The First Count of Gondomar's Library and Diplomatic Practice (1613-1622)



Ernesto Eduardo Oyarbide Magaña

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Wolfson College, Trinity Term 2019

Word count: 101,635.

Short Abstract

This thesis offers the first detailed study on the intersection between diplomacy and Spanish libraries during the early modern period. It focuses on the library of Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, first count of Gondomar (1567-1626). Once deemed by John Elliott as the 'greatest specialist in English affairs' of Spain, Gondomar oversaw a very notable embassy in London from 1613 to 1622. He also became one of the main conduits of English information to Madrid during the Anglo-Spanish peace of the early 17th century (1604-1625).

Through a detailed analysis of Gondomar's library, my thesis explores the political value behind the various types of English sources acquired during his embassies: books, printed portraits, maps, manuscript reports, pamphlets and other such items. As shown by recent historiography, the procurement of local sources was important to premodern diplomats, as they endeavoured to share in the period's bid for 'information mastery' about other polities, such as England. However, as this study illustrates, the mechanics that gave life to such ambitious ideals are often difficult to reconstruct with the records of a personal repository like Gondomar's. Thus, even though the evidence connecting Gondomar's library with his diplomatic strategy is often suggestive, it is no less true that the information unearthed in this thesis seldom leads to a straightforward interpretation on the Spanish ambassador's wider policies.

Nevertheless, by studying the documentary practices carried out by premodern agents like Gondomar, this project casts some light into the ways in which local sources could become an important concern for a diplomatic manoeuvre or turn into one of the main subjects of a diplomatic report. In the process, this thesis also offers suggestive evidence on how a personal library could be shaped by state affairs, and influenced by a series of social, religious and linguistic contexts outside the repository's walls.

Long Abstract

This thesis offers the first detailed study on the intersection between diplomacy and Spanish libraries during the early modern period. It focuses on the library of Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, first count of Gondomar (1567-1626). Once deemed by John Elliott as the 'greatest specialist in English affairs' of Spain, Gondomar oversaw a very notable embassy in London from 1613 to 1622. He also became one of the main conduits of English information to Madrid during the Anglo-Spanish peace of the early 17th century (1604-1625). Moreover, his personal library has been praised as one of the richest repositories of early modern books in Spain. However, these two accomplishments are usually considered separately. Few studies have tried to integrate the information we have about the London ambassador and Spanish statesman with the knowledge of Gondomar as a man of letters and as a collector of early modern books, manuscripts, maps, printed images and pamphlets. In addition, there is still no comprehensive effort to examine the whole of Gondomar's English collections so as to better connect his collecting endeavours with his diplomatic practice. My thesis aims to fill in this gap.

Accordingly, my doctoral project argues that Gondomar assembled a library of local English sources in order to inform his diplomatic strategy in issues like the furthering of English Catholicism, the prevention of piracy in the Americas and the marriage negotiations between the Prince of Wales and the Spanish Infanta, known as the Spanish Match. Through a detailed analysis of Gondomar's library, my thesis explores the political value behind the various types of English sources acquired during his embassies: books, printed portraits, maps, manuscript reports, pamphlets and other such items.

Indeed, when it comes to England, Gondomar appears to have immersed himself in what some scholars have referred to as 'local knowledge'. That is, insider and *in situ* information about the people, places and institutions of the country of diplomatic mission. As evidenced by the popularity of the cultural trends that gave being to the Gondomar library, and many other premodern repositories in Europe, Gondomar may have been exceptional in the breadth of his

collection. However, the acquisition of documents was a constant habit in the life of early modern ambassadors and statesmen.

As shown by previous historiography, the procurement of local sources was important to premodern diplomats, as they endeavoured to share in the period's bid for ‘information mastery’ about other polities, such as England. Nonetheless, as this study illustrates, the mechanics that gave life to such ambitious ideals are often difficult to reconstruct with the records of a personal repository like Gondomar's. As it appears, the Gondomar library rarely preserved any type of "internal" document with information about administrative tasks at the embassy, such as a diary or a commonplace book or a draft with memoranda. Quite the contrary, the manuscript materials in this collection are mostly comprised of volumes of correspondence sent to individuals outside the embassy, or scribal reports usually produced by non-embassy personnel. As a result of this situation, there are clear limitations to what we can say about Gondomar's strategies to attain ‘information mastery’. It must be noted, therefore, that this thesis does not aim to provide an overarching interpretation about the ways in which Gondomar's English sources influenced his wider policies. On a similar note, this project is not able to determine whether the regular consultation of English items proved essential for his diplomatic reports. And yet, despite these limitations, it is no less true that a close analysis of Sarmiento's English collection often reveals great political potential. Accordingly, this thesis highlights the many points of connection between the documents in the Gondomar library and the events that took place during Gondomar's residence at the Court of St. James's. It does so through an assessment of the documentary practices carried out at the Spanish embassy.

As recent works have highlighted, any diplomatic encounter can become politically relevant when the evidence reveals the ways in which relations between different polities were conducted. In this light, what becomes important are the actions, conduct and, overall, the practices of diplomatic agents and the responses these triggered –or intended– rather than the influence they eventually exerted upon the big developments in the history of international relations. Thus, this thesis analyses some of the "things" that premodern diplomats could do with the documentary sources that reached their hands.

In an effort to acquire privileged information about the country of diplomatic mission, ambassadors often got into the practice of exchanging documents with other agents. Sometimes, they also intercepted letters from officials at the foreign court. Occasionally, diplomats could acquire printed sources that were not usually available at their home court, so as to hone their intelligence and improve their political prestige. Moreover, early modern envoys often resorted to monitoring works produced in the country of diplomatic mission in an attempt to curb messages that contravened their master's agenda. These are just some examples among a number of diplomatic scenarios where the acquisition and handling of local sources from a foreign court became important.

By studying the documentary practices carried out by premodern agents like Gondomar, this project illumines the ways in which local sources could become an important concern for a diplomatic manoeuvre or turn into one of the main subjects of a diplomatic report. Through this study, this thesis also offers suggestive evidence on how a personal library could be shaped by state affairs, and influenced by a series of social, religious and linguistic contexts outside the repository's walls. Moreover, by putting a good number of examples within the context of premodern diplomatic practice, this project explores the nuanced ways in which an early modern library could help connect culture to statesmanship during a crucial period of Spanish hegemony.

My thesis has six chapters. The **Introduction** presents the reader to Gondomar's career and his diplomatic mission to England. It presents the methodological perspectives of the thesis within current historiography and explains the dissertation's main purpose: to explore the development of the Gondomar library as both a personal collection and a repository shaped by state affairs, as revealed by Gondomar's engagement with English sources. As the Introduction will discuss, this premodern repository offers remarkable research possibilities, thanks to its sheer number of books and other types of documents. However, there will also be some clear methodological boundaries in this project due to the specific limitations of the extant evidence. Thus, after providing a methodological outline, and setting up the aims and limitations of the project, the rest of the thesis offers a series of case studies focused on the English items in Gondomar's library: books, printed images, maps, intercepted letters, manuscript reports, pamphlets, ballads and proclamations.

Chapter 2 centres on the study of manuscript circulation and its connection to court politics through an analysis of the scholarly dealings between Gondomar and the English antiquarian, Sir Robert Cotton. From 1613 to 1616, Cotton provided secretarial assistance to the English king as the main negotiator for the Spanish Match. This chapter explores how the collection and exchange of manuscript reports formed part of the transactions held between political actors during the times. However, these practices also became a central point of contention during the 1616 trials over the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, a period in which these activities were looked upon as a serious breach of state intelligence.

Chapter 3 takes a closer look at Gondomar's collecting practices by exploring the corpus of his English histories, maps and treatises on trade, law and government. Through an analysis of this collection this chapter suggests that the Spanish ambassador might have created a repository of important English references as part of his intelligence strategies. Similarly, the eventual setting up of an English collection in Spain may have played a part in Gondomar's efforts to become the go-to authority on English matters at the Spanish court. Additionally, this chapter assesses the importance given by early modern ambassadors to historical and geographical knowledge for penning diplomatic dispatches and developing their political counsel, as evinced by Gondomar's reports about the 1614 Parliament, and his plans for an invasion of England during the tense months following the liberation of Sir Walter Ralegh from the Tower in March 1616.

Chapter 4 studies Gondomar's collection of English religious books and their connection to the Spanish embassy's efforts to influence religious policy in England. As part of his strategy to further the cause of English Catholicism, Gondomar and his agents monitored a series of Protestant works that influenced confessional debates. For instance, they followed publications concerning Catholic Toleration and King James's 1606 Oath of Allegiance, which developed into a full-scale European debate on the theological legitimacy of power. As part of their monitoring practices, Spanish agents sometimes enclosed forbidden works with the diplomatic reports sent to Catholic authorities in Europe. Moreover, in some instances, Catholic diplomats like Gondomar also attempted to offset the publication of 'heretical' tracts by convincing their authors to change their allegiances to Rome. During his residence in London, Gondomar also acquired a

series of Catholic books in English, many of which could have been used for instruction and worship at the Spanish embassy's chapel. As this chapter reveals, the subject matter and the publishing history of some of these works provide more information about Gondomar's strategies in confessional diplomacy. On a similar note, the material circumstances of some of the books preserved in his library offer more insights about the Spanish ambassador's collaborations with English Catholic agents.

Chapter 5 explores how printed sources played a part in a premodern diplomat's strategies in publicity, as revealed by the Spanish embassy's engagement with English popular media: proclamations, pamphlets, ballads and printed images. As this chapter discusses, early modern ambassadors sometimes attempted to reach public opinion at the foreign court by appealing to local authorities. In this respect, during his residence in England Sarmiento occasionally entreated King James to convey specific messages in his royal proclamations. In addition, the Spanish embassy monitored English pamphlets and printed images circulating in London. On a related note, this chapter studies Gondomar's collection of English pamphlets, ballads and printed portraits, which shows various links to important events witnessed by the Spaniard in London. Moreover, this chapter examines another way through which ambassadors could influence popular opinion at a foreign court, that is, through their involvement in the 'pamphlet culture' created around certain debates. In the case of Anglo-Spanish relations, this chapter highlights some of the ways in which Dutch-Palatine diplomatic networks contributed to stir anti-Spanish sentiment among the English public, as revealed by their involvement in the production of polemical messages against the Spanish Match and the Spanish ambassador. Nevertheless, after a review of primary sources and an assessment of available historiography, this chapter proposes that Spanish Habsburg diplomatic networks might have been less active in deploying a similar strategy with popular media to advance their interests.

Finally**,** the **Conclusion** draws together the major arguments advanced in previous chapters. It highlights the importance of early modern repositories, and the documentary practices that shaped these, for better understanding premodern diplomacy, the history of the book and pan-European politics. At the same time, this chapter proposes new ways to look at well-known

archives and indicates new points of inquiry into the cultural history of the pre-Westphalian Spanish diplomatic network, which is still in need of scholarly development.

My thesis takes advantage of one of the most complete extant Spanish repositories from the period to better understand the inner documentary workings of an early modern Spanish embassy during Philip III's peaceful reign, known as the *Pax Hispanica* (1598-1621). This study also provides more insights on the history of libraries and reflects on the role played by these documentary holdings in the construction and expression of knowledge(s), the setting of transnational connections and the development of what we would now call "soft power" through diplomatic practice. In the process, this study contributes to wider discussions on the importance of print and manuscript cultures for diplomacy during the years prior to the full debacle of the Thirty Years Wars (1618-1648).

Table of Contents

Note on Dates, Book Editions, Quotes and Other Conventions Adopted in this Thesis 10

List of Abbreviations 11

1. Introduction 12

1.1. Premodern Anglo-Spanish Relations: Overcoming Cultural Estrangement 12

1.2. Disciplinary Scope of the Thesis and Chapter Plan 17

1.3. From Astorga to London: The Political Career of Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, First Count of Gondomar (1567-1626) 24

1.4. The 'Most Important Affairs in the World': A Private Collection with a Public Purpose 33

1.5. The Library at the *Casa del Sol*: A Collection Fit for 'a Prince' 37

1.6. Information Management and Cultural Exchange: The Ambitious Search for 'Total Knowledge' 44

1.7. Shaped by State Affairs: The Gondomar Library as a Collective and Interconnected Endeavour 56

Chapter 2. *Ex legato Hispaniae*: Sir Robert Cotton, *Don* Diego Sarmiento and the Politics of Manuscript Circulation 65

2.1. 'A Choice Narrative' 65

2.2. Collecting the Past: Manuscripts, History and the Business of State 67

2.3. Sir Robert Cotton: Manuscript Collector and State Administrator 71

2.4. Private Dealings with Public Repercussions: The Overbury Scandal and the Disclosure of State Secrets 75

2.5. '*Ex Dono Legato*': Spanish Papers at the Cotton Library 80

2.6. 'A Volum of Spayn': Borrowing Documents from Cotton 85

2.7. 'Many Curious Papers in English': The Collection of English Manuscripts at the *Casa del Sol* 89

2.8. 'A Useful Curiosity': Perusing Documents from the Jacobean Reign 95

2.9. Manuscripts, Histories and Premodern Politics 100

Chapter 3. Collecting *Toute l'Angleterre*: English Books and Maps at the *Casa del Sol* 103

3.1. The 'School' of State: History, Politics and the Idea of *Conservación* 103

3.2. Attaining 'Familiarity with the English Nation': Diplomacy and the Procurement of Local Sources 106

3.3. For their 'Example and Instruction': Letter-Writing and the Politics of Scholarly Display 109

3.4. Chronicling from Westminster I: Gondomar's Special Report about the Opening of a Parliament 114

3.5. 'I Will Eventually Know': Books and Premodern Scholarly Practices 118

3.6. Chronicling from Westminster II: The End of a Parliament and the Beginnings of the Spanish Match 121

3.7. Procuring 'Local Knowledge': English Histories at the *Casa del Sol* 123

3.8. Bacon's Gifts: Print Culture and the Collections of Statesmen 133

3.9. 'Different to Ours': The Politics of Book Ownership 142

Chapter 4. Papers Relics and 'Abominable' Tomes: Print Culture and Confessional Politics .. 152

4.1. ‘A Great Service to God’: Books and Religious Strife 152
4.2. ‘Their Doctrine is Totally Abominable’: Forbidden Books at the *Casa del Sol* 155
4.3. Dealing with Catholics and ‘Heretics’ Alike: Diplomatic Practice and Confessional Difference 160
4.4. ‘The Fruits from this Land’: Collecting Books with Anglican Doctrines 164
4.5. A State Matter and a Conflict for the Soul: The Transnational Debate over King James's 1606 Oath of Allegiance 168
4.6. ‘Reducing’ the Enemy: The Spanish Embassy's Collaborations with Rome 176
4.7. A Most Reverend Provisional Envoy: Friar Diego de la Fuente's "Diplomacy" and his Documentary Practices 182
4.8. ‘Books on Divine Things’: Catholic Print Culture and Diplomatic Privilege 187
4.9. The ‘Anonymous Eremita’: Friar Simon Stock and the Spanish Embassy's Support of English Catholic Writers 195
Chapter 5. The ‘Spanish-English Man’. Popular Media, Publicity and Diplomacy 204
5.1. A ‘Premeditated’ Assault 204
5.2. Publicising the *Arcana Imperii*: Popular Media in an International Context 207
5.3. Public Diplomacy: Engaging with Public Opinion 211
5.4. ‘Faked’ News and ‘Blasphemous’ Productions: Censuring English Publications and Plays 214
5.5. Pamphlets, Ballads and Printed Images: Preserving the Ephemeral 223
5.6. Important People ‘Concerning the Issues Discussed’: Portraits and Diplomatic Reporting 234
5.7. Fashioning a Public Image: The Printed Portraits of the Spanish Ambassador 241
5.8. The End of the Spanish Match: Popular Media, Publicity and Diplomatic Disruption 250
6. Conclusion 263
6.1. Doing Research with a Library 263
6.2. The First Count of Gondomar's Library and Diplomatic Practice (1613-1622): Wider Scope of the Thesis and Future Directions in Research 268
General Note for the Appendices 278
Appendix 1. Library Sections of the *Casa del Sol* 279
Appendix 2. English Language Items at the *Casa del Sol* 282
Appendix 3. Histories of England in the Latin Language at the *Casa del Sol* 285
Appendix 4. Forbidden Books Section at the *Casa del Sol* 286
List of Illustrations 288
Bibliography 289

Note on Dates, Book Editions, Quotes and Other Conventions Adopted in this Thesis

During the first decades of the 17th century, most of continental Europe used the Gregorian Calendar (new style), which was ten days ahead of the Julian Calendar used in England (old style). Even though most of the events discussed in this thesis take place in London, the majority of the documents cited were produced by Spanish individuals. Accordingly, this thesis will adopt the Gregorian Calendar (new style) for dating letters and other type of documentary evidence. Nonetheless, when English letters are cited, the Julian Calendar will be maintained and acknowledged in parenthesis: (old style).

This thesis regularly discusses books and other types of early modern documents. As a result, the date and place of publishing of a work often becomes relevant. These editorial details will be regularly provided in parenthesis: '()'. However, they do not necessarily indicate the first time or place a work was published. For example, Gondomar had a copy of Polydore Vergil's *Anglica Historia* (Basel, 1570). Nonetheless, this work was first published in 1534 in the same city.

Nobiliary and religious titles are generally presented in lower case (E.g. the count of Gondomar, the bishop of London). Similarly, titles of royal figures are also presented in lower case when these do not include a specific name (the king, the prince, the queen). Unique titles or titles applied to a specific person acting as a head of state are capitalised (E.g. King James, Archduke Albert, the Pope, the Archbishop of Canterbury, General Inquisitor of Spain).

Occasionally, double quotation marks are employed for informal expressions or coined phrases (E.g. the "New World", "Popish", etc.). Simple quotation marks are used to provide quotes. My comments within quotes are placed inside square brackets: '[]'.

In the rendering of quotes from primary sources, the original capitalization is maintained. Premodern typographical choices have also been maintained, for the most part. However, minor changes in punctuation and accentuation have been applied in order to facilitate reading. In addition, this thesis provides the extended form for common abbreviations used in correspondence (E.g. '*Vuestra Señoría*' instead of 'V.S.') and applies the modern typographical use for 'u' and 'v' (E.g. '*Calvino*' instead of '*Caluino*').

Unless otherwise indicated, all translations from primary and secondary sources are mine. My translations from premodern texts endeavour to accommodate to modern English style and capitalisation, but also attempt to maintain the grammatical structure and connotations of the original version.

In order to facilitate the reading of this thesis, parts of the catalogue of the Gondomar library have been reproduced in appendices at the end of this study (see table of contents).

List of Abbreviations

Archives

AGS - Archivo General de Simancas
BL - British Library
BNE - Biblioteca Nacional de España
RAH - Real Academia de la Historia
RB - Real Biblioteca
TNA - The National Archives (UK).

Published Compilation of Letters

DIHE - Colección de Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de España. 1936-1945. Vols. 1-4.

Online Resources

Avisos - Avisos de la Real Biblioteca
DB-RAH - Diccionario Biográfico de la Real Academia de la Historia
EEBO - Early English Books Online
ESTC - English Short-Title Catalogue
ODNB - Oxford Dictionary of National Bibliography

1. Introduction

1.1. Premodern Anglo-Spanish Relations: Overcoming Cultural Estrangement

During the summer of 1592, the English College of St Alban in Valladolid was honoured by the presence of a most esteemed guest. While conducting an official visit to the city, King Philip II called at the college on August 3. He was accompanied by his daughter, Isabella Clara Eugenia, and the future Phillip III. The royal family was received in great style by the rector of St Alban and its students, who delivered welcome addresses in different languages as part of the entertainment.[1] A witness account of the day, published that same year by the Jesuit Robert Parsons, related how the first student salutations were in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, all to the great enjoyment of the attendants.[2] There followed speeches in languages far less familiar to the Spanish court: English, Welsh and 'Scotish', a language that was 'comonlie used in the courte and better parte of Stotland [sic]' and was 'not much different from the Inglis'.[3] Perhaps overly conscious of how these languages could seem quite rare to Spanish listeners, Parsons's account added that the remarks were brief and accompanied with ample gesticulation. As it seems, the audience was more accustomed to Hebrew, Greek and Latin:

> After theis three learned tongues, there ensewed other three vulgar languages, to witt, the Inglish, the welsh or Brittish, and the Scotish, wherein those that spake as they presumed that few of the courte would understand them (though of no nation comonlie there want in the same) so weare they the briefer, notwithstanding that by the forme of theyr action and manner of speeche they seemed to move diverse that understoode them not, nor weare they to his Maiestie and Princes (as appeared) either werisome or tedious.[4]

[1] For more information about this visit, see Michael Williams, *St. Alban's College Valladolid: Four Centuries of English Catholic Presence in Spain* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1986); Ana Sáez Hidalgo and Berta Cano-Echeverría, *The Fruits of Exile: Emblems and Pamphlets from the English College at Valladolid*, 2 vols (Valladolid: Trustees of the Royal English College, 2009).
[2] Robert Parsons, *A Relation of the King of Spaines Receiving in Valliodolid [Sic]* (Antwerp, 1592), pp. 32–36.
[3] Parsons, *A Relation of the King of Spaines*, p. 40.
[4] Parsons, *A Relation of the King of Spaines*, p. 36.

During the early modern period, one rarely finds evidence of Spanish perceptions about the 'tongues' of the British Isles or English culture in particular.[5] The infrequency of accounts like this one is quite revealing of the cultural disconnection experienced between Spain and England. Especially when one compares it to their corresponding interactions with other polities, such as France or some Italian states. Continuing with the Jesuit's report, one can find further confirmation of cultural disengagement when Parsons asserted that after the delivery of speeches deemed 'barbarous and peregrine to spanish eates [sic]', there followed 'other three that were presupposed to be understood by all or the most parte of them that were present'.[6] These were French, Italian and Spanish.

As these statements suggest, premodern Spaniards were rarely acquainted with the English language, or interested in English culture or English documents for that matter.[7] This was partly due to the cultural chauvinism that comes from political supremacy, but there were other reasons as well.[8] Soon after the accession of Queen Elizabeth I to the throne in 1558, England became a Protestant state. As a result, most Spanish individuals started to see England as a nation of heretics and feared the contagion of heresy.[9] Coincidently, the Spanish version of Parsons's account, also published in 1592, conveyed a stronger feeling of disdain. Indeed, where one could read in the English text that French, Italian and Spanish were languages understood by all, there is a more colourful

[5] For a brief summary of Anglo-Spanish cultural interactions over the past centuries, see Fernando Bouza, *Anglo-Hispana: Cinco Siglos de Autores, Editores y Lectores entre España y el Reino Unido* (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 2007).
[6] Parsons, *A Relation of the King of Spaines*, p. 41.
[7] One has to wait for the beginning of the 18th century to see a wider Spanish interest in English culture. See Bouza, *Anglo-Hispana*, p. 28.
[8] John Elliott, 'Learning from the Enemy', in *Spain, Europe and the Wider World. 1500-1800* (London: Yale University Press, 2009), pp. 28–29.
[9] Magdalena de Pazzis Pi Corrales, 'The View from Spain: Distant Images and English Political Reality in the Late Sixteenth Century', in *Material and Symbolic Circulation between England and Spain: 1554-1604*, ed. by Anne Cruz (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008).

assessment about languages from the British Isles: 'After the delivery of speeches in these strange and vulgar tongues, there followed others more courtly [*políticas*] and placid'.[10]

Parsons's account is also illustrative of the extent to which early modern Anglo-Spanish interactions became obscured by the long periods of confrontation experienced during the reigns of Philip II and Elizabeth I. During the years following the death of Mary Tudor in 1558, diplomatic relations between the kingdoms gradually decayed. By 1585 the breach had become a wide rift. The failure of Philip's invasion of England in 1588 was followed by sixteen years of open war and accompanied by virulent publications denouncing the other side. [11] For decades, both countries were filled with publications meant to antagonise the other. At the beginning of the 17th century, diplomatic ties were formally re-established with the accession of James Stuart to the throne and the signing of the Treaty of London in 1604.[12] However, enmities ran deep, and Spain's cultural disconnection to England changed little.

Over the past decades, scholars specialising in Anglo-Spanish interactions have taken great care to unearth the cultural side of the period's political events. Their efforts have gradually revealed that Anglo-Spanish diplomatic relations from the early decades of the 17th century can only be properly understood through a simultaneous study of the martial conflicts and the paper controversies of the 16th century. Among the more recent studies, one can cite Jocelyn Hillgarth's *The Mirror of Spain* (2000), Porfirio Sanz's *Diplomacia Hispano-Inglesa* (2002), Glyn Redworth's *The Prince and the Infanta* (2003), Alexander Samson's *The Spanish Match* (2006), John Elliott's *Empires of the Atlantic World* (2006),

[10] 'después destas tres lenguas vulgares y estrañas, se siguieron otras tres más apacibles y políticas'. Robert Parsons, *Relación de un Sacerdote Inglés*, trans. by Pedro Madrigal (Madrid, 1592), fol. 49v.
[11] Carla Rahn Phillips, 'Libels and Other Weapons: The Written Word as an Adjunct to Naval Warfare', in *Material and Symbolic Circulation between England and Spain: 1554-1604*, ed. by Anne Cruz (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008).
[12] Bernardo García García, 'Peace with England: From Convenience to Necessity, 1596– 1604', in *Material and Symbolic Circulation between England and Spain: 1554-1604*, ed. by Anne Cruz (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008); Albert Loomie, *Toleration and Diplomacy: The Religious Issue in Anglo-Spanish Relations, 1603-1605* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1963).

Anne Cruz's *Material and Symbolic Circulations* (2008) and Barbara Fuchs's *Poetics of Piracy* (2013). These works showcase a sizeable range of disciplinary approaches and methodological perspectives. From traditional and postmodern literary perspectives to economic assessment, along with analyses based on material culture studies or approaches based on social history or print culture, this scholarship has focused on many subjects, from the micro to the macro, which has sometimes led to important agreements and divergences in Anglo-Spanish studies. However, most of these works tend to point to the fact that the emergence of negative perceptions about the other side, created in both England and Spain, led to a virulently hostile public opinion that complicated many attempts at rapprochement following the peace treaty of 1604.[13] Moreover, scholars have also identified significant ambivalence regarding Spanish culture in England.[14] Between the 1550s and the 1650s, the Hispanic Monarchy exercised great political supremacy. Consequently, it became a source of suspicion for other European polities, if not the cause of outright antagonism.[15]

But at the same time that these feelings of distrust were displayed, there also appeared a sense of admiration, if not envy. Most English statesmen from the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James had to make peace with their mistrust about Spain and accept that a good command of Spanish was important for the surveillance of an ever-expanding power.[16] From the 1590s onwards, Spanish became a more fashionable language to learn, and useful dictionaries began to be published, like John Minsheu's *A Dictionarie in Spanish and English* (London, 1599). Spanish tracts from the Iberian Peninsula were

[13] See Glyn Redworth, *The Prince and the Infanta: The Cultural Politics of the Spanish Match* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003); Rahn Phillips, 'Libels and Other Weapons'.
[14] Most notably, Barbara Fuchs, *The Poetics of Piracy: Emulating Spain in English Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013).
[15] Elliott, 'Learning from the Enemy', p. 29.
[16] John Stoye, *English Travellers Abroad: 1604-1667* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), pp. 223–59.

sought after by Protestant divines for the writing of religious polemic. Spanish books were also sought by writers of fiction for providing the material for many admirable stories, and acquired by sailors and natural philosophers for information on the "New World" overseas. From William Cecil and John Donne to Francis Drake and Richard Hakluyt, many English individuals collected Spanish documents.[17]

Despite extensive scholarly work to date, the evaluation of premodern Spanish views about England is still in need of development. This might not be due to a lack of scholarly concern but rather the result of a smaller number of documented examples to work with. Indeed, when it comes to assessing early modern Spanish interactions with English culture, fewer cases are known about Spaniards learning English or acquiring English books than the other way around.[18] Moreover, the Spanish rarely visited England, except on official business or as prisoners of war. For essential information, the Spanish court greatly relied on the testimony of English exiles and their own envoys. Whenever the Spanish needed to conduct any transaction in English or decipher an English message, they would resort to 'Hispaniolised' Englishmen. These were normally Catholic clerics and lay people, but also merchants who could translate for them.[19]

It is within this context of asymmetric cultural understanding that this thesis will explore the collection of English texts and images acquired by Diego Sarmiento de Acuña (1567-1626), first count of Gondomar.[20] It will carry out this project through the documentary evidence provided by his still existent library.

---

[17] Nonetheless, as John Stoye once noted, most English courtiers never came to assume that Spanish was a language that gentlemen should learn to speak, unlike French or Italian. They would occasionally use a few colloquial Spanish phrases in personal letters, plays or diplomatic reports. Stoye, *English Travellers Abroad*, pp. 235–36.

[18] Sofía Martín-Gamero, *La Enseñanza del Inglés en España: Desde la Edad Media hasta el Siglo XIX* (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1961), pp. 98–128.

[19] Elliott, 'Learning from the Enemy', p. 45.

[20] Sarmiento was given the title of first count of Gondomar by Philip III in 1617. However, for the sake of clarity and style, this thesis will refer to him as 'Sarmiento' or 'Gondomar' or 'the count' regardless of the year.

Once deemed by John Elliott as the 'greatest specialist in English affairs' of the Hispanic Monarchy, Gondomar is usually known for his role as ambassador to London from 1613 to 1622.[21] He became one of the most important conduits of English news and English culture to Madrid during the Anglo-Spanish peace lasting from 1604 to 1625. The library in his house in Valladolid, which came to be known as the *Casa del Sol*, has also been praised as one of the richest repositories of early modern books in Spain. However, these two accomplishments are usually considered separately. Few studies have tried to integrate the information we have about the London ambassador and Spanish statesman with the knowledge of Gondomar as a man of letters and as a collector of early modern books, manuscripts, maps, printed images and pamphlets. To this day, there has not been any comprehensive effort to examine the whole of Gondomar's English collections with the purpose of connecting his collecting endeavours with his diplomatic practice. My thesis aims to fill in this omission.

1.2. Disciplinary Scope of the Thesis and Chapter Plan

My doctoral thesis aims to offer the first detailed case study on the intersection between diplomacy and a Spanish library during the early modern period. It will attempt to do this through the adoption of new insights in the history of the book, paired with current studies in premodern transnational politics and recent scholarship on information management. The current lines of inquiry brought by these fields have opened new ways of thinking about major historical trends: the rise of national identities, the development of public and private spheres, the global entanglement between actors and institutions and

[21] *Memoriales y Cartas del Conde-Duque de Olivares*, ed. by John Elliott and José Peña (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, 2013), pp. 103–5.

the ever-increasing emphasis on data in what some have come to deem the 'knowledge economy'.[22]

In recent decades, scholars have liberated the history of the book from its early focus on printed objects into an all-encompassing study of the history of information, communications, and media in its multiple forms and uses. In the first place, book historians have rightly emphasized the multiplicity of actors involved in the circulation of information as both producers and consumers. Whether it be London's St. Paul's walk, the pharmacists of Venice, or the ports of Seville, book historians have placed people at the forefront of the study of communications. The history of the book has also made it impossible to study information or communications without giving sufficient attention to the specific media in which data was stored and the practices by which agents handled it (and often also helped in shaping it). Seen through the looking-glass of the multifaceted discipline of communications, the early modern period appears as an outstanding moment in which information connected people dispersed across the entire globe. In this light, the cultural shift created by languages, empires, and confessions soon started to seem less wide.[23] On the same note, the public and private libraries and museums founded in the early modern period tended to reflect the period's expansionistic ideals through the steady accumulation of manuscripts, books, maps, scientific specimens and other exotic artefacts that supported the culture of curiosity that emerged in this era.[24] Additionally, the historical analysis of premodern repositories sometimes reveals how the early modern

[22] Elizabeth Yale, 'The History of Archives: The State of the Discipline', *Book History*, 18.1 (2015), 332–59 (p. 333).
[23] John-Paul Ghobrial, *The Whispers of Cities: Information Flows in Istanbul, London, and Paris in the Age of William Trumbull* (Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 11.
[24] Jeremy Lawrance, '"Une Bibliothèque Fort Complète pour un Grand Seigneur": Gondomar's Manuscripts and the Renaissance Idea of the Library', *Bulletin of Spanish Studies*, 81.7–8 (2004), 1071–90 (pp. 1084–87).

state administration was considerably made up of the collections of private persons acting in what they thought was their own benefit, as well as the public good.[25]

These details are relevant for the Gondomar library, which is not only the historian's major source for exploring Sarmiento's life and diplomatic career, but also one of the richest sources of Spanish diplomatic intelligence about England outside the walls of the General Archives of Simancas. What is more, the Gondomar collection might excel the latter from the perspective of early modern English print culture. In many ways, the library at the *Casa del Sol* is a privileged gateway into the study of late Renaissance culture and transnational politics, as evinced by the sheer assortment of documents in different languages that were compiled there for scholarly enjoyment, but also for its practical value.[26] It is within this latter perspective that this thesis will explore the intersection between culture and diplomacy, as revealed by the personal library of the first count of Gondomar. As this project will suggest, a study that looks at diplomacy, as revealed by the history of the book, requires great bibliographical detail, but also a close attention to situations outside the repository. It demands an active engagement with a wider landscape in which bibliographical data constitutes just one piece in the game. After all, the political significance of certain papers, in comparison to others, can be ascertained only by reference to events beyond the walls of the archive or library.[27]

This Introduction will discuss Gondomar's career and his diplomatic mission to England. It will also present the dissertation's main purpose: to explore the development of the Gondomar library as both a personal collection and a repository shaped by state affairs, as revealed by Sarmiento's engagement with English sources. The Gondomar

[25] Yale, 'The History of Archives', p. 339.
[26] See Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton, '"Studied for Action": How Gabriel Harvey Read His Livy', *Past & Present*, 129.1, 30–78.
[27] Arndt Brendecke, '"Arca, Archivillo, Archivo": The Keeping, Use and Status of Historical Documents about the Spanish Conquista', *Archival Science*, 10.3 (2010), 267–83 (p. 268).

library offers remarkable research possibilities, thanks to its sheer number of books and papers. However, due to the specific limitations of the evidence that has reached us, this thesis will also have important methodological boundaries, which will be discussed below. The chapters following the Introduction will take a closer look at the English items held at the *Casa del Sol*: manuscripts, books, maps, printed images, ballads and pamphlets.[28] These items are analysed and contextualised in order to explore different types of documentary practices employed by the Spanish embassy in a diverse set of diplomatic scenarios.

Chapter 2 focuses on the study of manuscript circulation and its connection to court politics through an analysis of the scholarly dealings between Gondomar and the English antiquarian, Sir Robert Cotton. From 1613 to 1616, Cotton provided secretarial assistance to the English king as the main negotiator for a marriage between the Prince of Wales and the Spanish Infanta, known as the Spanish Match. This chapter studies how the collecting and exchange of manuscript reports formed part of the transactions held between political actors during the times. However, these practices also became a central point of contention during the 1616 trials over the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, a period in which these activities were looked upon as a serious breach of state intelligence.

Chapter 3 takes a closer look at Gondomar's collecting practices by exploring his collection of English histories, maps and treatises on trade, law and government. Through an analysis of this collection this chapter will suggest that the Spanish ambassador might have created a repository of important English references as part of his intelligence strategies. Similarly, the eventual setting up of an English collection in Valladolid might have played a part in Sarmiento's efforts to become the go-to authority on English matters

[28] For a similar study on the political value ascribed to English sources within a domestic context, see Barbara Shapiro, *Political Communication and Political Culture in England, 1558-1688* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012).

at the Spanish court. In the process, this chapter will also assess the importance given by early modern political actors to historical and geographical knowledge for penning diplomatic dispatches and developing their political counsel, as evinced by Sarmiento's reports about the 1614 Parliament, and his plans for an invasion of England during the tense months following the liberation of Sir Walter Ralegh from the Tower in March 1616.

Chapter 4 studies Gondomar's collection of English religious books and their connection to the Spanish embassy's efforts to influence religious policy in England. As part of his strategy to further the cause of English Catholicism, Sarmiento and his agents monitored a series of Protestant works that influenced confessional debates. For instance, they followed publications touching on Catholic Toleration and King James's 1606 Oath of Allegiance, which developed into a full-scale European debate on the theological legitimacy of power. During his residence in London, Gondomar also acquired a series of Catholic books in English, many of which could have been used for instruction and worship at the Spanish embassy's chapel. Moreover, some of these Catholic works also provide more information about the Spanish embassy's strategies in confessional diplomacy and its collaboration with English Catholic agents.

Chapter 5 looks at the collection of English printed images, pamphlets, ballads and proclamations at the Gondomar library. It assesses their connection to the Spanish ambassador's practices in news-reporting and publicity at the English court. Indeed, during these times, “cheap” texts and pictorial prints became very popular among the public and proved growingly important for conveying recent happenings and particular readings of certain events (pageants, scandals, wars, inter-dynastic marriages, etc.). Through a study of Sarmiento’s engagement with English popular sources, and a simultaneous analysis of some English popular publications that showcased the Spaniard

during the Spanish Match negotiations, this chapter will assess Gondomar's strategies for dealing with English popular opinion in a transnational context.

Finally, the thesis's Conclusion will draw together the major arguments advanced in previous chapters. It will also highlight the importance of early modern repositories, and the documentary practices that shaped these, for better understanding premodern diplomacy, the history of the book and pan-European politics. At the same time, the Conclusion proposes new ways to look at well-known archives and indicates new points of inquiry into the cultural history of the pre-Westphalian Spanish diplomatic network, which is still in need of scholarly development.

Certainly, early modern diplomatic studies have undergone a substantial period of reassessment during this past decade. As John Watkins remarked in his 2008 article 'Toward a New Diplomatic History of Medieval and Early Modern Europe', there is still a need to transcend Mattingly's 1955 canonical study, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, updating in the process a good number of its premises.[29] As a result, the past decade has seen a resurgent interest in the study of European diplomacy in a number of works that have given considerable attention to English, French and Italian ambassadors, along with diplomats from other European countries that have previously been considered less influential in the geopolitical games of the early modern period. Thanks to the works of many specialists, we now see diplomatic practice as a series of complex, multifarious and globally interconnected practices that were usually overlooked by the traditional state-focused national paradigm.[30] From an analysis of the diplomatic agents' social status, to an assessment of their recording activities, ritual ceremonies and gift-giving policies,

[29] John Watkins, 'Toward a New Diplomatic History of Medieval and Early Modern Europe', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 38.1 (2008), 1–14; Karl Schweizer and Matt Schumann, 'The Revitalization of Diplomatic History: Renewed Reflections', *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, 19.2 (2008), 149–86.

[30] For an excellent survey on the state of the field, see Tracey Sowerby, 'Early Modern Diplomatic History', *History Compass*, 14.9 (2016), 441–56.

along with a study of how diplomatic experience was influenced by objects, spaces, kinship, language, money and literature, our knowledge of the field is now much more interdisciplinary and comprehensive.[31] Scholars have also taken care to dispel the image of a Europe impervious to the influence of agents from the Americas, Russia, China, Japan and the Ottoman Empire, among other polities. However, there remains a need to undertake a thorough study of the pre-Westphalian Spanish ambassadorial system from transnational and cultural perspectives.[32] Considering the significant role played by the Iberian Peninsula as a world power during the 16th and 17th centuries, this gap should become an important priority for academics interested in early modern cultural exchanges and global history.

Closer to the focus on Anglo-Spanish relations of this thesis, Ruiz's 2012 unpublished thesis, 'Las Relaciones Hispano-Inglesas entre 1603 y 1625*'*, has explored the social history of the Spanish delegation in London during the period.[33] However, the cultural activities of the embassy, as revealed by the history of the book, have received comparatively very little attention. This study will focus on this aspect and will take advantage of previous scholarship. It will also benefit from the recent development of digital resources at the *Real Biblioteca* in Madrid. Over the past decade the personnel at

[31]See *Diplomacy and Early Modern Culture*, ed. by Robyn Adams and Rosanna Cox (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); *Politics and Diplomacy in Early Modern Italy*, ed. by Daniela Frigo (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); *Practices of Diplomacy in the Early Modern World c. 1410-1800*, ed. by Tracey Sowerby and Jan Hennings (London: Routledge, 2017); Tracey Sowerby, *Cultures of Diplomacy and Literary Writing in the Early Modern World* (Oxford: University Press, 2019); Paul Dover, *Secretaries and Statecraft in the Early Modern World* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016); Helmer Helmers, 'Public Diplomacy in Early Modern Europe', *Media History*, 22.3–4 (2016), 401–20; Nathalie Rivère de Carles, *Early Modern Diplomacy, Theatre and Soft Power: The Making of Peace* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016); Douglas Biow, *Doctors, Ambassadors, Secretaries: Humanism and Professions in Renaissance Italy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002).

[32] For recent studies that have opened the way in this direction, see Michael Jacob Levin, *Agents of Empire: Spanish Ambassadors in Sixteenth-Century Italy* (Ithaca, N.Y. : Bristol: Cornell University Press ; University Presses Marketing distributor, 2005); R. González Cuerva, *Baltasar de Zúñiga: Una Encrucijada de la Monarquía Hispana (1561-1622)* (Madrid: Ediciones Polifemo, 2012).

[33] See Óscar Ruiz Fernández, 'Las Relaciones Hispano-Inglesas entre 1603-1625.' (Universidad of Valladolid [Unpublished doctoral dissertation], 2012) <http://uvadoc.uva.es:80/handle/10324/951> [accessed 29 June 2019].

this institution have calendared the thousands of documents stored in the Gondomar library. Once this task was completed, they developed a series of ground-breaking digital tools that have made the gargantuan task of cross-referencing these documents a substantially easier endeavour. Thanks to this pioneering work, we can now interrogate these documents in previously unknown ways, allowing in the process for an updated and more detailed account of Gondomar's diplomacy.

1.3. From Astorga to London: The Political Career of Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, First Count of Gondomar (1567-1626)

Diego Sarmiento de Acuña was born on 1 November 1567 in Astorga, Spain.[34] However, he spent most of his early life in the town of Gondomar in Galicia, the territorial designation under which Philip III granted him a nobiliary title in 1617. As noted by previous scholars, very little is known about Sarmiento's early years and his education, despite the fact that he later created one of the biggest premodern libraries in the Iberian Peninsula, which will be discussed below. Gondomar could have received his first formal education in the cities of Tuy or Toro. He also appears to have been under the tutelage of his relative, the bishop of Astorga.[35]

In 1581, at the age of fourteen, he was married to his cousin Beatriz Sarmiento de Mendoza. She died, childless, in 1586, and in 1588, Sarmiento married Constanza de Acuña y Avellaneda (d. in or after 1626), a distant cousin whose family had served the Crown in Italy and Flanders. Their union proved a happy one and they had seven children.

[34] This section aims to offer a brief biographical profile of Gondomar's life and his career. The information provided here draws from the following sources: José García Oro, *Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, Conde de Gondomar* (Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia, 1997); Fernando Bartolomé Benito, *Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, Conde de Gondomar: El Maquiavelo Español* (Gijón: Trea, 2005); Glyn Redworth, 'Diego Sarmiento de Acuña (1567–1626)', *ODNB*; Carmen Manso Porto, 'Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, Conde de Gondomar', *DBE-RAH*; Francisco Javier Sánchez Cantón, *Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, Conde de Gondomar* (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1935).

[35] Due to reasons of space, Gondomar's intellectual profile will be further discussed in subsequent sections of the thesis. In particular, see Chapter 1, Section 5; Chapter 2, Section 2; and Chapter 3, Section 1. From here on, specific chapter sections will be cited in the following way: Chapter 1.5.

According to the prenuptial agreement, Gondomar agreed to live with his wife in Valladolid and only be absent from her side for no more than two months in a year, unless he was serving the king in some capacity.

From 1588 to 1597, Sarmiento carried out minor tasks at the service of the Spanish Crown and would spend his time between Valladolid and Galicia, where he was in charge of overseeing the defence of the coasts. Eventually, he was rewarded with the perpetual governorship of the fortress of Monte Real in Bayona. He also became a member of the military order of Calatrava. In 1597, he was appointed *Corregidor*, or mayor, of the Castilian city of Toro. His excellent performance in this post ultimately elevated him to the more important position of *Corregidor* of Valladolid in 1602. Between 1601 and 1605, Valladolid bore the honour, and the burden, of being the capital of Spain and it was in this city that the English delegation arrived in order to ratify the agreements of the Treaty of London. However, in 1605 Sarmiento lost his appointment to the duke of Lerma's son, the count of Saldaña. For some historians, this decision constituted a momentary blow to Gondomar's career. It also suggested that Lerma, the king's *valido*, might have had some reticence in introducing him into the inner circles of power operating around Philip III. Nonetheless, regardless of this setback, Sarmiento endeavoured to serve in other capacities, and he followed the Spanish court back to Madrid in 1606.

In the following years, Gondomar would seek another important appointment. He held a seat at the Spanish council of Finances and carried out other minor administrative posts.[36] However, he had to wait until 1612 for his next significant position as Spanish ambassador to the English court. For the following ten years, Sarmiento would transact

[36] Given the polysinodial nature of the Spanish administration during the time, this thesis follows Parker in the decision to not capitalise the term 'council'. Instead, it capitalises the area of competence given to each council (E.g. 'Indies', 'State', 'Finances', etc.). See Geoffrey Parker, *Imprudent King: A New Life of Philip II* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), pp. 61–79.

with English peers at the Jacobean court, though he was allowed a period of diplomatic leave to Spain between 1618 and 1620.

Gondomar arrived in Portsmouth on July 1613 and promptly relieved the outgoing Alonso de Velasco from his diplomatic duties. He came accompanied by his wife, Doña Constanza. The embassy was located in a house just outside the city walls at the Barbican. During his residence in England, Sarmiento strove to align English policies with Spanish interests. Among his chief duties, he was charged to prevent any type of English privateering in the "Indies". He was also informally tasked by the Spanish king to support the cause of English Catholics and to do his best to obstruct ongoing collaborations between Dutch and English agents, as these could eventually prove detrimental to Spanish plans for reclaiming the United Provinces. Moreover, during his embassies Sarmiento endeavoured to strengthen the Anglo-Spanish alliance through the promise of a marriage between Prince Charles and the Infanta María.[37]

From the beginning of his diplomatic mission, the Spaniard endeavoured to send regular reports about English affairs to Spanish officials. He also strove to establish a wide-ranging network of informants at the Jacobean court. With the passing of time, his list of collaborators included well-known figures from the Howard clan, such as the earls of Northampton, Suffolk and Arundel. He also established a relationship with some of King James's most important administrators. Among these were the king's favourites, Robert Carr and George Villiers, but also other courtiers, such as Francis Bacon, Robert Cotton, Charles Cornwallis and Francis Cottington, among others.

After his arrival in 1613, Gondomar first transacted with Henry Howard, the earl of Northampton, who was the king's main political administrator at the time. However, after

[37] During his almost ten years in London, Sarmiento was commissioned by Spanish authorities with a significant number of other diplomatic negotiations. A complete listing of all these transactions would go beyond the purposes of this thesis. However, the following chapters will provide additional comment on many of the Spanish ambassador's more punctual tasks during his residence in England.

Howard's death in June 1614, Sarmiento soon established a collaboration with Robert Carr, the king's favourite, who had quickly risen from courtly page to earl of Somerset. Between 1614 and 1616, the Spanish ambassador would discuss with Carr about a marriage alliance, among other diplomatic business. Nevertheless, Sarmiento's negotiations were abruptly halted after Somerset became implicated in the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury.[38] During the first months of 1616, Robert Carr fell from grace and was removed from the political stage. As a result, between 1616 and 1618, Gondomar started to transact with the king's new favourite: George Villiers. During those years, the Spanish ambassador also put particular effort in obstructing Sir Walter Ralegh's expedition to the Guiana, which will be discussed below.[39]

In the Summer of 1618, Gondomar was granted leave to return to Spain. Before his departure, he was feasted by well-known English peers, such as the Lord Chancellor, Sir Francis Bacon, and the earl of Arundel, Thomas Howard. His last audience with King James was also notable. The Spaniard was bid farewell amid a series of royal concessions, such as the right to take out of England horses, dogs and falcons. He also managed the release of seventy Catholic priests from English prisons.

As pointed out by historiography, Sarmiento's first embassy ended amid a good moment in Anglo-Spanish relations. However, things were soon to change. During the Summer of 1618, the Elector Palatine Frederick V entered into a struggle with the Emperor over the crown of Bohemia. During the following months, a wider set of hostilities spread into different German territories. Gradually, other European powers were pitted into the conflict as well. This included Spain and England, which were slowly dragged by their dynastic allegiances into opposing sides of what would later be known as the Thirty Years War (1618-1648).

[38] See Chapter 2.4.
[39] See Chapter 1.6.

By the beginning of 1620, relations between Madrid and London had deteriorated, along with the situation in central Europe. This state of international affairs was to affect the Spaniard's second diplomatic mission to England.[40] Sarmiento left Spain in January 1620. This time, he was not accompanied by his wife. He reached London in March and set his residence in Hatton Gardens. The English monarch's welcome to the Spanish ambassador was enthusiastic. His arrival was expected to bring new life into the marriage negotiations. These conversations were now greatly represented on the English side by George Villiers, who had been elevated to marquis of Buckingham. However, the Spanish ambassador's return was not well received by many English observers, who resented Catholic Spain for its actions against the Elector Palatine and his wife, Elizabeth Stuart. Soon after his return to England, Gondomar became the target of a series of vilifying publications.

At the beginning of 1621, a parliament sat in order to discuss a possible English intervention in the Palatinate. However, the assembly was eventually disbanded by the king due to the criticism voiced in the House over James's foreign policy, which continued to endorse an alliance with Spain. After the dissolution of the 1621 Parliament, the Spanish Match became much more of a necessity for the English monarch and the Spanish ambassador, as both endeavoured to maintain Anglo-Spanish amity during a period of great political uncertainty in Europe.

In May 1622, Gondomar was replaced by Carlos Coloma at the Spanish embassy. Even though he still kept the title of ordinary ambassador, the arrival of a new Spanish envoy to England meant, at least in practice, that Sarmiento would no longer be the main interlocutor with English authorities once he left for Spain. However, the unexpected appearance of the Prince of Wales and Buckingham in Madrid would put him again in

[40] For more information, see Chapter 5.1.

the first line of diplomatic negotiations. Redworth and Samson have greatly increased our understanding of the events that followed from Charles's impromptu appearance in Spain on 17 March 1623.[41] After the initial festivities, negotiations gradually reached an impasse as a result of mutual misinterpretations and misunderstandings.[42] In the end, the Prince of Wales left Spain without a Spanish bride. He arrived in England on 5 October 1623. During 1624, an alternative match with France was secured and Anglo-Spanish relations steadily deteriorated. During the early months of 1625, Gondomar was sent again on a new mission to London, but this embassy was abruptly halted by the news of King James's death in March 1625. After a brief diplomatic assignment in France, in October 1625 Sarmiento was posted in Brussels to report on English affairs from the Flemish court. It would be there that he would hear about an English attack to Cádiz in November 1625. In June 1626, he was granted leave to return to Spain due to his poor health. However, his condition worsened on his way to Valladolid. Shortly after revising his testament, he passed away on 2 October 1626 in Casalarreina, a town in the current region of La Rioja, Spain.

From a historiographical point of view, Gondomar is best known for his London embassies. His diplomatic skills made him a figure of repute at the Jacobean court. However, this same prowess also gained him many enemies in England, and this animosity shaped his historical reputation. For centuries, the figure of a devious Gondomar was firmly set in English popular imagination, to the point that in Gardiner's 19th century *History of England*, one can still see echoes of the diplomat's alleged Machiavellian scheming against England and Protestantism.[43] This idea was first

[41] See Redworth, *The Prince and the Infanta*; *The Spanish Match: Prince Charles's Journey to Madrid, 1623*, ed. by Alexander Samson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006).
[42] See Chapter 5.8.
[43] For more information about early modern historiographical accounts on Gondomar, see Sánchez Cantón, *Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuña*, pp. 67–72; Ernesto Oyarbide Magaña, 'The Myth of the Black Knight:

popularised by publications circulating in England during the early 1620s. As a result of Puritan animosity against the Spanish Match, English streets were filled with texts denouncing a Spanish alliance. The *Vox Populi* pamphlets, published by the Protestant preacher Thomas Scott in 1620 and 1624, and the highly popular play *A Game at Chess*, put on stage by Thomas Middleton in 1624, are some of the most influential literary productions that resulted from these political events. Scott's pamphlets tried to pass as translated reports delivered by Gondomar to Spanish authorities.[44] These fictional texts aimed to reveal all the count's evil plots against England and Protestantism. In a similar spirit, Middleton's drama satirised the unhappy outcome of the Spanish Match by telling the story of the White Knight (Prince Charles) and his voyage to the Black Kingdom (Spain), where he cleverly uncovers the plots of the Black Knight (Gondomar).[45]

Both the pamphlets and the play openly attacked Spain, Catholicism and, more overtly, Sarmiento. Passages from Middleton's play are almost a literal copy from Scott's pamphlets, and in both works one can appreciate some of the most notorious recognitions, by anti-Spanish sources, of Gondomar's expansive knowledge about England and its geography. This familiarity, however, is seen as a potential source of wrongdoing, as explained by a fictional Sarmiento in the 1624 *Second Vox Populi*:

> I had perfect knowledge of the estate of the whole Land: for there was no Fortification, Haven, Creeke, or Landing place about the Coast of England, but I got a platforme and draught thereof, I learned the depth of all their Channels, I was acquainted with all Sands, Shelves, Rocks, Rivers that might impeach or make for invasion.[46]

During the second half of the 20th century, English-speaking historical interpretations of Gondomar went through a considerable reassessment. Among the

Subverting the Image of Count Gondomar in Early Modern England.', *Vides: A Journal of Interdisciplinary Essays*, 2, 2014, 11–26.

[44] Leticia Álvarez Recio, 'Pamphlet Literature and the Anglo-Spanish Match: Thomas Scott's "Vox Populi" (1620)', *SEDERI*, 19, 2009, 5–22.

[45] Trudi Darby, 'The Black Knight's Festival Book? Thomas Middleton's "A Game at Chess"', in *The Spanish Match: Prince Charles's Journey to Madrid, 1623*, ed. by Alexander Samson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006).

[46] Thomas Scott, *The Second Part of Vox Populi, or Gondomar Appearing in the Likenes of Matchiauell* (London, 1624), p. 15.

scholarly works that first advanced a new perspective were Garrett Mattingly's *Renaissance Diplomacy* (1955) and Charles Carter's *The Secret Diplomacy of the Habsburgs* (1966).[47] These works conveyed a new reading of Gondomar that did not fall prey to vilifying theories. Rather, these studies argued that the Spanish ambassador was notably quite frank in his demeanour and usually straightforward in his diplomatic approach, especially when compared to other more duplicitous figures operating in Europe during this period. In subsequent decades, scholars from both English and Spanish traditions have greatly adopted this interpretation in their studies. Among these, one can cite Albert Loomie, Luis Tobío, Jocelyn Hillgarth, Fernando Bouza, Porfirio Sanz, John Elliott, Alexander Samson and Glyn Redworth.[48]

Nowadays, Gondomar is one of the best-known Spanish ambassadors to hold a post in Europe during the reign of Philip III, a monarch who became famous for inaugurating a period known as the *Pax Hispanica*.[49] Between 1598 and 1621 Spain managed to establish a kind of steady peace between France, England and the United Provinces, and even though many problems were left unresolved, the beginning of the 17th century was marked by the creation of a more efficient and influential Spanish diplomatic network.

---

[47] Garrett Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1955), pp. 220–32; Charles Carter, *The Secret Diplomacy of the Habsburgs* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964), pp. 120 and passim.[48] See Albert Loomie, *Spain and the Early Stuarts, 1585-1655* (Aldershot: Routledge, 1996); Luis Tobío, *Gondomar y los Católicos Ingleses* (A Coruña: Ediciós do Castro, 1987); Jocelyn Hillgarth, *The Mirror of Spain, 1500-1700: The Formation of a Myth* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000); John Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America, 1492-1830* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006); Fernando Bouza, *Corre Manuscrito: Una Historia Cultural del Siglo de Oro* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2001); Porfirio Sanz Camañes, *Diplomacia Hispano-Inglesa en el Siglo XVII* (Cuenca: Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 2002); Redworth, *The Prince and the Infanta*; Samson, *The Spanish Match*.

[48] See Albert Loomie, *Spain and the Early Stuarts, 1585-1655* (Aldershot: Routledge, 1996); Luis Tobío, *Gondomar y los Católicos Ingleses* (A Coruña: Ediciós do Castro, 1987); Jocelyn Hillgarth, *The Mirror of Spain, 1500-1700: The Formation of a Myth* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000); John Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America, 1492-1830* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006); Fernando Bouza, *Corre Manuscrito: Una Historia Cultural del Siglo de Oro* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2001); Porfirio Sanz Camañes, *Diplomacia Hispano-Inglesa en el Siglo XVII* (Cuenca: Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 2002); Redworth, *The Prince and the Infanta*; Samson, *The Spanish Match*.

[49] See Miguel Ochoa Brun, *Historia de la Diplomacia Española* (Madrid: Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, 1990), VII, p. 75; Paul Allen, *Philip III and the Pax Hispanica, 1598-1621* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000).

Mattingly once declared that during this period no other group of resident ambassadors were such *virtuosi* of diplomacy, or moved on the board of European politics with such formidable independent life, as those who served Philip III.[50] It may well be that he was too enthusiastic in this assertion. However, Mattingly was right to point out that during those years of relative peace, Spanish diplomats had ample room to operate in the shaping of European affairs. Ochoa Brun agreed with Mattingly in singling out the outstanding role played by the Spanish ambassadors Baltasar de Zúñiga (France and the Imperial court), Íñigo López de Guevara (Imperial court), Alfonso de la Cueva (Venice) and Diego Sarmiento de Acuña (London).[51]

Recent scholars have also stressed that, in contrast with other Spanish envoys, Sarmiento came as ambassador to a realm which was not governed by a Habsburg, nor did he serve as Spanish liaison to a Catholic Italian republic. On the contrary, the kingdom to which Gondomar was destined still celebrated its victory over the Spanish Armada. Its Protestant people had spent decades embracing a hostile stance towards everything Spanish. Moreover, Gondomar had to establish amicable relations with King James I and VI, a monarch who occasionally styled himself the head of a Protestant coalition against Catholic threats.[52] Perhaps because of these reasons, the post of Spanish ambassador in London required an apt use of the give-and-take tactic, that is, a capacity for knowing when to press a matter and when not to do so.

Over the past years, some historians have suggested that Sarmiento might have been more successful in adopting a *via media* strategy for his diplomacy, when compared to his predecessors. In this respect, after the signing of the peace treaty, the post of Spanish ambassador was first held by Pedro de Zúñiga (1604-1609) and then by Alonso de

[50] Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, p. 220.
[51] Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, p. 222; Ochoa Brun, *Historia de la Diplomacia*, VII, p. 84.
[52] For a more recent study about Anglo-Spanish relations during the first quarter of the 17th century, see Ruiz Fernández, 'Las Relaciones Hispano-Inglesas'.

Velasco (1609-1613). As previous studies have remarked, during his embassy Zúñiga gradually earned a fame at the English court for being somewhat arrogant and coarse. These two traits could sometimes complicate diplomacy. Velasco, on the other hand, was eventually deemed to be too meek and thus less able to advance Spanish interests with enough verve. In contrast, Gondomar appears to have soon learned to find the right tone with English officials. As a result, Sarmiento soon came to be considered as one of the few Spanish agents to be able to deal more capably with the English during the reign of Philip III.[53] Moreover, as the conversations for a Spanish Match progressed, the Spanish ambassador would find that English officials were more receptive to some of his requests. And yet, as with many other cases of diplomatic negotiation, Gondomar's efforts were many times effective, but many other times unsuccessful.

With the passing of time, another detail has made of Gondomar a figure of notice. The almost complete survival of his library is an exception when compared to the fate faced by the collections of other Spanish agents. This thesis adheres to a more recent academic focus on Gondomar and aims to better understand the count's diplomacy through an assessment of his documentary practices as evinced by his library. Until now, no comprehensive effort has been carried out to better illustrate Gondomar's engagement with English local sources, or to inquire whether his collecting activities played a part in his diplomatic strategy.

1.4. The 'Most Important Affairs in the World': A Private Collection with a Public Purpose

[53] Gondomar's *via media* approach to diplomacy will be further explored in Chapter 4.3. Also, see Albert Loomie, *Spain and the Jacobean Catholics* (London: Catholic Record Society, 1973), II, pp. XIV–XX; Roberta Anderson, 'Diplomatic Representatives from the Hapsburg Monarchy to the Court of James VI and I', in *The Spanish Match: Prince Charles's Journey to Madrid, 1623*, ed. by Alexander Samson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006); Ochoa Brun, *Historia de la Diplomacia*, VII, pp. 61–101.

One very strident confirmation of this practice can be found in the same anti-Spanish propaganda that circulated in London during the early 1620s. The Protestant preacher Thomas Scott seems to have been troubled by the count's collecting habits. In the first *Vox Populi*, he managed to transform an apparently private pastime into a state matter when he made a fictional Gondomar say:

> Besides, I have made it a principall part of my imployment, to buy all the manuscripts & other ancient and rare Authors out of the hands of the Heretiques, so that there is no great Scholler dies in the land, but my Agents are dealing with his bookes. […] for I would labour what I might this way or any other way to disarme them.[54]

As Amussen once remarked, the separation between politics and private behaviour is a division we might make nowadays, but that was not the case during the early modern period.[55] Thus, even though at first glance Sarmiento's acquisition of documents in London may seem politically unimportant, Scott's apprehension had some foundation. Whilst in England, Gondomar collected English histories, printed pamphlets and religious tracts.[56] He also established a network of confidants, or informants, who kept him up-to-date about events and assisted him in intercepting letters from English courtiers. Moreover, a study of his library reveals that he endeavoured to acquire manuscripts that touched on English diplomatic transactions with other European powers and discussed English government proceedings.[57] He also acquired printed images of notorious figures at the English court and collected printed maps of the British Islands.[58] Many of these activities left a trace in the Spaniard's library.

This thesis will analyse several of the printed and manuscript items stored at the Gondomar library in order to suggest that the acquisition of local English sources played

[54] Thomas Scott, *Vox Populi, or Newes from Spayne* (London, 1620), fol. D-r.
[55] See Susan Amussen, 'Introduction to "The Peacemaker, or Britain's Blessing"', in *Thomas Middleton: The Collected Works*, ed. by Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).
[56] An edited version of this list is available as Appendix 2 at the end of this thesis. For a published inventory of Sarmiento's English collections, see Real Biblioteca, 'Ex Bibliotheca Gondomariesi. Libros en Inglés', *Avisos de la Real Biblioteca*, 10.38 (2004), 4–8.
[57] Bouza, *Corre Manuscrito*, p. 48.
[58] See Ernesto Oyarbide Magaña, 'La Posesión del Territorio Imaginado', *Avisos de la Real Biblioteca*, 21.75 (2015), 6–8.

a part in the documentary practices carried out at the Spanish embassy. In turn, these documentary practices contributed to the development of Sarmiento's reports to Madrid, and enhanced his understanding of the country where he carried out his diplomatic mission. The count's collecting activities also enabled him to preserve in Spain a distinct assortment of references with information about England's history, its geography and its peoples. However, the acquisition and eventual preserving of documents were only two documentary practices adopted by Gondomar. Whilst in London he engaged with English documents in other ways. For instance, he contributed to the circulation of English books, pamphlets, visual prints and intercepted letters by sending many of these to peers in Europe. He also endeavoured to monitor English publications dealing with religious controversies and requested the censure of texts and images that attacked Spain or Catholicism. Sarmiento appears to have occasionally endorsed the production of publications in England too, such as a tract in favour of Catholic toleration and a set of engraved portraits with his image.[59] As we shall see, in some instances the Spanish ambassador also used specific English sources to transact with English authorities and their secretaries, such as the antiquarian Sir Robert Cotton.

This thesis will endeavour to illustrate how the engagement with English books, maps, printed images, manuscripts and pamphlets formed part of the Spanish embassy's regular transactions with documents. Many of these activities appear to have been adopted in an effort to deal with affairs that, for the most part, proved to be new for the ambassador. This aspect was confessed by Gondomar in a letter dated 22 February 1615:

> When I was *corregidor* [mayor], I would make sure that the mud was removed and that the streets were cleaned in a manner that made it appear as I had nothing else to take care of. And then, the obligations of this post [as ambassador] are so different; and [I deal with] the most important affairs in the world nowadays when it comes to matters of religion, state and war; and Your Majesty [Philip III] has no one here [in London] but me, who has the duty to assist in anything that might be of your service.[60]

[59] See Chapters 4.9 and 5.7.

[60] 'Cuando era corregidor me ocupaba en hazer limpiar el lodo y barrer las calles de manera que parecía que no tenía otra cosa en que entender; y pues las obligaciones deste puesto son tan diferentes y las materias

Previous scholars have already stressed that Gondomar's personal traits and, most of all, his remarkable ability for acquiring intelligence, played a vital role during his English embassies.[61] This thesis will endeavour to show that documents with local information played a part in Sarmiento's strategies to better deal with affairs of 'religion, state and war' during his residence in England. In this respect, while reporting to Madrid about his arrival to London, Sarmiento mentioned his meetings with the outgoing ambassador, Don Alonso de Velasco. He explained that he had been able to gauge how Velasco was 'well versed' in 'the things of this kingdom' thanks to their conversations and to 'the papers he has given me'.[62] With the term 'papers', or '*papeles'*, Sarmiento would often refer to written documents like manuscript letters or reports. But the term could also be used for other sources that were usually unbound, like pamphlets and printed images.[63] What is more, Sarmiento sometimes could refer to a manuscript volume as a 'book', as shown in a letter dated 12 October 1614. In that dispatch he used that term for a scribal volume and also mentioned how he intended to 'reunite and preserve papers to make some writings that could serve Your Majesty and Spain'.[64] The intention expressed in this passage could well refer to the particular desire to write a book, of which we have no more evidence. But, broadly understood, this statement could also denote the general need to procure information in order to write diplomatic reports, which have reached us in the thousands, as evinced by the letterbooks at the Gondomar library. Greatly thanks to this collection

las más importantes q oy ay en el mundo en religión, estado y guerra; y no tiene su Majestad aquí otro que tenga obligación que yo de acudir a todo lo que fuese de su servicio'. AGS Estado, Legajo 2593, doc. 41.

[61] Redworth, 'Diego Sarmiento'.

[62] 'por los advertimientos que me ha dado, a voca y papeles que me ha entregado, he visto quan bien entendidas tiene las cosas deste Reyno'. Letter dated 6 September 1613. DIHE 3, pp. 55-71.

[63] See AGS Estado, Legajo 2591, docs. 61-64. The premodern meanings of the term 'paper' will be further discussed in Chapter 5.4. Also, see Mark Hutchings, 'The Spectre of Gondomar in the Wake of A Game at Chess', *The Seventeenth Century*, 27.4 (2012), 435–53.

[64] 'yo Voy Juntando y guardando papeles para hazer alguna escritura en el servicio de Vuestra Magestad y de España contra lo que otros han escrito tan inadvertida y apassionadamente'. AGS Estado, Legajo 2591, doc. 95.

of dispatches, this thesis will discuss how Sarmiento handled many 'papers' and appears to have perused a good number of books during his two London embassies.[65] On a similar note, even though very few details are provided, contemporary letters analysed in this thesis also confirm his dealings with English booksellers such as John Bill.[66] Moreover, as the following chapters will show, Sarmiento's collection in Valladolid preserved many printed sources that were originally produced in London.

1.5. The Library at the *Casa del Sol*: A Collection Fit for 'a Prince'

Thus, at the heart of my study is the Gondomar library, now mostly housed in Madrid's *Real Biblioteca*. In its final form, this repository held twice the number of items than the private library of the count-duke of Olivares and almost doubled the collections held at the library of Philip IV in the Alcázar in Madrid.[67] Comprised of around 6500 items, the count amassed one of the most important Spanish collections of early modern sources that were organised in 1623 under different language sections: Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Spanish, Catalan, Portuguese, Italian, French and English.[68] Nowadays, the collection also includes around 18000 letters that were bound into books and incorporated into the library by the count's secretaries.[69]

---

[65] These documentary practices will be studied in Chapters 2 to 5. For some examples, see Carmen Manso Porto, *Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuña: Erudito, Mecenas y Bibliófilo* (Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia, 1996), pp. 191–222.

[66] See Ian Michael, 'John Bill, Agente Librero', *Avisos de la Real Biblioteca*, 12.45 (2006), 6–8; Ian Michael, 'King James VI and I and the Count of Gondomar: Two London Bibliophiles, 1613-18 and 1620-22', in *'Never-Ending Adventure': Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Spanish Literature in Honor of Peter N. Dunn*, ed. by Edward H. Friedman and Harlan Gary Sturm (Newark: Juan de la Cuesta, 2002).

[67] For these figures and a more detailed account of the history of the Gondomar Library, see Ian Michael and José Ahijado, 'La Casa Del Sol: La Biblioteca del Conde de Gondomar en 1619-23 y su Dispersión en 1806', in *El Libro Antiguo Español: El Libro en Palacio y Otros Estudios Bibliográficos*, ed. by María Luisa López-Vidriero (Salamanca: Cátedra, 1996), pp. 185–200; Manso Porto, *Erudito, Mecenas y Bibliófilo*, pp. 134–42.

[68] Over the past centuries, some of Sarmiento's books were placed in other repositories, such as the *Biblioteca Nacional de España* and the *Real Academia de la Historia*. See Michael and Ahijado, 'La Casa Del Sol'; María Luisa López-Vidriero, 'Asiento de Coronas y Distinción de Reinos: Librerías y Aprendizaje Nobiliario', in *Poder y Saber: Bibliotecas y Bibliofilia en la Época del Conde-Duque de Olivares*, ed. by Oliver Noble-Wood and Jeremy Lawrance (Madrid: CEEH, 2011).

[69] Michael and Ahijado, 'La Casa Del Sol', p. 197; Manso Porto, *Erudito, Mecenas y Bibliófilo*, pp. 173–77.

The correspondence held at the *Real Biblioteca* will constitute one of this thesis's main body of source material for study.[70] As previously mentioned, these letters have been completely calendared and made available in an online catalogue by the personnel of the *Real Biblioteca*. Still, the main focus of study of this thesis will be Sarmiento's collection of English sources. With around 450 relevant items, Gondomar's library is one of the richest Spanish holdings of early modern English documents in the form of books, manuscripts, maps, pamphlets and printed images.[71] When compared to other language groups in Sarmiento's collection, this notably smaller assortment of English items might seem unimportant.[72] However, my thesis will use Sarmiento's letters, and other relevant documents, to illustrate how many of these items appear to respond to a rationale that went beyond a mere collector's whim.

In an article focused in exploring Renaissance knowledge and its repositories, Lawrance traces the development of the Gondomar library and explains how the count

[70] Most of Sarmiento's letters are now stored in the Gondomar library at the *Real Biblioteca*. However, many of these dispatches were dispersed with the passing of the centuries. This project will also look at letters received by Spanish authorities or Sarmiento's peers. As a result, a good number of letters relevant to this thesis –written by Gondomar, addressed to him or mentioning his library or his embassy– are also held in other repositories, such as Madrid's *Biblioteca Nacional*, the *Real Academia de la Historia*, the *Palacio de Liria*, the *Archivo General de Simancas*, the British Library, personal collections, etc. For a more detailed explanation of the main archival sources for studying Gondomar, see Porfirio Sanz Camañes, 'Burocracia, Corte y Diplomacia: El Conde de Gondomar, Embajador de España', in *Letrados, Juristas y Burócratas en la España Moderna*, ed. by Francisco José Aránda Pérez (Castilla-La Mancha: Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 2005), p. 399, n. 5.

[71] It is important to note that some documents were bound together into compendia, hence the difference between catalogue entries and library items. This is especially relevant for the collections of manuscripts, maps and portraits. As a result, the English language sections at the Gondomar library list sixty catalogue entries of printed works that amounted to sixty-five separate items. There are nineteen catalogue entries of manuscript works that amounted to twenty-four separate volumes. Sarmiento's collections also held three English image albums with around 200 pictorial prints altogether and two collections of English maps with around 130 cartographic items altogether. Within other sections, one can also include twenty-one histories of England in Latin and about twenty 'forbidden' Protestant works that circulated in England. The organisation of the 1623 catalogue and the relevant library listings with English items can be consulted in Appendices 1 to 4. For introductory studies about Sarmiento's English collections, see Real Biblioteca, 'Libros En Inglés'; Real Biblioteca, 'Libros Prohibidos en la Casa Del Sol (I)', *Avisos de la Real Biblioteca*, 11.42 (2005), 5–8; Oyarbide Magaña, 'Territorio Imaginado'; Pablo Andrés Escapa, 'La Muerte de Sir Thomas Overbury y Doce Grabados Ingleses en la Librería del Conde de Gondomar', *Syntagma: Revista del Instituto de Historia del Libro y de la Lectura*, 2, 2008, 17–58.

[72] For instance, for the printed sources the 1623 library catalogue listed 3029 entries in Latin, 1419 entries in Spanish, 262 entries in French and 60 entries in English. See Manso Porto, *Erudito, Mecenas y Bibliófilo*, pp. 136–39.

gradually changed his book-collecting hobby into a more systematic enterprise after moving into the *Casa del Sol*, his house in Valladolid from 1598 onwards.[73] The first catalogue of the library was produced during the same year that Sarmiento took up residence at his new home. This inventory comprised 677 entries and 720 items.[74] Over the following decades the library project was augmented with dedication, especially during the years of the London embassies. In the purchase, cataloguing, and arrangement of his library, Sarmiento enlisted the aid of his loyal servant Diego de Santana, based in Valladolid. He also assigned its care to the German bibliographer, Stephan Eussem, who met Gondomar in London and very probably accompanied him back to Spain at the end of his first embassy in 1618. During most of 1619, Eussem lived in Valladolid and started organising Gondomar's documents, which arrived from London through the ports of Bayona in Galicia and San Sebastián in Guipúzcoa.[75] However, Eussem left the task unfinished, as he had to leave for England again in November.[76] In 1622, just as he completed his second embassy, Gondomar brought with him the English recusant Henry Taylor, one of the main language secretaries at the Spanish embassy in London. It became the Englishman's task to finish what Eussem had started. Under Sarmiento's supervision, the Gondomar library was set up in Valladolid and a final catalogue was produced in 1623.[77]

The 1623 catalogue divides the library in different categories according to the item's language, its subject and format (e.g. printed or manuscript).[78] The distribution starts with

[73] See Lawrance, 'Une Bibliothèque'.
[74] RB II/2222, ff. 112r—133v.
[75] Michael and Ahijado, 'La Casa Del Sol', p. 188.
[76] Michael and Ahijado, 'La Casa Del Sol', p. 191.
[77] For more information about the organisation of the library, and for a series of documents that suggest Gondomar's supervision, see Manso Porto, *Erudito, Mecenas y Bibliófilo*, pp. 123-147 and 331-412.
[78] The library is now studied through this final catalogue, which was produced three years before Gondomar's death on 2 October 1626. This inventory is held in two manuscript volumes at the *Biblioteca Nacional de España* (BNE) under the references MSS 13593 and MSS 13594. Throughout the thesis, the 1623 catalogue will be cited through Appendix 1, which aims to be an accurate rendering of the sections in the original catalogue. For more in-depth analysis of all the items in Sarmiento's library, the reader can also

a listing of printed books according to a language hierarchy, with a priority given to those languages in which God revealed himself to the world.[79] First come the printed books in Hebrew, which do not contain enough items to have subsequent sections. Then come the books in Greek, with five sections (Church Fathers, histories, philosophy, poetry and Greek vocabularies).[80] Third in the list are the printed books in Latin, a category containing forty sections. These eminent languages of classical knowledge are followed by Spanish (twenty-four sections), Portuguese (seven sections), Catalan (no sections), Italian (eighteen sections), French (four sections) and finally English, with four sections: 'Histories of England and other Kingdoms', 'Books touching on divine things', 'Statutes of England, Poetry and books touching on other affairs' and, finally, English vocabulary books and dictionaries.[81] After this listing, the catalogue continues with a detailed inventory of manuscripts acquired by the count and usually bound together in books, which are again sorted by language and enumerated according to their numbers. First come those works in Spanish, which constitute the majority of the group and are divided into thirteen sections. Then come the manuscripts in Latin, Italian, English, and finally French, which constitute the smaller group.

Sarmiento's printed documents eventually occupied three to four rooms at the *Casa del Sol*, and a privileged space was dedicated to the count's assortment of manuscripts

consult an online version of the 1623 catalogue. See Real Biblioteca, 'Inventario de la Biblioteca Gondomar (1623)', *Patrimonio Nacional* <http://inventarios.realbiblioteca.es/inventario> [accessed 1 September 2019].

[79] For the complete listing of printed and manuscript sections, see Manso Porto, *Erudito, Mecenas y Bibliófilo*, pp. 136–39.

[80] However, the language separation for the Hebrew and Greek sections is misleading. Overall, these sections contain Latin works dealing with Hebrew or Greek authors. López-Vidriero, 'Asiento de Coronas', p. 226.

