

(No) “solo Madrid es Corte?”: the head that governs an empire of Courts

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ABSTRACT: In his *Libro Histórico Político, Solo Madrid es Corte* (1658), the royal chronicler Alonso Núñez de Castro, defined Court as the head that governs; where reason and the king (as head of his kingdoms) his councilors, vassals, and other important men reside. Núñez, emphasized Madrid's population, listed its councils and described their functions, in detail explained the etiquette observed around the King's body, and included the hierarchy of all his kingdoms and provinces in the Spanish Habsburg empire, offering detailed accounts of their finances and contributions to the royal treasure. The work, in fact, established the imperial space (and geography) of the larger Spanish Habsburg political body, with Madrid as its courtly and political-cultural head. In its structure and arguments, Núñez's work followed principles established at the end of the 16th century by Giovanni Botero as characteristic of a great city and in works describing the greatness of Lima and of the city of Mexico. A comparison of Madrid with other courtly cities of the Spanish Habsburg Empire helps elucidate reasons for its low profile as referent in the documentation of the New World, despite its place after 1561, as the political-administrative head of the empire.

KEYWORDS: Spanish Habsburg Empire; Giovanni Botero; Lima; Mexico; Lisbon; Viceroyalties; Viceregal cities; Imperial geography.

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RESUMEN: ¿(No) “solo Madrid es Corte?”: la cabeza que gobierna un imperio de Cortes.– El cronista real Alonso Núñez de Castro en su *Libro Histórico Político, Solo Madrid es Corte* (1658), define a la Corte cómo la cabeza que gobierna, dónde reside la razón, y el rey (como cabeza de los reinos), sus consejos, vasallos y hombres importantes cercanos a él. Núñez enfatiza la población de Madrid, enumera los consejos del rey y sus funciones, describe detalladamente la etiqueta observada en la Corte alrededor del cuerpo del rey, incluye la jerarquía de la totalidad de reinos y provincias del monarca, y da cuenta detallada de sus finanzas y contribuciones al erario real. Esta obra produce/establece el espacio (y geografía) imperial del cuerpo político de los Austrias españoles con Madrid como su cabeza cortesana y político-cultural. También se conforma a estructuras y argumentos similares a los que Giovanni Botero, a fines del siglo XVI, definió como característicos de una gran ciudad como cabeza, y los que describen las grandezas de Lima y de la ciudad de México. Una comparación de Madrid con otras ciudades-cortes del cuerpo político de los Austrias españoles, ayuda a entender su bajo perfil en la documentación del Nuevo Mundo, a pesar de su lugar a partir de 1561 como cabeza político-administrativa dentro del imperio.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Imperio español; Giovanni Botero; Lima; México; Lisboa; Virreinos; Ciudades virreinales; Geografía imperial.

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The establishment in the sixteenth century of new centers of royal and viceregal power in Europe and in the New World was part of a larger phenomenon of political reorganization and growth. These reconfigurations stemmed, in part, from the centralization of rule and the economic transformations brought about by the opening of Europe to the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans, and from the needs of new empires to organize and rule their now distant possessions. These changes gave rise to new urban hierarchies throughout. In 1503 the Kingdoms of Naples came under the rule of the Crown of Castile, and the centrality of the city of Naples was strengthened under the reign of Charles V (Muto, 2004, pp. 138-141). In 1528 Paris became the seat of the French court, while around the same time, Rome reorganized as seat of the Papacy, and in 1563 the house of Savoy relocated in Turin. In the New World, the creations of new viceroyalties in Mexico-Tenochtitlan in 1535 as the seat of the viceroy and his court in the Viceroyalty of New Spain, and in Lima, or *Ciudad de los Reyes*, in 1542 as the viceregal court of the Viceroyalty of Peru, not only produced new geographies and centers of power, but also new loci for the production and circulation of knowledge with new dynamics of cultural exchanges.¹

Madrid, established in 1561 as the permanent seat of the king and of his court, and as administrative center of the Spanish Habsburg Empire, arguably became then its political and cultural center (León Pinelo, 1971, p. 85; Alvar Ezquerro, 1989; Rivero Rodríguez, 2011, pp. 97-132). As the seat of royal power, Madrid stood at the top of the Spanish Habsburg urban hierarchy. Position it occupied in spite of the provisional relocation of the royal court to Valladolid, carried out by Philip III between 1601-1606, and the challenges posed to its preeminent place as head of the monarchy and the empire by other courts, like Naples and Lisbon (Muto, 2004, pp. 133-134; Alvar Ezquerro, 1989 and 1998; Bouza, 1994; Fernández Álvarez, 1998; Sánchez Alonso, 1924). While Madrid's position as political and administrative center might have been sealed with Philip II's establishment of his permanent residence in Madrid, its ceremonial, cultural, and/or cultural role as referent within the peninsula and the empire was, however, not settled until the second half of the reign of Philip III, or sometime after the return of the royal court from Valladolid after 1606 (Río Barredo, 2000, p. 124 and ss.). Much like the new urban viceregal centers in the New World, but also Naples, Madrid had to also invent and establish its authority, cultural significance, and preeminence among other urban centers of power within the empire through various means, such as architecture, art, ceremonies, the promotion of saints, carefully crafted genealogies, the establishment of new nobilities, and writings and publications (Osorio, 2008 and 2015; Muto, 2004; Río Barredo, 2000). It is significant, therefore, that in its quest for symbolic preeminence among other urban centers of power within the Spanish monarchy, Madrid as the site of monarchical

power was often relegated to an inconspicuous place in writings about the empire. This might have been due as much to its land-locked geographical location and physical attributes, as to the ubiquitous and ever-present presence of the Spanish king.

As a newly made center of political power in 1561, Madrid presents several challenges for its study as political-cultural referent in the wider Spanish Habsburg Empire. The centralization of powers in Madrid in 1561 presents a historical-temporal problem as it came into being well after the empire was well on its way to political consolidation in much of the New World, as it was in its Italian possessions.² The two New World viceregal courts, established decades earlier between 1535 and 1542, were created to function both, as administrative centers for their respective viceroyalties, and as the center of the viceroy's household and court, phenomenon that in Madrid only began to develop under Philip III with the uncertainties caused by his move of the court to Valladolid (Río Barredo, 2000, p. 91; Quijano Velasco, 2017; Andreu Gálvez, 2019; Pérez Vejo, 2019; also Signorotto, 2006). Madrid was, furthermore, not a "capital" as the term was not only not in use then, but also because it was not the space of residence of a complex professional bureaucracy independent of a non-monarchical ruling power. Madrid, in the language of the time, was the "head" court of a hierarchical monarchy, where the center of power resided in the king himself, who was, nonetheless, advised by the members of his councils and of the nobility. Many of the administrative functions of government, particularly those related to the Indies, like the *Casa de la Contratación*, or House of Trade, as did archives for example, were located away from Madrid, where they remained for the entire Habsburg period (Barrera-Osorio, 2006; Loureiro, 2018, p. 439; Fernández-González, 2016, pp. 61-102). The Court and Madrid were, therefore, one and the same with the king, which might in part account for the sporadic references to the Villa found in much of the New World documentation, even when, a redefinition of its political space as constituted by royal councils and other institutions of the court, began to be seen and understood, as "something other" from the more "domestic surroundings of the king" (Río Barredo, 2000, p. 91).³

Madrid also presents a physical-geographical problem as a center of monarchical power of a large empire with possessions across two very wide oceans, due to its location in the center of the Iberian Peninsula, in a landscape lacking in many of the conditions that came to define great cities and metropolises of the seventeenth century. The widely read and referenced political writer Giovanni Botero delineated these conditions in his work, *Delle cause della grandezza delle città*, first published in Italian in 1588, and in Spanish in 1593 (Gil Pujol, 2004). Botero's prescriptions for a great city were relevant then, as they are here, because they spoke to broader undergoing world political, economic, social and cultural changes brought about by the presence

of the New World on the world stage. The opening of Europe and of the world to the seas with the *Carrera de Indias* that connect Europe with America, and after 1565, the commercial connections to Asia forged through the Manila Galleon, dramatically reconfigured old Mediterranean networks and centers of power, relegating great port cities like Naples, to a backdrop in these new circuits of circulation and exchanges (Brook, 2008; O’Flynn and Giraldes, 2001; Tremml-Werner, 2015; Yun-Casalilla, 2019; Yun-Casalilla, Berti and Svriz-Wucherer, 2022; Osorio, 2018).⁴ And even when Madrid’s location offered, “the nearby woods of *El Pardo*, the forests of Aranjuez, and the proximity of the sierra where the great monastery of *San Lorenzo de El Escorial* was built,” the Villa sat high up in a plateau, away from the great rivers in the Peninsula, and far from its coasts, conditions that, while not determining, certainly contributed to its apparent elusive role as referent in the New World, and maybe even beyond (Fernández Álvarez 1998, pp. 42-43).⁵

MADRID AS COURT, THE PLACE WHERE THE KING IS OMNIPRESENT

Sebastián de Covarrubias Orozco ca. 1611, defined *Corte* as “the place where the King resides,” with his vassals and his officials, who, among other things, are to continuously advise and serve him (Covarrubias, 1995 [1611], p. 360). This definition of Court, derived from the law code of the *Siete Partidas*, law XXVII, part II, title IX, titled “What the Court Is, Why It Is So Named, and What It Should Be,” which stated that “the place where the king, his vassals and his officers, whose duty it is daily to advise and service him, and where the men of the kingdoms gather, either for his honor, or to obtain justice or dispense of it, or to transact other business, which they are required to communicate to him, is called the Court.”⁶ The concept of court, as Antonio Álvarez-Ossorio has noted, therefore, designated both “a spatial location as well as a specific group of people” (Álvarez-Ossorio, 1997, p. 74).

