

**Waiting for Charlot:
Ferdinand the Catholic's 1513 Entry Into Valladolid**

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After Isabella the Catholic's death in 1504, her daughter Princess Juana became queen of Castile, while her widower, Ferdinand of Aragon, was to administer the kingdom only if Juana proved unwilling or unable to rule.¹ However, after the death of Juana's husband, Philip the Fair, in 1506, Juana's deteriorating mental state led Ferdinand in 1509 to have her confined to the palace of Tordesillas. This move gave her father a free hand to govern Castile while awaiting the coming of age of Juana's eldest son, the future Charles V. Ferdinand's participation in the Most Holy League against the French in 1511 cast him in the role of defender of the Church, while his conquest of Navarre in 1512 considerably increased his prestige as a military leader in Castile. As was the case of his previous entry into Valladolid in 1509,² although technically only "administrator" of Castile, Ferdinand's triumphant entry into the same city in 1513 affirmed his role as conquering ruler and champion of Christendom and constituted a visible and dramatic recognition of his quasi-monarchical powers.

Ferdinand's 1513 entry retained the classicizing triumphal arches of his 1509 entry and added the motif of the seven crowns that the Roman senate accorded to victorious emperors and generals as part of their triumphal entry procession.³ Once again, allegorical figures--Victory and the Church--addressed the sovereign and, once again, the King was compared to paradigmatic rulers of Spanish history and classical antiquity. Although the conquest of Navarre was accomplished to satisfy imperialist ambitions, the entry concealed such crass motives with an aura of Messianic fervor as it connected the annexation of Navarre with the fall of Granada, the defense of the Church, and the future conquest of Jerusalem.

The entry makes no mention of Ferdinand's status as caretaker ruler for his grandson Charles; rather, Ferdinand is hailed as "el rey nuestro señor" [our lord king].⁴ Another significant

textual silence regards Queen Juana. It must be remembered that, despite her perceived incapacity to rule, Juana was legally still queen of Castile. Nonetheless, one of the entry's important textual strategies consists of avoiding any mention of that knotty problem, since Juana enjoyed the affection of many Castilians.⁵ In December of 1509 the Treaty of Blois between Ferdinand and the Emperor Maximilian established that, although Juana would continue to be titular queen, Maximilian recognized Ferdinand's right to govern Castile until Charles should reach the age of 20.⁶ Despite his many supporters, Ferdinand also had enemies in Castile, and therefore such pageantry as royal entries was intended to bolster the popularity of his government and to defend its legitimacy.⁷

The immediate motivation for the entry was Ferdinand's recent triumph over the French in Navarre (1r). To the extent that the conquest of Navarre could be deemed complete only with the failure of the French army to retake Pamplona in December of 1512, it seems likely that Ferdinand's entry into Valladolid on the eve of Epiphany in 1513 was prepared in considerable haste and this explains why it was less elaborate than his previous entry. Thus, while there were four triumphal arches in 1509, in 1513 there were only two, and the second of them appears to recycle and recast some of the motifs from the iconographic program of the third triumphal arch of 1509.

Luis de Soto, who designed the entry, had been ordered to do so by Martín Fernández de Angulo, the bishop of Córdoba and president of the royal chancery (1r). Soto not only devised the entry's iconographic program, but also composed the texts inscribed on the triumphal arches, penned the words of the poems and songs of praise, and had the account printed. Since Soto was Ferdinand's chaplain and cantor (2v), he may have also been responsible for the polyphonic settings of the lyrics sung during the entry.⁸

Victory appeared on top of the first triumphal arch, which was based on the "erudite" theme of the various types of crowns that ancient Rome awarded to its conquering heroes. Therefore, in addition to exalting Ferdinand, this part of the royal entry had a didactic dimension, for Victory explained the meaning of each crown for the benefit of those spectators unfamiliar with Roman customs. The audience was thus led to associate Castile/Valladolid with Rome and to assimilate Ferdinand to the conquering emperors and generals of Roman antiquity. Victory was a cross-dressed

young man with a laurel crown on his head and a banner (estandarte) in one hand and seven crowns in the other. As the king approached, Victory addressed him, speaking in a loud and clear voice (“en boz alta e intelligible” [1v]) and declaring that, while no other sovereign had deserved more than one crown, Ferdinand, the mighty lion,⁹ had earned seven. Victory then went on to elucidate the meaning of each of the seven crowns.¹⁰

