

Introduction

PHILIP II OF SPAIN, ARCHITECTURE, AND VISUAL CIRCULATIONS

Imagine a grand palatial chamber in the Alcázar (royal palace) in Madrid, the room designed in the form of an enlarged rectangle of monumental dimensions, the architecture of which aimed to impress the viewer. This gallery's spatial configuration effectively suited the progress of pageants in ceremonial procession, which in turn accentuated the majesty of the king's palace.¹ To commemorate the ceremony of the Order of the Golden Fleece that took place in the palace in 1593, the walls of the gallery were lined with some of the finest tapestries in the royal collection. Some of these tapestries were from the Conquest of Tunis series, a set woven by Willem de Pannemaker (1512–1581) from the cartoons by Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen (ca. 1504–1559). The ceremonial committee progressed through this grand palatial chamber and accessed an adjacent room, located in the northwest area of the palace. Described by the chronicles as a *saleta* (small chamber), this space boasted tapestries on its walls from the Fame series (now known as the Honors series) woven by Pieter van Aelst (ca. 1495–ca. 1560).²

This *saleta* was also “covered with beautiful carpets” and included “a very rich chair,” a throne under a canopy embroidered with gold, silver, diamonds, rubies, emeralds, pearls, and other precious stones. The throne and canopy had been brought from Antwerp at great expense. From this chamber the procession continued to the next room, where members of the Order, the noblemen receiving the chain of the Order of the Golden Fleece, and officials waited for the king to be ready. The committee subsequently joined the king in his quarters. King Philip II of Spain (r. 1556–98) sat in his ceremonial seat, which was flanked by two benches covered with carpets from the Indies; on the right-hand bench sat Prince Philip, heir to the Spanish throne, who was fifteen years old at the time.³

A chronicle of the event recounted some of the lavish decoration fashioned for the ceremony in the Alcázar: magnificent Flemish tapestries, a royal throne made in Antwerp with a profusion of precious metals and stones, and carpets that impressed the observer, some of which came from

the Indies. The presence of the empire—trans-oceanic and European—could be sensed through some of these objects. The brief description of the decoration of the chambers for the ceremony exemplifies some of the objects that were found in Philip's palaces. While the presence or absence of objects from the West Indies at the court in Madrid has been famously debated, and the present piece by no means intends to fully engage with such discussion, one can conclude that the composition of the spaces described in the Alcázar combined materials and objects crafted in different parts of the world.⁴

Chambers decorated with diverse objects from around the globe were indeed found in Iberian Habsburg palaces. The designs, materials, and construction techniques used for some of the buildings erected in sixteenth-century Iberia synthesized broader trends. Sixteenth-century Spain is generally linked to Habsburg European political prowess and imperial expansion in the Americas. The European and colonial empire that Philip II inherited in 1556 would be dramatically expanded in 1580, when the monarch became king of Portugal and thus ruler of the vast Lusitanian trans-oceanic empire. Trans-European artistic and design influences were present in Iberia; however, visual trends were greatly influenced by the building and artistic traditions of Al-Andalus. The latter is illustrated in Jakob Cuelbis's description of the Alcázar in Madrid in 1599, where the German traveler recounted the array of maps and city views found in the Salón Dorado (Gilded Hall), which included a selection of city vistas that Anton van den Wyn-gaerde had depicted for Philip II. This chamber also included maps of Rome and Seville, an image of Malacca, and a view of Mexico City.⁵ The representation of Mexico City was moved some decades later to the Alcázar's then less prominent Galería del Cierzo (Northern Gallery), where the chambers of the old Trastámara palace were located. The architectural development of the Alcázar

during the reigns of Charles V and Philip II presented a synthesis of coexisting visual trends.⁶ During Charles V's reign, some chambers of the Trastámara palace were conserved together with their *artesonados* and *armaduras*, demonstrating the magnificent Andalusian woodwork tradition that was widely employed in the Iberian Peninsula in the sixteenth century.⁷ The *artesonados* and *armaduras* in these rooms were restored and embellished during Charles V's reign and retained during Philip's rule. During Philip II's reign, new spaces, especially the Golden Tower, gained more prominence in the palatial complex—incorporating designs and decorations according to the king's taste and reflecting pan-European design trends—yet these other chambers were still used in the daily life of the court.⁸ A devastating fire destroyed the Alcázar in 1734, and while it is impossible to know whether the building and some of its oldest chambers would have survived the passage of time, its loss has also affected the way in which the arts of Philip's time, particularly architecture, are understood.