In the cities and villages of the New World vice-royalties, the monarchy’s most distant possessions, the Villa of Madrid was primarily known as a place where the king resided through numerous royal decrees signed by him, and which always specified the places where these documents were signed. The Villa was also known in the Indies through the travelers to the court in Madrid who, among others, might have had dealings with the *Real y Supremo Consejo de las Indias*. The Royal and Supreme Council of the Indies was the first of the territorial councils, established by Charles V in 1524 as an advisory board to the king on matters related to the New World (Poole, 2004, pp. 4-5; Schäfer, 2003; Mazín Gómez, 2017; Puente Luna, 2018; Gómez Gómez, 2020). The headquarters of the *Consejo* were located in the Royal Alcazar in Madrid, and although, they enjoyed a separate entrance from the ones leading to the king’s private apartments, those

who came to air their business at the Council, including many Indians from the New World, “crossed the gates, circulated around its courtyards, and walked in and out of the hallways of the palace, waiting to be called” (Puente Luna, 2018, p. 7). As with European subjects, the possibility of travel to Madrid created a proximity to the king for vassals of the New World making the royal court, while distant, “still within reach,” and “the focus of their aspirations and sometimes the graveyard of their hopes” (Puente Luna, 2018, p. 7). As one of the functions of the *Consejo de Indias* was the dispensation of justice, an important condition of the royal court as set in the *Siete Partidas* was satisfied by it for its New World subjects. This was of particular importance for Indians, who as vassals of the king, arrived in Madrid through their participation in complex networks of patronage and service, often seeking to settle cases of abuses of power perpetrated by Spaniards and officials back in their communities of origin (Puente Luna, 2018, p. 16 and ch. 4; also, Mazín Gómez, 2017). Upon arrival in the peninsula, New World visitors’ first stop was usually Seville, where they often had dealings with the *Casa de la Contratación*, while those who continued on, also gathered essential support there for their further travels into the heart of the monarchy in Madrid (Puente Luna, 2018, p. 86).⁷ The return of these New World travelers back to their respective communities of origin in the Indies can be assumed, meant the dissemination of knowledge, experiences, and gossip gathered and acquired while in residence at the court in Madrid. Madrid and Seville, therefore, played important roles in fostering and maintaining these transatlantic networks and connections.

The greatness and magnificence of cities

Giovanni Botero was an important political thinker whose writings, as Xavier Gil has noted, shaped a “generation who read” his works (Gil-Pujol, 2004). Widely cited by new and old world writers alike, Botero’s works had a wider resonance than did the writings by other widely referenced Renaissance architectural and urban planners, such as Leon Batista Alberti or Antonio di Pietro Averlino, known as Filarete, as they spoke of politics, populations, geography, and cultures well beyond the confines of Europe.⁸ In his three books on the greatness and magnificence of cities, Botero detailed a complex series of variables that needed to be present for a city to enjoy greatness and magnificence. He underscored the importance of *population*, location, and economy, but also of political life (Gil-Pujol, 2004, p. 975). In very broad terms, these variables were related to the quality and status of its population, as a great city needed to enjoy a large and diverse population that included both nobles and common peoples from a wide variety of geographical areas; its *territorial/spatial location* since these cities needed to be located near navigable waters and be conducive to commerce, as well as depositories of its goods, enjoy healthy air

and be surrounded by fertile lands that could feed its populations; its *economy* needed to be diversified, productive, and conducive to the transit and exchange of merchandize and wealth. All which was intermixed to generate greatness and magnificence, further reflected in, among others, imposing and splendid palaces, monumental churches, and other large buildings, in the luxurious dress of its inhabitants, and in the high-ranking individuals among its populations.

For Botero these factors were, to an extent, susceptible to manipulation by man, provided that certain basic conditions were met. The population of a city, for example, did not need to be “populous” by “nature.” As he argued, man was naturally attracted to good air, beauty and all the magnificent things that delighted and fed “the eyes of the people with admiration and wonder,” and since business and its many benefices were reasons to set down roots, the great city provided an impulse to settle (Botero, 1956, p. 232; Osorio, 2008, pp. 4 and ss.). A great city, therefore, was one that created and offered the conditions for the largest number of people to visit while also luring them to settle there. The most visited cities in Europe for “pleasures and delights” were Rome and Venice. Venice for its location by the sea, its arsenal, ships, traffic, and passage, and its tower, large churches, magnificent palaces, beautiful streets, diversity of arts, ordered government, and beauty of the sexes, which together dazzled and amazed the eyes of the beholder (Botero, 1956, pp. 232-233). A populous city, furthermore, possessed a large and diverse economy, as men were kept in place by “profit and commodity.” For a large and diverse economy to develop, however, the site of the city was of great importance, as not all cities were commodious, and for Botero, most cities simply served as passages of goods and peoples. Such transient cities could never become great. Genoa and Venice, for example, were great not only because of the passage of goods and peoples, but also because they were sites “for store-houses, cellarage and warehouses of merchandise, most plentifully brought unto them” (Botero, 1956, pp. 232-235). The great city also needed to be commodious for “other countries that are borders, or near unto it.” The great city should enjoy “fruitfulness of the soil,” by which Botero did not mean that a city needed to be located in fertile and productive lands, but rather that even when built on poor soil, as in the case of Paris, the great city should be surrounded by extensive areas that provided it with all the necessary elements to satisfy its inhabitants’ material needs in order to prevent their migration to more auspicious sites (Botero, 1956, p. 236). A great city also needed “conduct” in the Latin sense of “bringing together,” condition that was partly dependent upon the land and partly upon its proximity to water. The ideal terrain for a great city was flat to facilitate the movement of all sorts of merchandise and goods, via carts, horses, mules, and other beasts of burden, as well as men. Proximity to water was also important to ease the flow of these goods and peoples, and if by the sea,

a large and safe port “to ride into” was necessary (Botero, 1956, pp. 236-237).

Beyond economic incentives and secured resources, laws and freedoms were also needed, as was the development of an elaborate and busy public ceremonial life, which would draw people, as it had in Rome, making it “perpetually full of strangers and foreign people” (Botero, 1956, pp. 245-246). Religion and the worship of God were also essential, as they not only drew great numbers of people together, but also caused commerce to grow among them, and cities that excelled in this flourished “in authority and reputation above all others,” as well as in “power and glory” (Botero, 1956, p. 247). A great city should also have a “royal audience, senators, parliaments or other sorts and kinds of courts of justice.” This presence of a court would draw those seeking justice and those in charge of processing and executing the law, but it would also bring gold, thereby increasing the city’s greatness as gold would allow men to acquire more goods and commodities” (Botero, 1956, pp. 253-254). Great cities were exempt from taxes and levies favored by people, and always have “some good store of vendible merchandise” which came from the land or the sea near them” (Botero, 1956, pp. 254 and 255-256). In short, the greatest city was one that possessed “supreme authority and power” and jurisdiction “over others” as well as the public and private wealth of men, which were naturally drawn to these things (Botero, 1956, pp. 258 and 259).

Population size was essential for a great city, which, as mentioned, should possessed a multitude of people, but what exactly was meant by “multitude” by Botero was not made entirely clear. In general terms, however, Botero stood against the Aristotelian notion that a city should limit its population to those it could readily sustain. Instead, Botero argued that since disease and death could quickly decimate a city’s population, a multitude of people was the best safeguard against catastrophe. He did not advocate endless growth, however. Rather, in his view a great city would reach an equilibrium based on what it had to offer and what was available; when this balance was broken the city’s population would decline, as indeed it had in the case of Rome. Be that as it may, the “multitude” of any great city must include distinguished members who could lend the city an aura of grandeur and authority. Italian cities in his view were greater than those of France because Italian gentlemen dwelled in them and not in distant country castles surrounded by moats. In short, the residences of noblemen made cities more glorious and more populous. The noble presence also had civilizing effects on the urban population: daily contact with those who were refined in dress, speech, and manners “educated” the common man. Moreover, as the “gorgeous and gallant buildings” of nobility fomented the arts, they were also part of the civilizing process. Notably, Botero illustrated this point by holding up the Incas as a primary example. In Cuzco, noted Botero, “The kings of Peru, to populate and ennoble the City ordered to all

their Native Lords [*Caziques*] each build a Palace, and send their children to live in them, and as evidence of the greatness of their empire, and the variety of nations contained by it, by decree established that each dress in the attire of its land, and wear a distinctive insignia of it on his head; invention of rich luster and gallantry.”⁹ Through this practice the Incas had made their city “magnificent and great” (Botero, 1956, p. 260).

Geography and place, and material attributes and wealth were all surely important to Botero’s formulation, a determining element of any great city, however, rested ultimately on its material and symbolic capital, which could only be bestowed upon it by the nobility among its population. What would have Rome become, asked Botero, were it not for the Pope making it the permanent seat of his court? If not for the ambassadors, ministers, and guests who came to reside in the city, and their infinite numbers of servants, and the magnificent buildings in which they all lived; and the multitudes of peoples who inhabited the different sections of the city, and the glory provided by the service to God, with magnificent churches, prelates, and the like, would Rome not be “just a bunch of hills in a desert?” (Botero, 1956, p. 273).

PERHAPS NOT ONLY MADRID IS COURT

Similar questions could be asked about the Spanish Habsburg Empire viceregal centers in the New World, particularly Lima built on a desert, or of Naples in Europe, but also of its royal court in Madrid. The conditions and characteristic of a great city as set by Botero became a sort of general schema from which urban (and rural) spaces would be described in the Spanish Habsburg world.¹⁰ The viceregal cities of Mexico and Lima functioned and were referred to, as heads and courts, and drew much of their reputation and grandeur from their condition as permanent seat of the viceroy and of his household.¹¹ Viceregal cities in general also drew reputation and power from their nobility, and the offices and officers of royal and city government, their universities, as well as institutions of the church. Both, Mexico, as the city was referred to then, and Lima, were also the seats of archbishoprics, and as the political centers of very vast territories, they also had “conduct” drawing to them all sorts of peoples who hailed from different parts of the Spanish world, and sometimes even beyond.¹² American viceregal cities had the added quality of also being extremely “commodious,” in Botero’s sense, as they were surrounded by great expanses of fertile lands feeding them with great varieties of fruits, vegetables, game, meats, wools, textiles, woods, precious stones, and so on. Viceregal centers also functioned as “passage and storage” for the silver and gold that fed the royal coffers in Europe, and the commercial goods that came from Asia and Europe, and which, if not consumed locally, were redistributed around the empire (Studnicki-Gizbert, 2007; Tremml-Werner, 2015). Cities of the New World, particularly the vice-

regal heads, but not exclusively, described their greatly diverse and noble populations, emphasizing their locations near navigable waters and fertile and productive lands, as sites of great commercial traffic and trade, with great palaces and magnificent churches, where celebration of greatly elaborate and costly ceremonies, made them noble and loyal cities, while also reflecting their wealth and their courtliness.

