

Factional Politics at the Court of Philip IV after the fall of Olivares

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The thesis exploits previously un-used manuscript evidence found in the *Biblioteca Nacional* in Madrid. This manuscript, which comprises two years of bi-weekly letters between friar Pedro de Tapia, bishop of Sigüenza, and don Francisco de Oviedo, provides a mirror into the core of one of the factions predominate in the Court of Philip IV in the post-Olivares period. The core of the faction comprised the Duke of Medinaceli, the Duke of Infantado, friar Juan de Santo Tomás, friar Pedro de Tapia and Francisco de Oviedo. The thesis aims to uncover the nature of seventeenth-century politics through an examination of the motives which moved its players. It therefore investigates in microcosm the influences and aims of this specific faction at the Court of Philip IV in 1646 and 1647.

The aims of the faction included an improved morality in the Catholic Monarchy, along with the promotion of Catholicism and the Medinaceli dynasty. The use of this extensive correspondence permits an analysis of exactly how this faction managed to promote these objectives, and the influences behind them.

In the course of the study it becomes apparent that questions of reputation and patronage networks are fundamental to the way factional politics operated in the seventeenth century. This is also true of financial concerns, which in a period of economic crisis played an enormous role in the political world. The financial concerns of the Monarchy in general and friar Pedro in particular are thus investigated, within the context of the military crisis of the period.

Any analysis of post-Olivares politics can not fail to include a consideration of the nature of the *privanza* of Haro, and the interpretation of Philip IV. These themes are dealt with in a specifically political context and so is the way the faction in question sought to influence Haro and Philip in order to impose their principal aims. The unstable and ambivalent nature of factional politics is thoroughly exposed in this study.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Don Gaspar de Guzmán, Count-Duke of Olivares fell from power in 1643, in the heart of the Spanish baroque. The word baroque comes from the Portuguese and meant - originally - a mis-shapen pearl.¹ The use of the word baroque to refer to the seventeenth century obviously follows the interpretation of that century as a century of decadence. This reading also presupposes a previous cultural/ economic/political peak, from which, in the seventeenth century, there was a decline. The term is pan-European in its reference, and academic discussion has involved all the European powers. The pan-European decline, after the so-called "glorious revolution" in England, and the discovery of the "worthiness" of the English Civil War, was converted into the "Decline of Spain". There is no doubt that the seventeenth century was a period of crisis in Europe in general and Spain in particular, but to what extent this constituted decadence, and when Spanish culture was at the apex from which the decline followed, has been increasingly challenged in the past three decades, with Henry Kamen's article "The Decline of Spain: A Historical Myth?", forming a springboard.

The result of this questioning of an accepted theory has been an increase in research into both the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with attempts to determine when the peak occurred and what decline there actually was. There has also been a significant increase in research into where the responsibility lay for this decline. The traditional theory of weak and degenerate Hapsburg monarchs, Philip IV and Charles II, being primarily responsible has been increasingly questioned. The greater part of this research has taken place on a re-evaluation of the second half of the

¹. *Oxford English Dictionary*.

sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth. By 1650, it has been suggested, the mould was set and Spanish culture was in unmitigated decadence with only the inheritance to the throne of the genetically defective Charles II needed to complete the picture of a history not worth investigating. Human thought has really changed very little since the seventeenth century when the study of the exemplary and successful was encouraged and the study of degenerate failures scorned. On the other hand, more can usually be learnt by mistakes than successes and the ministers of Philip IV and Charles II were no exception to this rule.

This thesis intends to investigate the political influence of a faction at the Court of Philip IV during two years of the transition period of 1643-8. A faction was a group of people allied to promote common interests. It existed in a period of political disunity, which lacked outlets to express this opposition. It is the aim of the present study to illustrate the unity of the core of a particular faction in the Court of Philip IV. The faction was comprised of the Duke of Medinaceli, friar Pedro de Tapia, the Duke and Duchess of Infantado, don Francisco de Oviedo and the Marchioness of Ladrada.² It is hoped to show the unity of the two leading members and the way in which all the members used their individual and collective influence to promote their basic aims: to improve morality in the Catholic Monarchy; to prevent the King from electing a new *valido*; to defend the Catholic religion; and to promote the dynastic links of Medinaceli - through his children - with the new political *camarillo*, as his ancestors had done with that of Lerma.³

As one of the leading figures in this faction was the Dominican friar Pedro de Tapia it is essential to consider the current state of research into *religión*.

² . See chapter 2 for biographical information on these people.

³ . Medinaceli's great-aunt Catalina de la Cerda was married to Francisco Gómez de Sandoval, 1st Duke of Lerma.

In his book *Las formas complejas de la vida religiosa*, Julio Caro Baroja writes that “el estudio de la *religión* puede enfocarse desde un punto de vista teológico o filosófico general.”⁴ In recent years, following the *Annales* school, there has been a tendency to study “popular” religion. This type of research is placed within the study of *mentalité* and has attempted to place “religion” in society, by trying to discover the beliefs of the marginalised population through a study of their culture. This interpretation classifies “popular” religion as an *other* religion separate from theological religion. In the same way it is conceived that the marginalised population is separate from the mainstream. In summary, traditional studies used theology to indicate religion, and *Annales* methodology - at the risk of oversimplification - used society to indicate “popular” religion. José Luis Sánchez Lora in *Mujeres, conventos y formas de la religiosidad barroca* attempts to link theological religion to marginalised society and argues against the existence of “popular” religion.⁵

Caro Baroja notes that:

la teología cristiana se divide en dos partes: una, especulativa, que trata del conocimiento de Dios; otra, práctica, que se trata de las virtudes de los hombres y de los vicios contrarios a ellas.⁶

Pedro de Tapia was a theologian and within theology he can be placed in the moral or practical stream. His three published books - two volumes entitled *Catena moralis doctrinae* and another, *Doctrina cristiana* - all fit into this category. This area of theology was specifically aimed at applying Christian teaching to the body politic and one of the aims of this study is to examine the influence friar Pedro's morality had on the body politic and

⁴ . Julio Caro Baroja, *Las formas complejas de la vida religiosa*, Barcelona, 1995, p.21.

⁵ . José Luis Sánchez Lora, *Mujeres, conventos y formas de la religiosidad barroca*, Madrid, 1988, and “Religiosidad popular: un concepto equívoco”, in Eliseo Serrano Martín, *Muerte, religiosidad y cultura popular. Siglos XIII-XVIII*, Zaragoza, 1994, pp.65-79.

⁶ . Caro Baroja, *op cit.*, p.50.

how it affected his view of his role in the world. The term body politic here is all-inclusive but probably refers more to the elite than the marginalised, since it is with the elite that the documentation to be explored primarily deals.

Pedro de Tapia enjoyed, in his lifetime, a reputation for disinterestedness, sound doctrine and sanctity of person. He fitted into the seventeenth-century definition of a holy man. By far the majority of studies of the "holy people" phenomenon have concentrated on women. Most of these are located amongst studies of marginalised society and examine the position of prophetesses - *Lucrecia's Dreams* - by Richard Kagan or *beatas*.⁷ A study in depth of the influence of a man due to his reputation for holiness has still to be undertaken. This is perhaps because the influence of holy men does not amaze like the influence of women because most holy men had received an education which, theoretically, explains their influence. This thesis will attempt to explain how friar Pedro's reputation for holiness acquired him, and his faction, influence at the Court of Philip IV.

One of the most studied female figures of the seventeenth century is Sor María de Ágreda, due to her correspondence with Philip IV. In her introduction to a selection of these letters Consolación Baranda states that Sor María's "objetivo no será tanto el de influir en las decisiones políticas concretas como convertir al rey, de forma que así la monarquía pudiera alcanzar el favor divino."⁸ During the course of this study it will be demonstrated that friar Pedro's views of his own correspondence with the King had the same aims. His political views will also be seen to be remarkably similar to those of Sor María: 1. The Monarchy should entrench

⁷ . Richard L. Kagan, *Lucrecia's Dreams*, Berkely, 1991.

⁸ . M^o de Jesús de Ágreda, *Correspondencia con Felipe IV. Religión y razón de Estado*, Introducción de Consolación Baranda, Madrid, 1991, p.44.

itself in Spain; 2. There should be no more tax on the very poor; 3. There should be peace with other Christian Princes; 4. The army must not commit excesses; 5. There must be no *validos*.⁹

There have been numerous biographies written of Pedro de Tapia, all of which have, as their principal source, the seventeenth-century biography written by Antonio de Lorea, *Istoria de la apostólica vida de fray Pedro de Tapia*. Juan de Araya and José Barrio, writing in *Historiadores del convento de San Esteban de Salamanca*, also use some material collected from the records at San Esteban. The most recent study by Carlos Ros in *Los Arzobispos de Sevilla, luces y sombras en la sede hispalense* also uses the protest made by friar Pedro to the Pope in 1655 about the *millones*, which was published in the *Boletín del arzobispado de Sevilla* in 1890. Despite this uniformity in the source material, the biographies betray considerable differences. Lorea states that Tapia met the Duke of Medinaceli in 1637. Touron in his *Histoire des hommes illustres de l'ordre de saint Dominique* writes of the Duke:

ce jeune seigneur, riche et puissant, commandoit à plusieurs Peuples; et il étoit lui-même commandé pour ses passions. Toujours livré à celles de ses Favoris, et de quelques Femmes, il vivoit séparé d'avec son Espouse, et se grands biens ne servoient qu'à l'impudicité des autres ... Le premier fruit de cet heureux changement, fut la réconciliation du Duc avec la Duchesse son Espouse. Le ciel bénit depuis leur union par la naissance de plusieurs Enfants.¹⁰

Considering that the Duke of Medinaceli's children were born between 1634 and 1639, it is difficult to see how this account could be any more than a figment of the author's imagination, possibly with the intention of promoting marital unity in eighteenth-century France when it was written.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p.45.

¹⁰ A. Touron, *Histoire des hommes illustres de l'ordre de Saint Dominique*, Vol. 5, Paris, 1748, p.398.

When friar Pedro died the Duke of Medinaceli, at friar Pedro's behest, received his papers. It was the Duke's intention to publish the remaining three volumes of the *Catena moralis*, left by friar Pedro in manuscript, and also publish a biography. Neither of these plans came to fruition and the Duke died in 1671 with the papers still in his possession. Lorea subsequently wrote his biography of friar Pedro at the instigation of Juan Martínez, the Confessor Royal.¹¹ The book was written from interviews Lorea held with friar Pedro's confessor. It was written with the obvious purpose of promoting the Dominican order and providing literature of exemplary lives for the young to imitate. This work is by no means objective and those biographies which exaggerate it must be treated with extreme caution. By far the majority of the biographies of friar Pedro have been written by members of the Dominican order: Juan de Araya, José Barrio, A. Touron and Francisco Trapiello. The latter, writing at the outbreak of the First World War, uses friar Pedro's biography as a weapon against protestants in general and the weakness of the monarchy. Two biographies have been written placing friar Pedro in order in general histories of bishoprics - of Sigüenza in 1913 by Toribio Minguella y Arnedo¹², and of Seville in 1986 by Carlos Ros, as already mentioned. Short biographies of friar Pedro are also given in general ecclesiastical works and dictionaries: *Diccionario de historia eclesiástica de España*, *Dictionnaire d'histoire et géographie ecclésiastique*, *Dictionnaire de théologie Catholique*, *Biografía eclesiástica completa* and in Quetif et Echard. These biographies almost exclusively use Lorea as their source and comment on friar Pedro with reference to his theological publications and his posts as bishop of Segovia, Sigüenza, Córdoba and Seville. The same can be said for the brief biography given by Nicolás Antonio in his *Biblioteca Hispana Nova*.

¹¹. Antonio de Lorea, *Istoria de la apostólica vida de Fray Pedro de Tapia*, Madrid, 1676, p.309. See chapter 2 for a brief biography of Juan Martínez.

¹². Toribio Minguella y Arnedo, *Historia de la diócesis de Sigüenza y de sus obispos*, Vol.3, Madrid, 1913, pp.47-59.

The Lorea biography is written on a chronological basis with relevant anecdotes from the period of which he was writing. This is a common biographical style. Modern biographies of historical figures also include a historical background to the subject and an analysis of the subject's historical significance. The analysis given to the written work of the subject varies with the length of the biography¹³. Another resort is to concentrate on the important contributions made by the subject to the society of the day and culture in general¹⁴.

The content of a biography necessarily depends on the source material available: a biography based on published literary works differs from one based on memoirs or personal correspondence. Since the biographical study to be offered here of Pedro de Tapia is based, principally, on private correspondence which was written during only two years of his life, it will obviously vary from previously published biographies. Most correspondence is presented initially as an edited selection, accompanied by background historical information and biographical data about the correspondents, and explanatory notes. In the introduction to letters of fray Luis de León - *Escritos desde la cárcel* - José Barrientos García presents the value they represent to the various facets of the author's life. In her introduction to the letters of Ana de Jesús - *Ana de Jesús: cartas(1590-1621)* - Concepción Torres gives a brief biography of Ana de Jesús and an account of the recipients of the letters. She then analyses the main themes of the letters and gives a brief note on her editing of the letters. In her introduction to a selection of letters of Sor María de Ágreda - *Correspondencia de Felipe IV. Religión y razón de Estado* - Consolación Baranda includes the standard

¹³. See selection published on Fray Luis de León in 1991: Rafael Lazcan, *Fray Luis de León, un hombre singular*, Madrid, 1991, and Teófilo Viñas Román, O.S.A., *Fray Luis de León, el hombre, el poeta, el amigo, el místico*, Salamanca, 1991.

¹⁴. Varios, *El siglo de Fray Luis de León, Salamanca y el renacimiento*, Salamanca, 1991.

historical background. She then goes further in an attempt to explain the reason for the correspondence and gives a detailed analysis of the frequency of the letters - along with an explanation of this - and an analysis of the contents - both stylistic and thematic. She goes on to examine the exact historical significance of Sor María and does not conclude simply affirming that Sor María's correspondence is merely a window on Philip IV.

The correspondence between Francisco de Oviedo and Pedro de Tapia bears more resemblance to that of fray Luis de León and of the *Cartas de Jesuitas* than to that of Sor María and Philip IV, in that it is the correspondence between *equals*. It bears some resemblance to that of Sor María and Philip IV, in that the correspondence was written first by Francisco de Oviedo on the right-hand side of the page and returned by friar Pedro with his response on the left. The correspondence was collected in Madrid by Oviedo, who also collected his letters from Quevedo.¹⁵ There is no explanation for why only two years of letters, from an obviously prolonged correspondence, have been preserved. No trace can be found of the remainder.¹⁶

The chronological brevity of the correspondence precludes any analysis of the way friar Pedro's opinions changed over time. It is proposed, therefore, to present a brief biography of friar Pedro, along with the other most frequently mentioned people in the letters, by way of background. It is then intended to examine, in detail, the main themes dealt with in the correspondence, in order to illuminate friar Pedro's life and the nature of the factional politics in which he was involved. The study is based on two of the most crucial years of the reign of Philip IV, 1646 - 1647, and refers to

¹⁵. Serrano y Sanz, (Ed.), *Escritores españoles, "Quevedo"*, Vol. 48, Madrid, 1869.

¹⁶. BN MSS 2.276, *Cartas de Don Francisco de Oviedo al Illmo. Sr. Don Fray Pedro de Tapia*. From here on *Cartas*.

the most debated themes in the research of the period. It will deal with the nature of the patronage system in microcosm, offering a detailed account of the internal workings of the Court and a specific faction. It will look at the role of religion in society and the specific question of Philip IV's reactions to the propositions of his religious advisers. It will examine the importance for religious of possessing a disinterested reputation, and the significance placed on *reputación* in general. It will also investigate the nature of the Haro *privanza* and attempt to uncover Haro's political *modus operandi*.

In order to understand the exact nature of Haro's *privanza* two fundamental issues must first be addressed: 1. the role played by Philip IV *after* the fall of Olivares, and 2. the way Court politics worked. The most crucial fact to remember is that *influence* was more important than *position*. Of course certain posts enjoyed greater influence than others due to their nature - the President of Castile, for example, but in general the people themselves were more important.

In *Students and Society in Early Modern Spain* Richard Kagan writes that "the seventeenth century in Castile marked an age in which family, college and faction were every bit as important to one's identity as the person himself."¹⁷ Jobs and promotions were given to family, friends and members of the same college or faction. No-one was free from this system and the only way to understand promotion at Court is to bear in mind the connections that the candidate had.

It is not possible to appreciate the workings of Court figures without an understanding of the way the system functioned. The Court provided the largest source of "genteel" employment in the Catholic Monarchy. All state appointments, that is, patronage, both secular and religious, were controlled

¹⁷. Richard L. Kagan, *Students and Society in Early Modern Spain*, Baltimore, 1974, p.99.

at Court. The more influence one had over the organs of promotion, the more of one's creatures one could place, and hence the more influence one had. Influence was not official and could be held both by women and by men.

In 1588 Philip II "organized a new council, the *Real Cámara de Castilla*, to handle the work of royal patronage".¹⁸ The Chamber was in charge of appointments to all the royal Councils, with the exception of the Inquisition. In the seventeenth century to elect someone to the Council of Castile, the presidents of the *Chancillerías* of Valladolid and Granada, the regents of Seville and Galicia, the bishop of Salamanca and the abbot of Alcalá were asked for recommendations. The Chamber then chose three candidates, from which the King chose one. In general, therefore, in order to be elected to the Council, one needed to be known to one of the six people mentioned above, and have influence on the Chamber. In the upper echelons of the administration the Councils were "dominated by graduates of the colleges - [read *Colegios Mayores*] - and their friends."¹⁹ The circle itself was self-serving, the colleges needed the reputation of having their graduates on Councils and the Councillors needed to place their dependents in colleges. "The Council and the *Cámara* moved *colegiales* into jobs in order to acquire *becas*, hence future jobs, for their families and friends."²⁰

The very highest posts in government - *validos* and Councillors of State - were generally held by grandees, who only "occasionally attended University".²¹ The seventeenth century saw an increasing number of royal "jobs" become hereditary - e.g. the post of Protonotary of Aragon, which

¹⁸ . *Ibid.*, p.94.

¹⁹ . Richard L. Kagan, "Universities in Castile: 1500-1700", *Past and Present*, 49, 1970, pp, 44-71, p.65.

²⁰ . Kagan, *S and S*, *op cit.*, p.101.

²¹ . Kagan, "Universities", *op cit.*, p.51.

Gerónimo de Villanueva inherited from his father and was passed to his nephew. This class of Royal servants looked for promotion in the form of habits of the military orders and titles.²²

Positions on the Council of the Inquisition were given on the sole recommendation of the Inquisitor General. It is thus easier to see the influences at work on this Council than on the other Councils. In 1652 Josephe de Ribera wrote a paper which he called *Historia de la Inquisición*. It is now found amongst the manuscripts of the *Biblioteca Nacional* in Madrid. In order to illustrate how the system of promotion worked in practice, Josephe de Ribera's manuscript will be used to provide an analysis of the composition of the Council of Inquisition in 1652, when Ribera wrote. This information will be used to indicate which "connection" was the influence that attained the Councillors their position.

In 1652 the Council was composed as follows:

- Ilmo. Sr. Don Diego de Arce y Reynoso. Inquisidor General, Obispo de Plasencia, Presidente de Castilla, Consejero de Estado, Catedrático de Salamanca y Colegial de Cuenca.
- Sr. Don Andrés Bravo. Canónigo de la Santa Iglesia de Sigüenza. [28.11.1646]
- El R[everendísi]mo Sr. Padre Maestro Fr. Juan Martínez, de la Orden de S[ant]o Domingo, Confesor de S[u] M[ajestad]. [16.10.1648]
- Sr. Don Agustín de Villavicencio, Deán de Cádiz, Colegial de Cuenca. [6.2.1648]
- Sr. Don Christóbal de Moscoso del Consejo Real de Castilla, Catedrático de Salamanca, Colegial de Cuenca. [30.7.1648]
- Sr. Don Fernando Pizarro. Catedrático de Salamanca, jubilado con gajes enteros y no se ha proveido su plaza con ejercicio. [25.6.1650]
- Sr. Don Thomás Rodríguez de Monroy, Capellán Mayor. [20.10.1650]
- El Sr. Liz[encia]do Don Lermes Calderón, Prior y Canónigo de Burgos. [22.8.1650]
- Sr. Liz[encia]do Don Antonio de Piña y Hermosa, Oidor de Navarra y Granada, Catedrático de Salamanca, Colegial de Oviedo. [21.10.1650]
- Sr. Don Ph[elipe] de Alasa. Secretario.

²² . BN MSS 3.255, Papeles del Marqués de Lapilla, Don Fernando Ruiz de Contreras.

- Sr. Don Pasqual de Aragón. Canónigo de Toledo, Colegial de Salamanca. Fiscal.²³

Even at a first glance it is obvious that the main conditioning feature for election to the Council was having been educated at Salamanca. The total lack of a representative from Alcalá is telling, and this is obviously due to the fact that Arce y Reynoso himself had been a lecturer at Salamanca.

Arce y Reynoso, as Inquisitor General, not only selected people for the Council, but also for the positions of Inquisitor and *Fiscal* of the provincial Inquisitions. In his manuscript Ribera says that at the beginning of his tenure of the post of Inquisitor General, Arce

acostumbró a dar cuenta a S[u] M[ajestad] por consulta quando nombrava los Inquisidores y Fiscales, después lo fue dejando por parecerle que no era necesario.²⁴

When José González was appointed to the Presidency of Finance in 1648²⁵, Arce suggested three possible substitutes to the King: Juan de Santelices, Christóbal de Moscoso and Francisco de Robles.²⁶ Of the three, Christóbal de Moscoso was the only one who had been a lecturer at Salamanca, and it was he who received the post. The position of Inquisitor General gave its holder almost exclusive patronage over appointments to the Inquisition. Due to the close contact with the King that the position entailed, it also gave its holder influence over competitors. Most posts, whether Inquisitor or *Fiscal*, or even Councillor to the *Suprema*, were simply stepping stones to higher posts. Andrés de Bravo, for example, after serving on the Council became a bishop in 1657. Tomás Rodríguez de Monroy became President of the *Chancillería* of Valladolid in 1652, and Pascal de Aragón became Archbishop of Toledo in 1666. In 1645 Arce y Reynoso wrote to the King to inform him

21. BN MSS 2.278, Josephe de Ribera, *Historia de la Inquisición*, ff. 91-4.

24. *Ibid.*, f.46.

25. This was on the death of Francisco Antonio de Alarcón. See Chapter 2.

26. AHN, Inquisición, Lib. 299, f.260.

that Gerónimo de Morquecho²⁷, who was on the Inquisition of Cuenca, wished to make a change in his career plan and Arce wished the King to give him a place on the *Chancillería* of Valladolid. Philip replied to this “quedo con cuidado”.²⁸ This non-committal reply was also used when petitioned again in 1647 and 1648. As will be seen in Chapter 7, having a “patron” in a position of influence was not sufficient, in itself, to ensure promotion: other circumstances had also to be favourable.

Work on the day-to-day functioning of the royal Councils during the reign of Philip IV is not very advanced. Most studies have concentrated on the most essential - namely, an investigation of the composition of the Councils. Some excellent works included in this category are: Janine Fayard, *Los miembros del Real Consejo de Castilla (1621-1746)*, Santiago de Luxán Meléndez, “Los funcionarios del Consejo de Portugal: 1580-1640”, José Martínez Millán and Teresa Sánchez Rivilla, “El Consejo de Inquisición: 1483-1700”. The Council of Inquisition has also received treatment on its day-to-day functioning: Roberto López Vela, “Estructura y funcionamiento de la burocracia inquisitorial (1643-1667)”, and José Ramón Rodríguez Besné, “Notas sobre la estructura y funcionamiento del Consejo de la Santa, General y Suprema Inquisición”.²⁹

José Martínez Millán, along with other members of the *Universidad Autónoma* of Madrid, addressed this lack of research into the “hidden” politics behind the official appointments, but only with reference to the sixteenth century and the Court of Philip II. His *Instituciones y élites de poder en la monarquía hispana durante el siglo XVI* looks at the importance for a “faction” of placing their “clients” in the royal Councils, and the

²⁷. See Chapter 6 for the biographical background of Gerónimo.

²⁸. AHN, Inq., Lib. 299, f.250.

²⁹. This article can be found in Joaquín Pérez Villanueva, *La Inquisición española. Nueva visión, nuevos horizontes*, Madrid, 1992, p.23.

struggles for influence, along with the interests of the various factions in the Court of Philip II. The majority of the articles use a time span of about twenty years, and as a result, the conclusions of the research appear very “black and white”. The present study will concentrate on a two-year time span and, therefore, the complexities of the working of the Court may be seen in detail, and the “grey” nature of factional allegiance can be seen with much more clarity.

One of the outstanding strengths of *Instituciones y élites de poder* is its recognition of the necessity of exploiting the prosopographical approach as a beginning to the study of factions rather than an end in itself. Martínez claims that, according to Stone, prosopography is the retrospective investigation of the characteristics common to a group of historical protagonists through a collective study of their lives.³⁰ Martínez goes on to say that:

para muchos historiadores, aquí finaliza este tipo de investigación; esto es, se resume en cuantificar una serie de datos sociológicos que, a veces, ya los conocemos de antemano.³¹

This criticism is, perhaps, not entirely just, since what historians commonly think they know “beforehand” is simply a collection of common gross oversimplifications or prejudices. What must be investigated, along with the characteristics common to a group, are the differences which also exist within it. Given the vertical nature of the composition of a faction it is inevitable that social and ideological distinctions exist amongst its protagonists.

As has already been noted, influence bred influence. The ability to manipulate Court patronage meant an increase in the number of people

³⁰. José Martínez Millán, *Instituciones y élites de poder en la monarquía hispana durante el siglo XVI*, Madrid, 1992, p.23.

³¹. *Ibid.*, p.24.

who sought one's patronage. While the client needed the influence of the patron in promoting their own personal interest, the client promoted the interest of the patron and in such a way a faction was extended.

Another of the major themes of seventeenth-century historical research concerns the political role played by Philip IV. Interpreting Philip IV has presented historians with a great difficulty. He was a man of contradictions. There has been a tendency to condemn him - and with less wit - as the authors of *1066 and All That* condemned James I: "James I slobbered at the mouth and had favourites: he was thus a bad King".³² If the equivalent work existed in Spanish history it would state that "Philip IV was a womaniser and had favourites: he was thus a bad King." Fate has not been as kind to Philip IV as it was to Elizabeth I who "inherited chaos, lived long enough for it to go away and died before it came back."³³ Philip IV, unfortunately, inherited chaos, lived long enough for it to develop into crisis, and died before it could be resolved. Philip was a womaniser: his recognition of his illegitimate son don Juan de Austria confirmed this. Sor María de Ágreda almost despaired of Philip's constant confessions of his infidelities.³⁴ Between the age of 16, when he inherited the throne, and 38, Philip maintained the *valido* Olivares who, if he did not overshadow the King in the politics of the time, has certainly overshadowed him in general histories. Such, indeed, has been the interest in Olivares, that it is sometimes possible to forget that Philip was King for forty-four years and Olivares only *valido* for half that time.

Much of the condemnation of Philip for having a *valido* arose in the seventeenth century. It is difficult to see why this should constitute a crime

32 . W.C. Sellar and R.J. Yeatman, *1066 and All That*, London, 1984.

33 . E. Ives, Lecture comment 1984.

34 . Carlos Seco Serrano, "Cartas de Sor María de Jesús de Ágreda y de Felipe IV", *Biblioteca de autores españoles*, Vol.108, Madrid, 1958, p. lxiii.

in the eyes of modern historians. No-one will deny now that the King, or even the Prime-Minister, needs a private secretary to organize and control business. It, therefore, seems strange that a seventeenth-century King should be condemned for something so normal and necessary. The mere fact of Philip having a *valido* has been seen to indicate that Philip lacked the ability, or even the *will*, to govern for himself. Joaquín Pérez Villanueva states in "Philip IV, the Inquisition and the spirituality of his time":

Carlos Puyol Buil has spoken in his work on Villanueva³⁵, of Philip's paralysis of will. The King depended, at this stage, [1646] on two complementary crutches: Sor María de Ágreda and Arce y Reynoso.³⁶

The basic argument of much of this work on Philip - and in general Spanish historians are in agreement on this point - is that Philip was merely a pawn exploited by his various advisers. In her introduction to Sor María's letters Consolación Baranda states that the frequency of Philip's letters to the nun was at its peak between 1644-9 - the most critical years of his reign:

En definitiva, desde 1644 a 1649 Felipe IV vive un auténtico calvario, circunstancia que podría explicar su necesidad de apoyo personal en Sor María que, no se puede olvidar, representaba la función de intermediaria entre Dios y la monarquía española.³⁷

The religious convictions of Philip II are much more apparent in the history books than those of his grandson. However, it is impossible to understand Philip's actions without an understanding of his profound religious convictions and his sense of his own guilt. The seventeenth-century God - both Catholic and Protestant - was a God who proportioned justice, and while being loving and forgiving was also vengeful and wrathful. As Thomas Hobbes shows in *Leviathan* the Christian princes inherited their power in society - and with it their responsibility - directly

³⁵. Carlos Puyol Buil, unpublished dissertation for degree, Valencia, 1985.

³⁶. Joaquín Pérez, "Philip IV, the Inquisition and the spirituality of his times", in Ángel Alcalá, *The Spanish Inquisition and the inquisitorial mind*, Columbia, 1987, p.500.

³⁷. Baranda, *op cit.*, p.31.

from God. Philip was convinced that his personal sins - and in his judgement he had many - had provoked the wrath of God against him. It was therefore necessary to reform his life in order to *obligar a Dios* to favour his Monarchy.

This attitude has appeared to twentieth-century eyes to prove that Philip was stupid - how else could he believe such rubbish? However, it was not a strange belief in the seventeenth century. It was an accepted and received conviction held by all. One's obligation was to obey the laws of the paternal God. Like any father, God, when provoked by disobedience, punished. Any failure in the duties contingent upon one's position - as King, husband, nun, etc. - were sins, in the same way as the more common ones of murder, etc. In the opinion of many, therefore, Philip's primary sin was:

en poner valido, y conservarle mucho tiempo ... El dar tanta mano a uno fue sin duda peccado grande, porque los Reyes no pueden poner en otro el poder que Dios les ha dado.³⁸

Philip IV grew up amongst Court intrigue. His father's Court was dominated by the nobility and the *privanza* of the Lerma faction. At the age of 16 he inherited the vast responsibility of the power granted him by God. He promptly removed his father's *valido* and installed his own, alienating many of his former companions. He, his two brothers, his sister María and the Queen Isabel de Borbón had all been formed by the Court of Philip III and the Lerma faction. It is fair to say that the five, between them, despite their youth, had a clear, in-depth knowledge of the way the system worked. Additionally, to Philip, "Dios le ha dado clara inteligencia y buena intención".³⁹ In no documentation is it found that Philip is described as stupid, and by the age of 38 he can be said to have known what he was

³⁸ . Ronald Cueto, *Quiéramos y sueños*, Valladolid, 1994, p.136. Quotation of friar Juan de Santo Tomás.

³⁹ . *Cartas*, Tapia to Oviedo, Almaluez, 1.12.1646, ff.176-7.

about.

Robert Stradling argues in *Philip IV and the Government of Spain* against the Tomás y Valiente thesis that Philip did not wait long after the fall of Olivares to install Luis de Haro in his place. Stradling argues that Philip so expertly manipulated the system as to create a dichotomy of power between the Haro and Medina de las Torres factions. This was after the return to Court of Medina in 1648. This present study will look in depth at the factional allegiances formed at Court in the crucial period between the death of Philip's most trusted adviser - the Queen - and the return to Court of Medina. In this period it can be seen that Philip, above all else, listened to many distinct proposals and *shuffled* the factions within the Monarchy in a way which was unsettling to all - not least to Haro. Philip encouraged and promoted allegiances between previously opposing factions, lending weight first to one opinion, and then to another. This suggests at first glance indecision, but on a more detailed examination it leads one to suspect a master manipulator at work - bound by the fundamental belief that more important than who gained favour in his Monarchy was that he should gain the favour of God and avoid the *cólera divina*.

The basis of this study is unpublished archive material in the *Biblioteca Nacional* of Madrid and the *Archivo Histórico Nacional*. The principal manuscript source is a collection of letters between Francisco de Oviedo in Madrid, and Pedro de Tapia in Sigüenza. The letters were written to catch the Aragonese *estafetas* which left Madrid on Saturdays and Wednesdays. There are thus two letters per week between December 1645 and December 1647. The only breaks in this pattern were occasioned by friar Pedro's visitations of his diocese between April and August 1646 and May to July of 1647. In total there are one hundred and seventy-nine letters and a copy of a

memorial which friar Pedro sent to the King in 1646. One hundred and fifty-three of the letters originated with Oviedo in Madrid, all of which, except twenty-three, are signed and dated by Oviedo, and it is this date which has been given in the footnotes. Of the twenty-three letters which are not signed by Oviedo, twenty-two are dated by friar Pedro in his reply. The reason they are not signed by Oviedo is that friar Pedro's reply did not reach the third sheet of paper used and it has, therefore, not been returned to Madrid. Unless otherwise indicated in the footnotes, Oviedo was in Madrid and friar Pedro in Sigüenza.

The original style of the correspondence has been respected in the quotations as far as has been possible. Oviedo almost invariably used double **s** when writing when today only one is used, **i** instead of **y**, **ph** instead of **f** and a rather random use of the **h**, thus: *oi = hoy*, but *haber* is as used today. Friar Pedro, on the other hand, seldom used the **h** at the beginning of words, used **v** when **b** is used now and generally abbreviated as much as possible, thus: *q = que*, *qu^{do} = cuando*, *Duq^{sa} = Duquesa*, etc. The different orthography has been maintained, but the missing letters in abbreviated words have been inserted in parenthesis, and the accentuation has been modernised.

Apart from stylistic variations, it is obvious when reading the text that variations have also occurred over the centuries in the meanings of words whose spelling remains the same. It is important not to fall into the trap of imagining that the modern meaning, with all its connotations and prejudices, applied to the seventeenth century. Friar Pedro, for example, when he wrote of *familia* was not referring to his relatives but to his household. As can be seen in his will, this included:

Padre presentado Fray Antonio de la Madrid - confesor.
D. Raymundo de Esquival - Mayordomo.

Licenciado D. Francisco Fernández de Alfaro - Secretario de Cámara.

Dr. D. Manuel Méndez de Vergara -Limosnero.

D. Francisco de Esquivel - Camarero y caudatorio.

D. Alonso de Ribera y Vargas -Maestresala y Cabellerizo,

as well as six pages, a barber, a porter, a wardrobe servant, a confectioner, a *tinelero*, a servant for the pages, an assistant confectioner, a sweep, a house porter, a prison guard, a steward, four coachmen, five lackeys, a cook, two assistant chefs, a chaplain, a sexton, a teacher and two gentlemen of the chamber.⁴⁰ This reaches a total of forty members of his *familia*, none of whom was related to him. Another word which the two correspondents used frequently was *embarazoso*, which they used to mean obstructive. The word *sequedad*, was used by friar Pedro to mean rudeness. Oviedo referred to illness as an enemy, and in this he used both terms distinctly to the way in which they are used today. Both illness and enemies, are, in Oviedo's contextual ideas things which are against people and intrinsically *bad*, i.e. things which are against God and emanate from the devil. What gives power to the devil are things that provoke God - sins. Thus sin is responsible for illness and enemies, and the only way to be healthy and free from enemies was to avoid sin.⁴¹

Friar Pedro referred to his correspondence with Oviedo as a "correspondencia de amistad"⁴², and the tone throughout is one of respectful friendship. It is, therefore, hoped to offer a view of seventeenth-century politics which illustrates primarily the opinions and world-view of two friends, and explores their influence and interests in the politics of the Catholic Monarchy after the fall of Olivares. It is also hoped to offer a beginning to the study of *reputación*, which, as pointed out by Elliott, is essential for a true understanding of the seventeenth century:

⁴⁰ . Lorea, *op cit.*, p.307-8.

⁴¹ . In chapter 7 the complexity of the nature of illness will be examined along with the remedies that Oviedo recommended against it.

⁴² . *Cartas*, Tapia to Oviedo, Berlanga del Duero, 25.5.1647, ff.279-80.

Policies of reputation, retreat, and retrenchment all constitute possible responses for a great Imperial power which perceives itself under threat. Seventeenth-century Spain at different moments, and sometimes at the same moment, opted for all three. Anyone who succeeds in elucidating the complex interplay of attitudes and interests, and in laying bare the motivations, will make a contribution to the understanding of the historical process that extends far beyond the history of Spain alone.⁴³

By using such a short time period - only two years - it is hoped to be able to display, for one faction at least, some of the attitudes and interests that motivated it in the complex forum of the Court of Philip IV.

⁴³. John H. Elliott, "A question of reputation? Spanish foreign policy in the seventeenth century.", in *The Journal of Modern History*, 55, (1983), pp.475-483, p.483.

Chapter 2

Dramatis Personae: the members of the faction

Friar Pedro de Tapia, don Francisco de Oviedo, the Dukes of Medinaceli and Infantado, friar Juan de Santo Tomás, friar Juan Martínez, doña Catalina Fernández de Córdoba, don Antonio de Camporredondo, don Antonio de Contreras, don Francisco Antonio de Alarcón, José González, the Count of Castrillo and don Luis de Haro are the names of some of the leading figures of one of the factions operating in the Court of Philip IV in 1646. In order to pursue this study it is necessary to have a clear idea of who these people were, and what relation they had to one another. In order to facilitate this a short biography of each will be given in this chapter.

Pedro de Tapia

On the 18th March 1582, in the village of Las Villorias, in the region of Salamanca, the Licentiate Diego Altanero and his wife doña Isabel de Tapia, took their recently born son, Pedro, to be baptized. The location of the village of Las Villorias in the region of Salamanca was the aspect of friar Pedro's parentage most favourable to the future fortunes of so gifted a son. This accident meant that friar Pedro went to study in the Dominican friary of San Esteban in Salamanca.

It was at San Esteban in 1602, at the age of 19, that friar Pedro took his vows to become a member of the Order of Preachers - the Dominicans. He was noted for his studiousness, and in 1617, he became the *Lector de Artes* at San Esteban. This was his first teaching position, and involved him in the instruction of novices. His teaching career was to occupy him for the next twenty-three years. In 1618 he was made *Lector de Teología* in Plasencia, and in 1620 in Segovia. In 1622, at the age of 40, he moved to the friary of San

Pedro Martyr in Toledo, to take up the position of *Lector de Artes y Teología*. It was in Toledo that he became a *calificador* for the Inquisition of Toledo.

In early 1623 his teaching commitments took him out of the realm of monastic teaching, to teaching in a mainstream university. He was elected to the Vespers Chair at the University of Alcalá de Henares. The next seven years at Alcalá saw friar Pedro rewarded by his Order with the title of *Presentado* in 1626 and he was promoted to Prime Chair in 1630. During this period at Alcalá he made the acquaintance of both friar Juan de Santo Tomás, who taught philosophy and theology at the college of Saint Thomas in Alcalá, and friar Juan Martínez who was Prior of the college. All three lived in this college while at Alcalá. These were connections which were to prove of utmost importance in friar Pedro's later career.

Friar Pedro occupied the Prime Chair at Alcalá for ten years. In 1640, despite his protests of unfitness for the post¹, he was elected to the episcopal see of Segovia. Richard Kagan estimates that the Prime Chair attracted a salary of 100,000 *maravedís* a year.² The income from the bishopric of Segovia was 20,000 *ducados* (7,500,000 *maravedís*) a year.³ The promotion of a lecturer of theology to a bishopric was not unusual. In fact, bishops were elected from three sources - the higher nobility, universities or *Colegios Mayores*.⁴ For someone of friar Pedro's obscure social origin, a position at a university was a pre-requisite for the job. Friar Pedro's protests that the position involved too much responsibility were overcome by a letter from friar Antonio de Sotomayor, the Confessor Royal, and by his friend friar Juan de Santo Tomás. The latter reassured him that he could continue to live in the style

1 . AHN, Consejos, Leg. 15.236, Tapia to Chamber of Castile, Cogolludo, 27.8.1640, f.7(2).

2 . Kagan, "Universities" *op cit.*, p.63.

3 . AHN, Cons., Leg. 15.236, f.7(1)

4 . Kagan, "Universities", *op cit.*, p.66.

of a mendicant friar, even though he was a bishop.⁵

This election to Segovia brought friar Pedro his first personal contact with the King.⁶ He created a good impression. This, together with his reputation for holiness and sound doctrine, brought him the King's favour. Due to the absence of an Archbishop of Toledo, and the proximity of Segovia to Madrid, friar Pedro played an active part in the funeral rites for the Queen, Isabel de Borbón, in 1644.⁷ Lorea speculates that friar Pedro's translation to Sigüenza was due to the King's wish to have him near Saragossa. It was also due to the influence of friar Pedro's friend, the Duke of Medinaceli, whose lands are located in the diocese of Sigüenza. The bishopric of Sigüenza had an income of 34,166 *ducados* in 1648⁸ placing it behind only Toledo, Seville, Santiago, Córdoba and Cuenca, as one of the richest sees in the Catholic Monarchy. Friar Pedro was elected to the see of Sigüenza in May 1643, but the bulls were not applied for until September 1644, and he did not enter into the bishopric until 1645.

In 1646 friar Pedro met the King and Prince in Atienza, near Sigüenza, on their way to Saragossa. In October of the same year, the King called him to Saragossa to help with the negotiations for a subsidy from the *Cortes* of Aragon. Friar Pedro arrived in the city on the second day of the illness of Prince Baltasar⁹ and was present at his death some three days later. In 1648 the King offered friar Pedro the archbishopric of Valencia¹⁰, which he refused, according to Lorea, due to the supplications of his flock. Although an archbishopric, Valencia enjoyed an income some 15,000 *ducados* a year

⁵. AHN, Cons., Leg. 15.236, Philip IV to Chamber, f.7(4), and Tournon, *op cit.*, p.400

⁶. Lorea, *op cit.*, p.56.

⁷. *Cartas*, Oviedo to Tapia, 29.10.1646, ff.168-9.

⁸. AHN, Cons., Leg. 15.244, f.13(1)

⁹. See Chapter 7.

¹⁰. AHN, Cons., Leg. 15.244, f.13(1)

less than Sigüenza.¹¹ As it was also situated a long way from Madrid, it was not as strategically placed with regard to the Court.

Later in 1648 friar Pedro accepted the post of Bishop of Córdoba. Toribio Minguella y Arnedo says that he accepted this position due to the challenge that it offered.¹² Since poor harvests in 1646, and the arrival of plague, Andalusia, as a region, had been in revolt. Lack of food and disease produced the inevitable riots, which, in 1652, friar Pedro played a large part in calming.¹³

In 1651, his fellow Dominican, Domingo Pimentel, renounced the archbishopric of Seville in order to go to Rome as ambassador. Friar Pedro was elected to the position and the papal bulls were received on 23.9.1652. Shortly after this he made his entrance into Seville. He remained as Archbishop of Seville until his death on 5 August 1657, at the age of 76. It was during this period as Archbishop of Seville that friar Pedro published his only theological works. *Doctrina christiana*, which was written in Castilian, and two volumes entitled *Catenae moralis doctrinae - Doctrinas de cadena moral* - which were written in Latin.

Touron suggests that the Count-Duke of Olivares opposed friar Pedro's appointment as Confessor Royal because of his rigidly orthodox views.¹⁴ It is more probable that Olivares opposed him because of his political connections with Medinaceli and Quevedo. It is certainly true, however, that friar Pedro was a deeply religious and orthodox man. He was also exceptionally intelligent and possessed considerable political acumen. His

11. Valentín Vázquez de Prada, *Historia económica y social de España*, Vol. 3, (Siglos XVI-XVII), Madrid, 1978, p.188.

12. Minguella, *op cit.*, p. 53.

13. Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, *Alteraciones andaluzas*, Madrid, 1973.

14. Touron, *op cit.*

character was one of extremes, not of compromise. He practised severe physical penances, not unusual in the epoch, lived in a bare cell, ate sparingly, and only during the last years of his life used a carriage instead of going everywhere on foot. In the last year of his life he wrote to his fellow Dominican, friar Juan Martínez, the Confessor Royal:

me veo tan en los fines de esta larga navegación ... Que como es negocio tan grave, y que no se sentencia más de una vez, no es fácil moderar el temor ... que en causa propia me ayuda muy poco el aver tenido Cátedra, y en todas deseo ser enseñado, y muy en especial de V. Reverendísima a quien siempre e tenido muy particular respeto, estimación y amistad.¹⁵

Apparently, the preaching of the art of *buen morir* did not help friar Pedro to overcome the natural human fear of death.

Don Francisco de Oviedo

Francisco de Oviedo was an obscure secretary to the King whose existence is only known because of his correspondence with Quevedo and friar Pedro. Don Francisco was born in the town of Casarrubios del Monte in the Tierra de Segovia. His parents, Luis de Oviedo and Beatriz de Espinosa, were also from Casarrubios. He married his cousin Ana María de Oviedo, the daughter of Antonio de Oviedo - brother of Luis - and Inés Suárez. The three families of Espinosa, Suárez and Oviedo must have formed a dynasty in Casarrubios, as they were all intermarried. Don Francisco's cousin, Bernardo de Oviedo - son of Gonzalo de Oviedo - was, from 1612, also a secretary to the King¹⁶ and lived with don Francisco in Madrid.

Don Francisco had an elder brother, Luis, who was granted a canonry in the Cathedral of Toledo. For reasons connected to his *limpieza* the Dean and Chapter of Toledo refused to allow Luis to take up this post. Luis protested against the "injustice" of this decision to the Pope. His case was upheld, so

¹⁵. Lorea, *op cit.*, p.247.

¹⁶. José Antonio Escudero, *Los secretarios de Estado*, Vol. 3, Madrid, 1976, p.706.

that on 5.5.1610 the Dean and Chapter were ordered to accept him, guard “perpetuo silencio”¹⁷ and pay the costs of the case. They, in their turn, protested. On 25.6.1612 “se presentó una comisión contra el dicho Luis de Oviedo”.¹⁸ In 1625 Luis died with the affair still unsettled, so his mother Beatriz, as inheritor of his estate, along with his brother Francisco, took up the case. On 9.5.1629 the papal court “pronunciaron su sentencia definitiva a favor de los dichos Francisco y Beatriz.”¹⁹ The case, although favourable in its outcome, left a stigma on the *limpieza* of Francisco and his children. In 1647, when don Francisco applied for a habit of Santiago for his son, Luis González de Oviedo, he produced a summary of the case, along with lists of all his relatives, who had served as familiars of the Inquisition and Canons of the Church. Don Francisco and Ana María had three children - Luis, as already mentioned, Bernarda and Francisco.²⁰

Don Francisco regularly corresponded with friar Pedro, the Duke of Medinaceli, and Francisco de Quevedo. Along with Medinaceli he was named as an executor of Quevedo’s will. He was also a friend of don Pedro de Pacheco Girón - Councillor of Castile and Inquisition, later President of Crusade - who was a patron of Quevedo.²¹ Through Medinaceli and Quevedo, don Francisco also knew the Duke of Infantado, to whom he passed messages from Quevedo, friar Pedro and Medinaceli.

Quevedo described don Francisco as having “la astucia de zorro viejo”.²² He was considered by all to be a thoroughly competent and trustworthy man. From his letters he can also be seen to be well informed and intelligent, religiously orthodox, hardworking and moderate in his tastes. He always

17. AHN, OOMM, Santiago, Exp. 3.558, Luis González de Oviedo.

18. *Ibid.*

19. *Ibid.*

20. *Cartas*, Oviedo to Tapia, 10.7.1647, ff.295-6.

21. Serrano y Sanz, (Ed.), *Escritores españoles*, Vol.48, “Quevedo”, Madrid, 1869, p.617(n).

22. *Ibid.*, Quevedo to Oviedo, 8.5.1643, p.605.

acted with meticulousness and thoroughness, rumours were reported as rumours, impressions as impressions and facts as facts. He provided an invaluable service for all his correspondents. He died shortly before 1663.

