

I. A. A. Thompson

A BUDDENBROOKS EFFECT IN 17th- CENTURY SPAIN

THE SECRETARY JUAN DELGADO AND HIS SUCCESSORS:
AN INTER-GENERATIONAL BIOGRAPHY, c.1515-1658



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*To the memory of Erzsébet Csehi (1898-1985)
and to her son, Irving Csehi (1938-50).
They will always be with me.*

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Introduction

It is as well to begin by saying what this book is not. It is not an institutional study of Philip II's Secretary of War nor of his Secretariat.¹ It is what can best be described as an "inter-generational biography", the biography of three consecutive generations of the Delgado family. It is, of course, not irrelevant that the first of those generations was a senior official at the Court of Philip II, not least because it was my close acquaintance with Juan Delgado as Secretary of War in my earliest days at Simancas which nearly sixty years ago led me to begin looking into the more personal aspects of his life and family in his home city of Palencia. It is, therefore, not a study of the Secretary but of Juan Delgado, and his son and grandson. It is an attempt, insofar as it has been possible, to uncover their personalities and personal relations, their getting and spending, their attitudes and beliefs. At that level, therefore, it is simply a contribution to the study of group identities in 16th- and 17th-century Spain, specifically those of Service, Military, and Oligarchy. But it has also something to contribute to the historiography of the Family. The family of a royal official of the likes of Delgado is a rather special type of family, the distinctive characteristics of which have received little consideration in the "History of the Family" genre. Finally, it is a study in the broader issue of social mobility, and, more specifically, in the under-explored processes of downward social mobility, the decline of one family in wealth, in importance and in name.

In the last 30 or 40 years the History of the Family in Spain has moved from the sociology and anthropology of the 19th and earlier 20th centuries to a progressively refined and sophisticated conceptualization of the problematic and the methodology of the study of the family in early-modern Spanish history, its purpose often overtly programmatic, looking to prosopographical studies and collective biographies of specific groups or localities for exemplification and verification.² However, the key issues for the understanding of the processes and causes of change in family structures, functions and ideologies have been much easier to postulate in the somewhat disembodied analytics of the conceptual than they have been to demonstrate in actuality. Prosopographical research has

¹ That has been more than satisfactorily done by Santiago Fernández Conti in his *Los Consejos de Estado y Guerra de la Monarquía Hispánica en tiempos de Felipe II 1548-1598*.

² Outstanding examples of this approach can be found in Francisco Chacón Jiménez's collection, *El viaje de las familias*. For a concise but thorough survey of the recent historiography of the family in Spain see García González, "La historia de la familia o la vitalidad de la historiografía española. Nuevas perspectivas de la investigación."

necessarily produced a static, horizontal historiography of averages, norms, ranges, generalities and generalizations, descriptive of the situation at a specific point in time. Verticality, change across time, has been achieved largely by a simple layering of horizontals, comparing one static snapshot with another taken at some later date, that date usually selected for external cultural, social or economic reasons presumed to have affected the nature and structure of the family, and therefore to have provided the explanation for that change.

James Casey, in his innovative study first published in 2007, *Family and Community in Early-Modern Spain. The Citizens of Granada (1570-1739)*, has gone beyond this methodology and sought an alternative strategy both to provide those temporal transmitters and to test the current hypotheses of historians of the family in Spain against selected inputs from a limited number of families in different situations and contexts from the late 16th to the early 18th Century. This has enabled him to integrate the different aspects of political, social and family history within one particular civic community across time. However, by the very nature of the project, the continuities and the discontinuities that are to be found are found diffused across a number of different families within the large amorphous pool of the perpetual community of Granadan family clans, rather than within any single family. The result, therefore, remains an ontological account, sophisticated and nuanced, of the “what”, rather than of the “how” and the “why”. The end of such studies is to reveal the differences resulting from change rather than to examine the processes of change. The “how” and the “why” are not to be accessed simply by a description of these changes, but by a recognition of the essential, organic component of change in human institutions. Organic change cannot adequately be either described or explained by a series of snapshots of different examples at different moments, often generations apart. Organic change is by definition generational, internal, and ultimately individual. It is the outcome of the successive changes within the same family that are transmitted through its consecutive generations by the individuals who are the integral and essential vectors of those changes. In the historical study of the family and family structures these internal, inter-personal factors that transmit attitudes, behaviours and cultures immediately, successively and progressively upwards from generation to generation have received far too little attention.

It is not that there are not studies of individual families but, in great part because of the enormous difference in the nature, the completeness and the continuity of the evidence, they are very much more common for the later 17th and 18th centuries than for the previous period. Furthermore, the emphasis of those studies is essentially different from this present one. They are all (as far as I am aware) studies of successful, socially integrated and upwardly mobile families, and their central thread, therefore, is not the individual, not the personality, but the profession, the business, the office, the dynasty over the long-term, and thus the directness and immediacy of the transfers between successive generations is much

less pertinent.³ Such histories are, therefore, entirely different from that of any one of the myriad of families that rose and effectively disappeared within the space of a few brief generations.

Neither is it the case that there has been a failure to recognise the role of the individual in generational change at a conceptual level, "como sujeto social",⁴ but it is precisely the gap between the concept and the actuality, the lack of exemplification, the conceptualization of "the individual" and the absence of "individuals" that deprives the theoretical of substantiation. It is this limitation, the absence of the specific in the organic process of change that the interiorized, inter-generational biography of a single family may be able to help overcome.

What the single, intra-familial study can do that broader inter-familial studies cannot, is not only to go deeper and in greater detail, but thereby also to deploy techniques that are impractical on a larger scale, the establishment of individual relationships by witness analysis, for example, the access to personality characteristics by the analysis of behaviour, language usage, handwriting, or indeed by individual clothing, colour and style preferences, which may, or may not, conform with social norms. From there, crucially, it can look to see how those personality characteristics and the attitudes and behaviours they generate are transmitted from one generation to the next, or, just as important, how and why they are not, and how the psychology of the individual relates not only to external cultural, political and economic circumstances but also to the shadow of the individual's own life-history. Successive generations are connected not just by lineage, but by genetics, by intrafamilial relationships, by the role of parents (whether positive or negative) on the formation of identity and personality, by sibling status, family cohesion, envy, or competition. It is the specificity of that form of verticality which is the distinctive feature of the single, intra-familial study.

Clearly restricting the field of study to a single family also has its limitations. It is subject to several of the criticisms that are habitually levelled against any form of micro-history.⁵ It cannot by itself be shown not to be unique, and so cannot by itself be the basis for or an exemplar of a new generalization. It has other obvious limitations in that the relevant source material for such a study is also restricted. If a particular type of source is not available, it cannot effectively be replaced by what we know about another family or families. With respect to the Delgados, for example, I have not been able to find any material detailing the pre-nuptial negotiations between the families involved, nor in more than one case the full

³ The most striking and by far the best known example is that of the Goyeneche, but I am also thinking here particularly of such studies as Lohmann Villena's, *Les Espinosas: une famille d'hommes d'affaires en Espagne et aux Indes à l'époque de la colonisation*; Priotti's, *Los Echávarri: mercaderes bilbaínos del siglo de oro*; Salado Santos's, *Al Servicio del Rey. La familia Ronquillo Briceño 1550-1699*.

⁴ See, for example, Chacón Jiménez, "Familias, sociedad y sistema social", *El viaje de las familias*, ch. 14, pp.301 *et seqq.*

⁵ Amelang, "Microhistory", p.308.

details of the dowry itself, nor, indeed, about marriages outside the direct line, often even including the names of the spouses. The delineation of the succession to Juan Delgado's *mayorazgo* has the inheritance passing to his brother and his brother's direct heirs, but there is no mention of his sister-in-law's name, the mother who also gave her name to his nephew, the potential heir to the *mayorazgo*. No mention is made of pregnancies, stillbirths, infant or child deaths, and the only baptismal record I have is that of a 34 year-old cathecumen from Algiers, slave of Delgado's son.⁶ The general lack of personal diaries, letter-books and private correspondence inevitably gives excessive weight to the largely impersonal language of the legal documentation upon which so much of the reconstruction of a family's history has to rely. And that is without questioning the trustworthiness of the evidence that we have.⁷ In one case, for example, Juan Delgado's daughter-in-law misstates her age by 10 years, and the arithmetic of the valuers of household goods is very far from reliable, though fortunately correctible.

The single family study, even in isolation, can, of course, reinforce or support existing positions, but perhaps its greater value is rather more negative. It can show that certain broader propositions or generalisations are not universal. It can uncover the absence of connections, connections the non-existence of which it is not the purpose of composite studies with their positivist, pattern-seeking methodologies to uncover.⁸ It can, most importantly, present orthodoxy with the challenge of alternative possibilities by drawing attention to the existence of families which do not conform to the standard models, families whose wealth and honour did not derive from their personal involvement in the public life of the community.⁹ One such family was the Delgado.

The detailed study of the Family in early-modern Spain has been almost entirely uni-locational, locked into a "place", usually a city which has the archival records to support its investigation. That investigation by its very nature enforces the connection between the family and the locality and the family's continuity within that locality, and hence with the "clan", the "linaje" or the "parentela" as the institution that gives the "family" its longevity and its substance within that locality.¹⁰ The Delgados are different. They are outsiders, newcomers, *déracinés*. They stand alone. They come without history, their civic "patriotism" the response to the psychological need to belong. Their roots in Palencia were shallow. Francisco Fernández, Juan Delgado's father, was an immigrant, and his children do not seem to have maintained any persevering links with their maternal family in Palencia. Indeed, none of them was even able to identify more than one of Juan Delgado's

⁶ Archivo Parroquial de San Antolín, Palencia, 22.3.1579.

⁷ See Casey, whom I cite throughout from the 2009 Spanish version, *Familia, poder y comunidad en la España Moderna. Los ciudadanos de Granada (1570-1739)*, pp.285-9.

⁸ See Amelang, "Microhistory", pp.310-11.

⁹ Casey, *Familia, poder y comunidad*, p.24.

¹⁰ Casey, *op.cit.*, p.155.

grandparents. Furthermore, by virtue of their occupations (in Court, in the Church, and in military service) they were also “transients” who not only did not have deep roots in their local society, but, serving in Valladolid, Madrid and Lisbon, or in Granada, on the galleys and in Naples, or Rome, were unable to develop them. None of Francisco Fernández’s three sons was in adulthood a permanent resident in Palencia and only Juan retained any sort of long-term connection with the city. Their occupations and their marriages took them outside the city and, indeed, also separated them from each other. As one of a number of different Palencian Delgados, even their names are not always properly known. When Juan Delgado’s grandson took his place as *alférez mayor* in the city’s *ayuntamiento* on 21.2.1608, the clerks repeatedly entered his name incorrectly (Don Agustín Delgado Ferrer y Córdoba instead of Delgado Ferrer y Cardona) and even several years later he appears in the *Libro de Actas* (24.7.1615) as Delgado Ferrer y Cardenas. Within the city’s elite they had colleagues, associates, personal friends no doubt, but no blood ties, no “family”. They had no “family” in Palencia to which they belonged and thus no “clan” to sustain them. They succeeded or failed alone.¹¹

The emphasis placed in recent studies on the crucial importance of the “clan” and the “parentela” rather than the nuclear family is not to be found in the Delgados. The Delgados had no pre-existing paths to power to follow, and their search for honour could not realistically look back to the past, but forward to the future. The fabrication of a patently unconvincing genealogy was no more than a necessary tool for the moment. Consequently, when it proved to be ineffective, the “appropriated” nominal association with that past was promptly abandoned, and Don Agustín sr. changed his name back from the assumed “Delgado Córdoba y Herrera” to the original “Delgado y Salinas”. This does not deny the key role of the “clan” in the preservation of the line and the support it could provide for its members. On the contrary, it is precisely and crucially that support the Delgados lacked, but it does draw our attention to the many free-floating families of the Delgado type that existed outside the clan system and, therefore, to the incompleteness of what is often projected as the predominant structure of Castile’s early-modern elite civic society.

The existence and the perpetuation of the “linaje” is in itself evidence of success, and it is success that has created and left so much of the historical record of upward social mobility. Indeed, that has been the principal motive for the preservation and publication of such records, as the archiepiscopal *examinador* of that remarkable compilation, the mid-18th century *Historia de la Casa de Herrasti*, insisted, “la Genealogica, cuya objeto mira a el esplendor de las Familias Ilustres, descubrir sus Origenes, y delinear el prolongado curso de sus descendencias, y successiones.”¹² The

¹¹ On the crucial role of the “vinculación por relaciones de parentesco, de amistad y de paisanaje” for the maintenance of a family’s fortunes see Imízcoz Beunza, “La Hora Navarra del XVIII: Relaciones familiares entre la Monarquía y la aldea”, p.46.

¹² Pérez de Herrasti, *Historia de la casa de Herrasti*.

converse process of downward social mobility has been very much more difficult to identify, to document and to explain, except in the most general and opinionated terms. Once gone, the disappeared leave few traces. In most ways we are not very much further forward in understanding how and why that multitude of middling and lesser-gentry families failed than were the *arbitristas*, such as González de Cellorigo, or Argote de Molina, in their day.¹³ The Delgados are an example of a family that both rose and declined. The rise is well documented. The decline has not been. The progressive paucity of the evidence available to the historian is itself symptomatic. The inter-generational approach enables us to follow in some detail, and to understand, the progressive failure of Juan Delgado's line into the third generation. It offers us the possibility of considering some of the factors that might lie hidden beneath the common application of generalised economic, social and political factors to group mobility, groups that are in reality composed of individuals, individual families, not just the "individual" of the programmatic conceptual schema, but specific and detailed individual cases.

The explanatory model of downward mobility that a three-generational study such as this immediately brings to mind, and one that I have found most suggestive in this context, is that which has come to be known, taking its name from Thomas Mann's portrayal of the fortunes of a mid-nineteenth century German family-business, as the Buddenbrooks Syndrome, or the "third-generation effect", the commonly observed phenomenon of the progressive loss of momentum for growth through successive generations. Though originally conceived as a tool for the analysis of family-businesses in the conditions of a capitalist economy, it has been applied suggestively to Italian business in the 17th century,¹⁴ and there is no reason to believe that *mutatis mutandis* it could not equally have some applicability to early-modern Spain and to the history of the rise and fall of family fortunes. Indeed, what is really remarkable is its total absence from the literature. It has the virtue of bringing into the negative side of the mobility equation the factor of the individual personality, and the even more interesting question of the generational dimensions of personality. How applicable to the rise and decline of the Delgados the Buddenbrooks Syndrome might be I shall return to when the relevant evidence has been presented, but without pretending to extend their case into a general model of the rise and decline of families *tout court*, it is perhaps not going too far to suggest that, in this respect, the history of the Delgados may not be unique in 16th and 17th Century Castile.

¹³ See the valiant attempt of Alberto Marcos to address this problem in "Movilidad social ascendente y descendente en la Castilla Moderna". Chacón's "Reflexiones sobre historia y movilidad social", *El viaje de las familias*, ch. 15, is typical in having practically nothing to say about the processes of downward mobility.

¹⁴ Lorandini, Cinzia, "Looking beyond the Buddenbrooks Syndrome: the Salvadori Firm of Trento, 1660s-1880s".

CHAPTER I JUAN DELGADO

1. THE BEGINNINGS

Despite his background and 54 nearly unbroken years at Court in the royal service, Juan Delgado, Philip II's Secretary of War from 1571 to 1585, always thought of himself as a son of Palencia, investing in civic office and property, endowing the Capilla de Nuestra Señora del Rosario in the convent of San Pablo, known for his support of local causes at Court, returning to convalesce in the city after illness, and coming back in retirement to be laid to rest in his native city. Although his father was from Cordoba, he adopted his maternal surname, that of a respectable *hidalgo* family of Palencia, and when in the course of time he established a *mayorazgo*, its tenure was made conditional on retaining the surname Delgado in first position and maintaining a residence in the city.¹

Juan Delgado was one of three sons and two daughters born to Francisco Fernández (or Hernández, as he frequently appears in the documents), *notario principal* of the bishop of Palencia, Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca, and Ana Delgado, daughter of Gonzalo Delgado, *vecino* of Palencia, man-at-arms (*hombre de armas*), presumably of one of the companies of the Guards of Castile, and an *hidalgo* with a *carta ejecutoria* affirming his *hidalguía*, or so it was claimed.² He was born in Paredes de Nava (Palencia), during the temporary passage of his parents through the town, where his father was serving in the visitation of the episcopal *audiencia*. He was baptised in the church of Santa Olalla and named Juan, as seems to have been common with other Delgados of Palencia, or perhaps after his father's patron, Bishop Fonseca, or his saint's day. The date is unknown, but it was probably somewhere around the middle of the second decade of the century. Decades later, investigators of the Council of the Orders could find no trace of baptismal records

¹ Juan Delgado to Mateo Vázquez, 17.3.1581: «Su Md me mando q dixese a vm scriviесе al Sr Hdo de Vega lo sigte. Un canonygo q es de la yglesia de Palencia y esta en Madrid me a scripto q se a consultado por Juan Vazqz lo q parece a la Junta de Prestes sobre lo q la yglesia de Palencia pide no se le venda la villa de Pedraça q es del espital della y q esta esperando esto respuesta segd a vm q qdo ubiere lugar dé orden q se les responda, q por ser cosa de my trra no puedo dexar de hazer esta memoria a vm», IVDJ caja 122, envío 87, f.174; AHN Consejos, leg.4407, no.35, 5.9.1575, recommending the extension of Delgado's 20,000 mrs a year on the "penas de cámara de Palencia y su tierra" granted 1548, "que aunque la cantydad es tan poca por ser donde tiene su assiento la estima él en mucho."

² RAH Salazar y Castro D 35, f.58v.

for that period in Paredes, for it was not until after the Council of Trent that records were kept with any regularity.

Francisco Fernández had come to Palencia to join Bishop Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca, who had known him during his tenure of the see of Cordoba prior to 1506. Fonseca did not make his first formal entry into Palencia until 4 April 1506, and it was perhaps not long after that Francisco Fernández joined him and was taken on by the bishop as his secretary, running his household (“le recibio en su casa adonde la mandava y gobernava”) and acting as *notario principal* of the episcopal *audiencia*. Two years might reasonably seem to be the absolute minimum to allow for Francisco Fernández's arrival, marriage, and the conception and birth of a child. Juan Delgado is, therefore, unlikely to have been born before 1509, even were he to have been the first born, and we have good reason to believe that he was not. Indeed, he may well have been one of the youngest of Francisco Fernández's five children. We know that Juan went to Court in 1531 or 1532, the year before his father died, “siendo yo muy muchacho”. None of the children can have been living in their father's house when he died, since it was not known who his heirs were. By that time the two daughters were in all likelihood married, given a normal marriage age for girls of something like 19. One brother, perhaps the eldest, named Francisco as was his father, went into the Church, and in 1554 was in Rome in the company of the Jesuit, Ignatius Loyola. Another brother, Alonso, also reappears in the 1550s in senior management positions in the royal fleets. Both of them, together with one of their sisters, Francisca, took the name Fernández Delgado. The other sister, Ysabel, used only the family name of their mother, Delgado, as did Juan, seemingly distancing themselves for some reason from their father's line. Furthermore, there is no indication that Juan inherited anything from his father. Looking back on his beginnings some twenty or twenty-five years later, he described himself as a “pobre hidalgo de Palencia”, suggesting that of whatever wealth his father left he was not a prime beneficiary.

Fonseca was translated to the archdiocese of Burgos in November 1514, but Francisco Fernández did not go with him and continued to serve as notary of the episcopal *audiencia* of Palencia after 1514, so Juan could have been born at any date up to 1518, or so. My own guess would be no earlier than 1514. Such a date best fits both the memory of the Licenciado Gregorio de Aguilar, priest of Paredes, who was born in 1520, and claimed as a child “le conoció muchos años en casa de su padre” before he went to Court, and Delgado's own recollection of having gone to join the Secretary Francisco de los Cobos at Court, “siendo yo muy muchacho”, on the recommendation of the great Palencian dignitary, Juan de Vega, 6th Señor de Grajal, who only succeeded his own father early in 1526.³ From both a statement of his own in 1577, referring to his 45 years of service, and that of his son, some years

³ Juan de Vega, born 1507, married Doña Leonor Osorio Sarmiento, eldest daughter of 3rd Marqués de Astorga. He began a military career at the siege of Fuenterrabía in 1524, and went to Germany with Carlos V in 1532. He died as President of the Consejo de Castilla on 20.12.1558.

later, appealing to his late father's 54 years of continuous service, that must have been in 1531 or 1532. Juan Delgado would, therefore, have been 70 or so when he died, *en route* from Madrid to Palencia, on 9 October 1585.

The bulk of the information we have about Delgado's ancestry comes from the investigation (*prueba*) into the family's *nobleza*, *limpieza* and non-involvement in *oficios viles y mecánicos* carried out in Palencia in 1602 in pursuance of the application on behalf of his grandson for a habit of the Order of Santiago. The information is, therefore, remote, tendentious and in great part hearsay, and it has to be treated with appropriate scepticism. Francisco Fernández was apparently a native of Cordoba. Years after his death, his grandson, Don Agustín Delgado, was to claim him as a descendant of Hernán Gómez de Herrera, *veinticuatro* of Cordoba and founder in 1412 of the Capilla de Santo Matías, and a son of Pedro Fernández de Córdoba y Herrera, *vecino* of Cordoba and sometime *almirante* in Sevilla, a man he described as "caballero tan noble principal y de tanta calidad que todos le reconocen por deudo", and whose nobility was recognised by the return of the *blanca de la carne*.⁴ Through Pedro Fernández's great-niece, Doña Elvira de Herrera, the great-granddaughter of Hernán Gómez, the family was said to be connected with the Argotes of Cordoba, Don Alonso Fernández de Argote and Don Diego de Argote de Claro, Knight of Santiago.⁵ Whether this descent is to be taken seriously is, of course, open to doubt, but there could be some element of truth in it. Juan Delgado is known to have had a personal connection with Gonzalo Argote de Molina, the Cordoban author of *Nobleza del Andalucía*,⁶ and an uncle of his in Mexico city, a certain (*fulano*) Herrera y Córdoba, sent him two large silver flasks engraved with the arms of Córdoba y Herrera ("con las herraduras") for his great-nephew,

⁴ RAH Salazar y Castro, C25, ff.231-232v; also "Arbol de los Delgado", RAH Salazar y Castro, D29, f.173 & D35, f.58v.

⁵ RAH Salazar y Castro, D 35, 30.10.1597, Carta de poder of Don Agustín Delgado to Juan Ribera, *vecino* of Palencia, 30.10.1597, to present himself before the *corregidor* of Córdoba or his *teniente* and, «para ciertos efectos que me convienen», ask for notarised transcripts of "los padrones que estan en poder" of the city of Cordoba, or of Don Juan de Saavedra, or anyone else, relating to the "refacion que se hazia a su visaguelo Pero Fernandez, vzo de Córdoba, almirante que dizen fue en Sevilla, decendiente de Gomez de Herrera, 24º que fue de Córdoba, que fundo la capilla de Sto Matías" in 1412. Also "para que pueda sacar y saque fe de la fundacion y dotacion que el dicho Gomez de Herrera, mi quarto o quinto aguelo, hizo en la dha capilla, y fe de la escritura en que paresce ser 24º de Córdoba", and also "fees de otros qualesquier papeles questan en poder de Don Gomez de Cordoba y Herrera, alfez mayor de Cordoba, que toquen a qualquiera de mis 4^{to} o 5^{to} aguelos, y fees de los papeles que tubiere tocantes a esto Don Diego de Argote", Knight of Santiago, husband of Doña Elvira de Herrera, daughter of the niece of my great-grandfather, Pero Fernández de Córdoba y Herrera, and also the "testimonio de como el juez pesquisidor que fue a Jaen sobre un libello infamatorio, dió al Ldo Juan de Herrera y Hieronimo de Herrera", descendants of the said Gómez de Herrera, "por caballeros hijosdalgo". To get notarised copies of all this and send them back to him: AHP Palencia, no.10,203 (1), Registro de Pedro Vaca Salazar 1597.

⁶ Preface of Antonio Rumeu de Armas to Lobo Cabrera and Bruquetas de Castro, *Don Agustín de Herrera y Rojas*, pp.13-15.

Don Agustín.⁷ Indeed, the Delgado arms incorporated the inverted horseshoes of the Andalusian Herrerías in their quarterings, and Don Agustín at one time took to labelling himself, “Don Agustín Delgado Córdoba y Herrera”, before reverting to Delgado y Salinas, his mother’s name, after the initial failure of his son’s own application for a Knighthood of Santiago.

However, Francisco Fernández had come to Palencia clearly lacking all the outward signs of nobility, “tan pobre y sin hacienda”, according to one witness, the *regidor* Miguel de Torres, aged 64, who could not have known it directly, “que por serlo tanto no estava en conocimiento de si era buen hidalgo o buen pechero”. As there was no formal “distinción de estados” in Palencia, nobody knew. Doubts were also cast upon his *limpieza*. He seems to have left Cordoba in somewhat questionable circumstances. According to one, admittedly hostile, witness, the rumour was that he had left “por cierta pendencia y pesadumbre que tubo en Cordoba”. Such a rumour was itself sufficient to raise the suspicion that the Inquisition might have been involved, and it is not impossible that Francisco Fernández’s departure from Cordoba had something to do with the notorious activities of the Inquisitor Lucero in the years 1499-1507. The profession of notary was one commonly associated with *conversos* and a considerable number of them were accused of heresy and purged in Cordoba in the first years of the 16th century.⁸ The suspicion of Jewish blood in the paternal line was to hang about the Delgados for a long time. Several of the witnesses in 1602 testified that Francisco Fernández was reputed to be of impure stock. Antolín Ortiz, *natural* of Palencia, aged 79 in 1602, reported that “muchas personas decian `balga el diablo este judio“”, and he understood “se lo llamavan porque tenia la cara y talle adjudiado”. Ortiz was himself a *converso*, but Juan Corcovado, the brother of a familiar of the Inquisition, aged 67, who said he knew Francisco Fernández personally (though, if he really was 67, that could not have been the case), claimed that it was public knowledge that he was a Jew, and Corcovado’s parents, who (he said) worked for Delgado’s father, had said so many times. Another story that surfaced during the *prueba* was that somewhere around 1590 a son of Don Diego Osorio, lord of Avarca, near Palencia, wanted to marry one of Juan Delgado’s granddaughters for love, but Osorio, believing the Delgados “no ser de gente limpia” and fearing the loss of a 2,000 ducat pension from the Church, forbade the marriage despite his son’s denials and his own inability to substantiate the claim. On the other hand, the Osorios knew the Delgados well. Francisco Fernández had acted as agent for them, and at the time of his death in 1533 he had been living in a house belonging to Don Luis Osorio. Living in a nobleman’s house and acting as the administrator of his revenues also seem to have been typical

⁷ It is perhaps ironic that it was Argote de Molina himself who warned against taking arms on silverware too seriously as proof of genealogy, Casey, *Familia, poder y comunidad*, p.93.

⁸ Extremera, “Los escribanos de Castilla”, p.174; the statutes of the Military Orders grouped *notarios* and *escribanos* as “oficios mecánicos”, and the Cortes in 1556 and 1570 considered proposals to ban the sons of *notarios* as *regidores*, Casey, *Familia, poder y comunidad*, pp.107,73.

converso activities.⁹ There were a number of Delgado families in the city, some *hidalgo*, others not, and after so many years there must have been a great deal of confusion in the memories of the witnesses. One witness remembered hearing from his parents that Delgado, the secretary, had killed a man in Palencia for calling him a Jew and had to flee the city. It turned out, however, that the killing had been done by another Delgado, and that the row was about a game of *pelota*.¹⁰ What is perhaps surprising is that a branch of the family in Tordesillas, the Delgado de Mata, first or second cousins of Juan Delgado's son, Don Agustín, whose *ejecutoria de hidalguía*, proved in the Chancillería of Valladolid in 1580, was prayed in aid by Don Agustín jr. in support of his own *probanza* in 1598, did not, in presenting their own, choose to make any reference at all to the Secretary of War, then at the height of his influence at Court, or to his son, recently returned to Palencia from the governorship of Aversa in Naples, sporting the "Don" and serving as the city's *alférez mayor*, or to any other link with his family.¹¹ What is certain, however, is that the Council of the Orders had sufficient doubts about either the *limpieza* or the *nobleza*, or both, of Don Agustín's ancestry to block the habit of Santiago granted to the Secretary's young grandson, and no one in Francisco Fernández's male line was ever to wear on his breast the red cruciform sword of the Order.

It may be because of this dubiety that Juan adopted his mother's surname, the only one of Francisco Fernández's three sons not to use his father's name, for there do not seem to have been any difficulties on the Delgado side. Gonzalo Delgado was reputed to be "hidalgo executoriado", and a Gonzalo Delgado, listed as "caballero", was elected *regidor* of Palencia on numerous occasions in the late 15th century, and served as *alcalde* in 1476 and 1481. Another Juan Delgado, listed as "caballero", though also described as "trapero", was *regidor* or *alcalde* in 1452, 1454, 1456, 1458,

⁹ Extremera, "Los escribanos", p.175.

¹⁰ Bartolomé Aguado, *vecino* and *natural* of Palencia, aged 56 or more: "oyo decir a sus padres abra quarenta y dos años poco mas o menos q tratando del dho Secretario y de como se avia casado con la hija del dho Juan de Rivas, q era el padre de este q declara, vzo del dho Juan de Rivas, balga el diablo este judio benido de en casa del diablo que se ha casado con la hija de Juan de Rivas solo por su hacienda". Aguado also "se acuerda que el dho Secretario oyo decir mato aqui un hombre vzo de esta Cd, el qual fue padre de Melchor de la Riva, calcetero que oy vive, y la muerte procedio de que el muerto le trato de judio... y por esta muerte el dho Secretario se ausento, y que despues que por su suerte vino a esta Cd hecho Secretario, oyo decir a muchos de aquel tpo balga el diablo este judio q tanto ha balido quien diablo le han dado mano" – heard this from his parents and from a Sebastián Pancorvo. But Sebastián Pancorvo, aged 60, said it was another Delgado who did the killing. Melchor de la Riva, son of the murdered man, says it was after a game of *pelota*, and the Juan Delgado was *alférez* and *deudo* of Secretary Juan Delgado.

¹¹ ARCV, Ejecutorias 1406/712 (12.2.1580). The exact relationship between Delgado and the Delgado de Mata is unclear. The *Libro del repartimiento del encabezamiento* for 1589 and 1590 has an entry of 4 *reales* for the *huerta* of Juan Delgado de Mata, AMP, Libros Antiguos de Contabilidad, no.14, f.44. A Dr Gadea, writing from Lorca 14.2.1584, addressed a letter to the Secretary of War and Hacienda as «Sr Juan Delgado de Mata del consejo de su magd», AGS GA 160, f.28. It is the only such instance I am aware of.

1467, 1486, 1487 and 1493.¹² Yet another Juan Delgado, too old to have been our secretary, was *regidor* of the city in 1535.

Four other children were born to the marriage of Francisco Fernández and Ana Delgado, two sons and two daughters, Francisco Fernández Delgado, Alonso Fernández Delgado, Francisca Fernández Delgado and Ysabel Delgado. In what order they were born we do not know, though there is some reason to believe that Juan may have been one of the youngest (below p.24). Both the daughters married, had children, and were thus no doubt responsible for the various nephews who appear with a claim on the Secretary's patronage in later years.

Francisco Fernández Delgado took holy orders and became a royal chaplain in 1557, thanks to the king's confessor, Fray Bernardo de Fresneda, for whom he had operated as the eyes and ears inside Cardinal Pole's household in England, informing on conversations between Pole and Carranza, "the spy Francisco Delgado" as Mayer describes him.¹³ He had been sent to Fresneda from Rome by Ignatius Loyola with his personal recommendation, and later returned to Rome as royal chaplain.¹⁴

Alonso Fernández Delgado also had an active career in military administration in a financial capacity as *contador de quitaciones* and naval comptroller, and later as purveyor in Guadix during the war in Granada. He was *contador* of the fleet which took Prince Philip to Portsmouth in 1554, of the Armada de Poniente under General Pero Menéndez de Avilés from 1555,¹⁵ and subsequently *contador* of fleets under the Proveedor General, Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza in La Coruña in 1567 and of those of Don Luis Carvajal and Pero Menéndez de Avilés when he went to Flanders. He had also served as *regidor* in Palencia in 1559, and ultimately established himself with "hacienda y heredades" in Villanueva de los Infantes and Manzanillo, near Valladolid.

Although there seems to be no evidence whatsoever of any contact with, or even mention of his brother Francisco in Delgado's papers, as Secretary of War he made various interventions on behalf of Alonso, asking the Consejo de Galeras to appoint him *veedor* of the galleys of Juan Andrea Doria in 1574, and a couple of years

¹² Esteban Recio, *Palencia a fines de la Edad Media*, pp.201-31.

¹³ Mayer, *Cardinal Pole in European Context*, p.426; Pizarro Llorente, "El control de la conciencia regia", p.157; Edwards, *Archbishop Pole*, pp.199, 227-8.

¹⁴ Loyola to Pole, Rome 19.2.1556, the bearer of this letter is Francisco Delgado, "hope he will be a good servant for you", Mayer, *Correspondence of Reginald Pole*, vol.3, p.234; idem., *Reginald Pole: Prince and Prophet*, p.341. Francisco Delgado was royal chaplain in Rome in July 1558, and an important witness in Carranza's trial (arrested Aug.1558), Mayer, "A Test of Wills. Cardinal Pole, Ignatius Loyola and the Jesuits in England", pp.29-30; the *Prueba* of 1602, f.18² says "tubo asiento de capellan de SM" from 28.4.1557 and was paid his salary until 31.12.1562; BNE 6149, f.105v, 1562, an account of officials and *criados* of the Emperador paid on the Casa de Castilla, includes Francisco Delgado, brother of Juan Delgado - sharing his father's first name gives some weight to the likelihood that he was an elder brother.

¹⁵ CSP Spanish, vol.13, 1554-58, p.76, no.87, 4.12.1555.

later proposing him for the office of *veedor* in Cartagena. A curious marginal note in the response to the latter request reads, “a este dize el S^o Delgado agora q trata de enviarle a las Indias”. That does not seem to have happened.¹⁶

As a senior official of the bishop in a post of some distinction,¹⁷ Francisco Fernández, Delgado’s father, was a man with a certain prominence in the city. He was on at least one occasion nominated as *regidor*. A *padrón* of 1533, drawn up on 21.4.1533, lists a «Francisco Hernández, escrivano del obispo», living in the Calle de San Marcos in the *parroquia* de San Antolin, in a house belonging to Don Luis Osorio, for whom he seems to have been acting as *mayordomo*, or agent.¹⁸ A second *padrón*, later in the same year, describes him as “escribano rico”, but he had since deceased and his heirs were unknown, suggesting that by that time none of his children were living with him.¹⁹ He had been assessed for the local *repartimiento* of the city’s *encabezamiento* at the not inconsiderable sum of 6 *reales*, perhaps in the top 15% of those assessed,²⁰ apparently giving the lie to the assertion by one of the witnesses of 1602 that he had died in debt and that his body had been smuggled out in a sack for burial in the middle of the night, «porque no le embargasen el cuerpo por ellas».²¹

He was interred in the convent of San Francisco in Palencia, and the house was then occupied by a Canon Montoya. Francisco Fernández’s house does not seem to have been the most desirable of properties. Curiously, it was later considered by Santa Teresa (a possible relative of Juan Delgado by his second marriage),²² as the site for her new establishment of Discalced Carmelites in Palencia in 1581, but as it was “situated in a noisy square, right in the middle of a poor neighbourhood”, she was not at all keen on taking it over.²³ If some of the witnesses in the 1602 *Prueba* are to be believed, Francisco Fernández seems also to have dealt in wool, and combing and carding took place in his home. Unfortunately, if the ages of the witnesses in 1602 are accurate, the man they claimed to have known personally could not have died before about 1540, at the earliest. However, if the witnesses 70 years later were talking not about Juan Delgado’s father, but about his wife’s grandfather, Juan de Ribas, a wealthy merchant, in whose house the future secretary used to live when he was in Palencia (his father-in-law being dead), that would explain both the chronological confusion and the wool dealing. Juan Delgado

¹⁶ AGS GA 78, f.153.

¹⁷ Cabeza, *La Vida en una catedral*, p.90.

¹⁸ Cerrajería Vieja, near Puerta de Burgos, “el dho Fco Fdz por la hazienda que vende por Don Diego Osorio o a otro mayordomo q tenga 1,500 mrs”, AMP Inventario de 1758, leg.22.

¹⁹ AGS Expedientes de Hacienda, leg.139 - «es la casa del dho Don Luis Osorio».

²⁰ That sum would have put him in the top 14% of the lay population of Palencia in 1562 (1,717 *vecinos*), Julio González, *Historia de Palencia*, p.65.

²¹ Juan Corcovado, age 67 – the point being that a genuine *hidalgo* could not be physically seized for debt, Casey, *Familia, poder y comunidad*, p.80.

²² Fernández Torres, *Historia de Tordesillas*, p.212.

²³ Allison Peers, *The Complete Works*, vol.2, p.836.

says nothing about either of his parents in any of his formal documents, except to will masses for their souls. None of his children seems to have been named after their paternal grandparents, as was often the case. The name Francisco lived on only in his brother and his nephew, the son of Alonso Fernández Delgado (again suggesting that Juan may have been the youngest of the three), and the name Ana in one of his own granddaughters, Don Agustín's child. Juan inherited from his father a clerical training and from his mother a name. Neither seems to have left him anything substantial in the way of material possessions. Despite his father being described as “*escribano rico*” in the tax records, whatever wealth did come to him came through his marriage to Juan de Ribas’s granddaughter, as he acknowledged in his later life, and as one of the witnesses of the 1602 *Prueba* unkindly suggested was the only motive for the match.²⁴ What Juan did inherit from his father was a training for his future career, an influential sponsor, and a dubious background.

Brought up with his father, it was under his guidance in the episcopal secretariat that he began his training for a career with the pen. Eighty years later a witness was to remember him as a young boy acting as clerk and amanuensis for his father.²⁵ His father's position no doubt made him known to many of the luminaries of the city, and it was one of those, Juan de Vega, 6th Señor de Grajal, and subsequently Charles V's ambassador in Rome, viceroy of Sicily, and President of the Royal Council, who placed the young Delgado, “*siendo yo muy muchacho*”, as a “*paje*” in the household of the Secretary Francisco de los Cobos. This was in reality a common, perhaps the usual way for recruitment into the lay bureaucracy. It was the way Cobos himself had started, and not very different from Delgado's colleague and successor as Secretary of War, Antonio de Eraso.²⁶ It was, then, as an apprentice in the great Cobos's “*seminary of secretaries*”, in association with a long list of secretarial graduates, such as Juan Vázquez de Molina, Juan Vázquez de Salazar, Francisco de Ledesma and Antonio de Eraso, that Juan Delgado began his long and virtually continuous career at Court. Like Eraso, in 1532 he was probably in his early to mid-teens at the time he first went to Court, and of a background

²⁴ The *mayorazgo* document of 10.8.1577 refers to “*bienes q heredé de Da Ysabel y Da Bernardina mis hijas*” and to the *herencia* of his first wife Da Ysabel de Ribas, AHP Valladolid, Protocolos 239, Fco Fanega (Valld), ff.409-415v - did the inheritance go to an elder brother?

²⁵ Licenciado Gregorio de Aguilar, priest of Paredes, born c.1520, as a child “*le conocio muchos años en casa de su padre*” until he went to Court.

²⁶ BL Eg. 2052, f.305 “*Principio de la Cassa del Conde de Umanes que fundo Antonio de Erasso*” - one day in the office of an *escribano de provincia* at Court in Madrid, Francisco de los Cobos “*vio escribir su despacho a un muchacho (aged 15-16 years) cuija letra y vivieça le agradó mucho*”. He asked the *escribano* “*se le diese*”, and he agreed willingly. The name was Antonio de Eraso “*y dende que fue paje del Sio Fco de los Cobos le agradó tanto y servió tan vien ... que le fue ascendiendo en aquel exercicio de la Pluma y Secretaría de estado*”, acting in his absences and, after Cobos's death, for his successors until Philip II appointed him *Secretario de Estado* - the document is transcribed in Escudero, *Secretarios de Estado*, vol.1, p.177, n.614; see also Luis Zapata, *Miscelánea*, in MHE, vol.11, pp.236-42.

typical of the kind of men Cobos introduced into the administration, that is men like Cobos himself, non-*letrado* sons of the small-town “middle class” (*medianía*), with no formal university training.²⁷

2. JUAN DELGADO AT COURT

We can only guess at the progress of Juan Delgado's career during the 1530s and 40s. By the latter decade he was employed in the office of Juan Vázquez de Molina, the Secretary of War, and in 1548 he was an *oficial* of the Secretary Ledesma, Vázquez de Molina's understudy in the war office and acting Secretary until his own appointment as Secretary of War in 1559. In this capacity Delgado's work involved preparing statements, drawing up reports and resúmenes of reports, summaries of correspondence, annotating drafts of letters, etc, a large number of which in his own hand survive from this period.²⁸ The work could be demanding. “Un memorial me ha dado el duque (de Maqueda, the new viceroy of Valencia) en que están decretadas passadas de dozientas provissiones, cartas y premáticas para su yda a Valencia. Harto rehussé de tomarlo, y estava puesto en no poner mano en nada si no me certifficara que se avía acordado todo en presençia y con comunicaçión de v.md. Y es lo bueno que piensa que se han de hazer como buñuelos. Yo haré lo que pudiere, y también he escripto a Gort que se venga para que ayude; pero justo huviera sido que siquiera por esta machina favoresciera su Señoría a V.m. para que le dieran alguna parte de lo de Valencia. El se come las manos por negocios. Yo digo a V.m. que quando esté en su gobierno nos hartará dellos de manera que nos ayamos de yr a meter frayles, por que Ledesma y Delgado ya lo huvieran hecho si estuviera todavía en Navarra.”²⁹ The first direct documentary reference we have is dated 1549, and it is a petition by Delgado for the grant of the vacant *escribanía de cabalgadas* in Oran, which he no doubt planned to sell, in recognition of his services, “respeto a lo que a servydo y sirve”.³⁰

An *oficial* of the Secretary had no formal status. He was the private employee of his master, paid and maintained by him, and frequently living as a “criado” in his master's house. Juan Delgado's first official position was that of *Contador General de la Artillería*, carrying a salary of 60,000 mrs. a year (raised to 112,500 in 1563).³¹ This office, to which Delgado was appointed in 1553,³² was normally held by the first official of the Secretary of War, and by this time Delgado was already a person of growing importance in the administration. He was now officially “criado de Su

²⁷ Keniston, *Cobos*, p.358.

²⁸ eg in AGS GA leg.67.

²⁹ Zayas to Gonzalo Pérez, Monzón, 23.11.1552, González Palencia, *Gonzalo Pérez*, vol.2, p.440.

³⁰ AGS GA 37, f.72.

³¹ Five times as much as a common soldier.

³² Título de contador de la razón de la artillería, 1.1.1553, AGS GA 156, f.59.

Magestad”,³³ and “contino de Su Magestad andante en su Corte”,³⁴ describing himself (somewhat loosely) as “secretario en el Consejo de Guerra de Su Magestad.”³⁵ In February 1557, he and his colleague Hernando Delgadillo were awarded a one-off payment (*ayuda de costa*) of 200 ducats “por lo que han servido y sirven en los despachos que se mandan hazer en el nuestro Consejo de la Guerra.”³⁶ He was not yet a major figure, but one not dissatisfied with his progress thus far. Promising his good offices to another young *palentino* sent to Madrid by Juan de Vega, he confessed his debt to the viceroy of Sicily, “porque siendo yo muy muchacho me asentó por page de Covos, de donde vine al estado que aora tengo”.³⁷ His career to this point was typical of one path to government service. It was not the path of university, letters and the law that has received so much attention both from contemporaries and from historians, for there is no reason to believe that Juan Delgado went to university, or had any formal education other than what he had learned from his father, but the much more common path for the lay clerk of a personal apprenticeship, learning in the service and probably living in the household as “criado” of the secretary, and helping to perpetuate the practices, the traditions and the ideals of administration that an entire school of secretaries brought up by Cobos carried into the 1580s, when a new generation promoted by a differently orientated service ethos within a less personal, more structured and regulated, career-based administrative system began progressively to replace them.

By the time of Philip II's return to Spain in 1559 to take over the government from his sister, Juana, Juan Delgado was well established on the ladder of advancement. However, for reasons which are not at all clear, in 1565 he requested leave of absence from the Court for two years. Curiously, that permission was renewed on 21 June 1566, barely two weeks before his formal appointment as royal secretary with a salary of 100,000 mrs a year, paid from 6 July 1566.³⁸ A month later he was made *Secretario de los Descargos del Emperador y de otras personas Reales* in place of Hernando Delgadillo, servicing the *junta* responsible for carrying out the terms of Charles V's will. He retained the office until his death, but without its 100,000 mrs salary, for which he was compensated with a lump-sum payment of 300 ducats.³⁹ On 9 November 1568 he was given charge “de tomar la razón de todas las

³³ RC 29.1.1559, AGS Contaduría Mayor de Cuentas 3, leg.53, p.23.

³⁴ Inventory of *bienes* of Doña Ysabel de Ribas, 19.6.1557, AHP Valladolid, Protocolos 238, Fco Fanega, ff.553-563.

³⁵ AHP Valladolid, Protocolos 239, Fco Fanega, 12.9.1559, ff.409-415v, Inventory of *bienes* of Juan Delgado “secretario en el Consejo de Guerra de Su Magd” – he was not made “secretario real” until July 1566.

³⁶ AGS GA Libro 23, f.121, 28.2.1557.

³⁷ AHN Ordenes Militares, Santiago. Prueba de Caballeros: Agustín Delgado Ferrer (Palencia 1605), caja 489, expediente 2426.

³⁸ AGS GA Libro 27, f.151.

³⁹ AGS Quitaciones de Corte 17, 17.10.1586; Relación y planta antigua del número de Ministros de que se componía la Junta de Descargos y dependientes de ella y Secretaría en su primera formación en

cosas tocantes a mi hazienda” in succession to the late Secretario de Hacienda, Pedro de Hoyo, with another 100,000 mrs salary,⁴⁰ to which office was added the *contaduría de penas de Cámara*. The *razón de la hacienda* was a post of the first responsibility, involving keeping the accounts of all the king's extraordinary income. The twelve ledgers handed over to Delgado by Hoyo's officials included the accounts of the Tesorero General and of the Casa de Contratación, and the accounts of the *salinas, ventas de juros, lugares* and *alcabalas*, the *penas de Cámara*, the *subsidio eclesiástico*, the *derecho de los naipes*, and *asientos particulares*. He held the office for eleven years until 27.2.1580, when he relinquished it on his departure from Madrid on the king's *jornada* to Portugal.⁴¹

Meanwhile, Delgado continued to serve in the *secretaría de guerra*, first under Ledesma until 1567, and then under his successor as secretary, Juan Vázquez de Salazar. With the secretarial reshuffle which followed the death of Francisco de Eraso in September 1570, Juan Vázquez was made *Secretario de la Cámara*, and Juan Delgado was promoted to take his place as Secretary of War, with an additional 200,000 mrs of income per year (100,000 mrs salary and a further 100,000 the following year). His *título* is dated 6 March 1571, but the appointment was already effective before the end of January.⁴² At about the same time, Delgado's knowledge of the royal finances and his experience in the *Contaduría del Artillería* and with the *libros de la Razón* were recognised with a place on the Council of Finance. The first known reference is a letter from Juan de Recalde, dated Laredo, 12.9.1571, addressed to him as “Al Ilustre Señor, el Secretario Juan Delgado, mi Señor, del Consejo de la zienda de SMD”.⁴³ Delgado remained a regular member of the Council of Finance until 1583, and even then, despite his deteriorating health and desire to reduce his workload and resign from the Council, he remained active until 1585.⁴⁴

3. JUAN DELGADO AT HOME

Juan Delgado married twice. His first wife was Doña Ysabel de Ribas, from Palencia, the daughter of Torivia de Ribas and Bartolomé de Salinas, an *escribano*,⁴⁵ perhaps an associate of his father, Francisco Fernández. Bartolomé de Salinas had migrated

tiempo del Rey Felipe II: Francisco de Ledesma appointed secretary in 1558; in 1581 the secretary was Juan Delgado, “aunque por sus muchas ocupaciones ejercía el cargo el oficial mayor Francisco González de Heredia”, who was appointed secretary in 1585, Cat. Pellicer vol.4, no.55, p.30.

⁴⁰ Escudero, *Secretarios de Estado*, vol.1, p.173.

⁴¹ Carlos Morales, *Consejo de Hacienda*, p.135 & n.336 says the *libros de la razón* with Juan Delgado and Garnica (since 1566) were passed to Juan López de Vivanco and Juan Bernaldo de Quirós in February 1578, but Delgado and Garnica continued to get their 100,000 *quitación* “como merced”, until February 1580, AGS Contadurías Generales, Nómina de Quitaciones, leg.886.

⁴² AGS GA Libro 29; “empezó a refrendar” 20.1.1571, Fernández Conti, *Consejos*, p.111 n.37.

⁴³ AGS GA 75, f.62.

⁴⁴ He was still rubricating *consultas* in 1585, Carlos Morales, *Consejo de Hacienda*, p.143, n.363.

⁴⁵ Repartimiento de alcabalas 21.4.1533 lists Bartolomé de Salinas, *escribano*, in Calle Mejorada at 15 reales: AM Palencia, Libros Antiguos de Contabilidad 186.

to Palencia from Cosío in the Montañas of Cantabria. Supposedly an *hidalgo*, exempted from paying *moneda forera*, as his brother, another *escribano*, Nicolas de Isla, had been in 1513, his father Bartolomé Martínez, also an *escribano*, was *vecino* of Salinas de Rosío (Burgos), and his grandfather, Juan López de Cubellos, an *hidalgo* of Los Vallejos.⁴⁶ Torivia de Ribas was the daughter of Juan de Ribas, a wealthy, propertied wool merchant, living in the Calle de Nuestra Señora de la Calle, in the parish of San Lázaro, alongside a *cardador*, a *mantero*, a *tendero*, a *mercader* and a *licenciado*, all high taxpayers. “Juan de Ribas y su compañía” were among the top 4% of tax-payers in the *padrones* for Palencia’s *alcabala* assessments in the 1530s, 40s and 50s,⁴⁷ and Ribas himself was one of the most prominent residents of the city. He is recorded as one of those present at the reception of the first post-*comunero*, royal *corregidor*, Cristóbal de Torres, on 23.6.1521.⁴⁸ He served as *regidor* in 1528, and again at least five times in alternate years between 1545 and 1555, at a time when the *regidores* were chosen annually by prominent local residents and the bishop.⁴⁹ The marriage of Juan Delgado and Ysabel de Ribas almost certainly took place some time after her father’s death, which occurred in Las Grañeras late in 1539,⁵⁰ probably in the later 1540s as there were four young children alive at the time of Doña Ysabel’s death in 1557, and the couple were remembered by later witnesses as associated and living, not with the Salinas family, but with the wife’s maternal grandfather, Juan de Ribas, in whose house Juan Delgado was listed in the *padrón* of 1557 as «su yerno en su casa». The talk was that Delgado, in the 1540s still a relatively lowly clerk in Cobos’s secretariat, had married for money. Whether or not that was his motive, that was what he got, for virtually all the wealth he had at the time of his second marriage in 1559, including his house in Palencia, was acquired from his first wife, and not through his offices, or his own family.⁵¹ The marriage produced two sons and two daughters, but only one survived into adulthood.⁵² Agustín, always known from the later 1570s as Don Agustín, was born in Valladolid in 1551. Their mother, Doña Ysabel, died in the middle of June 1557, leaving the four children quite young, probably none more than 10 years old.⁵³ The

⁴⁶ Arbol de los Delgado, RAH Salazar y Castro, D 35, f.58v.

⁴⁷ He is listed in 1557, but gone from 1562 list, AMP Inventario de 1758, leg.22.

⁴⁸ Rodríguez Salcedo, “Comunidades Palentinas”, p.209.

⁴⁹ “De como los obispos eligen los Regidores de Palencia”, Fernández de Madrid, *Silva Palentina*, vol.3, p.365.

⁵⁰ His will is dated 3.10.1539, “muerto en Las Grañeras”, Archivo de la Catedral de Palencia no.37, f.13v.

⁵¹ His daughters died after their mother «y su padre las heredó», RAH Salazar y Castro, D29, f.173.

⁵² Ynbentario e tasacion de los bienes de Juan Delgado secretario de SMD, 12.9.1559, AHP Valladolid, Protocolos 239, Fco Fanega, ff.409-415v: “por quanto doña ysabel de Ribas su primera muger era fallestida e del matrimonio que con ella avia tenydo le avian quedado dos hijos y dos hijas”.

⁵³ Her *inventario de bienes*, dated 19.6.1557, contains four pairs of “calzones chiquitos de niños”, seven pairs of “calçitas y çaraveles del niño rotas y todo muy biejo y un jubonçillo biejo”, as well as various other children’s items. See Appendix 2.

other son and the two daughters, Doña Ysabel and Doña Bernardina, were all dead by 1577.

In September 1559, Juan Delgado married for a second time, while with the Court in Valladolid, to Doña Mencía de la Vega y Cepeda, the daughter of Francisco de Cepeda and Doña Marina de Cepeda of Tordesillas. Her family, “de las más antiguas y nobles” of the town,⁵⁴ was connected with a number of leading Tordesillas families: the Vega, a most distinguished extended family with generations in royal service back to the reign of Ferdinand V, including Don Diego de Cobarrubias, bishop of Segovia and President of the Consejo Real, Hernando de Vega, Presidente de Hacienda, and Dr Don Pedro de la Gasca, reconqueror of the Kingdom of Peru,⁵⁵ the Alderetes, the Ledesmas, the Vázquez de Cepeda and the Delgado de Mata, all of them represented in the *regimiento* of the town. The Delgado de Mata was also a prominent Palencian family, and Don Juan Delgado de Mata was said to be a first or second cousin of Don Agustín, perhaps in the line of Juan Delgado's brother, Alonso Fernández Delgado, or one of his sisters, both of whom had children. Unfortunately, I know nothing about Francisco de Cepeda. It is likely that this was an administrative marriage. The royal secretaries, Diego and Antonio Gracián, were connected to the Alderetes. Doña Mencía's brother, Luis Laso de Cepeda, was a *licenciado*, and the Vázquez de Cepeda had important Court connections. The Comendador Luis Vázquez de Cepeda, whose daughter, Ana de Cepeda, also married into the elite of Palencia,⁵⁶ had been mayordomo of Queen Juana during her long confinement in Tordesillas. Doña Mencía brought with her a dowry of some 600,000 mrs (1,600 ducats), 64,000 in *bienes muebles* and 25-26,000 a year in rents (less than a third of Ana de Cepeda's dowry), and Juan Delgado gave her an *arras* of 112,500, normal proportions for a marriage of equals, but only one-fifth of the dowry his son would receive from his father-in-law, nearly twenty years later.⁵⁷ The marriage lasted eighteen years, but there were no children, and Doña Mencía died in 1577. Her last will and testament is dated 30 April 1577.

Despite his occupation at Court from the early 1530s, Delgado's absence from Palencia was by no means unbroken. His first wife was from Palencia, and in March 1552 he was chosen as *regidor* of the city, selected from among the nominees of Pedro González de Mendoza, the provisor of the bishop, though the only appearance he made in the *cabildo* was at the first *ayuntamiento* of the year, on 7th of that month.⁵⁸ In the *padrón* for the *repartimiento de alcabalas* of that same year his

⁵⁴ Larios Martí, *Nobiliario de Segovia V*, pp. 51-58.

⁵⁵ AHN Consejos 4433, 1653, n.96, on petition for *hábito* by Don Diego de Vega, *alférez mayor* of Tordesillas, 19.9.1653.

⁵⁶ To Don Sancho de Castilla, with a dowry of 5,000 ducats, AHP Valladolid, Protocolos 4408, Francisco Cedillo, 1559, 31.7.1558.

⁵⁷ AHP Valladolid, Protocolos 4408; eight Madrid dowries in the 1550s-60s ranged between 375,000 to 8,000,000, only two were less than 600,000, Guerrero Mayllo, *Familia y vida cotidiana*, pp.84-5.

⁵⁸ AM Palencia, Libro de Acuerdos 1552, ff.2, 7.

name appears in the Puerta de Burgos, next to the Calle de San Marcos, where his father had lived, with a charge of 21 mrs of the 34 assessed, presumably proportionate to the period of his residence, but in September it was noted in a list of the *regidores* of Palencia that he was «at Court» («en la Corte».⁵⁹ He was also listed in the 1557 *padrón*, but this time in the Calle de Nuestra Señora, in the house of his wife's grandfather, Juan de Ribas, as his «son in law». Doña Ysabel died that same year, in Valladolid, and it was also in Valladolid that Delgado's second marriage to Doña Mencía de la Vega took place in 1559. In 1562, Delgado, described as «criado del rey» and assessed for 2 *reales*, or 68 mrs in the second quartile of the assessment, appears alone in the Calle de Nuestra Señora, Juan de Ribas's old house, Doña Ysabel's grandfather presumably also having died in the meantime. In an undated *padrón*, probably around the same time, Delgado is found in the Calle de los Cuberos, an annex of the Calle de Nuestra Señora,⁶⁰ this time described as «contador de SMd», with an assessment of 6 *reales*, in the top 14% of *vecinos*. Palencia was clearly close enough to the Court whilst it was in Valladolid to be reasonably accessible, and it looks as if Delgado was able to maintain his contacts with the city, at least on an occasional basis, in addition to more protracted stays in Palencia during the leaves of absence from his duties at Court that he was granted in 1565 and 1566. Delgado's career in this respect is a useful reminder that Court and Country are not at this time to be thought of as necessarily separate or distinct spheres of political and social experience, but spaces that frequently overlapped and interpenetrated. The consequence for places like Palencia, of course, was that a relocation of the Court to Madrid, on a permanent basis, had the effect of distancing previously accessible localities from the centre of political influence and social advance.

4. SECRETARY OF WAR

In the years between 1571 and 1585 Delgado was to be an important and influential figure in the government of Castile, *contador general de la Artillería*, *secretario de los Descargos*, *contador de la Razón*, *secretario de Guerra* and its associated *juntas*, and *consejero de Hacienda*. He was also something of an expert on the *morisco* problem, acting as secretary of the Consejo de la Población in 1572 and participating, with the Confessor Fray Diego de Chaves, the Duke of Alba, the Conde de Chinchón, Don Juan de Idiáquez and Rodrigo Vázquez de Arce, in the junta of 1582 which first recommended the expulsion of the *moriscos* from Spain.⁶¹ He was probably at the peak of his influence during the period from 1580 to 1583 when the councils were divided between Lisbon and Madrid and he was with the king in Portugal, being

⁵⁹ AGS GA 47, f.248.

⁶⁰ 1533 lists «Calle de Nuestra Señora con la calle de Cuberos».

⁶¹ Cabrera de Córdoba vol.3, p.610; BNE 12179, f.331.

consulted and advising in a personal capacity and participating in a number of important specialist government committees.⁶²

Yet for 400 years Juan Delgado remained almost unknown to history, the archetypal faceless bureaucrat. Santiago Fernández Conti in a deeply researched institutional study of the Councils of State and War, focussing on the factional conflicts within the Court and the councils, has now given us an impressive elucidation of Delgado's administrative work and his professional objectives as Secretary of War.⁶³ His stances and input into strategic political and military issues have been more difficult to establish. This is no doubt in part because, not being directly involved in diplomacy or the high politics of the Court, he did not attract the attention of the garrulous foreign ambassadors who have supplied historians with so much of their information. The only comment on Delgado in any of the extensive reports of the Venetian ambassadors is a remark by Matteo Zane in 1584 that he was "in buona opinione del ré perchè prendo in sé molte colpe a sollevamento di SM".⁶⁴ It seems then that he held the king's trust throughout, or at least until the last year or two of his life, perhaps because he was one link with a past that was rapidly disappearing in the 1570s. After the death of Ruy Gómez in July 1573, Delgado was reputedly one of the few men with any influence with the king. Dr Milio, the Duke of Alba's agent at Court, reported in a letter of 14.8.1573, "S.Magd está tan sola como vm vea, y reduzida a términos que no se fía de sus manos, no se resuelve con nayde, sino todo sale de su aljava. Si algunos pueden algo son Gaztelu en su negocio, Delgado en el suyo, Hopero en su ministerio, Vicecanciller (Bernardo de Bolea, the President of the Council of Aragon) en el suyo, por tenelles por hombres claros y de quienes tiene crédito que le tratan verdad; casi universalmente tiene por sospechosos á los demás... no creo que ay agora ninguno aquí con quien Su Magd abra más."⁶⁵ All the reports that we have (few that they are) confirm the ability and the good opinion of the Secretary. "Es muy hábil y muy hombre de bién", wrote his friend and colleague Gabriel de Zayas. "Ha servido y merece, allende de la mucha amistad que con él tengo", wrote the Secretary Martín de Gaztelu. Arias Montano also thought highly of him,⁶⁶ and he clearly had the confidence of the Duke of Alba.⁶⁷

Despite his fifty-four years at Court and his prominent position in the administration, we know very little about Delgado's "political" alignments.

⁶² The *Junta* for the reform of the Casa de Contratación in 1581; the *Junta de Portugal* and the *Junta de Santo Domingo* in 1582, and the *Junta de Puertorrico* to discuss defence against the *corsarios* from 17.10.1583, Schäffer, *El Consejo Real de las Indias*, vol.1, p.171.

⁶³ *Los Consejos de Estado y Guerra de la Monarquía Hispana en tiempos de Felipe II 1548-1598*.

⁶⁴ Albèri, *Relazioni*, vol.1, p.360.

⁶⁵ *Documentos escogidos del archivo de la Casa de Alba*, p.460.

⁶⁶ Dr Arias Montano to Zayas, 10.10.1579, *CDI* vol.41, 409, «En el secretario Delgado tiene vm grande amigo y amigo varon, que yo he entendido lo que ha dicho y hecho estos dias passados en lo que tocaba a vm.»

⁶⁷ See Alba, *Epistolario* vol.3, p.591; *CDI* vol. 31, p.290.

Fernández Conti places him firmly in the camp of the «partido castellanista»,⁶⁸ associated with the dominant political figure of Cardinal Diego de Espinosa, President of Castile between 1565 and his death in 1572. According to Fernández Conti, Delgado was a «cliente de Espinosa», «apadrinado por Diego de Espinosa», “protegido del Cardenal”, operating «bajo la directa supervisión de Espinosa», who immediately incorporated him into his «equipo de colaboradores».⁶⁹ However, the evidence for this - that Delgado’s recall to Court so soon after the granting of his second leave of absence in June 1566 together with his appointment as *contador de penas de cámara* and to “tomar la razón de la hacienda” in 1568 coincided with the rise of Espinosa to dominance at Court - is entirely circumstantial.⁷⁰ The argument is sustained by the underlying assumption that all appointments during Espinosa’s ascendancy must have been determined by him and gone to his political adherents, irrespective of the administrative pool from which such appointments had to be made. Delgado himself, in a note to the king a dozen or so years later, links his recall with the absence of the then Secretary of War, Juan Vázquez de Salazar, as a result of which “ubo algunas faltas” in the conduct of the secretary’s office.⁷¹ Moreover, the direct evidence for such a relationship between Espinosa and Delgado is tenuous. In the register of Espinosa’s correspondence between 1565 and 1572 in the British Library, there is only one letter to Delgado, and that dates from a time when he was already Secretary of War.⁷² Neither has Delgado’s adherence to the “castellanista” viewpoint been directly established, only by association. Carlos Morales in his study of the Council of Finance takes a more sustainable line, arguing that Espinosa lacked “un grupo propio de servidores y clientes...por lo que debió recurrir a aquellos individuos, especialmente letrados y compañeros de Colegio mayor y de su carrera administrativa, que le parecieron capaces, sin atender a su procedencia política y personal.”⁷³ That is a pragmatic adherence, very different from being a “cliente” or “apadrinado”, or necessarily aligned in policy. Ezquerria Revilla, in his study of the Consejo Real, also sees the circumstances at the time of Delgado’s appointment to the Secretaryship of War somewhat differently: «La reorganización de las secretarías a la muerte de Francisco de Eraso en septiembre de 1570, permitió advertir la creciente predilección de Felipe II por personajes de

⁶⁸ Defined as “política confesionalista” with the “objetivo de establecer en los reinos hispanos su propia identidad religiosa” requiring “la imposición de una rígida disciplina social que, a su vez, reclamaba una concepción centralizada de la elaboración de las decisiones y del ejercicio del poder”, Carlos Morales, *El Consejo de Hacienda*, p.100.

⁶⁹ Fernández Conti, *Consejos*, pp.111,113,128, and “Profesionalización”, p.437.

⁷⁰ Fernández Conti, *Consejos* p.111, n.37.

⁷¹ “como dexe los papeles agora doce años q estuve ausente algunos hasta q VM mando q bolviere a quel oficio como estuvo fuera del Juan Vazquez q era a la sazón Secretario del dho Consejo ubo algunas faltas”, AGS 189, sf.

⁷² BL Add. 28704, no. 919.

⁷³ Carlos Morales, *El Consejo de Hacienda*, p.101.

diferentes características a los protegidos por Espinosa...»⁷⁴ The timing of Delgado's return to Court also coincides with the death of Gonzalo Pérez on 12.4.1566, and the division of the secretariat of State between his son, Antonio Pérez, and an "hechura" of Gonzalo Pérez, Gabriel de Zayas. Zayas had been a colleague of Delgado's for many years and was an adherent of the Duke of Alba, with whom the late secretary had been very close both personally and politically.⁷⁵

Although we should not ignore the common "castellanista" attitudes Alba shared with Espinosa, the evidence we have suggests that Delgado's general policy positions were rather more aligned with those of the Duke of Alba and his adherents. "Aficionadísimo al servicio de V.Exa. y a sus cosas", as his close friend and Alba's leading partisan in the administration, the Secretario Zayas, described him to the Duke, "y assi merece que V.Ex. tenga quenta con él."⁷⁶ The Councillor of War, Francisco de Ibarra, went even further, «al duque (Alba), al prior (Don Antonio de Toledo), y a Delgado, que sigue en todo quanto puede su parecer y voluntad.»⁷⁷ Similarly, Delgado's correspondence with the Duke of Alba during the campaign in Portugal between 1580 and 1582 reveals, within the framework of contemporary social conventions, a continuing closeness of relations both with the Duke and with his secretary, Albornoz.⁷⁸ Acknowledging the receipt of letters from Delgado, Alba replied to him from Cascaes on 5.8.1580, «he querido hacer estos renglones para avisar a v.m. del rescibo de sus cartas, y decirle el contentamiento y merced que me hace con ellas, y con saber que tiene v.m. la salud que yo le deseo; plega a Dios que esto sea siempre.... Yo he estado bueno, gracias a Dios; de ayer acá me siento con un poco de calentura; no sé en que parará, que aqui se usan mucho tercianas. Nuestro Sr la muy magnífica persona de v.m. guarde y acreciente.»⁷⁹ He wrote again after his successful entry into Lisbon on the last day of the month, thanking God «por haber sido yo el instrumento por donde se han conseguido... los buenos sucesos que aquí se han tenido... y aun torno a dar la norabuena, pues le (Delgado) ha cabido tanta parte de todo lo que aqui se ha hecho».⁸⁰ Delgado's closeness to Alba was something which Philip found helpful in handling the Duke at difficult moments. The Imperial ambassador, Hans Khevenhüller, reports that it was the secretaries

⁷⁴ Ezquerria Revilla, *El Consejo Real de Castilla*, p.110.

⁷⁵ Carlos Morales, "Política y finanzas", p.144; González Palencia, *Gonzalo Pérez*, vol.2, pp.410, 440, and his "Un secretario y dos duques", pp.74, 80.

⁷⁶ *Documentos escogidos del archivo de la Casa de Alba*, p.336, "el secretario Delgado, que es muy hábil y muy hombre de bien, y por esso aficionadísimo al servicio de V.Ex^a y a sus cosas, y assí merece que V.Ex^a tenga quenta con él." 19.5.1572; also Fernández Conti, *Consejos*, 127, n.94.

⁷⁷ 1.8.1575, Fernández Conti, *Consejos*, p.127, n.94.

⁷⁸ Albornoz to Delgado, Setubal, 23.7.1580: «Suplico a v.m. me avise de que edad quiere un negro, porque se podrá escoger de la que v.m. gustare; y si fuere menester alguna otra cosa, ya v.m. sabe que no hay nadie en el mundo que con más voluntad le sirva que yo». *CDI* vol.32, p.300; Albornoz to Delgado, Setubal, 25.7.1580: «Beso las manos a v.m. cien mil veces por la merced que me hace en favorecerme tanto con sus cartas; plega a Dios me dé lugar para que yo se lo pueda servir», *ibid.*, p.315.

⁷⁹ *CDI* vol.32, p.358.

⁸⁰ *CDI* vol.32, p.499.

Zayas and Delgado who were sent to bring Alba up to date with the situation when he was released from confinement in Uceda to take command of the Army of Portugal in 1580, and again it was Delgado who was given the delicate commission of disabusing Alba of any expectation that he would be allowed to remain in Portugal to govern alone once the king returned to Madrid: “mandó llamar al secretario Delgado y le dixo, id y dezid al duque de Alva en mi nombre que no trate más desta materia no obstante las razones y congruencias que para ello a propuesto y representado, y como que sale de vos añadiréys al dicho que aunque yo salga de Portugal estoy con resolución de no dejarle a él en este reyno.”⁸¹

The connection with Alba may have been deep-rooted. In 1526 the II Duke of Alba, Don Fernando's grandfather, had been *testamentario* of Hernando de Vega, the father of Delgado's first patron, Juan de Vega.⁸² Insofar as Delgado may have been associated with the so-called «partido castellanista», within which both the Duke and the Cardinal were prominent, with its royalist and anti-papalist stances, and for which there could be seen some indication in the terms of the endowment of the chapel in Tordesillas on behalf of Delgado's second wife, Doña Mencía de la Vega, which specifically excluded any possibility of papal or episcopal provision and intervention in its administration,⁸³ it is more likely that it was to do with his relationship with Alba, rather than with Espinosa. This does not, of course, have to imply total adherence to one side or the other. The so-called “factions” at the Court of Philip II were always amorphous, fluid, and unstable. Delgado had personal relations across the supposed «castellanista/papista» divide, one of his friends being the Secretary Martín de Gaztelu whom Martínez Millán includes, along with his “cliente”, Secretary Francisco González de Heredia, in a small group of *letrados* and *oficiales* linked to the old “partido papista”.⁸⁴ Even within Delgado's own family and background there were strong Jesuit connections. His brother, the priest Francisco Fernández, was an associate of the founder of the Society of Jesus in Rome, and it was Loyola who personally recommended him to Fresneda. After he left England it was to Rome that he returned as royal chaplain (above pp.18,22). The wife of Juan Delgado's patron, Juan de Vega, Doña Leonor Osorio Sarmiento was a devotee of Ignatius Loyola and, according to Fernández de Pulgar, her son, Suero de Vega, and his sisters, the Condesa de Monteagudo and Doña Leonor de Vega, played a key role in the establishment of the Jesuit College in Palencia in 1559, “por la mucha afición y amor que tenían a la Compañía.”⁸⁵ It was a cause to which two of the families most represented among the Delgado contacts in Palencia, the

⁸¹ *Diario de Hans Khevenhüller*, pp.191, 257.

⁸² “pues tuvo tanta voluntad de hacerme merced en la vida”, Saltillo, *Juan de Vega*, p.211.

⁸³ “que las dhas capellanias no sean colativas y que su santidad del sumo pontífice ques o fuere ni otro perlado alguno en tiempo alguno ni por alguna manera no se entremetan a prober ni colar las dichas capellanias”, See Appendix 6, p.165 below.

⁸⁴ Martínez Millán, “La transformación”, p.547.

⁸⁵ Saltillo, *Juan de Vega*, p.216.

Reynosos and the Loyolas, also contributed.⁸⁶ Indeed, Don Agustín sr.'s dedication of his hermitage in Villajimena to Nuestra Señora de Monserrat was surely inspired by the wounded soldier, St. Ignatius's personal spiritual transformation at the Catalan shrine.

It is true, as Fernández Conti argues, that Delgado never became the focus of patronage at Court. The bulk of his activities simply involved the transmission of the views of the Council to the king and the responses of the king to the Council. His more personal interventions concerning matters of procedure in the Council, the need for additional meetings or more regular attendance to clear backlogs of business, the lack of suitable places to meet, improved procedures for military appointments, and so on, could also justifiably be described as "eminente técnico, no político".⁸⁷ That is not to say, however, that such technical issues did not also provide the occasion, directly or indirectly, for criticisms of procedures or individuals, or for patronage or policy inputs, not least during the frequent, unrecorded face-to-face meetings Delgado had with the king, which became regularised at the time of the Portuguese Succession.⁸⁸ That applied particularly, though by no means exclusively, to the promotion of the careers of family members, something regarded not only as natural, but almost as obligatory. Delgado's patronage extended to the furtherance not only of the career of his brother, Alonso, but also to those of his nephews, and to even more remote relatives.⁸⁹ And not just relatives. His office also enabled him to act as a valuable go-between in furthering the business even of a grandee like the Duke of Alba.⁹⁰

More importantly, his strategic position within the administration of war also gave Delgado the opportunity to make recommendations which had "policy", or wider patronage implications, even on occasion advising the king against the view

⁸⁶ Saltillo, *Juan de Vega*, pp.218, 220, 227.

⁸⁷ Fernández Conti, "careciendo del esencial vínculo personal, propuso al rey soluciones institucionales"; "el universo del secretario de la Guerra a pesar de sus esfuerzos, era eminentemente técnico, no político", and thus limited, *Consejos*. pp.140, 268.

⁸⁸ 4.12.1579 Delgado suggests he report in person to save the King the trouble of replying, Philip agrees, "assi lo podreis hazer esto de aqui adelante y podreis venir el lunes a las X", AGS GA 89, f.240.

⁸⁹ Thomas de Ayardi to Delgado, Sevilla, 22.3.1584: «No puedo dexar de dar pesadumbre a vm por ver que Fco de Ayardi q sirve el oficio de Veedor de la gente de guerra de la Costa del reyno de Grda, siendo de su casa de vm, pasa con mucha necesidad por la limitacion de salario que tiene con el oficio», AGS GA 161, f.120.

⁹⁰ Delgado to Mateo Vázquez, 19.5.1581, IVDJ Caja 122, envió 87, f.175: "el duque de Alva me escrive q de Madrid tiene aviso q a muchos dias q SMD tiene en su poder una consulta q se le hizo sobre la paga de una libranza del juro de 6,000 arrobas de azeite q el Duque tiene en Sevilla, de q a corrido tres años, y me pide q yo acuerde a SMD sea servido de mandar q se despache porq es la principal hazda de q el se entretiene. Hable a SMD ayer en ello y mandome q dixese a vm de su parte q le acordase el despacho desta consulta» - this is in a clerk's hand with Delgado's rubric.

taken by the Consejo.⁹¹ He made suggestions on major military appointments,⁹² and his long experience and personal contacts were called upon to reconcile potentially delicate disagreements. His function in office also gave him an authority quite beyond his social station, as in his confrontation with the Marqués de Aguilar. Aguilar was complaining that, though he was the most senior of the Consejo de Estado, in the Consejo de Guerra “no se le da autoridad para ordenar lo q ally se debe hazer y otras muchas cosas a este proposito...dizdo q va al Co muy contra su voluntad, y assi parece porq en algas cosas no quyere hablar”. Delgado told him that the king already knew about it, “y q entrando ally, todos tenian boto ygal y q asi no devia hazer ninguna demostracion”. As that did not stop Aguilar’s complaints, “le dixe q yo no hablaria mas en ello a VMd”, but if he put it down on paper he would forward it to the king.⁹³ The very fact of his nearly 40 years of personal experience in the *secretaría de guerra* helped give weight to his interventions, as when in a discussion of the rights and wrongs of paying ransoms to Algerian corsairs for the release of important captives he was able to remind the Council of what had been concluded in Charles V’s time,⁹⁴ or when he drew the king’s attention to previous considerations of the advantages of a home-based supply of arms to free Spain from the need for imports.⁹⁵ To that extent he was more than a mere postman between Council and King. Independently he brought the king’s attention to matters requiring action, such as the need to “visitar” the galleys of Spain and Italy, something he had drawn attention to over five years before,⁹⁶ and he took positions on important administrative policy issues, urging contracting out rather than direct administration for provisioning, and proposing financial measures to avoid the need for costly and damaging dependence on the Genoese money-men.⁹⁷ Neither was he without views on the wider issues of

⁹¹ AGS GA 77, f.190.

