

Order and Disorder in the Solemn Episcopal Entrances of Early Modern North-Western Spain*

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1. Introduction: Power and Representation in the Bishops' entry

My research deals with the solemn entrances of bishops in the Galician cities. Under the Ancien Régime, the Kingdom of Galicia was formed roughly by four small dioceses not very wealthy (Lugo, Mondoñedo, Ourense and Tui), and the metropolitan archdiocese of Santiago de Compostela, one of the most important bishopric in the crown of Castile which had a substantial income². In general, all the bishops in Galicia were lords of many vassals and their respective cities (except for Ourense, whose bishops lost these prerogatives in the thirties of the XVII century). Above all of them stood out the archbishop of Santiago³. Within the Galician context, the archbishop of Santiago seemed more like a prince rather than a priest.

Solemn entrances into a city were enacted not only by powerful people such as kings, ambassadors, or military commanders, but they were also carried out by high-ranking ecclesiastics, from popes down to new bishops taking possession of their dioceses⁴. A close relationship links these ceremonies to urban societies. The solemn entry into a city was of the utmost importance because, though other parts of the bishop's inauguration were only accessible to clergy or lay elite, the entrance could address to all the city's inhabitants along with visitors from other towns and villages. These occasions offered an opportunity to stage an image of the city showing the political and social urban structures⁵. This paper argues that ceremonies performing a bishop's public entrance into his diocese were an occasion to reveal in a ritual manner, hierarchic structures that in ordinary life might not be so clear, and to bring about the intervention of municipal authorities and metropolitan chapter as guarantors of the order, especially in the city of Santiago.

Broadly speaking, bishop's solemn entrances provided a public context in which order, social hierarchy and power were not just represented, confirmed and realized, but also negotiated. The order of precedence and the desire to be the centre of attention in specific stages of the rite often derived in quarrels (Ourense, Santiago)⁶. These disputes were quite common in

* Here are given some outcomes of a work in progress. This work was undertaken at the research project HUM2005-01289/HIST, funded by the Ministry of Economy and Competitiveness of the Government of Spain. Abbreviations: ACS = Archivo de la Catedral de Santiago de Compostela (IG = Inventario General); AHDS = Archivo Histórico Diocesano de Santiago de Compostela (FG = Fondo General); AHUS = Archivo Histórico Universitario de Santiago de Compostela (AMS = Archivo Municipal de Santiago).

² M. Barrio Gozalo, «Perfil socio-económico de una élite de poder (III): Los Obispos del Reino de Galicia (1600-1840)», p. 11-107.

³ B. Barreiro Mallón, «La diócesis de Santiago en la época moderna», p. 177-408.

⁴ J. P. Paiva, «Public ceremonies ruled by the ecclesiastical-clerical sphere: A language of political assertion (16th–18th centuries)», p. 415. M. A. Visceglia and C. Brice, «Introduction», p. 3.

⁵ M. Boiteux, «Parcours rituels romains à l'époque moderne», p. 27-28.

⁶ See for instance ACS, IG 292 «1728. Papeles de la entrada del Señor Arzobispo Yermo», the chapter protests about the disorder caused by urban magistrates: «la maior novedad motiuo de su disgusto ocasionado por la

Santiago because the archbishop of Compostela was the most influential aristocrat in Galice, lord of many vassals and ruler of a large domain. The roles occupied by the assistants were fixed by a strict protocol that expressed and negotiated the conditions of rule or subordination, such as right/left, high/low relations or who should be the first to greet the bishop and so on. In short, it can be stated that rituals and gestures became a wordless language through which power relationships were expressed⁷.

In accordance with what has been expound, this paper wants to emphasize such ritual entrances becoming as the key moments for asserting episcopal authority not just over the local clergy but also over the secular authorities residing in the Galician bishopric sees. Besides from stressing the importance of the civic and religious ceremonies, I would like to underline the ritual, social and politic conflicts that arose from the relationships between the civil and the ecclesiastical power, or even within the local church itself.

2. Ceremonial Order in Episcopal Entrances in the Galician Cities

All researchers who previously have dealt with this subject agree that the bishops' solemn entrance was one of the most significant acts at the symbolic level and at the same time, the most important public manifestation of episcopal power⁸. However, it has also been warned that this act was used by other institutions to express and gain recognition for their position in the social and political structure⁹.

