

Assuming Roles: Gender, Crisis and the Conservation of Spain in the Early Seventeenth
Century

By

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Abstract:

Fearful that recent military losses and continued economic difficulties indicated the decline of their once powerful state, Spanish reformers and royal officials during the first quarter of the seventeenth century dedicated themselves to finding reform programs to conserve Spain and its monarchy. They were led by the *Junta Grande de Reformación*, a unique committee formed by the monarchy to rehabilitate what many saw as the central factor in Spain's condition: faltering popular customs (*costumbres*). Reformers reached the conclusion that Spanish society had grown "effeminate," exchanging the strength and virility of Spain's successful empire for widespread foppishness and idleness. Focused on the efforts to reform customs during this era and the gendered rhetoric and notions that filled related reform writings, this dissertation seeks to understand how gender shaped the policies intended to rehabilitate popular conduct. It shows that these representations of gender revealed not only reformers' understandings of Spain's failing empire and diminished world power, but also the unique gender assumptions that gave rise to the reform plans proposed and enacted to stave off decline. Complaints of widespread effeminacy betrayed the monarchy's disdain for allegedly self-interested conduct, which royal officials felt had displaced the empire's initial commitment to king, community and the established social order. These gendered criticisms also pointed to a set of virtues, which stressed activity, productivity, duty and other qualities associated with idealized, manly conduct. The models of productive merchants or martially trained nobles offered by reformers met the needs of the state, but also conveyed a sense of balance and order that underpinned the contemporary understanding of gender and reinforced the roles Spaniards needed to fill to conserve Spain.

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Chapter 1 – Assuming Roles –An Introduction

In the 1620s, the Spanish monarchy was at a crossroads. Its several military losses suggested that Spanish imperial hegemony had peaked or even begun to decline. In 1588 Spain suffered the devastating defeat of its Armada at the hands of the English navy. Despite decades of fighting against a modest Dutch military, the king's troops had also failed to regain control of the rebellious provinces of the Netherlands, forcing Madrid to grant the Dutch Republic its independence.

Since the 1590s the monarchy had also suffered drastic losses in its economy and population. Burdened by the cost of prolonged warfare and suffering from a decreased importation of silver from the Americas, the royal treasury had run out of money to pay debts and fund vital projects. The monarchy could only declare bankruptcy to escape its obligations, a strategy it employed multiple times during this period. Meanwhile, the population of Spain, especially in its central kingdom of Castile, seemed to be dropping. Whether affected by plague, migration or other possible causes of depopulation, Spain's rural regions and trades had been abandoned and were in disrepair. In all, the Spanish monarchy and its empire seemed to be in grave danger of collapse.

Despite the bleak circumstances, between the final years of the reign of Philip III, who died in 1621, and the early rule of his son Philip IV (1621-1665) many still believed possible the arrest of a decline and reversal of the monarchy's fortunes. Along with reformers from all backgrounds – collectively known as *arbitristas* for their creation of reform schemes called *arbitrios* – top officials partook in a profound introspection, considering all aspects of Spanish life as potential sources of decline.

In 1619, the Consejo de Castilla, the monarchy's highest council, analyzed the troubled state of affairs in Spain at the behest of Philip III. After months of deliberation the Council submitted its report (*consulta*) to the king in January 1620. It asserted that Spaniards had lost "the old, natural virtue of this crown." Explaining further, the council averred that the "presumption and perspective that should govern behavior is in decline [such that Spaniards] forget their obligation, their thoughts are muddled and effeminate, resulting in idleness and sloth in life...a lack of spirit in the king's subjects, and abandonment of work and other noble exercises appropriate to their station." Spain, as they concluded, faced collapse "not only because it is without a spine, by which it conserves itself, that being men that look and act like men, but also because with their vices and disorder they destroy it."¹

The Council's depiction of Spain's situation represented well the era's reform writings. Through its *consulta*, it claimed that Spaniards had experienced a shift in customs or conduct (*costumbres*). Council members cited the neglect of obligations to king and kingdom, and the deterioration of bonds between Spaniards, their communities and their monarch as proof. Most notably, it couched this loss of past virtue in gendered

¹ The entire passage reads: "Envilecense los naturales y degeneran del valor antiguo y propio de esta Corona...Declina la presunción, y punto que había de gobernar las acciones, olvidar [sic] su obligación, entorpecen y afeminan los pensamientos, y de todo junto resulta ociosidad y torpeza en la vida...poquedad en los sujetos, y hacen que huya la ocupación y ejercicios nobles, y debidos de su estado, y que sean inútiles para cuantas ocasiones se puedan ofrecer; finalmente ocasionan la ruina de la República, no sólo porque en los efectos está sin el nervio, con que se conserva, que son hombres que lo parezcan y sean, sino también porque con sus vicios y desordenes la estragan, con grande deservicio de Dios nuestro Señor y de Vuestra Majestad"; Consulta de Consejo Real a Felipe IV, January 9, 1620 in Ángel González Palencia, *La Junta de Reforma: Documentos procedentes del Archivo Histórico Nacional y del General de Simancas, 1618-1625* (Valladolid: Academia de Estudios Histórico-Sociales de Valladolid, 1932), 35-36. For more analysis of this passage as it relates to sumptuary reforms – the focus of the statement in the *consulta* – see chapter 4 of this dissertation.

terms. Priests at the pulpit and arbitristas putting pen to paper throughout early seventeenth-century Spain offered the same observations, pointing to clothing fashions, hairstyles, and a range of other contemporary behaviors as indicators of a rapidly encroaching effeminacy.² Spanish reformers, consistently concluded that Spain and its monarchy stood on the brink of disaster, maintaining that the only way to conserve them – as the Council had pointed out – was to restore virtuous, “masculine” conduct in Spain.

This dissertation, a study of the gendered criticisms and commentaries appearing throughout the reform writings of early seventeenth-century Spain, seeks to understand the role of gender in the formation of that era’s reform policies. It argues that the ubiquitous representations of gender in these reform writings betrayed not only the prevalent anxieties and objectives of reformers, but also the unique gender assumptions that gave rise to the reform programs proposed and enacted. This is to say, references to Spain’s effemination (*afeminación*) indicated fears of declining customs, which reformers blamed for the empire’s diminished strength. They also pointed to a desire to revive virtues that privileged the preservation of king, community and the established social order above all else. At the same time, this gendered language and the call to revive past customs invoked particular gender assumptions. The idealized set of virtues reformers held as the solution to Spain’s problems drew on notions of manly conduct and betrayed the contemporary belief that both gender and the commonwealth were subject to fluctuation, requiring constant and active maintenance to avoid disorder and collapse. Reformers made the conservation (*conservación*) of Spain and its monarchy their primary

² Elizabeth Lehfeldt, “Ideal Men: Masculinity and Decline in Seventeenth-Century Spain,” *Renaissance Quarterly* Vol. 61, Number 2 (Summer 2008): 463-494.

objective, focusing on restoring this idealized set of virtues in order to rescue Spain from the throes of decline and restore its hegemony in Europe and the rest of the world.

In the sixteenth century, Spain had become the first worldwide empire in history. Its ascent began in 1469 with the unification of its two strongest kingdoms Castile and Aragón through the marriage of Isabella and Ferdinand, known otherwise as the Catholic Monarchs. Bringing to a close centuries of wars against Arab domination in the peninsula, they captured the southern kingdom of Granada in 1492, placing it too under the rule of the Spanish monarchy. That same year they funded Columbus' first voyage, an investment that brought Spain extended territory and increased wealth.

Their decision to marry their daughter Joanna to Philip of Habsburg, the son of the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I, had similar effects. When the son of Juana and Philip, Charles, took the throne in 1516 he brought with him claims to lands throughout Europe, from the Netherlands to central Europe. In 1519 he became Emperor Charles V. His son Philip II (1556-1598) would add further territory to the empire with the settlement of the Philippines and with the conquest in 1580 of the kingdom of Portugal, which had its own empire in America, Africa, and Asia.³ By the time Philip IV took the throne in 1621 his empire would be so expansive it would earn him the title of the "Planet King."

Although Spain's vast empire brought it tremendous wealth and prestige, it also put tremendous strain on the monarchy's military and financial resources. In 1566, Calvinists led a revolt against their ruler Philip II. The struggle continued throughout the sixteenth century, lasting into the first decade of the next century. In an effort to recover

³ Henry Kamen, *Spain, 1469-1714*, 2nd ed. (New York: Longman, 1991), 256.

the royal treasury, which had been spent on protracted warfare in the Netherlands and other locations, Philip III (1598-1621) agreed to a twelve-year peace accord with the Dutch Republic in 1609. The Spanish monarchy had already signed peace agreements with England and France largely for the same reason. The accord reached with the northern Dutch, however, was not favorable to Spain. It did nothing to prohibit the Dutch from interfering with trade in and around Spanish and Portuguese colonial possessions. Thus, as Spain attempted to convalesce, its recovery was slowed or even prevented by Dutch merchants and pirates trawling the waters around its most lucrative trade sites. Meanwhile, Dutch traders and the Dutch Republic continued to grow stronger. With hopes of halting the Dutch rise to power and preserving its own standing on the continent, Spain resumed war with its rebellious former subjects in 1621.⁴

Despite its vast empire or perhaps because of it, Spain seemed also to be suffering a loss in population. Some critics claimed that the American colonies, which had provided unfathomable quantities of gold and silver for Spain, were taking their toll in men. Writing at the end of the sixteenth century, the Italian political scholar Giovanni Botero (1544-1617) asserted that the Spanish monarchy had not only let too many people leave their homelands, but in particular, it had given leave to Spain's most capable and hard working citizens.⁵ Spanish authorities attempted to control the migration to the

⁴ Jonathan Israel, *The Dutch Republic and the Hispanic World, 1606-1611* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 2, and especially the first section of chapter 2 entitled "Renewed Deliberations."

⁵ Giovanni Botero, *The Reason of State* (1589), trans. P.J. and D.P Whaley (London: Routledge, 1956), 157.

Americas, but there is evidence to show that the measures they put in place may have been frequently circumvented, draining Spain of vital population and manpower.⁶

For historians, the migratory patterns and the degree of depopulation are still fairly unclear; but for Spanish leaders and arbitristas in the early seventeenth century, it seemed obvious that the populations of Spain's kingdoms, in particular the central kingdom of Castile, had fallen drastically. In the 1500s, Spain had experienced a tremendous increase in population. Historians have estimated an increase of around 2 million people by the last decade of the century, roughly a growth of 30% from its total in 1534.⁷ Between 1530 and 1580 Castile seems to have also undergone a similarly staggering increase in population of approximately 50%.⁸ But by the turn of the century this trend seemed to have reversed. Around the end of the century plagues swept through portions of Spain, killing up to half of the population in those areas.⁹ Then in 1611 Philip III expelled the *Moriscos*, Spain's remaining inhabitants of Muslim descent, from the peninsula. Estimated to have cost the kingdoms of Aragón and Valencia alone some 620,000 inhabitants, this expulsion was viewed even by the king's contemporaries as a

⁶ The number of emigrants to Spain's American territories has eluded historians, making any related statistics merely estimations. Passage to the Americas required a license, which could only be obtained after an extensive, bureaucratic process, but the related documentation fails to account for those that made the voyage without the consent of the government or by abandoning the crew with whom they had made the trip. For more on this see Auke Pieter Jacobs, "Legal and Illegal Emigration from Seville," in *To Make America: European Emigration in the Early Modern Period*, Ida Altman and James Horn, eds. (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991), 59-84.

⁷ James Casey takes these figures from Jordi Nadal's "La Población Española durante los Siglos XVI, XVII y XVIII. Un Balance a Escala Regional" on pages 40-41 of Vicente Pérez Moreda and David Reher, eds., *Demografía Histórica en España*, (Madrid: Editoriales El Arquero, 1988); see Casey, *Early Modern Spain: A Social History* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 21.

⁸ Kamen, *Spain*, 98; John Elliott, *Imperial Spain, 1496-1716* (New York: Penguin Books, 1990), 298.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 298.

bold act of faith and a questionable political maneuver.¹⁰ Modern scholarship seems to validate the concerns of early seventeenth century reformers, estimating a drop in the Spanish population from 5.2 million in 1581 to 4.5 million in 1631.¹¹ However, with no census taken during the seventeenth century it is difficult to confirm fully or deny these numbers or the suspicions reformers had about Spain's diminishing population. Nonetheless, royal officials and arbitristas firmly believed that Spain's population was in decline, especially in the Castilian countryside, and they anxiously warned the king of the loss of tax revenue, and military and economic manpower that accompanied such depopulation. In other words, they reminded their ruler of the loss of power and threat of collapse that resulted from a lack of subjects.¹²

The endless hostilities throughout the European continent during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries also jeopardized the power and stability of Spain and its

¹⁰ These estimates appear in Kamen, *Spain*, 221. In a 1621 writing recounting the death-bed scene of Philip III, the Jesuit priest and confidant of the king, Jerónimo Florencia, points out the negative effect of this decision while crediting the king with a pious effort to rid Spain of religious enemies; see *Cláusulas y Mandas Notables del Testamento que antes de su Muerte Hizo el muy Católico y Religiosísimo Rey Don Felipe Tercero Nuestro Señor, que Goza de Dios, con los Cristianísimos Actos, y Platicas Espirituales, que Tuvo con su Confesor, y con el Padre Jerónimo de Florencia de la Compañía de Jesús, Confesor de los Señores Infantes, en su Transito. Y Cosas muy Notables, que su Majestad Hizo y Dispuso Personalmente en este dicho Tiempo, Es Traslado de una Carta, que Escribió y Envió a su Amigo de esta ciudad de Sevilla, una Persona muy Grave, que Se Halló Presente a Todo* (Sevilla: Juan Serrano de Vargas, 1621). This account can be found in BNE VE/177/125. See also page 12r of the section titled "Muerte de Rey don Felipe Tercero" in the manuscript *Sucesos del año 1621*, BNE Mss 2352.

¹¹ Casey, *Social History*, 21.

¹² Antonio Domínguez Ortiz notes that no census was taken during this the whole of the seventeenth century in Spain. Domínguez Ortiz, *La sociedad española en el siglo XVII*, (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto "Balmes" de Sociología, 1963), 53-54, 62. For commentary on the impressionistic nature of the era's reforms, see Elliott, "Self-Perception and Decline in Early Seventeenth-Century Spain." in *Spain and Its World, 1500-1700* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 242, 254.

empire. In addition to tending to the continued insurrection in the Netherlands, Spanish rulers committed tremendous resources to fending off Ottoman military advances, acting as the protector of the Catholic Church and leading the charge against both Protestantism and Islam in Europe. In 1583, the monarchy began constructing the Armada in order to defeat the powerful and protestant English. This mighty fleet suffered a definite and demoralizing defeat in 1588. Such military failures brought into question Spain's power among its European rivals, and as noted earlier, its consistent engagement in battle strained its troops and treasury. With its coffers empty, it resorted to loans from foreign lenders (*asentistas*) to fund military campaigns and other projects. Unable to pay its debts – a problem that was brought on at least in part by the reduced influx of silver from the Americas – the monarchy declared bankruptcy in 1575, 1596 and once again in 1607.¹³ In an effort to resolve these numerous crises, officials and arbitristas sought out reform programs to preserve Spain and its monarchy and to return them to their former greatness.

During the first quarter of the century, reformers within and outside of the government generated reform proposals at an increasing rate, hoping to reverse these negative trends. Their proposals, which seemed to ebb away slowly after the initial years of Philip IV's reign, reflected a belief that these crises stemmed from more than particular circumstances related to population, the economy or the military. They were also the result of Spain's lost virtue. Spain would have to rehabilitate the customs of its

¹³ Henry Kamen mentions the waning importation of silver and its demand by foreign lenders in *Spain*, 215-216. John Elliott covers the monarchy's multiple bankruptcies during the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in his *Imperial Spain*, focusing on the 1607 bankruptcy briefly in chapter 8. During his discussion of the Armada he touches also on the bankruptcy of 1596; see Elliott, *Imperial Spain*, 287-290.

people in order to bring about positive changes within the Spanish empire. From this view, no military, economic or demographic reform could succeed without the restoration of the customs that had led to Spain's imperial rise. These calls to reform customs, some of which reached the king and his top ministers, may have provoked a response from the monarchy.¹⁴ Starting in the last few years of Philip III's reign and continuing into the beginning of his son's rule, the monarchy undertook an increasingly aggressive campaign to reform customs, forming a series of committees (*juntas*) dedicated to investigating and solving these issues.

Each new junta received increased power and responsibilities, but all reflected the same desire to reform Spain's customs at all levels of society. The first committee, operating under the name of the *Junta de Reformación*, was formed in the wake of the fall of the Duke of Lerma, Philip III's favorite (*valido* or *privado*), and seemed to respond foremost to the corruption in Spain's government. From the time Philip III took the throne until 1618, Lerma had served as the second-in-command of Spain and its empire, misappropriating power and royal rewards (*mercedes*) during his long tenure to build a network of loyal cronies. Considered corrupt, inept and driven only by self-interest, the *valido* was forced out of office in the fall of 1618.¹⁵ His scandalous regime and departure undoubtedly contributed to the general sensation that Spain had become corrupt and self-

¹⁴ There is evidence that Philip IV ordered his ministers to read and summarize arbitrios sent to him. For a few examples, see documents XXI, XXIII, XXV and XXX in González Palencia, *Reformación*, 100-108, 117-129, 136-138, and 162-166. Furthermore, the works of some arbitristas also appear in the libraries of powerful ministers, such as the favorite to Philip IV, the Count-Duke of Olivares. See Elliott, *Count-Duke of Olivares: A Statesman in an Age of Decline* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 121.

¹⁵ For more on the fall of the Duke of Lerma, see chapter 11 "Fall from Power," in Antonio Feros, *Kingship and Favoritism in the Spain of Philip III, 1598-1621* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 230-246.

serving, a feeling that guided reformers and reform committees throughout the first quarter of the century.

After his ascent to the throne, Philip IV ordered the formation of two additional juntas, assigning each broader foci and increased power. The first of the two committees formed during this new rule carried on the name the Junta de Reformación. Its successor, the *Junta Grande de Reformación*, formed in 1622, marked the apex of Spain's early seventeenth-century reform efforts. Invested with the power to create laws, it generated a series of reform articles covering a spectrum of issues. Even with their increased scope and power, these later juntas continued to focus heavily on customs, targeting corrupt and self-interested behaviors.

This was because royal reform officials and arbitristas saw these trends running through Spanish society in general. From their perspective, the customs that had underpinned Spain's successful empire had been altered. Prior concerns for king and community had been displaced by self-promotion and disregard for the common good (*bien común*). Instead of actively contributing to the welfare of their king and kingdom, Spaniards had become either ambitious or lazy, failing in the eyes of reformers to fulfill critical roles in a once-harmonious society. As they saw it, laborers and artisans abandoned their trades for more lucrative ventures, and nobles shirked duties to the crown as military officers and government officials concerned instead with making fashionable appearances at court. Both the virtues and social order of a past era seemed to be fading, taking Spain's hopes of a glorious resurgence with them.

These concerns about customs consistently manifested themselves in gendered terms (*afeminación* or *afeminados*; that is, "effemination" or "effeminate"). This can be

attributed to the way gender operates. Gender, as Joan Scott has aptly pointed out, is both a “constitutive element of social relationships based in perceived differences between the sexes” and “a primary way of signifying relationships of power.” In both instances, gender operates based on expectations. The assignment of certain traits to men and women forms seemingly natural assumptions about each sex, which are called on to interpret and structure society. These gender assumptions can then also serve as familiar references and justifications for the imposition or reinforcement of social and political hierarchies.¹⁶

The reform policies proposed and implemented in early seventeenth-century Spain stressed the rehabilitation of *virtud*, or virtue, throughout Spanish society. As Sebastián de Covarrubias clarifies in his *Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana*, an early seventeenth-century lexicological dictionary, virtue was synonymous with notions of vigor and strength, qualities often associated with men.¹⁷ Reformers counted among virtuous traits active and public expressions of productivity and loyalty, as ideally men contributed to the wellbeing of community through a variety of dutiful actions. They were expected to be self-sufficient but also connected to the people around them, providing for the common good of their families and towns. In this way, early modern men gained “social worth,” receiving recognition for their contributions to society and building their reputations.¹⁸ Despite the obvious link between virtue and allegedly manly conduct, this

¹⁶ Joan Scott, “Gender as a Useful Category of Historical Analysis,” in *Gender and the Politics of History*, 2nd ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 42, 45, and 48.

¹⁷ Sebastián de Covarrubias Orozco, *Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana o Española: Según la Impresión de 1611, con las Adiciones de Benito Remigio Noydens Publicadas en la de 1674*, Martín de Riquer, ed. (Barcelona: S.A. Horta, 1943), 1011.

¹⁸ Alexandra Shepard notes that in early modern England a man lacking money was considered devoid of worth. He was also seen as a danger to others, as he could not be

did not mean that only men were to act virtuously. Women were often discouraged from the same “effeminate” behaviors as men. All were to strive to restore Spain’s lost virtues, the qualities that had made possible the rise of the Spanish empire.

That reformers tapped into expectations of manly behavior for their solutions may be attributable in part to their concerns with political and military issues, both areas that were the preeminent domain of men, especially noble men. But most assuredly, reformers posited these comportments as a virtuous ideal because they saw them as central to the restoration of the empire and the solution of grave problems threatening the monarchy.¹⁹ The same can be said for their selection of gendered models. Reformers placed emphasis on the virtues of provision in merchants or loyalty in fathers, believing these to be the inherent virtues of these kinds of men and recognizing that these traits could stabilize waning populations, create a steady tax base, and provide for the welfare of all.

Applied metaphorically, such gendered models also conveyed the social and political relationships that reformers saw as vital to Spain’s conservation. The notion of family, a key determinant in the formation of gender throughout these reform writings, served as a convenient and recognizable way to reflect desired hierarchies that clearly delineated the social position and duties of nobles and non-nobles, kings and farmers; that is to say, all

trusted not to take the wealth of others and was, as a result of his poverty, dependent upon the riches of others. Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 195; Elizabeth Foyster mentions the need for early modern men to maintain public recognition and reputation constantly in her *Manhood in Early Modern England: Honour, Sex and Marriage* (New York: Longman, 1999), 45.

¹⁹ Scott points out that the models of gender deployed by the state generally coincide with the needs of the state; see *Gender*, 46.

of Spanish society.²⁰ Invoked by reformers, the proper paternal-filial connection lent its internal divisions to the ordering of Spanish communities and its larger society. At the same time, these metaphorical references to fathers, mothers and children also stressed sentiments of guidance, provision and loyalty – the bonds that reformers hoped to foster throughout Spain in order to restore a harmonious social order.

Reformers also appealed to assumptions about gender itself to convey Spain's social or political circumstances. They depicted gendered images of disorder or imbalance to signify social problems. The shift in customs was for reformers a decline on a gendered spectrum, a fall from the active, contributory and manly ideal toward a useless and disempowering effeminacy. At times, lamentations of effemination indicated more than a loss of virtue, but also Spain's waning power and political standing in Europe and the world. Employing gender in this way, reformers revealed the belief that gender too could erode or fall into a state of imbalance or disorder, the same way that a commonwealth could lose political strength or population. Like the reputation of any man, maintained through publicly recognized deeds and contributions, a successful state had to be actively preserved. Its population and social order had to be put in balance, creating a structured and well functioning society, and its status among neighboring power had to be upheld through public display of power and order. Because gender operated on a spectrum there was hope for Spain's recovery. All that was necessary for the recovery of Spain and its empire internally and on the world stage was the renewal of its prior, manly virtues.

The notions of gender employed by reformers, however, were fraught with contradictions and ambiguities. They represented a hegemonic perspective, which

²⁰ Scott clarifies that, like biological sex, kinship can also give shape to gender; *Ibid.*, 44.

generally overlooked, misrepresented or quashed alternative discourses and commonly practiced expressions of gender, sometimes rather conflictingly.²¹ Although reformers emphasized paternal care as a vital part of the conservation of Spain and its ruler, they assiduously criticized nobles for tending to the needs of their families at the expense of the monarchy. Royal reform officials had a similarly conflicted relationship with the notion of reputation, branding as effeminate efforts to enhance reputation through ostentation but employing this tactic at key moments to bolster the monarchy's image. These contradictions show not only the conflicted nature of any model of gender, which bends to meet the needs of its author and finds varied expression based on class, religion and other social factors, but also the coexistence of competitive discourses of gender in a single society and at any point in time.

Although the reforms of early seventeenth-century Spain are dotted with gendered language, the role gender played in these reforms has received limited treatment. For the most part, histories of the arbitristas and their writings have focused only on specific economic, political or military objectives.²² Works by Jean Vilar and more recently, Anne Dubet serve as great examples. Vilar has detailed the economic value of works by such arbitristas as Sancho de Moncada, the famous professor of theology at the University of Toledo, placing the professor's thoughts in the same camp as the famous School of Salamanca.²³ Similarly, Dubet has crafted a thorough study of the debate surrounding plans for the *erarios*, a state-run banking system intended to provide the

²¹ *Ibid.*, 42.

²² Lehfeltdt alludes to this as motivation for her study also; see *Ideal Men*, 465-466.

²³ The thoughts of the School of Salamanca have been seen as the basis for a modern science of economics. For more details, see the introduction by the editor, Jean Vilar Berrogain to Sancho de Moncada, *Restauración Política de España* (1619) (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Fiscales, 1974).

monarchy with ready funds and income derived from interest on loans.²⁴ John Elliott expands on this perspective with a quick survey of the era's reform writings in his informative essay "Self-Perception and Decline in Early Seventeenth-Century Spain." Considering the "economic and social debate" appearing in arbitristas' work, he adds to the economic significance of arbitrios a view of reformers' understandings of decline in early seventeenth-century Spain.²⁵ While each scholar has provided important insight into the era's reforms, considerations of gender are absent.

The work of Elliott and others on the royal reform program has noted reformers' concerns with morality during this period. The lack of attention to gender in these instances is especially striking given that reformers often associated effeminacy and loss of virtue with Spain's increasing immorality. In his *Imperial Spain*, Elliott describes the efforts of the monarchy's juntas as the "general reform of morals and manners." While adding a great deal of detail about each committee and the involvement of government organs and arbitristas in the general call for reform in his masterful biography of the Count-Duke of Olivares, he repeats this assessment with regard to the earliest reform committees of the era.²⁶ Juan Francisco Baltar Rodríguez credits the Junta Grande de Reformatión with attempting to reform fiscal policy and to increase commerce, population and agriculture. In the end, he claims that the primary focus of the Junta Grande was "the moral reform of customs for the sake of attaining the greatest austerity,"

²⁴ Anne Dubet, *Hacienda, Arbitrismo y Negociación Política: El Proyecto de los Erarios Públicos y Montes de Piedad en los Siglos XVI y XVII* (Valladolid: Secretariado de Publicaciones e Intercambio Editorial, Universidad de Valladolid, 2003).

²⁵ Elliott, *Self-Perception*, 241-261, and especially 243-245.

²⁶ See Elliott's *Imperial Spain*, 327; and *Count-Duke of Olivares: Statesman in an Age of Decline* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 94-127, especially 104.

a concern that he maintains had carried over from previous juntas.²⁷ In these brief looks at the monarchy's juntas, the gendered language that consistently accompanied critiques of morality and customs remains unstudied.

Only recently have the gendered references in the era's reform writings gained any attention. In a brief article, Elizabeth Leffeldt has studied this gendered language. She interprets these gendered statements as a quest to revive productivity in Spain. Leffeldt argues that while non-nobles could answer the call to productivity by investing their efforts in agriculture or other manual labor, productive masculinity in the case of nobles met with limitations. Nobles were left with only a martial model of productivity to emulate, a model that in Leffeldt's estimation was obsolete, nostalgic and "uncreative" as it embraced medieval understandings of proper noble conduct that could not solve Spain's early modern crises.²⁸ Leffeldt's work clearly points out the role of social class in the formation of gender, and clarifies the prevalent understanding among early seventeenth-century reformers of how to conserve Spain and its monarchy: only through the revival of values and comportment associated with its glorious past could Spain preserve its empire and return it to its rightful place atop the world.

Her study in general and these latter ideas in particular have proven critical to the development of this dissertation, which builds upon Leffeldt's pioneering efforts. As with her work, it seeks to uncover the relationship between Spain's perceived decline and the creation of the gender ideologies deployed by those concerned with its conservation. It recognizes that the particular circumstances of early seventeenth-century Spain

²⁷ Juan Francisco Baltar Rodríguez, *Las Juntas de Gobierno en la Monarquía Hispánica, Siglos XVI-XVII* (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Políticos y Constitucionales, 1998), 176.

²⁸ Leffeldt, *Ideal Men*, especially 465-466, 472, 475, 486.

contributed to the gendered notions invoked, recast and inscribed (or reinscribed) upon society.²⁹ This study, however, expands on her work in two key ways. It expands upon her understanding of gender in the context of noble society, revealing additional gendered models of nobility that competed with and complemented attempts to revive medieval models of noble conduct. Royal officials viewed the nobility as the leaders (*cabezas*) of the people, and hoped that Spain's elite would serve the government as officials and diplomats. In the case that they failed to do so, some of these officials seemed willing to consider those outside of the nobility for the same posts – a perspective that suggested a growing degree of ambivalence toward established social divisions.

This study also adds to Leffeldt's work by taking into consideration the gendered representations of other levels of Spanish society in order to sketch out the pervasive interpretation of this era of crisis. In order to reach this larger understanding, this study takes as a methodology the analysis of the gender discourse appearing throughout the reform writings of the early seventeenth century. By identifying and analyzing keywords and concepts – both overtly and subtly gendered – it gets at the gender assumptions underpinning the era's reforms and derives from the application of these very assumptions deeper understandings of the intentions and anxieties of reformers. To put it in other words, this dissertation does not merely seek out the social norms of early seventeenth-century Spain. It strives to employ gender as a “category of historical analysis,” closely studying how gender is constructed and employed in the era's reforms

²⁹ Scott makes the argument that the gendered notions that are deployed at any point derive at least in part from past understandings; thus, they are “invoked and reinscribed” *Gender*, 49.

to arrive at the reformers' understandings of the crises at hand, the necessary solutions and the gendered notions that informed those solutions.³⁰

As briefly mentioned earlier in this chapter, this gender analysis of early seventeenth-century Spanish reforms reveals political relationships that the monarchy and its most avid supporters hoped to establish between Spaniards and their ruler, as well as between the king and his foreign rivals. Within Spain the call for virtuous behavior included the restoration of an idealized social and political order in which each person carried out responsibilities that correlated with his or her social station and acted with the interests of all in mind. As reformers sketched out images of disordered gender, they conveyed notions of balance and order that they hoped to restore in Spanish society. Reformers also remained convinced that this renewed domestic order, stability and strength could restore Spain's political hegemony in Europe and throughout the world. This dissertation is the history of that impulse to reform conduct and restore public virtue in early seventeenth-century Spain; it is also a study of the role of gender in the creation and conveyance of those reforms.

Chapter 2 focuses on the widespread call for the renewal and maintenance of virtue throughout the first quarter of the seventeenth century. It shows that royal officials and arbitristas during this period spent a great deal of time considering the histories of Rome. For them, the ancient empire was a cautionary tale and a model of enduring statehood, both of which offered lessons for preserving Spain, its empire and its monarchy.

³⁰ This phrase is borrowed from Joan Scott's "Gender as a useful category of historical analysis," in which she challenges historians to study gender as its own category of historical analysis in order to expose the historical construction of gender, understand its operation in the political realm, and grasp underlying and unexpressed political motivations; Scott, *Gender*.

Through their study of the ancients, reformers maintained that the strength of Rome had resided in its virtuous conduct and those policies that had perpetuated that virtue. At the top of this list was the Roman *censura*, a set of officials responsible for taking the census and policing the customs of the people. Through a series of institutions created during the first quarter of the seventeenth century, the Spanish monarchy hoped to revive the *censura* and with it the virtuous behaviors that had characterized a successful commonwealth and empire.

The middle two chapters of this dissertation take a look at the ways the era's gender assumptions gave shape to reform policies. Chapter 3 reveals the place of gender in the issue of sumptuary reforms, the subject of intense focus during the last years of Philip III's reign and the beginning of Philip IV's rule. During these years, reformers consistently referred to the purchase and use of foreign goods as effeminate conduct. Based in notions of proper male conduct, which stressed productivity and provision, these criticisms pointed to a need to restore Spanish industry and commerce. In the view of reformers, the revival of Spanish manufacturing and trade was critical to stabilizing Spain's economy and to staving off dominance by its European rivals.

With decreases in rural populations and agricultural production in Castile, the monarchy, acting in 1623 through the Junta Grande de Reformación, also created three distinct reform policies intended to bring greater stability and productivity to Castile's countryside. Chapter 4 shows that these policies and the writings leading to them since the beginning of the century relied on understandings of paternal and filial roles, as well as views of manly agrarian behavior to arrive at a solution. Good fathers procured land to provide for their kin, and good sons continued to work these holdings to honor their

families. The result was the preservation of the social order and the revival of farming, a profession which reformers equated with the provision of goods needed by all and agricultural self-sufficiency – both traits loaded with understandings of manly virtue.

As chapter 4 also reveals, reformers also placed a great deal of emphasis on family as the obvious and moral method for repopulation. Seeking to create fathers and sons, the monarchy offered incentives to marry and have children. But by making family a source of public virtue, the monarchy made family a public issue and a matter of state. These reforms, which appear to have taken the king's paternal role very seriously, comprised an invasive paternalism that attempted to usurp the rights or at least influence the decisions of fathers with regard to the marriages and births in their families.³¹

Chapter 5 looks at the monarchy's attempts to impose educational reforms on nobles during the 1620s and 1630s. Led by the Count-Duke of Olivares, royal reformers claimed that nobles had abandoned their obligation to serve the king as either officials or military officers, withholding their first-born sons from service for the sake of perpetuating lineage. Once again acting paternalistically, royal reformers sought to assure the service of nobles' eldest sons, conflictingly deemphasizing the duties of fathers and sons in preserving their own families by stressing service as the basis for noble virtue. In this instance, as throughout this dissertation, the malleability of gender is apparent. Shaped into a dominant form, it is contradicted and recast by its authors, as well as challenged by other members of society.³² It is the goal of this dissertation to sketch out these complex formations and reformations of gender taking place in the

³¹ As Scott notes, paternalism can be invoked to justify policies that aid the state. *Ibid.*, 47.

³² *Ibid.*, 42.

efforts to conserve Spain and the Spanish monarchy. As a history of a unique reform environment, it sets out to give the reader a glimpse of the social and political milieu of early seventeenth-century Spain and shed light on the interaction of gender and politics at that time.

Chapter 2 – Revisiting Rome, Reviving Virtue

For the first quarter of the seventeenth century, advice continued to stream into the monarchy from royal officials and *arbitristas*, the era's advocates for reform. Each offered perspectives on how to effectively rule Spain in a time of crisis. Publishing his *Aforismos al Tácito Español* in 1614, the scholar Baltasar Álamos de Barrientos was no different. A distillation of Tacitus's ancient Roman histories into aphorisms, the book was intended to impart wisdom upon the king in making political decisions. For this reason, one of its aphorisms recommended that "In times of a commonwealth [*república*] it is good and necessary to know the histories of commonwealths, as well as knowing for its sake the nature and customs of the people; and in the era of a Prince those of Monarchies; in order to understand its condition and that of its subjects."¹

For Álamos de Barrientos, the study of history held great potential for rulers. Paying close attention to this discipline, the author pointed out, a king could better understand the temperament and proclivities of his people, and rule them wisely. Perhaps more simple was the assertion that an awareness of the past could also provide an understanding of the present. That is to say that history could serve as a lens by which to interpret the current state of affairs in any society. Along with a number of other *arbitristas* and officials, Álamos de Barrientos encouraged his ruler to study the annals of history for the sake of conserving the monarchy and its subjects. However, it was neither the unifying rule of the Catholic Monarchs, Isabella and Ferdinand, nor the more recent

¹ "En tiempos de República son buenas y necesarias las historias de Repúblicas, y conocer por ella el natural, y costumbres del vulgo; y en tiempo de un Príncipe las de la Monarquía; para entender su condición, y la de sus dependientes." Baltasar Álamos de Barrientos, *Aforismos al Tácito Español* (1614), ed. José Fernández-Santamaria (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Constitucionales, 1987), 302.

rule of the “Prudent King,” Philip II, that inspired them most. Just as the advice of Álamos de Barrientos derived from the ancient Roman writings of Tacitus, reformers suggested that the monarchy look to ancient Rome in order to comprehend and solve Spain’s problems.

For Spain and all of early modern Europe, ancient Rome held a special place in the “political imagination.” Its extensive conquests and enduring empire made it a model to emulate.² At the same time, its decline and collapse also served as a cautionary tale, reminding Europeans of the vulnerability of great states. Studying the successes and failures of ancient Rome, Spanish reformers arrived at new perspectives and clearer understandings of the problems of their own commonwealth. They also discovered Roman political policies they believed could remedy Spain’s troubles. Throughout the era, reformers within and outside of the government continued to mine the histories of Rome with both views in mind.

Of particular interest to reformers were the similar domestic circumstances of the two empires, as well as the policies and practices Rome put in place to observe and control its citizens. As this chapter will argue, this was because reformers in the first quarter of the seventeenth century believed that the customs or popular conduct (*costumbres*) of Spanish society had grown corrupt, necessitating an aggressive program to both restore and maintain virtue throughout Spain. The power and endurance of Rome and its empire, they argued, lay in the virtue of its people and those institutions and policies that had perpetuated virtuous conduct. Included in these policies was the Roman *censura*, a committee of two magistrates, known as *censors*, dedicated to collecting census

² Anthony Pagden, *Lords of All the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain and France, c. 1500-c.1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 11.

information and policing and reforming public conduct. Convinced of its ability to restore and sustain the virtues of Spain's own imperial rise, the monarchy attempted to replicate the *censura* in the early 1620s by creating a series of committees and other government bodies endowed with similar spirit and responsibilities.

Of course, reformers called on more than reflections of Roman history to emphasize the need for restored virtue. Gender often served the same purpose. Reformers regularly referenced Spain's alleged effeminacy in order to differentiate conduct that did not serve the common good from "virtuous" behaviors that met the needs of Spain and its ruler. While this chapter introduces gender as a component in the era's reforms, it focuses more specifically the contemporary call for reformed customs and virtue, leaving subsequent chapters to study the role of gender in the formation of reform policies in the early seventeenth century. Whether studying the images of Rome or the representations of gender appearing in the era's reforms, it remains clear that Spanish reformers intended to conserve Spain by rehabilitating its virtue and restoring it to a glorious and certainly idealized past.

