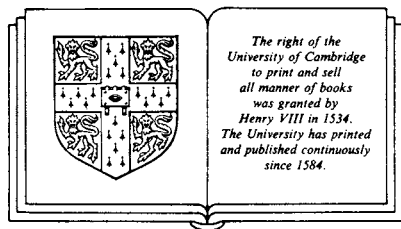


Philip IV and the Government of Spain 1621–1665

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Inheritance: the king as idea and ideal

The political context

The future Philip IV was carried to his baptism in the church of San Pablo of Valladolid in the arms of Francisco de Sandoval y Rojas, duke of Lerma. Although he was only seven weeks old at the time, in the traditional interpretation of his reign this event might be seen as an appropriately prophetic metaphor. The recalcitrant mythology surrounding this monarch, which has receded only marginally in recent years, insists that he was carried around all his life – from the cradle to the grave – by powerful courtiers, and in particular by a succession of dominant magnates who combined the role of royal favourite with a monopoly of political counsel. These attributes were certainly enjoyed and consolidated into a distinct and superior office of state by the duke of Lerma in respect to Philip III (1598–1621). The honour accorded the duke by his royal patron in 1605 – described above – represented only one more public demonstration of the esteem, unprecedented since the mid fifteenth century, in which one of his vassals was held by the reigning monarch. But Lerma's achievement was of far greater measure than that of his precursor, Alvaro de Luna, favourite of Juan II of Castile. First (and in contrast), he had brought his influence to the point where it was supported by the great majority of his peers. Secondly, the polity, governance of which the king had delegated to him, had grown since the fifteenth century into a world empire, the first global superpower, unmatched in its resources and aspirations.¹

¹ The main modern authorities on the politics of the reign of Philip III are C. Pérez Bustamante and Patrick Williams. The former's *Felipe III: Semblanza de un Monarca y Perfiles de una Privanza* (Madrid, 1950), which was barely adequate even for its time, has unfortunately been re-issued, dressed up and puffed out for the occasion, to form vol. xxiv (1980) of the new *Historia de España Menéndez Pidal*. The latter's article 'Philip III and the Restoration of Spanish Government, 1598–1603', *E.H.R.* 88 (1973), pp. 751–69, was the first shaft of light on an obscure theme. This, together with Dr Williams' essays 'The Reign of Philip III', 'Tan Repentinas Mudanzas: Philip III and the Duke of Lerma', and 'The Retirement of the Duke of Lerma', form an entirely fresh point of information-reference. Williams' work has already found its way into a major textbook account (see H. Kamen, *Spain 1469–1714: A Society of Conflict* (London, 1984), pp. 196–201), but as I write the essays are still unpublished. However, the first-mentioned is imminently forthcoming as part of vol. viii of Editorial Rialp

As it happened, Valladolid was the city in which Alvaro de Luna had been decapitated by his jealous enemies in 1453; and here (in marked contrast) Lerma savoured the personal triumph of bearing Philip III's first-born son and heir to his reception by the church.² In later years he was actually to have one of the royal children (*Margarita Francisca*) named after him. Moreover, the duke was virtual overlord of Philip's birthplace, the proud city of Old Castile which at that juncture was the capital of the Spanish Monarchy. In this long-established centre of Spain's agrarian wealth and population strength, he and his closest lieutenants had garnered a rich harvest of royal and municipal office, titles and lands. There was a sense in which the king and court were actually Lerma's guests, having moved to Valladolid from Madrid in 1601 at his suggestion. The very church of San Pablo itself was under the duke's protection, and in it he had already arranged the place for his own sepulchre.³

By his domination of the politics and patronage of the Monarchy, nearly absolute for most of Philip III's reign, Lerma created a new era, a new dimension in its history. The phenomenon of the minister-favourite came to assume a prominent profile in the written discourse about kingship, both theoretical and practical, which had become almost ubiquitous in Spanish cultural life subsequent to the Renaissance. Prior to the emergence of Lerma in 1599, scholars and playwrights in Castile had frequently turned to examine the complementary themes of the relationship of the king to the generality of his subjects, on the one hand, and to his fellow-sovereigns on the other. Subsequent to Lerma's arrival, a third theme came to mediate between, if not to displace, these fundamentals: the king's relationship with a chosen vassal into whose care he might entrust a very singular ministry. It was to provide the main subject for discussion in dozens of treatises and literally hundreds of stage plays (*comedias*) during the seventeenth century.