In general, the episcopal entries had a great uniformity of procedures barely hidden by the various details reported in each one of them. This homogeneity was due to the existence of manuals governing this ceremony, especially the *Ceremoniale Episcoporum* (1600), which favored that all of the entries followed certain clearly defined stages. Because in almost all of the Galician dioceses the bishop was also the ruler of the city, their entries into the city were divided into two parts: a «secular» entry to the city and a «spiritual» entry to the cathedral¹⁰. In smaller dioceses the first part often had a more private and fairly simple disposition, if it was carried out. In these cases, the effort was primarily focused on the «spiritual» entry into the cathedral (the proper enthronement of the new bishop). In these cases the entry lasted just a few hours and it was almost identical to the soberer model outlined by *Ceremoniale Episcoporum*¹¹. Such a brief and highly regulated ceremony did not favor the appearance of signs of ceremonial tensions. On the contrary, in the archdiocese of Santiago de Compostela the most elaborated part of the system was the «secular» entry. In Santiago, as in Olomouc and other cities whose bishops were great aristocrats, this sumptuous an impressive event emphasized the archbishop's secular roles¹².

The whole ceremonial system accompanying the enthronement of a new archbishop of Santiago was quite different from the model dictated by the official *Ceremonial Episcoporum* issued during the pontificate of Clement VIII. The solemn entry into the city was part of a

ciudad, alterando esta y pervertiendo todo el orden en que deúa contenerse, a fin de perturbar». Cf. R. López, *Ceremonia y poder a finales del Antiguo Régimen. Galicia 1700-1833*, p. 58-72.

⁷ M. A. Visceglia, «Il ceremoniale come linguaggio politico: su alcuni conflitti di precedenza alla corte di Roma tra cinquecento e seicento», p. 142-144. J. P. Paiva, «O cerimonial da entrada dos bispos nas suas dioceses: uma encenação de poder (1741-1757)», p. 137.

⁸ J. P. Paiva, «O cerimonial da entrada dos bispos nas suas dioceses: uma encenação de poder», p. 122.

⁹ F. Suárez Golán, «“Todo es cuidar de las zeremonias”. Imagen y representación del poder en el Episcopado gallego», p. 197-219.

¹⁰ M. Elbel, «Bishop's Secular Entry: Power and Representation in Inauguration Ceremonies of the Eighteenth-Century Bishops of Olomouc», p. 56.

¹¹ J. P. Paiva, «O cerimonial da entrada dos bispos nas suas dioceses: uma encenação de poder», p. 131-132.

¹² M. Elbel, «Bishop's Secular Entry: Power and Representation in Inauguration Ceremonies of the Eighteenth-Century Bishops of Olomouc», p. 54.

ceremony of inauguration, which itself belonged to a whole set of codified ceremonies framing the vacancy of the see. Two successive phases can be distinguished in the entrance ceremony of the archbishops of Santiago: the «recibimiento» (reception) and the «entrada pública» (solemn entry)¹³.

«Recibimiento» is defined in the documentation as the welcome, assistance and transfer of the archbishop, from the further lands of the diocese of Santiago to the city itself. The ceremonies started some days before in Sobrado, the Cistercian monastery, 60 kilometers east of Santiago. Here, the new archbishop summoned two representatives of the Santiago's city council to pay him homage. He also asked the chapter to send two deputies that should be present at the ceremony. After the welcome, the deputies of the city council and the chapter should accompany the archbishop in the following days and participate in the transfer from Sobrado for Santiago. The journey could be made by carriage, in which case the legacies of the chapter would travel inside the archbishop's carriage, or on horseback, in which case the canons occupy both sides of the archbishop to accompany him into the episcopal palace¹⁴.

The public entry into the city took place several days later. The first phase of the entry is marked by the departure of civilian and ecclesiastical authorities to reach out the archbishop-lord in order to greet and congratulate him. The cortege started in the Mercedarian Convent of Conxo, a quarter of a league away from the city¹⁵, and headed to the chapel of San Jose where the parade waited for the arrival of the mayors and aldermen of the city of Santiago. The urban magistrates should arrive before the cathedral's chapter because of their lower authority and the secondary role they represented in the ceremony. Once they had greeted the archbishop, they should withdraw to allow the dean do the same¹⁶.