Prince Philip, the son of Charles V (1500–1558) and Isabella of Portugal (1503–1539), was born in Valladolid in 1527. Educated in the courtly circle of Isabella until her death in 1539, Philip's tutors included Juan Martínez Siliceo (1486–1557) and the humanist Juan Calvete de Estrella (1520?–1593). Philip became Duke of Milan in 1540 and regent of Spain in 1543. Philip's education in letters, sciences, martial arts, and statesmanship resembled that of other contemporary princes of the period. Philip's language abilities never compared to his father's and, while he traveled often, Philip felt most at home in Castile. In 1541, at the age of fifteen, Prince Philip already had a small collection of books on geometry, mathematics, and architecture.⁹ In the mid-1550s, the prince had two important encounters with architectural theory. Francisco de Villalpando (ca. 1510–1561) published his translation of the third and fourth books of Sebastiano

Serlio's treatise into Castilian in 1552. Villalpando proposed architecture as a vehicle to impose royal authority and argued that it could be exploited for the glorification of the king.¹⁰

Philip owned an anonymous treatise on architecture, dated around 1550; the manuscript, entitled *De architectura*, was dedicated to the prince and stems from Leon Battista Alberti's *De re aedificatoria* (1485).¹¹ The author praised Vitruvius's work, emphasized the role of architecture as a medium to project esteem, and made a distinction between the duties of a mason and those of an architect.¹² Thus rulers, as architects of the state, should assert their presence through architecture and urbanism. The author advocated for the creation of a royal architectural style, unornamented, that emulated ancient Roman public buildings. The anonymous author evoked the Albertian reinterpretation of Ciceronian oration to emphasize that ornamentation should be reserved for religious buildings; public buildings should be less decorative.¹³ *De architectura* condensed the characteristics of the style developed under Philip II's patronage in subsequent years, contending that an ordered city with fine architecture would improve the realm and echo the good governmental praxis of the ruler. Thus *De architectura* buttressed the moral constellations of architecture and urban planning.

The prince was summoned by his father to travel in central Europe (1548–51) in order to familiarize himself with the northern parts of his realm and future allies. He traveled through Italy, Germany, and the Low Countries. Charles V intended to abdicate the Holy Roman emperors in his son's favor; however, the imperial throne remained in the Austrian branch of the Habsburgs. In addition to receiving the Dukedom of Milan, Philip became king of Naples and Sicily in 1554. Philip's first European sojourn is the period in which he cultivated his artistic preferences. He famously met Titian, his favorite painter, and in this sojourn the Venetian artist also portrayed Philip. The prince's

encounters with artists and architecture, particularly in Italy and the Low Countries, had a tremendous impact on his artistic taste. Upon his return to Castile, Philip implemented an intensive program of reforms in his properties. These projects included the palace in Aranjuez and its gardens as well as major architectural reforms in the royal palaces in Madrid, El Pardo, and Valsain.¹⁴ Apart from El Escorial, these palaces have either disappeared or changed significantly over time. Philip's involvement went beyond the reading of reports and receipt of plans for his approval; he amended proposals extensively and drafted plans for the architects. The prince's correspondence with the Junta de Obras y Bosques, the committee in charge of these architectural developments and the management of royal forests, was fluid, and the flow of correspondence with his architects increased over time.¹⁵

On the second journey, between 1554 and 1559, Philip traveled to England to wed Mary Tudor and became Lord of the Seventeen Provinces in the Netherlands in 1555. Philip then traveled to France to support his father in the French campaign that culminated in the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis (1559). The peace gave the Spanish Habsburgs virtual control over the Italian peninsula, a hegemony that lasted practically undisturbed until the end of Philip's reign. Charles abdicated in 1556, and from then until his death in 1598, Philip was king of Spain and also ruled over the expanding dominions in America.