The laurel crown was given to those who shed much enemy blood in battle. The crown of grasses was awarded to those who broke the siege of a city. Ferdinand won this crown when he broke the sieges of Salces, Alhama, and Pamplona. Salces, on the French border, was where Ferdinand’s troops triumphed over the French army that besieged the city in 1503.¹¹ Alhama was reconquered from the Muslims in 1482, and that same year Fernando successfully thwarted the Muslim effort to retake the city. Pamplona, the capital of Navarre, had surrendered to Ferdinand’s troops in July of 1512, but Jean d’Albret with the help of a French army laid siege to the city in early November. The arrival of Spanish reinforcements led the French to abandon the siege on December 1, 1512.¹² Let us pause for a moment to consider Soto’s strategy here. Ostensibly, Victory was praising Ferdinand for breaking three sieges in three different wars: the Granada campaign, the conflict with France, and the conquest of Navarre. However, the linking of these three synecdochic moments was also an attempt to link the three wars, for Soto sought to portray the hostilities against the French and the annexation of Navarre as crusades not unlike the conquest of Granada, that is, as battles undertaken in the service of the Church against heretics and infidels. Nebrija claimed that the pope had declared the king of Navarre a schismatic and a heretic because he was allied with the schismatic king of France (71). In fact, because of the Schism of Pisa, that is, the group of break-away cardinals who, with the support of the king of France, sought to depose the pope, the French were considered heretics from the Spanish-papal perspective, and Soto could therefore represent Ferdinand’s wars against the French in Navarre and Italy as wars against heresy in which Ferdinand was cast in the role of defender of the Church and of the legitimate pope.

Returning to Victory’s speech, the crown of myrtle was given to emperors who were victorious without bloodshed, as when in Salces and Navarre, Ferdinand allowed the defeated armies

to reach safe refuge upon their retreat from the besieged city.¹³ The term “gentes falsas” [corrupt or treacherous peoples] as applied in the context of Salces and Navarre was perhaps intended to suggest that such enemies of Spain as the Navarrese and the French were to be associated with the infidels. The crown of oak leaves was given to the soldier who saved a citizen from death, even as Ferdinand saved all Spain (“vuestras Españas”) a thousand times over. The plural form “Españas” referred to the union of the crowns of Castile and Aragon,¹⁴ a union that existed at the moment only as a propagandistic fiction, while the use of the possessive adjective “vuestras” recognized Ferdinand’s double role as administrator of Castile and King of Aragon. The crown of gold was given to he who first scaled the enemy’s walls, as when Ferdinand scaled the “eréticos muros,” the heretical walls, of infidel Granada.

A second golden crown was given to those who won a naval battle, even as Ferdinand saved the ship of the Church that was in danger of sinking, a reference to the king’s support of the pope during the schism of Pisa and the wars in Italy that threatened the integrity of the papal states. Yet a third golden crown was given to the first soldier to force his way into the enemy’s camp, just as Ferdinand--and here the poem switched from the past tense to the present tense--is the first to penetrate, put to flight, and conquer the armies of Mecca and Judea, that is, to rescue the Holy Land from the infidels. Of course, this hadn’t happened yet, but the switch in tenses was perhaps intended to bring to mind Ferdinand’s on-going obsession with the recovery of Jerusalem.¹⁵ This dream had recently acquired a new impetus, for in exchange for Ferdinand’s participation in the Most Holy League against the French, pope Julius II granted him the formal investiture of the kingdom of Naples and with it the title of King of Jerusalem.¹⁶ Moreover, in light of the entry’s largely Castilian audience, propaganda in favor of the continuation of the Reconquest in North Africa and eventually in the Holy Land was a way for the Aragonese monarch to unite Castilians and Aragonese in a common enterprise. Victory ended by observing that Fame submitted herself to Ferdinand and Fortune obeyed him, even as Victory now belonged to him.