The Duke of Medinaceli

The seventh Duke of Medinaceli was also referred to as the Duke of Medina or the Duke of Medina y Alcalá.²³ It is by this first title that he is referred to by friar Pedro and don Francisco throughout their correspondence. Don Antonio Juan Luis de la Cerda was the only son of Juan Luis de la Cerda, sixth Duke of Medinaceli, and his second wife doña Antonia Dávila y Toledo, daughter of the second Marquis of Velada. The marriage took place in late 1606, shortly after the death of Juan Luis' first wife, Ana de la Cueva, the daughter of his step-mother and the Duke of Alburquerque. This marriage had left an only daughter - Juana de la Cerda - who married her cousin, the fifth Duke of Montalto. Their son, the sixth Duke, was married to the fourth Duchess of Alcalá de los Gazules y Bibona, Princess of Paterno, doña María Enríquez de Ribera. Antonio Juan Luis was born on 25.10.1607 and his father died a month later on 24.11.1607. In 1623 Antonio Juan Luis contracted matrimony with doña Ana María Luisa Enríquez de Ribera Portocarrero y Cárdenas, who was heiress to her cousin the fourth Duchess of Alcalá de los Gazules.

In 1641 Medinaceli was made Viceroy of Valencia. Before he left Cogolludo - a Marquisate of his near Medinaceli - he and his wife signed a contract of matrimony for their eldest daughter Antonia, with the Duke and Duchess of Infantado. Antonia was then five years old. The marriage was not to be as

²³. BN MSS 1.000, *Papeles de la casa de Medinaceli*, ff.26-7.

Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar de la Vega y Luna de Mendoza y Sandoval²⁴, Count of Saldaña, and heir to Infantado, died in 1646, at the age of ten. In 1643 Medinaceli was made Captain of the Atlantic and Coast of Andalusia, and moved to Puerto de Santa María to take up the position. This was a post traditionally held by the Dukes of Medina Sidonia, but denied to the ninth Duke following his attempt at treason.²⁵ It was in Andalusia, two years later, that the Duchess of Medinaceli and Alcalá died. From this period the eldest son - Juan Francisco - became known as the sixth Duke of Alcalá.

The marriage had produced four children: Antonia María de la Cerda (1634) who married Gaspar de Haro, Marquis of Liche, Juan Francisco de la Cerda (1637), Tomás Manuel de la Cerda (1639) and Ana Catalina de la Cerda (1641). The Dukes had entered into an agreement to marry their two sons to the two elder daughters of the Duke of Segorbe y Cardona and the Duchess of Lerma - a cousin of Medinaceli's. Only the first of these two matrimonies took place, with Juan Francisco marrying doña Catalina de Aragón y Sandoval - cousin to Gaspar de Haro - in 1652. Tomás Manuel married the eleventh Countess of Paredes, María de Manrique y Gonzaga. Ana Catalina married the son of the Admiral of Castile, Juan Tomás Enríquez de Cabrera. She died without issue. Thus through marriage the Medinaceli connection was linked with the highest aristocracy of the Crowns of Castile and Aragon.

Medinaceli maintained his position in Andalusia throughout the 1650s. He enjoyed considerable influence at Court and was a leading figure behind the Haro faction, having been made a Councillor of State in 1656. In 1665 he was made one of the executors to the King. Elliott describes Medinaceli as "a

²⁴ . The family of Mendoza used complex compound christian names. The Juans were called Juan Hurtado, the Rodrigos, Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar, etc. This Rodrigo also inherited from his great-grandmother the prefix to his Mendoza surname of de la Vega y Luna, to further complicate matters.

²⁵ . John H. Elliott, *The Count-Duke of Olivares: a Statesman in an Age of Decline*, London, 1986, pp.616-20.

cultivated noble with a knowledge of Greek, Latin and Hebrew,"²⁶ who was fundamentally opposed to *validos*. He died on 7.3.1671 and was succeeded by his son, Juan Francisco Tomás Lorenzo, famous *valido* of Charles II.

The Duke of Infantado

The fifth Duke of Infantado - don Iñigo de Mendoza - died without male heirs, his marriage having produced four daughters. The title thus passed to his eldest daughter, doña Ana de Mendoza de la Vega y Luna, who became the sixth Duchess. In an attempt to maintain the Mendoza lineage Ana first married her uncle Rodrigo de Mendoza, from which union was born a son, who died in infancy, and a daughter, doña Luisa de Mendoza de la Vega y Luna, Countess of Saldaña. On the death of Rodrigo, Ana was induced to remarry, this time to her cousin, the son of the Marquis of Mondéjar, don Juan Hurtado de Mendoza, who is often referred to as the sixth Duke of Infantado.²⁷ Luisa de Mendoza married don Diego Gómez de Sandoval, the second son of the first Duke of Lerma and doña Catalina de la Cerda, great-aunt to Medinaceli. This marriage was an attempt by the Duchess of Infantado to gain the favour of the powerful Sandoval faction and thus recoup the fortunes of the House of Mendoza. The marriage produced two children who survived their teens - don Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar de Mendoza y Sandoval and doña Catalina de Mendoza y Sandoval. Luisa de Mendoza died in 1627, and on 11.8.1633, on the death of his grand-mother, Ana, Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar de Mendoza y Sandoval, at the age of 19, became seventh Duke of Infantado, and leader of the enormously influential Mendoza clan. Rodrigo and his sister Catalina were married on 10.2.1630 to the children of the Dukes of Pastrana, María de Silva and Rodrigo de Silva respectively, in another obvious attempt to maintain the Mendoza lineage of the Infantados. The Dukes of Pastrana were descendents of Ana de

²⁶ . *Ibid.*, p.557.

²⁷ . *Ibid.*, and Francesco Benigno, *La sombra del Rey*, Madrid, 1994, p.56.

Mendoza, Princess of Eboli. The marriage between Rodrigo and María was emotionally, if not dynastically, successful - after producing two sons María was unable to have more children.²⁸

The seventh Duke was hot-headed and eager to serve his country, an ambition not furthered by Olivares. In 1641 he became General of the Cavalry, a position much to his taste, and which he still held in 1646.²⁹ While very young he, along with the Duke of Pastrana, appear to have committed a number of fairly stupid youthful indiscretions.³⁰ In 1649 Infantado became the King's ambassador to Rome, neatly he was removed from Court and prevented from being a nuisance.³¹ In 1651 he was transferred from Rome to Sicily as Viceroy. Infantado returned to Spain in 1656, with his wife María de Silva, suffering from an illness such that "no hay quien les conozca."³² In January 1657 he was described as being "lleno de bubas",³³ symptoms similar to those of bubonic plague. He died four days later, to the great delight of his brother-in-law, the Duke of Pastrana, who entered immediately in his house to draw up an inventory of his papers. María was left to sue her brother for payment of her dowry, in order to have sufficient money to maintain herself.³⁴

The duke of Infantado was a dynastic rather than a financial catch. The duchy had an income of some 120,000 *ducados* per year³⁵, but also debts of

28 . *Cartas*, Oviedo to Tapia, Madrid, 29.10.1646, ff.168-9 and 18.5.1647, ff.277-8.

29 . *Ibid.*

30 . Cristina de Arteaga y Falguera, *La casa del Infantado. Cabeza de los Mendoza*, Madrid, 1944, p.58-9.

31 . In 1647 after a discussion with Luis de Haro, Infantado was banished to his estates, only being allowed to return on the illness of the Duchess. In 1656, on his return from Italy he created a further problem by refusing to visit the Nuncio, due to the latter's having insulted him by not meeting him at the door of the house, which was necessary to his status as Duke.

32 . *Avisos de D. Jerónimo de Barrionuevo*, (1654-1658), Paz y Melia (Ed.), *Biblioteca de autores españoles*, Vols. 221-2, Madrid, 1968, Vol.221, p.245.

33 . *Ibid.*, Vol.222, p.50.

34 . Arteaga, *op cit.* p.60.

35 . Vázquez de Prada, *op cit.*, p.157.

800,000 *ducados* in *censos* in 1628.³⁶ In 1644 the Duke complained of “the inadequacy of all his rents to cover the interest on his debts.”³⁷ This financial position led, in a large degree, to Infantado’s desire for a governmental post, consistently impeded by Olivares, which helps to explain his desire to overthrow the famous *valido*. For his contribution to the war in 1646 Infantado received “doze mill d[ucado]s y otros quatro q[ue] le avían de añadir de una encomienda y seis mill de ajuda de costa.”³⁸ After the war finished that year he was also given the “llave de la cámara con exercicio.”³⁹ Infantado left debts of 200,000 *ducados* which Cristina de Arteaga ascribes to his “mala administración”.⁴⁰ Considering that he inherited debts of 800,000 *ducados* this assessment begs many questions.

Friar Juan de Santo Tomás

Juan de Santo Tomás was born on 6.7.1589 in Lisbon to the Austrian, Pedro Poinset and his Portuguese wife, María Garcés. He had a younger brother named Luis. Both brothers studied at the University of Coimbra where they received the Bachellor of Arts in 1605. In October of that year Luis Poinset Garcés stayed on at Coimbra to study law, while Juan went to the University of Louvain in Flanders to study theology. He graduated in 1608 as Bachellor of Biblical Studies. As a result of the influence of his master friar Tomás Torres, OP, at Louvain, Juan decided to become a friar and took the Dominican habit at Our Lady of Atocha in Madrid in 1609.

He took his vows on 18.7.1610, and “abandonó la nobleza de sus apellidos”⁴¹

³⁶ . Charles Jago, “The influence of debt on the relations between crown and aristocracy in seventeenth-century Castile”, in *Economic History Review*, XXVI, 2nd Series, 1973, pp.218-236, p.227.

³⁷ . *Ibid.*, p.227. Interest went at 5% in silver and 15% in *vellón*. 120,000 *ducados*, p.a. on 800,000 *ducados* debts, that is to say *all* his income on debts in 1628.

³⁸ . *Cartas*, Oviedo to Tapia, 31.3.1646, ff.56-7.

³⁹ . *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 22.12.1646, ff.192-3.

⁴⁰ . Arteaga, *op cit.*, p.82.

⁴¹ . Ignacio G. Menéndez-Reigada, (transl.), *Los dones del Espíritu Santo y la perfección cristiana*, Madrid, 1948, p.6.

to become friar Juan de Santo Tomás, a true and humble disciple of St. Thomas of Aquinas:

Deux conditions sont requises, dit-il, pour être un vrai disciple de Saint Thomas; la première, c'est de suivre sa doctrine comme vraie et catholique, la seconde, c'est de la développer de toutes ses forces.⁴²

Between 1613 and 1630 friar Juan taught theology and philosophy at the college of St. Thomas in Alcalá. It was here that he made the all important acquaintance of friar Pedro and friar Juan Martínez.

In 1630 friar Juan won the Vespers Chair at Alcalá, and in 1641, following friar Pedro's appointment to the bishopric of Segovia, the Prime Chair. He held this position until 1643 when he was appointed Confessor Royal. As a condition of becoming Confessor Royal, friar Juan requested the King to be allowed to give his salary to the poor, and retain for himself and his companion, only the necessary to maintain themselves. Another condition of the appointment was that Philip IV should be sincere in wishing to live as a good Catholic. Friar Juan, from this position, attempted to reform the morality of the Catholic Monarchy. Olivares did not trust friar Juan, "whom he suspected of being the author of his misfortunes."⁴³ Friar Juan was opposed to *validos*, an opinion shared with Medinaceli, friar Pedro and sor María de Ágreda, with whom he advised the King to correspond. During this period as Confessor Royal he worked on a new Index of prohibited books for the Inquisition. He died in 1644 in Fraga, allegedly of typhoid fever.

Friar Juan was recognized throughout the Monarchy as an extremely erudite Catholic thinker and holy man. He wrote an enormous number of books for one who died at the age of 56. His work contains eight volumes of

⁴² . A. Vacant et . Mangenot, *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, Paris, 1923, Vol.8, Col.806.

⁴³ . Elliott, *op cit.*, p.661.

commentary and explanation of Aquinas' *Summa theologiae*. The first three volumes were edited by him, the next four by his companion, Diego Ramírez, and the eighth by Cambetis and Quetif.⁴⁴ He also wrote philosophical companions to Aristotle and Aquinas' commentaries on Aristotle. These can be divided into two groups: the *Ars Logica* and *Naturalis Philosophia*. He wrote three works in Spanish: *Explicación de la doctrina cristiana*, *Ayudar a bien morir* and a guide to confessors, commissioned by the King in 1643. According to Frances C. Wade "His detailed analysis of logical problems represents the top scholastic development of Aristotelian logic."⁴⁵ It is his philosophy and theology that the Medinaceli group followed. Crespí de Borja⁴⁶ described friar Juan as a "varón del espíritu y doctrina que todos saben."⁴⁷ There can be no doubt that he was an exceptional man.

Friar Juan Martínez

Juan Martínez occupied the position of Confessor Royal for over twenty years - one of the most lengthy occupations of the post - and yet he is almost absent from the history books. The dearth of information about him would lead one to assume that he was a somewhat mysterious and shady figure, but the lack has more to do with the ravages of time than the secretive nature of his character.

Juan Martínez - not to be confused with fellow Dominican Juan Martínez de Prado - was born in the Castilian town of El Corral de Almaguer in 1590. He took his vows, at the age of 16, in the Dominican convent of Santa Cruz el Real in Segovia, where he studied philosophy and theology. After

⁴⁴ . Vacant, *op cit.*, col.806.

⁴⁵ . Frances C. Wade, (intro.): John of Saint Thomas, *Outlines of Formal Logic*, Milwaukee, 1955, p.1.

⁴⁶ . See Chapter 4.

⁴⁷ . Emilio Cotarelo y Mori, *Bibliografía de las controversias sobre la licitud del teatro en España*, Madrid, 1904, p.193.

teaching in San Esteban Salamanca and St. Thomas in Alcalá, he taught theology in Plasencia from where he was made Prior in Pamplona. He then taught theology in Ávila from where he was elected Rector of St. Thomas in Alcalá, where he met friar Pedro and friar Juan.⁴⁸ He subsequently served as Prior in El Rosario in Madrid, St. Peter in Toldeo and St. Thomas in Madrid. In November 1643 he became a *calificador* for the Council of the Inquisition, and at this time he also became confessor to the Prince, Baltasar Carlos, and the Queen, Isabel de Borbón. From this time until his death in 1675 he was resident at Court, where he enjoyed enormous influence.

In 1656 Barrionuevo commented the following of him:

todos acuden a él, y con sola una pluma que cada uno le deje, vendrá esta corneja a ser el ave más hermosa de todos y de más pluma.⁴⁹

This is an obvious reference to Juan Martínez's famed venality. He was an astute politician and from 1646 onwards he enjoyed considerable influence over the Council of Orders, and was in a position to influence Court patronage.

His post enabled him to gain a considerable personal income - both from official and unofficial sources. He used some of this income to found a *mayorazgo* in his home town, and build a house there for his nephew. He also gave 1,000 *ducados* a year of his salary to a foundation for studying Scripture at Santa Cruz el Real.⁵⁰ He also gave a *censo* of 3,020 *ducados* of income to this foundation. The foundation of this chair gives some idea of Juan Martínez's views of the Dominicans. The Dominicans were above all an Order of Preachers. They were meant to *preach*. However, most gifted entrants into the Order read scholastic theology and preaching was seen as a side duty. Martínez was not a gifted theologian and his aim with his

⁴⁸ . Jacobus Quetif et Jacobus Echard, *Scriptoris Ordinis Praedicatorum*, 1721, Vol. II, p.665(b).

⁴⁹ . *Avisos, op cit.*, p.320.

⁵⁰ . AHN, Clero, Lib. 12.389 (Segovia).

foundation, apart from quashing rumours of his venality, was to increase the importance of the study of Scripture within the Order.

Despite the retirement of Sotomayor in 1643 a Dominican replacement was not placed on the Council of the Inquisition, in spite of the Order's right. Diego de Arce y Reynoso⁵¹ - the Inquisitor General - claimed that there were too many ecclesiastics on the Tribunal, and there was not enough money to pay for them. Furthermore he argued:

lo segundo y más principal y q[ue] pide toda la atención i cat[ólic]o zelo de V.M. es q[ue] los religiosos de la orden de S[an]to Dom[ing]o y los de la Comp[añ]ia de Jesús están divididos en dos escuelas contrarias y de conocida oposición a cerca de muchas opiniones.⁵²

This letter was sent to the King in July 1644 when the Dominican alternatives were presented as Francisco de Araujo - a contemporary of friar Pedro's from San Esteban and retired *Catedrático* from Salamanca - Juan de Santo Tomás and Juan del Pozo.

In this instance Arce's wish was honoured, and again in 1646 when Juan Martínez had replaced Juan de Santo Tomás on the list. Following the death of Sotomayor, however, Martínez's influence with the King obviously overpowered Arce's, and on 16.10.1648 Martínez was elected to the Council. Arce's opposition to the Dominicans was not overlooked by Martínez or friar Pedro, and, indeed, friar Pedro was careful to show his correspondence with Arce to Martínez, in order to avoid any misunderstandings.⁵³ It must also be remembered that these five years of increased legal representation on the Tribunal and lack of a Dominican representative were the years which saw the spectacular re-trial of Gerónimo de Villanueva.

⁵¹ . In the papers of the Chamber of Castile, Diego de Arce y Reynoso, along with José González is never referred to as *don*.

⁵² . AHN, INQ., Lib. 299, f.234.

⁵³ . *Cartas*, Oviedo to Tapia, 10.12.1646, ff.178-9.

Juan Martínez's position as Confessor Royal was *technically* a religious one, but it was seen by him and by others as a political one. In his book *Discursos teológicos y políticos* he wrote that in 1646 in Saragossa "por diferentes juntas, que allí tuvimos todos los ministros que asistíamos, y acompañamos a Su Magestad"⁵⁴ we decided business. In one of the later *discursos* of this book he discussed the question of whether theologians or jurists were better bishops, and came to the foreseen conclusion that theologians were best. There can be little doubt that this argument was in part aimed at his rival Diego de Arce y Reynoso, by far the better known jurist-made-bishop of his times.

Doña Catalina de Aragón Fernández de Córdoba, Count-Duchess of Olivares
 Catalina Fernández de Córdoba was the daughter of Enrique Ramón de Aragón Folch y Cardona, fifth Duke of Cardona and Catalina Fernández de Córdoba, the daughter of the fourth Marquis of Priego and Juana Enríquez de Ribera, the daughter of the second Duke of Alcalá. She was thus a cousin of the Duchess of Medinaceli. Catalina was the sister of don Luis de Aragón y Cardona, sixth Duke of Segorbe y Cardona, Vicente de Aragón, Antonio de Aragón and Pascual de Aragón.⁵⁵ She was married to Luis Méndez de Haro y Guzmán in 1626 to further Olivares' political aims of the 1620s, which were to gain the influence of her father in his Catalanian lands.

Doña Catalina had four children who survived childhood. Gaspar de Haro y Aragón, Marquis of Liche, who Barrionuevo claims to have had psychological problems⁵⁶, and who tried to blow up the Retiro Palace.⁵⁷ He

⁵⁴ . Juan Martínez, *Discursos teológicos y políticos*, Alcalá de Henares, 1664, p.387, my emphasis.

⁵⁵ . AHN ,OOMM, Alcántara, Exp. 13.633, Antonio de Aragón y Fernández de Córdoba.

⁵⁶ . *Avisos*, *op cit.*, p.65, (7.10.1654).

⁵⁷ . BN MSS 2.280

married first Antonia de la Cerda and then Teresa Enríquez⁵⁸ with whom he had a daughter Catalina, who married the tenth Duke of Alba. Antonia de Haro y Aragón, the eldest daughter, was married to the tenth Duke of Medina Sidonia, in an attempt to re-establish the fortunes of the house of Guzmán. Juan Domingo de Haro y Aragón married his cousin the seventh Countess of Monterrey, and Manuela de Haro y Aragón married the Count of Luna. These marriages are to be explained by the political influence enjoyed by her husband, Luis de Haro.

During Haro's absences from Court doña Catalina looked after his interests. In late 1645 Haro went to Cádiz to supervise the arrival of the treasure fleets, and doña Catalina was left in Madrid to balance the Haro influence against that of his uncle, Castrillo. In order to help her in her work she employed a secretary - don Francisco de Oriar. It is obvious that she was an astute politician and enjoyed considerable personal influence. Her level of political influence led her into conflict with her father-in-law, the fifth Marquis of Carpio.⁵⁹ She had considerable authority with her husband, along with a large degree of mutual affection.⁶⁰

Doña Catalina maintained a regular correspondence with friar Pedro since before 1645 until her death from a cancerous tumour, following childbirth, in November 1647.⁶¹ She was religiously orthodox and interested in devotional sculpture.⁶² She was an affectionate and caring parent, returning from a period of convalescence to care for a sick child in the summer of 1647.⁶³ It was through doña Catalina that the Tapia group were brought into

⁵⁸ . Alberto y Arturo García Carraffa, *Enciclopedia heráldica y genealógica hispano-americano*, Vol42, Madrid, 1942.

⁵⁹ . *Cartas*, Oviedo to Tapia, 17.8.1647, ff.309-10.

⁶⁰ . *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 23.11.1647, ff.355-6.

⁶¹ . *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 20.11.1647, ff.353-4.

⁶² . *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 10.2.1646, ff.25-6.

⁶³ . *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 24.8.1647, ff.317-20.

closer contact with the Haro connection.

The Functionaries: Don Antonio de Contreras, Don Antonio de Camporredondo, Don Francisco Antonio de Alarcón⁶⁴ and José González
Antonio de Contreras y González Bernaldo de Quirós was from a very old Segovian family. He started his administrative career as the *Juez Mayor de Vizcaya* in the Chancery of Valladolid on 21.10.1617. He remained in this position until 21.2.1622 when he was promoted to the *Contaduría Mayor de Hacienda* as an *Oidor*. On 1.9.1630 he was elected as a Councillor of Castile in a supernumerary position and two years later was given the job of attending the Council of Finance as one of the observers from the Council of Castile. On 6.10.1638 he was made a member of the Chamber of Castile.⁶⁵

Antonio de Camporredondo y Río was from an equally old family from Soria. He went to the *Colegio Mayor* of San Bartolomé and in 1609, at the age of 30, was made an *Alcalde de Crimen* in the Chancery of Granada. He served as *Alcalde* for five years before being made *Oidor* on 30.6.1614, where he stayed two years before being transferred as *Oidor* to Valladolid. On 29.3.1621 he was promoted to Court as an *Oidor* on the *Contaduría Mayor de Hacienda* where he was joined by Antonio de Contreras a year later. On 6.5.1628 don Antonio was promoted to a supernumerary position as Councillor of Castile and in 1632, two months before Antonio de Contreras, he was made the observer of Finance sessions of the Council of Castile. In March 1639 Camporredondo was elected to the Chamber of Castile and throughout this period continued to serve on the Council of Finance, being made honorary President in 1643. He retired from Finance in 1648 at the age

⁶⁴ . The papers also refer to a don Francisco de Alarcón, who is not the same as Francisco Antonio de Alarcón.

⁶⁵ . AHN, Cons., Lib. 724, f.277 v., Lib. 725, f.34 r., Lib. 726, ff. 43 v., 140 v., 143 v., 392 r.

of seventy but continued in his other positions.⁶⁶

José González was the son of an obscure lawyer from Arnedo. José González himself also studied law. His career rise was much more meteoric than those of Contreras and Camporredondo, but it followed the same basic pattern. In 1624 he was elected to the position vacated by Diego de Riaño y Gamboa as *Fiscal* to the Chancery of Valladolid, and two years later was promoted to Court as the *Fiscal* to the *Cárcel de Corte*. (16.11.1626) He served there for just over a year until on 8.1.1628 he was made *Fiscal* to the Council of Castile, and a year and nine months later was given a supernumerary position on the Council. Three years later his rise was complete, having been made a member of the Chamber of Castile on 1.5.1632.⁶⁷

Don Francisco Antonio de Alarcón's career was less dramatic than José González's. He was made the *Alcalde de Hijosdalgo* in Valladolid in 1613, from where he was promoted to *Oidor* in Granada to occupy the place vacated by Camporredondo in 1616. In 1622/3 he went to Naples on the King's business - a sure sign of impending promotion - and on his return on 17.2.1624 he was given a supernumerary position on the Council of Indies, where he would have made the acquaintance of don García de Haro, future Count of Castrillo. In 1628 Alarcón was again sent to Naples and as a result was given a position on the Council of Castile (16.3.1628) on his return. On 13.9.1634 Alarcón was made a member of the Chamber of Castile. In 1643 he was made Governor of Finance and in 1644 President. He was to die occupying this post three years later in November 1647, to be replaced by José González.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ . AHN, Cons., Lib. 724, ff. 74 v., 173 r., 236 v., 343 v., Lib. 725, f. 252 r., Lib. 726, ff. 140 r., 425 r., Lib. 727, ff. 187 v., 414 r.

⁶⁷ . AHN, Cons., Lib. 725, ff. 138 r., 198 v., 228 r., 349 v., Lib. 726, f. 137 v., Lib. 727, f. 399 v. (Hacienda).

⁶⁸ . AHN, Cons., Lib. 724, ff. 153 r., 241 r., Lib. 725, ff. 64, 112 r., 247 v., Lib. 726, f.235 v., Lib. 727, ff. 181 r., 218 v.

These four figures were the financial “genii” of the reign of Philip IV. The state of the Catholic Monarchy’s finances does not testify to their great success. In 1638 they sat on the *Junta de la Moneda* and in 1650, along with the Count of Peñaranda - Gaspar de Bracamonte⁶⁹ - they sat on the *Junta de Medios*. José González served as President of Finance from 1647 until 1651, when Antonio de Camporredondo was brought out of retirement to re-occupy the office. (1651-2)

Both González and Camporredondo founded *mayorazgos* for their children, Camporredondo founded a *mayorazgo* with an income of 1,000 *ducados* per year for his son Antonio who also followed him in an administrative career, receiving his first position as *Fiscal* in Valladolid in 1641.⁷⁰ González founded a *mayorazgo* for his son, and his daughter-in-law, on her death, left a fortune of 1,138,434 *reales* (103,494 *ducados*).⁷¹ When compared to the fortunes of the higher nobility, even the fortune accumulated by González is moderate. Although it is undeniable that González significantly improved his financial position during office, there is really no comparison between his fortune and those accumulated by, for example, Osuna, Olivares and Monterrey. Councillors of Castile earned 55,000 *reales* (5,000 *ducados*) a year. Presidents of the Councils of Indies and Finance earned 100,000 *reales* (9,090 *ducados*) a year. This may be compared to the 22,000 *ducados* paid to Infantado for his part in the war in Catalonia, and the 266

⁶⁹ . Gaspar de Bracamonte went to the *Colegio Mayor* of San Bartolomé (1615). In 1626 he was made *Fiscal* to the Council of Orders and in 1628 a Councillor. In 1634 he became Councillor of Castile and from 1642 was on the Chamber of Castile. From 1645-8 he negotiated the treaty of Westphalia. In 1651 he became President of Orders and in 1653 President of Indies. In 1658 he was Viceroy of Naples. In 1662 he formed part of a triumvirate of power along with Castrillo and Medina de las Torres. He married his aunt in order to become Count of Peñaranda.

⁷⁰ . AHN, Cons., Lib. 727, f.58 v.

⁷¹ . Janine Fayard, *Los miembros del Consejo Real de Castilla (1621-1746)*, Madrid, 1982, p.447.

ducados a year paid to University Professors.⁷²

Janine Fayard states that "el más fiel amigo de José González fue su colega del Consejo D. Antonio de Contreras, con quien participó en numerosas juntas."⁷³ Friar Pedro had a close correspondence with Antonio de Contreras and used his influence to help Oviedo obtain a habit of Santiago for his son Luis.⁷⁴ Contreras and Camporredondo shared similar religious views, and were both in favour of the ban on comedies.⁷⁵

José González - the *eminence gris* of Olivares - maintained, as did the other three men, his influence after the fall of his previous mentor. If anything, his influence increased after Olivares' fall, all of which points to the basic stability and continuity of the administration throughout the reign of Philip IV. González, Camporredondo and Contreras were all remarkable for their extreme longevity.

The Count of Castrillo

Don García de Haro was the second son of the fourth Marchioness of Carpio, doña Beatriz de Haro. His brother, don Diego de Haro, the fifth Marquis, was the brother-in-law of Olivares. Don García, as a younger son, was sent to university - he was a *colegial* of Cuenca in Salamanca - in order to prepare him for an administrative career. Armed with his doctorate, he obtained a position as *Oidor* in Valladolid on 19.3.1619. There he served with Antonio de Camporredondo, Antonio de Contreras and Diego de Riaño y Gamboa. While in Valladolid he formed a relationship with the daughter of one of the other *oidores* - Christóval de Paz - who was a divorcee. With Jerónima de Paz he had an illegitimate son - Luis de Haro y

⁷² . Kagan, "Universities", *op cit.*, p.66.

⁷³ . Fayard, *op cit.*, p.448.

⁷⁴ . See Chapter 7.

⁷⁵ . See Chapter 4.

Paz.⁷⁶ In 1623 don García's powerful connections procured him a place on the Council of Orders and on 17.2.1624 a supernumerary position on the Council of Castile. In 1625 he was elected to the Chamber of Castile and began to be known as don García de Haro y Avellaneda. This change of name was due to his impending marriage with the third Countess of Castrillo, doña María de Avellaneda Enríquez de Portocarrero which took place in 1629. Shortly before the wedding don García began to appear in the papers of the Chamber of Castile as don García de Avellaneda y Haro. In 1626 don García was made temporary Governor of the Council of Indies and between 1628-1632 was elected to the Councils of State and War. On 27.11.1632 he was made permanent Governor of Indies now using the title of Count of Castrillo.⁷⁷ The income from don García's estates was very moderate: around 8,000 *ducados* a year. In 1622 he obtained the habit of Calatrava, and in 1634 a habit of Santiago for his illegitimate son, Luis.⁷⁸

Don García was a frequent member of *juntas* on which he served along with José González, Antonio de Camporredondo, Antonio de Contreras and Francisco Antonio de Alarcón. During the King's absence from Court in 1641-1642, Castrillo remained at Court as an assistant to the Queen. He was instrumental in the overthrow of Olivares in 1643. He hoped that his cultivation of the Queen's favour would bring him power, but on her premature death in 1644 he was forced to share power with his nephew, don Luis de Haro, always the more popular minister due to his more flexible character. From 1647 he maintained a correspondence with friar Pedro, who described him as an "inteligente y antiguo"⁷⁹ minister.

⁷⁶ . AHN, OOMM, Santiago, Exp. 3.818, (1634), Luis de Haro y Paz.

⁷⁷ . AHN, Cons., Lib. 724, f.316 r., Lib. 725, ff. 112 r., 146 v. - García de Haro y Avellaneda - 155 r. - García de Avellaneda -, Lib. 726, ff. 137 v. - Conde de Castrillo -, 147 v.

⁷⁸ . Fayard, *op cit.*, p.163, and AHN, OOMM Sant. 3818 and Calatrava, Exp. 1.197, (1622), García de Haro.

⁷⁹ . *Cartas*, Tapia to Oviedo, 30.10.1647, ff.341-2.

Upon the death of Haro in 1661, Castrillo became the head of the Haro faction, sharing power with the Count of Peñaranda - an old associate - and the Duke of Medina de las Torres, don Ramón Felípez Nuñez de Guzmán. Between 1662 and 1668 Castrillo occupied the position of President of Castile, although constant ill health reduced his level of influence. In 1648 he married two of his legitimate children, doña Beatriz and don Gaspar, to don Juan Fernández Manrique, Marquis of Aguilar, and doña María de Toledo, grand-daughter of the Duke of Alba, respectively. These marriages reflect the level of political influence he enjoyed in 1648.

Don Luis Méndez de Haro y Guzmán.

Don Luis Méndez de Haro y Guzmán was the eldest son of Diego de Haro, fifth Marquis of Carpio, and doña Francisca de Guzmán, sister of the Count-Duke of Olivares. He had a younger brother Enrique. He became Duke of Montoro following the peace of the Pyrenees, and, on the death of Olivares, inherited from him the titles of Count of Olivares and Marquis of Liche. His son, don Gaspar, used the title of Marquis of Liche, while his wife became known as the Duchess Countess of Olivares, forcing Olivares' widow, Inés de Zúñiga, to use the title of Duchess of San Lúcar. This latter title, after lengthy litigation, was inherited by Olivares' ex-son-in-law, the Duke of Medina de las Torres.⁸⁰

Medina de las Torres had been married to doña María de Guzmán, Marchioness of Liche, to the chagrin of Haro, who, it was supposed, would become her husband. This started a rivalry between the two which "culminated in 1664, in the grand romantic fashion of a fatal duel between

⁸⁰ . R. A. Stradling, "A Spanish statesman of appeasement: Medina de la Torres and Spanish policy, 1639-70", *The Historical Journal*, 19, (1976), pp.1-31.

one of Medina's sons and a grand-son of Castrillo."⁸¹ Through the influence of his uncle Olivares, Haro married the daughter of the Duke of Cardona. The Cardona family maintained a traditional rivalry with the family of Enríquez de Cabrera - the Dukes of Medina de Río Seco, Admirals of Castile. To this rivalry Haro brought the Guzmán influence. In the late 1620s, through his uncle, Haro was made *gentilhombre de la boca*.

After the fall of Olivares in 1643 Haro enjoyed an increase in influence at the Court of Philip IV. He maintained, as Olivares before him, daily audiences. This led him to be referred to as the new *valido*, although he was never officially named as such. Haro controlled many *juntas* at Court, most significantly the *Junta de Estado*. It was not, however, until 1648, with the death of his father, that he inherited a formal position at Court: that of *caballerizo mayor*. Stradling describes him as "a kind of co-ordinator, responsible in policy to the Council of State, through the King."⁸² Increasingly from 1655, until his death in 1661, he became more and more unpopular.

Luis de Haro was described in almost all correspondence as having a smooth charm and strict regard for etiquette and protocol. Friar Pedro described him as "del buen talento y agrado y buena atención".⁸³ Stradling claims that Haro had to dissimulate his desire to become *valido*, which he did with consummate skill, in order to appease the group of nobles - Medinaceli, Infantado, etc. - who had propelled him into power.⁸⁴ It is

⁸¹ . *Ibid.*, p.21. It is difficult to see how this could have been a grand-son of Castrillo, more probably it could have been his son Gaspar de Haro y Avellaneda, married, according to Carraffa, Vol. 59, 1936, to doña Leonor de Moscoso y Córdoba de Rojas. On the same page Carraffa states that it was not this Gaspar who was killed in the duel, but his brother-in-law, Gaspar de Moscoso, eighth Count of Altamira, fifth Marquis of Almazán and sixth Marquis of Poza, who, he states, died on 23.5.1664 at 33 of wounds from a duel with Domingo de Guzmán y Carraffa, of the House of Stillano - Medina de las Torres' son.

⁸² . *Ibid.*, p.23.

⁸³ . *Cartas*, Tapia to Oviedo, Medinaceli, 5.1.1647, ff.197-8.

⁸⁴ . Stradling, *op cit*.

unproven whether Haro wished to be *valido*, or whether he himself shared the opinion that kings should rule without them. Friar Pedro believed that Haro was the *valido*, for he was of the opinion that: “dado que aya de aver mynistro de ese género de recursos y audiencias no tengo por malo el agrado.”⁸⁵

⁸⁵. *Cartas*, Tapia to Oviedo, 19.8.1646, ff. 13-5.

Chapter 3

A question of reputation

The brief outline given in chapter 2 of the formation of the relationship between the Duke of Medinaceli and friar Pedro shows how their relationship began, but in itself is insufficient to explain how it was maintained throughout twenty years, and what form it took. It is essential to bear in mind two factors for an understanding of their relationship: 1. the Duke of Medinaceli was a young man of the high nobility, and 2. friar Pedro was an older man, highly educated and intelligent, who had a high reputation for sound doctrine and personal holiness. These two factors formed the background of the relationship. Furthermore, Pedro de Tapia, during his teaching years at Alcalá, developed a reputation for disinterestedness. A detailed analysis of his affairs reveals his commitment to the Medinaceli connection. The house of Medinaceli was related dynastically to the majority of the other grandees at Court. Antonio Juan Luis de la Cerda's great-aunt, Catalina de la Cerda, was the wife of the first Duke of Lerma, and he was thus connected to the whole Sandoval line. His half-sister was the mother of the Duke of Montalto, Antonio de Aragón de la Cerda y Mendoza. He was cousin - through his mother - to the Marquis of Velada, Antonio de Toledo y Dávila, and through him related to the whole Toledo connection: the Duke of Alba, as well as the Marquises of Villanueva, Villafranca and Miravel. His wife, Ana María Luisa Enríquez Portocarrero de Ribera, was, in her turn, related to a large number of nobles - the Admiral of Castile, Marquis of Priego and so on. For friar Pedro, a humble *hidalgo* from the *sierra* of Salamanca, this connection was immensely important. It bore with it responsibilities as well as benefits. Friar Pedro had to ensure that his patron did not do anything which would provoke the retribution of the powerful on his clientele. For Medinaceli the advice of friar Pedro, along with his reputation and religious connections,

was invaluable. Friar Pedro's spiritual guidance and moral direction helped Medinaceli to be sure of the moral propriety of his actions.

While friar Pedro was bishop of Sigüenza and Medinaceli was performing his duties as *Capitán del Mar Océano* in the port of Santa María in Andalusia, their correspondence was conducted through Francisco de Oviedo in Madrid. Don Francisco and friar Pedro commented on the Duke's actions at the same time as they referred to their correspondence with him. In this manner the problems that friar Pedro had in guiding Medinaceli can be analysed. Specifically, in this chapter, two events in the correspondence will be investigated. The first involves Medinaceli's problems regarding his lawsuit with the Marquis of Priego, and the second reveals the seemier side of Court politics and has to do with the prevention of doña Antonia de Mendoza from damaging Medinaceli's reputation.

In May 1646 Medinaceli sent Oviedo a cypher, which he wished Oviedo to use in his correspondence with him. Don Francisco was of the opinion that cyphers were a waste of time, and "son infinitos los inconvenientes que han causado estas cifras particulares."¹ Friar Pedro agreed with him and replied: "no sé para qué su e[xc]elencia] neccsite el uso de ella con vm. ni con nadie en M[adri]d y absolutamente para nada es apropósito".² Both the correspondents agreed that Medinaceli had some ideas which were both questionable and threatening to their position.

In June 1647 Medinaceli began to talk of coming to Madrid in order to pursue his lawsuit with the Marquis of Priego over the duchy of Alcalá.³ Don Francisco wrote:

para todo importará mucho [hablar con VSI] y creo que no poco para tocar el punto

¹. *Cartas*, Oviedo to Tapia, 16.5.1646, ff.78-9.

². *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, Jadraque, 16.5.1646, ff.78-9.

³. This process can be found in AHN, Cons., Leg. 32.607.

de la licencia que está resuelto a pedir el sr. Duque de Medina, sobre que me dice escribe a VSI. Y añade en mi carta que con ella quedará aquello más desembarazado para el sr. D. Ju|an de Austria].⁴

Medinaceli could not simply leave Andalusia to come to Court. He had responsibilities to fulfil in Santa María. He also needed permission from the King. Friar Pedro was not persuaded of the utility of Medinaceli's visit to Madrid, since he was convinced it would incur many inconveniences both for Medinaceli and himself:

El sr. Duque de M[edi]na trata de recojerse a su casa. Deseo que lo haga con modo decente. Y que no se desazone con nadie porque tiene muy graves dependencias. Ya le digo a su ex[celencia] lo q[ue] permite una carta y por acá hago todo el buen oficio que puedo. Y no será poco tomar salida en algunas esper[an]ças que açedan lo que pudiera tener mucho valor. Y no sé para qué sea bueno perderle sin otra utilidad que mostrar condicçión⁵

Friar Pedro always preached caution to the Duke: his obligations did not allow him to resign his post in Andalusia without being certain of another.

The following letter of 24 July 1647 brought more news from Medinaceli.

Oviedo wrote that the Duke had sent copies of

el decreto de Su Mag[esta]d de la prorrogación de los tres años [como Capitán del Mar Océano] y de la carta que escribe aora pidiendo licencia⁶

Don Francisco added:

algunos dudan que se la concedan [léase la licencia] otros son de opinión que no es bien estar allí [léase el Puerto de Santa María] por los encuentros que forçosam[en]te se han de ofrecer con el sr. D. Juan [de Austria] y que sólo con una calidad podía que era perpetuándose los cargos en su cassa. También llegan a temer si no queriendo servir más ha de llegar a rompimiento de suerte que pierda lo servido.⁷

Friar Pedro responded to this that "la copia de ésta me remite su ex[celencia] algo seca parece"⁸, and that "nunca es buena esta salida. Quiera Dios sea *sin*

4. *Cartas*, Oviedo to Tapia, 10.7.1647, ff.295-6. There existed some animosity between Medinaceli and don Juan de Austria. It is unclear exactly what this was, but it is possible, given Medinaceli's character, that he disapproved of the open recognition of the King's bastard son.

5. *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, Horna, 18.7.1647, ff.299-300.

6. *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 24.7.1647, ff.301-2.

7. *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 24.7.1647, ff.301-2.

8. *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, 24.7.1647, ff.301-2.

otros inconvenientes".⁹ The inference is clear that Medinaceli's decisions would affect his interests.

Due to disagreements with don Juan de Austria, Medinaceli did not wish to remain in Santa María after don Juan's posting to the area. The two correspondents in Castile feared that this desire would lead him to some rash action, which would weaken his influence at Court. It was obvious to all concerned that the lawsuit with Priego was being used as an excuse by Medinaceli to leave Andalusia.

The problem was not rapidly resolved. In August Oviedo was moved to write:

Mucho importará que VSI pudiesse estar cerca para templar la fuerza del natural de esta resolución de la licencia que llevo a temer no se estingue [*sic*] todo con ello por el modo. El sr. Duque del Infantado decía oi que sin duda la tenía comunicación desde que el sr. Don Luis [de Haro] estuvo allí.¹⁰

Don Francisco was referring to friar Pedro's meeting with Luis de Haro in Paredes in July 1647.¹¹ Friar Pedro replied to Oviedo's news saying:

parece que su ex|celenci|a se retira de todo desseo que se avierte y que no sean resoluciones repentinas como los donativos y el traje francés.¹² En esto creo se engaña el sr. Duque del Infan|ta|do.¹³

Friar Pedro was always quick to play down any suggestion of his own influence.

A week later brought more news of the affair, with Medinaceli's Toledo connections additionally complicating the matter. After Philip IV had decided to marry his niece, the Archduchess Mariana, he resolved to send the Duke of Alba to Vienna to collect her. However, the Duke of Alba did

⁹. *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, 24.7.1647, ff.301-2, my emphasis.

¹⁰. *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 1.8.1647, ff.303-4.

¹¹. See chapter 7 for details of this meeting.

¹². It has proved impossible to find out what this refers to.

¹³. *Cartas*, Tapia to Oviedo, 1.8.1647, ff.303-4.

not wish to make the journey, and thus refused the appointment and retired from the Court to his estates in great disfavour with the King.

Oviedo commented:

Escriví a Su Ex[celenci]a que me pessaría que el aver embiado a pedir licencia en esta saçón lo atribuiessen a sentimineto de los Toledos fomentado del sr. Marqués de Villafranca por averse juntado la ida del sr. Duque de Alva a su cassa sin querer hacer la Jornada a Alemania ... Partió el lunes de aquí, y creen que con dificultad volverá a Madrid ... Oi me embió a llamar el sr. Marqués de Villafranca y dixo que el negocio de la licencia le avía parecido que se sobreesiesse por aora, porque no pareciesse que dos resoluciones tan grandes se avían tomado a un mismo tiempo, y que Su Ex[celenci]a avía sido la levadura. Quiera Dios que pare en bién esta retirada.¹⁴

On 7 August friar Pedro made a lengthy reply to Oviedo's letter which provides considerable insight into friar Pedro's opinions of Medinaceli:

Su ex[celenci]a es muy forzoso y haçe algunas valentías que podrían costar caro. No es bueno tomar chocolate, y comer mucho grüeso en caniculares y en la Andalucía. Por una parte es muy templado y por otra haçe estos excesos (como han escrito de allá) no pueden dexar de alterar mucho. Este retiro en mi entender, no ha tenido circunstancia buena ninguna (dado q[ue] en la sustancia fuesse conveniente) exponese su ex[celenci]a a daño en los ímpetus y los que se fundan en Toledo, no son los más gratos. He dicho en todo lo que siento. Y quizá me engaño yo. Con el amor que le tengo, *estoy persuadido que mis consejos serían de su servicio si no es q[ue] sea esto amor proprio*. Más creo q[ue] su ex[celenci]a ha experimentado que en ocasiones he acertado a servirle. Y querría q[ue] en su casa ubiesse menos noticias de sus resoluciones, porq[ue] quizá se divulgan alguna sin tiempo y con daño.¹⁵

A fortnight later Oviedo wrote that Medinaceli

no se acaba de tomar resolución en ella [*léase* la licencia]. Pero acá no sé que aia quién la solicite si no es que el sr. Marqués de Villafranca quiera hacer alguna diligencia por mostrar fineza en los negocios de su sobrino.¹⁶

Friar Pedro was disgusted by this suggestion, saying:

fuerte cosa es entre tantos parientes y amigos tomar por instrumento al que es menos grato a los ojos de los q[ue] han de despachar los negocios y menos eficaz, y de humor tan extravagante.¹⁷

Obviously friar Pedro's opinion of Villafranca was not of the best, and he could not understand why Medinaceli should even think of using him in such a delicate situation.

¹⁴. *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 7.8.1647, ff.309-10.

¹⁵. *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, 7.8.1647, ff.309-10, my emphasis.

¹⁶. *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 24.8.1647, ff.317-20.

¹⁷. *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, 24.8.1647, ff.317-20.

From mid-August 1647 until early October the two correspondents did not return to this theme because of the illness of friar Pedro. In October they began to discuss it again, when the Marquis of Priego was on his way to Madrid to pursue his case. Friar Pedro, in spite of this, still preached caution: "mucho debe considerar el sr. duque de Medina esta venida y lo que debe haçer. Algo penderá la resolución de el neg[oci]o de la sr^a doña Ant[oni]a."¹⁸ Medinaceli's other connections, however, advised him to come because

le parece mala razón de estado el que no venga, o por lo menos que no se diga que viene, porque no les parezca a estos sres. Jueces que es demasiada confianza de la Justicia y cierto genero de menos precio.¹⁹

The judges authorized to try a notorious case involving *grandees* were the members of the Royal Council.²⁰ As seventeenth-century justice was indivisible from politics, the judges on the Royal Council also held ministerial positions. Medinaceli thus needed to cultivate his political contacts in order to ensure a favourable outcome in his lawsuit. In December 1647 Medinaceli "me manda [a Oviedo] que avisse el ultimo precio de la cassa de la plaçuela de San Salvador donde vivió el sr. Car[dena]l Borja."²¹ Don Francisco added that "me pareciera mucho maior la dilación de su venida, si supiera la poca confianza que tiene con los favores de arriba."²² Finally Medinaceli did not make the trip to Madrid, and the political reasons behind this will be discussed in a future chapter.

In June 1646 friar Pedro began to refer to a *negocio* which involved a certain *señora* in Madrid. Due to the discretion of the two correspondents

¹⁸ . *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, 30.10.1647, ff.341-2. This doña Antonia is doña Antonia de Mendoza. The business regarding her will be covered in depth in the rest of this chapter.

¹⁹ . *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 27.11.1647, ff.357-8.

²⁰ . Alonso de Villadiego Vascañana y Montoya, *Instrucción político y práctica indicial*, Madrid, 1612, f.30 r.

²¹ . *Cartas*, Oviedo to Tapia, 11.12.1647, ff.365-6.

²² . *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 11.12.1647, ff.365-6.

the names of the people involved in the affair do not appear. What is clear is that there were two ladies in Madrid who served in the palace, one of whom was married and had a brother²³ called don Antonio on the Council of Orders. The other woman “doña Antonia” was in contact at Court with two priests: a Father Suchet²⁴ and a Maestro Román.²⁵ These latter two worked simply as intermediaries between doña Antonia and the Medinaceli connection. The Medinaceli group consisted of Francisco de Oviedo and his friend the Councillor of Castile Pedro de Pacheco in Madrid, friar Pedro in Sigüenza, Medinaceli himself in Puerto de Santa María and a male member of Medinaceli’s household in San Lúcar de Barrameda.

Given that on the Council of Orders there were three Antonios the “don Antonio” referred to could have been one of : Antonio Dávila y Zúñiga, Marquis of Miravel, cousin of Medinaceli; Antonio de Luna or Antonio de Benavides. Also taking into consideration the obvious connection of the whole affair to the marriage plans of the Benavides family²⁶, it seems safe to assume that the woman was the Countess of Santisteban, *Dueña de honor* in the Palace²⁷ and sister-in-law of Antonio de Benavides. Doña Antonia was involved in marriage negotiations with don Juan Alonso de Pimentel, tenth Count of Benavente, and on 17.5.1648 they were married in the Royal Palace. According to Carraffa doña Antonia de Mendoza was the daughter of Antonio Gómez Manrique de Mendoza, fifth Count of Castrogenic [*sic*] and

23 . In the seventeenth century blood brothers and brothers-in-law are both referred to as brother.

