

Marcos Martín, Alberto y Beloso Martín, Carlos (eds.), *Felipe II ante la Historia. Estudios de la Cátedra 'Felipe II' en su 50 aniversario*, Valladolid, Universidad de Valladolid, 2020, 593 págs. ISBN: 9788413200750

Fifty years after the second iteration of the Philip II chair at the University of Valladolid was established, the university published this volume of essays by most but not all living chairholders. There had been a prior chair, founded soon after the Civil War, but the editors say they found little documentation available about it, and anyway the honor then apparently went only to locals. The modern version, established in 1969 thanks to the efforts of Luis Miguel Enciso Recio and which continues strong, has had 49 chairholders, of whom roughly half (27) were Spaniards and two were women. Chairholders deliver one lecture; it would seem that most also lead a seminar, and some have published a short, related monograph.

Reviewing a collection of essays is never an easy task, as the reviewer can say only a few words about some of the contributions. One always hopes that some overriding theme makes the job easier; papers delivered at a conference, for example, may be on many topics but presumably the authors were all speaking to one another, making the whole more than the sum of its parts. In the case of this volume, one has a hard time identifying a center or core other than the time period, the reign of Philip II, and even then there's some wandering. The fact that the editors present the articles in alphabetical order by author's name, rather than by subject, speaks to this.

Yet one can discern several overlapping thematic thrusts, though a few of the articles are entirely in their own orbit. Some authors chose to look at Philip II himself, either in terms of biography or as a member of a difficult family at a time when all royals were pieces: valuable, dangerous, or disposable. Other contributors dealt with the job of being a king: ensuring the expansion and strength of the Hispanic Monarchy, affirming Spain's primacy within Christendom, and solidifying dominance over the lands and peoples it had acquired over the sixteenth century.

Fernando Bouza chose as his topic the sad and intriguing story of doña Filipa, one of the many children of António, Prior of Crato, who fought a losing war against Philip II for the crown of Portugal after the Union of Crowns. (It is not clear to this reviewer that the two men actually were blood relatives, but they both certainly had a claim to the throne.) António died in 1595, but his children remained a distant though credible threat to the obsessively vigilant Philip II. Like many illegitimate or unwanted daughters of the nobility, Filipa was stashed away in convents. We know about her because she wrote letters, many of them to leading members of the Portuguese nobility, making her a nuisance and possibly a danger. She mourned her father (a traitorous emotion, in Philip's eyes) and complained at not being able to see her siblings. Bouza includes eleven of her letters, a true gift to scholars. Filipa herself was unimportant, but the determined way in which Philip II ensured she would never escape her dank surroundings indicates more about the

king than Bouza lets on. He was obsessed with threats to his reign, which were everywhere and anywhere.

A much better-known and closer relative of Felipe II was his son, don Carlos. María José Rodríguez Salgado, one of the two women chosen to occupy this chair, takes a typically fascinating look at Philip II's written explanations for imprisoning his unpredictable son in 1568. Rodríguez Salgado examines the king's letters to *corregidores*, grandees, the pope, and the emperor informing them of the unusual and regrettable events which he said he had undertaken only to avoid greater harm, and which were, naturally, in the young man's best interests. The author points to the fact that Philip had a good model of *reclusión* (never imprisonment), being that his father, Charles V, had done the same with his mother, Juana. Neither Juana nor don Carlos had committed a crime, the monarchs said, but were just mentally unsound. They were disappeared to save the monarchy.

Two contributors address the challenges of writing biographies of Philip II. Richard Kagan writes about the American Hispanist William Prescott, who began a biography in the 1830s and never completed it due to the complexity of the subject (a "monster," he said) and his own ailments, though he struggled heroically. Prescott's enormous project was for a moral biography, to which end he amassed a large collection of documents, most of which burned in a huge fire in Boston in 1872. Fortunately, his factotum, Pascual de Gayangos, had copied many of them, which have been preserved. "Philippizing" was Prescott's term for writing about the monarch, a verb close to the heart of another chairholder, Geoffrey Parker, who unlike Prescott managed to finish the biography (more than one of them, in fact). Parker's essay, "Felipe II y yo," recounts the moment of epiphany that would change his life, that beautiful instant when a historian looks at a very old scrap of paper and says, I can do something with this. Parker ends his essay by referring to one of his recurring themes: the structural versus personal explanations for the shortcomings of Philip's reign.