⁹² Delgado to Philip, 1574?: «desde el principio dixe a VMd es armada y negocio este q requiere hallarse ally persona de autoridad q a todo dé gran prisa y vea como va... y es bien q de persona de autoridad VMd tenga relacion de lo q va, y, siendo servjdo mandara myrar si seria aproposito el Cde de Olivares por tener el lugar q tiene y ser diligente y inteligente en la qta, o el Cde de Barajas q se halla aqui, q el negocio es de calidad q se sufrira yr a él uno de los del Consejo de Estado de VMd”, AGS GA 78, f.152.

⁹³ AGS GA 154, f.293, 15.5.1583.

⁹⁴ “Yo dixe q en tpo de SMD Imperial me acordava se avia tratado mucho deste particular y q al fin se avia resuelto sienpre q si no uviesen rescates como no tuviesen ganancia los cosarios se acabarian”, AGS GA 88, f.112, 23.12.1577.

⁹⁵ «En vida del Cardenal en las Juntas q se hizieron en su cassa, se trató de renovar las armerías q ay en estos reynos» for that reason, AGS GA 78, f.184.

⁹⁶ AGS GA 109, f.379, 14.5.1581.

⁹⁷ «Qdo hable a VMd dire lo q he pensado en camino llano y cyerto con q VMd puede ser servydo asi en todo lo de aca como en Flandes con la hazda q VMd tiene sin q se consuman tantos dineros en yntereses y se enriquezcan ginoveses, antes sobre dinero y sea camino para q o salgan del Reino o negocien tan barato q se repare tanto daño como lo pasado y presente, y q llegando a Md se trate dello por quien dire a VMd, y aqui lo he comunicado con Rodrigo Vzqz» - Philip II, «el jueves a la mañana podreis venir a decirme esto q bien es menester”, AGS GA 154, f.258, 2.2.1583.

military strategy, views often of a pro-active rather than of a passive nature, pressing the case for support for Papal action in Ireland,⁹⁸ or for direct action to counter the King of France's intervention in Flanders.⁹⁹ The considerable overlap in personnel between the Council of War and the Council of State also meant that the technical issues dealt with in the former, inevitably fed into the considerations of the latter, and although the "ministerio de la Guerra" was a much more inchoate institution in Philip II's reign than it was to be under the Bourbons, and Delgado cannot be said to have had either a clearly articulated policy with respect to political or strategic issues or a decisive influence in their determination, his role at its most influential could be seen perhaps to foreshadow that of the 18th-century "ministro".¹⁰⁰

Conflicts of competence were the inevitable, and common, consequences of a system of government in which the various councils combined overlapping administrative and judicial functions, and many of Delgado's personal interventions as Secretary of War concerned such matters, defending the jurisdiction of the Consejo de Guerra (and, of course, the role of its secretary) against encroachments by other Councils, but also doing the same in his role as *consejero de Hacienda*. There was nothing exceptional about this, it was in fact one of his responsibilities, both to the Council and to the autonomy of its jurisdiction, the "fuero militar". But inevitably, his part in such conflicts made him enemies. One of these, the *veedor* of Cartagena, Cristóbal de Heredia, claimed he was being persecuted by Delgado out of "pasión" and "ynimistad", and was being refused leave to stay away from his post to complete his business affairs in Madrid. What underlay that hostility is not at all clear, but given that the Captain General of the Artillery, Don Francés de Alava, was also accused of being in league with Delgado about it, it was probably to do with oversight of the accounts of the artillery, a tussle between the Captain General, the Consejo de Guerra and the Consejo de Hacienda of the sort that had arisen at the time of Alava's appointment over the terms of his commission and his authority over the Artillery's finance officers, from the discussion of which he had wanted Delgado, who, of course, spoke also for the Consejo de Hacienda, excluded.¹⁰¹ But it was also a personal issue. In 1579 Delgado

⁹⁸ CDI vol.32, pp.559-60.

⁹⁹ Delgado to Antonio Gracián, 9.6.1572: « luego q entendi lo subcedido en flandes scrivi un billete al Sr Sio. Çayas q yo no me podia persuadir q fuese sin sabiduria del rey de francia... y q las fuerças de aca no eran bastantes en casso q pasase adelante para hazerlas tal torcedor q afloxasen en aquellas ptes, y q lo q parecia es q el armada de la liga con lo q a Su Md tiene en ella, o la mayor pte, vinyese luego, porq viendo esta prevencion les haria afloxar y no pasar adelante, pues q haziendolo, para hazelles torcedor se podia dar en Marsella o la Proença, y qdo pa esto no fuese nescesario servyria pa lo de Argel, o haziendose aq como se podrian hazer las mas prevenciones necess., presupuesto q si este año no se hiziese, no sé como se haria los años venideros", IVDJ Caja 74, envío 56, no.11.

¹⁰⁰ Fernández Conti, *Consejos*, p.140, where he sees Delgado as "apareciendo como el auténtico motor de la gobernación castrense".

¹⁰¹ AGS GA 77, f.149.

was influential in the appointment of a relative of his wife, Martín Vázquez de Cepeda (perhaps his brother-in law), as *tenedor de bastimentos* and *contador de la artillería* in Cartagena, and in the separation of the artillery accounts from the surveillance of the *veedor*. Whether Vázquez de Cepeda was really, as Heredia claimed, «tan yncapaz y yñorante que en su vida supo que cosa son negocios, ni aun contar quanto vale un ducado, ni apenas sabe firmar» is perhaps questionable, but there may have been some substance in his implication of partiality on Delgado's part and that the object of the exercise was so to arrange artillery matters «que de parte de Su Md no aya nadie que mire por ella.»¹⁰² The hostility between Delgado and Heredia certainly seems to have been long-standing and unresolved, as the *veedor* was still complaining about «la ynimistad que el secretario delgado tiene con migo... y fuera justo abstenerse de molestarne como lo a hecho y haze de nueve años que a que sirvo alli a VMd.»¹⁰³ But Heredia was certainly not Delgado's only detractor, especially in his later years, and amongst them some were much more capable of doing him harm than Heredia.

5. DIFFICULT YEARS 1583-85

Delgado's influence was probably at its greatest in the early 1580s after the fall of Antonio Pérez and while he was with the king in Portugal in the years 1580-83. This was, of course, in part because of the centrality of his role in time of war, and in part because of the separation of the Court in Madrid from the person of the king.¹⁰⁴ Delgado was with Philip in Portugal throughout, from March 1580 until the king's return to Madrid in March 1583. He was in direct consultation with the king, advising him personally on senior military and naval appointments, liaising with the general staff to resolve disagreements, and heavily involved in the joint planning of campaign preparations. But as he approached his 70th year he was declining both physically and politically. There were now new men influencing the king both in the privy chamber and in the Council of State, men who were not in sympathy with Delgado and his generation, men like Mateo Vázquez, the king's cabinet secretary and intermediary in Delgado's communications with the king, and Don Juan de Idiáquez, the strongest voice in the Council of State. Fernández

¹⁰² IVDJ envío 87, caja 122, f.373.

¹⁰³ According to Heredia, he had been given leave for two months to come to Court to speak to the king and to visit his *casa y hacienda*, but after one month was told by Delgado to return «y q esto procede de la ynimistad que el secretario delgado tiene con migo con que ympedir que VMd no me onrre ni haga la mrd que espero... y fuera justo abstenerse de molestarne como lo a hecho y haze de nueve años que a que sirvo alli a VMd, aviendole VMd mandado diversas vezes a él y a don francés de alava que no se empachen con migo ni en mis cosas... y en esta novedad que se haze con migo se muestran la pasion que le mueve», BL Add 28,366, f.258, Madrid, 4.5.1583.

¹⁰⁴ Fernández Conti and Labrador Arroyo, "La organización de la campaña naval de las Azores 1582", p.768; for the importance of Delgado while the king was in Portugal, Carlos Morales, *Consejo de Hacienda*, pp.136-7 & n.344.

Conti speaks of «una contienda sorda pero continua” between Mateo Vázquez and Juan Delgado, “malvisto de Mateo Vázquez”,¹⁰⁵ while Idiáquez was the man who blocked Don Agustín’s advancement in the secretariat of War,¹⁰⁶ and who was later to preside over the committee of the Military Orders which denied Delgado’s grandson his Knighthood. Increasingly unable to sustain the burden of his various offices, even having to use an *oficial* to present his committee papers “por no andar de mucha salud en la cabeza”¹⁰⁷ a number of Delgado’s duties were either being subsumed into newly formed institutions with their own secretariats, like the Junta de Santo Domingo, set up in Lisbon in May 1582, which brought together the business of Hacienda, Indias, Cámara and Cruzada, or, as in the case of the Junta de Galeras and the Junta de Puertorrico (“que es Consejo de Guerra de las Indias”, Hernando de Vega) being taken on by others.¹⁰⁸ With the Portuguese succession secured, the immediate political emphasis turned away from war. Much of the military apparatus that had been required for the campaign of annexation was being run down, and with the Court back in Madrid the role of the Secretary of War no longer had the same salience as before and Delgado no longer the same access to the king’s ear.

Whether these developments were a consequence or a cause of Delgado’s increasingly frequent expressions of a wish to retire and have his son, Don Agustín, take his place is not clear.¹⁰⁹ Delgado returned to Madrid with the king from Portugal in March 1583, heavily in debt and worn down by fifty years of labours. He was an old man now, probably within a year or so of seventy, overburdened by too many different occupations, plagued by ill-health, threatened by investigations into his conduct and by the calumnies of his enemies, under-rewarded (as he saw it), and increasingly wearied and petulant by turns. From late 1583 he began to prepare the way for his retirement from public life. High office did not come without its costs. The *jornada* de Portugal had been expensive for him.¹¹⁰ A small convoy of vehicles had been necessary to transport the Secretary, his wardrobe, papers and servants - three large covered waggons each drawn by two mules, three pack mules (*gemilas*), six saddle mules, and two quality mules with their driver for the Secretary's coach. For all this he was given a paltry allowance of 902 *reales*.¹¹¹ This gives us some idea of the size of the Secretary's household. He had no wife or family with him, only his clerks and servants. They were his “criados” or “oficiales”,

¹⁰⁵ Fernández Conti, *Consejos*, p.187.

¹⁰⁶ Don Agustín to Idiáquez, Madrid 13.9.1584, AGS GA 166, f.295.

¹⁰⁷ Fernández Conti, *Consejos*, 191 n.21, 20.4.1582.

¹⁰⁸ BL Add. 28,358, f.54; AGS GA 137, ff.113-14; Fernández Conti and Labrador Arroyo, “Azores”, pp.125-33.

¹⁰⁹ Fernández Conti, *Consejos*, p.196 on the insertion of Don Agustín into office, for which Delgado thanks Philip II, 9.10.1583, *ibid.* p.196 n.45.

¹¹⁰ As it had also been for others. Antonio de Eraso, at that time Secretary of the Council of the Indies, spent 8,000 ducats and emerged 2,000 ducats in debt, Fernández Conti, *Consejos*, p.195, n.40.

¹¹¹ AGS GA 139, ff.99v-100.

who, apart from the occasional royal grant, were maintained entirely at his personal cost, as it was not until 1587 that the senior *oficiales* of the secretariat of War were put on the royal payroll. In February 1580, on the eve of his departure from Madrid for Badajoz, he had no fewer than seven clerks in his personal employ solely for the secretariat's correspondence with the lords and cities about their contributions for the campaign.¹¹² Not all his current debts had been incurred in Portugal, but he had borrowed an extra 1,700 ducats from the Tesorero General, Juan Fernández de Espinosa, in September 1579, on the eve of the *jornada*, and when he returned to Madrid he had debts in excess of 12,000 ducats.¹¹³

Delgado shared the propensity of the great majority of his colleagues to complain about indebtedness and "necesidad", a complaint he expressed frequently, with some bitterness and a growing disillusion. Again in 1584, he was representing "muy apretada necesidad y el cuidado que le dan sus deudas", asking his correspondents not to detain his messengers "porque no haga costa que la bolsa no lo sufre", and complaining that "la manera que ha servido tantos años no merece que Su Magestad le dexepadescer tanto". This "necesidad" was of course entirely relative, and we know enough about Delgado's finances in the 1570s not to take this "desesperación" at face value. Such protestations of penury were always something of a ritual designed as much to attest to one's probity and to test out one's standing at Court as to remedy one's financial problems. Delgado was earning over 400,000 mrs from his secretaryships and the *contaduría de la Razón* in some years in the 1570s, but it was the additional *mercedes* that were the mark of one's favour with the king and the real recognition of one's worth. Delgado had been granted a small pension of 20,000 mrs a year for three years on the *penas de cámara* of Palencia in October 1548, "teniendo consideracion a lo que sirve", and this was prolonged successively until 1576, or maybe even until his death.¹¹⁴ In February 1557, he and Hernando Delgadillo had been given an *ayuda de costa* of 200 ducats from the Regent Juana, "por lo que han servido y sirven en los despachos que se mandan hazer en el nuestro Consejo de la Guerra."¹¹⁵ Delgado was also given an unspecified sum from the proceeds of the sale of the *escribanía del ayuntamiento* of Toledo in the early 1570s,¹¹⁶ a grant of 2,000 ducats from the proceeds of the sale of the office of *contador de la real hacienda* in Nueva Granada in 1577, which did not

¹¹² AGS GA 94 f.46.

¹¹³ 1584 lists of petitions to the king, sf, BL Add. 28,344, ff.381 *et seqq*, no.26, f.387: Juan Delgado: «Repnta muy apretada neccsd y el cuidado q le dan sus deudas, las quales han acrecentado en la Jornada de Portugal sin poderlo remediar ni excusar... y que passan de 12,000 ducados, y suppca se le haga md en tratase de trigo en Napoles o Sicilia para podellos pagar y q se le de alguna renta, pues de la manera q ha servido tantos años no merece q Su Md le dexepadescer tanto».

¹¹⁴ Relación consultas de Cámara, AHN Consejos leg.4407, no.35, 5.9.1575.

¹¹⁵ AGS GA Libro 23, f.121, 28.2.1557.

¹¹⁶ AGS GA 75, f.153.

materialise until the end of 1581,¹¹⁷ and in 1580 the transfer of 75,000 of an outstanding *juro* on the Puertos de Portugal, which had belonged to his late wife, to a realisable source to employ “para descargar del alma”.¹¹⁸ Posthumously his estate was credited with 66,000 mrs representing the residue of his salary from 9 October when he died until the end of the year, and a lump sum of 4,000 ducats “para pagar las deudas”, for which he had been angling for some years.¹¹⁹ Between 1559 and 1577 alone, *mercedes* from the king must have exceeded 3,000 ducats. That was the equivalent of some three years of his peak salary, a sum that equalled the total of all his *bienes gananciales* during the course of his second marriage,¹²⁰ and there may well have been more about which we do not know.

Yet, as so many of the servants of Philip II, Delgado never felt that his services had ever been properly rewarded. He certainly seems to have been given nothing of substance after 1577.¹²¹ He already had “*algunas deudas*” in the early 1570s,¹²² and by late 1576, “driven insane” by his neediness, he was directing a stream of importunate appeals to the king through Mateo Vázquez, Philip II’s private secretary and no friend of Delgado, for aid in one form or another.¹²³ At the end of the year he again wrote to Mateo Vázquez, rather more insistently, to bring the king’s attention to “*my nesciedad, porque se puede mal trabajar todos los dias y la mayor parte de las noches, y quando me boy a dormir, pensar donde he de buscar lo que he de comer el dia siguiente es fuerte caso, pues a los que biven con el trabajo y linpieça que yo, no es justo llegallos a termino de desesperacion y tanta verguença de la nota que en toda la Corte se tiene, pues no me haziendo merced Su Magestad, no se juzga sino no tenerse por serbido de my.*”¹²⁴ If we are to believe him, by the time of his wife’s death at the beginning of May 1577, his finances were in such a

¹¹⁷ AGI Indiferente General 739, *consulta* Consejo de Indias, 1577; AGS CJH 134 (192), 18.10.1581; Fernández Conti and Labrador Arroyo, *Azores*, p.764, n.102.

¹¹⁸ AGS CJH 125 (180), 17.8.1580.

¹¹⁹ IVDJ envió 87, caja 122, f.150, to Mateo Vázquez, 16.6.1577.

¹²⁰ Doña Mencía’s share was 1,157,219 (3,086 ds).

¹²¹ Delgado was by no means the only one to feel unrewarded. Even Mateo Vázquez complained “q por no se le haber hecho socorro ni ayuda de costa alguna en tpo del Cardenal Espinosa ni despues aca, siendo su ocupacion, trabajo y costa q ha tenido tan grande, se halla (sin poderlo escusar) con muy apretada necesidad”, *consulta* Consejo de las Indias, sf 1577, AGI Indiferente General 739.

¹²² AGS GA 75, f.153.

¹²³ IVDJ envió 87, caja 122, ff.144-80 correspondence of Delgado with Mateo Vázquez; f.160, Madrid 23.10.1576: «Yo quedo bien confiado q vm como me lo scrive acordara a su md la md q le he suplicado pues my trabajo es el q todo el m[un]do sabe y mayor my nesciedad y deuda»; f.161, Madrid 29.10.1576: «como estoy tan confiado en la q vm me ha hecho y hara como me lo scrive, no tengo q dezir sino besar a vm las m[an]os y encomendallo a dios q su md divina es test[ig]o si desseo ynportunar a Su md ny querria mas de serbir con el amor y cuydado q lo hago. Asi dios me lo pague, p[er]lo la nesciedad saca el juycio de su lugar.»; f.162, 31.10.1576: «no querria que vm me tuyese por ynportuno, y si lo fuere atribuyalo vm a la nescesydad».

¹²⁴ AGS GA 81, f.355, 1.12.1576.

state, with debts of 4,000 ducats, that he did not have enough money to be able to bury her without a loan.

His wife's death left him not only emotionally bereft, it also faced him with the costs of her funeral and the repayment of the monies he had diverted from her dowry and bequests, which he put at 1,200,000 mrs (3,200 ducats), and reduced him to penning the most abject of appeals to Vázquez: «he dexado de hazer esto acordando lo q muchas vezes, entendiendo q Su md fuera servido hazerme la md q tantos dias ha le he suplicado para pagar mas de 4U ducats q devia, por no dar mas ynportunidad. Pero como qdo esto suplicava la deuda estava en lo q digo, con haverme NS llevado a doña mençia q esta no acabe de scrivir si para enterralla yo tenia un real y lo he buscado prestado, se a acrescentado my deuda y trabajo, y demas dellos q son hartos por aver despuesto de su hazda en unas capellanias, valiendome en sus dias della, havdo la de bolver como lo hago, quedo qual dios sabe, y con tanta congoja q no querria morir con tanta deuda y yrme al ynfierno. Supco a vm q acuerde a su md sea servido hazer me la md q su voluntad fuere con la brevedad q para aquietar my anyma he menester porq yo no se como puede servir ny passar sino es con esta ayuda. Y si vm entiene q no a de aver efeto con tanta dilacion q yo padezca tanto trabajo, me avise dello para q acabe de vender otro poca hazda q me queda y acabada, pues dios a sido servydo dexarme solo no sé si sera mejor a cabo de xlv años de servicio, como todo el mundo sabe, yrme a meter en algund rincon de un monasterio hasta acabar la vida...»¹²⁵ Although he managed to reduce his debts somewhat from their peak after his return from Portugal, whatever the grants he received from the king, including the 4,000 ducats he received posthumously, failed to leave him with enough in hand to cover the great bulk of them. According to his executors, he died owing more than 10,000 ducats “y no haver quedado hazienda bastante para pagarlos”.¹²⁶

This deepening disillusion with his standing with the king after the return to Madrid was reinforced by the inception of an investigatory *visita* into his conduct

¹²⁵ IVDJ envió 87, caja 122, f.150, to Mateo Vázquez, 16.6.1577.

¹²⁶ AGS CJH (242), *consulta* Consejo de Hacienda 9.2.1587; AHN Consejos leg.4410 (1586), n.96, 8.7.1586, “toda la hazda q dexo y la mrd q VMd le mando hazer no basta para acabar de pagar sus deudas”; *consulta* Consejo de Hacienda, 9.2.1587, “no ha haver quedado hazda bastante para pagarlos, ni alcanzar para ello los 4,000 ds de q VMd le hizo mrd”, AGS CJH 164 (ant 242); notarised *testimonio* of Don Agustín Delgado and Clemente Diaz, Madrid 25.11.1585, “como testamentarios y herederos de Juan Delgado, sacado de un meml firmado de mano del propio Juan Delgado”, listing his debts: 3,400 ducados que tomó a censo de Pedro Ricardo que al presente paga; 600 ducados a los herederos de Jacome de Jaurigui por la mitad del 1,200 ducados que le costo el oficio de Alférez Mayor de Palencia; 800 ducats al Sr. Juan de Espinosa. Also owes Pedro Ricardo “por el censo corrido” 60,000, and Agustín Spinola por el fenecimiento de la cuenta que con el Juan Delgado tenía 392,500, and to Marcos de Plaza, residente en esta Corte, “por otro fenecimiento de cuenta” referred to in his will, 106,468 – totalling 2,207,884 (5,887.69 ducats) “sin otras deudas que, ademas de lo susodho, debia en cumplimto de su anima y testamento, y satisfación y lutos de sus criados que se han de cumplir de sus bienes”, signed: *escribano* Diego Castrillo, natural de Palencia, AGS CJH 225, f.20. My thanks to Alberto Marcos for a transcript of this document.

in the autumn of 1583. Originally directed against Antonio Pérez, the *visita* was supposedly extended into an investigation into the conduct of all the king's secretaries and their officials, but actually only Delgado and Martín de Gaztelu were affected.¹²⁷ This long-drawn out process had begun unofficially in February 1580 when the king informed the bishop of Avila, in his own hand, that for “servicio de Dios, nuestro Señor, y mio, y al buen gobierno y administración de la Justicia” he had decided to order “visitar todos mis Secretarios que tienen título en los libros de Castilla, y a sus oficiales”. Prior to its commencement “en publica forma”, the bishop was given full powers to investigate and told to enquire secretly, “con todo secreto y recato”, into whether the secretaries and their officials had performed their duties in accordance with the ordinances, whether they had taken presents, or bribes, been partial in their actions, or been responsible for any other form of misconduct in office.¹²⁸ Deferred, perhaps because of the *jornada* in Portugal, it seems that it was only in the summer of 1583, when the Court was back in Madrid, that the Delgado element of the investigation was begun again, in secret, and entrusted to Luis Gaitán de Ayala, the *corregidor* of Madrid.¹²⁹

It is not at all clear why it was resumed at this moment. It may be that the empty period after the return from Portugal provoked some general rethinking about existing methods of government by the new men who had been brought into Philip II's cabinet in the immediately preceding years, Don Juan de Idiáquez, Don Cristóbal de Moura, and the Cardinal Granvelle. It could also be that the activities of Juan Fernández de Espinosa, the Tesorero General, were casting suspicion on all those who were involved with him in the administration of the finances and who were in receipt of gifts and other handouts from him, designed «para tenerles gratos». Amongst those, Delgado, a personal debtor of Espinosa's to the extent of nearly 1,700 ducats for a loan raised on 18.9.1579 to meet the costs of his move to Portugal and not fully paid off until after the Secretary's death, has to be included. In a subsequent statement in 1591, listing those who had received money from Espinosa, Delgado was put at number 44 of some 60 names for loans totalling 1,688.5 ducats. He had begun to pay these off in July 1582, but they were not finally cleared

¹²⁷ Ungerer, *La defensa de Antonio Pérez*, p.12. The pairing with Gaztelu is interesting. They were old friends, but their relationship may have been seen as something more than just personal, see Marichalar, *Descargos*, p.50, n.61, “La privanza del secretario Delgado habría de crecer a tenor de la de Gaztelu.”

¹²⁸ In full in Riba García, *Mateo Vázquez*, p.217; see also, Ungerer, pp.11-14; Fernández y Fernández de Retana, *España en tiempo de Felipe II* (1958), vol.2, p.360.

¹²⁹ As far as I can understand the rather devious machinations of Philip II, it looks as if, although the Licenciado Tomás de Salazar, Councillor of the Inquisition and Comisario General de la Cruzada, was in charge of the formal investigations into Pérez's *visita*, Gaitán was conducting a parallel undercover investigation into Delgado. To a petition of Don Agustín for payment of a *merced*, 31.8.1583, Philip II responded, “esto se puede entretener hasta ver en que paran *las visitas*” (my emphasis), BL Add. 28,344, ff.232, 236.

until six months after his death.¹³⁰ There were, then, some questions, whether justified or not, hanging over Delgado, and clear signs that the king had not the same confidence in the work of his veteran secretary as once he had,¹³¹ but there was also some reluctance to involve him openly. Either way, it was supposed that Delgado would not be happy with being investigated. It seems to have been the first such *visita* undergone by the Secretary, and he did not take to it kindly, as Philip II had not expected that he would – “bien creo que Delgado no querra visita”.¹³² Whether that remark reflected his judgement of Delgado's temper or his probity, is anyone's guess.

For most of the next year Juan Delgado was involved in answering charges and collecting the evidence for his defence, and by the end of August 1584 the investigation was ready to go before the judges. Nothing is known either of the charges or of the outcome of the *visita*, but from the absence of evidence it is reasonable to infer that no major misdemeanours were uncovered, though some of Delgado's former officials were condemned as a result of a later *visita* of the Council of Finance.¹³³ The whole episode clearly rankled. Delgado blamed the investigation on “la maldad de los que an querido caluniar mi limpieza y verdad”,¹³⁴ and even years later his son, Don Agustín, revealed something of the ill-feeling it had aroused when he had his own son attribute the delays in resolving his application for a Knighthood of Santiago to the machinations of the “muchos enemigos” they had acquired during the exercise of their official duties.¹³⁵ No doubt Delgado's reaction

¹³⁰ A statement of «dádivas y presentes» and cash loans by Juan Fernández de Espinosa to «los ministros que tenían mano en la Real Hazienda para tenerles gratos», dated 15.5.1591, includes Juan Delgado for loans of 633,184 advanced in cash at various times, and in wheat and other things. It was repaid in 9 instalments, the first on 1.7.1582 for a loan dated 18.9.1579, and the final settlement on 24.4.1586, AGS Cámara de Castilla 2149, f.737v.

¹³¹ Eraso to the King, 16.10.1583, “sobre los q se juntaran pa resolver lo de la venta q ha de hazer de los juro Antonio de Guevara”: Philip II (holog.), “Hdo de Vega me scrive proponiendome pa tratar dello a Rodrigo Vzqz, Chumacero, y el fiscal y Juan Fernández, y aun a delgado. Yo aparto lo de Juo Fdz y delgado por el mejor camyno q puedo y mas disimulado q es de creer os dira y no lo digo aqui por no detenerme q es tarde y tengo mucho q hazer, pero no me parece se recatava del tesorero, ni aun de delgado», Bibl Univ Salamanca ms. 2657, f.69.

¹³² Philip's apostil to Mateo Vázquez, El Pardo, 2.12.1583, «Ese papel me embia Luys Gaytan que me queria hablar la otra noche, y bien creo que Delgado no querra visita, y quiza sera lo mejor que se le acete aquello a Delgado, y que secretamente haga la visita Luys Gaytan, que desta manera creo que se hara mucho mejor», Riba, *Mateo Vázquez*, p.305.

¹³³ Rn sumaria de las condenaciones q se ha hecho a los q han sido visitados del C de Hazienda y contadurias della y de quantas (1595), IVDJ envió 45 (caja 58), f.299, includes in the Consejo de Hacienda - Fco de Oñate que fué criado de Delgado (37,500); Miguel de Aguirre, oficial que fué de Delgado (se absuelve); Clemente Diaz, oficial de Delgado (se condena en 8,000 mrs); del Contaduría de Quantas - contadores de resultas: Martín Pérez de Arestizabal (se absuelve por muerto); Tomas de Ayardi (se absuelve); Juan de Galarça (se absuelve por muerto); Juan de la Peña Zorrilla (se condeno en 20,600 mrs y culpa); Martín de Lorregui (se guarde las ordenanças).

¹³⁴ AGS GA 165, f.189, Delgado to Idiáquez, 18.8.1584.

¹³⁵ “por donde sospecho que respecto de los offos y cargos que mi padre y aguelos tienen y tubieron, tendrían muchos enemigos, por donde, o siendo testigos o por otro camino hobiese dho algo al

was a transference of his disappointment with the patent indifference of the king to the state of health of one of his oldest servants, withholding permission for Delgado to go to Palencia to convalesce until the *visita* had been concluded, despite the investigation having reached its end with nothing remaining but the final sentencing.¹³⁶

Altogether, 1583-84 had been a difficult year which had seen a calamitous deterioration in the secretary's health. Delgado had had the occasional period of illness during the 1570s, though of what kind it is impossible to say. In 1573, for about a month, he had undergone repeated blood-lettings, from which he was beginning to recover by early August. Again in the spring of 1579 he had had a long period away from his office because of sickness, and three years later he had to use an *oficial* of his to present papers to the *juntas* he was serving “por no andar de mucha salud en la cabeza”.¹³⁷ But from the end of 1583 there is evidence of a more serious and protracted indisposition. In December 1583, with his sight deteriorating, he was unable to sign *consultas* in the Council of Finance.¹³⁸ In April 1584, a previous illness seemed to be on the mend, but by August his situation was again grave. A long and dangerous debilitation confined him to bed, or to his couch, virtually the whole of the day. He was able to sit up no more than a couple of hours, and twice, when he had forced himself to attend the Council of Finance, he had returned ill and had to remain in bed for days. His doctors advised a change of air from the heat of mid-summer Madrid and the none too salubrious environment of his lodgings in the capital to a cooler climate north of the Puertos, when “se me han de hazer dos fuentes que dizen an de ser remedio della.”¹³⁹ Convinced that his life was at stake, and indeed for a man of his age he had grounds for concern, he requested the king, with growing desperation, to give him six or eight weeks leave to go to Palencia to convalesce. Philip, rather callously, had insisted that he remain in Madrid until the *visita* was concluded, forcing him into increasingly anguished appeals channelled through the royal confessor, Fray Diego de Chaves, Don Juan de

contrario a la verdad de manera que ayan estorbado el despacho de el dho mi avito”, AHN, Ordenes Militares, Santiago. Pruebas de Caballeros, caja 469, expediente 2426.

¹³⁶ AGS GA 165, f.189, Delgado to Idiáquez, 18.8.1584, through Maestro Fray Diego de Chaves (the royal confessor) I asked the king to give me *licencia* and other things, «Hultimamente me enbio a dezir que su magd dezia que se acabase la visita. Yo e respondido a mis cargos y hecho aqui y fuera de aqui donde a combenido tales descargos que se entendera por ellos la maldad de los que an querido caluniar mi limpieza y verdad, y lo tiene y se a entregado ya todo al Comisario General. Solo falta una respuesta de Oran (margin – arrived 6 days ago and has been passed on to the Comisario General)... con lo qual en lo que toca a mi no me quedara que hazer, sino quando Su Magd fuere servido nombrar juezes y q se sentencie, y para la sentencie no sera necesario estar yo presente.»

¹³⁷ Fernández Conti, *Consejos*, p.191, n.21, 20.4.1582.

¹³⁸ Privilegio de hidalguía to Hernando Díaz in Consejo de Hacienda signed by the Consejo «y la señal de la firma del Secretario Delgado porque no pudo firmar», AGS DGT Inventario 5, leg.1, f.25,10.12.1583.

¹³⁹ In November 1584, Delgado was living in lodgings (*aposeno*) in some houses in the Plazuela de San Martín owned by the late Alvaro de Luján. Except for Delgado's *aposeno*, the “casas were en estado de vejez, muy viejas y peligrosas”, Martínez Bara, *Licencias de exención*, p.50.

Idiáquez, Rodrigo Vázquez de Arce, the new President of the Council of Finance from late June 1584, and Antonio de Eraso: «Yo soy de poco servicio estando desta manera y sin salud, y donde esta falta de todo lo del mundo no se puede comparar, es me fuerça a pena de morir aqui rabiando brevemente hazer ausencia de un mes o dos para cobrar salud.» He wanted to go at the beginning of September, «porque estando como estoy soy de muy poco servicio»,¹⁴⁰ and finally procured consent to go to Palencia for two months, an outcome reported by Mateo Vázquez to the outgoing Presidente de Hacienda, with the rather cryptic comment, «Delgado tiene gran razón de yr contento, y tuviera la mayor si fuera la licencia de más que los dos meses, por su edad y lo que importa tener tiempo para ocupar lo del alma».¹⁴¹

During this absence, his son, Don Agustín, was left in charge of the *secretaría de guerra*.¹⁴² For some time it had been Delgado's greatest wish to see his son accepted into the royal service and to prepare him for his eventual succession to the secretaryship. In October of the previous year the king had given permission for Don Agustín to "comiençe a servir a VMd en los papeles, como lo haze ya".¹⁴³

¹⁴⁰ On 18 August, Delgado wrote to Don Juan de Idiáquez «forçado de la neçesidad q para conseguir salud los medicos me an dho que tengo de salir de aqui e yr a tierra mas fria, en la qual se me an de hazer dos fuentes q dizen an de ser remedio della, y como esta me falta y donde no la ay no es segura cosa aguardar dilaciones, ...torno a acordar esta mi pretension, y se a respondido a lo uno y lo otro q se avia propuesto a Su magd y q no se alçaria la mano dello, como no es negocio q sufre dilacion a pena de perder la vida q tan a peligro la tengo, me e resuelto de embiar un criado mio con esta pa vm a quien suppo q condoliendose de mi travajo se vea con el Sr Don Joan de Ydiaquez y esfuérçe este negocio pa q no se vuelva de ay sin traerle resuelto, pues solo quiero esta licencia para lo que e dho, y no es justo q se niegue a quien solo la quiere para mes y medio, o dos meses, y poder combalescer en ellos para bolber a servir con mas salud, porq donde esta falta no se puede hazerle bien, y mientras con mas brevedad se me diere podre bolber con ella antes q carguen las aguas y el imbierno - y vuelbo a supcar a vm mande tomar a su cargo el hazerme esta mrd como cosa en q no menos q el peligro de la vida me corre, y bibir (muriendo) porq donde no pospuesto todo lo q el mundo puede prometer por no morir desta manera me sera forçoso tomar algun medio para poderme yr... dos vezes q a instancia de su SA (Presidente de Hacienda) e ydo al consejo y buelto a casa malo y hecho cama muchos dias" (thus far written by clerk, rest in holograph) «mucho me a pesado de la yndispn de vm i holgado estrañante de q Antonio de Lara me dixo oy q vm qdaba bueno, dios de a vm la salud q yo desseo pa my, y este criado mio mda vm se detenga poco por q no haga costa q la bolsa no lo sufre. Beso las manos de vm. Su muy cierto servidor, Juan Delgado.», AGS GA 165, f.188, Delgado to Antonio de Eraso, Madrid 26.8.1584.

¹⁴¹ Mateo Vázquez to Hernando de Vega, Fernández Conti, *Consejos*, p.200 n.66.

¹⁴² Fernández Conti, *Consejos*, p.200, n.67, Dr Villafañe to Don Agustín, 18.9.1584, «Por la última del Secretario Delgado e entendido como SMd le avía dado licencia q para yr a Palenzia por dos meses y que la partida sería luego, y v.m. quedava en su lugar durante su ausencia.» Fernández Conti says Delgado was effectively substituted by Zayas not by Don Agustín, who did not have the formal status of "secretario real".

¹⁴³ Anon. (probably either Dr Francisco Villafañe or Don Alonso de Bazán) to Juan Delgado from Lisbon, July 1583, AGS GA 148, f.37: "Mucho me he holgado de la venida ay del señor Don Agustín, y que su Mag. aya ya dado licencia para que le comience a servir. Ha sido muy acertado que comience a trabajar y a descargar a vm, pues no tiene mas de ese hijo y ha trabajado para él, y asi se podra vivir con descanso..."; Juan Delgado, consulta de «lo de Agustín de su quedada», 9.10.1583: «Yo esperava a qdo fuese algun negocio a VMd besarle sus reales manos por la md q a sido servydo hazerme de q mi hijo comiençe a servyr a VMd en los papeles como lo haze ya, y porq no se dilate mas por esta, beso los

But Don Agustín, though well into his thirties by this time (born 1551), had had very little experience of administration as such, or much knowledge of the machinery of government. His career to date had been a military one, and it is quite clear that, though perhaps tolerable as a stop-gap, Madrid was not sufficiently impressed by him to contemplate him as a successor to his father in one of the most important offices of the administration and was sidelining him from significant involvement in the exercise of the office.¹⁴⁴ Delgado after all had had 40 years preparation with Cobos, Vázquez de Molina, Ledesma and Vázquez de Salazar before his promotion.

The secretary's convalescence in Palencia, however, seems to have worked wonders. Within the month he was much better, and he returned to his duties in Madrid, early in October.¹⁴⁵ But the prospects for 1585 were not attractive. Another long, strenuous and expensive *jornada* to Aragon, Catalonia and Valencia, to meet the Cortes Generales and to see off the Infanta Catalina Micaela and her husband, the Duke of Savoy loomed ahead, and Delgado clearly had had enough. He had given up the *Razón de la Hacienda* in 1580. In 1584 he had asked to resign from the Council of Finance, and to restrict himself to the Council of War, “pues en el ay arta ocupacion y podra mejor servir, porque attender a lo uno y a lo otro su edad y indisposiciones no lo permitten”.¹⁴⁶ Now, remaining in Madrid in the summer of

pies de Vmd q espero en dios q con la voluntad con q yo sienpre lo he hecho no sera la suya menor, y si assi no lo entendiera nunca lo suplicara a VMD, y porq VMD le conozca, si fuere servydo q le bese su real mano lo hara un dia.» To this Philip II replied, «tampoco hubo tiempo pa esto por lo mysmo q he dicho de las muchas ocupaciones de ay, y creo lo que aqui decis», AGS GA 154, f.387- a rather distant response!

¹⁴⁴ Don Agustín Delgado to Don Juan de Idiáquez, Madrid 13.9.1584, «Con la carta que vm escrivio a mi padre y la copia de la que vino para mi cerca de la orden que Su Magd es servido se tenga en el exercicio deste offo, le despache luego correo en diligencia, y aun que no he tenido respuesta ni orden suya de lo que devo hazer y fuera justo q la aguardara, pareciendome que no lo es que por esta causa se entretenga lo que toca al servicio de Su Magd, me he rresuelto de cunplir y obedezzer lo que se me manda, y aunque es cosa que nunca la ha hecho ninguno de mi calidad y que en los otros tribunales donde se señalan los despachos y consultas en que concurren tanta gravedad de personas lo hazen los oficiales de los mismos exercicios, y aun ay algunos en que no lo hazen los oficiales mas antiguos, pero he querido venger en mi la porfia y que quiebra sobre mi reputacion a trueque de que no me noten de ynobediente, y de conformarme con que vm dize que es lo que conbiene. Suppco a vm que pues conoze el agravio que se haze en esto a mi padre y el que yo he de sentir aviendo de permanecer en el servicio, favorezca con Su Magd para que en esta ocasion haga a mi padre o a mi la mrd que le suppco en un papel que ba con esta en sus reales manos, que por la parte que toca a mi padre bien merezida la tiene y a cabo de tantos años con tan continuo trabajo, y por la mia procurare servir y obedezzer de manera que vm esté muy contento de haverme favorezido y hecho en esto la mrd q yo me prometo y espero de vm, cuya muy ille persona NSr guarde como puede.», AGS GA 166, f.295.

¹⁴⁵ Don Alonso de Bazan to Don Agustín Delgado, Lisbon, 29.9.1584, «me olgado de entender quel Sr Secretario este ya tan conbalecido y que le tengamos tan presto en essa corte», AGS GA 166, f.50

¹⁴⁶ Lists of petitions to the king, 1584, BL Add. 28344, f.387, no.26. Ironically this is exactly what Juan Vázquez de Salazar told Antonio de Eraso when he congratulated him on his appointment to succeed Delgado, “Es oficio muy trabajoso para quien trae tan quebrada salud”, Fernández Conti, *Los Consejos*, p.204 – 3 months later Eraso also was dead.

1585 while his son acted as secretary of war with the Court in Monzón,¹⁴⁷ he expressed the wish to retire from office altogether and be pensioned off at home. Philip II, whether because of Delgado's age, ill-health, or for some other dissatisfaction, was now not reluctant to see him go. "Delgado el viejo hace gran ynstancia por retirarse", he wrote to Mateo Vázquez on 15 August, "y creo que conbiene, y pide el salario en su casa y ayuda de costa, y tambien por su hijo, y conbendra proveer bien aquel oficio; avisadme mañana si pudieredes bien lo que os parecera en lo uno y lo otro."¹⁴⁸ Mateo Vázquez responded with some generosity: «Delgado el viejo tiene mucha razon en desear y procurar retirarse porq su edad ha dias q lo pide, y dandole VMt su grata licencia pa ello convendria q fuesse, esto estando acabado de todo punto lo de su visita para q la mrd q VMt le huviese de hazer saliesse en sazón y a tpo/ el salario en su casa y dos mill ds de ayuda de costa por una vez muy bien par[ec]le q estaria, y estos dos mill ds se le podrian dar en alguna cosa extraordiª. Si el hijo es para seguir la profession de su padre, de q podria informar Don Jª de Idiaquez, y bien se le podria dar titulo de Sª q seria honrrar y consolar tambien en esto mucho a su padre y cosa de buen exemplo, y si no, se le podria dar alguna scrivanía de rentas, como seria la de Grda q vaca y deve valer cerca de 400 ds cada año, y cient mill mrs de juro por su vida, o hasta q se le haga otra md equivalente, o mill ds de ayuda de costa por una vez en algo extraordinario».¹⁴⁹

What Delgado was requesting for his son is not entirely clear, but it may be that he still hoped Don Agustín would formally succeed him. News of his resignation and presumed succession quickly got about, and the *ayuntamiento* of Valladolid on 25 September delegated a *regidor* to write to the secretary "dandole la norabuena dla md q su mt le a hecho de q se benga a su cassa, y sirba el officio su hijo",¹⁵⁰ but two weeks later he was dead. *En route* from Madrid to Palencia, going at last to enjoy his long awaited retirement, he was taken by a sudden fever and died between 11 and 12 o'clock on the night of 9 October 1585. Two hours later, his body was taken to Palencia to be laid to rest in the convent of San Pablo, in the chapel he had endowed in honour of Nuestra Señora del Rosario, "Donde no le podrán hazer más mal sus émulos". The heartfelt account in which Delgado's oldest friend, Gabriel de Zayas, told the Marqués de Santa Cruz of his death, stands as a fitting lamentation on his final years and on the thankless world of the Court in which he had lived them: «Como en esta miserable vida no ay contento que dure, teniendolo muy grande delgado con la mrd q Su Md le havia hecho y estando de camino para yrla a gozar a su casa, le sobrevino una fiebre con tales accidentes que le acabo anoche entre las xj y xij. y de alli a dos horas llevaron el cuerpo a su capilla de Palencia donde no le podran hazer mas mal sus emulos, y las palabras q V.Ex.a me

¹⁴⁷ Fernández Conti, *Consejos*, p. 203.

¹⁴⁸ Riba García, *Mateo Vázquez*, p.358.

¹⁴⁹ Bibl. Zabalburu, Altamira, 142, D 129/1. My thanks to Fernando Bouza for this document.

¹⁵⁰ Valladolid: *regimiento ordinario*, Wed. 25.9.1585, AMV Libros de Actas 11 (1584-86).

scribe aproposito desto y de su intencion son dignas del christiano pecho de V.Ex.a que ya sé q le sobra razon para se hallar desdeñado, pero es tan difficultoso el ponerlo en execu.on que en fin acabamos con la campanilla de la corte y no ay otro remedio que procurar de tomarlo por cruz y referirlo a dios, q desta manera se convertira en merito, como lo sabe y haze harto mejor que yo V.Ex.a cuya Ill.a persona y estado N.Sr guarde y augmente como puede.»¹⁵¹

In death Delgado's hopes for his son were to be disappointed. His replacement was not Don Agustín but the Secretary of the Indies, Antonio de Eraso, the natural son of the old secretary Francisco de Eraso, who had been acting intermittently for Delgado in the Council of War since the Portuguese campaign and who was already signing royal orders of the Council of War in August even before Juan Delgado's death.¹⁵² Within four months of his predecessor, Eraso also was dead, but although some of Delgado's old secretarial team continued to prosper in the administrative service, there was still no place for Don Agustín.

¹⁵¹ Madrid 10.10.1585, AGS GA 178, f.257.

¹⁵² Borrador of Mateo Vázquez, Monzón, 23.10.1585, memo of decisions and minutes to be written up contains long list of different *negocios* including: «Muerte de Delgado y guarda de los papeles q se pvea luego el off^o y haviendose de dilatar (lo q no conv^e) se entreguen los papeles pendientes pa q corra el despacho.», IVDJ envió 43, f.105.

CHAPTER II THE SUCCESSORS

1. DON AGUSTÍN DELGADO SR.

Don Agustín was the only surviving child of Juan Delgado's first marriage to Doña Ysabel de Ribas. The first thing that we know of him is that he saw service, aged 18 or so, in the Granadan war from 1569 right through to the end of 1570, and remained a military man at heart for the rest of his life. He fought with Don John of Austria on the galleys and at Lepanto, suffering two arrow wounds and burns to his face and hands, and then at Navarino, at the capture of Tunis in 1572, and at the relief of La Goleta in 1573. For his valour at Lepanto he was given an *entretenimiento* of 12 *escudos*, which was later increased to 15 *escudos*, on the personal recommendation of Don John, “que mereçe toda la merced que se le hiziere”, and he was awarded another one-off grant of 200 ducats after La Goleta.¹

After the La Goleta campaign he returned to Naples and was made governor of the town of Aversa, just north of the capital, with an *entretenimiento* of 30 ducats a month, which, after his return to Spain, was commuted into an annual pension of 200 ducats. A further 100 ducats was added in 1583.² It was in Naples that he

¹ “Relación de las personas por quien el Sr Don Juan ha scripto a Su Magd supplicando les haga merced y de otras q han dado memoriales”, AGS E 447, 26.3.1572 - «el Sr Don Juan escribe por Agustín Delgado hijo del secretario delgado, y dize que sirvio en la jornada passada y salio herido de la batalla, supca se le haga mrd de uno de los entretenimientos q han vacado, dize de su mano que mereçe toda la merced que se le hiziere», margin: «Agustín Delgado hijo del So Delgado xij»; “Memoria de los entretenimientos y ventajas que se han señalado cerca del Sr Don Juan desde que passo a Italia, y del sueldo de los oficiales de la Armada”, sf, a list of 179 names includes: «do Agustín Delgado xij», with note in margin: «crecieronse a xv y passaronse a Naps», AGS E 453, sf.; RP to Cardenal de Granvela, lugar teniente in Naples, El Escorial, 9.8.1573, «Por qto tdo consideracion a los servicios de Juan Delgado ntro secretario y a los que ha ydo a continuar Augustin Delgado su hijo cave el Illmo Don Juan de Austria mi muy charo y muy amado hermano y Capt gnal de la Mar, le havemos hecho md como por la presente se la hazemos de 200 ds por una vez para su ayuda de costa, librados en esse Reyno”, AGS Secretarías Provinciales, libro 134, ff.191-191v.

² RP to the Marqués de Mondejar, Viceroy of Naples, Madrid, 13.10.1578, «Por qto teniendo consideracion a lo mucho y bien que Don Augustin Delgado nos ha servido desde el principio de la Guerra de Granada en las Jornadas de Lepanto, Navarino y Tunez, le avemos hecho gracia y merced segun que por la presente se la hazemos de ocho scudos de entretenimiento sobre los veinte de oro en oro de que hasta aqui ha gozado, que en esta forma se presupone que son veintidos, para que de aqui adelante se le paguen treinta escudos del mismo valor que se pagan los demas entretenimientos desse Reyno, sirviendo os cabe vra persona en las cosas que se le ordenare» and ordering «q desde el dia que el dho Don Augustin Delgado se presentare ante vos para servirnos en las cosas que se offresieren y le

married the neapolitan-born Doña Leonor Ferrer y Cardona, the 17-year old daughter of Francisco Ferrer, Virrey de Salerno and Regente of the Vicaria of Naples,³ and of Doña Ysabel de Encenillas (or Oncemillas), also a native of Naples, the daughter of Don Antonio de Encenillas (or Oncemillas) y Cardona, *capitán de caballos* in Naples at the time his cousin, Don Ramón de Cardona had been Viceroy there. The Ferrers were a Valladolid family of proven nobility with connections to the Osorios and to Palencia, and Doña Ysabel was the niece of the Almirante of Naples and second cousin of the dukes of Sesar and Soma.⁴ Francisco Ferrer also had property in Renedo (Valladolid), the village whose lordship Delgado had wanted to buy in 1558. Despite his wife's impeccable background, Don Agustín was able to negotiate a dowry of 10,000 neapolitan ducats (c.8,242 Castilian ducats), a very substantial sum that was indicative of the social and political attraction of Don Agustín as a son-in-law.⁵ The marriage probably took place in 1575, or early 1576, because there was already a daughter born to it by December 1576.

Don Agustín returned to Spain in 1578, and in September took up the office of *Alférez Mayor* of Palencia, bought for him by his father in 1574. As *Alférez Mayor* Don Agustín was the municipal standard bearer and official commander of the city's military contingents. As such he was put in command of the 400 arquebusiers levied by Palencia city and its province to be on hand for service in the campaign in Portugal, an occupation he held for three years from early 1580 to early 1583. When the Court returned to Madrid, he went to work alongside his father in the *Secretaría de Guerra*, and, as we have seen, "fue coadjutor de su padre en los papeles de su ministerio, y en la jornada de Monçon hizo officio de Secretario de la guerra con permission del Rey", as he himself stated.⁶ His father's death left him

ordenaredes se le assienten los dichos treinta escudos de entretenimiento... teniendole en el cumplimto dello por muy encomendado como a persona benemerita, que en ello nos servireys», AGS Secretarías Provinciales, libro 139, f.160-160v; Aranjuez, 6.3.1580, Haze VMgd mrd a Don Agustín Delgado de 200 ds de pension durante su vida y la real voluntad de VMd, o hasta que se le de equivalente recompensa, consignados en el Reino de Napoles, AGS Secretarías Provinciales, libro 139, ff.255-57v.

³ The Gran Corte de la Vicaria was a body "di molta autorità" composed of seven doctors of law, an advocate and the procurator fiscal with both first instance and appellate jurisdiction.

⁴ Regente Francisco Ferrer, born in Valladolid, son of Luis López Ferrer, grandson of Diego de Valladolid Ferrer and Blanca Núñez, had served 44 years as captain, *comisario general*, *gobernador* of Capua, Regente de la Vicaria de Napoles, and Virrey de Salerno, Prueba 1605; another grandson of Diego de Valladolid Ferrer, Diego Ferrer, proved *probanza* of *hidalgo notorio* and *limpieza* in 1533; his daughter, Doña María, married Don Antonio Osorio, whose descendant Don Diego de Herrera Osorio was *cofrade del Hospital de la Esqueva*. A Don Luis Ferrer had been Prior of the Iglesia de Palencia in 1520, Rodríguez Salcedo, "Comunidades Palentinas", p.170.

⁵ 27 of 41 dowries of *regidores* of Madrid were less than that, Guerrero Mayllo, *Familia y vida cotidiana*, p.84. In 1584 the widow of the Licenciado García Núñez de Herrera paid a dowry of 3,000 ducats in gold for the marriage of her daughter to Don Juan de Guevara, son of Captain Don Pedro Vélez de Guevara, *vecino* of Palencia, AHP Palencia: Protocolo 8894, f.2, 401.

⁶ Consejo de Guerra, April 1599, AGS GA 552. As Fernández Conti says, "ejercicio efectivo" rested with Eraso who signed RCs – probably because Don Agustín was not formally a Royal Secretary,

without employment. Empty-handed, he returned to Madrid from Monzón late in October, and in November seems to have offered his services to the Archbishop of Santiago, apparently without success.⁷ In mid 1586 he was back in Palencia, and included by the city in a list of *soldados veteranos* requested by the Council of War as potential recruiters to “hacer y lebanantar la gente”, with the recommendation “es de hedad de treynta y cinco años y buenas partes para qualquier ministerio”.⁸ He returned to Madrid in November for several months on business, or perhaps in pursuit of a placement, but then spent most of the following four or five years in his home city, «mi patria y ciudad»,⁹ taking his place as *alférez mayor* and *regidor* on a reasonably regular basis.

These few years were a lean time for Don Agustín. His earlier services had not seared themselves into the king’s memory.¹⁰ His father's generation had passed from the councils of war and state and he had no patron at Court to promote his interests, and without employment he had severe financial problems. Perhaps he was also concerned to secure the succession to his *mayorazgo*, for it was not until 1589, after fourteen years of marriage which had only produced two surviving daughters, that his heir, Don Agustín jr., was born. It was perhaps in connection with this event that he began to be preoccupied with the nobility of his line and the status of his family, in October 1589 initiating investigations into his ancestry in Palencia and in Cordoba, with a view to authenticating his relationship with the prominent Fernández de Córdoba, Gómez de Herrera and Argote clans.¹¹

In 1590, however, his prospects began to look more promising and had he not blundered away his opportunities the future of the Delgados might have been rather more distinguished. In November 1590, he was one of the nominees put forward by the Council of War to organize a levy of grain to be sent to the Cantabrian ports to make biscuit for the Armada, “por la plática que tiene de

Fernández Conti, *Consejos*, pp.203, 204, n.88. One of the options Mateo Vázquez proposed to reward his late father’s services was to appoint him Secretario Real, Bibl.Zabalburu, Altamira, 142, D 129/1.

⁷ Fernández Conti, *Consejos*, p.204 & n.89, referencing AGS 179, f.83. The connection with the Archbishop of Santiago, if true, is unexplained. The Archbishop Alonso Velázquez (9.3.1583-14.1.1587) was the ex-confessor of Santa Teresa, who was in Palencia in 1581 and 1582. Don Agustín could have come into contact with him then, but the link is tenuous, and the occasion more likely to have been in November 1586 than the previous year.

⁸ AGS GA 188, f.5.

⁹ AGS GA 213, f.244.

¹⁰ Applying for the payment of a *merced*, citing his success in organizing and captaining Palencia’s 400 arquebusiers for Portugal, the Council advised, «Pues VMT mejor que nadie sabe lo q sirvia y se ocupe con la gte de Palencia q estuvo a su cargo y lo q pudo gastar con ella, de la qual el Consejo no tiene ninguna noticia, no puede por esto dexar de remittir a VMT la consideracion de lo q con el se podra hazer en esto q suppca.” To which Philip responded, «En verdad q no la avia savido hasta q lo vi aqui», adding «esto se puede entretener hasta ver en q paran las visitas y no embiar agora esta consulta», 31.8.1583, BL Add 28344, f.232 & f.236.

¹¹ On 26.10.1589 “hizo informacion de su ascendencia en Palencia ante el alcalde myr y Fdo de Castrillo, escrivano del no.”, RAH Salazar y Castro, D 35 f.58v, see p.5 above.

aquello de Palencia donde se a de sacar alguna cantidad”.¹² Philip II did not appoint him. But the next year he was ordered to Santander to muster the *tercio* of Don Agustín Mexía, returned from the disaster of the *Invencible*, and take them to billet in the districts of Burgos and Palencia. It was not a job Don Agustín thought worthy of his qualities and experience, insisting that «abiendo él servido a VMd en cosas de tanta calidad como aber sido gobernador y capitán en Italia y alférez myr de Palenzia y capitán de la gte de su provinzia por nombramto de SMd y administrado el oficio de Sec de la guerra, es incompatible lo q agora se le manda azer», and he complied only with a certain ill grace.¹³ He was engaged with these men and three other companies for three months, mustering, paying and conducting them to join the Army of Aragon in Agreda where, in November 1591, he took the general muster of the army assembled to put down the Aragonese revolt. He was in receipt of a salary, of course, but he claimed it was no more than would have been appropriate for someone in charge of two companies not fifteen, and he had spent three months and “much a parte de su hacienda” on his duties. He petitioned the Council of War for an *ayuda de costa* or for authority as *alférez mayor* to enter the *ayuntamiento* of Palencia wearing a sword. The Council was agreeable, but the king wanted him to pay for the privilege, and the request seems to have been dropped.¹⁴ In March 1592, however, Don Agustín was among seven nominees of the Consejo de la Cámara for the office of *corregidor* of Avila, and on the final short-list of two presented by the *junta secreta* to the king.¹⁵ He did not get the *corregiduría* of Avila, but just under three years later he was appointed *corregidor* of Antequera.¹⁶ Unlike Avila, Antequera was not a Cortes city and not one of the most important *corregimientos*, but it was a largish city with somewhere around 10,000 inhabitants, and it must be considered one of the top 100 posts available in the non-legist administration outside the Court. A successful term of office in Antequera could have led to a succession of further *corregidurías*, a major appointment in the military administration, and continuous and even profitable employment in the royal service. Unfortunately, Don Agustín blew it. He was received into office on 9 April 1595. Within five months he was gone; his last signature in the *ayuntamiento* is dated 29 August 1595.¹⁷ From the start he seems to have treated the posting as an opportunity to make money. Almost his first act was illegal (though not uncommon), selling the offices of *alcalde mayor* and *alguacil*, the former to a Dr de la Rivera, the latter to a certain Morante for 5,000 *reales*. A disagreement then arose

¹² AGS GA 301, consulta CG 4.11.1590.

¹³ Don Agustín Delgado to Consejo de Guerra, AGS GA 301, 1590, sf.

¹⁴ Consejo de Hacienda, 29.1.1592, AGS CJH 202 (ant.292).

¹⁵ IVDJ envío 43, f.280, 9.3.1592.

¹⁶ RP, Madrid 11.12.1594, AHM Antequera, Libro Capitular, no.14, 1593-1600, f.69.

¹⁷ AHM Antequera, Libro Capitular no.14 1593-1600, f.68v, his reception Sunday 9 April 1595; his last signature Tuesday 29 August 1595 (f.106v). The next session at f.107 in the *libro capitular* is Tuesday, 26.9.1595, with the *alcalde mayor*, Dr de la Rivera, presiding.

with Morante about their share of the *décimos*. The *alguacil* denounced Don Agustín to the Council, and he was deprived of his office. Despite the support of the city council, which wrote on his behalf praising the «buen celo e cuidado por quel dicho corregidor a gobernado e gobierna a esta Ciudad» and «lo bien que el dicho corregidor a bibido e vive en esta Ciudad», the Council of Castile fined him 200 ducats and condemned him to perpetual loss of his *corregiduría* and any other office of justice.¹⁸

He was to be without employment for more than two years, and by 1598 he was in some financial straits - “se halla en gran necesidad y tan desacomodado que con gran trabajo podra criar sus hijos conforme a su qualidad.”¹⁹ In 1596 he applied unsuccessfully for the vacant post of *Veedor General de la gente de guerra de Portugal*.²⁰ In the same year he “solicitó y levantó para Llerena la caballería de Castilla la Vieja para la defensa del ynglés” at Cadiz, but it was not until 1598 that he was again employed by the king. In January 1598 he was appointed to be one of the thirteen regional *comisarios* named to coordinate the organisation of a *Milicia General* in the Kingdom of Castile. Don Agustín's area was the Reinos de Granada and Jaén, parts of Andalucía, and the territories of the Order of Calatrava (around Murcia and Ciudad Real). The 1598 militia never became properly effective, and Don Agustín went back to Granada and Jaén in the summer of 1600 to reestablish the militia he had set up in 1598. About the same time he was also made *visitador* of the fleet of Sancho Pardo when it was brought back from Brittany. In 1607, the year of his death, he was again petitioning, this time rather ambitiously, for the *corregiduría* of

¹⁸ AHM Antequera, Libro Capitular no.14 1593-1600, f.108, Tuesday, 26 Sept. 1595: «La ciud. dixo que por que Don Agustín Delgado corregidor della a sido llamado a Corte de Su Magd y en esta Ciud esta un juez Real e por quel dho corregidor a gobernado e gobierna a esta Ciud con buen celo e cuidado y es justo que esta ciudad lo diga e manifieste asi a Su Magd e a los Señores de su rreal consejo y de lo bien que el dho corregor a bibido e vive en esta Ciud, para lo qual acordo que se escriba a el Sr Presidente e a los demas Señores del consejo real en rraçon de lo susodho, y se cometio a los Sres Don Juan de Mancha Velasco, depositario gl, e a Don Diego de Narvaez y Rojas”; f.126, Monday, 2 January 1596: read RP, Madrid 15.12.1595, to Concejo, Justicia y regimiento de la Ciudad de Antequera, «sepades que abiendo los del nuestro consejo procedido contra Don Agustín delgado nuestro Corregidor de esa dha ciudad por que rrescivio del dotor de la rrivera su alcalde mayor quinientos escudos por nonbrarle por tal alcalde myor, por auto de vista le condenaron en privacion perpetua del dho ofo de Corregidor y de otro qualquiera de justicia y en otras penas, y mandaron que el dho dotor de la rrivera sea traydo preso a la carcel de esta nra corte, y por que esa dha ciud no este sin persona que adminystre justicia, nuestra md y boluntad es que el Licenciado Balcacer a quien mandamos use el dho ofio de corregidor en esa dha ciudad le use con los oficiales que tubo el dho Don Agustín delgado entre tanto que por nos se probee juez q les tome residencia. Por ende nos vos mandamos que useys con el dho licdo Valcaçar y los oficiales que deoje el dho Don Agustín delgado los dhos oficios, y les acudais y hagais acudir con el salario y dros a el pertenecientes durante el dho tpo que para le usar y exercer y llebar el dho salo por esta nra carta le damos poder cumplido.»

¹⁹ *Consulta* of Consejo de Guerra, Valencia, April 1599, AGS GA 552.

²⁰ Consejo de Guerra 27.5.1596, AGS GA 466, no.252; Fernández Conti, *Consejos*, p.196 n.44, is incorrect in saying he applied for the post of *Veedor General* of the Galleys of Spain and Italy – it was the filling of that post which created the vacancy in Portugal.

Granada. He did not get it. Instead, he was given a further pension of 200 ducats for two lives, in addition to the 300 ducats a year in Naples granted in 1580, which he had sold off to Lorenzo Espinola a couple of years later «para suplir sus necesidades», having, he claimed, not entirely accurately, received nothing since Lepanto except the right for his son to be able to continue to draw the 200 ducats of his *renta* after his death.²¹ Subsequently, his main activities seem to have been within the *ayuntamiento*, perhaps the most important being his commission to the Chancillería of Valladolid in 1603 to pursue Palencia's objection to its subordination to the city of Toro in regard to the administration of the Millones, recently granted by the Cortes, and to the requirement and the cost of remitting the proceeds to Toro, the city whose "voto en Cortes" gave it jurisdiction over Palencia in such matters. The matter was of significance for the *ayuntamiento* "considerando lo ynportante del negocio ansi por la autoridad desta ciudad como por la limpieza e cuidado con que ella a acudido al servicio de S.Md."²² In 1607, he was aged 56 and complaining of lameness, age and infirmity. In his last days he became blind. He fell ill towards the end of November, and made his will on the 30th.²³ He died five days later, just after noon on Wednesday, 5 December 1607, leaving a wife, two daughters, and a son of 18, still legally a minor.

Like others of his generation, of whom Cervantes is the most notable example, Lepanto was the highpoint which defined his self-image and forged his mentality as a soldier and military man for the rest of his life. In his will, nearly 40 years later, he left 4,000 mrs a year for an annual mass and sermon on the first Sunday of October in the chapel of his *mayorazgo* in the convent of San Pablo in Palencia to commemorate the «miracle» of the victory and to record his thanks to God for enabling him to have participated in the battle.²⁴ The chapel itself was dedicated to Nuestra Señora del Rosario on whose day the momentous event had taken place, and is decorated with the painting of a 16th-century naval engagement of galleys against the Turk. [Plate p.217]. According to Miguel de Viguri it also once housed a portrait of Don John of Austria and of Don Agustín himself.²⁵ His will also instructed that the weapons, arquebuses, pikes, lances, muskets, halberds and pistols in his possession were not to be sold or dispersed, but incorporated into the *mayorazgo*

²¹ Minute petition of Don Agustín, 11.1.1607, AGS GA 672.

²² The *ayuntamiento* on viewing his letter of 29.1.1603 from Valladolid, AMP Actas 1601-11, ff.165v, 170,10.2.1603.

²³ AHP Palencia, no.7722, Registro de Joan Alegre 1607, 30.11.1607.

²⁴ «...para que el primero domingo del mes de octubre de cada año, ques quando se zelebra la fiesta de la batalla nabal, se diga perpetuamente y para siempre xamas en mi capilla de Nra Sra del Rosario... la misa prencipal del dho dia con diacono y subdiacono y aya sermon pegando el pulpito a la dha capilla y el predicador que fuere haga memoria del milagro de quel dia y de la mrd que nuestro Señor me hizo allandome yo en la dha batalla". See Appendix 7.

²⁵ Viguri, *Heráldica palentina*, t.1, p.138. My thanks to Antonio Cabeza for kindly bringing this information to my notice.

along with the royal arms and standard and those of Palencia as items inseparable from his office of *alférez mayor*.

As a soldier and military organiser he had been valorous and not without competence. His work on the establishment of the militia in Granada was most successful. In 1598, he had 8,000 men enlisted, all volunteers, and in 1606 10,000, again all volunteers, who could, he claimed, be assembled within a month.²⁶ Interestingly, he also compiled a descriptive map of the Andalusian coastline and its hinterland from Gibraltar to Cartagena as an aid to its defence and proposed the construction of a causeway between Mojácar and the Isla del Frayle to block corsair attacks on the coast. In a series of petitions to Philip III, culminating in January 1607 as he entered the last year of his life, seeking preferment and recompense «para ayuda de desempeñar gran parte de mi hacienda que en servicio de VMgd tengo gastado», he reviewed his whole career and his services to the Crown stretching back over the previous 38 years, beginning with his participation in the Granadan war, Lepanto, the Navarino campaign, the capture of Tunis, then as governor of Aversa, and as commander of the 400 arquebusiers provided by the province of Palencia for the war in Portugal. Those years of active military service were followed, he said, by five years (in reality - and generously - not much more than two) in the secretariat of war acting in his father's stead. During the events in Aragon in 1590 and 1591 he had in his charge the *tercio* of Don Agustín Mexía and took the general muster of the Army in Agreda to such effect, he claimed, that he had saved the king more than 8,000 ducats a month. After that he recorded nothing until his appointment as *corregidor* of Antequera, «Donde», he insisted with a brazen disingenuity, «en la residencia no tube cargo ni capitulo alguno.» Subsequently he was engaged in Old Castile in 1596 soliciting the *lanzas* the region was to provide for despatch to Llerena for the defence of Cadiz, and two years later in the *visita* of the flotilla of Sancho Pardo on its return from Brittany, before finally being occupied as commissary for the formation of the militia in the kingdom of Granada. All these offices he served, he contended, without any charges against

²⁶ AGS G y M - Servicios (Militares), leg.1: Rn de lo q Don Agustín Delgado dexa hecho en el establecimiento de la general milicia en las ochenta leguas de la costa de Grda, de Xibraltar a Cartagena, y doze de tierra dentro, donde quedan 5,000 soldados hechos de voluntad ezeto 400 forzados, formadas sus compañías y encargadas a personas que las gobierne en el ynter quel consejo ordena otra cosa y exercitados en 52 plazas de armas mas de 40,000 hombres»; Don Agustín to the king, Valladolid 16.3.1602, with “testimonio de lo q estubo a mi cargo en la Costa del Reino de Gda ... el establecer la milicia gl en los Reinos de Gda y Jaen, cdes, villas y lugares maritimas, ansi realengas como de señorío del dho Reino y doze leguas la tierra adentro”. The *alistamiento* ordered for inland in accordance with RC 25.1.1598, «no estando de todo acabado», he was ordered on 17.4.1600 to return to “acabar lo q no lo estaba en aqlls Reinos”. Orders of 24 and 28.5.1600 then extended the establishment of the militia to “lugares marítimos”. Although “los mas dellas estaban entonces enfermas de peste, con riesgo de mi vida y peligro de mi persona di buelta por la myr pte de la costa y distrito”. On the first occasion the militia was established on a voluntary basis, and, returning again to perfect it, “lo dexe del todo asentado y executado el servicio de VMd con tanto gusto de las cdes villas y lugares como parece de los testimonios”, handling the matter «con blandura, suavidad y gusto de todos».

him. For all this his only reward, he insisted, was the 300 ducats *renta* for Lepanto. Since Lepanto the only *merced* he had been given was permission for his son to be able to draw 200 ducats of his *renta* after his death. The Council of War had recommended an *ayuda de costa* of 2,000 ducats which had not been paid.²⁷ The Council had repeatedly expressed its regard for his services and recommended him for some recompense. At the time of his father's retirement, Mateo Vázquez suggested he could be considered for a position as secretary "si el hijo es para seguir la profesion de su padre" and "que seria honrrar y consolar tambien en esto mucho a su padre, y cosa de buen exemplo"; if not, perhaps some *escribanía de rentas*, like the one vacant in Granada, worth nearly 400 ducats a year, or 100,000 mrs *juro por su vida*, at least until he received something equivalent, or a one-off *ayuda de costa* of 1,000 ducats out of unassigned funds.²⁸ The Consejo de Cámara, shortlisting him for the *corregiduría* of Avila in 1592, commented on the "buena residencia" resulting from his governorship of Aversa, and on him personally as someone held to be «honrado y cuerdo».²⁹ "En la leva de la milicia a sido de mucho mas provecho su diligencia que la de otros, y su buena traça y manera parte para que ayan asentado voluntariamente el numero de soldados que dize", reported the Council of War in another *consulta* of April 1599, and recommended a one-off bonus of 2,000 ducats, which in the event never materialised.³⁰ In 1607 he again got support from the Councils of State and War for preferment. However, Philip II had never been greatly inclined to employ him, and after 1580 and 1583, when his Italian *entretenimiento* was consolidated into a life pension, first of 200 ducats, and then of 300 ducats, paid in Naples, he received no *mercedes* from the king. He did rather better under Philip III. His young son was made royal page, and in 1602 he was granted an application for the Habit of Santiago. Don Agustín's pension (the original 300 ducats of which he had sold to Lorenzo Espinola 20 years earlier) was increased by 200 ducats from 1 January 1607, the additional 200 ducats being granted for the life of his son also.

²⁷ Minute of petition of Don Agustín 11.1.1607 asking for it to be paid, "para ayuda de desempeñar gran parte de mi hacienda que en servicio de VMgd tengo gastado, y con ella y mi persona pueda acudir como desseo a servir a VMgd, continuando siempre mis servicios, pues solo soy yo el que no he recibido md por estos servicios, aviendolos echo a VMgd por diferentes caminos a todos los que en este exercicio de la milicia an entendido, y sea VMgd servido de me ocupar en su rreal servicio en cossa de asiento y aventajada, honrando mi persona como los servicios merecen», AGS GA 672.

²⁸ Bibl. Zabalburu, Altamira, 142, D 129, En Monzón, 1.12.1585, "me bolvio su mt este papel: toca a Delgado, y a la provn de la Sec de la guerra".

²⁹ Rn de las personas contenidas en las consultas de los Corregimientos para quales estan propuestas, y las partes de cada uno sumariamente: Don Agustín Delgado "tienese por honrrado y cuerdo, y q su padre sirvio tanto q merece Su Md tenga memoria del - Avila", IVDJ envío 45 (caja 58), f.458.

³⁰ Copy *consulta* Consejo de Guerra, Valencia, April 1599, AGS GA 552, in his last task setting up the militia "dejó alistados 8,000 hombres voluntarios... todo ello a tan gde costa suya... se halla en gran necesidad y tan desacomodado q con gran trabajo podra criar sus hijos conforme a su calidad.»

He also married his two daughters reasonably well. Doña Ana was married to Don Diego Nuño de Valencia, scion of a rich *letrado* family from the oligarchy of Valladolid, a *regidor* of the city, son and heir of an *abogado* of the Chancillería, Don Diego Nuño de Valencia, reputed at his death in 1594 to be worth over 41,000 ducats.³¹ The elder daughter, Doña Ysabel, was married to Don Miguel Manrique de Lara, a son of Don Bernardino Manrique de Lara and Doña Ysabel de Velasco, and younger brother of the 4th Señor de las Amayuelas, Don Bernardino. Don Miguel was a *vecino* of Salamanca, but he had connections in Palencia through Don Alonso Manrique, uncle of the Conde de Osorno, who owned property in the city.³² The Manrique de Lara of Salamanca was a lesser branch of a very distinguished line, reputedly with royal blood, related to the dukes of Nájera and the counts of Paredes and Osorno, as described by Joseph Berni y Catalá, “Esta ilustrissima familia viene de Sangre Real, y tiene muchos méritos y honores en la guerra y política”.³³ Don Agustín married his younger daughter into wealth; he married his elder daughter to a name. It was to prove an unfortunate choice. Within four years Don Miguel was dead, leaving his widow to return to Palencia with two children, both under two-years old, and “la cama en que al presente se está, con sus cortinas de damasco y con la que al presente está”.³⁴

Taken as a whole, however, his career was a failure. He was a less important man than his father; nor did he succeed in advancing the honour of his house. His son was never confirmed in his duties as page to the king and never succeeded in satisfying the Council of the Orders as to the nobility and *limpieza* of his ancestry sufficiently to qualify him for acceptance as Caballero de Santiago, despite the substantial effort, and cost, invested in it, certainly well in excess of 700 ducats.³⁵ The *probanza* involved a number of investigations by assessors of the Council of the Orders in Palencia, Paredes de Nava, Valladolid, Naples and Cordoba over the years 1589 to 1605. The initial judgement in 1602 was, at best, inconclusive: “Decimos nos Don Diego d’Espinosa, Pedro Vaca y Mogrovejo, caballero y religioso de la orden del Sr Santiago, que por orden de VA avemos hecho aberiguacion de Don Augn Delgado Ferrer, pretendiente del habito de la dha orden, hijo de Don Augn Delgado, alfez mayor de la ciudad de Palencia, y de Doña Leonor Ferrer, la qual ba por la linea paterna, que se hiço en la dha ciudad de Palencia, en Villaximena de donde el dho Don Augn es señor, y en Paredes de Nava que ba en quarenta y una hojas escrita y cinco en blanco y con quarenta y nueve testigos, sin otros muchos que recibimos de palabra, no hallamos

³¹ Bennassar, *Valladolid en el Siglo de Oro*, p.134; the *testamento* of Don Diego Nuño de Valencia 14.9.1594, AHP Valladolid, Protocolos 440, p.75, refers to his son, also Don Diego Nuño de Valencia, as *regidor* of Valladolid.

³² Ortega Gato, “Blasones y mayorazgos”, p.64.

³³ Berni y Catalá, *Creación antigüedad y privilegios de los títulos de Castilla*, p.358.