In 1559, Philip appointed Juan Bautista de Toledo (ca. 1515–1567) architect of the realm and master mason, and in 1561 he designated Madrid as the temporary seat of the royal court. Master masons at the court, such as Alonso de Covarrubias (1488–1570) and Luis de Vega (d. 1562), would continue their labor for Philip. However, Bautista de Toledo was the designer of the master plan for the Monastery of San Lorenzo of El Escorial and contributed to the creation of the austere classicism

that characterized the style of royal buildings. After Bautista de Toledo's death in 1567, the architect and scientist Juan de Herrera (1530–1597) became one of the most important designers at court.¹⁶ Gaspar de Vega (ca. 1523–1575) and Francisco de Mora (1553–1610) also made vital contributions to the evolution of architectural design at court. During the reigns of Philip's heirs, architects such as Juan de Valencia and Juan Gómez de Mora (1586–1648), among others, further consolidated the Habsburg style in architecture.¹⁷

The style in architecture created by Philip II and his architects has been called the Herrerian style, after Juan de Herrera.¹⁸ This new style was a combination of Castilian design, Italian trends, and Flemish solutions to building roofing and towers, which in turn echoed the theories of the ancients.¹⁹ The style, epitomized by El Escorial, continued to thrive after Philip II's death and came to symbolize the lineage of the Spanish Habsburgs. Carl Justi (1832–1912) coined the term *desornamentado* with a pejorative bias, which echoes the wider influence of the Black Legend.²⁰ George Kubler (1912–1996) found stylistic parallels between the Spanish Habsburg style and the plain style in Portugal, which had greater longevity.²¹ For the former, Jesús Escobar has appropriately posited the use of *Austríaco* style, a term that bolsters the notion of a style developed by, and for the representation of, the Spanish branch of the Habsburg dynasty in the early modern period. Thus this term seems the most suitable designation for the architectural style of the Spanish Habsburgs. The critical role that Philip II had in its creation and his interventionist approach to architectural design and practice are fundamental for an understanding of his reign and the prestige of the built environment therein.

In 1580, Philip became king of Portugal, a realm he ruled until his death that included the vast dominions of the Lusitanian empire. The Spanish branch of the Habsburgs became Europe's most powerful composite monarchy, with an empire

that stretched from Europe to the Americas and Southeast Asia. Philip's dominions enjoyed only six months of peace during his reign: he engaged in military campaigns with other European realms and with the Turks in the Mediterranean, and he faced a significant uprising within Castile known as the Rebellion of the Alpujarras (1568–71). Military campaigns, attacks on the convoys from the Americas and on imperial ports in both Europe and the wider world, and bankruptcies successively emerged during Philip's reign. In 1588, the Spanish monarch planned a full-blown invasion of England. Despite the Armada disaster, the Spanish monarchy under Philip's rule continued to exert dominion in Europe and abroad, while Philip's fame and reputation as a religious fanatic circulated across Europe. Philip's political decisions and his arduous defense of the Catholic faith have overshadowed the perceived image of the monarch. However, Philip was also passionate about architecture, art, books, nature, and gardens.²²

The historiography of Philip II's contribution to architecture has been dominated by an analysis of the magnum opus created by his royal architects under his patronage, the Monastery of San Lorenzo of El Escorial (fig. 1). The magnificent view of the seventh design included in Pierre Perret's book shows the architecture of the monastery in all its splendor. The series of etchings is based on drawings by the royal architect Juan de Herrera.²³ The view offers an overview of the main façade and displays the ordered layout of the building, the sequence of cloisters, and the basilica. An extraordinary building in terms of design, construction materials, and decorative program, El Escorial was constructed in twenty-one years between 1563 and 1584, an incredible feat. The monastery sought to commemorate the victory of the Battle of St. Quentin (1557) and above all to serve as a pantheon for the kings of Spain. Dedicated to Saint Lawrence, El Escorial was originally a monastery of the Order of Saint Jerome, following Habsburg



tradition. For the work on the monastery, Philip sought the best architects and artists he could attract to his court. El Escorial was not only a monastery and a mausoleum but also a palace and a seminary, which houses a magnificent library and a vast collection of relics. The erection of this building, which in the collective imagination identified Philip as the defender of the Catholic faith, gives us a partial view of his rule. It also informs our understanding of the arts, including architecture, during his reign.²⁴ Scholarship in the past few decades has reclaimed a more balanced image of Philip II as both a monarch and a patron of the arts; of particular interest for the present book are works on architecture and visual culture.²⁵ Philip was one of the major patrons of the arts in the