La Mudanza: The Shift in Customs

The trend of looking at ancient Rome for an understanding of Spain's own lost virtues dated at least to the beginning of the seventeenth century. Such references to Rome filled the pages of Martín González de Cellorigo's *Memorial de la Política Necesaria y Útil Restauración a la República de España* [Memorandum on the Necessary Policies and Useful Restoration of the Spanish Commonwealth] (1600). A reform author and attorney for the Royal Chancellery in Valladolid, Cellorigo claimed that ancient Rome had been at

its peak at its inception, at which time it produced men of great valor and virtue.

Religion, he claimed, guided its subjects, and laws governed the people effectively.

Rome's authorities rewarded proper behaviors heartily, and its few violators and deviants received strict punishment. In short, Cellorigo saw Rome in its early years as virtuous.

But as Rome grew in size and power, Cellorigo claimed, "avarice, ambition, vice and crime abounded so much that the Romans were left with only a shadow of their old virtue."³ Cellorigo saw the same process taking place in Spain. Observing Spain at the turn of the century, he saw increasing ambition and self-importance among its people. He feared that Spaniards had abandoned the humble attitudes and customs that had brought Spain greatness, putting the monarchy and its kingdoms in danger of collapse.⁴

Cellorigo and other reformers attributed the dangerous "mudanza" or change in customs at least in part to Spain's imperial successes. Some reformers blamed the alteration of customs on interactions with new people outside of Spanish society.⁵ Others claimed that an influx of wealth and new, luxury products from the New World had

³ "y con todo el poder, la avaricia, la ambición, los vicios, los deleites excedieron tanto, que no les quedó a los Romanos sino la sombra de la antigua virtud." Martín González de Cellorigo, *Memorial de la Política Necesaria y Útil Restauración a la República de España* (1600), ed. José Perez de Ayala (Madrid: Instituto de Cooperación Iberoamericana, 1991), 96.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 93-94.

⁵ Antonio de Herrera, "Discurso y tratado que la felicísima monarquía castellana fue acrecentando su imperio por los mismos modos que la Republica Romana," in *De las varias epístolas discursos y tratados de Antonio de Herrera diversos claros varones las cuales contienen muchas materias útiles para el gobierno político y militar. Con un elogio de la vida y hechos de el Licenciado Cristóbal Vaca de Castro del consejo supremo y gobernador de los Reinos de Perú. Dirigidas al Rey nuestro señor Don Felipe IV.* (Madrid, 1622), 72r.

provided a variety of opportunities to seek out fortune and display it readily.⁶ Cellorigo agreed that Spain's increasing wealth had destabilized the long-standing social structures of Spain. Once comprised of farmers, artisans and other honest laborers, the middling sort of Spain had nearly vanished. The "majority of the middling sort [medianía] had accumulated [se ha acogido] in the wealthy part of society," abandoning their trades for new, frequently easier, and more lucrative ways to make a living.⁷

The proof for Cellorigo was the increased number of *censualistas*, or individuals who had begun to make a living by renting out their properties instead of living off their own work like good landowners.⁸ These rentiers, another reformer vehemently claimed, contributed nothing to society, and put farmers and other laborers out of business by asking exorbitant sums in the agreements (*censos*) made with their tenants.⁹ Censualistas, who gained their name from the *censos* that provided them income, no longer carried out necessary trades or put their labor toward the perpetuation of society. Instead, they disrupted the social order and the common good of all. Their greed and self-interest, two of the traits Cellorigo associated with Rome's crumbling empire, hindered the livelihoods of others and hampered the production of goods desperately needed by the rest of Spanish society.

⁶ Baltasar Álamos de Barrientos also asserted that the corruption of Spanish society had resulted from man's attraction to wealth. As men grew more affluent they strayed from concerns about the welfare of the monarchy; *Aforismos*, 30.

⁷ Cellorigo, *Memorial*, 52, and especially 166-167.

⁸ Elliott confirms an increase in the number of *censos* during this time period in *Count-Duke of Olivares: Statesman in an Age of Decline* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 76-77, 88.

⁹ Lope de Deza, *Gobierno Político de Agricultura* (1618), ed. Ángel García Sanz, (Madrid: Comprint, S.A., 1991), 47-48, 57-58.

Although he disdained this conduct and sought to correct it, Cellorigo explained these mudanzas in natural terms. He likened the decline in customs to the natural corruption of the human body. Born innocent and uncorrupted, man only grew more vice-ridden as he aged. He applied this view also to the Spanish empire, a conglomeration of territories which he and others deemed a commonwealth [*república*]. To quote Cellorigo, “this is because at the beginning of every commonwealth and kingdom there is kindness and balance in everything by which [these societies] develop and grow.”¹⁰ Fledgling states, he was convinced, thrived as a result of the devotion and selflessness of their subjects. It was his belief that under Isabella and Ferdinand, whose marriage and conquest of the Muslim kingdom of Granada unified much of the peninsula, Spanish subjects had exhibited humility and general concern for the “common good” (*bien común*). That is to say that Spaniards of this era honored their obligations to king and kingdom, maintaining a balanced society by maintaining their social station and prioritizing the interests of the young monarchy and commonwealth above their own. According to Cellorigo, Spain’s corruption was beginning to show a little more than a century after its inception.

Nearly two decades after Cellorigo published his treatise, these views persisted. Writing a consultation (*consulta*) to Philip III in February 1619, the Royal Council (*Consejo Real* or *Consejo de Castilla*) also couched concerns about “mudanzas” in similar, natural terms. For them, corrupted customs were a symptom of decline, which was a part of the natural lifecycle of any state. “Cities, kingdoms and monarchies perish,” they told their monarch, “as men and all living things do, as we have seen with

¹⁰“reducir el ser del reino a sus principios, que quanto más a esto se acercare, más fuerzas y más salud cobrará...Y es porque todos los principios de las repúblicas y de los reinos siempre tienen bondad y proporción en sus cosas, mediante la cual crecen y se aumentan.” Cellorigo, *Memorial*, 93-94.

the Medians, Persians, Greeks and Romans.” To explain in their words, this was because “kingdoms change, altering also popular customs [costumbres].” As with Cellorigo’s view of the corrupted human body, the Consejo Real viewed this decadence as part of a natural process. This increasingly common understanding of Spain’s situation held that as states matured and deviated from the values of their nascent form they became vulnerable to decadence and decline.¹¹ As the Council understood it, there was only one way to reverse this process. “It is impossible to conserve [the Spanish commonwealth],” the Council informed the king, “if not by the same methods that it was earned, which are complete opposites from those used today.”¹² The values and customs of Spain’s earliest days had to be rekindled in order to preserve its kingdoms and king. Otherwise, Spain and its empire would fall just as Rome had more than a millennium earlier.

Writing around the same time as the Royal Council, Lope de Deza, an arbitrista and attorney-turned-farmer, also acknowledged “mudanzas” in Spanish customs. Citing Seneca in his *Gobierno Político de Agricultura* [The Political Governance of Agriculture] (1618), Deza claimed that both empires had lost track of their values, or their “foundation” as the ancient Stoic had termed them. From his view, widespread affluence and opulence had suppressed the poverty and humility notable in the earliest days of both

¹¹ John Elliott describes the Spanish understanding of decline in terms of a life cycle, a natural rise toward a state’s prime and eventual decline through its latter years; see “Self-Perception and Decline in Early Seventeenth-Century Spain,” in *Spain and Its World, 1500-1700* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 249.

¹² The consulta from the Royal Council to Philip III dated February 1, 1619 reads “los Reinos y las monarquías perecen, como los hombres y las demás cosas criadas, y nos lo advierten las de los Medos, Persa, Griegos, y Romanos, y demás cerca nuestra propia España, que tantos siglos ha durado el rescatarla de los moros, y es imposible conservarla si no es por los mismos medios con que se ganó, que son del todo opuestos a los que hoy usamos, y es sin duda que los Reinos se mudan, mudándose las costumbres.” Ángel González Palencia. *Junta de Reformación, 1618-1625: Documentos del Archivo Histórico Nacional y General de Simancas*. (Valladolid: Poncelix, 1932), 30.

Rome and Spain. Growing in power and wealth each empire had undergone changes in customs, shedding its humble origins and perspectives. Deza added to the humility and poverty of Spain's early empire a list of traits that had originally characterized it. Spaniards, in his estimation, had once exhibited modesty (*modestia*), moderation (*templanza*), genuineness (*desengaño*) as well as generosity toward others (*magnanimidad* and *liberalidad*).¹³ In other words, Deza believed that Spaniards had shown concern for the welfare of their society. They had lived honestly and remained satisfied to achieve within their social station. These were the traits Deza and others sought to restore to avoid the fate suffered by ancient Rome.

On the whole, the intense call for restored virtues began to fade slowly from Spanish reform writings beginning a few years into the reign of Philip IV (1621-1665). However, Philip IV and his closest ministers, especially his favorite (*valido* or *privado*) the Count-Duke of Olivares, seemed somewhat reluctant to abandon this reform approach. Starting in 1624, the king and Olivares created the Estudios Reales, a school intended to instill virtue in young nobles and train them to fill roles as Spain's military and political leaders. While the school opened in 1629 and closed only a few years later, Olivares had already begun to plan another educational program with similar designs on shaping the customs of young Spaniards.¹⁴

This same impulse seemed also to influence the choice of decoration for the Buen Retiro, the royal family's new leisure palace on the outskirts of Madrid. Literally, dozens of didactic paintings surrounded the king and his closest ministers. Created throughout the 1630s, at the same time as the construction of the palace, these paintings offered

¹³ Deza, *Agricultura*, 121-122.

¹⁴ See chapter 5 for details about these educational reforms.

scenes from ancient Rome, depicting both proper and improper behaviors and raising questions about sustaining virtue in any society. For instance, paintings of Tityos and Ixion warned of the dangers of arrogance and pride, as these two figures from Roman mythology, neither one nor the other a god, had suffered eternal punishment for their bold attempts to have sex with Roman goddesses.¹⁵ As with Cellorigo's lamentations about the ambition of Spanish laborers and artisans who abandoned their professions, these paintings may have reminded their early modern Spanish viewers of the importance of accepting and maintaining one's social station.

Decorating the same walls were depictions of Roman entertainment, including two paintings entitled *Battling Women*.¹⁶ Both were images of female gladiators engaged in combat. Credited to the famous Spanish painter José de Ribera, one painting, allegedly based on a duel between two sixteenth-century Neapolitan women, shows two nicely attired women armed and engaged in battle with one another. Although one of the figures in this painting has been wounded, cut between the neck and shoulder by her opponent's sword, the blood is subtle and death does not seem imminent. Rather the calm look on her attacker's face and the disinterested response of the crowd seems to divert the viewer from thoughts of a final and fatal thrust of the victor's sword.

By contrast, the anonymously created second painting, a much more visceral depiction of female gladiatorial battles, shows its participants fighting, bare-breasted and

¹⁵ See Andrés Úbeda de los Cobos, "The History of Rome Cycle," in *Paintings for the Planet King: Philip IV and the Buen Retiro Palace*, ed. Andrés Úbeda de los Cobos (Madrid: Paul Holberton Publishing, 2005), 236.

¹⁶ Úbeda de los Cobos clarifies that this painting was catalogued in the seventeenth century as part of the collection of the Palacio de Buen Retiro. The first painting, painted around 1636, is attributed to José de Ribera, while the creator of the second is uncertain. The second painting has been attributed debatably in the past to Andrea Vacarro. *Ibid.*, 177-179, 228-230.

ringed by spectators. The female warrior on the left clearly has bested her adversary and is thrusting her sword into her opponent's side. The gruesome sight is received by the audience – most of them women, some with children in tow – with hardened expressions.

Two distinct interpretations of these paintings seem to reflect the widespread call for renewed virtue within Spain during this era. On the one hand, these paintings could be invoking the ancient Roman notion of *virtus*, thus lauding the courageous spirit of the women depicted. A set of virtuous or valorous traits, *virtus* was a dutiful commitment to the Roman state and Roman society. In the years of the Roman Republic, one demonstrated *virtus* on the battlefield through acts of bravery and courage, but over time the understanding of *virtus* came to incorporate other displays of loyalty and service to Rome.¹⁷

The concept of *virtus* was inextricably linked to manhood, but was not limited entirely to men. As the word itself derived from the root *vir* (Latin for “man”) it suggested an ideal standard of masculinity. Similarly, the common ways of demonstrating *virtus* took place in the public and political realms, spaces where men were generally, if not ideally seen as the sole actors. Yet it was truly a spirit that transcended sex, and a quality that could be attributed – if only rarely – to women. Although women could not acquire recognition of this trait in the same ways, their courageous and loyal deeds were noted on more than one occasion as examples of *virtus*.¹⁸ Its status as a universal virtue may explain why when *virtus* was made into a deity in the Roman

¹⁷ Myles McDonnell, *Roman Manliness: Virtus and the Roman Republic* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 12, 61-63, 132.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 161-165.

pantheon it was represented as an Amazon woman in battle gear.¹⁹ Virtus, as one modern historian of ancient Rome has explained, was “regarded as nothing less than the quality associated with, and responsible for Roman greatness.”²⁰ In sum, it was a spirit that all Romans should aspire to attain.

It is not hard to imagine that many early seventeenth-century Spanish viewers would have seen in these depictions of female gladiators the call for virtuous conduct that pervaded their own era. After all, in seeing these paintings, some would have recalled Spain’s own transsexual icon of virtue, the *mujer varonil*. According to the late sixteenth-century author and monk, Fray Luis de León, the *mujer varonil* was a “manly woman,” who possessed “a virtuous spirit (*virtud de ánimo*) and strength of heart, industriousness and wealth, and power...a perfect being as worthy in all things as others to whom the term [varonil] is applied.”²¹ To use the friar’s terms, she was a “woman of merit,” exhibiting the noteworthy traits that could make men honorable. As with the notion of *virtus*, these virtuous qualities may have been couched in masculine terms – as seen in the use of the word *virtud* (virtue), also derived from the Latin root *vir* – but they were admirable traits that all members of society should display.

On the other hand, those versed in Roman history may have interpreted these paintings as a criticism of an excessive or immodest lifestyle. The works of many ancient Roman historians reveal a particular high-minded disapprobation of female gladiatorial fights. The inclusion of women in gladiatorial events increased the magnificence of the

¹⁹ Ibid., 2, 146-149.

²⁰ Ibid., 468.

²¹ “virtud de ánimo y fortaleza de corazón, industria y riquezas, y poder y aventajamiento, y finalmente, un ser perfecto y cabal en aquellas cosas a quien esta palabra se aplica.” Fray Luis de León, *La Perfecta Casada*, (Madrid: Biblioteca Austral, 2002), 85.

spectacle, and as ancient historians commented disapprovingly, it marked the opulence and excess of the emperors and societies underwriting such displays. It seems authors such as Juvenal, Suetonius and Dio chose to write on these women as a method by which to reflect on the fallen virtues of Rome. This was also the perspective of Emperor Augustus, who advocated more conservative values and hoped to associate his rule with achievement in the arts rather than spectacles in the Forum.²² Most likely to see these paintings, the king and his closest ministers, most of whom were well educated and probably fairly familiar with the histories of ancient Rome, might have gleaned a similar lesson from these works. As such, these two pieces would have related the decadence of a fallen empire and reminded their royal audience and top royal officials of the need to rehabilitate customs.

The influence of these paintings on reformers is impossible to know without discovering at the least their many viewers. Similarly the intended significance of these scenes is a mystery without further research into the artists (the anonymity of the latter painter posing further challenges). Nonetheless, that the artists or their powerful patrons selected this particular ancient spectacle for depiction endows these works with significance pertinent to the era in which they were created. Perhaps they were the king's chosen reminders of the delicate balance between political success and failure, or a contemporary artist's interpretation of the fragile and potentially fleeting virtues of any powerful state. Viewed either one way or the other, they seem to indicate the era's prevalent call for the restoration of a conserving virtue in Spain.

²² For more on the training and ancient interprets of female gladiators, see Anna McCullough, "Female Gladiators in Imperial Rome," *Classical World*, Volume 101, Number 2 (Winter 2008): 197-209.

The latter interpretation of these paintings certainly corresponds to the assiduous references to the increasing “effemination” (*afeminación*) of Spanish society in the era’s reform literature. A prime example of this is evident in the widespread criticisms of early seventeenth-century dress. Reformers railed against expensive attire, ascribing to its wearers an effeminate obsession with clothing and a softness caused by luxurious goods.²³ To be sure, these thoughts also underpinned Cellorigo and Deza’s calls for the restoration of Spain’s former virtues. Touting the magnanimity and modesty of their ancestors, they indirectly condemned what they saw as the prevalent concern with appearance, reputation and self-promotion, traits that many reformers deemed “effeminate.”²⁴

Not surprisingly reformers throughout the first quarter of the seventeenth-century turned to the ancients for wisdom on these sumptuary issues also. At the beginning of the century, Cellorigo had advocated for the promulgation of the *Lex Opia*, an ancient Roman law meant to stem the purchase of sumptuous goods.²⁵ Almost two decades later, the famed theology professor Sancho de Moncada would make the same assertion.²⁶ Put in place by the third-century emperor Alexander Severus, the *Lex Opia* established an excise tax on superfluous and luxurious goods in order to limit their consumption. These were goods that, in the words of Sancho de Moncada, could only “damage customs and

²³ For more on the ascription of effeminacy to fashionable men, see Elizabeth Leffeldt, “Ideal Men: Masculinity and Decline in Seventeenth-Century Spain.” *Renaissance Quarterly* Vol. 61, Number 2 (Summer 2008): 482-483.

²⁴ For more on the connection between sumptuary issues and Spain’s alleged effeminacy, see chapter 3.

²⁵ See Cellorigo, *Memorial*, 63.

²⁶ Sancho de Moncada, *Restauración Política de España* (1619), ed. Jean Vilar Berrogain (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Fiscales, 1974), 178.

cause effeminacies.”²⁷ For Moncada and many others, these were synonymous. The effeminacy they claimed was running through Spanish society was indicative of declining customs and lost virtue.

The historian and reform author, Antonio de Herrera could not abide Moncada’s view entirely. It was his firm belief that customs had shifted and that Spain had abandoned a virtuous humility, but that the rich apparel, especially that worn by the upper echelons of Spanish society, was commensurate with Spain’s increase in power. Taking the lavish possessions and clothing of high-ranking state officials and military officers as an example, he cited Emperor Tiberius, claiming that these fine goods corresponded to the importance of these men’s actions. As he put it, these items were necessary for the “recreation of the spirit and the health of the body” [*recreación del ánimo y salud del cuerpo*] of these powerful men.²⁸ Herrera agreed that since the first stirrings of the Reconquest, the capture of the peninsula from Muslim rule, Spain’s customs had clearly undergone changes. However, he insisted that Spain had experienced “neither an effemination nor corruption of customs” and required no laws or orders to correct these alterations. Herrera’s perspective was rare for the period’s reform literature, but by making this argument he still indicated the era’s growing concerns about Spain’s steadily increasing effeminacy.²⁹

As reformers from the first quarter of the century made evident, concerns about Spain’s effemination truly reflected worries about the “mudanza” in customs; that is, the deviation from the virtues allegedly displayed during Spain’s imperial zenith. In other

²⁷ “*por ser cosas que dañan a las costumbres y afeminan.*” Moncada, *Restauración*, 178.

²⁸ Herrera, *Discursos*, 70v.

²⁹ “no pueda caer afeminación, ni corrupción de costumbres.” *Ibid.*, 73r.

words, the effeminacy referenced by reformers had nothing to do with actual sexual change. While tales of transitions between biological sexes circulated at this time and may have had some influence on reformers' representation of Spain's changing customs, it is most likely that this gendered rhetoric was a tactic to discourage seemingly detrimental behaviors and promote virtuous dedication to Spain and its monarch.³⁰ Moncada's commentary about the effeminacies stemming from the purchase and use of luxury goods presented also anxieties about poorer members of society committing unspeakable acts to gain fine clothing and emulate their social superiors. Painting his own image of disordered gender, he betrayed a worry about the loss of social order or distinction.³¹ Such crime would certainly disrupt society, but so would the abandonment or disregard of social station. Spain was, as Martín de Cellerigo had noted, a musical instrument, which required all of its parts to carry out their role in order to remain harmonious.³² As conservation-minded reformers such as Cellerigo and Moncada pointed out, working to fulfill one's role in society was one expression of a virtuous service to the king and a necessary part of Spain's perpetuation.

Selecting an Efficacious Policy

As seen in the suggestions to revive Rome's Lex Opia, Spanish reformers saw another use for the histories of ancient Rome. The Romans had maintained a successful

³⁰ Marta Vicente mentions specifically an early seventeenth-century case on page 9 of her unpublished paper "The Popular Fable of Sex Change: The Medical Analysis of Sex and Gender in Early Modern Spain," presented at a joint meeting of the Early Modern, Latin American, and Gender and Sexuality Seminars held at the Hall Center for the Humanities, University of Kansas, October 2009.

³¹ Moncada, *Restauración*, 196.

³² Cellerigo, *Memorial*, 88.

and enduring empire from which Spain could borrow policies in its hour of need. In his 1618 treatise Lope de Deza put it succinctly, “With the Roman Republic having been what is now known as our Spanish commonwealth, quite similar in their greatness and diversity of foreign provinces, conquered by their troops and maintained by their laws, it is impossible not to consider the application of the successful policies of one to the other in civil matters.”³³ While Deza had suggested more than one Roman policy throughout his treatise, the establishment of a *censura* in early seventeenth-century Spain was foremost in his mind. After all, he gave this particular policy the greatest treatment, especially in the latter portions of his text. The implication of his statement was that Spain could easily activate the *censura* in its own lands because the two empires shared similar compositions and circumstances.

In saying this Deza was invoking the era’s understandings of history and historical continuity. As seen earlier, the study of history could help its pupils to understand the events of their own society, guiding rulers in particular toward prudent decisions and effective policies. This emphasis on the study of history would take on increased importance in 1621 with the ascent of Philip IV to the throne. Thrust into kingship at the tender age of 16, the young and under-trained king undertook historical studies in his education.³⁴ The alternative was a lifetime of experience, a trajectory that came with a lifetime of mistakes. Spain could afford neither the passage of that much time nor mistakes committed by its leaders. Instructing the new king in his treatise *El Arte Real*

³³ “Habiendo sido la república Romana en este caso lo que al presente es la nuestra Española, tan parecidas en grandeza y diversidades de provincias extranjeras, conquistadas con sus armas y conservadas con sus leyes, no puede dejar de cuadrar a la una lo que estuvo bien a la otra en materias civiles.” Deza, *Agricultura*, 117.

³⁴ John Lynch, *The Hispanic World in Crisis and Change, 1598-1700* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1992), 85.

para el Buen Gobierno de los Reyes, y Príncipes, y de sus Vasallos (1623) the arbitrista Jerónimo de Ceballos promoted historical study, asserting that young kings “make themselves older” by reading histories.³⁵ As put by Juan Márquez, a monk and author of political advice treatises, history quickly provided a ruler necessary experience. Rather than waiting and learning, he could gain knowledge of how to handle his affairs “in six pages.”³⁶ By studying history, Philip could ascertain what policies would best stave off Spain’s decline and return it to its former greatness.

This was due also to the view that events of the past simply repeated themselves, making it possible to revive and implement historical policies. Reprinted several times throughout the early seventeenth century, Fray Juan Márquez’s *El Governador Cristiano* [The Christian Ruler] asserted that there was nothing new in present society; history merely repeated itself.³⁷ Agreeing with this perspective, Sancho de Moncada even went as far as to claim that a combined study of historical events and political texts could result in the formation of a new “science of ruling.”³⁸ In his *Restauración Política de España*

³⁵ Ceballos’ work translates to *The True Art of Good Governance for Kings, Princes and Subjects*. See Ceballos – also spelled Zeballos in some cases – *El Arte Real para el Buen Gobierno de los Reyes, y Príncipes, y de sus Vassallos* (Toledo, 1623), 14r-14v.

³⁶ Márquez, *El Governador Christiano: Deducido de las Vidas de Moysen y Josue* (Madrid: Teresa Justi, 1625), 23-24.

³⁷ The edition of Márquez’s treatise used in this chapter dates to 1625 but the book was reprinted on no less than three occasions during the first quarter of the seventeenth century; *Ibid.*, 23-24.

³⁸ Moncada argued that the lessons of the past could be reduced to a collection of what he called “infallible remedies” [*remedios infalibles*]. A ruler well versed in the “norms” or “laws” (*aranceles*, to use Moncada’s term) could right his kingdom the same way that a doctor applies treatments or the captain of an imperiled ship follows certain learned tactics to evade danger or attack an enemy. To further reinforce the transcendental nature of these remedies, Moncada ascribed them a divine origin. Mankind, he argued, was too imperfect and wholly incapable of mastering the panoply of political crises to create such an art. More modestly, Moncada did eventually admit to his reader that governing through the use of these pre-formed “molds” (*turquesas*) would be neither simple nor

[Political Restoration of Spain], published the year after Deza's treatise, Moncada cited classical authors, including Aristotle, Plato and Xenophon, as the basis of a yet unformed science that would "conserve and augment" kingdoms.³⁹

Touting the certainty of "experienced and old" policies, Deza did warn of one difficulty in replicating past policies. "The world has experienced so much," he stated, "turned so many times that it is either temerity or foolishness that leads one to think that he can find a new solution; although to recall it and implement it in one's own time is no easy task."⁴⁰ His worry was not about anachronism, but rather about the effective reinvention of such policies.

Based on his comparison of ancient Rome and early seventeenth-century Spain, Deza seems also to have anticipated the efficacy of the *censura* based on an understanding of the unwavering nature of people. This is not to say that all people were the same, but rather that Spain's descent from ancient Rome would assure the efficacy of Roman policies in early seventeenth-century Spain. This was one of the points made by Baltasar

fully effective, as the king's subjects comprised a "body of contrary complexions" and a "many-headed beast...of varying desires" (*cuero de contrarias complexiones* and *bestia de muchas cabezas...y de muchos gustos*). Any remedy proposed to solve one issue might not placate all subjects, or even worse, it might exacerbate the problems experienced by some members of society. However, it was the difference within a single society that proved complicated, not the passage of time between two similar societies. History repeated itself, making it possible to consider, if not repeat the successful policies of the past; see Moncada, *Restauración*, 229-231.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 230. This choice of words betrayed Moncada's commitment to the ideas of the well known political writer Giovanni Botero, as they were borrowed from the opening pages of Botero's *Ragione di Stato* (1589). As D.P. Whaley notes in his introduction to Botero, *Reason of State* was a popular political text, enjoying six editions in Spanish alone between its initial publication and his death in 1617. It offered its reader general tenets for understanding and governing people. See *Reason of State*, trans. P.J. and D.P. Whaley (London: Routledge, 1956), ix, 3.

⁴⁰ "el mundo está ya tan andado y ha dado tantas vueltas, que es temeridad o necesidad pensar que se puede hallar cosa nueva, siendo mucho el saberla traer a la memoria y cuadrarla a su tiempo." Deza, *Agricultura*, 116.

Álamos de Barrientos in his *Aforismos al Tácito Español*. Publishing this work four years before Deza's *Gobierno Político*, Álamos de Barrientos's proposed that close study of history could grant an understanding of a common set of passions and proclivities (*afectos*) that transcended time. Clearly betraying his own concern with the decline of customs, he claimed that any king or royal minister familiar with these inclinations could anticipate and control the decadent behaviors of his subjects.⁴¹ By being able to understand these human proclivities and proactively engaging the public, the king could "incline the popular spirit toward good and distance it from evil."⁴² It was his belief that one could derive from the aphorisms appearing in his text an understanding of man's inclinations, or perhaps more importantly for the Spanish king, mold the virtues of his subjects and stave off impending decline.

According to Álamos de Barrientos, one of the factors that contributed to the inclinations of the populace was nature or natural attributes. Reflecting the era's continued commitment to Galenic humoral theory, he noted that each region or lineage of people ("nation" or *nación* as he termed it) had its own "nature." Some groups of people were naturally phlegmatic, others choleric.⁴³ The nature of Spaniards, many reformers seemed convinced, paralleled that of their Roman ancestors, making it plausible to use the successful policies of the ancient empire to restore virtue in early seventeenth-century Spain.

The writings of the era confirm this belief in a deep genealogical and cultural link between ancient Rome and early modern Spain. The Roman Empire had been present in

⁴¹ Álamos de Barrientos, *Tácito*, 32.

⁴² "enderezar su ánimo al bien, y apartarle del mal." *Ibid.*, 35.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 19.

and ruled over much of the Iberian Peninsula. As Juan de Mariana, the Jesuit priest and eventual chronicler of Philip IV noted in his *Historia de España* [History of Spain] (1598) one had only to review the names of Spanish cities to confirm the shared history of these two great empires.⁴⁴ Yet in the view of many seventeenth-century Spaniards, the Roman conquest of the Iberian Peninsula was less an imposition of Roman culture and society and more melding of the two cultures. A resilient Spain had mixed with the great empire, giving shape to an enduring heritage. It was not uncommon for Spanish authors to note that some of Rome's greatest emperors had come from Spain. Trajan, some pointed out, had been born in the peninsula, making him one of Spain's favorite sons.⁴⁵ He had not been foisted upon conquered Spanish lands. He was one of the contributions made by Spain to Rome at the pinnacle of its empire.

Asked to review the Count-Duke of Olivares' plans for a network of military schools in 1632 and 1635, Junta de Educación wrote Philip IV a report alluding to the same understanding of ancient Rome. In addition to supporting the formation of military academies, the committee advocated for the king to grant military honors that were once bestowed upon soldiers in the Roman Empire.⁴⁶ They maintained that these awards could reinvigorate the martial spirit of Spaniards, and justified this impulse by claiming these awards as part of their own history and heritage.⁴⁷ Clearly they felt an affinity to the ancient Romans, associating themselves with this powerful empire. The recommendation to reinstitute the rewards of their ancient past in order to restore military spirit among the

⁴⁴ See Juan de Mariana, *Historia General de España*, 5th ed. (Zaragoza: Editorial Ebro, 1972), 22-25.

⁴⁵ Ceballos, *Arte Real*, 48r.

⁴⁶ For more on the Count-Duke's plan for military schools or the responses of the Junta de Educación, see chapter 5 of this dissertation.

⁴⁷ AHN, Consejos, 50113.

people implied that the people of early modern Spain had a similar nature to the Romans. That is to say that Spaniards could be motivated to serve the king and engage in battle using the same tactics that had worked for their ancient predecessors. Apparently in the minds of reformers, Spain still bore the indelible markings of the ancients in the nature of its people, giving hope that the *censura* would have the same positive effects in seventeenth-century Spain as they had had in ancient Rome.

Revisiting the *Censura*

According to early seventeenth-century authors, the Roman *censura*, by which they meant the two appointed positions known as censors, had been formed during the rule of Servius Tullius, the sixth king of Rome. Citing the *Twelve Tables*, the Roman Republican law code, these authors related that the magistrates comprising the *censura* counted the number of people in Rome, collecting certain information about them and their households. This information included the names and ages of all members of the household, as well as their assets and professions. With the city divided into geographical sectors, known as “tribes,” the latter information was then used to further divide tribe members into economic classes. The Romans used this information to place every member of the tribe in a graduated tax scale.⁴⁸ In summation, the *censura* had been used to order society and regulate Romans’ fiscal contributions, critical funds to the operation of the government.

Lope de Deza may have been the most avid supporter for the formation of a *censura* in Spain. Among other reasons, it marked in Deza’s mind an opportunity to restore

⁴⁸ Márquez, *Gobernador*, 198; Deza, *Agricultura*, 125-126.

balance and order within his own society. The arbitrista maintained that the demographic information collected by the *censura* would better the conditions of the kingdom and aid the king in properly ruling his subjects. By knowing the number of people in his kingdoms, the king could put his realms in balance. He could assure that each region had sufficient population and provisions, and make sure that the conscription of soldiers did not strip communities of necessary laborers. An awareness of the population also meant that the number of farm workers, Deza's primary concern, could be bolstered by forcing vagrants to work in the fields. Having sufficient labor in agriculture would mean having sufficient foodstuffs within Spain. As Deza and others maintained, Spain's land was not infertile. There was merely a lack of manpower working it.⁴⁹ If reinstated, the *censura* would work toward the common good by relegating some of the king's subjects to necessary regions and professions, and prompting them to put their labor toward the welfare of all of society.

As a final suggestion, Deza argued that the revival of the *censura* could help the monarchy remedy Spain's unfair distribution of taxes. The brunt of the tax burden, as Deza correctly asserted, fell on the kingdom of Castile and most specifically on the Castilian farmers, merchants and other commoners. Relying on this severely limited source, the monarchy's revenue was rapidly drying up. According to Deza, the king could remedy this problem by reassessing and reassigning the tax burden. Another call for balance and contribution, the notion of justly distributing taxes was an appealing proposition to non-titled subjects like Deza and to perhaps even to some royal officials

⁴⁹ Deza, *Agricultura*, 41-43; Moncada, *Restauración*, 63; and Cellorigo, *Memorial*, 11.

familiar with the monarchy's rapidly growing need for money and mounting debt.⁵⁰ By contrast, such a proposal would have found no support from tax-exempt nobles and clerics.

But while the census data generated by the *censura* seemed potentially helpful, it was the use of this ancient institution to control the conduct of the people that most attracted Deza. This was because the Roman *censura* seemed to him an effective, extralegal instrument. Mining the histories of ancient scholars, Deza pointed out that the “censors” could monitor the conduct of the population, punishing behaviors that lay outside the scope of written law and that might cause harm to the state. Without jurisdictional restrictions and answering to none but the highest officials, the *censura* “supplemented the laws, acting as a preventive network to be sure that in their city nothing bad, indecent, defective, or superfluous went unpunished.”⁵¹ Censors, Deza reported, could bring about a change, as they had the power to impose fines and even summarily revoke political privileges, such as the vote, from offenders.

In arguing for the revival of the *censura* in early seventeenth-century Spain, Deza partially replicated the argument offered at the end of the previous century by the French political author, Jean Bodin. The Frenchman had broached this topic in his *Six Books of the Commonwealth* in 1576. Widely read throughout Europe, this book enjoyed multiple reprints into the seventeenth century, making it familiar to many learned Spaniards. In it

⁵⁰ Deza, *Agricultura*, 126. The city representative in the Cortes de Castilla (*procurador*) from the city of Granada, Mateo Lisón y Viedma made the same suggestion in his reform writing *Discursos y apuntamientos de don Mateo de Lisón y Viedma ...en que se trata materias importantes del gobierno de la monarquía, y de algunos daños que padece, y de su remedio*, (Madrid, 1622), 4v.

⁵¹ “Se suplían todas las leyes que podían faltar, siendo una red barredera para que en su ciudad no hubiese cosa mal hecha, indecente, defectuosa, o superflua que careciese de castigo y nota.” Deza, *Agricultura*, 128.

Bodin argued that the revival of the *censura* could benefit any disordered society. He maintained that it was these particular offices which had most aided the Roman Empire in its long tenure. Its lapse in Rome's latter years, he argued, brought about the end of the empire. In his view, the absence of this revered and even feared body of reformers prompted popular disdain for and neglect of the law, as well as widespread abandonment of virtuous conduct.⁵²

Deza's view mirrored that of Bodin on all but one count. He viewed its creation as especially crucial for the correction of corrupted habits, but noting the absence of the Christian faith at the time of the Roman *censura*'s inception, he asserted the need to mitigate slightly the intensity of any *censura* instituted in Spain, trusting in piety to guide Spanish behaviors simultaneously. This attitude, as he admitted, separated him from Bodin.⁵³

But if Deza deviated slightly from Bodin's interpretation of the *censura*, he concurred on its purpose, and saw in it the potential to stop the encroaching and destructive vice and self-interest of his own society. The same could not be said for the Augustinian monk Fray Juan Márquez. The views expressed by Bodin had raised the ire of Márquez during the early years of the seventeenth century. Thus, when Deza wrote his own treatise in 1618, he was largely defending the Frenchman's perspective from the attacks made by Márquez in his work from earlier in the century.

Despite expressing a belief in the repetition of history in his *El Gobernador Cristiano*, Márquez adamantly objected to the formation of a *censura* in his own day. He

⁵²Jean Bodin, *Six Books of the Commonwealth*, ed. and trans. M.J. Tooley (London: Oxford University Press, 1955), 181-185.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 133.

argued that the biblical patriarch Moses conducted the census of his people under the mandate of God. To do so under the order of man was condemnable. In support of his view, Márquez offered as evidence the divine punishment of King David for the census he had completed of his subjects. In his view, this census stemmed from his arrogance, as King David wanted nothing more than to count his people in order to know his own power.⁵⁴ The Bible made clear, according to Márquez, that there were specific reasons to keep tabs on the population through a census, and a reinstated Roman *censura* complied with none of them.⁵⁵

In his reply to Márquez's book, Deza claimed that there was a great difference between the biblical events cited by the friar and the *censura* he hoped might edify Spain. As Deza assured his reader, he and Bodin were advocating a "civil *censura*." The census conducted by Moses had been a singular, military endeavor. It was never a customary part of society. By contrast, the *censura* that Deza hoped might help his ailing monarchy and its kingdoms would be a regular part of the state, a customary body of vigilance and governance.⁵⁶

Appropriating Márquez's evidence, Deza stressed once again the *censura*'s ability to clean up unseemly behavior and order society in ways that the legal code could not. The census that God ordered Moses to complete at the time of his descent from Mount Sinai had not only discovered how many men were available for combat, it had also enlivened the spirits of Moses' people and unified them. Through the census Moses had asked the Israelites to contribute to the good of the whole in a way that fit with their social station.

⁵⁴ Márquez, *Gobernador*, 199.

⁵⁵ See footnote 57 of this chapter for his view of permissible reasons for a census.

⁵⁶ Deza, *Agricultura*, 131.

To use Deza's words, this censura had inclined them "to do their part and fight together with manliness." If the Spanish monarchy could replicate this effort, perhaps it could instill its own subjects the same "spirit and valor" seen in the Israelites, as well as the same ordered comportment and contribution to the wellbeing of society.⁵⁷

Márquez insisted, however, that the censura would be merely ineffectual and disruptive. He doubted if the censors could even get the truth from the inhabitants it interviewed, and asserted that the Romans had experienced great difficulty in collecting the information they needed to successfully carry out the censura.⁵⁸ Self-interest and personal honor, he maintained, would overtake honesty and the interests of the state. In the rare case that it succeeded in getting the personal information that it sought, recording and advertising the wealth of Spain's subjects would jeopardize the security of their estates and reputations. Thieves or even censors themselves might better know which homes to rob. Moreover, those hiding their wealth would be exposed to public envy, while shame would overtake once illustrious families stricken by poverty; Spain's social order would be shaken up.