³⁴ Testamento de Don Miguel Manrique, 13.11.1597, AHP Salamanca, Protocolos, Oficio 14, no.260, escribano Pedro Ruano, 1597, no.1, ff.183-86.

³⁵ As Domínguez Ortiz says, the desire for the *hábito* “se convirtió en una obsesión ... que a no pocos costó la fortuna, la salud y aún la vida”, *Sociedad española*, vol.1, p.198.

ninguno que con certeza diga ni en pro ni en contra, por que aunq ay algunos testigos que dicen que los dichos son hijosdalgo no lo afirman con acto alguno positivo ni cosa por donde se pueda comprobar el serlo, ni mas raçon que la opinion en que ellos les quieren tener, y la misma raçon dan los que dicen que son villanos, que es gran parte o la mayor de los testigos, y la que dan para que no sean hidalgos es que en Palencia no ay distincion de estados y que como no ay reconocimiento le tienen en opinion de buena gente labradores, y ay dos testigos que dicen tenerle por judio y esto porque decian algunos 'balga el diablo este judio' y por tener el talle ajudado, y agregando así a los unos y a los otros todos se remitten a su naturaleza que es Cordoba, y así somos de parecer que para aver VA de determinar bien lo que sean no puede ser sin que primero VA mande averiguar en Cordoba su origen, que aunque un testigo para venir a decir y comprobar tenerles por hidalgos, dijo lo tenia por cierto por aver visto una provança que el dho Don Augn hiço ante Jusepe del Castillo, alcalde del Crimen por el Rey nro sr en la real audiencia de la ciudad de Sevilla, el año de noventa y ocho sabbado veynte dias del mes de mayo, la qual esta en ocho ojas con siete testigos, la qual dha provança es de advertir se hiço sin partes y llevando el dho Don Augn los testigos de su mano que podrian ser criados o allegados de manera que dixessen lo que por el dicho Don Augn les seria mandado, de manera que esta dicha provança hallamos no ser de consideracion alguna sino para declaracion de los que ayan de decir en la dicha ciudad de Cordova mandandolo VA que por ella hallaran luz de quienes fueron (según dicen) sus mayores, y otro testigo se remittio a otra provança así mesmo hecha por el dho Don Augn en la ciudad de Palencia ante la justicia de la dha ciudad y los testigos llevados y presentados por el." Clearly nothing more helpful had come to light before, in May 1605, the claim was finally rejected by the Council of the Orders under the chairmanship of Don Juan de Idiáquez, a man well acquainted, though not necessarily favourably, with Juan Delgado in his later years as Secretary of War, concluding that "pareció no concurrir en él (the young Don Agustín Delgado y Ferrer) las calidades para tener el hábito de Santiago, y así se le denegó."³⁶ Characteristically, in pursuing the matter with the Presidente de Ordenes the following year, Don Agustín (in the voice of his sixteen-year old son) attributed the lack of progress to personal and professional animosities, "por donde sospecho que respecto de los officios y cargos que mi padre y aguelos tienen y tubieron, tendrían muchos enemigos, por donde, o siendo testigos o por otro camino hobiese dicho algo al contrario a la verdad de manera que ayan estorbado el despacho de el dicho mi ávito."³⁷

He was also, unfortunately, thin-skinned, litigious, self-important, greedy and corrupt. His career was punctuated by disputes, litigation and querulous complaints against sensed affronts to his status. The selection by the *regidores* of Palencia of nominees to submit to the king for the captaincy of the city's levy for

³⁶ AHN Ordenes Militares, Santiago, Pruebas de Caballeros: Delgado Ferrer, Agustín, Palencia 1605. Caja 489, expediente 2426.

³⁷ AHN, loc. cit.

Portugal in 1580 produced from Don Agustín a service record that included not merely an account of all the actions in which he had taken part, but also the orders, commissions and other formal documentation detailing the pay, bonuses and incomes he had been awarded. When his appointment by the king came through he entered the *ayuntamiento* wearing his sword and the other *regidores* in protest were only prevented from walking out by the *Teniente Corregidor* threatening them with a fine of 1,000 ducats.³⁸ The troops were disbanded without seeing action, but when a few months later another levy was ordered he insisted that his original appointment should stand and that it was to his personal detriment that the city be permitted to begin the selection process anew, “y VMd jamas acostumbra quitar el offo a quien le a dado no obiendo hecho lo que no debe». Indeed, he went further, claiming that it was not the business of the *regidores* to appoint any of the military officers, but that he, as perpetual *Alférez Mayor* of Palencia and its province, holding the king’s commission to have charge of the standard, banners and drums of the city and its province, was invested with that duty whenever the city was to raise soldiers - “aya de ser yo y sea alférez mayor de la tal jente” with the right to “nombrar persona que baya por alférez de la dicha jente con tal que la persona que yo nombrare se aya de presentar ante el ayuntamiento de la dicha Ciudad para que sea qual conbiene”. A few years later his pretensions went even higher and wider, petitioning the king that, because of his services and «la plática que tengo en lo de la guerra», he should be put in charge of all the levies raised by the cities of Castile as *Capitán General de Milicias*, arrogating to himself in his will the title *Capitán General de la Milicia*.³⁹ His rancour towards his colleagues in the *ayuntamiento*, who were clearly unwilling to accord him the honour and respect he regarded as his due, as well as manifesting a stark divergence of interests between the city and the *señores* of its *tierra*, and his view of himself as *Alférez Mayor* as having a responsibility for the entirety of the province, not just the city, was voiced in a paper he sent to the king in 1587 «sobre los ynconvenientes que abra haziéndose en aquella provincia la gente forzada en esta ocasion». The problem, as he saw it, was that the city of Palencia, with jurisdiction outside the core of the city over no more than one small village of 20 *vecinos*, had no interest in an equitable distribution of conscription as between city and province, as was shown in 1580 when only 27 of the 400 soldiers required were allocated to the city. As *alférez mayor* of the province of Palencia he had a wider duty than that to the city alone: “estoy

³⁸ AM Palencia, Inventario 1758, leg.33, f.82 31.5.1580, f.88 1.7.1580.

³⁹ Petition of Don Agustín Delgado, *alférez mayor perpetuo* of the city of Palencia and its province: «atento lo qual suplico a VMd que abiendo la ciudad de Palencia y su probincia o la ciudad sola de hacer y guiar jente de guerra no se nombre otro capitan q lo aga mas de lo que esta ya nonbrado, pues lo soy yo por dos beces, ni se de comision a la ciudad que tal nombramto haga pues es en mi perjuicio, y VMd jamas acostumbra quitar el offo a quien le a dado no obiendo hecho lo que no debe», as I have not in 20 years service as a soldier, *alférez*, captain and *gobernador* in Italy and in Spain, and afterwards in even more important services «como en el consejo de guerra y otros», sf AGS GA 213, ff.244,245.

obligado a adbertirlo por ella y a la ciudad se podrá mandar que por si y su juridicion sola ofrezca la jente con que boluntariamte pudiese serbir”, the rest having to serve “forçados y aprimiados.”⁴⁰

When he died in December 1607 he had issues outstanding from a number of *pleitos*: one with the Canon Andrés de la Rua over the disputed inheritance of a *vínculo* left by a María Delgado; another with a hose-maker over some mules he hired for his journey to Antequera; yet another with a carpenter who claimed Don Agustín owed him money and had insulted him;⁴¹ and one, only recently resolved, with his son-in-law, Don Diego Nuño de Valencia, over his daughter Ana’s dowry.⁴²

Neither were his relations with his vassals without their difficulties. He was challenged by the *concejo* of Las Grañeras over his alleged abuses of authority, the improper appointment of officials contrary to custom and practice, and the enforcement of unjustified and excessive payments and services. Don Agustín’s response to these charges was typically forthright and unbending, retorting that as lord of Las Grañeras «e de todos sus terminos e de todo lo en ellos yncluso e de las casas e de todo lo demas anejo e perteneciente... e las partes contrarias eran sus basallos solariegos lo qual y la jurisdicion civil e criminal, alta, vaja, mero, misto ynperio della le pertenecia por justos y derechos títulos». The disagreement went on for over ten years before a settlement, endorsed by the Chancillería, was finally reached, «por nos quitar de pleitos e diferencias e de las costas e gastos que en el dicho pleito y pleitos se podrían causar e porque la Justicia de los dichos pleitos es deudosa», by the terms of which Don Agustín effectively conceded that the matters at issue should proceed «como hasta aqui lo he hecho e mis antecessores lo ycieron». [Appendix 12] Similarly he had continuing problems with the *concejo* and *vecinos* of Villajimena, admitting in his last will and testament of 30.11.1607 “que yo e tenido muchas quantas dares y tomares con el concexo y veçinos particulares de... Villajimena”. He claimed they owed him money, but he also admitted to exchanges of land with the *concejo* and with individuals which may not have been entirely equitable, in addition to a long-running lawsuit sobre “el derecho de yantar” which he wanted settled at his death, «pues no es justo le aya (pleito) entre señor y vasallos».⁴³

⁴⁰ AGS GA 213, f.245.

⁴¹ The case went against Don Agustín “en el ql me condenó en mucha cantidad de dineros”. He took it to appeal threatening that unless the other party accepted the terms of the settlement he proposed, “mando se siga en Valld y cobre por todo rigor de dro” – a response very characteristic of Don Agustín. See Appendix 7.

⁴² Testamento, AHP Palencia, no.7722, 30.11.1607.

⁴³ Escritura de concordia entre el Sr Dn Agustín Delgado, hixo de Juan Delgado, y la Villa de Villa Gimena sobre el nombramto de alcaldes y oficiales cada un año en la dha villa y mas 500 mrs que se le dan perpetuo cada un año por ebitar los gastos que los Alcaldes maiores hacian quando hiban a bisitar la Villa y a tomar residencia, paso ante Franzco Martin, escro, en 9 de Mayo de 1582, Archivo de la Catedral de Palencia, armario 7, leg.2, no.14, f.11v; and AHP Palencia no.7722.

When he made his will, he also had on his conscience a number of failings of financial probity which he wanted to rectify: his conduct in Antequera; some 4,000 *reales* in bribes he had taken from a number of individuals and *concejos* while he was organizing the militia in the Kingdom of Granada;⁴⁴ monies he owed to ex-servants;⁴⁵ and some rather dubious dealings he had had with the crooked Treasurer General, Juan Pascual, which resulted in his having in his possession various precious items which did not belong to him.⁴⁶ He also left provision for an illegitimate daughter, conceived by a widow of Palencia, «que aunque pobre, muy honrada», for which he begged the forgiveness of his wife and children.⁴⁷

Don Agustín was, in a way, the victim both of his own character and of his birthright. Had he been a younger son and not the heir to a substantial *mayorazgo*, he might have been compelled to continue a promising military career which could have led to high office, wealth and fame; had he been more suited, or come at a moment when patronage considerations were more favourable, he might have been more acceptable in the secretariat of war; had he been less avaricious, he might not have wasted the chance of a successful career in Castile that came his way in the 1590s. In short, he was a less able, a less amenable, and a less honest man than his father, whom he admired, with some incongruity, “como persona de tan gran conciencia” and moderation, who was even unwilling as Señor of Villajimena

⁴⁴ *Concejos* of Granada: Segundo Cobdicio, Palencia, 1.12.1607, «que por qto el tiene hordenado en el dho memorial por una clausula y partido del que en lugar de ciertas cosas y regalos que rescibio de algunos concexos y personas particulares del Reyno de Granada quando estubo en ellas y que no tenia memoria de quien lo abia recevido, se gastasen myll reales en dorar la rexa de su capilla» in San Pablo, Palencia.

⁴⁵ At the time of the marriage to Da Leonor, “traxe en su servicio a una criada de Napoles concertada en seis honzas del dinero de Napoles or 240 reales castellanos”; she was a very short time in *casa* because she went to Valladolid, and during the time she was in service she was given in clothes and other things half of the money, but was owed the rest. She is now certainly dead, and the 120 *reales* owed her is to be used for masses for her soul. “Estoy en duda si en una testamentaria que me fue encomendada por Geronimo Velazquez, criado de mi padre, de donde recevi una sortixa y ciertas niñerías y no me acuerdo bien si cumpli con lo que hera obligado”, so wants 100 *reales* of masses for his soul.

⁴⁶ “Teniendo yo algunos dares y tomares” over some *ayudas de costa* that the king gave me, «me concerté con Juan Pasqual del Consexo de hacienda para que me diese ciertas joyas y preseas en quenta dello y en confirmacion de lo susdho le entregue las zedulas y a mi se me entregaron un reloj de oro guarnecido de diamantes y rubies y una venera con el abito de Santiago y una cadenilla de oro esmaltada de negro, lo qual esta en mi poder.» Wants these things given to the Prior de San Pablo, Palencia, “para que las entregue a quien las hubiere de aver de forma que mi buena muger y herederos queden libres y mi conciencia descargada.»

⁴⁷ «Declaro en descargo de mi conciencia que yo tube en esta ciudad trato con una muger biuda, que aunque pobre muy honrada, la qual por mis pecados se hizo preñada, y e deseado que una hixa que pario se acomode». Wants 400 ducats to be given to the girl «con que desde luego se pueda remediar en algun monasterio desta dha Ciudad o de su comarca y contorno entrando por monxa...y que por ser tan honrada la muger y tan pobre» wants her to get 600 *reales*. Doña Leonor, Don Agustín and Doña Ysavel Delgado, mis hijos, know who she is. He begs their pardon and asks them «las remedien» as soon as possible without revealing their names. Don Agustín jr. later paid 2,566 mrs to a Doña Luisa Ponce de León, monja de la Piedad, Palencia.

to exercise his right to the 500 mrs a year “por yantar” (“mi padre no gusto de que se llebasen”), and whose example in the king’s service it was his desire to emulate and «acabar la vida como mi padre hizo haciéndolo.»⁴⁸

The relationship between father and son was close. Juan Delgado was known to be dedicated to the advancement of his son.⁴⁹ He bought him the *alferazgo mayor* of Palencia, and set up a *mayorazgo* in his name. He also had a particular affection for Doña Leonor, his daughter-in-law, leaving her in the event of widowhood a pension from the revenues of the *mayorazgo* he had established for his son.⁵⁰ Don Agustín repaid his father only on his deathbed with his belated recognition of his own failings and with his efforts to compensate for them, declaring with echoes of his father, despite the numerous issues he had had with them, “no es justo le aya [pleito] entre señor y vasallos.”

2. DON AGUSTÍN DELGADO JR.

If Juan Delgado had a prominent career as secretary, and Don Agustín sr., a rather more chequered career in royal service, Don Agustín jr. had no career at all. As far as can be seen, Juan Delgado’s grandson had no public life worthy of record. He was 18 when his father died and was placed in the guardianship of his mother. Almost immediately he was taken off to Madrid to press the case for his Knighthood, again unsuccessfully as it turned out. In February 1609, he was betrothed in Madrid to Doña Savina de Soto y Acuña, the daughter of the late Dr Pablos and Doña María de Soto y Acuña of Valladolid. His wife brought him a substantial dowry of 81,364 *reales*, only a little less than his mother’s 90,662 *reales*, and he gave her an *arras* of 3,000 ducats, a considerably higher proportion than his father had given his mother, or than his grandfather had given Doña Mencía in 1559, or than was the norm amongst other comparable families at that time.⁵¹ He was formally received as *Alférez Mayor* and *regidor* on 21 February 1608, taking his father’s seat immediately on the *corregidor*’s right hand, and swearing «que bién y fielmente husará de aquí adelante el dicho oficio... guardando en todo el servicio de dios nuestro Señor y el de Su magestat y el vién común de la rrepública desta ciudad y el estatuto del vino y la sentencia de los ganados questa ciudad tiene y los secretos

⁴⁸ Testamento 30.11.1607, AHP Palencia no.7722.

⁴⁹ Anon. from Lisbon (prob. either Dr Francisco Villafañe, or Don Alonso de Bazán) to Delgado, 9.10.1583, pleased HM has given Don Agustín permission to begin service, “Ha sido muy acertado que comience a trabajar y descargar a vm, pues no tiene más de ese hijo y ha trabajado para él, y así se podrá vivir con descanso”, AGS GA 148, f.37.

⁵⁰ See codicil to terms of *mayorazgo*, Madrid 5.8.1578: if Doña Leonor, widowed, “a la qual el tiene muy particular afición por el valor de su persona” she is to have for life 40 cargas pan de renta de los frutos del dho myzgo (½ trigo. ½ cebada), as long as she does not remarry and maintains her “bivienda y morada en la casa que él dexa para el dho mayorazgo” in Palencia, or in any of the houses in the villages of the *mayorazgo* that she chooses, AHP Madrid, Protocolos, Cristobal de Riaño 1578, no.178.

⁵¹ Guerrero Mayllo, *Familia y vida cotidiana*, pp.84-5.

del ayuntamiento». The offices of *fiel ejecutor* and of *escrivano del número antiguo*, which were also handed down by his father, were immediately renounced, perhaps for a price. After 10.3.1608, when he is listed below Hernando de Loyola in second place in the left hand of two columns, I can see no other appearances until 11.10.1609, after his return from Madrid, when he is listed in first place over a deleted Hernando de Loyola, and nominated as *comisario* together with Matía Vaca de Sobremonte.⁵² He came of age on 26 November 1614, at the age of 25, and took control of his *mayorazgo* and offices.⁵³ After his return from Madrid in October 1609 he seems to have spent practically all his life in Palencia. He served fairly regularly in the *ayuntamiento* (present 23 times between 5 January and 30 May 1644, for example), and carried out a number of occasional commissions for the city,⁵⁴ until late in his life when his absences became increasingly frequent. In 1657 he made no appearance at all in the *ayuntamiento* between 17 April and his last attendance on 22 December, when he was finally incapable of carrying out any further duties.⁵⁵ Housebound for the last few months of his life, failing in sight, and finally so grievously sick he was unable to sign his will, he died in Palencia on 8 April 1658, aged 68.⁵⁶

Beyond that, we have no information at all on Don Agustín jr. other than what can be gleaned from a small number of property transactions and formal legal papers, and potentially from the minutes of sessions of the *ayuntamiento*, which so far have not revealed any single purposive intervention by him. Apart from his will and the post-mortem inventory of his goods, we do not have any personal papers, not even any petitions for office or payments which so often provide important biographical and autobiographical detail. Don Agustín jr. seems almost totally anonymous. Perhaps this present writer has not done him justice, but we can see

⁵² AMP Actas 1609, f.582.

⁵³ *Ynforme* that Don Agustín Delgado, hijo, succeeded to *vinculo y mayorazgo* of his father, notarised Madrid 26.11.1614: AGS Contaduría de Mercedes, leg.121, f.2.

⁵⁴ 15.4.1626 copies made of RCs to Palencia 8.6.1598 and 15.7.1598 on establishing of Militia «para entregar como entrego la ciudad las dhas cédulas reales a Don Agustín Delgado, rexidor desta Ciudad para yr a la villa de Madrid», AMP, Libros Antiguos de Contabilidad no.463. On 15.9.1627 Don Agustín was appointed to go to Segovia “a recevir y aprovar las fianças q a de dar Fco Vzqz obligado al servicio de la carniceria de Palencia para su seguridad y de los 8,000 ducats q para el se le prestan en reditos y demas cosas q tiene oblign a pagar como remate”, AMP Actas 1627, f.118v 15.9.1627.

⁵⁵ Actas 1651-59: in 1657 Don Agustín was in the *ayuntamiento* on 8 and 15 Jan., 17 Feb., 20 Mar., 13 and 17 Apr., but not again until 22 Dec., and not thereafter.

⁵⁶ AMP Actas 1651-59, f.76v, 5.11.1657, Don Gregorio de Cisneros said “como no podia acudir a la asistencia del pagadero por su corta vista y no poder ber ni ajustar las qtas, q la Cd se sirbiese de averlo por escusado” – the *regidores* agreed, «y rrespecto de que con eso benia a tocar al Señor Don Agustín Delgado y no podia acudir por estar falto de bista y no salir de su cassa y que la Ciud tenia acordado que ningun Cavº Regidor pudiese hacer la dha asistencia por sustituto y tocaba al Sr Don Ygnacio Sanchez y que Juan Alvarez dEstrada es[criba]no diese a entender de lo susodho al dho Don Agustín Delgado, y que por las dhas causas quedaba nonbrado el dho Sr Don Ygnacio Sanchez asi se acordo.» There is no mention in the *ayuntamiento* of his death on 8.4.1658 until 24.5.1658.

no achievements. His patrimony declines, he leaves no progeny. Married at the age of nineteen, and with his wife surviving him, he had no children of whom there is any record, and upon his death the *mayorazgo* established by Juan Delgado passed to Don Agustín's nephew, Don Luis Manrique de Lara, *vecino* of Tordesillas, the 64 year-old son of his elder sister, Doña Ysabel, and her late husband, Miguel Manrique de Lara of Salamanca.

Don Luis belonged to a junior line of the Manrique de Lara. He was, therefore, distantly related to the dukes of Nájera and the condes de Paredes, and uncle of the 1st Conde de Las Amayuelas. Don Luis reunited two Delgado lines by marrying Doña Damiana Delgado de Mata, the daughter of Don Juan Delgado de Mata, *vecino* and *regidor* of Tordesillas, the first or second cousin of Don Agustín sr., and Doña Casilda Vázquez de Ledesma. Don Luis claimed both his late parents and he himself «fueron y es cavallero hijo dalgo notorio christiano biejo limpio de toda mala raça de moros judios e penitenciados por el Santo Officio de la Ynquisicion». He died about 1664, again leaving no male heir, and his elder daughter, Doña Ysabel Manrique de Lara, took the *mayorazgo* to her husband, Don Jorge Venegas de Córdoba y de la Cueva, 6th Señor of La Harina y Mirabuenos, Knight of Calatrava, *vecino* and *alcalde mayor* of Cordoba. Don Jorge Venegas was succeeded by his second son, Don Gaspar de Venegas de Córdoba, *capitán de caballos* in the Ejército de Cataluña, who married Doña Bárbara de Sucre y Pardo, daughter of the Baron de Preux, Sargento General de Batalla of the royal forces, the brother of Don Francisco Zúcaro, Maestre de Campo General del Ejército de Cataluña, and then successively by Don Francisco Venegas de Córdoba y Delgado, and Doña Ysabel Venegas de Córdoba y Delgado, the wife of Don Lope de Hoces y Córdoba, III Conde de Hornachuelos.⁵⁷ With Doña Ysabel Venegas's death in 1734, the *mayorazgo* passed into the hands of her daughter, Doña María del Rosario Hoces Venegas Manrique de Lara y Delgado, condesa de Hornachuelos, marquesa de Santa Ella y de Santa Cruz de Paniagua, and then down to successive condes de Hornachuelos,⁵⁸ a title ultimately raised to a dukedom in 1868, in favour of the 1st duque de Hornachuelos, Don José Ramón de Hoces y González de Canales.

⁵⁷ Ortega Gato, "Nobiliario del partido judicial de Astudillo", *PITTM* no.18, 1958, pp.207-9; the Venegas had a house in the Calle de San Juan (now Valentín Calderón, no.7, with the *escudo* of the Venegas).

⁵⁸ AHN Consejos 11,525, doc. of 7.6.1728.

CHAPTER III

THE WEALTH OF THE DELGADOS

Evidence for the economic history of the Delgados is, of course, far from complete. We have a few key documents: the pre-nuptial inventory of Juan Delgado in 1559; the marital property statement and the *mayorazgo* foundation in 1577, and the additions to it between 1580 and 1583; the will and codicils of his son, Don Agustín, in 1607; a contract for the administration of Don Agustín jr.'s income in 1658, and his *post-mortem* inventory of the same year, which enable us to determine the overall state of their fortunes at successive moments in the family's history. With the help of a number of intervening documents, both of a fiscal and notarial origin, we can also follow something of the development from one moment to another.

About the earliest circumstances of the Delgados we know little more than can be gleaned from the *Prueba* of 1602, and by no means all the evidence of that *Prueba* can be relied upon. If the witnesses are to be believed, Francisco Fernández came to Palencia a poor man, lacking all the observable material indications of a nobleman. Yet in a short time he had contracted marriage with the daughter of a respected local *hidalgo*. Whether or not he made any money out of the episcopal *audiencia* we do not know. In a «cuaderno de repartimiento de alcabalas», compiled on 21.4.1533, not long before he died, he was listed as «Francisco Hernández, escrivano del obispo», living in the parish of San Antolín, in a house in the Calle de San Marcos belonging to Don Diego Osorio, and assessed for a contribution of 6 *reales* – in the top 15% of contributors. A subsequent *padrón*, drawn up later in the same year, describes him as «escrivano rico» deceased, his heirs unknown.¹ But he had also been assessed at a property in the Cerrajería Vieja, near the Puerta de Burgos, at 1.500 mrs on account of the «hacienda que vende» as mayordomo for Don Diego Osorio.² The assertion by one of the witnesses in 1602 that when he died his body had to be smuggled out of his house in a sack to avoid its seizure by his creditors (which would be incompatible with *hidalguía*), though not necessarily negating the other information we have, does, therefore, need to be put into context. There is, however, no evidence anywhere that he left anything of substance to his son, and Juan Delgado, from a vantage point in the 1550s, looked

¹ AGS Expedientes de Hacienda, leg.139.

² AMP, Inventario de 1758, leg.22.

back on his current success as one who had started as nothing more than a “pobre hidalgo”.

By that time Juan Delgado had a personal fortune, net of debt, of nearly 10,000 ducats. Our first concrete information dates from the end of 1558 when he was capable of offering 1,093,223 mrs (2,915 ducats) to buy the village of Renedo (del Cerrato) with its 19.5 *vecinos* and its *alcabalas* and *tercias*. He was even described as Señor de Renedo at that time,³ but the agreement was cancelled by the Crown the following year.⁴ One of the witnesses in the 1602 enquiry claimed he also wanted to buy the village of Villalobón, but was overbid by the *concejo*.⁵ A much fuller account is to be found in an inventory of September 1559 listing his assets on the eve of his second marriage to Doña Mencía de la Vega. As the purpose of the exercise was to establish how much he was bringing into the marriage in order to determine what each party's share of the *bienes gananciales* acquired during the marriage should be, there is every reason to expect it to be as complete and accurate as possible. It is also of particular importance because the assets and items listed are individually valued, which is by no means commonly the case. Delgado's appraised assets amounted to 3,438,7052 mrs (9,170 ducats), plus real property in and around Palencia, which, from other sources, can be valued at between 800,000 and 900,000 mrs (between 2,100 and 2,400 ducats) bringing his total gross assets to about 11,500 ducats. Though not a spectacular fortune, neither was it inconsequential. As a senior clerk in the war office, after some 28 years at a junior level in the king's service, Delgado had risen to an economic position which must have put him in the top rank of Palencian society, or that of any comparable provincial city.⁶ He had not, however, accumulated 11,500 ducats out of the profits of office alone. Delgado married into money - some said, unkindly, for money. Doña Ysabel was the granddaughter of a wealthy merchant, Juan de Ribas, whose business was assessed for its contribution to the city's *alcabala* levy at as much as 55 *reales*, in the top ½ percent of Palencia's householders. Her father, Bartolomé de Salinas's assessment of 15 *reales* in 1533 was also far from negligible, 2.5 times that of Francisco Fernández, Juan Delgado's father. Over half (52%) of Delgado's fortune in 1559 derived from what he had inherited from his late, first wife: the “casa principal” in the Calle de Nuestra Señora, worth c.266,500 mrs; 32 *arranzadas* of vines with a capital value of c.112,000, renting for slightly more than 8,000 a year; and 50-60 *obradas* of grain lands around Palencia worth perhaps 320,000 mrs, with c.88,000

³ AHP Valladolid, Protocolos 237 (Fco Fanega), f.409, 21.11.1558.

⁴ AGS DGT Inventario 24, leg.281, f.204.

⁵ Luys de Veamud in 1602.

⁶ Bennassar, *Valladolid*, pp.134-5; Andrés Díaz de Arguijo, *vecino* of Palencia, certified in 25.4.1574 “de como soy abonado en mas cantidad de 4,000 ducats de bienes rayzes, e persona de calidad”, AGS Cámara de Castilla, Oficios leg.24.

mrs of grain in store,⁷ about 2,100 ducats in all. At least 60% of the 1,500 ducats of his *bienes muebles* was also left him by her, including 88% of the silverware. In addition, Doña Ysabel's properties would have brought him an annual income of 96,205 mrs (256.5 ducats) from the start of the marriage, so the capital and income combined that he acquired with his marriage must have accounted for around 6,000 ducats of the 11,500 ducats *hacienda* he possessed in 1559. Against the remaining 5,500 ducats have to be set debts of 675,000 mrs (1,800 ducats) which Delgado claimed he owed at the time of his second marriage. He also had his own personal income from investments in *juros*, *censos* and property, which brought him in 738 ducats a year in 1559. As *paje*, *criado* and *oficial* of a royal secretary, he would have received nothing more than what his master chose to allow him, but in 1549 he was awarded a grant from the king of 20,000 mrs a year on the *penas de cámara* of Palencia, “tenyendo consideración a lo que sirve”,⁸ and from 1553 he was drawing a salary of 60,000 a year as *contador de la razón del Artillería*. In February 1557 he shared a one-off *ayuda de costa* of 200 ducats with Hernando Delgadillo, “por lo que han servido y sirven en los despachos que se mandan hazer en el nuestro Consejo de la Guerra”. Those regular payments from his office (80,000 mrs a year, 213 ducats) brought his total income in 1559 to something like 950 ducats a year. On the assumption that he started with nothing, and ignoring his everyday expenditures, it looks as if only 1,750 ducats or so of what he possessed in 1559, cumulated between 1549 and 1559, that is less than a half of the 3,700 ducats of his independent personal wealth (i.e. excluding his wife's input), can have derived from the official payments directly related to his 28 years in the administration. The rewards of a modest office, if not negligible, were nonetheless modest, and not to be compared with the returns of a good marriage.

Delgado's assets in 1559 fell into three broad categories: *bienes muebles*, real property, and rents.

Bienes muebles (personal belongings, furnishings and household goods, including silverware, two slaves, a mule, and cash in hand) made up 15.6% of the total, some 565,000 mrs, a touch over 1,500 ducats. *Bienes muebles*, as for the most part *bienes libres*, not entailed and therefore readily exchanged, tend to be the category of property whose development we know least about. The 1559 list is the only appraised inventory of Delgado *bienes muebles* that we have. All we know is that in the eighteen years of his second marriage, Delgado disposed of 36,500 mrs of *bienes muebles* and added 472,238 mrs. At the end of the marriage in 1577, his *bienes muebles* must therefore have been valued at about 1,000,000 mrs. Unfortunately we do not know the exact composition of those *bienes*, but at 15.8% of his probable gross assets at the time they seem to have remained a more substantial proportion of his total

⁷ 79 *cargas* of barley (valued at 45,000 mrs), 40 *cargas* of wheat (40,000 mrs), 6 *cargas* rye (3,000 mrs) - the fields were still in the Villajimena *mayorazgo* in 1752.

⁸ Relación de consultas de Cámara, AHN Consejos leg.4407 [1575], no.35 (583).

wealth than was the case with his social equals in Madrid, for example.⁹ See Appendix 3.

Real property: the total value of the real property Delgado owned in land and houses in 1559 amounted to c.1,050,000 mrs, or 24.3% of his entire *hacienda*, somewhat less than the norm among the *regidores* of Madrid.¹⁰ All but 200 of that 2,800 ducats he owed to his wife from the Ribas legacy. They consisted of the “casa principal” in the Calle de Nuestra Señora (now San Bernardo) in Palencia, which, together with the smaller house next to it, which had cost 41,000 mrs, though not valued in the 1559 document, was being rented out (sold “a censo”) in 1577, for 10,250 mrs per annum at 30 times per 1,000 (30 *mil al millar*). It must therefore have been worth about 710 ducats (266,500 mrs exactly). Doña Ysabel and Juan de Ribas also left him 32 *arranzadas* of vines in the *término* of Palencia. In 1577 the vines were rented *a censo* for something over 8,000 mrs at 14, and were, therefore, worth about 300 ducats. The 77½ “*obradas de heredad de pan llevar*” were probably worth c.1,200 ducats.¹¹ To the properties left him by his wife, Delgado added a small plot of about 22 *obradas*, also in the *término* of Palencia, bought from the Cofradía de San Antón for 20,000 mrs, and a threshing yard of some 3 *cuartas* situated at the Puerta de Mercado, bought in February 1558 from Juan de Cuenca for 10,000 mrs.

The great bulk of his own expenditure on real property was invested not in land, but in houses. He extended the “casa principal” in the Calle de Nuestra Señora by adding to it the smaller house by its side, for which he paid the 41,000 mrs to a Juan Ramos. He then began work on a new house which was still under construction in 1559 and was valued at that stage at 75,000 mrs. Interestingly, though he was not resident in Palencia in 1559, and probably had not been for some years, all his purchases of land and houses were in the city and nearby. He seems to have owned no property anywhere else, and was presumably living at the Court in Valladolid in rented accommodation, as he was to be later in Madrid. More than anything else, his concern seems to have been to establish his social position in his home town by a number of (relatively costly) investments in status rather than income. The purchase of land and houses in and around Palencia remained a constant element in Delgado's investment policies over the next 25 years. Between 1559 and 1577 he bought a new and grander house for his main residence from the *regidor*, Antonio de Filea, for 262,000 mrs, and another house and the “huerta del Alcubilla” for 214,000 mrs.

Together with two other “casas principales” and a third, smaller house, it formed a complex fronting the Calle de Don Pedro and backing onto the Calle de

⁹ Guerrero Mayllo, *Familia y vida cotidiana*, p.236, only 2 out of 11 cases in Madrid exceeded that percentage.

¹⁰ c.40%, Guerrero Mayllo, *Familia y vida cotidiana*, p.236.

¹¹ Land is difficult to value without knowing its quality; 54 *obradas de tierras de secano* in Osorno 1574-99 were sold at an average price of 5,676.74 mrs, giving for 77.5, 439,947 mrs, Marcos Martín, *Economía, Sociedad, Pobreza*, vol.1, p.153.

Santa Fe, which had originally been made up of eleven small houses belonging to the Conde de Buendía knocked together into “una grande principal” by Doña Blanca Enríquez, the widow of the Comendador Mayor Hernando de Vega, who had died in 1526, the father of Delgado’s patron, Juan de Vega, and her daughter, the Condesa de Buendía, who were living there in 1533.¹² In 1545 the Conde had sold the four houses to Antonio de Filea, *camarero* of the bishop of Palencia, for 900 ducats,¹³ 200 ducats more than Delgado paid Filea’s son 30 or so years later (though Filea owed the Conde 220 ducats which may have been included in the price). The Buendía house superseded the Rivas’s house in the Calle de Nuestra Señora as the Delgado family home, and the Delgados maintained their household in the Calle de Don Pedro until the death of Don Agustín jr. in 1658. The Calle de Don Pedro (now Valentín Calderón) was very much up-market and it was a move that made publicly visible Juan Delgado’s rise in wealth and status.¹⁴

Rents: the 6,200 ducats invested in *juros* and *censos* made up 53.9% of Delgado’s assets in 1559 and brought him 70% of his income, the remainder coming from his 60,000 mrs salary as Contador del Artillería, and a royal *merced* of 20,000 a year for five years.¹⁵ The great bulk of this investment was in *juros*. Two relatively small *censos*, one of 2,500 mrs against Juan de Cuenca of Palencia and the other of 8,000 odd mrs a year against the *concejo* of Renedo (Renedillo) represented a capital investment of 152,325 mrs (406 ducats). On the other hand, his two *juros*, one on the *alcabalas* of Palencia for 200 ducats at 14, which was left him by his first wife, and one for 300 ducats on the *alcabalas* of Alcaraz at 10, were together worth 2,175,000 (5,800 ducats).

This large investment, 50% of his total estate, perhaps reflected a confidence in *juros* not yet eroded in 1559 by the overcommitment of royal revenues. Over the next quarter-century, however, Delgado was to shift his money out of fixed-interest loans in favour of inflation-proof investments in taxes and tithes. By 1577 he had sold both the *juros*, one to Juan Fernández de Espinosa, the other to the Licenciado Guedeja, and 238,000 mrs of *censos*, including the one against the *concejo* of Renedo. It is true he also bought two new *juros*, but he bought both at well below their nominal rates, one of 50,000 on the *puertos secos*, nominally at 20, possibly procured with his wife’s dowry, for 450,000 mrs, the other for 25,000 mrs on the

¹² AGS Expedientes de Hacienda, leg.139.

¹³ AHP Valladolid, Protocolos, 88, f.502v, Domingo de Santa Maria 5.3.1545.

¹⁴ In 1557, apart from Filea, the *camarero* of the bishop, other residents in the Calle Don Pedro included the Señora Doña Blanca, Doña Leonor (de Vega), Doña Ysabel de Barrada, the Licenciados Heredia and Vallejo, and Leonor de Estrada y Vasurto with whom Delgado may have been related by marriage. In the Calle de Nuestra Señora, together with Juan de Ribas there was a *cardador*, a *mercader*, a *tendero*, and the Licenciado Portugués.

¹⁵ Very much the same as the 50.3% for the *regidores* of Madrid, Guerrero Mayllo, *Familia y vida cotidiana*, p.236.

alcabalas of Jaén, bought from the *regidor* of Avila, Francisco Guillamas, for 375,000.¹⁶ More to the point, he did not keep them, but employed them to endow other non-productive obligations, in the one case the testamentary bequests of his wife Doña Mencía, in the other the foundation of the *capilla* of his *mayorazgo* in the Convent of San Pablo. After settling Doña Mencía's estate in 1577, Delgado held only 8% of his assets in *juros* (2,000 ducats), and he had no recorded *censos*. Between 1578 and 1583 he alienated a further 43,000 of the remaining 50,000 mrs he had left on the *alcabalas* of Jaén to the convent of San Pablo in return for services in his chapel and for houses and land. Later purchases of *juros* and *censos* in 1582 and 1583 seem, when we have the details, to have been characterised by favourable rates of interest and, perhaps more important, by their situation in places where Delgado had a señorial or quasi-señorial interest, a *censo* of 20,000 mrs against the *vecinos* of Villajimena for 187,500, another of 20,000 against the *vecinos* of Autilla del Pino, nominally at 16, and a *juro* of 70,000 on Autilla, Villajimena and Palencia at a nominal 20 mil al millar. If those figures are correct, the nominal value of his *juros* and *censos*, measured in terms of the capital needed to produce a given return, had doubled as a percentage of his gross assets between 1577 and 1585. Their real value, however, as a proportion of his income, was substantially less, and as much as an economic investment they represented in all probability an investment in social profile and potential political control. That was certainly the way his son, Don Agustín, treated them.

It is not until 1577 that we have another general account of Delgado's wealth. In 1577 his second wife died and it was necessary to restore her dowry and half the *bienes gananciales* acquired during the marriage to her estate. (Appendix 6) The documentation drawn up for this purpose shows that the secretary's personal fortune now stood at 24,000 ducats. Allowing for his widow's share (3,086 ducats) and current debts of 4,000 ducats, he had increased his net fortune between 1559 and 1577 by 7,200 ducats, from 9,700 to 16,900 ducats, 74% percent overall. That is an average of about 400 ducats a year from his official salaries as royal secretary, secretary of War, and *contador de la razón de la Hacienda*, which together exceeded 1,000 ducats,¹⁷ and his income from investments, which can be estimated at around 680 ducats.

The progress of his fortunes over the remaining eight years of his life is more difficult to chart in the absence of any single summation, there being no testament after 1577. From the piecemeal evidence that exists, we can estimate his asset acquisitions at something in excess of 10,000 ducats, so that when he died he must have been worth around 27,000 ducats. That is the valuation of the *mayorazgo* he established for his son between 1577 and 1583. To that should be added an approximation for the value of the *bienes libres* outside the *mayorazgo*, which, on the

¹⁶ See Appendix 6, "los quales dichos juros le da en los dichos precios no envargante que balen más".

¹⁷ Juan Delgado, AGS Contadurías Generales, Nómina de Quitaciones leg.886.

basis of the figures we have for 1559 and 1577, might add another 3,000 ducats to the total. Against that we have to set liabilities of some 10,000 ducats outstanding at his death, leaving a net estate just about double what it had been in 1559, but only 18% or so more than what he had possessed in 1577. The higher the office, the greater the rewards, but also the greater the costs - for the higher levels of staffing needed, for the maintenance of which the Secretary was personally responsible, and for such extraordinary expenses as those incurred during the displacement of the Court to Lisbon, as we have seen. To put this into context, Juan Delgado's net wealth of approximately 20,000 ducats at his death should be compared with the 40,000 ducats Mateo Vázquez is reputed to have left when he died after 20 years service in 1591, or, more favourably, with the 24,545 ducats that Mauro Hernández calculated to be the average level of wealth of bureaucrats in Madrid in the reign of Philip IV.¹⁸

In 1559, Juan Delgado was no more than a senior clerk with an income of 80,000 mrs (213 ducats) from the King; in 1577 he was Secretary of War and Councillor of Finance, and a major figure in the administration. It certainly looks as if his return to Court in 1566 and his appointment as Secretary of War in 1571 were turning-points in his finances. Between 1559 and 1577 he increased his capital assets in *juros*, *censos*, land, *señoríos*, property and offices by about 75%, more than four-fifths of that increase coming after 1571. Meanwhile his annual income from office (including the 20,000 mrs he had been receiving since 1549) rose from 213 ducats a year in 1559, to 1,150 ducats (432,500) by 1569, and to 1,387 ducats (520,000) at its peak in the 1570s, falling, with the divesting of his offices after 1580, to 800 ducats (300,000 mrs) at his death. Between 1560 and 1585 his total earnings from office, without taking into account special grants or occasional payments, must have come to something like 21,500 ducats (8,050,000 mrs).

Table 1 *Juan Delgado's Income from Office 1549-85*

20,000	on penas de cámara de Palencia, from 1549	
60,000	contador razón de la Artillería 1.1.1553 [1560 incr.to 112,500]	(until 1567?)*
100,000	Secretario de Descargos 11 July 1566	(until 1580?)*
100,000	Secretario Real 11 July 1566	to 9 Oct.1585
100,000	tomar la razón de la hazienda Nov.1568	to Feb.1580
100,000	Secretario de Guerra 1571 + 100,000 extra 1572	to 9 Oct.1585

[*unsure when these payments ceased, or if compensated for in some way. Marichalar, *Los Descargos*, p.50, n.61 claims Delgado retained the *contaduría de la Artillería* after 11.7.1566 but without "gajes", and continued as nominal Secretario de Descargos after 1580, unpaid, but compensated with an *ayuda de costa* of 300 ducats. I have no information to either support or contradict that.]

¹⁸ Cabrera de Córdoba, vol. 3, p.546; Mauro Hernández, *A la sombra de la Corona*, p.102.

Between the markers we have in 1571 and 1577 Delgado increased his capital assets by at least 6,000 ducats. They then rose in excess of another 10,000 ducats in the next eight years. His fortune grew by an average of rather more than 1,000 ducats a year over the fifteen years of his secretaryship. At the same time his liabilities increased from 1,800 ducats in 1559, to 4,000 ducats in 1577, and to more than 10,000 ducats at the time of his death in 1585. Something like four-fifths of Delgado's acquisitions after 1577 were therefore financed by borrowing, rather than by his income from office or from investment. That suggests that he did not have any significant extra-official, or illicit sources of revenue and reflects well on the probity of a man ideally placed to exploit his official positions for personal gain. It also rather confirms the claims to penury (i.e. cash-flow problems) that the Secretary repeated increasingly frequently in his last years. However, if Juan Delgado was not financially rapacious, he was certainly socially ambitious. The accumulation of debt is itself indicative of a heavy financial outlay on status. Delgado's promotion to the secretaryship was marked by new prestige investments in lordship and office. Unsuccessful in his earlier attempts to purchase the *señorío* of Renedo, and perhaps also of Villalobón, only six months after his appointment in 1571 he bought the *señorío* of Las Grañeras, a town of some 55 *vecinos* in the Tierra de Campos, 16 kms west of Sahagún in the province of León, the village in which his father-in-law-to-be had been killed 32 years before, and of which the *señorío* in 1552 had been in the possession of his brother Alonso's patron, the Captain General of the Galleys of Spain, Don Bernardino de Mendoza. That brought with it, together with its civil and criminal jurisdiction, its "alcabalas y pan de renta y todo lo demas a ella perteneciente", plus revenues of 41,000 mrs a year from *juros* and *censos*. At a very uneconomic 37.5/1000 (compared with the 14/1000 norm for *juros*) it cost him 1,537,500.¹⁹ Two years later he bought the *tercias* of Autilla del Pino, a village some 10 kms west of Palencia, for 1,187,118 in *reales de contado*,²⁰ and in 1574 he paid 2,400 ducats to the king for the newly created *alferazgo mayor* of Palencia, the most honorific office in the *ayuntamiento*, three times more expensive than the ordinary *regiduría*, despite its minuscule salary of 2,000 mrs a year.²¹ This sum, it is worth

¹⁹ 11.7.1571, *escritura de venta* of Las Grañeras with civil and criminal jurisdiction, "alcabalas y pan de renta y todo lo demas a ella perteneciente, y de 41,000 mrs de renta de juro y censo situado en diferentes partidas", Ortega Gato, "Blazones y mayorazgos", p.246 D, p.248 J, no.16. The obligations of the *vecinos* were set out in the *escritura de censo enfiteusis* in favour of the Almirante de Castilla, *señor* of the town in 1457, of which the Delgados requested a copy, 16.3.1583: each *vecino* farming without plough-oxen to pay 1 *carga pan* (2 wheat, 2 barley); each *vecino* with plough-oxen to pay 6 *fanegas pan* [50/50] on day of Santa Maria in September in perpetuity; and in return the "concejo tomo a censo todas las tierras terminos heredades prados y pastos" belonging to the Almirante, Ortega Gato, "Blasones y mayorazgos" p.245 B.

²⁰ AGS DGT invent 24, leg.282, f.14, 26.2.1573 – this resource remained in the *mayorazgo* until 1763.

²¹ AGS Cámara de Castilla, Oficios leg.24 P, *obligación* 22.4.1574; *título* 30.5.1574 «perpetuo, por juro de heredad, con facultad de nombrar teniente con boz y boto de rexidor», and RC 6.8.1574 granting 2,000 mrs /year in perpetuity on *propios* of Palencia «no obstante que el ni los que le subzedieren en este oficio no residiesen en ella», AHN Consejos 11525/220. In the time of his son, the *alférez mayor* also

noting, was borrowed in its entirety. In 1577, the marriage with Doña Mencía having terminated without issue, he established a *mayorazgo*, and the next year incorporated into it the Capilla de la Virgen del Rosario in the convent of San Pablo in Palencia, endowed with 39,000 mrs *renta de juro* at 18.75/1,000, a capital outlay of 1,950 ducats. In 1580, the *señorío* of Villajimena, 12 kms north-east of Palencia, valued at 1,334,850 mrs, *desmembrado* from the bishopric in 1578 by authorization of the bull of Gregory XIII, was added to the *mayorazgo*.²² Those five outgoings alone totalled just over 15,400 ducats, and by the time of his death the *mayorazgo* was worth over 27,000 ducats (c.10,266,450 mrs).²³

Delgado's preference in the 1570s and 1580s was for local rents that he could collect directly and for inflation responsive revenues in land and in kind. It was the policy he enjoined on the successors to his *mayorazgo* in 1577: "si en algun tiempo se quitase el dicho juro quel un quento de mrs que por el an de dar se enplee en bienes rraíces en la dha çudad de Palençia o çerca della". In 1571 the purchase of Las Grañeras brought with it its *fuero* and *segundo diezmo de la iglesia* (producing 54 *cargas* of grain in 1658) and its *alcabalas* of 27,000 mrs a year.²⁴ He also bought a *juro* of 41,000 mrs on the *alcabalas* of Tierra de Campos. The *juro*, worth 1,200,000 mrs, he promptly resold in 1573 to purchase in its place the *tercias* of Autilla del Pino and the *dezmería* of Palencia, valued also at 41,000 mrs at 1/36, but costing him 1,187,118 on account of prior charges against the rent. He may well have got them cheap. A statement of 1617 claimed that, on the basis of the average yield for the five years 1568-72, the *tercias* were worth 6,800 mrs a year more than the price Delgado had paid for them.²⁵ Then in 1580 he bought the *señorío* of Villajimena, and three years later added its *alcabalas* and *tercias*, valued at 25,000 mrs at 1/30, which, discounting

got "un despojo de carnero cada semana como se da a los demas regidores, y en las procesiones candelaria, colaciones de toros y Corpus u otras que se ofreziesen y en las distribuciones y propinas e asistencia de los actos publicos y bentanas que se diere a cada uno de los cavalleros regidores sin que en esto aya diferencia alguna deste oficio a los demas por aver se assi observado y guardado con Don Agustín Delgado su antecessor en el discurso del tiempo que sirvio dicho oficio, y que fuera destas propinas y distribuciones en todas las demas que no tubieren esta calidad aya de llevar de las propinas distribucion doblada como la llevaba su antecessor."

²² Jesús San Martín Payo, "Catálogo del Archivo de la Catedral de Palencia", *PITTM* no.13, 1955, pp.129-165 » p.133, no.197; 1,334,850 mrs received by Melchor de Herrera, Marqués de Auñón, against the 17 *cuentos* owed him by the Crown, and resold to Delgado for the same sum, Luis Fernández, «La 'venta de vasallos' entre el Pisuerga y el Cea en los siglos XVI y XVII», p.343.

²³ Not in the same league as Francisco de Eraso who bought the jurisdiction and *alcabalas* of Mohernando, Humanes, Robledillo, etc. in 1564/65 for 58½ *cuentos* (156,000 ducats), Carlos Morales, *Consejo de Hacienda*, p.98, n.231.

²⁴ Ortega Gato, "Blasones y mayorazgos", p.245 B.

²⁵ Relación de las *alcabalas* y *tercias* vendidas, AGS Contadurías Generales leg.924; RC 2.3.1574 and *privilegio* issued to Delgado 24.9.1574, AGS Mercedes y Privilegios leg.396, f.95. Relación de las *alcavalas* que se an vendido perpetuas, 10.6.1617, says *tercias* of Autilla del Pino were valued at 47,800/year on basis of 1/5 of 1568-72, AGS CJH 395 (547). The original *asiento* of 26.2.1573 was brokered by Doña Mencía's nephew, Don Francisco Alderete de Cepeda, but 30.10.1573 and 22.2.1574 he declared it was bought with Delgado's money, AHN Consejos leg.11525, no.220.

existing obligations, came to 292,000 mrs.²⁶ That same year he also purchased in his own name a small *juro* of 7,000 mrs per year on the *alcabalas* of Palencia.²⁷ The *alcabalas* and *tercias* of Villajimena were redeemed by the Crown in 1588 for 652,000, which included the costs of buying out 18,000 at 1/20, and were replaced by Don Agustín with a *juro* of 32,600 mrs at the same rate on the *alcabalas* of Valladolid, bought privately from Agustina de Melgar, the widow of a silversmith, Juan Alonso de Gamarra, *vecina* of Valladolid, for 652,000 paid in *reales*, which Don Agustín added to the *mayorazgo*. Don Agustín also bought another *juro* of 7,650 on the same source and at the same price from Agustina de Melgar for which he paid her 153,000 in *reales*, but excluded from the *mayorazgo*. That *juro* was subsequently also to be redeemed by the Crown.

After 1580, Delgado concentrated on building up his property and strengthening his position in Villajimena. Most important in this respect was the loan (*censo*) of 500 ducats he granted the town council in 1583.²⁸ Some *casas* and *tierras* were bought in July 1581 from the Convento de San Pablo for a *juro* worth 80,000 mrs, returning 4,000 mrs a year.²⁹ A *solar de casa*, next to the *casa* of Sancho Muñoz, was purchased in his son's name, from the Premonstratensian friars of Santa Cruz, near Ribas, in November 1582 for 5,250 mrs.³⁰ More houses were being built and bought in Villajimena in 1584, including perhaps the *casa principal* bearing the Delgado *escudo*. By the time of his death Delgado had accumulated extensive properties in Villajimena. An *apeo* of 1582 listed no less than 39 separate plots, plus two *heras*, a *pradillo*, an *arriñalejo*, and two houses. What we do not know, however, is when they were acquired (some of them could have formed part of the Ribas inheritance), how they were exploited, or what they were worth. All the arable land owned by the Conde de Hornachuelos in Villajimena in the mid-18th century was worth only about 400 *reales* a year.

When his purpose was primarily economic, Delgado seems to have invested well. He bought *juros*, *censo*s and revenues cheap for high returns and high capital gains - the 20/000 *juro* in Jaén bought from Guillamas at 15 and alienated to San Pablo at 18.75; the *juro* on the Puertos Secos at 9 instead of the normal 14; the *juro* of 41,000 mrs on the *alcabalas* of Tierra de Campos switched for 47,800 mrs on the *tercias* of Autilla; the *censo* of 500 ducats (187,500 mrs) against the *vecinos* of Villajimena returning 20,000 mrs a year. But the going rate for the rights of lordship was much higher. The *señorio* of Villajimena cost him 30 times its valuation, that of

²⁶ RC in Consejo de Hacienda, sf 1583, AGS CJH 141 (205), "descontados los juros y situados que ay en ellas".

²⁷ 18.8.1583, Archivo de la Catedral de Palencia, Armario VII, leg.3, no.42, f.14.

²⁸ 27.2.1583 Archivo de la Catedral de Palencia, Armario VII, leg.2, no.34, f.13.

²⁹ 7.7.1581, Archivo de la Catedral de Palencia, Armario VII, leg.3, no.10.f.11.

³⁰ 28.11.1582 - note 24.1.1583 says bought for 14 ducats with money of Secretary Juan Delgado, his father, and so he passed this income to him, Archivo de la Catedral de Palencia, Armario VII, leg.3, no.28, f.12v.

Las Grañeras 37.5 times, the *alferazgo mayor* 450 times, and the expenditure on the Capilla de la Virgen del Rosario produced no direct economic return whatsoever. However, these dealings should not be regarded simply as mere spendiousness. They were also investments over which the investor had more control than he had over investments in royal revenues which were both subject to inflation and to periodic re-ratings and deductions by the Treasury. As well as acquiring social status and spiritual satisfaction, Delgado was also buying income, immediate and potential. The issue for the individual and for the economy as a whole was at what opportunity cost. But what other investment opportunities did a bureaucrat like Delgado have? To be a *señor de vasallos* was a universal ambition for the upwardly mobile which Delgado had shared since his attempt to buy Renedo in 1558, and one that had the potential to produce good returns, both financial and social, in the marriage market. Whether in the event that potential was realised is, of course, another matter.

As a result of these expenditures, Delgado's private income increased remarkably little over the 25 years for which we have information. In 1559 his gross income was just over 1,000 ducats a year (384,250 mrs), of which only 80,000 (20.8%) came from official sources, 187,500 (48.8%) from *juros*, and the remaining 116,750 (30.47%) from land, house rents and *censos*.³¹ In 1577 his gross income was more than double, 2,139 ducats (802,150), but he had become overwhelmingly dependent on his offices at Court. No less than 65% of his income came from his official salaries and *mercedes*, only 256,250 (32%) from his private investments. At his death, his income seems to have fallen to c.700,000 mrs (c.1,850 ducats), largely because of his resignation from the Secretaría de los Descargos and the Contaduría de la Razón, and consequently a rather smaller part (43%) derived from official sources, and 54% (380,250) from investments.

Compared with 1559, he had by his death increased his income from private sources by a mere 25%. His gross estate had certainly doubled in value over that quarter-century, but at least three-quarters of that increase was unproductive, or under-productive, spent on socially conspicuous expenditures, the *señoríos*, the Capilla de Nuestra Señora del Rosario and the *alferazgo*. He died both owed and owing money.³² But with insufficient in hand to pay his debts (notably 3,000 ducats owed to Prince Andrea Doria and 1,700 ducats to Juan Fernández de Espinosa), even with the 4,000 ducats given him by the king for that purpose, his executors were left having to sell valuables from his *mayorazgo*, a table, two tapestries, some silver and furnishings (*ajuares*) to pay them off. After a long career administering the

³¹ In 1559 he had a *censo* income of 10,500/year, which cost 152,375 at an average 14.5; a *juro* income of 730 ducats a year which cost c.3,400,000, an average 12.4%; the *hera* cost 10,000, the 2 *obradas* in Palencia cost 20,000; plus the *merced* of 100,000 on the *penas de cámara* of Palencia.

³² At his death, he was owed money in Zamora, Tordesillas, Las Grañeras and Villajimena. The Genoese, Fabián de Vargas and Julio Xentre, owed him 400 ducats for a *juro del derecho de las lanas* unpaid for 4 years at 50,000/year. These sums still had not been paid 22 years later when his son died.

king's finances, Delgado had failed to establish a firm base for the future prosperity of his own family. The fortune of the Delgados was to prove to have been fatally dependent on the rewards of royal office.

Table 2 The Wealth of Juan Delgado 1559-1585

	1559	1571*	1577	1585
assets (1,000 ds)	11.5	14.6	20.9	30
increment (k ds)		3.1	6.3	9.1
incr. %		27	43	43.5
av. incr/yr ds		230	900	1,137
net of debt (k ds)	9.7	16.9	18	20
net incr (k ds)		7.2	1.1	2
net incr %		74	6.5	11
av. net incr/yr ds		379	138	250 (*estimated)

With almost two-thirds of his income deriving from office Delgado was far less independent of his official salary than, say, Fayard's councillors of Castile in Philip IV's reign with less than 40%. An independent income of 1,000 ducats a year was thought to be the minimum provision for a prominent member of a municipal elite, and one that left little scope for further investment, or to withstand the fluctuations of the economy, or of fiscal exactions. His son Don Agustín's failure to capture a permanent employment with the Crown left him drawing on his capital to maintain his life-style. His military exploits as a young man brought him an independent income, an *entretenimiento* of 12 ducats a month at the personal recommendation of Don John of Austria in 1572, raised to 15 ducats, and then to 30 ducats during his service in Naples. In 1580, after his return to Spain, the *entretenimiento* was switched into a pension of 200 ducats in Naples, and increased to 300 ducats in 1583, but an income in Naples was inconvenient and costly to collect, and Don Agustín sold the pension to Lorenzo Espinola for a lump sum "para suplir sus necesidades". Thereafter, except for his occasional periods of employment with the Crown and the city militia, Don Agustín received no other *merced* from the king, before in the last year of his life being given an extra 200 ducats *renta* for two lives.

His wife, Doña Leonor, also enjoyed an independent income worth something approaching 800 ducats a year. She had a *juro* income of 568 ducats and, after her husband's death, a further 200 ducats a year granted in continuation of his pension. A large part of her dowry (some 8,200 ducats) had been invested in a *juro* bringing in 112,929 at 20 (15.10.1580). Altogether, Don Agustín bought 253,000 mrs *renta de juro* in the years 1580-88, in part to replace the 25,000 on the *alcabalas* and *tercias* of Villajimena redeemed by the Crown. After 1588, however, he bought no more *juros*. The inflation of the 1590s exposed the weakness of fixed income investments, and

Delgado, like his father, seems to have concentrated on purchases of land and real estate and on consolidating his holdings in and around Villajimena. He added to his *mayorazgo* some 60 *obradas* of *monte* (El Alperal) - bought from the *concejo* of Villajimena with the proceeds of a *juro* of 20,000 mrs on the *alcabalas* of Autilla del Pino at 16, redeemed by the king in 1594; some small houses adjoining his *casas principales* belonging to Lucas Llorente for c.112,000 mrs (released by the redemption of a *censo* of 8,000 mrs a year and the sale of a vineyard); a vineyard, two parcels of land and an *hera* in the *término* of Palencia, comprising a *vínculo* established by María Delgado in the 1490s, the succession to which cost him between 72,000 and 75,000 in legal costs and settlements; a *tierra* called “del Molino” bought from Juana Núñez, another *tierra* close to it, and vineyards bought from Lucio and Sebastián Rodríguez and Francisco Matienzo. He also added and retained as *bienes libres* outside the *mayorazgo* a *censo* of 5,000 *reales* against the *concejo* and *vecinos* of Villajimena, and an orchard, a dovecote and other pieces of land in Villajimena. Some of these lands were farmed direct - that we know; unfortunately we do not know which they were, nor what they produced. They may have been the 77½ *obradas* inherited from Juan de Ribas, but no mention is made of them in the documents after their incorporation into Juan Delgado's *mayorazgo* in 1577. What we do know is that Don Agustín was moving where possible out of vines, converting some vineyards into arable, selling others. The land he sowed himself may have produced some 60 *cargas* of grain; the tithes (*décimas*) of Villajimena another 50 *cargas*, or so, of barley, and the *tercias* of Autilla about 40 *cargas* of wheat, 20 or more of barley and 8-10 of rye. The total value of that amounted to some 250,000 mrs. The *alcabalas* of Las Grañeras were worth another 27,000 mrs, various *censo*s against Villajimena about 32,000, and his *juros* produced 314,000. Together with house and land rents, señorial dues in Villajimena, and his salary as *Alférez Mayor*, Don Agustín's income at its peak in the early 1590s must have reached 1,700 ducats. Apart from his brief periods of employment under the Crown, none of this was attributable to office, except for the 2,000 mrs (5.3 ducats) as *Alférez Mayor*. To this point his financial position remained reasonably healthy, but during the 1590s his fortunes turned dramatically. Don Agustín's disastrous *corregiduría* in Antequera not only deprived him of office for a number of years, it also cost him a fine of 200 ducats. In the next years, a series of lawsuits and the marriages of his two daughters cut further into his resources. Doña Ana was married to Don Diego Nuño de Valencia of Valladolid, and Doña Ysabel to Don Miguel Manrique de Lara of Salamanca. Each took a dowry of around 3,000 ducats, paid for with 94,000 mrs of *renta de juro*. In 1599, with a new king on the throne, he was again petitioning the Council of War claiming that the posts that he had filled with such good effect had in fact cost him a great deal of money (“todo ello a gran coste suyo”) and as a result “se halla en gran necesidad y tan desacomodado que con gran trabajo podrá criar sus hijos conforme a su calidad”.³³ In June 1607, he had to borrow 14,000 *reales*,

³³ AGS GA 552, Apr. 1599.

costing him 1,000 *reales* a year in interest, a rate 43% higher than most of his own investments, by means of a *censo* with the Licenciado Bernardino Pérez, a cleric of Becerril, secured against Doña Leonor's dowry and *arras*, her present and future properties and the income from two *juros* on the *alcabalas* of Palencia, and the 60 *obradas* of Monte Alperal in Villajimena, with a total capital value of over 10,000 ds.³⁴ By now his income from *juros* amounted to just over 730 ducats. Including the revenues from his *señoríos*, and the 200 ducat pension from the Crown granted in the last year of his life, his total net income in 1607 can barely have exceeded 1,000 ducats. Before he died he was forced to sell some tapestries and a Portuguese writing-desk out of the *mayorazgo*, and he left debts of 19,150 *reales* (1,741 ducats). He died having to defer payment of his younger daughter's dowry and owing his elder daughter, Doña Ysabel, the widow of Don Miguel Manrique de Lara, nearly 1,180 ducats (441,914), together with another 410 ducats of the 800 ducat dowry to be given to the convent of Nuestra Señora de la Consolación of Calabazaños for the admission of his granddaughter, Doña Leonor de Manrique y Mendoza, into the convent as *monja profesa*.

The fortunes of the family had been built up by Juan Delgado; they faltered under his son; during the lifetime of his grandson they collapsed. In 1608, when Don Agustín jr. and his mother went off to Madrid to try to expedite the concession of his *hábito*, Doña Leonor was authorised to spend up to 2,000 ducats a year from the *mayorazgo*.³⁵ Fifty years later, Don Agustín's *mayorazgo* was in administration and bringing him no more than 380 ducats. Other revenues and his wife's independent income raised this figure to about 600 ducats a year. His total income at the time of his death was less than a third of the nominal income from the *mayorazgo* when he inherited.³⁶ When he married in 1609, legally he should have been worth at least 30,000 ducats, but in 1658 the *arras* and *donación* of 3,000 ducats promised to his bride could no longer be covered by the requisite 1/10 of his estate. The house in which he lived, built originally by his grandfather, was in disrepair, its floor collapsed "por la falta que e tenido de hazienda en que poder acerlo".

³⁴ 25.4.1607 *poder* of Don Agustín Delgado "estante al presente en esta villa de Madrid" to Doña Leonor Ferrer in Palencia to *tomar a censo* 1,500 ducats at 14 "sobre todos nros vienes y rayces y personas y dote y arras abidos e por aver" and in particular on 2 *juros* (one of Doña Leonor of 112,000/yr at 20 and another of 100,000/yr at 14 on the *alcabalas* of Palencia: AHP Palencia, no 7722, 19.6.1607 Ldo Bernardino Perez, clérigo beneficiado de presente en las iglesias de Becerril de Campos, *vecino* Becerril, buys *censo* of 1,000 *reales*/year at 14 paying Doña Leonor Ferrer 476,000 in *reales de plata*: censo against a) juro de 2,258,580 de principal = 112,929/yr, originally bought 15.10.1580 with dowry of Doña Leonor at 14, raised 13.1.1582 to 20; b) juro de 100,000/yr en cabeza de Don Agustín Delgado at 14, principal 1,400,000 14.1.1587; c) un pedazo de monte que Don Agustín tiene en el término de Villajimena, que dizen Alperal, of c.60 *obradas*, bought from *concejo* for 322,909 16.3.1594.

³⁵ The terms of the *mayorazgo* stipulated that no more than half of its income was to be spent on a minor less than 20 years old.

³⁶ I suspect that this is a more reasonable estimate than that figure would be had the terms of the *mayorazgo* been followed to the letter, as Doña Leonor's costs also had to be included.

It seems to have been the crisis of the 1630s that ruined the Delgados. In 1629, Don Agustín was still buying property, topping up the 307,500 paid him by Leonor de la Vanda in redemption of a *censo* to purchase a *majuelo de viña* of 17½ *arranzadas* and 38 *palos*, called Carresola, in the *término* of Villamuriel.³⁷ By 1641, however, when his nephew sued him for maintenance, he responded by declaring that “la renta del dicho mayorazgo con los tiempos estava muy deteriorada y no llegava a lo que avía menester conforme a su calidad”.³⁸ From then on he was forced into repeated borrowing. In 1645, with royal licence, he raised a *censo* of 500 ducats against his *mayorazgo*. Another *censo* provided by the Hospital de Santiago encumbered the *mayorazgo* with a capital debt of 16,042 *reales*. The *majuelo de viña* he bought in 1629 was used as security for two other *censos*, one of 40,800 *mrs principal* taken with the Cofradía de Nuestra Señora de Allende el Río of Palencia, the other provided by the Dominican Convento de la Piedad, and he also sold his interest in a *juro* of 7,000 *mrs renta* on the *alcabalas* of Palencia belonging to the *mayorazgo* of Licenciado Pablo Vaca, for the rest of his lifetime. In the 1650s, the rents of the Delgado *mayorazgo* were put into the hands of administrators, from 1654 on a continuous basis. But the administrators too were owed money. Joseph Gallardo, the administrator for 1658-59 was owed 118,892 *mrs* from his previous administration in 1654-55, and another previous administrator's widow held gold and diamond jewellery as a pledge for money still owed him by Don Agustín in 1658. The terms of his last agreement with Gallardo provided him with 350 *reales* a month (142,800 *mrs/year*) from the proceeds of the *tercias* of Autilla, the *fuero* and *segundo diezmo* of Las Grañeras, and various minor *censos*, land and house rents in Villajimena and Palencia. In addition he drew directly 35,696 *mrs* of *renta* on the *alcabalas* of Palencia, but paid Gallardo 40,000 *mrs*, plus expenses, for the management of his affairs. Fifty years before, in Madrid, while still in his teens, his mother had allowed him 100 *reales* a month (40,800/year) “para sus niñerías”. Don Agustín jr. left some small properties unentailed, worth about 10,000 *mrs* (26 ducats) a year to him, a house in the Calle de las Panaderas in Palencia rented by a fishmonger for 2,250 *mrs*, “una hera de los del osar” of Palencia renting 1¼ *cargas* of grain, c.1,500 *mrs*, a vineyard by the Cruz de San Pedro, rented to the *escribano*, Juan Alvarez de Estrada, for 11 ducats, and a *huerta* and a plot of land in Villajimena worth 5 ducats a year. All of these he inherited from his father, but, unlike his father, he did not add anything to the *mayorazgo* his grandfather had founded. He also left a lawsuit to be settled between his widow and his successor, Don Luis Manrique de Lara y Delgado, over the restitution of her dowry and the 500 ducat loan taken with royal licence against the resources of his *mayorazgo*.³⁹

³⁷ Archivo de la Catedral de Palencia, Armario VII, leg.2, no.29, f.12v.

³⁸ AHP Palencia no. 9092, ff.445-447v.

³⁹ Pleito Don Luis Manrique de Lara y Delgado, Alférez Mayor de Palencia and Doña Savina Gutiérrez de Acuña, muger de Don Agustín Delgado Ferrer y Cardona, “sobre la repetición de su dote, a que Don Luis a salido diciendo que de los bienes que dejo el dicho Don Agustín Delgado se saquen los

The Delgado *mayorazgo*, of course, remained essentially intact. The *señoríos* of Las Grañeras and Villajimena, the *patronazgo* of the capilla de Nuestra Señora del Rosario in the convent of San Pablo, Palencia, and the *alferazgo mayor* of Palencia formed the largely honorific elements. The economically important items were variable rents in kind, the *alcabalas*, the *foro* and *segundos diezmos* of Las Grañeras, the *tercias* of Autilla del Pino. All these were part of the original estate. Directly farmed or tenanted lands around Palencia, in Villalobón, Villamuriel and Villajimena, were by 1658 of relatively little value, and it looks from the rather unclear evidence that by the time of the Catastro of 1752 a good deal of the land that Juan Delgado had accumulated had been lost. An *apeo* of Delgado's properties in Villajimena in 1583 listed 39 plots; the Conde de Hornachuelos owned only 26 small plots in 1752, of which fourteen are identifiable from the 1583 *apeo*. The total land Hornachuelos owned amounted to the original 77½ *obradas* of the village's 300 *obradas* of arable, mostly of *tercera calidad*, 27½ *cuartas* of the 2,521 *obradas* of *tierras yermas*, and 48 1/12 *obradas* of the 670 *obradas* of *monte*.⁴⁰ On the basis of the 1752 investigation, they were worth about 450 *reales* a year to him - perhaps 1/10 of Don Agustín jr's income at his death. Delgado also owned some small properties in and around Palencia in 1658, but nothing is known of the substantial estates originally inherited from Juan de Ribas, especially the 50-60 *obradas* in the *término* of Palencia incorporated into the *mayorazgo* in 1577. These may have been included in the Villajimena lands, but no mention is made of them after that date. The *casas principales* in the Calle Don Pedro still existed in 1658, if in bad repair, together with at least one other house in Palencia, and two houses in Villajimena. One of these, called the "Palacio", a two storey building 22 *varas* by 31, was uninhabitable in 1752; the other, 26 *varas* by 25, also of two storeys, was rented out for 80 *reales*. It is difficult to see any clear investment policy emerging from Don Agustín jr's affairs. His father had certainly farmed some land directly, but there is no evidence that the son did. He seems to have lived entirely as a rentier, though on a much lesser scale than his father. The *mayorazgo* possessed only one modest *juro* of 29,636 *mrs* in 1658 and *censos* of 9,378 *mrs* against Villajimena's *concejo* and *vecinos*. This *censo*

necesarios para la redencion del censo de 500 ducados que con facultad real tenia sobre los bienes de su mayorazgo"; the teniente alcalde mayor of the Adelantamiento de Castilla, partido de Campos, issued an *auto* dated 4.2.1660 ordering the embargo of all "frutos y rentas, especialmente ypotecados por Don Agustin Delgado y quedaron por su fin y muerte", and put them "en poder of the depositario general de Palencia para que dellos se aga la redencion del censo de los 500 ducados y reditos entretanto que esté enteramente redimido y pagado", AHN Consejos 11,525, f.220.

⁴⁰ 1752 : 63 *obradas* de *tercera calidad*, 142 de *segunda* - one *obra* de *tercera calidad* gives 2 harvests every 4 years: 1) 52 *fanegas* wheat; 2) 8 *fanegas* rye; 3) and 4) fallow, sowing with 12 *fanegas* wheat and 12 *fanegas* oats; *obra* de *segunda calidad* sown with 21 *celemines* wheat produces one crop of 8 fs wheat every two years; the *montes* were worth c.48 *reales* a year. Villajimena in 1752 had 16 *vecinos* paying Hornachuelos for *regalía* of appointment of *oficios* 6 chickens = 18 *reales* and 32 *mrs*/yr "por razon de Señorío". Hornachuelos also held a *censo* against the *concejo* of 5,500 *reales* (prob. 165 *reales* a year at 3%).

remained with the *mayorazgo* in 1752, though with successive reductions in the interest rate the original capital of 500 ducats was only bringing in about 15 ducats a year. His wife, Doña Sabina, also held 85,250 of *juros* in her own right, but they remained with her on her husband's death.

In 1658, Don Agustín's income from *censos* and *juros* amounted to 111,682 mrs, some 298 ducats, and his capital worth stood at something between 9 and 10,000 ducats. In reality, however, the nominal capital value of the *mayorazgo* was for most practical purposes meaningless, *juros* were circulating at half their nominal value, or less. As an approximate measure of the decline of the Delgado family's fortune between Juan Delgado's time and the death of his grandson in 1658, measured in real terms taking inflation into account, we can estimate Don Agustín jr's capital wealth at only about 40% of that of his grandfather in 1585, and his income at about 25%. And that is not allowing for the various sums he owed at his death, the 118,892 mrs (3,497 *reales*) to Gallardo, 50 *reales* of interest still unpaid in May 1664,⁴¹ 50 or 60 *reales* to Ysavel de Cavallos, "criada que fué de casa", for the time she was in service, perhaps something also to Simón Durán, late shoemaker in Palencia, and other unadjusted items in his accounts.⁴² The *censos* he raised to burden the income from his *mayorazgo* were left for his successors to redeem.⁴³

⁴¹ AHP Palencia, no.8553, Registro de Luis Gallardo 1668-73, 20.5.1664.

⁴² Memorial de deudas de Don Agustín: AHP Palencia, 9409, f.442.

⁴³ The *censo* against the *majuelo* in Villamuriel taken with the Dominican convent of La Piedad in Palencia, was redeemed 3.7.1668 by Don Jorge de Venegas; the *censo* of 40,800 mrs *principal* owed to the Cofradía de Nuestra Señora de Allende el Rio (outside the city), already in place when Don Agustín bought it in 1629, was redeemed 22.4.1668, Archivo de la Catedral de Palencia, *armario* 7, no.29, f.12v; two *censos* imposed on the *mayorazgo* with *facultad real* for 5,500 *reales* and 16,142 *reales de vellón principal* in favour of the Hospital de Santiago were redeemed by Doña Ysabel Manrique de Lara post 1670, *loc.cit.*, leg.2, no.40, f.13v.

CHAPTER IV

THE SOCIAL WORLD OF THE DELGADOS: COLLEAGUES, COMPANIONS AND RELATIVES

The career histories of the three Delgados have revealed father, son and grandson declining in public activity and importance generation by generation. What we can tell from the contacts the Delgados had with colleagues and associates seems similarly to show a progressive narrowing and provincialisation of their social activity and personal relationships. Juan Delgado's circle of acquaintances was wide, even international in scale, and comprehended members of the high nobility and the military, financial and administrative circles with which his office brought him into contact. At the personal level, the day to day activities of the secretary are, in general, hidden from us, but we do have his correspondence in the secretariat of war, some of which is of a personal nature, the evidence from legal documents of those to whom he gave his *poder* and entrusted with his confidence, of those who witnessed his hand, and of those with whom he had financial and business dealings.