FIGURE 1 | Pierre Perret, seventh design of the General Vista of El Escorial, 1587. From *Diseños de toda la fabrica de San Lorenzo el Real del Escorial, con las declaraciones de las letras, numeros y caracteres de cada uno* (Madrid, 1587). Courtesy of the Biblioteca Nacional de España.

period: he amassed a large collection of Titians (among other prominent painters), commissioned tapestries, and funded grand architectural and artistic projects.

The literature has focused on placing the artistic taste of the Habsburg Spanish Court at the forefront of well-regarded southern and northern Renaissance art and architecture. Philip had clear preferences for Italian and Flemish art; however,

neither El Escorial nor his collections fully convey the rich array of architectural and cultural trends that characterized the artistic landscape of the Iberian Peninsula in this period. Since El Escorial is one of the few surviving sixteenth-century royal residences, it is not possible to comprehend the full spectrum of architectural production in the period, or the spaces that royalty and Philip's subjects inhabited in cities across his realms. While attempting to condense all architectural, visual, and cultural circulations in one book is an impossible task, it is nevertheless necessary to contextualize the circulation of visual trends in Philip's world more widely. Philip and his entourage intended to "modernize" the arts in the peninsula and their former imperial dominions to reflect major European visual trends. His artistic and architectural preferences, and his many interventions in architectural projects, did not, however, obliterate other traditions from the Iberian world during the sixteenth century. But is it really possible to write a book on architectural, visual, imperial, and cultural circulations during Philip II's reign and not make El Escorial central to the discussion?

The realities of the royal premises and the wider cultural context in the Iberian Peninsula and beyond during Philip's reign cannot be understood solely by examining El Escorial. In this vein, it seems most logical, even necessary, to investigate the wider context, local and transregional, that conditioned the design, construction, and decoration of buildings during Philip's reign. While this book engages with El Escorial, one of its major concerns is also to examine other models that allow us to understand the rich array of trends that informed the buildings and contexts that Philip, his court, and his subjects inhabited. Thus chapters in the present book examine the manner in which architectural design, technologies, and images circulated in the Iberian world, Philip's role in the creation of buildings and images (or, alternatively, in fostering imperial mechanisms that promoted them), and the local and wider contexts that conditioned the

production, flow, and circulation of pan-Iberian visual culture. The book crosses the traditional distinction between high art and the so-called vernacular traditions. I analyze architectural and visual circulations within the cultural, social, and material contexts. This approach has been productive in uncovering some of the mechanisms that fostered intercontinental circulations. To this end, this book examines some of the lesser-known architectural and artistic projects of Philip II of Spain and places them in the wider context of the peninsular, European, and transoceanic Iberian imperial dominions. The case studies explored in this book are wide-ranging and have never been examined comparatively before (city and house design, archival architecture, and festivals and the circulation of kingly imagery, among others). I have also employed architectural drawings and digital re-creations, which have added new dimensions to our understanding of ephemeral and domestic architecture.²⁶ Thus this book makes an important new contribution to the scholarly conversation on Philip II's reign through its transoceanic comparative approach.

The historiography devoted to Philip II is overwhelming. William H. Prescott's unfinished opus is considered a pioneering example of biographical work. Geoffrey Parker has considered the scholarly contributions that emerged at the beginning of the twentieth century by Carl Bratli (1909), Rafael Altamira y Crevea (1926), and Ludwig Pfandl (1938). Louis Prosper Gachard undertook systematic archival research in the mid-nineteenth century, and Gregorio Marañón and Fernand Braudel took an approach to historical research that opened a new path for historians. The number of publications grew exponentially on the commemoration of the death of the monarch and his father in 1998. Biographical works on Philip II have increased considerably since a new wave of scholars began to reassess Philip's personal and political career. Parker alone has published several biographies, among them some of the most recent

and important contributions to our understanding of Philip II.²⁷

There are other significant biographical contributions authored, for example, by Friedrich Edel-mayer and Henry Kamen. Mía Rodríguez Salgado has analyzed the transition between the reigns of Charles V and Philip II. José Luis Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero has published a fundamental study of the monarch's childhood. José Antonio Escudero analyzed the manner in which Philip II worked in his office. Fernando J. Bouza Álvarez also wrote an important biography of Philip in his role as king of Portugal. Richard L. Kagan has explored the uses of history in the Spanish medieval and early modern world as a fundamental basis for propaganda.²⁸

