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The Triumph of the Burgundian Household in the Monarchy of Spain
From Philip the Handsome (1502) to Ferdinand VI (1759)

In one of the numerous memorials that were written at the beginning of the reign of Ferdinand VI (1746–1759) regarding the reform and the abolition of the different royal households which were effected at that time, the following annotation was written: The royal Burgundian household was called this way until the planta of 1749 in which was ordered by the 4th chapter that this name had to be eliminated, to be called from then on the Household of the King. From such a forceful statement can be deduced that the royal household of the Spanish monarchy in the Modern Age (that is to say, both in the times of the dynasty of the Habsburgs, 1515–1700, and in the times of the Bourbons, 1700–1749) the household of Burgundy served as a model. Certainly, during such a long period of time, the ordinances and etiquettes of the Burgundian model experienced several alterations and even some new ones were created in accordance with the political evolution of the times and the economic necessities of the monarchy.

During the late Middle Ages, every prince established his own political organization and style of service (that is, his own household) and, although each one looked for the originality that would give his monarchy independence and an identity of its own, all of them followed common models. The European royal households all had the same departments or sections (chapel, chamber, stables, venery and guards) in accordance with the diverse activities involved in exercising power. The monarchs took advantage of these sections to place the members of the social elites in their nearness to keep, this way, their respective kingdoms integrated. This model of political coordination was the one the Spanish monarchy used to keep together all its territories, which gave it a series of characteristics that have not been taken into account at the time of studying its historical evolution. On the one hand, the annexation and coexistence of the different kingdoms led to a multiplicity of royal households, which were the elements that organized the kingdoms politically. Since these preserved their autonomy, they kept their respective households (Castile, Aragon, Burgundy, Portugal and Navarre), even though the kings resided elsewhere. On the
other hand, it must be noticed that every change occurring in the constellation of these households had unavoidable repercussions on the organization of the Spanish monarchy itself.

In this work I try to explain the evolution the Burgundian household went through during this long period of time and the problems and contradictions which were involved in the process of the formation of the Spanish monarchy.

THE ORIGINS OF THE BURGUNDIAN HOUSEHOLD IN THE SPANISH KINGDOMS
PHILIP THE HANDSOME AND CHARLES V (1502–1548)

The political entity which came to be known as the »Spanish monarchy« began with the union of the crowns of Castile and Aragon at the end of the fifteenth century, after the marriage of Isabella and Ferdinand (1469), known as the Catholic Kings. Both crowns had structured their own royal households a long time ago and when the union took place they did not disappear, neither were they merged. The origins and evolution of both royal households have been analyzed in excellent studies4; nevertheless, it must be stressed that Castile rose to be the union’s leading kingdom, which meant the adoption of its household, which was institutionally less developed than the household of Aragon, as a model of service for the new political entity. When in 1496 the Catholic Kings created a household for their son Prince John, they indeed did this according to the Castilian style. In essence, this household was the same as the one owned by his mother Queen Isabella, who had in turn received it from her father King John II of Castile5. The household, which lacked ordinances, consisted of a series of units or sections – as Fernández de Oviedo described them6 –


6 G. Fernández de Oviedo, Libro de la Cámara del Príncipe Don Juan, Madrid 1870. Historians have considered erroneously the description of the units and functions of the household of Prince John as the »ordinances« of the Castilian household, which it never had. This description consists only of the memories of an elderly man regarding the service style in which he took part himself in his youth.
The Triumph of the Burgundian Household

each of which was led by a member of the Castilian high nobility, who had direct access to the king.

The early death of the young prince in 1497 had as a consequence the dissolution of his household. This way Queen Isabella’s household remained as the only one of the kingdom of Castile. After the death in 1500 of Prince Miguel, grandson of the Catholic Kings, the Castilian throne passed to Juana, who presented herself with her husband Philip the Handsome in Castile in order to be named heiress at the Cortes of Toledo in 1502. When Philip the Handsome arrived together with his wife Juana in Toledo, his household, which was managed according to the Burgundian style, consisted of more than 400 officials. It was the first time that the style of Burgundy was known in Castile. Meanwhile, his wife kept her Castilian household just as her parents had established it in 1496 to go to Flanders to get married to the Flemish Duke. This situation of the duality of the royal households recurred after the death of Isabella the Catholic in 1504, when Juana was proclaimed Queen of Castile, with Philip the Handsome as her legitimate husband, at the Cortes of Valladolid in 1506. In order to gain the political support of the Castilian elites, Philip introduced them in his Burgundian household, which by then consisted of 534 officials.

The sudden death of the Flemish Duke had as a consequence that the Burgundian household disappeared from Castile, leaving only the service of Juana. However, due to the delicate mental state she went through after her husband’s death, Ferdinand the Catholic took charge of the government of Castile in 1507, while he confined his daughter in Tordesillas. King Ferdinand noticed very soon that, in order to be able to govern Castile in peace and calm, it was essential to use its own political structure, that is, its own royal household. That is why he divided the servants who composed the royal household of Castile, leaving half of them with his daughter Juana, and taking with him the rest of the officials, so that they served him together with the servants of his Aragonese household.


11 Archivo General de Simancas (AGS). Casas y Sitios Reales (CSR), leg. 96, n. 1–2.
When young Charles arrived in Castile to take possession of the peninsular kingdoms, he found these two completely organized royal households of Castile and Aragon just as his grandfather had left them at his death. Archduke Charles, the son of Philip the Handsome and Juana la Loca, had been educated in Flanders under the protection of his aunt Margarita, who on 25 October 1515 had transmitted him the new regulations of a palace household service in accordance with the style of the Dukes of Burgundy. This was the structure of service he brought with him when he disembarked on the Peninsula in 1517. The Burgundian household, apart from being larger than the Castilian household, was served by Flemings, so that the Castilians who had occupied the main offices in the kingdom and the household of Castile during the regency of Ferdinand the Catholic hurried to meet him to offer their services, but Charles sent them to Valladolid, where the Cortes would take place in which he would be proclaimed heir of Castile and where these problems would have to be discussed. At the Cortes of Valladolid in 1518, the procuradores of Castile indeed expressed their anxiety in view of the impossibility to serve him since he had brought with him a structured household full of foreigners. After having listened to the claims, Charles I suggested that the affairs of the royal households indeed lacked an agreement and that it was necessary to arrange this. However, when he made this observation, he only referred to the Castilian household, which was divided between his mother and his deceased grandfather, since he had no doubt that his counsellors and his service had to be Burgundian. Therefore, after having announced some ordinances that had to give dignity to the Castilian household that served queen Juana in Tordesillas, Charles added to his retinue – just as Ferdinand the Catholic had done before – the other half of the officials of the Castilian household. Nevertheless, whereas in the times of the old king of Aragon this service and its officials played a main role in the political decision-making process, with young Charles the officials of the Castilian household were mere companions of the officials of the Burgundian household.

Such a decision did not turn out to be very clever since the Castilians saw themselves removed from the central government of the kingdom, and noticed how their interests were managed by the Flemings, while the servants of the Burgundian household were paid with the incomes extracted from the kingdom of Castile. This led to a discontent that, combined with the recession that Castile was going through at that time, turned into a rebellion, the Comunidades (1520–1521), after the young king had left to be crowned Emperor.


13 The account is taken from R. Fagel, Un heredero entre tutores y regentes. Casa y corte de Margarita de Austria y Carlos de Luxemburgo (1506–1516), in: Martínez Millán (ed.), La corte de Carlos V (as in n. 12), p. 132–133.

14 Cortes de los antiguos reinos de León y Castilla, IV, p. 262–282. The subject has been studied exhaustively by C. J. Carlos Morales in: Martínez Millán (ed.), La corte de Carlos V (as in n. 12), I, p. 166–168.
After the defeat of the comuneros and the return of Charles V to Castile, speculations started about the political organization that should be given to the totality of the kingdoms and territories which were going to be ruled by the young Emperor, and about the reform of the royal households. In January 1523, Charles V sent a report to the Council of Castile in which he submitted to its consideration the worries he had about these subjects. During the summer of that year the royal household of Castile started to be reformed. Not only the salaries and wages of its servants were increased, but Charles also recognized the political leading role and the function of integration that this household performed for the Castilian elites. Consequently he accepted that certain units would function actively in his service together with those of the Burgundian household. Moreover, Charles committed himself to introducing Castilian persons into the service of the Burgundian household, so that it started to get a Spanish character. The project was presented by Charles V at the Cortes of Valladolid, which were held in September 1523, and there the reforms he planned to introduce concerning the way of governing the kingdoms in general, as well as those concerning the royal household in particular, were examined. All this was embodied in the political philosophy he expressed before the procuradores:

To this we answer you that as it is not convenient to isolate the members that God wanted to bring together in one body, we understand that we should be served by all the nations of our kingdoms and domains together, keeping each one its laws and customs, and as these kingdoms [Castile] are the head of all the others, we understand we should prefer them to the others, and receive in our royal household more natives from them than from any other kingdom or domain.

The impression caused by this political reform was registered by various courtiers, such as the ambassador Martín de Salinas, who in his correspondence confirmed that numerous Castilians had been called to occupy positions in the Burgundian household. This tendency continued throughout the reign of Charles V, while the households of the rest of the kingdoms were kept fully organized. This way, the Castilian elites began to influence the monarch (excluding those from other kingdoms) while governing the vast territories he had inherited. There were no other significant changes. The situation of both households at the end of the reign was the following:

15 Real Academia de la Historia (RAH), C–71, fol. 29v.
16 Cortes de los Antiguos Reinos de León y Castilla, IV, p. 366–367. A rough draft can be found in AGS. Consejo y Juntas de Hacienda (CJH), leg. 7, n. 203, and can be identified as a holograph of Francisco de los Cobos. The development of this process has been studied in J. Martínez Millán, La corte de Carlos V: la configuración de la casa del Emperador, 1517–1525, in: Alfred Kohler (Hg.), Carlos V/Karl V. 1500–2000. Simposio Internacional, Viena 7–11 de marzo de 2000, Madrid 2001, p. 398–408.
17 RAH, C–71, fol. 76v–87r.
18 See the relation of Charles V’s house of Burgundy in 1534, where this process is noticed in: Martínez Millán (ed.), La corte de Carlos V. (as in n. 12), V, p. 169–175.
From 1550 until her death in 1555, the Castilian household of Queen Juana consisted of 155 persons. The chapel was made up of eleven chaplains, two altar boys, and two confectioners. The chamber was composed of two chamberlains, Alonso de Ribera, a contino, a clerk of the chamber, and five hombres de cámara, sixteen attendants for the beds, three attendants for the silver and two assistants, a cupbearer and his assistant and two attendants for the table. The governor of the household, the Marquis of Denia, was the head of the servants. There were also 23 yeomen of the guard, three grooms, seven gentlewomen, and 26 chamberers. On the other hand, Charles V’s Castilian household had also reduced its composition. Although apart from the members of the venery, which consisted of over one hundred members, 212 persons appeared on the payroll, not all of them travelled together with the Emperor. The chapel was ruled by the sacristan mayor, Philip of Castile, who died soon, and consisted of eight preachers and one hundred chaplains, of whom 79 actually served and 21 had obtained permission to deal with other duties while keeping their wages.

As far as the Burgundian household is concerned, on 21 October 1555, some days before the abdication of Charles V, the secretary Francisco de Eraso made a list of the gentilesbombres de boca and costilleres belonging to the Emperor’s Burgundian household, in which he mentioned the territorial origins of each of these servants and also indicated whether they were absent or present at court. He counted 27 Spanish gentilesbombres de boca (13 were present and 14 absent), 62 gentilesbombres de la casa (15 present and 47 absent) and 13 costilleres, all of them absent. There were 23 Flemish and Burgundian caballeros de boca, of whom 16 did not accompany Charles V, and 49 caballeros de la casa of the same origin (27 present and 22 absent), and one varlet servant. Also several German, Flemish and Italian gentilesbombres and costilleres belonged to the Burgundian household. This way, Gachard noticed that in the Emperor’s last days, »there were some Burgundians, a few Italians and Germans and more than 80 percent were Spaniards or Belgians«.

THE FORMATION OF THE SPANISH MONARCHY

THE BURGUNDIAN HOUSEHOLD AS A MODEL FOR THE ROYAL HOUSEHOLD OF PHILIP II (1548–1598)

Due to the hegemony of the kingdom of Castile over the rest of the territories of the Empire and because of the influence of its elites in the surroundings of the Emperor, his son and heir to the throne Prince Philip received a service based on the Castilian model. On 1 March 1535, Juan de Zúñiga y Avellaneda, grand commander of Castile,
received the title of the prince’s tutor. This appointment represented the initial nucleus of the Castilian household, which received its final form in June that same year. Regarding the organization of the Castilian household, Zúñiga informed himself through Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, a servant of Prince Juan, son of the Catholic Monarchs, who told him all that he remembered about the way in which this prince was served. After the death of Empress Isabella in May 1539, Charles V was consulted on the composition of the household of Prince Philip and he was asked if it would be convenient to introduce the servants of his mother into it. Some weeks later a series of appointments was made, the number of some offices was increased, and the Castilian household was organized in all its splendour.

Although the Castilians were pleased now that they were able to educate the heir according to their ideals and to defend their interests in such a vast monarchy, the elites of the other kingdoms did not show themselves so satisfied. Charles V understood this and in the summer of 1548, just before Prince Philip was about to make his journey through Europe in order to visit the kingdoms and territories he would soon inherit, the Emperor ordered to establish the Burgundian household. The person in charge of organizing the Burgundian household was the Duke of Alba who, at the same time, had to take care that the Castilian household, which had been serving the prince so far, would not be abolished. That is to say, Charles V extended the same complicated service system that he had inherited and which had proved to be so successful in keeping together his heterogeneous kingdoms.

The precise coordination of the Burgundian household (expressed in its ordinances) and the diversity of the models of service for the monarch as well as for the members of his family, allowed Philip II to integrate the elites of all the kingdoms and territories which belonged to the dynasty into a new political organization: the Spanish monarchy. Philip II attended the Cortes of Toledo in 1560 with all the members of his family; Prince Charles was sworn heir and the new queen, Isabella of Valois, Philip’s third wife, was presented, all were there with their respective households. They were not the only members of the royal family who brought their own service: the monarch’s brother and sister, Juan de Austria and Juana de Austria, also enjoyed a broad and large service, and a little later both of the Austrian archdukes, who had come to be educated by their uncle, arrived with their services. Such an amount of royal households allowed the monarch to integrate the different elites of the kingdoms into his service, thus giving cohesion to the new Monarchy.

After the permanent settlement of the Court in Madrid (1561), the groups of power that would dominate Philip II’s reign started to emerge. Soon it could be noticed that the Castilian elites were going to have a pre-eminent position, asserting their authority over those factions, whose political ideas defended foreign interests or positions.

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22 The payrolls of the officials in: AGS. CSR, leg. 59.
23 What now has to be consulted concerning the prince’s service (AGS, CSR, leg. 35, n. 28).
Indeed, the distribution of the representatives of the social elites over the service of the royal family was not heterogeneous, but was the result of very precise criteria that determined the factional strife at court. This way, the main offices in the household of the king soon fell into the hands of the Castilian elite, whose political ideals defended the pre-eminence of Castile over the rest of the kingdoms and the imposition of religious intransigence. Those factions of Castile and of other territories, which defended a more plural composition of the monarchy and a less harsh and more personal religious ideology, settled in the households of the other members of the royal family.

From then on, Philip II started the process of Konfessionalisierung in all his kingdoms, imposing a form of Catholicism according to the ideology of the Castilian party. As some historians have revealed, the denominational processes which were carried out by the European monarchs since the second half of the sixteenth century caused an ‘institutionalization’ of their respective monarchies. One of the essential elements of this process was the organization of the Court, in which new institutions were created and in which the royal households were reformed into essential political entities for the coordination of the royal power in the kingdom. Philip II, apart from finishing the polisinodial system (the creation of new Councils), definitely established the model for the household of the Spanish monarchy, for the king as well as for the queen: in 1570 he ordered to make ordinances for the household of the new queen, Ana of Austria, inspired by the Castilian style; some years later, in 1575, he urged Jean Sigoney to copy the ordinances of the Emperor’s Burgundian household so that they could serve as a model for his own household. This way, Philip II gave the Spanish monarchy its own form. However, this meant that the ‘official’ model of the household was now the one of the dynasty, the household of Burgundy, instead

26 The process has been studied in J. Martínez Millán, C. Carlos Morales (eds), Felipe II (1527–1598). La configuración de la monarquía hispana, Junta de Castilla y León 1998.
30 Martínez Millán (ed.), La corte de Carlos V. (as in n. 12), V, p. 179–211.
of the one of the kingdom of Castile, which had contributed to the political coordination of the monarchy.

The political behaviour of the Castilian party aroused the resentment of the elites of the rest of the territories since they had not taken part in the government nor in the political coordination of the monarchy which had been carried out by Philip II. Rome was not free from this discontent, since the Popes, as temporary lords, had experienced the same repression and even feared the Spanish monarch because of the decisive influence he had been exerting on the conclaves when it came to the election of the Popes\(^\text{31}\) and on issues as ecclesiastical jurisdiction and religious reform\(^\text{32}\). During the last decade of the reign, the members of the groups removed from power gradually introduced themselves into the service of the prince (the future King Philip III), while Rome encouraged the catholic ideology that the monarchy had to assume and defend. This way, when Philip III inherited the throne (1598), the Castilian faction was removed from government by new servants who belonged to the opposing group.

THE DEFENCE OF THE CASTILIAN HOUSEHOLD AND THE CRITICISM ON THE BURGUNDIAN HOUSEHOLD DURING THE REIGN OF PHILIP III

The reign of Philip III revealed the contradictions that had emerged in the times of his father, who had imposed the specific etiquette of the household of the dynasty on a monarchy which had been structured politically by Castile. The members of the Castilian faction, who were now removed from power, began to criticize this situation openly and started to express their disagreement with the political evolution of the monarchy and with the composition of the court and the royal household. The Cortes of Castile of 1598 expressed this clearly to the new monarch:

*Although the magnificence and antiquity of the royal Castilian household is widely known to everybody, after the marriage of the Serenísima Queen Juana with Señor don Philip, Count of Flanders, it was added to the serenisima house of Austria, and afterwards the names and offices, and the style of service of the Burgundian household were introduced into the royal household. Nevertheless, the kingdom begged his Majesty the King Don Philip, our lord, God bless him, last year 1579 to restore the service of the royal household according to the old style, offices and names of the Castilian household, which by then was not answered favourably. However, because of the rightful reasons that moved his Majesty to marry the Serenisima infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia to the Serenisimo Archduke Albert, the States of Flanders have left again the*

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\(^{31}\) R. Hinojosa, Los despachos de la diplomacia pontificia en España, Madrid 1896, p. 399–405.
crown of Castile, although this crown continues to exert direct authority over them. As a consequence, what has been begged for in the past for reasons of convenience has now become a necessity. Taking this into account, we beg his Majesty to consider to return to the kingdom the old name of the royal Castilian household, and to organize the offices and to name these according to its customs, since this kingdom bears many burdens and obligations and it was through its crown that our Lord increased [the power] of this great monarchy. As this province is the head of the monarchy, it does not seem to be appropriate to govern its household with the name and titles that do not belong to it, and are strange to it.

Simultaneously, scornful comments were made about the Burgundian service, which was accused of being barbarian and foreign: the chronicler Prudencio de Sandoval described the creation of the Burgundian household for Prince Philip in 1548 in the following way: [He] provided for the prince a household according to the Burgundian style, thereby discrediting the Castilian household, which only remained due to its antiquity though the monarchs of Castile did not have any relation to Burgundy. The same xenophobia can be observed in Luis Cabrera de Córdoba, who wrote about this event with these laconic words: He went to Valladolid, and established his household in the style of Burgundy, against the desire and hope of Castile. The criticism on the Burgundian household became even bitterer after the introduction of high taxes which were necessary to be able to carry out the foreign policy adopted by the monarchy, but which caused serious damage to the economy of the kingdom. This happened precisely in the period that the Castilian elites were removed from the offices close to the monarch, which meant that they could no longer take part in the political decisions. At the beginning of the seventeenth century the opinion that Castile had to be reformed became common. Castile was the heart of the monarchy and if Castile was getting weak the whole monarchy was sick.

The historians have focused on demonstrating that the ailments Castile suffered were eminently economic, but all the European monarchies of that time suffered from these ills; the health conditions of the Spanish monarchy, however, were much more alarming: the structures on which the monarchy was based since the times of Charles V and Philip II were changing.

34 P. Sandoval, Historia de la vida y hechos del Emperador Carlos V. Madrid 1956 (Biblioteca de autores españoles, 82), p. 357.
35 L. Cabrera de Córdoba, Historia de Felipe II, rey de España, in: Martínez Millán, Carlos Morales (eds), Felipe II (as in n. 26), p. 15.
36 Ángel González Palencia, La Junta de Reformación. Documentos procedentes del Archivo Histórico Nacional y del General de Simancas, 1618–1625, Valladolid 2012, p. 169. The medical metaphor of the situation of the monarchy was frequently expressed: J. H. Elliott, Introspección colectiva y decadencia en España a principios del siglo XVII, in: Poder y sociedad en la España de los Austrias, Barcelona 1982, p. 198–223; J. de Ceballos, Arte real para el buen gobierno de los reyes y de los principes y de sus vasallos, Toledo, fol. 30: Vuestro Majestad es el médico de esta República (His Majesty is the doctor of this Republic).
Due to the economic resources the monarchy needed to be able to develop its foreign policy and because of the numerous criticisms that were voiced by the Castilian society, Philip III tried everything possible to reduce the costs of the royal household. This unleashed a storm of regulations for the offices, practices and ceremonies of the Burgundian household, while the Castilian household remained untouched. The Cortes of 1617, in the person of the procurador of the city of Córdoba, Baltasar de Góngora, presented to the monarch a list of all the ills that overwhelmed Castile, of which the following can be highlighted: the duplication of the number of servants of the royal households since the death of Philip II, the substantial expenditures for favours, the import of foreign products to the detriment of the Castilian products, etc. Complaints like these made a deep impression on the monarch and the government. Before being removed from power, the Duke of Lerma sent a note to the president of the Council of Castile saying that he should save Castile from collapse.

On 1 February 1619, the Council of Castile answered through the famous letrado Diego Corral de Arellano. The reform of the royal household and the saving of costs were always present as essential elements that should solve the ills of the monarchy. In accordance with this view, the monarch considered that new ordinances could not be avoided and that – without touching the Castilian household – the budget of the Burgundian household had to be cut; but Philip III died before being able to carry this out.

THE REFORMS OF THE BURGUNDIAN HOUSEHOLD DURING THE REIGN OF PHILIP IV

The week after Philip IV ascended to the throne, a text with the title what His Majesty should execute as soon as possible and the main reasons of the monarchy’s destruction was handed over to him. It stated that corruption was one of the biggest evils of the monarchy and if he wanted to prevent what had occurred in the times of his father, he should act immediately by throwing out of the government the persons who were the cause of all this evil. In order to solve the problem, the new government created a Junta de Reformación with the purpose of raising the public moral standards. The committee, made up of ten members, who had to meet every Sunday at the house of the president of the Council of Castile, Fernando de Acevedo, issued one or two
consultations, but was finally dissolved. However, it caused a lot of concern when it ordered everybody who had had some office since 1603 to present an inventory of their property in order to find out if they had gotten rich fraudulently at the expenses of the crown. Nevertheless, the main problems continued to be the reduction of the war expenses of the monarchy and of the budget of the royal household.

The ordinances of 1624 for the Burgundian household

In order to solve the first problem, that is, looking for income to strengthen the royal treasury, the Count of Olivares imposed a series of reforms, which were detailed in a very long letter (dated 20 October 1622) to the cities with representation at the Cortes, in which he requested, on the one hand, the maintenance of 30,000 soldiers during six years at a rate of six ducats per month for every soldier and, on the other hand, the creation of a network of funds and pawnbrokers according to a scheme different from that authorized by the Cortes that took place in Madrid from 1598 till 1603. The representatives of the cities did not let themselves be seduced, and for this reason, when on 4 October 1623 the Cortes did the final voting, the procuradores had already resorted to the traditional financial resources: the service of the millones and a variety of fiscal measures left to the discretion of the Cortes.

Nevertheless, the amount of money voted for was unprecedented: sixty millions of ducats to be paid in twelve years, apart from the outstanding twelve millions of the last concession. To convince the Cortes of the reliability of the projects, the amounts of each destination were specified: 1,200,000 ducats for the fortresses of the monarchy; 1,300,000 for the armada; 300,000 for the salaries of ministers and officials; 610,000 for the royal households. To demonstrate the veracity of these items, Olivares announced the Cortes on 8 February 1623 that each year the budget of the king’s household would be cut by 67,000 ducats and the budget of the queen’s household by 80,000 ducats.

Regarding the second problem, the reform of the royal household, this was intended to be solved through the announcement of some new ordinances. Therefore, Philip IV ordered on 14 September 1622 to form a junta de mayordomos composed by the Count of Arcos, the Marquis of Las Navas and the Count of La Puebla, that had to reform the expenses of the Burgundian household. The conclusions were handed over to the monarch on 17 October 1622. Although the junta had studied some notes from the times of Philip III about the expenses and the way to proceed, in the introduction of these conclusions was stated that the service of the Burgundian household as it existed in the times of Philip II had served as their guideline. Both the number of servants and the expenses had to be reduced to the levels of this period.

43 The letter can be consulted in La Junta de Reformación (as in n. 36), p. 379–408, transcribed by A. González Palencia.
45 AGP. Administrativa, leg. 928.
The following year, the same junta de mayordomos met to discuss the way of managing the offices. The agreements, which were handed to the king on 6 December 1623, revealed the alarming economic shortage of the royal treasury. The account started by stating that the mayordomos had the duty to reform and take care of the oficios de la boca and of the expenses of its provisions, but they also took the liberty of advising His Majesty on what had to be done in order to manage rightly each office. This said, they stated as a general rule that for the right management of the oficios de la boca of His Majesty’s royal household it could be a good idea to distribute among the mayordomos the supervision over each of them, so that whatever seems convenient may be carried out. This statement of centralism and control on the part of the authority regarding the economic resources was clearly expressed in the notices given to each specific office about its procedures:

*The sumiller de panadería may not order on his authority the provision of wheat which is needed. This must be done through the intervention of the mayordomo in charge. At the frutería the mayordomo in charge to make the provisions in the morning, should take care that the price at which [the products] are bought for His Majesty is the same as the price at which these are sold on the marketplace. In the guardamanger is spent more than in any other oficio de la boca so it is necessary that the mayordomo in charge deals with its management with special care, ordering that everything that enters has to be counted, weighed and measured and that it leaves the same way. He also has to make sure that the veedor de viandas controls the officials and supervises the quantity and the provisions received, etc.*

In short, it was a question of saving through a cut in the budget of the portions of the household officials. At the same time, a warning was made about the little tricks used in some offices to pilfer at the expense of the provisions of the royal household:

*The supplier of this office earns a lot of money with it and it seems convenient that he no longer buys according to established prices, but that he buys each morning, on behalf His Majesty, the hens, chickens, pigeons and the other birds at the market where these are offered by different providers. The amount of eggs which is spent every day is very high and the buyer manages a cost of five marevedíes, when it is usually four or four and a half … The provision of the wine cellar must not only be done in Esquivias, but also in Valdehoro and other places nearer, since the quality of wine will be good enough for the portions and when the king and his servants are at the palace, the mules of the royal stables can bring it there, so that much will be saved.*

The reform was accompanied by changes in the main offices of the treasury of the royal household in order to carry out quickly and faithfully the agreements made.

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46 His Majesty ordered D. Lorenzo de Cárdenas, count of la Puebla del Maestre, to visit and inspect Francisco Guillamás Velázquez regarding the function he had as Master of the Chamber, and for this office was now presented D. Manuel de Hinojosa, who was guarda mayor of D. Rodrigo Calderón; and as he did not accept it, it was given to captain Tomás de Cardona, servant of the count of Olivares; and the title of counsellor of the Treasury was given to Francisco Guillamás when the visit ended (A. Almansa y Mendoza, Cartas, p. 181–182).
In view of both memorials, and after having consulted some nobles, Philip IV enacted the ordinances of his household in 1624. Philip IV did not hide what had been his intention when he made the new general ordinances:

When I ascended to the crown, I found the incomes of my kingdom in pawn, and afterwards a lot of expenses had to be made, as it was necessary to increase the armada because of the numerous enemies that are at the sea, and to go to Italy and Germany and other places. The lack of resources for so many things has forced me to do everything possible to find them, and as one of them was the reform of the expenses that were not necessary in order to make use of them in a better way, I have thought fit to start with my household and this way I have decided to reform the following.

In spite of all, at the time of reforming the offices of his households, the monarch warned that

The servants of the Castilian household may not disappear since they are necessary for hawking and hunting, nor the physicians that follow the Court and have to reside there, and the same counts for the aposentadores, who have lower salaries than the ones of the Burgundian household, nor may disappear yeomen, chamber porters that serve at the palace, at the Councils and Chancellories and other servants that never existed in the Burgundian household. As it is necessary to give them a salary, these expenses cannot be avoided.

The reason was explained in the first point of those ordinances:

1. The households of Castile and Aragon are the foundations of the magnificence of Spain’s royal households and with their resources, blood, lives and loyalty they conserve and support the other states that joined them. The idea that these households could lose their name is inconceivable and it is clear that if the kingdoms noticed this, they would feel hurt because of such disfavour. It is much fairer that the names of the households of Castile and Aragon prevail, rather than reducing all to a foreign household. Until now, the ancestors of His Majesty have kept the servants with the name of those households, and the natives of both kingdoms want to have favours and salaries by serving their natural king through them, just as the other states have.

The announcement of the ordinances of 1624 was followed by a series of meetings at the house of the Count Duke of Olivares in order to find the ways to apply them with rigour. This reform, like others concerning economic matters, enjoyed strong support from the men of letters, at least during the first years. Nevertheless, from 1626

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47 BNM, ms. 18716/43: Reformación de la Casa Real hecha en el año de 1624" p. 2° (crossed out the numbering 63–70 and replaced by ff. 17–24). Madrid, February 7th 1624.

48 In addition the following was stated: 2. The number of servants depends on His Majesty’s will which always is to honour and to favour his vassals according to the quality of each one, in order to be served by them (copy of the consultation of the Duke of Infantado, mayordomo mayor, to His Majesty on 26 September 1623, about the reform of 17 October 1622 (AGP. Administrativa, leg. 928: Casa-reformas, Reformas, especially at the beginning of Philip IV’s reign).

on a sudden deterioration can be noticed in the general economic situation of the kingdom as well as a crisis of the royal treasury. The suspension of payments of 1627 constituted the first bankruptcy of the reign. The price and wage levels established the same year by the Council of Castile did not have any effect because the prices were rising. As a consequence, on 7 August 1628, an edict of devaluation had to be proclaimed by means of which the copper coin was reduced to half its value, at the same time that the royal edict on the price and wage levels was abolished (which had been enacted to avoid their rise) for being inefficient.

Due to this economic situation, it is hardly surprising that the budget of the royal household was repeatedly cut. Actually, this practice served more as an example to the urban elites, who were constantly asked to rather raise the services they paid than to collect a substantial amount of money; however, the cut in the expenses and the abolition of offices in the royal service caused the complaints and discontent of the nobility and other elites of the kingdom who noticed that their opportunities for integration were getting worse, and who qualified the court of the monarchy during the valimiento of the Count Duke as a »court of caballeros«. And the fact is that the necessity of the monarch to maintain his states and territories and to carry out his foreign policy, led him to take a series of measures which destroyed the model of political organization by which the Spanish monarchy had been structured under Charles V and Philip II. This model was based on the ›integration‹ of the elites of the different territories into his service. In spite of all, the Count Duke of Olivares involved himself in a policy which aimed at a reduction of the expenses of the royal households, and which led him to revise the compliance of the ordinances of 1624. Therefore he created a new Junta, which came periodically together to examine this. The Junta met in total nine times and, in every meeting, the discussion focused on the imposition of a severe control on the activities of every office by the position immediately above; this supervision – so it was believed – would avoid economic waste and would cause substantial savings.

50 Domínguez Ortiz, Política fiscal y cambio social (as in n. 44), p. 46–47.
53 The monarch himself recognized this when, at the end of 1623, he ordered: A decree was made by His Majesty for the Councils, ordering to mention in the consultations a list of the servants of the pretenders, or of their ancestors, and if they are or have been in the Court and for how long, and he does not want the pretensions to be fulfilled because of the request made, but because of merits. (A. Almansa y Mendoza, Cartas, p. 164). Cf. Martínez Millán, Fernandez Conti (eds), La monarquía de Felipe II (as in n. 4).
54 His Majesty having disposed to meet the Count Duke at his house to see how the past reform was carried out he ordered to reform some things which because of certain considerations had remained as they were. The Count, with his great devotion and care for His Majesty’s service, wanted to do this with such rigour and detail that, in the juntas which had been constituted for this reason, the twelve books of the oficios de la boca of His Majesty’s household and the accounts of the furriera were examined, and on basis of what was discussed regarding this, the Count Duke made his decisions in the new juntas that for this reason were convoked. The first of these was held on 7 December 1625 and the last one on the 6th of the present month [January of 1626] (AGP. Administrativa, leg. 928).
The agreements reached by the Junta in these nine meetings which took place at the house of the Count Duke were formalized in 59 points that restricted the ordinances of 1624 even more. At the same time 26 other articles were written in order to regulate the quantities of food that corresponded to each office in order to reduce costs to the maximum. However, the savings obtained with these measures were not very significant. So, on 29 January 1627, Philip IV issued a document in which he expressed his wish to carry out the measures that had been agreed the year before, and to confirm the savings that had been made as a result of these ordinances, the accounts with the expenses of the households of the king, which amounted to 101 703 574 maravedies, were presented. The document ended with the comment that the present year of 1628 the expenses will be higher because of the increasing prices of the provisions for His Majesty’s Household; as is known regarding the wheat, which last year cost 18 reales and is bought and paid now for twenty-three.

On 15 January 1628 another list was made of the 59 points agreed on during the nine Junta meetings that had been held at the house of the Count Duke and in the margin of each point the degree of compliance was mentioned and in some cases further comments were given. The main part of the notes regarding the different points consisted of the brief comment and so it has been done. The economic deficiencies did not end with this list of accounts. The royal chamber could not face the payment commitments and pensions for the servants of the Monarchy who had received some favour for the services they had provided. This concern started after the death of Philip III, when in a situation of shortage of resources, the new monarch wanted to give an impression of honesty, pursuing and taking away the favours that had been obtained in shady ways.

List of those persons who have pensions of around three thousand ducats which are allocated every month to the ordinary expenses of His Majesty’s chamber, and to those other expenses he has, and to the debts that are owed until today, 22 February 1628, it was detailed that the pensions amounted to 587 279 reales and [the resources] for all those who receive each month 3000 ducats, amount to 396 000 reales per year, so the expenses exceed the incomes by 191 279 reales, which is 17 389 ducats.

To this had to be added 110 149 reales which were owed to the pensioners and 155 040 reales that came from private debts. The problem of the debts incurred by the royal chamber was not only economic, but resided also in the lack of credibility of...
the monarchy compared with the past reigns. The courtiers themselves and the secretary were aware of that when they wrote:

the bother suffered because of the persistence of those who depend on this money is not just a matter of patience, but also of our credit because we are dealing with it [the payment]. As they are used to the punctuality of the chamber, they blame us for the delay with which they are paid, and as the payment is our responsibility, but His Excellency is the one who gives the order, it does not seem impertinent to explain to His Excellency what should be solved and how this could be done.\(^5\)

The year after in 1629, the Buro (the government organ of the Burgundian household) made an audit of the accounts of the royal household of the previous year, and at the same time showed the monarch that it was impossible to subsist economically with the budget cuts made:

In relation to the posts which were ordered to be reformed, until now, some of them have not fallen vacant so as to be suppressed, or in case they have become vacant, His Majesty not only has considered it appropriate to provide them, but also conceded other supernumeraries and some future inheritances.

Together with this document, another one was handed over to the monarch with the title What the controller says about the reduction of the ordinary expenses which expressed the inability to maintain the royal household with such a budget:

Last year, on 3 April, I gave His Lordship a list, a copy of which is hereby enclosed, which reveals that the expenses made by the oficios de la boca throughout the year 1627 amounted to 40 752 790 maravedíes, and in this respect, about 9000 ducats were spent a month. And the compliance of the reduction of 23 506 ducats of the ordinary expenses of the other offices and of the extraordinary expenses can be seen again by Your Lordship in the list to which I refer. When His Majesty inherited, every month 3000 ducats were reduced from the ordinary expenses, which means 60 000 ducats per year, and with the right orders that were given, and with the diligence and care with which this was done, it has been fulfilled; now it seems to me that His Majesty has ordered that the 23 506 ducats that were given until the end of 1627 are to be reduced to 18 506 ducats, which means another reduction of 60 000 ducats per year which makes in total 120 000 ducats.

I also have to say that only the ordinary portions and alms, according to the prices of last year 1628 and of the current year, amount every month, in Madrid, to at least 4000 ducats without counting the wax, the dish of His Majesty, of Lord Count Duke, of the state of the chamber, of the Count of Alcaudete, of the lunch of the caballerizos, of the oficios de la boca, who when they get up early in the morning, are ordered by the mayordomos to give meals to the servants that accompany His Majesty to the countryside or accompany him when he spends the night in El Pardo, which occurs frequently, and everything means costs and expenses. Your Lordships know the prices, see the accounts and everything goes through your hands, and since nothing is spent or

\(^{59}\) Ibid.
contracted if it is not ordered by the Bureo, and since you have sufficient knowledge, your
lordship should decide from whose [budget] these 5000 ducats must be reduced, because, for the
oficios de boca, out of the 9000 which are necessary, as can be deduced from the mentioned list
and the one which has been made regarding the expenses of the month of January this year,
which also is hereby enclosed, there will not remain more than 4000 ducats per month, and these
only cover the portions and alms, so that in order to carry out the most important [orders] it will
be necessary to eliminate both and still there will be not enough.

And although His Majesty is not so many days out of Madrid, as other years, which should
reduce a bit the expenses, the prices of the provisions in this place are so high that, although those
who serve the guardamangier show much moderation in that respect, what is saved on these
expenses, is not enough to compensate these [the costs of the provisions], and so Your Lordship
order who should not be paid anymore\(^{60}\).

Despite everything, the break-up of the political structure of the monarchy that was
taking place because of the application of these drastic economic measures was much
more serious and significant, since the function of integration that the royal house-
holds and the service of the monarch fulfilled for the elites of the kingdoms was
disappearing, as the monarch himself recognized in both documents sent to the Bureo
in 1630 and in 1631. In the first one, he ordered that from now on, the Bureo may not
consult me about any office that is not vacant, according to the reform of 1624, neither
[consult me about] any supernumerary posts, even if they have no pay, nor appoint any
servant for a plaza de ayuda with the pay of an assistant. In the second one it was
maintained that when I decided about the reform of the things I thought fit to do in
my household, it was with the intention of carrying this out […] and now again I order
and command to observe this inviolably\(^{61}\).

\section*{New reform in 1631}

The reduction of the number of officials and the freezing of the wages did not turn
out to be enough to gather significant revenue to defray the expenses of the war. On
the other hand, the depression experienced by the Castilian agriculture during the
years 1629 to 1632 made it inadvisable to levy new taxes for the war which the
monarchy was waging in Europe\(^ {62}\). Given the impossibility to collect funds, Philip IV
ordered a new reform of his household in 1631. This reform did not focus on the
reduction of offices or on the issuance of new ordinances about the behaviour at the
service, but on the meals that should be served to each of the officials, starting with

\(^{60}\) Your Lordship has ordered me to inform him about what I think about the reduction that His
Majesty commands to do each month regarding the ordinary expenses of his royal household, and
in adherence to this command, I would like to make the following observations (AGP. Admi-
nistrativa, leg. 928), dated in Madrid, 22 February 1629.

\(^{61}\) Ibid. The documents are dated in Madrid, on 4 July 1630 and 1 December 1632 respectively.

\(^{62}\) About the political and economic situation, see: D\(\text{omínguez Ortiz, Política y hacienda de Felip}\)e IV (as in n. 44), p. 37–39; J. H. Elliott, El Conde Duque de Olivares, Barcelona 1990,
p. 405–410; G. Anes, J. P. Le Flem, La crisis del siglo XVII: producción agrícola, precios e
the king, reducing dishes and amounts of food. Although the control of the costs in the kitchen, of the food of the officials in the household and of the meals of the >estates<, had been a recurrent subject since the beginning of the reign, never before had this been detailed with so much precision, to the point of creating specific ordinances, stating the amount each office could consume:

After His Majesty had seen a consultation from the Bureo from 21 February 1630 about the moderation of expenses of his household and their adjustment to those of the households of Emperor Charles V and King Philip II, his grandparents, God bless them, and another that was made about this matter on 25 September the same year by the Junta, which His majesty had ordered to constitute for the reform of the royal households, he has decided that from now on the following must be observed and carried out:

1. His Majesty’s dishes will be from now on ten at lunch and eight at dinner and except for the cooked capon and the cigote, the other dishes will not be repeated, so as to reduce their expenses.
2. that sugar, wine, flour and all the rest that is given for His Majesty’s dish, must be given according to the written orders of the controller and not in any other way, depending on the meal that is ordered, without in any case allowing excesses, and the same must be observed regarding the estates.
3. the [meals of the] state of the chamber must be reduced to six dishes at lunch and four at dinner on the days that meat is served, and the days that fish is served, eight at lunch and four at dinner [...].

Such measures destroyed the political coordination on which the union of the monarchy had been based and it made the monarch seem like a bad pater familias not rewarding the benefits and the service which his subjects offered to him. This way, for example, in point 37 of the reform was ordered that from now on no rewards may be given to the widows of the sweepers unless it is for one time only and [in this case] these rewards may not be charged to the despensa. In article 38: firewood will no longer be given to the Councils. More surprising was the prohibition to give economic aid to the widows of the acemileros or soldiers. The reform ended by ordering to return to the times of Philip II.

The establishment of the amounts of the portions each office was entitled to became obligatory at the moment of determining the duties and incomes of each office. This way, regarding the guardamangier the following was stated:

In this office there are usually two officials and an assistant who receive according to weight and measure all that the buyer delivers. They make the distribution of the delivery according to the etiquettes they receive regarding the usual portions. And with respect to the table of His Majesty and the estates, they make the distribution according to what the controller and the escuyer de cocina may order for each lunch and dinner. Every official receives 75 maravedies pay and the assistant receives twenty maravedies pay each day and the aforementioned official has as on each

63 AGP. Administrativa, leg. 928
64 Articles 47 and 48, respectively.
65 AGP. Administrativa, leg. 928.
day that meat is served a portion of twelve bread rolls, one and a half share of wine and six pounds of beef and ten pounds of mutton and each day fish is served four pounds of fish and eighteen eggs and a pound of butter.

And the potajier:

is in charge of buying every sort of vegetable needed for the meal which is prepared at the kitchen, such as onions, parsleys, spinaches, chards, Brussels sprouts, turmas de tierra, asparagus, salt, wafers, cheese, milk, oranges, lemons, pears, cherries, quinces, lentils, chickpeas, broad beans, peas, for all the roasts. He has a pay of 75 maravedies per day and a portion of two bread rolls, an azumbre of wine, four pounds of beef and a half of mutton the days meat is served and the days fish is served two pounds of fish and six eggs, etc.

Such instructions, given to the different offices, constitute the basis of the ordinances of the royal household enacted in 1647 and published in 1651.

The ordinances of 1635–1636

The reform of the chamber and the appointment of the Count Duke of Olivares as chamberlain and sumiller de corps.

Despite everything, the economic problem of the royal household was not the number of officials (few could be reduced), neither the portions of food, more or less substantial, that were given, but the pensions the monarch granted as rewards for the services provided. These favours were granted through the chamber. The »chamber« constituted the most restricted and personal unit of the household of the king in all European monarchies. It was composed of all those persons who, enjoying the king’s friendship and dealing with him daily, advised him on his political decisions and on the appointments he made and the favours he granted. This unit had always been clearly defined in the Castilian household, up to the point that in the times of Philip II, in 1588, it was constituted as the Consejo de Cámara. In the Burgundian household, on the contrary, this unit was a confusing body, hardly regulated and without a detailed register of the favours granted and the offices conceded, except for the list of pensioners that was annually made to give them their salary.

The development of the Thirty Years’ War intensified the tax burden, especially from 1635 on, when France entered the conflict. It was necessary to resort to all kinds of resources: the media-annata of the salaries of the ministers and officials was taken, as well as of the interests on juros and loans; a general donation was requested.

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66 Ibid., leg. 939/1 and leg. 866.
67 Ibid., leg. 939/1.
68 D. Starkey, Introduction: Court history in perspective, in: D. Starkey et al. (eds), The English Court from the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War. London 1987, p. 5.
69 The political development has been studied in detail by Elliott, El Conde Duque de Olivares (as in n. 62), p. 450–482. The economic problems in Ruiz Martín, Las finanzas de la monarquía hispánica (as in n. 44), p. 109–111; C. Álvarez Nogal, El crédito de la monarquía hispánica en el reinado de Felipe IV. Junta de Castilla y León 1997, p. 225–239.
in order to relieve the royal treasury; a petition was made to the Cortes to vote new services, stamped paper was introduced and finally the copper coin was devaluated\(^7\).

In these circumstances it was essential, on the one hand, to control the expenses made by the royal household; on the other hand, it was necessary to reward those vassals who stood out in the service of the king, above all in a time when big offers were required and in which not all the subjects could identify with the policy adopted by the monarchy. At this juncture, it was necessary to coordinate all the resources of the kingdoms in a common enterprise. Therefore, it was considered essential to establish a full control over the access to the person of the king and over the granting of favours.

The main problem was that, after the cuts in the budget of the household, only 36,000 ducats per year were allocated to the unit of the chamber. This had been the amount allocated in the times of Philip II, however, the need to award the services provided to the monarchy had caused an increase of the chamber’s budget to the amount of 50,000 ducats per year, which made it necessary to look for new resources\(^7\). In order to find out how such a budget gap could have occurred, the monarch wrote on 26 March 1635 to the Duke of Medina de las Torres, sumiller de corps since 1626\(^2\), to examine and present the accounts of all that has been received, allocated and paid, and also to examine with which resources the allocations were made each month to his Royal Chamber, since the moment His Majesty inherited these kingdoms, and to give this information to Your Grace. The sumiller sent the note to those who had been the secretaries of the chamber during this period (1621–1635), namely Don Bernabé de Vivanco, who held the office for the first nine months of 1621; Don Antonio de Alosa, who had been appointed on 1 August 1621 and Don Antonio de Mendoza, who held the office since 1 September 1625 until he was replaced by Garcigallo on 9 September 1644. At the same time he ordered them to present the accounts of all kinds of resources that had passed through their hands and to declare to whom they had granted favours.

The secretaries answered quickly and from what they said it became clear that the chamber of the Burgundian household did not have any regulations. Secretary Antonio Alosa’s statement serves as an example of what all the secretaries put forward:

\textit{This money, Sir, has been received and paid according to the general instruction which all my predecessors had, and they and I acted with trust according to the orders of His Majesty or his valido who used to be the señores sumiller de corps, principal heads of this office and who have the power to decide about this as they like; they conceded sometimes written, and other times verbally the ayudas de costa, alms, incomes, and sometimes they asked \[money\] to Their Majesties to give secretly some ayuda de costa or alms out of their hands, or to keep it in their desks, and all this on the basis of trust because it was clear that His Majesty would not give a receipt. So,}

\(^{70}\) Dominguez Ortiz, Política y hacienda de Felipe IV (as in n. 44), p. 49–53.

\(^{71}\) The memorial is signed by Antonio Hurtado de Mendoza, dated in Madrid, August 31\(^\text{st}\) of 1635 (AGP, Administrativa, leg. 939/1, exp. 12).

\(^{72}\) Ibid. The duke of Medina de las Torres left his post of sommelier de corps, which he had occupied since 1626, in order to go to Italy (Elliott, El Conde Duque de Olivares [as in n. 62], p. 318, 323, 531).
regarding this, nobody can give account, regarding the rest, the one who is in charge can do this without problem. To receive this money and to distribute it in this way, we have two documents, the copies of which are hereby enclosed, and in which His Majesty orders that regarding this no report has to be given. When I took charge of this office, Sir, I observed this custom and with this confidence I continued doing what my predecessors did. With the same officials, with the same books, in the same way, and with the same documents [...].

With these reports the sumiller de corps wrote to the monarch, he showed him the budget gap of the chamber and advised him, in order to avoid it, to keep a better accounting and control, which always must be given when it is demanded, and there must be made a formal report with a legitimate justification. Likewise, His Majesty may consider ordering the verification of what he may have granted or not in the list of pensions. So, a deep reform of the chamber of the Burgundian household was demanded.

In 1636, Philip IV sent the Duke of Medina de las Torres to Italy and appointed the Count Duke of Olivares in his place. The monarch himself justified the appointment in the introduction to the title he issued:

Having recognized the inconveniences that are the consequence of leaving vacant the office of gran chambelán and camarero mayor of our Castilian and Burgundian households, with respect to the decorum of our Royal person and also because the experience has shown that everything that concerns the exercise of this office was not paid appropriately lacking a person who occupied this post [...].

This probably impressed the Court deeply, so much that two days later the Count of Arcos, mayordomo of the household, sent the Count Duke a memorial in which he reminded him of the importance of the office and of the grandeur of the Burgundian household in the European kingdoms. At the same time he justified the preponderance this household had in the Spanish monarchy, to the detriment of the Castilian household:

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73 AGP. Administrativa, leg. 939/1, exp. 12. Dated in Madrid, March the 31st of 1635, signed by Antonio Alosa Rodarte. Secretary Antonio Hurtado de Mendoza repeated the proceedings, although he added some nuances: His Majesty gave the orders verbally to the secretary, not only for the aids and the ordinary expenses for the servants and the soldiers and the guards, officials and wood gardeners and the nobles that were in need, and were helped by this hand, but also for the steady and particular incomes, and this is not registered in the official book, neither is there any decree or dispatch, just an order of the secretary to register this in it, saying that this way it was ordered by his Majesty. [...] At the end of each month and sometimes in the middle of the year the secretary informed His Majesty about the money spent, and if something was left over he [His Majesty] ordered him what to do with it, and if there was not enough, he ordered the president of the Treasury to compensate it. And not only the 36 000 ducats entered in the chamber, but also higher sums, and other extraordinary amounts that were distributed according to the same secret expenses, and when His Majesty considered it appropriate, he signed the book by his own hand.

74 Order that must be observed regarding the distribution of the money of the chamber, according to what has been ordered by His Majesty regarding the consultation of the Count, my lord, Camarero Mayor 23 December 1638. (AGP. Administrativa, leg. 939/1, exp. 12)

75 Ibid., exp. 14. The decree ended by declaring: And the profit of all that belongs to that office must be paid to you from 8 April of the past year 1636 onwards, when I granted it to you.
The office of Camarero mayor has its origin in the magnificence of the Burgundian household and its Duke Charles was such a great prince that he exceeded other princes. He was not inferior to the prince of Spain nor to the prince of France. He owned high and low Burgundy, all the Netherlands and the islands of Holland and Zeeland and the others. The treatment [sic] of his household was so superior that when he became related to the Emperor and to the kings of Poland and Hungary and Castile, these abandoned the service of their own households and adopted the one of Burgundy.

Don Gaspar de Guzmán did his best to regulate the chamber in order to control the expenses and the favours that were granted. Firstly, he made new ordinances for the secretary of the chamber, the main person in charge of controlling these favours and the officials that served him. Then he defined the behaviour and obligations of each office in the chamber, making a new instruction and order that must be observed from now on at His Majesty's chamber, which Philip IV announced in March 1637. Finally, he dealt with the economic imbalance the royal household suffered. The economic crisis the monarchy experienced could not be solved by reducing the meals given to the servants of the royal household or by abolishing some offices. Therefore, on 7 April 1638, the monarch enacted a new decree, trying to reduce the expenses of the provisions for his household. The decree was discussed in the bureau, in the juntas of 10 and 13 April that year, which added a series of comments in order to allow its full application. It consisted of 28 articles, in which can be observed the extent of the reduction of various departments in the royal household because of all the budget cuts that had been made throughout the past years. However, the failure of this policy of cuts was recognized in the fourth chapter:

Likewise, I have ordered to increase the budget of the store [despensa] each month with three thousand ducats, which the bureau has to distribute between the merchant and the oficiales de manos of my chamber, household and caballeriza. This way, the debts that have been recognized until now, and the complaints that have been received, can be avoided. Apart from that, price advantages can be gotten by paying punctually.

76 Ibid., dated on April 10th 1636.
77 Secretary of the Chamber. Every time I go to the chapel or leave the Palace, the secretary of the chamber must wait for my return in order to collect the memorials that have been given to me, because if this is not done this way, the decision will be delayed and the interested persons will complain. He has to take care to take every morning the writing materials [escribanias] from the writing desk where I dispatch, so that one of his officials prepares them because it is not correct that other persons come to my desk, and this shall be observed by everybody inviolably, unless I give a document to a gentleman to put it on my desk. Neither any escudero de a pie is allowed to go in, as they currently are accustomed to do, and in absence of the secretary of the chamber the writing materials will be collected by the assistant (AGP, Administrativa, leg. 939/1, exp. 12).
In article number 6, it was recognized that the payments were not made on time:

And since I wish that the emoluments of my servants and chapel and guards are paid on time, I have ordered Don Antonio Campo Redondo to meet the marquis of Jódar, so that both determine the money that may lack in the consignment given to the master of the chamber for this payment, showing the aforementioned master of the chamber the proceedings which have been made in order to be able to carry this out within a period of 30 days. The amount which may lack will later be allocated to the tax of soap and candles and the rest which is left to be allocated must be used to pay the debts that existed till the end of the past year 1637.

But the political problems of the monarchy did not make it possible to maintain a sound economy; therefore, in 1639 a start was made with the reform of the offices and the expenses of the household of the Queen79.

Towards the abolition of the house of Castile (1644)

The fall from power of the Count Duke of Olivares in January 1643 calmed down the atmosphere at the Court, as the nobility which had been expelled from the monarch’s surroundings could now return. However, this did not solve the economic situation of the monarchy; neither did it increase the treasury of the royal household. The solutions these nobles proposed to avoid the economic collapse of the royal households were not original: on the one hand, the control of the expenses of the chamber and the domestic servants of the king was intensified80; on the other hand, the whole legislation on the offices and expenses that had been enacted during the reign was compiled in the Ordinances of 1647, which were published in 1651.

Despite everything, the logic of the reforms gave way to the idea that other households that – in appearance – lacked functional nature due to the repetition of offices,
also had to be reduced. This was the case with the Castilian household. The first serious attempt to abolish or, at least, reform the Castilian household dates from 1644. With this aim, a *junta* was created which studied the economic situation of the household and tried to find out what savings could be obtained either by abolishing or reforming it. The project seemed appropriate, so the *junta* submitted it to the monarch, but he did not accept it. The answer of Philip IV to this reform could not illustrate better the contradiction the monarchy struggled with: on the one hand, they had to economize and on the other hand, they had to preserve the structure or political organization in which the previous monarchs had given the monarchy its form:

*The reform of those expenses which can be avoided was never so urgent as at the moment; but although this is certain there are things which cannot be reformed through decisions or orders of mine, because they constitute ancient customs of my royal households which cannot be changed without breaking the decorum or because they consist of gracious favours which means they are just and appropriate rewards for services which deserve this, or because they constitute stipends and salaries needed for the subsistence of those who serve me, according to their posts and quality. And so, although I thank the Junta for having examined with such detail the things that could be reformed in the Castilian household, I find few things among those which have been consulted to me which, according to my consideration, do not force me to keep them the way they are. [...] They are servants who serve faithfully and they and the others that you want to reform live from what they receive to support themselves, and getting paid on time is the least they need in these times, and this way I decide that for now no more changes will be made, except for what here has been declared.*

The considerations of the monarch prevented, certainly, the abolition of the royal Castilian household, but the changes made from then on were very rigorous and had serious consequences for its structure. The Castilian household became an annoying appendage to the royal service, and its servants had no relevance for the government of the monarchy. From the economic point of view, Philip IV began by abolishing on 3 February 1645 the post of the paymaster of the Castilian household; but apart from that, he allocated resources which were difficult to collect to the incomes with which the household had to be maintained, so its officials, from then on, did not receive their wages on time. As a consequence, the heads of each of the corporations or sections were forced to meet yearly in order to distribute the scarce incomes. This was not its biggest economic problem, because from then on, the resources set aside for the maintenance of that household were arbitrarily used by the monarchs in case of necessity: that way, on 23 November 1693, due to the *determination and necessity*

81 *I have been informed that it could be convenient that he who is or will be the paymaster of the Castilian household concedes before a notary all the powers, transfers and other dispatches related to the aforementioned office and household, and presupposing that this way the expenses of my royal treasury should not increase, I have ordered to do it this way, and it should be done before Gabriel Rodriguez de las Cuevas, my royal notary, who has been occupying this office for some time. A dispatch will be given to him but without getting paid for it (AGP. Administrativa, leg. 340).*
of continuing vigorously to protect my domains and vassals from the universal collapse that threatens them and the exhaustion of the fortunes the royal Treasury, the monarch ordered to use next year a third part of the seventy-one thousand six hundred and twenty escudos that are allocated yearly to the paymaster of the Castilian household. Regarding the institutional organization Philip IV ordered in 1644 the replacement of the Mayordomo mayor, who was responsible for the jurisdiction and the management of the household, by a junta composed of the offices of teniente de Mayordomo mayor, veedor and contador. Some years later, the mayordomos of the Burgundian household – eager to abolish the Castilian household – prevented the veedor and contador from having vote or sitting next to them in the junta de mayordomos, because it was the court inside the palace. The junta consisted of offices (mayordomos), and considering that the functions of veedor and contador were inferior, and that nobody was appointed in a personal capacity, they were not admitted, so that the Castilian household remained without management.

EVOLUTION OF THE BURGUNDIAN HOUSEHOLD THROUGHOUT THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The new dynasty of the Bourbons did not change its policy regarding the royal households. The administrative centralism they imposed on the monarchy coincided with the idea of the simplification of the royal households. Therefore, they followed the same policy that the latest monarchs of the Habsburg dynasty had left them: a control of the expenses of the Burgundian household and the abolition of the Castilian household. On 15 July 1701, the servants who had been expelled from the service of the Burgundian household presented a memorial in which – based on the reforms of 1631 – they reminded the new monarch to bear them in mind when substitutions would take place, meanwhile, the budget of the Castilian household was reduced even more. It was no use that the ministers of the latter presented a list of expenses and incomes, nor that they reminded of the importance it had had for the constitu-

82 because there is no mayordomo mayor available, and this happens frequently, and we have noticed that when there is a mayordomo mayor it is he who rules it [the Castilian household] and if there is none available, the Bureo does it, particularly from 1653 on, as it is recognized by a consultation to the Bureo of 1 April 1676 (ibid.).
83 Madrid, January the 18th of 1644 (ibid.).
84 M. Rodríguez Gil, La Nueva Planta de la Casa Real. Los oficios de Contralor y Grefier. Madrid 1989, p. 27, 110: The royal households of Your Majesty consist of different classes and creations of very ancient and modern times, the variety of which in employments and salaries, besides causing a lot of confusion, has as a consequence that a large number of useless people is maintained and that, on the other hand, some servants who work have no money to make a suit, as His Majesty might have noticed many times seeing the minor servants who assist in some rooms of the Palace. [...] In order to create a royal household, ostentatious, understandable and well served, and which is large enough to serve the King, the Queen, the Prince and the Infants with distinction, the following is proposed: 1° To join all the royal households, of the King, the Queen, old Castile, Burgundy and the French family.
85 Since 1 January 1701 His Majesty decided to allocate 10 quintos (millions) of maravedies out of
The Triumph of the Burgundian Household

The political fall of the Italian cardinal and the reaction of the «Spanish party» which supported the new monarch, Luis I (1724), prevented the implementation of the reform. Nevertheless, the return of Philip V to the throne and the beginning of the economic reforms, which culminated in those of the Marquis de la Ensenada, during the reign of Ferdinand VI, fulfilled the old project which had existed for more than a century. In the draft of the project that Alberoni had prepared, was subsequently written: it is proposed to abolish this distinction of households, but this was not done until 1749 and even then the division of the households of the king and his kingdom continued to exist until the year of 1761 [...]. The royal household remaining as is proposed here. In the year 1749, the salaries of all the servants of the Castilian household amounted to the small quantity of 167,482 reales and 23 maravedies of copper.

Nevertheless, Alberoni’s attempt had far reaching repercussions with a view to the simplification of the Castilian household: By order of His Excellency on 18 April of the present year, it seems that His Majesty, among the different decisions that he has made related to his royal Castilian household, one of them orders that the books and papers of the offices of its paymasters,veedor and contador, which are suppress,ed will be joined to those of the controller and grefer of His Majesty (ibid.).

The abolition of the Castilian household has been studied by C. Gómez-Centurión Jiménez, La reforma de las casas reales del marqués de la Ensenada, in: Cuadernos de Historia Moderna 20 (1998), p. 60–83.