Taking as an example what happened in the public entrance of Archbishop Manuel Isidro Orozco Manrique de Lara in 1739, the delegation of the council had left the Plaza de la Quintana forming two rows¹⁷. In St. Joseph's Chapel they met with the Archbishop and the deputies who accompanied him; after the greeting, the dean presented the members of the chapter one by one, and finally the dean and the choirmaster occupied the right and left sides of the Archbishop during the rest of the ceremony¹⁸. On the other hand, the city council came accompanied by the guilds of the city, each of them characterized in a different fashion. Among them stood out the guild of jets and cloth merchants who staged the battle of Clavijo in front of the archbishop.¹⁹ This performance was used to recall the privileges of the archbishopric. Once finished the performance, the parade continued its way to Santiago following this order; heading the parade were the guilds of the city, then the council, after them the chapter and finally the archbishop between the dean and choirmaster²⁰. The

¹³ R. López, «Las entradas públicas de los arzobispos compostelanos en la Edad Moderna», p. 197-198.

¹⁴ ACS, IG 292 «1728. Papeles de la entrada del Señor Arzobispo Yermo».

¹⁵ ACS, IG 292 «Resume del Zeremonial de Entradas de s.res Arzobispos».

¹⁶ ACS, IG 292 «Ceremonial Original de la Entrada pública solemne de los Señores Arzobispos».

¹⁷ ACS, IG 292 «Testimonio del Reziuim.to y Entrada pública del Ilustrísimo Señor Arzobispo D. Manuel Isidro Orozco».

¹⁸ «A este fin sale en forma de Comunidad al Crucero de Conjo a recibir allí a su Prelado en cuyo sitio el Deán en nombre del Cabildo hace la ceremonia de entregarle los canónigos, expresándoles sus nombres, Dignidades y Oficios: por cuyo acto se simboliza que abdica de sí el Cabildo» («Razón que se dio a S. Yllma de los papeles que existen en este Archivo»): ACS, IG 292 «1773. Arzobispo Señor Bocanegra».

¹⁹ AHUS, AMS 189 «Auto p^a que los Gremios estén prontos p^a la entrada del Ilustrísimo Sr. Arzobispo», f. 31v.

²⁰ «Detiéndose S. I. en el humilladero, a donde el Señor Deán o Presidente adelantándose al Cabildo, y acompañado de el Señor Maestro de Ceremonias, Cumplimenta â S. I. estando todos â Caballo. S. I. responde. Los dos toman los lados de S. I. y se retiran lo señores Legados. Pasan delante de S.I. los Señores de el Cabildo de dos en dos, y el señor Deán, ô Presidente dice sus nombres, y calidad de sus Prebendas. [...] Cierra el acompañamiento la familia de S.I. en Ábito de Camino y el último el Caballerizo mayor de S. I.»: ACS, IG 292 «Ceremonial Original de la Entrada pública solemne de los Señores Arzobispos»:

descriptions are committed to include participants and emphasize the order of the march or ride because the ritual was structured according to the specific relationship of distance/proximity of the participants and the distinction relied on telltale signs of their functions and place inside the community²¹. In that order, the cortege came to a gate of the city. Now takes place the first main event of this entry. In the Puerta del Camino the dean gave the keys of the city to the prelate, this act symbolized the transfer of jurisdiction from the chapter (who had ruled during the vacancy) to the Archbishop (which corresponded *sede plena*)²². In this ceremony the city council was only a spectator.

After the handover of keys, began the march through the streets of the city towards the cathedral where the «spiritual» entry took place²³. Once bishop took off the pontificals, he left the cathedral and together with two canons returned to his residence²⁴.