24 . It has been impossible to trace any Padre Suchet.

25 . Maestro Román could have been one mentioned in AHN, Cons., Leg. 16.399, Doc. 37, as being given a place as canon in Alcalá in 1649.

26 . Throughout the 1640s the Benavides family were tightening their marital links with the Duke of Cardona. See footnote 74.

27 . Palacio Nacional, Leg., 7, (2922), Nóminas de la Casa de la Reina, 1º legajo, s/n.

his fourth wife Ana María Manrique.²⁸ She had been serving in the Royal Palace since 1619 and enjoyed a considerable reputation.²⁹ The Duke of Tursa, German ambassador to Madrid, wrote to Luis de Haro on 22.11.1643:

vi tan lindas cosas que está muy florido el Palacio y la señora Doña Antonia de Mendoza es la de siempre con que doy quenta a VE de mis pasos.³⁰

Jerónimo de Barrionuevo, in one of his *Avisos* described doña Antonia as “la dama tan celebre de Palacio.”³¹

Given the present state of research it is impossible to establish the exact nature of the information that the lady could use against Medinaceli. Nevertheless, apart from demonstrating the seemier side of Court politics, the possibility of a threat to Medinaceli’s reputation helps to illuminate the way in which his faction worked at Court, in order to preserve a particular interest.

By examining the clues given in the correspondence and attempting to draw logical conclusions from them, the following information becomes apparent. After the death of the Duchess of Medinaceli in 1645 a member of Medinaceli’s household, at that time living in Cogolludo, became involved with doña Antonia. The nature of this involvement is not entirely clear, but seems to have involved marriage negotiations between doña Antonia and either Medinaceli himself or his familiar/client. In the course of these negotiations correspondence and portraits were exchanged. The negotiations came to naught because, it seems, of the reluctance of the male party, and his determination to become a monk. During the course of 1646,

²⁸ . Carraffa, *op cit.*, (Pimentel), Madrid, 1953, Vol. 72 states that Antonia was the daughter of Antonio Gómez and his third wife Catalina Pinelo. However, in Vol. 54, (Mendoza), 1937, it states that Antonia was Antonio’s fifteenth child - the second daughter of his fourth wife Ana María Manrique, grand-daughter of the Duke of Nájera. In this volume it also states that Antonio and Catalina Pinelo had no children.

²⁹ . Palacio Nacional, C^a 2651/12, doña Antonia de Mendoza. It states that doña Antonia came from France to serve the Queen 5.2.1619.

³⁰ . BN MSS 18.202 /Gayangos), f.126.

³¹ . *Avisos*, Carta 120.

doña Antonia, as the offended party, demanded the return of her papers, in exchange for those she held, as well as the return of her portrait. She insisted on the taking of holy orders by the Medinaceli familiar, now living in San Lúcar. It is possible that the relationship involved more than simple negotiations, and that the two parties were actually lovers. But this hypothesis is unprovable. Towards the end of 1646 doña Antonia changed her demands, as she became interested in the possibility of marriage with the Count of Benavente. The whole affair was additionally complicated by doña Antonia's residence at Court and her connections with the Benavides family. This family appear to have used their knowledge of this affair to influence the marriage negotiations between Medinaceli and the Duke of Cardona.³²

In July 1646 friar Pedro wrote:

siempre me ha parecido el negocio de más enfado y cuidado de lo q[ue] se concebía. Y es materia en que yo entro de muy mala gana por no ser bien o propia de mi estado.³³

In general, when friar Pedro referred to affairs as inappropriate to his status as bishop, they dealt with marriage or other negotiations between the sexes. Friar Pedro felt that his involvement in the matter was at considerable personal inconvenience. He replied to a letter the lady in Madrid had directed to him in June 1646 saying

el cavall[er]o³⁴ no me avía consultado en la materia aviéndolo hecho para estado contr[ar]i[o] pero q[ue] no obstante esto tengo por cierto no faltará al cumplimiento de la obligación de conciencia a q[ue] yo ayudaré quanto pudiere.³⁵

He added:

a mí me parece que no hago poco en responder a semejantes materias en q[ue] ambas partes se quieren valer de mí para intentos contrarios.³⁶

³² . See footnote 74.

³³ . *Cartas*, Tapia to Oviedo, Valvieja, 23.6.1646, ff.102-3.

³⁴ . This must be a reference to the Medinaceli familiar in San Lúcar and confirms his nobility.

³⁵ . *Cartas*, Tapia to Oviedo, Ayllón, 7.7.1646, ff.108-9.

³⁶ . *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, Ayllón, 7.7.1646, ff.108-9.

It can be deduced that the lady in Madrid wished friar Pedro to use his influence as a moral guide to persuade the Medinaceli familiar that he was morally obliged to do what she wanted. At the same time that the Medinaceli familiar wished friar Pedro to find a moral justification against this course of action.

Some of the papers which the lady wanted returned were in the possession of the Duke of Medinaceli. Others were in Madrid with Francisco de Oviedo, and still others were in Sigüenza with friar Pedro. Logistically, gathering all the papers together to return them, was a nightmare. On 18.7.1646 Oviedo replied to friar Pedro's letter quoted above, saying

según lo que se ha podido entender de la resolución de la parte, que sin duda no debía de esperar más de la respuesta de VSI y si viene alguna de Su Ex[celencia] ... y juzgan que si no responde se arrojará el agua, porque está tan descosa de salir de la parte donde está.³⁷

Apparently the lady wanted to use the affair to leave the post she held, in order to improve her situation. The threat of scandal could be used in order to obtain a *merced* from Medinaceli with which to make a dignified withdrawal. If the threat did not work, she could use the scandal itself to leave her post and besmirch his reputation.

Friar Pedro repeated in his reply to Oviedo on 18 July that "son materias ajenas a mi proffesión y aunque temo todas las de prudencia más señaladamente las de este género".³⁸ He added that "siempre he tenido esta materia por muy enfadosa para el Duque, y si Su Ex[celencia] la ubiera concebido assí creo ubiera procedido más cautamente."³⁹ This is another repetition of one of friar Pedro's constant complaints about the Duke: he underestimated the consequences of his actions.

³⁷. *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 18.7.1646, ff.110-1.

³⁸. *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, Ayllón, 18.7.1646, ff.110-1.

³⁹. *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, Ayllón, 18.7.1646, ff.110-1.

On 18 July Oviedo wrote that the lady “está persuadida que VSI es el principal impedim[en]to y consejero en esta materia”⁴⁰, to which friar Pedro replied:

está engañada y si se redujera a mi dictamen, no pudiera un átomo de la razón en su favor. Y gustaré que lo entienda así para excusarle el escándalo. Q[ue] con esta persuasión y la affición a su negocio podría causarle.⁴¹

The reply gives the lie to his claims that “está engañada”. It is obvious that despite his claims to be impartial, friar Pedro did not in the least wish to help the lady. The reply also reveals the seventeenth-century obsession with *reputación*. The lady’s private sins were important only for her soul, whereas “los delitos públicos no solamente causan injurias a las personas particulares, pero a toda la República.”⁴² In fact sins were seen as an illness and sinners “inficionen con su enfermedad contagiosa a los otros súbditos”.⁴³ If a sin was not already public, it was considered worse to punish it and make it widely known and hence infectious, than to cover it up.

In friar Pedro’s letter of 18 July he renewed his criticisms of Medinaceli:

Las cartas que respondí a M^o Román contienen lo forçosso p[ar]a aquella correspondencia q[ue] el duque ordenó sin determinación de personas y con tanta brevedad que nada se puede colegir de ellas para fuero contencioso.⁴⁴

In his next letter of 30 July 1646 friar Pedro gave Oviedo a lengthy report on his actions regarding the affair:

también recibí un pliego del P[adr]e Suchet con una inlussa de esa s[e]ño[ra], ambas las remito a vm. y las respuestas abiertas ... en las que escribí sobre la entrega de los papeles guardé el orden q[ue] se me dio y no le ubo para comunicarles a nadie y en ellas se suponga la firma como era forçosso (sin nombrar partes ni negocio) no sé q[ue] daño pueden hazer si no es q[ue] se trate de negar las firmas de la correspondencia que parece dificultoso asunto. No he escrito a nadie

40 . *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 18.7.1646, ff.110-1.

41 . *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, Ayllón, 18.7.1646, ff.110-1.

42 . Castillo de Bovadilla, *Política para Corregidores*, Amberes, 1750, p.374.

43 . *Ibid.*, p.375.

44 . *Cartas*, Tapia to Oviedo, ¿Medina?, 18.7.1646, ff.112-3. It has been impossible to locate a place called Medina between Ayllón and Miedes.

en esta materia más que al M^o Román las forçosas y lo precisso conforme al orden de la parte, porq[ue] este sacerdote sólo fue el interlocutor deste neg[oci]o que se propuso con especie de piedad. Todo esto fue t[ie]mpo después de muerta mi sr^a la duq[ue]s[a] [de Medinaceli] pues era desde Sig[ue]nza.⁴⁵

As was stated earlier it is reasonable to assume that after the death of the Duchess of Medinaceli, the Duke entered into correspondence with doña Antonia de Mendoza. Friar Pedro did not approve of the Duke's behaviour, and he must have expressed his dissatisfaction directly to the Duke. Oviedo reported on 1 August 1646 that "del sr. Duque de Medina recibí la carta inlussa para VSI y en la mía dice le perdone la desconfianza."⁴⁶

As the days passed in August Oviedo began to detest the lady with a vengeance. He commented:

la variedad desta señora es de manera que no ai tomar punto fixo. Antes estaba alborozada para hablar al sr. D. Pedro [de Pacheco], después dixo que no, aora ha vuelto a decir que sí, y está disponiendo el modo para que no cause nota la visita.⁴⁷

The situation at Court was such that unexpected visiting of one person by another caused an enormous amount of speculation, and just the sort of gossip the Medinaceli connection wished to avoid. Friar Pedro adopted a moral tone in his reply:

Estos exemplares son buenos para gente moza q[ue] comienza a vivir si quisiessen abrir los ojos p[ar]a huir los lazos de este encanto del mundo q[ue] llegan a enredar aún a los q[ue] no tienen parte.⁴⁸

By 11 August 1646 the two correspondents, along with Pedro de Pacheco, had organized everything the lady demanded. Regarding his part in the affair friar Pedro wrote:

Al Duque escribo y en el pliego va el despacho de la prima tonsura.⁴⁹ Bien notable

⁴⁵. *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, Miedes, 30.7.1646, ff.114-5.

⁴⁶. *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 1.8.1646, ff.116-7.

⁴⁷. *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 4.8.1646, ff.118-9.

⁴⁸. *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, 4.8.1646, ff.118-9.

⁴⁹. Friar Pedro made a note in the margin here which read: "ha sido dicho q[ue] Su Ex^a me ubiesse prevenido mucho antes en esta intención sin dependencia, ni imaginación deste casso p[ar]a se ayan despachado con motivo conveniente."

es la forma de duelo con q[ue] se satisface la parte. Quiera Dios se logre p[ar]a su quietud. Todos los papeles (que por ser de otra mano⁵⁰) quedaron acá y las demás que están con ellos que es un pistoletillo y otras menudencias sin que se aya perdido alguna de las que avía dentro de la caja que se me entregó se remitirán a vm. advirtiéndole que no avía retrato alguno, ni es verisímil q[ue] la parte con tan exemplar mudança de vida los conservasse ni diesse noticia dellos a nadie, antes con todo secreto los desharía y ésta será satisfacción muy bastante p[ar]a la otra parte. Será bien prevenir desto al P[adr]e Suchet. Y asegurar con toda certeza q[ue] con aver sacado los papeles y reconocido la letra p[ar]a apartarlos no he leído uno de todos ellos, ni lo hiciera aunq[ue] me importara la vida⁵¹

A week after this letter don Francisco reported that he had dispatched a special package to friar Pedro which

llevava copia del papel que quiso la señora se ordenasse y remitiesse a San Lúcar, y carta de P[adr]e Suchet, y la petición de las dimisorias que era lo más importante.⁵²

Since *dimisorias* were a “carta u despacho que da el Prelado a su súbdito, para que licitamente pueda recibir órdenes de otro”⁵³ this, together with the reference to the *prima tonsura* suggests that the lady desired that the familiar should take holy orders.

Friar Pedro did not delay in issuing the *dimisorias*, and Oviedo was soon able to write:

hier embié a San Lúcar el que llevava las dimisorias. Con estraordinario recibí un pliego del sr. Duque de Medina, y dice que avía llegado ia el proprio, y se tratava de disponer lo que la parte de acá pedía, y que si se disponía de un prelado amigo, despacharía correo con el testimonio que se pidió por escussar las variaciones que en el interím podía suceder. Cita a Toledo (el lugar del Concilio sess[ion]e 23 Cap[ítul]o 8) y una declaración de Cardenales, quizá no es muy corriente la opinión o debe de esperar la parte las dimisorias de VSI⁵⁴

From this statement it is obvious that the party to take holy orders was a member of the Medinaceli connection. Session 23 Chapter 8 of the Council

⁵⁰ . That is the Duke's writing.

⁵¹ . *Cartas*, Tapia to Oviedo, 11.8.1646, ff.120-1.

⁵² . *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 15.8.1646, ff.124-5.

⁵³ . *Diccionario de la lengua española*, Gredos, 1976, p.283.

⁵⁴ . *Cartas*, Oviedo to Tapia, 22.8.1646, ff.128-9.

of Trent⁵⁵ treats of the ordaining of priests. Chapter 8 states the following:

Las ordenaciones se realizarán en la iglesia catedral durante los tiempos del año fijados por el derecho, en presencia de los canónigos o, si se celebran en otra iglesia, en presencia del clero del lugar y en la iglesia principal. Cada uno será ordenado por su propio obispo o, en caso de imposibilidad, con cartas testimoniales [dimisorias] de su obispo.⁵⁶

Friar Pedro did not approve of Medinaceli's attempts to use theological arguments. It was especially inappropriate to quote theology to one's spiritual adviser, when that adviser had spent nearly twenty years as a professor of theology at one of the leading universities. Friar Pedro replied to don Francisco, rather acidly:

no hallo como esto se puede hazer y en ninguna materia querría q[ue] Su E[xcelencia] usasse de extravagancias. Ni se metiesse a Theólogo en que tiene gran tentación.⁵⁷

The three men in Castile began to be more optimistic about the conclusion of the affair. On 25.8.1646 Oviedo wrote:

Dixome el sr. Don Pedro que esperaba que se avía de componer bien porque ha entendido dessea la parte de acá acabar ia, y verse libre, porque creen que se trata de cassarse, que sería el más seguro medio.⁵⁸

A week later he advised friar Pedro:

oi despaché un proprio a VSI por aver venido el testimonio que se esperaba de San Lúcar, parecidole [*sic*] al sr. Don Pedro que convenía abreviar el entrego todo lo que se pudiera: ... Asta aora no he visto el testimonio, ni quien fue el que dio el orden, procurávase por cierto domicilio en Cádiz.⁵⁹

Medinaceli's contacts in Madrid had collected everything that the lady had asked for, and they were optimistically expecting to put an end to the

⁵⁵ . This must be a reference to the Council of Trent because in neither of the councils which were held in Toledo in the sixteenth century were there more than three sessions. It is possible that Toledo refers to a person rather than the place. See *Diccionario de historia eclesiástico de España*, Vol. I, Madrid, 1972, Concilios, p.572.

⁵⁶ . L. Cristiani, "Trento" in *Historia de la Iglesia*, dir. Agustín Fliche, Vol.XIX, 1976, p.238.

⁵⁷ . *Cartas*, Tapia to Oviedo, 22.8.1646, ff. 128-9.

⁵⁸ . *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 25.8.1646, ff.130-1.

⁵⁹ . *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 29.8.1646, ff.134-5.

business. Unfortunately things did not go so smoothly, and on 8 September don Francisco was moved to write:

cada día tiene esta señora su resolución diferente, y quando debía estar satisfecha con el testimonio y el entrego de todo lo que VSI ha embiado: sale aora con decir que asta que se le dé una pinturilla que sabe que se puso en una pared de cierta obra que se hizo, no se ha de dar por satisfecha.⁶⁰

As friar Pedro had already mentioned, the box containing the lady's effects did not contain a picture, and the group were unable to produce the portrait in order to return it to her. Three days later Oviedo wrote that the lady

anda aora poniendo dilaciones con pretextos de poca importancia. Ha hecho grande esfuerço en que se le ha de volver una pintura que sabe en la pared donde se puso de cierta obra que se hizo. Ha se le dicho que señale la parte y se romperá la pared y se buscará,⁶¹

Pedro de Pacheco suggested that they paint her a copy sufficiently scratched and blurred to make it look like it had been hidden in the wall. Friar Pedro responded:

parece sueño éste de la pintura. Yo he visto quantas tiene en sus casas en las partes donde habitaba en todo aquél tiempo y no ay tal pintura; dezir que está en güeco de pared es cosa increíble y sin que se puede presumir a qué fin. Siempre me parece que el principal tope estriba en acomodar bien la salida de allí: q[ue] en su edad no es menos difficultosa que hazer la pintura sin original. Al principio se presumió que sería p[ar]a monesterio, y eso era más fácil y más grave expediente.⁶²

On 15 September don Francisco reported:

esta tarde a las tres se avía de hacer el entrego, y el sr. Don Pedro y io estuvimos en el lugar señalado con todo lo que se avía traído de Sigüenza y San Lúcar: y aviendo de venir el M^o Román con las prendas de la otra parte, no parece que le avisó, de que el sr. D. Pedro y el P[adr]e Suchet quedaron mui disgustados.⁶³

Four days later he sent friar Pedro copies of some of the correspondence exchanged in the interim, and added "por las copias de esos papeles verá VSI la variedad que hubo en tan pocas horas."⁶⁴ Oviedo added his opinion:

todos son achaques de quien tiene poca gana de desembarazarse del negocio, y

60. *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 8.9.1646, ff.140-1.

61. *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 15.9.1646, ff.142-3.

62. *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, 15.9.1646, ff.142-3.

63. *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 15.9.1646, ff.144-5.

64. *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 19.9.1646, ff.146-7.

menos en entender, pero con el papel que hizo y estos originales que están en mi poder no se atreverá ia a que el negocio salga en público y está amentren[t]ada con que la parte ausente pedirá por vía de reconvencción se le entregue lo que se le ofreció pues ha cumplido con lo que le pidieron. Ello parece se vendrá a ajustar con algún poco de tiempo, y no está tan favorecida del sr. Conde de Castrillo como publica.⁶⁵

The lady had obviously threatened to use her connections with Castrillo - what these involved it has been impossible to uncover - to use his influence against the Medinaceli faction. Friar Pedro, however, had his own contacts with Castrillo, and responded to this last advice that "más ha menester el sr. Conde de Castrillo armas que basquiñas."⁶⁶ This indicates that friar Pedro did not consider that Castrillo would aid the lady, as she, herself, could not provide him with anything useful.

The lady had changed her opinion and had now decided against the return of her papers. She now thought that Medinaceli's papers, which she held, were of more use to her than her own papers. On 22 September don Francisco reported:

aquella persona se ha cerrado de no entregar el instrumento y los demás papeles diciendo que no se usará de ellos, después de aver dado tanta prissa y contado las horas de los correos. El sr. D. Pedro se ha resuelto a que no se hable más en el entrego aviendo dado a entender que la otra parte está segura y sin cuidado con el papel que se hizo. De todos se quexa aora del religioso y del sr. D. Pedro y de VSI más que nadie porque dice que VSI ha sido el que ha mudado el dictamen de la otra parte en el matrimonio.⁶⁷

It is reasonable to assume that friar Pedro advised the Medinaceli familiar against marriage with doña Antonia, and also that at this date she had been induced to write a statement releasing him from his commitments. Friar Pedro, in his reply to this letter stated:

este género de personas deben de tener por flor traer a personas por parte embaraçadas y dependientes de su voluntad y formar quexas, de muchos también debe de ser concniente esta facultad.

Parece que la mat[er]i|a está fuera de peligro del ruido que se temía q[ue] es lo sustancial deste neg[oci]o⁶⁸

⁶⁵. *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 19.9.1646, ff.146-7.

⁶⁶. *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, 19.9.1646, ff.146-7.

⁶⁷. *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 22.9.1646, ff.148-9.

⁶⁸. *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, 22.9.1646, ff.148-9.

After this resolution on the part of Pedro de Pacheco, the affair remained dormant, while the three men left the lady to come to her senses. She had to decide, what, exactly, it was that she wanted.

The next turn in the affair was the return of the King to Court. Medinaceli feared that this would lead the lady to relate the whole affair directly to him.

The lady did not fail to play on this fear and at the beginning of December

1646 Pedro de Pacheco

acabara de saber que aquella señora escribía una carta a Su Ex[celencia] intimando la guerra con pretexto de que el negocio estava ya público y lo sabía el sr. Marqués de Villafranca, y se avían hecho juntas sobre él. Al sr. Don Pedro le dio grande pessadumbre, y me mande que fuesse luego a avisar el sr. Marqués que discurrió largo sobre los motivos de la mudanza y llego a pensar que si con la venida de Su Mag[esta]d y conferencias con estos señores ha hallado disposición para determinarse, o si es tentativa, o, amenaza porque si fuera resolución no parece escribiera a la parte que le quería tomar, sino lo tomara, si aora se llegase a rompimiento no avía de parecer bien el medio que se tomó para la conclusión, asegurando ella que en traiendo el instrumento o titulo, entregaría todos los recaudos que parava en su poder.⁶⁹

What exactly this title was is unclear.⁷⁰ On 21 December 1646 friar Pedro responded that “harto será si no da qu[en]ta al Rey, porq[ue] tenerle en casa y conocer su benignidad es grande ocasión”.⁷¹ However, the threat did not last for long in this instance as on 19 December Oviedo was able to report that the affair was in much better shape, and he had advised Medinaceli of the improvement. Friar Pedro replied:

importará mucho a su hacienda y quietud y más si hiziesse quenta q[ue] para sí no tiene más que a M[edi]na y p[ar]a su hijo el Marquesado de Alcalá como le he escrito estos días.⁷²

This touched once again on one of friar Pedro's constant themes: the Duke's finances did not permit him to treat things lightly or to have too much

⁶⁹. *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 12.12.1646, ff.182-5.

⁷⁰. Later, when doña Antonia began to talk of marriage with Benavente, they offered Benavente the Toison. However, at this stage it seems improbable that the title mentioned here was the Toison.

⁷¹. *Cartas*, Tapia to Oviedo, Medinaceli, 21.12.1646, ff.186-7.

⁷². *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, Medinaceli, 22.12.1646, ff.192-3.

pride.

In February 1647 Pedro de Pacheco made another visit to the lady in the Royal Palace. He reported back to Oviedo the results of his visit:

La conclusi3n fue que si la parte ausente no se ordenava de orden sacro que ella sabía lo que avía de hacer, y sabía que le pessaría y se acordaría toda la vida, y si dixesse que sí, entregaría todos los papeles a persona indiferente que los tuviesse asta que se cumpliesse con la condici3n y todo esto con tanto brio que el sr. D. Pedro vino maravillado ... he pensando [*sic*] como tiene al sr. D. Pedro cassi por la parte formal quiso mostrar aquellos aceros para ver los que hallava en la respuesta. Passó un lance gracioso, la pieza era mui pequeña y empeçó a hablar en voz más alta de la que pedía el tamaño de la pieza y la urbanidad (de que presumió el sr. D. Pedro tenía puestas personas para que escuchassen) y respondiola en el mismo tono porque era negando entonces le dixo que bajase la voz a que replicó, no falto a la cortesía pues hablo en el mismo punto que V habló⁷³.

The affair was subsequently complicated by the marriage contracts that Medinaceli was negotiating for his children - Antonia de la Cerda with Gaspar de Haro, Marquis of Liche, and of his two sons with two daughters of the Duke of Cardona.⁷⁴ These contracts were additionally complicated by the involvement of the Benavides family, connections of the lady at Court. At the end of February 1647 there was also some gossip at Court regarding the possible marriage of Medinaceli himself to a daughter of the Count of Palma. Oviedo remarked:

me ha causado grande duda la plática, por parecerme [*sic*] ajena del dictamen que ha mostrado, y por mala saç3n asta tener conchlussos los tratados de sus hijos y por el peligro de si llegara a entender la proposici3n la parte de el M^o Román no tardaría un punto en romper y declararse.⁷⁵

This danger soon disappeared, because the gossip regarding Medinaceli's marriage was completely unfounded. Five days later Oviedo was able to report:

⁷³. *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 20.2.1647, ff.223-4.

⁷⁴. There was a potential contract to marry Medinaceli's two sons to two daughters of the Duke of Cardona and the Duchess of Lerma. The contract did not come to fruition because finally only Medinaceli's eldest son, Juan Francisco Tomás Lorenzo, married Catalina de Aragón y Sandoval, the eldest daughter of Cardona. The Duke of Cardona was allying himself to the Benavides family with his second daughter, Francisca, marrying Francisco de Benavides, future ninth Count of Santisteban, while he himself, in second nuptials, married María de Benavides the sister of Francisco. Carraffa, *op cit.*, Vol.15, 1924.

⁷⁵. *Cartas*, Oviedo to Tapia, 27.2.1647, ff.231-2.

aquel negocio de la parte de Román estaba desencorvado, porque ha sabido de cierto que se trata aora con veras lo que otras veces se ha dicho del sr. Conde de Benavente, que será salir de un gran cuidado. [Medinaceli] Dixome también que aquel negocio que le escribieron [sobre matrimonios de sus hijos] ... yo referí lo que me avía pasado con el secret[ari]o de la señora a quien he llevado estos días las cartas⁷⁶, y que entre otras cossas me dexo de aire que le faltava poco, no está concludo, pero mi ama es la que más lo esfuerça por lo pagada que está de la relación de la niña, entonces dixo el sr. Don Pedro pues si su ama insiste, consiguíralo porque es mui activa.⁷⁷

Friar Pedro replied to this latest advice regarding Benavides' sister:

de lo que toca la s[ñe]o[ra] dudo, si el otro negocio desvaneçe porq[ue] parece de fuerte aprehensión y *todos quedaremos menos favorecidos*. Antes hallo congruencias considerables de quietud y ganancia de tiempo. Más hasta ver el *fin no dexaré de procurar conservar el favor*. Y nunca se le desmereceré.⁷⁸

This comment reveals exactly why friar Pedro, don Francisco and Pedro de Pacheco were so assiduous in working to preserve Medinaceli's reputation at Court. If Medinaceli's affairs did not prosper they would all lose influence and position. Although friar Pedro claimed that his loss of favour would allow him more time for spiritual contemplation, the constant references Lorea makes to friar Pedro's request to be allowed to return to his friary can be seen to be turns of phrase.

At the end of March Oviedo was able to report that "el negocio de Román está sosegado y se entiende que el tratado con Benavente está mui adelante q[ue] sería gran desahogo si se affetuase."⁷⁹ In mid-April friar Pedro commented that "éste caminará bien todo el tiempo q[ue] camina hacia

⁷⁶ . This lady was the sister of Antonio de Benavides. Antonio was the brother of the eighth Count of Santisteban, Diego de Benavides. The eighth Count was married in third nuptials to a second cousin of Medinaceli, Ana de Silva y Manrique de la Cerda, grand-daughter of the Sixth Count of Cifuentes and Blanca de la Cerda, great-aunt of Medinaceli. Antonio and Diego de Benavides also had four sisters: Antonia, Leonor, Luisa and María. However, considering the position of the Countess of Santisteban in the Palace and the involvement of the affair with the marriages of her husband's children it seems safe to assume that the lady mentioned here was Ana. Antonio de Benavides was Archbishop of Tiro, *Capellán y Limosnero Mayor, Comisario de Cruzada* and Patriarch of the Indies from 4.7.1679 to his death on 22.1.1691. See Félix Ruiz García, "Patriarcado de Indias y Vicario General Castrense", in *Revista de Derecho Canónico*, 23, (1967), pp. 449-71, p.467.

⁷⁷ . *Cartas*, Oviedo to Tapia, 2.3.1647, ff.237-8.

⁷⁸ . *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, 2.3.1647, ff.237-8, my emphasis.

⁷⁹ . *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 29.3.1647, ff.249-50.

Venabente [*sic*].⁸⁰ The temperament of the lady still did not lend itself to a speedy conclusion. It was not until the beginning of June that don Francisco was able to report:

el negocio de Román está en buen estado aunque la parte no se contenta con La merced de ocho mill ducados de renta⁸¹ y en razón de honores los que quisiere, porque aspirava a ocupación u officio grande y amenaza que se irá al convento de San Quirce de Valladolid⁸² y habló a Su Mag[esta]d queixándose vivam[en]te. La con dificultad podrá volver a lo que se intentó⁸³ y dice Su Ex[celenci]a que si se acaba este negocio con bien lo han dispuesto las oraciones de VSI.⁸⁴

Friar Pedro was quite unimpressed by the lady's new threats. "Si le deben estas mer[ce]des, - escribió - bién. Pero si no, muy poca fuerça me hizieran esas amenazas."⁸⁵ The lady must have felt the force of this argument, because at the beginning of July Pedro de Pacheco told Oviedo:

escribiesse a San Lúcar como la parte de Román estava contenta ia con las mercedes, porque el marido de su ama⁸⁶ la dixo que en materia de honores pidiesse lo que le estubiesse bien por hallarse con tan grande aprieto de hacienda y los ocho mill ds. de renta q[uan]do le avían ofrecido antes se han convertido en merced de Tuson, llave de la cámara con exercicio y cuatro mill ds. de renta, con esto se despachó luego proprio al hombre de Benabente que creen lo acetará, y refieren que dixo la parte de acá que si no se contentaba era señal que no quería casarse.⁸⁷

In 1641, due to her position as *Dama de la Reina*, doña Antonia de Mendoza was granted an income of 1,800 *ducados* a year.⁸⁸ Amongst the papers in her file in the *Palacio Nacional* is one referring to the *merced* granted her from the King "de tuson y llave de entrada para el dicho sr. Conde [de Benavente] y de 4Vds. de Renta por dos bidas y una vida más para tres mil ds."⁸⁹ This confirms the identity of the lady, and the quantities of money involved,

⁸⁰ . *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, 17.4.1647, ff.263-4.

⁸¹ . The enormous size of this payment - bigger than the dowry offered to Medinaceli's daughter - points to the fact that both the lady and the gentleman involved had to be of the highest nobility. It makes it even more frustrating that it is impossible to uncover the exact nature of the information the lady held.

⁸² . The significance of this choice of convent is unclear.

⁸³ . This refers to the lady's desire for the ordaining of the other party.

⁸⁴ . *Cartas*, Oviedo to Tapia, 5.6.1647, ff.283-6.

⁸⁵ . *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, Almazán, 5.6.1647, ff.283-6.

⁸⁶ . See note 76.

⁸⁷ . *Cartas*, Oviedo to Tapia, 10.7.1647, ff.295-6.

⁸⁸ . Palacio Nacional, C^a2651/12, *op cit*.

⁸⁹ . *Ibid.*

along with the elevated nature of the honours - the Toison was one of the highest honours - confirms the potential danger the lady could inflict to Medinaceli's reputation.

The two correspondents only returned to speak of the matter twice more in which they commented that the Count of Benavente was not entirely satisfied with the *merced*. From their point of view, however, the possible damage to Medinaceli's reputation had been controlled. Oviedo commented that "lo mejor que tiene el negocio que ia en este estado no puede dar passos atrás de lo que se temía".⁹⁰ As already stated, on 17 May 1648 the tenth Count of Benavente, Juan Alonso Pimentel de León, married Antonia de Mendoza in the Royal Palace in Madrid.⁹¹

This examination of the correspondents' comments on their relations with their noble patron provides a valuable insight into the internal workings of a faction. It also provides an opening to the world of connections and interests which characterized the seventeenth-century Court. It has been seen how the clients worked, especially at Court, to preserve their patron's *reputación*, and indicates the political value that this was deemed to hold for its owner. It has been seen how Francisco de Oviedo reported and collected information on those involved in the affair, and how Pedro de Pacheco worked as the Duke's negotiator with the lady in Madrid. It has also been seen how friar Pedro used his position as bishop to provide his patron with the licence he needed - the *dimisorias* - to resolve this crisis. The way friar Pedro performed his role as the Duke's spiritual adviser to direct and admonish has also been demonstrated. It is possible that both friar Pedro and don Francisco could have maintained their positions despite the fall from grace of their patron, but their influence and possibilities for

⁹⁰. *Cartas*, Oviedo to Tapia, 10.7.1647, ff.295-6.

⁹¹. Palacio Nacional, C^a2651/12, *op cit*.

advancement would have been severely circumscribed. This latter problem will be examined in detail in chapter 7.

The sources analysed here confirm that a patron needed his clients as much as his clients needed him. He needed his clients to protect his reputation from the results of his own actions and those of his relatives - the lady and the withdrawal from Court of the Duke of Alba. The patron needed his clients to represent him at Court, while he was unavoidably absent. The patron needed his clients to advise him on the best course of action to take. Through the clients' positions as counsellors, the clients attempted to control and rationalize the actions of the patron in order to maintain the influence of the faction. Within this framework the normal human emotions prevalent in friendship also had their part to play. Friar Pedro despaired of Medinaceli's thoughtless actions, he was irritated by the Duke's attempts to play the theologian. Oviedo was extremely reluctant to help the Duke by going to Saragossa to plead his case with the King, because his family commitments did not permit him to leave Madrid. The Duke, in his turn, made references to friar Pedro's mistrust of him, and wrote to Oviedo that if he could count on a prelate as a friend his affairs would run more smoothly. In the end their mutual friendship maintained their relationship intact, more than their mutual interest, although any attempt to separate the two would prove fruitless.

Chapter 4

The Wrath of God

In the last chapter the the problem of personal morality was investigated along with the significance of not allowing private sins to become public scandals. In the second volume of *Catena moralis* Pedro de Tapia discusses the reasons why scandal is a sin.¹ In this chapter, the obsession of the Catholic Monarchy with the idea of the wrath of God will be examined. In particular, Philip IV's conviction that his own guilt was responsible for this punishment will be explored. As a result of this conviction Philip was moved to attempt a moral reform of the Monarchy, with the aim of placating God's wrath. This reform project will be explained, together with the influences which moved Philip to instigate it. It is hoped to show that a decisive part in the start of this movement was played by Philip's confessor, Juan de Santo Tomás, and that his ideas were supported by the Medinaceli/Tapia faction. This moral reform will be studied from three points of reference: the reform of customs in the Monarchy, ecclesiastical reform and the debate surrounding the theatre. Within these three areas political considerations will be taken into account.

In Philip IV's correspondence with sor María de Ágreda the monarch's sense of his own guilt is apparent. In March 1645 he wrote that "Lo que más me atemoriza es ver mis culpas, que ellas solas bastan a provocar la ira de Nuestro Señor".² This sense of guilt was amply fuelled by sor María who repeatedly stressed that "el castigo que nos envía Dios como Padre amoroso"³ is the consequence of our sins. She also urged Philip to tackle the problem of public sins and to chose ministers able to do this: "Que tenga

¹ . Pedro de Tapia, *Catena moralis*, Seville, 1654, Vol. II, Liber Tertius, Q. XVI, (De Scandalo). His conclusions are similar to those of Castillo de Bovadilla, *op cit*.

² . María de Ágreda, *Correspondencia con Felipe IV*, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, (BAE), Vol.108, Madrid, 1958, Philip, Saragossa, 25.3.1645, p.15.

³ . *Ibid.*, Sor María, 1.8.1645, p.29.

V.M. ministros fieles, temerosos y celosos, que sin otro fin ayuden a la reformati3n de los vicios.”⁴

This encouragement of the reform of public morality in the Monarchy was not exclusive to sor María. It was shared by other religious and by politicians. Likewise, the idea of the Catholic Monarchy being punished by a wrathful God was not the monopoly of the nun. It was shared by the majority of the population and was strengthened by the sense of crisis prevalent in the Monarchy. In the late fifteenth century and early sixteenth century the Iberian peninsula had been blessed by economic prosperity and territorial expansion. It was obvious to the subjects of the Monarchy that this was due to their being the chosen race, as was made evident in the expulsion of the Jews in 1492 and the creation of a truly *Catholic* kingdom, free from the heresy which afflicted all the other European states at the time. With the Portuguese rebellion and the Catalan revolt of 1640, the reality of divine wrath towards the Monarchy could not be ignored. As Castile continued to be truly Catholic, the only explanation for this divine wrath had to be the deficiencies in the morality of the Monarchy. God was “irritado de los pecados de este Reino”.⁵

The head of the Catholic Monarchy was the King. It was he who was directly responsible to God for the morality of the Monarchy. In 1643 the King’s new confessor, friar Juan de Santo Tomás, wrote a summary of the main “sins” committed by Philip as a result of his bad stewardship of his position as King:

1. The first point, predictably, was the *valido*: “Porque los Reyes no pueden poner en otro el poder que Dios les ha dado.”
2. The tributes placed on the Church were “sin licencia especial y expresa del

⁴ . *Ibid.*, Sor María, 18.11.1644, p.14.

⁵ . *Ibid.*, Sor María, 17.10.1644, p.12.

Papa." Also the failure to ensure bishops lived in their diocese, part of Philip's responsibility, was an offence to God. Most publicly Cardinal Borja "es el mayor reparo" and offence against the "ley de Dios".

3. "El vender hábitos militares tiene gravísimo escrúpulo."
4. "La guerra trae necesariamente consigo tantos desórdenes ... [que] pocas veces se justifica la guerra imbasiva."
5. "falta de justicia y disciplina militar"
6. "el manejo de dinero" y "los gastos supérfluos".
7. "el añadir plaças supernumerarias en los consejos."
8. "el hazerse tantas juntas"
9. "el dar muchos oficios y cargos a uno solo"
10. "los ministros ... no cuidan el bien común."
11. "Los pecados *públicos* de blasfemias, juramentos, deshonestidades y otros semejantes han crecido mucho y no se pone remedio. Esto irrita grandemente la ira de Dios."⁶

Philip, as King, was deemed responsible for this vast catalogue of problems, and it is with sympathy that his following comment can be viewed:

Estad cierta - escribió a sor María - que hago quanto alcanzo para cumplir con mi obligación y satisfacer lo menos mal que puedo a tantas cargas que Dios puso sobre mí.⁷

So, what exactly, did Philip intend to do about his moral obligation?

Addressing himself to the problem of public scandal in 1646, Philip wrote the following letter to the President of Castile, Juan Chumacero y Carrillo:

Aunque parezca de suyo dificultoso reformar los trages que en hombres y mugeres han llegado a exceder de la decencia, y moderación devida, y de lo que se acostumbraba en España, quando se vivía con mayor atención al punto y obligaciones de sus naturales. Viendo que el exceso parece que toca ya en liviandad, y deshorden he tenido por de mi obligación tratar del remedio en la

⁶ . Cueto, *op cit.*, p.136, quotation of paper of friar Juan. In the following chapter the problems regarding money and the army will be looked at, but in this chapter the points 1,2 and 11 will be examined.

⁷ . BAE, *op cit.*, Philip, Saragossa, 6.6.1645, p.20.

forma que se pudiere, y porque ninguno será mayor, ni más eficaz de suyo, que el exemplo de mi real casa; he tenido por conbeniente que dentro de ella, hombres y mugeres cumpliendo con sus obligaciones y buen natural más que en fuerza de advertimientos procuren escusar todo aquello que llegare a ser abuso, y inmoderación.⁸

Philip went on to write that in “esta materia de la reformación de los trages la he resuelto conformándome con el parecer de los ministros.”⁹ The reason he wished to implement the reform in his household was

por la misma constitución del tiempo, y de la Guerra, no puede dar lugar a que se ajuste todo como combiene, sólo el exemplo mío y de mi casa y de mis Ynmediatos ministros en las suyas *puede bastar con el favor de Dios*.¹⁰

It is clear from this statement that such affairs were considered as a means to the result of winning God’s favour. At the same time the idea of only setting an example was not seen as sufficient by Francisco de Oviedo, who wrote to friar Pedro on 10 March 1646:

Han dicho que estaban imprimiendo premáticas quitando los guardainfantes y escolado de las mujeres, y los guedejas y medios de pelo a los hombres. Oi dixeron que Su Mag[esta]d no avía venido en ellos sino por exemplo y orden del Consejo ... Todo será mui acertado, pero no por premática.¹¹

Apart from the example of his royal household, Philip, under the influence of friar Juan de Santo Tomás, had previously attempted to reform customs by reforming the clergy and the ecclesiastical community. On 7.6.1644 he sent the Chamber of Castile the following letter from Fraga:

En tiempo en que aprieta tanto la obligación en que estoy de procurar *aplar en Dios* en la reformación de costumbres de todos mis súbditos debo atender con particular cuidado a aquellos eclesiásticos que son como espejo de los demás vivan exemplarmente. El desvelo del Consejo en la buena execución de las órdenes que ay para esto siempre es grande y muchos los advertimientos que se han hecho a los Prelados a este fin encargándoles con particularidad que se procuren evitar las comunicaciones frequentes en conventos de religiosas donde qualquier exceso que aia enoja más a Dios; ... representándoles [a los Prelados] lo que io confio de su celo. Y cuidando en cumplir con su obligación en todo lo que mira a reformación de costumbres de eclesiásticos y seglares castigando *los pecados que huviere públicos, y escandalosos*, y procurando evitar en quanto lo fuere posible la comunicación y correspondencia continua en conventos de religiosas y ordenándoles que cada seis meses embien relación a vos el presidente del Consejo ... se tenga mucha atención a los que se ventajaren en zelo y fervor de remediar ofensas de Dios ... y será bien encargar a los corregidores lo que les toca en la parte

⁸ . BN MSS 13.165, Philip IV to Chumacero, f.185 r.

⁹ . *Ibid.*

¹⁰ . *Ibid.*, my emphasis.

¹¹ . *Cartas*, Oviedo to Tapia, 10.3.1646, ff.38-9.

As can be seen the problem was not one of sin in general but one of public and scandalous sins. Philip relied on his prelates to rectify the matter. A prelate, being pastor of a defined territory, needed to make visitations to his diocese in order to remedy public sins. Residence within the diocese was obviously essential for a bishop to be able to perform this function, as had been laid down at the Council of Trent. This was why the residence of Cardinal Borja at Court constituted, in the eyes of friar Juan, a public failure on the part of Philip IV of his moral duty.

During the two years 1646-7 friar Pedro spent three weeks outside his bishopric on a visit to the King in Saragossa, and nine months on visitations of his diocese. "As the crow flies" he travelled a total of more than 295 kilometres on these visits and visited over 30 different towns.¹³ Along with friar Juan, friar Pedro believed that an essential way to improve public morality in the Monarchy was by improving the instruction of the people by the clergy. One of the principal problems they both saw, was the ignorance of the clergy. It was to this end that they both produced books on Christian doctrine.¹⁴ Friar Pedro believed that this situation was created, in part, by the clergy being elected to their positions by secular authorities, with little or no regard to their fitness for office.

In June 1646 friar Pedro wrote to don Francisco:

En materia de las reverendas ha sido necess[ari]o estrechar y aún en hazer órdenes por[que] he hallado alg[un]a relaxación no por falta de los señores ob[is]pos sino de examinadores y de sede vacantes y assí por agora suspendo la expedición del mem[ori]al de Angona [un contacto de Oviedo] pero será bien advertirle q[ue] aunq[ue] esté ordenado de orden sacro procuro entender el valor y cóngua de el benif[ic]io y q[ue] se ha de examinar en moral para admynistrar sacram[en]tos por[que] ay muchos ecclesiásticos y muy pocos Mynistros, y q[ue] ay examen de canto llano por[que] se va desterrando de la Ig[lesi]a el canto tan

12 . AHN, Consejos, Leg. 15.240, f.3(2), Philip IV to the Chamber of Castile, my emphasis.

13 . See Appendix VI for a map of friar Pedro's visitations.

14 . Juan de Santo Tomás, *Doctrina cristiana*, Madrid, 1645. Pedro de Tapia, *Doctrina christiana*, Madrid, 1769.

estimado y usado en la antigüedad por los señores pastores y Doctores Basilio, Ambrosio, Agustín, etc, y oy padece la Iglesia gran desdoro. Poniendo la mira solo en disfrutar la Iglesia y acomodar su vida temporal.¹⁵

Apart from carrying out examinations of priests during his visitations of his diocese, friar Pedro also undertook periodic examinations in Sigüenza. Lorea states that on 25.11.1645 friar Pedro wrote to Innocent X to request that he produce a Bull to stop priests being appointed by secular authorities. This was because the priests were “muchas veces indignos, y de poca ciencia.”¹⁶ He also requested that Innocent “mande que sean [los curas] examinados frecuentemente por los obispos”,¹⁷ and added that “el estado sacerdotal necesita de reformation: porque se admiten al estado Religioso a muchos que no sirven más que de azer número.”¹⁸

After the death of Cardinal Borja in December 1645, Cardinal Sandoval was translated from Jaén to the Archbishopric of Toledo. Sandoval had developed a considerable reputation for holiness while in Jaén, and from his position as Archbishop he attempted to continue the reform of the Monarchy. One of his first actions in December 1646 was to order all priests to their bishoprics. Friar Pedro remarked to Oviedo that “esto es muy bien hecho y uno de los puntos que ha muchos días he propuesto a Su Mag[esta]d”.¹⁹ In February 1647 don Francisco reported:

ha salido un edicto del sr. Card[ena]l de Toledo quitando la seda y reformando el traje de los clerigos pena de excomunion maior y el tomar tabaco antes de celebrar [misa] y después inmediate[m]te.²⁰

Friar Pedro replied that “mui bien exemplo nos da el sr. Card[ena]l y es consuelo que tengamos seguras las espaldas en las apelaciones de la reforma.”²¹

¹⁵. *Cartas*, Tapia to Oviedo, Medinaceli, 19.12.1646, ff.188-91.

¹⁶. Lorea, *op cit.*, p.127.

¹⁷. *Ibid.*, p.127.

¹⁸. *Ibid.*, p.127.

¹⁹. *Cartas*, Tapia to Oviedo, Medinaceli, 19.12.1646, ff.188-91.

²⁰. *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 16.2.1647, ff.221-2.

²¹. *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, 16.2.1647, ff.221-2.

This last statement referred to the system of appeal which ecclesiastics and clerics could make against judgements made against them in the ecclesiastical tribunal. The ecclesiastical courts worked in a similar way to the civil judicial system, with appeals being made to the bishop, then the archbishop, then the Pope. An added complication was caused to this system by the presence of a papal nuncio in Madrid, and the position of the nuncio caused great problems in the reign of Philip IV when relations with the Papacy were particularly tense.²²

There were various papers written about the necessity of reforming the nunciature. The main points in question were as follows:

no se les quite a los obispos la primera instancia porque sus flijligreses litiguen ante ellos. No sean sacados fuera de sus tierras y con esta consideración ... manda que los vasallos no sean citados por los jueces eclesiásticos para la caveza del obispado, o arçobispado *teniendo otros jueces inferiores* ... y quando se hace desta manera y quita la jurisdicción a los prelados dice el derecho que se confunde la jurisdicción eclesiástica ... con esto queda frustada la jurisdicción del metropolitano porque de ordinario de qualquier juez inferior se appela al nuncio ... y las partes andan gastando por diversos lugares fuera de sus tierras y *se alargan los pleitos con mayores costas* ... Lo qual no admite el derecho canónico que manda que los pleitos se despachen con Brevedad y a menos costa a las partes.²³

It can be seen here that the problem was not simply one of morality, but also of jurisdiction. If the nuncio was resolving litigation he was effectively removing power from the bishops by infringing on their jurisdiction.

There was a moral dimension to the problem, however:

Con esto los Pleytos en aquella casa [del Nuncio] son inmortales, porque se pone la mira en multiplicar artículos, los naturales de estos Reynos se desangran, consumen la vida y la hacienda, vienense a esta Corte los eclesiásticos, aquí se están por ventura mal entretenidos, los regulares contrabiendo al voto de pobreza, estudian trazas, y medios para sacar dinero, y negociar en casa del Nuncio.²⁴

The problem was specifically Spanish in character, "siendo como es esta

22 . Quintín Aldea Vaquero, "Iglesia y Estado en la época barroca", in Espasa-Calpe *Historia de España*, Vol.25, Madrid, 19, pp.525-633.

23 . BN MSS 6.743, N° 5.

