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Margaret M. McGowan, ed., *Dynastic Marriages 1612/1615: A Celebration of the Habsburg and Bourbon Unions*. Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2012. xiii+307pp. Notes. \$124.95 U.S. (cl). ISBN 978-1409457521.

Review by Amanda Eurich, Western Washington University.

For over five decades, Margaret McGowan's writings on the intersection of intellectual, cultural and artistic developments in early modern France have helped shape our understanding of the potent connection between court spectacles and state building. Here McGowan brings together scholars from across a number of disciplines to examine the celebrations surrounding the dual union of the houses of Hapsburg and Bourbon in the early seventeenth century. The marriages of Anne of Austria to Louis XIII and their siblings, Philip, Prince of Asturias, to Elizabeth of Bourbon, occasioned commemorations across Europe. Artists, musicians, writers, costume designers, pyrotechnic and equestrian specialists all deployed their talents to glorify the power and majesty of two of the greatest dynasties of the period. As the essays in this volume attest, these celebrations left an extensive paper trail. Festival accounts, musical scores, prints and paintings, artist designs for equestrian ballets and fireworks displays are among the rich, but often ephemeral, sources analyzed. Sixty-one illustrations render homage to events hailed by contemporaries as the harbingers of a new era of peace after almost a century of warfare.

The volume begins with an essay by J. H. Elliott, who sets the stage by providing a critical overview of the bitter rivalries between France and Spain that marked much of the sixteenth century. In many ways, the dual marriages represented the continuation of a century-long battle between these two European powers jockeying to establish their dominance in European affairs. Louis' birth in France in 1601, followed by Anne's five days later, seemed to many to signal a new era of peace-making, but the nuptials were not a foregone conclusion. Elliott deftly traces the long diplomatic trajectory required to seal the union, first conceived by Pope Clement VIII. He details the rapid shifts in the balance of power between the two kingdoms that stalled wedding plans for more than a decade. Inside France, the hostility of great nobles, frustrated with the policies of Henri IV, and after 1610, with the increasingly pro-Catholic leanings of Henri's widow, Marie de Medici, jeopardized the stability of the monarchy as well as the rapprochement with Spain. Nicolas Le Roux's careful unraveling of the complex web of aristocratic factions within France that threatened Marie de Medici's authority as Queen Regent is essential to appreciating the subsequent essays in the volume. He traces Marie de Medici's efforts to suborn the restive *grandeues* of France with bribes and titles as well as the shrewd use of State ceremony and pageantry. For Le Roux, the chivalric festivities staged in Paris in 1612 in honor of the Franco-Spanish alliance were, like the convocation of the Estates General two years later, examples of the elaborate theater of statecraft so deftly used to mask the weaknesses of the early Bourbon regime.

David Sánchez Cano examines local Spanish festivities staged for Anne of Austria and her French counterpart, Elisabeth de Bourbon, as each made the long, cumbersome procession toward their respective *pays d'adoption*. By comparison with France, Cano argues that Spanish celebrations for the two brides were subdued, overshadowed by the death of Anne's mother, Queen Margaret of Austria, a few months earlier. Where towns entertained the royal parties with triumphal entries and other entertainments, court and municipal records reveal how the occasion often triggered intense

negotiations between the Crown and the local authorities forced to shoulder the expense of the ceremonies. Cano focuses on the example of Madrid, where city councilors had paid handsomely to lure the court back from Valladolid a decade earlier. Still in a position of relative weakness, city councilors caved into royal demands to stage a grand entry for Elisabeth de Bourbon and made a special effort to flatter the Duke of Lerma, the king's chief minister and favorite. Even so, artists groused about demeaning commissions, and crowds plundered the triumphal arches after the procession passed to reclaim some of the expense they had grudgingly rendered to build them. By their words and actions, the subjects of Phillip III found ways to challenge staged performances of royal power and authority, exposing the tensions inherent in early modern pageantry and dynastic politics.