[81] 'Historias de Ynglaterra y de otros Reynos'; 'Libros tocantes a las cosas divinas'; 'Estatutos de Ynglaterra, Poesías, y otros libros de varias materias'; 'Vocabularios en ynglés y latín y otros en ynglés y castellano, y italiano, etc. y françés'. See Real Biblioteca, 'Libros En Inglés'. From here on, this thesis will use Appendix 2 to cite Sarmiento's collection of printed and manuscript texts in the English language.

within this collection.[82] Inherent in the organisation of the Gondomar library is the lack of distinction between what we would now call a library and an archive. However, establishing a sharp distinction between these two types of repositories would not capture the organic and dynamic character of record-keeping between the 16th and early 18th centuries.[83] Our contemporary notions, which neatly separate between places for keeping items relevant to government administration and those repositories with documents pertinent to scholarship and heritage, were first embodied in institutions like the *Archives Nationales* or the *Bibliothèque Nationale*. This distinction was later replicated in other European countries. As pointed out by Walsham, in the 16th and 17th centuries people often used the word 'archive' to describe a place where ancient records, charters, deeds, evidences and rolls, especially those belonging to a monarch or a kingdom were kept. 'Record' similarly had a particular judicial and official resonance and ring. It was used to refer to writings deliberately preserved for legal purposes as precedents and forms of proof. Yet both terms were also used in a more expansive sense. They were utilised interchangeably to denominate other types of depositories of documents in which information, knowledge and memory were stored, including libraries and museums and the collections of manuscripts, books, maps and objects that comprised them.[84]

As noted by Albalá, after the modern "archival turn" it has become clear that neither libraries nor archives are –or have ever been– neutral in the data they gathered, nor can they escape the hermeneutic circles that led to their creation and preservation.[85] In early modern Europe, some 'archives', especially those of elite families, contained material

[82] Andrés Escapa and José Luis Rodríguez, 'Manuscritos y Saberes en la Librería del Conde de Gondomar', in *El Libro Antiguo Español: Coleccionismo y Bibliotecas*, ed. by María Luisa López-Vidriero (Salamanca: Cátedra, 1998), pp. 24,38-39.
[83] Fernando Bouza, *Del Escribano a la Biblioteca* (Madrid: Editorial Síntesis, 1992), pp. 124–32.
[84] Alexandra Walsham, 'The Social History of the Archive: Record-Keeping in Early Modern Europe', *Past & Present*, 230.11 (2016), 9–48 (p. 14).
[85] Marta Albalá Pelegrín, 'Wars of Knowledge: Iberian Imperial Hegemony and the Assembling of Libraries', *Pacific Coast Philology*, 52.2 (2017), 166–72 (p. 167).

that was not principally administrative or executive in quality, and which was collected in the interests of posterity. In turn 'libraries' frequently housed transcriptions of legal instruments alongside private papers selected and obtained for the purpose of preserving the past for analysis and study by contemporaries and subsequent generations. In England, for instance, Sir Robert Cotton's personal library was accessible to scholars and statesmen alike and included much material that pertained to the state and was even stolen from it; it also served as an arsenal of documentary ammunition with which to challenge political privileges, including the royal prerogative.[86] Similarly, the Gondomar library was conceived not only as a place for scholarly recreation but also as a resource, a tool to enable its owner to fulfil the roles of courtier and political counsellor. This is how it was expressed by Gondomar's bibliographer, Stephan Eussem, who liked to refer to the count's collection as a seigneurial 'study', that is, a space of knowledge considered suitable to inform the mind and character of the statesman.[87] Early modern libraries, therefore, functioned not merely as archival muniments, but also as monuments and memorials that bore witness to the presence of historical consciousness and to an impulse to preserve the past for the future.[88] This idea is supported by another of Stephan Eussem's remarks, when he explained in a letter to his master that he was working to assemble in the *Casa del Sol* 'a library excellently provisioned for a great *seigneur*'.[89] Similar statements come from Sir George Gage, one of the few English courtiers to have inspected the collection in Valladolid. While visiting the city in 1619, he had no reticence in writing to Gondomar to tell him that his library was like that of 'a prince'.[90] In a similar

[86] Walsham, 'The Social History of the Archive', p. 15; Kevin Sharpe, *Sir Robert Cotton, 1586-1631: History and Politics in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979).
[87] Lawrance, 'Une Bibliothèque', p. 352.
[88] Eric Ketelaar, 'Muniments and Monuments: The Dawn of Archives as Cultural Patrimony', *Archival Science*, 7.4 (2007), 343–57 (p. 352).
[89] 'ce seroit une bibliothèque fort complète pour un grand Seigneur'. Stephan Eussem's letter to Gondomar, 16 January 1619. RB II/2134, doc. 94.
[90] 'es de Príncipe'. RB II/2159, doc. 76.

spirit, the Spanish court chronicler Francisco de Sandoval once referred to the count's collection as a 'museum' that would become a 'royal archive' in the future.[91]

Therefore, in accordance with early modern notions, my thesis will adopt an inclusive rather than a narrow or restrictive definition of 'archive', 'library' and 'record'. It will consider the Gondomar library as an important tool for the count's intelligence strategies while based in England, and it will understand this library in the wider context of its materiality and diachronicity. Thus, this thesis aims to use this repository to trace some of the documentary practices carried out with English sources during Sarmiento's embassies to London. On a similar note, this thesis will adopt an inclusive definition for the term 'English', which will be applied to those documents in the English language, but will also stretch to images and to texts produced in England in other languages (usually Latin).[92] Moreover, in particular circumstances, this thesis will discuss items produced elsewhere and in a language other than English but that were, nonetheless, of great importance to contemporary English debates, such as Francisco Suarez's *Defensio Fidei* (Coimbra, 1613), a book in Latin written by a Spanish Jesuit and first published in Portugal that nonetheless touched on King James's 1606 Oath of Allegiance. As a result of this inclusive understanding of 'English', the range of items analysed in this thesis increases beyond the estimated 450 English items previously discussed, though these English sources will still set the route map for the rest of the analysis. Ultimately, this thesis aims to contribute to a better understanding of how activities such as the collection and circulation of documents could be applied to diplomacy. This, in turn, will lead to a

[91] 'sea el museo de vuestra merçed un archivo real'. Letter dated 1605. RAH, Colección Salazar y Castro, A 77, f. 329r. Published in Manso Porto, *Erudito, Mecenas y Bibliófilo*, p. 287.
[92] This is the case with Sarmiento's histories of England in Latin and his collection of 'forbidden' English Protestant works, which will be explored in Chapters 3 and 4. Also, see Appendices 3 and 4.

study of how libraries were influenced by a variety of social, political, linguistic and religious contexts outside the repository's walls.[93]

1.6. Information Management and Cultural Exchange: The Ambitious Search for 'Total Knowledge'

To this day, Manso Porto's study of the Gondomar library is still the main reference on this subject and constitutes in itself a remarkable piece of scholarship.[94] However, its main emphasis was on the Spanish language sections, with an overemphasis on the printed over the scribal. Moreover, very scarce attention was paid to the visual material. In a similar spirit, later scholarship has continued to disregard the portentous transnational component of the *Casa del Sol*, which held an impressive collection of items in many languages. As pointed out by previous historiography, Sarmiento spoke Galician and Spanish, and learned Latin and French.[95] In addition, he appears to have acquired a working knowledge of Italian and Portuguese.[96] However, most scholars are of the opinion that, beyond the occasional use of some words, Gondomar did not manage to learn enough English. In this respect, the usual lack of marginalia in his English books makes is difficult to claim otherwise.[97] As an exception, Hillgarth explicitly claimed that Sarmiento learned to read and speak English, though he did not provide substantial evidence for that statement.[98] This thesis contemplates the possibility, and the chapters that follow will address Sarmiento's handling of sources acquired in England.

[93] Brendecke, '"Arca, Archivillo, Archivo"'.
[94] Manso Porto, *Erudito, Mecenas y Bibliófilo*.
[95] Redworth, 'Diego Sarmiento'.
[96] María Luisa López-Vidriero, 'Encomio y Gloria: Brillo Imperial del Milanesado en los Libros Italianos de las Colecciones de Frías y Gondomar', in *Mecenazgo y Humanidades en Tiempos de Lastanosa: Homenaje a Domingo Ynduráin* (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 2008), pp. 303–24; Pablo Andrés Escapa, 'Letras Portuguesas en la Biblioteca del Conde de Gondomar', *E-Spania*, 2017 <http://journals.openedition.org/e-spania/26660> [accessed 8 July 2019].
[97] Chapter 3.5. will further discuss the lack of marginalia in Sarmiento's collections. For a document where Gondomar showcases a clumsy attempt at English, see Redworth, *The Prince and the Infanta*, pp. 171–73.
[98] Hillgarth, *The Mirror of Spain*, p. 458.

Nevertheless, this Introduction aims to highlight that the Spaniard's access to English texts could always be facilitated through the help of language secretaries, such as Francis Fowler and Henry Taylor. At the ambassador's behest, these agents regularly dealt with many English courtiers and with different members of the Privy Council.

Translation was a regular task at the Spanish embassy. The 1623 catalogue at the *Casa del Sol* has a specific section, within the collection of English books, that lists nine printed language resources.[99] Among these were John Minsheu's *Dictionarie in Spanish and English* (London, 1599), John Florio's *A Worlde of Wordes* (London, 1598) and Alexander Gil's grammar, *Logonomia Anglica* (London, 1621).[100] In addition, Sarmiento's library has usually preserved Spanish translations of correspondence with English courtiers. However, every now and then, one can still find an English original with its Spanish version, as is the case with a letter sent by Prince Charles to the count where he mentions his desire for a Spanish bride.[101] This example points to the regular translation of English documents into Spanish. What is more, when perusing Sarmiento's collection one can also find translated copies of intercepted English letters, like a dispatch sent by Sir Walter Ralegh to the Secretary of State Sir Ralph Winwood, in which the privateer provides an update about the outcome of the Guiana Campaign.[102]

In the past, some scholars have remarked on Sarmiento's use of documents for his political transactions while in England.[103] The most famous example comes from the

[99] See Appendix 2, Part D.
[100] The other books in Gondomar's collection of English language resources are Richard Huloet's *Abecedarium Anglico-Latinum* (London, 1572), Thomas Thomas's *Dictionarium* (London, 1615), John Florio's *Second Frutes* (London, 1591), William Bathe's *A Messe of Tongues* (London, 1617), Claudius Hollyband's *Dictionarie French and English* (London, 1593) and an unnamed 'book in Italian and English'. See Appendix 2, Part D. For more information about language translation in the context of Anglo-Spanish relations, see Alexander Samson, '1623 and the Politics of Translation', in *The Spanish Match: Prince Charles's Journey to Madrid, 1623*, ed. by Alexander Samson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006).
[101] See Prince Charles' letter to Gondomar, undated. RB II/ 2191, docs. 9 and 10. Also see Glyn Redworth, 'Of Pimps and Princes: Three Unpublished Letters from James I and the Prince of Wales Relating to the Spanish Match', *The Historical Journal*, 37.2 (1994), 401–9.
[102] Letter dated February 1618. RB II/2185, doc. 120.
[103] Redworth, 'Diego Sarmiento'; Richard Kagan, *Clio & the Crown: The Politics of History in Medieval and Early Modern Spain* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), p. 1.

Ralegh affair. In March 1616 the English privateer secured his release from the Tower by promising King James that he would lead an expedition through the Orinoco river in Guiana. Ralegh argued that he would claim a gold mine that was there for the taking, as it had not yet been secured by the Spanish. Gondomar regarded Ralegh's campaign as a far-fetched project and as a threat to Spanish control over the Americas. Therefore, to convince King James about the futility of this quest, he referred him to a passage of Antonio de Herrera's third part of the *History of Philip II*. This work not only confirmed that Ralegh had already visited this region some twenty years earlier, but also described that the area was claimed by Spain and that the evidence for a gold mine was ludicrous.[104]

This episode is well-known by scholars. Less well-known is the fact that during the Guiana crisis, Gondomar also sent to Madrid an intercepted copy of Ralegh's own map of the region.[105] In this way, he used a Spanish historical reference to argue with King James and employed an English map to provide Madrid with a geographical understanding of Ralegh's threat. This was not the only document acquired –and used– during this episode. Over the following months, Gondomar continued to obtain as much information as he could about Ralegh's movements. Eventually, this included the capture of his dispatches, a detail that was acknowledged by the privateer himself. In a letter dated 21 March 1618 (old style), he complained about the meddling of the 'bragadoccio Spanishe ambassadors':

> For it pleased His Majestie [King James] to vallewe us at so little as to command me uppon my alleageance to sett downe [write] under my hand the country and the very river by which I was to enter it, to sett downe the number of men and the burthen of my shipps, with what ordnance every ship carried, which being made knowne to the Spanishe ambassador, and by him in post to the Kinge of Spayne, a dispatch was made by him and his letters sent from Madrill [Madrid] before my departure out of the Thames.[106]

[104] DIHE 1, pp. 54-57. This episode will be further discussed in Chapter 3.3.
[105] Sarmiento's most important papers concerning Sir Walter Ralegh have been held at a private collection that was bequeathed to Spanish State archives in 2018. The cataloguing of these items is a work in progress, so the originals of the Ralegh papers can only be cited through an early printed edition. *Españoles e Ingleses en América durante el Siglo XVII*, ed. by Ciriaco Pérez Bustamante (Santiago de Compostela: Paredes, 1928), pp. XXIV–XXV.
[106] *The Letters of Sir Walter Ralegh*, ed. by Agnes Latham and Joyce Youings (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1999), pp. 347–53.

Ironically, Ralegh's complaint was intercepted by Sarmiento. As a result, a Spanish version of this letter was stored among the ambassador's papers, which also included a Spanish translation of the privateer's promise to King James and an inventory of the ships used for the expedition and their artillery.[107] As this example suggests, a study of Gondomar's collection can help better illustrate the documentary strategies deployed by the Spaniard to further his interests. It also helps to illuminate how texts in the English language were regularly translated and kept on file by the personnel at the Spanish embassy. Yet very few comments have been provided by specialists on these intercepted documents, or about the collection of English printed and manuscript sources amassed by the Spaniard while in London. Rarely are these items, or any other document in the Gondomar library, comprehensively put into the wider context of Gondomar's life as a statesman, let alone his embassies to England. As a notable exception, Andrés Escapa was the first to connect one of Sarmiento's English image albums with his correspondence in order to contextualise his role as a diplomatic informer to Catholic Europe.[108] Nevertheless, there is still a need to put Gondomar's complete English holdings within the context of his ambassadorship. After all, few Spanish diplomats from the period could claim what Gondomar did in a letter dated 7 December 1615:

> Besides the familiarity [*noticia*] with the English nation that I have gained through conversation with Englishmen and through [the reading of] their histories and annals [*relaciones*] (to which I have devoted myself with diligence [*curiosidad*] for many years), I have [also] tried with a special effort since the start of my residency here to observe and understand their activities.[109]

My thesis aims to explore how English sources might have contributed to Sarmiento's claim about attaining 'familiarity' with England, a quality deemed necessary for his

[107] Pérez Bustamante, *Españoles e Ingleses*, pp. 5–15 and 74–79.
[108] See Andrés Escapa, 'La Muerte de Sir Thomas Overbury'.
[109] 'Demás de la noticia que yo tenía de la nación Inglesa por la comunicación de Ingleses y sus historias y relaciones a que yo con curiosidad me he aplicado muchos años a, he procurado con particular cuydado después de que estoy aquí ver y entender todo lo que he podido de sus acciones'. AGS Estado, 2594, doc. 80. My translation for this important quote endeavours to maintain the grammatical structure and connotations of the Spanish original. An alternative translation for this text is provided in Loomie, *Spain and the Jacobean Catholics*, II, p. XV.

embassies. Thus, through the research possibilities provided by his library, this project will assess some of the ways in which English documents might have played a part in his diplomacy. Thanks to the almost complete survival of the collections at the *Casa del Sol*, my thesis can cast more light into the dealings of a premodern Spanish agent. However, this type of study also has its limitations. As we shall see below, the extant records at the Gondomar library rarely offer an unequivocal interpretation about the intellectual influences behind Sarmiento's reports, or about the exact value that many English items in his library could have had for his transactions. On a similar note, it is sometimes difficult to pin down the reasons on why the count might have acquired some English documents instead of others. And yet, regardless of these circumstances, it is no less true that a close analysis of Sarmiento's English collection often reveals great political potential. Accordingly, this thesis will highlight the many points of connections between the documents in the Gondomar library and the events that took place during Sarmiento's residence at the Court of St. James's. It will do so through an assessment of the documentary practices carried out on English sources at the Spanish embassy, such as the acquisition and preservation of certain English documents for their inspection, or their occasional circulation to some peers in other parts of Europe. Moreover, this thesis will explore some of the ways in which a foreign diplomat could support the production of certain publications to advance their own agenda, or employ a text or an image in a specific way to further their interests during a particular situation. Through a simultaneous study of Sarmiento's library and his correspondence, this thesis will analyse some of the ways in which premodern ambassadors engaged with documents that were usually produced for local circulation at the court of diplomatic mission.

In their 'Introduction' to *Practices of Diplomacy in the Early Modern World*, Hennings and Sowerby acknowledge the importance of diplomatic history's pivotal

moments. However, in this study the highlight is put on a series of 'sociocultural practices' that might not be deemed political nowadays but nonetheless helped to shape political relationships and foreign policy during the early modern period. After all, not every person involved in diplomatic business was a diplomat. On the same note, the main concern of a premodern ambassador was not always diplomatic negotiation.[110] When looking at this period, the term 'diplomacy' can serve as a somewhat inadequate label to define a series of exchanges that were multifaceted and difficult to define within just one category. This was the case with practices like the act of giving gifts, the providing of entertainment to envoys and their inclusion within ceremonial displays, such as those that touched on diplomatic precedence. Still, it is no less true that all these practices were important forms of communication. As De Vivo has suggested, premodern acts of communication were often tied to politics.[111] This becomes especially significant in the trade of diplomacy, which was largely based on the symbolic representation of power.[112] Thus, a study of the documentary practices involved in a diplomat's information strategies can be understood as a communicative behaviour with great political potential, as the Protestant preacher Thomas Scott himself observed.

As Sowerby and Hennings have asserted, any diplomatic encounter can become politically relevant when the evidence reveals the ways in which relations between different polities were conducted. In this perspective, what becomes important are the actions, conduct and, overall, the practices of diplomatic agents and the responses these triggered –or intended– rather than the influence they eventually exerted 'upon the big turns and trends in the history of international relations'.[113] It is in this context that the

[110] Sowerby and Hennings, *Practices of Diplomacy*, p. 2.
[111] Filippo De Vivo, *Information and Communication in Venice: Rethinking Early Modern Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 16.
[112] See Timothy Hampton, *Fictions of Embassy: Literature and Diplomacy in Early Modern Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009).
[113] Sowerby and Hennings, *Practices of Diplomacy*, p. 3.

period's mixing of the personal and the political becomes more pertinent. This circumstance opens the way to a study focused on an ambassador's engagement with documents and it allows for a perspective that connects these practices with the grand history of diplomacy. After all, the social negotiations essential to the overcoming of cultural difference lie at the heart of diplomatic business.

Through a study that looks at the documentary practices carried out by an ambassador with local sources from a foreign land, my thesis aims to better illustrate how the procurement and manipulation of documents could play a part in the information management tactics inherent to diplomatic practice. In some cases, the evidence will reveal that the ambassador and his agents acquired a document, analysed it, used it for a transaction and later preserved it at the *Casa del Sol*, as evinced by the 1623 catalogue. However, there will also be a great number of instances where one –or more– of these "steps" were not carried out, according to the information available. On many occasions, the only recorded engagement with an English source that we have is its eventual preservation at the library. However, all the examples explored in this thesis aim to suggest that, during the early modern period, many of the documentary practices we usually ascribe to scholars and books *aficionados* could also become important in a diplomatic context. After all, the procurement of insider information was often valued by premodern ambassadors.

When it comes to England, Gondomar appears to have immersed himself in what Ghobrial has referred to as 'local knowledge'.[114] That is, insider and *in situ* information about the people, places and institutions of the country of diplomatic mission. As evidenced by the popularity of the early modern cultural trends that gave being to the Gondomar library, and many other European repositories, Sarmiento may have been

[114] Ghobrial, *The Whispers of Cities*, p. 6.

exceptional in the extent of his collection. However, the acquisition of documents was a constant theme in the life of early modern ambassadors and statesmen. Historians are aware that such processes existed and yet, regardless of the growing bibliography on the dynamics of document circulation, there remain few studies of the mechanics of everyday communication practised by early modern statesmen across geographic and linguistic barriers. One exception is Ghobrial's *The Whispers of Cities*. This book traces the efforts of Sir William Trumbull, English ambassador to the Ottoman Empire in the late 17th century, to procure a diplomatic archive that would support his work. Faced with the challenge of mastering a large amount of information in a short space of time, Trumbull assembled a collection of letters, notes, and papers compiled from English, European and Ottoman official documents as a means of preparing for the business of trade and diplomacy. During Trumbull's years in Istanbul, the English embassy kept registers for incoming Ottoman correspondence and engaged in efforts to procure Turkish documents and keep English translations on file.

Another relevant example of the overlapping between state matters and document compilation comes from France. In *The Information Master*, Soll explains how Jean-Baptiste Colbert assembled a massive repository as Louis XIV's chief minister. Colbert compiled his archive using the documents from administrations under his control, such as the navy, the foreign ministry, and the ministry of finance. He used these collections as the knowledge base through which he carried out rational decision-making at the service of the French Crown. Colbert understood his archive as a component in a universal library that also included the full range of humanist writings on rhetoric, literature, law, philosophy, and the sciences.[115]

[115] Even though Colbert's archive was assembled for the service of the French crown, it was originally a private collection. See Jacob Soll, *The Information Master: Jean-Baptiste Colbert's Secret State Intelligence System* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2009).

This connection between knowledge-gathering and power can be also appreciated in a Spanish context. During the past decades, some studies have addressed the development of information management during the early modern period. In this respect, Spain's global presence provides an important though understudied field of research. Indeed, an important goal for the Hispanic Monarchy was to attain what contemporaries called *'entera noticia*' or 'total knowledge'. In *Empirical Empire*, Brendecke, explores the documentary practices of the council of Indies in its efforts to attain 'total knowledge' about the Americas through the creation of surveys, the acquisition of supporting documents and the redacting of reports used for policymaking. An important notion in Brendecke's study is that one should understand the 'total knowledge' ideal in a different way from the one we have inherited from the Enlightenment. Before the 18th century, there was certainly a scholarly effort to analyse the documents acquired in order to arrive to some "truth". However, Brendecke's study contends that Iberian agents in the "centre" also gathered data about the "periphery" with the aim of creating political legitimacy through a display of total knowledge. His study shows that the Spanish Crown and its collaborators endeavoured to acquire as many documents as possible. They also sought to involve as many actors as they could in the administration's documentary practices in order to bind them into a decision-making process that was guided by those same documents the agents acquired.[116] Indeed, back then there was already 'too much to know'.[117] Therefore, for those who were less certain about attaining 'total knowledge' about an issue, there was still the possibility of creating an image of informed thoroughness for the sake of political legitimacy. It is in this light that one can understand how the practice of acquiring documents with potentially valuable information could

[116] See Arndt Brendecke, *The Empirical Empire: Spanish Colonial Rule and the Politics of Knowledge* (Berlin: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2016).
[117] Ann Blair, *Too Much to Know: Managing Scholarly Information Before the Modern Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010).

often be connected not only to real information-management practices and policymaking strategies, but also to symbolic notions of power. As a result, this thesis will argue that, regardless of whether a specific document was used or consulted in a particular political context or not, its mere acquisition was often politically pertinent. After all, it was in part through these acquired documents that princes, ministers, diplomats and other types of political actors could eventually make their decisions, should the need ever arise.

All in all, the studies just mentioned greatly resonate with this thesis. They provide valuable details about the ways in which early modern communications facilitated policymaking, as notably revealed by a series of documentary practices that can be better analysed thanks to recent scholarship in the history of the book. However, there are also some divergences. This can be clearly appreciated in any attempt to reconstruct the process by which the information mastery ideal might have applied to Gondomar. In a letter dated 17 April 1625, Philip IV claimed that Sarmiento had a 'total and complete knowledge' about England.[118] This detail suggests that the Spanish ambassador might have shared in the Hispanic Monarchy's bid for 'total knowledge' when it came to English affairs. Nevertheless, it must be noted that this ambitious goal would have been more modest for the Spanish ambassador in London, who had significantly less resources than any of the Spanish Crown's councils, or Louis XIV's chief minister. Even though he could count on the help of the embassy personnel, it was as Sarmiento once confessed: 'Your Majesty [Philip III] has no one here [in London] but me'.[119]

In addition, regardless of the fact that the extant records at the *Casa del Sol* are numerous, they still do not allow us to clearly reconstruct the inner mechanics that facilitated the development of the ambassador's intelligence about England. Contrary to

[118] 'entera y particular noticia'. RB II/1817, f. 28r.
[119] 'y no tiene su Majestad aquí otro que tenga obligacion que yo de acudir a todo lo que fuese de su servicio'. AGS Estado, Legajo 2593, doc. 41.

the case of William Trumbull, Sarmiento does not appear to have kept a diary.[120] Though it must be noted that this type of practice was not necessarily common among Spanish courtiers, at least during the early 17th century.[121] Moreover, the scribal material in Sarmiento's library is mostly comprised of volumes of diplomatic correspondence, or manuscript reports usually produced by individuals outside the embassy. From my assessment, when it came to preserving documents for posterity, commonplace books, drafts and memoranda were not a priority for Gondomar or his secretaries. This might be based on the possibility that these items never existed, though it is more probable that the Spanish embassy relied on this type of "internal" documents as many other premodern administrations.[122] Still, when it comes to their preservation, there is always a chance that commonplace books, drafts and memoranda were deemed less valuable once a policy was taken or a report was penned. Their absence from Sarmiento's library could be based on this circumstance, or on the need to choose what documents to take back home once the embassy was finished. What remains for certain is that the main material for study in this project is a type of document that was either produced outside the Spanish embassy or usually penned to reach an audience beyond its walls. As a result of this situation, there are clear limitations to what we can say about Sarmiento's strategies to attain 'total knowledge' about England. Thus, it must be noted that this thesis will not be able to provide an overarching interpretation about the ways in which Sarmiento's English sources influenced his wider policies. On the same note, this project will not be able to assert whether the regular consultation of English items proved essential for his diplomatic reports. Nevertheless, this thesis will illustrate that there are still many things

[120] For more information about the sources used for the study of Trumbull's diplomacy, see Ghobrial, *The Whispers of Cities*, pp. 16–18.
[121] As pointed out by Amelang, secular first-person writing was already practiced at the time, but would only become a more widespread habit during the 18th century. See James Amelang, *The Flight of Icarus: Artisan Autobiography in Early Modern Europe* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998).
[122] See Brendecke, *The Empirical Empire*; Dover, *Secretaries and Statecraft*.

we can learn about Sarmiento's diplomacy from the books and papers that have reached us, thanks to the documentary practices these sources reveal.

Thus, through a detailed review of the 1623 catalogue, and a simultaneous analysis of contemporary correspondence, this project will study Sarmiento's engagement with English sources and illustrate some of the ways in which local documents could play a central role in the actions carried out by diplomats. In an effort to acquire 'local knowledge', premodern ambassadors often got into the practice of exchanging documents with foreign agents. Sometimes, they also intercepted letters from officials at the foreign court. Occasionally, diplomats could acquire printed sources that were not usually available at their home court so as to improve their political prestige. Moreover, early modern envoys often got into the practice of monitoring works produced in the country of diplomatic mission in an attempt to curb messages that contravened their master's agenda. These are just some examples among a number of diplomatic scenarios where the acquisition and handling of local sources from a foreign court became important. Thus, this thesis will analyse some of the "things" that premodern diplomats could do with the documentary sources that reached their hands. As a result, this project aims to cast more light on the ways in which books and papers could become an important concern for a diplomatic manoeuvre or turn into one of the main subjects of a diplomatic report.

A project like this can be carried out using different perspectives. However, this study aims to ascribe itself more within the field of communications as revealed by the history of the book. In this respect, even if this study will many times resort to bibliographical comment, it does not intend to be an exercise in enumerative bibliography. Rather, it will endeavour to be a descriptive study of the political value that can be ascribed to the various types of English sources that Gondomar acquired during his residence in England:

books, printed portraits, maps, intercepted letters, manuscript reports, pamphlets, etc. By exploring the cultural aspects of early modern politics, this thesis will provide more reflection on the history of libraries and will assess the role played by these documentary holdings in the construction and expression of knowledge(s), the setting of transnational connections and the development of what we would now call "soft power" through diplomatic practice.

1.7. Shaped by State Affairs: The Gondomar Library as a Collective and Interconnected Endeavour

As mentioned above, a key presumption for this thesis is that premodern libraries and archives were porous entities, and that political actors usually created their own collections to advance their agendas. Within this context, a second presumption is that the discrete assemblage of documents by early modern agents was a dynamic activity. Repositories often circulated together with people, rather than being preserved in fixed spaces, though in the case of Gondomar the evidence that has reached us is limited. Nevertheless, as he moved from place to place, the embassy papers usually moved with the ambassador in cases and chests. Some were first stored at the Spanish embassy outside the city's walls, in the Barbican. However, when Sarmiento returned to England in 1620, the Spanish embassy and its household was set up at the former palace of the bishop of Ely in Hatton Gardens.[123] One can suppose that diplomatic documents moved with the ambassador and his secretaries on that occasion as well. In this respect, the correspondence suggests that books also played a part in the daily life of the Spanish embassy and that these often circulated between individuals.

[123] Redworth, 'Diego Sarmiento'.

In this respect, in a letter dated 22 October 1613, Gondomar admitted to a Spanish peer that he would occasionally dedicate some time to the reading of a book by Tacitus that was left at the embassy by the former ambassador, Alonso de Velasco.[124] Moreover, in a letter dated 28 November 1613, Sarmiento informed the count of Oliva that, during the long winter nights in London, he and the embassy personnel would get together by the fireplace and someone would read the 'life of the saint of that day; and when it is early, a sermon from [Alonso de] Villegas or [Alonso de] Cabrera'.[125] Thanks to contemporary correspondence, we know that Sarmiento sometimes received more documents from Spain as well. This can be appreciated in a letter dated 1 January 1614, where the servant Pedro García Dovalle informed him about the recent dispatch of playing cards and some books, though no titles are provided.[126] On 17 November 1616, Dovalle would write again to his master with a similar report.[127] On the same note, thanks to later dispatches, we know that the opposite process also took place, as different types of documents were acquired in England and later sent to Spain. This has already been discussed with the dispatches penned by Stephan Eussem from Valladolid in 1618. Still, in a letter dated 4 December 1620, Gondomar confessed to his servant Diego de Santana to have 'gathered here [in London] another good group of curious books and papers that will go there [to Valladolid] soon' once he obtained his licence to return.[128]

Thus, even though we have no inventory of the count's holdings while he was in London, we do have many documentary instances where 'books and papers' are discussed during the years Sarmiento lived in England. What is more, the 1623 catalogue reveals to

[124] RB II/2168, doc. 16.
[125] 'léese la vida del santo de aquel día y, cuando es temprano, un sermón de Villegas o de Cabrera'. RB II/2168, doc. 27, f. 36rv. Published in Manso Porto, *Erudito, Mecenas y Bibliófilo*, p. 213.
[126] BNE MSS 18419, f. 48r. Published in Manso Porto, *Erudito, Mecenas y Bibliófilo*, p. 215.
[127] BNE MSS 18419, f. 235r-236v. Published Manso Porto, *Erudito, Mecenas y Bibliófilo*, p. 218.
[128] 'he Juntado aquí otro buen golpe de libros y papeles curiosos, que yrán y presto'. BNE MSS 18423, f. 61rv. Published in Manso Porto, *Erudito, Mecenas y Bibliófilo*, p. 375.

us a series of English documents that eventually made it to the *Casa del Sol* in Valladolid. This thesis aims to build on these two resources in order to better understand Sarmiento's engagement with local English sources during his embassies. As a result, in some cases, this thesis will provide with examples where the study of contemporary correspondence, paired with an analysis of the 1623 catalogue, helps better illustrate the political potential of the English items handled by Gondomar. Nevertheless, as this project will show, in other instances the evidence will point to the acquisition of a particular English source in a specific moment so as to better address the needs of a specific event. This can be shown through Sarmiento's use of an English map during the Ralegh episode. However, this study will provide with other examples, such as the count's acquisition of an English pamphlet to inform Madrid about Armada scares in England, or the Spaniard's circulation of 'forbidden' books produced in England to Catholic peers in Europe in order to inform them about English confessional debates.

A third important presumption of this thesis is that Gondomar's collection of documents was shaped by different actors beyond the official owner. Over the past years some studies have endeavoured to recognise the important role played by the Spanish embassy's household in the conducting of regular diplomatic business. For instance, Loomie focused on three of the Spanish embassy's secretaries of languages: Francis Fowler, Henry Taylor and Richard Berry.[129] These Englishmen helped Gondomar in his efforts to keep in touch with London courtiers, and exerted some influence over their master's transactions. Francis Fowler, for instance, was usually sent by the count to borrow books from the library of the court administrator Sir Robert Cotton, giving us in this way one of the few connections between the English Antiquarian and the Spanish

[129] See Albert Loomie, 'Richard Berry: Gondomar's English Catholic Adviser', *British Catholic History*, 11.1 (1971), 47–57; Albert Loomie, 'Francis Fowler II, English Secretary of the Spanish Embassy, 1609–1619', *British Catholic History*, 12.1 (1973), 70–78; Albert Loomie, 'Canon Henry Taylor, Spanish Habsburg Diplomat', *British Catholic History*, 17.2 (1984), 223–37.

Ambassador.[130] Richard Berry and Henry Taylor were in charge of delivering urgent messages to King James. For instance, they were sent to request the liberation of English Catholics and priests. And, as previously explained, the secretary Henry Taylor, together with the bibliographer Stephan Eussem, played a pivotal role in the organisation of the Gondomar library. However, Gondomar's secretaries of languages were but only a part of the Spanish embassy's household. Thanks to a recent study by Ruiz, we now have more information about the Spanish embassy's personnel.[131] Many of the administrative tasks at the embassy were carried out by Spanish-born secretaries such as Julián Sánchez de Ulloa, Tomás Ramírez and Agustín Pérez. Moreover, less-known figures like the embassy's steward, Maese Pedro, or Gondomar's wife, Doña Constanza, played a part in the embassy's upkeeping.[132] Another key role at the Spanish embassy in London was played by the embassy's confessor. During Gondomar's tenure, this post was mostly held by the Dominican Friar Diego de la Fuente, who became one of Gondomar's closest confidants and was eventually involved in his master's trade. Following his arrival to London in 1613, friar Diego gradually established a personal relationship with King James and with many London courtiers, like Francis Bacon or George Villiers. What is more, during Sarmiento's leave of absence from 1618 to 1620, friar Diego became *chargé d'affaires ad interim* of the Spanish embassy in London.[133]

---

[130] Colin Tite, *Early Records of Sir Robert Cotton's Library: Formation, Cataloguing and Use* (London: British Library, 2003), p. 180.

[131] For more information about the Spanish embassy's personnel, see Ruiz Fernández, 'Las Relaciones Hispano-Inglesas', pp. 11–19.

[132] The "ambassadorial" role played by Gondomar's wife in London is still a pending task. For a preliminary study, see Nuria Bezos del Amor, 'Los Consejos de una Esposa a su Marido el Embajador de Inglaterra: Doña Constanza de Acuña (1619)', in *IV Congreso Virtual sobre Historia de las Mujeres*, 2012 <https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=4715039>.

[133] This thesis will discuss some aspects of Friar Diego's diplomatic endeavours in Chapters 4.7 and 5.4. For more information about the Dominican's activities in London, see Ernesto Oyarbide Magaña, 'A Most Venerable Provisional Envoy: Friar Diego de La Fuente's Diplomatic Missions to Jacobean London (1618-1620 and 1624)', in *Confessional Diplomacy*, ed. by Roberta Anderson and Charlotte Backerra (London: Routledge, 2020).

For reasons of space, this thesis cannot do full justice to the many contributions of the embassy's personnel to Gondomar's diplomacy. Nevertheless, whenever possible this study will identify their influence in the shaping of the collections at the *Casa del Sol* and will also acknowledge that most of the documentary practices associated to Gondomar in this thesis might have been carried out by his agents instead. In this respect, even though we have evidence of Sarmiento's decision to preserve a series of English sources for his library, and notwithstanding that the records sometimes suggest that he might have directly engaged with 'books and papers' in different ways, one can rarely be too sure if these actions were originally carried out by the ambassador himself or by a collaborator. However, the same can be said about most of the correspondence produced by early modern courtiers. After all, there is regularly a doubt on whether the choicest textual bits in these letters were first advanced by the eminent statesman being studied, or eventually adopted by him at the bidding of secretaries that have seldom left any trace about their contributions.

Thus, what remains for certain is that premodern policymaking was rarely an individual endeavour. Similarly, when it comes to early modern repositories, one can find that these are the product of decisions made by a range of stakeholders, from those who wrote the papers they contained, to the archivists who processed and cared for them, to the state bureaucracies and officials who determined which records were saved and which were to be destroyed, all leading to the scholars who subsequently excavated their contents. The knowledge amassed in libraries and archives was organised by servants and secretaries. It was guarded and transmitted by families and guilds. It was also constituted through conversations at table or in court, and sometimes these practices have left very little evidence of being carried out. As a result, there is no repository that can be deemed

to be rid of particular idiosyncrasies, or to be the creation of the isolated efforts of a single individual.[134]

Consequently, this thesis will recognise that early modern repositories were deeply connected to different types of peoples beyond their owner. Nonetheless, premodern documentary holdings were also linked to other collections. As this project will endeavour to illustrate, any study of the Gondomar library in a diplomatic context leads inevitably to the recipients of Sarmiento's dispatches, and most notably, the Spanish council of State. This was the main body responsible for devising Spanish foreign policy. It was to this council that Gondomar sent most of his letters, as one can appreciate from the holdings at the General Archives of Simancas. These dispatches were usually filled with information about relevant political, social and religious issues from the country of diplomatic mission, along with some local court gossip.

The material circumstances of mail delivery during the period, paired with the slow policymaking procedures of the Spanish administration, could often put great pressure on ambassadors who were eager to act swiftly on sensitive matters at a foreign court. Thus, even if in theory diplomats were supposed to be mere executors of the instructions being sent from home, in practice they had ample scope to make foreign policy themselves. On many occasions, the Spanish council of State could only endorse or criticise the actions already carried out by their ambassadors. As a result, diplomatic dispatches regularly combined requests for further instructions with justifications for why an envoy had behaved in a specific way without previous notice to the authorities at home.[135] Thus, early modern ambassadors often found themselves in the burdensome position of having to give authoritative accounts to both their superiors and their interlocutors at the foreign

[134] Yale, 'The History of Archives', p. 332.
[135] For more information about the Spanish council of State and the logistics involved in Spanish administration during the period, see Carter, *Diplomacy of the Habsburgs*, pp. 65–76; Parker, *Imprudent King*, pp. 61–79.

court. This thesis will suggest that the collecting –and display– of supporting documents became an important part of this process. It is in this light that one can see how personal libraries such as Gondomar's could contribute to the Spanish administration's network as well, given that it could provide Madrid with valuable data from abroad about the religious, social and political events of another European polity. This thesis will recognise the importance of the council of State, and other repositories like the Cotton collection, for the shaping of the Gondomar library. Nonetheless, this project will still set its main point of analysis on the documents stored at the *Casa del Sol*.[136]

***

As this Introduction has discussed, the *Casa del Sol* might have shared in the period's bid to attain information mastery for political purposes, even if we might not be able to completely substantiate such process today. Information mastery is a powerful goal, one that is as relevant today as it was in 17th century Spain or England, or any European polity for that matter.[137] It may well be that we will never see any individual fully achieve information mastery, or usually be able to reconstruct the mechanics employed for such an ambitious project from a historical standpoint, as is the case with Gondomar. Nonetheless, we can still see how early modern individuals organised their filing practices and engaged with books and papers in a series of ways that sometimes connected with the conducting of diplomacy or the practice of statesmanship.

All in all, this thesis aims to provide additional insights into the transnational study of early modern Europe through a project that looks at some of the sociocultural activities

[136] A preliminary review of documents at the General Archives of Simancas reveals that there are at least fifty manuscript volumes with information touching on Sarmiento's embassy (and very probably more). A complete analysis of the holdings at Simancas goes beyond the purposes of this thesis. Rather, relevant letters from this repository will be used to contextualise the collection of documents at the *Casa del Sol*. See Archivo General de Simancas, *Documentos Relativos a Inglaterra, 1254-1834*, ed. by Ricardo Magdaleno Redondo and Jacobo Stuart Fitz-James y Falcó Alba (Madrid: Diana, Artes Gráficas, 1947).
[137] Yale, 'The History of Archives', p. 344.

once carried out by premodern diplomatic agents. It will endeavour to do so through the analysis of the Spanish embassy's documentary practices during Gondomar's tenure, as revealed by the study of contemporary correspondence, paired with a detailed assessment of the holdings at the *Casa del Sol*, which can now be better explored thanks to the digital tools provided by the *Real Biblioteca*. However, this project can only be one very small step towards a fully transnational approach. Indeed, a comprehensive study of Anglo-Spanish relations during Sarmiento's tenure, or any other early modern Spanish diplomatic mission carried out in Europe, will only be possible when similar systems of calendaring and digital cataloguing become available for the entire holdings at the General Archives of Simancas, the *Real Academia de la Historia*, the *Biblioteca Nacional* and many other repositories in Spain. In contrast to the *Real Biblioteca*, the more modest state of cross-referencing tools provided by other Spanish repositories has influenced the way this thesis has been written. The need to adopt new digital resources for cataloguing can be appreciated at other European repositories as well.[138] But managing the full digitisation of archives in Spain, or elsewhere, will require many years, if not decades, to complete. It will also require the collective effort of a series of specialists, so as to make sense of the new evidence that might appear and so supplement or challenge the arguments posed in this thesis (and many other studies). After all, one of the benefits of having an active scholarly community is that its members can indicate those instances when one might be missing the big picture as a result of putting too much emphasis in one repository (or one document). They can also point out to mistakes this thesis might contain as the result of a misunderstanding, a preconception or, more simply, personal failings.

[138] For instance, see Chapter 2.5 for an analysis of the Cotton Papers at the British Library and the current state of their cataloguing.

Notwithstanding these caveats, my thesis aims to contribute to the fields of book history, communications and diplomacy during the early modern period. By analysing the documentary practices of the first count of Gondomar as Spanish ambassador to London between 1613 to 1622, this thesis will analyse one of the periods' most remarkable instances of Spanish interest in English culture and English books that has reached us. By putting this case study within the wider context of premodern diplomatic practice, this thesis aims to cast more light into the nuanced ways through which an early modern library could help connect culture to statesmanship during a crucial period of Spanish hegemony.

Chapter 2. *Ex legato Hispaniae*: Sir Robert Cotton, *Don* Diego Sarmiento and the Politics of Manuscript Circulation

2.1. 'A Choice Narrative'

In 1659, the clergyman John Rowland published a tract that discussed some old events from the reign of King James. The pamphlet bore the name of *A Choice Narrative of Count Gondamor* [sic].[1] The work denounced the "evil plots" undertaken by Diego Sarmiento de Acuña between 1613 and 1622. More than thirty years after his embassies, the Spaniard was still remembered in England.[2] In the text, the count is denounced for corrupting the government of the early Stuarts and for advancing the cause of Catholicism in England. Notably, the Spanish ambassador is also singled out for his role in the execution of Sir Walter Ralegh.

When analysed more closely, one discovers that Rowland's tract was in fact an edited version of Thomas Scott's *Vox Populi* (London, 1620).[3] Even though *A Choice Narrative* came with a new prologue, it was still faithful to its predecessor. Among the many concerns voiced in Rowland's pamphlet, one stands out for its peculiarity. The text follows Scott in presenting a Gondomar that aims to buy 'all the Manuscripts and other ancient and rare Authors' of the land to take these away from the 'hereticks', particularly those owned by Sir Robert Cotton (1571-1631):

> and to this end, an especial eye should be had upon the Libraries of one Sir Robert Cotton an Ingrosser of Antiquities, that whensoever it comes to be broken up either before his death or after, the most choice and singular Pieces might be gleaned or gathered up; Neither let any man think that descending thus low to petty particulars is unworthy of an Embassadour.[4]

[1] Thomas Scott, *A Choice Narrative of Count Gondamor's Transactions*, ed. by John Rowland (London, 1659).
[2] John Rowland was an English clergyman. He was very active in the intellectual debates during the latter years of the Interregnum (1649-1660). See Joanna Neilson, 'John Rowland (1605/6–1680)', *ODNB*.
[3] See Scott, *Vox Populi*.
[4] Scott, *A Choice Narrative*, pp. 29–30.

As is the case with many effective polemical writings, both *Vox Populi* and *A Choice Narrative* used facts that were true. It was an exaggeration to claim that Gondomar was procuring all the books in England. However, the count did show an interest in the Cotton library during his embassies. Some years ago, the scholars Tite and Loomie revealed that the English antiquarian held a series of manuscripts exchanges with Sarmiento whilst he was in England.[5] However, after that initial discovery, very little work has been carried out to see how these interactions left a trace in their respective libraries.

This chapter will cast some light on Gondomar's collaborations with English courtiers through a study of his dealings with Sir Robert Cotton. Between 1613 and 1616, the Spanish ambassador regularly transacted with the earl of Northampton and the earl of Somerset, the king's main political administrators during that period. As a result, he entered in contact with the antiquarian, who provided important secretarial services to both earls. It was in this capacity that Cotton conferred with Sarmiento about many affairs of state. Most notably, they discussed the possibility of a marriage between Prince Charles and the Spanish *Infanta*, María. During these years, both men also began an exchange of manuscript letters and scribal reports that touched on previous Anglo-Spanish negotiations. However, this collaborative sharing of information was interrupted during the Overbury murder investigation held in 1616, as will be discussed below. As a result of these inquiries, the dealings of these two men went through public scrutiny. Soon it became less desirable for Cotton to associate himself with the Spanish ambassador so openly. However, both courtiers benefited from their interactions while these lasted, as shown by an analysis of their libraries. During Sarmiento's embassies, Cotton acquired valuable Spanish documents for his own massive collection of manuscripts. The Spanish ambassador, in turn, managed to obtain very valuable papers produced by English

[5] Albert Loomie, *English Polemics at the Spanish Court: Joseph Creswell's Letter to the Ambassador from England* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1993), p. 26; Tite, *Robert Cotton's Library*, p. 63.

officials during the Tudor and Stuart periods. In particular, Sarmiento acquired some English diplomatic dispatches from the first years following the 1604 Treaty of London. Thus, as this chapter will reveal, an analysis of documents in Spanish and British archives points to previously unexplored connections between the *Casa del Sol* and the Cotton library.

2.2. Collecting the Past: Manuscripts, History and the Business of State

During the early modern period, both scholars and political counsellors faced the urgent problem of interpreting and addressing violent ruptures in a world that had been distanced from its common past by religious divisions. On a similar note, many long-held premises were upturned by the "discovery" of new lands, technological innovations, and political upheavals.[6] Gradually, as early modern individuals endeavoured to cope with all these changes, it became the norm that worldly authority optimally derived from expertise in observing and analysing the past. The study of history, therefore, came to be closely associated with policymaking.[7] This occurred to the extent that in some instances it became difficult to distinguish between the learned exercises of a scholar, who dissected the remnants of the past to offer an historical account, and the procedures of a statesman, who used those same remnants to unearth authoritative precedents with which to advance arguments at court.[8]

Sure enough, behind the scholarly endeavour to document one's ancestors or to learn more about different types of ancient peoples and places, there also existed the practical

[6] Nicholas Popper, *Walter Ralegh's History of the World and the Historical Culture of the Late Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), p. 3.
[7] See Kagan, *Clio & the Crown*.
[8] See Fabien Montcher, 'Acquérir, Partager et Contrôler l'Information sous le Régne de Philippe III d'Espagne. Le Cas de l'historiographe Royal Antonio de Herrera (1549-1626)', *Circé. Histoire, Savoirs, Sociétés*, 2012, 1–48; Pelegrín, 'Wars of Knowledge'; Fabien Montcher, 'Early Modern Bibliopolitics: From a Seventeenth-Century Roman-Iberian Perspective', *Pacific Coast Philology*, 52.2 (2017), 206–18; López-Vidriero, 'Asiento de Coronas'.

need to vindicate inheritances and propose one's own rights to public posts.[9] Thus, historical sources like books, old letters and manuscript genealogies became similarly important for chroniclers and statesmen.[10] These documents circulated between individuals and were regularly collected as privileged containers of information.[11] Gradually, premodern repositories were provisioned with different types of legal, historical and administrative documents.[12] As a result, documentary collections like the one owned by Gondomar became highly coveted resources for individuals immersed in scholarly discussions and for agents involved in political debates.

During his lifetime, Sarmiento came to be deemed an authority in the study of the past. His historical expertise was greatly respected at the Spanish court, to the point that Philip III commissioned him to write a history of the three Spanish military orders, Santiago, Calatrava and Alcántara.[13] During the times, different Spanish scholars sought access to Sarmiento's collection. A notable case in point was the Benedictine friar, Juan Benito de Guardiola, who passed away at Gondomar's house while conducting research for a book on the history of his monastery (San Benito el Real de Sahagún).[14] The untimely death of Guardiola led to a long correspondence between the congregation's abbot, who wished to recover the friar's working papers, and Gondomar, who often bragged about putting all the documents reaching his hands in 'perpetual confinement' at his library.[15] Furthermore, the correspondence preserved at the Gondomar library shows

[9] See Fabien Montcher, 'La Carta como Taller Historiográfico', in *La Materialidad Escrita*, ed. by Manuel Salamanca (Oviedo: Instituto de Estudios para la Paz y la Cooperación, 2011).
[10] See Kira Von Ostenfeld-Suske, 'Writing Official History in Spain: History and Politics, c.1474–1600', in *The Oxford History of Historical Writing, 1400-1800*, ed. by Daniel Woolf and Masayuki Sato (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), III; Kagan, *Clio & the Crown*.
[11] Montcher, 'Carta Taller Historiográfico', pp. 91–99.
[12] See Bouza, *Corre Manuscrito*; Andrés Escapa and Rodríguez, 'Manuscritos y Saberes'.
[13] However, Sarmiento seems to have been unable to finish this assignment due to his political responsibilities. See the letters sent by Valladolid's *Cortes* to Gondomar in June 1603. *Actas de las Cortes de Castilla* (Madrid: Imprenta Nacional, 1861), XXI, pp. 426–27 and 433.
[14] Manso Porto, *Erudito, Mecenas y Bibliófilo*, pp. 60–61.
[15] 'cárcel perpetua'. RB II/2178, doc. 32.

that the count had numerous scholarly interactions with some of the most important Spanish court historians from the first decades of the 17th century.[16] One of Gondomar's most prominent contacts was the royal chronicler Antonio de Herrera, who became an influential figure in Spanish historical writing during the reigns of Philip II and Philip III. In addition, Herrera became an important writer of policy reports at the Spanish court.[17] Every now and then, Herrera would ask Sarmiento for help in expediting some administrative procedures at court. The two men also conferred regularly on domestic and foreign affairs occupying the Spanish administration. [18] In 1609, Gondomar asked Herrera about the possibility of inheriting the working papers he used for his histories. In this instance, the chronicler had to apologise for not being able to indulge his friend, given that he had decided to destroy his documents in order to avoid plagiarism after his retirement.[19] But even though he could not obtain Herrera's papers, the sources stored at the Gondomar Library provide a remarkable gateway into a world where scholarly dealings and courtly interactions were deeply intertwined.

For years, Sarmiento used his personal knowledge and the collection of documents available at his library to collaborate with different Spanish scholars and gain influence among these. Besides Herrera, Sarmiento was also in touch with many other royal chroniclers, like friar Prudencio de Sandoval, Alonso López de Haro, friar Juan de la Puente and Gil González Dávila. As a result, Sarmiento had a hand in the revision of some of the books written by these historians, such as González Davila's *Teatro y Dignidades de Madrid* and Sandoval's *History of Charles V*.[20] These authors kept the count informed about the writing of their works, consulted with him about matters of

[16] See Manso Porto, *Erudito, Mecenas y Bibliófilo*, pp. 59–73.
[17] Kagan, *Clio & the Crown*, pp. 150–200.
[18] Manso Porto, *Erudito, Mecenas y Bibliófilo*, pp. 249–61.
[19] RB II/2144, doc. 230.
[20] Manso Porto, *Erudito, Mecenas y Bibliófilo*, pp. 67–68.

antiquity, requested access to the books and papers at the *Casa del Sol*, sent drafts of their work for his learned opinion and even requested Gondomar to use his political weight and personal influence at court so as to obtain an official permission to publish their works.[21] In turn, these authors often endeavoured to return the favour and collaborated to increase the count's collections. In a letter sent in 1605, friar Prudencio de Sandoval presented Sarmiento with some valuable documents:

> I send Your Excellency my original letters of the Emperor [Charles V], along with some papers about Galicia, since it is a good thing that such a prominent person has the curiosities of this kingdom, so that the museum owned by Your Excellency becomes a royal archive.[22]

Over the past years, scholars have remarked on Sarmiento's interest in history, his documentary dealings with Spanish scholars and his use of Spanish sources for discussing affairs of state and developing political counsel.[23] However, as one could expect, while in London he also established a network of learned collaborations with English peers and gentlemen who were in charge of state business and had a more open attitude towards Spain. Prominent within this group of courtiers was Henry Howard, first earl of Northampton (1540-1614), who was on very friendly terms with Gondomar at the beginning of his embassy in 1613.[24] Considering that Northampton's death took place just ten months after the Spaniard's arrival to England, the collaboration between the ambassador and the earl was short-lived, but nonetheless very active. Howard eventually argued strongly for a Spanish Match instead of a French one, and in February 1614 he was secretly received back into the Catholic Church by a priest from the Spanish

[21] Manso Porto, *Erudito, Mecenas y Bibliófilo*, pp. 59–73 and 223–98.
[22] 'Emvío a vuestra merçed las cartas que tengo originales del Emperador, y más esos papeles de Galicia, que bien es que cavallero tan principal tenga las curiosidades del reyno, y sea el museo de vuestra merçed un archivo real'. RAH, Salazar y Castro, A 77, f. 39r. Published in Manso Porto, *Erudito, Mecenas y Bibliófilo*, pp. 287–88.
[23] Kagan, *Clio & the Crown*, p. 1; López-Vidriero, 'Asiento de Coronas'; Montcher, 'Carta Taller Historiográfico'; Manso Porto, *Erudito, Mecenas y Bibliófilo*, pp. 59–73; Redworth, 'Diego Sarmiento'.
[24] For Northampton, see Linda Levy Peck, *Northampton: Patronage and Policy at the Court of James I* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1982); Daniel Andersson, *Lord Henry Howard (1540-1614): An Elizabethan Life* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2009).

embassy.[25] Northampton also kept Gondomar updated about political debates at the English court by sending him reports. In this respect, the archives of Simancas still hold a holograph account in Italian with information about the stalemate in discussions during the 1614 Parliament. This document was written by Northampton himself to Gondomar on the same day that the earl and King James took the decision to dissolve it.[26] All the evidence leads one to think that Sarmiento and Robert Cotton became first acquainted through their common dealings with Henry Howard.

2.3. Sir Robert Cotton: Manuscript Collector and State Administrator

Sir Robert Cotton studied at Jesus College, Cambridge. He started to acquire documents from an early age and built up an impressive collection comprised of printed books and manuscripts.[27] Cotton managed to obtain documents from the collections of important figures. Among these were the deceased Tudor scholar John Leland, the astronomer John Dee, the Elizabethan administrator Robert Beale and the queen's chief statesman, Sir William Cecil, Lord Burghley. To fill in important gaps in files, he was also prepared to research the king's official records and order transcriptions of significant letters. Many efforts were carried out to increase his collections.[28]

Cotton was well regarded by his contemporaries for allowing them access to his documents. The jurist John Selden and the antiquarian William Camden frequented his library, whilst John Speed, Ralph Starkey, James Ussher and Simonds D'Ewes were also reliant on his collection.[29] During the late years of the 1620s, Cotton and his assistants began to compile a catalogue of the entire holdings. However, just as this first catalogue

[25] The priest's name was Agustín Perez and he worked as a secretary to the Spanish embassy. Tobío, *Católicos Ingleses*, pp. 196–99.
[26] DIHE 4, pp. 168-173.
[27] See Stuart Handley, 'Robert Cotton (1571–1631)', *ODNB*; Kevin Sharpe, *Sir Robert Cotton, 1586-1631: History and Politics in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979).
[28] Loomie, *English Polemics at the Spanish Court*, p. 25.
[29] Sharpe, *Sir Robert Cotton*, pp. 48–83.

was in progress, the library was sealed by an official order of the Privy Council during the second session of the 1628-1629 parliament. At the time, authorities became suspicious of his collection, given that it was used to produce arguments and precedents deemed detrimental to royal interests.[30] The antiquarian passed away before his library was reopened. As a result, no catalogue was produced at the time. Moreover, after Sir Robert Cotton's death in 1631, the collection of printed books was dispersed. Nonetheless, most of the manuscript holdings in the library survived.[31] Later, at the request of Sir Thomas Cotton, new efforts were made to complete the organisation of the documents. A definite catalogue was then produced.[32] Today, the Cotton collection at the British Library comprises more than 1,400 manuscripts and over 1,500 charters, rolls and seals.[33] These sources are written in Latin, English and many other languages, such as Spanish.

Robert Cotton shared Henry Howard's objective of supporting James's accession to the throne, and he used his collection of papers to that end.[34] Following Queen Elizabeth's death in 1603, Howard had commissioned Cotton to write a defence of James's claim using precedents from old records. The antiquarian obliged and prepared a tract proving the antiquity of James's right to the English throne and defending his title as 'Emperor of Great Britain'.[35] Additionally, in June 1603, Cotton had to immerse himself in the history of Anglo-Spanish relations to prepare a piece of advice for Howard on the convenience

[30] Sharpe, *Sir Robert Cotton*, pp. 80–81.
[31] For more details about the Cotton library see Sharpe, *Sir Robert Cotton*, pp. 48–84.
[32] This became the standard organisation for the collection. It sorts the manuscripts according to cabinet, shelf and volume. The cabinets were named after one of the twelve Caesars (Nero, Julius, Vespasian, etc.) and two of their consorts (Cleopatra and Faustina). The shelfs were organised under a letter (A, B, C...) and the volumes are sorted using roman numerals. See Loomie, *English Polemics at the Spanish Court*, p. 25.
[33] For information about the Cotton collection in its current state, see 'The Cotton Manuscripts', *The British Library* <https://www.bl.uk/collection-guides/cotton-manuscripts> [accessed 6 August 2019].
[34] To this day, historians still use a catalogue of the Cotton manuscripts published in 1802. The inaccuracies of this catalogue's listing will be addressed later, but it is still today the most detailed attempt to organise the Cotton papers. The Planta catalogue provides an article number for every document, which will be used in this chapter. See *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Cottonian Library*, ed. by Joseph Planta (London: British Museum Press, 1802).
[35] This theory is developed in 'A Discourse of ye Descent of the King's Majesty from the Saxons', written on 26 March 1603 (old style). This document is signed by Robert Cotton. See TNA, SP 14/1/3.

of a peace with Spain.[36] Eventually, Cotton's knowledge of historical precedents led him to be appointed to many important committees in the Commons. Further, through his connection with Northampton, he was able to advise the Privy Council.[37] Northampton's death in June 1614 marked the end of an era for Cotton. By that date, however, he had already ingratiated himself with Robert Carr, earl of Somerset (1585/6?–1645).[38] As Northampton's closest adviser, Cotton managed to win Somerset's favour and trust, and he played an important part in the political education of Carr by helping him move around the changing landscape of the Jacobean court.

It is within this context of secretarial assistance that Cotton became an important agent in the negotiations for a Spanish Match. One of the first times that Gondomar reported about the growing possibility of a marriage between Prince Charles and the *Infanta* María was on a letter dated 25 January 1614.[39] The earl of Northampton was the main negotiator, though at that point he was only starting a process that promised to be long. After the death of Henry Howard, Cotton kept dealing with Gondomar through Somerset, who had shared a cordial relationship with the Spanish ambassador since his arrival in 1613. The Spaniard was invited to Carr's wedding with Frances Howard and he was seated next to Queen Anne. In his letters, Sarmiento informed some Spanish peers about these honours.[40] In 1615, Somerset more actively entertained the possibility of a Spanish bride for Prince Charles and required his assistants to draw up notes on the previous marriage treaty between Prince Arthur, son of Henry VII, and Catherine of

[36] See 'A Discours whether yt be fitt for Englande to make peace with Spayne', 1603, signed by Cotton. BL MS Cotton Vespasian C XIII, f. 60. Also see 'Discours Uppon the Kings necessitie to keep warres with Spayne', signed by Cotton and dedicated 'to my lord Henry Howard 1603'. BL MS Cotton Vespasian C XIII, f. 158.
[37] For more information about Cotton's secretarial assistance to Henry Howard, see Sharpe, *Sir Robert Cotton*, pp. 114–28.
[38] See Alastair Bellany, 'Robert Carr (1585/6?–1645)', *ODNB*; Alastair Bellany, *The Politics of Court Scandal in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: University Press, 2002).
[39] DIHE 3, pp. 210-217.
[40] See Andrés Escapa, 'La Muerte de Sir Thomas Overbury'.

Aragon. These notes ended up in the Cotton library.[41] Probably aware of the congenial conversations between the Spanish envoy and the English antiquarian, King James briefed Cotton to become his intermediary in a new series of discussions in favour of a marriage.[42] Conversations began as early as January 1615.[43] On 28 April 1615, the ambassador wrote to King Philip III about the rising possibility of a Spanish Match. He also mentioned his acquaintance with Sir Robert Cotton:

> The king and the earl of Somerset have sent to me, in great secret, *Don* Robert Cotton. He is a knight of great esteem with a great assortment of curious papers; and through him the king keeps his archives of what *Don* John Digby, the ambassador from this king, has written about the marriage negotiations between my lady the *Infanta* and the Prince [of Wales].[44]

The fact that Gondomar's praise for Cotton centres on the esteem in which the antiquarian was held at court and his possession of many 'curious papers' should not be overlooked.[45] Years later, after the failure of the Spanish Match, Cotton was interrogated at the 1624 Parliament about his past collaborations with Spanish agents, such as Gondomar. At that time, the antiquarian mentioned how books and documents played their part in his dealings with Sarmiento. According to Sir Robert, while Somerset was still the favourite, the Spanish ambassador called on the antiquarian's home with the excuse of wishing to see his library. While visiting, the Spaniard allegedly urged Cotton to suggest a marriage between the *Infanta* and Prince Charles to Somerset.[46]

Given that all these statements were produced to please a particular audience (the Spanish king, in the case of Gondomar, and a parliamentary enquiry in the case of Cotton), it is difficult to ascertain the complete accuracy of all details. Nonetheless,

---

[41] BL MS Cotton Julius C III, f. 403.
[42] Loomie, *English Polemics at the Spanish Court*, p. 28.
[43] See 'Sir Robert Cotton's relation of his conference with Gondamore', in *Report on the Manuscripts of the Duke of Buccleuch*, ed. by William Scott (London: Duke of Buccleuch, 1899), I, pp. 163–64.
[44] 'El rey y el Conde de Somerset me han embiado a dezir en gran secreto con Don Roberto Coton, que es un caballero de mucha estima y de gran curiosidad de papeles en quien el Rey deposita en su archivo lo que Don Juan Digbi, embajador de este rey le ha escrito sobre las materias de casamiento de la señora Infanta con el Príncipe'. RB II/2228, doc. 109.
[45] For a discussion about the premodern meanings applied to the Spanish word '*curioso*', see Chapter 6.1.
[46] For Cotton's version of the events, see Scott, *Manuscripts of the Duke of Buccleuch*, I, pp. 163–64. For Gondomar's version, see RB II/2228, docs. 109, 110, 144, 147 and 196.

Cotton did go to King James and enquired about a Spanish Match. The king authorised him to enter into negotiations but also asked him to conceal the business and discover what warrant Gondomar had for the negotiations.[47] Accordingly, Cotton expressed the king's interest in the match to the count, provided that it was not intended to rupture negotiations with France, and provided that the Spaniard could show his authority to discuss this matter. Gondomar obliged. Cotton kept the English king regularly informed about the proceedings. In August 1615, James asked Cotton to draft a treaty of marriage with Spain, which was produced using some articles from the French negotiations in support of each clause. By September, the talks with France came to an end.[48] In early October 1615, however, the inquiries on the mysterious death of Sir Thomas Overbury began, and the turbulent series of events that then took place eventually interrupted the transactions between Cotton and Gondomar.

2.4. Private Dealings with Public Repercussions: The Overbury Scandal and the Disclosure of State Secrets

The Overbury murder case triggered one of the most sensational court scandals of the time. The courtier and poet Sir Thomas Overbury died in September 1613 as a prisoner in the Tower of London. His death was widely reported but attributed to natural causes. However, during the last months of 1615 King James received information suggesting that Overbury had been poisoned. He thereafter authorized a thorough investigation which soon led to the earl of Somerset, Robert Carr, as one of the main plotters. Further enquiries also incriminated Somerset's wife, Frances Howard, whose marriage annulment with Robert Devereux, the third earl of Essex, had already provoked

[47] See Sharpe, *Sir Robert Cotton*, p. 131. Gondomar mentions the need of this warrant in a letter dated on 28 April 1616. RB MS II/2228, doc. 109.
[48] See Sharpe, *Sir Robert Cotton*, p. 131.

a significant expression of libellous scorn among the English public in 1613.[49] As we shall see, Somerset was politically weakened by the scandal and by the subsequent rise of George Villiers (1592-1628) as the new royal favourite. As a result, he was unable to stall the investigations.

Once the scandal broke, the inquiry into the murder of Overbury led to an examination of the close relationship which had developed between Cotton and Somerset.[50] Certainly, the antiquarian usually kept his patron's papers in his own study, something he did while serving Northampton as well. All the surviving documentary evidence suggests that Cotton was knowingly protecting Somerset. In his efforts to clear him from the charge of poisoning Overbury, the antiquarian forged the dates on some of the letters Carr sent to Northampton. Cotton also returned some documents to Somerset, so that these could be burned.[51] However, by the end of 1615, both Carr and his wife were under arrest and widely assumed to be guilty of murdering Overbury. Nevertheless, their trial was repeatedly postponed by attempts to build a treason case against the earl. This latter development also brought into question Robert Cotton's dealings with Gondomar.

Sure enough, during the proceedings King James received some allegations from Sir John Digby, English ambassador to Spain, on the disclosure of privileged information to Sarmiento. This prompted James to write a letter expressing concern that Cotton had 'amasse[d] together, divers secrets of State, hath communicated them to the Spanish Ambassador [Gondomar], who hath cause[d] them to be copied out, and translated, into the Spanish tongue'.[52] During the investigation, the Venetian ambassador also heard a

[49] For more information regarding the Overbury case and the campaigns against the Somersets, see Bellany, *Court Scandal*, pp. 182–99; Beatrice White, *Cast of Ravens: The Strange Case of Sir Thomas Overbury* (London: Murray, 1965); Andrés Escapa, 'La Muerte de Sir Thomas Overbury'; David Lindley, *The Trials of Frances Howard: Fact and Fiction at the Court of King James* (London: Routledge, 1993).
[50] For the fullest account of the Overbury trial proceedings, see *A Complete Collection of State Trials*, ed. by Thomas Howell (Murray, 1793), II, pp. 911–1022. Also see White, *Cast of Ravens*.
[51] Sharpe, *Sir Robert Cotton*, p. 134.
[52] See King James's letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury and others, dated 26 October 1615 (old style). TNA SP 14/82, f. 175.

rumour that Sarmiento had been sending to Madrid 'copies of all the papers of the ambassador Cornwallis'.[53] There were also more serious allegations that the Spaniard was still having access to the papers of the ambassador John Digby. In this respect, one of Gondomar's letters provides more context on these accusations. In a dispatch to the duke of Lerma dated on 26 November 1615, the count informed his king about a 'traitor' of alleged Catholic and Spanish origins who recently informed the English Secretary of State, Sir Ralph Winwood, about English Catholics attending mass at the Spanish embassy. This 'traitor' also complicated matters by

> saying that *Don* Robert Cotton and *Don* Charles Cornwallis sent me papers; and even though this is false, the secretary [Winwood] has examined the papers and books of *Don* Robert Cotton and *Don* Charles Cornwallis and of others with the purpose of trying to discover something against the earl of Somerset, that is to track who has given me the information of what *Don* John Digby writes, which your Majesty has. Because after they received his last dispatch [Digby's] from October 6, they have this goal; and Your Excellency cannot imagine how careful I have tried to be. It is also true that the little intelligence and information I have gathered are the same as last time; and these have not been given to me by the earl of Somerset, who is in jail, or *Don* Charles Cornwallis or Cotton, who don't treat about these matters with me.[54]

As pointed out by Noah Millstone, the political reasoning of the period held that dissimulation, deception, and fraud were widespread features in the world. Life at court, therefore, was full of misleading or cunning performances, as the Overbury trial came to corroborate. This meant that many courtiers' actions and statements were not simple signs with self-evident meanings, but rather obscure hints of invisible intentions. Thus, political reasoning taught that good statesmen had to be aware of the problematic and puzzling

[53] See Gregorio Barbarigo's letter to the Doge and Senate, dated 31 December 1615. *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice*, ed. by Allen Hinds and others (London: Longman, 1864), XIV, pp. 93–95.

[54] 'Diziendo que Don Roberto Coton y Don Carlos Cornuales me embiaban papeles y aunque esto es falso, el secretario ha examinado los papeles y libros de Don Roberto Coton y de Don Carlos Cornuales y de otros para si por aquí pueden descubrir algo contra el conde de Somerset, o rastrear quien me ha dado los avisos que Don Juan Digbi escrive que Su Magestad tiene porque desde que recibieron su ultimo despacho de 6 de Octubre andan con esta ansia y yo con mas cuydado del que puedo significar a Vuestra Excelencia. Y es cierto que las pocas inteligencias y avisos que yo tengo pues son oy los mismos no me los ha dado el conde de Somerset que está preso ni Don Carlos Cornuales ni Coton que no tratan de estas materias'. RB II/2228, doc. 196.

nature of events. Moreover, they should deploy a strategy to interpret the riddles put at court and fathom the hidden purposes of a fellow courtier.[55]

In this scenario, political reasoning treated intercepted letters, secret documents and other type of rare sources as privileged forms of evidence. Unlike public actions or speeches, which were available to all, these allegedly more valuable documents were taken as transparent symbols that helped bridge the difference between outward conduct and inward meaning. As the diplomat Sir Dudley Carleton explained, these type of privileged sources allowed the English '*toccar con la mano* [to reach out and touch] the secret dessignes and inward thoughts of our Enemies'.[56] As a result, intercepted documents could be considered as unmediated messages from the unseen world of intentions and designs. Similarly, it was believed that the disclosure of these documents lifted the veil of dissimulation and revealed the true objectives behind political strategies.[57] Within this perspective, one can better understand English preoccupations about the Spanish ambassador's private transactions with some English administrators. Gondomar's perusing of their manuscript collections could easily lead to a breach of State secrets. The valuable information that many of these papers contained was supposed to provide a distinct advantage over the actor whose plans had been secretly discovered and, in the process, help attain the upper hand against any rival who lacked such data.[58]

After receiving Sir John Digby's letter, King James ordered the arrest of Sir Robert Cotton and the seizure of his papers for a thorough examination. Digby was recalled from Spain to provide an account on this matter. At the same time, in early 1616 the Chief Justice Edward Coke brought forward charges against Somerset by accusing him of

[55] Noah Millstone, *Manuscript Circulation and the Invention of Politics in Early Stuart England* (Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 145–46.
[56] Dudley Carleton's letter to William Trumbull, 9 February 1621 (old style). BL MS Additional 72272, f. 10r.
[57] Millstone, *Manuscript Circulation*, p. 146.
[58] Millstone, *Manuscript Circulation*, pp. 129–64.

putting the kingdom in danger by sharing state secrets with Gondomar.[59] As part of the enquiries, Cotton was interrogated about his dealings with Somerset, particularly on the Spanish Match. He claimed that he had acted upon royal orders as he had understood them. It would seem, however, that while James had expressed an interest in the negotiations, Cotton had surpassed his brief and staked his and Somerset's career on a Spanish marriage as a solution to the financial problems that came after the king's unsuccessful money requests during the 1614 Parliament.[60] However, no further confession or evidence could be obtained from the antiquarian on the topic of sharing intelligence.[61] Regardless of Coke's efforts to push forward a trial for treason, these charges were dropped in April 1616 due to insufficient evidence. These proceedings were probably also abandoned to avoid a diplomatic incident. Cotton was eventually released.[62]

Nevertheless, the main trial for Overbury case continued. As it progressed, the antiquarian eventually decided to desert Carr's cause. Cotton might have done this because of a gradual conviction of the earl's guilt, or because he eventually recognised the shift of power at court. Regardless of the motivation, the antiquarian decided to leave London. Once he was out of the city, he delivered a pack of Overbury's letters to the Chief Justice Edward Coke.[63] At the trial, Carr complained of the antiquarian's absence: 'For Sir Robert Cotton, I would wish that he were here to clear many things that now be obscure'.[64] In the end, Somerset and his wife were put on trial on the charge of murdering Overbury. After many delays, and some attempts at political manoeuvring, the Somersets were convicted in May 1616.[65]

---

[59] See Coke's notes, dated on February 1616. TNA SP 14/86, f. 93.
[60] Sharpe, *Sir Robert Cotton*, p. 133.
[61] Bellany, *Court Scandal*, p. 196.
[62] White, *Cast of Ravens*, pp. 137–38.
[63] Kevin Sharpe. *Sir Robert Cotton*, p. 135.
[64] See Howell, *State Trials*, II, p. 995.
[65] Both were sentenced to death, but were spared by the king and remained prisoners in the Tower until their release in 1622. Andrés Escapa, 'La Muerte de Sir Thomas Overbury', pp. 21–22.

2.5. '*Ex Dono Legato*': Spanish Papers at the Cotton Library

Previous historians have commented on the accusations of Cotton's disclosure of documents but have not advanced substantial evidence to support it.[66] Still, it seems that the rumours heard by the Venetian ambassador, and other English courtiers, were true. If one peruses the Cotton and the Gondomar libraries, one finds that between 1613 and 1615 the Spanish envoy and the English antiquarian had not only met to discuss political affairs. They had also exchanged documents from each other's collections. These actions led to the enrichment of both men's libraries. However, this private exchange of manuscripts also led them to public scrutiny during the Overbury enquiries, given the nature of the papers that were shared. Indeed, the documents available today show that there were many individuals eager to read volumes of Cotton's papers, and these either came in person to request a loan or sent their secretaries to borrow papers for a time. Among Cotton's regular readers were the earls of Salisbury and Northampton, Sir Francis Bacon, and more pertinent to this study, Gondomar.[67]

Robert Cotton's collection of Spanish papers is small when put in the context of his wide-ranging holdings in history and antiquities. However, his assortment of Spanish documents is still big enough to show that exchanges between the antiquarian and the Spaniard took place. Perhaps because of their recent historical significance, the majority of Cotton's Spanish papers pertained to the 16th century and the relations of the Tudor monarchs with Charles V and Philip II.[68] In some cases, later librarians were not faithful to the organisation originally adopted by Cotton for the documents, which were organised according to date and region. Nevertheless, a reader may still discover a sequence of

[66] Loomie, *English Polemics at the Spanish Court*, p. 28.
[67] See 'A list of such books as I have this April [1621] lent out of my study'. BL MS Harley 6018, ff. 154v, 155v, 160v and 173v. Gondomar sent his secretary of languages, Francis Fowler, to borrow Cotton's items.
[68] As Loomie points out, the only 17th century title which he recorded was 'My papers of Spayne since the Kings coming unbound in cover as many as would make a great book'. Quoted in Loomie, *English Polemics at the Spanish Court*, p. 26.

subdivisions for the manuscripts. Traces of this careful ordering can be found in documents concerning France or Scotland, for example, and Spain is no exception. Many items in the antiquarian's Spanish volumes have a brief manuscript note at the top of the first page with titles such as 'Hispania', 'Castilia' or 'Aragon'. However, Cotton's plan to sort all his Spanish papers could not be completed. After his death, it was decided by his heirs to place most of the Spanish documents, now in thirteen volumes, on one shelf lettered 'C' in a cabinet on the top of which a small bronze bust of the emperor Vespasian had been placed.[69]

Most volumes have at least one of Sir Robert's notes; and it is thanks to this practice that we can now certify the provenance of many documents. In the case of the volumes Vespasian C VII-VIII some papers come with a Latin or English explanation that clearly state a provenance from Gondomar's library.[70] Perhaps one of the best examples can be found in Vespasian C VII, which has Cotton's copy of Charles V's instructions to his son, Philip II, during his first regency in Spain in 1543.[71] This letter was considered to be the Emperor's political testament during the period, and was therefore deemed highly valuable by many European statesmen for the advice it provided.[72] Thanks to some remarks written in Spanish at the end of the document, one can learn about its provenance and the date that this copy of the instructions made it into the Cottonian library:

> The original book [manuscript volume] from which this has been transcribed has stayed in the hands of *Don* Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, ambassador of the Catholic King in England, from whom it [the manuscript volume] was lent to me, Robert Cotton, in the year of our Lord 1615.[73]

[69] However, there are exceptions. For instance, BL MS Cotton Julius F VI holds a set of original papers largely concerned with Mary Queen of Scots and her involvement with Spanish agents.
[70] From here onwards, I will use the short form 'art.' to designate the items in Cotton's library according to the Planta catalogue. See Planta, *Catalogue of the Cottonian Library*.
[71] See BL MS Cotton Vespasian C VII, ff. 153r-175r, art. 43. Document in Spanish.
[72] See Parker, *Imprudent King*, pp. 3–25; Geoffrey Parker, *Cómo Ser Rey: Instrucciones del Emperador Carlos V a su Hijo Felipe* (New York: The Hispanic Society of America, 2014).
[73] 'El libro original de donde esto fue trascripto a quedado en las manos de Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, Embaxador del Rey Cathólico en Ynglaterra, y del emprestado a mí, Roberto Cotton, en el Año de Nuestro Señor 1615'. BL MS Cotton Vespasian C VII, f. 174v.

The scrivener who transcribed the Emperor's instructions for Robert Cotton not only decided to state its provenance through this declaration. He also chose to copy from the original two written exchanges between Gondomar and the Spanish Juan de Idiáquez, who served as a diplomat and royal administrator during the reigns of Philip II and Philip III. In some brief lines penned on 26 October 1607 from Madrid, Sarmiento told Idiáquez that he was sending him the Emperor's instructions with an index of all its contents, which was written by no less than Philip II himself. For Gondomar, this latter detail already made of this document worthy of great esteem. In a response dated only on a 'Wednesday', Idiáquez told Sarmiento that he was sending him back this 'paper' and the 'book' that contained it. He also reiterated that this document was to be greatly esteemed and explained that he had already seen parts of the manuscript volume in 'Palace, many years ago. I don't know if this was before it came to your hands or after Your Excellency trusted it [to someone else's hands] as you do now with my hands'.[74]

As the document in Cotton Vespasian C VII shows, Sarmiento regularly exchanged historical manuscript documents with other individuals involved in state affairs. Very probably this was done as part of a strategy that used common scholarly interests to procure some political leverage or social influence. In this context of courtly ingratiation, the letters penned by Charles V to the future Philip II in 1543 seem to have been a valuable bargaining chip, given the evidence of their multiple loans. As previously seen above, it is possible that the Emperor's instructions first made it to Sarmiento's hands thanks to Prudencio de Sandoval, who in 1605 decided to send him documents produced during the times of Charles V to make the Gondomar library a 'royal archive'. However, with the passing of time, parts of this document left the *Casa del Sol* and are now to be found at

[74] 'Yo avía visto este mismo libro en Palacio años ha. No sé si antes que viniesse a mano de Vuestra Merced of después aviéndole fiado como agora de las mías'. BL MS Cotton Vespasian C VII, f. 175r.

the Hispanic Society of America.[75] This might respond to the vicissitudes of times. But, as the instances of document circulation studied in this chapter also suggest, it could also be based on the dynamic nature of this period's collections.

As previously discussed in the Introduction, early modern individuals rarely followed clear distinctions between what we now call a library (usually comprised of printed books), an archive (a repository of manuscripts) or a museum (where other material artefacts are stored). As a result, early modern repositories tended to collect many types of items indiscriminately.[76] Moreover, as Brendecke has previously remarked, the circulation of documents was a regular hallmark for the period's repositories.[77] Thus, a comprehensive study of an early modern library not only requires close attention to its final catalogue. It also needs a close analysis to previous inventories, lists of loans, evidence of sales and any other instance of provenance that the historian can salvage from contemporary correspondence or from the documents in other collections. These particular circumstances apply to the Gondomar library, but also to Cotton's collection.[78]

Thanks to explanatory phrases like '*Ex dono legato regis Hispanibus*' or 'Transcribed out of a Copy of the Spanish Amb.', one can learn about more manuscript exchanges between Cotton and Gondomar. This is the case of the antiquarian's Latin copy of a letter sent by Alejandro Farnese, the duke of Parma, to the Sicilian Carlos de Aragón y Tagliavia, first duke of Terranova, on 21 May 1579. In the heading of the document, one can read a comment about the letter made by the copyist: '*secretis notis conscripto*' ('written with secret information'). In this document, Parma discussed the strategy for the siege of Maastricht, which was under Dutch control at the time. He also narrated his

[75] See Parker, *Cómo Ser Rey*, pp. 28–33.
[76] See Chapter 1.5.
[77] See Brendecke, '"Arca, Archivillo, Archivo"'; Fabien Montcher, 'The Portable Archives of the Westphalian Negotiations', *Journal of Early Modern History*, 22.5 (2018), 348–70.
[78] See Colin Tite, '"Lost or Stolen or Strayed": A Survey of Manuscripts Formerly in the Cotton Library', *The British Library Journal*, 18.2, 107–47.

efforts to pacify the southern provinces of the Habsburg Netherlands through the ratification of the Treaty of Arras.[79]

Another good example can be found in Vespasian C VIII. This volume holds a copy of a letter written in 1588 by Philip II to the sea captain Pedro de Valdés. It discussed naval strategies during the Armada campaign. After hearing of how his ship has been deviated during a storm, the Spanish king pressed Valdés for a prompt retaking of the agreed trajectory.[80] All in all, these documents very probably proved noteworthy to Cotton due to the fact that they either provided information about Anglo-Spanish hostilities during the 1580s or gave more insight on Spanish martial strategies to quell resistance in the Low Countries, with repercussions to English interests. Just as with the case of Charles V's instructions, these documents do not appear to have been preserved at the *Casa del Sol*.

Due to reasons of space, it falls beyond the purposes of this chapter to provide a complete list of Gondomar's documentary contributions to the Cotton collection.[81] An exhaustive statement of these exchanges would also require a substantial revision of the existing catalogue of the Cotton holdings.[82] Still, the documents analysed already provide some evidence of the Spanish ambassador's influence in the Cotton library. As is to be expected, the manuscript exchange went both ways, and the documentary records show that Gondomar also managed to peruse some items in the English antiquarian's library.

---

[79] BL MS Cotton Vespasian C VII, ff. 377-379, art. 104. I am indebted to Vladimir Olivero for his help in accessing a difficult passage in this document.
[80] BL MS Cotton Vespasian C VIII, f. 11v, art. 3.
[81] For instance, Colin Tite states that art. 64-66 in Cotton MS Vespasian C VIII were at some point in Sarmiento's hands. Tite, *Robert Cotton's Library*, p. 180.
[82] An updated catalogue of the Cotton manuscripts is still a pending task. While preparing this chapter, archivists at the British Library informed me that the project of producing a new version of the catalogue is on hold. For now, the historian still has to resort to the 1802 catalogue produced by Joseph Planta, which is full of inaccuracies. For instance, Cotton's copy of Charles V's instructions to his son Philip II is described in the Planta catalogue as a document written by Philip II to his ministers. Furthermore, at the moment, digital tools like the British Library's online manuscript catalogue, or State Papers online, provide only a limited listing of all the Cotton papers. A good number of entries have still to be added to the online listing in order for these to become searchable.

2.6. 'A Volum of Spayn': Borrowing Documents from Cotton

Today, historians have at their disposal up to six inventories with loan lists from the Cotton Library. When making a loan, the antiquarian recorded the item with an informal title, rather than using a catalogue identification. Yet these records can sometimes be associated with a specific document at his library. One of these entries states that in 1615 Gondomar sent Francis Fowler, one of his secretaries of languages, to borrow various items.[83] As shown by Cotton's own handwriting, Gondomar borrowed three items. The first one was a 'A book of Prayers of my lord of Northampton'.[84] The second one was a book 'of the Nobility and the armes in Spayn in Collers, it was my lord of Northamptons'. Last, but not least, the third item in that list was a manuscript volume registered under the name 'My first volum of Spayn in the lat Quens time'.[85]

The first two items borrowed by Sarmiento from Cotton suggest that the Spaniard had a special interest in perusing some of Henry Howard's documents. It also shows that the Cotton library gradually became a repository that not only held state papers but also preserved the personal documents of some of King James's main political administrators. This has been already glimpsed in the case of Somerset, who lost substantial opportunities to defend himself at court when the antiquarian withdrew his support, but it can be also observed in the case of many of Northampton's papers, which came to be stored in the Cottonian library as well. Howard's 'book of Prayers' was a manuscript volume with an assortment of psalms and prayers of a Catholic orientation that were penned by the earl himself. As previously discussed, Gondomar was interested in Northampton's spiritual

[83] Nowadays, historians have at their disposal up to six inventories with lists of loans from the Cotton Library. One of these states that Gondomar sent Francis Fowler, his secretary of languages, to borrow various items from Cotton. See 'A list of such books as I have this April [1621] lent out of my study', BL MS Harley 6018, ff. 154v, 155v, 160v and 173v. Also, see Tite, *Robert Cotton's Library*, p. 63.
[84] See BL MS Harley 6018, fol. 173v. The book of prayers is nowadays stored under the reference BL MS Arundel 300.
[85] See BL MS Harley 6018, fol. 173v. The Queen's volume nowadays corresponds to the volume BL MS Cotton Vespasian C VII.

life. Still, he was not the only one. With the passing of time, the book became property of Northampton's heir and the antiquarian's next steady patron after Somerset, the earl of Arundel.[86]

The other item previously owned by Henry Howard and borrowed by Gondomar was a book on the 'nobility and the armes in Spayn'. According to the list of loans, this work was in a folio format and the arms were coloured. There is no present trace of this item in the Cotton library, or any easy connection to a reference at other English archives. However, it might well be that this specific volume stayed in the ambassador's hands. After all, Sarmiento was an *aficionado* of Spanish heraldry and, as previously seen, he was also infamous for not returning some documents once they reached him.[87] Moreover, even though this item is now untraceable in Spanish archives, a conspicuous entry in the 1623 catalogue of the Gondomar library mentions a manuscript book of Spanish lineages with coloured arms in folio.[88]

Thanks to the initial findings of Loomie and Tite, more can be said now about Gondomar's third borrowing from Cotton: a 'volum of Spayn in the lat Quens time'.[89] Many of the papers once contained in this volume are now listed in Vespasian C VII.[90] Among the papers listed under this heading one can find many English documents touching on Anglo-Spanish affairs that were penned during the Tudor reigns. There is, for instance, a tract produced in 1587 with many considerations in favour and against a peace with Spain.[91] Vespasian C VII also lists a series of documents pertaining to the relationship between Charles V and Henry VIII.[92] Documents authored by Cardinal

[86] Indeed, the name displayed in the item's reference suggests a direct line of transmission: BL MS Arundel 300.
[87] Manso Porto, *Erudito, Mecenas y Bibliófilo*, p. 105.
[88] See Appendix 1, section 10.2.
[89] Loomie, *English Polemics at the Spanish Court*, p. 26; Tite, *Robert Cotton's Library*, p. 63.
[90] More specifically, BL Cotton MS Vespasian C VII, ff. 23-198, art. 3-42; ff. 202-290, art. 50-82; ff. 379-399, art. 105-118.
[91] See BL Cotton MS Vespasian C VII, art. 1.
[92] See BL Cotton MS Vespasian C VII, art. 3,5, 7, 24.

Wolsey and Thomas Cromwell also appear frequently.[93] Another type of 'papers' that Gondomar borrowed from Cotton correspond to a series of diplomatic instructions given to some English ambassadors from the 16th century: Thomas Wyatt, Edward Montagu, Thomas Chamberlain and Thomas Chaloner.[94] Gondomar appears to have examined these documents. He also seems to have consulted some English reports describing the dealings of Spanish ambassadors posted in England during the Tudor period, such as Álvaro de la Quadra, Luis de Requeséns, Guzmán de Silva and Bernardino de Mendoza.[95] In the case of this latter diplomat, the documents available at Vespasian C VII discussed the causes of Mendoza's expulsion from the English court in 1584 after he was found guilty of collaborating in the Throckmorton Plot.[96] One can only wonder if Sarmiento had a special interest in these details. Coincidentally, the papers in Cotton's volume might have been part of the documents that Sarmiento once confessed to have checked whilst in London. This can be appreciated in a letter dated 24 April 1615 to the Marquis of Bedmar:

> And I certify to Your Lordship that all the toils that I have had to endure in here [England] could be all solely justified by the original papers I have been able to see here from *Don* Bernardino de Mendoza. He was the best ambassador, among the dead and the living, that had ever been based here.[97]

Thanks to the Cotton library, Gondomar might have perused a series of documents that dealt with the mercantile relations between Spain, England and the Low Countries during the 16th century.[98] He also seems to have borrowed some papers with English

[93] See BL Cotton MS Vespasian C VII, art. 9, 18, 22, 23.
[94] See BL Cotton MS Vespasian C VII, art. 4, 21 (Wyatt); 36-42, (Montague and Thomas Chamberlain) 51; 52; 55-57; 60-61; 63-70; 114-118 (Thomas Chaloner).
[95] See BL Cotton MS Vespasian C VII, art. 73, 75 (Bishop Álvaro de la Quadra); 74 (Luis de Requesens); 77 (Guzmán de Silva); 111-112 (Mendoza).
[96] See Rayne Allinson, *A Monarchy of Letters: Royal Correspondence and English Diplomacy in the Reign of Elizabeth I* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), pp. 53–72.
[97] 'Y certifico a Vuestra Señoría que todos los travajos que aquí he pasado tuviera por bien empleados por sólo los papeles originales que he visto aquí de Don Bernardino de Mendoza. Que fue el mejor embajador que ha avido aquí de los Muertos ni de los vivos'. AGS Estado, Libro 370, f. 222r.
[98] See BL Cotton MS Vespasian C VII, art. 26, 27, 28, 29, 31 (Henrician era); 62-72, 76, 82 (Elizabethan era).

reports about Philip II's revenues in 1560, a year when the Spanish Crown had to declare bankruptcy.[99] In addition, the volume of papers that were, at some point, in the Spanish ambassador's hands included a sizeable number of letters exchanged between Antonio I of Portugal and some English officials in 1581, a year marked by Philip II's annexation of Portuguese territories into the Hispanic Monarchy.[100] This political manoeuvre brought discontent among some groups in Portugal and a series of negative comments from other European powers, including England.

All in all, a cursory analysis of Cotton's 'volum of Spayn' shows that Sarmiento had access to English opinions about Spain from economic, religious and political perspectives. These documents were penned during the reigns of the Tudor Monarchs and the Habsburg Charles and Philip II. Even though we can certify that these documents from the Cotton collection were lent to Gondomar for examination, there is no trace of any copy of these in the Gondomar library in its current state.[101] Still, Cotton's lists of loans allow us to have a better knowledge of his cultural interactions with Sarmiento. Moreover, these lists help illustrate some historical issues that might have been deemed important for agents involved in Anglo-Spanish negotiations during the Jacobean period. In this particular case, discussions appear to have included previous commercial and navigational accounts, records of previous marriages between the two crowns and old diplomatic transactions between both kingdoms.

[99] See BL Cotton MS Vespasian C VII, art. 50 (accounts for 1560); 53 (accounts for 1561).
[100] See BL Cotton MS Vespasian C VII, art. 106 and 108-110.
[101] Therefore, these documents might not have been copied or preserved by Gondomar in his library. Alternatively, these documents could have been dispersed with the passing of time. For a more detailed understanding of the history of the Gondomar Library, see Michael and Ahijado, 'La Casa Del Sol'.

2.7. 'Many Curious Papers in English': The Collection of English Manuscripts at the *Casa del Sol*

Besides the instances analysed in Cotton's lists of loans, an examination of the English manuscripts in the Gondomar library also affords additional evidence of how Cotton became a privileged source of information for the Spanish ambassador. It was perhaps fortunate that the person in charge of cataloguing the English documents at the *Casa del Sol* was the English recusant Henry Taylor, as he decided to make a comment on the count's collection of English documents while organising his library. On 22 December 1622, Taylor wrote to his master:

> And your Excellency has also many English books; and some of the best I have seen, be that in history or other disciplines; and it is a pity that nobody here will be able to read them, as it is the case too with some very curious English papers that would merit being where someone could understand them.[102]

As seen in the previous chapter, English was not a well-known language in Spain at the beginning of the 17th century.[103] English printed books were already an uncommon acquisition. However, English manuscripts were quite infrequent in Spain as well, as suggested by Taylor's letter. In this respect, an analysis of the 1623 catalogue of the Gondomar library reveals that the count decided to preserve around 20 manuscript volumes in his English collection, and many of these compendia held documents with past state transactions.[104]

The inventory of the *Casa del Sol* lists four volumes of letters originally exchanged between Queen Elizabeth and her ministers.[105] The library also held two volumes of Cardinal Wolsey's official correspondence and two additional volumes with letters that

[102] 'Y libros también ingleses tiene vuestra señoría muchos, y los mejores que he visto tanto de históricos como otros, y es lástima que nadie ha de entenderlos, como también algunos papeles curiosos yngleses, que merecen estar donde hubiera quien los entendiera'. BNE MSS 18430 (4), f. 30rv. Published in Manso Porto, *Erudito, Mecenas y Bibliófilo*, p. 352.
[103] For a more detailed discussion about Taylor's letter, see Chapter 6.1. For more information about Spanish interest in the English language, see Bouza, *Anglo-Hispana*.
[104] See Appendix 2, Part E.
[105] Appendix 2, items 61, 62, 64, 69.

touched on various aspects of Anglo-Spanish relations.[106] As with many other manuscripts at the Gondomar library, it seems that the collection of English papers went through many alterations with the passing of the centuries. A significant number of these documents seem to have become lost or dispersed. As a result, the *Real Biblioteca* nowadays holds only two bound volumes with English manuscript sources. These are listed with the references RB II/2443 and RB II/2507. Both volumes are recorded with the title 'Miscellany of papers in English'.[107] These compendia seem to be all that is left of these eight volumes of diverse letters and reports penned by English officials.

RB II/2443 holds a series of documents from the times of Elizabeth I and Henry VIII. The manuscript volume starts with a series of letters authored by Cardinal Wolsey. For instance, there is a letter dated 31 August 1524. In that document Wolsey comments about the safeguarding of English interests during the Italian War of 1521–1526: 'The king of England [Henry VIII] will soon lead the army in person to recover his crown of France'.[108] This conflict pitted France and the Republic of Venice against the Holy Roman Emperor, England, and the Papal States. Moreover, Sarmiento's manuscript book also holds two letters dated in 1522 with instructions for Henry VIII's ambassador to Venice, Sir Richard Pace.[109] In subsequent folios, RB/2443 holds documents penned during the times of Queen Elizabeth. There is, for example, a report written by the English secretary to the Privy Council Robert Beale. This document provides with a list of offences made by Philip II against the queen in 1591. Among other things, it denounces Spain's failure to honour its obligations to support the English claim to Calais and

[106] Appendix 2, items 66, 68, 70, 71.
[107] 'Papeles varios en Inglés'. See RB II/2443 and RB II/2507.
[108] See RB II/2443, doc. 1. I am indebted to Wesley Correa for his help in accessing a difficult passage in this document.
[109] See RB II/2443, doc. 2 and 3. Document 2 corresponds to BL MS Cotton Nero B VII, art. 26. Document 3 corresponds to what is now in BL MS Additional 48045, ff. 323b-336b. A later comment in this second document suggests that the letter was originally held in the Cotton library. The copy in the Gondomar Library brings further support to this claim.

elaborates on Elizabeth's decision to expel ambassador Mendoza from England in 1584.[110] Another relevant document in this manuscript book is the copy of Sir William Cecil's 1595 'Meditation of the State of England'.[111] Once deemed by Frederick Dietz as an apologia for Burghley's own career, this report comments on how England was 'more happy and favoured than any' state in Christendom because Elizabeth was its queen. [112] According to Cecil, when she came to the throne, the kingdom was in terrible shape due to Mary's reign. The realm was also threatened by the actions of Mary of Scotland as well. All in all, the *Meditation* comments on foreign affairs, issues in religion, and past conspiracies against the queen, but also greatly remarks on how Elizabeth and Burghley had kept government efficient through a reform of the royal finances.

The other book of English manuscripts presently available in the *Real Biblioteca* is the volume RB II/2507. It is similar to RB II/2443 in its contents, as it holds a series of reports written by many English secretaries from the late period of Queen Elizabeth's reign (circa 1580-1600). A good number of these documents touch on Anglo-French relations. More specifically, there is a copy of the ratification of the 1564 Treaty of Troyes, which brought peace between France and England at the expense of Calais. This volume also holds some documents pertaining the 1572 Treaty of Blois, which aligned both countries into a position deemed detrimental to the interests of Spain.[113] There is a report, too, with considerations about granting more toleration to Catholics, which was written for the queen by Robert Cecil in Angers in 1598.[114] These documents alluded to a moment where serious debates were being held with the French and Dutch regarding

[110] See RB II/2443, doc. 7. These papers correspond to what is now in BL MS Harley 253, art. 33. According to Millstone, this document was owned, or at least handled, by Cotton. The presence of a copy of this document in the Gondomar library further suggests that Cotton might have handled the document now in the Harley collection. See Millstone, *Manuscript Circulation*, p. 38.
[111] See RB II/2443, doc. 5.
[112] Norman Jones, *Governing by Virtue: Lord Burghley and the Management of Elizabethan England* (Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 142–43.
[113] See RB II/2507. docs. 15 (Treaty of Troyes) and 16-17 (Treaty of Blois).
[114] See RB II/2507, docs. 1, 8, 9, 10.

the idea of signing a peace agreement with Spain. Volume RB/2507 also holds a set of papers touching on England's assistance to the Netherlands during the late 1580s and early 1590s.[115] In addition, there is a document with some considerations on creating an alliance between England and the Turks against Spain.[116]

Again, due to reasons of space, it falls beyond the purposes of this chapter to provide a complete study of Gondomar's manuscript volumes with 'miscellanies' of English papers. However, the analysis of English items provided here already points to Sarmiento's manifest interest in English scribal sources that discussed foreign affairs during the reign of past Tudor Monarchs. Given the Cotton library's fragmented history and the loss of many English papers in the Gondomar library, there is great doubt as to whether one can safely match the exact provenance of each and every single document in Madrid's *Real Biblioteca* with the Cotton collection currently stored at the British Library. However, there is evidence that at least some sources from RB II/2443 and RB II/2507 had an equivalent in the Cotton library. This is the case with the two letters with diplomatic instructions given to Sir Richard Pace in 1522.[117] Robert Beale's 1591 report also holds an equivalent at the British library. According to Tite, Cotton once owned a copy of William Cecil's 1595 *Meditation* too.[118] In addition, there are also two documents from volume RB/2507 that can be traced back to the Cottonian collection. These two letters contain instructions for Sir Ralph Eure, who was sent on a mission as an English envoy to Bremen in 1602 to meet Danish ambassadors and discuss the tolls on English

[115] See RB II/2507, docs. 2 and 3.
[116] See RB II/2507, doc. 6.
[117] See RB II/2443, doc. 2 and 3. Document 2 corresponds to BL MS Cotton Nero B VII, art. 26. Document 3 corresponds to what is now in BL MS Additional 48045, ff. 323b-336b.
[118] Tite, 'Lost or Stolen or Strayed', p. 117.

ships going through the Sound or to Muscovy. They also deliberated on attempts carried out to prevent English fishing in waters claimed by the Danish Crown.[119]

The documentary evidence at the Cottonian and Gondomar libraries suggest that the Spanish envoy was granted significant access to information about English affairs from the times of Queen Elizabeth. The Wolsey letters at the *Casa del Sol* also show that the Spanish ambassador had the opportunity to peruse some reports from earlier Tudor reigns as well. Recent work in the history of archives has taught us to be alert to what materials were collected and preserved (and why). As Noah Millstone has argued, the practice of preserving diplomatic letters reflects, in good part, a Renaissance understanding of the uses to which such materials could be put. Indeed, far from being treated as "old news", written dispatches and reports continued to be read for years, even decades, after the events to which they referred. On a similar note, early modern readers used scribal texts in different ways. They could be used as topics of conversation and forms of sociability, or as learned models of style for emulation. In this respect, manuscript letters and reports like the ones here analysed also evince how premodern individuals could connect contemporary political events with issues that had a long historical development.[120]

The Anglo-Spanish peace from 1604 to 1625, for instance, was frequently understood by early modern statesmen within a wider context that included the confrontations that took place between Spain and England during the 16th century.[121] As previously mentioned, when Robert Cotton was asked to draft some conditions for the Spanish Match, he resorted to the marriage treaty between Prince Arthur, son of Henry VII, and Catherine of Aragon. In a similar spirit, even if Gondomar's interest in Wolsey could be prompted by many reasons, one probable motive can be found in the Spanish

[119] See RB II/2507, docs. 13 and 14. Document 13 corresponds to BL MS Cotton Nero B V, art. 10. Document 14 appears to be a copy of the same letter to Ralph Eure, but with some small changes in wording.
[120] See Millstone, *Manuscript Circulation*, pp. 166–67.
[121] See Chapter 1.1.

Match negotiations as well. After all, the English cardinal became notorious for trying to secure a marriage annulment for the previous Tudor king who had espoused a Spanish princess.[122] Just as Millstone once proposed, different 'accounts of recent events, all framed at different levels of temporality, helped readers understand the eventful history unfolding before them'.[123] Thus, collecting papers like the ones here analysed could help the interested readers in their efforts to mediate between past and present, especially when deciding upon the future.

A Spanish instance that can help further illuminate the collecting of old sources by individuals concerned about the future can be found in the documentary practices of the Spanish Luis Fernández de Córdoba, duke of Sessa. Between 1619 and 1620 he endeavoured to acquire a bundle of documents that were owned by the influential pronotary of Aragon, Francisco Gassol. He also tried to obtain a set of manuscripts that belonged to the Jesuit humanist historian, Juan de Mariana. In a letter to Father Hortensio Félix de Paravicino, Sessa explained how he hoped that these 'papers', which were 'dead, and nothing can revive them', could nonetheless prove useful. He points out that 'their subject matter by chance applies to those of us not far from positions of responsibility in governments, and I am anxious to sift through them since this class of manuscripts does no harm to those of us who lead the active life'.[124]

It is in this light that one could better understand Gondomar's interest in diplomatic dispatches from past decades and the penchant to collect reports authored by important English administrators, such as Cardinal Wolsey, Sir William Cecil and Sir Robert Beale.

---

[122] In this respect, it is noteworthy that Sarmiento's library also preserved a manuscript copy of George Cavendish's *Thomas Wolsey, Late Cardinall, his Lyffe and Deathe* (circa 1554-1558). This work greatly touched on the "divorce" proceedings against Katherine of Aragon. See Appendix 2, item 67. Also see Anthony Edwards, 'George Cavendish (b. 1494-1562?)', *ODNB.*

[123] Noah Millstone, 'Designed for Collection: Early Modern News and the Production of History', *Media History*, 23.2 (2017), 177–98 (p. 190).

[124] Text and translation provided by Fernando Bouza, *Communication, Knowledge and Memory in Early Modern Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), pp. 66–67.

It is also through this perspective that one can better grasp Cotton's commensurate desire to have a copy of Charles V's instructions to Prince Philip or obtain dispatches with strategic information about the 1588 Armada Campaign or the 1579 siege of Maastricht. To both courtiers, a good handling of Anglo-Spanish relations could be better attained by a more profound understanding of the recent history of Anglo-Spanish interactions. As a result, the political value of the collected manuscripts under discussion was considerable.

2.8. 'A Useful Curiosity': Perusing Documents from the Jacobean Reign

As the previous examples show, the Gondomar library still offers today a paper trail of the collaborations held between the antiquarian and the ambassador. What is more, some examples help confirm the accusations on their sharing of intelligence that materialised during the Overbury affair. And there is still more. In its present state, the Gondomar library holds no copy of Digby's 'intelligences and informations' that the Spaniard was once accused of having. However, one can learn more about this detail through a study of other archives. In this respect, a letter currently held at Simancas shows that Gondomar's interest in English state papers was not restricted to documents written during the Tudor administrations. He was also keen to obtain letters produced by King James's ambassadors. In a letter dated 10 February 1615, Sarmiento informed the Spanish council of State about a recent report he had managed to intercept from the English ambassador, Sir John Digby:

> On Thursday January 29 the secretary of Sir John Digby arrived at midnight, and making a big effort to know what the ambassador writes to this king, I have been able to see the original letters. And I have seen in clear English handwriting the parts that came in cipher in the same way that the king reads them, because one person secured the whole dispatch; and during a whole night we locked ourselves [in a room] to read it because it was very long; and even if I did not manage to make a copy, I will tell Your Excellency about all the things that I remember.[125]

[125] 'Juebes 29 de Enero a las 12 de la noche llego aquí el secretario del embaxador don Juan Digbi y haviendo yo hecho diligencia para saver lo que escrive el embaxador a este Rey he visto las cartas originales y en letra clara inglessa las partes que vienen en ciffra en la misma forma que leyó y vio el Rey por que una persona cogió todo el despacho y nos encerramos una noche a velle que es bien largo y aun que no pude hacer copia diré aquí a Vuestra Excelencia lo que se me acordare'. AGS Estado, Legajo 2593, doc. 28.

For early modern diplomats, the intercepting of documents played an important part in their intelligence strategies.[126] Gondomar was aware of the benefit of anticipating the political actions of some English peers, and the letter above confirms that he had unauthorised access to papers produced by King James's ambassador to Spain. Still, even though the filtering of privileged state information was considered a problem back then as it is today, it was not an unexpected scenario for early modern agents, who often penned their reports with this possible outcome in mind (and thus recurred to ciphering). Moreover, it would be unfair to omit that Digby paid Gondomar with the same coin. For years, he was able to regularly intercept some of the Spaniard's dispatches. He decoded many copies of the messages and sent these back to King James on a regular basis, along with some comments. Gondomar was aware of this and tried to discover the source of the leak to no avail, until Digby himself told him years later that he was able to seize the letters and make copies while the courier rested at the last stages before arriving to Madrid. [127]

The game of counterespionage was taken for granted in the practice of diplomacy. And yet, many of Gondomar's most important pieces of English intelligence came without the need to deploy an elaborate ruse in the middle of the night. As in other instances, it appears that the Spanish ambassador greatly benefited from his dealings with the English antiquarian. An analysis of the *Casa del Sol*'s catalogue shows that the Venetian ambassador's rumours were correct. Sarmiento once owned four volumes with letters written between 1605 and 1608 by another English ambassador to Spain: Charles

[126] Carter, *Diplomacy of the Habsburgs*, p. 98.
[127] See Kelsey Flynn, 'Information Management and the Early English Atlantic Empire, 1603-1640' (The George Washington University [Unpublished doctoral dissertation], 2016), pp. 44–92; Carter, *Diplomacy of the Habsburgs*, pp. 129–30; Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, p. 225.

Cornwallis.[128] As in other cases, there has been a substantial loss with the passing of time. Of the four volumes, we now only have one listed with the reference RB II/2176, which appears to have been copied straight from the Cotton Library.[129]

According to Loomie, Gondomar's association with Cornwallis was also mediated by Cotton. For some years, the antiquarian relied on Cornwallis to obtain his most updated intelligence on Spanish issues after the signing of the peace treaty. In addition, both men became close to Northampton and served him on many occasions.[130] In this respect, one can also appreciate that, after Cornwallis's return from Spain in 1609, these two English courtiers also conducted a personal exchange of documents. In a letter penned in 1611, one can see Cornwallis inviting the antiquarian to a meal:

> Sr, Yf yow shalbe pleased to doe me the favour to take a court dinner with me to morrow at St. Jams I shalbe very glad of yor company & wyll take yt kyndly. Those record yow told me of or some brief of them, yf yow wyll also bryng wth yow, yow shall fynde that I wyll not retorne yow empty handed by wyll geve yow an exchange that perhaps wyll not dyscontent yow. And so in great hast I leave yow. Thys present Satturday 1611. Yor very assured lovyng friend Charles Cornwaleys.[131]

This hurried note brings further evidence about the exchange of documents as part of a strategy in courtly ingratiation. Moreover, as previously seen, these private dealings often led to collaborations of a more political nature. After the death of Northampton in 1614, Cornwallis and Cotton were frequent visitors at the residence of the Spanish ambassador.[132] Gondomar seems to have appreciated Sir Robert's interest in Spanish documents. Thus, as previously seen, he provided him with significant items from his library. Cornwallis, who had first-hand experience of the earlier talks in Madrid, was also available to speak about the Spanish Match. When their incursions into informal diplomacy were halted abruptly by the Overbury affair enquiries, the association of these

[128] See Appendix 2, item 63: 'Despachos de don Carlos Conwallis, embaxador de Ynglaterra en la corte d'España. fº. 4 volúmines del año 1605, 1606, 1607, 1608.' Nowadays, the *Real Biblioteca* only preserves one volume, which corresponds to the year 1608. See RB II/2176.
[129] See RB II/2176. This volume significantly corresponds to the compendia of letters in BL MS Cotton Vespasian C XI, circa 1608-1609.
[130] Loomie, *English Polemics at the Spanish Court*, p. 27.
[131] BL MS Harley 7002, f. 189r. Consulted in Loomie, *English Polemics at the Spanish Court*, p. 27.
[132] Loomie, *English Polemics at the Spanish Court*, p. 28.

two English courtiers with Sarmiento fell under suspicion. Still, by that time, the *Casa del Sol* and the Cottonian library had already benefited from collaborating with Cornwallis. These repositories eventually preserved many documents with intelligence acquired by the English ambassador during his mission to Spain.[133] This included many letters sent to the Privy Council and other English officials. In the surviving volume presently available at the *Real Biblioteca* one can see that Cornwallis regularly informed his English peers about Spain's activities in the Americas, Spanish concerns regarding the nascent plantation of Virginia, the relationship between Spanish ministries and different Italian envoys, Spanish interventions in Irish and Scottish affairs, discussions on the Pope and, above all, the many dealings of English merchants with the Inquisition and Spanish authorities.[134]

As these examples suggest, the Spanish ambassador found it quite convenient to procure access to the personal collections of English peers like Robert Cotton and Charles Cornwallis, as their documents not only offered more information about past Tudor administrations. Many of these sources also provided him with privileged 'local knowledge' about some state affairs from the reign of King James.[135] And yet, as it seems, Sarmiento's information strategies were not restricted to dealing with these two Jacobean courtiers. This can be appreciated in other noteworthy entries in the library catalogue of the *Casa del Sol*.

For instance, he acquired an original letter-book of Privy Council proceedings and discussions from the years 1582-1583.[136] This item appears to have made it into the diplomat's hands without the antiquarian's help. The same can be said about Gondomar's

[133] RB II/2176. This volume corresponds with BL MS Cotton Vespasian C XI.
[134] See RB II/2176, docs. 1-76.
[135] Ghobrial, *The Whispers of Cities*, pp. 1–18.
[136] Appendix 2, item 72. This manuscript volume is now at the *Biblioteca Nacional de España*: BNE MSS 3821. The manuscript book now held at the Public Record Office is a copy of these proceedings. I am indebted to professor James Amelang for this information.

inventories of King James's holdings and the list with different offices attached to the royal house. Originally recorded as a listing of the English king 'offices' divided in three 'thin' volumes, the *Real Biblioteca* nowadays holds only two English manuscript books on this subject under the references RB II/1434 (dated in 1608) and RB II/1884 (dated in 1611).[137] Besides informing about the finances of the English king and some English nobiliary tittles, these documents provided a listing of many court offices. Access to these types of documents must have proved very valuable in learning about the different responsibilities and authority attached to certain royal positions. These sources could also have been of great assistance to Sarmiento in the penning of reports like the one dated on 17 March 1614:

> Through the enclosed account [I am sending], Your Majesty will see the amount and quality of this king's [James] finances [*hacienda*]. I have thought that procuring particular information about this was of a useful curiosity.[138]

From the examined evidence, it appears that Gondomar might have endeavoured to attain some political benefit from the regular acquisition of English manuscripts at the court of St. James's. Moreover, Sarmiento appears to have been less affected by the political backlash that resulted from his collaborations with some English courtiers, such as Cotton and Cornwallis. However, these "victories" should be put in context. One would do well to remember that Gondomar's capacity to lend documents would have been limited, given that most of the count's holdings were probably still in Spain. Besides, as previously mentioned, the Spanish ambassador was not the only one to play the game of acquiring state papers from the country of diplomatic mission (be that through licit or illicit means). In this respect, at the same time that Sarmiento arrived in London, Sir John Digby was already endeavouring to procure as much local information as he could in

[137] Appendix 2, item 65. Only two of the originally three volumes survive. See RB II/1884 and RB II/1434.
[138] 'Por la relación inclusa vera Vuestra magestad la cantidad y calidad de la hacienda deste Rey, que me ha parecido curiosidad útil haver procurado saber esto tan particularmente'. AGS Estado, Legajo 2591, docs. 1-2.

Madrid. For instance, in a letter dated on 17 August 1613 (old style), the English ambassador informed King James about his methods for breaking into Spanish secret information. Through the use of spies, the English ambassador had managed to intercept some of Sarmiento's letters. Moreover, during his embassies, Digby also secured some access to the dispatches and memoranda of state produced by Spanish officials: 'For I already know where the first and second cyphers are'.[139]

2.9. Manuscripts, Histories and Premodern Politics

As this chapter has discussed, early modern individuals often adopted a series of documentary practices that were not only used in the world of scholarship but also in the realm of politics. In this respect, during his embassies, Gondomar acquired a considerable number of manuscripts with privileged information about English state affairs from the Tudor and Stuart reigns. Even though the strategic value implicit in Gondomar's collecting of documents from the early Stuart period is more obvious, there was also some political value in the possession of letters produced by important administrators serving Henry VIII or other English monarchs. On the same note, while it is true that not all the English documents in the Gondomar collection might have been ever analysed or used in their entirety, one cannot deny that the regular collecting of intelligence was an important priority for agents involved in the political debates of the period. It was through the perusing of old interstate transactions, and documentary sources deemed to be rare, that premodern statesmen sometimes endeavoured to secure a privileged perspective about the secret intentions of their opponents and in that way plan for the future.

All in all, the available evidence in the Cotton library and the *Casa del Sol* has much to teach us about the cultural dealings of early modern statesmen and the political

[139] TNA SP 94/20 f. 19.

implications that sometimes resulted from these exchanges. Still, further confirmation will be required from the archives in order to more thoroughly understand these connections, or reveal if the acquisition of certain English manuscripts led Gondomar to a specific course of action or a determined policy whilst in London. Nevertheless, by exploring Gondomar's and Cotton's collaborations, the historian can obtain much more detailed evidence about the type of documents and information that were considered of interest for premodern agents involved in Anglo-Spanish negotiations, among other state affairs. Moreover, an analysis like the one provided in this chapter helps better understand the apprehension about Sarmiento's collecting practices that was once displayed by Thomas Scott's *Vox Populi* in 1620 and later replicated by John Rowland with his pamphlet in 1659. Still, *A Choice Narrative* brought some novelties to the text by including a prologue with a very interesting remark:

> And for the farther Commendation, it [the pamphlet] bears in the Frontispiece the Name of that ever Famous Antiquary, Sir Robert Cotton, who was never wont to treasure up anything but what was Rare; nor can I certainly say, whether it were Pen'd by Himself or not.[140]

As this prologue reveals, the original text used by Rowland for publication appears to have been originally found in manuscript form at the Cotton library. However, one might do well to wait for an updated version of the Planta Catalogue in order to certify this.[141] In any case, the fact that one can still find scribal copies of *Vox Populi* in other English archives today brings further support to Rowland's claim.[142] In the prologue to *A Choice Narrative*, Rowland also saw it fit to add that even if the tract was 'small', the actions there discussed 'would make a huge Volume' from which 'several Histories might be compiled'.[143] Regardless of whether the account was fictional or not, with this recommendation he was pointing to a common practice in premodern scholarship, which

[140] See the prologue in Scott, *A Choice Narrative*.
[141] See Gondomar's alleged 'Report on the negotiations in England' (1618), TNA SP 94/23/110.
[142] As noted by Millstone, *Vox Populi* was 'wildly popular'. This originally printed text was also circulated through numerous manuscript copies. See Millstone, *Manuscript Circulation*, pp. 49 and 133–34.
[143] See the prologue in Scott, *A Choice Narrative*.

regularly resorted to manuscript accounts for the writing of histories (as it is now).[144] However, during the early modern period, the opposite could also be true. As the next chapter will discuss, if manuscript documents were often employed as evidence for historical writing, it is no less true that published histories could also influence the penning of diplomatic reports or contribute to political debates as a whole. On a similar note, printed books like English histories could also be considered rare and valuable sources, at least to Spanish eyes.

[144] Indeed, the presence of manuscript copies of *Vox Populi* in some English archives still leads some historians to inadvertently take this document as an accurate rendering of Gondomar's statements, though this only brings further credit to Thomas Scott's formidable ability for forgery. See David Hebb, *Piracy and the English Government, 1616-1642* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1994), p. 62.

Chapter 3. Collecting *Toute l'Angleterre*: English Books and Maps at the *Casa del Sol*

3.1. The 'School' of State: History, Politics and the Idea of *Conservación*

On 2 February 1606, Diego Sarmiento de Acuña sent a petition to the duke of Lerma. In a letter written with great rhetorical flourish, he entreated the king and his *valido* to consider the kingdom's need for a general chronicler.[1] He stressed that the appointment of a worthy scholar to this new post had become necessary after the recent publication of 'disorganized' and misinformed books. Certainly, it had come to the count's attention that the narratives in many recent Spanish histories were full of egregious mistakes that tarnished the good name of the Hispanic Monarchy. Through their manipulation of the facts, these books were contributing to the slanderous publications written by authors based in France and the Netherlands, among other places. Thus, to combat this, the new Spanish general chronicler should be given the authority to inspect all history books in circulation and determine those that needed to be either censored or suppressed. Additionally, this chronicler should be provided with the resources to carry out the writing of new histories with accurate facts.[2]

In order to provide more authority to his letter, Sarmiento confessed to have 'consulted a very great part of everything that has been written on the subject here dealt; and it has been easy to reduce it to a convenient brevity'.[3] Accordingly, in the letter he spins together many examples from classical antiquity with a choice narrative from the scriptures and the opinion of renowned past historians. Overall, the arguments displayed

[1] See BNE MSS 18227, ff. 73-13r. Published in *Cinco Cartas Político-Literarias de Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuña*, ed. by Pascual de Gayangos (Madrid: Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles, 1869), pp. 99–117.
[2] In England, a similar argument was being made at the time by the antiquarian Edmund Bolton. See the Introduction to *Writing the History of Parliament in Tudor and Early Stuart England*, ed. by Alexandra Gajda and Paul Cavill (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018).
[3] 'para escribirle he visto muy gran parte de todo lo que hay escrito en la materia de que trata, y me ha sido fácil reducirle a la brevedad que conviene'. Gayangos, *Cartas Político-Literarias*, p. 100.

were all directed to support the idea that history was the 'the school where the councils of State must study in order to arrange and prepare the defense, the conservation and the increasing of kingdoms'.[4]

As it seems, the learned enumeration of historical precedents in Sarmiento's 1606 plea might have had some effect. In 1608, the historian Pedro de Valencia, a close acquaintance to Gondomar, was appointed by Lerma to the new office of 'General chronicler for these kingdoms and the Indies'.[5] However, in making this decision Philip III's *valido* might not have just followed Gondomar's suggestion, but also adhered to what the political reasoning of the period advised. As previously pointed out by Kagan, a key notion in Gondomar's letter was the idea of *conservación*, or conservation. Derived originally from the idea of prudence as formulated by the Flemish scholar Justus Lipsius, this term referred to the Hispanic Monarchy's need to maintain its power and prestige as a political actor.[6] Different monarchs, however, interpreted the term in different ways. For Philip III and Lerma, *conservación* meant investing in new architectural projects at home and ending the wars they had inherited from Philip II. Known as the *Pax Hispanica*, this more peaceful foreign policy started with the Treaty of Vervins with the French in 1598, continued with the treaty of London in 1604 and culminated with the Twelve Years Truce with the Dutch in 1609. A change of strategy of this magnitude required great political manoeuvring and ample intellectual campaigning.[7] Thus, when translated into historical writing, *conservación* implied the Crown's support of official narratives that explained how this more peaceful policy was tailored to what the royal chronicler Luis

[4] 'Ella [la historia] es la escuela donde los consejos de Estado deben estudiar para disponer y prevenir la defensa, conservación y aumento de los reinos'. Gayangos, *Cartas Político-Literarias*, p. 103.
[5] 'Cronista general de estos reinos y de la India'. However, the prerogatives of this official post were more modest than the ones proposed by Gondomar. See Kagan, *Clio & the Crown*, p. 193; Manso Porto, *Erudito, Mecenas y Bibliófilo*, pp. 63–68.
[6] Kagan, *Clio & the Crown*, p. 202.
[7] See Allen, *Philip III and the Pax Hispanica*; Antonio Feros, *Kingship and Favoritism in the Spain of Philip III, 1598-1621* (Cambridge: University Press, 2000); Bernardo José García García, *La Pax Hispánica: Política Exterior del Duque de Lerma* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1996).

Cabrera de Córdoba called 'the public good', which was usually understood in the Aristotelian sense of government or business of state.[8]

During the last decades of the 16th century, historical writing became an important part of politics.[9] The Flemish scholar Justus Lipsius emphasised that princes should leave a good memory of their reign by supporting the production of new histories. The erstwhile Jesuit scholar, Giovanni Botero, offered similar advice in 1589 when he published his *Reason of State*. Like Lipsius, Botero was particularly interested in the ways that princes might increase their power and enhance their reputation without having to solely engage in war or follow the morally opprobrious practices associated with Machiavelli and his book, *The Prince*. For Botero valuable lessons could be drawn from the study of history and the subsequent analysis of diverse examples from the past.[10] Particularly, there was great profit in seeing how similar events played out differently in lands ruled by diverse peoples and traditions. Consequently, the political study of history was oftentimes paired with geography and other disciplines that touched on government, like diplomacy, law or trade.

Thus, as Grafton once claimed, history became the 'empirical handmaiden of politics'.[11] As they looked for authoritative precedents, political actors throughout Europe adopted sophisticated tools for studying the past and compiling spatial information that could satisfy the increasing demand for arguments to defend jurisdictions, privileges and rights in the political sphere.[12] For these disquisitions, many of these individuals procured historical tracts, but also travel accounts and many other types of learned resources, such

[8] Kagan, *Clio & the Crown*, p. 203.
[9] Anthony Grafton, *What Was History? The Art of History in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: University Press), pp. 189–254.
[10] See Kagan, *Clio & the Crown*, pp. 124–49.
[11] Grafton, *What Was History?*, p. 222.
[12] See López-Vidriero, 'Asiento de Coronas'.

as dictionaries, atlases, maps, compendia of laws and other treatises.[13] Still, a noteworthy aspect from this period is that other disciplines that touched on governance were growingly influenced by historical concerns as well. One can appreciate this with diplomatic theory. In the influential treaty *El Embajador* (Seville, 1620), the Spanish Juan de Vera asserted that among the many virtues an ambassador should have was the 'exceptional familiarity [*noticia*] with the histories' that were available about different events.[14] As this chapter will reveal, Gondomar would have probably subscribed to this opinion.

3.2. Attaining 'Familiarity with the English Nation': Diplomacy and the Procurement of Local Sources

As seen in chapter 2, Sarmiento actively engaged with the study of the past.[15] Prior to the London embassy, his historical expertise was well respected at the Spanish court.[16] On a similar note, previous studies have discussed the Spaniard's involvement with Botero's theories and his efforts in securing the *conservación* of the Hispanic Monarchy.[17] However, very little has been done to understand how the period's political approach to history might have affected his diplomacy. Accordingly, this chapter will provide an analysis of Sarmiento's engagement with English historical culture, and other disciplines usually associated with government, through the evidence provided by the printed sources in his library and his correspondence.

While in London, the count endeavoured to provide Madrid with well-informed reports. An important part of his intelligence strategies was to acquire a series of

[13] Popper, *Walter Ralegh's History*, pp. 122–67.
[14] 'noticia singular de las historias'. Juan Antonio de Vera y Figueroa, *El Embajador* (Seville, 1620), D. 1, f. 68v.
[15] Manso Porto, *Erudito, Mecenas y Bibliófilo*, pp. 59–73.
[16] See Chapter 2.2.
[17] See López-Vidriero, 'Asiento de Coronas'.

confidants in strategic places at court. But, as seen in chapter 2, he also deemed it important to obtain manuscript sources that dealt with past Anglo-Spanish transactions. As it seems, the reading of printed histories formed part of the knowledge practices deployed for his diplomacy as well. In a letter dated 7 December 1615, Gondomar informed the Marquis of Guadaleste about his efforts to gain 'familiarity' ('*noticia*') with the English nation through different strategies:

> Besides the familiarity [*noticia*] with the English nation that I have gained through conversations with Englishmen and through [the reading of] their histories and annals [*relaciones*] (to which I have devoted myself with diligence [*curiosidad*] for many years), I have [also] tried with a special effort since the start of my residency here to observe and understand their activities.[18]

As this chapter will reveal, the claims made in this letter appear to have left a trace in Sarmiento's library. During his residence in England, the Spaniard acquired a series of English histories, maps, travelogues and other learned treatises that were usually valued by English statesmen for the political wisdom they provided.[19] By creating a repository with English references that touched on English history, geography and other disciplines related to governance, Sarmiento appears to have followed a common trend for the times, which advised to procure local sources from abroad in an effort to better understand the functioning of other polities.[20] However, this tactic was also carried out to gain personal opportunities at home. As argued by Popper, in their search for advancement at court, political counsellors endeavoured to obtain histories from other parts of Europe so as to better adapt to an intellectual environment that greatly prized the *display* of historical expertise about foreign lands.[21] Indeed, important to this chapter's purposes will be the

[18] 'Demás de la noticia que yo tenía de la nación Inglesa por la comunicación de Ingleses y sus historias y relaciones a que yo con curiosidad me he aplicado muchos años a, he procurado con particular cuydado después de que estoy aquí ver y entender todo lo que he podido de sus acciones'. AGS Estado, 2594, doc. 80. My translation for this important quote endeavours to maintain the grammatical structure and connotations of the Spanish original. An alternative translation for this text is provided in Loomie, *Spain and the Jacobean Catholics*, II, p. XV.
[19] See Noah Millstone, 'Seeing Like a Statesman in Early Stuart England', *Past & Present*, 223.1 (2014), 77–127; Shapiro, *Political Communication*.
[20] See Ghobrial, *The Whispers of Cities*.
[21] See Nicholas Popper and Malcolm Smuts, 'European Historiography in English Political Culture', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Age of Shakespeare*, 2016.

idea that when reality was not a given, appearances were still important in the game of early modern politics. After all, for early modern statesmen the world was greatly marked by dissimulation and deceit.[22] Therefore, as seen in the Introduction, for those that were less certain about attaining 'total knowledge' about an issue, there was still the possibility of creating an image of informed thoroughness for the sake of political legitimacy.[23]

In a similar spirit, during his diplomacy Gondomar appears to have deployed a strategy that not only endeavoured to *know* but also to *display*. As shown by his learned plea to Lerma in 1606, the combination of both tactics was a common political manoeuvre during the times. And when it comes to the count, both actions sometimes become difficult to differentiate. As the following sections will propose, for all the claims in his letters about having a privileged understanding about England, Sarmiento rarely left material evidence of having consulted the English printed sources preserved in his library. On the same note, he did not usually cite the sources used in his diplomatic reports. And yet, through an examination of some important missives penned in London, this study will reveal how Sarmiento would oftentimes *display* a good acquaintance with English history, geography and other disciplines during his embassies. Similarly, through an analysis of the collections in his library, this chapter will propose that the procuring of learned collections not only responded to the knowledge practices of the times, but also formed part of a strategy in political advancement deployed by statesmen that aimed to pass as experts in foreign affairs.

[22] See Millstone, *Manuscript Circulation*, pp. 145–46; Diego Rubio, 'The Ethics of Deception: Secrecy, Transparency and Deceit in the Origins of Modern Political Thought' (University of Oxford [Unpublished doctoral dissertation], 2016).
[23] See Chapter 1.6.

3.3. For their 'Example and Instruction': Letter-Writing and the Politics of Scholarly Display

As Kagan once asserted, in a period marked by Botero's *Reason of State*, many premodern historians realised that they could inspire policies at court by transforming and translating the past into political statements.[24] However, as noted by Montcher, a result from this historical approach to politics is that a reverse case also took place. If chroniclers could become political counsellors, statesmen could oftentimes become historical narrators too. Gradually, many political actors appropriated historical discourse to better advance their arguments at court. This process often left a mark on their correspondence. In this respect, diplomatic dispatches were no exception.[25] As seen in the Introduction, a famous example of Gondomar's use of learning to add authority to his claims can be appreciated during the Ralegh episode.[26] On that occasion, he employed Herrera's *History of Philip II* to argue with King James, as shown on a letter dated 2 September 1616:

> I have spoken with this king and with those from the [Privy] Council providing them with the strongest arguments I have found; and I have shown them that it [the issue of the existence of the mine] is already well-known [to be false]. After all, in page 584 of the chronicler Antonio de Herrera's *History of the King* [Philip II] our lord (may God grant him rest), Walter Ralegh's 1595 expedition to Trinidad and the Orinoco River is specifically discussed. And I have explained to them how, under command of Your Majesty, everything there is claimed, and the mine is a mere invention.[27]

In order to provide Spanish authorities with a spatial understanding of Ralegh's threat, Sarmiento also sent to Madrid an intercepted copy of the map used by the privateer for the expedition.[28] These documents, and other letters penned during the Guiana crisis,

---

[24] Kagan, *Clio & the Crown*, pp. 150–200.
[25] See Montcher, 'Carta Taller Historiográfico'.
[26] See Chapter 1.6.
[27] 'Yo he hablado al Rey y a los del Consejo proponiéndoles las razones más fuertes que he allado, y les he mostrado que no es cosa no sabida, pues el Cronista Antonio de Herrera, en la tercera parte de la *Historia* del Rey nuestro señor, que aya gloria, a fojas 584 trata expresamente del viage que este Gualtero Rale hizo el año de 1595 a la Trinidad y a este río de Arenoco y haze relación de esta mina; y les he dicho que ya por mandado de Vuestra Magestad está todo reconocido y se posee y que la mina es burlería'. Pérez Bustamante, *Españoles e Ingleses*, p. 14.
[28] Pérez Bustamante, *Españoles e Ingleses*, pp. XXIV–XXV.

stand out as remarkable examples where historical and geographical knowledge are used in a political context.[29] However, the study of more diplomatic missives soon reveals other instances where learned displays are used in other scenarios.

As pointed out by Mattingly, during the early modern period, ambassadors penned different types of dispatches. There were the regular letters with normal updates, but there were also some more detailed special reports that focused on a specific issue and discussed it more at length.[30] In the case of the Spanish ambassador, these types of missives were oftentimes called *relaciones*. Among these, the dispatch sent at the start of an embassy had a special relevance. This was the case with the report sent by Sarmiento on 6 September 1613. In that document, the count informed Madrid about his arrival to England. He provided details about his trip, but also stated that he had thought it convenient to send a *relación* or account of the 'state in which I find the things of this Kingdom, according to what I have been able to understand since the short time I have been here'.[31] From thereon, Gondomar provided a lengthy account, which offered his first impressions about King James, Queen Anne, Prince Charles and some members of the Privy Council. The Spaniard also included a long report, with some historical background, about the situation of English Catholics. Among many other things, he also informed about matters relating to piracy, the state of affairs in Ireland and the settlements in Virginia and Bermuda.[32]

Sarmiento's first diplomatic *relación* is noteworthy in many ways. However, this chapter wishes to emphasise the many responses it obtained from Madrid. In a letter dated 26 September 1613, the Cardinal of Toledo congratulated him for the 'clarity, distinction

[29] Pérez Bustamante, *Españoles e Ingleses*, pp. 5–148.
[30] Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, pp. 97–99.
[31] 'estado en que allo las cosas deste Reino, según lo que he podido entender, en lo poco que ha que llegué'. DIHE 3, p. 56.
[32] DIHE 3, pp. 55-71.

and brevity' of his account, which was read in a proceeding of the council of State with 'great applause'. The Cardinal of Toledo then added that other ambassadors had been instructed to proceed in a similar way.[33] Some days later, Sarmiento received a letter from the duke of Infantado, who congratulated him for the second account, or *relación*, he had sent from England. Infantado also informed Sarmiento that he had made copies for some Spanish peers and that some of these would also be 'given in the council [of State] for the example and instruction of the other ambassadors that will succeed Your Excellency'.[34]

As discussed by Mattingly, diplomatic reports were not only employed by ambassadors to keep authorities informed. These dispatches were also a way to keep a diplomat's influence at home, and one of the great rewards an ambassador could obtain from their letters was to have copies circulated in their country of origin.[35] Accordingly, many diplomats endeavoured to provide eloquent accounts infused with judicious insights and learned remarks that often relied on the authority provided by history or other disciplines. Within this practice, some of Sarmiento's dispatches to Madrid also recorded important conversations at the English court, as he endeavoured to advance the interests of Spain.[36] For example, in a letter written in 1617, Gondomar informed Madrid about his efforts to convince King James about the importance of prioritising Spanish diplomatic precedence over the one given to France. In order to do so, the Spaniard claimed to have offered a long explanation on why French claims for primacy in England contravened what histories said about Spain's Christian antiquity:

> And, thus, the first one to ever preach the Gospels in France was St. Denis, who was previously ministered, as he himself confesses, by the Spanish Hicisteus, who was converted to the faith by the Apostle St. James in Spain […]. And in antiquity of kings, France cannot compete with Spain either, given that Tubal, who was grandson to the patriarch Noah, called himself king of Spain […] And

[33] AGS Estado, Libro 367, f. 37r-38r.
[34] 'se dará en el consejo para exemplar y Instrucción de los demás embaxadores que sucedieren a Vuestra Señoría'. AGS Estado, Libro 367, ff. 45r-46v.
[35] Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, p. 98.
[36] For some correspondence mentioning Sarmiento's negotiations with different English courtiers, see the name index to DIHE 4, pp. 261-284.

> one can see from this that Spain is the head, the first and the best of all [countries in] Europe. And this is deemed and judged in this way by the historians and cosmographers of all nations.[37]

In providing these explanations, Gondomar followed a narrative greatly popularised by the historian Annius of Viterbo. This historical account had been previously used by the Catholic Monarchs in a moment when they tried to establish precedence over the French Crown. Still, in addition to being unoriginal, this account was also not completely accurate, given that it had been already contested by some scholars at the time.[38] And yet, this letter with historical arguments reveals that early modern statesmen often employed historical or antiquarian evidence to make political arguments. Whether they were conscious about the inaccuracies of the arguments advanced, the modern historian can seldom assert. However, from a political point of view, it is perhaps more fruitful to assess whether the arguments posed were successful in advancing a specific agenda. In the case of the Spanish precedence over France, Gondomar managed to attain the upper hand in England. What is more, in the report sent to Madrid, the Spanish ambassador mentioned that thanks to his 'explanations, many who had this subject wrongly understood now know the truth'.[39] As it appears, this learned manoeuvre also bore its fruits in Madrid. With time, the story about Sarmiento's success circulated around the Spanish court and eventually became part of official Spanish history when Juan de Vera decided to immortalise it in *El Embajador*:

> The Catholic [Monarchy's] ambassador residing in England is warned in particular that, besides the many reasons he must always put into motion to precede the French ambassadors, he already holds the peaceful possession [of precedence in London] through continued acts from the past. This is

[37] 'Y que el primero que predicó el Evangelio en Francia fue San Dionisio, que tuvo por maestro, como él mismo lo confiesa, a Hicisteo, español, a quien convirtió Santiago en España […]. Y en su antigüedad de reyes tampoco puede competir Francia con España, pues Tubal, nieto del patriarca Noé, fué y se llamó rey de España […] Bien se ve por todo esto que España es la cabeza y la primera y mejor pieza de Europa, y así la nombran y graduan los historiadores y cosmógrafos de todas las naciones'. Consulted in Gayangos, *Cartas Político-Literarias*, p. 86.

[38] Ostenfeld-Suske, 'Official History in Spain', III, pp. 433–34.

[39] 'Con estas demostraciones entienden hoy aquí la verdad de esta materia muchos de los que la tenían mal entendida'. Gayangos, *Cartas Político-Literarias*, p. 97.

because, during the year 1617, the first count of Gondomar, ambassador to Spain, already attained precedence with *Monsieur* de Daretz, ambassador to France.[40]

In a similar vein, in some letters Sarmiento provided Spanish peers with historical context about some English historical episodes, so as to better discuss his actions in London. This can be appreciated in a dispatch written during his first diplomatic leave. While waiting for an audience with the king, the Spaniard decided to send him a letter on 23 April 1619.[41] In a remarkable blend of historical narrative and political manoeuvre, he related many episodes from past Anglo-Spanish interactions in order to discuss some artefacts he had secured in England during his first embassy. Thanks to his negotiations with English courtiers, Sarmiento was now able to send these items as enclosed gifts to Philip III.

The letter started by recalling the 1596 expedition to Cádiz, and how the earl of Essex had acquired a seal with the arms of the Hispanic Monarchy that was originally intended for the *Casa de Contratación* in Seville. The ambassador related how, after many dealings with his English contacts, he was able to present this item to Philip III. Following on this, he then narrated the episode of Philip I's stay at the court of Henry VII in 1506. During that time, the duke of Burgundy and his wife, Juana of Castile, were detained until Henry managed to convince Philip to sign a treaty (which later became known to the Spaniards as the *Intercursus Malus*). Gondomar explained that at the end of his trip Philip was in need of money. On that occasion, he obtained a loan from Henry by leaving the English king a jewel known as the Peace of Burgundy. This object was also secured by Gondomar in London and sent along with the letter. Last, but not least, the Spanish ambassador provided a third episode and went farther back in time to the 6th century. He recalled

[40] 'Al Enbaxador Católico que reside en Inglaterra, se le advierte en particular, que demás de las razones que hará, para preceder a los Enbaxadores de Francia, tiene pacifica possesión con actos continuados; porque concurriendo en acto público el Conde de Gondomar Enbaxador de España, con *Monsieur* de Daretz, Embaxador de Francia, año de mil i seiscientos i diez i siete, precedió el de España'. Vera y Figueroa, *El Embajador*, D. 3, f. 97r.
[41] DIHE 2, pp. 153-156.

when Pope Gregory I sent to England a group of Christian missionaries, who made sure to bring gifts for the reigning monarchs: an elaborate comb and an ivory statuette of the Virgin and Child. Gondomar finished his letter by explaining how, after many toils, he had managed to secure the statuette. As a result, he was now able to send it to Philip III, along with the retrieved Cádiz Seal and the Burgundy Jewel. He also added that he tried to obtain Gregory I's comb as well, but in the end Sir Robert Cotton would not part ways with it.[42]

Sarmiento's letter appears to have been timely. During the previous month some *consultas* where held at the Spanish council of State on the nature of the gifts that Philip III wished to send to King James as a sign of their friendly ties.[43] The count's letter to the Spanish monarch follows in the strategy of gift-giving. It also allowed Gondomar to suggest to Spanish peers that he was a connoisseur of English history and English affairs. In this respect, another remarkable example of reporting practices can be appreciated in Sarmiento's accounts on the parliamentary sessions of 1614. Known to historians as the Addled Parliament, this was James's second parliament of England after the one that took place between 1604 and 1611.

3.4. Chronicling from Westminster I: Gondomar's Special Report about the Opening of a Parliament

Originally called by the king to find a solution to his troubled finances, the Addled Parliament sat between 5 April and 7 June of 1614. However, the sessions were affected by rumours that certain members of the House of Commons had earned their seats through manipulative interventions from the Crown. To make matters worse, the members' suspicions of lack of freedom in debate were only bolstered by fears that James, by

[42] DIHE 2, p. 155.
[43] See García Oro, *Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuña*, pp. 301–9.

levying a new set of taxes, would be rich enough to rule without another parliament. Eventually, deadlock in negotiations occurred, and after a set of heated debates, the 1614 Parliament was dissolved by James before any bills were passed.[44]

In a letter dated 9 May 1614, Sarmiento produced a *relación* that discussed the inauguration of a parliament by offering an account that discussed its organisation and the prerogatives of the Upper and Lower Houses:

> The King of England ordered the parliament to meet in the City of London on the fifth of April, according to their count, which is equivalent to the fifteenth in our Roman Catholic calendar. And so that day gathered all that belong to the parliament, which are two Archbishops, one from Canterbury and the other from York; eighteen bishops; the Duke of Lennox; the Marquis of Winchester; eighteen earls; two viscounts and fifty barons. These meet in a room called the Upper Chamber, whereas in another room, called the Lower Chamber, meet the representatives of the kingdom, which are two gentlemen for each county and two for each town or place that has jurisdiction, and four from this City of London, two gentlemen and two citizens. These total four hundred and fifty and, as representatives from all over the kingdom who have voice and power, they are the ones that make up the true parliament. […] The Lower Chamber in which the representatives of the kingdom meet has enormous authority. It is there that laws are done and undone, confirmed or repealed. What does not go through the parliament cannot be enforced here; neither can something that has been agreed upon by the parliament be undone except by the parliament itself.[45]

As in the case of the letter over diplomatic precedence with France, Gondomar's account of the functioning of a parliament is not wholly accurate.[46] Nonetheless, it constitutes a notable example made by a Spanish ambassador to explain English procedures to Madrid. Nowadays, one can find at least two copies of this report. One is in the General Archives of Simancas and the other one is at the National Archives (UK).[47]

---

[44] See Conrad Russell, *King James VI and I and His English Parliaments: The Trevelyan Lectures Delivered at the University of Cambridge in 1995*, ed. by Richard Cust and Andrew Thrush (Oxford: University Press, 2011), pp. 95–122; Maija Jansson, *Proceedings in Parliament, 1614* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1988).

[45] 'El Rey de Inglaterra mandó que se juntase parlamento en la ciudad de Londres para cinco de abril, a su cuenta, que son quince a la Católica Romana, y assí se juntaron este día todos los que se llaman de parlamento, que son dos arçobispos, el Duque de Linox, el Marqués de Vincheste, diez y ocho condes, dos vizcondes y cincuenta varones. Estos se juntan en una pieza que se llama la cámara superior, y en otra pieza que llaman la Cámara inferior se juntan los procuradores del reino, que son dos caballeros de cada provincia y dos de cada población o incorporación de lugar que tenga jurisdicción, y cuatro de esta ciudad de Londres, los dos cavalleros y los dos ciudadanos, y estos son cuatrocientos cincuenta, y como procuradores que representan todo el reino, y que tienen su voz y poder, son los que hazen el verdadero parlamento. [...] Esta Cámara inferior en que se juntan estos procuradores del reino, tiene aquí grandísima autoridad, porque son los que hazen y deshazen las leyes, confirman o reprueban todo lo que les parece, y lo que no es aquí pasado por parlamento no tiene fuerça, ni lo acordado por parlamento se puede deshacer, sino por el mismo parlamento'. DIHE 4, pp. 80-81. Translation obtained from Jansson, *Proceedings in Parliament*, p. 3.

[46] For more information about different accounts about Parliament, see Gajda and Cavill, *Writing the History of Parliament*.

[47] See AGS Estado, Libro 366, not foliated. Also see TNA SP 15/40/56.

The presence of a Spanish copy of this special report in English archives suggests that it could have been intercepted on its way to Spain by English agents, or that it was provided by the Spanish ambassador himself to English authorities as a courtesy. What remains for certain is that it was deemed fit to be preserved in the emerging state archives of the two polities Sarmiento endeavoured to keep in amity.

In this document, Sarmiento explained how he was able to personally witness the inauguration of the Addled Parliament through a special grace from King James. According to the Spaniard, the English monarch procured a covered place for him within the chambers of what was probably the House of Lords at Westminster. In his report, the count mentioned that parliamentary sessions were carried out according to an unaltered tradition that went back five hundred years. In doing so, Gondomar appears to have followed the lead of the historian Polydore Vergil, who was the first to popularise the year 1116 as the date of the first parliament. Moreover, Sarmiento provided more detail about Westminster Palace, the venue where the assembly was conducted, though he conflated it with Westminster Abbey. Nonetheless, he probably proceeded in this way in order to remark about events from the previous Tudor reigns. Notably, that the building used to be inhabited by Benedictine monks before they were dispossessed, and that King James had decided to bury 'his saintly mother' Mary Stuart in the abbey.[48] The Spaniard then moved to provide a lengthy description of the Upper House:

> In the Upper Chamber, which was well covered with tapestries, the King had his throne and canopy. On his left side, the Prince sat on a bench covered with a tapestry. To the right side, under the platform, there was a bench for the two Archbishops and another for all the bishops, somewhat further back. Towards the left side there was another bench for the earls and barons, who sat robed in capes and red mozzettas trimmed with ermine, or white fur, wearing their earls' coronets on their heads. At the center, between the two benches, lay bags of wool similar to 'almofrexes' [Moorish pillow], made of red cloth; on these sat the Doctors of the Laws, as justices are called here because the most learned men are selected to occupy such posts.[49]

[48] 'y este rey Jacobo sesto [sexto] ha hecho traer allá [Westminster] los huesos de su santa madre'. DIHE 4, p. 84.

[49] 'En la superior, que estava muy bien entapiçada, tenía el rey su trono y su dosel, y a la mano izquierda el príncipe en un banco cubierto con una alfombra; a la mano derecha, debajo de la tarima, avía un banco para los dos arzobispos, y otro un poco apartado para todos los obispos, y a la mano izquierda otro vanco para los condes y varones, que todos estaban con sus capas y muletas coloradas forradas en armiños o

It is difficult to ascertain what type of sources Gondomar used to produce his report on the opening of a parliament. However, there is a book at the Gondomar library that gives a very similar description of the Upper House. This is the case with Thomas Smith's *De Republica Anglorum* (London, 1610).[50] Originally published in English in 1583, and then in Latin in 1610, Smith's work offered an analysis of English society and provided an account of English institutions and the English legal system.[51] In the process, this work dealt with parliamentary procedures and included the following explanation:

> The first day of the parliament the Prince and all the Lordes in their robes of parliament do meete in the higher house […] The place where the assembly is, is richly tapessed and hanged, a princely and royal throne as appertaineth to a king, set in the middest of the higher place thereof. Next under the prince sitteth the Chancellor, who is the voyce and orator of the prince. On the one side of that house or chamber sitteth the archbishops and bishops, each in his ranke: on the other side the dukes and barons. In the middest thereof uppon woolsackes sitteth the Iudges of the realme, the master of the roules, and the secretaries of estate. But these that sit on the woolsacks have no voice in the house, but onely sit there to aunswere their knowledge in the law, when they be asked if any doubt arise among the Lordes.[52]

It is true that, as an eyewitness to the opening of the Addled Parliament, Gondomar probably saw the Upper House. And yet, the parallels between his report and Thomas Smith's text are noteworthy, as evinced by a similar selection in the details described and the specific order in which these are presented. Sarmiento's copy of *De Republica Anglorum* is in very good condition and shows no marginalia. This type of material circumstances has sometimes led historians to conclude that works in this state were

---

pellejos blancos, y coronas de condes en la cabeza. En medio de estos dos bancos avía unas sacas de lana como almofrexes de paño colorado, en que se sentaron los doctores de las leyes, que assí se llaman aquí las justicias, porque se escogen para estos cargos los mayores letrados'. DIHE 4, pp. 84-85. Translation obtained from Jansson, *Proceedings in Parliament*, p. 6.

[50] Appendix 3, item 15.

[51] Ian Archer, 'Thomas Smith (1513–1577)', *ODNB*.

[52] 'Conveniunt in Senaculum Superius Princeps caeterique Dynastae trabeati primo comitiorum die [...] Locus in quem çonveniunt, tapetibus & picturis textilibus splendide obducitur soliumq REGE dignum in medio conspicitur. demissiore in loco a REGE proximus sedert Cancellarius, Principis orator & interpres. dextrum latum Archiepiscopi Episcopique, sinitrum Duces & Barones occupant. inter utrumque ordinem medii suit conssesus judicum, quique sunt REGI ab epistolis, & Cancellario ab archivis, laneis de more faccis incidentes, ut sicubi de jure controversia oboriatur aliqua aliqua aut de literis que hinc inde inter Principes missitantur deq iis, quaein senatu geruntur (neque enim suffragari cuiquam horum licet) apposite respondeatur'. Thomas Smith, *De Republica et Administratione Anglorum* (Marburg, 1610), pp. 54–55. Translation obtained from the English version of Smith's work: Thomas Smith, *The Common-Wealth of England* (London, 1609), p. 47.

probably not consulted.[53] However, over the past years, many studies in the history of the book have come to complicate our understanding of the period's documentary practices.

3.5. 'I Will Eventually Know': Books and Premodern Scholarly Practices

Certainly, most of the surviving works at the Gondomar library are in very good condition. Moreover, one rarely finds scribblings in Sarmiento's books, even in those that we know he read, like Giovanni Botero or Antonio de Herrera.[54] Still, the count was not an isolated case. According to Bouza, Philip IV was similar to Gondomar in that he left almost no marginalia in his books. However, he was quick to point out that the Spanish king actively engaged with his library for many years, as shown by his letters and the personal translations of some Italian histories, like Guicciardini's *History of Italy*.[55] As it appears, some early modern readers engaged with their libraries, even if they did not leave significant traces in their books. Sometimes, this material circumstance might point to lack of readership, but one should never forget that keeping a work in a good state could also be the result of careful use. Moreover, Bouza also provided another reason for an apparently unread work: a book was sometimes acquired for the future use that could be given to it. In this matter, Philip IV once claimed that the many volumes in his library should not be understood by observers as a sign that he knew all their contents already, but rather that he planned to learn from them with the passing of time: 'It is not [to be thought] that I know [already], but [rather] that I will eventually know'.[56] Thus, books

[53] See, for instance, George Garnett's study on Sir Edward Coke's library: George Garnett, '"The Ould Fields": Law and History in the Prefaces to Sir Edward Coke's Reports', *The Journal of Legal History*, 34.3 (2013), 245–84. Still, in the case of Coke's engagement with his books, Professor Maija Jansson holds a different opinion from that expressed by Garnett. According to Jansson, even though Coke might have not annotated his histories, a more nuanced understanding of his approach to historical references can be appreciated in his parliamentary speeches. I am thankful to Professor Jansson for this insight provided during a conversation, which is disclosed in this chapter with her permission.
[54] López-Vidriero, 'Asiento de Coronas'; Kagan, *Clio & the Crown*, p. 1.
[55] Fernando Bouza, *El Libro y el Cetro: La Biblioteca de Felipe IV en la Torre Alta del Alcázar de Madrid* (Salamanca: Instituto de Historia del Libro y de la Lectura, 2005), p. 156.
[56] 'No llegando a decir que sé, sino que voy sabiendo'. Quote provided in Bouza, *El Libro y el Cetro*, pp. 149–50.

sometimes were acquired for the knowledge these might convey in the future. It is in this way that they could often be regarded as reference works.

In *Too Much to Know,* Blair analyses the dynamics of premodern information management through a study of popular reference works in Latin, though this use was oftentimes applied to many other types of books. During the times, the introduction of the printing press brought a large-scale accumulation of texts and, as a result, early modern readers had to develop new ways of storing, sorting, selecting and summarising information. In this endeavour, reference works with important compilations became quite popular.[57] In this respect, Thomas Smith's *De Republica Anglorum* was extensively read and used as a guide to the English constitution. It went through fifteen editions in English and Latin from 1583 to 1641.[58] The fact that Sarmiento's copy was never glossed might also respond to another common trait for reference works. According to Blair, even though premodern reference works were very much used, many of these were not very much annotated.[59] This habit seems to greatly align with Gondomar's scholarly practices for authors he read, like Botero or Herrera. The same can be said about the decision not to cite sources for his diplomatic reports.

Certainly, while it is true that early modern authors did mention their sources on many occasions, this was often done as a rhetorical strategy and usually carried out with varying levels of precision. Quite the contrary, to name one's intellectual influences was often considered inappropriate during the period. Authors usually stated names when they expected that the citation would add to the strength of their argument, notably by adding the support of a recognised authority.[60] Evidence of this tactic can be found in a letter dated 25 May 1625 in which Sarmiento compels the count-duke of Olivares to adopt a

[57] See the Introduction to Blair, *Too Much to Know*.
[58] Archer, 'Thomas Smith (1513–1577)'.
[59] Blair, *Too Much to Know*, p. 230.
[60] Blair, *Too Much to Know*, pp. 242–44.

more aggressive stance with French authorities by saying: 'The French Historians [confess it] themselves, and [so does] Philippe de Commines, that the English always win with [the use of] arms and the French with [peace] treaties'.[61]

As this example shows, Gondomar could sometimes cite sources that were better known to Spanish peers, like Commines. However, citing English authors to Spanish authorities might not have had the same effect. And yet, Sarmiento's letters during the parliamentary proceedings of 1614 stand as a remarkable example of Spanish engagement with English political culture.[62] The knowledge displayed in his dispatches could have been attained through his own observations, or through the help of his confidants. However, it could also have been shaped by books in his library, like Thomas Smith's *De Republica Anglorum*. Regardless of the case, Sarmiento's missive about the opening of the 1614 Parliament might have had an influence in *El Embajador* as well. Even though, Juan de Vera never visited London, he does not hesitate to provide a description of the Upper House that was very similar to Gondomar's. Notably, his treatise also omits sources:

> The chamber is of an excellent design; and, under a canopy, there is an embroidered chair for the king (who sometimes is present in the assembly); and throughout the [hall's] sides there are some low stools, in velvet or wool. All the [king's] advisors sit in these [stools] according to their antiquity.[63]

With the passing of the weeks, Sarmiento continued informing Madrid about parliamentary sessions and narrating the deteriorating relations between the king and the Lower House. As a result, he continued offering historical context in order to better illustrate the political relevance of the events. Nonetheless, one can appreciate again how,

[61] 'Y los mismo historiadores franceses y Felipe de Comines dicen que con las armas siempre ganaros los Ingleses y con los tratados los Franceses'. Hispanic Society of America, HC 411-207, not foliated.
[62] See DIHE 4, pp. 80-90 and 128-160.
[63] 'sala es de fábrica magnífica, en medio della, debaxo de un dosel, está una silla de brocado para el Rei (que alguna se halla en aquella junta) i por los lados corren assientos de taburetes rasos, de terciopelo o tela; en estos se asientan todos aquellos grandes Consejeros por sus antigüedades'. Vera y Figueroa, *El Embajador* D. 4. F. 96v.

in his reporting of affairs, the Spaniard recorded some episodes of learned disquisitions with King James. However, on this occasion the subject was parliamentary procedures and the political constitution of England.