We know, for example, of numerous dealings with the great Court financiers, Jácome de Jauregui who lent him 1,200 ducats of the 2,400 ducats he paid for the *alferazgo mayor* of Palencia in 1574, Juan Fernández de Espinosa, Tesorero General and councillor of Finance, from whom he borrowed the other 1,200 ducats and to whom he owed 633,184 mrs for various loans repaid over the period 1.7.1582 and 24.4.1586; Melchor de Herrera, the marquis of Auñón, a previous Tesorero General, to whom he owed 1,000 ducats in 1577; as well as outstanding balances he owed at his death to Agustín Spinola, Marcos de Plaza and Pedro Ricardo. Clearly there was an extensive retail element to the business dealings of these “hombres de negocios” which no doubt contributed both materially and politically to their financial standing. However, they should not always be seen merely as business deals. In Juan Delgado's case at least, they could also contain an important element of personal friendship which was of considerable help to him in the management of his affairs, as he admitted in his will, “porque yo tengo tanta amistad con las personas a quien devo y dellos tengo tal confianza que para pagarse se aguardarán.” [See Appendix 5]

Understandably a large number of Delgado's personal contacts (it would be going too far in all cases to call them relationships) were with military men, men like Don Alvaro de Bazán, the Marqués de Santa Cruz, with whom he was close in the later years of his life, the Captain General of the Artillery of Naples, Pedro Díaz

Carrillo de Quesada, member the Consejo Colateral de Nápoles, a witness to his will and other documents in 1577; the military engineers, Captain Jacobo Fratrín, who witnessed his wife's will in 1577, and Juan Bautista Antonelli, who, in his correspondence with Delgado, thanking him for his help and “buena industria” in supporting the project of making the Tagus navigable from Lisbon to Toledo, addressed himself as “su muy aficionado criado”, praying that “Nuestro Señor la muy ilustre persona y casa de vm guarde y en más estado acreciente, como yo le deseo con todo el ánimo y espero ver”.¹ Delgado was also regarded as a friend and patron by Agustín de Herrera y Rojas, the captain general of Madeira and future Conde and Marqués de Lanzarote, who had made a fortune from the booty from no fewer than 14 raids into North Africa, and who sought the secretary’s advice in 1582 on the suitability of Gonzalo Argote de Molina, a putative relative of Delgado, as a prospective husband for his eldest daughter.² One of his closest colleagues, his executor, Cristóbal de Barros, was perhaps the foremost shipbuilding expert in the royal service.

Others were members of the administration, the Licenciado Agustín de Guedeja, *relator* of the Council of War, who bought a *juro* from the secretary, or Pedro Biana de Rojas, *solicitador* at Court, and the *vallisoletano*, Pedro Ortiz del Río, a finance official, later to be the king’s Contador de la Factoría and Contador de Rentas,³ who were both witnesses to Delgado’s *mayorazgo* deed and will in 1577. He was a close friend of the Secretary Martín de Gaztelu, who spoke of “la mucha amistad que con él tengo”,⁴ and also of Gabriel de Zayas, secretary of Estado and a long-standing colleague of his, going back to his early days in the secretariat of war, and of Juan de Albornoz, the secretary of the Duke of Alba. No other royal secretary appears in his correspondence in anything more than a purely formal or professional context. Delgado must, of course, have known personally most of the important Court nobles and councillors. His office exposed him to incessant letters of solicitation for recommendations for posts and support, even from men at the highest levels of society, including the dukes of Alba and Infantado.⁵ Letters of solicitude for his health, perhaps no more than courtesy for a man in his position, were received from, amongst others, the Conde de Miranda, Viceroy of Catalonia, the Marqués de Santa Cruz, and the Prior Don Antonio de Toledo, the Duke of Alba’s brother-in-law and member of the Councils of State and War, who expressed his concern for Delgado’s health on no fewer than three separate occasions. In turn,

¹ Tabanes, *Memoria que tiene por objeto manifestar la posibilidad y facilidad de hacer navegable el Rio Tajo*, pp.14, 25, 27.

² Preface of Antonio Rumeu de Armas to Lobo Cabrera & Bruquetas de Castro, *Don Agustín de Herrera y Rojas*, p.13-15.

³ ACC 18, p.146, 16.2.1599; Hernández Esteve, *Accounts of Fernán López del Campo*, p.28.

⁴ Marichalar, *Descargos*, p.50 n.61.

⁵ AGS GA 160, f.18, 5.2.1584, for Captain Alonso Nieto «hechura del duque mi señor y natural de este lugar»; f.27 Infantado to Delgado, Guadalajara, 4.2.1584, for a company for Luis Campuzano de Cardenas «natural desta çibdad, hijo y deudo de hidalgos muy honrrados y criados desta casa».

Delgado appealed for help for his own petitions to Ruy Gómez, Don Juan de Idiáquez, the Confessor Fray Diego de Chaves, the secretaries Mateo Vázquez and Antonio de Eraso, all men who had the king's ear at one time or another, but who did not show any particular attachment towards him. No significant conclusion can be drawn from these necessary formalities, and there is no evidence of close involvement of any other kind with the great nobility, or indeed, the Toledos apart, with any of the councillors of War, that was not professionally based. The contrast with another secretary, contemporary of Delgado, Diego de Vargas, is striking. The Marqués de Aguilar and the Conde de Fuensalida were his sons' uncles and executors of his will, together with Don Antonio de Padilla, President of the Consejo de Ordenes, "para lo que fuere necesario hacerse en la Corte de S.Md". Another secretary, Juan de Escobedo received a *regiduría* of Madrid renounced to him by Ruy Gómez de Silva, Prince of Eboli.

Delgado had, of course, begun his career as a protégé of Juan de Vega, and the connection with the Vegas continued, certainly during the time Juan de Vega lived (1558), as the incident previously referred to indicates. (p.26 above) Indeed, Delgado lent money to Juan de Vega's brother, Antonio, during the period the Court was in Valladolid.⁶ Curiously, the house he later bought from Antonio de Filea in the Calle Don Pedro in Palencia had once been owned by Juan de Vega's mother, Doña Blanca Enríquez, and her daughter, the Condesa de Buendía. There seems also to have been some connection with the Mendozas at this time. Delgado's brother, Alonso Fernández Delgado, was comptroller of the fleet that took Prince Philip to England in 1554 of which Don Bernardino de Mendoza had been purveyor.⁷ In 1559 he was in the service of Don Juan de Mendoza, the Captain General of the Galleys of Spain, and while at Court in 1555 he had been given Don Juan's power of attorney to pursue a lawsuit in the Council of the Orders with the *vecinos* of Mendoza's *encomienda*.⁸ This connection may have continued from Delgado's father-in-law, Bartolomé de Salinas. Salinas was killed in Las Grañeras in 1539, the lordship of which was in the family of Mendoza's mother, Doña Elvira Carrillo, who herself succeeded to the *señorío*.⁹ It was no doubt with a mixture of sentiment and

⁶ AHP Palencia, Libro de Protocolos 8329 (Hdo del Castillo), ff.866-73: Carta de venta y fundamento de censo, Palencia 29.8.1557, by Antonio de Vega, "hijo del Sr Hernando de Vega, Comendador Mayor de Castilla, difunto, y Doña Blanca Enriquez, mys Sres padres, como principal vendedor" in favour of Juan Delgado, criado de S.Md - 17,000 mrs/year *de renta y censo al quitar/yr* for 238,000 *de principal* at 14; Saltillo, *Juan de Vega*, p.251.

⁷ CSP Sp. vol.13, no.87; vol.12, p.7.

⁸ RAH Salazar y Castro, M24, f.124, 4.12.1555.

⁹ RAH Salazar y Castro, M24, f.107-107v. Las Grañeras, in the obispado de León, Tierra de Campos, 2 *leguas* from Sahagún, with c.55 *vecinos*, and 41,000 *juro viejo perpetuo/year*, was then sold by Doña Elvira Carrillo to Don Diego de Alaba y Esquivel, bishop of Córdoba, del Consejo de SM, who incorporated it into the *mayorazgo* established by his father. Delgado was to buy Las Grañeras from its next owner, Don Pedro de Alaba, in 1571, Ortega Gato, "Blasones y mayorazgos", p.246 E, p.248 J.

satisfaction that the erstwhile page ended up as the possessor of the house and *señorío* of his ex-patrons.

The relationship with the Vegas and the Mendozas had been one of clientage, and it seems not to have continued beyond Delgado's apprenticeship. Later on the indications are that he was closer to the Alba faction. Gabriel de Zayas, Alba's main agent at Court and Delgado's long-term, close friend, recommended him to the Duke as "muy hábil y muy hombre de bien, y por eso aficionadísimo al servicio de V.Excelencia y a sus cosas" (19.5.1572). This was at a time when Alba was in the Low Countries and presumably did not know the new secretary of war personally. The link with the Alba faction was therefore initially probably one more of attitude than of adherence, with Delgado sharing some of the Duke's hard-line positions on international policy and on moral and religious issues. But it appears to have become closer and more personal after the Duke returned to Spain in 1574 and took his place in the conduct of military affairs, as Delgado's intermediacy between the king and Alba at the time of the annexation of Portugal would suggest, the Duke even engaging with him in a mutual exchange of reports on the respective states of their health.¹⁰ The only other great political figure with whom the secretary seems to have had a more than professional relationship was Prince Andrea Doria. Delgado owed Doria the considerable sum of 3,000 ducats when he died, and he also seems to have succeeded in placing his nephew, Hernando Ximénez de Sobarbe, "cerca de la persona" of the Prince. Doria, together with Lorenzo Spinola, Auñón and Espinosa, was a friend of Antonio Pérez, and like a number of Delgado's and Pérez's contacts, an Italian. This may not only have been because of the secretaries' respective spheres of influence, but also perhaps because social barriers were more easily crossed across national frontiers than among Castilians. However, Delgado lived in a different social world from the more flamboyant Antonio Pérez. He did not consort with the great and the rich, nor receive expensive presents from clients. The only gift of this sort of which there is a record is a silver statue of the Virgin, decorated with ebony and gold rays, and carrying 365 days of plenary indulgence upon the saying of three paternosters and three *ave marias*, which was given to him by Cardinal Riario, Papal legate in Portugal in 1580, perhaps in an attempt to draw Delgado towards the Papalist faction. We can only speculate. It ended up on the main altar of Doña Mencía's chapel in Tordesillas. Delgado had neither the temperament, the urbanity, nor the literary and cultural interests to emulate Antonio Pérez's life style. He possessed no more than four books, a copy of the 1516 Zaragoza version of the *Flos Sanctorum* book of saints, a book of emperors

¹⁰ Alba to Delgado, Cascaes 5.8.1580, received yours of 28 Jly and 1 & 2 Aug., and though you will see from the letters to S.M. all there is to say «he querido hacer estos renglones para avisar a v.m. del rescibo de sus cartas, y decirle el contentamiento y merced que me hace con ellas, y con saber que tiene v.m. la salud que yo le deseo; plega a Dios que esto sea siempre.... Yo he estado bueno, gracias a Dios; de ayer acá me siento con un poco de calentura; no sé en que parará; que aqui se usan mucho tercianas. Nuestro Sr la muy magnífica persona de v.m. guarde y acreciente.» *CDI* vol.32, p.358.

and two of *romances* and *cuentos*, but, apart from tapestries, nothing in the way of works of art.¹¹ There was nothing particularly distinctive about Delgado in this respect. A number of *regidores* of Madrid could boast of no greater cultural interests, and in 16th-century Segovia it has been said “la cultura es...casi un desierto”.¹² Neither was it a barrier to personal friendships. His close friend, Gabriel de Zayas, a cleric, not only had an extensive library and a portrait collection, but he was in communication with many of the leading intellectuals and writers of his time.¹³

The analysis of lists of executors and witnesses to legal documents, wills, contracts, settlements, lawsuits, offers another, largely ignored but potentially revealing source for the study of the micro-relationships of groups and individuals. They include names, signatures, and most often some detail of residential status, personal relationship, or occupation. For example, the executors and witnesses to the will and codicils of Don Agustín sr. in 1607, included, apart from the *medico*, a *sastre* and an *escribiente*, present one presumes on professional grounds, two *criados* of his daughter, Doña Ysabel, the widow of Don Miguel Manrique de Lara, her brother-in-law, Don Antonio Manrique de Lara, Jusepe Cerdán, mayordomo and *escudero* of Doña Leonor and Don Agustín, and three prominent *vecinos* or *estantes* of Palencia, unrelated to the family, Juan Gómez de Loyola, Francisco Brizeño and Lorenzo Galán (a Rodríguez Galán was *regidor* in 1611). The executors of Don Agustín jr’s will in 1658 were his wife, Doña Savina de Soto y Acuña, his heir, Don Luis Manrique de Lara, and Licenciado Don Ignacio Sánchez Peredo, *regidor perpetuo* and *alguacil mayor de Millones* of Palencia; and the witnesses: a barber, a tailor, and three unidentifiable others. Obviously, the type of document concerned has to be taken into account. Witnesses to wills, often formalised *in extremis* in the presence of a barber-surgeon, dresser, or scribe, will clearly not be the same as those signing other types of legal document. But the frequency and the length of time over which a witness appears can provide a useful tool for suggesting who was around the individual in question, how often and for how long.

In Juan Delgado’s case, they were predominantly “criados” from within his professional “household”. Most of them were his officials and assistants. The relatively few Palencians who appear as signatories in those documents are not family. They are present on account of some personal or business relationship, in most cases of a fairly transient nature. Very few are to be found on more than one occasion, and those who are generally cluster within a single 12-month period. Of the 32 signatories of Juan Delgado’s known transactions in Palencia, Valladolid and Madrid only seven are to be found in documents dated more than a twelve-month

¹¹ See Appendix 3, *Inventario* of 1559, AHP Valladolid, Protocolos 239, ff.409-415v.

¹² Guerrero Mayllo, *Familia y vida cotidiana*, p.44, “la escasa valoración otorgada a los estudios universitarios en la segunda mitad del siglo XVI”. There were bibliotecas in only c.1 in 7 *inventarios* post mortem, some had c.300 titles and 400, 500 and more volumes, others only 10 or 11, pp.46-47. Rafael Ródenas Vilar, *Vida cotidiana y negocio en la Segovia del siglo de oro*, p.30.

¹³ Rodríguez, “Gabriel de Zayas (1526-1593). Notas biográficas”.

apart; of those, two fall within a period of 3 years, three within 8 years, and only two across a longer span of time, 20 years in one case, 27 in the other. Of those seven, five were *criados* of the Secretary, or his wife and son.

This analysis, the only one it is possible to make on the data available, does not reveal any deep, long-term relationships within his home city. But it does draw attention to the importance of a non-familial, professional “family”, his “*escriptorio*”, his “*casa secretarial*”, which comprised the functionaries of Delgado’s office, men begun perhaps as he himself had, even living in their employer’s house, who were taken into his service at indeterminate times in their lives and in a variety of ways. Some of these relationships were transitory, others were life-long. His most trusted associate, and the man in whose possession his papers remained after his death, the main executor of his will, signing alongside Don Agustín “*como testamentarios y herederos*” of Juan Delgado¹⁴ was the *escribano real* from Madrid, Clemente Díez.¹⁵ Another was Juan de Basarte, *criado* and first *oficial* of Juan Delgado for over thirty years until his death in Monzón after a long illness, within weeks of the Secretary. Delgado gave Basarte his *contaduría de la razón de la artillería* worth 40,000 mrs a year, and pushed Basarte’s nomination as *contino de la casa real*. Pedro de Yta (or Hita) was the *criado* both of Juan Delgado and of Don Agustín, witnessing the latter’s will in 1607, 27 years after the first appearance of his signature, indicative of his long-serving relationship with the Delgado family, father, son and daughter-in-law.¹⁶

Given the nature of his employment at Court, first in Valladolid and then in Madrid, Juan Delgado could on few occasions have spent any length of time in Palencia as an adult. His son was born in Valladolid, his wife died in Valladolid, his second marriage took place in Valladolid, his second wife died in Madrid, and none of the legal documents he signed, that I know of, were drawn up in Palencia. He retained houses in Palencia, some of which were rented out, but very few items in the inventory of his *bienes* in 1577 were noted as being in Palencia. His contacts with the wider circle of his extended family, outside his own personal household of wife, servants and “*criados*”, could hardly have been much more than occasional, and there is no evidence that, after his first wife’s death, they played any significant part in his day to day existence. However, much of his personal intervention in patronage was on their behalf. The promotion of the careers of family members was seen as natural, expected and accepted. Delgado’s patronage extended to the furtherance not only of his brother’s career, but also to those of his nephews, and to even more remote relatives. Delgado’s nephew, the Licenciado Basurto de

¹⁴ *Testimonio*, Madrid 25.11.1585.

¹⁵ Díez, *residente* in Madrid, also had *bienes*, *hacienda* and *papeles* of Don Agustín in his possession at the time Don Agustín made his will on 30.11.1607, including the “*carta de venta original*” and “*papeles compulsorios*” of the purchase of Villajimena.

¹⁶ *Acuerdo* with San Pablo 19.9.1580; additions to the *mayorazgo* 18.8.1583, 13.11.1583; *poder* to Doña Leonor, Palencia, 25.4.1607; will of Don Agustín 30.11.1607.

Estrada, acted as *relator* of the Council of War during the *jornada* to Monzón, and also for six years as *teniente corregidor* of Gibraltar and *auditor* of the galleys of Spain.¹⁷ Two other nephews served in the military. The *alférez*, Hernando Ximénez de Sobarbe, aged 24 or 25 in 1586, “hombre principal”, served as *hombre de armas* in the Portuguese war and then as “entretenido con ventajas” with Prince Andrea Doria, with whom Juan Delgado had personal as well as professional contact. Hernando’s father, Diego Ximénez de Sobarbe, born in 1540, “hombre principal, ábil y suficiente”, was *teniente de capitán de hombres de armas* in the Portuguese war and *comisario de infantería*. Captain Garcí Ximénez de Sobarbe, was also *comisario de infantería*. Another relative, Francisco de Ayardi, was acting *veedor* of the Costa de Granada,¹⁸ where Alonso Fernández Delgado, the Secretary's brother, acted as *purveyor* for the Guadix region during the Alpujarran war. Delgado’s efforts to promote his brother’s appointment to the vacant *veeduría* in Cartagena foundered on the king’s sense of the inappropriateness of his having an office subject to the War department.¹⁹

Don Agustín sr. was born in Valladolid and, despite speaking of Palencia as «mi patria y ciudad»,²⁰ he cannot have spent much time there, after the age of 18, before his return from Naples in 1578. As far as we can see, the only contact he maintained with his relatives in Palencia was with the military branch, the Ximénez de Sobarbe. Three weeks after his father’s death he arranged with Captain Garcí Ximénez de Sobarbe, who was serving in Monzón as *comisario de infantería*, to meet up in Zaragoza, before his return to Madrid,²¹ and a year or two later, he did his best, within the limitations of his influence, to support Hernando Ximénez de Sobarbe’s application in 1587 for an *entretenimiento* on the galleys.²² Of his private correspondence, beyond that, practically nothing survives. I have come across only one letter of a personal nature, a holograph letter written in October 1605, two years before his death, to Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, the future Conde de Gondomar, about a matter involving the dowry of his younger daughter, Ana, and her husband, Don Diego Nuño de Valencia, which seems to suggest that his son-in-law was in some way on familiar terms with Sarmiento. Don Agustín’s young son

¹⁷ In his application for one of the posts of *auditor*, adjudicating on cases concerning the infantry being raised in Castile, “valse de los servicios del Secretario Juan Delgado su tio”, AGS GA 235, 18.8.1588.

¹⁸ Thomas de Ayardi to Delgado, Sevilla, 22.3.1584: «No puedo dexar de dar pesadumbre a vm por ver que Fco de Ayardi q sirve el oficio de Veedor de la gente de guerra de la Costa del reyno de Grda, siendo de su casa de vm, pasa con mucha necesidad por la limitacion de salario que tiene con el oficio», AGS GA 161, f.120.

¹⁹ “No me parece que es bien que vro hermano se emplee en cosa dependiente de la Guerra porq no dexaria de traer inconvenientes”, AGS GA 78, f.153, early 1574.

²⁰ AGS GA 213, f.244.

²¹ Don Agustín Delgado to Captain Garcí Ximenez de Sobarbe, *comisario de infantería* por SM, Monzón 31.10.1585, AGS GA 178, f.268.

²² AGS GA 213, f.553.

was later to marry an Acuña.²³ His elder daughter, Doña Ysabel, was married into a minor branch of the distinguished line of the Manrique de Lara from Salamanca, but she was widowed within four years. Her late husband's brother, Don Antonio Manrique de Lara, had been one of the executors appointed in 1596 by the wife of Don Hernando de Vega, the Marquesa de Alcañices, Doña Elvira Manrique de Córdoba, daughter of the 4th Conde de Osorno, for her stepson, the heir to their *mayorazgo* in Palencia,²⁴ and he was to be a witness to the codicil of Don Agustín's last will and testament in 1607. Otherwise, none of the people we have a record of his knowing in Palencia were "family". When he was required to nominate a substitute for himself as acting *alférez mayor* during his absence from the city in Antequera, he chose his son-in-law, Don Miguel Manrique de Lara from Salamanca.²⁵ His wife's family was from Valladolid, and he married his second daughter into a rich Valladolid *letrado* family. One of his executors, the dean of the Cathedral chapter, the Licenciado Don Francisco de Valverde Alderete, was from Valladolid and conceivably a relative of his step-mother.²⁶ Whereas his family connections in Valladolid do not seem to have been inhibited by distance - at his death he owed money to an uncle of his wife resident in Seville - the presence of his social equals in Palencia in the documentation is extremely limited. One of his executors was the prior of Palencia Cathedral, Dr Don Diego del Castrillo, and one of the witnesses to the codicil of his will was Juan Gómez de Loyola, a relative of the senior *regidor* of the *ayuntamiento* in 1607. At his death he owed 1,000 *reales* lent to him by a canon of Palencia, Jusepe de San Román, a man of an important and extensive family, but with a similarly questionable background to Delgado's, who was perhaps providing Don Agustín with the support that he lacked from a family of his own within the city.²⁷

In contrast, Don Agustín's son, Don Agustín jr., was born in Palencia, in 1589, and throughout the 69 years of his life rarely left it. He spent some time in Madrid with his mother immediately after his father's death in pursuance of his *Hábito*, during which time he was married there, and he was sent on the occasional mission to Court on behalf of the city, but as far as we can tell he passed almost the totality

²³ «Con su carta de vm recebi mucha mrd, y para la conclusion del pleyto de mi yerno me doy toda la priesa posible a me despachar de aqui y a estar bueno, aunque todavia estoy muy coxo, como lo bio el Sr Don Garzia cuando le fue a besar las manos en este lugar. Envidia tengo a Don Diego que acompaña a vm en sus olguras, y terna arto lugar de ynformar, pero con todo eso estoy con mucha esperanza que vm nos a de azer mrd, y gustare yo mucho de que vm alle comodidad para que yo pueda cumplir con mi hija, que todo lo que en mi fuere y yo pudiere are con gran voluntad, y por tenerla a echar esto a un cabo dexo de yr a Burgos que me ymportava, y sere con vm siendo dios servido esta semana y arto tpo abra para lo acabar. NS gde a vm, de Palencia, 2 de otu.e 1605, Don Agustín Delgado», RAH Salazar y Castro, A77, f.156.

²⁴ Ortega Gato, "Blasones y mayorazgos", p. 220 (Vega).

²⁵ Ayuntamiento 5.2.1595, AM Palencia, Libro de Acuerdos 1595-1600, f.20.

²⁶ Cabeza, *Vida en una catedral*, p.247.

²⁷ Cabeza, *Vida en una catedral*, pp.95-96.

of his life in Palencia. To that extent, as an individual he was far more integrated into local society than his predecessors. His business contacts, the witnesses to his contracts and legal settlements, his executors (apart from his wife and his heir) were all from within the top ranks of Palencia's civic elite – the *regidor* and *alguacil mayor de millones* of Palencia, Licenciado Don Ignacio Sánchez Peredo, the Licenciado Arguijo de Mena, the canon Jusepe de San Román, Don Cristóbal de Roa, the *regidor* Dr Juan Marañón, with whom he exchanged repeated *renuncias* of his *fiel ejecutoria* in 1610-11, the Licenciado Paulo Vaca to whom he sold a lifetime interest in a *juro* in his *mayorazgo*, the *escribano del ayuntamiento* to whom he rented a *viña*, Juan Alvarez de Estrada (conceivably related to the Basurto de Estrada who was Juan Delgado's nephew), and the administrators of his revenues in the 1650s, Antonio García Ruiz de Obregón, an *ex-regidor* of Palencia, Francisco García Pérez, and Joseph Gallardo, *procurador del número y audiencias* of Palencia. The contacts he had with his family, his wife apart, seem to have been mainly litigious, disputes with his sister, Doña Ysabel in 1617 over payments owed to him for her maintenance after the death of her husband,²⁸ and with his nephew, Don Luis Manrique de Lara, who was demanding *alimentos* from him “conforme a su calidad”.²⁹

Within the city, at a personal level, Don Agustín jr. clearly enjoyed a not insignificant social position. He was one of ten *cofrades seglares* of the *cofradía* of La Caridad, elected by *votos secretos* and drawn «de lo más granado de la ciudad». The *cofradía* of La Caridad was a charitable institution maintaining two *médicos*, two *cirujanos* and a *despensero* for the care of “pobres enfermos” with two visits a day and a “ración alimenticia”.³⁰ He was also *cofrade* of the Hermandad de la Orden Tercera de San Francisco, another charitable organization whose income derived from a donation of 4 mrs a week paid by its *cofrades* every Friday. Its principal purpose was the support of the prisons, providing bail for prisoners and an annual meal for those in gaol.³¹ However, Don Agustín's position in Palencian society was purely personal, there was nothing that survived him. At his death, his widow does not seem to have maintained close connections with Palencia, but reverted to her own people in Valladolid, giving her *poder* to a *regidor* of Valladolid, Don Ambrosio Nuño de Valencia, possibly the brother-in law, or more likely the nephew, of her sister-in-law, Doña Ana. Don Agustín had no family in Palencia, he belonged to no “clan”, and his family had no succession there.

Secretary Delgado's close acquaintances at Court were, in the main, men in the upper and middle reaches of the administration. His early family connections in Palencia were with families of *medianía* origin, both from the lower levels of the legal profession to which his father and father-in-law had belonged, and from the

²⁸ AGS Contaduría de.Mercedes 124, f.3, 29.4.1617.

²⁹ Ortega Gato, “Blasones y mayorazgos”, p.248.

³⁰ Marcos Martín, *Economía, sociedad, pobreza*, vol. 2 pp.432, & 433 n.114.

³¹ *Ibid.* pp.436, 439 & 445 n.150.

mercantile class of his first wife's grandfather and his neighbours in the Calle de Nuestra Señora – the Licenciado Portugués, the *mercader* Antonio de San Román, the *cardador* Antonio de Memynbre, the *tendero* Antonio de Medina, the *mantero* Andres Lázaro, the *regidor* Dr Pedro González de Tamayo, a witness to the *acuerdo* with San Pablo in 1580 and another link with the Vega (he was a *fiador* of Antonio de Vega's *censo*), Hernando Montero, who negotiated the arrangement with the Convento de San Pablo for him, the *hombre de negocios*, Fernando Vizcayno de Loyola, another *regidor* family, also involved in the contract for the decoration of his *capilla*, the *escribano* Pedro Guerra de Vesga, men he entrusted with his *poder* to conduct business in his name.³²

It was into such families that he himself, his father, and perhaps also his sisters were married, though about the latter we have no direct information, other than that they both had children claiming Delgado to be their uncle. Francisca Fernández Delgado was still alive in 1577. Her sister Ysabel Delgado had died. In neither case does the foundation document of 1577, which includes their children in the line of succession to the Delgado *mayorazgo*, choose to mention their husbands, or their children's paternal names. The presumption must be that the nephews, Hernando Ximénez de Sobarbe and the Licenciado Basurto de Estrada represent the families into which Delgado's sisters married. Those families were both Palencian. Hernando Ximénez de Sobarbe was the son of Diego Ximénez de Sobarbe, *hombre de armas*, as Juan Delgado's maternal grandfather had been, and as the nephew also was to be, each described by the *corregidor* of Palencia as "hombre principal".³³ The other nephew, the Licenciado Basurto de Estrada, was clearly related in some way to Leonor d'Estrada y Basurto, who is listed in the 1562 Palencia *apadronamiento* as *mercadera*, and assessed at 816 mrs, one of the highest assessments in the city. A Toribio Destrada, listed in 1533 as living in the Calle Mongrillo and assessed at the even greater sum of 2,500 mrs, was nominated as *regidor* of the city in 1552, the same year that a Licenciado Estrada is recorded as living in the Barrionuevo, with the very much smaller assessment of 34 mrs.³⁴ Nothing more is known about the two families other than that they, like Delgado's mother and his own first wife, were certainly from Palencia, the one apparently following careers in the military, the other in the law. A Francisco Basurto was selected as *regidor* of the city for the year in 1567, and Toribio de Basurto again in 1569, but unless the Juan Alvarez de Estrada who was *escribano del ayuntamiento* in

³² See Díez Santamaria, *Protocolos de Palencia*, p.253, n.119: *poder* of Fernando Vizcayno de Loyola 10.4.1578 to Clemente Díaz, *oficial* of Juan Delgado, and to Pedro Baca de Salazar, *vecino* of Palencia, *estantes y residentes* in Madrid, to collect 21,250 mrs owed him "por pagos a hombres de armas"; Fernando Vizcayno de Loyola was also witness to the *executoria* of the Delgado de Mata of Tordesillas, 13.7.1579.

³³ AGS GA 188, f.5, 17.10.1586.

³⁴ Quaderno de encabezamiento año de 1557: Leonor de Estrada y Vasurto 18 *reales*, AMP Inventario de 1758 leg.22; it is possible they were related to the "criado" Basneto (a misreading for Basurto?) who was left a house in Grijal in Hernando de Vega's will in 1526, Saltillo, *Juan de Vega*, p.208.

Philip IV's reign was a relative of the Basurto de Estrada, neither family seems to have been in any way notable in the city after the *regidurías* were sold by the Crown and perpetuated in 1574.³⁵ Although six of the thirteen new officers had been *regidores* themselves at some time before 1574, as well as a further two or three who came from within the families of previous *regidores*, the effect of the change was to freeze out a large number of such previously active families from the government of the city.

However, after Juan Delgado's first marriage to Doña Ysabel de Ribas, and those of his sisters, none of the Delgado marriages were made with families whose roots lay within Palencia. Not only did all the spouses of those five later marriages, come from outside the city,³⁶ they also came from a more elevated socio-professional milieu. Don Agustín married while he was governor of Aversa in Naples. His father-in-law, Francisco Ferrer, was a high-court judge in the Spanish administration in Naples, from a Valladolid family of some standing. Francisco Ferrer had property in Renedo, the *señorío* of which Juan Delgado had attempted to buy some years earlier, and a Doña Maria Ferrer was the wife of Don Antonio Ossorio, with whose family Francisco Fernández had been involved 40 or 50 years before. Juan Delgado's own second wife, whom he married when he was in Valladolid, was from Tordesillas. Her family was reputed "de las más antiguas y nobles" of Tordesillas, connected with leading *regidor* and *letrado* families of the town, including the Comendador Luis Vázquez de Cepeda, who had been *mayordomo* of Queen Juana when she was in confinement in Tordesillas, and the Presidente de Hacienda, Hernando de Vega. The dowry of 1,600 ducats she provided in 1559, comparable to that received by Delgado at his first marriage, suggests a family that did not feel the need to offer more to a first official of the secretariat of war earning no more than five times the rate of a common soldier. The dowry the Secretary's son, Don Agustín, received from the Regente Francisco Ferrer in Naples, more than five times greater than his step-mother's, marks the extent of the rise in the social value of the Delgados after Juan's accession to the secretaryship and his acquisition of the *señorío* of Las Grañeras. Don Agustín's son and one of his daughters were married in Valladolid also into rich *letrado* families of *regidores* and *abogados* of the royal Chancillería. His elder daughter, Doña Ysabel, married a *vecino* of Salamanca, Don Miguel Manrique de Lara, the younger son of a minor branch of the distinguished Manrique de Lara line, which included the *señores* of Las Amayuelas, a *lugar* in la province of Palencia, related to the dukes of Nájera and the counts of Paredes, and so had connections with the highest levels of Palencian "county" society. Don Diego Nuño de Valencia, the husband of his other daughter, Doña Ana, was a *regidor* of Valladolid, the son of a rich lawyer whom Don

³⁵ Cabeza, *Clerigos y Señores*, pp.152-56. Cabeza lists no Delgado, Fernandez Delgado, Basurto, or Ximenez de Sobarbe in his index.

³⁶ Of Juan Delgado's three other children by Doña Ysabel de Ribas, two daughters and a son, who were alive in 1557, but gone in 1577, we know nothing.

Agustín may have known through his wife's family, the Ferrers. His son, Don Agustín jr., was married into yet another legist family from Valladolid, that of Dr Pablos de Soto y Acuña, though again a family that maybe had some connection with Palencia. In 1585, Suero de Vega y Acuña, Comendador de la Orden de Alcántara, renounced his *regiduría* of Palencia, to Don Juan de Acuña, *oidor* of the Chancillería of Valladolid, who appointed a substitute to serve the office.³⁷ What, if anything, is to be made of this series of marriages into legal, rather than administrative or military families? Whether it derives simply from Don Agustín's initial connection with the Ferrers and Valladolid, or from a heightened recognition of the value of lawyers deriving from his own increasingly frequent involvements with the law and the legal system in his later years is an open question. Clearly, in the case of Don Agustín, a military man to his finger tips, there is no evidence of any conflict between *Armas* and *Letras*.

This pattern of marriage alliances, so different from that of the Pérez de Herrasti of Granada, for example, four-fifths of whose marriages were within the oligarchy of Granada,³⁸ suggests an inevitable detachment from the Delgados' peer groups within Palencia. These exogenous marriages into the higher levels of the professional and class backgrounds from which they themselves had sprung, a rise from the dubious status of the *escribano* to that of the *letrado licenciado*, *abogado* and *oidor*, took place at the expense of the deeper integration of the Delgado family into the Palencian civic elite. At some stage there may have been a point of contact in Palencia, or its whereabouts, but the alliances that were formed were not within the circle of the social and political leaders of the city. The search for distinction and social advancement was necessarily attenuating the Delgados' deeper links with Palencian society, a much more provincial society than that of Valladolid and Salamanca. The Delgado example is illustrative perhaps of a more general process by which the strong historic and emotional attachment to the "patria", as manifested in the testaments and endowments of Juan Delgado and his son, «mi patria y ciudad» in Don Agustín's words,³⁹ was becoming diluted, and the provincial city, a once powerful force of political loyalty, was becoming more and more marginalised and distanced from the real centres of power and social significance in Castile. That sensitivity to the city's decline, most particularly in relation to its neighbour Valladolid, is increasingly apparent in Philip II's reign. It underlay Palencia's resistance to the fusion of its bishopric with the abbacy of Valladolid in the second half of the 16th century,⁴⁰ and it is no coincidence that Palencia (and not Palencia alone) was seeking

³⁷ AMP Libro de Actas 1585-87, f.107, 22.10.1585, and 22.2.1586.

³⁸ Soria Mesa, "La familia Pérez de Herrasti", p.385.

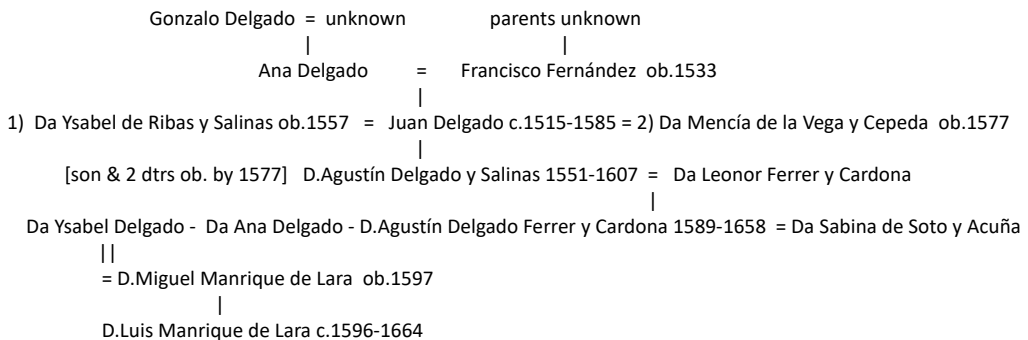
³⁹ AGS GA 213, f.244.

⁴⁰ Fernández de Pulgar, vol.3, p.210, submission of the Procurador del Dean y Cabildo, May 1554, "estando Valladolid en la prosperidad y crecimiento que está, y aviendo caído Palencia tanto de la población, ser y nombre que otro tiempo ha tenido, es dar ocasión a que del todo se olvida y desminuya la dicha Iglesia y Ciudad de Palencia, y es por indirectas quitarle el ser y nombre que ahora tiene..."

in these years to recover its historic voice in the Cortes.⁴¹ Indeed, that was one of the motives for the city's sending Don Agustín to the Chancillería of Valladolid in 1603 to pursue Palencia's objection to its subordination to Toro in regard to the administration of the *Millones* newly granted by the Cortes.⁴²

In the case of the Delgados that family disconnection from Palencia was reinforced by the paucity of surviving males in the three generations of the Secretary's bloodline - one son and one grandson.

Table 3. The Male Line of the Delgados



The family was not merely a measure of status, it also involved some duty of solidarity, mutual assistance, and trust. Family members were almost always to be found among the executors of wills and as witnesses to legal documents and obligations, and they were overwhelmingly male. So in the Delgado case, those family members came almost entirely from the distaff side, families from Tordesillas, Valladolid and Salamanca, rather than Palencia.⁴³ The presence of *palentino* relatives in the Delgado family's documents is all but non-existent. With only one exception, all the Palencians who appear as agents, executors and signatories in the documents of the Delgados' financial and legal affairs between 1559 and 1658 were individual personal contacts of one kind or another, not family members.⁴⁴

⁴¹ *Proposición* of Juan Ortega de Ulloa in *ayuntamiento* 29.8.1586, AMP Libro de Actas 1585-87, f.145.

⁴² AMP Libro de Actas 29.1.1603; 10.2.1603.

⁴³ Doña Mencía's nephew, Don Francisco Alderete de Cepeda, acted as intermediary in Juan Delgado's purchase of the *tercias* of Autilla del Pino and *dezmería* of Palencia. The original *asiento* was with Alderete 26.2.1573, but 30.10.1573 and 22.2.1574 Alderete declared the purchase was made with Delgado's money, AHN Consejos leg.11,525, no.220. Don Francisco de Valverde Alderete was executor of the will of Don Agustín sr. on 30.11.1607; Don Antonio Manrique de Lara, his daughter's brother-in law, was a witness to Don Agustín's codicil of 24.12.1607

⁴⁴ The exception is Garzi Ximenez de Sobarbe, probably Juan Delgado's brother-in law, who was a witness to the purchase of the *capilla del Rosario*, Madrid 1.10.1577. It could also be that Juan Alvarez de Estrada, *escribano del número y ayuntamiento* of Palencia, involved in land deals with Don Agustín jr. in 1629 and 1655, was related to Basurto de Estrada, Juan Delgado's nephew, but I have not been able to verify any connection.

But the family was also an arena of conflict. Lawsuits over dowries and inheritances made up over one-fifth of *pleitos* pursued in the Chancillería of Valladolid between 1560 and 1640,⁴⁵ and the *mayorazgo* and marriage contracts of the Delgados were no exception. Don Agustín sr. had a *pleito* with Canon Andrés de la Rua over the inheritance of a *vínculo*, and another with his son-in-law, Don Diego Nuño de Valencia, over his daughter, Doña Ana's dowry. Don Agustín jr. contested the outstanding payments owed to him by his sister for her maintenance after the death of her husband,⁴⁶ and he himself was sued by his presumptive heir, Don Luis Manrique de Lara in 1641, demanding from him *alimentos* "conforme a su calidad".⁴⁷ That same Don Luis Manrique de Lara y Delgado was again in dispute with Don Agustín's widow, Doña Savina, in 1658, over the inheritance of his *bienes libres* and the *repetición* of her dowry,⁴⁸ and, when that was resolved, with Doña Savina once more in 1660 over payments due from the *tercias* of Autilla.⁴⁹ Don Luis seems to have been particularly litigious. Earlier, in Tordesillas, as husband of Doña Damiana Delgado de Mata, he had taken her father, Don Juan de Mata, to law over his promised dowry, which Don Juan protested on the grounds that it overvalued his wealth. After a year, a compromise agreement was reached, but the *pleito* continued because Don Juan failed to pay.⁵⁰

Perhaps this litigiousness was inherent in the de-spiritualised perception of marriage as a predominantly social and economic institution. Marriage did not necessarily create a new family. In practice, there was something rather frangible about marriage as an institution. The dowry and *bienes gananciales*, which had to be restored or divided at the termination of the marriage, by their very nature underlined the separateness in law of the two parties. Testamentary dispositions favouring spouses frequently seem to have needed to be justified by expressions of particular affection, as in the bequest to his wife Doña Leonor by Don Agustín sr. of the "fifth" of his *bienes libres*: "después de cumplida mi ánima y testamento se dé el remanente del quinto de mis bienes y hacienda libres que tengo" to Doña Leonor «por el mucho regalo que me a fecho y buena compañía que con ella e tenido y por que se lo debo bien debido y por el amor grande que la tengo.»⁵¹ The spouses remain in many ways separate both in their family alignments and in their attachment to their places of origin. Doña Mencia remained emotionally attached to her home

⁴⁵ Kagan, *Lawsuits and Litigants*, pp 110-111, family relations (including dowries): 6.5%; inheritance (including wills and *mayorazgos*): 14.1%; señorial relations: 2.2%.

⁴⁶ AGS Conturías de Mercedes 124/3 - she owes me 40,000+ mrs "en cada un año de los que la sustenté y alimento a ella y a su casa».

⁴⁷ Ortega Gato, "Blasones y mayorazgos", p.248.

⁴⁸ AHN Consejos 11,525, f.220.

⁴⁹ Ortega Gato, "Blasones y mayorazgos", p.249.

⁵⁰ Application to Chancillería of Valladolid 5.5.1627, Archivo de la Real Chancillería, Valladolid, Ejecutorias leg.1304, no.46.

⁵¹ *Testamento* 7.11.1607.

town of Tordesillas, Juan Delgado to Palencia. She founded a chapel in Tordesillas, he endowed one in Palencia. She laid down the terms for the future inheritance of its patronage to fall entirely to her descendants within the Cepeda family. In the same way, the succession to the Delgado *mayorazgo* was set out in meticulous detail to follow the Delgado line, male and female, down through the generations, even to providing for the eventuality of having to cast lots to determine which of a set of twins or triplets was the first-born. Yet there is no mention in that document of any of the names or families of the spouses of any of the potential Delgado inheritors, and they offer no way of knowing who they were. When Don Agustín's daughter, Doña Ysabel, was widowed in 1597, she did not remain with her husband's family in Salamanca, but returned with her children to live with her mother in her paternal home in Palencia, even if she had to pay 300 ducats a year for her upkeep - "por tenerla en mi casa... y una ama y dos nietos y un paxe y alimentarlos".⁵² Similarly, it was to the support in her home town that Doña Savina turned on the death of Don Agustín in 1658.

The sense of family that emerges from the testaments and notarial documents of the Delgados is a very narrow one. Masses are bequeathed for deceased parents, wives and children; sons-in-law appear as executors, as well as in legal disputes, but there is no specific mention of any but the most immediate family. Where masses are bequeathed for the souls of other family members they are included within a broad, general, indeterminate category such as «los otros mis difuntos y personas a quien yo tengo cargos».⁵³ It was also a very one-sided sense of family. The Fernández Delgado were of course outsiders in the city, and it may well be that, as many others, they had something to hide. Yet in the detailing of their ancestry, virtually nothing was made of the Palencian side, the side which did have nothing to hide. With the unsustainability of the "myth" of the Cordoban ancestry, abandoned by Don Agustín along with his entitlement to the "Córdoba y Herrera" surname, it is the sense of a family whose "linaje" lies not in the past, but in the future. It was that future that the setting up of the Delgado *mayorazgo* was intended to bring about.

The Delgados suffered in this respect from the fact that the immediate family Juan Delgado left was so reduced. Only one of his four children survived to continue his line. Of his three grand-children only one was male, and he died without issue. For almost 100 years the continuity of his Delgado line hung on a single thread. The lack of younger sons was an advantage in preventing the dispersal of the inheritance and in the avoidance of the litigation that so often came with it, but it left the succession to the *mayorazgo* in the Delgado name unsustainable. When in 1664 Don Jorge Venegas de Córdoba and Doña Ysabel Manrique de Lara inherited Juan Delgado's *mayorazgo*, they abandoned both Palencia and the primacy of his

⁵² Doña Ysabel was living in same house in the Calle del Obispo as her mother, Doña Leonor, until 1610, but the following year moved to the Calle del Monasterio de las Descalzas.

⁵³ Juan Delgado, *Testamento*, 10.10.1577.

name, and in an ironic twist took Francisco Fernández's line back to Cordoba from whence it had come 150 years before.⁵⁴ The requirement of its founder that the name Delgado should always be in first place ended with Don Agustín jr. Within 80 years, Delgado was the fourth, last and least of the names borne by its holder, Doña María del Rosario Hoces Venegas Manrique de Lara y Delgado.

⁵⁴ Pedro Fernández de Pulgar, Libro III, p.354-71, Privilegio del Voto en Cortes – the *poder* of Don Jorge and Doña Ysabel was signed in Córdoba, 8.6.1665.

CHAPTER V

THE MATERIAL AND SPIRITUAL CULTURE OF THE DELGADOS

1. SOCIAL AMBITIONS

A household's lifestyle and social pretensions were defined by the visible and everyday appurtenances of their persons and their houses. Some idea of the kinds of things involved can be gathered from a clause in the will of Don Agustín sr. in November 1607 in which he sets out the items he wants to be sold in order to "cumplir y pagar este mi testamento". Among these he includes "las joyas y cadenas y piezas de oro" that his wife, Doña Leonor, has, together with her "bestidos y los míos y botones y anillos y sortixas de oro, y las tapicerías y los tafetanes y terciopelos y colgaduras y las camas de damasco y tela de oro berde, y cama de oro azul ques de tela, y un pabellón carmesí, y las almoadas bordadas y otras de carmesí, y dos alombras grandes y otras pequeñas, y dos cofres de la Yndia, y colchos de seda de la Yndia, y la fuente y platos y platillos grandes y pequeños, escudillas y bufete y brasero confitero, azeytera y binagrera y jaez de plata y de colores, y de los demás bienes muebles y axuares de por cassa que tengo, y las yeguas parideras y de servicio y mulas y muletas y machos." But what is not to be sold is "la lámpara de mi capilla" because it is "vinculada en el mayorazgo", nor is the item of silver that is in possession of Doña Leonor, as she is to keep this for «servicio suyo donde escupa». She is also to keep «el coche para su servicio acomodándole como para viuda y el caballo morçillo para el servicio de mi hijo... dándoseles dicho coche y caballo en la mitad del precio que tubieren para que con ello se acomoden y paguen algunas de las cosas que se an de cumplir... por lo mucho que la debo.»

It was such belongings as these which fell within the category of *bienes muebles* (movables), but which, as far as their social function is concerned, we could equally well term "visibles". Apart from what is selectively mentioned in their wills, we have three notarised lists of *bienes muebles* for the Delgados, one for Doña Ysabel de Ribas in 1557, one for Juan Delgado in 1559 and one for Don Agustín jr. in 1658. Doña Ysabel's is of particular interest because it is not often that we have the listed *bienes muebles* of a wife so close in time, not only to recognise the different characteristics and by extension the different responsibilities of the man and the woman in the household, but also to be able see what of her goods were passed on to the husband and what retained in the dowry, and through that to get some appreciation of the transfer of values, as well as of valuables, from the one to the other. The near totality of the items of a religious nature in Juan Delgado's inventory, for example,

had been passed on from his wife. For her part, Doña Ysabel “owned” the housework and the kitchen, the fire-dog, poker, tongs and shovel, the chopper for the wood. She owned the jugs, flasks, wineskins, the oil, butter, honey, the sides of ham, the beef and the mutton. She owned the sack for the rubbish. She also owned the books and the music (the tambourine).

The inventory of Juan Delgado’s *bienes libres* is the only one that is itemised and assessed for valuation purposes. The total value of his *bienes muebles* comes to about 565,000 mrs, or 1,506 ducats- approximately one-sixth of his total net wealth, well within the spread of his like in Madrid at that time.¹

As reflected in the lists of their *bienes muebles*, the Delgado lifestyle fell within the normal range of persons of a similar social and professional standing. The largest single component was gold and silver, mainly in the form of silver tableware, which comprised one-quarter of the total value of the *bienes muebles* listed in 1559, but there is no mention of the *joyas*, *anillos*, and other jewellery referred to by Don Agustín in 1607 and which Doña Ysabel de Ribas had also possessed in 1557, presumably because they had been returned with her dowry. Tapestries made up 15.5%, soft furnishings 14%, furniture 10%, clothing 5%, and unmade cloth 5%. Juan Delgado had 16 lengths of tapestries and hangings, most of them new in 1559, totalling 310 *anas* (370 metres), and worth 88,712 mrs, but we have no indication of their design or what was represented on them from his inventory. Various of the tapestries and hangings in Doña Ysabel’s inventory are described as “de figuras” or “de verduras” but there is no suggestion of either religious or classical content, except in the tapestry “del rey cillo con plata y axuares” sold by Don Agustín sr. nearly fifty years later. The furniture was fairly practical and noticeably occupational, consisting of no more than 31 pieces, 3 beds, 10 hipped chairs (*sillas de caderas*), 5 tables with bench seats, 2 writing desks and 11 coffers and chests for the storage of papers and linenware, the whole valued at 57,960 mrs, less than 155 ds. Much of his linenware, bedsheets, table cloths, napkins, was imported, from Rouen or Brabant, and the cloth from Holland, except for an 8-yard piece of quality kersey costing 10 *reales* a yard. His clothing (of any value) consisted of 3 pairs of shoes priced at 1,250 mrs each, 11 linen chemises (*camisas*), 5 of “lienzo de holanda” and “lienzo de ruan” at 525 mrs each, and 6 of “lienzo bizcayna” at 476, “un sayo de paño negro forrado en terciopelo negro biexo”, “una ropa de chamelote” (camel-hair wool), “otra ropa biexa de fusteda (fustian?) forrada en paño negro”, “un jubón de telilla verde”, each valued at between 1,125 and 1,200 mrs, “una mantilla de grana forrada de terciopelo” (a fine cloth for “trajes de fiesta”), and another newer one each listed at 1,700, and the most extravagant of all, “una ropa de telilla de flandes berde aforrada en beros” alone worth 6,000 mrs, or 16 ducats. It was the typically distinctive wardrobe of a

¹ Mauro Hernández, *A la sombra de la Corona*, pp.108-9, av. range 1584-1635 *bienes muebles* c.5.6%-50.7%, *bienes raices* 32.2%- 95.6%.

man of his profession and his status, predominantly black, but with a preference for trimmings in green - a colour that not only designated (among other things) service, respectability, expectation, friendship and fidelity, but which, if of a good dye, could also be expensive. So this was a man willing on occasion to wear 6,000 mrs, or 10% of his income from office on his back.²

Apart from the two slaves, each valued at 100 ducats, the most expensive single item was “una cama de paño açul guarneçidas las flocaduras”, priced at 550 *reales* (50 ducats). Fifty years later a “cama bordada verde” was sold on his accession by Don Agustín jr. for 2,000 *reales* to pay off some debts - perhaps a measure of the advance of the Delgados since 1559.³ The items mentioned by Don Agustín in his will in 1607 suggest a degree of luxury beyond what his father had been able to enjoy in 1559. There was certainly a lot of it. The *ropa* taken to Madrid for the use of Don Agustín jr.’s household in 1608 weighed more than a ton (96 *arobas* = 2,400 lbs).

That said, the lifestyle of the Delgados as reflected in the inventories of their goods was rather closer to that of the conventional *caballero* than that of the educated *letrado* «medianía». Books were certainly not in abundance in the secretarial household. Doña Ysabel de Ribas had perhaps as many as 15 books, large and small.⁴ Juan Delgado, when his goods were listed some two years later, owned no more than four, the book of saints, passed down from his wife, a book of Emperors, and two small collections of *romances*, valued altogether at 4 ducats. He had no law books nor anything that could be regarded as of professional utility, except maybe the book of Emperors.

In contrast to some others in Juan Delgado’s position, his was not a family of intellectuals or of great culture, and that in spite of Delgado’s closeness to men like Zayas, who had studied at Alcalá, maintained cultural and literary contacts with a number of humanists, and who at his death had not only a goodly library (“buena biblioteca”), but also some 300 “ymaxenes y pinturas”, including portraits of Carlos V, Philip II, and the Duke of Alba.⁵ Whereas some in the royal administration and in the urban *regimientos* had libraries with hundreds of books, the reading matter in the Delgado households was minimal, and the art, where not devotional, was probably largely decorative. The Delgados, however, were not exceptional. Even in Madrid, whereas some *regidores* had hundreds of books, if often of a professional

² The *capa negra* was the piece of clothing which really differentiated the “ciudadano distinguido” from “la gente común”, Casey, *Familia, poder y comunidad*, p.276.

³ But hardly anything to match the 223,584 mrs (6,576 *reales*) the bed of the *regidor* of Madrid, Pedro de Lodeño, was valued at in 1585, Guerrero Mayllo, *Familia y vida cotidiana*, p.307.

⁴ Inventario of Doña Ysabel de Rivas 21.8.1557, 12 “libros grandes y pequeños, y más otro, un libro de *flos sanctorum*, otro libro de *vitae patrum*”.

⁵ Pedro Rodríguez, “Gabriel de Zayas”, pp.57-70. Casey, *Familia, poder y comunidad*, p.316 sees icons and images as a more important cultural form - “casas abundan en pinturas”, mainly *paisajes* and holy men and saints. The widow of Juan Muñoz de Salazar, related to Juan Vázquez de Molina, had masses of paintings of contemporary events and portraits, but few books; Don Baltasar Barahona Zapata also had lots of pictures, but no books of any value.

juridical content, others, even some *licenciados*, had as few as the Delgados, or not many more, and those also devotionals and histories.⁶ It does seem, however, that Don Agustín sr., questionable though it might have been regarded in some quarters, was a theatre-goer,⁷ even though occasionally somewhat remiss in paying for his seat.⁸

Nevertheless, even though an absolute line cannot be drawn between the *letrado* and the lay bureaucrat, one can identify, at least potentially, two different “types”, the legalistic and the pragmatic, with different intellectual and cultural formations, different career patterns, and differences in their perceptions of the rules and practices of government. Delgado, though appealing to the *ordenanzas* when it suited his argument, was driven by getting things to work practically and effectively (at least as he saw it), whether that was in regard to the division of jurisdictions and authority between councils or other institutions, or whether given individuals were best suited to participate in the resolution of specific issues regardless of their formal status. That is not to say that he went anything like as far as the patron of his youth, Juan de Vega, whose disparagement of the *letrado* on the grounds of their rigid and formulistic approach was legendary, but arguably there was both a persistent tension between the two cultures, the learned and the lay, as well as a necessary symbiosis between them upon which effective and legitimate government were mutually dependent.

Weaponry, on the other hand, was rather more abundant, not inappropriately perhaps given Don Agustín’s military career and the office of *alférez mayor* of Palencia that was held in the family. Even the secretary, Juan Delgado, owned two arquebuses in 1559, probably for hunting, one «de viento» and one flintlock (*pedernal*), and three swords, one of which was “guarnecida”. Some of these were inherited from his wife, notably the “dos espadas guarnecidas”, a swordblade, and the “arcabuz de viento con turquesa”. Together they were worth 14 ducats, three and a half times the value of his books. His son, however, at the time of his death in 1607, had a much more substantial collection of arquebuses, pikes, lances, muskets, armour, halberds and pistols which were specifically incorporated into the *mayorazgo* so as not to be sold or dispersed, but to be kept together with the standard and royal arms of the king and of Palencia as integral to the office of *alférez mayor*. When his son, Don Agustín jr., died in 1658, a man who, so far as we know, despite his office of *alférez mayor*, had no personal experience of military action whatsoever, an entire room in the house was devoted to his private store of

⁶ Guerrero Mayllo, *Familia y vida cotidiana*, pp.46-7. In inventories post-mortem in Santiago, Gelabert, “La cultura libresca”, p.150, found 57 libraries, c.40 with “hasta doce” or “algunos libros”. Casey, *Familia, poder y comunidad*, p.315, found little information on libraries in Granada and they were neither extensive nor expressive, eg a couple of dozen books.

⁷ Negative views of *el teatro* were part of Counter-Reformation attempt to create “un laicismo piadoso” founded on discipline, Casey, *Familia, poder y comunidad*, p.193.

⁸ Rodríguez Salcedo, “El Teatro en Palencia”, p.51.

weaponry as «bienes libres» outside and in addition to the *mayorazgo*, including two full suits of body armour, parts of three others, as well as breast and shoulder plates, helmets, arquebuses, seven muskets with their stocks and powder horns, and an iron mace. The possession of weapons was an assertion of nobility, a continuing repudiation by Don Agustín jr. of the rejection of his claim to knighthood by the Council of the Orders 50 years before.

The Delgados also maintained a stable. In the case of Juan Delgado and his first wife, Doña Ysabel, it seems to have consisted of no more than a mule for each of them, though the Secretary's mule was a costly animal, worth with its caparisons 40 ducats. His son Don Agustín's stable was a much grander affair, with a full-time groom, a coach for his wife, five brood mares, two large mules, two he-mules, a draught mare, and two smaller milking mules in Villajimena. Maintaining such a stable, as well as a personal armoury, was a presumption, if not necessarily a proof, of nobility, a self-conscious statement of wealth and status. As one of the witnesses argued in support of Don Agustín jr.'s case for a knighthood of Santiago, he could ride and always had four or six horses in his stables, "por tener hacienda para ellos".⁹

As was typical of similar members of urban aspirants to *caballería*, the Delgados had servants and slaves. Doña Ysabel's post-mortem inventory listed two slaves, one male, one female, probably the same two Juan Delgado owned in Valladolid in 1559, a young black male and a young mulatta (*lora*), each valued at 100 ducats, individually the highest value items in the Delgado household.¹⁰ In 1580, Juan Delgado was in the market for another black slave, whether because the previous one had died or been liberated is not clear.¹¹ The elder Don Agustín also had a slave, a native of Algiers, a catechumen, baptised at the age of 34 in 1579 with the name Francisco Delgado. However, the fashion for black or coloured household slaves seems to have been dying out. Don Agustín jr. appears not to have had any. When he succeeded to his father's estate he inherited no more than four servants – a trifle modest by the standards of his peers: the *mayordomo* cum *escudero* of his mother, Jusepe Cerdán, who was an old servant of his grandfather; a French coachman, a page, and a gardener for the main house in Palencia, paid by the day.¹²

⁹ Inventario of Doña Ysabel de Rivas, 21.8.1557: *una mula*; Inventario of Juan Delgado 12.9.1559: "una mula negra con sus guarniciones" at 15,000 mrs. Don Agustín sr. had a *cavallerizo*, his wife had a *coche*, and in Villajimena 5 *yeguas paridas*, 2 large mules, 2 *machos*, a *yegua de servicio*, and 2 small *mulas de leche*. According to one witness (Luis Fernández de la Rua, aged 82) Don Agustín jr. could ride and always had 4 or 6 horses in his stables "por tener hacienda para ellos".

¹⁰ Inventario of Doña Ysabel de Rivas 21.8.1557 "un esclavo y una esclava"; Inventario e tasacion de los bienes de Juan Delgado secretario de SMD, 12.9.1559, AHP Valladolid, Protocolos 239, Francisco Fanega, ff.409-415v: "un esclavo negro mozo" at 100 ducats, "una esclava lora moza" at 100 ducats.

¹¹ Albornoz to Delgado, Setubal, 23.7.1580, «Suplico a v.m. me avise de que edad quiere un negro, porque se podrá escoger de la que v.m. gustare; y si fuere menester alguna otra cosa, ya v.m. sabe que no hay nadie en el mundo que con más voluntad le sirva que yo», *CDI* vol.32, p.300.

¹² Francisco Pérez de Herrasti's household was composed of his wife, 2 *dueñas*, an *ama*, 3 *criados*, 1 *paje*, and 5 slaves, Soria Mesa, "Herrasti", p.399. The Granadan *Oidor* Lope de León had an *administrador*, a *secretario*, a *mayordomo*, two *lacayos*, a *paje*, three slaves, "un pequeño esclavo", a *sirvienta*, a *criada*, and

An aspirational household needed a large, impressive house as its public manifestation, and among the first things Juan Delgado did on coming to a degree of financial substance was to extend the “casa principal” in Nuestra Señora de la Calle inherited from Juan de Ribas by adding the smaller house by its side. He then began work on a new house which was still under construction in 1559 and was valued at that stage at 75,000 mrs. But at some time in the 1570s he bought a new and grander house for his main residence in the Calle de Don Pedro (now Valentín Calderón) for 262,000 mrs. Together with two other “casas principales” and a third, smaller house, it formed a complex fronting the Calle de Don Pedro and backing onto the Calle de Santa Fe, which had originally been made up of eleven small houses belonging to the Conde de Buendía knocked together into “una grande principal” by Doña Blanca Enríquez, the widow of the Comendador Mayor Hernando de Vega, the father of Delgado’s patron, Juan de Vega, and her daughter, the Condesa de Buendía, who were living there in 1533.¹³ In 1545 the Conde had sold the four houses to Antonio de Filea, *camarero* of the bishop of Palencia, for 900 ducats,¹⁴ 200 ducats more than Delgado paid Filea’s son 30 or so years later (though Filea owed the Conde 220 ducats which may have been included in the price). The Buendía house superseded the Ribas’s house in the Calle de Nuestra Señora as the Delgado family home, and the Delgados maintained their household in the Calle de Don Pedro until the death of Don Agustín jr. in 1658.

Juan Delgado did exactly the same in Villajimena, building “el palacio de los Delgado” with the Delgado arms above the portal. That was followed in 1593 by Don Agustín sr.’s construction of the Ermita de Nuestra Señora de Monserrate, a particular devotion of his, thought to be the only shrine to the “moreneta” in Spain outside Catalonia. Its retablo was the work of the sculptor, Juan Sanz de Torrecilla. Situated immediately in front of the Palacio de los Delgado, it had the arms of Delgado prominent both in the interior and on the exterior. Altogether more than 1,000 ducats were spent on the buildings in Palencia, and a further unknown sum in Villajimena.

2. RELIGION: BELIEF AND PRACTICE

Some leads into the religious and spiritual attitudes of the Delgados can be gleaned, sometimes expressly, sometimes implicitly, from a number of sources: property inventories, religious foundations, testamentary dispositions, and the founding conditions of *mayorazgos*.

The foundation of a *mayorazgo* was not just an economic act, it was also a statement of religious and moral attitude, exhortative and prescriptive. The

an *ama*. In 1561, Granada had c.1,000 slaves in a population of 43,000 aged over 12, by 1752 they had virtually gone, Casey, *Familia, poder y comunidad*, p.264.

¹³ AGS Expedientes de Hacienda, leg.139.

¹⁴ AHP Valladolid, Protocolos 88, f.502v: Domingo de Santa Maria 5.3.1545.

document establishing the Delgado *mayorazgo* in 1577 begins with an invocation, a justification and a statement of purpose:¹⁵ “En el nombre de la santissima Treenidad, padre e hijo y espiritu sancto que son tres personas y uno solo dios berdadero que bive y rreina por siempre jamas, y de la bien abenturada birgen gloriosa santa maria, madre de nro señor Jesu xpo verdadero dios y verdadero hombre a la qual yo tengo por señora y por abogada, y a honrra y serbicio del apostol santiago luz y guiador de las españas, y de todos los otros sanctos y sanctas de la corte çelestial, sepan quantos esta carta de mayorazgo y mejoría de tercio y quinto bieren como yo Juan delgado, secretario de su magestad y del su consejo de la guerra, señor de la villa de las grañeras, considerando que todos los hombres naturalmente desean perpetuarse y conservarse en su yndividuo, mas como el siglo presente y la brevedad de la vida y la çerteça de la muerte, por ser su propia pasión, no lo consientan, ni que la vida se alargue a mas de los terminos naturales, conviene que se travaje para bibir por la memoria en los tiempos benideros, por cuya causa y otras me muevo a haçer este binculo y disposición de mis bienes, mas como quiera que mi principal confiança es en dios nro señor, en quien espero que como por su ynmensa bondad fue servido de darme los bienes que abaxo se declararan, lo sera de que se conserben y acrecienten para su gloria y serbiçio, y asi poniendo en el toda mi esperança y confiança y deseando quanto buenamente sea posible y sin ofensa de su dibina magt, y sin cargo ni peligro de mi conçiencia acreçentar mi casa y linaje y haçer binculo y mayorazgo de los bienes que por su ynfinita bondad me a dado y fuere servido de darme adelante con que mejor le pueda servir...”. It then continues with a model of religious, political, social and moral behaviour to preserve the honour and the *memoria* of the *linaje* to which the successors to the *mayorazgo* are to adhere. “Otroși, porque mi yntençion y determinada voluntad es quel tenedor y poseedor deste dho binculo y mayorazgo sea servidor de dios y del rrey y biva como catolico christiano birtuosamente y con buenas y birtuosas obras y conserve la memoria de mi linaje, y si agora supiese que alguno de mis deçendientes y de los llamados a este mayorazgo abia de cometer qualquier crimen porque ubiese de perder la vida fama y haçienda, des sirviendo a dios o al rrey, desde aora le aborreçeria y escluiria del dho mayorazgo, y para questo conste en todo tiempo, declaro que mi yntinçion y voluntad es de no admitir y llamar a la subçesion deste mayorazgo y bienes del a las personas que cometieren delito o crimen derejia o lege matestatis, o el pecado nefando de sodomia, o qualquier de los dhos delitos, o otro por donde el que le cometiere yncurra en pena de muerte y perdimiento de bienes, e a este tal que los ubiere cometido los dhos delitos o qualquier dellos, e por yncapaz e ynavil deste dho binculo y mayorazgo y bienes del... porque por rraçon de aberle cometido le e por no engendrado ni naçido, y que si en algun tiempo ubiere thenido los bienes del dho binculo sea abido por detentador e ynjusto y biolento poseedor y como tal sea obligado a rrestituir todos

¹⁵ AHP Madrid, no.174, 10.8.1577.

los frutos y rentas que ubiere llevado de los dhos bienes... y para mas le obligar a que no aya de cometer ni cometa semejantes delitos escluyo asi mismo a todos sus deçendientes barones y hembras para que abiendo otros deçendientes legitimos mios no puedan subçeder en los dhos bienes, y esto quiero que todo dia aya lugar aunque sea perdonado de los dhos delitos o qualquier dellos por los rreyes de castilla o de leon que por tiempo fueren – y a falta de la descendenzia natural de el dho su hijo, sus hijos y descendientes lexitimos de lexitimo matrimonio, subceda el hijo natural de los descendientes de los hixos varones de el dho su hixo Dn Agustín, y que no sea hixo de embra sino de varon, pues siendo hixo natural de embra seria cosa fea el admitirle al llamamiento de dho mayorazgo». A more practical motive was to prevent the judicial confiscation of the property inside the *mayorazgo* that could result from certain kinds of offence, or lead to the termination of the succession to the *mayorazgo*.¹⁶ «Excluío a los que comettieren delitto de crimen de heregia, o lexie magestatus, pecado nefando, sodomia, otro pecado en que yncurrén en delitto de que aia de ser condenado en pena de muerte y perdimiento de vienes, y a los mentecados furiosos de su nazimiento o accidente, a los mudos y ziegos, y mando q el posehedor los mantenga en su Casa y los alimente... excluío a los frailes profesos de qualquiera religion, y no excluío a los religiosos que fueren de los que no estorbe de ser casado, aunque aia de menester dispensacion, y a todos los del orden Sacro Ecc.los, porque aunque tengan las Ordenes menores no los esclúen hassta tanto q tengan y esten ordenados de manera que ympidan el poderse casar.”

Whether or not there was any truth in the insinuations of *mala raza* in the Delgado background, neither the Secretary nor his son and grandson could have been unaware of the suspicions lingering about their name. That cannot but have had some effect on the public manifestations and, not least, the conventionality of their religiosity. The most public of those manifestations was the endowment of the *señorío* and *patronazgo* of a chapel in the south transept of the church of the Dominican monastery of San Pablo in Palencia which on 10 October 1577 the Secretary incorporated into the *mayorazgo* he had recently established. Dedicated to Our Lady of the Rosary, on whose feast day the battle of Lepanto had taken place, the ceiling of the chapel was decorated with painted depictions of war galleys in action against the Turks, and with the arms and *escudos* of the Delgado.¹⁷ [Plate p.217]

¹⁶ Clavero, *Mayorazgo*, p.267.

¹⁷ Capítulos y asiento between the Convent and Juan Delgado (in his name Hernando Montero, *vecino* of Palencia):1) grant of «señorío propiedad» in perpetuity «con el altar de Nuestra Señora y su retablo e ymagen y reja de madera segun y como al presente está», with right to bury there whom they like «y hacer y disponer en todo y por todo como quisieren y por bien tovieren, y pintando y esculpiendo en ella... sus armas y escudos figuras e ymagenes y altares y hacer rejas y arcos y tumulos y estrados y relicarios.» The contract was formalised by Hernando Vizcaíno de Loyola. See Ambrosio Garrachón Bengoa, *Palencia y su Provincia*, Valladolid 1920, p.92 & n.1: Juan Delgado endowed the chapel with “hermoso retablo del renacimiento con pinturas góticas de Bartolomé de Castro.” The retablo was

Its first purpose was to provide a notable burial site for the patron, his wife, children, descendants, and all those whom the patron of the time should determine.¹⁸ Delgado set aside a cash payment of 500 ducats for the prior and friars of the convent and a *juro* of 20,000 mrs a year for the maintenance of the building. For its part the convent was to provide the altar and retablo and to perform daily one *misa rezada* in perpetuity for the souls of the Secretary and his ancestors, two other *misas cantadas* every year in perpetuity, one on All Saints Day for the souls of his father and mother, the other on All Souls Day for his own soul and for those of his two wives, Doña Ysabel and Doña Mencía, and all their descendants, and additionally every Saturday in Lent, in perpetuity, a *Salve Regina* sung in the chapel by the entire convent.¹⁹ Doña Mencía also dedicated some 100,000 mrs a year from her dowry, the *arras* provided at their espousal by her husband and her share of the *bienes gananciales* acquired during the course of their marriage to be applied after Juan Delgado's death to the construction of a chapel on a site to be purchased in her home town of Tordesillas and to the maintenance of four chaplains, a sacristan and two choristers to service it.²⁰ The founding of private chapels in which the benefactor and his descendants were to be buried in family tombs and remembered in the perpetual masses endowed for the salvation of their souls was the most permanent and public manifestation of their wealth, social standing and religiosity. The motive, as the final contract between the Convent of San Pablo and Juan Delgado declared, was «para que de tales obras quede perpetua memoria de quien las hiço, fundó y doctó para honra suya y de sus descendientes, y para anymar a otros que en semejantes obras se ocupen, y porque a los tales es justo se les dé en esta vida el renombre que por las tales obras mereçen.»²¹

No less public, if more transitory, were the arrangements made for their funerals. The provisions made in their wills combined conventional expressions of religious belief (which often derived rather from the chosen formulae of the notaries drawing up the document than from the particular theological preferences of the testators)²² with specific individual advocations and bequests, as well as more or less detailed instructions for their interment and memorial services. The testamentary provisions of the three Delgados were a reflection of their different personalities, of their differing social positions, and of changing

built by the "entallador palentino", Mateo Lancrín (1578), "dorado y estofado por el pintor Cristóbal de Herrera que cobró 50,000 mrs." The retablo tenía 20 pies por 10 de alto y ancho, y la hermosa reja was given, or sold, to the Conde de Hornachuelos in 1844.

¹⁸ «para el enterramiento del dho Señor Secretario y su muger e hijos y descendientes y de todos aquellos que el dho Señor Secretario y de quien por tpo subsudiese en el patronazgo... quisiesen.»

¹⁹ Escritura para el muy Ille Señor Johan Delgado, Secretario de Su Magd y del su consejo, del patronazgo de la capilla de Nuestra Señora del Rosario, AHP Palencia, 8887 (1), Registro de Pedro Guerra de Vesga 1577, ff.118-140v.

²⁰ AHP Madrid, Protocolos, no.174, Madrid 10.10.1577.

²¹ *ibid.*f.131v.

²² Mateo Britos, «Sitges», *Religiosidad Popular*, vol.2, p.263.

spiritual climates. The only will of Juan Delgado that survives was drawn up in Madrid in 1577 some eight years before his death in 1585, which, occurring suddenly late at night on the road to Palencia, almost certainly did not give him the opportunity to revise it. Though at the time already Secretary of War, Councillor of Finance and *señor* of Las Grañeras, in 1577 he had not yet reached the pinnacle of his fortunes. Indeed, the Secretary explicitly requested that his funeral be conducted at the discretion of his executors «con toda moderación». Concerning the actual ceremony and disposal of his body, he left no instructions other than that his corpse should be laid together with that of his late wife, Doña Mencía, in the church of San Martín in Madrid, until it was appropriate to transfer them both back to Palencia for burial, and to order a total of nearly 800 masses for himself, his father, mother, and his two departed wives in five different Palencia churches, that in which was to lie his tomb (the convent of San Pablo), and in the convent of San Francisco, and the parish churches of San Lázaro, Nuestra Señora de la Calle and Nuestra Señora del Otero. That number of masses would have put him well into the top one-fifth of testators in Madrid in that decade,²³ though far behind some of his fellow secretaries at the royal court.²⁴

However, Delgado's formal Invocation with which the will opened - «En el nombre de la santísima Trinidad, padre e hijo y espíritu sancto que son tres personas y uno solo dios berdadero que bive y rreina por siempre sin fin y de la gloriosísima siempre birgen sancta maria nra señora y de todos los sanctos y sanctas de la corte çeestial” - is much more likely to have been a personal expression of faith than simply the standard conventional requirement. On the evidence of testators in Madrid at the time, the invoking of the Trinity was not the norm and only a small number of Invocations included the Virgin Mary.²⁵ The profession of faith which follows also contains some points of particular interest: “deseando poner mi anima en carrera de salvaçion y creyendo como firmemente creo en la sancta fee catholica y todo aquello que bueno fiel y catholico christiano deve tener y creer, y tomando por mi ynterçesora y abogada a la gloriosísima birgen sancta maria nra señora y a señor san pedro y a señor san pablo y a señor santiago y a señor sant miguel angel a los quales tomo por mis abogados e ynterçesores para que quando dios me llevare desta presente bida presenten mi anima antel acatamiento de mi señor y rredentor Jesuxpo, suplicandole sea servido de perdonarme mis culpas y pecados y de darme su sancta gloria, y temiendome de la muerte como de cosa tan natural y çierta, hago y hordeno este mi testamento y ultima voluntad en la manera siguiente: Primeramente encomiendo mi anima a nro señor y rredentor Jesuxpo dios y hombre berdadero que la crio y rredimio con su preçiosa sangre, y el cuerpo mando a la tierra donde fue formado...” Of the masses

²³ Eire, *From Madrid to Purgatory*, pp.178-9.

²⁴ cf Matilla Tascón, *Testamentos*, p.42, Diego de Vargas ordered c.2,500; p.45, Juan de Escobedo between 6,000 and 8,500.