The foremost practitioner of the latter genre, Lope de Vega Carpio, in 1605 entered for and duly won a prize offered by the city of Toledo for a poem to celebrate the birth of the new *infante*:

That princes are human, no one may doubt,
But poetry must make their divinity shine out.⁴

The duality, and often the collision, of the king's human character and his sacred sanction is a paradox to which Lope, in common with other contemporary dramatists, frequently returned. For his part, the prince, who in

(Madrid), *Historia de España y América*. I am much indebted to Dr Williams for his permission to utilise the English versions of these pieces in the present work. (Page references which follow are to these typescripts.)

² N. Alonso Cortés (ed.), *Relación de lo Sucesido en la Ciudad de Valladolid desde el Punto del Felicissimo Nacimiento del Príncipe Don Felipe Dominico Victor ... por Juan Godínez* (Valladolid, 1916), pp. 49–50.

³ Williams, 'Tan Repentinas Mudanzas', pp. 10–14.

⁴ Q. by L. Cortés Echanove, *Nacimiento y Crianza de Personas Reales en la Corte de España, 1566–1886* (Madrid, 1958), p. 38.

this case was informed at birth of his mere mortality and his super-human responsibilities, grew to maturity as one who was capable of his own serious reflections on the issue, as well as on the scholarly, poetic and dramatic forms in which they were cast.

But other, less enigmatic problems also made their presences felt at the *infante's* birth and baptism, and were carefully grafted on to his being in a way which made them as integral as his soul (now cleansed of Original Sin) or the organs of his physical body. When Philip was taken to the blessed stone font of St Dominic, a royal heirloom, which had been installed in the church especially for the purpose, he was given as his second name that of the saintly Spanish founder of the Dominican Order, guardians of religious purity in the Holy Office of the Inquisition. Linked with these names, in tertiary position, was placed the sonorous Victor de la Cruz, completing a collection which perfectly encapsulated how his parents and all the court imagined his future – as a champion of Monarchy and church in battle. ‘Felipe Domingo Victor de la Cruz’ was a blue-print for a life of leadership, and quite deliberately and consciously so. From the *nomenclatura* of the heir of Spain blazed forth the fire of crusade. But not content with this general offering, Philip III specifically dedicated his son to the ultimate success of the struggle against the heretic rebels of the northern Netherlands, the *damnosa hereditas* of the Spanish Habsburgs which was already forty years old.⁵

In view of these prognostications, perhaps we should not wonder at the fact, probably unique in the annals of modern rulers who have lived out a full lifespan, that Philip IV's reign was to elapse without a single day of peace. Yet symbols of peace were by no means lacking at the place and time of his christening. Probably a little overcome by the assault on their senses and their sensibilities of the prolonged Catholic ceremonial in San Pablo, and witnessing with mixed feelings the belligerent dedication of the heir to the throne, was a sizeable embassy of Englishmen. Lord Howard of Effingham and his retinue were only accidentally present at the new prince's birthday parties – the full round of splendid *fiestas* organised by Lerma – since they had come to exchange formal ratifications of the treaty of peace agreed the year before between James I and Philip III.⁶ Indeed, Philip's foisting of the sword of faith on to his hapless son in San Pablo may be regarded as an indication that his own crusading zeal, like his interest in government, was prematurely exhausted.⁷ Under the guidance of Lerma, his reign was to be more distinguished for its ingenuity in diplomacy than for its military glory. And while a peace with honour (*paz honesta*), like that with England, was worthy of all applause, much of Lerma's policymaking was neither distinguished nor ingenious. This was especially the case with the

⁵ M. A. S. Hume, *The Court of Philip IV: Spain in Decadence* (London, 1907), pp. 9–11.