The two consecutive episodes, the civil first and the ecclesiastical after, underscored the complexity of the canonical and administrative relationships of the new archbishop with the clergy and his vassals. The chapter, meanwhile, extremely punctilious, in order to mark the limits of everyone's competences, wrote detailed ceremonials that should be followed not only by the canons themselves, but also by the new archbishop and the deputies of the city council. The entries were meticulously organized and the etiquette was very precise about it. Even more, in these entries to Santiago was not the new archbishop, but the chapter who marked all the ceremonial and chose the places for the rituals. The choice was not naive, it tried to show the wide extent of the chapter's power in the diocese in order to remark that the bishops passed but the chapter remains.

3. Disorder: Between the Breakdown of the Ceremony and the Alteration of Sociopolitical Order in the City

The different ceremonies that shaped the public entrance were full of symbolic acts with a strong legal connotation. The best proof that entrance ceremonies were considered by its protagonists as acts with political and social significance is provided by the numerous quarrels that came out.

In the entrance of the new bishop-lord, the parade was made according to rules of participation that demonstrated the social and political order. The procession expresses the social structure set in motion²⁵. This is, indeed, a public recognition of a certain order. It has been said that participating in a formal ceremonial context defines a particular social relationship and creates a contractual obligation between the parties²⁶. The performed rite legitimates power, creates links among power, city, urban space and community. But

²¹ M. Boiteaux, «Parcours rituels romains à l'époque moderne», p. 37.

²² ACS, IG 292 «Ceremonial Original de la Entrada pública solemne de los Señores Arzobispos»: «En la puerta de la Ciudad, que llaman de el Camino, apéase el Señor Deán ô Presidente, y entrega â S.I. las llaves de la Ciudad que tiene en una fuente sobre dorada un Capellán mayor, estas las admite S.I. y toca con la mano diciendo recibe muy gustoso las llaves de mano de el Cabildo, y le da las gracias por el buen gobierno y tranquilidad en q. conservó los Vasallos de el Santo Apóstol y si el Regidor más antiguo pretende hacer la misma Ceremonia, S.I. responde las recibió de mano de el Cabildo en quien residió el gobierno de la Vacante.»

²³ R. López, «Las entradas públicas de los arzobispos compostelanos en la Edad Moderna», p. 202.

²⁴ AHDS, FG 219 «1610-1796. Documentación relativa al ceremonial de la entrada pública de los Sres. Arzobispos en la capital de la diócesis» («Ceremonial quanto a la entrada después de llegado a la Puerta de la Santa Yglesia»).

²⁵ M. Boiteux, «Parcours rituels romains à l'époque moderne», p. 28.

²⁶ A. Blazquez, «Les ceremonies de prise de possession du diocèse et de la seigneurie de Sigüenza par ses évêques-seigneurs à l'époque moderne», p. 77.

likewise, it became the occasion for making explicit some latent conflicts among civic social bodies or within de local elite²⁷.

For instance, in 1815 the development of the protocol served to highlight the tensions between the city council of Lugo and the bishop because of the domain over the city. The ceremony of handing keys to the new bishop became an occasion to make public the claims of both parties²⁸.

In Ourense, this type of conflicts of jurisdiction between the bishop and municipal representatives were very common until the early seventeenth century²⁹. The tension between the *corregidor* (mayor) and the bishop about the jurisdiction over the city was the most significant element in the entrance of Bishop Juan Ayala de la Torre in 1622³⁰. The bishops of Ourense had the lordship of the city under special conditions until the city passed to be of royal domain between 1628 and 1630, by an agreement between the Bishop Juan Venido and Philip IV.

Before this happened, the usual thing was that the most diverse fightings occurred. In 1622 the *corregidor* decided to send a delegation of two councilors two or three leagues from the capital, to tell the new bishop Juan de Ayala de la Torre that the city government wanted to go and meet him at Sexalvo. However, the municipal authorities' intention was to ensure the safeguarding of their royalties and rights, since they had been informed that the chapter already was beside the bishop, and he intended to be at the bishop's right side during the ceremony. It was a matter of protocol, but in those years with a peculiar state of political affairs in Ourense, this matter was of a particular importance. In the absence of other mass media, the place occupied in public acts was always a source of rivalry because it allowed the people to see the social hierarchy³¹.