These narratives were not exclusive of New World cities, however. Strikingly similar works were published in Lisbon and Naples, as found, for example, in the works of Gamiaõ de Góis (1554), Enrico Bacco (ca. 1600) and Guido Capaccio (1634) to name a few.¹³ As John Marino has pointed out, Capaccio praised Naples as a “famous city...envied by all the other most famous cities of Europe,” and as shown below, Lima and Mexico were also written then in similar form (Marino, 2012, p. 2). Lacking many of the characteristics and/or qualities that made Naples or Lima famous and great, narratives of Madrid, in contrast, frequently worked more as critique of many of the precepts set by Botero as characteristic of great cities, often resulting in arguments that found in the presence of the king, their seemingly only source of refutation and/or explanation for what might otherwise have been, by nature, climate, geography, or the economy, denied the royal urban head of the vast Spanish Habsburg Empire.

The greatness of New World courtly cities

In 1604, a long poem titled *Grandeza Mexicana* was published in Mexico by Bernardo de Balbuena, a peninsular who, born in Valdepeñas, Castile in 1562, was raised in New Galicia, studied in Mexico, and died in Puerto Rico in 1627, where he was bishop. In his petition to publish his poem, addressed to Fray Garcia de Mendoza y Zuñiga, Archbishop of Mexico, Balbuena argued he had been moved to write “these excellences of Mexico with the wish to make them known to the entire world seeing them augmented since the arrival of his excellency,” which had further moved him to offer “this portrait of this fortunate city.”¹⁴ The license for publication was granted in 1603 by the Viceroy of New Spain, Count of Monterrey and by archbishop Mendoza. Leaving aside Balbuena’s political intentions, his poem divided into nine chapters with some 140 *fojas*, dealt with various aspects of the city of Mexico, ranging from its location, preconquest and conquest history, its buildings, trade and commodities, letters and arts, professions and government, as well as religion and the church, celebrating their contributions to the greatness and magnificence of the city of Mexico.¹⁵ As the head of New Spain, Mexico in Balbuena’s poem, was “the noblest, the richest, and [most] populous city of this new America,” and a dynamic and cosmopolitan center linking East and West, as well as South and East.¹⁶ As with the case of viceregal Lima, this viceregal head city was also conceived here, as both, a work of art, or as orderly, harmonious and beautiful, and as the product of

human labor and intelligence (Osorio, 2008, pp. 150-157). Mexico was a city, “Carved in large proportion and calculation / Of towers, spires, windows / [where] Its fabric [*machina*] magnificent presents itself.”¹⁷ A city, furthermore, where even nature did not surpass it in perfection; as the sky did “not have as many stars,” as Mexico had “flowers in its garland,” nor did the “sky have more virtues” than the viceregal city.¹⁸ In Balbuena’s poem, Mexico, understood as the viceregal city but also as synecdoche for New Spain, was depicted as a connector or passage in Botero’s sense; a clearing center for the goods that came to it from Asia and Peru, and from where they dispatched to various points in Europe and beyond, and also where the wealth of products from Europe came to be distributed to other points in America.¹⁹ Mexico was, therefore, a prime city within the large continent, gallant, generous and great of heart, but also of habits. A great metropolis, “The richest and most opulent city / Of greatest procurement or greatest treasure,” where come to, the “silver of Peru from Chile gold,” and from “Ternate refined clove and cinnamon from Tidore.”²⁰ Mexico was the center of the world, connected on all sides, to the south with Peru, to the west with Maluku and China, and to the east with Britain, France, Germany, Flanders, Italy, Greece and Spain, as well as *Berberia*, Egypt, Syria, Ethiopia, and Turkey, and “With all makes contracts and communicates [*cartea*] / And its stores warehouses and shops / The best of these worlds carry.”²¹ This interconnectedness, furthermore, made Mexico the synthesis of all their combined greatness. As Mexico supplied them with gold and silver, they returned most precious goods and in it “Spain is joined with China / Italy with Japan.”²² A pious and devoted city, Mexico also enjoyed a population with a clear conscience, noble habits, honesty, and style.²³ A virtuous city, Mexico was characterized by the feminine beauty and gentility of its honest and elegant ladies, and by the nobility of its citizens.²⁴ And where the abundance of the city’s surroundings enriched “its plazas” with great varieties of fruits, vegetables, flowers, fish, meats, game, poultry, and so on, bringing, “Revelries, gifts, hobbies, tastes / Joy, recreation, enjoyment, happiness / Peace, quietude, of just souls,” and with it beauty, pride, gallantry, nobility, discretion, delicacy, order, virtue, loyalty, wealth, and courtesy to its large populations.²⁵

Balbuena made no direct references to Madrid or to its court. In a section titled “Illustrious government,” however, Mexico appeared as center of a nobility, whose members descended from “Spain’s best nobility.” The “Azcuedo, Çuñiga, Mendosa, Velasco,” and the Enríquez families were, therefore, each provided with a history of their illustrious lineages, lending authority to his claims that they made the city “distinguished and famous in the world,” and its government virtuous.²⁶ Balbuena enumerated the offices present in the city, from viceroy down to the city government, and those in the larger viceroyalty, both as further reflection of the status of the city of Mexico as viceregal court and

center of power, and as evidence of its indisputable rank as head city of the kingdoms of New Spain.²⁷ And, where “Mexico in the worlds of the Occident / [Is] An Imperial city of great district / Place, diversity, and population of people / Surrounded by...two lakes [upon which] it seats / With infinite delights / Orchards, gardens, enjoyable recreations / Pleasurable playful outings / By land and water that originate in them.”²⁸ The offices, and their officials in Mexico were, in his view, in the “Empire and Monarchy, the poles, the columns, the mainstay of its peace, order, and discipline.”²⁹

The city of Mexico appeared, therefore, as one of the kind; it not only compared to the great emporia of Europe, but surpassed them, as not in “Milan, Lucca, or Florence / Or the other two rich states [Venice and Genoa?] / Is a Merchant dignified.”³⁰ Nor had Greece or Athens more doctors of great science or knowledge, and professors of “the seven liberal arts.”³¹ Attributes that, furthermore, made its rich noble principal cities in New Spain, populated by illustrious souls and generous blood. Two verses called out Spain, “O crowned brave Spain / By a monarch of the Old and New World / Of that feared and of this tribute.”³² “O proud faithful Spain, golden centuries / Have given to your monarchy haste / And to your triumph a thousand Kings exchanged.”³³ In similar fashion to how Guido Cappaccio would later praise Naples as famous arguing how it was the envy of other European cities, Balbuena ended his poem by noting how Mexico was the most noble, and the richest “and populous city of this new America... illustrious City head and crown of these Occidental worlds, famous for its name, illustrious for its place and settlement, and for its ancient and present power known and respected in the world.”³⁴

In 1631, fray Buenaventura de Salinas y Córdova published in Lima *Memorial de las Historias del Nuevo Mundo*.³⁵ This work was intended as a prosopography of fray Francisco Solano to procure his canonization in Rome, or as noted on the book’s cover, “to incline your Majesty the Catholic king Philip IV to ask his Holiness [the Pope] for the canonization of his patron Solano.”³⁶ Beyond this intention, the book was also a 400-page treatise that, doing justice to its subtitle, *Méritos, y Excelencias de la Ciudad de Los Reyes, Lima*, narrated the merits and excellences of the viceregal city of Lima, at the same time that it also included a long and harsh critique of the abuses experienced by Indians at the hands of Spaniards, both peninsular and creoles, and of the indolence of the king before such excesses.³⁷ A “natural” from “the city, metropolis and Court of Peru,” Fray Buenaventura was born in Lima in 1592. In his early life he participated in palace culture, initially as a page of viceroys, and later as the highest secretary of the governorship (*secretario mayor de la gobernación*) responsible for organizing the viceregal archive. He was educated by the Jesuits, and at age twenty-four left court life to profess as a Franciscan, order in which, he became an esteemed scholar and preacher. Fray Buenaventura was an ardent critic of the

