

論文の英文要旨

論文題目 Historiographies in the Spanish Monarchy
in the second half of the sixteenth century

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The objective of this research is to investigate the official historiographies in Spain in the second half of the sixteenth century, from the point of view of constitutional history. In early modern Europe, in order to maintain composite monarchy (conglomerate state composed of multiple kingdoms under one monarch), monarchs had to depend on cooperative relationships with local elites of each kingdom. Viewed from such perspective, official histories under the kingship and the local elites can be useful sources for investigation about inventions of their historical legitimacy within the composite monarchy. For this purpose, this paper focuses on three historiographies under Spanish kingship, Castilian urban oligarchy (Toledo) and political elite of the Kingdom of Aragon.

In Habsburg Spain, the royal chroniclers wrote for the benefit of the kingship (chapters 1 and 2).

In the reign of Philip II, his chronicler Ambrosio de Morales published the

General Chronicle of Spain as the official history of the Spanish Monarchy. He emphasized the historical role of Visigothic king Recaredo, who was the first Catholic monarch of Spain. In this chronicle, in order to construct a theory of continuity of Spanish and Catholic dynasty, Recaredo was described as the founder of a fictional dynasty from Pelayo to Philip II. By this logic of dynastic legitimacy, Morales insisted that Philip II was a descendant of the first Spanish monarch with Catholic faith and that Castile with the dynasty of Recaredo had taken leading role in the Iberian history. Morales used three concepts for this interpretation; 1) Visigothic origin of the royal lineage, 2) Catholic Monarchy as legitimate constitution of Spain and 3) Castile with indisputable superiority over other kingdoms of the Peninsula.

The urban oligarchy of Toledo presented their own interpretation of history by means of chronicles and festivities (chapters 3 and 4).

Two chronicles of Toledo in 1554 and 1605 showed its history focusing on good relation between the city and the king. Although this general feature was common to other city's chronicles, the Toledan chroniclers used the particular method of presenting their concrete and unique history of the city. For example, the authors emphasized the Castilian kings Alfonso VI (as conqueror of Toledo) and Alfonso VII (who established the urban title of the "Imperial City") instead of Recaredo. Further, the chronicle of 1605 described the revolt of Comuneros against Charles V as tyrannical riot by marginal people whose target was the whole civic community. And its author interpreted the defeat of Comuneros as restoration to immutable allegiance to the king.

Also in the festivities celebrated in the sixteenth century, we can find this sort of desire for direct and eternal connection with the kingship. The oligarchy celebrated two festivals in celebration of the returns of the relics of the patron saints in 1565 and 1587. Then, Philip II entered into the city and the cathedral with the relics. This performance meant the behavior as the successor of Alfonso VII because this king of the twelfth century also had carried one part of the same relic. After these festivities, the patron saints of Toledo became the most important symbol of the idealized relationship with the Catholic King of Spain throughout the history.

By contrast, these chronicles showed almost complete indifference to the Crown of Castile as political and territorial entity. The cause existed in the Castilian political system divided into autonomous regional communities in which central city as Toledo had administrative and financial function. Hence, by behaving as Catholic King in the festivals of Toledo, Philip II tried to maintain the direct alliance with one of the Castilian local elites in order to stabilize the Crown of Castile.

Also in the Kingdom of Aragon, the political elite utilized the historiography for their purpose within Spanish composite monarchy (chapter 5).

In 1548, they created the post of the chronicler of the Kingdom in order to display historical legitimacy of Aragonese political system and their power within this system. Jerónimo Zurita, the first chronicler of Aragon, published the *Annals of the Crown of Aragon* and insisted on a continuity of Aragonese polity. The keystone of his interpretation was the legendary story of Sobrarbe. According to Zurita, the Kingdom had been established in Sobrarbe by native warriors of Aragon and Navarre in the ninth century and, simultaneously, four concepts of Aragonese polity had emerged (priority of laws over royal power; moderate restriction to king by higher nobility; right of election of new monarch by political elite in an emergency; the Justice of Aragon as mediator between king and political elite). Zurita described the history of Aragon in accordance with these concepts. For example, he criticized the Union (military association of medieval nobles) for deviating from the concept of moderate restriction on royal power. Additionally, Zurita and his successors indicated the inseparability of the kingdoms of the Crown of Aragon as fifth concept of the polity. By this jurisprudential and secular interpretation of history, the chroniclers of Aragon legitimated the particular polity of their Kingdom and the autonomy of the Aragonese elite within the composite monarchy of the sixteenth century.

In conclusion, although the royal government of Philip II had ability to demonstrate own interpretation of the Spanish history as history of the invented

dynasty of Recaredo, it could not create a unitary myth as Spanish Monarchy. In Toledo, the oligarchy presented the urban history as a story of the idealized relationship between the Catholic King and the city, but paid little attention to the role of Recaredo. On the other hand, in the Kingdom of Aragon the political elite emphasized jurisprudential uniqueness of the Aragonese polity since its foundation without depending on the continuity from the Visigothic Kingdom. However, three official historiographies possessed same framework. Each of the chroniclers demonstrated “their” ideal image of the monarch. Royal chroniclers described the kings as descendants of the first Catholic king of Spain; Toledan chronicles emphasized the image of the monarch as political and religious protector of Toledo; the chroniclers of Aragon insisted that the king of Aragon had unavoidable obligation to respect the laws of the Kingdom. From the point of view of constitutional history, the monarchical principle itself which permitted such various and flexible interpretations by local elites functioned as stabilizer of the Spanish composite monarchy of the sixteenth century.