THE IBERIAN WORLD 1450–1820

Edited by FERNANDO BOUZA, PEDRO CARDIM, *and* ANTONIO FEROS

THE IBERIAN WORLD

The Iberian World: 1450–1820 brings together, for the first time in English, the latest research in Iberian studies, providing in-depth analysis of fifteenth- to early nineteenth-century Portugal and Spain, their European possessions, and the African, Asian, and American peoples that were under their rule.

Featuring innovative work from leading historians of the Iberian world, the book adopts a strong transnational and comparative approach, and offers the reader an interdisciplinary lens through which to view the interactions, entanglements, and conflicts between the many peoples that were part of it. The volume also analyses the relationships and mutual influences between the wide range of actors, polities, and centres of power within the Iberian monarchies, and draws on recent advances in the field to examine key aspects such as Iberian expansion, imperial ideologies, and the constitution of colonial societies.

Divided into four parts and combining a chronological approach with a set of in-depth thematic studies, *The Iberian World* brings together previously disparate scholarly traditions surrounding the history of European empires and raises awareness of the global dimensions of Iberian history. It is essential reading for students and academics of early modern Spain and Portugal.

Fernando Bouza is Professor at the Universidad Complutense de Madrid, and a specialist in early modern Iberian culture and politics. He is the author of *Portugal no tempo dos Filipes. Política, cultura, representações (1580–1668)* (2000); *Communication, Knowledge, and Memory in Early Modern Spain* (2004); and *Hétérographies. Formes de l´écrit au Siècle d´Or espagnol* (2010).

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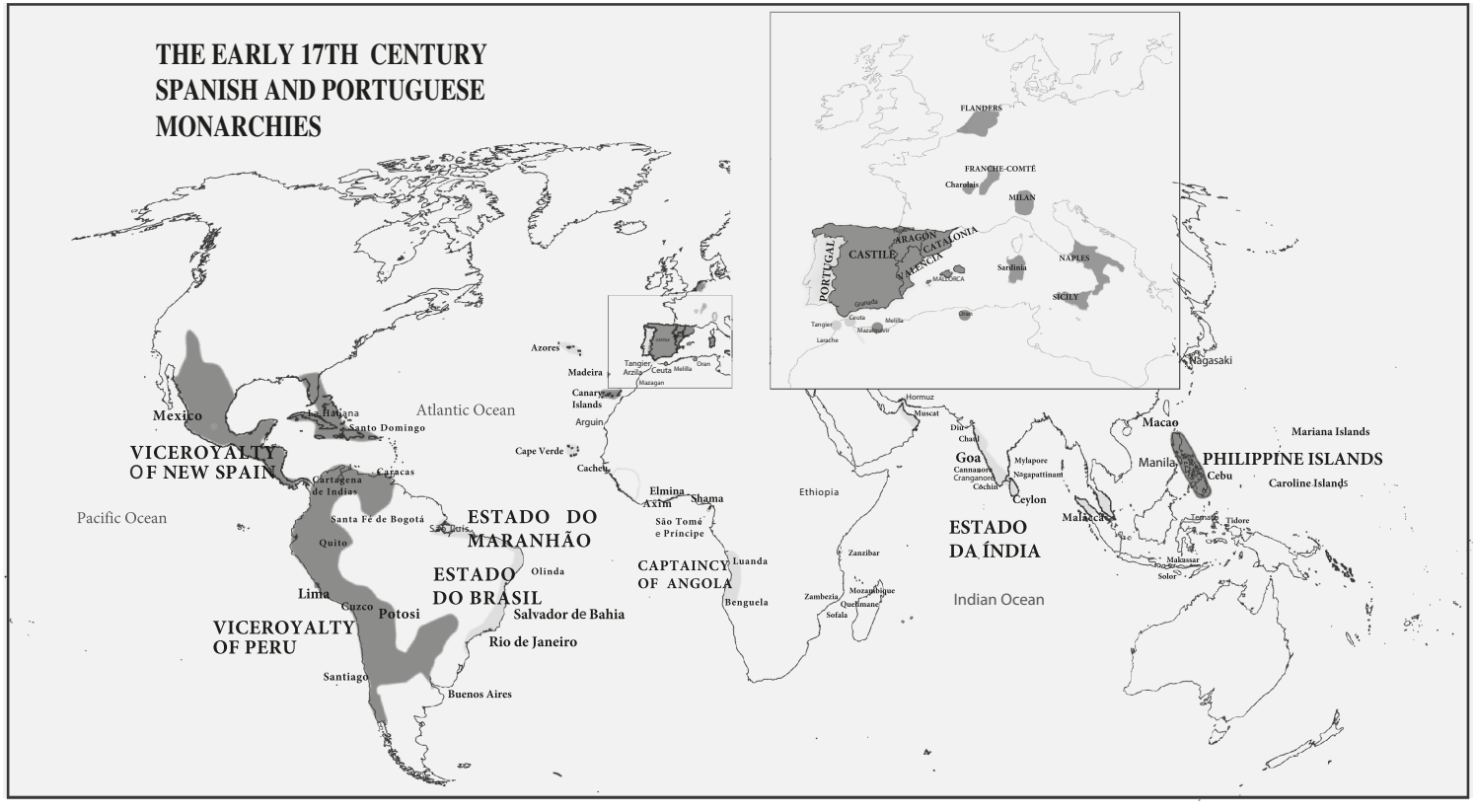

Image 0.1 Map of the early seventeenth-century Spanish and Portuguese monarchies

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INTRODUCTION

Fernando Bouza, Pedro Cardim, and Antonio Feros

The objective of this work is to present the different facets of the *Iberian world* during the period between the fifteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth. It aims to present this universe in all its diversity and complexity, to analyse in depth a space marked by many affinities and similarities, but also by innumerable differences, tensions, exclusions, and conflicts. In other words, the term Iberian world, which appears in the title of this volume, does not refer to a socially homogenous, harmonious, or conflict-free space. On the contrary, it is meant to stand in for the plurality of the peoples of the Iberian peninsula, a region characterised by considerable social, cultural, ethnic, jurisdictional, and political diversity. As the chapters of this volume demonstrate, this diversity persisted, in changing configurations, throughout the period analysed here. It partly explains the similar trajectories and common preoccupations of Iberian societies and polities, but also the abundant rejections, the ubiquity of intolerance, and the recurrent bouts of violence.

The term "Iberian world" is furthermore justified by its capacity to invoke the global dimension assumed by the Iberian polities beginning in the sixteenth century. That global dimension became especially prominent as the Portuguese and the Spaniards set about conquering and colonising territories in the Americas, Asia, and Africa. One of the consequences of this process—also marked by great effusions of violence—was to further augment the internal diversity of the Iberian world. This volume proceeds from the premise that it is impossible to comprehend the historical trajectory of the Iberian polities without taking into account their imperial projections. The colonial experience was profoundly transformative, for the Iberian peoples as much as for those who were subjected by conquest and colonisation. It was precisely for this reason that so much space in this book is dedicated to America, Asia and Africa. Indeed, in many of the chapters the perspective adopted is deliberately that of individuals, women and men, natives of these continents who were affected by Portuguese and Spanish colonialism. The intention was to avoid constructing a Eurocentric narrative of the Iberian world and its peoples.

The present work was conceived as an exercise in comparative history. It is not, however, a binary comparison between Spain and Portugal, as if these were clearly delimited and static entities during the period covered. Instead, the comparison undertaken here is more ambitious, because it recognises the Portuguese and the

Spanish worlds as realities that were internally heterogeneous and permanently in the making, because constantly on the move. It has been our aim, as editors of this collection, to avoid essentialist and teleological visions of the Iberian world, and so this volume traces the social construction of a world indelibly marked by diversities.

Alongside the comparative perspective, the present volume also insists on recovering the entangled character of Iberian history. It aims to tell the history of the mutual constitution of the various polities that existed in the Iberian peninsula. We consider that without taking into account the continuous interaction between these polities, marked by hybridity, mimicry and emulation, it is difficult to fully understand their historical trajectory. To do so, we have opted for transverse and transnational readings of Iberian social, political, and cultural realities.

It follows that these concerns weighed heavily in the choice of historians whose contributions would make up the various chapters that comprise this work. The options were enviably plentiful, given the enormous advances in the study of Iberian history in recent decades, in different historiographical fields. It was therefore necessary to make a careful selection. As the volume was to be published in English by Routledge, we naturally enlisted a good number of Anglophone historians. Nevertheless, since one of the aims of this volume was to be representative of the diversity of the historiographical traditions that have contributed to the study of the Iberian world, we have also included historians who write primarily in Spanish, Portuguese, French, and Italian. We have also sought to bring together historians with very different historiographical backgrounds, since we consider such plurality to be fundamentally enriching. In this sense, this volume represents an argument in favour of the diversity of historiographical languages and vocabularies.

We wanted to recover, as far as possible, the oral and visual richness of the vast and complex period covered by the volume. Therefore, we asked the authors to work with a wide range of contemporary sources, both documentary and visual. We also asked our contributors to balance the use of widely known materials with the inclusion of documents that have been scarcely or not at all studied until now. It was our objective that the various contributions should not only stay abreast of the most recent historiography, but also be innovative in their own turn. Thanks to the extraordinary work of the historians who collaborated on this volume, this book not only sums up the state of our knowledge of each of the themes in focus, but also offers plenty of indications for future research.

The book is divided into four parts. The first sets out the historical dynamics of the Iberian peninsula from the fifteenth to the end of the seventeenth century. This first part presents the basic coordinates—in the political, social, economic and cultural spheres—of the Iberian space in the course of that period. The second part is focused on the expansionary processes initiated by the Portuguese and the Spanish. The conquest of vast spaces in America, Asia, and Africa is analysed from different perspectives, including, of course, from the standpoint of the populations impinged upon by Iberian colonialism, men and women who suffered the violence perpetrated by the Portuguese and the Spaniards, saw their lands occupied, and many of whom were enslaved or coerced into forced labour. The third and fourth parts of this volume cover the period from the beginning of the eighteenth century to the Age of Revolutions. Their purpose is to delineate the major changes that occurred in the eighteenth-century Iberian world, culminating in the period of the

great revolutions, American independences, and the establishment of liberal regimes in Spain and Portugal.

This is therefore a volume focused on the European dimension of the Iberian world, but keeping both eyes firmly on the Atlantic, and, to a lesser extent, Asia. In other words, while this book is mainly concerned with the European part of the Iberian world, it is not Eurocentric, and, what is more, it vindicates the insistence of recent historiography on seeing the imperial experience as a constitutive element in the formation of Portugal and Spain. A volume that shows that Iberian history was shaped by an extraordinarily wide range of actors, from members of the upper classes to more anonymous individuals, both men and women, many of them of Maghrebi, Amerindian, sub-Saharan, and Asian origin. A volume that conveys an integrated vision of the historical trajectory of the Iberian world, but does not strive to convey the image of a harmonious universe, not least because at the core of many of its chapters are differences, tensions, conflicts, and forms of discrimination based on religion, race, and nationality.

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PART 1

THE IBERIAN PENINSULA (FIFTEENTH-SEVENTEENTH CENTURY)

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CHAPTER ONE

THE SHAPING OF THE IBERIAN POLITIES IN THE LATE FIFTEENTH AND EARLY SIXTEENTH CENTURIES[1]

Xavier Gil

INTRODUCTION

Over the last third of the fifteenth century and the early years of the sixteenth, the kingdoms of the Iberian peninsula experienced major internal transformations, while at the same time emerging to take on a central role on the international stage and as pioneering powers in the age of discovery. Assertive and determined rulers entered into dynastic marriages that resulted in new, composite monarchies; royal authority was consolidated, bringing domestic peace in the wake of major noble uprisings, civil wars, and wars between the kingdoms; territorial consolidation in the peninsula and overseas expansion, which extended the limits of Iberian, Christian, and European presence as far as the Indian Ocean and the subcontinent, the Caribbean, and Brazil; active engagement in regions hitherto outside the sphere of interest of Iberian diplomacy, such as the Holy Roman Empire and Flanders; socioeconomic dynamism and the more visible preoccupation with social and cultural issues related to ethnic and religious minorities, both familiar (Jews and *judeoconversos*) and new (Moriscos and enslaved blacks). Some of these developments were not unique to Iberia, and were a feature common to Renaissance monarchies, while others were owing to particular circumstances and contexts, such as the completion of the so-called Reconquest with the capture of Granada, the last remaining Islamic kingdom in the southeast of the peninsula. In sum, there is no doubting the significance of the contribution made by the Iberian world to the opening of a new phase in world history.

As elsewhere, dynastic politics was a favoured instrument of the different peninsular kingdoms: Portugal, Castile, the Crown of Aragon (including Aragon proper, Catalonia, Valencia, Mallorca, Sardinia, Sicily, and, for a time, Naples) and Navarre (straddling both sides of the Pyrenees). With meticulous planning of marital alliances frequently disrupted by untimely deaths of spouses and heirs, dynastic politics necessitated the making and remaking of agreements with neighbouring

and distant princes, alliances that significantly altered the geopolitical map of the region.

Thus, in 1468 Joan II of Aragon (the Catalan form of his name is used in this chapter to help differentiate him from Juan of Castile and João of Portugal) proclaimed Fernando, his son and heir, king of Sicily in view of his projected marriage to Princess Isabel of Castile, due to take place the following year. With this in mind, Joan Margarit Pau, bishop of Girona, humanist, and ambassador, dedicated his *Corona regum* to the young prince, a lengthy "mirror of princes" (*speculum principis*) in which, the author noted, Fernando would find "many examples of virtue" (Margarit 2007–2008, I, 119). Nearly half a century later, in 1513, Francesco Guicciardini remarked that Fernando had succeeded in joining virtue to good fortune. He did so in a written report addressed to the Florentine authorities following his diplomatic mission to the king the previous year. In his report, Guicciardini explained that Spain was divided into three parts: Aragon, in which he included Catalonia and Valencia, and where Fernando was king; Castile, ruled by Doña Juana, daughter of Fernando and the late Isabel; and Portugal, ruled by king Dom Manuel, "a small country known for the great concourse of merchants in Lisbon, and for the trade route to Calicut and other newly discovered lands, more than anything else." He also mentioned the kingdom of Navarre, but emphasised that Aragon and Castile were "the principal parts" (Guicciardini 2017, 123–124, 142).

On the surface, little had changed between 1468 and 1513 in the disposition of the Iberian kingdoms, save that Granada and Navarre had been incorporated into the domains of the Spanish monarchs in 1491–1492: the peninsula was divided, as it had been almost half a century earlier, between three large polities, each one ruled by its own king. Yet, notwithstanding a war between Portugal and Castile (1474–1479), and boosted by a union of the Crowns of Aragon and Castile under Fernando and Isabel between 1479 and 1504 (the year of the queen's death), their fortunes were now much more closely intertwined—not to mention the fact that Castile had in the meantime established its own foothold in the Caribbean. And yet the dynastic and political crises that had marked the beginning of this period appeared to have resurfaced at its end: in 1474, following the death of her father Enrique IV, Isabel had herself proclaimed queen of Castile in Segovia, at the expense of her half-sister, Juana; in 1516, on Fernando's death, Charles of Ghent proclaimed himself king of Castile and Aragon in Ghent, in rivalry with his mother, also Juana. Both Juanas were subsequently removed from public life: the first entered a Coimbra monastery, whence she emerged from time to time to make an appearance at the court in Lisbon, while the second, afflicted by a mental disorder, was secluded in a convent in Tordesillas, and both lived out the rest of their considerable days until their deaths in 1530 and 1555 respectively.

Great intrafamilial feuds, succession crises and profound uncertainty about the future marked the beginning and the end. However, while the Castilian-Portuguese war of 1474 became at once a Castilian civil war, both coming in the wake of the Catalan civil war (1462–1472), Charles' succession in 1516 did not trigger new wars or open conflicts. The upheavals of the mid-fifteenth century certainly gave no inkling of the great achievements to come.