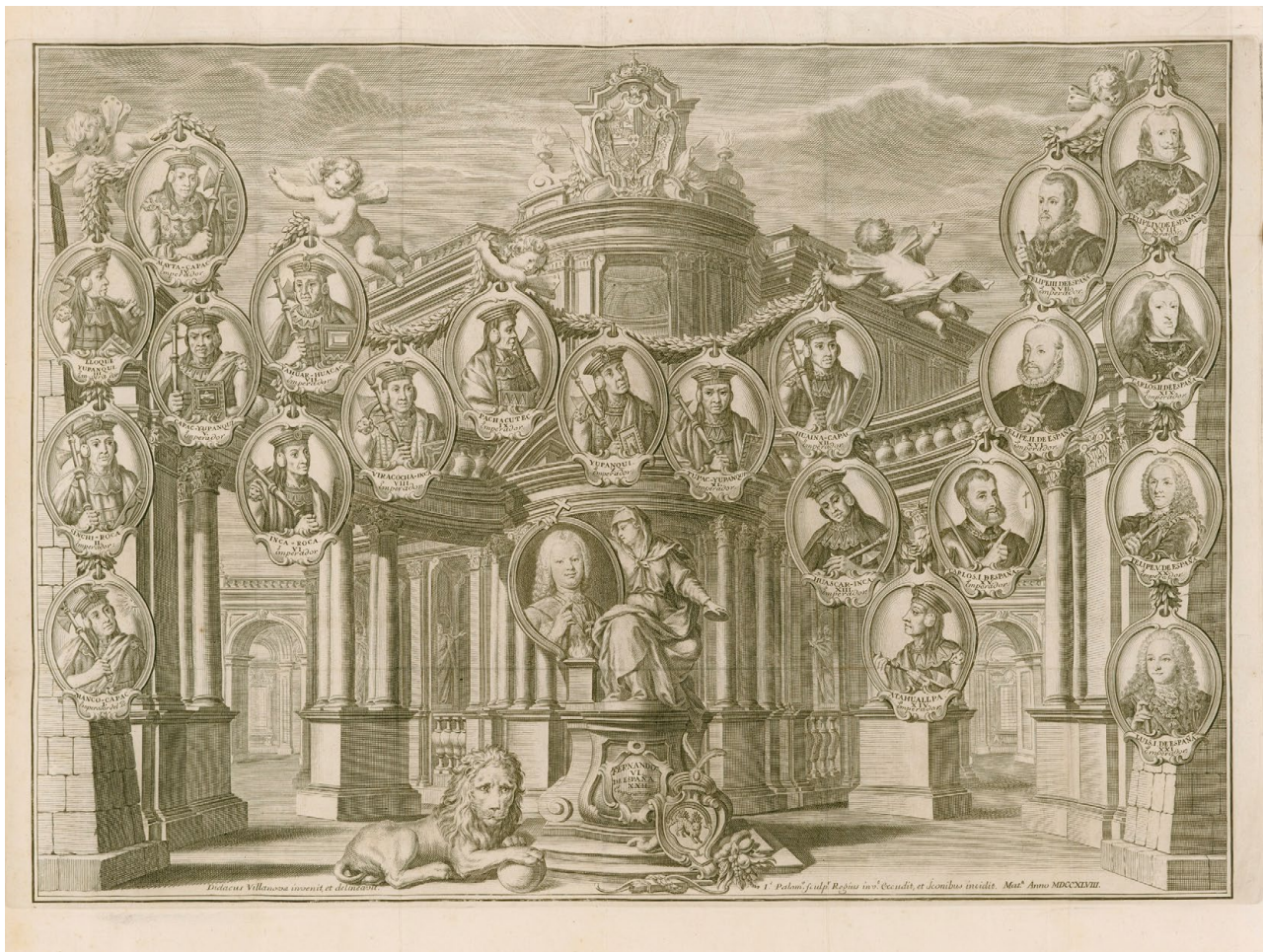


FIGURE 1. “Dinastía del Imperio del Perú,” Antonio de Ulloa, *Relación histórica del viaje a América meridional, segunda parte*, Madrid, M.DCC.XLVIII (1748). By Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University.

exploitation of the Indians by clerics and *corregidores*, but also of the monarchy for, in his view, taking more than giving to them in return. Fray Buenaventura’s criticisms generated accusations before the king and other authorities and was eventually exiled, living a good portion of his life between Spain and Rome where he was entrusted with obtaining the canonization of fray Francisco Solano. He died in 1653 in Cuernavaca, New Spain, where he spent the last years of his life (Salinas y Córdova, 1957, pp. ix-xi).

In the *Memorial* the referent is the viceregal city of Lima. As court and “head of its rich and extended Kingdoms” of the Viceroyalty of Peru, Lima functioned in this work, much as did Mexico in Balbuena’s poem, as synecdoche for the imaginary political body also known as the Peruvian monarchy, or the *Imperio peruano*, represented in genealogies that wove in a seamless narrative the Inca emperors as predecessors to the Spanish Habsburg kings, found in writings, art, and prints (Fig. 1).³⁸ Following this genealogy, the *Memorial* begins with a detailed political, geographical and cultural history of the Inca Empire, told through each

one of the Inca “kings,” as Botero termed them, before the arrival of the Spanish, comparing “the majesty and power [*potencia*] of [each of] the Inca kings, of their superb buildings, palaces, fortresses, royal roads, warehouses and chambers they ordered built,” to then describe the Spanish conquest, arrival of religious orders, and the history of the viceroyalty, including an enumeration and discussion of its cities.

In Buenaventura’s book the influence of another of Botero’s works, his *Relaciones Toscanas* published in Spanish in 1603, can be traced as source in the structure and descriptions of his work. This is not surprising, given that Botero used the works of chronicles of the Indies, such as Antonio de Herrera, Josep de Acosta, and Pedro de Cieza de León, among others he cited, but also because Buenaventura himself often cited Botero as one of his own sources. Botero, as did these chroniclers of the Indies, granted in their writings a privileged space to the Incas, and to the city of Cuzco, as it was very impressive, orderly and majestic to the Europeans for its stone-carved buildings, cobble streets, sophisticated irrigations systems, massive

architectural complex at Sacsayhuaman, the Coricancha, or temple of the Sun reported to have had its walls covered in gold leaf to reflect sunlight, the numerous palaces of the Inca decorated with “infinite” gold and silver, and its spacious plaza “from where four roads lead to the four part of its Empire.”³⁹ This “City, the Seat of the Inca, or King of Peru and Head of the Empire,” as Botero denominated Cuzco, due to the utility and greatness of its *tambos* or warehouses, for this author “deserv[ed] to be placed before Egyptian and Roman [ones].”⁴⁰

In the *Relaciones Toscanas*, Lima on the other hand, was described as being “built upon a plentiful river, two leagues away from the ocean, where possesses a port called Collao (sic),” and “constructed with much ingenuity, as all its streets and principal neighborhoods correspond to the plaza; and [where] there is not a house without a water pipe that feeds from the river,” and where “in it reside the Archbishop, the Viceroy, and the Royal *Consejo*; [and where] all the business and traffic [*trafego*] of the kingdom [are carried out].”⁴¹ Lima was also portrayed as a city rich in population of Spaniards as well as African slaves, with mild weather and bountiful and productive surrounding valleys, dynamic in its commerce, and that through its port of Callao, provided the silver to the monarchy that came from the rich mountain of Potosí.⁴² After the description of all the important cities in the viceroyalty, it concluded that “The City of La Plata,⁴³ Lima and Cuzco, are the biggest and richest, both in jurisdiction as in wealth, built by the Spaniards in Peru; and [the Imperial Villa of] Potosí, although not a City, does not recognize advantages, not even to Lima, in residents or riches.”⁴⁴ By comparison, the kingdoms of New Spain in Botero’s *Relaciones* received an inferior number of pages and much less detailed descriptions, even when noting how following the “judgment of Juzepe [Josep de] Acosta,” this province was the most pleasant and most fertile in the New World.⁴⁵ Where, however, and unlike the Incas, “the *Octomios* [Otomí] *Chichimecos*” were “barbarous peoples.”⁴⁶ New Spain was, nonetheless, noted as being as magnificent, rich, orderly and noble as any “famous European province,” and only surpassed, “in abundance and refinement of its gold and silver,” by the provinces of Peru.⁴⁷ In similar form as in Balbuena’s *Grandeza Mexicana*, the plazas of Mexico in Botero’s pages were inundated by a wealth of various products from the lands, rendering the provinces of New Spain a New World cornucopia, a space of great agricultural and livestock richness and variety.

Fray Buenaventura’s conception of Lima did not fall far from Botero, as the “metropolis and head of the extended Kingdoms of Peru,” exceeded all other cities of the realm in grandeur.⁴⁸ The city’s greatness was found in its geography, that is, in its proximity to the ocean, its situation on a plain where waters did not gather in swamps, and where insects were almost unknown. Moreover, Lima’s airs were apparently healthy, and its summers and winters uniformly mild. As head

of the extended kingdoms, discussion of other cities in the viceroyalty, began with that of Lima, therefore, its buildings, its surroundings, its political institutions, an enumeration of all the viceroys of Peru and each of their contributions to the royal treasury, of the *oidores* or royal magistrates, the members of its Cabildo or municipal government, the “services” provide to the king by Lima and the viceroyalty, as well as the bishoprics, the numbers of parishes, priests, and their monetary contributions to the royal treasury. Beyond describing the excellences of Lima, Buenaventura also placed the city’s historical development in relation to that of other world cities noting how, for example, initially the city had not possessed a very large population, which he argued, had also been the case in the early histories of Venice, Seville, and Lisbon. Given the benevolence of its location, however, Lima’s population had, nonetheless, steadily increased to the point where the city now rose “as head among the most illustrious cities of this [New] world;” one with a “perfect” layout, a centrally located plaza and very symmetric streets, “all at the same level,” and with opulent and magnificent temples, harmoniously designed.⁴⁹ Like Fray Diego de Ocaña and others, Fray Buenaventura described Lima’s adjacent Rimac River as gentle but plentiful, and as a source of sufficient water for the city’s numerous fountains, homes, and gardens.⁵⁰

Lima also had certain advantages, not only in terms of the variety of fruits it gathered from its own fertile lands, but also for its proximity to the South Sea where, according to Fray Buenaventura, its capacious port at Callao, attracted ships from around the world of all sizes and capacities, filling the city with merchandise and riches unknown in many Old-World cities. Worldly riches that were complemented by those the city received from other regions within the Viceroyalty. These goods, not produced by the city but enjoyed by it, came to it by what Alonso Núñez de Castro described for Madrid, as “transport,” and which was a source of criticism in its case.⁵¹ In Lima, however, this made the city only richer by adding to its own local productions. And so, by sea came to Lima the products of her vast realms: the hardwoods of Guayaquil, the wines of Ica, Pisco, and Nazca, the wheat from the coastal valleys of the viceroyalty, sugar and preserves from Saña and Trujillo, meats from Chile, while from other points also flowed in honey, firewood, coal, and all those things “that pertain to human life, as much by necessity as for its delight and greater glory.”⁵² In his descriptions of the fruits of the land, Fray Buenaventura established a perfect balance between the products that came to Lima from near and far. Few European cities at the time possessed this variety of riches, and none also enjoyed the wealth that flowed from the world’s greatest silver mines at Potosí. As the great city in Botero, Lima also enjoyed a large and very diverse population, and Buenaventura repeatedly referenced the city’s “great numbers,” and diversity, which he considered to be one more source of the city’s wealth and marker of its greatness.⁵³ In a section on Lima’s impres-

sive Holy Office of the Inquisition, for example, he noted how the Auto de Fe performed in the Plaza Mayor in 1625 was witnessed by over twelve thousand people.⁵⁴ He also provided the numbers and condition of its *vecinos* (citizens), as well as those who visited and dwelled in Lima, and their consumption, describing the abundance and variety of the foodstuff available in the city’s markets, the assortment of merchandises available in the great variety of city shops, and how much its inhabitants spent in them.⁵⁵