The threat to established social bonds ran deeper than just rifts between envious or cruel, mocking neighbors, as Márquez saw it. He warned that the imposition of a censura in Spain would ruin the relations within the family. Marriages would be destroyed when the censura discovered the hidden mementos from clandestine relationships. Their publication would mean humiliation for a cuckolded spouse. Moreover, the fines

⁵⁷ The entire passage from Deza's work about the census conducted by Moses at the behest of God reads: "hacer de su parte lo posible y pelear en las ocasiones varoniles y concertadamente, y así con este alarde [la censura] les puso ánimo y denuedo sin que hubiese Rey que pudiese juntar y contraponer otro tal." Ibid., 133.

⁵⁸ Márquez, *Governador*, 200-202.

imposed by the *censura* would put stress on paternal and conjugal bonds, as edifying the populace, Márquez asserted, was only an ancillary goal of the *censura*. It had truly been established to raise state revenue through the penalties it assessed.⁵⁹ Not only would the invasive corps of censors jeopardize the respect given to a king, but the revival of these meddling, ancient offices would “make the love of fathers for their children grow cold, as with the love of husbands for wives, and masters for servants.”⁶⁰ As fathers, husbands and masters paid for the allegedly negligent, immoral, or socially inappropriate behavior of those in their household, these bonds would fracture. Citing the Emperor Constantine, Márquez pointed out that we grow tired of those things that cause us to part consistently with our money.

Márquez was clearly a believer that a revived *censura* would never restore virtue in Spain. Instead, he put his faith in the existing legal and family structures to eradicate whatever immorality and improper behaviors troubled it. He even went as far as to claim that the censors would be usurping the “*patria potestas*,” the power invested naturally in a father to rule his family. Bodin had argued the need to resurrect the Roman *censura* because this power had already been lost. A man, in his view, no longer had the authority over the life and death of his children, wife or servants. As a result, his authority had diminished and required reinforcement.⁶¹ Márquez, countering Bodin’s claim,

⁵⁹ Márquez also found this collection of fines offensive. He felt that the Bible clearly demonstrated that the only monies that were to be collected by a *censura* were tithes for the construction of places of worship. As Márquez saw it, this made fines imposed by the *censura* contrary to God’s will. He added that the immorality of these penalties was exacerbated by the exorbitant quantities of money extorted from the people. *Ibid.*, 204-205.

⁶⁰ “resfriar el amor de los padres con los hijos, el de los maridos con las mujeres, y el de los señores con los criados” *Ibid.*, 205.

⁶¹ Bodin, *Six Books*, 12-14.

maintained that Spanish men needed neither this harsh authority nor the state's intervention into their household affairs. Rather, the state should maintain its present legal functions, allowing especially the father but in some cases teachers and tutors to correct children and instill in them virtue through the use of education.⁶²

Deza replied to most of Márquez's arguments, upholding his faith in a *censura's* ability to revive and sustain virtue in his era. The cruel mockery toward the poor and the covetous gaze cast toward those with greater fortune, he noted flatly, were simply part of society. To him, it seemed impossible that those in close proximity to families feigning poverty or wealth had not already suspected, if not discovered the ruse. More importantly, asked Deza, would it not be better to catch these dissimulations and make an example of them, imposing order and honesty?

With regard to the potential misuse of this office by its officials or the reigning monarch, Deza maintained that such misappropriation of power did not disprove the intrinsic value of the *censura*. It had gained great reputation in and for ancient Rome as it had efficaciously held conduct in check.⁶³ Reviving the *censura* in early seventeenth-century Spain might result in the same increase in reputation and boost in virtue. Given the many crises it faced, the monarchy could use to bolster its continental reputation, which would only be enhanced further by the obedient and productive subjects that the *censura* promised to create. The *censura* was, to use Deza's words, "conservative" (*preservadora*) implying that it could revive and sustain Spain's lost virtue, as well as perpetuate a harmonious and orderly society. "There is no philosophy," he claimed, "that

⁶² Márquez, *Gobernador*, 65, 208-209.

⁶³ For the collection of arguments in these two paragraphs, see Deza, *Agricultura*, 138, 147, 164.

can compose men, persuade them and teach them virtuous ways to live like the censura.”⁶⁴

As for the accusation that the censura would deprive a father of his guiding role, Deza made no direct response. Had he included in the ineffective “philosophies” rectified by the censura the child-rearing one received from his or her parents? Had Márquez been correct that advocates of the censura truly sought to usurp the power fathers had over their children? Deza never assigned a Spanish censura such duties. He only acknowledged Bodin’s desire to have the censura monitor the behaviors of Spain’s youth. However, this paternalistic understanding of the censura was not unprecedented in Spain.

The prominent Spanish author Juan Luis Vives had written of such a paternalistic agency during the second quarter of the sixteenth century in his *Tratado del Socorro de Pobres* [Treatise on Assisting the Poor].⁶⁵ Vives had called for “censors” to monitor the behaviors of young Spaniards. It was his belief that these agents should interrogate children about their upbringing, presumably to inquire into whether or not their parents were upholding their duties. He also proposed that censors question Spanish children about their daily habits (*costumbres*) and ask them to explain the reasons for sins they had committed. Although the book reviewed methods to aid Spain’s poor, Vives believed that censors should observe all children regardless of social station. Keeping an eye on the behaviors of all of Spain’s youth, he argued, would be of “great advantage”

⁶⁴ “No habría filosofía que así compusiese los hombres y les persuadiese y les enseñase las maneras de vivir virtuosas como la censura.” Ibid., 147.

⁶⁵ The original Latin work by Vives was published in 1526 while the Spanish translation by Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón, which is used here, was completed in manuscript form sometime between 1526 and 1532. Joaquim Parellada, “Introducción,” in *Tratado del Socorro de Pobres: Traducción Inédita del Siglo XVI de Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón*, Joaquim Parellada, ed. (Valencia: Biblioteca Valenciana, 2006), 68, 76.

[*gran provecho*] to any city. Even in the absence of their families, the youth of Spain would develop virtuously under the watchful eye of the *censura* to whom they would “have to pay mind...as if [the censors] were their parents.”⁶⁶ If Deza had intended for the *censura* to take on this parental or paternal role, he would not have been alone. Not only had it appeared in Vives’s work, but a significant part of the reform program proposed by the monarchy in the early 1620s, at the height of its reform efforts, reflected this paternalistic attitude. It seems the king, acting as the father of his people, may have felt justified insinuating himself in the private realm of the household. Seemingly inspired by the Roman *censura*, the royal committees formed by the monarchy during these critical years of reform might have served as just the method to do it.

Reviving the Censura

Although never formed officially under the title “*censura*,” some of the monarchy’s creations from the early 1620s exhibited the same spirit, structure and objectives of the ancient Roman *censura*. This included two committees operating under the title *Junta de Reformatión*, a third *Junta* termed the *Junta Grande de Reformatión*, and the system of geographic division in Madrid, known as the *cuarteles* (districts or quarters). The first was actually formed twice within a matter of years. The Duke of Uceda, the second *valido* or favorite of Philip III, assembled the first committee in 1619.⁶⁷ It was a

⁶⁶ “pensar que habían de dar cuenta a estos visitadores como a sus padres mismos.” *Ibid.*, 192.

⁶⁷ It should be noted that the 1621 formation of the *Junta de Reformatión* was not the first committee with aims on controlling popular behavior. According to Ignacio Ezquerro Revilla, initial trends toward the formation of the *Junta de Reformatión* started in the 1570s during the rule of Philip II. This late sixteenth-century *Junta*, which acted on the opportunity provided by post-Tridentine reforms to implement social controls over

committee of limited power designed presumably to placate the increasing demands for reforms throughout Spain.⁶⁸ It may also have been put together to improve the image of Philip III's administration in the wake of the scandalous and corrupt administration of the Duke of Lerma, the king's former *valido* and Uceda's father. The Duke of Lerma had been a controversial figure, but had always enjoyed the support of the king. However, in the fall of 1618 that support ran out. Lerma's use of royal stipends and rewards (*mercedes*) as well as noble titles came into question, as it became clear that he had used them to build a network of loyal associates. The events surrounding Lerma's fall from grace left a betrayed Philip III to recant earlier statements of support issued for his favorite in a 1612 royal decree and almost undeniably contributed to complaints about decreased loyalty to the king and widespread self-interest throughout Spain.⁶⁹

In October 1618, the Duke of Lerma stepped down, but shortly before leaving office he recommended that the king petition the Consejo Real for reform suggestions. When the king finally asked the Council for its assistance, it was more than happy to oblige, presenting Philip III with a reform memorandum (*memorial*) the following year that

the populace, does not appear to have possessed the same title as later formations. Unlike later versions, it was also subordinate to the Royal Council and its various organs. Nonetheless, it has a nominal connection to the later committees. Like the later juntas, it focused on the general morality and customs of the body politic. It counted amongst its areas of interest the appropriate dress of government ministers, gambling, as well as female prostitution and clandestine homosexual encounters. Over time the foci would shift and the Junta would gain a greater political valence, but its roots may be apparent in this early committee. Ignacio Ezquerro Revilla, "La reforma de las costumbres en tiempo de Felipe II: Las "Juntas de Reformación" (1574-1583) in *Congreso Internacional "Felipe II,"* ed. Ernest Belenguer Cebrià (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal para la Conmemoración de los Centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V, 1999), 81; and BNE 5/57511.

⁶⁸ Juan Francisco Baltar Rodríguez, *Las Juntas de Gobierno de la Monarquía Hispánica (siglos XVI-XVII)* (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Políticos y Constitucionales, 1998), 170.

⁶⁹ This decree appears in John Elliott's biography of the Count-Duke of Olivares; *Count-Duke*, 32.

assessed the problems and needs of Castile. Dated January 1, 1619, this famous memorial marked the death of the first Junta, whose limited powers were quickly superseded by the Consejo. Shortly after its inception, the fledgling Junta ceased to meet.

Roughly two years later and only eight days after Philip IV had ascended the throne, the second Junta de Reформación came into being. Issuing a royal order on April 8, 1621, Philip IV put together a committee that would assemble every Sunday, save for Holy Days, in the home of the President of Castile, Fernando de Acevedo.⁷⁰ Once again it was never directly stated, but the impetus behind this committee seemed to be in part a desire to give the monarch a clean image. The formation of the Junta happened amidst a number of actions intended to separate Philip IV from the Lerma administration and even the reign of his father, Philip III. In 1621, his administration carried out the trial and execution of Lerma's secretary, Rodrigo Calderón, the Marquis of Seven Churches. That same year, the king ordered the destruction of both a pulpit that Lerma had constructed in the royal chapel and a passage that connected the home of Uceda to the palace.⁷¹ In a similar vein, the objectives of the new Junta de Reформación came to include the revocation of "mercedes inoficiosas" [inofficially granted rewards and honors]

⁷⁰ See "Cédula real de Felipe IV por la cual crea una Junta para que le ayude en la administración del Reino. Madrid 8 de abril 1621." This document bears the call number 18670/72 and can be found at the Biblioteca Nacional de España (BNE).

⁷¹ The trial and execution of Rodrigo Calderón backfired on the monarchy, as the Marquis's noble and pious behavior in the face of death made him into a martyr. The trial is covered in Elliott, *Count-Duke*, 44, 107-108. The execution scene is given in detail in the sixth letter of Andrés Almansa y Mendoza's chronicles of the court. Dated October 22, 1621 this letter appears in Almansa y Mendoza, *Cartas de Andrés de Almansa y Mendoza: Novedades de esta corte y avisos recibidos de otras partes, 1621-1626, Colección de libros españoles raros o curiosos* (Madrid: Miguel Ginesta, 1886), 85-100; and on the destruction of the chapel and passage, see page 98r of document titled "Gaceta" in BNE mss 12856.

implying at least a subtle desire to root out any latent corruption from the previous reign.⁷²

At the time of its inception, the responsibilities of the Junta had still to be worked out, but after a few weeks of correspondence between junta members and the king, the committee took on the objective of implementing “diligences and modes possible to assure the wellbeing and reform of the kingdoms and the people in the present and future; [reforms] that without doubt are increasingly necessary as a result of the harm brought on by the habit of contrary customs.”⁷³ Considering a range of issues from gambling to gluttony, the Junta seemed prepared to fulfill this goal. It was targeting corrupt customs and attempting to renew virtuous conduct just as the Roman *censura* had done. Philip IV could only have been pleased with the potential for the new Junta, as he had made explicit his wish to create with this committee a “form of censure [*censura*] in order to uproot all [of Spain’s] vice and bribery more effectively.”⁷⁴

⁷² “Instructions for the Junta de Reformación from April 1621,” Archivo Histórico Nacional (AHN), Consejos, legajo 7137.

⁷³ “...se trate [la Junta] de que se logren en estos Reinos y Vasallos las diligencias y medios que se pusieren para su bien y reformación en lo presente y venidero de que sin duda ninguna están necesitados, y tanto más por el daño que se ha contraído con el hábito de la costumbre contraria.” See the Junta’s response to the “Instrucción,” titled, “Puntos para tratar en la Junta de Reformación. Sobre reformación de muchas cosas.” AHN, Consejos, leg. 7137. In two other consultations between the king and the Junta, dated July 4 and August 23, 1621, the Junta takes on the issue of expelling a portion of the court inhabitants, claiming its goal to be “reform of the customs of [the] court.” For similar statements about the objective of the *Junta* under Philip IV, see González Palencia, *Reformación*, 99, 135.

⁷⁴ The order calls the Junta “una manera de censura, para mejor desarraigar todos los vicios y cohechos.” This document appears in Gonzalo Céspedes y Meneses, *Historia de don Felipe III, Rey de las Españas* (Barcelona: Sebastian de Cormellas, 1634), 73; and in Gil González Dávila *Teatro de las Grandezas de la Villa de Madrid* (1623) (Valladolid: Ediciones Maxtor, 2003), 170.

Whether the king intended to allude to the censura of ancient Rome is unclear. However, writings from the era seem to assign this distinction to the second Junta de Reformación and credit it with the functions of assigned to the censors by the ancient Romans. Evaluating the beginning of his king's reign a little more than ten years after it began, Gonzalo Céspedes y Meneses equated the Junta de Reformación of 1621 with Rome's censura. Before reprinting the order that gave life to the Junta in his *De la Historia de don Felipe IV* [On the History of Philip IV] (1634) Céspedes y Meneses described the Spanish committee as a "junta of ministers, that under the name of prosecutors, or *censors for the kingdom* [*censores de la patria*], might return [the commonwealth] to health."⁷⁵ The author's mention of "censors," of course, seems to associate the Junta de Reformación with the Roman censura.

The perceived duties of the committee seem also to suggest a revival of the ancient censura. The working papers of the Junta de Reformación are severely limited, and none of the extant documents assign this committee a ground-level intervention in the daily lives of the people, as seen with the Roman censura. Nonetheless, on more than one occasion the Junta seems to have fielded complaints from citizens about the immoral or inappropriate behaviors of neighbors or family members. In each case, those reporting the incidences expected the committee to intervene directly and rectify the situation. One man even threatened to kill a debauched, Flemish neighbor, who was "riling up married women," if the Junta did not get involved.⁷⁶ Similarly, an anonymous chronicle relating the events unfolding in Madrid between April 24 and May 1, 1621, notes the formation of

⁷⁵ "una junta de ministros, que con el nombre de fiscales, o de *censores de la patria*, la redujesen a salud..." (emphasis added). Céspedes y Meneses, *don Felipe III*, 73.

⁷⁶ With regard to the Flemish man, the author of the complaint noted his tendency to "inquieta a mujeres casadas." González Palencia, *Reformación*, 207-209.

a “new council for reforming vices.” This new council, claims the unknown author most likely in reference to the Junta de Reformación, was looking for “two honorable people of good customs to serve as *secret guards* in order to report people causing problems where they live and remedy these troubles with severity.”⁷⁷ It may be that Philip IV intended to revive Rome’s *censura* and that this call for “guards” betrays an unknown detail of the Junta’s duties. It is difficult to know the king’s full intentions without a greater body of documentation. However, what is clear is that, if only in spirit alone, the Junta de Reformación was the recasting of the Roman *censura* and the monarchy’s hope for bringing virtue back to an allegedly decadent Spain.

As with the Junta de Reformación, the formation of the *cuarteles* seems also to suggest the invention of a *censura* within early seventeenth-century Spain. As explained by the king’s top officials, the geographical structure and objectives of the *cuarteles* paralleled those of the ancient reform agency. The *cuarteles* were geographic designations in the city of Madrid, which divided the city into six zones. All named for saints –one of the few distinctions from the ancient *censura* – each *cuartel* was then parceled into 30 divisions, totaling roughly 50 houses in each division of the *cuartel*.

The administration of each *cuartel* went to one of Madrid’s *alcaldes de casa y corte* (royal judges assigned to a small, mobile jurisdiction surrounding the king’s person) while subdivisions would be policed by *alguaciles*, lower ranking judicial officials. In order to record census data and report reprehensible conduct, the administrative structure also had to include notaries. Some versions of the royal order announcing the formation

⁷⁷ The untitled chronicle reads as follows: “Consejo Nuevo de reformación de vicios quiere nombrar dos personas honradas y de buenas costumbres como guardas secretas para que den aviso de la gente que en la calle donde habitan, viven mal, para remediarlo con rigor.” BNE Mss. 7377, f. 307r.

of the cuarteles require a notary in each cuartel, while others assign four to be shared among the six areas of the city. To compensate him for his service, the notary of each cuartel would be paid a modest wage. Like the other administrators, he would be expected to reside in the cuartel in which he served. Notaries and minor officials would also be required to meet with their superiors every Thursday to discuss the state of affairs in each cuartel.

Each notary was to keep a book of the census information for each house in his jurisdiction. This information included the owner of the house or the name of its tenant or tenants if rented, as well as any guests in the home and the nature of their business in the court city. As mentioned by Deza while advocating for a revived *censura*, officials may have intended to balance the population of Spain by controlling the influx of people to the capital city. This had been a concern consistently expressed by reform authors and committees during the era, and would eventually prompt the monarchy to order an expulsion of excess population in Madrid in 1623.⁷⁸

The order for the cuarteles also mandated that its agents record the profession, nationality, and any titles held by head of the household. In addition to the name and age of the head of the household – assumed to be a man by the documents – this information should be given for wives, children, servants and slaves when appropriate.

Unlike previous references to Rome's *censura*, however, no request for a list of assets was made in any of the orders for the formation of the cuarteles. Perhaps the monarchy had learned its lesson at the beginning of Philip IV's reign, when many royal officials refused to comply with the crown's request for them to submit to the recently formed

⁷⁸ For more on concerns with repopulating Spain, especially Castile, and its relation to proposed expulsions of men and women from the court, see chapter 3 of this dissertation.

Junta de Inventarios lists of their assets to prove they had not unjustly taken rewards from the corrupt Lerma regime – a procedure that would have publicized their families’ financial situations.⁷⁹ If this was the case, the monarchy had taken the same stance as Márquez, considering that exposing the financial records of prominent families risked their public humiliation.

A handwritten order for the cuarteles, attributed to a minister in the Royal Council, Francisco de Tejada, and dated March 26, 1624, requests the collection of no further information, while printed orders for the formation of the cuarteles (which are presumably from the same time as they mirror Tejada’s memorial nearly *verbatim*) ask for an additional piece of information. The printed orders put emphasis on recording the number of boys older and younger than fourteen years of age and the number of girls over and under the age of twelve.⁸⁰ The document does not clarify the significance of these particular ages, but given that these were the ages of majority in early modern Spain, it can only be assumed that the monarchy wanted either to estimate the marriageable population and project the future population or to verify that all young adults were enrolled in school or participating in the workforce.⁸¹ In one case or the other, these young men and women would be contributing to the needs and wellbeing of the monarchy and their kingdom.

⁷⁹ The Junta de Inventarios was a committee created to check for such dishonest distribution of rewards. It requested that all government officials submit inventories of their estates dating to 1592. The mandate met with great resistance, being fulfilled only in Mexico. Despite some compliance in the Spanish colony, these inventories were sealed and never opened. Baltar Rodríguez, *Juntas*, 187-189.

⁸⁰ AHN, Consejos 7137. All documents related to the cuarteles appearing in this study belong to this bundle and are located in the folder titled “Cuarteles 17.”

⁸¹ Richard Kagan, *Students and Society in Early Modern Spain* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974), 8.

While the administrative structures of the cuarteles showed tremendous similarity to the Roman *censura*, their responsibilities also matched up with duties of the ancient office. Emphasis was placed on the importance of the cuarteles in collecting taxes. “This,” one document read, alluding directly to the ancient *censura*’s identical role, “the Roman monarchy taught us well.”⁸² Mirroring the views of Lope de Deza, Tejada also asserted that the people would be better provided for and protected as a result of reviving the *censura* in Spain. Productivity could be heightened also. The number of agricultural workers might be carefully watched in this way, and the number of vagabonds reduced, returning them to the workforce. Otherwise, provisions could be procured in case of shortage, and if none could be acquired, chaos and calamity could be avoided through the strong arm of cuartel officials. Giving his frank assessment, Tejada declared that the cuarteles formed a useful instrument for Spain and its monarchy like that imposed on “ancient Europe.” By this, he meant to indicate the Roman Empire and its highly reputed *censura*.

Most importantly, the cuarteles could uncover, to use Tejada’s words, both the “quality and quantity” of people in Madrid as the Roman *censura* had done in ancient Rome. The cuarteles would do more than keep an accurate tally of court inhabitants. They could reveal work habits and expose illegal and inappropriate activities; in short, it could restore and sustain virtuous conduct. In Tejada’s order, as well as in those later put into print, the job of cuartel administrators included monitoring and reporting “that in need of remedy and punishment.”⁸³ Lower officials were to police each cuartel around the clock. To aid in this, the plans for the cuarteles provided for two separate night shifts

⁸² “Esto nos enseñó bien la monarquía Romana.” AHN, Consejos 7137.

⁸³ “lo que hubiere digno de remedio y castigo.” Ibid.

– one until midnight, the other until daybreak. This vigilance, one order stated, made it so that “if any robbery, scandal, or other notable event were to happen, inhabitants of that cuartel could have at hand officers of justice in order to give them account and have the situation remedied.”⁸⁴ Tejada remained convinced that the presence of these officials would strike fear in the hearts of would-be criminals and ruffians. As with the anticipated effects of the *censura* by earlier authors, he foresaw the number of crimes decreasing. Fear, he assured, was much more effective than counting on man to succumb to a fondness of virtue.⁸⁵ Counting instead on vigilance, the occasional punishment and the reputation of the cuarteles and their agents – all traits of the Roman *censura* – Madrid and eventually Spain might be able to reform popular comportment and return to a harmonious and glorious state.

While the cuarteles remained in place in Madrid, the second Junta de Reformatión faded fairly soon after its formation in 1621.⁸⁶ It was plagued by internecine conflict, and despite the initial enthusiasm in the committee’s mission, interest in it diminished. After a brief period, Acevedo failed to attend the meetings he was to be hosting, and the king showed greater interest in other issues of state and leisure rather than his new committee.⁸⁷ Although the king’s enthusiasm about reforming his kingdoms diminished from the beginning of his reign, the interest in social reform persisted in general. Officials and arbitristas believed it was still possible to reshape behavior and halt the

⁸⁴ “que si sucediere algún hurto, escándalo, o [sic] otra cosa notable, tengan los vecinos a mano la justicia para darle cuenta, y que lo remedie.” Ibid.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ The dates of the implementation and discontinuation of the cuarteles are unclear. While the handwritten order from Tejada is dated 1624, the other orders bear no date. There is also no existing history of the cuarteles by which to determine their starting or ending dates.

⁸⁷ Baltar Rodríguez, *Juntas*, 170-174.

decline of Spain. Philip IV's favorite and Spain's lead reformer in the 1620s and 1630s, the Count-Duke of Olivares, renewed these reform efforts in 1622, reestablishing this junta again in a more proactive form.

Indicative of either the addition of new members to the committee or to its increased power – perhaps both – the newest junta would be called the *Junta Grande de Reformatión*. The king and his valido tapped many members of the second Junta de Reformatión to serve once again, but they added to the newly formed committee the presidents of the government's highest councils. Acevedo was replaced by the new President of Castile, Francisco de Contreras, an elder statesman pulled out of retirement to serve the monarchy in its moment of great need.

Olivares and the king met with this committee for the first time on August 11, 1622. Like previous versions of the committee, the Junta Grande de Reformatión received access to the papers and writings related to the reforms at hand, but it added to its arsenal the power to propose decrees. The Junta Grande answered only to the king. According to Philip IV, any reforms it proposed held the same legitimacy “as if put together by the Cortes.”⁸⁸ This was an unparalleled power that provided expedience but prompted jealousy and great resistance from the Cortes of Castile, the kingdom's legislative body. Granted the power to promulgate laws without the approval of the Cortes, the Junta Grande had usurped some of the powers of the Castilian assembly. Set on a collision course with the Cortes, the Junta Grande would encounter further resistance from the

⁸⁸ AHN, Consejos, legajo 7137.

assembly as a result of its attempts to reduce public offices in order to cut down on costs, a reform which targeted positions such as those held by the deputies of the Cortes.⁸⁹

In the fall of 1622, the Junta Grande de Reformación put together a comprehensive set of reforms. Aware that they would not have the backing of the Cortes, the Junta Grande and the king sought other forms of popular support for their proposed reforms. Instead of negotiating with the Cortes, the king sent a letter in October 1622 to the city councils of the Castilian cities represented in the assembly, explaining the content of and need for the reforms. All but a few cities refused to support the monarchy's agenda, suggesting that the Cortes be called into session to review the reforms. In a show of its authority and perhaps to let it be known that its reforms would be implemented regardless of the Cortes' protests, the monarchy redacted the letter sent to the cities, publishing the new document as a set of twenty-three reform articles. On February 10, 1623, three days before the Castilian cities received letters convoking the Cortes, the Junta Grande's articles came off the press.⁹⁰

⁸⁹ The proposed reduction of offices appears in the king's letter to the cities from October 1622, which appears in González Palencia, *Reformación*, 381. The proposal was the topic of discussion throughout the beginning of the Cortes of 1623. See May 8, 1623 as one of the first days of discussion of this proposed reform in Volume 38 of *Actas de Cortes*. See *Actas de las Cortes de Castilla, Publicadas por acuerdo del Congreso de los Diputados a propuesta de su Comisión de Gobierno Interior. Cortes celebradas en Madrid desde el Día 4 de febrero de 1617 al 28 de marzo de 1620. Tomo XXVIII*. (Madrid: La Real Casa, 1908), 95-96.

⁹⁰ It is the assertion of Baltar Rodríguez that the Count-Duke and the king intended to deliver a message about their unwavering commitment to the proposed reforms of the Junta through this publication; see Baltar Rodríguez, *Juntas*, 183.

Conclusion

The reform articles of the Junta Grande de Reformación touched on a variety of issues.⁹¹ They mandated the reduction of public offices, created regulations on judges, and put stipulations on grammar schooling. The final article of the Junta Grande even outlawed prostitution. Although it had been subject to certain restrictions, prostitution had been legal in Spain.⁹² Junta members claimed that this tolerance had gone on too long. In their estimation, this sinful practice had to be stopped as it was a source of vice that would bring divine vengeance upon Spain. Empires and monarchies survived and thrived only with the favor of God, averred the committee. Although committee members never mentioned Rome specifically, they noted that other great empires had fallen as a result of succumbing to such sensual and carnal pleasures.⁹³ In saying this, they alluded to the undertone of morality that ran throughout the era's reforms.

But it was more than morality that prompted the Junta Grande to forbid prostitution. Junta members cited as a major reason for its prohibition the "inquietudes" (anxieties or disorder) that it caused. It is not entirely clear what the committee meant. Perhaps the Junta Grande felt that Spain could be more productive without prostitution. Men would be saved from the tempting pleasures of the flesh that made them squander their money and distracted them from their duties. Maybe its members viewed prostitution as a threat to family, and a distraction from procreation within marriage – one of the committee's

⁹¹ For the complete set of reform articles, see González Palencia, *Reformación*, 415-455.

⁹² For the restrictions and the eventual movement away from tolerating prostitution in early modern Seville, see Mary Elizabeth Perry, "Deviant Insiders: Legalized Prostitutes and a Consciousness of Women in Early Modern Seville," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 27, No. 1 (Jan., 1985): 138-158.

⁹³ González Palencia, *Reformación*, 453-454.

hopes for boosting Spain's diminished population.⁹⁴ Whatever the intended use of the term, the committee seems to have reflected the essence of the era's reforms: Spain could only be conserved by the rejuvenation of virtuous conduct that restored order, considered the common good, and of course, benefitted the monarchy.

This was the perspective that guided royal officials and reformers, such as Deza, toward the Roman *censura*, and as will be seen in the next chapter, it would also be the impulse that would motivate the Junta Grande and other reformers to show interest in sumptuary reform. Guided in part by Francisco de Contreras, who took a near-draconian stance on sumptuary reform, the Junta Grande crafted reforms on the use of gold and silver in clothing and household items.⁹⁵ In part, this reform was a push to revive the alleged moderation of a past era, and to focus Spaniards on the fulfillment of their social station instead of the self-promotion that hindered duty and neglected the common good.

In some instances, Rome was the "category of useful historical analysis," reflecting the values and virtues that reformers and reform officials hoped to revive. However, as this chapter briefly reveals and the remaining chapters demonstrate, the gendered language and models appearing throughout the reforms of early seventeenth-century Spain offered similar insight. Pointing to effeminate conduct as justification for sumptuary restrictions, reformers tapped into notions of manhood that privileged productivity and provision, revealing their wish to assure the common good in Spain and

⁹⁴ For more on the Junta Grande de Reformación and repopulation policies, see chapter 4 of this dissertation.

⁹⁵ As one member of the Consejo Real put it during the reign of Philip III, Contreras' proposals for sumptuary reform were "obscure, petty and cruel." See Escagedo Salmón, "Los Acebedos," *Boletín de la Biblioteca Menéndez y Pelayo*, (vol. 8) 340-341, as cited in Elliott, *Count-Duke*, 105.

to bolster Spanish industry, work ethic, and imperial strength. These are the themes studied in the next chapter.

Chapter 3: Foreign Goods and Common Good

On October 16, 1621, some of the jewelers of Madrid sent a petition to Philip IV. They pleaded with him to intervene in what they saw as the unjust persecution of their trade. Earlier in the month, the *alcaldes de casa y corte* (royal magistrates) had descended suddenly upon the jewelry vendors along the *calle Mayor*, one of Madrid's main commercial streets. Allegedly under the orders of the President of the Council of Castile, they confiscated a number of clothing items and accessories, including elaborate Dutch ruff collars (*cuellos*), the more modest *valona* collars, and ornamented belts and shoes. Gathering in the *calle Mayor*, the *alcaldes* turned these goods over to the executioner to be burned on the spot, clarifying authorities' desire to extirpate these sumptuous goods from Spanish society. The confused shop owners could not comprehend the impetus behind the raid and mock execution, which the *alcaldes* had not made clear. Frustrated and concerned for their livelihood, the jewelers wrote the king, asking for a fair judgment on the issue and the opportunity to vend their remaining goods in order to salvage their investments.¹

Chronicling events in Madrid at the time, the courtier Andrés Almansa y Mendoza identified the raid on Madrid's jewelry shops as the beginning of a campaign of sumptuary reforms.² The author's observation was fairly accurate. Although some sumptuary reforms had been attempted earlier in the century, it was during the period between 1618 and 1623 that Spain witnessed heightened attention to sumptuary matters.

¹ The jewelers' petition, an untitled document, can be found at AHN Consejos, legajo 7137.

² The fifth letter, dated October 14, 1621, relates the events that took place on the *calle Mayor*. The author assigns the date October 8, 1621 to these events. Andrés Almansa y Mendoza, *Cartas de Andrés Almansa y Mendoza: Novedades de esta Corte y Avisos Recibidos de otras partes (1621-1626)*, (Madrid: Miguel Ginesta, 1886), 83.

Discussions about sumptuary issues had begun to intensify in the last years of Philip III's reign (1598-1621) appearing in the reform writings of both royal officials and Spain's proponents of reforms (*arbitristas*). Some of the ideas in these discussions came to fruition in the early years of Philip IV's rule. Acting through the most recent reform committee, the Junta Grande de Reformación, the king and his top ministers created a set of twenty-three reform articles in February 1623. Roughly half of the articles addressed sumptuary issues.

This intense period of sumptuary reform, which manifested itself most often in the criticism and restriction of imported products, revealed the belief that Spanish commerce needed to be revitalized.³ As this chapter shows, reformers saw commerce as vital to the recovery of domestic stability and continental power, and predicated its success upon the fulfillment of certain gender expectations. Through criticisms of effeminate products and consumers, reformers stressed activity and productivity, as well as moderation (*moderación*) and provision (*provision*), qualities they drew from notions of ideal manhood. In the minds of reformers, reviving these virtues would restore social order, inciting a greater sense of duty and increasing manufacturing. As such, Spain would gain commercial and political power over its continental rivals, very important objectives given the high tensions and eventual renewal of conflict between Spanish and Dutch during this period.

³ This chapter takes as part of its foundation Elizabeth Leffeldt's suggestion of a connection between criticisms of noble fashions and their foreign origins, in which she asserts that tensions with neighboring lands underlay these negative commentaries; see "Ideal Men: Masculinity and Decline in Seventeenth-Century Spain," *Renaissance Quarterly* Vol. 61, Number 2 (Summer 2008), 482-483.

Restoring “Industry”

On January 9, 1620 the Consejo Real sent Philip III a report (*consulta*) pertaining in part to sumptuary issues. Written in an anxious and impatient tone, the *consulta* nearly chided the king for not following up on its previous report. Nearly a year earlier and at the behest of the king, the Consejo had written its famous reform report in which it advised the king to consider placing restrictions on *cuellos* – Dutch ruff collars and some of the future “victims” of the 1621 public execution on the calle Mayor. The Consejo suggested limiting the width of the accessory as well as halting the importation of Dutch powders used to dye them. The delay in addressing the situation had prompted the council to issue its second *consulta*.

Stressing the urgency of the situation, the Council once again encouraged the king to take action against the purchase and wearing of *cuellos* in his kingdoms. “In all monarchies,” the Council claimed, “the excesses, styles, and inventions in fashion have been taken to be and experienced as pernicious with regard to men, especially when the fashions are effeminate.”⁴ In a scathing invective that followed this statement, the Consejo explained further what they meant. As a result of these foreign goods, claimed the council:

Native Spaniards have become vile and decline from the old, natural values of this crown...The presumption and perspective that should govern behavior is in decline [such that Spaniards] forget their obligation, their thoughts are muddled and effeminate, resulting in idleness and sloth in life...a lack of spirit in the king’s

⁴ “En todas las monarquías se ha reconocido y experimentado por pernicioso en los hombres el exceso, modo y invención de los trajes, y más cuando son afeminados.” This passage appears in an additional *consulta* attached by the Consejo to its report dated January 9, 1620. The date the additional *consulta* was created is not specified. See Ángel González Palencia, *La Junta de Reformación: Documentos procedentes del Archivo Histórico Nacional y del General de Simancas, 1618-1625* (Valladolid: Academia de Estudios Histórico-Sociales de Valladolid, 1932), 35.

subjects, and abandonment of work and other noble exercises appropriate to their station. They will bring about the ruin of the commonwealth not only because it is without a spine, by which it conserves itself, that being men that look and act like men, but also because with their vices and disorder they destroy it, with great disservice to God, our Father and to His Majesty.”⁵

From the council’s perspective not only were cuellos themselves effeminate articles, but they also effeminized those that wore them. Placed on the bodies of Spanish men, these “pernicious” items stripped them of the manly virtues that had brought the Spanish empire to its zenith. Effeminized by wearing these styles, Spaniards were now idle and lazy, a drain on society rather than productive agents. Concerned most with appearance and image, they disregarded obligations and failed to carry out their duties. This meant nobles neglected public or military offices that made them Spain’s leaders, while derelict commoners attempted to emulate their social superior, abandoning jobs necessary to sustain them and Spain in general. In both cases, reputation had taken priority over responsibility, as effeminized Spaniards sought to attain higher social status not the common good of Spain.

The effeminacy identified by the Royal Council reflected not only failed virtues but also social disorder. In the same way that structured and productive – that is “manly” – behavior had yielded to foppish and chaotic effeminacy, the social order, which gave each member of society a role to fulfill, had given way to leisure and profligacy. If Spain

⁵ “Envilecense los naturales y degeneran del valor antiguo y propio de esta Corona...Declina la presunción, y punto que había de gobernar las acciones, olvidar su obligación, entorpecen y afeminan los pensamientos, y de todo junto resulta ociosidad y torpeza en la vida...y hacen que huya la ocupación y ejercicios nobles, y debidos de su estado, y que sean inútiles para cuantas ocasiones se puedan ofrecer; finalmente ocasionan la ruina de la República, no sólo por que en los efectos está sin el nervio, con que se conserva, que son hombres que lo parezcan y sean, sino también porque con sus vicios y desordenes la estragan, con grande deservicio de Dios nuestro Señor y de V. Magd.” Ibid., 35-36.

was going to withstand its many crises, everyone had to do his or her part, fulfilling the duties commensurate with his or her social station.

Hoping to combat the effeminate idleness and leisure identified by the Royal Council, more than one of the era's reform authors proposed that the monarchy create a program of mandated labor for non-nobles not working. Borrowing extensively – sometimes *verbatim* – from his fellow arbitrista Martín González de Cellorigo, one anonymous reform author offered examples of the Roman emperor Gratian, who had allegedly imposed laws making orphans into slaves to the state. The unnamed author argued that these actions had benefited both the state and its people. This included those enslaved, who, as the author asserted, gained the guidance of a paternal government and learned the lessons of morality that their neglectful parents did not afford them. The anonymous author proposed that Spanish authorities provide that same guidance, teaching Spain's wards a virtuous work ethic and gaining from them beneficial labor (termed *industria* by reformers along with the notion of work ethic) by incorporating them into the royal galleys.⁶ In its reform articles it created in 1623, the Junta Grande de Reformatión would allude to a similar employment of orphans as sailors in the king's army, but it would not go as far as to mandate their labor.⁷

The economic arbitrista from Toledo, Damián de Olivares, also called for mandated labor. He asserted that some societies put even the blind and physically disabled to work. If missing his sight, the author declared, a man can crank the wheel of a machine, and

⁶ “con las manos o con los pies, sigun (*sic*) la dispusician (*sic*) de cada uno,” This anonymous treatise sent to the monarchy bears no date. Its title is “Discurso Breve y Sumario de las Causas Porque Se Han Disminuido y Despoblado Mucha Villas y Lugares en estos Reinos de Castilla y León y Venido a Tanta Pobreza los Vasallos de ellos, y los Remedios que Se Ofrecen para el Reparó de estos Daños,” in *Ibid.*, 243.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 453. For more on this article, see chapter 5 of this dissertation.

those unable to stand due to injury or disability, can take on the trade of a shoemaker or tailor, remaining seated to carry out the job. The author, who claimed to be citing Chinese labor law, asked his audience: why if the “barbarous Chinese” [bárbaros chinos] had implemented such a system had the industrious Spanish failed to do so?⁸ As with his anonymous colleague, Damián de Olivares was pointing out that everyone must work, fulfilling his or her duty and contributing to society in order to restore Spain’s former success.