⁶ Pérez Bustamante, *Felipe III*, p. 81.

⁷ The ‘restoration of government’ (as Williams notes) had spluttered out around 1603 (Williams, ‘Philip III’).

war in Flanders, temporarily suspended with an armistice only two years after the prince's birth, and for a further twelve years as a result of a negotiated truce in 1609. The terms of the Truce of Antwerp, which were accepted by Philip III at the persuasion of Lerma, were so unfavourable to Spain as to be felt by the former 'to his dying day as a deep personal humiliation'.⁸ It was a feeling which – despite Philip III's tendency to avoid his subjects as he did the plague – spread inexorably thereafter until by the end of the reign no one could be found to support the Truce or to understand how it had ever come about. King Philip failed, if in this instance only by the narrowest of margins, to outlive his humiliation, dying on the very day that the duration of the Truce expired (31 March 1621). His successor, to whom the torch had so long ago been passed, had in the interval been subject to much advice on the necessity of fulfilling the baptismal vows taken on his behalf, and (synonymously though never explicitly) of purging his father's guilt.

It was not just on account of great affairs and decisions like these that the duke of Lerma hardly spared a thought for the heir to the throne in the five years following his birth. At court these years witnessed, in the words of one observer, 'almost a civil war' for the loyalty of the king between Lerma and Queen Margaret.⁹ The status of the young queen, twenty years old at the birth of the *infante*, was increased (according to ritual) by the fact that she was now the mother of the male heir. The duke was hard put to it to shield himself and his concerns from the queen's prying hostility. Luckily for him, one mark of the king's ever-deepening regard for his spouse was her virtually permanent state of pregnancy. This meant that for much of the time she was unable to accompany Philip on the constant itineraries arranged for him by Lerma with the express purpose of removing him from other influences. Nonetheless, the queen awaited her opportunity, and her behind-the-scenes manoeuvring seems to have been partly instrumental in the first political crisis of the Lerma system in 1607. The arrest of Pedro de Franqueza and other associates of the duke, followed by the sensational corruption and speculation which their cases brought to the surface, coincided with a serious financial breakdown and a rash of mutinies in the army of Flanders. The duke weathered this storm, if only by dint of the king's massively indifferent inertia, and had even managed to repair much of his relationship with Queen Margaret by the time of the latter's death in 1611.¹⁰ In the meantime, however, another major change had taken place in the circumstances of court politics.

In the spring of 1610, in the Old Castilian *pueblo* of Aranda de Duero, the *infante* Philip fell dangerously ill. His recovery was slow, and the doctors insisted that from then on the child should remain at court, so as to avoid the

⁸ Williams, 'Tan Repentinas Mudanzas', p. 24.

⁹ Q. by Pérez Bustamante, *Felipe III*, p. 89.

¹⁰ Williams, 'Tan Repentinas Mudanzas', p. 27.

physical privations of his father's unending journeys. By this time, 'court' once more meant Madrid, its permanent location again since 1606. Perhaps for the first time, the prince was in one place long enough to have his portrait painted, and it may be speculated that the delightful specimen now in the Escorial was the eventual result (see Pl. 1). At any rate, in January 1611 Lerma procured his own appointment as the *Mayordomo Mayor* to the prince, a position from which he could monitor other appointments to the small established retinue (or household) now envisaged for the latter. This was a strong indication that the duke was beginning to contemplate the future.¹¹ Such insurance was necessary if he was to achieve the ambition of creating a dynasty of 'mayors of the palace', a pathetic fallacy which he hoped to encompass by placing his sons in the favour of Philip III after him, and of Philip IV after Philip III. Lerma himself was now approaching sixty. He had created the material fortune which was his major (if not his only) career objective, and no longer relished the anxieties of statesmanship; or, to be more exact, the bodily exertions necessary to evade them. Ironically, the queen's death was a blow to his position, since it subjected Philip to recurrent bouts of morbid depression for the rest of his life, and led to the disgrace of the duke's most intimate confidant, Rodrigo Calderón, popularly regarded as the favourite's favourite.

Although in the following year the king issued Lerma with an astonishing testimonial, virtually ordering obedience to the latter's *fiat* within the administrative system, this was almost certainly an attempt to plaster over the cracks in the facade of Lerma's political monopoly. In 1613–14, for the first time, the king began, if only occasionally, to pass over the duke's nominees for patronage. The following year, his two most committed enemies at court, the count of Benavente and Luis de Aliaga, were invited to join the Council of State. The latter – a Dominican – was Philip's confessor. He had obtained this key post on Lerma's recommendation, but had subsequently turned against his patron. It was a peculiar irony that the duke's reference in this instance was both informed and sincere, because Aliaga had previously served him in a similar capacity.¹² Now the man who literally had access to Lerma's soul, and (not surprisingly) had become his political opponent, enjoyed a sacramental relationship with the religiously fanatical and suggestible sovereign. The whole of Fray Luis' career at court was, in effect, one long betrayal of his vow of confessional secrecy, for he devoted it to the discrediting of the Lerma interest. He started with Calderón, whom the king exiled because of Aliaga's suspicion (real or pretended) that he had poisoned the queen.

The confessor's campaign was quietly supported by a man who proved to be an even more outstanding beneficiary of Lerma's lack of judgement. Not long before Aliaga's promotion to the Council of State, the count of Olivares joined the household of the heir-apparent as a *gentilhombre de la cámara*

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 28–30.

¹² Pérez Bustamente, *Felipe III*, pp. 94–7.

(gentleman of the bedchamber). Olivares' father, who died in 1607, had been both a client and a valued political adviser to Lerma as an assiduous member of the council.¹³ The duke laboured under the misapprehension that the son was conscious of the connection and mindful of his feudal obligations. Indeed, the young count was appointed in order to strengthen Lerma's presence in the prince's quarters. As it proved, his family and political sympathies lay, on the contrary, with the critics of the Sandoval regime, who were now grouping in the council around Olivares' uncle, Baltasar de Zúñiga. Although it took Olivares a long time – probably well over a year – to gain the *infante's* confidence, by 1616–17, at more or less the same time that Zúñiga and his allies returned from postings abroad to dominate the Council of State, there was no longer any possibility that Lerma could insinuate either himself or his son into Prince Philip's affections. During these years, the king and his favourite drifted slowly apart, though their personal relationship remained very warm. Lerma was often content to stay in his new palace in Madrid while the monarch went off on hunting trips or pilgrimages to various sites around the capital, and as often went north to his *other* new palace (at the town of Lerma itself) when the king was in Madrid. And as Philip III left (or was released from) Lerma's political tutelage, drifting into that of the powerful group of ministers already mentioned, he began to evince an interest in his job which had not been witnessed since the very earliest years of his reign.

As Patrick Williams has demonstrated with great thoroughness, the *valimiento* of the duke of Lerma was not so much a case of government as – quite literally – the absence of it. By his carefully designed and almost continuous programme of *jornadas* (royal progresses), the duke isolated his charge from other influences and largely relieved him of all the minor and most of the major anxieties of his office. Philip III himself was a diffident semi-recluse who desperately wished to avoid his responsibilities – 'to escape from his kingship', as Williams puts it.¹⁴ The desire of this unwilling focus of all the world's attention was to live the private domestic life of one of his grandees, with business matters shuffled on to bailiffs and agents, and unworried by the cares of politics. Indeed it is difficult to see how such a man could ever have been the star of the so-called 'Baroque Monarchy' which according to Williams (and others) was achieving dazzling reality in these years. At any rate, Lerma wished to capture power for no positive or dynamic purposes, but merely in order to neutralise it. For the best part of the reign, nobody ruled in Madrid; a world empire was run on automatic pilot. Lerma himself rarely attended the council, which in any case was often reduced to a meaningless exchange between the two or three conscientious members who were able (or allowed) to keep up with the king's peregrinations. Very often the organs of administration in Madrid had only an