²⁵ Eire, *From Madrid to Purgatory*, p.62.

he provided for, additional “*misas rezadas con responso*” were to be performed over his tomb on Lady Days, Ascension Day and Trinity, and every Friday in Lent “*una misa rezada de pasion*” in honour and reverence for the five wounds Christ received on the Cross “*por la rredencion del genero umano y porque su dibina magt sea servido de rredimir y salvar mi anima y llevarla a la gloria para donde la crió.*”

Juan Delgado’s will was, nonetheless, a much more modest document than that of his son. The funeral of Don Agustín, in December 1607, was an altogether more grandiose affair. Apart from ordering nearly twice as many masses, approaching 1,500, each costing at least 1½ or 2 silver *reales*, the exequies set out in Don Agustín’s will called for a sung requiem mass on the day of his death performed by the deacon and subdeacon of the convent of San Pablo whence, borne by the brothers of the Hospital de San Blas²⁶ and accompanied by the friars of all the monasteries and the clergy of all the parishes of Palencia, with their copes, crucifixes and sceptres, his corpse, clothed in the habit of St Francis, as was becoming increasingly popular during the course of the 16th century,²⁷ was to be taken to be interred in the family chapel of Nuestra Señora del Rosario. Don Agustín was to be buried as *cofrade* and *hermano* of the Cofradía del Rosario of Palencia, a relatively recent charitable institution, devoted to begging in the streets and collecting alms for the poor,²⁸ into which he and his son had recently been inducted.²⁹ Alongside the catafalque were to walk the *niños de la doctrina* with the banner of their college,³⁰ and nine paupers, eight male and one female, in honour of the nine months of the pregnancy of Our Lady, specially dressed for the occasion in white or brown cloth; another two, carrying lighted torches, were to walk alongside the parish’s crucifix. As well as the more than 1,100 masses to be said for his soul at the altar of the chapel of the Rosario during the course of the next two years, a further 200 were to be said in Villajimena, in the hermitage of Nuestra Señora de Monserrate of which he was the patron, and another 100 in the parish church of Las Grañeras. In each of the two towns of his *señorío* 100 *reales* were to be distributed as alms to the poorest villagers, and in Palencia every pauper who came to his door on the day of his funeral to pray for his soul was to be given 1 *cuartillo*.

Exequies on such a scale were clearly costly and, it would seem, rather more than Don Agustín’s son was able to match when he died in reduced straits fifty years later, on 8 April 1658. The costly liturgical elements provided for in his will were certainly on a much more limited scale, a sung mass on the day of his funeral and

²⁶ For which see Marcos Martín, *Economía, sociedad, pobreza*, pp.465-70.

²⁷ Eire, *From Madrid to Purgatory*, p.105.

²⁸ Marcos Martín, *Economía, sociedad, pobreza*, pp.429, 439 - the Cofradía de Nuestra Señora del Rosario emerged in the last decades of the 16th Century with a hermitage near San Pablo.

²⁹ He willed 100 *reales* in *limosna* to the Cofradía del Rosario of Palencia to be given “*por razon de su entrada de cofrade y de Don Agustín Delgado Ferrer y Cardona, su hijo.*”

³⁰ See González Gallego, “*El proyecto didáctico*”, pp.475-96; Fernández de Pulgar, vol. 3, p.183: the *Colegios* were established throughout the diocese by Bishop Don Luis Cabeza de Vaca in 1549 to teach 24 *muchachos* Christian doctrine, and to read and write.

another 400 *misas rezadas* for his soul and those of his parents, not many more than a quarter of the number his father had willed. Nor was there any such distribution of alms to the poor as his father had ordered. On the other hand, the younger Don Agustín, at the end of virtually an entire life spent in Palencia and some fifty years as *regidor* and *alférez mayor*, was able to plan a notable civic funeral of the kind becoming increasingly common at the time.³¹ As for many years a *tercero* of the Franciscan Order, he asked to be buried in the habit of the Order, as indeed his father had been. His cortège, lighted by twelve yellow-wax torches (the maximum number allowed by the law), carried by *los niños de la doctrina*, was to be attended on its way to his chapel in the convent of San Pablo, «donde están mis padres y abuelos», by the entire congregation of the Cathedral's chaplains «con papas y letras», who were to say a sung mass and a «missa de honra» on the day of his funeral. They were to be accompanied by the friars of the Dominican and Observant Franciscan convents, who were also to say a sung mass, and by the members of the confraternities of St Francis and La Caridad, of which he was himself a *cofrade*, who were to carry out «los sufraxios que se acostumbran» for his soul.³² For these prayers and services there was, of course, a customary payment due, as there was the standard 1½ *reales* for each ordinary mass, but unfortunately it is not possible to calculate the total costs of Don Agustín jr.'s exequies and other charitable dispositions beyond estimating that they could hardly have reached much more than one-quarter of those of his father. Whereas a rough estimate of the lifetime donations Juan Delgado and his son made to the Church amounted to about 13,750 *reales* (something like one year of the Secretary's salary at its peak) and 8,550 *reales* respectively, the former inflated by the cost of the arrangement with the Convento de San Pablo, the latter not including the unknown cost of the Ermita de Nuestra Señora de Monserrate in Villajimena, Don Agustín jr.'s donations in his 44 years of adult life, cannot have stretched to much more than 6,000 *reales*.

The three testaments reflect three different spiritualities as well as three different life experiences. There is apparent in Juan Delgado's dispositions an almost cosmic religiosity which goes beyond the usual concern for his own personal salvation. The invocation of the intercession of the Virgin and the saints for the forgiveness of his sins, expressed in the legal language of advocacy usual in the legalist mindset of his time, included, alongside Peter and Paul, the warrior saint and apostle Santiago (St James the Greater), "luz y guiador de las españas" as he glossed it in the foundation document of his *mayorazgo*, and the Archangel Michael, thus underlining the distinctly militant "castellanista" dimension to his

³¹ García Fernández, "Vida y muerte", p.242.

³² Marcos Martín, *Economía, sociedad, pobreza*, vol.2, pp.423-49; the Cofradía de la Caridad was limited to 30 *cofrades* of whom 10 were "seglares ... de lo más granado de la ciudad". Its emphasis was on the "pobre vergonzante", p.436, and it ran a hospital for "pobres enfermos", p.444.

Catholicism.³³ Juan Delgado also endowed a requiem mass (“una misa rezada de pasion”) every Friday during the Lent following his death for the salvation and glorification of his soul and to honour and revere the Five Wounds Christ received on the Cross «por la rredençion del genero umano». The material needs of the disadvantaged of the “genero umano” were less to the fore. There is nothing in Juan Delgado’s will to compare with the concerns expressed in the wills of his secretarial contemporaries, Diego de Vargas and Juan de Escobedo. Vargas bequeathed 60,000 mrs *limosna* for “personas necesitadas” in the villages of his *señorío* “para que rueguen a Dios por mi anima”, as well as the instruction for the establishment of an “arca de la piedad” to store wheat “para acomodar y prestar a los pobres en tiempo de necesidad”; every year on the feast of Santiago in July a dozen “pobres” were to be given a meal in his family’s house and half a ducat each to pray for his soul. Escobedo’s charity was on a lesser scale. A dozen paupers were to be clothed and fed on the day of his funeral, and another dozen were to be fed in each of the three *pueblos* in the Montaña “donde yo tengo mi naturaleza”. No desire for such public manifestations of charity is to be found in Juan Delgado’s will, whether towards his fellow Palencians or his vassals in Las Grañeras.³⁴ One has to keep in mind, however, that the will of 1577 was drawn up in the shadow of his wife’s death, not in the imminent expectation of his own.

For his part, his son’s religiosity was more self-centred, and focussed on the saints Augustine, Dominic and Francis and his devotion to the Virgin of Montserrat, to whom he had established the hermitage in Villajimena, perhaps inspired by the legend that it was at the shrine in Montserrat that another soldier, Ignatius Loyola, in thanks for the healing of his wounds, had laid down his arms to devote himself to God. “Por la devocion que siempre e tenido a Nuestra Señora de Monserrate se digan en la hermita que yo e echo en... Villajimena nueve misas en los nueve dias que se celebran la fiesta de Nuestra Señora de cada un año perpetuamente; otro el dia de San Agustín, y otros dos los dias de Santo Domingo y San Francisco todos los años perpetuamente ... rezadas por mi anima y la de Doña Leonor mi muger y sus pasados y mios.” The celebrants were to receive 2 *reales* for each mass. On the vespers of those days “se an de echar en la lampara questa en la dha capilla ocho mrs de azeyte para queste alumbrando a la dha ymagen”, and every Saturday night during the year “se echen otros ocho mrs de azeyte”, and on “las visperas de la bocacion de Nra Sra se diga en la dha hermita la salbe” with 1½ *reales* to be given to the celebrant. Don Agustín sr.’s will also reveals a much greater sense of his status

³³ “tomando por mi ynterçesora y abogada a la gloriosissima birgen sancta maria nra señora y a señor san pedro y a señor san pablo y a señor santiago y a señor sant miguel angel a los quales tomo por mis abogados e ynterçesores para que quando dios me llevare desta presente bida presenten mi anima antel acatamiento de mi señor y rredentor Jesuxpo, suplicandole sea servido de perdonarme mis culpas y pecados y de darme su sancta gloria.”

³⁴ Matilla Tascón, *Testamentos*, pp.42,45-46; cf the will of Secretary Gonzalo Pérez, 11.4.1566, there were no charitable donations either, González Palencia, *Gonzalo Pérez*, vol.2, pp.558-91.

and of the obligations of his señorial position as lord of Villajimena and Las Grañeras, bequeathing masses to be said for his soul and monies to be distributed to the poorest residents in each of his two *señoríos*, while in both towns the *alcaldes mayores* were given a length of Segovian braise to be made into mourning clothes in his honour. His funeral itself was to be made into a public display of his generosity. Nine paupers, eight men and one woman, were to be given clothing “de paño blanco o pardo” in honour of the nine months during which Our Lady was pregnant, as well as another two who were to carry the lighted torches accompanying his parish’s crucifix. All those paupers were to accompany his body with their torches lighted. On the day of his funeral 1 *quartillo* was to be given as alms to every pauper who came to his door to pray for his soul.

Not only do charitable donations have a greater place in Don Agustín’s will than in that of his father, but so too does a pervasive sense of guilt for his failings of character and behaviour, in mitigation of which («para descargo de su conciencia») he ordered 1,000 *reales* to be spent on the adornment of his chapel in San Pablo and the procurement of no less than 100,000 mrs of indulgences, a disposition subsequently modified in a codicil, but only with respect to the form of mitigation, so that «con ello descarga su conciencia y cunpla lo que tenía obligación».³⁵

Equally apparent is Don Agustín’s sense of himself as a soldier and the undiminished memories of his (and perhaps Spain’s) military past to which he clung. He left 4,000 mrs to be given every year to the monastery of San Pablo in Palencia, «para que el primero domingo del mes de octubre de cada año, ques quando se zelebra la fiesta de la batalla nabal, se diga perpetuamente y para siempre xamas en mi capilla de Nuestra Señora del Rosario... la misa prencipal del dicho dia con diacono y subdiacono y aya sermon pegando el pulpito a la dha capilla y el predicador que fuere haga memoria del milagro de quel dia y de la merced que nuestro Señor me hizo allandome yo en la dha batalla.» It is a striking instance of the depth of the resonance Lepanto still had after nearly forty years and for so

³⁵ Appendix 7. Codicilio, Palencia 30.11.1607, AHP Palencia no.7722 - modified in a Segundo Cobdicilio, Palencia, 1.12.1607: «que en lugar de ciertas cosas y regalos que rescibio de algunos concexos y personas particulares del Reyno de Granada quando estubo en ellas y que no tenia memoria de quien lo abia rezevido, se gastasen myll reales en dorar la rexa de su capilla» in San Pablo. In the first codicil, he ordered “que se tome las bulas de compusicion que fueron necesarias para satisfacion de 100,000 mrs de que tenia memoria era a cargo”, but discussing it with “personas religiosas, dotas y grabes” they advise him that in the form set out this will not “satisfacer lo que era a cargo”. Now «atento que a rrecorrido su memoria y le parece ques a cargo de lo susudho como hasta 4,000 reales». This he wants taken from “lo mexor y mas bien parado de sus bienes” to endow a sung requiem mass in the Capilla de Nuestra Señora del Rosario of San Pablo, Palencia, every year in perpetuity on 3 November, paying the friars 20 *reales de limosna*. The remainder of the income from the 4,000 reales is to endow *misas rezadas* in the chapel at two *reales de plata* «y con ello descarga su conciencia y cunpla lo que tenia obligacion».

many of its participants who survived in Spain. In Palencia alone 4 of the 16 *veteranos* recommended for command in 1586 were survivors of Lepanto.³⁶

In contrast, Don Agustín jr.'s will contained no provisions regarding either Villajimena or Las Grañeras; neither did it make any provision for private charities or almsgiving, apart from the small, required donation for the redemption of Christian captives and of the Casa Santa de Jerusalén. Don Agustín jr.'s charitable giving was institutional, an expression of his place and of his containment within the closed communal world of the city. It was not a demonstration of his individual virtue. He was a member of the *cofradía* of La Caridad, one of the ten *cofrades seglares* elected by *votos secretos* from «lo más granado de la ciudad», devoted to the care of “pobres enfermos”.³⁷ He was also, and had been for many years, a *cofrade* of the penitentialist Hermandad de la Orden Tercera de San Francisco, a body which had no fixed income other than the 4 mrs paid every Friday by each of its *cofrades* in order to bail prisoners from gaol and every year to provide those in prison with a meal.³⁸

The devotions practised by the Delgados in the privacy of their homes are obviously much more difficult to uncover. Again, the prime evidence we can draw on is provided by the inventories of Doña Ysabel de Ribas, compiled immediately after her death in 1557, Juan Delgado in 1559, and his grandson Don Agustín in 1658. These inventories list, though not necessarily in great detail, books, paintings, statues, relics and other small items of a religious nature. However, only the inventory of 1559 has individual valuations. On that occasion the religious items owned by Juan Delgado amounted to less than 1% of the household goods and silverware he had in his house. Much of this seems to have been passed on by his wife: a statue of the Virgin with John the Baptist, probably corresponding to the red alabaster statue of Our Lady belonging to Doña Ysabel, together with four other wooden statuettes of the Virgin and a “rosa de Nuestra Señora”, an *Ecce Homo* in coral, a veronica, a couple of gold crucifixes, a box of lesser relics and some small religious items of gold, silver and gemstone which had been in her ownership in 1557, the five statuettes underlining the predominance of Marian devotions. Those items together with “un libro prosantos cumplido de los de Zaragoza” comprised the sum total of the items recorded. In the 1559 inventory of Juan Delgado the valuations (in mrs) were for “la hechura de quatro ymaxenes de Nra Señora e un hezehomo e una beronica” 2,250; “la hechura de otra ymagen de Nra Sra y SJ Bautista” 375; “una caxuela de reliquias” 34; “una rosa de Nra Sra” 17, and “un libro prosantos cumplydo de los de zaragoza” 750, totalling 3,426 mrs, 100 *reales*, or a little over 9 ducats. How much these reflect Juan Delgado's personal devotions is open to question. Most of these items were passed on from his late wife, Doña

³⁶ AGS GA 188, f.5.

³⁷ Marcos Martín, *Economía, Sociedad, Pobreza*, vol.2, pp.432, 436.

³⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 439 and 445 n.150.

Ysabel, who died two years earlier leaving a number of similar religious objects, including two silver tiaras for the red alabaster statue of Our Lady which had been sent her from New Spain, as well as the alabaster statue itself and the four others, the *ecce homo*, and a number of gold crucifixes, coral rosaries, a small brass pot of holy water, and some well-used devotionals.³⁹

The contrast with Don Agustín jr.'s inventory a century later is marked. The items listed at his death point to a man for whom religion was a much more central part of his life, a man absorbed by the trappings of his faith. His house included an oratory hung with "seis tafetanes de tafeta doble encarnado" (even if "decaída"), complete with its altar and "retablo dorado", as described in the document: "la moldura de talla de dos cuerpos, el primero pintado en table y el segundo en lienço; un cielo de guadamecí; un frontal de paño colorado, bordado de rasos; una sabana de altar con puntas de manteles alimaniscas; la arcaliz y patena, bolsa de corporales de terciopelo carmesi forrada en rasillo falso carmesi con sus corporales con puntas de pitta grandes; tafetan del caliz con guarnicion de oro pequeña forrado en otro tafetan carmesi; atril de madera y misal de letra antigua; una mesica redonda, y encima la casulla de raso verde y dorado forrado en olandilla açul con estolar; manipulo de terciopelo carmesi; albayamito de lienço hordinario con unas puntas hordinarias y tingulo de ylo; una messa donde esta el altar con un cajon; un pedestal de madera dorada, dos buxias de laton, un santo christo de bulto grande de media bara con su cruz, y en el caxon del altar una casulla de damasco carmesi, y flores blancas de manipulo y estola forrado en olandilla açul, ocho velas de zera blanca de alibea, dos almoadillas, una de raso carmesi, y la otra de lana, un paño de caliz de tafetan carmesi con puntas, una cafate de paxas bordado sobre tafetan viejo; una cruz de Santo Torivio grande; un quadro de San Jeronimo en lienço con trasmarquillo; un lienço de Nuestra Señora de Monserrate, con dos retratos a los pies con su marco y cortina de tafetan açul de dos varas y media de alto; quatro lienços de a bara de apostoles, y otro pequeño de un santo; un lienço de un fraile venito pequeño; un lienço del transito de San Joseph; una tabla de las palabras de la consagracion, un santo christo pequeño en su cruz con su peana, un niño Jesus con su peana".⁴⁰

Of items of a profane or secular nature there was very little in any of the inventories: the book of emperors and the two other books of *romances* and stories in Juan Delgado's inventory of 1559, the two landscapes and perhaps some or all of the eleven tapestries in that of Don Agustín jr. in 1658 described as "de figuras y de animales". But what is noticeable about Don Agustín jr.'s *bienes* is how much of his furniture and furnishings was described as "viejo", "muy biejo", "echo pedaços", "traidos y biejo", "la mayor parte quitado". Though we do not know from what stage of Don Agustín jr.'s life his oratory and its contents date, it is consistent with

³⁹ Inventory of Doña Ysabel de Rivas 21.8.1557.

⁴⁰ Inventario de Vienes, 11.4.1658: AHP Palencia 9409, ff.443v-448.

a wider Baroque form of Counter-Reformation religiosity, of which it is a spectacular expression, as well as an immersion in a deeper personal religiosity on the part of Don Agustín, which perhaps could be seen to run parallel with what seems to be the increasing introversion of his personal life, provincialised, socially narrow and financially depressed, without employment, without progeny, and humiliated by worldly authority by his rejection as worthy of knighthood.

CHAPTER VI THREE GENERATIONS

1. THREE DELGADOS

But beyond the apparent differences in their expression of religious sentiment, there are other divisions of attitude and mentality that are revealed within the successive Delgado generations. As far as Juan Delgado himself is concerned, a view of how he saw himself emerges most vividly from the coat of arms that he created for himself and his line. The first full description we have of the arms of Delgado is to be found in the *mayorazgo* document of 1577 [Appendix 11]: “las armas que son un escudo con quatro quartos: en el de la mano derecha a de estar un castillo en campo verde y ençima del una aguila negra; y debaxo deste quarto a destar otro con un baston atrabesado desquina a esquina en campo açul y debaxo del baston una media luna blanca y ençima una flor de lis amarilla; y en el otro cuarto alto de la mano yzquierda otro baston con otros tres gajos dos a un lado y tres a otro [sic] con dos cabeças de sierpes amarillas que le abraçan por los estremos que a de estar en campo açul; y en el otro quarto bajo de la mano yzquierda an de estar quatro herraduras al rreves las lumbres haçiabajo y los calbos haçiarriba en campo berde; y por orla a de tener todo el escudo el ave maria en campo amarillo y ençima del su tinble y almete.” The colouring of the fields of the four quarters is significant. Heraldic colours have meaning. The colours represent specific sets of qualities or virtues. The blue (*azur*) of Juan Delgado’s coat of arms signifies justice, prudence, conscientiousness, diligence, obedience, trustworthiness, loyalty, charitableness, piety; the green (*sinople*), a colour also favoured by Juan Delgado in his dress, designates service, respect, honour, fidelity, friendship, hope.¹ The black eagle – the messenger of the gods – is also a symbol of powerfulness, courage and perspicacity. The colours speak the ideals of the bearer. They are an idealised form of autobiography. The same can be said of other elements in the arms. The castle, the symbol of strength in the defence of family, friends and right; the crescent moon in the lower right quarter the symbol of purity in body and mind, of the creative force of growth and advancement, reinforced by the fleur de lys another symbol of purity, honour and loyalty.

¹ Ortega Gato, “Blasones y mayorazgos”, p.14, is just one of many interpretations of the heraldic significance of colours, shapes, objects, plants, etc.

The heraldic components of the arms described in the *mayorazgo* document can be seen not only to be a very individual statement by Delgado of his personal ideals, but also of his ambitions for his line. Indeed, the the *escudo* is structured precisely in that way. The elements of the right-hand quarters represent personal qualities and ideals. Those of the left-hand quarters are references to the achievements and significance of the family. The yellow serpents of the upper left quarter are not only symbolic of the force of prudence in defending the “bastón”, the trunk of the body, but they are also resonant of the “banda de oro engolada de cabezas de dragontes” that immemorialised heraldically those present fighting against the Moors at the battle of El Salado in 1340, just as Don Agustín had been at the no less memorable battle of Lepanto in 1571. The “gajos”, the branches, broken or budding, three on one side two on the other - the *mayorazgo* document is very specific on this point - could conceivably also be a family reference, perhaps to the three sons and two daughters of Francisco Fernández and Isabel Delgado (there is no other very obvious possibility). The *herraduras* of the lower left quarter is without question a family reference to the Cordoban Herreras with whom the Delgados were claiming an association.

The qualities highlighted in the coat of arms are no less apparent in the tone of the language used by the Secretary Delgado in his petitions for rewards and other considerations, a language that stands in marked contrast to that deployed by his soldier son, Don Agustín. Juan Delgado’s language is supplicatory. Its stress is on desert, on worthiness, on just reward. His self-worth is defined by such concepts as “trabajo”, “servicio”, “amor”, “cuydado”, “limpieza”, “nota” (*reputación*). Examples are numerous: «Yo quedo bién confiado que vuestra merced, como me lo scrive, acordará a Su Majestad la merced que le he suplicado, pues my trabajo es el que todo el mundo sabe, y mayor my nescesidad y deuda»;² «no tengo que dezir sino besar a vuestra merced las manos y encomendallo a dios que su majestad divina es testigo si desseo ynportunar a Su Majestad, ny querría más de serbir con el amor y cuydado que lo hago. Asi dios me lo pague, pero la nescesidad saca el juyzio de su lugar»;³ «Suplico a vuestra merced que quando aya ocasion se acuerde de traer a la memoria a Su Majestad my nescesidad, porque se puede mal trabajar todos los dias y la mayor parte de las noches y quando me boy a dormir pensar donde he de buscar lo que he de comer el dia siguiente es fuerte caso, pues a los que biven con el trabajo y limpieça que yo, no es justo llegallos a termino de desesperación y tanta verguença de la nota que en toda la corte se tiene, pues no me haziendo merced Su Majestad no se juzga sino no tenerse por serbido de my»;⁴ “Suplico a vuestra merced que acuerde a su majestad sea servido hazerme la merced que su voluntad fuere con la brevedad que para aquietar my anymo he menester, porque yo no sé como pueda servir ny passar sino es con esta ayuda. Y si

² Delgado to Mateo Vázquez, 23.10.1576, IVDJ envío 87, caja 122, f.160.

³ To Mateo Vázquez, 29.10.1576, IVDJ envío 87, caja 122, f.161.

⁴ To Mateo Vázquez, 1.12.1576, AGS GA 81, f.355.

vuestra merced entiende que no a de aver efeto con tanta dilación que yo padezca tanto trabajo, me avise dello para que acabe de vender otra poca hazienda que me queda y acabada, pues dios a sido servydo dexarme solo no sé si sería mejor a cabo de xlv años de servicio, como todo el mundo sabe, yrme a meter en algund rincón de un monesterio hasta acabar la vida...»;⁵ «representa muy apretada necesidad y el cuidado que le dan sus deudas, las quales han acrecentado en la Jornada de Portugal sin poderlo remediar ni excusar... y que passan de 12,000 ducados, y supplica se le haga merced ... para podellos pagar..., pues de la manera que ha servido tantos años no merece que Su Majestad le dexee padecer tanto...»⁶ It could serve as a rather bitter comment on the expectations imbued from his first master, Cobos, on whose grand mausoleum in Ubeda were engraved the words, “Fides, labor et solertia haec et maiora donant” (From faith, hard work and diligence comes this, and more).⁷

In contrast, Don Agustín’s language is aggressive, demanding, assertive of his “rights”: «cerca de la orden que Su Magestad es servido se tenga en el exercicio deste officio ... me he rresuelto de cunplir y obedezel lo que se me manda, y aunque es cosa que nunca la ha hecho ninguno de mi calidad... pero he querido venger en mi la porfia y que quiebra sobre mi reputación a trueque de que no me noten de ynobediente, y de conformarme con que vuestra merced dize que es lo que conbiene. Supplico a vuestra merced que pues conoze el agravio que se haze en esto a mi padre y el que yo he de sentir aviendo de permanecer en el servicio»;⁸ “suplico a Vuestra Majestad que abiendo la ciudad de Palencia y su probincia o la ciudad sola de hacer y guiar jente de guerra no se nombre otro capitan que lo aga mas de lo que esta ya nonbrado, pues lo soy yo por dos beces, ni se de comision a la ciudad que tal nombramiento haga pues es en mi perjuicio, y Vuestra Majestad jamas acostumbra quitar el officio a quien le a dado no obiendo hecho lo que no debe»;⁹ having been ordered to take the men of the companies of the *tercio* of Don Agustín Mexía to billet in *tierra* of Burgos and Palencia, «y aunque abiendo el servido a Vuestra Majestad en cosas de tanta calidad como aber sido gobernador y capitan en Italia y alferez mayor de Palenzia y capitan de la gente de su provinzia por nombramiento de Su Majestad y administrado el officio de Secretario de la guerra es incompatible lo que agora se le manda azer.»¹⁰ This same aggressive assertiveness is similarly apparent in the litigiousness of his relations with his vassals in Las Grañeras and Villajimena, contrasting starkly with his father’s sense of “good lordship”. [Appendix 12]

A similar difference of character is also visible in the signatures and monograms (*rúbricas*) of the two men. [Plate p.218] The individual letters of the

⁵ To Mateo Vázquez, 16.6.1577, IVDJ envió 87, caja 122, f.150.

⁶ 1584 lists of petitions to King, BL Add. 28344, ff.381, 387.

⁷ Luis Zapata, *Miscelánea*, p.241, cited by Casey, *Familia, poder y comunidad*, p.108.

⁸ To Don Juan de Idiáquez, 13.9.1584, AGS GA 166, f.295.

⁹ AGS GA 213, f.244 sf.

¹⁰ AGS GA 301, 1590.

Secretary's signature are discrete, clear, plain, the strokes vertical, well-defined and unadorned, suggestive of a restrained, controlled personality, concerned with the practicality of recognition rather than with self-expression. In contrast, his soldier son's signature and *rúbrica* are expressions of a very different personality-type. They are spacious, flamboyant, showy. The signature contains not a single straight, vertical character. What this suggests is an extroverted personality concerned with the projection of an image of easy self-confidence, but also revealing a man liable to a rashness of judgement, and above all one rather less constrained than his father by the dictates of prudence and propriety.

Unfortunately, I do not have a comparable signature for Don Agustín jr. who in his last months was so incapable he was not even able to sign his will. For Don Agustín jr. we have no correspondence, no petitions and no evidence of his "voice" other than what might be deduced from the content of his *inventario de bienes*, some specific clauses in his will and the terms of the settlements he made with his sister and his nephew. The character that comes across is much different from that of his predecessors. It is neither combative as was his father's, nor justificatory as was his grandfather's, assertive neither of his rights nor of his deserts. It is accommodatory, conciliatory, pacificatory, reasonable, apologetic. It is not the voice of a man of strong will or opinion. His response to Don Luis Manrique de Lara's demand on him in 1641 that «por no tener, como no tiene, renta bastante para se sustentar conforme a su calidad, ... que como ymediato subseor ques del mayorazgo... le diese alimentos conforme a su calidad», was more than conciliatory. Despite his own deteriorated financial situation, "por quitarse de pleytos y por conservar el deudo y amistad que tienen", he agreed, in return for a payment from Don Luis of 200 *reales de vellón* every Christmas, to pay over all the «menudos» from the *tercias* of Autilla del Pino (ie wine, oil, sheep, chickens, wax, oats, etc) during his lifetime.¹¹ Even when claiming from his sister payments outstanding for her maintenance while staying with him after the death of her husband, he wanted 10,000 mrs a year deducted from the 300 ducats she should have paid because during that time "no tubo en su servicio enteramente el ama y paxe que podia tener, por lo qual no fue tanto el gasto que con ella hize."¹² Again, his last will and testament recognised that the 3,000 ducats promised fifty years before to his wife, Doña Savina, as "arras y donacion por tenuticas" were no longer covered by "la decima parte de mis vienes", and so, as "cassi como primera duda contraida desde el dia que contraje matrimonio", he ordered it to be paid forthwith from whatever source there was available, «e pido e suplico a la dicha Señora Doña Savina me perdone la mala quenta y raçon que tengo.» A similarly apologetic tone is also evidenced in his will, regretting «que en las casas en que vivo se a caido un quarto dellas que hera el antiguo que en ellas avia, y lo demas no queda muy bien

¹¹ Accord Don Agustín Delgado with his nephew Don Luis Manrique, *vecino* of Tordesillas, Palencia 29.6.1641, AHP Palencia no. 9092, ff.445-447v; Ortega Gato, "Blasones y mayorazgos", p.248 K no.17.

¹² AGS Contaduría de Mercedes 124, f.3.

reparado por la falta que e tenido de hacienda con que poder acerlo», and on that account asking Don Luis, his heir, «enmiende mi descuido, reformando las dichas casas como fabrica del señor Joan Delgado mi abuelo.”

No less interesting is the apparent contrast between his private oratory, replete with altar, retablo, lectern, canvasses of saints and holy men, etc., and his huge store of arms – the one both a visible and a subconscious repudiation of the *converso* stain in his inheritance, the other perhaps at the same time a kind of compensation for the lack of the personal experience of war that had defined his father, whose name he shared, and his own internalised assertion of the status of *Caballero* that he had failed to achieve publicly.¹³ This is a man, the youngest child of the family, growing up some 10 years younger than his sisters, knowing that he has nothing with which to compete with the character and achievements of his father and his grandfather but his own fantasies. It was he who had to manage the “family business” at the most demanding of times. The three Delgados were different men, from different generations, with different abilities and different characters, and it was those differences which as much as anything determined the ultimate fortunes of the family.

2. THE TRAJECTORY OF THE DELGADOS: A “BUDDENBROOKS EFFECT”?

The paradigm of the “Buddenbrooks Effect” derives from Thomas Mann’s *Buddenbrooks*, published in 1901, a novel charting the fortunes of a 19th-century merchant family of Lübeck and its trajectory from the dynamic success of the dynasty’s founder, through the son who struggles to match his father’s achievements, down to the third generation, the grand-children, who turn out to be hopeless failures who squander the inheritance, sully the family name and liquidate the business. This pattern of a three-generational downcurve (the “third-generation effect”) has become a classic model applied particularly to family business dynasties, but one that has also been applied more widely, outside business history, to political and social dynasties, to identity reassertion within minority groups, and even to the analysis of the rise and decline of nations, states and empires.¹⁴

In Spanish history, the idea has found both premonitions and echoes (though almost never explicitly) in, for example, Quevedo’s “Monarchies maintain themselves with the customs on which they were built. They have always been won by captains, always corrupted by academics”, or, in modern times, Pierre Vilar’s “Castile, initially a country of soldiers, became a country of students, jurists, clerics,

¹³ Casey, *Familia, poder y comunidad*, p.85, entry into a Military Order signified “pertenecer a las élites nacionales”.

¹⁴ See, for example, Andrea Colli, *The History of Family Business 1850-2000*, Cambridge 2003, esp. pp.13-14; Christoph Deutschmann, “Paradoxes of social rise. The expansion of the middle-classes and the Financial Crisis”, *Journal of Social Science Education*, vol.9, no.1, 2010, pp.20-31, esp. pp.28-29; David Landes, *Dynasties*, 2006, pp.186-7.

theologians, writers, artists, as happens in any society when the increase of national wealth enables it to guarantee enough of its members a long period of study and leisure.” More immediately pertinent, the critique of the institution of the *mayorazgo* by *arbitristas* in the 17th-century and by the “enlightened” agrarian reformers of the 18th was very much rooted in what they saw as its dampening effects on the aspirations of succeeding generations.¹⁵ The Buddenbrooks paradigm may also be of relevance to the trajectory of the Delgados, starting with the architect of their fortune, the royal secretary at the Court of Philip II, through to the soldier hero son and finally the impotent grandson who brought the direct male line to an impecunious end.

In the first generation Juan Delgado had built up a notable position at Court and a significant standing in Palencia, establishing a *mayorazgo* worth some 27,000 ducats and leaving at his death an income of about 1,050 ducats a year. All the same, he did not leave his successor in as sound a financial position as many of his colleagues had succeeded in doing. Not until late in his career, when he was in his 50s, did he reach the secretaryship and the peak of his earnings.¹⁶ Nor, for whatever reason - personality, temperament, initiative, opportunity, moral inhibition - did he make as much from his position at Court, either in rewards from the king or in the other, more or less legitimate, ways that some of his colleagues managed to do. His mentor, Francisco de los Cobos, undoubtedly an exceptional case, began as “un hidalgo pobre” in the same way Delgado claimed to have done, but died as Comendador de León, Señor de Sabiote and Adelantado de Cazorla, with an income of 53,000 ducats a year.¹⁷ Just to limit ourselves to secretaries of war, Delgado’s successor, Antonio de Eraso, “creciendo en bienes de fortuna, fundó el estado y casa de Humanes con título de Vizconde”,¹⁸ which 30 years later enjoyed an income of 14,000 ducats.¹⁹ Andrés de Prada, one of Eraso’s replacements, when Secretary of State in 1603 was given an *encomienda* of the Order of Santiago.²⁰ The other, Andrés de Alva, even before his appointment, was said to have gone to the relief of Malta in 1565 “con no más hacienda de una valija con un par de camisas y su escrivanía, y que oy (1584) tiene más de 5,000 ducados de renta ganada con su Magestad.”²¹ The secretary Don Luis de Molina y Salazar, the son and nephew of two predecessors of Delgado in the Secretaría de Guerra, was given a *merced* of 1,600 ducats a year for life by Philip III.

Delgado does not appear to have been in any way disadvantaged at Court by rumours of his *converso* background or doubts about his *hidalguía* of the sort that

¹⁵ Clavero, *Mayorazgo*, chs.13 & 14

¹⁶ Antonio Pérez was made Secretary of State at 26.

¹⁷ Keniston, *Cobos*, p.317.

¹⁸ BL Eg.2052, ff.305-6.

¹⁹ BNE 7423, f.166.

²⁰ RAH, Salazar y Castro, *Comendadores de Santiago*, vol.I, pp.311,324.

²¹ Minute Granvelle to Don Juan de Idiáquez, 3.8.1584.

were rampant in Palencia. There is no indication that anybody in Madrid either knew or cared, any more than they did about another royal secretary, Juan de Ibarra, who accumulated a fortune of 60,000 ducats, became a *Comendador* of Calatrava, and married the daughter of a knight of Santiago related to the marquises of Salinas and Cenete, despite his father's being a bastard of a *pechero* family engaged in trade and the dubious office of notary.²² But in Palencia it was different. The more local the community the longer the memory, and Delgado was no doubt conscious that whatever status he was to acquire he had to pay for. The price was the opportunity cost of expensive investments without which his capital wealth at the time of his death could have been producing one-third more than the 1,000 ducats a year that it did, without succeeding in erasing for his offspring the unwanted legacy of their origins.

Don Agustín sr., though no less active in seeking to maintain or to increase the Delgados' status and wealth, ultimately succeeded neither in advancing them nor in establishing a basis for further growth. His exclusion from office both at Court in 1585 and in Antequera in 1595 deprived him of a career in the royal service which was the key to material and social advancement. Not only did his temperament and personal character defects stand in the way of his own advancement, but his continued search for status proved to be counter-productive. It not only isolated the Delgados from the prospect of integration into a supportive "clan" within Palencia, those "redes de relación social que al mismo tiempo solían ser... redes de poder",²³ but it was in the longer term a financial disaster. The early unforeseeable widowhood of his elder daughter, Ysabel, attached the Delgado name to an impoverished successor who brought to the *mayorazgo* nothing but the gloss of the "Manrique de Lara" label.

In the third generation, Don Agustín jr. passively oversaw the erosion both of the family's wealth and of the continuity of its male line, seemingly without either the capacity or the will to do anything about it. We have no evidence of any ambition on his part to seek office or employment, or even to take a prominent role in the government of the city, despite the high office he held in the *ayuntamiento*. The outstanding preoccupations of his life in Palencia seem to have been religious, both in their public manifestation as *cofrade* of various communal institutions, and in their interiorised expression within his own private, household oratory. With his patrimony declining, with no progeny, the infertile fruit of his loins incapable of perpetuating his line and his name, was it only the surrogate of religion that could give him a sense of worth?

The failure of the Delgados was not, of course, merely a question of personalities. The "Buddenbrooks effect" is not just a function of an individual's character, temperament, behaviour, or psychology. The syndrome has both

²² Guerrero Mayllo, "Don Juan de Ybarra y Mallea", pp.39-56.

²³ Marcos Martín, "Movilidad social", p.30.

internal and external dimensions. It is a relationship between the personal and the situational, between the individual and his times, and the characteristics needed to come to terms with them. The fortunes of the last of the Delgados were greatly affected by external circumstances over which he had no control. They were badly hit by the general economic and agrarian crisis of 1630-32²⁴ which cut into the incomes of everybody reliant on returns from the land, directly or indirectly. The Palencia region suffered as much as anywhere. There the downturn, from its onset around 1620, did not trough until the 1680s.²⁵ During Don Agustín's stewardship, between the first and sixth decades of the century (1607-58), grain tithes fell in the Palencia region by 31.4%, and income from wheat and barley, that is the product of price and harvest quantities, fell by 62.7% and 46.5% respectively.²⁶ In the nearby northern part of Avila province, returns from the land in 1658 were only 44.8% of what they had been in 1559, and only 49% of 1607. The harvested grain the Delgados received from Villajimena fell steadily from 125 *cargas* in 1559, to 110 in 1607, and 100 in 1658.²⁷

Holders of Crown debt were further hit by the fiscal measures imposed by a desperate Hacienda, notably during the reign of Felipe IV. A series of devices, *acrecentamientos de juros*, *medias annatas*, the over-assignment of revenues (*juros sin cabimiento*), *donativos* (in effect forced loans), the complete or partial retention of payments (*valimientos de juros*), left rent-holders with reduced incomes year after year. In 1621 the official rate of return from *juros* was reduced from 1/14 to 1/20.²⁸ In practice, 20 *mil el millar* was the norm long before that, and the rate had already been raised on certain *juros* to 22 in 1614.²⁹ From 1625 the first of a series of partial and local *valimientos* began, becoming regular between 1634 and 1652, and 1629-30 saw the first levy of the *media annata de juros*, which from 1638, excepting 1641 and 1642, became in effect a regular tax on all *juro* incomes. Together with a cluster of other impositions, like the "veintena" in 1637, a 5% levy on the inheritance of offices, *juros* and *censos* and on "rentas del capital", a charge of 100 ducats for licences "para andar en coches, literas o sillas", such measures brought 15,955,000 ducats into the royal treasury between 1635 and 1640 alone.³⁰ As a result the capital value of investments in the Crown debt plummeted. In 1623 the Council of Finance

²⁴ Marcos Martín, *Economía, Sociedad, Pobreza*, vol.1, p.154.

²⁵ "Durante buena parte del siglo xvii, en la mayoría de lugares de la Submeseta Norte la tendencia de las rentas se caracterizó por un fortísimo descenso.", Cuervo Fuente, *Renta de la tierra*, p.19.

²⁶ Index of diezmos de granos 1583-5 100, 1600-09 70, 1660-69 48; income from trigo and *cebada* (price x production) 1600-09 201 114; 1650-59 75 61, Marcos Martín, *Economía, Sociedad, Pobreza*, pp.234, 239.

²⁷ 1559 79 *cargas* *cebada* valued at 45,000 mrs, 40 *cargas* trigo at 40,000 mrs, 6 *cargas* centeno at 3,000 mrs: totals 88,000; 1607 50 *cargas* *cebada*, 40 trigo, 20 centeno; for 1658 100 *cargas* - no breakdown.

²⁸ Marcos Martín, "Crecimientos", pp.569, 575.

²⁹ See below AGS Contaduría de Mercedes 121, f.2.

³⁰ Gelabert, *Bolsa del Rey*, pp.108, 111-12, 223, 225; Marcos Martín, "La deuda pública", p.345 & n.62.

claimed that most *juros* were trading at no more than a half or even a third of their face value, and of the 12,297,155 *escudos* placed in *juros*, one-third were unsourced (*sin cabimiento*).³¹

How the particular fortunes of Don Agustín jr. were affected is difficult to assess. The effect of the first *crecimiento* in 1614 was that in 1615 he exchanged the *juro* of 32,600 mrs at 20 assigned on the *alcabalas* of Valladolid, which his father had bought in 1588, for one of 29,636 at 22 on the *alcabalas* of the Merindad de Campos,³² the reduction in the rate of interest being offset to a degree by the reallocation from Valladolid to Palencia. By the time of his death in 1658, the original 32,600 was worth only 27,649 in real terms – 85% of its value before the exchange in 1615.³³ For the same reasons, the 27,000 *juro viejo* assigned on the *alcabalas* of Las Grañeras was by 1658 only worth 23,832 in real terms, 88% of its 1608 value.³⁴ After his death, his estate was impounded for unpaid *medias annatas* and other deductions owed to the Crown over the period from 1635 through to 1664.³⁵

With no offsetting Crown offices after Juan Delgado's death to provide income stability and *mercedes*, his son and grandson were left totally dependent on their private sources of income and exposed to the problems of the agrarian economy and to the fiscal depredations and the damaging monetary policies of the Crown.³⁶ In such difficult times and with the bulk of his capital frozen in the *mayorazgo*, leaving little room for further productive investment, to keep above water required active and intelligent involvement in the management of the estate, and there is no evidence that Don Agustín jr. was capable of that.³⁷ Prior to the crisis, as a relatively young man still in his 30s there are moments of activity. In 1627 he

³¹ The *Consejo de Hacienda* in 1623 was claiming *juros* with a capital value of 20,000 were selling on the market for 10,8,7 even 6,000, Marcos Martín, "Crecimientos", p.567.

³² AGS Contaduría de Mercedes 121, f.2, Don Agustín Delgado via Oracio Peyran at Court, contracted with Sinibaldo Fiesco, Bautista Serra, Otavio Centurión and Nicolás Balbi, "diputados del Medio General" of 1608, to renounce to the king a *juro* of 32,600 at 20 on the *alcabalas* of Valladolid from 20.10.1614 in return for 29,636 at 22 on the *alcabalas* of Palencia y *partido* (in accordance with RC 14.5.1608 ordering "diputados del Medio General" to recall *juros* against the *alcabalas* of Castile and resell them at no less than 20.

³³ That *juro* was still held in the *mayorazgo* in 1658, Archivo de la Catedral de Palencia, armario 7, leg.2, no.41, f.13v-14.

³⁴ On index 133.6 in 1608, 143.2 in 1658. I have used Hamilton's *American Treasure* and his *War and Prices* for my price calculations.

³⁵ RC 28.2.1672 "se previno al Corregidor de Palencia que con motivo de no averse dado cuenta de la media annata y otros descuentos de 1635 al 30.4.1664 se embargaron las citadas tercias en 26.1.1671 – y que mediante aver hecho constar la Señora Doña Ysabel Manrique de Lara como posehedora del mayorazgo el desempeño del mismo situado desde 1677, desembargase dichas tercias y hiciese acudir con su procedido y con lo que procediesen a la propia Señora", AHN Consejos leg.11,515, no.220.

³⁶ The crucial importance of the royal "grace" and the rewards of royal service for a family such as the Ronquillo Briceño has been emphasized by de Bernardo Ares in the *Prólogo* to Salado Santos, *La Familia Ronquillo-Briceño*, p.xvi.

³⁷ See Casey, *Familia, poder y comunidad*, p 109, and Yun, *Marte contra Minerva*, p.434, n.36 for the contemporary emphasis on the importance of estate management.

invested 1,200 *reales* in a *censo*, and two years later he used the 9,000 *reales* received from the settlement of another *censo* to buy a vineyard in Villamuriel. It was perhaps not the most well-timed of investments. Between the 1620s and the 1650s returns from the vineyards of the Hospital de San Antolín in Fuentes de Valdepero, about 17 kms to the north, and about the same distance as Villamuriel from the city, fell by 39%.³⁸ Furthermore, to maintain output vines needed a commitment to substantial ongoing investment.³⁹ Thereafter, all the evidence we have is that he ate into as much of his *mayorazgo* as he could by borrowing against it to cover his debts and current expenditures. Yet his personal circumstances were extremely favourable. He had no dowries to find, no funerals to pay for, a minimal household to maintain and, his wife surviving him, he retained access to her dowry during his lifetime. Nonetheless, his main house was neglected and in a deteriorating condition, and by the time of his death his income had shrunk by at least a quarter from that which he had inherited 50 years before. It also looks as if what money he did spend was, from an economic point of view, passive and totally unproductive. The contributions to the charities he was involved with did not add up to much, but his expenditure on his private oratory cannot have been negligible. Unfortunately, his post mortem *inventario de bienes* is not appraised, but the number, type and quality of the items he had in the oratory, as set out in Appendix 9, is impressive, and indicative of his priorities. At his death, all his “bienes libres” were bequeathed to his widow, and it was left to his successors to restore to the *mayorazgo* what he had alienated.

It had been suggested that three interrelated factors are necessary to ensure the longevity of a family business: the transmission down the generations of skills and values, the successful transfer of family assets, and a strategic response to changed conditions.⁴⁰ If we can regard the Delgado line as the “family” and the *mayorazgo* as the “business”, then none of these requirements had been met. Indeed, the very *mayorazgo* that Juan Delgado’s grandson had inherited condemned him. Its declared purpose was “que se travaje para bibir por la memoria en los tiempos benideros”. “Mi voluntad”, its founder, his grandfather, had declared, “es de acrescentar y conservar el nombre y apellido Delgado”. Don Agustín jr. had failed on both counts, and with the failure to provide an heir to retain the *mayorazgo* in the male line, the priority of the Delgado name was to be progressively displaced and its importance diluted over the generations as the *mayorazgo* was absorbed by others of greater significance.

If the “Buddenbrooks Effect” has some value for accounting for the trajectory of the Delgado family, it may also have a much wider application as a tool for helping to explain the rise and decline of the myriad of Castilian families who

³⁸ Marcos Martín, *Economía, Sociedad y Pobreza*, vol.1, p.251.

³⁹ *Ibid.* p.253.

⁴⁰ Lorandini, “Looking beyond the Buddenbrooks syndrome”.

briefly emerged out of oblivion only to lose their identities again, either in the obscurity of ordinariness or in their absorption into *linajes* greater than their own. To determine that requires not just the study of the sociology, culture and economics of the family as a group, but also the psychology and the ideology of the individuals who composed it. A generalised approach to the history of “mentalidades” has made considerable progress in recent decades, but the formation of the psychology of the individual, the particular sense of self and the self-consciousness, attitudes, outlooks, beliefs and feelings that emerge out of and through contact with the experiences that relate one generation to the next, has received much less attention from historians.⁴¹ Whereas Don Agustín jr.’s father had been moulded by the euphoria of Lepanto, he was a child of the 1590s, the decade of disillusion, defeatism, depression and disease in Castilian state and society.⁴² His personal limitations could only have magnified that inheritance. The individual alone might not seem a sufficient subject of study, but without the individual there is no society. Is it too fanciful to see Don Agustín jr. as representative of attitudes widespread within his generation? His story and that of the Delgados is arguably of far greater significance than just the story of one family, or one individual.

⁴¹ For a more general sociological consideration of this issue see Carlsson and Karlsson, “Age, cohorts and the generation of generations”, pp.710-18.

⁴² Thompson, “La guerra y el soldado”, esp. pp.159-173.

APPENDICES

1.- THE ARMS OF THE DELGADO

The first full description we have of the arms of Delgado is to be found in the *mayorazgo* document of 1577. They are quartered: in the upper right on a green field a castle surmounted by a black eagle; in the lower right on a blue field, a transverse stave, below it a white crescent and above a yellow fleur-de-lys; in the upper left, on a blue field, a stave with three knots on one side and two on the other, at each end the head of a serpent in yellow; in the lower left, on a green field, four upturned horseshoes, the open ends to the base; the surround “the ave maria” on a yellow background, and on top the helmet and insignia: “las armas que son un escudo con quatro quartos: en el de la mano derecha a de estar un castillo en canpo verde y ençima del una aguila negra; y debaxo deste quarto a destar otro con un baston atrabesado desquina a esquina en campo açul y debaxo del baston una media luna blanca y ençima una flor de lis amarilla; y en el otro cuarto alto de la mano yzquierda otro baston con otros tres gajos dos a un lado y tres a otro [sic] con dos cabeças de sierpes amarillas que le abraçan por los extremos que a de estar en canpo açul; y en el otro quarto bajo de la mano yzquierda an de estar quatro herraduras al rreves las lumbres haçiabajo y los calbos haçiarriba en canpo berde; y por orla a de tener todo el escudo el ave maria en canpo amarillo y ençima del su tible y almete.”

These arms are repeated in the Capilla de Nuestra Señora del Rosario in the south transept of the church of the convent of San Pablo. The ceiling is also decorated with opposing individual *escudos* - silver with a black stave; silver with a blue half-moon; silver with two horseshoes; gold with four horseshoes; silver divided by a stave as bend with a gold fleur de lys in the top right and a blue crescent in the bottom left; green with a gold castle surmounted by an eagle; gold with a spread eagle.¹

There is also a painted *escudo* in the retablo of the Hermita de Nuestra Señora de Monserrate in Villajimena, which, with the addition of a silver triangular section (*mantel*) at the base containing 9 azur discs (*roeles*) with waves of *sinople* below, is as in 1577 apart from its colouring and the inversion of the horseshoes. Its base colours (insofar as they are at all discernible) do not correspond to the base colours of either the *mayorazgo* document or the *escudo* in San Pablo. The painted *escudo* of the retablo may, however, be of a later date and design, as the *escudo* now over the door into the *hermita* certainly is.²

The language of the *mayorazgo* document stating that the arms «a de estar» might suggest that they were a new fabrication. However, Delgado already had a coat of arms twenty years earlier when amongst the possessions of his late wife, Doña Ysabel de Ribas, inventoried in Valladolid on 19 June 1557, was listed “las armas de Delgado pintadas en un

¹ See the plates in Viguri, *Heráldica palentina*, pp.139-40.

² See the plates in Ortega Gato, “Nobiliario del partido judicial de Astudillo” p.210 et seqq.

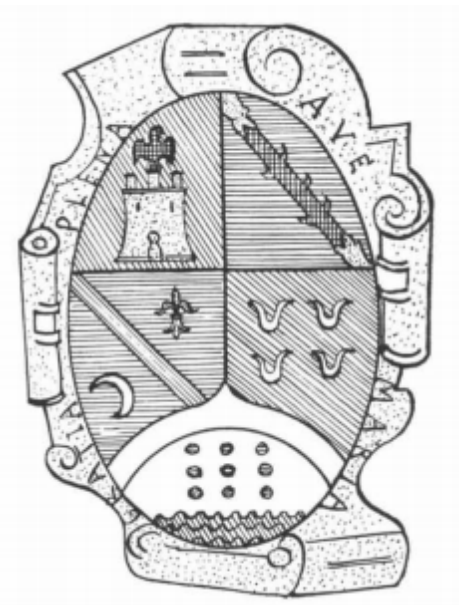
pergamino". That is all we have, and whether those arms were in any way different we do not know.³ There is also a secretarial wax seal, probably from the early 1570s.⁴ It is a shield halved with a castle on the right and a staff [*bastón*] on the left, both elements found subsequently in the *mayorazgo* document. Probably, given the pictorial limitations of the signet, not too much weight should be placed on the greater simplicity of the seal compared with the more grandiose coat of arms of 1577, other than the priority given to the two elements selected, the *castillo* and the *bastón*. However, where the elements of the coat of arms of 1577 came from and the family references they were intended to convey is not at all clear. Individually most of the heraldic elements found in the later Delgado arms, the castle surmounted by an eagle; the snakeheaded stave with knots; the *bastón* with the gold fleur de lys above and the silver crescent below; the inverted horseshoes; and in the latest of the variants the *roeles* and the *ondas de sinople*, were fairly common. Yet, apart from the «ave maria gratia plena» of the *orla*, which was employed by many families, including the Delgado, the Delgadillo, the Mendoza, the de la Vega, and others, especially those, it is sometimes said, who needed to parade their Catholic orthodoxy, the arms described in the *mayorazgo* foundation document are not those of any of the other Delgado lines, nor of the Delgadillo, nor do they pick up any of the heraldic elements of their coats of arms, none of which includes the *castillo*, the *bastones*, or the *herraduras*.⁵

The elements of the upper right quarter may refer to the Fernández de Cabuérniga, whose arms include a gold *castillo* on red surmounted by a silver eagle, which is how the castle is shown in the arms on the ceiling of the Rosario chapel. The castle by itself was of course extremely common and was also shared by other branches of the Fernández, the Salinas, the de la Vega and the Mata. The elements of the lower right quartering may come in part from the arms of the Ribas and the Salinas, both of whom include *flores de lis*, as do the arms of other branches of the Fernández, and the Mata. The horseshoes of the lower left quarter surely refer to the *herraduras* in the crest of the Herreras of Andalucía, with whom Don Agustín claimed an affinity; while the *ondas* which appear in the arms in the later retablo of the Nuestra Señora de Monserrate in Villajimena may be a more direct reference to the Mata family, reunited with the Palencia Delgados by the marriage of Don Luis Manrique de Lara and Doña Damiana Delgado de Mata in the first half of the seventeenth century. The stave and bend in the upper left and lower right quarters of the *mayorazgo* document do not seem to relate to any obvious family connection and, given the presence of the stave in the signet seal, may well be personal to the Secretary. The *orla* with the «Ave Maria Gratia Plena» is associated with the Delgados, Delgadillos, Mendozas, de la Vegas, and others. If this eclectic analysis is correct, it would suggest the fabrication of a new coat of arms to accompany the fabrication of a new family nobility, constructed out of the best references available, of which only the Herreras of Córdoba were in any way top drawer.

³ AHP Valladolid, Protocolos, 238, Fco Fanega 1557, f.562v: Inventario of bienes of late Doña Ysabel de Ribas, Valladolid 19.6.1557.

⁴ IVDJ Caja 74, envío 56, no.12

⁵ See *Blasonari: apellido Delgado*



2.- YNBENTARIO DE LOS BIENES DE DOÑA YSABEL DE RIBAS, muger de Juan Delgado, 21.8.1557ⁿ

En la noble Villa de Valladolid diez e nueve dias del mes de Junio año del Señor de mill y quinientos e çinquenta y siete años ante el señor licenciado Juan gutierrez alcalde en esta villa por su magestad en presencia de mi francisco fanega escrivano publicco de su magestad y del numero desta Villa pareçio presente Juan delgado contino de su magestad y su contador del artilleria andante en su corte y dixo que por quanto doña ysavel de rribas su muger havia falleçido y pasado desta presente vida y el havia quedado por su testamentario y el queria hazer ynventario de sus bienes por ende que pedia a su merced le mandase darle liçencia para hazello, del qual el dicho señor alcalde tomo rreconocimto en forma devida de derecho por dios y por santa maria y por las palabras de los santos quatro evangelios do quier que mas largamente estan escriptos y por una señal de cruz a tal como esta + en que corporalmente puso su mano derecho, so cargo del qual dixo que bien y fielmente haria el ynventario de todos los bienes que en su poder quedaron y tenian al tiempo que la dha doña ysavel de rribas su muger havia falleçido sin encobrar bienes ningunos, e si asy lo hiziese dios le ayudase e al contrario dios se lo demandase mal y caramente, e syendo [¿el ha da?] la fuerça y confusyon del dicho juramento dixo e respondió que si jurava y amen, y visto por el dicho señor alcalde dixo que dava y dio liçencia al dicho Juan delgado para que podrese hazer el dicho ynben[ario con que se diesen los pregones en esta vylla acostunbrados, testigos pedro de medina y biçente perez escrivano del numero desta vylla de valladoljd

E despues de lo susodicho en Valladolid estando delante las casas del consistorio desta Villa, Juan Catalan pregonero publico della a altas e ynteligibles bozes dixo y apregonó todos los acreedores y lugatorios y fidecomisarios y otras qualesquier personas que han o pretenden haver algun derecho y açion a los bienes que fueron y fincaron de doña ysabel de rribas muger que fue del dicho Juan delgado sepan que sus testamentarios quieren hazer ynventario de sus bienes por ende ay qualquier que lo quisiere ber azer vaia de mañana a las dos oras despues de medio dia a las casa de su morada que son çerca del ospital de san cosme desta Villa q alli lo veran començar continuar y acabar dentro del termino de la ley mandase a pregonar publicamte por que venga a notiçia de todos, testigos pedro de medina y bicente perez escrivanos del numero desta Villa y vecinos della.

E despues de lo susodicho en esta villa de valladoljd estando en la plaza de santa maria desta Villa el dicho pregonero dio otra tal pregon como el de arriva al ynventario de los bienes de la dicha doña ysabel de rribas e al fin del dexó mandase pregonar publicamte porque venga a noticia de todos, testigos Juan de Salbatierra e Sabastian de mancilla vecinos desta Villa e otros muchos.

E despues de lo susodicho en esta Villa de valladoljd estando en la plaza bieja desta villa el dicho Juan de catalan pregonero publico a altas e inteligibles bozes dio otro tal pregon como el primero de arriva al ynventario de los bienes que la dicha doña ysavel de rribas, y al fin del dexó mandase a personas publicamente por que venga a noticia de todos, testigos francisco de villoslada y garçia de santa cruz vecinos desta villa y otros muchos.

E despues de lo susodicho en la dicha villa de valladoljd a beynte y un dias del mes de agosto de mill y quinientos e çinquenta e syete años antel dicho señor alcalde y en presencia

ⁿ AHP Valladolid, Protocolos 238, Francisco Fanega, ff.479, 553-563v.

de mi el dicho escrivano pareçio presente el dicho Juan delgado contino de su magestad e dixo que hazia y hizo presentacion ante su merced de un memorial e ynventario de bienes, firmado de su nombre del thenor sig[uient]e

Ynventario de los bienes que quedaron de doña Ysabel de rribas questa en gloria al tiempo que falleçio desta presente vida; enpeçose este dicho ynventario a diez y nueve de junio de mill y quinientos e cinquenta e syete años

primeramte un poyal qesta debaxo de donde esta la ropa de la rima
tres paños de figuras de tapiçeria q los dos haze[n] çinq[ta] anas y el otro veinte y qtro anas
otro paño de tapiçeria de berdura q haze veinte y quatro anas
otro paño de la mysama suerte y de las mismas anas
otro de la misma estofa de veinte anas
otro de la misma estofa de veynte qtro anas
otro de la misma estofa de diez e seys anas
otro de la misma estofa de veynte anas
una antepuerta de berdura de lanpazos grandes
tres paños de berdura menudas q los dos tienen a veinte anas y el otro diez e seys anas
un respost[er]o de armas pa sobrecarga
toda esta tapiçeria esta caida
unos aranbeles de lana moriscos
tres almoadas de tapiçeria de figuras buenas
dos almoadas de berdura buenas
tres coxinicos de tapiçeria de flandes y tres de terciopelo de tripa
otra almoada de tapiçeria llena de lana es de berdura bieja
una alonbra de buen tamaño amarilla azul y colorada
otra alonbra de berde y colorado grande
otra alonbra de berde y colorado y amarilla nueva
un tapete morado y de colores de los de levante
una alonbra bieja de colores
otra alonbra de pelo largo bieja
una cama de paño azul entera con sus fluecos de seda q tiene çielo y quatro paños y sus toda
pies y su cobuerto
una maleta de paño berde y otro azul q han servido
un aforro de rapalas delanteras de mantas baxas y lo de dentro de paño blanco
y otras dos delanteras de mantas baxas con medias mangas y unos pedaços de terraços de
mantas todo enbuelto en un pedaço de angeo
una goaldrapa y espaldar y tablas de pie de sillon de camino y un sillon de camino
tres b[ar]jas de cordellate blanco en un pedaço y dos b[ar]jas y m[edi]a en otro
seys mantillas de cordellate blanca nuebas las dos de a b[ar]ja y quarta y otras dos de a b[ar]ja
y otras dos de media bara cada una
una sobremesa de paño azul
un berdugado de damasco amarillo con berdugados de terciopelo azul
una arpilera berde bieja
dos b[ar]as de paño blanco basto
una saia blanca de paño basto questa en duda si havia mandado dar

una colcha de seda azul de las de levante enbuelta en una almoadada de lienço
 otra colcha grande blanca enbuelta en unos manteles biejos caseros y una talesa de angeo
 metida
 quatro pares de calçones chiquitos de los niños
 un albornoz de niño morisco
 una esterilla de palma bieja pequeña
 quatro almoadas de cuero llenas de lana y otra pequeña assimismo de lana y quatro bacías
 un guadameçil biejo con q se cubre todo lo qsta dicho qsta en la dicha rima
 mas la mesa de dos tablas y sus bancos en q esta tres guadameçiles biejos
 una cama de tafetan carmesi con su çielo y quatro cortinas y sus todapies y su coberto
 treze goadameçiles de medallas casi nuevos de cuero colorado y las zenefas doradas y dos
 sobre mesas de cuero biejas
 una ropilla de carisea
 veynte y tres b[ara]s de manteles alemantiscos caseros por curar de a dos bs de ancho
 quarenta bs y ma de serbietas caseras por curar de a tres quartas de bara en ancho
 quinze bs de manteles caseros curados de ba y ma en ancho en dos pieças
 diez bs de lienço casero delgado en un pedaço
 quinze bs de lienço casero de lo mismo en otro pedaço
 nuebe bs de lo mismo en otro pedaço
 diez bs de lo mismo en otro pedaço
 tres bs y dos trçias de beatilla en un pedaço
 siete bs de la misma beatilla en otro pedaço
 dos morillos con sus moldes de açofar
 un aguamanil de açafar con su baçin
 un badil y paleta pa el fuego y tenaças y una escarbadera de yerro todo nuevo
 una caja de cuchillos negra q tiene ocho cuchillos
 otra caja de cuchillos berde q tiene diez pieças
 otra negra q tiene diez pieças
 otra berde q tiene doze pieças
 otra a manera de hombre armado con siete cuchillos
 una redoma grande q tiene un poco de agua de borrajias
 dos redomas de agua azaar
 otras tres redomillas en q ay agua de azaar y rosada en cada una
 una taça de bridio y qtro redomillas de balsamo
 un plato grande labrado de levante
 dos jarros colorados y apedreados
 otra barrena blanco de barrio
 una caja pequeña de madera
 unas tablas de subyr a mula
 un plato de peltre biejo
 una caja en q ay tres rastillos peqños
 quatro platos grandes destaño y ocho pequeños nuevos
 doze libros grandes y pequeños y mas otra
 una cuchilla de acha de cortar leña
 un cubeto de madera
 una saita colorada de la niña

siete pares de calçitas y çaraveles del niño rotas y todo muy biejo y un jubonçillo biejo
 una caxuela con doze maçicos de maja ricos y dos cucharas y seys usos y tres aspillas q
 sirvian por Casa
 una jarra destaño
 un pedaço peqño de angeo poco mas de ma bara
 dos rastrillos grandes y otro pequeño
 dos argadillos, uno grande y otro pequeño
 un frasco biejo de laton
 un cuero grande para vino
 dos cantarillos pequeños de miel cruda
 un carnero
 quatro çedaços
 dos toçinos grandes
 nueve pieças de çecina
 dos arezuelos y una tripa de manteca
 dos perniles peqños de tocino
 una orca de manteca
 m[edi]o cuero de azeite
 otro plato destaño biejo
 tres yerros de antepuertas
 seys cestas blancas entre grandes y chicos
 dos caxones de madera en q estan los guadameres
 tres cestas de colar un taladro y un mortillo y dos jaulas
 quatro o cinco jarriles de barro
 un peso de yerro con siete libras y ma
 un pandero
 un gorrero biejo
 un baul de cuero de camino
 tres caxas de carne de menbrillo peqños
 unas botas de baca de carmiño
 una talegilla de rasuras
 ocho cubetos de madera y dos platos de madera
 dos adelgadazeros de madera
 un marfegon de paja
 una talega de lienzo casero grande
 unos goantes blancos
 una gorrilla de terciopelo negro del niño
 unos corpezuelos
 dos bs [baras] de paño de ynglaterra
 dos pares de manguitos del niño
 un paño de ancas de la mula
 dos pieças de chamelote una azul y otra colorada
 una ropita berde guarnecida del niño y un jubon biejo de raso colorado de la defunta
 un pedaço de bocao colorado pa aforro de una basquina
 una ropilla aforrada del niño
 unas mangas blancas de lienço colijadas

una ropa de raso muy corto enbuelta en un pedaço de bocaça azul
 dos cabos de raposo pa limpiar
 un pedaço de angeo q tiene hasta dos bs
 una silla de caderas
 tres talegas chiquitas de serv^o q en las dos ay un poco de arina y orejones
 una bara de medir
 un azafador
 dos servilletas caseras q sirven
 quatro tablas de manteles caseros q sirben
 quatro paños de plata q sirben
 onze serbiletas suzias q se han de labar pa meter en el arca, las nueve caseras y dos
 alemaniscas
 ocho almoadas blancas q sirben
 ocho paños peqños babaderos de los niños
 quinze camisillas de los niños q sirven
 ocho camisas de delgado q sirben
 dos sabanas de aparador q sirben
 quinze sabanas destopa dezte q sirben de hordin^o y mas otra gorda
 quatro sabanas, dos de sedilla y dos de lino q sirben en la cama de delgado
 cinco paños de manos q sirben
 un cernadero
 dos basquinitas de la niña
 dos almoadicas peqñas de traer pan
 tres juboncillos blancos del niño
 cinco pares de manguillos de los niños de seda y lana y lienço q sirven
 tres babadericos de la niña q sirven
 dos camisas caseras el uno por hazer y dos babadericos dentro lo qual se puso en larca de
 dentro
 quatro tablas de manteles dezente
 un almaizar roto biejo
 un marfegon de pluma q sirbe en la cama
 siete colchones grandes y peqños
 otro colchon de la gente
 quatro cabeçales tres de pluma y otra de paja
 una cama de nogal pequeña
 dos camas de cordeles
 un almofrejo de sayal
 seis sillas de caderas de flandes
 dos mesas de bancos y otra mesa chiquita
 seys mantas fraçadas buenas y un coberto colorado
 dos mantas dezte y un repostero
 dos arquimesas con sus bancos donde estan esptos, una en casa y otra en esptorio
 una silla pequeña
 quinze sabanas de ruan y entrellas una de olanda y ay tan bien dellas caseras
 otras dos sabanas pequeñas de lienço casero
 nueve tablas de manteles alemaniscos nuevos dellos q han servido

otra tabla de manteles caseros
 cinco doznas menos una servilleta de serbiletas alemaniscos nuebas de las buenas
 veinte y tres serbiletas las treze dellas alemaniscas q han servido y diez caseras q sirven
 mas tres serbiletas alemaniscas q sirven
 diez y siete almoadas blancas dellas traídas
 cinco almoadas de grana
 tres paños de manos de labor grande y uno de peño y otro con una vanda y otro de grana
 un frutero
 dos cabeçones de hombre labradas de seda
 otros dos fruteros la una en casa de doña maria y la oltra en casa de doña francisca
 quatro camisas de delgado
 tres ducados questan en Casa de doña maria
 cinco camisas nuevas de la def^a y una bieja
 un sainelo blanco colchada de la def[unt]^a
 una pieza de friseta
 tres copitas de la niña y un saito
 una dozena de peines
 una caxita con ciertas cosas de azauache
 siete baras de bretaña
 siete baras y una quarta de olanda en dos pieças
 tres baras y una trcia de ruan en dos pedaços
 una camisa de ruan q no esta hecha q terna hasta dos baras y ma
 quatro almoadas de olanda cortadas para hazer
 seys baras y ma de tiras blancas pa almoadas
 dos pedaços de ruan q habra como pa una almoada y otros ratacicos todos enbuelto
 en un pedaço de lienço
 dos camisas de niños traídos
 quatro cucharas de plata
 medios cuerpos colchados
 una arca encorada de flandes en q estan las cosas contenidas hasta la raia de arriba
 una saia de damasco negro con un ribete de pelfa con dos pares de mangas y cuera y
 cuerpos
 un manteo de grana guarneçido de tr^op^o del niño
 una mantilla de grana de bateo guarneçida de terciopelo y tela de oro
 una saia de raso con dos tiras de terzopelo con su cuera y dos pares de mangas
 tres pares de manguillos de rasa
 una ropa de red blanca
 un manto de raja guarneçido con un ribete de pelfa
 una saia de trzopelo guarneçida con cuerpos y mangas de punta
 un manto de tafetan con un ribete de trzopelo
 una ropa de raso negro con dos ribetes de terzopelo
 una ropa de terzopelo guarneçida y aforrada en armiños
 tres gorgueras blancas
 catorze tocas de bratiles y de seda
 otra toca de red
 un almaizar morisco

una caxica de reliquias
 dos pares de guantes adobados
 un estuche dorado con cordon morado
 una cestica blanca con unos debanaderos de seda y una tira de olanda
 tres gorgueras de red
 dos maños de ylo de portugal blanco q parece ay libra y media
 dos mantos de virato q el uno dellos se ha de dar a la señora delgada muger del señor
 montero porque se hizo para ella [*delgada is correct!*]
 cinco obilicos de ylo q habra hasta tres onças
 otros tres obilos y una madeja de ylo grueso
 un papel de pastillas de rosa de olor
 dos bs y quarta de labor para un trabesero de seda
 tres bs de labor de seda colorado para otro travesero
 una tira de olanda
 una toalla de red sin lienço que tiene sus anchos y largos enbuelta en dos pedaços de red
 una tira de bretaña de media bara
 dos baras y quarta de beatilla
 cinco baras de beatilla
 otras tres baras de beatilla
 cinco baras y media de beatilla
 otras cinco baras y media de beatilla
 dos pares de calcitas del niño de aguja blancos
 un jubon de ruan y olanda cortada y pa hazer q estava para colchar
 un pedaço de ruan en q ay media bara
 una manga de camisa
 una calderica baziada de yndias de plata
 un perfumador baçiado de yndias de plata
 un manojo de traneaderas
 cinco panizuelos de narizes blancos
 dos bentallas de pluma
 dos rucas negras
 quatro ymagenes de tabla
 y un Echehomo en una caja
 otra ymagen muy bueno con una cadenica de plata
 un cruzifixo
 un cofrezillo en q ay en un papel dos cruzifixos de oro el uno labrado y otros dos pedaços
 de otro y una sortija de oro con piedra falsa y un Echehomo de coral con siete
 quenteçicas y un pedaço de coral y mas lo siguiente
 tres brenquinicos de biudo
 en un papelico un poco de aljofar
 un adreço de cofra de stanpilas de poco peso algas dellas quebradas
 una cornetica de coral guarneçada de oro
 un cubetilo y un anilo
 dos granaticos
 un rostrillo de perlas que tiene quarenta seys pieças
 otro rostrillo destanpas de oro q tiene quarenta y ocho pieças

dos pelicanos de oro con sus rubies para las orejas
un joiel de oro en un rubi y tres perlas
doza y ma de botones de oro con sus rubis cada una lo de hasta aquí esta en un
cofrezillo
una cintura de oro q tiene quarenta y quatro pieças con la charnera y una cadenila de oro
todo en una caja
un poco de argenteria y oro y unos granates
un esptorio de tarales nuevo con dos pares de botines y medio grueso de cintas
tres pares de chapines balencianos
una antepuertal de figuras ruin estofa
una redoma con un cruzifixo dentro
unas oras biejas
un cofrezillo negro biejo
una arquilla chiquito blanco
una calderica de ajofre q tiene agua bendita
en una arca encorada ay un pedaço de acero colorado y un piel de gris
una puerta de fustian
un enbulario de rataços de paño
otro de terciopelos biejos
una almoada de terciopelo del silon enbuelta en un pedaça de bocao
una taleguilla de rosas
quatro librillos de cera blanca
un enbueltorio de pedaços de Raso y terciopelo enbuelto en un pedaço de paño
un pedaçico de raja biejo
dos binageras de bridio
una ropilla de damasco azul de la niña
una basquina y una ropa colchada blancas
una basquina de damasco pardo guarnecido con sus cuerpos y pieça
y un jubon de raso
una ropita de tafetan guarnecido del niño
un manteo de camino guarnecido de terciopelo negro
un sombrero de terciopelo
un pedaço de carisea blanco que es hasta una bara
un enbulario de rataços de paño
una ropa de tafetan guarnecida con dos ribetes de terciopelo negro
un rebocino de terziopelo aforrada en pelfa
una cuera de terziopelo con su manga ancha
una camiseta vizcaina
una capa de contrai guarnecido
un saio de terziopelo guarnecido
un saio de terziopelo del niño y un sombrero
una cajita de cosas de azauache
un pedaçico de olicornio
una bela de cera blanca grande y cinco de monsarrate
dos coronas de plata q son para dar a un ymagen de nra sra q las enbyaron de nueva
españa para este efecto

una cofra de altos de Barz[na y otra traida
una cofra negra y tres cofrezicas de onbre y una gorguera y dos punos enbueitos en un
tocado de beatilla gorda
unos pocos de pasamanos biejos
un arzevelo de alfileres
un pesillo con sus pesillas
dos rosarios de corral uno menudo otro de maiores
una ymagen de Ntra Sra delabrasto qlorado
unas tirillas de lana
una estuchilla dorada
unos dechados y guarniciones y un poco de seda y un cordon de olanda
unas manguillas del niño de raso colorado
una cofrezita de sidra y bidrio de la niña
un poco de ylo y guarniciones blancas
dos gorgueras blancas de ylo
un jarro de plata del niño
dos cofrezilas labradas de seda biejas
una arquilla blanca
un cofrezillo berde q esta llena de sedas de colores y arsalia y almizares
una saita berde de la niña guarnecida de terciopelo traida
un saico berdoso del niño guarnecido de terziopelo y un jubonzilo del niño
dos jubones colorados uno de raso y el otro de tafetan del niño
unas calças de terciopelo carmesi del niño
una ropilla berdoso del niño
otra ropilla colorada de la niña guarnecida de tafetan amarillo
un par de çapaticos y dos pares de calçoncicos de niños
otra arca encorada donde esta el pan
siete ollas bridriadas en una peras en conserver y la otra quartos de menbrillo y en la otra
letuario rosada y otra con miel rosada y los otros bacias
la arca en que estan las siete ollas
siete baras y media de lino yleado
dos libras y media de ylo torçido
quinze libras destopa ylada
nuebe libras y media de lino encerro
veinte seis libras de lino por rastillar
catorze libras de lino cozido y de banado
treze libras y media de lino ylada y de banada
una ropa de chamelote lesnado aforrado en lobos
tres artesas de xabonar la una chica y las dos grandes
un arteson para fregar y otro pequeño
una tabla de nogal para picar carne
tres sartenes de yerro
dos caçuelas con sus cobertores de cobre
dos cacos
dos cobertores de yerro
un rallo de ylar

un tornahuebos de yerro
dos asadores
un calentador
una corchaca de yerro
un almiros con su mano
una servilla
dos platos de madera
cinco ollas grandes y pequeñas de barro
seys escudillas de barro
dos pares de trebodes y unas parrillas
tres cobertadores de ollas de yerro
un candelero de açofar
un candil
un braseco de cobre con su caxa de madera
dos calderas una grande y una pequeña de servi^o
un breco
una dozena descobas de barrer
ocho esteras grandes y pequeñas
una sillica peqña de niño
una cestilla blanca con un candadico
un resfriador grande para enfriar de açofar
una baçia grande de açofar
tres calderas de açofar dos grandes y una pequeña
un bacin de barbero de açofar grande
una basinica de açofar
una carbonera de cobre
un alquitara que esta en casa de doña Franc^a de Salas
un caso y un jarro de cobre para sacar agua
dos herradas
unas tenaças de yerro de lumbre
una achuela pequeña
un garabato de yerro para algar carne
dos fuentes de plata y dos platos grandes y dos platoncillos medianos
doze platillos
quatro escodillas
dos salsericas
unos saleros
dos cocharas
dos candeleros
dos jarros y una calderilla todo de plata que son por todo treinta y dos pieças que pesaron
veynte y quatro libras
tres copas dorads, tres libras y un quarteron
setenta y cinco mill mrs de juro de heredad de catorze mill mrs el millar que montan un
quento y cinquenta mill mrs situados por quatro privilegios en las alcabalas de la
ciudad de palencia

unas casas q se conpraron de Juo Ramos linde de mi Señor Juan de rribas y pero calvo q
costaron quarenta y tantas mill mrs
una escarcela de terciopelo negro
un talabarte de terciopelo con yerros dorados de milan
unas quantas de coral
otras quantas pequeñas de coral
un estucho pequeño con solas unas tigeras
tres corales pequeños
una cinta de santa agustin
un espejo
una beatilla de toca
media libra de oro de milan en un carretico
una madeja de oro
quatro ma?adericos con cabos de oro a los cabos
un sartalejo negro
una gorguera de oro y seda
un escofron de oro y sus papillos
una cofra de red con altos de barcelona
dos papeles de alfileres
unas hijuelas de calizes
una gorguera de reclamo de oro y seda en una arca encorada esta los segtes
dos espadas guarnecidas y una oja
un arcabuz de viento con su turquesa y llave con q se arma
unas cinches de mula de seda
unos talabartes de trzopelo traidos
tres pares de çapatos de terciopelo biejos
unos goantes de pelo de carmino
unas riendas de seda de mula con una borla de seda grande
una guarnicion de terciopelo de mula entera
las armas de delgado pintadas en un pargamino
unas calças de terciopelo traidas
un albornoz morisco
un sayo de terciopelo traído
una capa de raja traida
un capote de carmino
dos sonbreros uno de terciopelo y otro de tafetan
dos gorras de terciopelo
una de paño
dos caperuzas de luto
unos çapatos de terciopelo nuevos
un sombrero de muger
una sobremesa de paño berde
unas tigeras despauilar
tres candados con sus armellas
un libro de flosantorum
otro libro de vitres patrum

un banco grande
 dos sabanas de angeo con q esta cubierto el corredor
 tres paños de servidor
 una servilla destaño
 un calentador de açofar
 un esclavo y una esclava
 una mula con su guarnicion de cuero y dos goaldrapas
 dos colchas blancas de cama
 un manto de anascote y un sombrero
 dos sortijas una de rrubis pequeños y otra de launa? y de oro
 una calderica de açofar en q esta agua vendita
 dos pies de banaderas con sus pertigas de yerro
 quatro escarpines
 unas medias calças de carisea traidas de hombre
 en casa del sastre una basquina de tafetan negro y otra de tafetan carmesi

Al tiempo que ysabel de rribas que esta en gloria fallecio devia yo a diversas personas ciento
 y quarenta y un mill y doz^{os} y cinquenta mrs
 en Palencia havia una mesa de nogal grande
 unos paños de yndias de algodón de poco valor que son quatro o cinco
 dos aranbeles de lana biejos
 cinco sillas que han servido
 dos goadameciles biejos qestan en Palencia
 hasta cien mill mrs que se me devian el dia que mi muger murio de salarios y oficios e
 asyentos e juros

Ansy presentado el dicho memorial de bienes el dicho Juan delgado dixo que los bienes en
 el contenidos heran los quales avian quedado al tiempo que havia fallecido la dicha
 doña Ysavel de rribas su muger y por tal ynventario de sus bienes le presentava y
 presento y pedia a su merced le mandase averiguar e darse lo signado en publica forma
 para en guarda de su derecho.