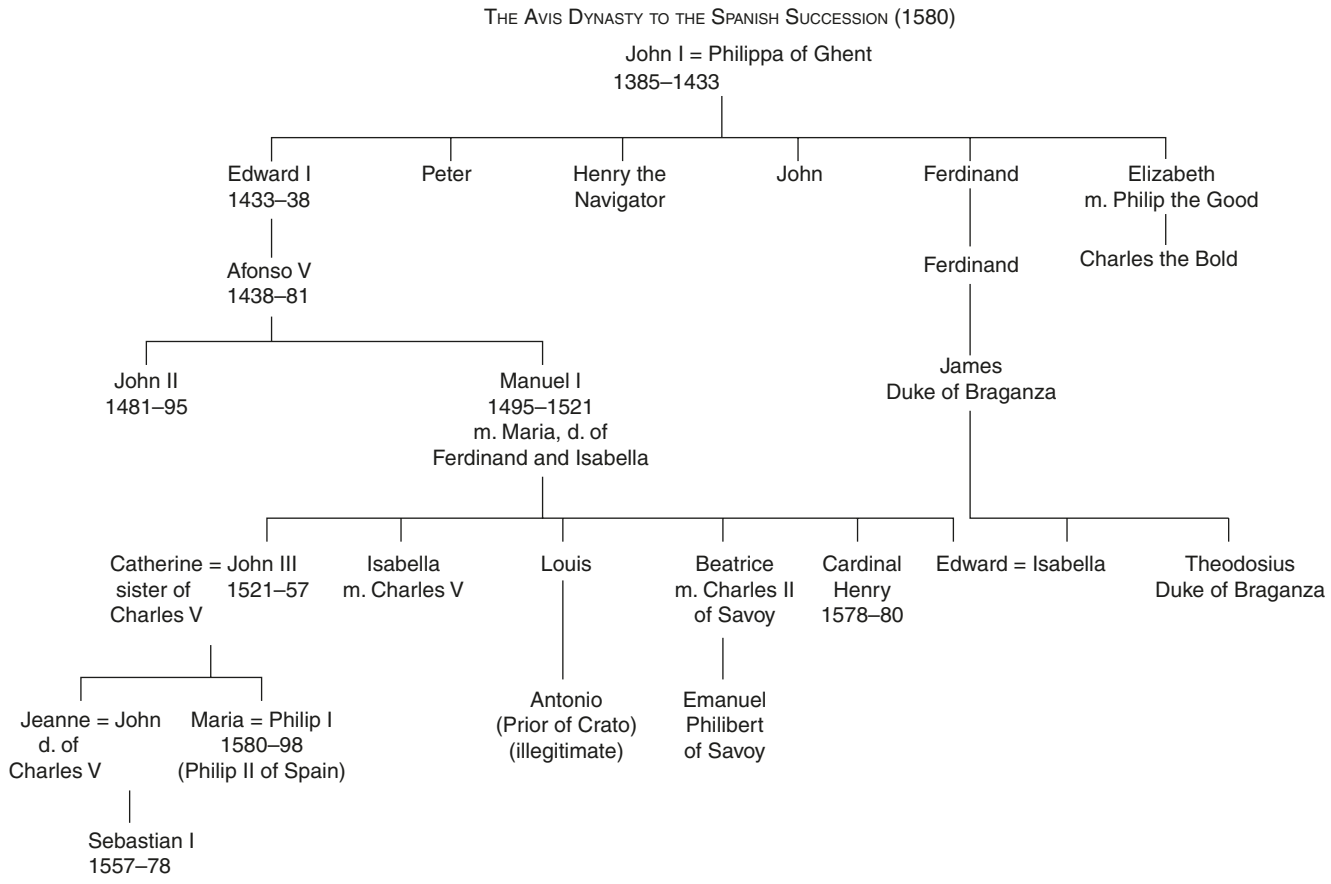


Image 1.1 Family tree showing the Avis dynasty to the Spanish Succession
Source: Andrew C. Hess, *The Forgotten Frontier: A History of the Sixteenth-Century Ibero-African Frontier*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1978

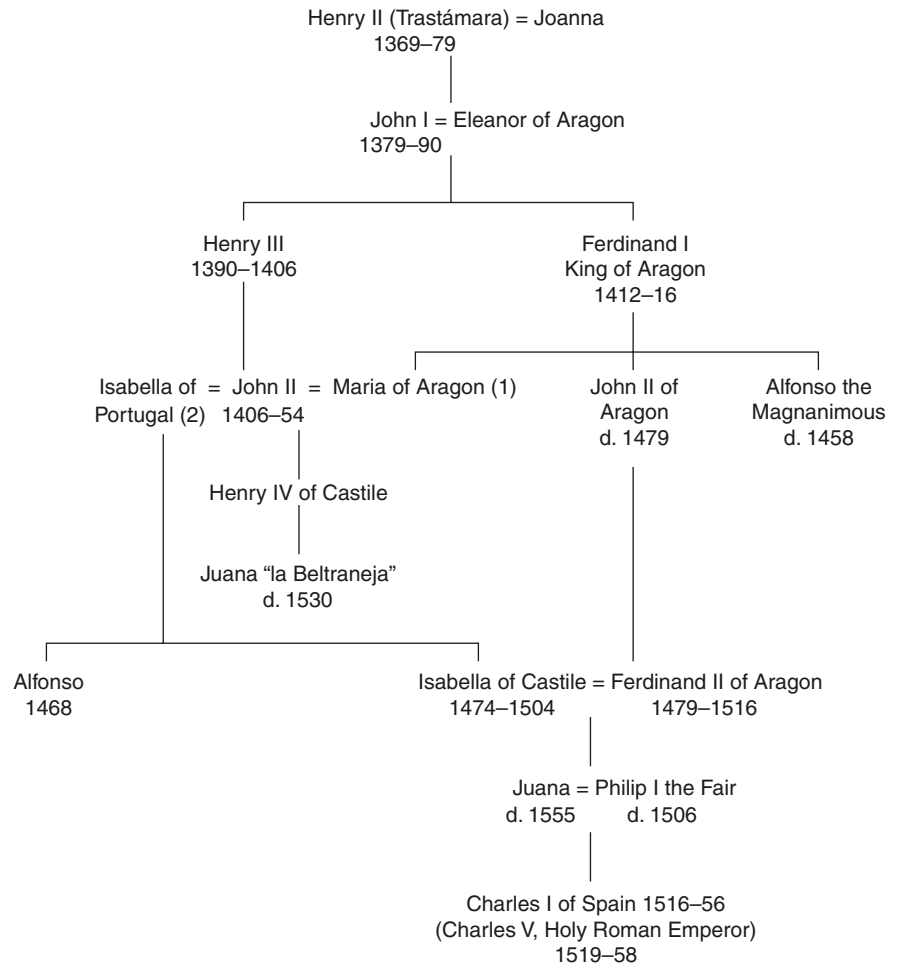
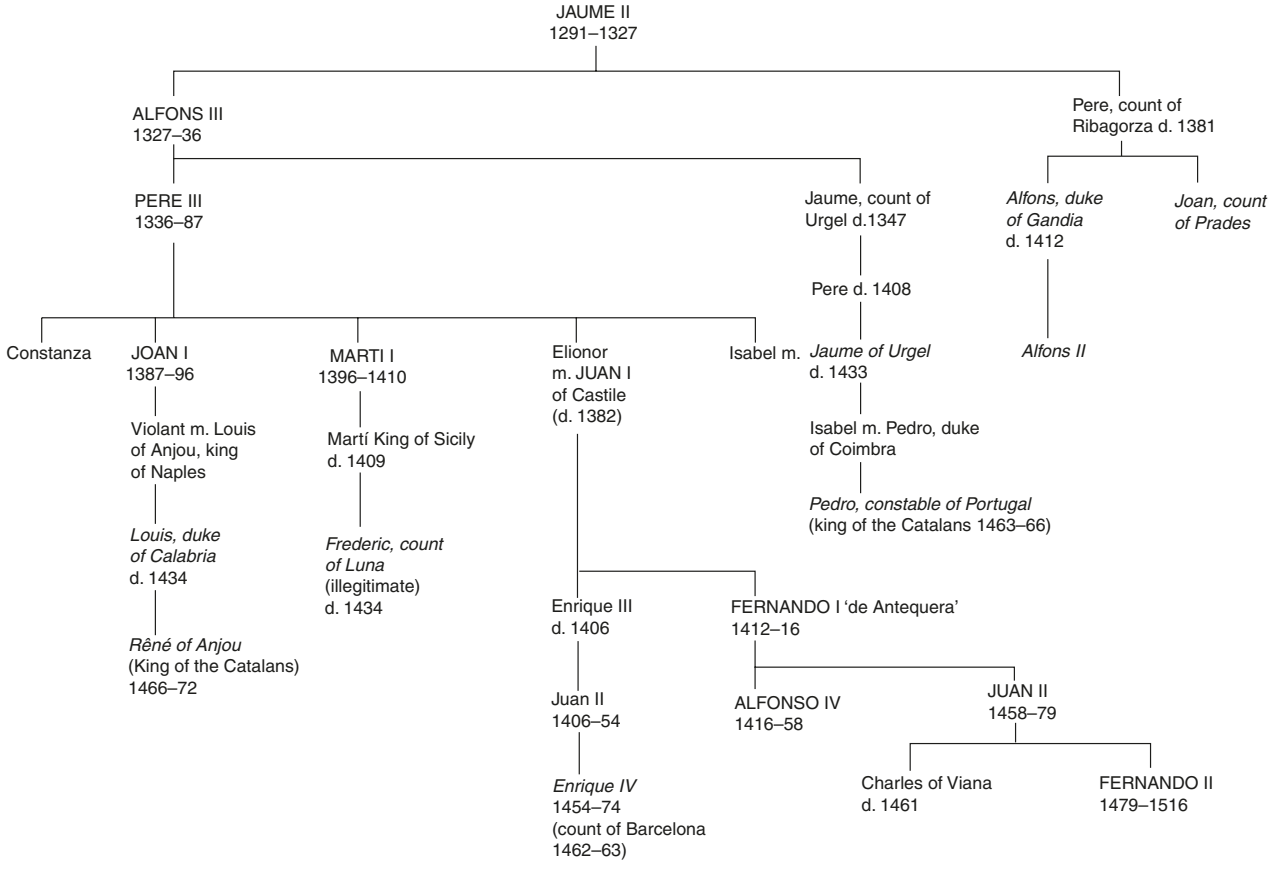


Image 1.2 Family tree showing the house of Castile from the reign of Henry II of Trastámara to the Habsburg Succession
Source: Andrew C. Hess, *The Forgotten Frontier: A History of the Sixteenth-Century Ibero-African Frontier*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1978

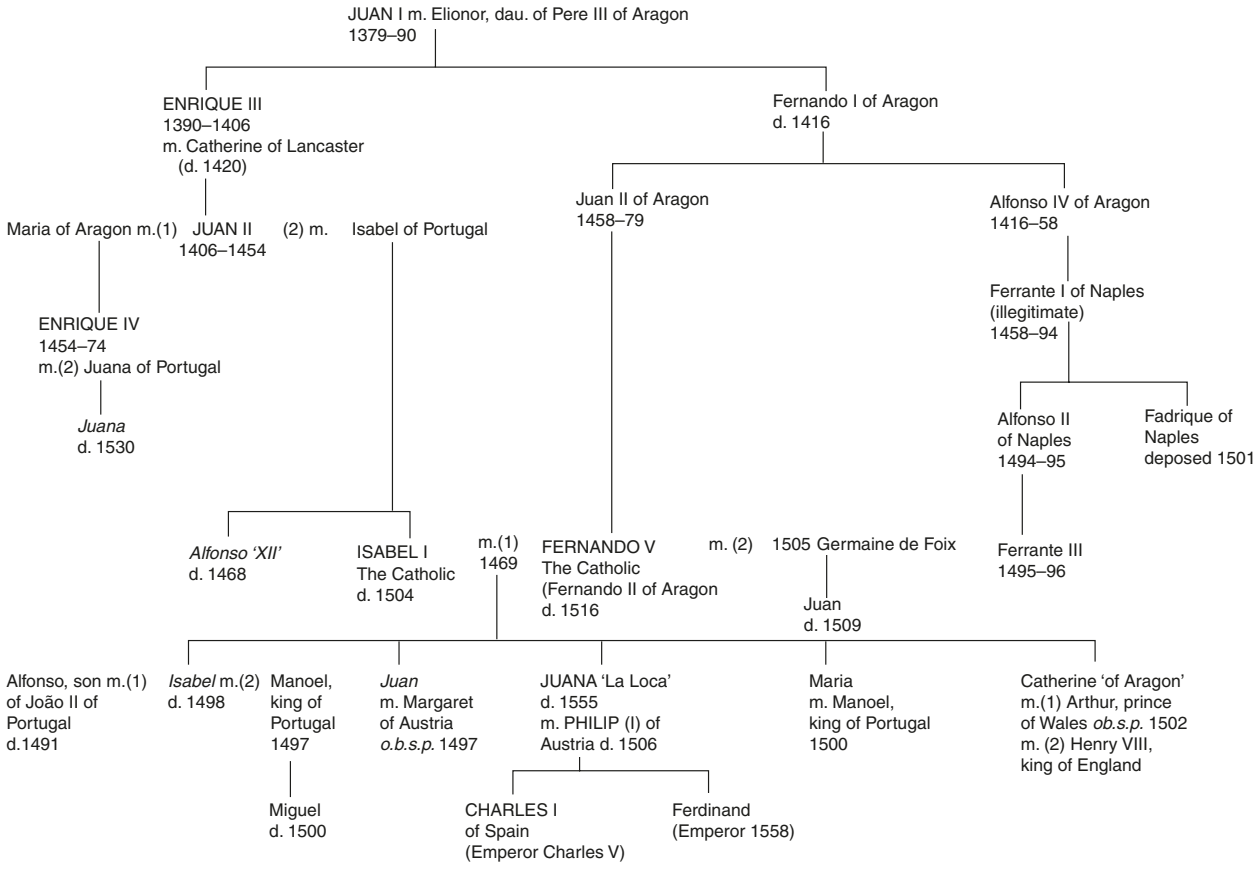
CIVIL STRIFE AND SETTLEMENT, 1385–1481

Their borders settled since the thirteenth century, relations between Aragon, Castile, and Portugal remained rather ambivalent throughout the fifteenth century. They supported one another in campaigns of the Reconquista—an endeavour that had long since become bogged down—and occasionally closed ranks in the face of foreign incursions related to the Hundred Years War. Yet they also fought amongst themselves when the occasion arose. As elsewhere, these wars did not stand in the way of the respective royal houses marrying into one another, a practice that eventually led to or foreshadowed future unions between the Iberian kingdoms. Thus



Images 1.3a & b Family trees showing the Aragonese Succession from Jaume II to Fernando II (a), and the Castilian Succession from Juan I to Charles I (b)

Source: J. N. *Hillgarth*, *The Spanish Kingdoms, 1250–1516*, Volume 2, 1410–1516, *Castilian Hegemony*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1978



Reigning monarchs of Castile in capitals. Claimants and possible heirs to the throne italicized.