24 . AHN, Estado, Leg. 3.522, s.f.

nación inclinada a pleitos es bien quitarles la ocasión de seguirlos".²⁵

One of the most common reasons for disputes within the Orders concerned the election of superiors or Vicar Generals. One of friar Pedro's principal objectives on his visitation of 1646 was to resolve the problem of the election of a superior in a convent in Valfermosa.²⁶ In February 1644 friar Juan de Santo Tomás advised the Chamber of Castile on the litigation being pursued by the Augustinian Order in Andalusia over the election of a Vicar General. In his paper friar Juan underlined the problems of litigation and the need for reform in the Religious Orders:

Señor, estas materias de reformation de religiones como he significado a V. Mgd. son de las más arduas y dificiles que ai y así están sujetas a mucha discusión y disputa. ...

El Religioso por su profesión no tiene voluntad. Está más sujeto y más yncapaz de injurias respecto a su Prelado que el esclavo a su señor excepto en aquellas cosas que son contra la regla y votos sustanziales contra lo qual el Prelado no puede mandar ...

Son muchas más las relaxaciones que por esta puerta se abren porque se hacen los religiosos tan forenses tan aseglarados y al estilo de los litigiosos que jamás entran en observanzia si dan en pleitear. Es imposible señor reformar religiones si V. Mgd. por su regalia y soberana potestad no les enseña a sufrir agravios (si los son) pues *toda la perfección y reformation religiosa consiste en cóleras y sufrir y eso es su profesión.*

[Estos problemas se resolverán] particularmente si se Alcanzase que el Nuncio no se entremeta en causas religiosas ... es mucho de considerar las consequenzias que hace en un Religioso el poder litigar en Tribunales de fuera de su Religión ... [porque cuesta dinero que no tienen y] vienen a sacar grandes cantidades de misas defraudando a las Animas de Purgatorio ... [hay que prevenir] aquellos Provinziales que se litigan con tanta porfia y escándalo y para evitar de presente las ofensas a n[uest]ro señor ... había de haver recurso al Nuncio o al Consejo por vía de fuerza y mientras estas puertas no se cierran o se usa dellas con grande moderación y con expreso mandato que *ni el tribunal del Nuncio ni en los despachos y oficiales del Consejo* en causas religiosos se pueda llevar un solo maravedí no a de aver testigo si se hordenare que destas caussas no se saque emolumento por despacho Alguno. Se desharán todos como humo.²⁷

The main problems outlined by friar Juan were that litigation led to spending money which Religious Orders did not have, due to their vows of poverty. This led them to commit fraudulent practices in order to raise money. Litigation led them to dissatisfaction with their religious life and a

²⁵ . BN MSS 6.743, *op cit.*

²⁶ . *Cartas*, Tapia to Oviedo, 11.4.1646, ff.62-4.

²⁷ . AHN, Consejos, Leg. 15.240, f.5(3).

search for temporal improvement instead of resignation to suffering. The open nature of the disputes created public gossip and scandal which was an offence to God.

Friar Juan was a Dominican. The dispute on which he gave his opinion concerned Augustinians. As he himself noted, “de ordinario los que hablen de fuera en lo tocante al gobierno y estylo de qualquiera religión se ponen a peligro de errar”.²⁸ His involvement with what was, essentially, an internal Augustinian affair was likely to provoke antagonism within the Order. Amongst the papers of the Chamber of Castile, which deal almost exclusively with appointments to ecclesiastical positions, the only papers relating to the moral reform of the Monarchy coincide with friar Juan holding the post of Confessor Royal. This suggests, apart from the importance to friar Juan of the question of moral reform, a willingness to confront, not only a particular Order, but also the Chamber itself, for his criticisms regarding litigation do not confine themselves to the nuncio, they also include the Council of Castile and the Chamber. This stance must have provoked resistance from those members of the Council who profited from litigation amongst the Orders.

It is interesting to note that in order to continue the reform of public morality in the Monarchy, the Tapia faction used its influence to obtain a public ban of the theatre. The debate over the moral propriety of the theatre had raged since the beginning.²⁹ Philip II banned theatre in 1597, but it was reinstated by Philip III, although strictly censored. Its popularity reached its zenith in the early years of the reign of Philip IV, due, largely, to the interest

²⁸ . BN MSS 2.789, f.92.

²⁹ . Antonio García Berrio, *Intolerancia de poder y protesta popular en el Siglo de Oro: Los debates sobre la licitud moral del teatro*, Málaga, 1978. This work is written by a literature specialist and deals mainly with what the author considers to be the “barbarity” and “unreasonableness” of the attempt to prohibit literature. It does not include any attempt to understand the position of the opponents of theatre.

of the Queen, Isabel de Borbón. There were two principal types of theatre: religious plays - *autos sacramentales* - and secular plays - *comedias*. Initially theatre had been organized on an *ad hoc* basis by *cofradías* which used any profits made to finance hospitals. As the business became more established, and permanent theatres opened, the promoter, or "franchise holder", paid the hospitals a fee set by the Council of Castile, and any profit or loss above this was kept.³⁰ Comedies were intermitently suspended for a period of months following deaths in the royal family. Hence, they were instantly banned in 1644, following the death of Isabel de Borbón. Even so, they were reinstated in May 1645. In March 1646 the theatre was banned but his time on purely moral grounds. Before analysing the debate over the theatre, a brief analysis of the major themes of the comedies is necessary in order to judge the validity of the protest. In *El teatro en el siglo XVII: ciclo de Lope de Vega*, José Luis Sirera states:

la comedia barroca, como espectáculo de masas, tiene un carácter propogandístico destinado a fortalecer una sociedad determinada basada sobre todo en el orden tridentino y la monarquía absoluta.³¹

Comedies reinforced five basic values: love, marriage, absolute monarchy, social structure and honour. Love appeared to overcome social barriers, but in the resolution the lower-class lover invariably tended to be in effect upper class. All love ended in marriage. Comedies planted the idea that the woman could chose her own husband, but, in the end, the daughter always agreed with her father. The monarchy was presented as the foundation of society and the king as perfect. Comedies always presented the difference in estates as just and normal. Nobles were beautiful, rich and heroic. The labourer was virtuous. Intellectuals and traders, meanwhile, were ridiculed.

³⁰ . José María Díez Borque, *El teatro en el siglo XVII*, Madrid, 1988, pp.13-22.

³¹ . José Luis Sirera, *El teatro en el siglo XVII: ciclo de Lope de Vega*, Madrid, 1983, p.91. Sirera uses the term "absolute monarchy" without any seeming awareness of the debate over the existence or not of an absolute monarchy in Spain. However, the Lope de Vega comedies uphold an ideal of a perfect and absolute monarch.

Many comedies dealt with the theme of honour which often required vengeance.³² Comedies often played with these concepts and sometimes undermined them. To modern eyes, however, they generally appear as an effective propaganda machine to enforce the status quo.

In the *Summa Theologiae* part 2, section 2, questions 86 and 168, article 3, Aquinas writes that plays are to be considered as an “acto indiferente”. Hence, the Council of Castile maintained that Aquinas did not disapprove of plays. On 30.10.1646 friar Pedro wrote a letter to the King to refute this argument.³³ In 1650, in response to a tract sent him by the President of Castile, Diego de Riaño y Gamboa, Medinaceli stated that the defence of comedies “no trahe para la justificación de las comedias otro santo que el Angélico D[octo]r Santo Tomás”.³⁴ The authors did this, not because Aquinas justified comedies but because it was the best way to justify them. Medinaceli wrote that, regarding the use of the *Summa* 2,2,q168,art.3,

es que advertir que el Santo trata de los juegos³⁵ [como acto indiferente] de los quales dice en el cuerpo del mismo artículo, que si usan de palabras feas, i torpes, es pecado mortal.³⁶

He went on to add that “en el punto de las comedias habla Santo Thomás expresamente reprobándolas en la 2^a2^aq.167 art.2”³⁷ “i Cai[e]tano comentando este artículo dice, que los hombres graves pecan viendo comedias.”³⁸ All moral matters came within the domain of theology and in seventeenth-century Spain Aquinas dominated theology.

One of the principal reasons for the ban on comedies was the presence of women in them. Women acted in the comedies and they also went to see

³² . *Ibid.*, pp.92-102.

³³ . Lorea, *op cit.*, p.157.

³⁴ . BN MSS 17.682, f.114 v.

³⁵ . Cards, dice, etc.

³⁶ . *Ibid.*, f.114 v.

³⁷ . *Ibid.*, f.116 r.

³⁸ . *Ibid.*, f.116 v.

them. The seventeenth-century audience was divided between the classes and the sexes. From 1602 women had a special enclosure made for them, which separated them entirely from the male spectators. The Jesuit Juan de Mariana claimed that women often went to the theatre an hour before the play started in order to be ogled at and admired by the men present. In 1609 he wrote with reference to female theatre goers:

quitada la vergüenza y menospreciado el cuidado de la casa antes de mediodía dejan las casas, por tomar lugar a propósito para ver la comedia que a la tarde representa.³⁹

The attack against comedies centred around the fact that they incited sin. The major reason they did this was that women acted in them and thus

encienden el fuego de los apetitos sensuales con las músicas y bailes lascivos y las representaciones deshonestas con que las mugeres afeitadas y libres incitan a los hombres y despiertan los apetitos.⁴⁰

Most people, according to friar Juan de Santo Tomás, lived their life in the *vía purgativa*⁴¹, where their object was to avoid sin. In *Doctrina cristiana* friar Juan clearly stated that Christians had an obligation to avoid any situation which tempted them to sin. Comedies clearly fell into this category.

Friar Pedro believed that the populace should read the lives of saints in order to be able to emulate them. He also believed that all leisure pursuits were invitations to the devil. Reading, however, if it had a moral aim, was not a leisure pursuit. One of the major concerns regarding comedies was that they were put on stage and were, therefore, a *public scandal*. - The protestors likewise disapproved of bull-fighting on the same principle. - All the authors agreed that if comedies had only been books, they would not have had such an impact, as no-one would read them. Thus, the work of

³⁹ . Emilio Cotarelo y Mori, *Bibliografía de las controversias sobre la licitud del teatro en España*, Madrid, 1904, p.94.

⁴⁰ . *Ibid.*, p.58.

⁴¹ . *Dones, op cit.*, p.6-7.

Lope de Vega was pernicious, less for its content, than for its impact on the masses.

In an anonymous defence of comedies sent to Diego de Riaño y Gamboa in 1650, the author claimed that “la comedia [es] una de las más provechosas i necesarias acciones de la República.”⁴² He went on to say that the villains always came to a bad end while the virtuous always succeeded. Thus, comedies provided moral education for the masses through a medium which they could understand. He added: “qué arbitrio se puede buscar para enseñar la ignorancia de la Juventud, que siempre se aborrezca la escuela, mejor que el ingenioso Poeta?”⁴³ The author then argued that “no es dudable que la comedia es más necesaria, i conveniente que la historia,”⁴⁴ since theatre concerned the past, not as it was, but as it *should* have been. The opponents of theatre were equally concerned to show only those parts of the past which were *exemplary*, rather than as it had actually been. Hence Melchor de Cabrera y Guzmán could argue that comedies “dan ocasión a mucha enseñanza y doctrina.”⁴⁵ Both sides agreed that the populace was influenced by what they saw, and both concurred in that the populace needed moral guidance by their superiors. The Council of Castile noted in 1648 that “la comedia es espejo de la vida humana”⁴⁶ and all love ends in “los decentes fines del matrimonio”.⁴⁷ Ironically, the defenders of comedies had the advantage over their opponents in that they knew, from experience, what took place in the plays. Their opponents, on the other hand, were almost unanimous in never having been to the theatre.

In *Intolerancia de poder* Antonio García Berrio states that the King was led

42 . BN MSS 17.682, f.101 v.

43 . *Ibid.*, f.107 r.

44 . *Ibid.*, f.108 r.

45 . Cotarelo, *op cit.*, p.94.

46 . *Ibid.*, p.167.

47 . *Ibid.*, p.167.

into prohibiting comedies by “la histeria apocalíptica de monjas arbitristas”,⁴⁸ - presumably sor María de Ágreda, and of course it was friar Juan who had promoted the correspondence between Philip and sor María.⁴⁹ In his tract against comedies the Dominican Crespí de Borja wrote:

me consta bastantemente que el P[adre] Fr[ay] Juan de Santo Tomás confesor de S[u] M[ajesta]d, varón del espíritu y doctrina que todos saben, deseó y procuró desterrar las comedias de España.⁵⁰

García Berrio also states that “los teólogos querían hacer de la Corte y de España un convento”.⁵¹ It can be argued, however, that Juan de Santo Tomás and the other opponents of comedies did not wish to turn Spain into a convent, they simply wished to enforce the Catholic doctrine in which they wholeheartedly believed. In order to do this they used all the channels of influence open to them.

The attack against comedies was led by the Jesuits and the Dominicans. Of the twelve tracts published between 1635-1655 condemning comedies - either partially or completely - six were written by Jesuits or Dominicans. Meanwhile, the defence of comedies came mainly from secular authors, largely from the *Ayuntamiento* of Madrid. Apart from the authors of published works, there were many others - like Pedro de Tapia - who wrote unpublished memorials and petitioned the King over the matter. The sheer quantity of published tracts, within this short period of time indicates the intensity of the debate.

By analysing the dedications of the opponents of comedies, it is possible to show what influences moved the King to ban the theatre. In 1648 the Jesuit Alonso de Andrade dedicated his tract to Pedro López de Ayala, Count of Fuensalida, a friend of the King's principle minister, Luis de Haro. In 1649

48 . García, *op cit.*, p.59.

49 . Dones, *op cit.*, p.6.

50 . Cotarelo, *op cit.*, p.193.

51 . García, *op cit.*, p.59.

another Jesuit, Juan Antonio Velázquez, dedicated his work to Gaspar de Bracamonte y Guzmán, Count of Peñaranda, another friend of Luis de Haro. In 1647 Tomás de Castro y Águila dedicated his work to Luis de Haro.

The crisis of the Catholic Monarchy was such in 1646, that divine assistance was seen to be of the essence. Philip IV wrote to Chumacero that reforming the dress of his household “puede bastar con el favor de Dios”.⁵² The need to prohibit comedies arose from the belief that the Monarchy needed to *obligar a Dios*, that is to curry divine favour. Don Francisco wrote to friar Pedro:

Añaden que VSI ablaba mucho a Su Mag[esta]d el aver quitado las comedias y que le dixo que n[uest]ro s[eñ]o[r] le avía de dar mui buenas sucessos por tan gran servicio como le avía hecho.⁵³

It was the idea of *obligar a Dios* by services rendered which was attractive to the Haro faction, which was singularly bereft of other ideas of how to reverse the fortunes of the Monarchy.

However that may be, friar Pedro replied to Oviedo:

esto es verdad y Su Mag[esta]d mostró gusto de oírlo ... y también se le previno el forçeder que avían de intentar de los hospitales⁵⁴ y quan ageno es de la piedad debiendo fiar mayores cosas de la providencia de n[uest]ro s[eñ]o[r] quando se acabaran los medios humanos, quanto más, aviendo tantos arbitrios p[ar]a cosas menos pías, porq[ue] no hemos de persuadir que faltaran para suplir una ganancia torpe. Y finalmente qu[an]do todo faltara en lo hum[an]o se ha de fiar de dios y ponerlo en su mano antes q[ue] volver a este medio.⁵⁵

This opinion reflects the depths of the perceived crisis in Castile. That human remedies were already exhausted and God alone could save them. Philip, himself, expressed this in a letter to sor María: “los medios humanos ya no bastan si Su Majestad no aplica los divinos,”⁵⁶ and again “los medios humanos faltan; si no me socorren los divinos no sé a dónde volver el

52 . BN MSS 13.165, f.185 r.

53 . *Cartas*, Oviedo to Tapia, 28.4.1646, ff.68-9.

54 . The profits of the theatre were used to finance hospitals as previously mentioned.

55 . *Cartas*, Tapia to Oviedo, Valfermosa, 28.4.1646, ff.68-9, my emphasis.

56 . *BAE, opcit.*, Philip, Saragossa, 8.8.1645, p.31.

rostro.”⁵⁷ This was an opinion taken directly from theology; human ability was limited and for subsequent advancement only the grace of God was sufficient. However, one must strive towards perfection to the full extent of one’s abilities. God helped those who helped themselves, which is expressed in the Spanish saying: “Dios rogando con el mazo dando.”

In his work dedicated to Luis de Haro in 1647, Tomás de Castro y Águila wrote that the Monarchy needed “remedios espirituales y temporales para preservar la República de peste y conseguir sucessos en paz y en guerra”.⁵⁸ According to friar Pedro, comedies “eran juntas que abía introduzido el demonio para destruir la castidad, desterrar la modestia, consumir la onestidad, y *provocar a ofensas a Dios*.”⁵⁹ In 1655 friar Pedro wrote to the Confessor Royal, friar Juan Martínez:

las calamidades que padece esta Monarquía Católica desde el año [1]640, son castigo manifiesto, y evidente de los pecados, y Pública relajación de costumbres.⁶⁰

The wrath of God manifested itself in five disastrous years of war. In March 1646 the Monarchy was in a shambles: there was no money for the army, the French were poised on the edge of a brilliant victory in Catalonia, there was famine in the countryside and plague in the cities. The opponents of comedies convinced the King that, by making a special moral effort, they could oblige God to provide them with the miracle required. Thus it was that in March 1646 comedies were prohibited, and sure enough, that year’s campaign was successful. However, it witnessed the additional sacrifice of the King’s sister, the empress María - who died in May - and his son and heir, Baltasar Carlos, in October.⁶¹

⁵⁷ . *Ibid.*, Philip, Saragossa, 4.9.1645, p.38.

⁵⁸ . Cotarelo, *op cit.*, p.145.

⁵⁹ . Lorea, *op cit.*, p.110, my empahsis.

⁶⁰ . *Ibid.*, p.253.

⁶¹ . See chapter 7 for a more detailed discussion of the death of Baltasar Carlos.

Writing to the Confessor Royal, Juan Martínez, in 1655 friar Pedro argued:

considere V[uestra] Reverendísima, que desde el año de cuarenta y cuatro asta el quarenta y nueve que no las ubo [comedias], no izieron falta en la República, y los sucesos de aquellos años fueron mejores.⁶²

It was not that the defenders of comedies did not agree with the thesis of obliging God, it was simply that they did not agree with the cause and effect. The Council of Castile wrote in 1647, that if comedies were permissible in peacetime

agora que se hallan los vasallos afligidos con ellas [es decir, guerras] y con las calamidades y agravaciones que siempre traen consigo, es forzoso no negarles este alivio.⁶³

Furthermore, they argued, there had been no benefits from prohibiting them, “porque los subcesos [*sic*] no se han mejorado”.⁶⁴ In fact, “no se han visto en muchos años tales conmociones y inquietudes de pueblo; horror a los ministros, que antes solían ser respetados.”⁶⁵ In 1646 the campaign was successful, but it was followed by famine, plague, and bread riots in Andalusia - surely a sign of God’s wrath.

One of the most persuasive arguments for the reinstatement of comedies was money. The profits from the theatre paid for the hospitals. In banning comedies in Segovia in 1644, friar Pedro contributed 600 *ducados* a year to the maintenance of the *Hospital de la Misericordia*.⁶⁶ Likewise, in Madrid, during the prohibition of 1646-8, the *ayuntamiento* was forced to finance the hospitals.⁶⁷ This was the crux of their protest, and what made them so vehement. As was pointed out, the moral argument did not maintain the

⁶² . Lorea, *op cit.*, p.254. The ban on comedies was put into effect in 1646, not 1644 as friar Pedro states here. Lorea or Tapia may have made an error in the date, or friar Pedro could be referring to the ban following the death of the Queen, or the ban he imposed in Segovia.

⁶³ . Cotarelo, *op cit.*, p.166.

⁶⁴ . *Ibid.*, p.166.

⁶⁵ . *Ibid.*, p.166.

⁶⁶ . Lorea, *op cit.*, p.110

⁶⁷ . J.E.Varey y N.D.Shergold, “Datos históricos sobre los primeros teatros de Madrid: prohibiciones de autos y comedias y sus consecuencias. (1644-51)”, in *Bulletin Hispanique*, t.LXII, nº3, (1960), pp.286-324, p.290.

hospitals and God did not provide for the poor.⁶⁸

In 1648 the new Queen, the Arch-Duchess Mariana of Austria, was to arrive in the Court of Madrid. Some celebrations were obviously necessary, and the villa of Madrid must make a donation to their cost. In 1648, therefore, the community of Madrid protested that it could not afford to pay for the hospitals, as it was required to pay "80.000 ducados para la jornada de la Reina nuestra señora."⁶⁹ A *consulta* to reinstate comedies was thus introduced in the Council of Castile. It was approved by the new President, Diego de Riaño y Gamboa, and five others: Lorenzo Ramírez de Prado, Bartolomé Morquecho, Martín Iñiguez de Arnedo, Antonio de Lezama and Martín de Larreategui. Nine members of the Council opposed it, led by Antonio de Contreras and Antonio de Camporredondo⁷⁰, and including Fernando Pizarro, Antonio de Valdés, Cristóbal de Moscoso, Juan Ponce de León, Francisco de Solís, Pedro de Medinilla and Melchor de Valencia.⁷¹ Antonio de Contreras, Antonio de Camporredondo and Cristóbal de Moscoso were all friends of friar Pedro. Juan Ponce de León was a contact of Medinaceli. Even so, despite this manifest opposition in the Council, the King approved the re-instatement of the theatre.

Financial considerations, given the declared royal bankruptcy of 1647, weighed heavily with the King in reaching the decision to re-instate comedies. There were also the personal and political factors. Comedies were enjoyable. As can be seen from his correspondence with Luisa Enríquez,

⁶⁸ . See Angel María García's forthcoming book on the theatre in Córdoba, Tamesis of London, pp.40-46, for friar Pedro's involvement with prohibitions in Córdoba.

⁶⁹ . Cotarelo, *op cit.*, p. 168.

⁷⁰ . In 1642 the Chamber of Castile, represented by the president, Antonio de Camporredondo, Antonio de Contreras and Francisco Antonio de Alarcón, removed Diego de Riaño y Gamboa from Court by sending him to Valladolid as President of the Chancery. This would not have pleased him as he did not return to Court and enjoy influence until 1648. AHN, Cons. Lib. 727, f.112, 9.4.1642.

⁷¹ . Cotarelo, *op cit.*, p.167.

Countess of Paredes,⁷² Philip himself got a large deal of entertainment from the performances. "A don Andrés Ferrer," he informed Luisa, "que cierto de puro frio nos hace reír, pero la comedia fue buena, particularmente lo contado y la representación de las mujeres."⁷³

In the two years 1646-1647, the Tapia faction, following the lead of friar Juan de Santo Tomás, enjoyed the apex of their moral influence over the Monarch. The problem that they faced was that Philip IV, while always amenable and polite, was also a sceptic. He revealed this to Luisa Enríquez while talking of the supposed pregnancy of his new wife:

Ya vos me conoceis y assí no os espantarán mis incredulidades, pues *nunca me muebo de ligero*, y aunque es verdad que oy son quince días de falta, no veo aora otras señales que suele haver en estos achaques.⁷⁴

Philip wished to see with his own eyes the evidence of what his advisers informed him was taking place. At the end of 1647 he appears to have lost faith in the efficacy of the moral reform as regards comedies, and he called for the return to Court of the Duke of Medina de las Torres, in order to have a fresh opinion. The duke was a well-known *aficionado* of comedies, having himself produced a play by Lope de Vega. In 1648 the Presidency of the Council of Castile was changed from Juan Chumacero to Diego de Riaño y Gamboa. These changes at Court indicate a reconsideration, by Philip IV, of the effectiveness of the moral policy favoured by the Haro faction.

In 1646 Pedro de Tapia was one of the most important theologians in Castile. Because of the nature of seventeenth-century conceptions of the cosmos, a theologian was not simply someone who advised about God, he was also concerned about the spiritual welfare of a country. The

⁷² . Luisa Enríquez Manrique de Lara was Countess of Paredes de Nava, and served in the Royal Palace before becoming a nun. Joaquín Pérez Villanueva, *Felipe IV y Luisa Un epistolario inedito*, Salamanca, 1986.

⁷³ . *Ibid.*, 7.3.1650, p.121.

⁷⁴ . *Ibid.*, 16.8.1650, p.132.

government needed to consult theologians about the moral propriety of its policies and thus avoid the wrath of God.

The arguments of the moral reformers are bound to appear questionable to secular twentieth-century eyes. It must be remembered, however, that neither Juan de Santo Tomás, Pedro de Tapia, the Duke of Medinaceli nor Francisco de Oviedo, not to mention Luis de Haro or Antonio de Contreras, were religious fanatics or of an apocalyptic persuasion. They were, in fact, at the forefront of standard, orthodox, religious opinion and deeply sincere and intelligent men. It must also be remembered that Philip IV did not equivocate or suffer a momentary lapse, when he listened to the advice of an allegedly hysterical nun who was his correspondent. He did, in reality, merely follow the accepted and ordinary political behaviour of his times. The worst, in fact, that can be said of him was that he was an ordinary man who sought a solution to his manifold problems which he believed would be least painful to his indigent subjects. When he failed to see any evidence of the efficacy of the solution he sought fresh advice from his old friend Medina de las Torres. In the late twentieth century politicians are guided by polls and statistics, in 1646 they were guided by theologians and mystics.

Chapter 5

A question of commonwealth

As was seen in the previous chapter, in consulting theologians over the running of the government Philip IV was trying to ensure the moral propriety of his policies. If his ministers governed unfairly, the monarch was responsible and his vassals would pray to God to deliver them from bad government. In his summary of the problems of the Catholic Monarchy, Juan de Santo Tomás commented:

En la multitud de cargos y tributos que ha havido y la bexación que se haze en cobrar por los ministros. *Claman los pobres al zielo* ... la culpa que en esto se puede cargar al príncipe es por dos causas: el primero se dio occasión a las guerras ... el segundo en la omisión de no castigar a los ministros.¹

In 1646 the Catholic Monarchy had been continually involved in European warfare for over twenty-five years. This placed an inevitable financial and social strain on the Monarchy. First of all in this chapter the administration of the army and the war effort in general will be examined in order to appreciate the Tapia faction's understanding of the problems it produced. Secondly, friar Pedro's solutions to these problems will be looked at, and it will be seen that he considered ministers' self-interest to be a prime cause of the problem.

Following on from this, the whole financial crisis will be considered, and the shifts in policy in the post-Olivares period examined. Along with this the economic principles of the seventeenth century will be seen to be vastly different from those of present *laisser-faire* economics. Additionally, account will be taken of specific problems friar Pedro faced in the administration of his diocese and his attitude to the ongoing debate of the ecclesiastical *fuero*. Finally the cries of "los pobres al zielo" will be examined, in order to understand more fully the motivations of

¹. Cueto, *op cit.*, p.136.

seventeenth-century economists.

In the opinion of friar Juan de Santo Tomás, the army lacked “justicia y disciplina”.² This was a worrying example of the general mismanagement of Philip’s ministers, with particular reference to the war effort. In March 1646 friar Pedro wrote to Oviedo:

una de las causas en q[ue] reparan los soldados que saben algo de la milicia, es que cada año ay exército de cabos y soldados con q[ue] dicen se desacomoda mucho. Y los que han trabajado lo sienten porque no pueden aver contestación de sus buenos servicios ni aguardan puestos de los que gobiernan las armas ni otro premio.³

Friar Pedro considered that the forming of a new army each year a) damaged the command structure and success of the army; b) caused off-duty soldiers to ransack the countryside in winter; and c) was the result of political infighting. In December 1646 he commented:

esto es lo ordin[ari]o en haciendo una facción. Se portan como si no ubiesse más q[ue] hazer y se ha de formar cada año nuevo exército al verano, aguardando que el enemigo se fortifique y andar siempre en defensa de milagros.⁴

This was one of friar Pedro’s constant themes: due to mismanagement the success of the Catholic Monarchy’s armies was left to God, not human resources.

In March 1646 don Francisco had written:

dicen los pláticos que los grandes jenerales en invierno hacen la guerra porque entonces hazen las precauciones, penetran los designios de el enemigo, y reparan la parte amenazada. Pero el sr. Marqués [de Leganés]⁵ q[ue] da sin quitarse el polvo, i menester tomar las armas en las manos, sin noticia de su gente ni de la del enemigo. Mucho será si iguala la ventaja que le llegó y esto de andar mudando jenerales y cabos es grandíss[im]o inconveniente.⁶

Friar Pedro replied to this comment that “en pocas palabras significa esta carta mucha parte de las causas de n[uest]ro daño.”⁷

2. *Ibid.*, p.136.

3. *Cartas*, Tapia to Oviedo, 8.3.1646, ff.35-6.

4. *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, Medinaceli, 8.12.1646, ff.180-1.

5. Diego Mexía de Guzmán, 1st Marquis of Leganés, was made commander of the forces of Catalonia in March 1646, following the death of Felipe de Silva. See chapter 6.

6. *Cartas*, Oviedo to Tapia, 10.3.1646, ff.37-8.

7. *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, 10.3.1646, ff.37-8.

Friar Pedro constantly reiterated his opinion that “de nuestras prevenciones dudo mucho y en todos estamos muy caídos si Dios no lo remedia como puede.”⁸ He was convinced that the government was simply ill-prepared to deal with affairs. He expressed this in February 1647 when he wrote:

también veo que en todas materias ay una manera de gobierno y omisión. No se previenen los peligros y necesidades hasta q[ue] están presentes, qu[an]do menos lo pueden remediar.⁹

This lack of foresight was not limited the war effort; it was common throughout central government.

On 9 February 1647, the City of Seville wrote the following letter to the Count of Castrillo:

Son tan grandes los alborotos que ocaſsionan quatro compañías de soldados que se leban tan en esta ciudad. Sin que sirban sino de hacer muertos ruidos y escándalos que resultan gravísimos daños que le obliga a suplicar a VS como lo hace con quanto efecto puede. Se sirba de mandar salgan de esta ciu[da]d pues de no poner remedio en ello susederán muchas desgracias. Por lo que se a experimentado desde que comensó a leban tan esta jente.¹⁰

The problem of off-duty soldiers was common throughout the Monarchy.

In February 1647 friar Pedro complained of those in Sigüenza:

Aora con las tropas de soldados que pasan saqueando los lugares queda todo acabado. Dízenme que si pasaran los enemigos no pudieran haçer más daño.¹¹

A week earlier he had written that “pasa por aquí todo el ejército y todos pidiendo limosna y derrotados como si ubieran sido vencidos.”¹² There was no attempt by ministers to keep the army *in situ* over the winter, and hence soldiers went where they would. The populace of northern Castile was thus subjected to forced grain removals by ransacking soldiers. This burden was borne in addition to the 40,000 *fanegas* of wheat donated by the diocese of Sigüenza for the war effort that year.¹³

⁸ . *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, Atienza, 26.5.1646, ff.84-5.

⁹ . *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, 6.2.1647, ff.213-4.

¹⁰ . BN MSS 951, f.2 v.

¹¹ . *Cartas*, Tapia to Oviedo, 6.2.1647, ff.213-4.

¹² . *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, 30.1.1647, ff.209-11.

¹³ . *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, Medinaceli, 12.12.1646, ff.182-5.

Similar to Philip IV, friar Pedro considered that the only hope for the Catholic Monarchy in the war effort was God. “Yo tengo poca esperanza - escribió - en lo humano. Y me parece q[ue] estamos en las manos de Dios.”¹⁴ It is important not to misinterpret this conviction as meaning that friar Pedro was apathetic and believed that if God was obliged by the moral effort, the populace need do nothing else. Friar Pedro was a very active and practical man. His constant complaint to Oviedo was that the government was too happy to leave all to God’s efforts. In 1647 he wrote that “acá [en la guerra] obra Dios mucho y nosotros muy poco. Dales la victoria casi de milagro.”¹⁵ This was written just after the report that Condé had withdrawn the French forces from Lérida. A week later he added the following:

Que atendiendo a lo humano es cosa triste que siempre hemos de fiar en la flaqueza agena o recurrir a milagro. Poniendo siempre el remedio a lo último, qu[an]do todo va aventurado = Y si tubiéramos gente para impedirles los pasos y los conbois ayudados del tiempo fuera diferente que dexarlo todo a la fortuna. Pero con todo eso siempre tengo confianza en Dios.¹⁶

Friar Pedro thought that ministers should be more active in the defence of the Monarchy and less active in personal advancement. Personal aspirations, in his opinion, did more to damage the war effort than the enemy:

Si se tratara del *bien común* - escribió - ubiera menos encuentros particulares. Gran lástima es, que la principal ruina no sea por los enemigos sino por los de acá y sus intereses o aprehensiones.¹⁷

The interests which friar Pedro referred to were generally of a monetary nature. In June 1647 Oviedo reported to friar Pedro that the gossips

refieren un mo[h]jina que tuvo mi sr^a. la marquesa de Leganés¹⁸ con el sr. Don Fran[cis]co Antonio [de Alarcón] sobre consignarle *seis mil d[ucado]s de renta* que Su Magesta[d] hizo m[er]ce[d] al sr. Marqués de Almazán su hijo en consideración de los servicios del sr. Marqués de Leganés.¹⁹

14. *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, Berlanga del Duero, 11.5.1647, ff.275-6.

15. *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, Berlanga del Duero, 18.5.1647, ff.277-8.

16. *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, Berlanga del Duero, 29.5.1647, ff.281-3.

17. *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, 1.5.1647, ff.269-70, my emphasis.

18. The Marchioness of Leganés was Policena Spínola, sister of Cardinal Spínola.

19. *Cartas*, Oviedo to Tapia, 5.6.1647, ff.283-6.

Friar Pedro acidly replied to this:

estos señores que sirven rogados siempre cuestan hacienda y quedan mal contentos. Como están las cosas de España yo fuera de parecer que echaron mano de buenos soldados.²⁰

Friar Pedro believed that the greed of those in power created poverty in the masses. He was emphatic in the opinion that those in authority - from the King downwards - should set an example of austerity:

Como se defienden - escribió - la de los Mynistros, se podrá defender la de los vasallos en las cargas, y se concluirá q[ue] nadie a de servir a Su Mag[esta]d. Los que dan dictámenes para q[ue] sirvan otros han de servir primeros y más q[ua]ndo el serv[icio] no los dexa en el hospital.²¹

As was seen in the previous chapter, friar Juan de Santo Tomás pointed out specific problems in the running of the Monarchy. Points 7, 8 and 9 referred to the organization of official "employment". Point 7 spoke of "plazas supernumerarias" on the Councils, which were an evil, according to friar Juan, due to the "muchacha" which they entailed. Likewise, the creation of *juntas* "acrecienta gruesos salarios".²² Point 9 referred to multiple office holding which friar Juan said led to the ministers concerned not performing adequately their functions. Friar Pedro also sought to reform this practice.

Most government ministers had more than one post. Between 1600 and 1660 the position of secretary to the King was remunerated at a fixed rate of 100,000 *maravedís* a year.²³ In an age of inflation this income needed to be supplemented. In 1630 Gerónimo de Villanueva²⁴ earned the following:

catorze mil setecientos reales [501,500 mrs.] que gozáis al año por consejero de Consejo de Aragón y Protonotario ... el cumplimiento de un quento de maravedís al

²⁰. *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, Almazán, 5.6.1647, ff.183-6.

²¹. *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, 10.3.1646, ff.39-40.

²². Cueto, *op cit.*, p.136.

²³. Escudero, *op cit.*, p.649.

²⁴. Gerónimo de Villanueva was the Protonotary of Aragon and *hechura* of Olivares. He was arrested by the Inquisition in 1643 as a result of his involvement in the case of San Plácido. Friar Pedro, as one of the judges of the case, was always convinced of his guilt. See Carlos Puyol Buil, *Inquisición y política en el reinado de Felipe IV*, Madrid, 1993, for details.

año, demás de los cien mill maravedís ... de mi secretario ... [y] ocho cientos ducados [300,000 mrs.] al año para casa de aposento.²⁵

This made a total of over a million *maravedís* a year: payable in *vellón*.²⁶ Friar Pedro considered multiple office holding an evil for two reasons: firstly the expense and secondly the accumulation of posts amongst the powerful meant that there were not enough to satisfy demand.

In October 1646 Oviedo reported that “un decreto dicen que ha venido para que ningún ministro pueda gozar de unos gajes.”²⁷ Friar Pedro was very much in favour of this decree and had used his influence to procure it. When it came under attack he wrote a paper to the King to defend it, although Oviedo warned him that “es necesario que VSI se sirva de considerar que es el negocio más sensible que les ha sucedido jamás.”²⁸

Friar Pedro argued:

se discurre en medios para hacer asiento de ocho millones²⁹ sería muy culpable el autor si antes de gravar más este cuerpo tan flaco no discudiesse por algunas partes de él si ay alguna cossa de que se puede valer quando lo demás está acabado y más si los que han de buscar medios no los hallasen exequibles.³⁰

He thought that, as all the other classes of the Monarchy had contributed to the war effort:

No se debe reputar por imprudente desalumbramiento el dictamen de que Su Mag[esta]d se valga de los gajes de sus ministros ... no será mucho sirvan barato o con menos de los debidos los señores ministros que se ocupan en ministerios tan honoríficos que solos los oficios sin gajes son [los] de muchos trabajos quanto más quedando con lo que basta para no morir de hambre pues los gajes duplicados han [podido] adelantar en algunos la hacienda y el estado.³¹

The ministers, in their turn, argued that the quantities saved would be so small as to be almost negligible. Friar Pedro's response to this was predictable:

²⁵ . Escudero, *op cit.*, p.649.

²⁶ . See page 99 for an explanation of *vellón*.

²⁷ . *Cartas*, Oviedo to Tapia, 27.10.1646, ff.170-1.

²⁸ . *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 27.2.1647, ff.231-2.

²⁹ . The *millones* will be examined later in this chapter.

³⁰ . *Cartas*, Memorial, f. 226 r.

³¹ . *Ibid.*, f.226 r-v.

caso fuera sola la de los gajes y que no fuera grande no podia dejar de serlo en *calidad de exemplo* quando no se desprecian menores quantias del miserable labrador.³²

This touched again on another moral theme: the example of sacrifice amongst ministers would encourage the generosity and resignation of the populace. It also helps to illustrate the importance friar Pedro placed on *reputación* as a political tool.

Despite the erudition of friar Pedro's arguments Oviedo continued to warn him of disappointment. He wrote:

Bien puede convencerse qualquiera que leiese el papel sin pasión, pero vuelvo a decir a VSI que es tan grande, y el sentimiento que estos señores tienen que me parece se reducirán con dificultad, y dexarán todo lo apretado, y así van de si les basta lo honrífico de los oficios, y del exemplar de los medios de el retiro, siendo uno de los razones que más conveççe.³³

The unpopularity of the measure was obvious beforehand, but friar Pedro was not deterred by mere unpopularity. In this respect he closely resembled his old colleague, friar Juan de Santo Tomás: they were both willing to confront the privileged on questions of principle.

In this paper to the King in 1647 friar Pedro wrote:

Nadie puede ignorar el estado desta monarchía y de la extrema necesidad de hacienda para su defensa y de la religión christiana cuia pureza peligra con la entrada y dominio extrangero pues *por nuestros pecados* hemos llegado a estos años a ver en España predicada las setas [*sic*] heréticas.³⁴

Friar Pedro considered that the war effort was necessary to protect the true faith. The war brought with it, however, acute financial strain:

Estos gastos se han ocasionado las guerras que han desencadenado los enemigos de esta monarquía, sobre la que han cargado todas las fuerzas de Europa para arruinarla, en cuya defensa se han gastado desde el año 1648 hasta fin de éste de 1660, 131.554.000 ducados de vellón, que con intereses, reducciones, adeales y conducciones importa todo lo consumido en esta provisión 164.914.000 ducados.³⁵

³² . *Ibid.*, f.227 r, my emphasis.

³³ . *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 2.3.1647, ff.233-6.

³⁴ . *Ibid.*, Memorial, f.225 r-v.

³⁵ . Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, *Política fiscal y cambio social en la España del siglo XVII*, Madrid, 1984, p.58, (*Fiscal*).

The money for this enormous expenditure had not been easily obtained: "En 1646 para unos gastos previstos de 12.700.000 ducados sólo podía contarse con 3.266.000."³⁶ Money for the war effort was raised in the following manner: sales of offices, fees for exemption of duties of *caballeros de hábitos*³⁷, ecclesiastical subsidies, "donations", loans, treasure from the Indies and the *millones*.³⁸ In cases of extreme desperation, i.e. the entire period of 1626-1666, the Monarchy resorted to measures which were little less than open theft. Most of the King's rents were mortgaged to the hilt in what were known as *censos*.³⁹ By 1634 almost half of the Crown's yearly income was spent on interest payments of public debt, known as *juros*.⁴⁰ The Crown therefore devised the cunning scheme of the *media annata de juros* whereby it decreed that it would only pay half of the interest falling due on these debts.

Philip II introduced the *vellón* coinage into Castile as a fiscal measure. Instead of being pure silver, the coins were a mixture of silver and copper. From 1621 onwards the *vellón* ceased to contain any silver but was made from pure copper. The government thus produced a coinage with a face value of 19,728,000 *ducados* at a cost of only 6,576,000.⁴¹ As *vellón* had an intrinsic value of only one third of its face value, the value it represented depended on the confidence of the user. The coinage had no value, whatsoever, outside the peninsula. In the eyes of seventeenth-century

³⁶. *Ibid.*, p.55.

³⁷. *Caballeros de hábitos* were members of the military orders of Santiago, Calatrava and Alcántara. Membership obliged the member to serve in the King's galleys. In the seventeenth century this obligation was cancelled upon the payment of a fee.

³⁸. *Millones* was a very controversial sales/consumption tax on articles of primary necessity. It was paid by the *seller* by selling for less. It thus had a detrimental effect on trade. The Church and the nobility also had to pay it, which explains its exceptional unpopularity. Fraud was rife in its administration.

³⁹. *Censos* were loans made to the nobility for capital expenditure, e.g. dowries, to be repaid out of their entailed income. See Charles Jago, *op cit.*

⁴⁰. *Juros* were loans made to the King, rather like modern treasury bonds. Holders had virtually no rights to exact payment of interest, and they were increasingly unpopular after 1634. Many were held by the Church.

⁴¹. *Fiscal, op cit.*, p.47.

“economists” the value of *vellón* was changeable. In 1628, in order to curb inflation, the government halved the value of *vellón*: “Era como si 20 millones de ducados hubieran sido retirados de la circulación.”⁴² In 1641 the process was reversed, with an incredible inflationary effect. In 1642 the *vellón* was once again devalued. This situation created financial chaos, with every transaction having to be accounted for twice: once in *vellón* and once in hard currency.

As was seen in chapter 2, the financial minds at work in 1646/1647 were: Antonio de Camporredondo, Antonio de Contreras, Francisco Antonio de Alarcón, José González and the Count of Castrillo. In 1646 Castrillo wrote a paper for the King about the state of the Monarchy’s finances for the coming year of 1647. The Count pointed out:

Que no hay hacienda R[e]a[l] suficiente para los gastos precisos del tribunal ... en plata seiscientos mil duc[ado]s sin incluirse en estas provisiones lo que será necesario p[ar]a la Jornada de la Princesa n[uest]ra s[e]ñor[a] y la boda de su Alteza,⁴³ y para sustentar este inbierno este ejército.⁴⁴

He estimated that the *media annatas* and the *asignación de juros*⁴⁵ would raise 4 million *ducados*. Also, if the cities could pay the militias for the winter, it would reduce the shortfall to 8 million:

Pero siempre juzgo - añadió - que por más que se aumente el caudal, y se quiera bajar de los presupuestos del gasto, faltará para cumplirle, y para poder efectuar los asientos, y provisiones el año que viene del pie de tres millones.⁴⁶

This was a clear warning of impending bankruptcy. However, it was hoped to raise this money by extra loans from the *hombres de negocios*⁴⁷ and by asking for help from the Church: “para lo ecc[lesiásti]co se pusiere los ojos

⁴² . *Ibid.*, p.48.

⁴³ . This was written on 1.10.1646, before the death of Baltasar Carlos. The Princess was Mariana of Austria, intended bride of Baltasar Carlos.

⁴⁴ . BN MSS 13.165, Count of Castrillo to Philip IV, Saragossa, 1.10.1646, f.253.

⁴⁵ . *Ibid.*, f.254. The *asignación de juros* will be discussed later in this chapter.

⁴⁶ . *Ibid.*, f.255 v.

⁴⁷ . The *hombres de negocios* were, in the main part, Portuguese bankers, who provided the Crown with loans. See James C. Boyajian, *Portuguese Bankers at the Court of Spain, 1626-1650*, New Brunswick, 1983.

en persona de autoridad y religión que moviesen con su exemplo.”⁴⁸ The eyes were placed on friar Pedro.⁴⁹

The lack of money was endemic. Every year a new measure was dreamt up to raise the missing *millones*. In 1644 a measure was passed to raise 4 million *ducados* a year. 750,000 of this was to come from a tax on salt and the rest from tax on meat, beef, wine, oil and vinegar. The 4 million a year would be spent as follows:

paga de juros		700.000
nomina de consejos		200.000
*guardas de Castilla		100.000
casa de Castilla		50.000
*fabrica de armas y nomina de artillería		72.500
Chancillería y audiencias		53.780
*acarretos y bastimientos		50.000
*sargentos del reino		11.969
*cavalleria de Córdoba		10.000
obras reales de Madrid, Segovia, Valladolid y Toledo		36.964
gastos de administrar millones		20.000
pagar presidios de ciudades, villas, etc.		548.781
*guerra en Galicia		60.000
presidios deste reino		86.006
gastos de casas reales		550.000
*Capilla Real, Guardia Española y Alemana y Archeros		187.600
*La Armada Real		512.400
De Sal: Presidios	370.000	
*fortalecer Fuenterrabia	76.600	
*fortalecer Málaga	23.600	
*fortalecer Cádiz	16.063	
*lo que falta de la armada que cuesta 1 millón	487.600	750.000
		4.000.000 ds. ⁵⁰

As can be seen, a large percentage of this money was used on the general running expenses of the Monarchy and not specifically for the war effort. The *Junta* that devised this plan was composed of Juan Chumacero y Carrillo, Francisco Antonio de Alarcón, Antonio de Camporredondo, Antonio de Contreras and Luis Gudiel. In general, before the fall of Olivares the *millones* were raised by taxes on sugar, conserves, paper, tobacco,

48 . BN MSS 13.165, f. 257.

49 . Friar Pedro was called to Saragossa in late September 1646.

50 . AHN, Consejos, Lib. 1.532, f.36, the asterixes indicate war expenses.

chocolate,⁵¹ wine, *aguardiente*, snow and ice, and soap.⁵² These are, of course, luxury goods. After the fall of Olivares the *millones* tended to be placed on food stuffs rather than luxury goods: meat, vinegar, etc. In 1646 there was also a proposal to abolish these taxes and impose one tax on the most basic food of all: flour.

In September 1646 don Francisco reported that “corre voz de que está mui adelante hechar dos Reales en cada fanega de arina.”⁵³ In his book, *Discursos theológicos y políticos*, Juan Martínez wrote that in 1646 the proposal was to place four *reales* of tax on each *fanega*, not two as Oviedo reported. The morality of the introduction of this tax was thoroughly discussed while the King was in Saragossa in 1646:

El ilustrísimo señor Arzobispo de Sevilla fray Pedro de Tapia ... sié[n]dole de la Santa Iglesia de Sigüença, fue llamado a Zaragoza el año de 1646, de orden de Su Magestad para que diese su parecer, y voto en esta materia. Y esta ocasión fue la primera en que se trató deste tributo de quatro reales, por diferentes juntas, que allí tuvimos todos los ministros, que asistíamos, y acompañavamos a Su Magestad. Y en aquella ocasión le aprobó este gran Prelado por lícito y justo.⁵⁴

Friar Pedro approved the tribute on the assumption that it was to replace the taxes on all the other consumables - oil, meat, wine, etc. Later, in *Catena moralis*, volume two, book five, question 16, in which he dealt with the flour-tax, friar Pedro stated that the tax on the milling of flour was licit when it was added to the price:

Taxato tritico, consequentur videtur taxata farina, quae eo fit; deductis ex pondere farinae iustis, expensis molendi, vel additis farinae pretio, servato ipsius pondere correspondente fanacae titici.⁵⁵

Friar Pedro insisted that this opinion was the same as that of Molina, Ledesma and Villalobos.

Juan Martínez, on the other hand, claimed that the tax on flour would

51 . *Ibid.*, f.95, 1638, 21/2 millones en seis años.

