of the human body in space. It is said that space serves as an acoustic extension of the performer's voice and the musician's instrument. In another perspective, it serves as the arena which shapes and modifies the steps and figures of dance. Danced festival performances are, in considerable part, products of what today's theatre calls 'found space', that is to say locations which by their physical characteristics and cultural associations inform and delimit performance. Dance, moreover, whether ballet, masque or more inclusive forms, implies, if it does not always achieve, social bonding among participants and spectators. Developed through rehearsal by musicians, actors and dancers – including professional performers – dance has clear social implications for the hierarchical societies which danced performances typically address. Dance therefore serves, like other festival types, as a form of 'soft power' responsive to historical circumstances and prevailing social norms and expectations – in summary, the music of time.

Margaret M. McGowan, *doyenne* of historians of dance in the early modern period, provides in her chapter 'Space for dancing' a wide-ranging account of danced performance in diverse spaces across Europe. These include what she describes as 'routine danced entertainment after dinner', a type that became widespread in countries across the continent, to ambitious events such as the *mascarades* danced at Binche in 1549 for the visit of Charles V to his sister Mary of Hungary. Another example mentioned by McGowan is the ten-day celebrations at Amboise featuring 'an enormous danced spectacle involving seventy-two performers' for the wedding of Madeleine de la Tour d'Auvergne to Lorenzo, duke of Urbino. The first of these took place indoors in a large hall, the second in a temporarily adapted courtyard. Both demonstrated the willingness of rulers to invest conspicuous human and financial resources in these events. Yet even such performances were outshone by two danced occasions to which McGowan also draws attention. The wedding of Mary Queen of Scots to the Dauphin

at the archbishop's palace in Paris in April 1558 was, for magnificence, extraordinary scenographic ingenuity and elaborate dance, well beyond the reach of most royal weddings. Yet even this was in its turn outshone by the *Balet Comique de la Reyne*, performed in 1581 among twenty-three diverse festival events for the marriage of the duc de Joyeuse and the Queen's sister at the Salle du Petit Bourbon, a hall capable of holding 2,500 persons. McGowan, while pointing to the risks attendant on the event's adventurous scenography, calls this 'a pinnacle of danced spectacle in France in the sixteenth century'. On the evidence she presents, dance occupied a central role as a culturally active agent in the noble and royal life of early modern Europe, powerful on the side of the *status quo*.

Procession power

Festival typically moves through urban and courtly space as well as prompting the invention of allegories and images. Its processional features create meaning as surely as references to dynasty or the recollection of ancient festivity. Festival books – printed accounts of festival events – can test a modern reader's patience by recounting at length the participants, the costumes and the order-of-precedence of processions through city streets and piazzas. Yet these too create meaning. We may think of the processional components of festival as marginal, yet a moment's reflection will reveal not only their societal implications but also the logistical skill deployed in marshaling the often very numerous marchers, horses and carriages. Vestiges remain in the modern world of procession power of this kind, including – in Britain – a state opening of parliament, a royal funeral or wedding, or the funeral of a highly regarded statesman. In the USA and other parts of the western world, a similar commitment of resources is devoted to the inauguration or burial of a president. In one-party states (chiefly), parades of military hardware take the place of less overtly belligerent spectacles. On occasions such as these the links between ceremony and power become especially clear.

Paul Schuster's discussion of 'Schloss Eggenberg in Graz and the imperial wedding of 1673' focuses on the elevation of Prince Johann Seyfried, owner of Schloss Eggenberg, to a significant position among contemporary first families. The promotion of Seyfried came about as a result of the prince's successful offer to host Claudia Felicitas of Austria-Tyrol at Eggenberg as she awaited her wedding day as the new bride of Emperor Leopold I. Most remarkable in the present context were the extraordinarily elaborate processional arrangements that escorted Claudia Felicitas's arrival in Graz and the huge parade which marked her wedding day. Her vast travelling party featured more than three hundred and fifty participants. For the wedding day itself, the horse-drawn traffic was even more numerous and to a modern mind almost unmanageable. The luckless Count Oetting, *Unterhofmarschall* for the occasion, was faced with

deploying more than ninety coaches, each drawn by six horses, followed by setting them safely on their way along the four-kilometre route from Schloss Eggenberg to the edge of the city. The coaches holding noble participants were ‘preceded by small military detachments and accompanied by mounted escorts, the *arcieri* guards, the city councillors, servants, musicians, drummers, trumpeters and countless other people’. Although this was an imperial occasion, the vast procession and its successful management were used as much to advance the reputation of the owner of Schloss Eggenberg as to pay homage to Emperor Leopold I. They thus conjured influence – power – for a noble who, as the castle’s restorer and owner, had served his community and its social and political order by investing heavily in his land’s architectural and artistic inheritance.