3.6. Chronicling from Westminster II: The End of a Parliament and the Beginnings of the Spanish Match

In a letter dated 30 June 1614, the count informed Spanish authorities about James's exasperation in securing support for subsidies.[64] According to the Spaniard, James sent the State Secretary Sir Ralph Winwood to the Commons to argue that England was a Monarchy based on succession (like Spain and France) and not election (like Poland, Sweden, Denmark and the Holy Roman title). Thus, as their rightful king by succession and not election, he was entitled to give them laws and not the other way around. Gondomar continued his account by explaining that, after Winwood's speech, a '*letrado*', or jurist, immediately replied in the Parliament's name that the distinction between monarchies was not relevant in this circumstance, given that in both cases the king was obligated to uphold the kingdom's laws and treat his vassals with justice. The '*letrado*' also added that James was undoubtedly king by succession of Scotland. However, he was king of England by successive right *and* the wilful election of his English subjects, since they had not had a conqueror in England since William of Normandy.[65]

In his reports, Sarmiento explained that after a series of tense dealings with the Commons, James dissolved the assembly and then decided to give him an audience some days afterward. The conversation eventually led to discussions about the unruliness of the Lower House. It was then that Sarmiento, in a skilful display of learning, reminded the

[64] See DIHE 4, pp. 143-160.
[65] DIHE 4, pp. 147-148.

king of England that he could always find solace in the prerogative to summon or dissolve a parliament at will:

> Here [regarding the parliament] he started to become upset and to show distress, as if feeling embarrassed from what they [the Lower House] have done to him. I told him that I had been told that he still had one great prerogative and privilege over parliament, which was to be able to call it and disband it in whichever way he wanted. He [James] felt greatly relieved with this [comment] and told me that this was right; and that there was more. [The king said that] Anything done and said in parliament turned to nothing without his approval.[66]

In preparing for this audience, one can only wonder if Sarmiento might have consulted the writings of Thomas Smith's *De Republica Anglorum*. This book coincided with James in giving the English monarch both the right to summon and dissolve a parliament, and the prerogative to approve or veto any bills passed by both houses.[67] Regardless of the case, the Spanish ambassador's response greatly pleased the English king. This was reported back to Spanish authorities by Gondomar, who suggested that the failure of the 1614 Parliament had only strengthened the monarch's need to continue with pro-Spanish policies and, more importantly for later years, stimulate discussions over a possible marriage alliance with Spain.[68] Sure enough, the lack of parliamentary support led to more strain in the royal finances. As a result, the idea of a Spanish Match –and a Spanish dowry – became more attractive. At the very least, this is how Gondomar understood these affairs. Moreover, this is how he reported them to Madrid by adding a final historical remark that reflected on the 1605 Gunpowder Plot:

---

[66] 'comenzó aquí a congojarse un poco y embaraçarse, como corriéndose de lo que han hecho con él; yo le dixe que todavía me dezían que tenía una gran prerrogativa y autoridad sobre el parlamento, que era llamarle Y despedirle como quisiese; él se alentó mucho con esto y me dixo que assí era, y aún más, que todo lo que hazía y dezía el parlamento sin su aprobación no era nada'. DIHE 4, p. 157.

[67] Smith, *De Republica Anglorum*, pp. 62–63. It is to be noted, however, that Thomas Smith's rendering of parliamentary procedures was eventually presented as a defence of parliamentary sovereignty by some 17th century legalists. Nonetheless, as explained by Archer, this would have greatly surprised Smith himself. See Archer, 'Thomas Smith (1513–1577)'; Paulina Kewes, 'Parliament and the Principle of Elective Succession in Elizabethan England', in *Writing the History of Parliament in Tudor and Early Stuart England*, ed. by Alexandra Gajda and Paul Cavill (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018).

[68] DIHE 4, pp. 161-167.

> Someone told this king a thing that he found amusing, or so they say. And it was that the Catholics might have tried to use the powder and the wick to blow the last parliament, but that the Puritans had, in effect, blown it [parliament] now.[69]

From the evidence available, one can appreciate that Gondomar often engaged with English historical matters, and sometimes other disciplines pertaining to English governance, in an effort to provide Madrid with learned reports that could serve his master and simultaneously benefit his career. On a similar note, Sarmiento's correspondence also provides some evidence about the Spaniard's learned disquisitions with King James, which were often carried out to advance the interests of Spain. As previously remarked, the count's library also held references that were very relevant to some of the diplomatic reports he produced, like Thomas Smith's *De Republica Anglorum*. If accessed, this work could have proven valuable for learning more about the history of Parliament and its procedures, and the operation of law, government and administration more generally in England and Wales. Still, regardless of whether the book was consulted or not, this example suggests that one would do well in considering how the English printed sources at the Gondomar library might have been acquired as part of his strategy to gain 'familiarity with the English nation'.

3.7. Procuring 'Local Knowledge': English Histories at the *Casa del Sol*

In his *Whispers of Cities*, Ghobrial traces the efforts made by the Englishman Sir William Trumbull in creating a diplomatic repository that would support his work as ambassador to the Ottoman Empire between 1687 and 1692. Chiefly amongst the intelligence sought was that which provided him with 'local knowledge' about the country of diplomatic mission.[70] As part of his strategies, the Englishman decided to take

[69] 'A este rey le han dicho una cosa de que dizen se olgó mucho, y fue que los católicos havían hecho la mina Y puesto la pólvora para bolar el parlamento pasado, pero que los puritanos lo avían volado agora con effecto'. DIHE 4, p. 155.
[70] Ghobrial, *The Whispers of Cities*, pp. 1–18.

some printed books with him to Istanbul. One of these was Abraham de Wicquefort's *L'Ambassadeur et ses Fonctions* (1681). This work expressly advised diplomats that 'the chief study of those that design to be employed in embassies ought to be that of History', both ancient and modern. Accordingly, Trumbull also carried with him some editions of classical writers such as Pliny, Tacitus, and Seneca, along with histories of Turkey, like Paul Rycaut's *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire* (1679) and an updated version of Richard Knolles' *History of the Turks*, originally published in 1610. Trumbull also brought with him Turkish travelogues, like George Wheeler's *A Journey into Greece* (1682) and Guillaume-Joseph Grelot's *Relation Nouvelle d'un Voyage de Istanbul* (1681), among others.[71]

According to Ghobrial, when Wicquefort advocated in *L'Ambassadeur* for the reading of history, what he meant was that ambassadors needed to better understand how current affairs were shaped by past episodes. On a similar note, travelogues offered Trumbull valuable information about the geography and classical topography of the Ottoman Empire.[72] As pointed out by Millstone, historical works and geographical accounts had an analogous political value during the period.[73] It is under this light that Gondomar's acquisition of similar printed sources gains diplomatic relevance. Accordingly, this section will discuss Sarmiento's collection of histories about England.

As discussed in the Introduction, the setting up of the library at the *Casa del Sol* was a project that required many years and the regular assistance of various individuals.[74] Among these was the German bibliographer, Stephan Eussem, who met Gondomar in London and followed him back to Spain at the end of his first embassy in 1618. During 1619, Eussem stayed at the *Casa del Sol* and started organising Gondomar's documents,

[71] Ghobrial, *The Whispers of Cities*, pp. 30–41.
[72] Ghobrial, *The Whispers of Cities*, pp. 37–38.
[73] See Millstone, 'Seeing Like a Statesman'.
[74] See Chapter 1.5.

which arrived from London through different Spanish ports.[75] In a letter dated 16 January 1618, Eussem recommended Sarmiento to acquire a series of books that had been published since the start of his London embassy and that were missing in the library. Among these, the Plantin Polyglot Bible and 'the Latin and Greek historians that are missing'.[76] Eussem also suggested Gondomar to purchase many volumes of Theodor de Bry's *Historiae India Orientalis*. The bibliographer considered that these acquisitions were important, given that Sarmiento's collection already held all the volumes of De Bry's *India Occidentalis*, or 'all the Americas' ('toute l'amerique', in Eussem's words). Moreover, the bibliographer mentioned that the library lacked a copy of Diego de Yepes's *Historia Particular de la Persecución de Inglaterra* and proposed to buy a copy. According to Eussem, acquisitions like these ones would allow everyone to claim that the *Casa del Sol* had 'a library excellently provisioned for a great *seigneur*'.[77] Notably, in discussing these books, Eussem mentioned that if a work was unavailable in Madrid, 'Mr. [John] Bill could send you one from London'.[78] What is more, even though the information is scarce and no book is mentioned, another dispatch also reveals that Eussem had dealings with Bill's shop in Frankfurt.[79]

Over the past years, some scholars have pointed out that Sarmiento used the services of the bookseller John Bill, though no information has been found about the books he might have bought from him and when.[80] In any case, Eussem's letters provide more details about the Spanish ambassador's connections with the English bookseller. These missives also suggest that Sarmiento's collection had a specific strategy when it came to

[75] See Michael and Ahijado, 'La Casa Del Sol'; Lawrance, 'Une Bibliothèque'; Manso Porto, *Erudito, Mecenas y Bibliófilo*, pp. 123–42.
[76] 'les historiens Latins & grecs qu'y manquent'. RB II/2134, doc. 94.
[77] 'une bibliotheque fort complete pour un gran Seigneur'. RB II/2134, doc. 94.
[78] 'le Seigneur Bill'. RB II/2134, doc. 94.
[79] Manso Porto, *Erudito, Mecenas y Bibliófilo*, pp. 342–43.
[80] See Michael, 'John Bill'.

the acquisition of classical histories, books on the Americas and, more importantly for this chapter, books touching on the history of England. As the 1623 catalogue of the library shows, Yepes's *Historia Particular de la Persecución de Inglaterra* (1599) was eventually acquired and inventoried within the library.[81] However, the acquisition of works about England appears to have played its part since the start of Sarmiento's embassies, as evinced by a letter received by Doña Constanza de Acuña, who travelled with her husband to London during his first embassy.

In a dispatch dated 24 October 1613, the family servant Pedro García Dovalle confirmed to Doña Constanza that he had bought 'a manual' with the title 'The History of England' and that he had to purchase the old version of this work because 'the little one' was not available.[82] Even though Dovalle does not provide enough information to identify the work with certainty, a history that was available in various size formats during the times was Pedro de Ribadeneyra's *Historia Eclesiástica del Cisma del Reino de Inglaterra* (1588-1594).[83] In this respect, a copy in octavo of this work eventually made it into the library catalogue and this was also the case with Antonio de Herrera's *Historia de la Reina Maria de Escocia* (1589).[84] When it came to learning about the history of England, most Spaniards from the period would usually resort to any of these two Spanish sources and Yepes's book.[85] Still, prominent among these was Ribadeneyra's work.

During its publication the *Cisma* received royal support. It commented on recent Tudor history by denouncing Henry VIII's break from Rome and Elizabeth I's actions against English Catholics. In addition, it presented Catherine of Aragon, Mary Tudor and

[81] Appendix 1, section 4.8.
[82] 'El pequeño no se alló en toda la librería'. BNE MSS 18419, f. 5v. Published in Manso Porto, *Erudito, Mecenas y Bibliófilo*, p. 304.
[83] During the last years of the 16th century, this work was available in folio, octavo and duodecimo. See 'Universal Short Title Catalogue (USTC)' <https://www.ustc.ac.uk/> [accessed 14 August 2019].
[84] See Appendix 1, section 4.8.
[85] See José Manuel Prieto Bernabé, '"Recibida y Admitida de Todos". La Lectura de la Historia en la Sociedad Madrileña del Siglo de Oro', *Hispania: Revista Española de Historia*, 65.221 (2005), 877–937 (p. 892).

Mary Stuart as saintly queens that had to face extreme hardship due to their loyalty to Catholicism. [86] When published a few years later, Yepes' history and Herrera's account repeated many of the tropes already established by Ribadeneyra's work. Overall, these three books were greatly tailored within the religiously political rhetoric of Philip II's "holy" enterprise against Elizabeth I, or the 'English Jezebel'. As a result, these histories became an essential part of the propaganda that inflamed Spanish subjects to support the 1588 campaign.[87] The religious and historical framing of these works was very common in early modern historical writing. However, these books were not very apt in providing information about the years following the Armada campaign, especially after the accession of James Stuart to the throne. As a result, a Spanish ambassador who wished to know more about the recent history of England had to look elsewhere.

Gondomar seems to have been aware of the need for an updated historical scope that went beyond Spanish sources. This can be appreciated in a dispatch penned by Henry Taylor, Sarmiento's language secretary and the second librarian at the *Casa del Sol* after Eussem. In a letter dated 17 December 1622, Taylor remarked about the collection's contents:

> In truth, sir, there are too many books in Italian, and some of these are in duplicate 6 or 8 times. This is the case of Guicciardini's *History* and others. I have also found the Commines here in Italian, Latin, French and English; and Your Excellency has also many English books, and these are some of the best I have seen in history and other disciplines.[88]

A noteworthy aspect of the Gondomar library is that it often contained duplicates of a work in different editions and languages. However, the count was not the only collector

[86] Freddy Domínguez, 'History in Action: The Case of Pedro de Ribadaneyra's Historia Ecclesiástica del Scisma de Inglaterra', *Bulletin of Spanish Studies*, 93.1 (2016), 13–38 (p. 35).
[87] See María Cristina Quintero, 'English Queens and the Body Politic in Calderón's "La Cisma de Inglaterra" and Rivadeneira's "Historia Eclesiástica del Scisma del Reino de Inglaterra"', *Modern Language Notes*, 113.2 (1998), 259–82.
[88] 'Cierto tiene vuestra señoría muchíssimos italianos y ay alguno de ellos pienso 6 ó 8 vezes duplicados, como es la *Historia* de sus tiempos, de Guicciardino y otros. Al Comines hele hallado aquí en italiano, latín, francés y ynglés; y libros también yngleses tiene vuestra señoría muchos, y los mejores que he visto tanto de históricos como de otros'. BNE MSS 18430 (4), f. 30rv. Published in Manso Porto, *Erudito, Mecenas y Bibliófilo*, p. 353.

to operate in this way. As Sharpe once remarked, the learned Sir William Drake also had a penchant for obtaining more than one edition of a work, as he was 'sensitive to the status of the texts and their historical evolution and conditioning'.[89] This desire for preserving different editions about a topic or author can help explain Gondomar's decision to collect different versions of the same work, even for those that might not be directly related to the history of England. While in London, Sarmiento seems to have followed Trumbull's desire for 'local knowledge', and his penchant for classical and foreign histories. He acquired these types of works in English, as shown by his copies of Livy's *Romaine Historie* (London, 1600), Suetonius Tranquillus's *Historie of Twelve Cesars Emperors of Rome* (London, 1606), Flavius Josephus's *The Jewish War* (London, 1602), Marcus Junianus Justinus's *Epitome* (London, 1606) and, remarkably, an English translation of Pedro de Mexia's *Historie of all the Roman Emperors* (London, 1604).[90] His collection also preserved copies of Machiavelli's *Florentine History* (London, 1595), Guicciardini's *Wars of Italy* (London, 1599) and *The Historie of Philip de Commines* (London, 1601).[91]

With the exception of Martin Fumée's *Historie of the Troubles of Hungarie* (London, 1600), Gondomar had copies of all these classical and foreign works in other languages.[92] There might have been an element of personal curiosity behind their acquisition. However, the ownership of these books could also have been based on a desire to have the same works with which English statesmen approached the classical past and the history of other European powers. As pointed out by Millstone, this type of works were considered valuable guides for political counsel in a period marked by Botero's *Reason of State*.[93] This perspective could also help explain Sarmiento's decision to acquire an

[89] Kevin Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions: The Politics of Reading in Early Modern England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), p. 85.
[90] Appendix 2, items 6, 7, 9, 13, 15.
[91] Appendix 2, items 10, 11, 14.
[92] For Fumée's work, see Appendix 2, item 12.
[93] See Millstone, 'Seeing Like a Statesman'; Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions*, pp. 65–120.

English copy of Aristotle's *Politics* (London, 1598), which was also available in other languages at the *Casa del Sol*.[94] Still, as mentioned before, Gondomar decided to collect many histories of England beyond those produced by Spanish authors.

The library at the *Casa del Sol* preserved a representative corpus of historical works about England written in Latin that included some of the most important medieval chronicles and early modern developments in English historical writing and chorography.[95] These items were stored within a Latin section of the library entitled 'Histories of England, Scotland and Ireland'.[96] In that listing one can find copies of medieval works by Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britannie* (Paris, 1517), William of Newburgh's *Historia Rerum Anglicarum* (Paris, 1610) and Matthew Paris's *Flores Historiarum* (Frankfurt, 1600).[97] The collection also included Henry Savile's *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores* (Frankfurt, 1601), which was a compilation of chronicles and medieval histories of England written by William of Malmesbury, Henry of Huntingdon, Roger of Hoveden, the chronicler Æthelweard and the pseudo-Ingulph of Croyland.[98]

Nonetheless, Sarmiento's collection of English histories in Latin spanned beyond the medieval period. The library also preserved Polydore Vergil's *Anglica Historia* (Basel, 1570) and Paolo Giovio's *Descriptio Britanniae* (Venice, 1548).[99] Even though these two latter authors were not English, they produced very important works of historical narrative about England and the British Isles. On a similar note, Sarmiento's library also

[94] See Appendix 2, item 36.
[95] During the period, scholars already recognized theoretical distinctions between sources like medieval chronicles, the more humanist histories and antiquarian works. However, this type of distinction was not always observed in practice. In this respect, the 1623 catalogue indiscriminately includes all these types of sources within the category of 'history'. For more information about theorical distinctions, and the occasional disregard of these distinctions in practice, see Daniel Woolf, *The Idea of History in Early Stuart England* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), pp. 13–23.
[96] 'Historias de Inglaterra, Escocia y Irlanda'. See Appendix 1, section 3.13.
[97] Appendix 3, items 2, 11, 13.
[98] Appendix 3, item 1.
[99] Appendix 3, items 4, 9.

held sources in Latin that were written during the later Tudor reigns. This is the case with his copy of Thomas Smith *De Republica Anglorum (*London, 1610).[100] But there were also historical works like Alexander Neville's *De Furoribus Norfolciensium* (London, 1575), Hector Boece's *Scotorum Historia* (Lausanne, 1574), Richard Stanihurst's *De Rebus in Hibernia Gestis* (Antwerp, 1584) and Richard White's *Historia Britanniae* (Arras, 1597).[101] A noteworthy aspect of these latter items is that when put together they provided historical information about England, Scotland and Ireland that even included a Catholic perspective to English historical events, as is the case with White's book.[102] Another important aspect of all these works is that they gradually incorporated methodologies developed by early modern British antiquarianism, which was well represented at the *Casa del Sol* thanks to the works of William Camden. The Gondomar library preserved copies of Camden's *Britannia* (London, 1607), perhaps the most important English chorography of the times, and the less-known *Anglica, Normannica, Hibernica* (Frankfurt, 1603), a printed compilation of manuscript chronicles.[103] The collection also held a copy of Camden's *Annales* (London, 1615), the first official history of Elizabeth I. This work was used as a model for Francis Godwin's *Rerum Anglicarum Henrico VIII, Edwardo VI et Maria Regnantibus*, a history of the three earlier Tudors monarchs that was also available at the Gondomar library.[104]

As this brief listing shows, the Spanish ambassador acquired a substantial collection of English histories in Latin. It is noteworthy that all these historical references were in a language that could be directly accessed by the Spaniard. However, the *Casa del Sol* also

[100] Appendix 3, item 15.
[101] Appendix 3, items 12, 16, 19, 20.
[102] Woolf, *The Idea of History*, pp. 41–44. Coincidently, the Gondomar library also held a copy of George Lily's *Anglorum Regum Chronices Epitome* (London, 1603). George Lily (d. 1559) was a Roman Catholic ecclesiastic and cosmographer who contributed to Giovio's *Descriptio Britanniae*. See Appendix 3, item 18. Also see, Thomas Mayer, 'George Lily (d. 1559)', *ODNB.*
[103] Appendix 3, items 6, 7.
[104] Appendix 3, items 5, 8.

stored other sources about England that were only available in the English language. This is the case of the English histories produced by John Stowe, John Speed, Samuel Daniel, William Martyn and Francis Bacon.[105] Notably, the Spaniard's collection also preserved Edward Topsell's *The Historie of Foure-Footed Beastes* (1607), a natural history.[106]

When considered together, these works in English provided historical narratives that spanned from Roman times to the accession of James I. John Stowe's *Survey of London* (London, 1599) also provided a topographical assessment of the City.[107] It is true that these sources were in English, a language in which Sarmiento was probably not well-versed. However, one would do well to recall that document translation was a regular task at the embassy. During the period, it was also common to ask scholarly aides to access documents in one's stead, as pointed out by Sharpe.[108] Thus, it is probable that Gondomar accessed some of the English printed sources at his library with the help of his language secretaries, though it is true that his reading practices have rarely left a trace for historians to analyse. Regardless of the case, Sarmiento's interest in English historical culture also left its mark at the *Casa del Sol* in the form of two image albums: the *Baziliōlogia* (1618, London) and the *Herōologia Anglica* (London, 1620).[109] From William the Conqueror to James I, these compendia of visual prints had great popularity during the period. Even though these volumes displayed other types of sitters, they still served the purpose of being illustrated histories, given that an important emphasis was given to the successive

[105] John Stowe's *Chronicles of England* (London, 1618), John Stowe's *Annales of England* (London, 1615), John Stowe's *Survey of London* (London, 1599), John Speed's *The Historie of Great Britain* (London, 1611), William Martyn's *The Historie and the Lives of the Kings of England* (London, 1615), Samuel Daniel's *The first Part of the Historie of England* (London, 1613), Samuel Daniel's *The Collection of the Historie of England* (London, 1618), Francis Bacon's *History of Henry VII* (London, 1622). See Appendix 2, items 1, 2, 3, 4, 16, 18, 19, 20.
[106] Appendix 2, item 8.
[107] Appendix 2, item 19.
[108] Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions*, p. 86.
[109] The *Baziliōlogia* was preserved in the section of portrait books at the library. See Appendix 1, section 3.37. The *Herōologia Anglica* was preserved in the forbidden books section, which will be discussed below and at lenght in Chapter 4. See Appendix 4, item 4.

portrayal of all the English monarchs that had ruled throughout the centuries.[110] What is more, in the case of the *Herōologia Anglica*, a series of historical accounts in Latin were included with the images of the portrayed.[111]

From the evidence analysed, one can appreciate that, during his London embassies, the first count of Gondomar endeavoured to collect a series of important historical references about England in English and Latin that have later been deemed by scholars to be some of the most important examples of early modern English historical writing during the early Stuart period.[112] In assembling this collection, the Spaniard seems to have followed a trend that was later popularised by the English historian Degory Wheare, who was appointed as the first Camden praelector in History at Oxford in 1623.[113] As pointed out by Grafton, Wheare endorsed the careful reading of classical and foreign histories. But he also recommended the corpus of medieval texts carefully assembled by Henry Savile and suggested John Speed's *Theatre of Empire of Great Britain* (two works in Sarmiento's library).[114] Moreover, while recommending his students to read the histories of all nations, present and past, Wheare made a remark that brings reminiscences of Philip IV's reading practices and further supports the potential of these types of sources as reference works: 'Even if you cannot actually read all of these, you should buy them, so they will be handy if you need to look something up'.[115]

Regardless of whether Gondomar read all his English histories, Sarmiento seems to have followed this advice. Thus, even if it is true that most of Sarmiento's books have no marginalia, when considered altogether these items still suggest a desire to create a

[110] See Antony Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain, 1603-1689* (London: British Museum Press, 1998), pp. 49–52.
[111]See Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain*, pp. 52–53.
[112] See Woolf, *The Idea of History*.
[113] John Salmon, 'Degory Wheare (1573–1647)', *ODNB.*
[114] Appendix 3, items 1, 21.
[115] Quote and translation from the Latin original are provided in Grafton, *What Was History?*, p. 201.

learned repository with historical 'local knowledge' about England that could be consulted, should the circumstances ever advise for it.[116] And yet, sometimes, the historian can find books at the *Casa del Sol* with a comment in manuscript. This is the case with Sarmiento's copy of Francis Bacon's *History of Henry VII* (London, 1622).[117]

3.8. Bacon's Gifts: Print Culture and the Collections of Statesmen

During his embassies, Sarmiento regularly collaborated with Sir Francis Bacon. Over the past decades, scholars like Loomie and Tobío have provided more information about the amicable dealings between Gondomar and the Lord Chancellor.[118] Even though few letters with information about their interactions remain, the documents available point to a very cordial treatment. Notably, the Spanish ambassador continued to openly treat with the disgraced viscount St. Albans after his downfall in 1621. What is more, he also made some efforts to restore Bacon's relationship with King James.[119] It is within this context of amicable dealings that one should approach the copy of the *History of Henry VII* at the Gondomar Library.

First published in 1622, this book was an attempt to bring to practice the guidelines for historical writing previously outlined by Bacon in books such as the *Advancement of Learning* and *De Augmentis*. Moreover, this book was also conceived as an appeal to King James to save Bacon from impeachment.[120] In this respect, while most of the books at the *Casa del Sol* might have been acquired at the ambassador´s own initiative, *Henry VII* appears to have been presented by the former Chancellor. The dedicatory reads:

> To the most illustrious and most excellent Lord *Don* Diego count of Gondomar, ambassador of the king of Spain to my most serene Lord the king of Britain; a man famous for his wisdom and his

[116] See Jardine and Grafton, 'Studied for Action'.
[117] Appendix 2, item 4.
[118] See Luis Tobío, 'A Amistade de Bacon e Gondomar', *Grial*, 18.68 (1980), 210–15; Albert Loomie, 'Bacon and Gondomar: An Unknown Link in 1618.', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 21.1 (1968), 1–10.
[119] See Lisa Jardine and Alan Stewart, *Hostage to Fortune: The Troubled Life of Francis Bacon* (London: Gollancz, 1998), pp. 482–92.
[120] Woolf, *The Idea of History*, p. 158.

> ability in dealing with [state?] matters; and not less known for the righteousness of his actions; Francis, viscount of St. Alban's gave this book, fruit of his leisure, as a token of his love, respect and out of gratefulness for his many accomplishments, so as to be forever remembered.[121]

In many ways, this gift is revealing of the many uses given to books during the period.[122] Certainly, if Gondomar once used the arguments in Herrera's *History of Philip II* to add authority to his claims with King James, Bacon sent *Henry VII* to Sarmiento as token of their friendship but also as a subtle way to entreat the Spanish ambassador into a collaboration.[123] What is more, similarly to the manuscript exchanges between Cotton and Gondomar, Bacon's gift of a history book provides with some evidence about the type of items that could have been deemed appropriate for a learned exchange between agents involved in political debates. However, this work is not the only document with a connection to Bacon at the *Casa del Sol*.

As it turns out, Sarmiento's collection preserved a bound volume of English maps and nautical charts that appears to have been a present from St. Albans too.[124] Most of the land maps in this compilation come from Christopher Saxton's *Atlas*. First published in 1579, this is the first English-produced atlas of England and Wales, with thirty-five coloured maps.[125] Moreover, the volume at the Gondomar library also merges geography and history by including a set of nautical charts representing England's battle with the Spanish Armada that were produced in 1590 by Robert Adams.[126] The item's provenance

[121] 'Illustrissimo et excellentissimo Domino. D. Didaco Sarmiento de Acuña, Comiti de Gondomar, Regis Hispaniarum apud serenissimum Dominum meum, magnae Britannice Regem, Legato: viro, prudentia, et rerum gerendarum usu celebri, nec minus morum probitati insigni. Franciscus vicecomes st. Albani hunc librum in pignus Amoris, observantiae, et grat animi sui, pro multis in se meritis aeterna memoria recolendis, otii sui fructum dosso dedit'. RB V/698. I am indebted to Lorenzo Saccon for his help in the translation from the Latin original.
[122] Jill Bepler, 'Vicissitudo Temporum: Some Sidelights on Book Collecting in the Thirty Years' War', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 32.4 (2001), 953–68.
[123] Bepler, 'Vicissitudo Temporum', pp. 957–59.
[124] See RB IX/7223.
[125] As it seems, previous studies have not been aware of the copy of Saxton's *Atlas* preserved in the *Real Biblioteca*. See Sarah Tyacke and John Huddy, *Christopher Saxton and Tudor Map-Making* (London: British Library, 1980); Ifor Evans and Heather Lawrence, *Saxton, Elizabethan Map-Maker* (London: Wakefield Historical Publications, 1979).
[126] See Mía Rodríguez-Salgado, *Armada 1588-1988* (London: Penguin, 1988), pp. 243–48.

is suggested by the last folio in the volume, which showcases a full page emblazoned with English coats of arms and the motto: ´Fides non festinat' (Faith does not hurry).



Figure 1. Coat of Arms in Gondomar's Album of Maps. RB IX/7723. Unfoliated.

© Patrimonio Nacional

These arms point to Anthony Bacon as the previous owner of the book.[127] Considering Francis Bacon's dealings with Gondomar, and that he inherited a good part of his brother's library after his death in 1601, one can infer that this compilation may have reached the Spanish ambassador through Bacon. As with the case of *Henry VII*, this gift was also a valuable item for statesmen. During the period, cartographical materials were greatly prized by princes, ministers and diplomats. From a transnational context, maps depicting lands others than one's own usually became the main target for agents involved in espionage.[128] In the case of Saxton's *Atlas*, it is well documented that this source was used for its strategic information during the English Civil War.[129] However,

[127] I am grateful to Mr. John Tunesi, from Beacon Genealogical Heraldic Research, and Mr. Christopher Vane, Portcullis Pursuivant at the College of Arms, for their kind help in identifying these arms.
[128] See Peter Barber, '"Procure as Many as You Can and Send Them Over": Cartographic Espionage and Cartographic Gifts in International Relations, 1460–1760', in *Diplomacy and Early Modern Culture*, ed. by Robyn Adams and Rosanna Cox (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).
[129] Patrick Collinson, *This England: Essays on the English Nation and Commonwealth in the Sixteenth Century* (Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 27.

this was not the only type of English source with spatial information in the Gondomar library. The count's collection also held at least two more separate compilations of English maps produced for John Speed's *Theatre of Empire of Great Britain*. Each volume included 66 maps of the British Isles.[130]

All in all, the printed maps of England contained in Anthony Bacon's compilation and the John Speed volumes were not easily available in the Iberian Peninsula. As a result, these items probably had a strong strategic value for the Spanish diplomat, who also got to display geographical knowledge about England in his letters. In a document penned on 1 November 1616, Sarmiento sent to Madrid a plan for a prospective invasion of England. This dispatch was produced during the time in which Raleigh was gathering support for the Guiana campaign.[131] Accordingly, in this report Gondomar warned Philip III about the worrying state of Anglo-Spanish relations, asserting that some English peers considered that breaking the peace would bring material gain through privateering. As a result, Gondomar advised his king to be prepared for the possibility of a war, should the circumstance evolve unfavourably. In the process, the Spaniard displays a good awareness about England's history and geography:

> It is to be remembered that every nation that has ever made war to England, when managing to put their foot in the island, it has been successful in conquering it: the Romans, the Danes, the Saxons and more recently the Normans. All these peoples accessed the island through the Eastern coast that looks at France and Flanders. But in the present times it would be a great mistake to try an invasion through this location, due to the many difficulties and defences presently set there. […] it seems that the most convenient way for this would be to disembark an army in Scotland, using protected ports close to England where we would not find any resistance (actually assistance) […] The road from Scotland to England is an easy one, and there are some small castles near the border without any protection today. […] Once it [victory] is accomplished the progress to London would be carried out without any resistance in eight days' time, because all the roads are flat, with no castle or fortress anywhere. This seems to be the only course for the conquest of England.[132]

[130] Both RB V/904 and RB VI/20 were listed on the 1623 catalogue. RB VI/20 is bound with Camden's *Britannia*. See Appendix 3, items 7, 21. Nowadays, the *Real Biblioteca* also holds MAP/441, which was listed in the 1769 catalogue of the Gondomar library (RB II/2119, ff.69v and 126v). It is possible, thus, that Sarmiento actually owned three albums of Speed's maps during his lifetime.

[131] See Luis Tobío, *Gondomar y su Triunfo sobre Raleigh* (Santiago de Compostela: Bibliófilos Gallegos, 1974).

[132] 'Es de considerar que todas las Naciones que han hecho guerra a Inglaterra y viniendo a su conquista han puesto el pie en ella la han señoreado. Los Romanos y los Danos y los Saxones y últimamente los Normandos. Todos entraron por el medio día y por la costa que mira a Francia y Flandes. Pero en el estado presente sería error muy grande el intentarlo hoy por esta parte por las dificultades y defensas que hay en

In Thomas Middleton's *A Game at Chess*, the playwright accused Gondomar of having a 'draught and platform' of the British lands and warns about the dangers this could bring.[133] In fact, Sarmiento appears to have had maps of England, Scotland and Ireland. And many of these items were held in duplicate. About 150 English maps at the *Real Biblioteca* can be traced back to the count's collecting practices. Still, the *Casa del Sol* also preserved English geographical accounts about England and other regions: Michael Drayton's *Poly-Olbion* (London, 1612), Robert Dallington's *A View from France* (1604), Fynes Moryson's *Itinerary* (London, 1617) and, most notably, Richard Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations* (London, 1600).[134]

As pointed out by Shapiro, early modern English travelogues provided the reader with local information about unknown lands. These works also belonged to an 'empirical' genre of texts that attempted to provide the reader with 'political information' by offering more knowledge about a country's geography, its history and many other details: its buildings, trade, customs, government and laws.[135] In this respect, Sarmiento's collection of English printed sources does display a focus in 'empirical' knowledge through its travelogues, but also through other works that provided English views about the natural world and books that dealt with English trade or touched on the laws of England and Scotland.[136] For instance, the library catalogue included an abridged version of Thomas

ella […] parece que lo conveniente para en este caso sería desembarcar el Exército en Escocia en puertos que hay muy seguros y acomodados cerca de Ynglaterra, en cuya desembarcación no habría ninguna resistencia, antes ayuda […] Y el paso de Escocia a Ynglaterra es facilíssimo y unos castillejos que había en las rayas de los términos están hoy sin ninguna defensa […] y alcanzada [la victoria], el llegar a Londres sería sin resistencia en ocho días de camino porque todo es llano, sin castillo ni fortaleza en ninguna parte. Este parece el único medio para la conquista de Ynglaterra'. BNE MSS 18430 (2), ff. 19r-21v. This chapter follows the manuscript version rather than the altered text published in Gayangos, *Cartas Político-Literarias*, pp. 63–66.

[133] See Thomas Middleton, *A Game at Chess*, ed. by Trevor Howard-Hill (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996) (4.2.58-64).

[134] Appendix 2, items 5, 17, 22, 51.

[135] Shapiro, *Political Communication*, pp. 53–76.

[136] Shapiro, *Political Communication*, pp. 54–76.

Milles's *Customer's Apologie* (London, 1617).[137] This treatise proposed improvements to trade laws in England and defended the economic theory of bullionism.[138] The collection also preserved copies of *The Lawes and Actes of Parliament* (Edinburgh, 1597), made by King James as king of Scotland, and *The statutes at Large* (London, 1618), a compendium of 'all such acts which at any time heretofore have beene extant in print' from Magna Carta to the reign of King James.[139] Another work that was preserved at the *Casa del Sol* was John Selden's *Analecton Anglobritannicon* (Frankfurt, 1615), a study of English legal antiquities that provided an account on the governance of England throughout history.[140]

In many ways, the arguments advanced in these works reveal how history, trade and law were greatly connected through the notions of tradition and precedent.[141] Their presence at the *Casa del Sol* also reveals how all these different types of works could catch the attention of individuals concerned with having more 'familiarity with the English nation', its history and, from what it seems, the many disciplines that shaped the governance of England. In this latter respect, it might also be noteworthy to recall that Sarmiento acquired an English copy of Aristotle's *Politics* (London, 1598).[142] Moreover, his library preserved other treatises in English that were often valued by statesmen: Jacques Hurault's *Politicke, Moral and Martial Discourses* (London, 1595), Barnabe Barnes's *Four Books of Offices* (London, 1606), Alexander Le Sylvain's *The Orator* (London, 1596) and Jean Hotman's *The Ambassador* (London, 1603).[143]

---

[137] Appendix 2, item 44.
[138] See Henry Speck, 'The Life and Works of Thomas Milles' (University of Oxford [Unpublished doctoral dissertation], 1964); William Sherman and Heather Wolfe, 'The Department of Hybrid Books: Thomas Milles between Manuscript and Print', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 45.3 (2015), 457–85.
[139] Appendix 2, items 34, 35.
[140] Appendix 3, item 10.
[141] Shapiro, *Political Communication*, pp. 261–66.
[142] Appendix 2, item 36.
[143] Appendix 2, items 37, 45, 42, 47.

All in all, the evidence at the *Casa del Sol* reveals that Sarmiento created a repository with learned printed references about England. This collection was comprised of about forty English histories in English and Latin, hundreds of English maps and about fifteen English works with geographical descriptions and disquisitions over trade, law, politics and diplomacy. If Gondomar once tried to have '*toute l'amerique*', as the German bibliographer Eussem claimed, it also appears that he aimed to procure *toute l'Angleterre*, or at the very least a representative part of sources that were usually consulted by early modern English statesmen during the times. In many ways, Sarmiento's collecting practices are not only elucidating of the sources that might have had a value within his intelligence strategies as Spanish ambassador. His documentary practices could also be quite revealing of less-known aspects in the political culture of the early Stuart period.

Certainly, over the past years scholars like Woolf and Sharpe have greatly illuminated our understanding of how early modern individuals engaged with the discipline of history and other printed sources used in political debates. For instance, in a chapter of *Reading History in Early Modern England*, Woolf focused on the possession of history books between the 16th and 18th centuries. In order to so, he examined a considerable number of sources: published and unpublished wills, private inventories, university library lists, etc. As a result of these analyses, Woolf detected a gradual increase in the ownership of histories among different social groups: the clergy, scholars, the gentry and other professionals.[144] Complementarily, in *Reading Revolutions* Sharpe explored the political culture of the 17th century through the documentary activities of Sir William Sharpe (1606-1669), a Buckinghamshire landowner who approached classical and contemporary histories, and other type of treatises, within the period's

[144] Daniel Woolf, *Reading History in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: University Press, 2000), pp. 132–202.

political preoccupations.[145] Overall, these two studies have provided us with many insights about the history of the book, the reading practices at the time and the politics of the early modern period. However, for all the contributions these learned works have to offer, it is still true that they have much less to say about the collecting practices of princes, ministers and diplomats during the reign of King James.

Despite some pioneering studies produced after Woolf and Sharpe's studies, there is still a gap in historiography when it comes to better understanding the collecting practices of those individuals who were more directly involved in the political debates of the early Stuart period.[146] This group would certainly be comprised of the English monarch and those English peers serving the king in some capacity, but it would also have included diplomatic agents based at the Court of St. James's, or English ambassadors stationed at foreign courts. In one way or another, all these individuals would probably have had an interest in collecting English printed sources commonly associated with English political debates. It is in this light that a study of the English histories, maps and other potentially political English sources preserved at the Gondomar library can help better illustrate the type of collections that might have been amassed by English statesmen during the early 17th century. Nevertheless, more comparative approaches will be necessary to further confirm this.[147] In any case, the evidence analysed in this chapter provides a more nuanced understanding of the role played by English print culture and scholarship in Sarmiento's diplomacy.

---

[145] See Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions*.

[146] See Popper and Smuts, 'European Historiography in England'; Millstone, 'Seeing Like a Statesman'; Popper, *Walter Ralegh's History*; Elizabeth Williamson, '"Fishing after News" and the Ars Apodemica: The Intelligencing Role of the Educational Traveller in the Late Sixteenth Century', in *News Networks in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Joad Raymond and Noah Moxham (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 542–62.

[147] In this respect, a recent study has published the library catalogues of some statesmen that were active in the early Stuart period, such as Sir Edward Conway (1564-1631) and Sir Thomas Roe (1581-1644). This study will probably lead to more scholarly analyses on the subject during the coming years. See Robert Fehrenbach and Elisabeth Leedham-Green, *Private Libraries in Renaissance England* (Binghamton: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 2017), IX.

Indeed, the acquisition of learned English printed sources appears to have played a part in Sarmiento's intelligence strategies. Moreover, it is only through the books that Gondomar decided to preserve in his library that one might have a better hint about the references on English historical culture that might have been at his disposal, if he ever decided to engage with these. And yet, just as in the case of Thomas Smith's *De Republica Anglorum*, it is difficult for the historian to claim with certainty whether Gondomar consulted the English books, maps and treatises held at his library. And even if he did, it is still a pending task to know exactly when and in which circumstances these references were used. In order to put this matter to rest, more research will have to be carried out with the myriad of thousands of letters with relevant information that are held in different Spanish archives.[148] Nonetheless, even if this chapter cannot claim that Gondomar's possession of all these English printed sources necessarily led to their consultation, it can still complement the information we have with the social expectations attributed to book ownership during the period.

Indeed, Francis Bacon was not the only premodern individual to use books for other purposes besides their reading. As Amory once remarked, a modern bias that took shape in the 19th century, and is still very much alive today, is that of seeing a book exclusively as a disembodied "text": an incorporeal entity of information that is either used through its reading or not used at all. After years as Senior Rare Book Cataloguer at Harvard's Houghton Library, Amory came to believe that most printed books have never been read. After all, printers throughout the ages have always speculated on the numbers of copies

[148] As explained in Chapter 1.5., most of Sarmiento's letters are stored in the Gondomar library at the *Real Biblioteca*. However, a good number of dispatches with information relevant to this thesis –written by Gondomar, addressed to him or mentioning his library or his embassy– is also held in other repositories, such as Madrid's *Biblioteca Nacional*, the *Real Academia de la Historia,* the *Palacio de Liria*, the *Archivo General de Simancas*, the British Library, personal collections, etc. For a more detailed explanation of the main archival sources for studying Gondomar, see footnote 5 in Sanz Camañes, 'Burocracia, Corte y Diplomacia', p. 399.

they would actually sell. Nonetheless, Amory was quick to add that unread books could still be powerful artefacts. Nowadays, there is a risk in taking printing and literacy too much for granted, and we sometimes forget that books were valued cultural items in themselves. However, this was not the case in the 17th century, where there was more of a sense of wonder and 'an almost totemic reverence' for the book.[149]

3.9. 'Different to Ours': The Politics of Book Ownership

In 'Fishing after News', Williamson discussed the role of early modern travellers as conveyors of information about events, people and places from abroad. Williamson explained that there were not many things that would distinguish the occasional traveller from the diplomatic agent when both dedicated to the gathering of news and the synthesising of intelligence, along with the liaising with useful people and the bearing of important letters. According to Williamson, both traveller and diplomatic agent knew that, through their reports, they could have an influence on a government's foreign policy. Travellers and diplomats also knew that oftentimes they competed with others and, just as the ambassador Henry Wotton did, they would further conflate scholarship with intelligence-gathering practices by procuring local books and manuscripts in the hope that these could help hone their reports, or at the very least give the appearance of providing more informed accounts.[150]

As explored in previous sections of this chapter, Sarmiento's documentary practices appear to reflect similar strategies to those deployed by Sir Henry Wotton. Certainly, he endeavoured to inform his government about English affairs and tried to secure prestige at home in the process. Moreover, the count procured a series of English documentary

[149] See Hugh Amory, 'The Trout and the Milk: An Ethnobibliographical Talk', *Harvard Library Bulletin*, 7.1 (1996), 56–71.
[150] Williamson, '"Fishing after News"', p. 551.

references that might have been used to enhance his diplomatic intelligence, or acquired for a potential future use. Still, it appears that the count also made use of his privileged position as Anglo-Spanish liaison in order to become one of the main providers of English sources to the Spanish court.

In a letter sent to London by the royal secretary Juan de Ciriza on 11 December 1613, Sarmiento is prompted to procure '*relaciones'*, or accounts, about 'those states'. These accounts were to be used by the general chronicler Pedro de Valencia for a new history that aimed to summarise the most important Spanish and European events since the accession of Philip III to the throne in 1598.[151] This document is particularly noteworthy considering that Pedro de Valencia was the first historian to become Spanish general chronicler, a post created by Lerma in 1608 after receiving suggestions like the one penned by Gondomar in 1606. Still, this was not the only occasion in which Sarmiento was sought as one of Spain's main providers of English local sources. In a letter dated 23 November 1620, the count received a plea from the Dominican friar Domingo de Mendoza entreating the personnel of the Spanish embassy to send 'a true account', as revealed by 'their books or histories of England', regarding Saint Ursula and the eleven thousand Virgins, who were supposed to be English.[152] On a similar note, on 12 August 1620 Sarmiento received a dispatch from the Spanish sea captain Bernardino de Castrillo, who was known for his role in the demise of Sir Francis Drake. Castrillo wrote to Sarmiento to thank him for a book recently sent from London and to ask him for some English charts:

> Your Excellency made me a great favour with the book [received], because it has been many days that I looked for it and desired it. And now I entreat Your Excellency again to do me the [favour of sending] me one of the usual charts with which the [English] sailors navigate around that coast [of England] and around New Spain [the Americas], because I have looked for it too but I have not been

[151] 'esos estados'. AGS Estado, Libro 367, doc. 64. If ever written and published, this history has become untraceable. See Gaspar Morocho Gayo, 'Una Historia de Felipe III Escrita por Pedro de Valencia', in *Homenaje al Profesor Juan Torres Fontes* (Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, 1987), II.
[152] 'sus libros o historias de Inglaterra'. BNE MSS 18422, doc. 185, f. 259r. Published in Manso Porto, *Erudito, Mecenas y Bibliófilo*, p. 267.

> able to find it; and these [the English charts] are different to ours, at least from what I was able to see in one of these.[153]

As it seems, during the Anglo-Spanish peace Gondomar became an important go-to authority on English sources for Spanish peers. In this light, the creation of a library with selected English references would have probably contributed to enhance this opinion. It is true that the ownership of books for ostentatious purposes has been a topic of mockery throughout the centuries. Nevertheless, during the times many members of the Spanish nobility strove to enrich their libraries with books and manuscripts that could further their political interests.[154] In this respect, the documents that were most esteemed were those that were rare.[155] This was usually the case with manuscripts, but also applied to publications from places that had less contact with Spain, like London. Within this perspective, the establishment of a collection of English documents at the *Casa del Sol* can be also seen as another strategy for advancement carried out by Sarmiento, as he endeavoured to make of his library a remarkable source of 'local knowledge' about England that other Spanish agents did not have, including the Spanish king.

As seen in the Introduction, in its final form the Gondomar library almost doubled the amount of items held at the private library of Philip IV in the Alcázar in Madrid during later years.[156] What is more, when it came to information about England, Sarmiento's collection amply surpassed the one preserved by the king of Spain. As the catalogue of the royal library produced in 1637 reveals, the Spanish monarch had a section of 'Histories of England and Scotland'. However, while Sarmiento preserved more than

[153] 'Grandísima merçed me hiço vuestra señoría con el libro, porque abía días que le procuraba y deseava. Y agora buelvo a supplicar a vuestra señoría me la haga de una carta de las ordinarias con que navegan los pilotos aquella costa y Nueba España, porque aunque la e procurado tanbién, no la e allado, y son diferentes de las nuestras, a lo menos una que yo e visto'. BNE MSS 18422, doc. 140, f. 191rv. Published in Manso Porto, *Erudito, Mecenas y Bibliófilo*, p. 220.
[154] See Bouza, *Communication, Knowledge, Memory*, pp. 58–71.
[155] Ketelaar, 'Muniments and Monuments', p. 352.
[156] For these figures, and for a more detailed understanding of the history of the Gondomar Library, see Michael and Ahijado, 'La Casa Del Sol'.

forty histories in English and Latin, the royal collection only listed fifteen items under that subject. Moreover, none of these works appear to have been published in London.[157]

As Montcher once asserted, the organisation of libraries earned an important social significance during the times. Moreover, a library's layout was considered to be a direct representation of the political prudence and good taste of their owners. Therefore, a failure in the management of the collection was considered the product of bad political counsel.[158] In this particular instance, whether all of Sarmiento's English references were consulted or not becomes a secondary matter. Regardless of the case, the fact that he assembled an assortment of works that tended to be valued by premodern English statesmen for their political wisdom remains. This practice could already be regarded by some as a political act in itself, especially in a landscape marked by Botero's *Reason of State*, where even the displaying of certain clothes could turn into a tactic of dissimulation.[159]

And yet, as with any other political subterfuges, there was also a risk. Certainly, as Williamson also pointed out, in the carrying out of their role as transnational liaisons, travellers and diplomats had to be very careful so as not to appear too foreign to their own compatriots, or too adapted to the ways of the other country. Failure to do so often resulted in accusations of immorality or allegations of espionage.[160] From the available evidence, one can see that this is how the Gondomar library was regarded by some as well. While

[157] As is the case with the *Casa del Sol*, the royal library also held copies of Ribadeneyra's *Cisma de Ingalaterra*, Yepes's *Persecución de Inglaterra*, Herrera's *Historia de María Estuardo*. Philip IV's collection also stored Girolamo Pollini's *Historia Ecclesiastica della Rivoluzion d'Inghilterra* and a copy of the Anglo-Spanish peace treaty of 1630. Following on the usually more religious Spanish approach to English affairs, there were also four books by Robert Parsons that touched on the persecution of English Catholics and King James's *Oath of Allegiance*. There was also a 1592 pamphlet entitled *Advertencia de los Católicos Ingleses a los Franceses sobre la Elección de un Rey Herético*. Philip IV's section of 'Histories of England and Scotland' also stored some items that are not identifiable today: a genealogy of English Monarchs, a history of William the Conqueror and an account of a trip to England. See Bouza, *El Libro y el Cetro*, p. 95.
[158] See Montcher, 'Early Modern Bibliopolitics'.
[159] Rubio, 'The Ethics of Deception', p. 135.
[160] Williamson, '"Fishing after News"', p. 542.

in London, Sarmiento's 'familiarity' with England became a source of admiration for the letter writer John Chamberlain, who would claim that 'no man knowes the length of our foot so well as he'.[161] In a more negative tone, the pamphleteer Alexander Leighton would express how the Spaniard 'had so easily entered into the cabinat of our secrets, where he lay so long like an old rat, feeding on a parmisan'.[162] As previously discussed, Gondomar's collecting practices were also denounced by Thomas Scott. Nevertheless, it is less-known that these documentary activities were also put into close scrutiny by the Spanish Inquisition.

On 24 July 1618, during Gondomar's first leave to Spain, the *Santo Oficio* issued a general order to port authorities to keep a lookout for any 'book, paper or printed image [*estampa*]' brought by Sarmiento from England.[163] On that occasion, Gondomar managed to outsmart the Inquisition by shipping these items in diplomatic trunks to the much less policed provincial port cities of Bayona in Galicia and San Sebastián in Guipúzcoa.[164] Still, one of the most striking features of the *Santo Oficio*'s orders is that any documentary source coming from England had to be examined, even the printed images and the English civil histories. There were reasons for proceeding in this way. In one of the fictional episodes of Thomas Scott's *Vox Populi*, a Spanish grandee is presented in a conversation with Gondomar. Soon, this Spanish peer quotes a passage of Camden's *Annals*, or the *History of Elizabeth I*, to try to discern the real intentions of the English behind their support for a Spanish Match.[165] In creating this particular episode, the pamphleteer was not far from reality.

[161] *The Letters of John Chamberlain*, ed. by Norman McClure (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1939), II, p. 583.
[162] Alexander Leighton, *Speculum Belli Sacri* (Amsterdam, 1624), p. 125.
[163] 'libros, papeles y estampas'. BNE MSS 18430 (2), doc. 9, f. 43. Published in Manso Porto, *Erudito, Mecenas y Bibliófilo*, p. 326.
[164] Manso Porto, *Erudito, Mecenas y Bibliófilo*, pp. 112–15.
[165] Scott, *Vox Populi*, fol. B2v.

Certainly, in 1623, Philip IV's confessor, friar Francisco de Jesús, wrote and published a series of reports on the possibility of a marriage alliance between Spain and England.[166] In order to do so, he enumerated a series of ecclesiastical histories but also reflected on 'what has been written in England on these matters' by authors like William of Malmesbury and Roger of Hoveden, along with Alberico Gentili and Polydore Vergil, who are also considered to represent the English view to English history and laws.[167] Incidentally, all the authors mentioned by friar Francisco de Jesús are to be found in the Gondomar library as well. And one wonders how some of these books might have reached the friar. Regardless of the case, one of Francisco de Jesús's main sources for the later Tudor reigns is Camden's *Annals*. While commenting on this work, the friar could not help but confess the 'horror' he felt when he read how Camden 'accommodates so well to reason of state' the life and actions of Mary Tudor and Mary Stuart: two of the most saintly Queens of recent times, if one followed early modern Spanish historiography.[168] In the end, the friar ended his treatise by asserting that a marriage alliance was only to be possible if Charles converted to Catholicism.

As previously discussed by Redworth and Samson, Charles's religious conversion was a point of contention during his visit to Madrid in 1623, and it would eventually play a part in the ensuing Anglo-Spanish estrangement that followed.[169] However, this chapter aims to highlight friar Francisco de Jesús' assessment about English civil histories. Overall, his comments illustrate how English books could be used for the penning of special reports by non-English agents, like the Spanish friar. Still, these items could as

[166] See Francisco de Jesús, *Papeles sobre el Tratado de Matrimonio entre el Príncipe de Gales y la Infanta María de Austria (1623)*, ed. by Henar Pizarro Llorente and Pablo María Garrido (Madrid: Ediciones Carmelitanas, 2010), pp. 9–130.
[167] 'principalmente de los que en Inglaterra han escrito sobre este punto'. See Jesús, *Papeles sobre el Tratado de Matrimonio entre el Príncipe de Gales y la Infanta María de Austria (1623)*, pp. 134–203.
[168] 'la acomoda tanto a la razón de estado'. See Jesús, *Papeles sobre el Tratado de Matrimonio entre el Príncipe de Gales y la Infanta María de Austria (1623)*, pp. 165–66.
[169] See Redworth, *The Prince and the Infanta*; Alexander Samson, 'Introduction', in *The Spanish Match: Prince Charles's Journey to Madrid, 1623*, ed. by Alexander Samson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006).

easily become a threat to Spanish ideas about religious purity or historical orthodoxy. This detail can be observed in Sarmiento's *Herōologia Anglica*. This illustrated history adopted narratives that were present in other English histories owned by Gondomar. However, it also showcased an explicit anti-Catholic stance by celebrating those men who stood against Papistry and devaluing those who championed Catholicism. Consequently, the album holds sections dedicated to Henry VIII, Edward VI and Elizabeth I, for instance, while Mary Tudor is excluded and replaced by Lady Jane Grey. And even though Thomas More is still portrayed and presented as a leading humanist, he is also described as 'someone who drank from the cup of the harlot [Catholicism] and turned into a pig'.[170]

Thus, while it is true that Sarmiento's collection of English histories, maps and learned treatises could be seen by some Spanish peers as a valuable political resource, it is no less certain that a repository with English documents could also be regarded by others as a potential threat to official Spanish beliefs. As it seems, this latter impression became gradually more acute after the accession of Philip IV to the throne in 1621.

Certainly, in the political scenario that followed the Palatinate Crisis and the end of the Dutch Truce, a new idea of *conservación* soon developed for the Hispanic Monarchy during the early 1620s. For the new Spanish king and his *valido*, the count-duke of Olivares, a more aggressive foreign policy became necessary to defend Spain's territorial inheritance, to safeguard Philip IV's reputation as Europe's most powerful monarch and to preserve the Catholic faith.[171] Under this new understanding of *conservación*, Philip III's *Pax Hispanica* became less of a priority. A similar thing can be said about Sarmiento's efforts to create more familiarity with England, as evinced in Matías de

[170] See Heather Muckart, 'Absence and Artlessness in Early Modern Church of England Martyr Portraits' (University of British Columbia [Unpublished doctoral dissertation], 2018), pp. 89–128.
[171] Kagan, *Clio & the Crown*, p. 202.

Novoa's *History of Philip III*.[172] In this account penned during the early 1630s, Novoa deviated from the positive image of diplomatic prowess displayed by Juan de Vera's *El Embajador* and presented instead a Gondomar who went beyond his master's commission by promoting the Spanish Match too strongly:

> the count began [his speech] in a courtly and erudite way, by providing a long exhortation on the business at hand and enumerating all the conveniences and reasons of state that advised for the marriage to take place […] and after the long and verbose admonition, His Majesty [Philip III], who had heard attentively, said to him with a dignified semblance and serene disposition: 'Do you bring any reason of faith that might oblige us? Because those [reasons] of state, in this case, do not serve God' […] turning his back, the king suspended the audience.[173]

Given that Novoa wrote his account years after the events, it does not necessarily reflect on Philip III's attitude towards the marriage negotiations with England. However, it is quite revealing of what became Spanish policy –and history– during the reign of Philip IV. As noted by Elliott, within the political scenario that followed the failure of the Spanish Match in 1624, Gondomar became too much of an anglophile for the taste of some Spanish peers, most notably the count-duke of Olivares.[174] Another episode in Novoa's works is quite telling in this respect. Shortly after Gondomar passed away in October 1626, his son Antonio formally requested the count-duke to repay the Crown's debts to his father, who had to resort to his personal funds during his London embassies. In a rather ungracious manner, the *valido* encouraged Antonio to go ask the king of England for money, as he was the monarch his father ultimately served.[175]

---

[172] See the Introduction to Antonio Cánovas del Castillo, *Matías de Novoa: Monografía de un Historiador Español Desconocido* (Madrid: Imprenta de Miguel Ginesta, 1876).

[173] 'comenzó el Conde, como tan entendido y cortesano, a discurrir largamente en el negocio, descogiendo y despuntando todas las conveniencias y razones de Estado que había para que se efectuase este casamiento […] y después de larga y prolija arenga, habiéndole oído atentamente Su Majestad, elevando el rostro y serenando el semblante, le dijo: '¿Traéis algunas razones de fe que nos obliguen? porque las de Estado, en este caso, no se sirve a Dios con ellas' […] el Rey volviéndole las espaldas, suspendió la audiencia'. Matías Novoa, *Memorias. Historia de Felipe III, Parte 2*, ed. by José Sancho Rayón (Madrid: CODOIN, 1875), LXI, p. 308.

[174] See Elliott and Peña, *Memoriales y Cartas*, pp. 103–15.

[175] Matías Novoa, *Memorias. Historia de Felipe IV, Parte 1*, ed. by José Sancho Rayón (Madrid: CODOIN, 1878), LXIX, pp. 54–55.

There is still much work to be done to understand how the Hispanic Monarchy's foreign policy –and historical writing– was influenced by the documentary practices of its ambassadors. At the same time, it is still a pending task to better identify how diplomatic networks might have fostered cultural exchanges across confessional and national divides. We can safely affirm, though, that Gondomar became one of the main conduits of English affairs to Madrid during his London embassies. Through his diplomatic reports, Sarmiento also became an important conveyor of English historical and geographical culture to Spanish peers. By analysing the count's correspondence and his library, this chapter has endeavoured to illustrate how Sarmiento's diplomacy was probably influenced by the procurement of printed English sources that were often valued by individuals involved in the political debates of the early Stuart period. All in all, the acquisition of publications with 'local knowledge' played its part in the intelligence strategies deployed by ambassadors. In this respect, even though the evidence on Gondomar's engagement with his English books and maps is inconclusive, one can still suggest that these types of printed sources had great potential to be collected by premodern diplomats willing to advance their claims at the foreign court or wishing to inform authorities back home. Moreover, the procuring of this type of sources might have allowed some early modern ambassadors to advance their prestige back home by creating an image of expertise on foreign affairs. However, as shown by the case of Gondomar, the creation of a repository with learned English references was not devoid of its ideological complexities and political backlashes.

Certainly, after Sarmiento's death in 1626, the Inquisition eventually managed to have its way with many of his English documents. Proof of this can be found in a final undated addendum to the 1623 catalogue, where in a different hand one can read a list of forty-four books that were confiscated and seventy-two titles that were returned after a

significant expurgation.[176] As someone who was very concerned about the circulation of 'disorganised' and misinformed books, Sarmiento might have understood the incursions of the *Santo Oficio* in his library. Still, one can only wonder whether the censors in charge of the expurgation might have appreciated that Gondomar had already prearranged many dubious books within a separate section for forbidden works. Among these, was the count's *Herōologia Anglica*, for sure. But as the next chapter will reveal, the majority of works in the forbidden section were published to stir religious debates in England.

[176] Notably, most of Sarmiento's civil histories in English and Latin were spared, including Camden's works. See the lists provided in Real Biblioteca, 'Libros Prohibidos en la Casa Del Sol (II)', *Avisos de la Real Biblioteca*, 11.43 (2005), 4–5; Real Biblioteca, 'Libros Prohibidos en la Casa Del Sol (III)', *Avisos de la Real Biblioteca*, 12.44 (2006), 7–8.

Chapter 4. Papers Relics and 'Abominable' Tomes: Print Culture and Confessional Politics

4.1. 'A Great Service to God': Books and Religious Strife

Among the collection of papers preserved in the *Real Biblioteca*, there is a document with a most telling title: 'Joseph Creswell's report to His Majesty for the provision of Catholic books'.[1] This report, also known as a *memorial*, was sent to King Philip III on 10 August 1617.[2] During the first decades of the 17th century, the English Jesuit Joseph Creswell (1556-1623) became a prominent figure in supporting the cause of English Catholicism through the setting up of seminaries in Europe.[3] Commonly known as English colleges, these institutions trained their students for priesthood.[4] Some colleges, like the one in St. Omer, were also used for the printing of Catholic books.[5] This latter aspect is emphasised in the 1617 *memorial*. In the document, the Jesuit brings up many arguments to entreat the Spanish king into giving him more money for his printing presses:

> It is a very well-known thing that one of the most efficient methods the devil has found to corrupt Germany, England and the United Provinces, so fixated now on their heresies, was through the introduction of evil books full of errors. Experience shows that there is no better way, nor ever has been, of saving the same provinces from total ruin and perdition than to continually plant in them wholesome Catholic books. Some of these are devotional works to maintain the virtue of the well intentioned, while other books reveal the heretics' tricks so as to undeceive those who err and bring them back to the faith. Therefore, these books enter where priests cannot enter to offer wise counsel […] In this respect, it must be twelve years ago that the supplicant [Cresswell] sent to St. Omer the

[1] 'Memorial de Joseph Cresuelo a Su Magestad para la provisión de libros católicos'. RB II/2225, doc. 26.
[2] See Fernando Bouza, 'Contrarreforma y Tipografía ¿Nada Más que Rosarios en sus Manos?', *Cuadernos de Historia Moderna,* 16, 1995, 73–88 (pp. 83–87).
[3] See Albert Loomie, 'Joseph Creswell (1556–1623)', *ODNB*; Antony Allison, 'The Later Life and Writings of Joseph Creswell (1556–1623)', *British Catholic History*, 15.2 (1979), 79–144.
[4] See Peter Guilday, 'The English Catholic Refugees on the Continent. The English Colleges and Convents in the Catholic Low Countries, 1558-1795' (University of Louvain [Unpublished doctoral dissertation], 1969); Williams, *St. Alban's College Valladolid*; Michael Williams, *The Venerable English College, Rome: A History* (Leominster: Gracewing, 2008).
[5] See Alexander Soetaert, 'Catholic Refuge and the Printing Press: Catholic Exiles from England, France and the Low Countries in the Ecclesiastical Province of Cambrai', *British Catholic History*, 34.4 (2019), 1–30.

> offering of 600 ducats that Your Majesty gave him, which were used for the setting up of a printing press […] And this is another occasion to resort to Your Majesty's piety.[6]

Over the years, scholars have used Creswell's letter to comment on the publishing practices of the English Catholic community during this period.[7] During that time, the presses of the English colleges played a pivotal role in the publication and distribution of books in Latin and English. These works were produced to preserve and bolster the faith of English Catholics based in England and the Continent.[8] However, previous historians have not elaborated on the fact that the only known copy of this *memorial* is to be found at the Gondomar library. Certainly, in one of Sarmiento's letterbooks, there is a series of reports, or *memoriales*, produced by Creswell.[9] These documents contained different projects for the upkeep of the English colleges based in Spain and Flanders. Thus, as these *memoriales* reveal, Gondomar was made privy to many of the Jesuit's plans for the English missions. Among Creswell's initiatives was the production of Catholic books of 'small size', probably in an effort to facilitate their circulation.[10] The publication of these works was deemed a 'great service to God and a good thing for Christendom'.[11] After all, Protestants agents were resorting to the printing press too, as illustrated by Creswell's *memorial*:

---

[6] 'Es cosa sabida que uno de los medios más eficaces que el demonio halló para pervertir la Alemania, Inglaterra y las demás Provincias que han inficionado con heregías, fue sembrar en ellas libros malos y llenos de errores. Se prueba por experiencia que no ay ni a abido medio mas eficaz para conservar las mismas provincias de total perdición y ruina que sembrando continuamente en ellas libros buenos y cathólicos; unos que tratan de devoción para conservar la virtud en los bien intencionados; y otros en que se descubren los artificios de los hereges, para desengañar y reduzir los que van errados. Pues, estos libros entran adonde los sacerdotes no pueden entrar para dar bueno consejo. A esste propósito, abrá doze años que el suplicante embió a St. Omer una limosna de 600 ducados que Vuestra Magestad le dio; con lo cual se hizo una imprenta […] y esta es otra ocasión para acudir a la piedad de Vuestra Magestad'. RB II/ 2225, doc. 26.

[7] See Glyn Redworth, *The She-Apostle. The Extraordinary Life and Death of Luisa de Carvajal* (Oxford: University Press, 2008), pp. 1601–74; Bouza, 'Contrarreforma y Tipografía'.

[8] Between 1600 and 1640, the presses of St. Omer and Douai issued more than 600 Catholic texts written by English Catholic authors or related to English Catholic matters. These works were regularly published in English or Latin. According to the available evidence, the Catholic texts in English that were produced in Flanders amounted to nearly eighty percent of the period's total production. See Soetaert, 'Catholic Refuge and Printing Press'.

[9] See RB II/2225, docs. 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27.

[10] 'pequeño volumen'. RB II/2225, doc. 25.

[11] 'una obra de tanto servicio de Dios, bien de la Christiandad'. RB II/2225, doc. 26, f. 78.

> Because the devil has found evil enough in some particular persons so as to [convince them to] pay the expenses for the publication of a good number of evil books in Spanish, like Calvin's *Institutions* and the works of heretics; and, to further cause damage, they have commissioned the publication of a false bible in the Romance language [E.g. Spanish].[12]

In his report, Creswell also entreats the Spanish king to prevent the circulation of 'evil books'. However, as the Gondomar library reveals, Spanish authorities had already been warned about this circumstance. In a letter dated 8 August 1615, Madrid acknowledged receipt of Gondomar's warnings about the smuggling into Spain of books published in London. As a result, Philip III had instructed the Inquisition to keep a 'careful observance in this kingdom's ports'.[13]

Thanks to the documents preserved at the *Casa del Sol*, the historian can learn more about the Hispanic Monarchy's involvement in the "book war" that resulted from the period's confessional conflicts. In this respect, Sarmiento was not only informed about Creswell's initiatives, he also appears to have supported some of these. In a letter dated 29 January 1620, the Spaniard reminded Philip III about the 'great fruits rendered in the kingdom of England' by the English colleges in Flanders, particularly St. Omer. Thus, Sarmiento besought the Spanish monarch to support the colleges' work for the 'Catholic cause' by providing them a yearly stipend. Nevertheless, in that letter one can also see Sarmiento suggesting that, for the best 'accommodation and secrecy' of the enterprise, it would be convenient if these moneys were administered through the Spanish ambassador in Brussels rather than the one posted in London.[14] After all, English authorities were not bound to look too kindly on these activities.

As Allen once asserted, with the signing of the treaty of London in 1604, both Spain and England felt that they had got the better part of the other. The English had secured

---

[12] 'Pues que el demonio ha hallado mal en personas particulares para hazer el gasto de imprimir en lengua española diversos libros malos como son las *Instituciones* de Calvino y las obras de otros herejes, y (q mas daño puede hazer) la Biblia falsificada en Romance'. RB II/2225, doc. 26.
[13] 'que reconozcan con cuidado en los puertos destos reynos'. RB II/1850, ff. 82r-84v.
[14] 'Los Padres Ingleses de la Compañía de Jesús, que están en los Collegios de los estados de Flandes, han hecho y hazen gran fructo en el Reyno de Inglaterra'. DIHE 2, pp. 250-251.

free trade to Spanish possessions in Europe and successfully rejected any clause that could grant freedom of conscience to English Catholics. However, they failed to get an express article allowing for commerce with the Spanish "Indies". The Spanish, on the other hand, abandoned any mention of Catholic toleration but convinced the English government to cease any significant assistance to the Dutch. They also managed to stop the licensing of any English naval attack.[15] However, the issues omitted in the Treaty of London remained unresolved. As a result, with the passing of the years, both sides would eventually carry out covert operations to advance their own agendas. Thus, the Spanish found themselves less able to prevent English exploration in the Americas and other extra-European regions. Similarly, English authorities oftentimes discovered that Spain interfered with religious affairs in the British Isles.[16] This latter point can be appreciated in Sarmiento's plea to the Spanish king for more support to the English colleges in Flanders. However, a detail that stands at odds with the documents just analysed is that, for all the support to Creswell's initiatives, and the warnings to Madrid about the circulation of 'evil books' in Spain, Gondomar nevertheless decided to preserve many banned works at his house in Valladolid. As this chapter will reveal, many of these sources had a connection with his diplomatic mission to London.

4.2. 'Their Doctrine is Totally Abominable': Forbidden Books at the *Casa del Sol*

Years before his embassies, Sarmiento had already involved himself with 'evil' tomes.[17] This can be appreciated in a letter dated in 1599. In this document, Gondomar's wife reprimands her husband for having items forbidden by the Inquisition in his collection and warns him to remove them or expurgate them accordingly.[18] This warning

[15] Allen, *Philip III and the Pax Hispanica*, pp. 137–38.
[16] See Loomie, *Toleration and Diplomacy*.
[17] Manso Porto, *Erudito, Mecenas y Bibliófilo*, pp. 112–15; Luis Tobío, 'O Erasmismo de Gondomar', *Grial*, 8.28 (1970), 129–60.
[18] RB II/2140, doc, 84. Published in Manso Porto, *Erudito, Mecenas y Bibliófilo*, p. 321.

was repeated again in 1608.[19] Nevertheless, *Doña* Constanza was not the only one to worry about Sarmiento's collecting practices. As mentioned in chapter 3, when he returned from his first embassy in 1618, the *Santo Oficio* issued a general order in Spain to keep a lookout for any book or document brought by the Spanish ambassador from England.[20] However, the count managed to outsmart religious authorities on that occasion by shipping these items into diplomatic trunks.[21] Some of the books transported in these trunks were probably forbidden. Coincidentally, in a letter dated 27 February 1619, the German bibliographer Stephan Eussem informed his master about the arrival to Valladolid of many books from Galicia and commented on the presence of some dubious works in the count's library:

> I have found some Huguenot and some Calvinist [books] and others. They all seem to me as unworthy of being among the Catholic ones, since their doctrine is totally abominable. Thus, it will be better to separate these [from the rest] and register them in a separate paper.[22]

Thus, in contrast to other parts of the inventory, where a descriptive title is given at the beginning to specify the subject of the items being inventoried, the section of forbidden books at the *Casa del Sol* was placed in a separate listing with no specific heading.[23] This section registered thirty-six works considered to be heterodox by many Spaniards and included works expressly denounced by Creswell, as shown by a copy of Calvin's *Institutio Christianae Religionis* (Geneva, 1609), a Spanish edition of this same work and a Spanish translation of the Bible.[24] These two latter items had been produced by the notorious Spanish Protestant Spaniard Cipriano de Valera, who took refuge in

---

[19] RB II/2126, doc. 241. Published in Manso Porto, *Erudito, Mecenas y Bibliófilo*, p. 322.
[20] See Chapter 3.9. Also see BNE MSS 18430 (2), doc. 9, f. 43. Published in Manso Porto, *Erudito, Mecenas y Bibliófilo*, p. 326.
[21] See Manso Porto, *Erudito, Mecenas y Bibliófilo*, pp. 112–15; Michael and Ahijado, 'La Casa Del Sol'; Marcel Bataillon, 'Livres Prohibés dans la Bibliothèque du Comte de Gondomar', in *Beiträge zur Französischen Aufklärung und zur Spanischen Literatur*, ed. by Werner Krauss (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1971).
[22] 'Y'y trouve aucuns huguenots comme Galvin [sic] et autres, lesquels me semble ne sont dignes d'avoir cet honneur que d'estre mis parmy les catholiques, puisque leur doctrine es du tout abominable'. RB II/2134, f. 183. Published in Manso Porto, *Erudito, Mecenas y Bibliófilo*, p. 337.
[23] Appendix 1, section 3.36.
[24] Appendix 4, items 9, 28, 29.

London after escaping inquisitorial persecution from Spanish authorities.[25] Additionally, the forbidden section held copies of other works with doctrines that would have probably been deemed 'abominable' by Eussem. This is the case with Martin Luther's *Dissertatio de Libertate Ecclesiastica* (Basel, 1521) and a work entitled *Les Ordonnances Ecclesiastiques de l'Eglise de Geneve* (Geneva, 1562).[26] There was also a Latin version of the Quran (Basel, 1551) and a good number of works that denounced papal intervention during different episodes in history.[27] In addition, this section also listed books that more specifically contravened Spanish ideas of historical accuracy and religious orthodoxy.[28] For the compilation of this list of 'abominable' tomes, Gondomar's librarians appear to have used their own judgement and the authority provided by some Spanish indices, as shown by the citation of Bernando Sandoval de Rojas's *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* (Madrid, 1612) and 'other 11 expurgations made by different General Inquisitors of Spain'.[29] During the rest of his life, Sarmiento learned to negotiate with the censors and managed to preserve his 'evil books' with little alteration by managing to secure papal permission to retain heretical works.[30]

---

[25] Juan Bautista Vilar, 'Cipriano de Valera', *DBE-RAH*. The section of forbidden works also included Valera's *Dos Tratados contra la Autoridad del Papa y contra la Missa* (London, 1588). See Appendix 4, item 30.

[26] Appendix 4, items 14, 36.

[27] This is the case with Sarmiento's copies of the pseudonymous Francus Germanus's *Repraesentatio Pacis Generalis inter Orbis Christiani Principes* (1608), Melchior Goldast's *Monarchia Sacro Romani Imperii* (Hannover, 1613), Thierry de Nieheim's *Historia de Vita Johannis XXIII* (Frankfurt, 1620), Jean Hotman's *Brutum Fulmen* (Leiden, 1586), François Perrot's *Aviso Piacevole* (London, 1586) and Meric Casaubon's *Pietas Contra Maledicos* (London, 1621). Appendix 4, items 10, 11, 12, 17, 18, 19, 31.

[28] These were the *Satire Ménippée* (Leiden, 1621), the *Speculum Consiliorum Hispanicorum* (Leiden, 1617) and the pseudonymous Juan de Nicolás's *Hispanus Reformatus (*London, 1621). Appendix 4, items 20, 21, 22.

[29] 'Otros 11 expurgatorios hechos por differentes inquisidores generales d'España'. See the final remarks in Appendix 4. As these details reveal, during the period there were different types of Inquisitorial lists and these regularly varied in the works deemed forbidden. It goes beyond the purposes of this chapter to locate all the indices that could have been used to produce the forbidden books section at the Gondomar library. For a general introduction about the *Santo Oficio*'s practices, see Joseph Pérez, *The Spanish Inquisition: A History*, trans. by Janet Lloyd (London: Profile, 2004).

[30] See Bataillon, 'Livres Prohibés'; Tobío, 'O Erasmismo de Gondomar'; Loomie, *Spain and the Jacobean Catholics*, II, p. XXIII.

Over the past few decades, many scholars have provided important accounts of Sarmiento's involvement with English Catholics during his London embassies.[31] As shown by previous studies, Sarmiento was an outspoken supporter of Catholicism. More recently, Gondomar's diplomacy has also been acknowledged by Anderson as an important example in confessional diplomacy.[32] And yet, during his lifetime the Spaniard decided to procure a collection of 'abominable' works for his library. As previously seen in chapter 3, the mere ownership of books was already an ideological statement for the early modern mind.[33] Moreover, as pointed out by *Doña* Constanza's requests to burn these books, at the time one did not need to read these works in order to transgress orthodoxy: 'And on the third day [of having these] one falls into excommunication, so do not take this matter lightly and do as you should'.[34]

In the past, some historians have tried to reconcile Sarmiento's penchant for 'evil books' with his outspoken Catholicism by suggesting that he subscribed to a late Erasmianist school of thought which was more intellectually flexible than the belligerent trends that started to consolidate after the Council of Trent.[35] Still, regardless of the intellectual origins behind the count's procedures, there was another possible reason behind the preservation of forbidden tomes. During the period, another notable library with 'evil books' was *El Escorial*. However, one should not see this as evidence that heretical doctrines were adopted by the king of Spain. On the contrary, these works were preserved at this library so that their texts could be subjected to a study aimed for criticism, should the need ever arise.[36] Similarly, during the period many Protestant

[31] See Redworth, *The Prince and the Infanta*; Tobío, *Católicos Ingleses*; Loomie, *Spain and the Jacobean Catholics*, II.
[32] See Roberta Anderson, 'Catholic Ambassadors in a Protestant Court: London, 1603-1625.', in *Confessional Diplomacy*, ed. by Roberta Anderson and Charlotte Backerra (London: Routledge, 2020).
[33] See Chapter 3.9.
[34] 'Y dentro de terzero día se incurre en la descomunión, por eso no os descuidéis a no azer la dilijenzia'. RB II/2140, doc, 84. Published in Manso Porto, *Erudito, Mecenas y Bibliófilo*, p. 321.
[35] See Bataillon, 'Livres Prohibés'; Tobío, 'O Erasmismo de Gondomar'.
[36] Bouza, *Del Escribano a la Biblioteca*, p. 105.

divines in England would seek Catholic books produced in Spain for the purposes of controversy.[37] Thus, it is within this perspective that one can better understand Sarmiento's collection of forbidden tomes, which contained many works that circulated in Jacobean London. It is also under this light that one should approach his collection of Catholic books in English, which were either printed in Flanders or clandestinely in England.[38]

This chapter will explore how Protestant tracts and Catholic books played a part within Gondomar's efforts to inform Madrid about religious affairs in England and exert some influence in English religious policy. Through an examination of contemporary correspondence, and a simultaneous analysis of the items held at the *Casa del Sol*, this study will highlight instances where forbidden works were acquired and circulated by the Spanish embassy. These actions were carried out in an effort to monitor issues like Catholic toleration and King James's 1606 Oath of Allegiance, which developed into a full-scale European debate on the theological legitimacy of power. As this study will reveal, during Sarmiento's tenure the Spanish embassy also endeavoured to intervene in English confessional debates by converting authors to the cause of Rome. Moreover, this chapter will also analyse Gondomar's collection of Catholic books in English in order to better illustrate the Spanish embassy's use of diplomatic privilege to support Catholicism in London by granting protection to pro-Catholic agents and smuggling Catholic books like the ones preserved at the *Casa del Sol*.