52 . *Ibid.*, f.113, 1639, 9 millones en tres años.

53 . *Cartas*, Oviedo to Tapia, 5.9.1646, ff.138-9.

54 . Martínez, *op cit.*, p. 387.

55 . *Catena*, *op cit.*, Vol. II, p.439.

never be just because

es gravamente nozivo a la paz, y quietud, con que desea, y deve Su Magestad govarnar sus vasallos, escusando las ocasiones de alborotos y tumultos.⁵⁶

Apart from this, the tax was obviously unfair because the poor would pay more tax than the rich: "La razón natural dicta, que no deven pagar más los que tienen menos."⁵⁷ Friar Juan estimated that the poor, or the "cintura abajo" formed three quarters of the population. Also for "la gente de la labrança, y pastores, viene a ser las tres partes de su sustento el pan."⁵⁸ Friar Juan continued his arguments by saying that of the 10 million *ducados* it was estimated to raise with the tax, the poor would pay 9 million and the rich one. To support this argument he quoted Ecclesiastics 34, v.25, and Aquinas, book 4 of the *Regime Principum*. He added that "según los Autores, los tributos no deven ser en mas cantidad, que la octava parte de valor de aquel medida sobre que se carga el tributo."⁵⁹ The price of a *fanega* of wheat (at *tasa*) was 18 *reales*. A tax of 4 *reales* was thus an increase of 22%. It was these arguments, coupled with friar Juan's influence, which won the day in Saragossa. As a result the King decided against the introduction of the tax.⁶⁰

The tax on flour being rejected, the search for money continued. In 1647 the King's ministers were forced to buy *juros* from their salaries. Oviedo commented: "Acá también se reparten juros y para que no se haga tan penoso dicen que Su Mag[est]d no se valdrá el año que viene de los medias annatas."⁶¹ Some of the ministers tried to avoid purchase by claiming they had already incurred expenses for the Crown in that year. Philip replied to

⁵⁶ . Martínez, *op cit.*, p. 341.

⁵⁷ . *Ibid.*, p.341.

⁵⁸ . *Ibid.*, p.342.

⁵⁹ . *Ibid.*, p.348.

⁶⁰ . E.P. Thompson, "The moral economy of the English crowd in the eighteenth century", in *Past and Present*, 50 (1971), pp. 76-136, discusses the change from economies based on the precepts of morality to those guided by economists from the eighteenth century onwards.

⁶¹ . *Cartas*, Oviedo to Tapia, 5.9.1646, ff.138-9.

this:

La jornada no ha escusado a los Ministros que fueron a ella de este repartimiento, y assí dixas [*sic*] a Don Antonio de Contreras cumpla con el que le tocó pues no se puede abrir puerta a la consecuencia.⁶²

This statement reveals a Philip IV firm in his intentions and aware of the consequences of allowing exceptions to unpopular rules.

The King's ministers were not the only ones who were exhorted to give money. The Church was also approached to buy *juros* and donate money. In April 1647 Oviedo wrote to tell friar Pedro that the King had sent Gregorio de Mendizábal and José González to collect *donativos* from the clergy. Two weeks after this first report Oviedo wrote:

va el sr. Joseph González a Burgos, Navarra y Vizcaia a sacar dineros y gente y el sr. Greg[ori]o de Mendizábal a Murcia con la misma comición a pedir a los señore[s] prelados.⁶³

Not only money was wanted; men were wanted too. Friar Pedro replied to this news that: "no faltaré ... a servir con la hacienda que pudiere en conciencia."⁶⁴ Unlike the King's ministers, who saw the Church as a source of money for political ends, friar Pedro viewed his income as the property of the diocese. He agreed with friar Juan de Santo Tomas's advice that the government not "pida prestado, o venda a las iglesias la plata que les sobra, sino después de apurado toda la plata de los seglares,"⁶⁵ and then, only if the money was used to protect the Monarchy from heresy.

The clergy, as subjects, along with the grandees, were not taxed. The Church, as an institution, was. The most controversial of the taxes paid by the Church was the *millones*. The raising of this tax was permitted by the Pope for the period requested by the King. This tax, along with others paid by the Church, was granted for the express purpose of the war. In theory, the

⁶² . BN MSS 13.166, Philip IV to Chumacero, f.116.

⁶³ . *Cartas*, Oviedo to Tapia, 17.4.1647, ff.263-4.

⁶⁴ . *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, 17.4.1647, ff.263-4.

⁶⁵ . Cueto, *op cit.*, p.136.

Church did not have to pay the tax until the Papal Bulls authorizing it had been received. In February 1646 Oviedo commented to friar Pedro:

oi estuve con el s[ecreta]rio Juan de Aguirre ... enseñome la bula de las messadas para que vi[era] les estaban concedidas todas, las que corrieron desde que se acabó el término y las que corrieron en diez años, y las consultas para la aplicación porque *su santidad dice que las concede para los gastos de la guerra* y Su Mag[esta]d que gasta mucho más en ella que los escessos que se aplican.⁶⁶

As was seen in the distribution of the four million conceded in 1644 for four years, 2,245,531 *ducados* were spent on the ordinary running expenses of the Monarchy and not on the war. In 1654, when friar Pedro was Archbishop of Seville, he mounted a protest against this mis-use of the money, and against the attempt by ministers to continue to collect the *millones* before receiving a Papal Bull.⁶⁷

Moving from the general to the more specific, a look will now be taken into friar Pedro's administration of his diocese. Modern accounting methods work, generally, in the following manner: all income is summed and all expenses are deducted from it. In seventeenth-century Castile, accounts were not organized in this way. Certain income was reserved to pay certain expenditure. One did not pay a set percentage of one's income in taxes, but rather, the income from a particular source. The taxes paid by the Church, apart from the *millones*, were direct taxes: *décimas*, *subsidios*, *cruzada* and *excusados*. The *décima* was an "occasional" tax of ten per cent of rental income. *Subsidios* were fixed amounts granted to the King as an extraordinary supplement to his income. The *cruzada* was a tax raised to pay for the crusades - or war against the infidel Turk. The *excusado* worked on the theory that the richest house in each parish paid its tithe or tenth to the King and was thus excused paying it to the bishop.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ . *Cartas*, Oviedo to Tapia, 3.2.1646, ff.21-2.

⁶⁷ . The details of this protest can be found in the Lorea biography.

⁶⁸ . Quintín Aldea Vaquero, "Política interior: Oposición y resistencia: La resistencia eclesiástica", in *Encuentro Internacional sobre la España del Conde-Duque de Olivares*, Valladolid, 1990, pp.399-414, p.410.

Between the death of a bishop, or his translation to a new see, and the appointment of a replacement, there was often a period of vacancy of the see. In normal practice the income accruing in a *sede vacante* was at the disposal of the Crown. Apart from this, part of the income of the diocese was always reserved for the payment of pensions. There were a number of ecclesiastics who had no diocesan source of income: the Patriarch of the Indies, Cardinals, the Confessor Royal, and Catalan bishops deprived of their sees during the Catalan rebellion. These clerics were thus allotted an income which was imposed on different bishoprics. Sometimes these pensions were granted to people who had no connection with the Church whatsoever, with the Church being viewed by the Monarchy as an available source of *mercedes*.⁶⁹ Thus, another income source was to be earmarked to pay this, or that, pension. The cardinal or bishop who was to be paid received the income from a specific benefice in the diocese.

When Pedro de Tapia was elected to the diocese of Sigüenza pensions had been granted to the value of 8,772 *ducados* charged against an income (net of taxes) of 34,166 *ducados*.⁷⁰ One of these pensions was granted to Cardinal Borja and was worth 2,000 *ducados* a year.⁷¹ On his death in December 1645 Cardinal Borja left his pensions as part of his estate. In January 1646 friar Pedro advised Oviedo:

Bien será q[ue] mire el pren[damien]to de la pensión del Card[ena]l Borja, dizen q[ue] la dexa transferida con Brebe del Papa pero sin consentimiento de Su Mag[esta]d si esto fuesse assí parece q[ue] sería la mat[er]ia dudosa y tocante al derecho de Su Mag[esta]d⁷²

In the same way that the King needed papal approval for the total quantity of pensions charged against the diocese, the Pope did not practise his

⁶⁹ . See note 19 concerning the Marquis of Almazán

⁷⁰ . AHN, Cons., Lib., 22, f.38.

⁷¹ . *Cartas*, Tapia to Oviedo, 13.1.1646, ff.9-10.

⁷² . *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, 6.1.1646, ff.3-4.

jurisdiction to arrange to whom these pensions were paid. In requesting the Bulls to appoint friar Pedro to Sigüenza, Philip wrote to the Count of Siruela, his ambassador in Rome:

presentéis para la de Sigüenza a su Sant[ida]d al dicho ob[is]po fray Pedro de Tapia y supliquéis a su B[eatitu]d mande se le despachen sus bullas en la forma que se acostumbra, adbertiendo que si de aquí a que se le passe la dicha [gl]esi[a] vacare alguna de las pensiones que están cargadas sobre ella la e de volver a cargar de nuebo, y despacharé por pensión nueba, como se acostumbre también⁷³

As can be seen from this statement, the King was granted the right to give the pensions from the income of each bishopric. The Pope granted the pension to the King, not to the individual pensioner, and the Borja case was, therefore, outside common practice.

Oviedo responded to friar Pedro on the matter saying:

llevaré el titulo a Don Ant[oni]o de Castro y me informaré que ai de aver transferido el sr. Card[ena]l las pensiones, porque será posible que el sr. Inq[uisid]or G[enera]l le avía consultado el punto.⁷⁴

Friar Pedro responded that “parece que no sería sólo n[uest]ra pensión la transferida pues ni es la mayor ni la de mejor calidad de moneda.”⁷⁵ Friar Pedro decided, finally, to see which way the political wind was blowing, before coming to a decision:

En la parte que huviese queda[do] de la pensión del sr. Card[ena]l Borja el mejor amord[azamient]o es ver lo que los demás hacen pues ai tantos interesados y el sr. Inq[uisid]or G[enera]l que no está de aire de pagar sin averiguar mui bién primero en derecho ... dicen que el breve fue p[ar]a ocho mill d[ucado]s, dos mill aquí 1V en Plasencia , 6V en Valencia⁷⁶

Another problem regarding ecclesiastical pensions was to whom they were to be paid net of taxes and to whom gross:

Lo que se duda - escribió fray Pedro - de las pensiones que gozan los cardenales (y también de lo que gozó el sr. Cardenal Borja) es si se les ha de rebajar el subsidio y escusado como se baja a todas las demás pensiones⁷⁷

73. AHN, Cons., Lib., 22, f.38.

74. *Cartas*, Oviedo to Tapia, 6.1.1646, f.5-6.

75. *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, 6.1.1646, f.5-6.

76. *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, 13.1.1646, f.9-10. Mathematics were not friar Pedro's strong point and his sums frequently do not add up.

77. *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, 17.4.1647, f.263-4.

The problem hinged on whether the cardinal had exerted special influence to receive his income gross or must be paid net of *excusado*. With two circulating currencies - silver and *vellón* - incomplete record keeping, coupled with such a complex system of income and expenditure, it is not at all surprising that fraud and mismanagement were rife.

Many financial transactions were based on confidence, memory or tradition. In 1647 Pedro de Tapia's *mayordomo* responsible for his Segovian affairs was Licentiate Alonso de San Andrés. Oviedo and friar Pedro both agreed that San Andrés was an honest and loyal servant. Unfortunately, he was also incompetent! On 20 October Oviedo informed friar Pedro:

esta tarde no estando io en casa dexó Manuel Fe[nánde]z alguacil de corte mill R[eale]s de plata⁷⁸ en diez y seis doblones de 8 a 29 cada doblón⁷⁹ y lo demás en plata. Dexó dicho que los remitía el licen[ci]ado Alonso de S[an] Andrés que le tuviese hecha la carta de pago. Esta noche escribiré a Segovia avisándole del modo que entreguen el dinero para que allá lo ajuste.⁸⁰

This slackness was not the least of San Andrés' failings. Friar Pedro attempted to get him to work methodically but "finalmente aunq[ue] he trabajado en esto nunca he podido persuadirle que a mi costa corrija el gobierno."⁸¹ In March 1647 San Andrés' irregularities were to catch up with him. Friar Pedro wrote that "el may[ordo]mo está en sus qu[en]tas y como no tiene forma de libros son bien confussas."⁸² The *mayordomo* had to write accounts based on a multitude of unconnected scraps of paper and his memory. Luckily, Oviedo was able to provide him with at least a list of the money remitted to him. At the end of March, friar Pedro wrote to thank Oviedo for his help and stated that "la qu[en]ta del may[ordo]mo siendo él

⁷⁸ . *Plata* was money of gold or silver. It was the term used to refer to money which was not *vellón* and was not necessarily made of silver.

⁷⁹ . A *doblón* was a double *Escudo* - gold coins issued in place of the *ducado* from 1537 onwards. In 1643 an *Escudo* was worth 550 *maravedís*, although its technical *vellón* value was 375 *maravedís*. Gold coins were valued at a premium fluctuating between 40-120%. See Valentín Vázquez de Prada, *Historia económica y social de España*, Vol.III: siglos XVI y XVII, Madrid, 1978, pp.632-54.

⁸⁰ . *Cartas*, Oviedo to Tapia, 20.10.1646, ff.166-7.

⁸¹ . *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, 19.1.1647, ff.203-4.

⁸² . *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, 16.3.1647, ff.239-40.

de suma fidelidad es la más irregular que jamás se abrá visto.”⁸³ He noted that, thankfully, the *mayordomo* of Sigüenza - Francisco de la Tenta - wrote everything down! Oviedo observed that the account “más parece temperamento que quenta.”⁸⁴ He went on to make the novel, and perhaps obvious suggestion that the *mayordomos* should keep a ledger, “con que no se puede gastar un Real sin que se sepa en qué y cuándo se gasta.”⁸⁵ Friar Pedro replied:

el l|icencia|do San Andrés ha salido de mucho mayor cuidado porq|ue| como vio en el primer aspecto tan gran cargo y confusión de papeles affligióle mucho⁸⁶

The effect was only temporary. In December Oviedo wrote that “aier estuvo aquí el licen[cia]do S[an] Andrés que confieso le tenía por muerto”.⁸⁷ There is no reason to suppose that San Andrés was the exception rather than the rule of seventeenth-century financial incompetence.

The administration of a diocese was no simple matter. Diocesans paid a tithe of ten per cent of their harvest to the prelate. The tithe was paid in wheat, barley, wine, etc., which was then sold by the prelate or used for his personal consumption. Theoretically, from 1605, the price of wheat had been fixed at 18 *reales* the *fanega*⁸⁸ and 9 *reales* the *fanega* of barley. In practice this fixed price was never used: “Sólo vendían el trigo a la tasa (y no siempre) los prelados, más por escrúpulos de conciencia que porque nadie les obliga.”⁸⁹ In fact, even for prelates, there were two *tasas*: that in *vellón* and that in *plata*. In March 1647 friar Pedro wrote:

lo cierto es que en mi modo de admystrar vale un tercio menos el obispado cumplidam[en]te q|ue| valiera a otros, sólo con aver vendido en plata como lo hacen algunos y llebar portes subiera mucho. No llevo los dictámenes de plata y caso negado fuera tolerable *no es decente en mí cosa q|ue| huela a este género|o de*

⁸³. *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, 20.3.1647, ff.247-8.

⁸⁴. *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 6.4.1647, ff.257-8.

⁸⁵. *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 6.4.1647, ff.257-8.

⁸⁶. *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, 6.4.1647, ff.257-8.

⁸⁷. *Ibid.* Oviedo to Tapia, 21.12.1647, ff.369-70.

⁸⁸. The *fanega* was the grain measure used in seventeenth-century Spain. It was similar in principle to the bushel. The actual volume of the *fanega* varied from province to province and town to town.

⁸⁹. *Alter., op cit.*, p.26.

*útiles.*⁹⁰

Friar Pedro did not wish to have a reputation for worldliness. Unlike some bishops, he adhered to Canon Law and saw himself as the administrator of the money of the diocese and not its owner. In his opinion the money was entrusted to him to administer for the benefit of the poor and the glory of God. Friar Pedro was the spiritual father of his flock and was, therefore, responsible for their moral and material welfare. The ideal bishop was always seen as “Father of the poor”.

In April 1647 Oviedo wrote to friar Pedro:

VSI dice le ha servido aora ver lo que se ha gastado en limosnas, y confieso que qu[an]do veo los libros del Car[dena]l mi sr. y hallo tanta suma de hacienda dada en limosna que alimenta la esperanza de que está gozando de Dios.⁹¹

As with all things in the seventeenth century, moral deeds were not done simply through common feeling, but with the ulterior motive of gaining divine favour. Friar Pedro replied to Oviedo that “si pudiesse imitar en algo al sr. Card[ena]l me sería de gran consuelo.”⁹²

Providing for the material welfare of the populace did not consist in merely giving alms to the poor, it also consisted in ensuring the populace could support itself. In 1646 the harvest was poor. In 1647 it threatened to be worse. In July 1647 the City of Seville wrote that “el trigo corre a ochenta reales y la cevada a ventiocho, que en el tiempo de la cosecha no se ha visto.”⁹³ The City asked for permission to import wheat from abroad. This was refused. They therefore sought to buy in wheat from around Seville but without success. The situation was being aggravated by speculators:

Dice que en la ciu[da]d de Córdoba y marquesado de Priego y de los demás lugares del señorío del aquel contorno an prohibido el que no se puede sacar trigo para esta ciu[da]d.⁹⁴

⁹⁰ . *Cartas*, Tapia to Oviedo, 2.3.1647, ff.233-6, my emphasis.

⁹¹ . *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 6.4.1647, ff.257-8.

⁹² . *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, 10.4.1647, ff.259-60.

⁹³ . BN MSS 951, f.18.

⁹⁴ . *Ibid.*, f.9 r.

The provincial differences in the price of wheat meant that it paid to transport it. The speculation went so far that “el que tubiere mil fanegas de trigo, antes querrá sacar de ellos ocho mil ducados que volverlos a la tierra.”⁹⁵ This practice was common throughout the Monarchy. In early September 1646 friar Pedro wrote:

en buena verdad, sr., que creo ha de quedar desembarazado todo el ob[ispa]do de comida y de sementera y si se acabasse la guerra de Cataluña este año no sería tanto inconveniente.⁹⁶

Yo he escrito a Su E[xc]lenci[a] [el Conde de Castrillo] que si en este ob[is]pado no queda para comer ni sembrar será muy perjudicial cosa para delante.⁹⁷

This was a clear warning that starvation bred despair and despair civil unrest. In times of need it was the responsibility of the authorities - *señores*, *corregidores* and bishops, - to organize imports of grain. In early January 1647 friar Pedro wrote that “cada día va creciendo la necesidad y el trigo pasa en Sigüenza de 30 R[eale]s y creo ha de aver menester comprar alguno q[ue] sería gran costa.”⁹⁸

In June 1647 friar Pedro reported that: “dexados los [pobres] Bergonzantes q[ue] son muchos, son más de 200 que se juntan en la puerta cada día”⁹⁹ to beg for food. In August Oviedo wrote that “acá [en Madrid] es mucha la gente que muere”.¹⁰⁰ Despite this there was no civil unrest in Sigüenza or Madrid, because the authorities were seen to be attempting to alleviate the situation. The same was not true of Naples or Lucena both of which suffered riots in 1647.

In early 1647 there were also revolts in Palermo: “The chief targets were municipal officials and grain speculators.”¹⁰¹ In Naples in the summer of

⁹⁵ . *Ibid.*, f.19 r.

⁹⁶ . *Cartas*, Tapia to Oviedo, 5.9.1646, ff.138-9.

⁹⁷ . *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, 8.9.1646, ff.140-1.

⁹⁸ . *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, Medina, 22.12.1646, ff.192-3.

⁹⁹ . *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, Almazán, 5.6.1647, ff.283-4.

¹⁰⁰ . *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 31.8.1647, ff.323-4.

¹⁰¹ . Stradling, *Spain, op cit.*, p.197.

1647 “in the classically precarious season before the new harvest ... a sales tax on fruit was imposed. The result was the most sensational mob revolution of the century.”¹⁰² In August 1647 Oviedo reported that “el caso de Nápoles se confirma y se alargan que han quitado los tributos como en Sicilia”.¹⁰³ The protest was specifically against the government for the imposition of unjust taxes and lack of control of grain speculators. The government was morally obliged to administer justice, and injustice, as well as provoking unrest, was also a sin.

The City of Seville wrote in 1647 that “en estas ocasiones [de falta de pan] es lo primero conserbar la monarquía”.¹⁰⁴ The city authorities had the responsibility to maintain order and to do this they had to provide grain at a reasonable price. Friar Pedro remarked: “tengo por cierto que los clamores de esta pobre gente alargan la guerra.”¹⁰⁵ God would not grant victory to a Monarchy which imposed unjust taxes and allowed some to get rich while others starved.

Friar Pedro considered that, faced with its worse crisis, the subjects of the Catholic Monarchy should forget their private concerns and consider the *bien común*. This meant that ministers should not think about how to get money from Royal employment, but consider how they could most cheaply serve the King and the war effort. It also meant having a sense of unity, common purpose and interest. It meant not using Church funds to support the war when secular funds were available. Church funds were used to assist the poor, alleviate their suffering and thus enlist the help of God. It meant organising the army in such a way as to minimize the aggravation it caused to the populace.

¹⁰² . *Ibid.*, p.197.

¹⁰³ . *Cartas*, Oviedo to Tapia, 17.8.1647, ff.311-2.

¹⁰⁴ . BN MSS 951, f.39 r.

¹⁰⁵ . *Cartas*, Tapia to Oviedo, Almazán, 5.6.1647, ff.283-4.

The fact that ministers did not perform this duty of regarding the *bien común* was seen as the fault of the Monarch himself. The Monarchy was obsessed with the urgent necessity of raising money. This obsession left it with interest in domestic affairs dominated by this constant quest for money. Financial incompetence, aristocratic irresponsibility,¹⁰⁶ and fraud were not tackled. The poor were drafted into the army and starved in order to satiate the dogs of war. The rich were allowed to bleed the country of its wealth: by grain speculation, by the private production of *vellón*, by fraud in the *sisas*, and by the avaricious management of government. In effect, the nobility served the Crown in order to obtain concessions in the payment of their debts,¹⁰⁷ and to obtain *mercedes* for their children.¹⁰⁸ The incompetence of local government, even when it led to riots, went unresolved.¹⁰⁹ Government ministers were too busy organizing the army and defending their factions to alleviate the situation of the King's vassals. If the country continued to pay its taxes, anything could be forgiven.¹¹⁰ All of this was, according to friar Juan de Santo Tomás, the responsibility of Philip IV himself, for failing in his prime duty to dispense justice, which was *ipso facto* sinful.

Friar Pedro, unlike his friend friar Juan de Santo Tomás, did not view matters as being so simply resolved - i.e. by the King taking action. In many ways friar Pedro was a more astute politician, and also a more practical man. Friar Pedro resolved the problems over which he had jurisdiction: the management of his diocese; the provision of wheat for the poor.¹¹¹ For

¹⁰⁶ . The Lucena revolt of 1647 was provoked, to a large degree, by the grain speculation of the Duke of Cardona, see *Alter., op cit.*

¹⁰⁷ . See Jago, *op cit.*

¹⁰⁸ . See note 19

¹⁰⁹ . *Alter., op cit.*, p.90.

¹¹⁰ . See note 103.

¹¹¹ . *Alter., op cit.*, pp.171-192.

those matters outside his personal jurisdiction he preferred to advise steadfastly and petition and influence where he could. His obligation as a theologian and councillor of the King was thus fulfilled, and the final decision was left to the man who had the moral responsibility before God: the King.

Chapter 6

Court Politics

Seventeenth-century political life, was, essentially, the life of an extended family. The King was at one and the same time the focus and the patriarch. The satellites, the higher nobility and their “families”,¹ revolved around the Monarch. From him and to him flowed all things. Through marriages the majority of the grandees were related, one to another, if not in first, at least in second or third degrees. As occurs in all families, inter-relatedness bred not only strong loyalties but also rivalries and hatreds. The family was an important, but not an exclusive tie: needless to say, greed and ambition also played their part.

In this chapter an analysis will be made of the movements of key Court figures, fundamentally during the two years 1646 and 1647. The expulsion of Manuel de Acevedo y Zúñiga, Count of Monterrey, from Court in 1646 will be examined in detail with reference to fresh evidence found in the Oviedo/Tapia correspondence. From this incident the speculation it produced at Court will be explored, together with the manner in which rumours and Court gossip could be manipulated by people not present at Court. An attempt will be made to draw conclusions regarding the balance of power during these two crucial years in the reign of Philip IV.

The central administration of the Catholic Monarchy was organized around the King's household. Councils, responsible for certain sections of the Monarchy's affairs, advised the King on policy. There were twelve of these councils in total: the Council of State and the Council of War, the Councils of Castile, Aragon, Portugal, Italy, Indies and Flanders, responsible for affairs pertaining to their regions, the Council of Inquisition, the Councils of

¹. See chapter 2 for an explanation of this term.

Finance and Crusade, responsible for raising money, and the Council of Orders, which administered, and admitted people to, the military orders of Santiago, Alcántara and Calatrava. Along with these councils there was the Chamber of Castile which was responsible for crown appointments, as well as various *Juntas*, of both a permanent nature, such as the *Junta* of State, and of a temporary nature, such as the various *Juntas* of finance, formed to resolve specific problems. In addition to these official institutions there were people who occupied positions in the King's personal household, as for example, his *mayordomo*, or his Confessor. The latter advised the King on both personal and political affairs. Generally speaking, the closer the contact of the office with the King, the more influence its holder enjoyed.

The kingdoms, principalities and duchies embracing the Indies, Navarre, Valencia, Catalonia, Sicily, Sardinia, Naples, Milan and Portugal had resident Viceroy, who administered in the King's name. The Viceroy was chosen exclusively from the grandees, with the viceroalties of Naples and Sicily being the most prestigious. Other positions of importance, sought by the grandees, were those of command in the army, sea defences, as well as embassies. These posts offered opportunities to excel, and thus be rewarded. Apart from the position of Confessor Royal, other ecclesiastical appointments also gave their holders great influence. Amongst the most influential were those which required residence at Court, such as the Inquisitor General, the Patriarch of the Indies or the Archbishop of Toledo. Other bishops, along with well-known theologians - such as professors from Salamanca, Alcalá and Valladolid - were called on regularly to advise the King on the moral implications of proposed policy.²

After the fall of the Count-Duke of Olivares in February 1643 there had been

². See Martínez, *op cit.*, pp.304-402 for an example of this process, referred to in the previous chapter.

two basic interests at Court: those who wished for a clean-sweep of government with the King dispensing with *validos*, and those who wished to step into Olivares' shoes. Pedro de Tapia, the dukes of Infantado, Medinaceli, Montalto and Osuna, along with Quevedo, fell into this first group. The second group was comprised of the Count-Duke's clientele, and was destined to succeed. This group was made up firstly of the Count-Duke's relatives: Monterrey, Leganés, Haro, Castrillo and Medina de las Torres; and secondly of the Count-Duke's supporters: Cardinal Borja, Villahermosa, Castañeda and Oñate. All of these contenders were both allies - in favour of a *valimiento*, - and rivals - in that they all, naturally, thought that they themselves should be *valido*. In early 1646, amongst the group of the Count-Duke's friends, Borja and Oñate had died, Castañeda was dying - he died in August 1646 - and Villahermosa was old and infirm, dying in August 1647. The fight was then on in earnest amongst Olivares' relatives.

Don Manuel de Acevedo y Zúñiga was sixth Count of Monterrey, cousin and brother-in-law - by his sister and his wife - to Olivares. Monterrey had served as Viceroy in Naples between 1633 and 1636. This had given him a reputation for cupidity "documented in papers shown by Olivares to the King."³ During the last years of Olivares' rule Monterrey had been on increasingly worse terms with his all-powerful brother-in-law. In 1646 he was resident at Court in charge of the *Junta* of State - which met in his house - and was a frequent adviser of the King.

The first Marquis of Leganés, don Diego Mexía Felípez de Guzmán, was first cousin to Olivares. Leganés had followed a military career which between 1640-1642 had placed him as head of the army in Catalonia. Following the 1642 disaster, when "in dead, wounded and prisoners Leganés lost half of

³. Elliott, *Olivares, op cit.*, p.661.

his men",⁴ he had been placed in charge of the army in Badajoz. He remained here, in disgrace, until 1646.

As was seen in chapter 2, the Count of Castrillo was Luis de Haro's paternal uncle, although considerably younger than the Marquis of Carpio, his brother. Prior to the Count-Duke's overthrow in 1643, Castrillo had been "assiduously cultivating the Queen."⁵ He hoped to gain influence with Philip through her, and take over his brother-in law's position. The death of the Queen in 1644 dealt a harsh blow to this ambition. Subsequently he was forced to share power with his less technically able but more popular nephew. The relationship between Castrillo and Haro should not be taken as implying their implicit co-operation, since they were described as being of "no kind of kin."⁶

October 1645 saw Luis de Haro leave Madrid on the necessary, but menial, task of supervising the arrival of the treasure-fleets in Cadiz.⁷ He was not to return to Court until April 1646. Between the Count-Duke's overthrow in 1643 and early 1646 Haro had been frequently absent from Court. This fact alone must challenge any theory that Haro was the automatic successor to his uncle. Neither did he enjoy control over the key positions at Court. Castrillo enjoyed more influence on both the Council of Finance - having been a frequent member of *juntas* - and on the Council of Castile, where he was a Councillor. Castrillo was also a member of the influential Chamber of Castile. Monterrey controlled the *Junta* of State and Haro was not a member of the Council of State. Haro did not hold any post in the King's household and never had free access to the Alcázar. What Haro did have, however, was considerable charm, warmth and polish of manner. He was very

⁴ . *Ibid.*, p.637.

⁵ . *Ibid.*, p.642.

⁶ . *Ibid.*, p.642. He was thus described by the Duke of Clarendon.

⁷ . *Cartas*, Tapia to Oviedo, 19.1.1647, ff.203-4.

persuasive. This was in contrast to Castrillo's more inflexible nature and Medina de las Torres' manifest ambition.

In early 1646 Medina de las Torres was sojourning on his estates near Valencia, where he had been since his return from Naples in 1644.⁸ On his return, after six years absence in Naples, he was less influential than he had been before his father-in-law's fall. Don Ramiro Felípez Nuñez de Guzmán had been married, briefly, to Olivares' only daughter, the Marchioness of Liche. Despite her subsequent death in childbirth, he had remained a favoured minister of Olivares. He had been sent to Naples in 1637, partly due to the prestige of the position, partly to improve the image of the Viceroy after the corrupt rule of Monterrey, and partly to remove him from Court where he was growing in influence, to the discomfort of Olivares. While in Naples, in 1637, he married Anna di Carraffa, Princess of Stigliano (Astillano), daughter of a very wealthy Neapolitan family. On his return to Castile he was counted amongst the wealthiest nobles in the Monarchy. This fact, given the impoverishment of the grandees of Castile, increased the resentment felt against him as an *arriviste*. He occupied the position of *Sumiller de Corps*, which gave him unlimited access to the royal palaces and the King's person.

In 1646 the Duke of Medinaceli was acting as *Capitán del Mar Océano* in Puerto de Santa María. His occupancy of this post illustrates the King's confidence in his trustworthiness since it involved the defence of the treasure-fleets. ⁹ The Duke of Infantado, whilst at Court, protected their interest, before taking up a position as head of the cavalry in Fraga. Don

⁸ . Stradling, *Spain, op cit.*, p. 256.

⁹ . The ninth Duke of Medina Sidonia, Gaspar Alonso Pérez de Guzmán el Bueno, was involved in 1641 in a plot to make Andalusia an independent kingdom, following the example of his brother-in-law the Duke of Braganza in Portugal. He was thus replaced by Medinaceli as *capitán del Mar Océano*. Antonio Domínguez Ortiz has an account of this affair in *Crisis y decadencia de la España de los Austrias*, Madrid, 1977, pp.113-157.

Gaspar Téllez Girón, fifth Duke of Osuna, who was married to Infantado's cousin the second Duchess of Uceda, doña Feliche de Sandoval y Enríquez, was also at Court. The sixth Duke of Montalto was Viceroy of Sardinia. Don Luis de Moncada y Aragón was Medinaceli's cousin and nephew, being the son of his half-sister, doña Juana de la Cerda. Both Infantado and Medinaceli had been patrons of Quevedo. It was "on the night of 7 December 1639 [that ...] Francisco de Quevedo [was arrested] at the town house of Medinaceli ... who himself was banished from Madrid."¹⁰ It had been Infantado himself, under pressure, who had denounced Quevedo. The event did not lead to an improvement of relations between the houses of Mendoza and Cerda and that of Guzmán.

According to Elliott:

During the 1630s a group of his [Medinaceli's] friends used to meet regularly in his house for literary and political discussions. They eagerly discussed such subjects as whether kings should have favourites.¹¹

In 1644, Infantado, along with Osuna and Montalto, was linked to a group plotting to oust Haro from power.¹² These four dukes enjoyed enormous patronage in the Catholic Monarchy, and Haro had no wish to make the same error as Olivares in alienating them. Their vast wealth and "the size and importance of the Mendoza clientage system",¹³ headed by Infantado, gave them huge influence. The three families of Cerda, Mendoza and Aragón, together with that of Borja, were the noble families with the closest and most recent royal links. Any regime would seek their overt political support. The key, that is, the deciding factor, in any conclusive bid for power, lay in gaining the support of this anti-*valimiento* group. 1646 was to see this take place. The result, however, was not what the contenders had in

¹⁰. *Olivares, op cit.*, p.553.

¹¹. *Ibid.*, p.554.

¹². *Ibid.*, p.666. Montalto was not a permanent ally: in 1655 he denounced Infantado for corruption.

¹³. *Ibid.*, p.135.

mind.

In summary, in the winter of 1645-6, Medinaceli, along with Haro, were in Cadiz, supervising the arrival of treasure. Castrillo, Monterrey, Infantado and Osuna were at Court. Medina de las Torres was on his estates in Valencia and Leganés was in Badajoz. In mid-March, 1646,¹⁴ the Duchess of San Lúcar, Inés de Zúñiga, Monterrey's sister and Olivares' widow, arrived at Court. On 2 February 1646 don Felipe de Silva, the head of the army in Catalonia, had died. As a result Leganés came to Court with a view to succeeding him. This combination of circumstances was to prove explosive.

On 4th April 1646¹⁵, Oviedo wrote the following abrupt and breathless letter to friar Pedro:

Señor.

Mui esparcida está la voz y no se habla de una cossa sino de que el P. Confessor¹⁶ y el Sr. D. Ant|oni|o de Contreras fueron de parte de Su Mag|esta|d a decir al Sr. Conde de Monterrei que se fuesse a sus lugares y si quería que le visitassen se le concedería, pero que de una manera o otra los cargos que tenía se avían de proveer. Dicen que ha pedido visita, y el estarse en su güerto lo último se le ha denegado, y el negocio debe de tener mucho fondo y está de mala calidad al parecer de todos. La causa que aia hecho tomar esta resolución tan sin pensar, da mucho de discurrir, unos dicen que son resultados de la visita del Sr. Duq|ue| de Medina de las Torres,¹⁷ acerca del tiempo que fue Virrei de Nápoles, otros que quejas del Reino por los ofendidos que dexó que han estado clamando siempre. Oi la venida de mi Sr^a la Duquesa de S[an] Lúcar, su hermana y si hicieron nido o oposición a la privanza otros que escribió al Sr. D. Luis [de Haro] desconfiándole del Sr. Conde de Castrillo, todo esto es incierto, y también lo debe de ser decir de que un papel que dexó el secret|ari|o Roças¹⁸ a Su Mag|esta|d es causa desta novedad y de otros muchos que se esperan y esta tarde me dixo una pers|on|a a quien el Sr. Bart|olom|é

¹⁴. *Cartas*, Oviedo to Tapia, 21.3.1646, ff.46-7.

¹⁵. This letter is the only one in the collection not to be dated. It is noted by friar Pedro as "Saturday", and, given the nature of the mail, it is reasonable to assume the letter was written for the Wednesday *estafeta* of 4 April.

¹⁶. Juan Martínez - see chapter 2 for a short biography.

¹⁷. See Stradling, *Spain*, *op cit.*, p.255, for an account of the "visit" made to Medina de las Torres, ostensibly to investigate his mal-administration in Naples.

¹⁸. Andrés de Rozas died 31 March 1646 and according to Novoa left the King a paper confessing his corruption. See CODOIN, Vol. 86, pp.222-230. Andrés de Rozas, was, before his death, the most powerful secretary in the Monarchy, having been made a Councillor of Indies in January 1646 and being Secretary of State for the North in Government since 1630. He had also been Secretary of *Despacho* since 1643. See Escudero, *op cit.*, pp.703-6.

Morquecho¹⁹ le avía dicho, io soi ministro y no puedo hablar pero mui rebuelto está todo lo de allá arriba. Fer[nan]do de Contreras²⁰ le mandan que se quede con lo qual i[gl]nora otro en el despacho con Su Mag[esta]d.

El pueblo con menos ocasión pide los que le parece están culpados y a fee de muchos que señala se podía sacar buen golpe de hacienda para el ejército el P. Confessor dicen todos que tiene grande mano, de su celo y justificación bien se debe esperar que hará todo lo que pudiere de su parte en servicio de las dos magestades.

En el despacho maneja de todo genero de negocios y resoluciones el Sr. Conde de Castrillo tiene absoluto el dominio en opinión de todos. Algunos dicen que en viniendo el Sr. D. Luis [de Haro] se han de ver cossas particulares, io creo que es porque los desean la benignidad de Su Mag[esta]d es tan grande que creen se reducirá con grandíss[im]a dificultad a lo que mira a rigor. Dios le alumbre en todo.²¹

Friar Pedro replied opening with a reference to the present he was to make to the King when he went to visit him in Atienza:

Lo de los dulces está muy bien resuelto y siempre ha sido ese mi dictamen contra algunos que acá hazían instancia gobernados con menos atención de la que tiene vm. y menos noticias. Y assí espero que el mozo venga sin ellas. Salió de aquí martes al medio día. Y assí llegaría ay [léase ahí] el jueves temprano y la guardamos esta noche o mañana temprano.

Este caso no me ha hecho novedad. Y si vm. se acuerda, diziéndome en una ocasión q[ue] tenía gran mano [el P. Confessor] respondí a la margen q[ue] le padecía engaño. Como también aora en muchos de los juicios q[ue] aquí se refieren en la materia. Bien pudiéramos en ella alargar un paseo en el Ross[ari]o más para aquí basta.²²

Estoy muy seguro del favor q[ue] vm. me haze y con esa confianza me atreviera a suplicar a vm. la venida si fuera forçoso y con menor ocasión lo hiziera mirando mi interés sino se atrabajara la descomodidad de vm. De aquí a mañana aguardo que tendremos más puntual aviso de la venida de Su Mag[esta]d digo de el día que entrará en Atienza donde le hemos de b.l.m. [léase besar la mano]. Irán 4 comiss[ari]os conmigo de cabildo q[ue] me ha pedido lo haga assí porq[ue] les parece va la igl[esi]a con más decaimient[o]²³ con el Prelado. Yo llebaré lo ordin[ari]o dos capellanes y 4 pajes y oficiales inferiores los necess[ari]os y allí ay mucha clemencia que assiste siempre en estas ocasiones. Voy a posar al conv[en]to de San Fran[cis]co que ay allí. Y si el P. Confessor no viene por aquí tendrá allí aposento prevenido.

Es así que todo esto es incierto y lo tengo por falso y otras conjet[ur]as ni sé q[ue] con este suceso tengan conexión otras novedades.

Puede ser q[ue] pasando por visita todo sea nada.

Sigüenza. sábado.²⁴

In summary, the facts, as presented in this letter, are as follows: 1. that Juan Martínez, the Confessor Royal, and Antonio de Contreras went to the house

¹⁹ . Bartolomé Morquecho was the son of an *Alcalde* of the *Audiencia* of Seville. He was married to Francisca de Rojas y Sandoval. In 1629 he was made *Alcalde de Casa y Corte* from a position as *Oidor de Granada*. In 1637 he was a Councillor of Indies and in 1644 he was elected by the King to the Council of Castile. See Appendix V.

²⁰ . This is a reference to Fernando Ruiz de Contreras who will be considered later in the text.

²¹ . *Cartas*, Oviedo to Tapia, 4.4.1646, ff.58-9.

²² . The Rosario was the Madrid friary where the Confessor Royal lived.

²³ . *Decaimiento* means with less prestige.

²⁴ . *Cartas*, Tapia to Oviedo, 4.4.1646. ff.58-9.

of the Count of Monterrey at an unusual time; 2. that the Duke of Medina de las Torres, who had been Viceroy in Naples after Monterrey, had received an official "visit" regarding his conduct as Viceroy; 3. that Monterrey's sister, Inés de Zúñiga, had returned to Court; 4. that Bartolomé Morquecho, a Councillor of Castile, had admitted that *something* had happened.

In *Philip IV and the government of Spain 1621-1665* Stradling speculates on the possibility of an attempted *coup* between Leganés and Monterrey, which resulted in the King taking the action against Monterrey, of which the letter deals:

It was during one of don Luis' absences - he writes - that Monterrey and Leganés tried to regain the King's favour. Many important details of this incident, which perhaps was not as serious as to be termed a *coup*, are still unclear.²⁵

Stradling states that after Monterrey's return to Court in late 1645:

Leganés deserted in March 1646 ... He then presented himself in Madrid to put his case personally before the King ... and asked that not only should he be absolved of his disgrace but also that he should be promoted. The reaction of the monarch consisted in banishing Monterrey ... Philip IV ordered Haro to return promptly to Madrid where he arrived shortly after the departure of Monterrey ... Leganés did not receive any punishment.²⁶

The Oviedo/Tapia correspondence contains a version of events which poses serious problems with reference to the Stradling reading.

As has already been seen, Luis de Haro had been in Cadiz since October 1645. On 3 February 1646 Oviedo reported: "Oí se ha dicho que D. Phelippe de Silva es muerto con que será fuerza poner quien gobierne las armas de Cataluña."²⁷ On 6 February "dícese por cierto que Su Mag[esta]d ha mandado venir al Sr. Marqués de Leganés y se presume que es para

²⁵ . Stradling, *Spain, op cit.*, p.367-8.

²⁶ . *Ibid.*, p.368.

²⁷ . *Cartas*, Oviedo to Tapia, 3.2.1646, ff.21-2. Felipe de Silva had been put in charge of Catalonia after Leganés. Following his victory at Lérida in 1644 he was made a Marquis and given an *encomienda*.

encargarle las armas de Cataluña.”²⁸ “El jueves [8.2.1646] entró aquí el Sr. Duque de Alba [quien también estaba en Badajoz] y dentro de dos o tres días esperan al Sr. Marqués de Leganés.”²⁹ From this timetable of events it can be seen that Leganés was in Madrid by mid-February, and could not, therefore, have “deserted in March”. On 24 February Oviedo stated that “no se sabe con certeza ... la persona que ocupará en Badajoz el lugar del Sr. Marqués de Leganés”.³⁰ This statement followed the arrival in Madrid of Leganés. The King was said to have given him much praise and stated that if he had many Leganeses the Catalanian war would already have been won.³¹ Friar Pedro sceptically replied to this information that if provision for the army were not improved, not even five-hundred Leganeses would win the war.³² On 28 February don Francisco reported that “se tiene por cierto”³³ that Leganés would go to Catalonia. One week later still “dixeron que al Sr. Marqués de Leganés se le encargan las armas de Cataluña y que en las ocasiones pueda obrar como le pareciesse sin dependencia del consejo del estado.”³⁴ Leganés, therefore, was appointed commander of the army in early March. The concession to allow him to work without the Council of State, from the point of view of the Castrillo interest, who had no power on the *Junta*, served as a departure warrant for Monterrey.

The view of events thus represented in the Oviedo/Tapia correspondence suggests that following the death of Felipe de Silva the King sent to Extremadura for Leganés to come to Madrid. The inference drawn from this action by the Court and by Leganés himself, was that Catalonia was to be placed under his charge. In these circumstances it was important that

²⁸ . *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 10.2.1646, ff.23-4.

²⁹ . *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 10.2.1646, ff.25-6.

³⁰ . *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 24.2.1646, ff.30-1.

³¹ . *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 24.2.1646, ff.30-1.

³² . *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, 24.2.1646, ff.30-1.

³³ . *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 28.2.1646, ff.32-3.

³⁴ . *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 8.3.1646, ff.34-5.

Leganés *should* write the letter to the King Stradling quotes.³⁵ It was considered normal behaviour to send patrons a letter with a resumé of one's merits when a post was available.³⁶

After having considered the facts of the case, the speculations it produced must also be taken into account, for one has to evaluate not only what did happen but also what people thought was happening. The evidence was that two of the King's ministers had paid an unexpected visit to Monterrey. This in itself was surprising since members of the Court were mainly relatives who had been friends and/or acquaintances for many years. They *knew* each other, and they knew what to expect in the conduct of each other. The news was that Monterrey had been banished. The reasons for the banishment which appear in don Francisco's letter are as follows: i) Monterrey's misconduct in Naples; ii) Monterrey's misconduct in general; iii) Monterrey and Inés de Zúñiga, if left together at Court, could become a focus for conspiracy; iv) Monterrey's opposition to Castrillo; v) the interpersonal competition of Castrillo and Monterrey; vi) a paper the ex-Secretary of State for Italy, Andrés de Rozas, had given the King on his death; and vii) to allow the government to collect more taxes.

These reasons immediately illustrate that Monterrey's corruption was taken as an accepted public fact. All ministers made money from their positions and Viceroys of Naples more so than any others.³⁷ Olivares had, some six years previously, shown papers to the King proving Monterrey's corruption.³⁸ Given that the King had known of Monterrey's "dissolute

³⁵ . Stradling, *Spain.*, *op cit.*, p.368.

³⁶ . See, for example, Fernando Ruiz de Contreras to the King, BN MSS 3.255, doc. 39, f.184.

³⁷ . Viceroys of both Naples and Sicily would be more accurate. Monterrey, Osuna and Medina de las Torres were "investigated" regarding corruption in Naples. In 1657 Castrillo returned from the *Regno* with huge riches. Osuna and later Infantado were both rumoured to have made enormous sums dishonestly from Sicily. See *Avisos*, *op cit.*, 6.5.1656, p.276, about a memorial given the King by Montalto regarding Infantado.

³⁸ . Olivares, *op cit.*, p.553.

life" for over six years, this fact, in itself, would not necessarily prompt this precipitate action. The speculators reasoned that the people affected by Monterrey's avarice had *finally* managed to persuade the King - with the paper Rozas left on his death tipping the balance. Corruption was a weapon to be used by the powerful to topple their enemies; it was never, by itself, a reason for their dismissal.

The second theory in the letter is that Monterrey was opposed to the regime in general and the Count of Castrillo in particular. Monterrey and Leganés had not benefitted as much as they would have liked from the overthrow of Olivares. They had, in their eyes, suffered considerably.³⁹ It is doubtful, however, how much they were in league. Elliott states that the "Count-Duke had treated Leganés like a son."⁴⁰ Notwithstanding this, following the Catalonian disaster of 1642, Olivares had attempted to distance himself from Leganés using the classical political manoeuvre of blaming all faults on subordinates, whilst reserving all successes for themselves. Monterrey had similarly lost Olivares' trust in 1640 following the Duke of Alba's refusal to work as his subordinate in the campaign against Portugal.⁴¹ These reasons would have given the two noblemen only a tenuous reason for sympathy, rather than active alliance. Monterrey and Leganés were never suspected of conniving to oust Castrillo. However, neither Monterrey nor Leganés owed any allegiance to Castrillo. On the contrary, Monterrey was an acknowledged enemy. With the politically ambitious Leganés being allowed to act without the approval of the Council of State and Monterrey controlling the *Junta*, Castrillo needed to prevent Monterrey increasing his power over internal affairs, while he, Castrillo, left Madrid to accompany the King to Saragossa.

³⁹ . See Stradling, *Spain, op cit.*, pp.245-50, regarding the attempted corruption trials against Monterrey and Leganés.

⁴⁰ . *Olivares, op cit.*, p.636.

⁴¹ . *Ibid.*, p.610.