A neutral city

In the early modern period, Liège was one of the great cities of Europe, rich from the manufacture of steel and arms, a city which, in the words of Chantal Grell’s and Robert Halleux’s chapter ‘maintained a position of neutrality in a Europe torn by religious wars’. Ernest of Bavaria’s joyous entry into the city in June 1581 may be read principally as an adroit balancing act by which Liège, keenly aware of its neo-independent status, offered its contribution to European peace. Liège contrived to give substance to its profession of neutrality even while exchanging oaths with the zealously Catholic Ernest, thus throwing clear light on how ecclesiastical and state politics might be conducted by skilful players. Ernest on his side assumed his part in the expected rituals of a joyous entry, accepting and returning the keys of the city, and even agreeing to swear an oath guaranteeing the city’s rights and privileges. Such trading of power offers a remarkable contrast to the strained relationships of many so-called joyous entries.

Yet perhaps the most memorable aspect of the occasion was the huge procession which accompanied the entry. Ernest’s entourage numbered ‘more than one thousand cavalymen, two-hundred-and-fifty infantrymen and two hundred notables’ while in his immediate retinue were ‘members of his council, more than six hundred common people and in addition to all these a personal escort of six hundred to eight hundred and fifty cavalymen’. It was in this context that there occurred a slight but significant incident which demonstrated how breaches of expected protocol could take on in these charged circumstances a meaning that might threaten to modify the general climate of consent. Ernest’s entourage passed before the assembled company and then, as recorded by the chronicler Théodose Bouille, as Ernest ‘tried to dismount at the foot of the steps of Saint Lambert, the cantor of the church, pretending to assist him, puts his hand on the saddle, to mark that it belongs to him and the church’. Processions, as well as ritual actions may, as a result of their formal structure, be charged with political meanings, which the unwary may trigger.

Permanent space and provisional

While by definition ritual is unchanging, its form may respond to prevailing aesthetic styles. The study by Borbála Gulyás of Vienna's so-called *Schweizertertor* (Swiss Gate) demonstrates the shared prevalence under Ferdinand I of an *all'antica* style. This style carried allusions both to festivals of the Roman world and to the antiquarianism of the Hofburg, Ferdinand's newly rebuilt main residence. The Swiss Gate had another and more directly political role. Its presence as a permanent structure – though considerably altered today – served to mark, as Gulyás expresses it, 'Ferdinand's fulfilled aspiration for the imperial throne' and, after his proclamation in 1558, 'continued to express the new emperor's power and dignity'. As successor-emperor to the ubiquitous Charles V, Ferdinand needed a mark of imperial status, and this the Gate went some way to conferring – in part as reminiscence of the numerous triumphal arches erected for Charles himself. It therefore extended the customary role of triumphal arches, making permanent reference to an immediate Habsburg past while shoring up in public esteem the present imperial incumbent. It also, by its built form and situation as an integral part of the newly significant Hofburg, lent authority to other, in this case ephemeral, events. These culminated in an astonishing *Feuerwerksschloß*¹⁰ that accompanied Ferdinand's entry to his and the Habsburgs' imperial capital. Evidently, the combination of permanent and ephemeral continued to attract approval, since festival events of a similar kind – foot tournaments, jousts, tilts, a *naumachia* and others – continued in the same location throughout Ferdinand's reign, while also serving to celebrate the entry in 1563 of Maximilian, Ferdinand's son and emperor-to-be. The fact that the complete programme for this last-mentioned event was drawn up by the celebrated humanist Wolfgang Lazius serves to underscore the ambitious structural and stylistic range of a festival series that served a political as well as a social role through a devised combination of permanent and ephemeral elements.