The Royal Council, however, deemed more than idle laborers effeminate in its 1620 consulta. It applied similar gendered rhetoric to the gainfully employed *abridores*, literally, the “openers” of *cuellos*. The Council called this “an occupation so undignified of men and so prejudicial to the public, [these men should] find work in other, more useful jobs, which are more greatly needed and which can result in greater benefit.”⁹ In essence, the Consejo seemed to brand male *abridores* less-than-men. This was not because these tasks were inextricably linked to women. While some might have associated the intricate lacework or sewing of *cuellos* with the needlework traditionally performed by women, the reforms eventually imposed by the monarchy would forbid either men or women from carrying out these tasks under punishment of public humiliation and exile from the city in which they violated the law.¹⁰ Rather, the

⁸ Damián de Olivares, *Respuesta de Damián de Olivares, a un Papel que Ha Salido sin Autor, que Se Intitula Advertencias para la Prohibición de Las Mercaderías Extrajeras, que Dice Da Causas porque no Se Deben Prohibir por Ley Absoluta, y Pregón Escandaloso* (Madrid: February 20, 1622), 4v. The printer is not credited on this treatise.

⁹ “ministerio tan indigno de hombres y tan prejudicial a lo público, se empleen en otros más útiles y de que tiene más necesidad, y de que pueda resultar mayor fruto.” González Palencia, *Reformación*, 36.

¹⁰ An anonymously authored paper, written in 1622 and presented by Philip IV and his closest ministers to the Cortes de Castilla in May 1623, assigns women the task of

Council's gendered language seemed to discourage men from working as abridores, calling them instead to contribute in ways that would answer the needs of Spain and its monarchy. Though it is less likely – given that most abridores were probably located in major cities, where the most current fashions flourished – some council members may have hoped those that opened cuellos would take on agricultural jobs, one area of the Spanish economy that seemed to be suffering greatly.¹¹ It is most probably that they intended male abridores to leave behind their work with cuellos for a job manufacturing or selling Spanish-manufactured products.

After all, some of Spain's most lucrative forms of commerce and industry appeared to be in decline. Among the most notable was the trade of silk and wool, as well as the production of products made from these materials. The export of raw wool had been significant in the sixteenth century. Estimates put exportation at around 17,000 sacks in the year 1570. Over the next half century, the exportation of wool nearly vanished, plummeting to only 605 sacks exported in 1622.¹² If Spaniards could be convinced to abandon the production or preparation of “useless goods” like the cuello, their efforts could be directed toward the revival of Spain's once-great commercial industries.

creating and maintaining cuellos and other accessories; see “Advertencias del Estado en que están el Patrimonio Real, y el Reino, y de los Medios por donde Se Podría Tratar de su Reparación” (1622), 83v. In a treatise reviewed by royal officials in December 1621, Pedro Alcocer de Hurtado and Manuel Riberos de León lament the entrance of *puntas* (lacework) from Flanders. He calls them “pernicious” and argues that that these intricate creations could be produced by nuns in Spanish convents without forfeiting Spanish money to foreign merchants; see González Palencia, *Reformación*, 171. The Junta Grande de Reformación's fourteenth article prohibited both men and women from being abridores, see González Palencia, *Reformación*, 433-434.

¹¹ See chapter 4 for more on agricultural reform.

¹² Geoffrey Parker, *Spain and the Netherlands, 1559-1659: Ten Studies* (London: Collins, 1979), 189.

In one of his many *memoriales* (memoranda) published in the early 1620s, Damián de Olivares gives an estimate of just how lucrative and beneficial the revived silk and wool textile industries could be. Worker by worker, pound by pound of fabric, he details the production of each fabric. His detailed list reads like a history of these industries, naming each position required in the process and the number of workers normally employed at that job. His memorial fleshes out an image of a successful textile industry filled with a host of Spanish merchants, each offering three or four qualities of cloth at corresponding prices. It is an image of a successful and varied market that caters to all levels of society, creating a visible demarcation of social strata.

Tacitly accepting that these industries were in decline, Damián de Olivares provides estimates of the jobs and revenue that would result from their restoration. The author approximates the amount of the woven wool fabric entering Spain at 4,080,000 pounds per year. Breaking the amount of woven wool down by job, including in the count everyone from carders to dyers to merchants, he arrives at 34,189 as the number of workers employed to create and sell a nearly identical quantity of woven wool within Spain. Doing the same for the silk industry, as well as for the production of fabrics made from mixes of wool and silk, such as the thick, mixed cloth known as *jerguilla*, he estimates the number of jobs in these areas respectively at 38,484 and 38,250. In addition to creating roughly 110,000 jobs in these industries, Damián de Olivares estimates that Spain would gain 1,937,727 ducats and 2 reales in revenue if it could revive the silk industry alone.¹³ Turning *abridores* into workers in one of these valuable industries could

¹³ This estimate comes from the memorial by Damián de Olivares printed in Madrid on November 26, 1621 and titled “Memorial de Damián de Olivares, *Para Aclarar Más la Cuenta del que Hizo a 27 de Julio de 1620 para la Junta que Su Majestad que Está en el*

mean the recovery of Spanish commerce as well as the recovery of Spain. After all, as the king would later state, “trade and commerce are the only foundation for the conservation and augmentation of monarchies.”¹⁴

As the king pointed out in this statement, commerce and industry were more than just conservative. Betraying a common view of the era, they were also the site of political competition. The argument – seemingly a mercantilist one – stood that governments either dominated manufacturing and commerce or were dominated by neighboring lands.¹⁵ Each sought independence from imported goods and the creation of a beneficial trade balance, traits which required the heightened productivity and increased labor forces – concepts in line with mercantilist policy and, as seen earlier, also aligned with interpretations of manliness. Seemingly also a proponent of mercantilism, Damián de Olivares would advocate prohibiting the importation of products natively made in Spain, as well as push for the eventual production in Spain of manufactures traditionally made in foreign lands.¹⁶ It was not just that Spain stood to gain at least 2 million ducats by reviving its own textile industries. It would also continue to lose that amount and more if industry was not restored and expanded to new, originally foreign products.

Bemoaning the effeminate conduct of Spaniards consuming foreign goods, the Royal Council seemed to invoke similar attitudes in its consultas. That is to say, the effeminacy

Cielo, Nombró. Y para Responder a Algunas Dudas a este Ultimo que Hizo a 24 de Octubre, de este Presente año de 1621. Dirigido al Excelentísimo Señor Conde Duque de Olivares. Neither the printer nor the location of publication is noted in this document. The document also lacks pagination.

¹⁴ See Philip IV’s October 28, 1622 letter to the cities of Castile in justification of the Junta Grande de Reformación’s reform articles in González Palencia, *Reformación*, 397.

¹⁵ For more on Mercantilism, see John Mills, *A Critical History of Economics* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 51-55.

¹⁶ Olivares, *Para Aclarar*.

that they referenced seemed also to reveal their belief in Spain's waning commercial and political power in Europe. In its second consulta it made the point that the purchase and use of Dutch goods caused "effeminate and clouded thoughts" among Spaniards, prompting them to abandon their obligations. It equated the consumption of foreign goods with a mental decline, an impulsiveness and illogic incommensurate with manly conduct.

Allusions to the effeminizing effect of foreign goods on Spain's mental state appeared again in a paper written in 1622. With the Cortes de Castilla called to session in 1623, the President of the Royal Council distributed this paper to the representatives (*procuradores*) on behalf of the king. It was intended to inform the Castilian legislators of the benefits of forming *erarios*, a hotly contested network of state-run banks. In addition to discussing the *erarios*, the anonymously authored paper took on the issue of sumptuary reforms at varying points.

Foreign goods, the paper argued, "effeminize and corrupt the king's subjects and it is known that many adorn themselves in this useless attire to the point of consuming their entire estate: our enemies get richer, our customs become depraved, our nature shifts, [and] idleness gains power over His Majesty's subjects."¹⁷ Echoing the sentiments of the Royal Council, this paper laments the loss of manly virtues to fashions which had taken rule over the king's subjects. Spain, in the anonymous author's view, had lost its "old moderation."¹⁸ Now the king's subjects were rendered idle by these goods, failing to

¹⁷ "afeminanse y envilecense los sujetos y se sabe, que muchos llegan a afeitarse de manera que en una cosa tan inútil se consumen las haciendas: nuestros enemigos se enriquecen, las costumbres se depravan, la naturaleza se muda, el ocio se apodera de los sujetos, y la República se ofenda." *Advertencias*, 85r.

¹⁸ "antigua moderación." *Ibid.*, 84v.

work. The passage seems to suggest a “deep wearing” of these effeminate, foreign fashions. That is to say that the very nature of Spaniards had been penetrated and changed by this attire.¹⁹ By wearing these articles of clothing Spaniards had allegedly become impulsive, illogical, and recklessly indulgent, helplessly handing their estates to European rivals, and as a result, jeopardizing Spain’s continental power.

Other reform writings also suggest that Spaniards were putting their king and kingdom at risk by handing away crucial funds that could otherwise be put to the good of Spain and its monarchy. Their effeminate, impulsive mental state itself marked Spain’s tenuous standing among European powers, if not its inferiority to rival lands. In his *Real Arte de Buen Gobierno* [Royal Art of Good Governance] (1623) the well known arbitrista and jurist Jerónimo de Ceballos lamented Spaniards’ vulnerability and weakness for imported goods. Foreign traders, Ceballos says, “bring different silk and wool cloths to Spain daily, because they know our condition, the insatiable appetite for new items; by which they extract money, and leave our people idle.”²⁰ That foreigners brought silk and wool fabrics, both traditionally made in Spain, speaks to the decline of Spanish industry, an impression given also by his references to idle Spaniards. But Ceballos speaks of Spaniards’ conduct as if speaking of an addiction. Unable to resist the very goods they themselves could produce, Spaniards accept or even aid the dominance of commercial and thus political rivals.

¹⁹ Rosaline Jones and Peter Stallybrass indicate a belief by some during the early modern period that clothing could alter or “make” people just as a spell or incantation could. *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 65.

²⁰ “y así se meten en España cada día diferentes telillas de seda y lana, porque nos conocen la condición, y el apetito insaciable de usos nuevos; con lo cual nos sacan el dinero, y hacen ociosos a nuestros naturales.” Jerónimo de Ceballos, *El Arte Real para el Buen Gobierno de los Reyes, y Príncipes, y de sus Vassallos* (Toledo, 1623), 33v-34r.

This same sense of disempowerment or inferiority appears also in comparisons by the era's reformers of Spaniards to American Indians, depicting both as naïve, obsessed, and commanded by the need to consume useless, foreign trinkets and baubles. Hoping to persuade the monarchy's highest ministers to stop the entrance of these invasive goods, the arbitristas Pedro Hurtado de Alcocer and Manuel Riberos de León stated in a jointly written memorial, referring particularly to German traders, "It appears as if they have come to trade with Indians."²¹

Damián de Olivares offered the same analogy, comparing Spaniards snatching up imported manufactures to Guinea Indians. He later explained this comparison in his writings, noting the proclivity of those around him to buy every new invention carried into the peninsula no matter how poor its quality or how little it was actually needed. The arbitrista claimed that, by contrast, the foreign merchants that brought these goods felt no temptation toward their own cheap products. They had learned to avoid them from watching the impulsive behaviors of the Spanish.²² While the Spanish handed over their hard-earned savings for commodities of no value, foreign merchants profited from Castilian foolishness. If Spaniards had once conquered bewildered Indians, selling them unnecessary wares to benefit Spain's economy, the roles had now changed. Of effeminate or illogical mindset, Spaniards were no longer in power. They were the conquered; bested in the competitive realm of commerce, less of a man than their continental neighbors. In the estimation of reformers, it was vital to restore successful commerce and industry to enhance and maintain Spain's power on the European continent, a view that took on increasing meaning in times of war.

²¹ González Palencia, *Reformación*, 172.

²² Damián de Olivares, *Respuesta*, 2v.

The Trade Winds of War

The Royal Council's references to effeminate products and effeminate consumers reflected more than Europe's competitive commercial environment. They also revealed escalating tensions between Spain and the northern provinces of the Netherlands, or the Dutch Republic. In 1566, a religious civil war had erupted between Catholic Spain and the Protestant provinces of the Netherlands over which it presided. The conflict continued throughout the sixteenth-century with no clear victor. After forty years of fighting, negotiations began for a cease-fire in 1606, resulting eventually in the Treaty of Antwerp in April 1609. Set to last for a period of twelve years, the treaty was not advantageous to Spain. Much to Philip III's chagrin, the commander of the army of Flanders, Ambrosio Spinola, and the Archduke Albert, the Habsburg ruler of the remaining Dutch territories, had agreed to recognize the independence of the Dutch Republic, but had failed to secure in the accord a clause that prohibited the Dutch from trading in the Americas and in Portugal's territories in the Far East. As the 1620s approached, Dutch traders and pirates continued to plague Spanish and Portuguese territories, stealing trade and revenue from them. Dutch Protestants, many Spanish officials believed, were abusing the terms of the treaty to make headway against Catholic Spain.²³

This was the environment in which the Royal Council penned its consultas to Philip III in 1619 and 1620. To be sure, the effeminacy they ascribed to the *cuellos* was due at

²³ See Jonathan Israel's books, *The Dutch Republic and the Hispanic World, 1606-1611* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 2-3, 66-67; as well as *Empires and Entrepôts: the Dutch, the Spanish monarchy, and the Jews, 1585-1713* (London: Hambledon Press, 1990), 3-5.

least in part to their Dutch origin.²⁴ As with their ascription of effeminacy to abridores, the council may also have expressed its disapprobation of these Dutch goods and their use by deeming them effeminate.

Writing a few years later, Damián de Olivares would also employ another gendered approach in his criticisms of Dutch goods. To discourage the consumption of Dutch products – presumably to bolster Spanish industry but perhaps also to combat the enemy – he presented Dutch merchants and their wares as dubious. “Foreign clothing,” he argues in one of his early writings, “is made using false and artificial labor, and will not endure or give satisfaction.”²⁵ He estimates that clothing purchased from foreign merchants will endure only a few months. Olivares attributes this inferior quality to the dishonesty of the foreign merchant. In his opinion, once the Dutch were permitted to enter Spain and trade due to the cease-fire of 1609, they introduced a variety of cheap products of slipshod quality. Arguing against the notion that raising tariffs on imported goods would slow their entrance and sale, he remarks that sly Dutch manufacturers would only find ways to make cheaper, even less durable products to maintain the same prices and level of sales.²⁶

This approach played on the socially imposed link between the reputation of salesmen and the integrity of the products they sell. As such, it tapped into gendered expectations about proper manhood. The importance of honesty in ideal models of manhood and business is apparent in Manuel de Ocampo’s 1624 conduct manual, titled *Breves Definiciones y Discursos Morales sobre las Acciones y Costumbres del Hombre* or *Brief*

²⁴ Jones and Stallybrass, *Materials*, 66-72.

²⁵ “la ropa de extranjeros es de falsa y artificial labor, de poca dura y aprovechamiento.” Damián de Olivares, *Para Aclarar*.

²⁶ Damián de Olivares, *Respuesta*, 6r.

Definitions and Discourses Regarding Men's Actions and Behaviors. Honesty (termed “verdad” or “truth” by Ocampo) is defined as “a clear and transparent crystal that reveals one’s heart and shows his word to be equal to its content, without deceit...it is key to wealth, credit, peace, quiet and good governance of Republics, and is the main adornment that gives a man esteem.”²⁷ Honesty, as can be seen, was understood to be part of the conduct of a virtuous man. In the close-knit communities of early modern Spain, the businessman’s reputation for honesty affected directly his ability to make a sale and a living (to put it in Ocampo’s terms: to gain wealth and credit). Damián de Olivares appealed to this virtue to call into question the use of imported products, particularly Dutch goods, and to indicate to his readers the need to support Spanish industry.

By contrast, Spanish manufactures were familiar and honest products, according to Damián de Olivares. Castile, the arbitrista asserted, had “an established, well rooted industry in which you can call many good items natural; durable clothing from which one can get his or her money’s worth, and enough of it for the Kingdom to dress honestly.”²⁸ The author was clearly angling for the monarchy to focus on the revival of old Castilian industries, such as textiles. But as he revealed, Spanish silk and wool cloths possessed more than financial value. Invested in them were years of culture and heritage. This

²⁷ “Es la Verdad clara y trasparente vidriera, que descubre y manifiesta el corazón, midiendo siempre igualmente las palabras con lo que tiene dentro de sí, sin engañar en ninguna cosa de las que dice, efecto y demostración de la verdadera nobleza, lealtad, puntualidad, y confidencia, que es de donde depende el caudal, el crédito, la paz, la quietud y buen gobierno de las Repúblicas, y es el principal adorno que engrandece al hombre, pues tiene la parte de mayor consideración que ha menester para el acierto de su procedimiento y justificación de todas sus acciones.” Manuel de Ocampo, *Breves definiciones y discursos morales sobre las acciones y costumbres del hombre; al excelentísimo señor Gaspar de Guzmán* (Madrid, 1624), 33v-34r.

²⁸ “de nuestros géneros el Reino tiene industria tan Antigua y asentada, que se puede llamar natural de muy buenos géneros, ropa de dura y aprovechamiento, bastante para que el Reino se vista honestamente.” Olivares, *Respuesta*, 2r.

meant that they possessed enough familiarity to help minimize social dissimulation and maintain social order. They also came from time-tested methods that granted them credibility and durability. According to Damián de Olivares, a dress made of Spanish fabrics would last two or three years.²⁹ He intended to point out a much longer duration than the life of any cheap, Dutch product, and to steer Spaniards from purchasing such effeminate goods or buying from their less-than-manly Dutch manufacturers.

Before the truce had drawn near its conclusion, the common belief inside and outside of the government was that the Dutch had gained greatly from peace, increasing their wealth and power, while Spain had shown only modest recovery. Writing around 1618, an unknown author claiming experience in the matters and service to the king in the Netherlands, asserted that the previous 42 years of war between Spain and its rebellious Dutch territories had been less costly than the nine years of peace that had passed. The author assessed that the Dutch had taken over trade both in Spain and its American territories. The result, in his estimation, was the “subjugation” of Spain and its commerce to its enemies. Soon the Dutch would be “lords of both Indies.” The author asked his high-ranking readers to imagine the Dutch with such power. They were, after all, the nation of people that “with so little resources had defended themselves against the powerful Spain...and reduce it to the fractured reputation and lacking treasury for which it is now known.”³⁰ Spain, it appeared, would have to return to war simply to salvage its reputation and standing in Europe. This was the view of the future favorite, the Count-

²⁹ Olivares, *Para Aclarar*.

³⁰ “con tan pequeñas fuerzas pudieron defenderse contra la potencia de España...y reducirla a la quiebra de reputación y falta de hacienda que se sabe.” Anonymous, “Discursos varios, que tratan materias de gobierno, de estado y de Guerra en tiempo de Felipe III,” on page 258r of *Sucesos del año 1619*, Biblioteca Nacional de España (BNE) Mss 2350.

Duke of Olivares, and his uncle Baltasar Zúñiga, a member of the Council of State and a very influential voice at court.³¹ Writing to the Archduke on February 4, 1621, Philip III reiterated similar concerns.³²

Thus, by April 1621, during the first month of Philip IV's reign, it had become clear that Spain had to let the truce lapse and focus efforts on halting the Dutch commercial and military development. The hope was to distract the Dutch from their ventures in the Indies by engaging it in war in Europe.³³ Rather than simply continuing a land war, which had proven only moderately successful for the Spanish in the past, the crown and its agents turned commerce into a battlefield.³⁴ The crown ordered all ships from the Dutch Republic out of Spanish ports and placed an embargo on the entrance of northern Dutch goods. Advice written to the king a little less than a year later by the Royal Council member, Francisco de Tejada, conveyed this militant use of commerce and the attitude of the era toward Dutch goods. In the same consulta in which he lambasted Spanish subjects for their idleness, he noted the Dutch dependency on trade and extolled any effort to inhibit their commercial success. To quote Tejada, the *corregidores*, the royally-appointed municipal magistrates that would be searching the ships for Dutch contraband, should be considered "capitanes a guerra" or "wartime captains."³⁵

On June 30, 1621, the fledgling Junta de Reformación issued a memorandum born out of the renewed hostilities. The memorial once again broached the topic of abridores.

³¹ John Elliott, *Count-Duke of Olivares: Statesman in an Age of Decline* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 58.

³² Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 74.

³³ Israel, *Empires*, 15.

³⁴ Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, "Guerra Económica y Comercio Extranjero en el Reinado de Felipe IV," *Hispania*, LXXXIX (1963), 3-42.

³⁵ Memorial from Francisco de Tejada to Philip IV, February 8, 1622, González Palencia, *Reformación*, 274.

Not surprisingly, the assessment was negative, pointing again to their role as distracters from duty and detractors from Spanish greatness. The committee, which had been revived by the king in April 1621, reiterated previous criticisms about abridores, maligning their commitment to a useless and effeminate job. They added, however, that abridores also had hampered the success of the king's armies.

In their view, the services offered by abridores merely enabled the immoderate desires of Spanish consumers, drawing money away from Spain and lining instead the pockets of Dutch merchants and their republic. This reckless spending not only weakened Spain, as the Junta averred, but also enhanced the Dutch naval and military strength, increasing its ability to make war on Spain.³⁶ In its 1620 consulta, the Royal Council had estimated that Spanish consumers forfeited some 400,000 ducats each year to the Dutch by purchasing cuellos. This included not only the collar and its materials, but also the variety of colored powders used to decorate them.³⁷ This estimate paled in comparison to that offered later by officials of the Junta Grande de Reformación. Perhaps informed by the paper issued to the 1623 Cortes de Castilla (Castile's legislative body) by the king and the President of Castilla, the Junta Grande gave the impression that roughly 2 million ducats went to waste on these items annually.³⁸ Already in tremendous debt, Spain could ill afford to hand away the specie that was barely trickling into the peninsula.

³⁶ Ibid., 97.

³⁷ This estimate is cited in the Royal Council's consulta from January 9, 1620; Ibid., 36.

³⁸ This estimate appears in the king's letter to Castile's cities in October 1622; Ibid., 389. The same estimate appears in the anonymous paper issued to the Cortes in 1623 by the President of Castile; see *Advertencias*, 85r.

Moreover, the Junta de Reformatión complained in its consulta that the services of abridores had deprived Spain of its former martial spirit. The perpetuation of the cuello in Spain, along with other invasive, foreign goods, had made men spoiled (*regalado*) and caused them to be worthless in combat. Once a land of “valiant and bellicose people,” they claimed, now Spain was populated with men that “carried on pompously, so encumbered by their ruffs that they cannot move their limbs freely.”³⁹

Perhaps exaggerating the extent to which cuellos had grown, the Junta did not fail to make its point clearly. Ruff collars had become the focus of competition and reputation, most specifically among Spain’s notables. Noblemen donned increasingly large collars hoping to outdo their colleagues and gain status through the increasingly conspicuous displays. Concerns with one’s own appearance and social promotion preceded all others, including the needs of the king and kingdom.

These complaints truly revealed one of the practical expressions of manhood in early modern Spain – the competitive dress of nobles at court. Quashing this alternative gendered expression, the Junta simply maintained that these heavily adorned noblemen fell short of the manly virtues expected of them. They were effeminate because they sought reputation through sartorial displays instead of displays of courage in battle. Turned “soft,” they failed to embody the robust, physical attributes that reformers held aloft as part of ideal noble manhood. They also neglected to dedicate their bodies to the military endeavors that perpetuated and advanced the monarchy.

³⁹ “ande envarada y embarazada con estos cuellos de manera que no pueda usar sus miembros con libertad.” Consulta to Felipe IV from the Junta de Reformatión, June 30, 1621; González Palencia, *Reformatión*, 97.

This was only a slightly mitigated version of what the Royal Council had said in its own inquiries about the *cuello* in 1619. The Council's first consulta to Philip III had claimed that Spaniards would "exist more honorably and decently with goods made from the earth in Spain, as our forefathers did, in whose era the spirit and strength of men did not diminish so much, as they do now consumed by superfluity and prone to great vices and sins."⁴⁰ While the Junta de Reformación chose to represent the physical impairment of nobles as just that, an impediment that could be easily overcome, the Royal Council represented this foppish decadence as the deteriorating physical condition of Spaniards. Perhaps the harsh assessment generated by the Royal Council reflected a critique of the behavior of common Spaniards, not nobles, making it easier to take such a tone.

Whatever the explanation, both commentaries pointed to a diminution of activity among consumers, namely men. Each reflected the general call for productivity and the invocation of manly qualities that the crown hoped to reinvigorate throughout Spanish society. In short, they charged Spaniards to fulfill their roles in society and invest their physical labors toward the common good of Spain. This request was not entirely dissimilar from that appearing in the era's population reforms, which called for Castilian men to demonstrate their virility and devote their bodies to the needs of the state by starting families.⁴¹

By claiming that *abridores* were complicit in the decline of Spain's martial spirit, the Junta de Reformación's consulta also reflected the desire to bolster troops in preparation

⁴⁰ "pasar más honrada y decentemente con las mercaderías de la tierra labradas en España, como lo hicieron nuestros antepasados, en cuyo tiempo no se enflaquecían tanto los ánimos y fuerzas de los hombres, ni los acababa y consumía la superfluidad de que ahora usan ocasionada a grandes vicios y pecados." Consulta from the Royal Council to Philip III, February 1, 1619; *ibid.*, 24.

⁴¹ See chapter 4 for more on the monarchy's pronatalist attitudes and the policies.

for battle. When the treaty expired, neither the Dutch nor the Spanish were prepared militarily to resume the conflict. Despite renewing its embargo on the Dutch and expelling their ships from Spanish ports, battle itself did not commence until that fall.⁴² Thus, in June 1621, when the Junta de Reformación issued its consulta about abridores impeding Spain's armies, there was still time to build up troops. By branding the ruff and abridores as effeminate, the committee betrayed its hopes for steering men toward a career as loyal soldiers devoted to the protection and advancement of their king and kingdom.

Good Fathers, Good Governance

Despite the inefficacy of the renewed embargo, the monarchy continued this approach to combat the commercial dominance of the Dutch and other European powers during the initial years of Philip IV's reign. In February 1623, with the king's full support, the Junta Grande de Reformación put severe limitations on the importation of foreign goods. In particular, the thirteenth of their twenty three articles forbade the entrance of any finished product made of wool, silk, any mixture of the two, cotton, canvas, leather, lead, stone, shell or horn to name a portion of the forbidden materials. Presumably to promote Spanish manufacturing, the importation of these raw materials was not prohibited.⁴³ The justifications given by the Junta Grande de Reformación matched those given by the king in his letter to Castile's cities the previous autumn. Each claimed that the prohibited foreign goods inhibited "governance" (*gobierno*).

⁴² Israel, *Dutch Republic*, 85-86.

⁴³ Reform articles of the Junta Grande de Reformación, February 10, 1623; González Palencia, *Reformación*, 432.

As Sebastián de Covarrubias points out in his *Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana* (1611) the term “governance” had multiple meanings in early seventeenth-century Spain.⁴⁴ It reflected the control exerted over another by an authority. It also related to the idea of sustenance or provision. A well fed and kept hunting falcon, noted Covarrubias, was “well governed...well maintained” [*bien gobernado...bien mantenido*].⁴⁵ In other words, it was well disciplined and cared for well also. In its thirteenth article, the Junta Grande noted the importance of both kinds of governance.

The importation of goods, they stated, “results in a great inconvenience to governance, it deprives craftsmen of jobs and the ability to earn a living and sustain themselves, leaving infinite people idle, impoverished, and in danger of acting rashly upon their needs.”⁴⁶ The committee showed concern that unemployed subjects might pose a problem to the maintenance of an orderly society, relying on crime or other unseemly measures to survive in the instance that foreign goods cost them their jobs. But the committee’s greatest concern was clearly the conservation of jobs, which would allow workers to sustain themselves and their families.

The king’s letter to the Castilian cities also expressed concerns with provision and sustenance, although it took a slightly different bent. The letter, which justified the future reform article, stated that the forbidden goods caused “harm to governance, great

⁴⁴ Sebastián de Covarrubias Orozco, *Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana o Española: según la impresión de 1611, con las adiciones de Benito Remigio Noydens publicadas en la de 1674*, Martín de Riquer, ed. (Barcelona: S.A. Horta, 1943), 652.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 652.

⁴⁶ “resulta grande inconveniente al gobierno, pues con esto se quita a los oficiales la ocupación y disposición de ganar la vida y sustentarse, quedando desacomodada y ociosa infinita gente, y en los peligros a que obliga la fuerza de la necesidad;” see the Junta Grande’s articles, González Palencia, *Reformación*, 432.

destruction to estates and considerable benefits to foreigners.”⁴⁷ The final point was a familiar argument. The others reflected the king’s view that the overindulgent spending of his subjects imperiled governance or sustenance. “Everyone,” the king asserted, depicting a horrifying scene in another part of his letter, “takes [the display of foreign goods] as a matter of reputation, choosing first to starve to death and that their children should suffer the same fate rather than be without these items...it is in the best interest of all to stop this harm and give forgiveness to all who provide and show moderation [*dar disculpa a todos en la provisión y moderación*].”⁴⁸ It is doubtful that this drastic and gruesome scenario truly played out within Spain with any frequency, but it delivered a powerful message: parents should privilege the wellbeing of their families over their own desires for social status, assuring their good governance. This was especially true where status was predicated on the consumption of foreign goods.

Good governance required the preservation of the inheritable estates (*haciendas*) mentioned in the king’s letter. In its fifth reform article, which focused on limiting expenses on luxuries ranging from servants to jewelry, the Junta Grande echoed these sentiments. “The luster and authority of their houses and beings,” claimed committee members, “will result and sustain better, being out of debt and endowed with assets.”⁴⁹ With this statement, the Junta Grande meant to reference mainly the heads of noble houses, as they were most able to pay for servants and other luxuries. They were to

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 388.

⁴⁸ “gastos voluntarios y superfluos...cada uno lo toma por punto de reputación, queriendo antes morir de hambre y que la padezcan sus hijos, que faltar a ello...conviene atajar este daño y dar disculpa a todos en la provisión y moderación.” *Ibid.*, 386.

⁴⁹ “el lustre y autoridad de sus casas y personas se dispondrá y conservará mejor estando desempeñados y acomodados de hacienda.” See article 5 from the Junta Grande de Reформación in *ibid.*, 428.

temper their spending, providing for and ensuring the future of their houses and families through moderate and logical spending.

While it may have been concerned to some degree with the wellbeing of noble families, the monarchy gave the impression that concerns about the preservation of noble estates related more to its own financial needs. As members of the royal treasury wrote to Philip III in a memorandum about preserving noble estates, titled Spaniards were “the defensive walls of the kingdom.” By spending their estates (“vainly” the treasurers argued) they could not serve the king by defending the crown and its kingdoms.⁵⁰ These statements implied that nobles had an obligation to fund projects, primarily military campaigns, that the monarchy deemed necessary.

This view was not dissimilar from the impression given by Jerónimo de Ceballos, who chided those who squandered their estates for failing to assist their king with his needs. “When princes and kings are in need of help from their subjects,” Ceballos warned, “they will find them without money but rich with jewelry, vanities and paintings which could be done without.”⁵¹ These were all purchases most likely made by nobles, who Ceballos added not only had an obligation to their king but to their community too. He added that Spaniards frittering away their estates would merely add to the number of poor in addition to eliminating the source charity that normally aided the needy. As such, they would also fail to fulfill their Christian duty to their community. Ushered toward moderation and provision, wealthy and noble Spaniards were to dedicate themselves and

⁵⁰ The exact year of this memorial is unclear. It is estimated to have been created in either 1620 or 1621. Ibid., 56.

⁵¹ “cuando los Príncipes, y Reyes han menester socorros de sus vasallos, los hallan faltos de dineros, y ricos de alhajas, camarines, y pinturas, que se podrían excusar.” Ceballos, *Arte Real*, 34r.

at least a portion of their money to the good of king and kingdom, not their own image and self-aggrandizement.

Reformers also extended this general call for provision to merchants. The worth of merchants in early modern Spanish society depended on their ability to provide goods that the people needed but lacked. Merchants and vendors unable to do so were as worthless as the wares they hawked. The arbitrista Martín González de Cellorigo argued in 1600 that commerce was made honorable or dishonorable by the quantity and quality of the products being imported and sold. Merchants should bring into Spain a great variety of high quality goods so that they might “make it abundant of everything needed.”⁵²

Writing nearly two decades later, the pro-agriculture arbitrista Lope de Deza reiterated this understanding of commerce. The honorable merchants were those that brought an abundance of necessary products to be sold “amongst many with utility.”⁵³ Economic reformers of the era recognized the inability of any land to grow and manufacture all that it needed to survive. Therefore, the merchant gained social worth from his ability to provide for his people. Those who failed to meet these criteria, which according to Deza included perfume makers, musicians, and ambulatory salesmen (*buhoneros*) were merely “useless professions” [*artes inútiles*].⁵⁴

⁵² “la hacen [la República] abundante de todo lo necesario.” Martín González de Cellorigo, *Memorial de la Política Necesaria y Útil Restauración a la República de España* (1600), ed. José Perez de Ayala (Madrid: Instituto de Cooperación Iberoamericana, 1991), 85.

⁵³ “entre muchos con utilidad,” Lope de Deza, *Gobierno Político de Agricultura* (1618), ed. Ángel García Sanz, (Madrid: Comprint, S.A., 1991), 19.

⁵⁴ Lope de Deza included in this category perfume makers, musicians, comedy players and *buhoneros*. The latter was an ambulatory salesman, who gained his name from his attempts to attract attention and sell his products through by belting out a sales pitch. The

Officials of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries consistently pointed to the job of *regatón* as an example of a “useless profession.” Allegedly numbering around 50,000 toward the end of the sixteenth century, *regatones* were store owners, who bought in bulk for the sake of selling for a greater profit. Writing of these merchants in 1583, the corregidores of Castile called them “public thieves” (*ladrones públicos*).⁵⁵ Revisiting this theme in 1621, parish officials (*jurados*) from the southern city of Seville offered clarity to this criticism, complaining that regatones in their city were driving up the prices of basic necessities to the detriment of all, most especially the poor.⁵⁶ Both sets of officials were certainly disgusted by the lust regatones felt for profit. They may also have been turned off by the foreign origin of these peddlers’ goods. For as Covarrubias explains, regatones not only drove down their bulk price through negotiation (the verb being *regatear*) they brought down the price of their inventory by purchasing inexpensive goods from foreign merchants.⁵⁷ What is clear is that reformers and officials saw the behavior of regatones as unbecoming of a salesman or any man. These dishonest vendors clearly disregarded the common good and community accord, privileging profit at the unfortunate expense of some of Spain’s neediest citizens.

The criticisms of useless consumers and vendors appearing in the writings of the Royal Council, the king’s juntas, and many other reform-minded officials derived from

name was associated the word “bufón” or “buffoon” due to his loud outcries. For this list of workers, see *ibid.*, 51.

⁵⁵ The estimate of 50,000 regatones is given by the corregidores of Castilla in this report, which appears in proximity to some of the papers of the Junta de Reformación, suggesting the possible use of it by this and subsequent reform committees; González Palencia, *Reformación*, 46.

⁵⁶ Report from jurados of the city of Seville to Philip IV, December 30, 1621; *Ibid.*, 184.

⁵⁷ The act of negotiating a price, according to Covarrubias, is “muy del regatón” [part of being a regatón]; see *Tesoro*, 900.

popular notions of social worth frequently associated with men. In the early modern world, a man was measured by his fulfillment of duty and the contributions he made to the community in which he lived. For merchants, this meant providing for that community, but this could also be as simple as a common man working honestly and putting his wages toward the care of his family. Of course, in the case of nobles contributions often took the form of public service or public works. Men were also expected to be self-sufficient and independent, as relying on the aid of others made him a ward of and liability to the community.⁵⁸ This meant that proper manhood was marked by activity and productivity, qualities that sustained the social order and common good. It was this notion of social merit that reformers promoted when railing against idleness or the common practice of gaining social standing through ostentatious display – both actions (or inaction in the former case) that the reformers of early seventeenth-century Spain had repeatedly deemed effeminate. Whether it was a nobleman performing military service or a wool carder completing his daily manual tasks, each was to contribute to the conservation of Spain by actively fulfilling his duty.

This notion of masculine social worth applied at all levels of Spanish society, even to the king. As the father of his people, the king was expected to care and provide for his subjects, a duty of which advisors and pundits reminded him regularly during the crisis-filled early seventeenth century. A professor of theology at the University of Toledo, Sancho de Moncada described the responsibilities of the monarch by stating that the “universal obligation of His Majesty, is in sum: master, shepherd, doctor, father, and head

⁵⁸ See Alexandra Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 188-195.

of the commonwealth [República], all positions that oblige him to watch over her.”⁵⁹

Citing the *Siete Partidas*, the law code of the venerated medieval king Alfonso X (known by the moniker “El Sabio” or “The Wise”) royal reformers claimed the king was to “love and care for all...like a father advising his son.”⁶⁰ These representations meant that the king was to guide his subjects, taking into consideration each individual and his or her situation to the best of his ability.⁶¹ Lope de Deza added in his 1618 *Gobierno Político de Agricultura* [Political Governance of Agriculture] that the place of the king was one of “supply and provision” [*abasto y provision*] assuring the basic needs of his people just as the leader of any city or the head of a household would do for those in his care.⁶² Early seventeenth-century writings bear endless reflections of the king’s paternal role, implying that this understanding of the monarch was universally understood and suggesting that the king, like any other man, was judged by his commitment to and provision for those under his charge.

As can be inferred from the king’s letter to the cities and the Junta Grande’s articles, this meant that the king was responsible for protecting the jobs of Spaniards from the threat of imported goods, providing Spaniards the opportunity to earn a living and sustain themselves and their families. This seems to be the attitude adopted by Damián de

⁵⁹ “y siendo obligación universal la de Vuestra Majestad, es suma pues es maestro, pastor, médico, padre, y cabeza de esta República, todos oficios que obligan a mirar por ella.” See Sancho de Moncada, *Restauración Política de España* (1619), ed. Jean Vilar Berrogain (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Fiscales, 1974), 3v.

⁶⁰ Consulta of the Junta de Reformación to Philip IV, May 23, 1621; González Palencia, *Reformación*, 78.

⁶¹ The recent work of Luis Corteguera has uncovered the era’s belief that the king should even grant audience to each individual if possible, a literal understanding of a father counseling his sons and a near impossibility given the size of the Spanish empire. Luis Corteguera, “King as Father in Early Modern Spain,” *Memoria y Civilización*, 12 (2009), 49-69.

⁶² Deza, *Agricultura*, 33.

Olivares in his painstaking analysis of the silk and wool industries. Listing each kind of job lost as a result of Spain's dying textile industry, the author ends each job title with the approximate number of people who could be employed in that position, as well as the phrase "con sus familias" [with their families].⁶³ As noted earlier, Damián de Olivares was asking for the king to protect Spanish industries by prohibiting the importation of goods that could be made instead in Spain, but he seems to call for the fatherly care of his king over the workers and their families, playing on the obligations and sentiments of his ruler.

As Damián de Olivares' colleague Pedro Hurtado de Alcocer would point out, the king needed to provide each Spanish household the opportunity to fulfill its duties, to make a living, and to be self-sufficient. Imported goods, he maintained, posed a greater threat to the lives of Spaniards than any famine or plague. Provoking a lack of work and food, these products would result in "the husband separating from his wife, the father from his son, leaving them to beg for alms, in the end to reside in charitable hospitals, where each individual wastes away and perishes, suffering, weak and gaunt, deteriorating from the traditional virtue of his or her parents."⁶⁴ From Hurtado de Alcocer's view, imported goods would not only cost Spain jobs, but also bring about the disintegration of the family, destabilizing social order and further depopulating Spain (another concern, as seen in chapter 4). Furthermore, if denied the chance to earn an honest living, once

⁶³ Damián de Olivares, *Para aclarar*.

⁶⁴ "todo causado de no tener en que trabajar ni de que comer, por cuya causa el marido se aparta de la mujer, y el padre del hijo, y van mendigos y a pedir limosna, y al cabo a parar a los hospitales, donde se consumen y el individuo perece, y si alguno ay, con la miseria tan débil y flaco, que degenera de aquel antiguo valor de los padres." González Palencia, *Reformación*, 174.

virtuous and self-sufficiency Spaniards would grow dependent and weak, fading away not unlike the monarchy and kingdom that relied on them.

The king remained convinced that the formation of state-run banks, or erarios, would make possible the reestablishment of Spanish industry and give a foundation for the self-sufficiency of his subjects. As stated in the paper he issued to the Cortes in 1623, by collecting the savings and taxes of Spaniards, the erarios could make loans to Spanish farmers, artisans and merchants. Honorable, hard working Spanish businessmen and farmers could begin or maintain their livelihood, bolstering Spanish commerce.

Moreover, taking a loan from the erarios at 7% interest gave Spanish workers a chance to repay the loan without tapping into vital capital needed to sustain their profession. This was as opposed to the exorbitant interest rates of greedy money lenders. Usurers were, to use the words of the arbitrista and advocate of the erarios Luis Valle de la Cerda, masters of a “diabolical art.” He alleged that they lent money at interest rates between 10 and 32 percent.⁶⁵ Playing on gender in similar ways to those criticizing the regatones, Valle de la Cerda depicts usurers as an unmanly, gluttonous and monstrous corps of lenders, willing even to prey on “ignorant widows.” Describing them further, the arbitrista says:

[Usurers] embark kings in their sea of contracts, keeping them bewitched and entranced until they have no more use for them, and abusing the divine commandments they drain the purses of their own princes, chug the assets of the nobility, suck the blood from the poor, diminish all the victuals, cause an abundance of taxes, give rise to rebellions in towns, destroy military discipline,

⁶⁵ Luis Valle de la Cerda lists the general rates at between 10 and 20 percent interest, but notes that the Lombards from northern Italy frequently lent money in the Netherlands and Spain at an enormous 32 percent interest. See his *Desempeño del Patrimonio de su Majestad y de los Reinos sin Daño del Rey y Vasallos y con Descanso y Alivio de Todos por Medio de los Erarios Públicos y Montes de Piedad* (Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1618), 50r, 59r.

and with the ruin of public and private affairs, they acquire infinite riches; experience shows us this throughout Europe.⁶⁶

According to Valle de la Cerda, usurers were like a plague of locusts, devouring the resources of Spaniards, taking from them the chance to earn a living, and destroying social accord. As such, the erarios offered an opportunity to escape the stranglehold that usurers had on the money lending market, as well as on Spanish workers and commerce.

Of course, advocates of the erarios were clear that the monarchy too would benefit from the formation of the erarios. Through the creation of this banking system, commerce could be restored and Spain made more competitive and powerful in Europe, but the formation of the erarios also assured money for the crown to fund its own critical projects. Collected savings would be set at roughly six percent interest, while loans that were granted would carry an interest rate of seven percent. This meant that the monarchy would gain much needed revenue. In addition, the monarchy could borrow from the erarios monies previously borrowed from usurers to fund military and other vital projects. The king could afford to pay the thousands of soldiers fighting throughout the empire, maintaining their allegiance and discipline or avoiding mutinies caused by a shortage of pay. He could also maintain the peace in his lands, caring for the poor as the father of his people by staving off rebellion and oppressive taxes.

Like his subjects, the king would also be free from the malicious practices of lenders. For many years, Spain's assets had exited the peninsula as fast as they entered, and in

⁶⁶ “junto todo en la mar de sus contratos, embarcan a los Reyes y los llevan encantados y embelesados hasta dar con ellos al través, y abusando de los divinos mandamientos vacían las bolsas de sus propios Príncipes, tragan los bienes de la nobleza, chupan la sangre de los pobres, encarecen todas las vituallas, causa multiplicaciones de alcabalas, dan ocasión a las rebeliones de los pueblos, destruyen la disciplina militar, y con la ruina del estado público y particular se adquieren infinitas riquezas, como muestra la experiencia en toda Europa.” *Desempeño*, 50v.

order to maintain imperial and domestic projects, the king had generally to turn to foreign lenders (*asentistas*) for financial support. Sadly, the king's reputation had been damaged by the recent memory of military failures, weakened trade, as well as the previous bankruptcies declared by Spain's rulers. As the anonymous author of the paper issued to the Cortes in 1623 by the king notes, lenders were all too aware of this reputation, subjecting the king to "contingencies" – ridiculous clauses, conditions and interest rates included in the promissory agreements for the loans. "[Asentistas] are neither governed by love, nor fidelity to the king and the Crown," says the unnamed author, "only by the greed of their own self-interest."⁶⁷ As a result, the author explained, they are willing to subject the king to "a kind of slavery" through loan conditions so harsh that the king must represent their acceptance "under the guise of public conservation in order for it to seem justified."⁶⁸

The anonymous author's reflection on the *erarios* had many implications. As with descriptions of effeminate consumers, his representation of *asentistas* ascribed to them a condemnable self-interestedness and advocating – as seen so often in the era's reforms – for the common good and welfare of the monarchy. At the same time, it once again suggested that the king was subject to similar measures of social worth as other men. It showed not only that the king's duties included the care of his charges – a point made by the king's acceptance of *asentista*'s ridiculous loan agreements – but that the monarch himself was also judged in terms of self-sufficiency. The king's lack of self-sufficiency

⁶⁷ "No los gobierna amor, ni fidelidad a Su Majestad, y su Corona: sino la codicia de su interés; puestos en estado tan aventurado." *Advertencias*, 4r.

⁶⁸ "una especie de esclavitud...con capa de conservación pública para que tengan apariencia de justificadas." *Ibid.*, 4r.

allowed lenders to impose harsh loan conditions. It also disempowered or devalued the king in the eyes of continental rivals.

Relating an anecdote of a conversation with a foreign acquaintance, Damián de Olivares points out this denigration. Having broached the topic of the recent arrival of the Spanish treasure fleet from the Americas, his non-Spanish colleague laughed. The foreigner questioned why Spaniards refer to the fleet as “their Armada.” After all, he exclaims, “we only give you a few thimbles full out of a thousand to place to your lips like little children, and carry the rest to our land.”⁶⁹ Paying endless and extensive debts to foreign lenders, the king not only handed away money to his rivals but became increasingly impotent, a weaker and lesser power in Europe. Disempowered or “enslaved” by these loans, the king sought in the erarios a source of renewed self-sufficiency and reputation.

Conclusion

After an intense flurry of sumptuary reform literature and law, the efforts of arbitristas and royal officials nearly halted altogether in mid March 1623. Wanting to set an example in the early part of the month, the king started by wearing the valona, the modest collar which he had ordered to replace the extravagant, foreign cuello. Again on March 7, the king was seen in public with his brother, the Infante Charles, both wearing the moderate valona.⁷⁰ The king’s commitment to reform seemed unwavering. His example – which he had promised in his letter to the cities about the Junta Grande’s

⁶⁹ Damián de Olivares, *Para aclarar*.

⁷⁰ Ángel González Palencia, ed. *Noticias de Madrid, 1621-1627* (Ayuntamiento de Madrid, Publicaciones de la Sección de Cultura E Información, Madrid, 1942), 49.

reform articles – guided nobles and commoners to see the need for moderation and responsibility in order to combat Spain’s crises.⁷¹ However, after taking these steps and after years of condemning ostentatious reputation-seekers, the king suddenly lifted all restrictions on clothing on March 21. The occasion was the visit of a foreign dignitary, the Prince of Wales, who had arrived with the Duke of Buckingham in Madrid four days earlier.⁷²

In an effort to promote peace and alliance between the two European powers, Spain and England had discussed the possibility of wedding the king’s sister the Infanta Mariana to the future Charles I of England. According to the era’s chroniclers, the welcome extended to the prince was gracious and extravagant, and intended to make an impression. For this very reason, the sumptuary restrictions put in place by the Junta Grande de Reformatión in February were lifted by the king before the end of the very next month.⁷³

Present for one of the festivals celebrating the arrival of the Prince of Wales, as he had been for the raid on Madrid’s jewelry store, Andrés Almansa y Mendoza provided an extended description of the event. Accompanying the prince was a procession of Spanish nobles and their servants. To mention only one notable participant, the procession included the Duke of Cea, who sat atop his brawny, brown horse finely attired and holding in his hands reigns decorated in silver. Surrounding him were fifty footmen dressed in outfits made of silver cloth, with tawny and white doublets, scarves of woven

⁷¹ González Palencia, *Reformatión*, 407.

⁷² Elliott, *Count-Duke*, 147.

⁷³ González Palencia, *Noticias*, 50.

silver and silver sheaths attached to their hips.⁷⁴ This extravagant display was still modest compared to the presentation put on by other participants in the procession.

In order to make a great impression, the monarchy and its subjects put their best foot forward. However, in its attempt to impress the Prince of Wales, the monarchy lent credence to the social trends it had attempted to quash in its reforms. For that brief stay, reputation and social worth clearly became associated with appearance rather than action, perhaps contributing to the overall failure of sumptuary reforms to take root in early seventeenth-century Spain.

This also meant that the king and his closest ministers abandoned the gendered rhetoric they had maintained throughout their reforms with their decision to suspend sumptuary restrictions. Instead of equating austerity with virtuous manliness, the reform-minded monarchy gave way to an alternate and competing expression of gender and virtue, an expression they had condemned as effeminate. As such, it reflected the malleable nature of gender, a trait that will become apparent in chapters 4 and 5 through their study of the understanding and application of the father-son relationship in policies on repopulation, agriculture and education.

⁷⁴ Andrés Almansa y Mendoza, “A la Villa de Madrid Cabeza del Mundo” (1623) BNE R/30371.

Chapter 4 – Farmers and Families

Among the many concerns of the era's reformers was the depopulation of Castile, Spain's central kingdom. In 1622, on the eve of the monarchy's most intense attempts to affect reform, Mateo Lisón y Viedma published his *Discursos y Apuntamientos sobre el Gobierno de la Monarquía* [Discourses and Summaries Regarding the Governance of the Monarchy]. In it the former representative (*procurador*) of the city of Granada in the Cortes de Castilla offered a bleak description of the kingdom's countryside. Rural cities and towns, he claimed, had become "untilled lands [with] the vassals that once cultivated them, wandering the roads with their wives and children, moving from one place to another in search of the remedy, eating grasses and roots to survive."¹ To Lisón y Viedma, and a host of other reform-minded Spaniards it seemed rural Castile was hemorrhaging inhabitants, resulting in a complex of problems. It was apparent that in order to conserve Spain its rural communities had to be restored.

In his descriptions of rural Castile, Lisón y Viedma pointed to the two key elements of reform he and others hoped would revive rural Castile: farmers and families. This emphasis on farmers and families, or more specifically fathers and sons, appeared throughout early seventeenth-century reform writings, and carried over into the 1623 reform articles of the Junta Grande de Reformación. The Junta Grande's articles included three policies intended to revive rural Castilian communities: an expulsion of

¹ "Muchos lugares se han despoblado y perdido...los templos caídos, las casas hundidas, las heredades perdidas, las tierras sin cultivar, los vasallos que los cultivaban andan por los caminos con sus mujeres e hijos mudándose de unos lugares a otros buscando el remedio, comiendo yerbas y raíces del campo para sustentarse." Mateo Lisón y Viedma, *Discursos y apuntamientos de don Mateo de Lisón y Viedma...en que se trata materias importantes del gobierno de la monarquía, y de algunos daños que padece, y de su remedio* (Madrid, 1622), 3r.

superfluous inhabitants from Castile's largest cities, especially the court city of Madrid; a selective migration of foreigners to Spain and naturalization of established foreign residents; and a pronatalist program which sought to achieve repopulation through an increase in marriages. For a kingdom perceived to be suffering losses in agriculture and population, these policies seemed the most obvious ways to reestablish families and farmers in the dwindling towns of rural Castile. However, in the minds of reformers these figures were charged with more than just productive or reproductive power.

This chapter reveals that reformers associated each – the farmer, the father and the son – ideally with a set of virtues that would reverse the decline of rural Castile. Royal officials and arbitristas anticipated the undying loyalty and duty of all three, equating these traits to the perpetuation of the agricultural trade and the existing social order, and as a result of both, the perpetuation of Spain and its monarchy. In its request for the use of Spaniards' productive and reproductive capacities, this call for farmers and fathers was a call for active, physical devotion. As reformers saw it, their kingdom and monarchy could be preserved and even returned to their previous glory if they could revive the strength and virility that made up a part of Spain's lost virtue. But geared to promote marriage and stimulate procreation, the committee's pronatalist efforts turned private familial issues into a matter of state, resulting in an invasive paternalism that superseded the prerogatives of biological parents in the lives of their marriageable children.

The Question of Depopulation

Spanish reform writings from the first quarter of the seventeenth century are peppered with references like those issued by Lisón y Viedma about the devastating depopulation

of Castile. Despite the frequency of the warnings, it remains unclear whether or not the kingdom was truly suffering a crisis of population. Modern scholars have estimated that the Castilian population dropped from roughly 5.2 million people in 1581 to 4.5 million in 1631.² No census data exists from the era, making it nearly impossible to know accurate statistics for the population of Castile's many cities, towns and villages.³ Nonetheless, a pervasive anxiety about depopulation persisted throughout this period, giving reformers impetus to focus their efforts on repopulation policies.⁴

Reformers found a variety of explanations for the declining populace. Some pointed to the negative effects of the expulsion of the *Moriscos*, Spain's remaining inhabitants of Muslim descent, from Spanish kingdoms in 1611. Ordered by the zealously Christian Philip III, the expulsion was considered by contemporaries to be both a pious and costly decision due to the resulting loss of laborers and taxable citizens.⁵ Indeed the king had

² These statistics and others related to the waning Castilian population and the loss of population throughout Spain are cited on pages 6 and 7 of this dissertation.

³ Antonio Domínguez Ortíz notes that no census was taken during the entire seventeenth century in Spain. He has estimated the population based on the rate of purchase of papal bulls. Taking the total sale of bulls during the sixteenth century and dividing by the recorded population, he then applies this rate to the seventeenth century, arriving at an estimate of 6,700,000 inhabitants. To be sure, this method has its flaws, as any number of factors may weigh into the increase or decrease in sales of papal bulls. What is most important is the ubiquitous sense amongst reformers that Castile was suffering from tremendous depopulation. Domínguez Ortíz, *La sociedad española en el siglo XVII*, (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1963), 53-54, 62.

⁴ John Elliott, "Self-Perception and Decline in Early Seventeenth-Century Spain," in *Spain and Its World, 1500-1700: Selected Essays* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 254.

⁵ In a 1621 writing recounting the death-bed scene of Philip III, the Jesuit priest and confidant of the king, Jerónimo Florencia, points out the negative effect of this decision while crediting the king with a pious effort to rid Spain of religious enemies. See *Clausulas y mandas notables del Testamento que antes de su muerte hizo el muy Católico y Religiosísimo Rey Don Felipe Tercero nuestro señor, que goza de Dios, con los Cristianísimos actos, y pláticas espirituales, que tuvo con su Confesor, y con el Padre Jerónimo de Florencia de la Compañía de Jesús, Confesor de los Señores Infantes, en su*

allegedly preserved Spain from the threat of internal heretics but the removal of the Moriscos had cost the kingdoms of Aragón and Valencia alone 1/5 and 1/3 of their populations respectively.⁶ Some suggested the passage of Spaniards to America was a possible drain on population.⁷ Others pointed to the plagues of the late sixteenth century as an equally devastating cause for the loss of population. An anonymous paper written in 1622 estimated the death toll from the plagues of 1598 and 1599 at roughly 30% of the Spanish population.⁸ Yet with all these potential explanations, reformers paid the greatest amount of attention to domestic migration.

Reformers claimed that Granada and Seville, two of the kingdom's largest cities, as well as Madrid, the seat of the royal court, attracted a great number of migrants from Castile's rural regions. As the Junta de Reformación put it in a consulta to Philip IV on May 23, 1621, "almost the entire kingdom was coming to the court, leaving Castile's most principal locations depopulated and smaller districts and towns in total ruin."⁹

transito. Y Cosas Muy Notables, que su Majestad Hizo y Dispuso Personalmente en este Dicho Tiempo, Es traslado de una Carta, que Escribió y Envió a un amigo de esta Cuidad de Sevilla, una Persona Muy Grave, que Se Halló Presente a Todo (Sevilla: Juan Serrano de Vargas, 1621). This printed account can be found in Biblioteca Nacional de España (BNE) VE/177/125. See also page 12r of the section titled "Muerte de Rey don Felipe Tercero," in the manuscript *Sucesos del año 1621*, BNE mss. 2352.

⁶ Henry Kamen, *Spain, 1469-1714: A Society of Conflict*, 2nd ed. (New York: Longman, 1991), 221.

⁷ Giovanni Botero presented this possibility in the late sixteenth century in his famous *Reason of State*. This book was well read in Spain during the early seventeenth century and would have introduced the idea to or confirmed its possibility for many. Giovanni Botero, *The Reason of State* (1589), trans. P.J. and D.P Whaley (London: Routledge, 1956), 157.

⁸ See the anonymous treatise "Advertencias del Estado en que están el Patrimonio Real, y el Reino, y de los Medios por donde Se Podría Tratar de su Reparó" (1622), 4v. This manuscript can be found at BNE mss. 17468.

⁹ "a esta Corte se viene casi todo el Reino, quedando despoblados los lugares más principales de [el Reino] y las aldeas y lugares pequeños del todo arruinados," González Palencia, *Reformación*, 78.

When the reform articles of the Junta Grande de Reformación came off the press in 1623 they made similar assertions. Although its twenty-first reform article briefly reiterated the existing policy on migration to the Americas, prohibiting any passage to Spain's colonial possessions without government approval, their reforms focused heavily on carrying out an expulsion of what it saw as Madrid's superfluous inhabitants.¹⁰

From Court to Countryside

It seems that before 1623 the monarchy had placed no restrictions on migration within Spain despite suspicions that large numbers of migrants from other parts of the kingdom had moved to the court and Castile's major cities. It was only with the publication of the Junta Grande de Reformación's articles that the monarchy took formal action to stop internal migration. Taking a harsh stance in article twenty one, the Junta Grande prohibited anyone from moving to Granada, Seville, or Madrid, and threatened to fine any person or family 1,000 ducats for doing so. A penalty of 200 ducats would be assigned to anyone facilitating such a move.¹¹

The Junta Grande added to this punitive policy stipulations for expulsion from Madrid. It mandated the expulsion of anyone without a public office or business to conduct at court. As its second article made clear, those with business in Madrid would be limited to thirty days at court *per annum*. Upon entering the royal court visitors would have to register with that council or government office with which they had business. They were also to sign out at the conclusion of the stay.¹² This way the king could

¹⁰ Ibid., 449.

¹¹ Ibid., 450-451.

¹² Ibid., 417-418.

remain in touch with the needs of the people, continuing to grant them audience when legitimately needed. Those staying past the allotted thirty days or without legitimate reason for being at court would be expelled.

Although they were the first to act upon the impulse, the members of the Junta Grande were not the first reformers to consider an expulsion of the court. Royal officials had shown support for an expulsion of Madrid starting in the latter years of Philip III's reign. Proposing a similar measure to that taken by the Junta Grande, the Royal Council recommended to Philip III in February 1619 a reduction of the court population by limiting the number of days that non-residents could spend in Madrid.¹³ Around the same time, the Castilian assembly had also expressed a similar inclination toward an expulsion, proposing an investigation of Madrid's inhabitants and their reasons for being at court. It stipulated that residents should be either categorized as approved or unapproved to stay at court, with the latter promptly expelled. The deputies of the Cortes proclaimed that forcing unneeded inhabitants back to their own towns would result in the "conservation and population of the various places in these kingdoms."¹⁴

Reassembled in 1621, the Junta de Reformación revisited this issue, supporting the stance of previous officials. In a report to the king written the year of its revival, the committee cited the proposal of the Cortes as one reason to carry out an expulsion of Madrid, adding its assertion that an expulsion of some of Madrid's inhabitants would have beneficial effects for the court. They presented historical evidence as proof. According to the Junta's members, Gratian and Theodosius, the contemporaneous rulers

¹³ Consulta from the Royal Council to Philip III, February 1, 1619; *Ibid.*, 23.

¹⁴ "conservación y población de los lugares de estos reinos." Cited in the May 23, 1621 consulta from the Junta de Reformación to Philip IV; *Ibid.*, 86.

of the eastern and western halves of the Roman Empire, had both removed those without office from the capital city. Justinian, they added, had expelled all but the most illustrious courtiers, once again returning Constantinople to a pleasant state. The Junta encouraged their king to follow the lead of the ancients, reducing the unnecessary population of Madrid and with it the immorality and disorder which had come to characterize it.¹⁵

To clarify its point and further illustrate the positive effects of such an expulsion, committee members offered a common analogy from the political realm: Galenic medicine. The committee compared the proposed expulsion to a “copious letting of even good blood, so that the bad would leave too and because an abundance brings only illness.”¹⁶ The understanding was that an excess of any humor in the body threatened illness, bodily dysfunction and potentially death. Reformers applied this same view to the body politic, asserting that the Spanish population itself was out of balance. Like the humors of a troubled and sickly body, people had pooled in the court, bringing about decay and dysfunction in other locations. The Junta hoped to solve the imbalance in order to reanimate the dying regions outside of Castile’s largest cities.

But the imbalance identified by the Junta de Reformación transcended concerns with Madrid’s overpopulation. This was a quality it ascribed to the court itself. By removing its excess inhabitants, members of the Junta hoped also to rid the court of the metastasizing corruption manifest in the conduct of many living there. For in the minds of junta members and many other reformers, Madrid was a site of excess and opulence.

¹⁵ Consulta from the Junta de Reformación to Philip IV, May 23, 1621; *ibid.*, 79.

¹⁶ “una copiosa sangría, aun de la buena sangre, así por que a vueltas de ella salga la mala, como por que de la abundancia se originan las enfermedades.” *Ibid.*, 81.

Describing the court in 1600, the attorney for the Royal Chancellery Martín González de Cellorigo claimed that the throngs of people in Madrid masked unspeakable sin taking place throughout the court.¹⁷ To use the words of the theology professor and arbitrista, Sancho de Moncada, the court was a “bottomless sea of vice and vice-riddled people” [“un mar sin suelo de vicios y viciosos”].¹⁸ Madrid, as some termed it, was the new Babylon, a place of overly indulgent conduct (termed *excesos* or *abusos* by reformers).¹⁹ It was chaotic and devoid of self-restraint or moderation. To put it in other words, the disorderly and imbalanced court was effeminate, and lacked all virtue.

Reformers represented the lifestyle at court as one of uncontrolled carnality, unbridled spending and excessive luxury, comportments associated with women in early modern Spain.²⁰ One author wrote of “glutinous women” roaming Madrid and willing to “perform a mortal sin for an empanada.”²¹ In 1621, the Junta de Reформación complained of widows, who had taken up residence in Madrid after the death of their husbands. They were, in the committee’s estimation, a source of “excesses and

¹⁷ Martín González de Cellorigo, *Memorial de la Política Necesaria y Útil Restauración a la República de España* (1600), ed. José Perez de Ayala (Madrid: Instituto de Cooperación Iberoamericana, 1991), 186.

¹⁸ Sancho de Moncada, *Restauración Política de España* (1619), ed. Jean Vilar Berrogain (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Fiscales, 1974), 198.

¹⁹ See page 20 of the memorial from the University of Alcalá against the foundation of the royal school in Madrid known as the Reales Estudios in Archivo General de Simancas (AGS), Gracia y Justicia, 972. For more on the Reales Estudios, see chapter 5.

²⁰ Elizabeth Leffeldt, “Ideal Men: Masculinity and Decline in Seventeenth-Century Spain,” *Renaissance Quarterly* Vol. 61, Number 2 (Summer 2008), 471; see also Georgina Dopico Black, *Perfect Wives, Other Women: Adultery and Inquisition in Early Modern Spain* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001).

²¹ “que harán un pecado mortal para una empanada,” This statement appears in a consulta from the Alcaldes de Casa y Corte to Philip IV. It bears no date but is estimated to have been generated in 1621. González Palencia, *Reformación*, 212.

inconveniences worth reforming.”²² Their complaints may have been in reference to an anonymously reported case of an accountant and officer of the judicial system (*solicitador*) by the name of Melchior de Castro Macedo. The anonymous informants claimed that Macedo had fathered five children with an unnamed widow, who lived on Carretas Street in the heart of Madrid.²³

The lack of sexual restraint in Madrid was matched in the minds of critics only by the extravagance and self-promotion of those at court. To use the words of Lisón y Viedma, the social life at court was a wasteful array of “parties, grand galas...clothing, [and] machination and confusion of pretensions.”²⁴ This competitive social environment mandated that court dwellers, especially nobles, spend enormous amounts of money in order to sustain or enhance their reputations. The amounts they spent were often more than they could truly afford. Reformers consistently criticized men at court for such extravagant spending and for relying on fashion to build a reputation. Time and again, reformers branded such conduct as immoderate, ambitious, and most often effeminate.²⁵

Reformers often referred to visitors to court as “pretendientes,” a term that meant “petitioners” and implied that their purpose at court was merely self-serving. This was the attitude adopted by the Consejo Real, who in its February 1, 1619 consulta estimated that nobles had moved to court for the purpose of social advancement, dragging with them numerous commoners from their rural Castilian towns to serve them and to enhance

²² Consulta from Junta de Reformación to Philip IV, May 23, 1621; *Ibid.*, 78.

²³ This undated and anonymous report sent to Philip IV is estimated to have been written in 1621; see *ibid.*, 207.

²⁴ Lisón y Viedma, *Apuntamientos*, 3v.

²⁵ For more on the view of excessive spending and competitive consumption as effeminate traits, see chapter 3 of this dissertation.

their reputation.²⁶ Citing a list including footmen, coachmen and “other useless attendants [otros oficios inútiles]” that accompanied the wealthy to court, the Junta de Reформación complained in a 1621 report of “each noblewoman’s pernicious use of an infantry squadron to tend to her chair.”²⁷ Ushered to court to carry out these duties, this profusion of servants had been “perniciously” and selfishly extracted from the places that needed them gravely, neglecting their professions at home and risking the good of their native towns. Although they did consider that some rural dwellers, especially farmers, may have left their towns in search of employment, the Consejo Real assumed that many of these tagalongs had come along in search of a more comfortable and leisurely living, seeking the same elevation of status and reputation as their masters and lords.²⁸ Seeking only reputation and social status, the court’s unnecessary inhabitants had to be removed, restoring the balance of population and social order.

Although it did not offer the same depictions of self-aggrandizement and lacking self-control given by others critical of Madrid, the Junta Grande de Reформación made clear its desire to restore social order by its mandated expulsion. “It is best,” the Junta Grande wrote in article twenty one, “that all regions are populated so that the land is conserved and justice better administered.”²⁹ Though the meaning of this statement is slightly obscured, it seems fairly certain that the committee was calling for the return of nobles and commoners to their native lands in order to fulfill their roles in the social order. As

²⁶ Consulta of Consejo Real to Philip III, February 1, 1619, González Palencia, *Reформación*, 22-23.

²⁷ “pernicioso uso de cada señora de un escuadrón de infantería junto a su silla” Consulta from Junta de Reформación to Philip IV, May 23, 1621; *Ibid.*, 81.

²⁸ Consulta of Consejo Real to Philip III, February 1, 1619; *Ibid.*, 22-23.

²⁹ “Conviene que en todas partes haya población y gente para que en todas esté conservada la tierra, y la justicia mejor administrada” *Ibid.*, 450.

their articles relating to population reform made clear, they hoped nobles would return to their cities to guide their townspeople, and commoners (although less clearly indicated in this statement) to carry out the vital agricultural and other labors upon which these communities and Spain in general depended.

Despite the absence of criticisms of effeminacy and effeminate conduct seen in the era's other reform writings, these calls for restored social order still appealed to gender. The committee invoked notions of fatherhood to reflect the critical obligations that noblemen were neglecting. The Junta Grande chided noblemen residing at court for their failure to fulfill duties to family. Put succinctly by the Junta Grande in its second article, "the great convergence of pretendientes in this court is prejudicial to their houses and families as a result of the state of neglect and need in which they are left."³⁰ According to their reformers, these men left their families to fend for themselves. As the heads of their households, fathers were to provide for their families, meeting their needs and giving them guidance. As the heads of noble houses or lineages, it was their responsibility to preserve their families by maintaining their estates. In reality, their visits to court were most likely intended to secure greater reputation for their families either through ostentatious displays that earned the respect of their cohort or actions that earned honors and titles from the king. Nonetheless, critics maintained that they were frittering away family estates at court, seeking their own social advancement and putting the future of their houses in danger.

Seemingly a criticism of nobles' dereliction as fathers of their own families, the writings of era suggest that these worries about the unfatherly squandering of Castile's

³⁰ "continua asistencia y grande concurso de pretendientes en esta corte se sigue perjuicio a sus casas y familias por el desamparo y necesidad en que las dejan." *Ibid.*, 417.

wealthiest estates related more to the duties that nobles had to Spain and its monarchy.³¹ The estates of nobles were, after all, crucial funds for the monarchy. When the Junta de Reformatión expressed its desire to reduce this competitive consumption of goods and assets, it clearly stated that its goal was to see Spain's "illustrious houses...returned to their old splendor that adds a luster to these kingdoms and provides so many services for their kings."³² Sustaining the wealth of noble families most assuredly benefited the family, but it seemed also to enhance the monarchy's reputation, as its realms appeared rich and successful. Moreover, the "services" to which the Junta referred were most likely the traditional funding of military campaigns by noble officers. This was what royal treasurers had meant to imply in a memorandum to Philip III when they referred to nobles as "the defensive walls of the kingdom." By spending their estates they could not dedicate it to defending Spain and its monarchy.³³

The paternal duties assigned to nobles did not end at tending to their own houses and households. Considered by many to be the leaders (*cabezas*) of their own communities, they were expected to guide and care for those living in their native towns. Thus, just as the king was the father of his kingdoms, nobles were to act as the fathers of those residing in their hometowns.³⁴ With this thought in mind, the Junta Grande further justified its

³¹ This point is made in Lisón y Viedma's treatise, as well as in a number of writing concerned with expenditures on fashion during this era; see *Apuntamientos*, 3v and for additional references, see chapter 3 of this dissertation.

³² "que el valor de casas ilustres sea reducido a la Antigua grandeza que tanto ilustra la de estos Reinos y de tantos servicios es para los Reyes." Consulta from Junta de Reformatión to Philip IV, May 23, 1621; González Palencia, *Reformatión*, 83.

³³ This memorial from the Royal Treasurers to Philip III had no date but is estimated to have been written between 1620 and 1621; *Ibid.*, 56.

³⁴ Joan Scott mentions that gender can be applied metaphorically to convey relationships of power. Joan Scott, "Gender as a Useful Category of Historical Analysis," in *Gender*

mandate to vacate the court, charging nobles with providing for those living “in their shadow.”³⁵

The king and the Junta Grande asserted that nobles, acting as the fathers of their towns, were to mete out justice directly to the people. The absence of nobles in the rural towns, the committee maintained, meant that townspeople were “neither well sustained nor provided with peace and justice as they should be.”³⁶ Through this statement, the Junta Grande appointed nobles the duty of hearing the disputes of those under their care. Acting as a judicial figure would preserve the peace of the town, maintaining accord in the community. Nobles might also be able to bring a quick resolution to disputes that might otherwise tie up money needed to preserve local businesses and farms. The fair adjudication of conflicts, the king had said in his letter anticipating the Junta Grande’s articles, made men “the fathers of their realm, governing out of love and zeal toward royal service, as opposed to self-interest.”³⁷ To do otherwise, claimed Lisón y Viedma of corrupt or neglectful municipal leaders, was to act as their “step-fathers” [*padrastrós*], a disinterested and false substitute for the paternal conduct that could bring order and stability to Spain’s threatened communities.³⁸

According to those writing before the Junta Grande, it was more than justice that fell under the paternal duties of nobles. It was also their responsibility to provide for their

and the Politics of History, 2nd ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 28-50, especially 41.

³⁵ This statement appears in the twenty-first article, as well as in “los pobres naturales que a la sombra de estos vivían y con sus haciendas se sustentaban.” Consulta from Consejo Real to Philip III, February 1, 1619; González Palencia, *Reformación*, 23.

³⁶ “no están bien gobernados ni mantenidos en paz y justicia como debieran.” Article 21 from the Junta Grande de Reformación; *Ibid.*, 451.

³⁷ “padres de la patria y gobernándolos el amor y celo a nuestro servicio, y no su interés.” *Ibid.*, 381.

³⁸ Lisón y Viedma, *Apuntamientos*, 47r.

towns and assure the satisfaction of the basic needs of the townspeople. In 1619, the Royal Council had made the assertion that titled Spaniards had an obligation to “give sustenance to the poor and tend to them when they lack work or a way to earn food.”³⁹ Of course, this alluded to the Christian charity and the religious virtue also expected of Spain’s elite. Yet there was more to this paternal role. Two year later, the Junta de Reформación summed up the fatherly duty of nobles, claiming they should “love [the people] well, give them justice as well as pay mind to their jobs, the needs that they suffer, and how to remedy them.”⁴⁰ This was not dissimilar from the view of Mateo Lisón y Viedma, who suggested a year later that nobles presiding over their towns should seek to procure a “better disposition for the population.” He included in this improved condition the provision of arable land and irrigation.⁴¹ Although reformers did make the argument that the return of nobles meant that the local economy would be infused with greater capital, they were not merely asking noblemen to hand out money for the needy.⁴² As they ushered nobles back to their lands and to the people over whom they presided, advocates of expulsion hoped to induce an emotional bond between nobles and their people. Guided by a sense of paternal obligation, they would to provide for and guide them as any father would, doing their best to assure a functioning, populated and harmonious community.

³⁹ Consulta from the Royal Council to Philip III, February 1, 1619; González Palencia, *Reформación*, 22.

⁴⁰ “los señores conocerán sus vasallos, querranlos bien, hacerles justicia y verán al ojo los trabajos y necesidades que padecen y remediárselas.” Ibid., 82.

⁴¹ “mejor disposición para la población.” Lisón y Viedma, *Apuntamientos*, 4v.

⁴² This suggestion that the return of nobles to their rural towns and villages would infuse the local economies with capital appears in Consulta from the Royal Council to Philip III, February 1, 1619; González Palencia, *Reформación*, 23.

As noted earlier in the Junta Grande de Reformatión's articles, the migration to the court jeopardized more than the justice and order of rural towns. To use its vague wording, this movement of people also put at risk the "conservation of the land." A royal order sent by Philip III to the Royal Council in 1619, offered possible interpretations of this phrase. Asking the Council for ideas on how to preserve the dwindling communities of rural Castile, the king stated, "It is clear just how quickly these places are losing population, with entire families leaving, abandoning their homes and lands, losing their inheritances, leaving no one to cultivate the earth, resulting in a lack of tax revenues, and leaving all without defense, as one presently sees."⁴³ Viewed through this lens, the worries of the Junta Grande may have indicated the loss of manpower needed to serve in the militia and defend these under-populated towns. However, it seems most likely that the committee was pointing to another of the king's observations: the loss of agricultural and other laborers that endangered the Castilian countryside.

After all, its second article justified the expulsion of the court by stating that extended stays at court prevented rural laborers from carrying out their jobs. In terms of their professions, court visitors "could neither carry them out nor use their time decently or fruitfully."⁴⁴ With pretendientes growing idle and unproductive at court, the committee seemed to be saying that an expulsion would have a remedial effect on both the rural workforce and the laborers themselves. Farming and other forms of rural living, the

⁴³ "se ve quanto a priesa se van despoblando los lugares, saliéndose de ellos las familias enteras, dejando sus casas y desamparando las tierras, sin que quede quien las cultive, con que faltan los tributes y rentas, quedando todo tan sin defensa, como se ve." This statement was taken from an earlier decree from Philip III and appears in the March 4, 1618 consultation of the Consejo de Castilla to the king. González Palencia, *Reformatión*, 65.

⁴⁴ "ni pueden ejercitarlas [profesiones], ni emplear el tiempo con la decencia y fruto que conviene." *Ibid.*, 417.

Junta Grande implied, were imbued with a certain honest and productive virtue that contrasted with the less-than-manly lifestyles of those at court.

This was certainly a view that persisted throughout the reform writings of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The Royal Council argued in 1619 that with an expulsion of the court's unnecessary inhabitants "excess would cease, customs would improve...men would apply themselves more to work, and God would be more greatly served."⁴⁵ Indicative of reformers' negative view of life at court, this statement also revealed an understanding of rural life and farmers as endowed with certain virtues that Spanish reformers felt had diminished in Spain. Farming, deemed the "ayo" or "tutor" of virtue by the arbitrista Lope de Deza, could once again make Spaniards vigorous, dutiful, and self-sufficient.⁴⁶ In other words, it could make them manly and virtuous, helping rural Castile and Spain in general recover and return to greatness.