¹³ Williams, 'The Reign of Philip III', pp. 10–11.

¹⁴ Williams, 'Tan Repentinas Mudanzas', p. 2.

approximate idea of where the royal personage was, and even if their messengers could track him down they were usually intercepted and silenced by the *valido*.

Philip III 'reached the depths of irresponsibility' in 1610, when he spent nine months touring the hunting spots and the local shrines of Old Castile.¹⁵ The association between Philip and Lerma was akin to a friendship between God and Mammon, especially in the fact that both (like nearly all modern Spaniards) were avid collectors. While the latter collected a fortune for this life the former collected indulgences for the life to come. Philip suffered from a type of religious mania which his nickname of 'Philip the Pious' falls pathetically short of the mark in describing, and continually travelled to sites of holy memory and miracle in order to add to his matchless store of indulgences. Moreover, the *jornada* of 1610 was prolonged even more by his son's illness. This event, in conjunction with the death of his queen (at the age of twenty-six) was likely to have been seen by Philip as part of a divine judgement on his dereliction of duty. It was a reaction which his confessor was happy to sponsor in the interests of the downfall of the Sandovals.

For a time following the departure of Lerma from court (autumn 1618), Philip III made a creditable attempt to resume his proper part in government. He declared that he would no longer employ a *valido* and attended more regularly to his papers and his councils.¹⁶ Doubtless this reformation had been brought about, more than any other single factor, by the influence of his confessor, Aliaga. In any case, the virtuous phase did not last long; this time it was interrupted, however, not by any act of omission on the king's part but by a singularly ironic act of God. In September 1619, returning from a *jornada* which was no pleasure-trip but an arduous tour of duty (in Portugal), Philip was struck down within sight of his capital by serious illness. He came very close to death, and never properly recovered from this attack, though he was not yet forty. Until the end of the reign eighteen months later, he remained chronically sick and mostly bedridden, a condition which arose perhaps from a psychosomatic complex, and was certainly accentuated by an enervated syndrome of depression. Since Luis de Aliaga controlled the king's morose inner world of spiritual *angst* and sacramental consolation, the confessor made striking progress also in the strictly political sphere. Having helped to defeat Lerma he now easily outwitted the duke's son, Uceda, a talentless drone who had been stupid enough to collaborate with Fray Luis in the overthrow of his own father.

However, since being re-structured approximately half-way through the reign, the Council of State had enjoyed a steady access of vigour. By 1618–19, under the unofficial leadership of Baltasar de Zúñiga, it had become once more the real centre of decision and thus of power. In this

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

¹⁶ Williams, 'The Reign of Philip III', p. 36.