[37] See Gustav Ungerer, 'The Earl of Southampton's Donation to the Bodleian in 1605 and Its Spanish Books', *Bodleian Library Record*, 16 (1997), 17–41; Stoye, *English Travellers Abroad*, pp. 235–36.
[38] See Antony Allison and David Rogers, *The Contemporary Printed Literature of the English Counter-Reformation between 1558 and 1640: An Annotated Catalogue* (Aldershot: Scolar, 2009), II, pp. 223–25.

4.3. Dealing with Catholics and 'Heretics' Alike: Diplomatic Practice and Confessional Difference

During the early modern period, the reporting of religious affairs became an important part of an ambassador's duties. This task became more pressing for agents sent to a country on the other side of the confessional divide. Sarmiento promptly took up this responsibility. As seen in chapter 3, in a letter dated 6 September he developed a special account or *relación* about his first impressions at the Court of St. James's.[39] As part of that report, Gondomar provided Madrid with a detailed account of the hardships faced by English Catholics and the political circumstances affecting their situation:

> The Catholics from this kingdom [England] are in a state of great misery and persecution […] This persecution has been stronger since the meeting of parliament three years ago [Parliament of 1604-1610], where they requested the king [James] to enforce the laws made against Catholics with full rigour […] The death of the king of France [Henry IV] was also a cause of renewed persecution, given that the king [James] was filled with fear and attributed [this death] to Catholics […] So he ordered to renew the oath which here they call of allegiance, which has many things that go against the Catholic religion.[40]

In this report, one can also read Sarmiento's first assessment of James's religious disposition:

> He is very determined in his religion or sect; and if our Lord does not convert him with a miracle, there are little hopes for his remedy. This is because even if he is of a soft and gentle disposition, there is no one [here] who will tell him the truth; and falseness is continuously being preached to his ear by his ministers and false bishops.[41]

In subsequent dispatches, Gondomar provided a more nuanced appraisal about James by explaining that the king was not as 'rigorous or badly inclined' towards a Catholic toleration as first thought. For instance, in a letter sent to the marquis of Vélez on 16 December 1613, he added that it would not have been difficult to 'reduce' the English

---

[39] See Chapter 3.3.

[40] 'Los católicos de este reyno se hayan muy desconsolados y perseguidos […] Esta persecución ha sido mayor desde que se juntó el Parlamento habrá tres años, el qual pidió al rey que se executasen las leyes hechas contra católicos con todo rigor […] También fue causa de renovar esta persecución la muerte del Rey de Francia, con la qual […] mandó renovar el juramento que llaman de fidelidad, en que ay cosas contrarias a la religión católica'. DIHE 3, pp. 59-61.

[41] 'En su religión o setas [sic] está muy obstinado, y si Nuestro Señor no le convierte milagrosamente, pocas esperanzas se pueden tener de Su remedio, porque aunque tiene blando y suave natural, no ay quien le diga la verdad, y la mentira se la están siempre predicando a la oreja sus ministros y falsos obispos'. DIHE 3, p. 56.

monarch to the 'truth' of Catholicism if it weren't for the mendacious tattling of his bishops and bad counsellors.[42] Similarly, in a dispatch sent to the marquis of Valle on 10 October 1613, Sarmiento repeated the idea that, should the historical and political environment in England been different, perhaps the king could have been a good Catholic.[43] In many ways, Sarmiento's assessments about King James greatly resonate with recent scholarship, which has come to suggest that the English monarch often favoured a *via media* approach to religious and political affairs.[44]

In *James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom*, Patterson analysed the king's use of diplomacy and his engagement with ecumenism and scholarly debates in an effort to foster peace in Europe. From his accession to the English throne to the debacle of the Thirty Years War, James deployed a strategy that tried to balance the needs of contending political factions in Britain and Europe with a policy that also envisioned closer relationships between the Protestant, Catholic and Orthodox Churches.[45] In this respect, Sarmiento's letters point to a similar conciliatory spirit and suggest that the English king usually adopted a give-and-take procedure for government matters. As pointed out by Mattingly and Carter, Gondomar also tended to adopt a similar strategy for his diplomacy. As he confessed in a letter dated 6 September 1613, it was important for him to 'preserve [his] authority and reputation with Catholics and heretics' alike.[46] Probably as a result of a similar approach, the king and the ambassador managed to establish an amicable

[42] RB II/2168, doc. 32.
[43] RB II/2168, doc. 10.
[44] Kevin Sharpe, *Image Wars: Promoting Kings and Commonwealths in England, 1603-1660* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), p. 116; Michael Questier, *Stuart Dynastic Policy and Religious Politics 1621-1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 334–94.
[45] William Patterson, *King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
[46] 'conservar la autoridad y reputación con católicos y con hereges'. DIHE 3, p. 94.

relationship.[47] Moreover, during his residence in England, Sarmiento would rely on King James's *via media* approach in order to improve the situation of English Catholics.

Indeed, as Spanish ambassador to London, Sarmiento's main goal was to keep the peace between both countries.[48] However, this did not deter the count from showing his public support to the 'Catholic cause'. For instance, in 1614 he secured the release from jail of the self-appointed Spanish missionary Doña Luisa de Carvajal, who took residence in London in an effort to convert England to Catholicism.[49] In 1616, when the priest Thomas Maxfield was executed, Gondomar sent fourteen gentlemen from the Spanish embassy, including his own son, to surround and protect the corpse of the man whom he considered to be a new martyr.[50] Moreover, when Sarmiento prepared to leave London for his first diplomatic leave to Spain in 1618, he obtained an unprecedented gesture from King James. At his bidding, the English monarch decided to release around 100 imprisoned Catholic clerics and lay people.[51] He also instructed his officials to establish a *de facto* relaxation of English laws against Catholics by revoking the commissions of the pursuivants to search, arrest or punish religious dissidents without an express order from the Privy Council.[52] This English concession to Gondomar should not be easily disregarded, especially because it was probably linked to Sarmiento's long-term policy for securing Catholic toleration through a Spanish Match. Certainly, as the negotiations advanced, the English government appears to have granted more concessions to the Spanish ambassador.[53]

---

[47] Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, pp. 181–91; Charles Carter, 'Gondomar: Ambassador to James I', *The Historical Journal*, 7.2 (1964), 189–208.
[48] Tobío, *Católicos Ingleses*, pp. 25–32.
[49] Tobío, *Católicos Ingleses*, p. 93; Redworth, *The She-Apostle*, pp. 221–26.
[50] Tobío, *Católicos Ingleses*, pp. 101–12; Anthony Ryan, 'Thomas Maxfield (1585–1616)', *ODNB*.
[51] Previous Spanish ambassadors could not secure the release of more than 12 clerics at their departure. See Loomie, *Spain and the Jacobean Catholics*, II, pp. XIV–XIX.
[52] Tobío, *Católicos Ingleses*, pp. 83–84.
[53] See Loomie, *Spain and the Jacobean Catholics*, II, pp. XXI–XXII; Questier, *Dynastic Policy*, pp. 396–455; Samson, 'Introduction'; Redworth, *The Prince and the Infanta*.

Nevertheless, despite his outspoken support for Catholicism, Sarmiento endeavoured to properly balance the political demands of his post. The distinction made between his Catholic sympathies and his diplomatic duties can be better appreciated in another letter penned on 6 September 1613, where he informed Madrid about certain Catholic groups in England from which he would have to keep his distance:

> I find that there are many Catholics from which one has to be wary, given that they want to govern the ambassador of Spain; and [they want me] to communicate to them all affairs and businesses; and if this is not done, they say and write to all the world that everything is going wrong […] and there are also others who consider that Your Majesty [Philip III] and his ambassador should be grateful to them for being Catholic […] and several of them would want the ambassador [of Spain] to stab the king [James] every time that it becomes known he is reading an heretical book; and from what I have already been able to see, this constitutes one of the great toils and hindrances of the many dealt in this embassy.[54]

As previously pointed out by scholars, an issue with which Sarmiento had to deal with was the inner divisions among English Catholic groups.[55] For instance, sometimes there were disputes between the Jesuits and other religious orders, and between secular priests and Catholic laity. It falls beyond the purposes of this chapter to provide a complete narrative of the highly complex religious scenarios sorted out by Sarmiento during his two London embassies.[56] Rather, this chapter wishes to highlight how books played an important part in these debates. As it appears, the engagement with religious tracts became one of the 'greatest toils and hindrances' of the Spanish embassy in London. This statement is quite informative about an understudied issue in Anglo-Spanish diplomatic relations that can be better illustrated by the books and letters at the *Casa del Sol*.

---

[54] 'allo que ay muchos católicos con quien es menester vivir con recato, porque quieren governar al embaxador de España, y que les comunique todas las materias y negozios, y en no haziéndolo assí, dizen y escriven por el mundo que va todo herrado […] y ay también otros que les parece que por solo ser católicos tiene Vuestra Magestad, y su embaxador aquí, obligación de agradecérselo […] y los más querrían que el embaxador acuchillase al Rey siempre que se save que lee en algún libro herege, que por lo que ya he visto es este uno de los grandes travajos y embarazos de los muchos que tiene esta embaxada'. DIHE 3, pp. 61-62.

[55] See John Bossy, *The English Catholic Community, 1570-1850* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1975); Questier, *Dynastic Policy*; Hillgarth, *The Mirror of Spain*, pp. 396–480.

[56] For a summary, see Loomie, *Spain and the Jacobean Catholics*, II, pp. XIV–XIX.

4.4. 'The Fruits from this Land': Collecting Books with Anglican Doctrines

As previously mentioned in the 1617 report penned by Creswell, the printing and circulation of books played an important part in the propagation of 'heresies'.[57] As pointed out by Redworth, the Jesuit was not the only one with this opinion. Years before Gondomar arrived, the Spanish *Doña* Luisa de Carvajal gave great importance to the role played by books in the promotion of a confessional stance and dedicated herself to monitoring these 'heretical' publications whilst in England.[58]

Carvajal arrived in London during the Spring of 1605, just a few months before the Gunpowder Plot. She came with the self-appointed mission to convert the whole kingdom to Catholicism and spent most of the last decade of her life living with the semi-secret community of Catholics. She dedicated years to learning English and eventually started a correspondence with Joseph Cresswell about some of the forbidden works that reached her hands. In 1607, she swiftly passed on to the Jesuit a copy of the tract written by the Archpriest George Blackwell in favour of King James's 1606 Oath of Allegiance, which will be discussed below. In 1611, she sent to Creswell an English copy of the Book of Common Prayer adding that it had the 'the most monstrous lies you will have ever heard in your life'.[59] Moreover, in that same year she also reported her debates with a learned Protestant about some erroneous passages in Calvin's *Institutes*.[60] In a similar way, very shortly after arriving to London, Sarmiento realised that he would need to report on books that affected English confessional debates. This can be better appreciated in a letter dated 20 December 1613, where he sent two works published in London to the Spanish

[57] RB II/ 2225, doc. 26.
[58] Redworth, *The She-Apostle*, pp. 160–74.
[59] Quote provided in Redworth, *The She-Apostle*, p. 163.
[60] Redworth, *The She-Apostle*, p. 164.

Ambassador to Rome, Francisco Ruiz de Castro. Unfortunately, the titles are not mentioned:

> I send to Your Excellency two books that have been published in accordance with the doctrines of this country. Verily, sir, when I see myself in a place where such things are written and said, I feel disconsolate [...]. It might well be that news of these books have already reached you, but I find it more convenient that the fruits from this land reach you in duplicate, even if it is just to burn it as it deserves, rather than risking that His Holiness [the Pope] and Your Excellency remain unaware of the things happening here. I, as a newcomer, do not have yet enough informers, but I will procure to have them so as to keep Your Excellency well informed.[61]

As part of his duty to inform Madrid about English affairs, Sarmiento occupied himself in the circulation of books with ideas that would have probably been considered 'abominable' by many Catholic peers in Europe. He also seems to have realised that reporting about the existence of these works was not enough. Sometimes, it was convenient to access the contents of these forbidden tomes too. Thus, on 30 August 1613, he wrote to Pope Paul V requesting papal licence to read 'heretical' works on 'matters of state and religion' for him and other members of the Spanish embassy.[62]

At first Sarmiento encountered certain reluctance from Rome, as papal authorities initially granted permission only to the priests that formed part of the Spanish embassy: the secretaries Agustín Pérez and Simón de Ariza, and the confessor friar Diego de la Fuente.[63] However, after an exchange of letters with the Spanish ambassador to Rome, Gondomar finally obtained authorisation as well. This can be appreciated in a letter sent to Cardinal Milino on 15 May 1614, where Sarmiento displayed his gratitude for obtaining a papal permission allowing him to read forbidden books. In the process, he disclosed how he had gotten in touch with book distributors in London:

---

[61] 'Dos libros que aquí se han impreso conforme a la doctrina del país embío a vuestra excelencia que, çierto señor quando me veo en tierra donde esto se escrive y donde esto se dize, me desconsuelo [...] Puede ser que estos libros ayan llegado ya allá, pero menos inconviniente tiene que llegue esta fruta desta tierra duplicada, aunque sea para quemarse, como ella mereze, que si no han llegado dexe de saver su Santidad y vuestra exçelençia lo que pasa aquí, que yo como reçién llegado no puedo tener tan buenos correspondientes como procuraré tener de aquí adelante para dar a vuestra exçelençia muy puntuales los avisos'. RB II/2168, doc. 34. Manso Porto, *Erudito, Mecenas y Bibliófilo*, pp. 323–24.

[62] 'ay muchos casos en que conviene que yo mismo vea estos libros, assí de estado como de religión'. DIHE 3, pp. 53-55.

[63] Manso Porto, *Erudito, Mecenas y Bibliófilo*, pp. 322–23.

> And I have greatly esteemed this grace, given that, every now and then, the secretary of languages and other people brought to me heretical books and papers; and, very inadvertently, sometimes I would start reading them; but then this action usually caused me great scruple, considering that the matters dealt there were not usually of my specialty and I am not that well versed in Latin. And given that the doctrine there is so horrible to read and hear, I try not to occupy myself so much in it. Four days ago, they brought me a book from Casaubon [*De rebus Sacris et Ecclesiasticis*] against Cardinal Baronio and I returned it to the bookseller because I did not think it appropriate for the ambassador of his Catholic Majesty to see or even touch that book.[64]

In this document, Gondomar underplays his knowledge of Latin in order to secure sympathy from Rome.[65] However, this missive reiterates the importance of book ownership and provides further evidence about Sarmiento's desire to monitor certain publications circulating in London on matters of 'state and religion'. When it came to confessional affairs, the count appears to have followed a similar strategy to the one displayed with his English histories, as he acquired a series of books that discussed the recent history of Catholic persecution in England.[66] Still, other sections at the *Casa del Sol* reveal that he eventually obtained tracts written by English authors with Protestant leanings.

Certainly, the list of English histories in Latin recorded a copy of Matthew Parker's *De Antiquitate Britannicae Ecclesiae* (Hannover, 1605).[67] This ecclesiastical history of Reformed sympathies traced the fortunes of the church in Britain from the time of Joseph of Arimathea onwards in an effort to proclaim the antiquity of the Church of England. In

[64] 'Y he estimado esta gracia y favor mucho, porque el secretario de lenguas y otros me traían algunaz vezes libros y papeles de los hereges y inadvertidamente los tomava y començava a mirallos y después me causaba mucho escrúpulo aquello, pero como no son materias de mi profesión, porque aun la lengua latina no sé bien, y haze tanto horror oyllas y entendellas, no me embarazó ni ocupó mucho en ello, antes haviéndome traído ha quatro días un libro que ha impreso aquí un Casabona contra el señor cardenal Varonio, hize bolvelle al librero porque me pareció que no era justo que el embajador del rey católico viese tal libro, ni aún le tomase en la mano'. RB II/2168, doc. 121. Published in Manso Porto, *Erudito, Mecenas y Bibliófilo*, p. 325.

[65] Sarmiento was, in fact, a very apt Latin speaker. See Manso Porto, *Erudito, Mecenas y Bibliófilo*, pp. 112–15.

[66] Examples are Joseph Creswell's *Historia de la Vida y Martirio del Padre Henrique Valpolo* (Madrid, 1596), the anonymous *Relación de Algunos Martyrios que de Nuevo Han Hecho los Hereges en Inglaterra* (Madrid, 1590), William Allen's *Historia del Glorioso Martirio di Sedici Sacerdoti* (Milan, 1584) and Louis Dorléans *Advertencias que Dan los Católicos Ingleses a los Católicos de Francia* (Madrid, 1592). See Appendix 1, sections 4.8 and 7.3.

[67] The book was listed in the Latin section of histories of England, Scotland and Ireland. Appendix 3, item 3.

a similar spirit, the section of English books at the library stored a copy of Francis Mason's *Of the Consecration of the Bishops in the Church of England* (London, 1613), which defended the continuity of the apostolic succession in England after the Reformation.[68] More to the point of this chapter, the section of forbidden books at the Gondomar library shows that, besides having an interest in the ordinances of the Genevan Church, the Spaniard also preserved a copy of the *Liber Precum Publicarum* (London, 1594) or Book of Common Prayer.[69] This work contained the Church of England's liturgy along with the thirty-nine articles of faith that aimed to define Anglican belief and worship.[70] Another relevant book that was stored within the collection of allegedly 'abominable' tomes was Richard Mocket's *Doctrina et Politia Ecclesiae Anglicanae* (London, 1617).[71] This work intended to be a complete compendium of Anglican doctrine. It contained Latin translations of John Jewel's *Apology of the Church of England*, Alexander Nowell's *Catechism*, another version of the Book of Common Prayer and the ordinal. Moreover, this compendium included the Thirty-nine Articles of faith of the Church of England. To these texts, Mocket added a work of his own entitled *Disciplina et Politia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, which was a general view of ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the English Church. The book, however, offended King James. As a result, this tract was condemned by public edict and burnt in 1617. There is no conclusive evidence to explain the king's displeasure, though according to Screech the condemnation of this book might have been based on a wrong printing of the Thirty-nine Articles.[72] In this respect, Sarmiento does not appear to have left a comment about Mocket in his letters.

[68] Appendix 2, item 43.
[69] Appendix 4, item 27.
[70] For editions, see David Griffiths, *The Bibliography of the Book of Common Prayer, 1549-1999* (London: British Library, 2002).
[71] Appendix 4, item 13.
[72] See the Introduction to Richard Mocket, *Doctrina et Politia Ecclesiae Anglicanae: An Anglican Summa*, ed. by Michael Screech (Leiden: Brill, 1995).

However, the listing of this item in his library suggests that the Spaniard was not only interested in preserving works deemed subversive by the Spanish Inquisition. He also stored doctrinal tracts that offended the Supreme Governor of the Church of England, that is, King James.

As this brief listing shows, the *Casa del Sol* eventually preserved a series of books that summarised Anglican doctrine and worship. In this respect, it is quite telling that none of these Protestant works displayed radical Puritan doctrine or treated any theological controversy in depth. Rather, all these sources were 'conformist' Protestant texts that touched on historical, ecclesiological and liturgical matters.[73] Even though one cannot assert when these items were acquired, or if all of these were accessed, these works nonetheless provided information that could have been useful to Gondomar for reporting about English religious affairs. However, in order to find a more active engagement with religious books, one only needs to see how the Spaniard followed the debates around the 1606 Oath of Allegiance, which was of central importance to James's policy towards Catholics throughout the rest of his reign and caused an international controversy that lasted for years.

4.5. A State Matter and a Conflict for the Soul: The Transnational Debate over King James's 1606 Oath of Allegiance

James I's accession to the English throne in 1603 brought a note of optimism to English Catholics. However, after the events of the 1605 Gunpowder Plot, in 1606 the Jacobean parliament passed into law a controversial Oath of Allegiance. This pledge required English Catholics to swear their loyalty to James and to deny the Pope's power to depose

[73] See Ginevra Crosignani, Thomas McCoog, and Michael Questier, *Recusancy and Conformity in Early Modern England: Manuscript and Printed Sources in Translation* (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2010).

monarchs.[74] Soon the oath was met with detractors from Rome, who concluded that Catholics should not take it.[75] However, as previously pointed out, English Catholicism was far from being a unified front. After hearing about the oath, the Archpriest George Blackwell, leader of the Catholic secular clergy in England, initially gave it his approval and spoke in favour of taking it, partly basing himself on the pope's previous calls for civil obedience. However, Blackwell's actions were promptly reproved by Rome. On 12 September 1606, Pope Paul V issued a *breve* which forbade Catholics to take the oath and repeated the prohibition in a second *breve* dated 13 August 1607. Meanwhile, George Blackwell had been captured. On 3 July 1607, he was persuaded to take the oath. News of this reached Rome soon. On 18 September the famous Catholic theologian Cardinal Robert Bellarmine wrote to Blackwell denouncing the oath. Eventually, Blackwell was also deposed as Archpriest.[76]

Up until then, the controversy was little known beyond English circles and the respondents from Rome. However, by the end of 1607, James started to work on a reply to Bellarmine. In early February 1608, a book was anonymously published in London under the title *Triplici Nodo, Triplex Cuneus. Or an Apologie for the Oath of Allegiance*. The work included Pope Paul V's and Cardinal Bellarmine's letters and dealt straightforwardly with the arguments advanced by them in order to defend the English Monarch's policy. Soon, King James's authorship was suspected, and the work drew replies from Bellarmine and from the leading English Jesuit Robert Parsons.[77] In 1609, James decided to reissue the *Apologie* in London under his name and added to it a preface

[74] See Alan Dures, *English Catholicism 1558-1642: Continuity and Change* (Harlow: Longman, 1983), pp. 42–47; Patterson, *Reunion of Christendom*, pp. 75–123; Stefania Tutino, *Law and Conscience: Catholicism in Early Modern England, 1570-1625* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 117–38; Questier, *Dynastic Policy*, pp. 269–333.
[75] See Stefania Tutino, *Empire of Souls: Robert Bellarmine and the Christian Commonwealth* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 117–58; Tutino, *Law and Conscience*, pp. 139–60.
[76] Paul Arblaster, 'George Blackwell (1547–1612)', *ODNB.*
[77] *Political Writings of King James VI and I*, ed. by Johann Sommerville (Cambridge: University Press, 1994), pp. XX–XXI.

known as the *Premonition*. Addressed to the Holy Roman Emperor Rudolph II, this preamble invited all princes of Christendom to consider how the oath generally touched on the temporal power of all rulers, which had recently been threatened by representatives of the Church of Rome. The official revised edition of the book was published in 1609 in Latin and French. Soon further editions were published in Amsterdam and Leiden.[78]

With the publication of the *Apologie* under James's name, the controversy entered a more public phase. In his efforts to promote its reading in all of Europe, James instructed his diplomatic agents to ensure that copies of the work reached all the heads of state with which England was in amity. This strategy was met with mixed results. In Flanders, Archdukes Albert and Isabella declared their unwillingness to receive the book. In a similar move, Pedro de Zúñiga, the Spanish ambassador at the time, refused to deal with any copy. In Venice, government officials received the gift of the *Apologie* but apparently deposited it in the Venetian archives. However, in contrast to other rulers, the French Henry IV not only received the book, but sent it to be read by scholars and theologians.[79]

In the years after 1609, a series of works were written throughout Europe both in favour of and against the oath. The controversy spanned well into the 1620s.[80] However, for the purposes of this chapter, special relevance will be given to the publication of the *Defensio Fidei* in 1613 by the Spanish Francisco Suárez. Composed at the specific request of the Holy See and published in Coimbra in June 1613 under the licence of the Spanish Crown, the *Defensio Fidei* soon came to James's attention. It became one of the weightiest attacks to be directed against the English monarch during his long paper

[78] Patterson, *Reunion of Christendom*, pp. 89–92.
[79] Tracey Sowerby, 'Royal Gifts, Religious Polemics, and Diplomatic Ceremonial: The Reception of James VI/I's "Apologie"' (presented at the Conference 'Gondomar Remains: On Diplomats, Libraries and Cultural Exchanges', Valladolid, 2018).
[80] See Johann Sommerville, 'Papalist Political Thought and the Controversy over the Jacobean Oath of Allegiance', in *Catholics and the 'Protestant Nation': Religious Politics and Identity in Early Modern England*, ed. by Ethan Shagan (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009).

confrontations with the papacy. A worthy successor to the writings of Robert Bellarmine, this work contained a systematic refutation of Anglican belief and an energetic attack on the English king's policy towards Catholics, particularly the Oath of Allegiance. Moreover, this work firmly asserted the Pope's indirect power to depose and left the door open to the doctrine of tyrannicide.[81]

Suárez's book posed problems for other countries besides England. Indeed, the question of whether kings could be deposed or killed became highly relevant in France after Henry IV was assassinated by a Catholic in 1610. Consequently, at the French Estates General of 1614-1615, the Third Estate condemned Suárez's work in Parlement and proposed that it should be declared a fundamental law of the land that kings may not be deposed.[82] This suggestion was contested by the French Cardinal Du Perron, who published a work under the title *Harangue Faicte de la Part de la Chambre Ecclésiastique* (Paris, 1615). His arguments, which represented the overall opinion of the ecclesiastical First State in France, intended to justify the deposing power and thus conflicted with the position that James had adopted in his written defence on the Oath of Allegiance. Accordingly, the English king replied to Du Perron in a 1615 work entitled *Déclaration du Sérénissime Roy Jacques* (London, 1615). At his death, the French cardinal left the manuscript of a reply to James's latter book, which was printed in 1620 in Paris.

From this summary, one can appreciate the furore created in different European polities around the theoretical connotations of the Oath of Allegiance. From early on, Gondomar endeavoured to monitor important publications around this thorny English affair in order to keep Catholic authorities informed. In this respect, it is noteworthy that the *Casa del Sol* preserved two works that provided a narrative of the Gunpowder Plot and the establishment of the Oath of Allegiance from both Protestant and Catholic

[81] See Tobío, *Católicos Ingleses*, pp. 60–70.
[82] Sommerville, *Political Writings of King James VI and I*, p. XXI.

perspectives.[83] More importantly, Sarmiento eventually obtained influential works produced in the early years of the debate around the Oath of Allegiance. In particular, the count preserved multiple versions of the king's *Apologie*.

The forbidden section of the Gondomar library once stored a Latin and a French copy of the 1609 edition of the text.[84] Another reproduction of this work was also available in Sarmiento's copy of James's *Workes* (London, 1616), which also included an English translation of Du Perron's *Harangue* and the king's response to the Cardinal's tract.[85] As the 1623 catalogue shows, yet another rendering of James's *Apologie* was also available in Sarmiento's Latin copy of King James's writings: the *Opera* (London, 1619).[86] In addition, the Spaniard also preserved for his library a 1615 French version and a 1616 Latin copy of King James's *Declaration* against Cardinal Du Perron's *Harangue*.[87] He also collected the French Cardinal's posthumous *Replique* (Paris, 1620), though this latter work was stored in a French section of the library entitled 'Books touching on the Catholic Religion and other divine things'.[88]

As one can see, the 1623 catalogue shows that Sarmiento decided to preserve multiple versions of works produced by King James and Cardinal Du Perron on the debate over the Oath of Allegiance. In this respect, it is worth remarking that the section of forbidden works also held a copy of Andrew Willet's *Controversia Secunda de Ecclesia* (Oppenheim, 1614), an attack against the writings of Cardinal Bellarmine.[89] On the other side of the confessional divide, the library also preserved a copy of Bellarmine's *Apologia*

[83] On the Protestant side was *Narratio Fidelis… Coniuratis in Magnum Magnae Britanniae* (Leiden, 1607), Appendix 4, item 15. On the Catholic side was the anonymous *Vando y Leyes del Rey Iacobo de Inglaterra Contra la Fe Catolica* (Madrid, 1610), Appendix 1, section 3.8.
[84] Appendix 4, items 7, 35.
[85] Appendix 2, item 40. Notably, this work was listed in a section of the English books collection. Nonetheless, it was removed by the Inquisition after Gondomar's death. See Real Biblioteca, 'Libros Prohibidos (II)'; Real Biblioteca, 'Libros Prohibidos (III)'.
[86] Appendix 4, item 5.
[87] Appendix 4, items 34, 6.
[88] 'Libros tocantes a la Religión Cattólica y otras cosas divinas'. See Appendix 1, Section 8.2.
[89] Appendix 4, item 16.

(Rome, 1609), which attacked James's book on the oath. Notably, the collection also listed a copy of Francisco Suárez's 1613 *Defensio Fidei* (Coimbra, 1613).[90]

When all these catalogue entries are put together, one can appreciate that Sarmiento preserved a series of seminal works that became an important part of the debate on the Oath of Allegiance, though it is no less true that when it came to preserving 'abominable' tomes, the Spaniard's main concern appears to have been put on King James's writings. As shown by contemporary correspondence, keeping an eye on all these publications was not only a result of Gondomar's personal curiosity over religious debates. It was also a matter of political necessity, considering that sometimes these books affected Anglo-Spanish relations, as was the case with Francisco Suárez's *Defensio Fidei*. In a letter written to Philip on 17 March 1614, Sarmiento informed his king that the publication of this book was used by other agents to constrain his relationship with the English king. In the process, these religious debates were also affecting the state of English Catholics:

> On 21 February the ambassador to France came to me and, among other things, said to me, under the false pretences of friendship and confidence, that over the past months this king had been in very good disposition and great state of affection towards Catholics and our sacred religion. But that now there is no way to divert him from the errors of his faith [his sympathy for Catholicism has decreased]; and he [the French ambassador] had been able to learn this during the past days; and that, as he understands it, Father Suárez's book is the one that has made him [the king] most obstinate. He has been blinded by rage because of it.[91]

After the publication of Suarez's work, Gondomar had to exercise great caution, as he had to ensure that diplomatic relations between Spain and England were not hindered by the French ambassador, who regularly contested with Sarmiento over diplomatic precedence in England.[92] In a letter dated 1 December 1613, he reported that the *Defensio Fidei* had been burnt in London and that previously this had also been the fate of Cardinal

[90] Both books were included in the Latin section entitled 'Los Santos Padres de la Yglesia Católica'. Appendix 1, section 3.4.
[91] 'A los veinte y uno de Febrero me vino a ver el embaxador de Francia, y entre otras cosas que me dixo, devajo de grande amistada y confiança, fue que este Rey havía estado los meses pasados en bonísima disposición y bien afecto a los católicos y a nuestra sagrada religión, pero que agora está obstinadíssimo en los errores de la suya, y que él lo sabía y avía averiguado estos días, y que entiende que el libro del padre Suárez es lo que más le ha endurecido, porque se ha cegado'. DIHE 4, pp. 2-3.
[92] See Chapter 3.3.

Bellarmine's works.[93] Some months afterwards, Suarez's book was also burnt in the 'public square of Paris' as a result of the French Third Estate's verdict against the papal deposing power. In a letter dated 14 July 1614, Sarmiento explained that news about this event in France brought a renewed 'storm' to diplomatic affairs in England, as the English king was now clearly favouring a French Match: 'He says wonders about France […] and that he would receive the [French king's] daughter without a dowry'.[94] He also mentioned that, as a result of these actions, the Archbishop of Canterbury had renewed his bid to all 'Papists' to take the oath given that authorities from their same religion had refuted that the Pope had any power to depose princes.[95]

In his reports, Sarmiento narrated how he had tried to placate English authorities by saying that the Spanish king had sent Suarez's book to a commission of theologians to examine its doctrines. However, with things as they were, the only option the Spanish ambassador had was to stall. During most part of 1614, he would play a double game. In public, he would state to James that he had not read the book and that he was not an expert in theology.[96] In private, however, he acquired a copy of the tract. In a letter dated 25 January 1614, he confessed to Philip III that he had recently started perusing the *Defensio Fidei*: 'I have seen father Suarez's book, as Rivas [the courier] brought it to me; and from what I have been able to read, everything appears to be very good [doctrine]'.[97]

As this last comment shows, the Spanish ambassador not only collected important books touching on the Oath of Allegiance. Sometimes he also provided an opinion about their contents and informed about their influence at the English court. In some instances, he would also suggest to Madrid that, should there be any need for continuing with the

[93] See DIHE 3, pp. 200-202.
[94] 'dize en favor de Francia maravillas […] y que sin dote ni nada quería la hija'. DIHE 4, pp. 203-204.
[95] DIHE 4, p. 202.
[96] Tobío, *Católicos Ingleses*, pp. 65–66.
[97] 'He visto el libro del padre Suárez, que me lo traxo Rivas [el mensajero], y me parece muy bien todo lo que hasta agora he leydo'. DIHE 3, p. 249.

polemics, that these should be carried out without *ad hominem* attacks. This can be appreciated in a letter dated 5 October 1613, where the Spaniard offered this advice and commented about James's impression on the works written by Cardinal Du Perron:

> And in this respect, some wise priests here [in England], who are very devoted to the remedy [conversion to Catholicism] of this king [James] and kingdom, have told me that the writing of books with the aim of vilifying the person of the king with slanderous words has actually harmed the cause, because it has given our enemies enough material so as to harden the king's heart and move him to write what he has written; and in this one can see that Cardinal Perron, who has written with great courtesy and has endeavoured to move him with persuasive reasons, has had a different outcome with the king [James], as he had ordered with great pleasure that a reply be written to the cardinal, letting everybody know that he will be happy to receive more writings from him, as he had found his letters to be [intellectually] stimulating many times.[98]

As previously seen, Sarmiento eventually collected the works produced by King James and Cardinal Du Perron. Accordingly, this letter helps further connect the acquisition of these books for his library with the monitoring practices carried out during his diplomacy. What is more, from the evidence available one can also appreciate that he might have followed these confessional debates in part to improve the situation of English Catholics. In a letter dated 17 March 1614, Sarmiento explained to peers in Spain that he had proposed a *via media* approach with English authorities by advocating for alternative *formulae* to the Oath of Allegiance. He defended that it was to everyone's best interest to reach a solution that could safeguard the conscience of English Catholics and at the same time obtain a clear sign of loyalty for King James:

> I have said on many occasions to some in this [Privy] Council that it would be better to produce an Oath of Allegiance without including in it the Pope or the things of the Church; and that with that amendment, even if they were to add new reassurances to uphold the loyalty to the king, all Catholics would swear the oath without complaint. With that, the loyalty would be upheld without the scandals caused by such an extraordinary form of oath.[99]

---

[98] 'Y a este propósito me han dicho aquí, sacerdotes doctos y celosos del remedio y cura de este Rey y de este reyno, que el haberse escrito algunos libros desautorizando la persona del rey con palabras injuriosas ha hecho mucho daño al mismo efeto que se pretende, porque ha dado materia a los malintencionados a que le hagan obstinado y a que escriba lo que ha escrito, y que esto se ve en que el Cardenal Perón, que ha escrito obligándole con cortesía y moviéndole y persuadiéndole con razones, ha hecho en el Rey differentes effectos, y ordenó que se le respondiese al cardenal muy gratamente, dando a entender holgará que le escriviera muchas veces, porque con sus cartas se entretuvo muchos ratos'. DIHE 3, pp. 113-114.

[99] 'A algunos de este consejo, y en buenas ocasiones, he dicho cuanto mejor sería hacer un muy firme juramento de fidelidad sin meterse en él al Papa ni a las cosas de la Iglesia, y que con esto, aunque se añadiesen nuevas fuerzas a la fidelidad de la persona del rey, todos los católicos harían este juramento sin reparar, con que se conseguiría el fin de la fidelidad sin los escándalos que causa tan extraordinaria manera de juramento'. DIHE 4, pp. 4-5.

No further particulars are provided about Sarmiento's alternative oath in his letters, and current historiography has not been able to unearth more on this issue.[100] Still, these dispatches bring further light onto the relationship between Sarmiento's diplomacy and the collection of forbidden works at the *Casa del Sol*. As we shall see, this collection also provides more clues about the Spanish embassy's efforts to hinder the publications of other 'abominable' works. Indeed, even though in public he would claim not to be concerned with theological affairs, some of the books that ended in Sarmiento's library were immersed in doctrinal issues and were authored by figures that were eventually "won" to the cause of Rome in good part thanks to the efforts of the Spanish embassy. Notable among these was the controversial dissenting archbishop of Spalato.

4.6. 'Reducing' the Enemy: The Spanish Embassy's Collaborations with Rome

In the last months of 1616, Sarmiento received a worrying message from Roman authorities. In a letter dated 5 November 1616, Cardinal Millini informed him about the apparent defection of Marco Antonio de Dominis (1560-1624), archbishop of Spalato. In the previous weeks, he had decided to abandon his diocese and flee to England. This move caused great scandal, given that it was read as an intention to renounce Catholic orthodoxy. In his letter, Millini regretted 'the loss of a person that held such a high dignity within the Church of God' and worried about the harm his actions could bring.[101] As it appears, Spalato considered that the English court would provide him with greater freedom to publish books that denounced papal abuse and called for an ecumenical reunion between churches. As it transpired, his choice for England was not misled, given that his religious ideals greatly appealed to King James.[102] However, De Dominis's

[100] Tobío, *Católicos Ingleses*, pp. 60–72.
[101] 'la perdita di una persona costituita in dignità tanto eminente nella chiesa di Dio'. RB II/2152, doc. 72.
[102] Patterson, *Reunion of Christendom*, pp. 220–59.

motivations also seem to have been influenced by the desire for material gain. When he reached London in December 1616, the king gave him a warm welcome and archbishop Abbot held him as a guest at Lambeth Palace. Soon afterwards, Spalato received important appointments as dean of the Chapel Royal at Windsor and master of the Savoy, a hospital in London with an attached chapel. On that occasion, De Dominis also preached at the chapel of the Mercers' Company, which was set aside for Italian residents and visitors.[103]

As pointed out by Allison, the defection of a Catholic archbishop was 'of immense propaganda value to James'.[104] Moreover, Catholic authorities considered that his writings could contribute to sway undecided English Catholics into accepting the Oath of Allegiance. After all, London was already full of publications in favour of the pledge, particularly those produced by another dissenting Catholic: the Benedictine monk Thomas Preston, who will be discussed below.[105]

At the behest of Madrid and Rome, Sarmiento kept a close watch on De Dominis. In a letter dated 24 August 1617, he informed Philip III that Spalato aimed to produce many books that could bring harm to the Catholic faith.[106] The forbidden books section of his library shows that the Spaniard not only reported about his intentions to publish, but that he eventually preserved important works produced by De Dominis during his stay in London. The forbidden book section held an Italian copy of his *Predica* (London, 1617), a sermon against the abuses of Rome delivered on 30 November 1617 (old style) at the Italian church in London. The Gondomar library also had a book entitled *Scogli del Christiano Naufragio* (London, 1618).[107] Known in English as *The Rockes of Christian*

[103] William Patterson, 'Marco Antonio de Dominis (1560–1624)', *ODNB*; Noel Malcolm, *De Dominis, 1560-1624: Venetian, Anglican, Ecumenist and Relapsed Heretic* (London: Strickland & Scott, 1984).
[104] Allison, 'Life and Writings of Joseph Creswell', p. 126.
[105] See Anselm Cramer, 'Thomas Preston (1567–1647)', *ODNB.*
[106] DIHE 1, p. 94.
[107] Appendix 4, items 32, 33.

Shipwrecke, this work argued that Rome's claims to supremacy constituted an obstacle for the successful development of the universal church. More importantly, Sarmiento's collection also had the first two volumes of Spalato's *De Republica Ecclesiastica* (London, 1617 and 1620).[108] Published in Latin between 1617 and 1622, this erudite three-volume work discussed the government of the church throughout the centuries. Its principal aim was to defend the historic prerogatives of the episcopate, which were deemed to be put in threat by Rome's excessive emphasis on papal pre-eminence. *De Republica Ecclesiastica* powerfully aligned with King James's theological and political views. It also endorsed a call for the reunion of the church by conciliar means, which was one of the English monarch's most cherished projects.[109] With the publication of this three-volume treatise in Latin, De Dominis aimed to reach a pan-European audience.

Even though Sarmiento's library had the first two parts of De Dominis's most prominent work, the third volume of *De Republica Ecclesiastica* was never registered in the catalogue. Among the many possible explanations for its absence, it must be noted that the book was first published in Hannover in March 1622.[110] Considering that Sarmiento left London in June of that year, the acquisition of this tract would have been more difficult. Another reason for this omission at the Gondomar library is that by March 1622 the Spanish ambassador had managed to convince De Dominis to abandon 'heresy' through the promises of a pension and of a benevolent treatment from Roman authorities.

Certainly, by the early 1620s, as the Spanish Match negotiations progressed, De Dominis saw that he was running out of possibilities for advancement in London. Moreover, with the election of Pope Gregory XV in 1621, the political landscape in Rome

[108] Appendix 4, item 1.
[109] Patterson, *Reunion of Christendom*, pp. 31–74.
[110] Silvano Cavazza, 'Marco Antonio de Dominis (1560-1624)', *Dizionario Biografico* <http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/marcantonio-de-dominis_(Dizionario-Biografico)/> [accessed 7 October 2019].

changed to his favour. The new pontiff was an old friend. This turn of events, and the promise of financial assistance from Spain, eventually convinced Spalato to abandon England. However, this decision caused great displeasure to King James. In a letter dated 16 May 1622, the Spaniard explained his role in the 'reduction' of De Dominis to Roman obedience and the simultaneous efforts to placate an enraged English monarch, who was doing everything he could to obstruct Spalato's recantation. In order to prevent a tragic outcome, the Spanish ambassador had to reveal to King James that he had been operating as an agent to the Pope:

> There were [some] opinions that he [De Dominis] should be hanged […] seeing things in this state, it seemed necessary to declare to the king, as I [eventually] did, that this negotiation [reconciliation] between His Holiness and the archbishop [De Dominis] had taken place through me; and the Pope had trusted this to me, so I was forced to help the archbishop […] Finally, I managed to obtain from the king his freedom [to leave] and a passport.[111]

In the end, King James granted De Dominis leave to abandon England. The archbishop left promptly with the financial help –and safe conduit– provided by Gondomar. As a result of Spalato's public resubmission to the authority of the Pope, the final impact of *De Republica Ecclesiastica* appears to have decreased, given the outspoken displeasure that this new recantation caused in Protestant circles.[112] At the end of his life in 1624, De Dominis fell again under the suspicions of the Roman Inquisition. Shortly after his death, he was declared a relapsed heretic and his corpse was burnt by religious authorities.[113] However, once he left London, De Dominis became less of a priority for the Spanish ambassador.[114]

During his embassies, Gondomar succeeded in reconverting more than ten rogue priests and friars to Catholicism.[115] Moreover, as the episode with De Dominis reveals,

---

[111] 'hubo pareceres de que le ahorcasen […] viendo la cosa en este estado, no me hubiera parecido forzoso el declararme, como lo hice, con el rey, de que esta negociación entre Su Santidad y el arzobispo había sido por mi medio, haciendo el Papa de mí esta confianza, con que me hallaba obligado a ayudar al arzobispo […] finalmente, vine a sacar del rey su libertad y pasaporte'. RB II/2108, doc. 64.
[112] Patterson, 'Marco Antonio de Dominis'.
[113] Patterson, *Reunion of Christendom*, p. 257.
[114] Tobío, *Católicos Ingleses*, pp. 152–54.
[115] Tobío, *Católicos Ingleses*, pp. 138–46.

the Spanish ambassador sometimes operated as a Roman agent at the English court. In this respect, it is noteworthy that one of Sarmiento's letterbooks still holds a copy of Gregory XV's *Breve* providing a pardon for the Archbishop.[116] Nevertheless, the case of De Dominis was not the only collaboration with papal authorities, as revealed by a letter dated 30 September 1617. In that document, Gondomar discussed some requests that had been sent to Madrid by an English priest named Thomas More (b.1566 – 1625).[117] More was a descendant of the renowned Chancellor of England. He was also an important agent of William Harrison, the Archpriest of England.[118] It was in this capacity that he asked the Spanish king for financial assistance to support the English secular clergy.[119] In discussing the conveniences for providing more help, Sarmiento confessed that he had originally been involved in the election of the current Archpriest in 1615:

> And considering that His Holiness conveyed me the grace of not wanting to give this position without first hearing my opinion, I informed myself particularly about the candidates […] and His Holiness decided to appoint him [Harrison], and he [the Pope] sent me the commission so that I could give it to him [Harrison] from my own hand.[120]

Other documents at the Gondomar library help further confirm Sarmiento's collaborations with the Pope as he endeavoured to 'reduce' to Roman authority more authors operating at the English court. Notable among these was John Barclay (1582-1621). Of Scottish extraction, he was born in France and brought up as a Catholic. However, by 1606 Barclay was already in England and soon gained great favour from King James. While in London, he published works denouncing the Gunpowder plot. He also put into press a book disqualifying the Pope's claims over secular power that had been originally authored by his late father, the professor of civil law William Barclay.

---

[116] RB II/2108, doc. 133.
[117] For the copies of More's requests sent by the Spanish king to Gondomar, see RB II/1829, ff. 67r-69r.
[118] Henry Foley, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus* (London: Burns and Oates, 1878), VII, pp. 704–5.
[119] On this particular occasion, the requested financial support was not granted. See Tobío, *Católicos Ingleses*, pp. 78–79.
[120] 'y aviéndome hecho Su Santidad gracia de no querer proveer este officio sin que yo le diesse mi parezer, me informé mui particularmente de los subgetos […] y assí se sirvió Su Santidad de nombralle y me ymbió los despachos para que yo se los diesse de mi mano'. DIHE 1, pp. 158-159.

John Barclay was also one of the prominent figures behind the translation of King James's *Apologie* into Latin.[121] During his years in London, Sarmiento entered into contact with the Scottish writer. In a letter addressed to Pope Paul V on 26 June 1615, the Spaniard explained how, after some conversations, Barclay was 'reduced and repented' about playing a part in the book controversies around the Oath of Allegiance. Moreover, 'he had confessed with friar Diego de la Fuente, my confessor; and he had baptised a recently born daughter in the chapel we have in this house [the Spanish embassy]'.[122]

In his letter, Gondomar mentioned that Barclay was ready to serve the Pope's cause by writing a recantation of his previous writings. Eventually, the Scottish writer was granted a safe conduit to Rome. This can be appreciated in a letter dated 19 October 1615, where the count thanks Roman authorities for their prompt procedure. After these instances, Sarmiento made no more mention about Barclay in the letters stored at his library. However, a closer look into the books preserved by Gondomar reveals more information about their continued dealings. Certainly, even though it was never recorded in Sarmiento's catalogue, the *Real Biblioteca* still holds a copy of Barclay's *Paraenesis ad Sectarios* (Rome, 1617).[123] In this work of Catholic apologetics, Barclay expressed how he needed to abandon England with his family in order to live according to the Catholic faith.[124] Attached to the book is a letter addressed to Gondomar on 28 October 1617. In that document, one can see Barclay greeting the Spaniard in Latin and putting the book under his friendly protection.

From the documents examined, one can appreciate that in the absence of a papal representative at the English court, Gondomar often played the role of diplomatic proxy

[121] See Nicola Royan, 'John Barclay (1582–1621)', *ODNB*; Real Biblioteca, 'Gondomar y John Barclay', *Avisos de la Real Biblioteca*.
[122] 'hace confesado con fray Diego de la Fuente, mi confesor, y bautizado una hija que le nació en la capilla que tenemos en esta casa'. RB II/2228, doc. 139, f. 209r.
[123] See RB III/5349.
[124] Royan, 'John Barclay (1582–1621)'.

for Roman authorities. Under this capacity, the Spaniard sometimes assisted the English secular clergy and endeavoured to 'reduce' some authors into the 'Catholic cause'. However, he was not alone in these tasks. As mentioned above, friar Diego de la Fuente, the embassy's confessor, had a hand in John Barclay's reconciliation with Catholic orthodoxy. As the next section will reveal, during Gondomar leave's to Spain, this Dominican friar also played the role of diplomatic proxy and continued with his master's strategies.

4.7. A Most Reverend Provisional Envoy: Friar Diego de la Fuente's "Diplomacy" and his Documentary Practices

Friar Diego De la Fuente was a Dominican friar from the monastery of San Gregorio in Valladolid. He accompanied the Spanish ambassador to London from the outset of his diplomatic mission and eventually earned an important reputation at the Jacobean court.[125] During Sarmiento's diplomatic leave to Spain, King Philip III requested the friar to remain in London and report to Spanish authorities from there. This turn of events was completely unexpected for the Dominican. Thus, between 1618 and 1620, De la Fuente transacted with English peers over issues like the Spanish Match and carried out many other of his master's diplomatic duties.[126] Among these responsibilities was the need to report about the publishing activities of Catholic dissidents. Accordingly, in his letters one can see the mention of authors like the dissenting Benedictine monk Thomas Preston (a.k.a Roger Widdrington), who wrote a series of works in favour of the Oath of Allegiance from 1611 to 1621. Preston became known chiefly for defending the idea that the Pope's power to depose princes was not *de fide*. Thus, the denial of this power did not necessarily account for heresy, in Preston's opinion. Moreover, following on the

[125] Ruiz Fernández, 'Las Relaciones Hispano-Inglesas', p. 213.
[126] See Oyarbide Magaña, 'A Provisional Envoy'.

ultimately deposed Archpriest George Blackwell, the Benedictine monk suggested that English Catholics could take the oath, given that there was no definite theological prohibition. As previously discussed, these arguments were heavily criticised in Jesuit circles and censured by religious authorities in Rome.[127] Preston's stance was, nonetheless, very convenient to King James.[128] In a letter dated 7 July 1619, friar Diego de la Fuente complained to Gondomar about the damage caused to the Pope's authority by the writings of the Benedictine.[129] This concern about the monk's writings also left a trace in Sarmiento's library, which eventually held copies of works penned by Preston.[130]

As friar Diego's letters reveal, during Sarmiento's absence the embassy confessor imitated his master in keeping a watch on what were arguably antipapal publications coming out of English presses. In doing so, he may have contributed to increasing Gondomar's library too. In this respect, De la Fuente also reported about an international book collaboration between Marco Antonio De Dominis and the Venetian historian Paolo Sarpi. In a letter dated 27 June 1619, De la Fuente informed the papal nuncio in Venice about the correspondence between Spalato and a certain Venetian friar named in the document as 'Pablo'. He explained that even though he had not been able to learn his last name, he had been able to discover that he was an Augustinian Servite who was about 67 years old and that had a nephew in the same order with the name of 'Fulgencio'. De la Fuente adds that the 'heretics' were trying to convince the Venetian 'Pablo' to come to England and publish pernicious books like De Dominis. In a letter dated 13 September 1619, De la Fuente wrote again to the Venetian nuncio to inform him about the 'apostate'

[127] See Cramer, 'Thomas Preston (1567–1647)'.
[128] Patterson, *Reunion of Christendom*, pp. 109–10.
[129] RB II/551, ff. 164r-165r.
[130] This is the case of Sarmiento's copy of Preston's *Supplicatio* (London, 1616), the *Appelatio* (London, 1620), the *Strena Catholica* (London, 1620) and a subsequent *Supplicatio* (London, 1621). All these works entreated Roman authorities to permit Catholics to take the oath and tended to criticize papal views about it. Appendix 4, items 23, 24, 25, 26.

Spalato's continued dealings with friar 'Pablo'. He also notified the papal envoy that, as a result of these collaborations, a book had been published in England:

> And he [Spalato] has managed to publish in this city [London] a book in the Italian language entitled *History of the Council of Trent* […] And he [Spalato] provides a dedicatory to this king [James] in commendation of the author [Paolo Sarpi]; And the book, [is] full of a thousand blasphemies […] I beg you inform me in the case it has not reached you so that I can send it. It is appropriate that Your Excellency has knowledge [of this].[131]

As friar Diego rightly pointed out, Sarpi's *History of the Council of Trent* first appeared in London in an Italian version in 1619. A Latin translation followed in 1620. It criticised the role of the Roman curia during the Council of Trent and denounced a strong papal control over the sessions. With a dedicatory letter to King James, this work soon became an influential account about the Catholic Church's attempts for reformation that was widely read by Protestants for generations.[132]

Sarpi's *Historia Concilii Tridentini* (London, 1620) was eventually preserved at the *Casa del Sol*, leading one to wonder if it might have been originally acquired for Gondomar by De la Fuente. [133] After all, if friar Diego was ready to send copies of Sarpi's work to the Venetian nuncio, he might also have done the same for his master. What remains for certain is that Sarmiento was not the only one to adopt specific documentary practices at the Spanish embassy. In this respect, the friar seems to have imitated Sarmiento. In a letter dated 21 December 1618, friar Diego explained to the count that he had sent him copies of important 'papers' –probably letters– and keeping the originals.[134] In this missive, De la Fuente jests with his master by saying that the count had managed to pass this administrative affliction of copying documents to him, and that he was amassing an unruly amount of 'papers' as a result. In the process, he also shed some light

[131] 'Y ha hecho que en esta ciudad se imprima en lengua italiana un libro cuyo título es *Historia del Concilio Tridentino* […] Y el hace una dedicatoria a este Rey en recomendación del Autor; Y del libro, lleno de mil blasfemias […] suplico me mande avisar para que en caso que no haya llegado yo le imbíe; que es justo que Vuestra Señoría tenga noticia'. RB II/551, ff. 184v-186r.
[132] Patterson, *Reunion of Christendom*, pp. 246–51.
[133] Appendix 4, item 3.
[134] See RB II/551, ff. 55v-59v.

on the use of personal libraries for diplomatic transactions. Indeed, while Sarmiento was away, the friar created his own compendia of documents. As a result, in this letter he jokingly brought a comparison between the *Casa del Sol*, adjacent to the church of Saint Benedict in Valladolid, and his own collection, which he playfully put under the auspices of the monastery where he professed:

> If the library of Saint Benedict the Old [*Casa del Sol*], *plus quam Vaticana*, ever wants to put a lawsuit ['*pleyto*'] to these paper morsels [I send you], I suppose I would have to surrender, unless I can use the strength of the *Casa de San Gregorio*.[135]

In the case of friar Diego, and many other early modern individuals, correspondence formed part of a library. Thus, letters shared a common space with books in folio, like Sarpi's *History of the Council of Trent*, but also with 'booklets' in smaller format, like the '*librillo*' once sent by the De la Fuente to Luis de Aliaga, the General Inquisitor of Spain. In a letter dated 18 February 1619, one can read:

> I will not be able consider the library of Your Excellency to be well provisioned if it lacks a very saintly booklet [*librillo*] that has just reached my hands […] it deserves the same prohibition and censure given to Mohammed's Quran. Nonetheless, I beg Your Excellency to be kind enough to lend it to the Count of Gondomar.[136]

In this particular instance, the Dominican did not provide enough details to facilitate the identification of this item. However, in subsequent dispatches he discussed with some Spanish peers about another 'booklet' that caught his attention: King James's *Meditation upon the Lord's Prayer* (London, 1619). Published in octavo, this work was an essay in scriptural exegesis. However, as Sharpe once remarked, the monarch's decision to include a dedicatory to Buckingham, and a general address to English courtiers, made of this 'booklet' a political statement too. What is more, in contrast to other scriptural works, this *Meditation* had a change in message. In past works James would regularly suggest

[135] 'si la librería de San Benito el Viejo, *plus quam Vaticana*, me pusiere pleito a estos fragmentillos, entiendo que me rendiré no obstante que me pudiera haçer fuerte con la casa de San Gregorio'. RB II/551, f. 56r.

[136] 'No me parece que la librería de Vuestra Señoría estará segura si falta de ella un librillo muy Santo que acaba de llegar a mis manos […] mereçe la proybiçión y censura que el alcorán de Mahoma. Con todo eso, suplico a Vuestra Señoría se sirva de prestársele al Conde de Gondomar'. RB II/551, 93v-94r.

that Catholics were the principal threat to his authority. However, the 1619 *Meditation* opened with an attack to those Puritan groups who challenged the English Church and the monarchy altogether.[137] Coincidentally, these details are also noted by friar Diego in the letter he addressed to Gondomar on 10 March 1619:

> [King James] has dedicated it to Buckingham […] and having spent many years writing controversies, it is now during the last [days] of his life that he writes devout things […] and even though he says some things against Catholics in this booklet, there is more written against the Puritans […]. On the first occasion I manage to see him I will not fail to tell him that we await some meditations about the *Ave Maria* as well.[138]

In a report written to the General Inquisitor Aliaga on that same date, friar Diego repeated a similar assessment and added that he had considered sending him this booklet to increase his library. However, this work was in 'English; and I have no one at hand who could translate it the way I want it'.[139] From what it seems, even if the language did not deter the friar from accessing the work in London, it did preclude him from circulating it to a prominent figure from the Spanish Inquisition. Incidentally, this work by King James was published in Latin during the same year. There is no evidence on whether friar Diego circulated copies of the *Meditatio in Orationem Dominicam* (London, 1619), but the Gondomar library eventually listed a copy of this work in the forbidden books section.[140] What is more, when the count returned to England during his second embassy, he appears to have approved of De la Fuente's activities. After all, one of his first actions after arriving to London was to send to Madrid Latin copies of Paolo Sarpi's book and James's *Meditation*, as one can appreciate from a dispatch dated 25 March 1620.[141]

All in all, during Sarmiento's tenure, the Spanish embassy deployed a series of documentary practices aimed to follow English confessional debates in London and

---

[137] Sharpe, *Image Wars*, p. 33.
[138] 'dedícale al Marqués de Boquingan […]; y abiendo gastado muchos años en escribir controversias, aora en los últimos de su Vida escribe cosas debotas […]; y aunque dice algo en este librillo contra Católicos, es mucho más lo que escribe contra Puritanos […]. La primera vez que le vea le diré sin Falta que aguardamos también meditaciones sobre el *Ave María*'. RB II/551, f. 101rv.
[139] 'Inglés; y no tengo aquí a mano que me le traduzca como yo quisiera'. RB II/551, f. 104v.
[140] Appendix 4, item 8.
[141] RB II/870, ff. 129r-143r.

influence these towards a pro-papalist agenda. However, as these sections have revealed, most of the religious books –and booklets– involved in these affairs were usually in Latin or in vernaculars other than English. Nevertheless, as the next sections will discuss, the confessional politics of the period also appear to have left a trace in the English collections at the *Casa del Sol*. After all, if Sarmiento and the embassy household endeavoured to hinder the influence of 'abominable' works, they also seem to have occasionally engaged with Catholic publications in English.

4.8. 'Books on Divine Things': Catholic Print Culture and Diplomatic Privilege

In recent years, scholars have begun to dismantle the traditional narrative applied to early modern Catholicism, particularly at the level of the material production and circulation of texts. Originally, this narrative has focused primarily on the publication strategies deployed by Protestant groups. However, as discussed by Havens and Patton, premodern print culture was also amply used by Catholic communities. Moreover, in the case of English Catholicism, books functioned 'as a proxy and prosthesis for the living voice' of the Catholic priesthood, especially during those periods in which that voice was most seriously 'molested, muzzled, imprisoned, deported and even put to death' by Protestant authorities in England.[142] As this section will reveal, these confessional printing activities benefited from diplomatic networks.

In practice, ambassadors throughout Europe had the right to worship within their embassies in accordance to their religious tenets. They were also at liberty to import whatever was necessary for the due observance of their faith. Similarly, their chaplains were guaranteed freedom from molestation on account of their religious views.[143] Indeed,

[142] Earle Havens and Elizabeth Patton, 'Underground Networks, Prisons and the Circulation of Counter-Reformation Books in Elizabethan England', in *Early Modern English Catholicism*, ed. by James Kelly and Susan Royale (Leiden: Brill, 2017), p. 168.
[143] See Edward Adair, *The Exterritoriality of Ambassadors in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (London: Longmans, 1929), pp. 186–91; Benjamin Kaplan, 'Diplomacy and Domestic Devotion: Embassy

even though the disputes about the Oath of Allegiance sometimes complicated England's relations with Catholic European powers, diplomatic ties remained operative. Ambassadors from Spain, Flanders, France, Venice, Tuscany, Savoy and the Holy Roman Empire regularly resided in London and they were by custom entitled to have their chaplains and hold Catholic services.[144]

With time, some Catholic ambassadors got into the practice of granting access to their chapels to English locals. Moreover, many of these diplomatic agents started to introduce books that could be used by the English Catholic community. An early example of book-smuggling practices can be found in the Flemish embassy. In January 1608, the baron de Hoboken reported that King James had summoned him to answer to accusations that he was using his embassy as a place of gathering for Jesuits and other English priests. On that occasion, Hoboken was also accused of using diplomatic privilege to print and distribute Catholic books. The ambassador flatly denied these allegations and explained that occasionally English priests said Mass in the embassy 'out of pure devotion'.[145] However, both the ambassador and the Jacobean government knew that English-speaking priests were a strong incentive for English subjects to frequent the embassy chapels.

As pointed out by Anderson, Spanish agents in London made ample use of diplomatic privilege for advancing a confessional agenda.[146] These initiatives involved English books too, as evinced by the activities of *Doña* Luisa de Carvajal. As previously discussed, the noble woman would occasionally acquire forbidden works in order to inform Catholic peers about their 'abominable' doctrines. However, most of Carvajal's

Chapels and the Toleration of Religious Dissent in Early Modern Europe', *Journal of Early Modern History*, 6.4 (2002), 341–361.

[144] Albert Loomie, 'The Spanish Ambassador and the Pursuivants', *The Catholic Historical Review*, 49.2 (1963), 203–209 (p. 204).

[145] 'par pure dévotion'. Published in Leopold Wilaert, 'Négociations Politico-Religieuses Entre L'Angleterre et Les Pays-Bas Catholiques', *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, 8.1 (1907), 81–101 (p. 81).

[146] See Anderson, 'Catholic Ambassadors'.

dealings with books had to do with the smuggling of Catholic works into England.[147] As early as October 1607, she wrote from London to Joseph Creswell in order to ask for lives of saints. These books were intended for the edification of English locals. In addition, she requested a copy of Antonio de Nebrija's Spanish-Latin dictionary. This work was meant to help would-be converts who had more Latin than Spanish. In this respect, Carvajal once complained to her Jesuit distributor about the need for devotional books in English, given that Spanish 'counts for little or absolutely nothing here'.[148] During her residence in London, Carvajal carried out a series of illegal book-smuggling activities that were paired with the equally unlawful practice of rescuing the body parts of executed Catholics in London in order to circulate these as relics. After all, these items were similar to Catholic books in that they were deemed to preserve and bolster the faith of Catholics in England.[149]

When Gondomar reached London in August 1613, Carvajal had already been living there for eight years. Her interactions with the new Spanish envoy were brief but nonetheless intense. It fell to Sarmiento to liberate the noblewoman from the imprisonment procured in late 1613 by the Archbishop of Canterbury. Nevertheless, as a result of her poor health, Carvajal passed away shortly at the Spanish embassy on 2 January 1614.[150] Still, following on the example set by *Doña* Luisa and his predecessors at the embassy, Sarmiento made use of his diplomatic privilege to further the 'Catholic cause'. In a letter written on 11 October 1613, he informed the Spanish ambassador to France about his efforts to make the chapel at his embassy 'London's parish and Cathedral church'.[151] As it appears, people attended in great numbers, and among the assistants were

[147] Redworth, *The She-Apostle*, pp. 160–64.
[148] Quote provided by Redworth, *The She-Apostle*, p. 162.
[149] See Glyn Redworth, 'God's Gift? Sacred Relics, Gift Giving, and Luisa de Carvajal's Preparation of the Holy During the Long Reformation', *Nuncius*, 27.2 (2012), 270–88.
[150] Redworth, *The She-Apostle*, p. 224.
[151] 'la parroquia y iglesia catedral de Londres'. RB II/2168, doc. 11.

important English peers from distinguished families.[152] However, Sarmiento did not provide their names.[153] This omission was probably made in an effort to protect their identity, should the dispatches be intercepted. Similarly, in a letter dated 8 April 1620, Sarmiento also mentioned about his labours to bring to London 'consecrated oils, portable altars, Agnus Dei [blessed wax disks], ornaments, books and a hundred other things' deemed unlawful by English authorities.[154] However, as in the case of the chapel attendants, the Spaniard did not provide any detail about book titles. Nevertheless, as the final organisation of the Gondomar library reveals, the Spaniard saw it fit to preserve a series of Catholic books in English. A history of early modern pursuivant practices and their censoring activities is still a pending task for historiography. Nonetheless, it is probable that many of these English items would have been considered dubious –or even 'abominable'– by English Protestant authorities.

Certainly, within the group of English printed sources at the *Casa del Sol*, one can find a section with eleven items that reads 'Books on divine things'.[155] As it appears, the contents of this section followed on Joseph Creswell's comments about Catholic books in his *memorial*. It contained works of 'small size' –mostly in quarto and octavo– and their contents were either focused on devotion or controversy.[156] Nonetheless, during the period this distinction sometimes became blurred, as both subjects were deeply intertwined through their common resort to historical precedent and a regard for tradition.

In the English section 'on divine things', one can find that most of the books were either penned by a Jesuit or were usually authored by a well-known figure from the Tudor reigns. Certainly, some of the earliest English books in this collection correspond to this

[152] Redworth, 'Diego Sarmiento'.
[153] RB II/2168, doc. 37.
[154] DIHE 2, pp. 310-311.
[155] See Appendix 2, Part B.
[156] Bouza, 'Contrarreforma y Tipografía'.

latter group. This is the case with Henry VIII's *A Letter of Martin Luther to Henry the 8 King of England and the Kings Answer* (London, 1526) and bishop Stephen Gardiner's *A Detection of the Devils Sophistrie* (London, 1546).[157] The first item contested Luther's attacks against Rome, and the second one defended the mystery of the Eucharist. Sarmiento also acquired a copy of William Peryn's *Spiritual Exercyses and Goostly Meditacions* (London, 1557).[158] Written during the Marian period, this tract became a very important devotional handbook in English. Given that many copies survived after 1558, and another edition appeared in 1598, previous scholars had suggested that this book reminded Elizabethan and Jacobean Catholics of the times of free Catholic worship under Mary I.[159] Still, this was not the only book produced during the Marian Restoration to contest Protestant doctrines. The Spaniard's collection also preserved a copy of Thomas More's *Workes* (London, 1557).[160] Produced during Mary's reign, this book gained a significant value due to the growing reverence associated with Thomas More's exemplary testimony of obedience to the Pope. Accordingly, it was abundantly distributed among Catholic circles during the reign of Elizabeth and James.[161] Moreover, More's later Tower writings were intended for devotional purpose, especially *A Dialogue of Comfort Against Tribulation*. This latter work was preserved in manuscript form in Sarmiento's Library, and was also available in the printed version of More's *Workes* that was stored at the *Casa del Sol*.[162]

[157] Appendix 2, items 29, 26.
[158] Appendix 3, item 30.
[159] William Wizeman, *The Theology and Spirituality of Mary Tudor's Church* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 33 and 210.
[160] Appendix 2, item 40. It is to be noted that this book was catalogued in the English section of 'Statutes of England, Poetry and other books concerning different things'. Nevertheless, as suggested by Questier, Thomas More's image and his writings became important Catholic symbols during the period. Michael Questier, 'Catholicism, Kinship and the Public Memory of Sir Thomas More', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 53.3 (2002), 476–509.
[161] Wizeman, *Mary Tudor's Church*, p. 35; Questier, 'Public Memory of Sir Thomas More'.
[162] Appendix 2, items 41, 74.

In a more confrontational attitude, the Gondomar library also held a copy of William Rainold's *Refutation of the Cavills and False Sleights* (Paris, 1583).[163] This book endeavoured to defend the writings of the Catholic historian Nicholas Sanders, which were available in Latin at the Gondomar library.[164] During the period, Sanders's work became well-known for narrating the history of Henry VIII's break with Rome. In addition, this historical account became one of the main sources for Ribadeneyra's history of England.[165]

From thereon, the rest of English tracts at the *Casa del Sol* were published more recently and were authored by English Jesuits. The inventory lists copies of Robert Parson's *A Christian Directorie* (Leuven, 1598) and his *The Third Part of a Treatise Intituled the 3 Conversions of England Against Fox his Martyrlodge* (St. Omer, 1604).[166] The first work imitated the initial stages of St. Ignatius's *Spiritual Exercises* and became a standard item in lists of Catholic books secretly distributed in England.[167] The latter work aimed to be a refutation of John Foxe's *Calendar of Protestant Saints*, which attempted to provide an alternative catalogue of saints from that defended by the "Popish" Church. In a similar spirit of controversy, Sarmiento's library also preserved copies of Richard Walpole's *A Brief and Cleer Confutation* (Antwerp, 1603), which defended the writings of Robert Parsons.[168] The collection also lists a devotional treatise by Joseph Creswell entitled *Pious Meditations upon the Beades* (St. Omer, 1620) and a copy of John Floyd's *God and the King* (St. Omer, 1620).[169] This latter tome was a witty parody that aimed to ridicule a homonymous tract defending the Oath of Allegiance.[170]

---

[163] Appendix 4, item 24.
[164] This book was catalogued in the Latin section of 'Historias Sagradas'. Appendix 1, section 3.5.
[165] See Domínguez, 'History in Action'.
[166] Appendix 2, items 23, 27.
[167] See Victor Houliston, *Catholic Resistance in Elizabethan England: Robert Persons's Jesuit Polemic, 1580-1610* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).
[168] Appendix 2, item 25.
[169] Appendix 2, items 32, 33.
[170] See Allison, 'Life and Writings of Joseph Creswell'.

A noteworthy aspect of this latter list of Jesuit books at the *Casa del Sol* is that all of these works were published in Flanders. Most notably, some came out of the printing presses of the English College at St. Omer, which operated greatly under the influence of Joseph Creswell during Gondomar's embassies. In this respect, a further detail of importance in Sarmiento's copy of Creswell's *Pious Meditations upon the Beades* is that this work was preserved and bound as a stand-alone item.[171] According to Allison and Rogers, all the other known instances of this little tract were always included in a compilation of writings by Francis Borgia known as *The Practice of Christian Workes* (St. Omer, 1620).[172] This English book never came to be registered in the Spaniard's collection. Thus, as it stands, the material circumstances of Creswell's work suggest it might have reached Gondomar in its current state, and perhaps as a gift. Should this be the case, this English book at the *Casa del Sol* would stand as additional evidence about the Spanish ambassador's dealings with influential English Catholic agents, such as Creswell. Within this perspective, something stronger can be advanced about Sarmiento's copy of Stephen Gardiner's *A Detection of the Devils Sophistrie*. The book stored in the Gondomar library bears a most telling manuscript note: 'Thomas moore ow[n?]eth this boock'.[173] Thanks to this brief scribbling, the historian is able to connect Sarmiento's work with other English Catholic agents. In this particular case, the annotation could refer to the secular priest Thomas More (1566-1625).[174] As seen above, More acted as an important agent to the Archpriest of England. It was through his reports that Sarmiento discussed providing more assistance to the secular clergy.[175] Nonetheless, this mark of ownership could also refer to the homonymous Jesuit Thomas More (1586-1623), who

[171] See RB PAS/ARM6/216.
[172] See Allison and Rogers, *English Counter-Reformation*, II, pp. 160–61.
[173] I have not been able to ascertain the author of this note. See RB IX/3915.
[174] Foley, *Records of the Society of Jesus*, VII, pp. 704–5.
[175] DIHE 1, pp. 158-159. On that occasion, Sarmiento told the Spanish king that he considered that the Archpriest was already receiving enough support. See Tobío, *Católicos Ingleses*, pp. 78–79.

seems to have been among the released priests who left England with Gondomar in 1618.[176] Coincidentally, during the years that followed, the Jesuit More became involved in the *God and the King* book project written by John Floyd.[177] As previously mentioned, this book was published at St. Omer in 1620, and a copy is to be found in the Gondomar library.[178]

All in all, many of the books in the English section 'on divine things' appear to have been chosen for their author's relevance in the history of opposition to the Reformation in England. The collection also displays an interest in preserving a series of Jesuit writings that tended to be well-known at the time. Even though the evidence is limited, the material circumstances in some of the English Catholic works in Sarmiento's library provide more possible clues about Gondomar's collaborations with agents who endeavoured to advance Catholicism in England. In this respect, we can only wonder whether the religious English books here analysed, or similar copies, might have been placed at some point in the Spanish embassy's chapel; and if placed there, whether works like the ones penned by Parsons, Floyd, Creswell or More were ever read by the devout guests that seem to have attended regularly. These are plausible questions, though further research will have to be carried out in the archives in order to learn more about the use of books for worship at Catholic embassies based in London. Nonetheless, when dealing with religious tracts, one would also do well in remembering the importance ascribed to book ownership during the times, as evinced by *Doña* Constanza's warnings to her husband. Indeed, if possessing 'heretical' works could mean one's excommunication or damnation, then the preservation of a Catholic tome, like the ones in the English section 'on divine things', could eventually lead to salvation. After all, as Walsham has come to show, religious books and

[176] Foley, *Records of the Society of Jesus*, VII, pp. 702–3.
[177] Allison, 'Life and Writings of Joseph Creswell', p. 95.
[178] Appendix 2, item 33.

printed images were oftentimes deemed by English Catholics as paper relics.[179] More to this point, one can also find this idea in Sarmiento's correspondence over the months following *Doña* Luisa de Carvajal's death. In a letter dated 24 September 1614, the Spanish administrator Rodrigo Calderón thanked Sarmiento for sending him a letter once written by the noble woman. In the process, he mentioned that this document 'and all her papers were worthy of being preserved as relics'.[180]

The two remaining books in the English section 'on divine things' at the *Casa del Sol* were written by someone who was neither a Jesuit nor a well-known figure from the Tudor reigns. However, as we shall see, these tracts point to a more active role played by Spanish agents in advancing the cause of English Catholicism. These volumes involved a certain Carmelite named Simon Stock, who came to be closely associated with the Spanish embassy in London.

4.9. The 'Anonymous Eremita': Friar Simon Stock and the Spanish Embassy's Support of English Catholic Writers

The English native Thomas Doughty was born in England in 1576. He eventually left for the Continent and entered the English College at Rome in 1606. In 1613, Doughty completed his novitiate with the Discalced Carmelites in Brussels and professed under the name of Simon Stock of St Mary.[181] He then moved to England in 1615. Through Genoese merchants living in London, he established contact with the Spanish embassy. Different reports state that the Carmelite lived in the proximity of the embassy and that he probably resided there during some periods.[182]

---

[179] Alexandra Walsham, '"Domme Preachers"? Post-Reformation English Catholicism and the Culture of Print', *Past & Present*, 168, 2000, 72–123 (p. 120).
[180] 'muy digna de guardarse [la carta] y todos su papeles de tenellos por reliquias'. AGS Estado, Libro 367, ff. 211.
[181] Georg Zimmermann, *Carmel in England: A History of the English Mission of the Discalced Carmelites, 1615 to 1849.* (London: Burns & Oates, 1899), pp. 23–39.
[182] See Luca Codignola, *The Coldest Harbour of the Land: Simon Stock and Lord Baltimore's Colony in Newfoundland, 1621-1649* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1987), pp. 6–13.

In October 1620, friar Diego de la Fuente left England to continue with the Spanish Match negotiations in Rome. Stock replaced the Spanish friar as embassy chaplain and eventually became confessor to Gondomar and his successors.[183] During his life, Stock published under different names: 'Jesus Maria', 'John Hunt', 'Thomas Doughty' and the 'Anonymous Eremita'.[184] Whilst under the protection of the Spanish ambassador, Stock produced some tracts in English. His first work was a devotional handbook entitled *A Treatise of Ease Rest, Repose, Content* (London, 1618). Starting with a dedication to Prince Charles, this work provided the reader with different spiritual practices focused on oral prayer and the meditation over the mysteries of the faith. In 1619, Stock published a second part of this work and dedicated it to King James with the name of *The Practise How to Finde Ease Rest Repose and Happines* (London, 1619). This book contained less devotional advice and provided instead a defence of Catholic tradition against the alleged novelties brought by Protestantism.

As pointed out before, the division between devotion and polemics was many times effaced during the period. Still, the Carmelite's attempts to intervene in the religious policy of the Stuart regime can be better appreciated in a book entitled *An Humble Appeale to the Kings Most Excellent Maiestie* (London, 1620). In this work, Stock aimed to demonstrate the veracity and undeterred continuity of the 'Catholicke Roman Faith'. The Benedictine offers a scriptural narrative that draws from the testimonies of Abraham, Moses, King David, the prophets and the apostles to defend that Queen Elizabeth brought novelty to the realm by becoming the 'Author of the Faith and Religion publikely now professed in England'. Notably, the tract further conflates confessional debates with

[183] Ruiz Fernández, 'Las Relaciones Hispano-Inglesas', pp. 213–14.
[184] See Antony Allison, 'Bibliographical Notes about Two Carmelites', *British Catholic History*, 6.2 (1961), 90–94; 'English Short Title Catalogue' <http://estc.bl.uk/F/?func=file&file_name=login-bl-estc> [accessed 8 August 2019].

politics by entreating King James for more toleration to Catholics through an exercise of the royal prerogative:

> Thus the Lawes of the Land, giue libertie to the Kings of the Land to dispence with any thing, which is not evill in it selfe, but made evill by Act of Parliament, as was the Catholike Roman Faith, in the Parliament holden in the time of King Henry the eight, Edward the sixt, Queene Elizabeth, and yourt Maiesty. Whereby it is sufficiently manifest, that your Highnesse may out of your prerogative Royall, as well, and with as good authoritie dispence with all penallties imposed by Statute upon your Subjects, for professing the Catholike Roman Faith, and give them free liberty to professe it, as you may dispence with Merchants freely to transport out of the Realme, Silver, Wooll, or other Merchandize forbidden by Act of Parliament.[185]

Contrary to the English books written by Jesuits at the *Casa del Sol*, Stock's tracts were not published in Flanders but at clandestine presses in England.[186] The documentary evidence about these presses is very scarce and previous historians have not been able to unearth more information beyond their identification.[187] Nevertheless, considering the Carmelite's connection with the Spanish embassy, one can only wonder if Sarmiento collaborated with these secret printing centres. In this respect, the Gondomar library does not appear to have any illustrative record. However, it is still noteworthy to see that this particular detail left a mark in Thomas Scott's 1624 *Second Vox Populi*. In the pamphlet, the Protestant Preacher accused the count of having 'in the North or west part of England, two Printers presses at worke'.[188] As in many other instances, Scott's pamphlet might be prone to exaggeration and therefore more research will have to be carried out in order to learn more about this aspect. However, Sarmiento's collaborations with friar Simon Stock make this possibility more appealing. What is more, the *Casa del Sol* holds additional information about the English Carmelite's confessional activities.

Sarmiento preserved printed copies of Stock's second part of *The Practice* (1619) and the *Humble Appeale* (1620).[189] In this respect, an examination in the count's holdings also

[185] Simon Stock, *An Humble Appeale to the Kings Most Excellent Maiestie* (London, 1620), p. 79.
[186] Allison and Rogers, *English Counter-Reformation*, II, pp. 42–43.
[187] Allison and Rogers, *English Counter-Reformation*, II, p. 225.
[188] Scott, *Second Vox Populi*, p. 57.
[189] Appendix 2, items 28, 31.

leads to a manuscript version of Stock's first part of *The Practice* (printed in 1618).[190] In many ways, the most remarkable aspect of this handwritten account is the change of dedicatee. Whereas the printed work included a preface to Prince Charles, the manuscript version had a dedication to Queen Anne. Thanks to a very brief account written by the Carmelite almost at the end of his life, the historian can learn more about Stock's dealings with the English queen before she died in March 1619:

> I have had several interviews with Queen Anne, in which I explained to her the foundations of our faith, but she always put off her conversion, and finally died outside the true Church, although in heart a Catholic.[191]

As previous scholars have come to show, Anna's religious beliefs 'at best, appear ambiguous'.[192] The queen converted to Catholicism in the 1590s and from thereon she regularly had a Catholic priest in her household to hear Mass. However, it is also true that she outwardly conformed to the established Protestant Church on many occasions. Stock's statements seem to reflect the more hard-lined religious view that this type of conformity, or 'church papistry', could not be carried out by true Catholics.[193] For reasons of space, it falls beyond the purposes of this chapter to provide a complete account of the Carmelite's attempts to draw Anne of Denmark into "reconciliation" with Rome. Instead, this chapter aims to highlight that during his years in London, Simon Stock produced a series of pro-Catholic tracts that directly appealed to royal figures. From the evidence analysed, these works appear to have been carried out with the support of the Spanish embassy.

This chapter has already mentioned various instances where Gondomar endeavoured to make King James more sympathetic to Catholicism. In this respect, the dedications in

[190] Appendix 2, item 78.
[191] Quote published in Zimmermann, *Carmel in England*, p. 30.
[192] See Roberta Anderson, 'Foreign Diplomatic Representatives to the Court of James VI and I' (Bath Spa University [Unpublished doctoral dissertation], 2001), pp. 164–84; Leeds Barroll, *Anna of Denmark, Queen of England: A Cultural Biography* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), pp. 162–72.
[193] See Crosignani, McCoog, and Questier, *Recusancy and Conformity*.

Stock's printed and manuscript works suggest that Sarmiento might have also tried to appeal to other members of the royal family through his collaborations with the Carmelite. After all, Queen Anne could be an influential ally at the English court, and Charles was bound to succeed King James as English monarch.[194] And yet, for all the help the queen and the prince could provide, when it came to the issue of Catholic toleration, Gondomar mainly appealed to the king. Since his arrival to London, the Spanish ambassador would regularly express to James that the English Catholics just wished to preserve 'the religion of their fathers and forefathers'.[195] As it seems, the publications of books that connected Catholicism to historical continuity might have played a part in these endeavours. In this respect, it is also quite telling that the publication of *An Humble Appeale to the King* took place in 1620, a year during which Gondomar greatly doubted James's intentions towards Catholicism, as evinced by a letter dated 22 May 1620.

Certainly, in that dispatch the Spaniard informed Madrid about his first weeks in England for his second embassy. During the months prior to his return, persecution of English Catholics had been renewed. As a result, Gondomar complained to King James about the maltreatment of 'good and honest' subjects who were just trying to live the 'religion held by their fathers, grandfathers and great grandfathers'.[196] In this document, the Spanish ambassador suggested that the English king's disposition to religious affairs had changed dramatically for the worse:

> The king proceeds differently [from previous occasions], given that he wants me to believe that he will do much more than what he really wants to do […] his disposition and motivations, and the end of his government, is to extinguish the Catholic religion […] He is highly persuaded that being a heretic and opposing to the Pope grants him security in his kingdom and great authority in the world; and this is his principal heresy, not the ones that come from wrongly understanding the Bible and gospels, which he mentions profusely in his writings.[197]

[194] See Tobío, *Católicos Ingleses*, pp. 186–94; Redworth, 'Of Pimps and Princes'.
[195] 'la religión de sus padres y abuelos'. DIHE 3, p. 195.
[196] 'la religión que tuvieron Sus padres, abuelos y visabuelos'. DIHE 2, p. 336.
[197] 'El Rey procede diferentemente, porque pretende darme a entender que hará mucho más que lo que piensa hazer. […] su ynterior y su ánimo y el fin de su Govierno es deshazer la religión Católica […] Está persuadisíssimo que el ser herege y opuesto al Papa le da seguridad en su Reino y gran autoridad en el mundo, y esta es su principal heregía, más que el entender mal la Biblia y el Evangelio de que él tanto habla en sus escritos'. DIHE 2, pp. 335-338.

In many ways, this missive reveals that Gondomar tended to take at face value the king's official statements. It also suggests that the Spaniard might have become acquainted with the king's writings. At least the ones based on the scriptures, like the *Meditatio in Orationem Dominicam* (London, 1619), which was available in his library.[198] However, one could also suggest that during his residence in England, Sarmiento might have consulted other works by the English monarch. After all, he preserved different copies of James's prose works. Moreover, as this chapter has come to illustrate, the Spanish ambassador sometimes followed confessional debates at the English court, and these endeavours left a trace in his library. In any case, in the penning of his report, the Spanish ambassador might have been too harsh in his assessment. After all, the early 1620s marked an uneasy moment for King James.

After the rebellion of Bohemia in 1618 and the acceptance of its crown by the Elector Frederick in 1619, the notorious *via media* displayed by James started to receive considerable pressure from Protestant and Catholic factions in the British Isles and Europe alike.[199] Thus, during the years following the outbreak of the Thirty Year Wars, King James endeavoured to maintain his royal authority from possible abuses deployed in print, action or speech, regardless of whether these were carried out by English Catholics or English Puritans.[200] However, as pointed out by Sharpe, during the late 1610s and early 1620s, the criticism displayed to James increased in animosity, number and speed. As a result, the English monarch eventually concentrated less on the 'folio grandeur' displayed in previous works for conveying his words and relied more on swifter discursive modes: poetry, meditations, royal prayers, declarations and proclamations.[201]

---

[198] Appendix 4, item 8.
[199] William Patterson, *King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 339-340.
[200] Questier, *Dynastic Policy*, pp. 335–455.
[201] Sharpe, *Image Wars*, pp. 34–35.

As pointed out by Loomie, Sarmiento became aware of the political and religious shifts at the English court during his second embassy.[202] Nevertheless, he still decided to pressure James towards Catholic toleration. And yet, regardless of the intemperance displayed by his letter, the Spaniard still adopted a measured approach. Indeed, after denouncing James as the 'universal head of all heresies', he still bid Madrid to continue with the Spanish Match, as it was only through a marriage that England could be 'reduced' to the Catholic faith.[203] Thus, Sarmiento continued with his give-and-take procedure, but so did King James. With the passing of the months, as the wedding discussions advanced, the situation of English Catholics improved. At the end of his second embassy, Gondomar left London with the again unprecedented royal grace of being able to release 4000 Catholics held at English prisons.[204]

Overall, the documents at the Gondomar library allow us to reflect on the ways in which religious books played a part in Sarmiento's diplomacy. These works help better contextualise the Spanish embassy's efforts to follow –and sometimes influence– confessional debates and religious policy in England. As notably shown by their reporting of some controversies, Gondomar and the embassy personnel endeavoured to learn about books that touched on issues like Catholic toleration or that contradicted papal authority. This has been appreciated in the evidence we have of the Spanish embassy's occasional monitoring, and eventual acquisition, of English publications that contravened Catholic orthodoxy. Moreover, the diplomatic reports discussing 'heretical' works would sometimes reach Catholic authorities in Madrid, Rome and even Venice with enclosed books or 'booklets'. In some instances, the Spanish embassy also attempted to offset the publication of new 'abominable' tracts by convincing their authors to change sides and

[202] Loomie, *Spain and the Jacobean Catholics*, II, pp. XIX–XX.
[203] 'cabeza Universal de todas las heregías'. DIHE 2, pp. 338-339.
[204] Loomie, *Spain and the Jacobean Catholics*, II, p. 154.

providing them with a safe conduit to Rome. On a different note, even though Sarmiento confessed that he involved himself in the smuggling of Catholic works into England, the evidence in the Gondomar library suggests he might have been less active than other Spanish agents, such as Luisa de Carvajal. As previously illustrated with the attendants to the embassy's chapel, this documentary omission might have been the result of political prudence. Nevertheless, considering the many documented instances where the Spaniard discussed books on issues like the Oath of Allegiance, or the many passages where he mentioned the enclosing of tracts with his dispatches, I have not been able to find more instances produced by Gondomar, or his network of collaborators, that could bring more light into the Spanish embassy's circulation of Catholic books in England. In any case, Sarmiento's collection of English books 'on divine things' provides some clues about the type of Catholic literature that could have been distributed by the Spaniard, or placed within the embassy chapel for the worship of local visitors. However, further research will have to be carried out in order to provide an answer to these issues. What remains for certain is that some of these items bring additional information about the Spanish ambassador's collaborations with English Catholic agents. Notable among these was Sarmiento's dealings with the Benedictine monk Simon Stock, which appears to have led into the production of Catholic works that aimed for the edification of the reader but also attempted to induce English royal figures intro stronger Catholic sympathies.

All in all, the 'abominable' tomes and the Catholic books in English at the *Casa del Sol* provide more evidence about the Spanish embassy's efforts to further the 'Catholic cause' in England. Altogether, these books and booklets bear witness to the importance of confessional debates for the conducting of diplomacy during the early modern period. However, as the next chapter will reveal, premodern diplomats also had to concern

themselves with other type of printed sources that dealt with something that also became very important: the conveying of news and popular opinion.

Chapter 5. The 'Spanish-English Man'. Popular Media, Publicity and Diplomacy

5.1. A 'Premeditated' Assault

During the last months of 1620, the streets of London were filled with ominous reports. In the summer of that year, the military leader Ambrogio Spinola led the Spanish army of Flanders into the Rhineland. This move formed part of the Imperial response to Frederick V's decision to accept the crown of Bohemia. As hostilities increased, Londoners soon learned about the battle of the White Mountain and heard about the Catholic League's victory over the Elector Palatine in November. Without a substantial army to support him, Frederick fled Prague with his family into exile. At the same time that this news circulated the City, so did the rumours about advanced talks for a Spanish Match.[1] In March 1620, the Spanish ambassador Gondomar had returned to England to continue the negotiations.[2] King James rejoiced at the Spaniard's arrival, but this was not the case for many observers, who were outraged to hear about the hardships faced by the Elector and his wife, Elizabeth Stuart. To these bystanders, the king's continued dealings with the Spanish Habsburgs could easily be construed as a sign of disloyalty to his own kin and religion.

Sarmiento's diplomatic reports bear witness to a political shift that took place at the Jacobean court during the 1620s. In a letter dated 28 March 1619, Gondomar remarked to Philip III about the overall successful results of his first embassy to England with optimism: 'In six years that I have been in charge, in Spain people learned where England

[1] See Alec Ewing, '"A Tongue-Combat Betweene Two English Souldiers": A Comparative Analysis of Catholic and Puritan Polemics, 1618-1628' (Leiden University [Unpublished masters dissertation], 2013), pp. 3–18 <https://openaccess.leidenuniv.nl/handle/1887/21555> [accessed 8 August 2019]; Thomas Cogswell, *The Blessed Revolution: English Politics and the Coming of War, 1621-1624* (Cambridge: University Press, 1989), pp. 1–50.
[2] Redworth, 'Diego Sarmiento'.

is and has received good news about embassies, gifts and pleasant results'.[3] However, once Sarmiento started his second assignment in 1620, he soon realised that this new mission would be full of inauspicious signs. While on his way to the king's chambers for his first audience, the floor of one of the halls at Theobalds gave way, and many members of the English entourage where plummeted into the room beneath. Gondomar managed to save himself by quickly jumping into the doorway. While informing Madrid about the incident, the Spaniard considered it an unfortunate accident, though he also commented that his confidants have recommended caution:

> I have had advertisements from different sources that the Puritans have tried, and still try, [to act] against me and kill me; be that on the streets or with poison or by setting fire to the house during the night; and with these [things as they are], there have been many well-intentioned that are persuaded that this action [the floor falling] was a premeditated case […] but it is my understanding that it was a natural affair.[4]

With the passing of the months, Sarmiento discovered that weak hall structures would not be his only preoccupation. As news over the Palatinate crisis became widely known, the streets in London were filled with publications that openly attacked the Spanish alliance. Preachers also contributed to anti-Spanish sentiment through their sermons, which commented on the English government's acquiescence to the "Popish" cause championed by the Habsburgs.[5] In the autumn of 1620, popular animosity reached an important peak with the publication of Thomas Scott's *Vox Populi or Newes from Spayne*. This pamphlet directly targeted Gondomar, blaming him for the unhappy state of Protestantism in England and abroad. Taken for a true report at the time, the text caused a furore among the English public.[6] Soon, it prompted an energetic hunt for its then

[3] 'en seis años que ha estado a mi cargo, no haverse sabido en Spaña dónde esta Inglaterra, sino es para embaxadas, presentes y cosas de gusto'. DIHE 2, p. 132

[4] 'He tenido avisos ciertos por diferentes Vías, que los Puritanos han tratado y tratan contra mí de matarme, ya en la calle, ya con el Veneno, ya con ponerme de noche fuego a la cassa, y con esto ha avido muchos bien yntencionados, que se persuaden que esta acción fue caso prevenido […] pero entiendo que no fue sino cossa natural'. DIHE 2, pp. 259-277.

[5] Ewing, 'A Tongue-Combat', pp. 3–18.

[6] As noted by Millstone, *Vox Populi* was 'wildly popular'. After the printed pamphlet was banned by English authorities, copies of the text continued to be circulated through numerous manuscript copies. See Millstone, *Manuscript Circulation*, pp. 49 and 133–34.

anonymous author, but this campaign proved fruitless. Shortly after its publication, Scott went into hiding, only to reappear later in the Netherlands.[7]

During the last months of 1620 rumours reached English officials about plans to make an attempt on Gondomar's life. In a letter dated 4 December 1620 (old style), the Secretary of State Sir George Calvert informed Buckingham about these plans and connected them with the recent outbreak of libellous 'pamphletts and pasquills that are every where spread abroad'. In this missive, Calvert explained that a watch was appointed to guard the Spanish embassy.[8] As Lindley has asserted, the wider population of Jacobean London often displayed great animosity against foreigners. This sometimes made ambassadors and their entourage subject to abuse as they passed along the streets.[9] However, what made events different during the last months of 1620 was the premeditation behind a possible attack. In his missive to Buckingham, Sir George Calvert goes so far as to suggest it to be 'a conspiracy' and recommends King James to take necessary measures, 'as there cannot be too much caution to prevent the worst'.[10] Just a few days after that missive, the monarch issued a proclamation on 24 December 1620 (old style) against 'excess of lavish and licentious speech'. In the royal dictum, he denounced all those that 'intermeddle by Penne, or Speech, with causes of State, and secrets of Empire, either at home or abroad'.[11] At the time, it was widely believed that James's decree, and an additional one with similar instructions that circulated on July 1621, were published in part through Gondomar's bidding.[12] As Anderson has previously

[7] Sean Kelsey, 'Thomas Scott (d. 1626)', *ODNB*.
[8] *The Fortescue Papers: Letters Relating to State Affairs*, ed. by Samuel Gardiner (London: The Camden Society, 1871), pp. 144–45.
[9] Keith Lindley, 'Riot Prevention and Control in Early Stuart London', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 33 (1983), 109–26 (pp. 109–11).
[10] Gardiner, *The Fortescue Papers*, pp. 144–45.
[11] *Stuart Royal Proclamations. Royal Proclamations of King James (1603–1625)*, ed. by James Larkin and Paul Hughes (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973), I, pp. 495–96.
[12] Larkin and Hughes, *Stuart Royal Proclamations*, I, pp. 519–21.

argued, this could have been a real possibility.[13] On December 1620, Simonds D'Ewes wrote in his diary about the recent appearance of James's proclamation and mentioned that 'all men conceived to have been procured by the count of Gondomar' because *Vox Populi* had become 'the subject of many men's discourses'.[14] It may well be that Sarmiento intended to influence English public opinion by entreating the king for these proclamations. However, their messages greatly aligned with the monarch's interests as well.

5.2. Publicising the *Arcana Imperii*: Popular Media in an International Context

As Cogswell once observed, during the 1620s a 'battle of sorts' started between the English king and many of his subjects, who became increasingly frustrated with James's *via media*.[15] Sure enough, while the monarch sought a diplomatic solution to affairs in the Rhineland, there were many who advocated instead for a direct intervention in the Bohemian crisis.[16] During this time, royal foreign policy met with strong resistance from some constituencies in the English Parliament and a loud strand of public opinion that openly commented about affairs of state through print, the pulpit and the stage. To James, the recent popular outcry over his handling of international matters constituted an illegitimate intrusion into the Crown's *arcana imperii*, those affairs of state that were his prerogative to determine, and not public business. Among these royal privileges were the freedom to procure any consort of his liking for his heir, the decision to make war or peace with foreign princes and the power to host or dispatch ambassadors at will from his

[13] Roberta Anderson, '"Well Disposed to the Affairs of Spain?" James VI & I and the Propagandists: 1618–1624 1', *British Catholic History*, 25.4 (2001), 613–35 (p. 616).
[14] *The Autobiography and Correspondence of Sir Simonds D'Ewes.*, ed. by James Halliwell-Phillipps (Richard Bentley, 1845), I, pp. 161–62.
[15] For more information on King James's *via media*, See Chapter 4.3.
[16] Cogswell, *The Blessed Revolution*, p. 20.

court. It is in this light that one can understand how a premeditated assault on the Spanish ambassador in London could be construed as an affront towards the English king.

Given that some publications defending royal procedure also appeared during the 1620s, it would be false to claim that the public domain was solely populated by messages against the monarch's policy.[17] Still, the scale to which the king's decisions were publicly discussed during these years was unprecedented. Previous scholars have addressed the role of topical publications in the context of Stuart contention with public opinion and parliamentary representatives until the outbreak of the Civil War. Still, while most of the studies focusing on the rise of dissidence during the 1620s are quick to acknowledge that the Parliaments of 1621 and 1624 revolved around James's foreign policy, their narratives are mainly focussed on understanding domestic political tensions, becoming more insular in the process.[18]

Other works, such as Redworth's *The Prince and the Infanta*, Samson's *The Spanish Match* and Pursell's *The Winter King*, have endeavoured to introduce an international dimension into English discussions over the Spanish Match and the Palatinate Crisis.[19] On the same note, Raymond's preliminary study of premodern libels in a transnational context has revealed that the international circulation of popular tracts played their part in pan-European politics.[20] And yet, still today, there still much to be advanced on how early modern diplomats played their part in transmitting flows of information by engaging with topical publications like pamphlets and broadsheets in the form of proclamations

[17] Emma Turnbull, 'Anti-Popery in Early Modern England: Religion, War and Print, c. 1617-1635' (University of Oxford [Unpublished doctoral dissertation], 2016), pp. 91–143.
[18] Ewing, 'A Tongue-Combat', pp. 8–9; Russell, *King James and His English Parliaments*, pp. 177–88.
[19] Redworth, *The Prince and the Infanta*; Brennan Pursell, *The Winter King: Frederick V of the Palatinate and the Coming of the Thirty Years' War* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003); Peter Wilson, *The Thirty Years War: Europe's Tragedy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012); Samson, *The Spanish Match*.
[20] Joad Raymond, 'Les Libelles Internationaux à la Période Moderne: Étude Préliminaire', *Études Épistémè*, 26, 2014 <http://journals.openedition.org/episteme/297> [accessed 8 August 2019].

and ballads.[21] On the same note, few studies have assessed how premodern ambassadors interacted with the pictorial woodcuts and engravings that were commonly sold in the markets and circulated in the streets. Accordingly, this chapter will analyse Gondomar's engagement with English proclamations, pamphlets, ballads and pictorial prints in the context of his diplomatic mission to London.

Through an analysis of the documents at the *Casa del Sol*, this study will examine how the Spanish ambassador engaged with popular publications as he endeavoured to advance his master's agenda and report about domestic and foreign affairs. Sometimes, this chapter will refer to these texts and images with the generic term of popular media, given that the sources here analysed tended to share a group of qualities that differentiated them from publications usually tailored towards a more learned elite. Sure enough, when compared to other types of more costly printed sources like printed maps, history books or religious tracts, popular media was known for being more accessible in the market. This is easier to affirm with "cheap" printed texts like pamphlets and broadsides.[22] But as this study will argue, the costlier woodcuts and engravings were also very popular, given that they sold exceptionally well in print shops. As a result, these documents were deemed to have formed part of the period's popular print culture.[23] What is more, pictorial representations were often included in "cheap" pamphlets and ballads. Moreover, popular texts and images tended to share a common quality in that they regularly intended to reach –and sometimes influence– a wider public that included other social groups in addition

[21] See Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press); Angela McShane, 'Ballads and Broadsides', in *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture: Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660* (Oxford University Press, 2011).

[22] It is important to note that manuscript pamphlets and separates also circulated widely during the period. As Millstone has come to show, these scribal texts might have been even more popular than their printed counterparts. However, as shown by the case of *Vox Populi*, popular manuscript works were often first rendered in the print form. For a discussion on the period's manuscript culture, see Millstone, *Manuscript Circulation*, pp. 1–24.

[23] Helen Pierce, 'Images, Representation, and Counter-Representation', in *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture: Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660* (Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 274.

to the courtier, gentleman, cleric and scholar. Thus, regardless of the different range of prices one can find among types of popular media, all these items were known for being more appealing to a wider public due to their material format, which was easy to circulate, and their content, which tended to be more comprehensible to a wider public in terms of style and subject. In addition, these materials were considered more ephemeral. Still, perhaps because of these qualities, these items gained a remarkable versatility for dealing with recent news and conveying particular readings about topical events being discussed at court (pageants, processions, scandals, marriages, wars, etc.).

Certainly, ballads, pamphlets and pictorial prints could deal with any type of subject, from the highest to the most profane. However, these items also became essential outlets for dealing with what Raymond has termed as the 'newsy'; and for disclosing what was 'being said or thought about events connected with the government of states and with cities and their peoples', following on Dooley.[24] All in all, when dealing with these subjects, popular media became an important tool for providing the public domain with specific political readings about events and for creating a particular outlook of the political actors involved through the use of texts and images.

As this chapter will show, popular media could be also used in a diplomatic context to enhance an ambassador's public image or defame the good standing of an opponent. In order to better illustrate this process, this study will assess the documents in Sarmiento's library, but will also comment on some English popular media that put the Spaniard in the public eye. This is the case of anti-Spanish works produced by Thomas Scott and Thomas Middleton, but also applies to Michael Duval's Rosa *Anglo-Hispanica,* a pro-Spanish Match publication that greatly praised the Spanish ambassador.

[24] Joad Raymond, 'News Writing', in *The Oxford Handbook of English Prose 1500-1640*, ed. by Andrew Hadfield (Oxford: Oxford University Press), pp. 303–4; *The Politics of Information in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Brendan Maurice Dooley (New York: Routledge, 2001), pp. 1–16.

Thus, through a study of the English popular media that was handled at the Spanish embassy, this chapter will endeavour to better understand Sarmiento's strategies in publicity during his diplomacy. Moreover, through a simultaneous analysis of certain popular publications that showcased Gondomar, this study will highlight some of the ways in which Dutch-Palatine agents contributed to stir anti-Spanish sentiment among the English public, as revealed by their involvement in the production of polemical messages against the Spanish Match. As this chapter will propose, Spanish Habsburg diplomatic networks might have been less active in deploying a similar strategy with popular media to advance their interests. This latter detail is suggested through a review of available historiography, but also through a study of the documents at the *Casa del Sol*.

5.3. Public Diplomacy: Engaging with Public Opinion

As Anderson once claimed, the popular animosity against Spain that would characterise the 1620s started to take form in 1618. Certainly, during the summer of that year, Frederick V entered into conflict with the Emperor over the crown of Bohemia.[25] However, an additional event of note in England was the execution of Sir Walter Ralegh on 29 October 1618 (old style). In a letter dated 21 November 1618 (old style), John Chamberlain wrote to his friend Dudley Carleton: 'We are so full still of Sir Walter Raleigh that almost every day brings foorth somwhat in this kind'. With this he meant that many manuscript versions of the privateer's dying speech still circulated the streets. Even though the English government had promptly published a declaration to justify the execution, the public still looked for alternative accounts in manuscript and through some 'divers ballets' [ballads].[26] According to Chamberlain, many English observers considered that Sir Walter was sacrificed to the 'malice of the Spaniards'. This popular

[25] Anderson, 'Well Disposed to the Affairs of Spain?', pp. 621 and 628.
[26] McClure, *Letters of John Chamberlain*, II, p. 185.

reading left its mark. As noted by Popper, Scott and other pamphleteers used Sir Walter Ralegh as a symbol of opposition to King James's foreign policy during the 1620s.[27] Most notably, these publications also maligned the Spanish ambassador for his role in the execution of the privateer. However, it is less well-known that Gondomar might have contributed in bringing the Ralegh affair to the attention of the English public in the first place.

Once Ralegh returned from the Americas, Sarmiento endeavoured to obtain an official condemnation of his acts. In a letter dated 24 June 1618, the count informed his master about Sir Walter's recent imprisonment and about his continued bidding to publicly declare him a 'traitor'. After a barrage of protests, 'it resulted that a proclamation was printed against Walter Ralegh and his expedition, which I send to your Majesty'.[28] As promised, the dispatch sent to Spain included a copy of King James's 'publique declaration of Our owne utter mislike and detestation' of the privateer's 'insolences, and excesses' on the territories of 'Our deare Brother the King of Spaine'. This proclamation also requested English subjects to collaborate in the trial proceedings to condemn Sir Walter with 'any particular understanding and notice thereof […] that Wee may thereupon proceede in Our Princely Justice to the exemplary punishment'.[29]

English proclamations were public ordinances with power to affect events. These broadside publications were usually issued in single-folio sheets and were printed in very large numbers for circulation among the wider population. Proclamations allowed the government to rule by edict, and provided court officials with an instrument by which to enforce the laws. However, given that they also constituted a prime method to communicate with the English public, proclamations were also perceived by many as

[27] Popper, *Walter Ralegh's History*, p. 261.
[28] 'resultó el imprimirse contra el Waltero Rale y su viage la proclamación que embío aqui a Vuestra Magestad'. Pérez Bustamante, *Españoles e Ingleses*, p. 106.
[29] Larkin and Hughes, *Stuart Royal Proclamations*, I, pp. 391–93.

news worthy of being recorded and discussed.[30] One can appreciate these details in Sarmiento's dispatch to Madrid, which included a letter with his opinions about the event, the Ralegh proclamation and a Spanish translation in manuscript.

As seen above, this was not the only time that the Spanish embassy would endeavour to obtain an official statement from the English king. However, a noteworthy aspect in this case is that Sarmiento also decided to file a Spanish manuscript copy of this proclamation in one of his letterbooks. As pointed out by Castillo Gómez, premodern individuals gave a 'symbolic and political' significance to decrees in printed and manuscript form.[31] As result, there was often great value in preserving this type of communication. It is notable, thus, that Sarmiento decided to keep among his documents a Spanish translation of an English proclamation that was issued by King James to condemn Sir Walter Ralegh.[32]

As Helmers has pointed out, during the early modern period, ambassadors increasingly engaged in more active ways with popular media and developed a series of strategies that have recently been included within the term 'public diplomacy'.[33] Through their personal dealings with authorities at the foreign court, diplomats could sometimes obtain official statements in support of their interests, crossing in the process the barrier between private negotiations and public repercussions, as demonstrated by the Ralegh affair. However, another important example of diplomatic engagement with popular opinion comes from their efforts to supress publications deemed harmful to their interests.

[30] Chris Kyle, 'Monarch and Marketplace: Proclamations as News in Early Modern England', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 78.4 (2015), 771–87.
[31] Antonio Castillo Gómez, 'Writings on the Streets: Ephemeral Texts and Public Space in the Early Modern Hispanic World', in *Approaches to the History of Written Culture: A World Inscribed*, ed. by Martyn Lyons and Rita Marquilhas (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), p. 81.
[32] RB II/2185, doc. 127.
[33] Helmers, 'Public Diplomacy'.

5.4. 'Faked' News and 'Blasphemous' Productions: Censuring English Publications and Plays

In a letter dated 7 October 1614, Gondomar informed Madrid about recent happenings at the English court. There were rumours about the imminent attack of a new Spanish Armada that aimed to conquer England with the help of the Catholic League. Sarmiento explained that these reports had been 'faked' ('*fingido'*) and circulated by Dutch sources first, but then spread with the help of some acquiescent English peers to foster 'distrust and hate' of Spain. He added that, even though these rumours were without foundation, they had quickly spread with the help of a 'paper' that was allegedly published in Antwerp and that he was now enclosing with the dispatch.[34]

Nowadays, the Archives of Simancas still holds a pamphlet entitled *The Wars in Germany* (London, 1614) that is filed with Sarmiento's letter. Published in 1614, this document showcases the image of a soldier in the battlefield in a probable allusion to Ambrogio Spinola, who is presented in the text as one of the main actors in the taking of 'several townes' in Germany during the Cleves-Jülich War of Succession (1610-1614). This European dynastic conflict was fought for the control of duchies in the Rhineland that were strategically placed near Flanders, France and the Netherlands.[35] When Sarmiento penned his report, a truce was being negotiated between contending factions and King James had played a part in the negotiations.[36] In this respect, the circulation of this pamphlet seems to be timely. It intended to inform the English public about Spanish campaigns against Protestant forces in Germany. It also provided a 'full Relation of the seuerall parts and members of that most great and generall body of the most invincible Catholike Army' and opened the door to the possibility of an attack against other

[34] AGS Estado, Legajo, 2591, docs. 61-64.
[35] Mark Fissel, *English Warfare, 1511-1642* (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 255–56.
[36] Patterson, *Reunion of Christendom*, p. 294.

Protestants.[37] In his diplomatic report, Sarmiento rejected these prospects and added that the 'paper' about the Catholic league included 'absurd' details. Among these, that the Pope had appointed a 'Pastor of Constantinople' as the main commander and that Spinola's banners displayed chains as a sign of the serfdom he wanted to impose to others. In his letter, Sarmiento notified Madrid about his complaints to King James regarding this 'paper'. He also informed Spanish authorities about the recent appearance of an anti-Catholic '*estampa*' or pictorial print, which was also included in the dispatch. The image sent by the ambassador displays a beaten Pope put into the grindstone by a series of prominent Protestant figures that were identified in clear Spanish handwriting.

In the print at the General Archives of Simancas, one can read that the main abusers of the Pope are George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, and John King, the bishop of London. In the background, one can appreciate Prince Charles, the Dutch Maurice of Nassau, the Elector Palatine Frederick V, King James I and Christian IV, king of Denmark. All these figures are identified through a manuscript heading. In the right-hand corner of the image there are three men in habits looking at the scene and above these a comment in Spanish: 'Patriarchs and religious men crying to see the Vicar of Christ in such a way'. The print sent by Gondomar holds two additional scribal notes. The first one states that the 'portraits of the heretics are very lifelike'. The second one reads: 'The king of England has ordered to pick up all these papers and burn them; and its author and publisher is in jail at the behest and bidding of the ambassador of his Most Catholic Majesty'.

[37] *The Wars in Germany: With the Taking of the Severall Townes by the Marquesse Spynola* (London, 1614), p. 13.



Figure 2. Engraving of the Pope and the Grindstone. AGS Estado, Legajo 2591, doc. 63.

© Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte

In his letter, Sarmiento explained that he requested the suppression of this image by arguing with King James that the print's inclusion of his 'lifelike' royal figure was an offense to his regal dignity. The king agreed to the Spaniard's request and, according to the ambassador, all these pictorial 'papers' were destroyed. This last remark might not be an exaggeration. To this day, the print at Simancas is the only known instance of this image.[38] However, the Spaniard mentioned that he was less successful in securing the removal of the pamphlet, given that the 'papers about the [Catholic] League were widely spread and the credit given to it by the ignorant and ill-intentioned could not be

[38] As it seems, previous studies were unaware of the existence of this image in Simancas and have thus suggested that all copies were lost. See Malcolm Jones, *The Print in Early Modern England: An Historical Oversight* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), p. 140.

regained'.[39] Time proved that he was right in that assessment, given that the rumours about Armadas was a recurring fear amongst the English public for years (1616, 1618, 1619, 1622, 1624).[40]

During his residence in London, Sarmiento monitored English religious tracts on issues like the 1606 Oath of Allegiance.[41] But as this example shows, he also monitored topical publications in the form of visual prints and pamphlets. Previous historians have already mentioned how the pamphlet was a complex print product that adopted many forms and functions.[42] Materially, it was conceived within the book industry as a publication smaller in size than the folio. It was usually produced in quarto or octavo (sometimes duodecimo) and could range between eight and ninety-six pages in quarto and between sixteen and 192 pages in octavo.[43] These were the maximum dimensions that would have usually allowed for the pamphlet to be stitched, rather than sewn as a book. Thus, the binding technique became a definitory aspect until the 18th century.[44] This was particularly true for Spain.[45] During the period, there was no name in the Spanish language for a pamphlet and these were often described as 'papers'.[46] Printed images, on the other hand, could be called *estampas* (prints) and sometimes *retratos* (portraits) when these depicted sitters. But these visual items were many times deemed simply as 'papers' too, pointing how this term was not only applied to manuscripts during the times, but also to unbound printed texts and images that oftentimes were put together

[39] 'los papeles de la liga estavan tan esparcidos que no se ha podido recoger el crédito que les han dado muchos ignorantes y maliciosos'. AGS Estado 2591, doc. 61.
[40] See O. Ruiz. 'Las Relaciones Hispano-Inglesas', pp. 124-125.
[41] See Chapter 4.5.
[42] Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: University Press, 2003), p. 25.
[43] See Jason Peacey, 'Pamphlets', in *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture: Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660* (Oxford University Press, 2011).
[44] Peacey, 'Pamphlets', p. 454.
[45] Roger Chartier, 'France and Spain', in *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture: Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660* (Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 180–82.
[46] See Hutchings, 'The Spectre of Gondomar'.

in the same publication. One can appreciate this detail in the representation of a soldier in the English pamphlet, *The Wars in Germany*.

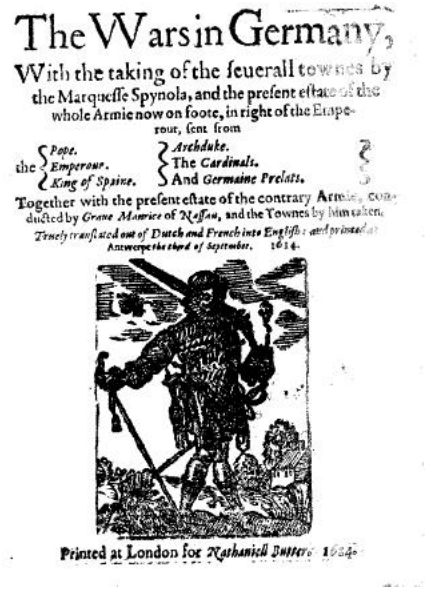
The Wars in Germany,
With the taking of the seuerall townes by the Marqueſſe Spynola, and the preſent eſtate of the whole Armie now on foote, in right of the Empe-rour, ſent from
the { Pope. Emperour. King of Spaine. } { Archduke. The Cardinals. And Germaine Prelats. }
Together with the preſent eſtate of the contrary Armie, con-ducted by Graue Maurice of Naſſau, and the Townes by him taken.
Printed at London for Nathaniell Butter. 1624.

Figure 3. Front page of the pamphlet *The Wars in Germany* (1614). BL, Reference STC 11796.

© British Library. Access facilitated by ProQuest.

Contrary to the scholarly trends of today, which tend to make clear divisions between genres and formats, popular printed texts and images were often in dialogue during the period. On the same note, topical publications were closely linked to the manuscript form.[47] This can be appreciated in Sarmiento's scribal copy of the Ralegh proclamation, but also on the many manuscript copies of *Vox Populi* that circulated in London during the 1620s.[48] As a result, all these items could be deemed simply as 'papers'. Moreover, this terminological indeterminacy was further heightened by the composing processes of the diplomatic dispatch, which often turned all types of sources into a contained political report in manuscript form.

In a letter dated 14 July 1614, one can find more evidence of the period's multifaceted approach to formats and genres when it came to popular publications. In that missive,

[47] See Millstone, *Manuscript Circulation*, pp. 1–24.
[48] See Millstone, *Manuscript Circulation*, pp. 49 and 133–34.

Sarmiento sent to Madrid a pamphlet published in London with the title *An Act or Decree of the Court of Parliament of Paris* (London, 1614). He also included a manuscript translation in Spanish of this document.[49] The London-published pamphlet was, in turn, a printed translation in English of the Parisian Parlement's decree against Francisco Suarez's *Defensio Fidei,* which challenged the temporal powers of princes.[50] The decree was originally issued in France in June 1614. Nevertheless, the English publication went beyond the mere translation of a French dictum. It also included a prefatory letter in English that greatly praised France's repudiation of that 'Spanish Goliath, or Popish Champion [Suarez], invading the king of England, Armada-like'.[51]

In July 1618, Gondomar left London for his first diplomatic leave to Spain. During this period, the monitoring of popular media was continued by the embassy's confessor, friar Diego de la Fuente. In November 1618, the Dominican would report to Spanish authorities about the appearance of an anonymous *'librillo*' or 'booklet' that had been published by a 'Thomas Snodham'. The priest would explain that this publication criticised the Spanish Match and that he had complained to King James about it.[52] To secure its removal, the Dominican argued with the English monarch that similar censuring efforts had been carried out in Spain with Pedro Mantuano. This writer had recently chronicled the marriage of the Infanta Ana with the French King Louis XIII, and used this work as an occasion to negatively comment on an Anglo-Spanish marriage alliance.[53] When informing the Spanish court about these events, De la Fuente explained that James happily obliged to his request. The friar also commented that he suspected that the Dutch agent Noel Caron was involved in this publication.[54]

[49] AGS Estado, Legajo 2591, docs. 117-122.
[50] See Chapter 4.5.
[51] See the dedicatory to the reader in *An Act or Decree of the Court of Parliament of Paris* (London, 1614).
[52] RB II/551, ff. 34v-36r.
[53] See Samson, 'Introduction', p. 4.
[54] RB II/551, ff. 41r.

As it seems, the Spanish embassy's confessor was very effective in this censuring effort. Nowadays, the English Short Title Catalogue does not appear to hold any record about any type of text published by Thomas Snodham in 1618 that directly comments on the Spanish Match.[55] But this monitoring endeavour was not an isolated case. During his tenure as *chargé d'affaires ad interim*, friar Diego de la Fuente strived to examine and harness the outpouring of anti-Spanish sentiment that found its way to the print, the pulpit and the stage. In a letter dated 1 October 1619, De la Fuente informed Gondomar about his recent efforts to suppress an image and a play:

> I have been brave these days, given that I have [put] in jail five or six men who have been found guilty for [publishing] a print [*estampa*] that came out these days against His Holiness [the Pope]; and I have managed to suspend with great effect the representation in here [London] of a play they call the *Whore of Babylon*, [which] is full of a thousand blasphemies and lies against the Pope and Spain.[56]

Even though it is difficult to pin down which anti-papal print Friar Diego endeavoured to prohibit, the play he managed to remove was a revival of Thomas Dekker's *Whore of Babylon*, originally staged in 1606. According to Smith-Cronin, the attempts to revive this play during the late 1610s had strong political undertones. The play was an apocalyptic and chivalric allegory. It dramatised the various assassination attempts against Queen Elizabeth.[57] As it appears, the drama was once again speaking powerfully to a public influenced by the inter-confessional debates occurring in Europe during the opening years of the Thirty Years' War.

All in all, between 1618 and 1620, friar Diego de la Fuente followed in his master's footsteps by advocating for the removal of popular messages that contravened the interests of Spain. This task was far from easy. In a letter dated 12 March 1619, the

[55] See 'ESTC'.
[56] 'He sido valiente estos días, pues tengo en la cárçel çinco o seys hombres que se han allado culpados en una estanpa que salió aquí estos días contra su Santidad, y he hecho suspender con efecto el representarse aquí una Comedia que llaman la *Ramera de Babilonia*, llena de mil blasfemias contra el Papa y contra España'. RB II/551, f. 208v.
[57] See the forthcoming Jeri Smith-Cronin, 'Chivalry, Religion, and Anglo-Spanish Diplomacy: Censoring Thomas Dekker's The Whore of Babylon'', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 50.3 (2020).

English Catholic Richard Berry wrote to Gondomar to tell him that friar Diego had won the good will of different English peers, but that he was struggling to keep at bay all the 'absurdities and malice' being spread in London by Dutch agents, among others.[58]

Still, things were not to improve during Gondomar's second embassy. As previously mentioned, he became an important target for some popular publications during the 1620s. Nevertheless, as shown by a letter dated 21 November 1620, during this time he also endeavoured to control the upsurge of 'pictures' and 'rhymes' appearing 'every day printed in infinite numbers here [i.e. London] and for the most part in Holland'.[59] In this respect, one of the most notorious images he strove to supress during those years was Samuel Ward's *Double Deliverance*. 'Imprinted in Amsterdam Anno 1621', the print pairs an image of the Armada being defeated by the Protestant winds in 1588 with a depiction of Guy Fawkes intending to enter a Parliament filled with powder. According to Jones, this print had enormous popularity during the period. Some contemporaries even advocated that it should 'be had in the house of every good Christian'.[60] Even though English authorities removed many copies of this image after receiving Sarmiento's complaints, other versions continued circulating years after it was published. Thus, Gondomar's censuring efforts sometimes ended with mixed results.

[58] 'disparates y malicia'. RB II/2160, doc. 93.
[59] 'destas pinturas y coplas se aparecen cada día infinitas impresas aquí y la mayor parte en Olanda, para indinar al pueblo contra los cathólicos, y contra España'. AGS Estado, 2604, BS3-4. Published in Helmer Helmers, 'The Spanish Match and Anglo-Dutch Publicity', in *Stuart Marriage Diplomacy. Dynastic Politics in Their European Context, 1604-1630*, ed. by Valentina Caldari and Sara Wolfson (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2018), p. 212.
[60] Jones, *The Print in England*, pp. 60–61.

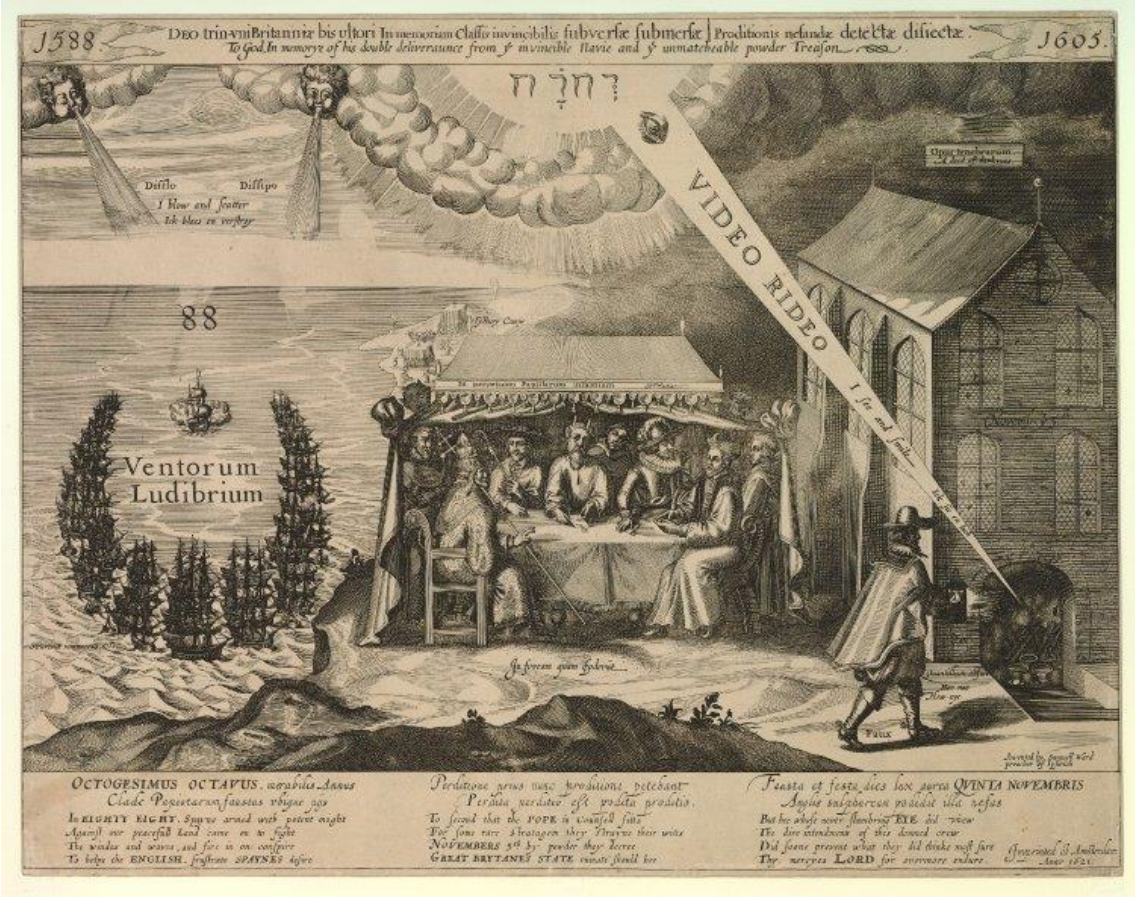

Figure 4. Engraving *The Double Deliverance*. British Museum, Reference 1847,0723.11.

© Trustees of the British Museum.

In their efforts to exert some influence over the publications affecting English public opinion, Sarmiento and the embassy personnel kept an eye on popular media circulating in London. As seen in chapter 4, when it came to the monitoring of religious tracts on issues like the Oath of the Allegiance, their apparent strategy was to covertly convert authors challenging Roman authority.[61] Nonetheless, the evidence just discussed suggests that the Spanish embassy tended to openly request English authorities for the removal of popular messages deemed libellous.[62] This can be appreciated in the anti-Spanish publications denounced by Spanish agents, but can be also observed in their efforts to suppress anti-papal discourse through indirect means. Certainly, when Sarmiento tried to

[61] See Chapter 4.6.
[62] See Alastair Bellany, 'Libels', in *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture: Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660* (Oxford University Press, 2011); Raymond, 'Les Libelles Internationaux'.

convince King James about the removal of the print displaying the Pope and the grindstone, he argued that the 'lifelike' representation of the English monarch in the picture was unauthorised and thus challenged his regal dignity. Later on, as the Spanish Match negotiations advanced, anti-Catholic publications could be denounced in other ways. For instance, Spanish agents could point out the instability these messages brought to powers with which England was in formal amity or from which English authorities aimed to obtain a marriage dispensation, which was the case with Rome.

Nowadays, the General Archives of Simancas still holds some of the pamphlets and images sent by the Spanish embassy during Gondomar's tenure. However, no copy of these items can be found in Sarmiento's collections at the *Casa del Sol*. Still, the Gondomar library did preserve other examples of English popular media.

5.5. Pamphlets, Ballads and Printed Images: Preserving the Ephemeral

In 'Preserving the Ephemeral', Mendle explores the dynamics of what he calls the 'Pamphlet culture', a term that greatly aligns with the texts and images once condemned by Thomas Bodley as 'riff-raff' publications.[63] Accordingly to Bodley, these items were not worthy enough to be held at the Bodleian library or other learned collections.[64] Greatly in accordance with Bodley, some contemporary scholars have argued that while the chances of survival for books are usually strong, the preservation odds for popular media are often comparatively smaller.[65] And yet, as Millstone has remarked, this detail stands at odds with the fact many of the popular sources we have today were eventually preserved in the collections of scholars, clerics, aristocrats and other individuals.[66]

[63] Mendle Michael, 'Preserving the Ephemeral: Reading, Collecting and the Pamphlet Culture of Seventeenth Century England', in *Books and Readers in Early Modern England: Material Studies*, ed. by Jennifer Andersen, Stephen Orgel, and Elizabeth Sauer (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press).
[64] See Thomas Bodley, *Reliquiae Bodleianae* (London, 1703), pp. 82 and 278.
[65] Peter Blayney, *The Texts of King Lear and Their Origins* (Cambridge: University Press, 1982), p. 38.
[66] See Millstone, 'Designed for Collection'.

According to Mendle, this apparent contradiction can be reconciled through the fact that, from early on, popular media moved greatly around two vectors: news and history. Even though Mendle is quick to acknowledge that the conveying of news drove the 'pamphlet explosion' of the 17th century, it is also true that, as these items ceased to be considered newsworthy, they became history. Or better said, some individuals perceived that these items turned into incipient history from which they have formed part as spectators or main actors. As a result, some early modern individuals dedicated themselves to collecting pamphlets, ballads, proclamations, etc. This way of proceeding reveals to what extent public affairs became a central subject for different premodern social groups. It also discloses the centrality of having a 'narrative' within the collecting strategies of the period, an issue that becomes particularly telling in the case of 'riff-raff' items like pamphlets, broadsheets and visual prints.[67] In this respect, it is noteworthy that Gondomar decided to compile English images, pamphlets and ballads for his library. What is more, many of the preserved items were connected to his role as a privileged observer of events in England.

Topical publications form a small minority at the *Casa del Sol*. In the group of printed Spanish documents at the library there is a section entitled 'Books about funerals, city entrances and other celebrations held for Kings and Princes'.[68] The documents in this list were mostly concerned with topical accounts about punctual events at the Spanish court. Certainly, in this section there is a book with an account of how the city of Toledo celebrated the birth of the future Philip IV in 1605. There is also a collection of poems that a group of scholars from the University of Salamanca dedicated to Philip II after his death in 1598. Even though this section in the library certainly included bound books,

[67] Michael, 'Preserving the Ephemeral', p. 202.
[68] 'Libros de Exequias, recivimientos y fiestas que se han hecho a Reyes y Príncipes'. Appendix 1, section 4.24.

some of the documents in the listing were also stitched. A example of this latter type of item is a Spanish version of Robert Parsons's account of Philip II's visit to the English College of Valladolid in 1592.[69]

On a similar note, the 1623 catalogue of the library shows that Sarmiento also preserved some topical texts in English. For instance, in the section of 'Statutes of England, poetry and other books touching different things', one can find a copy of Thomas Middleton's *The Triumphs of Truth* (London, 1613).[70] This work in quarto was a printed account of the pageant organised to commemorate the inauguration of the homonymous Thomas Myddelton as Lord Mayor of London on 29 October 1613 (old style).[71] In a previous study, Jansson discussed the special report written by the Russian ambassador, Aleksei Ziuzin, to comment on this Lord Mayor's inauguration. In his dispatch, Ziuzin informed about his recent arrival in London. He also explained that he was strongly compelled by King James to attend the mayoral pageant with the other ambassadors.[72] In a letter dated 8 November 1613 Sarmiento briefly commented that he had met the Russian ambassador. He also mentioned by passing about the Lord Mayor festivities:

> the *regidores*, here called aldermen, proceeded to welcome him [the mayor] with colourful furnished robes and mantles, which are a sign of their position; and [the mayor was also] received by a great number of merchants wearing golden chains and riding on horses (the horses were not from Andalusia, if truth be told).[73]

According to Bronham, a text with Middleton's pageant was published before the end of 1613. Published accounts of mayoral parades were not sold openly, but usually

[69] See Chapter 1.1.
[70] Appendix 2, item 48.
[71] Charles Welch and Trevor Dickie, 'Thomas Myddelton (1549x56–1631)', *ODNB*.
[72] Maija Jansson and Nikolai Rogozhin, 'An Account by Aleksei Ziuzin on The Lord Mayor's Show in 1613', in *Thomas Middleton: The Collected Works*, ed. by Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino, trans. by Paul Bushkovitch (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 977.
[73] 'salieron a rezivirle los regidores, que aquí llaman aldremanes [sic] con ropas coloradas forradas en mantas que es insignia de su cargo y también salieron un gran número de Mercaderes todos con cadenas de oro y a cavallo (no eran los caballos andaluçes si va a dezir la verdad)'. RB II/2168, f. 25r.

distributed by the organising Company to a select few.[74] The ambassadors that attended this event could have well fallen within this category and it is under these circumstances that Sarmiento might have acquired a copy of the *Triumphs of Truth*. In this respect, the Spaniard might have decided to preserve this item in his library given that this was the first time he attended such event. This was a common practice for the count, who would sometimes produce a special report to mark his first impressions about certain English events. For instance, when King James decided to summon what would become the Addled Parliament of 1614, Sarmiento followed the Russian ambassador Ziuzin in creating a special report that covered the history of this English assembly and informed about its inauguration.[75] In a same spirit, the count also reported about other type of court pageants. During St. George's Day 1615, he was taken for a view of the Garter procession at Whitehall and the festivities that followed. On this occasion, the Spaniard, an *aficionado* of military orders, decided to write to Madrid about these honours. Eventually, he also acquired three books with the coats of arms of the members of the Garter too.[76]

Chronologically speaking, the next English popular text preserved at the *Casa del Sol* was *A True Copy of the Latine Oration of the Lord George Ossolmski, Embassador of Poland [...] to the Kings Maiestie* (London, 1621).[77] As Helmers has remarked, diplomats sometimes turned to printed genres in order to announce their arrival, increase their reputation at the foreign court or affect public debate. In line with the ceremonial etiquette of early diplomacy, many of these orations were tailored towards rhetorical

[74] A. Bromham, 'Thomas Middleton's The Triumphs of Truth: City Politics in 1613', *Seventeenth Century*, 10 (1995), 1–25 (p. 4).
[75] See Chapter 3.4. Even though parliament became an institution during the early modern period, its calling into assembly was still regarded by many as an event at the beginning of the 17th century. See Paul Cavill and Alexandra Gajda, *Writing the History of Parliament in Tudor and Early Stuart England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018); Valentina Caldari, 'The Dissolution of the 1621 Parliament through Spanish Eyes', in *Stuart Marriage Diplomacy. Dynastic Politics in Their European Context, 1604-1630*, ed. by Valentina Caldari and Sara Wolfson (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2018).
[76] See Real Biblioteca, 'Gondomar y la Fiesta de la Orden de la Jarretera en Londres', *Avisos de la Real Biblioteca*, 14.53 (2008), 7–8.
[77] Appendix 2, item 46.

display and persuasive supplication.[78] In a similar spirit, this oration chronicled the first salutation of the Polish legate Jerzy Ossoliński to King James and recorded his request for English assistance in the recent Polish-Turkish conflict which had broken out in September 1620.

Ossoliński's embassy was timely. After the Battle of the White Mountain, James was looking for mediators to improve the conditions of the exiled Frederick V, his wife Elizabeth Stuart and their children. In this scenario, the Polish King Sigismund III, who was married to the Emperor's sister, presented himself as an excellent Catholic ally.[79] As a result, James soon agreed to the levy of 10,000 soldiers, on condition that they would be used against the Turks and Tatars only. At the same time, he instructed the English ambassador in Constantinople to seek a peaceful solution with Turkey on behalf of Poland. However, with the help of Gondomar, Jerzy Ossoliński also managed to convince King James to lend him £12,000 for enrolling Irish regiments and to cover the expenses of transporting 5,000 soldiers to Gdańsk. James's decision to assist Poland was carried out against the opinion of some advisors at court, who feared commercial repercussions in the Levant. Perhaps out of a desire to quell criticism, the king ordered for the Polish ambassador's oration to be translated from Latin into English and then published in 1621.[80] Eventually, a copy of this text made it into the Gondomar library.

In many ways, Ossoliński's *Latine Oration* contributes to Helmers's claim that embassies became a growing subject of public discussions during the 1620s.[81] The same can be said about the remaining English pamphlets at the Gondomar library. As the inventory reveals, the Spaniard acquired a copy of the *Londons-Looking Glasse* (St.

[78] Helmers, 'Public Diplomacy', p. 404.
[79] Steve Murdoch, *Scotland and the Thirty Years' War: 1618-1648* (Brill, 2001), p. 202.
Murdoch Scotland, 202.
[80] See Paweł Rutkowski, 'Poland and Britain Against the Ottoman Turks: Jerzy Ossoliński's Embassy to King James I in 1621', in *Britain and Poland-Lithuania* (Leiden: Brill, 2008).
[81] Helmers, 'Anglo-Dutch Publicity', p. 216.

Omer, 1621).[82] Written by the Catholic polemicist Richard Verstegan, this work took the form of a letter and was a direct response to a public affront experienced by Sarmiento on April 1621.

Certainly, regardless of the efforts deployed by English authorities to protect him, the count was insulted on the streets during that spring. While moving on a sedan chair, two London apprentices saw him and remarked that he was 'the devil in a dung-cart!'.[83] When hearing this remark, a member of the embassy's household objected to this offense and was knocked down by the apprentices. As a result, the Englishmen were later arrested by authorities and sentenced to be whipped through the streets. However, the disciplinary pageant was interrupted by a rioting group that decided to rescue the apprentices. When King James heard of this popular expression of disobedience, he threatened to put a garrison into the city. In the end, the altercation was quieted down and the streets were pacified, but anti-Spanish sentiment remained strong.[84] Perhaps because of this, Verstegan decided to publish his *Looking Glasse.* This fictional text describes how, after hearing the news about abuses to the Spanish ambassador in London, representatives of all European nations were outraged about the behaviour displayed by the London apprentices. After all, it was common knowledge 'that all Ambassadours ought to enioy a privileged freedome, & in no wise to be molested in any Country where their residence is by the King, Prince, or State admitted'.[85] For Verstegan, most of the animosity could be traced back to a particularly inflammatory pamphlet recently published with the title of '*Vox Populi*, somtyme erroneously termed Vox Dei, but was indeed Vox Diaboli'. [86]

[82] Appendix 2, item 38.
[83] Quote provided in Anderson, 'Diplomatic Representatives', p. 117.
[84] Anderson, 'Diplomatic Representatives', p. 118.
[85] Richard Verstegan, *Londons Looking-Glasse. Or the Copy of a Letter Written by an English Travayler* (St. Omer, 1621), p. 6.
[86] Verstegan, *Londons Looking-Glasse*, p. 21.

In his opinion, the writer of this tract was under the service of the Dutch, who were deemed in the pamphlet as the 'enemyes of peace'.

As one can appreciate, Sarmiento decided to acquire a Catholic polemical work that endeavoured to defend his image among the English public.[87] It is noteworthy that this pamphlet was produced at the presses of the English college of St. Omer. As seen in chapter 4, Sarmiento had connections with the presses of Flanders, mainly through his collaborations with the English Jesuit Joseph Creswell.[88] Creswell was, in turn, in connection with Verstegan at the time. In this respect, even though there is no evidence of a direct collaboration at the Gondomar library, the historian can only wonder if Sarmiento might have had a hand in Verstegan's writings. Notably, the Spaniard also decided to acquire a copy of another of his works: *Observations Concerning the Estate and Present Affaires of Holland* (St. Omer, 1621).[89]

This text was written as a response to a recent public offense suffered by Peter Peckius, Chancellor of Brabant and councillor of State to Archduke Albert. While on his way to see the States General to discuss the renewal of the Dutch-Spanish truce, Peckius was twice mobbed by groups of overzealous locals in early 1621. Soon, he discovered that his hosts had little interest in following through any serious peace proposal, and that they had allowed him safe conduct into Holland to inflame popular animosity and ignite publications about the events. As a result of this incident, Verstegan published a pamphlet in the form of a letter written to a friend in England who had requested more information about the Dutch affair.[90] This pamphlet illustrates how history was often mixed with news

[87] See Antony Allison, 'A Group of Political Tracts, 1621–1623, by Richard Verstegan', *British Catholic History*, 18.2 (1986), 128–42.
[88] See Chapter 4.1.
[89] Appendix 2, item 21.
[90] Paul Arblaster, *Antwerp & the World: Richard Verstegan and the International Culture of Catholic Reformation* (Leuven: University Press, 2004), pp. 138–41.

and opinions in popular media.[91] Certainly, the text offers a short recapitulation of the Dutch uprising against the Habsburgs while also touching on current affairs by mentioning the offenses to Peckius and the 'devil in the dung-cart' incident. Additionally, the pamphlet also provided a positive reading of Spain:

> So have they likewise noted, that notwithstanding the misusage in England of the Spanish Ambassadour himselfe in his own person; yet the Spanish in Spayne doe not for all this misuse the Ambassadour of England; the cause whereof is the discreet consideration of the Spanish Nation, who can discerne this misusage to proceed from such pure-strayned Ministers, as are possessed with the fury of the spirit, or from the common debaushed people.[92]

As Sharpe has asserted, royal processions, entries and pageants were essential performances in 'the stage of the theatre of state'.[93] Even though it was done in what appears to be an unsystematic way, Gondomar kept some records of these types of English events among his documents. He also appears to have taken an interest in preserving English pamphlets that touched on diplomatic missions and defended his image, and that of Spain, against political opponents. In addition, Sarmiento proved very dutiful in collecting reminders of another type of court event that could easily capture the attention of observers high and low: the scandal.

As mentioned in chapter 2, the Overbury scandal garnered a level of publicity that threatened the moral authority of the court.[94] During the last months of 1615, many libels and poems were produced attacking the earl and countess of Somerset, Robert Carr and Frances Howard. Additionally, some ballads were produced to identify minor accomplices to the poisoning of the knight. Among these, one could count Richard Weston and Sir Gervase Elwes, keepers at the Tower, but also an apothecary named James Franklin and a Mrs. Anne Turner, the widow of a London doctor and sometime

[91] Notably, this pamphlet was preserved with the rest of Sarmiento's collection of histories in English. See Appendix 2, Part A.
[92] Richard Verstegan, *Observations Concerning the Present Affaires of Holland and the United Provinces* (St. Omer, 1621), pp. 53–54.
[93] Sharpe, *Image Wars*, p. 101.
[94] See Chapter 2.4. Also, see White, *Cast of Ravens*; Andrés Escapa, 'La Muerte de Sir Thomas Overbury'; Bellany, *Court Scandal*.

attendant to the countess of Somerset. Between 1615 and 1616, Sarmiento informed a number of his peers in Europe about the Overbury investigations and the trials against the Somersets. In a letter dated 30 October 1615, he also mentioned the lesser accomplices by name and passed judgement about the role that popular opinion played in English political life:

> In a matter of days, he [Somerset] lost everybody's support; and they have started to say that he gave poison to the dead prince [Henry]; and they would prove him a hundred other things that are not true because this the usual procedure in this land [England]; and it is in this way that queens and great favourites and many others have died unjustly.[95]

Sarmiento not only reported about these events, but also decided to acquire a collection of printed items touching on the Overbury scandal. Nowadays, the Gondomar library holds an album with seven engraved portraits in octavo and five larger broadsheet ballads made up of images that serve as decorative illustrations to rhymes denouncing the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury.[96] Even though the broadsheets and engravings in the Overbury album were published and sold separately, the items currently held in Madrid were bound together into a single album.[97] That this compilation took place during Gondomar's life can be ascertained by the material remains of ink, threads and binding that set together a group of prints that could have hardly reached the *Real Biblioteca* in any other way.[98]

The album starts with an engraved equestrian portrait of King James and is followed by another one of Prince Charles.[99] After these royal figures, the album showcases a full-length engraving of the Somersets, followed by individual engraved portraits in octavo of Robert Carr and Lady Frances. A French engraving of Walter Ralegh makes a

[95] 'De ayer acá no tiene ya un hombre por sí y comienzan a dezir que dio ponçona al Príncipe muerto y otras cien cosas que le provaran aunque no ayan sido, porque assí se usa en esta tierra y assí han muerto reynas y grandes y privados y otros muchos injustamente'. RB II/2228, doc. 184.
[96] See RB ARCH2/CART/4, images 1-12.
[97] Whereas the engraved portraits tend to have an average size of 150x120 mm, the broadsheets tend to be about 500x350 mm. See Andrés Escapa, 'La Muerte de Sir Thomas Overbury', pp. 35–39.
[98] Andrés Escapa, 'La Muerte de Sir Thomas Overbury', p. 34.
[99] These images have been published in Andrés Escapa, 'La Muerte de Sir Thomas Overbury'.

surprising appearance as next in the list, given that the privateer was not directly connected with the scandal and his image is the only non-English print in the Overbury album. Still, Ralegh's inclusion into the collection might be based on the fact that he became newsworthy again after his release of the Tower in early 1616, a period that was also marked by the Overbury trials.[100]

Regardless, the other images in the album showcase other figures involved in the scandal. Certainly, the collection has three broadsheet woodcut ballads that portrayed minor accomplices in the murder. Sir Gervase Elwes, Lieutenant of the Tower, is depicted being escorted to the gallows. Lady Turner is presented in a repentant manner. The apothecary James Franklin is represented with the image of a hanged man. The compilation also includes an engraved portrait in octavo of the victim, Sir Thomas Overbury and, more notably, two ballads in folio format dedicated to the poisoned knight. The presence of one of these broadsheet woodcuts gains prominence among the rest of the prints in the album when one learns that no other copy of it is known nowadays.[101]

[100] For other possible reasons for Ralegh's presence in the album, see Andrés Escapa, 'La Muerte de Sir Thomas Overbury', p. 31.
[101] Andrés Escapa, 'La Muerte de Sir Thomas Overbury', p. 17.



Figure 5. Ballad of Sir Thomas Overbury. RB ARCH2/CART/4 (8).

© Patrimonio Nacional

As these items show, some popular media items only survive thanks to the collecting practices of early modern individuals, who were often interested in the figures depicted.

This becomes especially relevant with early modern ballads. Surviving woodcuts are extremely rare, as they were not usually considered important enough to be preserved in the collections of the gentry. Moreover, contrary to the tendency in engravings of providing a *vera effigies* of the sitter, woodcut representations in ballads were not especially concerned with a faithful representation. The images in these broadsheets served more as a complement to the texts they accompanied. Moreover, when compared to the engraved portraits, broadsheet ballads were far cheaper and thus produced for quick consumption and disposal. In both cases, however, the ballads and engravings illustrated popular interest over the Overbury trials. The compilation of these items would have required a particular interest in recording the events dominating English public discourse. What is more, the Overbury album also pointed to the different ways that printed images allowed premodern individuals to achieve public fame and reputation.

5.6. Important People 'Concerning the Issues Discussed': Portraits and Diplomatic Reporting

Over the past years, many studies have discussed the significance of panel portraiture in royal marriage negotiations and their connection to diplomacy.[102] However, there is still a need to more fully assess how diplomats collected and circulated images in the printed form, especially when it came to non-royal sitters.[103] After all, the more portable format of printed items would have made them ideal for the diplomatic courier. An

[102] See Tracey Sowerby, '"A Memorial and a Pledge of Faith": Portraiture and Early Modern Diplomatic Culture', *The English Historical Review*, 129.537 (2014), 296–331; Tracey Sowerby, 'Negotiating the Royal Image: Portrait Exchanges in Elizabethan and Early Stuart Diplomacy', in *Early Modern Exchanges: Dialogues Between Nations and Cultures, 1550-1750*, ed. by Helen Hackett (Surrey: Ashgate, 2015).
[103] For a seminal study on the subject, see Fernando Bouza, 'Letters and Portraits: Economy of Time and Chivalrous Service in Courtly Life', in *Early Modern Exchanges: Dialogues Between Nations and Cultures, 1550-1750*, ed. by Francisco Bethencourt and Florike Egmond (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), III.

instance that supports this possibility in the case of Gondomar can be found in the marks of folding displayed by the Ralegh engraving in the Overbury album.[104]



Figure 6. French Engraving of Sir Walter Ralegh. RB ARCH2/CART/4 (4).

© Patrimonio Nacional - *Image altered to show marks of folding.

The folding marks in this image, and the fact that it was originally produced in France, suggests that this print was once sent to Sarmiento with a dispatch. With this in mind, one can only wonder if the Spaniard got into the regular practice of sending English prints with his correspondence as well. As previously mentioned, on 7 October 1614 he sent to Madrid an anti-papal image produced in England that showcased the 'lifelike' representations of some Protestant princes. The Spaniard might have done something similar during the exchanges of information that followed from the Overbury scandal. This can be observed in a letter written on 21 July 1616, where Juan Hurtado de Mendoza, duke of Infantado, thanked Sarmiento for sending him images of the earl and countess of Somerset. On that occasion, Hurtado took the opportunity to request more information

[104] Andrés Escapa, 'La Muerte de Sir Thomas Overbury', p. 34.

about the outcome of the Overbury trial: 'I humbly beseech your Excellency to send me a detailed account of this case about the earls because I am eager for more information'.[105]

During these months, the ambassador also sent special reports about the Overbury trials to peers in Rome, sometimes including a portrait with his account. This was the case with his letters to Cardinal Gaspar de Borja and to the count of Lemos, Spanish ambassador to the Pope.[106] Even though no format is mentioned in these letters, it is probable that the pictorial representations sent to peers in Europe could be similar to the ones showcased in his Overbury album. After all, most of the woodcuts and engravings included in this collection were already available during the events and their format would have been highly convenient for the dispatch.[107] However, more research will have to be carried out in order to better establish this possibility. What remains for certain is that Gondomar's practice of sending portraits from England was not restricted to his censuring activities or his reporting about scandals.

As Bouza has previously remarked, the exchange of portraits formed part of a courtly culture that greatly prized the exchange of news regularly embedded in diplomatic correspondence.[108] Again, even though no mention of format is provided, in a letter dated 16 April 1616 one can see the duke of Infantado thanking Sarmiento for the image of a most renowned English figure: 'I thankfully kiss Your Excellency's hands for the portraits of the holy martyr Thomas More. I will keep them as relics and as images of devotion'.[109] Before that date, we can also see Hurtado also thanking the count for a portrait of George Villiers on 22 January 1616.[110]

---

[105] 'Supplico a Vuestra Señoría me embíe una relación muy particular del successo destos condes [Somerset] porque la desseo'. RB II/2170, doc. 10, f. 13rv.
[106] See Cardinal de Borja y Velasco's letter to Gondomar, 9 July 1616. RB II/2152, doc. 46. Also see the count of Lemos letters to Sarmiento. RB II/2152, docs. 2, 9, 11 and 14.
[107] I follow the dating provided by Bellany. See Bellany, *Court Scandal*, pp. 120–25.
[108] Bouza, 'Letters and Portraits', III, pp. 146–48.
[109] 'Besso las manos a Vuestra Señoría, por la merced que me ha hecho con los retrattos del santo mártir Thomas Moro, que las tendré por reliquia y por imágenes de devoción'. RB II/2170, doc. 151.
[110] RB II/2170, doc. 140.

As these last examples suggest, Spanish peers in Europe were sometimes interested in having the pictorial representation of figures that played an important part in English public life (Robert Carr or Buckingham) or that were notorious for their role in the history of English Catholicism (Thomas More). In many respects, these sitters became significant figures in English politics and, as a result, having an image with their *vera effigies* or real countenance appears to have had some value for the Spanish ambassador and his collaborators.

Certainly, from a reporting perspective, portraits could be used to illuminate the narratives of political news that the ambassador regularly conveyed in his ordinary letters. These images could also be used so that the recipient could more easily identify important political actors in person.[111] While serving Philip III on the coast of Galicia in 1604, Sarmiento once stressed about the convenience of acquiring a portrait of the Spanish fleet's captain, Martin de Bertendona. As it appears, the captain was 'an important man concerning the issues discussed' and thus he needed to be easily identified by observers involved in the safe passage of the precious cargo from the "Indies".[112]

With these perspectives, an additional layer of meaning can be given to the other two English image albums preserved by Sarmiento: The *Baziliōlogia* and *Herōologia Anglica*.[113] As seen in chapter 3, many of the portraits in these compilations displayed renowned monarchs from English history since the Norman Conquest.[114] They also showcased important non-royal sitters from the Tudor reigns (particularly those during Elizabeth I). Nevertheless, these albums also included the *vera effigies* of important Jacobean figures. In this respect, the *Baziliōlogia* gains prominence. Contrary to the

[111] See Bouza, 'Letters and Portraits', III, pp. 151–52.
[112] 'por ser importante hombre de lo que se trata'. RB II/ 2239, doc. 88.
[113] For Sarmiento's Baziliōlogia, see BNE ER/244. The Spaniard's *Herōologia Anglica* was confiscated by the Insiquistion after his death. See Real Biblioteca, 'Libros Prohibidos (I)'; Andrés Escapa, 'La Muerte de Sir Thomas Overbury'.
[114] See Chapter 3.7.

Herōologia Anglica, which was a unified project with an invariable listing of courtiers, most of the images that were eventually stored in Sarmiento's *Baziliōlogia* were originally sold separately and compiled together by their owners.[115] Thus, when peering into these albums, one can try to learn more about the ways in which these English images might have appealed a foreign agent, such as Gondomar or his collaborators at the embassy.[116]

Presently housed in the *Biblioteca Nacional*, Sarmiento's *Baziliōlogia* currently contains 120 engravings.[117] Even though six pages were removed from the book at some point, this volume still holds twenty-five English royal images and twenty-one non-royal English sitter from the Tudor reigns. However, the remaining seventy-four portraits contained in this album depict sitters that were very much alive during Gondomar's embassies to London. Prominent among these figures is King James, but also Buckingham, Francis Bacon, the earl of Arundel, the earl of Somerset, Edward Coke, Thomas Overbury, and there is also an English engraving of Walter Ralegh. This collection of images also holds non-English sitters, such as Marco Antonio de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalato, and the military commander Ernest Mansfield, who played an important role during the Palatinate crisis. Moreover, the album also contains engravings of rulers from European polities: Spain, the Spanish Netherlands, the United Provinces, The Palatinate, the Papal States, the Empire, France, Poland, Denmark, Sweden, etc.[118] Notably, Sarmiento's *Baziliōlogia* holds an image of the *Infanta*, María of Habsburg.

[115] Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain*, pp. 49–52.
[116] For a study about other extant copies of the *Baziliōlogia* in England and the USA, and an analysis of the variations between different albums, see Howard Coppuck Levis, *Baziliōlogia, a Booke of Kings. Notes on a Series of Engraved English Royal Portraits* (New York: Grolier club, 1913).
[117] See BNE ER/244.
[118] A full listing of all the engravings in Gondomar's *Baziliōlogia* is available online. See '"Collectio Effigierum Regum": Gondomar's Copy of the Baziliōlogia (1618-1622)', *Biblioteca Digital Hispánica* <http://bdh.bne.es/bnesearch/detalle/bdh0000188943> [accessed 8 August 2019].

Thanks to a text in the engraving, one can learn that this image was once for sale at the London print shops: 'Are to be sould in Popes head Ally by Jo: Sud. and G. Humble'.



Figure 7. Simon de Passe, Engraving of Maria of Habsburg. BNE ER/244, fol. 120.

© Biblioteca Nacional de España

During the early modern period, the acquisition and circulation of portraits was usually associated with the practices of a powerful elite.[119] However, the sign of a publisher address in this image, and others in the album, reveals that some of these portraits became an item for sale at print shops. It is true that, when compared to texts, printed illustrations were costlier and that engravings were comparatively more expensive than woodblock images like the ones in Sarmiento's collection of ballads. However, as Pierce has previously argued, these tensions between aesthetics, popular demand and price were frequently addressed through the reuse of previously commissioned images in new and

[119] Bouza, 'Letters and Portraits', III, p. 153.

often thematically different publications.[120] Moreover, regardless of their price, visual prints of all formats sold quite well in the markets and were sought by diverse social groups for different purposes. In the case of Sarmiento, the image of the *Infanta* might have served as a portable reminder of one his most important transactions whilst in London.