Images 1.3 (continued)

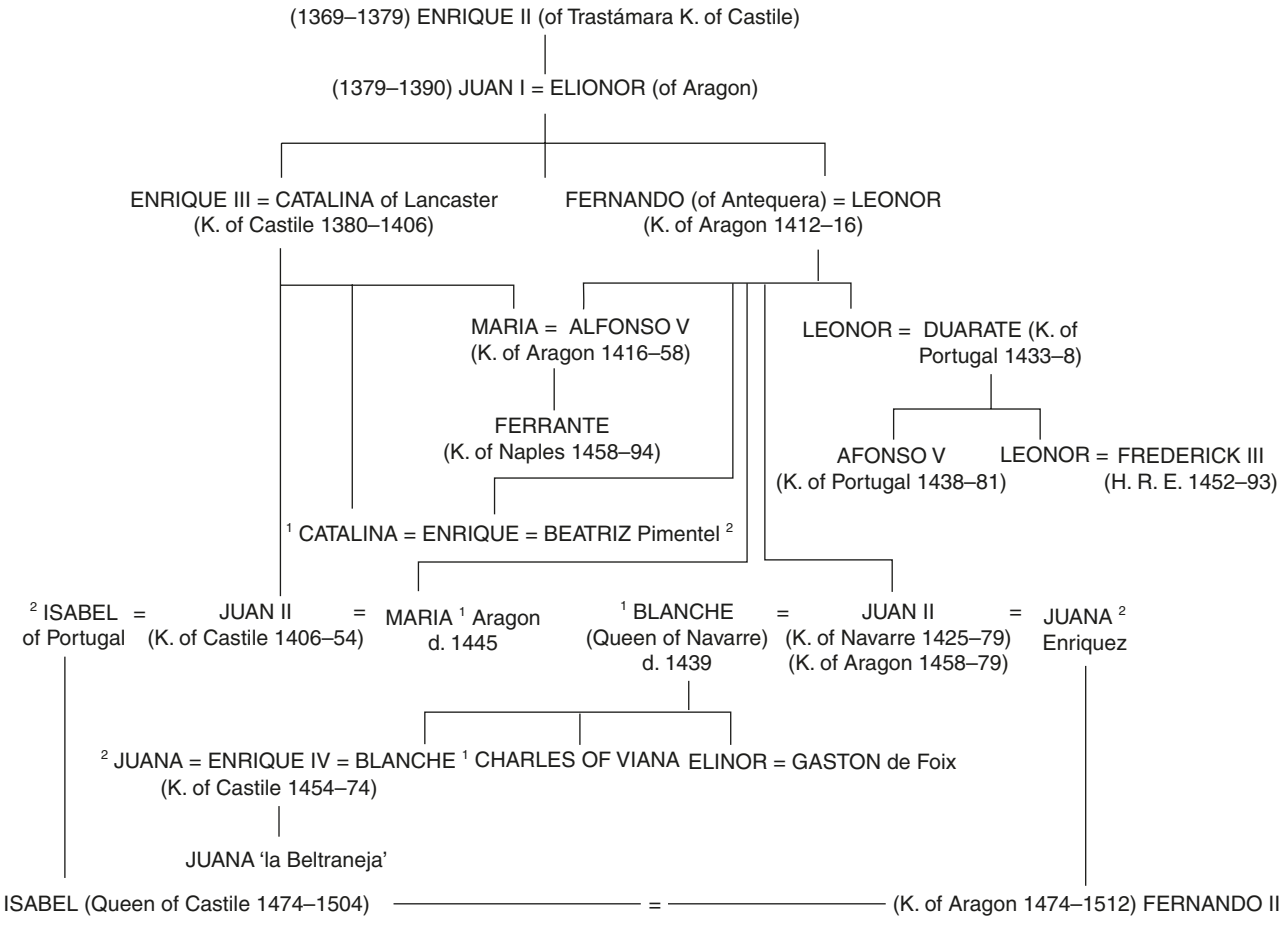


Image 1.4 Family tree showing the Houses of Trastámara and Antequera
Source: Alan Ryder, *The Wreck of Catalonia. Civil War in the Fifteenth Century*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2007

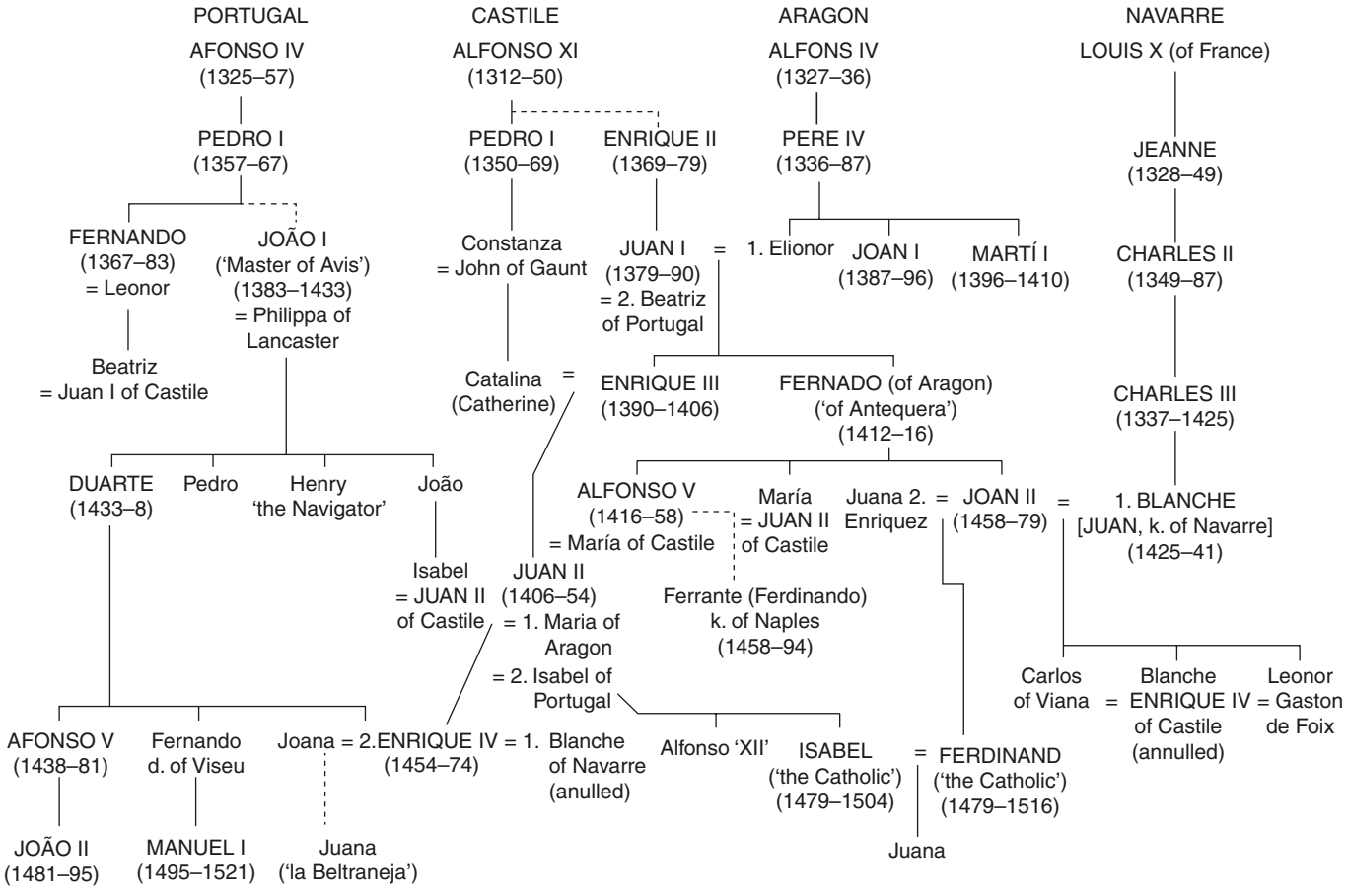


Image 1.5 Genealogical table showing the rulers of the Iberian kingdoms
Source: Christopher Allmand (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, Vol. VII, ca. 1415–1500, 1998

in 1109 Castile and Aragon were united for the first time through the marriage of Doña Urraca and Alfonso the Battler, though the ensuing difficulties rendered this a brief association. The first of these tendencies—the spirit of cooperation between the kingdoms—is captured in the commentary of the great Catalan chronicler Ramon Muntaner, referring to a 1284 episode involving the rulers of Aragon, Castile, Portugal, and Navarre: "If these four kings […] of Spain, who are one flesh and blood, could stay united, they would never lack resolve, and would look down on any other power in the world" (Muntaner 1971, 757).

The primary objective of these wars was not to wrest away territory from neighbouring kingdoms, but rather to gain a measure of peninsular hegemony by configuring an advantageous union, making the most of family ties between royal houses and the support of sympathetic factions. In this manner, Fernando I of Portugal tried unsuccessfully to incorporate Castile into his realms in 1369–1373, while Juan I of Castile likewise failed to seize Portugal in 1381–1385, despite the ongoing dynastic crisis in the neighbouring kingdom. Indeed, the decisive victory over the Castilians at Aljubarrota in 1385 paved the way to the consolidation of both the kingdom of Portugal and the new Avis dynasty. Not long after, in 1410, on the death of the heirless Martin I, the last in the line of kings of the Royal House of Aragon that had ruled the Crown of Aragon since 1137, another important dynastic change took place on the other side of the peninsula. The delegates appointed by the Cortes of Aragon, Catalonia and Valencia resolved through the Compromise of Caspe (1412) that of the four main candidates vying for the vacant throne, the one with the strongest claim was the Castilian *infante* Fernando. A nephew of the late king, uncle to Juan II of Castile (during whose minority he had acted as regent) and the lord of one of the largest estates in the peninsula, Fernando had acquired the nickname "of Antequera" following his taking of that city in 1410, which had given new impetus to the Reconquest. His accession to the throne as Fernando I of Aragon meant that the same Trastámara dynasty now ruled in both Castile and the Crown of Aragon, in the latter case through its junior branch.

During the fifteenth century, each one of the Christian Iberian kingdoms pursued its own course in domestic affairs, while at the same time maintaining close relations with the others through dynastic, economic, and cultural exchanges. Meanwhile, the Nasrid kingdom of Granada remained a vassal state and tributary of Castile, as it had been since 1246 (Elliott 1963, chs 1 and 2; Disney 2009, I, ch. 7; Hillgarth 1978, II; Ladero Quesada 1999; Ruiz 2007, ch. 5).

In Portugal, the long reign of the first Avis king João I (1385–1433) was one of changeable fortunes. Able to count on English support thanks to his marriage to Philippa of Lancaster, João renewed hostilities with Castile, at least until a truce in 1402 and a peace concluded in 1411 finally put an end to these wars for another half century. On the domestic front, he gradually managed to impose royal authority over the clergy, the nobility, and the cities. In a period when throughout Western Europe relations between the crown and the social elites were fraying, the Portuguese rulers managed to secure a considerable degree of control over the clergy, thanks to the *concordata* of 1427, and over noble estates through the *Lei mental* of 1434. That said, land disputes between the crown and the nobility continued, especially in the case of the houses of Braganza and Viseu-Beja. At the same time, João took the first step in the overseas expansion of the kingdom with the 1415 conquest of Ceuta,

an important junction on the trans-Saharan trade routes. Although his son and successor Duarte subsequently failed to capture Tangier in 1437, the numerous offspring of the dynasty's founder and his spouse embodied a felicitous moment in the rise of Portugal: "illustrious generation, high royal princes," as they were eulogised by Luís de Camões in *The Lusiads* (IV, 50).

Although the possession of Ceuta did not bring great riches, Afonso V (ruled 1438–1481) continued the expansion in the Maghreb. Before that, however, he had to face a challenge from his uncle and regent, Dom Pedro, who at the end of the young king's minority in 1446 raised an army against him, only to lose his life on the field of battle. Some years later, following Pope Nicholas V's call for a crusade in defence of Constantinople, Afonso prepared an expeditionary force, and, when the crusade failed to materialise, directed his forces southward, this time with greater success: between 1458 and 1471 he conquered the coastal outposts of Alcácer Ceguer, Arzila, and finally Tangier itself. Meanwhile, through individual initiatives under royal patronage, Fernão Gomes and other navigators continued to make headway along the African shore, reaching the equator in 1471. With the help of scientific and technical advances sponsored by Prince Henry the Navigator, these forward movements led to the growth of the traffic in slaves from the Gulf of Benin and West and Central Africa to Lisbon and, to a lesser extent, other parts of the peninsula. To celebrate these extraordinary feats of exploration and conquest, Afonso titled himself "king of Portugal and of the Algarves, of these shores and beyond the sea in Africa (de aquém é além mar)", earning the byname of "the African". Yet thereafter he shifted his focus to the peninsula, and Castile, which in the final years of the reign of Enrique IV (1454–1474) was on the threshold of civil war.

Of weak character, Enrique had given away a substantial portion of the royal domain to the Castilian magnates through the famous "mercedes enriqueñas". As a result, the crown lost not only economic resources but also quite manifestly its political authority, a situation that was only made worse by a dynastic struggle. Enrique's only daughter, Juana, was proclaimed heiress by the Cortes on her birth in 1462. It was suspected however that she was in fact the daughter of the royal favourite, Beltrán de la Cueva, which earned her the sobriquet of "la Beltraneja" from the noble faction opposed to Enrique. Led by the Archbishop of Toledo and the marquis of Villena, this faction forced the king to revert the succession in favour of his half-brother Alfonso. This was followed shortly after by the so-called "farce of Avila" (1465), in which an effigy of Enrique was stripped of the royal insignia and thrown to the ground. The conspirators proclaimed the 12-year-old Alfonso as king, but as he was most likely their pawn, he was unable to attract wider support. His death in 1468 paved the way for a more far-reaching solution: by the accords of Guisando (Avila) Enrique was accepted as king by his noble rivals, who in return secured the succession of his half-sister Isabel (sister of the late Alfonso), though she would forego the customary title of princess of Asturias. With Alfonso dead and Juana supplanted, the prospect arose of a marital union between the two heirs, who were also second cousins: Isabel (born in Castile in 1451 to a Castilian father and Portuguese mother) and Fernando (born in 1452 in Aragon, to Castilian parents and grandparents).

More than one possible match had been mooted for Isabel: the widowed Afonso V, an option favoured by Enrique IV; the Duke of Guyenne, Louis XI of France's brother; Fernando himself; and the Duke of York. Through a combination

of genuine feeling and calculation, Isabel resolutely opted for Fernando, a choice that the groom's father, Joan (king of Navarre since 1425 through his first wife Blanca, and of Aragon since 1458 having succeeded his older brother Alfonso V the Magnanimous) had been working towards with the aid of the Castilian faction that favoured the Aragonese solution. The figure of Joan II of Aragon, tireless and tenacious, and ably supported by his second wife Juana Enríquez (Fernando's mother), a member of the powerful Castilian lineage of the same name, cast a shadow over this entire period. Indeed, in terms of gravity and duration, the difficulties faced by Afonso of Portugal and the Castilian king Enrique were of small account next to those faced by Joan.

In contrast to his brother Alfonso, who had left behind his peninsular dominions in 1432 and settled in Naples after conquering that city and kingdom in 1443, Joan's focus was always on the peninsula, and above all on Navarre and Catalonia. In Navarre, he clashed with his first wife's son, Carlos de Viana, whose family ties with the House of Anjou did not escape the attention of the French ruling dynasty, and father and son were duly installed as heads of two opposing local factions, the *agramonteses* and the *beaumonteses*, respectively. As for Catalonia, the principality had been in turmoil for some time: the *remença* peasant movement roiled the countryside, while in Barcelona there were ongoing tensions between two groupings, the *biga* and the *busca*, representing the interests of the urban oligarchy and artisans respectively. The king was not above the fray and seemed inclined to resolve the *remença* issue in terms favourable to the peasants. Towards the end of 1460 the main organs of government, the Generalitat (the standing committee of the Cortes between its sittings) and the Municipal Council of Barcelona instituted the so-called "Representative Council of the Principality of Catalonia", through which the ruling classes mobilised in armed rebellion against Joan. The king was forced to accept the humiliating Capitulation of Vilafranca (1461), the terms of which, among other things, barred him from entering Catalonia without permission, and obliged him to name Carlos de Viana as lieutenant general. Viana's death a few months later (which made Fernando heir), surrounded the late prince with a saintly halo, and had the effect of galvanising Joan's opponents. But divisions soon surfaced among them, and in 1462 a civil war broke out that also encompassed a genuine peasant war in the northern part of the principality, between Barcelona and Girona. The war lasted until 1472, and saw the intervention of Louis XI of France, during whose reign, which had also begun in 1461, large new territories were incorporated into the royal domain, including Burgundy in 1477, Anjou, and Provence (Ryder 2007, part II).

The Council of Catalonia deposed Joan, and in his place offered the principality (with the corresponding title of count of Barcelona) to Enrique IV of Castile, who accepted it, swearing, through his representative, to uphold the laws of the principality in exchange for the oath of loyalty from his new subjects at the end of 1462. It was thus in the throes of a domestic struggle that the Catalan authorities for the first time instituted a dynastic union between Catalonia and Castile, both now ruled by the same monarch. They furthermore urged Enrique to also proclaim himself king of Aragon, a step that he was not prepared to take. The union was brief however, for less than a year later Enrique renounced his sovereignty over the principality as part of a series of agreements with Louis, who, worried by the possibility of a union between Castile and Aragon, made common cause with both kings at one time or

another. Meanwhile, Aragon and Valencia prudently stayed on the sidelines of the Catalan conflict. Pressed by want of money, Joan negotiated the Treaty of Bayonne with the French king, securing military aid in exchange for the exorbitant sum of 200,000 gold *escudos*. The Pyrenean counties of Rosselló and Cerdanya, strategically bordering France, were pledged as collateral, though Louis promptly violated the agreement by annexing them militarily. Thus, while the rebels handed over the Catalan principality to the Castilian king, to regain control Joan had to resign himself to significant, and potentially irretrievable, territorial losses.

Following Enrique's renunciation and the agreements between Joan II and Louis XI, the Council proclaimed the Portuguese *infante* Don Pedro as the new count of Barcelona. When the latter died in 1466, the same honour was extended to René of Anjou, the French king's brother. Neither Pedro not René were particularly effective rulers. Joan, on the other hand, though a septuagenarian and blinded by cataracts until a successful operation in 1468, continued his military advance from Aragon into Catalan territory, gaining adherents along the way, aided by suspicions that René was merely preparing the ground for the annexation of the principality by France, as had already happened with the Pyrenean counties. Joan finally prevailed in 1472, and, in contrast to the authoritarian tendencies that marked the early years of his reign, issued a general pardon for the rebels by the generous terms of the Capitulation of Pedralbes. He also confirmed the Principality's existing laws and constitutions, voiding in the process the Capitulation of Vilafranca, and entered Barcelona in triumph. The experience of these eventful years would leave a deep impression on the young Fernando, especially that of being besieged in Girona with his mother in 1462. Thus, thanks to both his parents, Prince Fernando was already seasoned in the struggle for securing the supremacy of the crown by the time of his betrothal to Isabel of Castile.