At the end of March 1646 Leganés suffered from tertian fevers in Miralrío⁴² on his way to the front-line. There was speculation whether the illness, as in the case of the Count-Duke, would be used as a reason to “retire” Leganés. On 7 April 1646 don Francisco wrote to friar Pedro that “con esta revolución del Sr. Conde de Monterrei se ha dicho de aver alguna novedad en el Sr. Marqués de Leganés y avía de esforçar su falta de salud.”⁴³ One of friar Pedro’s principal worries upon hearing of Monterrey’s banishment was whether it would lead to “otras novedades”. Changes were not seen to come singly.

In friar Pedro’s reply to Oviedo’s startling letter, the Dominican spoke of the arrangements he had made for the King’s proposed visit to Saragossa. The two correspondents had been discussing the arrangements for this journey since the beginning of January. The original plan was to leave Madrid in the middle of March: “La jornada de Su Mag[esta]d - escribió Oviedo - dicen se ha publicado para el 15 de éste [*léase* marzo], y que se dilata la venida del Sr. D. Luis de Haro.”⁴⁴ As was frequent in the seventeenth century the plan was delayed, with the Court not departing until mid-April, when Haro had returned from Cadiz. Haro was then left behind in Madrid to “ajustar las diferencias con mi Sr^a la Duquesa de S[an] Lúcar”⁴⁵ in Loeches.⁴⁶ The Duchess of San Lúcar, despite the fall and subsequent death of her powerful husband, apparently, could still wield enough influence to inconvenience her nephew.

⁴² . Miralrío is a small town about 15-20 kms south of Sigüenza. Tertian fevers were fevers suffered on every third day counting consecutively, i.e. every other day.

⁴³ . *Cartas*, Oviedo to Tapia, 7.4.1646, ff.60-1.

⁴⁴ . *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 8.3.1646, ff.34-5.

⁴⁵ . *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 18.4.1646, ff.64-5.

⁴⁶ . Loeches was Olivares’ house situated just to the east of Madrid. There was a popular refrain which said: “Lo echés en Loeches.”

Speculation was raised at Court regarding who would accompany the King to Saragossa. There was particular concern about the Count of Castrillo.⁴⁷ On March 14, 1646, it was said that “crece la duda si irá también el Sr. Conde de Castrillo”,⁴⁸ and a week later some members of the Court “tienen por sin duda que va el Sr. Conde de Castrillo.”⁴⁹ Castrillo had been one of the ministers left in Madrid during the King’s previous trips to Saragossa, and so it was a significant sign of his growing favour that he should be included on this visit. On March 23 friar Pedro speculated on a probable list of ministers who would journey north with the King. He wrote:

los ministros principales como el Sr. D. Luis de Haro si viene, o Sr. Conde de Castrillo, P[adr]e Confessor, Sr. Patriarca, Sr. Don Fer[nan]do de Borja, Secr[etari]o Rozas, Sr. D. Antonio de Contreras.⁵⁰

The inclusion of Monterrey was not considered. As it became clear to Castrillo that he was to be included amongst the ministers to journey north, an alternative to leaving Monterrey alone in Madrid became imperative.

Of those referred to here and not previously mentioned, it must be borne in mind that the Patriarch of the Indies was don Alonso Pérez de Guzmán el Bueno,⁵¹ Archbishop of Tyre and Chief Chaplain and Almoner. He enjoyed a salary of 10,000 *ducados* a year. He was the brother of the eighth Duke of Medina Sidonia and the dowager Duchess of Pastrana. He was thus the maternal uncle of doña María de Silva, Duchess of Infantado. He enjoyed amicable relations with both her and her husband, despite worsening relations with his nephew the Duke of Pastrana. In the case of Fernando de Borja - another correspondent of sor María de Ágreda - he was the uncle of Francisco de Borja, Councillor of Orders and brother of the Duke of Villahermosa. Moreover, he was a personal friend of friar Pedro’s.

⁴⁷ . Castrillo had never been on a *jornada* before.

⁴⁸ . *Cartas*, Oviedo to Tapia, 14.3.1646, ff.40-1.

⁴⁹ . *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 21.3.1646, ff.46-7.

⁵⁰ . *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, 23.3.1646, ff.48-9.

⁵¹ . Ruiz García, *op cit.*, pp.449-71.

On the evening of Monday 18 April, 1646, the King made a halt in Atienza, in the diocese of Sigüenza. It was as Bishop of Sigüenza that friar Pedro went there to kiss the King's hand. On 18 April friar Pedro sent Oviedo a list of those who actually accompanied the King: "Sres. Conde de Castrillo, Marqués del Carpio, Conde de Grajal, don Ant[oni]o de Contreras, Duque de Alburquerque, don Fer[nan]do de Borja, don Fer[nan]do Ruiz de Contreras."⁵² Juan Martínez, the Confessor Royal, travelled separately to Atienza, where he joined the party. In the event, the Patriarch of the Indies had remained in Madrid and Andrés de Rozas had died. He was replaced as Secretary by the astute social climber, don Fernando Ruiz de Contreras.

Fernando Ruiz de Contreras came from a family of Court secretaries. Both his great-grandfather and his great-great-uncle served in the Court of Ferdinand the Catholic. Juan Ruiz de Contreras had been made a Secretary to the King in 1508.⁵³ His grandfather was *Guarda Joyas* of Philip II's sister María, Queen of Bohemia and future Empress. In 1596, his father Juan Ruiz de Contreras was made *Contador de Mercedes*, and this was followed in 1604 with the post of Secretary to the Chamber of the Provinces of New Spain. In 1616 Juan was promoted to Secretary to the Council of Indies, and it was here that his son, Fernando, began his administrative career, being made *oficial mayor* of the Council. Fernando served in this position, covering the absences of his father until 1621, when, due to a serious illness of his father, he was made Secretary to the King, having been promised his father's position on the latter's death. Following the death of his father in 1625 Fernando was made Receiver of the Council of Indies. In 1628 he was made Secretary of the Kingdoms and Provinces of Peru, which was his area of specialization within the Council. In 1629 Fernando went to Seville to

⁵². *Cartas*, Tapia to Oviedo, 18.4.2646, ff.64-5.

⁵³. All this information is found in BN MSS 3.255.

supervise the arrival and despatch of the fleet. On his return to Madrid in 1630 he took over Andrés de Rozas' post as Secretary on the latter's promotion to Secretary of State. In 1631 he became Secretary of War on Land during the absences of the holder of the post. This same year he received the habit of the Order of Santiago. His career in the 1630s appears to have been overshadowed by the meteoric rise of Gerónimo de Villanueva.⁵⁴ Nonetheless by January 1646 he had received a *Capa y Espada* post on the Council of Indies. He was a member of the *Junta* of War, and served as Secretary of State during the absences of Andrés de Rozas, recently promoted to the Council of Indies. On the latter's sudden death on March 31, Contreras inherited his post. After the arrest of Gerónimo de Villanueva by the Inquisition in 1643 Fernando occupied, in the interim, his posts. On Gerónimo's release in 1647, and subsequent withdrawal from Court, Fernando petitioned the King for his post as Secretary of State for Spain, which he was granted in 1648. The possible part that Fernando played in the ruin of Villanueva's career has never been considered by historians, and is an area which needs investigation.

It should also be borne in mind that the Duke of Alburquerque was Francisco Fernández de la Cueva. He was a cousin of Medinaceli's half-sister Juana de la Cerda, and also of Juan de la Cerda y la Lama, fifth Marquis of Ladrada. Alburquerque was married to Ana Enríquez de Cabrera y Colona, the sister of the ninth Admiral of Castile, Juan Alonso Enríquez de Cabrera y Mendoza. Alburquerque was one of the older generation of courtiers and was a member of the Council of State and Governor of the Council of Aragon. The Count of Grajal was don Juan de la Vega y Enríquez de Toledo, a personal friend of both Luis de Haro and his wife doña Catalina Fernández de Córdoba.

⁵⁴. See Puyol, *op cit.*, for a biography of Villanueva.

Oviedo's letter about Monterrey states that the "Conde de Castrillo tiene absoluto dominio"⁵⁵ and that Monterrey had written a letter to Haro "desconfiándole del Sr. Conde de Castrillo."⁵⁶ At that time it was never perceived that Haro and Castrillo amicably shared power, on the contrary they were seen to be in constant competition for it. On 3 February 1646 don Francisco told friar Pedro that "el Sr. Conde de Castrillo en opinión de todos es quien en su ausencia [de Haro] lo dispone todo."⁵⁷ Friar Pedro replied that "ésta tengo por cierto y siempre tendrá mano más que su sobrino porq[ue] es más activo aunq[ue] la voluntad [del Rey] creo es más al segundo."⁵⁸ However, three weeks later Oviedo wrote that "mi Sr^a Condessa [de Olivares] su muger tiene mucha mano y el Sr. Conde de Castrillo va allá todos los días".⁵⁹ Even with Haro out of the way in Cadiz, Castrillo had to contend with the influence of Haro's wife, who was left in Madrid for the express purpose of watching Castrillo.

A wife was the most trust-worthy of all watchers. This simple fact gave women an importance in seventeenth-century politics almost entirely ignored by historians. The nature of patronage and Court politics meant that contact needed to be maintained with the King. This explains the paramount importance in 1643 placed on the expulsion of Inés de Zúñiga, Count-Duchess of Olivares, from Court. While she remained there, Olivares himself remained represented at Court, and received a reliable report of all that his enemies did. Francisco de Oviedo worked in this capacity for friar Pedro, and along with the Duke of Infantado and the Marchioness of Ladrada, for the Duke of Medinaceli. The watcher had two roles: those of gatherer and diffuser of information.

⁵⁵. *Cartas*, Oviedo to Tapia, 4.4.1646, ff.58-9.

⁵⁶. *Ibid.*

⁵⁷. *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 3.2.1646, ff.21-2.

⁵⁸. *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, 3.2.1646, ff.21-2.

⁵⁹. *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 24.2.1646, ff.30-1.

On 3 February 1646 don Francisco wrote:

la venida [a Cádiz] de los galeones ... dicen le dio a Su Mag[esta]d el Sr. Conde de Castrillo [y] todos tienen por cierto que el Sr. Duque de Medina fue quien envió el aviso, y algunos han estrañado q[ue] estando el Sr. D. Luis de Haro en Cádiz, quisiese ganarle la bendición.⁶⁰

This was the beginning of a rumour that Medinaceli was trying to curry favour with the King at the expense of Haro. There was also a conflict between Medinaceli and Castrillo over the distribution of the treasure. The basic problem was that Medinaceli was constantly having to spend his own income for the King's work,⁶¹ and consequently felt that he should receive a larger portion of the silver brought in the fleet than Castrillo thought reasonable. Oviedo informed friar Pedro:

Se resolvió a tomar la plata que le traía el barco. Dicen que era cossa de 16V ds y destos tomó ocho mill[.] El Conde de Castrillo no ha entrado bien en el negocio y respondió que no podía ser juez en negocios del Duque pero como pariente y amigo, el péssame mucho de que aun soldados y armas que el Consejo de Indias verán lo que se deberá hacer. Acá no ha parecido bien, y anoche escribí a Su Ex[celenci]a que en estos finezas se perdía más que ganara, y lo que hacía por servicio de Su Mag[esta]d se convertía en pleitos propios.⁶²

Friar Pedro commented that "las finezas del Duque son más costosas que lucidas [y] para Su Ex[celenci]a creo lo sería más el retirarse con buena razón".⁶³ Medinaceli tended to treat the affair with the lack of seriousness berated by friar Pedro.⁶⁴ Friar Pedro advised in this instance: "fuera mucho mejor ser actor en esta causa que reo."⁶⁵ As a result Medinaceli "escribió al Sr. Duque del Infantado y al Sr. Conde de Castrillo con un papel de los motivos que tuvo en el negocio de los barcos."⁶⁶ Infantado was used in this case to divulge the correct information at Court and prevent Castrillo from encouraging false rumours about it. In a similar manner, in another

60. *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 3.2.1646, ff.21-2

61. A. Paz y Melía, (Ed.), *Archivo y biblioteca de la Casa de Medinaceli. Series de sus principales documentos*, Vol.I, 1915, p.90, is a letter from Medinaceli which states he had spent 503,000 *ducados* on the King's service, without recompense, between 1639-43.

62. *Cartas*, Oviedo to Tapia, 18.2.1646, ff.27-8.

63. *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, 18.2.1646, ff.27-8.

64. See chapter 3.

65. *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, 28.2.1646, ff.32-3.

66. *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 10. 3.1646, ff.36-7.

situation Oviedo was able to perform the same office for friar Pedro.

Tradition dictated that friar Pedro offer a gift to the King, upon their meeting at Atienza. Friar Pedro gave the affair much consideration and constantly asked for don Francisco's advice and assistance in procuring an appropriate gift. On 19 March 1646 friar Pedro wrote to Oviedo a special letter asking him to consult with his cousin Bernardo de Oviedo about the gift. Two days later he requested don Francisco to ask Infantado for precise information of what was required. Some ten days later Oviedo despatched Infantado's advice. It was important that the correct gift be chosen, both to please the King and to maintain friar Pedro's reputation. The final choice was a lamina, some food and the promise of a monetary contribution to the army.

Ten days after the meeting with the King, Oviedo reported that a rumour had been circulating in Madrid exaggerating the value of what friar Pedro had given:

Ha importado - escribió Oviedo - que VSI me hiciesse merced de avisar lo que avía dado a Su Mag[esta]d porque han llegado muchos curiosos con terribles disparates, unos que VSI dio 20v ds en dinero para el exército, otros diez y seis escudos de oro, otros dos mill f[anega]s de trigo y dos mill de cebada y ocho mill d[ucado]s ... los que han sabido la verdad les ha parecido mui proporcionada y mui justa.⁶⁷

Friar Pedro was pleased that Oviedo had effectively quashed the rumour, as it would have damaged his reputation for charitable works, if he was thought to make ostentatious gifts to the King. Friar Pedro's reputation for holiness, disinterestedness and charity was his most valuable asset. It was important that this reputation should not be damaged in any way.

Oviedo was not friar Pedro's only contact at Court. He was, however, the most reliable. Friar Pedro was also in regular contact with his fellow

⁶⁷. *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 28.4.1646, ff.68-9.

Dominican Juan Martínez, the Confessor Royal. In his letter regarding Monterrey, Oviedo linked Juan Martínez with a “buen golpe de hacienda para el ejército” and noted that “dicen todos que tiene grande mano.”⁶⁸ Friar Pedro replied to this: “Si vm. se acuerda, diziéndome en una ocasión q[ue] tenía gran mano respondí a la margen q[ue] le padecía engaño”.⁶⁹ As the keeper of the King’s conscience Juan Martínez’s influence “no solamente se redujo a materias o problemas espirituales o religiosos”⁷⁰ but to anything which could affect the will of God. Juan Martínez was not, like his predecessor, a theologian or a celebrated academic. Although he enjoyed the title of *Maestro*, his main talent was for administration. His principal influence over the King was in the implementation of financial policy, which explains why the town of Madrid linked him to a “buen golpe de hacienda”. Friar Pedro always commanded Juan Martínez’s respect, especially in theological matters. However, in politics Juan Martínez looked after his own interests primarily, and, if they coincided with those of friar Pedro, those of them both. The contact between the two was formal, never intimate.

Despite the report of his banishment, Monterrey did not depart immediately from the Court. This started speculation as to whether the report was accurate. The Court also began to speculate on where the *Juntas* of State would be held, as Monterrey had previously held them in his house.⁷¹ Don Francisco reported:

varían extrañamente en si después de haber hablado a Su Mag[esta]d se compone el negocio del Sr. Conde de Monterrei y que continuan las juntas de Estado en su cassa, pero también dicen que puede ser como las audiencias del Sr. Conde-Duque después de caído, y no tienen por menos éste que aquél.⁷²

68. *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 4.4.1646, ff.58-9.

69. *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, 4.4.1646, ff.58-9.

70. Henar Pizarro Llorente, “El control de la conciencia regia. El confesor real Fray Bernardo de Fresneda” in José Martínez Millán (Cord.) *La Corte de Felipe II*, Madrid, 1994, p.155.

71. The *Juntas* from 1647 onwards were held in the house of Haro.

72. *Cartas*, Oveido to Tapia, 7.4.1646, ff.60-1.

Monterrey finally left Court on 11 April, which was seen by observers as permanent, similar to the final expulsion of Olivares. In fact the two cases were not similar at all.

In January 1647 the Court began to talk about the return of Monterrey to Madrid. Oviedo wrote:

Del Sr. Conde de Monterrei han dicho mui afirmativamente que no vuelve con la Presidencia de Italia, y que passarán por su mano todas las materias de Estado, y pareciera balanza que q[uan]do baja una sube otra.⁷³

This final reference was to the Count of Castrillo. Since the beginning of the new year there had been speculation upon the possible withdrawal of Castrillo. On 5 January don Francisco wrote: “Ha se vuelto a decir que va el Sr. Conde de Castrillo y todavía dura la voz de que se retira”.⁷⁴ Friar Pedro replied:

el fundam[en]to deste retiro, creo que tiene menos mysterios y menos causas de las que se presumen y yo dudo q[ue] se arranquen facilmente tan hondas raíces de Corte, porque el cortarlas es dificultoso y el arrancarlas más siendo el mynistro tan antiguo y inteligente.⁷⁵

Friar Pedro was correct in his supposition. The retirement of Castrillo was converted into his despatch to Andalusia to supervise the arrival of the treasure fleets, a dramatic role reversal between him and his nephew. Friar Pedro and Oviedo speculated upon the influence of both Castrillo and Haro and the new-found popularity of Leganés. In December 1646 Oviedo wrote:

aora sólo se duda si corren tío y sobrino con la confianza que antes, pero ia todos saben que sólo el Sr. D. Luis [de Haro] es el poderosso, y dicen que lo está en la gracia de Su Maglests[d más q[ue] nunca y mucho más que el Sr. Conde Duque.⁷⁶

Three weeks after the despatch of Castrillo to Andalusia on 19 January 1647, don Francisco reported:

el Sr. Don Luis [de Haro] está cada día con maior mano, y quien dicen la tiene grandissima en lo militar, y político, son el Sr. Marqués de Leganés y el Sr. Don Fran[cis]co Ant[oni]o de Alarcón cada uno en su profesión porque absolutamente resuelve con los dos todo lo importante en su despacho.⁷⁷

⁷³. *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 12.1.1647, ff.199-200.

⁷⁴. *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 5.1.1647, ff.197-8.

⁷⁵. *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, Medinaceli, 5.1.1647, ff.197-8.

⁷⁶. *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 12.12. 1646, ff.182-5.

⁷⁷. *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 31.1. 1647, ff.207-8.

By the end of March 1647, Monterrey was on his way back to Court. His “permanent” exile had lasted less than a year. However, it was to a Court more under the control of Haro than ever.

In April 1646 the King passed a motion to ban the performance of comedies at Court. As has been seen in chapter 4, the faction to which Medinaceli and friar Pedro belonged, as well as being against the *valimiento*, was also adamantly opposed to the theatre. The prohibition of comedies was a political concession, made by the Haro interest, to gain the support of the anti-*valimiento* faction. On the other hand the expulsion of Monterrey from Court in 1646 served two purposes: i) to appease the anti-*valimiento* faction’s dislike of corruption and profligacy represented by Monterrey and ii) to neutralize Monterrey’s influence while Haro and Castrillo were absent from Court.

The death of Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar de Mendoza y Silva, Count of Saldaña, heir to Infantado, in September 1646, provided Haro with another opportunity to gain the support of the anti-*valimiento* faction. A marriage was proposed between Medinaceli’s eldest daughter, Antonia de la Cerda, and Haro’s eldest son, Gaspar de Haro. The consequences of this alliance will be examined in the next chapter.

In mid-1646, the King, in order to counter-balance Haro’s increasing supremacy, called on the services of his old friend and Haro’s competitor, Ramiro Felípez Nuñez de Guzmán, Duke of Medina de las Torres, to supervise the reorganization of the royal household in Madrid.⁷⁸ This meant that Haro needed to increase the support he gained from the anti-*valimiento* group, in order to neutralize Medina de las Torres. Thus, from

⁷⁸ . Stradling, *Spain, op cit.*, p.259.

November 1646 onwards, Haro can be seen increasingly to support friar Pedro, Medinaceli and to a lesser degree Infantado. Haro also needed to reduce the power of Castrillo, if he himself were to retain his supremacy. For this reason Castrillo was sent to Andalusia. The return of Monterrey to Court in March 1647, suitably chastised and with offers of influence by Haro, brought him into the Haro connection.

In November 1647 Oviedo wrote that Castrillo, Haro, Monterrey and Leganés had become the “quinta esencia del Consejo de Estado”⁷⁹ and conducted all important business. By this time, however, Medina de las Torres had been officially called back to Court, where he arrived in April 1648.⁸⁰

Within the two years 1646 and 1647 the leading political figures, as has been seen, were not constantly at the side of their Monarch. Luis de Haro was absent from October 1645 to April 1646 and again in 1647 between early June and late July. Castrillo was despatched to Andalusia in January 1647 and returned in early June. Monterrey was absent from Court between April 1646 and May 1647. Leganés returned to Court in December 1646, following his successful campaign in Catalonia. Infantado was absent during his participation in the Catalonian campaign, returning to Court with Leganés in December 1646.⁸¹ Medinaceli remained in Andalusia throughout 1646 and 1647, despite his obvious desire to return to Court in 1647 to pursue his court-case against the Marquis of Priego.⁸² Friar Pedro made a brief visit to the Court, while it was in Saragossa, in October to November 1646. Medina

⁷⁹. *Cartas*, Oviedo to Tapia, 6.11. 1647, ff.347-8.

⁸⁰. *Cartas de Jesuitas*, in MHE, Vol 19, 21.4.1647, “El Duque de Medina de las Torres está cerca de aquí [Madrid] haciendo la cuarentena viene a seguir sus pleitos.”

⁸¹. In September 1647, following an argument with Haro, Infantado was expelled from Court. However, due to the illness of his wife he was allowed back a month later. See *Ibid.*, 18.9.1647 and *Cartas*, Oviedo to Tapia, 6.11.1647, ff.347-8.

⁸². See chapter 3.

de las Torres only returned to Court in April 1648. The people with the most un-interrupted contact with the King were the Secretary don Francisco Ruiz de Contreras, the Confessor Royal, Juan Martínez and two people with considerable influence - the Marquis of Carpio and don Antonio de Contreras of the Council of Castile. These people can be roughly separated into two groups: the anti-*valimiento* group, including Antonio de Contreras and Juan Martínez; and the Haro interest, which included Carpio and Ruiz de Contreras.

A system of government based on particular politicians obviously varies according to the person in control, and various differences can be noted between the manner of Olivares' supremacy and that of Haro. Olivares' system followed his character: it demanded firm loyalties and hard work. Olivares had a love of mastery and rather than concede a point to an opponent he preferred to lose the issue. His style led him into confrontation on many matters, where tact would have been more productive. The character of Luis de Haro was more inoffensive, placatory and conciliatory. Haro preferred to win allegiance by conceding the point rather than winning it. Haro was, above all, eager to maintain his reputation for being a pleasant man.

Haro needed the support of the anti-*valimiento* faction to maintain his sphere of patronage. He thus conceded to them their requirement of an improved morality at Court: hence comedies were banned. Given the behaviour of Haro's son, the Marquis of Liche, during the 1650s⁸³, it is impossible to believe Haro personally objected to comedies. Nonetheless the concession gratified the friar Pedro interest and won their support.

Haro used his influence to manipulate the residence of his potential

⁸³. See *Avisos, op cit.*, for comments on Liche.

opponents. In September 1647 Haro and Infantado had an argument which resulted in Infantado - at Haro's instigation - being banished from Court. One month later, on the illness of the Duchess of Infantado, all was forgiven, and Infantado was allowed to return to Court. It was, however, on the understanding that it was due to Haro's goodness that this was allowed. This affair was identical in its outcome to that of Monterrey, with the miscreant being forgiven and subsequently being obliged to the pardoner for his reinstatement. Two years later, in 1649, Infantado was offered the embassy in Rome and subsequently the Viceroyalty of Sicily. He was, by these means, kept out of Court until 1655, when he returned to the peninsula to die.⁸⁴ In the case of Haro's uncle, Castrillo, the fact that he gained influence in 1646 meant that he was despatched to Andalusia in January 1647. In 1654 Castrillo in his turn was sent to Naples as Viceroy, and so received some compensation for his removal from Court. As may be seen in both these cases of Infantado and Castrillo, the opponents were promoted out of influence.

The only other contender for *valido* that Haro failed to manipulate successfully was the Duke of Medina de las Torres, whom the King tenaciously maintained at his side from 1648 onwards. This failure to control such a key-figure really indicates the incompleteness of a Haro bid for *valido*. This lack of supremacy, added to the fact that Haro was not allowed the same degree of dominance as Olivares, was due to an obvious and often overlooked fact: Philip IV in 1643 was not the callow youth of sixteen so easily dominated by Olivares that he had been in 1621. All other character defects apart, a man of thirty-seven, with a long experience in Court politics, was not as easy to dominate as an adolescent. Haro's was such a nature that the concession of sharing power with Medina de las Torres was preferable to him to losing either his influence or his reputation for

⁸⁴. See *ibid.*

being the friendly peace-maker. If Medina de las Torres had appeared likely to achieve his ambition to become *valido*, Haro would have intrigued as much as possible to get him expelled from Court. This never became the case, and Haro thus contented himself with removing the remaining contenders.

Chapter 7

The exercise of influence through reputation: Death, Illness, Marriage and Advancement.

In the previous chapters friar Pedro's opinions and influence in the areas of morality, finance and politics have been examined. The crucial question remains, however, of *how* exactly this influence was exerted. In this chapter, therefore, this question will be addressed by investigating four themes which are dealt with in the Oviedo/Tapia correspondence, namely: the death of Baltasar Carlos in Saragossa, the illness of doña Catalina Fernández de Córdoba, the proposed marriage of Gaspar de Haro y Aragón, Marquis of Liche, and Antonia María de la Cerda, and the attempt to obtain a habit of Santiago for Luis González de Oviedo, Francisco de Oviedo's son. Because what is of interest here is the operation of a power network in the crucial years of 1646-1647, the way influence was gained and used will be demonstrated, and the very complex nature of political connections, so many based on the ephemeral worth of friendship and spiritual guidance, will be illuminated. In the first three sections it is hoped to show the way *reputación* was used both to gain and demonstrate influence, along with its political utility. In the fourth section, the exercise of influence to gain concrete material advantage will be explored.

I. Death

In his treatise *Ayudar a bien morir*, Juan de Santo Tomás states that it is not enough to *live* well, one must also *die* well. A Christian "en sólo pedir a Dios esta misericordia, y en humillarse, y resignarse mucho, deve poner entonces todo su empleo y cuidado."¹ Furthermore, "el rendimiento, y resignación con que ha de quedar una alma después de averse confessado la

¹. Juan de Santo Tomás, *Ayudar a bien morir*, Alcalá de Henares, 1645, p.4.

ha de obligar a dar muchas gracias a Dios.”² The treatise also gives a guide to the confessor of the person who is dying to instruct him how to prepare his penitent for death: “Se ha de aver el confessor con el enfermo - escribe - para exortarle a disponer su alma a salir desta vida.”³ The priest must “imprimir un gran desprecio desta vida, y de sus turbulencias, y trabajos,”⁴ and must “apartar dél el amor desta vida.”⁵ The priest had to convince the penitent of the fact that life was given and taken by God, at his own will: “Q[ue] sólo se da por limitado tie[m]po, y está a voluntad de Dios, que reparte a unos más días de vida, y a otros menos.”⁶ Santo Tomás also offered two consolations for the death of the young. The first:

la muerte inmadura tiene más que ofrecer a Dios, porq[ue] ofrece todo lo que le restava por vivir, y quando es la muerte más violenta, y inmadura, más semejante es a la de Christo.⁷

The second:

es de gran consuelo ver, que tan con tiempo saca Dios a una alma de los peligros desta vida, pues de ordinario los que más larga vida tienen, se hallan con más pecados.⁸

The enemies of the soul were seen to be the devil, the world and the flesh. By dying young, the soul - which was eternal - was released from the enemies of the world and the flesh.

In a discussion of the execution of Calderón, Francisco Tomás y Valiente states that “morir con altivez y con santa y cristiana resignación lava las culpas.”⁹ After Calderón had publicly “died well” his crimes ceased to have importance in the public opinion of the time. Death in seventeenth-century

² . *Ibid.*, p.103.

³ . *Ibid.*, p.17.

⁴ . *Ibid.*, p.17.

⁵ . *Ibid.*, p.17.

⁶ . *Ibid.*, p.21.

⁷ . *Ibid.*, p.29.

⁸ . *Ibid.*, p.29.

⁹ . Francisco Tomás y Valiente, “Delincuentes y pecadores”, in *Sexo barroco, op cit.*, pp.11-32, p.21.

theology consisted only of "dissolutio corporis et animae".¹⁰ The body, which was man's contribution to creation, had no value. The soul, which was the contribution of God, was what was important: "La vida comienza con el alma y termina, no con su final, sino con su separación del cuerpo, mera materia. Por esto la muerte no era mucho."¹¹

Since the death of Isabel de Borbón in 1644, Philip IV had taken his son and heir, Baltasar Carlos, with him on his annual visits to Saragossa. The King had been spending the summer months in Saragossa as a result of the presence of the French army in Catalonia. As Catalonia was part of the Crown of Aragon it was fitting that Philip should be in the Aragonese capital while war was taking place on Aragonese soil. It is doubtful whether the King's presence in Saragossa had very much effect upon events on the front-line, but it was seen by the Aragonese as a mark of respect.

Early in 1646 Philip was advised by the Council of State not to take Baltasar Carlos to Saragossa because of his tender years.¹² Part of Philip's duty as King, however, was to leave his kingdoms to a well-prepared male heir. The best tutor for a prince on the duties and problems of kingship, is, naturally, the one person with any personal experience of the position: his father. It is also without doubt that one of Philip's principal reasons for his wish to be with his son was the emotional attachment between the two.

On the way to Saragossa in 1646, in Pamplona, Prince Baltasar suffered from "un catarro con un poquito de calentura, después dixeron que eran tercianas."¹³ It was accepted three days later that "no eran tercianas."¹⁴

¹⁰ . Bartolomé Clavero, "Delito y pecado. Noción y escala de transgresiones", in *Ibid.*, pp.57-89, p.86.

¹¹ . *Ibid.*, p.84.

¹² . Stradling, *Spain, op cit.*, p. 131.

¹³ . *Cartas*, Oviedo to Tapia, 28.4.1646, ff.68-9.

¹⁴ . *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 2.5.1646, ff.70-1.

However, two days after that “temen no se hagan [las tercianas] dobles”.¹⁵ The illness continued for about three weeks and on the Prince’s recovery the King’s party was able to continue to Saragossa. Friar Pedro used this occasion to write to Juan Martínez:

iban p[ar]la su Mag[esta]d algunos puntamientos tocantes a las materias de Aragón y Cataluña y a la regla del príncipe n[uest]ro s[eñor], que me hizo reparar el ver [el] modo de caminar para su edad y delicadeza tan inconsulto a su ordin[ari]o exerçio.¹⁶

Childhood was generally seen as being a fragile state. This opinion is explained by the high rates of infant mortality,¹⁷ even among the aristocracy. In friar Pedro’s opinion, in fact, regarding medical attention, being an aristocrat was a distinct disadvantage: “Los señores siempre son peor curados porq[ue] los curan con miedo o con respeto.”¹⁸ In *Alteraciones andaluzas* Antonio Domínguez Ortiz remarks that the seventeenth-century upper-class diet consisted, almost entirely, of meat.¹⁹ This gave rise to a prevalence of gout, obesity in general, as well as heart disorders and digestive problems. This dietary deficiency was noted even in the seventeenth century. Oviedo remarked:

mui propria sería de VSI la advertencia de la regla de Su Alteza y bien necesaria porque dicen era menester que se fuesse algo a la mano con tantas comidas de carne tan a menudo y también en las cantidades con que se ahoga el calor natural.²⁰

It is possible that the requirements of class incurred an accepted medical risk. The maintenance of one’s “honourable diet” had to be carried out even in the face of acknowledged health risks.

In a letter to don Francisco in February 1645, following the death of the

15. *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 5.5.1646, ff.72-3.

16. *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, Cendejas, 19.5.1646, ff.80-1.

17. Fernando Martínez Gil, *Muerte y sociedad en la España de los Austrias*, Madrid, 1993, p.589. He estimates that 50% died before they reached their 20th birthday and approximately 40% before their tenth.

18. *Cartas*, Tapia to Oviedo, 18.12.1647, ff.367-8.

19. *Alter.*, *op cit.*, p.22.

20. *Cartas*, Oviedo to Tapia, 30.5.1646, ff.86-7.

Duchess of Medinaceli,²¹ Quevedo wrote that it was terrible to see someone die so quickly, when “habitando todo mi cuerpo de muerte, aún vivo.”²² Quevedo spent the last year-and-a-half of his life in a lingering serious illness, whereas the Duchess of Medinaceli was carried off within a week. It was not necessarily the long lingering illness that would prove fatal. One was as likely to expire in a day. It is obvious, however, that Prince Baltasar’s illness of April/May left him in a weakened state on his arrival in Saragossa. He was thus much more susceptible to further infection. It was talked about, in all seriousness in June, that he, along with the Count of Castrillo, should return to Madrid. The plan was proposed as a measure to protect his health, but was never put into action.

Two months after friar Pedro had returned to Sigüenza, from a visit to the western part of his diocese, on 29 September 1646, he received a letter from the King requesting him to go to Saragossa. The letter did not state a reason, but as can be seen in Juan Martínez’s book *Discursos theologicos y políticos*, it was in order to ask his opinion regarding the morality of the proposed tax on flour.²³ On 3 October friar Pedro left Sigüenza to journey north with “coche, dos cap[ella]nes, quatro pajes y uno de capa y espada y los lacayos y repostero q[ue] parece bastante casa para mi estilo.”²⁴

A week later, after his arrival in Saragossa, he informed Oviedo:

La de 3 escrita a Sig[ü]e[n]z[a] recibí anoche en pliego de don Franc[is]co de la Tenta²⁵ y oy en el parte las dos de 4 y 6. Y todos han sido menester p[ar]a tener algún alivio y desaogo de tan terrible mal y congoja en que nos ha puesto este successo tan arebatado de la muerte de el Príncipe n[uest]ro s[e]ñor. Yo estoy fuera de mí. Porque el día que llegué era el segundo de la enfermedad y sólo dio de término otros dos en los quales no he salido de Palacio a la cabecera de Su A[lteza] y a procurar como se ha podido el consuelo de Su Mag[esta]d en el conflicto de la enfermedad y en el golpe de la muerte de su hijo. Luego al principio

21 . The Duchess of Medinaceli and Alcalá, Ana María Enríquez de Ribera Portocarrero, died in late January 1645 in Andalusia.

22 . Quevedo, *op cit.*, 7.2.1645, p.613.

23 . Martínez, *op cit.*, p.600.

24 . *Cartas*, Tapia to Oviedo, 19.9.1646, ff.150-1.

25 . The *mayordomo* of the diocese of Sigüenza.

subió el humor²⁶ a la cabeza y ayer por la mañana fue Dios servido que se la dexó libre para confesarse (con q|ue| se avía confesado también el día de S|an| Franc|isc|o). Recibió luego el viático. Y aviéndole recibido me llamó aparte estando allí su padre y habló en gran conformidad de morir²⁷ y aunq|ue| después le volvió a subir el humor a la cabeza, siempre q|ue| le hablé de Dios y de ir a gozarle estuvo atento. Asistía a su cabezera hasta q|ue| espiró fuera de un rato me mandó llamar a Su Mag|esta|d. Murió a las siete de la tarde con todos los sacram|en|tos y con señales de que Dios le quiso preservar de los peligros de esta vida y de los especiales de el estado de un Príncipe heredero de tantos reynos. Tocóme la suerte de llebar luego a Su Mag|esta|d la desdicha nueva, |h|a la llevado con increíble valor y resignación. Turné esta mañana a besar su m|an|o, acababa de comulgar y de hazer a Dios nuevo ofrecim|ient|o de su hijo. S|e|ñ|or después de todo esto q|ue| nos debiera consolar mucho. Digo de mí, que he quedado atónito y me tiene este suceso fuera de mí. *Y como se juntan tantas causas de dolor y de resoluciones no ay juicio aora para mas q|ue|l rendirlo a Dios que con su infinita sabiduria pone tan altos fines a su prudencia, que donde pierde el pie la humana se funda la divina.*

Con esto se han suspendido los demás negocios y me parece se apresurará la salida de Su Mag|esta|d. Lo de Lérida está en la disposición que vm. diçe,²⁸ el enemigo bien fortificado, el acometerle muy dudoso. Porq|ue| aunque n|uest|ro ejército es bueno las noticias del sitio y algunas trampas y çeladas de él no son claras, témesese mucho el perder este ejército, porq|ue| en él está todo el mérito de n|uest|ra defensa. El cortar los viveres es cosa larga. Todo está en esta confusión y sólo podemos esperar de la divina misericordia q|ue| sobre tan grande golpe ha de imbiar consuelo a Su Mag|esta|d y a estos Reynos, si no lo desmereçen n|uest|ros pecados. Y si su divina Mag|esta|d nols| deseare padeçer siempre será para enseñaça y corrección y mayor bien n|uest|ro.

A mi Sr^a la Condesa Duq|ues|a de Olivares escribo y al Sr. Don Ant|oni|o de Luna²⁹ y como vm. me fuere avisando haré las diligencias quantas mi posibilidad alcançaré.

No puedo alargarme mas q|ue| la turbación es de manera q|ue| aun no sé si he açertado a dezir algo.

El Sr. Duque del Infan|ta|do se está en la camp|añ|a y no sabe la muerte de su hijo,³⁰ porq|ue| se ha dado orden que le detengan las cartas. *Todo nos está desengañando de lo que es la vida, quiera Dios q|ue| yo lo acierte a entender.*

Guarde Dios a vm. como deseo.

Capellán de vm., Zaragoza, 10 de 7e 1646.³¹

The son and heir of Philip IV thus died within four days of being struck down by illness. Obviously friar Pedro's presence at the death of Baltasar Carlos was mere chance. Oviedo wrote:

confieso a VSI que desde que supe la enfermedad de el Príncipe n|uest|ro s|e|ñ|or y

26 . "El humor" appears to have been the fever that reduced patients to a state of unconsciousness.

27 . Marínez Gil, *op cit.*, p.141, provides an analysis of the obsession of *bien morir*. He states that "Todos temían la mala muerte."

28 . Lérida was the site of confrontation between France and the Catholic Monarchy in the Catalanian war.

29 . See "Advancement" for the background to these letters.

30 . In September 1646 Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar Mendoza y Silva de la Vega y Luna, Count of Saldaña, heir to Infantado had died in Madrid. At this time Infantado commanded the cavalry at Fraga.

31 . *Cartas*, Tapia to Oviedo, Zaragoza, 10.10.1646, ff.154-5. Friar Pedro erroneously stated the date as September. He remarked in the next letter that he had been doing this on all his letters for the last two weeks! (My emphasis)

después el aprieto, pressumí cassi lo mismo que sucedió, de asistir VSI a Su Alteza, y servir de gran consuelo a Su Mag[esta]d.³²

Friar Pedro's confessor related:

Ninguno [de los grandes, el Confesor ni el embajador] se atrevió a ir a dar la noticia al Rey, que estaba retirado en su cuarto, sino es el obispo de Sigüenza, a quien todos pidieron con mucha instancia que fuesse, por no atreverse ellos a ir.³³

Apart from the natural reluctance to impart bad news, friar Pedro's presence was welcomed because of his reputation for virtue:

Ayúdale [al Príncipe] - escribieron los jesuitas - P. Fray Juan [sic] de Tapia, obispo de Sigüenza, que es un santo varón. El Rey, nuestro señor, se consoló mucho con su venida, que fue esta tarde, parece envidado de Dios. El confesor de S.M. dijo no había visto cosa como la confesión que hizo, su juicio y atención y con tanto conocimiento de la muerte.³⁴

Friar Pedro's account of the death of Baltasar Carlos is very similar to Juan de Santo Tomás' advice on *bien morir*. The prince "habló con gran conformidad de morir." Moreover "Murió ... con señales de que Dios le quiso preservar de los peligros de esta vida," which was the standard explanation for the death of the young. The King received the news with "valor y resignación."

The situation was not improved for Philip IV by the affairs of State being so pressing. The situation in the war was critical:

De el ejército ay poca mudança supuesto que hasta aora no se toma resolución de acometer a las trinseas porque se teme aventurar el resto todo, q[ue] está reducido a este ejército que tenemos.³⁵

At the same time: "de el enemigo se entiende q[ue] está bien fortificado, como ha tenido tiempo para todo."³⁶ The French were camped outside Lérida and a decision had to be taken with regard to the tactics of the Spanish army.

In spite of what was thought, friar Pedro was not called to Saragossa simply

32. *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 15.10.1646, ff.158-9.

33. Minguella, *op cit.*, Vol.3, p.57.

34. MHE, Vol. 38, p.408. (My emphasis)

35. *Cartas*, Tapia to Oviedo, Zaragoza, 16.10.1646, ff.156-7.

36. *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, Zaragoza, 16.10.1646, ff.156-7.

to help during the illness of the Prince. As was seen in chapter 4, he was called to advise on financial affairs:

Su Mag[esta]d - escribió - comenzó luego a tratar de los nego[cio]s para que me llamaba. Digo dos días después de la muerte del príncipe. Porque todos aquellos días me mandaba entrar trataba más de su consuelo. Si bien no levantaba la mano de despachos y significaba tener alivio con darme audiencias particulares. Finalm[en]te después ha avido tiempo para los negocios.³⁷

Two days later “también tube audiencia de Su Mag[esta]d.”³⁸ Even following the death of his son, the King was allowed no respite from affairs of State. Friar Pedro’s involvement with the King at this time was seen as significant at Court:

Era grande alivio para Su Mag[esta]d - escribió Oviedo - la asistencia de VSI. Supuesto que lo ha manifestado tanto en esta ocasión, de que acá se dexan de verlas muchos ojos.³⁹

During the illness of Baltasar Carlos in April/May of 1646, friar Pedro, as has been seen, wrote to the Confessor Royal with advice for the King regarding the Prince’s diet. Friar Pedro remained convinced, after the Prince’s death, that his diet had been at fault:

De la muerte de Su A[lteza] siempre estoy persuadido que le faltó la Regla en comer. Esto y poco exerçio y los caminos en coche corriendo, lo tenía temido y aun lo avía escrito a Pamplona.⁴⁰

It was genuine concern that led friar Pedro to give this advice. Before the death of Baltasar Carlos, friar Pedro’s advice was given to the King through intermediaries, for example, Juan Martínez, the Confessor Royal. Before Baltasar Carlos’ death, there was no reference to any direct contact between friar Pedro and the King. Friar Pedro’s attendance at formal meetings, must, of course be regarded as the exception. These meetings cannot be considered significant because they were dictated by etiquette. One of the only letters which shows any communication between the two is that quoted above regarding the Prince’s diet. After the Prince’s death friar Pedro advised the

37. *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, Zaragoza, 15.10.1646, ff.158-9.

38. *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, Zaragoza, 17.10.1646, ff.162-3.

39. *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 29.10.1646, ff.168-9.

40. *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, Zaragoza, 20.10.1646, ff.166-7.

King directly. His constant contact with the King immediately following the death of the Prince, led subsequently to a more intimate relationship between the two.

Apart from the large number of private audiences given to friar Pedro in Saragossa, it is evident that the increased intimacy continued after Philip's return to Madrid. In December 1646 don Francisco wrote to friar Pedro - at that time in Medinaceli - that a servant of the Confessor Royal had brought a letter from the King to be sent to friar Pedro: "Supe que aquella hora la embiaron de Palacio con un soldado al P[adr]e confessor con dos ruegos."⁴¹ Friar Pedro had also become a topic of conversation between Philip and Luis de Haro, who was charged with messages to convey him:

Dize me - escribió fray Pedro - Su Ex|celencia |léase Haro| q|ue| el Rey ordenó q|ue| no se me imbiase mynistro ni otro aviso para donativo⁴² por la satisfacción q|ue| tiene Su Mag[esta]d de q|ue| no necessito de recuerdos p[ar]a servirles si puedo.⁴³

In June 1647 friar Pedro wrote that "hoy he escrito a Su Mag[esta]d en pliego de la Sr^a Duq[ues]a Cond[es]a con un proprio q|ue| le avía hecho a instancia de su marido con carta p[ar]a Su Mag[esta]d."⁴⁴ Friar Pedro's links with Juan Martínez and with Catalina Fernández de Córdoba thus facilitated his increased intimacy with the King.

A letter of June 1647 gives an indication of how the correspondence was considered by the King:

responde Su Mag[esta]d - escribió fray Pedro - con mucha puntualidad a todo haciéndome muy singular favor, y aviéndole hallado mi carta con el buen suceso a cuya esperança yo le procuraba alentar.⁴⁵

The fact of Philip responding very punctually to the letter must indeed have been an indication of consideration. One of the main criticisms of

⁴¹ . *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 12.12.1646, ff.182-5.

⁴² . See chapter 5 regarding the collection of donations from the clergy.

⁴³ . *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, Berlanga, 29.5.1647, ff.281-2.

⁴⁴ . *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, Almazán, 26.6.1647, ff.291-2.

⁴⁵ . *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, Almazán, 16.6.1646, ff.293-4.

Philip was, in fact, the length of time it took him to bring himself to act.⁴⁶ Friar Pedro recognized this when he expressed the hope to Oviedo that “Su Mag[esta]d gobierne con toda igualdad” for “Dios le ha dado clara inteligencia y buena intención” and now all that was necessary was that God “le dé pronta ejecución.”⁴⁷ In friar Pedro’s opinion, what Philip IV lacked was decision.

II. Illness

Having already compared friar Pedro’s opinions with those of Juan Martínez⁴⁸ it is now necessary to explore friar Pedro’s links with the House of Haro - specifically with reference to his correspondence with Catalina Fernández de Córdoba. It was through this channel that his intimacy with her husband, Luis de Haro, and with Philip IV himself was strengthened. In order to investigate the relationship between doña Catalina and friar Pedro, the illness she suffered, throughout 1647, has to be taken into account.

In his book *Muerte y sociedad en la España de los Austrias*, Fernando Martínez Gil states that in the seventeenth century:

tres causas generales ponen los Autores de las enfermedades. La primera eterna y superior a todas, que es la voluntad de Dios todopoderoso. La segunda, el cielo y sus influencias. La tercera es media entre las dos, que es el aire que respiramos.⁴⁹

It is true that these were commonly accepted reasons for illness. In a Christocentric world, everything, including bad fortune, came from God. The observation that people became ill after sudden changes of weather conditions, or during the winter, led to the supposition that the air had some influence on health. It is as logical to believe that the spread of cholera occurs through the air, as through an organism in water, given that

⁴⁶ . Stradling, “Medina”, *op cit.*, p.18

⁴⁷ . *Cartas*, Tapia to Oviedo, Almaluez, 1.12.1646, ff.176-7.

⁴⁸ . See chapter 5.

⁴⁹ . Martínez Gil, *op cit.*, p.133.

no evidence exists to contradict either theory.⁵⁰

Disease was seen as something actively hostile.⁵¹ This explains the notion of bleeding patients. The idea was one of "purgación de materia."⁵² The illness represented some type of living organism which it was necessary to get out of the body. The number of times a patient was bled thus depended on the physician's opinion of the seriousness of the illness. In November 1647 Oviedo wrote:

seis veces está sangrado el Sr. Patriarca ... son muchas para quién ia no es mozo. También decían que mi Sr^a la Condesa de Castrillo estava con tercianas y sangrada seis veces que esto saben hacer mui bien los señore[s] médicos.⁵³

1647 was a "tiempo mui enfermo". In February the Admiral of Castile died. In July, Juan de Isasi - Baltasar Carlos' ex-tutor - and the Duke of Villahermosa died. In September Pedro de Neila, bishop of Segovia and Inés de Zúñiga, Duchess of San Lúcar, died. In November Francisco Antonio de Alarcón, the President of Finance, died. The list of illnesses - many of them serious - was even greater. Two of the children of Medinaceli suffered from small-pox and Medinaceli himself had *tercianas*, gout and influenza. Gregorio de Mendizábal, his wife and daughter, as well as Fernando Ruiz de Contreras and Antonio de Camporredondo, all had *tercianas* in July. Both the Count and Countess of Castrillo were ill, along with the Marquises of Miravel and Puebla, the Patriarch of the Indies, and the Duchesses of Uceda and Infantado.⁵⁴

50. In 1991, during a cholera outbreak in Mexico, it was widely reported that cholera could be caught in Mexico city by breathing in dried particles of faeces. The level of pollution and sanitation in the city made this theory credible. See Charles E. Rosenberg, *The Cholera Years. The United States in 1832, 1849 and 1866*, Chicago, 1962, for a discussion of changing attitudes to cholera.