Surveys and monographs on the arts, architecture, urbanism, and culture during Philip II's reign are also numerous. Philip II's influence on the modernization of the arts has been reassessed in a major monograph by Fernando Checa Cremades (1992). Rosemarie Mulcahy has important publications on the decoration of the basilica in El Escorial and she published the last monograph to date focused on the monarch's patronage of the arts (1994 and 2004, respectively). There are many surveys on architecture and art, including the pioneering work of Llaguno y Amírola and Ceán Bermúdez on architects and architecture in Spain (1829). George Kubler completed a monograph on the construction of El Escorial (1982). Fernando Marías Franco has substantially contributed to our knowledge of early modern Spanish architecture. José Javier Rivera Blanco explored the work of the royal architect Juan Bautista de Toledo.²⁹ Catherine Wilkinson-Zerner's monograph on Juan de Herrera has also been a major contribution to the field.³⁰ Fernando Bouza's publications on the images and propaganda produced during the Iberian Union are essential reading.³¹ Scholarly works on the arts under the Spanish branch of the Habsburgs, and especially on Philip II, are numerous and growing. However, for the case studies on which I focus,

the literature is still slim, and it does not apply the same methods for comparative analysis (or architectural drawing) that I have employed in my work. This book is composed of the present introduction, four substantial chapters, an epilogue, and a glossary. Chapter 1, titled "A World, an Empire, Under Construction': Domestic Architecture and Spanish Imperial Authority," charts the regulatory mechanisms that Philip's court and local authorities aimed to implement in Madrid to regulate residential architecture. Madrid was designated the "temporary" seat of the court in 1561 and became the de facto center of imperial administration. Philip vigorously expanded and redeveloped the royal palace and the streets in its vicinity. With the court in Madrid, the city's population increased substantially, and legislation aimed at fulfilling hosting duties and improving residential architecture emerged in the form of the *reales cédulas* of 1565 and 1584 and a *real provisión* in 1567. Publications on the Alcázar of Madrid constitute an important resource for the study of the city's urbanization under Philip II.³² Jesús Escobar's crucial contribution concerning the Plaza Mayor in Madrid has shed new light on our understanding of baroque urbanism in Habsburg Madrid.³³ Alfredo Alvar Ezquerro examined the nascent capital during Philip II's reign at length, and Claudia Sieber opened a new path for our knowledge of the social history of the capital city.³⁴ Nevertheless, none of these works explores the ways in which Madrid was "imagined" in the early years of Philip II's rule through the lens of domestic architecture. The role that the regulation of domestic architecture played in the making of imperial Madrid, and its relationship with wider pan-Iberian architectural and imperial circulations, requires further scrutiny.

Chapter 1 examines the impact of the royal *aposenito* (seat) of court on domestic (nonpalatial) architecture in Madrid and its wider context. It focuses in particular on the relationship between the legislation for the development of houses enacted in Madrid in the period between 1565 and 1584 and

similar regulations in cities in the Iberian world.³⁵ Newly identified original drawings of houses designed to comply with legislation in Madrid and Valladolid shed new light on the streetscapes of the capital city that were imagined at the time. These drawings demonstrate that the design envisioned for houses in Madrid can be contextualized within wider contemporary theoretical thinking in architecture.

Chapter 1 also comparatively explores similar regulatory practices in a number of cities and towns across the Iberian world. The mechanisms for the control of the built environment and architectural practice in these locales are useful means for examining the circulation of designs, technologies, and materials, and their necessary adaptation to particular local conditions. The last section of this chapter scrutinizes the manner in which the influx of information concerning the development of American cities was received and managed at the Spanish court and compares it with the role the court played in the development of Madrid.³⁶ This part of the chapter contributes to the conversation about architectural knowledge and exchange in the Spanish empire. By focusing on the different offices held by court members in Castile and the Americas, I posit new lines for research on the impact that itinerant officials within imperial administration had on the built environment.