No sooner had the marriage agreements been signed in Cervera, in March 1469, than other problems and perils presented themselves: Isabel, confined to a castle by her half-brother, the king, had to be rescued by a group of loyalists, while Fernando, coming from Zaragoza, crossed hostile Castilian territory with a handful of trusty followers disguised as merchants. The wedding, discreet and austere, took place in a nobleman's house in Valladolid on 19 October 1469. The degree of consanguinity between the bride and groom required a papal dispensation, absent which the Archbishop of Toledo supplied a fraudulent one. The genuine document would only be issued two years later.

Enrique IV's death in 1474 cleared the way for two opposing claims to the Castilian throne: while on the one hand Isabel had herself proclaimed queen, as mentioned above, a year later, Afonso V of Portugal, a widower, married Juana (la Beltraneja), his niece, with the intention of assuming the regency of Castile until his wife's coming of age. This would have paved the way for his ambition of establishing a dynastic union between the two kingdoms under Portuguese hegemony, an objective made more attainable by his being a cousin of the king of Aragon. Newly married, and to make good Juana's claim against Isabel, Afonso invaded Castile in 1475, but was forced to withdraw following the battle of Toro in early 1476—in which the Castilian army was led by Fernando—despite its inconclusive outcome. That would be the last attempt to bring about a union of Castile and Portugal by military means, and allowed Fernando to secure the Castilian throne for his wife. It was

a fleeting moment of triumph however, for a Castilian civil war flared up between the supporters of Isabel and Juana, in which Afonso of Portugal duly intervened—having been dissuaded from his intention of abdicating and retiring to the Holy Land as a hermit. Beyond the dynastic dispute, the Luso-Castilian conflict was also a by-product of the growing rivalry in maritime expansion along the African coastline, the disputed dominion over the uninhabited Azorean archipelago, and even more so the Canary Islands (not yet completely subjugated).

The turning point came in 1479. Joan II died in January, making Fernando the ruler of the dominions of the Crown of Aragon; in the same month, peace was signed with Louis XI, by then too preoccupied with Burgundy, and a long-term truce was agreed with the now distant René of Anjou; and in September, the Luso-Castilian Treaty of Alcáçovas (ratified in Toledo the following year) brought an end to the civil war and the war of succession. By the terms of the treaty, Afonso renounced his claims on Castile and the Canary Islands, but he reserved the right to mount crusading campaigns in the Fez region; Juana, the focal point of the conflict, was its biggest loser, to the extent that the papal dispensation originally issued for her marriage to Afonso was now revoked by Sixtus IV, and she had to resign herself to entering the convent of Coimbra; Castile recognised Portugal's claim to Madeira and the Azores, was granted rights over the section of the continent facing the Canary Islands (not as an extension of the Reconquest, but in recognition of the supposed Visigothic dominion over the former Roman province of Mauretania Tingitana) and renounced further maritime advances along the African coast, to the dismay of the merchants of Lower Andalusia. Finally, various marriages between the respective princes and *infantes* were projected based on an elaborate guardianship scheme known as "tercerías".

Two further events helped to clear the air. The previous year saw the birth of Juan, Fernando and Isabel's second son, who became heir to both at the expense of the first-born, Isabel; and in 1481, Afonso of Portugal died and was succeeded by his son João II, who, having previously collaborated closely with his father, was now inclined to mend relations with his Iberian relatives and neighbours. These developments would prove to be the start of a new epoch for both Iberian monarchies, whose vigorous new rulers, ranging in age from 26 to 30 years, had enough experience of government to appreciate the need for strengthening the foundations of royal authority and justice.

ROYAL PRE-EMINENCE AND TERRITORIAL EXPANSION, 1481–1494

The first question that Fernando and Isabel had had to face was how to approach the joint government of their respective kingdoms. To begin with, the Capitulation of Cervera clearly envisaged a subordinate role in Castilian affairs for Fernando. This was also manifest in the rituals of Isabel's proclamation as queen of Castile in Segovia unaccompanied by her husband: in the procession through the streets of the city (an act partly in lieu of the coronation, which had fallen into disuse in Castile) a courtier walked ahead of the queen bearing an unsheathed upright sword (Ruiz 2012, 316–322; Pérez Samper 2004, 142–147).

The sword was a symbol of the royal power to administer justice, and hence rarely flaunted by a married queen, it being held that, while she might be a vessel for

the transmission of dynastic rights, a queen could not personally administer justice, a prerogative of the male consort. The debate that arose over the issue did not mitigate the gesture however, and subsequently upon Fernando's arrival in Segovia from Zaragoza, the so-called Concord of Segovia was concluded in January 1475. Isabel was thus acknowledged as "queen and proprietor" of Castile (in other words, she held full sovereignty), no less than Fernando was to be in Aragon; and yet he was not to be merely the Castilian king consort, but an acting king, while she would only be queen consort in Aragon. According to the established protocol, Fernando's name would precede that of Isabel, followed by the cumulative enumeration of their kingdoms and domains, while the arms of Castile and León would come before those of Sicily and Aragon in all official documents and coinage; appointments to Castilian offices would be Isabel's exclusive right, while justice would be administered jointly or separately depending on the circumstances. It is possible that Isabel considered it necessary to have an acting king given the urgent need to rein in a still restive Castilian nobility. Indeed, a few months later, with war against Portugal imminent, Isabel abrogated the accords in empowering Fernando to act freely and with full authority as if she were present herself. He returned the favour in 1481, on Isabel's first visit to the Crown of Aragon, issuing a similar patent authorising her to intervene in the affairs of those territories, although she scarcely made any use of it. Thus, a junior branch of the Trastámara line, engendered by Fernando de Antequera in Aragon, assumed the Castilian throne, hitherto occupied by the main branch.

Fernando was proclaimed "king of Castile and León" in Segovia, the fifth of that name. Both monarchs duly wrote to the cities of Castile and those of the Crown of Aragon to inform them of the new state of affairs: the respective kingdoms were henceforth "united and joined under one dominion and royal crown". Not long after, in July 1475, Fernando made his first testament, in which he asked his father that the Princess Isabel, his only daughter at the time (born in 1470), should succeed him in the kingdoms of Aragon and Sicily, "because of the great profit that ensues [from the said kingdoms] being joined to those of Castile and León" (Pérez Samper 2004, 166; Hillgarth 1978, I, 485).

The union was consolidated with Fernando's accession to the thrones of the Crown of Aragon in 1479, as the second by that name. The municipal aldermen of Valencia celebrated the consummation of the union as "Spanya juncta", while the Barcelona notary Miquel Carbonell, scion of a family of humanists and royal secretaries, referred to Fernando as "lord, king and prince of the Spains (las Spanyas)". The chroniclers made frequent use of this expression in a laudatory sense, as in the case of the Castilian Diego de Valera in his *Crónica abreviada de España* (1482), in which he praised the king and queen for having brought into being "well-nigh the monarchy of all the Spains", while the Catalan Joan Margarit dedicated his voluminous *Paralipomenon Hispaniae* (not published until 1545) to the royal couple, personifications of the Roman *Hispania Citerior* and *Hispania Ulterior*, now happily reunited. While the humanists thus harked backed to Rome, the proponents of neo-Gothicism evoked parallels with the unity of Visigothic kingdom. Thus, if at the beginning of her reign chroniclers had lavished praise on Isabel for having restored justice following the disorders of Enrique's reign, duly exaggerating the latter's failings, thenceforth the royal couple were hailed as the restorers of ancient unity (Pérez Samper 2004, 236, 247–250; Tate 1955, 84–85, 1970, 148–150; Fernández

Albaladejo 2007, 291–298; Kagan 2009, 43–47; Álvarez Junco y De la Fuente 2013, 65–72, 79).

The term "Spain" or "the Spains", the vernacular form of the Latin *Hispania*, which had long since had geographic, historical, and cultural connotations, now acquired a distinctly political sense. To be sure, Portugal was not included. This deficiency was seemingly acknowledged when the Royal Council came to consider the proper title to be assumed by the monarchs. Hernando del Pulgar, royal secretary, and from 1482 the queen's official chronicler, explained it thus in the *Crónica* that he began writing at that time on the subject of their joint reign, in a passage dealing with the immediate aftermath of Fernando's accession in 1479:

> The matter of their titles was also discussed in the King and the Queen's Council: some members of the council were of the opinion that they should style themselves Kings of Spain, for having [he] acceded to the kingdoms and lordships of Aragon, they were lords of the greatest part of it. But in the end it was determined not to proceed thus, and in all their letters they titled themselves as follows: "Don Fernando and Doña Isabel by the grace of God, king and queen of Castile, of León, of Aragon, of Sicily, of Toledo, of Valencia, of Galicia, of the Mallorcas, of Seville, of Sardinia, of Cordoba, of Corsica, of Murcia, of Jaén, of the Algarves, of Algeciras, of Gibraltar, count and countess of Barcelona, lords of Biscay and Molina, duke and duchess of Athens and of Neopatras, count and countess of Rosselló and of Cerdanya, marquis and marchioness of Oristano and Gociano, etc."
>
> (Pulgar 1780, 150–151)

This list enumerated the kingdoms and dominions without differentiating between those brought by one spouse or the other. The order was determined by rank or relative antiquity, and as it would be thenceforth preserved with only slight modifications, it constituted yet another indication that the disparate realms and domains formed a whole under the aegis of common monarchs. Yet there was an essential difference between the two aggregations. The kingdoms of the Crown of Castile shared certain juridical features: the same laws (notwithstanding various local privileges or *fueros*, such as those of Sepúlveda or Cuenca), the citizenship (*naturaleza*) of all their inhabitants, thanks to which all could aspire to offices in any one kingdom, and, finally, the fact that all the kingdoms or their representatives came together in a common parliament, or Cortes of Castile. The individual kingdoms existed as such only nominally. On the other hand, the dominions of the Crown of Aragon, both Iberian and Italic, had their own laws (as well as strictly local *fueros*, such as those of Teruel and Albarracín in Aragon), their particular *naturalezas*, and their respective institutions and parliaments.

In any case, the list did not include Portugal. Yet the marriage alliances foreseen in the Treaty of Alcáçovas-Toledo were designed to extend the dynastic union to the entirety of the Iberian peninsula in the following generation. Two of Fernando and Isabel's daughters (Isabel and María) were matched with Portuguese spouses: Isabel, the first-born, married Prince Afonso (1491), and following his death, Manuel I (1495), who had spent two years of his youth at the Spanish court, in fulfilment of the terms of the above mentioned "tercerías"; he in turn married María, the last

but one of the children, following her older sister's death (1500). Still, the sought-after union would not materialise until 1580, when Philip II, the son of Charles V and Isabel of Portugal, also became king of Portugal. Even then, the long list of titles remained in use, with Portugal added to it. At the same time, the expressions *Hispaniarum rex* or *Hispaniarum et Indiarum rex* swiftly made their way onto coins, seals, and other official documents.

Fernando and Isabel's monarchy was a composite one, the product of the aggregation of territories, which was nothing uncommon at the time. The late medieval Crown of Aragon itself was already such a polity, and the new monarchy resulting from their marriage was likewise assembled through accumulation: Castile and the kingdoms of the Crown of Aragon were joined together through a union *aeque principaliter*, which meant that each one of the kingdoms preserved its own laws and institutions. Inheritances and conquests, or rather, the dynastic rights that were continuously invoked and frequently defended by military or other means were both the foundation and the organisational model of the monarchy (Elliott 2009; Cardim 2014, 29–47; Gil 2016, ch. 2).

Juridically equal under joint monarchs, Castile and the Crown of Aragon nevertheless differed noticeably in more than one sense. To begin with, there were demographic disparities: Castile's population of more than five million dwarfed those of Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia, which together added up to a million inhabitants (roughly also the size of Portugal's population). The economic divergence was just as striking, between the dynamism of Castilian cities and Catalan prostration, mostly caused by the protracted civil war. Finally, there were differences in political character. To be sure, all the Iberian kingdoms, Portugal included, had a common political culture firmly rooted in Roman law, with shared principles of authority, obedience, order, and the common good, as well as juridical instruments through which these were articulated; the only exception was Aragon, where Germanic law retained a vitality that was unusual in southern Europe. Even so, the difference between Castile and the Crown of Aragon was appreciable above all in the sphere of relations between the crown and the representative assemblies: royal prerogative was wider in Castile in relation to legislative and fiscal matters, while on the other hand the Cortes of the kingdoms of the Crown of Aragon (especially those of Aragon and of Catalonia) had a significantly greater capacity to influence royal policy. The contractualist or "pactist" conception of power in the Crown of Aragon was a distinguishing feature and was pointed out as such by many local jurists and various foreign diplomats and observers (see Chapter 2 of this volume).

Differences notwithstanding, both styles of government had experienced their travails during the preceding reigns, and it remained to be seen how they would evolve during the new era that beckoned. In Castile, it was quickly evident that the powerful municipal corporations, eager to restrain the nobility and secure domestic peace that would promote economic development, supported the monarchs, so that the Cortes became an essential tool of government, especially in the opening years of their reign. The Cortes of Castile assembled successively in Madrigal (1476) and Toledo (1480) formulated a wide-ranging legislative programme: putting the depleted royal treasury back on a sound footing, the recovery of alienated royal incomes, the formation of a rural police to bring order to the countryside (the Santa Hermandad), and the reorganisation of the Royal Council, being among the most

important measures. Between 1476 and 1494 Fernando also took advantage of favourable circumstances to assume the Grand Masterships of the wealthy military orders of Santiago, Calatrava, and Alcántara, and tried and failed to do the same with the order of Montesa in the Crown of Aragon, an aim realised by Philip II a century later.

In Portugal, João II proceeded with the same basic objectives in mind. His complaint on assuming the throne, that his father's prodigality had left him in possession of nothing but the kingdom's highways, was undoubtedly an exaggeration in comparison with the depredations wrought upon Castile by Enrique's notorious handouts, but it was meant to signal a new era. Moreover, the king obliged all the nobles, the governing elites of the kingdom and the cities to swear an oath of obedience to him, which was done with all due pomp and ceremony at the first Cortes of his reign in Évora, in 1481. The very same parliament promulgated a series of anti-seigniorial laws, and shortly after, in 1484, the king acted resolutely to bring an end to the enduring resistance of the Houses of Braganza and Beja-Viseu, the respective heads of which had conspired against him: the first was executed, the latter assassinated by the king himself. The crown already boasted the mastership of the military order of Christ although it would have to wait until 1550 to secure those of Avis and Santiago (Cunha 1990).

Fernando and Isabel dealt harshly with those nobles who had opposed them in the War of Castilian Succession, ordering their castles and strongholds demolished, especially in Galicia. But they balanced this with a policy of favours and pardons, and facilitated the establishment of what would become the great noble houses of early modern Spain, the duchies of Alba, Infantado, and Medinaceli. They also endeavoured to be physically present in many of their territories as the best means of entrenching royal authority. Their long stay in Andalusia in 1477–1478 was only a foreshadowing of what would become a characteristic feature of their reign, the constant movement across the length and breadth of their domains, above all Castile. Their court was never sedentary, unlike the Portuguese, which, although the itinerant habit could not be shed forthwith, was most frequently based in Lisbon.

In Catalonia, the most pressing problem was the question of the *remença*. A second peasant war broke out in 1484, once again in the region between Barcelona and Girona, which gave rise to two factions: a moderate one led by Francesc Verntallat, and a radical one led by Pere Joan Sala, which called for the abolition of all feudal dues. Fernando continued his father's policy, and with the backing of the former group issued the Sentence of Guadalupe (1486), which abolished the so-called "bad practices" (*mals usos*, abusive feudal labour obligations or corvées), allowed peasants to cultivate seigniorial land in exchange for long-term leases, and earmarked compensation for wartime losses. Conversely, in Aragon, where the peasant uprising was considerably weaker, Fernando confirmed the so-called absolute power of the lords over their vassals through the Sentence of Celada of 1497. Meanwhile, in Catalonia, the restraint observed in the *remença* issue also characterised institutional reform. The landmark Cortes of Barcelona of 1480 confirmed the constitutional character of the principality's juridical order and reinforced it with the law of the *Observança*. Moreover, Fernando established a system of sortition, or appointment by ballot for municipal officials in the City Council of Barcelona as well as the Generalitat.