The second triumphal arch of the 1513 entry was located in the Costanilla, Valladolid’s most prosperous neighborhood and the site of the similar third triumphal arch in the 1509 entry. Both

arches used paradigmatic historical figures, but the fact that Fame presided over the 1509 arch while the Church presided over the 1513 arch evinced an intensification of Soto's strategy of using overtly Christian motifs to promote Ferdinand's cause in Castile. In 1509 winged Fame appeared above either statues of or actors representing paradigmatic figures from classical antiquity, the Old Testament, and Spanish history, including Julius Caesar, Augustus, Trajan, Constantine, Alexander the Great, David, Solomon, Hannibal, Scipio, Hector, Judas Macabeus, Fernán González, and the Cid. Fame recited a poem in which she proclaimed that Ferdinand's renown was such that it extinguished the flame of the fame of the heroes of the past. In 1513 a figure representing the Church presided over the second triumphal arch. This figure was actually a young boy dressed in women's clothing and wearing a golden crown and a diadem on which was written "Ecclesia Catholica." Ecclesia held a golden crown in her hands and was surrounded by ten laurel-wreathed young men, each of whom bore an inscription on his chest that revealed his identity. The ten figures included six Roman or Byzantine emperors (Julius Caesar, Augustus, Titus, Trajan, Constantine, and Heraclius), the emperor Alfonso VII of León, the Castilian monarchs Alfonso VIII and Ferdinand III, and Ramiro, the first king of Aragon.

If we compare the prototypical monarchs who appeared in the 1513 entry with those who appeared in 1509, we first note that the Old Testament kings and the ancient Greek heroes have disappeared. On the other hand, four of the Roman emperors (Julius Caesar, Augustus, Trajan, and Constantine) have been recycled. All were paradigmatic conquerors, and moreover Constantine was also a defender of the faith--a significant connection in light of the entry's multiple references to Ferdinand's struggle against the infidels and his defense of the Church. The two additions to the list of ancient emperors are Titus and Heraclius.¹⁷ Titus was responsible for the destruction of Jerusalem, and his presence can be related to the 1513 entry's recognition of Ferdinand's role in the expulsion of the Jews and the prediction that he would be the future conqueror of Jerusalem, and thereby a new Titus. The Byzantine emperor Heraclius was renowned for having rescued the relics of the cross of the Crucifixion from the Persians, an event celebrated on September 14, the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross.¹⁸ To the extent that Heraclius was also the first Byzantine

emperor to wage war against the armies of nascent Islam, he was an important precursor of the Spanish emperors and kings who struggled against the armies of Al-Andalus. Ramiro of Aragon died fighting the Muslims in 1063. The emperor Alfonso VII (1105-1157) in 1147 wrested Calatrava, Almería, and Baeza from the Muslims. Alfonso VIII (1156?-1214) led the Christian troops in the decisive battle of Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212, which broke the power of the fanatical Almohades. Ferdinand's namesake, Ferdinand III (1201?-1252), reunited Castile and León, reconquered Córdoba in 1236 and Seville in 1246, and, while not canonized until 1671, was venerated as a saint in the Middle Ages.¹⁹ It couldn't hurt Ferdinand's cause in Castile to number a royal Castilian saint among his ancestors.

In any case Soto seemed to be suggesting that Ferdinand's capture of Granada and his long-term project of retaking the Holy Land from the Muslims made him the successor to a long line of Spanish monarchs who distinguished themselves in the battle against Islam. Three of the four Spanish kings who accompanied the Church were Castilian or Leonese; only one was Aragonese. Moreover, as Massip points out, the virtual exclusion of ancestors descended from the union of the sovereigns of Aragon with the counts of Barcelona is significant (139-140). By silencing Ferdinand's Catalan heritage, merely alluding to a single Aragonese predecessor,²⁰ and emphasizing the Castilian ancestors he shared with Isabella, Juana, and Charles, the entry highlighted his "Castilianness" and therefore his right to govern in Castile.

As Ferdinand arrived at the triumphal arch, Ecclesia and the emperors and kings rose and removed their crowns from their heads. Ecclesia then recited an eight-stanza poem, which Massip dubs a royal curriculum vitae (140), that began by exalting Ferdinand's fame in both war and peace. All the emperors and kings there present deserved their crowns because they served the Church, she said, but Ferdinand's renown has eclipsed that of such famous sovereigns of the past. One cannot help but wonder in passing how Julius Caesar, Augustus, Trajan, and Titus--despite their importance as paradigmatic conquerors--can be construed as having served Christendom. In any case, Ecclesia went on to extol Ferdinand as her loyal son who conquered the Portuguese (in the civil war that broke out when Isabella the Catholic declared herself Queen of Castile), punished heretics, and

returned the kingdom of Granada and the evil synagogue to her. Note that the entry linked the capture of Granada, the establishment of the Inquisition, the expulsion of the Jews, and the defense of Isabella's succession to the throne of Castile in such a way that it seemed "logical" to include dynastic wars in Castile among Ferdinand's services rendered to the Church. Soto thus established the principle that the Church's enemies were Spain's enemies and vice-versa, so that the Portuguese ended up being considered--along with Muslims, Jews, and heretics--as foes of both Spain and the Church. Finally, to the extent that it was Ferdinand himself who actually led the troops against the Portuguese invaders, the allusion to that campaign served to remind Castilians of his protagonistic role in winning the war of succession for Isabella and Castile.