All in all, during his diplomatic mission to London, Sarmiento and the embassy personnel dedicated to the occasional acquisition of topical texts in the form of pamphlets and broadside ballads. These items recorded contemporary happenings at the English court: a mayor's inauguration, a public scandal and an ambassador's introductory oration. As with the case of pamphlets, the collections contain many portraits with the *vera effigies* of contemporary figures that shaped public events and invariably got to form part of history with the passing of time. To varying degrees, all these items bear witness to Sarmiento's participation in English public life as an observer. They also point to a concern of the Spanish embassy to keep a record of important political actors and events 'concerning the issues discussed' with Spanish authorities during Sarmiento's sojourns in England. In this respect, the Verstegan pamphlets preserved at the *Casa de Sol* also kept record of a period in which the Spanish ambassador passed from being an illustrious bystander to becoming an important centre of attention in the English public domain. Even though I have not been able to find any document connecting the Spanish ambassador to the polemicist Richard Verstegan, it is noteworthy that the *Londons-Looking Glasse* and the *Observations* were the only works preserved at the *Casa del Sol* among the many penned by an otherwise prolific English author who greatly defended Spain and Catholicism.[121] Still, Sarmiento's decision to keep popular items that endeavoured to reinstate his image among the English public should hardly come as a

[120] Pierce, 'Images and Representation', p. 265.
[121] See Arblaster, *Antwerp & the World*.

surprise, given that the curation of one's public persona was essential for the conducting of diplomatic practice. This was often done through public gestures at court but could also be carried out by engaging with popular media.

5.7. Fashioning a Public Image: The Printed Portraits of the Spanish Ambassador

As previous scholars have already pointed out, early modern diplomats were constantly preoccupied with the representation of their public image and that of their master. In this respect, the complex ceremonies developed around their public appearance were about much more than regulating interactions and impressing an audience: they became communicative events that were often politically charged.[122] Indeed, ambassadors were very conscious of the importance of ceremony, and they put on elaborate performances at the court they were sent to serve.

As Nussdorfer has noted, diplomats could 'create zones of potential political conflict simply by riding through the city streets' in an effort to stir certain groups of the population.[123] In addition, public confrontations with other diplomats also became a common form of showing a symbolic hostility towards other agents based at major diplomatic centres. One of the most telling examples in the case of Gondomar comes from his public altercations over diplomatic precedence. As previously discussed, he managed to secure primacy for Spain over France at the English court in 1617.[124] However, it is less well-known that some years earlier he vehemently refused to acknowledge the Dutch ambassador as a diplomatic equal.

In a letter dated 22 January 1615, Sarmiento informed Madrid about his attendance at a court masque. While waiting in a private chamber for the celebrations to begin, one of

[122] Helmers, 'Public Diplomacy', p. 403.
[123] Laurie Nussdorfer, 'The Politics of Space in Early Modern Rome', *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, 42 (1997), 161–86 (p. 170).
[124] See Chapter 3.3.

his confidants informed him that Noel Caron, the Dutch agent, had also been invited to the event. Once he learned about this, Sarmiento sent a messenger to ask English authorities if this was true. In the meantime, he waited in a private chamber to avoid a public scene. Soon, the count was told that Caron obtained a last-minute invitation. Still, the Spaniard was assured he should not worry. Even though Caron was bound to have a place among the rest of diplomats, this should not constitute a problem given that previous Spanish ambassadors had allowed for this in the past. Gondomar ruled out this possibility; and after a series of exchanges that involved the earl of Somerset, the earl of Suffolk, the Venetian ambassador, Prince Charles, Queen Anne and King James, the Spanish ambassador requested leave to abandon the premises without appearing in public. The final reason he provided for his actions was that he could not consent to 'have a vassal of Your Majesty [Philip III] and my lord Archduke [Albert] representing the figure of an ambassador'.[125]

In a long dispatch that spans over 10 folios, Sarmiento informed Madrid about an audience with James following these events. After much debate with the king over previous Spanish diplomatic procedure, he managed to avoid future public pairings with Noel Caron. As a result of this incident, the Spaniard set the guidelines by which he should be expected to behave in public events where the Dutch agent was involved. But this was not an isolated case. During his embassies, Sarmiento made ample use of court ceremonies and public messages to advance his prestige and safeguard his master's reputation. A late example can be found in the early months of 1622, when he was shown a draft of King James's proclamation announcing the dissolution of the 1621 Parliament. On that occasion, he managed to influence the phrasing of this royal decree.

[125] 'yo no podía consentir ni consintiría que en mi presencia representase figura de embaxador persona nombrada por vasallos de Vuestra Magestad y del señor Archiduque'. AGS Estado, Legajo 2593, docs. 14-15.

After the abortive assembly of 1614, James became determined not to arrange another parliamentary meeting during his reign. However, in November 1620 he found himself reluctantly forced to summon Parliament in order to discuss a possible English intervention in the Palatinate. Previous historiography has extensively commented on this assembly and about Sarmiento's involvement in it. Over the past years, scholars have dispelled the idea that the Spaniard controlled the English king, or that James had 'sabotaged' the meeting by promising the ambassador about a prompt dissolution if the House moved for a war with Spain (which was eventually the case).[126] Rather, during the two sessions of the 1621 Parliament, the English king and the Spanish ambassador acted according to their own agendas and endeavoured to reach their respective goals.[127] It is true, nonetheless, that once the assembly was disbanded, the Spaniard requested to remove from the resulting proclamation any direct reference of abuse to the Spanish king as part of the reasons for announcing the dissolution. For Sarmiento, the public recording of these offences would be highly disrespectful to a prince with whom James was in amity.[128] Similarly to the Ralegh case, Gondomar not only had a hand in this proclamation, but he also made a copy of it in Spanish for one of his letterbooks.[129]

As these examples show, Gondomar endeavoured to protect his master's dignity from any public slight during his residence in London. This can be appreciated in his bid for diplomatic precedence with other foreign agents, but also through the embassy's efforts to harness anti-Spanish messages that made it to popular media. As previously discussed, the Spanish ambassador and his agents sometimes requested for certain publications to be censured or suggested a specific wording to King James for his proclamations.

[126] Brennan Pursell, 'James I, Gondomar and the Dissolution of the Parliament of 1621', *History*, 85.279 (2000), 428–45 (p. 428).
[127] Caldari, 'Parliament through Spanish Eyes', p. 93.
[128] Redworth, *The Prince and the Infanta*, p. 42; Caldari, 'Parliament through Spanish Eyes', pp. 79–80.
[129] RB II/2108, doc. 114.

However, an analysis of Sarmiento's library reveals that the count might have involved himself with English popular media in other ways. This can be appreciated in the production of English portraits in octavo with the *vera effigies* of the Spanish ambassador. Notably, the Spaniard's *Baziliōlogia* open with this type of image:



Figure 8. Willen de Passe, Engraving of Gondomar. BNE ER/244, fol. 1.

© Biblioteca Nacional de España

In 1622 the London-based Dutch artist Willem de Passe produced a printed portrait of Gondomar in octavo.[130] A noteworthy detail in this picture is the accompanying texts in Latin*: Deo fidelis, Principi, hominibus: simul complectar omnia? Gentis Hispana Decus* ('Faithful to God, the Prince and men: will I be able to successfully accomplish it all? Distinguished ornament of the peoples of Spain'). According to Griffiths, the fact that this image has no publisher's address suggests that it was commissioned by Sarmiento

[130] See Arthur Hind, *Engraving in England in the Sixteenth & Seventeenth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952), II, p. 289.

and probably intended for private distribution within his circle of friends.[131] Moreover, this print could have also been circulated among other agents at the English court, who might have had an interest in the ambassador's *vera effigies*. In this respect, the correspondence at the Gondomar library shows that this interest existed at least on one occasion before the 1622 print was made.

In March 1619, the English courtier James Hay had recently been appointed by King James as English ambassador to the German states. He was given the mission to mediate peace over the escalating Palatinate Crisis. During a friendly visit paid to the Spanish embassy, Hay became interested in a portrait of Gondomar in friar Diego de la Fuente's room. No format for the image is mentioned, but on that occasion the Englishman commented how the picture greatly resembled the original and that he was tempted to 'steal it' from the Dominican. At the time, De la Fuente was acting as *chargé d'affaires ad interim*; and he endeavoured to accommodate Hay. Thus, in a letter sent to his master on 10 March 1619, the friar remarked that after Hay left the embassy, he sent the portrait with Gondomar's *vera effigies* to the Englishman's residence.[132]

This letter further suggests that the exchange of portraits among courtiers was a common practice during the times. And Gondomar appears to have followed on this habit through the production of his own image. In this respect, as Helmers has remarked, the commissioning of portraits could also gain a political value that was very similar to the one seen with court ceremony and precedence. Indeed, regardless of their format, pictorial representations often elevated the public prestige of the sitter. As a result, premodern ambassadors often produced portraits with their *vera effigies* to buttress their public image.[133] Moreover, from a diplomatic perspective, these visual items could serve as

[131] Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain*, pp. 60–61.
[132] RB II/551, ff. 99v-103r.
[133] Helmers, 'Public Diplomacy', p. 405.

substitutes for the envoy's real presence.[134] After all, when a formal diplomatic network was not in place, foreign agents could still gain support in another country's public discourse through the international circulation of pamphlets and pictorial prints. Furthermore, as pointed out by Bouza, portraits could also be subtly employed in a courtly context in order to attain additional leverage in a particular negotiation.[135] This latter aspect can be appreciated in a letter penned by the cleric don Michele.

As seen in chapter 4, during the last months of his second embassy, the count proved important for the reconversion of Marco Antonio de Dominis and secured a safe conduit for him.[136] Spalato left England for Rome during the first months of 1622. From there, he decided to contact Sarmiento again to request additional support; and he did so through the help of one of his acolytes, don Michele. On 10 December 1622, he wrote to the ambassador:

> My count, faithful to God, faithful to the men of the world, that I thus read ten times a day in the portrait with your countenance that you gave me in London: why have you abandoned the poor archbishop of Spalato and the miserable don Michele?[137]

In this document, the cleric endeavoured to persuade the Spanish ambassador by using a portrait that was presented by Gondomar himself. Thanks to his comments, one can suggest with great probability that the portrait discussed in the dispatch was the engraving produced in 1622 by Willem de Passe. Don Michele's letter reveals the potential that these printed images could earn for supplicants, given that they could be used to better predispose the sitter into hearing a plea. Even though we have no evidence of further correspondence between Gondomar and De Dominis or his acolytes, the letter here analysed suggests that some engraved portraits, like the one with Sarmiento's *vera*

[134] Helmers, 'Public Diplomacy', p. 405.
[135] Bouza, 'Letters and Portraits', III, pp. 151–52.
[136] See Chapter 4.6.
[137] 'Conte mio, fedele a Dio, fedele agli uomini del mondo, che cosi leggo dieci volte al giorno intorno al ritratto della sua faccia che mi donò a Londra: perchè avete abandonato al povero arcivescovo di Spalato e il miserabili don Michele?'. BNE MSS 18247, f. 20.

effigies, appear to have been circulated by the Spanish ambassador. In addition, this type of portraits could sometimes be used to facilitate collaborations between agents. Still, the image just analysed was not the only printed depiction of the Spaniard produced in London in 1622. During the same year, Willem de Passe's brother, Simon, engraved another portrait of the count in octavo format.[138]



Figure 9. Simon de Passe, Engraving of Gondomar.

National Portrait Gallery, Reference D 34473.

© National Portrait Gallery, London.

According to Griffiths, this circumstance is exceptional, and suggests that the Spanish ambassador established a relationship with the two engravers. However, beyond these details, there is no more information on this matter.[139] What is certain is that many versions of Gondomar's engraved portraits do not state the publisher's address, so these

[138] See Hind, *Engraving in England*, II, p. 257.
[139] Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain*, pp. 60–61.

specific prints were probably commissioned for private distribution. However, as other copies of Simon de Passe's print reveal, these items were eventually available for purchase as well. Sure enough, once the costs for producing his portrait were met, the Spanish ambassador's image was put in circulation on the London print market. This can be observed with the plate of Gondomar produced by Simon de Passe, which was reprinted by the London publisher Thomas Jenner in 1622 and put on sale. As a result, while the portrait of Gondomar produced by Willem De Passe may be more difficult to find nowadays, there appears to be more surviving copies of Sarmiento's portrait produced by Simon de Passe and commercialised by Jenner.[140]

As seen with the Overbury album, printed images could serve as visual complements to the exchanges of information carried out between peers in Europe. The exchange and mention of portraits in letters could also serve to foster warm relations between correspondents, or to more easily "bind" these into a collaboration.[141] As it seems, engravings like the ones with Sarmiento's *vera effigies,* or the portrait of the *Infanta*, could also become a popular commodity among the English public, who could buy these items at some shops. When it comes to the portrait of Spanish ambassador, some could have bought his picture with admiration or curiosity, though it could have also been purchased by those who might have not wished the Spaniard well. Certainly, in the game of public promotion, courtly ingratiation and self-fashioning, there was always a risk that one's public portrait could be seized by opposing parties. And perhaps the most renowned example of image lampooning during the period comes from Thomas Scott's portrayal of Gondomar in his *Second Vox Populi* (London, 1624).[142]

[140] Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain*, pp. 60–61.
[141] Bouza, 'Letters and Portraits', III, pp. 151–52.
[142] Helmers, 'Public Diplomacy', p. 405.



Figure 10. Front page of Thomas Scott's *Second Vox Populi* (1624). RB ARM29/1772

© Patrimonio Nacional

As the image shows, Scott seems to have also given some importance to the Latin inscriptions in Willem De Passe's representation of Sarmiento. However, the originally laudatory texts and iconography of the image gained a notoriously negative reading in the pamphlet. Given that *The Second Vox Populi* was published one year after the 1623 catalogue of the *Casa del Sol* was produced, there is no way to know if Sarmiento acquired a copy for his library. However, it is noteworthy to remark that in a later inventory carried out in 1769, there are two pamphlets that were added to the collection of English items in Valladolid.[143] Even though these publications cannot be connected with certainty to Gondomar's collecting activities, it is no less true that both documents

[143] RB II/2618, f. 541rv. For more information about the history of the Gondomar library and the catalogues produced over the centuries, see Michael and Ahijado, 'La Casa Del Sol'.

deal with issues that were quite pertinent to his London embassies. The first one is a copy of *The Manifest, or Declaration of His Sacred Imperiall Maiesty* (St. Omer, 1620), an English translation of the dictum issued by Emperor Ferdinand II in Vienna, with an account of the Bohemian revolt and a call for all Catholic powers to support him. The second one is a copy of Thomas Scott's *Second Vox Populi* (London, 1624). Regardless of whether the count was behind the acquisition of this latter item or not, this pamphlet bears witness to what Helmers has deemed as a an organised popular media campaign that aimed to disrupt Anglo-Spanish relations.[144]

Indeed, during the early modern period, popular texts and images could be used to enhance diplomatic prestige, as evinced by Sarmiento's copy of Ossoliński's *Oration* or the English portraits of the Spanish ambassador. It should come as no surprise, therefore, that the opposite process was also a possibility, and that popular media could be employed to more easily obstruct a diplomatic mission, especially in the aftermath of the Spanish Match.

5.8. The End of the Spanish Match: Popular Media, Publicity and Diplomatic Disruption

In April 1622, Carlos Coloma was appointed ambassador extraordinary to England. After hearing the news, Gondomar prepared to return to Spain in May 1622.[145] Even though he still kept the title of ordinary ambassador, Sarmiento's departure from London meant, at least in practice, that he would no longer be the main interlocutor with English authorities. However, the unexpected appearance of the Prince of Wales in Madrid would once again place the count in the centre of Anglo-Spanish relations.

[144] See Helmers, 'Anglo-Dutch Publicity'.
[145] Anderson, 'Diplomatic Representatives', p. 214.

Over the past years, scholars like Redworth and Samson have greatly illuminated our understanding of Prince Charles's incognito expedition to Spain with Buckingham.[146] The Prince of Wales's visit to Madrid on 17 March 1623 took most Spanish observers by surprise. Still, he was lavishly received by Philip IV and his *valido*, the count-duke of Olivares.[147] Given his exceptionally close relationship with the House of Stuart, Spanish authorities gave Sarmiento a prominent role as a privileged Anglo-Spanish liaison during the Prince of Wales's visit to Madrid. He was also elevated to the Spanish council of State, the Hispanic Monarchy's main political body of deliberation.[148] According to James Howell, shortly after the appointment Sarmiento would visit the prince and tell him that an 'Englishman was sworn Privy Counsellor of Spain, meaning himself, who he said was an Englishman in his heart'.[149] Coincidently, during these months, Michael Du Val's *Rosa Hispani-Anglica* (London, 1623) would circulate London with a similar dedicatory message to Gondomar: 'To You MOST NOBLE LORD, a SPANISH-ENGLISH-MAN, this Delicious SPANISH-ENGLISH ROSE'.[150]

Printed in Latin and English, this pamphlet was among the period's publications that endeavoured to defend King James's royal prerogative over the tempestuous nature of Parliament. It also attempted to convince the English public about the benefits of an alliance with Spain by fostering an ecumenical dialogue between Catholics and Protestants. Du Val's identity is difficult to ascertain as there are no records about him, leading some scholars to consider it a pseudonym.[151] Previous studies have stressed this tract's Catholic leanings and have suggested that Sarmiento had a role in the text's

[146] Redworth, *The Prince and the Infanta*; Samson, *The Spanish Match*.
[147] See David Sánchez Cano, 'Entertainments in Madrid for the Prince of Wales: Political Functions of Festivals', in *The Spanish Match: Prince Charles's Journey to Madrid, 1623*, ed. by Alexander Samson (Aldershot: Ashgate Pub, 2006).
[148] Manso Porto, 'Diego Sarmiento de Acuña'; Sánchez Cantón, *Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuña*, p. 55.
[149] James Howell, *Epistolae Ho-Elianae: The Familiar Letters of James Howell*, ed. by Joseph Jacobs (London, 1892), p. 165.
[150] Michael Du Val, *Rosa Hispani-Anglica, or the Spanish-English Rose* (London, 1623), fol. A4r.
[151] For more information about this pamphlet, see Turnbull, 'Anti-Popery in England', pp. 118–24.

production.[152] However, the evidence provided is inconclusive and, as Álvarez Recio has remarked, the pamphlet's suggestion that the *Infanta* could convert to Protestantism makes it more unlikely.[153] Regardless, Gondomar does have an indubitable prominence in the *Spanish-English Rose*, where he is presented as a privileged liaison between Spain and England and glorified through a series of epithets and titles:

> To the Flower of the West, The Delight of Spaine, The life of Wit, The Light of Wisdome, Mercury of Eloquence, Glory of the Gowne, Phoebus in Court, Nestor in Councell, Christian Numa, Principal Ornaments of his time, Lord Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, Most Honorable Earle of Gondomar: Governour of the Menroyo and Pennaroyo, Of the Most Honorable Order of Calatrava, Counsellor of State, One of the Kings Treasurers, Embassador for his Catholike Maiestie, to his Royall Maiestie of England.[154]

The 1623 edition of the *Spanish-English Rose* not only reveals an up-to-date knowledge of Sarmiento's most recent appointments. By calling the Spaniard 'Principal Ornaments of his time', the author also appears to have been privy to the inscription in Willem De Passe's portrait of Sarmiento. In addition, this pamphlet shows that, long after Carlos Coloma had taken office at the Spanish embassy in London, Sarmiento was still considered the main Spanish interlocutor for the Spanish Match, at least to English eyes. Though it should be granted that during the Prince of Wales's stay in Spain, the attention of many English observers turned to Madrid.

Previous scholarship has already discussed the events that followed during the months following Charles's impromptu appearance. These studies have also ascertained how growing disagreements between the count-duke of Olivares and the duke of Buckingham played an important part in the eventual failure of the Spanish Match. But there were more factors leading to this outcome. Following the initial festivities, negotiations gradually reached an impasse as a result of mutual misinterpretations and

[152] See Eroulla Demetriou, 'Michael Du Val and Count Gondomar: An Approximation towards the Authorship of The Spanish-English Rose', *SEDERI*, 14, 2004, 53–64.
[153] See Leticia Álvarez Recio, 'Pro-Match Literature and Royal Supremacy: The Case of Michael Du Val's "The Spanish English Rose"', *SEDERI*, 22, 2012, 7–28.
[154] Du Val, *Spanish-English Rose*, fol. A1rv.

misunderstandings. Most notably, the Spanish were misled in the belief that Charles's appearance in Madrid suggested an imminent conversion to Catholicism. English authorities, on the other hand, appear to have been too much influenced by Gondomar's skills for self-promotion, and thus miscalculated the extent to which he spoke for the Spanish government he supposedly represented.[155]

In the end, regardless of the public acclaim displayed during his visit to Madrid, the Prince of Wales left Spain without a Spanish bride. When he returned to England on 5 October 1623, he was received by another cheering crowd. As Cogswell has masterfully illustrated, the English public was ecstatic to see the return of the English heir without a "Popish" consort.[156] Over the following days, a set of improvised popular celebrations took place in the whole realm and bonfires blazed 'infinite almost'.[157] With the passing of the months, a new parliament was summoned to discuss English aid to the Palatinate and negotiations for a French marriage started as early as February 1624.[158] This turn of events brought a substantial change to Anglo-Spanish relations.

The last documents authored by Gondomar at the *Casa del Sol* date from 1623. Many of the sources preserved from that year consist of a series of dispatches and state *consultas* discussing the Prince of Wales's visit. In this respect, the last letter written by Sarmiento in the Gondomar library is a statement sent to Philip IV on 15 December with the expenses of the London embassy during his final years of residence in England.[159] These details further contribute to the idea that Sarmiento's repository held the functions of a diplomatic *bureau*. Moreover, even if these are the last of Gondomar's own writings recorded in his library after that date, Sarmiento continued to preserve diplomatic

[155] See Samson, 'Introduction'.
[156] Cogswell, *The Blessed Revolution*, pp. 6–50.
[157] See Darby, 'The Black Knight's Festival Book?', p. 181.
[158] Michael Questier, *Dynastic Politics and the British Reformations, 1558-1630* (Oxford University Press, 2019), p. 454.
[159] RB II/2108, doc. 81.

transactions from later years. Most notably, the collection still holds today copies of correspondence originally sent by the Spanish ambassadors Coloma and Mendoza to the Spanish council of State during the months following Charles's return to England.[160]

Indeed, between June and December 1623, just as hopes for a marriage alliance were at their highest, the number of Spanish agents in London increased. However, as the prospects for a wedding declined, diplomatic estrangement ensued, along with a reduction of agents.[161] Certainly, during the tense months that followed the summoning of a Parliament in January 1624, the Spanish embassy had not only one but two ambassadors: Carlos Coloma and Juan de Mendoza. However, this did not lead to more political leverage, as these two men were regularly unsuccessful in securing an audience with King James or any member of the Privy Council.[162] In addition, the prince's return from Madrid only contributed to an increase in the outpour of derisory publications and sermons against Spain. Among the letters documenting this period in Sarmiento's collection, one can find reports about the faltering state of Anglo-Spanish relations and manuscript accounts of the proceedings held in the 1624 Parliament between the months of February and May.[163] Gondomar's letterbooks also included a handwritten Spanish copy of King James's proclamation 'for ambassadours and forreigne ministers'.[164] This royal decree was issued on 8 March 1624 (old style) to repress abuses exerted to foreign agents during that time. In this respect, as Larkins and Hughes once remarked, the immediate occasion for this decree was the potential danger to the personnel at the Spanish embassy during

[160] For a full listing of the correspondence held in the Gondomar library for the years 1623 and 1624, see the chronological indices in *Correspondencia del Conde de Gondomar*, ed. by María Luisa López-Vidriero and Pablo Andrés, 4 vols (Madrid: Patrimonio Nacional, 1999).
[161] After Gondomar's departure in 1622 the Spanish embassy was headed by Carlos Coloma (May 1622 to September 1624) and the Marquis of Hinojosa, Juan de Mendoza y Velasco (June 1623 to October 1624). However, there were also other diplomatic envoys. These were Diego Hurtado de Mendoza (October to December 1623) and Diego de Messía (October to December 1623). See Ruiz Fernández, 'Las Relaciones Hispano-Inglesas', pp. 86–87.
[162] Ruiz Fernández, 'Las Relaciones Hispano-Inglesas', pp. 89–106.
[163] See, for example, the documents in RB II/2172 and II/2220.
[164] RB II/2209, doc. 77.

the days when the Spanish alliance was being debated and revoked in the 1624 Parliament.[165]

As King James's proclamation shows, regardless of the gradual cooling down in diplomatic relations, England and Spain were still officially in amity at the start of 1624. Consequently, the English government granted protection to the Spanish embassy during these times. Still, if certain gestures were expected from English authorities in order to keep the peace, this was not the case for the United Provinces, a political actor that had greatly opposed Spanish interests in London since Gondomar's early years at the embassy.

As this chapter has previously discussed, Dutch intervention in English popular opinion was strongly suspected by Spanish agents between the 1610s and early 1620s. These suspicions have been confirmed by recent scholarship. In a recent study, Helmers has brought to light compelling evidence to advance that during the early 1620s an 'Anglo-Dutch-Bohemian publication campaign took shape aiming both to change James's foreign policy, and to keep continental audiences informed and involved'.[166] According to Helmers, Dutch diplomatic networks proved essential in the spreading of anti-Spanish and anti-Catholic sentiment amongst the English public during the final years of the Spanish Match. The English exile Thomas Scott may have been the most notorious among the authors writing under Dutch protection, but this was also the case with other pamphleteers like Alexander Leighton, Steven Offwood and Henry Hexham.[167]

When the Prince of Wales travelled to Madrid in 1623, 'the Anglo-Dutch-Bohemian Protestant publicity peaked and tensions rose'.[168] After learning about this travel, the Dutch ambassador Noel Caron sent dismayed reports to the Hague and reported that

[165] Larkin and Hughes, *Stuart Royal Proclamations*, I, pp. 588–90.
[166] Helmers, 'Anglo-Dutch Publicity', p. 209.
[167] Helmers, 'Anglo-Dutch Publicity', p. 210.
[168] Helmers, 'Anglo-Dutch Publicity', p. 210.

nothing could be done against it 'but prayer'.[169] However, once Charles returned to London without a bride, bonfires were also lit in Amsterdam. What is more, the Anglo-Dutch press collaborations were quick to respond to the new situation with additional publications. In this respect, it is certainly noteworthy to see that in 1624 more than ten different pamphlets by Thomas Scott were published.[170]

As Coast has suggested, the notion of a real or imagined 'public opinion' in England played an important part in Anglo-Spanish relations.[171] Further study will have to be carried out in order to ascertain to what extent English public opinion was influenced by the messages put out by the 'Anglo-Dutch-Bohemian publication campaign'. However, this chapter aims to emphasise that the polemical 'pamphlet culture' produced after the failure of the Spanish Match greatly contributed in affecting Spanish diplomacy in London. Certainly, during the tense months of the 1624 Parliament, Madrid intended to send Gondomar on a third embassy.[172] As pointed out by Hutchings, rumours about Sarmiento's return only contributed to the burst of anti-Spanish libels.[173] Among these, Thomas Scott' *Second Part of Vox Populi* (London, 1624) took the centre stage. Soon after, Thomas Middleton's highly successful play, *A Game at Chess*, followed.[174]

It would go beyond the purposes of this chapter to explore the many connections between Scott's pamphlets and Middleton's play. However, the many literary and iconographical links between these two productions have been widely studied.[175] Still, as

[169] Helmers, 'Anglo-Dutch Publicity', pp. 218–19.
[170] Among these, *Vox coeli, Aphorismes of State, The Belgick Souldier, Boanerges, Certaine Reasons and Arguments of Policie, Englands Ioy for Suppressing the Papists, Robert Earle of Essex his Ghost, The Second Part of Vox Populi, A Speech Made in the Lower House of Parlament, Symmachia or A True-Loves Knot, Vox Dei, Vox Regis*. See 'ESTC'.
[171] David Coast, 'Secrecy, Counsel and Public Opinion during the Spanish and French Matches', in *Stuart Marriage Diplomacy. Dynastic Politics in Their European Context, 1604-1630*, ed. by Valentina Caldari and Sara Wolfson (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2018), p. 190.
[172] Partly due to Sarmiento's poor health, friar Diego de la Fuente was sent during the Spring of 1624 instead. See the forthcoming Oyarbide Magaña, 'A Provisional Envoy'.
[173] Hutchings, 'The Spectre of Gondomar', p. 437.
[174] For more information about these anti-Spanish productions, see Chapter 1.3.
[175] See John Astington, 'Visual Texts: Thomas Middleton and Prints', in *Thomas Middleton and Early Modern Textual Culture: A Companion to the Collected Works*, ed. by Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino

Cogswell has previously asserted, with the representation of *A Game At Chess* in 1624, and the appearance of early quarto editions of the play one year later, the negative image originally created by anti-Spanish pamphleteers gradually consolidated and became part of the English popular imaginary.[176]

After learning about this play, the Spanish ambassador Carlos Coloma strongly protested against its portrayal of Spain and Gondomar, and he promptly requested its removal.[177] English authorities eventually obliged, but they did so with delay and half-heartedly, to the extent that some observers commented how just one year before the perpetrators would have been hanged for it.[178] When this 1624 episode is compared to the thorough investigations carried out by Calvert in 1620, the change in emphasis is noticeable. Coloma himself noted the contrast and concluded from the Middleton incident that 'nothing else but war is to be expected from this people'.[179] In September 1624, shortly after the controversy caused by Middleton's play, Coloma left London 'without kissing hands'.[180]

As Hutchings has previously argued, this episode shows that that the 'spectre of Gondomar' continued to haunt late Jacobean London long after the Spaniard had left. It also helps appreciate how popular productions may have contributed to the deterioration in Anglo-Spanish relations that followed after the failure of the Spanish Match.[181] Moreover, the vilification campaign against the count also brought division among high-

(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Gary Taylor, 'A Game at Chess: General Textual Introduction', in *Thomas Middleton and Early Modern Textual Culture: A Companion to the Collected Works*, ed. by Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Darby, 'The Black Knight's Festival Book?'; Oyarbide Magaña, 'The Myth of the Black Knight: Subverting the Image of Count Gondomar in Early Modern England.'

[176] Cogswell, *The Blessed Revolution*, p. 302.

[177] Edward Wilson and Olga Turner, 'The Spanish Protest against "A Game at Chesse"', *The Modern Language Review*, 44.4 (1949), 476–82.

[178] Cogswell, *The Blessed Revolution*, pp. 306–7.

[179] 'no ay que esperar destos otra cosa que guerra'. AGS Estado, Libro 375. Quote published in Sanz Camañes, *Diplomacia Hispano-Inglesa*, p. 76.

[180] *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: James I (1623-25)*, ed. by Mary Everett and others (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1859), CLXXIII, p. 352.

[181] Hutchings, 'The Spectre of Gondomar', p. 447.

ranking policymakers within the Hispanic Monarchy. Certainly, after learning about Coloma's reactions to *A Game at Chess*, a good number of members at the Spanish council of State censured the ambassador for taking heed of the 'insolences of the shameless populace' instead of properly 'dissimulating' over the affront, as an ambassador should.[182] However, Coloma's procedure was backed by the view of influential figures, such as the Archduchess Isabel Clara Eugenia. From Brussels, she commented that there could be no more 'patience or endurance for these things of England; the comedy is made in such a way that it is enough to break a war over it'.[183]

Carlos Coloma was the last Spanish ambassador to live in London for some years. Between his departure and England's attack on Cádiz in 1625, the embassy was run by Jacques Bruneau, a diplomatic agent that did not have the rank of ambassador.[184] Notably, he was also very close to abandoning the embassy in the last months of 1624 when he learned about the publication of a new 'paper and portrait' against the count of Gondomar.[185] However, Bruneau was ordered by Madrid to ignore the affair. By then, Spanish authorities had realised that official complaints against libels were ineffectual or even counterproductive, as these just seemed to further contribute to Anglo-Spanish estrangement.[186]

After the failure of the Spanish Match, Sarmiento's image, his words, his ceremonious gestures and even his clothes were all appropriated by different English authors to render highly effective anti-Spanish tropes that contributed to inflame English popular opinion and helped advance the deterioration of Anglo-Spanish amity.[187]

[182] 'la insolencia de un pueblo desvergonzado se ha de disimular y no darse un embajador por sentido'. RB II/2220, doc. 16. Quote published in Ruiz Fernández, 'Las Relaciones Hispano-Inglesas', pp. 117–18.
[183] 'no me parece que pueda haber ya paciencia ni sufrimiento para estas cosas de Inglaterra, la comedia es tal que solo por ella se pudiera romper la guerra'. Archivo de la Casa de Alba, 219, doc. 1. Quote published in Ruiz Fernández, 'Las Relaciones Hispano-Inglesas', pp. 117–18.
[184] Anderson, 'Diplomatic Representatives', p. 222.
[185] Hutchings, 'The Spectre of Gondomar', pp. 437–38.
[186] Hutchings, 'The Spectre of Gondomar', p. 439.
[187] Wilson and Turner, 'The Spanish Protest'.

Previous historians have already remarked on the notable coincidence behind the fact that it was under the reign of King James I and VI, one of the monarchs who wrote and published the most, that the verse satire, the libel and the political pamphlet came of age.[188] In *Image Wars*, Sharpe has argued that by the 1620s the king became aware of how the 'folio grandeur' of books like his *Workes* was quickly giving way to the 'doggerel rant' of more popular publications that were usually printed in quarto or octavo.[189] This chapter has endeavoured to show how the first count of Gondomar became a privileged witness to this process. Inadvertently, he also appears to have contributed to it as an important catalyst.

The evidence examined in this chapter suggests that Sarmiento's diplomatic strategy, and that of subsequent Spanish agents, appears to have been disrupted by the popular media that circulated London during the early 1620s. As previous sections of this study have shown, Gondomar himself engaged with English popular media in the form of proclamations, pamphlets, ballads and printed images (most notably printed portraits). During his years in London, the count monitored and censured topical texts and images that contravened the interests of Spain and Catholicism. The Spaniard also decided to preserve for his library some English pamphlets, ballads and proclamations that marked contemporary events at the English court. In addition, he acquired a series of English engraved portraits, which showcased some of the main political actors in Europe during his time. He may have also circulated this type of images among his correspondents in order to inform them about happenings at the English court. In a more proactive approach, Sarmiento sometimes strove to influence English public opinion, either by bidding King James for a proclamation or by circulating English portraits with his *vera effigies*. However, besides Gondomar's formidable control of public ceremony, and the examples

[188] Sharpe, *Image Wars*, p. 35.
[189] Sharpe, *Image Wars*, p. 38.

of engagement with English popular media analysed in this chapter, there is no evidence at the *Casa del Sol* of a publicity strategy to affect English popular opinion in a similar way to that displayed by Dutch diplomatic networks over Anglo-Spanish relations. In this aspect, Sarmiento seems to have been more like King James in his taste for the folio grandeur and his contempt for the public discussion of the *arcana imperii*. Still, this quality appears to have been shared by many other pro-Match circles during the times.

Indeed, as Turnbull has previously shown, during the early 1620s a group of English publications favouring King James's pro-Spanish policy were published in London. And yet, among these, only two of these publications were in the more popular format of the pamphlet: Edmund Garrard's *The Countrie Gentleman Moderator* and Michael Du Val's *Spanish-English Rose*.[190] On the same note, even if the Spanish Match was greatly discussed in the news of Flanders, the effect of these publications in the popular opinion of countries like England appears to have been indirect at best.[191] In this respect, it is quite telling that among the copious amounts of Catholic literature published at the English colleges of Flanders during the Jacobean period, previous scholars have only identified six pamphlets from the early 1620s that can be defined as Pro-Match.[192] Eventually, three of these pamphlets made it into the *Casa del Sol* in Valladolid.[193] Still, when compared to the reported outpouring of anti-Spanish 'libellous pamphletts and pasquills' that were 'every where spread abroad' at the time, these pro-Spanish efforts appear to have been

[190] Turnbull, 'Anti-Popery in England', pp. 91–143.
[191] The news produced in Flanders could certainly be gathered by international observers. Still, the news do not appear to have been especially tailored to influence popular opinion in a country like England. See Paul Arblaster, '"Whereof the World Now Stands in Admiration": Reporting on the Spanish Match from the Habsburg Netherlands', in *Stuart Marriage Diplomacy. Dynastic Politics in Their European Context, 1604-1630*, ed. by Valentina Caldari and Sara Wolfson (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2018).
[192] Allison, 'Life and Writings of Joseph Creswell', p. 130; Michael Walsh, 'The Publishing Policy of the English Jesuits at St Omer, 1608–1759', *Studies in Church History*, 17 (1981), 239–50 (p. 249); Allison, 'A Group of Political Tracts'; Hubert Chadwick, *St Omers to Stonyhurst: A History of Two Centuries* (London: Burns & Oates, 1962).
[193] The 1623 catalogue lists *Londons Looking-Glasse* (St. Omer, 1621) and *Observations Concerning the Present Affaires of Holland* (St. Omer, 1621). See appendix 2, items 21, 38. The 1769 catalogue of the library also includes *The Manifest, or Declaration of His Sacred Imperiall Maiesty* (St. Omer, 1620). See RB II/2618, f. 541rv.

significantly less influential.[194] However, more research will need to be carried out in order to better assess this matter.[195] Regardless, it is possible to propose that, contrary to powers like France, the Netherlands or even the Holy Roman Empire, the Spanish Habsburgs in Spain and Flanders appear to have been less active in the game of international propaganda during the early 1620s.[196]

In *Renaissance Diplomacy*, Mattingly once remarked that Gondomar's success as an ambassador eventually meant the ruin of his aims as a statesman.[197] During his embassy in London, he might have won the battle of diplomatic precedence, self-promotion and ceremony against diplomatic opponents like Noel Caron. Nevertheless, Gondomar appears to have been unsuccessful in harnessing the political effects that arose from the negative image created around his persona amongst the English public. And yet, Sarmiento's procedure might have just been part of a larger trend displayed by pro-Match groups. In this respect, more study will need to be carried out in order to ascertain to what extent were Spanish Habsburg networks involved in the production of pro-Match popular media in England. What remains for certain is that after the failure of the Spanish Match, Sarmiento's public image became inherently associated to narratives of Machiavellian deceit in England years after his embassy. This can be better appreciated in Thomas Scott's last pamphlet, *Sir Walter Ralegh His Ghost* (London?, 1626). Published after the

[194] Gardiner, *The Fortescue Papers*, pp. 144–45.
[195] Current historiography suggests that popular opinion became a more politically significant force in Spain during the reign of Philip III (1598-1621). However, there is still a need to better understand the ways in which premodern Spanish agents might have engaged with popular media in an international context. In the writing of this chapter, I have only been able to identify three studies that touch on this subject. However, these works have methodological limitations with respect to the purpose of the present study, given that the intersection between popular media and international opinion is not their main focus of study. See Michele Olivari, *Avisos, Pasquines y Rumores. Los Comienzos de la Opinión Pública en la España del Siglo XVII* (Madrid: Cátedra, 2014); María Soledad Arredondo, *Literatura y Propaganda en Tiempo de Quevedo. Guerras y Plumas contra Francia, Cataluña y Portugal* (Iberoamericana, 2011); Kagan, *Clio & the Crown*, pp. 201–50.
[196] For some analyses of the use of propaganda by different European powers in an international context, see Noel Malcolm, *Reason of State, Propaganda and the Thirty Years' War: An Unknown Translation by Thomas Hobbes* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), pp. 30–60; Jayne Boys, *London's News Press and the Thirty Years War* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2014); Helmers, 'Anglo-Dutch Publicity'.
[197] Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, p. 232.

failure of the Cádiz campaign, this tract aimed to attack the possibility of pro-Spanish rapprochement during a moment in which another visit from Sarmiento was still possible. As a result, in the text, one can see the revival of notorious tropes developed against the Spaniard over the past years. In the process, Scott considered it fit to bring back Sir Walter Ralegh from the grave in order to correct the 'unfitting hyperboles' ascribed by Michael Du Val to the notorious Spanish-English Man and provide him with more worthy epithets:

> Loe thus I salute thee with thy true Stile and eminent Inscription according to thine absolute Nature, Qualitie and Profession: To thee then that art, / The poysonous weed of Europe. / The Atlas of Spaines sinnes and conspiracies. / The Devils foole. / The wisemans Bugbeare. / The Mercurie of knavish policie. / The disgrace of Civilitie. /The Buffoone in Courte. / Ate in Counsell. / Atheist, for the Popes advantage, and principall Intelligencer betweene Hell and the Iesuites. / Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuna; Most dishonorable Earle of Gondomar.[198]

[198] Thomas Scott, *Sir Walter Rawleighs Ghost, or Englands Forewarner* (London?, 1626), p. 22.

6. Conclusion

6.1. Doing Research with a Library

On 16 February 1621 the first count of Gondomar wrote from London to Diego de Santana, the steward at the *Casa del Sol*. In his letter, Sarmiento answered to previous missives sent by his servant, who was setting up new bookshelves in the library in Valladolid:

> I received the two letters sent by you on 25 December [1620] and on 9 January of this year [1621]; And I can verily tell you that I have rejoiced very much with these [dispatches], because I see that you properly understood what I asked and you have carried it out dutifully. And all my ambition in this world nowadays is to go there [Valladolid] and kiss the ground of our revered Saint Benedict the Old [church adjacent to the *Casa del Sol*] every day; and [I also wish to] see the books and papers that I have been able to gather with great effort.[1]

As discussed in the Introduction, the first inventory of the Gondomar library was produced in 1598.[2] However, the collection was augmented over the following decades, especially during the years of Sarmiento's English embassies.[3] In 1618, the German bibliographer Stephan Eussem was sent to the *Casa del Sol* to organise his master's library, which he deemed worthy of a grandee statesman or great '*seigneur*'.[4] Eussem lived in Valladolid for most of 1619 and sorted out the 'books and papers' that the count had gathered with great effort, some of which were arriving from London through Spanish ports.[5] However, he left the task unfinished, as he had to depart to England in November. Nonetheless, the setting up of the library continued for some years. During that time, some English documents continued arriving to Valladolid, as revealed by a letter dated

[1] 'He rescivido sus dos cartas de vuestra merçed de 25 de diçiembre [1620] y 9 de henero deste año [1621], y puedo con berdad decirle que me ha alegrado mucho con ellas, porque veo que me entiende y haçe puntualmente lo que le digo. Y como toda mi anbición en la Tierra oy es yrme ay a poder, los meses que Dios me diere de bida, besar cada día la tierra del señor San Benito el Biejo y ber los libros y papeles que con tanto trabajo he juntado'. BNE MSS 18423, f. 58r. Published in Manso Porto, *Erudito, Mecenas y Bibliófilo*, p. 379.
[2] See Chapter 1.5.
[3] See Lawrance, 'Une Bibliothèque'.
[4] RB II/2134, doc. 94.
[5] See Manso Porto, *Erudito, Mecenas y Bibliófilo*, pp. 123–47; Michael and Ahijado, 'La Casa Del Sol'.

20 December 1620. In that dispatch, the count informed Santana that he had 'gathered here [in London] another good group of curious books and papers that would go there soon'.[6]

A notable detail in this latter missive is the use of the word 'curious', which had different meanings in Spanish.[7] As noted by the early modern lexicographer Sebastián de Covarrubias, '*curioso*' could refer to a busybody, but it was also used to denote a person who 'treats a thing with particular care and diligence'.[8] Thus, when Gondomar confessed in his letters to having applied himself for many years to the histories of England with '*curiosidad*', he could have meant a studious 'diligence'. This premodern meaning somewhat differs from the more dilettante tone conveyed by 'interest', the word once used by Loomie to translate Sarmiento's claims about his 'familiarity' with England.[9] And yet, neither Loomie or Covarrubias provided any specific definition for '*curioso*' when applied to 'books and papers', as was the case with the documents gathered by Gondomar in London.

In this respect, current historiography has very little to add as well. Previous studies on premodern Spanish culture reveal that the adjective was regularly applied to documents during the times but provided no further clues about its significance.[10] In this matter, it is quite significant that the only two books in Sarmiento's library with the adjective '*curioso*' in the title were a 'useful and curious' manual for the 'better praying

[6] 'he juntado aquí otro buen golpe de libros y papeles curiosos, que yrán y presto.' BNE MSS 18423, f. 61r. Published in Manso Porto, *Erudito, Mecenas y Bibliófilo*, p. 375.
[7] For a study that looks at the meanings of the word 'curiosity' in a premodern English context, see Barbara Benedict, *Curiosity: A Cultural History of Early Modern Inquiry* (University of Chicago Press, 2001).
[8] 'el que trata alguna cosa con particular cuydado y diligencia'. See Sebastián de Covarrubias Orozco, *Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana o Española*, ed. by Ignacio Arellano and Rafael Zafra (Frankfurt: Iberoamericana Vervuert, 2006), p. 356; David Arbesú, 'Auctoritas y Experiencia en "El Curioso Impertinente"', *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America*, 25.1 (2005), 23–43.
[9] 'I have gained familiarity with the English nation through conversations with Englishmen... I have devoted myself with interest to their histories and annals for many years, I have tried with a special effort since the start of my residency here to observe and understand their activities'. Letter dated 7 December 1615. See Loomie, *Spain and the Jacobean Catholics*, II, p. XV. My translation differs from the one provided by Loomie. Also see Chapters 1.5 and 3.2.
[10] See Bouza, *Corre Manuscrito*.

of the Roman Rite' and a handbook 'in curious style' for writing letters in the manner of a 'courtier or prelate'.[11] From the subject of these books, one could infer that the word '*curioso*' sometimes denoted contents that were noteworthy, detailed or even instructive.[12] It may have been with any of these meanings that friar Prudencio de Sandoval might have used the word when he sent Charles V's 'papers' to Gondomar in 1605: 'it is a good thing that such a prominent person has the curiosities of this kingdom, so that the museum [library] owned by Your Excellency becomes a royal archive'.[13]

More research will have to be carried out on this matter. Nevertheless, it is thanks to the 'books and papers' in early modern collections like Sarmiento's that the historian can better explore the premodern meanings of Spanish words like '*curioso*', which tends to appear in important documents for this thesis. In turn, it is thanks to the correspondence stored at the Gondomar library that scholars can learn more about the count's career as a statesman, his English embassies and his involvement in the final organisation of the *Casa del Sol*.[14]

In 1622, just as he completed his second diplomatic mission, Gondomar brought with him the English recusant Henry Taylor, one of the language secretaries at the Spanish embassy in London. He was commissioned with finishing what Eussem had started. During the months that followed, Taylor kept the count informed about his progress in ordering the documents at the library according to their language, format and discipline.[15]

---

[11] See Pedro Ruíz Alcoholado's *Tractado Muy Útil y Curioso para Saber Bien Rezar el Officio Romano* (Madrid, 1584) and Juan Vicente Peliger's *Formulario y Estilo Curioso de Escrivir Cartas Missivas* (Madrid, 1599). Appendix 1, sections 4.11 and 4.18.

[12] The documents at the Gondomar library suggest that the word '*curioso*' could mean 'noteworthy', 'detailed' or 'instructive' Nevertheless, one can also find this adjective in the titles of a few Spanish pamphlets with imaginative verse narratives in *romanc*e at the *Biblioteca Nacional de España*. Still, it should be noted that the stories of some of the analysed texts tend to delineate a moral or illustrate a remarkable fact. For a list of examples, see 'Catálogo de la Biblioteca Nacional de España' <http://catalogo.bne.es/uhtbin/webcat> [accessed 14 September 2019].

[13] 'bien es que cavallero tan principal tenga las curiosidades del reyno, y sea el museo de vuestra merçed un archivo real'. RAH, Salazar y Castro, A 77, f. 329r. Published in Manso Porto, *Erudito, Mecenas y Bibliófilo*, p. 287.

[14] Manso Porto, *Erudito, Mecenas y Bibliófilo*, pp. 331–412.

[15] López-Vidriero, 'Asiento de Coronas'.

In a letter dated 17 December 1622, one can see the Englishman providing his master with some updates. In the process, he used the word '*curioso*' to refer to some documents in his master's English collection:

> At last, thank God, I am at the verge of finishing my work; and I hope that when you, sir, are able to come here, you will find everything to your liking. [...] And Your Excellency has also many English books; and some of the best I have seen, be that in history or other disciplines; and it is a pity that nobody here will be able to read them, as it is the case too with some very curious English papers that would merit being where someone could understand them [...] And for everything to perfect and fulfilled, the only thing missing will be Your Excellency's presence here [in the library], so that you can see it and approve it.[16]

As mentioned in the Introduction, Taylor's efforts would eventually lead to the production of the 1623 catalogue.[17] However, the letter penned by the Englishman on the last days of December is insightful in many regards, especially when one takes into account some findings from this thesis. As studied in chapter 2, the majority of English manuscripts inventoried in Sarmiento's library consisted of state papers produced by Tudor and Stuart administrators.[18] Moreover, it was with the same expression that Gondomar once referred to Sir Robert Cotton's collection, one of the sources for his English manuscripts:

> *Don* Robert Cotton, he is a knight of great esteem with a great assortment of curious papers; and through him the king [James] keeps his archives.[19]

When these details are analysed with other examples explored in this Conclusion, it makes one wonder about a more specific meaning for the word '*curioso*'. Could it be that, in this context, it was used by Sarmiento and his collaborators to denote documentary sources deemed noteworthy – or even instructive – for the grandee statesman or great

---

[16] 'Ando ya, gracias a Dios acavando esta obra y espero que si vuestra señoría viniese acá, ha de hallar los libros puestos a su gusto. […] y libros también yngleses tiene vuestra señoría muchos, y los mejores que he visto tanto de históricos como otros, y es lástima que nadie ha de entenderlos, como también algunos papeles curiosos yngleses, que merecen estar donde uviera quien los entendiera [...] y para que esté todo cumplido y perfecto, no faltará mas que la presencia de vuestra señoría [en la biblioteca] para que lo vea y lo aprueve'. BNE MSS. 18430 (4), f. 30rv. Published in Manso Porto, *Erudito, Mecenas y Bibliófilo*, p. 352.

[17] See Chapter 1.5.

[18] See Appendix 2, Part E.

[19] 'Don Roberto Coton, que es un caballero de mucha estima y de gran curiosidad de papeles en quien el Rey deposita en su archivo'. RB II/2228, doc. 109.

'*seigneur*'? As in many other cases, this thesis can only indicate the possibility. Regardless, Henry Taylor's dispatches to Gondomar contribute to the idea that the English sources in 'history and other disciplines' formed part of a library design supervised by the count.

As seen in previous chapters, contemporary letters like Taylor's have granted the historian with many research possibilities in the study of Sarmiento's library and its connection to his diplomacy. However, the missive sent on 17 December 1622 is quite illustrative of important limitations for this thesis as well. Taken at face value, the Englishman's statements confirm that, after many years of peace with England, the English language was still a 'peregrine tongue' for most premodern Spaniards.[20] Closer to the research focus of this thesis, Taylor's dispatch also opens the door to important qualifications that this thesis has also to address. As seen in the Introduction, the main material for study in this project is a type of document that was either produced outside the Spanish embassy in London, or usually penned to reach an audience beyond its walls.[21] Thus, there were clear limitations in fully discussing the extent to which the Spanish ambassador –and his agents– engaged with English sources, even if they took the trouble to collect and preserve them. On the same note, it was impossible to verify to what lengths the English 'books and papers' at the *Casa del Sol* were really representative of the local sources consulted by Gondomar and his collaborators whilst in London. More importantly, any suggestion that these items played an important influence for Gondomar's policies, or that they provided vital insights into his reports, must necessarily be speculative. Nevertheless, through a study of contemporary correspondence, this study argues that it is possible to discern many points of connection between the English texts and images sent to Valladolid and the events that took place during Sarmiento's residence

[20] Parsons, *A Relation of the King of Spaines*, p. 41.
[21] See Chapter 1.6.

at the Court of St. James's. In the process, this study has endeavoured to illustrate a series of documentary practices that could be employed by premodern ambassadors for their transactions.

6.2. The First Count of Gondomar's Library and Diplomatic Practice (1613-1622): Wider Scope of the Thesis and Future Directions in Research

This thesis has offered the first detailed case study on the intersection between diplomacy and Spanish libraries during the early modern period. To my knowledge, this project has also been the first to use a premodern library in order to learn more about the ways in which 'books and papers' could mediate in the diplomacy of a foreign agent at the Jacobean court. Through an analysis of the 1623 catalogue of the *Casa del Sol*, and a simultaneous assessment of correspondence, I have endeavoured to provide a better understanding of how 'books and papers' played a role in Sarmiento's English embassies (1613-1622).

As shown by historiography, the procurement of local sources was important to early modern diplomats.[22] In addition, early modern ambassadors often shared in the period's bid for 'information mastery' or 'total knowledge' about other polities.[23] However, as this study has illustrated, the mechanics that gave life to such ambitious ideals are often difficult to reconstruct with the extant records of a personal repository like Gondomar's. As a result, the political contextualisation proposed for the English items at the *Casa del Sol* seldom leads to a straightforward interpretation on their effect on Gondomar's policies and his diplomatic reports. Nevertheless, in the process of studying the documentary practices carried out by Sarmiento and the embassy personnel, this thesis has provided suggestive evidence on how a premodern library might have been shaped by state affairs

[22] See Ghobrial, *The Whispers of Cities*; Popper and Smuts, 'European Historiography in England'; Williamson, '"Fishing after News"'.
[23] See Soll, *The Information Master*; Brendecke, *The Empirical Empire*.

and influenced by a series of social, religious and linguistic contexts outside the repository's walls.[24] This thesis also offered many insights on the different ways in which a premodern diplomat could engage with printed and manuscript sources from a foreign court, as revealed by his correspondence and the documents that he chose to preserve in his library with the help of his servants.

As this thesis has discussed, the Gondomar library can offer novel details about some Spanish documents at the Cotton library. It can also provide more information about the transnational component that one can appreciate sometimes in premodern collections. Certainly, this project has endeavoured to cast more light on the value given by European courtiers to the 'curiosities' of other kingdoms, such as Spain. This could be observed in the case of Sir Robert Cotton and his copy of Charles V's 1543 instructions to his son Philip, a document deemed valuable for the political lessons it conveyed.[25] Nevertheless, this thesis would like to suggest something similar for many of the 'curious books and papers' acquired by Gondomar whilst in London. As this thesis has argued, it is fairly plausible that a Spanish courtier like Sarmiento could have an analogue interest in collecting documents that were often esteemed by English statesmen. This could be proposed, for instance, with English sources like John Speed's maps, Camden's *Annales* or a manuscript version of William Cecil's 1595 'Meditation of the State of England'.

In addition, this thesis has also offered insightful details about important Jacobean figures, such as Robert Cotton, Robert Carr, Henry Howard, Charles Cornwallis, Francis Bacon, Walter Ralegh, Prince Charles, Queen Anne and King James. In the past, some historians would group certain English courtiers, like the Catholic Howards, into an allegedly 'Spanish faction'.[26] Nevertheless, this project has shown that Gondomar

[24] See Brendecke, '"Arca, Archivillo, Archivo"'.
[25] See Parker, *Cómo Ser Rey*.
[26] See Tobío, *Católicos Ingleses*, pp. 184–213.

amicably collaborated with Francis Bacon and Robert Cotton. These courtiers are not necessarily deemed as uniformly pro-Spanish by historiography, though they sometimes coincided with the Spanish ambassador in their hostility towards Puritanism.[27] Moreover, this thesis has provided with more evidence about King James's *via media* approach to political and religious affairs.[28] This give-and-take procedure could sometimes favour Spanish interests. But there were also other times in which this was not the case. Thus, as noted by Sharpe, when discussing "factions" or sympathies at the English court, one should apply labels with great caution. After all, collaborations often changed depending on the issue at hand, and the time in which the events took place.[29]

On a different note, this thesis has stressed that diplomatic repositories like the Gondomar library can be a privileged source for learning more about the "underground" activities of the 'English Catholic Community'.[30] This group was often molested, silenced and imprisoned by post-Reformation authorities in England, and was therefore less able to leave a documentary trace with their own voice in English archives.[31] This thesis has highlighted Sarmiento's involvement with English Catholic books. However, as Tobío once demonstrated, the records at the Gondomar library can also tell us about other important aspects: details of regular worship, instances of conversion, cases of apostasy, examples of persecution, experiences of exile, etc.[32] Thus, the historian interested in learning more about English Catholicism would do well in looking at the extant libraries of Catholic ambassadors posted in England, who regularly used diplomatic privilege to help their co-religionaries in London and contributed in the process to their confessional

[27] See Jardine and Stewart, *Hostage to Fortune*; Sharpe, *Sir Robert Cotton, 1586-1631: History and Politics in Early Modern England*.
[28] See Patterson, *Reunion of Christendom*; Questier, *Dynastic Politics*.
[29] See Kevin Sharpe, 'Faction at the Early Stuart Court', *History Today*, 33.10 (1983), 39; Rubén González Cuerva and Alexander Koller, *A Europe of Courts, a Europe of Factions. 1550-1700* (Leiden: Brill, 2017).
[30] See Bossy, *Catholic Community*.
[31] See Havens and Patton, 'Underground Networks'.
[32] See Tobío, *Católicos Ingleses*.

mobility.[33] Nevertheless, one must state that the opposite strategy of religious constraint is true for the records at the *Casa del Sol*. Even though Sarmiento preserved a series of forbidden works with 'abominable' Protestant doctrines, the evidence in this repository reveals an effort, on behalf of Catholic agents, to suppress the voice of 'heresy' and obstruct the confessional agendas of Protestant agents in England and abroad.

The Gondomar library is useful for learning more about the transnational component of religious strife. However, the documents in this collection also provide a reminder about the growing need to overcome insular approaches to the study of important English issues. This can be appreciated with the role played by Gondomar in the popular debates held over King James's foreign policy during the 1620s. But it is also to be noted in the numerous documents penned by Spanish agents to report about the parliamentary sessions held in England during the Anglo-Spanish peace (1604-1625).[34] Thus, the British historian might still learn new things about Jacobean politics by looking at other archives in Europe. Similarly, this thesis has shown that Spanish historians could do well in interrogating their archives with more transnational concerns. Moreover, they could also benefit from exploring other archives outside Spain. After all, the evidence we can discuss today is the one that survived the vicissitudes of time. But, many times, it is also the one that contemporaries decided to maintain for posterity. It is well-known that Philip II tended to destroy documents he thought compromising or eventually irrelevant.[35] As a result, the information that these papers provided is perhaps irretrievable now in Spanish archives. And yet, fragments of this information might still be available in the repositories of foreign agents who were in the practice of intercepting documents, or who decided to

[33] See Liesbeth Corens, *Confessional Mobility and English Catholics in Counter-Reformation Europe* (Oxford: University Press, 2019).
[34] See, for instance, Caldari, 'Parliament through Spanish Eyes'.
[35] See Fernando Bouza, 'Guardar Papeles y Quemarlos en Tiempos de Felipe II. Parte I', *Reales Sitios: Revista del Patrimonio Nacional*, 129, 1996, 2–15; Fernando Bouza, 'Guardar Papeles y Quemarlos en Tiempos de Felipe II. Parte II', *Reales Sitios: Revista del Patrimonio Nacional*, 131, 1997, 18–33.

leave a comment about the Spanish king's public gestures and private actions. Thus, an important benefit from undertaking more transnational projects is that these may contribute to a better understanding of different "national" histories, all thanks to the unearthing of novel information that might have been lost or left unrecorded in one country's archives.

In addition, projects like this thesis help better illustrate the importance of diplomatic repositories in the fostering – and limiting – of cultural exchanges. In this respect, this study has taken advantage of the Gondomar library's preservation in order to suggest some of the documentary practices that could be employed by premodern ambassadors. As a result, my project has endeavoured to provide a better understanding of the multifaceted and complex nature of diplomatic practice, as appreciated by the documentary practices of a delegation that attempted to overcome cultural estrangement and sometimes strove to mediate between confessional camps.

The writing of this thesis greatly benefitted from the digital resources provided by the *Real Biblioteca,* which allowed me to interrogate well-known documents in new ways. As a result, this study illustrates how similar digital cross-referencing efforts with different national archives might lead to additional points of connection between statesmen from different countries. Therefore, as archives in Europe become gradually digitised, it is hoped that some of the perspectives adopted in this thesis may help other scholars in the study of premodern diplomatic practice and the processes that facilitated it. In carrying out this type of transnational endeavour, scholars might be able to cast more light into the dynamics in information management and cultural exchange that took place during the times.

Over the past decades, scholars have liberated the history of the book from its early focus on printed objects into an all-encompassing study of the history of information,

communications, and media in its multiple forms and uses.[36] And yet, regardless of the growing bibliography that recognises the highly rich and complex dynamics of communications, there are few case studies addressing the ways by which early modern individuals endeavoured to cross the barriers created by geography, culture, language, religion, etc. This thesis has attempted to elucidate some dynamics in knowledge-exchange and information management by studying the library of an ambassador who endeavoured to attain 'familiarity' with the English nation. As appreciated in this study, the *Casa del Sol* may have been exceptional in the extent of its multilingual holdings. However, this thesis would like to contend that this repository might have not been an isolated case, at least when it comes to reflecting some of the documentary practices that early modern agents could adopt during the *Pax Hispanica* (1598-1621).

As previous historians have declared, during Philip III's reign, his ambassadors moved on the board of European politics with great skill.[37] This was the case with Sarmiento, but also with Baltasar de Zúñiga (France and Imperial court), Íñigo López de Guevara (Imperial court), Alonso de la Cueva (Venice), the Condestable of Castille (negotiator of the Treaty of London), the duke of Infantado (secretary of foreign affairs) and many others.[38] As this thesis has sought to illustrate with Gondomar, one can learn many things by scrutinizing the correspondence of premodern agents and analysing the extant records of their libraries. Therefore, it is hoped that future studies with other ambassadors might lead to a better understanding of the documentary practices deployed by the pre-Westphalian Spanish diplomatic network as a whole. In the long-run, a cultural approach to the Spanish diplomatic network might allow us to cast more light into the communicational processes that contributed to the Anglo-Spanish peace, in particular,

[36] Yale, 'The History of Archives', p. 333.
[37] Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, p. 220; Ochoa Brun, *Historia de la Diplomacia*, VII, p. 84.
[38] See Ochoa Brun, *Historia de la Diplomacia*, VII, pp. 15–268.

and the *Pax Hispanica,* in general. What is more, similar studies of Spanish embassies from subsequent years might provide us with more clues about the ways in which diplomacy might have been affected by the Thirty Years War (1618-1648).

Indeed, even though Gondomar started to appreciate the changes in foreign policy gradually brought up by Philip IV, his death in October 1626 prevented him from seeing the bellicose years that followed during the 1630s and 1640s.[39] With the call to arms, one would expect diplomatic activity to decrease noticeably. And yet, this was not necessarily the case. During this period, the Hispanic Monarchy made a steady use of its ambassadors to strengthen cooperation with its allies and broker some deals with its opponents.[40] On a similar note, after the *Pax Hispanica,* Spanish agents continued in their efforts to create 'archival arsenals' with knowledge ready for action.[41]

One can perceive this latter detail during the *valimiento* of the count-duke of Olivares (1622-1643), whose library already held 2700 books and 1500 manuscript volumes by 1627.[42] As pointed out by previous scholars, Olivares occasionally acquired books and maps from foreign states, such as England.[43] A similar interest in attaining more information about other countries can be observed in Philip IV's private library in Madrid. With 2220 books by 1637, this collection became a place for counsel, and was provisioned with the histories of all the known-world.[44] It is in this light that one can suggest studying the documentary collections of the ambassadors who served Philip IV

[39] See Wilson, *The Thirty Years War*; Geoffrey Parker, *The Thirty Years' War* (London: Routledge, 1997).
[40] See Ochoa Brun, *Historia de la Diplomacia*, VII, pp. 274–483.
[41] Montcher, 'Early Modern Bibliopolitics'.
[42] See *Poder y Saber: Bibliotecas y Bibliofilia en la Época del Conde-Duque de Olivares*, ed. by Jeremy Lawrance and Oliver Noble-Wood (Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, 2011).
[43] See Gregorio de Andrés, 'Historia de la Biblioteca del Conde-Duque de Olivares y Descripción de sus Códices I', *Cuadernos Bibliográficos*, 28, 1972, 131–42 (p. 134); John Elliott, *The Count-Duke of Olivares: The Statesman in an Age of Decline* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), p. 282; 'Maps and Ministers: The Spanish Habsburgs', in *Monarchs, Ministers, and Maps: The Emergence of Cartography as a Tool of Government in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by David Buisseret and Geoffrey Parker (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).
[44] See Bouza, *El Libro y el Cetro*; Kagan, *Clio & the Crown*, pp. 207–14.

and his chief minister. After all, it is very probable that their libraries were shaped by transnational concerns as well.

Certainly, the use of 'portable archives' played a part in informing the strategies of diplomatic agents during the Westphalia negotiations, an event in which most European princes endeavoured to legitimise their claims through the use of documented precedents.[45] Moreover, Westphalia was also a period marked by the figure of the 'pamphleteer-diplomat': a foreign agent who got involved in the production of propaganda as part of his diplomacy.[46] Nonetheless, this role might have been first endorsed in Spain by Olivares and the agents he deployed during the first years of his *valimiento*.[47] An important diplomatic example can be found in the documentary strategies carried out by Juan de Vera, a statesman who is remembered for writing *El Embajador* (Seville 1620), but also for his participation in the production of polemical pamphlets that circulated in Rome and Venice during his embassies in the 1630s.[48] Nevertheless, the intersection between Spanish diplomacy and propaganda is still a very understudied field. Consequently, more research will have to be carried out to see whether this strategy was first adopted during the reign of Philip IV (1621-1665), or if it was already in place during the *Pax Hispanica* (1598-1621). Similarly, it will become the task of future studies to discover more about the ways in which a premodern 'pamphleteer-diplomat' might have interacted with his library, if he did.

What remains for certain is that during the first decades of the 17th century, diplomatic agents regularly engaged with 'books and papers' for their transactions. In

[45] See Montcher, 'Portable Archives'.
[46] See Montcher, 'Portable Archives', p. 349; Pedro Cardim, '"Portuguese Rebels" at Münster. The Diplomatic Self-Fashioning in Mid-17th Century European Politics', *Historische Zeitschrift. Beihefte*, 26 (1998), 293–333 (p. 316).
[47] See Kagan, *Clio & the Crown*, pp. 201–50.
[48] See Concepción Gutiérrez, 'The Diplomacy of Letters of the Count of La Roca in Venice', in *Embajadores Culturales: Transferencias y Lealtades de la Diplomacia Española de la Edad Moderna (1632-1642)*, ed. by Diana Carrió-Invernizzi and José Miguel Escribano Páez (Madrid: Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, 2016), pp. 187–204.

doing so, they were following some documentary procedures that were already practiced more than a century before. This was eloquently noted by Mattingly in *Renaissance Diplomacy* while discussing the diplomatic theories of Bernard du Rosier (1400-1474):

> If we have lingered over Rosier's treatise it is partly because so much of what he described remains the same throughout the two centuries of change with which this study is concerned [ca. 1450-1650]. Had Rosier been transported from the court of John II of Castile to that of Philip IV at Madrid, or had he been able to attend the Congress of Westphalia instead of the Congress of Arras, he would have very soon found his bearings. In the legal and theoretical writings of the seventeenth century, though he would have been shocked by some of the arguments, he would have understood most of the points at issue. He would have recognized the same basic diplomatic documents, credentials, powers, instructions, and been able to settle down into a routine of negotiations not basically unfamiliar.[49]

As in other instances, it may well be that Mattingly was too enthusiastic with this claim. Therefore, further projects will have to reveal the accuracy of his remarks. However, one can suggest that a good number of premodern statesmen might have agreed with Mattingly on the importance of undeterred tradition and the need for documented precedents, particularly in a period in which history became the 'empirical handmaiden of politics'.[50] In the keeping of these ideals, libraries played a part.

As Albalá once noted, libraries and archives have existed since antiquity. Nevertheless, with the advent of the printing press, the emergence of repositories closely tied to expansionistic quests became important in Europe.[51] During the early modern period, this became particularly evident in the case of Imperial Spain.[52] From the all-encompassing proto-library amassed by Hernando Colón, to the foundation of the General Archives of Simancas by Charles V and the eventual creation of *El Escorial* by Philip II, early modern repositories were used by Spanish agents in their efforts to attain a much claimed 'total knowledge' about the world.[53] As this thesis has illustrated, the

[49] Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy*, p. 38.
[50] See Sharpe, *Sir Robert Cotton, 1586-1631: History and Politics in Early Modern England*; Montcher, 'Carta Taller Historiográfico'; Grafton, *What Was History?*, p. 222.
[51] See Pelegrín, 'Wars of Knowledge'.
[52] See John Elliott, *Imperial Spain, 1469-1716* (London: Penguin, 2002).
[53] See Edward Wilson-Lee, *The Catalogue of Shipwrecked Books: Young Columbus and the Quest for a Universal Library* (London: William Collins, 2018); *Instrucción para el Gobierno del Archivo de Simancas (Año 1588)*, ed. by José Luis Rodríguez de Diego (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, Dirección General de

evidence provided by the *Casa del Sol* does not allow for the historian to substantiate such grandiose claims with Gondomar. Nevertheless, this thesis has sought to reveal that one can still learn many things by studying the personal libraries of Spanish agents who might have believed in the Hispanic Monarchy's bid for information mastery.

Information mastery is a powerful goal, one that is very much active today as it was in 17th century Spain, or England, or any European polity for that matter. It may well be that we will never see any individual fully achieve information mastery, or totally be able to reconstruct its mechanics from a historical standpoint, as is the case with Gondomar. Nonetheless, we can still see how early modern individuals organised their filing practices and engaged with 'curious books and papers'. Sometimes, these analyses will reveal the habits through which they structured their world and acted in it. Other times, this will not be the case. Nevertheless, in most instances the study of an early modern library will tell us a bit more about the ways in which knowledge was shaped by the circumstances outside a repository's walls. What is more, when a diplomatic repository is involved, there is always a chance that its 'books and papers' might tell us more about the keeping of peace and the breaking of war.

Bellas Artes y Archivos, 1989); Gregorio de Andrés, *La Real Biblioteca de El Escorial* (Madrid: Aldus, 1970).

General Note for the Appendices

In order to facilitate the reading of this thesis, the following appendices reproduce parts of the 1623 catalogue of the Gondomar library. These appendices follow on the listing which has been made available online by the personnel of the *Real Biblioteca*.[1] However, minor revisions in the ordering of the sections has been carried out to reflect more accurately the manuscript original.[2] The reference to folios in the original manuscript catalogue, and the estimate of items per section, follow on Manso Porto's study. [3]

In the rendering of the 1623 catalogue, the original capitalization is maintained. Premodern typographical choices have been maintained, for the most part. However, minor changes in punctuation and accentuation have been applied in order to facilitate reading. In addition, these appendices apply the modern typographical use for 'u' and 'v' (E.g. '*Calvino*' instead of '*Caluino*'). My comments and my reference to folios are placed inside square brackets: '[]'.

The titles of published works have been italicised in these appendices. When a copy of the item originally listed in the 1623 catalogue is still available at the *Real Biblioteca*, its archival reference is noted with square brackets: '[]'. Most of Gondomar's printed items were rebound once they reached the Royal Palace in Madrid. As a result, it is often difficult to ascertain whether a copy at the *Real Biblioteca* was originally in the *Casa del Sol*. Still, this is a very probable origin for many of the premodern English items preserved in Madrid today, especially when there is a correspondence in edition. Nevertheless, the presence of different material remains in some printed items has allowed the personnel at the *Real Biblioteca* to trace some sources back to Gondomar's collection. This circumstance will be noted with a '(G)' right next to the item's archival reference.[4] In the case of manuscript sources, a correspondence between the item listed in the 1623 catalogue and the item available in the *Real Biblioteca* has led archivists to trace it back to Gondomar's collection as well.

[1] For more information, See Real Biblioteca, 'Inventario de la Biblioteca Gondomar (1623)'. http://inventarios.realbiblioteca.es/inventario [accessed 1 September 2019].
[2] The *Real Biblioteca*'s online catalogue lists the manuscript sources first and the printed sources second. I have adapted the appendices according to the manuscript original, which displays the opposite order.
[3] Manso Porto, *Erudito, Mecenas y Bibliófilo*, pp. 134–42.
[4] For more information about the history of the Gondomar library and the methods employed to identify the items at the *Real Biblioteca*, see Andrés Escapa and Rodríguez, 'Manuscritos y Saberes'; Michael and Ahijado, 'La Casa Del Sol'.