Restoring the old institutions to good order and doing so while re-establishing the principle of royal pre-eminence is the best way to sum up the shared aims and comparable achievements of João, Isabel and Fernando. Resolve, political skill, and necessity all came together in this approach. Thus, the administration of justice was strengthened with the expansion of the system of law courts, staffed by educated jurists and *letrados*: the *Desembargo do Paço*, the *Chancillería* of Toledo (transferred to Granada in 1505) and the *audiencias*. Law codes were compiled with the same end in mind: the Castilian *Ordenamiento* put together by the jurist Alonso Díaz de Montalvo (1484) and the Manueline *Ordenações* (1512–1514), which replaced Afonso's *Ordenações* of 1446, being the most signal examples. A new special tribunal of the Holy Office was established in Castile and Aragon in 1478, though not until 1536 in Portugal. Finally, the Council of Aragon was created in 1494. With its seat at the court, it was the supreme judicial and administrative body of the territories of the Crown of Aragon, and, enjoying the same status as that of Castile, it underlined the composite character of the Spanish monarchy. Both Councils were the kernel of what has been termed the polysynodial or conciliar system of government, which

Image 1.6 Pillar called "Saint Augustin", erected by the Portuguese explorer Diogo Cão in southern Angola, 1486
Source: Lisbon. Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga (MNAA)/Getty Images

was completed with the extension of the office of the viceroy (an office with origins in Aragon-Catalonia) to the non-Castilian Spanish domains, and would also later be used by the Portuguese in India.

For all of their complexity, political and administrative reforms did not prevent the territorial consolidation from following its course. Portugal's extraordinary maritime expansion continued apace: in 1481, Diogo Cão placed the first *padrão*—the stone pillar with the arms of Portugal as a sign of taking possession of new dominions—in the region of the Congo River; in 1482, the fort of Saõ Jorge da Mina was built in the Gulf of Guinea (thanks to which João could add "lord of Guinea" to his list of titles); in 1488 Bartolomeu Dias rounded the Cape of Good Hope; in 1498 Vasco da Gama reached Calicut; and in 1500 Álvares Cabral landed on the shores of Brazil. The spirit of conquest and the desire for territorial dominion were by no means absent from Portuguese thinking, and so it is significant in that respect that the acquisition of inhabited islands or lands was not officially designated as a campaign of "conquest". To be sure, most these settlements were military or trading outposts, at least in part a consequence of the metropole's scarce human resources. There was also an active Christianising mission, as well as diplomatic outreach: João II struck an agreement with the king of Congo, Nzinga a Nkuwu, who received military and technical aid, converted to Christianity in 1491 (taking the name of João I), and sent the sons of the local nobility to study in Lisbon. On the other side of the scale, the traffic in slaves increased exponentially, from the mainland as well as the island of São Tome (Cardim 2014, 34–37; Disney 2009, II, 66, 77–79, 110–114).

Spanish priorities lay much closer to home: the recovery of the counties of Rosselló and Cerdanya, the loss of which had so mortified old Joan II, and the conquest of the Nasrid kingdom of Granada, which would represent the consummation of the Reconquest. Fernando's inclination was to turn his attention first to the northern counties, and with that in mind he requested financial aid from the Cortes of Aragon convoked in 1484. However, on Isabel's insistence the royal couple finally resolved to direct their efforts towards Granada, as a joint Castilian-Aragonese enterprise. At the start of the century, it was the Portuguese who had their eyes on this prize, but it was the Castilian King Enrique IV who made the first foray in 1455–1458. Now, after the Muslims broke a truce in 1478, Granada, with its 350,000 inhabitants and rough, mountainous terrain, became the overriding objective, even more so once the Pope declared it a crusade. The war was long and costly: it lasted from 1482 to 1492, required the mobilisation of large military formations, and consisted mainly of a series of attritional sieges of towns and cities, in which artillery played an important role (as it had done in the Portuguese conquests in the Maghreb). It was helped along however by internal dissension within the ruling Nasrid family, between the emir Abul-Hassan, his brother and successor, Muhammad "el Zagal", and the former's son, Abu Abd Allah (Boabdil). The Spanish monarchs finally entered the city of Granada on 2 January 1492. This event had a resonance far beyond the limits of Iberia, celebrated throughout Christendom, where it was perceived as compensation for the loss of Constantinople in 1453.

The nominally Christian kingdom of Granada was incorporated into the Crown of Castile and was given Castilian laws. In addition, Fernando and Isabel extracted from the Pope the right to nominate candidates for bishoprics in the newly conquered territory, a right they also secured for the Canaries and the New World, a cornerstone

of the Spanish monarchs' regalist policy. However, the assimilation and conversion of the new Granadine subjects would be a far from straightforward process (Ladero Quesada 1989; Coleman 2003).

In the military encampment of Santa Fe, before the walls of Granada, the royal couple signed agreements regarding two Atlantic ventures: with Alonso Fernández de Lugo for prosecuting the conquest of the Canary Islands, and with Cristopher Columbus, a navigator and adventurer of Italian origin who had come from Portugal, to follow through with his stubbornly pursued project of reaching Asia by sailing west. The couple proceeded thence on a triumphal passage across their domains as far as Barcelona. The time had come to turn their attention to Rosselló and Cerdanya, while also overseeing the government of Catalonia itself. However, their stay in the capital of the principality was marred by an attempt on Fernando's life in December 1492, which left him gravely wounded. The would-be assassin was Joan de Canyamés, a peasant described as mentally unstable in the official sources, although it was believed in some quarters that he was linked to the *remença* movement, its flame apparently still flickering. Fernando survived, and promptly took advantage of a favourable international climate to recover the Pyrenean counties. The king of France, Charles VIII, wished to conclude treaties with the Holy Roman Emperor, England, and Spain in order to concentrate on his planned Italian campaign. That led to the Treaty of Barcelona of January 1493, which allowed Fernando to recover both counties without having to pay the sum agreed three decades prior, albeit at the cost of forsaking his Trastámara relative, Ferrante, Alfonso V's successor as king of Naples, who stood in the way of French ambitions in Italy. Meanwhile, news reached Barcelona in March that Columbus had achieved what he set out to do, or at least that is what the navigator himself claimed during his audience with the kings in that city.

Thus, scarcely had two long-sought objectives been attained—Granada and the Pyrenean counties—when new horizons, not only more distant but previously unimagined, hove into view. In 1493, as the preparations for Columbus' second voyage were being made, Pope Alexander VI, of Valencian extraction and sympathetic to Spanish interests, issued the bull *Inter Caetera*, supplemented by a further three in the months that followed. These papal bulls, following earlier precedents (those of Ireland, or Portuguese expansion along the African coast), entrusted the Spanish rulers with the evangelisation of the peoples of the newly discovered lands and those yet to be discovered, and by the authority vested in the pope as *dominus mundi*, granted them temporal dominion to facilitate that task. Furthermore, a line was fixed 100 leagues west of the Cape Verde islands, demarcating the Spanish and Portuguese zones of expansion, the Canaries being excepted. Building on this provision, a year later the Spanish and Portuguese monarchs signed the Treaty of Tordesillas that formalised the division of the overseas regions, moving the line of separation to 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde islands. For the moment, the astonishment produced by the news from the Caribbean paled before the far more lucrative trade in spices that the Portuguese had opened up with the Indian Ocean.

The Treaty of Tordesillas contained further provisions dividing up the region of the Maghreb, continuing in the vein of the delimitations of the peninsula itself into reconquest zones belonging to Portugal, Castile, and Aragon respectively, in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries (Almizra, Monteagudo, Torrellas). The treaty

essentially apportioned to Portugal the region of the kingdom of Fez, and to Spain that of the kingdom of Tlemcen, to the east. Portugal already had possessions in its allotted area, but Spain did not, since previous Catalan and Mallorcan incursions had not been followed up or consolidated. This mutually agreed demarcation had momentous consequences for both monarchies, and for the Spanish in particular it opened up a new frontier for expansion in a strategically important region. The first to be occupied was the abandoned settlement of Melilla (1497), followed by Mezalquivir, Orán, Algeirs, Tripoli, and other towns and islets in the period from 1505–1510 (Hess 1978, 31–44; Vincent 2013, 247–250, 255). At the same time, the conquest of the island of Tenerife by Fernández de Lugo in 1496 brought the entire archipelago under Spanish control, in this early flush designated as kingdom of the Canaries (Fernández-Armesto 1982).

Meanwhile, an accommodation was reached over Navarre, another regional and international flashpoint. After various vicissitudes following Joan II's death, the succession devolved to Catherine de Foix and Juan III de Albret (1494), who, by virtue of their possessions in the south of France, were subjects of the French king, and thus outside the Spanish orbit. Plans to form marriage alliances with Fernando and Isabel having been abandoned, the latter recognised Catherine and Juan as monarchs, which paved the way for their coronation in Pamplona in 1494. The kingdom thenceforth existed as a de facto Spanish protectorate as a means of ensuring its neutrality.

DYNASTIC CRISES AVOIDED, NEW DOMINIONS SECURED, 1494–1516

The invasion of Italy by Charles VIII in 1494, to vindicate rights claimed by the Anjou over Milan and Naples, marked the start of a new era in European politics. In this new phase, Fernando II of Aragon would elevate himself into one of the principal actors on the international stage. If the short-lived Ottoman seizure of Otranto in 1480 had fleetingly drawn his attention towards Naples in support of Ferrante, now, in very different circumstances, he intervened directly in Italian affairs, thus reviving the old medieval Catalan-Aragonese tradition. To this end, and already assured of Rosselló and Cerdanya, he returned to the traditional anti-French policy of the Crown of Aragon, in contrast to the far greater understanding commonly found between the French and the Castilians. Fernando proceeded thus on two separate fronts. On the one hand, he championed the Holy League formed in 1495 by the Holy See, the empire, Venice, and other states to counter the French invasion, which achieved its objective. On the other hand, his marriage strategy was designed to serve the same purpose. Thus in 1489 an agreement was reached for his younger daughter, Catalina, to marry the English Prince Arthur, and in 1495 a double marriage took place establishing a bond with the Holy Roman Empire: Prince Juan, the heir to the throne, married the Archduchess Margaret of Austria, while the *infanta* Juana wed Archduke Philip the Handsome, heir to the Houses of Burgundy and Austria. These were the foundations of a coherent foreign policy, based on the strengthening of diplomatic relations with England, Burgundy, and the empire with the aim of containing France—an approach that would prove enduring. The designs of both in-laws, Maximilian and Fernando, yielded fruit much earlier and had a

more lasting effect on the future of Spain than any of the various marriage alliances formed with the Portuguese royal house.

It was then, towards the end of 1496, that Pope Alexander VI conceded to Fernando and Isabel the title of Catholic monarchs, which they would henceforward make their own. The title crowned a long series of signal achievements, summarised in the bull *Si convenit* as justification for the papal concession: pacification of their kingdoms, the conquest of Granada, the expulsion of the Jews, the conversion of the New World natives, and help rendered to the Holy See in the Italian Wars. The prestige conferred by the title only encouraged those who saw Fernando as the saviour of Christianity, the conqueror of Jerusalem, and even in messianic terms, as the emperor of the last days.

This heady climate was overshadowed by two Iberian royal deaths. In 1495, João II died and was succeeded by Manuel I (ruled 1495–1521), whose path to the throne was cleared by the deaths in turn of João's only son, Afonso, and of Manuel's five brothers, in addition to overcoming João's clear preference for his bastard son, Jorge.

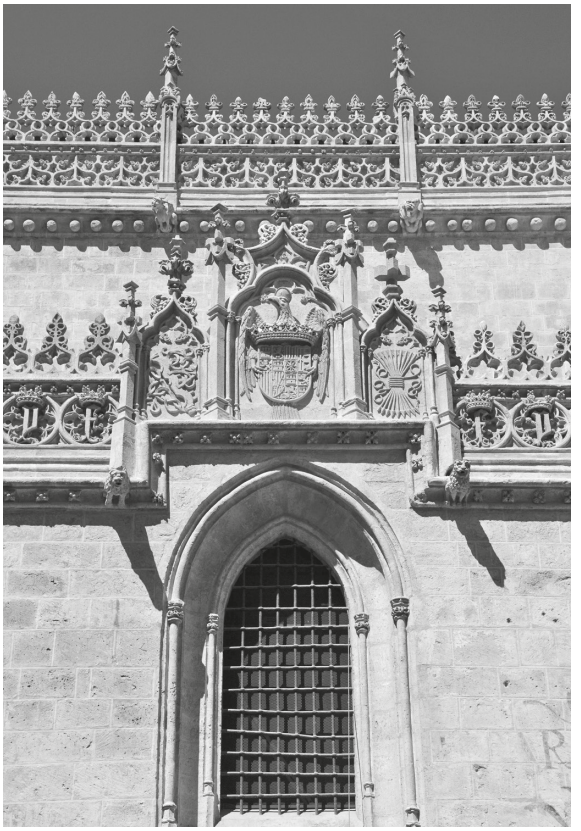


Image 1.7 Façade of the royal chapel in Granada, Spain, with the coat of arms of Ferdinand and Isabella. Includes Navarre
Source: Photo by Dorota Strzelecka (Own work)/Wikimedia Commons [CC BY-SA 4.0]

This remarkable series of events lent him an aura of divine protection, of being a new King David or "the Fortunate", as he was named by the chronicler Damião de Góis sometime later. Manuel, ably supported by nobles and merchants, lived up to this image by promoting new conquests—especially that of Goa in 1510 by Afonso de Albuquerque, which enabled him to consolidate the recently founded viceroyalty, now raised to the rank of the Estado da India. These triumphs fostered an imperial and universalist mind-set at the Manueline court and enhanced the king's reputation to such an extent that he, too, was expected to lead a final crusade to recover Jerusalem and deal a death blow to Islam (Cardim 2014, 36, 39, 50–53).

The situation faced by the Catholic monarchs was quite different, as years punctuated by family misfortunes led to various dynastic complications. In 1497 Prince Juan, their only son and heir, died at the age of 19, only six months following his marriage to Margaret of Austria. The first-born, Isabel, recently married for the second time to her cousin Manuel, once again became the heir presumptive. However, she died the following year (1498), immediately after giving birth to her only son, Miguel, in Zaragoza. Miguel was sworn heir by the Cortes of Aragon, Castile, and Portugal and was destined to complete the work of his maternal grandparents by uniting the Iberian peninsula under a single monarch. Yet, he in turn died before his second birthday, in July 1500, in Granada. The new heir was now Juana, married to Philip of Austria (the Handsome), lord of the Low Countries, both residing in Flanders. They already had a daughter, Leonor, when a son was born to them in March of that year, Prince Charles of Ghent, who, after yet more twists and turns of fortune, assumed the legacy of Fernando and Isabel. Finally, in 1502, Catalina, the younger daughter, was widowed following the death of Arthur, Prince of Wales, whom she had married a year prior. These personal calamities prompted Guicciardini to remark—in the abovementioned report of 1513— that if Fernando had indeed possessed both skill and good fortune, the latter abandoned him with regard to his progeny (Guicciardini 2017, 142).

These familial troubles served to highlight once more the personal and dynastic character of the union of crowns. In the first place, when the oath was administered to Prince Miguel as heir to the Portuguese throne in 1499, the kingdom's Cortes approved certain dispositions, known as the "Lisbon articles" or "King Manuel's clauses", which guaranteed that Portuguese constitutional norms would continue to be observed once the kingdom was dynastically conjoined with Castile and the Crown of Aragon in the person of Miguel. As it would be a union *aeque principaliter*, Portugal would conserve its own institutions under a single monarch (Bouza 2000, 45–51; Cardim 2014, 26–27). Miguel's death two years later rendered it a moot point however. This in turn meant that the succession of Castile and Aragon would take a different course, a situation that—and this is the second point—unleashed acute intrafamilial tensions that, in combination with developments abroad, placed at risk all that had been achieved hitherto, both in terms of internal pacification as well as territorial expansion.

As the heiress apparent, Juana travelled to the Iberian peninsula in 1502 in the company of her husband Philip, without their children. Her mental disorder manifested itself with increasing frequency. She was sworn heiress by the Cortes of Castile and those of Aragon, and, being pregnant, stayed behind while her husband, who maintained a pro-French stance, on his journey back reached an agreement

under which Louis XII would have received the kingdom of Naples. This agreement put him squarely at odds with his father-in-law. Previously, in 1499, following a second French campaign against Naples—this time successful—Louis and Fernando had concluded the Treaty of Granada (1500), dividing the kingdom between them, the former assuming the royal title, the latter as Duke of Calabria. The terms were confusing, and the two found themselves at war. It was in this context that Philip came to an agreement with Louis XII. Juana meanwhile rejoined her husband after giving birth to Fernando, who was left in the care of his maternal grandparents. The matter of Naples was resolved in Fernando's favour, for in 1504 he defeated and expelled his enemy, thanks mainly to Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba, the Great Captain, who not only brought to bear his experience of the war of Granada, but also introduced crucial tactical innovations that rapidly became a standard feature of European military practice. Fernando had gained a new kingdom, albeit one that had previously belonged to the Crown of Aragon, and that, despite having been obtained in both cases by force of arms, preserved its own laws and institutions (Hernando 2012). However, on 26 November of that year (1504), Queen Isabel died. Fernando thus found himself alone, facing a grave family conflict, which was by extension a serious political crisis.