With the loss of the Alcázar in the Madrid fire of 1734, no palaces in which Philip II resided survive, other than El Escorial and other royal retreats that have been substantially modified over time. While Philip only spent some nights in a temporary chamber prepared for him on his visit to the royal archive at the Simancas fortress in 1592, and while the castle cannot be considered one of his residences, its architecture, I argue, echoes coexisting Iberian trends that were also present in the royal palace in Madrid and is reflective of wider practices. The second chapter of this book is titled “Ruling an Empire Through Paper: Architecture

and the Simancas Archive.” Philip II’s empire was ruled through the written word, with an increasingly specialized and sophisticated bureaucracy. This bureaucratic character, I argue, was reflected in the architectural reform of the Simancas fortress to adapt it for archival needs. The archives of any kind of “institution” reflect (or at least should reflect) the structure of the organization, and, accordingly, the Simancas archive echoes the practices of governance in the sixteenth century. There is no study to date on the architectural creation and evolution of early modern archives in Europe or in the territories overseas. In the case of Simancas, the most important publications are the notable contributions to its archival history by former director José Luis Rodríguez de Diego.³⁷ The present study addresses this shortcoming, not only by examining the architecture of the royal archive in Simancas but also by comparing it with other contemporary archives. This is the first comprehensive study of the building in relation to concurrent European and Iberian design trends. The architectural reform of the fortress shows the crucial role that the archives played during Philip II’s rule. I examine the first two archival chambers adapted in the castle, the so-called *cubos* of Charles V and Philip II, built between 1540 and 1568, in relation to a vernacular tradition that spread across Europe. Newly uncovered correspondence between the monarch and the archivist at Simancas shows royal intervention in the decorative program of the chambers and the integration of coexisting Iberian styles in its design.

The second part of chapter 2 examines the grand expansion of the Simancas archive in the 1570s and 1580s. I study in detail Philip II’s visit to the royal archive in 1592 and the architectural reverberations of his visit. I suggest that the architectural evolution of this building not only echoes the development of Philip’s empire but also shows the evolution of architectural taste at court. Reforms in the Castle of Simancas also reflect the synthesis of

pan-Iberian and vernacular design in courtly buildings. In short, the Simancas fortress provides a useful window into how designers integrated existing structures and new designs in other significant royal buildings, such as the Alcázar in Madrid.

Architecture, empire, and their circulations during Philip's reign are explored in the first two chapters. Both the design and the role of residential architecture in Madrid and locales across the Iberian world and the Simancas archive not only reflect imperial administration but also show the amalgamation of Iberian architectural trends. Both case studies have proved to be useful models for examining visual and design exchanges and circulations. The third chapter, "The Global Empire and Its Circulations: Philip II and the Iberian Union," explores the refashioning of Philip II's image upon his accession to the Lusitanian throne in 1580 and the lasting circulation of the images created to celebrate his victory. The strategy Philip and his court envisioned leading up to his succession to the Portuguese throne included the renovation of the ruler's imperial image. This imperial imagery would integrate his political supremacy with his responsibility as a defender of the Catholic faith. In these years, the imperial rhetoric at Philip's court reached its peak. The literature has extensively discussed the campaign that concluded in the period known in historiography as the Iberian Union (1580–1640). Fernando J. Bouza's monumental contribution to our understanding of the cultural aspects of royal propaganda is essential reading, as are his publications on festival culture in Habsburg Portugal. Miguel Soromenho and Ana Paula Torres Megiani have studied significant aspects of this festival.³⁸ Both Philip's grand ceremonial entry into Lisbon in 1581 and the union's impact on the representation of the monarch deserve closer examination.