Appendix 1. Library Sections of the *Casa del Sol*

Source: 1623 Catalogue, BNE MSS 13593 and BNE MSS 13594

[BNE MSS 13593 - Printed Sources]

1. Libros en Hebreo [12 items, f. 2rv]

2. Libros en Griego [149 items, ff. 4r-13r]
2.1. Y primeramente los santos padres Griegos de la Yglesia Católica [ff. 4r-5r]
2.2. Historias differentes [ff. 6r-7v]
2.3. Libros de Philosophía y medicina [ff. 8r-9v]
2.4. Libros de Poesía [ff. 10v-11v]
2.5. Vocabularios y gramáticas en griego [ff. 12r-13r]

3. Libros Escritos en Latín [3029 items, .16r-185r]
3.1. Y primeramente las Sagradas Biblias de differentes impressiones, con los commentarios de differentes autores sobre la dicha Sagrada Escritura [ff. 16r-24r]
3.2. Psalterios, Missales y Breviarios etc. según el uso de Roma, y de otros Obispados [ff. 28r-31v]
3.3. Los sagrados Concilios generales, provinciales y particulares [ff. 35r-36v]
3.4. Los Santos Padres de la Yglesia Católica y otros libros tocantes a las cosas divinas [ff. 38r-68r]
3.5. Historias Sagradas [ff. 72r-77r]
3.6. Historias de las cosas de Roma y de los Reynos y provincia de Italia y Sicilia [ff. 78r-83r]
3.7. Historias de España y de las Yndias de Castilla y Portugal [ff. 84rv]
3.8. Historias de Alemaña [ff. 85v-87v]
3.9. Historias de Polonia, Ungría, Suecia, Moscovia, Tartaria, etc. [ff. 88v-89v]
3.10. Historias de los turcos, persas, y de las cosas de Asia y de África [ff. 90v-91r]
3.11. Historias de Francia [ff. 91v-92v]
3.12. Historias de los estados de Flandes y Holanda [ff. 93r-94r]
3.13. Historias de Inglaterra, Escocia y Irlanda [f. 95rv]
3.14. Chrónicas generales y historias de differentes antigüidades, etc. [ff. 96v-100r]
3.15. Libros de Cosmografía y Geografía o descripción del Cielo y la Tierra [ff. 102r-103r]
3.16. Libros de la geometría y Astronomía [ff. 104r-110r]
3.17. Libros de Arithmética [f. 111rv]
3.18. Libros de Música [f. 112rv]
3.19. Libros de Architettura [f. 113r]
3.20. Libros del arte Militar [f. 113v]
3.21. Libros de Philosophía [ff. 114r-119v]
3.22. Libros de Retórica y de la Eloquencia Latina [ff. 120r-123v]
3.23. Libros de cartas de differentes autores [ff. 124v-125v]
3.24. Grammáticas y vocabularios en Latín [ff. 126r-127r]
3.25. Libros de Policía y de razón de Estado, etc. [ff. 128r-129v]
3.26. Libros de sciencias y cosas differentes [ff. 130v-134r]
3.27. Libros de Poesía [ff. 136r-140v]
3.28. Juristas [ff. 144r-165v]
3.29. Leyes y ordenanças de los reynos d'España [f. 168rv]
3.30. Leyes y constituciones de la cyudad de Roma, y de las demás provincias y cyudades de Ytalia y Sicilia [ff. 168v-169v]
3.31. Estatutos del ducado de Savoya [f. 170r]
3.32. Estatutos del reyno de Francia [f. 170rv]
3.33. Privilegio del duque de Saxonia, etc. y las leyes de Escocia [f. 170v]
3.34. Constituciones del algunos Collegios d'España [f. 171v]

3.35. Libros de Medicina [ff. 172r-177v]
3.36. [No Heading - Forbidden Books - Libros Prohibidos] [ff. 178r-180r]
3.37. Libros de ritratos, imágines y de otras differentes figuras en Latín [ff. 182r-184r]
3.38. Ritrattos y figuras differentes en Italiano [f. 184v]
3.39. Libro de Geometría en francés con varias figuras [f. 185r]
3.40. Libro en Ynglés que trata de los Cavalleros que a avido de la orden de la Jarretera [f. 185r]

[BNE MSS 13594 - Printed Sources]

4. [Heading Omitted - Books in Spanish - Libros en Español] [1419 items, ff. 1r-89v]
4.1. Historias de los Reyes y Reynos de España [ff. 1r-6r]
4.2. Historias de las Indias de Castilla y Portugal [ff. 7r-8r]
4.3. Historias de los Estados de Flandes y Holanda [ff. 8v-9r]
4.4. Historias de los Griegos y de los Romanos [ff. 9v-10v]
4.5. Historias universales y de otras differentes cosas [ff. 11v-12v]
4.6. Historias de Francia, Alemaña, Italia, Polonia, etc. [ff. 13v-14r]
4.7. Historias de los judíos, turcos, persas, y de las cosas de África [ff. 15r-16r]
4.8. Historias sagradas [ff. 19r-27r]
4.9. Estatutos y Chrónicas de las tres órdenes de Calatrava, Alcántara y Santiago [f. 29rv]
4.10. Constituciones sinodales de differentes Obispados y universidades y Collegios de España [ff. 30v-31v]
4.11. Libros tocantes a las cosas divinas [ff. 32v-49r]
4.12. Libros de Medicina y Alveyteria [ff. 53r-54v]
4.13. Libros de Arithmética, Geometría, Astronomía, etc [ff. 55r-56r]
4.14. Libros del arte de navegar [f. 56v]
4.15. Libros de Architettura [f. 57r]
4.16. Libros del arte militar [f. 57v]
4.17. Libros de Música [f. 58r]
4.18. Libros de differentes sciencias y otras cosas varias [ff. 58v-67r]
4.19. Leyes y ordenanças de los reynos d'España [ff. 69r-71r]
4.20. Cortes de los Reynos d'España, etc. [ff. 71v-72r]
4.21. Libros de Cavallería o historias fabulosas [ff. 73r-74v]
4.22. Libros de Poesía [ff. 77r-85r]
4.23. Obras de Lope de Vega y Comedias de differentes Autores [ff. 86v-87r]
4.24. Libros de Exequias, recivimientos y fiestas que se han hecho a Reyes y Príncipes [ff. 88r-89v]

5. Libros en Portugués [109 items, ff. 91r-99v]
5.1. Historias del Reyno de Portugal de las Indias Orientales, de Asia, África del rey de Marroco, etc [ff. 91r-93r]
5.2. Historias sagradas [f. 94rv]
5.3. Libros tocantes a las cosas divinas [f. 95rv]
5.4. Libros de varias cosas [f. 96v]
5.5. Libros de Poesía [ff. 97r-98r]
5.6. Comedias [f. 99r]
5.7. Historias fabulosas [f. 99v]

6. Libros en Catalán [11 items, f. 103rv]

7. Libros en Italiano [899 items, ff. 105r-138r]
7.1. Historias de Italia y Sicilia [ff. 105r-109v]
7.2. Chrónicas y historias generales [ff. 109v-113v]
7.3. Historias sagradas [ff. 114r-115r]
7.4. Libros tocantes a las cosas divinas [ff. 115r-118r]
7.5. Libros de Medicina y del arte de guisar de comer [ff. 118r-119r]

7.6. Libros tocantes a la Policía y Razón de Estado [ff. 119r-120r]
7.7. Libros del arte militar y de la fortificación [ff. 120r-121v]
7.8. Libros que tratan de la naturaleza del cavallo y del arte de cavalgar [ff. 121v-122r]
7.9. Libros de Architettura [f. 122rv]
7.10. Libros de Matemática [ff. 122v-123v]
7.11. Libros de Arithmética [f. 124rv]
7.12. Libros de Philosophía [ff. 125r-126r]
7.13. Libros del arte del secretario y cartas de diferentes [ff. 126v-127r]
7.14. Vocabularios, tesoros, y grammáticas del la lengua italiana [ff. 127v-128r]
7.15. Libros de varias cosas y Sciencias [ff. 128v-131r]
7.16. Libros de Poesía [ff. 132r-135r]
7.17. Tragedias y Comedias [ff. 135v-136v]
7.18. Historias fabulosas [ff. 137r-138r]

8. Libros en Françés [262 items, ff. 141r-152r]
8.1. Historias de Francia y de otros reynos, etc. [ff. 141r-147r]
8.2. Libros tocantes a la religión cattólica y otras cosas divinas [ff. 148v-151r]
8.3. Libros de varias sciencias y otras cosas diferentes [ff. 148v-151r]
8.4. Libros de Cavallería y Poesía [ff. 151r-152r]

9. Libros en Ynglés [61 items, ff. 155r-160r]
9.1. Historias de Ynglaterra y de otros Reynos [ff. 155r-156r]
9.2. Libros tocantes a las cosas divinas [ff. 156v-157r]
9.3. Estatutos de Ynglaterra, Poesías, y otros libros de varias materias [ff. 157v-158r]
9.4. Vocabularios en ynglés y latín y otros en yngles y castellano, y italiano, etc. y françés [f. 160r]

Libros Manuscritos o de Mano

10. Libros de mano en castellano [500 items, ff. 163r-183v]
10.1. Historias de los Reynos de España [ff. 163r-166v]
10.2. Libros de Linajes [ff. 167v-168r]
10.3. Historias de Portugal [f. 168v]
10.4. Historias de los Romanos y de otros Reynos y de cosas sucedidas en el mundo [ff. 169r-170r]
10.5. Historias Sagradas etc. [ff. 170v-171r]
10.6. Historias de las Órdenes y Cavallerías de Calatrava, Alcántara, y Santyago y Tusón [f. 171v]
10.7. Constituciones Sinodales [f. 171v]
10.8. Libros tocantes a las cosas divinas [ff. 172v-173r]
10.9. Libros de arte militar [f. 174r]
10.10. Libros de Philosophía y de otras varias sciencias [ff. 174v-175r]
10.11. Libros de differentes materias [ff. 175r-178v]
10.12. Leyes y Ordenancas de los Reynos d'España [f. 181rv]
10.13. Libros de Poesía, Comedias, y historias fabulosas [ff. 182v-183v]

11. Libros de Mano en Latín [59 items, ff. 187r-189v]

12. Libros de Mano en Italiano [29 items, ff. 19lr-192r]

13. Libros de Mano en Ynglés [19 items, f. 193rv]

14. Libros de Mano en Françés [7 items, ff. 194v]

Appendix 2. English Language Items at the *Casa del Sol*

Source: 1623 Catalogue, BNE MSS 13594, ff. 155r-160r and ff. 192v-194r

[Printed Sources - BNE 13594, ff. 155r-160r]

Libros en Ynglés

[Part A] Historias de Ynglaterra y de otros Reynos [ff. 155r-156r]

1. Jhon Stow [John Stowe], *The annales or general Chronicle of England*. Augmented by Edmund Howes. fº. Londini, 1615.
2. Samuel Daniel, *The Collection of the historie of England*. fº. London [1618]. [RB IV/2426]
3. William Martin, *The historie and lives of the Kings of England*. fº. London, 1615. [RB V/459]
4. Francis Bacon, Viscount Saint Alban, *The lyfe of Henry the 7 King of England*. fº. London, 1622. [RB V/698]
5. Richard Hakluyt, *The principall navigations, voyages, traffiques and discoveries of the English nation*. fº. London, 1599. 2bus volum.
6. *The Romaine historie*. Written by Fliuius of Padua [Livy]. Translated by Phillip Holland. fº. 2 volum. London, 1600.
7. *The works of [Flavius] Josephus*. fº. Translated by Thom Lodge. London, 1602. [RB V/20]
8. Edward Topsell, *The historie of foure footed beasts*. fº. London, 1607. [RB X/32]
9. Pedro Mexia, *The historie of all the roman emperors*. fº. London, 1604. [RB V/1648]
10. *The historie of Francesco Guicciardin containing the warres of Italie*, etc. fº. London, 1599. [RB VI/2674]
11. Nicholo Machiauelli, *The florentin historie*. fº. London, 1595. [RB V/1671]
12. Martin Fumee, *The historie of the troubles of Hungarie*. fº. London, 1600.
13. *The historie of Justin*. fº. London, 1606. [RB VI/422]
14. *The Historie of Philip de Commines*. fº. London, 1601. [RB V/200]
15. Suetonius Tranquillus, *The historie of Twelve Cesars Emperors of Rome*. fº. London, 1606. [RB IV/2839]
16. Jhon Speed [John Speed], *The historie of Great Britannie under the comquests of the Romans, Saxons, danes and normans*. fº. London, 1611. [RB VI/951]
17. Fynes Morysons, *Itinerarie divided into 3 parts*. fº. London, 1617. [RB V/1830]
18. Samuell Daniell, The first parts of the historie of England. 4º. London, 1613.
19. Jhon Stow [John Stowe], *A Survay of London*. 4º. London, 1599. [RB IX/6245]
20. Jhon Stow [John Stowe], *The abridgement of the English Chronicle*. 8º. London, 1618. [RB VII/2251]
21. [Richard Verstegan,] *Observations concerning the estate and present affaires of Holland*. 8º. [St. Omer]1621.
22. [Robert Dallington] *The view of France*. [London, 1604] 4º.

[Part B] Libros tocantes a las cosas divinas [ff. 156v-157r]

23. [Robert Parsons] *A Christian Directorie guiding men to their salvation*. 8º. Louan [Leuven], 1598. [RB PAS/ARM6/158]

24. William Rainolds, *Refutation of the cavills and false fleights of M. Whitaker*. 8º. Paris, 1583. [RB PAS/ARM6/201 (G)]
25. [Richard Walpole] *A breife and cleare confutation of a new vaine and vaunting chalenge made by O. E*. 8º. [Antwerp] 1603. [RB PAS/ARM1/285 (G)]
26. [Stephen Gardiner] *A detection of the Divells Sophistrie*. 8º. London, 1546. [RB IX/3915 (G)]
27. [Robert Parsons] *The third part of a treatise intituled: the 3 conversions of England against fox his martyrlodge*. 8º. 2 volum. [St. Omer]1604.
28. [Simon Stock] Jhon Hunts, *Appeale to the Kings maiestie*. 4º. [London] 1620. [RB IX/3854]
29. *A letter of Martin Luther to Henry the 8 King of England and the Kings answer unto* it. 8º. London [1526].
30. William Peryns, *Spirituall exercises*. 8º. London, 1557.
31. [Simon Stock] *The practise how to find ease rest repose and happines*. 16º. Roan [London], 1619. [RB IX/4576]
32. [Joseph Creswell] *Pious meditations uppon the beads*. 8º. [St. Omer] 1620. [RB PAS/ARM6/216 (G)]
33. [John Floyd] *God and the King*. 8º. Cullen [London], 1620. [RB PAS/ARM1/219 and RB VII/177]

[Part C] Estatutos de Ynglaterra, Poesías, y otros libros de varias materias [ff. 157v-158r]

34. *The statutes at large*. fº. 2 volum. London, 1618. [RB III/5369 and RB III/5370]
35. *The lawes and actes of Parliament made by king James the first and his successors*. fº. Edinburgh, 1597. En escocés. [RB VI/3317]
36. Aristotle, *Politiques or discourses of governement*. fº. London, 1598. [RB RB I/D/95]
37. [Jean Hotman,] *The ambassador*. 8º. London, 1603. [RB PAS/ARM4/59 (G)]
38. [Richard Verstegan,] *Londons looking glasse*. 8º. [St. Omer]1621. [RB I/B/188(2)]
39. *An invention for the making of all sorts of accompt, etc.* 16º. London, 1618. [unable to trace source]
40. *The Woorks of James the first King of England*. fº. London, 1616.
41. Sir Thomas Moore, *His woorks*. fº. London, 1557. [RB I/D/13]
42. Bernabe Barnes, *Foure bookes of offices*. fº. London, 1606. [RB IX/5815]
43. Francis Masons, *Consecration of Bisshops in the Church of England*. fº. London, 1613. [RB III/488]
44. [Thomas Milles] *The Customers Apologie* [London, 1617]. fº. [RB IX/9087 (G)]
45. Jacques Hurault, *Politicke morall and martiall discourses*. 4º. London, 1595. [RB III/2251]
46. *A coppie of the latin oration of the lord George Ossolmski, Embassador of Poland to the Kings Maiestie*. 4º. London, 1621. [RB VIII/9244 (G)]
47. Alexander Silvayns, *Orator*. 4º. London, 1596.
48. Thomas Middleton, *The triumphs of truth touching of the sollemnity of made at the establishment of Sir Thomas Middleton, Lord Mayor of London*. 4º. London, 1613.
49. Divers discourses. 4º. 2 volum. [unable to trace source]
50. Sir Philipp Sidneys, *Arcadia*. fº. London, 1613. [RB VI/66 (G)]
51. Michel Draytons, *Polyolbion*. fº. London [1612]. [RB VIII/1003]

[Part D] Vocabularios en ynglés y latín y otros en yngles y castellano, y italiano, etc. y françés [f. 160r]

52. [Richard] Huloets, *Dictionarie*. Augmented by Jhon Higgins. fº. Londini, 1572. [RB IV/823]
53. Thomas Thomasius, *Dictionarie*. 4º. Londini, 1615. [RB VIII/3542]
54. [John Minsheu] Jhon Minisheus, *Dictionarie in spanish and english, with additions*. fº. London, 1599. [RB XIV/169 (G)]
55. Jhon Florios, *Italian dictionarie*. fº. London, 1598.
56. [John] Florios, *Second frutes to bee gathered of 12 trees*. 4º. London, 1591. [RB RB X/2767 (G)]
57. *A book in italian and english without begininng it containes familiar talkes*, etc. 8º. [unable to trace source]
58. [William Bathe] *A messe of tongues latine english french and spanish*. 4º. Londini, 1617.
59. [Alexander Gil] Alexandri Gil, *Logonomia anglica*. 4º. Londini, 1621.
60. Claudius Holybands, *Dictionarie french and english*. 4º. London, 1593. [RB I/D/125]

[Manuscript Sources - BNE MSS 13594, ff. 192v-194r]

[Part E] Libros de mano en ynglés

61. Relaciones de despachos de la reyna Isabel de Ynglaterra desde el año 1580 hasta el de 1603. fº.
62. Despacho de la reyna Isabel y de sus embaxadores. fº.
63. Despachos de don Carlos Conwallis, embaxador de Ynglaterra en la corte d'España. fº. 4 volúmines del año 1605, 1606, 1607, 1608. [RB II/2176 (G)]
64. Quaderno grande de cartas de diversos ministros de la reyna de Ynglaterra. 1574. fº.
65. Lista de los officios que tiene la Casa Real o Palacio del Rey de Ynglaterra. fº. 3 volúmines delgados. fº. Con el salario que les toca. [RB II/1434 (G) and RB II/1884 (G)]
66. Cartas del cardenal Volseo, privado de Henrique 8º, rey de Ynglaterra. fº.
67. [George Cavendeish,] *La vida del dicho cardenal Volseo*. fº. [RB II/871 (G)]
68. Otro quaderno de cartas del cardenal Volseo con otros discursos sobre las cosas de Ynglaterra. fº [RB II/2443 (G)]
69. Cartas de differentes ministros y discursos tocantes a las cosas de Ynglaterra en tiempo de la reyna Isabel [RB II/2507 (G)]
70. Otro quaderno de cosas tocantes al govierno de Ynglaterra . fº.
71. Libro de cartas y relaciones, en español y ynglés. fº.
72. Libro del concejo o summa de lo que passó en el concejo de Ynglaterra desde el postrero de junio del año 1582 hasta los 20 del mismo, año 1583. fº.
73. Relaciones y discursos de differentes cosas. Comiença con la vida de Tomás Moro. fº.
74. Thomás Moro, *Diálogo de consuelo*. 4º. [RB II/1726 (G)]
75. Lista de cavalleros de la Orden de la Jarretera, Orden que fundó un rey de Ynglaterra. fº.
76. Inventario de los alajes de casa y ropa y colgaduras del conde de Rutiland [Rutland]. fº. [RB II/2426 (G)]
77. Historia de Ynglaterra. En pergamino. fº.
78. [Simon Stock] *Tratado del descanso, quietud, sossiego y dicha verdadera*. 8º. [RB II/3129 (G)]
79. Instrucción para un cavallero que quiere caminar por el mundo y ver tierras. 8º.

Appendix 3. Histories of England in the Latin Language at the *Casa del Sol*

Source: 1623 Catalogue, BNE MSS 13593, f. 95rv.

Historias de Inglaterra, Escocia y Irlanda

1. [Henry Savile] *Anglicarum rerum scriptores post Bedam praecipui. Ex vetustis codicibus editi*. fº. Francofurti, 1601.
2. [Matthew Paris] Matthaei Westmonasteriensis, *Flores historiarum praecipue de rebus Britannicis*. fº. Francofurti, 1601.
3. [Matthew Parker] *De antiquitate Britannicae Ecclesiae,* etc. fº. Hanouiae, 1605. [RB V/925]
4. Polydori Vergilii, *Anglicae historiae libri vinginti septem*. fº. Basileae, 1570.
5. [Francis Godwin] *Rerum Anglicanarum Henrico 8º, Eduardo 6º et Maria regnantibus annales*. fº. Londini, 1616. [RB IX/8510]
6. [William Camden] *Anglica Normannica, Hibernica, Cambrica a veteribus scripta. Ex biblioteca Guilielmi Camdeni*. fº. Francofurti, 1603. [RB IV/16]
7. [William Camden] Guilielmi Camdeni, *Britannia siue florentissimo regnorum Angliae Scotiae et Hiberniae chorographica descriptio*. fº. Londini, 1607. [RB VI/20 (G), bound with a copy of John Speed's Maps: RB MAP/375 (1) (G)]
8. [William Camden] Eiusdem, *Annales rerum Anglicanarum et Hibernicarum Elisabetha regnante ad annum 1589*. fº. Londini, 1615. [RB III/2548]
9. [Paolo Giovio] *Descriptio Britanniae, Scotiae, Hiberniae et Orchadum*. Ex libro Pauli Jouii, De gentibus cogniti orbis. 4º. Venetiis, 1548. [VI/484]
10. [John Selden] Joannis Selden, *Analecta anglobritanica, sive Annalectum Britannicum*. 4º. Francofurti, 1615. [RB IV/2699]
11. [Geoffrey of Monmouth] Galfridi Monemeitensis, *Britanniae utriusque regum et principum origo*. 4º. Parisiis, 1517.
12. [Alexander Neville] Alexandri Nevylli Angli, *De furoribus Norfolciensium liber*. 4º. Londini, 1575. [RB XIV/79]
13. [William of Newburgh] Guilielmi Neubrigensis, *De rebus Anglicis sui temporis libri 5*. 8º. Parisiis, 1610. [RB VI/1492]
14. [Thomas Rosa] Thomae Rosae, *Idea Jacobi 1 magni Britanniae regis*. 12º. Londini, 1608. [RB III/560]
15. [Thomas Smith] Thomae Smithi, *De republicae et administratione Anglorum libri 3*. 8º. Londini. Accedit, *Dissertatio de induciis faederatarum provinciarum cum rege Hispaniae*, 1609. [RB IX/5642(1) and RB IX/5642(2) (G)]
16. [Richard White] Richardi Viti, *Historiarum Anglicarum libri 5*. 8º. Atrebati [Flanders], 1597. [RB V/2245 (1)]
17. [Polydore Vergil] *Historia Britannica hoc est de rebus gestis Britanniae commentario libri 3*. 16º. Ambergae, 1603. [RB IV/2972]
18. [George Lily] Georgii Lilii, *Anglorum regum chronices epitome* [London, 1603]. 16º. [RB VIII/13493 (G)]
19. [Hector Boece] Hectoris Boetii, *Historia Scotorum*. fº. Lausannae [1574]. [RB VIII/941]
20. [Richard Stanyhurst] Richardi Stanihursti, *De rebus in Hibernia gestis libri 4*. 4º. Antuerpiae, 1584. [X/2278]
21. [John Speed] Joannis Speedi, *Theatrum Imperii magnae Britanniae*. fº. Amstelodami, 1616. [RB V/904 (G)

Appendix 4. Forbidden Books Section at the *Casa del Sol*

Source: 1623 Catalogue, BNE MSS 13593, ff. 178r-180r

[No heading - Forbidden Books]

1. [Marco Antonio de Dominis,] Marcus Antonius de Dominis, *De republica ecclesiastica*. fº. 2 volum. Londini, 1617, et 2du volumen, 1620.
2. Daniel Lohetus, *Contra Leonardum Marium* [*Sorex Primus Oras Chartarum*]. 8º. Londini, 1618.
3. [Paolo Sarpi] Petri Suavis Poloni, *Historia Concillii Tridentini*. fº. Augustae Trinobantum [London], 1620. [RB III/854]
4. [Philip Holland] *Heroologia Anglica*. fº. Londini, 1620.
5. [King James] Jacobi Primi, *Angliae regis opera*. fº. Londini, 1619.
6. [King James] Eiusdem, *Declaratio pro Jure Regio*, sceptrorumque inmunitate. 4º. Londini, 1616.
7. [King James] Eiusdem, *Apologia pro juramento fidelitatis*. 4º. Londini, 1609.
8. [King James] Eiusdem, *Meditatio in orationem dominicam*. 8º. Londini, 1619.
9. [John Calvin] Joannis Calvini, *Institutio christianae religionis*. fº. Apud Joannem le Preux, [Geneva]1609.
10. Machumetis *Alcoran [Quran*]. Cum Philippi Melanchtonis confutatione, etc. fº. [Basel] 1550. [RB VII/1355]
11. [Melchior Goldast] *De translatione Imperii Romani a graecis ad francos, politica disputatio contra cardinalem Bellarminum*. 4º. 1613.
12. [Thierry de Nieheim] Theodorici de Niem, *Vita Joannis XXIII pontificis Romani*. 4º. Francofurti, 1620.
13. [Richard Mocket] *Doctrina et politia Ecclesiae anglicanae*. 4º. Londini, 1617.
14. [Martin Luther] *Lutheri, Dissertatio de libertate ecclesiastica*. 4º. Wittebergae, 1521.
15. [Anonymous] *Narratio de nupera illa proditione a Jesuitis et con iuratis in magnae Britanniae regem intentata*. 4º. Lugduni Batauorum [Leiden], 1607.
16. [Andrew Willet] Andreae Willetii, *Controversia 2da generalis de Ecclesia*. 8º. Oppenhemii, 1615.
17. [Meric Casaubon] Merici Casauboni, Is F. *Pietas contra maledicos patrii nominis et relligionis hostes*. 8º. Londini, 1621.
18. [Pseudonymus Francus Germanus,] *Representatio pacis generalis inter Orbis Christiani principes*. 8º. 1608.
19. [Jean Hotman] *Brutum Fulmen, Papae Sixti Vi adversus Henricum regem Navarrae*. 8º. Ludguni Batauorum, [Leiden] 1583.
20. [anonymous] *Speculum Consiliorum Hispanicorum*. 8º. Ludguni [Leiden], 1617.
21. [anonymous] *Cras credo hodic nihil satyra Menippea* [*Satire Ménippée*]. 8º. Ludguni Batauorum [Leiden], 1621.
22. [pseudonymous Juan de Nicolás] Joannis de Nicolas et Sacharles, *Hispanus reformatus*. 16º. Londini, 1621.
23. [Thomas Preston] Thomae Praestoni et Greenaei, *Supplicatio ad Gregorium papam XVum* .4º. Augustae [London], 1621.
24. [Thomas Preston] Eorum, *appellatio ab cardinalibus ad Paulum papam Vum* . 4º. Augustae [London], 1620.

25. [Thomas Preston] *Rogeri Widdringtoni, Ad Paulum papam Vum supplicatio*. 8º. Albionopoli [London], 1616.
26. [Thomas Preston] Eiusdem, *Strena catholica*. 8º. Augustae [London], 1620.
27. *Liber precum publicarum ad usum Ecclesiae anglicanae* [Book of Common Prayer]. 8º. Londini, 1594.
28. *La Biblia, que es los sacros libros del Viejo y Nuevo Testamento*. Por Cypriano de Valera. fº. Amsterdam, 1602.
29. Juan Calvino, *Institución de la religion christiana*. 4º. 1597. Traducción del latín en romance por Cypriano de Valera. [RB III/6281]
30. [Cipriano de Valera] *Dos tratados contra la autoridad del Papa y contra la missa*. 8º. [London] 1588.
31. [François Perrot] *Aviso Piacevole dato alla bella Italia sopra la mentita data dal serenissimo Re di Navarra a Papa Sisto V*. 4º. Monaco, 1586.
32. [Marco Antonio de Dominis] *Scogli del christiano naufragio*. 16º. 1618.
33. [Marco Antonio de Dominis] *Predica fatta da Monsignore Marco Antonio de Dominis arcivescovo di Spalato*. 16º. Londra, 1617.
34. [King James] *Declaration de Jacques I Roi d'Angleterre pour le droit des Rois et independance de leurs couronnes*. 4º. Londres, 1615.
35. [King James] *Apologie pour le serment de fidelité du mesme*. 8º. Londres, 1609.
36. *Les ordonnances ecclésiastiques de l'Église de Geneve*. 8º. Geneve, 1562.

[At the end of section, one can find the references used for classifying the forbidden works]

- Index librorum prohibitorum ex expurgatorum domini Bernardi de Sandoval cardinalis Toletani iussu editus. fº. Matriti, 1612.

- Otros 11 expurgatorios hechos por differentes inquisidores generales d'España. 4º.

List of Illustrations

Note: All the images presented in this thesis are used for non-commercial academic purposes and their reproduction attempts to follow on the Creative Commons Licence Initiative (CC). The copyright of the images' respective institution is recognised in this list of illustrations; and prior authorisation has been sought with these institutions for their inclusion in this thesis. Any type of possible infringement is unintended and will be corrected, should it occur.

- Figure 1. Coat of Arms in Gondomar's Album of Maps. RB IX/7723. Unfoliated.

  Page 135.

  © Patrimonio Nacional
- Figure 2. Engraving of the Pope and the Grindstone. AGS Estado, Legajo 2591, doc. 63.

  Page 216

  © Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte
- Figure 3. Front page of the pamphlet *The Wars in Germany* (1614). BL, Reference STC 11796.

  Page 218.

  © British Library. Access facilitated by ProQuest.
- Figure 4. Engraving *The Double Deliverance*. British Museum, Reference 1847,0723.11.

  Page 222.

  © Trustees of the British Museum.
- Figure 5. Ballad of Sir Thomas Overbury. RB ARCH2/CART/4 (8).

  Page 233.

  © Patrimonio Nacional
- Figure 6. French Engraving of Sir Walter Ralegh. RB ARCH2/CART/4 (4).

  Page 235.

  © Patrimonio Nacional - *Image altered to show marks of folding.
- Figure 7. Simon de Passe, Engraving of Maria of Habsburg. BNE ER/244, fol. 120.

  Page 239.

  © Biblioteca Nacional de España
- Figure 8. Willen de Passe, Engraving of Gondomar. BNE ER/244, fol. 1.

  Page 244.

  © Biblioteca Nacional de España
- Figure 9. Simon de Passe, Engraving of Gondomar. National Portrait Gallery,

  Reference D34473. Page 247.

  © National Portrait Gallery, London.
- Figure 10. Front page of Thomas Scott's pamphlet, *The Second Vox Populi* (1624).

  RB ARM29/1772. Page 249.

  © Patrimonio Nacional

Bibliography

1. Primary Sources

1.1. Unprinted Archival Sources

A) London, British Library (BL). Correspondence, state transactions and scribal material, manuscript volumes:

- SP 14/1, SP 14/82, SP 14/86, SP 15/40, SP 94/20, SP 94/23.

B) London, The National Archives (TNA). Correspondence and state transactions, manuscript volumes:

- MS Additional 72272, MS Additional 48045.
- MS Arundel 300.
- MS Cotton Nero B VII, MS Cotton Nero B V, MS Cotton Julius C III, MS Cotton Julius F VI, MS Cotton Vespasian C VII, MS Cotton Vespasian C VIII, MS Cotton Vespasian C XI, MS Cotton Vespasian CXIII.
- MS Harley 253, MS Harley 6018, MS Harley 7002.

C) Madrid, Archivo Casa de Alba. Correspondence, document:

- Alfonso de la Cueva's letter to the Archduchess Isabella Clara Eugenia. 18 August 1624. Manuscript volume 219, doc. 1.

D) Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España (BNE). Correspondence, state transactions and scribal material, manuscript volumes:

- MSS 3821, MSS 13593, MSS 13594, MSS 18419, MSS 18422, MSS 18423, MSS 18227, MSS 18430 (2), MSS 18430 (4), MSS 18247.

E) Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia (RAH). Correspondence, document:

- Friar Prudencio de Sandoval's letter to the count of Gondomar. 1605. Colección Salazar y Castro, A 77, f. 39r.

F) Madrid, Real Biblioteca (RB). Correspondence, state transactions and scribal material, manuscript volumes:

- II/551, II/870, II/1434, II/1817, II/1829, II/1850, II/1884, II/2108, II/2119, II/2126, II/2134, II/2140, II/2144, II/2152, II/2159, II/2160, II/2168, II/2170, II/2176, II/2178, II/2185, II/ 2191, II/2209, II/2220, II/2222, II/2225, II/2228, II/2239, II/2443, II/2507.

G) New York, Hispanic Society of America. Correspondence, document:

- Gondomar's letter to the count-duke of Olivares. 25 May 1625. HC 411-207, not foliated.

H) Simancas, Archivo General de Simancas (AGS). Correspondence and state transactions, manuscript volumes:

- Estado, Legajo 2591, Legajo 2593, Legajo 2594, Legajo 2604.
- Estado, Libro 366, Libro 367, Libro 370, Libro 375.

1.2. Printed Archival Sources

A) Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España (RB). Personalised printed image album:

- *Baziliōlogia* or Booke of Kings, ER/244.

B) Madrid, Real Biblioteca (RB). Books, maps and image albums with marginalia or other material circumstance:

- V/698, IX/7223, III/5349, IX/3915, PAS/ARM6/216, ARCH2/CART/4 (1-12).

H) Simancas, Archivo General de Simancas (AGS). Annotated image:

- Estado, Legajo 2591, doc. 63.

1.3. Early Modern Printed Texts Quoted in this Thesis

- Alexander Leighton, *Speculum Belli Sacri* (Amsterdam, 1624), EEBO access
- *An Act or Decree of the Court of Parliament of Paris* (London, 1614), EEBO access
- Francisco de Jesús, *Papeles sobre el Tratado de Matrimonio entre el Príncipe de Gales y la Infanta María de Austria (1623)*, ed. by Henar Pizarro Llorente and Pablo María Garrido (Madrid: Ediciones Carmelitanas, 2010)
- Juan Antonio de Vera y Figueroa, *El Embajador* (Seville, 1620), Cervantes Virtual access
- Michael Du Val, *Rosa Hispani-Anglica, or the Spanish-English Rose* (London, 1623), EEBO access
- Richard Verstegan, *Londons Looking-Glasse. Or the Copy of a Letter Written by an English Travayler* (St. Omer, 1621), EEBO access
- ———, *Observations Concerning the Present Affaires of Holland and the United Provinces* (St. Omer, 1621), EEBO access
- Robert Parsons, *A Relation of the King of Spaines Receiving in Valliodolid [Sic]* (Antwerp, 1592), EEBO access
- ———, *Relación de un Sacerdote Inglés*, trans. by Pedro Madrigal (Madrid, 1592), Google Books access
- Sebastián de Covarrubias Orozco, *Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana o Española*, ed. by Ignacio Arellano and Rafael Zafra (Frankfurt: Iberoamericana Vervuert, 2006)
- Simon Stock, *An Humble Appeale to the Kings Most Excellent Maiestie* (London, 1620), EEBO access
- *Stuart Royal Proclamations. Royal Proclamations of King James (1603–1625)*, ed. by James Larkin and Paul Hugues (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973), vol. I
- Thomas Scott, *A Choice Narrative of Count Gondamor's Transactions*, ed. by John

Rowland (London, 1659), EEBO access
- ———, *Sir Walter Rawleighs Ghost, or Englands Forewarner* (London?, 1626), EEBO access
- ———, *The Second Part of Vox Populi, or Gondomar Appearing in the Likenes of Matchiauell* (London, 1624), EEBO access
- ———, *Vox Populi, or Newes from Spayne* (London, 1620), EEBO access
- Thomas Middleton, *A Game at Chess*, ed. by Trevor Howard-Hill (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996)
- Thomas Smith, *De Republica et Administratione Anglorum* (Marburg, 1610), EEBO access
- ———, *The Common-Wealth of England* (London, 1609), EEBO access
- *The Wars in Germany: With the Taking of the Severall Townes by the Marquesse Spynola* (London, 1614), EEBO access

1.4. Published Compilations of Manuscript Sources

- *Actas de las Cortes de Castilla* (Madrid: Imprenta Nacional, 1861), vol. XXI
- *The Autobiography and Correspondence of Sir Simonds D'Ewes*, ed. by James Halliwell-Phillipps (Richard Bentley, 1845), vol. I
- *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: James I (1623-25)*, Calendar of State Papers Domestic: James I (1623-25), ed. by Mary Everett and others (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1859), vol. CLXXIII
- *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice*, ed. by Allen Hinds and others (London: Longman, 1864), vol. XIV
- *Cinco Cartas Político-Literarias de Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuña*, ed. by Pascual de Gayangos (Madrid: Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles, 1869)
- *A Complete Collection of State Trials*, ed. by Thomas Howell (Murray, 1793), vol. II
- *Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de España (DIHE): Correspondencia de Gondomar*, ed. by Jacobo Fitz James Stuart (Madrid: Tipografía de Archivos, 1936), vols. I-IV
- *Españoles e Ingleses en América durante el Siglo XVII*, ed. by Ciriaco Pérez Bustamante (Santiago de Compostela: Paredes, 1928)
- *The Fortescue Papers: Letters Relating to State Affairs*, ed. by Samuel Gardiner (London: The Camden Society, 1871)
- James Howell, *Epistolae Ho-Elianae: The Familiar Letters of James Howell*, ed. by Joseph Jacobs (London, 1892)
- Matías de Novoa, *Memorias. Historia de Felipe III, Parte 2*, ed. by José Sancho Rayón (Madrid: CODOIN, 1875), vol. LXI
- ———, *Memorias. Historia de Felipe IV, Parte 1*, ed. by José Sancho Rayón (Madrid: CODOIN, 1878), vol. LXIX
- *The Letters of John Chamberlain*, ed. by Norman McClure (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1939), vol. II
- *The Letters of Sir Walter Ralegh*, ed. by Agnes Latham and Joyce Youings (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1999)
- *Report on the Manuscripts of the Duke of Buccleuch*, ed. by William Scott (London: Duke of Buccleuch, 1899), vol. I
- Thomas Bodley, *Reliquiae Bodleianae* (London, 1703)

2. Secondary Sources

2.1. Books, Book Chapters and Articles

- Adair, Edward, *The Exterritoriality of Ambassadors in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (London: Longmans, 1929)
- Adams, Robyn, and Rosanna Cox, eds., *Diplomacy and Early Modern Culture* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011)
- Allen, Paul, *Philip III and the Pax Hispanica, 1598-1621* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000)
- Allinson, Rayne, *A Monarchy of Letters: Royal Correspondence and English Diplomacy in the Reign of Elizabeth I* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012)
- Allison, Antony, 'A Group of Political Tracts, 1621–1623, by Richard Verstegan', *British Catholic History*, 18.2 (1986), 128–42
- ———, 'Bibliographical Notes about Two Carmelites', *British Catholic History*, 6.2 (1961), 90–94
- ———, 'The Later Life and Writings of Joseph Creswell (1556–1623)', *British Catholic History*, 15.2 (1979), 79–144
- Allison, Antony, and David Rogers, *The Contemporary Printed Literature of the English Counter-Reformation between 1558 and 1640: An Annotated Catalogue* (Aldershot: Scolar, 2009), II
- Álvarez Recio, Leticia, 'Pamphlet Literature and the Anglo-Spanish Match: Thomas Scott's "Vox Populi" (1620)', *SEDERI*, 19, 2009, 5–22
- ———, 'Pro-Match Literature and Royal Supremacy: The Case of Michael Du Val's "The Spanish English Rose"', *SEDERI*, 22, 2012, 7–28
- Amelang, James, *The Flight of Icarus: Artisan Autobiography in Early Modern Europe* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998)
- Amory, Hugh, 'The Trout and the Milk: An Ethnobibliographical Talk', *Harvard Library Bulletin*, 7.1 (1996), 56–71
- Amussen, Susan, 'Introduction to "The Peacemaker, or Britain's Blessing"', in *Thomas Middleton: The Collected Works*, ed. by Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007)
- Anderson, Roberta, 'Catholic Ambassadors in a Protestant Court: London, 1603-1625.', in *Confessional Diplomacy*, ed. by Roberta Anderson and Charlotte Backerra (London: Routledge, 2020)
- ———, 'Diplomatic Representatives from the Hapsburg Monarchy to the Court of James VI and I', in *The Spanish Match: Prince Charles's Journey to Madrid, 1623*, ed. by Alexander Samson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006)
- ———, '"Well Disposed to the Affairs of Spain?" James VI & I and the Propagandists: 1618–1624 1', *British Catholic History*, 25.4 (2001), 613–35
- Andersson, Daniel, *Lord Henry Howard (1540-1614): An Elizabethan Life* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2009)
- Andrés Escapa, Pablo, 'La Muerte de Sir Thomas Overbury y Doce Grabados Ingleses en la Librería del Conde de Gondomar', *Syntagma: Revista del Instituto de Historia del Libro y de la Lectura*, 2, 2008, 17–58
- ———, Pablo, 'Letras Portuguesas en la Biblioteca del Conde de Gondomar', *E-Spania*, 2017 <http://journals.openedition.org/e-spania/26660> [accessed 8 July 2019]

- Andrés Escapa, and José Luis Rodríguez, 'Manuscritos y Saberes en la Librería del Conde de Gondomar', in *El Libro Antiguo Español: Coleccionismo y Bibliotecas*, ed. by María Luisa López-Vidriero (Salamanca: Cátedra, 1998)
- Andrés, Gregorio de, 'Historia de La Biblioteca del Conde-Duque de Olivares y Descripción de sus Códices I', *Cuadernos Bibliográficos*, 28, 1972, 131–42
- ———, *La Real Biblioteca de El Escorial* (Madrid: Aldus, 1970)
- Arbesú, David, 'Auctoritas y Experiencia en "El Curioso Impertinente"', *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America*, 25.1 (2005), 23–43
- Arblaster, Paul, *Antwerp & the World: Richard Verstegan and the International Culture of Catholic Reformation* (Leuven: University Press, 2004)
- ———, '"Whereof the World Now Stands in Admiration": Reporting on the Spanish Match from the Habsburg Netherlands', in *Stuart Marriage Diplomacy. Dynastic Politics in Their European Context, 1604-1630*, ed. by Valentina Caldari and Sara Wolfson (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2018)
- Archivo General de Simancas, *Documentos Relativos a Inglaterra, 1254-1834*, ed. by Ricardo Magdaleno Redondo and Jacobo Stuart Fitz-James y Falcó Alba (Madrid: Diana, Artes Gráficas, 1947)
- Arredondo, María Soledad, *Literatura y Propaganda en Tiempo de Quevedo. Guerras y Plumas contra Francia, Cataluña y Portugal* (Iberoamericana, 2011)
- Astington, John, 'Visual Texts: Thomas Middleton and Prints', in *Thomas Middleton and Early Modern Textual Culture: A Companion to the Collected Works*, ed. by Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007)
- Barber, Peter, '"Procure as Many as You Can and Send Them Over": Cartographic Espionage and Cartographic Gifts in International Relations, 1460–1760', in *Diplomacy and Early Modern Culture*, ed. by Robyn Adams and Rosanna Cox (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011)
- Barroll, Leeds, *Anna of Denmark, Queen of England: A Cultural Biography* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001)
- Bartolomé Benito, Fernando, *Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, Conde de Gondomar: El Maquiavelo Español* (Gijón: Trea, 2005)
- Bataillon, Marcel, 'Livres Prohibés dans la Bibliothèque du Comte de Gondomar', in *Beiträge zur Französischen Aufklärung und zur Spanischen Literatur*, ed. by Werner Krauss (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1971)
- Bellany, Alastair, 'Libels', in *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture: Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660* (Oxford University Press, 2011)
- ———, *The Politics of Court Scandal in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: University Press, 2002)
- Benedict, Barbara, *Curiosity: A Cultural History of Early Modern Inquiry* (University of Chicago Press, 2001)
- Bepler, Jill, 'Vicissitudo Temporum: Some Sidelights on Book Collecting in the Thirty Years' War', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 32.4 (2001), 953–68
- Bezos del Amor, Nuria, 'Los Consejos de una Esposa a su Marido el Embajador de Inglaterra: Doña Constanza de Acuña (1619)', in *IV Congreso Virtual sobre Historia de las Mujeres*, 2012 <https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=4715039> [accessed 29 June 2019]
- Biow, Douglas, *Doctors, Ambassadors, Secretaries: Humanism and Professions in Renaissance Italy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002)

- Blair, Ann, *Too Much to Know: Managing Scholarly Information Before the Modern Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010)
- Blayney, Peter, *The Texts of King Lear and Their Origins* (Cambridge: University Press, 1982)
- Bossy, John, *The English Catholic Community, 1570-1850* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1975)
- Bouza, Fernando, *Anglo-Hispana: Cinco Siglos de Autores, Editores y Lectores entre España y el Reino Unido* (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 2007)
- ———, *Communication, Knowledge and Memory in Early Modern Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004)
- ———, 'Contrarreforma y Tipografía ¿Nada Más que Rosarios en sus Manos?', *Cuadernos de Historia Moderna*, 16, 1995, 73–88
- ———, *Corre Manuscrito: Una Historia Cultural del Siglo de Oro* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2001)
- ———, *Del Escribano a la Biblioteca* (Madrid: Editorial Síntesis, 1992)
- ———, *El Libro y el Cetro: La Biblioteca de Felipe IV En La Torre Alta Del Alcázar de Madrid* (Salamanca: Instituto de Historia del Libro y de la Lectura, 2005)
- ———, 'Guardar Papeles y Quemarlos en Tiempos de Felipe II. Parte I', *Reales Sitios: Revista del Patrimonio Nacional*, 129, 1996, 2–15
- ———, 'Guardar Papeles y Quemarlos en Tiempos de Felipe II. Parte II', *Reales Sitios: Revista del Patrimonio Nacional*, 131, 1997, 18–33
- ———, 'Letters and Portraits: Economy of Time and Chivalrous Service in Courtly Life', in *Early Modern Exchanges: Dialogues Between Nations and Cultures, 1550-1750*, ed. by Francisco Bethencourt and Florike Egmond (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), III
- Boys, Jayne, *London's News Press and the Thirty Years War* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2014)
- Brendecke, Arndt, '"Arca, Archivillo, Archivo": The Keeping, Use and Status of Historical Documents about the Spanish Conquista', *Archival Science*, 10.3 (2010), 267–83
- ———, *The Empirical Empire: Spanish Colonial Rule and the Politics of Knowledge* (Berlin: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2016)
- Bromham, A., 'Thomas Middleton's The Triumphs of Truth: City Politics in 1613', *Seventeenth Century*, 10 (1995), 1–25
- Buisseret, David, and Geoffrey Parker, eds., 'Maps and Ministers: The Spanish Habsburgs', in *Monarchs, Ministers, and Maps: The Emergence of Cartography as a Tool of Government in Early Modern Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992)
- Caldari, Valentina, 'The Dissolution of the 1621 Parliament through Spanish Eyes', in *Stuart Marriage Diplomacy. Dynastic Politics in Their European Context, 1604-1630*, ed. by Valentina Caldari and Sara Wolfson (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2018)
- Cánovas del Castillo, Antonio, *Matías de Novoa: Monografía de un Historiador Español Desconocido* (Madrid: Imprenta de Miguel Ginesta, 1876)
- Cardim, Pedro, '"Portuguese Rebels" at Münster. The Diplomatic Self-Fashioning in Mid-17th Century European Politics', *Historische Zeitschrift. Beihefte*, 26 (1998), 293–333
- Carter, Charles, 'Gondomar: Ambassador to James I', *The Historical Journal*, 7.2 (1964),

189–208
- ———, *The Secret Diplomacy of the Habsburgs* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964)
- Castillo Gómez, Antonio, 'Writings on the Streets: Ephemeral Texts and Public Space in the Early Modern Hispanic World', in *Approaches to the History of Written Culture: A World Inscribed*, ed. by Martyn Lyons and Rita Marquilhas (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017)
- Cavill, Paul, and Alexandra Gajda, *Writing the History of Parliament in Tudor and Early Stuart England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018)
- Chadwick, Hubert, *St Omers to Stonyhurst: A History of Two Centuries* (London: Burns & Oates, 1962)
- Chartier, Roger, 'France and Spain', in *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture: Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660* (Oxford University Press, 2011)
- Coast, David, 'Secrecy, Counsel and Public Opinion during the Spanish and French Matches', in *Stuart Marriage Diplomacy. Dynastic Politics in Their European Context, 1604-1630*, ed. by Valentina Caldari and Sara Wolfson (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2018)
- Codignola, Luca, *The Coldest Harbour of the Land: Simon Stock and Lord Baltimore's Colony in Newfoundland, 1621-1649* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1987)
- Cogswell, Thomas, *The Blessed Revolution: English Politics and the Coming of War, 1621-1624* (Cambridge: University Press, 1989)
- Collinson, Patrick, *This England: Essays on the English Nation and Commonwealth in the Sixteenth Century* (Oxford University Press, 2013)
- Corens, Liesbeth, *Confessional Mobility and English Catholics in Counter-Reformation Europe* (Oxford: University Press, 2019)
- Crosignani, Ginevra, Thomas McCoog, and Michael Questier, *Recusancy and Conformity in Early Modern England: Manuscript and Printed Sources in Translation* (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2010)
- Darby, Trudi, 'The Black Knight's Festival Book? Thomas Middleton's "A Game at Chess"', in *The Spanish Match: Prince Charles's Journey to Madrid, 1623*, ed. by Alexander Samson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006)
- De Vivo, Filippo, *Information and Communication in Venice: Rethinking Early Modern Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007)
- Demetriou, Eroulla, 'Michael Du Val and Count Gondomar: An Approximation towards the Authorship of The Spanish-English Rose', *SEDERI*, 14, 2004, 53–64
- Domínguez, Freddy, 'History in Action: The Case of Pedro de Ribadaneyra's Historia Ecclesiástica del Scisma de Inglaterra', *Bulletin of Spanish Studies*, 93.1 (2016), 13–38
- Dooley, Brendan Maurice, ed., *The Politics of Information in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Routledge, 2001)
- Dover, Paul, *Secretaries and Statecraft in the Early Modern World* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016)
- Dures, Alan, *English Catholicism 1558-1642: Continuity and Change* (Harlow: Longman, 1983)
- Elliott, John, *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America, 1492-1830* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006)
- ———, *Imperial Spain, 1469-1716* (London: Penguin, 2002)
- ———, 'Learning from the Enemy', in *Spain, Europe and the Wider World. 1500-1800*

(London: Yale University Press, 2009)
- ———, *The Count-Duke of Olivares: The Statesman in an Age of Decline* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986)
- Elliott, John, and José Peña, eds., *Memoriales y Cartas del Conde-Duque de Olivares* (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, 2013)
- Evans, Ifor, and Heather Lawrence, *Saxton, Elizabethan Map-Maker* (London: Wakefield Historical Publications, 1979)
- Fehrenbach, Robert, and Elisabeth Leedham-Green, *Private Libraries in Renaissance England* (Binghamton: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 2017), IX
- Feros, Antonio, *Kingship and Favoritism in the Spain of Philip III, 1598-1621* (Cambridge: University Press, 2000)
- Fissel, Mark, *English Warfare, 1511-1642* (London: Routledge, 2001)
- Foley, Henry, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus* (London: Burns and Oates, 1878), VII
- Frigo, Daniela, ed., *Politics and Diplomacy in Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009)
- Fuchs, Barbara, *The Poetics of Piracy: Emulating Spain in English Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013)
- Gajda, Alexandra, and Paul Cavill, eds., *Writing the History of Parliament in Tudor and Early Stuart England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018)
- García García, Bernardo, 'Peace with England: From Convenience to Necessity, 1596–1604', in *Material and Symbolic Circulation between England and Spain: 1554-1604*, ed. by Anne Cruz (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008)
- García García, Bernardo José, *La Pax Hispánica: Política Exterior del Duque de Lerma* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1996)
- García Oro, José, *Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, Conde de Gondomar* (Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia, 1997)
- Garnett, George, '"The Ould Fields": Law and History in the Prefaces to Sir Edward Coke's Reports', *The Journal of Legal History*, 34.3 (2013), 245–84
- Ghobrial, John-Paul, *The Whispers of Cities: Information Flows in Istanbul, London, and Paris in the Age of William Trumbull* (Oxford University Press, 2013)
- González Cuerva, R., *Baltasar de Zúñiga: Una Encrucijada de la Monarquía Hispana (1561-1622)* (Madrid: Ediciones Polifemo, 2012)
- González Cuerva, Rubén, and Alexander Koller, *A Europe of Courts, a Europe of Factions. 1550-1700* (Leiden: Brill, 2017)
- Grafton, Anthony, *What Was History? The Art of History in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: University Press)
- Griffiths, Antony, *The Print in Stuart Britain, 1603-1689* (London: British Museum Press, 1998)
- Griffiths, David, *The Bibliography of the Book of Common Prayer, 1549-1999* (London: British Library, 2002)
- Gutiérrez, Concepción, 'The Diplomacy of Letters of the Count of La Roca in Venice', in *Embajadores Culturales: Transferencias y Lealtades de la Diplomacia Española de la Edad Moderna(1632-1642)*, ed. by Diana Carrió-Invernizzi and José Miguel Escribano Páez (Madrid: Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, 2016), pp. 187–204
- Hampton, Timothy, *Fictions of Embassy: Literature and Diplomacy in Early Modern Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009)

- Havens, Earle, and Elizabeth Patton, 'Underground Networks, Prisons and the Circulation of Counter-Reformation Books in Elizabethan England', in *Early Modern English Catholicism*, ed. by James Kelly and Susan Royale (Leiden: Brill, 2017)
- Hebb, David, *Piracy and the English Government, 1616-1642* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1994)
- Helmers, Helmer, 'Public Diplomacy in Early Modern Europe', *Media History*, 22.3–4 (2016), 401–20
- ———, 'The Spanish Match and Anglo-Dutch Publicity', in *Stuart Marriage Diplomacy. Dynastic Politics in Their European Context, 1604-1630*, ed. by Valentina Caldari and Sara Wolfson (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2018)
- Hillgarth, Jocelyn, *The Mirror of Spain, 1500-1700: The Formation of a Myth* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000)
- Hind, Arthur, *Engraving in England in the Sixteenth & Seventeenth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952), II
- Houliston, Victor, *Catholic Resistance in Elizabethan England: Robert Persons's Jesuit Polemic, 1580-1610* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007)
- Hutchings, Mark, 'The Spectre of Gondomar in the Wake of A Game at Chess', *The Seventeenth Century*, 27.4 (2012), 435–53
- Jansson, Maija, *Proceedings in Parliament, 1614* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1988)
- Jansson, Maija, and Nikolai Rogozhin, 'An Account by Aleksei Ziuzin on The Lord Mayor's Show in 1613', in *Thomas Middleton: The Collected Works*, ed. by Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino, trans. by Paul Bushkovitch (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007)
- Jardine, Lisa, and Anthony Grafton, '"Studied for Action": How Gabriel Harvey Read His Livy', *Past & Present*, 129.1, 30–78
- Jardine, Lisa, and Alan Stewart, *Hostage to Fortune: The Troubled Life of Francis Bacon* (London: Gollancz, 1998)
- Jones, Malcolm, *The Print in Early Modern England: An Historical Oversight* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010)
- Jones, Norman, *Governing by Virtue: Lord Burghley and the Management of Elizabethan England* (Oxford University Press, 2015)
- Kagan, Richard, *Clio & the Crown: The Politics of History in Medieval and Early Modern Spain* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009)
- Kaplan, Benjamin, 'Diplomacy and Domestic Devotion: Embassy Chapels and the Toleration of Religious Dissent in Early Modern Europe', *Journal of Early Modern History*, 6.4 (2002), 341–361
- Ketelaar, Eric, 'Muniments and Monuments: The Dawn of Archives as Cultural Patrimony', *Archival Science*, 7.4 (2007), 343–57
- Kewes, Paulina, 'Parliament and the Principle of Elective Succession in Elizabethan England', in *Writing the History of Parliament in Tudor and Early Stuart England*, ed. by Alexandra Gajda and Paul Cavill (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018)
- Kyle, Chris, 'Monarch and Marketplace: Proclamations as News in Early Modern England', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 78.4 (2015), 771–87
- Lawrance, Jeremy, '"Une Bibliothèque Fort Complète pour un Grand Seigneur": Gondomar's Manuscripts and the Renaissance Idea of the Library', *Bulletin of Spanish Studies*, 81.7–8 (2004), 1071–90
- Lawrance, Jeremy, and Oliver Noble-Wood, eds., *Poder y Saber: Bibliotecas y Bibliofilia*

en la Época del Conde-Duque de Olivares (Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, 2011)
- Levin, Michael Jacob, *Agents of Empire: Spanish Ambassadors in Sixteenth-Century Italy* (Ithaca, N.Y. : Bristol: Cornell University Press ; University Presses Marketing distributor, 2005)
- Levis, Howard Coppuck, *Baziliōlogia, a Booke of Kings. Notes on a Series of Engraved English Royal Portraits* (New York: Grolier club, 1913)
- Lindley, David, *The Trials of Frances Howard: Fact and Fiction at the Court of King James* (London: Routledge, 1993)
- Lindley, Keith, 'Riot Prevention and Control in Early Stuart London', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 33 (1983), 109–26
- Loomie, Albert, 'Bacon and Gondomar: An Unknown Link in 1618.', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 21.1 (1968), 1–10
- ———, 'Canon Henry Taylor, Spanish Habsburg Diplomat', *British Catholic History*, 17.2 (1984), 223–37
- ———, *English Polemics at the Spanish Court: Joseph Creswell's Letter to the Ambassador from England* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1993)
- ———, 'Francis Fowler II, English Secretary of the Spanish Embassy, 1609–1619', *British Catholic History*, 12.1 (1973), 70–78
- ———, 'Richard Berry: Gondomar's English Catholic Adviser', *British Catholic History*, 11.1 (1971), 47–57
- ———, *Spain and the Early Stuarts, 1585-1655* (Aldershot: Routledge, 1996)
- ———, *Spain and the Jacobean Catholics* (London: Catholic Record Society, 1973), II
- ———, 'The Spanish Ambassador and the Pursuivants', *The Catholic Historical Review*, 49.2 (1963), 203–209
- ———, *Toleration and Diplomacy: The Religious Issue in Anglo-Spanish Relations, 1603-1605* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1963)
- López-Vidriero, María Luisa, 'Asiento de Coronas y Distinción de Reinos: Librerías y Aprendizaje Nobiliario', in *Poder y Saber: Bibliotecas y Bibliofilia en la Época del Conde-Duque de Olivares*, ed. by Oliver Noble-Wood and Jeremy Lawrance (Madrid: CEEH, 2011)
- ———, 'Encomio y Gloria: Brillo Imperial del Milanesado en los Libros Italianos de las Colecciones de Frías y Gondomar', in *Mecenazgo y Humanidades en Tiempos de Lastanosa: Homenaje a Domingo Ynduráin* (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 2008), pp. 303–24
- López-Vidriero, María Luisa, and Pablo Andrés, eds., *Correspondencia del Conde de Gondomar*, 4 vols (Madrid: Patrimonio Nacional, 1999)
- Malcolm, Noel, *De Dominis, 1560-1624: Venetian, Anglican, Ecumenist and Relapsed Heretic* (London: Strickland & Scott, 1984)
- ———, *Reason of State, Propaganda and the Thirty Years' War: An Unknown Translation by Thomas Hobbes* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007)
- ———, *Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuña: Erudito, Mecenas y Bibliófilo* (Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia, 1996)
- Martín-Gamero, Sofía, *La Enseñanza del Inglés en España: Desde la Edad Media hasta el Siglo XIX* (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1961)
- Mattingly, Garrett, *Renaissance Diplomacy* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1955)
- McShane, Angela, 'Ballads and Broadsides', in *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture: Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660* (Oxford University Press, 2011)

- ———, ‘King James VI and I and the Count of Gondomar: Two London Bibliophiles, 1613-18 and 1620-22’, in *‘Never-Ending Adventure’: Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Spanish Literature in Honor of Peter N. Dunn*, ed. by Edward H. Friedman and Harlan Gary Sturm (Newark: Juan de la Cuesta, 2002)
- Michael, Ian, and José Ahijado, ‘La Casa Del Sol: La Biblioteca del Conde de Gondomar en 1619-23 y su Dispersión en 1806’, in *El Libro Antiguo Español: El Libro en Palacio y Otros Estudios Bibliográficos*, ed. by María Luisa López-Vidriero (Salamanca: Cátedra, 1996), pp. 185–200
- Michael, Mendle, ‘Preserving the Ephemeral: Reading, Collecting and the Pamphlet Culture of Seventeenth Century England’, in *Books and Readers in Early Modern England: Material Studies*, ed. by Jennifer Andersen, Stephen Orgel, and Elizabeth Sauer (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press)
- Millstone, Noah, ‘Designed for Collection: Early Modern News and the Production of History’, *Media History*, 23.2 (2017), 177–98
- ———, *Manuscript Circulation and the Invention of Politics in Early Stuart England* (Cambridge University Press, 2016)
- ———, ‘Seeing Like a Statesman in Early Stuart England’, *Past & Present*, 223.1 (2014), 77–127
- Mocket, Richard, *Doctrina et Politia Ecclesiae Anglicanae: An Anglican Summa*, ed. by Michael Screech (Leiden: Brill, 1995)
- Montcher, Fabien, ‘Acquérir, Partager et Contrôler l’Information sous le Règne de Philippe III d’Espagne. Le Cas de l’historiographe Royal Antonio de Herrera (1549-1626)’, *Circé. Histoire, Savoirs, Sociétés*, 2012, 1–48
- ———, ‘Early Modern Bibliopolitics: From a Seventeenth-Century Roman-Iberian Perspective’, *Pacific Coast Philology*, 52.2 (2017), 206–18
- ———, ‘La Carta como Taller Historiográfico’, in *La Materialidad Escrita*, ed. by Manuel Salamanca (Oviedo: Instituto de Estudios para la Paz y la Cooperación, 2011)
- ———, ‘The Portable Archives of the Westphalian Negotiations’, *Journal of Early Modern History*, 22.5 (2018), 348–70
- Morocho Gayo, Gaspar, ‘Una Historia de Felipe III Escrita por Pedro de Valencia’, in *Homenaje al Profesor Juan Torres Fontes* (Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, 1987), II
- Murdoch, Steve, *Scotland and the Thirty Years’ War: 1618-1648* (Brill, 2001)
- Nussdorfer, Laurie, ‘The Politics of Space in Early Modern Rome’, *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, 42 (1997), 161–86
- Ochoa Brun, Miguel, *Historia de la Diplomacia Española* (Madrid: Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, 1990), VII
- Olivari, Michele, *Avisos, Pasquines y Rumores. Los Comienzos de la Opinión Pública en la España del Siglo XVII* (Madrid: Cátedra, 2014)
- Ostenfeld-Suske, Kira Von, ‘Writing Official History in Spain: History and Politics, c.1474–1600’, in *The Oxford History of Historical Writing, 1400-1800*, ed. by Daniel Woolf and Masayuki Sato (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), III
- Oyarbide Magaña, Ernesto, ‘A Most Venerable Provisional Envoy: Friar Diego de La Fuente’s Diplomatic Missions to Jacobean London (1618-1620 and 1624)’, in *Confessional Diplomacy*, ed. by Roberta Anderson and Charlotte Backerra (London: Routledge, 2020)
- ———, ‘The Myth of the Black Knight: Subverting the Image of Count Gondomar in Early Modern England.’, *Vides: A Journal of Interdisciplinary Essays*, 2, 2014, 11–26

- Parker, Geoffrey, *Cómo Ser Rey: Instrucciones del Emperador Carlos V a su Hijo Felipe* (New York: The Hispanic Society of America, 2014)
- ———, *Imprudent King: A New Life of Philip II* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014)
- ———, *The Thirty Years' War* (London: Routledge, 1997)
- Patterson, William, *King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997)
- Peacey, Jason, 'Pamphlets', in *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture: Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660* (Oxford University Press, 2011)
- Peck, Linda Levy, *Northampton: Patronage and Policy at the Court of James I* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1982)
- Pelegrín, Marta Albalá, 'Wars of Knowledge: Iberian Imperial Hegemony and the Assembling of Libraries', *Pacific Coast Philology*, 52.2 (2017), 166–72
- Pérez, Joseph, *The Spanish Inquisition: A History*, trans. by Janet Lloyd (London: Profile, 2004)
- Pi Corrales, Magdalena de Pazzis, 'The View from Spain: Distant Images and English Political Reality in the Late Sixteenth Century', in *Material and Symbolic Circulation between England and Spain: 1554-1604*, ed. by Anne Cruz (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008)
- Pierce, Helen, 'Images, Representation, and Counter-Representation', in *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture: Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660* (Oxford University Press, 2011)
- Planta, Joseph, ed., *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Cottonian Library* (London: British Museum Press, 1802)
- Popper, Nicholas, *Walter Ralegh's History of the World and the Historical Culture of the Late Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012)
- Popper, Nicholas, and Malcolm Smuts, 'European Historiography in English Political Culture', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Age of Shakespeare*, 2016
- Prieto Bernabé, José Manuel, '"Recibida y Admitida de Todos". La Lectura de la Historia en la Sociedad Madrileña del Siglo de Oro', *Hispania: Revista Española de Historia*, 65.221 (2005), 877–937
- Pursell, Brennan, 'James I, Gondomar and the Dissolution of the Parliament of 1621', *History*, 85.279 (2000), 428–45
- ———, *The Winter King: Frederick V of the Palatinate and the Coming of the Thirty Years' War* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003)
- Questier, Michael, 'Catholicism, Kinship and the Public Memory of Sir Thomas More', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 53.3 (2002), 476–509
- ———, *Dynastic Politics and the British Reformations, 1558-1630* (Oxford University Press, 2019)
- ———, *Stuart Dynastic Policy and Religious Politics 1621-1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009)
- Quintero, María Cristina, 'English Queens and the Body Politic in Calderón's "La Cisma de Inglaterra" and Rivadeneira's "Historia Eclesiástica del Scisma del Reino de Inglaterra"', *Modern Language Notes*, 113.2 (1998), 259–82
- Rahn Phillips, Carla, 'Libels and Other Weapons: The Written Word as an Adjunct to Naval Warfare', in *Material and Symbolic Circulation between England and Spain: 1554-1604*, ed. by Anne Cruz (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008)
- Raymond, Joad, 'Les Libelles Internationaux à la Période Moderne: Étude Préliminaire',

Études Épistémè, 26, 2014 <http://journals.openedition.org/episteme/297> [accessed 8 August 2019]

- ———, 'News Writing', in *The Oxford Handbook of English Prose 1500-1640*, ed. by Andrew Hadfield (Oxford: Oxford University Press)
- ———, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: University Press, 2003)
- Redworth, Glyn, 'God's Gift? Sacred Relics, Gift Giving, and Luisa de Carvajal's Preparation of the Holy During the Long Reformation', *Nuncius*, 27.2 (2012), 270–88
- ———, 'Of Pimps and Princes: Three Unpublished Letters from James I and the Prince of Wales Relating to the Spanish Match', *The Historical Journal*, 37.2 (1994), 401–9
- ———, *The Prince and the Infanta: The Cultural Politics of the Spanish Match* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003)
- ———, *The She-Apostle. The Extraordinary Life and Death of Luisa de Carvajal* (Oxford: University Press, 2008)
- Rivère de Carles, Nathalie, *Early Modern Diplomacy, Theatre and Soft Power: The Making of Peace* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016)
- Rodríguez de Diego, José Luis, ed., *Instrucción para el Gobierno del Archivo de Simancas (Año 1588)* (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, Dirección General de Bellas Artes y Archivos, 1989)
- Rodríguez-Salgado, Mía, *Armada 1588-1988* (London: Penguin, 1988)
- Russell, Conrad, *King James VI and I and His English Parliaments: The Trevelyan Lectures Delivered at the University of Cambridge in 1995*, ed. by Richard Cust and Andrew Thrush (Oxford: University Press, 2011)
- Rutkowski, Paweł, 'Poland and Britain Against the Ottoman Turks: Jerzy Ossoliński's Embassy to King James I in 1621', in *Britain and Poland-Lithuania* (Leiden: Brill, 2008)
- Sáez Hidalgo, Ana, and Berta Cano-Echeverría, *The Fruits of Exile: Emblems and Pamphlets from the English College at Valladolid*, 2 vols (Valladolid: Trustees of the Royal English College, 2009)
- Samson, Alexander, '1623 and the Politics of Translation', in *The Spanish Match: Prince Charles's Journey to Madrid, 1623*, ed. by Alexander Samson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006)
- ———, 'Introduction', in *The Spanish Match: Prince Charles's Journey to Madrid, 1623*, ed. by Alexander Samson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006)
- ———, ed., *The Spanish Match: Prince Charles's Journey to Madrid, 1623* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006)
- Sánchez Cano, David, 'Entertainments in Madrid for the Prince of Wales: Political Functions of Festivals', in *The Spanish Match: Prince Charles's Journey to Madrid, 1623*, ed. by Alexander Samson (Aldershot: Ashgate Pub, 2006)
- Sánchez Cantón, Francisco Javier, *Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, Conde de Gondomar* (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1935)
- Sanz Camañes, Porfirio, 'Burocracia, Corte y Diplomacia: El Conde de Gondomar, Embajador de España', in *Letrados, Juristas y Burócratas en la España Moderna*, ed. by Francisco José Aránda Pérez (Castilla-La Mancha: Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 2005)
- ———, *Diplomacia Hispano-Inglesa en el Siglo XVII* (Cuenca: Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 2002)
- Schweizer, Karl, and Matt Schumann, 'The Revitalization of Diplomatic History:

Renewed Reflections', *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, 19.2 (2008), 149–86
- Shapiro, Barbara, *Political Communication and Political Culture in England, 1558-1688* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012)
- Sharpe, Kevin, 'Faction at the Early Stuart Court', *History Today*, 33.10 (1983), 39
- ———, *Image Wars: Promoting Kings and Commonwealths in England, 1603-1660* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010)
- ———, *Reading Revolutions: The Politics of Reading in Early Modern England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000)
- ———, *Sir Robert Cotton, 1586-1631: History and Politics in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979)
- Sherman, William, and Heather Wolfe, 'The Department of Hybrid Books: Thomas Milles between Manuscript and Print', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 45.3 (2015), 457–85
- Smith-Cronin, Jeri, 'Chivalry, Religion, and Anglo-Spanish Diplomacy: Censoring Thomas Dekker's The Whore of Babylon'', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 50.3 (2020)
- Soetaert, Alexander, 'Catholic Refuge and the Printing Press: Catholic Exiles from England, France and the Low Countries in the Ecclesiastical Province of Cambrai', *British Catholic History*, 34.4 (2019), 1–30
- Soll, Jacob, *The Information Master: Jean-Baptiste Colbert's Secret State Intelligence System* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2009)
- Sommerville, Johann, 'Papalist Political Thought and the Controversy over the Jacobean Oath of Allegiance', in *Catholics and the 'Protestant Nation': Religious Politics and Identity in Early Modern England*, ed. by Ethan Shagan (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009)
- ———, ed., *Political Writings of King James VI and I* (Cambridge: University Press, 1994)
- Sowerby, Tracey, '"A Memorial and a Pledge of Faith": Portraiture and Early Modern Diplomatic Culture', *The English Historical Review*, 129.537 (2014), 296–331
- ———, *Cultures of Diplomacy and Literary Writing in the Early Modern World* (Oxford: University Press, 2019)
- ———, 'Early Modern Diplomatic History', *History Compass*, 14.9 (2016), 441–56
- ———, 'Negotiating the Royal Image: Portrait Exchanges in Elizabethan and Early Stuart Diplomacy', in *Early Modern Exchanges: Dialogues Between Nations and Cultures, 1550-1750*, ed. by Helen Hackett (Surrey: Ashgate, 2015)
- ———, 'Royal Gifts, Religious Polemics, and Diplomatic Ceremonial: The Reception of James VI/I's "Apologie"' (presented at the Conference 'Gondomar Remains: On Diplomats, Libraries and Cultural Exchanges', Valladolid, 2018)
- Sowerby, Tracey, and Jan Hennings, eds., *Practices of Diplomacy in the Early Modern World c. 1410-1800* (London: Routledge, 2017)
- Stoye, John, *English Travellers Abroad: 1604-1667* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989)
- Taylor, Gary, 'A Game at Chess: General Textual Introduction', in *Thomas Middleton and Early Modern Textual Culture: A Companion to the Collected Works*, ed. by Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007)
- Tite, Colin, *Early Records of Sir Robert Cotton's Library: Formation, Cataloguing and Use* (London: British Library, 2003)

- ———, '"Lost or Stolen or Strayed": A Survey of Manuscripts Formerly in the Cotton Library', *The British Library Journal*, 18.2, 107–47
- Tobío, Luis, 'A Amistade de Bacon e Gondomar', *Grial*, 18.68 (1980), 210–15
- ———, *Gondomar y los Católicos Ingleses* (A Coruña: Ediciós do Castro, 1987)
- ———, *Gondomar y su Triunfo sobre Raleigh* (Santiago de Compostela: Bibliófilos Gallegos, 1974)
- ———, 'O Erasmismo de Gondomar', *Grial*, 8.28 (1970), 129–60
- Tutino, Stefania, *Empire of Souls: Robert Bellarmine and the Christian Commonwealth* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010)
- ———, *Law and Conscience: Catholicism in Early Modern England, 1570-1625* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007)
- Tyacke, Sarah, and John Huddy, *Christopher Saxton and Tudor Map-Making* (London: British Library, 1980)
- Ungerer, Gustav, 'The Earl of Southampton's Donation to the Bodleian in 1605 and Its Spanish Books', *Bodleian Library Record*, 16 (1997), 17–41
- Walsh, Michael, 'The Publishing Policy of the English Jesuits at St Omer, 1608–1759', *Studies in Church History*, 17 (1981), 239–50
- Walsham, Alexandra, '"Domme Preachers"? Post-Reformation English Catholicism and the Culture of Print', *Past & Present*, 168, 2000, 72–123
- ———, 'The Social History of the Archive: Record-Keeping in Early Modern Europe', *Past & Present*, 230.11 (2016), 9–48
- Watkins, John, 'Toward a New Diplomatic History of Medieval and Early Modern Europe', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 38.1 (2008), 1–14
- Watt, Tessa, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)
- White, Beatrice, *Cast of Ravens: The Strange Case of Sir Thomas Overbury* (London: Murray, 1965)
- Wilaert, Leopold, 'Négociations Politico-Religieuses Entre L'Angleterre et Les Pays-Bas Catholiques', *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, 8.1 (1907), 81–101
- Williams, Michael, *St. Alban's College Valladolid: Four Centuries of English Catholic Presence in Spain* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1986)
- ———, *The Venerable English College, Rome: A History* (Leominster: Gracewing, 2008)
- Williamson, Elizabeth, '"Fishing after News" and the Ars Apodemica: The Intelligencing Role of the Educational Traveller in the Late Sixteenth Century', in *News Networks in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Joad Raymond and Noah Moxham (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 542–62
- Wilson, Edward, and Olga Turner, 'The Spanish Protest against "A Game at Chesse"', *The Modern Language Review*, 44.4 (1949), 476–82
- Wilson, Peter, *The Thirty Years War: Europe's Tragedy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012)
- Wilson-Lee, Edward, *The Catalogue of Shipwrecked Books: Young Columbus and the Quest for a Universal Library* (London: William Collins, 2018)
- Wizeman, William, *The Theology and Spirituality of Mary Tudor's Church* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006)
- Woolf, Daniel, *Reading History in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: University Press,

2000)
- ———, *The Idea of History in Early Stuart England* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990)
- Yale, Elizabeth, 'The History of Archives: The State of the Discipline', *Book History*, 18.1 (2015), 332–59
- Zimmermann, Georg, *Carmel in England: A History of the English Mission of the Discalced Carmelites, 1615 to 1849.* (London: Burns & Oates, 1899)

2.2. Unpublished Theses

- Anderson, Roberta, 'Foreign Diplomatic Representatives to the Court of James VI and I' (Bath Spa University [Unpublished doctoral dissertation], 2001)
- Ewing, Alec, '"A Tongue-Combat Betweene Two English Souldiers": A Comparative Analysis of Catholic and Puritan Polemics, 1618-1628' (Leiden University [Unpublished masters dissertation], 2013)
- Flynn, Kelsey, 'Information Management and the Early English Atlantic Empire, 1603-1640' (The George Washington University [Unpublished doctoral dissertation], 2016)
- Guilday, Peter, 'The English Catholic Refugees on the Continent. The English Colleges and Convents in the Catholic Low Countries, 1558-1795' (University of Louvain [Unpublished doctoral dissertation], 1969)
- Muckart, Heather, 'Absence and Artlessness in Early Modern Church of England Martyr Portraits' (University of British Columbia [Unpublished doctoral dissertation], 2018)
- Rubio, Diego, 'The Ethics of Deception: Secrecy, Transparency and Deceit in the Origins of Modern Political Thought' (University of Oxford [Unpublished doctoral dissertation], 2016)
- Ruiz Fernández, Óscar, 'Las Relaciones Hispano-Inglesas entre 1603-1625.' (Universidad of Valladolid [Unpublished doctoral dissertation], 2012)
- Turnbull, Emma, 'Anti-Popery in Early Modern England: Religion, War and Print, c. 1617-1635' (University of Oxford [Unpublished doctoral dissertation], 2016)
- Speck, Henry, 'The Life and Works of Thomas Milles' (University of Oxford [Unpublished doctoral dissertation], 1964)

3. Online Resources

3.1. Avisos de la Real Biblioteca

- Michael, Ian, 'John Bill, Agente Librero', *Avisos de la Real Biblioteca*, 12.45 (2006), 6–8
- Oyarbide Magaña, Ernesto, 'La Posesión del Territorio Imaginado', *Avisos de la Real Biblioteca*, 21.75 (2015), 6–8
- Real Biblioteca, 'Ex Bibliotheca Gondomariesi. Libros en Inglés', *Avisos de la Real Biblioteca*, 10.38 (2004), 4–8
- ———, 'Gondomar y John Barclay', *Avisos de la Real Biblioteca*
- ———, 'Gondomar y la Fiesta de la Orden de la Jarretera en Londres', *Avisos de la Real Biblioteca*, 14.53 (2008), 7–8
- ———, 'Libros Prohibidos en la Casa Del Sol (I)', *Avisos de la Real Biblioteca*, 11.42 (2005), 5–8

- ———, ‘Libros Prohibidos en la Casa Del Sol (II)’, *Avisos de la Real Biblioteca,* 11.43 (2005), 4–5
- ———, ‘Libros Prohibidos en la Casa Del Sol (III)’, *Avisos de la Real Biblioteca,* 12.44 (2006), 7–8

3.2. Diccionario Biográfico de la Real Academia de la Historia

- Bautista Vilar, Juan, ‘Cipriano de Valera’, *DBE-RAH*
- Manso Porto, Carmen, ‘Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, Conde de Gondomar’, *DBE-RAH*

3.3. Dizionario Biografico Italiano

- Cavazza, Silvano, ‘Marco Antonio de Dominis (1560-1624)’, *Dizionario Biografico* <http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/marcantonio-de-dominis_(Dizionario-Biografico)/> [accessed 7 October 2019]

3.4. Online Catalogues and Reference Tools

- ‘Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes’ <http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/> [accessed 9 October 2019]
- ‘Catalogue of Archives and Manuscripts in the British Library’ <http://searcharchives.bl.uk/primo_library/libweb/action/search.do?dscnt=1&dstmp=1570616931826&vid=IAMS_VU2&fromLogin=true> [accessed 9 October 2019]
- ‘Catálogo de la Biblioteca Nacional de España’ <http://catalogo.bne.es/uhtbin/webcat> [accessed 14 September 2019]
- ‘Catálogo de la Real Biblioteca’ <https://realbiblioteca.patrimonionacional.es/> [accessed 9 October 2019]
- ‘“Collectio Effigierum Regum”: Gondomar’s Copy of the Baziliōlogia (1618-1622)’, *Biblioteca Digital Hispánica* <http://bdh.bne.es/bnesearch/detalle/bdh0000188943> [accessed 8 August 2019]
- ‘The Cotton Manuscripts’, *The British Library* <https://www.bl.uk/collection-guides/cotton-manuscripts> [accessed 6 August 2019]
- ‘Early English Books Online - EEBO’ <https://eebo.chadwyck.com/home> [accessed 9 October 2019]
- ‘English Short Title Catalogue’ <http://estc.bl.uk/F/?func=file&file_name=login-bl-estc> [accessed 8 August 2019]
- ‘Google Books’ <https://books.google.com/> [accessed 9 October 2019]
- Real Biblioteca, ‘Inventario de la Biblioteca Gondomar (1623)’, *Patrimonio Nacional* <http://inventarios.realbiblioteca.es/inventario> [accessed 1 September 2019]
- ‘Universal Short Title Catalogue (USTC)’ <https://www.ustc.ac.uk/> [accessed 14 August 2019]

3.5. Oxford Dictionary of National Bibliography

- Arblaster, Paul, ‘George Blackwell (1547–1612)’, *ODNB*
- Archer, Ian, ‘Thomas Smith (1513–1577)’, *ODNB*
- Bellany, Alastair, ‘Robert Carr (1585/6?–1645)’, *ODNB*

- Cramer, Anselm, ‘Thomas Preston (1567–1647)’, *ODNB*
- Edwards, Anthony, ‘George Cavendish (b. 1494-1562?)’, *ODNB*
- Handley, Stuart, ‘Robert Cotton (1571–1631)’, *ODNB*
- Kelsey, Sean, ‘Thomas Scott (d. 1626)’, *ODNB*
- Loomie, Albert, ‘Joseph Creswell (1556–1623)’, *ODNB*
- Mayer, Thomas, ‘George Lily (d. 1559)’, *ODNB*
- Neilson, Joanna, ‘John Rowland (1605/6–1680)’, *ODNB*
- Patterson, William, ‘Marco Antonio de Dominis (1560–1624)’, *ODNB*
- Redworth, Glyn, ‘Diego Sarmiento de Acuña (1567–1626)’, *ODNB*
- Royan, Nicola, ‘John Barclay (1582–1621)’, *ODNB*
- Ryan, Anthony, ‘Thomas Maxfield (1585–1616)’, *ODNB*
- Salmon, John, ‘Degory Wheare (1573–1647)’, *ODNB*
- Welch, Charles, and Trevor Dickie, ‘Thomas Myddelton (1549x56–1631)’, *ODNB*