The queen's testament, composed a few weeks prior to her death, had been designed precisely to pre-empt such complications: it recognised Juana as the universal heiress, and stipulated that in her absence, or if she were deemed unfit to rule, Fernando would act as "governor and administrator" of her Castilian kingdom until Prince Charles turned 20—thus keeping the son-in-law Philip at arm's length. The same concerns shaped Fernando's domestic and foreign policy. He convoked the Castilian Cortes at Toro, which swore Juana as heiress in early 1505, and moreover promulgated an important body of laws, including the establishment of entailed estates, or *mayorazgos*, in the succession of noble houses, not unlike the Portuguese *Lei mental*. In foreign policy Fernando sought to sideline Philip while at the same time strengthening his hold over Naples through the Treaty of Blois with Louis XII, signed in October that year, by which he committed himself to marrying 18-year-old Germaine de Foix, the French king's niece. The wedding duly took place in March 1506, in Valladolid.

Around the same time, Juana and Philip arrived in A Coruña to take possession of the kingdom, although an agreement had been struck that Fernando would continue to have a hand in its government. Before leaving Brussels, however, Philip had received pledges of allegiance from a number of Castilian nobles hostile to Fernando, and secured further support on the way to Castile. Following a rancorous meeting between the father- and son-in-law in Villafáfila, near Zamora, which raised the prospect of a renewed dynastic civil war in Castile, Fernando retreated to his patrimonial domains in the Crown of Aragon and visited Naples, where he was proclaimed king by its parliament. Juana and Philip for their part were proclaimed rulers of Castile, the former as queen regnant and the latter only as king consort. However, Philip died unexpectedly shortly after, in September 1506. His death led to a rapid deterioration in Juana's mental state, and descent into dementia, and so Fernando was asked to return to Castile to govern in accordance with Isabel's testament. He did not do so immediately, staying in Naples until the following year was well advanced, during which time the Archbishop of Toledo, Francisco Jiménez de

Cisneros, a close ally of the Catholic monarchs, governed in his stead. In due course, through a typical mixture of severity and clemency, Fernando calmed tensions in Castile, while his daughter Juana was shut away in a convent in Tordesillas. She was never formally declared unfit and retained her royal title until her death in 1555.

In 1509, a son born to Fernando and Germaine, Juan, survived for only a few hours. It has been noted that if the boy had lived, it would have meant the separation of the Crowns of Aragon and Castile. However, Fernando's intentions are unknown, and so, given that Juan had been born in Valladolid, it is not hard to imagine another possibility: that he was seen as a safeguard of the union of Castile and Aragon, Fernando's enduring ambition—to the detriment of the Flemish succession by the children of Juana and Philip.

Be that as it may, Fernando then saw an opening in Navarre, or rather, created one. A schismatic council at Pisa (1511), condemned by the Pope, was supported by Louis XII, who also aligned himself with Juan de Albret and Catherine. These developments, along with the prospect of another military alliance in Italy, allowed Fernando to justify occupying the kingdom, conquered in 1512. Fernando was once more the king of Navarre, as his father had been. Three years later the kingdom was incorporated into Castile, albeit preserving its laws and institution—another case of union *aeque principaliter* despite being the fruit of military conquest (Floristán 2012). While Fernando was engaged in what would turn out to be his last great territorial annexation, Niccolò Machiavelli was in the process of writing *The Prince*, chapter 21 of which lauded the Aragonese king's "great campaigns", and gave the often-cited verdict of his reign:

> This man can be called almost a new prince, since from being a weak king has become by fame and by glory the first king of the Christians; and if you will consider his actions, you will find them all very great and some you will find extraordinary.
>
> (Machiavelli 2005, 108–109)

Yet this "new prince" and his wife Germaine's fervent desire for an heir would remain unfulfilled. Although at one time he had given thought to designating as governor in her stead Juana's second son, also named Fernando, born and raised in Castile, in the final version of his will, made just the day before his death on 23 January 1516, he settled on the first-born, Charles of Ghent, who had been nurtured under Maximilian's wing. The desire to forestall new factional struggles prevailed once again, and this was the outcome obtained by a king who had spent only four of the 37 long years of his reign in his patrimonial Aragonese domains. The testamentary arrangements of both Fernando and Isabel thus meant that the accumulated legacy of the Catholic monarchs was passed on to Charles of Ghent. To be sure, his delayed arrival in the Iberian peninsula, postponed until September of the following year, caused some strain and uncertainty. Yet, in contrast to his father Philip the Handsome a decade before, Charles was the indisputable and sole beneficiary of the whole inheritance.

Other milestones abounded at this time: in 1514, the fifth and last volume of the Manueline *Ordenações* was published, in 1515 Afonso de Albuquerque seized Hormuz for Portugal, and in 1516 Juan Díaz de Solís ventured up the River Plate;

meanwhile the period of Spanish advances in the eastern Maghreb was, by contrast, drawing to a close. Dynastic politics, the fashioning of the early modern state apparatus, and continued overseas expansion went hand in hand, and continued their onward march.

In the space of scarcely more than a single generation much had changed in the Iberian world. While in its outward aspect this world was now also Flemish, Asian, and Atlantic, inwardly it had undergone significant changes in the practices of government. A Portugal fully engrossed in its overseas ventures and a dynastically united Spain served as good examples of the combination of continuity and change that characterised the Renaissance monarchies: in their interaction with more dynamic societies, these new monarchies were simply the old monarchies imbued with a stronger principle of authority and a more clearly defined sense of purpose. Dynasticism, legitimacy, and the settlement of new territories were foundations that would only become more robust with time (Elliott 1963, 74; Allmand 1998, 835–838). Yet new tensions would soon emerge: early in his reign, Charles would face two serious revolts, the Comunidades of Castile (the Comuneros Revolt) and the Germanías in Valencia. Meanwhile, just as Hernán Cortés was securing new dominions for him on the American mainland, Francis I of France was on the way to becoming his main rival in Europe. In this context of rising stakes and tensions, in 1526 Charles married Isabel of Portugal, another step towards the much-desired peninsular dynastic union. The Iberian world, and the world at large, were on the threshold of a new epoch.

NOTE

1 Translated by Igor Knezevic.

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CHAPTER TWO

THE POLITICAL CONSTITUTION OF THE IBERIAN MONARCHIES[1]

Pedro Cardim, Antonio Feros, and Gaetano Sabatini

INTRODUCTION

The creation of what are known as the Iberian (Spanish and Portuguese) monarchies was the more or less unforeseeable outcome of a series of political and dynastic processes. Despite their many individual peculiarities, the two monarchies had a parallel history, developing similar political and legal cultures, and, for 60 years between 1580 and 1640, they were united under the authority of the same Spanish Habsburg monarch. This chapter presents a summary of this parallel history and the gradual and interactive development of these traditions and forms of government. Although the period of the Union of the Crowns is dealt with in other chapters of this volume (Chapters 6 and 14), some attention here will be given to Habsburg Portugal. This chapter covers the period from the reign of Charles I of Spain and João III of Portugal (early sixteenth century) until 1700, the year which, in the Spanish case, marked the end of the Habsburg dynasty and its replacement by the Bourbons. This was a period marked by continuity, but also by debates about new forms of government of political entities characterised by their vast size and their unprecedented heterogeneity, and on the virtues of the Union of the Crowns.

As a result, this period was also characterised by enormous crises, caused by the introduction of new institutions or powers into the existing political system, but, above all, by the fraught relations between some of the territories (Aragon, Catalonia, Portugal, Flanders, and several territories in the Italian peninsula) and an increasingly assertive monarchy, progressively associated with the kingdom of Castile. The political history of the Iberian peninsula in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries could thus be seen as a multinational history, in which Portugal, among others, played a full and active part. The central theme of this chapter is the continuously shifting balance between the regions and the centre, and the relations between the various kingdoms and the monarchy. It does not seem premature to begin this chapter by recalling that both the Spanish and the Portuguese monarchies, and the former in particular, were "composite monarchies", with their respective

monarchs claiming sovereignty and jurisdiction over a diverse multitude of territories in Europe, Africa, Asia, and America. Although this chapter analyses the political processes that affected the European territories of these monarchies, the multiregional or composite nature of these monarchies was a central element in the forms of government and contemporary political discourses.

THE CREATION OF THE IBERIAN MONARCHIES

The creation of the two Iberian monarchies was, in the first place, the result of matrimonial alliances, and secondly of conquests of peninsular territories. The true beginning of what would later come to be called the Spanish monarchy (or the "monarchy of Spain") was the matrimonial alliance between Isabel, queen of Castile from 1474 onwards, and Ferdinand, king of Aragon from 1479. Before their marriage in 1469, the Iberian peninsula was divided into various kingdoms or crowns that were independent from one another: the Crown of Castile, with territories in the north, northeast, centre, south and east of the Iberian peninsula—the old kingdoms of Galicia, Leon, Asturias, Old and New Castile, Extremadura, Murcia, the so-called Basque provinces, and all of Andalusia, with the exception of Granada, the last Muslim kingdom in the peninsula. In both territorial and demographic terms, the Crown of Castile was undoubtedly the hegemonic power.

The kingdom of Portugal, which occupied most of the western Atlantic seaboard, was a fully constituted kingdom (within more or less its present-day borders) from the mid-thirteenth century onwards, remaining independent until 1580, and again after 1640. Since opportunities for further territorial expansion in the peninsula were increasingly limited, in the fifteenth century the Portuguese turned their attention to the conquest of lands in North Africa and the Atlantic. However, the Portuguese kings always remained alert to the possibilities of forming dynastic alliances with Castile or Aragon as a way of acquiring greater political influence in the peninsular context. The Portuguese overseas expansion was therefore not incompatible with closer Portuguese involvement in the Iberian political scene—on the contrary.

The other main political formation in the peninsula was the Crown of Aragon, comprised of kingdoms and territories in the eastern part of the Iberian peninsula and beyond the Pyrenees. These included Aragon itself, which had been a kingdom since the early twelfth century; Valencia, constituted as a kingdom in the mid-thirteenth century; the Principality of Catalonia, founded as such in the twelfth century; and the Balearic Islands, established as a kingdom in the fourteenth century. The territories of the Crown of Aragon had a long history of expansion in the Mediterranean, which accounts for the Catalan, and later Spanish, presence in Sicily, Naples, and Sardinia, from the fourteenth century onwards. Finally, straddling the northeastern fringes of the peninsula and present-day southwestern France was the kingdom of Navarre, the first Christian realm established following the Arab conquest, in the tenth century, and governed since the fourteenth century by a French dynasty, the House of Béarn.

The use of the word "Crown", in the context of both Aragon and Castile, conveyed a certain idea of superiority in relation to the other Iberian territories, which continued to be classified as "kingdoms", as in the case of Portugal, Navarre, and Granada. Significantly, the expression "Crown of Portugal" never came to be

used in official documents. In any case, following the conquest of the Algarve in 1249 the Portuguese sovereigns began to title themselves as the "kings of Portugal and the Algarves", a change that was undoubtedly a symbolic expression of the desire to emulate or match their Spanish counterparts.

The marriage between Isabel and Ferdinand dramatically changed the political situation of the Iberian peninsula. It brought about the union of the two crowns of Aragon and Castile, and although this initial union was only limited—in other words, the kingdoms that composed each of the crowns remained autonomous from one another—it paved the way for other subsequent unions in the sixteenth century. In 1492, the armies of Isabella and Ferdinand conquered Granada, the last remaining Islamic kingdom on Iberian soil. In 1512, eight years after Isabella's death, Spanish armies conquered the territories of the kingdom of Navarre, at the other extremity of the peninsula (see Chapter 1). Charles was Ferdinand and Isabel's grandson, the son of Juana of Castile and Philip the Handsome, and, from 1517, the first Habsburg ruler of Spain. His elevation to Holy Roman Emperor, as Charles V, in 1519, succeeding his grandfather Maximilian, transformed the old monarchy created by Isabel and Ferdinand into a pan-European polity (see Chapter 3). Charles became the ruler of numerous territories scattered throughout the continent. In addition to the Iberian kingdoms, and being the head of the Holy Roman Empire, he ruled over a number of Italian territories—Sardinia, Naples, Sicily, and Milan—but also the Low Countries, the Franche Comté, and Burgundy.

The situation changed somewhat upon Charles' abdication in 1556. He left the imperial title and its possessions—with the sole exception of Milan—to his brother Ferdinand, and the rest to his son Philip II. At the beginning of his reign, Philip II controlled the Crowns of Castile and Aragon, Flanders and Burgundy, a number of Italian territories—Sardinia, Naples, Sicily, and Milan—and many territories in the Americas. He was also to claim sovereignty over the Philippines from the 1560s onwards, and in 1581 Philip II became the king of Portugal as Philip I. It was also on Philip II's initiative that what would turn out to be the last of the Spanish dominions in Italy was constituted—the State of the Presidi of Tuscany. It was from the reign of Philip II onwards that this union of kingdoms was converted into a composite monarchy, but that was also when this composite state came to be seen as Spanish, designated as the monarchy of Spain. Over the course of several decades, this monarchy was transformed into arguably the most powerful state in existence, with territories—albeit distant and, in some cases, disconnected from one another—in the four corners of the world (Elliott 2009; Fernández Albaladejo 1992; Gruzinski 2004; Thompson 2005).

THE CHARACTER OF ROYAL AUTHORITY

There has been much discussion about the coherence of a monarchy such as the Spanish, comprised of a series of kingdoms that remained autonomous from one another. There has also been no lack of debate regarding the true reach of monarchical power and its effectiveness in the absence of institutional centralisation, as in the Spanish and the Portuguese political systems. In addressing the paradox of a system in which the monarch claimed absolute and supreme power, but lacked the instruments to implement that power, historians have increasingly focused on the

symbolic power accumulated by the monarchs and their servants. A symbolic power which, expressed through images and political discourse, allowed for the creation of powerful bonds of loyalty with the monarch, and a surprisingly stable political system (Hespanha 1994; Bouza 1998).

In the Iberian monarchies, for a period at least until the mid-seventeenth century, there was profound reflection on political life and its main actors—in philosophical and legal treatises, mirrors of princes, treatises in defence of the cities, or in theatre plays, novels, and other literary genres. Although the members of the School of Salamanca (Francisco de Vitoria, Domingo de Soto, and many others) are the best known internationally, there were many other original and highly influential authors—such as Jerónimo Osório, the Jesuits Juan de Mariana, Francisco Suarez, and António Vieira, as well as authors whose main concern was the good government of cities, such as Castillo de Bobadilla, Salas de Barbadillo, or playwrights such as Gil Vicente, Lope de Vega, and Francisco de Quevedo (Hespanha 1994; Fernández Albaladejo 1992; Cardim 2001; Gil Pujol 2007, 2016; Feros 2000, 2004; Truman 1999).

When analysing the world around them, the inhabitants of the peninsula in the early modern period found that the element that gave coherence to all creation was the all-pervasive principle of a hierarchical order. God, it was said, ruled over all creation alone and unchallenged; the sun dominated the planets; man had been created as the master of all other creatures, not excluding his wife and children. When observing the natural and cosmic world, it appeared evident that harmony was the product of unity, and both were the measure of perfection. From this point of view, monarchy was considered the most perfect form of government because power was concentrated in just one person, thereby avoiding the conflicts and divisions that would inevitably result if this power were shared by many.

Even more important was the idea that monarchical power was "natural". In other words, political writers believed that in each community, from the family unit to the monarchy, there was always one individual who was situated at the top of the hierarchy and acquired authority over the rest. Nobody summed this up better than the humanist Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda in the mid-sixteenth century:

> The man rules over the woman, the adult over the child, the father over his children. That is to say, the most powerful and most perfect rule over the weakest and most imperfect. This same relationship exists among men, there being some who by nature are masters and others who are by nature servants.
>
> (Sepúlveda1941, 83; Bodin 1590, bk. 1, chs 3, 4, and 8)

While the principle of hierarchy was the basis of the "ideological constitution" of each of the monarchies, for royal authority to be effective, in practice, some basic obligations had to accepted by both the king and his subjects. The monarch was required to protect his subjects, to guarantee peace and order, to administer justice, and to protect the weak. To be sure, the king should be guided only by the desire to serve God, and greatest prestige would derive from his actions in defence of the Church. But, in early modern political discourse, the monarch was continually being reminded that royalty was not pleasure without duty, that his office was one that should be exercised with the same care and love that a father would bestow on his children.

The stability of the monarchy was thus based on the monarch's good governance, but also on the subjects' loyalty. The hierarchical constitution of authority justified the principle of loyalty and absolute obedience towards those who held authority at each level of society. In accordance with all laws, divine and human, the inferior owed obedience to the superior—the wife to the husband, the children to their parents, the subjects to their king—and no law or authority could "exempt" any subject, regardless of their position in the Commonwealth, from obedience to the king. Such theories had been in existence since the medieval period, but they would continue to be developed and extended from the sixteenth century onwards, to the point of being endowed with the most potent kind of symbolism: disobedience and rebellion against the king signified disobedience and rebellion against God. This sacralisation of the monarchy ensured that, as a substitute for God on earth, the monarch was owed complete loyalty and obedience, and any attempt to resist or, most gravely, to plot against the king's life should be treated as a crime of *lèse-majesté* (Gil Pujol 2003).

RULING A COMPOSITE MONARCHY

As indicated in Chapter 1 of this volume, the two Iberian monarchies were distinguished by their contrasting constitutional structures: while the Spanish monarchy of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was fundamentally composite in nature, the Portuguese monarchy had a more unified structure (although the lands it controlled in the Atlantic and across Asia were not all equal in status). Despite this difference, in both the Spanish and the Portuguese case, the most important attribute was the dynastic nature of the monarchy. Dynastic, because the fundamental law of the monarchy was patrimonialist, which allowed the territories to be passed on to the successor through inheritance. The principal aim of the laws regulating royal inheritance was to maintain the unity and extension of the territories, obliging each monarch to leave them all to his heir, generally a male child, even if not the eldest. This rule could only be broken in agreement with the potential heir, as was the case in Portugal during the crisis of succession caused by the extinction of the Avis dynasty in 1580 (Cunha 1993). Or when Philip II decided to appoint his daughter Isabella Clara Eugenia and her husband the Archduke Albert as the administrator and potential heiress of the Netherlands, something that he did only after receiving the consent of his son and heir, the future Philip III. The well-known tendency of the Spanish monarchs to marry members of the extensive Habsburg family, a predilection that could also be observed among the noble families of the peninsula, responded precisely to the need to preserve the family inheritance, limiting the number of pretenders from competing dynasties, and thus reducing the possibility of territorial division and dispersal.

The dynastic character of the monarchy influenced the policies of the various royal governments, whose principal aim was the defence of dynastic interests, and of the *status regis*—the "state of the king" (Amelang 2006, 43; Skinner 2002). In the case of the Spanish monarchy, this state was also a composite one. In other words, it was composed of autonomous territories, a theme that is explored in Chapter 1 and which we shall return to below. The non-existence of a united and centralised monarchy meant that the monarch was increasingly placed on a higher plane, occupying

a supra-territorial position that afforded a global perspective and enabled him to act appropriately in all matters of government (Arrieta Alberdi 2006, 129).

This is why, despite its increasing role as a ceremonial centre, the Royal Household or Court gradually established itself as the real centre of power, or at least the centre from which the monarch's wishes emanated. Those who served the king, especially in positions of greatest importance—Chamberlain, grand equerry, lord high steward, royal stewards—became the king's spokesmen, his intermediaries with other government institutions. It was also in this context that the high nobility gradually began to gravitate towards the royal court, to desire positions in the royal household, and generally to prize service to the crown. Everything indicates that this happened earlier in the Spanish context than in the Portuguese (Raeymakers 2017; Scott 2017).

From 1580 onwards, Spanish monarchs began to expand their authority, prerogatives, and influence over regional and local institutions by promoting an "administrative" system of government, which at least partially replaced a "judicial" system that had been previously dominant. This change reflected a new political discourse that was spreading throughout Western European polities, including the Spanish monarchy. Promoted by the ruling circles, this new way of conceiving political action, known as "reason of state", was used to justify an increase in the ruler's executive prerogatives and pre-eminence. The creation of executive institutions fully under the monarch's control accompanied this change in ideology. Already under Philip II, numerous juntas (*ad-hoc* committees) were created and staffed by members of the monarch's inner circle who were fully committed to implementing the king's orders.

The most notable political reform at the time, however, was the appointment of a de facto prime minister, the king's favourite. Especially from the mid-sixteenth century onwards and until the end of the following century, royal favourites became central figures in the governance of each of the two monarchies. Men such as Cristóvão de Moura during the reign of Philip II, the Duke of Lerma, during the reign of Philip III, the Count-Duke of Olivares and Luis Méndez de Haro y Guzmán, the Marquis of Carpio, during the reign of Philip IV, the Count of Castelo Melhor under Afonso VI, and various others during the reigns of Charles II and Pedro II, showed that the royal household, and the royal palace in general, were the centres of power throughout the early modern period. Although the rise of favourites was a European phenomenon, in the Spanish monarchy it was a strictly political and institutional one. The main function of the chief minister-favourite was to reinforce monarchical influence over regional and local institutions by appointing and promoting men of his confidence. It is not yet clear whether these reforms and initiatives were effective or whether they succeeded in making the government more "regal", but they did create new tensions that would affect the monarchy until at least the late seventeenth century (Elliott 1984; Elliott and Brockliss 1999; Feros 2000; Escudero 2014).

There were other institutions whose primary function was the defence of royal prerogatives and interests. In the Spanish context, one of these was the Council of State, originally created in 1521 at the behest of Charles I. The idea behind the creation of this Council was "to establish a Council corresponding only to the monarch's universal role". During the reign of Charles I, the Council of State was composed of subjects from several of his European kingdoms, but this council underwent a process of "Hispanisation" under Philip II. Whatever its composition, the Council

was always the most important institutional embodiment of the king's power and interests (Barrios 2015, 445). The second of the councils that attended to the king's global interests was the Council of War. Originating in the Crown of Castile, and in existence from the reign of Charles I onwards, it became, along with the Council of State, a "supra-territorial institution above the kingdoms", and once again its members were more interested in defending the interests of the king than those of each kingdom and territory that composed the monarchy (Barrios 2015, 469).

The Spanish and the Portuguese monarchs also had their representatives in each of the kingdoms and territories under their rule—viceroys or governors, depending on the importance of the territorial unit. The essential point is that viceroys and governors, men of the highest rank and women from the royal family, were again representatives of the monarch. "With the appointment of viceroys, the Spanish rulers had also tried to solve the problem of the absent king", a problem that had existed since the beginning of the Portuguese and Spanish overseas expansion and, later, in almost all the kingdoms of the monarchy except Castile. Philip II was the last Habsburg king to travel outside the peninsula, and who visited almost all of the peninsular kingdoms at least once. The symbolic importance of viceroys was due to the fact that in this society "power was conceived of in a personal manner and the concept of the state as a sovereign and impersonal entity to which we owe our loyalty was practically non-existent … Thus, while the Spanish monarch might always be absent" from many of his territories, he had viceroys and other representatives "to make himself present there" (Cañeque 2014, 145). The territories or kingdoms in which the Spanish monarch relied on the services of a viceroy until 1700 were: Navarre, because of its history as an independent kingdom before its union with the Crown of Castile through conquest; the three kingdoms that composed the Crown of Aragon—Valencia, Aragon, and Catalonia; Portugal (between 1581 and 1640); Naples, Sicily, and Sardinia in Italy, and New Spain and Peru in the Americas.

The king of Portugal established a vice-kingdom in India very early on (1505) and chose to be represented in most of his territories by governors. In Brazil, for example, Portuguese royal authority was initially represented by governors-general (1548), but, after 1640, the Portuguese Crown began to appoint viceroys for that territory. As we have noted, Portugal, unlike Castile and Aragon, was not thought of as a composite territorial whole. However, this did not prevent the royal power in this kingdom from rapidly assuming imperial attributes, a phenomenon that was given impetus by its expansion into Asia (Marcocci 2011). At the very beginning of the sixteenth century, Francisco de Almeida and Afonso de Albuquerque, two central figures in the establishment of the Portuguese presence in Asia, had suggested to Manuel I that he should adopt the title of "Emperor", alleging that the Portuguese sovereign deserved such an honour because he already counted several kings among his vassals. Further territorial conquests in Asia and the South Atlantic in the sixteenth century contributed to a more intense identification between the Portuguese royalty and the collective imperial imagination (Thomaz 1990). In any case, the image of the Portuguese monarchy was clearly bolstered by this atmosphere of imperialist triumphalism.

Although they all represented the king, the power and authority of these viceroys and governors depended very much on the specific political and institutional circumstances of each territory. Their powers were more important in those

kingdoms or territories lacking a strong local tradition, either institutional or political. In the case of the Spanish monarchy, the powers of the viceroy were greatest in the Americas, relatively more restricted in Portugal, Valencia, Aragon, and the Italian territories, and weakest in Catalonia, where the local institutions had a longer history and a more firmly consolidated authority (Cañeque 2004; Hernando Sánchez 2004; Cardim and Palos 2012; Rivero Rodríguez 2011). In the Portuguese context, meanwhile, the Viceroy of Goa had much broader political powers than, for example, the governor-general of Brazil.

RULING THE KINGDOMS

The old historiographical paradigm that maintained that the kings had absolute power has been radically questioned by new generations of historians in the last two decades. These authors have drawn attention to the important limitations imposed on monarchical power by the nobility, the parliaments of each kingdom and the advisory councils that supported the monarchs in the governance of the different territories. The traditional image which suggested that, in Portugal, royal authority had established itself at a particularly early stage has been questioned and attention has been drawn both to the extreme jurisdictional plurality that existed in the Portuguese kingdom and to the weakness of the royal power until the late seventeenth century (Jago 1981; Fernández Albaladejo 1992; Hespanha 1994; Thompson 1990; Amelang 2006; Feros 2004, 2014).

Thanks to these new historiographical perspectives, we can now understand the history of the Spanish monarchy as the history of a composite monarchy, made up of communities, and kingdoms that were not absorbed or eliminated by the monarchical-dynastic discourse and discipline. As far as its Portuguese counterpart is concerned, although it did not have a comparable composite structure, it was nonetheless internally heterogeneous, whether in jurisdictional and territorial terms or with regard to differences in individual status among its inhabitants. The assertive declarations of some monarchs who saw themselves as absolute rulers now appear more rhetorical and less convincing when seen from the perspective of the kingdoms, provinces, cities, and seigniorial institutions. We are now able to reconstruct the early modern period as a complex epoch in which those driving historical change may not be reduced to a few (monarchs and their leading officials) who dominated, and others who allowed themselves to be dominated. The most immediate results of this revision have been twofold: first, insistence on the autonomy and historical agency of formerly marginalised individuals and groups; and, second, deeper knowledge of "resistance" to the monarchical power, as well as of the possibilities and forms of that resistance, which were much more far-reaching than was previously considered possible.

From the sixteenth century—albeit building on older ideas—alongside the theories that defended the rights and powers of the monarch, another concept of "state" was being developed: the state of the Commonwealth, the *respublica*, the group of institutions that represented the kingdoms, provinces, and cities. Perhaps the clearest evidence of this more complex view of the state was the development of theories that considered the king to be a servant of the Commonwealth, who needed to take into consideration the interests of his subjects and respect the laws of the realm. In

both the Portuguese and the Spanish case, the contemporary discourse about royalty insisted much more on the question of duties and responsibilities than on the prince's powers and rights. It is fascinating to observe that the metaphors most frequently used to depict the roles of the Spanish or the Portuguese monarch were those of a father, a judge, and a protector. According to the theories of the time, a stable and harmonious commonwealth could exist only if the monarch inspired the love, respect, and obedience of his subjects, and recognised that the interests of the king, his kingdoms, and vassals needed to be in full accord (Gil Pujol 2009).

Perhaps even more important than these general ideas about the rights and duties of a ruler was the reality that the monarch, even when endowed with supreme authority, did not possess the same level of power in all the territories that composed his monarchy. Among the essential elements of the composite monarchies was the fact that each of the territories had its own particular status determined in most cases by the forms adopted on its union with the monarchy. One of the paradoxes of the structure of the Iberian monarchies, in James Amelang's words, is that

> while the image of political organisation tended towards centralisation, through (often rather literal) incarnation in the figure of the monarch, reality headed in the opposite direction, towards considerable administrative decentralisation. The result of this paradox was, to use his term, a system of "pre-eminent monarchy", credibly represented and interpreted as both unitary and pluralist at the same time.
>
> (Amelang 2006, 43–44)

We are therefore dealing with a system based on negotiation between the different components of the monarchy, rather than one based on the unilateral imposition of royal authority. The key—James Amelang wrote following Antonio Manuel Hespanha—for

> the effective functioning (of the Spanish Monarchy) … was the relations between central government, focused around but hardly limited to the figure of the monarch, and a wide range of elites located at both the centre and the multiple peripheries of the imperial system. This "wide range" should moreover be taken quite literarily, as it comprises groups as diverse as urban oligarchies; all levels of the territorial aristocracy, whose principal bulwark of power continued to be the seigniorial regime; state bureaucrats; the Church; merchant and financial interests; and the military, among others.
>
> (Amelang 2006, 43–44, and 46)

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, authors defending the untrammelled power of the king believed that the government of the Spanish monarchy was a "regal government", a government by one, and not a "political government", a government by many. These views of the Spanish monarch, enjoying full authority and control over his government, stand in stark contrast with the views of many others. The main characteristic of early modern monarchical government was, according to the German author Samuel Pufendorf (1632–1694), its "irregular form" (*respublica irregularis*)—it was a type of government in which

> we do not find that unity which is the essence of a completely established state, not because of a disease or fault in the administration of the country, but because the irregularity of its form has been, as it were, legitimated by public law or custom.
>
> (cit. Feros 2014, 144)

The early modern Iberian monarchies were indeed *respublicae irregulares*: they were neither centralised, unified, nor uniform, and their government was not dominated exclusively by the king's will.

Contemporaries shared the belief that none of the institutions, and certainly not the royal institutions, could monopolise the implementation of policies. In the Iberian political discourse, there was talk of a mixed government, which incorporated the plurality of institutions that represented distinct communities and powers. This type of government was made up of monarchical institutions (the ruler and his closest advisors, and those institutions that promoted monarchical interests), aristocratic institutions (members of the central elites—nobility and university-trained individuals also known as "*letrados*"), and popular or "democratic" institutions (parliament, city councils, etc.). In the early modern Iberian world, therefore, the maintenance of social order and the administration of justice, the principal functions of government, did not derive from the exclusive exercise of the monarchical authority, but it was fundamentally a negotiated order, one agreed upon between the monarchy, the various communities, social orders, kingdoms, and their representatives.

In the case of the Spanish monarchy, the other central institutions that did not form part of the "Royal Household and Court" were the Consejos (Councils). During the early modern period, 14 Councils were created within the Spanish monarchy to manage public affairs and to serve as the main conduits between the monarch, his kingdoms, and his subjects. It would be a mistake to view these Councils as a part of the "executive" government and as being fully controlled by the monarch and his officials. Since the early sixteenth century, the Councils were perceived as autonomous from the royal will and as representing the interests of regional elites. Counsellors possessed many important prerogatives: although appointed by the king, they held their offices in perpetuity; they acted as supreme judges in their jurisdictions; proposed candidates for major and minor offices; and distributed patronage. They also served as an important link between the monarchy, the kingdoms, and the cities—responsible for communicating royal orders, and, on the other hand, gradually assuming the function of transmitting the needs, expectations, and complaints of lower authorities to the king (Tomás y Valiente 1990; Feros 2000 ch. 1; Barrios 2015). Although he was no doubt exaggerating to some extent, Luis Cabrera de Córdoba, a late sixteenth-century historian, described the counsellors of Castile as "absolute" ministers, who "made the government of royal monarchy a republic … and out of habit they considered everything that they did not do or have command over to be an error" (cit. Feros 2000, 26).

The union between Castile and Aragon, established in 1479, had been based on the principle *aeque principaliter*, since the legal frameworks of these two political entities were maintained, including the status of the territories that belonged to the Crown of Aragon. In 1494, the Council of Aragon was established at the royal court. This body was later given the same status as the Council of Castile, created in

1385. Both councils were granted the status of "Supreme", indicating that, at least in theory, they were presided over by the king. They had the exclusive right to rule on lawsuits in each of their territories and were endowed with jurisdictional autonomy, in the sense that the lawsuits were settled within their own jurisdictional area (not outside) and by magistrates born in those territories. The existence of these two councils was important, for it was the foundation of the future polysynodial (multiple councils) system.

The union between Castile and Aragon also allowed for the creation of some councils that were to have jurisdiction over all the territories of the monarchy, the Council of the Inquisition and the Council of the Crusade, both of which were concerned with ecclesiastical matters. The Council of the Crusade, created in the early sixteenth century, was composed of several members drawn from other councils (the Councils of Castile, Aragon, and the Indies). With executive commissioners in each diocese, the Council of the Crusade was in charge of collecting various categories of taxes, including those granted by the papacy, which the Church paid in all the territories of the monarchy. The Council of the Inquisition, officially created at the end of the 1480s, was responsible for policing religious orthodoxy among all the subjects of the Spanish monarchs. This Council became the most powerful of them all if we consider the great influence that it had on the attitudes and behaviour of all those living under the aegis of the Spanish monarchs. The Council was at the top of a pyramidal structure composed of numerous religious tribunals or courts (Seville, Cordoba, Granada, Murcia, Llerena, Cuenca, Toledo, Santiago de Compostela, the Canaries, and Madrid in the Crown of Castile; Zaragoza, Valencia, Barcelona, Mallorca, Sardinia, and Palermo in the Crown of Aragon; Mexico, Lima, and Cartagena de Indias in the Americas), with hundreds of regional and local officials—and alongside them an even greater number of "*familiars* of the Inquisition", able to infiltrate the population of all social levels. With the exception of the monarchs and the members of the dynasty, all those who lived in the territories of the Spanish monarchy could be investigated, arrested, and tried by the Inquisition.

In Portugal, a consultative structure was also developed based on the royal court, most notably the king's advisory councils, as well as the royal tribunals created in the first half of the sixteenth century: the *Desembargo do Paço* (the Supreme Court of Justice), the *Casa do Cível de Lisboa* (the Lisbon High Court), the *Mesa da Consciência e Ordens* (a consultative body responsible for administering the property of military and religious orders), and the Tribunal of the Inquisition. As for the territories outside Europe that had been conquered by Portugal, these were initially administered by the pre-existing organs of government and administration based in Lisbon. The Casa de Ceuta was created early on in this process (1434), subsequently being transformed into the *Casa da Guiné e da Mina*. It was later followed by the *Casa da Índia*, by all indications created in 1500. The royal council, on the other hand, took somewhat longer to become firmly established in Portugal, and the Council of State also appeared relatively late, only being created in the second half of the sixteenth century, during the reign of Sebastião I (Cardim 2004).

The political, demographic, and economic importance of the Crown of Castile led to the creation of other councils to enable more efficient administration of its kingdoms and territories. The most important of these was the Council of Finance (1523), responsible for "all income and expenditure, organising the collection of

rents and duties" (Ladero Quesada 1973, 12). The Council of the Military Orders was created to regulate and administer these noble corporate bodies that had been fundamental in the conquests of the Muslim kingdoms during the medieval period (Postigo Castellanos 1987 and 1995). Yet perhaps the most important of these Castilian councils was the *Consejo de la Cámara de Castilla* (Chamber of Castile), a smaller council composed of members drawn from the Council of Castile. Its most important role was identifying suitable candidates for "the positions of temporal government … and those of spiritual government" in the territories that formed part of the Crown of Castile and to presenting them to the monarch for election. The Council of the Chamber of Castile was also responsible for scrutinising and advising on all the petitions from royal subjects requesting favours and posts from the monarch. Historians have seen this council as "the greatest expression of royal absolutism", but it can also be argued that the enormous scope of its jurisdiction and its ability to propose thousands and thousands of candidates to the monarch gave the council tremendous political and social influence (Barrios 2015, 507–514).

Without any doubt, from an institutional and political viewpoint the Crown of Castile was the best organised and structured territory of the monarchy. Like other kingdoms, Castile had a representative institution, the *Cortes*, which, from the mid-sixteenth century onwards, was composed only of representatives of the 16 most important cities. Representatives of the other two estates, the nobility and the Church, withdrew from the *Cortes* after Charles I's reign. The number of cities represented increased from 16 to 18 in the seventeenth century, and each of them sent two representatives elected by the members of the municipal governments. The important thing to remember is that the *Consejo de la Cámara de Castilla* was charged with summoning the *Cortes* in the king's name, and with setting the agenda and leading its debates. The main activity of the *Cortes* was the approval of taxes and funds requested by the monarchy. Between the 1580s and the 1630s, there is no doubt that the *Cortes* played a major role in the political and fiscal administration of the monarchy, but this changed after the mid-seventeenth century. Thereafter, the *Cortes* of Castile virtually ceased to meet, or did so only to confirm the royal heirs (Fortea Pérez 2008).

Historians have reminded us that, throughout the two centuries of Habsburg rule, Castile was a community of "substantial, semi-independent cities", each governed by its own time-honoured laws, jealous of its historic privileges and rights. To be sure, the monarchy and the Council of Castile exerted a powerful influence over the cities through the so-called *corregidores* (governors or chief magistrates), appointed by the king on the recommendation of the *Cámara de Castilla*, to serve as the link between the centre and the most important cities of the Crown of Castile. Yet it seems clear that in a territory with a relatively weak parliament and without any autonomous institutions as a kingdom in its own right, the cities continued to be important centres of political action and resistance. This even made it possible for certain republican ideas to take root centred on the political life of the city—further proof of the great richness and diversity of political thought and discourses circulating in the peninsula. Both in the Portuguese context and in Castile and Aragon, various civic republican discourses began to appear, defending the freedoms of the cities and the preservation of their form of government, which involved the active political participation of the members of the urban elites (Gil Pujol 2007; Herrero

Sánchez 2017). In the case of the Crown of Castile, it was the cities—either individually or bound into urban leagues—that were most vehemently opposed to the monarchy's taxation and political measures. From the Revolt of the *Comuneros* in the early sixteenth century to the revolts of Andalusian cities, especially Seville, in the second half of the seventeenth century, encompassing the revolts of the Castilian cities in the 1580s and the Basque cities in the 1620s, it was the urban communities, and not the regional authorities or the *Cortes*, that were responsible for the moments of greatest tension and resistance against the monarchy or the monarchical government (Mackay 1999; Knezevic 2017).

Although in some respects resembling its Castilian counterpart, and likewise composed of the native citizens of the various kingdoms that constituted the crown, the Council of Aragon did not have as much influence in these territories as the Council of Castile had in its own. However, this had less to do with the status of the Council, but rather the weakness of royal authority in those kingdoms, and the power and influence of the regional institutions and authorities. The *Cortes* or *Corts* in each of the kingdoms were more powerful and representative than the Castilian *Cortes*. Not only were the three social estates represented in these parliaments (nobility, clergy, and commoners), but they also had institutions (such as the *Generalitat* in the Principality of Catalonia) that maintained the function of the *Corts* when the assembly was not in session. Most of the inhabitants of the kingdoms of the Crown of Aragon had far more regular interactions with these local and regional bodies than the monarchical institutions themselves. It was the former institutions that many considered to be the real Fathers of the community, the defenders and protectors of the subjects and kingdoms. Nothing could be done without their involvement, certainly not the imposition and the collection of taxes. There were also important cities in the Crown of Aragon, but, unlike in Castile, the monarch could not rely on a network of *corregidores*, and we know that the cities were more closely linked with the regional institutions, once again, especially in Catalonia (Casey 1979; García Cárcel 1985; Gil Pujol 1989).

During the reigns of Charles I and Philip II, many other councils were created that had as their mission to help the monarch to govern other kingdoms and territories, while their members acted as representatives before the king and court of the interests of the different commonwealths. During the reign of Philip II, the Council of Flanders and Burgundy was established to help the monarch administer the territories that had originally belonged to the Habsburgs (Lecuppre-Desjardin 2016). This was a Council that suffered through the vicissitudes of these territories, as we shall see further on. Other territories were also administered with the help of Councils. The Council of Portugal was created in 1581, after Philip II became the first Habsburg monarch of that kingdom. The Council of Indies, on the other hand, helped to administer territories that were not kingdoms juridically speaking, but which were considered as such due to their size and the wealth that they produced, namely the Indies (Luxán Meléndez 1988; Barrios 2015, 533–538). The history of these two Councils, of Portugal and of the Indies, is recounted in other chapters of this volume.

In the reign of Philip II, other steps were taken to clarify the way in which the various parts of the Spanish monarchy were linked with one another in political and jurisdictional terms. Thus, the king ordered the creation of the Council of Italy, under

whose purview were the affairs of Naples, Sicily, and Milan (Rivero Rodríguez 1998; Sabatini 2012) There is no doubt that the monarchy's influence over its Italian territories was less direct and far-reaching than in Castile. With regard to the three largest territories, the most immediately striking feature is the consistency in the Spanish government's behaviour towards the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, and the Duchy of Milan, in terms of maintaining respect for their institutions, exhibiting familiarity with the forms of representation in each territory, the evident concern with reconciling tensions, actively searching for counterbalances through the concessions made to the different territorial bodies, and confirming the privileges of the cities and the urban classes, while at the same time maintaining the feudal prerogatives untouched (Ruiz Ibáñez and Sabatini 2009).

Yet, the respect for the institutions of each kingdom notwithstanding, the Spanish government did not renounce the possibility of exercising more direct forms of control in the political, administrative, and military spheres. The aim of reconciling these two apparently incompatible demands gave rise to a strategy that almost never required any direct interference with the existing state administrative bodies, but instead involved the creation of parallel structures, or that were superimposed on existing ones, as also happened in the government of Castile (Musi 1991). It was precisely in the administrative and financial spheres—less delicate than the political or military ones—that this strategy of juxtaposing instruments for the control of already existing institutions was combined with a policy for the integration of the territories into the larger structure of the monarchy. As a result of this monarchical policy, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the *Consiglio Collaterale* was established in Naples, which was the highest advisory body to the viceroy. Also created around the same time was the *Scrivania di Razione*, an office that, without introducing any formal changes in the pre-existing administrative structure, was superimposed on the already consolidated organs of control, following a blueprint that had been successfully tested in Sicily during the preceding century (Giannone 1723, 377–390; Cernigliaro 1983). An analogous structure was also created towards the middle of the century in Milan, above all for managing the complex procedure for the new cadastral survey of the duchy (Zappa 1991).

Equally crucial for defining the constitutional profile of each of the Iberian kingdoms was the institutionalisation of their legal systems. Since the end of the fifteenth century, a network of tribunals, courts, and chancelleries had been gradually built up in each of these territories. In Aragon, one of the most notable bodies was the *Justicia de Aragon*, a tribunal that served as the court of appeal for cases relating to this kingdom, having also performed the important role of reconciling royal regulations with the legal framework in force in that territory (Arrieta Alberdi 2006).

In Portugal, the judicial network also became more complex with the creation of royal courts of appeal (*tribunais de relações*), while, at the same time, a procedure was developed that was equivalent to that of the *Justicia*: the *chanceler-mor* (high chancellor) could refuse to seal those royal charters that ran counter to the legislation already implemented. From the late fifteenth century onwards, Portugal experienced a significant growth of its royal jurisdictional mechanism, in the shape of a series of new courts (the *Desembargo do Paço*, the *Casa do Cível de Lisboa*, the *Mesa da Consciência e Ordens*, and the Court of the Inquisition).

The Castilian judicial network also became more complex during this period. Various courts and chancelleries, often very different in their nature and function, were created, and Castile developed a legal framework that was common to all of its different territorial components. Moreover, Castilian institutions and legal norms began to extend into and make themselves felt in all of the Iberian kingdoms. In the case of Portugal, its juridical interaction with Castile was conducted above all through the *lex regni vicinoris*, the legal principle that provided for the extension of "particular" laws to adjacent territories without this calling into question the independence of each of them (Clavero 1983).

UNION AND DISUNION

In various studies published in the 1990s, Sir John H. Elliott drew attention to the durability of the royal authority in the different kingdoms that formed the Spanish monarchy. Only Portugal and the United Provinces were able to break away from the monarchy from the late fifteenth century onwards. To explain this phenomenon, Elliott insisted on the need to deepen our knowledge of the different resources that had made this longstanding stability of the monarchy possible: "its administrative organisation, its capacity for coercion, and other more intangible resources—such as its capacity for maintaining the loyalty of its subjects through a combination of ideological persuasion and appealing to individual and collective interests" (Elliott 1992, 722). There has been a great deal of discussion about the fact that the Spanish monarchy, just like the Portuguese one, showed greater stability than other European monarchies during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Although popular revolts and dissent among the local or regional elites were common, until 1640 no revolt had called into question either the monarchy in general, or its nature as a composite monarchy. The main question is therefore why there were no major revolts in the Spanish monarchy, at least until the final decades of the seventeenth century?

Some historians maintain that the existence of a repressive apparatus, such as the Inquisition, promoted social and political order by suppressing the religious diversity and dissent that created civil and military conflict elsewhere in Western Europe. Yet this explanation of monarchical stability does not take into consideration other features of the Iberian political system. One of the keys to this stability seems to have been the loyalty to the monarchy demonstrated by a sizeable portion of the local social elites. We are now beginning to gain a better knowledge and understanding of the mechanisms and ideology that enabled the monarchs to maintain a profound cohesion between the many distant territories over which they claimed authority without any need for the creation and expansion of overtly repressive institutions. The main factor behind this was the existence of an important group of individuals who, in the course of their service in the different territories of this world monarchy, working at all levels of government, and in all sectors of the administration, defended the pre-eminence of the monarch and his interests, and advocated the continued permanence of the monarchical order. These individuals formed part of an extensive system of patronage that, through various hierarchical networks, united the monarch with all his servants in the various kingdoms that constituted the monarchy. Equally important was the existence of an army that included soldiers from almost all the kingdoms, which took part in conflicts both within and outside

the peninsula. The copious literature on what has come to be called the "Spanish soldier" enables us to understand the importance of this army in the cohesion of individuals from various kingdoms, identifying with the monarchy of Spain and the interests of the Spanish monarchs.

No less decisive was the type of relationship that was established between the royal power and the noble, ecclesiastical and administrative elites. The synergies that these groups developed with the crown also help to explain the longevity of a social order that was profoundly inegalitarian and discriminatory. Both the king and the elites were also aware that leading and supporting more radical protests could pave the way for more egalitarian demands from the "popular" sectors of society. For this reason, whenever such a prospect arose, the king and the elites closed ranks to avoid a transformation of the social order that could call into question the existing *status quo*: the domination of a tiny minority over a vast subordinate majority, impoverished and practically deprived of the means for participating in the process of political decision-making (Casey 1979). These territorial elites had few doubts that their defence and support of the monarchical project would bring political stability, honour, and economic benefits for themselves (Piola Caselli 2008; Sabatini 2012).

But all this does not explain another reality: the numerous territorial crises, some with dramatic results, arising from the difficulties of incorporating the different territories or kingdoms that composed this global monarchy. It would be a grave mistake to judge the political situation of the monarchy by observing it only from its centre, from the royal court. As several historians have stressed in recent years, the Spanish monarchy was a polycentric political formation, which means that it should of course be analysed from the centre, but also from the perspective of the different kingdoms, starting with those that were less well integrated (Cardim et al. 2012). Not all of the kingdoms felt themselves to be equal partners in the construction of the Spanish monarchy, and not all of them wanted to be subsumed into a more unified and harmonised whole (Feros 2017, ch. 1).

The problems of integration and union were already evident in the Crown of Castile in the early sixteenth century. The well-known Revolt of the *Comuneros* (1519–1522) was an expression of the resistance of the citizenry to Charles I's imperial project, which was perceived to have reduced Castile to the status of a marginal kingdom. Castile's urban elites took Charles' election as Holy Roman Emperor in 1519 as a sign that their kingdom would lose its pivotal position in the new order, in addition to its identity as a kingdom in its own right. The rebellion was essentially Castilian and urban, a reminder of the great influence of the Castilian cities within the monarchy created by Ferdinand and Isabel, but also an attempt to demonstrate the pre-eminence of Castile within the peninsular union (Sánchez León 1998). As I. A. A. Thompson has demonstrated, the defeat of the *Comuneros* in 1522 did not put an end to the Castilian-centred project—the desire of the Castilian cities to be given power and a central role in the design and preparation of monarchical political projects—as well as the development of what has come to be called a Castilian identity, or the feeling that Castile was the "*patria natural*" of its inhabitants (Thompson 1995). The defeat of the *Comuneros* enabled the transformation of Castile into the nerve centre and unifying agent of the monarchy. From this point on, the vast majority of the highest officials of the monarchy would be Castilians (natives of one of the various territories that formed the Crown of Castile), and the centres of royal