Great wealth and voluminous population was not, however, the only base of Lima greatness for Fray Buenaventura, as much of it also derived from its condition as the viceregal court, and the preeminence, reputation, and authority bestowed on it by the “illustrious lineages” of its nobility, the presence of illustrious viceroys who governed alongside the city’s *Real Audiencia*, the Royal Court of Justice, and all the other offices and officers of its government; whose power and preeminence was made evident in a detail history of the institutions, the men who had served each, and their salaries.⁵⁶ In annals fashion, Salinas listed all the viceroys who had ruled Peru, describing their more notable deeds, and noting the amount of silver that each viceroy had remitted to the kings of Castile. Since conquest and foundation, the wealth of viceregal Peru had in his estimation amounted to an almost unimaginable total of sixty-eight million one hundred thirty-eight thousand one hundred and eleven ducats, not including the remittances from its northern Kingdom of Quito.⁵⁷ As the university, founded by Charles V in 1548, was another source of distinction and cultural capital for the viceregal court, in similar fashion, Buenaventura described in detail, with a history of its founding, all of its chairs, past and present professors, as well as the salaries of all its various members. A similar pattern was followed in the section dealing with each of the *Colegios Reales*.⁵⁸ The treatise also included a long and detailed chapter on the history of the church, convents, religious orders, and lists of its members, and their finances in Lima, as well as in the rest of the viceroyalty.⁵⁹ Buenaventura also found the royal fortifications at Callao, with its seven bastions, each named after viceroys and saints, and the impressive artillery pieces placed in each turret, to be one more marker of prominence, as in his view, they made this fortress one of the most imposing structures of defense in the entire Spanish world, and therefore, only fitting to a great city like Lima, the head of the extended Kingdoms of Peru.⁶⁰

While the images of Lima in the *Memorial*, as those of the viceroyalty, were largely praising, Fray Buenaventura’s references to Madrid and to its royal court were much less pleasing. Madrid was mentioned indirectly as a point of reference to note, for example, how the great extents of the kingdoms of the Indies of Peru were “as long as from Madrid to the Caspian Sea.”⁶¹ More direct references to it served to critique Spanish rule in the viceroyalty and in the empire. In a passage referencing the entry on Friday, March 17,

1623, of the English prince Charles to the court in Madrid, of which an account was published in Lima, Fray Buenaventura critiqued the king, his government, and the excesses of the court.⁶² This event functioned as both, example of the greatness of the royal court and of the Spanish king who bestowed on his visitor (but also received from him) “presents in gold and silver and precious stones” enormously pleasing “the Court, our Generous King, and Courtly Grandees of Castile,” as well as, to point out the avarice and crisis to which, such greatness and excesses could lead. Under Philip IV, Buenaventura noted how “she herself [the monarchy] suffers a thousand torments,” as much as those suffered by “her Indians, her cities and her kingdoms.”⁶³

The *Memorial de las Historias del Nuevo Mundo*, much like the poem *Grandeza Mexicana*, followed in varying forms, the structures, characteristics, and many of the arguments posed by Botero in his *Greatness of Cities*, as well as those related to Cuzco and the Incas before the arrival of the Spanish, which seemed to come from his *Relaciones Toscanas*. Unlike Cuzco, Lima, or Mexico, however, Madrid did not figure prominently among the great worldly or European urban centers in the *Relaciones Toscanas*. In a description of Toledo, for example, Botero noted in passing, how towards the west of this city, “Madrid can be seen on a comfortable terrain [*terreno affaz bueno*],” the “villa where past kings made it their residence, and particularly today... lured to it by its healthy air, and the opportunity for hunting offered by its woods, a population has grown to be [one of] the largest in Spain.”⁶⁴

Solo Madrid es Corte

Madrid was not endowed with many of the attributes of a great city as outlined by Botero, or those of Mexico as illustrated by Balbuena’s poem, or of Lima according to Fray Buenaventura’s *Memorial*. Madrid, however, had the king of the largest European empire at the time. And it was the king’s figure in residence that worked to balance, at least discursively if not also politically, the absences of more “natural” attributes and resources, like fertile lands and their products, large nearby navigable waters, or the production of luxury goods, possessed by other courts in Europe and in the New World (Tormo, 1929). Its lack of “earthly things,” nonetheless, influenced Madrid’s economic conditions making it, among other things, a very expensive place in which to be and live (Domínguez Ortiz, 2003; Ringrose, 1973 and 1983). Its newness also presented problems for newcomers to the court, ranging from having to adjust to novel diplomatic comportments, to difficulties securing appropriate housing fit to their ranks.⁶⁵ The court in Madrid was also aesthetically different from other European courts, seeming to some as understated or lacking in luxury, luster, and perhaps even, magnificence and beauty.

The Dutch diplomat Lodewijk Huygens, for example, in his diary of his travels to the Court in Madrid

(1660-1661), beyond noting issues such as housing and safety, described the royal palace as lusterless, and devoid of any ornamentation or luxury. Two anterooms to the king's chamber were in his view, not only very small, but also barely furnished; the king's chamber was likewise small "with hardly room to bow," sparsely furnished with an old bed covered with a sheet of silver "*tisú*," with walls "hanged with old tapestries." A hallway leading to the queen's chamber was "long, narrow and without adornments."⁶⁶ The room where the queen ate "publicly" on Christmas day 1660 was furnished with "a long table without a tablecloth," later covered, however, for her to eat on, with "an old red velvet baldachin" hanging above it, and walls covered with old tapestries "but of extraordinary execution subtle and precise, particularly the faces." The chair on which she sat was also "old and embroidered in red velvet," while the dresses of the queen's ladies-in-waiting seemed "strange" and their headdresses simply "horrible," making "none of them beautiful."⁶⁷ Huygens' description of the dishes eaten by the queen, who apparently at times "gobbled down" large pieces of meat, noted the numerous times she added sugar to her food or simply ate it plain, certainly a marker of her status at the time.⁶⁸ Nonetheless, the *Capilla Real* was decorated with "beautiful tapestries that represented some of Jesus Christ's miracles."⁶⁹ And while the streets of the villa appeared to him as dangerous and filled with prostitutes, the interior of its palaces could be filled with great beauty, elegance and good manners, like that of the member of the *Consejo Real*, don Fernando de Borja, whose servants were extremely polite and well dressed, or that of the Duke of Alva, "a beautiful palace conditioned with very good taste."⁷⁰

Other travelers, like the Italian Francesco Gemelli Careri, who visited Madrid in the 1690s, could provide a more general sense of how the Villa looked, might have felt, but also smelled like then. Starting in 1693, Gemelli traveled to the Philippines and New Spain, as well as to Seville and Madrid, journeys he recounted in his *Giro del Mondo*, published in 1700, and where "*La Real Villa di Madrid*" is presented as a place of great contrasts. On the one hand, Gemelli praised the magnificence of the royal palace, which he described as being simply "*superbissimi*" for its magnificent structure, the richness of its furnishings, its famous paintings, its copies of fountains and clean and clear ponds, its Retiro gardens, and for its exuberant surrounding hunting forests.⁷¹ He also extolled the palace of the Duke of Uceda, "one of the best" of its kind, for its great architecture and marble ornamentation "chosen by the Queen for her residence." Gemelli also admired the Plaza Mayor for its "five-story houses with its iron balconies and perfect symmetries," its perfectly square shape with multiple entrances, and "where in the shops of its lower porticoes one can see all sorts of rich merchandize."⁷² This magnificence was surrounded, however, by low-wall houses of uneven height, made of mud "poorly constructed with wooden frames," and

where streets were always dirty by "the habit" of disposing of human waste "by throwing it out the windows onto the streets" below.⁷³

Despite these peculiarities, presumably with respect to other courts, the sole presence of the king in Madrid, bestowed upon the Villa, prestige, magnificence, and reputation. It was this source of cultural and symbolic capital as center of royal and political power of the formidable empire that chroniclers of Madrid tapped into to refute, and/or clarify, what could be construed as criticism or ill-intentioned negative images of the Villa and of the court, such as those contained in Huygens or even Gemelli, but also in Botero. An example of such refutations is the book *Libro Historico Politico, Solo Madrid es Corte*, by the royal chronicler Alonso Núñez de Castro, first published in Madrid in 1658.⁷⁴ In structure, as in many of its arguments, this book resonates with the abovementioned works by Botero, and with the 1631 *Memorial* by Buenaventura de Salinas y Córdova. The *Libro Historico*, while praising the many attributes of Madrid, also contradicted many of the prescriptions for a great city found in Botero, as well as critiques and/or representations of its geography, location, economy, and/or population as problematic, or of its physical material structures and their appearance as being less than fit for the urban head of the great Spanish empire.

Núñez de Castro defined Court as where "on the apparatuses of population, adds the presence of the Prince, of his Councils, Grandees, and Titles of the Kingdom."⁷⁵ Adding that Court was also the place where resided reason, noting the vital importance of the councilors to the prince, and concluding the history of its etymology, by quoting the law from the *Siete Partidas*, "What the Court Is, Why It Is So Named, and What It Should Be," previously mentioned, as example of the best summary of this concept.⁷⁶ Concept that, as also noted, according to Covarrubias's in his 1611 definition of Court, was "the place where the King resides," with his vassals and his officials, who, among other things, were to continuously advise and serve him.⁷⁷ Very much in line with these definitions, the subject of Book One of the *Libro Historico* was the King, while Madrid stood as a secondary backdrop theme. The institutions and etiquette around the king's body, shared in with the councils and officials that advised and served him, and with the religious and fiscal bodies to which his vassals, throughout the empire, contributed. In this order, these parts composed the political body that in concert made up the Spanish Habsburg monarchy the most powerful in the world. And where Madrid was the place where all this came together. In the first edition of this book, with few descriptions of Madrid's physical space and/or characteristics, the Villa served primarily as backdrop to the story of the prince, as Núñez often referred to the king, and his empire. The *Libro Historico* went through three more editions, in 1669, 1675 and one posthumous in 1698, and while throughout, the definition and etymology of Court re-

maintained constant, Madrid gained more prominence and presence, as it were, in the later editions, particularly in those of 1675 and 1689, reflecting perhaps its consolidation as the urban head in the empire, but perhaps also its consolidation as its administrative center.