In fact, the *corregidor* of Ourense warned the bishop that he considered essential for their attendance at the event that the city council members should occupy the right side of the prelate. Although Bishop Juan de la Torre accepted the conditions imposed on him by the council members, other problems soon appeared.

The first incident came when the legacies of the city council reached Sexalvo where the bishop was expecting to initiate the cortege, because the chapter intended to occupy the same place as the *corregidor* believed to possess. This drawback was solved quickly. The chapter chose to greet his bishop and then return to town to dress up the pontifical robes and attend to the rites envisaged in *Ceremoniale episcoporum*³². Aside from this first incident, tension erupted again when, shortly after starting, the prelate expressed his anger because the *corregidor* was carrying the staff in episcopal domain. Without addressing the reasons that the *corregidor* gave, Bishop Juan de la Torre dispatched the deputies of the city and continued the cortege in a litter, while council members were dispersed in another direction.

What began with a simple matter of protocol became a riot with some violent episodes. The vicar and bishop's brother tried to stop some council members which lead to a gunfight. Finally, the militar companies of the city refused to take orders from the magistrate and they entered to the service of the bishop.

²⁷ D. Rando, «Ceremonial Episcopal Entrances in Fifteenth Century North-Central Italy: Images, Symbols, Allegories», p. 27.

²⁸ R. López, «Las entradas públicas de los arzobispos compostelanos en la Edad Moderna», p. 208.

²⁹ O. Rey Castelao, «Edad Moderna: Iglesia y Religión», p. 160.

³⁰ B. Fernández Alonso, «Conflicto entre el obispo don Juan de la Torre y el Ayuntamiento de Orense desde Sejalvo a la Ciudad», p. 1.

³¹ A. L. Cortés Peña, «Conflictos jurisdiccionales entre la Iglesia y los poderes civiles en el siglo XVIII», p. 439.

³² J. P. Paiva, «O cerimonial da entrada dos bispos nas suas dioceses: uma encenação de poder», p. 125.

This episode must be understood in the context of a privileged class society, which placed great emphasis on hierarchy and in which the scenery of public appearances of each person and each group was taken quite seriously. All this was aggravated in this case by the political status quo of the city, the latent tensions between the supporters of the bishop, the royal agents and the local representatives willing to be permanently released from episcopal jurisdiction.

It is understandable that in the early seventeenth century the bishop of Ourense, Muñoz de la Cueva, manifests the relief that the government of his diocese had assumed once the city passed from episcopal jurisdiction to the royal jurisdiction³³.

In Santiago de Compostela the problem was not exactly the same and there were more players in the conflict. Tensions on the occasion during the public ceremonies of inauguration of the archbishops of Compostela were not just the result of conflicts of jurisdiction or protocol, but quarrels for power in the secular government. The result was a sharp dispute over a hundred years among the archbishop, the chapter and the council of Santiago on the subject of order and development of the ceremonies and, indirectly, on the temporal lordship of the city.

The cathedral chapter was the most concerned institution about the ownership of the act and, therefore, the one most likely to be victorious in that particular duel. As consequence, the cathedral chapter will assume much of the propaganda potential and legitimizing/sanctioning power of the ceremony in their own benefit. It should be noted that during the vacancy, the chapter and the city council —anchored institutions at the local level and intended to remain— taking real awareness of their importance and power, were unwilling to give up power easily at the time of the inauguration of a new archbishop. Instead, the chapter of Compostela did not hesitate to use every means in their power to strengthen the reached position.

The chapter transformed the «recibimiento» of the archbishop in a coup de force, a demonstration of what could be achieved in the first meeting with his bishop. For example, in the «recibimiento» of Archbishop Miguel Herrero y Esgueva (1723), they made the traditional stop for lunch and the council invited the archbishop and other persons of distinction to a plentiful meal with seafood and sweets (they were about 80 kilometers from the coastline)³⁴. The ceremonial banquets in the field were not very common though some testimonies can be found in the documentation³⁵.