51. Oviedo calls disease an enemy. It is wise not to discount the possibility of the word enemy having another meaning, as well as the word disease. Oviedo's use of the word enemy may signify that an enemy could be passive as well as active.

52. *Cartas*, Tapia to Oviedo, 1.8.1647, ff.303-4.

53. *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 27.11.1647, ff.357-8.

54. For these illnesses see *ibid.*, ff. 279, 293, 295, 309, 327 and 357.

In October 1646, following the death of Baltasar Carlos and the Count of Saldaña, the Duke of Alcalá - Medinaceli's eldest son - was taken ill. Oviedo wrote to friar Pedro hoping that "Dios le dé salud que corre mal clima de herederos."⁵⁵ This statement should not be mistaken for supposing that Oviedo was prepared to resign all remedies to God's love, or that in the face of a "mal clima" nothing could be done. Don Francisco, in fact, with his terse remark that doctors knew very well how to bleed people, implied that they lacked knowledge to do anything else. Friar Pedro himself, between September and December 1647, was very ill. Oviedo was concerned at the illness and offered advice. He was convinced of the efficacy of good diet: not eating too much, especially meat. His natural diffidence led him to add to his list of remedies for friar Pedro, that "VSI se servirá de perdonar el hablar en materia que no es mi profesión. Llevado del deseo que VSI tenga salud que tanto importa."⁵⁶ Friar Pedro placed confidence in Oviedo's remedies, and he reported that "las recetas de vm. van obrando con muy conocido provecho."⁵⁷ Don Francisco offered his remedies with humility and friendship. They originated out of genuine concern and sympathy with the patient, a friend and regular correspondent of many years.

The first letter of the collection mentions friar Pedro's correspondence with doña Catalina. Friar Pedro wrote regularly to her, sometimes directly through the mail, and sometimes by letters sent via Oviedo. Even in the midst of her illness, when doña Catalina was unable to write for herself, friar Pedro reported that "la correspondencia ... gusta Su Ex[celencia] tener, dize que es de su consuelo."⁵⁸ Needless to say, correspondence with *beatas* and holy men was often spoken of as a comfort to the recipient.

⁵⁵. *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 15.10.1646, ff.158-9.

⁵⁶. *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 9.11.1647, ff.349-50.

⁵⁷. *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, 9.11.1647, ff.349-50.

⁵⁸. *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, Almazán, 26.6.1647, ff.293-4.

On 26 June 1647 don Francisco wrote to friar Pedro:

oi a mediodía embió Don Franc[isc]o de Oriar [el valido de doña Catalina] la carta inlussa de Su Mag[esta]d y a decir que no escribía su señora a VSI por no quedarbuena⁵⁹

In January 1647 the Duchess-Countess had a baby: “mucho me he alegrado de el buen parto de mi Sr^a la Duq[ues]a Cond[es]a de Olivares y le embiaré otro día la enorab[uen]a”⁶⁰, wrote friar Pedro. The delivery was good, but doña Catalina was almost constantly ill from this time until the time of her death some eleven months later.

Oviedo wrote on 30 January 1647:

la Duquesa Condessa de Olivares después de levantada del parto no se sintió buena y se sangró dos veces con que estava mejor pero en la cama.⁶¹

Friar Pedro replied that “ya me avía escrito Su Ex[celenci]a q[ue] el sobre parto⁶² avía sido achacoso y que le duraba todavía.”⁶³ On the 9th February Oviedo wrote: “oi se avía vestido y estava, según dixeron, en la camilla.”⁶⁴ Friar Pedro replied: “mi Sr^a la Duq[ues]a Cond[es]a ... me escribía de su enfermedad con melancolía”.⁶⁵ The 23rd February “era el primer día que avía salido de casa”.⁶⁶ Doña Catalina appears to have been suffering not only from a post-natal infection, but also from depression: “Todos estos días me escribía Su Ex[celenci]a le iba mal de los achaques aunq[ue] en la últ[im]a carta significó alg[un]a mejoría.”⁶⁷ The improvement did not last long.

A month later friar Pedro wrote to Oviedo: “dize Su Ex[celenci]a que ha vuelto a recaer y que le ha hecho dos sangrías”.⁶⁸ Twelve days later she was

59. *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 26.6.1647, ff.293-4.

60. *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, Medinaceli, 5.1.1647, ff.197-8.

61. *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 30.1.1647, ff.209-10.

62. The *sobre parto* was the after-birth.

63. *Cartas*, Tapia to Oviedo, 30.1.1647, ff.209-10.

64. *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 9.2.1647, ff.217-8.

65. *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, 9.2.1647, ff.217-8.

66. *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 23.2.1647, ff.229-30.

67. *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, 23.2.1647, ff.229-30.

68. *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, 2.3.1647, ff.233-6, *recaer* means that she fell ill once more.

reported to be “mala de un corrim[ien]to a la boca”.⁶⁹ It seems that this was due to some type of tumour - or supposed tumour - at the base of the throat, possibly cancer. On 11th May friar Pedro reported:

mi Sr^a la Duq[ue]sa Cond[es]a me dize de su mano largam[en]te la fatiga en que se halla con sus achaq[ue]s y los muchos remedios q[ue] no son menos penosos q[ue] la mesma enfermedad. Ha me hecho gran compasión.⁷⁰

After five months of illness, it is not surprising that doña Catalina should have wearied of being ill.

The summer brought some respite since at the beginning of July friar Pedro reported that the letters he had received from doña Catalina “dizen tiene Su Ex[celenci]a alg[un]a mejoría aunq[ue] much flaqueza.”⁷¹ On 13th July don Francisco was able to write that “mi Sr^a la Duquessa Condessa ... está mejor y Blas Rodríguez⁷² me dixo que se vestiría el lunes.”⁷³ This good news friar Pedro was able to give directly to Luis de Haro, doña Catalina’s husband, who met friar Pedro in Paredes,⁷⁴ on his return from Saragossa. On 17th July Oviedo, “hallaba mejor a mi Sr^a la Duquessa Condessa y levantada desde el domingo.”⁷⁵ Unfortunately this improvement was also short-lived.

Ten days later Oviedo wrote:

subí al quarto de mi Sr^a la Duquessa Condessa a saber cómo estava y me dixo Don Franc[isc]o de Oriar que antes de anoche la passó mui mal ... tiene un tumor que señaló en lo bajo de la quixada ... parecióles a los médicos y cirujanos darle un botoncillo de fuego con que salió gran cantidad de materia y dixo que está tanto

⁶⁹. *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 4.4.1647, ff.253-4, this *corrimiento* was probably bleeding or weeping of the tumour.

⁷⁰. *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, Berlanga del Duero, 11.5.1647, ff.275-6.

⁷¹. *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, Villasayas, 10.7.1647, ff.295-6, *flaqueza* could refer to excessive thinness or excessive weakness, friar Pedro complained of “flaqueza de la cabeza”, i.e. dizziness.

⁷². Blas Rodríguez was a Madrid surgeon. In 1652 he was serving as surgeon to the Council of the Inquisition. See BN MSS 2.278.

⁷³. *Cartas*, Oviedo to Tapia, 13.7.1647, ff.299-300.

⁷⁴. Paredes was in the southern part of the diocese of Sigüenza. Friar Pedro was making an annual visitation to this part of his diocese and Haro met him in Paredes by previous arrangement.

⁷⁵. *Cartas*, Oviedo to Tapia, 18.7.1647, ff.299-300.

mejor después.⁷⁶

These remedies, as friar Pedro noted were, “no menos penosos q[ue] la misma enfermedad”.⁷⁷ The remedy was designed as one of purgation, to expel the enemy - disease - from the body. Friar Pedro replied to this news:

Bien se dexa entender q[ue] aviendo avido purgación de materia, avía de aver notable mejoría y aun parece que es medio para asegurar la salud de el achaque. Mucho importa la [salud] de esta S[eñ]ora.⁷⁸

This was the first indication, in the correspondence, of the possible fatal nature of the illness.

From August onwards the illness got worse. In mid-August doña Catalina moved to the Retiro to convalesce. She took her son, the Marquis of Liche, with her. This event produced much speculation at Court. Observers wondered whether she, and her father-in-law, the Marquis of Carpio, had had some disagreement. The move did not bring much improvement.

Friar Pedro wrote in August:

mucho se puede temer achaque tan porfiado y rebelde y sujeto a tantas medicinas que quando son forçosas ellas mismas son nueva causa de peligro. Gran falta hará en su casa.⁷⁹

At the end of August the Duchess-Countess returned home without improvement, as one of her children had been taken ill. In September she experienced another short period of better health, which lasted a little over a month. On 9th November don Francisco wrote:

a mi Sr^a la Duquessa Condessa le hicieron el lunes [4 de noviembre] una cura arto rigurossa de abrirla con tigelas sobre la olluela⁸⁰ una postema. Sufrió con gran valor el martirio.⁸¹

A fortnight later the news arrived that “el lunes en la tarde murió mi Sr^a la

⁷⁶. *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 1.8.1647, ff.303-4.

⁷⁷. *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, Berlanga del Duero, 11.5.1647, ff.275-6.

⁷⁸. *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, 1.8.1647, ff.303-4.

⁷⁹. *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, 17.8.1647, ff.315-6.

⁸⁰. *La olluela* is either a basin - used in the draining of the wound - or it is an anatomical description of the base of the throat. It is unclear which meaning the word has in this context.

⁸¹. *Cartas*, Oviedo to Tapia, 9.11.1647, ff.349 -50.

Duquessa Condessa.”⁸² It is unclear whether the first illness, which followed childbirth, was due to the birth or the throat cancer. Either of the two is possible.

Following the death of doña Catalina the city of Seville sent Luis de Haro the following letter of condolence:

El Sr. Conde Duque de Olivares⁸³

El sentimiento que a causado a esta ciu|da|d en general y particular la muerte de la Sr^a Condessa Duquessa de Olibares (que está en el cielo) a sido correspondiente a las muchas obligaciones que reconoze a VS y su casa de que deve y quisiera manifestarle con demostraciones si se lo permitiera. El corto estado en que se halla de que VS tiene entera noticia ajustándose en esta ocasión al límite del tiempo, librando lo que faltare al conosimiento que VS tiene de sus desseos. Cuya vida g[uar]de nuestro s[eñor] muchos años con toda felicidad. Sev|ill|a 23 de nov|iembr|e de 1647.⁸⁴

The wording of the letter is revealing. The city of Seville mourned the death, in measure corresponding to their level of obligation to Haro. Good manners dictated a letter of condolence after the death of someone noteworthy. The lack of such a letter would have been considered as an affront. In February of 1647 Juan Alonso Enríquez de Cabrera, Duke of Medina de Rioseco, Admiral of Castile, died. His sisters, the Duchesses of Lerma and Alburquerque, were said to be distraught. On the 16th February friar Pedro duly despatched letters of condolence, “para las s[eñor]as Duquesas hermanas de el Sr. Almirante”.⁸⁵ There existed some friction between the Duke of Medinaceli and his cousin the Duchess of Lerma,⁸⁶ very probably over the plan to marry his sons to two of her grand-

⁸² . *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 20.11.1647, ff.353-4.

⁸³ . It has been said that the title of Count-Duke was only used to flatter Haro, as he never gained the ducal part of the Count-Duke’s inheritance. Haro only became Duke of Montoro following the peace of the Pyrenees. It appears that the title of Count-Duke was used more by Catalina Fernández de Córdoba than by Haro. This may have been done simply to prevent Inés de Zúñiga, Olivares’ widow, from using the title.

⁸⁴ . BN MSS 951, f.51.

⁸⁵ . *Cartas*, Tapia to Oviedo, 16.2.1647, ff.219-20. The dowager Duchess of Lerma - widow of the second Duke- was Feliche Enríquez de Cabrera. Ana Enríquez de Cabrera was the third wife of the seventh Duke of Alburquerque.

⁸⁶ . She was his cousin by marriage. Catalina de la Cerda, sister of the fifth Duke of Medinaceli, married Francisco Gómez de Sandoval, cardinal-Duke of Lerma- grandfather of the second Duke, Francisco Rojas y Padilla.

daughters. Oviedo wrote to Medinaceli urging him to use this opportunity to heal the rift, by writing her a letter of condolence. Friar Pedro wrote that “ha hecho vm. como quien es en concordar al Sr. Duque de Medina con mi Sr^a la Duquesa de Lerma.”⁸⁷ However, Medinaceli was not convinced, for, three weeks later, don Francisco reported that Medinaceli “no escribió el pésame a mi Sr^a la Duquesa de Lerma y en dilatándole no le escribirá.”⁸⁸ For a relatively close relation, this was a lack of consideration that would be conceived as an insult.

The illness of doña Catalina illuminates the nature of friar Pedro’s correspondence with her, as it created a discussion point in the Oviedo/Tapia correspondence. Friar Pedro also corresponded with the Duke of Medinaceli, and, as has been shown, with the Confessor Royal and with Philip IV himself. Such correspondence was a comfort to the recipient, and in the case of doña Catalina helped her to have a good death, as a result of the advice given her by friar Pedro. This correspondence brought Oviedo, in his role of bearer, into contact with these political figures, and thus to their notice. This was put to good use by friar Pedro as may be seen with the news that Oviedo was able to give friar Pedro in July of doña Catalina’s improvement. On 21st July friar Pedro wrote that the letter:

q[ue] tube [me dio] grande contento porque el Sr. don Luis supiese de vm. la mejoría de su muger con que se alegró grandemente y yo pude hablar en vm. con la sazón que deseaba.⁸⁹

As will be shown, friar Pedro used his position as bearer of good news to elicit *mercedes* from Luis de Haro.

Friar Pedro’s original link to the Haro *camarilla* was through his correspondence with Juan Martínez and Catalina Fernández de Córdoba,

⁸⁷. *Cartas*, Tapia to Oviedo, 16.2.1647, ff.219-20.

⁸⁸. *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 16.3.1647, ff.239-40.

⁸⁹. *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, Horna, 18.7.1647, ff.299-300.

along with his long association with Juan de Santo Tomás. Following the death of Baltasar Carlos his links with the *privanza* increased, through his correspondence with Philip IV and contacts with Luis de Haro. During the illness of doña Catalina, friar Pedro's reputation for sound doctrine led her to consult him on how to prepare herself for death. This intimate contact with doña Catalina meant that friar Pedro began to have direct meetings and correspondence with both Haro himself, and the Count of Castrillo, his uncle. During friar Pedro's illness of late 1647 an indication of this latter correspondence is given by friar Pedro's "tongue-in-cheek" comment, that "el Sr. Conde de Castrillo me escribe cada estafeta con ocasión de la enfermedad. Ha me dado q[ue] pensar, si está muy desocupado."⁹⁰

III. Marriage

In August 1647 friar Pedro commented that the death of doña Catalina would cause a "gran falta en la casa".⁹¹ Catalina Fernández de Córdoba was the sister of the Duke of Cardona. The marriage between her and Luis de Haro had been arranged by Olivares, in order to cement an alliance with the Duke of Cardona, her father, and strengthen his influence in Catalonia.⁹² The marriage, for Haro, represented an important link with the highest aristocracy. It was important for a man not only to marry well dynastically but also that he should have a wife capable of running his affairs during his absence. Doña Catalina, just like the Queen, Isabel de Borbón, showed considerable political acumen and successfully ran her husbands' affairs. In *Philip IV and the Government of Spain, 1621-1665*, Robert Stradling notes:

As is often the lot of women, a full-time job helping out with a family crisis did not mean Isabel was relieved of her other more routine duties. In the Spring of 1644 she suffered another miscarriage (her fifth) and was obliged to convalesce for several months ... Few can doubt, ... that one of the causes of Philip's bereavement was the sheer overwork of his spouse.⁹³

⁹⁰. *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, 30.10.1647, ff.341-2.

⁹¹. *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, 17.8.1647, ff.315-6.

⁹². Francesco Benigno, *La sombra del Rey. Validos y lucha política en la España del siglo XVII*, Madrid, 1994, p.181.

⁹³. Stradling, *Spain, op cit.*, p.241.

The same can undoubtedly be said of Catalina Fernández de Córdoba.

Upon the death of doña Catalina, Luis de Haro spent ten days in his room without receiving visitors. On the tenth day Oviedo reported that “oi es el primer día que se ha dexado hablar y recibe las visitas en la cama.”⁹⁴ There is no report in the correspondence of Haro’s sentiments, although it is obvious that he was distraught. The emotional reactions of female relations to someone’s death were, however, usually reported. On the death of the Count of Saldaña - Infantado’s son - Oviedo reported: “mi Sr^a la Duquessa [del Infantado] ha sentido con tal extremo el verle al parecer que se moría”.⁹⁵ Later, on the death of the Admiral of Castile: “el sentimiento de mi Sr^a la Duquessa de Lerma es tan grande por la pérdida del Sr. Almirante que la llegan a temer sus criados.”⁹⁶ It was not seen as either abnormal or improper that a woman should almost die of grief. However, a man had to bear up under the crisis.

The morality surrounding the behaviour of women was very different to that of men, and it could have political import. Friar Pedro’s opinion of this may be seen during his visit to the southern part of his diocese in 1647. At that time he entered into the estates of the Marquis of Leganés. He wrote to tell don Francisco:

mi Sr^a la Marquessa de Leganés tiene prevenido su palacio y materia de regalo y ha imbiado aquí un may|ordo|mo. De todo este favor no he admitido más q|ue| el hospedaje de un quarto imbiándole a disponer a n|uest|ro modo monástico,⁹⁷ estimando como es el favor de su ex|celenci|a y en todas ocasiones se le he debido.⁹⁸

⁹⁴. *Cartas*, Oviedo to Tapia, 30.11.1647, ff.359-60.

⁹⁵. *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 26.9.1646, ff.150-1.

⁹⁶. *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 31.1.1647, ff.207-9.

⁹⁷. Being a friar as well as a bishop, friar Pedro lived in the monastic style. It is interesting to note that the inconvenience given to the Leganés’ household, in arranging rooms to this style, was deemed of less importance than the necessity to avoid staying in palatial conditions.

⁹⁸. *Cartas*, Tapia to Oviedo, Berlanga del Duero, 29.5.1647, ff.281-2.

Friar Pedro was honoured by this sign of respect from the Marchioness, but was careful not to allow the honour to compromise his Dominican vow of poverty or his reputation for austerity. However, about three months later Oviedo reported:

El jueves estando mi Sr^a la Marquessa de Leganés en la casa de campo tirando, passó un coche cerradas las cortinas, y le dixo que se repartasse. Él prosiguió mandar a mi Sr^a la Marquessa [y ella] tiró un arcabuzazo al cochero del troneo que le derrivó mal herido, sin que del coche saliesse nadie ni se abriessse cortina. Después dicen que el Sr. Almirante de Castilla⁹⁹ cuió era el coche escribió un papel al Sr. Marqués de Leganés, que le avían dicho, para dar a entender, que no iva allí. Que mi Sr^a la Marquessa avía tirado un arcabuzazo a su cochero maior que deseava saber la causa para ver lo que avía de hacer. Respondióle de modo que no pudiesse assir de la respuesta. Está presso el Sr. Almirante y es negocio que da cuidado. Y mucho que hablar.¹⁰⁰

Apparently, Policena Spínola, Marchioness of Leganés,¹⁰¹ while taking exercise in the park, was unaccountably accosted by the coachman, driving the coach of the Admiral of Castile. She defended herself with the harquebus which she had with her. It seems probable that the coachman did not expect her, although armed, to defend herself. Why else accost her? Friar Pedro considered her behaviour totally reprehensible. He wrote:

Terribles resoluciones son para una s[eñor]a y arto ajenas de una mujer como lo es el exerçijio del campo y a los ojos de los q[ue] gobiernan el mundo y de quien gobierne su casa. Gran deformidad hacen a mi dictamen semejantes desordenes sobre ser muy obligado y agradecido a esta s[eñor]a.¹⁰²

Friar Pedro's connection with Policena Spínola made him grieve for the damage done to her reputation through her lack of "feminine" morality and proper behaviour. This was aggravated by the fact that it had been condoned by her husband and the authorities.

One of the major obligations of marriage in the seventeenth century was to produce a male heir in order to ensure the succession. The death of the

⁹⁹ . This was the tenth Admiral of Castile, sixth Duke of Medina de Rioseco, Juan Gaspar Enríquez de Cabrera y Sandoval.

¹⁰⁰ . *Cartas*, Oviedo to Tapia, 31.8.1647, ff.323-4.

¹⁰¹ . According to gossip reported by Barrionuevo, Policena Spínola was a very attractive woman. After the death of Leganés in 1655 there were rumours linking her to Luis de Haro. *Avisos*, *op cit.*, Vol.221, p.146.

¹⁰² . *Cartas*, Tapia to Oviedo, 31.8.1647, ff.323-4.

Queen in 1644 did not produce any urgency for Philip IV to remarry. The death of Baltasar Carlos made it imperative. A ten-year-old daughter was considered inadequate to secure the succession. Philip's niece, Mariana of Austria, had been intended to wed Baltasar Carlos. Despite the relationship, and the age difference, she was converted into a bride for Philip. As has already been seen, Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar de Mendoza, Count of Saldaña, died shortly before Baltasar Carlos in September 1646. Antonia María de la Cerda, eldest child of Medinaceli, had been intended as his wife, since a settlement drawn up between the dukes in 1641.¹⁰³ On May 18, 1647 Oviedo wrote:

anoche apretó el mal a mi Sr^a la Duquessa del Infantado de modo que le dieron el santíss[im]o sacramento a prissa y después la tuvieron por muerta, oi estuvo algo mejor pero esta tarde que io estuve allá temían mucho de la hora del crecimiento. Pocos son treinta y quatro años para morir y para que la sucesión se halla conveniencia. Don Luis de Lauri¹⁰⁴ y otros me hablaron allí en mi Sr^a Doña Antonia y traen el exemplar del Príncipe n[uest]ro s[eñ]o[r] y de Su Mag[esta]d.¹⁰⁵

One of the most striking things about this letter from a twentieth-century point of view, is the complete lack of sensibility about the dead and dying which it illustrates, and the totally different value system which existed in the seventeenth century. Death was not as important as the succession.

Friar Pedro noted this sentiment:

lo mismo me avía ofrecido que es g[e]n[er]o de desdicha llegar a estado o punto las cosas, que los que avían de sentir la muerte la tengan por medio de mayores conveniencias.¹⁰⁶

Doña María de Silva, Duchess of Infantado, had had two sons who survived infancy, but it is obvious she had suffered from some accident or illness which prevented her from bearing more children. Given that Antonia was only 12 in 1647, it is difficult to see how a marriage to her would guarantee a male heir.¹⁰⁷ Friar Pedro added to his comment on Antonia that "bien

¹⁰³ . BN MSS 1.000, ff.26-7.

¹⁰⁴ . Don Luis de Lauri Medinilla was a familiar of Infantado from Guadalajara. He served on the *Tribunal de la Contaduría Mayor de cuentas* and was involved in the administration of the *millones* in Guadalajara. AHN, Cons., Leg. 12.497, s/f, 7.2.1648 payment of *media annata*.

¹⁰⁵ . *Cartas*, Oviedo to Tapia, 25.5.1647, ff.277-8.

¹⁰⁶ . *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, Berlanga del Duero, 25.5.1647, ff.277-8.

¹⁰⁷ . In fact Antonia died childless at the age of 35.

probable parecen estos discursos salvo que si no está despedido lo de Liche no dexará de hacer reparo.”¹⁰⁸

This referred to the proposed match between Gaspar de Haro, Marquis of Liche,¹⁰⁹ and Antonia. The first rumours of the match occurred in December 1646. Even so Oviedo intimated it may have been mooted earlier:

Estos días oí de hablar en cassamiento del Sr. Marqués de Liche con mi Sr^a Doña Ana,¹¹⁰ y éste era buen nudo para estrecharse, y luego que murió el Sr. Conde de Saldaña escribí lo que se decía en los estrados acerca del mismo.¹¹¹

About a month later, Mariana Isabel de Leiva y Mendoza, Marchioness of Ladrada¹¹² - Medinaceli's cousin - informed Oviedo:

infinitas señoras dixeron públicamente que el Sr. Don Luis de Haro avía embiado desde Sevilla a D[on] Ju[an] de Góngora¹¹³ que fue a San Lúcar a pedir a mi Sr^a Doña Antonia para su hijo maior el Sr. Marqués de Liche.¹¹⁴

The Marchioness then made it her business to find out as much as possible about the proposal and was soon intimate with the Duchess-Countess of Olivares. She reported her findings directly to Oviedo:

Mi Sr^a la Marquessa [de Ladrada] hizo larga relación de lo favorecida que está de mi Sr^a la Duquessa Condessa y de lo que ha passado y passa acerca del cassam|ien|to de mi Sr^a D[on]a Ant[oni]a.¹¹⁵

She reported that they wanted a dowry of “cien mil d[ucado]s *bien situados en renta*”.¹¹⁶ The dowry was not to include jewels or dress:

108. *Cartas*, Tapia to Oviedo, Berlanga del Duero, 25.5.1647, ff.277-8.

109. This is variously spelt as Liche, Heliche, or Eliche. Liche is used here because it is used by the correspondents. The title was inherited from Olivares' daughter, María.

110. Oviedo perplexed friar Pedro with this reference to Doña Ana. He could have been referring to Doña Ana Catalina de la Cerda, youngest daughter of Medinaceli, but it is more probable that it is a badly written reference to Antonia.

111. *Cartas*, Oviedo to Tapia, 19.12.1646, ff.188-91.

112. After the death of his first wife, the fifth duke of Medinaceli remarried Juana de la Lama y de la Cueva, third Marchioness of Ladrada and widow of Gabriel de la Cueva, fifth Duke of Alburquerque. The first son of this second marriage was Gonzalo de la Cerda y de la Lama who became fourth Marquis of Ladrada. In 1647 the Marchioness of Ladrada was the wife of the fifth Marquis, Juan de la Cerda Leiva y Mendoza. The Marchioness, Mariana Isabel de Leiva y Mendoza was also Marchioness of Leiva and Countess of Baños in her own right and was second cousin to her husband Juan de la Cerda.

113. Juan de Góngora was very much a “Haro man”. In 1642 he was promoted to *Alcalde de Casa y Corte* from a position as *Juez de Grados de Sevilla*. In 1646 he was made *Corregidor de Córdoba*. In 1663 he became Marquis of Almodóvar. See Paz y Melía, *Alcaldes*, *op cit.*

114. *Cartas*, Oviedo to Tapia, 23.1.1647, ff-205-6.

115. *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 27.3.1647, ff.245-6.

116. *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 27.3.1647, ff.245-6.

porque dicen que tienen todo lo que es menester de esse género ... y replicando mi Sr^a la Marquessa de que tendría algunas Joias de mi Sr^a la Duquessa [de Medinaceli y Alcalá] que esté en el cielo, dio a entender que no, sino los cien mill d[ucado]s.¹¹⁷

The contract drawn up in 1641 between Medinaceli and Infantado sketched Antonia's dowry as follows:

En primer lugar que su ex|celenci|a el Duque de Medina dará en dote a la dicha su hija cien mill d[ucado]s en esta manera; ochenta mill d[ucado]s impuestos en renta [-----]¹¹⁸ de tal manera [-----] que rindan 4V ds en cada un año de buena calidad.
- Mas dará el dicho Duque 20V ds q[ue] restan en Joyas y vestidos.¹¹⁹

Further on in this settlement a part has been crossed out whereby any child from the union - if Antonia were to inherit from her father - would inherit all the titles. This was replaced by the following: "han de dividirse en los hijos las cassas de Medina y Alcalá en uno y la de Olivares y Carpio en otro."¹²⁰ Whereas the title of Infantado was more important than that of Medinaceli, that of Olivares was less so. From the viewpoint of Antonia and Medinaceli, the marriage with Liche, from a dynastic point of view, was inferior to the proposed union with Saldaña. It must have been rather galling, therefore, to have better terms demanded for it than those previously conceded. Given that a dowry was not simply to enrich the husband, but also to maintain the wife in a good and comfortable style, it seems particularly harsh to forbid the girl to bring with her any of her mother's jewels - which would contain sentimental value to her, as well as monetary value to the union.

Don Francisco was very critical of the attitude of the House of Haro. He added to the Marchioness' report:

Quando se atiende a cossa tan importante como cassar bien un hijo heredero no parece se avía de reparar mucho en que fuesse desta calidad o aquella, sino que sonase se avía hecho lo que con las hijas de los más grandes s[eñor]es y mas

117. *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 27.3.1647, ff.245-6.

118. As this is a draft copy of the agreement many parts have been crossed out. [-----] represents the blanks.

119. BN MSS 1.000, f.26.

120. *Ibid.*, f.26.

q[uan]do confiesa que *tiene tanta hacienda*. Pero le parece a mi Sr^a la Marquessa que según las condiciones qualquier reparo que se haga deste género bastará para deshacer el tratado aunque esté mui adelante.¹²¹

The level of arrogance displayed by the Haros was inexplicable to don Francisco. However, it seems that their attitude in this affair was to promote their reputation of being politically omnipotent, since they must have been particularly confident of their political power to insist on such specific terms. The marriage proposal was the ideal opportunity to diffuse this state of affairs.

Discussing marriage in *A la sombra de la Corona* Mauro Hernández states that marriage in the seventeenth century was generally between parties of equal fortune. Often, however, the equality of the fortune was not simply a question of money. Hernández comments that “Los desequilibrios en términos de *status* social se compensan por desequilibrios financieros”.¹²² In the marriage between Antonia and Saldaña the social status of the two was equal, whereas Antonia’s social status was obviously superior to that of Liche. However, “habrá que tener en cuenta la categoría social de las familias y la hacienda, pero también factores como las expectativas de éxito social, las conexiones de uno y otro,”¹²³ etc. The House of Haro obviously considered that their *hacienda* and *expectations* outweighed the social status of Saldaña and, therefore, Antonia must compensate with a larger dowry. Securing Antonia for his son had to make Haro *sonase* as politically triumphant.

In December 1646 Oviedo commented that the marriage would make a “buen nudo para estrecharse.”¹²⁴ The marriage would undoubtedly tighten links between Medinaceli and Haro although this would only be

¹²¹ . *Cartas*, Oviedo to Tapia, 27.3.1647, ff.245-6.

¹²² . Mauro Hernández, *A la sombra de la Corona*, Madrid, 1996, p.173.

¹²³ . *Ibid.*, p. 174.

¹²⁴ . *Cartas*, Oviedo to Tapia, 19.12.1646, ff.188-91.

advantageous to Medinaceli if Haro's position in government was secure. In early 1647, however, Haro remained in the position he had occupied three years earlier, when Infantado plotted to oust him. He was still in effect nothing more than the King's favoured minister. On 4 April 1647, Oviedo wrote:

en el negocio de mi Sr^a Doña Antonia su hija, [Medinaceli] escribe que allá no ai principios deste casso y aunque acá se aia hablado deben de pensarlo más y que a Su Ex[celenci]a nada de lo que se habla le empeña.¹²⁵

Medinaceli was not so convinced of Haro's power to agree readily to all his wishes in the affair. It must be remembered that in 1647 Medinaceli's friendship with Infantado took precedence over any negotiations with Haro. From the point of view of his reputation, for Haro to obtain for his son the girl intended for the son of Infantado would constitute not only a political and dynastic triumph but also a personal one.¹²⁶

The marriage negotiations placed friar Pedro in a very delicate position. He was in contact with both Medinaceli and doña Catalina Fernández de Córdoba. He did not wish either to be drawn in to taking sides or to forfeit his favour with either, if there should be a permanent break down in the negotiations. In April 1647 he wrote:

yo he tomado resolución de entrar poco en estas y otras materias. Y si no me traten las partes en el neg[oci]o, nada. Y assí quando me hablan respondo muy formalmente, y escuso todo lo posible la correspondencia.¹²⁷

Friar Pedro's links with Medinaceli formed a relationship of many years standing and considerable amity and confidence existed between the two. It is not unreasonable, therefore, to speculate that in any serious rupture between the two parties friar Pedro's friendship with Medinaceli would take precedence over his relations with Haro. Friar Pedro was interested in promoting his connections, but not when it went against his personal

¹²⁵. *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 4.4.1647, ff.253-4.

¹²⁶. Relations between Infantado and Haro were not always smooth. In September 1647 Infantado was banished to his estates following a heated discussion with Haro.

¹²⁷. *Cartas*, Tapia to Oviedo, 4.4.1647, ff. 253-4.

beliefs.¹²⁸

The marriage between Antonia and Liche was finalized in 1648. It ended without heirs on the death of Antonia at the age of 35 on 12 December 1669.¹²⁹

IV. Advancement

Through his correspondence friar Pedro enjoyed political influence and patronage. Oviedo, because of his role as friar Pedro's chief correspondent in Madrid and co-ordinator of his correspondence, was brought to the notice of, and came under the patronage of, friar Pedro's more powerful contacts. Friar Pedro's reputation for disinterestedness enabled him tactfully to introduce into the notice of the powerful the justice of Oviedo's aspirations.

Oviedo was attempting to obtain a habit for his son, Luis González de Oviedo. As has been shown friar Pedro gave Haro information about his wife, in Paredes, which made him very happy. Friar Pedro then used this opportunity to talk to Haro about the affairs of Oviedo - introduced favourably to Haro's notice through his wife's illness. This affair, and how it was conducted, is of interest here for it gives an invaluable insight into the functioning of patron/client relations.

In his introduction to *Instituciones y élites de poder en la monarquía hispana durante el siglo XVI*, José Martínez Millán observes that "por mi

¹²⁸ . In 1656 friar Pedro caused considerable political displeasure by his opposition to the *Millones*. Luckily for ministers he died in 1657 before any other bishops followed his lead, see *Avisos, op cit.*, Vol.222, pp. 30, 37 and 38.

¹²⁹ . AHN, Cons., Leg. 28.230. This deals with the funeral arrangements made by Liche for Antonia. Antonia's body was placed in the convent of the *Dominicas descalzas de la pura Concepción*. Her body was accompanied by Gregorio de Silva y Mendoza, Count of Saldaña, and her brother-in-law, Tomás Enríquez de Cabrera, Count of Melgar. Her testators were Cardinal Pascual de Aragón, her father, the Duke of Medinaceli, and her husband, the Marquis of Carpio.

parte, pienso que fue más importante [en relaciones *patrón/cliente*] la *utilidad* que la *fidelidad*.”¹³⁰ He argues:

un*patrón* asistía y protegía a sus clientes (colocándolos en oficios, promocionando a sus hijos, defendiéndolos legalmente, etc.) [y que ...] las relaciones de patronazgo son duales, estableciéndose desde planos desiguales ... relaciones personales, recíprocas, dependientes y, por consiguiente, que reflejan una estructura social vertical.¹³¹

Hence, “la reciprocidad supone un cambio mutuamente benéfico.”¹³² As was seen in the relation between friar Pedro and doña Catalina, the reciprocal part of the relationship may merely have been one of personal comfort or pleasure gained. It is wise not to forget, when analysing these relationships from a distance of over three centuries, that these were *personal* relationships. The *persons* themselves counted, if not equally, at least to a large degree, in the assistance offered to them. Friar Pedro remarked to Oviedo in January 1647: “yo le amo [a Luis] más q[ue] si fuera un hijo de mi herm[an]o”.¹³³ Again, six-months later, he claimed to desire the habit for Luis more than “si fuera neg[oci]o de herm[an]o mío.”¹³⁴ These are not just turns of phrase. Friar Pedro was sincerely attached to Luis. In November of 1647, while friar Pedro was ill in bed, he sent Luis a horse which he had bought him in Segovia, four years earlier. Oviedo was very pleased with the gift and stated that “el primer día del sol le probaremos en el campo que lo desea Luis como se puede presumir de su edad y inclinación.”¹³⁵ This was not the action of a formal patron/client relation of mutual utility, but the action of genuine friendship and personal esteem.

According to Martínez Millán: “un *patrón* asistía ... a sus clientes.”¹³⁶ In chapter 3 it was seen how clients helped their patron. Through a detailed

¹³⁰ . Martínez Millán, *op cit.*, p.22.

¹³¹ . *Ibid.*, p.21.

¹³² . *Ibid.*, p.21.

¹³³ . *Cartas*, Tapia to Oviedo, Medinaceli, 5.2.1647, ff.197-8.

¹³⁴ . *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, Almazán, 26.6.1647, ff.293-4.

¹³⁵ . *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 9.11.1647, ff.349-50.

¹³⁶ . Martínez Millán, *op cit.*, p.21.

examination of Oviedo's efforts to gain a habit for his son the exact nature of *how* patrons helped their clients will be made manifest. In point of fact the second letter of the series refers to the affair, and friar Pedro commented upon it:

el Sr. Duque de Medina me dize el gusto y voluntad con que acude al neg[oci]o de Luisico juzgando que es muy poco p[ar]a lo q[ue] vm. y él merecen y para lo que su e[xc]elencia] dessea.¹³⁷

This was written on 6th January 1646. On 18th December 1647, almost two years later the *informantes* of the Council of Orders had just begun to investigate the case. Much of this delay was caused by "el modo irregular que tienen [los consejeros de Órdenes] de proceder."¹³⁸ This manner of proceeding meant that Oviedo had to be very careful to pick the right moment of applying. Otherwise, "se acabarán las vidas y las haciendas y no el neg[oci]o."¹³⁹ Clearly, all favours had a price! Before he could present his case to the Council of Orders, the Inquisition needed to investigate the *limpieza* of Luis. This stage was finished by June 1646. Friar Pedro commented:

muy grande ha sido el contento que he recibido en la buena disposición que ha tomado n[uest]ro negocio con el buen despacho de la Inquisición.¹⁴⁰

Although both friar Pedro and Oviedo corresponded with the Duke of Medinaceli, it was friar Pedro who petitioned the Duke on don Francisco's behalf. In 1643 Bartolomé Morquecho,¹⁴¹ applied for a habit for his second son, Gerónimo de Morquecho y Sandoval. Bartolomé had been granted a

¹³⁷. *Cartas*, Tapia to Oviedo, 6.2.1646, f.3-4.

¹³⁸. *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 2.3.1647, ff.233-6.

¹³⁹. *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, 2.3.1647, ff.233-6.

¹⁴⁰. *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, Atienza, 8.6.1646, ff.90-1, my emphasis.

¹⁴¹. Bartolomé Morquecho was made *Alcalde de Casa y Corte* from a position as *Oidor de Granada* in 1629. In 1633 he was made a *corregidor*. In 1635 he was elected to the Council of Indies and in 1644 the King elected him to the Council of Castile. (See Appendix V.) He was married to Francisca de Rojas y Sandoval. From a legal background, his father, Bartolomé was *Alcalde de la Audiencia de Sevilla*. His brother Pedro was a *consultor* of the Inquisition of Valladolid. He had two sons, Diego and Gerónimo, both with positions in the Inquisition and a grandson, Phelippe de Salcedo, also in the Inquisition. His wife was the daughter of Rodrigo de Rojas y Sandoval and Isabel de la Cerda. (See AHN OOMM Expedientillo 2.607)

merced in 1642 for one of his children, and he chose Gerónimo to receive it.¹⁴² In September of 1646 Oviedo received from Medinaceli “el decreto original de Su Mag[esta]d de la merced de los quatro hábitos para personas de su obligación.”¹⁴³ One of these habits was to be offered to Luis. Medinaceli had also been offered two habits by Luis de Haro, although he thought these would take a long time to materialise. In any case, Medinaceli had the “gift” of a habit for Luis.

Obtaining a habit not only depended on having one available. It also depended on influencing the Council of Orders, which was responsible for granting them. The Council of Orders, in 1647, had the following members: Antonio Dávila y Zúñiga, Marquis of Miravel, Antonio de Luna, Juan Xirón y Zúñiga, Diego Baltodano, Gerónimo Mascareñas, Bernardo de Ypeñarrieta, Francisco de Borja, Antonio de Benavides and Pedro de Alarcón.¹⁴⁴ Some of these councillors were influenced directly and others by proxy, depending on with whom friar Pedro had personal influence.

On 16 October 1646, while in Saragossa, friar Pedro wrote to advise Oviedo that he had sent the letters don Francisco had requested to Antonio de Luna and the Duchess-Countess of Olivares. In September 1646 Oviedo had commented:

espero las cartas de favor de Su Ex[celencia] [léase Medinaceli] para empezar a encablar el negocio que con la m[erced] que VSI Dios le guarde nos hace y con ellas espero se ha de disponer bien y mi Sr^a la Duquesa Condesa de Olivares por VSI y por lo q[ue] he servido a Su Ex[celencia] habla al Sr. Don Antonio de Aragón su hermano y escribe de veras al Sr. Marqués de Miravel y Don Ant[oni]o de Luna, presto se podrá esperar el buen suceso.¹⁴⁵

Friar Pedro also promised to talk with the Confessor Royal, Juan Martínez, as well as Antonio de Contreras, if time allowed. On 23 June 1647 Oviedo

142 . AHN OOMM Exp^o 2.607, as above.

143 . *Cartas*, Oviedo to Tapia, 15.9.1646, ff.142-3.

144 . AHN OOMM, Santiago, Exp. 6.112, f.2.

145 . *Cartas*, Oviedo to Tapia, 5.9.1646, ff. 138-9.

wrote to tell friar Pedro that he was now fully prepared to approach the Council of Orders. The letter which friar Pedro had written to Antonio de Luna in October - still in Oviedo's possession - would suffice as it was. The letter to the Duchess-Countess, however, contained a date and references to the death of Baltasar Carlos. Don Francisco, therefore, requested that friar Pedro write another letter without including particulars. He also wanted friar Pedro to:

escribir dos renglones al P. Confessor [como] tiene tanta mano con estos s[eño]res del consejo de órdenes. Y dos al Sr. D. Antonio de Contreras diciéndole lo mismo. Para el Sr. Don Fer[nan]do de Borja importará mucho una carta para hiciera que el Sr. D. Franc[isc]o de Borja su sobrino y uno de los que tiene pulgas en el consejo tomara este negocio por su cuenta. Pero es cansar mucho a VSI.¹⁴⁶

Three of friar Pedro's key contacts at Court - Catalina Fernández de Córdoba, Antonio de Contreras and Juan Martínez - were therefore approached to exert what influence they could over the Council of Orders. Juan Martínez was stated as having specific influence over the Council. Three of the councillors themselves were to be influenced directly - Antonio de Luna, as a personal contact of friar Pedro, Francisco de Borja - through contact with his uncle, Fernando de Borja and Medinaceli was to contact the Marquis of Miravel.

There were two problems facing Oviedo in the application - apart from the general dilatoriness of the Council. The first problem concerned his patron - Medinaceli - and was thoroughly discussed in chapter 3. In March 1647, commenting on the affair, Oviedo wrote:

aora estoy dudosso si será bien empezarle asta ver en que para [el negocio de la señora] porque si el Sr. Don Ant[oni]o hermano de la señora ... diesse en hacer oposición se llevaría todo el consejo tras sí por el temor que todos le tienen y arrojamiento con que les habla, a que ayuda su natural ... casso que supiesse [que Luis] era hechura del Duque.¹⁴⁷

As was established in chapter 3, of the three Antonios on the Council this was most probably a reference to Antonio de Benavides. The enmity

¹⁴⁶ . *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 23.6.1647, ff.289-90.

¹⁴⁷ . *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 2.3.1647, ff.233-6.

towards the patron of someone with influence, would obviously prevent the client from receiving his *merced*.

The second problem facing Oviedo concerned the *pleito* of his brother Luis de Oviedo and the Dean and Chapter of Toledo.¹⁴⁸ As Oviedo observed:

Al Sr. Don Pedro [de Pacheco] le ha parecido que se haga un papel¹⁴⁹ para persuadir a estos señores del consejo que no deben buscar el pleito de mi herm[an]o ni inquirir de nuevo sobre él.¹⁵⁰

The paper was duly written. Friar Pedro remarked that it seemed very conclusive because: “mas la sabiduría de estos t[ie]mpos haze más caso de Casiodoro q[ue] de la ley natural.”¹⁵¹ In the event the paper was not necessary as the members of the Council were persuaded, because

ha tomado el Sr. D. Pedro [de Pacheco] por su cuenta el negoci[o] de Luis y habló al Sr. Don Ant[oni]o de Luna que le dixo no diesse papel sino que se entrasse lissamente.¹⁵²

Apparently, the problem was solved by influence, not expertise.

In July 1647 friar Pedro spoke to Luis de Haro about the affair:

Me dixo [Haro] q[ue] él avía pedido a Su Mag[est]a[d] el hábito y con esta ocasión y palabra le hize dueño diciéndole es así q[ue] el Sr. Duque de Medina lo suppl[i]c[ó] a VE [léase Haro] y así es negocio de VE y que ha de correr por su patrocino.¹⁵³

Friar Pedro used the tactic of referring to Haro's obligation to Medinaceli. Medinaceli had assigned the *merced* to Oviedo's son. In this case, the network of patronage was as follows: King -> Luis de Haro -> Medinaceli -> friar Pedro/Oviedo -> Luis. Haro had agreed to take the case under his direct patronage. Friar Pedro wrote:

espero en Dios que con el favor del Sr. Duque-Conde se ha de vencer toda dificultad y quando fuere menester que yo le buelva a refrescar la mem[ori]a me avise vm.¹⁵⁴

¹⁴⁸ . AHN OOMM, Santiago, Exp. 3.558, contains a copy of the paper with the arguments against the *pleito*.

¹⁴⁹ . *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁰ . *Cartas*, Oviedo to Tapia, 27.11.1646, ff.174-5.

¹⁵¹ . *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, 2.3.1647, ff.233-6. Flavio Magno Cassiodoro (480-575) was a Roman politician and political writer.

¹⁵² . *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 10.7.1647, ff.295-6.

¹⁵³ . *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, Paredes, 13.7.1647, ff.297-8.

¹⁵⁴ . *Ibid.*, Tapia to Oviedo, Horna, 18.7.1647, ff.299-300.

In spite of the fact that Haro had agreed to co-operate, it was still possible for him to forget! It is interesting to note that the patronage of Haro was not seen as *guaranteeing* the result, although it was probable this would be the case.

Friar Pedro arranged for Oviedo to be received by Haro to put his case to him personally. On 27 July 1647 Oviedo wrote:

hablé a su ex[celencia] |léase Haro| en la conformidad que VSI me mandó ... suplicándole en el memorial se sirviese de escribir al Sr. Marqués de Miravel y a Don Juan Jirón y los demás del Consejo que fuesse servido.¹⁵⁵

The Marquis of Miravel was the President of the Council of Orders and Juan Jirón one of the councillors. The personal contacts on the Council were now, therefore, four. They included three senior members and the president. By the end of the following month Oviedo was able to report: "oi víspera de n[uest]ra s[eñor]a se acabó de despachar la cédula del hábito de Luis que le he tenido por buen anuncio creo se presentará el sábado."¹⁵⁶

The only problem which then remained was "si las pruebas han de venir ... o si los testigos han de hacer mención del pleito."¹⁵⁷ In the next letter Oviedo wrote that "voi hablando a estos s[eño]res [del Consejo de Órdenes]"¹⁵⁸ in order to hurry them along. On 24 August 1647 he reported: "ia se presentó la cédula y la jenolojía [sic] en el consejo."¹⁵⁹ A further delay then ensued, as it was not until December that "los informantes de Luis vinieron anoche del negocio a que avían ido".¹⁶⁰ What had happened was that the King had decided to offer someone a *merced* between August and December, and the *informantes* had thus been despatched to investigate

¹⁵⁵ . *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 1.8.1647, ff.303-4.

¹⁵⁶ . *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 17.8.1647, ff.313-4.

¹⁵⁷ . *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 17.8.1647, ff.313-4.

¹⁵⁸ . *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 17.8.1647, ff.313-4.

¹⁵⁹ . *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 24.8.1647, ff.317-20.

¹⁶⁰ . *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 4.12.1647, ff.361-2.

that case, before they started on that of Luis. On 18 December 1647 Oviedo wrote that “el lunes empezaron los informantes y parece tendrán que hacer aquí asta pasquas y después irán a la naturaleza.”¹⁶¹ “La naturaleza” to be investigated was Oviedo’s home town, Cassarubios del Monte. Luis was finally given the habit of Santiago in 1648.¹⁶²

In this chapter friar Pedro’s rise in influence throughout 1646 and 1647 has been examined. It has been seen that “holy men” came to be sought for advice because of their reputations for sanctity, soundness of doctrine and *material* disinterestedness. As was seen in chapter 4 friar Pedro’s reputation in the theological field stemmed from his teaching years at Alcalá, and his very close relationship with the outstanding Dominican scholar, friar Juan de Santo Tomás. Friar Pedro’s link to this scholar made him one of the leading spiritual guides of the epoch. Given the seventeenth-century Spanish obsession with *bien morir*, the particularly learned theologian was in a position of supreme influence since his counsel could affect the eternal life of the penitent’s soul.