In support of his view, Deza offered a list of virtuous, historical figures who had dedicated themselves to cultivating the earth. He was not alone, as nearly two decades earlier Martín González de Cellorigo had compiled a similar list. As one of his examples of farming fostering virtue, Deza related an encounter between Cyrus the Younger, the Persian emperor, and the Spartan ruler, Lysander. Visiting Cyrus' impressive gardens, the Spartan discovered that Cyrus had planted them all himself. Deza quotes Lysander as saying, "from your great virtue has arisen your fortune."⁴⁷ The author is clearly equating

⁴⁵ "cesaría lo superfluo, las costumbres se mejorarían, y los hombres se aplicarían más al trabajo, y Dios nuestro Señor sería más servido." See the Council's consulta of February 1, 1619; *Ibid.*, 25.

⁴⁶ Deza, *Agricultura*, 17.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 15.

the success of the Persian empire with its leader's diligence and work ethic, manly and productive qualities learned through his agrarian tasks.

Both authors included in their lists the Emperor Diocletian and the dictator Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus. As both authors recall, Diocletian had retired from office, taking up residence outside of Rome, when he was summoned back to Rome to serve the state again. He questioned those making the request why he would leave his garden. Farming, Deza credits him with saying, granted him respite from the chaos of the city and made him self-sufficient. "I would rather earn my food with my hands here in this village," the author relates him saying, "than to carry the weight of the Roman Empire on my back."⁴⁸ These authors told a similar tale of Cincinnatus, who was also found tending his fields when asked to return to Rome to rule. Attempting to convince his reader of the honorable nature of farming, Cellorigo declares that the Roman dictator's farming had not lessened his image in the eyes of those sent to retrieve him, but rather as a result of his efforts to cultivate the land their respect for him had grown.⁴⁹

Cellorigo and Deza clearly valued the dedication and self-sufficiency exhibited by these ancient farmers. In contrast to the self-interested conduct of the court – which they clearly used as a foil in the example of Diocletian – these virtues emphasized the common good. Cincinnatus, a man of the land, had sacrificed his own interests for the good of the state, showing his loyalty by returning to Rome. Conveniently glossing over Diocletian's refusal to return, the authors still held both he and Cincinnatus aloft as exemplars of self-sufficiency. Each had provided foodstuffs for himself and possibly for

⁴⁸ "me quiero ganar de comer con mis manos antes en esta aldea que traer a costas el imperio Romano." Ibid., 15-16.

⁴⁹ Cellorigo, *Memorial*, 82.

those around them. On an individual level, each carried out his responsibilities and prevented himself from becoming a ward of his society, a role that would have been seen as less-than-manly by an early modern reader.⁵⁰ For reformers familiar with Spain's intermittent dependency on foreign grain during this era this self-sufficiency would have also stimulated thoughts of revived Spanish power on the continent.⁵¹

In addition to self-sufficiency, reformers counted physical strength among the traits of farmers. In fact, Deza claimed that *labradores* (a term often used in reform writings generically to indicate "agrarian laborers") developed tremendous physical endurance through the practice of farming. In a hyperbolic description of the physical endurance and capabilities of the farm laborer, Deza claims that the *labrador* is:

accustomed to inclement winds and other disasters of the skies...to sleeping securely through the night and walking with bare feet over ice covered grounds, and tolerating thirst, and satisfying an empty stomach with acorns, to taming wild beasts, to defeating streams by swimming them, to leaping across ravines in a single bound, to knocking down and dominating the old oak with an ax...from these hearty encounters flowers the spirit, vigor and agility of his being, and the robust strength that resides in his chest, maintaining his lively members and a crude robustness in his nerves.⁵²

⁵⁰ See Alexandra Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 190-195.

⁵¹ Modern scholarship has shown a drop in grain production by an estimated 30% during the first half of the seventeenth century in Spain. It has also noted that areas along the coasts were often reliant during this time on imported cereals; see respectively Enrique Llopis Agelán, "Castilian Agriculture in the Seventeenth Century: Depression, or 'Readjustment and Adaptation'?", in *The Castilian Crisis of the Seventeenth Century: New Perspectives on the Economic and Social History of Seventeenth-Century Spain*, eds., I.A.A. Thompson and Bartolomé Yun Casalilla (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 82; and from the same collection, page 68 of Gonzalo Anes, "The Agrarian 'Depression' in Castile in the Seventeenth Century."

⁵² "acostumbrado a recibir las inclemencias de los vientos y demás ruinas del cielo, sin reparo...a dormir al sereno toda la noche y andar con el pie desnudo por los cuajados hielos, y a tolerar la sed, y a satisfacer con bellotas el ayuno estómago, a cansar las fieras corriendo, a vencer los arroyos nadando, a pasar de un brinco las quebradas, a derribar y rendir con la hacha a la envejecida encina...de aquí nace el aliento, vigor y agilidad de su persona y habita por esto en su gran pecho la robusta fuerza, aquellos fuertes encuentros

By this ridiculous account, the farmer or farm laborer was the physical apogee of manliness. But as Deza and others clarified, it was the investment of this strength in physical labor that truly translated to virtue.

With his strength and endurance, Deza argued, the farmer could serve as a soldier. As he put it, farming “naturally makes laborers virtuous and simple, and trains them to an extreme for war and other public needs.”⁵³ This is to say that the laborer gains from his trade not just the physical strength, but also the spirit and skills of a soldier. Capable of overcoming the physical danger of wild beasts and unflinching in adverse conditions, the farmer was ready for the harsh lifestyle of the campaign. His work with tools in the field, much as his expertise with an ax, made him fit to wield a weapon in the king’s army. For a state faced with constant military conflicts, the prospect of a battle-ready corps of soldiers must also have seemed at least moderately attractive.

More simple and direct than Deza’s assertion of martial capabilities was the view that the strength of farmers could be used productively in the everyday labors of their trade. This was the perspective of a 1583 memorandum sent to Philip II by a group of royal magistrates (*corregidores*) from cities throughout Castile. This document, which can be found among the reform papers of the monarchy’s juntas, describes the Spanish farmer in the following way: [the farmer] lays the foundation for his house, creates an inheritable estate for his kin, pays expenses, devotes his physical labor, and pays taxes without

guardan los animosos miembros y se entienden con cruda robustez los nervios; de aquí la estatura grande y belicoso horror de la frente.” Deza, *Agricultura*, 17-18.

⁵³ “naturalmente hace virtuosos y sencillos a los labradores y los endurece para la guerra y demás necesidades públicas extremadamente.” *Ibid.*, 16-17.

discounting anything.⁵⁴ As the apex of virtue, the farmer depicted in this document is active and productive, putting his strength and hard work into the creation of a house and farm, as well as into the cultivation of his land. Writing in the next century, reformers maintained that the Spaniards had only to exert themselves physically to restore rural Castile. Spain, assured more than one reformer, was not barren. The land, stated Cellorigo, anticipating the views of future reformers, lacked only “human industry” [*industria humana*].⁵⁵ Its inhabitants simply needed to invest in it some of their physical labor.

The corregidores’ depiction of the farmer also emphasized provision. Honest and hard working, the farmer selflessly and devotedly turns his labor into goods that can benefit many. The labor he puts into crops or livestock results in products needed by all. He builds a house, and grows and sells his produce and livestock to bring in income, all of which he puts into an estate that he can give to his children or other family members. Inheriting land to cultivate will give his descendants a future, just as hens, heads of cattle, or teams of oxen, as a later reform author pointed out, might be used as dowry for one of his daughters.⁵⁶ Seen in this light, the farmer is undeniably paternal, working to provide for his family and community.

The unwavering loyalty ascribed to farmers by the corregidores seemed to assure the stability and perpetuation of Castile, its rural towns, and its ruler. Loyal to the crown,

⁵⁴ “El labrador pone la simiente de su casa y el caudal que valen sus heredades, y los gastos y costas, y el trabajo de su persona, y paga diezmo por entero sin descontar cosa alguna.” This document appears in the papers of the Junta de Reformación, although its use by the committee is not clear. González Palencia, *Reformación*, 46-47.

⁵⁵ Deza, *Agricultura*, 41-43; Moncada, *Restauración*, 63; and Cellorigo, *Memorial*, 11.

⁵⁶ Guillén de Barbón y Castañeda, *Provechos Arbitrios al Consumo de Vellón, Conservación de Plata, Población de España, y Relación de Avisos Importantes a las Cosas que en ella Necesitan de Remedio*, (Madrid: Juan González, 1632), 13v.

farmers paid their taxes, sustaining their king and kingdom. Loyal to their families, they created an inheritable estate, an investment in the future that anchored farmers and their families to the land they owned and cultivated, stabilizing the rural population.

Reformers turned to another gendered model to make the same point: the proper son. “Good sons,” they argued, showed loyalty to their families by carrying on the family trade. Farming, most especially, was a generational affair. In the way that the Castilian *corregidores* pointed to the fatherly virtue of the farmer, which prompted him to build his house and establish an estate that would preserve the land for future generations of his family, the expectation was also that the sons of farmers would hold the land and tend to it as had past generations.

There were, as reformers consistently noted, a number of obstacles to successfully transferring land and the agricultural trade to sons. One was the ambition of the sons themselves. Lope de Deza blamed Spain’s universities for the growing neglect of family farms. Directing his attack primarily toward the study of law, which he had personally abandoned to cultivate his own fields, he claimed that these institutions attracted young men from the farm, making them into lawyers and filling them with the sense that they were better than their ancestors.⁵⁷ Martín González de Cellorigo had also believed this to be a trend at the beginning of the seventeenth-century. He lamented the proclivity of the *medianía*, a class of artisans and laborers residing in the social scale between the well-to-do and the helpless poor, to seek out new, more lucrative professions than those of their

⁵⁷ Deza, *Agricultura*, 52.

parents and grandparents.⁵⁸ The ambition of these sons had fractured the bonds between generations and disrupted the social order that had brought Spain to its zenith.

Another obstacle was the class of *censualistas*, the landowners who rented property to farmers under annuities or contracts called *censos*. Reformers claimed that much like the allure of the universities honest laborers were being drawn into the rentier class. More generous authors credited *censualistas* with attempting to escape society's demeaning view of farmers, a claim that suggested that the virtuous poverty of the *labrador* was also seen by some members of society as a laughable simplicity and rusticity. Most reformers applied similar criticisms to *censualistas* as they had *pretendientes* at court, assuming they were motivated by a desire to gain social standing or a lifestyle of greater ease. *Censualistas*, some claimed, sought to emulate the nobility, shunning hard labor that could damage public honor.⁵⁹

Despite different interpretations for the growth of the rentier class, all agreed that *censualistas* were a menace to Castile's agriculture and social order. Their quest to elevate their own social status not only took them away from their family trades, according to countless reformers it also destroyed the livelihood of Castile's agricultural workforce. Calling *censos* the "other form of farming" [*otra granjería*] reformers claimed that *censualistas* merely drained tenants of their harvests and sapped their financial resources through the rental agreements they made.⁶⁰ One anonymous author complained that farmers could barely make ends meet, living a very meager existence, dressing and eating with extreme modesty, and still losing their lands and the inheritances

⁵⁸ Cellerigo, *Memorial*, 159, 166.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 80; Deza, *Agricultura*, 21

⁶⁰ Deza uses this term in reference to *censos*, juxtaposing it to the actual act of cultivating the land; see Deza, *Agricultura*, 47-48.

of their children to censualistas.⁶¹ Farming families could not fulfill the conditions of these contracts, which kept them in debt for multiple generations or extracted capital from agrarian laborers that could otherwise be invested back into the cultivation of the land.⁶² When labradores defaulted on payments, they found themselves in debtors' jail, and their wives and children unattended. Undoubtedly questioning the integrity of censualistas, reformers pointed out that they destroyed social order, breaking apart families and denying the children of farmers a future in their family's trade.

The antithesis of farmers, censualistas contributed nothing to society and did nothing to perpetuate it. Rather, they merely lived off the labor of others. These traits earned them the distinction “zánganos” or “drone bees” in an anonymously authored paper appearing in 1618 under the title *Relación de las Causas del Empeño del Reino y su Remedio* [Reflection on the Causes the Kingdom's Debt and its Remedy].⁶³ Referencing the ancient works of Pliny the Elder to give a definition of “zánganos” in his *Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana* (1611) Covarrubias reveals the contemporary belief that these members of the hive were born to bees reaching the end of their lives, and as a result, were “imperfect.” Born weak and without a stinger, they served as slaves to the other bees, who had to coax them into working and punish them for not carrying out their duties. Covarrubias clarifies that for these reasons the term “zángano” had also been assigned to those unwilling to work in Spanish society.⁶⁴

⁶¹ Anonymous, *Relación de las Causas del Empeño del Reino y su Remedio* (1618) Archivo General de Simancas (AGS), Patronato, legajo 15, documento 9, 201r-201v.

⁶² Ibid., 201r; Deza, *Agricultura*, 57-58.

⁶³ *Relación*, 202r.

⁶⁴ Covarrubia's *Tesoro*, which translates to *Treasury of the Spanish Language*, was an encyclopedic review of popular words used during the era. Terms such as “zángano” – which was spelled in the *Tesoro* “çángano” – preceded a generally brief entry, describing

The anonymous author's choice to describe censuallistas in this way may have reflected a desire to see similar punishment inflicted upon this class of landholders, but it was most assuredly a commentary on their lacking work ethic and the harm they caused the communities in which they lived. Drones were the bees, according to Covarrubias, that ate their own honey before they had made it. As a result, they "lived off the sweat of others" [comerse el sudor de los que trabajan] rather than providing for themselves and those around them. Reformers used the same phrase to describe censuallistas.

Referencing Adam, the first man and first farmer, they argued that *censuallistas* had deviated from God's order at the time of man's expulsion from paradise. Instead of putting their labor into the land, they earned a living "from the sweat of another's brow."⁶⁵ Censuallistas were completely devoid of the manly virtue reformers sought to instill in Spaniards. They lived off the backs of laborers, lacking the honesty and self-sufficiency of the farmer. Finally these allegedly weak and lazy creatures – traits that reformers had branded effeminate – contributed nothing to the welfare of society but looked out only for themselves.

While the anonymous author of the *Relación* hoped to draw attention to the detrimental practices of censuallistas, he also continued to seek other ways to halt the loss of land brought on by farmers' debts. A royal decree, issued by Philip II in 1594, had

the meaning of the word and linking it to other words in the extensive volume. Sebastián de Covarrubias, *Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana o Española, Según la Impresión de 1611, con las Adiciones de Benito Remigio Noydens Publicadas en la de 1674*, ed. Martín de Riquer (Barcelona: S.A. Horta, 1943), 395.

⁶⁵ Deza points out the importance of farming due to its illustrious history. The first man, Adam, he argues, was a farmer by trade, proving its worth as a practice. According to Deza, God would not have assigned such a task to man if it were not notable, decent and even pious; see Deza, *Agricultura*, 11; and also "Discurso breve," González Palencia, *Reformación*, 242.

prohibited the imprisonment of indebted *labradores* during the planting and harvesting seasons, but agriculture advocates of the early seventeenth century argued the need to extend this privilege to the full year, as attention needed to be paid to the fields year round.⁶⁶ The anonymous reformer wrote in support of extending these privileges, keeping indebted *labradores* out of debt and out of jail would allow them to perpetuate their families and for future generations to perpetuate the family trade. In other words, it “would keep [sons] in the grave and honorable occupation of their fathers of working their lands.”⁶⁷

On more than one occasion, reformers employed this filial bond metaphorically to convey the need for loyalty to rural Castile and its agrarian lifestyle. Reflecting on the need to expel nobles from court in 1621, the Junta de Reformación invoked this filial link to describe the relationship nobles should have with their native towns. It recalled the ancient Athenian practice of gifting a golden adornment shaped like a cicada to those of the noble class. According to the Athenians – or so the Junta said – the cicada never left the land where it was born, making it an ideal symbol for a noble’s dedication to his homeland. Titled Spaniards, the reform committee asserted, should feel the same devotion and love to their lands, staying there to preside over their townspeople paternally and to serve their native lands as loyal sons.⁶⁸

In his pro-agriculture treatise, Lope de Deza employed this understanding of filial loyalty to convey man’s obligation to agrarian work and condemn ambitious Spaniards

⁶⁶ Deza, *Agricultura*, 83.

⁶⁷ “y se quedarían en el oficio de sus padres grave y honoroso de laborear sus haciendas.” *Relación*, 206r.

⁶⁸ Consulta from the Junta de Reformación to Philip IV, May 23, 1621; González Palencia, *Reformación*, 82-83.

who abandoned farming for more lucrative professions. Describing the relationship between the laborer and the land, he considered the earth the mother of man and demanded that man show the respect due his own mother. As Deza put it:

Let us understand that the antiquity of Agriculture is that of the world, it corresponds with heaven, conforms with nature, and the earth sustains us as a mother that we, as its children, must cultivate, without seeking step-mothers from whom to acquire.⁶⁹

A complex reflection on farming, this statement begins with an association of agriculture with divine powers. In part, Deza was expressing his belief that knowledge of celestial bodies contributed to successful crop growth.⁷⁰ This was also certainly an additional allusion to the divine mandate that forced Adam to toil on the land. Farming, as Cellorigo had reminded his own readers, was “the natural institute, as well as the original and ancient precept that God gave to man.”⁷¹

Yet most importantly, by referring to the earth in this gendered manner, Deza depicts a broken parental-filial bond between rural people and the land they were meant to cultivate. His portrayal of this bond invokes a powerful sense of obligation and loyalty that could be widely understood. One was to remain true to one’s family, to honor his or her parents.

Widely published accounts of Philip II’s death reflected this common social pressure. One account reveals that the new king, Philip III, took a personal interest in planning the

⁶⁹ “...resumamos que la antigüedad de la Agricultura es la del mundo, su correspondencia con el cielo, su conformidad con la naturaleza, que la tierra nos sustenta como madre y la hemos de cultivar como hijos, sin buscar otras madrastras como lo son las demás adquisiciones.” Deza, *Agricultura*, 20-21.

⁷⁰ Deza develops this belief in books two and three of his *Gobierno Político de Agricultura*.

⁷¹ “el instituto natural y precepto original y antiguo que Dios a los hombres dio.” Cellorigo, *Memorial*, 173.

construction of his father's tomb. Nearing death, Philip II had informed his son of his desire for a peaceful and simple burial site. Unable to abide because of social expectations placed on him as a son, Philip III commissioned an illustrious tomb. Reminded of his father's wish by an advisor, Philip III responded, "My father said this according to his generous spirit, I have to show that I am his son through my desire to honor him."⁷² Much like the pressure placed on parents to care for their children, daughters and especially sons experienced pressure to maintain the family name and their parents' legacies, elevating them in public and personal esteem.

Agriculture, as Deza aptly noted, had long been the source of sustenance and conservation for Spaniards, and as a result, it deserved the respect and dutifulness that a child should show his mother. Turning to other sources to make a living, was a foolish betrayal, as no "step-mother" could provide the same kind of nurturing or nourishment. "Naturally," declared Lope de Deza of the process of farming, "nurturing and sustenance proceed from the mother to the men of the earth."⁷³ Embracing annuities or similar forms of income, an anonymous author of the era pointed out, abandoned a more secure living. Payments from investments and rented property trickled in, if they came in at all. Like a true mother's milk, the earth and its cultivation always sustained man, even if the quantities were uncertain.⁷⁴

Much like earlier statements about corrupt nobles, who were deemed "step-fathers" for their neglect of the people, Deza's statement reflects a seemingly common association

⁷² "Mi padre hizo en eso según su ánimo generoso, yo he de mostrar ser su hijo en desear honrarle." Gil González Dávila, *Teatro de las Grandezas de la Villa de Madrid* (1623) (Valladolid: Maxtor, 2003), 59.

⁷³ "Naturalmente la crianza y sustento procede de la madre y así a los hombre de la tierra." Deza, *Agricultura*, 20.

⁷⁴ "Discurso breve," González Palencia, *Reformación*, 232.

between step-parents and faulty familial relations. In one sense, these corrupted and disruptive professions were invasive. Like welcoming a step-mother into an established home these financial practices, allegedly of foreign origin, had broken up the happy balance of Spanish society, nearly wiping out the honest profession of farming.

Deza's accusation that farmers were embracing these "step-mothers" also suggests a sense of disrespect for the ancient and generous tradition of farming. These insolent sons were fracturing a bond with the mother that sustained their lives. The quest for wealth by means other than farming disturbed man's natural connection to the earth: his mother. Spurning a mother in favor of a "step-mother" was simply unnatural. Despite promises of easy living, no one could provide the same unwavering care. Man had to rely on his mother, the earth, for his sustenance and perpetuation. He should not deny her assistance, but should bond with her loyally, reaping from the relationship what he put into it.

A Natural(ized) Addition

The understanding of familial loyalty also underpinned the Junta Grande's decision to repopulate Castile through the migration and naturalization of foreigners. As with the mandate to expel courtiers from Madrid, this was not the first consideration of this plan. The Junta de Comercio, acting under the behest of the monarchy and its ministers during the early 1620s, formed a modest, commercial colony of Flemish tapestry weavers in the small Castilian town of Arévalo. The colony promised to provide rural Castile with a renewed population and a much needed body of workers. Officials may have also been motivated by the international implications of this plan. Writing his famous *Reason of State* in 1589 – a text that underwent translation into Spanish and went through at least

six editions in Spain during the era – Giovanni Botero suggested that kings seek to strengthen their own economy and weaken that of neighboring states by luring laborers from foreign countries to their realms to carry out the production of the same goods.⁷⁵ Perhaps taking Botero's advice, the monarchy may have hoped to enhance Spain's economy and continental standing. In the hostile environment of seventeenth-century Europe, commerce was a weapon and a way to vie for power.⁷⁶ In the end, financial difficulties kept the project from ever getting off the ground. Proponents of the plan petitioned for funding. Perhaps reluctant to allocate funds or give jobs to foreign immigrants, especially while many penniless and jobless Spaniards suffered, officials denied the project the money it needed to survive.⁷⁷

After all, the fear of a foreign presence permeated the literature of the era. In merely one example, the arbitrista Miguel Caja y Leruela lamented the invasion of foreign immigrants-turned-landowners. His 1623 work, titled *Discurso Sobre la Principal Causa y Reparación de la Necesidad* [Discourse on the Principal Cause and Repair of Necessity] linked foreign landownership to the rise in censos – an illegitimate form of “farming,” the author contested.⁷⁸ In his view, agriculturists had been forced into other professions by greedy sensualistas, leaving foreigners to purchase their lands.

Caja y Leruela was not alone in his disapproval of foreign migration to Spain. The author Pedro Fernández Navarrete also disagreed with the committee's impulse to bolster the population through immigration. He believed immigrants brought with them vices

⁷⁵ Botero, *Reason*, 153.

⁷⁶ For more on continental competition within commerce, see chapter 3 of this dissertation.

⁷⁷ AHN Consejos 51445.

⁷⁸ Miguel de Caja y Leruela, *Discurso sobre la principal causa y reparación de la necesidad*, (Madrid: 1623), 9r-10r.

from their homelands, as well as vulnerability to attack by their native kingdoms.⁷⁹ This was because immigrants, unlike natives to that land, “do not find themselves bound [to their new ruler] by either faith or love.”⁸⁰ He argued that the bond – seemingly paternal-filial – between ruler and ruled existed naturally between a king and his own subjects, and hoped to find what he termed “legal routes” for repopulation within the depleted Castilian populace. He later clarified what he meant. Realigning his view with the Junta Grande, he was promoting the use of rewards to increase marriage rates and stimulate procreation, a tactic the committee would embrace in its efforts to restore Castilian population.

Despite the fears expressed by some, the government stayed committed to the idea, publishing it in the reform articles of the Junta Grande de Reformatión. Of course, committee members placed certain stipulations on who would be allowed to enter. As the twenty-first article states, Castile would benefit from the increased immigration of “friends of the Crown.”⁸¹ This meant Catholic citizens of lands allied with Spain. Not wanting to invite those who would not contribute the good of the whole society, they made the acceptance of these immigrants contingent upon their having an occupation prior to entering Spain. Local justices were to “accommodate” sanctioned migrants with houses and lands on which to work, if necessary. In exchange for their migration and

⁷⁹ This perspective may have been a remnant of the late sixteen-century belief that foreign and non-Christian inhabitants in Spain secretly aided those of their ethnic, religious or geographic background in trying to invade Spain; see Bruce Taylor, “The Enemy Within and Without: An Anatomy of Fear on the Spanish Mediterranean Littoral,” in *Fear in Early Modern Society*, eds. William Naphy and Penny Roberts (New York: Manchester University Press, 1997), 79.

⁸⁰ Pedro Fernández de Navarrete, *Discursos Políticos*. (Barcelona, 1621), 25r.

⁸¹ González Palencia, *Reformatión*, 451.

contribution to the welfare of the king's lands and people, they would be exempted from municipal duties, as well as local and royal taxes for a period of six years.⁸²

The article also proposed to extend certain rights of citizenship to other foreigners residing in Spain. Once again, this was provided they met the specified criteria. Any foreign man with ten years of residency in Spain was eligible to be naturalized and to hold low-ranking public offices. Specifying further criteria, the article mandated that six years of that ten-year residency had to be spent married to a Spanish woman. Candidates for naturalization also had to be the head of a "populated house" (*casa poblada*).⁸³ Naturalization cases of foreign merchants seeking Spanish citizenship during this period show the use of identical criteria by petitioners, implying a general understanding of paternal conduct in the era.⁸⁴

As seen earlier, the assumption about fathers was that their loyalty to family anchored them to the communities in which they lived, making them a stable part of the population. Having a wife and children – a "casa poblada" – imposed upon a man certain social expectations. He was to remain with his family and conserve them to the best of his ability, or perhaps even develop an estate for his children, investing in the perpetuation of his family and community as seen in reformers' depictions of farmers. An understanding of these obligations and virtues appears in a report about a suicide that took place on January 17, 1623. The victim, an archer in the king's guard, had hung himself, leaving behind a wife and children. In a state of disbelief that any man would do

⁸² Ibid., 451.

⁸³ Ibid., 452.

⁸⁴ For two examples of these proceedings, see the 1623 petitions of Frenchmen Juan Francisco David and Pedro de la Farxa in Archivo General de las Indias (AGI) Contratación, 50B.

such a thing, reporters could only describe the victim as “crazy, bewitched, or possessed” [*“loco, hechizado o espiritado”*].⁸⁵ There seems to be little concern about the eternal damnation of his soul for having sinned by committing suicide. Rather, emphasis is placed on the abandonment of his wife and children, implying that any man in his right mind would have acted otherwise, compelled at least by a sense of duty toward his family, if not a satisfaction with family life. Of course, even devoted fathers might have to leave home or uproot their families to seek out employment elsewhere.⁸⁶ But the Junta Grande saw in the figure of the father and family man the qualities most likely to assure the stability of dwindling rural communities.

Making Fathers and Sons

While their plans to expel court visitors and naturalize foreign citizens had called on notions of fatherhood, the Junta Grande’s third policy sought to introduce men into it. Generated in the same set of twenty-three reform articles were regulations intended to increase Spain’s marriage rate and thus promote procreation among married, Spanish couples. In doing so, however, reform officials exercised an invasive paternalism over their subjects. They insinuated themselves into the private household and attempted to exert control over the prerogatives and responsibilities of fathers. Most assuredly, the

⁸⁵ Ángel González Palencia, ed. *Noticias de Madrid, 1621-1627* (Ayuntamiento de Madrid, Publicaciones de la Sección de Cultura e Información, Madrid, 1942), 45.

⁸⁶ According to Pescador, some Basque towns experienced the migration of men, including fathers and husbands, to the Americas in order to make a living and preserve the family. See Juan Javier Pescador, *The New World Inside a Basque Village: The Oiartzun Valley and Its Atlantic Emigrants* (Las Vegas: University of Nevada Press, 2004), 47-51. Allyson Poska has also noted the same in Galicia in her “When Bigamy is the Charge: Gallegan Women and the Holy Office,” in *Women in the Inquisition: Spain and the New World*, Mary E. Giles, ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 194-195.

monarchy had always recognized the importance of population to the strength and operation of its kingdoms. To quote, the Junta de Reformatión from its May 23, 1621 consulta to the king, the “greatness and authority” [*grandeza y autoridad*] of kings lay in the size and composition of their populations.⁸⁷ Despite this view, the monarchy had never directly engaged its subjects on these issues. The Junta Grande’s articles, however, did just that. By molding the conditions for marriage and offering incentives to procreate through the committee’s reform articles, the monarchy actively pursued the pronatalist goal of repopulating Castile, turning a matter that had generally been conceived of in familial terms into a matter of state. The perpetuation of family, through marriage and then procreation, became synonymous with the dutiful perpetuation of the kingdom and monarchy.

In their 1623 reform articles, the Junta Grande de Reformatión made perfectly clear their desire to bolster population through an increase in marriages. Article nineteen, to quote the committee, was designed to “help with multiplication...and the facility and frequency of the state of marriage by which multiplication is achieved.”⁸⁸ Although repopulation was the goal, royal reformers and their king also made clear that marriage was “the only legitimate method for population.”⁸⁹ In part, the monarchy was revealing its fear of the divine retribution that unsanctioned sexual unions would bring – a fear that had prompted them to halt prostitution in the same articles, claiming that such illicit

⁸⁷ González Palencia, *Reformatión*, 77.

⁸⁸ “porque [sic] en todo se ayude a la multiplicación, como cosa tan importante, y a la facilidad y frecuencia del estado del matrimonio por donde se consigue.” González Palencia, *Reformatión*, 443.

⁸⁹ This quotation is taken from the king’s letter to the Castilian city officials explaining the Junta Grande’s reform articles. It is dated October 28, 1622. González Palencia, *Reformatión*, 391.

activities had brought divine wrath on other empires.⁹⁰ At the same time, the monarchy may have been heeding the warnings of reformers, who in calling for Spain's repopulation, pointed to the critical need for a proper upbringing.

Many of the era's reformers feared that children resulting from affairs out of wedlock would not receive proper care or upbringing, failing to become useful and contributing members of society. According to one anonymous arbitrista, these children were the unwanted result of women who were unable to curb their carnal "appetites," and would be disposed of before they could ever become an asset to Spain. "[These children] become servants," the unnamed author claimed, "hidden and mistreated, so that most of them perish, greatly harming the multiplication of this Commonwealth."⁹¹ These monstrous mothers, whose detachment from their children made them the embodiment of disordered gender, neglected these poor creatures, curtailing their lives and depriving the king of subjects. If cared for and nourished by a legitimate mother and father, these children would grow to be adults, increasing the population, contributing to society and serving the monarchy. For these reasons, Cellorigo stressed the ability of marriage to "fertilize [fertilizar] our commonwealth with good people, born to and conceived legitimately by honorable parents."⁹²

According to Cellorigo, the repopulation of Castile was only a matter of entering people into marriage. Drawing a parallel to Spain's agricultural troubles and refuting Giovanni Botero's assertions about the difficulties of farming in Spain, the arbitrista

⁹⁰ See article 23, *Ibid.*, 453-454.

⁹¹ "si tienen hijos ilegítimos, son criados a escondidos y de tal manera y poco cuidado que los más de ellos perecen en daño de la multiplicación de la República;" see the anonymous paper, "Discurso breve," in *Ibid.*, 237.

⁹² "fertilizar nuestra República de buena gente, habida y procreada de legítimos y honrados padres." Cellorigo, *Memorial*, 58.

noted, “Spain is taken to be a sterile province...it is not that the earth is defective, but that it lacks people.”⁹³ To be sure, Cellorigo was intending to point out that a revived population could restore agriculture, but it is not inconceivable that he also meant to encourage the act of procreation. It was not a matter of infertility, but rather a need to plant the seed, to use Spain’s physical resources.

Although set on increasing marriages and thus raising birth rates, reformers were well aware that there were challenges to meeting their goal. The era’s reform literature reported “distractions” that kept Castile’s younger generations from marrying.⁹⁴ One such obstacle was the purported view that early seventeenth-century Spanish men had of women. According to those writing on the subject, men held women in low regard and marriage in even lower esteem. Taking a wife had become costly, both in terms of honor and expense. Some argued that the prevalent threat of adultery deterred many young men from seeking a wife. Men were all too aware that a wife’s extramarital affair would result in lost honor and reputation for her husband.⁹⁵ The law, as Cellorigo pointed out, permitted a man to punish a woman and her lover by his own hand. Still, he felt adulteresses were going unpunished. Executing an unfaithful wife, he argued, lowered the husband to the ranks of the most dubious man in society, the executioner, and admitted his cuckolding to the public. As a victim already, Cellorigo asked, why should he suffer further by becoming the joke of the town?⁹⁶

⁹³ “España es tenuta por estéril, como dice Juan Botero, no es por defecto de la tierra, sino por la falta de gente.” Ibid., 58.

⁹⁴ The use of the verb “distraer” to describe these obstacles appears in Ibid., 59.

⁹⁵ Georgina Dopico Black, *Perfect Wives, Other Women: Adultery and Inquisition in Early Modern Spain* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001).

⁹⁶ Cellorigo, *Memorial*, 59-60.

As if a loss of reputation was not costly enough, Cellorigo claimed that potential suitors also faced an inability to pay for the exorbitant lifestyles of young, Spanish women. Men allegedly fled from marriage either unwilling or unable to provide their wives with the opulent lifestyles to which they had become accustomed. He proposed that the monarchy reform conduct, especially of women who had given “unabated entrance” [*anchurosa entrada*] to their caprices and were simply avoiding marriage in order to continue this excessive lifestyle.⁹⁷

Also inhibiting to marriage were the expensive dowries that had become customary in Spain. Even if a young couple did hope to wed, the woman could not marry if her family could not provide a dowry. A steady inflation of dowries made it increasingly difficult for fathers to marry off daughters. This was caused, in part, by the competitive use of marriage to make social connections and political alliances with other, especially prominent families. Many daughters served their families by entering into strategic marriages that would benefit their family financially, socially and even politically. The problem was that multiple families might bid for these alliances, driving up the amount of dowry gifted to the bride.⁹⁸ For other women, simply finding the assets to cobble together a dowry was a challenge in the depressed Castilian economy.

Writing in 1618, an anonymous arbitrista pointed to poverty as a hindrance also to young married couples having or raising children. As if writing a scene from one of the era’s picaresque novels, the author claimed that “misery is so extreme [in Castile] that

⁹⁷ Ibid., 58; and “Discurso breve,” González Palencia, *Reformación*, 237.

⁹⁸ No research has been done on this in early modern Spain, but great insight on these issues in Italy appear in the work of Christiane Klapisch-Zuber; see especially, “The Griselda Complex: Dowry and Wedding Gifts in the Quattrocento,” in *Women, Family and Ritual in Renaissance Italy*, trans. Lydia Cochrane (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 213-246.

many married couples explicitly avoid having children because they cannot feed them and those that have them send them out into the world as servants...neglecting the cultivation of the land. Thus, the multiplication of workers also fails and places fall to rubble.”⁹⁹ Focused on the Castilian countryside, this author claims that growing poverty had prevented families from restoring these waning rural populations. Those choosing to have children, the author estimated, were forced to send these children away from home as they could not care for them. It was the author’s belief that poverty was limiting family-building in Spain and keeping rural towns and cities from rehabilitating their populations.

None of these obstacles went unnoticed by the Junta Grande de Reformatión. To encourage young men and women to forget these deterrents and enter into marriage, the committee offered incentives to marry and have children in its nineteenth article. The Junta Grande promised to give newlyweds a four year reprieve from certain taxes and public responsibilities. For two years after taking their vows, the couple would be free from royal and local taxes, while for two additional years they would be exempted from public offices, collections (vaguely termed “*cobranzas*” in the article) and requests to billet any guests, including soldiers.¹⁰⁰ By contrast, the committee intended to shame men not married by the age of 25. Beginning to show the invasively paternalistic attitude of the monarchy, the committee order that even if these young men were still living in

⁹⁹ “solo quiero advertir que llega a tanto la miseria que muchos casados procuran no tener hijos por no tener con que sustentarlos y los que los tienen los envian por ese mundo a servir...y todo junto hace grande falta a la labranza de la tierra. También falta la multiplicación de los labradores con que se caen y destruyen los lugares.” *Relación*, 203r.

¹⁰⁰ González Palencia, *Reformatión*, 443.

their parents' house, existing under "patria potestas" or parental authority as the committee put it, they would be charged taxes simply for failing to wed.¹⁰¹

Perhaps to encourage Castilians with limited assets to have families, this reform article also created immense tax breaks for those families with six or more sons. The article read: *el que tuviere seis hijos varones, sea libre por toda su vida de las dichas cargas y oficios concejiles* [he who has six male children is free for the rest of his life from the stated taxes and municipal duties].¹⁰² Given the financial need of the Spanish monarchy, the proposed exemption from taxes demonstrates a sense of urgency it felt toward the need to repopulate Spain's central kingdom.

In its articles, the Junta Grande also attempted to halt the inflation of dowries in order to stimulate marriage rates. Efforts to control dowries began in the late sixteenth century and continued through the Junta Grande's reform articles. As with concerns about the court and its negative effects on the wealthy households, officials feared that the financial foundation of the empire, the nobility, was dissipating as a result of the competitive use of dowries for political alliances of families. They hoped that suppressing inflated dowries would save noble estates and bring about a rise in marriage rates.¹⁰³

The articles of the Junta Grande de Reформación simply mandated the enforcement of past laws on dowries. Previous laws on dowries came from the *Recopilación de las Leyes*, a code of laws compiled by Philip II in 1567 from existing decrees and orders. Reiterating the old law, the committee specified a graduated scale that limited dowries based on the annual household income – a policy that maintained the social order that

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 443.

¹⁰² Ibid., 443.

¹⁰³ See the king's letter to Castilian city officials, October 28, 1622; Ibid., 388.

reformers sought to preserve. Those making below 200,000 maravedis were not to allot more than 600,000 maravedis for each legitimate daughter, while a household income between 200,000 and 500,000 permitted dowries of up to one million (*cuento*). The first of these categories applied to artisans or other laborers, and the second to merchants. Having a household income ranging from 500,000 to 1,400,000 allowed a father to give each bride-to-be a dowry of 1,500,000 maravedis. Households with revenue greater than 1.5 million maravedis could gift up to 12 million maravedis in dowry. These latter categories pertained to nobles and professionals with high ranking office.¹⁰⁴

The article also took into account nuptial gifts. Dresses, jewelry and various other items gifted to the bride before the wedding were to be considered in the overall dowry and could not exceed a value of 1/8 of the total dowry. Limitations also applied to the gifting of *arras* between families and the couple. The existing laws limited these gifts, tokens of recognition of the contract binding the bride and groom, to a value of one tenth of the liquid assets of the either family. The limitation on *arras* suggests that families during this era sought ways to remain competitive despite limitation on the amount of dowry they could offer, offering instead nuptial gifts to the families they were attempting to court. To be sure that the parties involved complied with the laws, the Junta Grande proposed that municipal governments maintain a registry of dowries and gifts, and that

¹⁰⁴ The assignment of these professional categories to the amount of dowry permitted is based on James Casey's statistical analysis of dowries in seventeenth-century Granada. James Casey, *Family and Community in Early Modern Spain: The Citizens of Granada, 1570-1739* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 105. Helen Nader clarifies the value of the maravedi in terms of reales and ducats in her *Liberty in Absolutist Spain: The Habsburg Sale of Towns, 1516-1700* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990), 229-230.

authorities investigate the total assets of each family to verify that laws were not being broken.¹⁰⁵

But even with limits on dowries or wedding gifts, reform officials recognized that a critical portion of society still lacked the ability to provide their daughters with a dowry. To remedy this situation, the Junta Grande turned to the churches of Castile. Through their articles they requested that the kingdom's churches contribute money to help fund the dowries of poor and orphaned women. This meant setting aside the estates of those that died intestate, funds usually reserved for the church. They also asked parishes to evaluate collections normally devoted to pious works. Those judged as "useless" should be dedicated to sheltering women and orphans within convents or used to provide dowries for women without one. The sum collected from these sources would be entrusted to an officer appointed by the government, who would then distribute them accordingly. Showing their desire to make these marriages fruitful and revive the population of Spain, the Junta specified that the Royal Council would aid with choosing the recipients of these state-sponsored dowries. The criteria for selection in these cases included need, class, as well as age. That the last of these three appeared first on their list of criteria was certainly no coincidence.¹⁰⁶ It showed an unspoken bias toward women of childbearing age, reflecting the monarchy's continued desire to repopulate Castile.