Like Gulyás, Francesca Barbieri focuses on festival events and the temporary and permanent architecture which helped to influence the prevailing political climate, in this case of Milan. Barbieri pays special attention to two royal events, the entry of Margherita of Austria, on her way in 1598–1599 to marry Philip of Spain, son and heir of Philip II, and the entry in 1649 of Maria Anna of Austria, bride of Philip IV. Her main focus falls,¹¹ however, on the role of theatrical spaces in the politico-cultural life of Milan where, as she notes, 'theatre and theatricality constituted the most important communicative mode during the Baroque era'.¹² The location of a permanent theatre within the Palazzo Regio Ducale, the residence of the city's Spanish

10 German for a wooden castle filled with rockets which exploded as part of a programme of fireworks which also included an installation on the spire of St Stephen's Cathedral.

11 See Barbieri's chapter, '*Con grandissima meraviglia*: the role of theatrical spaces in the festivals of seventeenth-century Milan'.

12 Ibid.

governor, itself constituted a political act, whether its source lay in politico-cultural agreement, as in the case of the 1598 theatre, or in implicit challenge. Barbieri recounts how Margherita's entry motivated the construction of temporary and permanent structures in Milan's streets, even though the death of Philip II, father-in-law of the bride, curtailed the celebrations, especially as Margherita was about to become not merely a royal bride but on the accession of her husband as Philip III a Queen-by-marriage. Perhaps the most remarkable aspect of the festival events was the element of through-planning, as a result of which the allegorical significance of the name Margherita, related etymologically to the Latin *margarita* (pearl), was carried through from the seven triumphal arches, including the so-called, stone-built Porta Romana, to the naming of *Salone Margherita*, a hastily constructed permanent theatre in the *palazzo regio ducale*.

The integrally planned festival of 1599, backed by Juan Fernandez de Velasco, the Spanish governor, to celebrate the royal wedding, drew its significance from its service to Hispano-Milanese political and cultural relations in a period otherwise often fraught with hostility. The construction of a successor-theatre to the *Margherita* after an interval of fifty years served, for its part, as a tribute to Maria Anna, but more notably provided opportunities for the development of remarkably ambitious scenographic schemes. Once again, continuities of reference between the ephemeral *apparati* and allusions within the theatre performance proclaimed the festival an integrated whole. On this occasion, the iconographical scheme was in the hands of Jesuits, which may account for the noticeably moral–didactic accents of the allusions, ranging from stress on the bride's anticipated fertility to, as Barbieri notes, references to the moral–political term *magnificentia* (greatness, high-mindedness, magnanimity). Barbieri adds that the third festival event she notices, the wedding in 1672 of Gaspar Téllez-Girón de Osuna, the Spanish Governor of Milan, and Anna Antonia de Benavides, took place in an atmosphere 'complicated by the military and political presence of Spanish foreign powers'. Such a 'complication', fuelled by the unwillingness of the Milanese *Senato* to participate in the ceremony, underlines the cultural–political weight attached to festival and theatre in times of heightened political sensitivity.

Personal space in a public arena

Festival of its essence looks towards its public, whether common or elite. Maartje van Gelder's chapter,¹³ while confirming this truism, additionally draws attention to strong private motivations – with distinct political implications – which in this instance informed festival events in the public realm. As festival books abundantly show, the anticipated audience

13 Ch. 9, 'Ducal display and the contested use of space in late sixteenth-century Venetian coronation festivals'.

of state-sponsored festivals frequently looked outwards, embracing both national and international observers. Festivals could also address a more local audience. It is unusual, however, even in the proudly republican *Serenissima*, to come across festivals which, as contemporary accounts show, took their origin from such personal, family-oriented sources as the coronation festivals discussed in Van Gelder's absorbing chapter.

The election in 1597 of Marino Grimani as Venetian doge was received with unbounded enthusiasm, Van Gelder tells us, by the *popolani* – everyday people – who in Grimani's case formed a considerable proportion, in today's parlance, of his target audience. Known for his benevolence to the populace, Grimani's election was met, according to contemporary chronicler Giovanni Rota, by a potentially disruptive tide of popular acclaim. The people, Rota tells us, 'as if moved to rapture by ecstasy and out of control with happiness, abandoned their homes, shops, squares and their own businesses', while converging on the ducal palace, singing and shouting in praise of the newly elected doge.¹⁴ Allowance has to be made for commentator's effusiveness, yet the claimed enthusiasm was accompanied, it seems, by a soundscape which could only with the most meticulous forward planning be faked. The continuous ringing of church bells created a deafening noise, fireworks exploded and people lit bonfires on the Grand Canal and in every square and street, 'so that it seemed as if Venice was going up in flames'. The threat to public order, uncharacteristic of Venice, amounted, in van Gelder's words, to 'a festive frenzy that bordered on the riotous'. Grimani and his family, we glean, stoked the potential conflagration by distributing to the masses far more largesse, in money and kind, than the ducal oath promised or festival tradition allowed.

It is scarcely surprising that the privileged class saw these events as a threat to their right – sanctioned by the Venetian constitution – to exercise uncontested power. Grimani's political antennae had evidently failed him, even if he could claim that his actions had been motivated by generosity alone. A more overt challenge to the *status quo*, at the heart of van Gelder's discussion, concerned Grimani's wish to have his wife Morosina Morosini Grimani crowned *dogressa*, in a ceremony for which there were few precedents. Conscious no doubt of his previous errors, Grimani repeatedly deferred the proposed coronation. His instinct for ostentation nevertheless won out, especially in relation to the presentation to Morosina of the Golden Rose sent to her by Pope Clement VIII as a personal gift. Van Gelder's subsequent discussion of the arch constructed for the butcher's guild on the Piazzetta and, especially, the *naumachia* financed by Grimani and staged by Dutch sailors at short notice, shows how the doge salvaged Venetian pride by skilful allusion to the city's long-maintained virtues and the abundance which, in a time of widespread dearth, its civic prudence had

14 Translation by Maartje van Gelder.

made available. The whole programme breathed political *nous*. It is perhaps glib to conclude that Grimani earned his posthumous soubriquet of *padre dei poveri*, or attained his long-cherished aim of having Morosina crowned *dogaressa*, as direct results of such *nous*. Yet his establishment of personal space within so volatile an arena as the republican politics of Venice shows a notable ability to profit from the seemingly irreconcilable tension between state and personal power in Venetian public life. At no other point in this book do we come quite so close to festive ceremony as intertwined personal and public expressions of power.

Soft power

The political and family circumstances surrounding the magnificent *giostra* (tournament) staged in Rome (February 1656) for the visit of Queen Christina of Sweden represent an interplay of personal and public reminiscent of Doge Grimani's divided ambitions. Joanna Norman's chapter highlights the 1656 event with particular reference to the fortunes of the Barberini family. As Norman puts it,

By staging the most complex, splendid and lavish of all the festivities performed for the queen in Rome during this period, they [the Barberini] . . . saw a means of re-establishing their pre-eminence as the leading cultural players on the Roman stage, in the hope of thereby increasing their political importance.

The terms 'cultural' and 'political' are mutually interactive. The Barberini sought to exercise, that is to say, what is today called 'soft power'. In so doing, they responded to prevailing circumstances. Norman explains: Queen Christina

had converted to Catholicism and abdicated the Swedish throne in the previous year . . . As the daughter of King Gustavus Adolphus, the Swedish monarch who had died for the sake of the Protestant cause during the Thirty Years War, her conversion represented an extraordinary victory for the Catholic Church over the continuing threat of Protestantism.

Some historians have questioned the depth of the unconventional Queen's conversion, but her presence in Rome and the closeness of her friendship at this point with Pope Alexander VII provided sufficient traction to drive the Barberini's family ambitions and justify the otherwise prohibitive cost of the elaborate *giostra*.

