

Kingship and Favoritism in the Spain of Philip III, 1598–1621

The enthronement of Philip III (Philip II's son and heir) in 1598 also meant the rise to power of the Duke of Lerma, the first of a series of European favorites/prime ministers who had a great influence on politics, government, court culture, and the arts during the seventeenth century. This book analyzes the contexts that explain the rise of Lerma, as well as discourses on kingship and favoritism, and governmental and institutional initiatives taken during Philip III's reign (1598–1621) – a key historical period for our understanding of early modern Spain.

Although this book focuses on the reign of Philip III, it also addresses broader historiographical matters. How was power exercised in personal monarchies? What discourses were used to justify royal power? How was kingship publicly represented? How was favoritism conceptualized and legitimized? What was the effect of the rise of the favorite/prime minister upon the constitution of personal monarchies and on political and ideological struggles?

ANTONIO FEROS is Assistant Professor of History, New York University.



CAMBRIDGE STUDIES IN EARLY MODERN HISTORY

Edited by Professor Sir John Elliott, University of Oxford Professor Olwen Hufton, University of Oxford Professor H. G. Koenigsberger, University of London Dr. H. M. Scott, University of St. Andrews

The idea of an "early modern" period of European history from the fifteenth to the late eighteenth century is now widely accepted among historians. The purpose of Cambridge Studies in Early Modern History is to publish monographs and studies which illuminate the character of the period as a whole, and in particular focus attention on a dominant theme within it, the interplay of continuity and change as they are presented by the continuity of medieval ideas, political, and social organization, and by the impact of new ideas, new methods, and new demands on the traditional structure.

For a list of titles published in the series, please see end of the book



Kingship and Favoritism in the Spain of Philip III, 1598–1621

ANTONIO FEROS





CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo

Cambridge University Press The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521561136

© Antonio Feros 2000

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2000
This digitally printed first paperback version 2006

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data

Feros, Antonio.

Kingship and favoritism in the Spain of Philip III, 1598–1621 / Antonio Feros.

- cm. (Cambridge studies in early modern history)
 Includes bibliographical references and index.
- 1. Spain Politics and government 1598–1621. 2. Philip III, King of Spain, 1578–1621. 3. Lerma, Francisco Sandoval y Rojas, duque de, 1552–1625. I. Title. II. Series.

DP183.F47 2000 946'.043 – dc21 99-054217

ISBN-13 978-0-521-56113-6 hardback ISBN-10 0-521-56113-2 hardback

ISBN-13 978-0-521-02532-4 paperback ISBN-10 0-521-02532-X paperback



For Irma



Contents

List of illustrations	page xi
Acknowledgments	xiii
List of abbreviations	XV
Introduction	I
Part I The rising stars	9
Introduction	11
I The education of a king	15
2 The making of a favorite	32
3 Continuity or reform?	48
Part II The king's valido	65
Introduction	67
4 The power of the king	71
5 In his image and likeness	91
6 The king's chief minister	110
Part III Monarchy in action	135
Introduction	137
7 "We need miracles"	143
8 A corrupt regime?	163
9 The regime's answer: peace and Catholicism	189
Part IV Reversal of fortune	207
Introduction	209
10 Ideological confrontation and factional division	213
11 Fall from power	230
12 In search of culprits	247

ix



Contents

Epilogue: The end of the <i>privado</i>	262
Bibliography	271
Index	202



Illustrations

I	Justus 11ei, Auegory of the Eaucation of Philip 111, c. 1580s		
	(Madrid, Prado). pag	ge	20
2	Sofonisba Anguisciola, <i>Philip II</i> , c. 1580s (Madrid, Prado).		75
3	Philip III Depicted as a Good Ruler (from Juan Antonio de Vera y		
	Zúñiga, El Embajador, 1620) (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional).		77
4	Anonymous early seventeenth-century artist, The Carrera of San		
	Jerónimo, also known as Visit of Philip III to Lerma's Palace		
	(Collection of the Marquis of Santa Cruz).		89
5	Peter Paul Rubens, The Duke of Lerma on Horseback, 1603		
	(Madrid, Prado).		105
6	Juan Pantoja de la Cruz, Philip III, 1606 (Madrid, Prado).		106
7	Juan Pantoja de la Cruz, <i>Lerma</i> , 1602 (Seville, Palacio Pilatos).		107
8	Pedro de Villafranca, Pedro Franqueza, 1655 (Madrid, Biblioteca		
	Nacional).		130
9	Pedro Antonio Vidal, <i>Philip III</i> , c. 1617 (Madrid, Prado).		147
О	Juan Pantoja de la Cruz, Queen Margaret, 1606 (Madrid, Prado).		171
I	Louis Gaultier, Allegory of the Wedding between Louis XIII of France		
	and Anne of Austria, Daughter of Philip III of Spain, 1612 (Madrid,		
	Biblioteca Nacional).		215
12	Anonymous seventeenth-century artist from Valladolid, The Cardinal-		
	Duke of Lerma, c. 1620s (Valladolid, Museo Nacional de Escultura).		242