The chapter's main concern was to avoid that the council deputies might occupy a place that was not their role, especially if it was near the archbishop, so it could give the impression that they shared the bishop's jurisdiction. To ensure that everything ran as planned, the chapter sent to each new archbishop two legacies with a letter of congratulations together with a detailed memorandum. In these memorials or «ceremoniales» the chapter was allowed to describe all the steps that the newly-elected archbishop should give since his departure from Madrid, or wherever he was, until its entry into the cathedral. In other words, the archbishop was facing a series of rules that not only were imposed by the chapter, but also should prevail

³³ J. Muñoz de la Cueva, *Noticias de la Santa Iglesia Catedral de Orense*, p. 285-286.

³⁴ ACS, IG 292 «Para el rreziuimento del S.^{or} Arzobispo Esgueva».

³⁵ See for instance the ceremony in 1773: «entre vivas y aclamaciones de todo aquel Pueblo que con Achas encendidas a la Puerta principal de la Casa, y ésta iluminada en lo Exterior y interior y en el Balcón principal dos Músicos de la Cathedral tocando un Concierto de Trompas. [...] se sirvió el Refresco con esplendidez y abundancia de todos géneros de bebida, dulces, ramillete, azúcar esponjado, agua fría y chocolate con todo género de Bizcochos, que alcanzó no sólo a la comitiva y familias de Su Ilustrísima y nuestra, sino también a todos los criados de escalera abajo y demás concurrentes de afuera»: ACS, IG 292 «1773. Arzobispo Bocanegra».

over the *Ceremoniale Episcoporum* or any other ceremonial that did not coincide with the chapter's rules³⁶.

The surviving sources allow seeing the evolution of the process and identify the key moments of conflict within the ceremony. Our earliest evidence about Santiago's episcopal entries appears in 1615, when the cathedral chapter relates the «secular» and «spiritual» entry of the newly-elected archbishop Juan Beltrán de Guevara³⁷. In this occasion there were no setbacks and the entry was developed as described just above. However, in 1645, during the «recibimiento» and «entrada pública» of Archbishop Fernando de Andrade y Sotomayor, the city council deputies tried to occupy the left side of the Archbishop during dinner, but the chapter refused³⁸. Over time, the claim of the urban deputies to occupy one of the archbishop's side during the parade would become almost an element of the ceremony which the chapter rejected over and over.

At the entrance of Archbishop Agustín Antolínez (1624) the alteration was caused by the secretary of the archbishop who had joined the ranks of the cathedral chapter. At the entry of Archbishop José González (1627) the city council members were ahead within the parade. In general, except for the exception of 1624, the image provided by the chapter minutes in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is that of some members of the council as turbulent elements and reluctant to accept an order, capable of breaking the delicate balance of a carefully studied hierarchy with his «disobedience, outrages and disrespect»³⁹. This potential element of disorder introduced by the deputies of the council, become worse from mid-seventeenth century, and is confirmed by numerous sources documenting contemporary and the successive opposition between the representatives of the city and the cathedral's chapter, always concerned about the strict compliance of a ritual that benefited them.⁴⁰

In 1668, members of the council raised once again their claims for the «recibimiento» in Sobrado to Cardinal Spínola, again without success⁴¹. The rest of the ceremony went smoothly. However, in the next century, the effects were more visible. On 10 January 1717, during the public entrance of Archbishop Luis de Salcedo y Azcona, council members tried to occupy the left row of the procession to the gates of the city. After some altercations occurred between certain canons and councilmen, the council left the ceremony and the procession continued to the gate of the city where the council, instead of the President of the Chapter, tried to deliver the keys to the new archbishop⁴². A similar problem occurred in the next entry (24 May 1723). The council tried to pass between the two lines formed by the chapter to greet the newly-elected archbishop Miguel de Herrero⁴³. This was prevented and the aldermen were removed without attending the entry of the archbishop in the city for a second consecutive

³⁶ ACS, IG 292 «Ceremonial Original de la Entrada pública solemne de los Señores Arzobispos».

³⁷ ACS, IG 292 «Entrada del Arzobispo D. Juan Beltrán de Guevara».

³⁸ «Don Gonzalo de Neyra, legado más antiguo de los dos de la Ciudad, dijo suplicaba a su Ilustrísima me mandase a mi el canónigo Piquero que tenía el lado yzquierdo de su I. le dejase por que le tocaba a él y que yo me pasase al lado derecho Donde estaba el Cardenal Spínola y me sentase después del; su Ilustrísima le dijo se sentasen los dos Legados de la Ciudad después de nosotros dos, que así se había de hacer y que esto estaba así asentado»: ACS, IG 292 «1645. Arzobispo Sr. Andrade».