Ecclesia went on to note that Ferdinand had placed in her power Oran (1509), Tripoli (1510), and Bougie (1510) in North Africa, in addition to Naples, the Indies, and Navarre, and that he had succeeded in throwing the King of France out of Italy. Once again, Soto linked the wars against the French in Navarre and Italy to the battles against the infidels in North Africa as part and parcel of Ferdinand's service to the Church. Ecclesia then observed that Ferdinand had brought peace and harmony to Spain. Again, it is worthy of note that the reference was not to the individual states of Castile or Aragon but to the combined entity, Spain.²¹ Moreover, Ferdinand gave security to the pope, Ecclesia's spouse, a reference to both the king's chasing of the French from Italy and his support of Julius II against the schismatic cardinals who sought to depose him.²² Ecclesia then offered Ferdinand a halo (laureola), which, as the rubrics explained, was the crown given to the blessed souls in heaven, but Ferdinand was deemed worthy to receive it on this earth. Although hardly theologically correct, through this symbolic gesture Ecclesia rendered an ultimate homage to her champion, King Ferdinand. It appears that the king had the prudence to not actually take the crown from Ecclesia, for the polyphonic song that was sung next has as its refrain: "Dado que no la toméis / en el cielo la tenéis" [Although you do not take it (now), you (will) have it in heaven].

The timing of Ferdinand's entry was doubly significant, for it not only took place on the vigil of the Feast of the Epiphany, but it used Epiphany imagery to support Ferdinand's cause in Castile. As Gordon Kipling has observed, such symbolic gifts for Ferdinand as Victory's crowns and

Ecclesia's halo constituted "a primal act of homage--an epiphany--like that of the Magi. Just as the Magi bestowed gifts on the Christ-child to symbolize their faith in, and their willing submission to, the christus of God, so the gifts of citizens on the occasion of their sovereign's adventus symbolizes both their fealty and their willing submission to 'the Prince of God among us'."²³ Kipling later observes that medieval commentarists "never forgot that triumphal processions were themselves epiphanies, because they occur when kings arrive at a city to make a formal 'Appearance' or *ἄφαισις* (Epiphany)" (133). Moreover, to the extent that medieval commentators claimed that Epiphany was celebrated on January 6 to rival a Roman imperial feast that celebrated the first manifestation of the Emperor Augustus, "the early Church successfully opposed an Augustan epiphany of secular imperium with a Christian epiphany of spiritual imperium" (133). The 1513 entry's Epiphany connection thus constituted a happy and propagandistically useful conflation of the secular and the spiritual as it celebrated the "appearance," the epiphany, of Ferdinand as well as his victories over infidels and heretics in defense of the Church. Such a conflation was consistent with Soto's use of religion, specifically Ferdinand's service to the papacy, to justify the king's rule in Castile and to placate those opposed to it.

Both of Ferdinand's royal entries into Valladolid were designed to exalt the monarch's achievements and to influence public opinion regarding his right to govern in Castile. Thus, it is no accident that the accounts of both entries were printed so that Ferdinand's use of spectacle as propaganda could reach a wider public than the original audience of the entries.²⁴ In the case of the 1513 entry, Soto portrayed the recent campaign against the schismatic and heretical king of Navarre and his schismatic French allies as a sort of sequel to the conquest of Granada through which the war against the infidels gave legitimacy to Ferdinand's takeover of Navarre. This slant reflected Soto's overall strategy of suggesting that everything that Ferdinand did was done in the service of the Church and in accordance with the designs of Divine Providence. While this connection is more evident in the cases of the Granada campaign and the project to free the Holy Land, it is tenuous, at least for modern readers, in the cases of the defense of Isabella's right to the throne, the annexation of Navarre, and the conflict with France. Yet, by suggesting that all these endeavors constituted a

sort of crusade in the service of the Church, Soto gave them an aura of legitimacy and divine approval. As caretaker of the kingdom for his incapacitated daughter Juana and his underage grandson Charles, Ferdinand was the de facto king of Castile and was able to use its considerable financial and human resources to carry out the ambitious foreign policy whose fruits were reflected in the homage that the 1513 entry pays to him.