E luego el dicho Señor alcalde tomo y recibio juramento en forma devida de derecho el
 qual juramento hizo bien y cumplidamente según que en tal caso se Requiere so cargo
 del qual dixo que havia hecho el dicho ynventario bien y fielmente sin encobrir bienes
 ningunos de los que havian quedado al tiempo que fallecio la dicha Doña Ysavel de
 rribas su muger de los que a su noticia es venido y que si algos mas bienes en algun tiempo
 a su notizia vinieren los yra declarando e inbentariando e si lo hiziese Dios le ayudase y
 al contrario se lo demandase mal y caramente, y siendo le hechada la fuerça y
 confusyion del dicho Juramento dixo y respondio que sy juraba y amen.

E visto por el Señor alcalde lo susodicho dixo que havia y ubo por presentado el dicho
 Ynventario e mandava y mando a mi el dicho escrivano diese el dicho ynventario
 signado las vezes y a las personas que me fuese pedido a los quales y a cada uno dellos
 ynterponia e interpuso su autoridad y decreto judicial tanto quanto con derecho devia
 para que valiese e hiziese fee en juizio y fuerça del y el dicho Juan delgado lo pidio por
 testimonio; testigos luyos de Carrion e Payo Cuello escrivanos del numero desta villa e

vecinos della, y el dicho Señor alcalde lo firmo de su nonbre, el licenciado Gutierrez, paso ante mi francisco vanegas [w their signatures]

3.- YNBENTARIO E TASACION DE LOS BIENES DE JUAN DELGADO SECRETARIO DE SMD, 12.9.1559^a

En la villa de Valladolid a doze dias del mes de setiembre año del señor de myll q quinientos e çinquenta e nueve años antel señor licenciado Juan Gutierrez alcalde en esta villa por su magestat y en presençia de my francisco fanega escrivano de su magestat e publico del numero desta villa paresçio presente Juan delgado secretario en el consejo de guerra de su magestat que dixo que por quanto doña ysabel de Ribas su primera muger era falleçida e del matrimonio que con ella avia tenydo le avian quedado dos hijos y dos hijas, y el agora queria mudar estado y casarse segunda bez. E porque era justo que entre la muger con quien se casase o sus hijos no tubiesen pleitos con los hijos del dicho primero matrimonio sobre los bienes quel dicho Juan delgado tenya al tiempo que con ella se casase e por les quitar de pleitos e que se supiese la Verdad, pidio a su merced mandase haçer ynbentario e tasacion de los bienes que de presente tenya, que le estaba presto de lo haçer e mandase nonbrar tasadores que tasasen los bienes muebles e plata e cabalgaduras y esclavos que tenya para que se supiese el valor dello e lo que se tasase e autos que sobre ello pasasen se lo mandase dar sygnado ynterponyendo a ello su autoridad e decreto judiçial e pidio justicia, e por el dicho señor alcalde visto dixo que lo oya e tomo e rresçibio juramento en forma devida de derecho del dicho Juan delgado por dios e por santa maria e por las palabras de los santos quatro ebangelios doquier que mas largamente estan escritos so cargo del qual dixo que bien y fielmente haria el dicho ynbentario syn encubrir ny añadir bienes nyngunos e a la fuerça e confusyon del dicho juramento dixo e rrespondio sy juro e amen, e por el dicho señor alcalde visto dixo que lo oya e que mandava e mando y dava e dio licençia al dicho Juan delgado para que hiçiese el dicho ynbentario con que como lo fuese ynbentariando se tasa y que de su ffecho nonbrava por tasador para que tasase las cosas de plata y oro a geronimo de san myguel platero vezino desta villa y para tasar todos los demas bienes muebles y cavalgaduras y esclavos a luys fernandes y diego de la fuente mercaderes de paños vecinos desta villa a los quales mandava e mando que so pena de veynte myll mrs para la camara e fisco de su magestat luego hiçiesen la dicha tasacion questava presto de les mandar pagar lo que por elo [sic] obieren de aver, testigos pedro de m[]a, Juan fanega e francisco de Rueda scrivanos del numero e vecinos desta villa.

E despues desto en Valladolid a veynte y quatro dias del dicho mes de setiembre del dicho año yo el dicho scrivano notifique el dicho nonbramyento e auto del dicho señor alcalde arriba contenydo a los dichos geronimo de san myguel platero y luys fernandes y diego de la fuente mercaderes vecinos desta villa en sus personas los quales dixeron que lo oyan e questavan prestos e aparejados de conplir lo que por el dicho señor alcalde les hera mandado, testigos luys de carrion, gaspar de funes scrivanos del numero e vecinos desta villa francisco fanega

^a AHP Valladolid, Protocolos 239, Francisco Fanega, ff.409-415v.

E despues desto en Valladolid a cinco dias del mes de octubre de myll e quinientos e çinquenta e nuebe años estando en las casas donde posa el dicho Juan delgado que son frontero del espital de san cosmes desta villa, ante my el dicho scrivano paresçieron presentes los dichos geronimo de san myguel platero e luys fernandes e diego de la fuente tasadores susodichos e dixeron que los querian tasar los bienes y haçienda que tenya el dicho Juan delgado, de los quales y del dicho scrivano tome e rrescevi juramento en forma devida de derecho el qual ellos e cada uno dellos hicieron bien e conplidamente como en tal caso se rrequiere so cargo del qual dixeron que bien y fielmente harian tasaçion de los dichos bienes a su saber y entender syn poner mas ny menos de lo que les paresçiese que valian e a la fuerça e confusyon del dicho juramento dixeron e rrespondieron que si juraban e amen; testigos Juan de basarte e gonzalo de arana e Juan garcia del pinzon criados del dicho Juan delgado estantes en esta villa

Juan delgado

E luego encontinyente el dicho Juan delgado dixo q tenya e eran suyas emos las cosas de plata que de yuso yran declaradas las quales el dicho geronimo de san myguel platero peso en my presençia e las taso en la forma y manera sygte

primeramente una fuente de plata grande, dorados los extremos e una flor q tenya en m[edi]o q peso seis marcos y una onça y seis rreales, tasalo de hechura en ocho ds 16,678
 yten dos platos gdes & dos medianos de plata labrada, peso 10 marcos 6 ozs, hechura 30 Rs 24,875
 + 12 platos pequeños trincheros y 4 escudillas de falda y 2 salseras de plata, peso 18 arcos 4 ozs y 7 Rs, hechura 6 ds 43,493
 + 5 cucharas de plata blanca, wght 7 ozs y 2 Rs, hechura 6 Rs 2,130
 + 1 calderica de plata blanca, wght 3 marcos 1 oz, 4 ds de hechura 9,032
 + 2 jarros de plata blancos, wght 4 marcos 4 ozs y 4 Rs, hechura 2 ds 10,831
 + 4 taças de plata , una dorada, rest blancas, wght 4 marcos 1 oz y 2 Rs, tasado por oro y hechura en 6 ds 11,331
 + 1 salero de plata todo dorado, wght 1 marco 5 ozs y 6 Rs, hechura 5 ds 5,666
 + 2 binaxeras de plata blancas, wght 2 marcos y 3 Rs, hechura 3 ds 5,082
 + 1 açucarero de plata blanca, wght 1 marco 3 ozs y 3 Rs, hechura 12 ds 3,693
 + 2 candeleros de plata blancos, wght 4 marcos 6 ozs y 2 Rs, hechura 4 ds 12,0652

E luego el dicho Grmo de san myguel dixo que las dichas cosas de plata estaban bien y fielmente tasadas a todo su saber y entender so cargo de juro q hecho t[ien]e e fermolo de su nonbre [all silver totals 144,878.5 mrs (386.343 ds)]

Luego los dichos luys hernandez e diego de la fuente tasadores susodichos, abiendo visto los bienes muebles quel dicho Juan delgado les mostro que juro ser suyo, cada cosa por si lo tasaron en la forma e manera sigyente:

una cama de paño açul guarneçidas las flocaduras en 50 ds 18,750

+ 12 paños de tapiceria nuevos w 240 anas each at 9 rs = 2,160 rs	73,440
+ una alonbra 4 ds	1,500
+ 12 piezas de guadameciles nuevos 500 rs	17,000
+ 6 cofres bancados y 2 de cubierta de cuero a 6½ ds each = 39 ds	14,625
+ 3 arcas encoradas 36 rs	1,224
+ 2 escritorios 62 ds	2,437
+ 2 caxas de tapizeria en q se encierra la tapizeris 3 ds	1,125
+ 10 sillas de de caderas de las de flandes a 2 ds [= 20 ds]	7,500
+ 2 arañeles guarnecidos en ter[ro] de trapa verde 8 ds	3,000
+ 2 sobremesas, one guarnecida de ter[ro] de trapa 3 ds	1,125
+ 3 tapizeres traydos y 1 antepuerta w 70 anas a 4 Rs/ana [= 280 rs]	9,620
+ 1 sobremesa 1 dt	375
+ 2 albornozes, una gde otro pequeño 6 ds	2,250
+ una ropa de telilla de flandes berde aforrada en beros 6,000 mrs	6,000
+ otra ropa biexa de fusteda forrada en pena negra 3 ds	1,125
+ otra ropa de chamelote por aforrar 50 rs	1,200
+ tres pares de calzas de hombre, unas los nuevos de t[oledo] e las otras de pano e otras destamena 10 ds	3,750
+ 1 manteo de camyno 22 ds	935
+ unas botas de baca e unas espuelas 12 ds	561
+ un jubon de telilla verde 3 ds	1,125
+ siete colchones llenos de lana a 25 rs = 165 rs [sic]	5,610/5,950
+ 1 plumero de cama muy bueno 4 ds	1,500
+ 4 cabezales de cama de mozos 12 rs	408
+ 4 xergones de paxa a 4 rs cada uno	544
+ 8 mantas frazadas blancas = 12 ds	4,500
+ otras 3 mantas blancas decente e un repostero 3 ds	1,125
+ 1 almofres de la cama 2 ds	750
+ 1 maleta de paño negro 12 ds	561
+ 1 sayo de pano negro forrado en terciopelo negro biexo 3 ds	1,125
+ 1 sombrero forrada la copa en tafetan 8 rs	272
+ 2 camas de nogal 8 ds	3,000
+ 3 camas de cordeles e una chequita 12 rs	408
+ 5 mesas de bancos, la una de nogal 5 ds	1,875
+ 1 brjzo 1 dt	375
+ 1 arca grande de coçina 2 rs	68
+ 3 antesas e un anteson de fregar platos 3 ds	1,125
+ una tabla de nogal de prarcarne 2 rs	68
+ 2 sillycas de nyños quebradas 2 rs	68
+ 2 tinaxas con sus atapadores de madera 3 rs	102
+ 7 esterass algo traydas 28 rs	952
+ 1 coladera grande de colon 2 rs	68
+ 1 tribo e 1 triba 2 rs	68
+ 12 serbilletas caseras 12 rs	408
+ 8 tablas de manteles caseros 8 ds	3,000
+ 8 panos de lynpiar plata 8 rs	272

+ 7 almoadas blancas 21 rs	714
+ 3 tablas de aparador q sirben 24 rs	816
+ 13 sabanas destopa decente a 7 rs each = 91 rs	3,094
+ 5 sabanas de lino y 1 de lienzo 5 ds	1,875
+ 3 paños de manos comunes que sirben 6 rs	204
+ 1 zernadero biexo 2 rs	68
+ 1 almoada pequeña 1 rl	34
+ 3 tablas de manteles dezente 6 rs	204
+ 6 camysas de lienço bizcayno 84 rs	2,856
+ otras 5 camysas, quatro de holanda e una de Ruan 7 ds	2,625
+ 2 paños de azer el cabello e cinco enjugadores de cabeza 7 ds	2,625
+ 2 escofias de holanda 3 rs	102
+ 2 tablas de manteles lomanyscos 2 ds	750
+ 16 serbilletas alemanyscas 24 rs	816
+ 2 tablas de manteles dezente 6 rs	204
+ 2 tablas de aparador 8 rs	272
+ 1 paño labrado e guarneçido de red bueno 2 ds	750
+ 4 serbilletas caseras biexas 4 rs	136
+ 3 fruteros de cubos para la mesa 9 rs	306
+ 1 sayo de paño forrado en tafetan 1½ ds	561
+ una capa de paño blanco 4 ds	1,500
+ dos pares de calzas de aguxa de nyños 6 rs	204
+ un libro flosanorum cumplydo de los de zaragoza* 2 ds	750
[*Flos Sanctorum, Zaragoza: Jorge Cocci 1516]	
+ un libro de los enperadores con otros dos libros de romanzes e quentos 2 ds	750
+ 1 brasero con caxa 12 ds	561
+ 2 pares de moryllos, dos de azofan e dos de yerro 28 rs	952
+ 2 almyrezes con sus manos 1,000 mrs	1,000
+ una carbonera de cobre 1½ ds	561
+ 4 calderas, dos de azofar e dos de cobre 48 rs	1,632
+ 3 sartenes de yerro 6 rs	204
+ 2 cazos de cobre 5 rs	170
+ una cazuela [cañela] de cobre 3 rs	102
+ unas paryllas 2 rs	68
+ 1 rallo 1 rl	34
+ 3 coberteras de yerro 4 rs	136
+ 2 cucharas de yerro 1 rl	34
+ 2 tornavelas 2 rs	68
+ 2 pares de trebedes 4 rs	136
+ 2 candeleros de azofar 4 rs	136
+ 3 asadores 3 rs	102
+ 2 badiles del almibre, una grande e otra pequeña 4 rs	136
+ 2 pares de tenazas 2 rs	68
+ 1 cazuela de yerro 1 rl	34
+ 1 martillo 1 rl	34
+ 1 garfio de colgar carne 1 rl	34

+ 1 peso con quatro pesas de yerro 4 rs	136
+ 1 cazo y un xarro de cobre de sacar agua 6 rs	204
+ una baçia de azofar 5 rs	170
+ 1 serbilla de azofar 3 r	102
+ una mesa de Roma con sus bancos 3 rs	102
+ 3 rastrillos 6 rs	204
+ 1 baul 1 dt	375
+ 2 arcabuzes, el uno de viento y el otro de pedernal 8 ds	3,000
+ 2 cargadillos con sus pies de yerro 2 rs	68
+ 1 serbilla destaño 3 rs	102
+ 4 cantaros de cobre 4 ds	1,500
+ 3 zedazos 4 rs	136
+ una escrita baraxa 1 rl	34
+ 1 escarbador de lumbré	34
+ 1 candil 1 rl	34
+ una caja de cuchillos con tres cuchillos e un tenedor 3 rs	102
+ otra caja de cuchillos berde con un tenedor e un prmo? 1 rl	34
+ 1 estruno 2 rl	17
+ 2 serones desparto 2 rs	68
+ 3 espartillas 1 rl	34
+ 4 canastillas e una canasta grande 3 rs	102
+ 2 cestos biexos de paños 2 rs	68
+ 3 hollas banadas 12 rs	51
+ 2 candados con sus armillas 4 rs	136
+ otro candado biexo 12 rs	51
+ 3 trasvegos muy buenos 9 ds	3,375
+ 2 herraduras de madera 3 rs	102
+ 2 paños de angeo de corredores grandes 2 ds	750
+ la hechura de quatro ymaxenes de nra señora e un heze homo e una beronyca 6 ds	2,250
+ la hechura de otra ymagen de nra sa y san Juo bautista 1 dt	375
+ una calderyca de agua bendita de laton 2 rs	68
+ 2 guantes de m?tra 2 rs	68
+ 2 colchas buenas 11 ds	4,175
+ una canpanylla de metal 2 rs	68
+ 4 traborderos de yerro para los tapizes 4 rs	136
+ 16 libras de lino ylado e cosado y 1 libra de zerro para ylodero 34 rs	1,156
+ 2 tocanos, 1 enzantado e otro entero 2 ds	750
+ 2 candeleros de azofar de flandes que se ponen en las paredes 1 dt	375
+ dos espadas, una ancha e otra buena 4 ds	1,500
+ una bara de medir 2 rl	17
+ unas calzas de lana daguxa blancas 2 rs	68
+ otras calzas de lienzo 1 rl	34
+ un banco de madera grande 2 rs	68
+ un cuero de tener bino bacio 6 rs	204
+ un repostero 2 ds	750
+ una espada guarneçida 2 ds	750

+ un esclabo negro mozo 100 ds	37,500
+ una esclaba lora moza 100 ds	37,500
+ una mula negra con sus guarniciones 15,000 mrs	15,000
+ juro que tenya en dineros doçientos treynta ds	86,250
+ otros dos colchones 50 rs	1,700
+ otras cinco sabanas de lienzo e una de sedena e otra destopa 6 ds	2,250
+ una manta frazada 14 rs	476
+ 1 cubierto colorado 2 ds	750
+ 2 almoadas 6 rs	204
+ 1 cofre bancado 50 rs	1,700
+ unos manteles biexos e una toballeta 3 rs	102
+ 7 sabanas gdes nuevas de a quatro piernas de Ruan e de lienzo casero delgadas 14 ds	5,250
+ 7 tablas de manteles alemanyscos delgados 2,573 mrs	2,573
+ otras 2 tablas de manteles alemanyscas caseras 3 ds	1,125
+ 9 serbilletas alemanyscas 12 rs	408
+ 14 serbilletas alemanyscas casi nuevas 56 rs	1,904
+ 12 serbilletas caseras algo traydas 18 rs	612
+ otras 6 serbilletas alemanyscas e caseras algo rotas 6 rs	204
+ 16 almoadas de cama grandes e pequeñas 48 rs	1,632
+ un pedazo de holanda de ocho baras 48 rs	1,632
+ otro pedazo de holanda de otras seys baras 30 rs	1,020
+ otro pedazo de holanda de otras diez baras 60 rs	2,040
+ dos mangas de camysa con pedacitos de lienzo dentro 1 rl	34
+ otro pedazo de holanda de otras dos baras bueno 14 rs	476
+ un paño labrado de lienzo traído 8 rs	272
+ un pedazo de Ruan de una bara 2 rs	68
+ bara e media de carisea blanca 14 rs	476
+ 5 paños de lienzo nuevos de manos 2 ds	750
+ un almayzal morysca 1 dt	375
+ un pedazo de ma holanda de tres baras 7½ rs	255
+ un pedazo de arambel 14 rs	476
+ 2 sabanas de aparador 20 rs	680
+ 2 panycueros de naryzes e 3 cofras 14 rs	476
+ 3 escarzelas con sus yerros 20 rs	680
+ 2 caxas de cuchillos 4 rs	136
+ 1 caxuela de Relquias 1 rl	34
+ una caxa berde de cuchillos grande 2 ds	750
+ una rosa de nra sra ½ rl	17
+ una madexa de ylo blanco traído 1 rl	34
+ unos papeles de muestras de labores e otro de pastillas 2 ds	750
+ una mantilla de grana guarneçida de ter[]o e otra nueva 50 rs	1,700
+ 4 sabanas dexente nuevas 32 rs	1,088
+ otro cofre barreado nuevo 6 ds	2,250
+ una pieza de lienzo de brabante que tiene 63½ anas, cada a 2 rs = 126 rs [sic]	4,284/4,318
+ una pieza de holanda que tiene 51 anas at 4 rs = 240 rs [sic]	8,160/6,936
+ 50 anas de manteles finos de a doze quartos de ancho por cortar a 10 rs/ana	17,000

+ 30 anas de serbilletas alemanyscas a 4rs/ana = 120 rs	4,080
+ 1 pieza pequeña de holanda traída para jubones de 6½ baras a 4½ rs = 29½ rs	1,003
+ 1 pieza de telylla de blanco e negro para ropas de 18 baras a 4 rs = 72 rs	2,448
+ otro pedazo pequeño de telylla listada para jubones de 4 baras a 6 rs = 24 rs	816
+ 2 arañales nuevos coxidos 60 rs	2,040
+ una pieza de carysea delgada blanca of 8 baras a 10 rs = 80 rs	2,720
+ una sabana dexente 8 rs	272
+ 3 baras de holanda traídas 12 rs	408
+ 10 baras de Ruan 30 rs	1,020
+ una cuera de Córdoba 5 rs	170

El dicho Juan delgado dixo que no tenya mas bienes muebles que se poder tasar e los dichos luys hernandez e diego de la fuente dixerón quen dios e sus conçiencias quellos abian tasado e hecho la dicha tasaçion bien e fielmente e que estaba bien e fielmente tasado en dios e en sus conçiencias e firmaronlo de sus nonbres, ezeto el dicho luys hernandez que dixo que no sabia escrebir e por heso no firmo [signatures] Juan delgado diego de la fuente

Despues desto el dicho dia e mes e año susodicho ante my el dicho escrivano pareçio el dicho Juan delgado e dixo que ademas de los bienes quel tenya declarados e estaban tasados tenya los mas bienes siguientes

primeramente una casa principal en la çiudad de Palençia en la calle de nuestra señora de palacios que dixo estaba tasada en la tasaçion que se abia hecho ante hernando del castillo escrivano de numero de Palençia	
yten setenta e siete obradas e ma de heredad de pan llevar que dixo estaba tasado antel dicho herdo del castillo escrivano	
yten treynta e dos alanzadas de biñas tasadas antel dicho escrivano [10.8.1577 rentan de censo 8,000 mrs + /yr a 14/1000 - quedaron de la dicha Da Ysabel y de Juan de Rivas su abuelo]	
yten unas casas que abia comprado que hera de Juo Ramos que lyndan con la casa principal arriba dicha en la ciudad de Palençia, dize le costo quarenta e un myll mrs	41,000
yten dosçientos ds de juro en las alcabalas de la çiudad de palençia que costo un quento e cinq[uent]a myll mrs	1,050,000
yten dos myll e quy[nient]os mrs de zenso en cada un año contra Juo de cuenca, vo de palençia que costo çien ducados	37,500
yten otra trra de dos obradas en termyno de palencia que dixo abia comprado de la cofradia de santanton de la dicha çiudad y que le abia costado veynte myll mrs	20,000
yten treçientos ds de juro que dixo abia comprado de su magt en las alcabalas de Alcaraz al quytar que dixo le abia costado tres myll ds	1,125,000
yten dixo que tenya sobrel conzejo del lugar de Renedo e otros particulares del ocho myl e tantos mrs de zenso al quytar que le abia costado [114,875] mrs	114,875
yten otra casa en la çiudad de palençia que estaba comenzada a azer questaba tasada en doçientos ds	75,000
yten una mrd que le abia hecho su magt de çien myll mrs en penas de camara en palençia pagados en çinco años	100,000

yten dixo que le debian de los zensos e juros e Renta corrydo de todo lo susodicho en paleñia noventa myll mrs	90,000
yten dixo que tenya en paleñia setenta e nueve cargas de zebada en grano que baldrian quarenta e çinco myll mrs	45,000
yten dixo que tenya en paleñia quarenta cargas de trigo que baldryan	40,000
yten dixo que tenya en paleñia seys cargas de zenteno que balyan tres myll mrs	3,000
yten dixo que le debian psonas particulares de deudas quarenta myll mrs	40,000
yten dixo que abia conprado de Juo de cuenca una hera a la puerta de mercado que costo diez myll mrs	10,000
yten dixo que tenya un oficio de contador dla artillerya despaña con sesenta myll mrs de salario cada año	

Dixo el dicho Juan delgado que todo lo que tiene dicho e declarado son los bienes que al presente tiene e so cargo de juramento que tenya hecho e que no abia encubierto ny puesto demas nyngunos bienes, e firmolo de su nonbre, estando a todo ello presentes por testigos los susodichos [signature] Juan delgado

Despues desto en Valladolid a doze dias del mes de ottubre de myll e quinientos e çinquenta e nueve años antel dicho señor licenciado Juan guttieres alcalde en esta villa por su magestat paresçio el dicho Juan delgado e presento antel el dicho ynbentario e tasaçion de sus bienes e dixo que por quanto el se abia agora casado segunda bez con doña mençia de la bega su muger e que por quitalla a ella e a sus hixos si dios se los diese e a los hixos quel agora tenya del primero matrimonio de pleytos suplycaba a su merced la mandase noteficar el dicho ynbentario e tasaçion e la condenase a questubiese e pasase por ello, e bisto por el dicho señor alcalde tomo e reçibio juramento en forma debida de derecho del dicho Juan delgado, el qual juramento el yzo bien e cumplidamente segund quen tal caso se requiere, e hecho so cargo dél dixo que abia hecho el dicho ynbentario bien e fielmente sin añadir ny menguar bienes nyngunos e que todo lo en el qontenido lo tenya e poseya, e a la fuerza e confusion del dicho juramento dixo e respondió que si juraba e amen, e bisto por el dicho señor alcalde dixo que mandaba e mando noteficar el dicho ynbentario e tasaçion a la dicha doña mençia de la bega segunda muger dl dicho Juan delgado para que la parase perjuyçio e que la mandaba e mando queste e pase por ella o dentro de tercero dia pareçiese antel a decirse lo que biese que le conbenya contra ella que le oyrya e arya justicia, e ansi lo pronunçio e mando e firmolo de su nonbre el licenciado guttieres

Despues desto en Valladolid a treze dias del dicho mes de ottubre del dicho año yo el dicho escrivano notefiquel dicho ynbentario e tasaçion e auto del dicho señor alcalde a la dicha doña mençia de la bega segunda muger de dicho Juan delgado en su persona, la qual dixo que lo oya, testigos Juo calderon e pedro de arana e Juan de la serna estantes en esta Villa francisco fanega

Despues desto en Valladolid a diez e ocho dias del mes de ottubre del dicho año antel dicho señor alcalde e en presençia de my el dicho escrivano paresçio presente el dicho Juan delgado e dixo que pues la dicha doña mençia de la bega su muger no contradeçia las dichas tasaçiones y ynbentario, que pedia a su merced mandase dar dellas un treslado o dos o mas, los que fuesen pedidos ynterponiendo a ellas su autorydad e decreto judicial para que balgan e agan fee en juyçio o fuera del, e bisto lo susodicho por el dicho señor alcalde mando a my el dicho escrivano diese de las dichas tasaçiones e ynbentario un treslado u dos o mas a la

persona o personas que los pidiese, a los quales e a cada uno dellos dixo que ynterponya e ynterpuso su autorydad e decreto judicial quanto con derecho debia para que baliesen e yçiesen fee en juyçio e fuera del e ansi lo pronunçio e mando e firmolo de su nombre, estando psentes por t[estig]os Juan Fanega e payo anello e domyngo hernandez escrivanos del numero e vezinos desta Villa [señalado] Ldo Grrz, ante my francisco fanega

4.- TESTAMENTO DE JUAN DELGADO 10.10.1577^a

«En el nombre de la santissima Trenidad, padre e hijo y espiritu sancto que son tres personas y uno solo dios berdadero que bive y rreina por siempre sin fin y de la gloriosissima siempre birgen sancta maria nuestra señora y de todos los sanctos y sanctas de la corte çelestial. Sepan quantos esta carta de testamento y postrimera voluntad bieren como yo Juan delgado secretario de su magestat y del su consejo de la guerra y señor de la villa de las granedas [sic], estando con la salud que nuestro señor a sido serbido darme, y con el juiçio y memoria y entendimiento natural que por su ynfinita misericordia y bondad me quiso conçeder, deseando poner mi anima en carrera de salvaçion y creyendo como firmemente creo en la sancta fee catholica y todo aquello que bueno fiel y catholico christiano deve tener y creer, y tomando por mi ynterçesora y abogada a la gloriosissima birgen sancta maria nuestra señora y a señor san pedro y a señor san pablo y a señor santiago y a señor sant miguel angel a los quales tomo por mis abogados e ynterçesores para que quando dios me llevare desta presente bida presenten mi anima antel acatamiento de mi señor y rredentor Jesuxpo, suplicandole sea servido de perdonarme mis culpas y pecados y de darme su sancta gloria, y temiendome de la muerte como de cosa tan natural y çierta, hago y hordeno este mi testamento y ultima voluntad en la manera siguiente -

Primeramente encomiendo mi anima a nuestro señor y rredentor Jesuxpo dios y hombre berdadero que la crio y rredimio con su preçiosa sangre, y el cuerpo mando a la tierra donde fue formado

Yten mando que quando la voluntad de dios nro señor fuere de me llevar desta presente bida, mi cuerpo sea depositado en la yglesia de señor san martin desta villa en la parte questa depositada doña mençia de la bega y de çepeda mi segunda y legitima muger, cuyo cuerpo y el mio en estando para ello y gastados se an de llevar a enterrar a la çiudad de palençia donde y como abaxo se dira -

Yten mando que en mi enterramiento y su nobenario y lutos de mis criados y criadas se haga lo que pareçiere a mis testamentarios a los quales pido y suplico que lo hagan con toda moderaçion y que a los dichos mis criados y criadas en el tiempo del novenario y hasta que se acaven las honrras se los de lo neçesario para su comida y que acavadas se fenezca con ellos la quenta de lo que an servido y se les pague lo que se les deviere de sus salarios -

Yten mando que en la dicha yglesia donde mi cuerpo fuere sepultado y depositado se digan el novenario y cavo de año lo mas presto que ser pueda, lo qual pido y encargo a mis testamentarios y mando que se digan por mi anima con la brevedad posible doçientas misas las mas que se pudieren en la dicha yglesia los dias del enterramiento y nobenario -

^a AHP Madrid, Protocolos, Madrid, no.174, registro de Xbal de Riaño 1577.

Yten mando que en la dicha yglesia donde fuere mi cuerpo depositado se diga un año entero cada dia una misa con su rrespons[ori]o sobre mi sepultura lo qual se comience a deçir el dia que se feneçieren las novenas y honrras -

Yten mando quen todo el dicho año los dias de nuestra señora y en cada uno se diga una misa rreçada con su rresponso sobre mi sepultura que son los dichos dias en que se an de deçir las dichas misas el dia de la asençion - y asimismo el dia de la santissima Trenidad las quales misas de an de deçir de mas y allende de las que en cada un dia del dicho año se an de deçir -

Yten mando que en cada uno de los biernes de la quaresma del dicho año se diga en la dicha yglesia una misa rreçada de pasion en cada uno a onor y rreberencia de las çinco plagas que nro señor rreçivio en la sancta cruz por la rredençion del genero umano y porque su dibina magt sea servido de rredimir y salvar mi anima y llevarla a la gloria para donde la crió -

Yten mando que se digan en los monasterios de señor san francisco y de señor san pablo y en la yglesia de señor san laçaro de la çiudad de palençia doçientas misas rreçadas por las animas de mis señores padre y madre y de doña ysavel de rivas mi primera y legitima muger y de la dicha doña mencia mi segunda muger y de los otros mis difuntos y personas a quien yo tengo cargos, las quales se rrepartan entre los dichos monasterios e yglesias y se digan despues que dios me llevare desta presente vida con la mayor brevedad que ser pueda -

Yten mando que en las yglesias de nuestra señora de la calle y de nuestra señora del otero que son en la çiudad de palençia se digan seis misas rreçadas, en cada una tres por mi yntinçion luego que dios me llevare desta presente vida -

Yten mando dos rreales a cada uno de las mandas hordinarias y forçosas -

Yten mando digo y declaro que por quanto yo e otorgado y hecho binculo y mayorazgo de la mi villa de las granedas [sic] con su juridiçion çibil y criminal alta y baxa mero y misto ynperio con sus basallos y con todos los pechos y derechos que yo oy tengo en ella y me perteneçen y con el pan de rrenta que cada veçino de aquella billa me paga y con las alcavalas que en ella tengo y medio escusado de la yglesia, y asi mismo de unas casas prinçipales con sus huertas corrales y pertenençias que yo tengo en la çiudad de palençia en la calle de Don Pedro que fueron del conde de buendia y yo las conpre de Filea; y asi mismo del alferazgo mayor y rregimiento perpetuo que yo tengo de la dicha çiudad de palençia con los dos mill mrs de rrenta perpetua que con el dicho alferazgo se me dan en cada un año y pagan de los propios de la dicha çiudad con todas las preminençias y esençiones al dicho alferazgo mayor anexas; y asi mismo de una hera que tengo a la puerta de mercado que conpre de Juan de quenca; y asi mismo de dos obradas y media que conpre de la cofradia de santonton [sic] ques en el termino de la dicha çiudad; y asi mismo de una casa que tengo en la çiudad de palençia en la calle de nra señora que quedo de la dicha doña ysavel de rivas y del señor Juan de rivas su aguelo con otra casa pequeña que yo conpre junto a ella; y porquestas se bendieron y dan de çenso por ellas diez mill y duçientos y çinquenta mrs en cada un año de a treinta mill el millar tambien los bincule y mande que si se quitasen se enpleasen en bienes rraices que quedasen binculados; y asi mismo de treinta y dos arançadas de viñas que tengo en el termino de la dicha çiudad que rrentan de çenso de a catorçe mill el millar en cada un año, ocho mill y tantos mrs que fueron y quedaron de la dicha doña ysavel de rivas y del dicho señor Juan de rivas su aguelo los quales si se desenpeñasen se

an de comprar de bienes rraíces que asi mesmo queden en el dicho mayorazgo; y asi mismo de çinquenta o sesenta obradas de heredad de pan llevar que tengo en el termino de la dicha çuudad de palençia que quedaron de la dicha doña ysavel de rribas y del dicho señor Juan de rribas su aguelo; y asi mismo de todas las terçias de pan y bino y menudos que yo tengo en el lugar de autilla del pino, ques a una legua de la dicha çuudad de palençia segun como yo las e y tengo y me perteneçen; y asi mismo de çinquenta mill mrs de juro de renta en cada un año de a veinte mill el millar que yo tengo en las alcavalas biejas de la çuudad de Jaen, y los mrs que por ellas dieren si se desenpeñaren se an de comprar de bienes rraíces çerca de la dicha çuudad de palençia que queden binculados en el dicho mayorazgo, el qual dicho binculo y mayorazgo otorgue en esta villa de madrid en diez dias de agosto deste año de mill y qui[nient]os y setenta y siete por presençia de xpoval de rriaño, escrivano del numero desta villa de madrid, en favor de Don Agustín delgado mi hijo legitimo y de doña ysavel de rribas mi primera y legitima muger, quiero y es mi voluntad que se guarde y cumpla todo lo contenido en la dicha escritura de binculo y mayorazgo segun y como en ellas se contiene; y asi mismo nombro por mi unibersal y unico heredero en todos los demas bienes que yo tengo e tubiere al tiempo de mi fin y muerte al dicho Don Agustín delgado mi hijo con que primero y antes y en llevandome dios desta presente bida dé lo mejor parado de mis bienes y que mas aparejado esté para conbertirse en dinero si yo no lo dexare mis testamentarios ayan y rreçivan lo que les pareçiere necesario para mi enterramiento y novenario y cavo de año y honrras y para las misas que mando deçir y para los lutos de mis criados y criadas; y asi mismo se entreguen de los dichos mis bienes en cantidad de çiento y çinquenta ducados los quales esten en deposito para que quando mi cuerpo y el de la dicha doña mencia esten gastados y para poderse mudar de la dicha capilla a la ciudad de palençia se gasten en ello y en llevarlos a ella, y en las aseQUIAS que se an de haçer en la dicha capilla a los dichos cuerpos quando a ella llegaren –

Otro si quiero y mando que con lo que sobrare de los dichos mis bienes que no dexo binculados siendo cumplido lo susdicho se paguen las deudas que tengo y las que dexare al tiempo de mi fin y muerte, las quales siendo nuestro señor servido declarare en un codiçillo que tengo de haçer, y si los dichos bienes no bastaren para la paga de las dichas deudas y de los legatos particulares que abaxo se conternan, es mi voluntad y mando que se bayan pagando de la mitad de lo que rrentaren los dichos bienes del dicho binculo, y que hasta tanto que las dichas deudas y legatos se acaven de pagar el dicho Don Agustín delgado mi hijo ni otra qualquier persona que despues del fuere llamado al dicho binculo no pueda goçar ni goçe de mas de la mitad de los dichos frutos del, lo qual encargo a mis testamentarios y albaçeas a los quales doy poder para que lo hagan asi guardar y cumplir segun y como en la dicha escritura del dicho binculo lo tengo declarado y mandado, porque yo tengo tanta amistad con las personas a quien devo y dellos tengo tal confiança que para pagarse se aguardaran a lo que procediere y fuere cayendo de la mitad de los frutos del dicho mayorazgo, a los quales pido y suplico que lo tengan asi por bien –

Yten digo que por quanto la dicha doña mencia de la vega y de çepeda mi segunda y legitima muger por su testamento y postrimera voluntad, que fue otorgado en esta villa de madrid a treinta dias del mes de abril del año de mill y quinientos y setenta y siete por presençia del dicho xpoval de rriaño a el qual me rrefiero, mandó que se comprase un sitio en la villa de tordesillas en la parte que a mi me pareciese para que en el se hiçiese y edificase una capilla con su sacrestia y tribuna y lo que mas a mi me pareciese, la qual docto de çien mill mrs de renta poco mas o menos que declaro que le perteneçian por su dote y arras y

mitad de bienes gananciales en los bienes siguientes: en diez mill mrs de juro perpetuo en çamora tordesillas y belilla, en once cargas de pan de rrenta que en cada un año rrentan unas heredades en belliça, de las quales se paga çierta memoria carga y media en cada un año y quedan liquidas nueve cargas y media, y en tres cargas de trigo questaban situadas sobre la açeña de francisco de çepeda mi señor en cada un año o hasta tanto que se quitase o por çinquenta y un mill mrs que heran del dote de la dicha doña mençia las quales bendio el señor liçençiado luis laso su hermano y las a de pagar en cada un año de sus bienes y si las quitare por los dichos çinquenta y un mill mrs se an de enplear en otra haçienda rraiz que quede para las dichas capellanias y memoria y en unas casas pequeñas que fueron del dote de la dicha doña mençia todos los quales fueron bienes dotaes suyos que baldran en cada un año veinte y çinco o veinte y seis mill mrs de rrenta, y çinquenta mill mrs de rrenta en cada un año de a veinte mill mrs el millar que yo compre en cabeça de la dicha doña mençia sobre las rrentas de los puertos secos dentre castilla y portugal; y asi mismo otros veinte y çinco mill mrs de rrenta en cada un año de juros de a veinte mill el millar que despues compre en un prebilio aparte para el dicho efecto y estan situados en las alcavalas biejas de la çidad de Jaen que viene a ser todo los dichos çiento o çiento y un mill mrs de rrenta en cada un año los quales digo y declaro que perteneçian a la dicha doña mençia por su dote y arras y mitad de bienes gananciales y no mas, los quales quiero y mando que despues de mis días sean para la dicha ynstituçion y capellanias segun y como ella lo horden y mando por el dicho su testamento, y mando al dicho Don Agustín delgado mi hijo y a todos mis herederos y subçesores que asi lo guarden y cumplan y que guardandolo y cunpliendolo no puedan tener ni tengan action ni rrecurso alguno para pedir ni pidan los dichos bienes y juros ni parte dellos y por perteneçer a la dicha doña mençia como le perteneçen por las dichas rraçones, y si alguno dellos lo hiçiere o contradixere aunque no lo haga mas de poner simple demanda quiero y es mi voluntad que mi binculo y mayorazgo y los frutos del pase al siguiente en grado, porque mi voluntad es que la dicha ynstituçion y capellanias se perpetue para que nro señor sea servido y mi anima y la de la dicha doña mençia rreçivan sufragio; y de los demas conthenidos en la clausula del dicho su testamento que sobresto habla, y quiriendole enpençar a cumplir y por que en el me encarga que en mis días yo compre el sitio para la dicha capilla le e conprado junto a las casas prinçipales de françisco de çepeda mi señor que aya gloria donde se llama la casa de la losa en caveça del dicho señor luis laso para el dicho efecto el qual a de ser el primer patron de la dicha capilla -

Yten mando a ana de çepeda çien ducados por los buenos serviçios que me a hecho demas y allende de otros çien ducados que por una çedula firmada de mi nombre la he mandado, que son por todos doçientos ducados los que la manda y se le an de dar

Yten mando a francisco lopez çinquenta ducados y que se le pague si algo se le deviere de su salario -

Yten mando que costança mi sclaba que me ha servido bien sea libre dende el dia que dios me llevare deste presente vida, que dende entonces mando que sea horra y la doy cunplida libertad y mas la mando veynte ducados, digo que sean veynte dos por una bez, y para cumplir y pagar y executar este mi testamento y todo lo en el conthenido ynstituyo y nombro por mis testamentarios y albaceas al dicho Don Agustín delgado mi hijo y al señor christoval de barros criado de su magestat y a clemente diez a los quales y a cada uno dellos ynsolidum doy poder cumplido para que por su propia autoridad o como quisieren puedan entrar en mis bienes y thomar de ellos los que bastaren y fueren neçesarios para el dicho

efecto y benderlos en publica almoneda o fuera della lo qual puedan haçer aunque se a pasado el año de la testamentaria y rreboco y doy por ninguno y de ningun balor y efecto todos otros qualesquier testamentos mandas y codicillos que antes deste en qualquier manera y tiempo aya hecho o otorgado para que no balgan en juicio ni fuera del en tienpo alguno a anunque[sic] tengan clausulas al contrario salvo este que agora hago del qual quiero y es mi voluntad que balga por mi testamento o cobdicillo y por mi ultima voluntad en aquella mejor forma y manera que de derecho aya lugar para que lo conthenido en este mi testamento sea firme y balido -

En firmeça de lo qual otorgue la presente carta de testamento antel escrivano publico y testigos de yuso escritos que fue fecha y otorgada en la villa de madrid en diez dias del mes de octubre del año de mill y quinientos y setenta y siete años - estando presentes por testigos a lo que dicho es: el señor pero diaz carrillo de quesada y domingo dediarte y pero perez sus criados y el señor pero ortiz del rrio y hernando de laspa y garçia de herrera sus criados y pedro de rratia estantes en la corte de su magestat y el dicho señor otorgante lo firmo de su nombre en el rregistro -

Iten digo y declaro que demas y aliende de los bienes de que tengo e ffecho e ynstituido vinculo e mayorazgo en favor y caveza de Don Agustín delgado mi hijo y de sus descendientes y de las otras personas llamados para la suzesion del dicho mayorazgo como en este my testamento se haze mynçion tengo metido e yncorporado en el dicho vinculo e mayorazgo la capilla que esta en la yglesia del monesterio de señor san pablo de la horden de dominycos de la cibdad de palençia de la adbocacion de nuestra señora del rrosario en la qual se an de deçir por el convento e frailes del dicho monesterio cada dia una misa rrezada con su rresponso perpetuamente e mas an de deçir dos misas cantadas con diacono y sudiacono cada un año perpetuamente la una el dia de los todos santos por las animas de mis señores francisco hernandez mi padre y ana delgado su muger mi madre defuntos que sean en gloria, y la otra el dia de los finados por mi anima e por las animas de doña ysabel de rrivias mi muger primera e por el anima de doña mençia de la vega y çepeda mi segunda muger defunta que sea en gloria y por nuestros deçendientes, y todos los savados de la quaresma de cada un año perpetuamente una salve cantada en la dicha capilla por todo el convento, por lo qual he de dar al dicho convento quinientos ducados por una vez por el sitio de la dicha capilla y altar e rretablo y hedifiçio della y por los hornamentos e todos los demas rrecabdos nesçesarios para las dichas misas y por la dotaçion pitança e memoria dellas, mas veinte mill mrs de juro cada un año de a veinte mill mrs al myllar en la dicha cibdad de palençia o quatro leguas al rrededor della digo y declaro que an de ser patrones de la dicha capilla el dicho Don Agustín delgado mi hijo y sus deçendientes y los demas llamados a la suzesion del dicho mayorazgo como se contiene en la scriptura de la yncorporaçion del que hiçe y otorgue oy dia de la fecha desta antel scrivano publico yuso escripto e para que aya memoria dello lo declaro queste my testamento fecho ut supra, a lo qual fueron presentes por testigos los de suso declarados e nonbrados como esta aqui dicho lo firmo de my nonbre en el dicho rregistro

Juan delgado

fecho ante my Xbal de Riaño

5.- TESTAMENTO DE DOÑA MENCÍA DE LA VEGA 30.4.1577ⁿ

En nombre de la santissima trinidad padre hijo y spiritu sancto que son tres personas y un solo dios verdadero que bive y rreyna por siempre sin fin y de la gloriosissima siempre Virgen santa marya nuestra señora y de todos los santos y santas de la corte celestial, sepan quantos esta carta de testamento y postrimera voluntad vieren, como yo doña mençia de la vega y de çepeda muger legitima que soy del Señor Juan Delgado secretario de Su magestad estando con aquella salud que nuestro señor a sido servido de me dar, y con el juyzio memoria y entendimiento natural que por su Infinita misericordia y bondad me quiso conçeder, deseando poner my anima en carrera de salvaçion y creyendo como firmemente creo en la santa Fee catholica y todo aquello que buena fiel y catholica xristiana deve tener y creer, y tomando por mi Intercesora y abogada a la gloriosissima virgen santa marya nuestra señora y a señor san francisco a quien tomo por mi abogado, Temyendome de la muerte que es cosa natural y çierta hago y hordeno este mi testamento y ultima voluntad en la manera siguiente -

Primeramente, encomiando mi anima a Nuestro señor y redemptor Jhesu xpo, dios y hombre verdadero que la crio y rredimyo con su preçiosa sangre, y el cuerpo mando a la tierra de donde fue formado.

Ytem mando que quando la voluntad de dios nuestro señor fuere de me llevar desta presente vida mi cuerpo sea depositado en la yglesia del señor san martin desta villa en la parte que pareciere al dicho señor Juan delgado mi marydo.

Ytem mando que en mi enterramyento y su novenario y lutos de mis criados y criadas se haga lo que al dicho señor Juan delgado paresçiere y el hordenare y mandare, al qual suplico lo haga con toda moderaçion.

Ytem mando que en la dicha yglesia donde mi cuerpo fuere sepultado y depositado se digan el novenario y cavo de año lo mas presto que ser pueda, lo qual suplico al dicho señor Juan delgado my marido, y que se digan por mi anima con la brevedad posible las mysas que a el paresçiere, a cuya dispusicion rremito lo que a esto toca.

Ytem mando a las mandas hordinarias y forçosas a cada una dellas dos Reales.

Ytem digo y declaro que por quanto Nuestro señor no a sido servido de me dar ni tengo hijos ni herederos forçosos, es mi voluntad que todos los bienes que truxe en dote y de las arras que el dicho señor secretario Juan delgado mi marydo me mando y de çinquenta mill mrs de Renta de juros que compro en mi caveça sobre los puertos de portugal para darmelos por quenta de bienes ganaçiales, y de otra partida que el dicho señor secretario Juan delgado mi marydo a de comprar tambien por quenta de bienes ganaçiales y en lo que dellos ecediere me lo quiere dar, que toda la dicha dotte y arras y los dichos cinquenta mill mrs de juro en cada un año y lo que demas dellos me a de comprar por quenta de los dichos bienes ganaçiales que verna a montar en cada un año çient mill mrs poco mas o menos quiero y es mi voluntad que de los dichos mis bienes y Renta se haga y dote un patronazgo perpetuo y capellanes en la manera siguiente -

Primeramente mando que se compre un sitio en la villa de tordesillas en la parte que al dicho Señor Secretario Juan delgado my mydo paresçiere en el qual se labre y hedifique

ⁿ AHP Madrid, Protocolos, Madrid, no.174, registro de Xbal de Riaño.

una capilla de hedificio firme en la qual aya su sacristia y tribuna y lo que mas pareciere al dicho señor my marydo y que se labre de los frutos de los dichos çient mill mrs de Renta en lo qual se gasten y combiertan y no en otra cosa alguna hasta que este acavada en toda pfection la dicha capilla salvo lo que fuere menester y pareciere al dicho señor Juan delgado que se de a un capellan que despues de mis dias y los suyos diga las misas que le paresçiere y tenga quenta y razon con el hedificio de la dicha capilla con intervencion del patron que fuere della; y hecha y acavada la dicha capilla y comprados los hornamentos que combenga quiero y es my voluntad que de la dicha Renta se hagan quatro capellanias que se den a quatro capellanes, que el uno sea mayor y se le de algun mas salario, y que asimismo aya un sacristan que sirva la dicha capilla y a las mysas que en ella se dixeren, y en lo de mas que se le hordenare por el patron y capellan mayor y dos moços de coro que en la dicha capilla anden bestidos con lobs de color colorado a los quales se les de lo que paresciere al dicho señor Juan delgado mi marydo y que los dichos capellanes digan cada dia dos misas una cantada y otra rezada en la dicha capilla y no en otra parte que sean del dia con comemoracion de nuestra señora y de las animas de purgatorio, y en fin de cada misa digan un responso sobre my sepultura, o de la de mis padres, y que Rueguen a nro Señor por las animas del dicho señor Juan delgado mi marydo y mia y de mis padres y hermanos y parientes y de los patrones que huvieren sido de la dicha capilla, las quales se digan, la que fuere Rezada, por la mañana antes de la mayor, y la cantada a la hora que se suele dezir la misa mayor, haziendo quando se quiesieren dezir señal, tañiendo una campanilla con algun espacio antes que se quieren dezir a la puerta de la dicha capilla.

Ytem mando que el dia de los difuntos todos los dichos quatro capellanes cada uno diga una misa de Requien las tres rezadas y la otra cantada con su responso por my anima y por la del dicho señor Juan delgado mi marydo y por las de mis padres, hermanos y parientes y bienhechores y por las de purgatorio, con bisperas de los difuntos el dia de todos los santos y el mysmo dia de los difuntos lo qual se diga en la dicha capilla y no en otra parte.

Ytem quiero y es mi voluntad que los huesos de mis señores padre y madre sean llevados a la dicha capilla y sepultados de la parte del altar myor y en el mas honrrado lugar della y que ally no se entierren otros, y que asimismo se lleven a la dicha capilla los huesos de pedro de çepeda mi hermano que estan en san pedro y los de doña ana de çepeda mi hermana que esta en el capitulo de los frayles de nuestra señora del rrosario dando a las yglesyas donde estan enterrados lo acostumbrado, y se sepulten a los lados de la dicha capilla donde pareçiere al patron, y que el dia que se mudaren los cuerpos sea con moderaçion, y otro dia se les diga una misa cantada con su responso.

Ytem es mi voluntad que en la dicha capilla se puedan enterrar todos mis deudos y de my linage en las partes que paresciere al dicho patron y los criados dellos que a el paresciere y los pobres que asimismo le paresciere, los quales se entreveren con una de las mysas que se dixeren en la dicha capilla el dia del enterramiento sin les llevar nada por ello, y si fuere tarde con vigilia.

Ytem quiero y mando que el señor luys laso de çepeda my hermano sea patron perpetuo de la dicha capilla y capellanes sacristan y moços de coro, y que el nombre los que quisiere y por bien tuviere, tenyendo atençion a que havyendo los clerigos y personas que an de servir en la dicha capilla sean naturales de la dicha Villa de tordesillas, siendo de la calidad que se requiere para ello, sean pferidos en el nombramiento a los de fuera della, con que nombrados una vez no los quite ni remueva sin causa legitima, y havyendola los pueda

promover y quitar nombrando otros en su lugar segun le paresçiere combenir al buen servycio de la dicha capilla, y que las dichas capellanias no sean colativas ni se entremetan a las prover obispo ni arçobispo ni otro perlado alguno, ni visite la dicha capilla ni los bienes della ni tome quenta dellos y que despues de los dias del dicho señor luis laso my hermano sea patron su hijo mayor legitimo, y despues del sus hijos y deçendientes myores, con tanto que siempre sea uno solo insolidum preferiendose el mayor al menor y el varon a la hembra como en vinculo de mayorazgo perpetuo y para siempre jamas, y a falta de deçendientes varones y hembras del dicho señor luis laso de çepeda my hermano quiero que sea patron de la dicha capilla y capellanias Don francisco aldrete de çepeda my sobrino, y despues del no su hijo primero sino el segundo con que se llame çepeda, y en caso que el dicho Don francisco mi sobrino no tuviese mas de un hijo varon en tal caso mando y es mi voluntad que aya el dicho patronazgo el dicho su hijo mayor con el dicho gravamen de llamarse çepeda, y despues del sus hijos y hijas y sus deçendientes segun y como arriva esta dicho y declarado en los hijos y deçendientes del dicho señor luis laso.

Ytem quiero y es mi voluntad que los dichos capellanes y qualquier dellos resydan y asistan en la dicha Villa de tordesillas y no hagan ausençia que impida al dezir las mysas que arriva hordeno y mando, y porque podria ser que alguno dellos tuviese alguna neçesidad o cosa forçosa a que acudir que tuviese neçesidad de hazerla, quiero y es my voluntad que en este caso pueda estar ausente veinte dias por una vez y que de mas dellos quede a election del dicho patron el poderse la conçeder por el mas tiempo que le paresçiere con que aquel no exçeda de dos meses salvo para cobrar las rrentas de las dichas capellanias, o para procurar por la dicha capilla, que en este caso le pueda dar la que fuere menester.

Ytem quiero y es mi voluntad que en tal manera se reparta la dicha rrenta entre los dichos capellanes sacristan y moços de coro que sobren a los menos en cada un año de la dicha renta ocho mill mrs, los quales se metan en una arca de dos llaves que de yuso yra declarado para reparos y mejoras del hedificio de la dicha capilla y para sus ornamentos y çera y servicio de la dicha capilla, los quales se recojan y esten para el dicho hefecto en la dicha arca, la qual este en la parte mas segura que parezca al patron u capellan myor y en ella este un treslado desta mi disposiçion y patronazgo, y los titulos y previllegios de mi hazienda y rentas.

Ytem quiero y es mi voluntad que si por algun caso la dicha capilla se cayese quemase o derrocasse que solamente el capellan mayor lleve la renta que le estuviere señalada y las demas capellanias çesen hasta tanto que la dicha capilla sea rrehedificada y que entonçes se les buelva y que el dicho capellan mayor en este tiempo haga hazer y hedificar la dicha capilla y asista a la hobra con intervencion del dicho patron y diga cada semana quatro misas del dia con las dichas comemoraciones, y que en las fiestas que huviere en la semana diga el dicho capellan myor en cada una dellas una misa del dia de manera que en ningun dia de fiesta se dexede dezir misa en la dicha capilla; todo lo qual quiero y es mi voluntad salvo si los dichos ocho mill mrs que mando reservar en cada un año de renta no huviere vastante cantidad para rehedificar dentro de un año la dicha capilla, por que haviendole con ellos y con lo que mas oviere caydo en la dicha arca se a de hazer el dicho rehedifiçio y no an de çesar las dichas capellanias ni quitarse los dichos capellanes ni la renta que se les huviere señalado, a los quales quando se nombraren y elegieren se les a de poner por condicion lo conthenido en este capitulo porque mi inten[ci]on y voluntad es que nuestro señor sea servido perpetuamente en la dicha capilla; y si por fin y muerte de los dichos capellanes

sacristan y moços o por otra qualquier causa estuyere baca alguna de las dichas capellanias, es mi voluntad que lo que corriere de la rrenta que a los tales se señalare en el entretanto que se provee la dicha plaza se de a algun clerigo o otra persona que sirva en su lugar con el mismo cargo, y encargo a los patrones que fueren de la dicha capilla que lo mas presto que ser pueda provean en las tales plazas personas que sirvan en la dicha capilla que sean quales combiene.

Todo lo qual quiero y es mi voluntad que se comieçe a hazer despues de los dias del dicho señor Juan delgado mi marydo porque durante los dias de su vida quiero que los frutos de la dicha my dote y arras y de los dichos çinquenta mill mrs de juro que en mi caveça estan, y de los demas que de los bienes gananciales que despues que somos casados y velados se huvieren adquirido, en lo qual y en la cantidad que fueren los dichos bienes demas de los dichos çinquenta mill mrs quiero y es mi voluntad que sea creydo por su declaracion sin que justicia ni otra persona alguna le pueda pedir otra ninguna quenta mas de la que el dixere y declarare y que aquello sea avido por bienes gananciales, y ello todo segun dicho es y otros bienes que en qualquier manera me pertenezcan , quiero y mando que goze el dicho señor Juan delgado con sus frutos y rentas enteramte durante los dichos dias de su vida, al qual suplico que durante ellos en qualquier tiempo quite o añada a este patronazgo vinculo y dispusicion lo que le paresçiere para que mejor y mas cumpdamente y con mas perpetuydad se cumpla esta memoria y patronazgo para el qual quiero y es mi voluntad que queden y sirvan enteramente todos los dichos mis bienes y rentas y suplico al dicho señor Juan delgado que en sus dias haga comprar el dicho sitio para la dicha capilla y vaya encaminando como ella y sus juros y renta tengan la perpetuydad posible, y que quando le paresçiere se lleven mis huesos de la parte donde fuere mi cuerpo sepultado y depositado a la capilla donde estuyere el dicho señor Juan delgado my marydo donde sean sepultados para servicio de dios y de su bendita madre.

Ytem mando que el patron que fuere de la dicha capilla y el capellan mayor y capellanes della se junten cada año una vez a tratar de las cosas combinyentes al reparo y servycio de la dicha capilla y a las otras cosas que tocaren a su renta y esto se haga el dia de nuestra señora de la O de cada un año que es el dia en que murio mi padre, y las otras vezes que al dicho patron y en su ausencia al capellan myor paresçiere ser combiniente y neçesario por ante un escrivano, al qual por la ocupacion de lo susodicho se le de un ducado cada vez.

otrosi mando que los bienes y renta que asy dexo y an de servir para fabrica servicio y perpetuydad de la dicha capilla y capellanias que asi hago el dicho patronazgo no se pueda vender ni en alguna manera enagenar todo ni parte dello en tiempo alguno ni por alguna via por el dicho patron ni por los que adelante fueren della ni por el capellan mayor ni capellanes aunque sea con consentimyento y liçençia suya o de otra qualquier persona porque yo les proyvo en todo evento la enagenacion de los dichos bienes y rentas y capilla y quiero y mando que si en algun tiempo su magestad o los Reyes sus subçesores o otras personas quitaren desempeñaren o redimieren los dichos çinquenta mill mrs de juro que asy estan puestos en my caveça y los que mas se an de comprar de los dichos bienes gananciales como dicho es el dinero que en el desempeño dellos montare se deposite en la dicha arca de tres llaves hasta que se emplee y combierta en comprar otros tantos juros o çensos que sean seguros y tales que puedan servir para el dicho hefecto segun paresçiere al dicho patron y capellanes.

Ytem mando que con mis criadas que me an servido se haga lo que dexo tratado con el dicho señor Juan delgado mi marydo a quien suplico hordene que aquello se cumpla y execute enteramente como el lo tiene entendido que esta es mi voluntad.

Y para cumplir pagar y executar este mi testamento y todo lo en el conthenido, instituyo y nombro por mis albaçeas y testamentarios a los dichos señores Juan delgado my marido y el liçençado luis laso de çepeda mi hermano, a los quales y a cada uno de los insolidum doy poder cumplido para que por su propia autoridad o como quisieren puedan entrar en mis bienes y tomar dellos los que vastaren y fueren neçesarios para el dicho hefecto y venderlos en puplica almoneda o fuera della, lo qual puedan hazer aunque sea pasado el año del albaçeazgo, y reboco y doy por ninguno y de ningun valor y hefecto todos otros qualesquier testamentos mandas y cobdicios que antes deste en qualquier manera y tiempo aya hecho y otorgado para que no valgan en juyzio ni fuera del en tiempo alguno aunque tengan clausulas al contrario salvo este que hagora hago, el qual quiero y es my voluntad que valga por mi testamento o cobdicio y sino por mi hultima voluntad en aquella mejor forma y manera que de derecho aya lugar porque lo en el conthenido es mi postrimera libre y determinada voluntad.

otrosi mdo y es mi voluntad que demas y allende de las cargas misas y efectos que por este my testamento dexo ordendo que se a de hazer en la capilla que dexo instituyda y ordenada cada año perpetuamente para siempre jamas sean obligados y obligo al capellan mayor y capallenas de la dicha capellania que digan y canten visperas y missa solene y cantada con mynystros en la yglesia de sant pedro de la dicha villa de tordesillas donde estan sepultados mis aguelos diziendo cada un año por el dia de sant simon y judas ques el dia en que fallecio doña marina de çepeda mi señora y madre diziendo en la vigilia del dicho dia en visperas y el dicho dia myssa y rresponso cantado sobre las sepulturas de las dichas mys aguelos y esto quiero que se cumpla y haga cada un año perpetua y inviolablemente y si quisieren allarse presente el cura y beneficiados que fueron de la dicha yglesia de sant pedro se hallen a las dichas visperas y missa y se les de por ello lo que acostumbre de lo que rrentare los bienes de la dicha capellania, pero a los demas capellan maior y capellanes no se les an de dar por esto cosa alguna que con esta carga an de servir la dicha capellanya.

Ytem quiero y es mi voluntad que toda la rrenta y bienes que como dicho es dexo para el dicho hefeto en el entretanto que se haze y acava la dicha capilla se recoja en una arca que tenga dos llaves para que de alli se vaya sacando lo que fuere menester del dicho hedeficio y gastos las quales tengan la una el dicho patron y la otra el dicho capellan mayor.

Y en firmeça dello otorgue la que seña ante el escrivano publico y testigos de yusoscriptos que fue fecha y otorgada en la villa de madrid a treynta dias del mes de abril de myl y quinientos y setenta y siete años estando presentes por testigos a lo que dicho es, clemente diaz scrivano de su magestad y diego diez y miguel de rrecalde y sancho de ascarraga y baltassar de lerma y blas de sant martin y el capitan Jacobo fratin ingeniero de su magestad estantes y rresidentes en la corte de su magestad, y la dicha señora doña mençia de la vega y de çepeda a quien yo el escrivano publico yusoescrito doy fee que conozco lo firmo de su nombre en el rregistro.

signature [very shaky] of «doña mençia de la vega y zepeda»

6.- BIENES GANANCIALES ADQUIRIDOS DURANTE EL MATRIMONIO CON DOÑA MENCÍA, 12.11.1577^a

«En el nombre de la santissima trinidad y de la eterna unidad padre e hijo y espiritu sancto tres personas y uno solo dios verdadero, sepan quantos la presente escriptura y declaracion vieren como en la villa de madrid a doçe dias del mes de novienbre año del naçimiento de nuestro señor de mill y quinientos y setenta y siete años ante mi el escrivano publico y los testigos de yuso escritos, el illustre señor Juan delgado secretario de su magestad y del su consejo de la guerra, rresidente en esta corte, dixo que por quanto la señora doña mençia de la vega y de çepeda su segunda e legitima muger que sea en gloria, por su testamento y ultima voluntad que hiço y otorgo por presençia de mi el presente escrivano en esta dicha villa en treinta dias del mes de abril deste año hordeno y mando que en quanto a los bienes gananciales que se obiesen adquirido durante el matrimonio entre ella y el dicho señor secretario y en la cantidad que fuesen y montasen el dicho señor secretario fuese creido por la declaracion que dellos el hiçiese, sin que Justia ni otra persona alguna le pudiese pedir otra rraçon ni quenta mas de la qual dixese y declarase y que aquello fuese avido por bienes gananciales, por tanto quel dicho señor secretario usando de la dicha facultad que la dicha señora doña mençia por el dicho su testamento le da e aceptuandola como la açepta dixo e declaro que perteneçen por bienes gananciales adquiridos en el dicho matrimonio a la dicha señora doña mençia, y por los çiento y doçe mill y quinientos mrs que la mando de arras y por sesenta y quatro mill mrs que de algunos bienes muebles que ella truxo al matrimonio se bendieron, un quento çiento y çinquenta y siete mill y doçientos y diez y nueve mrs y no mas cantidad ni otra cosa alguna en ninguna manera ni por ninguna via para en quenta y pago de los quales le da y señala los bienes siguientes: çinquenta mill mrs de rrenta en cada un año de a veinte mill mrs el millar quel dicho señor secretario compro sobre los derechos de los puertos secos dentre castilla galiçia y portugal questan puestos en cabeça de la dicha señora doña mençia y costaron quatroçientos y çinquenta mill mrs que son los mismos çinquenta mill mrs de juro que la dicha señora doña mençia declaro en el dicho su testam[en]to por quenta de sus bienes gananciales; y así mismo veinte y çinco mill mrs de rrenta de a veinte mill el millar que compro despues de muerta la dicha señora doña mençia questan situados en las alcabalas biejias de la çiuudad de Jaen que costaron treçientas y setenta y çinco mill mrs, los quales dichos juros le da en los dichos preçios no envargante que balen mas, por que así es su voluntad, y por que an de ser despues de los dias del dicho señor secretario para las capellanias y memoria que la dicha señora doña mençia ynstituyo en el dicho su testamento, de que tambien el dicho señor secretario a de rreçevir sufragio; y mas mill ducados que se an gastado en el cunplimiento del anima de la dicha señora doña mençia y en las mandas que la dicha señora doña mençia mando y de palabra encargo al dicho señor secretario y en su enterramiento honrras y novenario y cavo de año y lutos de sus criados, que todo monta un quento y dozientas mill mrs, por manera quel dicho señor secretario da de mas de lo que a la dicha señora doña mençia su muger le perteneçia ni podria perteneçer por ninguna via por la mitad de los dichos vienes gananciales y arras que le mando y bienes muebles que de los que truxo al matrimonio se bendieron quarenta y dos mill seteçientos y ochenta y un mrs los quales dixo que dava e dio de sus propios vienes y haçienda para que

^a AHP Madrid, Protocolos, no.174, registro de Cristobal de Riaño 1577.

mejor y mas cunplidamente se cunpliese y efetuase la dicha memoria y capellanias que la dicha señora doña mençia su muger mando ynstituir y el cunplimiento de su anima -

De mas de lo qual a de llevar la dicha memoria y capellanias despues de los dias del dicho señor secretario diez mill mrs de juro perpetuo que se le pagan en çamora tordesillas y belilla y honçe cargas de pan de rrenta sobre ciertas heredades en belliça, de las cuales se paga carga y media en cada un año a çierta memoria y tres cargas de trigo questavan situadas en cada un año sobre la açeña del señor franc[isc]o de çepeda padre de la dicha señora doña mençia, o hasta que se rredimiesen por çinquenta y un mill mrs, y, por aberlas bendido el señor licdo luis laso de çepeda, los a de haçer buenos de sus bienes al dicho señor secretario en su vida y despues del a la dicha memoria y capellanias; y una casa pequeña en tordesillas ques a las coçinas - los cuales dichos bienes son los mismos que la dicha señora doña mençia truxo en dote al tienpo que se caso con el dicho señor secretario como ella lo declaro en el dicho su testamento demas de los sesenta y quatro mill mrs en bienes muebles que de suso ban declarados y hechos buenos. Por manera que con todos los bienes juntos y dinero de suso declarados la dicha señora doña mençia queda satisfecha y pagada de la dicha su dote y arras y mitad de bienes gananciales

Otrosi que por quanto la dicha señora doña mençia en su testamento y ultima voluntad hordeno y mando que en la villa de tordesillas se hiçiere una capilla en la qual dixesen çiertas misas quatro capellanes de los cuales el uno fuese capellan mayor y la doto de çient mill mrs de rrenta en cada un año y nonbro por patron della al señor licdo luis laso su hermano con las condiçiones e disposiçiones que en su testamento se contienen a que dixo se rrefiria, por el qual dio poder y facultad al dicho señor secretario Juan delgado su marido para que pudiese haçer y hordenar en lo tocante a las dichas capellanias lo que quisiese y por bien toviese quitando o añadiendo lo que le pareçiese en qualquier tienpo para que mejor y mas cunplida mente e con mas perpetuidad se cunpliese la dicha memoria binculo y patronazgo; e que despues en esta villa de madrid por presençia de mi el escrivano ynfraescrito en diez dias del mes de otubre deste año azeptando el dicho poder y liçençia a el dado en este caso por la dicha señora doña mençia declaro que si en algun tienpo o por alguna manera su santidad del sumo pontifiçe o otro perlado en tienpo alguno o por alguna manera se entremetiesen a prober y colar las dichas capellanias o alguna dellas y las hiçiesen benefiços eclesiasticos o tratasen dello o de la dicha dotaçion como de vienes eclesiasticos o espirituales el dicho señor secretario rrebocava anulava y dava por ninguno la dicha ynstitucion [y] queria que los bienes de que las dichas capellanias estan dotadas queden en el patron que a la saçon fuere con cargo de las mismas memorias misas y sacrificios questa dispuesta por el dicho testamento de la dicha señora doña mençia, e agora dixo que por quanto podria ser de mucho ynconviniente que los dichos bienes de que estan dotadas las dichas capellanias entrasen en poder del patron o patrones que fuesen dellas, quiere y es su voluntad y declara y manda que los dichos bienes no entren en poder del dicho patron e patrones ni sus frutos ni rrentas ni parte alguna dellas direte ni yndirete ni por alguna manera, y que si su santidad del sumo pontifiçe ques o fuere, o otro qualquier perlado, quiera y trate de proveer las dichas capellanias o alguna dellas, en tal caso los dichos capellanes de conformidad cobren y ayan los dichos frutos y rrentas e tomen para si lo que abaxo se declara - y lo demas que sobrare, pagado lo que se le señalara, a destar en deposito en una arca de que en el dicho testamento se haçe mençion para los efectos en el contenidos y que abaxo se diran, y que la cobrança y paga se haga con ynterbençion del dicho patron; y dixo que rrebocava y por la presente rreboco la dicha declaraçion y la dava y dio por ninguna y

de ningun balor y efecto, para que en ningun tienpo ni por alguna manera se pueda usar ni use della sino desta declaracion que al presente haze y otorga la qual es su determinada voluntad y como tal quiere que balga y como mejor ubiere lugar de derecho -

Otrosi dixo que declarava y declaro mandava y mando que las dichas capellanias no sean colatibas y que su santidad del sumo pontifice ques o fuere ni otro perlado en tienpo alguno ni por alguna manera no se entremetan a prober ni colar las dichas capellanias ni alguna de ellas ni a haçerlos beneficijos eclesiasticos ni a tratar de ellos ni de la dicha dotaçion como de vienes eclesiasticos espirituales si no que el dicho patron ques o fuere probea las dichas capellanias y qualquier dellas conforme al dicho testamento -

Otrosi dixo que por quanto el mesmo dia estendio por presençia de mi el presente escrivano los llamamientos de los patrones que an de ser, que aquello se guarde y cunpla segun y como esta dispuesto y declarado -

Otrosi dixo e declaro que se de al capellan mayor veinte y cinco mill mrs en cada un año y a cada uno de los otros tres capellanes quinçe mill mrs y al sacristan que a de aver para el serviçio de la dicha capilla ocho mill mrs y a dos moços de coro que an de servir la dicha capilla a cada uno quatro mill en cada un año, de manera que cunplido lo susodicho quedan y sobran de la rrenta y dotaçion de la dicha capilla catorçe mill mrs en cada un año, los cuales se an de poner en el arca de que en el dicho testamento se haze minçion para los efectos que en el se declaran, y para que de dos en dos años se den a cada uno de los dichos moços de coro una toba de paño colorado y para que se pague al cura y beneficiado de san pedro de la dicha villa de tordesillas lo que fuere justo y acostumbrado si se quisieren hallar presentes y ayudaren a las bisperas y misa solene y cantada que con ministros se an de deçir en la dicha yglesia del señor san p[edr]o en cada un año las bisperas en la bigilia y la misa el dia de san simon y Judas, y ansimismo para que se pague a un escrivano que se a de hallar a las quantas e negocios tocantes a la dicha capilla por lo qual se le a de dar un ducado en cada un año y no mas salvo si por aber muchos negoçios y ocupaçion pareçiere al patron y capellanes que se le deve dar algo mas, que en este caso se a de haçer como le pareciere, y ansi mismo lo que fuere menester para el açeite de la lanpara que a de aver en la dicha capilla a las horas que pareçiere al dicho patron y capellanes que a de aver, y para la cera y bino con que se an de deçir las dichas misas -

Otrosi dixo e declaro que por quanto el dicho señor secretario procura mudar los dichos veinte y çinco mill mrs que señalo en quenta de bienes gananciales para la capilla de la dicha señora doña mençia en la villa de tordesillas o lo mas çerca dello que ser pueda por la comudidad y bien de la dicha capilla manda y quiere que los dichos veinte y çinco mill mrs que en esta parte se situaren sean para esta dicha capilla y se subroguen en lugar de los que a su magd se dejaren en las dichas alcabalas viejas de Jaen -

los cuales y todo lo arriva declarado del dote arras y bienes gananciales de la dicha señora doña mençia despues de los dias del dicho señor secretario a de ser de la dicha capilla e ynstituçion por las causas arriva contenidas, y asi dixo que lo mandava y declarava - y a su heredero que entregue los privilegios y titulos tocantes a lo dicho -

Otrosi declarava e declaro quel sitio de la dicha capilla sea en las casas q el dicho señor secretario conpro de Lalosa --- para este efecto que son en la dicha villa de tordesillas junto a las casas prinçipales del señor fran[cis]co de çepeda que aya gloria, y que en el se edifique la dicha capilla, las cuales conpro por ochenta mill mrs, los quarenta e çinco mill dellos que

se pagaron de su propio dinero y por los treinta y cinco mill se pagan de çenso dos mill y qui[nient]os mrs en cada un año, y se pusieron en cabeça del dicho señor licdo luis laso -

Con las quales declaraciones y rreserbando en si el derecho de rrebocallas o enmendallas o de añadir las que le pareçiere dixo que se guarde y cunpla a la letra lo contenido en el dicho testamento de la dicha señora doña mençia çerca de la dicha ynstituçion y capellanias --- siendo presentes por testigos el señor pero diez carrillo de quesada del qo colateral del rreino de napoles y capitan general de la artilleria del, y el señor xpoval de barros criado de su magd, y p[edr]o de aratia y frutuoso de monteser y andres lopez, estantes en la corte de su magd --- y el dicho señor otorgante lo firmo de su nonbre en el rregistro Juan delgado

ffecho ante my Xpoval de Riaño

7.- TESTAMENTO DE DON AGUSTÍN DELGADO, PALENCIA 30.11.1607^a

[Abstract] Is to be buried in Capilla de Nuestra Señora del Rosario in San Pablo.