In the third section the importance of reputation was examined in the behaviour of women - the Marchioness of Leganés - and in the marriage negotiations between Liche and Antonia de la Cerda. Most importantly a consideration was made of the *value* attached to *reputación* in the seventeenth century in something so mundane as marriage. Luis de Haro’s use of his political expectations to further his son’s dynastic connections was seen to be part and parcel of his reputation.

Finally, the network of patronage of the Medinaceli/Tapia connection was

¹⁶¹ . *Ibid.*, Oviedo to Tapia, 18.12.1647, ff.367-8.

¹⁶² . AHN OOMM, Santiago, Exp. 3.558, gives the date of the *cédula* - August 1647 - and then states that the habit was granted in 1648 without giving any more details.

examined. The use made of friar Pedro's increased influence was thus seen in the achievement of Oviedo's family aspirations. This whole affair brought to light the nature of the patronage system in general and the practical use of the contacts of the Tapia interest in particular. The axis of this influence rested in friar Pedro's Dominican connections with Juan Martínez, and through him with the King, and his literary connections with Catalina Fernández de Córdoba and through her with Luis de Haro. Along with these powerful connections went the more mundane ones with the court functionaries - Antonio de Contreras - and the nobility - Fernando de Borja.

In brief, this chapter has illustrated four manners of *using* reputation to exercise influence in the Catholic Monarchy. It is hoped that along with this analysis the importance of reputation discussed in chapters 3, 4 and 5 is understood for the value it had for its owner.

Chapter 8

Conclusion

The fall of Olivares from power in 1643 changed the course of the history of the reign of Philip IV. It could be argued that Olivares' fall from power was part and parcel of his style of government. The Catholic Monarchy, after a series of military disasters, required a change of direction. The government needed new ideas, and since Olivares jealously excluded rivals the deadlock could only be resolved by his removal, since compromise was impossible. Opposition in the Catholic Monarchy had never been focused against the system, it was merely levelled at the personality. As Olivares himself observed it was a question of *afectos* versus *no afectos*.¹ The opponents to the great *valido* assumed that with his removal all their own desires for power would be resolved. The nature of the system, the stability of the patronage network, which apportioned great influence to the nobility even when in opposition, also prevented their immediate assumption of power once the main obstacle had been removed.

This study has examined the importance of reputation in seventeenth-century politics. This has been examined with special regard to the patronage networks existent at Court in 1646-1647. The way these interests were used to exert influence has also been considered. In previous works on patronage networks much attention has been focused on the vertical nature of the relationships and the utility of the system. Very little work has been done, especially for Spanish history, on the way connections were formed and maintained. In this study four main ways of forming a patron-client association have been examined as well as their exploitation by the same person. The role played by friendship and the unity of ideas and interests

¹ . Olivares used these terms in a letter to Diego Quiroga of 1629. Quoted in Ronald Cueto, "Crisis, conciencia y confesores en la Guerra de Treinta Años" in *Cuadernos de Investigación Histórica*, 16 (1995), pp. 249-265, p.254.

was examined in the relationship between Medinaceli, Pedro de Tapia and Francisco de Oviedo. Because of the status of the three people involved Medinaceli was seen, in general, to be the patron, Pedro de Tapia the broker and Francisco de Oviedo the client - especially manifest in Francisco de Oviedo's attempt to obtain a habit for his son, Luis González de Oviedo. However, a permutation to this vertical structure was visible when Medinaceli needed Pedro de Tapia, as a prelate, to obtain *dimisorias* for him. Then, strictly speaking, Medinaceli himself could be described as the client and Oviedo the broker.

The second form of patronage relationship which has been explored, is that based on correspondence - what could be termed "holy" patronage. In this connection friar Pedro's reputation for saintliness was of paramount importance in allowing him to enter into correspondence with doña Catalina Fernández de Córdoba. In this relationship a strict patron-client relation did not exist, as neither provided the other with concrete, material advantage. Friar Pedro, as in the case of sor María de Ágreda in her correspondence with Philip IV, saw that his best way to maintain influence with his correspondent was to remain as disinterested as possible in seeking to promote his personal career rise. Paradoxically, for religious the best way to achieve advancement was actively - and visibly - to avoid it. Friar Pedro was undoubtedly aware of this, and it is his main reason for remaining neutral and unselfseeking with the wife of the man he considered to be the new *valido*.

Friar Pedro's relationship with Philip IV was very similar in its form to that maintained with doña Catalina. It was based on a reputation for disinterestedness and cultivated by correspondence. This relationship is of interest to the study of patronage, because it is now possible to date precisely

its inception. It is probable that a large number of "holy" patronages began, as did this one, as the result of a period of grave personal crisis of the correspondent. A personal relationship was seen to begin between friar Pedro and Philip IV because of the friar-bishop's ministrations during the death of Prince Baltasar Carlos. Into this equation of the motives which prompted Philip IV to seek friar Pedro's advice, account must be taken, as has been seen, of the seventeenth-century obsession with *bien morir*.

The fourth manner of cementing links of patronage which has been examined in this study was marriage. Marriage played an all important part in family relationships, and these formed the backbone of the patronage system. The expectations of the parties were seen to be important in the forming of the marriage alliance and the reputations of the parties both effectuated this contract and were furthered by it. This was especially important in the Catholic Monarchy where most of the nobility enjoyed solid local power bases where their families ruled - "independently" of royal jurisdiction - numerous towns and villages, administering justice and controlling economic production. A study such as that done by Namier on the politics of George III in England and the power of the nobility over local politics would be essential in the Catholic Monarchy for a true appreciation of the patronage enjoyed by the seventeenth-century nobility in the Iberian peninsula.

As was mentioned in chapter 3, in the relation between Medinaceli and friar Pedro, the vertical nature of the patronage relation, on which such importance is placed by José Martínez Millán in *Élites de poder*, is not apparent in this particular case. This is not to say that the hierarchical status of the two men was unimportant, but rather that in the benefit of the relationship the client-patron emphasis was often inverted. It has been

shown, and special emphasis needs to be given to this, that the "client" was often of more use to the "patron" than vice-versa. Frequently, in fact, the patron could be a liability more than a benefit. This was especially true for that large percentage of nobles who did not reside at Court, but needed to maintain their influence there. It seems worth pointing out that a large proportion of the grandees in the Catholic Monarchy were not resident at Court, and those who lived there were often absent for long periods. Chapter 3 explores the manner in which this disadvantage was overcome by examining Medinaceli's dealings with doña Antonia de Mendoza and the influence she, along with her connections, the Benavides family, enjoyed because of their residence at Court.

What has also become apparent in this study is that the client did not only defend the patron's interests, but also, to a large extent, formed them. The "simple" patron-client relationship amongst Medinaceli, friar Pedro and Oviedo was an elaboration of the relations of the three participants. The connections of the clients were of equal importance to those of the patron in the extension of the patronage connection to form a cohesive faction. Within what has been termed the Medinaceli faction, the ideas and aims of the clients formed the backbone of the interest of the faction. The political ideas of the faction found expression in the writing of Quevedo. Relations with Quevedo were maintained through Francisco de Oviedo in Madrid, who continued correspondence with Quevedo until the latter's death in 1645. It was through Quevedo that don Pedro de Pacheco was drawn into the faction's orbit. In 1646-1647, through his continued connections with Oviedo at Court, don Pedro can be seen to be acting in the Medinaceli interest.

It is obvious that the theological position adopted by the faction was

influenced primarily by friar Juan de Santo Tomás. It is furthermore self-evident that the link between Medinaceli and friar Juan de Santo Tomás was friar Pedro. In this way it can be seen that the moral aims of the faction - to improve morality in the Catholic Monarchy - were a result of the ideas of the client. The ill-formed thought of the patron, with his tepid interest for the cause - primarily self-interested opposition to Olivares - was developed and extended into well-thought-out principles by the client. It is because of this inversion of the benefit of the relationship that "holy" patronage does not really fit into the classic hierarchical system. It is one of the contradictions of the seventeenth-century body politic in the Catholic Monarchy that the patron sought to obey his/her client in this type of relationship. It can be seen most clearly in the relation between Philip IV and sor María. This is not to say that the patron always followed the advice of his/her "holy" client, but that in order to ensure his/her access to heaven on death, he/she *sought* to obey.

The role of the patron in this scheme was to promote publicly the aims of the faction as a whole. In general this was made easy for the patron by his/her high public visibility and reputation. Within the Medinaceli faction, with its emphasis on the importance of public morality, the appearance, i.e. the *reputación* - if not the reality, - of a high moral standard was essential. This aspect of the ideas of the Medinaceli group was looked at in detail in chapter 4. It was also seen in this chapter how the faction managed to get its idea of public morality into the forefront of politics in the mid-1640s. The influence that was exerted was formed around the seventeenth-century conception of a wrathful and angry God. This was a political agenda only possible in the seventeenth century, and stemmed from two fundamental concepts of their world view: 1. their over-riding sense of suffering from *cólera divina*, linked inextricably to their sense of

their personal and collective guilt, and 2. their obsession with the concept of *bien morir* which was examined in chapter 7. The topic of death in the early-modern period has been treated by Fernando Martínez Gil in *Muerte y sociedad en la España de los Austrias* and by Francisco Tomás y Valiente in "Delincuentes y pecadores".

It was through their moral ideas that the influence of the Medinaceli faction was made most apparent in 1646-1647, when it managed to get its objectives at the forefront of contemporary politics. It was through the connections of friar Pedro that this took place. It has been shown that friar Pedro's connections at Court - the Confessor Royal and friar Pedro's friends on the Council of Castile - along with sor María de Ágreda, managed to convince the King of the efficacy of their moral solution to the problems facing the Catholic Monarchy. The reputations of friar Pedro and sor María were seen to be the convincing factor in influencing the Monarch. It has also been shown that in influencing political affairs the faction needed the support of Luis de Haro, which it achieved through friar Pedro's connections with his wife - doña Catalina Fernández de Córdoba. It has also been demonstrated in chapter 7 that the influence of Luis de Haro alone was not sufficient to resolve patronage matters in favour of the client. This lack of absolute influence in Luis de Haro must be borne in mind, but should not be seen as questioning his achievement of the post of *valido*. In a letter to Luis de Haro of 1643 from the Jesuit Agustín de Castro, the dependence Haro still had on his uncle Castrillo in matters of patronage can be seen, due to the latter's control over court mechanisms:

El de Don Gabriel tengo seguro por lo que VE le ha mandado pero nada puede obrarse sin el beneplácito del señor Conde de Castrillo, Tío de VE para el qual como VE sabe no son fáciles los medios aunque la pretensión sea tan fácil.²

Friar Pedro likewise appreciated this necessity of placating Castrillo, and, as was seen in chapter 7, maintained correspondence with him. He was also

². BN MSS 18.202, f.84, Agustín de Castro to Luis de Haro.

quick to urge Medinaceli to heal differences with Castrillo, as was seen in chapter 5.

In her article "The Court of Philip II of Spain" Mia Rodríguez-Salgado states that "although most aristocrats visited the court, usually for business rather than pleasure, their primary interest was to extend their local power base and consolidate their estates."³ The nobility had a dual interest in political influence. Their large patronage networks and local power bases made them influential in politics at the same time as their influence in politics brought them additional local power. This is a difficult equation to evaluate, but it should not be assumed that because there were no disinterested parties a political pretender's desire for influence was merely to consolidate his estates and amass personal fortune. The Duke of Medina de las Torres, for example, controlled large estates and enjoyed a plentiful fortune, but still sought political influence. The seventeenth-century estimation of disinterestedness as an ideal quality in a political adviser should not be used in a twentieth-century analysis of events. A seventeenth-century noble was indivisible from his lineage and his patronage network. In this respect all seventeenth-century political players were equally self-seeking and because of this, this aspect of their political interests must be considered regardless of their individual aims. It represented a unifying quality amongst the nobility as much as a conflict of interest.

As noted earlier, Luis de Haro did not enjoy an absolute command over patronage at Court. This fact, however, does not imply that he was not Philip IV's new *valido*. In chapter 6 Luis de Haro's *modus operandi* was examined. It was there shown how Haro formed allegiances with his political rivals by promoting them, and thereby neutralizing their

³. María José Rodríguez-Salgado, "The Court of Philip II of Spain", in Ronald Asch and Adolf Birke, (Eds), *Princes, Patronage and the Nobility. The Court at the Beginning of the Modern Age c.1450-1650*, London, 1991, pp. 205-244, p.232.

influence. Ronal Asch in "Court and household from the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries" gives what he calls the "Olivares model" of a *valido*. It involved:

filling the key positions in the central and provincial administrations with relatives and "creatures" and building up an extensive network of clients within the state apparatus, which was accompanied by the acquisition of a huge personal fortune.⁴

This model has been used by many historians. The nature of Luis de Haro's domination of the Court of the Catholic Monarchy does not fit into this model. Hence, it has been argued, this implies that Luis de Haro was not really a *valido*. However, within the correspondence between friar Pedro and Francisco de Oviedo, Luis de Haro was frequently referred to as *el privado* or *el valido*, and the reason for naming him thus was that he gave audiences. In the opinion of friar Pedro, giving audiences was something special to the King, and anyone who performed functions of the King was a *valido*.

It appears that in giving such a concrete, *a priori*, definition to the term *valido* the only purpose served has been to create a debate as to whether or not "X" fitted the definition. As has already been emphasized, a *valido* was not a post. He was a person and his *valimiento*, therefore, was influenced by his personality. The death of Olivares ended the "Olivares model" of *valimiento* in the Catholic Monarchy. However, a new model needs to be formed to fit the basic similarities of the leading ministers of the Catholic Monarchy in the seventeenth century. The engineer of the change in the form of the *valido* was Philip IV himself, whose influence over Luis de Haro was enormous. After the fall of Olivares, Philip IV was exposed to a huge number of pressures attempting to convince him of the evil of the "Olivares model". His determination to rule for himself was tempered by his observations as an intelligent man of his *necessity* to have a first

⁴ . Ronal Asch, "Introduction: Court and household from the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries", in *Ibid.*, pp.1-40, p.21.

minister. This need was not only that which he expressed to sor María, of the sheer volume of work, but also because of his understanding that the *valido* protected him. As Asch points out, "the favourite during this period must be seen not least as an instrument employed by the ruler to control the Court."⁵ It can be seen in Philip IV's correspondence with Luisa Enríquez how Philip used Luis de Haro as an instrument to deny a favour which the Countess had been requesting for years.⁶ In this way Philip could maintain his popularity at the expense of the *valido*. In changing and manipulating the new *valido* Philip may have been influenced by the English Civil War, and throughout the whole complicated process showed his intelligence, tact and political maturity.

The role of Philip IV in politics has been discussed by all historians who have examined his reign. The general conclusion has been that Philip was more capable than his father or his son, but did not at all compare to his grand-father, in either talent or hard work. The main argument used to support this opinion is that Philip failed to rule personally and placed too much reliance on his *validos*. The reason for this was that Philip wished to spend too much time womanizing and in other courtly diversions. Likewise criticism has been aimed at Philip II in that his Court lacked the splendour necessary in the epoch to attract the nobility to Court and thus control them. This is a criticism impossible to level at his grandson. Philip IV was supremely aware of his responsibilities as a king and these included, in the seventeenth century, making a splendid Court.

As was pointed out earlier, the criticisms aimed at Philip IV by historians show a remarkable similarity to the criticisms aimed at him, as seen in chapter 4, by friar Juan de Santo Tomás. According to the Portuguese

⁵ . *Ibid.*, p.22.

⁶ . Pérez Villanueva, *epistolario, op cit.*, letters XXXVI - XXXVIII, pp.178-184.

Dominican, Philip ruled with a powerful *valido*, he continued unnecessary wars, he failed to control expenditure, he expanded the bureaucracy with *plazas supernumerarias* and publicly acknowledged his infidelity. What needs to be done, however, is to develop a model of kingship in the seventeenth century and judge whether Philip IV shaped up to it, or whether it was desirable for his Monarchy, or even possible, that he should follow the model. An early modern king needed to provide an image of himself and his Court befitting the majesty of his kingdoms. He had to preserve his inheritance for his heirs. He was required to rule his kingdoms with enough control to prevent rebellions and revolts. He needed to preserve his reputation abroad as a strong king in the military field. The seventeenth century as a whole was marked for its internicine warfare and internal political instability. From the assassination of Henry IV of France in 1610 to the English Civil War, along with the Restoration and the Glorious Revolution of 1688, the Catholic Monarchy's problems with Portugal, Catalonia and Naples must be placed in perspective. From 1618 to the Peace of the Pyrenees in 1659 warfare raged throughout Europe, with all European monarchs spending their resources on continual warfare. Given the conditions obtaining in the seventeenth century, none of the European monarchs truly fulfilled their ideals as kings, and Philip IV cannot be said to have failed any more spectacularly than any other monarchs of his generation. Apart from the loss of Portugal, his inheritance - in terms of territories - was handed intact to his son. Because of his use of a *valido*, the nobility in his kingdom were adequately controlled. It is ironic to consider that it was the personal rule of Charles I of England, rather than his use of a favourite, which directly led to his downfall.

Philip IV poses serious problems for historians precisely because of his correspondence with sor María de Ágreda. In this correspondence he

continually made reference to his sense of his own guilt and his personal responsibility for the evils befalling his Monarchy. As was explained earlier, this sense of guilt was an inherent part of the seventeenth-century understanding of the cosmos. Philip has been considered as a weak man and a hypocrite for continuing his amorous relationships although claiming to feel guilty about them. But, *mutatis mutandis*, this is just like despising a person unable to give up smoking who has been advised of the health risks involved. In his analysis of Philip's art collection Joaquín Pérez Villanueva reached the conclusion that Philip enjoyed secular rather than religious works, had a great appreciation for aesthetics and in no way "era un personaje vulgar".⁷ Throughout his correspondence with Luisa Enríquez, from his consideration for the Countess' feelings, his sense of humour and self-effacement, it is possible to see why Philip was so successful as a womanizer. His personality must have been very attractive. It must also be pointed out here that Philip's expressions of his sense of guilt were written for the benefit of sor María, in the main part, shortly after the death of Isabel de Borbón, and subsequently his amorous exploits significantly decreased. In 1651 Philip wrote to Luisa Enríquez that he no longer was tempted to commit adultery, which he ascribed to his real affection for his niece, Mariana de Austria, which he confessed to not having expected to feel.

It has been argued here that what has been termed Philip's "paralysis of will" in the 1640s, needs to be reinterpreted, as a playing of factions against each other. As Francis Bacon stated in his essay "Of Faction":

the chiefest wisdom is either in ordering those things which are general and wherein men of several factions do nevertheless agree, or in dealing with correspondence to particular persons, one by one.⁸

⁷ . *Ibid.*, p.18.

⁸ . Francis Bacon, *Essays*, London, (no date), with introduction by W.H.D. Rouse, "Of Faction", pp.175-6, p.175.

In the second half of his reign, and during the two years studied here, this development can be seen: Philip IV ruled according to the opinions of many particular people rather than favouring a specific faction. Philip's primary objective during this period was to lend weight to all opinions, therefore preventing any particular person of power and influence from placing himself amongst the *no afectos*. This was particularly true after the failed plot of the Duke of Híjar: "For many a man's strength is in opposition, and, when that faileth, he groweth out of use."⁹

Luis de Haro's tactic of drawing opposing factions into his orbit can be seen as a way of directly reducing their power. The anti-*validimiento* group - focused around Medinaceli - was, in 1646, the strongest centre for opposition to Haro. By using his wife's connections with friar Pedro and taking advantage of the coincidence of the death of the Count of Saldaña, Luis de Haro was able to further one of the aims of the Medinaceli faction - the furthering of the Medinaceli dynasty - by the marriage of his son, Gaspar de Haro, with Antonia de la Cerda. In this way he neutralized Medinaceli's "strength in opposition". This was coupled to Haro's previous support of the faction's aims of an improved morality in the Catholic Monarchy - the closure of the theatre. In bringing this faction into his sphere of influence Haro was careful to encourage ambiguity about whether or not he was the *valido*. Overall, it was seen that Haro cultivated a reputation of conciliator in order to further his political aims.

From the biographical point of view the present study has not attempted to show the linear advancement of friar Pedro throughout his life, but rather to provide a detailed analysis of his opinions and beliefs during a particular period of his mature life. In 1646-1647 friar Pedro was at his political and professional maturity. He was displaying opinions and actions which in the

⁹. *Ibid.*, p.176.

rest of his career he would develop but not materially alter. The use of such a detailed correspondence has provided an insight into the personal life of one of the best connected theologians of the reign of Philip IV. Most importantly it has allowed an intimate view of the problems facing a seventeenth-century bishop as well as of his personal goals and aspirations. Additionally, one of the great riches of the correspondence is the depth of information and analysis of Court life provided by "la astucia de un zorro viejo" - Oviedo.

It has been seen how friar Pedro defended and promoted his ideals - thus promoting himself, by difusing his reputation as a "holy man". The way friar Pedro used his contacts to further his aims has been examined. Friar Pedro, as has been illustrated, was a very intelligent and practical man; he promoted primarily those of his aims which he considered achievable or fundamental. He thus considered that the preservation of Catholicism was more important than the achievement of peace. This over-riding consideration also led him to approve taxation of the poor, although in principle he was against this, and he used his influence to promote other measures to raise money. He protested vocally and with some success against the excesses committed by the army, and defended the need to reform the military administration. Friar Pedro, throughout his correspondence, did not cease to bemoan the existence of a *valido*, although his personal contact with Philip IV improved his opinion of him as king, and his practical nature led him to treat with Luis de Haro as a necessary evil to furthering his more important aims.

This study, although partial, has shown that various aspects of the Lorea biography need to be revised. The relation of friar Pedro with Juan Martínez can be seen to include fairly wide differences of opinions and aims, which

Lorea, due to having received his commission from the latter, tries to smooth over, although without great success. Friar Pedro's disinterestedness and desire to return to his friary and withdraw from politics can be seen to be a political tool. Lorea places great emphasis on this in an attempt to promote the Dominican Order through an idealisation of friar Pedro's life. Due to the nature of politics at the time, Lorea was unable to address any of the problems which occurred in the relations between friar Pedro and the Duke of Medinaceli, reserving for the latter nothing but praise for his appreciation of friar Pedro. Lorea does make a guarded criticism of the Duke over his failure to publish the remaining volumes of *Catena moralis*, or the promised biography of friar Pedro. The denial to Lorea of the use of friar Pedro's papers by the eighth Duke of Medinaceli, who inherited them on the death of his father in 1671, speaks of a distinct difference of opinion between father and son. This fact could also have some bearing on the subsequent disappearance of the papers.¹⁰

All in all, this exploration has provided the possibility of an in-depth look at the world of the seventeenth century. It has provided an appreciation of the "otherness" of that world; of the different concepts and aspirations of people whom time separates from the present. It has allowed an examination of the way political behaviour was conditioned by the image the "politicians" wished to convey and their use of this *reputación* as a political tool. It has also illustrated how the seventeenth-century body politic was conditioned by its moral beliefs - that these dominated not only religion but also economics and social pursuits. This study has shown how an obscure friar from the *sierra* of Salamanca could advance within the exclusive social structure of seventeenth-century Court politics. It has shown how factional politics developed and were metamorphosized after

¹⁰ . Dr Antonio Sánchez González the director of the archive of the *Fundación Casa Ducal de Medinaceli*, informs me that the papers Lorea states were given to the seventh Duke of Medinaceli are no longer to be found amongst the ducal papers either in Seville or Toledo.

the fall of Olivares. Most importantly the study has led to a re-examination of how twentieth-century historians judge the seventeenth century, and of the need for sound analysis of primary sources as yet unpublished. It has made manifest the necessity for further research into the second half - the forgotten half - of the reign of Philip IV and his relations with Luis de Haro. It is now time that Philip IV's political maturity was given the same quality of research as the follies and indiscretions of his youth. As shown in *The rise and fall of the great powers*¹¹ the success of a great power sows the seeds of its own decline. The accident that placed Philip IV in the "decline of Spain" could just as easily have placed him in its rise, in which case his talents would have led him to be considered a supreme success in the same way that today he is condemned as a failure. However, it is the hand of fate which makes history such a continuing enigma.

¹¹ . Paul Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers, Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500-2000*, London, 1989.

A note on the sources

This thesis is principally based on BN MSS 2.276. This manuscript was found while looking for information on connections of Diego de Arce y Reynoso. Having found some connection between Arce and a Francisco de Oviedo (SJ) and Pedro de Tapia I investigated this manuscript to find further information about Arce - of which there is very little. I have found no mention of this manuscript in any published works and it is absent from all the biographies of Tapia cited in the bibliography.

The manuscript is in excellent condition, being written in the original handwriting of the two correspondents. It would easily lend itself to, and benefit from, a published edition as it would provide an outstanding supplement to existing connections - Novoa, Barrionuevo, etc.

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Estado

Legajos:

2.851 *Asuntos eclesiásticos.*

3.522 *Asuntos eclesiásticos.*

Inquisición (INO)

Libro: 299 *Nombramientos.*

Clero

Segovia - Libro 12.389 - *Estatutos y ordenaciones que se han de guardar ... que fundó en el Santo y Real convento de St^a Cruz el maestro fr. Juan Martínez, confesor del rey Felipe IV.*

Palacio Nacional - Madrid, Spain, (PN)

C^a 2651/12 *Antonia de Mendoza*

C^a 7806/8 *Francisco González de Oviedo. Expediente de Limpieza de sangre para ingresar como Capellán de honor de S.M. (1671)*

C^a 11558/2 *Luis González de Oviedo. Solicita la Teneduría del Buen Retiro. (1682)*

Legajo 7 (2922) *Papeles varios de la Casa de la Reina.*

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Suárez, Espinosa, Oviedo

Suárez

Gómez de Suárez

Antonio de Oviedo=Inés de Suárez

Luis Suárez de Bustamente=Graviela de Espinosa

Gerónimo Suárez de Bustamente=María de Espinosa

Gerónimo Suárez

Joseph Suárez

Espinosa

Nicolás de Espinosa

Luis de Oviedo=Beatríz de Espinosa

Rodrigo de Espinosa=María de Riva

Graciél de Espinosa=María de Oviedo

Luis Suárez=Graviela de Espinosa

Nicolás de Espinosa=Ana de Oviedo

Gerónimo Suárez=María de Espinosa

Gerónimo de Espinosa

Alonso de Espinosa

Oviedo

Gonzalo de Oviedo=Ana Rodríguez

Luis de Oviedo =Beatríz de Espinosa

Antonio de Oviedo=Inés Suárez

Juan de Oviedo

Bernardo de Oviedo

Graciél de Espinosa=María de Oviedo

Nicolás de Espinosa=Ana de Oviedo

Luis de Oviedo

Francisco de Oviedo= Ana María de Oviedo

Hernando de Oviedo

Luis de Oviedo

Bernarda de Oviedo

Francisco de Oviedo

Diego de Oviedo

See AHN OOMM Santiago Exp. 3.558 Luis González de Oviedo and AHN OOMM Alcántara Exp. 646 Francisco González de Oviedo

Appendix I

Admiral of Castile

Fernando Enriquez de Ribera
2Duke of Alcalá de los Gazules

Luis de Aragón=Ana Enriquez de Cabrera
Count of Prada

Pedro Fernández de Córdoba=Juana Enriquez de Ribera
Marquis of Priego

Luis de Aragón

Enrique de Aragón=Catalina Fernández de Córdoba
5 Duke of Segorbe y Cardona

Luis Manuel de Córdoba
Marquis of Priego

Luis de Aragón y Cardona=Mariana de Sandoval
6 Duke of Segorbe y Cardona

3 Duchess of Lerma

Vicente de Aragón

Antonio de Aragón

Luis Méndez de Haro=Catalina Fernández de Córdoba
6 Marquis of Carpio

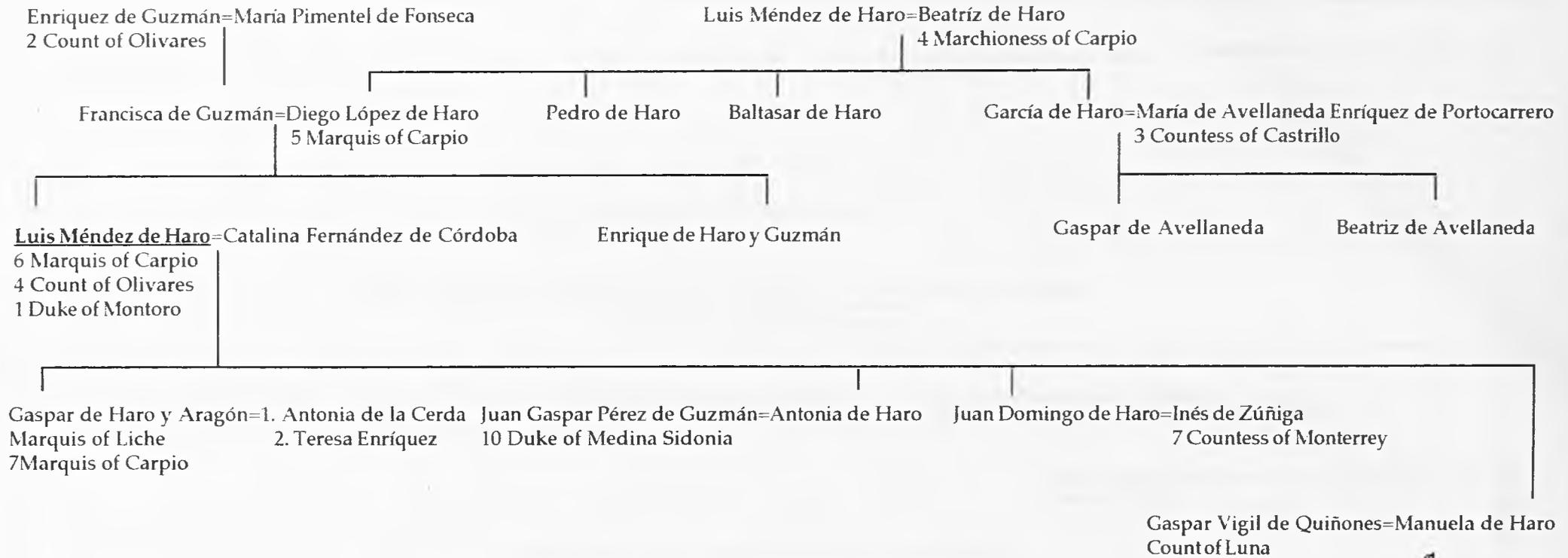
Pascual de Aragón

Juan Francisco de la Cerda=Catalina de Aragón y Sandoval
8 Duke of Medinaceli
6 Duke of Alcalá

7 Duchess of Segorbe y Cardona

Aragón y Fernández de Córdoba

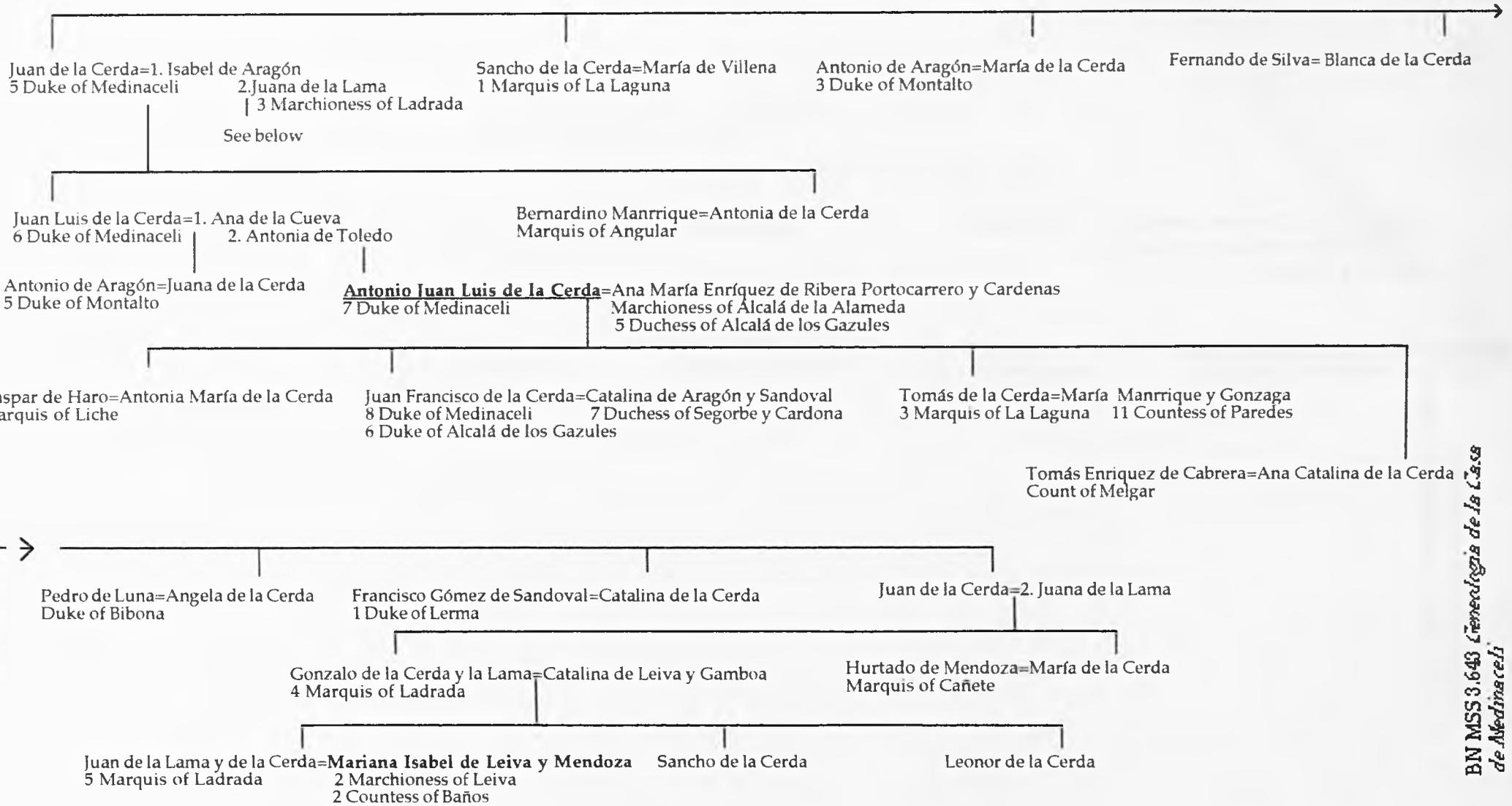
See AHN OMM Alcántara Exp. 13.633
Antonio de Aragón y Fernández de Córdoba



Haro y Guzmán

See Alberto y Arturo García y Carraffa, *Enciclopedia Heraldica y genealogica Hispano-Americana*, Vol. 42, Haro, Madrid, 1931.

De la Cerda



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Appendix III

BN MSS 3 648 *Genealogía de la Casa de Medinaceli*

Enríquez de Ribera

Fernando Enríquez de Ribera=Ana Girón
2 Duke of Alcalá de los Gazules

Fernando Enríquez de Ribera=Beatriz de Mora
3 Duke of Alcalá de los Gazules

Luis Fernández de Córdoba= Juana Enríquez
Marquis of Priego

Pedro Girón=1. Catalina Cortes Enríquez de Ribera
2. Antonia Portocarrero y Cárdenas
Marchioness of Alcalá de la Alameda

Fernando Enríquez de Ribera=Ana de Sandoval
Marquis of Tarifa

Luis de Aragón y de la Cerda=María Enríquez de Ribera
6 Duke of Montalto
Prince of Paterno

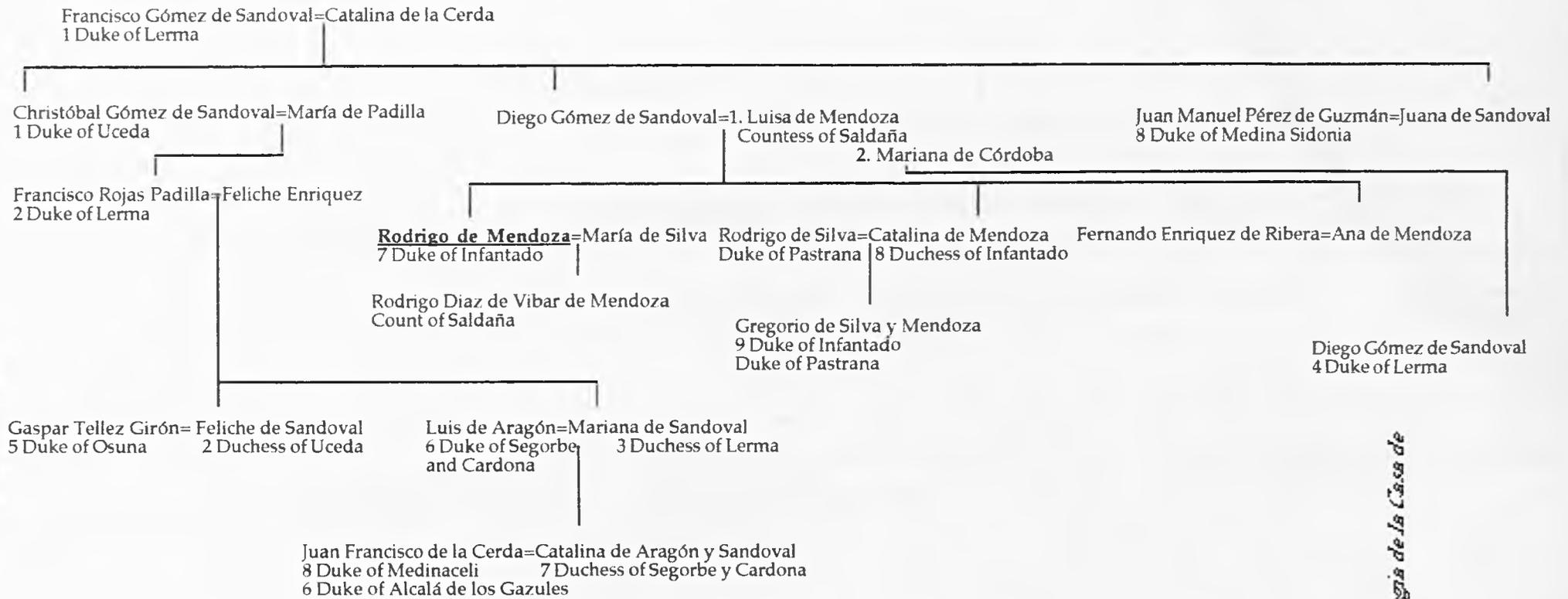
4 Duchess of Alcalá de los Gazules

Antonio Juan Luis de la Cerda=Luisa Enríquez de Ribera Portocarrero
7 Duke of Medinaceli

5 Duchess of Alcalá de los Gazules

See: Joaquín González Moreno, *Don Fernando Enríquez de Ribera*, Sevilla, 1969.

Sandoval



Benavides

Francisco de Benavides=Brianda de Bazán
7 Count of Santisteban

Diego de Benavides=1. Antonia Dávila
8 Count of Santisteban

2. Juana Dávila (Sister of Antonia)
3. Ana de Silva Manrique de la Cerda
(grand-daughter of Blanca de la Cerda)

Antonio de Benavides
Patriarch of the Indies

Enrique de Benavides=Mencia Pimentel

Diego de Ulloa=Antonia de Benavides
1 Marquis of Malagón

Leonor de Benavides
Dama de la Reina

Francisco Fernández de Córdoba=Luisa de Benavides
2 Marquis of Guadalcazar

Marfa de Benavides
Dama de la Reina

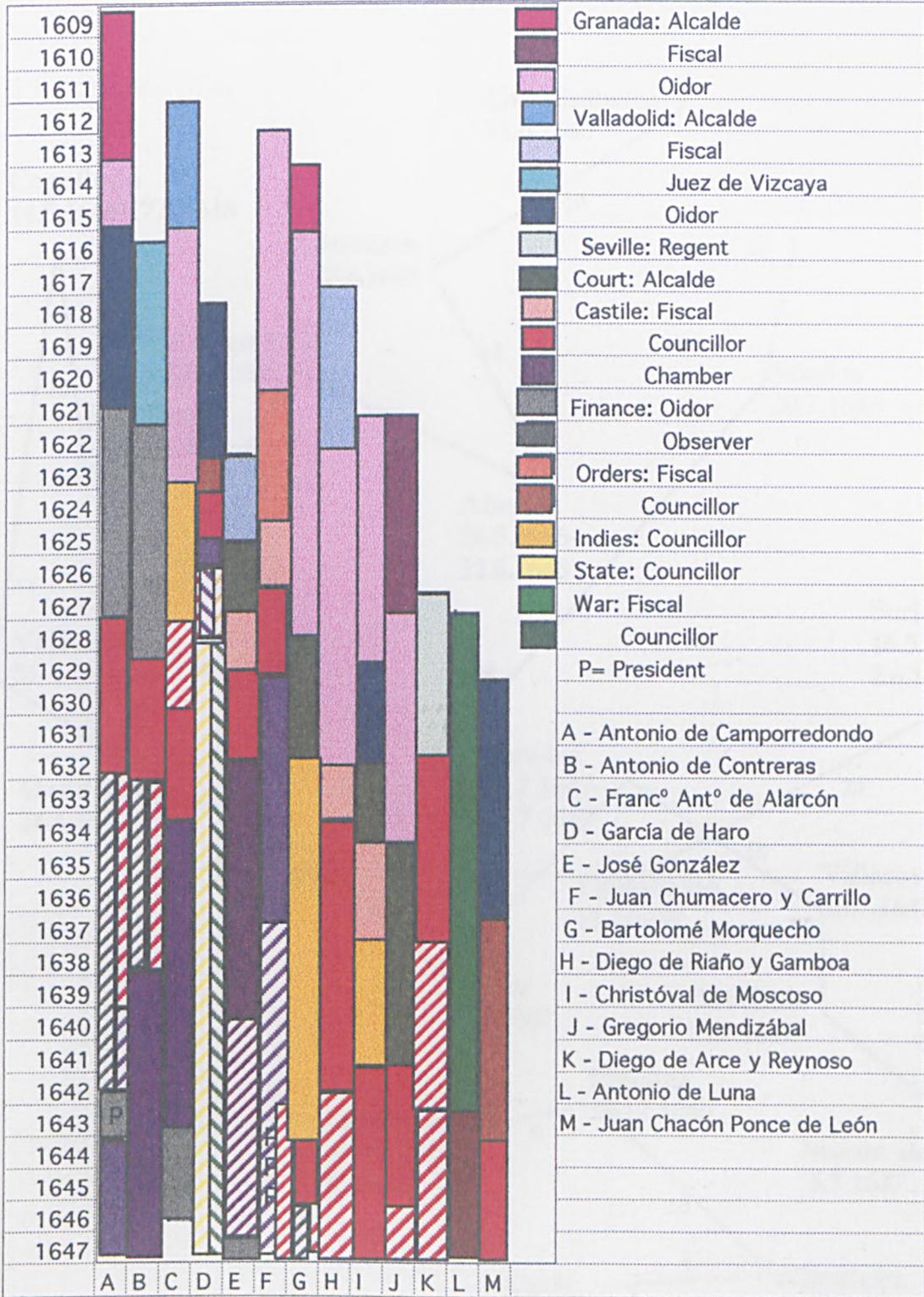
Luis de Aragón=2. María de Benavides
6 Duke of Cardona

Francisco de Benavides=Francisca de Aragón y Sandoval
9 Count of Santisteban

1. Bernardo Manrique de Silva=Teresa de Benavides
10 Count of Castañeda
(Grandson of Antonia de la Cerda)
2. Pedro Alvarez de la Vega
5 Count of Grajal

Juan Francisco Pacheco=Josefa de Benavides
8 Duke of Escalona

Graph of career paths

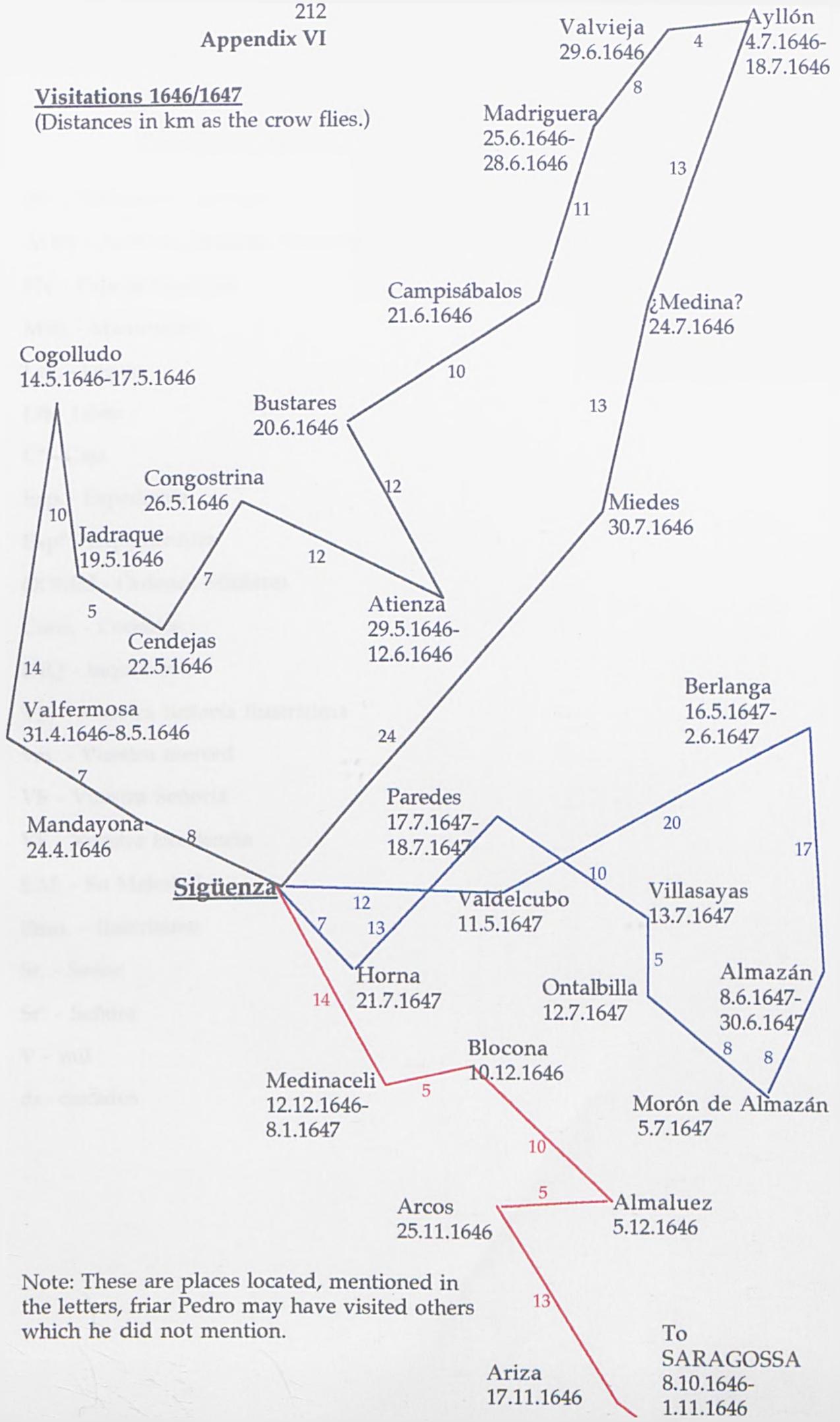


Taken from AHN, Cons., Libros, 724-727.

Appendix VI

Visitations 1646/1647

(Distances in km as the crow flies.)



Note: These are places located, mentioned in the letters, friar Pedro may have visited others which he did not mention.

Abbreviations

BN - Biblioteca Nacional

AHN - Archivo Histórico Nacional

PN - Palacio Nacional

MSS - Manuscrito

Leg. - Legajo

Lib - Libro

C^a - Caja

Exp. - Expediente

Exp^o - Expedientillo

OOMM - Órdenes Militares

Cons. - Consejos

INQ - Inquisición

VSI - Vuestra Señoría Ilustrísima

vm. - Vuestra merced

VS - Vuestra Señoría

VE - Vuestra Excelencia

S.M. - Su Majestad

Ilmo. - Ilustrísimo

Sr. - Señor

Sr^a - Señora

V - mil

ds - ducados