The 1656 celebrations included no fewer than three operas staged in the theatre of the Barberini *palazzo alle quattro fontane*. Norman calls the palazzo 'one of the most extraordinary constructions in seventeenth-century

Rome', an assessment underscored by its formidable presence in today's city. She adds that the palace's sheer grandeur allowed the Barberini to 'reassert themselves as a family able to stand alongside a new pope and a queen' – with the *giostra* as an insistence therefore of soft power buttressed by wealth. A related use of location had occurred in 1634 when the Barberini staged a *giostra* for Prince Alexander in the Piazza Navona, a public space with important historic, artistic and social associations situated in the contested, cramped arena of central Rome. Annexing it, therefore, for a family-sponsored artistic event must have struck contemporaries as akin to cultural appropriation. Norman, however, makes an important point. Drawing on the 'extravagant' festival book describing the occasion, she concludes that attendance at the event in the Piazza Navona could only have been available to the seriously wealthy and that 'the patrons of these events were, for all their references to the *popolo*, clearly intent on directing their efforts as much in print as in actuality at a self-selected elite audience'. The motives which prompted festival in the seventeenth century, as in the sixteenth, were rarely pure. Establishing personal space in a public arena entailed a choice of audience that was – with the Barberini and the Grimani – a matter of family ambition as much as political power.

Epilogue

A good play, Shakespeare's *Rosalind* tells us, 'needs no epilogue', yet, she concedes, 'good plays prove the better by the help of good epilogues'.¹⁵ It was somewhat in this spirit that we invited our colleague Tim White to contribute an epilogue to the present book. This revised version of a previously delivered talk carries forward our book's discussion into a new era and a new topic: into pre- and immediately and more distantly post-revolutionary France and into new perceptions – new to this book – of food and banqueting as in themselves potentially communicating significant cultural and political messages.

White's discussion turns on three Parisian occasions which demonstrate evolving uses of banqueting's social and cultural meanings as they emerge in parallel with the macro-politics of a tumultuous period of French history. The first is the Funeral Supper given by the prominent *gourmand* Grimod de la Reynière the Younger in February 1783; the second, the Feast of the Federation, staged in 1790 through the determination of Charles, Marquis de Villette, to celebrate the fall of the Bastille one year earlier; and the third the so-called Banquet of the Mayors, held in 1900 at the instance of the then President of the Republic, Emile Loubet – after an even more recklessly ambitious banquet proposed by M. Grebauval, President of the Municipal Council, was cancelled. It is true that the three events were not

15 *As You Like It*, Epilogue lines 4–5 and 6–7.

directly comparable. Grimod's Funeral Supper offered a biting satirical take on the *grand couvert* which in its hierarchical assumptions typified the privileged world of Louis XIV's pre-revolutionary France – and which for informed spectators could trace its lineage to the Hell Banquet staged by the Roman Emperor Domitian many centuries earlier.¹⁶ The Feast of the Federation (also known as 'The Day of the Wheelbarrows') was much more celebratory in intent, entailing astonishingly huge commitments of labour and resources and emphasising enthusiasm and inclusivity rather than the divisiveness characteristic of the Funeral Supper. The Banquet of the Mayors was no less astonishing in its ambition – White spells out the thousands of workmen, waiters and guests involved – but on this occasion reaching out from the metropolitan elite to the sometimes-ill-matched mayors of rural France. Yet, however disparate the aims and execution of the three events, White succeeds in tracing through their chronological sequence an evolving set of assumptions on what he discloses as the culturally significant potential of food to underscore social cohesion or social conflict.

The sense of an ending?

White's Epilogue brings to a conclusion a collection of chapters exploring *Occasions of State* across Europe over an extended period. It is hoped that the volume as a whole is not seen as confined in interest or application to the historic period to which it principally relates. Modern-day successors – if not equivalents – of early modern festivals raise equally teasing questions about society, power and display. We are confident that readers will find parallels in today's world and will read these back with enjoyment and insight into the complex matrix that was the festal world of Europe from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries.

16 For further information, see Epilogue (this book) footnote 8.



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The identity of the state

Beschreibung Der Rei: Empfahung de Ritterlichen Ordens: Vollbringung des Heyraths: und gkcklicher Heimfrung Des Durchleuchtigsten Hochgebornen Frsten und Herrn Friederichen de Frnten Pfaltzgraven bey Rhein Mit der auch Durchleuchtigsten Hochgebornen Frstin Elisabethen ([Heidelberg]: 1613), p. 136, trans. Anna Linton , in J.R. Mulryne , Helen Watanabe-Okelly and Margaret Shewing (eds), Europa Triumphans: Court and Civic Festivals in Early Modern Europe, 2 vols (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004), vol. 2, pp. 8091, pp. 8687.

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