Wants sung requiem on day of death, or next day, “con diacono y subdiacono”, and a “vigilia de nueve lecciones”, and a “novena de responsos”, and 6 masses *rezadas* for his soul and 6 for the souls of his parents at 2 rs *plata de limosna* each; *misas cantadas* at 12 rs.

Wants every day for 2 years after his death a *misa rezada* said at the altar of the Capilla de Nuestra Señora del Rosario, San Pablo, with bread and wine and *cera en tabla* and 4 *blandones* over his sepulchre.

Wants “los frailes de los monasterios de Palencia” to accompany him at funeral - *testamentarios* to decide contribution.

Wants “los hermanos del hospital de San Blas” of Palencia to “llebar mi cuerpo en el tumbo, con el paño que en mi casa está como le paresciere a Da Leonor Ferrer”.

Wants “que se vistan ocho hombres pobres y una muger, a honor de los nueve meses que nuestra Señora estuvo preñada, de paño blanco o pardo, y mas otros dos pobres que lleven las achas encendidas acompañando la cruz de la parroquia, los quales con los demas pobres bayan con sus achas encendidas acompañando mi cuerpo”.

Wants “casas y clerigos de las parroquias de Palencia con sus cruces capas y cetros” to accompany his body.

Wants “niños de la dotrina con su pendon” to accompany funeral cortège.

Wants 400 *misas rezadas* said for his soul in San Pablo at altar of Rosario.

Wants 200 masses for his soul in Villajimena at 1½ rs each, to be said in hermita de Nuestra Señora “que yo alli tengo” - the first to be *cantada*.

Wants «que se aga un frontal para el altar de la dicha hermita de negro de lo que a mis testamentarios les paresciere”

Wants 100 rs distributed amongst the “vecinos mas pobres” of Villajimena.

^a AHP Palencia no.7722, Registro de Juan Alegre 1607, sf.

Wants 100 *misas rezadas* said in iglesia of Las Grañeras at 1½ rs - to be said by rector of Las Grañeras - first one to be “cantada por via de honra”, the rest *rezadas*.

Wants «rector y alcalde mayor» of Las Grañeras to be given 100 rs to distribute as “limosna a los vecinos mas pobres de la dicha villa”.

Wants «que con Lorenço de Bartolome mi alcalde mayor de la dicha mi Villa se agan y fenezcan las quantas de mi hacienda que entre my y él ay con los papeles y recaudos que yo tengo y los que estan en su poder».

«digo e declaro que atento que yo e tenido muchas quantas dares y tomares con el concexo y veçinos particulares de ... Villajimena y me deben mucha cantidad de dineros, las quales dichas quantas estan aberiguadas y las tengo yo entre mis papeles y ellos en su libro, quiero... que si por algun camino hubiere habido algun yerro o mala quenta y respeto de un trueque que hubo de un pedazo de tierra que tome para alargar mi huerta por lo qual di yo un pedazo de prado que tenia sin los arboles que le zercan, que de lo que me debe el dicho concexo se le quiten y rebatan y desfalquen de cinco a seis myll maravedies los quales le remito y perdono.»

«por quanto yo he tomado a algunos de los vecinos particulares de la dicha mi billa e mis basallos de Villaximena algunos harrenales y otras cosas que les e gastado, quiero... que se aga quenta con ellos y que lo que no se pudiere aberiguar que les debo por escrituras o papeles que se aberigue ante la justicia devaxo de su juramento, y aberiguado... se les pague de mis bienes.»

«mando se cobre de todos los particulares vecinos de la dicha mi villa y de fuera della todos los reditos de zensos que contra ellos tengo asi de lo corrido como de lo que corriere y las quarentenas y penas de camara que me an pertenecido y pertenecieren, y de su rescibo les den cartas de pago.»

«que aunque me an tomado de la huerta que tengo en el termino [de Villajimena] y del monte cantidad de fruta y leña y caza y desecho los bibares», not to take action against them nor demand compensation «porque yo les remito y perdono el daño que me an echo en lo susodicho».

«atento que a habido y ay pleito entre mi y [la villa de Villajimena] sobre la concordia, y mi deseo es que no le aya ni le traygan con mi buena mujer e Don Agustín para quel alcalde mayor del Adelantamiento de Campos diese y enbiese su parecer sobre ella y le dio, y realmente la dicha concordia esta mas en su favor que no en el mio respeto de como el obispo lo exercia como consta de la carta de venta original y papeles compulsorios que quedaron en Madrid en un cofre en poder del Sr Clemente Diaz testamentario que fue del dicho mi padre y en poder del Sr secretario Vallexo”. Wants Villa and Don Agustín, his son, to end pleito «pues no es justo le aya entre señor y vasallos, y el dicho mi hixo no les llebe los 500 mrs al año que se les solia llebar por yantar, porque mi padre no gusto de que se les llebasen”, and if they agree “lo que se les a llebado hasta hora se les buelba”.

On marriage with Da Leonor, “traxe en su servicio a una criada de Napoles concertada en seis honzas del dinero de Napoles o 240 rs castellanos”; she was a very short time in the household because she went to Valladolid and during the time she was in service she was given in “vestidos y otras cosas” half of the money, but was owed the rest. She is now certainly dead, and the 120 rs owed her is to be used for masses for her soul.

“Estoy en duda si en una testamentaria que me fue encomendada por Geronimo Velazquez, criado de mi padre, de donde recevi una sortixa y ciertas niñerías y no me acuerdo bien si cumpli con lo que hera obligado”, so wants 100 rs worth of masses for his soul.

Miguel de Recalde, “criado de mi padre, me dexo por su testamentario qdo murio”, and 150 rs “se quedo en mi poder”; use it to procure *misas*.

Juan de Nabeda, *escudero* of my wife died in our service, and he made us *testamentarios*; we have 100 rs to return, which are to be used for masses for him.

«Declaro en descargo de mi conciencia que yo tube en esta ciudad trato con una muger biuda, que aunque pobre muy honrada, la qual por mis pecados se hizo preñada, y e deseado que una hixa que pario se acomode» - asks Da Leonor’s pardon. Wants 400 ducats to be given to the girl «con que desde luego se pueda remediar en algun monasterio desta dicha Ciudad o de su comarca y contorno entrando por monxa... y que por ser tan honrada la muger y tan pobre» wants her to get 600 *reales*. Da Leonor, Don Agustín and Da Ysavel Delgado, my children, know who she is. Begs their pardon and asks them to «las remedien» as soon as poss without revealing their names.

The *alcaldes mayores* of Villajimena and Las Grañeras are each to be given 4 “baras de bayeta de Segovia para una capa de luto que trayan en mis honras”.

Wants “lutos” to be given to my son, the servants and to Pedro de Yta and his wife.

On day of funeral “se de limosna de un 1 quartillo...a todos los pobres que se llegaren a la puerta” to pray for his soul.

Two *reales* to be given “a las setimas acostumbradas y redencion de cautibos”.

Owes 50 *reales* “de cierto servicio al Santo Crucifixo de Burgos”; wants them paid to *sacristán mayor*.

Owes Jusepe de Sant Román, canónigo desta Santa Iglesia, 1,000 rs que en semarios? cobré y recevi en su nombre de un mercader; wants it paid. A further 8,000 rs he lent me in Madrid and elsewhere has been repaid «de los 14,000 rs que tome a zenso de Bernardino Perez, clerigo de Becerril, y los 6,000 rs restantes se pusieron en poder de mi buena muger».

Owes a certain Carossa, *cochero*, vecino of Valladolid, 20 rs of the 80 that were owed him; wants them paid, even though his wife said she would remit it.

Se compraron en Villajimena las tierras que llaman de San Pablo con el sitio de la casa por 80,000, las quales son del mayorazgo fundado por mi padre, y algunas dellas estan ypotecadas a ciertos zensos quel dicho mi padre tomó... y para que aya claridad dello lo declaro:

“Yo tengo en mi poder una ymaxen de plata de Nra Sra guarnecida, en ebano con unos rayos de oro, la qual no es mia.” It is in my possession and is to be given to the Capellan mayor of the “capilla que haze mi Sra Da Mencia de la Vega y Zepeda” in Tordesillas. It was given to my father by Cardinal Riario de Portugal “con 365 dias de yndulxencia plenaria rezando tres paternosters y tres abe marías”. Wants it placed on the “altar mayor de la dicha capilla”.

Has come to agreement with Francisco Ceano Román, guardian of the heirs of “un calcetero difunto, vezino de Palencia en razon de un pleito sobre las mulas que me dio para la jornada

que hize a Antequera”. Agreement was for 1,100 rs which was paid; but disagreement over whether price of a *macho* was 400 or 500 rs. Wants extra 100 rs paid.

Francisco de Monesterio, carpenter, has had a *pleito* with me, and though I did not owe what he claimed, as I was in Antequera I was unable to defend myself, “y él, con ocasion que dixo que por efecto de aberle ofendido en cierta palabra le puso... no me acuerdo aberle podido ofender en ella, en el qual me condenó en mucha cantidad de dineros y está al presente para sentenciar en rebista.” Wants the *Justicia* to issue judgement and the money he will get from that will help pay the effects of his will. If the other party does not appeal the sentence and pays the costs within a year, Don Agustín will remit 400 rs, but if not «mando se sigua en Valladolid y cobre por todo rigor de derecho, pues estando pagado casi de todo lo que yo le debia cobro mucho mas y lo que no se le debia..»

«Por los servicios de la guerra que le e echo» the king gave me grant of two “privilegios”, increasing the 300 ducats has in Naples by another 200 ducats as from 1.1.1607. Wants what will be due up to date of his death collected.

The king also gave his wife the grant of another *juro* of 200 ducats a year «por los servicios de Francisco Ferrer, mi señor y suegro, sargento que fue de la Bicaría de Napoles y visorrey de Salerno, del qual a que goza dos años poco mas o menos», but has not drawn any of it yet. Wants what is due up to date of death to be used for the costs of his will, and after that at her pleasure.

“En Madrid me deve un hombre de armas 500 rs de un caballo que le bendi, por los quales esta executado ante Baena, escribano de provincia de la Villa de Madrid.

“Ante el dicho escrivano estan executados los bienes de los herederos de Fabian de Bargas y Jullio Xentre jinobeses por 400 ds que se debian al Secretario Juan Delgado mi Señor y padre, por un juro del derecho de las lanas que quatro años a 50,000 mrs cada año, y aora faltaban los papeles de la claridad del juro questa en poder del capellan mayor de una capilla que mi señora Doña Mencia de la Vega... mando fundar en Tordesillas, y ay provision de Consexo de hacienda para sacar la claridad del dicho juro y de otras deudas que alli se deben.” Wants action on payment to him as his father’s will required.

Some money is owed me in Zamora, Tordesillas, Villajimena and Las Grañeras «como parecia por el testamento del dicho mi Señor y padre»; these to be collected from those who owe it.

In Palencia, Juan Bautista Pérez, *principal*, and Agustín Costilla, *pasteleros*, *vecinos* of Palencia, owe me 900 rs; and in Fuentes de Valdepero, Juan Roxo, *clérigo*, *principal*, and Juan Pérez, guarantor, owe me about 200 ds “por obligaciones a ciertos plazos”. To recover it from them.

In Villajimena, “tengo en mis casas hasta 50 cargas de cebada” and in “los graneros de Palencia hasta 40 cargas de trigo y mas de 20 cargas de cebada que hasta aora se an traído

de las tercias de Autilla de lo procedido de las rentas deste presente año de 1607, y 8 o 10 cargas de centeno, y esto es ademas de lo que falta de traer de las dichas tercias y de lo que se a recoxido en esta dicha ciudad de mis rentas y procedio de lo que yo coxi de las tierras que sembre.»

In Villajimena “tengo 5 yeguas parideras y dos mulas grandes y dos machos y otra yegua de servicio y dos mulas pequeñas de leche.”

“Habiendo sacado yo de la carcel a Pedro de Yta, mi criado”, paying 35,000 mrs “por q estaba preso por una mula que le dieron en alquiler y se le murio”, there was a doubt whether 31 ducats of this had been paid to me. It has. «Pagué por él a Monasterio, carpintero, 200 rs que recebi en cuenta del alquiler de la casa en quel bivia, y por ser tan buen criado es mi voluntad que biva en la casa en que al presente bive todos los días de su bida y que no se le lleben mrs ningunos de renta... con que del aprovechamiento de la bodega que en ellas estan lo gozen mis herederos.»

“Teniendo yo algunos dares y tomares” over some “ayudas de costa” the king gave me, «me concerté con Juan Pasqual del Consexo de hacienda para que me diese ciertas joyas y preseas en cuenta dello y en confirmacion de lo susdicho le entregue las zedulas y a mi se me entregaron un relox de oro guarnecido de diamantes y rubies y una venera con el abito de Santiago y una cadenilla de oro esmaltada de negro, lo qual esta en mi poder.» Wants these things given to the Prior de San Pablo, Palencia, “para que las entregue a quien las hubiere de aver de forma que mi buena muger y herederos queden libres y mi conciencia descargada.»

At the time the marriage of Da Ana Delgado, my daughter, and Don Diego de Valencia, my son-in-law, was being negotiated, he was promised a dowry of 3,000 ds. For some months he had a *pleito* with me over it, but finally we came to an agreement that “en el interin que no se le pagasen, ubiese de gozar de mas de 32,000 mrs de juro y renta que yo compre a 20 sobre las alcabalas de Valladolid por previlexio de SMD”, and this he has been drawing, «y respeto de que los dichos 32,000 mrs de renta al año, los compre con el dinero que procedio de la redencion de las alcabalas de la mi villa de Villajimena que SMD redimio y desempeño, las quales dichas alcabalas estaban vinculadas por el Secretario mi Sr y padre y los dexo en su mayorazgo.» The 32,000 mrs de renta are thus part of the *mayorazgo* and are to be restored to it. The 3,000 ducats dowry is to be paid to Don Diego de Valencia from my *bienes* as soon as I die.

At time Da Ysavel Delgado, mi hija, and Don Miguel Manrique de Lara were to marry, I promised in dowry a certain sum – see the *escritura* by the late Diego de Castrillo, *escribano del número* of Palencia (there is no record in the *fichero*) on account of which I gave her a *juro* for more than 61,000 mrs per year “sobre Palencia y sus partidos y otras cosas de joyas y ajuares”. If anything is still owing of the dowry, it is to be paid.

“Yo cobre en nombre de Da Ysavel Delgado mi hija dos partidos de dinero, uno de 7,000 rs de Don Francisco de Bobadilla, otro de 3,000 o 4,000 rs de Pedro de la Rua, vezino que fue de Palencia, y atento que con ella tengo ciertas cuentas de partidas que por menor e pagado y gastado en aberla traído desde Salamanca a esta ciudad quando enviudó del dicho Don Miguel Manrique”.

“Yo traxe pleito con Canonigo Andres de la Rua sobre una viña y dos tierras y una hera en el termino de Palencia de un binculo que dexo una fulana Delgado, y el que las poseya hera un fulano Calabazaños, el qual las abia enpeñado al dicho Sr Canonigo en 40,000 mrs al principio que se las dio, y despues le dio otros 20,000 mrs mas so color de que hera deudo, y cargandosele la conciencia el dicho Calabazaños declarase a quien pertenecian los dichos bienes bino a confesar y declarar juridicamente en articulo mortis ante Francisco Gonzalez, escribano del numero desta ciudad, ante quien pasaba el dicho pleito y estan las sucesiones y derechos de los dichos bienes pertenecientes a mi y ser yo el verdadero successor en el dicho vinculo, y que por descargo de su conciencia me lo traspasaba para my y mis subcessores.” Regardless of this declaration “me consulté con Andrés de la Rua en que le dí 45,000 mrs en dinero y al dicho Calabazaños 15,000 mrs para acomodar a su persona”. This ended the *pleito* and “se me dio posesion de los dichos bienes en la qual estoy. Los quales dichos bienes incorporo en my myzgo.» But as I spent 60,000 mrs of my own money to incorporate these properties into *the mayorazgo*, I want 4,000 mrs to be taken every year from the income these properties generates to be given to the monasterio de San Pablo, Palencia, «para que el primero domingo del mes de octubre de cada año, que quando se zelebra la fiesta de la batalla nabal, se diga perpetuamente y para siempre xamas en mi capilla de Nuestra Señora del Rosario... las misa principal del dicho día con diacono y subdiacono y aya sermon pegando el pulpito a la dicha capilla y el predicador que fuere haga memoria del milagro de quel día y de la mrd que nuestro Señor me hizo allandome yo en la dicha batalla, y ansi mismo el día siguiente se ha de dezir en la dicha capilla por el dicho convento otra misa cantada de requien con diacono y subdiacono por mi anima y de la de Doña Leonor Ferrer mi muger, baxando los frayles a la dicha capilla entrambos días a decir sus responsos.» The convent is to be given 3,000 mrs a year for this; 500 mrs to go towards “ayuda de la cera” and 500 mrs to be distributed among the *cofrades del Rosario* present at the requiem.

Andres de la Rua “me a puesto demanda injusta” regarding certain things and a sum of money, claiming that he rented things out to various people for their lifetime, “y por que el dicho pleito cese y no se siga, teniendo consideracion al mal sonante del y a que en los pasados hubo algun deudo y no dexar a Don Agustín mi hijo pleitos”, is prepared, if De la Rua drops the *pleito*, to give him 12 or 15,000 mrs “con que se pueden acomodar y satisfazer las labores que estaban echas en los dichos bienes al tiempo y quando se me dió la posesion dellos”.

“Por la devocion que siempre e tenido a Nuestra Señora de Monserrate se digan en la hermita que yo e echo en... Villajimena nueve misas en los nueve días que se celebran la fiesta de Nuestra Señora de cada un año perpetuamente; y otro el día de San Agustín, y otros dos los días de Santo Domingo y San Francisco. These are to be said “por mi anima y la de Da Leonor mi muger y sus pasados y mios”. The celebrants are to receive 2 rs for each, and “las visperas destes dichos días se an de echar en la lampara questa en la dicha capilla 8 mrs de azeyte para queste alumbrando a la dicha ymagen”, and every Saturday night during the year another 8 mrs of oil is to be added. On “las visperas de la bocacion de Nuestra Señora se diga en la dicha hermita la Salbe” with 1½ rs to be given to the celebrant. All this is to be paid for from the proceeds of “la tierra que llaman del Molino que compré de Juana Nuñez y otra tierra que compré... y sobre las biñas que yo deszepé e hize tierras que las compré de Lucio y de Sebastian Rodriguez y de Francisco Matienzo, las quales binculo para que anden

juntas en un solo tenedor y poseedor y no se puedan bender, partir ni dividir... para que del usufruto y renta que dellas procediere se pague la limosna de las misas y Salbe.. y el azeyte y zera.. de las quales dichas tierras dexo por patrona primero llamada a su muger.” She is to draw the income to spend as directed, i.e. 12 misas rezadas, 9 Salves, azeyte y zera, total cost 52½ rs/year. After her death, Don Agustín Delgado Ferrer to be responsible, and after him his heirs etc. These *tierras* are to be added to the *mayorazgo* after the death of Da Leonor.

“Declaro que quando yo fuy a la ciudad de Antequera por correxidor llebé por alcalde mayor al Dotor de la Ribera, el qual realmente me dió 5,000 rs porque yo le nombrase por tal alcalde mayor y por alguacil a Morante, el qual pretendio le diese las decimas, y como el rey me las tenia dadas a mi, no se le dieron, por lo qual se desgusto el dicho alguacil y bino a delatar de my y me quitaron el officio y me condenaron en rebista en 200 ds para la camara de Su Magd los quales yo pagué, y se conosció averme echo agravio en lo susodicho pues luego fuy ocupado en otros officios y ocupaciones reales, respeto de lo qual y quel dicho Alcalde Mayor quedo gozando muchos meses el dicho officio, salarios y provechos que se recuperaron los dichos 5,000 rs, sin embargo de lo qual, y que aunque un hixo que dexo que al presente bibe me a tratado y no me lo ha pedido, al qual conoze Don Agustín Delgado, mi hixo, es my boluntad que se recupiere por mis testamentarios y padre confesor asi lo quel susodicho gano como lo que yo padezi y lo que gaste en la defension de mi persona, y miren en la obligacion que en esto puedo tener para asegurar mi conciencia, y conforme a lo susodicho se podra dar y tratar con el dicho su hixo la mejor horden que sea posible para descargo de mi conciencia.»

«Aunque mi señor y padre dexo vinculadas en su mayorazgo dos tapicerias respeto de que por su hultimo testamento dexo mandado que si no bastasse el hacienda que dexaba para pagar sus deudas se bendiese lo necesario de lo binculado para pagarlas, y que no parecio dexar hacienda libre para lo satisfazer, y por sus testamentarios fueron bendidas las dichas tapicerias como hacienda de donde se seguia menos daño e ynconbeniente que de otra cosa.» One was bought by Montilla, the other by Don Agustín «del rreyçilo con plata y axuares», with the money from those sales I repaid 3,000 ds to Prince Andrea Doria, and other things my father died owing, as can be seen from the receipts and other papers I have. “Declaro que las tapicerias y colgaduras y plata que tengo al presente son bienes libres mios y no del mayorazgo. La mesa que dexo binculada mi padre se bendio por sus testamentarios para pagar sus deudas y no entro en mi poder. La lampara de plata questa en el mayorazgo declaro está en pie al presente en mi poder.”

The censo of 8,000 mrs a year “que procedio del precio de las biñas que mi padre vinculo en su mayorazgo” which were in the *términos* of Palencia, “se quito e redimio y entro en mi poder, y en su lugar del dicho censo surrogo al dicho mayorazgo unas casas pequeñas que yo compre junto a las principales de mi myzgo que lindan con ellas que solian ser de Lucas Llorente, que costaron la misma cantidad que procedió de la venta de las dichas biñas y redencion del dicho censo.”

Also incorporated into the *mayorazgo* “el monte q yo compre del consexo de Villajimena y de los vasallos della... que me costo 800 ds poco mas”. This was as a replacement for 20,000 mrs a year at 16 entailed by my father from the *alcabalas* of Autilla del Pino which were redeemed by the king. With the capital from that I bought the *monte* for same price.

The *censos* of 20,000 mrs a year which were incorporated into the *mayorazgo* by Juan Delgado (11,000 against the *concejo* of Villajimena and 9,000 against individual *vecinos*) are still in being. Other *censos* of c.5,000 rs at 14 granted to the *concejo* and *vecinos* of Villajimena are still in being, but these are not *vinculados*, nor are the “huerta ni palomar ni otras heredades que alli tengo” part of the *mayorazgo*, but *bienes libres* bought after the death of my father.

The king gave me a *merced* of 200 ds or *escudos* annually from a *juro* for two lives, my own and whoever on my deathbed I should nominate – he nominates his son, Don Agustín Delgado Ferrer y Cardona.

“Las armas de arcabuces, picas y lanzas, mosquetes y arneses, alabardas y pistolas” are not to be sold or broken up, but are being incorporated into the *mayorazgo* “para que esten acompañando el estandarte y armas reales de Su Magestad y de Palencia, por ser cosas anexas y concernientes al oficio de alférez myr desta ciudad”.

Also being added to the *mayorazgo* are “dos frascos de plata grandes que tengo q fulano de Herrera y Córdoba, tio de mi padre, me ynbio de las Indias de la ciudad de Mexico, con sus armas las de Córdoba y Herrera con las herraduras”.

In order to carry out and cover the costs of the terms of the will, the wheat, barley and rye he has in Palencia, Villajimena and Las Grañeras, and “las joyas y cadenas y piezas de oro” that Da Leonor has, and her “bestidos y los mios y botones y anillos y sortixas de oro, y la huerta y palomar ... en Villajimena, y las tapicerias y tafetanes y terciopelos y colgaduras y camas de damasco y tela de oro berde, y cama de oro azul ques de tela, y un pabellon carmesi, y las almoadas bordadas y otras de carmesi, y dos alombras grandes y otras pequeñas, y dos catres de la Yndia, y colchos de seda de la Yndia, y la fuente y platos y platillos grandes y pequeños, escudillas y bufete y brasero confitero, azeytera y binagrera y jaez de plata y de colores, y de los demas bienes muebles y axuares de por cassa que tengo, y las yeguas parideras y de servicio y mulas y muletas y machos”, are all to be sold, which, together with what is owed to him in Palencia, Villajimena, Las Grañeras, Fuentes de Valdepero, and in Italy, “asi de las mandas que hizo Francisco Ferrer, mi señor, y reditos dellas, y de las rentas que tenemos en Napoles, como de la renta de los 500 ds que se debe a mi hixo, e de otros 80 ds que mi señora Doña Ysabel, mi suegra y señora, dexo de ynbiar con los reditos quando enbió los mill ducados de a diez jarlines y lexitimas de la hacienda de my señora Doña Ysabel y Francisco Ferrer, su marido, que mando se cobre todo y se cumpla y pague todo lo mandado en este testamento.”

“La lampara de mi capilla” is not to be sold because it is held in the *mayorazgo* set up by Juan Delgado; nor is to be sold the item of silver Da Leonor has; she is to keep this for «servicio suyo donde escupa». She is also to keep «el coche para su servicio acomodandole como para viuda y el caballo morçillo para el servicio de mi hijo... dandoseles dicho coche y caballo en la mitad del precio que tubieren para que con ello se acomoden y paguen algunas de las cosas que se an de cumplir... por lo mucho que la debo.»

Mourning is to be given to Da Leonor y his daughters, and to the children of Pedro de Yta, “mi criado”, “por que rueguen a dios por mi anima”. “Cumplida mi anima y testamento se dé el remanente del quinto de mis bienes y hacienda libres que tengo a Da Leonor por el mucho regalo que me a fecho y buena compañía que con ella e tenido y por que se lo debo bien debido y por el amor grande que la tengo.»

«Yo dexo un memorial» written by Juan Alegre and signed by me and by him «ques tocante a ciertas declaraciones y restitutiones tocantes al descargo de mi conciencia y anima y es conbeniente su cumpla». Testamentarios to carry out requirements to the letter: «Al tpo y quando yo me hube de casar con la dicha Doña Leonor... se me prometio con ella en docte diez mill ducados de la moneda... de Napoles... los quales... mando se la dé, pague y entregue en un juro de 300 ds poco mas de renta que por previlexio real...tengo en cada un año situados sobre esta dicha ciudad y su partido a 20... que se compro con el dinero que procedio de su propio docte, y lo demas restante al cumplimiento de la dicha docte y antefato se la dé y pague del precio y balor en que se bendieren las joyas y bestidos mios y suyos y plata.”

“Las llaves que tengo de las reliquias” in the capilla in San Pablo, Palencia, “las tengan siempre el patron que fuere della”, proximately “Don Agustín Delgado Ferrer, paxe de Su Mgd, mi hixo mayor, baron y segundo llamado”; he is not to permit any of the relics to be removed.

Appoints as “testamentarios de albaceas y executores”: Da Leonor Ferrer, mi muger; Ldo Don Francisco de Valverde Alderete; el Dean de la Santa Yglesia de Palencia; Doctor Don Diego del Castrillo, prior della; Antonio de Ballexo; y Pedro de Yta, mi criado.

“Dexo y nonbro por mis universales hixos herederos en todos mis bienes y acienda, asi muebles como raizes, derechos e aciones a Don Agustín Delgado Ferrer y Cardona, paxe de Su Magd, y a Doña Ysavel Delgado y Doña Ana Delgado Ferrer, mis hixos y de la dicha Doña Leonor Ferrer y Cardona, mi buena muger, para que los ayan y ereden por yguales.”

Palencia, 30.11.1607

testigos - Ldo Xbal de Balderas, medico;

Stgo de Medina, sastre;

Alonso Diez y Urban de Brito, criados de Da Ysavel Delgado;

Lorenzo Galan, escribiente, vezinos y estantes en Palencia

Don Agustín Delgado - paso ante mi, Joan Alegre - derechos deste testamento doze rs

CODICILIO, PALENCIA 30.11.1607ⁿ

Don Agustín Delgado «estando en la cama enfermo».

As Don Diego de Valencia, his son-in-law, is to have the 3,000 ds for the dowry of Da Ana Delgado, his children, Don Agustín y Da Ysabel Delgado, are to get “el tercio de sus bienes libres para que por mitad lo ayan y ereden y lleben” - this is instead of the tripartite division of the original will (presumably a division of Doña Ana’s share between the other two).

Juan Rodríguez, *vecino* of Villajimena, “está preso en la carcel real of Palencia muchos dias ha por decir fue culpante en la muerte de fulano de Palacios, alcalde mayor que fue de Villajimena”; wants him pardoned from any further action against him on account of that death «por que Dios nuestro Señor le perdone a él sus pecados.»

Cofradia del Rosario of Palencia to be given 100 rs as *limosna* “por razon de su entrada de cofrade y de Don Agustín Delgado Ferrer y Cardona, su hijo”.

ⁿ AHP Palencia no.7722.

Don Agustín wants to be buried as “cofrade y como hermano della” (Cofradia del Rosario), and wants to be buried in the habit of San Francisco.

Instructs that “se tomen las bulas de compuscion necesarias hasta en cantidad de 100,000 mrs y una de difuntos... para descargo de su conciencia”.

Witnesses: Don Antonio Manrique de Lara

Juan Gomez de Loyola

Fco Brizeño

Jusepe Zerdan, *vecinos* of Palencia

Lorenzo Galan, *estante* en ella.

Don Agustín Delgado paso ante mi Joan Alegre dros: dos Rs

SEGUNDO COBDICILIO, PALENCIA, 1.12.1607ⁿ

«que por qto el tiene hordenado en el dicho memorial por una clausula y partido del que en lugar de ciertas cosas y regalos que rescibio de algunos concexos y personas particulares del Reyno de Granada quando estubo en ellas y que no tenia memoria de quien lo abia rezevido, se gastasen myll reales en dorar la rexa de su capilla» in S.Pablo, Palencia.

In clause of 1st codicil, he instructed “q se tome las bulas de compuscion que fueron necesarias para satisfacion de 100,000 mrs de que tenia memoria era a cargo” - but discussing it with “personas religiosas, dotas y grabes” they advise that in the form set out this will not satisfy his requirement. Thus, he is revoking these two clauses and «atento que a rrecorrido su memoria y le parece ques a cargo de lo susudicho como hasta 4,000 rs», which he wants taken from “lo mexor y mas bien parado de sus bienes, y estos se pagan a censo a 20”, or from some other source which will produce the same income, and with this to endow “una misa cantada de requien” in the Capilla de Nra Sra del Rosario of S.Pablo, Palencia, every year in perpetuity on 3 November, paying the friars 20 rs *limosna*; the responses are to be said over his tomb which is to be covered with a black cloth. The remainder of the income from the 4,000 rs is to endow *misas rezadas* in the capilla at 2 rs plata, «y con ello descarga su conciencia y cunpla lo que tenia obligacion».

He gave Diego Ferrer, vecino of Seville, Da Leonor’s uncle, “un brasero grande de plata y un tazon dorado y rico echo de piezas, lo qual tiene el susodicho en empeño de 3,000 rs.”, wch he lent Don Agustín. The debt is to be paid off and the items recovered.

Witnesses: Don Antonio Manrique de Lara

Jusepe Zerdan

Lorenzo Galan

Don Agustín Delgado paso ante mi Joan Alegre dros: dos Rs

PODER DE LOS TESTAMENTARIOS DE DON AGUSTÍN DELGADO, PALENCIA, 15.12.1607

Don Agustín Delgado died on Wed, 5th of this month of December, at c. midday.

Poder of *testamentarios* to Jusepe de San Román, canónigo of Palencia Cathedral, resident in Madrid, to require *justicia* of Madrid “que se pongan por ynbenentario todos los bienes y hazda

ⁿ AHP Palencia, no.7722, Registro de Joan Alegre 1607.

y papeles y escrituras que Don Agustín tenía y dexo en Madrid y su tierra y otras partes en poder de Clemente Diez, residente en Madrid, y de otras personas”, and retain them in his possession until we can examine them and decide what to do with them.

8.- TESTAMENTO DEL SR DON AGUSTÍN DELGADO FERRER Y CARDONA, 7.4.1658ⁿ

Don Agustín died 8.4.1658 at 3 am, will 7.4.1658 signed by Pedro de la Cantolla and Luis de Madrid «por no poder el otorgante por falta de vista y gravedad de su enfermedad»

To be buried in «capilla que tengo mia propia» in convent of S.Pablo «de la adbocacion de Nra Sra del Rosario en el carnero de dicha capilla donde estan mis padres y abuelos».

wants to be buried in habit of OFM «que soy tercero de su horden muchos años a».

«12 achas de zera amarillo los qles lleven los niños de la dotrina» to be carried at funeral.

whole congregation of *capellanes del número* of Cathedral to come to funeral «con papas y letras, y por ellos se diga misa cantada si fuere ora decente, y si no otro dia siguiente»; they are also to say “missa de honra, todo a eleccion de mis testamentarios, y se pague lo que se deviere”.

The convents of Santo Domingo and San Francisco de la Observacion to come to funeral and to say *missa cantada* on day of funeral, “y se les pague la limosna acostumbrada”.

Cofradias de San Francisco and La Caridad, “donde soy cofrade”, to come to funeral, “para que se agan por anima los sufraxios q se acostumbran”.

300 “missas reçadas en la parte que a mis albaleas les pareciere” to be said for his soul; to be paid 1½ rs de limosna for each.

100 *missas reçadas* to be said for souls of his parents, Don Agustín Delgado and Da Leonor Ferrer y Cardona, deceased; also at 1½ rs each.

3 rs to be given for “las setimas acostumbradas”, the redemption of captives and casa santa de Jerusalem.

leaves «por bienes y libres mios» free of *mayorazgo*:

una casa en la calle de las Panaderas, Palencia, de que vive al presente un pescador

una hera en las del osar desta ciudad

una biña a la cruz de San Pedro, at present rented to Juan Alvarez de Estrada, *escrivano*

“sobre quales dichos vienes esta fundada una memoria en la yglesia parroquial de San Miguel de q se paga 8 ds/yr a los curas della”

«declaro que en la villa de Villajimena tengo una huerta y una tierra que son bienes libres, y porque tenia oblign de poner una lampara en la capilla de Nra Sra del Rosario... y mientras no lo hice pague al dicho conbento cinco ducados cada año por el aceite que se gasta en la que arde en la dicha capilla, y porque para despues de mis dias quedare asegurada la dicha renta, el Sr Don Luis Manrique... se obligo de dar el principal de los dichos cinco ds que son

ⁿ AHP Palencia, 9409: Registro de Juan Moreno Tejada 1657-58, ff.438-441v.

cien ducados al dicho conbento seis meses despues de mi muerte, por cuya causa le zedí y traspase desde luego el derecho e raçon que tenia a la dicha guerta y tierra.»

possesses mayorazgo founded by Sr Juan Delgado «mi abuelo del consexo de hacienda de Su Magd y su secretario del Consejo de Guerra de Mar y Tierra, y que, por no tener, como no tengo, hijos ni descendientes lexitimos, le toca y pertenece despues de mis dias al señor Don Luis Manrique de Lara, mi sobrino, hixo lexitimo de Don Miguel Manrique de Lara y Doña Ysavel Delgado, mi hermana.»

29.6.1641 “hicimos escritura de transaccion y concierto el dicho Don Luis Manrique de Lara y yo, ante Hernando Juarez, escrivano of Palencia, por la ql me obligué de dar al susodicho por bia de alimentos, y por que cessase el pleito que yntentó poner sobre ellos, todos los menudos de las tercias de la villa de Autilla que son del dicho mayorazgo en que se comprehende el bino, lana, ganado obejuno, pollos, zera, abena e todo lo demas que se a costumbrado llevar y dezmar por menudo en dicha villa, con calidad de que en cada un año por raçon dellos me diese 200 rs, y que subcediendo en el dicho mayorazgo” Don Luis is to give same *menudos* to Da Savina de Soto y Acuña, mi muger, for the rest of her life, “con la misma carga y penssion de q ella le diese y pagase otros 200 rs en cada un año”

Don Luis drawing these *menudos* from 1.1.1642 for nearly 17 years. This *escritura* is to continue in full force.

When married Da Savina de Soto y Acuña was promised in dowry by Da Maria de Soto y Acuña, her mother, widow of Dr Pablos de Soto y Acuña, 81,364 rs received in “dinero, joyas, ajuares, juros y otros bienes”, for which issued receipt before Bartolomé de la Plaza, escrivano real in Madrid, 10.2.1609, and “prometi en arras y donacion protemunicas 3,000 ds de 11 rs a la dicha Da Savina, que aunque oy no caven en la decima parte de mis vienes an cavido en el discurso de mas de 50 años que a que goço y poseo el mayorazgo del dicho Juan Delgado mi abuelo, cassi como primera duda contraida desde el dia q contraje matrimonio.” Instructs that this to be paid from whatever *bienes* he has «e pido e suplico a la dicha Sra Da Savina me perdone la mala cuenta y raçon que tengo»

leaves memorandum of his debts and debts owed to him; wants these paid and recovered.

«Declaro que las armas que ay en un aposento desta casa que llamo recamara de cuerpos de armas, petes, espaldares, morriones, zeladas, arcabuces y otras cosas, y un retablo questa en el oratorio desta casa, y un niño Jesus que esta en el, todo ello es bienes libres que no tocan ni pertenecen al mayorazgo»

«Declaro que en las casas en que vivo se a caido un quarto dellas que hera el antiguo que en ellas avia, y lo demas no queda muy bien reparado por la falta que e tenido de hazda con que poder acerlo»; asks that Don Luis «enmiende mi descuido, reformando las dichas casas como fabrica del señor Joan Delgado mi abuelo... y de que en el maxuelo que compre que a algunos años que goça, que fue por subrogacion de un censo que se redimo del dicho mayorazgo, enplee en el mas cantidad de la que montava el censo que se redimio, que quisiera ubiera sido mas para satisfacer los desmexeros que puede aver avido en lo demas».

«Declaro que yo bendi por los dias de mi vida a Ldo Paulo Vaca un juro del dicho myzgo de siete mil mrs de renta en alcavalas desta Cd en la merindad de Campos; declarolo asi para que despues de mis dias le goce con los demas bienes el dicho Don Luis.»

one of clauses of Juan Delgado's *mayorazgo* declared that with failure of succession the "Sres Justicia y Regto" of Palencia should succeed to the *señorio y vasallaje* of Villajimena and Las Grañeras, and the revenues from them were to be distributed in accordance with terms of the *mayorazgo*. Bringing this clause to the notice of the city of Palencia because Don Luis Manrique has no children other than two daughters, neither with children.

«Declaro que en la villa de Villajimena tengo una huerta y una tierra que son bienes libres, y porque tenia oblign de poner una lampara en la capilla de Nra Sra del Rosario..., y mientras no lo hice pague al dicho conbento cinco ducados cada año por el aceite que se gasta en la que arde en la dicha capilla, y porque para despues de mis dias quedare asegurada la dicha renta el Sr Don Luis Manrique... se obligo de dar el principal de los dichos cinco ds que son cien ducados al dicho conbento seis meses despues de mi muerte, por cuya causa le zedí y traspase desde luego el derecho e raçon que tenia a la dicha guerta y tierra»

«mando a las setimas acostumbradas y redencion de cautivos y casa santa de Jerusalem tres rs con que les aparto de mis vienes»

Names as *testamentarios* and *executores*:

Da Savina de Soto y Acuña, his wife

Don Luis Manrique de Lara and Ldo Don Ignacio Sanchez Peredo, regidor perpetuo y alguacil mayor de Millones of Palencia, and gives them power to sell his goods "en publica almoneda" or in any other manner when clauses of the will are carried out.

Names as «mi unibersal heredera en todos mis bienes libres, derechos, raciones a la señora Doña Savina de Soto y Acuña».

witnesses: Luis de Madrid, barbero; Pedro de la Cantolla; Andres Martin Tarragona; Juan Fdz, sastre; and Francisco de la Cantolla.

signed by Pedro de la Cantolla and Luis de Madrid «por no poder el otorgante por falta de vista y gravedad de su enfermedad».

9.- INVENTARIO DE VIENES DE DON AGUSTÍN DELGADO FERRER Y CARDONA. 11.4.1658ⁿ

6 tafetanes de tafetan doble encarnado con 34 piernas, de 32 varas, decaida - estan en el oratorio

un retablo dorado, la moldura de talla de dos cuerpos, el primero pintado en table y el segundo en lienço

un cielo de guadamecí

un frontal de paño colorado, bordado de rasos

una sabana de altar con puntas de manteles limaniscas, la arcaliz y patena, bolsa de corporales de terciopelo carmesi forrada en rasillo falso carmesi con sus corporales con puntas de pitta grandes,

tafetan del caliz con guarnicion de oro pequeña forrado en otro tafetan carmesi

atril de madera y misal de letra antigua

una mesica redonda y encima la casulla de rasso verde y dorado forrado en olandilla açul con estolar manipulo de terciopelo carmesi

ⁿ AHP Palencia 9409, ff.443v-448.

albayamito de lienço hordinario con unas puntas hordinarias y tingulo de ylo
una messa donde esta el altar con un cajon
un pedestal de madera dorada
dos buxias de laton
un santo christo de bulto grande de media bara con su cruz
una estera de paxa blanca de asta 4 baras de largo
en el caxon del altar ubo lo siguiente
una casulla de damasco carmesi, y flores blancas de manipulo y estola forrado en olandilla
açul
ocho velas de zera blanca de alibea
dos almoadillas, una de raso carmesi, y la otra de lana
un paño de caliz de tafetan carmesi con puntas
una cafate de paxas bordado sobre tafetan viejo
tres tapizes, los dos de figuras y otro de animales, buenos
una antepuerta de tapiz de figuras, vieja
cinco tapizes, la una antepuerta
una toalla de desilados de Jenova
una cruz de Santo Torivio grande
un quadro de San Jeronimo en lienço con trasmarquillo
una silla de terciopelo negro bordada con sobrepuestas de raso, viejo
un lienço de Nra Sra de Monserrate con dos retratos a los pies con su marco y cortina de
tafetan açul de 2½ varas de alto
4 lienços de a bara, de apostoles, y otro pequeño de santo
un lienço de un fraile venito pequeño
dos paisses al temple viejos
otra silla bordada como la dicha y dos taburetes
un taburete alto y otro bajo, viejos, negros
una tabla de las palabras de la consagracion
dos tapizes viejos que estan en la alcova
el fuste de una cama de nogal
dos reposteros de armas
un velada de madero viejo
una media cama de pino, sin cinceles
tres colchones con su lana, viejos
tres mantas blancas, viejas
un pabellon de estameña azul, muy biejo
un corbertor de estameña colorado, de tres piernas con fluesce?
un arcon grande de madera
canastera vieja
una caldera de color de cobre con su assa de yerro
un entrojo de madera para colar
una cama de cordeles madera vieja
un jergon biejo
dos bufetes de nogal [one bought 9.11.1597 for 1,700 mrs]
dos bancos de respaldo de nogal

en el cuarto de la recamara se allo lo siguiente:

un bufete de nogal dos tablas cabellado
 doce llavecicas pequeñas de las reliquias que estan en la capilla de Nra Sra del Rosario –
 llevolas el Sr. Don Luis Manrique
 siete mosquetes con sus caxas y un frasco
 dos baras de estandartes
 dos zeladas, petos y espaldares
 tres murriones y tres petos y espaldares
 unas manoplas, canones y braçaletes
 una maça de yerro
 un escritorio de nogal echo pedaços con sus pies
 siete sillas antiguas viejas con sus respaldas [francesas: bought 9.11.1597 for 2,380 mrs]
 una arca de nogal con llave y cerradura
 una ropa de muger de terciopelo negro vieja, es de mi Sra Da Savina de Soto y Acuña
 una ropa de damasco de seda negra
 jubon y basquina y escapulaño de yerbas blanco y negro
 un bufetillo de nogal pequeño
 una toalla de susanillo con guarnicion de macaran
 un cofre antiguo, y dentro lo siguiente:
 un santo christo pequeño en su cruz con su peana
 dos bandejas, una grande buena y otra pequeña bieja
 tres camisas de lienço de la Sra Da Savina
 unos calçoncillos de hombre
 un brasero de caxa con la bacía de cobre
 un baul pequeño en que ay cosas de comer
 una arca pequeña de pino con llave y cerradura
 una cama en que duerme la Señora Doña Savina que es de nogal
 media cama, tres colchones, dos savanas y dos almoadas con su lana
 un lienço del transito de San Joseph
 un candil de sarabato
 una herrada de pino
 una cama de damasco carmesi de labores con cinco cortinas y cielo, con las jenefas de terciopelo carmesi, y por el lado de atras no tiene jenefa
 covertar del mismo damasco carmesi y jenefa del mismo terciopelo, traídos y biejo
 una alfombra de estrado hordinaria de asta 4 baras de largo
 diez almoadas de estrado, las cinco de guadamecí, y las otras cinco de paño colorado
 bordados con terçales de ylo de colores
 en poder de Da Ma Joseppa Xil de Samana, widow of Pedro Jijon de Ayala, ay una joya de oro y diamantes que la tiene en prenda del alcance que hizo al Sr Don Agustín Delgado de la admin q tubo de su hacienda los años q corrió por su qta.» [continuation of inventory, 12.4.1658]
 un bufetillo pequeño de estrado quebrado, los pies de oxuela de plata, la mayor parte quitado
 una contadorcilla de seis caxas del jemero del bufetillo
 un sello de las armas del Sr Don Agustín en un cajon

- un escritorio pequeño de madera de alemaña
 un escritorio de alemania y en el se allaron lo sigte:
 un privilegio en caveça de doña Savina Soto de Acuña de 37,500 mrs al quitar de renta en cada un año, su data en Madrid 19.3.1601, sobre las rentas de los puertos de Portugal
 otro privilegio [*correction*] unos papeles que se bean y se daran noticias adelante
 un niño Jesus con su peana
 un escritorio de ebano y marfil con su contadorcillo de lo mismo, con quince cajones y sus secretos
 un privilegio de 35,796 mrs de renta y juro en la merindad de Campos en la caveça de dicha Da Savina, dated Madrid 1.12.1615
 una escritura de venta de 12,050 mrs de juro sobre las alcabalas de la villa de Almagro para Da Savina que en su favor otorgo Da Maria de Soto de Acuña, su madre, dated Madrid 6.4.1598, ante J.Mtz Sortioz?, escribano en ella
 un baul encerrado con dos llaves y cerraduras donde parecieron estar todos los papeles asi del mayorazgo que goçava el difunto y otros sueltos y cartas de pago, y por el dicho Señor Corregidor le mandaron poner por tal inventario que son los siguientes:
 un prebilegio en caveça del Sr Don Agustín Delgado y los subcesores en su mayorazgo de 29,636 mrs de renta en la m[erinda]d de Campos, su data en Md 30.4.1615
 tres escrituras tocantes a la fundacion y acrecentamto del mayorazgo... que el mayorazgo passo por testimonio de Luis Gonzalez, escrivano publico del numero de la ciudad de Badajoz, 13.11.1580; y declaracion sesta del dicho mayorazgo, Md 18.8.1583, ante Gaspar Testa, escriv del no. de Madrid, y declaracion setima del dicho mayorazgo, otorgada by JD, Madrid 9.4.1584, ante Juan Sarmiento, escrivano real.
 un privilegio y benta de las tercias de Autilla del Pino en favor del Sr Joan Delgado, Sec de S.Magd y de su consejo, alferez mayor de la ciudad de Palencia, sacado su orixinal concordado de Diego de Coruña, escrivano del numero desta ciudad, dado en Madrid, 24.9.1574
 privilegio y benta del Señorío de las Grañeras del Sr Emperador Don Carlos, Md 11.5.1552, refrendado Diego Galvez, escrivano de Camara
 titulo de alferez mayor perpetuo de la ciudad de Palencia a favor del Sr Secretario Joan Delgado, SL 30.5.1574, refrendado Juan Vazquez, goça su mayorazgo en ella
 escritura de convenio sobre las baras de justicia de la villa de Las Grañeras, signed Pedro Baca en el año 1611
 venta del maxuelo, termino de Villamuriel, que otorgo Martin Escudero y Maria de Bustamante, su mujer, a favor de Don Agustín Delgado que paso por testimonio de Juan Alvarez dEstrada, escrivano del ayuntamiento desta Ciudad, 4.5.1629
 los papeles de la venta del monte de Villaximena
 una cedula sobre cobranza de 500 ds de un censo que devio redimir el Sr Don Agustín Delgado dada por el Sr Conde de Castrillo, juez de desempeños de mayorazgo, Madrid 17.5.1646, ante Hdo Juarez [*for date see f.450v*].
 la venta de la casa principal del mayorazgo en la calle de San Juan otorgada por el Conde de Buendia ante Domingo de Santamaria, escrivano del numero de Valladolid, in Valladolid 5.3.1545 [*for date see f.450v*]
 escritura de contrato hecho entre Don Agustín Delgado y vezinos de Villaximena, ante Francisco Martin, Secretario della, en 9.5.1582
 apeo de las heredades de Villaximena

Bieronse asta oy otros muchos papeles tocantes al mayorazgo que por su prolixidad y ser muchos y estar presente el dicho Don Luis Manrique de Lara no se pusieron por menor. Da Savina protestó de le proseguir fenecer y acavar y se quedaron dichos bienes y papeles en poder de Su Merced que lo otorge y firmo junto con el dicho Sr Corregidor. Prosigue el inventario de Papeles, 15.4.1658
 la venta de la capilla de Nra Sra del Rosario, otorgada ante Pedro Guerra de Besga escrivano del numero de Palencia 15.11.1577
 un censo otorgado por Torivio Melgar y Fernando Muñoz vezinos de Villajimena, de 4,000 mrs de renta, otorgado ante Matias de Zisneros, escrivano del numero de Palencia, 28.10.1582, otorgado en favor del Secretario Juan Delgado.
 otro censo contra Juan Pelayo y Santiago Pelayo, vezinos de Villajimena, de 1,000 mrs de renta, otorgado ante el dicho escrivano, 28.10.1582
 otro censo contra Xbal de San Zebrian y Maria Candelas, su muger de 1,000 mrs de renta, ante el dicho escrivano, 25.2.1585

MEMORIAL DE DEUDAS DE DON AGUSTÍN^a

Antonio Garcia Ruiz de Obregon, regidor que fue de Palencia, tubo en administracion las rentas de mi mayorazgo por algun tiempo, por escritura otorgada ante Hernando Juarez, y que no estan ajustadas las quantas de la dicha administracion. Wants it settled with Juan de Narvaez, his heir and cuñado.

Francisco Garcia Perez was “administrador de los bienes del mayorazgo” for 2 years to end Sept. 1657, “y respecto de que a de acer buenos los frutos que tiene en su poder del dicho año de 1657 y las balias de mayo deste año, no se a ajustado con el la cuenta. (Joseph Gallardo has administration of *bienes* of *mayorazgo* at moment for 1658 and 1659), “y que por cuenta de los dos años que me devia acer, me a entregado este año 479 rs, y q demas dellos lestay deviendo 118,000 y tantos mrs de la administracion de los años de 54 y 55 sobre que ay hecha escritura.”

Juan Alvarez de Estrada, escrivano del numero y ayuntamiento de Palencia, has rented from me “la viña, bienes libres, a la cruz de San Pedro”, for 11 ducats for 6 years beginning 1.1.1655 (escritura ante Hernando Juarez). Don Agustín has been paid the 11 ducats for 1658, and wants the lease to complete its term.

Ysavel de Cavallos, criada que fue de casa, is owed 50 or 60 rs for time she was in my service. She is to be paid.

Might owe something to Simon Durán, zapatero que fue de Palencia; if I do, pay his wife.

«y en quanto a las criadas que me asisten se les de tocas e luto» a disposición de Da Savina.

f.450 Receipt of Don Luis Manrique de Lara of papers of *mayorazgo* listed and inventoried on 12.4.1658 [*ie to end of f.447*], Palencia 12.4.1658.

^a AHP Palencia, 9409, f.442.

10.- RELACIÓN DE LOS PAPELES QUE A PRESENTADO Y PRESENTA DON AGUSTÍN DELGADO PARA COMPROVACIÓN DE SU NOBLEZA Y LIMPIEZA

Por los papeles y scripturas que a presentado y presenta Don Agustín Delgado, paje de Su Magd, para comprobacion de su nobleza y limpieza consta de lo siguiente:

«En quanto a los aguelos y bisabuelos paternos del dicho Don Agn Delgado se haze recuerdo al conssejo que para facilitar qualquiera dificultad que se pudiera ofrescer, asi de nobleza como de limpieza por todos quatro costados, se presentaron el año pasado en mano del Sr presidente - dos informaciones, la una con filiacion de padre y madre, aguelos y visaguelos hecha en Palencia 26.10.1589, ante el alcalde mayor y Fernando de Castrillo, escrivano del numero, con muchos testigos que deponen de la limpieza y nobleza de todos desde antes de las Comunidades [marginal note: «aguelo y visaguelos paternos de Don Agn Delgado que pretende»], y la otra hecha en Cordova, correspondiente a la de Palencia, en que se averigua y prueba que la descendencia suya es de Pero Fernandez de Cordova y Herrera, cavallero tan noble principal y de tanta calidad que todos le reconocen por debdo.⁶

Y otra provanza de hidalguia y nobleza de Bartolomé de Salinas, su visabuelo, padre de Doña Ysavel de Rivas, su aguela, que vino de Cossio en las Montañas a bivar a Palencia, y un testimonio del pleyto omenaje que se tomo a Don Agn Delgado, su padre, como a cavallero hijodalgo segun fuero de España para exercer el cargo de capitan de la gente que la ciudad de Palencia y su provincia tubo apercivida para acudir a lo de Portugal, para lo qual fue nombrado por el Rey nuestro Sr, y este cargo es de tanta calidad que se tiene noticia de otras tres que le tuvieron, que fue el primero dellos el Cid, Ruy Diaz de Bivar, y segundo Sancho Sanchón de quien descenden los Ossorios, y tercero Don Geronimo Manrique, hermano del Conde de Paredes, y el quarto Don Agn Delgado. Y dos testimonios por donde consta que en Villanueva de los Infantes y Mançanillas, cerca de Valladolid, tenia Alonssso Fernandez Delgado, tio del suplicante y hermano de su aguelo, hazienda y heredades, y que a el y a sus hijos les fue guardada su exemption de hijosdalgo, y esta averiguada la filiacion de ser hermanos legitimos, y que misma nobleza se a guardado a su padre y abuelo en Villaximena donde tiene su hazienda, aguelos y visaguelos del suplicante.

«Para lo que toca a calificar a Doña Leonor Ferrer y Cardona, su madre, y aguelos y visaguelos maternos, se presenta una scriptura de donacion escrita en pergamino, su fecha a 21 de henero de 1511, que el guardian y discretos del monasterio de San Francisco de Valladolid y el provincial de la provincia de Santoya y vicario general della hizieron a Diego de Valladolid Ferrer y a Blanca Nuñez, su muger, de tres sepolturas que estan en el lecho primero en saliendo de la reja de la capilla maior a la mano izquierda junto con el altar de San Antonio, las quales sepolturas dizen le dan para siempre jamas para el y para sus descendientes en satisfacion de muchas limosnas que havian fecho en aquella cassa, y por la devocion que en ella tenia, y los testamentos de Francisco de Valladolid Ferrer, otorgado el año de 544, por donde se consta ser hijo del dicho Diego de Valladolid Ferrer, y otro que Luys Lopez Ferrer, hijo del susodicho, otorgo el año de 545, y otro que doña Costanza Ferrer, hija del dicho Diego de Valladolid Ferrer y muger del Capn Antonio de Carrança, alcaide y governador que fue de Bujia, otorgo el año de 1557, y otro de Doña Blanca Ferrer, hija de Fco

⁶ RAH Salazar y Castro, D 35 f.58v.

de Valld Ferrer y de Doña Maria de Espinossa, su muger, otorgo el año de 548, por donde consta que todos los susodichos se mandaron enterrar en las dichas sepolturas en las cuales dizen estavan enterrados sus padre y madre y el Capn Antonio de Carrança.» [in margin: «si conviniere verse los testamentos que refiere se hallavan en poder de Doña Maria Ferrer, muger de Don Antonio Ossorio, o en el de Don Agn Delgado, padre del supplicante.»]

Para que conste que Doña Costança Ferrer, hija de Diego de Valladolid Ferrer, fue casada con el Capn Antonio de Carrança, alcayde y governador que fue de Bujia, se presentan los contratos matrimoniales que se hizieron el año de 518, y para que se entienda la calidad del Capn Carrança se presentan cartas que le mando screvir Su Magestad Imperial el año de 523 en que le encarga cosas de su servicio, y una venta y carta original de una reyna que dize serlo de Castilla en que trata de los ascendientes de Valld por sus criados.

Y para que se entienda la limpieza y nobleça del Regente Francisco Ferrer, aguelo materno del suplicante, hijo de Luis Lopez Ferrer y nieto de Diego de Valladolid Ferrer, y de los otros que tubieron bienes en el lugar de Renedo, tierra de Valladolid, se presenta una informacion hecha ante la Justicia de Valladolid por donde consta, y demas desto testimonios abtenticos de que Don Diego de Herrera Ossorio, decendiente de Diego de Valladolid Ferrer, es cofrade del ospital de Sgueva en Valladolid, y que doña Maria de Acuña Ferrer, hermana del dicho Don Diego Ossorio, es muger de Don Sebastian de Horteiga, familiar del Sto Officio de la Inquisicion en Olmedo, por donde consta su limpieza y nobleza.

Y para mas verificar la nobleza y limpieza de los dichos Ferreres se presenta el arbol de la descendencia de Diego de Valladolid Ferrer, con una provança ad perpetuam re ynmemoriam fecha a pedimiento de Diego Ferrer, su nieto, el año de 533, ante los alcaldes de hijosdalgo y notario maior de Castilla que residian en la chancilleria de Valladolid, asistiendo uno dellos al examen de los testigos con atacion del fiscal de Su Magestad y del concejo de la Villa de Valladolid donde el dicho Diego Ferrer hera vezino, por donde consta ser hijosdalgo notorios en posesion y propiedad y que an estado y estan sus subçessres en la misma posesion, y demas de lo dicho ser de limpia sangre por que en las Inquisiciones passadas depositavan en poder del dicho Diego de Valladolid los bienes confiscados por el Sto Offo como en persona hijodalgo libre y limpia.

Y en lo que toca a las cassas de la calle de Teresa Gil, consta por escrituras de venta y particiones y otros papeles originales que estan en poder de Doña Maria Ferrer, muger de Don Antonio Ossorio, y en el de Don Agn Delgado, padre del supplicante, que estas cassas fueron de Teresa Rodriguez, muger de Juan Perez de De [estropeado], vezina de Madrigal, y las vendio al dotor Juan Velazquez de Cuellar del Consejo del Rey el año de 1431, y que el dicho Juan Velazquez las vendio al dotor Juan Sanchez Çubano, notario maior de Castilla en año de 1434, y que en la particion de los bienes del dotor Çubano se adjudicaron las cassas a Doña Brianda de Rivera, muger que fue de Lope de Carrança, contador del Condestable de Castilla, de quien las heredo el dicho Capn Antonio de Carrança... y las dexo a doña Costança Ferrer, su muger, a quien nombro por heredera por no tener hijos, y de la dicha Doña Costança heredo las cassas Diego Ferrer, su sobrino, y de presente las posee Doña Maria Ferrer, hija del susodicho, muger de Don Antonio Ossorio...

Con lo qual queda satisfecha la nobleza limpieza y antigüedad de los Ferreres, y en lo que toca a Doña Ysavel de Enzinillas y Cardona, aguela materna del supplicante, presupuesto que por las informaciones fechas en Napoles se daria toda satisfacion, pues hera hermana

de los Almirantes de aquel reyno y primo hermana de los duques de Sessa y Soma, como ellos confiesan, no ay que añadir.

Y pues con lo dicho en esta relacion queda convencida qualquier dubda que se pueda ofrescer caussada de embidia o malizia sin quedar cossa provable, pone el supplicante en consideracion a VS los servicios de sus aguelos y padre que son tan notorios, y que por rrecompensa dellos le haze Su Magd esta merced del havito y de recevirle en su real servicio, y para conseguirlo suppca a VS se la mande despachar.»⁷

AVERIGUACION DE LA PROBANZA DE DON AGUSTÍN DELGADO FERRER Y CARDONA [1602]

“Decimos nos Don Diego d’Espinosa, Pedro Vaca y Mogrovejo, caballero y religioso de la orden del Sr Santiago que por orden de VA avemos hecho aberiguacion de Don Augn Delgado Ferrer, pretendiente del habito de la dicha orden, hijo de Don Augn Delgado, alferez mayor de la ciudad de Palencia, y de Da Leonor Ferrer, la qual ba por la linea paterna, que se hiço en la dicha ciudad de Palencia, en Villaximena de donde el dicho Don Augn es señor, y en Paredes de Nava que ba en quarenta y una hojas escrita y cinco en blanco y con quarenta y nueve testigos, sin otros muchos que recibimos de palabra, no hallamos ninguno que con certeça diga ni en pro ni en contra, por que aunque ay algunos testigos que dicen que los dichos son hijosdalgo no lo afirman con acto alguno positivo ni cosa por donde se pueda comprobar el serlo, ni mas raçon que la opinion en que ellos les quieren tener, y la misma raçon dan los que dicen que son villanos, que es gran parte o la mayor de los testigos, y la que dan para que no sean hidalgos es que en Palencia no ay distincion de estados y que como no ay reconocimiento le tienen en opinion de buena gente labradores, y ay dos testigos que dicen tenerle por judio y esto porque decian algunos “balga el diablo este judio” y por tener el talle ajudiado, y agregando asi a los unos y a los otros todos se remitten a su naturaleza que es Cordoba, y ansi somos de parecer que para aver VA de determinar bien lo que sean no puede ser sin que primero VA mande averiguar en Cordoba su origen, que aunque un testigo para venir a decir y comprobar tenerles por hidalgos, dijo lo tenia por cierto por aver visto una provança que el dicho Don Augn hiço ante Jusepe del Castillo, alcalde del Crimen por el Rey nuestro señor en la real audiencia de la ciudad de Sevilla, el año de noventa y ocho sabbado veynte dias del mes de mayo, la qual esta en ocho ojas con siete testigos, la qual dicha provança es de advertir se hiço sin partes y llevando el dicho Don Augn los testigos de su mano que podrian ser criados o allegados de manera que dixessen lo que por el dicho Don Augn les seria mandado, de manera que esta dicha provança hallamos no ser de consideracion alguna sino para declaracion de los que ayan de decir en la dicha ciudad de Cordova mandandolo VA que por ella hallaran luz de quienes fueron (según dicen) sus mayores, y otro testigo se remittio a otra provança asi mesmo hecha por el dicho Don Augn en la ciudad de Palencia ante la justicia de la dicha ciudad y los testigos llevados y presentados por el.

WITNESSES IN PALENCIA 4.8.1602 [those without comment have no view one way or the other; * indicates some prior positive contact with the Delgados; x indicates some prior negative contact with the Delgados]

⁷ RAH Salazar y Castro, C25, ff.231-232v.

* Pedro Guerra de Vesga, age >80, escrivano en Palencia	says they are	hidalgo
* Llorente de Roa, age 60		
Miguel de Torres, regidor, age c.64		hidalgo
x Luys Fdz de la Rua, age 82		hidalgo
Fco Gadea, familiar Sto Oficio, vzo y nat Pal., age c.60		labradores limpios
Bart de Grijalva, age 68		
Luys de Veamud, n. Villalobon, vzo Pal., age 44	not h/d, h/d de executoria	
Anton Revejo, vzo y nat Pal., tratante en lana, age 60+		hidalgo
Antolin Ortiz, nat. Pal., age 79		en posesión de judio
Juan Corcovado, hermano de familiar de la Inq, de la lana, age 67		judios
Alonso Diaz de Aguilar, age 76		
Maria de la Vega, age 100 (not nat. de Pal., living there >60 yrs)		not hidalgo
Don Fdo de Riva de Neyra, Abbad de Hermedes, canon of Pal., age 65	nothing negative	
*Juan de Reynoso, age c.60		
Pedro Vaca Salazar, escrivano del no. de Pal, age unstated		
Juan de Carrion Sandoval, escrivano del no. de Pal., age unstated		
Catalina de Valladolid, age 70		
x Da Gregoria de la Rua y Herrera, age 68		
Domingo Armijo Zapata, age 50+		
*Diego de Castrillo, escribano, age 54		
*Hdo de Loyola, regidor, age 45+		
Juan de Vitoria, zerragero, age 70+		
*Mathia Vaca Sobremonte, regidor, age 50		
*Pedro de la Vanda el viejo, age 65		
Francisco el mudo, age 80		
Valentin Huergo de Valdes, clerigo presbitero, nat.Oviedo, age c.30		
Alonso Lopez, age 66		
Bart Aguado, vzo & nat. Pal., age 56+		judios

En Valld 20.5.1605 “se vio esta informacion de Don Agustín Delgado y Ferrer, vzo de palencia, por el Sr Don Juan Idiaquez, presidente decano de los consejos de Estado y guerra del Rey ntro Señor y comendador mayor de Leon, y por los señores Don Antonio de Pedrosa, Don Egas Vanegas Giron, Rui Diez de Mendoça, Don Luis de Padilla, Don Geronimo de Medinilla, Don Diego Lopez de Salzedo, y parecio no concurrir en el las calidades para tener el habito de Santiago y ansi se le denego”.⁸

⁸ AHN Ordenes Militares, Santiago. Prueba de Caballeros: Agustín Delgado Ferrer (Palencia 1605), Caja 489, Expediente 2426.

11.- FOUNDATION DOCUMENTS OF THE DELGADO MAYORAZGO, MADRID 10.8.1577⁹

«En el nombre de la santissima Trenidad, padre e hijo y espiritu sancto que son tres personas y uno solo dios berdadero que bive y rreina por siempre jamas y de la bien abenturada birgen gloriosa santa maria madre de nro señor Jesu xpo verdadero dios y verdadero hombre a la qual yo tengo por señora y por abogada, y a honrra y serbicio del apostol santiago luz y guiador de las españas, y de todos los otros sanctos y sanctas de la corte çestial, sepan quantos esta carta de mayorazgo y mejoría de tercio y quinto bieren como yo Juan delgado, secretario de su magestad y del su consejo de la guerra, señor de la villa de las grañeras, considerando que todos los hombres naturalmente desean perpetuarse y conservarse en su yndividuo, mas como el siglo presente y la brevedad de la vida y la çerteça de la muerte, por ser su propia pasión, no lo consientan, ni que la vida se alargue a mas de los terminos naturales, conviene que se travaje para bibir por la memoria, en los tiempos benideros, por cuya causa y otras me muevo a haçer este binculo y dispusiçion de mis bienes, mas como quiera que mi principal confiança es en dios nro señor, en quien espero que como por su ynmensa bondad fue servido de darme los bienes que abaxo se declararan, lo sera de que se conserben y acrecienten para su gloria y serbiçio, y asi poniendo en el toda mi esperança y confiança y deseando quanto buenamente sea posible y sin ofensa de su dibina magt, y sin cargo ni peligro de mi conçiencia acreçentar mi casa y linaje y haçer binculo y mayorazgo de los bienes que por su ynfinita bondad me a dado y fuere servido de darme adelante con que mejor le pueda servir, usando de la facultad que las leyes destos rreinos y derechos me dan para haçer mejoría y binculo del terçio y quinto de mis bienes, atento que tengo hijo y nieta, y asi mismo de la facultad y escritura que Don Agustín delgado, mi hijo legitimo, me da y otorga para haçer este binculo y mayorazgo asi de mis bienes y de los que herede de doña ysavel y doña bernardina de rrivas, mis hijas, y de doña ysavel de rrivas mi primera muger y su madre, que aya gloria, como de los quel tiene y le perteneçen de la herençia de la dicha doña ysavel de rrivas su madre, y el berdadero thenor de la dicha escritura y facultad y de los autos que para traduçirla de la lengua latina en que esta escrita en rromançe y lengua castellana se hiçieron, son como se siguen -

En la villa de Madrid a veinte y nueve dias del mes de Julio de mill y quinientos y setenta y siete años ante el Ille señor liçençiado ximenez ortiz del consejo de su magt alcalde de su casa e corte e por ante mi, geronimo de sosa, escrivano de su magt e de probinçia en esta corte, pareçio presente la parte del secreto Juan delgado e presento esta petiçion e pedimiento del tenor siguiente -

Ille señor Juan Delgado, secretario de su magt y del su consejo de la guerra, dice que Don Agustín delgado, mi hijo, que rreside en le rreino de napoles, a otorgado con mi favor una escritura y porque esta escrita en latin suplico a vm mande que se traduzga en rromançe castellano y que a la dicha traduçion que se hiçiere se de entero credito en juicio y fuera del, y para ello ynterponga su autoridad y decreto Judicial, y para ello etc.

E ansi presentada e bisto por el dicho señor alde la dicha petiçion y escritura e que por ella consta y pareçe que no esta rrota ni cançelada ni en parte alguna sospechosa, mandava y mando que diego graçian, secretario e traduçidor de su magt la traduzga de la lengua latina en que esta en lengua castellana que se entienda, e traduçida se le de al dicho secreto delgado

⁹ AHP, Madrid, no.174; Archivo de la Catedral de Palencia, Armario 7, leg.2, no.3: 1260.

un traslado dos o mas de la dicha escritura sinado en publica forma que a ello ponía e puso su autoridad y decreto judicial para que balga e haga fee en Juicio y fuera del, a lo qual fueron testigos martin gonçalez de nava, e xpoval de leon, estantes en corte - geronimo de sosa y en cumplimiento del dicho auto el dicho diego graçian hiço la dicha traduçion como por ella parece e hiçe sacar e saque della el traslado del tenor siguiente -

En el nombre de nro señor Jesu xpo dios eterno amen año de su salutifera encarnacion de mill y quinientos y setenta y seis a veinte dias del mes de diciembre de la quinta yndicion en la ciudad de aberse del rreino de napoles, rreinando el serenissimo e ynbitisimo señor nuestro Don phelipe de austria, por la gracia de dios rrey de sicilia y de aquende y de allende el faro, año de su rreinado en este presente rreino año felizmente, nos franco. de curtirreal, juez para los contratos de por bida, y Juan bautista çancagonio de la dicha çiudad de aberse, notario publico por la rreal autoridad en las provinçias de la tierra de labor y condado de molesio, y los testigos ynfrascritos conbiene a saver

El magnifico Juan geronimo de Donato, dotor en ambos dros, y el egregio not^a fernando salgano, y el notario Julio depentino, y el notario françisco selaçio, y el notario Juan bautista pagano, y el notario Juan bautista el niseo, y el notario Juan leonardo de beancolella, y el noble çesar de fiesco, y el noble nicolao françisco de mendolla, de la dicha çiudad de aberse para esto llamados espeçialmente, y rrogados por el presente escrito pco declaramos y hacemos notorio y testificamos quel sobre dicho dia constituido en nra presençia personalmente el Ille señor Don Agustín delgado, rreal governador de presente en la çudad de aberse por su catolica magt donde rreside con su muger, hijos y familia, y en presencia del excelente señor oraçio granurio dotor en ambos derechos rreal de Juez por la dicha rreal magt en la dicha çiudad de aberse, y afirmo que save y perfetamente es ynformado quel Ille señor Juan delgado, señor de la va de las granedas [sic], secretario de su rreal y catholico magestad y de su rreal consejo de guerra, de presente abitante en la villa de Madrid donde rreside la rreal corte, que siendo que el dicho Ille señor Don Agustín es unico legitimo y natural hijo, procreado de legitimo matrimonio del dicho señor Juan delgado y de la Ille señora doña ysavel de rivas, su muger, difunta, madre del dicho señor Don Agustín, quiere ynstituir por su heredero unibersal y particular al dicho señor Don Agustín, su hijo, sobre todos sus bienes muebles y rraices, asi de la dicha villa de las granedas, con todos sus derechos çibiles y criminales, basallos, daçias, alcavalas y otras rrentas, derechos y açiones qualesquier quel, quel dicho señor Juan tiene y posee en la villa llamada autilla del pino en las pertenençias y jurisdiccion de la çiudad de palençia, y tambien sobre el ofiçio del dicho alferazgo mayor y perpetuo rregimiento de la çiudad sobredicha y casas mayores en ella conpradas, y sobre todas las otras tierras, dros, entradas, bienes y ofiços que al presente poseen y en lo benidero se poseeran por el dicho señor secretario, y que sobre todos los sobredichos quiere librar y sin ningun binculo y condicion el sobre dicho señor Juan ynstituir su heredero como arriva es dicho al dicho señor Don Agustín su hijo, pero porque el sobre dicho señor constituyente rreside fuera de los rreinos despaña y castilla y en el presente rreino de napoles y propiamente en la çiudad de aberse como dicho es, sirviendo a su catolica magestad en el dicho ofiçio rreal, y por bentura no yria desde este dicho rreino por algun espaçio de tiempo a los sobre dichos Reinos de españa y por tanto no puede personalmente rrogar y suplicar al dicho señor secretario su padre que todos los bienes sobre dichos los haga bincular y bincule y haga y rreduzga e yncorpore en bienes feudales o segun la costumbre de los rreinos despaña haga mayorazgo para que los dichos bienes en

ninguna manera se bendan ni en lo benidero se disipen, considerando pues el dicho señor constituyente quan deçente y conbiniente sea para la memoria benidera del dicho señor su padre y de sus preçesores que los dichos bienes sean binculados para que la memoria de ellos perpetuamente biva, y que el sobre dicho binculo en lo benidero se conserve, por tanto declaro como declara que su voluntad es y a el mas conbiene quel dicho señor Juan su padre bincula y haga bincular y pueda ligar con binculo perpetuo todos los sobre dichos sus bienes o parte dellos como a el mas le plaçiere rreduçiendo los dichos bienes en el cuerpo de bienes feudales, o mayorazgo, con todos los binculos, grabamenes, condiçiones y pactos, como a el mas bien bisto le fuere y plaçiere, por lo qual diçe y declara como dicho tiene que hera y es su boluntad de consentir como por la presente consiente que sobre todos los bienes quel dicho señor su padre quisiera le ynstituya heredero despues de su larga vida, y que los dichos bienes se binculen y rreduzgan en el dicho cuerpo de bienes feudales, o mayorazgo binculo y ligadura perpetua en el y en sus hijos y subçesores, y en defecto dellos en las personas [sic] o disponer dellos para causas pias segun que a el mas bien bisto le fuere y plaçiere, con las condiçiones y pactos a su plaçer y voluntad, y ansi mismo quiere y se contenta y consiente el dicho señor constituyente quel dicho señor secreto su padre haga y pueda bincular y bincule no solamte sus propios bienes sino tambien la tercia pte y rremanente de quinta porçion y legitima porçion a el tocantes y perteneçientes, y en qualquier manera pertenecera del dicho señor su padre y de sus bienes, y asi mismo haga y pueda bincular y bincule todos los bienes perteneçientes tambien al dicho señor constituyente por titulo de la herencia de la dicha Ille señora doña ysavel de rivas, difunta, su madre, y del señor Juan de rribas, bisabuelo del dicho señor Don Agustín, en todo o en parte como al dicho señor secretario mas le pareçiere y como de bienes suyos propios, y a el por qualquier justo titulo tocantes y perteneçientes.