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Notes

1. For this clause in Isabella's testament, see Antonio de la Torre y del Cerro, Testamentaria de Isabel la Católica (Barcelona: Viuda Fidel Rodríguez Ferrán, 1974), 77*.

2. For an analysis of the 1509 entry, see my "The Entry of Ferdinand the Catholic into Valladolid in 1509," European Medieval Drama, 6 (2002), 99-108. See also Rosana de Andrés Díaz, "Fiestas y espectáculos en las 'Relaciones Góticas del siglo XVI'," En la España Medieval, 14 (1991), 307-336, at 321-326, and Francesc Massip, La monarquía en escena (Madrid: Consejería de las Artes, 2003), 138-142.

3. Perhaps as codified in Book V, vi, of the Attic Nights of Aulus Gellius. Such classical-style triumphs were a novelty in Spain, having been introduced by Ferdinand himself after his conquest of Naples. See Miguel Falomir Faus, "Entradas triunfales de Fernando el Católico en España tras la conquista de Nápoles," in La visión del mundo clásico en el arte español (Madrid: Editorial Alpuerto, 1993), 49-55.

4. Luis de Soto, El recibimiento que se hizo al muy alto y muy poderoso . . . rey don Fernando (Valladolid, 1513?), fol. 1r. Future quotations from this edition will be indicated by the folio number in parentheses. In quoting Soto's text, I have resolved abbreviations and added accent marks, punctuation, and capital letters in accordance with modern usage. I have also regularized the use of u/v and i/j/y.

5. In fact, even after Charles V's arrival in Spain the Cortes of Valladolid stipulated that Juana's name should appear before that of her son in official documents (Joseph Pérez, La Révolution des "Comunidades" de Castille (1520-1521) [Bordeaux: Université de Bordeaux, 1970], 125).

6. For the Treaty of Blois, see José M. Doussinague, La política internacional de Fernando el Católico (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1944), 259-282. The agreement echoed what Queen Isabella had stipulated in her last will and testament.

7. For hostility to Ferdinand, see J. H. Elliott, Imperial Spain, 1469-1716 (New York: Mentor, 1963), 139.

8. Soto had also designed Ferdinand's 1509 entry into Valladolid. The king must have been pleased with Soto's role in planning the previous entry and disseminating the written account of it, for Ferdinand not only put Soto in charge of the second entry but in the meantime named the musician his chaplain and cantor (fol. 2v).

9.Soto likewise compared Ferdinand to a lion in the 1509 entry. See Este es el recebimiento que se hizo al rey don Fernando en Valladolid, in Archivo y Biblioteca de la Casa de Medinaceli. Series de sus principales documentos. 3ª serie. Bibliográfica, ed. A. Paz y Mélia (Madrid, 1922), 185. The motif of Ferdinand as lion was also found in popular political songs of the times. See Cancionero musical de Palacio, ed. Joaquín González Cuenca (Madrid: Visor, 1996), 91, 319, and 333.

10.It is not clear if Victory actually gave the crowns one by one to Ferdinand or merely described them to her royal guest. Despite their high symbolic value, it might have been difficult or even indecorous for the king to actually wear seven crowns made of such diverse materials.

11.Massip (139) assumes that Victory refers to the return of the Catalan counties of Roussillon and Cerdagne to Spain. However, since the recovery of those territories was accomplished by the Treaty of Barcelona of 1493 and not by warfare, it seems more likely that Soto refers to the 1503 siege of Salces.

12.Elio Antonio de Nebrija, Historia de la guerra de Navarra, trans. José López de Toro (Madrid: Escelicer, 1953), 135, 229.

13.Pedro Mártir de Anglería attributed Ferdinand's generosity in this matter to the intervention of Isabel, who beseeched her husband in her letters not to shed Christian blood and to allow the French to leave Spanish territory unharmed. See Pedro Mártir de Anglería, Epistolario, trans. José López de Toro, 4 vols., Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de España, 9-12 (Madrid: Imprenta Góngora, 1953-1957), Epístola 263, 2: 64. Likewise, the Duke of Nájera, the Spanish general, decided not to pursue the French army when it lifted the siege of Pamplona (Nebrija, Guerra de Navarra, 243-247).

14.Alain Milhou, Colón y su mentalidad mesiánica en el ambiente franciscanista español (Valladolid: Casa-Museo de Colón y Seminario Americanista, 1983), 390-391.