The *Libro Historico Politico, Solo Madrid es Corte* according to María José del Río Barredo, was conceived primarily as a “manual for courtiers,” possibly intended for the numerous nobles, gentlemen and aristocrats who came to the court during the second half of the seventeenth century (Río Barredo, 2000, p. 124, n. 12). This was clearly the case in its first edition of 1658, where out of the four books that composed the *Libro Historico*, three were dedicated to the courtier, and only one and shortest, dealt specifically with the Villa of Madrid.⁷⁸ In this first edition, Book One was divided into eight sections, on the definition of the court and its etymology, as already mentioned, on the villa’s population, a comparison with the court in Rome, an enumeration of all the councils of “Madrid Court of Spain” and their functions, a short description of the etiquette observed around the body of the king, and a final section on the provisions of offices made by the king inside and outside of Spain. Arguments in this first edition are rather confusing and often seem to ramble on countering and/or correcting various writings about the Villa, its characteristics and/or shortcomings, while also praising its greatness in sometimes vague form, reflecting the fact that, as Núñez notes in its prologue to this edition, the section on Madrid grew out of notes he had gather over the years and which, to him seemed not to be very “polished,” as the real focus was on the three books that follow it dealing squarely with the courtier.⁷⁹

Be that as it may, later editions, particularly the third of 1675 and the posthumous of 1698, expanded “descriptive elements,” but not only of “the institutions of the villa,” as noted by Río Barredo, as the chronicle in effect became a long political treatise that in content, structure and detail, produced and established the space and geography of the imperial body politic of the Spanish Habsburg, as well as of its various members. This political body, as mentioned, sat in Madrid, its imperial urban courtly head and the spatial location of the court, and where the king embodied all those other parts of the body politic that made up the Spanish Habsburg monarchy (Álvarez-Ossorio, 1997, p. 74). The additions made to these later editions are too numerous to deal with here. In general terms, however, the *Libro Historico* became a well-ordered and clearly argued institutional and political-economic history of the monarchy. In it, Núñez provided a comparison of the Court in Madrid with that in Rome, noting, for example, the latter’s antiquities, its new constructions, temples, palaces, buildings, government, and the imperial city’s wealth, thus grounding the newly made Villa in a deep ancestral past by association, much as did New World cities earlier in the century in their own histories of political constitution in order to establish their authority among other cities in the empire (Oso-

rio, 2018, pp. 102-106; MacCormack, 2007). Núñez also provided lengthy descriptions of the institutions of government and revenue collection, in both Spain as well as its empire, with special details for those of Castile and Leon. The advisory Councils to the king were ordered in chronological order by date of their creation, with histories of their constitution, their members, and their functions. The kingdoms and provinces of the empire, as well as the bishoprics and archbishoprics were all treated with historical and political details as well as with the revenue sums each contributed to the monarchy. Another section on the Royal Household, detailed the offices that surrounded the king’s body and their function and uses. This Book One also included a section titled “*Other courts with whom Madrid does not want competencies*,” which constitutes an interesting criticism of other European courts, as in Núñez’s view, they “not only have... their evil in their head [but also] in their whole achey body, because none of them have hands to defend themselves, they all need help from strangers to be saved,” and since the Spanish king was often their savior, Madrid had nothing to envy of them.⁸⁰

Núñez offered subtle critiques to claims that the Villa lacked natural characteristics that made other places in Europe great cities, when, for example, in response to those who might have thought there was not a great river in Madrid, he noted how this was due to ignorance, as “there is a river in Madrid, the Manzanares, of temperate currents,” which served “for recreation without danger, for enjoyment without the risks,” of the mighty rivers of Germany.⁸¹ In the later editions, Madrid was also described in more detail, as a large urban space, with “four hundred streets, sixteen plazas, sixteen thousand houses where more than sixty thousand *vecinos* live, thirteen parishes, thirty convents, and twenty six monasteries, twenty four hospitals, a variety of shrines and devotional sites.”⁸² Descriptions of the fabric of the chapels, churches, buildings and plazas in the villa, while occasionally also offering dates of their construction or refurbishment and their costs, also conveyed the magnificence of the Villa. The Plaza Mayor, “the most sumptuous work that Spain celebrates. It was completed in the year one thousand six hundred and sixteen, surpassing nine hundred thousand ducats its fabric,” and was where “four thousand people live; and [where] in the public celebrations with bulls it is possible for more than sixty thousand people to enjoy themselves.”⁸³ He also pointed out, how in the great numbers of houses, palaces, churches, customs house, and the “royal houses of the grand palace,” Madrid had nothing to envy other courts because the Villa was “adorned by [the] many houses of grandees,” which in magnificence could be “the Palaces of other princes [in other places], [and] possessing more than one hundred thousand balconies and iron bars, ...[they] embellish [all] the houses of the Villa.”⁸⁴ Not disputing claims that the exterior of the buildings in Madrid were unimpressive, possibly rendering them less beautiful and magnificent than

those in other worldly courts, Núñez explained this was only because in the Villa these building's interiors were the "true palaces, where magnificence and comfort are to be found in their ornaments, attires, riches and comforts," something Huygens had also noted in his diary. As a way of critique, Núñez argued further, how this was unlike in those other courts where luxurious palaces on the outside hid interiors often "not fit for the habitation of a commoner," as they could be empty and poorly attired.⁸⁵

Madrid's magnificence was further reflected in its excellent and sophisticated cuisine, which had immensely improved with time due to its wealth of available provisions but was also revealed by the sheer availability of a variety of rich cloths and clothing trimmings, all so common in the Villa that many, particularly critics, Núñez argued, took them for granted, going unnoticed and unappreciated. He also rejected criticisms that all of Madrid's provisions and goods came to it from afar by "transport," rather than being produced locally. Such notions, he argued, made it seemed as if "its courtiers not owing to their soil, more conveniences for life than the natural ones of its healthy nature, of its fresh waters, of its benign airs."⁸⁶ He reasoned instead, that since no large population could owe only to its own soil all of its subsistence, there was a level playing field for all, where the advantage was to be had by those who could actually acquire the most from foreign regions. He offered how, in the court of King Salomon, where "all its pomp was due to its foreign nations, to Ophir its gold and precious stones, to Saba its frequent aromas," Salomon "did not lose his court" or himself "for owing to foreign climates their happiness," nor was he less celebrated for it. And making a clear case for empire, he argued, how a prince did not "stop being a prince for needing from others for his livelihood," nor did a court "stop being the head of all others because it needed from them, as tributaries, the fruits of many for the enjoyment of the whole." On the contrary, this was the very source of the prince's greatness and power. And proof of it was the fact that artists flocked to the court in Madrid in search of recognition and fair compensation, as there was no other place, he argued, where "foreigners from nations prominent in some art" looked for praise (*aplausos*), "like they do in Madrid." And either because in their nations they were "not appreciated, or because they cannot be afforded," their "more prominent work" was more frequently displayed and seen, therefore, in "our court rather than in that of their birthplace." This was also, however, because Madrid, unlike their birthplaces, placed a deserving price (and value) on their works.⁸⁷ And so it followed that, while luxurious cloths were manufactured in London, Holland, Florence, India, and Milan, and statues and tapestries, in Italy and Flanders, these were all "enjoyed in our court," further proving (figuratively) "that all nations raise officials for Madrid" (*crian oficiales para Madrid*) making it the "Lady of the Courts, since they all serve it, while it serves no one."⁸⁸

This form of vassalage for Núñez had its costs, nonetheless, as Madrid's gold and silver, ultimately enriched all those other nations that provided it with luxurious goods. Such expenses were a limited cost, however, as they did not take away Madrid's magnificence, but rather made evident the end to which that gold was put, thus making them in fact reasonable and legitimate uses of its wealth. This was followed by an apologia of the expenses of the court, and by extension, of the high cost of living in Madrid. Núñez conceded things costing more in Madrid than in those places where they were produced, due both to a surplus of money to pay for them, but also because products were more highly valued there, than elsewhere. In his view, in those courts with lower costs of living, either the "sweat" of their officials was simply deemed "worthless" and they worked for nothing (*de valde*), or there was just no money to pay for, or purchase, the fruits of their labor.⁸⁹

Núñez adamantly contradicted claims that Madrid could not be the "Crown" among other courts because its population was smaller than theirs. The dictum that a city with a smaller population could not rule over (*dominar*) those with larger ones was, in his view, plain wrong. Madrid in his estimate had what it needed to claim its rightful place as Court, as it not only enjoyed a sufficient number of citizens "without the dangers of excesses," but also surpassed other courts in grantees, and nobles. The Villa also exceeded in the quality of its ordinary people and of its plebes, whose "spirit" was so noble "that, though tempting, it is necessary not to claim that all of Madrid is composed of lords (*Señores*)."⁹⁰ Madrid was, in short, the rightful head as the place of residence of a king whose rich kingdoms provided him with unimaginable wealth enjoyed by the royal court and its numerous residents. A place where, furthermore, the true value of labor was not only recognized but also compensated fairly. As the center of a great empire, Madrid was immensely rich, as the king's many "tributary" kingdoms that supplied it with a wealth of foodstuff and luxury items required for and by its "magnificence," offset its presumed lack of more earthly local resources. A head whose population, furthermore, although potentially less "populous" than that of other courts, made up for it by exceeding in nobility and gentility.⁹¹

THE KING AS CENTER OF AN EMPIRE OF COURTS

Attributes notwithstanding, by the mid-seventeenth century, Madrid had consolidated its place as center of monarchical power of the Spanish Habsburg monarchy, and as cultural and ceremonial referent in Spain (Río Barredo, 2000, pp. 124 and ss.). Madrid, however, was not an often-cited referent in New World narratives, like were other world cities such as Rome, Venice or Florence, or Calicut, or Toledo, Salamanca, or Seville and Lisbon, and this might have been due to history and geography, as much as to the political and economic structures of the empire.

Seventeenth-century Lisbon was a city, unlike Madrid, with deep historical roots. In the twelfth century, Lisbon had expanded into a cosmopolitan commercial port from which, in following centuries, explorations to Africa, Asia and later America were launched, thereby turning it into the political and symbolic center of a vast, and diverse empire (França, 2009, pp. 13-170). By 1600, Lisbon was known as a cosmopolitan center for trade and interactions for a variety of peoples, cultures and commodities, best symbolized perhaps by a purported commotion caused by elephants and rhinoceroses from India parading through its streets, but also by the presence of its empire in its buildings, such as the *Casa de Ceuta* and the *Casa da Índias*, and peoples who hailed from all corners of its possessions, as mentioned by various chroniclers in this period (Góis, 1996, pp. xv and 29-30; also Antunes, 2004; Jordan Gschwend and Lowe, 2015; Senos, 2015). The city captured the imagination of writers, and travelers as a space and place, where the Orient met Occident. In 1554, Damiaão de Góis described the commercial bustle in the city, as a variegated multitude, where “[e]very day merchants representing almost every people and region of the world flock together here, joined by great throngs of people enjoying the advantages of business at the port” (Góis, 1996, pp. 22, 27 and 26-30). Fifty years later, Giovanni Botero placed Lisbon at the very top of a hierarchy of great European cities, including Venice, Naples, Rome, and London, placing it second to Paris, and third after Constantinople. Lisbon’s importance in this urban geography was also evident in other writings such as João Baptista Lavanhã’s account of Philip III’s progress from Madrid to Lisbon.⁹²

Lisbon’s greatness for Botero, stemmed from the commodity of its site (like that of Antwerp), its possessions in the “islands of Azores, Cape Verde, Madeira and others [which] have [...] amplified and increased Lisbon a great deal more than if they had never removed thence to those same islands,” for its command of the sea which brought to the city “the pepper of Cochin and the cinnamon of Ceylon and other riches of the [Oriental] Indies,” which could only be brought by them under their license, for its bound upon the ocean by a great river, and also because the prince had once made it his residence (Botero, 1956, pp. 235, 247, 256 and 271). Among the many cities that had princely courts, such as London, Naples, Lisbon, Prague, Milan, and Ghent, all had also enjoyed very large populations. Nonetheless, for Botero, “Lisbon is indeed somewhat larger than the rest, by means of the commerce and traffic of Ethiopia, India, and Brazil” (Botero, 1956, p. 271). Furthermore, “[i]n Spain there is not a city of such greatness, partly because is hath been till now of late divided into divers little kingdoms, and partly because through want of navigable rivers it cannot bring so great a quantity of food and victual into one place as might maintain therein and extraordinary number of peoples” (Botero, 1956, p. 272). And while, the most

magnificent cities and with the greatest reputation were “those where the ancient kings and princes held their seats, as Barcelona, Saragossa, Valencia, Cordova, Toledo, Burgos, Leon,” which were all sufficiently populous and also “honourable,” they did not, however, “but yet such as pass not the second rank of the cities of Italy” (Botero, 1956, p. 272). Granada and Seville, on the other hand, neither which competed with Lisbon, and Valladolid and Madrid, neither of which were cities, benefitted nonetheless from the presence of the king and his court. Madrid, he noted further “is at this day much increased and continually increaseth by the court that King Philip keepeth there.” A court, Botero found to be “of such efficacy and power” that although the country “be neither plentiful nor pleasant,” it, nonetheless, drew such numbers of people that it had “made that place, of a village, one of the most populous places now in Spain” (Botero, 1956, p. 272). When Lisbon is compared to Madrid, and both to the New World vice-regal cities of the Spanish Habsburg Empire, Lima and Mexico together seemed then to be closer to Lisbon than to Madrid.

In Spain, the space where Orient met Occident was found in “the triangle Sanlúcar de Barrameda-Seville-Bay of Cadiz,” where the “ships, men, merchandise, artifacts, maps, chronicles, [and] news” arrived from the Indies, and where Seville from the late fifteenth century had functioned as center for “gathering and analyzing” information (Iglesias Rodríguez, 2018, p. 59; Loureiro, 2018, p. 439). Seville also enjoyed one of the highest rates of urban nobility in Andalusia, and “in the urban hierarchy of the peninsula in the mid-seventeenth century, Seville was situated directly below Lisbon and at the same level as Madrid” (Hugon, 2015, pp. 66-67). While, within Europe, Seville was surpassed by Paris, London and Naples, it could nonetheless “compete with Venice and Amsterdam in number of inhabitants and the magnitude of its commerce,” as they were all part of “those ‘world cities’ open to intercontinental traffic” that interconnected the entire world (Hugon, 2015, p. 67). Seville, moreover, also had longstanding connections to Lisbon, and through it to Asia (Loureiro, 2018, pp. 439 and ss.). These peninsular port cities by being directly connected to America and Asia within the empire, functioned, as both “passage” and “conduct” in the best sense argued by Botero, while also being “commodious.” As not only goods and knowledge came to them from the New World to be inventoried, assessed, compiled, stored, redistributed, and consumed, but from these ports traffic also took off to the Indies. At the same time that a myriad of peoples also came and went to settle and live in them (Guillaume-Alonso, 2018, pp. 37 and 49-54). The “development of the cities and ports in Andalusia” was, therefore, closely tied to the “evolution of the *Carrera de Indias*,” and to the complex social and commercial networks that “linked” urban and mercantile centers in Andalusia with Atlantic commerce, allowing it to play centrally crucial roles in the

“profound transformations that gave rise to the modern world” (Iglesias Rodríguez, 2018, p. 57). These new commercial and social networks, in turn, opened up new geographies of economic exchanges and production, to be sure. But they also produced new loci of economic and cultural power, as such places saw the rise of powerful new elites and nobilities, and also of new forms of knowledge production, relegating distant Mediterranean Italian port cities, such as Naples, to a backdrop place in these new circuits of production and exchanges.⁹³ And whence, while Madrid was the political center of the empire, the New World connections to Seville were not only more immediate, but also enjoyed a much longer and deeper history than they did to the court. Seville not only functioned as a banking center for the empire, but was also the site of the *Casa de la Contratación*, entrusted with trade related issues, and leading center in the peninsula in the production of knowledge about the Indies (Barrera-Osorio, 2006; Loureiro, 2018; Studnicki-Gizbert, 2007; Fernández Castro 2014). This administrative division of labor, as it were, which preceded Philip II’s designation of Madrid as administrative center for his empire, as the *Casa* was established in 1503, in fact created two centers of power, one political in Madrid and the other economic in Seville. And this was unlike Lisbon, where all its institutions, political and economic, as was also found in the New World viceregal courts, were concentrated in the same place and space as the royal court and the king’s residence (Antunes, 2004, pp. 33-58). The royal palace in Lisbon, the *Paço da Ribeira* was in fact built “literally above the *Casa da India*,” and was “created, both physically and figuratively, to be *the* house of the Portuguese empire” (Senos, 2015, pp. 25 and 32).

What Botero described in his greatness of cities was this new economic and cultural reality by which Seville, Lisbon, Amsterdam, Goa, and Manila, but also Lima and Mexico became great cosmopolitan cities in the seventeenth century by virtue of their worldwide commercial ties (Antunes, 2004; Brook, 2008; Osorio, 2008; Studnicki-Gizbert, 2007). As port cities, they were all passages for goods, peoples, and knowledges, and their rich populations and connections to productive surroundings also made them commodious. And while Mexico, like Madrid, was not a port but located in the interior of its viceroyalty, it functioned, however, as passage and conduct as Balbuena’s dynamic poem made amply evident, and much like what Fray Buenaventura also described for Lima. The late establishment of Madrid as center of monarchical power, furthermore, compounded the central role played by Seville as referent in the New World in part because of its role as “passage” and “conduct” city, but also because the king resided far inland in Madrid beyond these interconnected routes. These new circuits of commercial and direct cultural exchanges between the Indies and the Peninsula, relegated more distant Mediterranean ports cities, irrespective of their size and might, such as Naples, to play increasingly secondary roles in this

new transoceanic geography of power and knowledge. In a sense, these new dynamics helped provincialize these European sites, as they did not partake in direct ways of the benefits from the migrations and circulation of a wide variety of peoples, goods, and knowledges, as did Seville, Sanlúcar, Cadiz or even Lisbon that gave rise to the modern world order (Subrahmaniam, 2001 and 2007).⁹⁴ Great new geographical distances was a central issue for rule in the vast Spanish Habsburg Empire that led, in part, to a sophisticated political culture that made the king present in all his possessions allowing him to rule from afar (Osorio, 2008 and 2017). But while the king was made present in his distant possessions through his simulacra, this was simply not the case with the place of his residence, the Villa of Madrid. And so, and in spite of being one of the great art and cultural centers in Europe, as Núñez noted, and with a cosmopolitan population made up of the diplomats, bankers, courtiers, Indians and others who hailed to it from all corners of the world, Madrid was overshadowed by the presence of the most powerful king, relegating it to share with other great cities like Rome, Seville, Lisbon, Calicut or Jerusalem, a somewhat diminished place among them as referent in the narratives of the mighty empire of which it was its magnificent urban courtly head.

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NOTES

- 1 See *Recopilacion de las leyes de las Yndias*, libro IV, título 8, ley II and ley V; libro III, título III, ley primera, libro II, título XV, ley V. And Osorio, 2008, pp. 37-43, 176n52, and n54; Osorio, 2017 and 2018; Kagan, 2000; see also Cardim and Palos, 2012.
- 2 See for example, Muto 2004, p.133; Osorio, 2017 and 2018.
- 3 For works that understand the political “decentralization” of the Spanish monarchy as a vertical body populated by republics, see for example Cardim et al., 2012; Centeno de Arce, 2012; Herzog, 2015; and Lempèrière, 2004; see also Elliott, 1992 and Osorio 2018.
- 4 For the cultural and economic role of Italians in the early settlement of the American kingdoms, see for example Orlandi, 2016 and Markey, 2012.

- 5 All translations hereinafter are mine.
- 6 *Las Siete Partidas*, 2001, vol. II, p. 328.
- 7 The *Casa de la Contratación*, or House of Trade, established in 1503, came to supervise and regulate commerce and business with the New World, royal tariffs and taxes, and civil and criminal matters related to these activities, see Barrera-Osorio, 2006, pp. 14, 35-37.
- 8 See, for example, Pearson, 2011.
- 9 Biblioteca Nacional de España [BNE], GMM/2961, *Descripción de todas las provincias, Reynos, Estados, y Ciudades principales del Mundo, sacada de las Relaciones Toscanas de Juan Botero ... Por Fr. Iayme Rebullosa... Gerona: Por Jayme Brò Impressor... Año 1748*, p. 331; subsequent citations = BNE, GMM/2961, *Descripción*, 1748, p. 331.
- 10 For Botero's influences on writings about viceregal Lima. see Osorio, 2008.
- 11 Like Naples, which fashioned itself as “The Noble City,” and as “città fedelissima,” New World viceregal heads, also presented themselves as noble and loyal cities. Unlike Naples, however, Lima and Mexico also defined themselves as head and court of their respective viceroys (see Marino, 2011, p. 2; Muto, 2004, p. 140; Osorio, 2008).
- 12 See for example López Lázaro, 2011; Orlandi, 2016.
- 13 See for example, *Nova, e Perfettissima Descrittioni del Regno di Napoli, Diuiso in dodici Prouincie, nella quale brevemente si tratta della Città di Napoli, e delle cose più notabili, Prouincie, Città, e Terre più illustri...Opera d'Enrico Bacco Alemanno. Ampliata da Cesare d'Engueio...In Napoli...1629; Il Forastiero Dialogi di Givlio Cesare Capaccio...Nei quali, oltre a quel che si ragiona dell'origine di Napoli, gouerno antico della sua Repubblica...In Napoli...M. DC. XXXIV*.
- 14 BNE, R/8773, Bernardo de Balbuena, *Grandeza Mexicana*, 1604, n.p.n.; subsequent citations = BNE, R/8773, Balbuena, 1604, f. 140.
- 15 For various literary aspects of this poem, including Balbuena's political intentions, see Barrera, 2003; Egan, 2001; Joset, 2014; Pardo, 2001; Terukina Yamauchi, 2012.
- 16 BNE, R/8773, Balbuena, 1604, f. 140.
- 17 BNE, R/8773, Balbuena, 1604, f. 64. *Maquina*: “Fabrica grande e ingeniosa del nombre latino Machina,” (Covarrubias 1995 [1611], p. 736).
- 18 BNE, R/8773, Balbuena, 1604, f. 64.
- 19 BNE, R/8773, Balbuena, 1604, f. 76 and ss.
- 20 BNE, R/8773, Balbuena, 1604, f. 75r-76.
- 21 BNE, R/8773, Balbuena, 1604, f. 78.
- 22 BNE, R/8773, Balbuena, 1604, f. 89.
- 23 BNE, R/8773, Balbuena, 1604, ff. 83r, 84 and ss.
- 24 BNE, R/8773, Balbuena, 1604, f. 89 r.
- 25 BNE, R/8773, Balbuena, 1604, ff. 89r-90r-91.
- 26 BNE, R/8773, Balbuena, 1604, f. 98-98r.
- 27 BNE, R/8773, Balbuena, 1604, ff. 99-100r.
- 28 BNE, R/8773, Balbuena, 1604, f. 110r.
- 29 BNE, R/8773, Balbuena, 1604, f. 100r.
- 30 BNE, R/8773, Balbuena, 1604, f. 112.
- 31 BNE, R/8773, Balbuena, 1604, ff. 112- 112r.
- 32 BNE, R/8773, Balbuena, 1604, f. 118r.
- 33 BNE, R/8773, Balbuena, 1604, f. 119.
- 34 Capaccio, *Il Forastiero*; BNE, R/8773, Balbuena, 1604, f. 140.
- 35 See Gálvez-Peña, 2008.
- 36 Francisco Solano was born in Montilla, Spain, came to Peru in 1589; was beatified by pope Clement X in 1675, and canonized by Benedict XIII in 1726.
- 37 BNE, R/3130, *Memorial de las Historias del Nuevo Myndo Perv. Meritos, y Excelencias dela ciudad de Los Reyes Lima, Cabeça de sus ricos, y estendidos Reynos... por... Benauentura de Salinas y Córdoua... Lima... 1631*, Discurso II; most of this manuscript is unnumbered and ordered into CAP and Discursos; subsequent citations = BNE, R/3130, *Memorial*, 1631, Discurso II.
- 38 See for example, BNE, R/21926, *Poema Heroyco Hispano-Latino Panegyrico de la Fyndacion, y Grandezas de la muy Noble, y Leal Ciudad de Lima... Rodrigo de Valdes... Madrid... 1687*; also Estenssoro, 2005.
- 39 BNE, GMM/2961, *Descripción*, 1748, p. 331.
- 40 BNE, GMM/2961, *Descripción*, 1748, p. 327.
- 41 BNE, GMM/2961, *Descripción*, 1748, pp. 327-328.
- 42 BNE, GMM/2961, *Descripción*, 1748, pp. 327-328.
- 43 Today Sucre, Bolivia.
- 44 BNE, GMM/2961, *Descripción*, 1748, p. 332.
- 45 BNE, GMM/2961, *Descripción*, 1748, p. 295.
- 46 BNE, GMM/2961, *Descripción*, 1748, pp. 299-300.
- 47 BNE, GMM/2961, *Descripción*, 1748, p. 297.
- 48 BNE, R/3130, *Memorial*, 1631, Cap. II.
- 49 BNE, R/3130, *Memorial*, 1631, Cap. II.
- 50 See for example Ocaña, 1969.
- 51 Biblioteca Pública de Burgos [BPB], sig. 2.677, *Libro Historico Politico Solo Madrid Es Corte, Y El Cortesano en Madrid. Dividido en quatro Libros... Por Alonso Nuñez de Castro... En Madrid. Por Andres Garcia de la Iglesia. Año 1658*, f. 4r; subsequent citations = BPB, sig. 2.677, *Libro*, 1658, f. 4r.
- 52 BNE, R/3130, *Memorial*, 1631, Cap. II.
- 53 BNE, R/3130, *Memorial*, 1631, Cap. VI.
- 54 BNE, R/3130, *Memorial*, 1631, Cap. III. Note that there are two chapter four, the first is “Cap. IIII” followed by “Cap. IV.” On this Auto de fe, also see Osorio, 2008, pp. 103-119.
- 55 BNE, R/3130, *Memorial*, 1631, Cap. VI.
- 56 BNE, R/3130, *Memorial*, 1631, Cap. IIII.
- 57 BNE, R/3130, *Memorial*, 1631, Cap. III.
- 58 BNE, R/3130, *Memorial*, 1631, Cap. IV.
- 59 BNE, R/3130, *Memorial*, 1631, Cap. V.
- 60 BNE, R/3130, *Memorial*, 1631, Cap. II.
- 61 BNE, R/3130, *Memorial*, 1631, Discurso II, Cap. I.
- 62 BNE, R/3130, *Memorial*, 1631, Discurso III, Cap. I, p. 253.
- 63 “Verdadera relación de la entrada del principe Carlos de Inglaterra en la corte de Madrid, viernes diez y siete de marzo este año de 1623.” [Ciudad de los Reyes, s.n. 1623], cited in Wilkinson and Ulla Lorenzo, 2016, p. 1940; BNE, R/3130, *Memorial*, 1631, Discurso III, Cap. I, f. 253.
- 64 BNE, GMM/2961, *Descripción*, 1748, p. 22.
- 65 For the political implications of the reordering of European powers represented at the court of Philip II, after establishing Madrid as “center” of the most important realm outside Rome, see *Diario de Hans Khevenhüller*, 2001.
- 66 *Un Holandés*, 2010, pp. 175-176.
- 67 *Un Holandés*, 2010, pp. 185-187.
- 68 See Stols, 2004; Thomas, 1965, pp. 110 and ss.
- 69 *Un Holandés*, 2010, p. 183.
- 70 *Un Holandés*, 2010, p. 191.
- 71 *Giro del Mondo del dottor D. Gio Francesco Gemelli Careri. Parte Sesta. Contenente le cose più ragguardevoli vedute Nella Nvova Spagna. Nella Stamperia di Giuseppe Roselli, 1700*, p. 368; subsequent citations = *Giro del Mondo*, 1700, p. 368.
- 72 *Giro del Mondo*, 1700, p. 369.
- 73 *Giro del Mondo*, 1700, pp. 367-383.
- 74 This title, along with *Día, y noche de Madrid* and *Dozenas de Comedias de Madrid*, appeared in a catalog of books to be sold in the Indies in the seventeenth century (see Torre Revello, 1930, pp. 22, 29, 30).
- 75 BPB, sig. 2.677, *Libro*, 1658, f. 1.
- 76 BPB, sig. 2.677, *Libro*, 1658, ff. 1r, 2r.
- 77 Covarrubias, 1995 [1611], p. 360.
- 78 BPB, sig. 2.677, *Libro*, 1658, ff. 1-41b.
- 79 BPB, sig. 2.677, *Libro*, 1658, Prologo.
- 80 BPB, sig. 2.677, *Libro*, 1658, ff. 12-12r.
- 81 BPB, sig. 2.677, *Libro*, 1658, f. 7.
- 82 *Libro Historico Politico, Solo Madrid es Corte, y el Cortesano en Madrid. Quarta Impression, con diferentes Adiciones, dividido en quatro Libros... En Barcelona: Por Vicente Suria, Impresor... Año 1698*, p. 7; subsequent citations = *Libro Historico*, 1698, p. 7.
- 83 *Libro Historico*, 1698, pp. 7-8.
- 84 *Libro Historico*, 1698, pp. 8-9.
- 85 BPB, sig. 2.677, *Libro*, 1658, f. 4; *Libro Historico*, 1698, p. 9.
- 86 BPB, sig. 2.677, *Libro*, 1658, f. 4r; *Libro Historico*, 1698, p. 10.
- 87 BPB, sig. 2.677, *Libro*, 1658, f. 5; *Libro Historico*, 1698, p. 12.

- 88 BPB, sig. 2.677, *Libro*, 1658, f. 5; *Libro Historico*, 1698, p. 12.
 89 BPB, sig. 2.677, *Libro*, 1658, f. 5r-6; *Libro Historico*, 1698, p.13.
 90 *Libro Historico*, 1698, pp. 14-15.
 91 Antonio de León Pinelo in his *Anales de Madrid*, in 1561 placed the population of Madrid at twelve to fourteen thousand people living in two thousand five hundred and twenty houses (León Pinelo, 1971, p. 85). By contrast, in 1547, the city of Naples had a population of 212,000 inhabitants (Marino, 2011, p. 10).
 92 BNE, R/6055, *Viaje de la Catholica Real Magestad del Rei D. Felipe .III. N.S. Al Reino de Portugal. I relacion del solene (sic) recebimiento (sic) que en el se le hizo... Por Ioan Baptista Lavaña sv Coronista Mayor. Madrid Por Thomas Iunti Impressor del Rei NS M. DC. XXII*.
 93 See for example Brook, 2008; Yun-Casalilla, 2019 and 2022.
 94 See also Gruzinski, 2004.

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