Digo que quiriendo como quiero cumplidamente disponer de mis bienes asi por la dicha bia de mejoría de terçio y quinto y por birtud de la dicha facultad y escritura que de suso ba yncorporada, como por la mejor bia y forma que aya lugar, para que lo conthenido en esta escrita y cada cosa y parte dello sea mas firme y baledero para siempre jamas, conozco por la presente carta que hago, hordeno y otorgo mi mayorazgo y mejoría de los bienes siguientes y de cada uno dellos en esta manera -

Prinçipalmente yncorpo y meto en el dicho mayorazgo y mejoría de terçio y quinto la mi villa de las granedas [sic] con su juridiçion çivil y criminal alta y baxa mero y misto ynperio con sus basallos y con todos los pechos y derechos que yo oy tengo en ella y me perteneçen y en qualquier manera perteneçer me puedan, con los basallos y con el pan de rrenta que cada vzo de la dicha va me paga y deve pagar y con las alcavalas que en ella oy tengo y el medio escusado de la ygla

yten unas casas prinçipales con sus huertas corrales y pertenencias que yo tengo en la çiudad de palencia en la calle de Don pedro que fueron del conde de buendia y conpre de filea

yten el alferazgo mayor y rregimiento perpetuo que yo tengo de la dicha çiudad de palencia con los dos mill mrs de rrenta perpetua que con el dicho alferazgo se dan en cada un año y pagan de los propios de la dicha çiuidad con todas las preminencias y esençiones al dicho alferazgo mayor anexas -

yten de una hera que tengo a la puerta de mercado que conpre de Juan de cuenca -

yten de una tierra de dos obradas y media que compre de la cofradia de santanton que es en el trno de la dicha çiudad -

yten de una casa que tengo en la çiudad de palençia en la calle de nra señora que quedo de la dicha doña ysavel de rrivas y del señor Juan de rrivas su abuelo, con otra casa pequeña que yo compre junto a ella, y por questa se bendieron y dan de çenso por ellas diez mill y doçientos y çinqta mrs en cada un año de a treinta mill el millar.

Quiero y es mi voluntad que si en algun tiempo se quitase el dicho juro que las trecientas y diez mill mrs que por ello an de dar se empleen en bienes rraíces los quales queden binculados en este dicho mayorazgo y que en el entretanto que se en plearen se depositen en poder del depositario general de la dicha çiudad si le ubiere y sino en poder de la persona quel corregidor que fuere de la dicha çiudad nonbrare y que el dicho deposito no se saquen ni parte de ellos hasta que se entreguen a la persona que ubiere bendido los bienes que se obieren de subrrogar en este dicho mayorazgo -

yten de treinta y dos arrañçadas de viñas que tengo en el trno de la dicha çiudad que rrentan de çenso de a catorçe mill el millar en cada un año ocho mill y tantos mrs que fueron y quedaron de la dicha doña ysavel de rrivas, mi muger, y del dicho señor Juan de rribas, su aguelo, y si se quitare se deposite y compre haçienda pa el dicho mayorazgo como se diçe en el capitulo preçedente -

yten de çinquenta o sesenta obradas de heredad de pan llevar que tengo en el trno de la dicha çiudad de palençia que quedaron de la dicha doña ysavel de rrivas y del dicho señor Juan de rribas su aguelo-

yten todas las terçias de pan y bino y menudos que yo tengo en el lugar de autilla del pino ques a una legua de la dicha çiudad de palençia segun i como yo las e y tengo y me perteneçen -

yten de çinquenta mill mrs de juro de rrenta en cada un año de a veinte mill el millar que yo tengo en las alcavalas biejas de la çiudad de Jaen y quiero y es mi voluntad que si en algun tiempo se quitase el dicho juro quel un quento de mrs que por el an de dar se emplee en bienes rraíces en la dicha çiudad de Palençia o çerca della, los quales queden binculados en el dicho mayorazgo, y en el entretanto que se emplearen se depositen en poder del depositario general de la dicha çiudad de Jaen si le ubiere y sino en poder de la persona quel corregidor que fuere de la dicha çiudad nombrare, y que el dicho deposito no se saquen ni parte dellos hasta que se entreguen a la person [sic] que ubiere bendido los bienes que se ubieren de subrrogar en este dicho mayorazgo -

los quales dichos bienes quiero y mando que despues de mis dias los aya el dicho Don Agustín delgado, mi hijo y de la dicha doña ysavel de rrivas, a ley y titulo de mayorazgo y mejoría de terçio y quinto y despues del dicho Don Agustín subçeda en todo lo que dicho es su hijo o hija mayor y su nieto o nieta y bisnieto o bisnieta y rrebisnieto o rrebisnieta y todos los otros sus desçendientes legitimas y de legitimo matrimonio nacidos para siempre jamas, prefiriendo el mayor de hedad al menor y el baron a la hembra en ygal grado, abiendo como a de aver lugar la rrirepresentaçion conforme a las leyes destos rreinos, y a falta de desçendientes barones y henbras lexitimos y de legitimo matrimonio naçidos del dicho Don Agustín delgado, y no de otra manera, quiero mando y dispongo que subçeda en la dicha mejoría y mayorazgo el hijo o hija natural que tubiere el dicho Don Agustín mi hijo, y despues del su hijo mayor y su nieto, bisnieto y rrebisnieto, y despues todos sus

descendientes legitimos y de legitimo matrimonio naçidos y a falta de los legitimos los naturales y no de otra manera para siempre jamas, prefiriendo el baron a la hembra y el mayor en dias al menor, con tanto quel hijo natural que asi llamo deçendiente del dicho Don Agustín no sea hijo de hembra sino de baron, pues siendo hijo natural de hembra seria cosa fea admitille a este dicho binculo, y a falta de los hijos y deçendientes del dicho Don Agustín delgado legitimos y de legitimo matrimonio naçidos y de los naturales que e llamado, es mi voluntad y mando que subçeda en el dicho binculo y mayorazgo alonso fernandez delgado, mi hermano, y despues del françisco hernandez delgado su hijo mayor y su hijo, nieto, bisnieto y rresbisnieto, y sus subçesores para siempre jamas, prefiriendose el mayor al menor y el baron a la hembra como dicho es, con tanto que los dichos subçesores sean legitimos y de legitimo matrimonio naçidos porq mi voluntad es que los hijos naturales que e llamado a este mayorazgo sean solamente deçendientes del dicho Don Agustín delgado, mi hijo, y no del dicho alonso hernandez delgado, mi herno, y si el dicho françisco hernandez delgado no tubiere hijo baron o hija legitimos y de legitimo matrimonio avidos, subçeda en este dicho binculo y mayorazgo el hijo segundo del dicho alonso hernandez delgado, mi hermano, y sus deçendientes segun que dicho es, y si no los tubiere subçeda el hijo terçero y sus deçendientes y a falta dellos subçeda el hijo quarto y sus deçendientes, y a falta de hijos barones del dicho alonso hernandez delgado y de sus deçendientes subçedan sus hijas prefiriendo la mayor y sus deçendientes a lo menor, y despues della subçeda en este dicho binculo el hijo mayor que tubiere baron y sus deçendientes, y faltando barones subçedan las hembras, prefiriendo siempre el mayor baron al menor y el baron a la hembra y la hembra mayor a la menor, y quiero y es mi voluntad que si faltaren hijos y deçendientes del dicho alonso hernandez delgado, mi hermano, o de sus hijos o hijas, subçeda en el dicho vinculo y mayorazgo françisca hernandez delgado, mi hermana, y despues della sus hijos y deçendientes segun y de la manera que e llamado a los hijos y deçendientes del dicho al[ons]o hernandez delgado, mi hermano, y si faltasen hijos deçendientes de la dicha franca hernandez delgado, mi hermana, subçedan en el dicho binculo y mayorazgo los hijos y deçendientes de ysavel delgado, mi hermana, queste en el çielo, y de la manera que e llamado a los hijos y deçendientes del dicho alonso fernandez delgado, mi hermano.

otro si declarando mi yntinçion y dispusiçion y este dicho mayorazgo dispongo y mando que entrando este dicho mayorazgo en alguna lynea no salga della hasta que todas las personas barones y hembras sean acavadas con que sean legitimos y de legitimo matrimonio naçidos, porque aunque aya naturales a de ser abida por acavada para que se pase a otra linia abascar legitimos y de legitimo matrimonio naçidos, y asimismo declaro y mando que nunca puedan subçeder en este dicho mayorazgo dos juntos, sino solamente una persona, y si naçieren de un biente dos barones o tres el primero que naçiere aya el dicho mayorazgo, y si no se pudiere saver qual de ellos naçio primero que en tal caso escoja y pueda escojer el tenedor y poseedor del dicho mayorazgo el que dellos quisiere, y si el tal tenedor fuere falleçido que echen suertes a qual de ellos a de aver el dicho mayorazgo y que aquel que le diere la suerte le aya, y mando que la eleçion del tenedor y poseedor del dicho mayorazgo en el caso que de suso se contiene y el echar de las dichas suertes se haga dentro de dos años despues que naçieren los dichos dos o tres de un biente -

otrosi porque mi yntençion y determinada voluntad es quel tenedor y poseedor deste dicho binculo y mayorazgo sea servidor de dios y del rrey y biva como catolico christiano birtuosamente y con buenas y birtuosas obras y conserve la memoria de mi linaje, y si agora supiese que alguno de mis deçendientes y de los llamados a este mayorazgo abia de cometer

qualquier crimen porque ubiese de perder la vida fama y hacienda, des sirviendo a dios o al rrey, desde aora le aborreçeria y escluiria del dicho mayorazgo, y para questo conste en todo tiempo, declaro que mi yntinçion y voluntad es de no admitir y llamar a la subçesion deste mayorazgo y bienes del a las personas que cometieren delito o crimen derejia o lege matestatus, o el pecado nefando de sodomia, o qualquier de los dichos delitos, o otro por donde el que le cometiere yncurra en pena de muerte y perdimiento de bienes, e a este tal que los ubiere cometido los dichos delitos o qualquier dellos e por yncapaz e ynavil deste dicho binculo y mayorazgo y bienes del, y espresante llamo a las personas conthenidas en los llamamientos que en este mi mayorazgo hago, si no ubieren cometido ni cometieren los dichos delitos y de otra manera no los llamo, porque si ubieren cometido o los cometieren, mi yntinçion y determinada voluntad y dispusiçion es que no puedan subçeder ni subçedan ni sean admitidos ni se admitan al dicho Mayorazgo ni bienes del, ni parte dellos, y luego que sea declarado que qualquiera de los llamados a este dicho binculo y mayorazgo y que se tubiese por subçesor obiese cometido qualquiera de los dichos crimines o delitos declaro quel siguiente en grado es el verdadero subçesor del dicho mayorazgo, y dispongo y mando queste tal siguiente en grado subçeda en el y le llamo y e por llamado consecutivamte al ultimo poseedor por cuya muerte subçedio o abia de subçeder en el dicho binculo el que cometio el tal delito, porque por rraçon de aberle cometido le e por no engendrado ni naçido, y que si en algun tiempo ubiere thenido los bienes del dicho binculo sea abido por detentador e ynjusto y biolento poseedor y como tal sea obligado a rrestituir todos los frutos y rrentas que ubiere llevado de los dichos bienes los quales aya la persona que asi llamo a la dicha subçesion como persona en quien quiero que pase la posesion de la ley de partida y de toro desdel momento que murio el ultimo poseedor por cuya muerte entro en los dichos bienes el tal delinquente, y para mas le obligar a que no aya de cometer ni cometa semejantes delitos escluyo asi mismo a todos sus deçendientes barones y hembras para que abiendo otros deçendientes legitimos mios no puedan subçeder en los dichos bienes, y esto quiero que todo dia aya lugar aunque sea pedonado de los dichos delitos o qualquier dellos por los rreyes de castilla o de leon que por tiempo fueren -

otrosi hordeno y dispongo que abiendo deçendiente mio baron o hembra de legitimo matrimonio en qualquier grado que por rremoto que sea, o en caso que no le aya y falten deçendientes mios abiendo parientes mios trasbersales, ninguna persona estraña eclesiastica ni seglar ni el fisco ni otra qualquier persona ni unibersidad ni colexio no pueda poseer ni posean bienes algunos deste dicho binculo y mayorazgo çivil ni naturalmte, ni puedan ser capaçes para lo poseer ni tener ni detentar sino que este en mi linaje conforme a los llamamientos de suso contenidos, y ning[un]a otra persona que no sea de las conthenidas en los dichos llamamientos, ni conçejo ni ygl[esi]a, ni unibersidad ni el fisco, ni persona particular no pueda tener ni tenga capaçidad ni habilidad para tener ni poseer adquerir ni ganar los dichos bienes ni parte dellos en propiedad ni posesion ni en todo ni en parte alguna dellos ni gane dr[ech]o por tiempo alguno de çinco ni diez ni veinte ni de treinta ni de quarenta ni de çinquenta ni de setenta ni de çien años ni de menos ni de mas tiempo aunque sea ynmemorial, ora la persona estraña que tubiere los dichos bienes o parte dellos tenga titulo que qualquiera de mis deçendientes llamados a este dicho mayorazgo agora tengo el dicho titulo de persona estraña que no fuere llamado al dicho mayorazgo o de qualquiera otra persona que lo tenga -

otro si declaro e dispongo que se entienda e ansi lo entiendo que llamo prinçipalmte a cada una de las personas conthenidas en los dichos llamamientos asi en los naçidos como en los

por naçer y hago esta disposiçion tan principalmente en favor de los unos como en favor de los otros, y hago la principalmente en favor de cada uno de los dichos llamados los cuales an de subçeder y subçedan en el dicho mayorazgo y bienes del subçesivamente hasta la fin del mundo para siempre jamas segun y de la manera que dicha es -

otro si escluyo de mi mayorzgo a los mentecatos y furiosos, agora los dichos mentecatos y furiosos lo sean de su naçimiento o de açidente, y a los mudos y çiegos, y mando que los tales no subçedan ni puedan subçeder en el, sino que luego que ubiere el dicho ynpedimento en el subçesor o en el primero llamado, el dicho mayorazgo pase al siguiente en grado, al qual oblige y mando que tenga y sustenga en su casa al que tubiere qualquiera de los dichos defectos y le de los alimentos neçesarios -

otro si hordeno y declaro queste mi mayorazgo, ni los bienes del ni parte alguna dellos, no los pueda tener ni tenga ninguno de los llamados al dicho binculo ni trasversales siendo frailes profesos de qualquiera de las rreligiones, y que luego quel hijo o nieto o bisnieto o rrebisnieto o qualquiera otro deçendiente mio o llamado al dicho mayorazgo hiçieren profesion pase el dicho mayorazgo y bienes del al siguiente en grado, ni mas ni menos como si el fraile o rreligioso moriera naturalmente antes de hecha la dicha profesion agora la dicha profesion sea taçita o esprisa, pero bien permito que qualquiera de los llamados al dicho binculo pueda tener horden que no le estorve el ser casado, aunque para el tal casamiento aya menester dispensaçion, porque aunque la tenga como sea casado quiero que tenga y posea este dicho mayorazgo -

otro si dispongo quel hijo o nieto o deçendiente mio, o otro qualquier llamado a mi mayorazgo que fuere hordenado de horden sacro de epistola o de ebangelio o de misa no pueda subçeder ni subçeda en el dicho mayorazgo ni bienes del, y mando que luego subçeda el siguiente en grado conforme a los dichos llamamientos, pero bien permito que el subçesor del dicho mayorazgo lo pueda tener aunque sea hordenado de prima corona o de grados, pues estos tales se pueden casar no siendo hordenados de mas hordenes sacros, como dicho es, por manera que la dicha horden de prima corona o de grados no pongan ynpedimento alguno al subçesor del dicho mayorazgo para subçeder en el conforme a los llamamientos del dicho mayorazgo y rregla del -

otro si dispongo y hordeno que los dichos bienes deste dicho mi mayorazgo y mejoria para siempre jamas sean yndibisibles e ynajenables y no esten en comerçio de persona alguna sino fuere de los llamados al dicho mayorazgo, y otra persona alguna no pueda tener ni poseer çevil ni naturale mente los dichos bienes ni parte alguna dellos, y mando que no se puedan enajenar ni permutar por otros bienes aunque sean de mas utilidad y probecho o de ygal o de menos que los bienes del dicho mayorazgo, y asi mesmo mando que no se puedan enajenar por contrato onoroso lucrativo ni por otro qualquier que sea o ser pueda aunque sea por causa pia y de utilidad del rreino y rrepublica o por rredençion de cautibos aunque sea para rredimir al subçesor o tenedor del dicho mayorazgo, ni se puedan asimismo enajenar por causa de arras ni por causa de dote aunque sea para deçendiente mio o trasversal o estraño, ni para otra qualquier persona que sea, ni se pueda obligar por la dote a que se obligare o que rreçiviere el subçesor deste dicho mi mayorazgo, ni se pueda enajenar para alimentos ni para cunplir lo que en mi testamento mandare que se cumpla, ni para defender este dicho mayorazgo y los bienes del o parte alguna dellos en caso que se mueva pleito alguno contra los dichos bienes o qualquier parte dellos, o para rreparar los bienes del dicho mayorazgo o qualquier pte dellos aunque esten para se perder, ni se puedan

açensar ni dar a ynfituosi perpetua ni por bidas ni por tiempo alguno, ni dar en feudo ni por contrato, ni arrendarse por mas tiempo de nueve a[n]os, ni se puedan obligar ni ypotecar taçita ni espresamente, ni se pueda enajenar por testamento ni codiçillo ni por manda ni donaçion ni por legado ni por titulo alguno unibersal ni particular ni por causa alguna aunque sean de las dispuestas en dro por donde se puedan enajenar los bienes sujetos a rrestituçion, ni por otra causa alguna que se pueda pensar mayor o menor o ygual a las susodichas qualquier que sea o ser pueda, ni por caso ninguno ni causa que se pueda ofreçer de que agora no se puede thener notiçia, y las dichas agenaçiones ni alguna de ellas no balgan y sean de ningun balor y efecto aunque esten firmadas por pleito omenaje o por juramento o por qualquiera confirmaçion o aprobaçion de prinçipe o perlado o de qualquier juez y nonazca del contrato obligaçion ni açion alguna, ni la aya para la ebiçion y saneamiento ni para el preçio ni por la pena del doble aunque el conprador no sepa que los bienes no se podian enajenar, y aunque el bendedor o permutante y enaxenador espresamente se obligue a la dicha ebiçion y saneamiento y a todo lo que dicho es -

otro si mando que de los dichos bienes ni de parte alguna dellos no se pueda haçer contrato puro ni condiçional ni a dia çierto ni ynçierto, aunque en caso de la benida del dia o del cumplimiento de la condiçion el tal contrato pudiese ser liçito, y aunque la condiçion se confiera a la voluntad de sus magestades o del rrey que por tiempo fuere diçiendo que haçen el tal contrato si su magt o los rreyes que por tiempo fueren dieren liçencia quel tal contrato se haga y que desta manera haçen el tal contrato y no de otra manera aunque la tal condiçion se ponga en la manera que dicha es o qualquiera otra quiere que la tal condiçion no se pueda poner ni ponga ni contratarse en la manera dicha ni en otra alguna y contratando de la manera dicha se yncurra en la pena y penas deste mayorazgo de que de yuso se hara minçion-

otro si q los dichos bienes del dicho mi mayorazgo ni parte alguna dellos no se puedan bender ni enajenar por deuda del rrey ni del fisco ni de ygla ni de universidades ni por qualquier persona ni por qualquier otra deuda, y asimismo mando quel dicho mayorazgo ni los dichos bienes ni parte alguna dellos no se puedan perder ni pierdan por tiempo ninguno como dicho es ni por prescripçion con titulo ni sin el aunque la prescripçion sea de çien años e ynmemorial, y que asi mismo no se pueda perder ni enajenar por compromiso ni por transaçion ni por sentençia de arbitros ni por sentençia de arbitradores ni por pleito ni por juio ni por sentençia de Jueçes hordinarios aunque sea de los señores presidente y oydores de las audiencias rreales de su magt y del rrey que por tiempo fuere ni de Juezes de comision ni de qualesquier otros, hordeno y dispongo que la sentençia que se diere contra qualquier de los tenedores y subçesores del dicho mayorazgo y de quales quiera bienes del dicho mayorazgo y sobre qualquier parte dellos no hagan no paren perjuicio sino solamente a la persona contra quien se diere la sentençia y contra quien se hiçiere el dicho pleito, y no haga perjuio a las otras personas con quien no se obiere hecho el pleito ni se hiçiere ni pueda parar ni haçer perjuio alguno a los naçidos al tiempo del pleito y sentençia ni a los naçidos que no fueren llamados ni conbenidos en juio como dicho es, pues esta dispusiçion como e declarado la hago en favor de cada uno de los llamados al dicho mayorazgo prinçipalmente, y siendo cada uno parte prinçipal no es justo ni rraçonable que la sentençia dada contra el uno perjudique al otro questare prinçipal como el que fue çitado y hecho con el pto no tiniendo como no tiene causa el uno del otro ni el otro del otro, sino todos tienen causa de mi que soy el primero constituidor, y quiero que la dispusiçion y herençia mia sea prinçipal para cada uno en caso de su llamamiento, y cada uno subçeda prinçipalmente por

mi disposiçion conforme a los dichos llamamientos y a las rreglas y hordenanças deste dicho mayorazgo -

otrosi proyo y mando que no se pueda suplicar a su magt ni a los rreyes de castilla ni de leon que por tiempo fueren ni a otra persona alguna que por comision de su magt o de los dichos señores rreyes o en otra qualquier manera tengan o tubieren poder y facultad, ni se pida ni suplique ni se yntente ni trate de pedir ni suplicar por facultad ni liçençia para bender, enajenar, permutar el dicho mayorazgo o qualesquier bienes del por qualquiera de las dichas agenaçiones y contratos y sentençias y juicios y en qualquier otra manera y si propio motu fuere dada la tal liçençia sin lo aver pedido el subçesor y tenedor del dicho mayorazgo y qualquier llamado a el y que ninguno de los llamados al dicho mayorazgo pueda ni puedan usar ni usen de la tal facultad o liçençia o qualquier de los dichos mis herederos para siempre jamas o de los trasbersales o de los llamados al dicho mayorazgo y mejoria que fueren contra lo susodicho y contra cosa y parte dello haçiendo o tentando haçer qualquiera de las dichas agenaçiones por qualquiera de las dichas causas o sin ellas e de ynpetrar o pedir liçençia para lo poder haçer y usar de la liçençia que de propio motu fuere dada haçiendo o tentando haçer contra lo que dicho es o parte dello por si, direte o yndirete o por qualquiera esquisito o buscado color que por el mismo hecho y por el mismo dro pierda y aya perdido el dicho mayorazgo y todos los bienes del, aunque la enagenaçion o lo que tentare de enagenar de haçer contra lo que dicho es sea sobre qualquiera parte de los dichos bienes y sobre una sola pieça dellos de poca o mucha cantidad, y pasen luego los dichos bienes y el dicho mayorazgo y mejoria al siguiente en grado quanto a la posesion y quanto a la propiedad y quanto al verdadero señorio y quanto a todo, sin ser necesaria sent[enci]a ni declaraçion, y sea obligado a esta pena en el fuero tenporal y en el fuero de conçiencia y a rrestituir al siguiente en grado todos los dichos bienes y los frutos de ellos en los dichos fueros judicial y de conçiencia, porque debaxo desta hordenaçion y rregla hago el dicho mayorazgo y debaxo de ello lo a de rreçibir el llamado a los bienes del, y para que conste en esto mi voluntad digo y hordeno que doy y dexo este dicho mi mayorazgo y mejoria a los llamados a el conforme a los dichos llamamientos y rreglas y hordenaçiones condiçional mente si no hicieren las dichas agenaçiones ni alguna dellas ni las tentaren ni trateren de haçer, ni pidieren ni ynpetraren liçencia para poder haçer la tal enagenaçion o enagenaçiones ny usaren de tal liçençia y facultad aunque de propio motu le sera conçedida con derogaçion desta mi disposiçion y todas las leyes fueros y dros, y debaxo desta condiçion hago y constituyo este dicho mi mayorazgo y llamo a los contenidos en la disposiçion del y no de otra manera y a mayor abundamiento y declaraçion -

otrosi, espresamente mando y hordeno quel subçesor y tenedor del dicho mayorazgo no pueda pedir ni pida liçençia quando se casare antes ni despues para obligar estos dichos bienes a la dote y arras de su muger o qualquiera cosa dello y en caso que pidieren la dicha liçençia a su magt o a los rreyes que por tiempo fueren, y que caso que se le de de motu propio y por virtud de ellas obligare los bienes del dicho mayorazgo o qualquier parte dellos en todos los dichos casos y en qualquier dellos, llamo al dicho mayorazgo y a los bienes del al siguiente en grado -

otrosi, porque mi voluntad es de acrescentar y conservar el nombre y apellido de delgado, quiero y mando que asi el dicho Don Agustín delgado mi hijo prim[er]o ynstituïdor y llamado a esta dicha mejora y mayorazgo y otro qualquier persona que en el subçediere se llame y nombre y firme por su apellido delgado, y si fuere muger la que en el subçediere asi

ella como el marido que tubiere sean obligados a tomar y llamarse del dicho apellido de delgado, y si tubiere dos apellidos el primero que se nombrare sea delgado, y asi mismo horden y mando quel que subçediere en el dicho binculo y mayorazgo traya las armas que son un escudo con quatro quartos: en el de la mano derecha a de estar un castillo en campo verde y ençima del una aguila negra; y debaxo deste quarto a destar otro con un baston atrabesado desquina a esquina en campo açul y debaxo del baston una media luna blanca y ençima una flor de lis amarilla; y en el otro cuarto alto de la mano yzquierda otro baston con otros tres gajos dos a un lado y tres a otro con dos cabeças de sierpes amarillas que le abraçan por los estremos que a de estar en campo açul; y en el otro cuarto bajo de la mano yzquierda an de estar quatro herraduras al rreves las lumbres haçiabajo y los calbos haçiarriba en campo berde; y por orla a de tener todo el escudo el ave maria en campo amarillo y ençima del su tinble y almete, y el que asi no se llamare y firmare del dicho apellido de delgado y no truxere las dichas armas que sea ynabil para aber esta dicha mejoría y mayorazgo y no le pueda tener y benga al siguiente en grado a quien bernia si este tal muriera naturalmte al tiempo que dexo de traer las dichas armas o firmarse o llamarse del dicho apellido de delgado -

otrosi, horden y mando que ninguno que ynmediatamente pueda subçeder al subçesor y tenedor deste dicho mayorazgo y mejoría no teniendo hijo ni deçendiente el tal subçesor ni tenedor no pueda ser ni sea tutor ni curador del dicho subçesor y tenedor del dicho mayorazgo y mejoría ni de los bienes del ni el marido de la muger que ynmediatamente fuere llamada al dicho mayorazgo y mejoría despues de la muerte del tal subçesor ni pueda asimismo ser tutor ni curador del dicho mayorazgo ni de los bienes del tal subçesor ni tenedor ni el padre del tal subçesor le pueda dar por tutor ni curador, pero si el padre del tal subçesor del dicho mayorazgo, siendo el tal subçesor de menos hedad de catorçe años quisiere nonbrar y dar tutor al tal subçesor, mando que no sea a la persona que ynmediatamente aya de subçeder en el dicho mayorazgo si el tal subçesor muriere sin hijos y deçendientes, pero que pueda nombrar otro tutor o curador con tanto quel curador sea obligado a dar fiadores llanos y abonados de la administraçion de la tutela, y que en el testamento ni en otra parte pueda ser rremitida la fiança sin quel tal tutor sea obligado a la dar

otrosi, porque mi yntinçion y voluntad es que aya toda paz y concordia entre todos mis deçendientes y entre todos los llamados a este dicho mayorazgo horden y mando que si qualquiera de los llamados a este mayorazgo matare a qualquier de los dichos llamados al dicho mayorazgo o lo mandase o hiçiere matar, siendo el matador el primero llamado despues del muerto, que el tal llamado que matare o hiçiere matar a qualquiera llamado antes del a este dicho mayorazgo, el tal matador y sus deçendientes, asi los naçidos antes del delito como los que naçieren despues del delito, sean todos ynabiles yncapaçes para siempre jamas deste dicho mayorazgo y subçedan otros llamados conforme a las dichas rreglas, ques que subçeda uno y no dos juntamente y q el baron se prefiera a la hembra y el mayor de hedad al menor y que los de una linia no puedan entrar hasta que todos los de la preçedente linia se acaven y que el nieto prefiera al tio conforme a la ley de toro como dicho es, y asimismo horden que la sentençia que se diere contra el delincente, ora se de en presençia, ora en rrebeldia, dandose legitimamente, guardada la forma y horden de las leyes destes rreinos, perjudique y haga perjuicio al tal delincente y a los dichos sus hijos y deçendientes pasados los dichos terminos de las dichas leyes -

otrosi, digo que hago esta ynstituçion de mayorazgo y mejoría en el dicho Don Agustín delgado mi hijo y en sus deçendientes y en todos los otros a el llamados y en cada uno dellos

por la horden que dicho es por bia y titulo de donaçion entre bivos y mejoría de terçero y quinto y por disposiçion de binculo y mayorazgo y por aquella bia que mejor aya lugar y mas firme sea y ser pueda, con que me quede rreservada como ante todas cosas rreservo la facultad de poder mudar, añadir y menguar en este dicho binculo y mayorazgo lo que yo quisiere y por bien tubiere en todo y en parte y para bendello y trocallo y haçer lo que bien bisto me fuere y con que rretengo en mi como rretengo el usufruto y administraçion de todos los dichos bienes para goçar de ellos por todos los dias de mi vida como yo quisiere y por bien tubiere -

otrosi, digo que pues yo tan largamente lo hago con el dicho Don Agustín delgado mi hijo y con los llamados a esta mejora y mayorazgo mio que asi es muy gran rrazon quel dicho Don Agustín delgado mi hijo y los otros llamados a esta dicha mejora y mayorazgo mio tengan cuidado y obligaçion de pagar mis deudas y descargos de mi conçiencia qualesquier que sean y por eso quiero y mando quel dicho Don Agustín mi hijo o otro qualquier subçesor de la dicha mi mejora y mayorazgo quede y sea obligado a lo pagar todo de los frutos y rrentas de los bienes de la dicha mi mejora y mayorazgo y como quiera que creo y tengo por çierto que asi lo cumplira el subçesor desta dicha mi mejora y mayorazgo pero por ser cosa que toca al bien de mi alma y descarga de mi conçiencia, suplico y pido a su magt que si en esto obiere algun descuido y negligencia en el dicho subçesor le mande secrestar y yo pongo y quiero para en el tal caso que se secresta la mitad de todos los frutos y rrentas de los bienes de la dicha mi mejora y mayorazgo y que no se acuda mas de con la otra mitad al tal subçesor hasta ser primeramente conplidos y pagados todos los dichos descargos y deudas -

otrosi, quiero y mando que se de al ynmediato subçesor del poseedor deste mayorazgo treslado signado y autoriçado desta mi disposiçion mejora y mayorazgo lo tenga porque quando ay uno solo si se quema o se pierde y no le quiere dar el que le tiene por yr contra el como podra acontecer es de mucho ynconviniente -

otrosi, quiero y mando quel dicho Don Agustín delgado mi hijo y todas las otras personas que despues del obieren de subçeder en esta dicha mejora y mayorazgo y bienes del asi hombres como mugeres no pueda en todo el tiempo que tubieren los bienes desta mi mejora y mayorazgo salir por fiador de persona alguna ni obligarse por deuda agena como prinçipal ni como fiador y que si lo hiçiere aya perdido y pierda por sola la primera vez que lo hiçiere los bienes desta dicha mi mejora y mayorazgo y binculo y pase al sgte en grado que los abia de aver por muerte de la tal persona -

otrosi quiero y mando que si despues de yo muerto alguno de mis subçesores que ubiere de subçeder en los bienes deste mayorazgo, quel que fuere proveido por su tutor o curador, no pueda gastar con el dicho subçesor en cada un año mas de la mitad de lo que rrentaren los dichos bienes binculados hasta que sea de hedad de veinte a[ñ]os y que todo lo otro que rrentaren los dichos bienes binculados desta mi dicha mejora y mayorazgo se lo guarden y conpren de renta y heredades para esta dicha mejora y mayorazgo para añadir en el y acreçentar para que quede por mayorazgo como lo que yo dexo nonbrado y que si fuere posible lo que asi se comprare sea a proposito de la otra haçienda raiz que le dexo y con las mismas condiciones y binculos para que se los den y entreguen todo junto quando sea de hedad de veinte anos o se case -

lo qual todo que dicho es y cada cosa y parte dello segun que de suso ba hordenado y declarado, hordeno y dispongo, quiero y mando y es mi voluntad que se guarde y cumpla a la letra segun que en esta escritura de mayorazgo y mejoras se contiene, y para que agora y adelante y para

siempre jamas se guarde y cumpla y aya cumplido efecto la ynstitucion y subçesion deste mi mayorazgo y mejoría y todo lo en el dispuesto, y que asi mismo se executen las penas en el conthenidas en los que contra ello fueren y pasaren, y por esta escritura rreboco y anulo y doy por ninguna y de ningun balor y efecto qualquier otra ynstitucion y hordenacion de mayorazgo que aya hecho de mis bienes, por que quiero y es mi voluntad que aquella no balga ni aya hefecto salvo esta dicha ynstitucion de mi mayorazgo y mejoría que agora hago y hordeno segun que en esta escritura se contiene, en firmeça de lo qual otorgo esta dicha carta de mayorazgo y mejoría antel escrivano y testigos de yuso escritos, y lo firme de mi nombre, que fue fecha y otorgada en la villa de madrid a diez dias del mes de agosto de mill y quinientos y setenta y siete años, estando presentes por testigos a lo que dicho es llamados y rogados: p[edr]o biana de rrojas, solicitador en la corte de Su md y su criado, y gabriel de sandoval y fran.co lopez de çayca, y miguel de rrecalde, y p[edr]o de Arratia, y mtn Ruiz de lariz, y mtn de herraçu, estantes en la corte de su magd, y el dicho señor secretario Juan delgado, otorgante, a quien yo el presente escrivò pco yuso escripto doy fee que conozco lo firmo de su nombre en el rregistro [signatures of: Juan Delgado, etc.]

Same day, 10.8.1577, before same *escribano*, Christoval de Riaño

Juan Delgado incorporated the Capilla de la Virgen del Rosario into the mayorazgo, «y dio de contado a el dicho Convento [de San Pablo], 500 ds por una vez, y 20,000 mrs de renta de juro a el año a razon de a 20U el millar, los quales se los ha de dar dentro de la dicha Ciudad, o 4 leguas en contorno». Patron, or successor, obliged to maintain the building, and the convent to say a mass in the chapel every day of the year, and responses over the tomb, and two sung masses a year for the soul of his deceased.¹⁰

10.2.1578, ante Diego de Castrillo, escribano de SM y natural de Palencia, en Madrid, “Juan Delgado otorgó declarazion de como havia otorgado la dicha fundacion de mayorazgo... en q incluía un juro de 50,000 mrs situado sobre las alcabalas de Jaén, y q concertó con el Prior y frailes del Conventa q recibiesen el juro por las dichas cantidades de q se le estava obligado por la dicha capilla.”

Y en la dicha villa de Madrid a 5 de agosto de 1578, ante Cristóbal de Riaño, escribano publico de ella, el dicho Secretario Juan Delgado declaró que Doña Leonor Ferrer, mujer legítima del dicho Don Agustín, su hijo, hija de los señores Francisco Ferrer y de Doña Ysabel de Encinillas, su mujer, si superviviese al dicho hijo, goce los bienes de este mayorazgo por los dias de su vida, y despues continue segun las clausulas de la fundacion.

Madrid, same day and escribano: Don Agustín Delgado otorgó escriptura de ratificacion y aprobacion de la fundazion deste mayorazgo.

Y en la ciudad de Badajoz, a 13 de noviembre de 1580, ante Luis Gonzalez, escribano publico, parecio el dicho Secretario Juan Delgado, y dijo que en fuerza de la clausula de dicha fundacion para poder añadir o quitar, otorgó las clausulas siguientes:

Que añade al dicho mayorazgo la villa de Villa Gimena, que nuevamente ha comprado, y está legua y media de la ciudad de Palencia, con sus vasallos, jurisdiccion alta y baja, mero mixto imperio y rentas jurisdiccionales y demas de ello, y que habia mandado comprar y ha

¹⁰ Archivo de la Catedral, Palencia, armario 7, leg.2, no.3: f.5v.

enviado dinero para ello ciertas heredades de pan llevar y casas, y lo que constare de sus cartas de venta lo agrega al dicho mayorazgo con las cláusulas de su fundación. Y que el privilegio de los dichos juros [50,000 mrs on alcabalas of Jaén] que había dado a los frailes de San Pablo, se los había entregado por las razones que ya van declaradas, y que se entienda que el dicho juro está ya fuera del dicho mayorazgo, y que acabadas las descendencias legítimas o naturales del dicho fundador o de su hijo y que no haya pariente ninguno de ellos, vuelvan las dichas jurisdicciones y de dichas villas a la Corona de Castilla, y los demás bienes vayan a la Iglesia Catedral de la ciudad de Palencia para cierta obra pía.»¹¹

En la villa de Madrid a diez e ocho días del mes de agosto año del sr de mill e quinientos e ochenta tres años en presencia de mi el scriv[an]o pu[bli]co e testigos ynfraescritos par[eci]o presente el muy Ille señor Juan delgado del consejo de hacienda de su magd e su secretario del qo de la guerra señor de las villas de grañeras y villaximena etta e dixo que por quanto el hiço e ynstituyo binculo e mayorazgo de sus bienes en favor y caveça del señor Don Agustín delgado su hijo legitimo y en sus descendientes como se contiene y declara en la scriptura de binculo e mayorazgo que en razon dello hiço y otorgo ante xpoval de Riaño scriv[an]o publico del numero desta villa de Madrid en diez días del mes de agto del año pasado de myll e quinientos y setenta y siete años e por una cláusula de la scriptura rreservo en si facultad de poder mudar añadir e menguar en el dicho binculo e mayorazgo lo que el quisiese y por bien tubiesse en todo y en parte e haçer lo que bien visto le fuese como mas largo por la dicha escriptura consta e parece a que se rrefiere; despues de lo qual usando de la dicha facultad hiço algunas declaraciones en lo tocante al dicho binculo, una en esta dicha villa de Madrid en diez días del mes de octubre del dicho año pasado de mill e quinient[os] y setenta y siete añ[os] ante el dicho xpoval de rriaño scriv[an]o, y otra en esta dicha villa en diez días del mes de febrero del año pasado de mill e quinient[os] e setenta y ocho ante diego de castrillo scrivano de su magd natural de la çudad de palençia y otra ante el dicho xval de rriaño en çinco días del mes de agosto del dicho año pasdo de mill e quinient[os] e setenta y ocho años las quales declaraciones aprovo e rratifico el dicho señor Don Agustín delgado por escriptura que dello hiço e otorgo ante el dicho Xpoval de rriaño en el dicho día mes y año susodicho y otra en la çudad de badajoz en treçe días del mes de nobiembre del año pasado de mill e quinientos e ochenta años ante luis gonçalez scriv[an]o pu[bli]co del num[er]o de la dicha çudad a las qls dichas escripturas dixo que se rrefiria e rrefirio, y agora el dicho señor secretario Juan delgado usando y prosiguiendo como quiere usar y proseguir y usa y prosigue la dicha facultad y reservaçion que hiço por la dicha escriptura dixo y otorgo que queria y quiere y otorga lo que de yuso en esta escriptura yra dicho y declarado en la forma e manera siguiente -

Primeramente que por quanto por la dicha scriptura de declaracion que hiço y otorgo antel dicho Luis gonçalez scr[iva]no pu[bli]co del num[er]o de la dicha çudad de badajoz dixo aver comprado la dicha su villa de Villaximena ques legua y media de la dicha çudad de palençia con sus vasallos y jur[isdic]ion alta e vaja mero misto ymperio y rrentas juridiccionales, y de mas della avia mandado comprar y embiado dinero para ello ciertas heredades de pan llevar y unas casas segund se declarara por las cartas de ventas que dello se avian de hazer, quiso y fue su boluntad que todo ello y lo que despues de la dactta de la dicha yncorporaçion comprase e hiçiese comprar en la dicha villa y en sus terminos y doquiera con la dicha villa quedase metido e yncorporado en el dicho binculo como desde luego lo metio binculo e

¹¹ Ortega Gato, "Blasones y mayorazgos", *PITTM*, no.3, 1950

yncorporo segund y de la manera y con las mesmas clausulas y condiciones con que quedan binculados los demas bienes del dicho binculo como se contiene y declara por un capitulo de la dicha declaracion, lo qual aprobando y rratificando y en aquella via y forma que mejor a lugar de dro, dixo y otorgo que yncorporava e yncorporo e metia y metio en el dicho binculo la dicha villa de villaximena con sus terminos e jur[isdici]on e con sus basallos alto e vajo mero misto ynperio y con sus rrentas pechos y dr[ech]os y con todo lo demas a la dicha v[ill]a anexo y pertenesçiente y que en qualquier manera le pertenezca y con las alcavalas y tercias de la dicha V[ill]a quel a comprado de su magd, y aunque en la venta dellas estampuestas en caveça del dicho s[eñ]or Don Agustín delgado su hijo las a comprado con sus propios dineros el dicho señor secret[ari]o Juan delgado; y ansimismo mete e yncorpora en el dicho binculo las casas que en la dicha v[ill]a de Villaximena a comprado e se ban labrando y labran y con todo lo demas que en la dicha villa a comprado y comprare ansi de heredades como de çenssos e todo lo demas que adelante acreçentare y comprare en ella -

Yten metio e yncorporo en el dicho binculo las cassas prinçipales de la dicha çiudad de palençia y que en ella ti[en]e y a conprado con todo lo acreçentado e que de aqui adelante acreçentare -

Yten mete e yncorpora en el dicho binculo los setenta mill mrs de juro y rrenta en cada un año de a veinte myll mrs el millar que el tiene y a comprado sobre las alcavalas e tercias de la dicha villa de V[ill]aximena y alcavalas de autilla y en la dicha çiudad de palençia por carta de prebillegio de su magd questa despachado en caveça de m[art]yn de bonilla veçino de la çiudad delgoroño [Logroño] el qual tiene hecho rrenun[ciaci]on en otras personas en el dicho señor secretario Juan delgado y en sus her[eder]os e sucesores como consta y parece por la escriptura de rrenun[ciaci]on que dello en su favor le otorgo en la çiudad de Lisvoa en diez e nueve dias del mes de hen[er]o del año pass[a]do de mill e qui[nient]os e ochenta y dos años por ante fran[cis]co rramirez scriv[an]o de su magd residente en su q[ort]e e vzo de la çiudad de Calahorra -

Yten que por quanto por la dicha declaracion que hiço y otorgo ante el dicho luis gonçalez scriv[an]o de la dicha çiudad de badajoz dixo que por quanto, demas de los veinte mill mrs de juro de a veinte mill el millar que quedaron vinculados de los çinq[uen]ta mill mrs que avia comprado y situado en las alcavalas de la dicha çiudad de palençia, avia sacado otros nueve mill mrs de que avia dado prebillegio a los frailes del m[onasteri]o de sant pablo por çiertas cosas que heran obligados a haçer, de manera que de los dichos çinquenta mill mrs solos quedavan para el dicho binculo honçe mill mrs por que los treinta y nueve mill mrs restantes a cumplimiento a los dichos çinquenta mill que avia binculado en dos previllegios los avia dado a los dichos frailes para siempre jamas. Y declaro que solos quedavan binculados los dichos honçe mill mrs y no mas como se contiene y declara por un cap[itul]o de la dicha declaracion a q se rrefiere, agora dixo que de los dichos honçe mill mrs de juro en cada un año sacava y saco quatro mill mrs del dicho juro en cada un año por una heredad que se compro en Villaximena del m[onasteri]o de st pablo de palençia los quales da y saca para el dicho hefecto y solamente quedan para el dicho vinculo los siete mill mrs de juro en cada un año de a v[eint]e mill el millar y aquellos an de quedar y queden en el dicho vinculo como los demas bienes del -

Yten metio e yncorporo en el dicho binculo los veinte mill mrs de çenso en cada un año mas o menos a rraçon de a diez y seis mill mrs el millar sobre el q[onsej]o e v[ecin]os de autilla

Y mas los veinte mill mrs de çenso en cada un año mas o menos que tiene sobre el c[onsejo] e v[ecin]os particulares de la dicha v[ill]a de Villaximena, los del concejo a rraçon de a diez y seis mill mrs el millar e los de los v[ecin]os particulares a catorçe mill el millar -

Yten metio e yncorporo en el dicho vinculo las casas y tierras que se compraron del m[onasteri]o de sant pablo de la çidad de Palen[ci]a por cuyo efecto se tomaró los dichos quatro mill mrs de juro y un pedaço de sitio que se compro en Villaximena de los frailes del monasterio de santa cruz de la orden de pomostens y todos los demas bienes rrayzes casas tierras çensos y otras heredades quel oviere y comprare desde oy en adelante hasta el dia de su fin y muerte como consta e pareze todo lo susodicho y constara y pareçera por las escripturas de ventas y otros rrecaudos que dello ay y ovi[er]e a que dixo que se rreferia y rrefirio -

Yten dixo que quiere y es su boluntad y dispone y manda que, si los dichos juros y çenssos que mete e yncorpora en el dicho binculo e mayoradgo e metiere e yncorporare adelante o los que se ovieren y compraren por el dicho s[eñ]or secretario Juan delgado o Don Agustín delgado su hijo o por los susçesores e llamados en el dicho binculo se quitaren e rredimieren por su magd o por los Reyes sus subçesores o por los dichos conçejos e personas que a ello fueren obligados, a lo poder quitar e rredimir sin entrar empoder de ninguno de los dichos susçesores ni llamados a el dicho binculo los quitaren e redimieren, que el principal dellos se ponga y deposite con ynterbençion de la just[ici]a de la dicha çidad de palençia en el dicho m[onasteri]o de san pablo de la dicha çidad en una arca queste para este hefecto en el deposito del dicho monast[eri]o que tenga dos llaves, la una el dicho s[eñ]or Don Agustín delgado su hijo e los dichos sus subçesores e la otra el p[adr]e prior o subprior del dicho m[onasteri]o p[ar]a que de alli con su ynterbençion se saquen para los hechar y emplear en otra Renta o bienes Raizes para el dicho binculo e mayoradgo y en lo mejor e que mas bien utilidad e provecho sea, y el sucçesor e sucçesores que no guardaren y cumplieren lo susodicho e que tomaren e rresçivieren el dicho principal o qualquier parte dello por el mismo casso aya perdido y pierda la susçesion del dicho vinculo e pase al siguiente en grado como si el tal susçesor que ansi hiço lo susodicho fuera muerto naturalmente -

Yten que si el dicho binculo e mayoradgo susçediere en hija questa tal susçesora no se pueda casar ni casse sin boluntad liçençia y consentimi[ent]o expreso de su padre e no le tiniendo de su madre e no tiniendo padre ni m[adr]e de su curador e si hiçiere lo contrario pierda la dicha susçesion y passe al sigui[ent]e en grado que avia de susçeder en el dicho binculo e mayoradgo como si la susodicha falleçiera naturalmente -

Yten que por quanto por un capi[tul]o de la dicha declar[azi]on que ansi hiço e otorgo antel dicho Luis gonçalez scr[iva]no de la dicha çidad de Vadajoz dio puso y ordeno que quando por boluntad de dios nro s[eñ]or viniese a que no oviese desçendiente algu[n]o del dicho señor Don Agustín delg[ar]do su hijo ansi por via ligitima como natural en qualquier m[aner]a ni de sus hermanos ni hermanas por via ligitima, quiso y fue su voluntad disponer del dicho binculo - que quedando siempre em pie como antes açerca de sus frutos e rrentas anden en administraçion para ciertas obras pias que declaro en el dicho capitu[l]o e tengan la administraçion de los dichos frutos e rrentas los señores capitulares de la yglesia cathedral de la dicha çidad de Palençia juntamte con el prior y subprior del dicho monasterio de sant pablo de la dicha orden de santo domingo de la dicha çidad e la jur[isdic]ion sola de las dichas villas de las grañeras e V[ill]aximena bolviere a la corona de los rreyes de Castilla y Leon segund mas largo se contiene y declara por el capitu[l]o que dello trata en la dicha declaraçion a que se

rrefiere = y agora quiere y es su boluntad y dispone e manda que la dicha jur[isdici]on de las dichas villas de las grañeras e villaximena e sus terminos sea para la dicha çiudad de palençia y ayuntami[en]to della para que la tengan y sean señores de la dicha jur[isdici]on cevil y criminal alta vaja mero misto ymperio de la forma y m[aner]a e segund como el dicho s[eñ]or Juan delgado las a avido y comprado, e las tubiere e poseyere el dicho s[eñ]or Don Agustín delgado su hijo e los demas sus subçesores, con cargo y memoria de que en cada un año el dicho ayuntamiento perpetuamente para siempre jamas aya de haçer desçir por el dicho señor Jhoan delgado e por el dicho señor Don Agustín delgado su hijo y por los dichos sus subçesores y difuntos una fiesta de nra señora de bisperas y misa cantada con toda solenidad y con su rresponso cantado despues de la misa, la qual se diga en la capilla de nra señora del rrosario que tiene y dexa en el dicho m[onesteri]o de sant pablo de la dicha çiudad de palençia de la orden de santo domingo de los predicadores, la qual fiesta se diga de la natividad de nra s[eñ]or]a ques a ocho de septiembre o en su otava y a ello se hallen presentes los s[eñ]or]es del ayuntami[en]to de la dicha çiudad -

Todo lo qual que dicho es e cada cossa e parte dello el dicho señor secretario Juan delg[a]do dixo e otorgo por estta presente carta en aquella via e forma q mejor a lugar de dro que queria y quiso y es su boluntad que se haga guarde y cumpla e tenga cumplido hefecto segund e como de suso se contiene e declara quedandose en todo lo demas del dicho su mayoradgo e las clausulas e declaraciones en el q[onteni]das e todo lo que despues del ti[en]e fho e otorg[a]do que no sea contr[ar]io a lo en esta escriptura cont[eni]do en su fuerça e bigor e para la observania e cumplimy[en]to dello obligo a si mismo e a todos sus bienes avidos e por aver. Y el dicho s[eñ]or Don Agustín delg[a]do su hijo legitimo y unico del dicho s[eñ]or Juo delg[a]do que a todo lo susodicho estava y se allo pres[en]te aviendolo oydo y entendido porq yo el presente escriv[an]o doy fee que se lo ley de verbo ad verbum segund e como de suso en esta escriptura se q[ontie]ne aprobando loando e rretificando e aviendo por bueno el consentimiento que dio por escrip[tur]a que otorgo en la ciudad de aberse del rreino de napoles e todo lo que embirtud della, y despues el dicho señor s[ecretari]o Juo delgado su padre hiço e otorgo dixo por esta pres[en]te carta por si e por sus her[eder]os e susçesores y desçendientes que azeptava y azepto en esta escrip[tur]a e todo lo en ella contenido en todo e por todo como en ella se q[ontien]e con las clausulas y condiçiones y declaraciones en ella q[onteni]das e ovo por metidas e yncorporadas en el dicho binculo e mayoradgo las dichas alcavalas e tr[aci]as de la dicha V[ill]a de villaximena las quales e por lo que le toca e a mayor abundamiento si es nesçes[ari]o la omete e yncorpora en el dicho binculo e mayoradgo con los mismos binculos gravanes [sic] clausulas y condiçiones en ella declaradas de las quales dichas alcavalas e terçias el dicho s[eñ]or s[ecretari]o Juo delg[a]do su p[adr]e aya de goçar e goçe por todos los largos años de su vida como los demas bienes que en el ti[en]e metidos e yncorporados atento q se an avido e comprado de sus propios vienes no embargte q se pusieron en caveça del dicho s[eñ]or Don Agustín delg[a]do; ansi mis[m]o aprueba loa e rretifica y a por buena la yncorporaçion qsta hecha e si hiço por el dicho sr Juo delgado de todos los bienes del dicho binculo e myradgo e todas las escripturas que en rraçon dello estan hechas y todo lo que adelante hiçiere metiere e yncorporare en el dicho binculo e mayoradgo, lo qual desde ag[or]a para entonçes y de entonçes pa agora lo aprueba loa e rretifica e a por bueno e quiere que se guarde y cumpla e tenga cumplido hefecto como si en esta escrip[tur]a fuera ynserto e yncorporado todo lo qual e cada cosa e pte dello prometio e se obligo de lo guardar y cumplir e mantener q que lo guardara cumplira e abra por firme ag[or]a y en todo tpo con todos los binculos gravamenes y

condiçiones con que el dicho s[eñ]or Juo delg[a]do su p[adr]e lo ti[en]e hecho y otorg[ad]o e lo hiçiere e otorgare e que no lo rrebocara rreclamara ni contradira ni yra ni berna q[ontr]a ello el ni otro por el ag[or]a ni en ningun tpo ni por alg[un]a m[aner]a ni por ning[un]a causa q sea o ser pueda e si contra ello fu[er]e o biniere o lo rreclamare rrevocare o contradixere que no le vala ni aproveche ni sobre ello sea oydo ni admitido en jui[ci]o ni fuera del e toda via y en todo tpo se guarde e cumpla lo en esta scrip[tur]a cont[enid]o e para la observançia e cumplimto dello, obligo asimismo e a todos sus vienes avidos e por aver e de sus her[eder]os e susçesores e descñdientes e dio su poder cump[li]do a todas e qualesqr jueces e just[ici]as de causas de todas e qualesqr ptes q sean ante quien esta carta par[te] e de lo en ella q[onteni]do fuere pedido Just[ici]a que le conpelan e apremien al cumplim[en]to dello, como si ansi fuere passdo por sentençia en cossa juzgada e Renuncio todas e qualesquier Leyes fueros e derechos e ordenamientos plaços terminos exsençiones e livertades e todas las otras cosas ansi en general como en espeçial q sean o puedan ser en su favor en contr[ar]io de lo q dicho es que le nom balan y en espeçial la ley q dize que gnal renun[ciaci]on nom vala e los dichos s[eñ]or[es] ansi lo dixeron e otorgaron ante mi el scriv[an]o pco e t[estig]os ynfra scriptos y lo firmaron de sus nombres en el R[egistr]o desta carta a los quales doy fee q conozco syendo a ello prestes por t[estigo]s Reg[istra]dos y llam[ad]os Grmo Gra vzo de la Va de Castromocho e myn de Errauz e domyngo de guevara e myn de yrigoyen e p[edr]o de Yta estantes en esta q[ort]e de su magt ...
signatures and rubrics of Juan Delgado Don Agustín Delgado.¹²

Madrid 8.4.1584, ante Juan Sarmiento: Don Agustín Delgado otorgó escritura declarar por la qual dijo tenia compradas las alcavalas y tercias de Villa Gimena y las alcavalas de Autilla de el Pino su padre, sin envargo de ello havia sido con su dinero y q como tales los apropiava a el dicho myzgo.

12.- LAS GRAÑERAS COMPLAINTS VERSUS ITS LORD, DON AGUSTÍN DELGADO

De pedimiento del Secretario Juan Delgado, Señor de las Grañeras, y de Don Agustín Delgado, su hijo, Alférez Mayor de Palencia, ante la Justicia de la villa de las Grañeras a 16 de marzo de 1583, ante Melchor de Cisneros, Escribano Real del número de la ciudad de Palencia, pidieron traslado de la escritura de censo enfiteusis, que está en el Concejo de ella, y otorgó dicha villa a favor de el Almirante de Castilla, Señor que fue de dicha Villa, para que guarda de su derecho, y por auto se la mandó dar -- Y por la dicha escritura consta la otorgó Don Fadrique, Almirante Mayor de Castilla, en virtud de poder que le dió el Rey Don Enrique, por el cual le dió facultad para dividir los términos de sus lugares, aminorando o acrecentando, según fuere su voluntad, su data en Sevilla a 10 de Agosto de 1456, ante el Doctor Hernando Diez de Toledo, Oidor y refrendario del Rey, nuestro Señor, y su Secretario. -- Y en fuerza del dicho poder el dicho Almirante, como Señor de los lugares del Burgo y de las Grañeras, otorgó se amojonara y dividiera los términos de dichos lugares, y que el dicho lugar de las Grañeras tenga jurisdicción alta y baja, mero mixto imperio, y Alcalde ordinario que de ella conozcan y tengan horca y todas las demás cosas a ella pertenecientes, y otorgó poder del Bachiller Alvar Rodríguez de Cisneros para que en su nombre y del dicho poder del Rey,

¹² AHP (Madrid), Protocolos leg. 290, ff.910-12, 18.8.1583.

ponga Alcaldes ordinarios en la dicha villa de las Grañeras, para que conozcan de todas las causas civiles y criminales, y para que divida los términos de los dichos dos lugares, amojonándolos, como asimismo el término de su villa de Mansilla, lo cual otorgó ante Ruiz Díaz de Rivas, escribano Real y público de la villa de Mansilla: otorgada en las Grañeras a 7 de Noviembre de 1457, y el dicho Bachiller Alvar Rodriguez, estando en el concejo de dicha villa de las Grañeras con su ayuntamiento nombró alcaldes y demas oficiales y tomaron posesion de sus empleos. Y con la asistencia de dichas villas amojonó y dividió los terminos de ella. Y por escritura que otorgó el dicho lugar de las Grañeras ynpusieron censo infeteusis perpetuamente todas las heredades, prados, pastos y terminos que el dicho Almirante tiene en el dicho lugar, sin la xurisdiccion, que esta es de el dicho Señorío; recibieron para si y sus herederos para desde el dia de Santa Maria de Septiembre de 1458 cada vezino que labra en el dicho lugar y no tuviere bueyes o buey para harar que den y paguen cada un año una carga de pan, mitad de trigo y mitad de cevada por la medida viexa, y el vezino que tuviere bueyes de arada y dende arriba que pague 6 fanegas de pan mediado por la dicha medida vieja por el dia de Santa Maria de Septiembre de cada año para siempre jamas para el dicho Almirante, sus herederos y subcesores, y señaló a la persona que fuere a la cobranza de dichos granos judicialmente una carga de trigo por cada un dia...»

This accepted by Almirante's *apoderado* «reservando en si por el dicho Almirante la soberanía jurisdiccion y señorío de el dicho lugar.»

Accepted by *concejo*, Las Grañeras 8.11.1457. Same day, before same *escribano*, *apoderado* and *concejo* «declararon que el dicho concejo havia tomado a zenso como dicho es todas las tierras, terminos, heredades, prados y pastos que al dicho Almirante le pertenezian en la dicha villa».

Almirante ratified this, Medina, 17.2.1459.

Traslado fue sacado de su original, en las Grañeras a 18.3.1583 por dicho Melchor de Cisneros.¹³

ESCRITURA A PEDIMIENTO DE DON AGUSTÍN DELGADO Y SALINAS, ALFÉREZ MAYOR DE LA CIUDAD DE PALENCIA CONTRA EL QONCEJO DE LAS GRAÑERAS¹⁴

Las Grañeras 28.10.1593, *carta de poder* of the *vecinos* of Las Grañeras to Juan Corral and others to appeal against the “residencia que nos tomó” Don Agustín Delgado in 1592.

Valladolid, 28.1.1594, Luis de Astudillo, en nombre del concejo de Las Grañeras, presented petition e demanda to Presidente and Oydores of Chancillería against Don Agustín Delgado «en que dijo que so color de se yntitular e llamar Señor de la dicha villa hacia a su parte los agravios siguientes: 1) que siendo la jurisdiccion de Las Grañeras en primera instancia «de sus partes y aviendolo usado y exercido por sus alcaldes hordinarios que en cada un año elejian a los alcaldes elegidos teniendo del tercio e posesion, y aviendo usado y acostumbrado de tomar la residencia e quantas a los alcaldes regidores e demas oficiales de los años pasados unos a otros los quantan a los que salen». No previous Señor «se uviese entremetido a tomar la dicha residencia ni quantas». Now Don Agustín «por su alcalde mayor» has started to send *juez de residencia* and «so color de la dicha residencia quitava las

¹³ Archivo de la Catedral, Palencia, Armario 7, leg.2, no.3: f.7v-8.

¹⁴ Archivo de la Real Chancillería, Valladolid, Ejecutorias leg.990, no.70.

varas a los alcaldes hordinarios nuevamente elejidos... y so color della usava la jurisdiccion en primera ynstancia; 2) y azia hordenanças e mandava que las guardase los dichos sus partes no teniendo poder para ello; 3) y que por el pan de renta que cada un vezino que tuviese vueyes de aradas dezian ser obligado a pagarle en cada un año, compelia al que no hera vezino y al que era pobre y al que no tenia vueyes ni vuey para arar que le diese e pagase una carga de pan mitad de trigo mitad de zebada, no se la deviendo ni jamas aviendo pagado los pobres ni los que no tenian vueyes ni buey para arar, y que no estando obligados ningunos de los vezinos... aunque tuviesen vueyes... a se lo llevar ni encerrar en sus paneras, les compelia y apremiaba a que los vezinos a su propia costa e trabajo le llevasen y enzerrasen el dicho pan en sus paneras; 4) agora nuevamente compelia a sus partes a que en las dichas elecciones e nombramiento e otros autos e pregones se asentase e pusiese e dijese ser nombrados por el Señor de la dicha Villa, no siendo suyo el nombramiento sino del dicho concejo; 5) agora de poco tiempo aquella parte por fuerça e contra voluntad de sus partes, se les entremetia [Don Agustín] a les poner e nombrar escrivano, no lo pudiendo ni deviendo hazer; 6) «de pocos años a esta parte tomava para si y compelia a sus partes a que le diesen y entregasen e aplicasen las dichas penas e condenaciones de camara... en posesion de sus partes de tiempo ememorial aca en razon de ser la jurisdiccion de la dicha villa propia de sus partes y que por ella pagavan el dicho pan de renta»; 7) [Don Agustín] «pretendia cobrar el dicho pan de renta por entero a cada uno de los dichos vezinos aunque se uviesen echo de sus vueyes o vuey antes del dia de Nuestra Señora de Agosto [when rent is due]... en gran daño e perjuycio de los pobres e con que estavan asolados los vezinos, ... pretendia cobrar e cobrava de tal vezino que avia venido en quiebra e perdida de su hazienda e recogriendose en la casa de otro vezino tal por entero el dicho pan de renta... con que venian a ser forçados los que avian sido vezinos del dicho lugar a dejar su naturaleza e parientes e se yr a ausentar de la dicha villa, e que siendo el dicho tributo de pan de renta en el tienpo que se avia concedido una cosa tolerable del que tuviese dos vueyes o mas para arar pagase cinco fanegas de pan... y el que no tuviese mas que un buey.. quatro fanegas, que no balia entonces la carga de trigo de a 8 a 10 por arriva y la de cebada la mitad, y ser este un precio proporcionado, justo e conveniente a la jurisdizion en primera instancia, que por ello se lo avia concedido, juntamente con otras cosas e aprovechamiento... con la bariedad de los tiempos, carestia del pan e lo que avia suvido el valor venian a estar sus partes desafortados agraviados les pedir e cobrar de cada un vzo a cinco o qtro fanegas de pan por mitad».

Don Agustín and future Señores should be ordered not to do what they are alleging, and “pan de renta” should be charged only on «los vezinos avonados e que tubieren vueyes o buey para arar» and «se moderase e rediciase a menos cantidad, o se tase y moderase a un justo e combeniente precio, e que no les compeliase a que su propia costa ni trabajo lo llevasen a poner ni encerrar en las paneras de la parte contraria».

In Palencia 14.2.1594, before Diego de Castillo: *carta de poder* of Don Agustín Delgado to García del Corral, *procurador* in the Real Chancillería de Valladolid, and to Luis de Villaldo Aguirre, *solicitador* there, to represent him in this suit.

García del Corral presented contradiction of claims of Las Grañeras arguing that as Señor of Las Grañeras «e de todos sus terminos e de todo lo en ellos yncluso e de las casas e de todo lo demas anejo e perteneciente... e las partes contrarias eran sus basallos solariegos lo qual y la jurisdiccion civil e criminal, alta, vaja, mero, misto ynperio della la pertenecia por justos y derechos titulos».

In Medina del Campo, 8.7.1603, Garcia del Corral presented before the Presidente and Oidores of the Chancillería «una escritura de concordia» between Don Agustín and Las Grañeras, signed by Torivio de Revilla, *escrivano* of Fuentes de Valdepero, «por nos quitar de pleitos e diferencias e de las costas e gastos que en el dicho pleito y pleitos se podrian causar e porque la Justicia de los dichos pleitos es deudosa». By the terms of wch: 1) Don Agustín is to “tomar residencia de los oficiales de Las Grañeras, alcaldes, regidores, procuradores, alcaldes de la Hermandad, escrivano, y los demas oficiales... como asta aqui yo .. lo echo y mis antecessores lo ycieron»; 2) Don Agustín is to «nombrar escrivano y escrivano del numero e Regimiento... como hasta aqui lo he hecho e mis antecessores lo ycieron»; 3) Don Agustín is to take *penas de cámara* «agora y de aqui adelante para siempre jamas.. como asta aqui lo an sido de mis antecesores»; 4) the appointment of yearly officers (“alcaldes hordinarios, rexidores, procuradores generales del concejo, alcaldes de la Hermandad y alguaciles”) to be made by «los alcaldes hordinarios que fueren de un año para otro con acuerdo del concejo de la dicha villa e vezinos della según como asta agora se a usado». There are to be 2 *alcaldes ordinarios*, 2 *regidores*, 1 *procurador*, 1 *alcalde de la Hermandad* and 1 *alguacil*, «e para los haver de azetar e jurar los tales oficios an de tener confirmazion mia, allandome presente en la dicha villa”, or of the *alcalde mayor* who Don Agustín Delgado and his successors have in place in Las Grañeras. If neither present, the *oficiales* are to exercise their offices as if confirmed, but are to seek confirmation and “jurar de nuevo” whenever the Señor or his Alcalde Mayor are in Las Grañeras; 5) the *alcaldes ordinarios* are to have jurisdiction in the first instance «en todos los casos civiles criminales y executibos» without the Alcalde Mayor having a right to intervene. The Alcalde Mayor «en quanto a la primera ynstancia no a de conocer... mas de tan solamente contra los alcaldes hordinarios»; he is to warn the *alcaldes ordinarios* «en caso que fueren remisos en determinar, proseguir y acavar los negocios y casos que ante ellos pasaren», that such cases are to be settled «en el termino de la ley», and if they do not he can take the cases over and conclude them. The Alcalde Mayor is also to have primary jurisdiction over the *alcaldes ordinarios* in cases over debts owed to the Señor; 6) justice «en segunda instancia en grado de apelación» are to be heard by the Alcalde Mayor «como siempre se a hecho».

Don Agustín and Las Grañeras are together petitioning the Chancillería de Valladolid residing in Medina del Campo to give sentence in this case in accordance with the terms of this agreement. The costs of the case are to be split equally by the two parties, Las Grañeras, 14.3.1603: signed by Don Agustín Delgado and Don Agustín Delgado Ferrer y Cardona, su hijo.

The judgement (*sentencia*) of the Chancillería confirms this agreement, 29.7.1603. and Don Agustín’s representative then asked for the Carta Ejecutoria of the sentence, issued in Medina del Campo, 23.8.1603.

Real Ejecutoria ganada a pedimiento de Dn Agustín Delgado y Salinas [v Las Grañeras], 23.8.1603.¹⁵

Real Ejecutoria ganada a pedimiento de Don Agustín Delgado y Salinas... en el pleito contra el concejo y vezinos de la dicha villa de Las Grañeras sobre la jurisdizion de dicha villa en que por su sentencia definitiva confirmaron la escritura de transaccion entre las partes,

¹⁵ Archivo de la Catedral de Palencia, armario 7, leg.2, no.3.

echa en la dicha villa de Las Grañeras a 14 de marzo de 1603 entre Thorivio de Villa, escrivano de Su Magestad, vezino de la villa de Fuentes de Valdepero, cui executoria fue dada en la villa de Medina del Campo a 23 de agosto de 1603, ante Andres Sanchez, escrivano de Camara.

“Hai provision de dicha Reall Chanzilleria, 13.1.1604, ante dicho escrivano de Camara, para que la justicia mas cercana de Las Grañeras passe a dicha villa y ponga en quieta y pacifica possession a el dicho Don Agustín Delgado, segun y como se manda por la dicha Real ejecutoria, y en fuerza de ella fue dado su cumplimiento en la villa de Sahagun y por la justicia de ella pasó a la dicha villa de Las Grañeras a donde lo puso en quieta y pacifica possession.”¹⁶

¹⁶ Archivo de la Catedral, Palencia, armario 7, leg.2, no.3, f.7v-8.

Money, Weights and Measures

ana (aune) = 46.79 inches / 119 cms

vara = c.835 mm

area = 100 m²

arranzada de viñas = c.4,462 m², 0.4462 hectares, 1.1 acres, 1/3 obrada (or 4 cuartas)

obrada (local to Palencia) = 53.832 areas = 6 1/12 cuartas of 100 palos of 32 varas

carga (grain measure): in Palencia between 3 and 3.5 fanegas (c.183 litres)

fanega c.55.5 litres

ducat : money of account equal to 375 mrs [*maravedís*], or 11 *reales* of 34 mrs

escudo de plata: silver coin = 350 mrs, or 10 *reales*

real : silver or silver/copper alloy coin of 34 mrs

maravedí/s (mrs): the basic money of account; coined in *vellón* in 2, 4, 8, 16 mrs denominations

Archival Sources Consulted

AGI Archivo General de Indias, Indiferente General
AGS Archivo General de Simancas
Cámara de Castilla
CJH Consejo y Juntas de Hacienda
Contadurías Generales
Contaduría de Mercedes
DGT Dirección General del Tesoro
Estado
GA Guerra Antigua
GM Guerra y Marina – Servicios Militares
Quitaciones de Corte
Secretarías Provinciales

Antequera

AHM Archivo Histórico Municipal, Antequera, Libro Capitular

Madrid

AHN Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid,
Consejos
Ordenes Militares, Santiago, Pruebas de Caballeros
AHPM Archivo Histórico Provincial de Madrid
Biblioteca Francisco de Zabalburu
BNE Biblioteca Nacional de España [*ante* Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid], Sección de
Manuscritos
IVDJ Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan
RAH Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid, Colección Salazar y Castro

Palencia

AHP Archivo Histórico Provincial, Palencia, Libros de protocolos
AMP Archivo Municipal de Palencia,
Libros de Acuerdos
Libros Antiguos de Contabilidad: Libro de Provisiones Reales 1439-1634
Inventario de 1758, leg.22
Archivo de la Catedral de Palencia
Archivo del Obispado de Palencia
San Lázaro Libro de testamentos y difuntos 1581-1628
Libro de bautismos 1542-1560

Salamanca

AHP Salamanca Archivo Histórico Provincial de Salamanca, Protocolos

Valladolid

AHPV Archivo Histórico Provincial de Valladolid

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ACC	<i>Actas de las Cortes de Castilla</i>
CDI	<i>Colección de Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de España</i>
CSP Sp.	<i>Calendar of State Papers. Spanish</i>
MHE	<i>Memorial Histórico Español</i>
Pellicer	<i>Catálogo de la Colección, vol.4</i>
PITTM	<i>Publicaciones de la Institución Tello Téllez de Meneses, Palencia</i>

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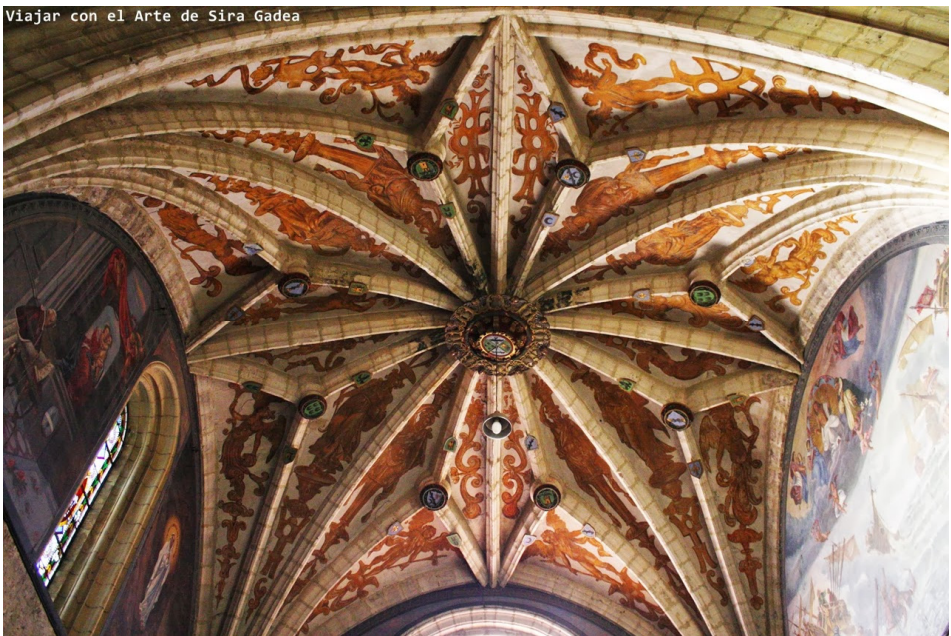
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Viajar con el Arte de Sira Gadea



Viajar con el Arte de Sira Gadea



Capilla de Nuestra Señora del Rosario, Convento de San Pablo, Palencia



Ermita de Nuestra Señora de Monserrate, Villajimena



Retablo of Ermita de Nuestra Señora de Monserrate, Villajimena

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