Maria Alverti describes a similar dynamic in Italy, where news of the Franco-Spanish alliance was greeted enthusiastically, but the festivities staged to honor the dual union were lackluster. With the exception of Naples, however, no Italian state staged any significant celebration for the royal couples. As in Spain, most cities were more involved in funerary commemorations of Margaret of Austria, venerated throughout Spanish Italy and the Papal States. As Alverti asserts, religious objections as well as anti-French hostilities played into local decision-making process. Even in Naples, where the Spanish viceroy used the occasion to bolster the legitimacy of the foreign regime he represented, the celebrations acknowledged the interests of local notables and nobles and the importance of local traditions.

Several essays in the volume center on the equestrian spectacle, known as the Carrousel, staged in Paris in April 1612 in honor of the newly cemented Franco-Spanish alliance. For three days, hundreds of spectators crowded into the Place Royale as high-ranking noblemen paraded before Marie de Medici and her court and performed chivalric feats followed by fireworks that filled the Parisian skies with the dazzling images and sounds of royal majesty and military power. Marie Baudière analyzes the flood of books, pamphlets, engravings and placards that memorialized the event widely considered to be a masterpiece of early modern statecraft and festal art. Like Baudière, Margaret McGowan describes how the memory of the Carrousel of 1612 lived on in publications and performances that demonstrated its long cultural and artistic reach. Monique Chatenet's study of the engravings of Claude Chatillon and Jan Ziarkno examines the only surviving sources to offer a comprehensive visual record of the event. Ziarkno's engravings of the pageant, in particular, capture the magnificent procession of pageant cars, machines, wild animals, and fireworks that testify to the technical virtuosity of the Renaissance imagination. As Chatenet argues, these drawings reveal a complex iconographical program clearly inspired by Italian Renaissance courts and culture, but truly French in scale. The sheer number of elements on display over the course of the three-day extravaganza intimate "a sort of strategy of excess" (p. 112) that we have come to associate with the lavish spectacles staged by Louis XIV at Versailles several decades later.

Essays by Margaret McGowan and Paulette Choné help to decode the multiple messages embedded in the processions and tournaments at the heart of the Carrousel of 1612. As Margaret McGowan argues, the "real heroine of the *fête* was the Queen Regent, Marie de Medici who against all odds engineered the marriage of her children to the royal offspring of Phillip III of Spain" (p. 165). The participation of key members of the French nobility—many of whom had born arms against the monarchy—underscored their recognition of the diplomatic achievements of the Queen Regent as well as their acceptance of her regency. Paulette Choné's close study of the emblems used by the noble grandees who participated in the equestrian *fête* suggests, however, that noble participation was as much an act of self-promotion as subordination. The extravagant cortege led by the duc de Montmorency, for example, illustrates how nobles could manipulate the language of emblems to send their own powerful messages to the Crown. Like the Guise and noble participants, Montmorency employed heraldic signs and classical mottos to recall his own illustrious lineage as well as demonstrate his support for the Spanish marriage and his submission to the King and Queen Regent. Nevertheless, Choné also emphasizes that the Carrousel was a truly civic celebration that involved the entire city in a joyous affirmation of the Spanish alliance. Marie de Medici ordered city residents to build bonfires and display lanterns in their houses in the

Roman fashion. The broad reach of the festivities that linked both city and court symbolized the end of the dangerous enmities of the past, not only between kingdoms but also between the French monarchy and its subjects.

Patrice Franchet d'Espèrey's essay on the famous horse ballet staged by Antoine de Pluvinel emphasizes the enduring power of chivalric symbols in early modern Europe. As he argues, horsemanship continued to be understood as a natural corollary of royal power and authority. The ability to control a horse signaled the ability to govern men. Espèrey describes how the young Louis XIII assiduously trained with Pluvinel and staged his own tournament in 1620 as part of his campaign to declare his mastery over his kingdom. Iain Fenlon's essay on the musical accompaniment to the horse ballet is a reminder of the importance of music to Renaissance festal culture, particularly the *musique mesurée à l'antique*, championed in the palace academies fostered by Henri III. As Fenlon suggests, the elaborate rhythms of ancient music that Renaissance artists strove to recreate emulated the elaborate sympathies of Neoplatonic philosophy. The belief that harmonies and rhythms of ancient music could move listeners to moral action contributed to the further development of two new art forms—opera and ballet—increasingly central to Bourbon expressions of royal power and magnificence.

Marie-Claude Canova-Green's essay chronicles the festivities staged in Bordeaux, where the marriage of Louis XIII to Anne of Austria finally was solemnized by proxy on October 18, 1615. The celebrations that followed underscored the "fundamental ambiguities at heart of the negotiations for the Franco-Spanish marriages" (p. 198). The hegemonic pretensions of the Bourbon dynasty were well in evidence in engravings as well as the *tableaux vivants* honoring the new French queen upon her entry into Bordeaux. Prints produced in Bordeaux exploited classical iconography that cleverly emphasized French power and supremacy at expense of Spanish. Even Jesuit plays, which expressed the tacit hope that the two countries united in marriage might also join together in a joint campaign to extirpate the Protestant heresy from Europe, hailed Louis XIII "as the one destined to conquer the world" (p. 199).

Chantal Grell's analysis of the treatment of Marie de Medici across the centuries covers ground familiar to historians: the vilification of Marie de Medici by her contemporaries as well as by post-Revolutionary historians operating within a new political culture that was virulently anti-clerical, republican and male. Grell's thematic organization minimizes the importance of recent historiography. A more thorough examination of recent works on queenship might have revealed an even more complex portrait of the woman whose dogged pursuit of the Spanish alliance occasioned the festivities at the heart of this volume. [1]

The volume ends with J. R. Mulryne's consideration of the wedding festivities of the Duke of Tuscany in 1589. Mulryne urges students of festival to "pay attention to the human circumstances with which festivals were conceived, and in consequence to avoid over-estimating the place of consciously projected state propaganda in their motivation and delivery" (p. 227). Like so many authors in this volume, however, he underscores the inextricable connections between private identity and public authority in early modern Europe. His suggestion that the duke's involvement in the intricate details of the celebrations was part of his effort to create a new, more purposeful image of the Medici dynasty after the scandalous affairs of his predecessor only demonstrates the difficulty of separating personal politics from public pageantry in this period. It was precisely the personal nature of power and authority that shaped the contours of public spectacles and the multivalent imagery associated with them. This Gordian knot of private and public identity, we might argue, would culminate with Louis XIV, who would assume center stage in his own court ballets.

Dynastic Marriages 1612/1614 inaugurates a new Ashgate series that promises to bring the scholarly exchanges of the Society for European Festival Research to a broader audience. The exhaustive bibliography provided at the end of the volume is an integral part of the series charge. By pointing to the wealth of archival sources available to scholars, McGowan and her co-editors may well hope to draw

others to the field and to this new series. Festivals have long had a central place in the discussion of early modern state building. As the essays in this volume suggest, the intricate, often opaque, symbolism at the heart of these courtly entertainments, and the private and political concerns that inspired them, require a range of interpretive skills well suited to interdisciplinary ventures such as this. The erudition on display in these essays is admirable. That said, there are important themes running through volume that sometimes get lost in the descriptive details. Given the readership the editors hope to attract, a greater attention on the part of all of the authors to the broader trajectories of the project would make future volumes even more appealing and user friendly.

NOTE

[1] For example, Fanny Cosandey, *La reine de France. Symbole et pouvoir* (Paris: Gallimard, 2000), which receives only a brief reference.

LIST OF ESSAYS

J. H. Elliott, "The Political Context of the 1612-1615 Franco-Spanish Treaty"

Nicholas Le Roux, "A Time of Frenzy: Dreams of Union and Aristocratic Turmoil (1610-1615)"

David Sánchez Cano, "Festivities during Elizabeth of Bourbon's Journey to Madrid"

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Chantel Grell, "The *fêtes* of 1612-1615 in History and Historiography"

J. R. Mulryne, "Dynastic Weddings in Personal and Political Contexts: Two Instances"

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