Moving now, precisely, to structural matters and the question of rule, Philip had to wage war against rival monarchies, suppress rebellions, and raise money if he wished to preserve his inheritance. He also had the Church to deal with. He was "God's vicar" and an unquestionably fervent Christian, but he also cared a great deal about jurisdiction and money, matters on which the sacred and secular leaders did not always see eye-to-eye. Three contributors to this volume have looked there.

José Ignacio Fortea Pérez, the leading authority on the Cortes of Castile during these years, in his long and masterful article turns to friction between Philip II (and his son) and the papacy on two points: certain Cortes *capítulos* on alleged papal abuses, and the return of church properties provided for in Philip II's will. In both instances, the pushing, pulling, and posturing was complicated by interference by the Council of Castile and, during the reign of Philip III, by the duke of Lerma. It is a fascinating story that takes place in critical years: the end of Philip's reign, the rise of England, the rule of Henry IV of France, and then a new ruler in Spain whose reign did not do much to end the jurisdictional stasis.

Gaetano Sabatini also looks at the contest between Spanish royal power and the papacy, in his case by focusing on the Bull of the Crusade, an indulgence initially granted to those who took part in the Crusades and which continued being a handy source of revenue to the crown for centuries and a constant chip in the endless spats with Rome. (They even fought over which currency the *cruzada* should be paid in.) Philip began his reign by using the funds to finance the Malta fleet in 1559 and thereafter never

ceased to insist on his right to it; according to Sabatini, it was his claim to universality in the absence of the imperial throne he did not inherit from his father.

Finally, turning to another sort of conflict regarding religious jurisdiction (though not money), Rafael Benítez Sánchez-Blanco's interesting article analyzes the question of which institution would oversee communities of moriscos who alleged to be Christians, the Inquisition or the Church. The two great powers fought over who would instruct moriscos in proper Christian belief, what the validity of the moriscos' confessions was, and if they could receive a general pardon. The timing of reconciliation and instruction was key; former Muslims could not accept Christ if they had not been previously instructed, and would necessarily have to confess their prior disbelief, but to whom would they confess? Philip II acted as a powerful and engaged umpire in this matter, ultimately siding with the Church. Sabatini makes the important point that the Alpujarras rising of 1568-70 turned a confessional matter into a highly political one.

Returning to politics, Charles V left his son an enormous empire, of course, which historians have argued was an insuperable burden to both father and son. As with wayward family members and argumentative *religiosos*, the many kingdoms could provide essential support or pose critical threats. Two of the essays in this volume examine Philip's dealings with portions of the empire. Carlos Martínez Shaw and Marina Alfonso Mola have written about Philip II and the Far East, exploration of which began during his father's reign. In the 1560s a more permanent presence was established in the islands known as the Philippines, which clearly served as an important platform for exploration and subsequent pillage. There was talk of conquering China ("discovering China" was the term), but Philip II wisely remained unconvinced. Nevertheless, the authors argue, he paid close attention to the Far East for purposes of commerce, the security of the galleon fleet, and the spread of Christianity, all in the context of what they call "the first globalization, Iberian globalization".

Finally, North Africa was the closest and the most obsessed-about space for expansion, the site of great military triumphs and defeats for both Philip and his father. Bernard Vincent writes about Christian captives there during Philip's reign, calculating the cost of ransoms paid not only by the most famous religious orders in that area, the Trinitarians and Mercedarians, but also by wealthy individuals and families who managed to scrape together the funds. A chart shows that the two orders ransomed nearly 3,000 captives from 1559 to 1598, the years of Philip's reign, but that leaves out the many who were ransomed by others or abandoned to live out the rest of their lives in Morocco or Algeria.

I have pointed to just nine of the 21 articles, the ones that deal most directly with Philip II and his reign. Additionally, to name just a few, Jean-Frédéric Schaub contributed thoughts about Philip II in the context of Foucault's concept of biopower, Enrique Soria Mesa wrote a highly entertaining study of false genealogies drawn up to acquire *limpieza de sangre*, and Pedro Cardim extended the chronology to the 1640s, when the ghost of Philip II played a key role in the propagandistic debate over the Portuguese crown after Portugal rebelled. All the articles have very useful bibliographies, though the volume as a whole has no index, which would have been useful.

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