¹⁰⁵ See article 16, *Ibid.*, 440-442.

¹⁰⁶ The terms used to distinguish these women from one another were (in the order appearing in the proposal): "edad, calidad y pobreza;" see article 21, *Ibid.*, 443.

Conclusion

The Junta Grande's pro-marriage and pronatalist policies reveal the complex role of gender in these reforms. It was not just that notions of fatherhood informed or justified the policies proposed to and enacted by the monarchy. Gendered notions of the king as the father of his people, it seems, also led the monarchy to act paternalistically. Focused on dowries and procreation, each article granted the king increased power over private issues, and encroached upon the rights of fathers and patriarchs to control the marriages and births in their own families.

Exerting power over dowries limited fathers' options and in some cases replaced fathers altogether. In order to accomplish its goal of reviving rural Castile, the monarchy had sought to act as father by providing dowries to young women in need and deciding the appropriate quantity of gifts and other assets that should be exchanged in celebration of a marriage. In the former case, the monarchy manipulated its female subjects the same way as fathers in early modern Spain might their daughters, seeking to commit their bodies to the perpetuation of Spain and the family line respectively. In the latter case, fathers did not negotiate the sums dedicated to dowries. Rather the king and his men would dictate the proper amounts, limiting competition and the advancement of families seeking to ascend in the social hierarchy. The king had not taken complete control of these issues, but his paternal presence could certainly be felt.

The use of incentives and punishments to promote marriage and procreation was also very paternalistic. This tactic implied that marriage and parenthood were institutions intended to serve the state's needs. The exemption from taxes was an honor, and as with honors given for devotion on the battlefield or in public office, the implication was that

these men and women were performing a service for their king.¹⁰⁷ The punishments assigned to unwed men, as well as reformers' castigations of "distracted" subjects, recommended that these Spaniards had flouted social norms and abandoned their obligations, avoiding marriage to maintain a pleasure-filled and self-interested lifestyle. In many ways this was no different than criticisms of pretendientes, who were alleged to have neglected their social responsibilities for the pursuit of pleasure and self-promotion at court. Neither foppish court visitors nor unwed, young men lived up to expectations of manly conduct and virtue, and they certainly were not acting toward the interest of family, community and the general common good of Spain.

As these policies subtly drew on gendered notions that placed the king as the father of the people, they also came into conflict with gendered practices and views that had taken root among the people. Large dowries and fashionable lifestyles (as seen in chapter 3) reflected wealth and power; in other words, the manliness respectively of fathers and men at court. These alternative forms of gendered expression, however, conflicted with the needs of the monarchy, prompting the king and his top ministers to either brand these behaviors effeminate or to act in the place of fathers unwilling to consider the monarchy's needs. Quite conflictingly, this included fathers acting in the best interests of their families, or more specifically, those men putting the interests of their families before the interests of Spain. Gender expectations placed on men held that fathers should care

¹⁰⁷ This use of rewards to promote procreation has also been studied briefly by Sarah Hanley, who points to similar political policies in early modern France as efforts by the middle class magistrates to perpetuate their values, their power and their lineages. While Spanish reformers may also have shared some of these sentiments, they seem largely concerned with reversing a crisis of depopulation by promoting marriage and its hopefully inevitable by-product – procreation. See Hanley, "Engendering the State: Family Formation and State Building in Early Modern France." *French Historical Studies*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (Spring 1989), 12.

for their families at all cost, but the models of virtue offered by the monarchy qualified this view to fit its needs. Indeed, fathers were supposed to care for their families; however, not at the expense of Spain and the common good. It is this conflict, as seen in the educational reforms of the 1620s and 1630s, which serves as the focus of chapter 5.

Chapter 5 - All the King's Men¹

While the issues of population, agriculture and commerce seemed to take center stage in the writings of many reformers, there was still one more area of reform that could bring about the restoration of virtuous customs – education. From the time the Junta Grande de Reformación issued its reform articles in 1623 to nearly the end of the 1630s, Philip IV and his ministers, most specifically his closest advisor (*privado* or *valido*) the Count-Duke of Olivares, turned their attention to the reform of education, especially of Spain's nobility.

What made nobles the primary focus of these reform efforts was their role as the natural leaders of Spanish society. Traditionally nobles had served the monarchy as government officials and military officers. The king, Olivares, and many other officials alleged that nobles had begun to neglect these duties, paying closer attention to their own needs than those of the monarchy. The once industrious and honorable behavior of the nobles, lamented Olivares, had turned to “a lack of obedience and tepid love [for Spain] and an obsession with one's own ends.”² By educating the children of Spain's nobles and imparting knowledge, skills, and a greater sense of duty, the monarchy and its officials hoped to stave off the threat of decline.

¹ A version of this chapter appears under the title “All the King's Men: Educational Reform and the Restoration of the Service Nobility in Early Seventeenth-Century Spain” in the forthcoming edited volume *Contested Spaces of Nobility in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Charles Lipp and Matthew P. Romaniello (Ashgate).

² The statement “falta de obediencia y tibieza de amor y sobra de fines propios” appears in a September 1632 letter from the Count-Duke of Olivares to the Cardinal-Infante Fernando, the brother of Philip IV. See Document XI in *Memoriales y Cartas del Conde Duque de Olivares*, Tomo II, eds. John Elliott and José de la Peña, (Madrid: Editoriales Alfaguara, 1978), 75.

In order to effect these changes, the monarchy would have to compete with nobles' allegiance to their families. Being a noble in early-modern Spain called for commitment to both family and the crown. In addition to filling crucial offices for the monarchy, a good nobleman sought out honors at court and other ways to advance family name and reputation. Family interests consistently influenced his actions and decisions. Service to family and the monarchy were not incompatible, but for a government that feared its impending collapse, the priority of these obligations was clear: the conservation of the monarchy should be the first concern of the nobles. In an effort to secure the loyalty and service of the nobility, Philip IV and royal officials would wage an educational campaign for nearly twenty years, skillfully navigating the contentious notion of nobility.

As this chapter shows, these educational reforms, which stressed service to the crown as the key tenet of nobility and plotted duty to the king against prominent noble concerns with legacy and lineage, did more than assert the monarchy's own contentious understanding of nobility. They revealed the contradictions, conflicts and fluctuations in the gendered notion of virtue represented in royal reforms during the first quarter of the century and into the 1630s. Although it had emphasized paternal obligations and sentiments as the bases for Spain's perpetuation and promoted marriage and family-building for the sake of repopulating Spain (as seen in chapter 4) the monarchy downplayed the obligations of nobles to their families. This inconsistency demonstrated the importance of social station to the formation of gendered conduct, and the struggle to define the roles of noble fathers revealed the coexistence of competing discourses of gender during the era. Faced with new circumstances in the early 1630s, royal reformers would revisit the question of education, considering its broader implementation in the

peninsula and showing how gender could be formed and reformed to fit the perceived needs of Spain and its monarchy.

Defining Nobility

The early modern understanding of nobility was complicated and contentious. The nobility was a social class comprised of a complex hierarchy of titled and non-titled subjects, who perpetuated those titles and that social class by carrying on their lineage. The new generations of each noble family inherited the titles earned by their ancestors. At the same time, nobility had long been considered a distinguished trait or set of traits, which became manifest through deeds done in the service of the king or for the public good. Such noble qualities served as impetus for the ruler to grant a title of nobility to a valorous man, and thus to his family for perpetuity.

Debates in the era considered which of these two elements reflected the true source of nobility. Those writing on the topic in France during this era placed a growing emphasis on nobility through birth, intending to quash or rein in the independent actions of nobles.³ These same questions of family and public service were woven deeply into the Spanish understanding of nobility, but Spanish authors, perhaps influenced by a sense of crisis, took a slightly different view.

In his *Discourse on the Spanish Nobility* (1622) Bernabé Moreno de Vargas recognized the importance of both family and service to the concept of nobility. However, his analysis of this relationship stressed action over heredity. Moreno argued repeatedly that nobility was a natural trait that manifested itself in one's actions. "Those

³ Ellery Schalk, *From Valor to Pedigree: Ideas of Nobility in France in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986).

that possess natural and true nobility,” Moreno maintained, “have it in their very spirit (*ánimo*).”⁴ This meant that anyone with these traits could become a noble if recognized by the king as a noble due to their honorable deeds. The titles and honors that marked members of the nobility, the author diligently reminded his readers, were merely acknowledgements of these natural traits and their expression through service; they marked society’s leaders, but they did not comprise nobility. Subsequent generations received these same titles, but did not necessarily possess the same noble spirit as their ancestors, who had earned these admirable distinctions from their rulers.

With these qualifications in mind, Moreno admitted – perhaps a bit reluctantly – that the legitimate inheritance of noble titles was also a “natural” form of nobility. But quickly quelling the notion that lineage was more important than service, he clarified, “that which is natural is the familial bond, the blood and the lineage, not the nobility.”⁵ Again, this was because Moreno viewed the inheritance of noble titles as less “effective” than the noble qualities with which some were born. Many of the nobles inheriting titles and honors did not possess the truly noble qualities of their ancestors. Despite this difference, the author claimed, people frequently conflated these natural and hereditary forms of nobility. For him, true nobility was an inclination toward and execution of service to king and kingdom, but he recognized that the antiquity of noble families garnered great respect in Spanish society.⁶

⁴ “poseedores de la natural y verdadera nobleza...consiste en el ánimo.” Bernabé Moreno de Vargas, *Discursos de la nobleza de España* (Madrid: Viuda de Alonso Martín, 1622), 9r. The same idea is repeated on page 13r.

⁵ “lo natural, es la filiación, la sangre, y el parentesco y no la nobleza.” *Ibid.*, 10r.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 13r-v, 48r.

The notion that nobles owed allegiance to both king and family appears throughout early-modern Spanish society. One has only to look at the life of Gaspar de Guzmán, the Count-Duke of Olivares for proof. Although known for serving as the king's *privado*, much of his life was shaped by family interests. Olivares abandoned studies at the University of Salamanca and an ecclesiastical career to go to Valladolid, then the site of Philip III's court. Called there after the death of his older brother, his father wanted him to seek honors and rewards (*mercedes*) in order to advance the family name and reputation. The same quest for social status had also underpinned Olivares' arranged marriage with his cousin, Doña Inés Zúñiga y Velasco, a strategic marriage that strengthened the alliance of these two houses. After being relieved of office as the *privado* to Philip IV in 1643, Olivares worried that his dismissal meant that he had failed his family, tarnishing the reputation of his ancestors.⁷ His worries reflected the guidance given in a debate published in Madrid in the 1630s. It reminded its readers that a proper nobleman not only dedicated himself loyally to his king but also remained always "advantageous to his family" (*provechoso a su familia*).⁸

This debate, set for discussion at the Imperial College (*Colegio Imperial*) in Madrid, offered a perspective absent from Moreno's work. It maintained that noble behaviors could be learned. Less condemning of hereditary nobles than Moreno, the unknown authors of the debate – alleged to be government ministers – made the following statement: Nature gives nobility, and for the virtue of the heir to a noble title there are

⁷ John Elliott, *Count-Duke of Olivares: Statesman in a Time of Crisis* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 18-19.

⁸ Agustín Castro, "Conclusiones políticas...defendiéndose en los Reales Estudios de Colegio Imperial de la Compañía de Jesús." (Madrid) Biblioteca Nacional de España (BNE), VE/12/5.

ways of teaching him the “what,” and “when,” and the “where” that a noble should know.⁹ Once again, these authors attributed nobility to a natural root, but as they termed it later, this was only a “remote foundation.” Lacking inherent, noble traits, the heir of a noble title could “cultivate” (*granjear*) his nobility by learning how to carry out noble tasks and serving the king.¹⁰

Requisite training, they clarified, included either military drilling or formal schooling. For the sons of nobles seeking a military career, they encouraged travel and gaining experience by joining the king’s armies. The authors exempted only the first-born sons of Spain’s titled nobles from either travel or rigorous studies, excepting of course that the king requested them to represent him abroad. Family was important, but as these authors saw it, service was top priority.

This publication presented some of the reemerging and debated strategies for noble education, arguing for example the virtues of practical learning over theory. The monarchy embraced some of these pedagogical tactics in its own educational reforms. More importantly, its reforms also reflected an awareness of the contentious division in the lives of nobles between public service and duty to family. As they crafted their educational programs, the monarchy followed one key principle offered by Moreno and his cohort: service was the true essence of nobility.¹¹

⁹ “Naturaleza le da Nobleza, y en virtud de la primogenitura heredamientos: el arte ajena, le enseña, que, y cuando, y donde deba saber.” Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

The Reales Estudios

Less than three years after the start of Philip IV's reign, the king and the Count-Duke of Olivares put into action a plan to start a school of "general studies" in Madrid. In early 1624, the king and his privado sent a letter to Rome to the administration of the Society of Jesus, better known as the Jesuits. Aware of the successful establishment of Jesuit schools throughout the European continent and in the New World, Philip IV and Olivares hoped that the Society would direct the new school. The Jesuits eventually agreed, and with the designation of Madrid's *Colegio Imperial* as the site for the new institution, the "Reales Estudios" took a few steps closer to becoming a reality.¹²

Over the next few years, the monarchy and the Jesuits hashed out details about the Reales Estudios. Funding would come from taxes levied in the Indies as well as from the so-called "chest of the dead" (*caja de difuntos*) a collection of state-owned possessions left by those who died intestate.¹³ At this time, Father Aguado, the provincial of the Society and the confessor of Olivares sought out candidates for the school's twenty-three teaching chairs. Presumably due to connections between funding and taxes from the Indies, the president of the Council of the Indies, Juan de Villela, received the post of superintendent of the school.

On January 23, 1625, Villela finished an official plan for and description of the school. This plan became public the following year, but only in an effort to placate the complaints of the local Castilian universities, who had heard rumors about the new

¹² José Simón Díaz, *Historia del Colegio Imperial de Madrid*, 2ª edición (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Madrileños, 1992), 149.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 156.

school.¹⁴ In his plan, Villela explains the motivations behind its creation. According to the author:

Although there is great interest in extending education to common people, it is much more important that education not be lacking among the children of princes and nobles because they are the most principal part of the Republic; with good or bad customs this group will forcibly drag along the rest of society, and with the passage of time, control of the government and administration of the Kingdom will eventually rest in their hands before they are rid of the vices they developed as children.¹⁵

The Reales Estudios would educate young nobles and mold them into the next generation of leaders – *cabezas* – who would govern the Spanish state. As the natural leaders of their people, nobles were expected to serve in this role. Thus, Villela justified the school on grounds of saving and cultivating the “superior potential of their souls.”¹⁶

Although Villela failed to mention it directly, the service of nobles also included duty as officers in the military. This responsibility did not escape the founders of the school. The lower divisions of the curriculum consisted of liberal arts courses, including studies in ancient languages and philosophies. The school’s upper division continued liberal studies but added courses in mathematics, astronomy, hydraulics, and geometry. Supplemented by lessons on building fortifications, the curriculum reflected the

¹⁴ Ibid., 149, 157.

¹⁵ “aunque se interesa mucho en que esta buena educación se extienda a la gente común, pero mucho más importa que no les falte a los hijos de los Príncipes y gente noble, porque es la parte mas principal de la Republica, la cual con sus buenas, o malas costumbres lleva tras sí con violencia todo lo demás, y porque con el tiempo viene a parar en sus manos el gobierno y administración del Reino.” This study uses a reprint of the 1625 plan, which appears in a publication defending the school against attacks by the Universities of Salamanca and Alcalá de Henares. See page 1v of the document titled “Por los Reales Estudios que el Rey Nuestro Señor ha fundado en el Colegio Imperial de la Compañía de Jesús de Madrid,” in Archivo General de Simancas (AGS), Gracia y Justicia 972.

¹⁶ “las potencias superiores del alma.” Ibid., 2r.

monarchy's desire to teach young nobles the art of seafaring and give them greater technical and tactical knowledge of warfare.¹⁷

The exclusion of non-noble Spaniards from the new school aligned with other educational reforms of the 1620s. Like so many other reforms of the era, the earliest educational reforms of Philip IV's rule sought to conserve the monarchy by having men fulfill jobs commensurate with their social station. Thus in February 1623, Junta Grande de Reformación, a special committee directed by the Count-Duke of Olivares for the restoration of social order and general reform of conduct in Castile, sought to reduce the number of grammar schools in Spain to one school in each of its largest cities. The committee argued that common Spaniards had fruitlessly invested in education, distracting them from "other occupations and positions that were more useful to them and the Republic."¹⁸ Orphanages and charitable hospitals should abandon lessons in grammar. Administrators and caretakers should instead direct their young charges toward other forms of training, particularly that of becoming sailors "for which they would be very useful given the lack of sea captains in these kingdoms."¹⁹ A 1627 order from Philip IV to Spain's major cities made similar attempts. Based on a memorandum (*memorial*) by a noble from Palencia by the name of Andrés Gutiérrez de Haro, the order called for the formation of municipal boards that would tend to the care and professional training of Spain's growing population of orphans. These children could be treated for

¹⁷ Ibid., 3r, 6v. Similar curricula also appeared in French military academies of the era; see Jonathan Dewald, *Aristocratic Experience and the Origins of Modern Culture: France, 1570-1715* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993), 54.

¹⁸ "que empleado en otras ocupaciones y ministerios hubiera sido más útil a ellos y a la República." Ángel González Palencia, *La Junta de Reformación: Documentos procedentes del Archivo Histórico Nacional y del General de Simancas, 1618-1625* (Valladolid: Academia de Estudios Histórico-Sociales de Valladolid, 1932), 452.

¹⁹ "en que serán muy útiles, por la falta que ay en este reino de pilotos." Ibid., 453.

illnesses, clothed, and have their skills assessed. From there they could be assigned to a master to learn a trade. The effort, Gutiérrez assured his king, was worth “the fruit it is bound to bear.”²⁰ If properly cared for and given basic training, these children could turn into a good, inexpensive form of labor, bolstering the workforce and improving Spain’s economic situation. This was provided that these future apprentices focused on their careers and not on frivolous lessons in grammar or other such studies.²¹

By contrast, the failure to provide children – noble or non-noble – with the proper education or training left them vulnerable to vice and deprived the king of their service. Gutiérrez de Haro assured his ruler that the neglect of Spain’s parentless children would result in their corruption. Rather than useful subjects contributing to the welfare of the kingdom, they would merely spread “sickness and vices, being a greater detriment than benefit to the Republic.”²² As seen above, Villela offered a similar assessment of noble children in his plan for the Reales Estudios. To reiterate his previous statement, he claimed that young nobles, “With good or bad customs...will forcibly drag along the rest of society, and with the passage of time, control of the government and administration of the Kingdom will eventually rest in their hands before they are rid of the vices they developed as children.” Like Gutiérrez, Villela noted the susceptibility of children to corruptive influences. He feared that young nobles would take their positions as the leaders of Spain guided by improper customs or habits (*costumbres*). Villela may have

²⁰ “el fruto que se espera de ella.” Archivo Histórico Nacional (AHN), Osuna, legajo 3620, 25-1.

²¹ See document titled “Propuesta de don Andrés Gutiérrez de Haro, Caballero del Hábito de Calatrava, sobre la crianza y aplicación de los niños desamparados” in AHN, Osuna, legajo 3620, 25-2.

²² “con enfermedades y vicios, siendo antes de daño que de provecho en la Republica.” Ibid.

worried that nobles would be poor exemplars of virtuous conduct for the rest of Spanish society, but based on the latter portion of this statement, it seems most likely that his greatest concern lay with the inability of decadent nobles to properly guide or lead the people. As he later pointed out, reforming profligate and corrupted nobles to make them suitable for government service would take a great deal of time, costing the king years of valuable service from these elite subjects or leading to countless errors by vice-ridden officials. Fearful of the impending collapse of the monarchy, reformers like Vilella knew that the state could neither afford nor endure such mistakes or lapses in duty.²³

The key to avoiding these undesirable behaviors and assuring greater service to the king was education. Only by teaching children from an early age could they be saved from an otherwise inevitable life of vice and sloth, and develop proper conduct and habits for the rest of their lives. The Jesuit and royal chronicler Juan de Mariana explained the role of education in his 1599 *De Rege et Regis Institutione*.²⁴ According to Mariana, children are pure by nature, but if not tended to while young they become ruined by vice as they age. He maintained that youthful attraction to the flesh and other pleasures always threatened to “invade” and corrupt the *ánimo* or *espíritu*, the spirit or soul of the child. Still impressionable, children internalized lessons, giving shape to a particular spirit and affecting conduct throughout their adult life. Well educated and endowed with a good spirit, these children would continued to fend off vice.²⁵ Beginning this education

²³ Archivo General de Simancas (AGS), Gracia y Justicia 972, 2v.

²⁴ Mariana’s text, created in Latin as an educational text for the new king Philip III, was translated to Spanish in 1981. The translation is used here. Juan de Mariana, *La Dignidad Real y la Educación del Rey* (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Constitucionales, 1981).

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 179 and 208.

early was crucial. “No matter the precepts given,” Mariana claimed, “at no other age will people admit any outside change or reform.”²⁶

The 1620 novel *El Caballero Perfecto*, by Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo, illustrates these principles clearly. The novel, which touts the virtuous effects of education, recounts the life of a nobleman referred to as Don Alonso. During his childhood, Don Alonso undergoes an education of both “armas y letras” (military drill and studies). In addition to practicing military arts, he gains theoretical knowledge for navigation and combat from mathematical studies. He completes his education with liberal arts lessons meant to instill in him virtue and good customs. Studies in disciplines such as history, which the Salas Barbadillo divides into the fields of divine and secular history, provided Don Alonso with a better understanding of past societies as well as virtuous models of behavior. The result of this comprehensive education is the protagonist’s “perfection of spirit” (*perfección del ánimo*), a quality which makes him an invaluable servant to his king and helps him to fend off vice and temptation throughout his life. This is especially true when Don Alonso is faced with the death of his family. Salas Barbadillo comments, “possessing a wealthy estate, without parents or siblings, and with a free disposition [Don Alonso] could have given in unconditionally to vice, if he had not possessed in his spirit and understanding so many internal weapons with which to defend himself.”²⁷ Despite a loss of guidance and a tremendous increase in wealth and

²⁶ “En otra edad ya no admiten, por preceptos que se les dé, cambio alguno exterior ni reforma.” *Ibid.*, 135.

²⁷ “rico de hacienda, desamparado de padres y hermanos, y en la disposición libre que pudiera entregarle desfrenadamente a todos los vicios, si él no tuviera en su espíritu y entendimiento tantas armas interiores para defenderse.” See Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo, *El Caballero Perfecto*, ed. Pauline Marshall (Boulder: University of Colorado Press, 1949), 6 and 9 for the above quotation.

power, the young noble is able to withstand the temptations that surround him as a result of his education. Without an edifying education, such as that provided by the Reales Estudios, Villela feared that Spain's young nobles would not fare as well upon inheriting power or money.²⁸

As seen earlier, the curriculum planned for the Reales Estudios had similar content and objectives to the studies completed by Salas Barbadillo's protagonist. The schedule for the Reales Estudios lacked practical lessons in military skills, but mirrored Don Alonso's education in most other areas. In addition to the training necessary for the formation of a good military officer, it also included similar studies in liberal arts disciplines and theology. The study of scripture, supporters of the Reales Estudios pointed out, was a way to shape the customs and character of young men. Villela averred that lessons learned from the Bible could "mold" and "work" (*labrar* and *cultivar*) young nobles the same way that an artisan crafted a finished product or the farmer cultivated land. That is to say that these lessons yielded moral adults and dutiful subjects to serve the king.²⁹

Toward the middle of his plan, Villela offered his readers an additional justification for forming the school. He felt the schooling of young nobles was insufficient. Most nobles received an education through private tutors.³⁰ To Villela, tutors could provide only an incomplete education. Unlike schools, which offered a variety of classes taught by specialists in each field, tutors had a limited scope of subjects they could teach. He

²⁸ AGS, Gracia y Justicia 972, 2r.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 1v, 9r.

³⁰ Richard Kagan, "Olivares y la Educación de la Nobleza Española," in *La España del Conde Duque de Olivares: Encuentro Internacional sobre la España del Conde Duque de Olivares celebrado en Toro los días 15-18 de septiembre de 1987*, eds. John Elliott and Ángel García Sanz (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1990), 232.

added that students taught by tutors lacked motivation to succeed academically. After all, privately tutored pupils lacked the competition which pushed students to excel in public schools.³¹

Villela argued that some noble parents even neglected their children's education entirely. He commented disapprovingly that noble parents "[did] not provide for or hope for anything more than for their sons to live in order to carry forward the antiquity of their families...they conserve them by not engaging them in study or any other activity that might cause them pain or annoyance."³² In particular, he meant that nobles refused to educate their first-born sons. By choosing not to educate their eldest sons, noble parents hoped to protect them from the obvious perils of military training as well as the strain of rigorous studies, which were believed to have an unhealthy effect if pursued too vigorously.³³

As Villela noted, nobles protected first-born sons because they represented the future and perpetuation of noble families. They inherited *mayorazgos* or entails, which held the majority of the family fortune. They were also the children upon which the family depended for the continuation of the bloodline. Having an heir to carry on the family name and title meant more than leaving a legacy. The perpetuation of lineage, as Moreno de Vargas had clarified, was the basis for tremendous public esteem.³⁴ Motivated by

³¹ AGS, Gracia y Justicia 972, 2r.

³² "ni desean más que vivan, para que lleven adelante la antigüedad de sus familias, y libran buena parte de su conservación [de sus hijos] en no ejercitarles en el estudio, ni en otra ocupación que les cause pena o fastidio." Ibid., 1v.

³³ Stated somewhat vaguely, Juan de Mariana likens intensive study to, or perhaps equates it with, spending too little time in the sun and fresh air, without which he feels the student's body will physically degrade; see his *Dignidad Real*, 192-3.

³⁴ Moreno, *Discursos*, 13r-v.

these reasons to protect their eldest sons, noble parents withheld their children from a potentially perilous education.

Salas Barbadillo's novel *El Caballero Perfecto* lends credibility to Villela's claim. Because he is the second son in the family, Don Alonso receives what the author refers to as "a mayorazgo in a virtuous upbringing."³⁵ By this the author means to reference Don Alonso's comprehensive education, which stands in contrast to the true *mayorazgo* (family inheritance) that his older brother, Luis, will inherit. While he provides a lengthy description of Don Alonso's education, Salas Barbadillo makes no mention of any formal schooling or military training for Luis. In fact, he shows the family's desire to shelter Luis, writing that the boys' parents and servants discourage Alonso from inviting his brother to hunt with him. Resisting this protection, Luis leaves to hunt on his own, and realizing his family's greatest fears, suffers a fatal fall from his horse. The author seems to allude to the dangers of noble education in his book, but he also traces the successful career of his protagonist as a soldier and statesman, elucidating the importance of education to the creation of a "perfect noble."³⁶

Through his criticisms of neglectful parents, Villela hoped to make the same point. Priority should be placed on raising and training nobles to be loyal subjects, not on their isolation and protection as the primogenitures of their families. Endowed with a good education, the children of nobles could carry out their public duties, but without they would become useless to the monarchy and unable to serve the king in their traditional capacities. Dedicated only to the perpetuation of their families, they would conserve

³⁵ "le establecieron el mayorazgo en la virtuosa crianza." Salas Barbadillo, *Caballero Perfecto*, 5.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 5-7.

their lineage but not the monarchy. Claiming that the self-interest of nobles had always caused problems for the monarchy, Villela firmly asserted, “It is because of this that no well governed Republic has trusted the education of its children to the diligence and care of their parents; for this reason they invented public schools.”³⁷

With this statement, he laid bare the deep tensions between the expectations placed on noblemen by their kings and by their families, as well as the monarchy’s aggressively paternalistic attitude toward the education of young nobles. Villela’s attempts to emphasize the importance of noble service and the need for the monarchy to provide young nobles an education did more than dismiss the role of family; it encroached upon parental authority. According to the era’s authors, the education given to children was the prerogative of their parents. Through the well read *El Gobernador Cristiano* [The Christian Governor] Fray Juan Márquez protested the state’s interference in disciplining children.³⁸ It was the preserve of fathers or the tutors they hired to educate children and teach them right from wrong.³⁹ Gil González Dávila offered a similar view in his 1623 *Teatro de las Grandezas de la Villa de Madrid*, referring to the *Ayo* or the private tutor to the prince as “an extension of the authority of the father, in order to prepare, reform, mold and correct the spirit and thoughts of [his child].”⁴⁰ Aggressive and paternalistic, Villela’s statement attempted to subjugate parental prerogative to the monarchy’s needs.

³⁷ “Ninguna Republica bien gobernada ha fiado la educación de sus hijos de la diligencia y cuidado de sus padres.” AGS, Gracia y Justicia 972, 1v.

³⁸ As noted in chapter 2 of this dissertation, this text was reprinted at least three times during the first quarter of the seventeenth century.

³⁹ Márquez, *El Gobernador Cristiano* (Madrid: Teresa Justi, 1625), 65, 208-209.

⁴⁰ “que Ayo no es otra cosa que un traslado de la autoridad del padre, para enderezar, reformar, recoger, y corregir el ánimo y pensamientos del Príncipe.” Gil González Dávila, *Teatro de las Grandezas de la Villa de Madrid* (1623) (Valladolid: Maxtor, 2003), 321.

It called for the unwavering loyalty and dedication to the king of both noblemen and their sons. If the monarchy was to survive, sons would have to become the military and government leaders they were born to be, and fathers would have to put aside their familial concerns, giving the king their sons to train for the good of the monarchy.

But while the monarchy and its agents deemphasized the importance of preserving noble lineage in the plan for the Reales Estudios, they may not have discounted entirely the needs of noble families. Proponents of the school may have intended to bolster the reputation of the Reales Estudios not only to bring it prestige and but also to encourage nobles to enroll their sons in the new institution. As noted earlier, nobles sought opportunities to build their families' public honor and reputation. If it was not enticing enough for nobles to place their children in a school personally endowed and endorsed by the royal family, its creators surrounded the opening of the Reales Estudios with pomp that might tempt them to enroll their children. Attended by the king and queen, the inaugural ceremony appears to have included a reading of Lope de Vega's poem *Isagoge a los Reales Estudios* ("Preamble to the Reales Estudios") as well as a presentation from the students of the recently opened school. The latter was very well received, and its multiple performances granted the children of nobles the opportunity to impress the royals and the general public. Meanwhile, the former provided a further dimension of popular recognition for the school, as Lope de Vega was a very celebrated literary figure in the era.⁴¹ In both cases, the Reales Estudios provided nobles with a chance to affiliate themselves with the new institution and raise their families' public esteem.

⁴¹ Simón Díaz, *Colegio Imperial*, 90-91.

The king's attempts to hire renowned scholars to teach at the school served similar purposes. Correspondence from the late 1620s relates the king's negotiations over the appointment of academic chairs. In 1628, Father Francisco Aguado and Philip IV communicated about who to hire for the remaining teaching positions. The king obdurately resisted Aguado's suggestions to hire certain instructors, holding out for the appointment of some of Europe's most prestigious Jesuit scholars. When in December 1628, the Jesuit administrator informed the monarch of the poor health of Juan de Matos, who held the chair in politics, the king responded, "I have to insist that Sirmond come to teach this course...tell the Count-Duke what it will take so that I know and it gets done."⁴² Philip IV certainly hoped to provide a top-shelf education for the pupils at the Reales Estudios. However, his demand for the Frenchman Jacques Sirmond, a renowned Jesuit professor of ecclesiastical history, was also a move to give the school noteworthiness.⁴³ In another December 1628 memorandum, the king again insisted that Aguado get Sirmond on faculty. "For as soon as that vine is planted," argued the king, "the resulting fruit will be extremely reputable for this foundation, to see the prime subjects from every land coming to serve in this school."⁴⁴ After all, Philip intended this

⁴² "Tengo de insistir en que venga a leerla Sirmundo, y diréis al Conde Duque cuantas diligencias fuere menester para que venga, para me de cuenta de ellas, y se hagan." See Philip IV's response to the December 12, 1628 memorial from Father Francisco Aguado in the packet titled "Habiendo propuesto al Rey Felipe Cuarto algunas personas aficionadas a las buenas letras muy grandes utilidades y conveniencias en que hubiese en Madrid unos estudios públicos." AGS, Gracia y Justicia 972, 21-22.

⁴³ For more on Sirmond and the other scholars selected, see José Martínez de la Escalera. "Felipe IV: Fundador de los Reales Estudios" in *Anales del Instituto de Estudios Madrileños*, Tomo XXIII, (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1986), 175-97.

⁴⁴ AGS, Gracia y Justicia 972, 22.

school to be “the best in the world to be at and attend...[a] seminary like none seen before by the world’s most prominent men.”⁴⁵

To be sure, the king was attuned to the effect that the school could have on his own reputation and on the political and military acuity of Spain’s nobles. Yet it seems likely that he also hoped that the reputation of the Reales Estudios would entice nobles to enroll their sons. If this was his intention, it was a maneuver that contradicted the monarchy’s attempts to deemphasize duty to family and conflicted with royal reformers’ criticisms throughout the era of “effeminate” Spaniards, who put reputation and self-promotion before the common good. By taking this approach, however, the king and his ministers might convince nobles to entrust the education and formation of their sons to the state, permitting it to mold them into the statesmen and soldiers that Spain needed.

Despite the monarchy’s great efforts, the Reales Estudios met with severely limited success. Within a few years of opening in 1629, the school’s failure became evident. The school had mustered neither the number of students nor the kind of social status the king had desired. By 1634, attendance was as low as 60 students in the school’s upper division. Eventually, government support for the project began to dry up. In 1634, the Royal Council of Castile suggested closing the Reales Estudios.⁴⁶

With the enrollment of nobles in certain universities on the rise during this time, the lack of students enrolled in the Reales Estudios certainly reflected recalcitrance among

⁴⁵ “que verdaderamente conforme se plantase esta viña, así será el fruto de grande reputación para esta fundación, ver venir a servir en ella a los primeros sujetos de todas naciones,” and “yo los erigí para que fuesen seminario nunca visto de los primeros hombres del mundo.” *Ibid.*, 28-29.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 228.

nobles.⁴⁷ Quite simply, noblemen may have sought to educate their children and operate their families as they saw fit. The monarchy was asking for great sacrifice. It was not enough for noble families to devote their younger sons to the king's service. Vilella and other representatives of Philip IV were asking for nobles to contribute all of their sons, risking the very extinction of their lineage. This was apparently a sacrifice they were unwilling to make.

(En)gendering a Rebuttal

The vehement protests of those Castilian universities closest to Madrid against the Reales Estudios also may have dulled its luster and contributed to its failure.⁴⁸ The University of Alcalá de Henares, a short distance to the east of Madrid, and the University of Salamanca in western Castile had waged a vicious campaign against the school, publishing papers respectively in late 1626 and early the next year.⁴⁹ While it is most probable that universities feared for their own power and survival, they offered criticisms and reasons for the abandonment of the plan, ranging from the belief in the corrupting influence of the court on impressionable, young men to the need to “bleed the court of people” [desangrarla de tanta gente] – a tactic cleverly taken from the monarchy's own reform agenda.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Kagan, *Nobleza*, 235.

⁴⁸ Elliott, *Count-Duke*, 188.

⁴⁹ Simón Díaz, *Colegio Imperial*, 158.

⁵⁰ Using a familiar view of the court, the authors writing for the universities asserted that Madrid was filled with depravity, ambition and ruthlessness, and predicted a “total downfall and perdition of the youth of Spain” [total estrago y perdición de la juventud de España] if they conducted studies there; see the memoranda from the Universities of Alcalá de Henares and Salamanca written in protest to the formation of the Estudios Reales appearing in AGS, Gracia y Justicia, 972. As these documents do not bear the

Perhaps most interesting was the claim by the authors from University of Salamanca, alleged to be the professors Juan de Balboa and Basilio de León, that it was “neither decent nor licit” for Jesuits to teach the secular courses included in the curriculum.⁵¹ Appealing to the papal acts from the Council of Trent on clerical and lay education, these authors asserted that publicly teaching “profane” or non-spiritual courses, such as astrology, mathematics, and classes on navigation and warfare, was outside the allowance of the Jesuits and other religious orders. Not only was astrology was a stone’s throw away from superstition, but allowing the Jesuits to teach “military arts,” as the unnamed authors called them, was certain to cause scandal and endanger the Jesuits, their students, and Spain as a whole.

They argued that Jesuits were exemplars of spirituality, and their piety would be ruined by entering into these fields. After all, why had God prohibited David from laying a single stone for the temple that he intended to build? This was because David was a soldier, whose greatest triumphs and honors had come at the slaughter of his enemies. The universities exclaimed, “How marvelous that canon law prohibits priests and monks from being teachers in the military arts in which the major science is to know how to spill the most blood and cause the greatest destruction.”⁵² Thus, these professors reasoned that from a divine point of view the training of soldiers and priests must be incompatible, a

names of authors, and the authors are only suspected for the latter, from this point on these documents will be referred to as “Alcalá” and “Salamanca;” Salamanca, 41; Alcalá, 6.

⁵¹ “como es posible no se repare en que leer y enseñar con publica profesión cosas tan profanas como son matemáticas, astrología, arte de marear y de rebellica ni es decente ni licito ni seguro en personas religiosas y tan religiosos y ejemplares.” Salamanca, 24.