arena Aliaga and Zúñiga tussled for influence.¹⁷ The former, who had now been made Inquisitor General, who dominated the king's private chambers (*cámara*) and the palace, believed that the *renovación* of the Monarchy should take a powerfully theocratic direction. Perhaps deliberately appealing to the truly Quixotic aspiration of Philip III's youth, he advocated a policy of explicit crusade. To Fray Luis, Spain would best recover divine support, and thus her strength, purpose and purity by following up the expulsion of the Moriscos. A forward policy in the Mediterranean and in Africa – in part adumbrated by decisions taken earlier in the reign – would lead, in Aliaga's design, to the ultimate prize, Jerusalem. The logical (if extreme) conclusion of many of the traditionalist and orthodox ideas in Spanish culture, Aliaga's programme, at least in its earlier stages, also to some extent reflected the interests of the Mediterranean centre of gravity of the Monarchy, with Castile at the core. But Zúñiga's Holy Grail lay elsewhere. As an outstanding product of the Spanish politico-military system which had evolved during the sixteenth century, his vision was firmly fixed on the future of the Monarchy in the north, and coloured by the courts of central and western Europe where he had made a brilliant diplomatic career. To Zúñiga, Spain's great humiliation had taken place in this primary theatre of its power, Christendom itself, and here it must be restored and repaired. If Aliaga's view was (perhaps inadvertently) more finely tuned to the realities of Spain's *internal* condition, Zúñiga's was unquestionably more aware of the realities of the *international* position. In a series of debates in the council, punctuated by set-piece battles of political tactics in its surrounding corridors of power, the critical decisions were taken in 1618–19 which brought about the first campaigns of the Thirty Years' War. The victory of the Zúñiga faction was clear, if not complete. At much the same time the complementary process of domestic reform put forth its first buds. In 1617, the *Junta de Armadas* was formed to revivify naval resources and preparations; the *Junta de Reformación* was launched on its controversial career; and in 1619 the Council of Castile itself declared its support for reform in a justly famous *consulta* recommending important changes in fiscal and commercial policy.

In principle, at least, the crown endorsed this radical change of mood and direction. Another public confession of the error of his ways was implicit in Philip's withdrawal of protection from many of the prominent figures of the now-disgraced regime. Investigation into the affairs of Rodrigo Calderón and the duke of Osuna led to their recall and imprisonment. While Philip III had clearly renounced the Lerma *valimiento*, however, he never could bring himself to renounce the man. For the short remaining duration of the reign,

¹⁷ For what follows see the articles by the late Dr P. Brightwell listed in the Bibliography. A recent discussion of the defence policy of the reign, which examines the background to the opposed viewpoints of 1618, is to be found in M. A. Pierce, 'The Mediterranean in the Context of the Defence Policy of the Duke of Lerma, 1598–1618' (unpublished M.A. dissertation, University of Wales, 1982).

the duke (or rather the cardinal-duke, since he had now obtained from Rome the further protection of the purple in case his master's resolution was undermined) lived in anxious retirement. The chances are that he did not quite attain the satisfaction of feeling that he had perfectly achieved his ambitions – but in this, at least, Lerma was no more unfortunate than any other. Immediately upon the death of his patron, he feared the worst. Recognising that any influence he may ever have had over the new sovereign had long since evaporated, but hoping nonetheless to preserve the immense fortune and status he had gained for his family, he wrote to Philip IV.

I beseech your majesty to regard the wealth of my house as being at his service, and to recognise therefore that it is unnecessary for my affairs to be subjected to the investigations of Tribunals. Thus your majesty may be satisfied, without the destruction of my honour and credit. Your majesty should recall that I have served his grandfather and his father with all my strength, and with such effect that they honoured and rewarded me, and he knows too that I have served him faithfully since he was born. Now that I am sixty-eight and have so little time to live, it would not be amiss to extend your clemency to a loyal servant like myself.¹⁸

A plausible old *pícaro* had lost little of his skill, and it seems somehow appropriate that his first missive to Philip IV, like most of those to Philip II thirty years earlier, should have been a begging letter. But the new monarch was not amenable to private deals, nor inclined to the prerogative exculpation of a vassal accused of massive malfeasance. Philip was eager for the experience of kingship, and already had a grasp of duty which informed him that others who had defrauded the crown should not suffer the full rigour of the law when their only begetter went scot free. Indeed, perhaps it was just as well for Lerma that he was no longer a private citizen but a prince of the church, for his son Uceda was to die after a year in prison while his case was proceeding. And if Calderón was to be the only member of the crew directly to suffer the ultimate penalty, Uceda was by no means alone in his particular fate. Meanwhile, around the time of Uceda's obscure demise, on 1 April 1622, news arrived at court of Cardinal Sandoval's celebration of his first mass, in the church of San Pablo de Valladolid. The event seems to have been greeted with a certain amount of cynical amusement slightly tinged with blasphemy.¹⁹