³⁹ Cf. I. Fosi, «*Parcere subiectis, debellare superbos*. L'immagine della giustizia nelle cerimonie di possesso a Roma e nelle legazioni dello Stato Pontificio nel Cinquecento», p. 95.

⁴⁰ M. A. Visceglia, «Il ceremoniale come linguaggio politico: su alcuni conflitti di precedenza alla corte di Roma tra cinquecento e seicento», p. 141.

⁴¹ ACS, IG 292 «1668. S.or Arzobispo D. Ambrosio Spínola».

⁴² AHUS, AMS 107 «Testimonio en rrazón de la entrada pública q. hizo en esta ciudad el Ilustrísimo señor don Luys Salçedo y Ascona, Arzouispo y señor della», f. 35r-36v.

⁴³ ACS, IG 292 «Protestas que hubo entre el Cavildo y la Ciudad sobre pretender esta entrar por el centro de el Cauildo a complimentar a Su Ill.ma en su entrada pública».

time. These discrepancies and the rudeness of the city council had not been spontaneous, but they were determined to defend their rights in the entry ceremonies⁴⁴.

These sequences read one after another in its diachronic development are not only indicative of the difficulties of the city council of Compostela to find a placement to participate in public rituals, but also that the entries were exclusively designed and led by the cathedral chapter. This fact takes a bigger consistency in the second half of the seventeenth century and it looks for the reinforcement of the privileged position of the cathedral chapter before the city but also before the archbishop.

However, the most noisy quarrels and negative outcomes took place in December 1728⁴⁵. The new Archbishop José del Yermo tried to make an agreement between the city council and the chapter about the details of the protocol, although the practical results of his initiative were invalid. The act of 21 December 1728 was, since its inception, a series of discussions and lunges that ended with a mutual unwillingness and manifests, not only between the cathedral's chapter and the city council, but between the chapter and the archbishop. The first change occurred early in the ceremony. The city council joined the parade behind the archbishop and his family and not ahead of the chapter as it was expected for being a corporation of less authority. One of the deputized canons suggested the archbishop to cease the procession, but he refused and the parade moved on again. But the chapter did not join the procession and it left the parade with expressions of indignation. The archbishop went on, accompanied only by the guilds and the city council. At the city gate there was no delivery of the keys as usual, and when the archbishop came to the cathedral he found that there was no canon to receive him, the altar for the oath had been removed and the church doors were closed⁴⁶.

Archbishop José del Yermo dared to discuss the suggestions of the canons and to meet the requests of their eternal rivals the aldermen. As a result, the archbishop was not only without the accompaniment of the canons, but endured the angry reaction of the Chapter President⁴⁷. The cathedral chapter forbade any member to visit the archbishop, while the chapter reserved for the city another sentence that punished the violent attack that mayors and councilors had perpetrated against the chapter, and serve as a deterrent in the future⁴⁸.

As it can be extracted from the chapter's documentation, it seems as if the bishops remained relegated to a second place, subject to the will of the cathedral chapter. Rarely, they dared to violate the chapter's provisions, resulting in major litigation. Instead, the causes of most of the conflicts were the attempts of the city council, who wanted to achieve the place the chapter denied for them (formal place in the ceremony, but also real place in the sociopolitical structure of the city). The new archbishop became involved, even unwillingly, in the dispute between the two urban corporations. In fact, the matter that was being discussed throughout the ceremony was not who was ahead or behind in the parade, but to whom belonged the temporal government of the city. In this context, the absence or abandonment of the parade involved the public rejection of the social structure—the urban hierarchy—which was represented through it. This absence meant the denial of power which was legitimized through the execution of the ceremony.

⁴⁴ AHUS, AMS 1723, fs. 166-167v.

⁴⁵ AHDS, FG 219 «Ilmo. Sr. Arzobispo Don José de Yermo y Santibáñez. 1728».

⁴⁶ R. López, *Ceremonia y poder a finales del Antiguo Régimen. Galicia 1700-1833*, p. 62-63.

⁴⁷ ACS, IG 292, «1728. Papeles de la entrada del Señor Arzobpo. Yermo».

⁴⁸ See also the judgement of the chapter: «castigase el violento atentado de la Ciudad, sus Alcaldes y regidores actuales, y sirviase a lo adelante para escarmiento y para contener dentro de su deber y del justo respeto a la Ciudad y regidores»: ACS, IG 520 «Actas Capitulares» (31/12/1728).

The entry of Archbishop Cayetano Gil Taboada in 1745 was the first peaceful entry in the eighteenth century⁴⁹. The new archbishop had been canon at the cathedral chapter of Santiago before being elected bishop of Lugo. Since the beginning he positioned against the city and in favor of the chapter with who he had looked into the matter by letter before leaving Lugo. Even he had gathered some information that could be used against the claims of the aldermen. Therefore, in the difficult situation provoked by particularities of the ceremonies of «recibimiento» and «entrada pública» in the Archdiocese of Compostela, the archbishops could improve the balance of urban policy or, instead, shift the balance in either direction.

Peace was maintained for the entry of Archbishop Bartolomé de Rajoy, Galician and former canon as its predecessor. But tensions returned soon. In 1773 the regiment of the city did everything that was on their hands to obstruct the entry of Archbishop Francisco Alejandro Bocanegra Xivaja, delaying the ceremony for months with varied excuses⁵⁰. Finally, the entry was made, but it required a Royal Order of 20 November 1784 to end a lawsuit that seemed infinite: in the future the traditional ceremonial system would be kept placing the city in two rows ahead of the chapter during the parade. However, the Council of Castile declared at that moment that this «purely political act» did not cause or denoted any right of preference about of the corporation that was the last or the first⁵¹. This statement was a shock for the chapter which had used the entry ceremony of the archbishops for centuries as a tool to give free rein to his claim upon the temporal domain on the city of Santiago. Arguably, one of the goals of the chapter was to withdraw the council, in view of everyone, without any power, paper or representations in urban policy⁵².

In conclusion, these particularly solemn moments, such as the entries into the city of the new bishop, showed the profound value and the twofold meaning, political and religious, of the complex rules contained in the «ceremonial» for its enforcement, in public or in private. In short, as regards to the entries of the Galician bishops in early modern times, at least until 1784, we can consider the ceremonial as an image and representation of power, and the tensions within the ceremonies as the evident rise of the latent conflicts among civic and social bodies or within the local elites.

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⁴⁹ «Así fue también la Entrada Pública, que hizo nuestro Arzobispo en esta su Capital, acompañado de entrambos Cuerpos Eclesiástico, i Secular; la más pacífica que se ha visto; Hombre más Poderoso que sus Antecesores, *Potentior Vir*, que supo componer Pleito tan reñido entre tan Robustas, i Principales Partes, *sedat precedentem litem*, con admiración justa de los Hombres Ancianos de la Ciudad [...], al ver el Iris de la Paz, quando se podía temer la más turbulenta tempestad en los ánimos»: F. Lozano, *El Iris de la paz: justa parentacion que a la memoria de el Illmo. Señor D. Cayetano Gil Taboada Arzobispo, i señor de Santiago, ofrece en eterno monumento de su filial gratitud, su mas reverente familia*, Santiago: por Buenaventura Aguayo, 1751.

⁵⁰ ACS, IG 292 «1773. Arzobispo Sr. Bocanegra».

⁵¹ AHDS, FG 219, s.n.

⁵² «El Cabildo no va en la entrada pública de su prelado, representando solamente una parte principal de el Pueblo [...], sino como señor de él. Como tal, y para entregar al Prelado el ejercicio de la Jurisdicción espiritual y temporal, debe preceder a la Ciudad. [...] A este acto parece indispensable la asistencia de la Ciudad por representar al Pueblo: Más fuera de él no tiene otro que exercer [...] por falta de Jurisdicción sobre el Pueblo»: ACS, IG 292 «Razón que se dio a Su Ilustrísima de los papeles que existen en este Archivo...».

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