15.Massip (139) states that Victory is referring to the expulsion of the Jews and the conquest of Granada. However, certain aspects of the pertinent passage (fol. 2r) suggest that it alludes to events that have not yet come to pass. The strophe begins with the subjunctive "Corónese Vuestra Alteza" [May Your Highness be crowned], whereas the other strophes declare that Ferdinand has already won such and such a crown. Moreover, Victory says that Ferdinand is to have this crown "en gran presa," that is, very soon. Finally, in the prose description of the seven crowns, Soto follows the order in which Aulus Gellius enumerates them. However, Victory's poem reverses the order of the last two crowns, the "naval" and the "camp," in order to distinguish between actual victories of the past and projected victories.

16.The pertinent bull of July 7, 1510 is given in Spanish translation in Doussinague, La política, 620-635. Even before the papal bull made it official, in a letter of February 28, 1510 Ferdinand declared that to him belonged the conquest of Jerusalem, since he possessed the title to that kingdom. See

Baron de Terrateig, Política en Italia del Rey Católico, 1507-1516, 2 vols. (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1963), 2: 96. In a sermon preached before Ferdinand some time after July 25, 1510, Martín García, the Bishop of Barcelona, declared that it was Ferdinand who would achieve the liberation of Jerusalem, because, among other reasons, the King of Spain was also the King of Jerusalem. See Sebastián Cirac Estopañán, Los sermones de Don Martín García, obispo de Barcelona, sobre los Reyes Católicos (Zaragoza: Universidad de Zaragoza, 1956), 76. Although the entry portrays Ferdinand as the Pope's loyal servant, the King made it very explicit in his letter of May 13, 1510 to his ambassador in Rome that he would only participate in the Most Holy League if the Pope granted him the investiture of Naples (Baron de Terrateig, Política en Italia, 2:119-120).

17. Massip identifies "Heraclio" as Hercules (139), but since Heraclio is called an emperor (2r), he must be the Byzantine ruler.

18. Jacobus de Voragine, The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints, trans. William Granger Ryan, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 2:168-173. The Golden Legend silences the fact that it was under Heraclius' reign that Jerusalem and other holy places were lost to the Muslims. For the life and times of Heraclius, see Walter E. Kaegi, Heraclius, Emperor of Byzantium (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

19. An account of the life and miracles of King Ferdinand III was added to the Castilian translation of Jacobus de Voragine's Golden Legend published at Burgos in 1499 (fols. 302r-306r). For the motif of Ferdinand of Aragon as a St. Ferdinand redivivus, see Milhou, Colón, 361-362.

20. I have assumed that the King Ramiro who appeared in the entry is Ramiro I of Aragon. The short and undistinguished reign of Ramiro II of Aragon makes him an unlikely candidate. Ramiro I of Asturias had little success in his engagements with Muslim armies, while Ramiro III of León's encounters with Muslim invaders were disastrous. Ramiro II of León was considerably more successful against the infidels, but since he titled himself emperor and the entry is careful to distinguish between kings and emperors, he must be considered but a possible candidate. Nevertheless, if Soto intended his audience to identify King Ramiro as Ramiro II of León, then he also intended to completely erase Ferdinand's non-Castilian heritage.

21. Both arches bore the inscription "Bienaventurada España / que tienes por tu señor / al rey mayor y mejor" (1v, 2r) [Blessed Spain that has as its lord the greatest and best king].

22. See José M. Doussinague, Fernando el Católico y el cisma de Pisa (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1946).

23. Gordon Kipling, Enter the King: Theatre, Liturgy, and Ritual in the Medieval Civic Triumph (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 117.

24. The explanation in prose of the symbolism of the seven crowns (fol. 1r), obviously intended for an audience of readers, precedes the explanation in verse intended for the original audience of

spectators. Another example of Ferdinand's use of the printing press to influence public opinion are the three letters, whose publication he presumably approved, sent to him in 1510-1511 by the cities of Córdoba, Seville, and Toledo which, although supportive of his messianic crusade against the Muslims of North Africa, nonetheless begged the monarch not to participate in person in the projected campaign against Tunis. See Alain Milhou, "Propaganda mesiánica y opinión pública. Las reacciones de las ciudades del reino de Castilla frente al proyecto fernandino de cruzada (1510-11)," in *Homenaje a José Antonio Maravall*, ed. María Carmen Iglesias, Carlos Moya, and Luis Rodríguez Zúñiga, 3 vols. (Madrid: Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas, 1985), 3: 51-62.