⁵² “que maravilla que las leyes canónicas prohíban a sacerdotes y a religiosos, que no sean maestros de arte militar, adonde la mayor ciencia es saber derramar mas sangre, y hacer mayores estragos.” Salamanca, 33.

view shared by the authors from Alcalá, who claimed that permitting priests to train soldiers would result only in the teaching of peaceful doctrine and the formation of cowardly military personnel.⁵³

As so often seen in the writings of the era's reform authors, critics from the universities called on notions of gender to make their argument. They juxtaposed two concepts of manliness – the man of God and the military man - hoping to show their incompatibly. As demarcated by León and Balboa the two could not be mixed without jeopardizing both. The piety of Spain would be tainted at its source, as the Jesuits were its spiritual beacon and educators. At the same time, laymen, especially nobles-turned-soldiers, would suffer the effects of a “crianza blanda” or soft upbringing, the type that authors like Mariana had said would prevent the proper and manly formation of men.⁵⁴

It is hard to say the extent of the damage done by these publications to the reputation of the Reales Estudios. On March 30, 1627, the king passed the Society's complaints about these papers onto the President of the Council of Castile, Cardenal Trejo, who ordered the collection and destruction of the memorial from Salamanca. He feared that the memorial presented the monarchy and the Jesuits in a bad light and that some copies might cross the borders into foreign lands, where they would damage the reputation of both institutions. Only 439 copies were confiscated. A second effort to round up the memorials was spearheaded by the Count-Duke of Olivares, Cardenal Trejo and the Inquisitorial General, which sought to collect the remainder of the more than 1,000 copies that had been distributed as a result of two separate printings of the memorial.⁵⁵

⁵³ Alcalá, 25.

⁵⁴ Mariana, *Dignidad Real*, 140.

⁵⁵ Simón Díaz, “Colegio Imperial,” 176-177.

Although these views of the Estudios Reales may have discouraged some from enrolling their sons, it is quite plausible that the families of nobles or other viable candidates for admission into the school and service to the crown sent their sons instead to one of Spain's universities, where they could carry on family legacy gain membership in a Colegio Mayor, one of the smaller colleges that facilitated access to government posts.⁵⁶ Whatever the reason, the Reales Estudios, the monarchy's attempt to turn nobles into the "fathers of their people" rather than just fathers, faded away as quickly as it had appeared.⁵⁷

The Academies

Before the Reales Estudios had even closed its doors, the Count-Duke of Olivares had begun to put together another educational program. The new plan consisted of a peninsula-wide educational system and a series of public exams by which students gained admission into an elite military academy and trained to become royal pages.⁵⁸ In 1632 and again in 1635, Olivares, who was no novice to advising on matters of education, produced memoranda supporting and describing the network of schools.⁵⁹

This new educational program started with early education and tended to its pupils well into their twenties. The plan consisted of four stages. The first three focused on

⁵⁶ For more on the Colegios Mayores in Spanish universities, see Richard Kagan, *Students and Society in Early Modern Spain* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974), especially chapter 7.

⁵⁷ This view of nobles as the father of their people appears throughout the writings of royal reform committees during the last years of Philip III's reign and the first years of his son's rule. See chapter 4 for more on the assignment of this paternal role.

⁵⁸ AHN, Consejos, 50113.

⁵⁹ Olivares played at least a nominal role in the formation of the Reales Estudios. Kagan also offers evidence of Olivares' efforts to write a curriculum in 1624 for his twelve year old brother-in-law, the Marqués de Toral. Kagan, *Nobleza*, 227.

formal schooling and corresponded fairly closely with Spain's existing educational divisions.⁶⁰ The first stage targeted the development of children three to five years of age. Like most early education, it focused on basic literacy and church teachings, hoping to influence the spirit and habits of children. The second phase included students six to fourteen, the ages of students attending grammar schools or *colegios*. This stage included lessons in writing and mathematics. Olivares also expected students to obtain reading proficiency in Latin during this stage. For the first fourteen years or during these initial two stages, students could receive their education from local educators or clergy in preparation for entrance into an academy. Municipal leaders, diocesan clergy or figures such as the Royal Chaplain, for those living in Madrid, could test students and vouch for the quality of their education. Students wanting to enter into the "pages' academy" – as Olivares had termed it – had to receive certification for each completed level. At the age of fourteen, students could opt to enter into vocational training or the universities as desired, or they could apply to enter into one of the academies. At this point, they entered the third stage of Olivares' plan.

Planned for Madrid and a few other Spanish cities, the academies were the centerpiece of his program. Hosting students for a period of five years – beginning around the age of 14 and ending by the age of 20 – the academies would teach students from a curriculum that included both academic and military exercises. Their goal was to form *pajes* and *meninos*. The former served as pages for the king and the latter tended to the queen and the rest of the royal family. Highly coveted for their prestige and placement in the king's inner circle, these positions had traditionally been the preserve of

⁶⁰ For more on the stages of education in early-modern Spain, see Kagan, *Students*.

the nobility. As with the Reales Estudios, Olivares once again intended to train those that surrounded the king and reverse what he saw as a lack of service in government and military. Summing up the description of his program, Olivares boasted that the plan was neither impractical nor costly. It was, in his estimation, the perfect plan to “reestablish the nobility” (*recrecer a la nobleza*).⁶¹

His reasons for reforming the nobility differed little from those given by Villela in the plan for the Reales Estudios. Olivares cited the neglected education of young nobles as justification for enacting the proposal.⁶² He expressed similar views in a letter written to the President of Castile, Miguel Santos de San Pedro, on September 18, 1632. “Few noblemen,” complained Olivares, “the masters of minor and major households, deal with the study of the good letters that add luster and are irreplaceable in preparing [young nobles] for a career.”⁶³ Asked to review Olivares’ proposal by Philip IV in the summer of 1635, the *Junta de Educación* reached the same conclusion.⁶⁴ In their assessment, the education provided for the children of nobles was “short and careless.”⁶⁵ Both called for the monarchy to act paternally and compensate for the neglectful nobles, who had failed to educate their children and deprived the monarchy of men trained to carry out traditional noble duties. “Without a good upbringing and education [*crianza*],” Olivares maintained in his proposal, “there are no good subjects, just as it is impossible without a

⁶¹ This phrase appears in the plan for the academies in AHN, Consejos, 50113.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ “hallarse...que raros hombres nobles, principalmente dueños de casas mayores y menores, tartan del estudio de las buenas letras que tanto ilustran y tan inescusables son a toda profesión.” Elliott and Peña, *Memoriales*, Tomo 2, 81.

⁶⁴ For more on their ordered review of Olivares’ plans for the academies, see Juan Francisco Baltar Rodríguez, *Las Juntas de Gobierno de la Monarquía Hispánica (siglos XVI-XVII)* (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Políticos y Constitucionales, 1998), 426-428.

⁶⁵ “corto y descuidado.” AHN, Consejos, 50113.

miracle to have the ideal people in the government, the state, and the military without a good education.”⁶⁶

Olivares and the members of the Junta de Educación felt confident that the academies could prepare young men to fulfill these roles successfully. The Junta anticipated that the proposed academies would “instruct the spirit for public and domestic governance.”⁶⁷

This reference to gaining knowledge in “domestic governance” was most likely meant to accentuate the overall leadership qualities that pupils stood to gain. Throughout early-modern Europe, the household was often conceived of as a scale model of the state. Placed in control of this idealized view, men were to order and rule the household with the same firmness and fairness as a good monarch would his people.⁶⁸ Since the ability to effectively govern a household mirrored the ability to govern a larger body of people it may have translated to better leadership in the minds of the Junta’s members. This claim may also have reflected the need to govern one’s self or control one’s desires. Advocates of noble education writing in France at this time called for lessons in ethics and politics to teach young nobles how to govern themselves and others.⁶⁹ Proponents of the Reales Estudios had also promoted self-control and resistance to temptation as critical to greater focus and efficiency as a leader.

For Olivares, the development of these leadership qualities came not only from formal studies but also from travel, which he proposed students take after graduation as

⁶⁶ “sin buena crianza no hay buen sujeto, y así imposible sin milagro haber sin la buena instrucción personas idoneas para el gobierno, ni para el estado, ni para la guerra.” Ibid.

⁶⁷ “instruyen el ánimo para el gobierno público y doméstico.” Ibid.

⁶⁸ For two brief reflections on this comparison, see Merry Wiesner, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*, 2nd ed. (New York: Cambridge, 2000), 293; and Gisela Bock, *Women in European History* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), 27.

⁶⁹ Dewald, *Experience*, 58-60, 80.

the fourth phase of the education. The son of the Spanish ambassador to Rome, Olivares' worldview had been forged in part by experiences abroad.⁷⁰ Consequently, he regarded highly the pedagogical value of experiences obtained outside the classroom. Olivares maintained that exposure to the lands inside and outside of Spain would help students build on the education they received in the academies. Embracing a belief expressed by many authors of the era, Olivares felt a combination of travel and study would reveal to graduates the nature of certain people as well as the proclivities of mankind in general, facilitating their understanding of the people they would later govern.⁷¹ The common behaviors and inclinations observed comprised a "political science" that could be applied by those in power.⁷²

There was no doubt that the academies could remedy a shortage of "ideal people" in military positions. The curriculum for the academies reflected a substantial commitment to military training. In fact, this was its greatest difference from the Reales Estudios. Rather than relying solely on texts to educate students on military situations, Olivares

⁷⁰ Elliott, *Count-Duke*, 15.

⁷¹ AHN, Consejos, 50113.

⁷² This call for a "political science" appears in the work of the professor of theology, Sancho de Moncada. See his *Restauración Política de España* (1619), ed. Jean Vilar Berrogain (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Fiscales, 1974), 229-230. For other examples of this view, see Baltasar Álamos de Barrientos, *Aforismos al Tácito Español* (1614), (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Constitucionales, 1987); and Antonio de Herrera, "Discurso y Tratado que la Felicísima Monarquía Castellana Fue Acrecentando su Imperio por los Mismos Modos que la República Romana," in *De las Varias Epístolas Discursos y Tratados de Antonio de Herrera* (Madrid, 1622). These views can be seen in more detail in chapter 2 of this dissertation.

focused his academies on military skills both “theoretical and practical” [*teórica y práctica*] stressing physical activity much more than Villela had.⁷³

The list of proposed exercises included a variety of activities meant to form an elite corps of physically and military trained young men. When not training, students should play games with a ball. Admitting a personal fondness for such activities, Olivares also clarified that passing recreational time in sport would strengthen students’ bodies. Otherwise, students would practice riding horses and using a lance, as well as learn to fence and dance.⁷⁴ In a schedule drawn up by Olivares for the house of pages in 1639, he lists fencing and dancing courses, as well as their exams, adjacent to one another, suggesting perhaps a connection between dancing and developing footwork in fencing.⁷⁵ His insistence on teaching dancing also may have indicated a desire to groom pages for formal social interaction at court and temper their combat training. Dancing was part of the curricula in French academies for this very reason; courtly conduct promoted grace and self-control.⁷⁶ Whatever the reason, Olivares saw fencing and these other lessons as critical to the formation of the pages and of the Spanish nobility. In his September 18, 1632 letter to Santos de San Pedro, Olivares declared the need to master these skills, adding in particular that without learning military arts “one cannot be a nobleman.”⁷⁷

Although it did not hash out the curriculum in the same detail as Olivares, the Junta de Educación imagined the academies having the same effect. They wrote the king that

⁷³ See pages 97v-98r in the Count-Duke of Olivares’ 1639 plan for the house of pages titled “Representación del Conde-Duque de Olivares hecha al Rey don Felipe IV sobre la educación de los caballeros pajes de SM,” BNE mss. 10994.

⁷⁴ AHN, Consejos, 50113.

⁷⁵ BNE mss. 10994, 98r, 99r.

⁷⁶ Schalk, *Valor*, 180.

⁷⁷ “no puede constar un hombre noble.” Elliott and Peña, *Memoriales*, Tomo 2, 81.

the academies could become a “university of cavalry” [*universidad de caballería*] clearly reflecting a desire to craft a well disciplined and martially spirited group of men that could carry out the traditional military roles of the nobility. The quest to “reestablish the nobility,” it seems, meant the revival of a corps of battle-ready men prepared to serve the king and imbued with an active, martial spirit through rigorous physically training.⁷⁸

Through his proposals, Olivares made clear that this increased emphasis on physical training and actual military drill was a response to Spain’s involvement in the Thirty Years’ War.⁷⁹ Toward the end of the 1620s, Spain’s initial success in the war had faded, and as the conflict progressed into the next decade, Spain faced new battlefronts and continued difficulties in marshalling resources.⁸⁰ Undoubtedly frustrated by the turn of events, Olivares declared that Spain had lost its martial spirit. Of course, in his mind the most culpable were the nobles. He offered proof of their recent abandonment of duty. In the spring of 1633, the brother of the king, the Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand, received orders to lead Habsburg troops out of Italy and into the Netherlands. Reflecting on this assignment, Olivares sourly wrote that “With the passage of the king’s brother *in person* to Flanders neither a single high-ranking nobleman nor gentleman [*caballero*] budged to accompany him, showing quite clearly the state to which the martial spirit of our people has been reduced as a result of neglect and disregard.”⁸¹ Through an education replete

⁷⁸ AHN, Consejos, 50113.

⁷⁹ Kagan, *Nobleza*, 231.

⁸⁰ John Elliott, “Spain and the War,” in *The Thirty Years’ War*, 2nd ed., ed. Geoffrey Parker (New York: Routledge, 1997), 92-8.

⁸¹ “Con pasar un hermano de Su Majestad en persona a los estados de Flandes no se a movido una persona señalada de España ni un caballero particular a irle acompañando, cosa cierta que muestra bien claramente el último estado por lo menos descuido y olvido, a que se han los espíritus armígeros de nuestra nación.” AHN, Consejos, 50113.

with military exercises, Olivares hoped to rekindle an “inclination for military endeavors” – the virtuous and manly conduct that made up the social responsibilities of the nobility.⁸²

Olivares also proposed another way to attract young men into the military. He offered an alternative to an education in the academies for those hoping to become pages. After reaching the age of fourteen and completing the second phase of education, students could opt to serve in the king’s army for five years instead of training in an academy. Undergoing evaluation by their superiors and receiving certification of this alternative form of education, these young men could then petition to become pages.⁸³ This option corresponded to Olivares’ view on experience as a critical part of education. Through their service in the military these young men would gain first-hand knowledge of combat, and introduced into the ranks of the court, they might later serve as advisors on military issues. A clever enticement, this alternative path would not only endow future leaders with military knowledge but also bolster the numbers of men serving the king in his armies.

For Olivares and the Junta de Educación, the academies seemed also to have diplomatic connotations. This too may have resulted from the tensions on the continent. With the king’s troops overextended and notoriously underpaid, diplomacy might necessarily resolve some conflict, saving the monarchy some expense and preserving the lives of Spain’s undermanned military. Olivares and the Junta alluded to this goal through repeated admiration of the diplomacy prompted by military academies in France.⁸⁴ They pointed out that these academies not only drew the best students from

⁸² “mover la inclinación al ejercicio militar.” Ibid.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

France but also from Germany and Italy; the exchange had improved diplomatic relations between these countries. Perhaps anticipating similar results in Spain, the Junta saw the enrollment of foreign students in Spanish academies as an opportunity for them to “drink in the customs and affection for the people.” “With good training,” its members continued, “they will develop an affinity to and inclination toward [Spanish] things and lose the fear gained from looking at Spain from a distance.”⁸⁵ The Junta believed that the academies could foster good rapport with neighboring lands and even win their allegiance.⁸⁶ Perhaps endearing the future generations of foreign lands to Spain and its people might decrease their military obligations, a trouble which had consistently plagued the Spanish Habsburgs.

While the shift toward diplomacy was a new addition to the educational reforms, Olivares proposed another significant change from the program implemented in the Reales Estudios. He proposed to open his entire network of schools to children of all social strata. His academies, Olivares boasted, would give “a path to anything, for anyone” [*da camino a todo, y a todos*]⁸⁷ One would earn admission to the academies and appointment to the esteemed position of page based solely on merit.

It should be understood that Olivares was not seeking to overturn the established social order. In fact, he claimed that his educational plan would not offend subjects of any social class. This claim was debatable, but his stated plans made clear that he did not

⁸⁵ “bebe las costumbres y el afecto a la gente” and “con la Buena crianza recibirán la afición y inclinación a nuestras cosas y perderán el horror que les hacen miradas desde lejos.” Ibid.

⁸⁶ Some French authors believed that studying in France maintained cultural identity and allegiance. Studying in Italy, where many academies had been established, taught young nobles the perspectives of and loyalty to Italy and Spain. Schalk, *Valor*, 184, 189-190.

⁸⁷ AHN, Consejos, 50113.

intend to introduce a great number of non-nobles into these prestigious positions.

Olivares remained certain that the rigorous curriculum leading into the academies would separate the chaff from the wheat, but would incorporate at least a modicum of common Spaniards. Non-noble children living in rural areas would never have to sever ties with the farm. With a school in close proximity, he imagined they could conduct their early studies “without the hoe leaving their hand.” In the instance that they failed to advance to an academy, these students could undertake an agricultural or artisanal career. They would be none the worse for their experience, returning to cultivating the land but having been taught better customs and given a primary education.⁸⁸

Olivares had many possible motivations for this decision. It has been suggested that he intended to put haughty nobles in their place.⁸⁹ Truly, his relationship to Spain’s highest-ranking nobles was tense. As one of the leading members of the Junta Grande de Reformación, Olivares had taken steps to remind them of their subordination to him and the king, including in its reform articles a clarification of the hierarchy of titles at court and the proper titles by which noble courtiers should be addressed.⁹⁰ It is quite possible that this struggle for power may have crossed the privado’s mind, but it is most likely that he intended his programs to improve the quality of military and government leaders and revive the nobility by infusing it with loyal subjects committed to serving the monarchy. This had been the impulse behind the efforts to start the Reales Estudios, and was an urge that could only have grown stronger with the reversal of fortunes in the Thirty Years’ War.

⁸⁸ “sin que aya de dejar la reja de la mano.” Ibid.

⁸⁹ Kagan, *Nobleza*, 231.

⁹⁰ This reform was a repetition of an order issued in 1611. See González Palencia, *La Junta de Reformación*, 434-440.

It is also probable that Olivares intended to incite competition within the nobility. He was certainly mindful of the benefits such competition could bring to Spain. In his 1624 *Gran Memorial* (Great Memorandum) he had encouraged Philip IV to foster a competitive environment among Spain's notables and to rely on what he termed "emulation" (*emulación*). This is to say that by offering opportunities for service and honors to lower-ranking nobles, the monarchy would prompt them to compete with their social superiors for honors and esteem and to fulfill the political and military roles needed by the king.⁹¹ It seems that Olivares' plan for the academies once again counted on social competition to restore the nobility's sense of service to the king. He recognized the tremendous social promotion he was offering non-nobles and claimed that their inclusion in a social circle traditionally preserved for nobles would have the "greatest effect and public benefit."⁹²

In his plan for the academies, Olivares made clear his belief that Spain's nobility had lost its motivation and loyalty to the crown. He claimed that nobles sought prestige only through the actions of their ancestors. To use his words, audacious nobles felt as if with "the greatest vice, the loosest lifestyle and most repugnant behavior they can obtain the highest rewards and request them only to complain if they do not receive them."⁹³

Turning to a merit-based system would hopefully reverse these trends. Awards and

⁹¹ Elliott and Peña, *Memoriales*, Tomo 1, 61.

⁹² This statement finished out the Count-Duke of Olivares' statement about giving all a "path" to anything. The entire passage reads: "da camino a todo, y a todos...para un fin tan grande y útil al bien público." AHN, Consejos, 50113.

⁹³ "pareciendo que del vicio mayor, y de la más suelta vida, y costumbres estragadas pueden conseguir los mayores premios, y pretenderlos, y quejarse si no los alcanzan." Ibid.

offices would regain their value, motivating men – noble or common – to serve the king in order to receive these honors.

The Junta de Educación agreed with this view. Its members complained that many honors were being given to undeserving recipients, stripping these rewards of their true significance and depriving the monarchy of the brave actions which merited reward. In their estimation, this was especially true of the habits awarded as recognition into one of Spain's prestigious military orders. The Junta argued that they no longer represented military prowess and service as they had in past eras. Now entrance into the military orders was being granted indiscriminately. Even the daughters of deceased officials, the Junta complained, received habits, offering these titles to suitors as part of their dowries.⁹⁴ Members of the Junta saw the need to restore the true meaning of Spain's honors in order to stimulate virtuous service to the monarchy. To solve this problem, they delved into Spain's ancient past and to its shared history with the Roman Empire, proposing the revival of the "knighthood of the band" [*Caballería de la banda*]. Its members would consist of military heroes, who would be distinguished by a gold collar that only they would be allowed to wear. By resurrecting this honor, the king would not have to remove unmerited members of the military orders, but could elevate an elite class of warriors above those wearing the habit of one of the orders. The urge to belong to such an elite group could reignite the virtuous, martial spirit that had brought Spain to the same imperial heights as its Roman predecessor.⁹⁵

In their writings on the academies, Olivares and the Junta de Educación even called into question blood purity (*limpieza de sangre*) as a determining factor for some honors.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

As with opening the academies to Spaniards of all social ranks, these discussions shook one of the foundations of noble superiority. In most cases, having “pure” blood meant that one could prove that his or her lineage consisted for several generations of only Christians. In some instances, this was also extended to questions of non-Spanish heritage. Having pure blood was a distinction enjoyed by the nobility. As one author of the era put it, those with nobility always had pure blood, but the reverse was not always true.⁹⁶ Because many of the era’s prestigious institutions and organizations accepted members only if they could prove the purity of their blood, nobles became the nearly exclusive recipients of certain honors and awards. Deviating from these traditions, Olivares and the Junta proposed that habits for the military orders be given automatically to soldiers serving in an active war for sixteen to twenty years, regardless of the candidate’s *limpieza*.⁹⁷ This proposal not only stripped nobles of an elevating social distinction, but as with the decision to open the academies to all Spaniards, it privileged service and merit over considerations of lineage.

Conclusion

The plans drawn up by Olivares and the Junta de Educación for the academies paralleled the educational reforms of the previous decade. The plans for the Reales Estudios had prioritized noblemen’s obligations to family below their duty to their king. Olivares’ program targeted noble families in a slightly different way. With merit as the sole source of promotion, lineage and blood purity, two of the nobility’s preserves, became increasingly irrelevant. Young nobles could no longer depend on heritage and

⁹⁶ Castro, *Conclusiones*.

⁹⁷ AHN, Consejos, 50113.

inheritance to gain public esteem. It was up to them to establish their name and advance family reputation by performing honorable deeds to the benefit of king and kingdom. Even with these subtle differences, the educational reforms emphasized service as the basis for the nobility and relegated issues of lineage and family to a position of near insignificance. All that mattered was the conservation of the Spanish Monarchy, which in their minds was predicated on service to the king.

The educational reforms of these two decades also sought similarly to restore Spain's nobility and fulfill the much needed roles traditionally held by nobles. Again, there were shifts in policy over the two decades. While proponents of the Reales Estudios turned to existing nobles to carry out their natural roles in society, Olivares and his cohort considered the possibility of talented non-nobles holding posts and honors commonly granted to nobles. Indeed, Olivares made no mention of granting titles of nobility to meritorious non-nobles, but implied in his plan was the view expressed the previous decade by Moreno de Vargas. The plans for the academy allowed for anyone to show their inherent noble qualities and to strive for the honors that distinguished nobles. Valued for their ability and their service to the monarchy, those of humble origin selected to become pages would be part of the "reestablished nobility."

The subtle differences that distinguished the plan for the academies from the era's earlier educational reforms exposed the malleability of gender. Expression of gender had been distinguished along social lines. This was true in terms of social station, that which delineated nobles from non-nobles, as well as professions, such as the clergy. In this case, by destabilizing the social order, Olivares also destabilized these notions of gender. Just as nobility could be found in the spirit of any Spaniard, earning him a position as one

of the king's pages, the manliness of commoners not longer took root in the physical labor of the shops or the fields. They could, instead, invest their physical strength in and express their loyalty to the king through military and government service. Seemingly established, these lines could be redrawn to meet the needs of the monarchy and to conserve Spain, its monarchy and its empire.

Chapter 6 – Conclusion: Breaking with Customs

With the first quarter of the century drawing to a close, the intense focus on reforming customs as a way to restore Spain's former virtue and power was also coming to its end. The Junta Grande de Reformación, the monarchy's greatest effort to rehabilitate Spanish customs disbanded, having succumbed to its political opponent, the Cortes de Castilla. The responsibilities of the Junta Grande were divvied up among a number of other committees and councils. The Junta de Comercio (Junta of Commerce) and Junta del Almirantazgo (Junta of the Admiralty), for instance, took over issues related to importation, aggressively combating the flow of contraband into Spain starting in the mid 1620s. Committees such as the Junta de Población (Junta of Population) or Junta de Minas (Junta of Mines) received the other responsibilities of the Junta Grande.¹ Thus, the monarchy's reform strategy shifted generally toward particular issues of military, economic or political significance, which were tended to by specialized committees.

The spirit of the Junta Grande and its predecessors in the reform of customs did not die immediately. Some of the duties of the Junta Grande passed on to its successor, a much more modest committee operating once again under the name the Junta de Reformación. On January 26, 1624, Philip IV activated this committee, which continued to assess the conduct of Spaniards – if only in a limited capacity – and placed a greater emphasis on popular morality. Among a reduced number of issues, it targeted homosexual activity and allegedly lewd and inappropriate theatre productions. In particular, the Junta found fault with the work of popular playwright, Tirso de Molina, whose plays it deemed immoral and overly secular. In 1625, its members suggested that

¹ Juan Francisco Baltar Rodríguez, *Las Juntas de Gobierno en la Monarquía Hispánica, Siglos XVI-XVII* (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Políticos y Constitucionales, 1998), 187.

the playwright be exiled from Madrid and sent to a monastery. It also suggested that licenses to publish plays (*comedias*) be banned indefinitely. A prohibition would be placed on the publication of these works for the next ten years. However, this action would be taken by the Council of Castile. The monarchy had not invested the same power in its newest committee as it had in the Junta Grande of 1622, making it impossible for it to act on its own.²

Although the inclination to reform customs slowly grew fainter among the arbitristas and took up less space in the reform plans drawn up by royal officials, the Count-Duke of Olivares continued to embrace the belief that an internal reform of conduct could result in success both inside and outside Spain. As seen in chapter five, he crafted his ambitious plans for the formation of a network of military academies and public schools, hoping to create a cadre of virtuous men to lead Spain out of troubled times. He proposed training that would ensure the bravery and physical strength of pages, and teach them to lead as virtuous models for all of society to emulate. Like calls for renewed productivity and self-sufficiency among laborers, these were manly traits that Spain's elite could take on to conserve Spain; that is, to stabilize it at home and to return it to a place of prominence in the world. While his quest to shape the conduct of Spain's finest young men, instilling them with an active dedication to king and kingdom, made him one of the last champions of the reform of customs, his plans also served an indicator of the new and changing reform perspective.

² Ángel González Palencia. "Quevedo, Tirso y las comedias ante la Junta de Reformación." *Boletín de la Real Academia Española* 25 (1946): 43-84; see also Jodi Campbell, *Monarchy, Political Culture and Drama in Seventeenth-Century Madrid* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006), 58.

That is to say, his plans for the academies also pointed to an increased emphasis on foreign policy, stressing travel as part of the education and diplomacy as a skill for pages to learn.³ In other words, Olivares recognized the shifting circumstances in Europe and altered his reforms to meet Spain's needs. In order to meet with the demands of the Thirty Years' War, Olivares also began to look at new options that deviated from the much touted social order of the past. That his academies offered at least a limited number of non-nobles the opportunity to take their place among Spain's elite as pages to the king exemplified the monarchy's continued quest to find solutions to its problems.

To be sure, Spain's growing external challenges forced the monarchy to alter its reform strategies. The Thirty Years' War had brought the monarchy pressing financial and military concerns. Aware that Castile could not bear these continued expenses, Olivares designed in 1624 a plan to gather military contributions from its various kingdoms both in the form of taxes and manpower. Unveiling the *Unión de Armas* (Union of Arms) in December 1625, he proposed to form a reserve army comprised of troops raised and paid for by each of the empire's territories. The plan stated that Castile would lead the way with 44,000 troops contributed, but that Cataluña, Portugal and Naples would each add 16,000 and Flanders and Aragón would commit 12,000 and 10,000 respectively. Together Spain's imperial territories would raise an army of 140,000 men to defend Spain, allowing the king to deploy his other armies to various

³ Baltar Rodríguez argues for a shift toward external, foreign concerns over the previously emphasized domestic reforms; see Baltar Rodríguez, *Juntas*, 185-186.

fronts throughout Europe.⁴ Perhaps too grandiose in its scale, the plan for the Union of Arms was unsuccessful.

Although the Union of Arms failed, the monarchy continued to turn to its kingdoms and territories outside of Castile for necessary assistance. The demands placed on the crown far outweighed its financial means. The monarchy, which had declared bankruptcy once again in 1627, suffered a devastating blow as a result of the Dutch capture of the treasure fleet (*flota*) carrying silver from the Americas to Spain in 1628. The loss of the flota worsened Spain's financial woes and contributed to its failed attempt to seize control of the Italian city of Mantua, the site of a proxy war between the Spanish and the French.⁵ Such financial difficulties also delayed efforts to secure Brazil, part of the Portuguese empire, which had also been the focus of Dutch military depredations for some time. On more than one occasion the monarchy attempted to raise Portuguese taxes to amass monies necessary for the conquest and preservation of Brazil. In each instance, riots ensued.⁶ In 1640, three years before the Count-Duke of Olivares would step down from his post as the king's favorite, Portugal declared its independence from Spain in a *coup d'état* led by the Duke of Braganza.⁷

But if the Count-Duke's educational reforms revealed the new style of reform, these other new policies were not entirely devoid of the old sentiments. They put greater emphasis on issues of foreign policy, but Spain still faced immense crisis and as the calls for contributions from its subjects in Portugal and other territories suggest, royal officials

⁴ See especially chapter 7 in John Elliott, *The Count-Duke of Olivares: The Statesman in an Age of Decline* (New Haven: Yale University, 1986), 244-277.

⁵ R.A. Stradling, *Spain's Struggle for Europe, 1598-1668* (London: Hambledon Press, 1994), 65-66.

⁶ Elliott, *Count-Duke*, 519-532.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 597.

were no less concerned with the issues of contribution and common good. How gender weighed into attempts to implement the Union of Arms or to justify contributions from other Spanish-ruled lands has yet to be studied. Given the centrality of gender in social structures, it is not altogether inconceivable that royal officials played on notions of manhood in these instances also. They may have called for the outlying kingdoms to contribute to the empire in the same way that a man assures the good of his community, or they may have referenced the loyalty of good sons to convey the need for their contributions. Perhaps instead officials tapped into the rhetoric of brotherhood (*hermandad*), as Alberto Struzzi did in his 1624 *Diálogo sobre Comercio de estos Reinos de Castilla* [Dialogue on Commerce in Castile] when trying to convince Philip IV that trade should be renewed with the Dutch. Struzzi informed the king that the sharing of goods between distinct lands was brotherly, hinting that the embargo against the Dutch should be lifted to allow Spain's Flemish subjects to receive from their neighbors goods sorely needed.⁸

After all, this study has shown that such understandings of family, which were inextricably linked to notions of gender, were embedded in the thoughts and perceptions of Spaniards of the era. Early modern Spaniards had vast networks of blood relatives, distant kin and acquaintances that they considered family, and they extended financial and social support in all possible ways to those included in these networks.⁹ These may have been the same bonds and sentiments that reformers relied on to guide the political interactions of Spanish imperial territories, especially in this time of crisis. Just as

⁸ Alberto Struzzi, *Dialogo sobre el Comercio de estos Reinos de Castilla* (Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1624), 1r.

⁹ James Casey, *Family and Community in Early Modern Spain: The Citizens of Granada, 1570-1739* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 246-256.

Spaniards cared for one another, they and their imperial brethren should offer the same support to their king, making sacrifices for and absorbing the troubles of the endangered monarchy. Just as the gender analyses undertaken in this study reveal the political relationships that reformers hoped to foster within early seventeenth-century Spain, an analysis of the gendered ideas employed to convey these political connections can reveal the nature of the relationships the monarchy hoped to foster with its imperial territories.

For these kinds of reasons, Joan Scott has charged scholars with the careful study of gendered symbols and rhetoric appearing in the political realm, arguing that these gendered expressions and representations permit us a deeper understanding of political actions and motivations. Guided by this challenge, this dissertation looks at the gendered discourse created by Spanish reformers, deriving from the representations of fathers and sons, farmers and merchants a clearer understanding of the perceived failures of the Spanish empire and the reasons for the political measures crafted to bring about its recovery. Rather than study of the material world or statistical realities, it takes as its focus investigations of the perception of decline as betrayed by the notions of gender invoked and applied by reformers. As this study has demonstrated, by calling on such gendered models, reformers revealed the kinds of virtuous behaviors and critical bonds that they believed had to be restored in order to save Spain from collapse.

The focus on reformers' gendered language has also laid bare some of the era's gender assumptions and shown their regular consideration in the interpretation of the early modern political realm. This study makes clear their influence in the formation of political reform policy, but it also alludes to a further implication: the structure lent by gender to the political relationships not only within Spain but between the Spanish

empire and its continental rivals. The study of the bond between ruler and ruled has been clearly delineated along gendered lines both by the era's reformers and modern scholars, but persistent concerns with the king's public image also imply that gender also factors into understandings of international politics. Persistent references to reputation (*reputación*) in the era's writings draw our attention to the parallels between the challenges of sustaining social worth in the everyday realm of early seventeenth-century and the struggle of kings to maintain international standing. In this way, this study has pointed to potential expansions upon Scott's article, which is painted necessarily in broad brushstrokes and can only hint at the possible benefits of gender analysis. Modestly admitted, this study has only scratched the surface in this area, noting that the king, like his people, was required to actively maintain his reputation through recognized expressions of strength and provision – in other words, expressions of manliness. Continuing this line of inquiry may tell us more about how continental politics operated in the early modern period, and may help us to grasp how gender guides international relations and conflict both in the seventeenth century and in other eras.

In particular, the analysis of keywords such as *reputación* has been critical to gaining insight into the reforms of early seventeenth-century Spain. The use of the terms *efeminación* and *efeminados* (effemination and effeminate) to describe popular conduct and mentalities clarifies the kinds of behavior condemned by reformers. However, studying these gendered terms in conjunction with related keywords sheds light on the issues at the root of reformers' concerns, as well as the reasons for the selection of particular solutions. Reformers further castigated allegedly effeminate men and products for being useless (*inútil*), a criticism that clarified the desire to excise foreign goods and

rebuild Spanish commerce and industry. Similar critiques about these men's faltering governance (*gobierno*) touted the virtue of fathers, nobles and kings, who provided sustenance and order for those under their care. Analyzing or "unpacking" these terms not only elucidates the era's gender assumptions but also reveals reformers' deepest objectives. It was more than the creation of a successful navy or banks that could fund business ventures that Spain needed to bring about its recovery, Spain's conservation (*conservación*) depended upon the revival and maintenance of productivity, community-mindedness and other virtues that dated in the minds of reformers to the empire's recent past.

By studying the gender discourse of this crisis-filled era, this dissertation has also served as a reminder of the malleability of gender. It has pointed to varied expression of gender based on class and profession, and has touched on the shifts in gender caused by religion. Yet a great deal of investigation remains to be done in these areas. For instance, it is clear that noblemen met gendered expectations in different ways than their social subordinates. However, it seems also that the gendered hierarchies which made nobles the fathers of their people placed them, at times, as the pinnacle of manly virtue. This view implied that laborers, considered manly and virtuous in their own right, were less manly than the nobles that presided over them. Did early modern Spaniards consider non-nobles to be less manly than nobles? Given their noble lineage and thus their superiority to non-nobles, were noble women considered manlier than Spain's commoners? For that matter, what does this imply for sons, who were made to be obedient to their fathers *and* their mothers? Was it that Spaniards once again embraced the lessons of the ancient Romans, recognizing a son's manhood only once he became a

contributing member of society?¹⁰ These types of questions are critical to comprehending more than the social and political environments of early modern Spain. They also demonstrate the fluidity of gendered concepts which often gets lost in the seemingly fixed notions of masculinity and femininity used to describe the early modern and modern worlds.

At the same time, the monarchy's reforms raise questions about the perception of pregnant women in this era, as well as about the relationship between the state and its people on matters of reproduction. Called to marry and have children, these women were still largely absent from the policies that sought to shape their lives. What was the view of these women? Were women seen as active participants in the revitalization of Spain? Published originally in 1575 and frequently reprinted during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, Juan Huarte de San Juan's popular medical treatise *Examen de Ingenios para las Ciencias* [A Review of Scientific Ingenuities] held that both women and men contributed "seed" in the creation of a child, granting agency to women and acknowledging their own physical investment in the process of repopulation.¹¹ Were these women seen by reformers as active participants? If so, how did their physical investments compare to the bodily sacrifices made by men on the battlefield for the good of king and kingdom? All were aware of the risk involved in childbirth during this era. Did this knowledge and the call for women to devote themselves to repopulate Castile grant women a new form of agency or does their absence from the monarchy's pronatalist policies imply that women were still held to be passive vessels of reproduction? The

¹⁰ Myles McDonnell, *Roman Manliness: Virtus and the Roman Republic* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 173-180.

¹¹ Juan Huarte de San Juan, *Examen de ingenios para las ciencias, vol. II*, ed. Rodrigo Sanz, (Madrid: La Raza, 1930), 368-369.

perception of pregnant women, their bodies and the state's relationship to them and their reproductive partners are all still valid areas of inquiry, especially in parts of the western world troubled with a lack of population growth and seeking ways to encourage procreation among their people.

As a final note, this study also points to a need for clearer understandings of alternative expressions of gender and sexuality in this era. Efforts have been made to understand homosexuality in Spain leading up to this era or to comprehend popular notions of gender in other early modern lands.¹² Similar efforts need to be made for practical expressions lost in the shadow of the idealized, hegemonic gender representations generated by reformers with a particular agenda. One example that stands out in this study is the understanding of gender held by nobles. Keeping their sons at home instead of educating them and dedicating them to the service of the crown, they received tremendous criticism from the monarchy. However, the actual perspectives of nobles who chose to do so are missing. A look at the correspondence of nobles or of treatises written from this perspective might provide valuable insight into their own justifications for these actions, and as a result their own understanding of gender and its proper expression.

Although these and many other questions remain, this study makes clear that gender is and has been a ubiquitous and influential force in society; the realm of politics is no exception. As a constant reference in daily life, it seeps into the way we conceive of and

¹² See Josiah Blackmore and Gregory Hucheson, eds. *Queer Iberia: Sexualities, Cultures, and Crossings from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999); see also Elizabeth Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England: Honour, Sex and Marriage* (New York: Longman, 1999), and Alexandra Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).

convey social and political relationships. It was in this way that gender guided both Spanish authorities and their reforms as they attempted to reshape customs and get people to assume their roles.

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AHN – Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid)
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