On the education of a prince

In the circumstances already described, it is not surprising that the reign of Philip III witnessed a lively public debate over the proper function of kingship. It was a theme inextricably linked in the popular mind with questions

¹⁸ Lerma to Philip IV, 13 April 1621, Oxf. Bod. Ms. Add. A.141, ff. 434v–435.

¹⁹ A. González Palencia (ed.), *Noticias de Madrid 1621–27* (Madrid, 1942), p. 22. These reports (taken from B.N. 2513) are the work of Fray Pedro de La Hoz, and in conjunction

of public morality. In 1609 – the year of the Truce of Antwerp – the Jesuit polymath Juan de Mariana noted that the ruling class of Castile ‘recline at their banquets, besotted with food and wine, softened and corrupted by debauchery, after the example of their princes . . . Almost everywhere a decay is setting in.’²⁰ These actual phrases of Mariana’s were (understandably) censored before publication; but on the whole the Lerma regime was neither vigilant nor energetic enough to stifle an upsurge of interest in politics which had begun in the dying years of Philip II. Any period of transition from one ruler to another was naturally (in Spain as elsewhere) one in which unsolicited advice became available in quantity to the new monarch. Such writings were usually directed towards the rectification of some perceived mistake, or other improvement of state policy in the common weal. In this instance, perhaps unlike most others, the flow of ink was not stemmed once the new monarch had succeeded and established the basic configuration of his government.

One major aspect of this sudden efflorescence of a thousand literary blooms has been noted and utilised by historians of the period for many years – the genre of practical analyses of political economy, the so-called school of *arbitristas*, which provides a major source. But within a phenomenon of writing and expression which impresses above all by its textual unity of content, we may distinguish (if only for ease of commentary) two other broad disciplinary divisions. Alongside the socio-economic *arbitrios* were many other nostrums specifically directed at political action, treatises containing argument over its theological, ethical and juridical dimensions.²¹ A similar, if more selective discourse was often represented upon the stage or in published stories, thus becoming truly public and popular. In the theatres (*corrales*) of a drama-crazy capital, the debate over kingship, thinly disguised in plots of allegorical or historical reference, was an ubiquitous theme. Only in recent times have these latter manifestations of the astonishing intellectual ferment of the reign attracted the attention of historians.²²

Most Spanish political writings had an avowed didactic intention. Indeed, writing of any kind during the Baroque age was redolent of this powerful exemplary motivation. The desire to influence princes was, of course, also a characteristic of the Counter-Reformation religious orders to which (indeed)

with those of Almansa y Mendoza (see Ch. 2 below, n. 13) are a well-informed and collatable source for the early years of the new reign.

²⁰ Q. by A. Soons, *Juan de Mariana* (Boston, 1982), p. 127, from Mariana’s treatise *On Death* (1609).

²¹ Comprehensive treatment is available in J. A. Maravall, *Teoría Española del Estado en el Siglo XVII* (Madrid, 1944), and J. A. Fernández-Santamaria, *Reason of State and Statecraft in Spanish Political Thought, 1595–1640* (New York, 1983). An excellent discussion of the political thought of the period is offered by F. Tomás y Valiente, in Chapters 1 and 2 of *Historia de España Menéndez Pidal*, vol. xxv (Madrid, 1982), pp. 21–174.

²² P. Vilar, ‘The Age of Don Quixote’, in P. Earle (ed.), *Essays in European Economic History, 1500–1800* (Oxford, 1974), pp. 100–12; J. Vilar Berrogaín, ‘Una Lectura Histórica de Nuestros Clásicos’, *Historia 16 Extra* 12 (1979), pp. 91–100.