On 29 June 1581, King Philip I of Portugal (Philip II of Spain) was received in the city of Lisbon in one of the most magnificent ceremonies

ever staged in Portugal. The royal procession, combined with religious interludes and popular celebrations, resumed a dialogue between ruler and ruled. Fifteen triumphal arches and other ephemeral structures were erected, while plays and songs celebrated the union of the largest global empire ever known. The principal theme of the entry was the glory of Philip as universal global monarch and ruler of two of the largest early modern European kingdoms: Portugal and Castile. Chapter 3 charts the imagery of the political union of the Crowns in the grand ceremonial entry that was prepared to receive Philip in Lisbon in 1581. I examine the narratives and the images described in contemporary accounts of the festival and the integration of local, courtly, and pan-Iberian artistic trends in the ephemera erected in Lisbon. I employ not only methods for comparative analysis but also architectural drawing and three-dimensional modeling to fully understand the architecture of the ephemeral structures described in the written sources. I also analyze the role of Philip II as a leading performer in the pageant and his dialogue with religious and lay elites, as these offer insights on the ways the ruler and the ruled negotiated their place at this particular political juncture. Thus this case study charts the ruler's imperial representation in this period also as a relevant means of exploring the long-lasting circulation of images of the monarch in Iberia and other far-flung lands of Philip's empire in Europe, Asia, and America. As I demonstrate, the imperial imagery created in this period reverberated across the Iberian empires. The imperial visual and cultural circulations that the Iberian Union prompted have not been examined in any particular detail before.

Imperial circulations, visual and cultural, in Iberia and the wider empire are also the focus of chapter 4, the final chapter of the book, titled "On History and Fame: Philip II's Kingly Image and the Spanish Monarchy." This chapter explores both written and visual chronicles of warfare and

funeral accounts that emerged upon Philip's death to examine the circulation of the ruler's kingly image. It offers a new reading of the fresco cycle in the Hall of Battles at El Escorial as a work of history. Existing literature has contextualized the sixteenth-century battle scenes in the Hall of Battles with books, tapestries, and paintings in the royal collections.³⁹ My contribution expands this discussion by comparing methods of pictorial copy, replication, and history recording employed at the hall with other examples elsewhere in Castile. I focus in particular on the *La Higuera* scene that famously depicts John II of Castile's victorious battle over the Kingdom of Granada in 1431. This fresco has received less attention in scholarship than the other scenes in the hall, for there was no other known copy of a fifteenth-century battle image to which it could be usefully compared.⁴⁰ In the concluding chapter, I compare *La Higuera* to a little-known drawing of the siege and Battle of Jimena that occurred in 1431 as part of the same campaign; this drawing, like the fresco at El Escorial, is a copy of an original. This comparison has enabled me to establish a parallel between the hall and practices beyond the Spanish court, in line with the comparative approaches employed in preceding chapters. The comparison between the fresco and the drawing, I contend, shows that the scenes in the fresco cycle project a historical narrative that celebrates the history of the realm and the royal dynasty, and also illustrates that the trends in visual chronicles of history transcended court circles. More significantly, an analysis of how the themes depicted in the frescoes at the hall are reflected in Philip's funerals not only vindicates the suitability of reading the hall as a work of history but also demonstrates that the channels that fostered architectural, visual, and cultural circulations were well established by the end of Philip's reign. Upon Philip II's death, the "image" of the king was portrayed in sermons, funerals, and ephemeral architecture erected to mourn his loss. In the funerals, fragments of the

life of the universal monarch were presented as a "summarized" biography. Elegies and other publications of this type underscored aspects of his personality and devotion. Thus the second part of chapter 4 compares the representation of the ruler, immediately after his death, by cross-examining accounts from funerals staged and sermons preached in cities in the peninsula, Europe, and America. Why were the events and themes narrated in the hall present, sometimes in explicit detail, in funeral accounts that mourned Philip II's death? This chapter explores the projection of Philip's kingly image in the funerals celebrated to mourn his death and the role of repetition in enabling imperial circulations.

The case studies examined in this book collectively demonstrate that while Philip intervened decisively in architectural and artistic projects, the large majority of these projects resulted in works that showcased and reflected his world. Philip II's visual world encompassed and synthesized trends beyond his particular preferences. While El Escorial and the unfinished Herrerian project of the grand Cathedral of Valladolid are outstanding architectural models of the time in terms of their quality, detail, and reflection of Philip's rule, they do not on their own convey the richness of architectural and visual production that artists and masons and officials produced in the Iberian world. In sum, this book examines the manner in which design trends and images traveled across the Iberian world, the role played by Philip II in creating or influencing them, and the circulation of pan-Iberian visual culture.