Acknowledgments

In writing this book I have acquired many debts of gratitude towards mentors, colleagues, and friends. In particular, I owe perpetual gratitude to Sir John Elliott, whose wise advice and encouragement gave new life to my work. To Richard L. Kagan, J. G. A. Pocock, Orest Ranum, and Harry Sieber, my advisers at the Johns Hopkins University, I owe many thanks for sharing their vast knowledge with me. Juan Gelabert, Ronnie Hsia, Karen Kupperman, and Geoffrey Parker read a preliminary version of this book and made valuable comments and suggestions that helped me to correct mistakes and improve the text. Julio A. Pardos, a friend and colleague for many years, has nurtured me intellectually, helped me to understand the complexity of ideas, and kept me going during difficult times. He and his wonderful family (Paula, Elena, and Pablo) have given me some of the most cherished moments of my life.

Without the advice and suggestions of Fernando J. Bouza Alvarez this book would have been impossible. I am also indebted in many ways to other friends and colleagues for their advice and support: Pablo Fernández Albaladejo, Michael Gilsenan, Javier Varela, María Luisa López-Vidriero, Antonio Manuel Hespanha, Pedro Cardim, Stuart Clark, Araceli Rubio, and Claudia Sieber. Also, without the help and friendship of Sarah Schroth this book would have been much poorer.

While conducting the research for the dissertation that was the basis for this book, I received assistance from the staffs of several archives and libraries. I appreciate the efforts, help, and patience of all who helped me. I would especially like to thank the wonderful staff of the Archivo General de Simancas, and express my gratitude to Don Ignacio Medina Fernández de Córdoba, Duke of Segorbe, for his kind permission to use the Archivo de los Duques de Lerma. Gail Duggan has given new life to the text and saved me from many (too many) errors and embarrassments. My thanks go also to William Davies of Cambridge University Press for his support. I want to acknowledge my gratitude to Virginia Catmur of Cambridge University Press for her careful reading of my typescript and her insightful suggestions for improving it. To complete my research, I received a grant from the Program of collaboration between the United States Universities and the Spanish Ministry of Culture.



Acknowledgments

Finally I wish to thank my spouse Dr. Irma T. Elo. Without her help, advice, encouragement, and patience this book would doubtless never have been completed. Hers is the most important contribution of all.



Abbreviations

I ARCHIVES AND LIBRARIES

ADL Archivo de los Duques de Lerma, Toledo Archivo General del Palacio Real, Madrid AGPR

AGPR Ex. Per. **Expedientes Personales** AGPR Sec. His. Sección Histórica

AGS Archivo General de Simancas

AGS CC Cámara de Castilla

AGS CC CR Cámara de Castilla, Casa Real

Cámara de Castilla, Diversos de Castilla AGS CC DC Cámara de Castilla, Memoriales y Expedientes AGS CC ME

Cámara de Castilla, Visitas AGS CC VI Consejo y Juntas de Hacienda AGS CJH AGS DGT Dirección General del Tesoro

AGS Est. Estado

AGS GI Gracia y Justicia AGS PT Patronato Real

Secretarías Provinciales AGS SP

AHN Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid

AHN CS Consejos Suprimidos

AHN Est. Estado

AHN OM Ordenes Militares

APM Archivo de Protocolos, Madrid

BFZ Biblioteca Francisco de Zabálburu, Madrid

BL**British Library**

British Library, Additional BL, Add. BL, Eg. British Library, Egerton BL, Sl. British Library, Sloane Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid **BNM** BPR Biblioteca del Palacio Real, Madrid Instituto Valencia Don Juan IVI

Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid **RAH**



Abbreviations

RAH CLSC Colección Luis Salazar y Castro

RAH CP Colección Pellicer

2 OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

BRAH Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia

carp. carpeta

Codoin Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España

CSPVen Calendar of State Papers Venetian

leg. legajo exp. expediente

RABM Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos