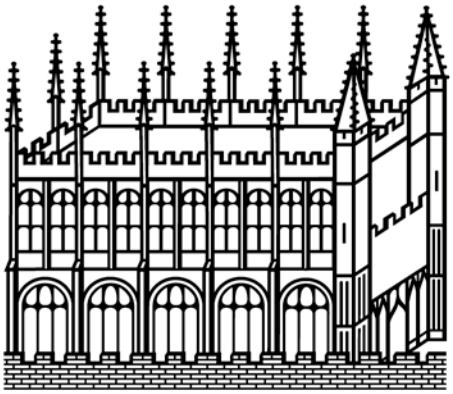

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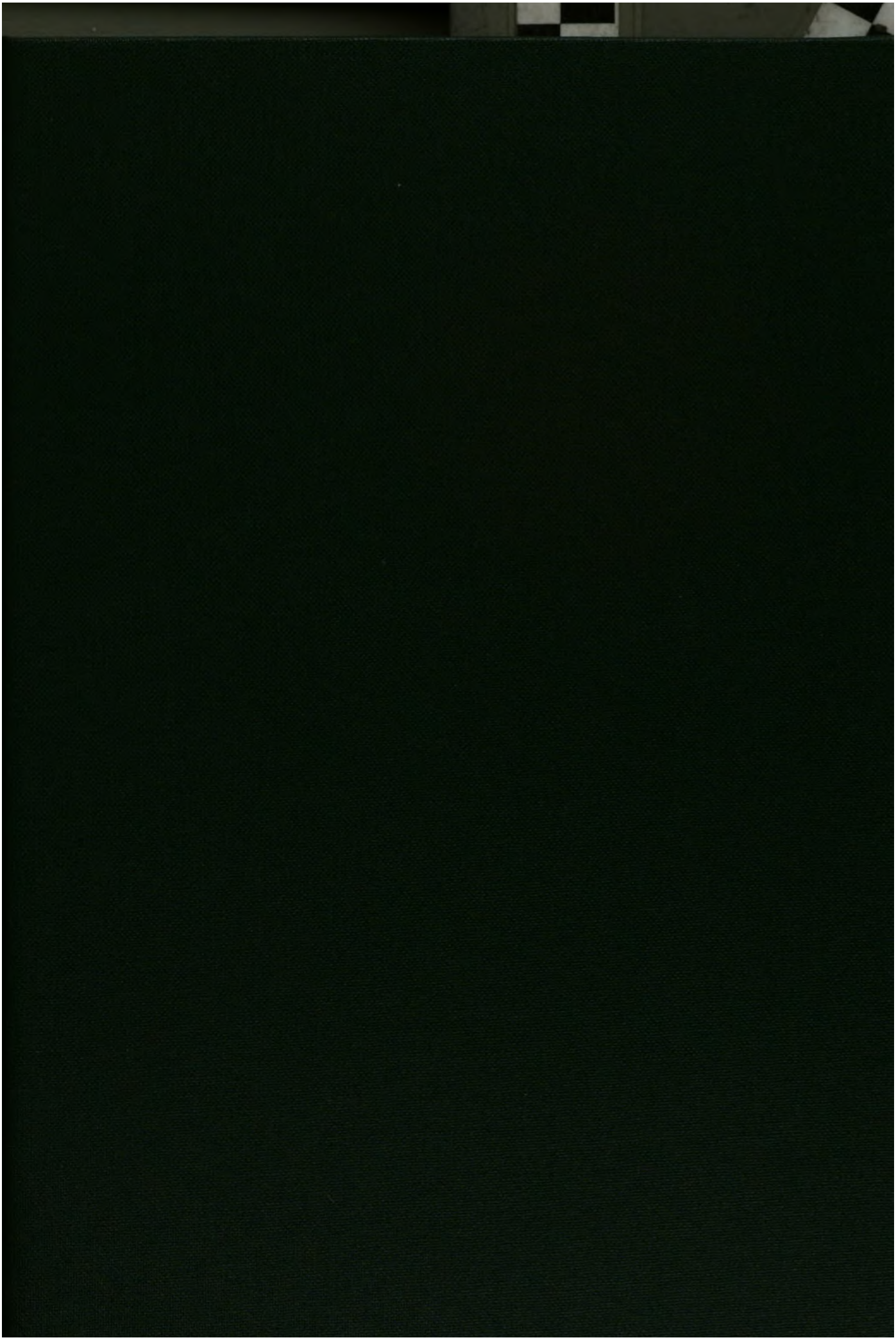

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PRINTED CALENDARS.

THE Editors of Calendars published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls are requested to confine any Prefatory Remarks they may consider necessary to prefix to their Volumes to an explanation of the Papers therein contained.

(Signed) ROMILLY.

13th June 1867.

SUPPLEMENT

TO

VOLUME I. AND VOLUME II.

OF

LETTERS, DESPATCHES, AND STATE PAPERS,

RELATING TO

THE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN ENGLAND AND SPAIN.

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VOLUME I. AND VOLUME II.

OF

LETTERS, DESPATCHES, AND STATE PAPERS,

RELATING TO

THE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN ENGLAND AND SPAIN,

PRESERVED IN

THE ARCHIVES AT SIMANCAS AND ELSEWHERE.



I. QUEEN KATHARINE.

II. INTENDED MARRIAGE OF KING HENRY VII. WITH QUEEN JUANA.

EDITED BY

G. A. BERGENROTH.

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHORITY OF THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS OF HER MAJESTY'S TREASURY, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

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INTRODUCTION.

WHEN I began my researches in the Archives of Simancas, eight years ago, the regulations then prevailing in that establishment authorized its chief officer to refuse to any historical enquirer the communication of all such documents as he thought might reflect dishonour on reigning families and other great personages, or which he considered to be unfit for publication for any other reason. Although I was at first given to understand that in my case no use would be made of this discretionary power, not many months passed before it became clear that some papers, of the number and contents of which I could form no judgment, were being kept back. If this partial suppression of historical information had no other consequences than to secure to one or other popular hero or heroine of subordinate importance a greater share of praise than was their due, I should, perhaps, have patiently acquiesced. The danger to which it exposed historical research was, however, of a much more serious kind. Whether King Ferdinand and Queen Isabel, Henry VIII. and Wolsey, Francis I. and his mistresses, Charles V. and Gattinara, Pope Leo and Pope Adrian, were really the perfect rulers of church and state which their numerous admirers would fain make us believe, are subjects too important in themselves to be lightly dealt with. They filled places so prominent in European history that they materially influenced its

development. But, however great the personal interest attaching to them may be, it is an object of still greater moment to discover whether it was possible, more than three hundred and fifty years ago, to administer the affairs of nations on principles as pure as, or even more so than, those of our own day; all the great social, political, and moral questions as to whether mankind is improving or is in a state of decay, being intimately connected with it. To form a careful estimate of our own time belongs to the political philosopher; to bring to light facts which make a comparison with the past possible, is the first and paramount duty of the historian. And how can that be done if the shortcomings of statesmen of past centuries are concealed or explained away?

Although unwilling to give trouble to the Spanish Government, which had so readily granted permission to search its vast depositories of historical documents, I should have neglected a duty had I not endeavoured by every means to persuade it to remove all the restrictions. To obtain redress at Simancas having proved impracticable, I addressed the Director General of Public Instruction at Madrid. It would take too much space to describe the negotiations which ensued, and which during more than six years formed the most difficult and by no means always the most pleasant portion of my labours. It may, therefore, suffice to state that when, during the last ministry of Marshal Narvaez, the department of Public Instruction was entrusted to Don Severo Catalina, now Minister *de Fomento*, I found him resolved to do away with the obsolete regulations regarding the Spanish archives. Instead of making any difficulties, he procured a royal order, commanding that all the historical documents in Simancas, without any reserve or limitation, should be communicated to me. It affords me special satisfaction publicly to thank him for this liberal and enlightened measure.

When assured that no kind of information would any longer be withheld, I endeavoured to ascertain whether the former volumes of my Calendar, compiled under less favourable circumstances, had received any material injury which it might seem advisable to repair. I was not long in discovering two errors into which I had been betrayed, the first relating to the private life of Queen Katharine before and after her marriage to King Henry VIII., and the other concerning the strange marriage projects of King Henry VII. with regard to Queen Juana, the widow of King Philip, and mother of the Emperor Charles V. The correction of these errors, or rather the new information which has come to light, has been thought to be sufficiently interesting to justify the publication of this volume, which forms a supplement to the first, and, to some smaller extent, to the second volume of the Spanish Calendar.

The two subjects have no other connexion than that they have been incompletely stated in the same work. I shall, therefore, speak of them separately hereafter. As to the documents regarding Queen Katharine, they require little comment; but the case of King Henry VII. and Queen Juana is of a most complicated nature. The state papers mentioned in the first volume of my Calendar admit of no reasonable doubt that King Henry was really serious in suing for the hand of the Queen, whose dowry consisted of the crown of Castile, but who, according to the unanimous verdict of history, was mad. Doctor de Puebla was not only Spanish ambassador in England, but enjoyed also in an unusual degree the confidence of the King. We have, therefore, no reason to question the accuracy of his statement when he wrote to his master that the English seemed to care little for her insanity, especially since he had assured them that it would not prevent her from bearing children;(1) and again when, five months later, he

(1) De Puebla to King Ferdinand, April 15, 1507, p. 94.

informed King Ferdinand that Henry and his Council desired extremely that the marriage should be concluded "even if worse things were said of her madness."(1)

The correspondence which I am now enabled to publish throws, however, grave doubts on the insanity of Queen Juana, and the reader will find abundant materials in it to judge for himself whether she was not a victim, firstly, of the tyranny of her mother, and then of the avarice of her father, her husband, and her son. If it can be established that King Henry had sufficient reason to suspect the real state of things, he must be absolved from a stigma the most degrading which could weigh upon his memory. If, on the other hand, he believed that his intended bride was mad, although that may not have been the case, his moral guilt remains unaltered, and a group of other criminals is added to the picture. It would be superfluous to dwell on the significance which these questions have in the eyes of those who are interested in ascertaining the development of civilisation in succeeding generations. Moreover, even those who are inclined to look with indifference on the moral teachings of history must admit that truth, for its own sake, deserves to be elucidated, quite irrespectively as to whether it upholds or refutes preconceived opinions, and gratifies or hurts national or party susceptibilities.

Questions relating to the state of mind of a person affirmed to be insane are generally of an intricate nature, and this is the case with Queen Juana. It is impossible to form a judgment without reviewing the earlier part of her life, and taking into consideration all the surrounding circumstances, which either influenced the formation of her mind or explain the motives of her actions and the conduct of her opponents. To give all the documents which disclose the true character of her mother, under whose

(1) De Puebla to King Ferdinand, September 7, 1507, p. 115.

guidance she was educated, of King Ferdinand, King Philip, and Charles V., by whom she was imprisoned, would require much more space than we have at our disposal. I must, therefore, content myself with a few prefatory observations concerning the general state of things; but it has been my aim to give a complete collection of those documents which have an immediate and direct bearing on the inquiry whether, at the period in question, she was insane or falsely represented as mad, in as far as they are to be found at Simancas. The letters here published are the identical reports and orders which were respectively received and given by the very persons by whom Juana was imprisoned; not the bare recitals of casual witnesses who might be mistaken; and many of them introduce us, as it were, to the presence of the captive Queen, for in them we find her behaviour minutely chronicled and her conversations literally reported. As the documents of this period, however, are neither numerous nor very explicit on the point in question, recourse must, to a certain extent, be had to the correspondence of later times, and it will be found that the letters written during the years immediately preceding the rising of the Commons in Castile are the most curious and the most instructive. When the partisans of Charles recaptured Tordesillas, in the month of December 1520, and Queen Juana was again the prisoner of her son, the uninterrupted monotony of her prison life offers little of interest to us. I add, therefore, only a few of such documents of that period as I think serve more fully to explain former occurrences.

This volume differs in one essential point from the other volumes of the Calendar. Instead of giving mere abstracts, I have printed the state papers in full, in the original languages in which they were written, preserving the old orthography, the punctuation, and even the grammatical errors which occur in the originals. The documents are printed from transcripts which have been

carefully made by the best copyists that could be obtained in Simancas, that is to say, by the officers of the Archives. The copies are deposited at the Rolls House, where they can be inspected by whosoever wishes to compare them with the printed documents. The translations do not aim at elegance, but only at as faithful a rendering of the meaning of the originals as the great difference between old Spanish and modern English permits.

QUEEN KATHARINE.

Whatever the opinions on the merits of the divorce case of Queen Katharine may be, no historian, as far as I am aware, has impeached her private character; and when I had occasion, in the first volume of my Calendar, to speak of her life after the death of Prince Arthur, I could only join in the general praise of her personal virtues. My unconditional commendation, however, was purchased at the price of a partial suppression of truth, and letters which the late keeper of the archives at Simancas had taken much care to conceal make a reversal of my former judgment an imperative duty.

It seems as though exceedingly few, if any, of the men and women who were mixed up with the public affairs of three or four hundred years ago can bear close examination without their characters being more or less lowered in our estimation. Of this Queen Katharine furnishes us with new evidence.

When Princess Dowager of Wales, she asked her father, in the year 1506, to send her a Spanish confessor. King Ferdinand was then at Naples, and as no well-qualified Spanish priest could be found in Italy, he begged his daughter to wait until his return to Spain. But before he had left Italy the Princess informed him in her letter of the 15th April 1507, that she had found an excellent confessor, and needed no other. (1) As long as Doctor de Puebla was ambassador at the court of King Henry we meet with no unfavourable comment on her conduct

(1) Pp. 102, 103.

towards her spiritual director. Whether that is due to the overprudent character of the Doctor, or to the loss or suppression of a portion of his correspondence, or whether the unfavourable reports did not obtain credit until a later period, we are unable to decide. But in the year 1508, Gutier Gomez de Fuensalida, Knight Commander of Membrilla, was sent to relieve De Puebla from his post, and not many months elapsed before he became aware that the presence of the confessor was to the last degree injurious to the reputation of Princess Katharine. It is always a delicate, often a dangerous, undertaking for a subject to tell his king and master that the honour of his daughter, and consequently his own, is not beyond suspicion. Thus, the Knight Commander delayed speaking in his despatches of the imprudent conduct of the Princess as long as he could, trusting that he and others might be able to persuade her to behave in a more becoming manner, and to put an end to the scandalous rumours which were rife at court. He spoke with the Princess, and Juan de Cuero made representations to the confessor, but the only result was that Katharine regarded them as her greatest enemies. (1) At last, on the 4th of March 1509, the ambassador thought he could no longer delay breaking the subject to King Ferdinand. (2) That he laid the blame principally on the confessor is natural enough, but, if we understand his accusations aright, they are of such a kind as only too much to involve the Princess herself.

Fuensalida describes Fray Diego Fernandez as a monk having neither learning nor appearance, nor manners, nor competency, nor credit. He was light, haughty, and licentious to an extreme degree. On another occasion the ambassador calls him a "pestiferous" person (3) who could not too soon be removed from the presence of the Princess. But, on the other hand, he was young, and does not seem to have been deficient in aptitude for the

(1) Pp. 14, 18, 25, 28. (2) Pp. 13, 31. (3) P. 28.

despatch of business, as he discharged not only the duties of confessor but also those of chancellor to the Princess. He gained her confidence and her affection. The most effectual weapon in the hands of a priest is the belief of others that he is the dispenser of rewards and punishments in future life. Of this Fray Diego made a most unscrupulous use, declaring everything to be a mortal sin which displeased him, however innocent it might be. (1) Fuensalida gives us one striking illustration. King Henry had asked the Princess Katharine and Princess Mary to go to Richmond, where he intended to meet them. When the Princess Katharine was ready to start, the friar came into her room, and said to her, "You shall "not go today." The Princess, it is true, had vomited that night, but was again perfectly well, and the distance she had to travel was at the utmost less than one league. She therefore protested that she was not ill, and did not like to be left behind alone. The friar, however, overruled her objections in a high-handed manner by his categorical command, "I tell you that upon pain of mortal sin "you shall not go today." The Princess, "not daring "to displease him," had no choice left, and underwent the humiliation of telling the Princess Mary, who had been waiting for her more than two hours, that she was unable to go. It is easy to imagine the feelings of the English gentlemen who, having been appointed to escort the two princesses, rode off with the Princess Mary alone, leaving their future queen behind in the company of a young Spanish monk of bad repute and a few servants, one of whom had arrived by mere chance. They could not have been deceived by her pretext of indisposition, as they had seen her at mass and at dinner in perfect health. When, on the following day, she went to Richmond, accompanied by no other living creature than three women on horseback, her *maestre sala*, a chamberlain, and Fray Diego, King Henry was so much incensed, that for several

(1) P. 13.

weeks he did not take the slightest notice of her, although during that time she really fell ill. "May God forgive me," exclaimed the ambassador, "but since I have known "so well the affairs of the Princess' household, I acquit "the King of England of a great and very great portion "of the blame which I hitherto laid on him, and do not "wonder at what he has done, but at what he does not "do." (1)

Fray Diego made the infatuation of the Princess a means of obtaining pecuniary advantages. She was living in absolute poverty, and her father had strictly forbidden her to sell any portion of her plate and jewels, which were to be given in part payment of her dower to the King of England. In spite of these injunctions she sold some plate, and would have sold more had she not been prevented by her servants, in order to "satisfy the follies" of the friar; and, unmindful of her own wants, she employed the money in buying books and other things for him. (2)

All the circumstances hitherto mentioned may easily be explained as devotion carried beyond its proper limits. Unfortunately for the reputation of the Princess, her confessor himself renders this more charitable interpretation rather difficult. One day he came to the ambassador, and wished to have an explanation with him on the reports concerning himself and the Princess. The Knight Commander very properly, we think, endeavoured to avoid it, as only tending towards making her disgrace more public, but Fray Diego insisted, and at last said these formal words: "Be it so, but in this house there "are evil tongues, and they have cast slanderous imputa- "tions upon me with respect not to the lowest in the "house, but to the highest, which is no disgrace to me, "and if it were not for the sake of contradicting them "I should already be gone." (3) The highest person in the house of the Princess Katharine was evidently

(1) Pp. 25, 26, 27. (2) P. 28. (3) P. 15.

the Princess herself, and the scandalous reports of which the friar spoke related, therefore, to her quite as much as to him. We have translated the word *infamar* by slander, because it has no exact equivalent in the English language, and we were afraid of making the case worse by using too strong an expression. But *infamar* indicates something more infamous than slander, and if we consider the circumstances under which it was used, it would be mere affectation to pretend any doubt as to what kind of infamy was imputed to the Princess. The ambassador added, that he was so excited that he could scarcely restrain himself from laying hands on the friar. (1) We readily believe him, for the so-called explanation seems to have been a coarse gratification of vanity rather than a serious denial of a report which, as he said, did not disgrace him.

And how was it possible that King Henry could permit such a state of things to continue? We must remind the reader that the King had caused his son to protest against his marriage with Princess Katharine, and thus reserved to himself the right of breaking off the engagement at any moment that might seem to him convenient. Bearing this fact in mind, it will be easy to understand the explanation of the ambassador, who stated that all the English, and especially King Henry and even Prince Henry, abhorred to see such a friar so continually in the palace and amongst the women. (2) The King had remonstrated with the Princess "in very strong words;" as, however, his remonstrances remained as ineffectual as those of the ambassador and the Spanish servants, he did not think it his duty to interfere more energetically. But his apparent acquiescence in what "displeased him so much," and "was constantly brought before his eyes," was "not considered as a good sign by those who knew him best." (3) The ambassador leaves us to interpret his oracular words as well as we can. We do not wonder at

(1) P. 15, 16. (2) P. 16, 31. (3) P. 16, 27.

his not being more explicit when speaking to the father of the defamed lady. As we, however, are not labouring under the same disadvantage, we may ask what meaning could these phrases have, except that the ambassador intended to state that King Henry was permitting the bride of his son and heir to go on ruining her reputation in order to obtain a reasonable ground to declare her unworthy of becoming his daughter in law?

We have not yet exhausted the case of the accusation. The ambassador stated that Princess Katharine was guilty of things of "a thousand times worse kind" (1) than, for instance, remaining behind with her young confessor when she was ordered to go to Richmond; and in his letter of the 20th of March to the First Secretary of State he declared that he had written only in hints, or, to use his own expression, in "parables" to the King. (2) His despatch of the 4th of March was sent to Spain by Juan de Ascotia, a servant of the Princess, and chosen by her to be the bearer of complaints against the ambassador. Nevertheless the Knight Commander did not hesitate to call him to witness, because, as he was living in the house of the Princess, he must have seen what had been going on in it during the last two months. If King Ferdinand after having heard the servant, and after having been informed of the complaints of the Princess against him, should wish to know the truth, he would speak without restraint, and "without lying on any point." (3)

After having stated the accusation, we may hear the defence. The Princess Katharine was perfectly aware of the reports which were circulated about her, for she descants with great vehemence on the infamous slander against her person and the honour of her house. But the friar, she pretended, was the best confessor that ever woman in her position had, with respect to his life as well as to his holy doctrine and proficiency in letters. (4) He was serving her faithfully, giving her good advice

(1) P. 27. (2) P. 31. (3) P. 14. (4) P. 19.

and a good example, and nothing grieved her more than that her poverty did not permit her to reward him as he deserved. (1) No one, however, who reads the two letters of the confessor contained in this volume, (2) and the communications which he made to Luis Caroz, (3) can have any doubt that, whilst his literary attainments were very slender, his coarseness was so great that the Princess could be misled only by her great "affection" for him; and her case is certainly not improved by the circumstance that, some years later, Fray Diego, whilst still her confessor, was judicially convicted of fornication. (4)

In the year 1509 the Princess Katharine was not a mere child, who might have been excused on the ground of ignorance. Born on the 15th of December 1485, she was then a widow in her twenty-fourth year, and, quite irrespectively of the question whether her marriage with Prince Arthur had been consummated or not, she must have known what the true nature of the accusation was under which she was labouring. Any woman who valued her honour would, under similar circumstances, have sent away her young confessor, and thus put an end to the scandal which had already continued far too long a time. Princess Katharine, however, adopted a different line of conduct. She informed her father that the friar had threatened to leave her. We may suspect that he was not in earnest; but the Princess believed him, and implored King Ferdinand in passionate words to prevent him, "her greatest comfort" in her troubles, who "gave her consolation and support" in her cheerless life, from carrying out his intention. Her judgment, generally very clear, forsook her so entirely on this occasion that she asked her father to write to the King of England to the effect that he had commanded the friar to remain at his post, and that he wished that he should be "well treated and humoured" by King Henry as well as by the prelates of the king-

(1) P. 19. (2) P. 34, 44. (3) P. 43. (4) P. 45.

dom. Not satisfied with this ardent appeal, she implored her father not to let her "perish," threatening, at the same time, to do something in her despair which neither the King of England nor her father would be able to prevent, and in her letter of the 20th of March she went so far as to hint at her imminent death. (1) Such conduct and such language could only confirm the suspicion which had been excited, and we must confess that the defence seems to us almost as damaging as the accusation.

As is usual in similar cases, we have no direct proof of a criminal intercourse of Princess Katharine with her confessor, and may absolve her from that charge. But, on the other hand, although she had declared that in pretending to the hand of Prince Henry she was consulting the interests of her father rather than her own wishes, (2) she did all in her power to bring about that marriage, and was actually living in the house of the father of her late husband and of the man to whom she had pledged her faith. If, under such circumstances, she laid herself open, through her reckless conduct, to a suspicion which is the most degrading for a woman, and involves one of the most heinous crimes a catholic can commit, we think we shall not be too severe if we pronounce her to have forfeited the right to be considered as a lady of spotless honour. She bitterly complained of the contempt with which she was treated in England; (3) but as she never hints that the disrespect shown to her might to some extent have been the consequence of her own follies, we hope that she was not conscious of undergoing a well-deserved punishment, and that thus she was spared this last humiliation.

The death of King Henry VII., which soon afterwards occurred, released her from her painful situation. The negotiations for her marriage, which had flagged for more than a year, were resumed with renewed energy. If we read the Spanish correspondence of that period again,

(1) Pp. 21, 33, 34. (2) P. 105. (3) For instance, p. 17.

many passages assume a clearer significance than we were hitherto able to assign to them. We now perfectly understand the reasons which prompted King Ferdinand to implore his ambassador not to speak a word about what had happened, and "for God's sake" not to complain of the Princess to any one in England.(1) Even his orders to corrupt some of the more influential English councillors, by paying them money, and to gain over the commissioners,(2) become more intelligible than they have hitherto been, whilst, on the other hand, if, as King Ferdinand suspected, the confessor protested against the lawfulness of the marriage, (3) his protestation is liable to a quite different interpretation.

Six weeks after the death of King Henry VII., the Princess Katharine was married to the new King of England. Those who believe that King Henry VIII. was a prince of great sagacity and strength of will might expect to hear nothing more of Fray Diego after the marriage. They would be mistaken. For Queen Katharine prevailed on her husband to suffer her scandalous confessor to continue his office for five or six years longer. Fuensalida was recalled, and Don Luis Caroz sent in his place. The new ambassador found that the friar still exercised an almost unbounded power over the Queen. It depended on him whom she was to see, and whether she was to receive even the representative of her father. As Fray Diego was afraid lest Luis Caroz would endeavour to deprive him of his influence, he forbade all communication between the Spanish ambassador and the Queen. Coaxing and flattery were thrown away on him, and the ambassador states that he had never seen so wicked a person, whilst on another occasion he suspected that he was not in his right mind.(4)

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(1) Spanish Calendar, II., p. 17. An exact copy of the document from which the abstract is made is deposited at the Rolls House.

(2) Ibid., p. 8, p. 12. A copy of this document is at the Rolls House.

(3) Spanish Calendar. Vol. II., p. 9. A full copy of the document is deposited at the Rolls House.

(4) P. 36, sqq.

But to us it is of more importance to ascertain whether the relations between the confessor and the Queen were still objectionably intimate. That a confessor is more thoroughly acquainted with the state of mind of his penitent than any other man may be natural; but if he boasts that a married woman gives more exact information about her bodily condition to him than to her own husband, we think that his statement, if true, detracts from his honour as well as from that of the lady. We read, therefore, with concern the letter of Fray Diego to King Ferdinand of the 25th of May 1510, in which he pretends that the Queen had communicated to him her hope soon to gladden the country with a prince, whilst she was still concealing her condition from "all the world and the King."(1) On the whole, the friar seems to have constituted himself the herald of her pregnancies. His descriptions are as unbecoming a priest as his assertions are preposterous. It was he to whom the inextricable confusion of the never ceasing expectations of the Queen to become a mother is due. Yet what would be too absurd for a man who dared to tell King Ferdinand that the Queen had been delivered of a still born daughter, with no other suffering than that one of her knees had pained her the night before, and that in spite of her miscarriage she had remained pregnant of another child.(2)

When, in the year 1515, in consequence of a serious quarrel between Ferdinand and Henry, followed by a reconciliation, the influence of the Catholic King in England was at its greatest height, Fray Diego was prosecuted, convicted of fornication, deprived of his office of chancellor of the Queen, and sentenced by his judges, the Bishop of Winchester (3) and the Earl of Surrey, to be delivered up to King Ferdinand. There was no person in the world whom the friar dreaded more than the King of Spain. He therefore fled, but indited from his hiding place an

(1) P. 35. (2) Pp. 34, 43.

(3) *Huntonie*, in the letter of the friar, instead of Wintoniæ, just as *Huinsor* instead of Windsor, etc.

undated holograph letter to King Henry, complaining of the injustice done to him, and stating that to fall into the hands of King Ferdinand would be certain death. He begged permission to return, reminding Henry that he had it in his power to divulge the secrets of his house and his government.(1) The letter bears no sign that it was ever delivered either to the King or any of his ministers, and its presence among the Spanish state papers would be difficult to explain on any other supposition than that King Ferdinand had discovered the friar's place of concealment, and captured him together with his papers.

In concluding this subject, we may observe, that, whatever the relations of Queen Katharine and her confessor before her marriage may have been, they could not, according to canon law, after eighteen years of married life, be used as a ground for demanding the divorce, and whether there is any reason to suppose that King Henry remembered Fray Diego when he opposed absolute silence to the solemn appeal of the Queen, calling him to witness that he had found her an untouched virgin, we must leave to the judgment of the reader.

The letter of Don Luis Caroz, of the 28th of May 1510, contains a detailed report of a love affair of King Henry and a sister of the Duke of Buckingham (2), which may have been the first step to the disgrace of the duke which ended in his execution.

To the letters lately discovered at Simancas is prefixed one which was found in the collections of D. Pascual de Gayangos at Madrid. It is from Don Pedro de Ayala to Queen Isabel, and the information contained in it about the life of Katharine immediately after her marriage to Prince Arthur seems to us the more important, as the letter was written before any one could have foreseen her future ill fortune. We shall speak of its contents when we come to the divorce.

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(1) P. 44. sqq. (2) P. 39. sq.

QUEEN JUANA.

In the month of July 1500 Don Juan, the only son of King Ferdinand and Queen Isabel, and their eldest daughter, together with their grandson by her, having been removed by death, their second daughter Juana thus became undisputed heiress to the crowns of Castile and Aragon. Queen Isabel was suffering from a series of long protracted illnesses. It was therefore expected that she would die before her husband, and in that case King Ferdinand would have had to content himself with the small kingdom of Aragon, leaving Castile to his daughter. His plan of forming a united monarchy of Spain would have been jeopardized, if not entirely frustrated.

Juana was married to Archduke Philip, who was to be a Queen's consort in Spain, with no right of his own to participate in its government. Although he had no great political plans, he and his councillors were exceedingly eager to appropriate to themselves the revenues of Castile.

Charles, being the eldest son of Philip and Juana, was heir presumptive to the Austrian dominions, the Burgundian states, Castile and Aragon, with their dependencies, and it was never seriously doubted that he would be the successor of Maximilian on the imperial throne. From his earliest years he had always been taught that God had vouchsafed to him so much greatness for no other purpose than that he might realise a universal Christian empire—the *monarquia*, so often mentioned in the state papers of the time, and by means of it "secure "peace to Christendom, and defend the cause of our "Saviour against both infidels and heretics." But whilst the Burgundian dominions devolved on him in the year

1506, and it was expected that he would soon succeed his grandfather in the Austrian principalities and in the empire, if the lawful succession was to be observed, he would have had to wait for the Spanish crowns until the death of his mother, who was young, and in fact lived almost as long as he. To think of forming a universal empire without Spain would have been folly.

Thus the right of Juana to the Spanish inheritance was incompatible with the plans of her father, the greediness of her husband, and with what her son considered to be his duties towards God and the world. In the very clearness of her title, which could not be explained away, consisted her greatest danger. Her death, however, would not have benefited either King Ferdinand or King Philip. Had she died, her son, and not her father, would have been her successor in Castile, whilst her husband would have lost even the pretext he had for meddling in the affairs of Spain. Both could, therefore, gain only if she continued to live, and yet was prevented from exercising her royal prerogatives. To bring about such a state of things was certainly no easy undertaking.

To use the phrase of the time, "God interfered in favour "of his truest servant." Philip died, and Juana, we are told, was so much affected by grief at the sudden death of her husband that her reason gave way, and she never recovered. Unable to govern, her father became "sovereign administrator" of Castile, and gained the time necessary for consolidating the Spanish monarchy. After his death in 1516 all the kingdoms of Juana, viz., Castile, Aragon, Naples, and Sicily, together with their dependencies in the old and new world, devolved on her son, who, by this accession, was placed from the beginning of his reign in a position earnestly to think of realising his never fulfilled but most seriously entertained day-dreams. Thus the madness of Queen Juana was, as it were, the foundation stone of the political edifice of Ferdinand and of Charles, which would have immediately crumbled to pieces if she had been permitted to exercise her hereditary right.

Philip was as hard and cruel a husband as he was a despicable prince. He robbed his wife of her dower and pension from Spain, and permitted her to live in destitution whilst he squandered her money in orgies with his minions and disreputable women. But women, before and since Queen Juana, have loved unworthy husbands, and she may have been of their number. If we, however, endeavour to inform ourselves of the circumstances of this curious case, from contemporary or nearly contemporary sources, we soon discover that the information we are able to gather is in the highest degree unsatisfactory. Maquereau, who was a servant either of King Philip or of a member of the family of Croy, gives a minutely detailed account of the death of the King, apparently as an eyewitness, but he is not even aware that the Queen had been suspected of having gone mad on that occasion. Johannes de Los, Abbot of St. Lawrence, near Liège, wrote the annals of his time. He is evidently bewildered by false rumours, for he informs us, not that the Queen, but that the King had become mad and died insane. "Rex autem Philippus per "suam uxorem, ut putatur, dementatus ..... vitam "amisit et regnum." Sandoval, who wrote about a century later, but whose *Historia de la vida y hechos del Emperador Carlos V.* is the first work on Charles V. which deserves the name of a history, dedicates to this most important event in the life of his hero not more than thirty-seven words in a composition which, in the Antwerp edition, fills 1346 pages in folio. And even this short notice of the madness of the Queen he thought it prudent to temper by the addition "*pues dicen*," as it is said. It is evident he had his doubts, and did not like to speak on the subject.

The story of a young Queen losing her reason from excessive grief at her husband's death is so *piquante*, so sentimentally romantic, that grave philosophers, romance writers and painters, have vied with each other in depicting the most touching scenes in the most tender colours. If, however, the truth is to be told, the story

of Queen Juana's madness must, we are afraid, be abandoned, and replaced by another drawn in strong, hard lines, and coloured with the darkest tints.

The Infanta, afterwards Queen Juana, lived during the first seventeen years of her life, that is to say, until she was married to the Archduke Philip, with her mother, who superintended her education. Queen Isabel left behind her, or, more accurately speaking, acquired after her death, the reputation of having been almost a saint. A pious Queen educating her daughter is a gratifying spectacle, but unhappily the sanctity of Isabel was only of a spurious kind. Her subjects who had suffered from her iron rule had formed a widely different idea of her. When, on Tuesday, the 17th of November 1504, she died at Medina del Campo, crowds assembled under the windows of her palace, but not to bless her memory. From curious criminal proceedings instituted some years later against Sarmiento, *Corregidor* or mayor of Medina, we learn that he did not hesitate openly to declare "that her soul had "gone direct to hell for her cruel oppression of her sub-"jects, and that King Ferdinand was a thief and a "robber." Nor was Sarmiento the only person who thought this, as the witnesses deposed that all the people around Medina and Valladolid, that is to say, where the Queen was best known, had formed the same judgment of her.(1)

However that may be, we are not reduced to depend upon public opinion, knowing enough of her to judge for ourselves, and to any one acquainted with the lawless times of her youthful years, it must be obvious that, had she really been so pious, so meek and self-sacrificing a princess, as her admirers would fain have us believe, she would have been trodden under foot, instead of usurping, as she did, the crown of her niece.

The history of this usurpation is one of the most disgraceful on record, the different parties entering, as it

(1) Archivo General de Simancas. Estado. Legajo 1. f. 192.

were, into a competition as to which would outdo the other in perjury, gross calumny, and treachery. None of them ever kept their sworn promises, none hesitated for a moment to accuse their adversaries of revolting atrocities. In this competition Queen Isabel was the winner, after having entered into a formal compact with the clerical faction, the Archbishop of Toledo, Alfonso Carillo, being at their head, and after having strengthened her party by her marriage with Prince Ferdinand of Aragon, who, under the guidance of his mother, Doña Juana Enriquez, had already given proofs of his eminent capacity for disembarrassing himself of inconvenient competitors with a better title by, as it was generally believed, poisoning the Prince of Viana, and getting rid of his step-sister Doña Blanca in a manner more atrocious than simple murder. With such help Isabel branded the heiress to the throne with the disparaging name of *la Beltraneja*, forced her to flee, and seated herself on the throne of Castile. In times of great political depravity it may be an advantage if the strongest amongst the wicked destroys minor offenders, but if it be a virtue at all, it is certainly not one which entitles to a reputation for sanctity.

The so-called *Beltraneja* found an asylum in the neighbouring kingdom of Portugal, and the eyes of all the adversaries of Isabel were constantly turned towards her. In order to defend her illgotten kingdom, Queen Isabel was, therefore, forced to continue her disgraceful intrigues against the *muchacha*, the girl, as she called her niece, and could not have freed herself, even if she had wished, from the influence of the party which had raised her to the throne. Priests remained powerful at her court, and men, like Torquemada, Cisneros (Cardinal Ximenez), and others who are less known but were scarcely less influential, soon rose to pre-eminence. Into the hands of these men was given the terrible weapon of the Spanish inquisition, and the Queen, instead of feeling compassion, boasted of their cruelties. (1)

(1) See Spanish Calendar, vol. I. p. xlii. seq.

If, after this long, but necessary, digression, we return to the picture of a pious Queen superintending the education of her daughter, we at once perceive that the colours have considerably darkened. What an education could such a mother give to her daughter! It was not then the custom in Spain, as it became about sixty years later, for the royal family, with the whole court, to attend the *Autos de Fé*, in order to give them more effect. Thus Juana was spared the misfortune of being made an involuntary eyewitness of these hideous spectacles. But the court, being the central point where all the freshest news of burning and flogging and tormenting converged, and where they were commented upon in a repulsively sanctimonious tone, as edifying examples of the "love of Christ and His Holy Mother," the young Infanta was obliged to hear religious doctrines enunciated daily which must either corrupt the soul or provoke opposition, and she had too frequently presented before her mind's eye scenes which must either brutalize or horrify. The better nature in her rebelled, but, as the Marquis of Denia, who afterwards was her master of the household, informed the Emperor, her mother forced her by severe punishment, and even by the application of torture, to comply outwardly with the dictates of religion and duty, as religion and duty were understood by her. (1)

It would evince little knowledge of human nature, if we were astonished at hearing that such punishments inflicted under such circumstances produced a quite different effect from what Queen Isabel had intended. Scarcely had Juana been sent to Flanders when sinister rumours about her mode of life reached Spain.

In the year 1497 Queen Isabel sent the Friar Tomas de Matienzo, Sub-Prior of the Convent of Santa Cruz, to Brussels, with instructions to inform himself respecting her daughter's life, and to lead her back to the true faith, if she had erred. The friar was very coldly received. (2)

(1) P. 405. (2) Pp. 47, 49.

He found the Archduchess in excellent health, more handsome than ever, and had even the satisfaction of learning that she still kept up devotional exercises in her house. But she could not be induced to confess, nor would she write even a word to her mother, nor give her the smallest token of love. (1)

Friar Andreas had been the tutor of Juana. He had written to her letter after letter proffering pious advice, but she had never sent him a single line in reply. At last, on the 1st of September, probably of the beforementioned year 1497, he wrote to her for the last time, describing the felicity of the ladies in Spain, possibly meaning the sisters of Juana, who considered it a privilege when he instructed them in their religious duties. He complained of her silence, and then broke out into a passionate invective against the Parisian priests who surrounded and corrupted his former pupil. He had been told that she had given one of "those drunkards" thirty florins, that he might make good cheer. She must never do so again, and must take a confessor from a Spanish convent, a friar who does not and cannot possess even "so much as a pin" of private property. After she had left Spain, he had retired to his convent, and "there," he went on to say, "in my monastery I am more happy living on "bread and water than your Highness with all you pos-"sess." (2) A man who dared to hold such language to a Princess who was to be his future Queen was certainly not despicable; but Juana had suffered too much from him and the party to which he belonged to be touched by his pathetic words of love, whilst his offer to leave his convent and in spite of his great age to go to Flanders could only alarm her. She returned no answer.

If we read attentively the letters of the Sub-Prior and of Friar Andreas we plainly perceive the influences of the education to which Juana had been subjected. By nature probably more intelligent than energetic, her character

(1) Pp. 49, 50. (2) Pp. 50 seq.

had had no room for healthy growth and free development under the narrow, hard and oppressive rule of her mother. Fear, not love, predominated in her, and was the motive of her actions to a greater extent than could have been wished. But although she submitted to the domination of others, she was always conscious of the wrong done to her, and never permitted herself to be entirely conquered. Thus her life was a succession of attempts at rebellion, which, however, collapsed as soon as she was called upon to vindicate her independence by active measures. Although she was especially afraid of her mother, and would please her in small things which required no great exertion, yet in matters concerning her conscience, or such as demanded energy, she opposed to Queen Isabel a passive resistance, and an inertness which it was impossible to overcome. The Sub-Prior, judging from his standpoint of a mere creature of the Queen, was probably not entirely wrong when he accused her of a hard and pitiless heart, (1) and yet she was equally right in indignantly denying it, for even her accuser was forced to confess that she was not in want of good reasons to defend her cause.(2) That the differences between mother and daughter referred to religious questions as well as to politics can hardly be doubted. Her refusal to confess (3) or to accept a confessor at the hands of Queen Isabel (4), the complaints of her former tutor of the perverting influence of the Parisian theologians (5), and the accusation of the Sub-Prior that she had no piety (6), admit of no other explanation.

Her deviations from the true faith, as it was understood at the Spanish court, may appear slight to many of our readers; but we must remind them that Queen Isabel had burned hundreds of her subjects for much smaller offences. To be "not well disposed towards the true doctrine" was enough to justify death on the stake. To punish the Archduchess Juana was out of the question, because she, being

(1) P. 54. (2) P. 48. (3) P. 50. (4) P. 49.
(5) P. 51. (6) P. 54.

the wife of a foreign sovereign, was not subject to the jurisdiction of Spain. But although Queen Isabel had no power to show "her love of Christ and His Holy Mother" on this occasion, could she allow a heretic to ascend the throne on which she was seated, and to destroy all she had spent her best years in building up? The "Holy" Inquisition was especially in danger, and she could not desert the "cause of God" without committing a mortal sin. Ferdinand, we have already seen, had personal reasons for not permitting the wrath of the Queen to cool down.

Under these circumstances it was decided to prevent Juana from becoming Queen. The plan seems to have been ripe in the year 1501, and was communicated to the Cortes, who held their sittings, in the years 1502 and 1503, first in Toledo, then in Madrid, and finally in Alcalá de Hénares. (1) To make the true reasons public would have been a humiliation, and perhaps not without danger, considering the great unpopularity of the Inquisition. Some pretext was, therefore, absolutely necessary. In the Rolls of the Cortes it is only stated that King Ferdinand, after the death of Queen Isabel, should continue to carry on the government, in case Juana should be "absent, or unable, or unwilling" to exercise her royal prerogative.(2) In an additional clause to her testament, the Queen ordered, once again, and more explicitly, that her husband Ferdinand should be her immediate successor, without mentioning the conditions of her daughter's "absence, unwillingness, or incapacity."(3) This clause was confirmed by the Cortes and by the Pope. The Rolls of the Spanish Cortes are, unhappily, as scanty as the English Rolls of Parliament of that time, and it is impossible to learn more positively from them on what grounds the exclusion of the lawful heiress was decreed. That some at least of the leading men knew the real state of things is probable, as the rumours of the supposed infidel

(1) P. 66. (2) P. 64. (3) P. 63.

opinions of Juana were not confined to the narrow circle of the most intimate ministers of Queen Isabel. But, on the other hand, it is not less probable that the great majority had then already been given to understand that Juana was suffering from some mental derangement.

In November 1504 Queen Isabel died whilst Juana was in Flanders. Ferdinand on the same day mounted a large scaffolding erected in the square before the Royal palace, and announced to the assembled people that he had taken the crown of Castile from his head and given it to his daughter Juana, but that he would continue to reign in her name as "governor and administrator of Castile for life." In the Cortes which assembled not many months afterwards in Toro, he delivered an excellent speech from the throne, and his powers were confirmed by the representatives of the kingdom.

Philip, however, who, as husband of the Queen, had assumed the title of King of Castile, sent a protest from Flanders against the usurpation of his father-in-law. Speaking in a state paper addressed to Gonsalvo de Cordova, of the injuries he had received from Ferdinand, he writes that his father-in-law, in order to colour his usurpation, "takes care that a rumour be spread that the Queen "his daughter is mad, and that he is consequently "entitled to govern in her stead, (adding) that the King "(Philip) keeps her prisoner, and other lies and insinua-"tions without end."(1) Thus, we not only meet during the lifetime of King Philip with the rumour of the insanity of Queen Juana, but see also from what source it proceeded, and the interest which those who originated it had that it should be believed.

After long and exceedingly unfriendly negotiations between the father and the son-in-law, Philip, accompanied by his wife, came in the spring of 1506 to Spain, with the avowed purpose of taking possession of the throne of Castile by force of arms. The Castilian

(1) P. 74.

noblemen were divided between the two rivals, but defection began to thin the ranks of the Catholic King as soon as his adversary advanced further into the country. Ferdinand, accustomed during many years to have his way in almost everything, yielded to his strong passions, when he saw that in this most important affair one failure was closely followed by another. Mad with rage, "he wanted to fly at King Philip with *capa y spada*,"(1) his cloak to cover him, and his sword to plunge into the breast of the hated intruder. This outbreak, however, was not of long duration. A third party was in the course of formation with the Condestable of Castile at its head. Their intention was to drive both rivals out of the country, and to set up Juana as their rightful Queen.(2) Of the two adversaries of Ferdinand Juana was the more dangerous. She was born a Spanish Infanta, and the lawful heiress to the crown. Her government once established, would have, it might be expected, the support of all in favour of legitimate succession, whilst Philip, whatever his momentary success might be, was a stranger and a usurper, who probably would soon be forsaken by all the Spaniards. Besides, a remnant of natural feeling forbade Ferdinand to employ against his daughter such violent means as he would not scruple to have recourse to against his son-in-law, whom he had long ago accustomed himself to regard as a stranger. For these reasons he decided upon allying himself with his less dangerous against his more formidable antagonist. On the night of the 1st of June he slept in the little hamlet of Villafranca de Valcarcel, whence on the next morning he sent Cardinal Cisneros with a message of love to his son-in-law, asking for a personal interview, when they could arrange their differences.

Early in the morning of the 27th of June, Ferdinand and Philip met in the village of Villafafila. Philip had

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(1) Letter of Almazan to the Cardinal Cisneros, dated La Vañeza, 7th of June 1506. In the archives at Simancas.

(2) P. 77.

come to the rendezvous at the head of armed horsemen, whilst Ferdinand had left behind the greater portion of his attendants, and accompanied by a few of his most trusted servants mounted on peaceful donkeys, met his son-in-law with "love in his heart and peace in his hands." After the first effusion of paternal love, Ferdinand invited Philip to follow him into the village church. None of their attendants were permitted to accompany them, but those who kept watch at the entrance could occasionally see the kings and hear their voices, without being able to understand their words. King Ferdinand spoke much, with great animation and in a most earnest and impressive tone. Philip, on the other hand, was evidently perplexed. There was no doubt the Catholic King was once more achieving one of his many intellectual triumphs.

Great, therefore, was the astonishment of both parties when, the private interview over, it was known that Ferdinand, instead of raising the least difficulty, had made greater concessions to Philip than had ever been demanded of him. Two treaties were drawn up, signed, ratified, sworn to, and exchanged on the same day. In the first, Ferdinand ceded all his claims to the government of Castile to his "most beloved children," that is in fact to Philip, who in the joy of his heart proclaimed it before the ink had had time to dry. Added to it was a secret contract, in which Ferdinand and Philip stated that Queen Juana "refuses" under any circumstances to occupy herself with the government of the kingdom, but if she should change her mind and attempt to exercise her prerogatives, it would lead to the total destruction of the country, considering "her infirmities and sufferings which decency forbids to be stated here."(1) The contracting parties bound themselves, therefore, to prevent the Queen and her adherents by their united forces from taking part

(1). . "segund sus enfermedades e pasiones que aqui no se espresan por la onestidad . ." p. 79.

in the government. The subject of the long and impressive speech of King Ferdinand in the church was no longer a secret. It was clear that he, who had not seen his daughter for the last two years and a half, had persuaded Philip, who had lived in daily intercourse with her, that he was mistaken in denying her insanity. For the words "her infirmities and sufferings, which decency forbids to be stated," could not be and were not interpreted in any other sense than madness.

This, however, was not all. Scarcely had Ferdinand and Philip sworn on the Holy Gospels to deprive their daughter and wife respectively of her crown and freedom, than Ferdinand closeted himself with his first secretary of state, Miguel Perez Almazan, who at the same time was apostolic and imperial notary, and declared before him that, unarmed and attended by only a few servants, he had fallen into the hands of his son-in-law, who had been at the head of a great armed force. Moreover, his son-in-law had "kept prisoner his daughter, the lawful Queen of Castile." Thus, he and the Queen having been deprived of their liberty, he protested against the validity of the treaties, and declared that he did "not consent that his "daughter should be deprived of her liberty, nor of her "rights as hereditary Queen of the kingdom."(1)

Ferdinand had another interview with Philip, took leave of his "beloved son" in the most touching manner, and went to Naples in order to show him that he had given up all idea of regaining the government of Castile. He had an old servant, Mosen Luis Ferrer, who being a born subject of the crown of Aragon, and having been for many years gentleman of the bed chamber of the King, enjoyed his full confidence. Mosen Ferrer was selected for the post of ambassador at the court of Philip, and instructed to take care of the interests of the Catholic King during his absence, with a special injunction to do all in his power to promote the friendship between Ferdinand and

(1) P. 81, sqq.

his son-in-law. These instructions, dated Zaragoza, 29th of July 1506, are extant.(1) Speaking of his daughter King Ferdinand admonished Philip to treat her always with love, to gain her affection, and that they should live together as a good husband and wife ought to do.(2) By doing so he would fulfil the will of God, improve the health of his wife, and further his own interests. Is it possible to suppose that even a man like Ferdinand would have advised Philip to live with her as a good husband and to gain her affections if she had been mad? What Ferrer did to promote matrimonial love we are not in a position to state; but as to his taking care of the interests of King Ferdinand we may observe that, before the Catholic King reached the shores of Naples, Philip died after an illness which lasted from Sunday night until 11 o'clock on Friday morning. The general opinion was that he had been poisoned, although two physicians declared that such was not the fact. But what were such declarations worth? The physicians had not even had time to examine the case, as the bowels of the deceased were buried a few hours after his death. The accusations were not only general and positive, but were declared publicly, whilst the officers of the law did not dare to call to account those who made them, for fear lest the truth of this "delicate case" might come to light.(3)

Queen Juana being a young widow with a rich inheritance, her suitors were numerous. King Henry VII. of

(1) We have not reprinted this lengthy document, of which only a small portion interests us, because it is already printed in full and in its original language, in the Papiers d'État du Cardinal Granvelle. Vol. I. pp. 48, sqq.

(2) . . y que la mayor seguridad para esto seria estar muy conforme el y la reyna mi fija, y en mucho amor y como muy buenos casados . . " l. c.

(3) The case of a certain Lopez de Araoz, from Oñate, is most remarkable. He remained unpunished for other offences, because he had coupled his highly treasonable language with the assertion that they had given a *bocado*, a morsel, to King Philip, and the judges were afraid he might speak out more clearly. Letter of the Alcaldes del Crimen, of the Chancery at Valladolid, to Charles, 3d of February 1517. Archivo General de Simancas, P. R. Comunidades de Castilla, L. 1. f. 1.

England, and the Count de Foix, a near kinsman of the King of France, were the most prominent amongst them. Ferdinand, however, it is self-evident, would object to a second marriage of his daughter on every account. To colour his refusal he wrote most affectionate letters to England and all the other courts of Europe, in which he described in great detail Juana travelling with the body of her deceased husband, and although he did not positively state in his official correspondence that she forced the great of the land to pay it respect as though it were alive, there is little doubt that he countenanced such rumours, which he himself had perhaps taken care to spread. Poor Juana! When she was represented as forcing the grandees of Spain to pay royal respect to a corpse, she was a miserable prisoner, and none of the great were permitted to approach her. The secret treaty of Villafafila indicated clearly enough that strong measures were intended against her in order to deprive her of her freedom and the comment on it, contained in the instructions of King Ferdinand to Mosen Ferrer, do not leave the least doubt that already in the month of July 1506 the question was debated whether she should or should not be locked up in some dungeon.(1) We are, however, not in want of more positive proofs. For when in the month of August 1520, her own servants, as they were called, her jailors, as they in fact were, could speak without fear, they declared that she had been in prison for fourteen years. Fourteen years reckoned back from the month of August 1520 would reach to the same month of 1506, that is to say, to a period when King Philip was still alive; and all uncertainty is dissipated by Cardinal Adrian, who stated that the "infamy," that is to say the imprisonment of the Queen under false pretence, was imputed to Philip as well as to Ferdinand and Charles.(2) It is true that after the

(1) Item. Si por ventura se fablasse en poner en alguna fortaleza a la reyna mi fija, como ya hovieron platicado en ello . . ." Papiers d'Etat du Cardinal Granvelle, Vol. I., pp. 48, sqq.

(2) P. 306.

death of her husband she travelled from Burgos to Tordesillas accompanied by his corpse. But a prisoner may be removed from one place to another without recovering liberty. We are not acquainted with any authentic information concerning her removal from Burgos to Tordesillas. If, however, on that occasion precautions were taken such as were to be observed at later periods, when it was intended that she should go to Arevalo and to Toro, her journey to Tordesillas would not break the monotony of prison life. When in the year 1522 the Marquis of Denia thought that she would be better guarded at Arevalo, he proposed that she should be placed at night in a litter, and without stopping on the road, be carried to her new prison.(1) As to the arrangements for her intended journey to Toro, we may hear the Marquis himself: "The " journey is to be performed in the manner I have already " described, that is to say, her Highness must start hence " at eleven or twelve o'clock at night, and go to a place " three leagues distant, called Pedrosa. There she must " remain the whole day. The next night at the same " hour she must start again, and reach Toro before day. " When she enters the town care will be taken that no " one sees her. That is necessary, for, in truth, I am " ashamed at what is said and done."(2)

If Queen Juana was not a free agent she cannot be made responsible for the arrangement that the corpse of King Philip accompanied her on her journey. But, besides, there was nothing absolutely unreasonable in it. Although Philip had died in Burgos, his final resting place was to be at Granada, by the side of Queen Isabel. As Tordesillas lies on the road from Burgos to Granada, a considerable amount of expense would be spared if his remains were accompanied by the same cortége which conducted the Queen. But if it is allowed to interpret this case by a later similar occurrence with which we are well acquainted, we cannot help

(1) The Marquis of Denia to the Emperor, January 25, 1522, p. 405.
(2) The Marquis of Denia to the Emperor, October 16, 1527, p. 426.

suspecting that pecuniary considerations were not the only grounds for the arrangement in question. The vault at Granada being unfinished, the corpse of Philip remained many years in the church of the convent of Santa Clara, at Tordesillas, only a few hundred yards distant from the palace in which Juana lived, and yet, although she often wished to visit the convent, she never expressed the least desire to visit his tomb. On several occasions she spoke of him, but never thought that he was alive or would awake from his long protracted slumber. On the contrary, she mentioned his death just as any other widow would have mentioned the decease of her husband.(1) It was, therefore, quite unnecessary, for her sake, to disturb the corpse of Philip in its resting-place. Nevertheless, when the Marquis of Denia wished to remove her to Aranda in the month of August 1518, one of the first things he thought of was to repair the funeral cart, in order that the dead body of Philip should accompany the Queen. (2) A huge funeral cart, indistinctly visible in the dim torchlight, followed by a captive Queen, and startling the inhabitants of the villages in the midst of night, would have been well calculated deeply to impress the imagination of the people, and to prepare it for the most absurd rumours. The journey did not take place, but the funeral cart had, during the removal of the Queen from Burgos to Tordesillas, taken so strong a hold of the popular mind, that in the description of the night when Tordesillas was carried, which Gomez de Santillan sent to Cardinal Adrian, we again meet the Queen and the cart, although, from the more sober letter of Lope Hurtado to the Emperor, we know that she had not left her palace.(3)

During the nine years that Ferdinand survived Philip, Queen Juana was kept in such strict imprisonment that she was as completely debarred from all communication

(1) See, for instance, Marquis of Denia to the Emperor, p. 198.

(2) P. 174.

(3) Gomez de Santillan to Cardinal Adrian, December 9, 1520, p. 341. Lope Hurtado to the Emperor, December 10, 1520, pp. 344, 345.

with the outer world as though she had reposed in her grave. We hear nothing of her, and she did not even learn the death of her father.(1) Mosen Ferrer, he who was strongly suspected of having poisoned King Philip, was her jailor, and from later letters we learn that he perpetrated horrible cruelties on her.

Ferdinand died on the 23rd of January 1516, and Cardinal Cisneros was viceroy of Castile during the absence of Charles. He sent the Bishop of Mallorca to Tordesillas, with instructions to see that the persons employed in the palace should remain in their offices, and that the arrangements of Ferdinand for watching the Queen should be continued. The Bishop, however, found such atrocities had been committed, that he thought it his duty to send a report of them to the Cardinal. On receiving it Cisneros made further inquiries, and Mosen Ferrer was suspended from his office because he "was suspected of endangering the health and life of Her Highness."(2) He remonstrated, assuming the air of an innocent victim of a base intrigue. He could not, he said, be a bad man, else so good and wise a prince

(1) See, for instance, the letter of the Marquis of Denia to the Emperor, Numero 47, 48. The *Cartas del Cardenal Don Fray Francisco Jimenez de Cisneros, dirigidas á Don Diego Lopez de Ayala*, published a few months ago, at Madrid, contain a letter of the Cardinal to Ayala, dated Alcalá, 15th of January 1516, in which the presence of *la rreyna nuestra senora* in that place is mentioned. The learned editors are of opinion that Queen Juana, and not Queen Germaine, was meant, for, they say, the Cardinal would not have called the Queen of Aragon *nuestra señora*, our lady ; and, besides, Queen Germaine had remained in Catalonia when King Ferdinand went to Andalusia. In the archives at Simancas, Estado, Legajo 3, f. 112, however, is a letter of the Secretary Calcena to the Cardinal, dated 28th of January 1516, in which, speaking of Queen Germaine, he calls her *nuestra señora*. Thus, the first argument collapses. As for the second, the same letter mentions the arrival of the Queen of Aragon at Guadalupe, where Ferdinand had died. It is therefore clear that she must have gone from Catalonia to Andalusia to see her husband, and on that journey she most naturally passed through Alcalá. Thus, there can be no doubt that Cisneros spoke of the Queen of Aragon, that is to say, Queen Germaine, and not of Queen Juana. They are, however, often confounded.

(2) P. 143.

as Ferdinand would not have placed confidence in him. He could not have ill-treated Juana, because she was Queen of Aragon, and he an Aragonese. He could not restore her health, as it was not the will of God, and King Ferdinand, her father, had not succeeded in doing so, and at last, "to prevent her from destroying herself by absti- "nence from food, as often as her will was not done, he "had to order that *la cuerda* should be applied to pre- "serve her life."(1)

La cuerda, the rope, was the form of torture then in use in Spain. The victim was suspended by a rope with weights attached to his feet. We have met with various other instances of the use of this torture, and have always found, as for example, in the famous case of Acuña, Bishop of Zamora, that the judge, before applying it, warned the prisoner that he was in danger of having his limbs broken or dislocated, and even of losing his life. We think it superfluous to add a single word of comment to such an admission as that of Mosen Ferrer.

Cardinal Cisneros sent the Count Hernando de Andrada to Brussels, to inform Charles of what was going on in Tordesillas. On the 30th of April Charles answered that it was very necessary to watch the Queen, that he would send another person from Flanders to fill the place of Mosen Ferrer, but that he had no time to make the appointment. Meanwhile, he continued, the Cardinal was answerable that the watching of the Queen should be so complete, that, whilst she was treated well, no person should have access to her who might endeavour to counteract his "good intentions." "In this," he concluded, "the greatest vigilance is necessary. For, as it "belongs to no one but me to look after the honour of "the Queen my lady, those who desire to meddle in this "affair can have no good intentions."(2)

What was the meaning of this cautiously worded answer? Was Mosen Ferrer to continue in his office as

(1) P. 143. (2) P. 147.

keeper of the Queen, after having confessed that he had tortured her? Was the injunction to treat her well an empty phrase? It seems so, for the declaration of Charles that he would regard anyone who meddled in this affair as an ill-intentioned intruder could have no other meaning than that he strongly disapproved the measures of the Bishop of Mallorca, and even of the Cardinal himself.

Cisneros, however, who hated not only the Aragonese party in general, but the Ferrers, father and son, in special, was nothing daunted by the ungracious answer, and appointed Hernan Duque de Estrada governor of the house of the Queen, at the same time instructing Diego Lopez de Ayala, his political agent in Flanders, to speak again with Charles on the subject. In Flanders, however, passion was at that time running higher than even in Spain. Monsieur de Chièvres and the Chancellor Sauvaige advised Ayala not to speak with Charles about the Queen, and Hernan Duque seemed to be "a ruined man." "For," Ayala declared, "according to what I see they speak here "*præter formam* of her (the Queen's) health, and that "not because they wish it. They are dangerous people, "and one must hold one's tongue here." (1) Nevertheless, Cisneros remained firm, Mosen Ferrer was not reinstated in his office, and Hernan Duque remained governor (2) until Charles came to Spain, when he appointed, on the 15th of March 1518, Don Bernardino de Sandoval y Rojas, Marquis of Denia and Count of Lerma, governor and administrator of the household of the Queen, with power to command and govern all persons belonging to that establishment, and the magistracy and commonalty of the town of Tordesillas. (3)

The letters of the Marquis of Denia are numerous, and we are enabled by them to form a correct idea of the

(1) P. 150.

(2) See Cartas del Cardenal Don Fray Francisco Jimenez de Cisneros, publicadas de real orden por D. Pascual de Gayangos y Vicente de la Fuente. Madrid, 1867. p. 215.

(3) P. 153.

manner in which Queen Juana was treated. We must, however, mention at once, that two sets of correspondence were carried on between him and his royal master, the one destined to be seen by the Privy Councillors, the other by Charles alone. The first class represented things in the light in which it was wished they should appear. They did not, indeed, go so far as positively to state that the Queen was mad, but the short allusions to her "infirmity" were conceived in such terms that it was easy to interpret the "infirmity" as insanity. The private letters, however, spoke with less reserve, and contained secrets which, with good reason, it was thought dangerous to allow to be known even to the intimate advisers of the crown. This division of the correspondence into official and most strictly secret communications was not a custom that had grown out of mere convenience. It was the consequence of a positive order of Charles ". . . and you shall neither " talk nor write to any person about the affairs of Her " Highness, except to myself, and always (send the let- " ters) by trustworthy messengers. That is necessary; " although it seems superfluous (to give this order) to so " intelligent a person, and to one so much attached to my " service as you, nevertheless I have thought it advisable, " because the case is so delicate and of so much im- " portance to me." (1) This letter of Charles is dated 19th of April 1518. On the 27th of the same month the Marquis answered that he was fully aware of the precaution necessary, and that he had not confided the secrets of the palace to any one but him. He added that when the Infante Ferdinand was leaving Spain, a letter was written to him. That could not be avoided, because the Infanta Catalina, who was living with her mother, had heard of the intended departure of her brother, and wished to give him a token of her love. "But if he (the Infante) " were to stay a hundred years in these kingdoms, I would " not write or say a single word to him about what is

(1) P. 157.

" going on here." (1) As even the son was precluded from all knowledge of the manner of life of his mother, we must look for the truth in the most private letters of Denia to Charles, all the other correspondence on this subject being either intentional lies to give a pretext for the detention of the Queen, or containing the statements of those who had been imposed upon. The letters of the Marquis are written in an exceedingly bad hand, but only a few of them are in cipher, and of these the original decipherings, made for the Emperor, are preserved.

The ancient palace at Tordesillas was a structure of moderate size. (2) It was fortified, and defended by a strong tower, which in the year 1522 was demolished. To the south it overlooked the bridge and the river Duero, beyond which stretched an undulating sandy plain, relieved from May to September by the foliage of vineyards. This was the only view it had, the back and both sides of the building being surrounded by poor ugly houses. It contained, according to Spanish fashion, one large room, and a great number of others, small, ill lighted, and ill ventilated. The Queen had not the whole of the palace at her disposal. The Infanta Catalina was staying with her. The Marquis and the Marchioness of Denia and their daughters occupied another portion of the building, whilst the twelve and occasionally more women who watched her day and night, and the tutor of the Infanta, and other officials, were not permitted to live in separate houses. Thus, the space occupied by the Queen was limited. The windows of her large room opened towards the river, but she was not allowed to remain in it, and never was she at liberty to look out of the windows for fear that she might be seen by a passer by or call him to her assistance. (3) Except on extraordinary occa-

(1) Pp. 159, 160.

(2) Ford, in his Handbook for Spain, has confounded it with the Convent of Santa Clara.

(3) Pp. 400, 401, 406.

sions, when she was most strictly watched, she was forced to retire to a back room without windows, the only light which entered being candlelight. (1)

The allowance for her and her household, the Princess Catalina included, was at first 30,000 scudos, irregularly paid, and afterwards reduced to 28,000 scudos, and even less. (2) The incomes of the Spanish grandees were then immense. The revenues of the twenty one Dukes ranged about thirty years later from 70,000 to 125,000 scudos (3), and even amongst the Marquises some were to be found who had 40,000 and 60,000 a year to spend, as, for instance, the Marquis del Priego and the Marquis de Vallay, of the house of Cortez. Although the fortunes of the nobles had been fast increasing during that time, we do not think we are wrong in supposing that the allowance of the Queen was considerably below the income of many of her subjects. Moreover, a portion of the salary of the Marquis of Denia, and all he wanted for the sustenance of himself and his family, was to be paid out of her grant. Under such circumstances we are not surprised that she was often suffering from poverty. The allowance was paid into the hands of her treasurer, Ochoa de Olanda, and she was not permitted to have even the smallest sum of money in her possession. As long as her father lived she received from time to time little presents, a jewel or a trinket, to gladden her. Charles, however, not only discontinued this custom, but stripped her of whatever he could convert to other uses, as on occasion of the marriages of his sisters, Eleanor and Catalina. Even the Empress, when she came to visit the Queen, carried away whatever she thought worth

(1) P. 401.

(2) See the budgets of the kingdom of Castile. Simancas. *Consejo y Juntas de la Hacienda. Legajo* 9. We have refrained from printing these budgets, because they are voluminous, and the passages relating to Queen Juana are not more explicit than the short notice we give in the text.

(3) 12,000*l.* to 25,000*l.* See *Relacion del valor de las rentas*, etc. Simancas. Estado. Legajo 2021. f. 211.

having, (1) rendering thereby the palace or prison of her mother-in-law still more gloomy and cheerless than it had been.

Leading such a life, it is only natural that her health gave way frequently. She suffered especially during the great heat of the summer from fever and other illness, and yet she was not allowed a physician. In the spring of 1519 the Infanta Catalina had the itch. To have recourse to a medical man was a necessity. The Marquis of Denia was placed in great difficulty about devising means to introduce a physician into the palace, and yet prevent him from speaking with the Queen. When at last he found that that was impossible, he bethought himself of another expedient. In the town of Tordesillas lived a Doctor Soto, who had accompanied Juana to Flanders, and had not forgotten her when she was sunk in the deepest misery. Dismissed from his office, and deprived of his pension, he had settled not far from her. As he certainly knew the secret, or part of it, the marquis thought less harm would be done by having recourse to him than by admitting a stranger. Nevertheless, he did not regard it as superfluous to buy his silence, and asked Charles to show him favours, "for it is impossible to pre-"vent Her Highness from speaking with Doctor Soto if "he enters (the palace) and visits the Infanta." (2) On another occasion, when the Queen was seriously ill, and suffering for ten days from a strong fever, the Marquis wrote to Charles that he had refused her repeated demands to have medical assistance. (3) It is true that he added the words, "as the fever subsided," but we do not reproach him with refusing to admit a physician when the fever was over or subsiding, but for leaving her without attendance during the ten days, when, according to his own confession, it was "strong."

The number of women who watched the Queen was considerable. They amounted never to less than twelve,

(1) P. 430. (2) Pp. 182, 183, &c. (3) P. 200.

and sometimes to many more. The Marquis and Marchioness found it occasionally hard work to subject them to the strict rules of the house. If the Marchioness reprimanded them, they combined and mutinied "like soldiers," saying, that what was done to one was done to all of them. It was of no use to order the *monteros*, that is the soldiers who mounted guard in the palace, not to permit them to go out, as they were afraid of them. "They were a bad lot of women." That they were bad we readily believe. Good women would not have stooped to do the work which was exacted from them. But as to the proofs adduced by the Marquis we must demur to them. There was no marriage celebrated in the town, no christening, no burial to which they did not want to go, even if it concerned people to whom they were related only in the fourth degree. It was not an ascetical hatred of marriages, christenings, burials, and other occasions for merrymaking, which made the Marquis so strongly declaim against them. He had other reasons. "The consequence of their visiting is, that they cannot forbear "talking to their husbands, and relations and friends, and "gossiping of things which ought not to be known, for, "indeed, secrecy is a necessity. Members of the Privy "Council have written to me things which they cannot "know except through the Licentiate Alarcon, husband "of one of these women, called Leonor Gomez, who never "can hold her tongue. None must know what passes "here, and least of all those of the Privy Council." "It "is not good to have married women, and least of all "wives of Privy Councillors." (1) Why not? Charles and the Marquis were taking the greatest pains to pass Queen Juana off as mad. The knowledge of any extravagance committed by her would only have confirmed their assertions. That could not be the secret. But if the secret was that she was not mad, and was kept a prisoner, it is easy to understand why it would be dangerous, if people

(1) Pp. 166, sqq.

in general, and in special the Privy Council, were to know it. In the years 1518 and 1519 Charles was not yet firmly seated on the throne.

If there was a lack of medical assistance, there were plenty of priests. Fray Juan de Avila, guardian of the Franciscan friars, and tutor of the Infanta, was constantly residing in the palace, and the general of the Predicant friars and others were frequent visitors. The ground of their visits was that Charles had determined to convert his mother, who formerly had objected only to confession, but would now neither confess nor hear mass. Early in the year 1518 he had ordered that mass should be said in her presence. Fray Juan de Avila and Fray Antonio de Villegas were to assist the Marquis in carrying out this command. To render mass less objectionable, it was proposed, probably by one of the friars, that the altar should be erected in the corridor, that is to say, the open gallery running along the building, in the courtyard, whilst the Marquis wished it to be placed in a more dignified spot, namely, in an apartment near the room of the Queen. But whether the chapel was to be erected in the one place or the other, Queen Juana showed no readiness to comply with the wishes of her son. The Marquis, who had the discretion not to write any detailed report to Charles of the means which he employed, informed him on the 22nd of June: "Concerning mass, we are occupied "with this subject. Her Highness wishes that it should "be said in the corridor where your Highness saw her, "and I wish that it should be said in an apartment next "to her chamber; but in the one place or the other mass "shall be said soon." (1) More than six months later he was only able to state, "We are daily occupied in the "affair of saying mass. It is delayed in order to see "whether it could not be done with her consent, for that "would be better, but with the help of God Her High-"ness shall hear it (mass) soon." (2) On the 12th of September mass was said for the first time in a little chapel

(1) P. 164. (2) P. 169.

erected at the end of the corridor. No persons were admitted except the Queen, the Infanta Catalina, then twelve years old, Fray Antonio Villegas, who said mass, the guardian (Fray Juan), and a boy of the chapel. The Queen went through all the ceremonies, knelt down, said her prayers, chanted from the prayer book (*oras*), and was besprinkled with holy water. But when they brought her the "evangelium" and the "pax" she could not conquer herself sufficiently to accept them, and made a sign that they should be given to her daughter.(1)

On the margin of the letter which contained these tidings, a note is written by Cobos, who was already sharing all the secrets of Charles: "Has had much plea- "sure, and where he and the Marchioness are, etc., and so "he must continue." This short note contains the substance of the letter which was to be sent as answer to the Marquis. Its meaning was that Charles was much satisfied at hearing that news. The "etc." meant the usual phrase, that where the Marquis and the Marchioness were Charles was sure that all would be done that was best. No inquiry was made concerning the means by which the sudden conversion was accomplished.

Having been made acquainted with the *cuerda*, and the insufferable pain occasioned by that torture, Juana may have submitted from fear; or, still nourishing the hope of wearing the crowns of Castile and Aragon, she may have regarded it as bad policy to carry her opposition in matters of religion too far. But, however that may be, inwardly convinced she was not. When the rising of the Castilian Commons had been suppressed, and every prospect of gaining her liberty had vanished, she did not think it any longer necessary to conceal her disdain for the ceremonies of the Church. On Christmas Day of the year 1521 Divine Service was celebrated in her chapel, the Infanta Catalina taking part in it. The Queen, however, came out of her room, made a disturbance, and took her daughter away from the altar, which she ordered to be removed.(2) In his letter of the 23d of May, probably of

(1) Pp. 177, 178. (2) P. 406.

the year 1525, the Marquis mentioned a similar scene.(1) Her women came directly in sufficient strength, and when it was threatened to employ force, the Queen retired to her apartment. On both occasions, however, the Marquis of Denia thought it proper to ask permission of his master to employ strong measures of coercion against his mother. " I have always thought that her Highness being so indis- " posed as she is, in punishment for our sins, nothing " would do her more good than some *premia*, although it " is a very serious thing for a vassal to think of employing " it against his sovereign."(2) In order to be secure that the *premia* would produce the desired effect, more priests were to be called in to assist the Marquis. What is *premia?* Judging from the language of the letter, it must be a very evil thing. And certainly it is, being nothing else than a more technical and forensic term for the popular word torture. The premia spoken of by the Marquis was the *cuerda*, the rope, which Mosen Ferrer had already employed. The Marquis was right; it was a very serious thing for a subject to ask permission so to employ it, but it was not less serious for a sovereign to grant it against his mother, whose crown he had usurped. Charles seems to have avoided giving a direct answer, recommending only in general terms that the Queen should be well treated. But if the Marquis should come to the conclusion that torture was compatible with good treatment, had he not well founded reasons to expect that his master would approve it? Although such a supposition would be extravagant if we were interpreting the conduct of honest men, there is nothing strange in it when applied to Charles and the Marquis of Denia. The Marquis did not conceal his opinion that torturing the Queen would be a " service rendered to God and to herself," that " persons in her disposition require it," for their own good, and that her mother, the pious Queen Isabel, had also tortured her.(3) Charles, on the other hand, as we have seen, had no

(1) P. 423. (2) P. 423. (3) P. 405.

scruple in very plainly stating his convictions that where the Marquis and the Marchioness were no wrong could be done. Clear and positive orders would certainly have been preferable, but as the Marquis could not obtain them, he wrote at last on the 11th of October 1527, when he wished to remove the Queen by force to Toro, telling the Emperor that he was fulfilling the duties of a good son by recommending that his mother should not be ill treated, but, he added, "it is not to be supposed that I, being your "vassal, could do anything except what is conducive to " your service and to that of her Highness."(1) By means of this understanding, Charles might henceforth indulge in fine phrases, and yet be sure that his instrument would do all the most cruel things his selfishness could suggest, if any advantage could thereby be obtained. Under such circumstances, the silence of the Marquis of Denia concerning the employment of torture to force Queen Juana to hear mass, and to obey his commands in other things, is no surety that he had not had recourse to such means. But whether by reason of the persuasion of priests, and the pains produced by the *cuerda*, he forced her into isolated acts of submissiveness or not, this much is clear, that she was never entirely converted. Even in the last letter but one, published in this volume, the Marquis could speak only of his hope of being instrumental in the salvation of her soul. (2)

Fray Juan de Avila was not a bad priest after the fashion of Spanish monks of the 16th century. His opinion was that to secure the salvation of the soul of the Queen was the first duty incumbent on her son, and it is not probable that he would have shrunk from the employment of any means calculated to bring about that effect. Her conversion, however, once accomplished, he declared that it was the will and command of God that she should be humoured and treated with all the respect due to her.(3) On this last point, however, he had the misfortune to differ from

(1) P. 425. (2) P. 428. (3) P. 189.

Charles and from the Marquis. There was a certain thing which Charles wanted from his mother, but which he dared not to commit to paper, having given his instructions by word of mouth. Examining all the circumstances, we believe that he wished to obtain from her an act of abdication. However that may be, Fray Juan, satisfied with the Queen hearing mass in September 1518, showed his sympathy with her, and had even the courage, although in a feeble manner, yet certainly in good faith, to entreat Charles to discontinue his brutal treatment of his mother. The consequence was, that, although he had rendered valuable services during the rebellion of the Commons, he was first persecuted by the Marquis, and then driven from Tordesillas. He implored help of the Emperor.(1) All was in vain. His later letters remind the reader of a drowning man, whose voice grows feebler and feebler, until it is no longer heard. Fray Juan disappeared from the political theatre, and we do not know what became of him.

What we have hitherto related is bad enough, and yet the worst, in our opinion, remains to be told. Queen Juana, not being permitted to see any one who was in communication with the outer world, save the Marquis of Denia, had sometimes conversations with him which lasted four or six hours. She wished to know what was going on in Spain and in Europe, and did not even disdain flattery in order to induce him to become more communicative. When anyone well acquainted with the history of that period reads the reports of those conversations he grows confused and bewildered, and does not know what to think of them. Personages who had long reposed in their graves were constantly rising from the dead, carrying on the business of this world, and freely mingling with the living. One fancies oneself to be in a lunatic asylum. The strange statements, however, were not made by Queen Juana, but by the Marquis of Denia.

(1) Pp. 391, 392, 419, sqq.

King Ferdinand had died in January 1516. Up to the month of August 1520 the Marquis told Juana that he was still alive and King of Spain. One of his letters begins: "After having written the other letter, the Queen "our lady asked me into her presence, and told me she "was much dissatisfied with me because I denied that "the King her lord (Ferdinand) was dead, and asked me "to tell her whether he was alive, as it was of great "importance to her to know it." The Marquis assured her that King Ferdinand still lived, and the Queen said, "It is well."(1) Charles had assumed the government of Spain immediately after the death of Ferdinand, and came to Spain as King in the year 1517. For the sake of appearances he was obliged to pay a short visit to his mother. The Marquis, who could not deny his presence in Spain, told her that he had come for no other purpose than to ask Ferdinand to treat her less cruelly. (2) The Emperor Maximilian died in January 1519. Up to the month of August 1520 the Marquis spoke of him as a living man. After the election of Charles as Emperor, the Marquis concocted an absurdly sentimental story. The Emperor, he said, loved his grandson Charles so much that he had abdicated in his favour, and induced the Princes Electors to recognize him as German Emperor. All the information he gave the captive Queen about her children, the Infante Ferdinand, the Infanta Eleanor, etc., was entirely false. Nor was that all. He attempted to induce her to write letters to deceased persons, as, for instance, to the Emperor Maximilian, who, he said, had not only shown by his abdication his great love for her son, but had also written and inquired after her. He went even so far as show her a letter(3) which, there can be no doubt, was a fabrication. She, however, suspected the Marquis, and refused to write the desired reply. In explanation of this tissue of lies we shall hear the Marquis himself. "I have told the Queen our lady that the King my

(1) P. 202. (2) P. 154. (3) P. 194.

" lord, her father, is alive, because I say that all that is " done and displeases her Highness is ordered and com- " manded by the King. The love which she has for him " makes her bear it more easily than she would if she " knew that he is dead. Moreover this is of great " advantage in many other respects to your Highness." (1) If we ask what these " other respects " were, the answer is not difficult to find. The story of the Queen carrying the corpse of her husband with her, and believing that he still lived, had served its purpose many years, but was now worn out. A new proof of insanity would have been very welcome. If then it could be shown that she disbelieved the death of her father and of the Emperor, and still better, if she could be induced to write a letter to one who was dead, Charles would be provided with a piece of evidence of incalculable value to justify his conduct. Nor is it impossible to understand the reason which induced the Marquis to invent the abdication of Maximilian. If he wished to induce her to abdicate, it was not unreasonable to hold up before her that imaginary act of the Emperor, as an example to be followed. Nevertheless there remains enough for which no such special reason can be assigned, and which reminds us of the words of Diego Lopez de Ayala that they wished her mad. At all events, if we consider her absolute loneliness, and all the other circumstances, we must come to the conclusion that Charles and his abettors were utterly regardless of the consequences of their conduct.

It would not be at all surprising if a perfectly sane person put in the position of Juana had soon gone mad. Let us, therefore, see whether we can discover signs of incipient insanity. The worst case mentioned in the numerous letters of the Marquis, is the following. On the evening before the day of Santiago the Queen beat two of her women. When the Marquis heard of it he entered her room, and said, " What is this, Señora? Ought your

(1) P. 197.

" Highness to comport yourself in this way towards those " who serve you with so much zeal? The Queen, your " mother, never so treated her servants." The Queen, seeing the Marquis, rose to explain her conduct, but the women thought she would beat him, and ran away. When they had left the room the Queen came up to the Marquis, and said that she was not so overbearing that she would use him ill, and assured him on her faith that she intended to treat him as her brother. (1) To beat servants was then, and at a much later time, not so unusual a thing. The anecdote of Louis XIV. throwing his cane out of the window, because if he had retained it he would have beaten one of his courtiers, was circulated in the polite Versailles, more than 200 years later, as a sign of the high breeding of the Grand Monarch. Queen Isabel, the mother of Juana, more than once got so enraged that her courtiers thought it necessary to interfere, as, for instance, in the curious scene in the Aragonese Cortes, related by Mariana. But whether the behaviour of Juana was excusable, considering the provocation such women as her jailors were most likely to give her, or not, it is certainly no sign of insanity. On the contrary, her conduct towards the Marquis shows that, even in moments of passion, she was still able to control herself. The other complaints made against her are of even less weight. She did not take her meals regularly, she did not go regularly to bed, nor when she went to bed did she rise regularly. Such habits of life were prejudicial to her health, but could they be construed into signs of insanity? She was untidy, and neglected her dress. It is scarcely worth while to answer such an allegation. What inducement could the Queen have to dress if she must pass her dreary days in a dark and lonely room? There is, however, one circumstance on which the Marquis seems to have laid great stress. It was absolutely impossible, he said, to permit the Queen to see anyone except the inmates of the palace, and every occasion on which she could make her voice heard, by even

(1) Pp. 155, 156.

a passer-by, must be carefully avoided, because she would make a scene, which might have serious consequences. (1) Certainly, if Queen Juana had had an opportunity, it was probable that she would have called upon the passers-by to liberate her, as any other person placed under similar circumstances would have done. All these allegations of the Marquis were most probably true, and, moreover, the Queen was sometimes so weary of her life that she spoke of making an end of it; but these things do not prove that she was insane.

If even the Marquis of Denia could not adduce any more substantial proof, he, on the other hand, mentions many instances of great sagacity, sound judgment, true maternal love, and kindness towards her former servants. Whilst she was suffering from want, she often inquired whether the pensions of her attendants were regularly paid, and the Marquis did not dare to confess the truth that they were discontinued.(2) Brooding day and night over the stories the Marquis was constantly telling her, she discovered that they were not true. But where to learn the truth? In her palace or prison it was impossible. She took advantage, therefore, of every circumstance, of the climate of Tordesillas, of an access of faceache, &c., to urge her demand to be transferred to Valladolid, or to be permitted at least to visit the convent of Santa Clara. She had been in Valladolid after her return from Flanders, and remembered the place perfectly well. Once she had her clothes brushed, dressed with more than usual care, and with her head gear on, defied the Marquis several hours, declaring that she would go to Santa Clara and hear mass. The bait of hearing mass in public was certainly alluring enough, and the Marquis confessed that he was almost persuaded to let her go, "only there are other reasons of greater importance against it."(3)

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(1) P. 406. (2) P. 188.

(3) Letter of the Marquis of Denia, of the 26th of September, 1519, pp. 184, 185, 192.

Had the Queen been mad her illusions would have more effectually prevented her from perceiving her miserable condition than did the lies of the Marquis, and she might have been less unhappy. As she, however, was fully conscious of the cruelty with which she was treated, it is not to be wondered at that she was occasionally driven to despair. Even her jailor could not always conceal his compassion for her. In an undated letter of the year 1518 the Marquis confessed that her words were so good, "*tantas buenas*," that he stood "aghast" how she could pronounce them, and that he and the Marchioness found it difficult to resist her.(1) In other letters he stated that her complaints were so touching that he could not help having compassion for her, and that her language would have "moved stones." The only consequences which he drew from these statements, however, were that it was absolutely necessary that the Queen should not be permitted to see any one, because none could resist her; that he wanted to write in cipher, that he begged the Emperor to destroy his letters, and not let them be seen by any one except by a person in whom he confided as much as in himself.(2) How Charles could read such letters, as that for instance which bears the number 48, (3) in cool blood, would be hardly conceivable if we did not know how hard men were three hundred and fifty years ago.

One of the most perplexing circumstances in the strange history of Queen Juana is that the Infanta Catalina was permitted to share her prison. At first sight it may appear incredible, but it is not the less true, that considerations of economy had something to do with this arrangement. Whilst the Flemish followers of Charles were enriching themselves at the expense of Spain, his exchequer was so empty that even a few thousand ducats a year seemed a great gain. Moreover, it was deemed prudent not to exasperate the Queen to the commission of some desperate act which possibly would create general indigna-

(1) P. 155. (2) P. 196. (3) P. 197.

tion. The Infanta, born when her mother was already a prisoner, had never known any other than a prison life. The palace at Tordesillas was her world, the hills which confine the horizon in the direction towards Medina del Campo were her *ultima Thule*. When she was about twelve years of age, she began to write letters to her brother Charles, whom she had never seen, but whom she loved dearly. Her letters were somewhat stiff, it is true, there was a want of freedom discernible. But was that to be wondered at? As for the rest, she was happy. She loved her mother, she loved the Marquis and the Marchioness, her tutor Fray Juan, and did not even complain of the dreadful women. On reading her letters one wonders how it was possible that a young girl of twelve or fourteen years of age could be so entirely inured to such an atmosphere, and did not observe what was daily passing around her. At last, however, comes the solution of the riddle. In the month of August 1521, the Infanta found an opportunity of writing to her brother without the knowledge of the Marquis. All her pretty letters had been frauds. They had been written under the dictation of the Marquis and the Marchioness. In a memoir which she drew up on this occasion, she begged the Emperor not to permit the Marquis and Marchioness to maltreat her in the house of her mother. She complained that she was not permitted to see any one, nor to write to any one. She told him that the Countess of Modica, wife of the Admiral of Castile, had sent her a letter, and that when the Marquis and Marchioness heard of it, they wanted to "tear out her eyes," searched her, and made inquiries as to who had brought the letter. They did not allow her to speak even with her servants or those of the Queen. She begged the Emperor not to persecute the guardian (Fray Juan), but on the contrary to see that he did not forsake the Queen, "who stands in great want of consolation." The daughters of the Marquis took her robes from her, wore them, and behaved as though they were her equals. These, and

several other complaints, filled pages. In the last paragraph she implored the Emperor "for the love of God" to provide that, if the Queen wished to walk for her recreation in the corridor on the river or on the other side, or if she wished to go to her large room to refresh herself, she should not be prevented from doing so. For it had become the custom at Tordesillas that when the Queen visited her daughter, the servants and daughters of the Marchioness entered unobserved the room of the Infanta, and from their place of concealment directed the women by signs not to let the Queen go to the large room, but immediately to lock her up in her dark chamber. (1)

Accompanying this memoir is a short letter written in another hand, but signed by the Infanta. "I implore your "Majesty to believe what I write, and soon to give your "orders. We, the Queen my lady and I, have no other "comfort and help but your Majesty." Added by herself are the words, "I beg your Majesty to forgive me that the "letter is written in a strange hand. I can no more." (2)

From what we have stated, we believe, it will be tolerably clear that the reasoning faculties of Queen Juana were by no means impaired, and that, whatever opinion we may be inclined to form of her character and her religious convictions, we cannot pronounce her to have been insane. One important question, however, remains to be answered. How was it that, after having been imprisoned for fourteen years, and having had an opportunity to regain her liberty during the rising of the Commons in Castile, she permitted that opportunity to slip without making use of it? The answer is plain. The same persons who had deceived the world during so many years about her real state of mind succeeded also in deceiving her in the most cruel way.

Where are the grandees of Spain? Where are the nobles of my kingdoms? These questions had incessantly occupied her mind, and to devise plausible answers had

(1) P. 396, sqq. (2) P. 395, 396.

taxed to the utmost the ingenuity of the Marquis.(1) But the Queen did not once ask, Where is my people? And yet the nobles did not make the slightest move in her favour, whilst the people rose at last in open rebellion, marched to Tordesillas, and drove away her jailors. The Commons, it is true, did not rise for that purpose, having to redress many other wrongs which more directly concerned them. Nevertheless, it would be a great error to follow the common tradition, and suppose that they made use of the name of the Queen only after their rising had taken place, to give to their revolutionary measures an appearance of legality. More than a year before the outbreak, the Marquis had complained that the secrets of the palace were oozing out, and that the people were indignant, and openly accused him of being a tyrant, who kept the Queen prisoner under false pretences. (2)

Towards the end of August 1520, Juan Padilla and other captains of the Commons were at Medina del Campo, only a few leagues distant from Tordesillas. It was known that they had orders from the revolutionary government, assembled at Avila, to rescue the Queen from the grasp of her oppressors. Tordesillas was a place of considerable strength, and had a sufficient garrison of old, well-disciplined troops. It might have been successfully defended, if the troops could have been relied upon. But the officers of the household, from the women who watched her up to the higher ranks, behaved after the usual fashion of mercenaries, and were the first to betray their ignominious taskmaster, denouncing the Marquis without reserve for his shameful conduct towards the Queen. The excitement of the citizens increased, and they gained over the garrison, who refused to fight.

The position of the Marquis of Denia was, to say the least, extremely precarious; but he was not a man easily to be daunted. When he saw that resistance by force was

(1) See for instance, pp. 190, 195, &c. (2) For instance, pp. 166, 184.

impossible, he betook himself to a stratagem. Frightening the Queen by telling her that the Commons were rebels of the worst description, who wanted to carry her off to some dungeon, he asked her to send an order forbidding them to enter Tordesillas. No doubt the word "rebel" fell with an unpleasant sound on her ear. Nevertheless, her distrust of the Marquis being stronger than her fear of the revolutionists, she refused to sign. Foiled in this attempt, the Marquis addressed himself to the Infanta, who, being accustomed implicitly to obey all his behests, wrote to the captains, telling them that the Queen was ill, wanted repose, and would deeply resent it if they should march to Tordesillas against her desire. On the 23rd of August 1520, however, Bernaldino de Castro, lieutenant corregidor of the town, accompanied by several other members of the town council, forced their way to the Queen, and informed her, in the presence of the Marquis, of "a great many things which had happened since "the death of her father, the Catholic King." (1) Strange though these revelations must have been to her, she did not lose her self-command, but ordered her treasurer Ochoa de Olanda to summon to her presence the Bishop of Malaga and the Licentiates Polanco and Zapata, all of them members of the privy council, because she wanted to confer with them on important matters of state. They were old servants of the crown of Spain, and she had known them in former times. Ochoa did not carry out her order; and on the following day, the 24th of August, Juan Padilla occupied Tordesillas. That the Marquis and the women who watched the Queen were not at once sent away is not surprising, for in the eyes of the uninitiated they were her servants. But although they were permitted to remain, their power was at an end. On the 29th of August the Marquis wrote to Cardinal Adrian, that he was treated almost as a prisoner, and forbidden to leave the fortress.(2)

(1) P. 204. (2) P. 210.

The first and most interesting question which the Commons had to decide was whether the Queen was suffering from such mental derangement as prevented her from carrying on the government, and it was only natural that her servants who knew her best should be examined on the subject. It is a great loss to history that their depositions are not extant. They were probably destroyed at the command of Charles when his partisans seized the papers of their adversaries. The substance of them, however, is preserved in various letters of Cardinal Adrian to the Emperor. Adrian had not only been the tutor of Charles, but at the very moment when he wrote these letters he was entrusted with the task of carrying out the Emperor's policy in Spain, and he did not obtain his information from the rebels, but from his own agents in Tordesillas. He cannot, therefore, for a moment be suspected of stating the facts in a more unfavourable light than need be, and thus accusing himself and his master of greater crimes than they had to answer for.

Nevertheless he thought it his duty to inform the Emperor on the 4th of September 1520, that almost all the servants of the Queen said that she had been oppressed and detained by force during fourteen years in the fortress of Tordesillas, as though she had been mad, when in fact she had always been in her right mind, and as prudent (*prudente*) as when she married.(1)

And again, in the same letter, he stated that it was no longer a question of suffering some pecuniary losses, but that Charles was threatened with a total and perpetual downfall, "because your Highness has usurped the Royal "name, and imprisoned the Queen as though she were "insane, when she was not mad, according to what, as I "have said, is stated."

A fortnight later, on the 14th of September, the Cardinal wrote to the Emperor that the report had been spread throughout the kingdom by her servants that the

(1) Pp. 217, 218.

Queen was perfectly sane, and as able to govern as the Queen Isabel her mother had been, and that the Commons were of opinion that the people ought not to obey and execute the orders of the Emperor, but only those of the Queen. (1)

We could easily increase the number of similar quotations, but we think what we have stated will suffice to show that the servants of the Queen positively and consistently declared that she was not mad. It is true the Cardinal repeatedly stated his opinion that the servants were influenced by their hatred of the Marquis rather than by strict regard for veracity, and that people in general were more inclined to give credit to what was advantageous to them than to what was true. We are here, however, not concerned in what the Cardinal believed or pretended to believe, but only in what the witnesses deposed, and shall offer afterwards a few observations concerning the credit which Adrian himself deserved.

During the 103 days which intervened between the 24th of August and the 5th of December 1520, Queen Juana enjoyed almost unlimited liberty in her palace. The Marquis and the Marchioness of Denia were sent away from Tordesillas on the 19th of September, and the women who had watched her were, at her own request, dismissed a few weeks later. She was left with only one female servant to attend upon her, and yet in spite of the extremely difficult position in which she was placed, she did not commit a single act which even her most unscrupulous adversaries could construe into a proof of insanity. She was, as could not be otherwise, deeply agitated. At first she did not go to bed or take her meals, or, as the Cardinal Adrian wrote, the Commons wanted to kill her by first denying her food during three days, and then giving her all at once the meals due during that time.(2) This statement is simply preposterous. The Queen became by degrees more calm, and her life no longer appeared so gloomy to her as hitherto. In the month of November she began even to occupy

(1) P. 225. (2) P. 269.

herself with her long neglected toilet, dressing herself in her best robes, and seeing that her daughter was well adorned when she went out. The Cardinal sneeringly called that *atavio*, finery.(1)

As in private, so she conducted herself in public with perfect self-possession. On the 1st of September 1520, Juan Padilla, Juan Bravo, Juan Zapata, and Luis Quintanilla, commanders in chief of the several contingents from the cities and towns of Castile to the revolutionary army, knelt down before her in the presence of numerous witnesses, and asked her to permit the Junta to come from Avila to Tordesillas. She replied that she was satisfied with the Junta, that they might come, and that it would afford her great pleasure to confer with them on the measures which concerned the welfare of her kingdoms. "With all that is good," she concluded her answer, "I "shall be pleased, and for all that is wrong I shall be "sorry. I hope in God all will end well."(2)

The proceedings at the audience which she granted the Commons on the 24th of September 1520 are recorded in great detail. She had not the least difficulty in following the long discourses of the various deputies who addressed her, and her answers were clear, dignified, and always to the point. On certain disagreeable subjects which she could not entirely avoid, she spoke with great caution and delicacy. As for the Flemings who had plundered Spain, she did not utter a single word in their excuse, and the Marquis of Denia and the other "bad people" who had deceived her with lies fared hardly better. But whilst complaining of them, she avoided all irritating detail, and attempted to extenuate the fault of her father by hinting at the bad influence her stepmother might have had on him. With respect to her son, she did not mention a single circumstance which was unfavourable to him.(3) There is no doubt that only a person of much higher

(1) Cardinal Adrian to the Emperor, 17th November 1520, p. 325.
(2) P. 214. (3) Pp. 245, sqq.

intellectual power than the common average could have behaved as she did under similar circumstances. The proceedings during the audiences of the Queen are reported in public documents drawn up by the public notaries at the demand of the Commons. It might therefore be supposed that they would present her in a more favourable light than was compatible with truth. Such, however, was not the case. For not only did Cardinal Adrian never pretend that these attestations were false, but the reports of his own agents who were present at the audiences fully supported them; and it is certainly not an insignificant circumstance that even Adrian was forced to acknowledge she behaved with great prudence. It is true he added, that from certain statements she made it was clear that she was not perfectly in her right mind.(1) No wonder that a man who was unacquainted with the secret history of the palace at Tordesillas should regard as inventions of a diseased brain certain things which were stated by her to have happened during her captivity. We, however, who know at least a portion of the truth, must admit that her statements were sober and moderate.

But although the personal conduct of the Queen was marked by common sense and tact, her policy was by no means judicious. Her cruel experience had not yet taught her the stern lesson not to confide in any one who had interests opposed to her own in politics, even though he were her son.

The principal object of the Commons was to get rid of the Flemings and their partisans, who were hated for their almost unexampled insolence and greediness.(2) By setting up the Queen, who was unconnected at that time

(1) Pp. 209, 210.

(2) Amongst other things, the Spaniards complained that the Flemings called them *Indios*, or, as we would say now, niggers, and it is certainly significant that even the Admiral of Castile, the most patriotic of the Spanish grandees, used that expression in letters to partisans of the Flemish party.

with Flanders, as their lawful sovereign, they would have attained their ends, and it was most probable that they would have been loyal subjects. Another grievance was the Inquisition, which since the nomination of Cardinal Adrian as Inquisitor General had become more insupportable than under Torquemada. His almost frantic cruelty towards the old woman Blanchina, and the shameful occurrences at Cuenca, had roused the indignation of the whole of Spain. Moreover, Lutheranism was rapidly spreading, the writings of Luther against the Roman church having been immediately translated into Spanish.(1) As the Queen had been a victim of her disbelief in Roman orthodoxy, it was not unreasonable to expect that she would favour the new doctrine, and thus create a fresh tie between herself and her subjects.

The Spanish nobles, on the other hand, had as many and even more cogent reasons for being opposed to a government of the Queen than the Commons had to favour it. They had been greatly enriched since the death of Queen Isabel at the expense of the public domain. Ferdinand and Charles had bought their connivance by grants. If, then, these last two governments had been declared unlawful usurpations, it was clear that the nobles would have lost their ill-gotten acquisitions. Moreover, they saw in the Commons men who were by nature inferior to them, but who endeavoured to raise themselves to an equality with them. This feeling is expressed in many documents of the time, but nowhere more strongly than in the circular letter of the Marquis of Villena, inviting the nobles to form a *Junta* in opposition to that of the Commons. "Our "Lord," he said, "created in his justice and mercy the "distinction between classes and ranks from the begin-"ning of things," and it would therefore be impious not

(1) The instructions given by the privy council, the grandees, and the prelates of Spain, to the Duke of Alba, who in April 1521 was sent to Charles to inform him of the rapid spread of the Lutheran heresy in Spain, Pp. 376, sqq.

to trample down the rebels.(1) Preposterous as would be now the idea of dating the difference of rank from the creation, it was then general, earnestly believed in, and, as is the case with all honest prejudice, of great power. That the aristocracy were good Catholics can scarcely be doubted, after their solemn declarations of the 12th, 13th, and 14th of April 1521.(2) Thus, opposed by personal interest and political as well as religious considerations to the state of things which seemed unavoidable if Queen Juana ascended the throne, they could not hope successfully to resist the popular movement unless they persevered in their assertion that she was mad. They were not numerous enough to fight single handed, and could not expect to persuade their tenantry to follow them, unless they could make them believe that the monks who were wandering through the kingdom in all directions, preaching a crusade for the deliverance of their rightful Queen, were impostors. Even as it was, we meet with more than one declaration that the peasants were only too prone to side with the Commons and the Queen against their lords and the Emperor, and resistance seemed sometimes so hopeless that the grandees thought they must inevitably submit, and accept Juana as their sovereign.

Such being the state of things, a statesman, acting from political considerations, would not have wavered for a moment as to which party he ought to espouse. In politics the right way is often attended with great difficulties. Such, however, was not the case with Queen Juana. Had she accepted the services of the Commons, and signed a single decree, declaring that she had decided to take the government of Spain into her own hands, all resistance would have been at an end. That is not a mere opinion of our own. Cardinal Adrian wrote over and over again that if the Queen signed he would have no choice, but be forced immediately to leave the country; (3) and all the

(1) Simancas. Estado. Legajo 1. f. 496, 497. (2) Pp. 376, sqq.
(3) See for instance pp. 304, 325, etc.

accounts concerning the grandees and the nobles were unanimous in this respect, that they would have hastened to make their submission to the Queen, and to reconcile themselves with the Commons, without attempting any further resistance. Thus, she had her destiny in her own hands.

But the Queen was no politician, nor was she in a position to know the real state of affairs and the true intentions of the different parties. When she was no longer a prisoner, she found herself surrounded by men of one faction only, and of that faction, too, which, however justifiable their rising was, had usurped powers which by law did not belong to them. Could she believe what they stated to her? The Commons, fully aware of this disadvantage, invited Cardinal Adrian and the Privy Council to come from Valladolid to Tordesillas, to discuss with them in the presence of the Queen the measures of state which it was thought necessary to take. Had their invitation been accepted she would have been in a position to form a judgment of the merits of the plans pursued by the one and the other party; but neither the Cardinal nor the Councillors went to Tordesillas.

Left in the dark as to her true interests, the aristocratic and absolute propensities of her youth prevailed. She knew that her father had been an eminently successful prince, and she thought that the ministers of such a king could give her only good advice, not suspecting that they might be traitors to her. She had always seen that the grandees shared in the government of the country, and the thought never entered her mind that they might be in league with her enemy. But, above all, she had forgiven Charles the cruel injustice which she had suffered from him, and seemed to be more solicitous for his interests than mindful of her own advantages. From a despatch of Lope Hurtado de Mendoza, whom the Emperor had sent to Spain with special orders to tell him the truth, we learn, among other things, that when the Commons told the Queen that Charles had assumed the title of king

to her prejudice, she only found excuses for him, pretending that it was a custom in Spain that the eldest son of the Queen should have that title, although she must have known that it was not true. When they accused him of having committed acts of great injustice, and caused great misery, she exclaimed, "Do not disunite me from "my son. All that is mine belongs to him, and he will "take good care of it."(1) Politically speaking, we cannot condemn this error too strongly; but, on the other hand, it is impossible not to sympathize with a mother who could not find it in her heart to believe that her son would repay with acts of consummate villany the love she bore him.

Charles, Cardinal Adrian, and the partisans of the Imperial faction availed themselves of the confidence the Queen had in them, and of her love for her son. Before the army of the Commons had occupied Tordesillas, the Cardinal sent the President of the Council of Castile to warn her not to show any favour to the insurgents, and especially not to sign any proclamation. When Tordesillas was held by the popular forces, his communications with the Queen were not interrupted, but continued to be carried on in secret. Whilst she was believing him to be a perfectly honest man, he was intentionally leading her by his advice to destruction. We have already seen that Adrian knew full well that if she had signed the proclamation which the Commons implored her to ratify by her hand she would have been Queen in reality, and for ever beyond the danger of again being imprisoned as insane. And yet, instead of being ashamed, he glorified himself because it was he who through his agents, Fray Juan de Avila, Fray Francisco de Leon, and others, prevented her from doing the only thing which could have saved her.(2) Charles spoke

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(1) Lope Hurtado to the Emperor, December 10, 1520, p. 344.

(2) Adrian to the Emperor, September 14, 1520, pp. 226, 227.
Fray Francisco de Leon to the Cardinal, November 13, 1520, p. 293.
Adrian to Lope Hurtado, November 13, 1520, p. 318.
Adrian to the Emperor, November 17, 1520, p. 325.

only of his devotion to his mother, enlarging on his "unspeakable grief" at the insult and disrespect shown to the Queen "my lady."(1) The nobles of Spain imitated his example, and the Constable of Castile protested that he would sacrifice his property and life in the "holy and just" enterprise to "set at liberty" the Queen, "our Sovereign Lady," and to rescue her from the tyranny of the "barbarians."(2) Not a word, not a hint, is to be found in these letters indicating that she was insane, and it is even doubtful whether she ever knew that it had been reported she was mad. We have no positive proofs, but it is in the highest degree probable, that the Cardinal communicated the contents of these and similar declarations of loyalty to the Queen, in order to confirm her in her erroneous conceptions. When the army of the nobles appeared before Tordesillas, they still pretended that they had come to serve her as faithful subjects, and even after the capture of that place it was thought prudent to keep up false appearances for a time. The Count of Haro, who had led the attack, when informing his father, the Constable, of the latest occurrences, wrote: "I kissed the hands "of the Queen yesterday, and told her that you had been "informed of the want of respect with which she and the "Infanta had been treated, and remembering the loyalty "with which our forefathers had always served the crown, "you had sent me and these noblemen to restore her "Highness to liberty. She replied that she was much "obliged to you for your solicitude for her, adding that "she was glad that I had arrived, and that she had an "opportunity of making my acquaintance."(3)

Queen Juana permitted herself to be utterly deceived. If, however, we must admit that persons of perfectly sound judgment and even of considerable perspicacity, are liable occasionally to commit such a gross error as to believe their enemies to be their friends, we may the more excuse the Queen, who had just been released from

(1) P. 258. (2) P. 275. (3) P. 381.

utter seclusion. As for carrying out her suicidal policy there can be no doubt that she did it with consummate skill. Had she signed a proclamation, she would have ruined the aristocratical party; had she deprived the Commons of all hope they could have chosen another sovereign. Her cousin, the so-called *Beltraneja*, was still living. She had a better right to the crown than even Juana, and was perfectly sure of the full support of France. There was Pedro Giron, captain general of the armies of the Commons, advancing in an underhand way his claims to the throne, as representative of the elder branch of King Alonzo, who had been driven by violence and treachery out of the country. (1) Either of them would have excluded all the descendants of Queen Isabel, Juana as well as Charles, from the succession in Castile. To procure for the grandees the time necessary to assemble an army, and yet not to drive the Commons to despair, was indeed no easy undertaking. Juana, however, accomplished it, putting them off from day to day and from week to week, under a variety of pretexts. One day she excused herself with failing health, another day she wanted to confer with the ministers of the crown, whom she said she had ordered into her presence; then she pointed out that the proclamation would be invalidated if it were not signed on the back by the Secretaries of State, and so on. On one occasion, when a false alarm was spread that the Constable, with an army, was at the gates of the town, and the members of the *Junta* were pressing her unusually hard to sign the proclamation, she answered that it was night, and that during night time it was unbecoming to transact business of state, giving them at the same time the assurance that the Constable would do harm to no one. Whenever all her reasons were exhausted she affected that her strength was worn out, and retired to her bed room. (2) The great

(1) P. 319.

(2) See, for instance, Fray Francisco de Leon to the Cardinal. Pp. 288, sqq.

misery to which Juana had been subjected induces us to judge her leniently, but if we wish to form an impartial opinion of her character we cannot entirely absolve her from a certain amount of cunning, and suspect that if she had not been the victim she would most probably have victimized others.

As she had so often excused herself on the plea of ill health, it is natural enough that the Commons thought of procuring for her medical assistance, and it is not to be wondered at that ignorant priests came to Tordesillas, professing to be able to heal her by incantation.(1) When, however, Cardinal Adrian wrote that the *Junta* had recourse to conjurors, (2) he stated a thing which he knew was not true. The *Junta* had ordered public prayers in the churches, a custom prevailing then, as now, in Spain and other countries during a real or supposed illness of the sovereign.(3)

At last, when the army of the nobles was really on its march to Tordesillas, the Commons made a desperate effort. They declared to the Queen that they would not give her or the Infanta anything to eat until she had signed. When they, however, saw that they could not frighten her, they went down before her on their knees, and holding up before her the proclamation, the ink and pen, implored her to sign. She refused, and finally and irrevocably rejected her only true friends.(4) Two days later the grandees and cavaliers took Tordesillas by storm, plundered and burnt it. The Queen had in vain ordered the gates of the town to be opened, but she received with joy her supposed liberators at the entrance of her palace, was led up to her apartment by Don Juan Manrique and Don Geronimo Padilla, who had been the first to arrive, and had the long desired satisfaction of seeing herself surrounded by the grandees, and of conversing with them.(5) The Marquis of Denia, however, was among them. A few

(1) P. 293. (2) P. 305. (3) P. 255. (4) P. 348.
(5) Lope Hurtado to the Emperor, December 10, 1520, p. 345.

days later he took possession of his office, and Juana was again his prisoner. That was the "holy enterprise," that was her "liberation from the tyranny of the barbarians," with which Charles, Cardinal Adrian, and the nobles of Spain had deceived her; a dark room, wherein to weep over her errors, and the torture, as an instrument of coercion, to keep her quiet and to make her hear mass.

We must add a few words on the principal actors in this tragedy, viz., the three governors or viceroys in Spain, Cardinal Adrian, Don Fadrique Enriquez, Admiral, and Don Iñigo Fernandez de Velasco, Constable of Castile.

Adrian has enjoyed in his native country, and in the northern parts of Europe in general, the reputation of having been an honest man; the Italians considered him as one of the greatest hypocrites of his age. The Spaniards spoke of him in their letters to the Emperor, before he was Pope, as a well-intentioned man, who, however, was so credulous that nothing was easier than to impose upon him. If, however, we examine the circumstances under which he was said to have been deceived, we find that he allowed himself easily to be duped whenever the acknowledgment of the truth would have exposed him to the alternative either to confess that he was doing wrong, or to act up to his duty, and to incur thereby the danger of some sacrifice or the displeasure of his master. As often, however, as the recognition of the truth was profitable to his personal interests, it was rather difficult to impose upon him. We must confess we doubt the honesty of such a man, and suspect that it was rather his aptness for accommodating himself to the worst deeds of his master which raised him by degrees from the depth of poverty to the highest dignity in Christendom. With regard to Queen Juana he behaved as might be expected from such a person. At first he informed Charles with tolerable frankness of what was said about the Queen's soundness of mind. When, however, the Marquis and Marchioness of Denia had been driven from Tordesillas, they passed through Valladolid. The Marquis dined with him

on the 21st of September, and had a long after-dinner conversation. It was only too convenient for the Cardinal to believe every word which the Marquis told him, and having quieted his easy conscience he did not thenceforth once mention the reported sanity of the Queen without most positively stating his disbelief of it. His real convictions may have been formed from the course of events, only that there are certain circumstances which make us suspect that he was guilty of something more reprehensible than mere credulity. Adrian came to Tordesillas in the train of the conquering army, and stayed there a considerable length of time. Knowing that the madness of the Queen was at least disputed, it certainly was his first and most imperative duty, as lieutenant of the Emperor, to assure himself by his own eyes and ears of the truth, and yet he never saw her for a moment. Was he afraid to learn an unpalatable truth?(1) The most practised dissemblers, however, have their unguarded moments. Thus Cardinal Adrian, in order to stimulate the energy of Charles, asked him on one occasion whether he would like to wait for the death of the Queen, his mother, before being permitted to govern in Spain.(2) If Adrian really believed Juana to be mad, how could he suppose that, once installed on her throne, she would be able to remain at the head of the government until the end of her days? From his own words, therefore, it is clear that he knew that the motive which guided the Emperor was not the desire to prevent an insane person from doing harm to herself and to others, but the criminal purpose of a son to rob his mother of her crown; and in this he countenanced him.

The Constable of Castile was a thorough partisan of the Marquis of Denia. This suffices to explain his conduct.

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(1) We may here remind the reader, that a few years later, when Adrian was Pope, the Imperial ambassador in Rome wrote that he permitted the most scandalous corruption to be practised at his court, but avoided hearing the truth. See Spanish Calendar, Vol. II., p. cxlii. and p. 139.

(2) P. 220.

The Admiral, although he had many and great failings, was on the whole a man of much more elevated character. He at first refused the offered place of governor, and accepted it only on condition that the Commons should be treated with leniency after the victory. When they were conquered, he wrote to the Emperor, on the 15th of April 1521, begging him to be a "good prince," and promising to accept his clemency towards the vanquished as an indemnification for his great private losses. With regard to the Queen, he never stooped to utter direct lies. Having had long and frequent conversations with her he had the courage, when the other grandees spoke of her insanity, indignantly to declare that she was of sound mind,(1) without qualifying his declaration by any depreciating addition. He endeavoured to create for her, if not an influential, at least an honourable position, and would even have assigned to her some participation in the despatch of public business. His counsel was overruled, as the *Comendador Mayor*, Juan de Vega, in his letter to the Constable of the 8th of December, wrote, "because it would be the greatest misfortune for Spain to have two kings."(2) The Comendador may have been right, but, if so, what importance can we attach to the declaration in his letter to the Emperor, in which he stated that Juana was unfit for the despatch of public affairs in consequence of mental disease? It was the language of a courtier who did not dare to offend his sovereign master by giving utterance to what he knew was the truth.

The treatment of Queen Juana during her second captivity was more cruel than during her first. The Marquis and Marchioness of Denia were irritated by the slights they had received in the time of the Commons, and desired to revenge themselves. The Queen, when she saw the cruel deception to which she had fallen a victim, grew excited, and in her excitement sometimes unmanageable.

(1) Letter of Lope Hurtado de Mendoza, not dated, but evidently written in December 1520. ". . asy dixo que la Reyna tenia por cuerda," p. 353. (2) P. 356.

The Infanta was taken away from her mother, and married to the King of Portugal. It was expected that the Queen would not survive this separation,(1) but she did, dragging on a lonely and monotonous life with her keepers. Under such circumstances death is the only friend, but death came slowly. She lived five and thirty years in her second imprisonment. No wonder that by degrees her reason gave way. During the latter years of her life she believed that she was possessed by evil spirits which prevented her from being good and loving her children, or the rites of the Roman Church. She imagined that she saw a great cat lacerating the souls of her father and of her husband. But these wild fancies were not unfrequently interrupted by periods of calm and sound judgment. Physically she sank down to a deplorable state of almost brutish existence. For weeks and months sometimes she did not leave her bed, which received all the evacuations of her body, and was never cleaned. Two things she disliked until the close of her life. It was painful to her to receive a visit from any one of her family, and she wished not to be disturbed by religious ceremonies. In April 1555 it was known that she was near her end. Charles, worn out by mental and bodily sufferings, and discouraged by the ill success of the great plans for which "he had sacrificed his conscience," was meditating his abdication in Flanders, whilst his daughter Juana was at the head of the government in Spain. She might have let her grandmother die in peace, but the honour of the Imperial family required that Queen Juana should not depart without receiving the holy sacrament. Stormy scenes took place in the interior of the old palace, and the screams of the Queen were heard in the neighbouring houses. At last, Fray Domingo de Soto was summoned to Tordesillas, where he arrived in the morning of the 11th of April, and had a long conversation with the Queen without witnesses. "Thanks to our Lord," he

(1) See p. 418.

wrote on the same day to Juan Vasquez, who was chief Secretary of State in Spain, "when we were alone, she "spoke words which consoled me. Nevertheless, her "Highness is not in a disposition to receive the sacrament "of the eucharist, but the sacrament of the extreme "unction, I think, may be given to her. Even for this, "however, we must wait until she has less discernment, "for that sacrament does not require much (discernment), "and we are afraid that, as long as her Highness has so "much judgment as she has now, she will, from consi- "derations of honesty, refuse to submit to it. I think she "will not survive this night."(1) In fact the Queen was sinking rapidly. At an advanced hour of the night she received the sacrament, thus sparing her children the shame of having had what they called an infidel mother, and on Good Friday, 12th of April, between five and six o'clock in the morning, she expired, "thanking our "Lord that her life was at an end, and recommending "her soul to Him."(2)

Such is the rough sketch of the life of one who should have been a great Queen, and was the ancestress of the Austro-Spanish dynasty. It goes far to reconcile the humblest with the lowliness and hardships of his position; but we do not know which of the two to pity the more, Queen Juana or Charles. The only alternative left to him was to choose between uprooting all human feeling from his breast, and of renouncing everything that makes life

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(1) Fray Domingo de Soto à Juan Vasquez. De Tordesillas à 11 de Abril de 1555. Simancas. Estado. Lejago 108. f. 69. ". . . . y "despues me quede solo con Su Alteza muy gran rato, y por cierto ben- "dito nuestro Señor me ha dicho a solas palabras que me han consolado "pero su Alteza no esta para el sacramento de la eucharistia, pero me "parece se le de el sacramento de la extrema uncion, aunque se esparara "a que tenga menos juicio, porque para aquel sacramento no es menester "tanto y tenemos que su Alteza con el juicio que agora tiene por su "honestidad no lo sufrira, pero tengo por cierto que no saldra desta "noche . . . ."

(2) La Princesa al Emperador, 13th of April, 1555. Simancas. Estado. Legajo 108. f. 68.

worth having, or of accusing himself, in the midst of all his Imperial grandeur, of being a mean and miserable delinquent. That was the price he had to pay for his plan of universal monarchy. It would be high at any time, but naturally was highest when right, virtue, and honour were cheapest.

Such a character as that of Charles seems to be monstrous. The giant lizards of antediluvian periods appear to us also as monsters which could not have lived, but if they were viewed amidst the nature which then surrounded them they would lose much of their monstrosity. In a similar way, Charles, considered in connexion with the world in which he lived, still remains a bad man, but not abnormally hideous. He was not the worst prince of his time. When we become acquainted not only with the smooth and by far too much polished surface of bygone ages, but also with the hidden springs and motive power, the uncontrolled passions, the unscrupulous violence, the sordid avarice, and unblushing lies which abounded in their depths, we all shall confess that we have made progress in morality as well as in learning.

We must return to the marriage projects of King Henry VII. That Queen Juana, in the year 1507, was incapacitated by insanity for matrimonial life we think will hardly any longer be pretended. But did Henry know that the rumours which were spread were false? The decision of this question we must leave for the future historian. Henry had seen the Queen a few months before the death of her husband, but at a time when reports of her mental disease had already been insidiously spread. Thus, he was in a position to judge for himself whether these earlier rumours were true. He caused the Princess of Wales to write a letter to her sister, the purport of which was a sufficiently clear declaration of his wish to marry her. Although we may

think Henry capable of any sort of baseness, we cannot suppose him to have been foolish enough to send a love letter to a lady whom he believed to be mad. On the other hand, however, if Juana was not insane when she was on her way to Spain, she may have become so while staying there; and, in fact, the most accredited report was that the sudden death of King Philip had deprived her of reason. Moreover, the truth was so strictly concealed that it must have been difficult even for Henry to learn it, and if he had been really aware that the insanity of Juana was an invention, it is hardly conceivable that De Puebla could make in his name such statements as he did, concerning his not caring whether his intended bride were mad or not. That Henry should have avoided positively contradicting King Ferdinand is intelligible enough, as he did not wish to offend him, but why he should have made admissions which went even further than the assertions of the Catholic King, it would be difficult to explain, except on the supposition that he did not consider insanity to be an obstacle to marriage. Perhaps we should not be far from the truth if we were to suppose that he had formed no decided opinion on the merit of the subject, and did not care for it, but that he was quite prepared to marry Queen Juana, mad or not mad, for the sake of her dower.

QUEEN KATHARINE.

1501.
End of Dec. **1.** DON PEDRO DE AYALA, Spanish Ambassador in England, to QUEEN ISABEL OF SPAIN.

[*The original letter is in the possession of Don Pascual de Gayangos, in Madrid. Autograph.*] *The passages printed in italics are in the original written in cipher, and deciphered by the Editor. The orignal key is not extant.*]

Muy alta y muy poderosa Reyna e ñra Señora (1),

pocos dias a que escrivi a v̄ra alteza con uno mio despues an subcedido las cosas que creo quando esta llegara ya abra v̄ra magestad savido ansi por las cartas que la señora princesa a escrito como por las que doña elvira manuel y no menos por el dottor de puebla que segund he sabido a enbiado un mensajero, mas aun que las cartas sean llegadas y V. Al. aya savido lo de aca ansi por las personas dichas como por otras que se an escrito yo no dexare de dezir lo que pasa sin mudar nada de la verdad porque V. alteza entienda y conosca todo como ba para que probea lo que su servicio sea.

(1) These words are corrected, most probably before the letter was sent to Spain, into "Muy altos y muy poderosos Rey y Reyna, ñros Señores."

(TRANSLATION.)

1. Very high and mighty Queen, our sovereign lady,

A few days ago I wrote to your Highness by one of my servants. What has since happened I think your Majesty knows already by the letters of the señora Princess, as well as by those which doña Elvira Manuel and Doctor de Puebla have written, who, as I am informed, has sent a messenger. Nevertheless, although the letters probably have arrived, and your Highness may have heard what is going on here as well by the persons I have mentioned as by other (letters) which may have been written, I shall not omit to state what passes here, strictly adhering to the truth, in order that your Highness may hear and learn all that is going on, and provide what your service requires.

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Acabadas las fiestas y partidos ansi los españoles como yngleses a sus casas el Rey quiso entender en lo que le cumplia. demando a iohan de cuero le entregase las joyas e plata quel dottor le abia dicho se le embian de dar en pago de la ultima paga. Respondiole como no las abia de entregar sino pesar e apreciar y tomar su carta de pago y tener las en su poder como hasia. Segund a parescido pasaron algunas altercaçiones sobrello. e en esto por el Rey como no se azia a su proposito y le parescia abia rescevido afrente en demandar esto antes del tiempo rescivio alguno corrimiento y bino despues de aver quinze dias pasados sienpre entendiendo en la negociacion a la camera de la S. p. e en presencia de doña elvira manuel y mia le dixo estas palabras Señora hija, no dubdo ayays savido yo demande a v̄ro guardaropa me diese cierta plata e ioyas en la suma de tantos mil descudos que yo tengo de rescebir en la terzera paga en cuenta y pago de los dozientos mil escudos que yo tengo de rescevir en la terzera paga en cuenta y pago de los dozientos mil escudos de v̄ro dotte. quiero que vos sepays como y porque yo los demande. Un dia antes que yo os biese en el camino a do os desposastes el dottor de puebla bino a mi e me dixo Señor porque conoscays

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(Translation.)

When the feasts were over, and the Spaniards as well as the English had returned to their houses, the King pleased to occupy himself with looking after his interests. He asked Johan de Cuero to deliver to him the jewels and plate which, the doctor had said, he had been ordered to give as part of the last instalment. He answered that he had not to deliver them, but to weigh and to value them, to ask a receipt for them, and yet to guard them, as he hitherto had done. It seems that some altercations took place on this subject. Meanwhile, as the will of the King was not done, and he thought he had received an affront, having asked [the jewels and plate] before the time they were due, he was somewhat ashamed; and after having continued these negotiations during a fortnight, he came to the room of the señora Princess, where he said to her, in the presence of doña Elvira Manuel and me, the following words: "Señora, my "daughter, I have no doubt that you know that I asked "from your keeper of the wardrobe certain plate and jewels, "worth so many thousand ducats, which I have to receive "as part of the third instalment on account and in pay- "ment of the 200,000 scudos which are due to me as part of "the third instalment on account and payment of the "200,000 scudos of your dower. I wish you to know why "and for what reasons I asked them. One day, before I "saw you on the road where you were betrothed, the Doctor "de Puebla came to me, and said: 'Señor, in order that

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como yo no pienso sino en serviros beres lo que he fecho y obtenido de mis soberanos y es que xxxv. √ ducados que la ultima paga aveys de aver en perlas y piedras e oro e plata y tapicerias yo he fecho que luego se entregue segund por esta carta que Sus Altezas me escriben beres. la qual carta dize le leyo y contenia lo quel dezia de la qual nueba obo mucho plaçer e despues de pasadas las fiestas le torno a requerir si queria rescivir las dichas joyas y como no fue cosa para recusar que el le dixo era contento y llamo al dicho guardaropa y benidos al efeuto le dixo como lo que se abia de azer apreciar y pesar las dichas joyas y plata y tomar su carta de pago de la tal suma y se abia de quedar en poder y manos del dicho guardaropa de lo qual el abia sido maravillado por que razon se le pidiese carta de pago de lo que no recivia, y como el le avia replicado Señor guarde me secreto e yo os dire por que causa he procurado como servidor v̄ro esto y es que si v̄ra magestad quiere tomar mi consejo yo are como la princesa quedara con todas estas joyas e plata y tapicerria y mis principes compliran con vos a los terminos que les tengo obligados si agora no rescibe estas joyas y sera desta manera. la princesa

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(Translation.)

" 'you may know how much I take care of your interests,
" 'you shall see what I have done and obtained from my
" 'sovereign Lords. You will learn by this letter from
" 'their Highnesses that the five-and-thirty thousand ducats
" 'which you have to receive in pearls, jewels, gold, silver,
" 'and tapestry, on account of the last instalment, are with-
" 'out delay to be delivered to you."' This letter he read to him, and it contained what he had said. He was very glad to hear this. When the feasts were over he (de Puebla) again asked him whether he would like to receive the said jewels, and, not having any reason to refuse them, he answered that he would. He called the said keeper of the wardrobe, who, however, when they came to the point, told him that the jewels and plate were to be valued and weighed, and that he was to receive a receipt for their value, but that they were to remain in the keeping of the said keeper of the wardrobe. When he [Henry] was astonished that he was expected to give a receipt for what he had not received, he [de Puebla] said to him, " Señor, keep my secret, and I will
" tell you the reason why I, your servant, have arranged
" this. If your Majesty will accept my advice, I promise
" you to conduct the affairs in such a manner that the
" señora Princess shall remain in the possession of all her
" jewels, plate, and tapestry, and my sovereign Lords never-
" theless fulfil the obligations to you which I have imposed
" on them in case that these jewels be not accepted. The

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se servira de todo ello este tiempo despues sera verguença grande de mis soberanos rehusando vos de no recevir lo que ella a usado para el servicio de su persona y casa de selo tomar. dexar se lo an y compliran con vos e ya yo he hablado con la princesa e la tengo di mi parte para que esto asi sea guiado. yo señora hija aun que conosco que aziendose ansi como este dize a vos e a mi seria probecho e es cosa hazedera de procurar que v̄ros padres os den las tales cosas para v̄ro servicio e uso sin las contar, yo no soy contento por tales bias lo aver e pesame mucho en grand manera por yo aver demandado las tales joyas, mas la causa fue la que yo os he dicho e no otra, agora veo en esto ay cautela yo no consintire que se ympute a mi. yo me tengo por contento con lo que las escrituras rezan y no demando ni demandare otra cosa mayormente que no la podria hazer aun que quisiere porque estas joyas son de la ultima paga. Ruegos escribays a los señores Rey e Reyna como yo os he dicho lo que oys en que yo no demande ni demandara nada sino fuese apretado y confortado por el dottor diziendome lo tenia hecho e asentado asi e agora dize me que la carta de los señores Rey e Reyna a visto mejor e

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(Translation.)

" manner is the following: If the Princess uses all this now,
" and you afterwards refuse to accept it, my sovereign Lords
" will be ashamed to take from her what she has already
" used as her own on her person as well as in her household.
" They must then leave it to her, and fulfil their obligations
" towards you. I have already spoken with the Princess,
" and won her over on my side, so that it may be done
" as I have said." " Señora, my daughter, although I know
" that, if it is done as he says, it would be advantageous to
" you and to me, and although it could thus be arranged
" that your parents give you these things for your use with-
" out counting them, nevertheless I am not inclined to
" obtain [any advantage] by such means. I am exceedingly
" sorry that I have asked for the jewels in question, but the
" reason was that which I have stated and nothing else. I
" see now that there is a crafty design, and I shall not con-
" sent that it be attributed to me. I shall be content with
" what the treaties stipulate, and do not ask nor shall I
" ever ask anything else, especially as I could not do it
" even if I would, because these jewels form part of the last
" instalment. I beg you to write to the King and the
" Queen all I have said to you, as you hear it, and [to
" tell them] that I have not, nor should on any account
" have, proffered the demand without being instigated and
" animated by the Doctor, who told me that he had arranged
" and settled it in that manner, but now says that, having
" read once more the letter of the King and the Queen, he

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dize le mandan tome la dicha carta de pago y que queden en poder de iohan de cuero y no puedo pensar sino que aya sido maña suya y que aya dado a entender a sus altezas algo que no sea verdad ansy como a fecho a mi e. a vos por nos tener sienpre en pendencias paresceme en (1) una grande alebosia que aya de dezir a sus principes e a vos e a mi las tales cosas. Ruegos señora hija e a vos doña elvira e a vos don pedro que dello deys abiso a sus altezas porque no quiero que me tengan por tal persona que aya de demandar antes de tiempo lo que no me eran obligados. porque bendito ñro Señor no tengo necesidad para que siendo menester por amor suyo y v̄ro señora hija yo podre despender un millon de oro sin enpeñarme. mostro tener muy grand corrimiento por aver demandado le fuese entregado lo tal y como sele denego y teme sera ymputado por cobdicioso e ansi se partio de la princesa este dia.

luego el dia siguente me llamo y me dixo como estava en grand congoxa porque conbenia enbiar al principe en gales y su consejo e el del principe estaban diferentes porque abia dos opiniones. los unos dezian era bien la yda de la princesa en gales los otros no y que cada uno dellos daban a su opinion buenas razones y no sabia en que determinarse.

(1) Sic. es?

(Translation.)

" must confess that they order him to ask the said receipt " and yet leave [the jewels] in the keeping of Johan de " Cuero; and I cannot but think that it has been an artful " trick of his, and that he has given their Highnesses to " understand something that is not true, just as he has " deceived me and you in order to involve us continually in " difficulties. It seems to me to be a great breach of trust " to say such things to his Sovereigns and to you and to me. " I beg you, Señora, my daughter, and you, doña Elvira, as " well as you, don Pedro, to inform their Highnesses of the " truth, because I should not like to be held for a person " who asks what is due to me before the time. God be " praised, I am not in want, and, if it were necessary, I " could, for love of them and of you, my señora daughter, " spend a million of gold without contracting a debt."

He was evidently much ashamed that he had asked that the said things be delivered to him, and that his demand was refused. He is afraid to be thought a miser. In such a disposition of mind he left the Princess that day.

Next day, having called me into his presence, he told me that he was very uneasy because it was necessary to send the Prince to Wales, and his council and the council of the Prince entertained different opinions. Some said that it would be good for the Princess to go to Wales, and others said no, and each of them supported their opinions by such good reasons

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le dixese mi parescer yo. se le dixe era la quedada abria para mejor consejo porque seria para muchas cosas muy probechosa mayormente que ansy la princesa como el principe tolerarian mejor el apartamiento y conversacion estando ella en compañya suya e de la Reyna porque suplirian ellos toda gravedad que del apartamiento del principe se le hiziese lo qual no podria asy tolerar estando en su casa en gales y otras muchas razones que bien pocos dias antes el mismo Rey me abia dado a mi por que se mobia a tener la princesa estos dos años benideros en su compañia. otro dia siguente el mismo ablo con la princesa el qual le dixo lo mismo que a mi me abia dicho como conbenia la partida del principe y las diversas opiniones que los de su consejo tenian pero que el ni lo uno ni lo otro no determinaria salvo aquello que fuese su voluntad declarandole no haria otra cosa de lo que ella quisiese. su respuesta fue en esto ni en otra cosa ninguna boluntad tenia salvo aquella que su alteza tubiese, que de todo lo que determinase de aquello seria contenta. tornole a replicar le rogaba no lo dexase a su voluntad del porque podria ser determinase el pensando azerle plazer de lo que recibiese enojo. afirmose en su primera respuesta *e en esta pendencia la truxo quatro dias y en este tiempo aziendo quel principe travajase con la princesa ella dixiese queria mas ir que*

(Translation.)

that he did not know what to do. He asked my advice. What I answered was, that I thought it much better that the Princess should not go, for that would be preferable in many respects, and especially because the Prince and the Princess would more easily bear being separated and [their abstinence from] intercourse if she remained with him and the Queen, who could alleviate her sorrow for being separated from the Prince, a thing which it would be much more difficult to bear if she were to live in his house in Wales, adding many other reasons which the King himself had given me only a few days before for retaining the Princess during the next two years near his person. The following day he (the King) himself spoke with the Princess, and told her the same thing he had said to me, viz., that it was necessary that the Prince should go to Wales, and what difference of opinion existed amongst his councillors, adding that he would not determine either in the one way or the other, but do only what she liked, and declaring to her that he would do only what she wished. Her answer was, that neither in this nor in any other respect had she any other will than his, and that she would be content with what he decided. He replied that he asked her not to leave the decision to him, because, although wishing to be agreeable to her, he might nevertheless determine on what would give her annoyance. She repeated her first answer. *This indecision continued four days, during which he caused the Prince to use his influence with the Princess, and to*

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quedar y como esto no quisiese decir haciendo demostracio[*n*] *el Rey de mucho pesar* declaro conbenia fuese en gales aunque era la cosa del mundo que mayor pesar rescebia la qual yda se puso en obra la biespera de la pa . . . (1) viendo que no se azia ningund asiento en la casa de la princesa mas de nombralle quantas personas españolas abia de tener doña elvira abiendo ya segund paresce muchas vezes ablado con el dottor en ello e abiendole el dicho como ansy lo que la señora princesa abia de tener para sostinimiento de su estado como lo que cada uno de sus servidores y servidoras todo lo tenia asentado como conbenia aziendo el Rey muchas ofertas a la dicha doña elvira le dixo ella le suplicaba le quisiese dezir lo que en esto estaba asentado el qual como lo oyo resce . . .(1) grand alteracion diziendo era cosa muy nueba para el la tal demanda porque fasta la or[a] destonces nunca en tal se le abia ablado diziendole como la costumbre desta tierra era l(1) . . maridos dar a sus mugeres lo que obiesen necesario lo qual aria el principe su hijo segund estado y conbenia a su honra y el le prometia no consinteria fuese ella ni sus servidores sino muy bien tratados diziendo algunas otras razones e ansi se descabullo dello. otro dia siguiente el dottor bino al Rey el qual paresce ser(2) le dixo palabras no buenas diziendole por que

(1) Papel roto. (2) Sic.

(Translation.)

persuade her to say that she preferred rather to go than to stay, and, as she refused to say it, the King, making show of great sorrow, decided that she should go to Wales, although nothing in the world he regretted more. She went on the evening before . . . (1) her departure nothing was provided for the household of the Princess, except that it was determined how many Spanish servants she was to have. As doña Elvira, it seems, had already oftentimes spoken with the doctor, who had told her that he had settled how much the señora Princess was to have for the sustenance of her household, as well as for every one of her male and female servants, and that the King had made great offers to the said doña Elvira, she asked him (2) to state what had been decided. When he heard this he was much surprised, and said that such a demand was an entirely new thing to him, for until then nothing had been mentioned to him about it, and it was the custom in this country for husbands to give to their wives all they want, which the Prince his son would do, according to his rank, and as his honour required. He would never consent, he said, that she and her servants were otherwise treated than very liberally. Adding some other reasons, he dismissed this subject. The following day the doctor went to see the King, who, it seems, spoke by no means friendly words to him, asking him

(1) Paper gon (2) Him seems to mean the King.

1501.

razon en todas estas cosas que estaban negociadas el abia tenido cautelas prometiendo o diziendo abia mas de lo que estaba asentado en las escrituras porque doña elvira le abia ablado la tal cosa. el qual le respondio que no creyese su alteza el obiese ablado ni escrito ninguna cosa otra de lo que las escrituras reçaban mas que aquello que doña elvira o la princesa o otras personas demandaban o ablaban todo era a requesta e ynducimiento de don pedro. el Rey le replico no creya fuese asy salvo que el tenia estas maneras por entretener a v̄ras altezas e a el en pendencias no de buena disisticion (1) e otras palabras no muy honestas lo qual fue delante de su consejo.

la partida de los señores principe e princesa se determino y puso en obra martes xxi. de diziembre para tener la fiesta xl millas de aqui lo que despues de su partida alla oviere pasado e subcediere dalla daran cuenta a v̄ra alteza dello.

agora quiero dizir a V. al. lo que destas cosas yo he entendido e creo y he fecho. quanto toca a lo de las joyas el Rey bien quisiera como se le ofrescio se las dieran y entergaran y a lo que yo creo y por señales he yo bisto claras todas o la mayor parte de ellas o su equibalencia el selo diera porque en grand manera a rescevido gran-

(1) Sic.

(Translation.)

why he had behaved so artfully in all those affairs which had been negotiated, saying and promising, according to what doña Elvira had told him, more than really had been settled in the treaties. He answered, that his Highness ought not to believe that he had spoken or written anything but what was contained in the treaties, and that all that doña Elvira and the Princess and other persons asked or were speaking of was at the request and persuasion of don Pedro. The King replied that he did not believe it, but knew that with no good intention he purposed in this manner to involve your Highnesses and him in difficulties, adding other words by no means flattering. This passed in the presence of the council.

The departure of the Prince and Princess was fixed and took place on Tuesday the 21st of December, in order to pass the holidays 40 miles distant from here. Of all that, after their departure, has happened and will happen, they will inform your Highness from there.

I wish now to tell your Highness what I have heard and believe, and what I have done concerning this business. With respect to the jewels, the King would like that, as they were offered him, they be given and delivered to him, and that, according to what I believe, and from unmistakeable signs conclude, all or the greater part of them, or their equivalent, should be given to him, because he has

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disimo contentamiento de todo quanto ũras altezas an hecho y sobre todo tienese por muy abenturado despues que a conoscido esta señora ser la que es. y como siempre el tubiese esperança esto se le abia de entergar nunca probeyo dar un alfiler a la princesa. allose muy corrido de lo aver demandado y no darsele y lo que no abia (1) fecho lo que con esta esperança abia dexado de azer crese como aca aya mucha boluntad *de adquerir lo que se puede aber e como le tubiesen ya abisado que usando e traxiendo la princesa todas estas cosas que trae vuestres altezas avrian enpacho despues de mandar le fuesen quitadas y entergadas a el en pago de lo que abia de aver delibero que la yda de gales se iziese porque seria forçado servirse de todo lo que traya. por parte mia que algo desto e entendido* no se a dexado de abisar todo lo que se pudiere escusar *de no usarse ni tratarse estas cosas semejantes se escuse* porque es cierto otra niguna razon mas principal no a abido para la yda porque es *muy contra la voluntad del Rey por otros pensamientos que tiene,* y por mi parte e doña elvira por la suya diximos al Rey creyamos ũras altezas sabida la muy tierna edad del principe abrian antes plazer que pesar por algunos dias no estubiesen juntos. Respondio a

(1) Sic.

(Translation.)

received the very greatest pleasure from all your Highnesses have done, and above all, since he knows what a person the Señora is, he considers himself a fortunate man. As he always hoped that these (the jewels, &c.) were to be delivered to him, he never provided so much as a pin for the Princess; but he is much ashamed that he has asked and met with a refusal, and that he has neglected to do that which he has left undone, because he had that hope. It is believed that the best will exists here *to acquire all that can be got, and as he has already been told that, if the Princess uses all the things which she takes with her, your Highnesses will find it difficult to order afterwards that they be taken from her, and delivered to him as part payment of what is due to him, he has decided that she should go to Wales, because then she would be obliged to use all she takes with her. On my part, as I have heard something of this,* it has not been neglected to advise that as much as it can be avoided *these things should not be used.* For it is certain that there has been no other reason of any weight for her journey, *which is very contrary to the wishes of the King in other respects.* I, on my part, and doña Elvira on hers, have told the King that we believe that your Highnesses, knowing the tender age of the Prince, would rather be pleased than dissatisfied if they for some time did not live together. He answered

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esto como se maravillaba porque una de las cosas porque se abia determinado azerlo abia sido porque uno de los principales que v̄ras altezas con la Princesa abian enbiado para su servicio le abia hecho una muy larga abla sobre este caso y el fin della abia sido por parte de v̄ras altezas como onbre que sabia sus voluntades le rogaba en ninguna manera del mundo no los separase antes que la enbiase con su marido porque no aziendose asy v̄ras altezas serian mal contentos e della sabia se desesperia. obo siendo muy ynterrogado de declarar abia sido alexander el que esto le dixo con parescer e ynduzimiento del dotor. *la causa porque no se save glosar otra salvo porque obiese ocasion de usar las dichas cosas a causa de la partida e biniese a su proposito lo que ordenaba.* aun que en este caso ni en otro ninguno no debria de tener atrebimiento de dezir a v̄as al. mi simple parescer mas confiando recivra la boluntad con que lo digo dire como si tiene determinado esto que aca esta aya de servir para en la cuenta de los dozientos mil scudos que seria bien luego mandasen se le entregasen porque creo serviria a dos cosas lo uno a que no fuese reusado, lo otro que al presente seria en mas tasado que despues lo seria y no dubdo aprobecharia lo tal

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(Translation.)

to this observation, that he was astonished to hear it, for one of the reasons which had induced him to do it had been because one of the principal personages whom your Highnesses had sent with the Princess to serve her had spoken to him, and asked him, in the name of your Highnesses, as a man who knows your intentions, that on no condition in the world should he separate them, but send her with her husband, and that if that were not done your Highnesses would be dissatisfied, and she, he knows, would be in despair. Being much pressed he had to confess that Alexander had told him this, with the approval and according to the advice of the Doctor.

His intention, for no other can be found, is to procure her an occasion to use the said things, in consequence of her journey, and thus by what he ordered to attain his ends. Although I ought not to have the boldness to state in this or in any other case my humble opinion to your Highnesses, nevertheless, hoping that the good will with which I state it will be acceptable to you, I shall say that, if it is determined that that which is here is to be given on account of the 200,000 scudos, it would be good to order that it be delivered immediately, because I think it would serve two purposes, viz., firstly, that it would not be refused, and, secondly, that it would now be more highly valued than afterwards, and I do not doubt it would produce so good an effect that the King would give it back to her; but if it

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a que el Rey gelo tornase y si se dilata a no darse lo fasta la ultima paga, *creo el dilatara a no talle* (1) *ninguna cosa pues tiene bien lo que a menester ansi para su servicio como para el del principe al qual tan poco ninguna cosa de adreço de casa ni vaxilla a dado ni entiende de dar antes a ordenado esten juntos y coman juntos porque aya ocasion de servirse con la de la princesa.* quanto toca a esto no se otra causa que dezir pueda.

Bien creo V. Al. ya sabra como he dicho para su estado ninguna cosa señalada tiene ni menos para sus servidores ni oficiales acostamientos ni pensiones salvo que aran todo lo mejor que pudieren segund la renta quel principe tiene requieren, yo no creo que V. Al. tenga creydo fasta agora que esto aya de ser asy porque seria sy ansy fuese con determinacion de la prober cada año de lo que le faltase e si ansy es *deben luego vuestras altezas prover en que se asiente lo que debe que no aziendose luego a los principios seria grave despues. la señora princesa me a mandado algunas bezes entendiese en algunas cosas semejantes. no e obedescido en este caso su mandamiento pues de vuestra alteza no le tengo.*

(1) no talle *for* no dalle.

(TRANSLATION.)

were delayed, and not delivered to him until the last instalment, in *such a case I believe he would delay to assign anything to her, because she has every thing she wants as well for her own service as for that of the Prince, to whom he also has given nothing at all wherewith to furnish his house, nor any table service, nor does he intend to give, but, on the contrary, he has ordered that they live together and take their meals together, so that he must use the things of the Princess.* With respect to this subject I know no other motive that could be alleged.

I think your Highness knows already that nothing has been assigned for her household, and much less have the salaries and pensions for her servants and officers been provided, but they all will manage to live as well as the revenues of the Prince permit. I do not think that your Highness has believed that this was to be the case, for if it were you would have to provide her annually with what she wants. If I am right, *your Highnesses must immediately take steps that what is due to her be also settled on her, for if that is not done at the beginning it will be difficult afterwards. The señora Princess has several times ordered me to enter into negotiations about such similar subjects, but I have not obeyed her orders in this, because I have no power from your Highness.*

1501.

[What follows is written in the hand of D. Pedro de Ayala.]

Porque presto entiendo escrevir otra ves a ṽras altesas no dire aqui asta saber muy cierto algunas cosas que aca me an dicho se ordena aver. parecermeya como a vr. alteza escrevi estotro dia luego deve proveer y mandar los que aca estamas ansy onbres como mugeres nos conformemos y ninguno sea osado de negociar particularmente cosa que a el ni a otro cumpla porque cada uno se va a leer y procura y abla lo que quiere en tal manera que se açe mas daño que provecho. quando de aqui partio la Sra. princesa se asento su casa y mandaron a cada uno en lo que avia de servir y a do avia de entrar y estar ordenaron no sirviese el maestre sala y davan le oficio de huxer y a Juan de Cuero ansimismo esto se fiço dezpues de partidos de aqui. yo no fuy a gales por atender aqui cartas de ṽras Altesas y aun porque en alguna manera era menester mi quedada ansi por no estar aun *
* * * * * * * *

[*The conclusion of this despatch is lost.*]

(Translation.)

[The following is holograph of the ambassador don Pedro de Ayala.]

I intend soon to write again to your Highness, and shall, therefore, not mention several things which I am told have been ordered, until I am quite sure of the truth. It seems to me that, as I have already written to your Highness the other day, you should without delay provide and order that all we who are here, men as well as women, act in unison, and that none be so bold as to entertain separate negotiations, which neither he nor any other has a right to do. Now every one reads, and asks, and speaks what he likes, and thus causes more disadvantages than advantages. When the señora Princess left, her servants were appointed for their several places, and every one received his orders where he was to serve. They have now decided that the *maestre sala* should not serve in that quality, and have given him the office of usher. The same with respect to Juan Cuero. That was done after their departure from here. I did not go to Wales, because I here await letters from your Highnesses, and also, in some other respects, it is necessary that I remain here, for I am not yet *
* * * *

(*The conclusion of this letter is not extant.*)

1509.
4th March. **2.** The KNIGHT COMMANDER OF MEMBRILLA, Spanish Ambassador in England, to KING FERDINAND THE CATHOLIC.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Patronato Real. Capitulaciones con Inglaterra. Legajo* 5 (*sin folio*). *Holograph.*]

A Su Alteza del Comendador de la Membrilla. iiij de Marco de mdviiij.

Catholico y muy podereso Senor,

Mucho e trabajado por salyr vyrgen de inglaterra y por quitar a vuestra magestad de enojos y esperava de dya en dya quel casamyento de la pryncesa de gales se hyzyera y que syn dar enojos a vr̃a Alteza se remedyaran los desconciertos de la casa de la princesa y yo confyeso que ha sydo error porque sy con tyenpo se uviera escryto puediera ser remediado y no pasara tan adelante mas mejor es tarde como dyzen. sepa vr̃a alteza que ay mucha necesydad de una persona que govierne esta casa y que sea tal persona que Su. alteza le tenga en onor y los de su casa le tengan acatamiento porque agora se govierna le casa por un frayle moço que la princesa tiene por confesor y a mi ver y a ver de todos yndino de tener tal cargo y haze cometer muchos errores a la princesa y como su alteza sea tan llena de bondad como es y tan puesta en conciencia y este su confesor todas las cosas de qualquier calidad que sean las haze pecado si a el no le plazen y con esto haze que se hagan muchos errores y porque va este

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(TRANSLATION.)

2. To his Highness, from the Comendador de la Membrilla, 4th of March 1509.

Catholic and most powerful Lord,

Much have I laboured to depart spotless from England, and to save your Majesty from vexation, hoping from day to day that the marriage of the Princess of Wales would take place, and that the disorders in the house of the Princess would be remedied without annoyance to your Highness. I confess that it has been an error, because if I had written in time it might have been possible to remedy it, and not have gone too far forward; but it is better late, as they say [than never]. Your Highness should know that there is much need of a person who can rule this household, and that it should be such a person whom her Highness holds in honour, and those of this house hold in respect, for now the household is governed by a young friar, whom the Princess has for confessor, and who, being in my view and in that of every one unworthy of having such a charge, causes the Princess to commit many errors. As your Highness knows how full of goodness she is, and so conscientious, this her confessor makes a sin of all acts, of whatever kind they may be, if they displease him, and thus causes her to commit many faults.

1509.

cryado de la pryncesa a V. Alteza despachado a escuso de mi por dar lugar a los que de mi querran dar querellas no dyre aqui todas las cosas que tienen necesidad de enmyenda syno remitirme a que V. Alteza mande interrogar a este del estado en que esta la casa de la princesa y las cosas que de dos meses aca an sucedido y de su relacion sabra mas de lo que yo podre escrevyr que despues que sepa que han dado a Vña Alteza sus querellas de mi sy Vña Alteza quisiere saber la verdad aunque sea contra my yo la dyre y syn mentyr en un puncto a vuestra Alteza mas por quel pryncipio y medyo y fyn de los desconcyertos es este frayle que digo, y dygo que es moço y libiano y sobervyo y en estrema manera escandaloso y sobrel el Rey dynglaterra a dycho a la pryncesa harto rezyas palabras y porque yo e dicho algo que no me parecya byen deste frayle a la princesa y el frayle lo supo ha podido tanto que me ha puesto en tanta desgracya de la pryncesa que sy yo le ubyera hecho alguna traycion no me uviera tratado peor y tengo algunas cartas guardadas para mostrar a Vuestra Alteza que la princesa me a escrito que por cierto syno tuviera la fe que tengo al servycio de Vña Alteza temor de perder lo que tengo ny de poner a pelygro la vyda no me detuviera mas en ynglaterra que ya me fuera ydo mas el servycyo de

(Translation.)

This servant of the Princess goes despatched behind my back (1) to your Highness, to give time to those who wish to make complaints of me. I will not say now all the things which have need of correction, submitting to the opinion of those your Highness may order to interrogate him [the servant] as to the condition in which the house of the Princess is, and as to the things which for two months past have happened, and from his report you will know more of it than I should be able to write. If, after having been informed of their complaints of me, your Highness should desire to know the truth, although it may be against me, I will tell it to your Highness without lying on any point. Because, however, the beginning, and middle, and the end of these disorders is this said friar, I say that he is young, and light, and haughty, and scandalous in an extreme manner; and the King of England has said to the Princess very strong words about him. Because I have said something to the Princess which did not appear to me right of this friar, and the friar knew it, he has been so far able as to put me so much out of favour with the Princess that if I had committed some treason she could not have treated me worse; and I have some letters preserved to show to your Highness, which the Princess has written to me. Certainly, unless I were so faithfully devoted to the service of your Highness, neither the dread of losing

(1) A escuso de mi, that is, avoiding me.

1509.

Vuestra Alteza puede tanto sobre my que no tengo el libre arbytrio que dios me dio para poder hazer otra cosa sino moryr y serviros. a Vr̃a Alteza suplico que oyda la ynformacion queste que esta lleva hara porque es criado de la casa y sabe todas las cosas que Vr̃a Alteza remedie la persona y la casa de la princesa enbiandole un confesor viejo y onrado y de la orden de San francisco porque el tal podria estar en ynglaterra mas syn escandalo que este esta y mas a voluntad del Rey dinglaterra. y porque Vuestra Alteza conosca de que seso puede ser este frayle dyre lo que a my mismo me dixo, y fueron estas palabras formalmente sin afeallas ny hermoseallas. dyxome yo se que os han dycho muchas cosas de my. yo le dixe por cyerto padre no me han dicho nada de vos. dixo yo lo se que quien os lo dyxo me lo ha dicho. yo le dixe bien puede cada uno levantarse falso testimonio mas yo os juro por el corpus X$\tilde{p}$ti que no me han dicho nada que yo me acuerde. dixo sia [1] que en esta casa ay malas lenguas y me an ynfamado y no con lo mas baxo de la casa syno con lo mas alto y esto no es mengua a my y por no hazello verdad estoy aqui que ya me serya ydo. por cyerto dygo a vuestra Alteza verdad que estuve movido y casi

[1] sic.

(Translation.)

that which I have, nor of putting my life in peril, would detain me longer in England. I would already be gone, had not the service of your Highness such power over me that I have not the free judgment which God gave me to do any other thing, except to die and serve you. I entreat your Highness that, having heard the information which he who brings this letter, and who is a servant of the house and knows every thing, will give, your Highness amend the life and the household of the Princess, sending her an old and honest confessor and of the order of San Francisco, because such an one might stay in England with less scandal than this one, and more according to the pleasure of the King of England. In order that your Highness may know of what kind this friar is, I will tell you what he said to me, and they were these words exactly, without making them worse or better. He said to me: I know they have told many things of me to you. I said to him: Certainly, father, they have said nothing of you to me. He said: I know it, for he who told you told me. I said to him: Well, any one can rise as a false witness, but I swear to you by the Corpus Cristi that they have told me nothing which I remember. He said: Be it so, but in this house there are evil tongues, and they have slandered me, and not with the lowest in the house, but with the highest, and this is no disgrace to me, and if it were not for contradicting them I should already be gone. Certainly I tell the truth to your Highness, that I was excited and al-

1509.

fuera de tyento para poner las manos en el y demas desto esta aborrecydo del Rey dinglaterra y de todos los yngleses ver un frayle tan contino en palacio y entre las nugeres que no puede ser cosa mas aborrecida y no es buena señal no remediar el Rey de ynglaterra una cosa que tanto le desplaze. Nuestro Señor la vida y Real estado de Vr̃a Magd. guarde y acreciente dandole mayores Reynos y Señorios como V. Alt. lo dessea. De londres a iiij de Março de dix. De V. Mt. humilissimo servydor y vassallo que sus Reales manos besa. gutierre gomez de fuensalida.

[*Sobre :*] Al Catolico y muy poderoso Señor el Rey nuestro Señor.

9th March. **3.** KATHARINE, PRINCESS OF WALES, to KING FERDINAND THE CATHOLIC.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Patronato Real. Tratados con Inglaterra. Legajo 5. f. 59. Holograph.*]

Princesa de Gales. Rixamonte,
9 de Marzo, 1509.

Muy alto y muy poderoso Señor,

Por una carta que Vr̃a Alteza al enbaxador escrebyo vy como esta determynado envyar aquy un perlado paraque se de fin a los negocyos por lo qual beso las manos a Vr̃a Alteza que sygun las cosas de aqua syenpre se enpeoran y my

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(TRANSLATION.)

most beyond power of restraint from laying hands on him. Moreover, the King of England, and all the English, abhor so much to see such a friar so continually in the palace and amongst the women, that nothing could be more detested by them ; and it is not a good token that the King of England does not remedy a thing which displeases him so much. May our Lord guard and augment the life and royal estate of your Majesty, giving you greater kingdoms and lordships, as your Highness may desire.

From London, the 4th of March, 1509.

Your Majesty's most humble servant and subject who kisses your royal hands.

Gutierre Gomez de Fuensalida.

[*Addressed :*] To the Catholic and most powerful Lord the King our Lord.

3. Princess of Wales, Richmond,
9th of March, 1509.

Very high and very mighty Lord,

From a letter which your Highness has written to the ambassador I have seen that you have determined to send hither a prelate to conduct these negotiations. I kiss the hands of your Highness for it, for as things here become

1509.

vyda se aze ynconportable no puedo allar ya manera como se çufra que los que asta aquy e tenido agora ya no me aprovechan por que my fortuna quyere que los que Vr̃a Alteza aquy enbya a le servyr por mas sufycyentes que sean ayan de estropear en lo que toca a su servycyo que es my remedyo y estado de venyr este enbaxador ya creo sabe Vr̃a Alteza quanto esta fuera de la voluntad del Rey de ynglaterra y en tanta manera que no le quyere veer ny oyr no porque el no sea fyel a lo que creo mas por no le saber tratar por que asy como el dotor de puebla tenya demasyada dulçura en lo que cunplya en los negocyos para con el Rey este otro a tomado sobrado rigor con el y con los suyos mayormente en este caso donde yo tengo de quedar sujecta a ellos no me puede aprovechar syno lo que con medyana raçon se aze y por esto yo suplyco a Vr̃a Alteza no olvyde lo que muchas veces le tengo escryto que es mandar presto envyar aquy el remedyo como mas fuere servydo y con determynacyon de la manera en que Vr̃a Alteza quyere que yo vyva por que por my imposyble tengo poder çufryr lo que asta agora e pasado y pasa asy de los desabrymyentos del Rey y de las maneras que conmygo tyene especyal despues que su fija se ha desposado con el pryncype de Castylla que le parece que no tyene necesydad ya de Vr̃a Alteza pues syn su consyntymyento esto

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(Translation.)

daily worse, and my life more and more insupportable, I can no longer bear this in any manner. Those [servants] whom up to this time I have had are no longer of any use to me, because my ill fortune wills it that those whom your Highness sends hither, however sufficient they might be, have always so much crippled your service, that the sending of a new ambassador is my only support and comfort. Your Highness knows already how much the King of England, who does not like to see or to hear this one, would be pleased at it. Not that he is not loyal, but I think he does not know how to treat matters. For as Doctor de Puebla conducted the affairs with too great gentleness in every thing that regarded the interests of this King, so this other behaves with too great rigour towards him and his servants, especially as I, being dependent on them, cannot make use of anything that is not done with moderation. Therefore, I beseech your Highness not to forget what I have written to you so many times, but immediately to send redress, and to determine as to the way in which your Highness desires me to live. It is impossible for me any longer to endure what I have gone through and still am suffering from the unkindness of the King and the manner in which he treats me, especially since he has disposed of his daughter in marriage to the Prince of Castile(1), and therefore imagines he has no longer any need of your Highness, as this has

(1) Charles.

1509.

se a echo y pyensa azermelo entender con muchos desamores aunque en lo secreto syn confesarlo vyen conoce que en no tener la voluntad de Vña Alteza le falta la mayor y myjor parte y esto me causa tanta pena por ser en deservycyo de Vuestra Alteza que aunque otra no tuvyese no me dexa que la pase syn azerselo saber y dyos sabe la que yo recybo en enojar a Vña Alteza con syenpre escrebyrle tantas desventuras y necesydades mas acordandome como su fija no puedo acabar comygo de no le avysar para que lo mande remedyar como a su estado y servycyo pertenece y asy mysmo para decyrle como ya my necesydad es tanta que no se de donde me pueda sostener por que astaquy me (1) camara se a vendydo lo que no e podydo escusar ny se de donde lo pueda aver por que el Rey a my mysma pocos dyas a me dyxo ablandole yo sobre mys necesydades como no era oblygado a dar de comer a los myos ny aun a my propya persona syno que el amor que me tenya no le daba lugar a que otra cosa yzyese por esto vera Vña Alteza de que manera estoy quando con solo el comer se me amenaza que casy me le dan por lymosna y una de las cosas que mas syento es ver a todos los myos tan perdydos como estan que aunque todos no me ayan servydo como debyeran tengo pena por lo que toca a my concyencya no les

(1) Sic.

(Translation.)

been done without your consent. He tries to make me feel this by his want of love, although in secret and without confessing it he knows that as long as he does not possess the goodwill of your Highness, he is wanting in the greatest and best part. All this causes me much pain, as being against the interest of your Highness, and if I had not any other cause, this alone would not permit me to let it pass without making you acquainted with it. God knows how much I am grieved that I have to write you always of so many troubles and difficulties. But remembering that I am your daughter, I cannot prevail upon myself to conceal them from you, and not to beg you to remedy them as your station and service require. To tell the truth, my necessities have risen so high that I do not know how to maintain myself. For I have already sold my household goods, as it was impossible to avoid it, and I do not know whence I can have anything else. Some days ago, speaking with the King about my wants, he said to me, that he was not bound to give my servants food, or even to my own self, but that the love he bore me would not allow him to do otherwise. From this your Highness will see to what a state I am reduced, when I am warned that even my food is given me almost as alms. What I feel most, is to see all my servants in such a ruined state as they are. Although not all have served me as they ought, it gives me pain and weighs on my con-

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poder pagar y despedyr a los que me son causa de muchos enojos especyal a Juan de Cuero que se me aze muy grave de çufryr sus atrevymyentos por que es causa de que otros no agan lo que an de azer y esto tengolo de desymular por la necesydad que a Vña Alteza e dycho y sobretodo lo que mas congoja me da es no poder en nynguna manera remedyar la de my confesor porque le tengo el myjor que nunca muger de my manera creo que tuvo asy en vyda y santa dotryna como en muy buenas letras como a Vña Alteza muchas veces e escryto pename mucho no le poder tener como a su ofycyo y my estado requyere por my estrema necesydad en la qual el syempre me a servydo y con tanto trabajo y pena que nynguno otro lo çufryera y esto con mucha lealtad asy en su ofycyo como en todos buenos consejos y exenplos y en pago desto no me parece que es raçon dexe de azer saber a Vña Alteza quan malamente el enbaxador se avydo con el en lo qual mucho me a enojado por que en este caso a ido contra el servycyo de Vña Alteza y la causa a sydo porque el enbaxador a tomado tanta aficion con este mercader francysco de grymaldo que aquy truxo consygo y con una my cryada francysca de caceres en tanta manera que ellos al fyn con su fabor se ubyeron de casar contra toda my voluntad mas como estoy de tal manera ubelo de dysymular por la onrra y one-

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(Translation.)

science that I cannot pay them, and send those away who cause me great annoyance, especially Juan de Cuero, whose audaciousness it is very difficult for me to bear. He is the cause that others do not do what they ought to do, and I must be silent, owing to my necessities, of which I have informed your Highness. What afflicts me most is that I cannot in any way remedy the hardships of my confessor, whom I consider to be the best that ever woman of my position had, with respect to his life, as well as to his holy doctrine and proficiency in letters, as I have oftentimes written to your Highness. It grieves me that I cannot maintain him in the way his office and my rank demand, because of my poverty, during which he has always served me with such labour and fatigue as no one else would have undergone. He is very faithful in his office as well as in giving good advice and a good example, and it seems to me it would be ingratitude if I neglected to inform your Highness how badly the ambassador has behaved towards him. The service of your Highness suffers thereby, and I have been much annoyed. The reason of it is that the ambassador has strongly attached himself to the merchant Francisco de Grimaldo, whom he has brought over with him, and to a servant of mine, Francisca de Cáceres, who, by his favour, were about to marry, contrary to my wishes. And situated as I am, I had to conceal my feelings for the sake of the honour and honesty of my house. I found

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stydad de my casa y vyme en tanto estrecho que dy una cedula de suma de dyneros a mas no poder y vyen creo si Vr̃a Alteza supyese lo que a ello me movyo sy toda my camara le mandara no me culpara mas antes me lo ternya a echo de cuya fija soy y por el enojo que esta mujer me a echo yo la eche de my casa y el enbajador de Vr̃a Alteza la a tomado en la suya y a su mesa que aun por lo que toca a su ofycio en representar la persona de Vr̃a Alteza no me a parecydo vyen echo. ame echo tantos synsabores con este mercader cada dya queryendo darme a entender que se querya yr y llevar el dynero del dote syno le enpezaba a dar algo de lo que le promety de lo qual no le devo nada sy byen se myra my letra y porque my confesor desto todo me avyso el enbaxador tomo tema con el y de que conoce quan sin raçon esto a echo por escusarse dyce agora que el dycho my confesor se ponya a entender en su enbaxada y esto por vyda de Vr̃a Alteza que es el mayor juramento que yo puedo azer no es asy syno porque le enbye a demandar la capytulacion para ver un punto de que tenya necesydad porque el Rey no quyere que le vea fueme forçado envyarsela a pedyr y el con este enojo ase dexado decyr tantas cosas que por no ser para escrebyr a Vr̃a Alteza no dyre mas syno que no a myrado byen su servycyo ny la onrra de my casa y no dizyendo verdad en ellas por lo qual yo suplyco a Vr̃a Alteza le mande escrebyr dandole a entender

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(Translation.)

myself in so great a difficulty, that I could not help giving a bond for a certain sum of money, and I believe that if your Highness knew the reason which moved me to do so, you would not reproach me, but rather recognise me as your daughter. On account of the annoyance this woman has caused me I sent her away, but the ambassador of your Highness received her into his house and at his table, which did not seem well to me considering his official position as representative of the person of your Highness. He has caused me many annoyances every day with this merchant, giving me to understand that he wanted to go away and to carry off my marriage portion, unless I began to pay something of what I had promised him. But if my bond is attentively considered, it appears that I owe him nothing. Because the confessor gave me advice in all this, the ambassador has quarrelled with him, and when he saw how little reason he had to do so, he tried to excuse himself by saying that the confessor meddled in the affairs of the embassy. I swear by the life of your Highness, which is the greatest oath I can make, that that is not the case. I sent him to ask the [marriage] treaty, of which I wanted to see one article. As the King does not like that I should see it, I was forced to send and to ask it from him. On account of this he grew angry, and permitted himself to be led so far as to say things which are not fit to be written to your Highness, and of which I shall

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como no es servydo ny consyento que asy se aya con my confesor a la qual por me azer Vra Alteza señalada merced lescryba otra tenyendole en servycyo de la manera que me a servydo y mandandole que lo contyne syenpre y que no me dexe por que el con estas cosas que el enbaxador con el ha pasado cada dya me pyde lycencya y creo en nynguna manera aquy quedara si Vr̃a Alteza para ello no le fuerza y porque me arya mucha falta tal persona yo suplyco a Vr̃a Alteza se lo estorve y escriva al Rey como Vr̃a Alteza a mandado a este padre que este cōmygo que el por amor de Vr̃a Alteza le quyera mandar muy byen tratar y saborear y a sus perlados los tenga vuestra Alteza en servycyo su hestada aquy por que la mayor ayuda que para mys trabajos tengo es la buena consolacyon y esfuerço que el me da porque crea Vr̃a Alteza que ya me veo tal que casy como desesperada envyo este cryado myo a Vr̃a Alteza para suplycarle se le acuerde como soy su fija y lo que por su servycyo e pasado y como contino se me acrecyenta y no me dexe asy perder syno de lo que fuere mas servydo luego con este me lo mande escrebyr porque sygun me veo temo de my no aga alguna cosa que ny el Rey

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(Translation.)

only observe that he has had no regard for the service of your Highness and the honour of my house, and said what is not true. I therefore entreat your Highness to write to him, and to give him to understand that you are not well served, and I do not consent that my confessor be treated in such a manner. Your Highness would render me a signal service if you would write to him(1) another letter, telling him that you are satisfied with the manner in which he serves me, and commanding him to continue and not to forsake me. For, in consequence of what the ambassador has said to him, he asks me leave every day, and I think, on no condition will he remain here if your Highness does not force him to do so. As I am in great want of such a person as he is, I implore your Highness to prevent him [from going away]; and to write also to the King that your Highness has commanded this father to stay with me, and to beg him that for the love of your Highness he should order that he be very well treated and humoured; and to tell the prelates that your Highness is pleased with his staying here. For the greatest comfort in my troubles is the consolation and the support he gives me. Your Highness may believe that I feel myself reduced to such a state, that I send almost in despair this my servant to your Highness to implore you not to forget that I am your daughter, and how much I have suffered for your service and how much [my sufferings] continually increase. Do not let me perish in this way, but write directly by this messenger what you decide; otherwise, in the condition in which I am now, I am afraid I

(1) The confessor.

1509.

de inglaterra ny Vr̃a Alteza que es mucho mas me lo puedan estorbar syno que forçadamente por my aya de enbyar para que aga el fyn destos pocos dyas que me quedan syrvyendo a dyos que para my sera el mayor vyen que en el mundo me podra venyr y en guardar a Vr̃a Alteza cuya vyda y muy Real estado Nuestro Señor guarde y acrecyente como yo deseo. De Rixamonte a ix de Marzo.

Suplyco a Vr̃a Alteza luego mande despachar a este mensajero y le mande dar para la vuelta porque aunque lo que fue menester para la yda ube de mandar vender algo de my camara y asy lo ago syenpre aun para comer quando no me syento byen dyspuesta sy es tyenpo de pescado porque carne aunque este para moryr en casa del Rey no la daran por que tyenen por erejes a quyen la come. Humll servydora de Vr̃a Alteza que sus manos besa. La pryncesa de gales. [Rubricado.]

[*Sobre:*] Al muy alto y muy poderoso Señor el Rey my Señor.

(Translation.)

might do something which neither the King of England nor your Highness, who has much more weight, would be able to prevent, unless, and that is necessary, you send for me so that I may conclude my few remaining days in serving God. That would be the greatest good I could have in this world. God guard your Highness' life and the royal estate, and augment it as I desire.

From Richmond, 9th of March.

I beseech your Highness soon to send back this messenger, and to give him money for his return. In order to provide him for what was necessary for his journey there, I was obliged to sell from my wardrobe. I do the same always when I am unwell during fasting time, for in the house of the King they would not give meat to any one, even if he were dying, and they look upon them who eat it as heretics.

Your Highness' humble servant kisses your hands.

The Princess of Wales. [Sign manual.]

[*Addressed:*] To the very high and mighty Lord the King my Lord.

1509.
20th March. **4.** The KNIGHT COMMANDER OF MEMBRILLA to King FERDINAND THE CATHOLIC.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Patronato Real. Capitulaciones con Inglaterra. Leyajo 5. Sin folio. Contemporary deciphering by Almazan.*]

A su Alteza del Comendador de la Membrilla. a xx de Março de dviiij.

Despues que escrevi a V. Alteza por la via de Martin Sanchez de Çamudio son venidos aca embaxadores del Rey de los Romanos y de madama margarita los quales vinieron a seis dias del mes de Março y estuvieron ocho dias sin ver al Rey porque esta malo de la enfermedad de antaño y no se dexa ver recibio el principe los embaxadores. he entendido de la venida destos que han movido casamiento para el principe de Gales con fija del duque Alberto de Baviera y fija de hermana del Rey de los Romanos y segurandole que si faze este casamiento que todavia casara con el madama margarita y que le daran todas las seguridades que querra para el casamiento fecho con el principe de Castilla y de su fija sera firme. no lo he sabido esto de tal original que yo lo tenga por cierto mas como las cosas desta corte todas incontinente que se platican salgan afuera puede ser que el que me lo dixo lo haya oido en buen lugar. assimismo soy avisado que dan mucha priessa los grandes del Reyno al Rey para que case su fijo mayormente despues que le han visto enfermo y no le

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(TRANSLATION.)

4. To his Highness from the Knight Commander of Membrilla, the 20th of March '509.

Since I wrote to your Highness by Martin Sanchez de Zamudio, ambassadors from the King of the Romans and Madame Margaret have come here. They arrived on the sixth day of March, and were eight days without seeing the King, because he was ill of the sickness of last year, and does not allow himself to be seen. The Prince received the ambassadors. Concerning this embassy, I have understood that they have moved a marriage for the Prince of Wales with the daughter of the Duke Albert of Bavaria, a daughter of the sister of the King of the Romans, assuring him (the King) that if he concludes this marriage he shall still wed with Madame Margaret, and they will give all the securities that he may desire that the match between the Prince of Castile and his daughter shall be confirmed. I have not learned this from such a source that I can hold it for certain, but as all the affairs of this court directly that they are negotiated become public, it may be that he who told it me may have heard it in a good quarter. Also I am informed that the nobles of the kingdom press the King much that he may marry his son, above all since they have seen him ill, and

1509.

dizen mas con una que con otra salvo dezirle que se determine en lo que quiere o le estara mejor y que case al principe porque ya el principe esta muy hombre y el Reyno esta a peligro con un solo heredero. dizenme ha tomado termino de dos meses para determinarse y estan todos muy maravillados como tarda V. Alt. tanto en responder y como tarda tanto el que V. Al. ha de ynbiar porque juan Astil ha escrito al Rey que presto verna aqui un perlado y ahun certificadamente que sera don pedro de Ayala obispo de Canaria y porque V. Al. sea avisado de todas las cosas acorde de embiar este mensagero porque me parece que para lo uno o para lo otro seria bien que V. Alteza determinasse lo que quiere en este negocio porque estos no dexan de pedricar al pueblo y por todas las partes que pueden que por no complir V. A. con el Rey de Ynglaterra se dexa de concluir este casamiento y ahunque de nuestra parte hoviesse mejores predicadores no les farian creer otra cosa sino lo que ya tienen concebido.

yo no he visto al Rey de Ynglaterra desde que se desposo su fija porque muestra tener gran enojo de mi y no dize que es la causa porque yo no quise estar presente al desposorio

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(Translation.)

they do not speak for one more than for the other, but tell him that he should decide on that which he wishes, or is more profitable for him, and that he should marry the Prince, because he is already very manly, and the kingdom is in danger with only one heir. They tell me he has taken a period of two months to decide, and they are all much astonished at your Highness's great delay in answering, and at the slowness of him whom your Highness is to send.(1) For John Stile has written to the King that a prelate would come quickly here, and even certified that it would be Don Pedro de Ayala, Bishop of Canaria. In order that your Highness may be informed of everything, I decided to send this messenger. For it appears to me that one way or the other it would be well that your Highness should determine that which you wish in this affair. They do not cease to preach to the people, wherever they can, that because your Highness does not fulfil your obligations towards the King of England this marriage is not concluded; and although on our side we might have better preachers, they would not make them believe anything except that which they have already imagined.

I have not seen the King of England since he betrothed his daughter, because he appears to be very angry with me, and he does not say that the cause is because I did not choose to be present at the espousals of his daughter, but because I

(1) The new ambassador who was to take the place of the Knight Commander of Membrilla.

1509.

de su fija sino que he fecho relaciones siniestras a V. Alt. porque donde V. Alt. no ha concedido lo que el pide segun lo escrevi a V. Md. que el privasello me lo havia embiado a dezir y que por aquello no queria verme sino tenia negocios sobre que fablar. y tampoco he visto desde entonces a la princesa porque a los que consejan a Su Alt. les parece que no es bien que Su Alt. me vea pues el Rey de Ynglaterra no esta bien comigo y Su Alteza les da tanto credito que cree que es bien lo que ellos le dizen y no solamente se finge estar Su Alteza mal comigo mas muestra estarlo de verdad. y esto le han aconseiado porque temen que yendo yo a ver a la princesa no podre estar sin dezirle algo de lo que no me parece bien de aquellos que esto le consejan y con este temor no solamente con la princessa han acabado que este mal comigo y que lo muestre mas han grangeado por todas las partes que han podido para quitarme que no pueda comunicar a Su Alteza y passan en su casa muchas cossas que tienen necessidad de enmienda mas Su Alteza esta tan obediente a un frayle que tiene por confessor que le faze fazer hartas cosas que si no se fiziessen no se perderia nada y ultimamente le fizo fazer una cosa que la sintio el Rey mucho y fue que estando en una casa sola que esta en un

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(Translation.)

had made sinister reports to your Highness, in consequence of which your Highness has not conceded that which he asks, according as I wrote to your Majesty, and the Lord Privy Seal had sent to tell me; and on that account he did not wish to see me unless I had business on which to talk. And neither have I seen the Princess from that time, for to those who advise her Highness it does not appear good that her Highness should see me, as the King of England is not very friendly to me, and her Highness has such faith in them, that she believes what they tell her is good. And not only does her Highness feign to be angry with me, but shows herself to be so in reality. And this they have advised because they fear that, if I go to see the Princess, I shall not be able to refrain from telling her something which does not appear to me good in those who advise her this, and with this fear not only have they prevailed with the Princess that she is angry with me, and that she shows it, but they have managed on all sides, where they have been able to do so, in such a manner as to remove me so that I may not communicate with her Highness. Many things happen in her house which have need of amendment, but her Highness is so submissive to a friar whom she has as confessor, that he makes her do a great many things which it would be better not to do. Lately he made her do a thing which much grieved the King. It was this, that whilst staying in a lonely house which is in a park,

1509.

parque y de alli quisose venir el Rey de Ynglaterra a Richamonte y mandole dezir a la princesa que otro dia Su Alteza y madama maria su fija se fuessen a Richamonte porque el se yria delante dellas o despues. la princesa obedecio el mandamiento y estando otro dia para partir y que madama maria la esperava con la compañia que estava diputada para venir con ellas vino el frayle y dixo a la princesa no vays oy en nunguna manera. es verdad que la princessa aquella noche havia tenido un gomito. dixo la princesa buena estoy no me quiero quedar sola. dixole yo os digo so pena de pecado mortal que no vays oy. la princesa porfiava que estava buena y que no queria quedarse alli sola. el frayle porfio tanto que la princesa por no descontentarle determino de se quedar y pasaron mas de dos oras que madama maria la estava esperando. embio a dezir a madama maria que se fuesse que no se sintia buena. de los ingleses vieron esto y habian visto a la princesa en la missa y en la mesa cavalgaron con madama maria y fueronse y quedosse la princesa sola con sus mugeres y con solo su maestresala y su camarero que vino acaso que no estava alli y de alli anchamente no havia sino una legua. el recaudo que quedo a la princesa essa noche no es menester dezirlo porque como cosa nacida sin pensallo no se proveyo ni ellos se dieron mucho para pro-

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(Translation.)

the King of England wished to go to Richmond, and sent to say to the Princess that next day her Highness and Madame Mary his daughter should be at Richmond, where he would go before or after them. The Princess obeyed the order, but next day when she was about to start, and Madame Mary was waiting for her with the company deputed to go with them, the friar came and said to the Princess, "You shall not go to-day." It is true that the princess had vomited that night. The princess said, "I am well; I do not wish to stay here alone." He said, "I tell you that upon pain of mortal sin you do not go to-day." The Princess contended that she was well, and that she did not wish to stay there alone. The friar, however, persevered so much that the Princess, not to displease him, determined to remain. When Madame Mary had been waiting for more than two hours she sent to tell Madame Mary to go, but that she did not feel well. The English who witnessed this, and had seen the Princess at mass and at table, rode off with Madame Mary and went away, whilst the Princess remained alone with her women and only the *Maestre Sala* and her chamberlain, who had been absent and came by chance. The distance was at the utmost less than one league. There is no need to speak of the provisions the Princess had that night, for as the contingency was not expected it was not provided for, nor did they

1509.

veello. finalmente que otro dia el Rey de Ynglaterra no fizo mas proveymiento para embiar por la princesa que si ella tuviera compañia la que le convenia y dizenme que el Rey se enojo mucho de su quedada y otro dia la princessa con tres mugeres cavalgando y el maestresala y el camarero y el frayle sin otra viva criatura se vinieron anchamente y destas cosas le faze fazer este frayle y otras de peor qualidad mil. el Rey ha mas de xx. dias que no ha visto a la princesa ni nunca ha embiado desde aquella quedada a saber como esta ahunque ha estado mala, y assi dios me ayude que agora que he conocido bien las cosas de casa de la princesa quito mucha y mucha parte de la culpa que fasta qui dava al Rey de Ynglaterra y no me maravillo de lo que ha fecho sino de lo que no faze mayormente siendo de condicion que quiere que en su casa y en su Reyno sin contradicion se faga lo que el quiere y ordena y sufrir el Rey las cosas deste frayle que tan mal le parecen y que tanto le tienen sobre los ojos los que lo conocen no lo tienen por buena señal y porque he escrito con un criado de la princesa que se llama juan de Azcotia el qual fue despachado a escuso de mi no quiero estenderme mas en esta materia porque V. Alteza sabra de aquel la verdad de todas las cosas si

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(Translation.)

give themselves much trouble to provide for it. Next day the King of England did not again give an order to send for the Princess, as though she had been staying in such company as suited her, and they tell me that the King was very much vexed at her remaining there. The following day the Princess went [to Richmond] accompanied by no other living creature than three women on horseback, the *Maestre Sala*, the chamberlain, and the friar, a numerous [company]! These and other things of a thousand times worse kind the friar makes her do. It is more than 20 days since the King last saw the Princess, nor has he, since her staying away, sent to know how she is, although she had been ill. May God forgive me, but now that I know so well the affairs of the Princess's household, I acquit the King of England of a great and very great portion of the blame which I hitherto gave to him, and I do not wonder at what he has done, but at that which he does not do, especially as he is of such a temperament as to wish that in house and kingdom that be done without contradiction which he desires and orders. That the King allows these things of the friar, which appear so bad to him and which are so much brought before his eyes, to go on is not considered as a good sign by those who know him. As I have written by a servant of the Princess, whose name is Juan Azcotia, and who was despatched behind my back, I shall not dilate here on this subject, because your Highness can hear from him the truth

1509.

saberlas quisiere porque el es leal servidor de V. Alteza y como hombre que le parecian mal muchas cosas no pudiendo sufrirlas ha dicho algo deste frayle por donde no le ha venido ningun bien mas V. Alteza sepa que es tanto menester remediar esto deste frayle y quitalle de aqui como a persona pestifera que assi lo es cierto.

El camarero Juan de Cuero como buen servidor no puede estar que no diga la verdad laqual no se quiere oyr. esta la princessa con el como si le hoviesse fecho la mayor traycion del mundo y todo por que va a la mano que no vendan cada dia una pieça de plata para complir las locuras del frayle. suplico a V. Alteza le faga merced de una cedula para quien V. Alteza mandare que le tome la cuenta del cargo que ha tenido porque es muy viejo y no querria que le tomasse la muerte sin haberse quitado del cargo que esta sobre el. V. Alteza lo deve fazer y ponerse ha freno al vender que en xv. dias han vendido oro en dozientos ducados y dellos no ha fecho la princesa cosa que luza ni se sabe en que lo gasta sino en libros y gastos del frayle.

Temiendo que si este Rey sintiesse que V. Alteza mandava que se demandasse la princessa sino quisiesse facer el casa-

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(Translation.)

of all these things if you desire to know them. He is a loyal servant of your Highness, and, as a man, being unable to endure many things which appeared bad to him, he has said something of this to the friar, for which no good has come to him. Your Highness must know that there is very great need to remedy these things of this friar, and to remove him from here as a pestiferous person, for that he certainly is.

The Chamberlain, Juan de Cuero, being a good servant, cannot do otherwise than speak the truth, which they do not desire to hear. The Princess behaves towards him as though he had committed the greatest treason in the world, and all because he hinders them from selling every day a piece of plate to satisfy the follies of the friar. I entreat your Highness to grant him the favour of an order that he whom your Highness should send may settle with him the accounts of the office which he has held, because he is very old and would not wish that death should overtake him before having accounted for all that for which he is responsible. Your Highness ought to do it, and to place a restraint on the selling, for in fifteen days they have sold gold for two hundred ducats, with which the Princess has done nothing that can be seen, nor is it known in what she spends it, except in books and the expenses of the friar. Fearing that this King should resent that your Highness commanded that the Princess should be claimed, unless he should consent to her marriage, as he has resented and known it in consequence of the little secrecy

1509.

miento como lo ha sentido y sabido por el poco secreto que ay en la camara de la princessa yo dixe a francisco de grimaldo que poco a poco sacasse el mas dinero que pudiesse y assy lo ha fecho que bien ay fuera de Ynglaterra mas de xxxm. coronas y todo estotro se sacara poco a poco y se pondra en lugar que si menester fuere para fazer el pago al Rey de Ynglaterra pueda bolver aqui sin inconviniente ninguno. esto he fecho por assegurar mi coraçon que segun lo que aqua sentia y siento me parecia que se devia assi fazer. si otra cosa V. Alteza mandare mandeme avisar con correo bolante porque yo no yerre. mi desseo no errara desto estoy cierto. fecha a xx de Março de dviiij. Comendador de la Menbrilla.

20th March. **5.** The Knight COMMANDER of MEMBRILLA to MIGUEL PEREZ DE ALMAZAN, First Secretary of State to King Ferdinand the Catholic.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Patronato Real. Capitulaciones y Tratados con Inglaterra. Legajo* 5 (*sin folio*). *Holograph.*]

A mi del Comendador de la Membrilla,
xx de Marzo de Dviiij.

Manyfyco señor.

De muchas maneras tengo congoxa por la dilacion que en este negocio se da porque cada dia perdemos tierra y como

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(TRANSLATION.)

that there is in the chamber of the Princess, I told Francisco de Grimaldo that by degrees he should send out of the country as much money as he could; and so he has done, for happily there are out of England more than thirty thousand crowns. The remainder shall be sent away by degrees, and preserved at a place whence, if it should be necessary to make the payment to the King of England, it could be remitted without any inconvenience. This I have done to satisfy my conscience, for, according to what I have perceived and do perceive, it seems to me that thus it ought to be done. If your Highness should command anything else, inform me by the flying courier that I may not be in error. I desire not to err in this I am sure. Dated the 20th of March '509.

Comendador de la Membrilla.

5. [*Written on the cover by Miguel Perez de Almazan, First Secretary of State of King Ferdinand the Catholic:*] To me, from the Comendador de la Membrilla, 20th of March 1509.

Magnificent Lord,

In many ways I am afflicted at the delay which there has been in this affair, for every day we lose ground, and as

1509.

escrivo a Su Alteza de cada mata sale una liebre y visto el tyenpo que ha pasado despues que de Alcala del Reyno me escrevistes no se que piense de tanta tardança mayormente quel rrey dinglaterra tenya ya nueva de la venida del que ha de venyr antes que yo recibiese las cartas de Su Alteza y como ven su tardada hazen muchos juyzyos y proviense para qualquier cosa que verna y no podran errar en las respuestas pues que saben lo que queremos que como en dias pasados escrevi a Su Alteza el poco secreto que ay en la camara de la princesa nos a echo daño por que no ay cosa que aya yo escrito encomendada a secreto que no la sepa el Rey dinglaterra como yo lo se y aun con algunas adiciones de los reportadores y por esta congoxa que tengo y por avisar a Su Alteza de lo que lescrivo acorde de enbiar este mensajero y suplico a v̄ra merced que sy este negocio se ha de dilatar que Su Alteza me saque de aqui porque ni a dios ni a Su Alteza no podre servir segun yo estoy rebuelto con todos.

a v̄ra merced escrevi de un frayle que aqui esta por confesor de la princesa que pluguiera a dios quel se estuviera en su monasterio y no aqui por que no trae ny a traydo ningun provecho y si mucho esta trayra mayor daño a Su Alteza escrivo algo y no tan abierto como querrya porque va a Su Alteza un

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(Translation.)

I write to his Highness, out of every bush springs a hare, and considering, the time that has passed since you wrote to me from Alcala del Reyno, I know not what to think of such delay, above all as the King of England had already news of the coming of him, who has to come, before I received the letters of his Highness. As they see that he delays [his coming] they make many conjectures, and prepare themselves for whatever may happen. They will not err in the answers, as they know that which we desire. For, as some days ago I wrote to his Highness, the little secresy which there is in the chamber of the Princess has done us injury, because there is nothing which I have written recommended to secresy which the King of England does not know as I know it, and even with some additions of the reporters. For this anxiety which I have, and in order to inform his Highness of that about which I am writing, I determine to send this messenger, and I entreat of your Honour that, if this business is to be prolonged, his Highness will withdraw me hence, because I shall not be able to serve either God or his Highness, as I am at variance with every one.

I wrote to your Lordship about a friar who is here as confessor to the Princess, who would to God he were in his monastery, and not here, because he neither brings nor has brought any good, and if he is here much longer he will bring greater injury on her Highness. I write something, and not so openly as I should desire, because there goes to his Highness

1509.

criado de la princesa que se llama juan de ascuetia el qual fue despachado a escuso de mi y porque de aquel puede Su Alteza ser ynformado de lo que yo le dygo deste frayle en parabolas por eso no escrivo su proceso muy a la larga pues aquel como onbre que lo a visto y lo sabe todo y como cryado de la casa lo podra bien dezir y es el muy leal servidor del rrey nuestro Señor y de la princesa aunque los tales no son tenidos aqui en tal precio como valen los buenos servidores solamente aqui quiero dezir que cunple que esto se remedie quitando este frayle a la princesa por quel esta contra voluntad de todos los yngleses con Su Alteza y mas contra la voluntad del Rey y Su Alteza, y quiere myrar lo que se devria myrar en el caso y dyos me destruya sy yo veo en el frayle cosa porque tanta afection se le tenga que ni ciencya ni parecer ny cryança ni suficyencya ny autorydad no tyene y sy quyere pedricar nueva ley creersela an.

una cedula de quinientos ducados que e tomado a canbio enbie alla a vuestra merced los quales tome de un pedro centurion ginoves suplico a v̄ra merced que syno es pagada que la mande pagar porque en la ora que se supiere que no es aceptada recanbiaran sobre my y ya v̄ra merced ve que se podra seguir de alli y tanbien os suplico que me mandes

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(Translation.)

a servant of the Princess who is called Juan de Ascuetia, who was despatched behind my back; and because his Highness may be informed by him of what I say to him, concerning this friar, in parables. For this reason I do not write more at length on the affair since he, as a man who has seen and knows it all, and as servant of the house, will be able well to tell, and he is a very loyal servant of the King and of the Princess, although such are not here held in so much esteem as good servants are worth.

I wish only to say here that this ought to be remedied by withdrawing this friar from the Princess, for he is with her Highness against the will of all the English, and especially against the will of the King and his Highness.(1) You ought to consider that which ought to be considered in this case, and may God destroy me if I see in the friar anything for which she should have so much affection, for he has neither learning, nor appearance, nor manners, nor competency, nor credit, and yet if he wishes to preach a new law they have to believe it.

A bill for five hundred ducats, which I have taken in exchange, I sent to your Lordship, the which I took from one Pedro Centurion, a Genoese. I supplicate your lordship that if it is not paid you will give orders to pay it, because directly it is known that it is not accepted they will draw upon me, and your Lordship knows what might follow

(1) Henry, then Prince of Wales.

1509.

proveer que juro por mi fe que esta tierra es tan costosa que no basta lo de alla y lo de aca y a nuestro Señor juro que trezientos y noventa ducados que menbiaron de Napoles con todo lo recebido de alla y de aca es gastado y sino me proveyedes y no pagades esto que he tomado no hallare quien me de un ducado ni quien salga my fiador por el ni yo podre salir de aqui ni estar sino vendo lo que no es razon de vender.

Este gallego a de aver por el viaje para yr y venir veinte y cinco ducados yo le e dado aca dies ducados ansele de dar alla quince ducados. Nuestro Señor la vida y estado de vuestra mr̃d acreciente como dessea. de londres xx. de Março de dix. Es muy cierto servydor de V. Md. gutierre gomez de fuensalida. [Rubrica.]

Señor este gallego tyene no se que pendencia y temese de la justicia suplico a v̄ra merced sele gane una cedula para mientra fuere y viniere a Su Alteza con cartas que no sea detenido pues que no es el negocio crimen de muerte ni de hurto.

[*Sobre :*] Al manyfico Señor el Señor miguel perez de Almaçan secretario del Rey Nuestro Señor etc.

(Translation.)

from that. I also entreat you to send orders to provide for me; for I swear by my faith that this country is so expensive that what I possess there and here does not suffice, and I swear by our Lord that three hundred and ninety ducats, which they sent me from Naples, with all that I received from there and here, is spent, and if you do not supply me, and do not pay that which I have taken, I shall not find any one who will give me a ducat, or who will stand security for me, nor shall I be able to go from here nor to remain, unless I sell that which it is not reasonable to sell.

This Gallician is to have for the journey, going and coming, twenty-five ducats; I have given him here ten, thus you ought to give him there fifteen ducats. May our Lord add to the life and estate of your Lordship as you desire.

From London, 20th of March, 1509. The very sincere servant of your Lordship.

Gutierre Gomez de Fuensalida. [His sign manual.]

Sir, this Gallician has I know not what quarrel, and fears the law. I entreat your Lordship that you will obtain for him a warrant of protection for the time that he goes and comes to his Highness with letters, that he may not be detained, his affair not being a crime of murder or of theft.

[*Addressed :*] To the magnificent lord the Lord Miguel Perez de Almazan, secretary of the King our Lord.

1509.
20th March. **6.** KATHARINE, PRINCESS OF WALES, to King FERDINAND THE CATHOLIC.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Patronato Real. Tratados con Inglaterra. Legajo No.* 5. *fo.* 60. *Original deciphering made by Almazan, First Secretary of State.*]

El embaxador me embio a decir como tenia mucha necessidad de embiar a Vña Alteza muy de priessa este mensajero porque se le havian revelado muchas cosas y porque he miedo que algunas dellas no sean verdaderas no quise que fuesse sin carta mia para suplicar a Vña Alteza si de mi casa algo escribiere en especial de mi confesor Vña Alteza no le de credito que assi dios me salve y por vida de Vña Alteza que no dira verdad sino dice quan bien y lealmente me sirve y por que ha pocos dias escribi a Vña Alteza con un criado mio aunque no tan largo como quisiera por que las cosas que este embaxador contra mi estado y honrra de mi casa con su lengua desconcertadamente ha cometido por afficion de una que fue mia francisca de caceres no se sufre fiallas de papel sino que querria mas morir que no ver lo que he passado y passo cada dia deste embaxador y de todos los mios y no creere Vña Alteza me tiene por fija sino lo castiga y al embaxador le mande que no entienda en mas de lo que toca a su embaxada y dexe las cosas de mi casa, y a mi me quiera Vña Alteza remediar antes que aqua se acabe mi vida por que temo

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(TRANSLATION.)

6. The ambassador sends to tell me that it is very necessary for him to despatch this messenger in all haste to your Highness, because many things have been discovered to him, and as I fear that some of them may not be true, I do not like to let him go without a letter from me, beseeching your Highness that if he writes anything about my household and especially about my confessor, your Highness will not credit it. For, by my salvation, and by the life of your Highness, he does not tell the truth if he states anything except that [the confessor] serves me well and loyally. A few days ago I wrote to your Highness, by a servant of mine, although not so much in detail as I could wish; for all that the ambassador, with his disorderly tongue, has said against my person and the honour of my house, from affection for a certain Francisca de Cáceres, a former servant of mine, can not be put upon paper, and I would rather die than see what I have suffered and suffer every day from this ambassador and all my servants. I shall not believe that your Highness looks upon me as your daughter if you do not punish it, and order the ambassador to confine himself to the affairs of his embassy, and to abstain from meddling in the

1509.

sera corta segun los descansos tengo. Nr̃o Señor la vida y muy Real estado de Vr̃a Alteza guarde y acreciente como desseo. De rixamonte a xx de Março de dviiij.

la princesa de gales.

1510 25th May.

7. DIEGO FERNANDEZ, Confessor and Chancellor to Queen Katharine, to KING FERDINAND THE CATHOLIC.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Patronato Real. Capitulaciones con Inglaterra. Legajo 5 (sin folio).*]

A su Alteza de Diego Fernandez chanciller.
xxv. de Mayo de dx.

Muy alto y muy poderoso Señor,

todo el tienpo pasado no ose escrevir a Vr̃a Alteza la disposicion de la Reyna mi Señora por no la enojar y por que todos los medicos se engañaban fasta que el tienpo fue pues de la verdad el postrero dia de Enero a la mañana Su Alteza movio una fija sin dolor ninguno no mas de quanto la noche antes le dolia una rodilla fue tan secreto este caso que no lo supo fasta agora sino el Rey mi Señor y dos mugeres españo las y un medico y yo. el medico dixo que Su Alteza quedava preñada de otro fijo y asi fue creydo y guardose en secreto. Su Alteza por dissimular no se curo de se guardar del frio cresciole el vientre tanto quanto nunca a muger preñada se

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(TRANSLATION.)

affairs of my household. May your Highness give me satisfaction before I die, for I fear my life will be short, owing to my troubles.

From Richmond, 20th of March '509.

The Princess of Wales.

7. To his Highness. From Diego Fernandez, Chancellor, 25th of May 1510.

Most high and most powerful Lord,

All the past time I did not dare to write to your Highness of the condition of the Queen my Lady, in order not to annoy her, and because all the physicians deceived themselves until time was the judge of the truth. The last day of January in the morning her Highness brought forth prematurely a daughter, without any other pain except that one knee pained her the night before. This affair was so secret that no one knew it until now, except the King my Lord, two Spanish women, a physician and I. The physician said that her Highness remained pregnant of another child, and it was believed and kept secret.

Her Highness, in order to conceal it, did not guard herself against the cold, and her *uterus intumuit* so much as never was seen in *gravida muliere*. Her Highness believed her-

1510.

vio Su Alteza teniase por preñada aunque alguna duda tenia a plazido a Nuestro Señor de ser su medico en tal manera que el vientre se le abaxo y por su infinita piedad la torno a enpreñar. esto a de creer V. Alt. que es verdad asi como yo soy hombre Su Alteza niegalo a todo el mundo y al Rey mas a mi me lo ha dicho y que esta de tres meses y su Alteza me dixo como ya le crescia mucho el vientre lo qual su Alteza no puede negar porque le tiene ya gracias a Nuestro Señor muy grande que todos lo conoscen los medicos assi lo afirman y una muger española que tiene en su camara secreta me dixo lo mismo por sus causas que ellas saben secretas. Doy mi fee a Vŕa Alteza que lo esta y que espero en Dios a sido principio para dar a V. M. cien nietos fijos de los Reyes mis Señores por uno Su Alteza esta muy sana y la mas linda criatura del mundo con la mayor alegria y contentamiento que nunca estuvo el Rey mi Señor la adora y Su Alteza a el Vuestra Alteza es obligado dar muchas gracias a Nuestro Señor porque le dio dos fijos tan christianissimos en los Reyes mis Señores y tan sapientissimos doctados todas las perfectiones naturales mas que otro ninguno. los Reales pies y manos de V. Md. beso por la crencia. en todo lo que don luis Carroz embaxador de V. Alt. me mandare me hallara muy verdadero servidor de Vŕa Alteza

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(Translation.)

self to be with child, although she had some doubts. It has pleased our Lord to be her physician in such a way that *uterus decrevit,* and by his infinite mercy he has again permitted her to be with child. This your Highness is to believe, for it is as true as I am a man. Her Highness denies it to all the world and to the King, but to me she has told it that she is since three months [pregnant], and her Highness told me that *uterus suus iam intumescit multum;* her Highness cannot deny it, because she is already, by the grace of our Lord, very large, so much so that all the physicians know and affirm it, and a Spanish woman who is in her private chamber told me the same thing from secret signs which they have. I pledge my word to your Highness that it is so, and I hope in God that it has been a beginning to give to your Majesty a hundred grandsons of their Graces my Sovereigns instead of one. Her Highness is very healthy, and the most beautiful creature in the world, with the greatest gaiety and contentment that ever was. The King my Lord adores her, and her Highness him. Your Highness is bound to give many thanks to our Lord that he gave you two such Christian children in their Graces my Sovereigns, so very wise, learned, and with all the natural perfections above all others. I kiss the royal feet and hands of your Majesty for your confidence. In all that Don Luis Caroz, ambassador of your Highness, shall command me, you will find me a very

1510.

como soy el ynteresse de mi estada en esta tierra despues de servir a dios (1) . . . . . V. Alteza y a la Reyna mi Señora con muy firme y entera fee el dia que mandaren vuestras Altezas (2) me torne a nuestro convento estoy muy aparejado para yr a rogar a dios por sus personas y estados Reales el qual ñro Señor a ṽra Alteza conserve con muchos mas ajuntamientos de Reynos y Señorios. de granuch los 25 de Mayo. D. V. A. perpetuo y humil siervo y capellan.

v. didac. ffs. [Rubrica.]

[*Sobre :*] Al muy alto y muy poderoso Señor el Rey.

28th May. **8.** DON LUIS CARROZ, Spanish Ambassador in London, to MIGUEL PEREZ DE ALMAZAN, First Secretary of State of King Ferdinand the Catholic.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Patronato Real. Capitulaciones y Tratados con Inglaterra. Legajo 5, folio (no le tiene). Autograph in cipher. Deciphered by Almazan.*]

A mi de Don Luys Carroz, xxix (2) de Mayo de dx.

La manera de como nos tratamos el frayle y yo es esta el me da las meiores palabras que se pueden dar. fallo le en las obras muy frio y tanto que del ni de su favor no me he podido aprovechar para la mas minima cosa que se ha fecho. se cierto

(1) Roto en el original. (2) Sic.

(TRANSLATION.)

true servant of your Highness as I am. The interest of my stay in this land after serving God (1) . . . . . your Highness and the Queen my Lady with very firm and entire faith. The day that your Highnesses shall command that I return to my convent I am quite prepared to go, to pray to God for your persons and royal states, which may our Lord preserve with many more additions of kingdoms and lordships.

From Greenwich, the 25th of May.

The perpetual and humble servant and chaplain of your Highness.

V. Didacus Fernandez. [Sign manual.]

[*Addressed :*] To the very high and very powerful Lord the King.

8. [*Written by Almazan :*] To me from Don Luys Carroz, 29th of May, 1510.

The way in which we, the friar and I, treat one another is this: he gives me the best words that it is possible to give, but I find him very cold in deeds, and so much so, that I have not been able to make use of his help in the least little thing which has been done. I know it for certain, and he is

(1) Paper gone.

1510.

y el no es tan discreto que lo sepa encobrir que es receloso y temeroso de mi tanto que piensa y cree que a ninguna otra cosa yo soy venido aqua sino a echar a el desta casa. lo que yo he fecho y fago con el es esto honoralle quanto es menester y no demasiado porque no sospeche que en aquello ay engaño refirmarle a cada correo que viene quan servido es del Su Alteza en los negocios que aqua se tratan por Su Alteza y se que el los sabe se los fablo para que me ayude en ellos, y esto digole que por mandamiento de su Alteza lo fago porque sabe bien Su Alteza que en lo de su servicio mirara con la misma diligencia que yo y en fin que ninguna cosa con el me puede aprovechar que quanto mas adelante ymos peor le fallo. sin duda su entendimiento no esta bien assentado y bien se parece en sus obras. daña mucho al servicio de Su Alteza en esto que tiene ocupada la Reyna que no me puedo aprovechar della en ninguna cosa y es desta manera que si quiero embiar a suplicar algo a la Reyna no fallo con quien que los de casa por miedo del no lo osan fazer ni han ossado essos pocos que hay venir a verme ni en la corte topandome fablarme. si lo digo a el que lo diga a la Reyna de mi parte o lo faze en manera que no me aprovecha o me faze razones por donde no es bien fazer lo que yo quiero. en fin que concluyo con esto

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(Translation.)

not so discreet that he knows how to conceal it, that he is very suspicious and fearful of me; indeed, so much so, that he thinks and believes that I am come here for no other purpose but to turn him out of this house. That which I have done and do with him is this:—to praise him as much as is necessary, but not overmuch, that he may not suspect that there is any deceit in it; to tell him, after the arrival of every courier, how pleased his Highness is with him, how much I am aware that he knows the affairs which are negotiated here, and that I speak to him about them in order that he may assist me. I tell him that I do this by order of his Highness, because his Highness knows well that in all that concerns his service he will act with the same diligence as I. Nevertheless I cannot make use of him in anything, and the more we advance the worse I find him. There is no doubt his mind is not quite right, and it is clear that he greatly injures the service of his Highness, inasmuch as he keeps the Queen engaged, so that I cannot make use of her in anything; so much so, that if I wish to send to ask a favour of the Queen, I find no one to send. For those of the household, from fear of him, do not dare to do it, nor have the few [Spaniards?] who are there dared to come and see me, or to speak to me when they meet me at court. If I beg him to tell something to the Queen, either he does it in a way that does me no good, or he gives me reasons why it is not well to do what I wish. In fine, I may conclude by stating that I have never seen a more wicked person in my life. According

1510.

que diria que no he visto mas mala persona en mi vida. y de lo que fasta aqui he alcançado nos es forçado dissimular con el y sufrille honorandole y faziendole las meiores muestras que se le pudieren fazer. quando la Reyna salga yo la tratare y vere como me governare en lo que me sera forçado negociar porque (1) tercera persona con la Reyna mirare con quien y como en manera que todo este conservado. aqui esta aquella criada de la Reyna que se dize francisca de Caceres y caso con francisco Grimaldo. es la mas aficionada persona al servicio de Su Alteza del mundo y la mas abil para lo que conviene assi a la Reyna como al Rey nuestro Señor. teme la el frayle cosa que no se puede dezir y este nos defiende que esta ni entra en palacio ni para estar en servicio de la Reyna ni para verla. ternia yo por bien dos cartas de su Al. la una para el Rey la otra para la Reyna de ruego y en fin con crehencia para mi y lo que yo entiendo de fazer es probar si se podra acabar que la Reyna la cobre en su servicio y donde no fazer que el Rey la tome para madama maria su hermana y pues este dentro en palacio ella misma se cobrara el lugar y sin cobrarle alla aprovechara muy mucho que agora no teniendo alla nadie no alcanço lo de alla como seria menester. y offrecensse infinitas cosas de cada dia ques bien ser sabidor dellas que como son

(1) por que (?)

(Translation,)

to what hitherto I am able to understand, we are forced to dissimulate with him, to endure him, honouring him and making him the best demonstrations that can be made. When the Queen goes out I shall speak with her, and see how to guide myself, and by whom and in what manner those negotiations with the Queen are to be carried on, which I am forced to carry on through a third person. There is here a servant of the Queen, whose name is Francisca de Cáceres. She is married to Francisco Grimaldo, and is the most attached person in the world to the service of her Highness, and the most skilful for whatever suits the Queen or the King our Lord. (1) The friar fears her more than can be said, and forbids this woman entering the palace, or remaining in the service of the Queen, or seeing her. I should think that two letters of recommendation and with a power for me from his Highness would be good, the one for the King and the other for the Queen. What I intend to do with them is to try whether I can persuade the Queen to take her back into her service, and if not, to obtain from the King that he takes her for Madame Mary, his sister. As soon as she is in the palace, she herself will recover her place, and, even if she does not recover it, she will render the greatest services; for now, having nobody there, I do not know, as I ought to know, what passes there. Every day occur numberless things

(1) The King our Lord is King Ferdinand.

1510.

moços los principes no pueden estar sin novedades. ha acahecido esto, estaban en palacio dos hermanas del duque de boquinquan entramas casadas la una era muy favorecida de la Reyna la otra dizen que parecia bien al Rey y andava tras ella. en otra manera dizen que estos amores no son del Rey sino de un mancebo su privado que se dice conton (1) y solia ser repostero del Rey muerto, este conton grangeava estos amores y dizen que para el Rey y esto se cree mas cierto por lo que ha mostrado sentir el Rey de lo que agora dire. la favorecida de la Reyna ha andado muy solicita en esto de su hermana y ha ayuntado consigo para lo que en este caso le parecia que convenia al duque su hermano y a su marido y al marido de la hermana y del conseio de todos quatro ha salido que estando el duque en el aposiento de su hermana aquella de quien se tiene la sospecha del Rey vino alli el conton a fablar con ella y vio al duque. ataiose el duque travo con el de palabras y el fin dellas fue que el cargo la mano con muchas palabras pesadas. el Rey fue desto tan sentido que repasso al duque malamente. en aquella misma noche el duque se fue de palacio y no entro ni torno alla de aquellos dias y assimismo se fue el marido de aquella Señora y se llevo a ella. hala puesto en un monesterio a lx millas de aqui que no la vee nadie. el Rey porque ha entendido que todo esto sale de

(1) Compton (?)

(Translation.)

which it is well for me to know, especially as the King and the Queen are young and cannot be without novelties. What lately has happened is that two sisters of the Duke of Buckingham, both married, lived in the palace. The one of them is the favourite of the Queen, and the other, it is said, is much liked by the King, who went after her. Another version is that the love intrigues were not of the King, but of a young man, his favourite, of the name of Conton,(1) who had been the late King's butler. This Conton carried on the love intrigue, as it is said, for the King, and that is the more credible version, as the King has shown great displeasure at what I am going to tell. The favourite of the Queen has been very anxious in this matter of her sister, and has joined herself with the Duke, her brother, with her husband and her sister's husband, in order to consult on what should be done in this case. The consequence of the counsel of all the four of them was that, whilst the Duke was in the private apartment of his sister, who was suspected [of intriguing] with the King, Conton came there to talk with her, saw the Duke, who intercepted him, quarrelled with him, and the end of it was that he was severely reproached in many and very hard words. The King was so offended at this that he reprimanded the Duke angrily. The same night the Duke left the palace,

(1) Compton (?)

1510.

la hermana favorecida de la Reyna al otro dia despues que la una fue ida echo a la otra de palacio y a su marido con ella y ahun porque entiende el Rey que hay algunas otras mugeres del officio de la favorecida es a saber que andan por palacio assechando algun mal recaudo para presentarlo a los oydos de la Reyna queria hecharlas todas sino porque le ha parecido demasiado escandalo. despues quasi todos los de la corte lo han sabido de que la Reyna ha estado enojada con el Rey y el Rey con ella y assi anda este temporal entrellos. dixelo al frayle y quexeme del en no haberme fecho parte desto y sintiendome del enojo de la Reyna y diziendole algo que me parecia convenia fazer a la Reyna en este caso y el como me parecia que se devia governar porque en esto entiendo saber mi parte assi por parte de casado como por haver tratado mucho tiempo con cassados desta materia. negomelo reziamente y era como si se negara lo que estava pregonado y dixome que estas señoras no seran ydas por nada de aquello y dizeme un disparatis quales el no mostre creer lo que me dezia. ni fable mas en aquello. yo se lo dixe por provar si por estas o aquellas podria travar con el algunas

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(Translation.)

and did not enter or return there for some days. At the same time the husband of that lady went away, carried her off, and placed her in a convent sixty miles from here, that no one may see her. The King having understood that all this proceeded from the sister, who is the favourite of the Queen, the day after the one was gone, turned the other out of the palace, and her husband with her. Believing that there were other women in the employment of the favourite, that is to say, such as go about the palace insidiously spying out every unwatched moment, in order to tell the Queen [stories], the King would have liked to turn all of them out, only that it has appeared to him too great a scandal. Afterwards, almost all the court knew that the Queen had been vexed with the King, and the King with her, and thus this storm went on between them. I spoke to the friar about it, and complained that he had not told me this, regretting that the Queen had been annoyed, and saying to him how I thought that the Queen should have acted in this case, and how he, in my opinion, ought to have behaved himself. For in this I think I understand my part, being a married man, and having often treated with married people in similar matters. He contradicted vehemently, which was the same thing as denying what had been officially proclaimed. He told me that those ladies have not gone for anything of the kind, and talked nonsense, and evidently did not believe what he told me. I did not speak more on that subject. I spoke with him in order to try whether I could not in this or that manner discuss with him

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pendencias y que siempre en lo de aqua no me tuviesse por estrangero. ninguna manera con el hasta agora he podido fallar que me aproveche segun tiene mala cabeza y las mugeres inglesas y españolas desta casa que estan cerca la Reina son simples yo he miedo que la Reyna no se govierne mal en estas barrumbadas y ya lo faze porque no encubre nada el mal que quiere a conton y esto pesa mucho al Rey y tambien podria ser que al fraile segund he entendido le cupiesse su parte de la fiesta lo que no me pesaria por su parte. todo esto he querido dezir a V. md. para que si le parece lo diga (1) Su Alteza y sino que se calle y a mi tambien que me mande callar y no perder tiempo en estas cosas sino fago servicio con ellas que pensando fazerlo me entremeto de lo que se faze en palacio y puesto que el frayle no me lo diga alcanço harta parte dello en lo poco que ha que estoy aqui. y esto he yo procurado saber y lo escribo porque ahy me fue dicho por el Señor Camarero que devia escrevir por menudo todo lo de aqua que en esto faria servicio a Su Alteza. mas ha de saber V. md. como habra ocho dias que el fraile me vino a dezir de parte de la Reyna como me fazia saber que no era preñada de mas de nueve semanas y que la barriga se le era desfecha que no queria que lo escriviesse a S. A. fasta que lo embiasse

(1) diga á contracted into diga.

(Translation.)

some pending affairs, and [to remind him] that he never ought to consider me as a stranger in these matters, but until this time I have not found him serviceable to me. He is stubborn, and as the English ladies of this household as well as the Spanish who are near the Queen are rather simple, I fear lest the Queen should behave ill in this ado. She does so already, because she by no means conceals her ill will towards Conton, and the King is very sorry for it. According to what I have heard, it may be that even the friar should have his part in this feast, and I should not regret it. I have told all this to your Lordship, in order that you may tell it his Highness, if you think it advisable, and if not, conceal it and order me likewise not to speak any more of it, and not to lose my time in such things, unless I obtain some advantage thereby. Because I hope [to obtain some advantage thereby] I take notice of what is going on in the palace, and although the friar does not tell me anything, I have already learnt a good deal about it during the short time I have been here. And this [knowledge] I have procured, and I write it, as the Lord Chamberlain has told me that I ought to write minutely all that [happens] here, because by doing so I would render a service to his Highness. Your Lordship must know that eight days ago the friar came to tell me on the part of the Queen that she wishes me to know that she *non erat gravida* for more than nine weeks, and that *uterus suus deminutus est.* She does not wish that I should write it to his Highness until

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a dezir porque queria aguardar que este preñado de agora se certeficasse bien el tercero mes y certificado con la buena nueva deste preñado a Su Alteza se le templara el enojo del passado. dixele que lo faria assi como me lo mandava de parte de la Reyna. despues me ha dicho que la Reina misma lo quiere escrevir con este correo no se lo que se fara. antes que esta se cierre lo sabre y fare mencion dello. yo antes que el fraile me fablasse esto yo ya lo sabia y luego que aqui llegue ahunque la barriga de la Reyna estava crecida y se tenia por cierto su preñado temi lo que ha sido porque falle quien me dixiesse que cinquo meses despues que se publico su preñado le havia continuado la purgacion que esto aunque acaheria en algunas mugeres preñadas son tan pocas que temi algun desconcierto. quando vi que se alargava el parir afirme lo que temia y mire V. md. que yerro tan maño affirmar ser preñada una muger que purgaba y fazerla retraher para parir publicamente. los del conseio secreto del Rey estan muy enojados y sentidos deste yerro y a mi me lo han dicho y por su cortesia dan la culpa a las mugeres de la camara que han dado a entender a la Reyna sin ser preñada que lo era. yo les he rogado que entendiessen en esto y que ellos y el Rey aconsolassen y confortassen a la Reyna la qual quiça estaria triste y desconsolada por el desseo que tenia de alegrar al Rey y al

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(Translation.)

she should send to tell me; for she wishes to wait until *hæc graviditas sua* is well certified in the third month, so that the good news *huius graviditatis* may temper the annoyance of his Highness at what had passed. I told him that I would do as he commanded me on the part of the Queen. Afterwards he told me that the Queen herself desired to write it by this courier. I do not know what will be done, but before this letter is closed I shall know and make mention of it. I knew it already before the friar had spoken to me. Soon after my arrival I feared that which has taken place would be the case, because, although *uterus reginæ multum intumuerat et graviditas eius pro re certa habebatur, inveni aliquem qui certiorem me fecit, quinque per menses, postquam reginam gravidam esse publicatum fuerat, menstruas suas purgationes continuavisse. Res talis quamquam aliquibus contingit mulieribus gravidis*, they are so few that I feared some error. When I saw the bringing forth delayed I felt sure of that which I had suspected, and your Lordship may judge for yourself how excusable the error was to affirm *mulierem menstruantem esse gravidam*, and to make her withdraw publicly for her delivery. The privy councillors of the King are very vexed and angry at this mistake, as they have said to me, although from courtesy they give the blame to the bedchamber women who gave the Queen to understand that she was pregnant whilst she was not. I have asked them that

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pueblo con un principe porque el fraile me dijo que estaba enojada. y mas que entendiessen en la razon que se debia dar a todo el mundo que esta aguardando este parto, y he de fablar con ellos por saber lo que han fecho. antes que esta se cierre lo sabre y lo escrevire y se que a causa desto se murmura entre esta gente del conseio y otros que lo presumen no ser preñada que la Reyna seria inabil para concebir. y crea V. md. que la Reyna tiene gentil color en el rostro y tanto de sana como ninguna persona puede tener sino que creo que algun desconcierto en el comer y en los manjares que come causan en ella alguna indisposicion de donde se sigue no purgar bien y es la principal causa de no concebir y esto deste comer sin orden me han dicho cierto que lo faze. quieren que salga y no este mas retrayda. fasta agora no se sabe para quando salrra.(1) el frayle me ha dicho sobreste preñado mil desvarios y entre los otros que cierto ha sido preñado y que a tres meses movio y que lo vio el Rey y que tuvieron por cierto que quedava de otro preñada y assi lo han creydo fasta facer este yerro que han fecho. Despues de aquello que ellos dizen que fue mover y despues que creyeron que era verdaderamente preñada de otro quiso Dios despues de algun tiempo que la Reyna dexo

(1) Sic ; saldra.

(Translation.)

they should think of what was to be done in this case, and that they and the King should console and comfort the Queen, who perhaps might be sad and disconsolate, as she had desired to gladden the King and the people with a prince, according to what the friar has told me. Moreover, [I entreated them] to think of the account which was to be given to all the world who are expecting that bringing forth, and I shall speak with them to know what they have decided. Before this letter is closed I shall know and write it. I know that many of the privy councillors and other persons are murmuring, and they presume that, *quia regina non est gravida, concipiendi incapacem eam esse.* Your Lordship may believe me, the Queen has a pretty and most healthy colour in her face, but I think some irregularity in her eating and the food which she takes cause her some indisposition, the consequence of which is *quod non menstruat bene, quæ res principalis est causa non concipiendi.* As for her eating without care they have told me for certain that she does so. They wish she should go out and be no longer withdrawn ; it is, however, not yet known when she will go out. The friar has told me a thousand extravagant follies *de graviditate illa, et inter alia dixit, procul dubio gravidam eam fuisse, sed post menses tres abortum fecisse : regem ipsum eum vidisse ; attamen ab omnibus pro certo habitum fuisse, eam gravidam remansisse alio feto. Paulo post, id est dum, abortu facto, regina, ut dicunt, gravida remansit alio feto, Deo placuit ut menstruare desiverit, uterus intumuerit, et eam gravidam esse,*

1510.

de purgar y entonces començo le a crecer la barriga y tuvieron por cierto el preñado fasta venir a este articulo de agora que ha purgado y la barriga se es deshecha y despues ha dexado de purgar, y torna a afirmar que es preñada. plega a dios que lo sea y que todos nos alegremos y cobremos lo perdido. he fablado con el Rey lo que se determina que devemos dezir del parto de la Reyna. fallanlo tan dificil que no saben lo que se determinen. la Reyna escrive. no se sepa aqua que de sus negocios he yo algo escrito porque he dicho que no lo escrivo. fecha en londres a xxviij. de Mayo año de Dx. don luys carroz.

1515 (?) **9.** DIEGO FERNANDEZ, Confessor and Chancellor of QUEEN KATHARINE, to KING HENRY VIII. (1)

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Patronato Real. Tratados con Ynglaterra. Legajo* 5. *Holograph.*]

Serenissime et potentissime Domine Rex,

Antiquitus Reges et Principes consueverunt premiare seruitores suos et super omnes seruitores vxorum et maxime illos qui propiam patriam relinquerunt (2) propter seruicium dominarum suarum. hiis diebus alia consuetudo creuit ut mihi aparet que an aprobanda sit ignoro atamen contra sacram doctrinam et dictamen naturale esse asero ut in libris sacrorum doctorum inuenio et ab ore dei audio dicentis dignus est operarius mercede sua et alio passu ne retineas mercedem sudoris proximi tui. patrem et matrem terram propie natiuitatis et ordinem meum sacrum precepto obediencie astritus rreliqui Serenissime Rex rreliqui ut seruirem Regine anglie domine mee vxori vestre magestatis per nouen annos in quibus multa mala pasus sum sitem famem nuditatem paupertatem et ab episcopo huntonie multas injurias tempore Regis henrrici septimi Serenissimi patris vestri qui os suum ponebat et loquebatur contra honorem domus domine mee unius sine regula ut deus testis est et Serenissimus pater vester et Sere-

(1) We have not changed the orthography or punctuation of the original letter. It is Spanish spelling of Latin words.

(2) Sic.

(TRANSLATION.)

iterum pro certo habitum sit; usque iterum menstruavit, et uterus suus decrevit. His diebus rursus menstruare desiit et se gravidam esse dicit. God grant it may be so, and that we all may rejoice and recover the lost. I have spoken with the King as to what we are to say of the Queen's confinement. They find the case so difficult that they do not know what to determine. The Queen writes. It must not be known here that I have written ought of these affairs, because I have said that I do not write of them.

Don Luis Caroz.

London, 28th of May of the year '510.

1515.

nissima vsor vestra domina mea. pro his laboribus omnibus vestra magestas deposuit me ab officio cancellariatus quod habeo ad terminum vite Regine et quod plus doleo vestra magestas male informata a suis dixit cenando coram astan tibus quod ego eram fornicarius. Sacrosanta euangelia juro domine mi Rex in Regno vestro nuncam in vita mea cognoui carnaliter mulierem nec sciui quod esset nec extra regnum vestrum est vivens quod tale crimen de me possit prouare et si fecissem ut vestra magestas aseruit eciam si propiis oculis vidissem non debuissem dicere propter honorem propie vxoris et domus quia ad Reges et principes non pertinet infamare subditos et maxime religiosos sed punire eos cum justicia et de illis disponere cum consilio recto et maturo. comissit me vestra magestas episcopo huntonie qui semper me odio habuit et domino de horrei (1) tesaurario majori, cuius uxor non con-tentabatur cum Regina illis diebus, ut judicarent me et darent sententiam contra me. sententia illorum talis fuit contra me qualis procesus fuit inauditus et sic sententia omni tempore detestanda quia dictum fuit michi ab illis quod nullus nec acusauerat nec malum contra me dixerat nisi quod uoluntas vestre magestatis erat quod ego essem depositus ab officiis meis et quod irem extra regnum et per mare ad Regem Aragonie. nunquam visum fuit dare penam nisi propter culpam quam Sacrosanta euangelia juro non comisi contra seruicium vestre magestatis nec contra seruicium consortis vestre Regine anglie domine mee verbo necque facto nec aliquo quovis modo. fui condenatus antequam fuissem auditus et quod peius est nuncam fui auditus. Ceperunt testes contra me inimicos meos et infames, ascrutia perjurus et traditor Regine domine mee ut clare probare potuissem, didacus de Vadillo traditor quia mulierem domus in huinsor (2) in aula Regine domine mee carnaliter cognouit testante jofre, pedestere Regine, qui propiis oculis vidit illos comiscentes, magister petrus ca-pelanus infamis est quia servus eius quod (3) nomine suo propio vocatur filius naturalis eius est. isti tales Serenissime Rex non erant admitendi ad testificandum contra confesorem tante Regine quia infames et inimici mei et postquam fuerunt admisi ego debebam scire quod dicebant contra me ad videndum si afirmabam vel negabam. Deum juro omnipotentem nullum malum feci nisi multa bona servicia atamen fui condenatus et nuncam auditus quia alia causa nuncam mihi fuit dacta nisi est voluntas Regis. bene et clare cognoui erat invidia illorum et oratoris Regis Aragonie et conton magisquam voluntas vestre magestatis atamen ego non patior coram hominibus anglie sub-ditis vestre magestatis detrimentum honoris et fame mee quod opera et servicia mea viderunt et propiis manibus palpauerunt sed cum lacrimis dixerunt et dicunt fuisse mecum crudeliter factum et contra dominam meam crudelissime quia tale judicium et tam repentinum nuncam visum fuit. Domine mi Rex ego miror quomodo vestri consiliarii non timuerunt Deum

(1) Surrey (?) (2) Windsor (?) (3) Sic.

1515.

et homines mitere me extra Regnum vestrum cognoscendo cuncta secreta de domo vestra et Regno vestro cognosco et maxime quod omnia secreta que in principio Regni vestri fuerunt inter vos et Regem Aragonie ego propiis manibus scripsi in cifris Regine taliter quod responsiones vestras et suas ego omnes vidi. certe domine si meum consilium peteretis quia seruus et juratus vester eram dixissem antea poneretis me in carceribus quam mitere me extra regnum eciam si fuissem malus quod nuncam fui vestre magestatis nisi fidelissimus seruus et ero tamen si vellem potuissem loqui quod non faciam tamen aspiciat vestra magestas semper bene si consiliarii vestri secuntur vestrum servicium vel suos apetitus vel invidias suas. ego Domine recisi a Regno vestre magestatis quia fui condenatus sine causa et injuste et clare vidi quod eciam mortus antequam ad yspaniam acederem per aquam et quia episcopus huntonie semper dixit mihi ut recederem breviter dando mihi intelligere erat periculum de vita mea fugi iram vestre magestatis. si vestra magestas vult ut ego revertar ad Reginam vestram paratus sum tali conditione ut asignetis mihi judices rectos quod ego sim auditus et si inventum fuerit quod malefeci volo mori et si inventus fuero justus sic sum ut possim ire extra Regnum vestrum quocumque voluero. ego Domine non intendo ire ad Regem Aragonie nisi cum quindecim equitatum. si vestra magestas voluerit mihi mitere pecunias ibo et si non ego volo prius lucrari eciam si sciam servire alicui regi quod mihi provideat. ubicumque ero servus fidelissimus vestre magestatis et orabo ut habeatis filios atamen suplico recte judicate pauperes maxime confesores et servitores uxoris vestre ut Deus eos vobis custodiat, valeat vestra magestas in dies perpectuos.

V.m.

Servus et humilis capellanus Fr. Didacus Fernandes cancellarius Regine anglie domine mee.

QUEEN JUANA.

1498.
August

1. The SUB-PRIOR of SANTA CRUZ to FERDINAND and ISABEL THE CATHOLIC.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Patronato Real. Tratados con Inglaterra. Legajo* 2. *Holograph.*]

A sus Al. del Sopõr de Santa Cruz.

Martes postrimero de Julio llegamos aqui: el jueves siguiente fablamos al Archiduque y despues al Archiduquessa. recibieronnos alegremente a lo que nos parescio. propuse a la Señora Archiduquesa la causa de mi venida. holgo mucho, esta tan gentil y tan fermosa y gorda y tan preñada que si V. Al. la viessen habrian consolacion. el viernes siguiente torne a hablar a Su Alteza y entre estas hablas mostro tener alguna turbacion por que de alla supo algunas cosas que se dixieron alla y por que en tal tiempo me parecio que era mas razon darle placer que enojo dixele que Su Alteza habia dexado en castilla tan buen nombre que

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(TRANSLATION.)

1. To their Highnesses from the Subprior of Santa Cruz.

We arrived here on Tuesday, the last day of July. The next Thursday we spoke with the Archduke, and after that with the Archduchess. They received us with joy, as it seemed. I stated to the Archduchess the subject of my mission. She was much pleased with it. She is very gentle, and so handsome and stout, and so much advanced in her pregnancy, that it would be a consolation for your Highnesses to see her. The following Friday I spoke again with her Highness, who, in the course of our conversation, was somewhat troubled because she had been informed from there (Spain) of several things that were said there of her. As, considering her condition, it seemed to me more reasonable to please than to cause her trouble, I said to her Highness that she had left so good a memory in Castile that it could not be lost by whatever could be said from

1498.

nunqua se perderia por lo que de aqua se pudiesse decir quanto mas que si algo se decia no se decia sino a V. Al. en quien tenia tan buenos procuradores que no hacia falta su presencia escusandola con su tierna edad y poca experiencia y con el grande amor que le conocia todo lo deshacia delante de V. Al. estas mismas escusas pone por si y ahun por su marido que algo mas sosegada quedo. no le faltaban buenas razones para defender su causa que ansi los suyos della y ella dellos por no osar no han escrito mas largo hasta qui y esto baste por la segunda vista. doña marina manuel no esta aqui. enviele las saludes. para los otras menudencias no me parece que es buen tiempo agora. una cosa sepan Vuestras Altezas que aqua no dan de comer a hombre del mundo de manera que si Vuestras Altezas entienden que me tengo de detener aqua algun dia segund los gastos de aqua es menester me manden proveer que de mas de nuestra provision me dio el Rey de inglaterra en nobles cincuenta y tres ducados y todo ha sido menester.

Del Sop̃or de Santa +.

(Translation.)

here, (1) especially as, if anything had been said, it was said only to your Highnesses, who are so good advocates of her that her presence was unnecessary. Her tender age, her want of experience, and her great love, of which you were aware, would excuse all before your Highnesses. She alleges the same excuses for herself and her husband. She is more composed. She is not in want of good reasons to defend her cause, which her servants have not written [when speaking] of her, or she [when speaking] of her servants, because they did not dare to be more explicit. This much for my second visit. Doña Marina Manuel is not here. I sent her your greetings. For the other small matters the time is not yet come. One thing your Highnesses ought to know; they do not give here anything to eat to any person in the world, so that if it is the intention of your Highnesses that I remain longer here, it will be necessary some day to provide for my expenses. Above what I get for my expenses, I received fifty-three ducats in nobles from the King of England. This (money) has been very necessary to me.

The Subprior of Santa Cruz.

(1) Flanders.

1498.
16th August. **2.** The SUB-PRIOR of SANTA CRUZ to FERDINAND and ISABEL THE CATHOLIC.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Negociado de Estado. Patronato Real. Tratados con Inglaterra. Legajo 2°. Holograph.*]

A sus Al. del Soñor de Santa Cruz. xvj de Agosto de xcviij.

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Martes vigilia de la Asuncion de nuestra Señora hable tercera vez con la Señora Archiduquessa y demandandome algo de su vida para escribir a V. Al. me respondio que por agora no sabia que decir, porque tenia escrito largo a V. Al. hasta agora no me ha preguntado por persona de toda españa sino lo que yo le dixe. se decir a V. Al. que no hubo mucha placer de mi venida y con mucha razon por que antes que yo llegase le escribieron y creo que fue la condesa de camina desde bilbao que yo venia por su confessor y era tan publico que yo venia por su confessor que en inglaterra hallamos dos cartas dello hasta que yo le afirme lo contrario con que algo quedo satisfecha. respondiome enfin que si aqui estoviesse algunos dias veria lo que pedia. yo le respondi que no venia yo a facer inquisicion sobre su vida ni para escrebir ni decir cosa que por su boca no saliese y que viese de que seria mas servida que la visitase muchas veces o pocas que algo meior le supo y respondio que todas las veces que yo quisiese hablarle y decir todo lo que menos bueno me pareciese lo recibiria de buena gana. y hasta agora no tengo otra prenda suya. no se donde

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(TRANSLATION.)

2. To their Highnesses from the Subprior of Santa Cruz, 16th of August '98.

On Tuesday, the eve of the assumption of our Lady, I spoke for the third time with the Señora Archduchess. I asked her [to tell me] something of her life which I could write to your Highnesses, but she answered me that for the moment she had nothing to say, because she had written a long letter to your Highnesses. Up to this time she has not made any inquiry for any person in the whole of Spain, [and heard] only what I have told her. I can tell your Highnesses that she was not gratified by my coming, and that with good reason, for before I had arrived certain persons, and I believe it was the Countess of Camin, wrote to her from Bilbao, that I came as her confessor. [The rumour] that I came as her confessor was so public that we found in England two letters of that purport. When I assured her of the contrary she became somewhat more quiet. In conclusion she answered me, that should I remain some days longer she would take my demands into consideration. I replied

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pararemos al menester que deste no se rezume nada aqua por carta ni por palabra sino todo se tornara en nada. no se si mi venida o su poca devocion lo causo que el dia de la Asuncion aqui acudieron dos confessores suyos y con nenguno se confesso. hasta agora por mi indisposicion no he podido frecuentar la visitacion; ya esto meior bendito Nuestro Senor: lo que mas se ofreciere facerlo he saber a V. Al. a xvj de Agosto.

Por la mar escrebi dos juntas y con don Rodrigo otra y esta agora. suplico a V. Al. manden facer mincion de todas. Del Soñor.

1st Sept. **3.** FRAY ANDREAS to the ARCHDUCHESS DÕNA JUANA.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Estado. Legajo* 1, *f.* 366. *Holograph.*]

Muy alta y muy poderosa y muy escelente Señora princesa,

guarde dios a Vña Alteza y la alunbre con bien y la aga bien graciosa y quista con todos porque amen amen de muchos penetra los cielos. de Çaragoça escrevi a Vña Alteza a

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(TRANSLATION.)

that I had not come [like an inquisitor] to pry into her conduct, and would not write or say a word except what came from her lips. [I begged her] to tell me whether she would prefer that I should visit her frequently or rarely. . . . .(1) She answered that as often as I wished to speak to her, and to tell her what did not seem right to me, she would hear it with pleasure. Hitherto I have received no other pledge from her. I do not know how far we shall go if necessary. Of this (2) nothing can be done here, either by letters or word of mouth, and all will turn into nothing. I do not know whether my presence or her want of devotion was the reason that she did not confess on the day of the Assumption, although two of her confessors were in attendance. My indisposition has hitherto prevented me from frequently visiting her, but, God be thanked, I am already better. Anything that happens I shall make known to your Highnesses. From the Subprior.

16th of August.

3. Very high, very mighty, and very excellent Lady and Princess,

May God guard your Highness, give you a good delivery, and make you gracious, and beloved by all, in order that *amen, amen* from the lips of many may reach the heavens. I wrote to your Highness from Zaragoza, where I went to

(1) We are unable to discover any clear sense in the five following words: *que algo mejor le supo.* (2) Sic.

1498.

do fue a ber la reyna nuestra Señora que la alle bien peligrosa y a dios gracias la dexe buena sana y muy alegre. plega a dios de la guardar y alunbrar a Vr̃a Alteza como es tanto menester a su servicio mucho plazer ovieron todas esas Señoras comigo y conpli con muchas dellas y a muchas dexe descontentas porque plugo a dios que al mejor tiempo que me avian menester las dexe. dizenme que Vr̃a Alteza se confiesa con esos frayles questan en paris y que a uno avia dado treynta florines para azer buenas xiras que andas (1) por esos bodegones de paris. mi parescer es que Vr̃a Alteza no se confiese sino con frayle que este en su monasterio de la observancia que no tenga para si un alfiler ni Vr̃a Alteza le puede dar ni hazer bien sino para la comunidad y monesterio do estoviere que sea de observancia y con tales frailes como estos que estan en monasterio de observancia dara buena cuenta a dios de su anima. este padre y frayle que la presente dara a Vr̃a Alteza es de observancia muy bueno y honesto y de buenas letras sino fuese tan moço bien descargaria Vr̃a Alteza su anima con el y no con esos que no estañ en observancia tantos años como andan alla y es buen predicador y si Vr̃a

(1) Sic.

(Translation.)

see the Queen our lady. I found her in a very dangerous state, and, thanks to God, I left her in good health and very joyful. May it please God to preserve her, and to give your Highness a good delivery, which His service so much requires. All those ladies were much delighted with me, and I did my duty towards many of them, although I left a great number of them discontented, because it was the will of God that just when they stood most in want of me I left them. I am told that your Highness confesses to those sort of friars who live in Paris, and that you had given to one of them thirty florins to make good cheer, and that thou(1) livest with those drunkards from Paris. My opinion is that your Highness should not confess except to a friar who lives according to the rules of his convent, who has not a pin of his own, and to whom your Highness cannot give anything nor show him favour, but only to the convent in which he lives, which ought to be of the Observant Friars. Such friars as those who live in a convent of the Observant Friars will give good account to God of your soul. The father and friar who will deliver this letter to your Highness belongs to the Observant Friars. He is very good and honest, and learned. If he were not so young your Highness would do well to entrust your soul to his keeping, and not to that of those who, during many years, have not been subject to the rules of their convents, and who are swarming about there [in Flanders]. He is a good preacher, and if your Highness would, in case of need, make

(1) Sic.

1498.

Alteza se quisiere servir algunos tienpos del año quando fuere menester yo se que Vr̃a Alteza se contentara de su predicacion. suplico a Vr̃a Alteza le aya por encomendado y servira a dios en ello y si Vr̃a Alteza tiene enojo de mi como la dexe no es de tener segun la enfermedad tenia y avia miedo de mi anima que no sabia adonde avia de yr y tenia quasi ya el pie en la huesa y temia la sentencia y cuenta que avia de dar a dios y agora bibo con tal Señor que yamas se morira mas sienpre bibio y bibe para sienpre y los que le sirven bien los haze bibir para sienpre y asy hize este troque con Vr̃a Alteza y si lo quiere bien mirar como he escrito V. Alt. cierto mas la (1) . . . . no aca que questando alla y mucho mucho quie . . . . . alla al tienpo de . . . . . to y aun si Vr̃a Alteza lo escriviera si dios fuera servido no dexaria de yr alla en tal tienpo que se que fuera consolacion para Vr̃a Alteza mas yo he scrito muchas vezes nunca me ha querido enbiar ni escrevir como esta. sea como ṽra Alteza mandare. que tales servicios y tantos años no son de olvidar delante de dios ni del mundo. a dios gracias crea Vr̃a Alteza que esto mas contento en el monesterio que me allo con pan y agua que Vr̃a Alteza con quanto tiene y demando perdon que atrebome

(1) Roto en el original.

(Translation.)

use of his services at certain times of the year, I know that your Highness would be satisfied with his preaching. I beg your Highness to consider him as well recommended to you, whereby you will render a service to God. If your Highness is offended with me because I left you, you ought not to be so, for I was ill, and was afraid for my soul, not knowing where I had to go to; I had almost one foot in my grave, and was in dread of the sentence and the account which I had to give God. I live now with a Lord who never will die, but always lived and lives for ever, and who gives eternal life to those who serve Him well. I have exchanged your service for His, and if your Highness will well consider what I have written to you, certainly you will more . . . (1) here than there, and very, very much I should [wish to go] there at the time of . . . .(1) and if your Highness should write, with the will of God, I would not refuse to go there in such a time, if I could comfort your Highness. But although I have written very often, you have never sent me a word or written to me. Be this as it may, and as your Highness pleases to order, but such services [as I have rendered you] during so many years ought not to be forgotten, either before God or before the world. God be thanked, your Highness may believe me that I am more happy in my monastery, living on bread and water, than your Highness with all you possess. I ask pardon that I am so bold with you, whom I love so much, and serve by day and night before God. Have courage and be as cheerful as you can, have a pure clear conscience before God, and

(1) Paper gone.

1498.

a quien tanto amo y sirvo de noche y de dia delante de dios. esfuerçese y alegre quanto podiere y este su anima pura linpia con dios y confiesese muy bien y muchas vezes y asi tendra menos temor que tenia en la carraca, ca yo espero en dios que la alunbrara y guardara con bien y que ha de parir un hijo por que asi se demando a dios que la diese prole y fuese hijo y asi me escriva luego para que le ofresca a dios y a nuestra Señora y a Santo domingo y a San pedro martir y despues dios mediante que aya parido el hijo me ha de enviar un vestidura o una camisa suya por que esta asi prometido a San pedro martil (1). el provincial su fraile de la merced oy sabado me enbio una carta de Valladoliz que luego le hiziese saber como esta Vña Alteza si sabia algunas nuevas y si escriviese que besara las manos a Vña Alteza y que presto esperava de las besar. si Vña Alteza no me escrive nunca mas escrivo y esta sera la postrera. dios la aga bienaventurada y alunbre con bien que asi sera con la misericordia de dios. oy sabado primero dia de Setienbre. de Vña Alteza, su indigno y perpetuo orador que sus reales manos besa. fr. Andreas mr. Archeducisse.

[*Sobre :*] A la muy alta y muy excelente poderosa Señora princesa Archiduquesa mi Señora.

(1) Sic.

(Translation.)

confess well and oftentimes. If you do that you will have less fear than you had in the vessel, and I hope in God that He will deliver and preserve you well, and that you will give birth to a son, for I pray to God that He gives you issue, and [that the child] be a son. Write me directly, so that I may offer him to God, and to our Lady, and to St. Domingo and St. Peter the Martyr. If with the help of God you have given birth to a son, send me a frock or a shirt of his, for that has been promised to St. Peter the Martyr. The Provincial, friar of the convent *de la Merced,* sends me to-day (Saturday) a letter from Valladolid, asking me to let him know directly whether I have news from you, and, if I write to you, to tell you that he kisses your hands, which he hopes soon to do in reality. If your Highness does not answer me, I shall never write again, and this will be my last letter. God give you happiness and an easy delivery. So be it ordered by His mercy. To-day is Saturday, the first day of September. (1)

Your Highness' unworthy and constant advocate, who kisses your royal hands,

Frey Andreas, Magister Archeducisse.

[*Addressed :*] To the very high, very excellent, and very mighty Princess Archduchess, my lady.

(1) In the year 1498 the 1st of September fell on a Saturday.

1499.

15th January. **4.** The SUB-PRIOR of SANTA CRUZ to QUEEN ISABEL THE CATHOLIC.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Patronato Real. Tratados con Inglaterra. Legajo* 2. *The original is written in cipher. The deciphering is by Almazan, First Secretary of State to the Catholic King and Queen.*]

Los dias pasados escrebi a V. A. todo el proceso de mi vida despues que aqui llegue hasta el parto de la Señora Archiduquessa con un secretario de la princesa madama margarita. despues que Su Alteza salio a misa le hable algunas veces en que le dixe todo lo que V. A. me mando con todo lo que mas me parecio que era razon de decirle en que muchas cosas pasaron las quales le dixe lo mas benignamente que pude y con quanto amor V. A. gelo manda decir no en forma de reprehension. Recebiolo muy bien besando las Reales manos de V. Al. por la avissar como guiasse su vida y a mi que me lo agradecia mucho y que habria placer de qualquier cosa que menos buena me pareciesse si gela dixiesse, no se que tanto turara (1). dixele entre las otras cosas que tenia hun corazon duro y crudo sin ninguna piedad como es verdad. dixome que antes le tenia tan flaco y tan abatido que nunqua vez se le acordava quan lexos estaba de V. Al. que no se hartase de llorar en verse tan apartada de V. Al. para siempre. passo esto vigilia de ano nuevo y cuanto a este articulo yo quede mas contento que de habla que hasta agora le haya fecho y

(1) Sic.

(TRANSLATION.)

4. Days ago I wrote to your Highness the whole course of my life from my arrival up to the confinement of the Archduchess, and sent the letter by a secretary of the Princess Madame Margaret. After her Highness had been to mass I spoke with her various times, and told her all your Highness had ordered, and, besides, all I thought it was right to tell her. Many things were said, but I stated them in the most gentle way I could, and in that loving manner your Highness has commanded me to adhere to, and not in a tone of reproach. She received it very well, thanking your Highness for your kindness in telling her how she ought to live. She thanked me also, and [said] she should be glad if I would tell her everything I thought was not good. I do not know how long that will last. I told her among other things that she had a hard and pitiless heart, and was devoid of all piety, as is the truth. She answered that she was rather weak and low-spirited, that she could never think of how far she was from your Highness without feeling the desire to cry, because she was so far from your Highness for ever. She passed New Year's Eve in such a manner that, in this respect, I am more satisfied with her than from any conversation I

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ahun satisfecho de los descontentamientos passados en verla con tanta humildad. hay tanta religion en su casa como en una estrecha observancia y en esto tiene mucha vigilancia de que debe ser loada ahunque aqua les parece el contrario. buenas partes tiene de buena cristiana. todo lo que Vuestra Al. me mando que le dixiesse y otras menudencias que aqua cogi todo va bueno y de bien en mejor cada dia. hay aqua dos quexas principales desta Señora la una que son mal pagados y la otra por que no se entremete en la gobernacion de la casa. yo gelo digo y responde que muchas veces habia hablado a los del conseio sobre la paga de su gente y que le responden que mas se debia a los naturales de la tierra que a los suyos. dixele que por que no lo decia al Archiduque. dixo que luego lo decia a los de su conseio donde le resultaba a ella mucho daño. a lo de la gobernacion dice que no le dan parte della. esta tan cahareña y tan sospechosa de mi que sino con pura importunidad nunqua le he podido sacar una palabra para escribir a V. Al. agora dixele que V. Al. queria saber su vida asi lo bueno como lo menos bueno pues tan brevemente escribia que me comunicase algo para escrevir. dixome que ya queria emendarse y escrebir muy largo y que por tener que escrebir no decia nada por agora. algunas veces he escrito a Vuestra

(Translation.)

have had with her. Seeing her so humble I forgive her all she has done before. In her house there is as much religion as in a strict convent. In this respect she is very vigilant and deserves praise, although here (in Flanders) they believe the contrary. She has the qualities of a good Christian. In all I told her in the name of your Highness and some other trifles which I learnt here, she is improving every day. Here they have two principal complaints against this lady; in the first place that they are badly paid, and secondly that she does not occupy herself with the government of her household. I told her, and she answered that she has often spoken with the members of the Council about the pay of her servants, but that they answer that more is due to the Flemings (1) than to her servants. I asked her why she did not speak to the Archduke. She said, because he tells it directly to his councillors, and she receives great injury from it. As for the government of her household, she says they do not permit her to take part in it. She is so afraid and suspicious of me that, except by pure importunity, I should never have succeeded in getting a single word out of her to write to your Highness. I told her that your Highness was anxious to know her [manner of] life, the good as well as the bad, and as I intended to write very soon, she should communicate to me something I could write. She said that she would now improve and

(1) Naturales de la tierra.

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Al. como el Archiduquesa tenia determinado de poner a doña marina manuel por dama de honor de la Señora su hija y con mucha gana que quantas veces en este caso le fable la halle muy puesta en ello y ahun mas dixo queriendome dar parte dello y para aquel tiempo todos entenderemos en ello y quiero que se haga por mano de la Reina mi señora. y turo esta gana desde el mes de agosto que yo vine aqui hasta el parto por que yo le hable sobrello dies o doce dias antes que pariesse y estaba meior en ello que nunqua habia estado y que todavia fuesse por mano de V. Al. yo dixe que ya era tarde. dixo que haria estar el obispado vaco hasta que viniesse el mandamiente de V. Al. escriviole muchas cartas dandole mucha priessa que se viniesse y assi vino con toda su casa y marido de assiento y al tiempo del parto en su mano puso alma y cuerpo y quanto tenia y en el parto con todo su ochavario no la permitio apartarse della sola un ave maria y ahun le dixo que el Archiduque le habia dexado en su mano la provision deste officio. agora cuando le fable halle la tan fuera desto como si nunqua le hobiera passado por el pensamiente. quede tan maravillado de tan gran mudanza en tan poco tiempo y en tal persona que no se que decir. hanme dicho y no lo creo que lo ha fecho muxica y hay

(TRANSLATION.)

write a long letter, and in order to have something to speak of she would say nothing now. I wrote several times to your Highness that the Archduchess had decided that Doña Marina Manuel should be lady of honour to her daughter. As often as I spoke with her on this subject I found her very decided about it, and, moreover, she said that she would communicate with me, and we should all then occupy ourselves in that affair, "for I wish that it be done by the hand of the Queen, my lady." This intention lasted from the time of my arrival in the month of August until her confinement. I spoke with her concerning it ten or twelve days before her confinement, and she was more decided than ever that it should be done by the hand of your Highness. I said it was already late. She said she would keep the bishopric vacant until the order of your Highness should arrive. She wrote a great number of letters to her (1) instructing her to make haste to come. Thus, she came with all her household and husband, and during her delivery she gave herself up to her, soul and body and all she possessed, and during the confinement she did not permit her to be absent as much as an *Ave Maria*, and even told her that the Archduke had left it to her to provide for that place. Now when I spoke with her I found her of as quite different opinion as though the idea had never presented itself to her mind. I was so astonished at such a great change in so short a time, and in such a personage, that I cannot express it in

(1) Doña Marina.

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algun aparencia para ello por que nunqua vi a Su Al. con gana de facer algo sino solamente esto antes que el viniese y despues que el vino tiene el contrario por que a este da mas credito que a todos quantos tiene. y este es todo de madama de aloyn. y quando yo la aprete diciendo quanto V. Al. desseaba que tobiese cabe si semejantes personas y de buena fama y ella tenia el contrario en la de aloyn dixome que no era tanto como se decia y que la de aloyn tenia a los del Archiduque y a los de su conseio y assi la de aloyn y los del consejo del Archiduque y. muxica tienen esta Señora tan atemorizada que no puede alzar cabeza. esta en tanta necessidad que no alcanza un maravedi para dar de limosna que ahun ogaño estando preñada pidio a la tierra que le diesen lo que acostumbran dar a las otras señoras y respondieron le con. lx. √ florines pagados en tres años y segund se dice no vienen a su poder por que los recibe el receptor del Archiduque mas que en mercedes se reparten que muxica le pidio agora para el principe de simay su caballero de honor mill florines sin que lleva cada año quatro mil de su oficio y ahun se dice que procuran los mil ducados que V. Al. daba al de biebres. V. Al. no

(TRANSLATION.)

words. I am told, but do not believe it, that Muxica has been the cause of it. There is nevertheless some probability of it; for I never saw her Highness so much decided to do nothing else but this as [she was] before he arrived, and so decided to do the contrary as [she is] since his arrival. She gives him more credit than all her other servants put together, and he depends entirely on Madame d'Aloyn. When I pressed her, saying how much your Highness wished that she should have about her similar persons (1) of good fame, and that she had [chosen] Madame d'Aloyn, who was just the contrary, she answered that she (2) was not so much (3) as it was said, and that Madame d'Aloyn had the servants of the Archduke and the privy councillors on her side. Thus, Madame d'Aloyn and the councillors of the Archduke and Muxica have so much intimidated this lady that she dare not raise her head. She is so poor that she has not a maravedi to give alms. This very year when she was pregnant she asked the state to give her the same grant as it was the custom to give to other ladies, and they responded to her demands with a grant of 60,000 florins payable within three years, but according to what is said she does not get anything, because the receiver of the Archduke receives them, and they are distributed as favours. Muxica asks now for the Prince of Chimay, her gentleman in waiting, one thousand florins over and above the 4,000 florins a year which he has from his

(1) Sic, Doña Marina Manuel. (2) Madame d'Aloyn.
(3) The contrary of a woman of good faith.

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han menester conseio mas nunqua vi cosa mas perdida sino en esto que agora passa lo puede V. Al. ver y si esto passa adelante no se como cosa que V. Al. hayan ganasse puede enxerir aqui que ahun el sabado despues de los Reyes importunaban a una persona que suplicasse a la Señora Archiduquesa que escribiesse suplicando a V. Al. que diessen hun obispado al preboste de leja y que serviria mucho a Su. Al. de aqui adelante y ahun el rrey de Ro. le dio agora hun arsobispado y todo no les basta su avaricia para que no destruyan estos Señores y les hagan desobedecer a sus padres que ya se dice que segund el Archiduque es desobediente a V. Al. que no es verdad a lo menos en la voluntad y el Archiduque al Rey de Ro. y que van por madama margarita para casarla en alemaña y que no seria mavilla ser a costa destos Señores. el Rey de Ro. trabaia quanto puede por llevarlos a alemaña por sacarlos de poder desta gente no se lo que podra hacer. el bastardo y doña marina estan aqui con mucha gana de servir a V. Al. y me han fablado juntos y cada uno por si diciendome quantas mercedes V. Al. les han fecho. certifico a V. Al. que al bastardo le saltaban

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(Translation.)

office, and it is even said that they endeavour to obtain for him the 1,000 ducats which your Highness had granted to Monsieur de Bèvres. Your Highness stands in need of no advice, but I have never seen anything more hopeless than what is going on here, as your Highness can see. If this continues, nothing that your Highnesses can do will be of any use here. Only on Saturday after twelfth night they importuned a certain person to beg the Señora Archduchess to write to ask your Highnesses to give a bishopric to the Provost of Liège, who henceforth would render good services. Although the King of the Romans has lately given him a bishopric, all this does not satisfy his avarice, or prevent them from ruining these señores (1), persuading them to disobey their parents. Although it is said that the Archduke is already disobedient to your Highness, it is not true, at least as far as his wishes are concerned, and the Archduke to the King of the Romans. (2) They intend to marry Madame Margaret in Germany, and I should not wonder if these señores (3) had to pay for it. The King of the Romans does what he can to induce them to go to Germany, only to get them out of the power of these people. I do not know what he will be able to do. The Bastard and Doña Marina are here. They are very desirous to serve your Highnesses. They have spoken with me both together, and each separately, telling me how many favours they have received from your Highness. I assure your Highness that the Bastard shed tears when he spoke with me. The con-

(1) The Archduke and Archduchess.
(2) Sic.
(3) The Archduke and the Archduchess.

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las lagrimas quando me lo décia. la final conclusion fue que ellos estan con mucha gana de facer lo que V. Al. les manden mas dicen que ellos tienen poca renta y no se pueden sustentar en la corte que si V. Al. entienden mandar darles de comer sobre lo que tienen que residiran aqui continuo y sino suplican a V. Al. hayan por bien busquen algun partido con que puedan sustentarse que ahun de cuatro mil florines que solian dar aqui al bastardo le han quitado dos mil y de lo otro no le pagan nada como a todos los otros. y tambien me dixieron de una pension que V. Al. les solia dar que como era merced de gracia que V. Al. les hacia y ellos no la podian servir por no tener en que no la habian osado pedir buena parte de los años pasados y assi estan en mucha necessidad y mas que V. Al. podra bien inferir de aqui que tales pueden estar abatirse a poca presa y estaba ya publico y quedanse personages ahunque ellos lo dissimulan bien pero no puede ser tanto segund la qualidad del caso que no se sienta que ahun el preboste de leja que es su contrario fue a su casa y les dijo que el Archiduque tenia determinado de dar a doña marina este cargo ahunque se le hacia poca cosa para quien ella era y que estaba cierto si por el Archiduquesa no faltase. y respondio que ahunque menos fuesse haria lo que le manda-

(Translation.)

clusion was that they have the greatest desire to do what your Highnesses might command them, but they say they have only small incomes and cannot sustain themselves at court. If your Highnesses would give them wherewith to pay their meals in addition to what they possess they would constantly live here, but if not, they entreat your Highness to permit them to look out for another employment by which they can maintain themselves. Out of the four thousand florins which were formerly paid them, they have deprived them of two thousand, and the remainder they do not pay to them any more than to all the other (Spanish servants). They spoke also of a pension which your Highness was in the habit of paying them, but as that was only a favour they had not dared to ask it for many years past, and thus they live in great poverty, even greater than your Highness can imagine that such persons can live in. They demean themselves to eat humble meals, and that is already public, and yet they remain [in the position of (?)] great personages.(1) Although they endeavour to conceal, they cannot do it so well that, considering the importance of the case, the truth is not known. Even the Provost of Liège, who is their adversary, came to their house and told them that the Archduke had determined to give this office to Doña Marina, and although that was little for such a person as she, he was sure of it, if the Archduchess did not forsake her. She answered that, even if it were less, she would do what she was

(1) We do not quite understand the meaning of the words *y quedanse personages*. And yet they remain personages? We believe that the deciphering is not exact.

1499.

sen y madama de Rebastan su cuñada le dixo que lo ficiesse y que del bastardo no curasse que ella tomaba cargo si enfermase de curarle en su casa. la Señora Archiduquessa tiene tanta gana y necessidad della que no se que torvellino es este que lo estorva como esta Señora no habla comigo claro. se decir a V. Al. que si el diablo no se atravesara ella estubiera aposentada en palacio con su cargo, y como no ha osado poner a doña marina tampoco se atrevio a poner otra. dicenme que dixo mossior de vergas que pusiesen a quien quissiessen. yo le dixe muchas cosas de quan mal se hacia sabiendo quanta gana V. Al. tenia que tubiesse a doña marina consigo y quanta necessidad della tenia. dixo por eso hare por ella quanto pudiere en viniendo el Archiduque que es ido a verse con el Rey de Ro. mas yo no creo ya que haga nada.

doña ana de beamonte se quexa de la poca honra y menos provecho que aqui tiene y ciertamente ella sirve bien que nunqua se quita del Archiduquesa, y es buena muger que salida ella de aqui queda del todo sola esta Señora y V. Al. la debe contentar y ahun proveer en alguna cosa. toda esta gente que aqua esta esta tan perdida que es lastima de ver lo que tan

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(Translation.)

commanded; and Madame de Rabastan, her sister-in-law, told her to do so, and not to be anxious about the Bastard, of whom she would take care, and cure him in her house if he should fall ill. The Señora Archduchess wishes so much to have her, and stands so much in need of her, that I do not know what whirlwind disturbs this. This lady (1) does not speak with me openly. I can tell your Highness that if the devil did not cross it she (2) would already be placed in possession of her office in the palace. As she (3) has not dared to install Doña Marina, so she has not the courage to install another lady. I am told that Monsieur de Vergas (4) said they may choose whomsoever they like. I told her [the Archduchess] many things, showing her how badly she acted, knowing that your Highness desired that she should have Doña Marina about her person, and how much she stood in want of her. She answered, "Therefore I shall do for her what I can as soon as the "Archduke, who is gone to meet the King of the Romans, "returns;" but I believe she will do nothing.

Doña Ana de Beamonte complains that she gets here little honour and less profit. Certainly she serves well, never leaves the Archduchess alone, and is a good woman. If she were to go away, this señora (5) would be entirely deserted. Your Highness ought to satisfy her, and even bestow some favour on her. All those who stay here are in so entirely hopeless a state, that it is pitiful to see how badly they are treated. I repeatedly

(1) The Archduchess.
(2) Doña Marina.
(3) The Archduchess.
(4) De Berghes?
(5) The Archduchess.

1499.

mal se hace con ellos. muchas veces he escrito a V. Al. que para este tiempo yo concluiria todo lo que V. Al. me mando y assi lo tengo fecho y a mi ver mi estada aqua es demasiada daqui adelante y por no tener aqua mandamiento de V. Al. quedo hasta haberle.

A la señora Archiduquessa dixe que le suplicaba que si Su Alteza me mandaba ir que su mandamiento habria por de V. Al. y no quisso. por que ya esto en la ultima y extrema necessidad embio este padre que de alla traxe por compañero por que tenerle aqua es perder tiempo y alla aprovechara y mas principalmente por suplicar a V. Al. me mande ir y con que y ahun en que vaya que antes que el mandamiento venga no solamente las vestias que de alla truxe mas yo y el compañero y mozo estaremos empeñados por que yo vine proveydo por vj. meses y son ya jx. y medio y temo seran mas de xiiij° antes que haya respuesta desta y en esta tierra mas honra facen por bien beber que por bien vivir y con lo que aqui me cuesta la posada podria mantenerme en castilla. a noche bien tarde fue por estas cartas a palacio y me certificaron como el Archiduque habia dicho a esta por que es fija pongale el Archiduquessa el estado quando dios nos diere fijo ponerlo he yo. donde claro parece con la gana y

(TRANSLATION.)

wrote to your Highness that by this time I should have concluded all that your Highness has commanded, and so I have done. In my opinion I am no longer wanted here, but as I have no orders from your Highness, I shall remain here until I receive them.

I told the Señora Archduchess that I begged her that if she should command me to go she would give me her orders for your Highness, but she refused. Because I am in the last necessity I send the father whom I took with me as companion ; to keep him here any longer would be a loss of time, and he can render better services there, but especially in order to beseech your Highness to send me the order to go, and the means to go, and even on what to go (1). For not only the animals which I brought from there, but also my person, my companion, and my servant are pledged. I arrived here provided for six months, and now nine months and a half have elapsed, and I fear it will be more than fourteen months before I have an answer to this letter. In this country they think it a greater honour well to drink than well to live, and on what I pay here for my lodgings I could live in Castile. Last night I went to the palace for letters, and was told that the Archduke had said: the Archduchess may provide for the places in the household of this child, because it is a daughter; when God grants us a son I shall provide for his household. Considering the goodwill she had, and the need in which she stood (2), it is clear from this that

(1) The meaning seems to be that he wanted the money for buying horses, etc.
(2) Of Doña Marina.

1499.

necessidad que tenia que los sobre dichos le ficieron dar la vuelta y bien parece en ello que de solo miedo destos dexo de facer lo que mucho desseaba y con esto pensaba satisfacer a V. Al. las quexas pasadas y todo no basto resistir a estos dos.

tambien supe de otros repartimientos que ficieron sin el Archiduquessa ni lo supo fasta que suplicaron que mexor dixiera mandaron que firmase. y assi lo fizo y callo y despues en absencia osa decir ogaño passe mas para otro año no quiero que hagan mercedes sin mi y assi creo quedara siempre necesitada y los suyos muriendo de hambre, y assi passara fasta que V. Al. provean en ello. suplico a V. Al. esta primera vez que escribiere a Su Alteza haga mincion solamente del principio desta carta y no mas por que piensa Su Alteza que solas sus cartas y mias van y confirmaria su sospecha que en lo otro ya creo no hay remedio.

de bruselas a xv. de Enero de **xcjx.**

Del Soñor de Santa +

(TRANSLATION.)

it was the above mentioned persons who caused her to change her intentions; and it appears that she was only afraid to do what she much desired, and what she thought would atone for that of which your Highness complained. All this was insufficient to resist these two (1).

I heard also of another distribution of money which was made without asking the Archduchess. She knew nothing of it until they sent her the paper, asking or rather ordering her to sign it. She did it and said nothing, but when they had left her she had the courage to say, "Be it so for this year, but next year I desire that they do not make grants without my consent." I think it will be always the same thing. Her servants die of starvation, and that will continue until your Highnesses provide for them. I entreat your Highness not to mention in your next letter to her Highness anything except what stands at the beginning of this letter, for her (or your) Highness considers (or may consider) that only her (or your) letters go (2), and would confirm her suspicion. In all the other things I think there is no remedy.

From Brussels, 15th of January '99.

From the Subprior of Santa Cruz.

(1) Madame Aloyn and Muxica ?

(2) We must confess that we do not understand these words. The pronouns *su* and *sus* may refer to Queen Isabel as well as to the Archduchess.

1504.
19th November? **5.** CLAUSE of the WILL of QUEEN ISABEL THE CATHOLIC.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Patronato Real. Capitulaciones con la Casa de Austria. Legajo 2, f. 5. Contemporary official transcript.*]

Clausula del testamento de la Reina Dª Isabel nuestra Señora.

E assy mismo ruego y mando muy afectuosamente a la dicha princessa mi fija porque merezca alcanzar la bendicion de dios y la del Rey su padre y la mia y al dicho principe su marido que siempre sean muy obedientes y subjetos al Rey mi Señor y que no le salgan de obediencia y mandado y lo sirvan y traten y acaten con toda reverencia y obediencia dandole y faziendole dar todo el honor que buenos y obedientes fijos deven dar a su buen padre y siguan sus mandamientos y conseios como dellos se espera que lo faran de manera que para todo lo que a su Señoria toca parezca que yo no fago falta y que soy biva porque allende de ser debido a Su Señoria este honor y acatamiento por ser padre que segun el mandamiento de dios deve ser honrrado y acatando de mas de lo que se debe a Su Señoria por las dichas causas por el bien y provecho dellos y de los dichos reinos deben obedecer y seguir sus mandamientos y conseios porque segun la mucha espiriencia Su Señoria tiene ellos y los dichos reynos seran en ello mucho aprovechados y tambien por que es mucha razon que Su Señoria sea servido y acatado y honrrado mas que

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(TRANSLATION.)

5. Clause of the Will of Queen Doña Isabel, our Lady.

I likewise herewith and very lovingly order the said Princess, my daughter, and the said Prince, her husband—in order to merit and obtain the benediction of God, of the King, her father, and of me—to be always obedient subjects to the King my lord, and never to disobey his orders, but to serve him, treat and revere him with the greatest respect and obedience, giving and causing to be given him all the honour which good and obedient children owe to their good father, following his orders and carrying out his councils. It is to be hoped that they will comport themselves in such a manner that in all that regards his Highness my absence be not observable, and as though I were alive. For besides that this honour and reverence is due to his Highness as a father who according to the commandment of God ought to be honoured and revered, they ought to obey his orders and follow his councils, because in addition to these reasons they are bound to do so, as being beneficial and profitable to themselves and to their kingdoms. Also his Highness having so much experience in the government of these kingdoms, they and their kingdoms will greatly profit thereby. Moreover, his Highness ought to be more obeyed, and revered, and

1504.

otro padre assi por ser tan excelente Rey y principe y dotado e insignido de tales y tantas virtudes como por lo mucho que ha fecho y trabajado con su rreal persona en cobrar estos dichos mis reynos que tan enajenados estaban al tiempo que yo en ellos succedi y en obviar los grandes males y daños y guerras que con tantas turbaciones y movimientos en ellos havia y no con menos afruenta de su rreal persona ganar el Reino de granada y echar del los enemigos de nuestra santa fe catolica que tantos tiempos havia que lo tenian usurpado y ocupado y en reducir estos Reinos a buen regimento y governacion y justicia segun que oy por la gracia de dios estan.

23rd Nov. **6.** LETTER PATENT of QUEEN ISABEL THE CATHOLIC.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Patronato Real. Capitulaciones con la Casa de Austria. Legajo* 2. *f.* 6. *Authenticated Copy.*]

La carta patente de la Reina de gloriosa memoria.

Este es traslado bien e fielmente sacado de una carta patente de la Reyna doña Ysabel nuestra Señora que aya Santa gloria firmada de su real nombre e referendada de gaspar de grisio su secretario su tenor del qual de verbo ad verbum es este que se sigue.

Doña ysabel por la gracia de dios Reina de Castilla de leon de Aragon de Secilia de granada de Toledo de Valencia

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(TRANSLATION.)

honoured than any other father because he is so excellent a King and Prince, endowed and distinguished by such and so great virtues that by great effort and exertions of his royal person he has conquered these kingdoms, which were so much alienated at the time when I succeeded, and has put an end to the great evils, and losses, and wars caused by all the troubles and risings which then prevailed. With no less danger to his royal person he has gained the kingdom of Granada, and has driven away the enemies of our Holy Catholic Church, who during so long a time had usurped and occupied these kingdoms, to which he has secured the good government administration and justice which by the grace of God they now enjoy.

6. Letter Patent of the Queen of glorious memory.

This is a transcript correctly and faithfully made from a letter patent of the Queen Doña Isabel our lady, who lives now in eternal glory, signed with her royal name, and countersigned by Gaspar de Grisio, her secretary. The tenor of it is, *de verbo ad verbum*, as follows:—

Doña Isabel, by the grace of God Queen of Castile, of Leon, of Aragon, of Sicily, of Granada, of Toledo, of

1504.

de galisia de Mallorcas de Sevilla de Cerdeña de Cordova de Corcega de Murcia de Jahen de los Algarves de Algecira de gibraltar e de las yslas de Cana Condesa de barcelona e Señora de Viscaya e de Molina duquesa de Athenas e de Neopatria Condesa de Rosellon e de Cerdania Marquesa de Oristan e de gociano a los prelados duques marqueses condes ricos homes e priores de las hordenes comendadores subcomendadores e alcaldes de los Castillos e casas fuertes e llanas e adelantados e merinos e tenientes de qualesquier cibdades villas e lugares e a los presidentes e oidores del nuestro consejo e demas audiencias e chancillerias e a los concejos alcaldes, alguaciles justicias veinticuatros cavalleros jurados oficiales e omes buenos de todas las cibdades e villas e lugares de mis reynos e señorios e a todos los otros mis vassallos e subditos e naturales de qualquier estado e condicion e dignidad e preeminencia que seades e a cada uno e qualquier de vos salud e gracia. por quanto puede acaecer que al tiempo que Nuestro Señor desta vida presente me llevare la princesa doña juana Archiduquesa de Austria duquesa de borgoña mi muy cara e muy amada hija primogenita heredera e subcesora legitima de mis reynos e tierras e Señorios este absente dellos o despues que a ellos viniere en algund tiempo aya de ir o estar fuera dellos o

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(Translation.)

Valencia, of Gallicia, of the Mallorcas, of Sevilla, of Sardinia, Cordova, Corsica, Murcia, Jahen, of the Algarves, Algeziras, Gibraltar, and the islands of Canaria, Countess of Barcelona, Sovereign Lady of Biscaya and Molina, Duchess of Athens and Neopatria, Countess of Roussillon and Cerdeña, Marchioness of Oristan and Goziano, to all prelates, dukes, marquises, counts, *Ricos homes*, priors of the orders, knight-commanders, subcommanders, alcaldes of castles and fortified as well as unfortified palaces, *adelantados*, *merinos*, lieutenants of all cities, towns, and places, presidents and auditors of our Council, and tribunals and chanceries, councils, alcaldes, algaziles, town councillors, the *ventricuatros cavalleros*, *jurados*, officers, *omes buenos*, of all cities, towns, and other places of my kingdoms and signories, and all other vassals and subjects of whatever estate, condition, or dignity and pre-eminence you may be, and every one of you, health and greeting. It may chance that, at the time when our Lord shall call me from this life, the Princess Doña Juana, Archduchess of Austria, Duchess of Burgundy, my very dear and beloved firstborn daughter, heiress and lawful successor to my kingdoms, lands, and signories, may be absent from them, or, after having come to them and stayed in them for some time, may be obliged to leave them again, or that, although being present, she might not like or might be unable to reign and govern. If such were the case, it would be

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estando en ellos no los quisiere o no podiere regir o governar e para quando lo tal acaeciere es raçon que se de orden para que aya de quedar e quede la governacion dellos de manera que sean bien regidos e governados en paz e la justicia administrada como deve sobre lo qual los procuradores de los dichos reynos en las cortes de Toledo del año de quinientos e dos que despues se continuaron e acabaron en las villas de Madrid e Alcala de henares el año de quinientos e tres me suplicaron mandase proveer e ellos por la mucha experiencia que el Rey mi Señor ha tenido e tiene en la governacion e administracion de los dichos reynos e Señorios nonbraron a su Señoria por governador e administrador dellos por la dicha princesa en qualquier de los dichos casos e me suplicaron que yo asy mismo nonbrase a su Señoria por tal governador e administrador e yo queriendo evitar los escandalos e disensiones que en los dichos reynos podria aver si la dicha governacion no quedase como deve, acatando la grandeza e excelente noblesa e esclarecidas virtudes del dicho Rey mi Señor e la mucha experiencia que en la governacion de los dichos reynos ha tenido e tiene e quanto es servicio de nuestro Señor en bien e pro comun de los dichos reynos e de los vesinos e moradores dellos que por su Senoria sean regidos e administrados por mi testamento e postrimera voluntad dexo hordenado e mandado que en

(Translation.)

necessary to provide that the government should be nevertheless carried on in such a manner that they [my kingdoms] should be well governed and administered in peace and justice, as is reasonable. The *procuradores* of the said kingdoms, assembled in the Cortes of Toledo in the year 1502, and continued and concluded in the year 1503 in the towns of Madrid and Alcalá de Hénares, have therefore begged me to provide for such a contingency, and have nominated the King my lord, in consideration of his great experience in governing and his administration in the government of the said kingdom and dominions, governor and administrator of them instead of the said Princess in each of the foresaid contingencies. Moreover, they have supplicated me also to name his Highness governor and administrator. Considering that the scandals and disunion which might be the consequence if the said government were not well provided for ought to be avoided, and considering my veneration for the greatness, the excellence, the nobility, and the eminent virtues of the said King my lord, considering also the great experience of the government of the said kingdoms which he has had and has, and the great benefit and advantage which our Lord and our kingdoms would receive if the subjects and the inhabitants [of our kingdoms] were governed and administered by his Highness—I have directed and ordained in my testament

1504.

qualquier de los dichos casos el dicho Rey mi Señor rija govierne y administre los dichos mis reynos e tierras e Señorios e tenga la governacion e administracion dellos por la dicha princesa nuestra hija e en su nombre fasta tanto quel infante don Carlos hijo primogenito y heredero de la dicha princesa e del principe don felipe su marido mi nieto sea de hedad legitima a lo menos de veinte años cumplidos para los regir e gobernar e seyendo de la dicha edad estando en estos dichos reynos a la saçon e veniendo a ellos para los regir los rija e govierne en qualquier de los dichos casos. por ende por la presente vos mando a todos e a cada uno e qualquier de vos que despues de mis dias cada e quando la dicha princesa mi hija estoviere absente de los dichos mis rreynos o estando en ellos no quisyere o no pudiere entender en la governacion e administracion dellos ayays e tengays al dicho Rey mi Señor su padre por governador e administrador de los dichos mis rreynos e tierras e Senorios por la dicha princesa e en su nombre fasta tanto que el dicho infante don Carlos sea de hedad legitima a lo menos de veynte años para los regir e governar como dicho es e como a tal governador e administrador lo obedescais e cumplays sus cartas e mandamientos e todo lo otro que su Señoria mandare e le deys e fagays dar todo el fabor e ayuda que

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(Translation.)

and will that in each of the aforesaid cases the said King my lord shall reign, govern, and administer the said kingdoms, lands, and dominions, and have the government and administration of them instead of and in the name of the Princess our daughter, until my grandson, the Infante Don Carlos, first born son and heir of the said Princess and her husband Prince Philip, has attained the age required by law for governing and reigning in these kingdoms, and has at least accomplished his twentieth year. If, after having attained the said age, he comes to these kingdoms with the intention to govern, he may reign [and govern on the aforestated conditions. Therefore I command by these presents to every one of you that, if after my death the said Princess, my daughter, should be absent from my kingdom, or although present should be unable to attend to the government and administrations of them, you shall hold and treat the said King, my lord and her father, as governor and administrator of the said my kingdom, lands, and dominions, instead of and in the name of the said Princess, until the said Infante Don Carlos have attained the age of at least twenty years, which is required by law for reigning and governing these kingdoms, according to what has been stated; and you shall obey him, being governor and administrator, obeying his letters and orders, and everything else his Highness shall command. You

1504.

para ello fuere menester cada e quando fueredes requeridos e fagays e cumplays todo lo otro que cerca de la dicha governacion por mi testamento dexo hordenado e mandado so aquellas penas en que incurren los que no obedecen ni cumplen las cartas e mandamientos de los tales governadores e administradores e guardadores del rreyno e suplico a su Señoria que en la alienacion de las cosas del patrimonio rreal de los dichos rreynos e jura que ha de faser para usar e exercer la dicha governacion haga aquello que yo por el dicho mi testamento a su Señoria dexo suplicado e ordenado de lo qual mande dar la presente firmada de mi nombre e sellada con mi sello e referendada de gaspar de grisio mi secretario al qual mande que la registrase e sellase como mi registrador e chanciller. dada en la villa de Medina del Campo a veynte y tres dias del mes de Noviembre del año del nascimiento de nuestro Salvador Jesu-Christo de mill e quinientos e quatro años.

Va escripto entre renglones o diz ordenado vala.

Yo la Reyna. yo gaspar de grisio secretario de la Reina nuestra Señora la escrevi por su mandado. Registrada—gaspar de grisio.

Gaspar de Grisio por chanciller.

(TRANSLATION.)

shall not withhold from him your goodwill and your help in case of need, as often as and whensoever you are requested, and you shall do and execute everything else concerning the Government which I have ordained and commanded in my testament, under pain of those punishments which those incur who do not obey or observe the letters and orders of the governors, administrators, and guardians of the kingdom. With respect to the sale of the Crown property in the said kingdoms, and the oath which he has to swear before assuming the government, I beg his Highness to do what I have asked of him and ordered in my testament. In witness whereof I have ordered this instrument to be drawn up, signed with my name, sealed with my seal, and countersigned by Gaspar de Grisio, my secretary, whom I have commanded to enter it in the register, and to seal it as my registrar and chancellor.

Given in the town of Medina del Campo on the 23rd day of the month of November, of the year 1504, after the birth of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

The word *ordenada* written between the lines is valid.

I the Queen.

I, Gaspar de Grisio, secretary of the Queen our lady, have written this at her command. Registered.

Gasper de Grisio.

Gasper de Grisio, for the Chancellor.

1504.

Fecho e sacado fue este dicho traslado en la cibdad de toro a diez y seis dias del mes de Hebrero año del nascimiento de nuestro Salvador Jesu-Christo de mill e quinientos e cinco años estando ende el Señor Rey don fernando. testigos que fueron presentes a lo que dicho es e vieron e oyeron sacar e leer e concertar este dicho traslado con la dicha carta suso incorporada Rodrigo Albornoz e juan de Aztarve e pedro de Çuaçola criados del dicho secretario, gaspar de grisio. E yo juan Suarez escribano de la Reyna nuestra Señora e su notario publico en la su corte e en todos los sus Reynos e Señorios presente fui a todo lo que dicho es en uno con los dichos testigos e concerte este dicho traslado con la dicha carta original de Su Alteza el qual va cierto e va escrito en este medio pliego de papel de amas partes e mas esto poco en que va mi signo e en fin de cada plana va mi rublica acostumbrada, en principio della tres rayas de tinta negra e por ende fiz aqui este mi signo a tal en testimonio de verdad: Juan Suarez, escrivano. [Hay un signo y dos rubricas.]

(Translation.)

This transcript was made and copied in the city of Toro on the 16th of February, in the year 1505 after the birth of our Saviour Jesus Christ, in presence of our lord King Ferdinand and the following witnesses, who were present when this copy was made, read, and collated with the said original letter.

Rodrigo Albornoz.
Juan De Aztarve.
Pedro Zuazola.
Servants of the secretary, Gasper de Grisio.

And I, Juan Suarez, *escrivano* of the Queen our lady, and public notary of her court and kingdoms and dominions, was present, together with the witnesses, when the transcript was made, and I collated it with the original letter of Her Highness. It is exact, and written on both sides of one half of a sheet of paper, except those few words which contain my signature. At the bottom of each page is my signature, and at the beginning three lines written [by me] in black ink. In testimony of the truth I sign,

Juan Suarez, Escrivano.

[One sign and two marks follow.]

1505.
Feb.?

7. SUMMARY of the PROCEEDINGS of the CORTES IN TORO.

[*Simancas. Patronato Real. Cortes. Legajo* 2.]

La suma de los abtos que fisieron los procuradores de las cortes de las cibdades e villas destos Reynos estando juntos en las cortes generales que se fizieron en la cibdad de toro este año de mill e quinientos e cinco años es lo siguiente.

Primeramente despues de averse mostrado a los dichos procuradores de cortes el testamento original de la Señora Reyna doña ysabel nuestra Señora que Santa gloria aya y de averseles leydo dos clausulas del dicho testamento que disponen cerca de la subcesion e administracion e governacion destos Reynos e una provision patente que sobrello dio la dicha Señora Reyna doña ysabel nuestra Señora juraron e rescibieron a la muy alta e muy poderosa Señora la Reyna doña juana nuestra Señora fija ligitima primogenita heredera de la dicha Señora Reyna doña ysabel por Reyna e Señora e ligitima subcesora e propietaria destos Reynos e Señorios e asy la nonbraran e yntitularan de aqui adelante y le dieron y prestaron la obidiencia y reverencia e subjeccion y vassallage que como subditos e naturales vasallos deven e son obligados a le dar e prestar e al muy alto e muy poderoso Señor el Rey don felipe como a su ligitimo marido e asimismo juraron al Señor Rey don fernando, padre de la dicha Reyna

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(TRANSLATION.)

7. The Summary of the proceedings of the Procurators of the cities and towns of these kingdoms, assembled in the General Cortes, held in the city of Toro, in the year 1505, is as follows.

In the first place, the original copy of the will of our Lady Queen Isabel, who is in eternal glory, was shown to the said Procurators, and two clauses of the said will concerning the succession, administration and government of these kingdoms were read to them, together with a letter patent, given by the said Queen, Doña Isabel, our Lady, concerning the same subject. [The Procurators] swore allegiance to the very high and mighty Lady, the Queen Doña Juana, our Lady and legitimate firstborn daughter and heiress of the said Lady Queen Isabel, as Queen, Sovereign Lady, and legitimate successor and possessor of these kingdoms and dominions, and called and styled her so thenceforth, and promised and offered her the obedience and homage and servitude which subjects and born vassals were bound to give and offer to her and the very high and mighty Lord King Philip, her lawful husband. They swore at the same time the oaths of homage in the prescribed form to the Lord King

1505.

doña juana nuestra Señora por administrador y governador destos dichos Reynos e Señorios por la dicha Reyna doña juana nuestra Señora segun se contiene en las dichas clausulas del testamento de la dicha Señora Reyna doña ysabel y en la dicha carta patente que sobrello dio y fizieron pleito omenaje en forma de derecho para lo asi tener e guardar.

E despues de avidas algunas platicas entre los dichos procuradores en las dichas cortes todos unanimes e conformes presentaron una peticion antel dicho señor Rey don fernando en que en efecto se contenia que aviendo sido ynformados particularmente de la enfermedad de la dicha Reyna doña juana nuestra Señora consederando que asy de derecho como segund las leyes destos Reynos al dicho Señor Rey don Fernando solo por ser padre de su Alteza le es devida y pertenesce la ligitima cura e administracion destos Reynos e Señorios segund que en la dicha clausula del dicho testamento por el no poder por los dichos ynpedimentos se contiene de manera que agora en el dicho Señor Rey don fernando concurren todas las maneras de cura y administracion que de derecho y leyes destos Reynos se dispone por la forma y manera e segund e como la tenian jurado loando y aprovando lo que cerca de la dicha administracion

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(Translation.)

Ferdinand, father of the said Queen Juana our Lady, in his quality of administrator and governor of these kingdoms and dominions, according to the contents of the said clauses of the will and the letters patent of the said Lady Queen Isabel, and promised to keep and observe it.

This done, some discussions took place between the Procurators of the said Cortes, and then all being of the same mind they presented unanimously a petition to the said Lord, King Ferdinand, the substance of which was, that after having been particularly informed of the infirmity of the said Queen Juana, our Lady, they considered that by right as well as according to the laws of these kingdoms the lawful guardianship and administration of these kingdoms and dominions is due and belong to the said Lord, King Ferdinand, alone, as being the father of her Highness, and as according to the contents of the above-mentioned clause of the will. For, in consequence of the impossibility which follows from the said impediment, all right of guardianship and government devolves on the said Lord, King Ferdinand, in accordance with the laws and statutes of these kingdoms, and which they [the Procurators] had sworn to observe. Praising and approving all that the said Lady Queen Isabel, in her will and letters patent, had ordained and decided with respect to the administration or government of these king-

1505.

o governacion destos Reynos la dicha Señora Reyna doña ysabel por el dicho su testamento y provision patente que sobrello dio dexo ordenado e discernido que ellos conformandose con el derecho e leyes destos Reynos sy necesario es todos unanimes e conformes en nonbre destos dichos Reynos e Señorios siendo informados particularmente y costandoles de la dicha enfermedad que es tal que la dicha Reyna doña juana nuestra Señora no puede governar que proveyendo al bien e pro comun destos Reynos nonbravan e avian e tenian al dicho Señor Rey don fernando por ligitimo curador e administrador e governador destos Reynos e Señorios en nonbre de la dicha Reyna doña juana nuestra Señora segund e por la forma e manera que la dicha Señora Reyna doña ysabel lo dexo ordenado por el dicho su testamento y provisiones y ellos lo tenian jurado.

E asimismo el dicho Señor Rey don fernando a suplicacion de los dichos procuradores de las dichas cortes como administrador e governador destos Reynos e Señorios, juro en forma de no enajenar el partrimonio de la corona Real destos Reinos segund e por la forma que la dicha Señora Reyna doña ysabel nuestra Señora lo dexo ordenado por su testamento e asymismo juro de guardar los previlegios e buenos usos e costunbres de todas las cibdades e villas e lugares destos Reynos e Señorios segund e como que fasta aqui les han sido guardadas segund que mas largamente

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(Translation.)

doms, and conforming themselves to the customs and laws of these kingdoms, they all being of the same mind, having been privately informed, and it being notorious that the said infirmity renders it impossible for Queen Juana, our Lady to govern, name and accept and consider in the name of these kingdoms, and for the good and common weal of them, the said Lord, King Ferdinand, as lawful guardian, administrator, and governor of these kingdoms and dominions, in the name of the said Queen Juana, our Lady, according to and in the form and manner that the said Lady Queen Isabel ordered in her said will and letter, and they had sworn.

At the same time the said Lord, King Ferdinand, administrator and governor of these kingdoms and dominions, formally swore at the instance of the Procurators of the Cortes not to alienate the property of the Royal Crown of these kingdoms, according to and in the form which the said Lady Queen Isabel, our Lady, ordered in her will. He swore likewise to preserve intact all the privileges, customs, and usages of all the cities, towns, and other places in these kingdoms and dominions, according to and as they have hitherto been observed. All this is contained more at large

1505.

todo lo susodicho se contiene en los abtos que sobrello pasaron. Miguel perez dalmaçan.

1506 (?)
[Beginning of.] **8.** KING PHILIP to JEHAN DE HESDIN.

[*Le Glay. Negociations Diplomatiques entre la France et l'Autriche, Vol. I. p.* 200. *Fragment.*]

Instruction pour Jehan de Hesdin, escuier, mareschal des logis du roi de Castille, de Leon, de Grenade, etc., de ce qu'il aura à dire de la part dudit seigneur roy à Gonzalve Fernando, devers lequel presentement l'envoye.

Premierement:

Lui presentera ses lettres de credence, pour l'exposicion desquelles lui dira premierement la bonne et singuliere amour et affection que ledit seigneur roy luy porte, tant pour les vertuz et leaulté qui sont en luy, comme aussi pour ce qu'il le tient pour son bon et leal vassal et subgect, et qu'il a espoir et confidence qu'il luy vouldroit faire plaisir et service, ainsi que icellui seigneur roy assez a esté adverty, tant par le roy des Romains son pere, lequel luy en a fait pluiseurs bons rapports, comme aussi par pluiseurs autres, dont grandement le mercye.

Et à ceste cause et pour cette confidence luy a bien voulu faire dire et declairer les choses qui s'ensuyvent:—

Assavoir, comme depuis le trespas de feue la royne Ysabeau, que Dieu pardoint, le roy don Fernando, roy d'Arragon, son beau-pere, ait chercié tous moyens à luy possibles pour avoir usurpé et detenu ses royaumes de pardeçà, et en prive et deboute ledit seigneur roy, la royne sa compaigne et leur enffans, contre Dieu, droit et raison.

Et, pour ce faire, pour couverture et dissimulacion, car jasmais ne se fait grant mal que soubz couleur et dissimulacion de quelque bien, affin de mieux parvenir a son intencion et non se mectre de prime face en l'indignation des grans ne du peuple, a, incontinent après ledit trespas de ladite feue royne, delaissié le tiltre de roy; mais, contre ce, il a prins tiltre de gouverneur et administrateur perpetuel desdits royaulmes; tellement qu'il eust peu sembler que en nom il n'estoit riens, mais en effect, en euvre et en gouvernement il eust eté le tout.

Tost après qu'il eust prins ledit tiltre de gouverneur et administrateur perpetuel, feist tenir courtès en la ville de Thore, esquelles courtès il se feist par les procuradores et autres jurer pour tel en se vantant en ce de certain testament

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(TRANSLATION.)

in the instruments which were drawn up on these subjects. Miguel Perez de Almazon.

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de ladite feue royne, lequel toutesfoiz ledit seigneur roy n'a jasmais peu veoir, ne autre pour luy, par copie ne autrement, quelque requeste ou poursuite qu'il en ait faite ne fait faire. Par quoy appert clerement que ce n'est que abuz, combien que, quant ores il en eust quelque chose, que ce ne peut de riens avanchier ne prejudicier quant au droit dudit seigneur roy.

Ce fait, après qu'il a esté ainsi juré gouverneur et administrateur, en a bien usé; car il a entierement disposé à sa voulenté de toutes choses, ne plus ne moins que s'il eust resté seul roy, sinon que, ès publicacions de justice qui se faisoient et en expedicions de lettrages et autres choses, faisoit dire de par la royne sa fille, comme vraye heritiere, et de par luy comme gouverneur et administrateur perpetuel, sans faire mencion nulle du roy, non plus que s'il n'y eust droit ne action quelconque.

Oultre plus, affin d'avoir plus grant coleur d'usurper ledit gouvernement et de en animer les grans et le peuple envers et à l'encontre dudit seigneur roy, feist publier et courir la voix partout que ladite royne sa fille estoit folle; par quoy il devoit gouverner pour elle, et que ledit seigneur roy son mari la tenoit prisoniere, avec autres mensongies et bourdes infinies.

Encoires plus, icellui seigneur roy d'Arragon, en toutes devises, secretement et autrement, en sa chambre et ailleurs, aussi en sermons publicques, a journellement dit, fait et souffert dire et preschier dudit seigneur roy touts les vices, opprobres et choses deshonnestes que l'on pourroit dire de prince, pour par les moyens dessusdits mectre le peuple et aussi lesdits grans maistres en une horreur et hayne envers icellui seigneur roy.

Aussi a-il fait tout son povoir et par tous les moyens qu'il a peu et sceu adviser, par dons, promesses, alienacion des biens de la couronne et autrement, de gaigner et attraire lesdits grans maistres à luy.

Et combien que ledit seigneur roy ait bien sceu et journellement esté adverty des choses dessusdites, lesquelles il a paceimment souffert et enduré, en se mectant tousjours en tout devoir de faire et porter audit seigneur roy d'Arragon sondit beau-pere, tout l'honneur et toute la reverence qui luy a esté possible et que bon fils est tenu de faire, esperant tousjours par doulceur et amour le vaincre et luy amolyr le ceur.

Ce nonobstant, icellui seigneur roy d'Arragon, en perseverant tousjours de mal en pis et veullant spollier ledit seigneur roy et sesdits enfants de leur sucession, non seullement d'Arragon et de Naples, mais de tout, s'il eust peu, s'est allé marier et alier aux François, ennemis perpetuels des couronnes de Castille et d'Arragon, et a fait ung mariaige si vitupereulx, comme chacun scet, secretement, sans le sceu dudit seigneur roy, et en entretenant cependant l'ambassadeur

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d'icellui seigneur roy de belles parolles et de bourdes, nyant ledit mariaige jusques il estoit tout fait, disant tousjours qu'il vouloit tant de biens à icellui seigneur roy que merveilles, et luy estre bon pere; ce dont il a par effect monstré tout le contraire.

Encoires, non content de ce, ledit Seigneur roy d'Arragon, tost après ledit mariaige fait, a poursuy et fait poursuyr devers noster saint pere l'investiture dudit royaulme du vivant de ladite feue royne Isabeau, en l'an quinze cent et ung; laquelle investiture se feist expressement pour iceulx roy don Fernando, ladite royne Isabeau et leurs enffans procreez d'eulx deux et non de l'un d'eulx.

Pardessus le droit de ladite investiture, a-il autre droit d'une part, pour ce que ledit royaulme de Naples a esté gagnié et conquis, non d'argent, gens ne sang d'Arragon mais de Castille, d'autre part, par le mariage de monseigneur le prince avec madame Claude a y droit acquis pour mondit seigneur le prince.

Non obstant encoires toutes lesquelles choses, ledit seigneur roy, estant pour lors occupé en plusieurs autres ses grans et urgens affaires, veant que promptement ne povoit obvyer ne remedier aux choses dessusdites, sans avoir mis tout le royaulme en guerre, à la totale destruction d'icellui, pensant tousjoures vaincre par bien faire, aiant aussi quelque espoir sur les belles parolles que ledit seigneur roy son beau-pere disoit journellement, contraires toutes fois à ses euvres, mais pensoit que quelque jour il se convertiroit, feist certain traictié avec luy . . . . . .

13th June. **9.** KING FERDINAND THE CATHOLIC to his AMBASSADORS staying with King Philip.

[*Simancas. Patronato Real. Capitulaciones con la Casa de Austria. Legajo* 2. *f.* 17. *Original draft, most probably to be put in cipher.*]

Rio Negro, xiii. de Junio de dvi. Sobre las vistas del Rey don Felipe y Rey Catolico.

Esta tarde por dos postas he recebido vuestra carta y las dos del Arçobispo de x. y xj. del presente yo le respondo en claro como vereys el plazer que he havido de saber que las

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(TRANSLATION.)

9. Rionegro, 13th of June '506. Concerning the interview of King Philip with the Catholic King.

This afternoon I received by two couriers your letters, as well as those of the Archbishop, of the 10th and 11th of the present month. I have answered in common writing, as you

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cosas estan ya puestas en manos, etc^{a}., y que yo continuare mi camino fasta topar e me juntar con el Rey y la Reyna mis fijos y assi lo hare de manera que no lo puedan estorbar todos quantos alla lo estorban. demas desto direys al Arçobispo que esto de mi ida alla yo lo fago por seguir su voto y consejo que es que me confie enteramente y tanbien porque veo y creo que esta es la salud para todos estos negocios. mas le direys que lo que alla han dicho que yo proveya que es verdad como ya se le ha escrito que algunas cosas estaban ordenadas para que si fueran menester se pusieran en obra. mas que mi fin quando se ordenaban no fue para que se pusiessen en obra salvo que hove por bien que se ordenassen por contentar al condestable que lo solicitaba y atizaba estrañamente, y entonces no caya (1) yo que el lo fazia por poner discordia pero en fin podeys certificar que de mi parte ninguna cosa dello se ha puesto ni porna en obra ni en todo el Reyno se hallara carta ni provision ny renglon mio que toque a esta materia, y que ahunque yendo solo de la manera que voy al Rey mi fijo estava cierto que yo no havia de innovar cosa alguna, pero que por mayor satisfaccion del Arçobispo que con tan santo celo dessea nuestra concordia

(1) Sic.

(Translation.)

will see, that I have great pleasure in knowing that the affair is already in hand, etc., and that I shall continue my journey until I meet the King and the Queen, my children, and carry out my intentions in such a manner that all those who wish to disturb them shall not be able to do so. Moreover you are to tell the Archbishop that I undertake this journey in order to follow his advice and counsel and to show confidence, and likewise because I believe that it will be beneficial with respect to all those negotiations. You are, however, to tell him also that what has been said there about certain measures which I have taken is the truth, and in fact it has already been written to him that orders had been given to make certain preparations in case of need. But when I gave those orders it was not my intention to carry them out, and I only consented to them in order to satisfy the Constable who solicited them, and incited me with great passion. I did not then believe that he did so in order to foment discord, but at all events you can say that on my part nothing of the kind has been done, nor will be done, and in the whole kingdom not a single letter or order, or even a line from me to that effect will be found. Going alone, as I go, to meet the King my son, I was persuaded that I ought not to disturb anything, and in order fully to satisfy the Archbishop, who with so holy a desire wishes to reconcile us, I send with this the papers under my signature and seal which he asks for, and I

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yo embio aqui firmada y sellada la cedula que el demande, y me placera que como dice cobre otra tal del Rey mi fijo, pero que para mi yda yo no esperare la dicha cedula ni otra cosa alguna, y que pues de mi parte no esta fecho ni proveydo nada ni embiadas cartas a grandes ni a ciudades, etcª. ni fecho otra cosa alguna que seria bien que el Arçobispo procure de suyo que si algunas cosas ha proveydo el Rey mi fijo para fin de discordia las suspenda y embie por las provisiones o mensaieros si algunos fueron embiados porque no hagan alguna alteracion en el Reyno que quando estemos juntos si place a dios se proveeran todas las cosas sin alteracion y como cumple a la paz y bien del Reyno.

El condestable fizo y dixo aqui muchas cosas trabaiando que otros grandes y cavalleros se juntassen y juramentassen con el para estorvar que entre mi y el Rey mi fijo no haya concordia y que en caso que no lo pudiessen estorbar que se juramentassan con el para que tomassen la boz de la Reyna contra el Rey mi fijo y contra mi y ciertamente yo no pudiera creer del tal cosa y solamente lo digo para que el Arçobispo este sobre aviso que creo que esto que aqua el condestable procurava lo procurara meior alla porque hallara mas que le sigan para ello. tanbien se dice que va con ardid de concertarse con don juan Manuel y dar a su fijo la encomienda de

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(Translation.)

approve that, as he proposes, he accepts another similar paper from the King, my son. In as far, however, as my journey is concerned, I shall not wait for the paper, nor for any other thing. As I have done nothing and sent no letters to grandees or cities, etc., or prepared any other measure, it would be well that the Archbishop, in his own name, should procure that, if the King, my son, has taken measures calculated to create discord, he should suspend them and recall his orders and messengers, if he has sent any, in order to avoid disturbances in the kingdom. When we meet we shall, with the help of God, provide for everything without producing commotions, as the peace and weal of the kingdom requires.

The Constable did and spoke many things here, asking other grandees and cavaliers to unite with him, and to swear to prevent a reconciliation between me and the King, my son, and, in case they could not prevent it, to bind themselves by oath to set up the claims of the Queen against the King, my son, and me. Certainly I can scarcely believe it, and I mention it now only in order that the Archbishop may be vigilant. I am persuaded the Constable will more easily attain there what he has endeavoured to attain here, because he will find more persons to follow him there. For this purpose, it is said, he is extremely desirous to reconcile himself with Juan Manuel, and offers his son the knight com-

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Castilnovo que yo le di para que mejor pueda por su mano estorvar la concordia. estad en todo sobre aviso y no participeis nada desto sino al Arçobispo.

Pareceme bien que vos don pedro vengays luego y que vos fernando de Vega y el Cor (1) quedeys alla.

27th June. **10.** TREATY between KING FERDINAND THE CATHOLIC and KING PHILIP.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Patronato Real. Capitulaciones con la Casa de Austria. Legajo* 2. *f.* 24. *Original.*]

The most intimate friendship and alliance is to prevail between the contracting parties. King Ferdinand is to leave the government of the kingdom of Castile to King Philip, etc.

Villafafila, 27th of June 1506.

27th June. **11.** ADDITIONAL TREATY between KING FERDINAND and KING PHILIP.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. P. R. Capitulacs con la casa de Austria. Legajo, No.* 2. *f.* 21.]

xxxiij. bartolome Ruiz concertado. don fernando por la gracia de dios rrey de Aragon, de las dos Secilias, de ierusalem, etc., fazemos saber a los que la presente vieren que oy dia de la fecha desta fue assentada cierta capitulacion de amistad e union e concordia entre nos y el Serenisimo principe don filipe, rrey de Castilla, de leon, de granada, etc., nuestro muy caro e muy amado fijo y por la onestidad y lo que se

(1) Comendador.

(TRANSLATION.)

mandership of Castilnovo, which I have granted him. He thinks that it is easy through him [Juan Manuel] to prevent the reconciliation. Be vigilant, and do not speak on this subject to any one but the Archbishop.

I am of opinion that you and Don Pedro ought to return immediately, and that you, Fernando de Vega, and the knight commander should remain there.

11. Collated by Bartolome Ruyz.

Don Ferdinand, by the grace of God, King of Arragon, of the Two Sicilies, Jerusalem, etc. We make known to all who may see this instrument that on the day named in the date of this, a treaty of friendship, amity and alliance was concluded between us and the most serene Prince Don Philip, King of Castile, Leon, Granada, etc., our very dear and much beloved son. For the sake of honesty and out of respect for

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deve a la honrra de la Serenissima princessa doña juana, rreyna de Castilla, de leon, de granada, etc., nuestra muy cara e muy amada hija no fueron alli espresadas algunas cosas y causas conviene a saber como la dicha Serenisyma rreyna Nuestra hija en ninguna manera se quiere ocupar ni entender en ningun negocio de regimento ni governacion ni otra cosa y aunque lo quisiese fazer sera total destruycion y perdimiento destos rreynos segund sus enfermedades e pasiones que aqui no se espresan por la onestidad como dicho es queriendo proveer y remediar y obviar a los dichos daños e ynconvenientes que desto se podria seguir fue acordado y asentado entre nos y el dicho serenisimo Rey nuestro hijo que en caso que la dicha serenisima Reyna nuestra hija por si misma o inducida por qualesquier personas de qualquier estado o condicion que fuesen, se quisiese o la quisiesen entrometer en la governacion e turbar e venir contra la dicha capitulacion que nos ni el dicho serenisimo Rey nuestro hijo no lo consentiremos antes seremos muy conformes en lo remediar y seyendo requeridos para ello el uno por el otro nos ayudaremos e daremos ayuda para contra qualesquier grandes o personas que para ello se juntaren e esto faremos sana e derechamente sin arte e sin

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(Translation.)

the honour due to the most serene Princess, Doña Juana, Queen of Castile, Leon, Granada, etc., our very dear and much beloved daughter, certain circumstances and reasons were not stated in it, viz., that the said most serene Queen is not inclined, on any condition, to occupy herself in the despatch of any business concerning the royal prerogatives and government, or in any other business, and that even if she were inclined to do so, it would be to the total destruction and perdition of these kingdoms. Considering her infirmities and sufferings, which for the sake of her honour are not expressed, as already stated, and being desirous to remedy and prevent the evils and inconveniences which would be the consequences thereof, it has been concerted and concluded between us and the most serene King, our son, that in case the said most serene Queen, our daughter, either from her own choice or from being persuaded by other persons of what estate or condition soever, should attempt, or that they should attempt, to meddle in the government, or to confound and oppose the said treaty; neither we, nor the said most serene King, our son, shall suffer it, but on the contrary shall be unanimous in preventing it. Either of us, if requested by the other, shall help and assist the other against all grandees or other persons who may combine for such a purpose, very effectively and honourably without any deceit or reserve. The assistance to be

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cautela alguna la qual ayudaremos la una parte a la otra e la otra a la otra a costa de la parte que la pidiere y asi juramos a dios nuestro Señor y a la Cruz y a los Santos quatro evangelios con nuestras manos corporalmente tocamos e puestas sobre su ara de lo guardar e complir. en testimonio de lo qual mandamos fazer la presente firmada de nuestra mano e sellada con el sello de nuestra camara. dada en Villafafila a veinte e siete dias del mes de Junio año del nascimiento de nuestro Señor Jesuchristo de mill e quinientos e seis años. yo el rrey.

yo miguel peres de Almaçan, Secretario del Rey mi Señor la escrivi por su mandado e fue presente a lo susodicho con los dichos testigos. esta sellada con el sello real del dicho Señor Rey de Aragon e signada con el signo del dicho secretario Almaçan. e yo bartolome ruyz de Castañeda escribano de Camara del Rey e de la Reyna Nuestros Señores e secretario de las cortes que Sus Altezas mandan faser doy fee que saque este traslado de la dicha carta original e va cierto. bartolome rruyz.

(Translation.)

given by each one to the other is to be at the expense of the party which asks it; and so we swear to God our Lord, with our hands touching the Cross and the Four Holy Gospels, placed on the altar, to guard and to fulfil all this; in testimony whereof we order this instrument to be drawn up, and to be signed by our hand, and sealed with the seal of our chancery.

Given in Villafafila, on the 27th day of the month of June of the year 1506 after the birth of Our Lord Jesus Christ.

I the King.

I, Miguel Perez de Almazan, secretary of the King my lord, have written this instrument at his command, and was present at this act, together with the witnesses.

It is sealed with the royal seal of the King of Aragon, and signed with the signature of the secretary Almazan, and I, Bartolome Ruiz de Castañeda, *Escribano de Camara* of the King and the Queen, our lord and lady, and secretary of the Cortes, certify that their highnesses have ordered me to make this copy, which I have transcribed from the original, and which is correct. Bartolome Ruiz.

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27th June. **12.** PROTESTATION of KING FERDINAND THE CATHOLIC against the treaties concluded with KING PHILIP at Villafafila.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Patronato Real. Capitulaciones con la Casa de Austria. Legajo* 2. *fo.* 23. *Original.*]

Reclamacion de Su Alteza de las escripturas hechas en Villafafila el año de 1506.

Por quanto a todos es notorio el grande agravio que la Serenissima Reyna doña juana mi muy cara e muy amada fija e yo don fernando, por la gracia de dios Rey de Aragon, de las dos Sicilias, de Jerusalen, etc^{a}., recebimos en la contratacion y concordia tan preiudicial a la dicha Serenissima Reyna mi fija y a mi y a mi derecho y con tan enormissima lesion de nosotros, la qual dicha contratacion y concordia es forçado que yo la faga y firme y jure entre mi y el Serenissimo Rey don felipe mi yerno, por quanto yo fiandome del y de su palabra y juramentos yendo a buena fe y como entre padres y fijos se deve puse mi persona de manera que siendo el con mi fabor apoderado destos rreynos de Castilla y de Leon y estando junto con los grandes dellos y con mano poderosa y fuerte mi Real persona esta en peligro notorio e manifiesto, y mis rreynos segun las ocurrencias de tiempo y estando mi persona en la forma susodicha estan en el mismo peligro, por

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(TRANSLATION.)

12. Protestation of His Highness against the Treaties concluded in the year 1506, at Villafafila.

It is notorious to all that we, the most Serene Queen, Doña Juana, my very dear and much beloved daughter, and I, Don Fernando, by the grace of God, King of Aragon, of the Two Sicilies, Jerusalem, etc., are much injured by the conclusion of the treaty which is so prejudicial to the said most Serene Queen, my daughter, and to me and my prerogatives, and which contains the most enormous injustice towards us. The said covenant and treaty between me and the most Serene King Don Philip, my son-in-law, was obtained by force, and I am obliged to sign and swear to it, because, confiding in him and his promises and oaths, I went to see him with that good faith which ought to subsist between a father and a son, and then found myself placed in such a position through his having by my favour taken possession of these kingdoms of Castile and Leon, and assembled the grandees thereof, and united a powerful and strong army, that my royal person is in notorious and manifest danger, and consequently, considering what is going on in these times, as well as the position in which my person is placed, my kingdoms are exposed to no less danger. Thus, from fear and apprehension of

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esto por impression y miedo de lo susodicho y porque de otra manera no se pudian evitar los dichos peligros, queriendo el dicho Rey mi yerno totalmente tomar como toma de fecho la administracion de los dichos rreynos despojandome a mi de la administracion que de derecho por muchos respectos me pertenece y ahun teniendo a la dicha Serenissima Reyna doña juana su mujer mi fija fuera de libertad privandola de todo lo que le pertenece por ser heredera y propietaria destos dichos rreynos e yo forçado como dicho es por los sobredichos peligros impression y miedo oy que son veynte y siete dias de Junio de quinientos y seis años en esta villa de Villafafila he de fazer firmar y jurar acto e concordias e scripturas en las quales le dexo al dicho Rey don felipe la administracion destos dichos rreynos y le he de fazer e firmar e jurar scritura que si la dicha Serenissima Reyna su muger mi fija determinara por si misma o induzida por qualesquiera personas entremeterse en la governacion destos dichos rreynos y turbar la dicha concordia que entrel y mi se ha de fazer, que yo no lo consentire antes sere muy conforme con el para remediarlo, las quales concordia y escritura y juramento yo no fare firmare ni jurare de mi voluntad espontanea antes aquellas fare por evitar los peligros susodichos y por el miedo e impression susodichas porque es cierto que si yo por fiarme del y de su palabra no me huviera puesto donde estoy ni en el estado

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(Translation.)

what has been stated, and because the dangers cannot be avoided in any other manner, since the said King, my son-in-law, is determined entirely to usurp, as in fact he does, the administration of these kingdoms, despoiling me of the administration which on many accounts belongs to me by right, and even depriving the most Serene Queen, Doña Juana, his wife and my daughter, of her liberty and all that belongs to her as heiress and proprietress of these kingdoms: forced, as I have stated, by these dangers, and my apprehensions and fear, I am obliged today, on the 27th of June 1506, in the town of Villafafila, to conclude, sign, and swear to an instrument, alliance and treaty, by which I commit to the said King Philip the government of these kingdoms. Moreover, I am forced to conclude, sign, and swear to a clause, according to which, in case the said most Serene Queen, his wife and my daughter, should determine to take part in the government, and to disturb the treaty, whether by her own decision or induced by any other persons, I am not to consent to it, but in agreement with him oppose her. The said treaty, clause, and oath [are forced from me], and I shall not conclude, sign, and swear to them of my own free will, but only to avoid the above mentioned dangers, and from fear and apprehension. For it is evident that if I had not confided in him and his word, if I had not

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que estoy, y mi Real persona fuera en su entera libertad y los peligros y miedo susodichos cessasen tal concordia ni scritura ni juramento yo no firmaria ni juraria ni consentiria por ser como es muy prejudicial y en enormissima lesion de la dicha Serenissima Reyna mi fija y mia. por ende por conservacion de mi derecho y porque al delante se puedan mostrar autenticamente las causas porque yo firmare y jurare y consentire las dichas concordia y escrituras para que no embargantes aquellas como nullas y de ningun efecto yo pueda quando sera menester cobrar mi derecho y administracion y fazer lo que devo y soy obligado por derecho natural a la dicha Serenissima Reyna mi fija para que cobre su libertad y derechos que le pertenecen como a Reyna heredera y propietara destos dichos rreynos, y no pudiendo por los dichos peligros miedo e impression protestar publicamente ni abierta sino secretamente, porque en fazer publica la dicha protestacion hay aquellos mismos peligros e impression. por ende aqui delante de vosotros Micer Thomas Malferite rigiente mi cancelleria y de Mossen juan Cabrero mi camarero ambos del mi consejo y de bos Miguel peres de Almaçan mi Secretario y notario publico por autoridad apostolica y rreal protesto y denuncio y reclamo que el dicho auto concordias y escri-

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(TRANSLATION.)

been placed under such circumstances as I am, if my royal person were at full liberty, and if the said danger and fear were to cease, I should not sign such a treaty and clause, nor swear such an oath, nor consent to such enormous injustice to the said most Serene Queen, my daughter and me. Therefore, in order to preserve my right and to be able afterwards to prove in an authentic manner the reasons which induce me to sign, swear, and consent to the said treaty and clause; and further, in order to be able, when necessary, and notwithstanding them, they being null and without effect, to recover my right and government, and to do that which according to the right of nature is my duty and obligation towards the most Serene Queen, my daughter, viz., to enable her to recover her liberty and the prerogatives which belong to her as Queen, heiress and proprietress of these kingdoms; and considering that in consequence of the said dangers fear and apprehensions, I cannot protest publicly and openly, but only secretly, as a public protestation would be attended by the same dangers, and cause the same apprehensions: for all these reasons, and in presence of you, Micer Thomas Malferite, President of my Chancery, and Mosen Juan Cabrero, my Gentleman of the Bedchamber, both of my Council, and you Miguel Perez de Almazan, my Secretary, by Apostolic and Royal Authority Public Notary, I protest, denounce, and declare that I shall conclude, sign, and swear to the treaty, covenant, and clause, which is to be concluded today, under the unmistakeable

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turas que oy he de fazer las fare firmare y jurare por fuerça impression y miedo indubitado y por salir de los peligros susodichos y por sacar mi persona rreal en libertad y evitar la perdicion y daño de mis rreynos y no porque de mi espontanea voluntad ni de mi grado yo quiera ni consienta en dexar la administracion destos dichos rreynos y lo que me toca de derecho por muchos respectos ni me place ni consiento en la privacion de libertad de la dicha Serenissima Reyna mi fija ni de lo que le es quitado de lo que le pertenece como a heredera y propietaria destos rreynos, antes no consiento ni entiendo consentir en ninguno de los dichos actos y concordias y scrituras y juramentos, porque aquellos no enbargantes como nullos impresivos y de ningun efecto quando pudiere quiero como dicho tengo ayudar a la libertad de la dicha Serenissima Reyna mi fija y a que cobre lo que le pertenece como a heredera propietaria destos dichos rreynos, y cobrar la administracion que a mi por muchos respectos de derecho me pertenece, requiriendo a vosotros los susodichos que seays testigos de la presente mi protestacion y reclamacion y a vos notario y Secretario susodicho que recibays acto e instrumento publico della para que al delante autenticamete pueda parecer. fecho e otorgado e firmado e jurado fue lo susodicho en la dicha villa de Villafafila a veinte y siete dias del dicho mes de Junio año del nacimiento de

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(TRANSLATION.)

influence of force, apprehension and fear, that is to say, because I wish to avoid the above stated dangers, as well as to recover the liberty of my person, and to prevent the perdition and ruin of my kingdoms. Of my own free will and determination I would never consent to abandon the government of these kingdoms, and the rights which on various accounts belong to me, nor would I consent and approve that the most Serene Queen, my daughter, should be deprived of her liberty, and despoiled of what belongs to her as heiress and proprietress of these kingdoms, but on the contrary, I do not consent, nor shall I consent to any of the deeds, treaties, and clauses which are to be sworn to, they being not binding and of no effect. Moreover, I intend as soon as I can, according to what I have stated, to help the most Serene Queen, my daughter, to recover her liberty and what belongs to her as heiress and proprietress of these kingdoms, and to have the government again which for many reasons belongs to me. I, therefore, request you who are above named to be witnesses of this my protestation and revocation, and order you, my Secretary and Notary, to draw up the deed and public instrument, in order that it may hereafter be produced as authentic proof. This was declared, signed, and sworn to in the town of Villafafila, on the 27th day of the month of June of the

1506.

Nuestro Señor Jesu Christo de mill y quinientos y seys años, a lo qual todo fueron presentes por testigos los surodichos Micer Thomas Malferite y Mosen juan Cabrero.

Yo el Rey.

Yo Miguel peres de Almaçan secretario de su Alteza e notario publico por las autoridades apostolica e rreal presente fui en uno con los dichos testigos al otorgamiento desta escriptura de proteste e reclamacion que Su Alteza fizo segund e de la manera que dicha es e en nuestra presencia Su Alteza firmo en ella su nombre e a su pedimiento. la screvi e fice en ella este mi signo acostunbrado en testimonio de verdad. [Signo.] Miguel peres de Almaçan. [Rubrica.]

1507.
15th March. **13.** KING FERDINAND THE CATHOLIC to KATHARINE, PRINCESS OF WALES.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Patronato Real. Tratados con Inglaterra. Legajo 5. f. 96. Draft written by Almazan.*]

Princesa de Gales. esta se embio despues que vino Melchior.

fiat. con çavallos recebi ũras letras y dios sabe quanto yo siento en mi alma no ver os en el descansso y contentamiento que yo vos desseo porque sin duda os amo mas que padre nunqua amo a fija y para fablaros claro si el Serenisimo Rey don felipe mi yerno dios le perdone no os hubiera sido tan enemigo como os fue vuestra dote se cumpliera antes que yo

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(TRANSLATION.)

year 1506 after the birth of Our Lord Jesus Christ, and in presence of the aforesaid witnesses, Micer Thomas Malferite and Mosen Juan Cabrero. I the King.

I, Miguel Perez de Almazan, Secretary of His Highness and by Apostolic and Royal Authority Public Notary, was, together with the witnesses, present at the act of this declaration, protestation, and revocation which His Highness made in the aforesaid manner. His Highness signed it in our presence with his name, and at his command I wrote it out and signed it with my customary sign manual in testimony of the truth. Miguel Perez de Almazan. [Sign manual.]

13. Princess of Wales. This letter was sent after Melchior had arrived.

fiat. I received your letters sent by Zavallos, and God knows how much I feel it in my heart that you do not enjoy that tranquillity and contentment which I desire for you. Certainly I love you more than ever a father loved his daughter; and to tell you the truth, if the most serene King Don Philip, my son-in-law, God forgive him, had not always been such an enemy of yours as he was, your dower would have been paid

1507.

partiera despaña, mas como el dinero con que se a de conplir y las joyas que para ello se han de vender estan en Castilla en deposito pudo el entonces estorbar que no se os enbiase y no solamente en esto mas en todas las otras cosas tocantes a mi o a mis fijas se mostro muy contrario faciendole yo obras de mas que de padre. y despues que el murio como la Serenisima Reyna de Castilla mi fija ṽra hermana no entiende en negocios por su retraymiento y yo estoy absente y aquello en ninguno manera se puede conplir sin mi presencia esta es la causa porque la dote no es ida que si en absencia lo pudiera yo porveer para que hubiesse efecto mucho ha que fuera fecho. mas como digo no hay remedio sin mi presencia. yo mediante Nṽro Señor estoy determinado de partir para Castilla esta primavera porque la Reyna mi fija ṽra hermana me enbia de continuo a rogar con grande instancia que vaya y todos me escriven que para que aquellos rreynos no se pierdan ni se destruyan despues de dios no hay otro remedio sino mi yda y me suplican muy ahincadamente que vaya. y viendo yo quanto va en ello a la Reyna Serenisima Reyna (1) mi fija ṽra hermana y al bien de aquellos Reynos he determinado de dexar mi descanso y de me poner a todo trabajo para remediar a ella y a sus Reynos. y allende los otros

(1) Sic.

(TRANSLATION.)

before I left Spain. As, however, the money wherewith to pay, and the jewelry which was to be sold, were deposited in Castile, he had it in his power to prevent your dower from being sent. And not only in this, but in all other things which concerned me or my daughters, he was always an enemy, although I rendered him more services than a father. Since his death the most serene Queen of Castile, my daughter and your sister, in consequence of her retirement, does not occupy herself with affairs of state, and I am absent, and this business cannot be despatched whilst I am not there. This is the reason why your dower has not been sent. If it had been possible to provide for this case during my absence, it would long ago have been done; but, as I have said, it is impossible without my presence. I am determined, with the help of God, to go to Castile during this spring, because the Queen, my daughter and your sister, continually sends and begs me very pressingly to do so, and all write to me that, after God, there is no other means to preserve those kingdoms from ruin and destruction except my return to them. As they beg me very earnestly to go, and as the happiness of the most serene Queen, my daughter and your sister, and of those kingdoms greatly depend upon it, I have decided to give up my own comfort and to undergo all the labour of assisting her and her kingdoms. In addition to these considerations, your par-

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respectos por el ṽro particular me dare mas priesa en mi ida y en siendo alla mediante Nuestro Señor proveere en que se os enbie la dote que creed que lo desseo mas que vos misma. y esto tenedlo por certisimo y si por otra via o de otra manera yo lo pudiera antes proveer yo lo hubiera fecho por que demas que me sois fija yo estimo mucho el valor de ṽra persona y querria os ver honrada y contenta y descansada y asi lo he de travaiar como por la salvacion de mi alma. y en siendo en Castilla si place a Ntro Señor vos enbiare el Confesor que pedis que aqua no lo hay tal de la nacion y asimismo enbiare ahi embaxador y si don pedro de ayala tuviere dispusicion para ello enbiare a al (1) con todo el recaudo que conviniere y esto sera sin falta placiendo a Ntro Señor. a lo que dezys que creeys quel Serenisimo Rey de inglaterra mi hermano no querra tomar las joyas y cosas de oro y de plata que llevastes en el precio que fueron estimadas bastara que las tome en el precio que verdaderamente valen en el qual seran estimadas por maestros con juramento. mas mirad que es muy necesario que conserveis enteramente toda la plata y oro y joyas que llevastes porque estan puestas en la quenta de ṽra dote y si eso se gastase no havria despues de donde conplirlo de manera que una vez fasta quel matrimonio sea consumado es forçado que conserveis las dichas cosas por lo

(1) Sic.

(Translation.)

ticular case induces me to make more haste, and as soon as I arrive there I shall, with the help of God, provide that your dower be sent. Believe me, I wish it even more than you, and you may be perfectly sure that, if it had been possible to provide for this case earlier, I would have done so. For you are not only my daughter, but I also hold your person in high esteem, and wish to see you honoured, and satisfied, and tranquil. To obtain this, I shall as resolutely set to work as for the salvation of my soul. As soon as I arrive in Castile I shall also send you the confessor whom you desire, for there is none of that nation (1) here. I shall likewise send an ambassador, and if Don Pedro de Ayala should be inclined, I shall despatch him with all the diligence necessary. I shall not fail to do so, with the permission of our Lord. As for what you say, that you think the most serene King of England, my brother, will not accept the jewels, gold, and silver at the price at which they were valued, it is sufficient that he accept them at the price they are really worth according to the valuation of sworn goldsmiths. But you must remember that it is very necessary to preserve intact all the plate and gold and jewels which you took with you, for they are accounted for in your dower, and if any of them should be wanting, it would be impossible to replace them. Thus, until your marriage is consummated, it is

(1) No Spaniard.

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que en ello os va, y con esto el que llevare el dinero de la dote llevara tal razon de todo que el dicho Serenisimo Rey de inglaterra mi hermano terna razon de contentarse que a el no se le pedira cosa cerca desto sino conforme a lo que esta assentado y capitulado. y en fin el embaxador yra ynformado a proposito de todo lo que decis de manera que yo espero que todas vuestras cosas se faran bien. no queda sino que entretanto os goberneis con el Rey de inglaterra sabiamente y que trabajeis de le tener contento. y en lo que toca a vro casamiento fablad siempre con presupuesto que dello no teneis ninguna duda ni sospecha y como en cosa que dios solo lo podria desatar.

vi lo que el Rey de inglaterra mi hermano vos fablo sobre lo de su casamiento con la Reyna de Castilla mi fija vuestra hermana y plugome saber todo lo que sobre ello de su parte me escrebistes. respondedle a ello de mi parte que yo no se ahun si la dicha Reina mi fija esta en voluntad de casarse y que si ella se ha de casar que yo folgare mas que case con el dicho Rey mi hermano que con otro ningun principe de la Christiandad y mayormente con las condiciones de la Capitulacion que dice que quiere asentar conmigo sobre ello y que yo estoy determinado mediante Ntro Señor de yr a Castilla esta primavera a proveer en el remedio de la dicha Reyna mi fija y de sus

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(Translation.)

necessary to preserve the said things. It is your interest to do so. He who is to go with the money will give such an account that the most serene King of England, my brother, will have good reason to convince himself that nothing is demanded from him except what is in conformity with the agreement and the treaty; and, finally, the ambassador will be fully informed about all you have mentioned, so that I hope all your affairs will be well arranged. Meanwhile nothing more remains to be done but that you behave prudently towards the King of England, and endeavour to obtain his goodwill. Speak of your marriage always as of a thing of which you have no doubt and no suspicion, and which God alone can undo.

I have read what the King of England, my brother, said to you about his marriage with the Queen of Castile, my daughter and your sister. I had great pleasure in learning all which you wrote to me on this subject in his name. Answer him in my name that I do not yet know whether the said Queen, my daughter, be inclined to marry again; but if she should do so, I should prefer her to marry the said King, my brother, rather than any other prince in Christendom, and above all on the conditions of the treaty which he says he is willing to conclude with me on this subject. I am determined, with the help of our Lord, to return this spring to Castile, to occupy myself in remedying the affairs of the said Queen, my

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Reynos, y que me parece que el Rey de inglaterra mi hermano me debe enbiar un enbaxador suyo a la misma hora que supiere que sere llegado a Castilla plaziendo a Ntro Señor para que con aquel negocie yo lo que tocare al Rey de inglaterra mi hermano y a mi, y que estando yo con la Reina mi fija v̄ra hermana y sabida su voluntad podre mejor endereçar las cosas a este proposito. mas estad sobre aviso que esta cosa este muy secreta porque si la Reyna mi fija se ha de casar yo se que podria antes inclinarse a otra cosa que seria muy contraria para esto y no hay quien en tal caso la pudiese desviar de lo uno y poner en lo otro sino yo. y desto creame a mi el Rey mi hermano que se mas en ello que todos y como he dicho tenga esta cosa secreta fasta que sepa que este yo en Castilla con la Reyna mi fija que me enbie el dicho enbaxador.

aqui enbio una carta mia para el Rey de inglaterra en respuesta de la quel me escribio y en fin della me remito a lo que a vos escrivo. fazedgela dar, y lo desta cifra que es para el facedlo sacar aparte a persona fiel.

tanbien escribo al dotor de la puebla algo del casamiento del Rey de inglaterra remitiendome en fin a vos. en tanto que yo enbio otro enbaxador aprovechaos de el en lo que vieredes

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(Translation.)

daughter, and her kingdoms; and it seems to me that the King of England, my brother, ought to send me an ambassador as soon as he knows that, by the help of God, I have arrived in Castile, so that I may settle with him all that relates to the King of England and to me. When I am with the Queen, my daughter and your sister, and know her wishes, I shall be better able to arrange all things for this purpose. But take care that the affair be kept very secret; for if the Queen, my daughter, should marry again, I know that she might incline towards something else, very contrary to this. In such case, no one could dissuade her from the one and persuade her to the other, except myself. This the King, my brother, may believe me, as I know more of her than any one else does. As I have said, he must keep this secret until he knows that I am in Castile with the Queen, my daughter, and then he may send me the said ambassador.

I send with this a letter for the King of England in answer to that which he wrote to me. At the end of it I refer him to what I have written to you. Give my letter to him, together with a deciphering of this paragraph in cipher, which is for him. Have it separately deciphered by a trustworthy person.

I write also to the Doctor de Puebla something about the marriage of the King of England, referring him at the end of the letter to you. Until I send another ambassador employ

1507.

que pueda aprovechar y servir en los negocios con el Rey de ynglaterra mi hermano.

15th April. **14.** DOCTOR DE PUEBLA, Spanish Ambassador in England, to KING FERDINAND THE CATHOLIC.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Patronato Real. Tratados con Inglaterra. Legajo 5. f.* 31. *Autograph in cipher. Deciphered by Almazan. The few words printed in italics had been left undeciphered by Almazan, and are deciphered by the Editor. The key is extant.*]

Muy alto y muy poderoso principe Rey y Señor,

despues de por mi bessados los Reales pies y manos de Vr̃a Alteza le fago saber que recebi la carta de Vr̃a Alteza de xv de Março que este correo truxo la qual me embio la Señora princessa de gales martes de la semana sancta xxx de Março, y despues de sacada de la cifra en claro y por mi vista luego otro dia miercoles de las tinieblas me fui al Señor Rey de ynglaterra a Richamonte viij millas de londres donde falle que todavia estava retraido a causa de la dolencia passada que ha tenido bien peligrosa de una esquilencia que vj dias dizen que estovo que cossa del mundo no podia comer ni bever y llego a tal estado que por muchos se dudo de su vida. mas agora a dios gracias Su Alteza esta bueno pero aun no se dexa ver sino de pocos y como supo mi venida luego mando que entrase y estove con el bien dos horas largas comunicandole mostrandole y declarandole por estenso lo que Vr̃a Alteza me

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(TRANSLATION.)

him whenever you think he can be useful and render services in the negotiations with the King of England, my brother.

14.

Very high and very mighty Prince, King and Lord,

After having kissed the royal feet and hands of your Highness, I have to inform you that I received the letter of your Highness of the 15th of March, sent by this courier. The Señora Princess of Wales sent it me on Tuesday of the Holy Week, the 30th of March. After having deciphered and read it, I went on Wednesday to the King of England to Richmond, which is eight miles distant from London. I found him still keeping his room in consequence of his last illness, which has been a very dangerous quinsy. During six days, it is said, he could neither eat nor drink, and he was in such a state that his life was despaired of by many. Now, thanks to God, his Highness is well, but he sees only a few persons. As soon as he knew that I had arrived he ordered that I should be introduced to his room, and I remained with him rather more than two hours, communicating, showing, and explaining to him in detail what your Highness had

1507.

escrebia de lo qual todo mostro mucho plazer y dando inmensas gracias por ello a Vr̃a Alteza. y al fin dixome que ya yo veya los dias en que estavamos de la semana sancta que oviese paciencia fasta aquellos pasados y assignome el segundo dia de pascua para me oyr y entender y no alçar la mano desto fasta tomar algund buen expidiente en ello. y assi lo fize y me fui a londres y volvi el segundo dia de pascua y dende aquel dia fasta viij. dias continuos no passo dia dellos que al Rey no fablase en secreto y despues a el y a algunos de su secreto Consejo juntamente. y quanto a lo de la prorrogacion del dote crea Va. Alteza que he tenido mucha altercacion en fecho y en derecho pero en fin el Rey de inglaterra se determino de fazerlo como Vr̃a. Alteza me lo escrebio y lo vera por su carta firmada y sellada que aqui a Vr̃a. Alteza enbio, y pareceme que sin empacho escrive alli a Vr̃a. Alteza lo que en aquello con el se tratava lo qual crea Vr̃a. Alteza ser verdad segun lo escrive y muchas veces de palabra me lo dixo jurandome que por la fe de su corazon aquello era verdad, y vea Va. Alteza si cumple a su servicio mostrar esta carta del Rey de ynglaterra al embaxador del Rey de francia que hay esta. y no me contente con sola una carta que aqui embio mas suplique le que otra tal en

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(Translation.)

written to me. He rejoiced much at everything, and gave infinite thanks to your Highness. At last he said that, as I was aware, we were in the Holy Week, and that I must have patience until it was over. He appointed the second day of Easter to hear and negotiate with me, and [he said] he would not take off his hands from this business until a good arrangement had been come to. I did as I was bidden, went to London, returned the second day of Easter, and during the eight following days not one passed on which I did not speak in secret first with the King alone, and then with him and a few of his privy councillors together.

As for the prorogation of the [payment] of the dower, your Highness may believe that I had great disputes about matters of fact as well as of law, but at last the King of England made up his mind to consent to what your Highness wrote to me. Your Highness will see his letter, signed and sealed, which I send enclosed in this. I think he writes to your Highness frankly respecting the negotiations which have been carried on; and your Highness may believe that what he writes is the truth, as he has often told me by word of mouth, swearing by the faith of his heart (1) that it is true. Your Highness will judge for yourself whether it is convenient to show this letter of the King of England to the ambassador of the King of France who is staying there. I did not content myself with the letter which is enclosed in this,

(1) Sic.

1507.

sustancia diesse a la Señora princessa y assi me lo prometio de fazer y de justificar las causas escusatorias de no haver pagado la dote. y en quanto a lo del tiempo no pude acabar que fuesse mas largo de fasta San Miguel que son cinco meses y medio de aqui alla y porque Va. Alteza dize que muy presto sera plaziendo a Nuestro Señor en Castilla y que sin dilacion lo mandaria luego proveer y ahun porque a la princessa se le fazia mucha dilacion no me quise mas en ello detener. suplico a Va. Alteza reciba mi voluntad que esta ha seydo y es tal en su servicio que a ninguno del mundo dare ventaja.

a Vña Alteza suplico en este tiempo de la prorrogacion mande complir los c.✓. escudos y en lo del apreciar de las joyas de oro y plata en aquello no habra mucha diferencia porque es como habeis contadas pero en lo de las joyas de piedras preciosas bien soy cierto que no se tomaran aqua sino a mucho menos precio de lo que alla se piensa y esto por algunas causas que aqui dire. la una porque a fama de rico son venidas al Rey de inglaterra muchas piedras preciosas de *el Rey Alonso de Napoles* y de *el Rey Don Fernando su hijo* y de otras *partes* y las ha habido por *poco precio.* y lo otro que en la postrera capitulacion que fernan duque concluyo no se pudo otra cosa

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(Translation.)

but asked him to give another similar one to the Señora Princess, and he promised to do so, and to declare that your excuses for not having paid the dower were sufficient. With respect to the time, I could not obtain a longer adjournment than until St. Michael's Day, which is five months and a half distant. As your Highness says that, with the help of God, you will be very soon in Castile, and then immediately provide for this case, and as the Señora Princess became somewhat impatient, I did not like to occupy myself any longer in these negotiations. I entreat your Highness to acknowledge my goodwill, which has been, and is in all things which regard your service, such that in this respect no one has an advantage over me.

I entreat your Highness during the time of the prorogation to pay the one hundred thousand ducats. With respect to the valuation of the jewels of gold and of silver, there will be no great difference, for they are valued as you have put them down in the account; but the ornaments of precious stones, I feel sure, will be accepted at much less than is there(1) supposed. The reasons thereof I shall state here. As the King of England has the reputation of being very rich, a great quantity of precious stones have been sent to him by *the King Alonso of Naples* and *his son the King Don Ferdinand and other persons*, and he has bought them *at a very cheap rate.* Besides, in the last treaty which Fernanduque concluded,

(1) In Spain.

1507.

acabar sino que aquellas joyas fuessen tassadas y apreciadas por lapidarios deste Reyno juramentados del valor por que se podrian vender y sufriose esto deste aprecio assi por no poder mas como porque estaban aqua muy metidos y puestos en pensamiento por sus leyes municipales de haver en lugar de c.✓. escudos cc.✓. como Va. Alteza terna bien dello memoria. digo todo esto porque Va. Alteza mande proveer de tal manera que no aya falta en el cumplimiento de esta prorrogacion y he pensado que quando el aprecio destas piedras preciosas fuesse tan baxo que las hubiessen aqua de tomar en prendas de lo que las tasasen o apreciassen y dar espacio de un año para se las poder quitar o dexar y durante el dicho año pensaria Va. Alteza en lo que de(1) debiesse fazer sobre ello. suplico a Va. Alteza no se sepa que yo escribo cosa desto porque me pornian en mucha confusion y mala voluntad del Rey de inglaterra y mucho mas de la Señora princessa si supiessen que esto tal escrebia a Va. Alteza.

ytem en lo del casamiento de la Serenisima Reyna de Castilla Va. Alteza lo escribio tan excellente y prudentisimamente que al Rey y aquellos pocos de su secreto Consejo parecio muy bien y ciertamente a lo que puedo comprehender no hay rrey

(1) Sic.

(TRANSLATION.)

it was impossible to obtain more than what the value of these jewels was ascertained to be on the oath of dealers in precious stones and gems in this country, according to the price at which they could be sold. It was impossible to obtain better conditions, because the people here had made up their mind, owing to their municipal laws, to get two hundred thousand scudos instead of one hundred thousand, as your Highness will remember. I state all this that your Highness may give such orders that there may be no default in the payment within the time of the prorogation. I am of opinion that, if the said precious stones should be valued at a very low rate, it would be best to pledge them here for the price at which they will be valued and appraised, on condition, however, that they may be redeemed within the space of one year. During that year your Highness can see what is best to do in this matter. I beg your Highness not to say that I write anything of this kind, because if the King of England, and much more the Señora Princess, were to know what I write to your Highness, I should be placed in a disagreeable position towards them, and have to bear their ill-will.

Item.—Concerning the marriage of the most Serene Queen of Castile, your Highness wrote so admirably and so prudently that it seemed very good to the King of England and to those few privy councillors [who are initiated in the matter], and certainly, as far as I am able to judge, there is no King

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que sea mas al proposito de Va. Alteza que el Rey de ynglaterra si la Señora Reyna hubiesse de casar, agora estuviesse sana o enferma que se me figura que teniendo tal *marido como* al Rey de inglaterra podria cobrar la sanidad mejor que otro alguno, y Va. Alteza ternia la gobernacion cierta y segura, y si su enfermedad fuesse incurable no seria inconviniente estar aqua y no me parece que estiman en mucho su enfermedad porque supieron de mi que para haber *generacion no* no (1) tiene enfermedad alguna. en este negocio el rrey de inglaterra dice quanto a lo primero dar infinitas gracias a Va. Alteza por todo lo que en este caso con tan intimo amor y buena voluntad escrive. lo otro que porque Va. Alteza escrivio a la Señora princessa que despues de llegado en Castilla seria bien quel Rey de ynglaterra enbiase embaxada a tratar este casamiento parecio al Rey y a su Consejo que despues que Va. Alteza con la gracia de dios sea en Castilla y aya comunicado sobre este caso con la Señora Reyna y que si Su Alteza estuviere inclinada a querer oyr su *enbaxador* en este matrimonio o cosa que le parezca que en tal caso escriviendo aqua Va. Alteza que a la ora enbiara su embaxador a Castilla con poder bastante no solo para capitular y tratar con Va. Alteza en este casamiento y en todo lo mas que se ofreciere mas ahun para concluyr con la Señora Reyna por palabras de presente. dixome el Rey que

(1) Sic.

(Translation.)

who would be so convenient for your Highness as the King of England. If the Queen were to marry him, whether she be sane or not, I think that, having such a *husband as* the King of England, she would sooner recover than with any other, and your Highness would have the regency sure and undisputed. And if her infirmity should prove incurable, it would be no inconvenience if she were to live here. For it seems to me they do not much mind her infirmity, since I told them that it does *not prevent her from bearing children.* The answer of the King of England is, firstly, to thank your Highness very much for all you have written on this subject with so much love and goodwill; secondly, as your Highness wrote to the Señora Princess that after your arrival in Castile the King of England should send an embassy to enter into negotiations about this marriage, it seems to the King and to his council that when your Highness, with the help of God, has returned to Castile and consulted the Queen about this subject, and her Highness should be inclined to hear his *ambassador* about this marriage, or something similar, your Highness must write to him, and he would immediately send an ambassador to Castile with full power not only to conclude with your Highness this marriage and whatever else might occur to you, but also to contract marriage *per verba de præsenti* with the Queen. The King told me that this

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mas onesto seria desta manera enbiar su embaxador que no si hubiesse de yr y fuesse no gratamente recebido ni bien oydo ni por ventura aceptado de la Señora Reyna. pues como Va. Alteza dize no sabe su voluntad suplico a Va. Alteza muy humilmente que despues que aya fablado con la Señora Reina le plega escrevir su voluntad de lo que por mas servido se tuviere y si mandare que vaya embaxador sin dilacion yra, y yo trabajare que sean los embaxadores personas muy aceptas al servicio de Va. Alteza. y por questa resolucion que Va. Alteza escrivio era para se alla capitular no me quise aqua mucho entremeter en las condiciones sino solamente oyr lo que me dezian de do conocia y veya ellos estar desseosos e inclinados a que si a Vŕa. Alteza pluguiese y pudiesse acabar que la Señora Reyna quisiesse venir a permanecer a ynglaterra que en todas las otras condiciones estaria mucho al proposito de Va. Alteza. y sobre todo desean que Va. Alteza libremente tenga toda la gobernacion y administracion de los Reynos de Castilla, que era lo que parecia a Va. Alteza como se havian de repartir por que dize que lo primero era razon que se sacasse lo que era menester para los gastos de Va. Alteza y de los Reynos de Castilla y para el y para la Reyna una cierta suma que a Vŕa. Alteza justa le pareciesse. yo bien creo que si en estas dos cosas

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(Translation.)

manner of sending his ambassador would be more honourable than if he were to go and then not be well received, or not heard, or even not received at all by the Queen. As your Highness writes that you do not know the wishes of her Highness, I most humbly beseech you that after having spoken with the Queen you would be pleased to write what your will is, and if you should say that an ambassador may be sent, he will go without delay. I shall see that the ambassadors be persons very much disposed to the service of your Highness. As your Highness wrote that the treaty should be concluded there (1), I did not think it proper to say much on its conditions and have listened only to what they said to me. I conclude from it, and it is clear that, if your Highness could persuade the Queen to come and live in England, they would in every other respect propose conditions very favourable to your Highness. And above all, they wish that your Highness should retain the government and administration of the kingdoms of Castile entirely in your hands, and that [the revenues] should be divided as might seem best to you. Firstly, he thought it was reasonable to deduct from them as much as was necessary to cover the expenses of your Highness and of the kingdoms of Castile, and to pay to the Queen such an annuity as you should think just. I feel sure that, if your Highness would concede these two points, there

(1) In Spain.

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Vŕa. Alteza se puede determinar que en todo lo al no habra dificultad y caso que Vŕa. Alteza no pudiesse acabar lo de la estada de la Señora Reyna en este Reyno podriase responder que en los principios seria raçon quel Rey de inglaterra primero (1) a Castilla y con esto bien creo no se deternan de fazer la voluntad de Vŕa. Alteza.

ytem estas cartas que Vŕa. Alteza con este correo aca embio han aprovechado a dos cosas. lo uno que gratamente se ha tomado buen expidiente en lo de la prorrogacion que no en poco lo he estimado segund las tramas que han andado. lo otro que estaban diputados embaxadores del Rey de ynglaterra para partir presto al Rey de francia y vistas las cartas que Vŕa. Alteza me escrivio fueron revocados y tardaran fasta saber lo que Va. Alteza en este negocio determina.

otro si muy poderoso Señor sepa Va. Alteza que desde el dia que supe que era de Castilla partido Vŕa. Alteza fasta oy he estado muy doliente y cercano a la muerte a do he gastado mucho que por Nuestro Señor en esta embaxada de mas de haberseme anegado el primer fijo que tove he vendido quanto en este mundo gane y herede que solo un palmo de tierra no me quedo, y en tanto que tenia que vender no me daba mucha pena de estar sin proveymiento de Vŕa. Alteza que

(1) Sic.

(Translation.)

would be no other difficulty. If your Highness should not be able to persuade the Queen to live in this kingdom, it would be well to answer that at first the King of England should stay at Castile. If that is done, I think they will make no difficulty about doing what your Highness wishes.

Item.—The letters which your Highness has sent by this courier have produced a favourable impression in two respects. In the first place, a good and gracious settlement has been come to with respect to the prorogation, which I do not a little esteem, considering in what state things were here. Secondly, ambassadors of the King of England had been appointed to go to the King of France, but in consequence of the letters which your Highness wrote to me they were recalled, and are to wait until it is known what your Highness decides about this affair.

One thing more, Señor. Your Highness must know that since the day I was informed of the departure of your Highness from Castile until this day I have been very ill and near death. I have spent much money. During the time I have held this embassy it has been the will of God that not only my eldest son should be drowned, but also that I should be obliged to sell whatever I have acquired or inherited in this world. Not an inch of land has remained to me. As long as I had property to sell, I did not much mind being left without any provision from your Highness, whom

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dios guarde y de la Reyna que santa gloria aya. agora pues yo no tengo de salario la meytad que qualquier otro embaxador de Va. Alteza y teniendo tanta costa como el que mas y estando Va. Alteza fuera de españa no le tengo de supplicar por salario syno solamente me faga merced al presente de algund poco de socorro lo qual recibere en tanta merced como en otro tiempo cient tanto. Nr̃o Señor la vida y Real estado de Va. Alteza acreciente y prospere con muy mas Reynos y Señorios y complimiento de sus deseos en todo amen. De londres a xv de Abril de Dvii.

Muy humill siervo de V. Alta. que sus Reales pies y manos beso dottor de puebla.

[Rubricado.]

15th April. **15.** DOCTOR DE PUEBLA, Spanish Ambassador in England, to KING FERDINAND THE CATHOLIC.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Patronato Real. Tratados con Inglaterra. Legajo 5. f.* 32. *Autograph. The words printed in italics are in cipher and deciphered by the editor. The key is extant.*]

Muy alto y muy poderoso Catholico principe Rey y Señor, despues de por mi besados los Reales pies y manos de ẗra Alteza le fago saber que oy de la fecha me embio a pedir la Señora princesa todo el despacho que para vuestra Alteza tenia escripto diziendo que pues Vr̃a Alteza le havia embiado

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(TRANSLATION.)

God preserve, and from the Queen, who now enjoys holy glory; but although at present my salary is only one half of that of any other ambassador of your Highness, and my expenses as great as those of any one of them, yet as your Highness is absent from Spain, I do not ask you to pay me my salary, but beseech you only to do me a favour, and to order that a small part be given to me, which I should esteem as high a favour as a hundred times more on another occasion.

May our Lord preserve the life and royal estate of your Highness, and prosper and augment it with many more kingdoms and dominions and the accomplishment of all your wishes. Amen.

From London on the 15th of April '507.

Your Highness' very humble servant kisses your royal feet and hands.

Doctor de Puebla. [Sign manual.]

15. Very high and very mighty Prince, King and Lord,

After having kissed the royal feet and hands of your Highness I have to inform you that to-day the Señora Princess sent for me and asked for the whole despatch which I had written to your Highness, saying that, as your Highness had sent the courier Perote to her, and that the letters for me were in his bag,

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el correo perote y en su emboltorio las cartas para mi que asi hera razon en su emboltorio oviese de yr todo el despacho que yo a Vña Alteza embiase. y asi lo hize. despues pense de escrebir esta en emboltorio de un mercader luques por algunos respetos que aqui dire. lo uno porque Vña Alteza sepa toda la substancia de lo que escribo en el emboltorio de la Señora princesa. lo otro para que sepa la causa por que alli embie el dicho despacho y lo otro y mas principal por lo que dios no quiera si el dicho correo fuese ympedido por la gente de guerra del Rey de francia que tan tendida anda por italia que a lo menos Vña Alteza pudiesse saber en substancia todo lo que aca se ha fecho y ocurre.

quanto a lo de la porrogacion de la paga del docte fizose como Vña Alteza me enbio a mandar abiendo el Rey por justificadas las causas de no aver cunplido fasta agora la dicha dote lo qual el Rey embia a V. Alteza dos cartas sobre ello firmadas y selladas que soy cierto bien se contentaran dellas. verdad sea que en el termino de esta paga no pude mas termino alcanzar de fasta Sant Miguel que son cinco meses y medio por lo que largamente Vña Alteza vera por las otras mis cartas.

yten en lo del *casamiento* de *la Reyna de Castilla con el Rey de inglaterra* desea saber la llegada de Vña. Alteza en Castilla y luego sin tardanza *enbiara embajada* y porque espero en dios el correo perote no habra impedimento y alli

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(Translation.)

it was natural that my despatch to your Highness should also go in his bag. I did as I was commanded. Afterwards I thought it right to send this letter in the bag of a merchant from Lucca. The reasons which induce me to do so I shall state here, viz., in the first place, I wish to inform your Highness of the whole substance of my letter which I send in the bag of the Señora Princess; secondly, I wish to state the reason why I send the said despatch; and, thirdly and principally, I wish that, as war is raging in Italy, and this courier might be arrested by French soldiers (which God forbid), your Highness should know in substance all that is done and occurs here.

As for the prorogation of the payment of the dower, I did what your Highness ordered me, and the King, considering the reasons for its not having been paid up to this time to be sufficient, sends your Highness two letters, signed and sealed, which I am sure will be found satisfactory. It is true I could not obtain a longer postponement of the payment than until St. Michael's day, which is five months and a half distant. Your Highness will find the details in the other letter.

Item.—Concerning the *marriage* of *the Queen of Castile with* the *King of England* he wishes to be informed of the arrival of your Highness in Castile, and he will then without delay *send an embassy*. Hoping in God that the courier Perote will have no difficulty, and that your Highness will see

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vera muy por estenso Va. Alteza todos los negocios no me quiero en esta mas detener sino que la Santisima Trenidad conserve y prospere la vida y Real estado de Vŕa Alteza con muy mas Reynos y Señorios y cumplimiento de sus deseos en todo Amen. De londres a xv. de Abril de dvij. *de puebla.* doctor. [Rubricado.]

[*Sobre:*] Al muy noble Senor el Señor Miguel Perez de Almaçan Secretario y del Consejo del Rey ñro Señor. (1)

15th April. **16.** KATHARINE, PRINCESS OF WALES, to KING FERDINAND THE CATHOLIC.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Patronato Real. Tratados con Inglaterra. Legajo* 5. *f.* 50. *Holograph.*]

Muy alto y muy poderoso Señor,

las cartas de Vŕa Alteza receby con el coreo que estas lleva y vynyeron tan frescas que me fue doblado la merced y plazer que con ellas uve las manos de Vŕa Alteza beso por el cuydado que de my muestra que todo mes byen necesaryo para amansar las furyas daca que an sydo artas para venyr a este prolongamyento del dote asta el tyempo que va asynado que por la carta del Rey Vŕa Alteza vera. plega a dios que baste este termino que ha dado para poder se cumplyr por que sy asy no fuese byen se podrya dezyr que serya peor lo postrero que lo prymero y aun lo que yo querya es que sy posyble

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(TRANSLATION.)

all the details of this negotiation, I shall no longer detain you, and wish only that the most Holy Trinity may guard and prosper the life and royal estate of your Highness, and grant you many more kingdoms and dominions and the fulfilment of all your wishes. Amen.

From London on the 15th of April, '507.

De Puebla, Doctor. [Sign manual.]

[*Addressed:*] To the very noble Lord Miguel Perez de Almazan, Secretary and Counsellor of the King our lord.(1)

16. Very high and very mighty Lord,

The letters of your Highness I received by the courier who is the bearer of these. They were of so recent a date that your favour and my pleasure were doubled. I kiss the hands of your Highness, thanking you for the care you take of me. All this has been very necessary to appease the fury which was raging here before the payment of the dower had been prorogued. The date of the prorogation your Highness will learn from the letter of the King of England. God grant that this period may be long enough, and that before it is over the payment may be made, for, if that should not be the case,

(1) Although directed to the secretary, the letter is evidently written to the King.

1507.

fuese no se aprovechase Vr̃a Alteza de todo el espacyo que se lo da porque fuese enmienda de la falta pasada ell anticipar de agora. yo aunque dygo esto byen se que no puedo dar a Vr̃a. Alteza mas pryesa de la que se tyene por dycho de darse. mas digolo porque querya que tuvyese Vr̃a. Alteza manera que no me agan aca entender que me an echo de no nada por que es muy malo de sufryr tanto menosprecyo syendo yja de Vr̃a. Alteza aunque no lo merezca ser, y por esto querya que la persona que aquy vynyese fuese tal que supyese hablar lo que es raçon en el tyempo que ay necesydad de ablar. en esto ya Vr̃a. Alteza me dize lo ara como se lo suplyco yo por la causa que pedy a Don pedro es porque me parece que tyene abylidad para lo que quysyere azer y tan byen porque tyene espyryencya de lo daca y quyen lo daca conoce tyene la mytad del camyno andado asy que a el u al Comendador de la Menbrilla olgarya que v̄ra Alteza enbyase mas no a hernan duque aunque a estado aqua. lo que yo en este caso a Vr̃a. Alteza torno a suplycar es que la persona que aquy uvyere de venyr cualquier que sea tenga espyryencya y mucho saber y estado. esto autoryze porque crea Vr̃a. Alteza que no ay cosa que mas aga u desaga en los estados Reales que los enbaxadores

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(Translation.)

it might well be said "the last is worse than the first." What I wish is, that, if possible, your Highness should not wait for the end of the term which has been granted, as an anticipation of the payment would atone for the last default. Although I beg this, I know very well that I cannot urge your Highness more than you urge yourself, but I speak of it because I wish your Highness to take some means to prevent these people from telling me that they have reduced me to nothingness. It is very difficult to endure such humiliations, being the daughter, although an unworthy one, of your Highness. I therefore wish that the ambassador who is to come hither should be a man who dares to speak an honest word at the right time. Your Highness has already informed me that you will do what I have asked, and the reason why I wish that Don Pedro (1) should be sent is, because I think that if he wishes to do anything, he has all the ability to do it. Besides, he knows this country. Whoever knows this country has overcome one half the difficulties. (2) Thus, I should be glad if your Highness would send either him or the Knight Commander of Membrilla, and not Fernanduque, although he has already been here. I once more beg your Highness that the person who is to come, whoever he be, may be a man of great experience, knowledge, and high station. All this would give him authority. Your Highness may believe that nothing contributes more towards the prosperity or adverse fortune of kingdoms than

(1) Don Pedro de Ayala.
(2) Literally has gone already half way.

1507.

especyal para este Reyno que es apartado de todos los ostros y quyere mas cyrcunstancyas en todas las cosas que otra nacyon nynguna. a lo que Vĩa Alteza me dize que este que vynyere verna de todo tan byen ynformado que no aya aca revuelta nynguna yo asi lo creo mas sy byen Vĩa Alteza a leydo mys cartas en todas le echo saber lo que avra en esta y es que con mys muchas necesydades y el largo tyempo que an durado me asy(1) necesaryo socorrerme a la plata y que falta parte della a esta causa y faltara en tanto que Vĩa Alteza no me proveyere, porque aunque a los myos yo los dexo echos pedaços y con tan sobradas myseryas que es verguença pensallo lo de mi persona no lo puedo asy desymular y pues no tengo de do avello es me forçado de lo cumplyr de lo que tengo, asy que sabyendo Vĩa Alteza esto de my tan a la larga como se lo tengo escryto no se como me manda que se conserven enteramente el oro y la plata porque ara falta en el dote y aun porque esto Vĩa Alteza remedyese lo se (2) yo echo saber en todas mys cartas asy que no hay duda syno que a my pensar que con lo daca no avra entero cunplymyento del dote sy Vĩa Alteza no provee en acrecentar en lo que se a de traer. todo esto digo a Vĩa Alteza porque estando de todo ynformado venga este

(1) Sic. me a sydo. (2) Sic.

(Translation.)

the choice of ambassadors, especially in this kingdom, which is so isolated from all others, and requires in every respect more circumspection than any other nation. Your Highness tells me that the new ambassador will be so well instructed about everything that no difficulty can arise here. I believe it, but if your Highness has read attentively my former letters you will remember that I informed you in them of the same thing as I write in this, viz., that my necessities have been so great, and have lasted so long a time, that I have been forced to sell my plate. A portion of it is therefore deficient, and will be as long as your Highness does not provide me [with money]. Although I let my servants walk about in rags, and they live in such misery that it is shameful to think of it, I cannot so much neglect my own person; and as there are no other resources left me, I am forced to live upon what I have. (1) Your Highness knowing all this, as I have written all the details to you, I do not understand how you can command me to preserve intact my gold and plate because it is to form part of my dower. I have informed your Highness of this circumstance in all my former letters, that you may remedy it, and may know that there is not any doubt that with what is here the whole dower cannot be paid unless your Highness increases the amount which you are to send hither. I tell your Highness all this in order that you may be well informed, and make such arrangements for the pay-

(1) The meaning is to sell her plate.

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dote de manera que no se gaste mas tienpo en concertalle que se ha gastado esperandole. tan bien suplyco a Vña Alteza que enbye algun socorro a estos myos y les aga algunas mercedes porque todos y todas ya no saben que hazer ny yo se que les dyga porque en verdad sy en servirme a my Vuestra Alteza recybe servycyo no creo puede aver personas a quyen en mas obligacyon Vuestra Alteza sea pues despues que en este Reyno entre como a Vña Alteza tengo escrito syenpre me han servydo con esperança de remedyo y este nunca le a avido asta el dya de oy y todavya me sirven con tanta voluntad como si cada dia les yciese mercedes. espero yo y asy lo tengo por cyerto pues Vña Alteza vyene a Castilla se las ara y les dara junto lo que merecen. de la venyda de Vña Alteza uelgo tanto que no me deja sentyr el trabajo que se le ofrece por seguyrse del tanto byen pues dexado el descanso y consolacyon de la Señora Reyna que es causa tan pryncypal uelgo de ver aquel Reyno en quyen fue sucesora la Reyna my Señora en poder de Vña Alteza porque no dexe destar en la prosperydad y segurydad que le dexo. asy mysmo por my espero desde ay remedyara Vña Alteza myjor todo lo que me toca. en lo que yo a Vña Alteza enbye a suplycar sobre lo del Confesor yo ya

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(Translation.)

ment of the dower that no more time may be lost than has been already in waiting for your [arrival in Spain]. I also beseech your Highness to succour my servants, and to grant them some favours. For all of them, men and women, no longer know what to do, and I am at a loss what to say to them. If it is true that your Highness considers services which I receive as services rendered to yourself, I think there are no persons to whom your Highness is more indebted than to my servants. From the day that I arrived in this kingdom, as I have written to your Highness, they have always served me in the hope that things would be mended, and although nothing has been remedied up to this day, they serve me still with the same good will as though I granted them every day new favours. As your Highness is returning to Castile, I hope and take it for certain that you will give them at once all that is due to them. I am so glad your Highness is returning to Castile that I forget to think of your fatigues. The advantages are very great. Not to speak of the comfort and consolation of the Queen (1), although that is also of great importance, I rejoice to think that the kingdom to which the Queen my lady (2) succeeded is to remain in the hands of your Highness, and will lose nothing of the prosperity and security in which she left it. Besides, I hope that, by staying in that kingdom, your Highness will be in a better position to remedy all that concerns me. With respect to the confessor whom I begged your Highness to send me, I must inform you

(1) Queen Juana. (2) Queen Isabel.

1507.

estoy desto muy byen proveyda mas suplyco a Vña Alteza que porque yo e scrito al general de San francysco de oservancya la necesydad que aquy ay de un par de frayles letrados españoles los aga Vña Alteza venyr para que esten aquy. en lo que Vña Alteza me enbyo a mandar de su parte dixose al Rey. en respuesta de lo de la Reyna quysyera tanbyen saber escrybyr en cyfras como supe sacallas mas tengo por myjor escrybillo yo en claro que no fyarme en nadye. lo que se me respondyo es que a Vña Alteza se le tyene en mucho la voluntad que desto muestra mas que en lo del enbyar del enbaxador que el no se determyna syno tuvyese alguna certynydad prymero de venyr a efecto lo que quyere y da para esto tal razon que sy el enbyase sobre ello y no se ycyese que le serya gran deshonor, puesto que a my asy no me lo parece, mas el quyere enbyar segun me dixo sobre algun concyerto echo y dyce que sy Vña Alteza lescrive azyendole saber la voluntad que alla ay para esto que sy muestra ser la que el quyere que luego enbyara enbaxador que lo lleve a Vña Alteza todo asentado y capytulado lo que el a dicho, y asy mysmo que lleve a Vña Alteza su poder para que aga por el todo como lo ordenare Vña Alteza. tanbyen me dixo que la determynacyon de lo que en este se puede azer que querya que Vña Alteza se lo yzyese saber lo mas presto que ser pueda porque la duquesa de

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(Translation.)

that I have already a very good one. I have written to the General of the Franciscan Observant Friars that some learned Spanish friars are wanted here. I now beg your Highness to send them. Concerning what your Highness ordered me to tell the King in your name in answer to [his proposals] with respect to the Queen, I wish I could write in cipher as well as decipher; but I think it better to write in common writing than to trust to any one else. His answer is, that he values very highly the good intentions of your Highness, but as for the sending of an embassy, he would not like to do it before he had some certainty of obtaining what he desired. The reason which he gives is, that it would reflect dishonour on him if he were to send [an embassy] and nevertheless it [the marriage] could not be concluded. I do not think so. He, however, told me that he is ready to send [an ambassador] about some treaty which has been concluded, and says that if your Highness will write and inform him of the intentions which prevail there, and if they should be such as he wishes them to be, he will immediately send an ambassador to your Highness, with a treaty already drawn up and containing all he has promised, and also with full powers to do all your Highness may command. Moreover, he told me that he desires your Highness to send him without loss of time a determinate answer, and to let him know what can be done in this affair; for the

1507.

Saboya es ya venyda a flandes y que espera ally y que sy esto otro se aze que dexara aquello aunques bueno por lo myjor mas que sy no que no querya perder estotro por que le vyene byen. esto fue lo que me respondyo. en lo de tener secreto y asy lo dixe todo al pye de la letra como Vña Alteza me escribyo. de my yo lo certyfyco a Vña Alteza que lo este que por que mas lo estuvyese me puse yo mysma a sacar las cyfras syn nynguna ayuda aunque syendo nueva en el ofycyo. en lo que dyce Vña Alteza de my que muestre que solo dyos puede desazer lo que esta echo en verdad yo syenpre he tenydo ese cuydado destar sobre avyso en eso y asy lo e siempre mostrado y aun para mas confirmallo byen pocos dyas ha dixe al dotor de puebla entre otras cosas sobre el estar de la manera que estava para que el lo dixese al Rey como lo sentya aunque lo dysymulaba y que sobre todo lo que mas grave se me azia era ver al pryncype tan de tarde en tarde que me parecya gran crueldad estando todos en una casa pasarse cuatro meses syn velle. dyxome el dotor que sobre esto le respondyo el Rey que antes lo azia el por mas byen myo porque sabyendo Vña Alteza esto se dyese mas pryesa a enbyar el dote asy que en nada no ay mejorya por agora. en lo que

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(Translation.)

Duchess of Savoy is already arrived in Flanders, and is waiting there for him. If this (1) can be concluded, he will give up the other. (2) Although it is also a good one, the first is still better. But if that cannot be done, he would in such a case not like to lose the other, which suits him perfectly well. Such was his answer. Concerning the necessity to keep it secret, I told him word for word what your Highness writes to me. As for myself, I can assure your Highness that I shall keep it, and in order to be more sure I have myself deciphered your ciphering without any assistance, although I am not used to such a thing. With respect to what your Highness orders me, viz., that I should always conduct myself as though God alone could undo what has been done, I have, in fact, always behaved in this respect with great circumspection and watchfulness. In order the more to confirm it, speaking with Doctor de Puebla only a few days ago about the present state of things, I asked him to tell the King that I resented it much, although I concealed my feelings, and that the most difficult thing for me to bear was to see the Prince so seldom. As we all lived in the same house, it seemed to me a great cruelty that four months should have passed without my seeing him. The Doctor told me the King had assured him that he did it for my good; for if your Highness knew this, you would make more haste in sending the dower. Thus, nothing has improved. Your

(1) The marriage with Queen Juana.
(2) The marriage with Madame Margaret, Duchess Dowager of Savoy.

1507.

Vĩa Alteza manda que entretanto tenga la manera que vyere ser necesarya yo lo echo asta quy con el myjor tyento q:ie a my a sydo posyble y por azello he sufrydo ser martyr y asy lo sere todo quanto Vĩa Alteza mandase pues byen puedo jurar que yo lo ago mas por servycyo de Vĩa Alteza que por lo que a my mysma me toca. a çavallos espero como Vĩa Alteza me lo escrive con quyen entyendo olgar por saber mas por menudo nuevas de Vĩa Alteza y al dotor e dicho y avysado escryba a Vĩa Alteza lo cyerto de lo daca syn echalle nyngun açucar con que se encubra. a me dicho que asy lo ara. yo por lo que querya que lo yzyese es porque no de a Vĩa Alteza esperança a my costa de lo que no tyene syno que dyga la verdad porque se remedye en lo porvenyr lo pasado. Nuestro Señor la vyda y muy Real estado de Vĩa Alteza guarde y acrecyente como yo deseo.

de Rixamonte a xv de Abryl. muy servydora de Vĩa Alteza que sus manos besa.

la pryncesa de gales.

[*Sobre:*] Al muy alto y muy poderoso Señor el Rey mi Señor.

(Translation.)

Highness commands me meanwhile to do what I may think necessary. I have done so up to this time as well as I could, and although I have suffered martyrdom, I shall continue to do all your Highness desires, more to serve your Highness, than out of regard for my own interests. In consequence of what your Highness writes me, I expect Zavallos. I shall be glad to learn good news of your Highness more fully. I have told and ordered the Doctor to write to your Highness the truth, and not to sugar it over or to conceal it. He has promised to do so. The reason why I wish it is that he may not give your Highness false hopes at my expense, but that he may tell the truth, so that what has been bad hitherto may be remedied in future.

Our Lord preserve the life and royal estate of your Highness, and prosper it as I wish.

From Richmond 15th of April.

Your Highness' servant kisses your hands.

The Princess of Wales.

[*Addressed:*] To the very high and very mighty Lord, the King my lord.

1507.
8th June (?)

17. KING FERDINAND THE CATHOLIC to the DOCTOR DE PUEBLA, his Ambassador in England.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Patronato Real. Tratados con Inglaterra. Legajo* 5. *f.* 100. *Draft written by Almazan.*]

El Rey.

fiat. doctor de la puebla mi enbaxador y del mi Consejo. vi vuestras letras de xv de Abril y las del Serenisimo Rey de ynglaterra mi muy caro y muy amado hermano que con ella me enbiastes con las quales y con las buenas nuevas que por ellas me escrebistes de su salud y prosperidad hove mucho plazer por que naturalmente le amo mucho y huelgo de su bien como del mio propio yo vos ruego que por mi plazer y descanso me fagays saber siempre de sus buenas nuevas por que no creo que hay principe en el mundo que tanto fuelgue con ellas como yo.

quanto a la prorrogacion de la paga de la dote de la Illma. princesa de gales mi fija que dicho Serenisimo Rey mi hermano me ha otorgado dezidle de mi parte que me ha parecido muy bien y que ge lo agradezco mucho y que fuelgo de ver que en esto y en todo parece el amor que me tiene y que siendo en Castilla placiendo a Nr̃o Señor yo trabajare de embiar el cunplimiento de la dicha dote con tanta diligencia como si la dicha prorrogacion no fuera otorgada y porque con la persona que desde Castilla llevara el dinero de la dicha dote placiendo a Nuestro Señor vos escrebire todo lo mas que toca a este articulo no digo aqui mas sobre ello.

(TRANSLATION.)

17. By the King.

fiat. Doctor de la Puebla, my ambassador and of my council, I have seen your letters of the 15th of April and those of the most serene King of England, my very dear and very beloved brother, which you sent with them. I have been much pleased with the good news you wrote me concerning his health and his prosperity, for I love him much and sincerely, and rejoice as much at his good successes as at my own. I beg you, for my satisfaction and tranquillity, to let me always have good news of him, for I think there is no prince in the world who is so glad to hear them as I.

With regard to the prorogation of the payment of the dower of the most illustrious Princess of Wales my daughter, which the said King my brother has granted to me, tell him in my name that I am greatly pleased and thank him much. I am rejoiced to see in this as in all other things his love for me. As soon as, with the help of God, I am in Castile, I shall take care to send him the dower with as much speed as though no prorogation had been granted. As I shall write to you all that refers to this subject by the person who is to go with the money, if God permits, I shall say nothing more about it here.

1507.

cifra. en lo del casamiento del Rey de inglaterra mi hermano con la Reyna de Castilla mi hija hame parecido muy bien todo lo que sobre ello escrebis y pues al dicho Rey mi hermano le parece que no debe embiar enbaxador sobre ello fasta que yo desde Castilla le escriba la voluntad de la dicha Reyna mi fija y la dispusicion que yo fallare para quel dicho casamiento se faga pareceme muy bien que lo faga assi y si este negocio fuese de calidad que en mi absencia se pudiera negociar con la Reyna mi fija luego antes de mi llegada alla hubiera trabajado de saber sobre ello su voluntad y de enderezar las cosas a este proposito para poder luego escrebir determinadamente al Rey de inglaterra mi hermano la voluntad y dispusicion que fallaba para facerse el dicho casamiento pero por questo es cosa que sin mi presencia no se puede fazer y tentarlo yo en absencia antes podria dañar que aprovechar al negocio a esta causa sobreseo en mover esta negociacion a la dicha Reyna mi fija fasta ser en Castilla placiendo a Nŭro Señor y en siendo alla yo terne mucho cuydado de saber si la Reyna mi fija esta en voluntad de casarse y si se hobiere de casar yo fare ultimo de potencia que case con el dicho Rey mi hermano y no con otro. decidlo assi todo de mi parte al dicho Rey mi hermano y que llegado

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(TRANSLATION.)

cipher. Concerning the marriage of the King of England my brother with the Queen of Castile my daughter, I am pleased with all which you write on that subject. The King of England my brother thinks it best not to send an ambassador until I write to him from Castile what the wishes of the said Queen my daughter and her disposition with respect to this marriage are. It seems to me that he is right in doing so. If this affair could be settled with the Queen my daughter during my absence, I would not wait until my arrival, but without loss of time endeavour and take every measure to ascertain her wishes in this respect, so as to be able immediately to give a definite answer to the King of England my brother about her wishes and inclination with regard to the conclusion of this marriage. That, however, is impossible to accomplish when I am not there, and to try it during my absence would do more harm than good in this affair. This is the reason why I postpone opening these negotiations with the Queen my daughter until I am, with the help of our Lord, in Castile. As soon as I arrive, I shall be very careful to ascertain whether the Queen my daughter is willing to marry, and if she is, I shall do all in my power to make her marry the said King my brother, and no one else. Tell all this in my name to the King my brother, and assure him that as soon as I see the Queen my daughter, I shall let him know as quickly as possible what she thinks of it. He may feel sure that he has already gained my goodwill. And you,

1507.

que yo sea a la dicha Reyna mi fija yo le fare saber lo que en esto fallare lo mas brebemente que yo pudiere y que presuponga que tiene para esto muy ganada mi voluntad y vos doctor tened por cierto que si la dicha Reyna mi fija se hubiere de casar yo no descansare fasta ver fecho el dicho casamiento porque por muchas causas que de suyo son notorias y mayormente con la voluntad quel dicho Rey mi hermano tiene de assentar las cosas a mi contentamiento esto vernia muy bien a mi y a la Reyna mi fija y a Nuestros estados y a mis nietos en mi vida y en mi muerte. y porque sabida en Castilla la voluntad de la dicha rreyna mi fija vos escrebire sobre ello particularmente aqui no es necesario decir mas.

con la presente embio mi respuesta a las cartas del dicho Serenisimo Rey de inglaterra mi hermano en fin de la qual va creencia remitida a la dicha Illustrisima princesa de gales mi hija y a vos por virtud de la qual le direys todo lo contenido en la presente y la dicha Illustrisima princesa mi fija le dira lo que le escribo que es en esta misma sustancia. de ——

8th June? **18.** KING FERDINAND THE CATHOLIC to KATHARINE, PRINCESS OF WALES.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Patronato Real. Tratados con Inglaterra. Legajo* 5. *f.* 101. *Draft written by Almazan.*]

princesa de gales.

por que esto no es razon que vaya en claro lo escribo por cifra. vi lo que fablastes al Rey de ynglaterra mi hermano

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(TRANSLATION.)

Doctor, do not doubt that, if the said Queen my daughter is to marry, I shall not rest until the said marriage is concluded. For from various reasons, which are clear of themselves, and especially on account of the desire of the said King my brother to settle everything to my satisfaction, this marriage would be very advantageous to me, to the Queen my daughter, to our kingdoms, and to my grandchildren during my life and after my death. As it is my intention to write to you very minutely as soon as I learn in Castile the wishes of the said Queen my daughter, it is not necessary to say more here.

I send with this my answer to the letters of the most serene King of England my brother, with credentials for the most illustrious Princess of Wales and for you. Tell him all that is contained in this letter, and the most illustrious Princess my daughter will tell him what I write to her. It is to the same effect. From ——

18. Princess of Wales.

Because it is not convenient for this to be sent in common writing I write in cipher. I have read what you have said to

1507.

sobre el casamiento suyo con la Reyna de Castilla mi hija vuestra hermana, y lo que el a ello vos respondio y pues le parece que no me deve embiar embaxador sobre ello fasta que yo desde Castilla le escriba la voluntad de la dicha Reyna mi fija y la disposicion que yo fallare para quel dicho casamiento se faga pareceme muy bien que lo faga assi. y si este negocio fuese de calidad que en mi absencia se pudiera negociar con la Reyna mi fija luego antes de mi llegada alla hubiera trabajado de saber sobre ello su voluntad y de endereçar las cosas a este proposito para poder luego escrebir determinadamente al Rey de inglaterra mi hermano la voluntad y dispusicion que fallara para fazerse el dicho casamiento pero porque esto es cosa que sin mi presencia no se puede fazer y tentarlo yo en absencia antes podria dañar que aprovecharia al negocio dyreys al dicho Rey mi hermano que por esta causa sobreseo en mover esta negociacion a la dicha Reyna mi fija fasta ser en Castilla placiendo a Nuestro Señor que en siendo alla yo terne mucho cuydado de saber si la Reyna mi fija esta en voluntad de casarse y que si se hoviere de casar yo fare ultimo de potencia por que case con el dicho Rey mi hermano y no con otro y que de alli le fare saber lo que en esto fallare lo mas brebemente que yo pudiere y que presuponga que tiene ya para esto muy ganada mi voluntad assi por el amor que le tengo y por las grandes excelencias de su Real persona como porque habiendo de casar la dicha Reyna mi fija yo no veo principe en el mundo que para ella y para mi y para mis nietos y para

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(Translation.)

the King of England my brother about his marriage with the Queen of Castile, my daughter and your sister, and what he answered to you. The King of England thinks it is best not to send an ambassador until I write to him from Castile what the wishes of the said Queen my daughter, and her intentions with respect to this marriage are. I am of opinion that it is very right and that he ought to do so. If this affair could be settled with the Queen my daughter during my absence, I would not wait until my arrival there, but without loss of time endeavour and make every arrangement to ascertain her wishes in this respect, so as to be able immediately to give a definite answer to the King of England my brother, about his wishes and inclinations concerning the conclusion of this marriage. As, however, this cannot be done without my presence, and to try it during my absence would rather injure than benefit the affair, you are to tell the said King my brother that, induced by this reason, I postpone opening the negotiations with the said Queen my daughter until, with the help of our Lord, I arrive in Castile. As soon as I am there I shall take great care to ascertain whether the Queen my daughter is willing to marry, and if she is I shall do all in my power that she marries the King of

1507.

la conservacion de todos Nuestros estados assi en vida como en muerte fuesse tan conviniente y provechoso como el dicho Rey mi hermano mayormente con la voluntad determinada que tiene de asentar en este caso las cossas a mi contentamiento por que segun su virtud y prudencia y potencia en mi vyda sermeya gran descanso y gran ayuda tenerle por fijo por que tengo por cierto que miraria todo lo que el pudiese por la conservacion y acrecentamiento de la honra y estado mio y de la Reyna mi fija y no por la diminucion dello como fizo el difunto y muriendo yo yria muy descansado en pensar que dexava a su cargo y gobernacion y amparo mi fija y mis nietos y todos nuestros estados assi que en siendo en Castilla placiendo a Nuestro Señor yo trabaxare de saber sobre ello la voluntad de la Reyna mi fija y os fare saber la dispusicion que para ello fallare para que de mi parte la dygais al Rey de inglaterra mi hermano y si la fallare tal como el la dessea el conocera y vera por la obra en el mismo negocio el amor que yo le tengo teniendo por cierto que de su parte para conmigo vere y conocere yo lo mismo. las otras cossas vereys por la que va en claro.

(Translation.)

England my brother, and no one else. I shall then let him know as soon as possible in what state I find this affair there [in Castile]. He may rest assured that he has my goodwill already, owing to the love I bear him and to his excellent personal qualities, as well as because, if the Queen my daughter is to marry, I know no Prince in the world who would be so acceptable to her, to myself, and to my grandchildren, and who would offer so great advantages for preserving all our states during my life and after my death, as the said King my brother, especially as he is determined in such a case to settle all affairs to my satisfaction. As he is so virtuous, so prudent, and so powerful, it would be a great comfort and advantage to me to have him during my lifetime for a son, and I am perfectly sure that he would do all he could to preserve and increase my honour and states as well as those of the Queen my daughter, and not try to injure them as he who is now dead has done ; and in [the hour of] my death I should be comforted by the idea that I was leaving my daughter, my grandchildren, and all our kingdoms in his charge and under his government and protection. Therefore, as soon as, with the help of our Lord, I am in Castile I shall endeavour to know the wishes of the Queen my daughter, and let you know in what disposition I find her, that you may in my name inform the King of England my brother. If I find her disposed as he wishes, he will see by what I shall do in this affair the love I bear him, and I am persuaded that his behaviour will bear testimony of and manifest to me the same sentiments on his part. The other news you will find in the letter in common writing.

1507.
7th September.

19. DOCTOR DE PUEBLA, Spanish ambassador in England, to KING FERDINAND THE CATHOLIC.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Patronato Real. Tratados con Inglaterra. Legajo 5. f. 33. Autograph. Deciphering by Almazan.*]

Muy alto y muy poderoso principe Rey e Señor,

despues de por mi besados los Reales pies y manos de V. Alteza le fago saber que recebi con este correo sus cartas en Valencia escritas a xxij de Julio y a la sazon el Rey de ynglaterra era ydo a andar por su Reyno de floresta en floresta a sus caças y monterias que no estaba un dia sosegado donde otro de manera que me fue forçado de fazer saber al dicho Rey la venida deste correo y suplicarle me ficiese saber donde su Alteza me podia oyr. y tanbien enbie a la Señora princesa las cartas que le enbiaba. y el Rey luego sin dilacion delibro de se yr a una villa que se llama Vdestoc cinquenta e cinco millas de londres adonde me certefico seria a xxvj de Jullio y que alli podia yr y que sin dilacion me oyria e despacharia. lo qual por mi sabido provey lo necesario de cavallos y de todo lo mas para mi y para todos los mios como aquel dicho dia de xxvj de Jullio pudiese ser en la dicha Villa de Vdestoc donde por dios verdadero me fue necesario comprar diez cavallos con todo el atavio que convenia a mi y a los mios demas de lo que yo y ellos teniamos. lo qual fue necesario por estar con el Rey enbaxadas del papa y del Rey de Romanos y del Rey de francia y de flandes y de dinamarca y escocia. y

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(TRANSLATION.)

19.

Very high and very mighty Prince, King, and Lord,

After kissing the royal feet and hands of your Highness I have to inform you that I received by this courier your letters from Valencia of the 22nd of July. The King of England was hunting in the country, going from forest to forest and from one chase to another. He did not remain a single day quiet in the same place. It was, therefore, necessary to let the King know that the courier had arrived, and to ask him where his Highness would give me a hearing. I sent also to the Señora Princess the letters which came for her. The King decided without delay to go to a town which is called Woodstock (?), fifty-five miles distant from London. He informed me that he would be there on the 26th of July, that I might go there, and that he would give me a hearing without delay, and despatch my business. When I knew this, I bought the horses necessary for me and my servants in order to be in the said town of Woodstock on the 26th of July. I swear by the true God I was obliged to buy ten horses and all the outfit needful for me and my servants, in addition to what I and they had already. That was necessary because the King was accompanied by the ambassadors from the Pope, the King of the Romans, the King of France, from

1507.

el dicho dia de xxvj de Jullio yo llegue a la dicha Villa de Vdestoc y otro dia siguiente me oyo el Rey y le declare la carta de Vr̃a Alteza y me oyo muy por estenso y despues de me aver oydo y comunicado por termino de dos oras y media o tres dixome que el queria delibrar y aver su Consejo. y esto paso aquel dia. y dentro de quatro dias despues de le aver yo dicho muchas cosas y razones invencibles a mi ver determinose absolutamente haser la voluntad de Vr̃a Alteza en lo de la prorrogacion segund Vr̃a Alteza me lo escrivio y segun vera por la carta del Rey de ynglaterra que aqui va de manera que aquello esta muy bien. y lo que Vr̃a Alteza deba fazer para el tienpo soy cierto fara su devido y lo que acaso convenga, pero con todo quiero aqui dezir mi parescer que pues estos seys meses tiene podria Vr̃a Alteza proveer como por cedulas de canbio para el dicho tienpo se conpliese la dote. que en esa corte ay mercaderes que cualquiera dellos tiene aqui credito para poder conplir con este Rey fasta en contia de cientmill ducados en especial intervinyendo dilacion de cinco o seis meses. y con la tal dilacion se podra hazer alla el canbio a muy buen precio, al mas dando alla ducado para que lo den aca o por ventura a mejor precio. y si en esto Va. Alteza se determinase yo procuraria como venidas a mi las cedulas de canbio luego

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(Translation.)

Flanders, Denmark, and Scotland. On the 26th of July I arrived at the said town of Woodstock. Next day the King saw me, and I explained to him the letter of your Highness. Having heard all the details and conferred with me for two or three hours, he said to me that he wished to consult and see his council. This is what happened on that day. On the fourth day, after I had told him many things and given many reasons, which in my opinion were unanswerable, he decided to do absolutely all that your Highness wished. With respect to the prorogation, that which your Highness ordered to be written to me [will be done], as you will find by the letter of the King of England which I enclose. Thus this business is in a prosperous state. I feel sure that your Highness will do in time what you ought to do, or whatever perhaps may be convenient. Nevertheless I wish to state my opinion. As you have six months' time, your Highness can provide during that period for the payment of the dower by letters of exchange. At that court (1) there are merchants every one of whom has sufficient credit to be able to pay the King as much as one hundred thousand ducats, especially after the lapse of five or six months. During that time the exchange could be effected on very favourable conditions. The ducat would be accepted there for what it is worth here, and perhaps for more. If your Highness should be determined to do this, I would procure that

(1) In Spain.

1507.

sin dilacion alguna se tomasen las manos el Señor principe y la Señora princesa por palabras de presente y dentro de pocos dias se celebrasen las bodas con la solepnidad que al caso conviene. y si Va. Alteza por algunos misterios a mi incognitos esto no le paresciere bien umillmente le suplico me perdone y no la voluntad que esta no puede ser mejor en lo tocante a su servicio, en prueba de la qual quiera considerar que quien no quiso casar con rico casamiento ni menos obispar por solo temer de enojar a Va. Alteza si lo tal procede de fiel servidor en especial que juro por dios verdadero quanto en este mundo tenia de casas y heredades todo lo e vendido y gastado sin me quedar un palmo de tierra y estar adebdado mas de lo que me es licito de dezir en especial con esta dolencia de trece meses. con fisicos y boticarios se gasta en este Reyno cosa increible la qual dolencia y enfermedad supitamente me vino el dia que supe la salida de Va. Alteza dese Reyno, pues si Va. Alteza supiese mi firmeza en su servicio quando aqui estuvo el Rey Don felipe que Santa gloria aya bien se ternia de mi por servido. por todo lo qual humilmente suplico a Va. Alteza y sus Reales pies y manos beso me mande socorrer y proveer de alguna cosa porque lo e bien menester fasta tanto que yo enbie alla presona (1) mia a solicitar lo que me es debido

(1) Sic.

(Translation.)

as soon as the letters of exchange arrive, the Señor Prince should marry the Señora Princess *per verba de præsenti*, and that within a few days their wedding should be celebrated with all the solemnity befitting the occasion. If your Highness for some reasons, which are unknown to me, should not like this, I humbly beg you to pardon me, for my intentions cannot be better than they are in all that concerns your service. You may consider it as a proof thereof that I refused to marry a rich wife and to accept a bishopric, only because I was afraid that it would displease your Highness. Surely that is a proof that I am a loyal servant, especially as I swear by the true God that all I had in this world, of houses and inheritances, I have sold and spent, and that not as much land as could be covered with the hand remains to me. I am more in debt than I can say, especially in consequence of this illness of thirteen months. To physicians and apothecaries one pays in this country incredible fees. My illness and infirmity attacked me suddenly on the day when I heard that your Highness had departed from that kingdom. If your Highness knew my constancy in your service, when King Philip who is now with God was here, you would acknowledge that I have rendered you services. I therefore kiss your royal feet and hands, and beseech your Highness to assist and to grant me something, for I am much in want of it; so much so, that I was obliged to send a servant of mine there (1)

(1) To Spain.

1507.

segund aquello esta puesto en los descargos y casi difinido despues del fallecimiento de la Reina mi Sobera (1) Señora que Sancta gloria aya.

los mercaderes que pueden dar las dichas cedulas de canbio para este Rey son francisco de negro florentin y agustin de grimaldis y agustin de bivaldis y agustin ytalian hermano de pantaleon que cada uno de estos mercaderes tiene aqui su factor de muy grande credito y mucho conocidos del Rey de inglaterra.

yten en lo del casamiento de el Rey de inglaterra con la fija de Va. Alteza el misterio proposito y ultimo fin del Rey de ynglaterra es que si Va. Alteza puede traer a su dispusicion semejante conclusion no dubdo el Rey de ynglaterra fara mas de la razon asi que a V. A. suplico mande proveer presto de escribir su voluntad mucho largamente. el dotor de la puebla espera de le fazer grande servicio y pareceme que es bien que Va. Alteza sepa la inclinacion e voluntad del Rey de ynglaterra es poder permanecer y residir en este Reyno en semejante casamiento dandole alguna cierta cantidad en cada un año segund me dijo que Va. Alteza ofrecia a el fijo del Rey de Romanos de las rentas de Castilla y este es el intento del Rey de ynglaterra pero si por otros misterios que convengan a Va. Alteza o por no se poder acabar con la fija de Va. Alteza

(1) Sic.

(Translation.)

to ask for what is due, and what is assigned to me in the books of account, but which has almost been forgotten since the death of the Queen, my sovereign lady, who is now with God.

The merchants who could give the bills of exchange for this King are Francisco de Negro the Florentine; Augustin de Grimaldis and Augustin de Vivaldis, and Augustin the Italian, brothers of Pantaleon. Every one of them has an agent here who enjoys great credit, and they are well known to the King of England.

Item [*in cipher*].—As for the marriage of the King of England with the daughter of your Highness, the intention, will, and final conclusion of the King of England are, that if your Highness can offer him the said marriage, I do not doubt he will do more than can be reasonably expected. I therefore beseech your Highness to write your resolutions without delay, and much in detail. I, the Doctor de Puebla, hope to be able to render great services, and think it is right that your Highness should know the wish and will of the King of England. He wishes to remain and reside in this kingdom after the marriage, and to receive a certain sum of money, to be paid every year out of the revenues of Castile, the same, he told me, as your Highness had offered to the son of the King of the Romans. Such is the wish of the King of England. If, however, for other reasons of your Highness which I do not know, or because the daughter of your Highness cannot be persuaded, it

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conviniese que el Rey de ynglaterra oviese de yr a residir en Castilla escribalo Va. Alteza que presto sabra lo que el dotor de la puebla podra concluyr. por tanto a Va. Alta. suplico vea lo que al caso mejor le paresciere ser su servicio.

otro si crea Va. Alteza que el consejo del Rey de ynglaterra desea en estremo poderse concluyr semejante casamiento aunque peores cosas se digan de la dolencia de la fija de V. Alteza y en este mismo proposito esta el Rey de ynglaterra.

otro si muy poderoso principe Rey e Senor Sepa Va. Alteza que a lo que las tres embaxadas del Rey de Romanos y del Rey de francia y de flandes vinieron a este Rey fue lo ynfra siguiente: los enbaxadores del Rey de Romanos a dar quexas que el Rey de francia diziendo que procuraba con los electores del ynperio y con todos los alemanes poder de ser emperador y tanbien procurava por ynfinitas maneras como el cardenal de Ruan pudiese ser fecho papa, lo otro quel Rey de francia tenia deseo y ambicion ymensa de usurpar y tomar para si violentamente las tierras y señorios de su nieto, lo otro procurar con este Rey se metiese en guerra contra el Rey de francia, lo otro pedir dineros prestados a este Rey sobre buenas gajas de fortalezas, lo otro sobre casamiento con madama margarita con

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(Translation.)

should be thought desirable that the King of England should go to reside in Castile, your Highness must say so, and you will soon see what I, the Doctor de Puebla, can do. Meanwhile I entreat your Highness to consider what best suits your interests.

Your Highness may believe that the council of the King of England desires extremely that this marriage should be concluded, even if worse things were said of the insanity of the daughter of your Highness. The King of England entertains the same sentiments.

[*Common writing.*]—Item. Very mighty Prince, King, and Lord, your Highness must know that the objects for which the three embassies from the King of the Romans, the King of France, and from Flanders were sent are the following: the ambassador of the King of the Romans came to complain of the King of France, saying that he had entered into negotiations with the Princes Electors of the empire and all the other Germans, about his being made emperor, and had employed means without end to have the Cardinal of Rouen made Pope. Moreover [he complained] that the King of France had an immense ambition, and desired to usurp and take by force the countries and dominions of his grandson. Further, he endeavoured to induce this King to declare war against the King of France. Moreover he asked this King to lend him money on good security, consisting of fortresses; and, lastly, he spoke about the marriage of Madame Margaret with this King, and about the

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este Rey y no menos casamiento de su nieto con madama maria hija deste Rey.

yten el enbaxador de flandes questa aqui que es don diego de guivara hazer saber a este Rey como el Rey de francia avia proclamado guerra contra todos los Señorios de borgoña y puesto gentes de guerra en ellos aceptando (1) a flandes e artues porque estas dos provincias siempre reconocen por Soberano Señor al Rey de francia y contino las apelaciones destas tierras ban al parlamento de paris. y pidiendo socorro de gente a este Rey para defensa de aquellos Señorios de borgoña y asimismo para proseguir la guerra contra el duque de gueldres en cuyo fabor el Rey de francia se muestra con todo su poder y estado.

yten la enbaxada del Rey de francia lo que traxo a este Rey es darle a entender lo que el Rey de Romanos avia publicado en alemaña y en ytalia y francia de decir quel procurava de ser enperador y de faser papa al cardenal de Ruan diciendo el Rey de francia ser aquello un grand falso testimonio de cosa no pensada por el y que este Rey no lo creyese pero que en lo de gueldres era verdad quel le avia de ayudar a la defensa de sus dominios porque era obligado a ello.

lo que el Rey de ynglaterra respondio a la enbaxada del

(1) Sic. exceptando.

(Translation.)

marriage of his grandson with Madame Mary, daughter of this King.

The ambassador from Flanders is Don Diego de Guevara. [He has come] to inform this King that the King of France has declared war against all the dominions of Burgundy, and has forcibly invaded them, with the exception of Flanders and Artois, because these two provinces always recognise the King of France as their sovereign lord, and the appeals go from them to the parliament of Paris. He asks succour from this King to defend the dominions of Burgundy, and also to continue the war against the Duke of Guelderland, in whose favour the King of France has declared with all his power and might.

Item.—The embassy from the King of France came to tell this King that what the King of the Romans had published in Germany, Italy, and France, viz., that the King of France desired to be made Emperor, and then to make the Cardinal of Rouen Pope, is a gross falsehood. He has never entertained such an idea, and this King ought not to believe it. As for the Duke of Gueldres [he said] it was true that he was to assist him in defending his dominions, being obliged to do so.

The King of England replied to the embassy of the

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Rey de Romanos fue que le pesava quel Rey de francia en tales cosas del ymperio y del papa se metiese y que en quanto en el fuese procuraria que se desistiese de tales cosas pues no eran justas ni razonables antes contra toda rason y justicia y quanto a las otras cosas pareceme que este Rey quiere guardar la paz y amistad del Rey de francia y mucho mas agora despues que vido y leyo las cartas de Va. Alteza y su buena amistad con el Rey de francia tiene (1) dando a Va. Alteza infinitos loores de le declarar llanamente aquello y certifico a Va. Alteza el enbaxada del Rey de francia conocio esta particularidad y me dio a mi grandisimas gracias diciendo que Va. Alteza avia mostrado su verdadero amor con su Rey y quanto a lo del dinero y casamiento con madama margarita y de su nieto con su hija madama maria fueron respondidas palabras generales duces (2) sin efecto alguno.

yten al enbaxada de flandes en todo se le respondio palabras generales sin ninguna conclusion ni obra alguna.

yten al enbaxada de francia lo que se le respondio fue que este Rey creya que no se meteria en semejantes materias del inperio y del papa y que en lo del ducado de gueldres y en los Señorios

(1) Sic. (2) Sic. dulces.

(TRANSLATION.)

King of the Romans that he was very sorry that the King of France should meddle in the affairs of the empire and of the Pope, and that he would do as much as he could to persuade him to desist from such things, which were neither just nor reasonable, but rather against all right and reason. As for the other things, it seems to me that this King wishes to keep peace and friendship with the King of France, especially since he saw and read the letters of your Highness, [by which he learnt] on what perfectly friendly terms your Highness lives with the King of France. He gave unbounded praise to your Highness for having so plainly informed him of this, and I assure your Highness that the ambassador of France was aware of this circumstance and thanked me very much, saying your Highness had shown that you were a true friend of his King. And as for the money, and his marriage with Madame Margaret, and that of his (the Emperor's) grandson with his daughter Mary, the answer consisted in general and courteous words without any significance.

Item.—The answer to the ambassador from Flanders was nothing but vague generalities without coming to any conclusion or effect.

Item.—The answer to the embassy from France was that this King hoped that he [the King of France] would not meddle in the affairs of the empire and the Pope. As for the duchy of Gueldres and the dominions of Burgundy, he said

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de borgoña al presente no se queria meter en ello pues aquello mas pertenescia a meterse en ello el Rey de Romanos y otros que no el. muy alto e muy poderoso principe Rey e Señor la Sanctisima Trenidad conserve y prospere la vida y Real estado de Va. Alteza con muy mas Reynos y Señorios y conplimiento de sus deseos en todo Amen.

de Vdestoc Vigilia de Nuestra Señora de Setiembre de dvij.

despues de todo esto escrito fable otra vez con el Rey y entre muchas platicas me dixo que no enbargante que al Rey de ynglaterra no pertenesca la defensa de los dominios de flandes como dicho me avia que el delibrava de enbiar luego mañana su enbaxada a el Rey de francia a le rogar y persuadir se abstuviese de semejante guerra y tanbien enbio seis palafrenes y ciertos lebreles a la fija del Rey de Romanos y me mostro esta carta en frances que aqui a Va. Alteza enbio inclusa y no tuve tienpo la poder intepetrar (1) y enbiar en castellano. muy humill siervo de Va. Alteza que sus Reales pies y manos beso. dottor de la puebla. [Rubrica.]

(1) Sic.

(TRANSLATION.)

that at present he would not meddle in these affairs, as they concerned the King of the Romans and others rather than him.

Very high and very mighty Prince, King, and Lord, may the most Holy Trinity preserve and prosper the life and royal estate of your Highness, and grant you many more kingdoms and dominions, and the accomplishment of all your wishes. Amen.

From Woodstock (?) on the eve of the nativity of our Lady, September of '507.

After I had finished this letter I spoke again with the King, who amongst many other things told me that, although it did not concern the King of England to defend the dominions of Flanders, as he had told me, he would, nevertheless, send an embassy to-morrow to the King of France to beg and persuade him to abstain from such a war. He sent also six horses and some greyhounds to the daughter of the King of the Romans, and showed me this French letter which I enclose for your Highness. I had no time to translate and send it in Spanish.

Your Highness' humble servant kisses your royal feet and hands.

Doctor de la Puebla. [Sign manual.]

1507.
7th Sept.

20. DOCTOR DE PUEBLA, Spanish Ambassador in England, to the Secretary ALMAZAN.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Patronato Real. Tratados con Inglaterra. Legajo* 5. *f.* 34. *Holograph. The cipher is deciphered by Almazan.*]

Muy noble Señor,

aqui escrivo al Rey nuestro Señor lo que V. M. vera y en sustancia es que en lo de la prorrogacion fise y procure con este Rey fuese contento de aquello platicando primero tantas cosas y rasones ynvencibles que si aqui las oviese de dezir seria largo proceso pero en fin veo a este Rey tan bien edificado como propio fijo, y por dios verdadero que si alla se pudiese concluyr el casamiento para el Rey de ynglaterra seria muy cierto por cierto (1) muy mejor que fue el archiduque pues si vĩa merced supiese los ofrecimientos y caricias deste Rey es cosa maravillosa, so cuya esperanza todo quanto se le offrece de partes de el Rey de Romanos y de el Rey de francia y de otros estima en nada y con mucha razon y si plaze a dios que esto pueda en conclusion venir grandisima cosa me parece seria y con las primeras cartas que de alla vengan en que se diga la buena ynclinacion del dicho matrimonio sin dilacion yra alla su enbaxada de el Rey de inglaterra con entero poder para lo poder fazer y concluir y quanto todo esto oviese de cessar no se ha perdido nada.

(1) Sic.

(TRANSLATION.)

20.

Very noble Lord,

With this I write to the King our lord, what your lordship will see. The substance of it is that I persuaded the King to consent to the prorogation. He alleged at first so many facts and insuperable reasons that it would be a long process to state them here. At last, however, the King became as well minded as a true son (1), and by the true God, if the marriage of the King of England could be concluded, he would most certainly be a much better one than the Archduke was. If your lordship knew all the promises and all the love of this King, you would be astonished. Under the influence of his hope, he esteems as nothing all that is offered to him by the King of the Romans, the King of France, and others, and with good reason, for if it please God that this should take effect, I think it would be a very fine thing. As soon as the first letters from thence mention that there is an inclination to conclude the said marriage, an embassy from the King of England will leave without the least delay with full power to negotiate and to conclude the affair. Even if all this should come to nothing, nothing would be lost.

(1) Sic.

1507.

en lo del casamiento de la Señora princessa si el Rey Nuestro Señor me enbia cedulas de canbio para que se pague la dote en fin del mes de Marzo y aceptadas las cedulas yo espero en dios de trabajar como luego que aquellas cedulas sean venidas dentro de pocos dias se tomen las manos por palabras de presente el Señor principe y la Señora princesa que segund derecho pues no vino la dispensacion del suplir de la hehad estos desposorios de fasta aqui tienen fuerza solamente de palabras de futuro y demas de se luego tomar las manos dentro de pocos dias mediante Nuestro Señor se celebraran las bodas con toda la solepnidad que convenga y en la carta que a su Alteza escrivo nombro los mercaderes ginoveses y florentines que pueden conplir con semejante canbio que se me figura ser esto muy conviniente a servicio de Su Alteza.

en merced recebire si algund yerro en estas mis cartas viere lo quiera suplir por que cierto ni el lugar donde estas se escriven ni el escritorio no eran a proposito de lo poder bien fazer y aun lo otro que tenia yo mayor pena de contentar a la fija (1) sobre esta prorrogacion porque no le podia de cosa mas pesar y me dava a mi la culpa pero ya al fin la satisfize y contente.

(1) *fija*, written in cipher, and deciphered by Almazan. The Princess of Wales.

(Translation.)

Concerning the marriage of the Señora Princess, if the King our lord sends me letters of exchange for the payment of the dower towards the end of the month of March, and if these letters of exchange are accepted, I hope in God to procure that within a few days after the arrival of these letters of exchange the Señor Prince and the Señora Princess shall marry *per verba de præsenti*. According to law the marriage which has been concluded has only the force of a marriage *per verba de futuro*, because the defect of age has not been dispensed with. Moreover, they will not only marry within a few days, but with the help of our Lord the wedding will also be celebrated with all becoming solemnity. In the letter which I write to his Highness, I mention the names of Genoese and Florentine merchants who could pay the said letters of exchange. I imagine this would be very much to the interest of his Highness.

I should be thankful if you would correct any error in these letters. Neither the place where I write nor the writing-desk are such as to enable me to write well. I was very desirous besides to satisfy the daughter (1) with respect to the prorogation. She was very anxious, and imputed the fault to me, but at last I have satisfied and contented her.

(1) Sic. The Princess of Wales.

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a V. Md. suplico y pido de merced que en todos los despachos que aca vinieren quiera tomar pena de escrivir a este Serenisimo Rey que por Nuestro Señor Su Alteza faze mucho fundamento de sus cartas por saber sus buenas nuevas y ser persona de mucha virtud y sin lisonja alguna.

otro si yo escribo a Su Alteza suplicandole por su ynmensa virtud y caridad quiera socorrer de proveer al doctor de puebla que juro por dios verdadero so cierto lo a bien menester mas que aqui a mi me es licito ni onesto de dezir. puedese mandar proveer con una cedula no de la manera que dicho e tocante a la paga de la dicha dote sino que despues de presentada esta cedula la ayan de conplir dentro de seys o siete meses. Nuestro Señor la vida y estado de Vĩa mĩd acresciente y prospere a su santo servicio amen. De Vdestoc vigilia de Nuestra Señora de Setienbre. a servicio de V. mĩd. doctor de puebla. [Rubricado.]

[*Sobre:*] Al muy noble Señor el Señor Miguel perez de almaçan Secretario del Rey Nuestro Señor y del Su Consejo.

(TRANSLATION.)

I beg your lordship to write to this most serene King by every courier whom the King our lord sends here. His Highness values your letters very highly and [wishes] to have your good news, and besides he is such a virtuous person and without falsehood.

Item.—I write to his Highness imploring him by his boundless virtue and charity to be pleased to assist and to provide for the *Doctor de Puebla* (1), for I swear by the true God I know that he stands in greater need of it than it is permitted or modest to state here. He can be provided for by a letter of exchange; not such a one as those which I have mentioned when speaking of the payment of the dower, but one payable within six or seven months after presentation. Our Lord preserve the person and estate of your lordship, and augment and prosper it for His holy service. Amen.

From Woodstock, the eve of the nativity of our Lady, in September.

Your lordship's servant,

Doctor de Puebla. [Sign manual.]

[*Addressed:*] To the very noble Lord, Miguel Perez de Almazan, Secretary of the King, our Lord, and counsellor.

(1) This word is written in cipher, and left undeciphered.

1507.

7th September. **21.** KATHARINE, PRINCESS of WALES, to KING FERDINAND THE CATHOLIC.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Patronato Real. Tratados con Inglaterra. Legajo* 5. *f.* 57. *Deciphering by Almazan. The ciphered despatch is not extant.*]

Muy alto etc.

tomar al Rey de ynglaterra mi Señor en este tiempo que es el de sus caças ha tardado tanto el despacho del correo por que nunca ha assentado en lugar a do con el se pudiesse negociar fasta agora, en especial estando el dotor de la puebla en disposicion que de su casa a palacio ha de ir en litiera que esto faltaba para que fuese del todo bien cunplido. el Rey de ynglaterra ha dado liberalmente el despacho segun me dixo como Vña Alteza se le demanda y segun lo que conozco antes huelga que no le pesa destas prorrogaciones puesto que muestra otra cosa, porque el en ello no pierde nada antes gana, si bien Vña Alteza lo mira, porque segun el ha dicho en tanto que con el no cumplieren piensa que tiene a mi atada y a su fijo suelto, y no es de edad para que le pese porque espere, assi que syenpre es para my la peor parte porque como a Vña Alteza tengo escrito estas dilaciones doblan mis trabajos porque no le parece que es nada sufficiente que yo pueda pasar con no cumplirse con el lo assentado ni se le de nada de los inconvinientes que para ello ha habido ni hay.

(TRANSLATION.)

21.

Very high, &c.

[The difficulty] to catch the King of England my lord in this his hunting season, has much delayed the despatch of this courier. For until now he has never remained in any place where business could be transacted with him, especially as the Doctor de Puebla is in such a condition that he has to go in a litter from his house to the palace. With respect to that which was still wanting to complete the payment [of the dower] the King of England has given a very liberal answer, and, according to what he has told me, [granted] all your Highness' demands. Judging from my knowledge of him, he is rather glad than sorry for these prorogations, although he would make us believe the reverse. He does not lose anything thereby; on the contrary, if your Highness considers it well, he is the gainer. For, as he has told me, as long as he is not entirely paid, he regards me as bound and his son as free. He [his son] is not yet so old that delay is disagreeable. Thus mine is always the worst part; for, as I have written to your Highness, these delays double my difficulties. To him it seems that it is by no means sufficiently [bad] that I suffer by the non-fulfilment of the treaty; he takes no notice of the inconveniences which I have had and still have.

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lo que por agora muestra es glorificarse desta grandeza que faze en esperar tanto tiempo porque por lo que Vr̃a Alteza tiene entre manos de su negocio esta mas a raya que suele en sus muestras por que no se estorbe, mas en sus obras nunca hay mejoria ahun no se lo que sera. que assi le respondo yo al doctor de la puebla quando me dyce la voluntad que el Rey de ynglaterra muestra. digole que no se quien se la estorva de ponerla en obra sino no ser el para negociallo. por esto yo suplico a Vr̃a Alteza que en lo menos que el dotor de la puebla escriviere sino fuere conforme a lo que yo digo no le de v̄ra alteza credito porque el es mas vassallo del Rey de ynglaterra que servydor de Vr̃a Alteza y el no puede facer sino loar lo que ha en lo dado (1) de que pluguiese a Dios Vr̃a Alteza estoviesse informado de la verdad de como passa. lo que yo a Vr̃a Alteza suplico es que mire por mis cartas passadas como debe ser lo presente y que provea con la diligencia que vee que es menester y que de nadie no se fie ni nada tenga por cierto Va. Alteza en este caso sino lo que yo lo escribiere fasta que Vr̃a Alteza enbie aqui embaxador cual yo le pido que entonces no habre yo menester fablar sino que diga el lo que viere y lo remedie. por esto yo suplico a Vr̃a Alteza que no

(1) enlodado.

(Translation.)

What he now does is to glorify himself for his magnanimity in waiting so long. Because your Highness has his business in your hands, he keeps himself apparently more within bounds than usual, in order that you may not oppose him; but in his deeds he has never improved. What will be in the future I do not yet know. This is what I answer to the Doctor de Puebla when he speaks to me of the goodwill the King of England now shows. I say to him that I do not know who prevents him from fulfilling his good intentions, if it is not he [de Puebla] who carries on the negotiations with him. I therefore beseech your Highness not to believe what the Doctor de Puebla writes to you, if it is not in accordance with what I state. For he is more a vassal of the King of England than a servant of your Highness, and he cannot do otherwise than praise what he has bedaubed with mud(1). Would God your Highness were truthfully informed of how affairs are carried on. What I beg your Highness to do is to read my former letters, and thereby judge what the present state of things must be, and then to give such orders as may seem right to you. Your Highness must trust no one, and consider nothing as true in this case, except what I write to you, until your Highness sends such an ambassador as I have asked for. Then I shall no longer be obliged to write, and he may state what he sees, and remedy

(1) Sic. It may be an error of the cipherer or decipherer. As the original despatch in cipher is not extant, it cannot be ascertained.

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se descuide en esto que tantas veces por todas mis cartas tengo suplicado a Vŕa Alteza que es que la persona que aqui Vŕa Alteza hubiere de embiar sea con las condiciones que he dicho por que si asi es espero muy cierto que no sera lo pasado. asi mismo suplico a Vŕa Alteza que tenga manera para que yo salga de tanta necesidad y deudas como tengo que cada dia me vienen afrontar pidiendomelas en especial despues que Vŕa Alteza me embio los dos mil ducados me he visto en la mayor confusion del mundo que no sabia a qual necesidad socorriese antes. mas fize lo que me parecio que era mas necessario desempeñar la plata que tenia empeñada y pague algunas deudas que era verguenza devellas. y despues desto proveerme a mi de lo muy necessario no tuve con que poder socorrer a los mios. digo a Vŕa Alteza estas particularidades que de razon no habia de decir por que Vŕa Alteza de manera que se aclare de donde tengo de ser proveida y assi mismo los mios y mias que estan del todo perdidos. yo a todo no se que remedio le de sino facello saber a Vŕa Alteza por que con esto espero lo habra todo. en lo del casamiento del Rey de ynglaterra mucha priesa me da para que yo la de a Vŕa Alteza diciendome que en todas maneras querria que no hubiesse dilacion en la determinacion de la respuesta que se le ha de dar por que le es a el mucho inconviniente por espe-

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(Translation.)

it. I, therefore, beseech your Highness not to neglect what I have so often begged of your Highness in my letters, that is to say, that your Highness should send a person who possesses those qualities which I have named. If you do so I firmly hope things will not continue as in the past. I also entreat your Highness to find means for me to be delivered from my painful situation, and get rid of my debts. They come every day to affront me, and to ask [payment]. Especially since your Highness sent me the two thousand ducats I am in the greatest difficulties in the world. I did not know which wants to satisfy, and thought the most necessary was to redeem the plate which I had pledged, and pay some debts which it would have been shameful not to pay. Besides, I had to buy things most necessary for myself, so that I could not pay my servants. I tell your Highness all these details, which I would rather not state, in order that your Highness may find means to ascertain by whom I and my men and women are to be provided for. They are in absolute misery, and I know no other remedy than to inform your Highness of it, hoping that you will amend all. With respect to the marriage of the King of England, he urges me much that I should press your Highness, saying to me that at all events he wishes that there should be no delay in the answer which you have to give him. It would be a great inconvenience to him to wait on account of the marriages

1507.

ralle los casamientos que a Vĩa Alteza tengo dichos y que cree que ha de haver mucha largura en la respuesta de la Reyna de Castilla y que le serya a el muy dañoso. yo digole quan fresca es la llegada de Vĩa Alteza y como el negocio no es de qualidad que en llegando se pueda despachar. muchas causas que hay que para ello le doy mas que de Vĩa Alteza este cierto que no es menester dar yo priessa mas de la que Vĩa Alteza sea cargo y que de lo a Vĩa Alteza possible puede estar descuydado. assi mismo me mando y encargo mucho que escribiesse al Cardenal pidiendole que hoviesse este negocio por encomendado por que es persona que podria estorbar o ayudar. yo le respondi que el estaba tan conforme con la voluntad de Va. Alteza que todo lo que Vĩa Alteza hoviesse por bien havria el y tanbien que no sabia si Vĩa Alteza havria por bien que yo declarase este negocio por que lo principal que me mandaba Vĩa Alteza era que fuese muy secreto y que yo no queria dar mas parte de la que Vĩa Alteza diesse sera mejor que le escribiesse yo encargandole generalmente sus negocios sin señalar sino remitirme a Vĩa Alteza. dixome que era muy bien mirado y que assi me lo rogaba que lo fiziese en todas maneras y yo mas por complacelle que por habello gana escribo al Cardenal. suplico a Vĩa

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(Translation.)

which I have mentioned to your Highness. He says he fears that there will be much delay in the answer of the Queen of Castile, which would be very prejudicial to him. I tell him to consider how short a time it is since your Highness has arrived, and that the affair is not of such a kind that immediately on arriving it could besettled. As many reasons as there are, and more, I give him, [and say] that he may confide in your Highness, that it is not necessary to urge your Highness more than you do yourself, and that he may be easy about everything which is in the power of your Highness to do. He also commanded and insisted much that I should write to the cardinal,(1) asking him to consider this affair as recommended to him, beçause he is a man who can much oppose or much favour it. I answered that he conforms himself so much to the wishes of your Highness, that all which your Highness may think right he would also consider to be right, and that I did not know whether your Highness would approve my speaking of this business, and as your Highness had above all commanded me to keep it secret, I could not communicate to him more than your Highness would tell him. I offered to write to him [the cardinal], recommending to him his [the King of England's] affairs in general, without stating any particulars, and referring him to your Highness. He said I had very well considered it, and he asked me to do so at all events. More to please him than because I wish it, I

(1) Cisneros.

1507.

Alteza que sino es mucho su servidor que no se la mande dar que yo sobre tal caso contra mi voluntad le escribo, mas con yr a manos de Vr̃a Alteza me descuydo. no hay mas que a Vr̃a Alteza diga syno que bien creo con mis cifras dare que reyr a Vr̃a Alteza y almaçan que facer en sacallas mas antes me quise atrever a esto que al peligro que se podia seguir de lo contrario yendo las cartas por via del doctor de la puebla que se me teme de escrebir yo a Vr̃a Alteza la verdad. Nr̃o Señor etc. de Vldastoc a vij de Setiembre. la princesa de gales.

4th October. **22.** KATHARINE, PRINCESS OF WALES, to KING FERDINAND THE CATHOLIC.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Patronato Real. Tratados con Inglaterra. Legajo* 5. *f.* 58. *Deciphering by Almazan. The ciphered despatch is not extant.*]

Muy alto y muy poderoso Señor,

a xxiij de Setienbre despache un mensajero para flandes con cartas mias para que por vya de enverss fiziesen un correo con quien las enbiasen a Vr̃a Alteza porque por no poder ser secreto partiendo de inglaterra me fuera pelegroso o a lo menos pusiera sospecha si se supiera que despachava otro correo haviendo tan poco que partio el otro, y a esta causa

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(TRANSLATION.)

write to the cardinal, and beg your Highness not to give him [the letter] unless he is very much devoted to your service. I write on this subject against my will, but as [the letter] will come to your hands I am easy. I have nothing more to tell your Highness, except that I think my cipher will make you laugh, and Almazan will have great difficulty in deciphering it. But I preferred to try it rather than expose myself to the danger which would have been the consequence if I had not done so. As my letters are forwarded by Doctor de Puebla I am afraid to write the truth to your Highness.

From Woodstock (?), 7th of September.

The Princess of Wales.

22.

Most high and mighty Lord,

I despatched a messenger on the 23rd of September by way of Flanders, with letters from me, in order that they might be committed to a courier, who would convey them from Antwerp to your Highness. On account of not being sure of the safety of letters sent from England, it would have been dangerous, or at any rate might have been considered suspicious, if it had been known that another courier had been despatched, it being so short a time since the last one

1507.

me fue necesario enbialle por la via que he dicho con quien fize saber a Vña Alteza como la causa que con tanta priesa me movio a escrebyr era haber conocydo en el dotor de la puebla atajos de brebedad con que podria revocar a Vña Alteza de su proposito que me tiene escrito de proveer aqui juntamente con la dote enbaxador sufficiente y para esto fize saber a Va. Alteza mi determinada voluntad bien claramente aun que en todas mis cartas avia dado a entender lo mismo, mas temi como dicho tengo que las falsas promessas del dotor de la puebla y proferir se el a mi costa a mas de lo que hara y no poder Va. Alteza ver lo que pasa bastava fazer venyr a Vña Alteza antes en lo que el quisiese que en la verdad de lo que le tengo yo suplicado, y por eso abrebye tanto mi escrebir por desengañar a Vra Alteza de lo que cumple a su servicio y a mi remedio, y de lo escrito yo certifico a Vña Alteza que no me mude yo. el dotor de la puebla me parece que enbia a Vña Alteza este suyo y dizeme que a dar priesa, mas porque lo cierto dello no se a que es, torno a suplicar a Vña Alteza que nada que el le pueda dezir ni escribir no de mas credito de quanto fuere conforme a lo que yo digo que lo que fuere en contrario Vña Alteza tenga por cierto que asi mismo lo es en servicio de Vña Alteza y ni haya priessa ni inconviniente que

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(Translation.)

set off. Therefore it was necessary for me to send my letters by the above mentioned route.

Your Highness will learn by them that the cause which induced me to write to you with so much haste was that I had discovered Doctor de Puebla had been making attempts to prevent your Highness from carrying out your intention of sending a competent ambassador to come hither together with the dowry. For that reason I made known my wishes very plainly to your Highness, although in all my former letters I had given you to understand the same thing. But I feared as abovesaid, that the Doctor would make false promises to do more than he would or could accomplish. Moreover, as your Highness is not able to see what passes here, I also feared that the Doctor might succeed in making your Highness listen to what he wished, rather than to the truth, and to what I have asked you for. On this account I have written so soon again. For I wish to undeceive your Highness respecting what is requisite for your service, and the remedy to be found for me. I assure your Highness that I have not changed from what I wrote. It seems to me that Doctor de Puebla is sending this courier to your Highness, and he has told me to make haste. But as I do not know whether what he writes be true, I beg your Highness that nothing which he may say or write to you may be credited, excepting in so far as it shall agree with what I say. For if what I say be contrary to what he reports, your Highness may be assured that what he writes is also contrary to the interests of your Highness. Your Highness

1507.

el dotor de la puebla a Vr̃a Alteza pueda poner que le faga salir de lo que le tengo suplicado, que pues he esperado lo mas y en tienpos mas trabajosos no me tengo de ahogar estando Vr̃a Alteza en acrecentamiento de prosperidad. esto digo por que agora falla el dotor de la puebla mas inconvinientes que nunca para que mi casamiento se concluya como quiera, y para esto hame dicho el y assi mismo el Rey de inglaterra que un enbaxador suyo que tiene en francia le escribio que el rrey de francia le dixo que quando se vio con Va. Alteza le pregunto que si se faria este mi casamiento y que dixo Va. Alteza que no estaba fecho ni creia Va. Alteza que se faria, y el Rey de francia lo dixo al enbaxador del Rey de ynglaterra para que se lo escribiesse. yo al dotor de la puebla escuchele mas no le dixe nada, mas al Rey de ynglaterra quando me lo dixo le respondi que no podia yo sufrir oir tal cosa que fuesse Va. Alteza al contrario en su fabla de lo que en sus cartas muestra, y dile a entender como Vr̃a Alteza no podia dezir que no se faria lo que ahunque quissiese no se podria dessazer, y que aunque esto no fuesse assi, conocer Va. Alteza mi voluntad que era de no salir del poder del Rey de ynglaterra aunque

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(Translation.)

must not hasten or inconvenience yourself, whatever Doctor de Puebla may say to your Highness in order to make you go beyond what I have asked. For as I have hoped for the best in the most troubled seasons, I am not going to ruin myself (1) now that your Highness is in a state of such increased prosperity. This I say, because Doctor de Puebla puts more difficulties than ever in the way of my marriage being concluded. For instance, he has told me, and also the King of England, that an ambassador of his, who is in France, has written to him, saying the King of France told him that when he saw your Highness he asked you if my marriage was to take place, and that your Highness said it had not taken place, nor did you believe it would be concluded. The King of France told this to the ambassador of the King of England, that he might give his master information of it. When Doctor de Puebla said this to me, I answered nothing. But when the King of England told me, I answered that I could not bear to have such a thing said as that your Highness had spoken differently from what you had written in your letters. I also gave him to understand that your Highness could not say that a thing would not be done which was already irrevocable. I also said that, even if this were not so, your Highness knew what my wish was, namely, that I should not be taken out of the power (2) of the King of England even if I were to die for it,

(1) Literally to drown myself.

(2) The meaning of the Princess of Wales is that she would rather die in England than give up the marriage.

1507.

supiese morir, bastaba para poner a Va. Alteza entero contentamiento, y por aquy dixele otras muchas dulçuras con que le agradase, y todo me lo paso muy bien y me respondio que el bien sabia que Vña Alteza lo deseaba porque era lo que mas le cunplia, mas que no sabia que era la causa que aquello le avia fecho dezir, y nunca le pude sacar de affirmar que Vña Alteza lo havia dicho de lo qual me plugo mas de lo que mostre si el assi lo pensase. en fin yo le satisffize bien en muchas maneras que seria largo de decir y sienpre mostrando que esto no se podia desfacer porque por darme a conocer el que no habia nada fecho sino que Vña Alteza por su parte y el por la suya podian determinar de sus fijos en otra manera, y yo entendiendole dile a entender que no le entendia, o que no lo queria tomar por lo que el me lo dizia.

asi mismo en lo de su casamiento me dixo juntamente con esto que avia sabido como el Rey de francia enbiava enbaxadores sobre lo de Mos^{or} de fox y que tenia en este caso mucha largura la qual le es dañosa por que el esperaba presto una enbajada del Rey de Romanos en que le trayan assentado el casamiento de la duquesa de saboya para el y el del principe don Carlos para su fija, y

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(Translation.)

and that that would be sufficient of itself for your Highness. (1) At the same time I said many flattering things to him, with which I pleased him, and everything went off very well. He replied to me, that he well knew your Highness desired my marriage, because it was a matter that suited you well, and that he could not tell what was the cause which had led to such a thing being said. I could not draw from him the avowal that he really believed that your Highness had said it, which pleased me more than if he had believed so, but I would not show it. Finally, I satisfied him well in many ways, too long to repeat here, always showing him that my marriage was a thing which could not be undone. When he gave me to understand that there was nothing done which need prevent your Highness on your part, and him on his, from disposing of your children in another manner, I told him that I could not comprehend him, and that I did not like to take it in the sense he meant.

Also, with regard to his marriage, he told me conjointly with the other story, that he had heard how the King of France had sent ambassadors respecting the marriage of Monsieur De Foix, and that there was much delay in the answer to be given to his proposal. He said this was injurious to him because he was expecting an embassy to come shortly from the King of the Romans, who were bringing him the assent to his marriage with the Duchess of Savoy, and the marriage of Prince Charles with his daughter. It occasioned

(1) It is to be understood, "not to tell the King of France that her marriage with the Prince of Wales was not likely to take place."

1507.

que le era mucha confusion estar indeterminado esperando la respuesta de Vña Alteza. por esso que me rogaba que escribiesse a Vña Alteza dandole mucha priessa por que cualquiera que fuesse la respuesta la desseaba para saber lo que habia de fazer, mas yo le temo sino es su voluntad porque me ha declarado parte de su grado, porque agora con este cebo como a Vña Alteza tengo escrito estan enmendadas sus muestras aunque en las obras nunca hay mudança y tambien creo que el dotor de la puebla es causa de que se me fagan agora muchas çalemas assi por lo del Rey como por tenerme contenta, pensando que no hay mas en mi de lo que yo le muestro y que no bastare para entendelle sus mañas y fazer saber a Vña Alteza la verdad de lo que cumple a su servicio, sino que me contentare con sus promesas como si no lo toviese esperimentado. yo disimulo con el y loole todo lo que faze y assi mismo le digo que soy muy bien tratada del Rey y que estoy muy contenta y todo lo que veo que puede aprovechar para con el Rey pues es de su Consejo y no le osare dezir sino lo que quiero que el Rey sepa. porque en los tienpos pasados se ha probado con el lo contrario, y a me ha sido dañoso y no me ha aprovechado para haber ningun remedio que a todo lo

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(Translation.)

him great perplexity, he said, to have to remain undecided while he was waiting the answer of your Highness. On this account he begged me to write to your Highness, requesting you to make haste. For that whatever the answer might prove he wished to have it, in order that he might know what to do. But I should be afraid of him if the answer were not to accord with his wishes, for he has partly declared to me his intention. I bait him with this [the marriage with Doña Juana], as I have written to your Highness, and his words and professions have changed for the better, although his acts remain the same. I also believe that Doctor De Puebla is the cause why they humble themselves so much to me, as well on account of the King (1) as to keep me contented. For they fancy that I have no more in me than what appears outwardly, and that I shall not be able to fathom his designs, or to acquaint your Highness with the truth as respects what is requisite for your interests, but that I shall content myself with his promises as though I had not had experience of them. I dissimulate with him, however, and praise all that he does. I even tell him that I am very well treated by the King, and that I am very well contented; and I say everything that I think may be useful to me with the King, because, in fact, De Puebla is the adviser of the King, and I would not dare to say anything to him, except what I should wish the King to know. On former occasions I tried the contrary course with him, but it was injurious to me, nor was

(1) The prospect of his marriage with Doña Juana.

1507.

que dezia era la respuesta salvar al Rey y dezir que no despertase materias nuevas assi que yo he tomado por mejor medio dissimular con el y no fazer quenta que es enbaxador pues no faze cosa de las que a tal cargo pertenecen, en especial agora esta tan perdido con su dolencia que no es de ningun provecho ahunque quissiese, porque el esta mas para el otro mundo que para este. y nunca otra cosa me dize sino que escriba a Vr̃a Alteza del que faze maravillas. yo digole que pierda cuidado que tengo sienpre a cargo de escrebir a Va. Alteza la verdad de lo que en el hay. tanbien me dixo que escribiese a Vr̃a Alteza suplicandole que quando escribiese al Rey de inglaterra mi Señor asi mismo escriba a su chamarlengo porque es en lo de aqua el que en lo secreto mas puede con el Rey. y esto porque parezca que antes aprovechara que hara daño yo he por bien de suplicallo a Vr̃a Alteza que le escriba con mucho amor diziendole como yo escribo a Vr̃a Alteza como en lo posible mira aqua lo que a mi me cumple y quanto Vr̃a Alteza se lo agradece y con muchos offrecimientos de parte de Vr̃a Alteza y de la mia, y porque el dotor de la puebla no lo venda por fecho suyo Va. Alteza que lo faze a mi suplicacion. no quiero mas dezir pues basta lo dicho para que Vr̃a Alteza embie mi remedio y de su servicio con

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(Translation.)

it of any use in obtaining a remedy for me. For, whatever I said to him, he did nothing but justify the King, and say that no new matters should be stirred up. I therefore considered that the better plan was to dissimulate with him, and to take no notice of his being ambassador, as he does none of the things which belong to such an office; especially now his illness has laid him so completely aside that he could be of no use even though he were to desire it. He is nearer to the other world than to this. Whenever I speak to him, he does nothing but beg me to write and assure your Highness that he is performing wonders. I tell him to have no anxiety, for I always take upon myself the office of writing to your Highness the truth respecting what he does. He has likewise told me I ought to write to your Highness, begging you that when you write to the King of England, my lord, you should also write to the Lord Chamberlain, because he is the person who can do most in private with the King. As it seems to me that to do this will be of use rather than an injury, I think it well to entreat your Highness to write to him with much love. Tell him that I have written to your Highness to ask him to see what he can do here for me, and how much your Highness will be pleased if he does so. Make him, moreover, many offers on your Highness' part and on mine, so that Doctor De Puebla may not give it out for his own doing. May your Highness do according to my request, and I will not say more now. For what I have written is enough, in order that your Highness may provide

1507.

la diligencia que vee que es menester, mas no con la que dize el dotor de la puebla. de las nuevas que aqua se an dicho que Vña Alteza a sido recebydo en essos Reynos con tanta paz y conformidad de todos estoy tan alegre que con esto no siento trabajos. yo doy infinitas gracias a Nuestro Señor por que ha querido dar a conocer al mundo quien es Vña Alteza cuya vida y muy Real estado Nñro Señor guarde y acresciente como yo desseo. de yyuelme a iiij de Octubre de '507. humil servidora de Vña Alteza que sus manos besa. la princesa de gales.

25th October. **23.** KATHARINE, PRINCESS OF WALES, to JUANA, QUEEN OF CASTILE.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Patronato Real. Tratados con Inglaterra. Legajo 5. f. 43. Holograph.*]

Muy alta y muy poderosa pryncesa Reyna y Señora,

Besadas por mi las Reales manos de Va. Alteza a ella humillmente me encomyendo y le fago saber el muy gran plazer que recevy quando la vy en este Reyno y dentro de pocas oras la turbacyon que a mi alma llego con la supyta y presurosa partyda que daqui fyzo, y el Rey de ynglaterra my Señor se tuvo por muy afrentado de la dicha partyda y sy uvyera de fazer lo que supytamente deseava en todas maneras la estorvara, pero como es Rey muy rabioso juzgose

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(TRANSLATION.)

a remedy for me and for your service, with the diligence that you will see to be requisite, but not by the means which Doctor De Puebla suggests. The news which have arrived here, that your Highness has been received in your realms with so much peace and harmony by every one, has made me so glad, that I am not conscious of my own troubles. I give infinite thanks to our Lord, who has thought good to make the world know what sort of person your Highness is;—whose life and royal state may our Lord guard and increase as I desire.—[?], 4th of October 1507.

The humble servant of your Highness, who kisses your hands,

The Princess of Wales.

23.

Most noble and most mighty Princess, Queen and Lady, after having kissed the royal hands of your Highness and humbly commended myself to you, I have to express the very great pleasure it gave me to see you in this kingdom, and the distress which filled my heart, a few hours afterwards, on account of your sudden and hasty departure. My lord the King was also much disappointed in consequence of it, and if he had acted as he secretly wished, he would, by every possible means, have prevented your journey. But as he is a very passionate King, it was thought advisable by his

1507.

a los de su Consejo que le dixeron que no se debia entremeter entre marido y muger a cuya causa y por otros mysterios que yo bien supe dysymulo la partyda de Vr̃a Alteza aunque cyerto le peso de corazon, y dende entonces fasta oy e conocydo gran afycyon que a Vr̃a Alteza ha tenydo y tyene pues decyr ell alegrya que el Rey mi Señor y yo avemos avido de saber como el Rey Nuestro Señor y padre era venido a Castilla a estar juntamente con Vr̃a Alteza y ser por todo el Reyno obedecydos (1) en toda paz y concordya no lo podrya en mucho papel escryvyr. verdad sea que alguna alteracyon y turbacyon e recebydo y recybo de pocos dyas aca por aver sabydo que los franceses an tomado un grande lugar y gentyl del pryncype my sobryno que se llama Tilmote(1) y que todos sus sudytos y toda la tiera estava en gran temor de los franceses y por esto y por el remedyo de todo ello y no menos para ser destruydo y castigado el duque de geldres su rebelde pense de escrivyr esta a Vr̃a Alteza suplycandole recyba mi voluntad en ella la qual no puedo ser myjor, y es que yo escryvo al Rey my Señor Nuestro padre un negocyo de muy gran vyen y autorydad de Vr̃a Alteza y acrecentamyento de su estado y gran sosyego y byen de todos vuestros sudytos

(1) asi.

(Translation.)

Council that they should tell him he ought not to interfere between husband and wife. On which account, and for other secret causes with which I was very well acquainted, he concealed the feelings occasioned by the departure of your Highness, although it is very certain that it weighed much upon his heart. The great affection he has felt, and still feels, towards your Royal Highness from that time until now, is well known. I could not in truth express, even though I were to use much paper, the pleasure which my lord the King and I felt on hearing that the King, our lord and father, had returned to Castile, and was abiding there with your Highness, and that he was obeyed throughout all the kingdom, peace and concord prevailing everywhere. It is true that I have experienced, and am still experiencing, some sorrow and depression of mind on account of having heard, a few days ago, that the French have taken a large and beautiful city called Tilmote, (?) belonging to my nephew, and that all his subjects and the whole land are in great fear of the French. Wherefore, as a remedy for everything, and not less for the destruction and chastisement of the Duke of Gueldres, his rebel, I have ventured to write these lines to your Highness, entreating you to hearken to my wishes respecting this matter. I have, moreover, written to my lord the King, our father, about this business, which is of great advantage and importance to your Highness, to the increase of your state, the tranquillity and welfare of your subjects, and

1507.

y del dycho pryncipe mi sobryno tocante asy bien al Rey de ynglaterra mi Señor, el qual crea que esta oy temydo y estymado en toda la Christiandad por muy sabydo y lleno de grandysimos tesoros y tener mucho poderio de gentes de guerra muy buena y sobre todo dotado de muy grandes vyrtudes segun todo esto avra Vr̃a Alteza oydo, y cyerto si a Vr̃a Alteza le agradare como pyenso le agradara lo que el Rey mi Señor ñro padre dixere no dudo sera Vr̃a Alteza la mas alta y mas poderosa Reyna del mundo y ninguna (1) pueda venyr mas a su plazer y contentamyento y segurydad de su estado de Vr̃a Alteza, y demas desto doblara el amor entre el Rey Nr̃o Señor y padre y el Rey de ynglaterra mi Señor de do se causaria en pocos dyas ser toda la Afryca conquista en manos de Crystyanos sudytos de Vr̃a Alteza y del Rey Nuestro padre y Señor. a vuestra alteza suplyco me perdone por le escrybyr y meterme en tan grande negocyo y tan alto que dyos conosce my voluntad como ya e dicho y no he podido por nynguna manera resestyr my voluntad de no se lo aver escrybyr que me parecya sy esto no yciese que farya gran yerro contra dios y el Rey Nuestro Señor y padre y contra Vr̃a Alteza cuya vyda y muy Real estado Nuestro Señor

(1) Sic.

(Translation.)

those of the said Prince, my nephew, and which also affects my lord the King of England. He is a Prince who is feared and esteemed at the present day by all Christendom, as being very wise, and possessed of immense treasures, and having at his command powerful bodies of excellent troops. Above all, he is endowed with the greatest virtues, according to all that your Highness will have heard respecting him. If what my lord the King, our father, shall say to you should please, as I think it will please, your Highness, I do not doubt but that your Highness will become the most illustrious and the most powerful Queen in the world. Moreover, nothing will more conduce to your pleasure and satisfaction, and the security of the kingdom of your Highness. In addition to all this, it will double the affection subsisting between my lord the King, our father, and my lord the King of England. It will also lead to the whole of Africa being conquered within a very short time, and in the hands of the Christian subjects of your Highness, and of my lord the King, our father. I entreat your Highness to pardon me for having written to you, and for having meddled in so great and high a matter. God knows what my wishes are, as I have already said; and I have not found it possible to resist the desire I felt to write to you, as it appears to me that if I had not done so, I should have committed a great sin against God, against the King, our lord and father, and against your Highness, whose life

1507.

guarde y acrecyente. de Ryxamonte a xxv de Ottubre. la pryncesa de gales.

[*Sobre:*] A la muy alta y muy . . . sa Señora . . . . . de Castilla y p . . . . . Aragon my Señora.

1507 [end of], or 1508 [beginning of].

24. KING FERDINAND THE CATHOLIC to DOCTOR DE PUEBLA, his Ambassador in England.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Patronato Real. Tratados con Inglaterra. Legajo 5. f.* 106. *Draft written by Almazan.*]

El Rey.

fiat. doctor de la puebla mi enbaxador y del mi Consejo. vi vuestras letras de iij de Setienbre y de cinco de Octubre y las del Serenisimo Rey de ynglaterra mi hermano que con ellas con dos mensajeros me enbiastes y huve mucho placer de saber las muy buenas nuevas que me escrebistes de su salud y prosperidad por que ciertamente yo le tengo amor de verdadero hermano y assi fuelgo y descanso con su bien y prosperidad como con la propia mia. y tanbien ove mucho placer de saber las buenas nuevas que me escrebistes de los Yllustrisimos principe y princesa de gales mis fijos. Nŭro Señor los guarde a todos y me dexe oir siempre muy buenas nuevas de todos ellos como yo ge las deseo.

assi mismo huve placer de la prorrogacion del tiempo de la paga de la dote que el Serenisimo Rey mi hermano me embio y del amor con que lo fizo conociendo las muy justas causas

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(TRANSLATION.)

and royal estate may our Lord guard and increase.—Richmond, 25th of October.

The Princess of Wales.

[*Addressed:*] "To the most high and most . . . . . Lady of Castile and P. . . . . Aragon my Lady."

24. By the King.

fiat. Doctor de la Puebla, my Ambassador, and of my Council,

I have seen your letters of the 3rd of September and 5th of October, and the letters of the most serene King of England, my brother, which you sent me by two messengers. I had great pleasure in learning the good news respecting his health and prosperity which you write me. For, certainly, I bear him the love of a true brother, and rejoice and am pleased to hear of his prosperity and good success as much as of my own. I am also glad to know the good news which you write me about the most illustrious Prince and Princess of Wales, my children. Our Lord guard all of them, and may I hear always as good news of all of them as I desire.

I was also pleased with the prorogation of the payment of the dower, which the most serene King of England, my brother, sent me, and with the gracious manner in which he

1508.

que para ello havia y no esperaba yo menos de Su Serenidad. dezidle de mi parte el mucho plazer que yo he habido dello y que ge lo agradezco mucho y que tenga por cierto que antes que se cumpla el tiempo desta postrera porrogacion yo enbiare el cumplimiento de la dote y lo proveere todo de manera que el sea contento, y vos fecistes muy bien en avisarme particularmente de los mercaderes por cuyos bancos se puede embiar este dinero por cambios por que desta manera podre escojer la via que mejor me pareciere, pero en fin por una via o por otra yo lo cumplire como he dicho muy enteramente dentro del dicho tiempo, y quando yo embiare el dicho recaudo yo vos escrebire la manera que me parecera que se devra tener en las velaciones de los dichos Ylustrisimos principe y princesa mis fijos. y lo que dezis que escribio el embaxador de ynglaterra questa en francia que el Rey de francia le comunico secretamente que yo le havia certificado que el casamiento de los dichos principe y princesa de Gales mis fijos no estava concertado ni menos podia creer que se hoviesse de concluyr es cosa que nunca tal paso ni se ensoño ni palabra ni memoria dello, antes el dicho Rey de francia tenia y tiene por cierto que el dicho casamiento es fecho y se yo que en perjuicio del dicho casamiento el no faria cosa ninguna. tanbien es falso lo que escribio el enbaxador de ynglaterra que esta en francia que el Rey de francia me embiaba embaxador sobre casamiento

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(Translation.)

granted it. Well knowing the good reasons which he had for doing so, I did not expect anything else from his Serenity. Tell him in my name the great pleasure I have received from this, and that I thank him much. I hold it for certain that before the time of this last prorogation is over I shall send him the payment of the dower, and provide for everything to his satisfaction. You did very well to inform me of the names of the merchants through whose banks the money can be sent by bills of exchange. Thus, I can choose the manner which seems best to me, but in one way or other I certainly shall, as I have said, fulfil my obligations within the time mentioned. When I send the said payment I shall write to you how I think that the marriage between the illustrious Prince and Princess, my children, is to be performed. You say that the ambassador of the King of England in France wrote that the King of France told him in secret that I had said that the marriage of the said most illustrious Prince and Princess of Wales, my children, was not concluded, and that I did not even think that it would be concluded. Such a thing has never been said or dreamt of, nor can a single word [to that effect] be remembered. On the contrary, the King of France held and holds this marriage for concluded, and I know that he would not do anything to its prejudice. The English ambassador in France wrote that the King of France has sent me an embassy about a marriage of the

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de la Reyna de Castilla mi fija con Mossr. de Fox. y yo me corro en gran manera que en tal cosa se fable alla no se habiendo pensado ni ensoñado aqua y siendo cosa que por muchos respectos yo por ser señor del mundo no la faria y se yo bien que el Rey de francia por ninguna cosa me la tentaria assi que si las cosas que el embaxador de ynglaterra que esta en francia escribe no son mas verdaderas que esta alla (1) no es razon que le den ninguna fe. y el embaxador que el Rey de francia me ha embiado es solamente para que resida en mi corte para me comunicar las cosas que ocurrieren por la amistad que entre nosotros es. y esto es evangelio y desto puede tener bien perdido el cuydado el Rey de inglaterra mi hermano.

cuanto a lo del casamiento del Rey de inglaterra mi hermano con la Reyna de Castilla mi fija como por otras he escrito si la dicha Reyna mi fija se ha de casar yo no sere jamas en que case con otro sino con el Rey de inglaterra mi hermano y para ello yo porne toda diligencia e industria con mucho amor y voluntad. y habeis de saber que la dicha Reyna mi fija trae de contino consigo el cuerpo del Rey don felipe su marido que dios haya y antes de mi venida nunca pudieran acabar con ella que lo sepultase y despues de yo venido ha mostrado que desea que el dicho cuerpo no se entierre y yo por lo que toca a su salud y contentamiento ninguna cosa le

(1) Sic.

(TRANSLATION.)

Queen of Castile, my daughter, with Monsieur de Foix. That is also a falsehood. I am very angry that such things are said there as never have been thought or dreamt of here. These are things which I would not do for the empire of the world, and I know well that the King of France would not tempt me in this matter on any account. As the things which the English ambassador in France writes are untrue, it is unreasonable to believe them. The ambassador whom the King of France has sent to me has only come to reside at my court, and, as we are friends, to inform me of his good news. That is true as gospel, and the King of England may be easy in this respect.

Concerning the marriage of the King of England, my brother, with the Queen of Castile, my daughter, as I have written in former letters, if the Queen, my daughter, is to marry, I shall never consent that she weds with any one else than the King of England, my brother, and shall employ with the greatest love and goodwill all my industry and energy [to promote] that. But you must know that the said Queen, my daughter, still carries about with her the corpse of King Philip, her late husband. Before I arrived they could never persuade her to bury him, and since my arrival she has declared that she does not wish the said corpse to be buried. On account of her health, and in order to content

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contradigo ni quiero que se faga cosa de que ella reciba alteracion, mas poco a poco yo trabajare que ella aya por bien que el dicho cuerpo se sepulte. y luego que yo vine ella estaba puesta en que se fiziesen las honras del cabo daño al dicho Rey su marido y fasta que se fizo el dicho cabo daño yo no lo quise fablar en cosa que tocase a su casamiento, pero fechas las honrras yo le toque en ello sin nombrar con quien sino solamente por saber si esta en intincion de casarse. ella me respondio que en ninguna cosa habia de salir de mi consejo y mandado, mas que me suplicaba que no le mandasse que me respondiesse a aquello fasta que el cuerpo del Rey su marido fuesse sepultado y que entonces ella me responderia. y viendo yo esto no la he apretado fasta que el dicho cuerpo sea sepultado porque creo que antes no aprovecharia, y yo he embiado por un brebe a Roma por ver si aprovechara para

(TRANSLATION.)

her, I do not contradict her in anything, nor wish that anything be done that could excite her; but I shall endeavour to persuade her by degrees to permit the corpse to be buried. When I arrived she had made up her mind that, on the anniversary of his death (1), the usual honours should be paid to the King her husband, and until the ceremonies of the "end of the year" were performed I did not like to mention the marriage to her. When the ceremonies were over I touched on this matter, in order to know whether she was inclined to marry, without, however, mentioning any person. She answered that in everything she would do what I advised or commanded, but that she begged me not to command her to give an answer to my question until the corpse of her husband should be buried. That done [she said], she would answer me. Considering these circumstances, I do not urge her until the said corpse shall be buried, because I think it would rather produce an unfavourable impression. I have sent to Rome for a brief, in order to try whether she could thereby be persuaded to bury the corpse sooner. When it is buried I shall again speak with her, in order to know her intentions with respect to a marriage; and if I find her inclined [to

(1) *Cabo de año*, literally translated, is "end of the year," but it usually signifies the religious ceremonies performed on the anniversary of a death. As in ancient Spanish these words are sometimes used in their primitive sense, or as synonymous with *cumpleaños*, "birthday" and "New year's day," and as King Ferdinand either originated, or at least countenanced, the common report that Queen Juana did not believe in the death of her husband, and had the honours due to living princes paid to his corpse, I was, when calendaring this document several years ago, inclined to interpret the words *cabo daño* or *cabo de año* by "New year's day." Reconsidering this passage, however, I think it more probable that King Ferdinand spoke of the religious ceremonies celebrated on the anniversary of King Philip's death. The vagueness of expression was, perhaps, not unintentional.

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que mas presto le quiera sepultar, y en habiendole sepultado yo le tornare a fablar para saber su voluntad en lo del casamiento. y si la fallare inclinada a ello yo no dare lugar que sea con ningun otro sino con el dicho Rey de ynglaterra mi hermano y entonces escrebire lo que me parecera cerca de las condiciones en que he mucho plazer de saber que el dicho Rey mi hermano este tan determinado en mirar mucho lo que cunpliere a mi y a mi honrra y tanto mas me obliga para ello.

quanto a la guerra que hay entre los de flandes y el duque de gueldres ya vos sabeis que despues de la Reina mi fija el principe Don Carlos mi nieto es mi heredero, y por esto y porque yo le tengo por fijo desseo todo su bien y lo he de procurar como el propio mio, yo he escrito sobre la dicha guerra al Rey de francia rogandole y procurando con el que sus gentes no fagan daño ni offenssion en las tierras del principe mi nieto, y el me ha respondido que por mi respeto el querria facer por el dicho principe mi nieto como yo, pero que los flamencos rompieron la guerra al duque de gueldres y le tomaron dos villas y le sitiaron otra y que el le tiene por confederado y era obligado a no dexarle destruir y que le socorrio y que la gente que fue al dicho socorro tomo dos villas en el condado de henante y que todo es culpa de los flamencos que no quisieron venir en ningun buen apuntamiento de paz ni de tregua con el dicho duque de gueldres, pero que el ha proveydo que su gente no faga mas daño en

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(Translation.)

marry], I shall not permit that it be with any one except with the King of England, my brother. I shall then also write what I think of the conditions, with respect to which I have great pleasure in knowing that the said King, my brother, is so ready to consult my interests and my honour. I am the more obliged to him for this.

As for the war between Flanders and the Duke of Gueldres, you know that after the Queen my daughter, the Prince Don Carlos my grandson, is my heir. For this reason, and because I consider him as my son, I wish him well, and have to take care of his interests as much as of my own. I have written about this war to the King of France, begging him and insisting that his troops may not injure or attack the dominions of the Prince, my grandson. He has answered me that out of respect for me he would like to behave towards the said Prince, my grandson, as I do; but that the Flemings began the war, took from the Duke of Gueldres two towns, and besieged a third. Being his ally, he was obliged to see that he was not destroyed. He succoured him, therefore, and the troops which were sent in aid took two towns in the county of Hainaut. It was all the fault of the Flemings, who refused any treaty of peace or truce with the said Duke of Gueldres. He has, however, ordered that his troops shall

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las tierras del dicho principe mi nieto y que si quieren los que tienen cargo de la gobernacion de flandes que aquellas cosas se podran bien apuntar de manera que esten en paz o en tregua y que en tanto se vea cuya es la justicia y que por el no quedara esto. y agora de nuevo torno a embiar y escribir sobre ello al dicho Rey de francia mi hermano para procurar que en todo caso se de en aquello asiento por que al principe mi nieto no le cunple en tan tierna edad tener guerra sino estar en paz y que se conserve y desempeñe su patrimonio.

assi mismo he habido mucho placer de saber que el dicho Serenisimo Rey de ynglaterra mi hermano este tan inclinado como decis a emplearse en la guerra contra los infieles enemigos de Nŭra fe porque es la cossa que yo mas en este mundo desseo y si pluguiere a Dios Nŭro Señor que en las otras cossas se toma buena conclusion yo espero que en esta le podremos facer mucho servicio.

de vuestra dolencia me desplaze mucho y me place que estabades ya mejor y placera a Nŭro Señor de daros entera salud como desseays. mas tened por cierto que en todo tiempo havre yo vuestras cosas mucho recomendadas y con el vuestro se vos embiara despacho de lo que vos toca.

(Translation.)

not do any more harm to the dominions of the said Prince, my grandson. If the persons who have the government of Flanders in their hands should wish it, all these difficulties could easily be arranged, and they might have a peace or truce until it was decided which party was right. It was not his fault if that was not done. I send now again to the King of France, my brother, and write him that he should bring about such a treaty, because it is not suitable for the tender age of the Prince, my grandson, to have war, but only to live in peace, and to preserve and keep his dominions free from troubles.

I have also been much pleased to hear that the most serene King of England, my brother, is so much inclined as you say to make war upon the infidel enemies of our holy religion; for that is the thing I most desire in this world. If God our Lord should be pleased that we arrange the other affairs well, I hope that in this (1) we shall render Him great services.

I am very sorry that you have been ill, and am glad that you are already better. May our Lord be pleased to give you good health, and you may be sure that at all times I shall consider your affairs as much recommended to me. Your servant will bring you my orders concerning your private affairs.

(1) The war upon the Infidels.

1508.

por una carta de xxvij de Agosto nos escribio el dicho Serenisimo Rey de ynglaterra ñro hermano que por letras de algunos amigos suyos supo un secreto tocante al Rey de navarra el qual la princesa mi fija y vos me escribiriades y en v̄ras letras no fezistes mencion de ello. procurad de saber que es y escrebidmelo. De ——

1516.
6th March. **25.** MOSEN FERRER to CARDINAL CISNEROS.

[*Simancas. Estado. Castilla. Legajo* 1². *pp.* 297, 298. *Original.*]

Tordesillas 1516. de Moss. Ferrer. a vj de Março.

Muy yllustre y Reverendissimo Señor,

vuestra Reverendissima Señoria mando venir aqui al obispo de mallorca para poner paz e sosiego a los desconciertos y turbaciones que aqui se avian seguido, y para mandar que cada uno hiziese y tubiese el cargo que thenia en vida del Rey Nuestro Señor que en gloria sea y que no se hiziese mudança ni novedad alguna sino que todas las cosas estuviesen en el estado que estavan, y mando especialmente a mi el dicho obispo de parte de v̄ra Señoria Rxma que continuase de hazer mi oficio como solia y asi lo mando el dicho obispo a todos notificandoles la provision que de v̄ra Señoria traya. y quando esto oyeron los que me quisieron hechar de esta villa como a v̄ra Señoria escrivi, Rescibieron

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(TRANSLATION.)

The most serene King of England, our brother, wrote to us in his letter of the 27th of August, that from letters of some friends of his he learnt a secret concerning the King of Navarra, which the Princess my daughter, and you would write to me, but in your letters you do not mention it. Try to learn what it is, and write it to me. From ——.

25. Tordesillas, 1516. From Mosen Ferrer, 6th of March.

Very illustrious and most reverend Lord,

Your most reverend Lordship sent the Bishop of Mallorca hither (to Tordesillas) to pacify and compose the quarrels and disturbances which had taken place here, ordering that every one was to continue in the discharge of the duties which had been entrusted to him during the lifetime of the King our lord, who is now in glory. No changes or new arrangements were to be made, but everything was to remain in the same state as it had hitherto been. The Bishop, acting in the name of your most reverend Lordship, particularly ordered me to continue in my office as heretofore, and gave the same instructions to all the other (officers), communicating to them the power which he had received from your Lordship. When those who, as I have already stated, wish to drive me away

1516.

mucha pena y acrescentaron mas su malicia y ymbidia, y entonces ynbentaron que yo hera causa que la Reyna Nuestra Señora no se curaba, y que avia estado presa en vida del Rey su padre. y por aqui todas las cosas que ṽra Señoria abra alla entendido. y el dicho obispo en lugar de reprehender y bien castigar a lo por que venia ha favorescido lo posible a los hemulos que aqui thengo dando lugar a que se juntasen e ficiesen mensajeros mas para dapñar a mi que para otro provecho por donde ṽra Sr̃ia por la relacion de ellos abra concebido segund lo que veo que ha mandado proveer que yo devo ser tal qual ellos me han pintado. y ṽra Sr̃ia con las muchas ocupaciones que tiene no se devio acordar que sy yo fuera tan malo que un Rey tan sabio a quien ṽra Sr̃ia tanto conoscia y amava no hiciera tanta confiança de mi, y ṽra Sª Rxma que tanto conosce y es sabidor de las condiciones y enfermedad de la Reyna Nuestra Señora, como ha de creher, ni pensar que por mi culpa se dexase de hazer lo que cumpliese a la salud de Su Al. y a su servicio, a la qual yo nunca falte ni erre y aviendo suscedido Su Al. en los rreynos de Aragon donde yo soy natural segun lo que yo he servido a Su Al. y la mucha continuacion y conversacion que con Su Alteza he tenido, quien espera mas merced con su salud que yo. mas si dios la hizo de tal condicion,

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(Translation.)

from this town heard what had been decided upon, their malice and envy increased, and then they pretended that it was my fault that the Queen our lady was not restored to health, and that she had been a prisoner whilst the King her father lived. This is the source from which sprang all that your Lordship has heard about this affair. The Bishop, instead of reproaching and punishing them, for which purpose he had been sent, has shown the greatest favour to my rivals, enabling them to combine and to send messengers [to the Cardinal], more with the intention to do me injury than for any other purpose. And I see, from what your Lordship has ordered, you believe what they have told, and think that I am what they depict me to be. Your lordship has amidst your great occupations forgotten to consider that so wise a King, and one whom your Lordship knew and loved so much, would not have shown me such confidence if I really were so bad. How can your Lordship, being well acquainted with, and so perfectly know ing the condition and infirmity of the Queen our lady, nevertheless believe and think that I committed such a fault as to neglect the health and the service of her Highness. I have never been in fault or committed any error towards her. Her Highness having succeeded in the kingdoms of Aragon, who could hope to receive greater favours from her than I, who am a born subject of these kingdoms, and have served her Highness so long, and have continually been in the company

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que no se le pueda hazer mas de lo que su divina majestad permite y quiere. y nunca el Rey su padre pudo hazer mas fasta que porque no muriese dexandose de comer por no complir su voluntad le huvo de mandar dar cuerda por conservarle la vida. y hase de dar culpa a mi por lo que no esta en mi mano ni en mi facultad poderlo remediar. yo no puedo creher que ṽra Sr̃ia Rxma en quien esta todo el saber y discrecion del mundo y sabiendo yo quien soy que pienso que me conosce pueda ignorar que por malicia y por ynbidia y por ambicion de susceder en el cargo que yo thengo soy perseguido, yo ynbie a suplicar a v. Señoria Rxma por licencia para yrme a mi casa y no fue servido de me la dar antes embio a mandar que sirviese como solia y agora ha mandado proveer, quel doctor Socto y el padre guardian fray juan de Avila, y no otra persona syno el dicho obispo con ellos, entienda con las mujeres que thienen cargo de la guarda de Su Al.,en hazer todo lo que yo haria, apartando a mi de todo aquello declarandome por sospechoso a la salud e vida de Su Al. no esperava yo señor tal galardon de mis servicios, ni de rescibir tal afruenta en mis viejas canas para aver de ser asy tractado. mayor merced rescibiera en concederme la licencia que pedia. y si se me pidiera quenta y razon de lo

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(Translation.)

of her Highness? But if God created her such as she is, it is impossible to effect more than His Divine Majesty permits and vouchsafes, and the King her father could never do more until, to prevent her from destroying herself by abstinence from food, as often as her will was not done, he had to order that she was to be put to the rack to preserve her life. Was that my fault? It was not in my hands nor in my power to avoid it. I cannot believe that your most reverend Lordship, who possesses all the wisdom and discretion of the world, and, I think, knows who I am, is unaware that I am prevented by malice, envy, and ambition from exercising the office I hold. When I asked your most reverend Lordship to send me permission to return to my house, you were pleased to refuse it, and to order that I should continue in my place as hitherto. Now, however, you have appointed the Doctor Soto and the Father Guardian, Fray Juan de Avila, and, together with them, no other person than the said Bishop, to give orders to the women who watch her Highness, and to do all I should have to do, removing me from [my office], and declaring me suspected [of attempts] against the health and life of her Highness. I did not expect, my Lord, such reward for my services, nor did I think that such affront would be done to my old white hairs by treating me in that manner. It would have been a better favour to concede me the dismissal from service which I had asked. If I had been called upon to account for that of which I was accused, I should have done

1516.

que de mi se dezia yo la diera tan buena que ṽra Sñia quedara satisfecho. mas recibir tal afruenta haziendose de mi tal desconfiança sientolo por mucha desdicha. verdad es que acordandoseme de lo que perdi moriendoseme el Rey Catolico, todas las perdidas en respecto de aquello son pocas, yo en todo lo que ṽra Señoria es servido y haze recibo merced. humillmente le suplico que por honrra de los huesos del Rey Catolico que aqui me dexo no permita que yo sea asi tractado que si el principe nuestro Señor y Vuestra Señoria en su nombre y aun en su nombre propio avian de ser servidos de mi estada aqui para que no se hiziese mudança se avia de hazer como se ha hecho. pues yo suplique por la licencia no se me hiciera injuria alguna concediendomela y agora estoy tan afrontado como si yo huviera deservido a su Al. como la he servido, y por no hazer cosa que no deva no me he partido luego de aqui aunque vea que no thenga nada en que servir pues el cargo que yo thenia esta todo repartido y cometido a otras personas. porque quiero dar buena cuenta de mi y del dicho cargo que he thenido en el qual con toda lealtad y fidelidad y diligencia he servido al Rey Catolico quando vivia y serviera al principe nuestro Señor y a ṽra Señoria que tiene su lugar y porque he thenido y tengo este fin, se me an procurado

(Translation.)

it so thoroughly that your Lordship would have been satisfied. Unhappily I feel that I received such an affront because I was not trusted. It is true that when I remember the loss caused me by the death of the Catholic King, all other losses seem small to me in comparison. I will receive as a favour whatever your Lordship is pleased to do, but must implore you, out of respect to the memory(1) of the Catholic King who left me in this place, not to permit me to be treated n this manner. Since the Prince our lord, and your Lordship in his name as well as in your own, were pleased to order that I should remain here, and that no change should be made, was it right to do what has been done? As I asked to be relieved from my duties, no affront would have been done to me if my demand had been granted; but now I am dishonoured, as though I had badly served her Highness. My desire to do nothing except my duty has prevented me from leaving this place, although I see that I have nothing to perform, the office which I held being divided and confided to other persons. Wishing to be able to give a good account of myself and the office which I have held, I served faithfully and diligently the Catholic King whilst he was alive, and am ready to serve the Prince our lord, and your Lordship, who is his lieutenant, and because I have had and still have this intention, all these difficulties have been created for me. My conscience does not accuse me, and having done my duty I

(1) *huesos* is literally bones.

1516.

estos trabajos y pues mi conciencia no me acusa y estoy contento de mi mesmo haziendo lo que devo por todo lo que me viene y viniere dare gracias a dios y a v. Sñia Rxma vesare los pyes y los manos porque determine de mi vida lo que mas fuere servido o mandandome yr a mi casa con honrra aviendome por jubilado pues la hedad y el tiempo lo requieren y aviendo respecto que en mi casa se me de de comer en recompensa de lo que he servido y gastado asi de tiempo como de hazienda, o si de mi se quisiere servir aca me mande tractar como mis servicios leales y de muchos tiempos y mi hedad requiren conservandome ella autoridad y honrra en que siempre he estado, que de qualquier cosa de estas dos que escoja ṽra ṽxma Señoria me hara muy señalada merced, y no me quiero holvidar de hazer memoria a ṽra Sñia que en syete o ocho años que he thenido la governacion de esta rreal casa y corte bendicto dios a sido governada como un monesterio y religion de honestisimos frailes. y agora se vee la experiencia dello. a ṽra Señoria suplico quanto puedo se acuerde que siempre me tubo por siervo y me ofrescio de hazer mercedes y de mirar por my, y ogora que esta en su mano de complirlo suplico a vuestra Señoria sea servido de complirlo y mandarme responder como mas fuere servido. Nuestro Señor dios la vida y muy

(Translation.)

am satisfied with myself. Thus, for whatever has happened or may happen in future to me, I shall thank God and kiss the hands and feet of your most reverend Lordship, (1) who may decide on my life as you are best pleased. You may command me to return to my house in an honourable way, pensioning me as my age and the time [of my service] require, ordering that in recompense of the sacrifice of my time as well as of money I shall receive wherewith to live in my house. If, however, I am to continue my services here, [I beg you] to order that I be trusted as my faithful services during so long a time and my age deserve, and to preserve to me that authority and honour which I have always enjoyed. Your most reverend Lordship may choose one of these alternatives, and I shall receive either as a signal favour. I cannot omit to remind your Lordship that during the seven or eight years in which I have been the governor of this royal household and Court, it has, God be thanked, been governed like a monastery and order of most honest friars, and now I see the consequences of it. I beseech your Lordship not to forget that I have always been your servant, and that you have offered me favours and promised to take care of me. As it is now in the power of your Lordship to fulfil your promises, I beg you to be pleased to do it, and to order that a speedy answer be sent

(1) Kiss the hands and feet of a person has not in Spanish that servile and abject meaning which in English would attach to it. It is a usual phrase of courtesy.

1516.

yllustre estado de vuestra Señoria acresciente y prospere. de tordesillas a vj de Marco de IMdxvj años. las muy yllustres manos de v̄ra Rxma Señoria vesa su muy hobediente siervo.

Moss. ferrer.

[*Sobre:*] Al muy yllustre y Reverendissimo Señor el Señor Arçobispo de toledo Cardenal despaña primado de las españas . . . . . y governador general de los Reynos de castilla mi Senor.

30th April. **26.** CHARLES KING OF SPAIN to CARDINAL CISNEROS.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Estado. Castilla. Legajo* 3. *f.* 354. *Original in cipher. Deciphered by Don Nemesio de Alday, officer in the Archives at Simancas. Revised by the editor.*]

El Rey.

Vi lo que me escrevistes con el conde don hernando de andrada y oi todo lo que de vuestra parte me dixo. ove mucho plazer de ver su persona que me parecio y parece tal como vos me escrevis y es muy obligado a Dios un principe que tiene tales vasallos y servidores como este en quien concurren muchas cosas provechosas y necesarias al bien de un reyno y al servicio de un Rey: todas las cosas que de vuestra parte nos dixo son de mucha inportancia y veo por ellas claramente quanto vos desvelais en las cosas de mi servicio y del bien y pacificacion desos reynos. por lo qual me tengo por

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(TRANSLATION.)

to me of what you are pleased to decide. May God our Lord give your Lordship a long life and prosperity. From Tordesillas, 6th of March 1516.

Your humble servant kisses the very illustrious hands of your most reverend Lordship. Mosen Ferrer.

[*Addressed:*] To the very illustrious and most reverend Lord, the Lord Archbishop of Toledo, Cardinal of Spain, Primate of Spain, Governor General of the kingdom of Castile, my Lord.

26. By the King.

I have seen what you have written to me by the Count Don Hernando de Andrada, and have heard all that he has told me by word of mouth in your name. It has afforded me great pleasure to see him, as he seemed and seems to me to be such a person as you state. A Prince who has such vassals and servants as this, in whom so many qualities concur which are desirable and even necessary for the welfare of a kingdom and the service of a King, owes great gratitude to God. All he told us in your name is of great importance; and I clearly see what great pains you take in all that concerns my service and the welfare and pacification of those kingdoms. For all this I am much obliged to you, as it is reasonable I should be,

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muy encargado de vos como la razon lo requiere y como por mis obras conocera todo el mundo en las cosas que os tocaren.

sobre todo e praticado con el conde y con algunas personas de mi consejo muy largamente, pero visto que son muchas y de diversas calidades y avemos tenido ocupaciones en otras cosas grandes que buenamente no se podian ni debian diferir avemos tomado conclusion en solas tres cosas que nos parecen las que por agora tienen mas necesidad de ser proveydas.

la primera toca a la guarda de la Reyna mi Señora la qual por la diversidad de las opiniones es muy necesaria. y a parecido al conde que seria bien que de aca se enbiase una persona natural . . . . (1) estas tierras. por muchas razones me ha parecido bien su parecer, pero porque yo aun no e señalado persona para ello mucho os ruego y encargo que entretanto que yo nonbro y enbio alguna persona, que vos tengais manera como seyendo muy bien tratada aya aya(2) tan buena guarda y recabdo que sy algunos quisieran alterar my buena intencion no puedan, y en esto aya gran cuydado y por que a ninguno pertenece mas mirar por la honrra contentamiento y consolacion de la Reyna mi Señora que a mi los que en esto quisieren meter la mano no ternan buena intincion.

en el segundo articulo que toca a los peones alemanes

(1) Roto. (2) Sic.

(Translation.)

and as I shall make known to the whole world by my deeds in everything that concerns you.

I have had long conferences on all these subjects with the Count and with some of my Privy Councillors, but as the subjects are many and of different kinds, and as we have been much occupied in other great affairs which cannot well and ought not to be delayed, we have come to a conclusion on only three points which seem to us to stand in the greatest need to be decided at once.

The first of these concerns the custody of the Queen my lady, which on account of the difference of opinions is very necessary. The Count thinks it would be best that a born subject [of] these countries should be sent from here. For various reasons I think well of his advice; but as I have not yet chosen such a person, I must beg and command you meanwhile, and until I choose and send such a person, to make arrangements that, whilst she is to be treated well, she be so well guarded and watched that if any persons should endeavour to counteract my good intentions, they shall be prevented from doing so. In this respect great vigilance is necessary. Since it belongs to nobody more than to myself to take care of the honour, contentment, and consolation of the Queen my lady, those who endeavour to meddle [in this affair] cannot have any good intention.

The second point concerns the German infantry. We think

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parecenos bien vuestro consejo y asi conforme a el mandamos despachar luego al conde felix de virtunberga para los hazer el qual conde es aleman pariente y servidor nuestro y buen capitan. parecenos que esta gente podra servir para muchas cosas. por ende muy afectuosamente os ruego y encargo que en la hora deis orden como los dineros y paga de tres meses se envie luego.

sobre el tercero articulo que toca en lo de la gente de caballo asi de ginetes como de honbres darmas con la otra posta que partio antes desta os escrebi que todo lo que haziades avia por bueno, como quiera que yo estava puesto y estoy en que se haga la menor novedad que se pudiere hazer, pero visto el çelo que teneis al servicio de dios y mio y al bien y pro comun desos rreynos y que vos que sois presente veis mejor lo que es necessario, digo que todo lo remito a vos para que hagais lo que os pareciere que mas conviene a la buena administracion de la justicia y pacificacion dese rreyno. en todas las otras cosas que el conde traxo por memoriales sentendera luego y con la resolucion dellas se despachara el conde por que veemos como vos decis que su persona sera alla mas necessaria y muy provechosa.

la ciudad de malaga nos a hecho saber que en aquella costa ay muy mal proveymiento y que sino se remedia podra recebir toda aquella tiera muy gran daño. yo me tengo por dicho que

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(Translation.)

your advice is good, and therefore we shall directly send Count Felix, of Wirtemberg, to enlist them. The said Count is a German, a kinsman and servant of ours, and a good captain. We are of opinion that these troops will render services in many respects, and I therefore beg and command you to give orders immediately that the money for three month's pay be sent without delay.

About the third point, that is to say the cavalry, light horse as well as men-at-arms, I have already written to you by the last courier that I approve of all you have done. Although I have been and still am of opinion that the least change possible should be made, nevertheless, considering your zeal to serve God and me, and to further the well being and common weal of these kingdoms, and considering further that you who are on the spot are better able to see what is necessary, I say that I leave all for your decision, and you may do what you think is most conducive to a good administration of justice and the pacification of the kingdom. All the other business mentioned in the memoirs which the Count brought shall soon be taken in hand, and the Count will bring you our decisions, for we think you are right in saying that his presence there is very necessary and advantageous.

The city of Malaga has informed us that that coast is ill provided for, and if it is not remedied the whole country may receive great injury. I suppose you have already taken

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avreys en todo proveydo como conviene, pero por mi satisfacion os torno a rogar y encargar que sino lo aveis provey(1) lo proveays.

aqui me an hecho grande instancia por parte del conde de lemos que mande suspender el pleyto del marques de villafranca y que le mande volver las fortalezas que por su seguridad el Rey mi Señor le secresto y tomo. yo le deseo hazer mercedes porque es la persona que sabeys y tanbien porque sirvio muy derechamente al Rey mi Señor y padre, que aya gloria, pero porque estoy puesto en no hacer novedad y en todo deseo ver vuestro parecer el qual claramente no me aveys escrito, yo os ruego y encargo que luego me aviseis de vuestro parecer, y entretanto tengais manera como las cosas esten de la manera y en el estado que estan. pero esto sea de tal manera que paresca que esto se haze por ocupaciones de los oydores o por otras causas y no por nuestro mandado, porque mientras estamos ausentes tenemos necesidad de andar con el tienpo.

tanbien os enbiamos la carta sobre las cosas de la Sancta Inquisicion de la mesma manera que la pidis, y en todo lo demas tomaremos conclusion.

y por que las otras cosas que agora ocuren vera vuestra paternidad por lo que al dean escrivo, no se dize aqui mas.

aca se nos piden muchas cosas y todas las remitimos a v̄ra

(1) Sic.

(Translation.)

the necessary measures, but for my own satisfaction I beg and command you again that if you have not yet provided for this contingency you do so.

I have been much importuned on the part of the Count of Lemos to suspend the lawsuit of the Marquis of Villafranca, and to restore to him the fortresses which, as a measure of security, the King my lord took from him and sequestered. I am willing to show him favour because he is as good a person as you know that he is, and also because he served very faithfully the King, my lord and father, who now enjoys eternal glory. As, however, I am not inclined to change anything, and wish to know your opinion, which you have not stated clearly enough, I beg and command you to send me directly your advice, and meanwhile to keep the affair in the same state in which it is at present; but it must be done in such a manner as to make it appear as though it were only in consequence of the auditors being too much occupied, or from other reasons, and not in consequence of an order from us. Whilst we are absent it is necessary to temporise.

We send you also the letter about the Holy Inquisition, which is as you wish it. On all the other points we shall soon come to a conclusion.

We say nothing more on other subjects because you will have our decision on them in our letters to the Dean.(1)

A great many persons ask many things from us; we send

(1) Adrian, afterwards Pope Adrian VI.

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reverenda paternidad, escrevidnos de la calidad que son e lo que en ello se haze e debe hazer. de la villa de bruselas ultimo dia de Abril de 1516. YO EL REY.

Por mandado del Rey. Pº. de la Mota.

[*Sobre:*] Al Reverendissimo in Christo padre Cardenal de España Arzobispo de toledo primado de las Españas, Chanciller mayor de Castilla, nuestro muy caro e muy amado amigo Señor. Cifra del Rey nuestro Señor.

12th July. **27.** DIEGO LOPEZ DE AYALA to CARDINAL CISNEROS.

[*Simancas. Estado. Castilla. Legajo* 12. *f.* 233. *Original written in cipher. Deciphering by D. Nemesio de Alday, Officer in the Archives at Simancas. Revised by the editor.*]

Con Pedro Darrada recebi un enbotorio duplica (1) del correo que vino a ras(1) y porque aquello tengo respondido y tanbien a lo de la cruzada solo respondere a lo de la Reyna de su salud que xebres y el chanciller no les paricio que lo dixese al Rey y asi lo hize. y pensando hazer bien a hernan duque ayna le echara a perder, que segun veo estos proter forman (1) hablan en la salud y no porque la deseen. y es gente muy peligrosa ques menester guardar con ellos la boca. sobre el casamiento del duque de sogorve con la hija del duque de

(1) Sic.

(TRANSLATION.)

them all to you, most reverend Father. Write us of what kind they are, and what is done with respect to them, and what ought to be done.—From the town of Brussels, on the last day of April 1516. I, the King.

By the order of the King, P. De La Mota.

[*Addressed:*] To the most reverend Father in Christ the Cardinal of Spain, Archbishop of Toledo, Primate of Spain, High Chancellor of Castile, our very dear and beloved friend. Cipher of the King our lord.

27.

By Pedro Darrada I received a bundle of duplicates of the letters which were delivered to me at Arras. As I have already answered them, as well as [your letters] on the *cruzada*, I shall reply here only as to what regards the health of the Queen. Chièvres and the Chancellor were of opinion that I should not speak about it to the King. So I did not. Thinking to render a service to Hernan Duque, I am now ruining him. For according to what I see they speak here *prœter formam* of her health, and that not because they wish it. They are very dangerous people, and one must hold one's tongue here. Yesterday they despatched Herera, who is to prevent the marriage of the Duke of Segorbe with the

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cardona despacharon ayer a herera para que lo desbarate. al dicho herera ha dado el Rey la tenencia de panplona. con el correo que truxo la vacante de cordoua avisava vuestra Señoria de la muerte del Rey don juan. hasta estonces aun no se sabia cierto. crea vuestra Señoria que estan muy puestos en retener aquel rreyno y no dar almena del en concordia ni dotra manera. por una letra del obispo davila supe que el poder que sembio para el duque de najara no se le embiaron. cosa es que no puede estar secreta porque aqui fuese muy publico y dos criados que aqui tiene se lo abran escrito a los enbajadores daquel reyno que son ya partidos. vuestra Señoria provealo como fuere servido. por parte del condestable de navarra se quejan aqui que le toma vuestra Señoria sus fortalezas etc., yo tengolos avisados que segun sus tratos harta merced le faze el Rey en dejalle la vida. i para proveer estas cosas estos no toman parecer de nadie. no se lo que haran. que donana (1) de biamonte los trae muy acosados sobrello. mucho holgaron con las cedulas de los veinte mill ducados y sin falta mas estiman la pecunia que quanta buena gobernacion ay en el mundo. y muy contento esta el Rey del buen proveymiento que vuestra Señoria hizo para napoles y mas de aver prestado dineros. diez dias a

(1) Sic. Doña Ana.

(TRANSLATION.)

daughter of the Duke of Cardona. The King has given the lieutenancy of Pamplona to Herera, and has sent [his nomination] with the courier, who had brought the news of the vacancy of Cordova. I have already informed your Lordship of the death of the King Don Juan, although it was then not yet certain. Your Lordship may believe they are very decided to retain that kingdom, and will not give a single turret belonging to it for the sake of reconciliation or for any other purpose. I learnt from a letter of the Bishop of Avila that the power which was sent for the Duke of Najera was not forwarded to him. That cannot remain a secret because it was made public here, and two servants whom he has here most probably have already written about it to the ambassadors of that kingdom who had already left. Your Lordship may provide for this case as you think best. The Constable of Navarra complains that your Lordship has taken his fortresses, etc. from him. I have told them that, considering his behaviour, it is a great favour that the King does not take his life. Those here decide everything without asking the advice of any one. I do not know what they will do. Doña Ana De Beamonte vexes them much. The letters of exchange for the 20,000 ducats caused them great pleasure, and, certainly, they hold money in higher esteem than any good government in the world. The King is much pleased with the fit precautions your Lordship took in Naples, but even more with

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que despacharon un correo subito para ay. creo que por pecunia. no llevo carta de nadie. vuestra Señoria provea en esto de los coreos que vienen aca porque primero sabe el Rey de otros lo de ay que de vuestra Señoria y en esto de la hazienda los avise antes que nadie porque aqui el de lanuça y la parcialidad de la Reyna se adelantan en todo y va la cosa de manera que cuantos oficiales tenia el Rey Catolico se reciben y sirven. quintana esta ya como antes eceto la cifra de Roma y los negocios de vuestra Señoria. que yo fasta saber la voluntad de vuestra Señoria no e querido que entienda en ellos. que se que siente lo que se a echo con su suegro y aguelo. la inquisicion de Aragon se provee al enbaxador por contenplacion de vuestra Senoria. la iglesia de Cordova tanbien. a badajoz la suplicacion de vuestra Señoria anadio (1) voluntad a voluntad. lo de los negocios de la Reyna daragon creo usaran de entretenimiento fasta la ida pero si se contenta con lo que se le da no se lo negaran. oy es llegado un criado suyo. no me trae carta de vuestra Señoria. la partida sera cierta a veinte y cinco deste mes. se concluira lo de francia. volveran estos a

(1) Sic.

(TRANSLATION.)

the money you have lent. Ten days ago they sent in great haste a courier thither, I think to ask for money, but he did not take with him letters from any one. Your Lordship ought to make provisions with respect to the couriers who are sent hither, for the King learns the news earlier from other persons than from you, also about the state of the finances you must send him information sooner than any one else, because De la Nuza and the party of the Queen are pushing themselves forward in every respect. The state of things is such that all the officers of the Catholic King are received here and take service. Quintana already holds the same position as formerly, with the exception of the ciphering of [the despatches] to Rome and the affairs concerning your Lordship, which I have asked should not be entrusted to him before your wishes are known, on account of his resentment in consequence of what has been done to his father-in-law and his grandfather. The inquisitorship of Aragon is given to the ambassador (1) in compliance with [the wishes] of your Lordship. The same is to be said with respect to the see of Córdova. Your supplication about Badajoz was met with goodwill. I think that the decision on the affairs of the Queen of Aragon will be delayed until the journey, but if she contents herself with what is given to her they will not refuse it. To day a servant of hers has arrived, but has not brought me letters from your Lordship. The departure is fixed for the 25th of this month. The French business will be brought to an end.

(1) Adrian.

1516.

ello y por no se detener el Rey envia al conde palatino y al preboste de era(1) con su poder para tomar la posesion del condado de lucenburque. oy parten a ello. con el correo que se despachara presto escribire. si el de vuestra Señoria fuese llegado seria gran bien porque sabriamos la provision que a hecho en napoles. ayer escrevi con un criado de don pedro puertocarrero. el Rey parte oy para lobayna a do esta xebres dando orden en su partida.

de bruselas doce de Julio.

diego lopez.

Mos. de Sampy murio que era uno de los que nunca se partia de cabo el Rey.

[*Sobre:*] Altissimo y r̃xmo Señor el Cardenal Gobernador de España my Señor.

1518.

15th March. **28.** CHARLES, KING OF SPAIN, to DON BERNARDO DE SANDOVAL, y Rojas, Marquis of Denia and Count of Lerma.

[*Sandoval. Historia de la vida y hechos del Emperador Carlos V. maximo.*]

Appoints him, in the name of the Queen and in his own name, governor and administrator of the household of the Queen, his mother, who lives in Tordesillas, with power to command and govern all persons belonging to the royal household, as well as the magistracy and commonalty of the town.

(1) Sic.

(TRANSLATION.)

They will again occupy themselves with it. In order not to be detained the King sends the Count Palatine and the Provost of Era(1) with power to take possession of the county of Luxemburg. They leave today. I shall write by the next courier. If the courier of your Lordship should arrive it would be a great advantage, for we should then know the measure which you have taken concerning Naples. I wrote yesterday by a servant of Don Pedro de Puertocarrero. The King goes to day to Louvain where he meets Chièvres, who is making preparations for his journey.

From Brussels, 12th of July.

DIEGO LOPEZ.

Monsieur de Sempy has died. He was one of those who were always near the King.

[*Addressed:*] To the most illustrious and most reverend Lord, the Cardinal Governor of Spain.

(1) Sic. Liège ?

1518.

1518 (?) **29.** The MARQUIS OF DENIA to CHARLES KING OF SPAIN.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Estado. Castilla. Lo.* 5. *fo.* 311. *Holograph. No date.*]

Muy poderoso Señor,

la Reyna nuestra Señora me a hablado muchas vezes. ame dicho que quiere salyr fuera y que yo saque a su Alteza. yo le he respondido todas las vezes que en esto me ha hablado quel tiempo es con poca salud y que por esto su Alteza no deve salyr que cuando sea tienpo yo lo are saver a su Alteza y que estonces podra salyr todas las vezes que me abla que son muchas. aze gran ystancya sobre esto del salyr. todavya lo estorvo con las mejores palabras que puedo. ame dycho asymesmo su Alteza que aga venir aqui algunos grandes por que se quiere quexar de la manera como la tyenen y para saver de sus cosas. yo dyxe a su Alteza que en esto no aryan nada los grandes por quel Rey Catolico y ellos con todo el reyno ordenaron la manera que con su Alteza se tyene y que yo savya que la pryncypal cosa porque vuestra Alteza vyno a estos reynos fue por dar descanso a su Alteza en esto y en todo y que no lo a podydo azer pero que syenpre tyene vuestra Alteza voluntad y lo procura de remedyar y

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(TRANSLATION.)

29. Very mighty Lord,

The Queen our lady has spoken with me oftentimes, and told me that she desired to go out, and that I was to accompany her. Every time that she spoke to me on this subject, I answered that the weather was bad for her health, and her Highness ought not, therefore, to go out; but as soon as the weather should be good, I would let her know, and then she could go out. Every time that she speaks to me about her going out, and that is often, she insists on it very much, but hitherto I have prevented it, making use of the best words possible. Her Highness has likewise told me to call some grandees into her presence, because she intends to complain of the manner in which she is treated, and wishes to know about her affairs. I replied to her Highness that the grandees would do nothing in this affair, because the Catholic King and they, together with the whole kingdom, have settled the manner in which her Highness was to be treated, adding that I knew that your Highness had come to this kingdom (1) principally with the intention to see that satisfaction be given to her Highness in this and in all other respects; and that although you have not succeeded in this, your Highness is still animated by the same wishes, and endeavouring to remedy the position of her Highness,

(1) Charles came to Spain in the summer of 1517. King Ferdinand had been then dead already 17 months.

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descansar a su Alteza. preguntome donde esta el principe. dixele en Aragon porque en aquel reyno se ofrecyeron algunos escandalos los cuales vuestra Alteza con su presencya a remedyado. mostro desto contentamyento pero todavya esta en salyr y en llamar grandes y dyzeme a my tantas buenas palabras para atraerme a esto que me espanta como las dyze quyen esta como su Alteza. [y aunque no es syn trabajo de la marquesa y myo remediar y escusar estas cosas y otras. Vuestra Alteza este syn cuydado que con ayuda de Nuestro Señor no se ara cosa que no sea vuestro servycyo.

la vyspera de Santyago descalabro dos mugeres con unos varreñones que les arrojo y como lo supe entre donde su Alteza esta y dyxele que es esto Señora asy a de tratar vuestra Alteza a las que con tanto travajo la syrven no tratava asy la Reyna vuestra madre a las que la servyan. en vyendome levantose a darme razon de como avya pasado y las mujeres que ally estavan pensaron que a todos nos queria descabrar (1) y apartaronse y entonzes su Alteza se

(1) Sic.

(Translation.)

and to satisfy her. She asked me where the Prince (1) was. I told her in Aragon, in which kingdom some scandalous things had occurred, which the presence of your Highness had suppressed. She showed great satisfaction in hearing it, but still insists on going out, and on calling the grandees into her presence. In order to persuade me to do what she desires, she speaks to me such good words that I feel aghast how one in the condition of her Highness can pronounce them, and the Marchioness and I find it difficult to withstand and to prevent these and many other things. Your Highness, however, must not be afraid. With the help of Our Lord, neither this nor any other thing that is not advantageous (2) to you will be done.

On the evening before the day of Santiago she beat two women with some large brooms (?)[3] which she had snatched from them. When I heard of it, I entered her room and said: "What is this, Señora? Ought your Highness to comport "yourself in this way towards those who serve you with so "much zeal? The Queen your mother never so treated her "servants." Seeing me, she rose to explain the reason why she had beaten them. The women thought she would beat us all, and ran away. When they had left the room, the

(1) Charles. He had been King since the death of Ferdinand the Catholic.

(2) Servicio is properly speaking service, but the meaning of it in this and in most of these letters is rather advantage or profit, although we must admit that neither of these words expresses adequately its meaning.

(3) *Barreñon* or *varreñon* is a large vessel; but *barrér* is to sweep with a broom. We are inclined to believe that the Marquis has formed from the verb *barrér* the substantive *barreñon*, meaning a broom.

1518.

vyno azya my y dyxome que no era ella tan descomedyda que a my me avya de azer mal que por buena fe no pensava syno en tratarme como sy fuese su hermano y no querya syno salyrse comygo porque no podya sufryr aquellas mujeres. y este dya me tuvo mas de cynco oras en todo esto y otras cosas que por no dar enojo a vuestra Alteza no las dygo y por ser de la calydad que es va esto de my mano.

[Rubrica.]

19th April. **30.** CHARLES KING OF SPAIN to the MARQUIS OF DENIA and the INFANTA CATALINA.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Estado. Castilla. Legajo* 5. *fo.* 294. *Contemporary and, as it seems, official copy.*]

El Rey. Aranda, 1518. Al Marques de Denia. a xix de Abril.

Traslado de las cartas del Rey nuestro señor que se escrivieron al Marques de Denia y a la señora Ynfante Doña Catalina desde Aranda de Duero a xix de Abril de dxviij años.

El Rey.

Marques primo. vi vuestra letra de vi. y de xv. del presente y agradezcos y tengo en servicio todo lo que alla

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(TRANSLATION.)

Queen came up to me and said that she was not so overbearing as to use me ill, and assured me on her faith that she intended to treat me as her brother, and wished only to go out with me, because she could not bear the women. This day she spoke five hours with me about all these and many other subjects, which I will not mention, in order not to annoy your Highness. Considering what are the contents of this letter, I have written it with my own hand.

(Sign manual of the Marquis of Denia.)

30. By the King. Aranda, 1518. To the Marquis of Denia. 19th of April.

Transcript of the letters of the King our Lord to the Marquis of Denia and the Señora Infanta Doña Catalina, from Aranda on the Duero. 19th of April 1518.

By the King.

Marquis my cousin: I have seen your letters of the 6th and 15th of the present month. I thank you, and consider

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aveys hecho e hazeys que me ha parescido bien. y estoy muy alegre de la mejoria que cada dia ay en la dispusicion y salud de la Catolica Reyna mi señora. plega a nuestro Señor ge la continue como es menester e yo deseo. donde vos e la marquesa estays no se espera menos y asy vos ruego y encargo. sienpre tengays muy especial cuydado de la salud e buen tratamiento de la persona Real de su Alteza como se que lo facereis. fue bien no darle lugar a salir fuera por las causas que escrevis y en lo de las platicas que su Alteza hos dize estad sobre aviso de le responder lo que conviene e por ser de la calidad que sabeys que son las cosas de su Alteza quando en semejante cosa hos hable no consyntais que ninguna desas mugeres ni otra persona este delante ni que vos hableys ni escrivays cosa ninguna que toque a su Alteza a otra persona syno a mi e siempre con mensajeros ciertos por que asi conviene. e aunque esto es escusado a persona tan sabia y que tanto desea nuestro servicio como vos por ser el caso tan delicado y que tanto me toca lo fago. A la Illustrisima ynfanta mi hermana escrivo para que en todo syga el parescer de vos y de la marquesa. y en lo de sus bestidos haga la marquesa un

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(Translation.)

all you have done and are doing there as for my good, and I approve it. I am very glad that the disposition and the health of the Catholic Queen, my lady, improve every day. Would God our Lord that she were to continue so as it is necessary and as I wish. Where you and the Marchioness are nothing less can be expected. I beg and command you very particularly to mind the health and good treatment of the royal person of her Highness, which I know you will do. Considering the reasons you mention, I think you were right not to permit her to go out. With respect to the conversations which her Highness holds with you, you must be very careful in answering her what is suitable; and, the affairs of her Highness being of such a kind as you know, you must not consent that any of the women or any other person be present when she speaks to you about them, nor ought you to speak or write any thing concerning her Highness to any other person except to me, and always send [your letters] by trusty messengers. For that is necessary; and although it is superfluous to tell this to a person who is so prudent and so much attached to our service as you are, I nevertheless tell it you because the case is so delicate and of so much importance to me. I write to the most Illustrious Infanta my sister, telling her to follow in all things your advice and that of the Marchioness. As for her dresses, the Marchioness may make

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memorial de lo que le paresce que ha menester y enbiadmelo que luego lo mandare proveer.

De Aranda de Duero a xix de Abril de dxviij años.

Yo el Rey.

Refrendada del Secretario Covos. Señalada del gran chanciller de Borgoña.

Illma Ynfanta mi muy cara e muy amada hermana. por cartas del Marques de Denia he sabydo como estays buena de que he holgado mucho. plega a nuestra Señor de hos dar la salud que deseays. yo y la Illma ynfanta doña leonor nuestra hermana ymos buenos gracias a Dios e con mucho deseo de os ver. nuestra buelta con su ayuda sera presto para questo se pueda conplir. entretanto vos ruego afetuosamente que sigays el consejo e parescer del marques de denia y de la marquesa su muger en todo lo que ovieredes de haser pues syendo de personas tan prudentes y que tanto desean nuestro servicio no se puede herrar en ninguna cosa y en ello recebiremos de vos singular conplazencias.

(TRANSLATION.)

a list of what appears necessary, and send it to me. I shall provide for it at once.

From Aranda on the Duero, 19th of April '518.

I the King.

Countersigned by the Secretary Covos.
Sign manual of the High Chancellor of Burgundy.

Most Illustrious Infanta, my very dear and beloved sister, I have been informed by letters from the Marquis of Denia that you are in good health. Please God to grant you the health you desire. I and the most Illustrious Infanta Doña Eleanor our sister are well, God be thanked, and we wish much to see you. We shall soon return, with His help. With regard to all that is to be done until then, I beg you most affectionately to follow the council and advice of the Marquis of Denia and of the Marchioness his wife. Persons who are so prudent and so much desire to serve us cannot err in any respect. By doing as we wish you will afford us particular pleasure.

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Yll^ma^ Infanta etc.

De Aranda de Duero a xix de Abril de dxviij años.

Vuestro buen hermano yo el Rey. Refrendada del ãrio (1) Cobos. Señalada del gran chanciller de Borgoña.

27th April. **31.** The MARQUIS OF DENIA to CHARLES, KING OF SPAIN.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Estado. Castilla. Lo 5. f.* 290. *Autograph.*]

A su Alteza del Marques de Denia.
de xxvij de Abril.

Muy alto y muy catolico y muy poderoso Señor,

Recebi la carta de vuestra Alteza de xix del presente y en lo que toca al servicio y buen tratamiento de la Reyna nuestra señora se haze y ara como Vuestra Alteza lo manda en todo lo que pudieremos Su Alteza esta a Dios gracias como tengo escripto y de lo que adelante oviere dare entero aviso a V. Alteza. en lo que Vuestra Alteza manda que este muy sobre aviso quando en algo me hablare asy se a hecho y ara y Vuestra Alteza este seguro que en

(1) Secretario.

(TRANSLATION.)

Most Illustrious Infanta, etc.

From Aranda on the Duero, 19th of April '518.

Your good brother,
I the King.

Countersigned by the Secretary Covos.

Sign manual of the High Chancellor of Burgundy.

31. To His Highness. From the Marquis of Denia, 27th of April.

Very high, very catholic and mighty Lord,

I received the letter from your Highness of the 19th of the present month. With respect to the service and good treatment of the Queen our lady, all that your Highness commands is done and will be done in as far as it is possible. Her Highness continues, thanks to God, as I have written, and of all that hereafter may happen I shall give full information to your Highness. Concerning what your Highness commands me, viz., that I ought to be very prudent when she speaks to me, [I may state] that that has been and will be the case. Your Highness may rest assured that in every thing that precaution is and will be observed which your interest requires, by not permitting any one to be

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todo se tiene y terna la manera que conviene a vuestro servicio asy en que no este nadie delante quando Su Alteza me hablare como en tener el secreto que es razon. y en el escrevir terne la orden que V. Alteza manda que aun quando escrevy a vuestra Alteza (1) Aranda de mi mano escrevi lo que Vuestra Alteza vyo por no fiallo del que me escrevia y asy se a hecho que cosa daqui no se a escrito syno al Señor ynfante. que sabiendo la Señora ynfante su partyda me parecyo le devia enbiar a vesitar y yo le escrevi que la Reyna nuestra señora estava mejor tratada que solia que me parecio que es servicio de vuestra Alteza que en estos reynos y en toda parte se sepa la mejoria que ay en su real persona y que esta ha sido de mano de vuestra Alteza. e asymesmo dezia al Señor ynfante en lo de su partida lo que como buen vasallo y servidor de V. Alteza debia dezir. y sy cient años estoviera en estos reynos no le escriviera ni dixiera una palabra de lo daqui. asy que crea V. Alteza que en todo lo que yo entendiere sera con toda fidelidad asy por lo que me toca como por el servicio de V. Alteza como lo a acostumbrado hazer. por que demas de lo que soy obligado la merced y confiança que vuestra Alteza me a echo

(1) Sic.

(TRANSLATION.)

present when her Highness speaks to me, as well as by keeping the secret, as it stands to reason. As for my writing, I shall observe the orders of your Highness. Even when I wrote to your Highness to Aranda, I did so with my own hand, as your Highness has seen, because I did not trust my secretary. Thus it is that nothing from here has been written to any one except to the señor Infante, because the señora Infanta knew that he was about to depart [from Spain], and it seemed to me unavoidable to send him a message of courtesy. I wrote to him that the Queen our lady was better treated than she had been before, thinking it advantageous to your Highness that the better treatment of her Highness should be known in these kingdoms, and everywhere else, and that it was due to your Highness. Besides this I wrote to the señor Infante on the occasion of his departure what a good vassal and servant of your Highness ought to write, but if he had remained a hundred years in these kingdoms I should not have written or told him a word of what is going on here. Your Highness may believe that all that I hear [from the Queen] will be faithfully [kept secret], from respect to myself as well as to the interests of your Highness. Such has been the custom with me, and now the favours and the confidence of your Highness

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me pone nueva obligacion. la Señora ynfante esta muy buena y besa las reales manos a V. Alteza. Muy poderoso señor Nuestro Señor la muy real persona de V. Alteza guarde muchos y bienaventurados años con acrecentamiento de su real corona. de tordesillas a xxvij de Abril. muy poderoso Señor umyll syervo y vassallo que las reales manos de v. Alteza veso. el marques. [Rubrica.]

[*Sobre:*] . . . . muy catolico y muy . . . ñor el Rey ñro Señor.

1518 (?).
27th May. **32.** The MARQUIS OF DENIA to CHARLES, KING OF SPAIN.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Estado. Legajo 5. f.* 302. *Autograph.*]

A su Alteza del Marques de Denia. de xxvij de Mayo. Respondida.

Muy alto y muy catt° y muy poderoso Señor,

Nuestro Señor de a V. Al. muchas y muy buenas pasquas con tanta salud y acrecentamiento como sus Reynos e vasallos avemos menester. beso los pies y las manos a V. Al. por la merced que me hizo en mandarme escrevir su buena llegada a esos sus reynos e de la salud de su Real persona e de la

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(TRANSLATION.)

have imposed new duties upon me. The señora Infanta is well, and kisses the royal hands of your Highness. Very mighty lord, our Lord preserve the royal person of your Highness and give you many happy years and exalt your royal crown. From Tordesillas, 27th of April.

Very mighty lord, your humble servant and vassal kisses the royal hands of your Highness.

The Marquis. [Sign manual.]

[*Addressed:*] (1) . . . . . very catholic and very (1) . . . . the King our lord.

32. To his Highness. From the Marquis of Denia. 27th of May. Answered.

Very high, very catholic, and very mighty Lord,

May our Lord grant you the return of many very happy Whitsuntides, and as much health and increase of power as your kingdom and we, your vassals, wish and stand in need of. I kiss the feet and hands of your Highness, thanking you for the favour of having ordered that I should be informed of your happy arrival in those your kingdoms (2), and of the health of your royal person, as well as of the Señora

(1) Paper gone. (2) Aragon.

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señora ynfante doña leonor. y de lo que mas ha sucedido lo qual yo creo que sera segun la lealtad desos Reynos conforme a lo que buenos y leales vasallos deven hazer. a V. Al. suplico porque ese Reyno es diferente de las partes donde V. Al. se a criado que mire mucho por la salud de su real persona que esto es lo que todos avemos de suplicar y principalmente desear.

lo que ay que hazer (1) a V. Al. de la Reyna N̄tra Señora es que S. Al. esta en su camara y a (2) . . . . . tase y levantase de dos a dos dias e por esta orden va el comer. ha tenido mucha gana de salir fuera y para este proposito ha estado bestida y puesto su chapiron en la cabeça y como no se a hecho porque me parece que no conviene hasele quitado y asy esta Su Al. sin el aunque no sin su proposito. en todo se tiene y terna la orden que V. Al. manda y lo que mas me pareciere que conviene a servicio de V. Al. la señora Ynfante esta muy buena y en verdad es tal en todo. dios la guarde que merece bien el amor que V. Al. le tiene. Su Al. escrive a V. Al.

V. Al. deve mandar al Señor Cardenal y a los que V. Al. mando que entendiesen en la reformacion de la casa de la Reyna N̄tra Señora que lo acaben y me la enbien, y asimismo

(1) Sic. (2) Roto.

(TRANSLATION.)

Infanta, Doña Leonor, and of all other things that have happened, which I hope are such as may be expected from dutiful, good, and loyal vassals. As that kingdom is very different from the country in which your Highness has grown up, I beseech your Highness to take great care of the health of your royal person; we all are bound to supplicate this, and especially to wish it.

I have to inform your Highness that the Queen our lady lives in her room, goes to bed and gets up, and dines every second day. She desires much to go out. For that purpose she dressed and put her hood over her head. As that was not done, (1) because I thought it was not convenient, she has taken it off, and is now without it, but has not given up her intention. In everything I shall observe the orders your Highness has given me, and, moreover, do what I think the service of your Highness requires. The Señora Infanta is very well, and, in fact, she is perfect in every respect, God protect her, and well deserves the love your Highness bears her. Her Highness writes to your Highness.

Your Highness should order that the Señor Cardinal and the other persons whom your Highness has commanded to reform the household of the Queen our lady, conclude this

(1) As she did not go out.

1518.

suplico a V. Al. mande proveer de dineros asi para el gasto ordinario y paga de los oficiales y criados de la casa. tanbien que se an dado syenpre dccc. ducados cada año para gastos extraordinarios. V. Al. deve mandar que asy se provea porque no se puede pasar syn ello.

a V. Al. escrevi el otro dia suplicandole mandase despachar lo que toca a Alonso cabeças criado del Rey Cattolico. muy gran merced recibire de toda la que V. Al. le hiziere porque en verdad es persona en quien cabe y de quien V. Al. se puede servir en cosas de confiança. muy poderoso Señor nuestro Señor la muy Real persona de V. Al. guarde muchos y bienaventurados años con acrecentamiento de su Real corona. de tordesillas a xxvij de Mayo. *muy poderoso Señor syervo y vasallo de V. Al. que sus Reales manos veso.*

el marques. [*Rubrica.*]

[*Sobre:*] . . . . . muy Catt^co^ y muy . . . . . el Rey ñro Señor.

(TRANSLATION.)

affair and send me [my instructions]. I likewise beseech your Highness to provide the money for the ordinary expenses, and the pay of the officers and servants of the household. Eight hundred ducats for extraordinary expenses have hitherto always been allowed. Your Highness should order that they be paid, for we cannot do without them.

I wrote to your Highness the other day, and besought you that the business of Alonso Cabezas, a servant of the Catholic King, might be soon despatched. I should receive it as a great favour if your Highness would do this; for, indeed, he is a person who deserves it, and of whom your Highness can make use in affairs of special trust. Very mighty Lord, our Lord protect the very royal person of your Highness, and give you many happy years, and augment your states.

From Tordesillas, 27th of May.

Very mighty Lord, your Highness' servant and vassal kisses your royal hands.

The Marquis.

[Sign manual of the Marquis of Denia.]

[*Addressed:*] . . . . (1) very Catholic and very . . . . . the King our lord.

(1) Paper gone.

1518 (?)
22nd June. **33.** The MARQUIS OF DENIA to CHARLES, KING OF SPAIN.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Estado. Legajo 5. f. 299. Autograph. Written by a secretary, and signed by the Marquis.*]

A su Alteza. del Marques de Denia. de xxij de Junio. Recibida a iij de Jullio.

Muy alto y muy Catto y muy poderoso Señor,

Suplico a V. A. me mande haser saber de la salud de su muy Real persona que sienpre sea como sus Reynos y vasallos lo avemos menester. lo que daca ay que dezir a V. A. es que la Reyna nuestra Señora como tengo escripto a V. A. aunque en el comer y acostarse y levantarse ay mejoria porque lo hase mas ordinariamente, en lo de la misa andamos entendiendo. Su Al. querria que se dixiese en el corredor adonde V. Al. la hallo, y yo querria que se dixiese en una quadra que esta cabe su camara, pero en la una parte o en la otra dezirse a presto. la Señora ynfante esta buena. besa las manos a V. Al.

aqua he sabido que Vra Al. ha concertado el casamiento de la Señora ynfante doña leonor con el Rey de portugal. plega a nuestro Señor que V. Al. biva tantos años que case sus nietos y los destas Señoras. pareceme muy poderoso Señor que

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(TRANSLATION.)

33. To his Highness. From the Marquis of Denia. 22nd of June. Received on the 3rd of July.

Very high, very catholic, and very mighty Lord,

I entreat your Highness to inform me of the health of your royal person. May it be always such as your kingdoms and we, your vassals, stand in need of. From here I have to inform your Highness that the Queen our lady, as I have written to your Highness, has improved in eating, in going to bed and rising; she does it more regularly. As for mass, we are still occupying ourselves in this affair. Her Highness wishes that it be said in the corridor where your Highness met her, and I wish that it be said in a room which is near her chamber, but in the one place or the other it shall be celebrated soon. The Señora Infanta is well, and kisses the hands of your Highness.

It is reported here that your Highness has concerted the marriage of the Infanta Doña Leonor with the King of Portugal. May our Lord grant your Highness to live so many years as to be able to marry your grandchildren and the grandchildren of those ladies. I think, very mighty lord, that your Highness can make use of some of the things which

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de las cosas que ay en la camara de la Reyna nuestra Señora podra V. Al. aprovecharse de algunas para que lleve la Señora ynfante. sy V. Al. esto acordare hagamelo saber y enbiare el memorial de las cosas que ay.

del fallecimiento del gran chanciller me ha pesado mucho porque demas de ser la persona que hera V. Al. ha perdido un muy buen servidor.

a V. Al. he escripto suplicandole mande despachar los negocios de Alonso Cabeças. Suplico a v. Al. lo mande asy porque demas de recebir yo la merced que a el se hiziere como sy a mi se hiziese, el es persona de quien V. Al. se podra servir. muy poderoso Señor nuestro Señor la muy Real persona de V. Al. guarde bienaventuradamente con acrecentamiento de su Real corona. de tordesillas xxij de Junio. *muy poderoso señor syervo y vasallo de V. Al. que sus reales manos beso.*

el marques. [*Rubrica.*]

[*Sobre:*] . . . . . y muy Catt° y muy . . . . ñor el Rey ñro Señor.

(TRANSLATION.)

are in the wardrobe of the Queen our lady, and give them to the Señora Infanta. If your Highness approves it, I beg you to let me know, and I shall send a list of them.

I am very sorry that the High Chancellor has died; for, in addition to his other good qualities, your Highness has lost in him a very loyal servant.

I have written to your Highness begging you to despatch the business of Alonso Cabezas. I beg your Highness to do so; for any favour shown to him I should receive as though it were done to myself, and moreover he is a person of whom your Highness can make good use. Very mighty lord, our Lord preserve the very royal person of your Highness, and help you with the augmentation of your royal crown.

From Tordesillas, 22nd of June.

Very mighty lord, your Highness' servant and vassal kisses your royal hands. The Marquis.

[Sign manual of the Marquis of Denia.]

[*Addressed:*] . . . . and very catholic and very . . . . the King our lord.

1518.
30th July. **34.** The MARQUIS OF DENIA to CHARLES, KING OF SPAIN.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Estado. Castilla. Legajo* 5. *folio* 339. *Autograph.*]

A su Magestad.

lo que Pedro de Arues mi secretario ha de dezir al Rey nuestro señor es lo siguiente.

que yo me he escusado de dar enojo a su Magt. creyendo que la marquesa e yo bastavamos a ordenar y corregir estas mugeres que sirven a la Reyna Nuestra Señora pero como ha tanto que estan desordenadas en la verdad ya no se puede escusar que su Magest^{t}. no lo sepa y mande remediar. y lo que mas es entre las otras cosas que hazen es las salidas que hazen de palacio a la villa tan continuadamente que no ay boda ni vautismo ni mortuorio que les toque en la quarta generacion a que no van y esto me ha sydo ynposible estorvalles porque hasta mandar a los monteneros que no les dexen salir he hecho y no aprovecha syno a agraviarse ellas mucho dello. y deste salir suyo nacen muchas cosas bien descusar. y lo uno quellas no pueden dexar de hablar a sus maridos y debdos y amigos y comadres cosas que no conviene saberse porque en la verdad en todo lo de aqui conviene secreto y cosas me an enbiado a dezir a mi del consejo que no se pudieron

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(TRANSLATION.)

34. To His Majesty.

What Pedro de Arues, my secretary, is to tell the King, my Lord, is the following.

Hoping that the Marchioness and I were sufficient to keep these women who serve the Queen our lady in order and subjection, I have hitherto avoided giving annoyance to His Majesty, but as they have now for so long a time continued their irregularities, it is, indeed, no longer possible to conceal it from His Majesty, who ought to remedy it. Amongst other things, they go so continually out of the palace, paying visits in the town, that there is no wedding, no baptism, no burial [of people], to whom they are related in the fourth degree, to which they do not go. It has been impossible for me to prevent them from doing so, for even my orders to the guards not to let them go out have had no other effect than that they have much complained of me. And out of these visits have arisen many things which ought to be avoided. For instance, they cannot refrain from speaking to their husbands, relations, friends, and gossips, of things which ought not to be known, because in all that passes here, secrecy indeed is necessary. Members of the Council of State have told me things which they could not have

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saber sino del licenciado Alarcon relator del consejo ques marido de una destas mugeres que llaman Leonor Gomez que tiene condicion de parlero. y a todos deve ser secreto lo de aqui y mucho mas a los del consejo. lo otro es que traen de la villa tantas nuevas y tantas cosas que hablar que hablando las unas con las otras llegan a oydos de Su Alteza y ningun provecho traen sino a desasosegarla. lo otro es que en lo quellas han de hazer alli dentro ponen muchas vezes tanta dilacion escusandose con su parecer que se dexa de hazer lo que conviene mas tarde o mas tenprano de como conviene y mas vezes. y sobresto vyno a que agora dixeron a la marquesa claro que solo el Rey tenia poder para despedirlas. y sin duda yo conosco que ha sydo yerro questo no lo aya sabido antes su Magestad de mi porque a my siempre me parecio que no convenia mugeres casadas para esto y mucho menos alguna dellas que tiene su marido en el consejo. y aun no es esta de las mas templadas syno harto desordenada y estando alli y hablando a su marido y a otros no se como se pueda escusar que no diga lo que no convyene y que dexe de traer otras nuevas escusadas. yo mande a dos mugeres destas que desacataron a la marquesa por reprehendelles estas cosas que no saliesen de su

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(Translation.)

known, except from the licentiate Alarcon, Relator of the Council of State, who is married to one of these women, Leonor Gomez, who is very loquacious. All that passes here ought to be a secret from all, and much more so from the Members of the Council. Another inconvenience is this, that they bring from the town so much news and so many things to speak of, and that then, in consequence of their speaking with one another about them, they come to the ears of Her Highness, who derives no advantage therefrom, and is deprived of her rest and tranquillity. Moreover, they often delay what they are bound to do, excusing themselves with their own opinions on the matter, or they do it too early and too often. They have gone so far as openly to tell the Marchioness that the King alone has the right to dismiss them. I clearly perceive that I have committed an error in not earlier informing His Majesty of this state of things. I, for one, was always of opinion that it was inconvenient to employ married women, and much more so the wife of a Privy Counsellor, who, indeed, is not one of the most moderate, but one of the most disorderly of them all. Whilst she is here, and has an opportunity of speaking with her husband and other persons, I do not know how she can be prevented from telling what ought not to be known, and from bringing news which are inconvenient. I ordered two of these women who had shown little respect to the Marchioness into my presence, in order to reprimand

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aposento hasta que yo se lo mandase. y aunque lo han cumplido no han dexado de juntarse y hazer motin como soldados diziendo que lo que ha de ser de una ha de ser de todas. todo esto viene de pensar ellas que aunque hagan gran yerro no las puedo despedir. suplicaras a su Magt. que mande dar una cedula en que diga que quando alguna destas hiziere lo que no deve o no cumpliere lo que la marquesa e yo les mandaremos de parte de su Magt. que la puedan quitar y poner otra en su lugar. y questo no se puede escusar porque de otra manera ni la marquesa ni yo podriamos cunplir con lo que somos obligados ny su Magestad podria syno recebir mucho deservicio y enojo. y que su Magt. crea que esto bastara para corregirlas y que quando yo despidiese alguna ha de ser con tan gran cabsa que su Magt. lo terna en servicio que se aya hecho. y aun que podria ser tal que antes de hazerlo yo lo haria saber primero a su Magt. pero no se entiende que la cedula ha de traer ninguna condicion syno que la marquesa e yo les mandemos lo que an de hazer y quando de aquello ecediere alguna la podamos quitar y poner otra. y puedes dezir que maria de cartama no es del cuento destas antes syrve mucho y muy continuo. y creeme que si esta cedula no viene que ni nosotros

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(Translation.)

them, and commanded them not to leave their rooms until I should permit it, and although they have obeyed, they have combined and mutinied like soldiers, saying that what is done to one is done to all of them. The ground of all this is that they believe that I cannot dismiss them, even if they commit great faults. You are to supplicate His Majesty to be pleased to give an order empowering me to remove any of these women, and to give her place to another, in case that she does what she ought not to do, or refuses to obey what the Marchioness and I command. This is necessary, for in no other manner can the Marchioness and I fulfil our duties, nor can His Majesty avoid great injury and annoyance. His Majesty may believe that this will suffice to subject them. If I dismiss any of them, it will be from such weighty reasons that His Majesty will thank me for it. Although it may be ordered that before dismissing [any of these women] I am to inform His Majesty of it, yet the order must not contain this condition, but only state that the Marchioness and I are empowered to command what they have to do, and if any one of them does not strictly execute our orders, to dismiss her, and give her place to another woman. You can say that Maria de Cartama is not one of them, but on the contrary serves well and without interruption. I believe that without such an order we cannot serve His Majesty, nor can the secret be perserved nor that done which the case requires. You will

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podremos servir a Su Magestad ni en lo de aqui avra ningun secreto ni se puede hazer lo que conviene. y diras a Su Magestad que en todas ellas no ay persona de suerte ni criada mas de avellas tomado por hazelles merced y limosna.

el marques. [Rubrica.]

30th July (?) **35.** INSTRUCTION of the MARQUIS OF DENIA for his Secretary PEDRO DE ARAYZ.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Estado. Legajo* 5. *f.* 309. *Written in the hand of a secretary of the Marquis.*]

La creencia del Marques de Denia con Pedro Darayz. (1)

que la Reyna nuestra Señora esta buena de salud. y con el calor no tan buena de la otra yndispusicion. y que esto suele ser asy cada año en este tienpo porque el calor es contrario para su yndispusicion.

que en lo de la misa se entiende cada dia y que se dilata por ver si se podra hazer con su voluntad porque asy sera mejor y que con ayuda de dios Su Al. la oyra presto.

que los lugares de la comarca estan muy dañados y que si lo que Nuestro Señor no permita que aquella villa se dañase Su Al. mande lo que se haga en tal caso, y que los lugares que

(1) Sic.

(TRANSLATION.)

say to His Majesty that amongst all of them there is not a single person of good position or education, but they have been taken in order to do them a favour and charity.

The Marquis. [Sign manual.]

35. The Instruction of the Marquis of Denia to Pedro de Arayz.

The health of the Queen is good, but her other indisposition is not very well during this hot weather. That is usually every year the case, during this season, for the hot weather is unfavourable for her indisposition.

As for mass, we are daily occupied in this affair. It has been delayed in order to see whether it cannot be done with her consent, for that would be much better. With the help of God, her Highness shall, however, hear it very soon.

The towns of this province are very unhealthy, and if this town, which God forbid, should be infected, his Highness must order what ought to be done in such a case. The

1518.

tienen salud e le parece donde su Alteza podria yr son arevalo y madrigal y hontiveros y olmedo y çamora mandando su Al. salir dalli la chancilleria, y que si oviere de yr a algun lugar de los del Reyno d Aragon Su Al. lo concierte aqua y mande la manera que en ello se tenga.

que Su Al. deve enbiar a vesitar a la Reyna y embialle alguna cosa de oro o otra joya con que huelgue quel Rey Catholico lo solia hazer asi y olgava Su Al. dello.

que se gastan en barreñones cada año para el servicio de Su Alteza cl. :ↄ. ducados y que en la camara ay mucha chaperia de oro que no sirve para nada y que desta se podria hazer la plata. que seran menester quinientos marcos de la facion de los barreñones porque aya dos servicios porque son menester de la manera que Su Al. se sirve y que se escusaran de gastar cada año los cl. ducados y su Al. sera servida como es razon.

la marquesa comunica a Su Al. muchas vezes e huelga con ella. y tanbien huelga Su Al. que las hijas del marques entren a servir a la Señora ynfante.

(TRANSLATION.)

places which are healthy, and where, it seems, her Highness could go to, are Arevalo, Madrigal, Hontiveros, Olmedo, and Zamora, if his Highness orders the Chancery to make room. If it should be necessary to go to some place in Aragon, his Highness can arrange it there, and order what is to be done.

His Highness ought to send some one to visit the Queen, and send her some object of gold or some jewelry to gladden her. The Catholic King used to do so, and her Highness was very pleased at it.

The expenses for the table plate of her Highness are one hundred and fifty thousand (1) ducats a year. In the wardrobe is a good number of ornaments of gold which are of no use, and could be converted into plate. Five hundred marks would be necessary, for, according to the manner in which her Highness is served, two sets of plate would be necessary. The one hundred and fifty ducats a year would thereby be economized, and her Highness would be properly served.

The Marchioness converses sometimes with her Highness, who likes her very much, and her Highness is also pleased that the daughters of the Marquis should enter the service of the Señora Infanta.

(1) Sic. The sign which signifies thousand has evidently been added to one hundred and fifty by a mere mistake. The same sum of money is repeated in the same paragraph, and rightly written one hundred and fifty, not one hundred and fifty thousand.

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lo de los bestidos de la Señora ynfante.
lo de las cosas de la camara.
lo de alonso cabeças.
lo del hijo del camarero Rivera.
una mula para la Reyna.

10th August. **36.** The MARQUIS of DENIA to CHARLES, KING OF SPAIN.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Estado. Legajo 5. f.* 308. *Holograph.*]

A su Al. del marques de denia. de x de Agosto. San pablo de la Moraleja.

Muy alto y muy Catt° y muy poderoso Señor,

Recebi la carta de V. Al. de vj. del presente ayer a las siete oras de la tarde. sea Nr̃o Señor loado que V. Al. esta con la salud que deseamos y avemos menester. asi sea syenpre.

el cuydado que V. Al. tiene de la salud de la Reyna N. S^a^ y de la Señora ynfante es muy justo, y como de V. Al. se espera especialmente con la poca salud que Nr̃o Señor es servido de dar en esta comarca. yo he hecho poner muy grand recaudo en esta villa tapiando todas las puertas que no quedan sino dos en las quales he puesto guardas por la

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(TRANSLATION.)

Dresses of the Señora Infanta.
The things in the wardrobe.
Alonzo Cabezas.
The business of the son of the Chamberlain Rivera.
A mule for the Queen.

36. To his Highness. From the Marquis of Denia. 10th of August. San Pablo de la Moraleja.

Very high, very catholic, and very mighty Lord,

Yesterday, at 7 o'clock in the evening, I received a letter from your Highness, dated the 6th of the present month. God be praised that your Highness enjoys such good health as we desire and stand in need of. Be it so always.

The anxiety which your Highness has for the health of the Queen our lady and the Señora Infanta is very praiseworthy, and nothing else than this could be expected from your Highness, especially as our Lord is pleased to give such bad health to this province. I have taken measures of great precaution, walling up all the gates of the town, with the exception of two, at which I have placed guards, by command of the Queen our lady. Now, in obedience to the

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Reyna Nª Sª. agora por lo que V. Al. manda si mas diligencia pudiere aver en la guarda mas se terna.

ha syete o ocho dias que yo despache uno mio con el qual escrevi largo a V. A. lo de aqui y entre las otras cosas escrevi a V. Al. la poca salud que ay en esta comarca y enbie memorial de los lugares que estan sanos hasta agora donde la Reyna Nŭa Señora y la Señora ynfante podrian yr si lo de aqui se dañase, este sera ya llegado. suplico a V. Al. a la ora me enbie a mandar lo que en tal caso se hara, pues por ser de la calidad que es no sufre la dilacion que en otros casos, porque aunque de la salud de la Reyna Nŭra Señora se deve tener el cuydado que es razon la Señora ynfante por su hedad y por ser la que es en todo, dios la guarde, le pone mucho mayor. seria tan dificultosa cosa la salida de aqui que sobre averse provado todos los buenos medios que para ello se pudieren provar no aprovechando estos seria forçado de hazerse, y esto no deve ser sin mandamiento y permision de V. Al. a la qual suplico que en esto por su carta me lo haga saber.

despues que a V. Al. escrevi con el mio que arevalo y madrigal y omeldo(1) y toro pasandose la chancelleria de alli seria

(1) Sic.

(TRANSLATION.)

commands of your Highness, if greater precautions can be observed, the watch will be made stricter.

Seven or eight days ago I sent a servant of mine with a long letter to your Highness, in which I wrote all that had occurred here, and, among other things, I mentioned the bad health of this province, adding a list of towns where the health is still good, and where the Queen our lady and the Señora Infanta could go to in case that this place should become infected. He is probably already arrived. I beseech your Highness immediately to send me your orders what is to be done in such a case. For this is a matter which does not suffer delay, as others do. Although it is necessary to take great care of the health of the Queen our lady, the necessity [to take care of the health] of the Señora Infanta is much greater still, considering her age and her accomplishments in every respect. God protect her! The departure from here would be a very difficult thing to accomplish, and after having tried all possible good means without effect, it would be necessary to [employ] force, which cannot be done unless I have an order and the permission of your Highness, whom I entreat to let me know by letter.

After I had written to your Highness by a servant of mine that Arevalo, Madrigal, Olmedo, and Toro, if the chancery were removed from it, would be towns in one of which

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uno destos lugares bueno para estar la Reyna Nĩra Señora he sabido que madrigal no esta bueno olmedo esta muy cercada de lugares donde mueren, y esto mismo ay cerca de arevalo. en toro ha salpicado porque no se han tan bien podido guardar de los de valladolid que no se les aya pegado. con este correo escrivo al corregidor de aranda que enbie la relacion de la salud que ay en aquella villa a V. Al. y sy esta sana pareceme que aquel seria el lugar donde Su Al. podria estar mejor asi porque no es grand lugar como porque no ay en el personas que puedan poner enbaraço en nada, y sy este no estuviere bueno, yo sabre luego de çamora que tal esta y lo hare saber a V. Al. como quiera que la poca salud que ay en toda parte me haze tocar en lugar fuera de proposito de lo que para Su Alteza conviene.

sy tal necesidad viniese sera menester una mula para la Reyna N. Sª con un syllon y guarnicion de paño de buriel y otra mula con su guarnicion y syllon de terciopelo negro para la Señora ynfante. si Vĩa Alteza es servido de mandarlo proveer de su cavalleriza seria mejor asi por que Su Al. no tiene mulas como porque medina y valladolid estan dañados y con esto no ay aca tan buen aparejo para hazerse.

(Translation.)

the Queen our lady could stay, I have been informed that Madrigal is unhealthy, Olmedo surrounded by places where the mortality is great, and Arevalo is in the same predicament. Toro also is unclean, because it has not been possible for them to keep at a distance those [who come] from Valladolid. Thus they have been infected. I write by this courier to the Corregidor of Aranda to send information about the state of health in that town to your Highness, and if its sanitary conditions are good, I think that would be the place best suited for her Highness to stay at; for it is not a large place, and no persons live there who would become troublesome in any way. If this should not suit I shall soon know how Zamora is, and let your Highness know. The state of health alone is the reason why I think of this place, which in other respects is not suitable for her Highness.

If this should become necessary(1), a mule for the Queen our lady, with a saddle and trimmings of kersey, and another mule with trimmings and a saddle of black velvet for the Señora Infanta would be required. It would be best that your Highness should order them to be provided from your stables, because her Highness has no mules, and Valladolid and Medina being infected, it would be somewhat difficult to procure them.

(1) The departure from Tordesillas.

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tanbien ha Vr̃a Al. de saber que en caso que la Reyna Nr̃a Señora partiese de aqui serya necessario llevar el cuerpo del Rey Nr̃o Señor que aya gloria v̄ro padre con Su Alteza. y no pudiendose esto escusar thenerse ha la forma que se tuvo en traerle aqui. y para esto yo he hecho adereçar el carro en que vino que estava desbaratado. y las azemilas tomarse han quando sehan menester. suplico a V. Al. que a todo me mande responder luego con persona que venga con diligencia. muy poderoso señor Nuestro Señor guarde la muy Real persona de V. Al. bienaventuradamente con acrecentamiento de su Real corona. de tordesyllas x. de Agosto. (1) *Muy poderoso señor syervo y vassallo de V. Al. que sus Reales manos veso. el marques.* [Rubrica.]

[*Sobre:*] Al muy alto muy Catholico muy poderoso señor el Rey ñro Señor.

(1) letra del Marques.

(Translation.)

Your Highness must also know that in case her Highness should undertake the journey, it would be necessary to take along with her Highness the corpse of the late King, our Lord, your father, as that cannot be avoided. The same manner must be observed as when it was brought hither. For this purpose I have had prepared the cart in which it came, which was broken; and the mules have to be taken when they are wanted. I beseech your Highness to answer me directly on every point by a special courier, who must travel with great haste. Very mighty lord, our Lord guard the very royal person of your Highness, and bless you with augmentation of your royal states.

From Tordesillas, 10th of August.

Very mighty lord, your Highness' servant and vassal kisses your royal hands.

The Marquis.

[Sign manual of the Marquis of Denia.]

[*Addressed:*] To the very high, very catholic, and very mighty lord, the King our lord.

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12th September. **37.** FRAY JUAN DE AVILA to CHARLES, KING OF SPAIN.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Estado. Legajo* 8. *f.* 133. *Holograph.*]

A su Al. de fray Juan de Avila ca. (1) de la Señora ynfante. Respondida.

Serenissimo y muy poderoso Rey y Señor,

oy domingo en xij dias de Setienbre sy ha plasido a la divina bondad de dios ha oydo missa la Reyna nuestra Señora y Su Altesa tiene voluntad de lo continuar. aca se trabaja con mucho cuydado por el marques y la marquesa cerca desto y en todas las otras cosas que tocan al servicio de la Reyna nuestra Señora y de la Señora ynfante. merescedores son que Vña Altesa les haga muchas mercedes y porque el marques escrive largamente a Vña Alteza de todas las cosas de aca no quiero yo mas enojar syno que suplico a dios nuestro Señor quanto yo puedo guarde a Vtra Altesa y acresciente su vida y rreal estado para gloria y servicio suyo y bien de estos Reynos. de tordesyllas a xij de Setienbre. Serenissimo y muy poderoso Rey y Señor besa las manos a Vña Altesa el su pobre frayre y capellan frey Juan de avila. [Rubrica.]

[*Sobre:*] Al Serenissimo y muy poderoso Rey y Señorel Rey don Carlos nuestro Señor.

(1) Sic.

(TRANSLATION.)

37. To his Highness. From Fray Juan de Avila, Chaplain (?) of the Señora Infanta. Answered.

Most serene and very powerful King and Lord,

Today, Sunday, the 12th of September, it has pleased the divine goodness of God that the Queen our lady has heard mass, and her Highness has the will to continue to do so. The Marquis and Marchioness proceed with great caution in this affair, as in all other things which concern the service of the Queen our lady and the Señora Infanta. They deserve great favour from your Highness. As the Marquis writes a long letter to your Highness about all that passes here, I refrain from annoying you any longer, and pray only to God our Lord, as much as I can, to guard your Highness, to preserve your life, and to augment your royal states for the sake of his glory and service and the welfare of these kingdoms.

From Tordesillas, 12th of September.

Most serene and very mighty King and lord, your poor friar and chaplain kisses the hands of your Highness.

Fray Juan de Avila. [Sign manual.]

[*Addressed:*] To the most serene and very mighty King and lord the King Don Carlos our lord.

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12th September. **38.** The INFANTA CATALINA to CHARLES, KING OF SPAIN.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Estado. Legajo* 8. *f.* 126. *Autograph.*]

A su Al. de la Infante doña Catalina. de xij de Otubre.(1) en favor del maestro Villegas.

Muy alto y muy Catholico y muy poderoso Señor,

el maestro fray Antonio de Villegas predicador de V. Al. que esta lleva a estado aqui despues que Vῦa Al. partio de Valladolid porque yo ge lo rrogue e a predicado en la capilla de la Reyna mi Señora de que yo e rrecevido mucho descanso. suplico a V. Al. que asy en mandalle pagar el tiempo que aca a estado como en todo lo que le tocare V. Al. por me haser merced le mande aver Recomendado. nuestro Señor guarde la muy Real persona de vῦra Al. como desseo e e menester e acreciente su Real corona. De tordesillas a dose de Setiembre. (2) *Besa las manos y los pies de V. Al. esta su humilde servidora la ynfante doña Catalina.* [Rubrica.]

[*Sobre:*] Al. muy alto e muy catt° e muy poderoso Señor el Rey mi Señor.

(1) Sic.
(2) De letra de la Infanta.

(TRANSLATION.)

38. To his Highness. From the Infanta Doña Catalina. 12th of October. (1) In recommendation of Maestro Villegas.

Very high, very catholic, and very mighty Señor,

The Maestro Fray Antonio de Villegas, preacher of your Highness, and bearer of this letter, has remained here since your Highness left Valladolid, as I have asked him to do, and he has preached in the chapel of the Queen my lady. I have been much edified thereby, and entreat your Highness to order that he be paid for the time he has been here, and to receive all his other affairs under your protection, whereby I should consider myself much favoured.

Our Lord so protect the very royal person of your Highness as I wish and stand in need of, and strengthen your royal crown.

From Tordesillas, 12th of September.

Your humble servant kisses your Highness' hands and feet.

The Infanta Doña Catalina.

[Sign manual of the Infanta.]

[*Addressed:*] To the very high, very catholic, and very mighty lord, the King, my lord.

(1) Sic.

1518.
13th Sept.

39. The MARQUIS OF DENIA to CHARLES, KING OF SPAIN.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Estado. Castilla. Legajo 5. f. 315. Autograph. The marginal notes are written by Francisco de los Covos, Secretary of State to King Charles.*]

A Su Alteza. del marques de denia. Respondida.

Muy alto e muy catholico y muy poderoso Señor.

Recebi una carta de vuestra Alteza de veinte e quatro de Agosto. sea nuestro Señor loado que vuestra Alteza esta con la salud que sus vassallos e criados deseamos. asy sea siempre.

[*Escrito por el secretario Covos.*] que a avydo mucho plaser y que donde el y la marquesa estan etc. y que lo continue.

lo que daca ay que desir es que la Reyna nuestra Señora e la Señora Infante estan con la salud que vuestra Alteza desea. e despues que V. Alteza me mando que procurase que Su Alteza oyese misa syempre se ha tenido especial cuydado desto e asy a plasydo a nuestro Señor que ayer Su Alteza quyso que se dyxesse la mysa. e adereçose al cabo del corredor a donde vuestra Alteza vio a Su Alteza con paños e pusose un doser de terciopelo negro e damasco negro que para esto se hiso. en saliendo Su Altesa hiso oraçion al altar e echaronle agua bendita, e en començando la confesyon hincose de rodillas

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(TRANSLATION.)

39. To his Highness. From the Marquis of Denia. Answered.

Very high, very catholic, and very mighty Lord,

I received a letter from your Highness, dated 24th of August. God be praised that your Highness enjoys as good health as his vassals and servants desire. Be it always so.

What I have to tell from here is that the Queen our lady and the señora Infanta are in as good health as your Highness can wish.

Has had great pleasure, and where he and the Marchioness are, etc., he is to continue (1).

From the moment that your Highness has commanded that I should see that her Highness might hear mass, I have especially occupied myself with this subject, and it has pleased our Lord to order that her Highness yesterday consented that mass should be said [in a chapel] constructed out of drapery at the end of the corridor in which your Highness saw her Highness. A canopy of black velvet and black damask had been erected for this occasion. When her Highness came out [of her rooms] she prayed at the altar, and was besprinkled with holy water. When the confession began she went down on her knees, and remained kneeling

(1) Written by the Secretary of State, Francisco de los Covos.

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hasta que se acabo e asentose. tomo unas oras a la Señora ynfante e reso en ellas las oras de la cruz. e en tanto que alçaron el sacramento e consumyeron syempre estubo de rrodillas resando pater noster e ave-marias que se oyan. quando truxeron el evangelio e la pas no lo quiso Su Alteza e mando ge lo diesen a la Señora ynfante. despues de acabada la myssa entrose Su Alteza en su camara e oy a oydo myssa de la mesma manera. procurarse ha con el ayuda de nuestro Señor que esto se continue. no entran a la missa syno el que la dysse y el guardian e un moço de capilla. Vuestra Alteza deve dar gracias a nuestro Señor porque aunque Su Alteza esta en otra dispusycion de la que vuestra Alteza querria segun ell amor y acatameinto que le tiene plasera a dios que la porna en camino para que le conozca e se salve.

que asy lo cree por que le tyene por buena persona y servydor.

el padre guardian maestro de la Señora infante demas de ser virtuoso religioso en esto de la missa a trabajado todo lo que ha podido e asy lo hase en todo lo que conviene a la buena dotrina de la Señora ynfante.

que asy lo haga con mucho cuydado y que quando acaeciese esto lo que Dios no quiera avise con correo a

en lo que Vña Altesa dize de la guarda que se tenga en esta villa asy se a hecho e sy con mas diligencia se podiere hacer de aqui adelante tambien se hara. e quando algo acaeciere lo que nuestro Señor no quiera tambien se hara lo

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(Translation.)

until it was concluded, when she seated herself. She took a book of prayers from the señora Infanta, and chanted from it the prayers of the cross. When the sacrament was raised and received she was still on her knees, and chanted Paternosters and Ave Marias so loud that they could be heard. When the *evangelium* and the *pax* were brought to her, her Highness refused to accept them, and ordered that they should be given to the señora Infanta. When mass was concluded her Highness returned to her room; and to day she has heard mass in the same manner. With the help of God it must be procured that this be continued. None was present at mass except the priest who said it, the guardian, and a boy of the chapel. Your Highness ought to give thanks to our Lord, for although her Highness is in another disposition than your Highness according to your love and veneration for her could wish, it has pleased God to direct her on the way to His knowledge and her salvation.

Believes it, because he thinks he is a good person and servant.

The father guardian, tutor of the señora Infanta, is not only a virtuous priest, but he has also done, and still does, what he can concerning the saying mass, and omits nothing to instruct the señora Infanta in the true doctrine.

So be it done with great precaution. If this should be the case, which God forbid, he must write by a flying

Your Highness orders that the town be well guarded. That is done, and if it should be possible henceforth to be even more vigilant, it will not be neglected. If, however something should happen, which God forbid, the orders

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mucha diligencia con su parecer adonde deben yr.

que vuestra Alteza manda antes de partir de aqui porque en la verdad seria cosa tan trabajosa la partyda e de tantos inconvinientes que sy la Señora ynfante no estuviese en medio yo me atreveria a toda cosa por escusar la verguença que desto se podria ofrecer. espero en nuestro Señor que lo remediara de manera que no sea menester e quando otra cosa sea haserlo e saber a vuestra Alteza con correo que vaya con diligencia para que en todo mande lo que se haga. por que la yda de Sant pablo de la moraleja que vuestra Alteza manda ay dos inconvinientes. el uno es que esta muy cerca de muchos lugares que estan dañados. y ell otro que dos vezes en el año concurre mucha gente en aquella casa que asy por estar el tienpo tan dañado como por estar Su Alteza en la dyspusicion que esta me parece ques grande ynconviniente. e quando Su Alteza oviese de partir daqui vuestra Alteza a de determinar que vaya a parte donde pueda estar syenpre e que aya casa qual convenga para su recogimiento. e sy esto oviere de ser tanbien se hara lo que vuestra Alteza manda. en lo del cuerpo del Rey nuestro Señor que aya gloria que sera muy bien que vuestra Alteza mande acabar la capilla e ponga en ella los cuerpos de los Reyes e Reyna nuestros Señores que ayan gloria.

(TRANSLATION.)

courier, and state his opinion where they ought to go.

which your Highness gave before leaving here will be fulfilled. For, in fact, to leave this place would be a very troublesome thing. The inconveniences would be so great that, if the señora Infanta were not here, I would rather risk anything in order to avoid the scandal which would be the consequence. I hope to God he will remedy it so that it may not be necessary [to leave this place]; but if it should be otherwise, I would let your Highness know by a flying courier, so that you could order what would have to be done. For to go to Sant Pablo de la Moraleja, as your Highness has ordered, would have two inconveniences. In the first place, a great number of villages which are infected are very near it; and, secondly, a great number of persons visit that convent twice a year, and that is in my opinion a great disadvantage, on account of the prevalence of illness, as well as on that of the disposition of her Highness. If her Highness should be obliged to leave this, your Highness should select a place for her where she can remain for ever, and where the house is convenient for her reception. If that should be the case what your Highness has commanded would be done. It is very desirable that your Highness should order the chapel (1) to be finished where the corpse of the King our lord, who is in glory, can be deposited by the side of the bodies of the Catholic King and Queen, our lord and lady, who are in glory.

(1) In Granada.

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(1) . . . . . de tordesyllas a xiij. de Setiembre de dxviij. muy poderoso Señor syervo y vassallo de V. Al. que sus Reales manos veso.

el marques. [Rubrica.]

[*Sobre:*] Al muy alto muy catolico e muy poderoso Señor el Rey nuestro Señor.

30th October. **40.** FRAY JUAN DE AVILA to CHARLES, KING OF SPAIN.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Estado. Legajo* 5. *f.* 313. *Holograph.*]

A su Al. de fray Juan de Avila. postrero de Otubre.

Muy poderoso y muy catholico Rey y Señor,

lo que al presente aca se ofresce de haser saber a v̄ra Alteza es que por la bondad de dios nuestro Señor la Reyna madre suya y Señora nuestra esta buena en la disposicion acostunbrada y continua oyr e ver la missa junctamente con la Señora ynfante en todos los dias que en la cama no esta o sy otra alguna evidente necessidad no se offresce que ge lo excuse. la Señora ynfante esta buena bendicto dios y vesa los pies y manos a V̄ra Alteza y porque del marques y de beltran avra seydo V̄ra Alteza informado de la manera del

(1) Sic.

(TRANSLATION.)

From Tordesillas, 13th of September 1518. Very mighty lord, your servant and vassal, who kisses your Royal hands.

The Marquis.

[Sign of the Marquis of Denia.]

[*Addressed:*] To the very high, catholic, and mighty lord, the King our lord.

40. To his Highness. From Fray Juan de Avila. Last (1) day of October.

Very mighty and very catholic King and Señor,

What I have at present to write to your Highness from here is that, by the mercy of God our Lord, the Queen, your mother and our lady, is well and in her usual condition. She continues to hear and see mass, in company of the Señora Infanta, every day that she is not in bed or excused by some other evident impediment. The Señora Infanta is well, God be thanked, and kisses the feet and hands of your Highness. By the Marquis and by Beltran your Highness is informed of the kind of chapel her Highness has ordered to be erected in the corridor, in order to have mass celebrated there, and I will

(1) Sic.

1518.

atavio que Su Altesa mando poner en el corredor para desirse la missa no quiero enojar mas a Vr̃a Altesa en cosas de aca. los criados de la Reyna Ntra Señora estan mucho afligidos e desconsolados porque han sabido que Vr̃a Altesa mando despedir a algunos dellos. suplico yo a Vr̃a Altesa tenga dellos piedad e conpassion segun su grandesa e magnificencia. dios todo poderoso guarde a Vr̃a Altesa y engrandezca su alto y Real estado para gloria y honrra de su servicio amen. de tordesillas penultimo dia de Octubre. muy poderoso y muy catholico Señor las manos de Vr̃a Altesa besa su pobre frayre e capellan.

frey Juan de avila. [Rubrica.]

[*Sobre:*] Al muy poderoso y muy catholico Rey y Señor el Rey don Carlos nuestro Señor.

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17th February. **41.** The MARQUIS OF DENIA to MONSIEUR DE CHIÈVRES.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Estado. Castilla. Legajo 5. folio 289. Holograph.*]

A Mussr. del marques de denia. a xvij. de hebrero.

Yllustre y muy magnifico Señor,

Recebi las cartas del Rey Nuestro Señor y de V. M. de xij.

(TRANSLATION.)

therefore not trouble your Highness with these things. The servants of the Queen our lady are much afflicted and quite in despair, because they have learnt that your Highness has ordered some of them to be dismissed. I beseech your Highness to have pity and compassion upon them, as becomes your greatness and magnificence. God Almighty protect your Highness, and increase your royal states in glory and honour, and for His service.

From Tordesillas, last day but one of October.

Very mighty and very catholic lord, your poor friar and chaplain kisses the hands of your Highness.

Fray Juan de Avila. [Sign manual of Fray Juan.]

[*Addressed:*] To the very mighty and very catholic King and lord, King Don Carlos, our lord.

41. To Monsieur [de Chièvres] from the Marquis of Denia. 17th of February.

Illustrious and very magnificent lord,

I have received the letters of the King our Lord, and of your Lordship, dated the 12th of this month. What his

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deste y lo que Su Alteza manda se a conplydo como V. M. vera y asy se ara en ser secreto.

del fallecymyento del Señor enperador me pesa mucho porque demas de perder el Rey nuestro Señor tal Señor y padre la coyuntura de su muerte nos aze a los que deseamos el servico y acrecentamyento de Su Alteza sentyllo mas. muy gran merced e recebido de saber lo quel Rey nuestro Señor mescrive en su carta que los negocios quedan en buenos terminos. plega a nuestro Señor que se acaven como conviene al servycyo del Rey nuestro Señor y que asy de aquello como de todos sus Reynos goze muchos años.

este negocyo es de tanta ynportancia para el Rey nuestro Señor y para su corona que todo lo que para este fin se aze y yziere sera poco segun lo quel inporta. Nuestro Señor lo encamyne como V. M. desea y como con su virtud y prudencya lo a procurado y procura. que aunque otro servycyo no ubyese V. M. echo a Su Alteza syno este vasta para mayores mercedes y desto como vuestro verdadero servydor yo estoy muy ufano de lo que veo yo (1) yo en este caso.

la Reyna nuestra Senora esta como otras vezes tengo escryto. byen sera quel Rey nuestro Señor envye algunas

(1) Sic.

(TRANSLATION.)

Highness has commanded is executed, as your Lordship will see, and the secret shall be guarded. (1)

I am very sorry that the Emperor has died; for the King our lord has not only lost such a lord and father, as he was, but the conjuncture in which his death has occurred makes us, who desire the welfare of and an increase of power for his Highness, regret it the more. The contents of the letters which the King our lord writes to me, viz., that the negotiations are in a promising state, have given me great satisfaction. Please God our Lord that this business may be soon concluded in such a manner as the service of the King our lord requires, and that he may enjoy this (2) as his other kingdoms, during many years.

This affair is so important to the King our lord and to his crown, that all that can be done seems to be little in comparison of its importance. May our Lord direct it as your Lordship wishes. Your Lordship has directed and still directs this business with so much vigour and prudence, that, if you had never rendered another service to his Highness, this one alone would suffice to entitle you to higher favours, and I, as your true servant, am very proud of what I see [that you have done] in this case.

The Queen our lady continues in the same state as I have already written. It would be good if the King our

(1) This obscure phrase does not concern Queen Juana, but the vote of the Prince Elector of Saxony in the forthcoming election.

(2) The empire.

1519.

vezes a vesytar a Su Alteza porque aunque la Reyna nuestra Señora este syn este cuydado vyen sera quel Rey nuestro Señor muestre el que tyene de saber de su madre. Nuestro Señor guarde y prospere vuestra yllustre persona y estado.

de tordesyllas a xvij. de hebrero. a servycyo de v.m.

el marques. [Rubrica.]

[*Sobrescripto:*] . . . gnifico Señor Moss . . . . .
de Sora Almiran . . . . camarero e contador . . . .
Rey nuestro señor . . . . . de su S. al S.

20th April. **42.** The MARQUIS OF DENIA to CHARLES, KING OF SPAIN.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Estado. Castilla. Legajo 5. f.* 286. *Written by the secretary of the Marquis and signed by him.*]

A su Alteza. del Marques de Denia. a su Magestad. a xx. Abril.

Muy alto muy Catolico e muy poderoso Señor,

A quinze deste mes escrebi a Vr̃a Alteza haziendole saber lo que avia que dezir. lo que agora ay que hazer saber es que la Reyna nuestra Señora esta como tengo escrito y la Señora ynfante besa las manos a vuestra Alteza. todavia esta con su sarna aunque con alguna mejoria.

(TRANSLATION.)

lord would sometimes send some person to visit her Highness. For, although the Queen our lady will at all events be well cared for, it would be well if the King our lord would show that he desires to know how his mother is going on.

May God guard and prosper your illustrious person and estate.

From Tordesillas, 17th of February.

Your Lordship's servant,

The Marquis [Signature].

[*Addressed:*] . . [mag]nificent lord, Monsieur . . . . .
of Sora, Admiral . . . Chamberlain and Treasurer . . . . King our lord.

42. To his Highness. From the Marquis of Denia to his Majesty. 20th of April.

Very high, very catholic, and very mighty Lord,

I wrote to your Highness on the 15th of this month, informing you of what was worth mentioning. I have now to state that the Queen our lady is in the same condition as I have already written, and that the Señora Infanta kisses the hands of your Highness. She has still the itch, although she is somewhat better.

1519.

la Reyna nuestra Señora a dicho todos estos dias pasados que quiere salir esta semana santa a Santa Clara y para esto a mandado linpiar sus ropas que se vestia cuando salia fuera y por que aqui no a faltado algunos criados de la casa y aun vezinos de la villa que an dicho que yo tengo presa a Su Alteza porque no (1) . . . . . salga en tales dias a la yglesia y tras esto pienso de tener todas las maneras que pudiere para que no salga y cuando no se pudiere escusar ello se ara con ayuda de Nuestro Señor de manera que no aya ynconvenyente y desto este Vuestra Alteza syn cuydado.

despues que escrevi a Va Alteza a muerto un clerigo en dos dias y medio de pestilencia y se han herido otros, y como quiera queste mal es de calidad para tener cuydado por ser de la calidad que es y estar aqui la Reyna nuestra Señora y la Señora ynfante ponemele mayor que en la creciente de la luna y en la menguante sienpre avido muertos y eridos. a V. Alteza suplico mande escrevirme lo que se a de hazer en la estada o salida de su Alteza porque con cunplirlo cumplire lo que soy obligado.

(1) roto en el original.

(Translation.)

The Queen our lady has said all these days that she intends to visit [the convent of] Santa Clara during the holy week. For that purpose she has ordered that her dresses be cleaned, because she wishes to put them on when she goes out. Servants of her household and even citizens of the town affirm that I keep her Highness prisoner, because I do not permit any one to speak with her Highness, in order not (1) . . . . go out on such days to the church, and hereafter I intend to prevent her by all means from going out. Should that, however, be impossible, it shall be done in such a way that, with the help of God, no inconvenience will be the consequence. Your Highness may be without fear.

After my last letter to your Highness had been written, a priest died of pestilence in two days and a half and others have been struck by it. The disease is of so serious a character that great precaution is necessary, the Queen our lady and the Señora Infanta being here; and I am the more afraid, as during the periods when the moon is growing or decreasing there have always been people who died or were attacked [by pestilence]. I beseech your Highness to order a letter to be written to me, stating what I ought to do, in order that by complying with it I may fulfil my duty.

(1) Paper gone.

1519.

en lo de la gente de mi capª(1) ya tengo dicho a Vña Alteza la necesidad que ay, y si dixiese a Vña Alteza todas las cabsas que para esto ay yo creo que Vña Alteza lo avria mandado proveer, y pues estas callo y remedio por no dar enojo a Vña Alteza, a Vña Alteza suplico se le acuerde que aviendo echo de mi tanta confianza cuanta yo se que es lo de aqui, que no es Vuestro servicio mandar yr mi gente en el armada y dejar (2) . . . . . al rededor de aqui de quien Vña Alteza no se servira mas asy para lo de aqui como (3) . . . . . lir lo quel consejo y chancilleria mandaren. esto suplico a Vuestra Alteza mande proveer porque asi conviene a su servicio.

Los vecinos desta villa an recebido y reciben daño en la guarda porque ni pueden tratar ni bender su pan y vino y otras cosas y tanbien los portazgueros y otros arrendadores reciben daño, sera bien que Vuestra Alteza mande escrevir una carta a esta villa teniendoles en servicio el cuydado que an tenido de guardarla y mandandoles y encargandoles que asy lo continuen hasta que Nuestro Señor de salud en las comarcas, y que si algunos daños an Recebido o rrecibieren en esto que Vuestra Alteza ge lo mandara

(1) debe ser *capitania*. (2) roto. (3) id.

(Translation.)

As for my company, (1) I have already informed your Highness how much it is needed here. If I had told your Highness all my reasons for this, I think your Highness would already have provided for the case; but I pass them in silence and do what I can, not to give annoyance to your Highness. I entreat, however, your Highness not to forget that, having shown me so much confidence as I know my office implies, it is not your interest to order my soldiers to join the army and leave . . . . (2) in this neighbourhood such as do no longer render services to your Highness in those parts as well as . . . . (2) that what the council and the chancery might order. I beg your Highness to give such orders as your service requires.

The inhabitants of this town have received and still receive great injury from the watch that is kept, because they cannot carry on their business or sell their corn, wine, and other things. The toll-gatherers and other renters suffer also; and it would be good if your Highness would write a letter to this township, thanking them for the care they have taken in guarding the place, and ordering and commanding them to continue until our Lord restores health to the neighbourhood. If they have received or should receive any injury, your Highness will order that they be indemnified. I beg this of your

(1) Of soldiers. (2) Paper gone.

1519.

gratificar. esto suplico a Vña Alteza mande que asi conviene al servicio de Vuestra Alteza, y aunque se les haga alguna satisfacion es cosa justa porque en todo lo que digo an rrecibido y Reciben daño. muy poderoso Señor Nuestro Señor guarde la muy Real persona de Vuestra Alteza bienaventuradamente con acrecentamiento de su Real corona. de tordesyllas xx. de Abril de 1519. *Muy poderoso señor syervo y vassallo de V^a^ Alteza que sus Reales manos beso.* ***El*** *Marques.* [*Rubrica.*]

Ell olycornio (1) *suplico a Vuestra Alteza mande envyar.*

[*Sobre :*]—Al muy alto muy Catolico e muy poderoso Señor el Rey nuestro Señor.

6th June. **43.** The MARQUIS OF DENIA to CHARLES, KING of SPAIN.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Estado. Legajo* 6. *f.* 18. *Autograph.*]

Año 1519. A su Al. del marques de Denia a vj. de Junio.

Muy alto muy catolico e muy poderoso Señor,

con el correo escrevi a V. Al. lo que avia que hazer le saber. lo que agora ay que dezir es que la Reyna n. sa. esta como

(1) Sic.

(TRANSLATION.)

Highness, because the service of your Highness requires it; and, moreover, it is just that they obtain some indemnity; for, as I have stated, they have suffered and still suffer injuries.

Very mighty lord, our Lord protect the very royal and blessed person of your Highness, and increase your royal states.

From Tordesillas, 20th of April 1519.

Very mighty Lord, your Highness' servant and vassal kisses your royal hands.

The Marquis.

[Sign manual of the Marquis of Denia.]

I beg your Highness to order the *olycornio* (1) to be sent.

[*Addressed :*] To the very high, very catholic, and very mighty Lord, the King our lord.

43. Anno 1519. To his Highness. From the Marquis of Denia. 6th of June.

Very high, very catholic, and very mighty Lord,

By the courier I wrote to your Highness what I had to tell you. What I have now to mention is that the Queen our lady continues in the same state as I have written to your

(1) We do not know the meaning of the word *olycornio*.

1519.

tengo escrito a Va. Al. la Señora infante esta algo mejor de la sarna y por la poca salud que anda de otras enfermedades no osa el doctor Soto curar a Su Al. besa las manos a V. Al.

esta villa esta todavia no tan sana como querriamos que despues quel correo partio son muertos dos de pestilencia y ay otros dos que dizen los fisicos que no pueden escapar y ay syete o ocho heridos. en la guarda de la villa se pone toda la diligencia que se puede poner. nuestro Señor lo guarde todo.

V. Al. recibe muchos enojos sobre la paga desta casa. y para mi no puede ser mayor trabajo que dar enojo ni inportunidad a V. Al. pero como yo se que V. Al. es servido de todo el servicio y buen tratamiento que a la Reyna Na. Señora y a su casa se hiziere para que esto se rremedie y asyente una vez enbio con la ynformacion de todo al mayordomo beltran de flomonte y a carreño escribano de la camara de la Reyna N. S. a V. A. suplico los oya y brevemente los mande despachar porque ay aca necessidad dellos para en sus oficios.

la Reyna N. S. a hablado al doctor Soto y antes que entrase donde Su Al. estava yo le hable para que no mostrase descontentamiento de lo que se le quito de ayuda de costa la cual

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(Translation.)

Highness. The itch of the Señora Infanta is a little better, but because the health of this place is so unsatisfactory, other disorders being prevalent, Dr. Soto did not dare to subject her Highness to a cure. He kisses the hands of your Highness.

This town is not yet as healthy as we could wish. After the departure of the courier two persons died of pestilence, and the physicians say that two others are beyond hope of recovery. Seven or eight persons are ill. The town is guarded with the greatest vigilance. Our Lord protect us.

Your Highness is much annoyed in consequence of the money affairs of this household, and nothing is more disagreeable to me than to annoy and importune your Highness. But as I know that your Highness considers it as a favour rendered to you if the Queen our lady and her household are well served and treated, and as it would be good to remedy and arrange this business, once for all, I have sent the mayordomo Beltran de Flomonte and Carreño, *Escribano de la Camara* of the Queen our lady, with a report to your Highness. I beseech your Highness to hear and to despatch them soon, for their speedy return to their offices is necessary.

The Queen our lady has spoken with Doctor Soto. Before he entered the room where her Highness was, I told him not to show that he was dissatisfied that he had been deprived of the *ayuda de costa*,[1] which he had always

[1] Money given to ambassadors, ministers, and other officers for furnishing their houses and sustaining their household.

1519.

sienpre le dio la Reyna nuestra Señora que aya santa gloria vuestra ahuela. y la Reyna N. S. le pregunto sy le davan aqui todo lo que le solian dar en vida de la Reyna Su Señora. el dixo que si, y crea V. Al. que asi por aver mucho que conosce a este doctor como por que le tiene buena voluntad sy otra cosa supiera Su Al. lo sintiera mucho, y seria ydo a su casa syno oviese sydo porque yo le he dicho que V. Al. lo mandara remediar. bien sera que V. Al. lo mande proveer porque este es onbre onrrado y antiguo criado, y donde quiera que estoviese ternia mas provecho del que aqui tiene, y es viejo y no puede bevir mucho, y no sonaria bien que sobre aver servido tantos años se fuese porque le quitan lo que sienpre llebo. V. Al. lo vea por que yo no tengo otro respeto en esto y en todo syno lo que toca a v̄ro servicio cuya muy Real persona nuestro Señor guarde bienaventuradamente con acrecentamiento de su Real corona. De tordesillas vj. de Junio de 1519. (1) *Muy poderoso señor syervo y vassallo de V. Al. que sus Reales manos veso. El Marques.* [*Rubrica.*]

[*Sobre :*]—Al muy alto muy catolico y muy poderoso señor el Rey nuestro Señor.

(1) De letra del marques.

(Translation.)

received from the late Queen our lady, your grandmother. The Queen our lady asked him whether he received now all that which he received during the lifetime of the Queen her lady. He said yes. Your Highness may believe me that, if her Highness knew that the contrary is the case, she would much resent it, because she has known the Doctor a long time, and bears him goodwill. He would already long ago have gone to his native place, had I not told him that your Highness will do him justice. It would be good if your Highness would provide for him, because he is an honourable man and an old servant, and wherever else he might live he would gain more than here. He is an old man, and cannot live much longer. It would not sound well if it were said that, after having served so many years, he had retired because he was deprived of what formerly he had always received. Your Highness may decide. I have no other consideration in this, as in all other things, than to see what is for your interest, whose very royal person may our Lord protect and prosper, augmenting your royal states.

From Tordesillas, 6th of June 1519.

Very mighty Lord, your Highness' servant and vassal kisses your royal hands.

The Marquis.

[Sign manual of the Marquis of Denia.]

[*Addressed :*] To the very high, very catholic, and very mighty Lord, the King our lord.

1519 (?)
8th June.

44. FRAY JUAN DE AVILA to CHARLES, KING OF SPAIN.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Estado. Castilla. L° 6. fo. 78. Holograph.*]

A su Alteza. de fray Juan de Avila.
de viij de Junio.

Muy Catholico y muy poderoso Señor,

la Reyna su madre y Señora nuestra, y su hermana la Señora ynfante estan al presente con salud. Su Alteza siempre me demanda que le dyga si esta sano este pueblo, y que quando no estuviere tal que la avise dello con la verdad. yo he dicho a Su Altesa como al presente esta sano y bueno. contynua el oyr de la missa y tiene buen deseo de servir a dios Nuestro Señor. suplico a vuestra Altesa tenga en su memoria la obligacion que tiene a la honrra y servycio de su madre pues asy es la voluntad de dios y el su mandamiento sancto nos lo manda procurando principalmente la su salvacion del anima y en todas las otras cosas mandando mucho mirar por su honrra servicio y descanso como servydor de dios e hijo verdadero de bendicion. hasiendo esto Vuestra Altesa sea muy cierto que dios terna cuydado de Vuestra Altesa y de le haser muy dichoso e bienaventurado. ʿy porque alla va el mayordomo beltran servidor de Vuestra Altesa suplico a Vuestra Altesa crea la relacion que hara de las cosas que aca cunplen para el servicio y casa de la Reyna su madre. suplico a dios todopoderoso la vida y muy alto

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(TRANSLATION.)

44. To his Highness. From Fray Juan de Avila. 8th of June.

Very catholic and very mighty Lord,

The Queen your mother and our lady, and the señora Infanta, your sister, enjoy at present good health. Her Highness asks me always to tell her whether this place is healthy, and wishes that, if it were not so, I should tell her truly. I have said to her Highness that at present it is very healthy. She continues to hear mass, and is well disposed to serve God our Lord. I beseech your Highness not to forget the duty you have to take care of the honour and service of your mother. For that is the will of God, and His holy commandments enjoin it, that first you ought to procure the salvation of her soul, and then to take great care of her honour, her service and comfort, as a servant of God and a true and blessed son. If your Highness does this, you may be certain that God will take care of your Highness and make you very happy and successful. As the *Mayordomo* Beltran, a servant of your Highness, goes there (to King Charles), I beg your Highness to believe what he tells you as to what is necessary for the service and household of the Queen your mother. I implore the all powerful God to guard and favour the life and states of your Highness.

1519.

estado de Vuestra Altesa para su servicio siempre guarde y prospere. de tordesillas a viij dias de Junio. muy poderoso Señor las manos de Vña Alteza besa su pobre frayre y capellan. Frey Juan de Avila.

[*Sobre :*]—Al muy Catholico y muy poderoso Señor el Rey Don Carlos nuestro Señor.

6th July ? **45.** THE MARQUIS OF DENIA to the EMPEROR CHARLES.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Estado. Castilla.* Legajo 6. *fo.* 5. *Authenticated modern transcript from the holograph letter.*]

Muy poderoso señor,

ha quince dias que la Reyna nuestra Señora me llamo y tuvome seis horas. la resolucion fue quejas de las mugeres y preguntarme por la salud de esta villa, y preguntarme por la salud de valladolid diciendome que si esta buena que aunque holgaria Su Alt. de ir. yo le dije que morian mucho y aunque estuviera sana le dijera que morian. preguntome por los grandes y que queria que viniesen aqui algunos para hablalles y que yo lo habia hecho muy mal en no habellos llamado como me lo havia rogado. yo le respondi que yo ge lo avia enviado a decir y que con esta poca salud no estaban en esta comarca. mandome muy encargadamente que les tornase a escriver. yo le dixe que lo haria

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(TRANSLATION.)

From Tordesillas, 8th day of June.

Very powerful Lord, the hands of your Highness kisses your poor friar and chaplain,

Frey Juan de Avila.

[*Addressed :*] To the very Catholic and mighty lord, King Charles our lord.

45. Very mighty Lord,

A fortnight ago the Queen our Lady called me into her presence and detained me six hours. The conclusion was that she complained of her women, asked me about the health of this town, and the health of Valladolid, saying that if it [Valladolid ?] was healthy her Highness would like to go [there]. I told her that the mortality there was great, and I would tell her that even if its health were good. She asked me about the grandees, saying that she wished that some of them should come, because she wanted to speak with them, and [said] that it was very wrong of me that I had not sent for them as she had asked me to do. I answered that I had sent for them, but that in consequence of the bad state of health they were not in this province. She ordered me very urgently to write again. I said that I would do so, but

1519.

pero que creia que no vernian. enojose y dijome que hiciese lo que me mandava y rogava. y por estas cosas y otras que serian muy largas yo no consiento que nadie hable a Su Alteza y porque con el doctor Soto habla que no se puede escusar porque entra a visitar a la Señora Infante y tambien llama tantas vezes al despensero mayor que alguna vez tampoco no se puede escusar que no la hable, por esto quisiera que V. Alt. mandase despachar los negocios suyos. lo del doctor siempre lo llevo y en lo del despensero mayor no se acrecienta nada y sera hacelle merced y tenelle contento. V. Alt. lo debe mandar despachar que yo se que conviene a vuestro servicio y por esto lo escribo a V. Alt. cuyas reales manos beso. el marques.

[Es copia conforme con la carta autógrafa que para la coleccion se sacó de este legajo de estado numero 6 en cuyo lugar se ha puesto la presente copia que certifico. Archivo general de Simancas 9 de Julio de 1856. Manuel Garcia Gonzalez.]

(Translation.)

believed that they would not come. She grew angry, and told me to do what she commanded and begged. For this and other reasons which would be long to write I do not permit any one to speak with her Highness. It is, however, impossible to prevent her from speaking with the Doctor Soto, who comes to visit the señora Infanta; and, besides, she asks so frequently for the High Steward, that sometimes it cannot be avoided that she speaks with him. Under such circumstances I should like that your Highness should order this business to be despatched. As for the claim of the Doctor, I have always upheld it; and with respect to the High Steward nothing is to be increased, and he will take it as a favour and be contented. Your Highness ought to order that it be despatched, because I know it will be good for your service, and that is the reason why I write to your Highness, whose royal hands I kiss. The Marquis.

[This copy agrees with the original holograph letter, which has been transferred from this Legajo, Estado, No. 6, to the collection (1), and in the place of which this copy has been deposited, which I certify. General Archives of Simancas, 9th of July 1856. Manuel Garcia Gonzalez.]

(1) Of autographs for the Queen of Spain.

1519.
26th Sept.

46. The MARQUIS of DENIA to the EMPEROR CHARLES.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Estado. Castilla. Legajo No. 5. folio 337. The letter is not signed, but entirely written in the hand of the Marquis of Denia. It is an enclosure in another letter, dated 26th of September* 1519.]

Cesarea Sacra Catolica Magt.

la Reyna nuestra Señora a estado estos dias dyas (1) pasados muy alterada y a llamado con gran priesa al thesorero ochoa dolanda para que le de dyneros dezyendo que todo es suyo y que ge los den que los a menester. yo no e consentydo quel thesorero entre adonde Su Alteza esta. antes le e mandado que vaya a entender en sus negocyos y el lo aze asy.

a querydo su Alteza salir a los todos santos y en verdad que sy en ello no ubyera otra cosa syno la verguença de V. Magt. y de vuestros vasallos que aunque esto es destymar en mucho que porque la gente se acave de desengañar que estuve cerca de permytyr la salyda a Santa Clara donde Su Alteza querya yr, syno que ay otras cosas a que se a de tener mas respecto.

(1) Sic.

(TRANSLATION.)

46.

Imperial, sacred, catholic Majesty,

The Queen our lady has been very excited during these last days. She asked in great haste for the treasurer Ochoa de Olanda, that he might give her money. She said that all was hers, and that they should give it to her, as she wanted it. I have not permitted the treasurer to enter where her Highness is. On the contrary, I have told him to go and mind his business, and he has done so.

Her Highness wishes to go out on the day of All Saints. In truth, if I had not to consider other things than the shame to which Your Majesty and your vassals would be put—although that is not to be esteemed as little—I should almost have permitted her going to Santa Clara, where her Highness intended to go, if only to undeceive the people. But there are other things of higher importance which must be considered.

1519 ?
October ? **47.** The MARQUIS OF DENIA to the EMPEROR CHARLES.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Estado. Castilla. Legajo 5, folio 340 y 341. Holograph.*]

A su Magestad.

Cesarea Sacra Catolica Magt.

la Reyna nuestra Señora me llamo a cynco o seys dyas y dyxome como avya pedydo al thesorero ochoa dolanda cyertos dyneros y que no ge los dava que me rogava que yo ge los yzyese dar porque tenya gran necesydad dellos. yo le respondy que yo ge lo rogarya al thesorero pero que en aquello yo no tenya que azer porque lo que a el se le lybrava era para solo el plato de Su Alteza y para la despensa y ofycyos y quel thesorero dize que quando se davan dyneros a Su Alteza los manda dar el rrey nuestro Señor su padre. dixome que yo lo escrybiese a Su Alteza para que luego lo mandase, y que en lo que yo dezya que no podya syno rogallo al thesorero que no era yo onbre que no avya de poder azer en su servycyo todo lo que me mandase y que sy yo lo avya de rogar que, sy fuese, yo no estarya aquy. respondyle que aquello que Su Alteza mandava era cosa estraordynarya y que era menester no teniendo el thesorero dyneros para ello rogarle que los dyese, y que no bastarya sy el rrey nuestro Señor no ge los dava y le mandava que los dyese, y que la verdad es que con

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(TRANSLATION.)

47. To his Majesty.

Imperial, sacred, catholic Majesty,

Five or six days ago, the Queen our lady called me into her presence, and told me that she had asked certain sums of money from the Treasurer Ochoa de Olanda, and that he had not given them to her. She begged me to see that the money should be given to her, as she wanted it very much. I answered that I would ask the Treasurer, but that I had no power to do anything in this affair, because all that was paid to him was only for her table, and her kitchen, and her servants, and that the Treasurer says that when money was given to her Highness it was at the command of the King our lord, her father. She told me to write to his Highness begging that he should instantly order it. As to what I had said that I could do no more than ask the Treasurer, [she said] that I was not the man who had no power to do in her service what she commanded, and that I should not remain here if it were true that I had to petition for it. I replied that that [the money] which her Highness demanded was something extraordinary, and as the Treasurer was not provided with it, it was necessary to beg him to give it, and that even this would not be sufficient if the King our lord did not give it to him [the Treasurer], and order him to pay it ;

1519 (?)

la pestylencya no se podyan cobrar nada de las rentas, y demas desto con averse ganado navarra se avian echo y azyan grandes gastos en el rreyno, y pues aquello era en acrecentamyento de su corona que lo devya aver por vyen aunque ubiese falta en otras cosas. Respondyome quera vyen pero que escrevyese al Rey Su Señor que mandase dalle aquellos dyneros. en esto avemos andado despues que a vuestra Magestad escrevy y asy turara (1) la platica todo lo que sea menester para que no se aga syno lo que convyene a vuestro servycyo.

dixe a su Alteza como a Vr̃a Magt. avyan elegydo por enperador y questo avya procurado el Sõr enperador como buen padre y buen señor y que V. Mt. ge lo azya saber por aquella carta y mostregela y que Su Alteza la devya de ver y responder a ella y aun al señor enperador besandole las manos por la mr̃d que a vuestra Magestad avya echo. dyxome que por cyerto olgava mucho dello y que la carta otro dya la verya y que en lo dell escrevyr all enperador que no lo avya echo despues quel rrey su Señor muryo, que me rogava que yo lo

(1) Sic.

(TRANSLATION.)

[adding] that the truth is that in consequence of the pestilence the rents cannot be collected, that the expenses for the conquest of Navarra have been, and are still, very great in that kingdom, and as that was done for the augmentation of her crown she ought to be satisfied although she was wanting money for other purposes. She replied that that was well, but that I should nevertheless write to the King her lord (1), asking him to give her the money. We have been occupied in these negotiations all the time since I wrote to your Majesty, and they will continue as long as is necessary, in order to do nothing that is not for your service.

I told her Highness that your Majesty had been elected Emperor, and that the señor Emperor, as a good father and lord, had procured the election, and that your Majesty wrote her all this in the letter which I showed to her, and that her Highness should read and answer it, and also write to the señor Emperor, kissing his hands for the favour which he had done to your Majesty. (2) She said that certainly she was very glad of it, and that she would see the letter another day, but as for her writing to the Emperor she wished that I should write the letter in her name, because she had never written to him since the death of the King her lord. (3) I

(1) The king *her* lord is King Ferdinand, who had died in 1516.

(2) The Emperor Maximilian had died on the 12th of January 1519, five months before the election of Charles, and nine months before this letter was written. The letter of condolence of the Marquis of Denia is printed on page 181.

(3) King Philip.

1519 (?)

escryvyese en su nonbre. yo le respondy que no era razon que yo ni nadie escrivyese de parte de Su Alteza cosa tan grande que era mejor esperar a que Su Alteza lo yzyese quando pudyese. y dyxo Su Alteza que era vyen. preguntome por el Señor ynfante y que cuando ell otro dya le dyxe que Vr̃a Magestad era enperador que penso que fuese por ser muerto el Señor enperador, y que syendo esto asy quell ynfante su yjo no tenia a que estar alla y que lo desea mucho ver que me rogava tuvyese yo manera como vyniese. dixele Señora el Señor ynfante estava asta agora con el Señor enperador y como a procurado quede ell ynperyo al enperador vuestro yjo a querydo que el Señor ynfante en ausencya suya este alla y en algunas cosas entyenda porque creo que se halla viejo y cansado y a gana de descansar. dyxome que era vyen y estuvo gran rato pensando que no me ablo palabra. despues me dixo que que grandes estavan en esta comarca. respondyle que no avya agora nyngunos, que algunos estavan en Varcelona con V. Magestad y otros en Malaga con el Rey su padre y otros en sus casas. preguntome quienes eran los unos y los otros. repartylos como mejor supe. curo (1) esta platyca mas de cuatro oras.

(1) Sic : *duro.*

(TRANSLATION.)

answered her that it was not becoming that I or any one else should write in the name of her Highness in such an important affair, and that it would be better to wait until her Highness would be able to do it. Her Highness said : it is good. She asked about the señor Infante (1) [and said] that, when I told her the other day that your Majesty was Emperor, she thought that that was in consequence of the death of the señor Emperor, but as it was otherwise it was no longer necessary that the Infante, her son, should stay there (2), and that she wished very much to see him, and she asked me to find means that he might come. I said : Señora, the señor Infante is now staying with the Emperor, because he has brought it about that the Empire is given to the Emperor your son, and wishes that the señor Infante should, during his (Charles') absence, be there and occupy himself in despatching some affairs. For I think he feels that he is old and tired, and wishes to repose. She said, It is good ; and remained a long while meditating without speaking a single word. Afterwards she said : Which grandees are staying in this province ? I answered that none of them were now here, because some of them were staying with your Majesty in Barcelona, others in Malaga with the King her father (3), and again others in their houses. She asked which of them were in the one place and in the other. I distributed them as well as I could. This conversation lasted more than four hours. I

(1) Her son Ferdinand. (2) In Flanders.
(3) King Ferdinand the Catholic, who had died in 1516.

1519?

lo que tengo dycho otras vezes dygo que no convyene que nadye vea a Su Alteza porque la verdad es que dize palabras que no ay a quyen no engañe. y esto y lo demas asy se ara como convyene a servycyo de V. Mt.

despues desta escrita me llamo la Reyna Nuestra Señora y me dixo que yo escrevyese al Rey su Señor y que Su Alteza mandase que ella fuese mejor tratada y que se le diese mejor las cosas que pedya porque no querrya desacatalle como muchos grandes del rreyno lo querrian. yo le dixe Su Alteza tratara a V. Alteza como es razon y V. Alteza le a de tener ell acatamyento que deve y no curar de lo que los grandes querryan por sus yntereses y no por servyr a V. Alteza, que esto quyen lo a de myrar mas que vuestro padre. con esto paro y dyxome que dezya byen y que otro dya hablarya comygo. crea V. Mt. que dyze palabras para levantar las pyedras. no sabe esto persona ny lo sepa alla syno de quyen V. Magt. se fyare como de sy mesmo y en verdad que querria para algunas cosas tener cyfra.

(TRANSLATION.)

must repeat what I have already said on other occasions, viz., that it is necessary that no one sees her Highness, because the truth is that she speaks words which would deceive every one; and this and whatever else the service of your Majesty requires will be done.

After this letter was written the Queen our lady called for me, and told me to write to the King her lord (1), [asking] his Highness to order that she should be better treated, and that the things she demanded should be given to her with less difficulty; for she did not like to show him disrepect, as many of the grandees of the kingdom wish. I said: "His Highness "treats your Highness as is reasonable, and your High- "ness ought to show him that respect which is due to him, "and not mind what the grandees may like for their own "interests, and not in order to serve your Highness. Who "will take better care of this [your interest] than your "father?" She discontinued [her complaints], and said that I spoke well, and that she would talk with me the next day. Your Majesty may believe me that she speaks words to move stones. No one knows it, and there (2) no one must know it, except some one in whom your Majesty places as much trust as in yourself. In fact, for writing certain things I should like to have a cipher.

(1) King Ferdinand the Catholic.
(2) At the court of the Emperor.

1519 ?
[Towards the end of.]

48. The MARQUIS OF DENIA to the EMPEROR CHARLES.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Estado. Castilla. Legajo 5. f. 343. Holograph. The letter is not signed, nor has it an address.*]

Cesarea Sacra Catolica Mgt.

yo e dicho a la Reyna nuestra Señora quel Rey mi Señor su padre es vyvo porque todo lo que se haze que no es en tanto contentamiento de Su Al. dygo que lo manda y ordena asy el Rey porque con el acatamiento que le tyene pasa lo mejor que lo pasarya sy supyese que es muerto, y aun esto aprovecha para otras muchas cosas que tocan a Vño servycyo.

despues que a Vña Magt escrevi su Alt. me a hablado dos vezes y me ha dicho que yo escryba al Rey su Señor que no puede sofryr la vyda que tyene, que a tanto tyempo que la tyene aquy encerrada y como presa, que aunque como yja le aya de acatar, que myre que es razon que sea mejor tratada, y que serya razon que estuvyese en parte donde pudyese saver de sus cosas, y que sy vbyese querido, que artos grandes ge lo an consejado. yo dixe que quando el Rey escogyo esta vylla para que Su Al. aqui veniese avya sydo pareciendole que era la mejor parte donde podya estar y en medyo de todo el Reyno y que aquy Su Alteza estava servyda y tenyda como era razon y que, sy el Rey su padre ubyera creydo algunos

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(TRANSLATION.)

48.

Imperial, sacred, and catholic Majesty,

I have told the Queen our lady that the King my lord, her father, is alive, because whenever anything that is done displeases her Highness, I say that the King orders and commands it so; for the love she bears him makes it easier to her to endure it than it would be if she knew that he is dead. This, moreover, is in many other respects advantageous for your service.

Since I wrote my last letter to your Majesty, her Highness has twice spoken with me. She ordered me to write to the King, her lord,(1) telling him that she can no longer bear the life she leads, that it is so long a time that he has kept her locked up and a prisoner, and that, being his daughter, he ought to treat her in a better manner; that she wished to live where she could know what was going on, and see the noblemen of the kingdom; and that if she had wished it, a great many grandees had proposed it to her.(2) I said that when the King chose this town for her Highness to live in, it had been because it seemed to him to be the best place where she could stay, being situated in the centre of the kingdom. Her Highness was served and treated as was reasonable, and if the King, her father, had followed some of those

(1) King Ferdinand the Catholic. (2) Sic.

1519 (?)

de los que en esto le ablavan, que Su Alteza estarya de otra manera, pero que pues Su Alteza la amava y tenya como era razon que Su Alteza no debia ablar nada de aquello. respondyome que me lo dezia a my por descansar comygo. y tanvyen se me quexo que Su Alteza le avya quitado all ynfante que no tenya otro descanso despues de la muerte del Rey su Señor syno con el y con la ynfante, y que agora le an dicho que es ydo a flandes, y que aunque esta en mejor tyerra que esta que quisjera tener su yjo donde le pudyera ver, y que a myedo que alla le den algo con que le maten. y a este proposyto dixo mill sospechas. yo le dixe que el Señor enperador envyo por el y que creo que lo casaran con una yja del Rey de francya con que . . . . . a (1) bretaña y que pues . . . . . su vyen se yzo que su Al . . . . . vyen y de que esto sea a . . . . . tado podra venyr a vesar las manos a Su Alteza y que esto es mejor porque en Castylla ya Su Alteza sabe lo que se da a los ynfantes. dyxome no que yo tengo y puedo dar mucho all ynfante. yo dyxe a Su Alteza que no le puede dar nada que todo es del p^e^ (2) y a este proposyto le dixe como V. Mag^t^ es enperador por renuncyacyon dell enperador y nueva elecyon de los eletores y que desto devya Su Alteza dar grandes

(1) los sitios ocupados por puntos estan rotos en el original. (2) *principe.*

(TRANSLATION.)

who have spoken with him on this subject, her Highness would be treated very differently. But as his Highness loved her and treated her as is reasonable, her Highness should not say anything about it. She answered that she had spoken to me to lighten her heart. She also complained that the Infante (1) had been taken from her, and said that since the death of her husband she had no other comfort but him and the Infanta; that they have now told her that he had gone to Flanders, and although he is there in a better land than this, she would, nevertheless, like to have her son where she could see him, and that she was afraid lest they might give him there something to kill him. On this subject she added a thousand other apprehensions. I said that the Señor Emperor (2) had sent for him, and that I believed he would marry him to a daughter of the King of France, with whom . . . . (3) Brittany and as . . . . his best was done that her Highness . . . . well, and that this be . . . . he can come and kiss the hands of her Highness, and that this is better, for her Highness knew what in Castile was given to an Infante. She said, "I have not and cannot give much to the Infante." I answered her Highness that she could not give him anything, as all belongs to the Prince.(4) I told her on this occasion that your Majesty is Emperor owing to the renunciation of the Emperor, and a new election of the Princes electors, and that her Highness ought to give

(1) Ferdinand. (2) Maximilian. (3) Paper gone. (4) Charles.

1519 (?).

gracias a nuestro Señor. respondyome sy era asy que fuese vyvo ell enperador porque creya quera muerto. yo certefique a Su Alteza que era vyvo.

dyxome cuando le dyxe que no estava buena esta vylla que se yrya a Valladolyd y que yo yzyese llamar algunos grandes. yo dixe que estando su Alteza en ella . . . . yto . . . estava y en tal dyspusycion que no era vyen yr a Valladol . . . . . ques lugar donde tantas gentes concurren que su Alteza podrya yr a otro lugar menor. dixome que ella yrya donde quisyese. yo dixe a su Alteza que yrya donde convynyese a su servycyo y en esto paro.

agora de pocos dyas aca anda muy recatada con la Señora ynfante que cada rato la llama, y preguntandole porque lo azya, dyxo por que e myedo quel Rey my Señor me la a de tomar como yzo all ynfante y por buena fe que sy tal fuese que me echase por una ventana avaxo o me matase con un cochyllo. dixele cuando su Alteza la tomare sera para ca . . . . . lla como lo yzo a las . . . . . V. Alteza que los yjos no an . . . . . syenpre con sus padres . . . . . cho menos los de los g . . . . . principes dyxome que no cura . . . . . dalle consejo que no querya syno a

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(Translation.)

thanks to our Lord. She answered, "Is it so, is the Emperor alive? for I believed that he was dead." I assured her that he was alive.

When I told her that the health of this town was not good, she said that she would go to Valladolid, and that I should ask some grandees to come. I replied that as her Highness was staying in . . . . (1) stood, and in such a disposition it would not be good to go to Valladolid . . . ., (2) which is a place where there is a great concourse of people, and that her Highness could go to another smaller place. She said she would go where she liked. I said to her Highness she would go where it was convenient for her service. She remained silent.

For the last few days she has always been anxious about the Señora Infanta, constantly calling for her. I asked her why she did so, and she answered, "Because I am afraid that "the King my lord will take her from me as he has taken "the Infante, but upon my word, if that should be the case, "I would throw myself out of the window, or kill myself "with a knife." I said if his Highness should take her away it would be to marry her, as he did with . . . . (3) your Highness, and children have no . . . . always with their parents . . . . less those of g[reat] princes. She said that she did not care for advice, but only for her little girl.

(1) Paper gone. (2) Paper gone. (3) Paper gon

1519 (?)

su nyña. V. Mt. me mande avysar lo que le parece desto y lo que mas devo de dezyr y azer a este proposyto y estas suplico a V. Mt. mande ronper.

Su Alteza tuvo a x. dias una gran calentura y fryo y quiso llamar al dotor fysico y como se le quito no le llamo. rygyose seys o syete dyas muy vyen en el comer y vever y estarse lo mas en la cama.

[Esta carta no tiene sobrescripto ni nota en la carpeta.]

1520 (?)
May (?)

49. The MARQUIS OF DENIA to the EMPEROR CHARLES.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Estado. Castilla. Legajo 5. f. 287. Holograph. No date.*]

A su Magestad.

la Reyna nuestra Señora me a preguntado por Su Mt. y que donde va y esta. yo dixe que estava en galyzya que se yba a flandes y Alemaña a lo dell ynperyo. preguntome sy yban grandes de Castylla con Su Magt. dixe que sy que yban los mas. dyxome que sy avya en esta comarca algunos en sus casas. dyxele que no que todos estavan con Su Magt. dyxome que no se hallava vyen en esta vylla que se querya yr daqui. dyxele que no allandose Su Alteza vyen quera razon de no

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(TRANSLATION.)

[I beg] your Highness to inform me what you think on this subject, and what I am to say and do in future with respect to it. I implore your Majesty to destroy these letters.

Her Highness had during ten days strong fever and shiverings from cold. She wished to have a physician, but as the [fever] subsided, I did not call [a physician]. She was very careful in eating and drinking for six or seven days, and remained almost all that time in bed.

[Neither addressed nor endorsed.]

49.

To his Majesty.

The Queen our lady has asked about your Majesty, where you are going and where you are. I said you were in Galicia, on your way to Flanders and Germany [to occupy yourself] with the affairs of the empire. She asked me, "Are grandees of Castile going with his Majesty?" I replied, "Yes, most of them go." She asked whether some of them had remained in their houses in this province. I said, "No; all accompany his Majesty." She said she was not well in this town, and wished to leave it. I said, "If your Highness is not well, you shall not remain here." She said that

1520 (?)

estar aqui. dixomé que en Valladolyd estuvo cuando vyno de flandes en vyda del Rey Su Señor y que se allava vyen. yo le dyxe que Valladolyd no era lugar donde su Alteza avya de estar asy porque es muy mal sano como por su avyto. dyxome cada dya me duelen aquy las muelas y no lo puedo sofryr. yo dyxe a Su Alteza que a todos nos dolian y que esto mas lo azya el tienpo quel lugar. en fyn me apreto tanto que le dyxe que pues su padre la avya traydo aqui que no era razon que se mudase asta que Su Alteza vyniese o selescryvyese. dyxome que yo lo escryvyese a Su Alteza luego con pa. (1) de recado y en esto quedo. despues me a llamado dos vezes y me a preguntado quando verna la respuesta.

en Valladolyd y Medyna y en otras partes se a dicho que la Reyna nuestra señora esta presa y que serya vyan (2) procurar que la llevasen a Valladolyd o a otro lugar grande, y esto ny lo dycen por que lo crehen asy ny por que desean su servycyo. parecyome quera cosa que Su Magt. deve saver para que se myre en esto porque sy en el Reyno ubyese alguna novedad no serya maravylla que por dar color a su culpa quisyesen asyr desto como se yzo en tiempos pasados, y pues yo con ell ayuda de Nuestro Señor tengo de azer lo

(1) debe ser *prisa*. (2) sic, debia ser *vyen*.

(Translation.)

when, during the lifetime of the King her lord, (1) she was staying in Valladolid, she was well. I said that Valladolid was not a place where her Highness could conveniently stay, on account of its bad sanitary condition as well as of her dress. She tells me every day that she suffers here so much from toothache that she cannot bear it. I said to her Highness that we all suffered, but that that was the fault of the weather and not of the place. She insisted so much that I said at last that, as her father had sent her to this place, no change could be made until he should come in person, or a letter were written to him. She told me to write directly [and send the letter] with great care and speed. There we stopped. She, however, afterwards called me twice into her presence, and asked when the answer will come.

In Valladolid, Medina, and other places it has been said that the Queen our lady is kept a prisoner, and that it would be good to bring her to Valladolid or to some other large town. They do not say it because they believe it, nor because they desire her good. I think your Highness ought to know this, and to consider the subject; for if there should be some disturbances in this kingdom, it would be no wonder if, in order to give a pretext for their offence, they should avail themselves of this, as has been the case in times past. As, with the help of God, I have to settle this business which has been

(1) Philip.

1520 (?)

que devo pues esto se a confyado de my, razon es que claro se me dyga lo que tengo de azer y se me dexe fyrmado porque demas de cunplir aquello yo are en lo que mas me parecyere lo que convenga a servycyo de Su Magestad.

tanbyen pyde dyneros y dyzeme que syempre ge los davan y que no save porque se a de hazer menos estando yo aqui y dyxome tantas lastymas que me yzo pyadad (3) y por otra parte enbravecyase. yo soy de parecer que no le den dyneros y sy por dalle algun contentamyento se le dyeren sean pocos. y que aquy y en toda parte se sepa quel servycio se a de azer a Su Alteza y las mercedes sean de recebyr de Su Magt. a quien suplico mande provello todo de manera que yo sepa lo que tengo de azer. [Rubrica.]

1520 (?)
May (?)

50. The MARQUIS OF DENIA to the EMPEROR CHARLES.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Estado. Castilla. Legajo* 5. *folio* 288. *Holograph.*]

Cesarea sacra catolica Magestad,

despues daver escryto esta carta me llamo la Reyna nuestra Señora y me dyxo que estava muy quexosa de my porque le negava la muerte del Rey su Señor que le dixese sy era vyvo porque le convenya savello. yo le respondy que

(1) Sic.

(TRANSLATION.)

confided to me, it is only reasonable that I should be clearly told what I have to do, and an order be given to me signed [by your Majesty]. I should in such a case not only execute it, but besides do all that your service requires.

Moreover, she asks money, and says that it was always given to her, and that she does not know why it is not done whilst I am here. She complained so much that I felt pity for her, and at other times she was furious. I am of opinion that no money should be given to her, or if in order to satisfy her it be given, that it be little. Every one must know here that he has to serve her Highness, but that the rewards are to be received from your Majesty, whom I beseech to give such orders that I may know what I am to do.

[Sign manual of the Marquis.]

50.

Imperial, sacred, and catholic Majesty,

After having written this letter, the Queen our Lady called me into her presence, and said that she complained much of me because I denied the death of the King, her Lord (1), and I ought to tell her whether he was alive, because it was very important to her to know. I answered that I had

(1) King Ferdinand the Catholic.

1520 (?)

yo le avya dycho la verdad y que asy ge la dyrya syenpre y sy otra cosa fuera que Vña Magt. ge lo dyxera. Respondyome eso es bueno, como vos los traxistes aquy asy les dyryades lo que dixesen. sobresto ubo grandes platicas y al cabo dixo sy se yva Vña Magt. a flandes que aunque la tyerra es buena estuviera vyen aca y que mejor avia de traer all ynfante. preguntome por madama leonor. yo le dixe que quedava en burgos.

preguntome que grandes yban deste reyno con Vña Magt. dixele que todos los que tenyan salud para yr yvan. preguntome sy avyan venydo aqui que como no la avyan vysto. yo le dyxe que no avyan venydo que eran ydos a sus casas adereçarse. dixome pues como an de yr syn venyr aquy prymero. yo le dyxe que creya que no. tornome a dezir como a tanto que no vyenen aqui no me maravillo que se vayan syn my licencia, querriales escrevyr rogandoles que vengan porque me cunple para algunas cosas ablalles. yo dixe a Su Alteza que se le acordase que pues no escryve al Rey su padre ni a V. Magt. que no es razon que escryba a nadie. dyxome que era verdad pero que le convenya y que me rogava que yo les escrivyese. yo dixe que lo harya. pyenso de

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(Translation.)

told and would always tell her the truth. If it were otherwise, I said, your Majesty would tell her so. She said "It "is good. As you have brought them (1) hither, so you "instruct them what to tell me." On this subject we had great altercation. At last she asked whether your Majesty would go to Flanders, [and said] that although it is a good country, you had nevertheless better stay here, and that the Infante ought also to come. She asked the news of Madame Leonor, and I said that she remained in Burgos.

She asked me which of the grandees of this kingdom would go with your Majesty. I said that all of them who had sufficient health would go. She asked whether they had come hither, and why they had not seen her? I said they had not come here, but were gone to their houses to make preparations. She said, How? they are to go without first coming hither! I said, I thought they would not [come hither]. She replied, "As it is so long a time since "they have come here, I do not wonder that they go "without my licence. I should like to write to them, "asking them to come, because I want to speak with them "on several subjects." I said to her Highness she should not forget that as she does not write to her father nor to your Majesty she ought not to write to any one. She said that was true, but as she wanted it she begged me to write to them. I said I would. It is my intention, if she after-

(1) The servants of the palace.

1520 (?)

dezyr a su Alteza que les e scrito sy otra vez me lo pregunta y que me respondyeron que vernyan sy pudiesen. en estas platycas me a traydo dos dyas e en todo se ara con ayuda de Nuestro Señor lo que sea servicio de Vĩa Magt.

1520. 23rd August.

51. ATTESTATION of the CONVERSATION of the LIEUTENANT CORREGIDOR of Tordesillas, BERNARDINO DE CASTRO, with QUEEN JUANA.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Pat. Real. Comunidades de Castilla. Legajo No.* 1. *f.* 135. *Original.*]

Las cartas e testimonio que se embiaron de Tordesillas.

Yo alonso Martin de Balboa escrivano de sus Magestades y del numero de la villa de tordesillas por el notario de Santa Clara de la dicha villa por la presente doy fee que en veynte e tres dias del mes de agosto de mill e quinientos e veynte años estando en el palacio Real de la dicha villa ante la muy alta e muy poderosa la Reyna doña juana nuestra Señora y estando ay presentes el marques de denia e fray juan de avila confesor de Su Alteza y el licenciado bernaldino de castro teniente de corregidor de la dicha villa e fernando de vega e sancho vazquez de cepeda e Ramon de vega e antonio de vega regidores e bartolome de çamora procurador general de la dicha villa e otras muchas personas de la

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(TRANSLATION.)

wards asks, to tell her that I have written, and that they have answered that they would come if they could. These conversations have lasted two days. With the help of God that which your service requires shall be done in every respect.

51. The letters and the testimony which were sent from Tordesillas.

I, Alonzo Martin de Balboa, *escrivano* of their Majesties, and *del numero* of the town of Tordesillas, certify by the present instrument, in the name of the notary of Santa Clara in the same town, that on the 23rd day of the month of August of the year one thousand five hundred and twenty, I was in the royal palace of the said town, in presence of the very high and very mighty Queen Doña Juana, our lady; whilst there were present the Marquis of Denia, Fray Juan de Avila, confessor to her Highness, the Licentiate Bernaldino de Castro, lieutenant corregidor of the said town, Fernando de Vega, Sancho Vasquez de Cepeda, Ramon de Vega, and Antonio de Vega, *regidores*, and Bartolome de Zamora, procurator-

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dicha villa e corte de Su Alteza. el dicho bernaldino de castro teniente de corregidor por acuerdo del Regimiento e comunidad de la dicha villa dixo a Su Alteza muchas cosas acaescidas en sus Reynos despues quel el Rey Catolico murio a las quales Su Alteza Respondio e dyjo que le llamasen al obispo de malaga su capellan mayor e a los licenciados polanco e çapata e aguirre que queria hablar e platicar con ellos, e que ella proveeria en ello. fuele pedida una cedula e que la firmase para llamar a los sobredichos e Su Alteza no la quiso firmar e dyxo e mando a ochoa de olanda que los fuese a llamar. e el dicho teniente pidiolo por testimonio de lo qual fueron testigos alonso seco e pero escudero e otros muchos bezinos de la dicha villa. e yo el escrivano alonso Martin de Balboa escrivano e notario publico sobre dicho fuy presente a esto que dicho es en uno con los dichos testigos e lo fize escrevir e por ende fize aqui este mio signo que es a tal en testimonio de verdad. Alonso Martin de balboa.

(TRANSLATION.)

general of the said town, together with a great number of other persons of the said town and court of her Highness. The said Bernaldino de Castro, lieutenant corregidor, told her Highness, in the name of the town council and the commonalty of the said town, many things which had occurred in her kingdoms after the death of the Catholic King. Her Highness answered and said that they should send for the Bishop of Malaga, her first chaplain, and for the Licentiates Polanco, Zapata, and Aguirre, with whom she would speak and consult, and that she would then give her orders. She was asked to give a written and signed order, to send for the above-mentioned persons; but her Highness refused, and spoke to Ochoa de Olanda, and commanded that he should go and fetch them. The said lieutenant asked an attestation. The witnesses of it were Alonzo Seco and Pero Escudero, and a great many other inhabitants of the said town. And I, the said *escrivano*, Alonzo Martin de Balboa, *escrivano* and public notary, was present at this act, together with the said witnesses. I ordered this to be drawn up, and affixed my sign manual to it in testimony of the truth. Alonzo Martin de Balboa.

1520.
31st August. **52.** The TOWN of VALLADOLID to the CAPTAINS of the ARMY of the COMMONS.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Patronato Real. Comunidades de Castilla. Legajo* 1. *f.* 45. *Original.*]

Muy magnificos Señores,

Rescibimos la carta de V. S. m̃des y vimos el testimonio de lo que con la Reyna nuestra Señora pasaron y de todo ello hemos avido y avemos mucha alegria y a ṽs mr̃des tenemos en mr̃d la cuenta que desto les ha plazido darnos. y si alguna negligencia vbo en no responder tan ayna a la carta que ṽs mr̃des nos enbiaron quando partyan de la villa de medina no pensamos que fue tanta ni de tantos dias como ṽs mr̃des por su carta dizen, porque nosotros respondimos a la carta primera que ṽs mr̃des nos enbiaron y a la carta segunda. y en la̅ primera respondimos al proposito de lo que ṽs mr̃ds por ella nos escrivieron cerca de la yda a tordesillas y somos maravillados non aver ydo a mano de ṽs mr̃des nuestra carta. y conforme a lo que en ella escrivimos a ṽs mr̃ds vos respondimos y escrevimos a los muy magnificos Señores procuradores de la junta general de la cibdad de avila que lo mismo nos escrevieron que ṽs mr̃des, y fue en efecto nuestra respuesta a la una parte y a la otra que hera muy buen consejo y bien acordado yr a la villa de tordesillas adonde por el consejo e regimiento e comunidad

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(TRANSLATION.)

52.

Very magnificent Señores,

We have received the letter of your Lordships, and seen the testimony of what you have negotiated with the Queen our lady. We have been and still are much rejoicing at all this, and thank your Lordships for the account you have been pleased to give us. If there really was negligence on our side in not sending a speedy answer to the letter which your Lordships wrote us when you were leaving the town of Medina, we do not think that our negligence was so great, or continued so many days, as you state in your letter; for we have answered the first letter of your Lordships, and also the second. In our first letter we gave our answer to what your Lordships had written about your march to Tordesillas, and we are astonished that our letter has not come to your Lordships' hands. The same things which we wrote in it to your Lordships we wrote and answered also to their magnificent Lordships the Procurators of the General Junta in the city of Avila, who had written to us the same as your Lordships; and our answer to the one party as well as to the other was, that it was a very good and well conceived plan to go to the town of Tordesillas,—whither your Lordships were invited

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de la dicha villa ṽs mr̃ds heran llamados, e que no se haziendo mudança de la Reyna nuestra Señora syn su voluntad e mandado de aquella villa adonde esta que se proveyese en tal manera en la guarda e libertad de Su Alteza que no podiesen tiranos algunos apoderar de su casa e persona Real e que pudiesen haser estorbo o ynpedimento alguno a nuestro buen proposito e de ṽs mr̃des e bien universal del Reyno. y esta fue e es nuestra voluntad que se haga e asy pedimos por mr̃d a ṽs mr̃des que se haga e cunpla, e de aver yntervenido en esto la voluntad y mandado de Su Alteza como por el testimonio que ṽs mr̃des nos enbiaron paresce y de aver mas claramente hablado y respondido con tanto saber y prudencia que lo ha hecho despues que alli esta, damos muchas gracias a nuestro Señor que bien paresce ser esto obra de sus manos. plega a nuestro Señor de nos encaminar a todos como hagamos lo que fuere su servicio y bien universal destos Reynos e que aquello quiera e permita que se lleve adelante pues que la intencion de todos los que en esto entendemos es tan justa, parecenos asimismo que la forma e horden que se deve de thener en la guarda de la persona e casa Real de Su Alteza se deve asimismo comunicar con los Señores procuradores de la junta general e que a voluntad e consentimiento del concejo justicia e Regidorese comunidad

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(Translation.)

to go by the town council and the commonalty,—and, without causing the Queen our lady to change the town except at her order and command, to provide in such a manner for the security and liberty of her Highness that no tyrants whosoever could possess themselves of her house and royal person, preventing and impeding thereby our good intentions and those of your Lordships, to the great prejudice of the common weal of the kingdom. That was and is our will, and so be it done. Thus we ask your Lordships that it may be done and accomplished; and as the will and command of her Highness has been declared in this matter, as it appears from the testimony which your Lordships have sent us, and as she afterwards has spoken more clearly, and answered with so much wisdom and prudence as she has done, we give many thanks for it to our Lord, because it is evidently the work of His hand. May it please God to direct us, so that we may do what is for His service, and leads to the common weal of these kingdoms, and may He will and permit that it be accomplished. For as the intention of us all who are interesting ourselves in this affair is so upright, it seems to us that the form and manner which we ought to observe in watching the person and royal household of her Highness must be concerted with the señores Procurators of the General Junta, and arranged and executed in accordance with the will and with the consent of the council,

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desa villa se haga e ponga. y pues que ya a nuestro Señor ha plazido que contra el exercito de ṽs mr̃des no aya lança ynhiesta ni cosa que resestirles pueda ni a la junta de las cibdades destos Reynos, que no se devia ni deve entender en cosa de hecho hasta que por la dicha junta general sea determinado adonde nuestros procuradores y los de las otras cibdades que hasta aqui no los avian enbiado se hallaran, no dexando de favorecer e ayudar a la lastymada villa de medina del canpo en todo lo que pediere e justo fuere para lo qual asymismo enbiamos nuestra gente e capitanes. Nuestro Señor acresciente la vida y estado de ṽs mr̃ds. de valladolid xxxj. de agosto de dxx.

Nos juan de prado y fernando de granada escrivanos de sus Altezas e del numero desta dicha villa la fesimos escrevir por mandado del illustre Señor capitan general y de los deputados de la comunidad della. juan de prado. fernando de granada.

[*Sobre:*] A los muy mag^cos S̃res los S̃res capitanes del exercito de las comunidades destos Reynos.

(Translation.)

magistracy, regidores, and commonalty of that town. And as it has pleased our Lord that against your army no lance is levied, or any other thing that could resist you or the Junta of the cities of these kingdoms, nothing ought to be done until it is determined by the said General Junta where our Procurators and those of the other cities should assemble, not neglecting, however, to assist the unfortunate town of Medina del Campo in all that is right and possible; and for that purpose we also send our army and our captains. Our Lord give you long and prosperous lives.

From Valladolid, 31st of August '520.

We, Juan de Prado and Fernando de Granada, *escrivanos* of their Highnesses and *del numero* of this town, ordered this instrument to be drawn up at the command of the illustrious Captain General and the deputies of the commonalty. —Juan de Prado. Fernando de Granada.

[*Addressed:*] To the very magnificent Lords, the captains of the army of the Commons in these kingdoms.

1520.
31st August. **53.** The CARDINAL OF TORTOSA to the EMPEROR CHARLES.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Patronato Real. Comunidades de Castilla. Legajo* 1. *folio* 193. *Autograph.*]

A su Magt. del Cardinal de Tortosa. de postrero de Agosto.

S. Cesa. R. C. Mt.

A xxviij del presente recebi la carta de V. Al. de veynte del mesmo a la qual respondere y dire particularmente por esta lo que conviene, y quanto a los negocios deste Reyno parece que van a total perdicion si Dios especialmente no pone la mano en el remedio y assiento dellos, y no hay ninguna ciudat que se pueda reduzir a obediencia sin que se le de remission de todo lo passado. las ciudades rebelles tienen grand armada en el campo y valladolit les ha embiado mil infantes para en ayuda y socorro no enbargante que se dize ser obediente. medina despues del miserable incendio y fuego ha entregado el artilleria de V. Mt. en poder de don joan de padilla y otros capitanes y a xxiiij deste ha entrado en tordesyllas. dizese que llevaran la Reyna nuestra Señora al lugar donde ellos quisieren. los de tordesillas rehusaron de recebir el armada de V. Mt. y ahora dexan entrar los de toledo. han solicitado muchas vezes con la Reyna a que proviese en estos alborotos y escandalos. Su Alteza les ha respondido prudentemente en algo ahunque

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(TRANSLATION.)

53. To His Majesty. From the Cardinal of Tortosa. (1) Last day of August.

Sacred, Imperial, Royal, and Catholic Majesty,

On the 28th of the present month I received the letter of your Highness, dated the 20th of the same month, and in answer to it I shall state minutely in this letter what is suitable. As for the affairs of this kingdom, it seems that they are on the way to utter ruin, if the hand of God does not interfere to remedy and arrange all. There is not a single town that could be reduced to obedience without a full pardon for all that has been done. The revolted cities have a great army in the field, and Valladolid, although she calls herself loyal, has sent one thousand foot in aid and succour of them. Medina, after the lamentable fire and burning, has delivered the artillery of your Majesty to Juan de Padilla and other captains, who entered Tordesillas on the 24th of this month. It is said they will carry off the Queen our Lady to some place of their choosing. The inhabitants of Tordesillas refused to admit your Majesty's troops, and now they let those of Toledo enter. They have during these tumults and disorders often asked the Queen to give orders. Her Highness has answered with prudence in some respects, although she added

(1) Cardinal Adrian, afterwards Pope Adrian VI.

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ha mezclado en ello algunas cosas por las quales facilmente se comprendia que Su Alteza no sta cumplidamente en si, mas el pueblo desto toma lo que haze a su caso y paral efecto de sus intenciones y en lo contrario no quiere tener consideracion ni respecto alguno. dizese que el marques de denia esta mal quisto de todos los criados de Su Alteza. hizome saber a los veynte y nueve deste questa casi preso y de tal manera que le han mandado que no salga de la fortaleza. y que ahunque hayan trebaiado por muchas vias a induzir a Su Alteza que firmase, jamas lo an pudido acabar con ella ni se crehe que lo acabaran. dizese que los procuradores que se han juntado en avila con auctoridat de la Reyna quieren hazer gobernador o governadores y detener y arrestar todo el dinero y hazer otras semeiantes cosas. casi todas las ciudades y ahun burgos valladolit y gaudalajara quieren enbiar sus procuradores ad aquel aiuntamiento a lo qual cierto no hallo ni tengo medio para lo estorvar si Vña Magestad no permite y me da facultad para poder perdonar a todos o ad algunos segun que meior vieremos convenir todo lo passado como dicho es. cada dia parece que mas se encienden los coraçones y voluntades de los pueblos contra todos por cuios medios les parece haver sydo tentado y procurado que se sacassen dineros destos Reynos para V. Md. ningunos procuradores de los que han consentido y otorgado el servicio

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(Translation.)

some things, from which it is easy to understand that her Highness is not perfectly in her right mind. The people, however, accept only what suits them and serves their purposes, and do not like to consider or take into account any thing that is contrary. It is said that the Marquis of Denia is disliked by all the servants of her Highness. He let me know on the 29th of this month that he was almost a prisoner, and had been ordered not to leave the fortress. Although they have endeavoured in various ways to induce her Highness to sign, they could never prevail upon her, nor is it believed that they will succeed. It is said that the Procurators who have assembled in Avila wish, by the authority of the Queen, to nominate a governor or governors, and detain and seize all the money, and to do other similar things. Almost all the cities, and even Burgos, Valladolid, and Guadalaxara, are ready to send Procurators to that assembly, and certainly I do not see how, nor have I means, to prevent them if your Majesty does not permit and give me power to pardon all or some, according as might seem best to us, for all that has been done, as I have stated. Every day the passions and the ill will of the towns become fiercer against all who are supposed to have been instrumental in attempting to carry out or in carrying out of these kingdoms sums of money for your Majesty. None of the Procurators who have

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ahunque remitido se tienen por seguros ni los Regidores que les han dado facultad de consentir a ello. a muchos del conseio y otros oficiales amenazan. el presidente Çapata Vargas don Alonso de Castilla Vozmediano y su hermano Xuarez y ahun el comendador mayor de Castilla y otros muchos sus (1) huydos para librarse de tanto peligro. si todos se van en fin seguirles he. mas no sabemos en que lugar de Castilla podriamos estar seguros. yo he dicho que soy contento de immolar y padecer por ellos y estar firme aqui fasta que todos los que temen sean ydos, que juntos no nos dexarian yr y si me fuera yo primero sin duda detuvieran a los otros que quedaran. a todos los grandes y mas sabios del reyno y a mi parece que es menester usar de clemencia y perdonar lo que en otro tiempo no se habria de remitir porque de las rebelliones no se sigan ni hagan cosas peores de las fechas y que despues no aya remedio sino con grande armada por via de guerra de la qual es siempre incierta la salida. Suplico a V. Mt. que con toda celeridat me mande responder a esto. yo quanto pudiere me esforçare de usar con toda limitacion de la potestad que V. Al. me diere sobre esto.

No se a quien se ha escrito que los españoles y mayormente el duque dalva no son bien tratados por V. Mt. lo que cierto

(1) son.

(Translation.)

consented to and voted for the grant, although it is remitted, feel themselves secure, nor the *regidores* who have authorized them to consent. They threaten many of the members of the Council and other officers. The President, Zapata, Vargas, Don Alonzo de Castilla, Vozmediano, and his brother, Suarez, and even the Comendador Mayor of Castile, and many others, have fled, in order to escape such danger. If all go, I must at last follow them; but we do not know where we can stay with security in Castile. I have said that I would and made up my mind to suffer for them, remaining here until all who are afraid are gone. They do not permit us to go together, and if I went first they would certainly detain the others who were left behind. All the grandees, all the wisest men of the kingdom, and I are of opinion that it is necessary to use clemency, and pardon that which in other times could not be forgiven. Otherwise worse things than have already been committed might be the consequence of their rebellion, and no other resource might be left than a great army and war, the success of which is always doubtful. I beseech your Majesty to order that an answer be given to me immediately. I will do my best to use the power which your Majesty may give me with the utmost limitation possible.

I do not know to whom it has been written that the Spaniards, and especially the Duke of Alba, has not been well

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commueve los animos de muchos a mal y dizen que V. Mt. no se cura destos Reynos pues no manda proveher con tienpo a lo necessario. si se sometieren a otro Rey sera muy dificil e ynposible cobrar estos Reynos. enculpanme porque de mucho tiempo aqua no he embiado a vuestra Alteza algun cavallero para le hazer relacion de palabra de todo lo que ha passado y del estado en que estan estos Reynos y no crehen que se lehen a V. Alt. las cartas que cerca dello se le escriven ahunque yo se y digo y les afirmo que si.

. . . . . (1)

1st September. **54.** ATTESTATION of what passed between QUEEN JUANA and the COMMISSIONERS of the JUNTA of the COMMONS.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Pat. Real. Comunidades de Castilla. Legajo* 6. *Cuaderno* 3. *Documento* 15.]

De la autoridad que su Alteza dio a la junta sobre lo que Juan de Padilla le dixo.

Notorio y manifiesto sea a todos los que la presente vieren como en la villa de Tordesyllas sabado primero dia del mes de Setienbre año del nascimiento de nuestro Salvador Xp̃to de mill e quinientos y veynte años estando la muy alta y

(1) Aqui falta el trozo donde debian estar la fecha y firma.

(TRANSLATION.)

treated by your Majesty, whereby, assuredly, the minds of many are inclined towards evil. They say that your Majesty does not care for these kingdoms, and therefore does not provide in time for what is necessary. If they should once obey another king, it would be very difficult and even impossible to regain these kingdoms. They reproach me for not sending a long time ago some gentleman to your Highness in order to give information by word of mouth of all that has occurred, and of the state in which the kingdom is placed; for they do not believe that the letters which are written to your Highness are read to you, although I know, and say, and affirm that they are. . . . . .

[That portion of paper which contained the date and signature is lost.]

54. The Commission which her Highness has given to the Junta, in consequence of what Juan de Padilla told her.

Be it known and manifest to all who should see this present instrument. In the town of Tordesillas, on Saturday, the first day of September of the year of the birth of our Saviour Christ one thousand five hundred and twenty, the very high

1520.

muy poderosa Reyna doña juana nuestra Señora y junto con ella la Illma. infante doña Catalina en un corredor de sus palacios rreales de la dicha villa y estando delante de Su Alteza las rodillas en el suelo juan de padilla capitan general del exercito de la muy noble y muy leal cibdad de toledo y juan bravo capitan general del exercito de la muy noble y muy leal cibdad de Segovia y juan çapata capitan general del exercito de la noble villa de Madrid y el comendador luys de quintanilla capitan de la noble villa de Medina del canpo y del artylleria y en presencia de nos alonzo Rodrigues de palma escrivano de sus majestades y su notario publico en la su corte y en todos los sus rreynos y señorios y escrivano publico del numero de la dicha villa de tordesyllas por el monesterio de Santa Clara la Real de la dicha villa e el bachiller christobal de camañas protonotario apostolico e notario apostalico e ynperial y de los testigos de yuso escriptos y estando presente vyceynte de Villalva acipreste de bouilla de la Sierra ansy mismo las rodillas en el suelo hablando a Su Mt. cerca de lo concerniente a la pacificacion de sus Reynos y a la junta que los procuradores de las cibdades y villas destos Reynos que tienen voz y voto en cortes an fecho y hasen en la cuidad de avila entre otras muchas rasones quel dicho acipreste dixo a Su Mt. le dixo que

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(Translation.)

and very mighty Queen Doña Juana our Lady, accompanied by the most illustrious Infanta Doña Catalina, was standing in a corridor of the royal palace of the said town, and before her Highness, kneeling on the floor, Juan de Padilla, captain general of the army of the very noble and loyal city of Toledo, and Juan Bravo, captain general of the army of the very noble and loyal city of Segovia, and Juan Zapata, captain general of the army of the very noble town of Madrid, and the knight commander Quintanilla, captain of the noble town of Medina del Campo and of the artillery. In presence of us, Alonso Rodrigues de Palma, *escrivano* of their Majesties and public notary at this court, as well as in all their kingdoms and dominions, public *escrivano del numero* of the said town of Tordesillas, for the convent of Santa Clara la Real of the said town; and the Bachelor Christobal de Camañas, apostolic and imperial prothonotary, and the undersigned witnesses. Vicente de Villalba, archpriest of Bovilla of the Sierra, also present, and also kneeling on the floor, spoke to her Majesty of the means of pacifying her kingdom, and of the Junta which the Procurators of the cities and towns of these kingdoms having voice and vote in the Cortes have formed and form in the city of Avila. The said archpriest said amongst other things to her Majesty, that he entreated her Highness to show favour

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suplicava a Su Alteza que diese favor e abtoridad a la dicha junta y a lo que en ella se hysiesse para que mejor se hisyesen las cosas destos Reynos a servicio de dios y de su Alteza. a lo qual Su Altesa respondio y dixo que la dicha junta hera buena y se dava por servida della y vengan aqui que yo huelgo dello y de comunycar con ellos lo que conviene a mis Reynos y de lo bueno me placera y de lo malo me pesara y espero en dios que lo hara todo bien. y mas dixo su Alteza que mandava al dicho acipreste que pues el avia venido de parte de los dichos procuradores de la junta quel fuese a ellos a los llamar y a dezirles su voluntad. y luego el licenciado berdardino de Castro justicia en la dicha villa por Su Alteza que ansimismo estaba presente yncado de rodillas pregunto a Su Mt. sy era servida que todavia viniesen los de la junta a esta villa. a lo qual Su Alteza respondio, si, vengan. e yo el dicho Alonso Rodrigues de palma ansimismo se lo pregunte a Su Alteza y Su Mt. dixo, si, lo qual todo como dicho es nos los dichos escrivanos vimos e oymos pasar segund que de suso se contiene y fueron testigos los dichos juan de padilla y juan bravo y juan Çapata y luys de quintanilla capitanes y el dicho licenciado bernardino de Castro justicia en dicha villa. e nos los dichos Christoval de Camañas e Alonso Rodrigues de

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(Translation.)

and give authority to the said Junta and what was enacted by it, in order that the affairs of these kingdoms may be better administered for the service of God and her Highness. Her Highness answered and said that the said Junta was good, and she considered that she was well served by it,—"they "may come here, and I shall be glad to concert with "them what is serviceable for my kingdoms. I shall be "pleased with what is good, and sorry for what is bad, and I "hope in God that He will do all well." Her Highness said, moreover, that she commanded the said archpriest, as he had come in the name of the said Procurators of the Junta, to return to them and to tell them to come, and to inform them of her will. The licentiate Bernardino de Castro, *justicia* in the said town by appointment of her Highness, who was also present, kneeled down, and asked her Majesty whether she still was willing that the members of the said Junta should come to this town; to which her Highness replied, "They may come." And I, the said Alonso Rodrigues de Palma, asked her Highness the same question, and she said "Yes." All this have we the said *escrivanos* seen and heard as it occurred, according to what is stated above. Witnesses were the said Juan de Padilla, Juan Bravo, Juan Zapata, and Luis Quintanilla, captains, and the licentiate Bernardino de Castro, *justicia* of the said town. And we the said Christoval de Camañas and Alonso Rodrigues de Palma, the above-men-

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palma escrivanos e notarios publicos susodichos presentes fuimos a todo lo que dicho es en uno con los dichos testigos e los vimos asy pasar e dezir a Su Alteza segund de suso se contiene e por ende fezimos aqui nuestros syñes que son a tales en testimonio de verdad. el bachiller Camañas prothonatorio apostolico. [Signo y rubrica.] Alonso Rodrigues de palma. [Signo y rubrica.]

4th September. **55.** The CARDINAL OF TORTOSA to the EMPEROR CHARLES.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Patronato Real. Comunidades de Castilla. Legajo* 2. *f.* 154. *Autograph.*]

A su magt. del Cardenal. de iiij de Setiembre 1520.

S. Cesea C. R. Mat.

despues de haver escrito ahora postreramente a V. Mt. con Rodrigo Niño para que le informe de todo lo destos rreynos particularmente han venido las cosas a tal estado que piensan hazer sacrificio en proseguir a los que se han ofrecido en servir a V. Mt en buscar dinero. queman casas, roban y quando toman algunos no estan seguros de la vida. la ciudad de Jahen tambien se ha alçado y ha quitado la justicia y fecho lo mesmo que las otras rebelles. lo que peor es que ponen en todo la auctoridat de la Reyna nuestra Señora como de

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(TRANSLATION.)

tioned *escrivanos* and public notaries, were present at every thing that is stated, together with the witnesses, and have witnessed all that her Highness has done and said according to what is stated above. Therefore we affix to this instrument our signatures in testimony of the truth.

The Bachelor Camañas, Prothonotary Apostolic [signature and sign manual].

Alonso Rodrigues de Palma [signature and sign manual].

55. To his Majesty. From the Cardinal. 4th of September 1520.

Sacred, imperial, catholic, royal Majesty,

When I had now quite lately written to your Majesty by Rodrigo Niño, who was to inform you particularly of all the affairs of these kingdoms, things have come to such a pass that they(1) think to make a sacrifice, persecuting all those who have offered themselves to serve your Majesty in searching for money. They burn houses, commit robberies, and the lives of those whom they capture are not safe. The city of Jaen has also revolted, removed the magistracy, and done the same as the other rebels. The worst of all this is, that for everything they make use of the name of the Queen our lady, as of a person

(1) The Junta of the Commons.

1520.

persona que esta en cumplido seso y para governar, para que del todo desautorizen a Vra Alteza y no puedan ser llamados rebelles sino obedecieren sus rreales mandamientos. nuevamente este sabado passado primero del presente quando los capitanes, es a saber Joan de padilla por toledo, Juan bravo por Segovia, Luis quintanilla por medina y Joan Çapata por Madrid huvieron molestado e importunado a su Alteza con fiction que fonseca la queria llevar y mudarla en otro lugar mas fuerte y a la señora Infanta en otro apartado de su Alteza, le dixieron que ellos tambien vinieron a servirla y a prohibir y estorbar esto y otras cosas con motivo de servir. e finalmente estos capitanes quisieron saber de Su Alteza si mandava que la junta de las ciudades que tienen voto en cortes viniesse a tordesyllas. respondioles Su Alteza que si y que le plazia, sobre lo qual tomaron aucto por dos notarios y hanlo embiado a diversas ciudades para que vengan a tordesyllas, y segun esto ha se de creher que procuraran otros mandamientos es a saber para la revocacion de los del consejo y que la governacion no se permita a estrangero y que no se saque dinero y otras cosas que se les antojaren, lo qual fecho como se crehe que sera luego, desmandandose todo el Reyno de la obediencia de V. Al. obedecera los mandamientos de la

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(Translation.)

who is perfectly sane and able to govern, thus taking all authority from your Highness, in order that they may not be called rebels, but appear only to obey her royal commands. Quite recently, on Saturday last, first of this month, when the captains, that is to say, Juan de Padilla, for Toledo, Juan Bravo, for Segovia, Luis Quintanilla, for Medina, and Juan Zapata, for Madrid, had molested and teased her Highness with the fiction that Fonseca intended to carry her off, and bring her to another better fortified place, and to conduct the Señora Infanta to another [place], separate from her Highness, they told her that they had come to serve her, and to impede and prevent this (1), as well as many other things, in the interest of her service. And at last these captains wished to know from her Highness whether she ordered the Junta of the cities which have votes in the Cortes to come to Tordesillas. Her Highness answered them, Yes, and that it would please her. Two notaries drew up a public instrument, which they sent to different cities, inviting them to come to Tordesillas. It is to be supposed they will procure other mandates of a similar kind, that is to say, to dismiss the members of the Privy Council, and to order that no foreigner be permitted to be governor, that no money be exported, and other things which may occur to them. If that is done—and it is believed that it will soon be done—the whole kingdom will renounce obedience to

(1) The carrying off of the Queen and Infanta.

1520.

Reyna nuestra señora, que ya dizen que ella no puede hazer menos que V. Al. sino en lo del firmar de su mano, lo que no an acabado con Su Alteza, pues que Vña Magt todo lo que ha fecho y faze es por mano de otros consintiendo y firmando solamente lo que ellos han acordado, y que asimesmo lo podra hazer la Reyna.

casi todos los criados y servidores de la Reyna dizen que Su Alt. ha sido agraviada y detenida por fuerça quatorce años en aquel castillo como que no estuviera en si habiendo estado siempre en buen seso y tan prudente como lo fue en el principio de su matrimonio. dizese que por estos criados han sido yncitados y movidos otros a que pongan a Su Alteza en libertad y que con su auctoridat se provea la governacion. si la cosa passa assy luego sera el fin de mi cargo y no veo que podremos tener ciudat alguna en su rreal obediencia, y si con presteza V. Mt da facultad para remitir y perdonar todas cosas reservariamos una o dos ciudades para que pudiesemos estar seguros en alguna parte.

en el principio Vña Alteza no quiso dexar el dinero consignado, y ahora si estos mandamientos van adelante no podra haver ninguno. estoy gastando aqui lo poco que tengo y no puedo ser pagado de lo que se me deve del año passado ni de lo que enpreste a V. Mt en barcelona, ni menos de lo que esta

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(Translation.)

your Highness and obey the mandates of the Queen our lady. They already say that she cannot do less than your Highness, except that she does not sign with her own hand for that they have not obtained from her Highness, as all that your Majesty has done and is doing is through others, and you approve and sign only what they have decided upon. That, they say, the Queen can do also.

Almost all the officers and servants of the Queen say that her Highness has been oppressed and detained by force in that castle during fourteen years, as though she had not been sane, whilst she has been always sane and as prudent as she was when first she married. It is said that others have been instigated and persuaded by these servants to set her Highness at liberty, and to carry on the government by her authority. If that is done, my office will soon be at an end, and I do not see how we shall be able to secure the obedience of a single town. If your Majesty sends me immediately a power to pardon all that has been done, it may be that we could preserve one or two towns where we may stay in security.

At the beginning it was not enough for your Highness to have the money assigned to you, and now, if these orders are carried out, you will have nothing. I have spent here the little I had. What is due to me for the last year, what I lent to your Majesty in Barcelona, and what is assigned to

1520.

consignado durando el tienpo de la governacion, y pues aqui sera inutil y escusada mi presencia yrme he de presumpta licencia de V. Alteza. no he dexado ni dexo de procurar lo que me ha parecido convenir al servicio y auctoridat de V. Al. mas en esto viendo el estado destos rreynos facilmente se podra comprehender lo que se podra hazer en semeiante caso. los principales del consejo estan ausentes, el dinero falta que solamente no lo hay para pagar a los correos. pesame que lo que de antes dixe a Vña Alt. sobrel dinero que aya sido verdat que pues todo lo quiso ahora no havra V. Al. nada. quan presto ser pudiere conviene que Vña Al. mande embiar el poder para perdonar paral remedio desta incurable dolencia. que ahora no solamente se tracta del damno pecuniario, mas de toda perpetua confusion como que Vña Alteza se lo hubiese usurpado en nonbre de Rey y que siendo cuerda la Reyna la hubiesse detenido por fuerça como que no estuviera en si, segun dicho es como lo pretienden.

en este punto me ha venido hun criado del marques de Villena y dichome que el marques no me escrive a causa que las cartas se abren en el camino y que le mando que de palabra me dixiesse que el ayuntamiento de avila va adelante y que concorren en el todas las otras cuidades y que entienden de declarar que Vña Magt ha tomado contra todo derecho

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(Translation.)

me for the time that I am governor, cannot be paid. As my presence here will soon be superfluous, I shall have to go, anticipating the permission of your Highness. I have not neglected nor do I neglect to do what I think profitable for the service and authority of your Highness, but considering the state of affairs in these kingdoms, it is not difficult to see what may be done in such circumstances. The principal members of the council are absent, and the want of money is so great that there is not enough to pay a courier. I am sorry that what I formerly said to your Highness about the money has been confirmed. Because you wanted to have all, you have now nothing. It is necessary that your Highness send as quickly as possible a power to pardon. This is the only medicine for this incurable malady. It is no longer the question of suffering pecuniary losses, but of a total and everlasting downfall, as though your Highness had usurped the royal name and imprisoned the Queen, pretending that she was insane, whilst she is in her right mind, as, according to what I have said, is stated.

This moment a servant of the marquis of Villena has arrived, and told me that the Marquis does not write to me because his letters are opened on the road. He has ordered him to tell me by word of mouth that the assembly at Avila goes forward, that all the other cities join it, and that it is their intention to declare that your Majesty has usurped the

1520.

nonbre de Rey destos Reynos, y que quieren que se gobiernen conforme a las leyes de los dichos Reynos, es a saber por elecion de personas segun que pretienden lo disponen las leyes que se dizen partite. y porque no huvo comodidat de dezirlo a V. M^{t} lo significa a mi. lo que yo sospeche de mucho tiempo a esta parte parece que ahora salle a luz. mande V. M^{t} dar en ello todo el presto remedio que ser pudiere para que no çuframos ni padezcamos tanta confusion y con toda celeridat me mande por merced responder a esto y a todo lo demas. guarde nuestro Señor la vida y Rl. estado de V. Al. luengamente y con toda prosperidat. En Valladolid a iiij de Setiembre de 1520. Vře tres humble serviteur el Car^{l} Dertussen.

[*Sobre :*]—S. Ces^{ee}. R. C. M^{ti}.

4th September. **56.** THE CARDINAL OF TORTOSA to LOPE HURTADO DE MENDOZA.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Patronato Real. Comunidades de Castilla. Legajo* 2. *f.* 155. *Autograph.*]

A Lope Hurtado. del Cardenal. de iiij de Setienbre.

Noble señor y nuestro especial amigo despues de haveros escrito ahora postreramente como havreys visto se han

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(TRANSLATION.)

title of King of these kingdoms against all right. Furthermore, it is their will that they be governed in conformity with the laws of the kingdom, that is to say, by election of the persons (1), as according to what they pretend the laws called Partite (2) contain. As he had no opportunity to let your Majesty know this, he tells it me. What I suspected long ago now becomes manifest. Your Majesty ought to order with great haste that all this be remedied, so that we may not suffer from and be injured by so much confusion, and for mercy's sake do send me a most speedy answer to this and all other [letters].

May our Lord long guard the life and royal state of your Highness in all prosperity.

In Valladolid, 4th of September 1520.

Votre très humble serviteur, The Cardinal of Tortosa.

[*Addressed :*] Sacre, Cesaree, Regie et catholice Magestati.

56. To Lope Hurtado. From the Cardinal. 4th of September.

Noble lord and our special friend,

After having written to you some things occurred quite lately, which you probably know. It is therefore neces

(1) Sic. The officials seem to be meant.

(2) Partidas? The laws collected in the reign of Alfonso X.

1520.

ofrecido algunas cosas. es menester que de lo sigiuente hagays relacion a su Mt. y lo que os pareciere que deba ser solamente para su Al. ielo digays aparte y lo otro en presencia de essos señores del conseio.

primeramente direys a su Mt. que porque la Reyna Nª Sª no firma que lo que dize toman por aucto de notarios y lo reciben por mandamiento como si stuviesse su Al. en cunplido seso. con esta os embiamos traslado de un aucto que se ha tomado. mostraldo a Su Md.

y tambien mostrareys la carta que fray Francisco de Leon nos ha scripto el qual ha stado presente en todo lo de Tordesyllas lo qual podra ver Su Mt. por orden, mas no digays a nadie el nonbre de quien lo ha escrito sino a Su Mt. porque este padre no huviesse dello aqua alguna pena o daño en su persona.

que pues con auctoridat de la Reyna se celebraran las cortes que todo lo demas se hara con auctoridat della y si con gran diligencia y celeridat Su Mt. no embia el poder para perdonar luego todo lo passado despues no havria ningun remedio y podria esperar la muerte de la Reyna su madre antes que se le permitiese la governacion destos rreynos.

los criados y servidores de la Reyna dizen publicamente que el padre y el hijo lo han detenido tirañamente y que

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(TRANSLATION.)

sary that you inform his Majesty of what follows, and if it seems to you that some things ought to be said to his Highness alone, you are to communicate them to him privately, and the remainder in presence of the Lords of his Privy Council.

In the first place you are to tell his Majesty that, because the Queen refuses to sign, they have an instrument drawn up by notaries of all she says, and receive it as her commands, as though her Highness were perfectly sane. Enclosed in this we send you one of these public instruments. Show it to his Majesty.

You are likewise to show the letter which Fray Francisco de Leon has written to us. He has been an eye witness of all that has been done in Tordesillas. His Majesty can order that it be read, but you must not tell any one except his Majesty who has written it, because this father would be in danger of being punished here or injured in his person.

As cortes will be held by the authority of the Queen, so all other things will be done by her authority, and if his Majesty does not with great haste and celerity send a power to pardon at once all the past, there will be no remedy afterwards, and he must wait until his mother dies before he will be permitted to govern in these kingdoms.

The officers and servants of the Queen say publicly that her father and her son have tyrannically detained her, and

1520.

es tan apta para governar como lo era en edat de quinze años y como lo fue la Reyna doña ysabel y que para esto les anima y da osadia el esperança que tienen de la utilidat y provecho so color que dizen esto por la perdicion del Reyno.

y que si su Mt. Cesarea dende ahora se desposasse con la Señora infanta de portugal o prometiesse de lo hazer que con esto y con la facultad de perdonar a todas las ciudades que quisiessen tornar a obediencia crehen los prudentes que en muy gran parte seria remedio desto.

direys a su Mt. que en el Andalucia han empeçado de levantarse a causa de la saca del trigo que Su Mt. ygualo o dio por cierto precio segun que lo podra mandar ver por la carta que Villacis escrive al doctor manso que sera con esta y que despues han prohibido la dicha saca y que se halla que el precio del trigo ha diminuido por la mitad.

que suplico a Su Mt. que de lo que por alla le quedare me guarde alguna parte que aqua gasto quanto tengo y que algunas vezes vivo de emprestado pues de lo que se me deve ni de lo que se me ha consignado no puedo cobrar blanca.

Otrosi que procediendo daqui adelante las cosas con auctoridat de los mandamientos de la Reyna que no aprovechara mi estada en estos Reynos sino paral aumento de los

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(Translation.)

that she is as able to govern as she was when 15 years old, and as the Queen Doña Isabel was. The hope which they have to obtain profit and advantages gives them the will and the courage to say this, under colour [of desiring to prevent] the ruin of the kingdom.

The most prudent think that a great part of these evils could be remedied, if his imperial Majesty would immediately contract marriage with the Señora Infanta of Portugal, or promise to marry her, and at the same time [send] a power to pardon all the cities which would return to his obedience.

You are to say to his Majesty that Andalusia has begun to rebel, owing to the valuation of wheat which his Majesty equalised or gave for a fixed price, as he can see from the letter which Villacis wrote to Doctor Manso and which is enclosed. Afterwards the valuation was abolished, and the price of wheat decreased by one half.

I entreat his Majesty to preserve for me a portion of what he may be able to spare there, for here I spend all I have, and live sometimes on loans. Of that which is due to me and what has been consigned to me I cannot get a *blanca*.

As all business will in future be carried on here by the authority and command of the Queen, my presence in these kingdoms is of no advantage and serves only to increase

1520.

menosprecios y afruentas y que con la bendicion de dios me podre yr a flandes con presumpta licencia de su Cesª Mt.

que don bernaldino pimentel y Gonçalo franco Regidores desta villa sirven a Su Mt. y en todo lo que pueden quitan y procuran que se escusen escandalos y males que suplico a Su Mt. les mande tener por encomendados.

Otrosi que ahunque por aqua havia fama que don Juan tenia preso al duque de Medina Cedonia su hermano y quisiesse tomar a la duquesa por muger y que para la dispensacion dello havia prometido en Roma nueve mill ducados y otros nueve mill ad algunos intercessores questan con Su Mt. que me he entremetido dello y que de fecho he hallado que es mentira y que no se ha tentado ni tenta cosa ninguna daquel matrimonio. es verdat que me dizen que el duque esta indispuesto y que esta algo movido y no en si ni con cumplido seso.

tanbien se os embia un memorial del governador de Sorita. procurareys que su Mt. le mande hazer la provision dello o que se le responda graciosamente.

y que entre los otros capitulos y cosas que los de la junta quieren pedir y instar o proveher es que persona estrangera no pueda ser admetida a la governacion destos Reynos.

a lo qual todo me respondereys particularmente. guarde

(Translation.)

contempt and insults. I shall therefore be at liberty, with the help of God, to return to Flanders, presupposing the permission of his Majesty.

Don Bernaldino Pimentel and Gonzalo Franco, *regidores* of this town, are good servants of his Majesty, and prevent many scandals and see that many evil things are avoided. I entreat his Majesty to regard them as recommended to him.

It has been said here that Don Juan holds his brother the Duke of Medina Sidonia a prisoner, and that, wishing to marry the duchess, he has offered in Rome 9,000 ducats for the dispensation, and other 9,000 ducats to certain mediators who are with his Majesty. I have enquired into this case, and found that it is an invention. There is no question of marriage, although it is true, as I am told, that the Duke is indisposed, somewhat troubled, and not quite right in his mind nor perfectly sane.

I send you also a memoir of the governor of Sorita. You must see that his Majesty provides for this case or sends a gracious answer.

Amongst other articles and things which the Junta intends to beg, or claim, or to provide for, is this, that no foreigner shall be governor of these kingdoms.

Answer me on all these points particularly.

1520.

etc ñro Sr. de Valladolid a iiij. de Setienbre 1520. Vr̃o el Cardenal Dertusen. Pa° Cisterer Secretario.

[*Sobre*:] Al noble Señor y nuestro especial amigo Lope Hurtado de Mendoça gentilhombre de la Ces^a^ y Catho^ca^ M^t^. Car^lis^ Dertusen.

14th September. **57.** The CARDINAL OF TORTOSA to the EMPEROR CHARLES.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Patronato Real. Comunidades de Castilla. Legajo* 1. *f.* 194. *Autograph.*]

A Su Magd. del Cardenal.
xiiij de Setiembre con el Doctor Guevara.

Sac. Ces. R. C. Mt.,

Despues de haver escrito a viiij del presente a V. Mt. havemos recebido ciertas nuevas a xij del mesmo que en burgos han hechado y fecho sallir de aquella ciudat por fuerça al condestable haziendole dexar en ella todas sus armas y escopetas y polvora sin que le dexaron comer. y desto fue la principal causa por no haver diz que querido permitir que los dos mil honbres que la dicha ciudat avia fechos hiziessen lo que les mandasse la junta de Avila. y a mas desto tomaron toda la hazienda del doctor Çumiel el qual fidelisimamente procuro el servicio de V. Mt. y el bien publico de la dicha

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(TRANSLATION.)

Our Lord guard, &c.
From Valladolid, 4th of September 1520.
Votre, etc. Cardinal of Tortosa.
P. Cisterer, Secretary.

[*Addressed*:] To the noble Lord and our special friend, Lope Hurtado de Mendoza, gentleman of his Imperial and Catholic Majesty.—Cardinal of Tortosa.

57. To His Majesty. From the Cardinal 14th September. By the Doctor Guevara.

Sacred, imperial, royal, and catholic Majesty,

After having written to your Majesty on the 9th of the present month, we received fresh letters dated the 12th of the same, by which we were informed that in Burgos they have turned the Constable out of the city, and driven him away by violence, forcing him, however, by refusing to give him food, to leave all his arms, firelocks, and powder to them. The principal cause of all this, it is said, was that he was willing to prevent the two thousand men whom the city had enlisted to do what the Junta in Avila had ordered. Moreover, they have confiscated all the property of the Doctor Çumiel, (1) who loyally took care of the interests of your Majesty and the public weal of the city. Certainly, I know no

(1) Zumel ?

1520.

ciudad, y cierto no se hombre de la condicion deste a quien V. Mt. deva mas que a el y assy sera bien que V. Mt. le mande escrevir alguna carta consolatoria y graciosa con ofrecimiento de mercedes.

en el mesmo dia me vino el consejo de las ordenes diziendome que en ocaña y tambien en hucles hay alteracion en el pueblo y que temen que si de presto no se proviese se juntarian con la rebellion de las otras universidades y por esto se ordeno que en vcles se devan salariar y pagar quarenta lanças para obviar y resistir a las malicias y rebueltas del pueblo y que para estos se devan conprar armas y porque el peligro estava en la mano hubose de proveer esto. si Vra Alt. no es servido que estas quarenta lanças se paguen de los dineros de la orden, mandemelo escrivir luego, que en la mesma hora las hare despedir, pero los del consejo piensan que si se rebellasen estos lugares mas tomarian de las rentas de lo que montaria el salario que se habria de dar a las quarenta lanças.

el conde dalvadeliste que reduzio a la ciudat de Çamora a obediencia de V. Alt. ya esta en gran peligro. el obispo de Çamora ha juntado mucha gente y tiene ayuda y soccorro de la junta de Avila la qual ha de ser oy a xiij deste en Tordesillas, y entiende el dicho Obispo de sacar por fuerça darmas al conde de Çamora. y en verdat me desplaze que este puesto en

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(Translation.)

man of his condition to whom your Majesty owes more than to him, and it would be good if your Majesty would send him a consolatory and gracious letter, with promises to reward him.

On the same day came the council of the Orders, and told me that in Ocaña and also in Ucles the people had revolted, and it is to be feared that if this case is not speedily provided for they will join the rebellion of the other cities. It was therefore decided to raise and pay in Ucles forty lances, and to buy arms for them, in order to prevent or to resist the malice and the violence of the people. As the danger was so evident it was necessary to do so. If your Highness does not approve that these forty lances be paid from the revenues of the Order, (1) write to me immediately, and I shall disband them within an hour's time. The councillors, however, are of opinion that if these places should again rise in rebellion they would confiscate all the revenues out of which the pay for the forty lances is to be taken.

The Count Alba de Liste, who reduced the city of Zamora, is in great danger. The Bishop of Zamora has assembled a great number of soldiers, and is succoured by the Junta in Avila, which is expected to day, the 13th, to be in Tordesillas. The intention of the bishop is to expel the count from Zamora by force of arms. I am much grieved indeed

(1) Charles was Grand Master of the Order.

1520.

tanto trabajo assy por no tener V. Alt. persona en estos Reynos que mas le haya servido como por no poderle nosotros soccorrer con gente ni con dinero. sobre lo qual ninguno de los del conseio por el temor que tienen de las comunidades ha osado aconsejar que se escriviesse a los escopeteros que ayudassen al dicho conde con sus dineros.

echan fama por todo el Reyno que la Reyna nuestra Señora esta con cunplido seso y bien dispuesta para mandar como lo estava la Reyna doña ysabel su madre de gloriosa memoria y amuestran tener fin a que todo el pueblo este persuadido que no se hayan de obedecer ni cunplir los mandamientos de V. Mt. sino solamente los de la Reyna su madre.

a xj deste el Secretario del marques de Villena fue a los oficiales de la contaduria con una cedula de V. Mt. para que assentassen aquel quento de maravedis en los registros, y despues que le llevaron con buenas palabras en dilaciones en fin llanamente ge lo negaron diziendole que no lo havian de hazer con mandamiento de V. Mt. por el peligro que correrian que se les cortassen las cabeças si la tal merced assentassen y registrassen.

en el mesmo dia hable a los desta villa para que nos dejen

(Translation.)

that he is in such great trouble, because there is no other person in these kingdoms who has rendered your Highness so great services, and we cannot assist him either with soldiers or money. From fear of the commons none of the councillors dared to advise to write to the gunsmiths (1) to help the said count with their moneys.

They spread a rumour throughout the kingdom that the Queen our lady is perfectly sane, and as able to command as the Queen Doña Isabel, her mother of glorious memory, was. They do not conceal that it is their intention to persuade the whole people that the orders of your Majesty ought not to be obeyed or executed, but only those of the Queen your mother.

On the 11th of this month the secretary of the Marquis of Villena went to the officers of the treasury with an order of your Majesty, asking them to enter the one million of maravedis in the registers. After having put him off with promises, they at last openly refused, saying that they could not fulfil the order of your Majesty, because they were in danger of having their heads cut off if they booked and registered that grant.

I spoke the same day with those of this town, asking them,

(1) *Escopeteros* are soldiers armed with firelocks, as well as gunsmiths. It is difficult to decide which of the two are meant. It was not quite uncommon in those times, on extraordinary occasions, to appeal to common soldiers for loans out of the pay they had received or the plunder they had got. Nevertheless it seems more probable that the gunsmiths are meant.

1520.

yr azial Reyno de Navarra para entender en la defension daquel Reyno a que los franceses no se lo hocupen ni entren en el, porque se dize que hazen gran exercito y otras cosas, mayormente que a contemplacion destos Reynos Vuestra Alteza ha dejado de embiar los tres mill alemanes que para la guarda y conservacion del dicho Reyno havia destinados Vra Mt. yrnos ascondidamente et hospite insalutato crea V. Alt. que no conviene, mayormente que nos han de responder en contrario de lo que querriamos. dizese que han consultado con la junta de Avila y que esperan respuesta de lo que han de hazer. muchos dizen que no nos dexaren yr. detienen los libros de Vozmediano y quieren raçon de todos los oficiales de tan grandes sumas de dinero que por V. Mt. se han sacado destos Reynos.

el guardian confessor de la Reyna nuestra Señora teme que el no sea difamado alla en que algunos digan a V. Mt. que el induzga a la Reyna en mandar o entremeterse de la governacion. lo que cierto si se hablasse, no se havia de creer en ninguna manera por ser este padre de tan buena conciencia y honesta y Santa vida. pero es cierto que este error viene de los mesmos criados y servidores de la Reyna a los quales ha movido a ello el gran odio que tienen al marques de denia. hele

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(TRANSLATION.)

among other things, to let us go to the kingdom of Navarra, to occupy ourselves there in the defence of the kingdom, and in preventing the French, who are said to enlist a great army, from occupying or invading it, especially as from regard for the feelings of these kingdoms (1) your Highness had forborne to send the three thousand Germans whom your Majesty had destined to form the guard and defence of that kingdom. (2) Your Highness may believe that it would be unbecoming to leave secretly and *hospite insalutato*, especially as they will give us an answer contrary to our wishes. (3) It is said that they have consulted the Junta of Avila, and wait for the answer as to what they are to do. Many say they will not permit us to go. They have detained the papers of Vozmediano, and ask an account from all the officers of the great sums of money which have been exported by your Majesty from these kingdoms.

The guardian confessor to the Queen our lady fears that some people may defame him there (4), telling your Majesty that he induces the Queen to assume the command and occupy herself in the government. Certainly if that should be said it ought not to be believed at all, as this father is a very conscientious man, and leads an honest and holy life. It is, however, sure that this erroneous opinion comes from the very officers and servants of the Queen, who are influenced by their great hatred of the Marquis of Denia. I have written to him

(1) Castile. (2) Navarra. (3) Sic. (4) In Flanders.

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escrito que diga dos cosas a la Reyna. la una que nunca se penso que fonseca la huviesse de sacar de aquel lugar por fuerça ni ponerla en otro. mas como esta espantada destas mentiras que han levantado induzenla a consentir lo que quieren y quando dizen a Su Alteza manda esto, respondeles si. y luego lo toman por auto de notarios. la otra es que procure y le diga secretamente que no firme. espero que lo hara si ya el recelo que tiene de perder el amistad de los capitanes questan en Tordesyllas no le constriñe.

a xij del mesmo hablando con don Pedro giron entre otras cosas le dixe del fundamento que se esfuerçan tomar las comunidades, es a saber sobre los mandamientos de la Reyna como de persona que estuviesse en si. y respondiome como otras vezes que lo avorreceria en gran manera y para satisfazer asimesmo por lo que deve al descargo de su consciencia que en todo lo que pudiere se esforçara para que aquello no passe adelante. ajunta para la deffension de su persona alguna gente y para que mas libre y sueltamente pueda hablar sobresta materia.

es cosa de maravilla que en toda castilla la vieja apenas hay lugar en donde pudiessemos estar seguros y que no se adheresca y junte con los otros rebelles. los grandes nos ofrecen

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(Translation.)

to tell two things to the Queen. The first of them is that she must never believe that Fonseca was to carry her off by force, and put her into another place. She is so frightened by these lies, which they have invented to induce her to consent to what they wish, that if they say to her Highness, order this, she answers yes; and directly they have a decree drawn up by notaries. The other thing is, that he is to procure and secretly to advise the Queen never to put her signature to a paper. I hope he will do so, if the fear of losing the friendship of the captains who are in Tordesillas does not prevent him.

On the 12th of this month I spoke with Pedro Giron, and mentioned, among other things, the grounds on which the commons give themselves airs to found [their pretensions], that is to say, on the orders of the Queen, as though she were a person of sound mind. He answered me as he had done on other occasions, that he abhorred it in the highest degree, and to satisfy his conscience he would use all his power that it be no longer done. He assembles some soldiers for his personal security, and to be in a position to speak more freely and without restraint on this subject.

It is really to be wondered at that in the whole of Old Castile there is scarcely a village where we could stay in security, and which does not make common cause and combine with the other rebels. The grandees, namely, the Count of

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sus lugares el conde de benavente el duque de albuquerque el marques de villena y el condestable pero a opinion de todos si nos fuesemos a lugar de señorio mas se alboratarian las comunidades y no seria honrra ni servicio de V. Mt. porque pareceria que seriamos hechados de su tierra. tambien nos conbida el duque del Infantadgo a guadalaiara que es de V. Al. ofreciendonos toda defension. mas los del conseio piensan que no seria lugar harto seguro. a todos se han de dar muchas gracias de sus ofrecimientos mayormente al duque de alberquerque que siempre ha sydo primero en ofrecer hun lugar suyo que se dize cuellar el qual segun entiendo seria harto comodo. el hijo del dicho Duque me dixo que ha sido falsamente acusado delante de V. Mt. por lo que dixeron que el havria induzido a los desta villa a que hiziessen lo mismo que los otros rebelles. y cierto ha allegado tantas cosas y tan conformes a lo que siempre he visto en su desculpa que no puedo creher que no diga verdat.

a los del conseio no se les puede satisfazer con las postas y cartas que a V. Mt. tengo embiadas sin que embie uno de su gremio para que explique a V. Al. con orden todo lo que aqui ha pasado. quisiera mas yo que escusassen esta costa pero como todos juntamente lo instavan con tanto fervor no me parecio que acerca dello debia contradezir a sus votos. en su

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(Translation.)

Benavente, the Duke of Albuquerque, the Marquis of Villena, and the Constable offer us their places; but it is the opinion of all that, if we went to one of the estates of the grandees, the rebellion of the commons would become worse, and, besides, it would not redound to the honour and service of your Majesty, because it would appear as though we were turned out of your territories. The Duke of Infantadgo invites us to Guadalaxara, which belongs to your Highness, and offers to defend us there. The members of the council think, however, it would not be a safe place to stay in. All are to be thanked for their offers, and especially the Duke of Albuquerque, who has been the first to propose to us one of his places, called Cuellar. According to what I hear, it would be convenient. The son of the said duke has told me that he has been falsely accused before your Majesty of having induced this town to do the same as the other rebels, and certainly he has alleged in his justification so many things which are in perfect conformity with all I have seen that I cannot doubt that he speaks the truth.

The members of the council are not satisfied with the letters and despatches which I have sent to your Majesty, and wish me to send one of their own number to explain to your Highness point for point all that has passed here. I should prefer to avoid the expense, but as all of them insisted so strongly, I thought it was not right to contradict their

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instrucion dizen que se me deve juntar alguno natural destos Reynos paral govierno dellos pero a mi me parece mas util y convenible, que absolvendome V. Al. desto cargo lo encomiende del todo ad algun natural para que con ello se satisfaga cumplidamente a lo que las ciudades allegan ser contra las leyes del Reyno que el govierno este en poder de estrangeros. y cierto yo huyo este cargo y con el no podria cumplidamente servir mucho tempo a V. Al. ni satisfazer con lo que se deve a su auctoridat rreal y honrra.

el Rey de portugal se ofrece a V. Al. no solamente como hermano mas ahun como padre. tiene todo su rreino aparejado con armas y ofrece ayuda y qualquier cosa que justamente se pueda pedir del. debe V. Mt. especiales gracias dello y no comunes sino intrinsecas y como se deven al grande amor y voluntad que amuestra a Vr̃a mt.

aqui en ninguna manera podemos haver dinero para embiar correos, y este otro dia se buscaron dineros para despachar un correo a navarra y no los pudimos hallar. al mastre de postas se deve gran suma e ya no tiene cosa con que pueda bistraher. (1) de mi penuria huve de dar y emprestar ciento y cinquenta ducados para que se despachassen Rodrigo niño y el correo que le acompaño. lo que gastare el doctor guevara los contadores

(1) Sic.

(Translation.)

wishes. They say in their instruction that I ought to share my office of governor with some native of these kingdoms. I, however, am of opinion that it would be best for your Highness entirely to release me from my duties, and give the office to some Spaniard. The complaints of the commons that it is against the laws of the country that a foreigner should be governor would thereby be entirely satisfied. I certainly do not wish this office, and could not satisfactorily serve your Highness for any length of time, nor perform what is due to your authority and honour.

The King of Portugal behaves towards your Highness not only like a brother but even like a father. The whole of his kingdom is put under arms, and he offers succour or any thing else that justly could be expected from him. Your Majesty must thank him very warmly, not only as it is commonly done, but very truly, and as his great love and goodwill towards your Majesty deserve.

Do whatever we may, we cannot get here as much money as is necessary for paying the couriers. The other day we tried to obtain the money for sending a messenger to Navarra, and could not find it. To the postmaster we owe great sums, and he has no longer wherewith to continue [the postal service]. I was obliged to lend out of my poor means one hundred and fifty ducats for despatching Rodrigo Niño and the courier who accompanied him. The treasurer took the money

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diz que lo tomaran de los dineros de la guarda hasta que de otra parte se pueda haver. a mi no se me pagan mis salarios y de lo mio propio no tengo con que pueda sostener tantos gastos. suplico a V. Al. me de licencia para yrme honestamente con tiempo oportuno para que despues no estuviesse aqui con deshonrra suya, no teniendo yo con que mantener mi familia.

el marques de comares fue a Cordova por ciertas alteraciones que se ofrecieron alla en dias passados y las apaziguo y allano y todavia esta en aquella ciudat gastando de lo suyo para que la justicia este obedecida en ella como lo esta, y porque el dicho marques embia a suplicar a V. Al. que le haga merced de una carta de hidalguia para uno que se dize diego de montoro que ha servido diz que mucho tiempo en la guerra de africa y de navarra de lo qual amostro informacion que por ser muy larga no se embia, suplico a V. Al. haga esta merced al dicho marques y me mande enbiar el despacho della para que ie la remita, que por parecerme questo se deve hazer por muchos respectos. no lo escrivo a V. Mt. aparte porque no se creyesse fuesse para complimiento de partes.

el comendador mayor de Castilla embia a V. mt. la provision señalada de hun abito de Santyago para don Diego de mendoza nieto del duque del Infantadgo que lo ha procurado

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(Translation.)

which the Doctor Guevara is to spend from the funds destined for the pay of the guards, until it can be replaced in some way. My salary is not paid to me, and from my own means I cannot sustain so great an expense. I beseech your Majesty to give me leave to retire in an honourable manner, when a good opportunity offers itself, so that I may not stay here in prejudice to your honour, and unable to maintain my servants.

The Marquis of Comares went to Cordoba to appease and settle certain disturbances which had taken place there. He is still in that city, spending his property to make the law respected, and has been successful. The said marquis begs your Highness to do him the favour to grant a letter of *hidalgia* for a certain Diego de Montoro, who is said to have served a long time in the wars of Africa and Navarra. He has delivered to me a memoir, which I do not send because it is very long. I beg your Highness to grant this favour to the said marquis, and to send your letter to me that I may deliver it to him. I think you should do so for many reasons. I do not write a separate letter on this subject, because it would expose me to the suspicion of partiality.

The Comendador mayor of Castile sends to your Majesty a paper, signed by him, conferring the knighthood of Santiago on Don Diego deMendoza, grandson of the Duke of Infan-

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con mucha instancia, y pues diz que V. mt. ie lo ha prometido, y vehe quanta razon es que se tenga todo respecto a su persona y servicios, suplico a V. mt. la mande despachar y embiarmela para que la remita al dicho duque que me ha requerido mucho sobrello. y porque esto toca a el y lo tiene por propio no va aparte. guarde Ntro Señor la vida y rreal estado de V. Mt. luengamente y con toda prosperidat. en Valladolit a xiiij de Setienbre de mil y quinientos y veynte. Vr̃e tres hunble serviteur, el Cardl. dertusen.

[*Sobre :*] S. Cesee. R. C. Mti.

58.

18th September. The COMMISSIONERS OF THE JUNTA to the JUNTA OF THE COMMONS.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Patronato Real. Comunidades de Castilla. Legajo* 1. *f.* 85. *Autograph.*]

De los procuradores que estan en tordesillas. Recebida e leyda en M^{a} (1) a xviij^{o} de Setienbre.

el correo llego oy martes antes de la una despues de medio dia y a la ora comunicamos el negocio con todos estos señores capitanes y con su acuerdo fuimos a palacio y dimos la carta

(1) Debe ser *Medina.*

(TRANSLATION.)

tadgo, who has solicited it very urgently. As it is said that your Majesty has promised it, and as it is advisable not to disregard his person and his services, I beseech your Majesty to give orders that it be despatched, and sent to me for delivery to the said duke, who has much insisted with me on this subject. As this regards him, and he considers it as his own affair, I do not write a separate letter about it. May our Lord guard the life and royal estate of your Majesty a long time, and in all prosperity.

From Valladolid, 14th of September, 1520.

Votre très humble serviteur,
The Cardinal of Tortosa.

[*Addressed :*] "To his sacred, imperial, royal, and catholic Majesty."

58. From the Procuradores who are in Tordesillas. Received and read in Ma. (1) on the 18th of September.

The courier arrived to day, Tuesday, a little before one o'clock in the afternoon. We conferred without loss of time with the captains, and with their approval went to the

(1) Medina del Campo.

1520.

y traslado de los capitulos de creencia al señor marques y firmado de nuestros nonbres. trabaxamos mucho por la Respuesta aunquel se excusaba mucho de la dar. aqui la vera v̄ra señoria y es mucho de menos que no antes de palabra nos dixo, tanbien que escriviesemos que a la ora que v̄ra señoria llegase a palacio el se saldria a una posada, y aun entonces su hijo don luys que estava presente dixo que aun quel saliese no podria salir la Señora marquesa. y tanbien dixo quel daba su fee como antes avie prometido que aunque la Reyna Nuestra Señora le mandase quedar que no quedaria.

porque v̄ra Señoria este ynformado de todo les fazemos saber quel Señor marques nos dixo y antes lo sabiamos que avie metido un escrivano a la Reyna ñra Señora para le fazer saber como le quitaban de su servicio y a despedirse. esto dize el. lo que buenamente se puede creer es que entraba à procurar un testimonio como su Al. le mandava estar. la Reyna ñra señora no le quiso ni a querido oyr y le dixo que se fuese y no la hablase.

parecenos que todos estos ynconvenientes y mas y aun por abentura los effettos dellos se an avido e avran con la dilacion deste negocio y que tornar el negocio a medio despues de la

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(Translation.)

palace, where we gave the letter and a transcript of our letters of credence, signed with our names, to the Señor Marquis. We had great difficulty in obtaining an answer from him. He delayed much to give it. There it is, and your Lordships may read it. It contains much less than the Marquis had already promised us by word of mouth. He asked us also to write to you that at the same moment that your Lordships should enter the palace he would leave it and go to other lodgings. His son, Don Luis, who was present, added that although he may go, the Señora Marchioness could not leave. Moreover, he gave us his word, as he had already promised us, that he would not remain even if the Queen our lady should command him to remain.

In order that your Lordships be well informed of everything, we let you know that the Señor Marquis told us, and we knew it already, that he had sent an *escrivano* to the Queen our lady, in order to inform her that he was deprived of his office, and wished to take leave of her. That is what he says. What reasonably may be believed is that he [the *escrivano*] entered [the room of the Queen] to procure a declaration that her Highness commanded him [the Marquis] to remain. The Queen our lady would not do it nor even hear of it. She told him to leave her alone and not to speak to her.

We are of opinion that these and other inconveniences, and perhaps even bad consequences have been and will be the effect of the delay which has occurred in this

1520.

comisyon que ṽra Señoria nos dio y de la creencia que nosotros le dimos que ha perdido abtoridad el mandato de Vṽa Señoria y que no se deve de fazer especialmente en negocio de tanta calidad, y toda la casa Real y comunidad desta villa tienen descontento. el marques y toda su casa no tienen mas movimiento que si nunca oviesen de partir. finalmente con entera determinacion vra Sª. enbie a mandar que devamos hazer y lo questos Señores capitanes ayan de executar porque no pierda mas abtoridad vra Señoria en este negocio. Ntro Señor las yllustres y muy magnificas personas de ṽra Señoria prospere y su estado acreciente. de tordesyllas martes a las tres oras xviij de Setienbre. fray pablo. [Rubrica.] el comendador Almaras. [Rubrica.] El licenciado Alonso diaz. [Rubrica.]

lo que fuere mande V. S. despachar esta noche.

[*Sobre :*] A los yllustres y muy magnificos Señores los Señores de la Junta del Reyno.

el despacho en todo caso sea esta noche con el mismo correo.

no pudo partir hasta las quatro horas.

(Translation.)

affair. To stop half-way after the commission which your Lordships gave us, and after we have delivered our letters of credence to him, would be to deprive your mandates of all authority, which ought not to be, especially in a case of so much importance. The whole royal household and the people of this town are dissatisfied. The Marquis and his family do not stir, as though they never intended to depart. Your Lordships must send us now at last very determinate orders what we have to do, and what these captains have to execute. Otherwise your Lordships will lose your credit still more in this affair. May our Lord prosper the very illustrious and very magnificent persons of your Lordships and increase your power.

From Tordesillas, Tuesday 18th of September, at three o'clock.

Fray Pablo. [Sign manual.] The Knight Commander Almaras. [Sign manual.] The licentiate Alonso Diaz. [Sign manual.]

May your Lordships order that your answer be sent this night.

[*Addressed :*] To the illustrious and very magnificent Lords, the Lords of the Junta of the kingdom.

The answer should at all events be sent this night by the same courier.

He could not leave before four o'clock.

1520.
22nd September. **59.** The MARQUIS OF DENIA to the EMPEROR CHARLES.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Patronato Real. Comunidades de Castilla. Legajo* 1. *f.* 153. *Holograph.*]

Sacra Cesarea Real Catolica Magestad,

a xxx. de Agosto escrevi a V. Mt. todo lo que hasta alli havia passado y segund el recabdo que avia en las puertas antes y despues no pudo salir carta. lo que despues ha sucedido es que los procuradores de la Junta del Reyno venieron a Medina del campo de donde me escrivieron que la marquesa y yo con toda mi casa nos saliesemos luego porque aquello convenia al servicio de la Reyna nuestra Señora y de V. Mt. y que sino lo hiziese que protestavan que todo el daño y escandalo que sobre esto oviese fuese a mi culpa. yo les respondi que yo avia venido alli con mandamiento de V. Mt. e voluntad de la Reyna nuestra Señora y que asy solian venir los que vienen a servir a los principes y aun no yrse de su servicio sin que ellos lo manden, que me parecia cosa muy nueva que ellos se entremetiesen en cosa desta calidad, que yo no avia de salir dalli syn que su Alteza y v. Md. me lo mandasen. tornaron a enbiarme un proprio (1) con la misma enbaxada que es Saravia el de Valladolid y este me hizo muchas amonestaciones diziendome que sino lo hazia por bien que se avia de hazer de otra manera. Respondile lo

(1) Puede leerse tambien *procurador*, pues esta en abreviatura asi: p°. y el sentido lo indica.

(TRANSLATION.)

59.

Sacred, imperial, royal, and catholic Majesty,

On the 30th of August I wrote to your Majesty all that had occurred until then, but such good watch was kept at the gates, before and since, that my letter could not go. What has afterwards happened is that the Procurators of the Junta of the kingdom came to Medina del Campo, whence they wrote that the Señora Marchioness and I should immediately leave, because that was necessary for the service of the Queen our lady and of your Majesty; protesting that if we would not go all the injury and scandal would be my fault. I answered that I had come hither by an order of your Majesty, and according to the wishes of the Queen our lady, and that, as those who come to serve their sovereigns are to come in such a way that they do not abandon their service unless they are ordered by them to do so, [I told them] it seemed to me a very strange thing that they should meddle in affairs of such a kind, and that I would not leave until her Highness and your Majesty commanded me. They sent me again the same message by a special envoy, Saravia, from Valladolid, who admonished me much, saying that if I did not go amicably they must employ other means. I gave the same answer,

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mismo. dende a dos dias vinieron tres procuradores uno de leon y otro de Salamanca y otro de Segovia a lo mismo y a riquirirme que luego me saliese. Respondiles que veniesen alli todos y que hiziesen una de dos cosas, o preguntasen a la Reyna nuestra Señora sy mandava que yo me fuese, o me lo diesen todos firmado de sus nonbres y que desta manera yo haria lo que devia. Respondieronme que no avian de hablar a su Alteza porque sabian que en esto ni en otra cosa no avia de hazer su Alteza nada en tanto que yo alli estoviese. esto hizieron por que ya los capitanes avian preguntado a su Alteza tres vezes si mandava que me hechasen dalli y su Alteza les dixo que no, y que lo del darmelo firmado de todos no avia necesidad porque la costunbre de aquella Junta hera determinarse lo que los mas botos querian y que asy se avia hecho en este caso y que convenia que luego me saliese porque no oviese escandalo. en esto anduvimos tres dias hasta el miercoles que fueron xix. deste que venieron estos tres procuradores a las ocho de la mañana a palacio y me requirieron qne dentro en media ora me saliese con mi muger e hijos y toda mi casa, y ya quando esto me dixieron estava todo palacio cercado de soldados y dentro en el patio mas de ciento. tome por testimonio todo lo que en esto ha pasado y como

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(Translation.)

Two days later arrived three Procurators, one for Leon, another for Salamanca, and the third for Segovia, making the same request, and telling me that I must leave immediately. I answered them that all of them should come and do one of these two things, viz., either ask the Queen our lady whether she commanded me to leave, or give me an order signed by all of them. If that were done I would do what they decreed. They answered that they would not speak with her Highness, because they knew that her Highness would neither in this nor in any other case do anything as long as I was there. They gave this answer because the captains had already asked her Highness three times whether she would order that I should be sent away, and her Highness had said to them no. [They further declared] that it was not necessary to give me an order signed by all of them, because it was the custom of the Junta to decide by majority of votes, and that had been done in this case. They told me to go immediately to avoid scandal. These negotiations continued three days, until Wednesday the 19th of this month, when these three Procurators came at eight o'clock in the morning to the palace, and requested me to leave it, with my wife, and children, and servants, within half an hour. When they told me this the palace was already surrounded by soldiers, and more than a hundred of them were in the courtyard. I had a declaration drawn up of all that had occurred, stating that

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ellos me hazian hazer esto aviendome V. Mt. mandado venir alli y queriendolo la Reyna nuestra Señora a quien yo lo pregunte dos vezes y su Alteza me respondio que en ninguna manera me fuese, y asy nos salimos al monesterio de Santo tomas, y otro dia jueves nos partymos. aquel dia yo vine a Valladolid, y a la hora que supe que estava junta la villa les fuy a dar cuenta deste negocio porque supe que ellos no han sido deste boto antes lo han contradicho muchas vezes, y asy les peso mucho y dixieron buenas palabras sobre ello, y asy les dixe que les pedia por merced que se les acordase quan leal avia sydo sienpre aquella villa a la corona Real y que aunque ellos para las cosas del Rey no estoviesen juntos con las otras cibdades mirasen mucho no tocasen en el abtoridad y preminencia de V. Mt. porque esto seria mostrar otra voluntad de la que leales vasallos deven tener a su principe, y questo les dezia porque sabia que algunas cibdades del Reyno no mirando a lo que son obligados estan de otro proposito, que yo lo sentia mucho como natural del que les pedia por merced no lo consintiesen. ellos respondieronme bien, no se lo que haran. el mismo dia que vine a Valladolid di quenta desto al Señor Cardenal. y el dia antes que yo saliesse de Tordesillas llegaron alli todos los procuradores de la Junta

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(Translation.)

they had forced me to go, although your Majesty had sent me hither, and although I had twice asked the Queen our lady, and her Highness had answered me that on no condition should I go. Thus we left the palace and went to the convent of St. Tomas. Next day, Thursday, we departed, and I went to Valladolid. As soon as I knew that the town(1) was assembled, I went to give them an account of this affair, for I knew that they had not been of this opinion, but, on the contrary, oftentimes opposed it. They were very sorry, and spoke good words to me. I said that I asked it as a favour from them that they should always remember how loyal this town had been to the royal crown, and that, although in the affairs of the King they had not combined with the other cities, they should, nevertheless, be very careful in other respects not to touch the authority and pre-eminence of your Majesty, for that would be to display different sentiments from those which loyal vassals ought to have for their Prince. I told them that [I said] because I knew that some other cities of the kingdom, forgetting their duties, are of a different opinion, but that I was very sorry for it, and as a born [Spaniard] I begged them, for mercy's sake, never to consent to such things. They gave a good answer, but I do not know what they will do. On the very day of my arrival at Valladolid I gave an account of all to the Señor Cardinal. The day before I left Tordesillas all the Procurators of the Junta arrived

(1) Town Council.

1520.

que hera el miercoles que he dicho y el jueves que yo sali se juntaron en palacio a sus negocios. y este dia procuraron de hablar a la Reyna nuestra Señora y no los quiso oyr diziendo que estava cansada. quando nos salimos yo e la marquesa de palacio les dixe a los procuradores que nos dexasen despedir de su Alt. y de la señora Infante y no nos dieron a ello lugar. la Señora infante ha estado asy en lo que toca al servicio de V. Mt. como en nuestra salida como persona de mas hedad.

ayer en Valladolid recebi dos cartas de V. Mt. una de xxiiij de Agosto y con ella el despacho que V. Mt. enbia para la villa de tordesillas. no se lo enbie porque no lo han merecido. si V. Mt. oviera mandado proveer con tienpo lo que le suplique para la guarda de tordesillas escusaranse muchos desacatamientos que alli se han hecho a la Reyna nuestra Señora y a V. Mt. y a la Señora ynfante y plega a dios que no se hagan mas. el remedio desto ha de ser la venida de V. Mt. la otra recebi con lope hurtado y de aver V. Mt. proveydo de visorreyes al almirante y el condestable juntamente con el Señor cardenal no puede sino aprovechar porque no diran que no son naturales. y asi mesmo demas de la obligacion que tienen a vuestro servicio por hazer su cargo haran mas de lo

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(Translation.)

there. It was Wednesday, as I have already stated. On Thursday, the day when I left, they assembled in the palace to transact business, and endeavoured to speak with the Queen our lady, who, however, on that day would not hear them, saying that she was tired. When we left the palace I and the Marchioness asked the Procurators to permit us to take leave of her Highness and the Señora Infanta, but they refused. The Señora Infanta has behaved like a person of riper age in all that regards the service of your Majesty and our departure.

Yesterday I received in Valladolid two letters from your Majesty; one of them was of the 24th of August. The letter for the town of Tordesillas which was enclosed has not been forwarded, because they do not deserve it. Had your Majesty provided in time for the custody of Tordesillas, as I had asked, many affronts which have been offered there to the Queen our lady, to your Majesty, and the Señora Infanta would have been avoided. God grant that they may not have to suffer more! The remedy for all this is the return of your Majesty. The other letter I received by Lope Hurtado. That your Majesty has appointed the Admiral and the Constable to be viceroys together with the Señor Cardinal cannot be otherwise than advantageous, because it cannot be said that they are foreigners. Moreover, although they are always obliged to do their duty in the service of your Majesty, they will now do more than is possible. (1) I go to one of my towns which is

(1) Sic.

1520.

que podran. yo me voy a una villa mia que esta cerca de burgos de donde yre luego en llegando a burgos a dalles razon de todo porque aunque en lo general estan juntos para las cosas del reyno con las otras cibdades en lo que toca a servicio de V. Mt. ellos y Valladolid y otras cibdades estan bien y en lo de mi salida de tordesyllas han sydo muy contrarias y ansy lo tomaron por testimonio. en lo que fuere servicio de V. Mt. que yo puedo hazer yo cunplire la voluntad e obligacion que tengo a ello. Nuestro Señor vuestra Cesarea Sacra Real Catolica magestad guarde bienaventuradamente con acrecentamiento de su Real Corona. De Renedo cabe Valladolid a xxij. de Setiembre. De V. Cesarea Magestad syervo y vasallo que sus manos beso. El Marques. [Rubrica.]

[*Sobre :*] A la Sacra Cesarea Real Catholica Magt. del Emperador y Rey de Romanos y de las españas nuestro Señor.

23rd September. **60.** THE CARDINAL OF TORTOSA to the EMPEROR CHARLES.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Patronato Real. Comunidades de Castilla. Legajo* 2. *f.* 159. *Autograph.*]

A Su magt. del Cardenal a xxiij. de Setiembre.

S. C. C. R. Mt.

Con lope hurtado recebi la carta de V. Alt. de viij del presente juntamente con los despachos que con ella y con la

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(TRANSLATION.)

near Burgos, and thence I shall soon go to Burgos to give them an account of every thing; for although they have combined with the other cities for the affairs of the kingdom in general, they and Valladolid and other cities are well intentioned in as far as the service of your Majesty is concerned. They were against my departure from Tordesillas, and have had it recorded in a public instrument. In that which regards the service of your Majesty I shall fulfil my desires and my duty in all I can. May our Lord guard your imperial, sacred, royal, and catholic Majesty, with augmentation of your royal crown.

From Reñedo, near Valladolid, 22nd of September, your imperial Majesty's servant and vassal kisses your hands.

The Marquis. [Sign manual of the Marquis of Denia.]

[*Addressed :*] "To his sacred, imperial, royal, and catholic Majesty the Emperor and King of the Romans and of Spain, our Lord."

60. To his Majesty. From the Cardinal. 23rd of September.

Sacred, imperial, catholic, royal Majesty,

From Lope Hurtado I received the letter of your Highness of the 8th of the present month, together with the des-

1520.

duplicada de xxiiij del passado venian a las quales tan solamente dire por esta lo que conviene.

el mesmo lope hurtado me ha hablado largamente todo quanto Vña Alt. le mando. y quanto a la junta ha de saber V. Alt. que va de tal manera que por via de mandamiento han requerido expresamente dos o tres vezes al marques de Denia que el y la marquesa se vayan y dexen a la Reyna nuestra Señora que el les respondio que tiene el cargo de la guarda de Su Alteza y de la Senora Ynfanta por Vña Magt. y con consentimiento de la Reyna, y que no entendia de yrse sy ya por fuerza no le hechassen. viendo esto la Señora Ynfanta lloro mucho de lo que se hazia contra el marques y escrevio de su mano y requirio a los desta villa que no permitiessen que se le hiziesse este desacatamiento. y haviendo sabido esto la dicha villa escrevio a la Junta que dexasse estar al dicho marques en su mesmo cargo y lugar pues ha sido puesto en ello con mandamiento y auctoridat de Vña Alteza, y no enbargante esto el jueves que eran veynte del presente echaron al dicho marques y a la marquesa, y a los veynte uno pasaron por aqui y el marques entro en esta villa y comio comigo. y despues hablamos largamente. y luego el y la marquesa se partieron para Lerma. los capitanes que han estado muchos

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(Translation.)

patches and the duplicate of the letter of the 24th of last month which were enclosed. I shall answer here only what is necessary.

Lope Hurtado has told me very minutely all that your Highness commanded him. As for the Junta, your Highness is to know that they proceed in such a manner that they have two or three times intimated to the Marquis of Denia that he and the marchioness must go and leave the Queen our Lady. He answered that he holds the office of guardian of her Highness and the Señora Infanta from your Majesty, and with the consent of the Queen, and that he had not the intention to go unless he were turned out by force. Seeing what was going on, the Señora Infanta cried much at the treatment of the marquis, and wrote with her own hand to those of this town, (1) asking them not to permit such an affront to be offered to him. When this town was informed of it, they wrote to the Junta, asking them to leave the marquis in his office and place, as he had been appointed to it by order and authority of your Highness. Notwithstanding this, on Thursday, the 20th of this month, they drove the said marquis and marchioness away. On the 21st they passed through this place, and the marquis entered the town and dined with me. After dinner we talked a long while, and then the marquis and the marchioness took their departure for Lerma. The captains

(1) Valladolid.

1520.

dias en tordesyllas vien vehen que la Reyna no esta en si segun que me lo han dicho algunos que lo han oydo de los mesmos capitanes pero con todo esto sy Su Alteza con miedo o halagos dize o manda algo que convenga a la intencion o proposito dellos luego lo toman por auto y siembran por el pueblo que Su Alt. es para governar como lo fue la Reyna doña ysabel su madre de gloriosa memoria. oyo que en la junta disputan y examinan si se deven hazer los mandamientos en nombre de la Reyna y de Vña Alteza juntamente o solamente de la Reyna. Toledo Madrid Segovia y no se que otras universidades dizen que el nombre de V. Mt. para los mandamientos se deve quitar y revocar y que se ponga solo el de la Reyna y de las Comunidades. Valladolit burgos Soria toro y otras universidades persisten que se hagan los dichos mandamientos en nombre de Su Alteza y de V. Mt. dudase qual parte prevaldra. el consejo e yo çufrimos muchas cosas con paciencia para que a lo menos detengamos y conservemos esta villa en aquello que no se quite a Vña Alt. nombre y auctoridad de Rey de Castilla. oymos de muchos que la junta ha escrito y mandado a esta villa que prohiva a mi y al consejo que no entendamos en cosas destos Reynos sino que estemos quedos, y pues estos mandamientos executan, sera necessario y forçado dexar este lugar y govierno que ya en el mismo dia de los

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(Translation.)

who have been many days in Tordesillas, according to what certain persons have told me who have heard it from the captains themselves, know very well that the Queen is not sane. Notwithstanding this, if her Highness, from fear or adulation, says or orders something which suits their intentions or purposes, they have an act drawn up directly, and spread the report among the people that her Highness is as able to govern as the Queen Doña Isabel her mother, of glorious memory, was. I hear that in the Junta they are deliberating and disputing whether the orders shall be given in the name of the Queen and your Highness conjointly, or only in the name of the Queen. Toledo, Madrid, Segovia, and I know not what other towns, say that the name of your Majesty on the orders ought to be suppressed and cancelled, and only the names of the Queen and commons placed on them. Valladolid, Burgos, Soria, Toro, and other places insist that the said orders ought to be given in the name of her Highness and of your Majesty. It is doubtful which party will prevail. The council and I bear many things with patience in order to maintain and preserve this town in its purpose to prevent your Highness from being deprived of the name and authority of King of Castile. Many tell us that the Junta has ordered this town to forbid me and the council to meddle with the affairs of these kingdoms, and order us to remain quiet. If these orders are obeyed, it will be indispensable and necessary to leave this place and abandon the govern-

1520.

veyntiuno embiaron un fraile dominico que se dize fray alonso de Medina para predicar a esta comunidat a que se conformasse con la intencion dellos, y despues hun procurador de la dicha junta que se dize francisco de anaysa estando todos los del consejo conmigo vino con un notario y testigos y presento de parte de la dicha Junta un requerimiento en que quieren que los del consejo alcaldes y muchos secretarios y escrivanos assi presentes como ausentes destos Reynos hayan de dar quenta y razon de todo lo passado por manos e intervencion dellos, y que los que estan en esta villa no salgan della en manera ninguna y que por via alguna no se junten ni entiendan en las cosas de los dichos Reynos hasta que por la dicha Junta se haya proveydo en todo ello segun mas largamente lo vera V. Alt. por el traslado del dicho requerimiento que va con esta. de lo qual despues de presentado ha pedido aucto el dicho procurador y lo ha testificado el mesmo notario que con el venia en presencia de los dichos testigos. la junta esta muy indignada contra sevilla cordova y granada con otras universidades del Andalucia que quieren estar en obedienca de V. Mt. y de su governador. han fecho tomar en el camino unas cartas que venian de Sevilla para mi y lehidas en medina detuvose (1) la junta y despues rompio y rasgolas.

(1) Sic.

(TRANSLATION.)

ment. On the same day, (1) the 21st, they sent a Dominican friar, called Fray Alonso de Medina, to preach in this town, exhorting it to make common cause with them. Afterwards a Procurator of the said Junta, whose name is Francisco de Anaysa, came with a notary and witnesses whilst all the councillors were assembled in my house, and presented to us, in the name of the Junta, an intimation that all councillors, alkaldes, and a great number of secretaries and *escrivanos*, whether they be present in or absent from these kingdoms, were bound to give account and reason for all that has been done through them and with their assistance, and that those who are in this town shall not leave it on any condition, and that in no manner shall they assemble or despatch the business of these kingdoms until the said Junta provides for all this, as your Highness will see more in detail in the act of intimation here enclosed. The said Procurator has demanded an attestation, and the notary has testified it in presence of witnesses. The Junta is very indignant with Sevilla, Cordova, Granada, and other townships of Andalusia, because they are willing to remain in the obedience of your Majesty and your governor. They ordered to be intercepted on the road some letters which came from Sevilla for me. Whilst the Junta stopped at Medina they read, and then took and destroyed them.

(1) Sic.

1520.

trebajan los de la dicha Junta en recebir los capitanes y gente de la guarda de Vña Alt. ofreciendoles la paga de todo lo reçagado qne se les deve, y a mas desto muy mayores salarios de los que reciben de Vña Alt. nosotros trevajamos en lo contrario y procuramos que se les pague alguna parte pues de todo no podemos porque muchas ciudades detienen el dinero de sus rentas rreales.

el presidente de la chancilleria de Granada que era obispo de mondoñedo es muerto. conviene que V. Mt. con toda celeridat provea de otro. el procurador daquella ciudat me ha requerido que se les de antes persona noble y de estado que de letras, ca los presidentes no tienen voto en conseio, y quando son nobles y tienen estado dan gran autoridad al dicho consejo. suplico a V. Mt. tenga por bien de hazer merced de aquel obispado, que segun entiendo vale poco, al doctor manso Dean de Granada y del conseio de la Santa Ynquisicion que cierto es persona de letras y de muy buena vida y a todos muy grato y acepto, que haziendo V. A. esta merced al dicho Doctor a mas que todos la recibiremos yo certifico a V. Mt. que todo el pueblo universalmente le loara de tan buena provision.

oy ha enbiado la junta a mandar y requerir a Xuarez y a Perianyes que por cosas que cumplen al servicio de Su Al.

(Translation.)

The Junta endeavour to gain over the captains and the soldiers of the guards of your Highness, offering them all the arrears due to them, and besides much higher pay than they receive from your Highness. We, on the contrary, try to make arrangements to pay them a portion [of the arrears], because [to pay] the whole is impossible, as many cities withhold your royal revenues.

The president of the Chancery of Granada, who was Bishop of Mondoñedo, is dead. It is necessary for your Highness to appoint another with all speed. The Procurator of that city has asked me that the place may be given rather to a nobleman and a statesman than to a scholar; for presidents have no vote in the deliberations, and if they are noblemen, and occupy a high station, they give great authority to the court. I beg your Majesty to give the bishopric, which, as I hear, is worth little, to the Doctor Manso, Dean of Granada, and member of the Council of the Holy Inquisition. He is certainly a man of letters, leads an exemplary life, and is very welcome and acceptable to all. If your Highness gives the preferment to the said doctor all will be satisfied; and I can assure your Majesty that all the people in general will praise the good choice you have made.

The Junta has sent to day to request Suarez and Perianyes to go directly to Tordesillas for the despatch of business which

1520.

y del Reyno vayan luego a tordesyllas. crehese que tienen fin a que la contaduria este con ellos y que querran tomar todos los dineros de las rentas rreales y disponer dellas a su voluntad, y si esto es V. Mt. no terna mas que hazer en el dicho Reyno, y en este punto me han dicho que les quieren tomar cuenta de todo lo passado.

tanbien han venido esta manyana a esta villa dozientas lanças y es la fama que quieren prender a algunos del conseio de manera que todos estamos en mucho peligro ahunque yo en lo de mi persona no temo. si tomaren mi hazienda cierto no sera mucha la perdida porque es muy poca, yo me deterne aqua tanto quanto con mi penuria me pudiere mantener y quando me faltere con que sostener a mi y a mi familia, que sera muy presto, serme a (1) forçado dentro de pocos dias de yrme a otra parte en donde menos gaste y haja alguna subvencion, que aqua ni lo que se me deve de lo que enpreste a V. Mt. en barcelona ni lo de mis salarios se me paga, ni hay de donde se pueda haver, ni tampoco vargas ha iamas hallado en estas partes un dinero ni quien ie lo de a cambio para barcelona ni valencia, y assi como digo no me seria possible dexar de hazer otra cosa, que otramente mi estado no serviria para mas de recebir una afruenta que ni

(1) y sermeia.

(Translation.)

concerns the service of her Highness and of the kingdom. It is believed that they wish to have the treasury there where they are, to appropriate to themselves all the moneys of the royal revenues, and to dispose of them as they like. If that should be the case, your Majesty would have no longer any business in this kingdom. This moment they tell me that they intend to demand an account for what has been spent.

This morning two hundred lances entered this town, and, it is said, they think of arresting some of the council. Thus we are all in danger, although I am not afraid for my own person. If they take my property, to be sure the loss will not be great, because there is so little. I shall remain here as long as I am able to maintain myself out of my poor means. When I have no longer whereupon I and my servants can live, and that will be very soon the case, I shall be forced within a few days to go to another place which is cheaper, and where I may find some resources; for here neither what I lent to your Majesty in Barcelona nor my salary is paid to me, and there is no possibility of getting money any where. Even Vargas has, in these parts, never obtained money nor found any one willing to lend on letters of exchange on Barcelona and Valencia. Thus, as I have stated, I shall not be able to avoid trying something else. If I remained here longer I should only be insulted which would be neither an honour nor an advantage to your

1520.

seria honrra ni servicio de V. Mt. ni descanso mio que lo he bien menester.

el condestable es contento de aceptar el cargo de la governacion con dos condiciones segun que V. Mt. las vera por la carta de lope hurtado.

la provision de los cinquenta mil ducados ya no aprovecha porque los thesoreros no quieren pagar un maravedi ni pensar en ello.

mucha necessidat hay que diego de vera este aqua juntamente con nosotros, y porque esta ausente, cumple mucho que V. A. le mande escrevir una carta graciosa que en todo caso y dexadas todas cosas y pospuestos los temores e interesses que los de la junta le ofrecen venga a se juntar con los governadores y que V. Mt. le prometa que en caso que por ello reciba daño en su hazienda que V. A. je lo satisfara largamente.

V. Mt. me ha mandado por una cedula que entendamos aqua en los descargos del Rey Catholico que haya gloria, y cierto por todos respectos yo desseo y querria mucho la buena execucion y complimiento dellos como se deve al defuncto, pero como el tiempo es tal no hay lugar de pensar en esta materia, y assi suplico a V. Al. me tenga por escusado, si no me hocupo en ella que en verdat no me seria possible. guarde nuestro Señor la vida y rreal estado de

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(TRANSLATION.)

Majesty, and I should not enjoy that tranquillity of which I stand in great need.

The Constable is ready to accept the office of governor on two conditions, as your Majesty will learn from the letter of Lope Hurtado.

The order for the payment of the 50,000 ducats is no longer of any use. The treasurers do not dare to pay one maravedi, nor do they think of such a thing.

It is very necessary that Diego de Vera should be here with us. As he is absent it would be good if your Highness would write him a gracious letter telling him that, postponing all other affairs, and, notwithstanding his apprehensions and the advantages which the Junta offers him, he must at all events join the governors. Your Majesty may promise to indemnify him liberally for all the losses he might suffer.

Your Majesty has commanded me to see that the debts of the Catholic King, who is in glory, be paid. Certainly for many reasons I wish much that that could be accomplished, as it is due to the memory of the late king, but as times are it is impossible even to think of such a thing. Your Highness will therefore excuse me if I do not occupy myself in this affair, for, in truth, it is impossible. May our Lord guard the

1520.

V. Mt. con toda prosperidat. en valladolit a xxiij de Setienbre 1520.

Despues de escripta esta he recebido las que van con la presente del Duque de medinasidonia del doctor de la gama y de Pero Suarez de Castilla con otros auctos por los quales vera V. A. largamente lo que en Sevilla ha passado. todo va de forma quɔ no se que dezir mas de encomendarlo a dios con la presta venida de V. Mt.

vr̃e tres humble serviteur el carl. dertuseñ.

[*Sobre:*] S. C. R. C. Mti.

24th September. **61.** ATTESTATION of a CONVERSATION of QUEEN JUANA with the MEMBERS of the JUNTA.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Patronato Real. Comunidades de Castilla. Legajo* 6. *Cuaderno* 3. *Documento* 14. *Original.*

This document is printed in Sandoval's History of the Emperor Charles V., but that version is so incorrect that, without counting minor differences in the spelling of words and an arbitrary punctuation, not less than sixty one errors occur in it, some of them amounting to substituting the name of one person for another, or entirely changing the sense of a sentence. However, it is the same document, and the errors do not seem to be intentional.]

Testimonio oreginal que los Regidores de la falsa e mala junta tomaron de cierta platica e Requerimiento que diz que fisieron a Su Altesa en tordesyllas.

De lo que pasaron con la Reyna Nuestra Señora los de la Junta quando le fueron a besar la mano.

(TRANSLATION.)

life and royal estate of your Majesty in all prosperity.—Valladolid, 23rd of September 1520.

When I had written this, I received the letters which I enclose from the Duke of Medina Sidonia, the Doctor de la Gama, and Pedro Suarez de Castilla, together with other documents, from which your Highness will learn very minutely what has happened in Sevilla. All affairs here take such a turn that I know no other remedy than the help of God and the speedy arrival of your Majesty.

Votre très humble serviteur,
The Cardinal of Tortosa.

[*Addressed:*] To his sacred, imperial, royal, and catholic Majesty.

61. Original Attestation which the regents of the false and wicked Junta had drawn up about a conversation with and intimation made, as they say, to her Highness in Tordesillas.

What the members of the Junta spoke with the Queen our lady, when they went to kiss her hand.

1520.

En la noble y leal villa de tordesyllas lunes veynte e quatro dias del mes de setienbre año del nascimiento de nuestro salvador jesuchristo de mill e quinientos e veinte años estando la muy alta e muy poderosa Reyna doña juana nuestra Señora y con ella la yllustrisima Señora ynfante doña catalina en los palacios Reales de la dicha villa e en presencia de nos juan de mirueña e antonio Rodriguez e alonso Rodriguez de palma escrivanos y notarios publicos de sus altezas e ante los testigos de yuso escriptos se presentaron ante su alteza los procuradores de las cibdades e villas que tienen boto en cortes. conviene a saber por parte de la cibdad de burgos pedro de cartajena e jeronimo de castro e por parte de la cibdad de leon don antonio de quiñones e gonçalo de guzman e el maestro fray pablo prior del monesterio de santo domingo e juan de venavente canonigo de leon e por parte de la cibdad de toledo don pero laso de la vega e de guzman e pero ortega e diego de montoya jurados e francisco de Rojas y el dotor martinez e por parte de la cibdad de Salamanca diego de guzman y el comendador fray diego de almaraz de la horden de san juan e francisco maldonado de la calle de los moros e pero Sanchez cerero e por parte de la cibdad de avila Sancho Sanchez cinbron Regidor e gomez de avila e diego del esquina e por parte de la cibdad de Segovia el bachiller alonso de guadalajara e alonso de cuellar e por

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(Translation.)

In the noble and loyal town of Tordesillas, on Monday the 24th of the month of September of the year one thousand five hundred and twenty after the birth of our Saviour Jesus Christ. The very high and very mighty Queen Doña Juana, our Lady, accompanied by the very illustrious Señora Infanta Doña Catalina, staying in the royal palace of this town, in presence of us, Juan de Mirueña and Antonio Rodriguez and Alonso Rodriguez de Palma, *escrivanos* and public notaries of their Highnesses, and the undersigned witnesses, the procurators of the cities, towns, and places which have votes in the Cortes, presented themselves before her Highness; viz., for the city of Burgos, Pedro de Cartagena and Geronymo de Castro; for the city of Leon, Don Antonio de Quiñones, Gonzalo de Guzman, and Maestro Fray Pablo, prior of the convent of Santo Domingo, and Juan de Benavente, canon of Leon; for the city of Toledo, Don Pero Lasso de la Vega y de Guzman, and Pero Ortega, and Diego de Montoya, *Jurados*, Francisco de Rojas, and Doctor Martinez; for the city of Salamanca, Diego de Guzman, and the Knight Commander, Fray Diego de Almaraz of the Order of St. John, and Francisco Maldonado from the street of the Moros, and Pero Sanchez, waxchandler; for the city of Avila, Sancho Sanchez Zimbron, Regidor, and Gomez de Avila, and Diego del Esquina; for the city of Segovia, the bachelor Alonso de

1520.

parte de la cibdad de toro don hernando de ulloa e pero gonzales de valderas abad de la cibdad de toro e pedro de ulloa e pero merino e por parte de la villa de madrid pedro de losada e pedro de Sotomayor e diego de madrid pañero e por parte de valladolid jorge de herrera Regidor e alonso Saravia e alonso de vera e por parte de cuenca juan de olivares e hernan gonzales de alcozer e por parte de Soria el protanotario don hernandiañez de morales dean de Soria e don carlos de luna e de arellano e hernan brabo e de Saravia e el licenciado bartolome Rodrigues de Santiago e por parte de guadalajara juan de orvina e el dotor francisco de medina Regidores e diego de esquivel. los quales hizieron a su alteza la reverencia e acatamiento devida a su magestad e su alteza los rescibio benina y alegremente. e luego el dicho pedro de cartajena llego a su alteza e hinco las rodillas en el suelo e pidio la mano a su alteza e no oymos lo que dixo. e luego llego el dicho don pero laso de la vega e de guzman a su alteza e hinco las rodillas en el suelo e pidio la mano a su alteza e le hablo largamente y entre otras cosas dixo a su alteza que el hera procurador de la cibdad de toledo e que toledo era la primera e principal que se avia movido para el servicio de su alteza e bien destos Reynos e que el avia sido el que avia

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(Translation.)

Guadalaxara and Alonso de Cuellar; for the city of Toro, Don Hernando de Ulloa and Pero Gonzales de Valderas, abbot of the city of Toro, and Pedro de Ulloa and Pero Merino; for the town of Madrid, Pedro de Losada and Pedro de Sotomayor, and Diego de Madrid, woollen draper; for the town of Valladolid, Jorge de Herrera, Regidor, Alonso Saravia, and Alonso de Vera; for Cuenca, Juan de Olivares and Hernan Gonzales de Alcozer; for Soria, the prothonotary Don Hernandiañez de Morales, dean of Soria, and Don Carlos de Luna y de Arellano, and Hernan Bravo, and Saravia, and the licentiate Bartolome Rodriguez de Santiago; for Guadalaxara, Juan de Orvina and the Doctor Francisco de Medina, Regidores, and Diego de Esquivel. They showed her Highness the reverence and respect due to her Majesty, and her Highness received them graciously and gladly. Immediately afterwards the said Pedro de Cartagena went up to her Highness, knelt down on the floor, and asked the hand of her Highness [to kiss], but we did not hear what he said. After him the said Don Pero Lasso de la Vega y de Guzman approached her Highness, knelt down on the floor, begged the hand of her Highness [to kiss], and addressed her in a long speech. Amongst other things, he said to her Highness that he was Procurator for the city of Toledo, that Toledo was the first and principal city which had risen for the service of her Highness and the common weal of these kingdoms, and that that was the reason why he had come.

1520.

salido para ello e que los procuradores del Reyno estavan alli y venian para servir a su alteza y obedescerla como a su rreyna y Señora natural e que suplicavan a su magestad que se esforzase para regir y governar su Reyno. e asymismo llegaron otros procuradores e hincaron las Rodillas en el suelo e pidieron la mano a su alteza. e luego el dotor Çuñiga vecino de la muy noble e leal cibdad de Salamanca e cathedratico en ella que presente estava las Rodillas en el suelo como persona nombrada y heligida por los dichos procuradores para dezir y manifestar a su alteza las cosas conplideras al servicio de dios e de su alteza e bien e pacificacion e remedio destos sus Reynos. entre muchas cosas que el dicho dotor Çuñiga dixo a su alteza tocantes a su servicio le dixo como los procuradores del Reyno que alli estavan se avian movido con santo zelo e expiracion (1) de dios a vesitar e besar las manos a su alteza como a su Reyna e Señora natural doliendose del mal e grande daño que estos sus Reynos avian padescido y padescian a causa de la mala governacion que en ellos avia avido despues que dios avia querido llevar para si al catolico Rey su padre e despues quel hijo de v̄ra alteza princepe nuestro entro en estos Reynos de vuestra alteza con aquella gente estrangera que v̄ra alteza mejor conosce que nadie los quales trataron tan mal estos vuestros Reynos que allende de

(1) Sic.

(TRANSLATION.)

The Procurators of the kingdom [he said] were there, and had come to serve her Highness and obey her, their Queen and lawful sovereign. They entreated her Majesty to have confidence in herself, and rule and govern her kingdoms. Other Procurators followed, bent their knees to the ground, and asked the hand of her Highness [to kiss]. Then came Doctor Zuñiga, citizen of the very noble and very loyal city of Salamanca, and professor there; he went down before her on his knees, and, as he had been nominated and selected by the said Procurators to state and make manifest to her Highness the measures which were required for the service of God and her Highness, as well as for the weal, pacification, and amendment of these her kingdoms, he said, amongst many other things to her Highness what follows. With respect to her service he told her that the Procurators of this kingdom who stood there had been induced by a holy zeal and divine inspiration to visit and to kiss the hands of her Highness, their queen and lawful sovereign, complaining of the injury and great evils which these her kingdoms had suffered and suffer by reason of the bad government of them. Since God had pleased to call into His presence the Catholic King her father, and the son of her Highness, our prince, accompanied by foreigners, whom your Highness knows better than any one else, have entered these kingdoms of your Highness, they have treated them so badly that, in addition to many other

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muchos e grandes males que en ellos hizieron que aqui tan presto no se podrian dezir los dexaron casy syn ningun dinero e ansymismo doliendose de la opresyon e manera de la estada de ṽra alteza porque todos vuestros Reynos estan para servir y obedescer a ṽra alteza y traella encima de sus cabeças como a su Reyna e Señora natural e dexarse morir por ella. por que humillmente suplican a ṽra alteza se esfuerçe para regir e governar e mandar sus Reynos pues que no ay en el mundo quien se lo viede ny ynpida pues es la mas poderosa Reyna y Señora del mundo e lo puede todo mandar no dexe su Reyno e sus suditos e naturales pues que por ella e por su servicio se dexaran todos morir. e sobre ello le encargo la Real conciencia de ṽra alteza. e al tienpo quel dicho dotor Çuñiga començó la dicha platica con su alteza su magestad estava en pie y el dicho dotor Çuñiga las rrodillas en el suelo delante de su alteza, e su magestad le mando levantar diciendole levantaos porque os oyre mejor. y el dicho dotor se levanto y en pie continuando su habla. su alteza dixo trayanme una almohada porque le quiero oyr de espacio. y luego fueron traydas a su magestad almohadas e su alteza se asento en ellas e luego el dicho dotor Çuñiga torno a hincar las rodillas en el suelo e continuo e acabo su habla en la manera susodicha. a la qual su magestad Respondio larga y muy conprehendiosa-

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(Translation.)

great evils which they did, and which it would be too long to state here at length, they left them almost without money. They likewise complain of the oppression and manner of treatment to which her Highness had been subjected, [saying] that all her kingdoms are ready to obey and serve her Highness, and place her, their queen and born sovereign, at their head, and die for her. Therefore they humbly beseech your Highness to take courage, to rule, and govern and command your kingdoms. For there is no one in the world to forbid or impede you. Being the most mighty queen and lady in the world, you can command in everything, and should not forsake all your kingdoms and subjects who are ready to die for you and in your service. On this point I appeal to the royal conscience of your Highness. When the said Doctor Zuñiga began to address his discourse to her Highness, her Majesty was standing, and the said Doctor Zuñiga on his knees on the floor before her Highness. And her Majesty ordered him to rise, saying: Stand up, that I may hear you better. The Doctor got up, and continued his discourse standing. Her Highness said: Bring me a cushion, because I want to hear him at leisure. Cushions were brought for her Majesty, and her Highness seated herself on them. The Doctor Zuñiga went down again on his knees, and continued and concluded his discourse in that position. Her Majesty gave a long and

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mente mostrando mucho plazer de aver oydo la habla del dicho dotor y entre otras palabras que su magestad dixo dixo las sigiuentes.

yo despues que dios quiso llevar para sy a la Reyna Catolica mi Señora syenpre obedeci e acate al Rey mi Señor e padre por ser mi padre e marido de la Reyna mi Señora e yo estava muy descuydada con el porque no oviera ninguno que se atreviera a hazer cosas mal hechas e despues que he sabido como dios le quiso llevar para sy lo he sentido mucho y no lo quisiera aver sabido y quisiera que fuera bibo y que alla donde esta bibiese porque su bida hera mas necessaria que la mia, y pues ya lo avia de saber quisiera averlo sabido antes por remediar todo lo que en mi fuese. e yo tengo mucho amor a todas las gentes e pesame mucho de qualquier mal o daño que ayan Rescibido e porque sienpre he tenido malas conpañias e me an dicho falsedades e mentiras e me an traydo en dobladuras e yo quisiera estar en parte donde pudiera entender en las cosas que en mi fuesen. pero como el Rey mi Señor me puso aqui no se sy a causa de aquella que entro en lugar de la Reyna mi Señora o por otras consideraciones que su alteza sabria no he podido mas y quando yo supe de los

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(Translation.)

comprehensive answer, showing great joy that she had heard the discourse of the Doctor Zuñiga. And amongst other things her Majesty said:

"When God had been pleased to call the Catholic Queen "my lady from this world, I always obeyed and honoured "the King my lord and father, because he was my father "and the husband of the Queen my lady, and as long as "he lived I was without apprehension, for no one would "have dared to do wrong. Afterwards I knew that God "had been pleased to call him from this world. I felt "it much, and would have preferred never to know it, "and wish he were still alive, and I there where he is, for "his life would be more useful than mine. As I, however, "must know it, I should have liked to have learned it "earlier, because I would have remedied all in as far as it "was in my power. I love all the people very much, "and am very sorry for any injury or damage they may "have received. But I always had wicked persons about "me, who told me falsehoods and lies, and deceived me with "double dealing, whilst I always wished to stay where I "could occupy myself with those affairs which concerned me. "As, however, the King my lord had sent me hither, I do "not know whether it was on account of her (1) who occu-"pied the place of the Queen my lady (2), or from any other "considerations which were known to his Highness alone, I

(1) Queen Germaine de Foix. (2) Queen Isabel.

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estrangeros que entraron ya estavan en casa y pesome mucho dello y pense que venian a entender en algunas cosas que cunplian a mys hijos e no fue asy, e maravillome mucho de vosotros no aver tomado vengança de los que avian fecho mal, pues que quien quiera lo pudiera hazer porque de todo lo bueno me place y de lo malo me pesa. sy yo no me puse en ello fue porque alla ni aca no hiziesen mal a mis hijos e no puedo creer que son ydos aunque de cierto me han dicho que son ydos, y mirad si ay algunos dellos aunque creo que ninguno se atrevera a hazer mal. seyendo yo segunda o tercera propietaria e Señora e aun por esto no avia de ser tratada asy pues bastara ser hija de Rey e de Reyna. e huelgo mucho con vosotros porque entendais en remediar las cosas mal hechas y syno lo hizieredes cargue sobre vuestras conciencias y ansy os las encargo sobre ello, y en lo que en mi fuere yo entendere en ello asy aquy como en otros lugares donde fuere. e si aqui no pudiere tanto entender en ello sera porque tengo que hazer algun dia en sosegar mi coraçon y esforçarme de la muerte del Rey mi Señor e mientra yo no tengo dispusicion para ello entended en ello, e porque no vengan aqui todos

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(Translation.)

" could not accomplish it. When I learnt that the foreigners
" had come to us they were already in the kingdom, and
" I was very sorry for it, but thought that they had
" come to do something that was in the interest of my
" children. It was not so, and I wonder much at your
" not having taken vengeance of those who have done evil,
" for whoever should have wished could have done so, as I
" am pleased with all that is good, but sorry for all that is
" bad. If I have not taken the initiative in this affair, it
" was because I was afraid lest they might, here or there, (1)
" do harm to my children ; and even now, although I am
" assured that they are gone, I can scarcely believe it. See
" whether any of them are still here, although I believe that
" none will dare to do evil. I am the second or third sove-
" reign lady in my own right, but that I am the daughter of
" a king and queen should alone have sufficed that I should
" not be treated ill. I am much pleased with you because
" you are to employ yourselves in remedying all that is bad.
" May your consciences be smitten if you do not do it. Thus,
" on your consciences, I entrust you with these affairs. As
" for me, I shall employ myself in them, here or in another
" place wherever I may be, and if I should not be able to do
" much now, it is because I want some time to comfort my
" heart, and to console myself for the death of the King, my
" lord. (2) As long as I am not in a disposition to do it, you
" must despatch all business ; and in order that all of you

(1) In Spain or in Flanders.
(2) King Ferdinand, whose death she had learnt only a short time before.

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juntos nonbrad entre vosotros de los que aquy estays quatro de los mas sabios para esto que hablen comigo para entender en todo lo que conviene e yo los oyre e hablare con ellos e entendere en ello cada vez que sea necesario e hare todo lo que pudiere. e luego fray juan de avila de la horden de san francisco confesor de su alteza que presente estava dixo que los oya vuestra alteza cada semana una vez. a lo qual su alteza respondio y dixo todas las vezes que fueren menester los ablare, elijan ellos entre sy quatro dellos de los mas sabios que cada dia e cada vez que fuere necesario yo los ablare e entendere en lo que yo pudiere. e luego el dicho dotor Çuñiga en nonbre de todos dixo besamos los pies y las manos de v̄ra alteza por tan largo bien e merced como nos ha fecho y puedense llamar los mas bienaventurados onbres del mundo en aver venido a v̄ra alteza e conseguido tan alta merced. y el dicho dotor Çuñiga en nonbre de todos lo pidio por testimonio a nos los dichos escrivanos, e otros muchos de los dichos procuradores lo pidieron por testimonio. a lo qual fueron presentes por testigos el padre fray juan de avila de la orden de san francisco confesor de su alteza e pero gonzalez de valderas abad de la yglesia colegial de la cibdad de toro e diego de montoya jurado e vecino de la cibdad de

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(Translation.)

" need not come to see me, you who are here present may " choose four of the wisest amongst you, and they can speak " with me and despatch business whenever required. I shall " hear and speak with them, and despatch business with them, " as often as it is necessary, and I shall do all that is in my " power." Fray Juan de Avila, of the Order of San Francisco, and confessor of her Highness, who was present, said, " Your Highness may hear them once a week;" to which her Highness replied, " I shall speak with them as often as it is " necessary. They may choose four of the most prudent of " them, and every day and every time it may be necessary " I shall speak with them and despatch business, in as far as " I am able to do it." The Doctor Zuñiga then said in the name of all of them, " We kiss the feet and hands of your " Highness for so great a favour and mercy as you have been " pleased to show us, and we may consider ourselves the most " fortunate men in the world that we have come to your " Highness and obtained such distinguished grace." And the Doctor Zuñiga, in the name of all of them, and a great many other Procurators, demanded an attestation from us the said *escrivanos*. The witnesses were the Father Fray Juan de Avila, of the Order of San Francisco, and confessor of her Highness, and Pero Gonzales de Valderas, abbot of the collegiate church of the city of Toro, and Diego de Montoya, *jurado* and citizen of the city of Toledo, and Hernan

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toledo e hernan bravo de Saravia vecino de la cibdad de Soria e otros muchos que alli estavan.

va escripto entre renglones o diz en Remediar. Vala.

E nos los dichos alonso Rodriguez de palma e juan de mirueña e antonio Rodriguez escrivanos e notarios publicos susodichos presentes fuimos a todo lo que dicho es en uno con los dichos testigos e lo vimos asi pasar e dezir a su alteza segund que de suso se contiene e por ende fecimos aqui nuestros syños que son a tales en testimonio de verdad. juan de mirueña. [Sigue un signo y una rubrica.] antonio Rodriguez. [Signo y rubrica.] alonso Rodriguez de palma. [Signo y rubrica.]

26th September. **62.** The GENERAL JUNTA of the KINGDOM to the Town of VALLADOLID.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Patronato Real. Comunidades de Castilla. Legajo* 1. *f.* 108. *Original.*]

Carta de la Junta general para esta villa.

Muy magnificos Señores,

como a todos sea notorio que la rrayz y principio de donde an manado todos los males y daños que estos rreynos han rrecibido a sido la falta de salud de la rreyna nuestra Señora la qual y la tierna hedad del rrey nuestro señor su hijo dieron

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(TRANSLATION.)

Bravo de Saravia, citizen of the town of Soria, and many others who were present.

The word "remedy" which is written between the lines is valid.

And we the undersigned Alonso Rodriguez de Palma and Juan de Mirueña and Antonio Rodriguez, *escrivanos* and public notaries, were present at all that has been stated, and together with the witnesses saw and heard all that was transacted with her Highness. We therefore affix our signatures in testimony of the truth.

Juan de Mirueña [signature and sign manual]. Antonio Rodriguez [signature and sign manual]. Alonso Rodriguez de Palma [signature and sign manual].

62. Letter of the General Junta to this town.

Very magnificent Señores,

As is notorious to all, the root and the beginning of all the evils and injuries which these kingdoms have received has been the want of health in the person of the Queen our lady, which, in conjunction with the tender age of the King our lord

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cabsa y lugar a que metidos estrangeros en la governacion de los dichos rreynos tan sin piedad fuesen despojados y tiranizados dellos en tanto deservicio de sus magestades y daño particular y general de todos, acordamos los procuradores del Reyno que para el rremedyo de los dichos daños mediante la gracia divina estamos juntos que la primera y mas justa jornado que podiamos y deviamos hazer hera yr a la villa de tordesillas a presentarnos ante nuestra Reyna y Señora para dos cosas. la una para que la Junta se haga en su palacio rreal presentandole aquel acatamiento y obediencia que a su rreal persona se deve y a le dar toda la cuenta que de los dichos daños e de lo que para el rremedio dellos se tratare su Alteza sera servida de rrecibir. la otra cabsa es para procurar por todos los medios a nosotros posibles la salud de su Alteza en que tenemos por cierto que esta el rremedio de los trabajos presentes para lo qual embiamos a llamar todos los mas famosos y excelentes medicos destos rreynos e para esto mejor e mas libremente poner en obra parecionos cosa conveniente la absencia desta villa por el presente de los señores marques y marquesa de denia creyendo y aun conosciendo dellos que pues tan poco se ocuparon en procurar la salud de su Alteza el tienpo que tovieron cargo de la governacion de su rreal persona e casa que no nos serian buenos ayudadores en este

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(Translation.)

her son, was the cause and occasion for placing the government of these kingdoms in the hands of strangers, by whom they have been ruthlessly plundered and tyrannized over to the great prejudice of their Majesties, and with great injury individual and general. We the Procurators of the kingdom, who are assembled in order to remedy the said injuries, through the grace of God, decided that the first measure we could and ought to take was to go to this town of Tordesillas, and to present ourselves to our Queen and lady, for two reasons, viz., firstly that the Junta may be assembled in her royal palace, showing her that respect and obedience which are due to her royal person; to give her an account of all the said injuries, and to ask her Highness that she be pleased to approve what should be decided upon for their remedy. The other reason is to procure by all means in our power the health of her Highness, in which consists, as we firmly believe, the remedy for all our present troubles. For that purpose we send for all the most famous and excellent physicians in these kingdoms. In order to be in a better condition and at greater liberty to execute our design, it has seemed to us expedient that the Marquis and the Marchioness of Denia should not remain in this town. We believe, and even know, that as they did not occupy themselves with restoring the health of her Highness during the time when they had the charge of the government of her royal person and household

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proposito. y porque los Remedios que por via humana se podrian buscar para cosa tan grande no aprovecharian para mas de para mostrar nuestra diligencia y fedelidad si principalmente no recurriesemos al verdadero remedio que es dios aviendolo primero comunicado con personas religiosas de santa vida ordenamos que generalmente en todas las cibdades e villas destos Reynos se fagan solenes e devotas procesyones y plegarias por la dicha salud de su Alteza. hazemoslo saver a vuestra mr̃d para que ay provea como se faga lo mismo.

ansimismo hazemos saber a ṽra md. que viendo que el efeto para que aqui nos juntamos hera reparar los males hechos en el Reyno y Resistir los que cada dia se aparejan de nuevo no se podia conseguir estando el poder e fuerça en manos de los mismos autores y favricadores de los dichos males que son los que asta aqui an estado en el consejo Real los generales (1) no arrepentidos de lo echo siguiendo la natura del demonio entendian agora de nuevo con todas sus fuerças en aparejarse asy de gente de armas como de ayudas de grandes para llevar adelante su diabolico proposyto, acordamos aviendo sobrello muchos dias platicado e deliberado que hera necesario sobreser el autoridad de los susodichos pues hera poderio de tinieblas hasta tanto que con acuerdo destos Reynos sus magestades de-

(1) Sic, pero debe ser *quales*.

(Translation.)

so they would not aid us in our purpose. And because in so important a case the remedies which could be found by human exertion would have no other effect than to show our goodwill and loyalty, unless we have recourse to the principal and true remedy, which is God, we have consulted persons in holy orders and of holy life, and, at their advice, now order that in all the cities and towns throughout these kingdoms solemn and devout processions and public prayers be made for the health of her Highness. We inform your Lordships of this, and beg you to see that so it be done there.

We also let your Lordships know that, as the purpose for which we are here assembled is to remedy the evils which have been inflicted on these kingdoms, and to resist those who every day make new preparations, so it is impossible to carry out our design as long as the very authors and contrivers of the said evils have the power and force in their hands. Those who until this time have been members of the Royal Council do not repent what they have done, but, imitating the devil, try again with all their strength to enlist soldiers, to gain over the grandees, and to carry out their diabolical intentions. We have, therefore, during many days discussed and deliberated on this subject, and finally decided that it is necessary to suspend them from their offices, which were powers of darkness, until their Majesties pronounce on their

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terminen sus culpas e provean de consejo e governador e governadores conforme a la ley de los Reynos lo qual asy se hizo por un requerimiento que por nuestro mandado se les notifico en la noble villa de Valladolid hazemoslo saber a ũra mñd para que de aqui adelante (1) . . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

esperamos en dios nuestro Señor que nos guio a lo hazer que sera servido como sea guardada en esta manera. las cibdades e villas e comunidades deste Reyno se hazen muy fuertes y poderosas y se guardaran sus leyes y fueros no consintiendo que se quebranten y el Reyno se porna en costumbre y estilo de lo guardar como asta aqui estava en descuydo de no tener pena del quebrantamiento dello e de su perdicion, e aun visto esto e sabido por las personas que no an tenido entera e vuena voluntad al bien comun podian estar sin cuydado que su mal proposito no avra efeto. aqui ynbiamos la escriptura de hermandad. es menester que ũra mñd lo mande pregonar con mucha solenidad (2) tronpetas e que se notifique e faga saber e de la misma manera publicar en las otras villas y lugares que no son de su jurisdicion e cahen devaxo de su voto e provincia

(1) roto el origl. y siguen otros dos capitulos que no se copian por estar destrozados.
(2) Sic.

(TRANSLATION.)

guilt and appoint other privy councillors, governor, and governors, according to the law of these kingdoms. This decision was notified to them by an intimation made at our command in the noble town of Valladolid. We inform your Lordships of this, in order that henceforth (1) . . . . . .

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. . . . . .

We hope in God our Lord, who has directed us to do this, that He will be pleased to ordain that, if all is faithfully observed, the cities and towns and commons of this kingdom will become very strong and powerful, and not permit the laws and *fueros* to be broken. The kingdoms will then assume the habit and custom of keeping them, instead of, as it hitherto has done, neglecting them, unmindful of breaches of the law and its own perdition. When those persons who hitherto have had no pure and good intentions perceive and know this, they will see that their bad designs cannot be carried into effect, and be no longer dangerous. We send herewith the writ of confederation, which your Lordships must proclaim with much solemnity and sound of trumpets. It is to be notified to and proclaimed in the same manner in the other towns and villages which are not under the jurisdiction of your Lordships, but are represented by your vote, and belong to your pro-

(1) Paper gone. The conclusion of this and the two following paragraphs are illegible.

1520.

porque sea publico en estos Reynos e todos gozen del universal favor. y esto mande vra mṽd que luego se ponga asi en efeto porque de la misma manera se provee y manda que se faga en todo el Reyno e que se jure por las perrochias e quadrillas. Nuestro Señor sus muy magnificas personas guarde y estado acresciente del qual mandamos dar la presente subscripta en forma de juan de Mirueña e antonio Rodrigues secretario de la Santa junta que es fecha en la villa de tordesyllas a veynte e seys dias del mes de Setiembre de mille quinientos veinte años. por mandado de los Señores procuradores de las cortes e junta general del Reyno leales vassallos de sus magestades. Juan de Mirueña. Antonio Rodriguez.

[*Sobre :*] A los muy magnificos Señores los Señores concejo justicia cavalleros capitan general e quadrillas e diputados e honrrada comunidad de la muy noble e leal villa de Valladolid.

7th October. **63.** The EMPEROR CHARLES to the CARDINAL OF TORTOSA.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Patronato Real. Comunidades de Castilla. Legajo No.* 6. *Cuaderno* 2. *Documento* 10.]

Estes traslado bien y fielmente sacado de una carta de su Cesarea y Catolica Magestades (1) escripta en papel y firmada de su nonbre su thenor de la qual es este que se sigue.

(1) Sic.

(TRANSLATION.)

vince, so that it may be proclaimed throughout these kingdoms, and all enjoy the same favour. Your Lordships must give orders that this be put in effect without delay, for it is ordered and commanded that the same be done in the whole kingdom, and that the oath of allegiance be taken in every parish and every district. Our Lord guard your magnificent persons and increase your estates. We have ordered that this letter be drawn up in form, and signed by Juan de Mirueña and Antonio Rodriguez, Secretary of the holy Junta. It is dated in the town of Tordesillas on the 26th of the month of September, of the year one thousand five hundred and twenty.

By order of the Señores Procurators of the Cortes and General Junta of the kingdom, who are loyal subjects of their Majesties.

Juan de Mirueña.
Antonio Rodriguez.

63.

This is a transcript correctly and accurately made from a letter of his imperial and catholic Majesties (1), written on paper and signed with his name. The text of this letter is the following.

(1) Sic.

1520.

Muy Reverendo in Xp̃o padre Cardenal de Tortosa nuestro governador e Inquisidor general de los Reynos y Señorios de Castilla nuestro muy caro e muy amado amigo. vi vuestra letra de xxiij de Setienbre en que me hazeys saber todo lo que hasta estonces habia subcedido en estos Reynos y ahunque de ver lo que en ellos ha pasado he estado con mucha pena y cuydado agora la he tenido muy mayor por el atrebimiento grande y desacato que se ha hecho a la Reyna mi Señora en quitar de su servicio al marques y marquesa de denia que no os podria dezir quanto esto he sentido. y asimismo de ver el requerimiento que en vuestra presencia se hizo a los del consejo, y como quiera que teniendo por cierto que para el remedio de alla no bastava ninguna provision syno mi yda yo dava en todo lo que aca se havia de hazer quanta priesa era possible para poder yr brevemente. agora visto lo que pasa yo tengo determinado de me partir luego plaziendo a nuestro Señor y tomada la primera corona sin esperar a ningund tiempo embarcarme y con su ayuda hazer vela en las primeras grisas (1) de dizienbre o de henero que para el dicho tienpo yo habre tomado la corona y estara adreçada y a punto la armada que he de llevar, porque desde luego con grande dili-

(1) Sic.

(Translation.)

Very reverend father in Christ, Cardinal of Tortosa, our Governor and Inquisitor General in the kingdoms and dominions of Castile, and very dear and very beloved friend,—I have seen your letter of the 23rd of September, by which you inform me of all that until then had occurred in those kingdoms. Although I had already been very sorry and very anxious, seeing what had passed there, I am now much more so, owing to the great and daring affront which has been offered to the Queen my lady in sending away from her service the Marquis and Marchioness of Denia, and I cannot express in words how much I have been grieved at this and at the intimation which has been made in your presence to the members of the Privy Council. Considering it as certain that no other measure would be sufficient to remedy things there (1) except my coming, I had already ordered that all affairs here (2) should be despatched as quickly as possible, so that I should be able soon to go; but now, having learnt what has happened there, I have decided to leave, with the help of our Lord, as soon as I have received my first crown, (3) and without waiting for any length of time embark and sail in the first days of December or January. At that time I shall have taken my crown, and the fleet which is to accompany me will be prepared and ready. For from this

(1) Spain. (2) Flanders and Germany.
(3) The coronation at Aix-la-Chapelle.

1520.

gencia se entiende en ella que aca se enbargan los navios y se provee lo ques menester, y para alla se enbiaran con otra posta que yra luego las provisiones necesarias, que para solo hazeros saber mi determinacion he mandado despacher esta posta y con ella no se os responde a nada de lo que escrevis ni se provee otra cosa sino lo que vereys por la carta que a vos y a los otros visoreyes escrivo.

como otras vezes vos he escripto oviera seydo muy bien que vos y los del consejo fuesedes salidos desa villa que vuestra estada en ella ha traydo muchos inconveninentes. sera bien que trabajeis de saliros luego vos y los del consejo que con la presente os enbio carta mia para esa villa sobre ello y en caso que la dicha villa quiera deterner a los dichos presidente y los del consejo vos trabajad de saliros della diziendo que os venis a flandes o como mejor os pareciere y juntaros heys con el condestable para entender en lo que hos havemos enbiado y enbiaremos a mandar. que yo lo escrivo al condestable y le enbio otro tal despacho como el que aqui va dirido(1) a todos. de lobayna a siete dias del mes de otubre de mil y quinientos e veinte años. yo el Rey. por mandado de su Magestad francisco de los Cobos. Señalada del gran chan-

(1) Sic.

(Translation.)

moment great diligence will be had to lay an embargo on ships and to provide them with what is necessary. The orders which are necessary for there will be sent by another courier who is soon to start. This courier I have ordered to be sent for no other purpose than to inform you without loss of time of this my decision, and I cannot answer by him anything you have written to me, except what you will find in the letter which I write to you and the other viceroys.

As I have already informed you, it would have been much better had you and the members of the council left that town ; (1) your presence in it has caused many inconveniences, and it would be well if you and the privy councillors would soon leave it. I send you with this present a letter to that town, but if the said town should nevertheless endeavour to detain the said President and the councillors, you must try to leave it, saying that you are going to Flanders, or whatever may seem best to you. You must join the Constable and occupy yourselves in what we have commanded or may in future command. I write to the Constable and send him another such despatch as this. Tell this to all.

From Louvain the 7th day of the month of October of the year one thousand five hundred and twenty.

I the King.

By command of his Majesty,
Francisco de los Cobos.

(1) Valladolid.

1520.

ciller y del obispo de badajoz y de don garcia de padilla y del doctor Carvajal.

en las espaldas de la dicha carta estava escripto lo siguiente.

Al muy Rdo in Xp̃o padre Cardenal de tortosa nuestro governador e ynquisidor general de los nuestros Reynos de Castilla nuestro muy caro y muy amado amigo.

Fecho y sacado fue este dicho traslado de la carta oreginal de su Mt. en la villa de Medina de Rioseco a veyente e tres dias del mes de otubre de mil e quinientos e veynte años. testigos que fueron presentes al leer corregyr e concertar este dicho traslado con la dicha oreginal de su Mt. Sebastian de Montero y Martin de San Milian. (1) yo domingo de ascobar escribano de sus Altesas e su notario publico en la su corte y en todos los sus Reynos y Señorios presente fuy al leer corregir y concertar este dicho traslado con la dicha oreginal el qual va cierto y verdadero y por ende fize aqui este mio sygno a tal. En testimonio de verdad. domingo de ascobar. [Signo y rubrica.]

(1) se lee tambien Santyllan.

(TRANSLATION.)

Signed by the High Chancellor and the Bishop of Badajoz, and Don Garcia de Padilla, and Doctor Carbajal.

On the back of the said letter is written what follows.

To the very reverend father in Christ, the Cardinal of Tortosa, our Governor and Inquisitor General in our kingdoms of Castile, our very dear and beloved friend.

This transcript was made and copied from the original letter of his Majesty in the town of Medina de Rioseco on the 23rd day of the month of October of the year one thousand five hundred and twenty. As witnesses were present whilst this transcript was read, corrected, and compared with the original of his Majesty, Sebastian de Montero and Martin de San Milian. I, Domingo de Ascobar, *Escrivano* of their Highnesses and public notary at the court and in all their kingdoms and dominions, was present at the reading, correcting, and comparing this said transcript with the said original. It is exact and true, and therefore I affix here this my sign to it. In testimony of the truth.

Domingo de Ascobar. [Signature and sign manual.]

1520.

8th October. **64.** The CARDINAL OF TORTOSA to the EMPEROR CHARLES.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Patronato Real. Comunidades de Castilla. Legajo 2. f. 160. Autograph. The few words printed in italics are written in cipher, and have been deciphered by the Editor.*]

A su Magt. del Cardenal. viij de Otubre.

S. Cesea. C. R. Mt.

al primero deste escrevi a V. Mt. lo que hasta estonces se havia ofrecido en estos reynos y despues he recebido la carta de V. Al. de xxij del pasado que particularmente era para mi con la otra para todos los governadores y el despacho que con ellas venia, y quanto a lo que v. Mt. me mando escrevir con Lope hurtardo de mendoça y con el comendador aguilera y a lo de mi estada en esta villa, segun cierto lo que cada hora se ofrece, las cosas destos rreynos van a total perdicion y no embargante lo que por las instrucciones y lo que con ellos se me escrivo, sin la presencia y presta venida de V. Mt., ya no hay remedio paral assiento y pacificacion dellos como ia ge lo tengo scrito.

la carta que es para los Governadores he embiado al condestable que esta en birbiesca para que haga y provea en lo que le pareciere, que yo con mi detencion en esta villa y con el ausencia de los del conseio ya no puedo hazer ni pensar en cosa ninguna. la provision para que podamos proveher en caso

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(TRANSLATION.)

64.

To his Majesty. From the Cardinal, 8th of October

Sacred, Imperial, Catholic, Royal Majesty,

On the 1st of this month I wrote to your Majesty all that until then had occurred in these kingdoms. Afterwards I received the letter of your Highness of the 22nd of last month, which was particularly directed to me, together with the letter for all the governors, and the despatch which came by the same courier. As for what your Majesty writes me by Lope Hurtado de Mendoza and by the Knight Commander Aguilera, concerning my remaining in this town, certainly, according to what passes every hour, the affairs of these kingdoms are on the way to utter ruin, as, notwithstanding all that is said in the instructions, and what is written to me in the letters which accompany them, without the presence and speedy arrival of your Majesty, there is no means to quiet and pacify them, as I have already written.

The letters for the governors I have sent to the Constable, who is in Birviesca (1). He may do and make such provisions as he thinks well. Being detained in this town, and the privy councillors being absent, I can do or think of nothing. The power for the privy councillors to condemn and

(1) Briviesca.

1520.

de privacion de las capitanias tenencias Regimentos veynte-quatrias alguaziladgos y otros oficios de qualquier calidat que sean en que fueren condenados qualesquier personas por los del conseio ha sydo muy buena pero aprovechara lo que pudiere.

en lo de la Reyna Ntra Señora ya no se puede proveer cosa ninguna por lo que V. Al. havra visto. el marques de Denia esta en Lerma y no sin afruenta por la honrra que la Junta le ha fecho. ya le he embiado la carta de V. Al. y si el marques viniere seguirse a el orden que por ella manda V. Mt. haviendo lugar para ello.

toda diligencia se ha fecho en procurar de saber quien escrevio aca que los Spañoles no son bien tratados alla, pero no se ha pudido saber lo cierto en mas de andar sobre ello fama publica en esta corte y ahun por toda España segun me dizen.

si aprovecho poco la yda [que de mi parta hizo del comendador hinestrosa a la junta quando estava en Avila mucho menos ha sydo ahora quando vinieron a tordesyllas que les embie a los obispos de lugo y oviedo con carta mia e instrucion y tampoco no quisieron oyrles. asi que vea V: Mt. que fin tienen y quan poco es el zelo que amuestran para lo que cumple a su rreal servicio y pacificacion de sus Reynos.

(TRANSLATION.)

deprive any persons whatever of their offices, and for us to appoint others to the places of captains, lieutenant *regidores*, *ventiquatrias*, algazils, and other offices which have thus become vacant, is a good one however; but it will profit only as much as it can.

Concerning the Queen our lady, nothing can be done, for the reason which your Highness knows already. The Marquis of Denia is in Lerma, not without having received from the Junta an insult to his honour. I have already sent him the letter of your Highness. If the Marquis should come, the order of your Majesty will be executed, if it is possible.

I have used all diligence to learn who has written that the Spaniards are not well treated there; but it has been impossible for me to ascertain the truth, except that it is publicly reported in this residence, and indeed throughout Spain, as I am informed.

If the journey which the Knight Commander Hinestrosa undertook in my name to the Junta, when they were in Avila, profited little, much less was the profit when I sent the Bishops of Lugo and Oviedo to them with a letter and instruction from me after they had gone to Tordesillas. They refused to hear them. Thus your Majesty will see what ends they have in view, and how small is their zeal for your royal service and the pacification of your kingdoms.

1520.

al Presidente he enbiado sus cartas. en la libertad de los del conseio que prendio la Junta han proveydo lo que V. Al. vera por la carta que va con esta del doctor cabrero y del doctor beltran y del licenciado acuña y lo mismo provyeron en la persona de Castaneda despues que le tomaron los sellos, y tanbien del Secretario juan ramirez al qual prendieron juntamente con los susodichos. al doctor tello parece que han fecho honrra que so la pena que han dado a los otros le han requerido que no entienda sino en lo que tocare al conseio de las ordenes.

en lo del marques de Villena ya he scrito a V. Al. lo que passa. ahora me ha escrito que conviene que V. Mt. le embie poder para perdonar a la ciudat de toledo los ecessos que ha cometido y ahun para otras personas particulares de la dicha ciudat y que pueda hazer en nombre de V. Al. algunas mercedes a los que le pareciere y viere que las merecen.

a don Pedro de la Cueva he dado su carta y cierto es buen cavallero y le conozco todo apareio y voluntad para en servicio de V. Mt. a Sevilla y Cordova se han embiado las cartas de V. Al. y les he escrito al mesmo efecto. plega a dios que aproveche que ahunque estas ciudades estan pacificas y en toda obedi-

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(Translation.)

To the President I sent his letters. Concerning the liberty of the privy councillors whom the Junta arrested, they have decided what your Highness will learn by the enclosed letter of the Doctor Cabrero, the Doctor Beltran, and the Licentiate Acuña. With respect to the person of Castaneda they have come to the same decision, after having taken from him the seals. In a similar manner they have treated the Secretary Juan Ramirez, whom they captured together with the others. To the Doctor Telo they seem to have shown honour, as, under threat of the punishment pronounced against the others, they have requested him to occupy himself in nothing but in the business of the Council of the Orders.

In the affair of the Marquis of Villena, I have already written to your Highness what passes. They write me now that it is necessary for your Majesty to send him a power to grant a pardon to the city of Toledo for all excesses which have been committed there, and even to other private persons of that city; and also in the name of your Highness to grant some favours to those to whom he thinks it fit to grant them, or who seem to merit them.

To Don Pedro de la Cueva I have given his letter. Certainly he is a good cavalier, and I know that he is well prepared and has the will to serve your Majesty. The letters of your Highness to Sevilla and Córdoba have been forwarded, and I have written to the same effect. Would to God that

1520.

encia hasta qui tantos son los mutinadores y alborotadores que andan seduziendo y movendolas a todo levantamiento que no se scusan en ellas mil peligros.

hastaqui es respuesta desta ultima que tengo de V. Mt. ya sabe V. Al. lo que lope hurtardo ha servido y con quanta diligencia y fidelidat se ha en todo lo que es servicio de V. Al. y en verdad que ahora postreramente se vio en peligro sobre su salida desta villa que no querian que se fuese adonde yo le embiava y quando sallio fueron tras del y creo que si le alcançaran le mataran, y porque dessea mucho el abito de Santyago suplico a V. Al. le haga merced del, que ya en Barcelona ie lo suplique, y si V. Mt. huviere de tomar algun gentilhonbre español para la camara me haga merced de mandar recebir por uno dellos al dicho Lope hurtardo pues es persona fiel y para bien servir en toda cosa tan bien como otro de su condicion y manera, y porque el dicho lope hurtardo lleva instrucion mia para dezir a V. Al. todo lo que ha pasado despues de lo que postreramente escrevi a V. Mt. remitome a lo que por la dicha instruccion vera V. Al.

don Diego de Mendoça me ha scrito la que va con esta sobre algunas nuevas que diz que tiene de francia segun que por ella vera V. Al. y ahunque soy cierto que alla se

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(Translation.)

they may be useful! Although these cities are still peaceful and obedient, the rebels and agitators who go to seduce and instigate them to every kind of rebellion are so numerous that there are a thousand dangers.

As far as here this is an answer to the last letter from your Majesty. Your Highness knows already that Lope Hurtado has served with great diligence, and with what loyalty he has behaved in everything that concerns the service of your Highness. In fact, he was now lately in great danger when he took his departure from this town. They did not wish that he should go where I sent him; and when he had left they followed him. Had they overtaken him he would have been killed. As he desires very much to be Knight of Santiago, I beg your Highness to grant him that favour, which I solicited already for him in Barcelona. And if your Majesty should appoint Spanish gentlemen for the place of gentlemen of your bedchamber, I beg you to do me the favour to choose the said Lope Hurtado; for he is loyal and will serve well in everything, like any other of his condition and habits. As the said Lope Hurtado is the bearer of an instruction of mine to tell your Highness all that has passed since I wrote the last time to your Majesty, I refer your Highness to what he will say according to his instruction.

Don Diego de Mendoza has written to me the letter which I send enclosed about some news which he says he has from France, as your Highness will learn from it. Although I am

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sabra mas particularmente he acordado de embiarla a V. Mt.

despues de scripto lo de hastaqui he recebido a vj del presente la carta de Vra Mt. de xxiiij del passado acerca lo *del mariscal de Navarra* sobre la qual screvi con personas propias *a Herdando de Vega que vea en Simancas* todo lo que convenia. el mesmo *teniente* me ha respondido lo que v. Mt. *vera por la que va con esta* y assi espero que todo estara bien seguro y como cumple al servicio de V. Mt.

la Junta ha embiado a esta villa los mandamientos o pregones que vera V. Mt. por los traslados dellos que van con esta y despues por parte de la mesma Junta se me ha presentado por escrivano un requerimiento para que ni solo ni con otro no me entremeta ni entienda mas en la governacion de estos Reynos y porque V. Al. sepa particularmente lo contenido en el dicho requerimiento le embio traslado del juntamente con la respuesta que a ello he dado.

estos rreynos estan de manera que cierto si la perdicion dellos no le mueve en venir presto a reparar y assentarlos se deve mover a ello y apiadarse de la Reyna nuestra Señora y pensar que le es madre la qual en verdad temo que no se muera si con presteza no se libra del poder y manos destos,

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(Translation.)

sure that there (1) more is known, I nevertheless send the letter to your Majesty.

After I had written this, I received on the 6th of the present month a letter from your Majesty, of the 24th of last month, about the affair *of the Marshal of Navarra.* I wrote on that subject by special messengers to *Hernando de Vega* that he may *provide in Simancas* all that is necessary. The *Lieutenant* himself has answered me what your Majesty *will learn from the enclosed letter.* Thus I believe all is safe, and as the service of your Majesty requires.

The Junta has sent to this town the mandates or proclamations, transcripts of which your Majesty will find in this bundle. An intimation has since been made to me by an *escrivano* in the name of the same Junta ordering me neither alone nor in common with others to meddle in the government of these kingdoms. In order that your Highness may be particularly informed of the contents of this intimation, I enclose a copy of it, together with the answer I have given.

The state of these kingdoms is such that if the danger of losing them does not induce your Highness to come soon and remedy it and pacify them, your Highness ought to do so from compassion for the Queen our lady. Do not forget that she is your mother. In fact, I am afraid she will die if she is not soon liberated from the power and hands of [the Junta]. Since they have driven away the Marquis

(1) In Flanders.

1520.

que despues que echaron al marques y a la marquesa no se acuesta en cama ni come con orden sino que se guarda y tiene al derredor de si viandas frias ahunque del todo sean gastadas y corruptas. y crea V. Mt. que nunca su Alteza ha estado en tan mala dispusicion como ahora.

No me he ydo desta villa despues que dende del primero deste me detienen por fuerça, por lo qual con pensamiento que han fecho bien, se sigue mal, que mucho ya abominan y avorrecen lo que la junta de tordesyllas haze y obra teniendo poco respecto a lo que conviene. y crea V. Al. que el pueblo desta villa me tiene tanto amor que se crehe que ahunque me quisiesse dexar yr que los mochachos, a manera de dezir, me deternian por lo qual muchos prudentes me han aconsejado que les parece que yo me devo star aqua algunos dias para contentar al dicho pueblo que le dessea mucho para conplaziendolos en esto despues se pueda hazer y acabar mas facilmente lo que desseamos. sobre todo esto he scrito al condestable para que me aconseie y diga su parecer en todo lo que mas convenga. de lo que fuere screvire a V. Mt. cuia vida y rreal estado nuestro Señor luengamente guarde con toda prosperidat. en Valladolit a viij de Octubre 1520. Vr̃e tres hunble seruiteur el Carl. Destusen.

[*Sobre :*] S. Cesee. R. C. M.

(Translation.)

and Marchioness she does not go to bed nor does she take her meals regularly, but preserves and has near her cold viands, which are spoilt and corrupted. Your Majesty may believe that her Highness has never been in so bad a disposition as now.

I have not left this town, because since the 1st of this month I am detained here by force. They think they profit thereby, but bad consequences will be the result. The iniquitous deeds and works of the Junta in Tordesillas are already abominated and abhorred; and your Majesty may believe me that the people of this town love me so much that even if the Junta should permit me to go, the boys, to use this expression, would keep me. That is the reason why many prudent persons have advised me to remain here some days longer, and thereby to satisfy the people, who desire it very much. Humouring them in this respect, we could afterwards more easily obtain what we wish. On all this I have written to the Constable, asking him to give me his counsel and advice on all that appears to him most convenient for the service of your Majesty. Our Lord give your Majesty a long life and reign with all prosperity.

Valladolid, 8th of October 1520.

Your very humble servant,

The Cardinal of Tortosa.

[*Addressed :*] Sacre, Cesaree, Regie, Catholice Majestati.

1520.
21st October. **65.** The CARDINAL OF TORTOSA to the EMPEROR CHARLES.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Patronato Real. Comunidades de Castilla. Legajo* 2. *f.* 163. *Autograph.*]

A su Majestad. del Cardenal. a xxj. Octubre.

S. C. C. R. Mat.

en estos dias recebi una carta de V. Mt. en que se me escrivia solamente la mucha admiracion que se tenia de no haver escrito yo a Vña Alteza assi a menudo sobre las cosas destos Reynos y el cuydado que dellas tenian alla, y pues ha recebido Va. Mt. otras cartas mias despues de aquella pienso que me terna por escusado y que vera claramente y por experiencia que en lo que de aqua no me aduermo ni me descuydo de proveher en lo que conviene.

ahora postreramente no he escripto a Vña Mt. porque tanta era la jente que la junta tenia en todos los caminos para tomar y reconocer qualquier persona que pasasse que viendo yo el grandissimo peligro que havia en passar las cartas no solamente dexava de escrevir pero ahun estava con mucho cuydado que no me tomassen alguna posta de las que de alla havian de venir, y ahunque lo de aqua se pudiera remediar y assegurar la cossa escriviendola con cifra, en caso que tomaran la posta que yo despachara, crea V. Mt. que se alteraran y quedaran mas

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(TRANSLATION.)

65. To his Majesty. From the Cardinal. 21st October.

Sacred, imperial, catholic, and royal Majesty,

These days I received a letter from your Majesty, by which I was only informed of the anxiety which there (1) prevailed, and of the great astonishment of your Highness that I had not written to you in detail of the affairs of these kingdoms. As your Majesty has since received other letters from me, I believe you will excuse me, and clearly see by the facts that in the affairs of this place (Spain) I have not slept, nor neglected to provide what is necessary.

Now quite of late I have not written, because the Junta had such a number of soldiers on the roads to arrest and search every person who passed, that, considering the great danger of sending letters, I not only desisted from writing, but was also very much afraid that they might intercept some courier coming from there.(2) And although, in as far as my letters are concerned, I could protect and secure myself against bad consequences by writing in cipher, nevertheless your Majesty may believe that if in such a case they had intercepted a courier they would have been more excited, and the excitement would

(1) At the court of the Emperor. (2) Flanders.

1520.

alborotados de mis cartas por la sospecha que continuamente tenian de mi.

por lo que cumplia al servicio de V. Mt. mi salida de Valladolit he andado despues que me detuvieron granieandola secretamente y procurandola por muchos medios, y haviendo visto que la cosa se encaminaba mal para poderme yr, y el grande alboroto que fray Alonso de Medina ha movido en la dicha villa ahora nuevamente con unos sermones que hizo a la comunidat de los quales embio con esta a Vra Alteza sumaria relacion dellos que me dio persona que los oyo, requeri a la dicha villa que me consintiesse y dexasse libremente salir della, otramente que me tuviesse por escusado que yo me daria recaudo y procuraria lo que cumpliesse al servicio de Vra Alteza y a la honrra mia. respondieronme con palabras generales y de cumplimiento y mas fundadas en detener que en libertarme, y visto esto acorde este lunes passado que eran xv. del presente a las ocho horas de la noche de probar la ventura y encomendandome a dios tome una sola persona y secretamente me salli por el muro con grandissimo peligro sin que lo sintio hombre del mundo. y quando fui a un tiro de ballesta de la villa cavalgue y camine toda aquella noche y amaneci el martes en esta villa de Medina de Rioseco en donde se me ha fecho buen recogimiento por don hernando y por el adelantado hermanos

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(Translation.)

have lasted longer owing to the great suspicion they would have had of me.

Because my departure from Valladolid is desirable for the service of your Majesty, I have always secretly sought to procure it in many ways since I have been detained. Seeing that this affair took a bad turn, and considering the great troubles which Fray Alonso de Medina had lately produced in this town with his sermons (of which I send your Highness a summary that I received from a person who heard them), which were delivered before the townspeople, I requested the said town to consent and to let me go without hindrance, and if not, to excuse me if I should take my measures and do what the service of your Highness and my honour required. They answered in general terms and with compliments, but were more inclined towards detaining than towards letting me go. Such being the state of things I determined on Monday last, the 15th of the present month, at eight o'clock in the evening to try my fortune, and recommending myself to God and accompanied by only one person I left the town secretly, climbing over the wall with great danger. No one in the world knew it. When I was at a great distance from the town I mounted and rode the whole night through. On Tuesday at sunrise I was in this town of Medina de Rioseco, where I have been well received by Don Hernando

1520.

del almirante, y anduve rodeando mas de tres leguas porque nadi atinasse ni huviesse lengua de mi, de modo que anduve mas de diez leguas, y luego en llegando despache hun correo al Condestable haziendole saber mi salida y otro al dicho Almirante para darle prissa en su venida ahunque nunca havemos sabido cosa ninguna del sino ahora postreramente que dizen que era en Çaragoça, y hasta que haya respuesta del dicho almirante entiendo de me detener aqua para ver lo que me respondera de lo qual escrevire a V. Mt.

las cosas de Tordesillas van de tal manera y mira la Junta tanto por la salud de la Reyna nuestra Señora que le han quitado todas las mujeres que tenia diputadas para su rreal servicio por forma que parece que quieren del todo acabarla. y como por otra he escrito a V. Mt. ahora esta Su Alteza peor que nunca que es la mayor lastima del mundo, y para induzirla a firmar hazen todos extremos y diligencias en obedecerla, y porque el otro dia estuvo Su Alteza tres dias sin comer le dieron despues todos los manjares que le hubieran de dar en aquellos tres dias. lo que han proveydo en el quitar de las mujeres segun he entendido por el marido de una dellas diz que no ha de ser sino por algunos dias y que los de la junta

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(Translation.)

and by the Adelantado, brothers of the Admiral. I went more than three leagues out of the direct way in order to avoid meeting any one, so that none might betray me. Thus I travelled more than ten leagues. As soon as I had arrived I sent a messenger to the Constable informing him of my escape, and another to the said Admiral asking him to make haste to come. We have not heard anything of him except that it has been said of late that he is in Zaragoza. I intend to remain here until I receive an answer from the Admiral, in order to see what he will say. I shall write it directly to your Majesty.

The affairs in Tordesillas take such a turn, and the Junta desires so much the health of the Queen our lady, that they have taken from her all the women who had been appointed for her royal service. Thus it seems they wish entirely to finish her. And, as I have already written in another letter to your Majesty, her Highness is now worse than ever before. It is the greatest pity in the world! In order to induce her to sign they go to the last extremes and show the greatest diligence in obeying her. Because lately her Highness remained three days without eating, they gave her afterwards all the food which they ought to have given her during the three days. Concerning the order dismissing the women of her household, I have heard from the husband of one of them that it is to be in force only a few days, and that members of the Junta have said that her Highness has pro-

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han dicho que Su Alteza havia ofrecido a ellos que si hechasen las mujeres de su casa que dentro de quatro dias firmaria. y estos dias son passados y iamas han pudido acabar con Su Alt. que firmasse, y no dude V. Mt. que si sola una firma pudiessen haver de Su Alt. pondria grandissima rebuelta y confusion en estos Reynos a mas de la que hay si mayor pudiesse ser.

en la junta susodicha hay parcialidat y division, y cierto deve Vña Al. muchas gracias a dios como de fecho no le han quitado titulo de rrey en estos rreynos y como Pedro de Cartagenia procurador de Burgos dezia que no se hazia cosa ninguna por Burgos en la Junta y que solamente estavan alla por testigos de lo que alli se hazia, los otros le hazian plato y le ponian al delante que a pura instancia de Burgos se trato y passo cosa de mayor importancia que jamas se concerto en esta junta, es a saber que se permitiesse o consintiesse a Vña Mt. nombre o titulo de Rey.

ahora diz que embian a Vña Mt. una carta la qual han instado se firmase por todos los procuradores, y los de Burgos no han querido firmarla porque en ella se contienen muchas cosas a las quales diz que han contradicho, y replicandoles que han jurado que lo concertado por la mayor parte se deviesse confirmar y aprovar por la otra, dixieron que el tal juramento

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(Translation.)

mised to sign within four days if they would dismiss the women of her household. These four days have elapsed, and they have not been able to persuade her Highness to sign. Your Majesty may believe me, if they could obtain only one signature from her Highness the revolt and confusion of these kingdoms would become much greater than they are, if that is possible.

The said Junta is divided and disunited, and certainly your Highness ought many times to thank God that they have not completely deprived you of the title of King of these kingdoms. As Pedro de Cartagena, Procurator of Burgos, said that Burgos did not participate in the decrees of the Junta, and that they (1) were present only in the quality of witnesses to see what the others did, the others have made a buckler of him and pushed him forward, so that it is due to the influence of Burgos alone that the most important thing which ever was debated in the Junta was decided [and settled in your favour], that is to say, that your Majesty was permitted to make use of the title of King which was bestowed on you.

Now it is said that they send a letter to your Majesty. They insisted that it should be signed by all the Procurators, but those of Burgos have refused to sign it because it contains many things which they say they have opposed. When they were told that they had sworn that the decisions of the majority should be accepted and approved by the minority, they said that the oath did not oblige them to sign and to

(1) The Procurators for Burgos.

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no comprende que hubiessen de firmar ni signar lo ordenado o acordado sino que abastaria que lo testificassen y firmassen los notarios y escrivanos de la junta.

muchos buenos cavalleros se han alegrado de mi salida de Valladolit esperando que mas facilmente se podran assentar las cosas destos rreynos, mas temen y recelan en grandissima manera que recoia o reciba comigo al presidente y al obispo de burgos y a vargas, a los quales tienen en grandissimo odio, creyendo y sospechando que en presencia dellos no se podria hazer cosa buena, de lo qual estoy con mucha perplexidat de mirar si conviene mas al servitio de V. Mt. echarlos, ahunque cierto a mi parecer no lo merecen, o de admetirles en conseio, lo qual tambien traheria grandes escandalos y el pueblo mostraria star muy ofendido dello.

el corregidor de Valladolit me ha escripto que despues de mi partida en aquella villa les pesa mucho como no me trataron meior y con mas acatamiento y obediencia de los rreales mandamientos de V. Al. y que parece que se inclinan ya a bien, y porque don joan mendoça hijo del Cardenal Don Pero gonzalez estava alli procurando seditiones y levantamientos en favor de la junta le han echado y desterrado de la villa, y ahun diz que empieçan de tomar informacion contra Sarabia de algunas

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(Translation.)

affix their names to the decrees and orders, as it was sufficient if the notaries and *Escrivanos* of the Junta testified and signed them.

A great many of the well intentioned cavaliers have been very glad that I left Valladolid, hoping that the affairs of the kingdom will now be more easily settled; but they apprehend and are in the highest degree afraid lest I take back and retain with me the President, the Bishop of Burgos, and Vargas, whom they hate very much. They believe and suspect that where these persons are nothing good can be done. I am very perplexed, and do not know whether the service of your Majesty require that they be dismissed, although in my opinion they do not deserve it; or whether they are to be admittted to the sittings of the Council, although it would produce a great scandal and much offend the feelings of the people.

The Corregidor of Valladolid has written to me that since my departure from that town they are very sorry that they have not treated me better and respected and obeyed the royal commands of your Highness. It seems they are inclined to improve. They have driven away and banished from the town Don Juan de Mendoza, son of the Cardinal Don Pedro Gonzalez,(1) who stayed there in order to foment seditions and risings in favour of the Junta. They are also, it is said, to take proceedings against Saravia,(2) to whom Pero Giron has

(1) Surnamed the Great Cardinal of Spain. (2) Member for Valladolid.

1520.

cosas que don Pero giron le ha dado de aforros de martas y pieças de plata y ahun de algunos centenares de ducados, y diz que han acordado de no acoier ni dexar entrar al don Pedro en aquella villa, y porque V. Mt. sepa el mandamiento que el mesmo don Pedro ha embiado al lugar del villar de frades que en dias passados fue quitado por el conseio rreal al conde su padre, embio traslado del con esta a V. Al. tambien me escrive el corregidor que Valladolit esta puesta en no obedecer a la junta sino en lo que tocare y cumpliere justamente al remedio de los agravios. plega a dios de lo guiar de manera que facilmente vengan a perfecta y cumplida obediencia de Vra Mt. como se le deve que con aquello esperaria que luego las otras universidades se reduzirian y tornarian a lo mesmo, ahunque los prudentes no tienen esperança dello sin que se haga a fuerça darmas sobre lo qual tambien quiero prevenir y certificar a V. Al. que en caso que lo destos Reynos tomasse algun sossiego no se habria de tener firmeza ni confianza en ello que siempre estarian en todo peligro de perdicion, y si pensassen que V. Mt. huviesse de alargar algo su venida luego tornarian a lo passado, y estonces la recruada seria peor que la dolencia primera y quiça sin esperança de remedio que por lo passado facilmente se podria juzgar lo porvenir.

despues de escripto lo de arriba he recebido dos cartas de

(Translation.)

given some linings of marten skins, pieces of plate, and even some hundred ducats. It is not believed that they will receive Don Pedro or let him enter the town. In order that your Majesty may know what the said Don Pedro has written to the town of Villar de Frades, of which the royal council had some time ago deprived the Count, his father, I send a copy of his letter to your Highness. The Corregidor writes me also that Valladolid is not willing to obey the Junta except in what is just and relates to and concerns the reformation of grievances. Would God the thing were so arranged as to induce them without difficulty to return to that state of perfect and complete obedience which they owe to your Majesty. With such an example the other Commons would soon be reduced or voluntarily submit. The prudent, however, do not entertain hopes of it unless by force of arms. I wish also to inform and certify to your Highness, that in case these kingdoms should become more quiet, no trust or confidence could be placed in such a state of things. There would be always danger of losing them. If they thought that the absence of your Majesty is to last long, they would soon repeat what they have done, and the relapse would be worse than the first illness, perhaps without hope of recovery. It is easy to judge the future by the past.

After I had written all that precedes I received two letters

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V. Mt. la una para todos los Gobernadores, la otra para mi solo, y ambas de siete del presente, y por ellas he visto la mucha prissa que alla se da en lo de su coronacion para se bolver presto a estos sus rreynos. beso las rreales manos de V. Al. por la merced que me ha fecho en mandarme escrevir assi particularmente su determinacion. plazera a nuestro Señor que le guiara en todo de manera que lo de alla se hara y cumplira muy bien y que lo de aqua con su rreal presencia y presta venida tornara a su devido lugar, ahunque para ello havra menester manya y poder y crea V. Mt. que por presta que sea su venida que es y sera muy mucha mas la extrema necessidat que hay en estos rreynos de su Real presencia, y ahunque ahora con mi salida de Valladolit tomassen las cossas algun camino de sossiego y obediencia, menos fiaria dello, y tengalo Vña Al. assi por cierto y no dude en ello ni crea otra cosa y piense que en escrevirle esto cumplo acerca dello con lo que debo a dios y a Vña Mt. y al descargo de mi consciencia.

la suspension que V. Al. manda acerca el poder que nos dio para perdonar, no me parece que conviene en esta sazon, y creo que los que ie la han aconseiado no querrian ser participantes del trabaio grandissimo que tengo.

de los del conseio estan conmigo Çapata, el licenciado de Santyago, el doctor Cabrero, Cualla, Beltran y Tello. con el

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(Translation.)

from your Majesty, one for all the governors, the other for me alone. Both were dated on the 7th of the present month. I have learnt from them that the preparations for your coronation are being made with great haste in order that you may soon return to these kingdoms. I kiss the royal hands of your Highness, thanking you for the favour of writing me so particularly of your determination. May it please God to guide you in such a manner that there all be well arranged, and that with your presence and speedy arrival here things may return to their normal state. But skill and might will be necessary for that. Your Majesty may believe that however soon you may arrive here, the necessities of these kingdoms are so extreme that you never can come early enough. And although now, since I have left Valladolid, affairs should take a better turn towards a state of tranquillity and obedience, I should not trust it at all. Your Highness may be sure of this, and ought not to doubt it or to believe anything else. Believe me, in writing this I fulfil my duty towards God and your Majesty and satisfy my conscience.

The revocation of the power to pardon does not seem to me seasonable, and I think that those who advised it would not like to join me in my difficult labours.

Of the councillors there are staying with me Zapata, the Licentiate of Santiago, Doctor Cabrero, Cualla, Beltran, and Telo. With the Constable are Polanco, Don Alonso de Cas-

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Condestable estan Polanco, don alonso de Castilla y Aguirre. el Presidente esta cerca del Condestable, y Vargas en Benavente algo indispuesto. guarde ñtro Señor la vida y Real estado de Vña Mt. luengamente y con toda prosperidat.

en medina de rrioseco a xxj. de Octubre de mil quinientos y veinte años. ṽre tres hunble serviteur el Carl. dertusen.

[*Sobre:*] S. C. R. C. Mti.

29th October. **66.** IÑIGO FERNANDEZ DE VELASCO, Constable of Castile, to the EMPEROR CHARLES.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Patronato Real. Comunidades de Castilla. Legajo* 2. *f.* 136. *Autograph.*]

A Su magt. del Condestable de Castilla.
xxix de Otubre.

S. C. R. Mt.

el despacho que V. Mt. me mando enviar con la Buxecta de xv. del presente Rescebi y con el las cartas para mi de V. A. y las Reales manos de V. Mt. beso por estimar en algo mi servicio. lo que yo Señor puedo y tengo es poco y la vida no mucha y lo uno y lo otro tengo empleado en vuestro servicio y quanto mas tuviera assy lo hiziera por cumplir con lo que soy obligado.

(TRANSLATION.)

tilla, and Aguirre. The President is not far from the Constable, and Vargas is in Benavente, somewhat unwell. May our Lord guard the life and royal estate of your Majesty for long and in all prosperity.

Medina de Rioseco, 21st October 1520.

Your very humble servant,
The Cardinal of Tortosa.

[*Addressed:*] To his sacred, imperial, royal, and catholic Majesty.

66. To his Majesty. From the Constable of Castile. 29th of October.

Sacred, imperial, and royal Majesty.

I received the despatch which your Majesty had ordered to be sent to me in the mail box of the 15th of the present month, and at the same time the letters of your Highness directed to me. I kiss the royal hands of your Majesty for the esteem in which my services are held. Señor, all I can do and possess is little, and my life has not much [longer to last], but both are employed in your service, and if I possessed more I would act in the same way in order to fulfil my duty.

1520.

Razon tiene V. Mt. de penalle lo que aca ha sucedido especialmente por lo que toca a la Reyna mi Señora vuestra madre, que siendo quien es su persona Real este entre gente soldada y Barbaros que nunca conoscio ni vio y que con espingardas la asonbran cada dia por hazelle que firme. quitaronle como escrebi a V. Mt. todas las mugeres de su servicio y dexaronla solamente con una. Agora el Cardenal me ha escripto desde Medina de Ruyseco (1) una carta cuyo traslado enbio a V. Mt. haziendome saber que los de la Juncta hazen mucha gente de pie y de cavallo para sacar a Su Alt. de alli y llevalla a Toledo, o a Segovia. y que el havia proveydo a los grandes y pueblos de la comarca. haziendogelo saber para que saliesen con sus gentes a estorballo. lo que yo sienpre he creydo es que si Su Alteza se quiere yr de Tordesillas no ay quien la detenga. y si no se quiere yr no ay quien la lleve. de manera que ha muchos dias que este peligro tenemos en la mano. yo provey luego de escrevir a Burgos y a Valladolid y a Palencia y demas de aquello enbio cc. lanças de aquel cavo de Burgos hazia Medina de Ruyseco (2) y yo me doy priesa para salir de aqui con toda la gente de armas y ynfanteria y de los grandes y cavalleros desta comarca y creo que yre a Burgos. y de alli camino derecho plaziendo a nuestro Señor

(1) Sic. Rioseco.

(Translation.)

Well may your Majesty be sorry for what has occurred here, and especially with respect to the Queen, my lady and your mother; for, without regard for her station, her royal person lives amongst barbarous soldiers, whom she never before knew or saw, and who frighten her every day with hand guns to make her sign. They dismissed, as I have already written to your Majesty, all her women from her service, leaving her only one. The cardinal has now written a letter to me from Medina de Rioseco—a copy of which I send to your Majesty,—letting me know that the Junta enlists a great army of foot and horse, in order to carry off her Highness from there, and to take her to Toledo or Segovia, and that he had warned the grandees and the towns of that province, informing them of this design, in order that they should march with their troops and prevent it. What I always have believed is this: if her Highness wishes to leave Tordesillas, no one can keep her there, and if she does not wish no one can carry her off. This danger has threatened us already a long time. I wrote without delay to Burgos, Valladolid, and Palencia, and moreover I sent 200 lances from Burgos to Medina de Rioseco. I do what I can to march as soon as possible from here with all the men-at-arms, the infantry, and the grandees and cavaliers of this province. I think I shall go first to Burgos, and thence, with the help

1520.

para Tordesillas donde espero con su ayuda, pues la demanda es tan sancta y justa, poner en libertad a la Reyna nuestra Señora y a la Señora ynfante y hechar de alli a aquellos traydores que con tanto atrevimiento y osadia han estado y estan contra vuestro servicio.

el poder para la governacion Biene Bueno y hera menester porque con estar el cardenal en medina de Ruyseco y el almirante en Catelunia no tenia poder como quiera que siempre he usado de la governacion despues que estan aqui conmigo el presidente y los del consejo que he escripto a V. Mt.

el cardenal me avia enbiado la ynstrucion general que V. Mt. mando enbiar para la forma que se avia de tener. y agora con esta posta rescebi el despacho duplicado de lo que toca a la ynstrucion. se usara como mas convenga a servicio de V. Mt. y pacificacion y sosiego destos Reynos.

en la venida de los alemanes deve V. Mt. mandar que se de priesa a lo menos questen prestos para venir con V. Mt.

tanbien mande V. Mt. dar horden en prover los dineros porque aca todo lo que se puede hazer para Buscallos se haze. a V. Mt. escrevi haziendole saber como avia escripto al Rey de portugal suplicandole que para esta necesidad me prestase l :o

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(Translation.)

of our Lord, direct to Tordesillas, where I hope with His help, as the enterprise is so sacred and holy, to set at liberty the Queen our lady and the señora Infanta, and to drive away the traitors, who with so much daring and boldness have risen and still rise against your service.

The power for the government comes in good time, and was necessary; because the cardinal, being in Medina de Rioseco, and the admiral in Catalonia, I did not hold the power, although I have always acted as governor since the president and members of the council are here with me, as I have written to your Majesty.

The cardinal had sent me the general instruction, which your Majesty desired to be sent, in the correct form in which I was to have it. Now by this post I received the duplicate despatch of that which relates to the instruction. It shall be used as is most suitable for the service of your Majesty and for the pacification and quiet of these kingdoms.

Concerning the coming of the Germans, your Majesty should command that haste be made, or at least that they should be ready to come with your Majesty.

Your Majesty should also send orders to provide money, because all that can be had here by seeking has been procured. I wrote to your Majesty, letting you know how I had written to the King of Portugal, entreating that he would lend me in this necessity fifty thousand ducats. He

1520.

ducados el qual me ha respondido que lo hara como V. Mt. mandara veer por los treslados de sus cartas que aqui enbio. enbiome a pedir que haga cierta obligacion la qual hare conforme a la que de alla me enbia ordenada que tanbien enbio a V. Mt. conviene que luego V. al. mande hazer la seguridad que pide y demas de aquello que se le escriva muy graciosamente y enbiarme el despacho para que yo lo enbie. a cierctos mercaderes que tienen trato en portugal he enbiado a llamar para tomar dellos todo el dinero que pudiere para que se lo den alla y enbiar por la resta. destos y de todos los demas se pagara la gente de las guardas y los gastos que mas necesarios fueren para esta jornada.

en lo que V. Mt. me ha escripcto y agora me escrive de lo que toca al perdon lo que ay que dezir es que ya V. Mt. avra visto lo que con la posta pasada le escrevi y como la negociacion de burgos traya en los terminos que V. al. veria por un plito omenaje que hize. despues de aquello los de Burgos me enbiaron sus mensajeros para que otorgase los capitulos los quales otorgue, porque me parescio que aquello convenia mas a vño servicio. si ecedi de lo que V. Mt. me enbio a mandar fue por desconcertar a Burgos de los de la junta y apartallos della que por solo aquello se les avia de otorgar y conceder quanto

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(Translation.)

has answered that he will do so, as your Majesty will see by the copies of his letters which I send with this. He begged that I would enter into certain bonds, which I will do. He sent them drawn up in proper form, and I enclose them for your Majesty. It is right that your Highness should command immediately that the security which he asks be given, and besides that you should write very graciously to him, and send me the warrant, that I may give it to certain merchants who have dealings with Portugal, asking them to pay me at once as much money as can be had, and to send there [to Portugal] for the remainder. With this, and what else we have, the guardsmen and those expenses which were most necessary for this expedition shall be paid.

With respect to what your majesty has written and now writes again concerning the pardon, what I have to say is that which I wrote by the former post which your Majesty will already have seen. The negotiation with Burgos is now in such terms as your Highness will learn from my oath of homage which I swore to them. After that the people of Burgos sent me their messengers that I might agree to the articles, which I did agree to, because it appeared to me to be more expedient for your service. If I exceeded what your Majesty ordered me to do, it was in order to set at variance the people of Burgos with those of the Junta, and to separate them from them. For that reason alone I should have granted and conceded what-

1520.

quisieran. quanto mas que de Burgos cuelgan todas las montañas y vizcaya y guipuzcoa y alava y encartaciones y otras ciudades y villas de su provincia y fuera de alla que estan en su opinion, que sino se hiziera, fuera acabar de perder el Reyno y Andaluzia porque ya, como V. A. avra visto, se yva dañando, y si entrara en el Reyno de granada fuera muy peor, y con aver fecho esto se sosegara o a lo menos se atajara que los males no vayan en crescimiento. crea V. Mt. que estos Vr̃os Reynos estan tales que han menester perdon y livertades y grueso exercito para que la boz de vuestro servicio permanezca en ellos. y si algunas ciudades de las alteradas no quisieren pasar por lo que Burgos ha fecho, lo qual yo creo que avra artos, ay se terna V. Mt. su tienpo para poder castigar o perdonar o hazer lo que fuere servido. harto es que con tinta y papel que agora les damos esten reduzidos a v̄ro servicio y pues v̄ra bienaventurada venida ha de seer (1) tan presto muy mejor es que todos os resciban en paz y en sosiego que no de otra manera, pues al cabo son vuestros vassallos. y estando V. Mt. en vuestros reynos pacificamente podreis hazer de lo uno y de lo otro lo que V. A. fuere servido. lo que no se podria hazer estando de otra manera sino con muchas muertes y alteraciones. suplico a V. A. quan afetuosamente puedo aunque algunos de los dichos capitulos

(1) Sic.

(Translation.)

ever they desired, especially as upon Burgos depend the mountain country and Biscay, and Guipuzcoa and Alava, and the *Encartaciones*, and other cities and towns of this province and out of it which follow her example. Unless that was done this kingdom would have been lost, and Andalusia, which, as your Majesty will already have learnt, is also infected, and if the rebellion had spread into the kingdom of Granada it would be much worse. What I have done will appease the evils, or, at the least, prevent them from increasing. Your Majesty may believe that these your kingdoms are such that pardon, immunities, and a large army are required to secure to you a permanent command of them. If some of the disturbed cities, and I hope there will be many of them, are prevented by the example of Burgos from going further, your Majesty can take your time to chastise or pardon, or to do whatever you please. It is not a small thing that with ink and paper which we now give them they may be brought back to your service. Since your happy arrival is to be so soon, it is much better that all receive you in peace and tranquillity than in any other way. After all they are your vassals, and your Majesty, being peaceably received in your kingdoms, will be able to do with the one or the other (1) whichever your Highness may choose,—the which could not be effected in any other way except with a great loss of life and many disturbances. Although some

(1) Punish or pardon.

1520.

os parescan graves como en la verdad lo son que V. Mt. mande confirmar y aprovar la escriptura que asi hize, y me la mande enbiar porque haziendo V. A. esto como he dicho si algunos pueblos no quisieren pasar por ello, lo qual yo creo, entonces avra ocasion mas justa para el castigo. y mientras mas rezias cosas os pidieren y les concedieredes, mas razon terna V. Mt. venido a Vr̃os Reynos de hazer todo lo que pareciere que mas convenga a Vr̃o servicio y bien y pacificacion dellos. si alla paresciere otra cosa de lo que digo no pienso ni nadie deve pensar, sino que dios premite por el pecado del pueblo que todo se destruya. y avrase como veemos que se haze. V. Mt. es tan catholico y xp̃ianisimo y justo que conoscera que lo que he fecho ha seydo en v̄ro servicio y que no convenia que de otra manera se hiziese. yo di en Rehenes a mis hijos don juan de tovar y don Bernaldino de Velasco y las fortalezas de vilalpando y vilhorado y asi les diera a la duquesa mi muger y a los otros mis hijos y todo lo que me queda, por ser cosa que tanto imporcta porque en la verdad apartada Burgos de la junta su partido rescibe arta quiebra.

la carta que con esta posta vino para Burgos vino a tienpo

(Translation.)

of the conditions may appear hard to you, as in truth they are, I supplicate your Highness as affectionately as I can that your Majesty will confirm and approve the treaty which I have concluded, and order it to be sent to me. If your Highness does this, and, as I have said, some of the towns can be prevented thereby from going further, which I believe, then you will have a better occasion for chastisement. In the meantime, the ruder the things they have demanded of you, and you have conceded, the more reason has your Majesty, when you have arrived in your kingdoms, to put in execution that which should appear most advantageous to your service and the welfare and peace of the kingdoms. If there (1) a different opinion from what I say should prevail, I could not, nor ought any one else to, think but that God, on account of the sins of the people, permits that all shall be destroyed, and that that will be done, which, as we have seen, has been done. Your Majesty is so catholic and christian and just that you will perceive that what I have performed has been in your service, and that in no other way could it have been done. I gave in hostage my sons Don Juan de Tovar and Don Bernaldino de Velasco, and the fortresses of Villalpando and Vilhorado, and I would have given them the duchess my wife, and my other children, and all which remains to me, because this is a matter of so much importance. There is no doubt Burgos being separated from the Junta its party receives a great loss.

The letter which came by this post for Burgos arrived at

(1) At the court of the Emperor.

1520.

que estavan aqui sus procuradores esperando que yo otorgase la dicha escriptura. luego la enbie con don alvaro de ayala a la ciudad. lo que don alvaro vido alli y lo que paso en la ciudad, despues que fueron mis hijos, el creo que lo escrive a V. Mt. porque no quiso la ciudad responder a la carta de V. A. hasta que sus procuradores fuesen llegados y asi Responden lo que V. Mt. vera por su carta.

bien proveydo fue lo de la suspension del poder del Cardenal y de los del Consejo questan con el como quiera que ya estava fuera de valladolid. estase en medina de Ruyseco y de alli me escrive y avisa de lo que por aquella comarca pasa aunque seria mejor que estuviesemos juntos porque terniamos mas autoridad para proveer y despachar lo que se huviese de hazer.

en lo que toca a la gente de los gelves, ya he escripto a V. A. lo que se hizo y el trabajo que se tuvo en pasar a estas partes la que paso. las otras capitanias de guardas que V. Mt. dize que estavan con fonseca heran de Navarra. de alli me enbia el duque de najera quatro dellas para que vayan comigo.

en lo que V. Mt. dize de fonseca, despues que se fue de arevalo no he sabido del mas de quanto me dizen que se fue a portugal y con el el alcalde Ronquillo y que alli se enbarcaron

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(Translation.)

the same time that their Procurators were here, hoping that I should agree to the said deed. I sent it immediately by Don Alvaro de Ayala to the city. That which Don Alvaro saw there, and what passed in the city after my sons had arrived, he will, I think, write to your Majesty. The city would not reply to the letter of your highness until their Procurators had arrived. They answer what your Majesty will learn from their letter.

The suspension of the power of the cardinal and of those of the council who were with him was perfectly right. Although he has already left Valladolid and is in Medina de Rioseco, whence he writes to me, informing me of what happens in that neighbourhood, it would be better if we were together, that we might have more authority to order and decide on what is to be done.

As for the troops from the Gelves, I have already written to your Highness how difficult it was to bring those of them over to these parts who were brought over. The other companies of the guards which your Majesty mentions were with Fonseca, and are from Navarra. The Duke of Najera sent four of them from there to accompany me.

As to what your Majesty says of Fonseca I know nothing more of him, after he left Arevalo, but that they told me that he and the Alcalde Ronquillo with him had gone to Portugal,

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para V Mt. esto es lo mas que he sabido. si estoviera en estos Reynos no le aconsejara yo que viniera a juntarse comigo porque fuera dar causa que el Reyno se acabara de destruyr y el no estuviera seguro porque estan tan yndinados contra el los pueblos y mas que contra el turco. el esta muy bien alla sy es ydo porque verna con V. Mt. y pues el hizo lo que devia a ṽro servicio y tiene su hazienda y vida en aventura mucha razon es que V. Mt. le recoja y haga muy buen tratamiento y trabaje de ponelle bien con el Reyno que es lo que mas ha menester el. dexo muy bien proveyda a coca y alaejos. en coca quedo su hijo mayor. a alaejos convaten los de medina con el artilleria de V. Al. hasta agora diz que no le hazen mucho mal. el Alcayde que tienen dentro lo haze tan bien que no puede ser mejor. ha muerto mas de xx o xxx onbres y herido muchos. el mayor trabajo que tiene es que diz que los minan. en coca tanbien esperan cada dia otro tancto pero dizenme que no tienen ningund temor porque estan muy bien proveydos y la fortaleza es muy buena.

de las cedulas en blanco que V. Mt. me mando enbiar se hara lo que V. A. manda.

las carctas para las provincias y para todo lo demas vinieron

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(Translation.)

and from thence embarked to go to your Majesty. This is all I know. If he should be in these kingdoms, I would not advise him to come and join himself with me, because it might cause the complete loss of the kingdom ; and he would not be safe, because the commons hate him more than the Turk. He is very well there (1), if he has gone, and can return with your Majesty. As he has done what he ought to do in your service, and ventured his possessions and life, there is much reason that your Majesty should receive him well, and let him have good treatment, and endeavour to put him right with the kingdom, which is the most important thing for him. He left Coca and Alaejos very well provided. His eldest son remained at Coca. At Alaejos the people of Medina fought with the artillery of your highness. Hitherto it is said they have not done much harm. The alcalde, whom they have within, behaves so well that nothing could be better. More than 20 or 30 men have been killed and many are wounded. The greatest trouble they give him is, that it is said they are undermining [the place]. In Coca likewise, they expect every day the same thing ; but they tell me that they have no fear, because they are well provided, and the fortress is very strong.

With the orders which your Majesty caused to be sent to me in blank I shall do as your Highness commands.

The letters for the provinces and all the other places

(1) In Flanders.

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muy buenas. asi las llenas como las otras. luego despache con ellas como v. mt. lo mando.

en lo que toca a Burgos ya escrivo antes desto lo que esta fecho.

en lo de mi yda a tordesillas ya tengo dicho a V. Mt. lo que en aquello se ha de hazer. si el negocio fuese mio ya podiera ser que las cartas de V. Mt. me tomaran cerca de la junta, mas pues es vuestro tengo de buscar los medios posibles para poner la cosa en la menos aventura que pudiere.

el oste de correos esta aqui comigo algunos dias ha y por ciercto el es persona Bien Bastante para el oficio que tiene y muy diligente y verdadero servidor de V. A. dizeme que se le deven muchos dineros. razon es que V. Mt. mande dar orden como le sean pagados.

las cartas de apercebimientos para los grandes y perlados aun no he despachado. luego començare a despachallas, porque estos negocios de Burgos y poner en horden esta gente de guerra me ha enbaraçado y tanbien por no tener sello de V.A. que le he fecho hazer porque las cartas vayan con mas autoridad. en lo uno y en lo otro se dara toda la priesa posible.

luego enbie las carctas (1) de V. mt. a los del consejo de las

(1) Sic.

(Translation.)

arrived seasonably; those which are addressed, as well as the others. I immediately despatched them as your Majesty commanded.

On that which relates to Burgos I already wrote before of what has been done.

As to the expedition against Tordesillas, I have already told your Majesty what I think must be done. If the affair were mine, it might be that the letters of your Majesty would have reached me not far from the Junta; but as it is your business I must seek all possible means to place the affair in the least possible risk.

The postmaster has been here with me for some days; and certainly he is a very competent person for the office which he holds; very diligent and a true servant of your Majesty. He tells me that much money is owing him. Your Majesty ought to give orders how he is to be paid.

The summons for the grandees and prelates I have not yet sent. I will begin to despatch them immediately. These affairs of Burgos, and the ordering of the soldiery, have obstructed me. As I had no seal of your Majesty I have caused one to be made, in order that the letters might carry greater authority. The utmost possible haste shall be made.

I immediately sent your Majesty's summons to the council

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hordenes, y por no estar aqui comigo mas del presidente y polanco y don alonso de Castilla y aguirre y acuña que paso por aqui de camino para la provincia de guipuzcoa, no he comunicado lo de la gente que V. Al. deve traer demas de la de los grandes y guardas. en juntandonos que sera presto se entendera en ello. y luego hare posta con diligencia a V. mt. de lo que nos paresciere.

las cartas de V. A. se dieron a pedro de cartagena y antonio Sarmiento y juan de Rojas. pedro de cartagena ha servido tanto y tan bien a V. A. en esta jornada de tordesillas que meresce y es razon que se le hagan muchas mercedes porque el ha seydo el que ha sostenido el nonbre de V. Mt. en aquella juncta y el que ha contradicho todo quanto han fecho y agora que se vino de tordesillas su venida han (1) provechado mucho en Burgos. porque les ha pregonado las maldades y trayciones que aquellos intentan y ha seydo de ponelles en la division que tienen. de manera que por muchas causas es razon de tener sus servicios en mucha estima.

las cartas para Sevilla y Cordova y otras partes que V. A. me enbio duplicadas partiran presto como V. Al. lo manda con

(1) Sic.

(Translation.)

of the orders, and as there was no one here with me except the President, Polanco, and Don Alonso de Castilla, Aguirre, and Acuña, who is on his way to the province of Guipuzcoa, I have not told that your Highness will bring troops from there, in addition to those of the grandees and the guards. As soon as we (1) are together, which will be soon, we shall come to an understanding about it, and immediately send a courier with all diligence to your Majesty with our opinion on it.

The letters of your Highness will be given to Pedro de Cartagena, Antonio Sarmiento, and Juan de Rojas. Pedro de Cartagena has served your Highness so much and so well in Tordesillas that he deserves, and it is just that he should receive, many favours. It has been he who maintained the name of your Majesty in that Junta, and who has opposed all that they have done. And now that he has come from Tordesillas, his presence in Burgos has profited much. He has proclaimed the wickedness and treason which those [of the Junta] intended, and has been the one to make the discord between them which exists there. Thus on many accounts it is just to hold his services in much esteem.

The letters which your Highness sent me in duplicate for Sevilla, Cordova, and other places shall go soon, as your Highness commands, and other decrees which the council

(1) The three governors, Cardinal Adrian, the Admiral, and the Constable.

1520.

otras provisiones que aca avemos acordado los del consejo y yo sobre las cosas de la juncta.

el despacho de Sevilla sobre el alboroto que alli huvo no es ydo ni tanpoco la provision del asistentado para el conde de luna. las carctas yran luego y la provision no le enbiare porque en leon puede servir mucho a V. mt. y si de alli le sacamos podria ser que todo fuese con mal. Sancho martinez es ydo a Sevilla como fuere recivido asi se proveera lo del conde de luna. si a V. Mt. paresciere que es bien que todavia vaya el conde de luna mandemelo escrevir porque asi se proveera. y de Sancho martinez se terna memoria pues es persona que en todas cosas podra muy bien servir.

el despacho para el marques de mondejar se enbiara y de aquel reyno y de todo lo demas se terna el cuydado que V. A. manda. pues es cosa que tancto imporcta.

mande V. mt. dar priesa en lo del artilleria porque de ella tenemos mucha necesidad.

luego a la ora despache al capictan lescano con la carta de V. Mt. y con carcta mia para que haga la cala de las naos y me enbie relacion dellas como V. Mt. lo manda. y que se parta el para esas partes en enbiandome la relacion. luego que me la enbie despachare con ella buxeta como V. A. lo escrive.

(Translation.)

here and I have agreed upon touching the affairs of the Junta.

The warrant concerning the disturbance at Sevilla is not gone, nor yet the order nominating the Count de Luna chief justice of that place. The letters shall go immediately; but the order I will not send, because he [Count de Luna] may be of much service to your Majesty in Leon. If we withdraw him from there it might be that every thing would go ill. Sancho Martinez is gone to Sevilla. If he is received, the affair of the Count de Luna will be arranged. Should it appear good to your Majesty that, notwithstanding, the Count de Luna shall go, write it to me, and it shall be done. Remember Sancho Martinez, for he is a person who can be useful in all things.

The despatch for the Marquis de Mondejar shall be sent, and the business of that kingdom, and of everything else which your Highness commands, shall be looked after. It is a thing of much importance.

Your Majesty should hasten in the matter of the artillery, for we stand in much need of it.

I immediately sent the Captain Lescano with your Majesty's letters and one of mine, that he might enquire about the ships and give me an account of them, as your Majesty commands. He is to embark for Flanders, and to send me the report. Directly he does so, I will despatch it by the mail box, as your Highness has written.

1520.

mucho olgue de saber que lope hurctado fuese llegado porque del sabra V. Mt. el estado de lo de aca que lo vido por vista de ojos. cada ora espero respuesta de lo que con el escrevi y de las otras carctas que despues he escripcto a V. A.

yo he sabido que los de la juncta han enbiado a V. Mt. un mensajero suyo que diz que se llama anton Bazquez vecino de avila persona de mal bivir. no se cree que ellos pueden enbiar otros pues todos son desta manera. si a estos oye V. Mt. no se que me diga sino que no se deve hazer y no solamente no oylle a el ni a otros que de la Juncta vayan. pero mandalles echar de la corte. y acuerdese V. Mt. que el cardenal en vro nonbre enbio a avila al comendador hinestrosa para que ablase a los procuradores y no quisieron oylle ni que entrase en la ciudad. y asi le enbiaron. y lo mismo hizieron a los obispos de lugo y oviedo que enbio a tordesillas y no los quiso oyr ni dexar entrar dentro. de manera que claramente dan a entender las malas volunctades que tienen a vuestro servicio.

yo he sabido que como V. Mt. abrio puerta en la coruña en dar la capictania general del Reyno a fonseca. que agora otros la pediran, agora este oficio es mio como V. Mt. sabe. quando yo no le serviere bien entonces la podra mandar proveer a otro.

(Translation.)

I rejoice much that Lope Hurtado had arrived, because your Majesty will know from him the condition of affairs here, which he saw with his own eyes. Every hour I expect an answer to what I wrote by him, and to the other letters which I have written to your Highness.

I have known that the members of the Junta have sent to your Majesty a messenger, who it is said is call Anton Vasquez, native of Avila, a person of bad reputation. I do not believe they could send any other for they are all of this class. If your Majesty listens to these [the Junta], I do not know what to say, except that you ought not to it, and not only not hear him nor any others whom the Junta may send, but command them to be driven from court. May it please your Majesty to remember that the cardinal sent in your name to Avila the knight-commander Hinestrosa, in order that he might speak to the Procurators, and they did not choose to hear him, nor permit him to enter the city, and so sent him away. They did the same to the Bishops of Lugo and Oviedo, whom he sent to Tordesillas, and did not desire to hear them or permit them to enter within, so that they give one clearly to understand the bad will which they have towards your service.

I am informed that, as your Majesty constituted a precedent in Coruña, by giving the captain generalship of the kingdom to Fonseca, others will now ask for it. Now this office is mine, as your Majesty knows. When I shall cease to exercise it, then you can order it to be conferred upon another.

1520.

el conde de oñate mi hijo esta todavia con el cardenal. sirve alli en todo lo que se ofresce muy bien y en su salida de Valladolid travajo todo lo que pudo y nunca le ha dexado y asi ge lo he escripcto yo. es onbre cuerdo y tiene dispusicion de servir de servir (1) a V. mt. en toda manera de cargos. V. A. se acuerde del quando oviere dispusicion.

el dean de Burgos mi sobrino y el doctor Çumel estan en Burgos sufriendo mas peligro de sus personas de lo que aqui se puede dezir. para el doctor cada dia ay dispusicion para hazelle merced. el otro que es de otra calidad hazersela a quando caso se ofresciere.

otras vezes he escripto a V. Mt. haciendole saver lo que juan de Rojas sirve y la volunctad y deseo que tiene a v̄ro servicio. nunca se quita de comigo. razon es que V. Mt. se acuerde del.

don juan de luna capictan de los continos de V. Mt. vino aqui con algunos de los continos de su capictania. ha servido y sirve muy bien en todas las cosas que se han ofrescido y venir el con la gente de su capitania aqui primero que nadie fue mucha causa que la gente de los gelves viniese. de manera que por muchos respectos V. A. es obligado hazelle mercedes. lo que agora yo suplico a V. A. es que le haga

(1) Sic.

(Translation.)

The Count of Oñate, my son, is still with the cardinal. He serves there very well in every thing that occurs. And on his departure from Valladolid he did all that he could and has never abandoned him, as I had ordered him. He is a prudent man, and inclined to serve your Majesty in any kind of employment. Your Highness will remember him when you are so disposed.

The Dean of Burgos, my nephew, and the Doctor Zumel, are in Burgos, suffering more personal danger there than can be stated here. With regard to the doctor he is of such a disposition that favours must be shown him every day. The other, who is of a different quality, might have them when an occasion offers.

I have written at other times to your Majesty to let you know of what use Juan de Rojas is, and the goodwill and desire he has for your service. He never leaves me. It is right that your Majesty should remember him.

Don Juan de Luna, captain of the *continos* of your Majesty, came here with some men of his company. He has served and continues to serve very well in all things which fall in his way. His coming here with the men of his company, before anybody else, was a principal cause why the troops from the Gelves came. On this account, your Highness ought to show him favour in every respect. That

1520.

merced del avito de Santiago, pues concurren en el todas las calidades que se requieren, en lo qual V. Mt. me hara mucha merced.

el conde de fuensalida esta en galizia y tiene aquel Reyno en mucha paz y justicia. mandele V. A. escrevir y encomendar que lo haga asi continuamente.

los dias que don Alvaro de Ayala ha estado aqui ha hecho lo que siempre. que es servir a V. Mt. y tiene deseo de serviros en esta jornada. bien sabe pedricar lo que conviene. aya V. A. memoria del en lo que se ofresciere.

el comendador Aguilera me ha escripto que el conde de Benavente le ha despedido. V. mt. escriva al conde sobre ello pues el comendador vino aca sobre cosas de vuestro servicio.

para dar cuencta a V. Mt. de todo lo de aca me parescio que hera bien que fuese don pero velez de guevara el qual va. suplico a V. Mt. le mande oyr y dar entera fee y le mande brevemente despachar porque aca podra servir en todo lo que fuere menester. pues es tan cuerdo y servidor de V. Mt. cuya muy Real persona y estado guarde y prospere nuestro Señor como V. Mt. desea.

(TRANSLATION.)

which I now beg of your Highness is, that you will grant him the favour of the knighthood of Santiago, since in him are found all the qualities which are requisite. Your Majesty will favour me much in doing this.

The Count of Fuensalida is in Galicia, and maintains much peace and justice in that kingdom. Your Highness ought to order that he be written to, and commanded to continue to do the same.

The days that Don Alvaro de Ayala was here, he has done as he always does, that is, to serve your Majesty. He has a desire to serve you in this enterprise. He knows well how to preach that which is suitable. Your Highness will keep him in remembrance when any thing offers.

The knight commander Aguilera has written to me that the Count of Benavente has dismissed him. Do your Majesty write to the count about it, as the knight commander came here on matters concerning your service.

In order to give an account to your Majesty of all that has happened here, it appeared to me that it would be well that Don Pero Velez de Guevara should be sent to you. I beg your Majesty to hear and to give him entire credit, and send him quickly back again, because here he may be of use in all necessary things, as he is so discreet and a servant of your Majesty, whose very royal person and state may our Lord guard and prosper as your Majesty desires.

1520.

De Briviesca xxix de Otubre.

" de ṽra majestad mayor servidor que sus muy Reales manos besa. el condestable. [Rubrica.]

[*Sobre:*] Sacra Regis Cathca. Magt.

1520 (?) November (?)

67. FRAY FRANCISCO DE LEON (?) to the CARDINAL OF TORTOSA.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Patronato Real. Comunidades de Castilla. Legajo 2. f.* 166. *This document seems to be one of the letters of Fray Francisco to the Cardinal of Tortosa, which the Cardinal sent to Lope Hurtado de Mendoza to read to the Emperor. The date and signature are cut off in order not to betray the name of the informant. Apparently holograph. See the letters of the Cardinal to Lope Hurtado, dated 4th of September, and 13th of November* 1520.]

[*En la Carpeta—Escrito por Cisterer secretario del Cardenal:*]

Esto se ha de leher solo a su Magd.

Reverendisimo y muy Ylle. Señor,

porque V. S. Rma. este informado de todas las cosas daca que combienen all servicio de la Reyna Nuestra Señora y del enperador Rey Nuestro Señor su hijo le ago saber que todos estos dias los procuradores que aqui estan le han suplicado y le suplican a Su Alteza con mucha ynstancia para que aya de firmar algunas provisiones que le dizen que son muy necesarias y aun le han inportunado muchas vezes representandole muchas cabsas por que le dizen que ay necessidad y Su Alteza les Responde siempre que ha enbiado a llamar a los del consejo

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(TRANSLATION.)

From Briviesca, 29th of October.

From your Majesty's most obedient servant, who kisses your very royal hands.

The Constable. [Sign manual.]

[*Addressed:*] Sacred and catholic Majesty, our King.

67.

[*Written in the hand of Cisterer, secretary of the Cardinal of Tortosa:*] This is to be read to his Majesty alone.

Most reverend and very illustrious Lord,

In order that your most reverend Lordship may be well informed of all the things which pass here and regard the service of the Queen our lady, and the Emperor our lord, her son, I let you know that all these days the Procurators who are here have begged, and still very earnestly beg, her Highness to sign some decrees, which they say are very necessary. They have even insisted on the urgency of them, alleging a great many reasons. Her Highness always answers that she has sent for her councillors, who, at her command, had been here some time ago

1520 (?)

que aqui venieron el otro dia mandado de Su Alteza, y que comunicado con ellos proveeria como combenia y sobresto entre otras cosas le dixieron que estos Reynos estan destruydos e principalmente por Respeto de los del consejo y otras personas, que aconsejaron mal al Rey nuestro Señor y que por esto porque pensavan ser gravemente castigados como merecian avian huydo a partes que no se podian aver, y aun V. S. Rma. aunque por ser estrangero no podia ser governador se avia ydo escondido a Rioseco, y que alli se avia juntado con los malhechores, y procuraban de juntar gente de grandes y todo lo que podian, y asimismo el Señor condestable por ciertos poderes nuevos que el Rey Nuestro Señor le avia enbiado, y que todo ello hera en mucho deservicio de Su Alt. y para abrasarse estos Reynos y que por tanto, que pues que con su firma se podia todo remediar, mandasse firmar aquellas cartas que alli le mostravan. e su Alt. les respondio que estava informada de V. S. que hera estrangero hera buen ombre, de muy buenos deseos y vida y que los del consejo eran del tienpo del Rey Catholico. no podia ser que fuesen malos a lo menos que algunos avia que heran buenos, y que por esto queria hablar y comunicar con ellos porque heran personas espirmentadas y sabian la forma de la buena governacion del tienpo de los Reyes Catholicos, y que si alguno dellos hera malo que Su Alteza le mandaria castigar, y que en quanto a la

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(Translation.)

After having conferred with them she would decide what is suitable. Amongst other things they [the Procurators] replied that it was just these councillors and other such people who had destroyed the kingdom by giving bad advice to the King our lord. Because they were afraid of being severely punished, as they deserved, they had fled to places where they could not be caught. Even your most reverend Lordship, being a foreigner [they said], could not be governor, and had now gone secretly to Rioseco to join the evil doers, who were collecting the tenantry of the grandees and other people [under the command] of the Constable, who had received new orders from the King our lord. All that, they said, was done to her prejudice, and would kindle civil war in her kingdoms. As her signature would remedy all evil, they begged her to sign certain letters which they showed her. Her Highness said that she was informed about your Lordship, who, although a foreigner, was a good man, harbouring the best intentions, and [leading an irreproachable] life. As for the councillors, they were of the time of the Catholic King, and could not be wicked, at least not all of them. She wanted to speak and to confer with them, because they were experienced persons, and knew how the good government of the Catholic King and Queen had been carried on. If some of them should be found to be bad, her Highness would see that they should be punished. With

1520 (?)

gente que dezian que se juntava por el condestable y otros grandes que no creyesen que hera para hazer ningund mal ni dapño sino que seria para servicio de Su Alteza, que asy lo solian sienpre hazer los grandes y cavalleros de sus Reynos en tienpo de los Reyes sus Señores, porque heran leales y que sienpre fue muy leal la casa del condestable. a esto le dixieron los procuradores quel condestable que Su Alteza pensava que no era bivo y que el que es agora es don yñigo su hermano. su Alteza les dixo que lo mismo haria el que los sus antecesores. sobre todo lo suso dicho todavia le tornaron a suplicar muchas vezes y Su Alteza les dixo que en su camara estavan ciertas mugeres que no convenian para su servicio, que aquellas hechasen de ally y despues Su Alteza veria y proveeria en ello. y asy sacaron las dichas mugeres, y el dia siguiente le dixieron que pues le avian quitado las mugeres le suplicavan firmase. y Su Alteza asentada en su estrado estuvo con ellos hablando muy grand rato, leyendole las provisiones que le llevavan para firmar. y despues que acabaron de leer todo, les dixo que las provisiones antes que se firmasen de Su Alteza se habian de señalar en las espaldas de los del consejo y que despues las avia de firmar Su Alteza, y que por esto y por otras cosas tenia necesidad de comunicar con los del consejo, y que ya su Alteza avia enbiado por ellos que presto

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(Translation.)

respect to the troops which the Constable and other grandees were said to be assembling, [her Highness told them] that they ought not to believe that it was to do any wrong or evil, but only to serve her Highness as the grandees and cavaliers of her kingdoms had always done during the reign of the King and Queen her parents. They were loyal, and especially so the house of the Constable. An observation was made that the present Constable was not the same person whom her Highness had known, but his brother Don Iñigo. Her Highness replied that he would act in the same way as his predecessors. The Procurators continued their prayers, and at last her Highness said that in her rooms were certain women who ought not to be in her service. If they would dismiss them she would see what she could do. The women were dismissed. Next day the Procurators said to her Highness that as they had sent away her women, they implored her to sign. Her Highness, seated in her state room, spoke a long while with them, and they read to her the decrees which they had brought with them to be signed. When they had finished reading them she observed that such decrees must be signed first by her councillors on the back of the paper, else she could not ratify them by her signature; and this [she added] was one of the reasons why she wanted to speak with the members of her Council. She had already sent a messenger to call them

1520 (?)

vernian, y esto dixo porque Su Alteza mando secretamento a un criado suyo que les fuese a buscar, pero nunca fue. y los procuradores tornaron a dezir de los del consejo lo susodischo, y que alli estavan otros letrados y personas que sabian y tenian yntencion de servir, que ellos las señalarian las dichas provisiones. y quando esto la dixieron Su Alteza les dixo que estava enferma y quedava cansada, que ese otro dia veria y proveeria en ello como conbenia. y con tanto se entro en su camara. la misma noche de noche se alboroto el pueblo y hizieron alarma deziendo quel condestable y mucho exercito de gente llegavan a la puerta. y con estas vozes entraron a Su Alteza y le dixieron que los enemigos estavan a las puertas y que querian entrar. por tanto que mandase su Alteza firmar syno que los tiranos le llevarian a Su Alteza y harian muchos males. Su Alteza les dixo con alguna alteracion que como vian hera de noche y que de su parte fuesen al condestable pues que dezian que estava a la puerta y le dixiesen que Su Alteza le mandava que hasta que fuese de dia estuviese quedo y no hiziese ningun mal, que en siendo de dia su Alteza le hablaria. y otra cosa no quiso proveer aquella noche. y el dia siguiente como per . . . . . (1) que no creyo, no se porque, no hizo ninguna mencion su Alteza, y los procuradores tornaron a Su Alteza

(1) roto.

(Translation.)

into her presence, and they would soon arrive. In fact, she had given such an order to one of her servants, who, however, did not obey it. The Procurators renewed their complaints of the Council, and said that there were other persons very learned and perfectly able and willing to serve her. They would sign the decrees. Her Highness on hearing this declared that she was unwell and tired, and that she would on another day see and decide what was best; and having pronounced these words she retired to her cabinet. The same night there was a tumult in the town produced by the rumour that the Constable with a great army was near the gates. They [the Procurators] hastened to the palace, and entered where her Highness was, saying that the enemy was at the gates ready to force them. [They begged her] to sign a proclamation, else the tyrants would take her away and do her much harm. Although somewhat disturbed, she said that, as they saw, it was night, and that they might go and tell the Constable in her name that until day he should remain quiet, and do no harm to anybody; next day she would speak with him. She refused to come to any other decision that night. Next morning her Highness did not mention what had occurred, as though, I do not know why, she did not believe [in the rumour]. When the Procurators renewed

1520 (?)

con la misma demanda. y Su Alteza les dixo que no se matasen ni le diesen tanta prisa, que muy presto saldria de palacio para yr a Santa Clara y a otras partes y despacharia todo lo que conbenia. e los procuradores le dixieron que aquello que pedian no hera cosa que sofria dilacion alguna por tanto que mandase firmar que entretanto no saldrian ellos de la camara. y con tanto su Alteza se yba a su camara. y ellos porfiavan que a lo menos firmase luego una carta para el condestable y para los grandes que no juntasen e hiziesen gente. Su Alteza les dixo que ya les avia dicho que el condestable ni otros no harian cosas que no devian que no tuviesen ningund temor dello, y asy se salieron no muy contentos del despacho y despues tornaron a Su Alt. y le dixieron que a lo menos fuese un Rey darmas de partes de Su Alteza al condestable y consigo llevaron al Rey darmas. y su Alteza les dixo que aquel Rey darmas no hera suyo ni le conocia. y asy quedo por entonces. y despues dixieron muchos procuradores que avian tornado a su Alteza y avia mandado que se enbiase al condestable mensajero que le dixiese que no usase de los poderes ni hiziese ningund dapño ni saliese de su casa sin que su Alteza le mandase, pero a esto no me halle yo presente. y despues del dia siguiente venieron aqui don pedro de baçan y don juan de Mendoça y otro de parte de Valladolid a hablar a su Alteza,

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(Translation.)

their entreaties, her Highness told them not to be too much concerned and too hasty. Very soon she would go out to Santa Clara and to other places, and despatch all the business which was pending. The Procurators declared that their business could not suffer any delay, and that, until she would sign, they would not leave the room. She then retired to another apartment, but the Procurators persisted in their demands that she should at least sign a letter to the Constable and the grandees, ordering them to desist from enrolling soldiers. Her Highness, repeating that neither the Constable nor the others would do any injustice, admonished them not to be afraid. They went away very little satisfied. After some while they returned with a king-at-arms, begging the Queen to send him to the Constable. Her Highness replied, "That is not my king-at-arms. I do not know him." Thus the affair ended; and afterwards many of the Procurators said that they had returned to her Highness, and that she had ordered that a messenger should be sent to the Constable to tell him that he was not to use his forces, nor do any injury, and that he should not go forth from his house unless her Highness should order him. At this, however, I was not present. The following day arrived Don Pedro de Bazan, Don Juan de Mendoza, and a third person, to speak with her Highness in the name of the town of Valladolid. Next morning the mes-

1520 (?)

y el segundo dia desdel corredor de fuera, estando Su Alteza retrayda en su camara, le dixieron desde tras de la puerta que la villa de Valladolid les enbiava a besar los pies y manos de Su Alt. y a suplicarle que, porque havian sabido que Su Alteza se queria salir de Tordesillas, que les hiziese mīd que fuese a Valladolid, porque aquella villa estava muy aparejada para su servicio como hera razon etc. y su Alteza les enbio a dezir que se fuesen aora porque no estaba bien dispuesta que el dia siguiente les hablaria. y asy lo hizieron. y el dia siguiente a medio dia les hablo y dixo que Su Alteza les agradecia mucho su ofrecimiento y que sienpre tuvo tal confiança daquella villa y que no tenia determinado de salir por agora de tordesillas y que quando determinase de salir les haria saber.

los clerigos que venieron para curar a Su Alteza estan aqui y trabajan en su officio todo lo que pueden de manera quellos por le curar y sanar y los otros por le hazer firmar dan toda la priesa que pueden. dios alumbre a Su Alteza para lo que fuere su servicio de Sus Altezas y bien de sus Reynos e para ello, en lo que ha podido ser, no ha faltado quien le aya avisado lo que es su servicio conforme a lo que V. S. mando. y lo mismo se hara daqui adelante dios queriendo.

[Por aqui esta cortado el trozo de papel donde estaba el final de la carta original.]

(Translation.)

sengers being in the corridor outside spoke from behind the door to her Highness, who was in her room, and told her that the town of Valladolid had sent them to kiss her hands and feet, and humbly to beseech her that, as it was said she wished to leave Tordesillas, she would do them the favour to go to Valladolid, which was well prepared to receive and to serve her, &c. Her Highness sent somebody to tell them that she was unwell, and that they should return the following day. They did as they were ordered. Next day at noon her Highness spoke with them, and said that she was much pleased with their offer, and had always had a good opinion of that town, but that she had not yet decided on leaving Tordesillas. If she should come to such a decision, she would let them know.

The priests who came to cure her Highness are here, and endeavour, according to their office, [to do] as much as they are able. Thus the one party to cure and heal her, and the others to make her sign, use all possible haste. May God enlighten her Highness, as well for her own benefit as for the good of their Highnesses, and of their kingdoms, and her own. Where it has been possible there has not been wanting one who has advised for her good, agreeably to what your Lordship commanded, and the same will be done henceforward, God willing.

[Here is cut off the piece of paper on which the date and signature were written.]

1520.
1st November. **68.** The CARDINAL OF TORTOSA to the EMPEROR CHARLES.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Patronato Real. Comunidades de Castilla. Legajo* 2. *f.* 164. *Autograph.*]

A su Mag^{t} de Cardenal de Tortosa. primero de Noviembre 1520.

S. C. C. R. M^{t}.

Despues de haver escrito a V. M^{t} de mi salida de Valladolit y de otras cosas que hasta estonces se havian ofrecido vinieron el obispo de Çamora con su caballo y cossalete y fray Alonso con alguna gente hasta el monasterio de prado con trato que tenian concertado con algunos alborotadores daquella villa para meterles dentro della con la gente que trahian y con pensamiento de proceder contra el infante de granada, y contra otros servidores de Vr̃a Mag^{d}, y en haviendo sabido esto la dicha villa como ya havia concertado y estava determinada en que el dicho infante sea capitan general della y no don Pedro giron pusieron sus buenas guardas a las puertas y todos muy apercebidos acordaron de resister y no consentir la entrada dellos, y assi se fueron. y juntamente con esto tuvieron los de la villa sus diligencias en hazer y tomar pesquisa con quien se habian concertado, y plugo a nuestro Señor de encaminarles en ello de manera que hallaron que los principales dellos despues del vera y cerero que estan ausentes eran un barbero y otro bonetero. y luego prendieron al bone-

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(TRANSLATION.)

68. To his Majesty. From the Cardinal of Tortosa. 1st of November 1520.

Sacred, imperial, catholic, royal Majesty,

After having informed your Majesty of my departure from Valladolid, and of other things that had happened until then, the Bishop of Zamora, on his horse and in his coat of armour, and Fray Alonso with some troops, came as far as the convent of the Prado,(1) hoping that they and their soldiers would be admitted into that town, and could proceed against the Infante of Granada, and other servants of your Majesty, as they had concerted with some rebels of the town. When the town [council] knew it, as they had already decided and determined that the Infante should be their captain general, and not Don Pedro Giron, they kept very good watch at the gates, and, all very well armed, decided to resist and not to permit them to enter. Thus, they went away. At the same time the [town council] diligently inquired who the persons were that had entertained intelligence with them, and God was pleased to direct their efforts so well that they discovered that the principal persons in this affair—next to Vera and the wax chandler, who are absent—were a barber and a bonnet maker. They arrested the bonnet maker, and

(1) On the right bank of the river Pisuerga, opposite Valladolid.

1520.

tero e hizieronle deposar, y como no pudo negar la verdat confesso muchas cosas por las quales luego a la hora le ahorcaron. en este medio el Barbero se dio recaudo en salir de la villa y fuesse al dicho monasterio de prado, y en el mismo punto dieron alla tras del mas de mill hombres de la villa y cercaron el monasterio y con toda diligencia le buscaron y hallaron, y luego le sacaron, y con pifalo y atambor le metieron de noche dentro de la villa y le llevaron a la carcel, y como ya tenia fecho y cerrado el processo el corregidor de la dicha villa con los alcaldes de la chancilleria le sentenciaron a muerte e hizieronle confesar y con mas de cinquenta hachas en la misma noche le sacaron y ahorcaron en la plaça pregonandole por traydor y alborotador con gran voluntad y sosiego de todo aquel pueblo. lo que este barbero havia confessado es que havia traydo provissiones de la junta sobre los medios que havian de tener para prender los del consejo y que el fue el que tuvo el trato con el obispo de Çamora para la entrada de la villa e tenia la puerta para ello, y que fue a repicar la campana de San Miguel contra el infante e otras muchas cosas que por excusar prolixidat se dexan de dezir aqui. crea V. M^{t} que la sentencia que se hizo destos dos alborotadores ha sydo y es gran parte para reduzir aquel pueblo al estado debido. y ahunque sin estos havian prendido

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(Translation.)

made him give evidence. As he could not deny the truth, he confessed many other things, for which he was hanged on the spot. Meanwhile the barber took precautions to leave the town, and went to the convent of the Prado. More than one thousand persons of the town followed him, surrounded the convent, searched it with great diligence, found and took him away, and with pipes and drums they brought him back to the town whilst it was already night, and put him into prison. As his process was already made out and concluded, the *corregidor* of the town and the alcaldes of the chancery passed sentence of death on him. They made him confess, conducted him with more than fifty torches to the square, and hung him there the same night, declaring him traitor and rebel, with the consent and to the great satisfaction of the whole people. What this barber has confessed is that he had brought orders from the Junta about the measures to be taken for the imprisonment of the members of the privy council; that it was he who had entered into negotiations with the Bishop of Zamora about his admission into the town; that he had occupied the gate for that purpose; that he had rung the bell of San Miguel [to produce a tumult] against the Infante, and many other things which I do not state here to avoid prolixity. Your Majesty may believe that the sentence against these two rebels has contributed and contributes a good deal towards reducing this town to due obedience. Six or seven others have

1520.

a seys o syete otros pues no les hallaron muy culpantes le (1) soltaron, ca en las mesmas culpas huvieran hallado gran parte daquella villa, y si castigaran a estos fuerales forçado de castigar a todos los otros, y assy les parecio dissimularlo mayormente pues se van reconociendo y emendando lo passado con toda demonstracion de voluntad en el servicio de Vña Mt. y en obedecer sus Reales mandamientos. el dicho Infante lo haze muy bien y se ha puesto en muchos peligros en servicio de Vña Alt. y crea V. Mt. que aunque es capitan de Valladolit que iamas se hizo con su voluntad desconcierto alguno en aquella villa, pero como no era parte para estorvarlo erale forçado no contradezir la opinion del pueblo y dissimular muchas cosas que quisiera poner en egecucion para en castigo de los malos. por lo qual sera bien que V. Alt. le mande escrevir alguna buena carta graciosa.

en estos dias he henbiado a Valladolit gomez de Santyllan con cartas e instruccion de todo lo que me ha parecido cunplir al servicio de Vña Mt. con lo qual y con el traslado de la carta que tambien les he embiado sobre la venida de V. Mt. a mas del buen zelo y principio que tienen en castygar traydores espero en nuestro Señor que havra aprovechado y que las cosas de aquella villa se despacharan presto y muy bien.

(1) Sic.

(TRANSLATION.)

also been arrested, but as they did not find them very culpable they released them; for a great portion of the townspeople were implicated in this criminal affair, and if they had punished these they would have been obliged to punish all the others. They therefore thought it best to ignore it, especially as the [guilty] have begun to understand and amend the past, with great demonstrations of goodwill towards the service of your Majesty and obedience to your royal commands. The said Infante behaves very well, and has exposed himself to great dangers in the service of your Highness. Your Majesty may believe me that since he has been captain of Valladolid never has any fault against your service been committed in that town with his consent. As he, however, is not strong enough to prevent all, he is forced to abstain from opposing public opinion, and must leave many things undone which he would like to do, in order to punish the evildoers. It would be good if your Highness would write him a kind and gracious letter.

Some days ago I sent Gomez de Santillan with letters and an instruction to Valladolid concerning all that in my opinion would be beneficial to the service of your Majesty, together with which I have also sent the copy of the letter concerning the coming of your Majesty. I hope in God they will show their goodwill and intentions not only by punishing traitors, but that this mission also will produce some good effect, and the affairs of that town be soon and satisfactorily settled.

1520.

a xxv. del passado recebi cartas de Tordesyllas en que me escriven que la Reyna nuestra Señora esta en grandissima manera fatigada que es la mayor lastima del mundo. y no me maravillo segun el acatamiento y buen tratamiento que aquellos de la Junta hazen a Su Alteza en le haver quitado las mugeres y en inportunarla de dia y de noche a que Su Alt. firme. y no dude vra Alt. que si pudiessen haver firmas de Su Alt. ahunque no fuesse sino una sola como por otras le tengo escrito pornian gran rebuelta en estos Reynos a mas de la que hay. ahora poco ha querian tentar y se davan mucha prissa en querer sacar de tordesyllas a Su Al. y todavia segun entiendo persisten en ello. y luego en la mesma hora apercebi y escrevi ad algunos grandes y cavalleros que estan cerca daqui y tambien a Valladolit, y cierto me ha respondido muy bien sobrello y esta determinada aquella villa en defenderlo y en no consentir ni permitirlo en manera alguna, de manera que creo que la junta no saldra con ello. el conde de benavente entro en esta villa a xxx. de Octubre con dozientas lanças y otros tantos escopeteros y a mas destos traxo mil infantes con sus picas y otras armas. el dia siguiente vino el marques de Astorga con dozientos lanças y con dos mil infantes muy adreçados y en orden. y con el marques vinieron el obispo de A-

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(Translation.)

On the 25th of last month I received letters from Tordesillas, in which they write me that the Queen our lady is so very much worn out that it is the greatest grief in the world. I do not wonder at it, considering the reverence and good treatment she receives at the hands of the members of the Junta, who have deprived her of her women, and importune her Highness day and night asking her to sign. Your Highness ought not to have any doubt, that if they could obtain signatures from her Highness, and if it were only one, as by other letters I have already written, they would cause great tumults in these kingdoms, greater indeed than now already exist. A short time ago they endeavoured and were in great haste to try whether they could not carry off her Highness from Tordesillas, and they persist still in this purpose, as I am informed. Directly I was made aware of it, I wrote to some grandees and cavaliers who are staying in the neighbourhood, and also to Valladolid. [Valladolid] certainly has answered me very well on this subject. That town is determined to oppose it, not to consent to or permit it on any condition; so that I think the Junta will not be able to carry out their design. The Count of Benavente entered this town(1) on the 30th of October with 200 lances, as many sharpshooters, and, moreover, he brought with him 1,000 foot, with pikes and other arms. Next day came the Marquis of Astorga with 200 lances and 2,000 foot, well armed and well disciplined. With the Marquis came the Bishop of Astorga and the Count of

(1) Medina de Rioseco.

1520.

storga y el conde de Altamira, y dos o tres dias antes que estos cavalleros llegassen se hizo en esta villa alarde de la gente que el almirante tiene presta, que son cient lanças muy buenas y lucidas y quinientos infantes con razonable artilleria, pero sin estos el almirante conde de benavente y marques susodichos tienen apercebido todo el resto de la gente de sus tierras. al conde de Albadeliste esperamos de dia en dia que tambien dizen que viene muy en orden. el almirante me ha escrito lo que vera V. Alt. por las que van con esta. creo que sera aqua dentro de ocho o diez dias.

el Condestable pienso que havra escrito ya a V. Mt. el concierto que ha tomado con Burgos y segun lo que me escrive espero que dentro de muy pocos dias nos veremos y estaremos juntos. estoy certificado que viene muy poderoso a mas de lo que la gente que vino de los Algerves le ha acudido. El marques de Denia me escrive que verna tambien luego con buen tropel de gente. tambien esperamos de cada dia muchos cavalleros particulares. el obispo de Burgos me ha escrito que hara venir de Coca cient lanzas que hay en aquella fortaleça y creo que tambien se verna por aqua, ahunque yo lo impidire todo lo que pudiere por escusar escandalos, y porque la salida de la batalla siempre es dudosa y en donde quiera

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(Translation.)

Altamira. Two or three days before these noblemen had arrived the men whom the Admiral keeps ready in this his town were passed in review. They are 100 very good and brilliant lances, and 500 foot, with corresponding artillery. Besides these troops, the Admiral, the Count of Benavente, and the said Marquis keep in readiness all the other men on their estates. We expect the Count Alba de Liste from day to day. It is said that he comes very well prepared. The Admiral has written to me what your Highness will learn from his enclosed letters. I think he will be here within eight or ten days.

I hope the Constable has already written to your Majesty about the treaty he has concluded with Burgos. According to what he writes to me, I expect we shall see each other in a very few days, and stay together. I am assured that he comes [with a] very strong [force] over and above the troops from the Gelves which have joined him. The Marquis of Denia writes me that he also will soon come with a goodly troop of soldiers. Besides, we expect daily many cavaliers. The Bishop of Burgos has written to me that he will order to come from Coca 100 lances who are in garrison in that fortress. I think he will come in person. I do what I can to prevent it (1) in order to avoid scandal, and because the result of a battle is always doubtful, and, on whichever side the

(1) It seems the coming of the Bishop of Burgos, who was very unpopular.

1520.

que se hallasse (1) la victoria todavia redundaria en daño del Reyno y assi en deservicio de Vr̃a Mt.

yo entiendo que el marques de Villena esta muy tufado de alguna fama que diz que anda en esa corte que es muy contraria de la voluntad y desseos que tiene paral servicio de Vr̃a Alteza. sera bien que V. Mt. le mande escrevir muy graciosamente y dissimular lo passado que cierto en esta sazon puede servir mucho a V. Al.

la revocacion que V. Mt ha fecho en quitarnos el poder para perdonar y convocar cortes cierto en este tiempo no cumplia y todos los prudentes se maravillan dello ahunque no lo osamos dezir a muchos por el escandalo que vernia al Reyno, y dizen que los que lo han aconsejado a ṽra Alt. no lo han mirado como conviene, ni han harto ponderado lo que pasa ahora en estos rreynos. y tambien pregonan que tenemos poder para castigar y no para gratificar a nadie. Suplico a V. Al. que no enbargante lo que acerca desto ha mandado escrevir que de nuevo otorgue el mesmo poder de perdonar y convocar cortes al condestable y almirante, que para mi no solamente no lo quiero pero ahun recibire mercet que del todo me libre deste cargo y en verdad Señor que conviene

(1) puede leerse tambien *cayesse* pues esta enmendado.

(Translation.)

victory may remain, attended with losses to the kingdom and injury to your Majesty.

I hear the Marquis of Villena is very angry that a certain rumour, stating that he is very much the reverse of a zealous servant of your Majesty, is spread in that court. (1) It would be well for your Majesty to write him very graciously, and to ignore what has passed; for in this conjuncture he can certainly render very good service to your Highness.

The revocation of your Majesty, by which we are deprived of the power to pardon and to convoke Cortes, is certainly very unseasonable. All prudent people are astonished at it (we do not dare to tell it to many from fear of the scandal it would create in the kingdom), and say that those who have advised your Highness have not well considered what is convenient, and not weighed the things which are happening now in these kingdoms. They also say that we have power to punish, and not to reward any one. I entreat your Highness to revoke the order you have commanded to be sent, and to grant again to the Constable and the Admiral the same power to pardon and convoke Cortes. As for myself I not only do not desire this office, but should consider it a favour if I were relieved from it, and indeed, Señor, let it be

(1) The court of the Emperor in Flanders.

1520.

que se me quite antes que la necessidad me fuerçe de haberlo de dexar.

el Rey de Tremecen a quien Vña Mt. restituyo en su estado en que se le havia apoderado Barbarroxa y despues se le torno a alçar con el Reyno hun hermano menor suyo que se llama Muley Macot es muerto cerca de Oran donde se retruxo por miedo del dicho su hermano. el qual dicho Muley Macot que ahora posehe el rreyno embyo a pedir la misma paz y capitulacion que su hermano tenia con Vña Alt. la qual se hallo en poder del secretario Çuaçolo, que la assento diz que lope hurtado, y conforme a ella despachamos y embiamos los poderes necessarios dirigidos al marques de Comares que es capitan general de aquel Reyno. escrivolo a V. Mt. para que lo sepa y le embio con esta una carta que el dicho Rey le escrive que creo que es sobre ello.

la Bulla sobre lo de la Ynquisicion no me parece que se ha ahun revocado. suplico a Vña Mt. mande escrevir de muy buena tinta a su Santd. sobrello para que se revoque sin mas dilacion y a don juan manuel que lo solicite y procure y piense V. Mt que quanto mirare en el servicio de Dios y en el enxalçamiento de su Santa fe tanto mas le guiara y endreçara en sus cosas.

despues de escripto lo dastaqui recebi dos cartas de Vña

(Translation.)

taken from me before I am forced by necessity to leave it.

The King of Tremecen, to whom your Majesty restored his kingdom, of which Barbarossa had possessed himself, and against whom afterwards the kingdom and a younger brother, who is called Muley Macot, rebelled, has died in the neighbourhood of Oran, whereto he had retired from fear of the said brother. This Muley Macot, who now possesses the kingdom, has sent to ask the same peace and treaty which your Highness had concluded with his brother. The treaty is in the hands of the Secretary Zuazolo, and it is said Lope Hurtado has concluded it. In conformity with it, we despatch and send the necessary powers to the Marquis Comares, who is captain-general of that kingdom. I write this to inform your Majesty, and send you with it a letter of the said king to you, which, I believe, speaks of this affair.

I think the bull concerning the Inquisition is not yet revoked. I beg your Majesty to write with very good ink (1) to his Holiness on this subject, asking him to revoke it without delay; and to instruct Juan Manuel to solicit and procure it. Your Majesty must not forget that the more you occupy yourself in the service of God and the exaltation of his holy faith, the more and the better will He guide and direct your affairs.

When I had written what precedes I received two letters

(1) Sic, clearly or strongly.

1520.

Mt. de xv. del passado, y quanto a lo de mis trevaxos crea V. Mt. que no son pocos y que hago todo esfuerço en los passar ahunque mi hedat los havia bien poco menester, y si la venida de Vra Alt. ha de ser muy presta no sera con tanta brevedat que la necessidat que della hay en estos Reynos no la requiera con mas celeridat. y quanto a lo de la suspension de mi poder y de los del consejo hasta que otro governador e yo estemos juntos en verdat no ha parecido, aqua bien, e ya dizen que los del consejo de Vra Mt. endreçan a ella los negocios de Spaña como hombres que juzgan cosas vistas de lexos, y assi muchas vezes vienen de alla provisiones que ni cumplen al servicio de Vra Alt. ni al bien publico de sus Reynos. en lo del dinero paral gasto de mi casa cierto no se de donde haver ni buscarlo y si hallo alguno crea V. Mt. que solamente me abastara para muy poco tiempo y assy me sera imposible sostenerme aqua.

destos frailes que andan seduciendo e incitando los pueblos con sermones se ha prendido uno que se dize fray Benardino de la orden de San Agostin que casi es tan maligno como el fray Alonso, pero yo le he fecho poner a muy buen recaudo y espero que havra su castigo debido. tambien me ha embiado otro prisionero el conde de Albadeliste que le

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(TRANSLATION.)

from your Majesty dated the 15th of last month. As for my labours, your Majesty may believe me that they are not insignificant, and that I make the greatest exertions to perform them, although at my age I should be spared them. Even if your Highness comes soon, it will not be as soon as the state of these kingdoms requires. As for the suspension of my power and that of the Council (1) until I and another governor are together, it has not indeed been well received. It is here already said that the Council (2) of your Majesty advise you in the affairs of Spain like men who judge things from a distance, and, indeed, orders often arrive here which do not benefit either your Highness or the public weal of these kingdoms. With respect to the money for the expenses of my household, certainly I do not know where to get it, and if I still have a little, your Majesty may believe me that it will last a very short time, and then I shall be unable to maintain myself.

One of those friars who go about seducing and exciting the villages with their sermons has been caught. He calls himself Fray Bernardino, of the order of San Augustin. He is almost as malignant as Fray Alonso, but I have ordered him to be put in a very safe place, and hope he will have his due punishment. The Count Alba de Liste has sent me also

(1) The Council of Castile.
(2) The Council for the whole empire.

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presento una provision de la Junta por la qual le mandavan que no hiziesse gente ni se juntasse con los otros cavalleros que estan en servicio de V. Mt. y assy havra el buen hombre su pago. y quanto a las provisiones que la junta despacha, crea V. Al. que ahunque vayan en nombre de V. Mt. y de Su Alt. que siempre que se trata de mandamientos no los hazen sino en nonbre de la Reyna nuestra Señora.

la junta de Tordesyllas me ha escrito lo que vera Vr̃a Al. mas yo les he respondido otramente de lo que quiça ellos pensavan y como cumple al servicio y auctoridat de V. Mt.

al conde de Benavente al marques de Astorga al conde de Albadeliste y a don hernando enriquez y al adelantado de Galizia hermanos del almirante y a gutierre de fonseca y a don Juan de Ulloa conviene que vr̃a Alteza les mande escrevir agradeciendoles mucho lo que han fecho y hazen en su Real servicio, y exortandoles que lo continuen como dellos se tiene confiança. Guarde nuestro Señor la vida y Real estado de Vr̃a Mt. luengamente y con toda prosperidat. En Medina de Rioseco primero de Noviembre a las once horas de la noche 1520. Vr̃e tres humble serviteur el Carl. Dertusen.

[*Sobre*:] S. Cesee. R. C. Mti.

(Translation.)

another prisoner, who presented to him an intimation of the Junta commanding him not to enlist soldiers nor to join the other cavaliers who are in the service of your Majesty. Thus the good man will be paid. And as for the business which the Junta despatches, your Highness may believe that, although it is despatched in the name of your Majesty and her Highness, every time that orders are given they bear only the name of the Queen our lady.

The Junta in Tordesillas has written to me what your Highness will see; but I answered them differently from what they perhaps expected, and as the service and the authority of your Majesty require.

To the Count of Benavente, the Marquis of Astorga, the Count of Alba de Liste, to Don Hernando Enriquez, to the Adelantado of Galicia, brothers of the Admiral, to Gutier de Fonseca, and Don Juan de Ulloa it is necessary that your Highness should write, thanking them very much for what they have done and do in the interest of your royal service, and exhorting them to continue as you always have expected from them. Our Lord guard the life and royal states of your Majesty long and in all prosperity.

Medina de Rioseco, 1st of November, at 11 o'clock at night, of 1520.

Votre très humble serviteur, The Cardinal of Tortosa.

[*Addressed*:] Sacre Cesaree Regie Catholice Majestati.

1520.
13th November. **69.** The CARDINAL OF TORTOSA to the EMPEROR CHARLES.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Patronato Real. Comunidades de Castilla. Legajo 2. f.* 169. *Autograph. The paragraphs printed in italics are written in cipher. Contemporary official deciphering.*]

A su Magt. del Cardenal. a xiij Noviembre
S. Cesᵃᵉ. C. R. Mat.

despues de aver escripto el primero del presente a V. Mt. he recebido su carta de xxiiij del passado y por ella he visto el buen efecto y principio que ha hovido lo de su consagracion en Rey de Romanos y con quanta solemnidat ha tomado la primera corona, de lo qual assi por lo que cumplia a su Real auctoridat y servicio como en ser aparejo para su presta venida a estos rreynos huvimos todos aqua mucha alegria y se han dado las gracias por ello a nuestro Señor, al qual plega por su divina clemencia guiarle en todo a su Sancto servicio y con todo prosperidat. las cartas que acerca desto me mando enbiar vuestra Alteza para algunos particulares luego a la ora se dieron y embiaron a quien venian, y pues ahora V. Al. havra visto que estoy ya en libertad ahunque no sin sobrados trabajos y fatigas, suplico a V. Mt. que particularmente me mande responder a todo lo que hasta aqui le tengo escrito assi en las cosas de su rreal stado, como en las de partes.

lo que despues ha sucedido es lo mesmo que por otras he

(TRANSLATION.)

69. To his Majesty from the Cardinal, the 13th November.

Sacred, Imperial, Catholic, Royal Majesty,

After having written on the 1st of the present month to your Majesty, I have received your letter of the 24th of last month, and by it have seen the good effect and beginning which has taken place from your consecration as King of the Romans, and with what solemnity you have received the first crown for which, as it adds to your royal authority and service, and is a preparation for your speedy arrival in these kingdoms, we have all much joy here, and have given thanks for it to our Lord, whom may it please by his divine mercy to guide you in all things to his holy service, and with all prosperity. The letters touching this which your Highness commanded me to send to certain private persons were immediately given and sent to whom they were addressed. And as now your Highness will have seen that I am now at liberty, although not without abundance of work and fatigue, I entreat your Majesty particularly to give orders in reply to all which I have written until now, as well in the matters concerning your royal estate as in those of private persons.

That which has since happened is the same as what

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escrito a Vr̃a Alteza que todavia me parece que las cosas destos Reynos estan muy dudosas y en grande peligro. los de la Junta que residen en Tordesyllas con todas sus fuerças y con quantos medios pueden se esfuerçan y procuran de induzir a la Reyna nuestra Señora que firme lo qual les prometio Su Alt. si le quitassen las mujeres que alli tenia en su servicio. y por esto luego en el mesmo punto las apartaron de Su Alt. sino una sola esclava, y ahora esta la cosa en terminos que algunas vezes tienen sperança dello y otras desesperan, y siempre buscan nuevos medios diziendo a Su Al. la mucha m̃d y beneficio que estos Reynos recibrian que firmasse y poniendo al delante a Su Alteza casi con demostracion de algun temor los inconvenientes que se seguirian si no firmasse.

crea V. Mt. que si firma su Alt. que sin duda ninguna todo el Reyno se perdera y saldra de la Real obediencia de V. Mt. assi que mire por m̃d en que puncto y quan dudoso esta vuestro Real estado de Spaña y el peligro que ay en alargar su rreal venida a Espana.

la Junta embio a dezir a la Reyna nuestro Señora con el doctor de Salamanca que en mucho prejuicio de Su Alt. havia usurpado Vr̃a Mt. nombre o titulo de Rey de Castilla esperando y creyendo que indignandose dello su Alt. prohibiria

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(Translation.)

I have written by other letters to your Highness. It still appears to me that the affairs of these kingdoms are very doubtful and in great danger. Those of the Junta who reside in Tordesillas, with all their forces and by every means they can, try and endeavour to induce the Queen our lady to sign, which she promised to do if they would take away the women whom she had there in her service, and for this reason immediately at the same moment they removed them from her Highness, with the exception of a single slave. And now the affair is in such a condition that sometimes they have hopes of it [the signature] and at others they despair. And they always seek new modes of telling her Highness the great favour and benefit which these kingdoms would receive if she would sign, placing before her Highness, almost with a show of some fear, the difficulties which will follow if she does not sign.

Your Majesty may believe that if she signs, without any doubt the whole kingdom will be lost, and will throw off the royal obedience to your Majesty. Thus may you in mercy see in what condition and how doubtful is your royal kingdom of Spain, and the danger of postponing your royal arrival in Spain.

The Junta sent to say to the Queen our lady by the Doctor of Salamanca, that to the great prejudice of her Highness your Majesty had usurped the name and title of King of Castile, hoping and believing that being irritated

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que no obedeciessen a Vña Mt. y que proveheria le privasen del dicho titulo, y tenga por cierto V. Mt. que si algunos no previnieran a Su Alt. de los inconvenientes que se siguirian si firmasse que mucho tiempo ha que firmara *que todo el reyno seria ya llevantado* mas de lo que esta. en muchas cosas habla su Alt. muy prudentemente segun que Vña Alteza lo vera por la cedula que embio a Lope hurtado la qual recebi de uno que entrevino en todo y estuvo presente en ello y lo oyo. dieron a entender al pueblo que Su Alteza era bexada en tordesyllas de algunos malos espiritus y para curarla llamaron a unos clerigos que les ha puesto en esperança de dar salud a Su Alt. mas hasta qui ninguna cosa han aprovechado las conjuraciones, y porque yo respondiendoles a lo que sobresto me havian escrito, que es, dixe questa tal obra en procurar de sanar a Su Alt. no era reservada hasta en este tiempo a ellos y que ya mucho tiempo havia que se puso en ello toda diligencia, y que si la tal dolencia fuera curable Su Alteza estaria sana, con cartas me han difamado que yo quiero prohibir lo que cumple a la salud de Su Alt., en lo qual muchos con engaño sospechan en ello para provocar contra mi el pueblo, y cierto no embargante el yerro dellos yo lo

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(Translation.)

at it she would prohibit obedience to your Majesty, and that she would take care to deprive you of the said title. And your Majesty may take it for certain that if some persons had not warned her Highness of the difficulties which might follow if she signed, she would have done so long ago. *For all the kingdom would have mutinied* more than it already has. In many things her Highness speaks very prudently, as your Highness may see by the letter which I sent to Lope Hurtado, which I received from one who was mixed up with every thing, and was present and heard it. They gave the people to understand that her Highness was tormented at Tordesillas by certain evil spirits, and to cure her they called in some priests who have given them hopes of restoring her Highness. But up to this time these exorcisms have profited nothing. In answering to what they had written me on this subject, I said to them that such a work as obtaining the recovery of her Highness was not reserved up to this time for them [to accomplish], and that it was now a long time that all endeavours had been used for that purpose and that if such a disease were curable her Highness would have been healed. They have in letters libelled me with seeking to prevent them from doing what would benefit the health of her Highness. Many suspect that there is deceit in it, to excite the people against me. And certainly notwithstanding their error, I take it in

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tomo a mejor y mas benigna parte creyendo que no quissieron entender bien mi carta, mas para quitar la infamia que desto ponen a los Reyes don ferrando y don phelipe de gloriosa memoria y tanbien por lo que pedrican (1) de V. Mt. con motivo que no an tenido en esto la diligencia que hera necessaria para que Su Alt. se curasse y que la han tenido ṽra Mt. y los susodichos vuestros aguelo y padre presa contra su voluntad en tordesyllas para que pudiessen reynar, les dixe en mi carta que de balde se habia fecho todo lo que en tienpo passado se procuro para la salud de Su Alt. y que por ventura podria ser que les aconteciesse lo mesmo en ello.

mas de quinze dias anduvo fama que con esperança que impetrarian firma de Su Alt. la sacarian de Tordesyllas para otros lugares, lo qual pensando todos nosotros que fuera muy contrario a su salud y que sino la tomassemos por fuerça quiça peligraria Su Alteza de morirse llame ad algunos grandes y universidades estorvar aquello en otra manera, sino con armas que lo prohibiesen a fuerça dellas. los de la Junta mucho ha que hizieron exercito mayormente de la gente de cavallo y la mayor parte destos son de los que vinieron de Africa a los quales han sobornado para que les siguan y se junten con ellos.

(1) Sic.

(TRANSLATION.)

the best and most charitable part, believing that they did not seek rightly to understand my letter. But to prevent the infamy which by this means they impute to the Kings, Don Ferdinand and Don Philip, of glorious memory, and also on account of that which they preach about your Majesty, saying that they and you have not used the diligence necessary to cure her Highness, and that your Majesty, and your aforesaid grandfather and father, have kept her prisoner against her will [in Tordesillas, in order that they and you might reign, I told them in my letter that all that could be done for the health of her Highness had been done in vain in times past, and that perchance the same thing might happen to them.

For more than fifteen days past there has been a report going about that, with the hope of obtaining thereby the signature of her Highness, they would remove her from Tordesillas to some other place. We all thinking that it would be very adverse to her health, and if we did not take her by force perhaps her Highness would be in danger of dying, I appealed to some grandees and towns to prevent that [removal] in any other manner, but [if the Commons should use] force, then to oppose them by force. Some time ago the members of the Junta gathered an army, chiefly of horsemen, and the greater part of them are those who came from Africa, whom they have suborned that they may follow and join with them. All the moneys

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todos los dineros de Vra Mat. que pueden apanyar toman ahunque sean de la cruzada, hazen corregidores, y como si fuessen rreyes se hocupan la autoridat de Vra Mt. y los bienes del Reyno por lo qual certifico a Vra Mt. que sino juntaramos esta gente que absolutamente se husurparan todo el Reyno. don Pedro giron Capitan general dellos se dize que tiene sietecientas lanças y que espera de Salamanca toro Avila y Çamora mas de trezientas, pero quanto nosotros no tenemos peligro sino de nuestra mesma gente que muchos dellos favorecen el apellido de libertad para la comunidad.

los tres breves que se me han embiado he recibido, es a saber el uno con el qual se cita el obispo de Çamora, el otro con que se me comete el castigo de algunos eclesiasticos que mueven sedicion en el rreyno, el tercero contra las comunidades. el primero procure de egecutar mas no hallo ninguno que lo ose enprender porque el obispo esta en el campo con quinientas lanças y mil peones segun me dizen entre los quales hay trescientos clerigos de su diocesis armados, y a los otros que alli quedaron para satisfazer y cumplir con el pueblo les ha dado facultad de celebrar tres vezes al dia y mas si pudieren. en el breve no hay facultad de executarle por edicto,

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(Translation.)

of your Majesty which they can grasp they take, although it be of the *cruzada*. They appoint magistrates, and, as if they were kings, they usurp the authority of your Majesty and the property of the kingdom, for which reason I certify to your Majesty that if we do not meet this people, they will absolutely usurp all the kingdom. Don Pedro Giron, their captain general, is said to have seven hundred lances, and he expects three hundred more from Salamanca, Toro, Avila, and Zamora, but howsoever, *we do not fear danger except from our own men, many of whom favour the name of liberty for the people.*

The three briefs which have been sent me I have received; that is to say, the one in which the Bishop of Zamora is cited, the other in which is committed to me the chastisement of certain ecclesiastics who stir up sedition in the kingdom, the third against the Commons. The first I endeavoured to execute, but I can find no one who dares to undertake it, because the bishop is in the field with five hundred lances and a thousand foot soldiers, amongst whom, as they tell me, there are three hundred of the clergy of his diocese, armed; and to the others who remain there, to satisfy and fulfil the duties towards the people, he has given the privilege of celebrating [mass] three times a day, and more if they could. The brief contains no authority to execute

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y seria bien procurarla, y en caso que no la obedeciesse que luego se le sequestrasen los frutos. a muchos parece que no debemos executar los otros dos breves para que dello no se moviesse ni indignase mas el pueblo contra mi como se indigno contra el presidente por el otro breve. pluguiera a dios que estos breves vinieran remitidos a uno destos dos obispos que residen aqua que son el de lugo y oviedo.

amenaza la junta de querer venir con poderosso exercito a correr y sitiar esta villa y hazer huyr o tomar a los del consejo a los quales tienen en mucho odio mayormente al presidente Comendador mayor Çapata y Vargas y ahun al obispo de burgos el qual esta solo en Astorga. muchos dizen que siempre que estos estuvieren juntos con nosotros por aqua que nunca las universidades cessaran de usurparse su autoridat y bienes rreales y no se ahun si con esto se contentaran, que echan fama que estos susodichos han robado y destruydo el rreyno, y ahun empiezan a quererme mal porque tengo algunos dellos en mi conpañia, y si el odio que a estos tienen tuviessen a mi crea V. Mt. que mucho tiempo ha que me salliera de españa lo qual me sera fuerça de hazer pues la necessidat no me da lugar a otra cosa. a lo que me escrive V. Mt. que tome dineros

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(Translation.)

it by edict, and yet it would be well to do it, and in case of disobedience to sequester his revenues. To many it appears that we ought not to execute the other two briefs, lest that by them the people should be more stirred up and indignant against me, as they were against the president on account of the other brief. Would to God that these briefs had been sent to one of the two bishops who reside here, (1) who are of Lugo and Oviedo.

The Junta threatens that it is about to come with a powerful army to overrun and besiege this town, and put to flight, or take [prisoners], those of the council whom they hold in great hatred, and principally the president, Comendador Mayor, Zapata, and Vargas, and even the Bishop of Burgos, who is alone in Astorga. Many say that as long as these [persons] shall be joined with us here, the commons will never cease from usurping the authority and royal property, and I do not know that they would even content themselves with this, for there goes about a report that those aforesaid have robbed and destroyed the kingdom, and they even begin to dislike me because I have some of them in my company. If the odium which they have for them had fallen on me your Majesty may believe that long ago I should have left Spain, which I shall be forced to do because necessity does not permit of anything else. In regard to what

(1) As nuncios.

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emprestados crea V. Alt. que todos los que hallamos en nombre rreal suyo son bien menester para la paga de la gente, y que ahora muy pocos se hallan que quieran prestar, que cada uno piensa que havra bien menester lo que tiene. yo en mi nonbre no entiendo de amprar (1) a nadie pues no tengo de donde lo pudiesse pagar. ahora me queda ya muy poca moneda ahunque el titulo de Gobernador trahe grandes gastos. si Vña Mt. tuviesse por bien de relevarme deste cargo ahun me podria sostener por tres meses y vivir con lo mio, y donde no, esperare este mes y gastado el poco dinero que tengo vendere mi platilla y con lo que de alla habre espero que me podre yr a Roma, o bolverme a essas partes.

la villa de Valladolit me havia enbiado sus mensajeros con ciertos capitulos cuyo traslado va con esta los quales io con conseio del Comendador maior de Çapata y de Vargas les otorgue con esperança que si la Junta los recusase que aquella villa mas llana y facilmente se apartaria de la Junta y se reduziria a toda obediencia. que esto prometieron de cierto los dichos mensajeros que a nos vinieron. mas ha venido la cosa otramente de lo que se crehia, y amonestando algunos ad aquella villa y diziendoles que conviene al bien de la Republica

(1) Sic.

(Translation.)

your Majesty writes that I am to take up borrowed moneys, your Highness may believe that all those that we can obtain in your royal name are very necessary for the payment of the troops, and now very few are found who are inclined to lend, for every one thinks that he will have great need of all he possesses. In my own name I do not intend to borrow from anybody, because I have not from whence I could repay it. At present very little money remains to me, although the title of governor involves great expenses. If your Majesty should find it well to relieve me from this charge I might even sustain myself for three months and live on my own [means], and if not I shall wait this month; and having expended the little money that I have, I shall sell my plate, and with what I shall get from it I hope that I shall be able to go to Rome or return to those countries.(1)

The town of Valladolid has sent me messengers with certain propositions, a copy of which goes with this, which I, by counsel of the Comendador Mayor, of Zapata and of Vargas, granted to them, in the hope that if the Junta should refuse them, that town could more simply and easily separate itself from the Junta, and return to perfect obedience. This the said messengers who came to us promised for certain, but the affair has fallen out otherwise than was expected; some persons warning that town, and telling the people that it suited the good of the commonwealth that they should not

(1) Flanders.

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que ahora no falte a la Junta ahora la mesma villa se ha confederado con la dicha Junta con mas conformidat que hastaqui y mas que otra universidat de todo el Reyno segun que por unas cartas mias vera V. Alt. La mesma Junta querria comunicar comigo todas cosas en Tordesillas si dexasse yo el titulo de governador. lo qual creo que convendria que tanto podrian hacer dos gobernadores como tres, y desta manera con mas efecto les podria persuadir y atraher el rreyno a paz, y assy sera bien que V. M^{t} paral contentamiento dellos me mande librar deste cargo. pocas cosas nos suceden prosperas y casi todas contrarias y si V. M^{t} no viniesse con toda brevedat y celeridat sin duda perderia el rreyno.

el conde de benavente el marques y Obispo de Astorga me han rogado que suplique a V. M^{t} que privando al de Çamora haga Vña Alt. merced de aquel obispado al de Astorga que en parte sea en favor para un hijo del dicho Conde. que ssi como estos tres estan aqua con mucha gente tomando la parte de V. M^{t} contra los de la Junta que tienen mucho poder por la junta (1) que les ha acudido de las ciudades levantadas, justo es que V. Alt. les de todo favor, quanto mas que ahora

(1) Sic; gente.

(Translation.)

abandon the Junta, now that same town has united with the aforesaid Junta with more conformity than up to this time, and more than any other corporation of the whole kingdom, as your Highness will see by some of my letters. The same Junta desired to confer with me on all the affairs of state in Tordesillas, if I would give up the title of governor, which I think would be convenient. For two governors might do as much as three, and in this manner I might be able with more effect to persuade them, and restore the kingdom to peace. And thus it will be well that your Majesty, in order to content them, should give orders to free me from this charge. Few things fall out prosperously with us, and almost all contrary, and if your Majesty does not come with all speed and celerity without doubt the kingdom will be lost.

The Count of Benavente, the Marquis and the Bishop of Astorga, have begged me to supplicate your Majesty that, in case of the deprivation of him [the Bishop] of Zamora, your Highness will make a grant of that bishopric to the Bishop of Astorga, and that in part it may be in favour of a son of the said count. For inasmuch as these three are here, with many men, taking the side of your Majesty against those of the Junta who are very powerful with the troops (1) which have come to them from the rebellious cities, it is but just that your Highness should give them all favour,

(1) Gente should be read instead of Junta.

1520.

que todo el Reyno dende toledo hazia aqua, casi hasta los montes, esta levantado se dize manifiestamente y creo que es verdat que ha sydo causa dello no haver reconocido V. Mt los servicios de los buenos ni haver castigado los malos. el pueblo esta todo puesto a levantamiento y a esto tambien les mueve que Vña Magestad no ha curado de mandar pagar algunas deudas liquidas y legitimas, ni tampoco ha procurado de proveher suficientemente lo que convenia a la defension de lo de Africa en donde se ha perdido ya el piñon con mucha y buena artilleria en gran daño del rreyno de granada, y a mas desto hay peligro grande de perderse aljer a donde se deve ad aquella el sueldo de veynte tres meses.

del artilleria que Medina tiene de V. Mt. no le cunple hazer cuenta ninguna. es menester que Vña Mt. mande traher consigo alguna y buena dessas partes para que poniendo algun miedo a los subditos mas facilmente se puedan atraher a medios razonables, que pelear V. Mt. con sus proprios vassallos esto cierto me parece que seria cosa avorrible y procuraria grande y perpetuo odio en el pueblo contra V. Mt. y para esto sera bien tomar medios para desviarles del mal y que no persistan en su pravo proposito y juntamente con ello que empieçen de temer y sojuzgar e conformarse a la razon y contentarse de la

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(Translation.)

much more now that all the kingdom from Toledo to this place, and almost up to the mountains, is risen. It is said openly, and I believe it is the truth, that the cause of it has been your Majesty not having recognised the services of the good nor having chastised the bad. The population is all bent upon rising, and to this also they are moved because your Majesty has taken no care to order the payment of certain acknowledged and legitimate debts, and as little [have you] sought to provide sufficiently that which is necessary for the defence of the places in Africa, where has been already lost the Peñon with much and good artillery, to the great damage of the kingdom of Granada. And moreover there is great danger of losing Algiers, where pay is in arrears for twentythree months.

On your Majesty's artillery which is in Medina you must not count. It is necessary that your Majesty should bring with you some and good [artillery] from those parts, in order that, making these subjects somewhat afraid, you may more easily draw them to reasonable conditions. For your Majesty to fight with your own vassals, this it certainly appears to me would be a horrible thing, and would cause great and perpetual hatred in the people against your Majesty. On this account it will be well to take measures to dissuade them from this wickedness, and that they may not persist in their evil purpose, and that at the same time they may begin to fear, and subdue and conform themselves to reason, and content

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justicia, pero en llegando ell almirante aqua que creo sera esta noche tomaremos acuerdo sobrello.

muchos son de parecer que seria gran expediente que Vña Magestad mandasse salir la chancilleria de Valladolid y mudarla en otro lugar, como otras vezes diz que se ha fecho por los demeritos de aquella villa, porque agora en grande manera ha faltado a Vña Mag. y unidose con la Junta segund dicho es, y que tambien convendria que Vña Alteza mandasse a Medina del Campo que so pena de perdimiento del privilegio que tiene de la feria tornasse a su rreal obediencia, y a Simancas que so pena de perder sus privilegios recoia toda la gente que se le embiare paral servicio de V. Mt., pero en todo esto veo solamente un inconveniente, y este cierto me parece grande, que por ventura se endureçeran e indignaran mas con ello y procuraran que la Reyna nuestra Señora de palabra mande lo contrario en caso que no lo puedan alçanzar por su firma. mas yo espero que los oydores de la chancilleria obedeceran los mandamientos de V. Mt. mayormente si Vña Alteza les manda quitar el poder y auctoridat de juzgar y tener audiencia en la dicha villa de Valladolit, y si a otros lugares no rebelles tanto de V. Mt. como de los grandes se prohibe que nadi vaya a la

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(TRANSLATION.)

themselves with justice. But when the admiral arrives here, which I believe will be this night, we shall take counsel upon it.

Many are of opinion that it would be very proper that your Majesty should order to remove the Court of Chancery from Valladolid, and change it to some other place, as in former times, they say, has been done on account of the ill deserts of that town, because now, in a great measure, it has forsaken your Majesty, and united itself with the Junta, as is reported. And also it would be well that your Highness should command Medina del Campo that, under pain of losing the privilege of the fair which it has, it must return to its royal obedience, and Simancas that, on pain of losing its privileges, it should receive all the forces which might be sent there for your Majesty's service. In all this I see only one inconvenience, and certainly it appears to me a great one, that by chance they may become hard and more inflamed by it, and endeavour [to bring about] that the Queen our lady shall command the contrary by word of mouth, in case of their not being able to obtain her signature. But I hope that the *oydores* of the Court of Chancery will obey the commands of your Majesty; above all, if your Highness commands to take from them the power and authority of judging and holding the court of justice in the said town of Valladolid. And if, in other places not so rebellious against your Majesty as against the grandees, it were prohibited that

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dicha feria de Medina. con esto no se habria de hazer caso della y seria poca. para semeiantes cosas conviene haver de V. Mt. las cartas y provissiones necessarias para que en su sazon y quando parezca oportunidat se les puedan enbiar. mas por gracia de dios nuestra condicion es tal que tarde o nunca hazemos provision que pueda aprovechar con tiempo.

no se como Vña Magestad podra pagar y gratificar al Rey de Portugal el paternal y entranyable amor que continuamente muestra en las cosas de V. Alt. assy con los procuradores de la Junta como con los otros deste rreyno. que cierto si le viessen en alguna mudança o con senyal de poca aficion a V. Mt. mucha mas osadia y atrevimiento ternian para llevar sus malos propositos adelante. pero su constantia les ataia y refrena algo. bien sera que V. Mt. le escriva muy afectadamente dandole gracias de lo fecho y rogandole que siempre lo continue como yo muchas vezes je lo he escripto y escrivo en nonbre de Vña Mt.

el marques de Tarifa tiene muy buen desseo de servir a Vña Alt. y nos ha ofrecido de prestarnos cierta suma de dinero. y la misma voluntad amuestra tambien el conde de ayamonte el qual suplica a Vña Alteza le haga mñd de la

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(Translation.)

any one should go to the said fair of Medina, it would not be necessary to attach importance to it, and it would be greatly reduced.(1) For these reasons it will be requisite to have from your Majesty the letters and decrees necessary, in order that in due season, and when it is opportune, they may be sent to them. But, by the grace of God, our condition is such that late or never do we take measures which in time might be of good use.

I do not know how your Majesty can repay and reward the paternal and affectionate love which the King of Portugal continually displays in the affairs of your Highness, as well with the procurators of the Junta as with the others of this kingdom. For certainly, if they saw any change in him, or any sign of little affection to your Majesty, they would have much more courage and boldness to carry on their bad purposes. But his constancy prevents and somewhat restrains them. It would be well if your Majesty wrote very affectionately to him, giving thanks for what is done, and praying that he will always continue it [his affection], as I have many times written to him, and write in the name of your Majesty.

The Marquis of Tarifa is very desirous to serve your Highness, and has offered to lend us a certain sum of money. The Count of Ayamonte also shows the same goodwill. He supplicates your Highness to grant him the favour of the

(1) The meaning of this sentence is as dark in the Spanish original as in the translation.

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alcaldia mayor de Sevilla por privacion del otro porque se junto con el hermano del duque de Arcos en la rebuelta que aquel hizo y movio en la dicha ciudad.

el Licenciado Çapata y los dos hermanos vozmedianos y alonso gutierrez e yo con ellos hazemos todas diligencias en buscar y procurar dineros enprestados de diversas personas para sostener algun tiempo la gente que se ha fecho en nombre de V. Mt. para prohibir y estorvar que la junta no sacasse a la Reyna Nuestra Señora de Tordesillas. mas antes de muchos dias sera forçado despedir mucha parte de la dicha gente que para conservala no podemos cojer tantos dineros como son menester.

la jente de la junta tiene en mucho aprieto a la fortaleza de Alaejos y ahora postreramente han havido un combate. pero el alcayde della es de tan buen recaudo que les da el pago que merecen ahunque los que mueren alli se despachen mas honrradamente de lo que por sus delitos y temeridades merecen. mas con todo esto creo que aquel castillo no se podra sostener muchos dias segun dizen.

de la ciudat Cabildo y otras personas particulares de Jahen me an dado oy cartas de vj. del presente en que me escriven como el obispo de aquella yglesia fallecio rogandome que

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(Translation.)

chief jurisdiction of Sevilla of which the other is to be deprived, because he joined himself with the brother of the Duke of Arcos in the revolt which he caused and stirred up in the said city.

The licentiate Zapata, and the two brothers Vozmediano and Alonso Gutierez, and I with them, will use all diligence to seek and procure borrowed moneys from various persons, to sustain for some time the forces which have been gathered in the name of your Majesty to prohibit and hinder the Junta from taking away the Queen our lady from Tordesillas. But before many days we shall be obliged to dismiss a great part of the aforesaid troops, for we cannot gather as much money as is necessary to keep them.

The people of the Junta press hard upon the fortress of Alaejos, and now recently have had a fight, but the alcalde of the [fortress] is a man of so many resources that he gives them the payment they deserve; although those who die there are killed more honourably than on account of their crimes and rashness they deserve. But with all this, I believe that the castle will not be able to maintain itself many days, according to what is said.

They have given me to day letters from the city, town-council, and other private persons of the city of Jaen, of the 6th of the present month, in which they write to me that the bishop of that church has died, entreating that I would inter-

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interceda con Vr̃a Mt. le nonbre para aquella yglesia al obispo de Leon el qual tiene dignidat en ella y es natural de aquella tierra, el qual seria contento de renunciar a dispusicion de Vr̃a Magt. el obispado de Leon y todos los otros beneficios que tiene en España. cierto el es muy buen prelado y persona de doctrina y de muy buena fama y todo el tiempo que le fue possible sostuvo la ciudat de leon en obediencia de Vr̃a Mt. y en su Real servicio.

para la mesma yglesia de Leon instan el conde de benavente y el obispo de oviedo desta manera que don juan hijo del dicho conde haya la Yglesia de oviedo y el de oviedo la de Jahen y este de oviedo seria contento de asignar pension a quien Vr̃a Magt. mandasse sobre la mesma yglesia de Jahen toda la quantidat que vale mas de la de oviedo que segun dize serian tres mill ducados. si Vr̃a Magt. fuesse servido de me soccorrer desta pension para la sustentacion de mi familia recibiria mucha mr̃d en ello y sino pues hastaqui no le he sido pedigüeño ni le he importunado en cosas de mi interesse y me he sostenido con la poca sustancia que tengo, menos lo seria ahora y espero que con el ayuda de dios que con ella me passare el poco tiempo que he de bivir.

el obispo de lugo tambien dessea ser encomendado por mi

(Translation.)

cede with your Majesty to name for that church the Bishop of Leon, who is a dignitary of it, and a native of that neighbourhood. He will be glad to resign to the disposal of your Majesty the bishopric of Leon, and all the other benefices which he holds in Spain. Certainly he is a very good prelate, a person of learning and of very good report, and as long as it was possible maintained the city of Leon in obedience and in the royal service of your Majesty.

For the same church of Leon, the Count of Benavente and the Bishop of Oviedo urge a request in this manner. That Don Juan, son of the said count, shall have the church of Oviedo, and he of Oviedo that of Jaen, and he of Oviedo will be satisfied to assign as a pension to whomsoever your Majesty may command the whole amount that the same church of Jaen is worth beyond that of Oviedo, which, according as is said, will be three thousand ducats. If your Majesty would be pleased to assist me with this pension for the support of my servants, I should take it as a great favour; and if not, since up to this time I have not been a beggar, nor have I importuned you in matters concerning my own interest, and have maintained myself with the little substance that I have, I shall be less so now, and I hope that with the help of God I may finish with it the little time I have to live.

The Bishop of Lugo also desires to be recommended by me

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a Vr̃a Alt. para la dicha yglesia de Jahen y no se maraville Vr̃a Al. si escrivo sobresto en favor de tantos, que no puedo escusar de hazerlo por los (1) aqui continuamente residen en servicio de v̄ra Alteza. olvidandome de mi mesmo sobrello como tengo dicho.

el Almirante creo que llegara manyana aqui. de lo del condestable y de las cosas de burgos callo pues V. Alt. los entendera largamente por cartas del dicho condestable. de lo que mas sucediere escrevire a V. Mt. cuya vida y rreal estado nuestro Señor guarde luengamente y con toda prosperidat. en Medina de rioseco a xiij de Noviembre 1520.

Vr̃e tres hunble serviteur el Carl. dertusen.

[*Sobre.*:] S. C. R. C. Mt.

13th November. **70.** The Cardinal of Tortosa to Lope Hurtado de Mendoza.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Patronato Real. Comunidades de Castilla. Legajo* 2. *f.* 165. *Autograph.*]

Del Señor Cardenal para Lope Hurtado.

Noble Señor y nuestro especial amigo. Recebi dos cartas vuestras de xxij y xxv del passado y con ellas mucho plazer assi en saber de vos como en las buenas nuevas que particularmente me escrivisteys de la coronacion de Su Mag^{t} las quales os agr̃dezco mucho, y doy gracias a dios por ello, y pues en aquello se ha dado Su Mag^{t} tan buena prissa, procurat

(1) Sic.

(Translation.)

to your Highness for the said church of Jaen. Your Highness must not wonder if I write about it in favour of so many, for I cannot avoid doing it for those who reside here constantly in the service of your Highness, neglecting myself, as I have said.

I believe the admiral will arrive here tomorrow. On the matter of the Constable and the affairs of Burgos I am silent, because your Highness will hear of them at length by the letters of the same Constable. As to what more may happen I will write to your Majesty, whose life and royal estate may our Lord long preserve, and in all prosperity.

At Medina de Rioseco, the 13th of November 1520.

Votre très humble serviteur, the Cardinal Dertusen.

[*Addressed*:] Sacre Cesaree Regie Catholice Majestati.

70. From the Señor Cardinal to Lope Hurtado.

Noble señor and our special friend,

I received your letters of the 22nd and 25th of last month, and was much pleased to have news from you, and especially the good news you write about the coronation of his Majesty. I thank you much, and give praise to God for it. As his Majesty has been so expeditious in this, procure

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que haga lo mismo en su presta venida, sino otramente todo es perdido sin duda, y assi je lo dezit sienpre.

gran plazer me hizisteys en lo que señor dezis de haber leydo aparte mi memorial a Su Mt. por lo que como veys importava, y assi os ruego hagays lo mismo en la escriptura que va dentro desta.

en lo del casamiento de Portugal pues a Su Mt. no parece que conviene por ahora hablar en ello, quedese para quando su Alteza fuere servido, que no creo que dude en el fin bueno que a ello me movia. todavia dyreys a S. Mt. que deve mucho amor y agradecimiento al dicho Rey de portugal.

y pues ahora soy fuera de Vallodolid dezid a Su Magt. que me haga merced de me mandar responder a todo lo que hasta qui le tengo escrito asi en cosas de estado como de partes y que mande despachar la hidalguia para Diego de montoro de la qual escrivi a Su Mt. en estos dias que yo soy muy mucho rogado dello por el marques de comares y querria que se me enbiasse la provision. tanbien hablareys sobrello al Secretario cobos.

lo del obispado de Mondoñedo crehet que holgaria todo lo possible en que le hubiesse el doctor manso y pues su magt. os da en todas mis cosas tan grata y particular audiencia, hablatle sobresto lo que os pareciere, y en lo demas que a mi

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(Translation.)

that he be as quick in coming hither, for, otherwise, there cannot be any doubt that all is lost. Tell him that continually.

I have had great pleasure, señor, in what you state, viz., that you have read my memoir to his Majesty alone, for you know its importance. I beg you to do the same with the paper here enclosed. With respect to the marriage with [the Infanta of] Portugal, as his Majesty thinks that it is not convenient to speak now of it, it must remain until it pleases his Highness. I am persuaded that he does not doubt my good intention, and you may still tell his Majesty that he owes great love and many thanks to the said King of Portugal.

And, as I have now left Valladolid, tell his Majesty to do me the favour of giving me an answer to all I have written to him concerning affairs of state, as well as of private persons, and to order that the *hidalgia* for Diego de Montero, about which I write to his Majesty, be despatched one of these days. The Marquis of Comares has very instantly asked me to procure it, and I should like that the order about it be sent to me. Speak with the Secretary Covos about this business.

Concerning the bishopric of Mondoñedo, you may be sure that I wish very much that the Doctor Manso should have it. As his Majesty so graciously and particularly hears you about all my concerns, tell him, on this subject, what you think

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toque por mi amor que hagays lo que acostumbrays como lo confio que en donde vos señor estays espero que poca necessidat havra que yo escriva a otros en mis negocios. alegrome en grande manera que se haga alla tanta quenta del Señor Duque dalva y que entre en todos los consejos que en verdat todo se le deve y cabe muy bien en el. a su mr̃d mencomendareys por mil vezes y pues ahora sabe la fruta que en estos Reynos se coje que le ruego que en la venida de Su Alt. ayude a dar espueladas que otramente sin la presencia de Su Al. y de su mr̃d no pienso que la podriamos masquar muchos dias ni menos tragalla.

lo de los beneficios para ñras (1) criados tened por mi amor en memoria quando haya sazon.

En tordesillas crehet que tenemos buen recaudo, ahunque aprovecha poco segun lo que todo esta dañado. ya vereys esta escriptura. plazer tengo que tan bien se encamine vuestro negocio. si lo del abito se haze espero en dios que lo de la camara passara adelante en lo qual podeys creher que os ayudare y de palabra lo suplicare a Su Al., y aprovechara mas que con carta. sobre lo de mis dineros escrivo a Su Magt. y en verdat la necessidat que tengo es tan grande que no hallo ya

(1 *nuestros.*

(Translation.)

convenient, and as for the remainder of the business that concerns me, by your love for me, do what you are accustomed to do and what I expect from you. Where you, señor, are, it is not necessary to write to other persons about my affairs. I am very glad to hear that the Señor Duke of Alba is held there in so high esteem, and that he takes part in the sittings of the Council; for, indeed, he merits everything, and everything is well bestowed on him. Recommend me a thousand times to him. As he knows now what kind of corn we have reaped in these kingdoms, I beg him to urge his Highness to come soon, for otherwise (without the presence of his Highness and his Lordship) we cannot masticate, and much less swallow it many days longer.

As for the business of the benefices for my servants, for love's sake do not forget them when an opportunity offers itself.

You may believe that in Tordesillas we have taken good precautions, although things are now in so bad a state that it profits little. I am glad that your affairs proceed so prosperously. If you are made a knight I hope in God that with respect to the chamberlainship we shall also succeed. You may believe me that I shall help you and speak with his Highness by word of mouth, as that is much better than writing letters. I write to his Majesty about my money affairs, and in fact I am in so much need that I no longer find

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medio con que me pueda sostener estando de la manera que podeys pensar y habeys visto.

a xij deste recebi aviso del prior don Antonio que Joan de padilla haze gente para apoderarse en Ucles y usurparse el maestrazgo de Santiago. dizese tanbien por ay que en el tienpo del Rey don Alonso su hijo menor fue alçado por Rey y se quedo en la posession, y el dicho Rey don Alonso y el heredero del hijo mayor echados del rreyno, del qua heredero diz que por directa linea decendieron los de la casa de Medina sedonia por lo qual quieren algunos dezir que la corona Real de derecho pertenece a aquella casa y que don pedro giron por parte y rahiz de su mujer pretiende derecho a la dicha corona. [una palabra en cifra] me conto que los procuradores de la Junta fundan su intencion y proposito sobre que piensan que su magestad no ha de bolver a estos Reynos y que en caso que quisiere bolver con fuerça darmas se lo han de estorbar. y hazen este argumento. su magestad verna con gente estrangera o sin ella. si sin ella de la mesma manera le podran resister como aora le resisten, si con gente estrangera viniere antes se levantaran las piedras contra el que esto sea, porque daran a entender al pueblo que Su Mt. trahe Alemanes y estrangeros para robar y quemar el Reyno. parece que convernia que su Mt. escriviesse

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(Translation.)

means to maintain myself, as you can imagine from what you have seen.

On the 12th of this month I received information from the Prior, Don Antonio, that Juan de Padilla enlists troops with the intention to capture Ucles and to usurp the Grand Mastership of Santiago. It is also said that in the time of King Don Alonso, his younger son was proclaimed King, and remained in possession, and the said King Don Alonso, together with the heir of the elder son, driven out of the kingdom. From this heir, it is said, the house of Medina Sidonia descends in a direct line, wherefore some pretend that the royal crown belongs by right to this house, and that Pedro Giron, in the name and right of his wife, pretends to have a claim to the said crown. [*One word in cipher*] told me that the Procurators of the Junta base their intentions and prospects on their expectation that his Majesty will not return to these kingdoms, or if he should try to return by force of arms, that he will be prevented from doing so. Their argument is this: His Majesty will come with foreign troops or without them. If he comes without them they will be able to resist him in the same manner as now. If he comes accompanied by foreign troops, the very stones will rise up against him to offer resistance. Therefore they give the people to understand that he will bring German and foreign troops to plunder and burn the kingdom. It seems it would be well if

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a los grandes y ciudades del Andalucia y del rreyno de granada que aparejasen alguna gente paral tienpo de su vuelta agradeciendoles que ellos esten firmes en su obediencia y servicio, y que mande al conde de vrueña y al duque de arcos que no hagan gente ni tenten cosa alguna contra sevilla ni contra medinasidonia durante el tiempo de su absencia. los Secretarios de su Magd. deven escrevir cartas de diversas formas para que segun los tienpos pudiessemos usar dellas ahora de unas ahora de otras. el obispado de Jahen esta vaco. ne se si su Mt. se acordara de mi. nunca le he rogado ni le rogare ahun espero que a lo menos me provehera de alguna pension de tres mil o quatro mil ducados lo qual podreys solicitar secretamente con su Mt. y leherle todo este capitulo y responderme sobrello de lo que su Mt. os dixiere y concertaredes. guardeos nuestro Señor. de Medina de rioseco a xiij de Novienbre 1520. Vño el card. dortussen. Paº. Cisterer secreº.

[*Sobre*:] Al Noble Señor y nuestro especial amigo Lope Hurtado de Mendoça gentilhonbre . . . . . Mt. . en su corte.

(Translation.)

his Majesty would write to some grandees and others in Andalusia and the kingdom of Granada, asking them to have some troops in readiness by the time of his arrival, and thanking them for remaining firm in their obedience and his service. He also ought to order the Count Ureña and the Duke of Arcos not to enlist troops, and not to undertake anything against Sevilla and Medina Sidonia during the time of his absence. The secretaries of his Highness ought to write letters in different forms, so that, according to circumstances, we can make use of them, now of the one kind, then of the other. The bishopric of Jaen is vacant. I do not know whether his Majesty will remember me. I have never asked, and even now I shall not ask. I hope he will give me at least a pension of three or four thousand ducats. You can secretly solicit this from his Majesty, and read to him the whole of this passage. Tell me what his Majesty answers, and how you have settled this point with him.

Our Lord guard you.

From Medina de Rioseco, on the 13th of November 1520.

Votre, etc., The Cardinal of Tortosa.
Pablo Cisterer, Secretary.

[*Addressed*:] To the noble Lord and our special Friend, Lope Hurtado de Mendoza, Gentleman . . . . . (1) Majesty at his court.

(1) Paper gone.

1520.
17th November. **71.** The CARDINAL OF TORTOSA to the EMPEROR CHARLES.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Patronato Real. Comunidades de Castilla. Legajo* 2. *ff.* 170, 171. *Autograph. The passages printed in italics are in cipher. Contemporary deciphering.*]

A su Mt. del Cardenal. a xvij de Novienbre.

S. Cesa. C. R. Mt.

A xiij. del presente tengo escrito a Vra Al. ahora postreramente muy largamente. a xiiij del mesmo ha entrado el Almirante en esta villa suya y el dia siguiente me hablo y dixo las diligencias que hizo dende cigales para placar y assossegar el furor de Valladolit. lo qual diz que todo fue de balde porque estava ya alli don pedro giron recebido por aquel pueblo con mucho amor. y que a mas desto havia escrito al dicho don Pedro que le quisiesse hablar. y el de mucha civildat le respondio que primero lo havia de comunicar con Valladolit, del qual como digo fue recebido tan bien y con tanta benivolencia. y ahun diz que havia escrito a los procuradores de la Junta de Tordesyllas que tuviessen por bien de querer comunicar con el sobre los medios que conviniessen a la paz y buena reformacion deste Reyno. respondieronle que para esto les hallaria muy aparejados y que luego embiarian sus procuradores ad algun lugar conveniente al dicho almirante el qual ha de partir hoy viernes paral dicho lugar y para comunicarlo con ellos. y cierto viendo el dicho almirante que

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(TRANSLATION.)

71. To his Majesty. From the Cardinal. 17th November.

Sacred, imperial, catholic, royal Majesty,

Now quite of late, on the 13th of the present month, I wrote to your Highness a very long letter. On the 14th of the same month the Admiral entered this his town, and spoke with me on the following day, telling me what he had done when staying in Zigales to calm and pacify the furor of Valladolid. All that he said was in vain, because Don Pedro Giron was already there, received by the people with great love. Moreover he said he had written to Don Pedro, telling him that he wished to speak with him. He (Don Pedro) had answered very courteously that he must first communicate on this subject with Valladolid, by which town, as I have already stated, he had been received very well and with great goodwill. Furthermore, he said he had written to the Procurators of the Junta in Tordesillas, asking them to be so good as to enter into communication with him on the means best calculated to secure peace and a reformation of the kingdom. They answered him that he would find them very ready to do so, and that they would directly send some commissioners to any place which was convenient to him, the Admiral, who will start today, Friday, for the said place, and enter into communications with them. And certainly the said Admiral

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todos los grandes y pequeños del Reyno estan tan embebidos en favorecer las cosas de Comunidat que no solamente diz que tiene el Reyno por perdido pero ahun le parece que no se tiene por seguro en confiar de sus propios vassallos y q^{e} ṽra magt. ha de negociar lo destos Reynos como si no tuviesse nada en ellos y que assi qualquiera cosa que acquira ṽra mt. en ellos ha de hazer cuenta que lo gana de nuevo. la primera vez que ahora el dicho almirante vino a mi posada se me declaro en presencia del comendador mayor de Çapata y de Vargas que en ninguna manera accordava de aceptar el cargo de la governacion sino con dos condiciones precedentes. la primera es que haya respuesta de V. Mt. a las cartas que dende Cathaluña diz que le escrevio sobre la dicha gobernacion y que tiene cartas de su hazedor que reside en essa corte en que le escrive como han sydo leydas dos vezes a Vr̃a Alteza y que por la celeridat del correo que estonces se despacho que no fue possible que con el fuesse la respuesta, pero que dentro de quatro o cinco dias esperava despues de embiarla con otro correo. la otra condicion es que se le de todo el poder cumplido sin restriction alguna y qual lo tiene V. Mt. para consentir y perdonar, castigar, hazer mercedes, y condenar, segun que a el mas uttil le pareciere y viere cumplir al servicio de V. Mt.

(Translation.)

knows that all the grandees and the lower classes of these kingdoms are much inclined to favour the affairs of the Commons. He, therefore, not only thinks that the kingdom is lost, but also he is not sure whether he can trust his own vassals, and says that your Majesty must treat the affairs of these kingdoms as though nothing in them belonged to you. Everything that your Majesty acquires in them must be reckoned as a new acquisition. The first time that the Admiral came to my house he declared to me, in presence of the Comendador Mayor, of Zapata and of Vargas, that under no circumstances would he accept the office of governor, except on these two conditions previously granted: in the first place he must first have an answer from your Majesty to the letters which he says he has written to you from Catalonia about the form of government, and which, as his agent at that court (1) has written to him, were twice read to your Majesty, but, owing to the haste with which the courier was despatched, it was not possible to send the answer with him, and it was said that within four or five days it would be conveyed by another courier. The other condition is that full power, without any restriction, in fact as your Majesty yourself possesses it, be given to him to settle terms, to pardon, to punish, and to grant and revoke favours, according to what should seem to him best, and what he should think useful for the service of

(1) The Emperor's court.

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a todos estos de aqua parece que se mueve en ello con justa razon y que los que aconsejaron a Vr̃a Alteza en limitar el poder a sus gobernadores que le han persuadido de cosa inutil y dañosa al Reyno. en el mesmo dia yo fui despues de comer a la posada del dicho almirante para visitar a la condessa, y despues me aparte alli con el y secretamente le hable diziendole la mucha pena que sentia que no quissiesse sin estas condiciones aceptar el cargo de la governacion, porque de la dilacion se podria ofrecer mucho animo a los de la junta, y que seria en gran daño y mengua de la autoridat de Vr̃a Mt. y de los que tenemos su parte, y que por esto no devia estar ni parar. que yo tengo creydo que ṽra Mt. le ha respondido y que las cartas quiça se le han perdido en el camino o le han sydo tomadas, y ofreciendole que procuraria que Vr̃a Alt. le diesse libre y suelta la dicha governacion sin restricciones algunas, las quales cierto en este tiempo no convendrian. y al ende de todo esto le dixe como el condestable ha aceptado, como vehe, el cargo sin restrictiones, y que yo tambien fui forçado de hazer lo mismo. respondiome que el condestable ha fecho lo que le cumple, porque toda su tierra se le levantava y que no tenia otro remedio para allanar y remediar aquello, sino aceptando la dicho governacion cobrando con ella la auctoridad que havia perdido en Burgos y sus tierras. pero

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(Translation.)

your Majesty. To all here it seems that his demands are reasonable and just, and that those who persuaded your Highness to limit the power of your governors have advised you something unprofitable and injurious to the kingdom. I went the same day to dine with the Admiral in order to visit the Countess. (1) Afterwards I spoke with him in private and told him how sorry I was that he refused to accept the office of governor without these conditions, because the delay would much encourage the members of the Junta and much injure and lower the authority of your Majesty and of us who are your servants. For these considerations he should not hold back nor stop short. I said I believed that your Majesty had answered him, but that the letters, perhaps, have been lost or intercepted on their way, promising him to procure that your Highness should give him the office of governor free and unfettered by any restrictions, which certainly at this time would be inconvenient. Moreover, I told him that the Constable had accepted the office without condition, and that I was also obliged to submit to the same. He answered that the Constable has done what is profitable to him, as all his estates have risen in rebellion, and he had no other means to arrange and remedy this, except by accepting the place of governor, regaining thereby the authority which he has lost in Burgos

(1) The wife of the Admiral was the Countess of Modica.

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que este almirante es mas vezino al fuego y dize que no tiene cosa ninguna fuerte sino este lugar, y en fin me dixo que no tiene nada seguro en su tierra y que facilmente lo perderia todo si se pussiesse contra estas comunidades, si ya de parte de V. Mt. no se diesse grande y rezio poder assi de dinero como de gente, de lo qual diz que no tiene esperança. a esto le respondi que tenemos facultad de Vña Al. para vender y empeñar y de procurar todo lo necessario, mas por escusar larga escriptura digo que me resuelvo en esto, que a lo que pude alcançar de su manera y habla todo esto crehia que abastaria poco, ca en esta tempesta el que compra algo de la corona Real en el mesmo punto es enemigo de todo el Reyno, y mucho mas el que lo vende. dinero emprestado no podemos haver tanto que abaste para nuestras necessidades.

algunos me dizen que el Reyno se podria algo apaciguar si yo me quisiesse juntar con los procuradores de la dicha junta y con ellos tratar los negocios del Reyno como ahora con los consejeros por ellos deputados, en lo qual muestran tener fin a dos cosas, es a saber, a echar los grandes de la governacion, a los quales sobresto tienen por sespechosos diziendo que todo lo procurarian para en uttilidad y provecho dellos y en daño del Reino, lo otro es que los dichos procuradores continuen

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(Translation.)

and over his estates. But he (the Admiral) was nearer the fire, and had no other strong place than this. At last he said that he could trust no one on his estates, and would lose all if he took part against these Commons, unless your Majesty would give great and strong assistance of men as well as of money, which seemed by no means likely. I answered to this that we have authority from your Highness to sell and pledge all in order to procure what is necessary. Wishing to avoid writing too long a letter, I shall briefly state that, judging from what I understood from his behaviour and words, he thinks that all this would be of no advantage; for in these tempestuous times whoever buys anything from the crown becomes at the same moment an enemy of the whole kingdom, and he who sells much more so. In the form of a loan we cannot obtain as much as is necessary for our own wants.

Some say that the kingdom would be pacified to some extent if I united with the Procurators of the said Junta, and despatched the business of the kingdom with them, in the same manner as I despatch it now with the councillors chosen for that purpose. By this they aim at two things; that is to say, to turn the grandees out of the government, whom, they say, they suspect would do all that is profitable to themselves and detrimental to the kingdom; and the other thing at which they aim is to preserve the Procurators in the Government, and thus to enable them to

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en la governacion y que juntamente con ello puedan hechar a los del consejo, a los quales dizen ladrones y robadores. yo he respondido ad algunos que no desseo cosa mas que la pacificacion del dicho Reyno y que para procurarla no recuso ningun travajo, ahunque no dessee cosa mas que ser libre deste cargo, y que cada dia solicite dello y lo suplique a Vña Alt., mas que no embargante esto seria contento hazer con los procuradores todo lo que piden, pero con condicion que se hiziesse aquello sin ofensa e indignacion de Vña Mt. Lo que en grande manera me mueve en çufrir estos trabajos es *que desta manera pueda sacar estos procuradores de tordesyllas para que no insten mas en que la reyna nuestra Señora firme que este es un solo punto con el qual se perderia todo el Reyno* mas de lo que ya lo esta como por otra lo he escrito a V. Mt.

mandeme Vña Alt. escrevir sobresto su parecer y voluntad con toda presteza porque en ninguna cosa puede ser mayor peligro para Vña Mt. que en la perdicion deste Reyno al qual *sin duda perderia V. Mt. si Su Alteza firmase lo qual muchas vezes les promete y si pocos buenos no la desviassen del firmar mucho ha que firmara.* oy me han dicho que Su Alteza se empieza de vestir buenas ropas de atavio e hizo ataviar a la

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(Translation.)

dismiss the councillors, who they say are thieves and robbers. I have answered to some of them that there is nothing in the world I desire more than the pacification of the said kingdom, and that to bring it about I should not refuse to do any amount of labour, although I wish more than anything else to be relieved from this office, and solicit and supplicate your Highness every day to do so. Notwithstanding this I should be ready to transact with the Procurators all the business they desire, but only on condition that that were done without injury or affront to your Majesty. The principal reason which induces me to undergo these labours is *that in that manner I could get the Procurators away from Tordesillas, and thus prevent them from insisting any more that the Queen our lady should sign; for this one thing* (1) *would suffice to raise the whole kingdom* still more than it is already, as I have written to your Majesty.

I beg your Highness to write to me your opinion and commands as quickly as possible, for in no other thing is there so much danger to your Majesty of losing this kingdom, which *no doubt your Majesty would lose if her Highness should sign. She has often promised to do it, and if a few good men had not dissuaded her from signing she would have done so long ago.* They have told me to-day that her Highness begins to dress in good robes and finery, and ordered

(1) "Punto," point. The signing of a proclamation by the Queen.

1520.

Señora Infanta para que salliesse con Su Alt. hasta el monasterio de Santa Clara. todas estas cosas solicitan para que con ellas puedan espargir fama por el Reyno como Su Alteza esta en si y con toda salud y que se han de obedecer sus Reales mandamientos los quales dizen que ha de signar o dezirlos de palabra, pues los escrivanos luego hazen fe dellos y lo testifican. muchas villas y casi todas piden socorro de gente contra los sediciosos para que les puedan constreñir y ahun apretar. el alcayde de Vcles ha sido requerido de parte de Toledo que les entregue aquella fortaleza. habemos proveydo en ello de capitan y de alguna gente, mas dizesse que Joan de padilla haze gran exercito para tomarlo. por todas partes nos corren muchos peligros y la confiança que podemos haver de nuestra gente es tan poca que me parece que del todo havemos de temer de qualquier pelea o batalla y que assi sera bien procurarnos solamente la defension. los malos son tantos que mas fruto hazen las mentiras dellos que nuestras verdades, y si Vra Magt. no viene con toda celeridat y presteza temo que hallara pehor el Reyno de lo que el Rey don Alonso quando bolvio a estos Reynos despues de la elecion que estonces se hizo del paral Imperio.

el Condestable se esta en Burgos y no osa salir de alli por el peligro que havria de la mudança en que aquella ciudat no hiziesse lo mesmo que Valladolit. los del consejo que estan con

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(Translation.)

the Señora Infanta to be adorned to accompany her to the convent of Santa Clara. They beg her to do all these things in order to be able to spread the rumour throughout the kingdom that her Highness is sane and in good health, and that all ought to obey her royal mandates, which they say she may either sign or give by word of mouth, as the *escrivanos* draw up an instrument and testify to her words. Many towns, in fact almost all, ask succour against the rebels, who are in a position to constrain and even compel them. The Alcalde of Ucles has been requested by Toledo to deliver to them that fortress. We have sent a captain and some troops, but it is said that Juan de Padilla assembles a great army to conquer it. We are surrounded on all sides by many dangers, and the confidence we can have in our men is so small that I think that above all things we ought to be afraid of fighting or of a battle, and remain on the defensive only. Bad people are so numerous that their lies produce more effect than our speaking the truth. If your Highness does not come with all speed, I am afraid you will find the kingdom worse than King Alonso found it when he returned to these kingdoms after his election for the empire which then took place.

The Constable is in Burgos, and does not dare to leave it for fear of a revolt, in which that city might follow the example of Valladolid. The councillors who are staying with

1520.

el temen que no les tomen como hizieron en Valladolid a los que conmigo quedaron. es cosa de grandissima piedat ver el trebajo en que estan los que bien dessean servir a Vr̃a Mt. ahunque son pocos.

a los grandes que sirven es menester pagar de parte de Vr̃a Mt. el suelde de la gente que han traydo. muchos dellos son fieles, los quales sienten mucho esta perdicion, mas sin la presta y rreal presencia de Vr̃a Mt. crea que en cosa ninguna hay remedio.

bien seria que Vr̃a Alteza mandasse escrevir al Rey y Reyna de Portugal dandoles especiales gracias, porque con favor dellos y por algun temor que ha sabido V. Mt. que en estos Reynos les tienen, se abstienen y refrenan estos procuradores de otras pehores cosas, y a mas destos parece ahun a los del consejo que comigo residen que Vr̃a Mt. deve mandar escrevir al dicho Rey y Reyna que a las muchas mentiras que los de la junta les han escrito con propio mensajero en prejuizio de Vr̃a Mt. que les responda sobrellas muy agramente y con grande reprehension informandoles de la verdat. y tambien dizen los del dicho consejo que no solamente sera util mas ahun es casi necessario que regraciandoles Vr̃a Mt. la grande venivolencia que le amuestran y el socorro que le ofrecen, que juntamente con esto procure V. Mt. con sus cartas que el Rey escriva a

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(Translation.)

him are afraid they might be arrested, as those were who remained with me in Valladolid. It is a pitiful thing to see the troubles of those who desire to serve your Majesty, of whom there are not many.

It is necessary for your Majesty to pay the troops which the grandees who serve you have brought with them. Many of them are loyal, and are very sorry for this ruinous state of affairs; but without the speedy and royal presence of your Majesty I think nothing can avail.

Your Highness would do well to write to the King and Queen of Portugal, thanking them very warmly; for in consequence of the favour shown by them, and owing to a certain fear of them, which, as your Majesty knows, these kingdoms have, these Procurators abstain and refrain from doing other worse things; and, besides, it seems to the councillors who are staying with me that your Majesty should write to the said King and Queen, asking them to answer and to reprimand the Junta severely for all the lies which they have written by a special messenger in prejudice of your Majesty, and to inform them of the truth. The same councillors say also that it would not only be useful, but that it is almost indispensable for your Majesty, whilst thanking them for the great goodwill which they show, and for the succour which they offer, to ask the King, by a letter, to write

1520.

V. Mt. y a nosotros de quanta gente, tanto de pie como de cavallo, y de quanto dinero podremos hazer quenta si por ventura fuere necessario. y porque la voz comun de todo el Reyno es dessear que V. Mt. se cassasse con la Señora Infanta de Portugal la qual diz que es muy prudente y de grandes virtudes y de muy buenas partes y a mas desto tiene muy hermoso gesto y gentil dispusicion, cierto este casamiento aprovecharia mucho paral buen despacho y assiento de los negocios de V. Mt., o a lo menos ponerle en esperança del dicho matrimonio. Guarde nuestro Señor la vida y Real estado de Vŕa Magt. luengamente y con toda prosperidat. en Medina de Rioseco a xvij de Noviembre de mil quinientos y veynte. Vŕe tres humble serviteur el Carl. dertusen.

7th December ? **72.** The COUNT OF HARO to the CONSTABLE OF CASTILE.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Patronato Real. Comunidades de Castilla. Legajo* 2. *f.* 94. *Contemporary transcript.*]

Traslado de una carta que escrivieron al condestable.

ya escrevi a V. S. ante ayer como se avia tomada este lugar. para que lo sepa mas largamente fue. quel miercoles que se contaron cinco del presente llegamos aqui estos Señores e yo con arto buen exercito especialmente de gente de a caballo que la avia mucha y muy buena. ynbie un rrey de harmas a

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(TRANSLATION.)

to your Majesty and to us as to how many troops, foot as well as horse, and how much money we could count on if perhaps we should want them. And as the whole kingdom desires your Majesty should marry the Señora Infanta of Portugal, who it is said is very prudent, possesses great virtues and good qualities, and, besides, is of a very beautiful appearance and of a gentle disposition, this marriage, or at least the hope of it, would certainly contribute much towards a good despatch and arrangement of the affairs of your Majesty. Our Lord preserve the life and royal state of your Majesty a long time in all prosperity.

Medina de Rioseco, 17th of November 1520.

Votre très humble serviteur, The Cardinal of Tortosa.

72. Transcript of a letter to the Constable.

I wrote the day before yesterday to your Lordship that we have captured this place. [This letter will] give you a more detailed account. [The thing] happened in this manner. Wednesday the 5th of the present month, these Señores and I (1) arrived here with a very good army, and especially with

(1) The Count of Haro, son of the Constable of Castile, was the commander in chief of the army.

1520.

requerir la villa y pidieron que les diese algun espacio para responder lo qual hera porque se acercava la noche y tanvien por que esperavan socorro de don pedro giron que de los lugares del alderredor ya les avia venido. donde mas adelante torne a ynbiar otra vez el rrey de harmas. tanpoco aprobecho. y como esto bimos acordamos de dar luego el conbate y concertar nuestras batallas. yo tome la batalla Real y tanbien anduve por las otras de las gentes de Señores. al llegar llego bien al conbate la gente, mas despues afloxo tanto que yo estava el mas desafaziado del mundo y a muchos destos Señores les parescia que se devian rretraher. y estando en esto plugo a dios que se entro el lugar lo qual hera ya en anocheciendo. la primera bandera fue la del conde de benavente y luego la del conde de Alba de liste y la del marques de astorga y la de haro y otras no se cuantas. apearonse muchos hombres de harmas e hizieronlo muy bien y ansimismo otros hartos cavalleros. como bimos la bandera luego mobimos con la batalla rreal. estando desta manera los del lugar pusieron fuego a unas casas junto a la puerta por donde hera el conbate. tubieron en grandisimo aprieto a los de las banderas y mucha gente de pie de la questava aca fuera hera tan bil que no abia medio de hazerles entrar aunque les dava onbre cient mill

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(Translation.)

good horse, of which we had a great number. I sent a king-at-arms to request the town to surrender. They asked me to give them some time for answering. They did this because night was near at hand, and they hoped to be succoured by Don Pedro Giron. The surrounding villages had already sent their contingents. Some while afterwards I sent again a king-at-arms, but again without effect. When we saw this we decided immediately to give battle, and arranged our plan of attack. I took the *batalla real* (1), but went also to the other troops, composed of the men of the lords. At joining battle our men behaved well, but afterwards they lost so much heart that I was the most discomfited man in the world, and many of the lords were of opinion that we should retreat. Whilst things were in this state it pleased God that the place was carried when it was already growing dark. The first troop that entered was that of the Count of Benavente, then came those of the Count of Alba de Liste, of the Marquis of Astorga, and that of Haro, and I do not know how many more. The men-at-arms dismounted and behaved very well, as did other cavaliers. When we saw the standard we moved with the *batalla real*. Whilst things were in this state they [the towns people] set fire to some houses near the gate where the battle raged, and pressed hard on the troops. A great portion of the foot who had remained outside were such cowards that it was impossible to make them enter even if one had goaded

(1) The principal body of the army under the immediate command of the king or his lieutenant.

1520

guinchones y de los de dentro no avia memoria. dende a gran rato parecieron unos fuegos de la otra parte del rrio y como alli no podiamos tener aviso de lo que hera pensavamos que hera gente de la junta porque en el lugar nunca cesaban de rrepicar y hazer aumadas. ya quiso dios que començo a andar la gente a lançadas y a cuchilladas con la gente del lugar y una vez echaron muchos de los de dentro por donde avian entrado ansi que stuvieron buen rrato en todo esto. el conde de oñate y el marques de falces y el mariscal de flomesta entraron por otra parte. el conde de benavente y otros Señores y cavalleros entraron despues por un portillo que se avia hecho. la gente de cavallo avia començado arremolinar algo que de noche sienpre vence el miedo a la verguença, aunques verdad que yo avia puesto mas junto del lugar de lo que devia la batalla rreal. como se començaron a bencer los de dentro hera tanta la priesa del entrar de la gente de fuera por robar que no avia quien los toviese y ansi no se pudo escusar que no se hiziese harto dapño. ya que la gente de pie estava dentro del lugar no avia lugar por donde entrase el hartilleria, y la gente de caballo estuve haziendo abrir una puerta por donde se metiese muy gran rato y al cabo hizose lugar por donde entrase el hartilleria y la gente de caballo, de manera que seria la una

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(Translation.)

them a thousand times with a lance. Of those who had entered we heard nothing. There appeared some fires on the other side of the river, and as we could not know what they signified, we thought that an army of the Junta was there, because those who were in the place had never ceased ringing the bells and making signals. God was then already pleased that they were exchanging with the townspeople thrusts with pikes and with swords, and at one time they drove many of those who defended the place out of it through the gate (?) by which we had entered. This lasted a good while. The Count of Oñate, the Marquis of Falces, and the Marshal de Flomesta then entered on another side. The Count of Benavente and other lords and cavaliers entered a little later by an opening which had been made. The horsemen began to be a little troubled, for by night fear is always stronger than shame, and it is true that I had placed *battalla real* real a little nearer the place than I should have done. When, however, victory began to incline on our side, the troops who had remained outside were so eager to enter and to plunder that no one could restrain them. Thus it could not be avoided that great injury was done. Although the infantry was in the town there was no possibility of getting the artillery within. The horsemen were occupied in opening a gate, which took them a long while. At last an opening was made through which the artillery and the horse could go in. It was about one o'clock when I entered.

1520.

quando yo entre y tanpoco pude sosegar aquella noche de ver quel lugar quedava abierto por muchas partes.

luego otro dia acordaron estos Señores que se prendiesen todos los procuradores que aqui se hallaron y que fuese uno dellos que se llama gomez de Avila a los de la Junta para que se derramase la gente.

ayer vino nueva que los de la Junta venian a medina de Rioseco y fue que pasaron cerca della y le tiraron algunos tiros y fueronse su camino derecho de Valladolid. robaron a los de Castromonte algun ganado. dizen que estan para ahorcarse de aver salido de aqui.

el almirante tomo la mano de escrevir a [cibdades y a grandes esta nueba de aqui. otro tiro avieramos acertado por poco casi tan bueno como este y hera tomar el hartilleria que tenian sobre alaejos sino que la retiraron tenprano.

yo bese las manos a la Reyna ayer y dixele que V. S. avia sabido la desautoridad en que su rreal persona hera tenida y la Señora ynfanta y que acordandose de la lealtad con que sienpre avian servido a la corona rreal nuestros pasados V. S. avia acordado de ynbiarme con estos otros Señores para la deliberacion de Su Al. respondiome que lo agradecia mucho a V. S. el cuydado que tenia della y a mi mi venida y que avia olgado mucho de conocerme. yo no he curado de yr mas alla.

(Translation.)

I could not rest that night, because I knew that the place remained open on different sides.

Next day these lords decreed that all the Procurators who were there should be arrested, and one of them, of the name of Gomez de Avila, should go to the Junta and tell them to disband their troops.

Yesterday we received the news that troops of the Junta had marched to Medina de Rioseco. The fact is that they marched past that place, fired some shots, and went then the direct way to Valladolid, stealing some cattle from those of Castromonte. It is said they are ready to hang themselves because they have been driven from here.

The Admiral hastened to write the news from here to cities and grandees. Another advantage almost as great as this we have narrowly missed, that is to say, to take their artillery. It was near Alaejos, but they withdrew in time.

Yesterday I kissed the hands of the Queen, and told her that your Lordship had been informed of the want of respect with which she and the Infanta were treated, and remembering the loyalty with which our forefathers had always served the crown, had sent me and these noblemen to restore her Highness to liberty. She replied that she was much obliged to you for your solicitude for her, [adding] that she was glad I had arrived and that she had an opportunity of making

1520.

el almirante paso alla anoche. yo no estuve presente mas dizenme que lo estuvieron muchos Señores. lo que les (1) dixo fue los dapños que los de la Junta avian echo en estos rreynos y ella rrespondio que sienpre avia mandado a los procuradores de las comunidades que no hiziesen ningun dapño a nadie y que asi les mandava que derramasen la gente y el almirante lo mando tomar por testimonio. a algunos les parescio que se pudiera escusar esta diligencia.

8th December. **73.** HERNANDO DE VEGA, Comendador Mayor of Castile, to the CONSTABLE.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Patronato Real. Comunidades de Castilla. Legajo 2. f.* 90. *Autograph. The postscriptum holograph.*]

del comendador mayor de Castilla.
Al condestable.

Muy ille. y muy magnifico Señor,

la noche que aqui entramos no escrevi a V. S. porque el Señor conde no me hizo saber que enbiava mensajero y yo escape tan cansado que no pude hazer diligencia para sabello. lo que despues a sucedido es que la gente de las comunidades tubimos nueva anoche que temieron que les aviamos de tomar a Valladolid y salieron de Villalpando y an andado con mucha diligencia y avisaronnos, como digo, que pasava ayer y que la mayor parte de la gente entraria en Valladolid, pero esto aun

(1) Sic. le.

(TRANSLATION.)

my acquaintance. I did not like to go further in this matter. The Admiral spoke with her last night. I was not present, but many of the lords who were told me that what he said to her (?) was, that those of the Junta had done great damage in these kingdoms. She answered that she had always ordered the Procurators of the cities to do no injury to any one, and that she had also commanded that they should disband their troops. The Admiral ordered an attestation to be drawn up. Some think that it was superfluous.

73. To the Constable. From the Comendador Mayor of Castile.

Very illustrious and very magnificent Lord,

The night on which we entered this place I did not write to your Lordship, because the Count (1) did not tell me that he was sending a messenger, and I was too much tired to inquire about it. What has since happened is that, as we were informed last night, the army of the commons is afraid lest we should take Valladolid. They therefore left Villalpando, and, so we are told, marching in great haste past this place the greater part of the troops was expected to reach

(1) Count of Haro, commander in chief of the army and son of the Constable.

1520.

no lo sabemos bien cierto. nosotros agora entendemos en rreparar y fortalezer esta villa, no para que con la gente que aqui esta sea menester reparo para defendella, sino para que con mucho menos se pueda defender y estar segura. y en ello se porna toda diligencia porque lo tengo yo por negocio ynportante.

entendemos asimismo en dar orden como no falten mantenimientos que es asymismo muy necesario de proveerse.

enbio el Señor Conde de haro ayer al conde de Oñate con ciento y cinquenta lanças y quatrocientos ynfantes a estar en Simancas. partio tarde. no hemos sabido aun si esta ya dentro, pero creo yo que si hubiera algun desman que me lo hubieran escripto.

teniendo gente aqui y en Simancas y en torre de lobaton y en Villalva y en Arevalo, como lo esta, y en portillo, que se podria poner, pareceme que tenemos las mejores guarniciones que ay en Castilla.

los rrebeldes no pueden elegir sino uno de dos caminos, o venirnos a cercar y esto pareceme que seria locura porque la gente que hablava ayer en dalles batalla no se ha de pensar que la an de tomar por conbate, y el canpo agora no estaria para ellos muy apacible. o an de creer que juntando mucha gente en Valladolid y en medina y poniendola aca tanbien a la parte de toro que nos quitaran los mantenimientos, y a mi ver

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(Translation.)

Valladolid yesterday. We do not, however, as yet know it for certain. We are occupied in repairing and fortifying this town. Not that repairs were necessary for its defence with the troops which are now here, but we do it with great diligence in order that it might be defended and safe with a much smaller garrison. I consider it as a matter of importance.

We are also occupied in supplying the place with the necessary provisions.

The Count of Haro sent the Count of Oñate yesterday with one hundred and fifty lances and four hundred foot to Simancas to remain there. He left late, and we do not yet know whether he has arrived, but I think if anything had gone wrong they would already have written to me.

Having troops here, in Simancas, Torre Lobaton, Villalba, and Arevalo, and being able to send forces to Portillo, I think we have the best garrisons in Castile.

The rebels have no other alternative than this: they can come and besiege us. That, however, as it seems to me, would be madness, because troops which only yesterday spoke of giving battle cannot be reduced by a siege, and [camping in] the field is now by no means pleasant. Or they may hope by assembling large bodies of troops in Valladolid and Medina, and sending them also to the neighbourhood of Toro, to intercept our provisions. In my opinion they would not

1520.

tanpoco podran hazer por esta via como por la primera, pues que tenemos mucha mas gente de cavallo que no ellos y mejores guarniciones para ponella.

de manera que a lo que yo puedo juzgar ellos no tienen forma para deshazernos si nosotros mismos no nos deshazemos. y el remedio verdadero es el dinero para podernos sostener. y deste aca no ay un maravedi ni aparejo para podelle aver. las provisiones que me parece que V. Señoria deve mandar hazer dire aqui. si alguna o todas fueren fuera de proposito enmendar las a.

dizen que en la feria de medina an de acudir a V. S. con xxv :o ducados de los del Rey de portugal. enbie recaudo para que acudan con ellos y los trayan aqui. y a mi parecer no se avian dentregar all almirante porque no se si se gastarian ordenadamente a caubsa de muchas ynportunidades que le harian de que no se podria defender, ni el señor conde de haro por la misma caubsa, sino mandaria venir aqui un oficial abil del licenciado de bargas a quien los mandaria entregar y gastar.

yt. mandaria venir aqui a alonso gutierrez y a vosmediano ell uno para que pusiese diligencia en cobrar lo de los maestradgos, y ell otro lo de la cruzada, y acudiesen con ello para sostener esta enpresa.

(TRANSLATION.)

succeed in this manner any more than in the other ; for we have many more horse than they, and better quarters where to place them.

Thus, in as far as I am able to judge, they have no means to defeat us, if we do not defeat ourselves. The true medicine for the evil is, however, money wherewith to maintain ourselves, and of that we have not a maravedi nor any way to procure it. I shall state here what I think your Lordship ought to order to be done. If I am wrong, either in part or in the whole, I can be corrected.

It is said that they have to pay to your Lordship at the fair at Medina twenty five thousand ducats, as part of the loan from the King of Portugal. Issue an order for them to pay and bring the money hither. I am not of opinion that it should be handed over to the Admiral, because I do not know whether he would spend it properly, on account of the many applications which would be made to him and which he could not refuse ; nor to the Count of Haro for the same reason. But you should send hither an intelligent officer of the Licentiate Vargas, and order him to receive and disburse the money.

Item.—You should order Alonso Gutierez and Vozmediano to come hither to do what they can to collect the revenues, the first from the estates of the military orders, the latter those of the *Cruzada*, and help with what they get to defray the expenses of the enterprise.

1520.

y pues como he dicho a mi parecer esta es ya la mejor estancia que podemos tener los que aca estamos, debria V. S. dar orden como viniese aqui el cardenal y tres u quatro de los del consejo y oficiales de contadoria por manera que se pudiese proveer en toda esta parte de aca en lo de la hazienda y justicia y governacion y con esto y con la gente que tenemos de cavallo creo que aprovecharia mucho para poder cobrar hazienda con que nos pudiesemos sostener. y sin ello ni tenemos aviso ni manera de provision para podernos aprovechar de nada. y yo como tengo ya por cierto que sosteniendose lo de aqui se sostiene V. S. alla me alargo en las provisiones y seria de parecer que se hiziesen todas quantas V. S. pudiesse para questo no cayese, porque cayendo seria la misma regla que V. S. ternia mucho que hazer en no caer alla. ñtro Señor la muy ylle. y muy magca. persona y estado de V. S. guarde y prospere. de tordesillas a viij. de dizienbre.

Anoche començo ell almirante una materia escusada y a mi ver mucho dañosa y fue hablar a la Reyna que mandasse a la gente de la Junta que no hyziesen daño en tierra de grandes y que derramasen la gente. ella dixo que se hyziese asi y tomose por testimonio delante los dos escrivanos ante quien se solian

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(Translation.)

And as, according to what I have stated, we who are here have the best place which we can have, your Lordship ought to give orders that the Cardinal and three or four of the members of the council, together with the officers of the Treasury, should come hither, so that all the decrees concerning finance, administration of the law and government be issued from here. This and the horsemen we have would contribute much towards collecting the revenues, with which we could maintain ourselves. Otherwise we should remain without counsel and without the means of sustaining ourselves, as we could not make use of anything. As I am persuaded that in maintaining ourselves here we support your Lordship there, I speak at large of the measures to be taken, and state my belief that your Lordship should do all that is in your power to prevent us from being overcome. For if we were defeated it is only natural that your Lordship would find it difficult to avoid being also defeated there. Our Lord preserve and prosper the very illustrious and magnificent person and state of your Lordship.

From Tordesillas, 8th of December.

Last night the Admiral started a matter which was not necessary, and in my opinion very mischievous, that is to say, he asked the Queen to order the troops of the Junta to do no injury to the estates of the grandees, and to disband. She answered that it should be done, and an attestation was drawn up before the two *escrivanos* who used to authenticate the attestations of the Junta. This is as much as to

1520.

tomar los testimonios de la Junta. esto es aprovar lo que ellos hazian y lo mas principal hazer fundamento de la Reyna que es poner dos Reyes en Castilla que es el mayor daño que en un Reyno puede aver. emos travajado por estorvar que no vayan los testimonios y emoslo acabado hasta agora y como son pasados ya los Rebeldes de medina de Ruyseco hazia Valladolid creo que lo podremos llevar adelante.

Servydor de Vra Sa. hernando de vega comendador mayor. [Rubrica.]

9th December. **74.** DON HERNANDO DE VEGA, Comendador Mayor of Castile, to the EMPEROR CHARLES.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Patronato Real. Comunidades de Castilla. Legajo* 2. *f.* 91. *Autograph.*]

A su Magestad. Del comendador mayor de Castilla. a ix. de Dizienbre.

Anoche ell almirante pienso que no con mala yntencion pero muy escusada y a mi parecer no poco dañosa movio una meteria (1) que fue hablar a la rreyna y dezille que mandase a don pero giron y a estos que estan con la gente que traen que no hiziesen daño en ninguna tierra de grandes y que derramasen la gente que tienen. y esto paso por ante los dos

(1) Sic.

(TRANSLATION.)

approve what they have done, and, what is of more importance, to acknowledge the authority of the Queen and to set up two sovereigns in Castile, which is the greatest misfortune that can befall a kingdom. We have laboured hard to prevent the attestations from being sent, and hitherto have succeeded. As the rebels have already retired from Rioseco (1) to Valladolid, I believe we shall be successful also in future.

Your Lordship's servant,
Hernando de Vega, Comendador Mayor.
[Sign manual.]

74. To His Majesty. From the Comendador Mayor of Castile. 9th of December.

Last night the Admiral started a subject which, although he had no bad intention, was, in my opinion, very superfluous and not a little dangerous. The case was this. He spoke with the Queen, and told her to command Pedro Giron and those (2) who are with the army not to do injury to the estates of the grandees, and to disband their troops. That was done

(1) An estate of the Admiral. (2) Those Procurators of the Junta.

1520.

escrivanos ante quien solian pasar las cosas de la junta y esto a mi parecer es muy grande inconviniente. lo uno porque es aprobar lo que hazian estas comunidades que quando querian dezir que mandava algo la rreyna tenian esta mesma manera. y lo otro y muy prencipal hazer ningun caso de la rreyna pues su Alteza no esta en dispuscion de entender en ninguna cosa de governacion. en sabiendolo yo hable al conde de venavente que tiene mas entrada con el allmirante que otro para que lo estorvase y que no fuesen los testimonios. el le hablo y se suspendieron y no se an enbiado. y asi se trabajara todo lo posible para que no se enbien ni aya cosa desta calidad porque cierto seria negociacion que della me parece que podrian rresultar muchos ynconvinientes y pareceme que V. Mt. debria proveer escribiendo all almirante y conde de venavente y marques de hastorga y conde de haro que en esto de la Reyna pues saben la dispusicion que plugo a nuestro Señor de le dar que no entiendan con ella en otra cosa sino en que este en su libertad como agora lo esta y en que sea tratada y servida como conviene a su persona rreal.

quando escrevi a v. m. que los procuradores avian huido no sabiamos como estavan algunos dellos escondidos en Santa Clara. despues hallamos que heran huydos don pedro de Ayala

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(Translation.)

in presence of the two *escrivanos* who used to draw up the public instruments for the Junta. It seemed to me to be very inconvenient, for, in the first place, it implied an approbation of the doings of the Commons, who, when they wanted to excuse themselves with the pretext that the Queen had ordered anything, observed the same formalities; and secondly and principally, not the least mention should be made of the Queen, because her Highness is not in a position to occupy herself with the affairs of government. When I heard of it, I asked the Count of Benavente, who is more intimate with the admiral than any one else, to prevent the testimonies from being made use of. He spoke with him. The testimonies were retained, and not sent. I shall do all that is possible that they be not sent, nor any other thing of a similar character be done, for, in my opinion, that is a business from which very great inconveniences might result. It seems to me that your Majesty would do well to write to the admiral, to the Count of Benavente, the Marquis of Astorga, and the Count of Haro, not to meddle in any affairs touching the Queen, except to see that she be at liberty, as she at present is, and well treated and served as it becomes her royal person, because they know what disposition of mind our Lord has been pleased to give her.

When I wrote to your Majesty that the Procurators had fled, I was not aware that some of them were hidden in the Convent of Santa Clara. Afterwards we found that Don

1520.

procurador de Toledo y otros algunos y quedaron de Avila y leon y Salamanca y creo que de otras cibdades que a la verdad yo no los e visto y estan alli en Santa Clara como he dicho y aseles puesto guarda para que esten a buen recaudo. cuia S. C. C. M. ynperio y rreal estado nuestro Señor guarde y prospere con acrecentamiento de mas rreynos y señorios. de tordesillas a ix de Dizienbre de dxx de V. S. C. C. M. humill siervo y vassallo de V. Magestad que sus Reales pies y manos besa. hernando de vega comendador mayor.

[*Sobre :*] A la S. C. C. Mt. del enperador y rrey despaña nuestro Señor.

9th December. **75.** GOMEZ DE SANTILLAN to the CARDINAL OF TORTOSA.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Patronato Real. Comunidades de Castilla. Legajo* 2. *f.* 47.]

Muy Ille. y Reverendissimo Señor,

el jueves pasado despues ganada esta villa escrevi a V. S. Rma. y porque fuese mas seguro enbie un vecino de aqui. hasta agora no ha buelto y con sospecha que no aya allegado alla enbio este mensagero para tornar a desir lo que alli escrevia y lo que despues se a ofrecido.

(TRANSLATION.)

Pedro de Ayala, Procurator for Toledo, and some others, had escaped, but that those for Avila, Leon, Salamanca, and, I think, for other cities, have remained. In fact, I have not seen them. They are in Santa Clara, as I have said, and are well watched. May God protect your Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty's empire and royal states, and give you more kingdoms and dominions.

From Tordesillas, 9th of December 1520.

Your Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty's humble servant and vassal, who kisses your Majesty's royal feet and hands.

Hernando de Vega, Comendador Mayor.

[*Addressed:*] To his Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty the Emperor and King of Spain, our Lord.

75.

Very Illustrious and most Reverend Lord,

I wrote to your most reverend lordship on Thursday last when this town had been taken. In order to be more sure, I sent the letter by a man from here; but as he has not yet returned, I am afraid that he has not arrived there, and therefore I send another messenger to inform you again of what I have already written, and of what has since occurred.

1520.

ya se acordara V. S. R. que algunas vezes le dixe que la principal cosa que aprovecharia al bien destos negocios y pacificacion del Reyno seria procurar de aver esta villa por muchas causas que me parescia que con el exercito que ay estava junto se podria hazer y paresceme que mi ardid a salido verdadero y creo con el ayuda de dios questo que se ha hecho sera ocasion de poner los negocios en razon si se encaminan por buena maña y como deven.

sobresta villa llegamos el miercoles a las diez del dia. estuvimos esperando a la gente del conde de haro hasta la una. luego en llegando se ordenaron las batallas y esquadrones y mientra esto se hazia enviaron un Rey darmas y dos tronpetas y un Secretario del Almirante a requerir a esta villa que abriese las puertas a los grandes que aqui venian a besar las manos a la Reyna nuestra Señora. Respondieronles con dilacion por esperar el socorro que les venia. estos Señores tornaron a enbiar el Rey darmas y secretario y tronpetas para que luego se determinase y mandaron mover la gente hazia la villa. Respondieron peor que la primera vez diziendo que resistirian la entrada y todavia querian goçar de dilacion. tornaron otra terzera vez y no aprovecho de

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(TRANSLATION.)

Your most Reverend Lordship will remember that I have told you at various times that the thing which would most benefit these affairs, and much contribute towards the pacification of the kingdom, would be to take this town. From various reasons, I was of opinion that it could be done with the army which was there (1) assembled, and I think that my audacity has been justified. It seems to me that, with the help of God, this which we have done will be sufficient to settle the affairs, if they are conducted with as much dexterity as they ought to be.

We arrived before this town on Wednesday at 10 o'clock in the morning, and waited there for the troops of the Count of Haro until one o'clock. As soon as he arrived, the army was drawn up in divisions and squadrons. Whilst that was being done they sent a king-at-arms, two trumpeters, and a secretary of the admiral to request the town to open the gates to the grandees, who had come to kiss the hands of the Queen our lady. They delayed their answer because they hoped for the succour which was on the way. The Lords sent again a king-at-arms, the secretary, and the trumpeter, telling them that they must give their answer immediately; and at the same time our troops were ordered to draw nearer the town. They gave a worse answer than the first time, declaring that they would oppose the entry. As they, however, wished still to delay the decision, they were requested a third time, and again without

(1) In Rioseco.

1520.

manera que fue forçado llegar al adarve la gente la qual llego muy bien y con mucho esfuerço y la de cavallo mas adelante de lo quera menester. començose el conbate a las tres y media. estuvimos una hora sin hazer nada y Recebiendo daño. en este tienpo yo hize a un peon que llegase a cavar por unas tapias con un açadon que le di. diose a tan buen recaudo quen poco tienpo hizo un agujero por donde se entro la villa y mientras se hazia el agujero posimos fuego a una puerta que estava tapiada por de dentro. luego como sentro la villa por el agujero los de dentro pegaron fuego a ciertas casas que estavan alli al rededor pegadas al muro y esto enbaraço algo el entrada de la villa. turo en acabarse de ganar des que se entro mas de dos oras y media. luego començaron por la (1) puente a huyr algunos. avia venido al socorro el mismo dia cierta gente de pie y de caballo y venia otra que no alcanço a entrar. avia dentro de forasteros mas de ochenta lanças y quatrocientos peones. todos estos grandes y cavalleros lo hizieron muy bien y algunos señaladamente que yo dire a V. S. desque le vea; son muertos y heridos de una parte y de otra hartos. saqueose el lugar aunque harto se ha salvado. estan presos diez o doze procuradores y de los del consejo anse recogido muchas cartas

(1) Sic.

(Translation.)

effect. It was then necessary to lead the men to the walls. They advanced very well and with great energy, the horsemen a little too much in advance. Fighting began at half-past three. During one hour we did not obtain any advantage, but suffered considerable losses. I gave to a foot soldier a pickaxe, and told him to undermine some walls. He did it so well that in a short time he made a hole through which we entered the town. Whilst he was making the hole we set fire to a gate which was obstructed from within. As soon as we entered the town through the hole, those who were inside set some houses on fire which were not far off joining to the wall. They thus rendered the entry a little difficult. From the moment that we entered until the moment when the whole town was taken, two hours and a half elapsed. Soon they began to flee over the bridge. Some foot and horse had entered the place the same day, and other succour arrived too late. Of foreigners there were within [the town] more than eighty lances and four hundred foot. All these lords behaved very well, and some of them excellently, as I shall tell your Lordship when I see you. Many are the killed and wounded on either side. The place has been plundered, but much has been saved. Ten or twelve of the Procurators are taken prisoners. Many letters of privy councillors have been found, which are

1520.

y escrituras que son de ver. la Reyna Nuestra Señora mandava que dexasen entrar los grandes antes que se conbatiese y no lo quisieron hazer. su Alteza y la Señora Infanta a la barahunda salieron del palacio hasta cerca de una yglesia que esta junto. mando sacar el carro para llevar el cuerpo del Rey don felipe nuestro Señor que aya gloria y su cofre de joyas saco consigo y como no uvo tanto espacio ni manera para sacar a su Alteza bolbio y pusose a la puerta de palacio donde la hallaron algunos cavalleros de los que entraron y de alli la metieron a su aposentamiento. aquella noche le besaron las manos los grandes y muchos cavalleros. de la jornada me cupo ciertas pedradas y un cavallo que me hirieron y que ubieran muerto a don diego mi hijo con un esquina que dio con el y con el cavallo en el suelo. a dios sean dadas gracias todos estamos buenos para servir a sus mẽs en lo que mas fuere menester.

el viernes por la noche se juntaron estos Señores grandes para suplicar a la Reyna nuestra Señora que mandase derramar la gente de las comunidades y que no hiziesen daño. Su Alt. lo mando delante de dos escrivanos segun V. S. R. creo que avra visto por el testimonio que dello dieron de que yo fue uno de los testigos. creo que aprovechara para que mas ayna se derrame la gente. gomez davilla el procu-

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(TRANSLATION.)

worth seeing. Before the battle began, the Queen our lady ordered that they should let the grandees enter the place, but they did not obey. During the confusion her Highness and the señora Infanta left the palace, and went as far as a church which is not distant. She commanded the cart to be brought on which to carry away the corpse of King Philip our lord, who is in glory, and she took also with her a chest containing her jewelry. As, however, there was no time to get away, her Highness returned, and remained at the door of the palace, where she was found by some cavaliers, who led her to her apartments. The same night the grandees and many cavaliers went to kiss her hands. My part in the fight was that some stones fell upon me, and that my horse was wounded. They have almost killed my son Don Diego, who was thrown on the ground with his horse. God be thanked, we are all safe, and ready to serve your Lordships whenever it is necessary.

Last Friday night these lords and grandees assembled, and asked the Queen our lady to order the Commons to disband their troops, and to do injury to no one. Her Highness gave the order, in presence of two *escrivanos*, as, I believe, your most Reverend Lordship has already learnt from the attestation which was drawn up by them. I was one of the witnesses. I think it will contribute towards the more

1520.

rador de Avila fue el viernes a don pedro giron y all obispo de partes de estotros procuradores a dezilles que devrian derramar la gente y concertarse en el bien del Reyno. vino anoche. dize que bravean aunque don pedro giron no tanto como los otros. Valladolid y Medina se pertrechan. en Medina prendieron a un gonçalo perez quenbiaron estos Señores creo que sobre lo del artilleria. la gente de Çamora es yda y la de Valladolid esta dentro. creese que la de las otras cibdades se yra presto.

paresceme Señor que seria provechoso para el buen fin destos negocios y para que mas presto se pacificase el Reyno que V. S. R. y el consejo y aun el Señor Condestable se devrian luego venir aqui y de aqui escrivirian a las cibdades del Reyno para pacificallas y quenbiasen procuradores que les convenian para entender en el bien del Reyno y en desazer los agravios que oviere. como verdadero servidor digo lo que me paresce y si estuviese en presencia declararia mas esto. yo quedo aqui hasta que Vña Señoria mande otra cosa de que sea mas servido. Nuestro Señor la vida y muy illustre estado de V. S. R. prospere. de tordesillas domingo a las cinco de la

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(TRANSLATION.)

speedy disbanding of their troops. Gomez de Avila, Procurator for Avila, had gone on Friday to Pedro Giron and the bishop, to tell them, in the name of those other Procurators, to disband the troops, and to conclude peace, for the good of the kingdom. He returned last night, and said that they menace in an arrogant manner, Don Pedro Giron not so much as the others. Valladolid and Medina collect ammunition and warlike stores. In Medina a certain Gonzalo Perez was arrested, whom these lords had sent, I believe, to speak about the artillery. The troops of Zamora have gone, and those of Valladolid are in the place.(1) It is believed that the contingents of the other cities will soon go.

It seems to me, my Lord, that it would be good, for a satisfactory conclusion of these affairs, and for the speedy pacification of the kingdom, that your most Reverend Lordship, together with the Council, and even the Señor Constable, should soon come to this place, and write from here to the cities of the kingdom, to pacify them, and send such commissioners as are fit for that purpose, to inquire into the wants of the kingdom, and to redress what is wrong. As a loyal servant, I say what I think, and if I were in your presence I should say more. I remain here until your Lordship sends me other orders. Our Lord protect the life and the very illustrious estate of your most Reverend Lordship.

From Tordesillas, Sunday, at five o'clock in the afternoon.

(1) Valladolid.

1520.

tarde d. V. R. S. muy cierto servidor que sus manos vesa. gomes de Santillan.

[*Sobre :*] Al muy illustre y Rmo. Señor el Señor Cardenal de tortosa governador de Castilla mi Señor.

10th December. **76.** LOPE HURTADO DE MENDOZA to the EMPEROR CHARLES.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Patronato Real. Comunidades de Castilla. Legajo* 2. *f.* 101. *Holograph.*]

A Su Magt. de lope hurtado. a x. de dizienbre.

S. C. C. Mt.

a seys del presente escrevi a V. Mt. como este logar se abia conbatido e ganado e saqueado. hanle destruydo. don pedro giron como lo supo bino la via de Valladolid e a syete del presente llego alli con su exercito. dizen que entro en la villa para darles descargo porque no abia socorrido este lugar e para aposentarse en el. Respondieronle que no querian su descargo agora y que la gente seria gran ynconbiniente aposentarse en la villa. asy diz que esta en unos lugares cerca de Valladolid. dizese que ha embiado a las cibdades que saquen los pendones con toda la gente que puedan para venir sobre este. aqui se ha proveydo de poner en Symancas al conde de

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(TRANSLATION.)

Your most Reverend Lordship's true servant kisses your hands.—Gomes de Santillan.

[*Addressed :*] To the very Illustrious and most Reverend Lord, the Cardinal of Tortosa, Governor of Castile, my Lord.

76.

To His Majesty. From Lope Hurtado. 10th of December.

Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty,

On the 6th of this month I informed you that this place had been attacked, conquered, pillaged, and ruined. When Don Pedro Giron heard of it he marched towards Valladolid, and arrived there with his army on the 7th of the present month. It is said that he entered the town to exculpate himself for not having succoured this place, and intended to remain there in garrison. They answered that they did not want his excuses at present, and that it would be very inconvenient to quarter the troops in the town. Thus, it is said, he is now in some of the villages near the town. It is reported that he has written to the Commons asking them to get out all the banners, and to march with all the men they have to this place. Here it has been decided to

1520.

oñate con dozientas lanças e quinientos peones y creo que pornan otras fronteras y se repara el lugar y se esperara lo que hizieren sin salir al campo syno sostener esto porque parece que es ganarlo todo, pues V. Al. ha de venir que syn su benida nada aprovecha. el almirante ha escripto a las cibdades diendoles cuenta de lo que se ha hecho y de la prision de los procuradores que aqui estan como mas le ha parecido que conbenia. no han respondido. un procurador de los presos que es de Avila pidio licencia para ir a hablar con don pedro y los otros capitanes deziendo que el haria por que se derramase la gente. alla fue y no quisieron e asy se torno. en este estado esta la cosa hasta oy.

la Reyna nuestra Señora dixo muy buenas cosas a los que aqui estavan quando le dixieron que V. Mt. se llamava Rey en perjuicio de Su Alteza. dixo que asy se acostunbraba por auttoridad del Reyno. quando le dixieron que avia hechos muchos daños en el, dixo que no la Rebolbiese nadi con su hijo que todo lo que tenia era suyo y que el miraria por ello. quando benimos a conbatir mando que abriesen las puertas deziendo que bien sabia Su Alteza que no harian daño syno que antes todos venian a servirla. salio Su Alteza y la Señora

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(Translation.)

send the Count of Oñate to Simancas with two hundred lances and five hundred foot. I believe they will erect new fortifications, repair the place, (1) and wait to see what [the enemy] will do without taking the field, and only defending this [place], because [to preserve Tordesillas] is as much as to gain everything; that is to say, if your Highness comes, for without your presence all is in vain. The Admiral has written to the Commons as best it seemed to him, and given them an account of what has occurred, and of the imprisonment of the Procurators. They have not answered. One of the Procurators, who is from Avila, has asked permission to go and speak with Pedro Giron and the other captains, promising that he would induce them to disband their troops. He went, but they refused, and he has returned. This is the state in which things are today.

The Queen our lady spoke very good words to those who have been here when they told her that your Majesty styled yourself King in prejudice of her Highness. She answered that such was the custom of the kingdom. When they said that [your Majesty] had caused great injury to it, she replied that no one shall set her at variance with her son, and that all that belonged to her was his, and he would take good care of it. When we came to give battle she ordered the gates to be opened, saying that she well knew that we would not do any harm, but, on the contrary, came to serve her. When all was disorder her Highness and the Señora Infanta went to

(1) Tordesillas.

1520.

ynfanta al patio quando andava Rebuelta la cosa e alli la hallaron don juan manrique e don geronimo de padilla que llegaron los primeros a palacio y luego subieron a Su Alteza a su aposentamiento. dizen que olgo de ver a los grandes y de hablarlos. la Señora ynfante esta la mas gentil dama del mundo. seria bien que V. Mt. le escriba que dize que le an dicho que V. Al. esta mal con ella y es la mas rreal cosa que puede ser.

agora enbio a Vña magestad memorial de los procuradores que aqui se prendieron porquel otro dia no ubo tiempo para saber de todos. a estos tienen sin prision e juntos e aun Suero del Aguila anda por el lugar. V. Alt. deve enbiar a mandar que los pongan en prisiones a buen recabdo porque ay mas piedad de la que era menester con ellos.

los libros de los contadores se han hallado aqui. con ellos estava christoval de avila e bazquez. hallaronse muchas escripturas de las bellaquerias que estos tenian ordenadas. al marques de astorga cupo una arca de don pero laso llena dellas como V. Magestad vera por su carta. asymismo se tomo la noche que entramos una carta de don pero laso que escrevia de villalpando a juan de ayala avisandole de la venida del exercito aqui en que dize que tienen mal contentamiento de don pedro giron, y que estan mal concertados y que no tienen

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(Translation.)

the court-yard, and there they were found by Don Juan Manrique and Don Geronimo de Padilla, who were the first to arrive at the palace, and led her Highness directly to her rooms. It is said she rejoiced at seeing the grandees and speaking with them. The Señora Infanta is the most beautiful lady in the world. It would be good if your Majesty would write to her, for they have told her that your Highness is dissatisfied with her. She is the most queenly thing (1) that can be seen.

I send your Highness a list of the Procurators who were taken prisoners here. The other day I had no time to inquire how many there were. They are not in prison, live together, and Suero de Aguila is even permitted to walk about in the town. Your Highness should order that they be put into prison and well watched. More compassion is shown to them than is necessary.

The papers of the treasurers have been found here in possession of Christoval de Avila and Vasquez. Many documents have been discovered which contain the knaveries ordered by them. The Marquis of Astorga captured a box belonging to Don Pedro Laso full of them, as your Majesty will learn from his letter. The night when we entered a letter of Don Pedro Laso was intercepted which he wrote from Villalpando to Juan de Ayala, giving him notice of the march of the army to this place. He tells him that they were little satisfied with Don Pedro Giron, that they were disunited and had

(1) Sic.

1520.

dineros. espero en dios que cada dia los yra peor porque dize que todas las cibdades estan muy sospechasas de don pedro y aun que cada dia le llaman traydor.

el saco de aqui ha seydo tan general que ningun criado de Su Alteza quedo. hasta la mula de la Señora infante de que a todos ha pesado mucho. pero no se ha podido haser mas. piensase que desto han de hazer grandes esclamaciones al Reyno los contrarios. aca paresce a muchos que aunque los del lugar no lo merecen ni ansi los mas de los criados de Su Alteza que otros hazian lo que eran obligados que V. Mt. debria luego escrebir mostrando sentimiento del daño de los criados de la Reyna nuestra Señora y desta villa y mandando que se averiguase lo que avia seydo porque lo mandaria pagar.

Segun lo que algunos destos criados de Su Alteza han hecho pienso que el marques suplicara a V. A. que mude algunos y creo que querria poner algunos suyos. V. Al. deve mandar mirar en esto porque ay muchos criados de los Reyes Catholicos y del Señor ynfante perdidos en quien estara bien hazerse la provision si obiere mudança, pues de necessidad les ha de mandar dar de comer.

estos grandes y cavalleros quisyeran que yo fuera a V. Mt. a dar cuenta de sus servicios e por las albricias de la vitoria.

(Translation.)

no money. I hope in God that every day they will be worse off. It is said that all the Commons suspect Pedro Giron, and call him daily a traitor.

The pillage has been so general that not a single servant of her Highness escaped. Even the mule of the Señora Infanta [has been stolen]. All are very sorry for it, but it was impossible to prevent it. It is expected that the enemy will make great clamour about this in the kingdom, and many think that, although the [people] of this town do not deserve it any more than most of the servants of her Highness, yet as others have behaved as they ought, your Majesty should write directly, stating that you are sorry for the losses of the servants of the Queen our lady and of this town, and ordering to inquire in what they have consisted, that they may be repaid.

Owing to what some of these servants of her Highness have done, I think the Marquis will ask your Highness to dismiss many of them, and I believe that he wishes to appoint some of his people. Your Highness ought well to consider this, for there are many servants of the Catholic King and Queen and of the Señor Infante who live in misery, and whom it would be good to appoint, if changes are to be made; for it is necessary to feed them.

These grandees and cavaliers wish that I should go to your Highness to give an account of their services, and

1520.

para lo suyo tienpo abra si dios quisiere y para lo mio por mejores albricias tengo estar serbiendo aqui a V. Al. que ay bien en que cierto todos lo han hecho muy bien como a V. Mt. escrevi. e despues que entramos en este lugar el conde de benavente ha hecho buenas cosas en hazer probeer de bastimentos hasta yr el a moler el trigo porque ha habido necesydad y castigar los suyos sobre el saco. V. Mt. debe enbiar le las gracias y a todos que bien las merecen.

el duque del ynfantazgo escribio que embiava ciento y cinquenta onbres de armas y cinquenta ginetes y enbio dineros al almirante para la paga de quince dias y cartas para los governadores de sus tierras que acudiesen con veynte mill onbres adonde les mandassen. el de villena ofrecio dineros. agora no se lo que hara con esta nueba el de alburquerque. aqui estan don beltran y don luys. no tienen gente. dizen que verna el duque su padre. guarde nuestro Señor la S. C. C. Mt. y acreciente su muy Real estado. de Tordesillas a x. de dizienbre.

de V. Mt. basallo y servidor que sus Reales pies y manos besa. lope hurtado.

[*Sobre:*] A la S. C. C. Mt. del enperador rrey nuestro Señor.

(Translation.)

receive the rewards for the victory. For their [rewards] a time will come, if God permits it; and as for mine, I consider it the best reward to be able to serve your Highness here. It is quite certain that all have behaved very well, as I have written to your Majesty. Since we entered this place the Count of Benavente has done a good thing in supplying provisions. He has even gone so far as to grind corn, of which we stood in great need, and to punish his people for the pillage. Your Majesty ought to send him and all the others your thanks. They deserve it.

The Duke of Infantazgo wrote that he sends one hundred and fifty men-at-arms and fifty light horse. He also sends money to the Admiral for the pay of fifteen days, and letters to the agents of his estates to send twenty thousand men in succour to wherever they may be required. Villena offered money. I do not know what Albuquerque will do after the last occurrences. Don Beltran and Don Luis are here. They have no troops. It is said the duke their father will come. Our Lord preserve your Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty, and increase your royal estate.

From Tordesillas, 10th of December.

Your Majesty's vassal and servant kisses your royal feet and hands. Lope Hurtado.

[*Addressed:*] To his Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty the Emperor King, our lord.

1520.

15th December. **77.** The CARDINAL OF TORTOSA to the EMPEROR CHARLES.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Patronato Real. Comunidades de Castilla. Legajo* 2. *f.* 186. *Autograph, enclosed in the letter of the Cardinal to the Emperor of the* 15*th December* 1520.]

En haviendo escrito esta tengo informacion de persona que en ello estuvo presente como dos dias antes que el cerco de Tordesyllas fuese la Reyna nuestra Señora fue importunada por lo[s] de la Junta que firmasse diziendole que sino firmava que no podrian dar de comer a Su Alteza ni a la Señora infanta, y estando cercados que toda aquella villa de Tordesyllas se quemaria y que los de Vr̃a magt. llevarian presa a Su Alt. a la fortaleza de Benavente y cierto por milagro se escuso de lo hazer ahunque le presentavan las cartas que havia de firmar con penyola y tintero. hagalo saber a Vr̃a Alteza para que extensamente sea certificado de lo que aqua passa. Dat. ut sup.

Vr̃e tres hunble serviteur, el Card. dertusen.

(TRANSLATION.)

77.

When writing this letter I was informed by a person who was present that two days before the siege of Tordesillas the Queen our lady was importuned by the Junta to sign. They told her that if she did not sign they could not give her or the Señora Infanta anything to eat; and when they were besieged [they said] that the whole town of Tordesillas would be burnt, and her Highness carried off a prisoner by the partisans of your Majesty to the castle of Benavente. By a miracle she refused to do it,(1) although they presented to her the letters which she should sign, together with the pen and the inkstand. I inform your Highness of this in order that you should know exactly what passes here.

Datum ut supra.

Your very humble servant,
The Cardinal of Tortosa.

(1) To sign.

1520.
16th December. **78.** LOPE HURTADO DE MENDOZA to the EMPEROR CHARLES.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Estado. Legajo 7. f. 223. Abstract made for the perusal of the Emperor by the Secretary Covos.*]

de la de xvij. (1) de dizienbre.

de lope hurtado. a xvj. (1) de dizienbre.

lo que pasaron el almirante y el comendador mayor sobre lo que escrevio don pedro giron que lo dexassen en manos del almirante y suyas etc. y que syno lo querian hazer que se pasaria al exercito de Vra Alt. con la gente de cavallo etc. y que el almirante conde de benavente marques de astorga y los demas firmaron una carta para dexar la cosa en manos del almirante y de don pedro giron.

que enbiaron a las cibdades los capitulos que el almirante les avia ofrecido antes de la toma de tordesyllas porque parecio al almirante que no se devia quitar nada dellos aunque avian sucedido en tanta ventaja las cosas de V. Al. por acabar con ellos. que el almirante trabaja y sirve mucho y que aquellos conplimientos que hizo con la junta agora parecen provechosos porque se conoce la vellaqueria de los traydores y aun algunos pueblos rebeldes van amansando. pero que tiene tanta gana de contentar a todos que teme que a de tomar algun assiento malo contra V. mt.

que dos o tres vezes a dicho al almirante la creencia que V.

(1) Sic.

(TRANSLATION.)

78.

From Lope Hurtado. 16th (1) of December.

What the Admiral and Comendador Mayor decided with respect to what Pedro Giron had written, viz., that they should leave it in the hands of the Admiral and his, &c., and if they should not like to do it, that he would come over with the cavalry to the army of your Highness, &c., and that the Admiral, the Count of Benavente, the Marquis of Astorga, and the others signed a letter to leave the affair in the hands of the Admiral and Don Pedro Giron.

That they sent to the cities the articles which the Admiral had offered them before the fall of Tordesillas, because it seemed to the Admiral that in order to come to an understanding with them nothing should be revoked, although the affairs of your Majesty had taken so favourable a turn. That the Admiral works much and renders good services, and it appears now that the course he followed towards the Junta is advantageous, because the knaveries of the traitors become manifest, and some rebellious places begin already to be quelled. He wishes, however, so much to content every one, that it is to be feared he will conclude a treaty unfavourable to your Majesty.

That he has two or three times informed the Admiral of

(1) Sic.

1520.

A. le mando dezir al condestable y aun al conde de benavente y a todos los que alli estan. pero que nada aprovecha. que V. Al. deve escrivir al almirante que alargue la negociacion hasta su bienaventurada venida y certeficargela porque asi el como el conde de benavente y los que alli estan no creen que han de yr aun que el gelo jura etca.

que viene don luys por las postas etca.

que el conde enbia aguilera.

que el almirante no a acebtado la governacion y que les dizen que secretamente despacha como governador y que desto esta algo enojado el conde de benavente y de otras cosas que a avido sobre poner gente en las fronteras y no le da parte dello y de otras cosas del conde de haro. el conde benavente se querria yr a su casa y que el le hablo dos o tres vezes con parecer del comendador mayor y que le respondio que como avia de estar el alli que era en ofensa de su persona que el almirante no queria acebtar la governacion y mandava mas que sy fuese Rey etc. y que en fin se tomo asiento con el que se enbiase a llamar al cardenal y a los del consejo y que estando alli corte que el estaria etc. y que sy no se hiziesse que todos se yrian a sus casas.

(Translation.)

the commission your Highness gave him to say certain things to the Constable, and even to the Count of Benavente, and to all who are here, but that it has been to no purpose, and that your Highness ought to write to the Admiral ordering him to postpone the negotiations until your happy arrival, and to certify it to him; because he as well as the Count of Benavente and the others who are here do not believe that they are to go, although he affirms it by an oath, &c.

That Don Luis comes with diligence, &c.

That the Count sends Aguilera.

That the Admiral has not accepted the office of governor, but, according to what he is told, secretly despatches [the business] of a governor, and that the Count of Benavente is somewhat annoyed by this and other things concerning the sending of troops to the frontier without giving him notice of it. And in consequence of other affairs with the Count of Haro, the Count of Benavente wished to go to his house, and that he, in conformity with the opinion of the Comendador Mayor, had spoken with him two or three times, but that he had answered, how could he remain there, as it was a personal affront to him that the Admiral would not accept the office of governor, and yet commanded more as if he were a king, &c. That at last a compromise was made with him that he should send for the Cardinal and the councillors, and that if court were held there he would remain, &c., and if not, he would bring about that all should return to their houses.

1520.

que informado del el cardenal se ha determinado de yr a tordesillas y llevar a los del consejo y oficiales, y que desto pesara mucho al condestable porque quisiera el llevarle a burgos etca.

que es V. Al. en mucho cargo al cardenal porque ha seydo martir en todo lo que a pasado etca. y que deve V. Al. embiarle cartas (1) privadas no enbargante los poderes del condestable y almirante que hagan los del consejo y oficiales lo que el les mandare porque segun lo que don Rodrigo ha requerido al cardenal teme que el condestable a de inpedir algunas cosas aunque en el ha hallado mas claro mas llano mas verdadero servidor de V. Al. que ninguno de los otros, y quel avisara de todo.

lo que deve V. Al. al comendador mayor de Castilla.

que la Reyna Nña Sa. esta muy buena y que llama muchas vezes al conde de benavente y al almirante para hablarlos, y esta dos o tres oras hablando con el que llama dellos, i que le dixo el conde que le avia preguntado si Su Al. firmaria si fuese menester y que le respondio que si quando saliese de alli. que V. Al. deve enbiar a mandar que el marques no haga mu-

(1) puede ser tambien : *cedulas.*

(Translation.)

That the Cardinal, when he was informed of it, decided to go to Tordesillas, and take with him the members and officers of the council, and that the Constable will be very sorry for it, because he wished to take the Cardinal to Burgos, &c.

That your Highness is much indebted to the Cardinal, who behaved like a martyr in all that passed, &c.; and that your Highness ought to send him private letters that the members and officers of the council should do what he orders them, notwithstanding the powers for the Constable and Admiral. For according to what Don Rodrigo has intimated to the Cardinal, he fears that the Constable intends to impede certain measures, although he has behaved more openly and frankly, and more as a loyal servant of your Highness, than any of the others. He will send information of all [that happens].

What your Highness owes to the Comendador of Castile.

That the Queen our lady is bodily very well, and that she often calls the Count of Benavente and the Admiral into her presence to speak with them, and that she continues two or three hours speaking with the one of them whom she has sent for. And that the Count told him that he had asked her whether her Highness would sign if it were necessary, and that she answered she would as soon as she had left this place. (1) That your Highness ought to order that the Marquis does not make changes concerning the women, be-

(1) Tordesillas.

1520.

dança en lo de las mugeres porque dize que si las viese que harian alguna alteracion y que dirian los malos que lo hazian porque le avian echado los procuradores y que la tenian por fuerça.

que entre el conde de benavente y marques de denia a avido algun enojo sobre la fortaleça de tordesyllas.

la orden que tenian dada hera dexar en tordesyllas j:ↄ lanças y j:ↄ soldados y en Symancas d. peones y cc. lanças en torrelobaton c. lanças y ccc. soldados en la mota l. lanças y cccc. soldados en portillo c. lanças y cree que c. soldados. sy son desbaratados quitaran de la gente la que sea raçon. Reparavan bien a tordesyllas y a los otros lugares.

que el Cardenal a deseado que V. Al. le de licencia para se venir y que no le pagan y que tiene necessidad que V. A. le favorezca y aun que sy fuere posible enbialle socorro etc.

que çuaçola ha servido mucho.

que los procuradores que prendieron se an dado sobre fianças y que el dixo que no se devia hazer sin licencia de V. Al. no a aprovechado y que a muchos a parescido mal esto.

(TRANSLATION.)

cause it is said that if that were done they would make a rebellion, and say they were badly treated, because the Procurators had turned him out, and that she (1) was detained by force.

That the Count of Benavente and the Marquis of Denia quarrelled about the fortress of Tordesillas.

The orders which have been given are: to leave in Tordesillas 1,000 lances and 1,000 foot, in Simancas 500 foot and 200 lances, in Torre Lobaton 100 lances and 300 foot, in the Mota 100 lances and 400 foot, in Portillo 100 lances and he believes 100 foot. If they (2) should be beaten they would make reasonable reductions. They repaired Tordesillas and other places.

That the Cardinal desires that your Highness should give him leave to return, that he is not paid and is in great want, that your Highness should show him favour, and even if possible send him succour, &c.

That Suasola has served well.

That the Procurators who had been taken prisoners had been released on securities, that he had said that ought not to be done without the permission of your Highness, but without effect. That that seems bad to many.

(1) Queen Juana. (2) The army of the Commons.

1520.
December. **79.** LOPE HURTADO DE MENDOZA to the EMPEROR CHARLES.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Patronato Real. Comunidades de Castilla. Legajo 2. f.* 181. *Contemporary official deciphering.*]

el almirante esta ganoso de asiento con los de la Junta como quiera que fuese dize que lo haze por el mal aparejo que ay de sostener la gente que aqui esta. hizo a la Reyna que delante del e de muchos cavalleros dixesse que mandava que toda la gente de la Junta se derramase y mandolo tomar por testimonio para enbiar a requerir con el a don pedro giron y a las cibdades. el conde de benabente y el marques de Astorga y conde de Miranda y el comendador mayor no se hallaron alli. y sabido entendio luego el comendador mayor en remediarlo y asi fueron al Almirante y el testimonio se rasgo no por boto suyo antes estava enojado y aun estando assy dixo que a la Reyna tenia por cuerda. enojase cada dia mil veces de que temo que algun dia aya cosa sobre los conciertos que sea muy dañosa. escrivale V. Al. encomendando gelo todo a el y Rogandole que pues ya lo ha puesto en tan buen estado que trabaje que se conserve sin que se asiente cosa contra las prheminencias (1) Reales. escriva V. Alt. de su mano algunos Renglones que todo es menester para el y al conde de benavente encomendandole

(1) Sic.

(TRANSLATION.)

79.

The Admiral is inclined to conclude peace with the Junta on any conditions. He says he wishes it, because there are no means to sustain the troops which are here. He caused the Queen to declare in presence of a great many cavaliers that she commanded all the troops of the Junta to be disbanded. Of this [order] he had an attestation drawn up, and sent it to Pedro Giron and the cities. The Count of Benavente, the Marquis of Astorga, the Count of Miranda, and the Comendador Mayor were not present. As soon, however, as the Comendador Mayor heard of this affair, he took care to remedy it. They went to the Admiral, and the testimony was destroyed. He did not consent, but, on the contrary, was rather annoyed; and whilst he was still in that state of mind he said that he was persuaded that the Queen was sane. He grows angry a thousand times every day, the consequence of which, I am afraid, will be that some day a very disadvantageous peace will be concluded. Your Highness ought to write to him, and, committing to him the whole affair, beg him that, as he has already placed it in so good a condition, he will preserve it in that state, and see that no peace be concluded in prejudice of the royal prerogatives. [I beg] your Highness to write him some lines with your own hand, for that is very necessary. And, to the Count of Benavente [your Highness ought to write] also, much recommending him to take care

1520.

mucho mire que en esto no se haga cosa desordenada por la necesidad que ay, porque si el quiere nada se puede hazer que sea malo porque todos los otros que aqui estan haran lo que de parte de V. Al. se les dixere, y certifiqueles V. Mt. su venida e que si lo que aca ay con que se sostiene el exercito no bastare que V. Alt. mandara proveer de alla, porque debaxo de dezir que no ay con que se sostener, he miedo que hiciesen algo. y aun si pudiese enbiar algund credito lo ternia por mejor y sobre este articulo mande V. Alt. escrevir luego con posta porque conviene.

el marques de denia viene aqui con mas pasion de la que era menester segund el tienpo. esta muy mal que esto ya muchos les ha pesado tanto de su venida como averle saquearon (1). V. Mt. le deve mandar que se tenple mucho e trabaje con amor de contentar los criados de la Reyna Nuestra Señora e de servir a la Serenissima Infante y la Marquesa mejor que lo solia fazer, porque dizen que la tenia mal contenta y que agora les ha pesado de su venida y aun que la Reyna Nuestra Señora no ha holgado con el, y pues esta contenta Su Alt. de haver hechado las mugeres que no cure de hazer

(1) Sic.

(Translation.)

that in consequence of the want of money nothing unreasonable be done. For if he does not wish it, nothing that is bad can be done, because all the others who are here will do what your Highness tells them. Your Majesty should also assure them that you are coming, and that if all that can be procured here does not suffice to sustain the army, your Highness will give orders to send more from there. For, under the pretext that here are no sufficient means wherewith to sustain the army, I am afraid lest they should do something. If a letter of credit could be sent it would be much for the best. On this subject your Highness should write immediately by post, for it is necessary.

The Marquis of Denia comes with more passion than was necessary. That is very bad in these times, and many are already very dissatisfied that he has come and have him [one word utterly unintelligible] (1). Your Majesty should command him to be much more moderate, and to endeavour to be amiable and satisfy the servants of the Queen our lady, and to serve well the most serene Infanta. And the Marchioness too ought to behave better than she was in the habit of doing. It is said she did not satisfy her [the Infanta]. Now all are discontented at his coming, and even the Queen our lady has not been pleased with him. As her Highness is glad that her women have been dismissed, it

(1) Most probably an error of cipher.

1520.

mudança hasta la venida de V. Mt. sino sostenerlo en el estado en que esta, porque dizen que trae determinacion de rebolvello todo y segun la pasion que tiene y la mala voluntad con que le reciben, creo que no seria bueno lo que hiziesse.

el Almirante esta agora en acebtar la governacion que dize que la terna entretanto que se haze correo a V. Mt. para que le enbie los poderes como los pide. ni querria que la aceptasse ni que V. Mt. le enbiase los poderes porque no tiene sosiego para tal cargo, que cada dia muda el pensamiento en mill cosas y todavia tiene fin a fazer por el Reyno. si lo acebtase V. Mt. mandara proveer lo que conviene.

el conde de haro haze el oficio de capitan como las otras cosas. como ay aqui muchos Señores son malos de concertar, para lo que es menester especialmente el Almirante y el conde de benabente que tienen unas salidas por donde ay muy mala orden en este exercito y la gente muy mal mandada como es de muchos que es el mayor temor que tenemos. cada ora se tiene por mayor ventura tomar este lugar porque segun la manera que ay creo que todo se perdiera si esto no se acertara que esta muy desordenado todo.

(Translation.)

would be good if he did not make any changes until your Majesty comes, but only continue the state of things as it is. It is said that he is determined to change everything; and according to his passion, and the ill will with which he is received, I believe anything he did would not be good.

The Admiral is now disposed to accept the office of governor. He says that he will hold it provisionally, and that a courier will be sent to your Majesty for such power as he desires. I am of opinion that your Majesty should not accept him, nor send the powers, because he has not sufficient steadiness for that office. Every day he changes his mind in a thousand respects, and it is still his intention to do by the kingdom (1). If your Majesty accept, suitable orders must be given for this case.

The Count of Haro fulfils [the duties of] his office of commander in chief as he does other things. As there are many noblemen here, it is difficult to keep them united in those things which are necessary, especially the admiral and the Count of Benavente, who have more their own way. The consequence thereof is, that the discipline of the army is bad, and the troops are very badly commanded. This causes much fear to many. Every hour the advantage of having taken this place is better understood. According to the present state of things, I believe that all will be lost if order is not soon restored. The disorder in everything is very great.

(1) Sic. Probably an incorrect deciphering.

1520.

a unos parece que seria bien que el cardenal e algunos del consejo y contadores viniesen aqui, y que de aqui se usase de justicia y de hazienda, y que el condestable sostuviese lo de burgos con las montanias y otros que este lugar quedase proveydo, y con la gente que era menester para guardarle, y que los governadores consejo y contadores se juntassen en burgos. para esto ay un gran inconveniente estar el marques de denia tan mal quisto aqui de los criados de la Reyna nuestra Señora y de todo el lugar, y que si quedase otro agraviarseia. V. Md. lo mande mirar todo y mandar proveher lo que mas fuere su servicio.

1521. 18th January.

80. The Privy Councillor Licentiate POLANCO to the EMPEROR CHARLES.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Estado. Castilla. Legajo* 8. *f.* 32. *Autograph. The words printed in italics were written in cipher.*]

La relacion que enbio polanco. de xvij.(1) de enero. Ra.

S. Cessa. y Cathca. Magt.

El presidente y todos los del consejo vinieron a burgos pocos dias antes de navidad salvo el doctor palacios Rubios que por su enfermedad no pudo y el doctor Tello que quedo en una

(1) Sic.

(TRANSLATION.)

Some are of opinion that it would be good if the Cardinal and some of the councillors and auditors would come to this place, and if the affairs of law and finance were despatched here, that the Constable (1) ought to support Burgos with the mountaineers (2), and others [think] that this place (3) ought to remain well garrisoned with as many troops as are necessary to guard it, and the governors, the council, and the treasurers should assemble in Burgos. There is, however, one great inconvenience in this. The Marquis of Denia is so much disliked by all the servants of the Queen our lady, as well as by the townspeople, that if he remained another would be aggravated (4). Your Majesty must decide all this, and order what is best for your service.

80. The Relation which Polanco sent on the 17th of January. Answered.

Sacred, imperial, and catholic Majesty,

The president and all the members of the council came to Burgos a few days before Christmas, except Doctor Palacios Rubios who was prevented by illness, and Doctor Telo, who

(1) Some words seem to be left out.
(2) *Montanias, montañas*, mountains in the original deciphering.
(3) Tordesillas.
(4) Sic. Probably incorrect deciphering.

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fortaleza de su yerno donde le prendio el obispo de Çamora. el dia de navidad llego un correo a burgos con carta del cardenal para el condestable y para el presidente y otra para el licenciado polanco para que a la ora sin detenerse veniesse a tordesillas para entender en las cosas que se offreciessen, el qual vino luego y hase entendido en ellas desta maña (1). todas las cosas que aqui ocurren de justicia remitiendolas al consseio. las despediente o de gracia despachanse aqui y porque firmava solo el cardenal se remitian las provisiones al condestable para que firmasse juntamente con el cardenal para mayor auctoridad. las cosas que era ynconviniente esperar despachavanse con solo la firma del cardenal. en este tiempo el almirante movido por buenas consideraciones accepto la governacion y hanse despachado las provisiones con firmas de entramos y algunos que no ay peligro en la tardança se enbian a burgos para que se firmen por todos tres. podrian embiarse mas. ocurren muchas cosas en especial de guerra y de quexas de gente de guerra para ser pagados. el cardenal y el almirante travajan mucho y entienden y proveen bien todas las cosas. los grandes y cavalleros que estan aqui tienen mucha lealtad y zelo al servicio de V. mt. quanto es possible con sus vidas y casas y

(1) manera.

(TRANSLATION.)

remained in a fortress of his son in law, where he was taken prisoner by the Bishop of Zamora. On Christmas day a courier arrived at Burgos with a letter from the Cardinal for the Constable and for the president, and another for the licentiate Polanco [to tell him] that at once and without delay he should come to Tordesillas, and there occupy himself in despatching the business which might occur. He went immediately. The business is despatched in the following manner. All the law business is remitted to the council. The affairs of administration and of grace are despatched here. The Cardinal alone signed the decrees, which now, however, are sent to the Constable, who signs them conjointly with the Cardinal to give them greater authority. The affairs which it would be inconvenient to delay are despatched by the Cardinal alone. The admiral, moved by right considerations, has now accepted the office of governor, and the decrees are despatched under the signature of both. Some of them, the delay of which involves no danger, are sent to Burgos that they may be signed by all three of them. More of them could be sent. There is very much to be despatched, especially with respect to the war and the complaints of the soldiers desiring payment. The cardinal and the admiral work very hard, and settle everything properly. The grandees and cavaliers who are here are full of loyalty and zeal to serve your Majesty as much as possible with their

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haziendas. falta alguna gente de cavallo y mucha de pie. son ydos algunos con licencia y muchos sin ella. la Reyna ñra Señora esta buena de salud corporal. ha tres dias que no han servido a su alteza de manjar ni lo ha pedido ni mandado. oy jueves la han servido. en todos estos dias no ha seydo su alteza visitada de grandes ni cavalleros porque aquello es lo que mas conviene por diverssos respectos. el licenciado polanco no ha besado las manos a Su alteza porque parecio que no hera necessario. en el tiempo que estuvo aqui la Junta era Su Alteza muy vista y visitada en especial de uno de aquellos letrados que aqui tenian que cada dia y cada ora querian hablar a su alteza y le dava mucha importunidad. el marques de Denia vee y sirve a Su Alteza en el tiempo y maña (1) que es razon *muestra Su Alteza contentamiento de la estada de los grandes aqui. no rescibe alteracion por el estruendo y cosas que ay en palacio ni cerca de sy.* la muy illustre infante esta muy buena con mucho desseo de ver a la marquesa de Denia. cada dia se espera su venida. la carta que V. mt. le escrivio de su Real mano ha hecho mucha impression en muchos y hanse dado muchos treslados della.

cosas particulares de guerra que se hazen no se escriven

(1) manera.

(TRANSLATION.)

lives, houses, and property. Some cavalry and much infantry are wanted. Some are gone with leave of absence, and many more without. The Queen our lady is in good bodily health. During three days her Highness has not been served with anything to eat, nor has she asked or commanded [her meals]. To day, Thursday, they have served her. During all these days her Highness has not been visited by the grandees or cavaliers, because it seemed best on many different accounts. The licentiate Polanco has not kissed the hands of her Highness, as it did not seem to him necessary. During the time when the Junta was here her Highness was much seen and visited, especially by one of the lawyers who was staying here. Every day and every hour he wanted to speak with her Highness and gave her much trouble. The Marquis of Denia sees and serves her Highness at the time and in the manner requisite. *Her Highness shows great satisfaction that the grandees are here, and is not disturbed by the noise or the bustle in the palace and near her person.* The very illustrious Infanta is very well, and much desires to see the Marchioness of Denia, whose arrival is daily expected. The letter which your Majesty wrote her with your own royal hand has produced a deep impression on a great many. Many copies of it have been made.

Particulars relating to the war are not given here, because

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aqui porque por otras cartas se hazen saber. la villa y fortaleza de enpudia tomo don frances y la dexo a recaudo y se vino a villalva. Joan de padilla con alguna gente de cavallo y mucha de pie y la mayor parte del artilleria se ha allegado a enpudia. el fin de la junta y de toda aquella gente es trabajar de recrobrar esta villa y el lugar que aqui tenian que con gracia y favor de nuestro Señor perdieron. lo que de aca mas claramente se puede escrivir y avisar es que la gente deste exercito de V. mt. mengua cada dia y la gente de la Junta torna a crecer. los sermones y travajos del obispo de Çamora levantan muchos coraçones y por pecados de los que aca estamos es mucho numero de los creyentes porque de los labradores la mayor parte de hidalgos y escuderos muchos. los clerigos en especial de gente de labradores estan obstinados mucha y la mayor parte dellos. en la parte de campos y behetrias donde ha andado el obispo ay muchas voluntades dañadas. el almirante ayer miercoles diez e seys deste mes de henero con muy buen zelo y animo de servir hablo largamente con el cardenal y aun en forma de protestacion o requerimiento delante el licenciado polanco a quien tomo por testigo. le dixo que visto la mucha falta de dinero como aqui la ay y quantos se quexan y a quantos no se pagan sus sueldos, y que parte de la gente

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(Translation.)

they are contained in other letters. Don Frances took the town and castle of Empudia, left it well provided, and came to Villalba. Juan de Padilla, with some cavalry and a great number of foot and the greater portion of the artillery, has drawn near Empudia. The aim of the Junta and all those people is to endeavour to recover this town and place which they held, and which they lost through the grace and favour of our Lord. What can be most positively written and communicated from here is that the troops of your Majesty diminish every day, and the soldiers of the Junta again increase. The sermons and labours of the Bishop of Zamora move many hearts, and [to punish] us who are here for our sins the numbers of the believers is great, because they consist of the greater portion of the peasants, and amongst the *hidalgos* and squires there are a great many. A large, and even the larger portion, especially of the village priests, are very obstinate. In the open country and in the free towns where the bishop has been loyalty has been much damaged. Yesterday, Wednesday, the 16th of this month of January, the admiral spoke to the cardinal at great length, and with much zeal and desire to render good service. In the form of a protestation or summons, he told him, before the licentiate Polanco whom he took as witness, that considering the great want of money which is here, and how many complain that they do not receive their pay, and that a portion of the

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falta y la de la junta crece, que tiene por mejor y mas sana determinacion que el cardenal quede aqui en servico y guarda de la Reyna ñtra Señora con la gente de pie y cavallo que convenga y sea necessaria, y que toda la otra salga daqui y toda la otra que esta en los lugares fronteros junta toda que el y los otros grandes y cavalleros vayan a buscar a los desservidores de V. Mt., porque la cosa no se alargue mas, pues que se deve esperar en nuestro Señor que pues la causa es tan justa dara vitoria al exercito de V. Al. de esta opinion son otros grandes y cavalleros. el cardenal no tomo resolucion en la cosa. quedo para deliberacion. a otros grandes y cavalleros parece que no deve ser assi sino llamar mas gente y procurar de haver mas dinero assi del Señor Rey de portogal como de otras partes. en lo qual ay mucha dificultad. y que havido de aqui se puede ordenar de mañ a (1) que aquella gente de las comunidades cessen de su dañado proposito. N. S. alumbre lo que sea mas servido e ynspire a V. Mt. que mande en esto lo que mas convenga. los unos y los otros tienen muy buen fin y desseo. el nuncio de ñro muy Sancto padre esta en valladolid ha ocho dias. ha hablado con la que ellos llaman Junta general y con la Junta particular de valladolid. no es venido.

(1) manera.

(Translation.)

soldiers has fallen away whilst those of the Junta are on the increase, he holds it to be the best and most reasonable determination that the cardinal should remain here to serve and protect the Queen our lady, with as many soldiers and horsemen as may be proper and necessary. All the other troops should march from here to join the garrisons from all the frontier towns, and that he, the grandees and cavaliers, at the head of the united forces, should go in search of the enemies of your Majesty, so that this state of things might not continue long. For, the cause being so just, it is to be hoped in our Lord that he will give victory to the army of your Highness. Many of the grandees and cavaliers are of the same opinion; but the cardinal did not come to a conclusion, and the matter will be considered again. Other grandees and cavaliers thought it should not be done in this manner, but that greater forces ought to be collected, and more money procured from the King of Portugal, as well as from other sources, (which is very difficult,) and that done, things should be so arranged here that the army of the Junta may give up their damned purposes. May our Lord enlighten us, and inspire your Majesty to order what is best. Both sides entertain the same good faith and desire. The nuncio of the Holy Father has been eight days in Valladolid. He has spoken with the so called General Junta, and with the particular Junta of

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cada dia se espera. aquella Junta embio a llamar al embaxador del Rey de portugal el qual ha quatro dias que partio de aqui con cartas que tenia de creencia del Rey para ellos y otras para algunos particulares. fue con fin de atraerlos a servicio de V. Mt. si pudiere y sino de partes del Rey protestarles y apercebirles que con su estado y dineros poderosamente ayudaria al exercito de V. mt. y esto muy en forma. no es venido. mañana o otro dia se espera.

de las cosas de Burgos V. mt. sera informado por aquella via en el estado en que estan. aqui y en muchas partes estavan esperando la aprovacion de aquellos capitulos y creyan que fuera muy gran remedio. ciertamente fuera mucho contentamiento para todos que se otorgaran. no se dize por algunos dellos que conciernen la preheminencia Real de V. mt. porque esta ni se deve ni se puede tocar. el verdadero remedio y los capitulos verdaderos son sola la bienaventurada venida de V. mt. con la qual ha de ser todo remediado y reparado por acatamiento de ñtro Señor a quien V. mt. tiene tanta obligacion y de cuya sola mano ha Recebido tantos beneficios. que V. mt. acelere su venida y entretanto se certifique y se escriva con todos los correos que venieren porque con esta todas las cosas se reduziran a su servicio y bien de sus Rey-

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(Translation.)

Valladolid. He has not yet returned but is daily expected. The Junta sent for the ambassador of the King of Portugal, who four days ago went from here with letters of credence from the King to the Junta and some private persons. His aim is to try whether he can persuade them to return to the obedience of your Majesty, and if not, to protest and declare to them very formally in the name of the King that with his forces and his money he would powerfully succour the army of your Majesty. He is not yet come. To morrow or next day he is expected.

Of the state of affairs in Burgos your Majesty will be informed from there. Here and in many places they are waiting for your consent to the articles, and it is believed they will prove a great remedy. It would certainly be a great satisfaction to all if they were ratified; this, however, is not to be understood of some of them regarding the royal preeminence of your Majesty, which ought not and cannot be touched. The true remedy and the true articles, however, are solely in the happy advent of your Majesty, which will repair and put to rights everything, by the favour of our Lord, to whom your Majesty owes so much obligation, and from whose hand alone you have received so many favours. May your Majesty hasten your coming, and meanwhile certify and announce it by every courier who shall be sent. It [your coming] would settle all matters as your service and the weal

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nos. que ya por pecados nuestros de aca los robos y salteamientos en los caminos se han començado, las desobediencias crecen y perseveran. V. A. se conduela y aya compassion y ponga remedio a tantos males que sera el mayor servicio que a la divina Magt. podra hazer y el mayor bien que nunca Rey ni principe hizo a sus Reynos. y si por ventura lo que dios no permita oviesse dilacion seria causa de total dessolacion destos Reynos. y ahunque V. Mt. en las cosas del sacro imperio tenga mucha ocupacion Sancta y justa la destos Reynos sera justissima sanctissima y muy necessaria que sin muy grande ofenssa de nuestro Señor no se puede dissimular ni se deve dilatar y V. Al. es obligado por ley divina y humana de socorrer a lo mas necessario a lo mas peligroso a lo que agora sino se remedia no podra despues ser reparado. cuya sacra y Real persona ñtro Señor con su espiritu alunbre y esfuerce goarde (1) y trayga bien aventuradamente.

De Tordessillas a xviij de henero de MDxxj años.

el cardenal tiene deseo de juntarse con el condestable y seria cosa conveniente.

el licenciado polanco. [Rubrica.]

[*Sobre:*] Relacion para la magestad del emperador y Rey de españa ñtro Señor.

(1) Sic.

(TRANSLATION.)

of your kingdoms require. [To punish us] for our sins, robberies and assaults on the highways are beginning, and disobedience increases and continues. May your Highness have pity and compassion on us, and put an end to so many evils. That would be the greatest service you can render to His Divine Majesty, and the greatest benefit that any king or prince has ever bestowed on his kingdoms. If it should chance, which God forbid, that there should be delay, it would cause the utter destruction of these kingdoms; and although your Majesty is holily, justly, and greatly occupied in the affairs of the Holy Empire, still occupation in the affairs of these kingdoms will be most just, most sacred, and most necessary, and cannot, without great offence to our Lord, be ignored or delayed. By divine as well as by human law, your Highness is obliged to give help where it is most needed, where the danger is greatest, and where, if no remedy is applied at once, things cannot be mended hereafter. May our Lord enlighten your sacred and royal person, and strengthen and guard and happily bring you hither. From Tordesillas, 18th of January 1521.

The Cardinal wishes to join the Constable, and that would be a good thing.

The licentiate Polanco. [Sign manual.]

[*Addressed:*] Report to his Majesty the Emperor and King of Spain our Lord.

1521.

22nd January. **81.** The CARDINAL OF TORTOSA to the EMPEROR CHARLES.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Patronato Real. Comunidades de Castilla. Legajo* 1. *ff.* 201–204. *Autograph. The deciphering is by the Secretary Covos.*]

S. C. C. R. Mat.

a xvj del presente escrevi a Vña Alteza largamente y respondi a las postreras que hasta estonces tenia suyas que eran de xvij del passado como al recebir desta habra visto. despues he recebido otras de V. Mt. del primero deste, y porque assi sobre la mayor parte de lo que ha mandado escrevir a todos los gobernadores en general como lo de mi carta particular se ha escrito y respondido a Vña Alteza particularmente con la postrera mia de deziseis por esta me remitire a quello y tan solamente respondere a lo que conviene diziendo lo que fasta agora ha passado y se ofrece.

yo he enpeçado de dezir lo mas graciosamente que he podido al Almirante y a todos estos otros cavalleros lo que V. Alt. ha mandado y las causas que para ello me escrive acerca lo de my yda a Burgos a me juntar alla con el condestable y con el consejo y que en cumplirla contentasse al Almirante como V. Mt. me lo ha mandado. en diziendo de yrme luego el Almirante en presencia de todos enpeço a tufarse y afirmar con juramento que tan presto como yo saliesse para Burgos por una puerta de la villa que el saldria por otra para su casa y

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(TRANSLATION.)

81.

Sacred, imperial, catholic, royal Majesty,

On the 16th of the present month I wrote to your Highness a long letter in answer to yours of the 17th of last month, which I then had received, as you will know already when this letter arrives. Somewhat later I received other letters from your Majesty, dated the 1st of this month. As I have already answered in my last letter of the 16th to most of what the letters of your Highness to the governors in general, and to me in particular, contained, I refer you to its contents, and shall only answer here what is necessary, informing you of what up to this time has happened and occurred.

I told the admiral and all the other cavaliers in the most amiable manner possible what your Highness had commanded me, and your reasons for ordering me to go to Burgos to join there the Constable and the council, not, however, without satisfying the admiral. All this I did as your Majesty had ordered. As soon as I spoke of going [to Burgos] the admiral grew angry, swearing that as soon as I leave the town by the gate of Burgos he would leave it by another gate, and return to his house, abandoning the affairs of this

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dexaria aparte todo lo de aca. y replicandole yo que pensasse en ello y que despues ambos uno con otro lo communicassemos me dixo que desde estonces lo tenia acordado y deliberado y que no havia de pensar mas en este negocio y que si yo le dixiera antes esto que no hiziera venir la condesa su muger a esta villa a la qual llego ahora en estos dias. y tornandole yo a porfiar en la materia no aprovecho nada antes a lo que parecia confirmava mas sobre ello su proposito. yo he consultado acerca desto aparte con los otros cavalleros para saber que es lo que yo podria hazer en esto sin peligro de los negocios y sin gran daño de V. Alt. y a muchos dellos ha parecido que devo ir a Medina de rioseco y sperar alli en que sucedera lo de joan de padilla el qual cobro ayer con pactos la villa y fortaleza de Empudia y con menazas que hizo a la villa de Torre de Mormoion de quemarla forço de darle como le dio mil y quinientos ducados segun que nos lo ha escrito el Conde de Benavente demandandonos que aquel daño sea reparado y satisfecho a la villa porque diz que ha sydo causa de todo ello haver ella recebido a don frances de beamont con la otra gente que llevava y haver despues huydo dexando la villa indefensa. la qual diz que pudiera defender si quisiera. no se si podre contentar al Almirante que dexando a Tordesillas me vaya a Medina de Rioseco ahunque no yria alli de buena voluntad por los grandes peligros que en aquella villa he passado y ahora

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(Translation.)

place. I begged him to take some time to consider what he was saying, offering to consult with him afterwards. He said he had already considered and decided, and did not want to think any more on this subject; and if I had told him before he would not have asked his wife the countess to come to this place. She had arrived some days ago. I remonstrated, but without any other effect than to confirm him more in his purpose. I have spoken in secret with the other cavaliers, asking their opinion as to what I could do without endangering these affairs, and prejudicing the service of your Highness. Many of them thought I should go to Medina de Rioseco, and wait there to see what will be done by Juan de Padilla, who yesterday possessed himself of Empudia by capitulation, and forced Torre de Mormojon to pay him one thousand five hundred ducats by threatening to burn the place. The Count of Benavente has written this news, asking that the town be indemnified for its losses, as the cause of them was that it had received Don Frances de Beamonte and his troops, who afterwards abandoned it, although he could well have defended it if he had chosen. I do not know whether the admiral will be satisfied if I leave Tordesillas and go to Medina de Rioseco. I do not like that place, because I have been exposed there to so many dangers. And now it seems they would be

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parece que serian mayores por alguna prosperidat que de cada dia ganan los contrarios, mayormente que continuamente se toman todo el dinero de V. Alt. y de otros assy en tierra de campos como en otras partes, y como estan sin esperança de perdon como desesperados se encienden en grande manera a hazer todo el mal que pueden. mas no recuso peligros quando parece necessario que desta manera provea yo en los negocios publicos.

las provisiones para proceder contra los rebeldes y especialmente para lo de Valladolit no las habemos visto aca ni el Condestable nos escrive que las tenga. ahora le havemos escrito para saber si estan en su poder. vistas que las hayamos usaremos dellas segun meior vieremos convenir como lo manda V. Mt.

los procuradores y otras personas que fueron aca prendidos estan a muy buen recaudo pero todavia creo que habremos de librar algunos dellos en excambio de otros nuestros que tienen presos.

en lo del dinero crea V. Mt. que hazemos toda la dilengencia que es possible en haverlo assi de las rentas Reales como de los maestrazgos y emprestido.

manda V. Mt. que me detenga en estos Reynos tomando de su dinero para mi sustentacion y ahunque sobre esto le haya respondido no quiero callar lo que veo y se ha parecido por

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(Translation.)

still greater, for the enemy obtains every day some advantage. In particular they carry off all the moneys of your Majesty and of others in *Tierra de Campos*, as well as in other parts. As they have lost all hopes of being pardoned, they are in despair and excited and do as much evil as they can. Nevertheless, I do not fear danger whenever it is necessary to do anything for the public service.

We have not yet received the orders to proceed against the rebels, and in particular against those of Valladolid, nor has the Constable written that he has received them. We have now asked him whether he has. As soon as we are in possession of them we shall make use of them as it seems best to us, according to the command of your Majesty.

The Procurators and other prisoners who were seized here are well watched, but I think we must exchange some of them for prisoners they have made.

Concerning the money affairs, your Majesty may believe me that we do all that is possible to get money out of the royal rents, as well as from the masterships of the order and by loans.

Your Majesty orders me to remain in these kingdoms, and to take the means for my maintenance out of the public funds. Although I have already answered to this, I cannot

1521.

obra que como nuestra nacion sea asaz odiosa a espanyoles no convendria que yo usasse deste medio en tomarme dinero para que con ello se acrecentasse este odio. pero no embargante esto yo me deterne todos los dias con que podre remediarme con lo que mis amigos me enprestaren y quando aquello y la platilla que tengo me faltare estonces me sera forçado despidiendome de españa yrme a donde dios me ayudare y pudiere vivir mas descansado.

del testimonio que dize V. Alt. se tomo acerca lo que la Reyna nuestra Señora mando en el derramar de la gente de las comunidades crea V. Alt. que no se ha usado del y que se miro en ello por muchos respectos assy por lo passado como por lo venidero. lo que toca al servicio de la Reyna Nuestra Señora y de la Señora infanta y a sus criados todo se remitira al marques de Denia como lo manda V. Alt. ahunque en verdat el marques me es muy amigo y como todos no estan muy contentos del es menester algunas vezes moderar algo en esta materia.

a lo de las escripturas que aqui se tomaron ya parte dellas se ha tornado a los oficiales de Vĩa. Al. que antes las tenian. las otras me dizen que estan bien guardadas.

la provision que V. Mt. ha fecho del obispo de lugo para presidente del audiencia y Chancilleria de granada ha parecido

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(Translation.)

pass in silence what I see here and what is manifest. As our nation is so much detested by the Spaniards, it would not be good if I made use of your order to take money for my use for that would increase their hatred. Nevertheless, I shall remain here as long as I can, sustaining myself on what my friends lend me, and when that and the small amount of plate I possess are spent, then I must take leave of Spain, and go where, with the help of God, I can live and enjoy repose.

Your Highness may believe that no use was made of the attestation of the order of the Queen our lady to the commons to disband their troops, and the case was much considered from different sides with respect as well to what has happened as to what may happen. All that concerns the service of the Queen our lady and the señora Infanta and their servants, has been entrusted to the Marquis of Denia, as your Highness has commanded. The marquis is a great friend of mine, but as all complain of him it is sometimes necessary to moderate a little his zeal in these affairs.

A portion of the papers which we found here are already given back to the officers of your Highness, in whose keeping they were formerly. Others are carefully preserved.

The appointment which your Majesty has made of the Bishop of Lugo for the office of president of the court and

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aca muy bien. el dicho obispo fue en estos dias a madrigal y ahora le he embiado alla la provision y carta de v̄ra Al. sobrello. no se sabe ahun si aceptara el cargo.

en lo de sevilla se entiende ya y en lo que podemos trevaiamos de conservar aquella ciudat en su rreal servitio.

V̄ra mt. este descansado que no se tomara conclusion en cosa alguna en mas de haverlo de suplicar a V. Al. y escrevirle sobrello lo que aca pareciere.

en lo del derribar de la puerta desta villa questa en nonbre de fortaleza y la tenia quintanilla se entendera quando sea hora ahunque creo que el conde de Benavente se enoiara mucho dello.

ya se trevaia en el socorro de la fortaleza de segovia pero la gran falta que hay de dinero no da lugar de hazer todo lo que cumple al servicio de V̄ra Al. y ansi andamos proviendo a lo mas necessario ahunque aquella fortaleza sea de mucha importancia y de las principales destos Reynos.

en la mudança de la chancilleria no se puede entender pues ahun no tenemos las provisiones para ello.

despues de escripto esto veo sobre my yda a Burgos grandissima diversidat de pareceres y muchas divisiones y no se en que deteminarme y asi he acordado despachar acerca dello esta

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(Translation.)

the chancery of Granada has been well received here. The bishop went some days ago to Madrigal. I have sent him his nomination and the letter of your Highness. It is not yet known whether he will accept the place.

We are already occupied with the affairs of Sevilla. We shall do what we can to preserve that city in its loyalty to your Highness.

Your Majesty may be easy, nothing will be decided here without first asking your Highness and informing you of our opinion.

The gate of this town, which is known under the name of the fortress, and which was held by Quintanilla, will be demolished when it is time, although I believe the Count of Benavente will be very angry.

We are occupied in succouring the fortress of Segovia, but the great want of money does not permit us to do all that the service of your Highness requires. Thus we do only what is most necessary, although that fortress is of great importance, and one of the first of these kingdoms.

Concerning the removal of the chancery we have not yet done any thing, because we have not received orders.

Whilst writing this letter I learn that there is great diversity of opinion about my going to Burgos. I do not know what to do, and have therefore determined to send this

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posta. suplico a V. Mt. que con toda celeridat no obstante estas dicençiones me mande escrevir su determinada voluntad de lo que fuere servido que haga en mi yda o quedada para que visto aquello luego se ponga por obra lo que mandare V. Al.

cifra. porque el condestable y la mayor parte de los del conseio son muy odiosos destas comunidades levantadas muchos me dizen que si voy a burgos tanbien me aborresceran las mesmas comunidades. quanto a lo que toca a mi persona yo lo ternia en muy poco pero mueveme a prevenir desto a V. Al. el puro zelo que tengo a lo de su rreal servicio y a la conservacion de su preheminencia y auctoridad. piense V. Mt. en esto y sy por ventura mi yda a burgos podria danyar en algo a V. Mt. para que despues no se me pueda echar culpa alguna a cerimonia desto que mi estada aca o alla me verna a cuenta pues sea en donde mas fuere servicio de V. Mt.

aca havia necessidat de allcaldes y aguaziles y porque los mas de los ordinarios han estado y estan ausentes avemos fecho algunos alcaldes y aguaziles de corte a beneplacito de V. Al. conviene que V. Mt. no confirme a ninguno dellos el cargo sino que lo remita todo para quando plaziendo a dios sea en españa ahunque sobresto se den algunas cartas particulares mias. que ya vehe que aquellas no se pueden todas vezes escusar de escrevir. que ya el otro dia di una carta para V. Al. sobrel alguazilazgo que se dio a gaspar villafranca y quiere renun-

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(Translation.)

courier. I beseech your Majesty, notwithstanding these dissensions, to write me your determination and will whether I shall go or remain. As soon as I know it I shall execute your command.

[*Cipher.*] As the Constable and most of the councillors are very much hated by the commons who have rebelled, many tell me that if I go to Burgos I shall also be detested by them. In as far as my person is considered, I should not mind it, and it is only my zeal for your royal service and the wish to preserve your power and authority which induce me to inform your Highness of it. Your Majesty may consider whether my journey to Burgos may not perhaps do some injury to your service, but on no account must I afterwards be accused of having preferred the one or the other place, for I am ready to remain or to go wherever the service of your Majesty requires my presence.

There is a want of alcaldes and algaziles, because most of the usual ones have been and are absent, and we have appointed some alcaldes and algazils *de corte* at the pleasure of your Highness. It would be good not to confirm any one of them until, with the help of God, your Highness comes to Spain, although I have given to some of them letters of recommendation, which cannot always be refused. A few days ago I gave a letter of recommendation to Gaspar Villafranca,

1521.

ciarlo a Pedro de villafranca su hermano. de todo esto prevengo a V. Alt. por lo que cumple a su rreal servicio y a mi descargo. guarde nuestro Señor la vida y Real estado de Vña Mt. luengamente y con toda prosperidat. en Tordesyllas a xxij de enero 1521.

Despues de escripta esta he sabido como el obispo de Çamora ha tomado el correo que llevava el despacho susodicho mio de deziseys lo que cierto me ha pesado mucho por lo que importava ahunque parte del yba en cifra y porque es largo y esta posta no se detenga quedara lo duplicado del para la otra primera boieta la qual yra luego. Dat ut supra.

Vñe tres humble serviteur. El Cardl. dertusen.

31st January. **82.** THE INFANTA CATALINA to the EMPEROR CHARLES.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Estado. Castilla. Legajo* 8. *f.* 125. *Holograph.*]

A Su Magt. de la Señora ynfante doña Catalina. de xxvj (1) de enero.

Sacra e Cesarea Catolica magestad.

Al presente la Reyna mi Señora gracias a Nuestro Señor esta buena segun suele de salud aunque alguna pena y fatyga ha sentydo de la muerte de Marya de Cartama su moza de

(1) Sic.

(TRANSLATION.)

who wishes to exchange his place of algazil with Pedro de Villafranca, his brother. I inform your Highness of this in order that your Highness may decide what is best, and I may not be held responsible.

May our Lord guard the life and royal estate of your Majesty for long and in all prosperity.

From Tordesillas, 22nd of January 1521.

When I had finished this letter I was informed that the Bishop of Zamora has intercepted my letter of the 16th. Certainly I am very sorry for it considering its contents, although a portion of it was written in cipher. As it is a long letter, and this courier cannot wait, a duplicate of it will be sent in the next mail box, which will soon be despatched.

Datum ut supra.

Votre très humble serviteur,
the Cardinal of Tortosa.

82. To his Majesty. From the Señora Infanta Doña Catalina. 26th of January. (1)

Sacred, imperial, and catholic Majesty,

The health of the Queen my lady, thanks to our Lord, is good, as usual, although she has been somewhat afflicted and suffered inconveniences in consequence of the death of Maria

(1) Sic.

1521.

camara que la servya hasta que Su Alteza de otra se quiera servir. ya sabe Vr̃a Alteza lo mucho que se deve al padre guardyan e confesor de la Reyna mi Señora por el buen servicio que syempre ha hecho e cada dia haze asy a la Reyna mi Señora como a Vr̃a Mt. e a my ques my maestro dende my niñez y syenpre con mucho cuydado me a dotrynado allende del servicio continuo que tyene del Rey Nuestro padre que en la gloria sea como Vr̃a Alteza lo vyo y se yo muy cyerto que es muy leal servydor de Vr̃a Mat. porque conozco la boluntad que Vr̃a Mat. tyene de me hazer merced me atrebo a le suplycar tenga memorya Vr̃a Mat. para que de las co (1) ..... que agora han bacado el Reziba de Vr̃a Mat. mr̃ds asy por la persona que el es en quyen bien puede caber como por my suplicacion. guarde Nuestro Señor y trayga presto con salud a Vr̃a Mt. en sus Reynos como yo deseo.

de tordesyllas a xxxj.(2) de henero.

Suplyco a Vr̃a Mat. me perdone la mala letra por que ba de prysa.

Servydora de Vr̃a majestad que sus Reales manos besa.

La ynfante. [Rubrica.]

[*Sobre:*] A la Sacra e Cesarea magestad del enperador mi Señor.

(1) Los puntos indican roturas del original. (2) Sic.

(Translation.)

de Cartama, the maid who waited upon her, until her Highness could be prevailed upon to take another. Your Highness knows how much we are obliged to the father guardian, the confessor of the Queen my lady, for the loyal services he has always rendered and still renders to the Queen my lady, to your Majesty, and to me. He has been my tutor from my childhood, and has always instructed me with great care from the moment he received his office from the King our father, who is in glory, as your Highness knows. I am perfectly sure that he is a loyal servant of your Majesty. Knowing that your Majesty is always disposed to do me some favour, I take the liberty to beseech you not to forget him, and to give him one of [*paper gone*], which have become vacant, that he may receive favour from your Majesty, as well on his own account, for he deserves it, as on account of my supplication. May our Lord preserve your Majesty, and lead you back to your kingdoms in as good health as I desire.

From Tordesillas, 31st of January.

I beseech your Majesty to excuse my bad writing. I write in great haste.

Your Majesty's servant kisses your royal hands.

The Infanta. [Sign manual.]

[*Addressed:*] To his sacred and imperial Majesty, the Emperor my lord.

1521.
21st February. **83.** THE MARQUIS OF DENIA to the EMPEROR CHARLES.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Patronat Real. Comunidades de Castilla. Legajo* 3. *f.* 81. *Original in cipher. Deciphering by the Secretary Covos. Included in a letter from the Marquis to the Emperor of the* 21*st of February, which does not refer to Queen Juana.*]

[*Descifrado.*] Estos dias ha querido el Almirante tratar con los rebeldes con desabtoridad de V. Mgt. y aun de los que aqui estamos, y en esto el comendador mayor y yo no avemos venido, ni en todas estotras cosas pareciendonos que son en deservicio de V. Mt.

a quatro dias quel almirante entro a la rreyna nuestra Señora y le dixo que firmase Su Alteza, que se yba a perder el Reyno. Su Alteza respondio que no podia que estava ocupada. tornogelo a porfiar. en fin que Su Alteza no lo hizo ni lo hara a poder que yo pueda. dixele delante del cardenal que no devia de suplicar a Su Alteza pues sabe quanto deservicio de dios y de V. Mt. hera. respondiome monta que quiero que firme la Reyna de fez syno mi Reyna. dixele sy Su Alteza tuviese dispusicion para ello todos lo hariamos y trabajariamos y el Rey nuestro Señor ge lo suplicaria pero estando como esta no conviene pensallo quanto mas procurallo. lo que a esto me respondio al Cardenal doy por testigo. crea V. Mt. que es mayor trabajo el que passamos vuestros servidores en sufrir al

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(TRANSLATION.)

83.

[*Deciphering.*] These days the admiral intended to enter into negotiations with the rebels, in prejudice to the authority of your Majesty, and even of us who are here. We, the Comendador mayor and I, have not consented to this nor to any other thing that seems to us opposed to the service of your Majesty

Four days ago the admiral entered the room of the Queen our lady, and asked her to sign, because [otherwise] the kingdom would be lost. Her Highness answered that she could not, and that she was occupied. He insisted. At last, as her Highness did not do it,—and she shall never do it as long as I have power [to prevent it]—I said to him, in presence of the cardinal, that he ought not to ask her Highness [to sign], as he knows how much that is against the service of God and your Majesty. He answered, "Forsooth, if my queen does not sign, the Queen of Fez may." I said to him that, if her Highness were in a condition to do it, we should all exert ourselves and do what we could, and the King our lord would beg her [to sign]; but, being in the condition she is, it would be wrong to think of it, and much more so to ask her. The cardinal is my witness of what he answered. Your Majesty may believe me it is twenty times more difficult for us your servants to bear the admiral, and to prevent

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almirante y remediar lo que quiere hazer en daño de lo en que estamos que pelear con los traydores veynte vezes. a Vña Magestad suplico que todo me mande responder en cifra y no se sepa esto alla porque algunas cosas he escrito que se han sabido aqua y sy esto conviene al servicio de Vña Mt. yo lo he por bueno pero mas converna que aya buen secreto. en todas estas cosas han servido mucho el conde de haro y conde de Miranda y el comendador mayor e diego de Rojas. digo en las que baltasar de Riaño mi criado dyra a V. magt.

March ? **84.** THE EMPEROR CHARLES to the MARQUIS OF DENIA.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Patronato Real. Comunidades de Castilla. Legajo* 3. *f.* 82. *Draft written by the Secretary Covos.*]

Para la carta del marques de denia en cifra.

lo de los tratos nunca me ha parecido bien por facerse como vos decis tan en perjuicio de nuestra abtoridad Real y a esta cabsa como avreys visto sienpre he escripto que pues mi yda ha de ser tan presto lo dexen para estonces. bien cierto estoy que vos y el conde de Miranda y de haro y comendador mayor de Castilla y diego de Rojas avreys fecho e haseis en esto y en todo lo que sienpre hecisteis en las cosas de mi servicio.

lo del firmar la Reyna mi Señora no es bien que se suplique. pues no aprovecha cosa ninguna vos hezistes bien en estorvarlo.

(TRANSLATION.)

the evil he wishes to do, than to fight with the traitors. [*Common writing.*] I beg your Majesty to answer me all in cipher, and no one must know it. Several things which I had written are known here; and if that is of any advantage for the service of your Majesty, I must submit; but I think it would be better to keep it secret. In all these affairs the Count of Haro, the Count of Miranda, the Comendador Mayor, and Diego de Rojas, have rendered good service. I mean the affairs of which Baltasar de Riaño, my servant, will speak to your Majesty.

84. For the letter to the Marquis in cipher.

As for negotiating, I have never thought that it is good, because it is, as you say, so entirely in prejudice to my royal authority. For this reason I have, as you know, always written that, as I shall so soon go [to Spain], they are to leave it until then. I know very well the services which you, the counts of Miranda and of Haro, the Comendador Mayor of Castile, and Diego de Rojas have rendered and are rendering me in this and all my other affairs.

Concerning the signature of the Queen my lady, it is not well to ask it of her. As it would not do any good, you

1521.

y asy lo hazed. y por mi servicio sufrays esto que teneys por trabajo y lo lleveys lo mejor que pudieredes pues sera por tan poco tienpo. bien veo el mal recabdo que ay alla en lo de la hasienda e paga de la gente pero no se puede remediar hasta mi yda. al Rey de portugal se ha escripto continuamente.

12th March. **85.** The MARQUIS OF DENIA to the EMPEROR CHARLES.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Patronato Real. Comunidades de Castilla. Legajo* 3. *f.* 83. *Abstract made by the Secretary Covos for the use of the Emperor. The answer of the Emperor written on the margin is in the hand of Covos.*]

Relacion de las cartas del marques de denia.

A su Magt. del marques de denia. de xij de Março.

dize que es muy bien que Vña mt. escriva continuamente al Rey de portugal asi por lo que ha hecho como por lo que puede aprovechar para las cosas de aquellos rreynos y asimismo a la Señora Reyna de portugal.

Que ansi se ha fecho y hase sienpre.

que el enbaxador juan Rodriguez mansiño es verdadero servidor y se le deve descrevir dandole gracias.

iden. ya se le ha escrito.

(TRANSLATION.)

were right in preventing it. Do so in future, and for the sake of my service bear what is disagreeable to you, and see how you can best manage it. It is only for a short time. I know very well the bad state of the finances, and that the troops are not paid, but nothing can be done until I go [to Spain]. To the King of Portugal I have continually written.

85. Abstract from the letters of the Marquis of Denia.

From the Marquis of Denia to his Majesty. 12th of March.

He says it is very good that your Highness continually writes to the King of Portugal, on account of what he has done as well as of the services he is able still to render in the affairs of those kingdoms. [Write] to the Queen of Portugal also.

So it has been and shall always be done.

The ambassador Juan Rodriguez Mansiño is a faithful servant, and letters of thanks should be written to him.

Idem. They are already written.

1521.

que ha holgado etca. y que desto tenga especial cuidado etca. y que escrive a la Sña infante y porque para su aconpañamiento haze mucha falta la marquesa que pues con la yda del condestable los caminos estaran seguros que le ruega enbie luego por ella para que este alli etca.

que su Alteza esta buena y en lo demas como suele que se deve escrivir siempre a la Señora ynfante.

que Su Alteza tiene la persona del conde en la estima ques razon y que no pueden desirse palabras en su perjuizio a que su Alt. de credito que en las cosas que suplica por que la yda de Su. Alt. es tan breve & remite para alla.

dize la toma de torrelobaton.

la ida del obispo de Çamora a toledo.

que el conde de benavente no esta contento de algunas palabras que aca se dizen en su perjuizio y de no hazerse otras cosas que suplica a personas de su estado.

que lo que V. Mt. escrive de su yda es lo que conviene y con toda brevedad.

que alla se dize que vra Mt. ha de llevar alemanes y que como quiera que con su presencia no seran menester no dañaria llevar algunos.

(TRANSLATION.)

Has been much pleased, &c.

He must be especially watchful, &c.

Writes to the señora Infanta, &c.

As the company of the marchioness is very necessary for the señora Infanta, and as the roads are secure, since the constable has gone, begs him to send for her that she may stay there, &c. &c.

Her Highness is well, and in other respects the same as usual. Letters should be written to the señora Infanta.

Speaks of the loss of Torre Lobaton.

The march of the Bishop of Zamora to Toledo.

His Highness esteems the count as much as he deserves, and if some words to his prejudice have been said, his Highness does not believe them. As for the other things, he begs, as the departure of his Highness is so near at hand, &c., they may remain until then.

The Count of Benavente complains of certain words which have been said here to his prejudice, and begs that no other such things be done to persons of his rank.

What your Majesty writes about your journey [to Spain] is very good. As soon as possible.

It is said that your Highness will bring Germans (1) with you. Although your presence will render them less necessary, it would be good to bring some of them.

(1) Troops.

1521.

dize los tratos que el almirante ha traydo con los rebeldes y que el comendador de Castilla y el no han entendido en ellos.

dezir lo de su yda.

que alla se dize que V. Mt. ha de pasar adelante al casamiento del Señor ynfante y a verse con el Rey de vngria y que si esto se pudiese escusar seria gran bien porque yendo V. Mt. adelante parece que se alarga su venida lo qual es gran inconviniente para lo de alla.

que esta bien y que su magt. erna cuydado dello.

que en lo de los oficios de los criados que han sydo traydores ha hecho lo que Vra Mt. manda poniendo otros criados. suplica no provea de aquellos oficios hasta su yda.

(1) . . . . . desplazido del . . . . . recabdo que en esto se puso porque segund sus delitos fuera bien que se hiziera justicia.

que el ha procurado se haga justicia de los que han sydo traydores y que esto y otras cosas se hazen de otra manera y que de

(1) roto.

(TRANSLATION.)

Speaks of the negotiations of the admiral with the rebels, and says that the Comendador Mayor of Castile and he had no part in them.

Write to him about the journey.'

It is said that your Highness will go further away to witness the wedding of the señor Infante, and to see the King of Hungary. It would be good not to do so. For if your Highness goes further away, your journey [to Spain] would be retarded, which would be a great inconvenience for the affairs there.

It is well, and his Majesty will do so.

Concerning the places of the servants who have been traitors, he has done what your Majesty commands, appointing other servants (1). He begs your Highness not to provide for those offices until your arrival.

. . . . . displeased of . . . . . diligence which in this has been had; for, considering his crime, he should have been executed.

He insisted that those who have been traitors should be executed according to justice, but it has been decided in another manner.

(1) For the Queen.

1521.

la carcel se ha ydo niculas de yusausti que es el que altero la provincia de guipuzcoa.

que su Al. les ha escripto sobre esto.

que vña Mt. escriva a los governadores no se entremetan en las cosas de la casa de Su Al.

Suplica por el obispado de Jahen para su hijo y por los oficios para sus criados.

12th April. **86.** THE GOVERNORS, GRANDEES, &c., of SPAIN to the EMPEROR CHARLES.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Estado. Castilla. Legajo* 8. *f.* 91. *Autograph.*]

A Su Magestad. del Cardenal y Almirante y de los grandes que estan en Tordesillas. de xij. de abril. sobre lo de lutero.

S. Cessa. y Cathca. Magd.

El Cardenal de Tortosa y el Almirante de Castilla Gobernadores por Vuestra Cesarea Magestad en estos sus Reinos juntamente con los grandes y perlados Cavalleros y personas principales que residen en esta corte en servicio de V. Al. que aqui firmaron sus nombres por si y en nonbre de todos los otros grandes y perlados Cavalleros y otros personas princi-

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(TRANSLATION.)

Nicolas Yusausti has escaped from prison. He had instigated Guipuzcoa to rebel.

His Highness has written already.

That your Highness should write to the governors not to meddle in the affairs concerning the household of the Queen.

He begs the bishopric of Jaen for his son, and the places [in the household of the Queen] for his servants.

86. To his Majesty, from the cardinal and admiral, and the grandees who are at Tordesillas. 12th of April. Respecting Luther.

Imperial and catholic Majesty,

The Cardinal of Tortosa and the Admiral of Castile, governors for your Imperial Majesty in these your kingdoms, together with the grandees, prelates, cavaliers and principal persons who are staying at this court in the service of your highness, and who here sign their names for themselves and in the name of all the other grandees, prelates, cavaliers

1521.

pales de vuestra españa muy humilmente besamos los Reales pies y manos de vuestra Cesarea Magestad y le hazemos saber que en estos sus Reynos y Señorios por diversas partes se ha sabido la ciçania y cisma que el heresiarca Martin lutero ha senbrado en Alemaña entre los subdictos y naturales de V. Mdad. de que todos nosotros como Catholicos Christianos y zeladores de la fe y del servicio y honrra de V. Mt. havemos tenido y tenemos gran dolor y sentimiento mayormente porque havemos seydo certificados que no contento aquel seductor de haver pervertido y engañado a Alemania procura con sus malignas y diabolicas astucias pervertir y contaminar estos sus Reynos y Señorios de españa y que para ello con yncitacion y ayuda de algunos destas partes que dessean impedir o enervar el Sancto officio de la ynquisicion ha tenido forma de hazer traduzir y poner en lengua castellana sus eregias y blasfemias y enbiarlos a senbrar y publicar en esta Catholica nacion y porque de pequeña centella Christianissimo Señor suele nacer y levantarse grande yncendio y si cosa de tanto deservico de dios nuestro Señor y peligro de nuestra Sancta fee Catholica Vuestra magestad no la remediase con tienpo, mayormente estando algunas ciudades destos sus Reynos alteradas, podria causarse grande escandalo y mayor yncendio

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(Translation.)

and other principal persons of your kingdom of Spain, very humbly kiss the royal feet and hands of your imperial Majesty. We desire you to know that through various channels has been forwarded to these your kingdoms and seignories the intelligence of the discord and schism which the heresiarch Martin Luther has sown in Germany amongst the subjects and vassals of your Majesty, which has caused and still occasions to all of us, as catholic Christians and supporters of the faith and the service and honour of your Majesty, great pain and grief; especially because we have been certified that that seducer, not content with having perverted and deceived Germany, is endeavouring with his malignant and diabolical cunning to pervert and contaminate these your kingdoms and seignories of Spain. And to this end, at the instigation and with the aid of some persons of these parts, who desire to hinder and weaken the holy office of the Inquisition, he has procured means for translating and putting into the Castilian tongue his heresies and blasphemies, and to send them to be spread and published in this catholic nation. From a little spark, most christian lord, may spring and burst forth a great fire. If your Majesty does not speedily find a remedy for things which do such dishonour to God our Lord and are so dangerous to the holy catholic faith, a great scandal may the more easily be caused, and a still greater flame, and one which afterwards it may not be easy to extinguish, be kindled, since some cities of these kingdoms are

1521.

y tal que despues no se podria facilmente extinguir. por ende por nos y en nonbre de todos los ausentes muy humilmente y con toda ynstancia suplicamos a Va. Cesarea Magestad que como Christianissimo emperador y Catholico Rey nuestro Señor protector y defensor de nuestra Sancta fee Catholica y de la yglesia Romana nuestra madre ymitando sus gloriosos progenitores de ynmortal menoria le plega tomar esta causa de la fe por suya propia, como lo es, y con la devocion fervor y zelo que debe y es obligado la ayude defienda y favorezca y provea de tal manera que aquellas dañadas y perversas subjectiones cessen y sean estirpadas de forma que no solamente tan detestable y corrupta pestilencia no entre en estos sus Reynos y Señorios de españa, mas que por mano de V. Mt. sea esterminada y hechada de todo el mundo, mandando severa y reziamente castigar al dicho Martin luter heresiarcha y sus fautores y sequaces y quemar los libros que contienen sus blasfemias y eregias. e para el devido effecto desto mande V. Mt. proveer de todas las provisiones y remedios necessarios segund el Duque de Alva y los otros perlados y cavalleros que estan en essa su corte lo suplicaran por nuestra parte y suya a Vuestra Mt. Cesarea. en lo qual demas de hazer y cumplir lo que deve y es obligado como el principal principe Christiano

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(Translation.)

in a state of disturbance. Therefore, for ourselves and in the name of all who are absent, very humbly and with great urgency, we supplicate your imperial Majesty, as a most christian Emperor and catholic King our lord, the protector and defender of our holy catholic faith and of the church of Rome, our mother, that, imitating your glorious progenitors of immortal memory, it would please you to adopt this cause of the faith as your own, which indeed it is, and with the devotion, fervour, and zeal which you owe and by which you are bound, to aid, defend, and favour it, and to provide in such manner that those damnable and perverse subtilties may cease and be extirpated, so that not only this detestable and corrupt pestilence shall not enter into these your kingdoms and seignories of Spain, but that by the hand of your Majesty it may be extirpated and destroyed throughout all the world, commanding that the said arch heretic Martin Luther should be severely and effectively punished, together with his abettors and adherents, and that the books which contain his blasphemies and heresies be burnt. In order to obtain due effect, your Majesty should command all the measures and necessary remedies to be provided, according as the Duke of Alba and the other prelates and cavaliers who are at your court, will supplicate your imperial Majesty on our part and theirs. By doing so you will not only do and fulfil all that you are bound and obliged to perform, as the principal chris-

1521.

los grandes perlados y cavalleros destos sus Reynos y Señorios presentes y ausentes por ser la causa de dios nuestro Señor como es lo Recebiremos en tan grande y señalada merced y beneficio que ninguna podemos estimar mayor, que por cierto todo sentiriamos mucho que siendo Va. Mt. tan Christianissimo Rey y zeloso del servicio de Dios como todos conocemos y haviendo recevido de su divina mano tantos y tan grandes y poderosos Ymperio Reynos principados y Señorios permitiesse que en su tiempo y en el principio de su felicissimo imperio se sembrase tan diabolica heregia y se hiziesse tan gran cissura en la yglesia de dios en nuestra Sancta fe Catholica por mano de una tan ajecta y abominable persona de lo qual resultaria grand nota a V. Cesa. Magd. cuya vida y Cessareo estado nuestro Señor conserve y enxsalce tan luenga y prosperamente como dessea. de Tordesillas a xij de Abril de M.Dxxj años. A. Carl. dertusen. el almirante. el conde de venavente. el pryor de Castylla. don beltran de la cueva. el marques de Astorga. diego de rojas Conde Alferez. el conde de haro. el marques. [Sigue otra rubrica que no ha podido leerse.]

[*Sobre:*] A la S. Cessarea y Catholico Magestad del Emperador y Rey Nuestro Señor.

(Translation.)

tian prince, but we, the grandees, prelates, and cavaliers of these your kingdoms and seignories, present and absent, as this is the cause of God our Lord, will receive it also as so great and signal a mercy and benefit that none other can be esteemed greater. For, certainly, we should all be very sorry if your Majesty, being so very christian a King, and zealous in the service of God, as we all of us know, and having received from His divine hand so many and such great and powerful imperial kingdoms, principalities, and seignories, should permit that in your time, and in the beginning of your most happy reign, such a diabolical heresy should spread, and that there should be such a great schism in the Church of God and in our holy catholic faith, caused by such a mean and abominable person, from which would result great dishonour to your imperial Majesty, whose life and imperial estate may our Lord preserve and increase as long and as prosperously as you desire.

From Tordesillas, the 12th of April 1521. A. Cardinal of Tortosa. The Admiral. The Count of Benavente. The Prior of Castile. Don Beltran de la Cueva. The Marquis of Astorga. Diego de Rojas, Count Alferez. The Count of Haro. The Marquis. [One signature that is illegible.]

[*Addressed:*] To his imperial and catholic Majesty, the Emperor and King our lord.

1521.
12th April. **87.** INSTRUCTIONS for the DUKE OF ALVA.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Estado. Castilla. Legajo* 8. *f.* 92. *Autograph.*]

la creencia de los grandes remitida al duque dalva sobre lo de lutero.

Lo que el señor Duque de Alva por parte de los señores Governadores y de todos los otros grandes perlados cavalleros y perssonas principales destos Reynos ha de dezir a la Cesarea Mt. del Rey Nuestro Señor a quien escriven la carta que va con esta la qual su merced ge la a de dar de su mano es lo seguiente.

que en estos Reynos y Señorios de su magt. se ha sabido por diversas partes la ciçania cisma y ponçoñosa perversidad que el heresiarcha Martin luter ha sembrado en Alemaña y en aquellas partes septemtrionales de que todos estos Señores grandes perlados y cavalleros como Catholicos y celadores de la fe y honrra de Jesuchristo nuestro Redemptor y Señor han tenido gran dolor y sentimiento, especialmente por que han sabido que no contento el perverso suso nombrado haver ynficionado con su falsa y dañada doctrina mucha parte de Alemaña, mas que procura con sus diabolicas astucias ynfecionar y pervertir estos sus Reynos y Señorios de Spaña, y que para ello con desseo que vaya adelante su maligno proposito

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(TRANSLATION.)

87. Credentials of the Grandees to the Duke of Alba, concerning the affairs of Luther.

What the Duke of Alba, in the name of the governors and the other grandees, prelates, cavaliers, and principal persons of these kingdoms, is to say to his Imperial Majesty, the King our lord, to whom they write the letter which accompanies this, and which his Lordship will deliver with his own hand, is as follows.

In these kingdoms and dominions of his Majesty has been made known through different channels the discord, schism, and venomous perversity which the heresiarch Martin Luther has sown in Germany and in those northern countries; from the which all these grandees, prelates, and cavaliers, as catholics and maintainers of the faith and honour of Jesus Christ, our Redeemer and Lord, have endured great grief and pain, especially as they have been informed that the perverse man spoken of above, not content with having infected a great portion of Germany with his false and damnable doctrine, is also endeavouring to infect and pervert these his kingdoms and dominions of Spain with his diabolical cunning, and that for this reason, inspired with a desire that his malignant intent

1521.

e yncitado de algunos destas partes que procuran de sembrar aca aquella falsa doctrina a fin de impedir o enervar el Sancto oficio de la ynquisicion ha tenido formas de traduzir y poner en nuestra lengua castellana sus ponçoñosos herrores y blasfemias y enbiarlos a divulgar e publicar a estos Reynos de Su Magt. y porque como el sabe de pequeña centella suele levantarse grande incendio si en cosas semejantes que redundan en deservicio de Nuestro Señor y eversion de nuestra Sancta fee Catholica no se provee con tiempo de remedio conveniente, mayormente estando algunas comunidades destos Reynos alteradas, podriase causar y encender algund grand escandalo y novedad y tal que despues no se pudiesse tan facilmente extinguir. para cuyo remedio estos Señores Gobernadores grandes y perlados y cavalleros zelosos de la Sancta fee Catholica y del servicio y honrra de Su Cesarea Magt. Ruegan a su merced a quien han elegido para esto como a cavallero de Christo y zelador de su honrra y de su vicario y como a varon de Illustre estado y muy accepto a Su Magt. Cesarea le quiera hazer relacion de todo lo susodicho y de lo que mas a este proposito le parecera, y de su parte y la destos Señores le suplique que como christianissimo principe emperador Catholico Rey e Señor nuestro protector y defensor de la Iglesia Romana nuestra madre ymitando las pisadas de sus

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(Translation.)

should go forward, and incited thereunto by some of these countries who are endeavouring to sow that false doctrine here, in order to hinder and weaken the holy office of the inquisition, has procured his venomous errors and blasphemies to be translated and put into our Castilian tongue, and sent to be divulged and published in these kingdoms of his Majesty. We know that from small sparks a great fire may be kindled if in such matters as these, which are an offence against our Lord and a subversion of our holy catholic faith, the right remedy be not employed in time, and that especially when some communities of these kingdoms are in a disturbed state, so great scandals and innovations may be caused and kindled that it would be difficult afterwards to extinguish them. Therefore, for the remedy of these evils, these governors, grandees, prelates, and cavaliers, zealous for the holy catholic faith and the service and honour of his Imperial Majesty, beg your lordship, whom they have elected for this purpose as a champion of Christ, a zealous supporter of his honour and that of his vicar, as a man of illustrious name and very acceptable to his Imperial Majesty, to make a relation to him of all that has been said above and of what else may seem to you to be to the purpose. You will beg him, in your own name and in the name of us, these Lords, that being a most Christian Prince and Emperor, the catholic King, our Lord, protector and defender of the Roman church our mother, and following

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gloriosos progenitores de ynmortal memoria mande favorecer y favorezca la Sancta fe Catholica e yglesia Romana y proveer y remediarla, de tal manera que las dapñadas y diabolicas subjectiones y perversas opiniones dichas cessen y se extirpen, y que no solamente tan grand pestilencia no venga ni entre en estos sus Reynos e Señorios de españa mas que del todo cese y sea extirpada de Alemania y de aquellas partes aquilionales, y que esta vestidura individible de nuestro Redemtor quede como siempre fue entera e yncorrupta por mano de su Cessarea Magd. y que demas desto mande castigar a Martin luter perverso heresiarcha y a sus fauctores y seqùaces y pertinaces en su dañada secta. y cerca dello mande Su Cesarea Magd. dar todas las cartas y provisiones necesarias porque lo susodicho pueda consseguir su devido effecto. segun que parecera a su merced. y que señaladamente provea que ninguno sea osado so gravissimas penas de traer a españa ni oyr ni leer en ella las obras dañadas de la dicha secta y prohibir lo mismo en las otras tierras y Señorios que Su Magestad tiene alla, y escrivir y persuadir a todos los principes y potentados comarcanos donde aya ydo o pueda yr aquella tan gran pestilencia para que huyan della y no la reciban ni esperen en ninguna manera.

(Translation.)

the footsteps of his glorious forefathers of immortal memory, he would cause to be favoured and show favour to the holy catholic faith and Roman church, and take measures and concert remedies in such a manner that these damnable and diabolical subtilties and perverse opinions may cease and be extirpated, and that so great a pestilence be not only prevented from entering these his kingdoms and dominions of Spain, but also may entirely cease and be extirpated in Germany and those northern parts; so that the indivisible robe of our Redeemer may remain as it has ever been, entire and uncorrupt through the power of his imperial Majesty. Moreover, he should command Martin Luther to be chastised as a perverse heresiarch, together with all the abettors, followers, and adherents of that damnable sect. And to this end his imperial Majesty ought to command that all the necessary letters and provisions be despatched, in order that all that is necessary be carried out to full effect, according as it may seem best to your lordship. And may it especially be provided that no one shall dare, under the heaviest penalties, to introduce into Spain, or to hear read, or to read, the damnable writings of the above named sect. And may the same be also prohibited in the other countries and dominions which his Majesty there possesses. And may letters be written and all the princes and potentates of the neighbouring states, where this great pestilence has entered or may enter, be persuaded to flee from it and not to accept or tolerate it in any way.

1521.

otrosi los dichos Señores Governadores grandes perlados y cavalleros piden por mr̃d a su mr̃d que porque lo susodicho mejor se cumpla y execute quiera juntarse con los nuncios y embaxadores de Su Santidad y otros Señores desta nacion que estan en corte de Su Magestad y todos juntamente supliquen de parte de todos estos Reynos de españa quiera remediar lo susodicho y estirpar esta abhominable heregia, porque les parece que grand nota seria a Su Magestad que en el principio de su felicisimo Imperio siendo Su Magt. tan catholico y zeloso del servizio de dios y haviendole nuestro Señor dado tantos y tan grandes y poderosos Imperio Reynos e Señorios permitiesse tan gran cisura en la iglesia de dios por mano de una tan objecta pertinaz y luciferina persona.

demas de lo susodicho hablara su merced con los Señores Cardenales electores y grandes questan con Su Magd. y en su corte y en aquellas tierras y provincias para que a este effecto todos se alleguen favorezcan y ayuden, y cerca desto diga y haga lo que a su merced le parecera mas convenir al buen expediente del negocio y al servicio de dios nuestro Señor y conservacion de Nuestra Sancta fee catholica, y hazer en ello

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(Translation.)

Item. The said governors, grandees, prelates, and cavaliers beg it as a favour of your Lordship, in order that the above stated may be better fulfilled and executed, to unite with the nuncios and ambassadors of his Holiness, and with other lords of this nation who are staying at the court of his Majesty, and conjointly with all of them to beg him in the name of all these kingdoms of Spain that he would be pleased to remedy the above, and to extirpate this abominable heresy; because it seems to them that it would be a great reproach to his Majesty if at the beginning of his most happy reign, his Majesty, being so catholic a prince, and so zealous in the service of God, and our Lord having given him so many and such great and powerful kingdoms and dominions, he should permit so great a schism in the church of God to be made by the hand of such a mean, obstinate, and devilish (1) person.

Over and above this your lordship will speak with the cardinals, Princes Electors, and grandees, who are staying with his Majesty, at his court and in those countries and provinces, in order that all may unite together and show favour and lend aid for this purpose. With respect to this, your Lordship will say and do whatever may seem best for the good furtherance of this matter, and the service of God our Lord, and the preservation of our holy catholic faith. You will use in it all the industry and diligence which has always been

(1) luciferina.

1521.

la ynstancia y diligencias que de su singular zelo siempre se vio y conocio y se espera y confia.

fecha en Tordesillas a xij de Abril de MDxxj años.

A. Carl. dertusen. el almirante.

13th April. **88.** The PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL OF STATE to the EMPEROR CHARLES.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Estado. Castilla. Legajo* 9. *f.* 1. *Autograph.*]

A Su Magestad. de presidente y los del consejo. xiij de abril 1521.

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Sacra cesarea y Catholica magestad.

por breves del nuestro muy Sancto padre y cartas del cardenal de tortosa governador destos Reynos y de otras partes avemos entendido los errores y eregias que martin luter aleman a levantado contra nuestra Sancta fe Catholica y avemos sabido el gran sentimiento que V. Mt. hizo luego que esto vino a su noticia y con quanto cuydado y diligencia mando entender en el rremedio dello, y porque somos certificados que todo lo que V. A. hizo y lo que su Santidad contra este erege proveyo y mando no a bastado fasta agora para le apartar de sus errores y heregia antes ha tenido y tiene

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(TRANSLATION.)

known to proceed from your singular zeal, and which may be expected and hoped from it.

Given at Tordesillas, 12th of April 1521.

A. Cardinal of Tortosa. The Admiral.

88. To his Majesty. From the president and the members of the Council. 13th of April, 1521.

Sacred, imperial, and catholic Majesty,

Through briefs of our most Holy Father, and letters from the Cardinal of Tortosa, governor of these kingdoms, and from other persons, we have heard of the errors and heresies which Martin Luther, a German, has raised against our holy catholic faith, and we have heard of the great grief felt by your Majesty as soon as this matter came to your notice, and with how much care and diligence you commanded that a remedy should be found for it. Because we are informed that all which your Highness did, and all which his Holiness commanded and provided, against this heretic, was not sufficient to turn him from his errors and heresies, but, on the contrary,

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algunos que le siguen y favorecen, de que nuestro Señor dios es muy deservido y su Santa yglesia muy ofendida acordamos de escrivir a V. Mt. cerca dello. no porque no tengamos entera confiança y certenidad que V. Mt. deve continuamente entender en estirpar estos errores y eregia y defender nuestra Sancta fe y la Sede apostolica y al vicario de Christo, pero por cunplir con dios y con V. A. y con la obligacion que como Christianos tenemos a la defension de su fe traeremos a la memoria de V. Mt. la que el tiene como rrey Catolico de esta nuestra españa y despues como enperador de Alemaña, porque dexando aparte lo que V. A. como principe Christiano es tenudo (1) a hazer en semejante caso por defension de la fe en el castigo deste malvado herege es tanbien muy grande la obligacion que a ello tiene como rrey y Señor destos rreynos y sucesor en ellos como nieto de aquellos gloriosos y Catholicos Reyes don fernando y doña ysabel vuestros aguelos que como V. Mt. sabe desde el principio de su bienaventurado rreynado con gran estudio se desvelaron en el castigo de los ereges y en desarraygar de sus rreynos toda especie de heregia ynstituyendo para ello el oficio de la Sancta ynquisicion y porque la bivienda de los moros y judios que avia en Castilla no pervertiese la yntincion de los verdaderos Christianos ni rreci-

(1) Sic.

(TRANSLATION.)

that he has found and still has some followers and protectors, by which our Lord God is greatly injured, and his holy Church much offended, we have agreed to write to your Majesty concerning this matter. Not that we have not entire confidence and certainty that your Majesty will constantly endeavour to extirpate these errors and heresy, and defend our holy faith and the Apostolic See, and the Vicar of Christ, but, in order to fulfil our duty towards God and your Highness, and because of the obligation we are under as Christians to defend the faith, we remind your Majesty of what is due from you, the catholic King of this our Spain, and the Emperor of Germany. For, not to mention what your Highness is bound to do, as a Christian prince, in such a case for the defence of the faith and the punishment of this wicked heretic, very great is your obligation as king and lord of these kingdoms, and successor and grandson of those glorious and catholic King and Queen, Don Ferdinand and Doña Isabel, your ancestors, who, as your Majesty knows, from the beginning of their most happy reign, with great diligence applied themselves to the chastisement of heretics, and the rooting out of all kinds of heresy from their kingdoms, instituting to this end the office of the Holy Inquisition. And in order that the mode of life of the Moors and Jews who were in Castile should not pervert the minds of the true Christians, and that

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biesen perjuizio de su dañada conversacion mandaron echar y echaron Sus Altezas a todos los moros y judios de Castilla aviendo por bien de perder mucha parte de sus rentas rreales por acrecentar nuestra Sancta fe y apartar todo lo que podia ser estorvo del servicio de dios. y asy nuestro Señor por tan señalados servicios y tan Sancta y derecha yntincion y obras tan catolicas ensancho sus rreynos y Señorios y les dio sienpre vitoria contra sus adversarios y fue cabsa que vuestra Real sucesion fuese tan poderosa y de tantos Reynos como V. Mt. posee. y este enxenplo y espiriencia deve mover las entrañas de V. A. a dolerse desta eregia y no consentir que en tiempo de su Sacro ynperio prevalezca y tener firme esperança que si este pestifero luter (1) . . . ario de Christo es por vuestra mano castigado tomara dios la defension de . . . . . pacific . . . constituyra vuestra rreal persona en mas poderoso estado y le enseñara . . . . . fe y devocion que los otros enparadores . . . . . mente ha succedido tuvieron a la Sede apostolica y co . . . ues que el Sacro imperio fue transferido de grecia . . . . . los alemanes y emperadores vuestros predecessores an sido y

(1) Los puntos indican roturas en el original.

(Translation.)

they should not receive injury from their damnable conversation, their Highnesses commanded that all the Moors and Jews should be driven away, and drove them out of Castile, consenting to lose a large portion of their royal revenues in order to increase our holy faith, and to put away all that might be a hindrance to the service of God.

Wherefore our Lord, as a reward for such signal services and such holy and right intentions and such catholic works, extended their kingdoms and dominions, and always gave them victory over their enemies. This was the cause why your royal succession was so powerful, and why you have so many kingdoms as you possess. This example and experience ought to stir the bowels of your Majesty to grieve over this heresy, and not to allow it to prevail in the time of your sacred empire, and to have a firm hope that if this pestiferous Luther (1) . . . . . of Christ is chastised by your hand, God will take the defence of . . . . . peaceful . . . . . institute your royal person in more powerful state and will teach you . . . . . faith and devotion that the other Emperors . . . . . has taken place, they had at the Apostolic See and . . . . . that the holy empire was transferred from Greece . . . . . the Germans and the Emperors your pre-

(1) Paper gone.

1521.

fueron verdaderos abogados y defensores de la Sancta madre yglesia de rroma y persiguidores de los ereges. y desto dan testimonio las leyes y Sacras constituciones por ellos fechas en favor de la libertad eclesiastica y espulsion y castigo de los ereges y la mucha sangre que los alemanes derramaron por estirpar la eregia de bohemia. pues doblada es y mucho mayor la obligacion que V. Mt. tiene al castigo deste erege pues teneis Señor origen y descendencia no solo destos ynvencissimos enperadores mas de aquellos rreyes Catolicos cuyo inperio y Reynos y Señorios juntamente y en tan tierna edad poseeys. y no syn gran cabsa y misterio prepuso dios a V. Mt. en tan alto trono sino porque fuesedes mas poderoso para defension de su yglesia y castigo de los ereges. y asy suplicamos a V. Mt. que demas de mandar cunplir en todo lo que Su Santidad ha declarado y proveydo y mandado contra este Martino luter erege y sus faborecedores y sequaces mande que la velicosa y Christiana gente alemana de vuestro inperio se levante y mueva poderosamente y con mano armada a prender este erege y entergarle preso a nuestro muy Sancto padre con todos sus libros y escripturas ereticas para que Su Santidad mande hesecutar lo que contra el tiene determinado. y no dexe V. Mt. de gastar en la prosecucion desto su patrimonio rreal pues sera

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(Translation.)

decessors have been and were true advocates and defenders of our holy mother, the church of Rome, and persecutors of heretics. Of this proof is given by the laws and sacred constitutions which were made by them in favour of ecclesiastical liberty, the repression and punishment of heretics, and the quantity of blood shed by the Germans to extirpate heresy out of Bohemia. The obligation under which your Majesty lies to chastise this heretic is doubled and rendered much greater as you have your origin and descent, not only from these invincible Emperors, but also from the catholic king and queen whose empire and kingdoms and seignories jointly and at such a tender age you possess. Not without great and mysterious cause has God raised your Majesty to so great a throne, but that you might be more powerful for the defence of his church and the punishment of heretics. Therefore we supplicate your Majesty that, besides commanding that everything should be done which his Holiness has declared and provided and commanded against this heretic, Martin Luther, his abettors and followers, you should command that the warlike and christian German people of your empire should rise and be powerfully moved, and with arms in their hand take this heretic, and deliver him up to our most holy Father, with all his books and heretical writings, in order that his Holiness may command that to be executed against him which he has determined upon. And let not your

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cabsa de lo acrecentar y alargar la vida tenporal y asegurar la eterna a V. Mt. y porque esta eregia no se estienda a estos vuestros rreynos entre otras provisiones que para ello se haran se han dado en el consejo cartas de Vuestra Mt. para todo el rreyno proybiendo con grandes penas que ninguna persona venda ni tenga ni lea ni predique los libros deste erege ni trate de sus herrores ni eregias publica ny secretamente. y de la execucion desto se tendra entero cuydado como cosa que tanto ymporta al servicio de dios y de V. Mt. y bien destos vuestros Reynos. Nuestro Señor la vida y muy poderoso estado de V. A. acresciente con mas Reynos y Señorios. de burgos xiij de Abril 1521.

Archiep̃s. granatīs. licenciatus Çapata. licenciatus de Santiago. don alonso de Castilla. doctor Cabrero. lictus. de qualla. el doctor beltran. Doctor guevara.

[*Sobre:*] A la S. C. R. C. Mt. el enperador nuestro Señor.

(Translation.)

Majesty hesitate to spend your royal patrimony in the prosecution of this, since it will be the means of increasing your temporal and of assuring to your Majesty eternal life. In order that this heresy may not extend to these your kingdoms, amongst other provisions which will be made to that end, letters have been issued in the name of your Majesty by the council, prohibiting throughout the kingdom, under great penalties, that any one shall sell or keep, or read or preach from the books of this heretic, or speak of his errors and heresies, publicly or secretly. The greatest care will be taken in the execution of this mandate, as a matter which greatly concerns the service of God and your Majesty, and the welfare of these your kingdoms. May the Lord protect the life and increase the very powerful state of your Majesty with many more kingdoms and seignories.

From Burgos, 13th of April, 1521.

The Archbishop of Granada. Licentiate Zapata. Licentiate de Santiago. Don Alonso de Castilla. Doctor Cabrero. Licentiate de Qualla. Doctor Beltran. Doctor Guevara.

[*Addressed:*] To his sacred, imperial, royal, and catholic majesty, the Emperor, our lord.

1521.
14th April. **89.** The BISHOP OF OVIEDO to the EMPEROR CHARLES.

[*Simancas. Estado. Castilla. Legajo* 9. *f.* 2. *Autograph.*]

A Su Mt. del obispo de Oviedo xiiij de Abril 1521.

S. Cesa. Rl. Mat.

los governadores grandes y cavalleros que aqui estan en servicio de V. R. Mat. me encomendaron que por que de los prelados del Reyno aqui no resydia otro que yo que en nonbre de los otros absentes y mio suplicase a V. R. Mat. lo mesmo que ellos le enbian supplicar cerca de la extirpacion de la pestifera seta de Martino lutero, y aunque seyendo la causa de la calidad que es, toda supplicacion para con Vra Cesarea Mat. deve ser escusada teniendo segun que todos tenemos por cierto que lo mandara remediar como de Su Christianissima e rreal consciencia se espera, pero por complir lo que me fue encomendado y hazer lo que los eclesiasticos devemos a la defensyon y conservacion de la fee catholica e a la reverencia e obediencia de Nuestro Señor el papa e de su Sancta sede apostolica, con la mayor afficion y devocion que puedo y devo en nonbre de todos los prelados destos sus Reynos e myo muy humilmente suplico a V. R. Mat. que como Christianissimo emperador Rey Catholico y Señor protector y defensor de la yglesya Catholica procure y mande echar de

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(TRANSLATION.)

89. To his Majesty. From the Bishop of Oviedo. 14th of April 1521.

Sacred, imperial, and royal Majesty,

The governors, grandees, and cavaliers, who are here in the service of your royal Majesty, have requested me, as no other prelates of the kingdom reside here except myself, that in the name of the others who are absent, and in my own name, I should supplicate from your royal Majesty the same things that they have sent to entreat from you respecting the extirpation of the pestilent sect of Martin Luther. Although the matter is of the kind that all supplications with respect to it made to your imperial Majesty are superfluous, as we all of us hold it for certain that you will provide a remedy for it, as is to be expected from your most christian and royal conscience, yet in order to fulfil that which was commended to me, and to do that which as ecclesiastics we ought for the defence and preservation of the Catholic faith, and the reverence and obedience due to our Lord, the Pope and his holy apostolic see, with the greatest affection and devotion which I ought and can feel, and in the name of all the prelates of these your kingdoms and in my own name, I very humbly pray your Majesty that as most Christian Emperor, Catholic King and lord, and defender of the Catholic Church, you would procure and command so

1521.

todos sus Reynos e Señorios setemptrionales tan detestable abominacion, e no permita ni de lugar que pase a nuestra Region occidental a ynficionar estos sus Reynos e Señorios de españa. constame Christianisimo muy poderoso Señor por letras y mensajeros la voluntad y voto de los prelados de españa muy humiles e devotos servidores de V. A. ser conformes con esta mi suplicacion, y por esto lo oso afirmar y suplicar en nonbre de todos e mio. en lo qual demas de hazer Va. Cesa. Mt. lo que tan Christianissimo e Catholico emperador Rey e Señor deve e del se espera todos lo Recibiremos en muy crescida e señalada merced y beneficio. y por ello con la Reverencia que devemos muy humilmente besamos Sus Cesareos y Reales pies y manos. conserve y ensalce Nuestro Señor la vida Cesareo y Real estado de V. Md. tan luenga y prosperamente como desea. de Tordesyllas a xiiij de Abril 1521.

de V. S. Cesarea Mtat. muy humil e devotissimo siervo y capellan que Sus Cesareos Reales pies y manos muy humilmente besa.

el obyspo de ovyedo.

[*Sobre:*] A la S. Cesa. Cathoca. Mtat. Xpianissimo enperador semper Augusto Rey de las Spañas nuestro Soberano Señor.

(Translation.)

detestable an abomination to be driven out of all your northern kingdoms and seignories, and not permit or give occasion that it should pass into our western regions to infect these your kingdoms and seignories of Spain. Most Christian and very powerful Lord, I know from letters and messengers that the will and desire of the prelates of Spain, who are very humble and devoted servants of your Highness, are in accord with this my supplication, and I therefore venture to affirm and proffer it in the name of all of them and in my own. Your imperial Majesty is not only bound to do it, as is expected from you as a most Christian and Catholic Emperor, King, and lord, but we shall all receive it as a very great and most signal favour and benefit; and for this cause, with the reverence due from us, we very humbly kiss your imperial and royal feet and hands. May our Lord preserve and exalt the life and imperial and royal state of your Majesty as long and prosperously as you desire.

From Tordesillas, the 14th of April 1521.

Imperial Majesty, your most humble and devoted servant and chaplain very humbly kisses your imperial and royal feet and hands.

The Bishop of Oviedo.

[*Addressed:*] To his Imperial and Catholic Majesty, the most Christian and august Emperor, the King of Spain our Sovereign lord.

1521.
15th June. **90.** FRAY JUAN DE AVILA to the EMPEROR CHARLES.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Estado. Castilla. Legajo* 8. *f.* 124. *Holograph.*]

A Su Magt. del confesor de la Reyna. a xv. de Junio.

Sacra Cesarea e muy Catolica Majestad,

muchas vezes a Vña Mt. he escripto lo que aca ay que saber de Su Altesa y al presente no ay mas de lo que Vña Mt. alla avra sabido e sydo ynformado. esta buena y como nunca ha tomado servicio de muger todo cae sobre mi. fasta agora yo he servido a Su Alteza lo que Vña Mat. sabe antes y despues que viniese en estos sus rreynos Vña Majestad a rreynar. lo qual ha seydo con toda la fidelidad y trabajo que yo he podido como todos lo saben. y con mi trabajo y servicio quando me lo dexa haser Vña Magt. esto syn enojo. y el Marques huelga e descansa. y como yo no obligo a Vña Mat. por mis cartas a mas galardon tenporal de lo que Vña Mat. servido fuere e quisiere comigo descargar ofreciendo yo a dios mi trabajo, no seria mucho, ya que por la conciencia no quiere el marques dexar de haserme fatiga, lo dexase e hiciese porque a Vña Magt. no me quexase. el servicio que a Su Altesa yo hago en la visitar e consolar que lo ha bien menester y a la Señora infante querria que lo dexasse, o que no hisiese syno lo que el dixese, y por no

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(TRANSLATION.)

90. To his Majesty. From the confessor of the Queen. 15th of June.

Sacred, imperial, and catholic Majesty,

I have many times written to your Majesty the news worth knowing about her Highness. At present there is nothing more to be said than what your Majesty has learnt and knows already. She is well. As she has not accepted the service of any woman, I have now to do all. I have served her Highness, as your Majesty knows, before and since you came to rule these your kingdoms, and have fulfilled my duties with all possible fidelity and diligence, as is known to all. If your Majesty permits me to discharge my labours and services, I shall be satisfied, and the marquis may enjoy ease and repose. As I have never begged of your Majesty in my letters any other worldly reward except what your Majesty should be pleased and inclined to bestow on me, performing my labours for God's sake, it would not be too much if the marquis, although for conscience sake he does not abstain from creating difficulties for me, would do so in order not to force me to complain to your Majesty. He wishes me to discontinue the service, which by visiting and consoling her, of which she is in so great need, I render to her Highness, and also to the señora Infanta, or at least that I should do it in such a manner as he desires. As he does not dare to tell me this in

1521.

desirme esto por palabras para que yo lo entienda tiene todas las formas que puede para fatigarme e molestarme como el Reverend.mo Cardenal aqui a visto. yo por servir a Vña Mt. e cunplir su obediencia como siervo suyo en lo que me tiene mandado sufro e padezco lo mejor que yo puedo. a Vuestra Magt. suplico por servicio de dios le ynbie a mandar, y a la marquesa tanbien, que me tracten bien e no me molesten segund ge lo mando quando de aqui partio, y que no me estorven haser el servicio que devo a Vña Mt. y a su madre y hermana segund dios e mi conciencia me obliga por la confiança que Vña Magt. de mi tiene hecha, que en mi verdad no me queda de honbre ni de religioso cosa con que lo pueda pasar e çufrir. baste que estamos muertos de hanbre, un año sin pagar lo necessario para nuestro sostenimiento. por un solo dios suplico a Vt. Magt. lo mande proveer pues yo no tengo otro Señor despues de Dios ni lo tengo de pedir a otro por acatamiento de Vña Mt. cuya vida e ynperial estado dios todo poderoso por largos tienpos ensalce y prospere en su servicio.

desta su villa de Tordesillas a xv. dias de Junio.

Muy Catholica Majestad besa los pies e las manos de Vña Magt. el su pobre frayre e capellan.

frey Juan de Avila confessor. [Rubrica.]

(TRANSLATION.)

words, he endeavours to let me understand it by the manner in which he impedes and molests me, as the most reverend cardinal has seen. Wishing to be of use to your Majesty, and with the obedience of a servant to do what you have commanded me, I suffer and bear all as best I can. I beseech your Majesty for God's sake to order the marquis and the marchioness to treat me well and not to molest me, as you commanded them when you departed from here, and not to prevent me from doing my duty towards your Majesty, your mother, and your sister, as I am bound in conscience and by the command of God, because of the trust your Majesty has placed in me. On my word there remains nothing that I do not suffer as man and as priest. It is sufficient to state that we are starving, as for the last year nothing has been paid for our maintenance. By the only God I beseech your Majesty to give orders to supply us. Next to God I have no other lord, nor does my attachment to your Majesty permit me to wish to have any other.

God Almighty guard your life and imperial state for a great many years, and exalt and prosper you for his service.

From the town of Tordesillas, 15th of June.

Very Catholic Majesty, your poor friar and chaplain kisses the feet and hands of your Majesty.

Fray Juan de Avila, confessor. [Sign manual.]

1521.
28th July.
5th August.

91. THE MARQUIS OF DENIA to the EMPEROR CHARLES.

[*Simancas. Estado. Legajo* 8. *f.* 164. *Abstract made for the use of the Emperor by the Secretary Covos.*]

dize que la Reyna ñra Señora esta buena de salud aunque los dias antes estuvo alterada porque le daño mucho la soledad que tuvo quando le quitaron las mugeres las quales se le volvieron y se acabo con su Alteza aunque con trabajo se vistiese y acostese en cama.

asymismo lo esta la Sña infante y recibe muy grand merced con las cartas de Vña Mgd. que siempre le deve escrevir.

que muchos de los que deservieron a V. Mgd. en lo de las comunidades despues que vieron que su opinion yva cuesta abaxo se vinieron a Vño servicio y son mejor tratados que los servidores que no se devria permitir quedasen sin castigo.

30th July.

92. The MARCHIONESS OF DENIA to the EMPEROR CHARLES.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Estado. Castilla. Legajo* 8. *f.* 114. *Autograph.*]

A Su Mt. de la marquesa de denia. a xxx de jullio.

Sacra Cesarea Catta. Magt.

yo bine aqui como V. Mt. mando a do halle todas las cosas muy mudadas de como antes estavan. bien se recordara

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(TRANSLATION.)

91.

He says that the Queen our lady is well, although she has been suffering some time ago, because her loneliness when the women were sent away did her much harm. They have now returned, and her Highness has been prevailed upon, although with great difficulty, to dress and to go to bed.

The señora Infanta is also well, and is very thankful for the letters from your Majesty, who always should write to her.

Many of those who deserted the service of your Majesty in the time of the commons, and when they saw that their fortune was waning returned to your obedience, are better treated than your faithful servants. They should not be allowed to escape punishment.

92. To his Majesty, from the Marchioness of Denia. 30th of July.

Sacred, imperial, and catholic Majesiy,

I returned to this place, as your Majesty had ordered, and found everything much changed from what it had been

1521.

V. Mt. quanto se contento de la manera y crianza que la Señora ynfante tenia. y con parecer esto a V. Mt. yo me tuve por muy bien pagada del trabajo que avia pasado en servir a Su Alteza. agora poderoso Señor esta todo muy trocado porque aun que la Señora ynfante sea como la es la persona mas bien ynclinada que en todo el mundo puede ser la hedad da ocasion a que las que estan cave Su Alteza dañan algo de lo que cumple a su servicio y criança. que como la Reyna Nuestra Señora no dexa entrar adonde Su Alteza duerme a nadie syno a juana cortes y a su ama y a otras dos o tres que son de la opinion destas yo no puedo aprovechar como querria en servicio de la Señora ynfante. y ver esto no es la cosa que menos pena me da. pareciome que hera obligada de hacello saber a V. Mt. por mi descargo y para que V. Mt. mande lo que sea servido. que en verdad Señor a servicio de dios y de V. Mt. conviene asy. suplico a V. Mt. que esto no se sepa aqui que yo lo he escripto a V. Mt. porque seria acabar de perder esto poco que acqui ay. Nuestro Señor Vuestra Cesarea Mt. guarde bienaventuradamente con acrecentamiento de Su Real corona. de tordesillas a xxx de Julio 1521.

(Translation.)

formerly. Your Majesty will remember how satisfied you were with the manner of bringing up the señora Infanta. This good opinion of your Majesty was an ample reward for the labour I had had in serving her Highness. Now, mighty lord, everything is much changed. Although the señora Infanta is the best intentioned person in the whole world, her age gives opportunity to those who are near her Highness to prejudice in some degree the service and education of her Highness. The Queen our lady does not permit any one, except Juana Cortes, and her nurse, and two or three others who entertain the same opinions, to enter the bedroom of her Highness. Thus I cannot render myself as useful as I would in the service of the señora Infanta. To witness this is the thing which gives me the greatest pain. I thought it my duty to let your Majesty know it, to relieve my conscience, and that your Majesty may order what you think may be for your interest. In truth, señor, duty to God and your Majesty renders it necessary. I beseech your Majesty that nothing of what I write to your Majesty may be known here, for that would be equal to destroying the little [authority] which I still have.

May our Lord guard your Imperial Majesty in happiness and increase your royal crown.

From Tordesillas, 30th of July 1521.

1521.

de Vŕa Cesarya Magt. syerva y vasalla que sus pies y manos besa. la marquesa de denia.

[*Sobre:*] A la Cesarea Sacra Catta. Magt. del Emperador y Rey de Romanos y de España y de las . . . . . Nŕo Señor.

19th August. **93.** The INFANTA CATALINA to the EMPEROR CHARLES.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Estado. Castilla. Legajo* 8. *f.* 123. *Autograph. The postscriptum is holograph.*]

A Su Magt. de la Señora ynfante. a xix de Agosto.

S. C. C. Mt.

Yo he escrito a Vŕa Magt. algunas cartas y todas aquellas han seydo como el marques y la marquesa han querido porque no me han dado ni dan lugar a otra cosa. esta es para que V. mt. sepa la vida de la Reyna mi Señora e mia en que se gasta syn que V. Mt. se sirva. y porque a quien yo lo escribo ara relacion a V. Mt. por amor de dios suplico a V. Mt. le de credito y lo mande proveer con la brevedad que ser pueda acordandose que la Reyna mi Señora y yo no tenemos otro bien ny remedio syno a V. Mt. cuya vida e muy Real estado nuestro Señor acreciente y prospere y trayga bienaventuradamente a estos sus Reynos como yo deseo.

(TRANSLATION.)

Your Majesty's servant and vassal kisses your feet and hands. The Marchioness of Denia.

[*Addressed:*] To his imperial, sacred, and catholic Majesty the Emperor, King of the Romans and of Spain and of . . . . our lord.

93. To his Majesty. From the señora Infanta. 19th of August.

Sacred, imperial, and catholic Majesty.

I have written several letters to your Majesty, and all of them have been as the marquis and the marchioness desired, because they have not and do not give me permission to do anything else. This [letter] will let your Majesty know in what manner the life of the Queen my lady and my own are spent without any profit to your Majesty. As the person to whom I write will report to your Majesty, I beseech your Majesty, for God's sake, to believe him, and give your orders immediately, remembering that the Queen my lady and I have no other comfort or resource than your Majesty, whose life and royal state may our Lord augment and prosper, leading you happily back to these your kingdoms, as I desire.

1521.

de tordesillas a diez y nueve de Agosto.

[*de letra de la Infanta.*] suplyco a Vŕa Mat. me perdone la mano ajena que no e podido mas.

servydora de Vŕa magestad que sus Reales manos besa la ynfante. [Rubrica.]

[*Sobre:*] A la Sacra Cesarea Catholica majestad el Emperador y Rey my Señor.

19th August. **94.** The INFANTA CATALINA to the EMPEROR CHARLES.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Estado. Castilla. Legajo* 8. *f.* 122. *Autograph. The postscriptum holograph.*]

El memorial de la Señora ynfante.

Memorial de la Señora ynfante para Su magestad.

yo se que a V. mt. han escripto que le deservi en tienpo que la junta estovo en tordesyllas y V. mt. me escrevio sobre ello mas rezio de lo que yo le merescia. lo que en ello pasa es que yo los hable y conosci algunos dellos despues que entraron porque segund con el mando que entraron aunque no queria hablavan a la Reyna mi Señora y a mi y yo no lo pudiera escusar. y en lo primero que les hable y una carta que escrevi fue que el marques y la marquesa me hizieron antes que viniesen que les escriviese y despues de venydos que les rogase que no

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(TRANSLATION.)

From Tordesillas, 19th of August.

[*Written in the hand of the Infanta.*] I beseech your Majesty to pardon me that this letter is written in a strange hand. I can no more.

Your Majesty's servant, who kisses your royal hands.

The Infanta. [Sign manual.]

[*Addressed:*] To his sacred, imperial, and catholic Majesty the Emperor and King, my Lord.

94. Memoir of the Señora Infanta.

Memoir of the Señora Infanta for his Majesty.

I know it has been written to your Majesty that I disserved you during the time when the Junta was in Tordesillas, and your Majesty wrote to me on that subject more severely than I deserved. The truth is that I spoke with and knew some of them when they came [into this place]. As when they entered they had the command of everything, I could not avoid their speaking to me and to the Queen my lady, although I did not wish it. I spoke with them at first, and wrote them a letter, because the marquis and the marchioness forced me to write to them before they had arrived, and when they were here to ask them not to drive them (1) away. I did in this respect all I could, as though my life depended on it. When they (1) had been sent away I spoke with them (2), and

(1) The Marquis and Marchioness of Denia. (2) The comuneros.

1521.

los echasen de alli en que hize lo que pude como si me fuera la vida en ello. y porque despues que los echaron yo los avlava y veya, mandando ellos la casa mejor que sy fuera todo suyo, y porque me fablavan aquellos de quien tenian enojo, y quando juan de padilla se fue me dieron una carta que firme para que bolviese porque diz que cunplia al servicio de la Reyna mi Señora, escrivieron a V. mt. como les cumplia culpandome. la verdad es que en esto yo no tuve malicia ny lo entendia y que como yo les escrevia a lerma a escondidas estando la junta aquy fiziera por ellos lo que pudiera aunque no sabia en que mundo estava y fuera escusado de escrevir otra yntincion de la que yo tenia y tengo, porque yo no tengo otro deseo syno servyr a V. mt. como a dios. y quando me dieron la carta de V. mt. yo respondiera syno que me la tomaron para enbiar donde quisieron, y la carta que alla escrevi en respuesta de la de V. mt. ellos me la dieron fecha para que la firmase.

yo hasta aqui no he querido dar enojo a V. mt. como (1) mis cartas cerca de lo que aqui paso con el marques y marquesa porque trahen tanta guarda sobre my para que no escryba mas de lo que quisyeren. pero pues dios me dio a V. mt. por padre y se que es mas servido que sin cabsa yo no sea

(1) Sic. con.

(TRANSLATION.)

saw that they commanded the house more absolutely than if it had been their own. They (1) spoke to me about those with whom they were dissatisfied, and when Juan de Padilla had left, gave me a letter to sign, calling him back, as that was said to be in the interest of the service of the Queen my lady. On this account they (2) wrote to your Majesty accusing me of complying with their (1) wishes. The truth is that I had no malice nor did I intend [to do harm], and, as I wrote to them (2) to Lerma in secret when the Junta was here, I was ready to do all I could for them, although I did not know in what a world I was living. It was not necessary to write other sentiments than I had and have, because I have no other will than to serve your Majesty as much as God. When they (2) gave me the letter of your Highness I should have answered, had they not taken it from me, to send it where they wished. The letter which I wrote in answer to that of your Majesty was given to me by them already drawn up, and I had only to sign it.

Hitherto I have avoided giving annoyance to your Majesty with my letters about what is going on here, because the marquis and the marchioness watch me so closely that I cannot write anything but what they like. God has given me your Majesty to fill the place of a father, and I know that it is

(1) The comuneros. (2) The Marquis and Marchioness of Denia.

1521.

maltratada dende que V. mt. los puso en casa de la Reyna mi Señora, hasta que vinyeron las comunidades yo lo he pasado por no dar a V. mt. enojo. agora despues que bolvieron como ellos tienen enojo de todos y no querrian que hablase ny viese a nadie de los criados y criadas de la Reyna my Señora que aquy dexaron, a lo menos de los governadores con quien yo me he criado, porque los ablo aviendome de servyr o me vienen algunos a visitar, syno vienen por su mano. y porque la condesa de modica muger del almirante me escryve y yo le escryvo por las muchas piedades y buen exemplo que aqui me hizo y dio, me quyere la marquesa sacar los ojos y haze pesquisas sobre mi quien me lleva o trae cartas de la condesa o sus hermanas, y me hazen poner guardas para que no me hable ni escriva, y otras cosas muy fuera de lo que devria hazer comigo, por que como V. mt. podra saber para my no ay nescesydad y pluyese a dios que no fuese mas dañosa la conpañia que ellos me dan que de la que me apartan. y yo no tengo otra cosa que dar a quien me desea servir syno la palabra y no pienso en mas de servir a V. mt. como a dios. suplico a V. mt. les escriva y enbie a mandar que me traten de otra manera y que aya

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(Translation.)

not in your interest that I should be illtreated in the house of the Queen my lady, where you have appointed them. Until the commons came to this place I have suffered all in order not to give annoyance to your Majesty. Now, since they (1) have returned, being angry with everyone, they do not like me to speak with any of the servants of the Queen my lady, men or women, at least not with those whom the governors left here, and with whom I have been brought up. Because I speak with them when they are attending upon me or some come to visit me, and because the Countess of Modica, wife of the admiral, writes to me and I write to her, owing to the great compassion she had for me, and the good example she gave when she was here, the marchioness wants to tear out my eyes, searches me, and makes enquiries by whom I send and who brings me letters from the countess and her sisters. They set guards over me to prevent my speaking or writing and do many other things very different from what is due to me. Your Majesty must know that for me such things are not necessary, and would God that the society which they procure me were not more injurious than that from which they separate me. I can give nothing but words to those who wish to be agreeable to me, and think only of serving your Majesty as I serve God. I beseech your Majesty to write, and order them to treat me in a different manner, and that some difference be made in public between

(1) The Marquis and Marchioness of Denia.

1521.

alguna diferencia de mi a sus hijas en lo publico y provea en lo que se sygue.

yo no querria otro confesor y maestro salvo al guardian pues que el Rey Catholico mi Señor y abuelo y V. mt. me lo dieron y es lo que me conviene por su onestidad y bondad, y porque ellos le querrian derraygar de aqui y me ynportunan que tome otros frayles a V. mt. suplico me enbie a mandar que para maestro y confesor no use de otro.

yten que V. mt. enbie a rogar y mandar al Cardenal por que tiene mucho cuydado de my que con acuerdo del guardian mande a una dueña de las de la Reyna my Señora que tengan mis vestidos y ropa o lo que toviere por que la que V. mt. me dio para guarda ropa y su marido son criados de la marquesa y ge lo toman todo y lo gastan y funden y yo no tengo cosa propia ni me dura y porque para otra cosa que va mas que en los vestidos la e menester para que este comigo y el guardian sabe qual es.

yten que de la Ropa blanca y cofias o vestidos o oro o joyas o otras cosas de la Reyna mi Señora no se saque nada para mi aunque escriva que lo he menester syno fuere lo que yo suplicare a V. mt. por carta de mi mano, porque lo que se a

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(Translation.)

me and their daughters. You ought to provide for what follows.

I do not wish any other confessor or tutor than the guardian who was appointed to that office by the Catholic King my lord and grandfather, and by your Majesty. I like him on account of his honesty and goodness. As they (1) wish to drive him away they importune me to take other friars. I beseech your Majesty to command me not to take another tutor and confessor.

Item.—Your Majesty ought to ask and command the cardinal, who takes great care of me, concurrently with the guardian, to appoint one of the ladies of the Queen my lady to take charge of my dresses and apparel or what I may possess, for the person whom your Majesty appointed for the place of lady of my wardrobe and her husband are servants of the marchioness. They take every thing, use it, and spoil it, so that I have nothing of my own, and nothing lasts me. For other reasons of greater importance than my dresses, it is also necessary that she stays with me. The guardian knows who she is.

Item.—Of the linen, head dresses, dresses, gold, jewels, and other things belonging to the Queen my lady, nothing ought to be taken for my use, although I should write that I want it, unless I ask your Majesty in a letter written with my own

(1) The Marquis and Marchioness of Denia.

1521.

sacado con cedulas de V. mt. a mi no me venia ni lo pedia y me lo an tomado y se perderia todo.

que si alguna cosa liviana diere por cargo que tengo de algund criado que no lo maltraten ny afrenten porque lo que ellos me quieren tomar no me falta poder.

que al guardian le traten bien porque es servidor de V. mt. la Reyna mi Señora y yo le devemos mucho y que V. mt. se acuerde del para le hazer merced.

V. mt. hizo merced del oficio de Costurera en lugar de marya a ysabel sarmiento a mi suplicacion. a V. mt. suplico que porque es mi maestra de labrar y cabe muy bien en ella mande al marques que dexe asentarla merced y que aunque el escriva alla se acuerde que yo suplique por ella.

yten que V. mt. mande al guardian que por ninguna cabsa dexe de ver y consolar a la Reyna mi Señora quando le llamare o a el le paresciere y que mande que no ge lo estorven porque no tiene otro con quien descanse y es buen servidor de V. mt.

yten V. mt. provea por amor de dios que si la Reyna mi Señora quisiere pasearse al corredor del Rio o de las esteras o

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(Translation.)

hand. For all that has hitherto been taken in virtue of the orders of your Majesty has not been given to me, nor did I ask it. They have taken it from me, and it will be lost.

If I should give some trifles to one of my servants to whom I am obliged, they ought not to treat him ill and to abuse him. If they want to take something from me I have the power (1) [to give it].

The guardian must be well treated; for he serves your Majesty and the Queen my lady, and I owe him much. Your Majesty ought to remember him and show him favour.

Your Majesty, at my supplication, was pleased to appoint Isabel Sarmiento to the office of needlewoman in the place of Maria. As she is my teacher of embroidery, and does it very well, I beg you to command the marquis to permit her to receive a reward, and if he writes to you, to remember that I have recommended her.

Item.—Your Majesty ought to order the guardian on no condition to discontinue seeing and consoling the Queen my lady, as often as she calls for him, or as he thinks it proper. Do command that he be not prevented from doing so, because she has no other person to comfort her, and he is a loyal servant of your Majesty.

Item.—Your Majesty ought for the love of God to provide that, if the Queen my lady wishes to walk for her recreation

(1) The marquis and the marchioness do not dispute her power to give away things which belong to her, if they are to receive them, but only if they are given to others.

1521.

salir a su sala a recrear, que no ge lo estorven y que sus hijas ni cryados de la marquesa ni otra persona no pasen al retrete de my la ynfanta por delante de Su Altesa, syno las personas que suelen hazer el servicio, porque por andar la marquesa y sus hijas syn que la Reyna las vea mandan a las mugeres que no le dexen salir a la sala y corredores, y la encierran en su camara que no tyene luz ninguna sino con velas y no tiene mas adonde se retraya de la Camara, y no se saldra aunque la saquen por fuerça, y quando otra cosa provase estan ay las mugeres.

18th September. **95.** The CARDINAL OF TORTOSA to the EMPEROR CHARLES.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Estado. Castilla. Legajo* 8. *f.* 164. *Abstract from a letter without date, and deciphering of one paragraph of a letter dated the* 18*th of September, both forming one document. The abstract and deciphering made for the perusal of the Emperor.*]

Del Cardenal. en cifra.

que el marques y la marquesa de Denia le han avisado que los de la junta y otras personas han puesto y ponen a la Señora ynfante en mas soltura de lo que conviene a su onestad diziendole que le casaran y pornan casa y que con incitacion de las mugeres que estan con ella no tiene a la dotrina de la

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(TRANSLATION.)

in the corridor on the river or on the other side, (1) or if she wishes to go to the large room to refresh herself, she be not prevented from doing so. Further, that the daughters and servants of the marchioness do not enter my, the Infanta's, closet before the Queen arrives, but only such persons as are of the service. For the marchioness and her daughters having entered the closet without being seen by the Queen, they direct the women not to let her go to the large room or to the corridors, but lock her up in her chamber where no other light enters except candlelight, and there is no room whither she could retire from that chamber. She would not go out, even if she were taken off by force, and if it should prove to be otherwise there would be the women [to prevent her from leaving the house].

95. From the Cardinal. In cipher.

That the marquis and the marchioness have informed him that the members of the Junta and other persons have given more liberty to the señora Infanta than was compatible with her reputation, saying that they would marry her and establish her own household for her; and that incited by the women who are about her, she does not pay the respect to the

(1) *De las esteras. Esteras* are mats woven of sedge, and are used in Spain as carpets during the winter months. The *corredor de las esteras* seems to have been the corridor in which the mats were stowed away in the summer.

1521.

marquesa el respecto que seria razon, que el marques y la marquesa piden que se le quiten estas mugeres y que se escriva a la ynfante mostrando sentimiento desto etc. que Su Md. provea lo que fuere servido y que le parece que la Sa. infante en tanto que es donzella deve estar a hordinacion de la marquesa.

en una carta de xviij° Setiembre escrive el Cardenal lo syguiente:—

quando estavamos en Tordesillas yo mire mucho en la Sa. infante y cierto en todo parecia prudente y de grand y excelente virtud, como lo es, y syendo ya de tal hedad parece que provee o procura algunas cosas en servicio y descanso de la Reyna n. Sa. y bien y onrra de su persona, y como no viene a cuento del marques contradizegelas el mysmo, sobre lo qual he visto un memorial. sy se enbiare alla a V. Mgt. suplico lo mande ver y proveer muy bien aviendo todo respecto y consideracion a la persona y abtoridad de la Sa. infante como es razon y se le deve, y que mande al marques mire por el guardian confesor de la Reyna ñra Sa. como por servidor suyo y que le haga pagar complidamente todo lo que v̄ra Magt. y

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(Translation.)

admonitions of the marchioness which she ought. That the marquis and the marchioness beg that these women may be removed, and that a letter should be written to the Infanta, disapproving of this, &c. That his Majesty should provide that which is for his service, and that it seems to him that the Infanta, until she is a woman, should obey the marchioness.

In a letter of the 18th of September the cardinal writes what follows:

When we were in Tordesillas I observed the señora Infanta very closely, and certainly she appeared to me very prudent and of great and excellent virtues, as she really is, and, as she is already of such an age, it seems right that she should occupy herself in and procure certain things which may contribute towards the service and comfort of the Queen our lady, and the good and honour of her person. As that, however, does not agree with the intentions of the marquis, he opposes her. I have seen a memoir on this matter, and, if it should be sent to your Majesty, I beseech you to command that it be read, and orders given that all the respect and consideration be shown to the person and authority of the señora Infanta, which is reasonable and due to her, and to command the marquis to take the same care of the guardian, confessor of the Queen our lady, as of his own servants, and to see that all be paid to him which your Majesty and her Highness have ordered to be paid.

1521.

su Alteza le mandan dar que esta es la voluntad de ỹra Magt. y todo lo recibiere en singular gracia y merced.
lo de la ynfante y del Confesor.

1522.
25th January. **96.** The MARQUIS OF DENIA to the EMPEROR CHARLES.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Patronato Real. Comunidades de Castilla. Legajo 5. f. 293. Autograph. The deciphering is by the Secretary of State Covos.*]

A su Magd. del Marques de Denia. a xxv. de Enero.

Sacra Cesarea Catta. Magt.

tres cartas de V. mt. he Recibido a que no he respondido una de xxvj y otra de xxvij de Julio y otra de xxvj de Setienbre y otra para que se derribase la fortaleça desta villa. sea nuestro Señor loado que V. Mt. esta con la salud que sus rreynos y vassallos desseamos. asy sea sienpre.

la Reyna Nuestra Señora esta de su indispusicion como suele y aun pareceme que cada dia sele acrecienta. de lo demas asy de bestirse como de linpiarse esta mas hordenada que nunca.

* muchas vezes me habla Su Alt. para que haga llamar grandes e que quiere hablallos y saber de las cosas del Reyno e

* cifra los parrafos asi.

(TRANSLATION.)

May this be the will of your Majesty, and I should receive it as a special grace and favour.
The affairs of the Infanta and of the confessor.

96. To his Majesty. From the Marquis of Denia. 25th of January.

Sacred, imperial, and catholic Majesty,

I received three letters from your Majesty which I have not yet answered, one of the 26th, another of the 27th of July, and the third of the 26th of September, besides another commanding that the fortress of this place be demolished. Our Lord be praised that your Majesty enjoys the health which your kingdoms and vassals desire. Be it always so.

The indisposition of the Queen is the same as usual, although it seems to me that it daily increases. As for the rest, concerning her dressing and keeping herself clean, she is more orderly than ever.

[*Cipher*]. Her Highness speaks often with me, and tells me to call the grandees into her presence, because she wants

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entender en ellas. yo le he dicho que estan todos ocupados en cosas que conviene a servicio de Su Alteza y de Vr̃a Magt. y que no pueden venir, que quando yo viere que estan desocupados los llamare de su parte. algunas vezes se satisfaze y otras riñe porque no vienen luego. en esto yo terne toda la dilacion y buena maña que conviene a vr̃o servicio pero crea Vr̃a Magt. que quedo tan mal vezada de las platicas que aqui con Su Alteza tuvieron despues que entramos en esta villa y tan ufana de los ofrecimientos que le hazian que no esta onbre syn mucho trabajo. y asy por apartar a Su Alt. desta vezindad como porque este lugar no ha sydo ni es tan leal a vuestro servicio como devria yo he sydo y soy de parecer que Vr̃a Magt. mandase determinadamente que Su Alt. se fuese a arevalo porque es buen lugar y fuerte y han sydo buenos servidores de Vr̃a Magt. y segund las cosas que han pasado en este rreyno y las que pasarian si oviese lugar, lo que dios no quiera, no se deve esto dilatar. y tenga Vr̃a magt. por determinado que no se puede hazer con voluntad de Su Alt. porque quien no tiene voluntad para hazer ninguna cosa de las que convienen a su vida ni a su alma syno al reves no se como la ha de tener para esto. y en verdad que hazerle Vr̃a mt. premia en muchas

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(Translation.)

to speak with them, and to be informed of the affairs of the kingdom and despatch them. I answered that they are all occupied in affairs which concern the service of her Highness and of your Majesty, and that they cannot come. As soon as I should learn that they are unoccupied, I would ask them in her name to come. Sometimes she is satisfied, but at other times she scolds because they do not come immediately. In this respect I shall use all the delay and artfulness which your service requires. But your Majesty may believe me she is so much spoilt by the conversations which they (1) had with her Highness since we came to this place, and so haughty in consequence of the offers which were made to her, that there is no man who has not great difficulty with her. In order to remove her Highness from this neighbourhood, and because this town has not been so faithful to your service as it ought, I have been and am of opinion that your Majesty should command peremptorily that her Highness should go to Arevalo, which is a good town, strongly fortified, and they have been loyal servants of your Majesty. Considering what has happened in this kingdom, and would happen again if any occasion offered, which God forbid, this affair ought not to be delayed, and your Majesty may take it for granted that it cannot be done with the consent of her Highness. For as she refuses to do anything required for her life and her soul, and does exactly the contrary, I do not know how she can consent to this. In truth, if your Ma-

(1) The grandees and cavaliers.

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cosas serviria a dios, y a Su Alteza haria servicio y muy buena obra porque las personas que estan en su dispusicion asy lo quieren. ya la Reyna su ahuela asy le sirvio y trato la Reyna Nuestra Señora su hija. Vña Magestad haga lo que le pareciere que aquello sera lo mejor.

* la manera que me parece que se devria tener para la mudança de Su Alteza daqui es probar por todos los buenos medios que pudiere ser para que Su Alt. lo haga de su voluntad y quando no bastare que veniese el presydente del consejo con mandamiento de Vña Magt. para toda la gente que aqui esta. y que tome a Su Alt. y la ponga en una leytera a prima noche y que ande sin parar hasta arevalo. y digo que venga el presidente porque se que hara esto y todo lo que Vña Magt. le mandare al pie de la letra. y con el devrian venir dos o tres del consejo porque pareciese que se hazia con parecer del consejo y de todo el Reyno. y esto yo lo terne aparejado todo, pero haviendo yo de estar en servicio de Su Alteza no convernia que yo pareciese en esto porque quedaria en mucho desgrado de Su Alt. y crea V. Mt. que conviene que esto se haga porque

* cifra los parrafos asi.

(TRANSLATION.)

jesty would apply the torture (1) it would in many respects be a service and a good thing rendered to God and to her Highness. Persons who are in her frame of mind require it, and the Queen your grandmother served and treated in this way the Queen our lady, her daughter. Your Majesty may do what seems best in this case.

The manner in which the removal of her Highness from here should be effected seems to me to be this. First, all means of persuasion ought to be employed in order to see whether her Highness would not do it of her own will, and if that does not suffice the President of the council ought to come with an order from your Majesty to all the persons who are here. He is to take her Highness, to put her by night into a litter, and to carry her without stopping to Arevalo. I say the President, because I know that he would do this and anything else your Majesty may command *au pied de la lettre*. Two or three councillors should also come with him, that it may seem as though it were done with the consent of the whole council and the whole kingdom. I shall keep everything ready, but as I am to remain in the service of her Highness it would be inconvenient for me to take part openly in this affair, because I should thus be much disliked by her Highness. Your Majesty may believe me that this

(1) *Premia*. Violent means employed by a judge or other public officer in order to force an accused person to confess, or a prisoner to comply with the orders given to him, that is to say, torture.—See Diccionario Nacional ó gran Diccionario Clásico de la lengua Española por Don Ramon Joaquin Dominguez, the only Spanish dictionary which is of any use for the interpretation of ancient Spanish documents.

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las cosas deste Reyno estan oy con tan mala voluntad como quando la ponian en obra. y siempre que puedan hablar a Su Alt. hallaran aparejo para hazer mayores yerros y por esto Vña Magestad deve procurar y querer que Su Al. este en parte donde este muy bien servida y a muy buen recabdo y apartada destos inconvenientes y de otros muchos que puede aver que aun no se deven fiar de carta puesto que sea en cifra.

* la noche de Navidad estando diziendo los maitines en la capilla salio a buscar a la Señora infante que los estava oyendo y començó a dar bozes que se quitase el altar y todo lo que estava puesto. tornamos a Su Alt. con el acatamiento que era razon y con harto trabajo. y asimismo muchas vezes se pone a su corredor que sale al rio y llama a algunos para que le llamen la gente y capitanes que aqui estan para que maten a los unos y a los otros, asy que estando Su Alt. en esta dispusicion V. Mt. puede ver lo que conviene a su servicio y lo que pasamos los que aqui estamos.

* el Cardenal y el Condestable y el almirante me han escripto sobre esta mudança de Su Alteza, yo les he respondido lo que me parece y que yo escrivo a V. Mt. la forma que se debe de tener.

* cifra los parrafos asi.

(TRANSLATION.)

ought to be done, for the disposition of this kingdom is now as bad as it was when they showed it by their deeds, and whenever they have opportunity to speak with her Highness they will find means to commit greater errors. For these reasons your Majesty ought to procure and to wish that her Highness live in a place where she is very well attended and very well watched, and out of the way of these and many other inconveniences which might arise. Even now one ought not to confide in a letter, notwithstanding it be written in cipher.

On Christmas eve, when matins were celebrated in the chapel she came out [of her room], took away the señora Infanta, who was hearing them, and cried out that the altar and all that had been erected should be taken away. We led her Highness back with all courtesy, but with great difficulty. Sometimes she goes to her corridor which has the river aspect, and calls upon some people to go and fetch the soldiers and the captains who are here that they might kill one or the other. Her Highness being in this condition your Majesty can judge for yourself what is convenient for your service and what we suffer who are here.

The Cardinal, the Constable, and the Admiral have written to me about the removal of her Highness. I have answered what I think is right, and told them that I am writing to your Majesty about the measures which ought to be used.

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[*Lo demas de la carta claro.*] yo he hecho relacion a V. Mt. de todo lo que aqui pasa y de lo que conviene para servicio de Su Alt. y de Vr̃a Mt. y de la Señora ynfante y de lo que se debe haser en el castigo y gratificacion de los desta casa. a esto no me ha respondido Vr̃a Mt. ni he visto que lo aya mandado proveer. a Vr̃a Mt. suplico que lo mande proveer por lo que conviene a su servicio.

Arzeo despensero mayor de Su Alt. y Carquiçano rebolvieron todas las maldades desta casa e fueron causa que juan de padilla y los otros traydores viniesen aqui y un hijo de Carquiçano andava en todo esto con su padre que es ya onbre. soltaron y perdonaron a estos dos como tengo escripto a V. Mt. y dan cartas cada dia para que se torne a su hijo de Carquiçano el oficio de repostero de plata yo no las he cunplido por que se que este herro en las culpas de su padre y porque pareceria mal quel hijo del traydor tuviese oficio en esta casa aun quel no hubiese herrado quanto mas siendo culpado, que aun quando juan de padilla y los otros traydores estaban en Torrelobaton, el hera carcelero de los servidores de V. Mt. que alla prendian. V. Mt. mande en esto lo que se ha de hazer.

asimesmo suplico a V. Mt. a mi me mande haser justicia de Arçeo y de Carquiçano porque pensando yo que ellos havian

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(Translation.)

[*Common writing.*] I have reported to your Majesty all that passes here and all that the service of her Highness, of your Majesty, and of the señora Infanta requires; and also about the punishments and rewards of those who are employed in this household. To that letter your Majesty has sent me no answer, nor do I know what you have commanded. I beseech your Majesty to command that orders for what is required for your service be given.

Arzeo, the chief butler of her Highness, and Carquizano, stirred up all the disturbances of this house, and were the instigators of the coming of Juan de Padilla and the other traitors, and a son of Carquizano, who is already grown up, took part in all that his father did. They set the two at liberty, as I have already written to your Majesty, and write letters every day that the son of Carquizano may be restored to his place of keeper of the plate. I have not obeyed them because I know that he committed the same offences as his father, and it would not appear well if the son of a traitor held an office in this household, even if he had not committed any fault, and how much more so being guilty of having been the jailor of the servants of your Majesty who had been taken prisoners when Juan de Padilla and the other traitors were in Torre Lobaton. Your Majesty will command what is to be done in this matter.

I likewise beseech your Majesty to command me to punish Arzeo and Carquizano. Believing that they were to be

1522.

de ser castigados por las trayciones que hizieron en vuestro deservicio, no he hablado hasta agora en lo que a mi me toca, aunque esto toca a Vña Magt. pues por servir yo a V. Mt. hizieron ellos lo que hizieron. a Vña Mt. suplico los mande castigar conforme a justicia y que esta se vea en su consejo o por los alcaldes de su corte syn sospecha porque lo que aqui se hizo fue a voluntad de partes y no conforme a justicia.

asymismo ya Vña Magt. sabe como embio a mandar a los governadores que no entendiesen en las cosas desta casa y lo que se ha seguido en algunas cosas por haver hecho lo contrario no ha sydo servicio de V. Mt. el almirante proveyo del oficio de despensero mayor a un criado suyo y el licenciado polanco procuro un oficio de aposentador para otro criado suyo e asy proveyeron otros oficios lo qual yo no he cunplido ni cunplire hasta que V. Mt. lo mande. en esta casa no devria aver syno criados de V. Mt. e muy leales e gratificados de vuestra propia mano y no de otra ninguna, y quando criados de otros hubiese de aver mas razon seria que los mios lo fuesen asy por la confiança que V. Mt. hase de mi en servirse de mi en esto como por lo que yo y ellos avemos trabajado y padecido por vuestro servicio. a V. Mt. suplico no sea servido que criados

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(Translation.)

punished for the treasons they had committed against you, I did not speak until now of what regards me, although that also concerns your Majesty. For what they did was done because I served your Majesty. I beseech your Majesty to order that they be punished according to law, and that the case be decided either by your council or by the alcaldes of your court without partiality. For the decision which has been come to here has been an arbitrary one of partisans, and not according to law.

Your Majesty will remember that you have ordered the governors not to meddle in the affairs of this household, and the consequences of some contraventions are not favourable to the service of your Majesty. The admiral has given the place of chief butler to a servant of his, and the licentiate Polanco procured the place of butler for one of his servants, and in a similar way other offices have been given away. I have paid no respect to these nominations, nor shall I do so until your Majesty gives your orders. In this house there ought to be only servants of your Majesty, very trustworthy ones, rewarded by your own hands and by no one else. But if others are to be employed, it would be more just to employ my servants on account of the confidence which your Majesty has in me, as well as because I and they have laboured and suffered in doing our duty. I beseech your Majesty not to permit that servants of others enter this house, for not only

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de otros entren aqui que demas de que yo recibiria agravio recebirleya mayor porque no conviene a servicio de V. Mt.

agora he sabido que los governadores han dado cedulas para los oficiales de la casa, pasen y asienten las albalaes que dieron de los oficios que proveyeron el Cardenal y el Almirante aqui no enbargante que yo no los admita aviendoles yo mostrado las letras de V. Mt. en que me mando a mi que en lugar de aquellos pusiese otros en los oficios necesarios para el servicio de Su Alteza, y abiendolo yo hecho asy e V. Mt. mandado a ellos que no se enpachen en cosa daqui suplico a Vña Mt. mande enbiarme cedula en que mande a los dichos oficiales que no asienten los tales albalaes y cedulas no enbargante que los governadores ge lo manden, y si las ubieren asentado se den por ningunas y no sean pagadas ni libradas aquellas personas ni admitidas en los tales oficios. y crea V. Mt. que asi en esto como en todo conviene que lo que mandare se cunpla al pie de la letra.

sobre estas cedulas que dan o han dado ya enbie a hablar al Cardenal que se le acordase lo que V. Mt. les tiene mandado a ellos y a mi en esto. Respondio que no obedeciese yo en esto lo que ellos mandasen. pareceme que fuera mejor que ellos cunplieran el mandamiento de V. Mt. que no darme a mi ocasion para que yo no cunpla lo que ellos hasen, aunque yo

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(Translation.)

should I be aggrieved thereby, but you also would be more so, as it is incompatible with the service of your Majesty.

I have learnt now that the governors have given orders about the offices of this household. They despatch and register the letters patent concerning the offices which the cardinal and the admiral gave away when they were here, although I do not accept them as valid, having shown them the letters of your Majesty by which you command me to appoint others to the offices which are necessary for the service of her Highness. As I have done this, and as your Majesty has commanded them not to meddle in these affairs, I beg your Majesty to send me an order commanding the said officers not to register such letters patent, notwithstanding the orders of the governors, and if they have registered them to declare them null and void, and that the appointed persons shall not be paid or receive warrants, nor be admitted to their offices. Your Majesty may believe me that in this as in all other respects it is necessary that your commands be executed to the very letter.

Concerning the decrees which they give or have given, I have already sent to the cardinal asking him to remember what your Majesty has commanded them and me. He answered that I should not obey what they order. It seems to me it would be better for them to obey the commands of your Majesty than to give me occasion to disobey what they

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me tenia por dicho de haserlo asy hasta que V. Mt. mande lo que sea servido.

en lo que Vra Magt. dise que mi suplicacion sobre la encomienda de Monrreal para don hernando mi hermano llego tarde aca he sabido que V. Mt. hizo merced della al marques de villafranca y esta tengo yo por merced como si a my se me hiziera por que todas las que V. Mt. hiziere al duque dalva y a sus hijos syendo ellos tan leales servidores de V. Mt. es para mi muy gran merced.

sobre otra encomienda para mi hermano he escripto a V. Mt. le haga mr̃d della, y de la quel tiene a don hernando de tovar mi sobrino. y la verdad es que demas de aver muy bien servido con su persona ha gastado de su hazienda todo lo que tenia de manera quel pudiera aver conprado tanto de patrimonio como lo que pedia de por vida.

en lo que a mi me toca V. Mt. lo remite a su buena venida a estos Reynos. la verdad es que esta conviene tanto que por la obligacion y voluntad que tengo a vuestro servicio con sola ella me ternia por gratificado y pagado de todo lo que he servido e gastado, pero pues esta se alarga con las ocupaciones que Vr̃a Magt. alla tiene y se le ofrecen suplico a Vr̃a Magt. no sea servido que yo acabe de destruyr mi casa porque en verdad

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(Translation.)

decree, although I think I am right to do so until your Majesty decides what your servants are to do.

Your Majesty informs me that my petition for the knight commandership of Monreal for my brother Don Hernando arrived late. I have learnt that your Majesty bestowed it on the Marquis of Villafranca, and have received it as a reward bestowed on myself. For every favour your Majesty shows to the Duke of Alba and his sons, who are such loyal servants of your Majesty, is a very great favour shown to myself.

I have written to your Majesty about another knight commandership, begging you to give it to my brother, and that which he holds now to Don Hernando de Tovar, my nephew. It is only the truth to say that he has served very well with his person, and spent all the property he had with which he could have bought estates worth as much as what he now begs to have given him for life.

With respect to myself your Majesty postpones your decision until your arrival in these kingdoms. It is true that it [the arrival] is so necessary that, owing to my obligations and the goodwill I bear to your service, I should consider myself rewarded and paid by it [the arrival] for all my services and expenses. As it [the arrival], however, is delayed by the occupations your Majesty has there and which occur, I beseech your Majesty not to permit that I entirely ruin my family. For it is the truth that I have not married my

1522.

que yo he dexado de casar a mi hija doña madalena porque lo que tenia para ello he gastado en servicio de V. Mt. con hartos mas dineros que he gastado y devo.

los cinco quentos trecientos setenta y cinco mil mrs que V. Mt. me mando librar en la coruña en el servicio que estos rreynos concedieron a V. Mt. tanpoco se me pagan porquel servicio no se paga. a V. Mt. suplico pues esta es deuda averiguada de descargo de las animas de los rreyes catolicos aguelos de V. Mt. que ayan gloria V. Mt. me lo mande librar en las rentas hordinarias destos Reynos en este año para que con esto yo pueda casar mi hija pues como tengo dicho lo que para esto tenya he gastado en servicio de V. Mt.

la Señora ynfante esta buena y escrive a V. Mt. y en verdad que Su Alteza lo hase todo muy bien y como deve y si algo ha habido de falta mas ha procedido y procede de algunas personas que de Su Alteza.

aca he sabido que a V. Mt. han escripto que la marquesa e yo no servimos y tratamos a Su Alteza con el acatamiento que devemos y sy esto fuese asy seria mayor culpa nuestra que en otras personas asy por la voluntad y obligacion que tenemos a su servicio como a hija y nieta de sus padres y aguelos como

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(Translation.)

daughter Madalena because I have spent her marriage portion in the service of your Majesty, and much more money which I have spent and still owe.

The five millions three hundred and seventy-five thousand maravedis (1) which your Majesty ordered to be paid to me in Coruña out of the grant which these kingdoms conceded to your Majesty are not paid to me because the grant is not paid. As they constitute a recognised debt for the relief of the souls of the catholic King and Queen, grandparents of your Majesty, who are in glory, I beg your Majesty to command that they be paid to me this year, out of the ordinary revenues of these kingdoms, so that I may marry my daughter, whose marriage portion, as I have stated, I have spent in the service of your Majesty.

The señora Infanta is well, and writes to your Majesty. In truth she behaves in every respect very well and as she ought. If she has committed some errors it was and is more the fault of other persons than of her Highness.

I have been told that letters have been written from here to your Majesty that the marchioness and I do not serve and treat her Highness with the respect which is due to her. If that were the case, it would be a greater fault in us than in other persons, on account of the goodwill and obligation we have to serve her, being the daughter and granddaughter of her parents and grandparents, and sister of your Majesty.

(1) About 15,720 scudos, or a little more than 3400*l.* sterling.

1522.

por ser hermana de V. Mt., y tambien porque segun lo que ha servimos a Reyes no podriamos desir que no sabemos la manera que se deve tener en su servicio. V. Mt. puede creer que havemos servido y servimos a Su Altesa en todo lo que es vuestro servicio y suyo y si algo se ha dexado o dexa de haser en contentamiento de Su Alt. ha sydo por servir mas a Vña Mt. y a su Alteza. y asy espero en dios que quando Su Alteza tenga mas hedad lo conocera y desto yo no quiero otra merced de nuestro Señor syno que Su Alteza sea en todo hija y nieta de sus padres y aguelos y hermana de V. Mt.

quando el año pasado se hizo el apuntamiento para librar las cosas necesarias desta casa, señalaban dos mil ducados para Su Alteza, yo dixe que bastarian mil ducados y asy se libraron el dicho año. Su Alteza dios la guarde esta ya muger y es rason que V. Mt. le acreciente la merced y ayuda y que Su Alteza y todos conozcamos que la mñd se recibe de mano de Vt. Magt. el respeto que yo tuve estonces fue que la mñd y acrecentamiento que en esto ubiese de aver fuese de mano de Vña Mt. sera bien que Vña Mt. si fuere servido le mande acrecentar a cumplimiento de dos mil ducados por agora hasta que en buen hora Vña Magt. venga a estos sus rreynos diziendole come Vña

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(Translation.)

Besides, having attended upon royal personages during so long a time, we cannot excuse ourselves with saying that we do not know how to behave in their service. Your Majesty may believe me, we have attended and are attending to her Highness in everything that is for your service and hers, and if in some respects her Highness has not been and is not satisfied with us, the reason has been that we wished the better to serve your Majesty and her Highness. I hope in God that when her Highness is of riper age she will acknowledge it herself, and I ask no other reward from our Lord, but that her Highness may be in every respect the daughter and granddaughter of her parents and grandparents, and the sister of your Majesty.

When last year the estimate was made for the necessary expenses of this household, two thousand ducats were assigned to her Highness. I said that one thousand ducats were sufficient, and last year this sum only has been paid. Her Highness is, God be thanked, already a woman, and it is reasonable that your Majesty should increase her revenue and allowance. Her Highness and all here must know that she receives that favour at the hands of your Majesty. The reason which I then had was that the favour and the increase of it should come from the hand of your Majesty. It would be good, if your Majesty is pleased, to order that her allowance be now increased to the sum of two thousand ducats until the happy time when your Majesty comes to these your kingdoms, and to tell her that your Majesty has

1522.

Magt. ha sabido por mis cartas la buena manera que tiene asy en lo que conviene al servicio de Vra Magt. como en lo que toca a su persona de que Vra Magt. tiene mucho contentamiento y que asy le ruega que siempre lo continue.

Su Altesa ha sentido el fallecimyento del Rey de portugal por la perdida de la Señora Reyna su hermana y por que V. Mt. ha perdido buen hermano en el. ha enbiado Su Alt. al maestro fray Miguel que esta aqui por predicador en lugar de villegas a visytar a Su Alteza, y por los mismos repetos yo he sentido y siento mucho su fallecimiento y sino fuera por la ocupacion que aqui tengo en servicio de la Reyna nuestra Señora y de la Señora ynfante yo fuera a visytar y a servir a Su Altesa en su trabajo. V. Mt. deve procurar de conservar el deudo del Rey y de aquel Reyno porque para lo destos es mas provechoso que otro. yo encomende al maestro fray Miguel que supiese por todas las vias que pudiese sy avia alguna inteligencia en portugal de francia y las personas que estan cabe el Rey y quien son y a que parte estan ynclinadas, y que todo lo que supiese desto escriviese a V. Mt. y me lo escriviese para que yo lo escriviese tanbien. yo creo quel Rey procurara la buena

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(Translation.)

been informed through my letters of her good conduct with respect to the service of your Majesty as well as to her own person, and that your Majesty is well satisfied with her, and begs her thus to continue.

Her Highness (1) has felt very much the death of the King of Portugal on account of the loss to the Queen her sister, and because your Majesty has lost in him a good brother. Her Highness has sent the maestro Fray Miguel, who is preacher here in the place of Villegas, to visit her Highness (2). For the same reasons I have been and am very sorry for his death, and if it were not for my occupations in the service of the Queen my lady and the señora Infanta, which detain me here, I should go and visit and serve her Highness in her troubles. Your Majesty ought to take measures to preserve relations with the King and with that kingdom, because it is more advantageous to these [kingdoms] than any other. I have recommended to the maestro Fray Miguel to ascertain by all means possible whether France entertains intelligence with Portugal, and who are the persons near the King, what their persuasions are, and towards which party they are inclined. [I have told him] to write all he can learn about this subject to your Majesty and to me, that I may write it also. I believe the King will seek to obtain the goodwill and

(1) Infanta Catalina. (2) The Dowager Queen of Portugal.

1522.

gracia y amistad de V. Mt. porque le esta muy bien, pero V. Mt. deve de haser lo mesmo.

la fortaleza daqui se avia derribado quando la carta de V. Mt. llego y porque yo sabia que esto estava mandado muchos años ha y porque convenia asi a servicio de V. Mt. yo lo ubiera hecho antes si los governadores me ubieran dexado. pero ella esta ya como conviene y por cedula de los governadores.

aqui me han dado una cedula de V. Mt. en que manda que se reciba por capellan de la Reyna nuestra Señora un vecino daqui. aqui ha habido pocos que hayan sido buenos servidores y este no ha sido dellos y es muy moço y de poca autoridad que aun para moço de capilla no es. obedeci (1) la cedula de Vra Mt. y no la he cunplido por esto, y porque demas desto podrianse agraviar los que han servido mas que el y sus deudos de ver que ellos no reciben merced y la reciben los que no han servido. V. Mt. mande en esto lo que es servido que yo soy obligado a desirle lo que conviene a su servicio y cunplir lo que V. Mt. mandare.

aca he sabido de cierta traycion que diz que en la cocina de V. Mt. se queria haser. todos damos gracias a nuestro Señor porque no ubo efecto lo que los malvados querian, y pues Vra

(1) Sic.

(Translation.)

friendship of your Majesty, because it suits him well, but your Majesty ought to do the same.

The fortress was already demolished when the letter of your Majesty arrived. As I knew that it was ordered many years ago, and that it was suitable to the service of your Majesty, I should have done it earlier, if the governors had permitted it. But now it is already reduced to its proper state in consequence of an order of the governors.

I have received a decree of your Majesty ordering that an inhabitant of this town be appointed chaplain of the Queen my lady. There are few here who have been loyal servants, and this one is not of their number. He is very young, has little authority, and would not be sufficient to fill the place of a boy of the chapel. I have [not] obeyed and carried out the order of your Majesty for these reasons, as well as because others who have served better than he and his relations would think themselves aggrieved if they learn that they receive no favours, whilst those receive them who have done no service. Your Majesty may order what is for your interest. Although I am obliged to tell you what is compatible with your service I shall do what your Majesty commands.

We have been informed here of a certain treason which is said to have been intended in the kitchen of your Majesty. We all praise our Lord that what these diabolical people

1522.

Magt. tiene tantas causas para dargelas no solo por los rreynos que le dio mas por dalle tanta virtud y prudencia use V. Mt. della escogiendo y eligiendo buenas personas para su servicio, que sy asy lo haze no solo en la vida mas en el estado se le parecera. plega a nuestro Señor que lo guie todo como Vr̃a Mt. desea.

aca se han hecho y hasen muchisimas capitanias de onbres darmas. suplico a Vr̃a Magt. sea servido que lo que se monta en los cient estradiotes de mi capitania se hagan de onbres darmas y demas desto que de las otras conpañias se saquen algunas lanças para que se cunpla a numero de ciento, pues esta ha de estar y esta aqui con la rreyna nuestra Señora. y tambien suplico a Vr̃a Magt. enbie a mandar a los governadores que no remueban la gente questa aqui que son cient lanças y noventa escopetas y ciento cinquenta soldados de la conpañia de vernaldino de Carvajal y que toda esta gente sea bien pagada, que en verdad hasta agora no lo es y yo paso gran trabajo con ellos. esta cedula se me enbie a mi para que yo la enbie a los governadores.

sabido he lo que ha subcedido en el ducado de Milan en fabor de V. Mt. y asimesmo se dise que V. Mt. ha tomado a Tonay y hecho mucho daño en otros lugares de francia. doy

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(Translation.)

attempted was not carried into effect. As your Majesty has such good reason [to thank our Lord] not only for the kingdoms He gave you, but also for so much virtue and prudence, your Majesty ought to make use of it [your prudence] and select and choose good persons for your service. If you do so the effect will be visible not only in things which regard your life, but also in those of your states. May our Lord be pleased to ordain everything as your Majesty wishes.

A great many companies of men-at-arms have been formed here. I beg your Majesty to be pleased to order that instead of one hundred light horse my company is to consist of the same number of men-at-arms, and, moreover, that a certain number of lances be draughted from the other companies in order to complete the number of one hundred, as it is now, and is to remain, with the Queen our lady. I likewise beseech your Majesty to command the governors not to relieve the garrison which is here, consisting of 100 lances, 90 sharpshooters, and 150 foot of the company of Bernardino de Carvajal. All these troops ought to be well paid, which, to tell the truth, has not been done hitherto, and I have had many difficulties with them. This order ought to be sent to me, that I may forward it to the governors.

I have learnt the successes of your Majesty in the Duchy of Milan, and it is also said that your Majesty has taken Tournay, and done great injury to other towns in

1522.

muchas gracias a nuestro Señor por ello y plegale que en todo de bitoria a V. Mt. y pues V. Mt. ha hecho tantos cunplimientos con el Rey de francia quantos se deven haser antes que se comiense a haser guerra de Christianos y el es y ha sido sienpre tan perturbador de la paz, apriete V. Mt. lo que tiene començado de manera que parezca la diferencia que ay de vuestro estado al suyo, que yo espero en nuestro Señor quel ayudara a V. Mt.

yo tengo un sobrino clerigo hijo de mi hermana dona elvira de Rojas. suplico a V. Mt. me haga mṽd de recebille por su capellan.

V. Mt. hizo merced a pedro de Arayz mi criado del oficio de repostero de plata de la Señora ynfante y el albala se despacho en la coruña en blanco para hinchir la quitacion e llevo la covos. este es oficio necesario y no se puede sostener el que le sirve sin quitacion. Suplico a Vṽa Magt. mande despachallo conforme a los que se da a los de la Reyna nuestra Señora, y porque don hernando de tovar mi sobrino hablara y suplicara a V. Mt. de mi parte algunas cosas suplico a V. Mt. le mande oyr y creer. Ruego a nuestro Señor guarde vuestra Cesarea y Catolica Mt. con acrecentamiento de Su Real corona bienaventuradamente. de tordesyllas a xxv de enero 1522.

(Translation.)

France. I have thanked our Lord much for it, and may He be pleased to give your Majesty victory everywhere, as your Majesty has made all the offers to the King of France which ought to be made before beginning war with Christians, and he is and always has been the disturber of peace. Your Majesty should continue with great energy what you have begun, so that the difference between you and him may become apparent. I hope in our Lord that He will help you.

A nephew of mine, son of my sister Doña Elvira de Rojas, is a priest. I beg your Majesty to appoint him your chaplain.

Your Majesty appointed my servant Pedro de Arayz keeper of the plate of the señora Infanta. In Coruña the letter patent was despatched in blank, and Covos took it with him to fill up the amount of the salary. The office is indispensable, and he who holds it cannot maintain himself without pay. I beseech your Majesty to command that [the letters patent] be despatched in the same form as those [of the servants] of the Queen our lady. My nephew, Don Hernando de Tovar, will speak with your Majesty, and ask you some things in my name. I beg your Majesty that he may be heard and credit given to him.

I pray our Lord to guard your imperial and catholic Majesty, and increase your royal crown with many blessings.

From Tordesillas, 25th of January 1522.

1522.

de vuestra Cesarea Magestad umil syervo y vassallo que sus Reales manos veso. el marques.

[*Sobre:*] A la Cesarea Sacra Catolica magt del enperador y rrey de rromanos y despaña de las dos Secilias de Jerusalen nuestro Senor, etc.

1524 (?)
15th July.

97. FRAY GARCIA DE LOAISA, General of the Predicant Friars and Confessor of the Emperor, to the EMPEROR CHARLES.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Estado. Castilla. Legajo* 8. *f.* 143. *Holograph.*]

A Su Magt. del confessor.

Allegue a tordesyllas el miercoles y luego me ocupe en cunplir el mandamiento de Vña Mt. y es la conclusion que echo el examen que conver (1) . . . me paresce que la Señora infanta es libre en conciencia para casarse con quien Vña Magestad fuere servydo porque el desposorio que se hiz . . . . el duque de jasa es anulado y sin obligacion porque reclamo con ti . . po y como devia de derecho y el primer desposorio que se hizo . . . . año de dezinueve con el marques de brandenburc aunque ella era de doze años cunplidos como asta aqui avemos hallado por cuenta verdadera . . . . . sin obligacion in foro conciencie porque el marques y la marquesa l . . . . . que firmase aquellos pergaminos que venian escritos en latin

(1) Roto en los puntos. ¿ con ver mio me ?

(TRANSLATION.)

Your Majesty's humble servant and vassal kisses your royal hands. The marquis.

[*Addressed:*] To his imperial, sacred, and catholic Majesty, the Emperor and King of the Romans, of Spain, the two Sicilies, and Jerusalem, our lord, &c.

97. To his Majesty. From the Confessor.

I arrived at Tordesillas on Wednesday, and occupied myself immediately in executing the command of your Majesty. Having investigated into the case, the conclusion is that, in [my opinion], it seems that the señora Infanta is at liberty in her conscience to marry whomsoever your Majesty should choose. Her marriage, which was concluded with the Duke of Saxony, is annulled, and without any binding force, because she protested in time and in the form required by law. Her first marriage, which she concluded in the year nineteen with the Marquis of Brandenburg, is without any binding force, *in foro conscientiæ*, although she was then twelve years of age, as we have found in the true registers, because the marquis and the marchioness [told her] to sign the parchments written in Latin, which had

1524 (?)

desde bar . . . . na diziendo a Su Alteza que era sobre cierta renunciacion de su legitima porque convenia ansy al servico de Vr̃a Mt. y callaron de industria el casamiento con el marques de brandenburc que no la dixeron palabra, por no alterarla y porque su ama les dixo que no era de hedad, por manera que la Señora infanta tanto supo del dicho desposorio como de las cosas que se hac . . en persia y hasta que yo llegue aqui nunca esta cosa la avia pasado por pensamiento, y como para el matrimonio se rrequiera libre y actual consentimiento queda claro que no esta presa delante de dios en ningun contrato de los pasados, y pues la voluntad desta Señora es libre para obedescer a Vr̃a Magt. en lo de portugal me paresce que Vr̃a Alteza venga a celebrar las cortes a Valladolid, porque estando cerca podra con menos difficultad y mas suavemente y con acuerdo del Reyno sacar a la Señora ynfanta de las manos de su madre. desde burgos no se provehera esta cosa como es menester para que en qualquier peligro que suscediese en la vyda de la Reyna quedase Vr̃a Mt. en ojos de todos sin culpa ninguna. y si paresciere que el tienpo que esta señalado para las cortes es breve y no zufre mudança no es inconveniente alargarle diez dias pues la causa es tan conforme a Vr̃o servicio. acresciente dios la vyda de Vr̃a Mat. con descanso de alma y de cuerpo.

(Translation.)

been sent from Bar[celo]na, saying to her Highness that they concerned a certain renunciation of her right of inheritance which the service of your Majesty required. They intentionally concealed her marriage with the Marquis of Brandenburg from her, and did not tell her a single word about it, in order not to excite her, and because her nurse declared to them that she was by no means of sufficient age. Thus the señora Infanta knew of her marriage as much as of what is done in Persia. Until I arrived here such a thing has never been thought of by her. As for the conclusion of marriage a free and positive consent is required, it is clear before God none of the former [marriages] has been concluded. Thus the señora Infanta is free to obey your Majesty with respect to Portugal, and it seems to me that your Majesty should come and hold the cortes in Valladolid, whence, being near at hand, you can with less difficulty, more gently, and with the consent of the kingdom, get the señora Infanta out of the hands of her mother. From Burgos this could not be done in such a manner as is necessary, in order that, if anything happens to endanger the life of the Queen, your Majesty may remain blameless in the eyes of all. If you should think that the time assigned for the meeting of the cortes is too short for making any change, it would be no inconvenience to delay it until ten days later, as this matter so much regards your service. May God give your Majesty a long life, with repose for your soul and body.

1524 (?)

de tordesillas a xv de Julio.

escrivo al canciller. la cuenta deste negocio el la dara a Vña Mt.

Siervo y capellan de Vña Ce. Mat. generalis or^{nis}. pre^{rum}.

[*Sobre:*] A la Ce. y Ca. Magestad.

11th October. **98.** FRAY JUAN DE AVILA to the EMPEROR CHARLES.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Estado. Castilla. Legajo* 8. *f.* 143. *Holograph.*]

A Su Alteza de frey Juan de Avila.

S C. y muy C. Mat.

Dios todo poderoso de a V. Mt. la vida e salud que para su servicio y salvacion cunple y bien de todos sus Reynos. amen. ya Vña Mt. sabe muy bien como yo le aya servido en todos tienpos en ausencia y presencia con mucha verdad y lealtad e poniendo siempre a la Reyna mi Señora en el conoscimiento e amor que era Rason qu Su Alteza toviese de Vña Magt. segund lo vio e conoscio en mi Vña Magt. en la su presencia y porque Dios que es la verdad save que en mi nunca fue ni ay otra cosa de lo que digo a el solo me remito que me dara la perdicion y castigo como a mal siervo suyo si otra cosa ay en mi en contrario de su servicio y del de V. Mt.

(TRANSLATION.)

From Tordesillas, 15th of July.

I write to the chancellor, giving him an account of this affair, and he will communicate it to your Majesty.

Your imperial Majesty's servant and chaplain,
Generalis Ordinis Predicatorum.

[*Addressed:*] To his imperial and catholic Majesty.

98. To his Highness. From Fray Juan de Avila.

Sacred, imperial, and very catholic Majesty,

God Almighty give your Majesty the life and health which your service and salvation and the weal of all your kingdoms require. Amen. Your Majesty knows very well that I have served you at all times, whether you were present or absent, with much goodwill and loyalty, always directing the Queen our lady towards that good understanding and love which it is reasonable that her Highness should have for your Majesty. Your Majesty has seen and known it when you were here. God, who is the truth, knows that it never was nor is otherwise than I say. I appeal to Him alone, and may He destroy and punish me as a bad servant of His, if there is any other thing in me in opposition to His and to your Majesty's service.

1524 (?)

bien creo se acordara V. Mt. como el dia de la partida de burgos acabada la misa luego que don pedro Sarmiento hablo a V. Mt. allegue yo a besar las manos a V. Mt. y le suplique si era servido (1) . . . . . hiziese mr̃d de mandar me dar licencia para venir a besar las manos de la Señora ynfante . . . . arla y no mas pues la avia yo servido y enseñado toda su vida y esto que fuese depues . . . . . a de tordesillas y que si Vr̃a Mt. no se servia dello que no lo haria. Vr̃a Mt. por . . . , magnificiencia me dio licencia disiendo que bien, y que fuese para quando saliese de ally. yo he . . . . . con esta licencia de Vr̃a Mt. fuy en Valladoly. despues hartos dias que V. Mt. fue y vol . . . . . de Tordesillas y se dio conclusion en el concierto de la Señora ynfante y estuve en nuestra casa . . . . . syn salir de ally a parte ninguna yo Señor he seydo syenpre maltractado y por . . . . . obras y amenaças dende que Vr̃a Mt. me ynvio a man . . . . . dandome licencia para yrme a reposar en my orden donde el general m . . . . . sol . . . . . Mat. ge lo escrivya asi. yo lo hise como Vr̃a Mt. me hiso la merced en ello pero dende entonces aca nunca se me ha dado descanso por que jamas me han dexado rreposar en casa alguna . . . . . agora en Valladoly entre otras cosas hisieron

(1) Los puntos indican roturas en el original.

(TRANSLATION.)

Your Majesty will remember that on the day of your departure from Burgos, when, after mass, Don Pedro de Sarmiento spoke with your Majesty, I approached your Majesty to kiss your hands, and begged you to be pleased to give me permission to go and kiss the hands of the señora Infanta . . . . . (1), and nothing more, because I had served and instructed her all her life long, and that this should be after . . . . . (1) from Tordesillas, and if your Majesty should not be pleased to grant it, I would not do it. Your Majesty . . . . . magnificence gave me permission, saying: good, and I might go when she should leave. I . . . . . with this permission of your Majesty, went to Valladolid. Many days later, when your Majesty went to and re[turned] from Tordesillas, and the marriage of the señora Infanta was concluded, and I remained in our convent . . . . . without ever going out, I have, Señor, always been ill treated, and by . . . . . deeds and threats from the moment when your Majesty sent to com[mand] . . . . . giving me permission to go and to repose in a convent of my order, where the general . . . . . Majesty wrote it. I did it because your Majesty favoured me thereby, but from that time until now I have never been permitted to live in peace, for in no convent whatever have they permitted me to repose . . . . . now in Valladolid they, among other things, had certain letters written to the señora

(1) Paper gone.

1524 (?)

escrivir ciertas cartas a la Señora ynfante a mi general para que me hisiese luego salir de Valladoly y del Abrojo disiendo e publicando que Vña Mt. no me avia dado licencia y que mandava que luego me fuese de ally. a V. Mt. suplico por reverencia de dios nuestro Señor pues tantos tienpos a que yo le sirvo y a sus Catolicos padres y hermana y con tanta linpieça e verdad y yo no tengo otro Señor despues de dios que no permita que yo sea asy tractado e fatigado en mi veges y en fin de tantos trabajos quantos yo e çufrido e pasado pues yo no hago ni hise mal a quien me persygue por servir yo a Vña Mt. dios todo poderoso guarde a Vuestra Mt. y prospere su vida y estado ymperial por largos tiempos. amen. de Avila a xj de Otubre. S. C. C. Mt. besa los pies e las manos de Vña. Mt. su pobre frayre y Capellan.

frey Juan de Avila el confessor. [Rubrica.]

[*Sobre:*] A la Sacra C. y muy Catholica Mt. el emperador Ntro. Señor.

(TRANSLATION.)

Infanta [and] to my general that he should order me directly to leave Valladolid and Abrojo, saying and publishing that your Majesty had not given me permission, but ordered me immediately to leave that place. I beseech your Majesty, by your reverence for God our Lord, as I have served so long a time your catholic predecessors and your sister with so much integrity and so truly, and, next to God, I have no other lord than you, not to permit me to be treated in that manner and worried in my old age, after so many hardships as I have suffered and undergone. I neither do nor have done injury to him who persecutes me, by serving your Majesty. God Almighty guard your Majesty, and prosper your imperial life and state during many years. Amen.

From Avila, 11th of October.

Sacred, imperial, and catholic Majesty, your Majesty's feet and hands kisses your poor friar and chaplain.

Fray Juan de Avila, Confessor.

[Sign manual.]

[*Addressed:*] To his sacred, imperial, and very catholic Majesty, the Emperor, our lord.

1525 (?)
15th January. **99.** DON FADRIQUE HENRIQUEZ, Admiral of Castile, to the EMPEROR CHARLES.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Estado. Castilla. Legajo* 13. *ff.* 14, 15. *Holograph.*]

A Su Magd. del Almirante. a xv. de Enero.

S. C. C. Mt.

aquy man escryto que ṽra mayesta va mejorando y porque los desordenes en la convalesencya son mas pelygrosos quen la dolencya soplyco a ṽra majesta que se guarde.

cuando por mandado de ṽra mayesta fue a tordesillas able algunas vezes a la reyna nuestra Señora y en verda Señor que con todo su trabayo se le conocya el descontentamyento que tyene del marques y de la marquesa ques tanto que siente mayor travaxo de oyllos que syntio de la yda de la reyna y por parecerme obra muy piadosa la escrybo a ṽra mayesta, que para ablar en esto parece que tyene todo el ser que qualquyera puede tener y en salyendo dello esta tan desconcertada como ṽra Alteza a bysto. parecyome que lo devya azer saber a ṽra mayesta. no lo terna por yero pues ṽra Alteza conoce la voluntad la que me aze por servycio de ṽra Alteza olvydarlos de (1) . . . . guarde dyos la muy real persona de vṽa majesta. de medina a xv denero.

(1) Roto.

(TRANSLATION.)

99. To his Majesty. From the Admiral. 15th of January.

Sacred, imperial, and catholic Majesty,

I have been informed by letters that your Majesty is recovering, and as indiscretions during the recovery are much more dangerous than during the illness, I beseech your Majesty to be careful.

When by the command of your Majesty I went to Tordesillas, I spoke several times with the Queen our lady, and in truth, Sir, her dissatisfaction with the marquis and the marchioness is discernible in spite of all her great troubles. It is so great that she suffers more from hearing them [speak], than from the departure of the Queen.(1) As that seems to me a most lamentable thing, I write it to your Majesty. Speaking on this matter, she seems to have the same judgment(2) as any other person might have, but as soon as other subjects are started she is as confused as your Majesty has seen her. I thought it my duty to inform your Majesty of this. You will not impute it to me as an error, because your Majesty knows the goodwill towards the service of your Highness which makes me forget . . . . . (3) May God preserve the life of your Majesty.

From Medina [de Rioseco], 15th of January.

(1) The Infanta Catalina having married the King of Portugal had left for that kingdom.

(2) Ser is essence, or nature, evidently used here with respect to her judgment.

(3) Paper gone.

1525 (?)

servydor y vasallo que los Reales pyes y manos de V. C. C. Mt. vesa. el almirante. [Rubrica.]

[*Sobre*:] A la S. C. C. Mt. dell enperado . . . . rey nu . . . o Señor.

23rd May. **100.** The MARQUIS OF DENIA to the EMPEROR CHARLES.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Legajo de autografas y originales. f.* 16. *Holograph.*]

S. S. C. Mt.

la Reyna nuestro Señora esta como suele y abra un mes que salyo a un corredor y començó a dar vozes y porque no oyesen a Su Alt. yo mande a las mugeres que le suplycasen que se entrase en su camara y syno lo yzyese la metyesen y vyendo que lo queryan azer entrose. a quedado tan ordenada que no haze syno lo que le suplicamos, y asy come cada dya y de xv dyas aca se a acostado desnuda en su cama tres vezes y se a vestydo. yo syenpre crey que estando Su Alteza en la yndyspusycion que esta por nuestros pecados no podya aprovechar ninguna cosa tanto como alguna premia aunque es muy grave cosa pensar el vasallo en hazella a Su Señor. pareceme que estando Su Alt. en esta dyspusycion que serya de provar a que ablase a Su Alt. algun buen Religioso y antes que fray juan vrtado vinyese yo estava para llamalle para

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(TRANSLATION.)

Your servant and vassal kisses the feet and hands of your Majesty.

The Admiral. [Sign manual.]

[*Addressed*:] To the sacred, imperial, and catholic Majesty of the Emperor . . . . . King . . . . . lord.

100.

Sacred, imperial, and catholic Majesty,

The Queen our lady is as usual. About a month ago she went to the corridor, and began to scream. In order that her Highness should not be heard I ordered the women to beg her to return to her room, and if she would not go, to conduct her there by force. When she saw that they were ready to do so she entered [her room], and remained so orderly that she does all we ask her. She dines every day. During the last fortnight she has undressed three times, gone to bed, and dressed again. I have always thought that her Highness, being so indisposed as she is, in punishment for our sins, nothing could do her more good than some torture,(1) although it is a very serious thing for a vassal to think of employing it against his sovereign. Her Highness being in this disposition I think it would be well that some good priest should speak to her, and

(1) See note (1), added to the document No. 96, p. 405.

1525 (?)

esto porque demas de ser tan buen Religioso era verdadero servydor de V. Mt. y esta calydad querria que tuvyesen todos los que syrven y an de ablar a Su Al. asy que S. Mt. estando Su. Al. en esta dyspusycion parece que es Razon de ayudalla para ver sy podra yr adelante en lo que V. Mt. desea. vealo V. Mt. y sy le parecyere mande venyr aqui vn buen rreligioso y sy V. Mt. acordare este sea domynyco porque con los franciscos esta mal por averse hallado aquy el general quando la Reyna my Señora se partyo. ruego a nuestro Señor guarde ỽra C. C. Mt. bienaventuradamente con acrecentamyento de su Real corona. de tordesyllas a xxiij de mayo.

umill syervo de V. Mt. que sus Reales manos veso. el marques. [Rubrica.]

[*Sobre:*] A la S. C. C. Mt. del enperador y Rey Nuestro Señor.

(TRANSLATION.)

before Fray Juan Hurtado was to come, I had already thought of inviting him for this purpose. For he is not only a good priest, but also a loyal servant of your Majesty, and I wish that as much could be said of all who speak with her Highness. Thus, Sacred Majesty, whilst she is in her present disposition, it is necessary to help her, and to see whether she will not make some progress in those things which your Majesty desires. Your Majesty has to decide, and if [my proposal] is approved, your Majesty may order a good priest to come here. It would be well if he were a Dominican friar, for the Franciscans she does not like, because the general [of the Franciscan friars] was here when the Queen my lady (1) left. I pray our Lord to guard your Majesty, and to bless you with more kingdoms.

From Tordesillas, 23rd of May.

Your Majesty's servant kisses your royal hands.

The Marquis. [Sign manual.]

[*Addressed:*] To his sacred, imperial, and catholic Majesty, the Emperor and King our lord.

(1) The Infanta Catalina, married to the King of Portugal in the year 1524.

1527.
11th October. **101.** The MARQUIS OF DENIA to the EMPEROR CHARLES.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Estado. Castilla. Legajo* 15. *No folio. Holograph.*]

A su Mad. del Marques de Denia. Resp.

S. C. C. Mt.

Recibi la carta de vĩa magt. y el despacho que me mando enbiar para la yda de la Reyna ñra Señora a toro en la qual vĩra Magt. manda que se haga con todo acatamiento de su Alteza. yo escrivo al secretario Covos sobresto e sy vĩra Magt. lo dize como hijo pareceme muy bien. pero de creer es que como vasallo yo no hare otra cosa syno lo que convenga al servicio de su Alteza y vĩro. Vĩa. Magestad me mande responder lo que en esto manda porque sy ha de ser la salyda syn enojo de su Alteza yo se que sera tan tarde como las otras cosas que su Alteza haze aun que son de menos trabajo. Ruego a ñro Señor guarde la cesarea y catholica persona de vĩra Magt. bienaventuradamente con acrecemiento de su rreal corona. de tordesillas a honze de Octubre Dxxvij.

syervo y vasallo de vĩra Magt. que sus Reales manos beso.

El marques.

[*Sobre:*] A la Sacra Cesarea y Catholica magestad del Emperador ñro Señor.

(TRANSLATION.)

101. To his Majesty, from the Marquis of Denia. Answered.

Sacred, imperial, and catholic Majesty,

I received the letter and the despatch, concerning the removal of the Queen our lady to Toro, which your Majesty ordered to be sent to me. Your Majesty commands that it be done with all the reverence due to the Queen. I write to the secretary Covos on this subject. If your Majesty says this, being her son, it seems to me very well; but it is to be supposed that I, being your vassal, am not to do anything but what is conducive to your service and that of her Highness. May your Majesty order that an answer be sent, informing me of your command. For, if the removal is to be effected without annoyance to her Highness, I know it will be as much delayed as the other things which her Highness does and which give her less trouble. I pray our Lord to guard the imperial and catholic person of your Majesty in happiness and with an augmentation of your royal crown.

From Tordesillas, 11th of October 1527.

Your Majesty's servant and vassal kisses your royal hands. The Marquis.

[*Addressed:*] To his sacred, imperial, and catholic Majesty, the Emperor our lord.

1527.
16th October. **102.** The MARQUIS OF DENIA to the EMPEROR CHARLES.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Estado. Castilla. Legajo* 15. *f.* 71. *Autograph*].

A su magd. del marques de denia. xvj de Otubre.

S. C. C. M.

poco ha que escrevi a V. Mt. lo que despues a sucedido es que han muerto tres y esta una moça para morir e al presente no ay otra cosa. no he suplicado a la Reyna Nuestra Señora que salga de aqui porque ha cinco o seys dias que no ha querido comer syno pan y queso y esto acostunbra su Alteza hazer por cada cosa que no se haze a su voluntad. e sy se hiziese querria otras cosas en mas deservicio suyo. e porque con la partida Recibiria su Alteza mucha alteracion hase diferido asy esperando que coma su Alteza como por aver alguna mejoria en el lugar. sy esta no fuere adelante lo que Nuestro Señor no quiera partira su Alteza para toro. pero ha de ser la yda de la manera que tengo escrita que es que saldra su Alteza de aqui a las honze o las doze de la noche e yra a un lugar tres leguas de aqui que se llama pedrosa. y alli estara el dia. y a la noche aquella misma hora partira y llegara aquella noche a toro y en entrando en el lugar se proveera que no aya gente que vea a su Alteza y asi es menester por-

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(TRANSLATION.)

102. To his Majesty. From the Marquis of Denia. 16th of October.

Sacred, imperial, and catholic Majesty,

I wrote to your Majesty a short time ago. What has since occurred is, that three persons have died and a young woman is dying. There is nothing else worth mentioning. I have not begged the Queen our Lady to leave this place, for during the last five or six days she has refused to eat anything except bread and cheese. She usually does this if her will in anything is not done, and if it were done she would ask other things more prejudicial to her. As the removal would much disturb her, it has been delayed in order to wait until her Highness takes food, and to see whether the health of the place will not improve. If that should not be the case, which our Lord forbid, her Highness will remove to Toro. Her departure must, however, be effected in the manner which I have stated; that is to say, her Highness will start from here at eleven or twelve o'clock at night, and go to a place three leagues distant from here which is called Pedrosa. There she is to stay during the day, and the next night at the same hour she will start again, and reach Toro before day. When she enters the town care will be taken that no one sees

1527.

que en verdad yo he verguença de mi mesmo de lo que veo dezir y hazer.

yo enbie a don hernando de tovar mi sobrino y al mayordomo beltran a toro como a Vra Mt. escrevi para que viesen las casas de don gutierre de fonseca y de Juan Rodrigues de fonseca y en ninguna dellas ni en entramas no puede Su Alteza posar porque el aposentamiento que se puede dar a Su Alteza es en parte publica donde todos verian a Su Alteza que es lo que no conviene, demas de otras cosas que Su Alteza quiere que no se podrian hazer sino donde todos la viesen. asy que no ay alli otra casa donde Su Alteza pueda posar sino es la de Antonio de fonseca que demas de ser buena de aposentamiento es en parte apartada. y el aposentamiento que su Alteza podra alli tener sera muy bueno y en que tenga descanso e que no la vea nadie. conviene que Vra Mt. mande escrevir a Antonio de fonseca que dexe la casa e que sy algo hay que adereçar en ella que es poco para que se pueda morar que lo haga adereçar luego.

la marquesa ha differido su partida a ver a su madre hasta ver en que para la salud de aqui o la yda de Su Alteza a toro. Ruego a nuestro Señor guarde vuestra Cesarea y Catholica Mt. bienaventuradamente con acrecentamiento de su Real corona. de tordesillas a xvj de Otubre dxxvij.

(Translation.)

her Highness. That is necessary, for, in truth, I am ashamed of myself, of what I see and what is said and done.

I sent Don Hernando de Tovar, my nephew, and the mayordomo Beltran to Toro, as I have written to your Majesty, to examine the houses of Don Gutierez de Fonseca and Juan Rodriguez de Fonseca. In neither of them, nor in both together, can her Highness stay. For the apartment which could be given to her Highness is too public. Every one could see her Highness there, which ought not to be. Moreover, her Highness demands other things which could not be procured except where all could see her. Thus, there is no other house there where her Highness could be lodged, except that of Antonio de Fonseca. It contains good apartments, and moreover is situated in a little frequented part [of the town]. The room which her Highness could have there is very good, and she could rest in it without seeing any one. It would be good if your Majesty would command Antonio de Fonseca to be written to to quit the house, and if repairs have to be made to render it inhabitable, which will be little, to have it repaired at once.

The Marchioness has postponed her journey to her mother until it is known whether the health of the place will improve or her Highness go to Toro. I pray our Lord to guard your imperial and catholic Majesty in happiness, and to augment your royal crown.

From Tordesillas 16th of October 1527.

1527.

Syervo y vassallo de V. Mt. que sus Reales manos beso. el marques. [Rubrica.]

[*Sobre:*] A la Sacra Cesa. y Catha. Magt. del Emperador . . . . . Nuestro Señor eta.

1530 (?)
23rd February.

103. The MARQUIS OF DENIA to the EMPRESS.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Estado. Castilla. Legajo* 12. *f.* 39. *The postscriptum is holograph.*]

S. C. C. Mt.

el officio de labandera de la Reyna nuestra Señora es baco sobre lo qual hablara a V. Mt. de mi parte Antonio de bosmediano veedor de Su Alteza. Suplico a V. Mt. lo mande proveer a quien y como el lo dira que es como Su Alteza sera servida y se ganaran dineros. Ruego a nuestro Señor guarde V. S. C. C. mt. con acrecentamiento de Su Real Corona bienaventuradamente. de tordesillas a xxiij de hebrero.

[*De letra del marques.*] a la Reyna nuestra Señora e tornado oy a dezyr lo de la confysyon. Su Al. me dyxo que lo querrya azer pero que no conocya en la orden de Santo domyngo ninguna persona. yo le dyxe a Su Al. quel provyncyal pasado y el que agora es son personas onrradas y que de cualquiera dellos se contentarya. Su Alt. mandome que le envyase a llamar. yo lo are asy como quyera que syendo

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(TRANSLATION.)

Your Majesty's servant and vassal kisses your royal hands.
The Marquis. [Sign manual.]

[*Addressed:*] To his sacred, imperial, and catholic Majesty, the Emperor . . . . . our lord, &c.

103.

Sacred, imperial, and catholic Majesty,

The place of laundress of the Queen our lady is vacant. Antonio de Vozmediano, superintendent of the household of her Highness, will, in my name, speak to your Majesty about it. I beseech your Majesty to appoint the person he will name. Her Highness will be well served, and money will be spared. I pray our Lord to guard your sacred, imperial, and catholic Majesty, to augment your royal crown, and to give you happiness. From Tordesillas, 23rd of February.

[*Written by the Marquis:*] To day I have again spoken with the Queen our lady about her confessing. Her Highness said to me that she would do it, but did not know any one belonging to the Order of Santo Domingo. I said to her Highness that the late as well as the present provincial are honourable men, and that she would be satisfied with either of them. Her Highness told me to send for him. I shall do

1530 (?)

yo tan malo no puedo pensar que por my suplycacyon se aga cosa tan buena pero encomendarse a a nuestro Señor y pornase la dyligencya que convyene. Syervo y vasallo de V. mt. que sus Reales manos veso. el marques. [Rubrica.]

[*Sobre:*] A la S. C. C. Mt. de la Emperatriz y Reyna Nuestra Señora etc.

1531 (?)
23rd February. **104.** The MARQUIS OF DENIA to the EMPRESS.

[*Archivo General de Simancas. Estado. Castilla. Legajo* 12. *f.* 38. *Holograph.*]

A Su Magd. del marques de denia.

S. C. Mt.

plega a nuestro Señor que V. mt. este largos años con la salud y descanso que sus vasallos deseamos y avemos menester. la Reyna nuestra Señora esta como V. Mt. dexo a Su Al. y tan contenta de V. Mt. quanto es razon. cuando torne me pregunto asta donde avya ydo y que tanto fue V. Mt. en la acanea, y el Señor principe y la Señora ynfante como yban, y despues todas las vezes que Su Alt. me abla syenpre me pregunta por V. Mt. y por el Señor principe y por la Señora ynfante. plazera a nuestro Señor que deste amor que Su Alt. tiene a V. Mt. resultase alguna buena obra que V. Mt. ara

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(TRANSLATION.)

so. Although I am such a bad man that I cannot believe that for the sake of my prayers so good a thing could be done, I nevertheless recommend it to God, and shall use all the diligence necessary. Your Majesty's servant and vassal kisses your royal hands.

The Marquis. [Sign manual.]

[*Addressed:*] To her sacred, imperial, and catholic Majesty, the Empress and Queen our lady, &c.

104. To her Majesty, from the Marquis of Denia.

Sacred catholic Majesty,

God grant that your Majesty may enjoy for long years the health and prosperity which we your vassals desire, and of which we are in need. The Queen our lady continues as your Majesty left her Highness, and is as much satisfied with your Majesty as she ought to be. When I returned she asked me how far you had gone, how you comported yourself on horseback, and how the señor Prince (1) and the señora Infanta (2) proceeded. As often as her Highness has spoken to me since she has always inquired for your Majesty, the señor Prince and the señora Infanta. Would to God that from this love

(1) Philip. (2) Doña Maria.

1531 (?)

para su salvacyon que en todos estados es esto lo que se deve procurar cuanto mas en el que Su Al. esta. Nuestro Señor lo ordene asy.

el camarero Ryvera lleva a V. Mt. aquellas cosas que vyo y pues nuestro Señor dyo a V. Mt. en lo mas lo que merece a de tomar en pacyencya estas nonadas y porque al camarero y a my no se nos pydan mande V. Mt. sy fuere servyda darnos una cedula como las mando tomar. ruego a nuestro Señor guarde vyenaventuradamente V. Catolica Mt. con acrecentamyento de su Real Corona. de tordesyllas a xxiij de hebrero.

syervo y vasallo de V. Mt. que sus Reales manos beso.

el marques. [Rubrica.]

[*Sobre:*] A la S. C . . . . . de la . . . . peratriz y Reyna Nuestra Señora etc.

(TRANSLATION.)

which her Highness bears you some good may follow, and that your Majesty may effect her salvation, to procure which is a duty in every condition, and much more so in the rank which her Highness occupies. May our Lord ordain it so.

The chamberlain Ryvera takes to your Majesty the things which you saw here. As our Lord has vouchsafed to your Majesty all the great things you deserve, you may accept these trifles with forbearance. In order that they be not afterwards demanded from me and the chamberlain, I beg your Majesty to be pleased to send an order commanding us to deliver them.

Our Lord reward your blessed catholic Majesty with the increase of your royal power. From Tordesillas, 23rd of February.

Your Majesty's servant and vassal kisses your royal hands.

The Marquis. [Signature.]

[*Addressed:*] To her sacred, imperial . . . . the [Em]press and Queen, our lady, &c.

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SYLLABUS, IN ENGLISH, OF RYMER'S FŒDERA; with Index. Vol. I.

In Progress.

CALENDAR OF LETTERS, DESPATCHES, AND STATE PAPERS, relating to the Negotiations between England and Spain, preserved in the Archives at Simancas, and elsewhere. *Edited by* G. A. BERGENROTH. Vol. III.—Henry VIII.—*continued.*

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS relating to IRELAND, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* HANS CLAUDE HAMILTON, Esq., F.S.A. Vol. III.—1586, &c.

THE CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

[ROYAL 8vo., half-bound. *Price* 10*s.* each Volume or Part.]

On 25 July 1822, the House of Commons presented an address to the Crown, stating that the editions of the works of our ancient historians were inconvenient and defective; that many of their writings still remained in manuscript, and, in some cases, in a single copy only. They added, "that an "uniform and convenient edition of the whole, published under His Majesty's "royal sanction, would be an undertaking honourable to His Majesty's reign, "and conducive to the advancement of historical and constitutional know- "ledge; that the House therefore humbly besought His Majesty, that He "would be graciously pleased to give such directions as His Majesty, in His "wisdom, might think fit, for the publication of a complete edition of the "ancient historians of this realm, and assured His Majesty that whatever "expense might be necessary for this purpose would be made good."

The Master of the Rolls, being very desirous that effect should be given to the resolution of the House of Commons, submitted to Her Majesty's Treasury in 1857 the plan above referred to for the publication of the ancient chronicles and memorials of the United Kingdom, and it was adopted accordingly. In selecting these works, it was considered right, in the first instance, to give preference to those of which the manuscripts were unique, or the materials of which would help to fill up blanks in English history for which no satisfactory and authentic information hitherto existed in any accessible form. One great object the Master of the Rolls had in view was to form a *corpus historicum* within reasonable limits, and which should be as complete as possible. In a subject of so vast a range, it was important that the historical student should be able to select such volumes as conformed with his own peculiar tastes and studies, and not be put to the expense of purchasing the whole collection; an inconvenience inseparable from any other plan than that which has been in this instance adopted.

Of the Chronicles and Memorials, the following volumes have been published. They embrace the period from the earliest time of British history down to the end of the reign of Henry VII.

1. THE CHRONICLE OF ENGLAND, by JOHN CAPGRAVE. *Edited by* the Rev. F. C. HINGESTON, M.A., of Exeter College, Oxford. 1858.

   John Capgrave was prior of Lynn, in Norfolk, and provincial of the order of the Friars Hermits of England shortly before the year 1464. His Chronicle extends from the creation of the world to the year 1417. As a record of the language spoken in Norfolk (for it is written in English), it is of considerable value.

2. CHRONICON MONASTERII DE ABINGDON. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* the Rev. JOSEPH STEVENSON, M.A., of University College, Durham, and Vicar of Leighton Buzzard. 1858.

   This Chronicle traces the history of the great Benedictine monastery of Abingdon in Berkshire, from its foundation by King Ina of Wessex, to the reign of Richard I., shortly after which period the present narrative was drawn up by an inmate of the establishment. The author had access to the title-deeds of the house, and incorporates into his history various charters of the Saxon kings, which are of great importance as illustrating not only the history of the locality but that of the kingdom at large. The work is now printed for the first time.

3. LIVES OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR. I.—La Estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei. II.—Vita Beati Edvardi Regis et Confessoris. III.—Vita Æduuardi Regis qui apud Westmonasterium requiescit. *Edited by* HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1858.

   The first is a poem in Norman French, containing 4,686 lines. It is addressed to Alianor, Queen of Henry III., and was probably written in the year 1245, on the occasion of the restoration of the church of Westminster. Nothing is known of the author.

   The second is an anonymous poem, containing 536 lines, written between the years 1440 and 1450, by command of Henry VI., to whom it is dedicated. Though it does not throw any new light on the reign of Edward the Confessor, yet it is valuable as a specimen of the Latin poetry of the time.

   The third, also by an anonymous author, was apparently written for Queen Edith, between the years 1066 and 1074, during the pressure of the suffering brought on the Saxons by the Norman conquest. It notices many facts not found in other writers, and some which differ considerably from the usual accounts.

4. MONUMENTA FRANCISCANA; scilicet, I.—Thomas de Eccleston de Adventu Fratrum Minorum in Angliam. II.—Adæ de Marisco Epistolæ. III.—Registrum Fratrum Minorum Londoniæ. *Edited by* J. S. BREWER, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London. 1858.

   This volume contains original materials for the history of the settlement of the order of Saint Francis in England, the letters of Adam de Marisco, and other papers connected with the foundation and diffusion of this great body. It has been the aim of the editor to collect whatever historical information could be found in this country, in the British Museum, or elsewhere, towards illustrating a period of the national history for which only scanty materials exist. None of these have been before printed.

5. FASCICULI ZIZANIORUM MAGISTRI JOHANNIS WYCLIF CUM TRITICO Ascribed to THOMAS NETTER, of WALDEN, Provincial of the Carmelite Order in England, and Confessor to King Henry the Fifth. *Edited by* the Rev. W. W. SHIRLEY, M.A., Tutor and late Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford. 1858.

This work derives its principal value from the fact that it is the only contemporaneous account of the rise of the Lollards. At the time when it was written, the disputes of the schoolmen had been extended to the field of theology, and they appear both in the writings of Wycliff and in those of his adversaries.

Wycliff's little bundles of tares are not less metaphysical than theological, and the conflict between Nominalists and Realists rages side by side with the conflict between the different interpreters of Scripture. The "Fasciculi Zizaniorum" gives a good idea of the controversies which were carried on at the end of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th centuries.

6. THE BUIK OF THE CRONICLIS OF SCOTLAND; or, A Metrical Version of the History of Hector Boece; by WILLIAM STEWART. Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by* W. B. TURNBULL, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law. 1858.

This is a metrical translation of a Latin Prose Chronicle, and was written in the first half of the 16th century. The narrative begins with the earliest legends, and ends with the death of James I. of Scotland, and the "evil ending of the traitors that slew him." Strict accuracy of statement is not to be looked for in such a work as this; but the stories of the colonization of Spain, Ireland, and Scotland are interesting if not true; and the chronicle is valuable as a reflection of the manners, sentiments, and character of the age in which it was composed.

The peculiarities of the Scottish dialect are well illustrated in this metrical version of Boece's work, and the student of language will here find ample materials for comparison with the English dialects of the same period, and with modern lowland Scotch.

7. JOHANNIS CAPGRAVE LIBER DE ILLUSTRIBUS HENRICIS. *Edited by* the Rev. F. C. HINGESTON, M.A., of Exeter College, Oxford. 1858.

This work is dedicated to Henry VI. of England, who appears to have been, in the author's estimation, the greatest of all the Henries. It is divided into three distinct parts, each having its own separate dedication. The first part relates only to the history of the Empire, and extends from the election of Henry I., the Fowler, to the end of the reign of the Emperor Henry VI. The second part is devoted to English history, and extends from the accession of Henry I. in the year 1100, to the year 1446 which was the twenty-fourth year of the reign of King Henry VI. The third part contains the lives of illustrious men who have borne the name of Henry in various parts of the world.

Capgrave was born in 1393, in the reign of Richard II., and lived during the Wars of the Roses, for the history of which period his work is of some value.

8. HISTORIA MONASTERII S. AUGUSTINI CANTUARIENSIS, by THOMAS OF ELMHAM, formerly Monk and Treasurer of that Foundation. *Edited by* CHARLES HARDWICK, M.A., Fellow of St. Catharine's Hall, and Christian Advocate in the University of Cambridge. 1858.

This history extends from the arrival of St. Augustine in Kent until 1191. Prefixed is a chronology as far as 1418, which shows in outline what was to have been the character of the work when completed. The only copy known is in the possession of Trinity Hall, Cambridge. The author was connected with Norfolk, and most probably with Elmham, whence he derived his name.

9. EULOGIUM (HISTORIARUM SIVE TEMPORIS): Chronicon ab Orbe condito usque ad Annum Domini 1366; a Monacho quodam Malmesbiriensi exaratum. Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by* F. S. HAYDON, Esq., B.A. 1858–1863.

This is a Latin Chronicle extending from the Creation to the latter part of the reign of Edward III., and written by a monk of the Abbey of Malmesbury, in Wiltshire, about the year 1367. A continuation, carrying the history of England

down to the year 1413, was added in the former half of the fifteenth century by an author whose name is not known. The original Chronicle is divided into five books. It contains a history of the world generally, but more especially of England to the year 1366. The continuation extends the history down to the coronation of Henry V. The Eulogium itself is chiefly valuable as containing a history, by a contemporary, of the period between 1356 and 1366. The notices of events appear to have been written very soon after their occurrence. Among other interesting matter, the Chronicle contains a diary of the Poitiers campaign, evidently furnished by some person who accompanied the army of the Black Prince. The continuation of the Chronicle is also the work of a contemporary, and gives a very interesting account of the reigns of Richard II. and Henry IV. It is believed to be the earliest authority for the statement that the latter monarch died in the Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster.

10. MEMORIALS OF HENRY THE SEVENTH: Bernardi Andreæ Tholosatis Vita Regis Henrici Septimi; necnon alia quædam ad eundem Regem spectantia. *Edited by* JAMES GAIRDNER, Esq. 1858.

The contents of these volumes are—(1) a life of Henry VII., by his poet laureate and historiographer, Bernard André, of Toulouse, with some compositions in verse, of which he is supposed to have been the author; (2) the journals of Roger Machado during certain embassies on which he was sent by Henry VII. to Spain and Brittany, the first of which had reference to the marriage of the King's son, Arthur, with Catharine of Arragon; (3) two curious reports by envoys sent to Spain in the year 1505 touching the succession to the Crown of Castile, and a project of marriage between Henry VII. and the Queen of Naples; and (4) an account of Philip of Castile's reception in England in 1506. Other documents of interest in connexion with the period are given in an appendix.

11. MEMORIALS OF HENRY THE FIFTH. I.—Vita Henrici Quinti, Roberto Redmanno auctore. II.—Versus Rhythmici in laudem Regis Henrici Quinti. III.—Elmhami Liber Metricus de Henrico V. *Edited by* CHARLES A. COLE, Esq. 1858.

This volume contains three treatises which more or less illustrate the history of the reign of Henry V., viz.: A Life by Robert Redman; a Metrical Chronicle by Thomas Elmham, prior of Lenton, a contemporary author; Versus Rhythmici, written apparently by a monk of Westminster Abbey, who was also a contemporary of Henry V. These works are reprinted for the first time.

12. MUNIMENTA GILDHALLÆ LONDONIENSIS; Liber Albus, Liber Custumarum, et Liber Horn, in archivis Gildhallæ asservati. Vol. I., Liber Albus. Vol. II. (in Two Parts), Liber Custumarum. Vol. III., Translation of the Anglo-Norman Passages in Liber Albus, Glossaries, Appendices, and Index. *Edited by* HENRY THOMAS RILEY, Esq., M.A., Barrister-at-Law. 1859–1862.

The manuscript of the *Liber Albus*, compiled by John Carpenter, Common Clerk of the City of London in the year 1419, a large folio volume, is preserved in the Record Room of the City of London. It gives an account of the laws, regulations, and institutions of that City in the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, and early part of the fifteenth centuries.

The *Liber Custumarum* was compiled probably by various hands in the early part of the fourteenth century during the reign of Edward II. The manuscript, a folio volume, is also preserved in the Record Room of the City of London, though some portion in its original state, borrowed from the City in the reign of Queen Elizabeth and never returned, forms part of the Cottonian MS. Claudius D. II. in the British Museum. It also gives an account of the laws, regulations, and institutions of the City of London in the twelfth, thirteenth, and early part of the fourteenth centuries.

13. CHRONICA JOHANNIS DE OXENEDES. *Edited by* Sir HENRY ELLIS, K.H. 1859.

Although this Chronicle tells of the arrival of Hengist and Horsa in England in the year 449, yet it substantially begins with the reign of King Alfred, and comes down to the year 1292, where it ends abruptly. The history is particularly valuable for notices of events in the eastern portions of the kingdom, which are not to be elsewhere obtained, and some curious facts are mentioned relative to the floods in that part of England, which are confirmed in the Friesland Chronicle of Anthony Heinrich, pastor of the Island of Mohr.

14. A COLLECTION OF POLITICAL POEMS AND SONGS RELATING TO ENGLISH HISTORY, FROM THE ACCESSION OF EDWARD III. TO THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq., M.A. 1859–1861.

These Poems are perhaps the most interesting of all the historical writings of the period, though they cannot be relied on for accuracy of statement. They are various in character; some of them are upon religious subjects, some may be called satires, and some give no more than a court scandal; but as a whole they present a very fair picture of society, and of the relations of the different classes to one another.

The period comprised is in itself interesting, and brings us, through the decline of the feudal system, to what may be considered the beginning of our modern history. The songs in old English are of considerable interest to the philologist.

15. The "OPUS TERTIUM," "OPUS MINUS," &c., of ROGER BACON. *Edited by* J. S. BREWER, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London. 1859.

This is the celebrated treatise—which, up to this time, had never been printed—so frequently referred to by the great philosopher in his works. It contains the fullest details we possess of the life and labours of Roger Bacon. The volume also contains a fragment by the same author, supposed to be unique, the "*Compendium Studii Theologiæ.*"

16. BARTHOLOMÆI DE COTTON, MONACHI NORWICENSIS, HISTORIA ANGLICANA; 449–1298: necnon ejusdem Liber de Archiepiscopis et Episcopis Angliæ. *Edited by* HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1859.

The author, a monk of Norwich, has here given us a Chronicle of England from the arrival of the Saxons in 449 to the year 1298, in or about which year it appears that he died. The latter portion of this history (the whole of the reign of Edward I. more especially) is of great value, as the writer was contemporary with the events which he records. An Appendix contains several illustrative documents connected with the previous narrative.

17. BRUT Y TYWYSOGION; or, The Chronicle of the Princes of Wales. *Edited by* the Rev. JOHN WILLIAMS AB ITHEL, M.A. 1860.

This work, which is also known as "The Chronicle of the Princes of Wales," has been attributed to Caradoc of Llancarvan, who flourished about the middle of the twelfth century. It is written in the ancient Welsh language, begins with the abdication and death of Caedwala at Rome, in the year 681, and continues the history down to the subjugation of Wales by Edward I., about the year 1282.

18. A COLLECTION OF ROYAL AND HISTORICAL LETTERS DURING THE REIGN OF HENRY IV. *Edited by* the Rev. F. C. HINGESTON, M.A., of Exeter College, Oxford. 1860.

This volume, like all the others in the series containing a miscellaneous selection of letters, is valuable on account of the light it throws upon biographical history, and the familiar view it presents of characters, manners, and events of the time. The period (1399 to 1404) required much elucidation; to which the volume will materially contribute.

19. THE REPRESSOR OF OVER MUCH BLAMING OF THE CLERGY. By REGINALD PECOCK, sometime Bishop of Chichester. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* CHURCHILL BABINGTON, B.D., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. 1860.

The "Repressor" may be considered the earliest piece of good theological disquisition of which our English prose literature boast. The author was born about the end of the fourteenth century, was consecrated Bishop of St. Asaph in the year 1444, and translated to the see of Chichester in 1450. While Bishop of St. Asaph, he zealously defended his brother prelates from the attacks of those who censured the bishops for their neglect of duty. He maintained that it was no part of a bishop's functions to appear in the pulpit, and that his time might be more profitably spent, and his dignity better maintained, in the performance of works of a higher character. Among those who thought differently were the Lollards, and it is against their general doctrines that the "Repressor" is directed. Pecock took up a position midway between that of the Roman Church and that of the modern Anglican Church; but his work is interesting chiefly because it gives a full account of the views of the Lollards and of the arguments by which they were supported, and because it assists us to ascertain the state of feeling which ultimately led to the Reformation. Apart from religious matters, the light thrown upon contemporaneous history is very small, but the "Repressor" has great value for the philologist, as it tells us what were the characteristics of the language in use among the cultivated Englishmen of the fifteenth century. Pecock, though an opponent of the Lollards, showed a certain spirit of toleration, for which he received, towards the end of his life, the usual mediæval reward —persecution.

20. ANNALES CAMBRIÆ. *Edited by* the Rev. JOHN WILLIAMS AB ITHEL, M.A. 1860.

These annals, which are in Latin, commence in the year 447, and come down to the year 1288. The earlier portion appears to be taken from an Irish Chronicle, which was also used by Tigernach, and by the compiler of the Annals of Ulster. During its first century it contains scarcely anything relating to Britain, the earliest direct concurrence with English history is relative to the mission of Augustine. Its notices throughout though brief, are valuable. The annals were probably written at St. Davids, by Blegewryd, Archdeacon of Llandaff, the most learned man in his day in all Cymru.

21. THE WORKS OF GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS. Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by* J. S. BREWER, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London. Vols. V. and VI. *Edited by* the Rev. JAMES F. DIMOCK, M.A., Rector of Barnburgh, Yorkshire. 1861–1868.

The first three volumes contain the historical works of Gerald du Barry, who lived in the reigns of Henry II., Richard I., and John, and attempted to re-establish the independence of Wales by restoring the see of St. Davids to its ancient primacy. His works are of a very miscellaneous nature, both in prose and verse, and are remarkable chiefly for the racy and original anecdotes which they contain relating to contemporaries. He is the only Welsh writer of any importance who has contributed so much to the mediæval literature of this country, or assumed, in consequence of his nationality, so free and independent a tone. His frequent travels in Italy, in France, in Ireland, and in Wales, gave him opportunities for observation which did not generally fall to the lot of mediæval writers in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and of these observations Giraldus has made due use.

Only extracts from these treatises have been printed before, and almost all of them are taken from unique manuscripts.

The Topographia Hibernica (in Vol. V.) is the result of Giraldus' two visits to Ireland. The first in the year 1183, the second in 1185–6, when he accompanied Prince John into that country. Curious as this treatise is, Mr. Dimock is of opinion that it ought not to be accepted as sober truthful history, for Giraldus himself states that truth was not his main object, and that he compiled the work for the purpose of sounding the praises of Henry the Second. Elsewhere, however, he declares that he had stated nothing in the Topographia of the truth of which he was not well assured, either by his own eyesight or by the testimony,

with all diligence elicited, of the most trustworthy and authentic men in the country; that though he did not put just the same full faith in their reports as in what he had himself seen, yet, as they only related what they had themselves seen, he could not but believe such credible witnesses. A very interesting portion of this treatise is devoted to the animals of Ireland. It shows that he was a very accurate and acute observer, and his descriptions are given in a way that a scientific naturalist of the present day could hardly improve upon.

The Expugnatio Hibernica was written about the year 1188, and may be regarded rather as a great epic than a sober relation of facts occurring in his own days. No one can peruse it without coming to the conclusion that it is rather a poetical fiction than a prosaic truthful history.

Vol. VI. contains the Itinerarium Kambriæ et Descriptio Kambriæ.

22. LETTERS AND PAPERS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE WARS OF THE ENGLISH IN FRANCE DURING THE REIGN OF HENRY THE SIXTH, KING OF ENGLAND. Vol. I., and Vol. II. (in Two Parts). *Edited by* the Rev. JOSEPH STEVENSON, M.A., of University College, Durham, and Vicar of Leighton Buzzard. 1861–1864.

The letters and papers contained in these volumes are derived chiefly from originals or contemporary copies extant in the Bibliothèque Impérial, and the Depôt des Archives, in Paris. They illustrate the line of policy adopted by John Duke of Bedford and his successors during their government of Normandy, and such other provinces of France as had been acquired by Henry V. We may here trace, step by step, the gradual declension of the English power, until we are prepared to read of its final overthrow.

23. THE ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE, ACCORDING TO THE SEVERAL ORIGINAL AUTHORITIES. Vol. I., Original Texts. Vol. II., Translation. *Edited and translated by* BENJAMIN THORPE, Esq., Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Munich, and of the Society of Netherlandish Literature at Leyden. 1861.

This Chronicle, extending from the earliest history of Britain to the year 1154, is justly the boast of England; for no other nation can produce any history, written in its own vernacular, at all approaching it, either in antiquity, truthfulness, or extent, the historical books of the Bible alone excepted. There are at present six independent manuscripts of the Saxon Chronicle, ending in different years, and written in different parts of the country. In the present edition, the text of each manuscript is printed in columns on the same page, so that the student may see at a glance the various changes which occur in orthography, whether arising from locality or age.

24. LETTERS AND PAPERS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE REIGNS OF RICHARD III. AND HENRY VII. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* JAMES GAIRDNER, Esq. 1861–1863.

The Papers are derived from MSS. in the Public Record Office, the British Museum, and other repositories. The period to which they refer is unusually destitute of chronicles and other sources of historical information, so that the light obtained from these documents is of special importance. The principal contents of the volumes are some diplomatic Papers of Richard III.; correspondence between Henry VII. and Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain; documents relating to Edmund de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk; and a portion of the correspondence of James IV. of Scotland.

25. LETTERS OF BISHOP GROSSETESTE, illustrative of the Social Condition of his Time. *Edited by* HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1861.

The Letters of Robert Grosseteste (131 in number) are here collected from various sources. They range in date from about 1210 to 1253, and relate to various matters connected not only with the political history of England during the reign of Henry III., but with its ecclesiastical condition. They refer especially to the diocese of Lincoln, of which Grosseteste was bishop. These Letters have not hitherto been collected, and a large portion of them is printed for the first time.

26. DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF MANUSCRIPTS RELATING TO THE HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND. Vol. I. (in Two Parts); Anterior to the Norman Invasion. Vol. II.; 1066–1200. *By* THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY, Esq., Deputy Keeper of the Public Records. 1862–1865.

The object of this work is to publish notices of all known sources of British history, both printed and unprinted, in one continued sequence. The materials, when historical (as distinguished from biographical), are arranged under the year in which the latest event is recorded in the chronicle or history, and not under the period in which its author, real or supposed, flourished. Biographies are enumerated under the year in which the person commemorated died, and not under the year in which the life was written. This arrangement has two advantages: the materials for any given period may be seen at a glance; and if the reader knows the time when an author wrote, and the number of years that had elapsed between the date of the events and the time the writer flourished, he will generally be enabled to form a fair estimate of the comparative value of the narrative itself. A brief analysis of each work has been added when deserving it, in which the original portions are distinguished from those which are mere compilations. When possible, the sources are indicated from which such compilations have been derived. A biographical sketch of the author of each piece has been added, and a brief notice has also been given of such British authors as have written on historical subjects.

27. ROYAL AND OTHER HISTORICAL LETTERS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE REIGN OF HENRY III. From the Originals in the Public Record Office. Vol. I., 1216–1235. Vol. II., 1236–1272. *Selected and edited by* the Rev. W. W. SHIRLEY, D.D., Regius Professor in Ecclesiastical History, and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. 1862–1866.

The letters contained in these volumes are derived chiefly from the ancient correspondence formerly preserved in the Tower of London, and now in the Public Record Office. They illustrate the political history of England during the growth of its liberties, and throw considerable light upon the personal history of Simon de Montfort. The affairs of France form the subject of many of these letters, more especially in regard to the province of Gascony. The entire collection consists of nearly 700 documents, the greater portion of which is printed for the first time.

28. CHRONICA MONASTERII S. ALBANI. — **1.** THOMÆ WALSINGHAM HISTORIA ANGLICANA; Vol. I., 1272–1381: Vol. II., 1381–1422. **2.** WILLELMI RISHANGER CHRONICA ET ANNALES, 1259–1307. **3.** JOHANNIS DE TROKELOWE ET HENRICI DE BLANEFORDE CHRONICA ET ANNALES, 1259–1296; 1307–1324; 1392–1406. **4.** GESTA ABBATUM MONASTERII S. ALBANI, A THOMA WALSINGHAM, REGNANTE RICARDO SECUNDO, EJUSDEM ECCLESIÆ PRÆCENTORE, COMPILATA; Vol. I., 793–1290: Vol. II., 1290–1349. *Edited by* HENRY THOMAS RILEY, Esq., M.A., of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; and of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-Law. 1863–1867.

In the first two volumes is a history of England, from the death of Henry III. to the death of Henry V., written by Thomas Walsingham, precentor of St. Albans and prior of the Cell of Wymundham, belonging to that abbey. Walsingham's work is printed from MS. VII. in the Arundel Collection in the College of Arms, London, a manuscript of the fifteenth century, collated with MS. 13 E. IX. in the King's Library in the British Museum, and MS. VII. in the Parker Collection of Manuscripts at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

In the third volume is a Chronicle of English History, from 1259 to 1306, attributed to William Rishanger, monk of Saint Albans, who lived in the reign of Edward I., printed from the Cottonian Manuscript, Faustina B. IX. (of the fourteenth century) in the British Museum, collated with MS. 14 C. VII. (fols. 219–231) in the King's Library, British Museum, and the Cottonian Manuscript Claudius E. III., fols. 306–331: Also an account of transactions attending the award of the kingdom of Scotland to John Balliol by King Edward I., 1291–1292,

from MS. Cotton. Claudius, D. VI., attributed to William Rishanger above mentioned, but on no sufficient ground: A short Chronicle of English History, from 1292 to 1300, by an unknown hand, from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI.: A short Chronicle from 1297 to 1307, Willelmi Rishanger Gesta Edwardi Primi Regis Angliæ, from MS. 14 C. I. in the Royal Library, and MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI., with an addition of Annales Regum Angliæ, probably by the same hand: A fragment of a Chronicle of English History, 1299, 1300, from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI.: A fragment of a Chronicle of English History, 1295 to 1300, from MS. Claudius D. VI.: and a fragment of a Chronicle of English History, 1285 to 1307, from MS. 14 C. I. in the Royal Library.

In the fourth volume is a Chronicle of English History, by an anonymous writer, 1259 to 1296, from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI.: Also Annals of King Edward II., 1307 to 1323, by John de Trokelowe, a monk of St. Albans, from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI.: A continuation of Trokelowe's Annals, 1323, 1324, by Henricus de Blaneforde, from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI.: Also a full Chronicle of English History, by an anonymous writer of St. Albans, 1392 to 1406, from MS. VII. in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge: and an account of the past benefactors of St. Albans, written in the early part of the fifteenth century, from MS. VI. in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

In the fifth volume begins a history of the abbots of St. Albans, from 793 to the close of the fourteenth century, compiled by Thomas Walsingham, præcentor of St. Albans, from MS. Cotton. Claudius E. IV., in the British Museum. This is continued in the sixth volume.

29. Chronicon Abbatiæ Eveshamensis, Auctoribus Dominico Priore Eveshamiæ et Thoma de Marleberge Abbate, a Fundatione ad Annum 1213, una cum Continuatione ad Annum 1418. *Edited by* the Rev. W. D. Macray, M.A., Bodleian Library, Oxford. 1863.

The Chronicle of Evesham illustrates the history of that important monastery from its foundation by Egwin, about 690, to the year 1418. Its chief feature is an autobiography, which makes us acquainted with the inner daily life of a great abbey, such as but rarely has been recorded. Interspersed are many notices of general, personal, and local history which will be read with much interest. This work exists in a single MS., and is for the first time printed.

30. Ricardi de Cirencestria Speculum Historiale de Gestis Regum Angliæ. Vol. I., 447–871. *Edited by* John E. B. Mayor, M.A., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. 1863.

Of the compiler of this work, which is in four parts, very little is known. In the prologue he calls himself Richard, a monk of Westminster, and at the end of the first part, Richard of Cirencester, a monk of St. Peter's, Westminster. One volume only, containing the first three books, has been published, the remainder is in the press, and will shortly appear. There is a continuation of the work down to the year 1348, which in due time will also be printed.

31. Year Books of the Reign of Edward the First. Years 20–21, 30–31, and 32–33. *Edited and translated by* Alfred John Horwood, Esq., of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-Law. 1863–1866.

The volumes known as the "Year Books" contain reports in Norman-French of cases argued and decided in the Courts of Common Law. They may be considered to a great extent as the "lex non scripta" of England, and have been held in the highest veneration by the ancient sages of the law, and were received by them as the repositories of the first recorded judgments and dicta of the great legal luminaries of past ages. They are also worthy of the attention of the general reader on account of the historical information and the notices of public and private persons which they contain, as well as the light which they throw on ancient manners and customs.

32. NARRATIVES OF THE EXPULSION OF THE ENGLISH FROM NORMANDY, 1449–1450.—Robertus Blondelli de Reductione Normanniæ: Le Recouvrement de Normendie, par Berry, Hérault du Roy: Conferences between the Ambassadors of France and England. *Edited, from MSS. in the Imperial Library at Paris, by* the Rev. JOSEPH STEVENSON, M.A.. of University College, Durham. 1863.

This volume contains the narrative of an eye-witness who details with considerable power and minuteness the circumstances which attended the final expulsion of the English from Normandy in the year 1450. The history commences with the infringement of the truce by the capture of Fougères, and ends with the battle of Formigny and the embarkation of the Duke of Somerset. The whole period embraced is less than two years.

33. HISTORIA ET CARTULARIUM MONASTERII S. PETRI GLOUCESTRIÆ. Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by* W. H. HART, Esq., F.S.A., Membre correspondant de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie. 1863–1867.

This work consists of two parts, the History and the Cartulary of the Monastery of St. Peter, Gloucester.

The history furnishes an account of the monastery from its foundation, in the year 681, to the early part of the reign of Richard II., together with a calendar of donations and benefactions. It treats principally of the affairs of the monastery, but occasionally matters of general history are introduced. Its authorship has generally been assigned to Walter Froucester, the twentieth abbot, but without any foundation.

34. ALEXANDRI NECKAM DE NATURIS RERUM LIBRI DUO; with NECKAM'S POEM, DE LAUDIBUS DIVINÆ SAPIENTIÆ. *Edited by* THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq., M.A. 1863.

Neckam was a man who devoted himself to science, such as it was in the twelfth century.

In the "De Naturis Rerum" are to be found what may be called the rudiments of many sciences mixed up with much error and ignorance. Neckam was not thought infallible, even by his contemporaries, for Roger Bacon remarks of him, "this Alexander in many things wrote what was true and useful; but he neither "can nor ought by just title to be reckoned among authorities."

Neckam, however, had sufficient independence of thought to differ from some of the schoolmen who in his time considered themselves the only judges of literature. He had his own views in morals, and in giving us a glimpse of them, as well as of his other opinions, he throws much light upon the manners, customs, and general tone of thought prevalent in the twelfth century.

The poem entitled "De Laudibus Divinæ Sapientiæ" appears to be a metrical paraphrase or abridgment of the "De Naturis Rerum." It is written in the elegiac metre; and though there are in it many lines which violate classical rules, it is, as a whole, above the ordinary standard of mediæval Latin.

35. LEECHDOMS, WORTCUNNING, AND STARCRAFT OF EARLY ENGLAND; being a Collection of Documents illustrating the History of Science in this Country before the Norman Conquest. Vols. I., II., and III. *Collected and edited by* the Rev. T. OSWALD COCKAYNE, M.A., of St. John's College, Cambridge. 1864–1866.

This work illustrates not only the history of science, but the history of superstition. In addition to the information bearing directly upon the medical skill and medical faith of the times, there are many passages which incidentally throw light upon the general mode of life and ordinary diet. The volumes are interesting not only in their scientific, but also in their social aspect. The manuscripts from which they have been printed are valuable to the Anglo-Saxon scholar for the illustrations they afford of Anglo-Saxon orthography.

36. ANNALES MONASTICI. Vol. I. :—Annales de Margan, 1066–1232; Annales de Theokesberia, 1066–1263; Annales de Burton, 1004–1263. Vol. II. :—Annales Monasterii de Wintonia, 519–1277; Annales Monasterii de Waverleia, 1–1291. Vol. III. :—Annales Prioratus de Dunstaplia, 1–1297; Annales Monasterii de Bermundeseia, 1042–1432. *Edited by* HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, and Registrary of the University, Cambridge. 1864–1866.

The present collection of Monastic Annals embraces all the more important chronicles compiled in the different religious houses in England during the thirteenth century. These distinct works are seven in number, and the extreme period which they embrace ranges from the year 1 to 1432, although they refer more especially to the reigns of John, Henry III., and Edward I. Some of these narratives have already appeared in print, but others are printed for the first time.

37. MAGNA VITA S. HUGONIS EPISCOPI LINCOLNIENSIS. From Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and the Imperial Library, Paris. *Edited by* the Rev. JAMES F. DIMOCK, M.A., Rector of Barnburgh, Yorkshire. 1864.

This work contains a number of very curious and interesting incidents, and, being the work of a contemporary, is very valuable, not only as a truthful biography of a celebrated ecclesiastic, but as the work of a man who, from personal knowledge, gives notices of passing events, as well as of individuals who were then taking active part in public affairs.

The author, in all probability, was Adam Abbot of Evesham. He was domestic chaplain and private confessor of Bishop Hugh, and in these capacities he was admitted to the closest intimacy. Bishop Hugh was Prior of Witham for 11 years before he became Bishop of Lincoln. His consecration took place on the 21st September 1186; he died on the 16th of November 1200; and was canonized in 1220.

38. CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF THE REIGN OF RICHARD THE FIRST. Vol. I. :—ITINERARIUM PEREGRINORUM ET GESTA REGIS RICARDI. Vol. II. :—EPISTOLÆ CANTUARIENSES; the Letters of the Prior and Convent of Christ Church, Canterbury; 1187 to 1199. *Edited by* WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Vicar of Navestock, Essex, and Lambeth Librarian. 1864–1865.

The authorship of the Chronicle in Vol. I., hitherto ascribed to Geoffrey Vinesauf, is now more correctly ascribed to Richard, Canon of the Holy Trinity of London. The narrative extends from 1187 to 1199; but its chief interest consists in the minute and authentic narrative which it furnishes of the exploits of Richard I., from his departure from England in December 1189 to his death in 1199. The author states in his prologue that he was an eye-witness of much that he records; and various incidental circumstances which occur in the course of the narrative confirm this assertion.

The Letters in Vol. II., written between 1187 and 1199, are of value as furnishing authentic materials for the history of the ecclesiastical condition of England during the reign of Richard I. They had their origin in a dispute which arose from the attempts of Baldwin and Hubert, archbishops of Canterbury, to found a college of secular canons, a project which gave great umbrage to the monks of Canterbury, who saw in it a design to supplant them in their function of metropolitan chapter. These letters are printed, for the first time, from a MS. belonging to the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth.

39. RECUEIL DES CRONIQUES ET ANCHIENNES ISTORIES DE LA GRANT BRETAIGNE A PRESENT NOMME ENGLETERRE, par JEHAN DE WAURIN. Vol. I., Albina to 688. Vol. II., 1399–1422. *Edited by* WILLIAM HARDY, Esq., F.S.A. 1864–1868.

40. A COLLECTION OF THE CHRONICLES AND ANCIENT HISTORIES OF GREAT BRITAIN, NOW CALLED ENGLAND, by JOHN DE WAVRIN. Albina to 688. (Translation of the preceding Vol. I.) *Edited and translated by* WILLIAM HARDY, Esq., F.S.A. 1864.

This curious chronicle extends from the fabulous period of history down to the return of Edward IV. to England in the year 1471, after the second deposition of Henry VI. The manuscript from which the text of the work is taken is preserved in the Imperial Library at Paris, and is believed to be the only complete and nearly contemporary copy in existence. The work, as originally bound, was comprised in six volumes, since rebound in morocco in 12 volumes, folio maximo, vellum, and is illustrated with exquisite miniatures, vignettes, and initial letters. It was written towards the end of the fifteenth century, having been expressly executed for Louis de Bruges, Seigneur de la Gruthuyse and Earl of Winchester, from whose cabinet it passed into the library of Louis XII. at Blois.

41. POLYCHRONICON RANULPHI HIGDEN, with Trevisa's Translation. Vol. I. *Edited by* CHURCHILL BABINGTON, B.D., Senior Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. 1865.

This is one of the many mediæval chronicles which assume the character of a history of the world. It begins with the creation and is brought down to the author's own time, the reign of Edward III. Prefixed to the historical portion of the work is a chapter devoted to geography, in which is given a description of every known land.

To say that the Polychronicon was written in the fourteenth century is to say that it is not free from inaccuracies. It has, however, a value apart from its intrinsic merits. It enables us to form a very fair estimate of the knowledge of history and geography which well-informed readers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries possessed, for it was then the standard work on general history.

The two English translations, which are printed with the original Latin, afford interesting illustrations of the gradual change of our language, for one was made in the fourteenth century, the other in the fifteenth. The differences between Trevisa's version and that of the unknown writer are often considerable.

42. LE LIVERE DE REIS DE BRITTANIE E LE LIVERE DE REIS DE ENGLETERE. *Edited by* JOHN GLOVER, M.A., Vicar of Brading, Isle of Wight, formerly Librarian of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1865.

These two treatises, though they cannot rank as independent narratives, are nevertheless valuable as careful abstracts of previous historians, especially "Le Livere de Reis de Engletere." Some various readings are given which are interesting to the philologist as instances of semi-Saxonized French.

It is supposed that Peter of Ickham must have been the author, but no certain conclusion on that point has been arrived at.

43. CHRONICA MONASTERII DE MELSA, AB ANNO 1150 USQUE AD ANNUM 1406. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* EDWARD AUGUSTUS BOND, Esq., Assistant Keeper of the Manuscripts, and Egerton Librarian, British Museum. 1866–1867.

The Abbey of Meaux was a Cistercian house, and the work of its abbot is both curious and valuable. It is a faithful and often minute record of the establishment of a religious community, of its progress in forming an ample revenue, of its struggles to maintain its acquisitions, and of its relations to the governing institutions of the country. In addition to the private affairs of the monastery, some light is thrown upon the public events of the time, which are however kept distinct, and appear at the end of the history of each abbot's administration. The text has been printed from what is said to be the autograph of the original compiler, Thomas de Burton, the nineteenth abbot.

44. MATTHÆI PARISIENSIS HISTORIA ANGLORUM, SIVE, UT VULGO DICITUR, HISTORIA MINOR. Vols. I. and II. 1067–1245. *Edited by* Sir FREDERIC MADDEN, K.H., Keeper of the Department of Manuscripts, British Museum. 1866.

The exact date at which this work was written is, according to the chronicler, 1250. The history is of considerable value as an illustration of the period during which the author lived, and contains a good summary of the events which followed the Conquest. This minor chronicle is, however, based on another work (also written by Matthew Paris), which gives fuller details, and which has been called the 'Historia Major.' The chronicle here published, nevertheless, gives some information which is not to be found in the greater history.

45. LIBER MONASTERII DE HYDA: A CHRONICLE AND CHARTULARY OF HYDE ABBEY, WINCHESTER, 455–1023. *Edited, from a Manuscript in the Library of the Earl of Macclesfield, by* EDWARD EDWARDS, Esq. 1866.

The "Book of Hyde" is a compilation from much earlier sources, which are usually indicated with considerable care and precision. In many cases, however, the Hyde chronicler appears to correct, to qualify, or to amplify—either from tradition or from sources of information not now discoverable—the statements which, in substance, he adopts. He also mentions, and frequently quotes from, writers whose works are either entirely lost or at present known only by fragments.

There is to be found, in the "Book of Hyde," much information relating to the reign of King Alfred which is not known to exist elsewhere. The volume contains some curious specimens of Anglo-Saxon and Mediæval English.

46. CHRONICON SCOTORUM: A CHRONICLE OF IRISH AFFAIRS, from the EARLIEST TIMES to 1135; with a SUPPLEMENT, containing the Events from 1141 to 1150. *Edited, with a Translation, by* WILLIAM MAUNSELL HENNESSY, Esq., M.R.I.A. 1866.

There is, in this volume, a legendary account of the peopling of Ireland and of the adventures which befell the various heroes who are said to have been connected with Irish history. The details are, however, very meagre both for this period and for the time when history becomes more authentic. The plan adopted in the chronicle gives the appearance of an accuracy to which the earlier portions of the work cannot have any claim. The succession of events is marked, year by year, from A.M. 1599 to A.D. 1150. The principal events narrated in the later portion of the work are the invasions of foreigners and the wars of the Irish among themselves. The text has been printed from a MS. preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, written partly in Latin, partly in Irish.

47. THE CHRONICLE OF PIERRE DE LANGTOFT, IN FRENCH VERSE, FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE DEATH OF EDWARD I. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq., M.A. 1866–1868.

It is probable that Pierre de Langtoft was a canon of Bridlington, in Yorkshire, and that he lived in the reign of Edward I., and during a portion of the reign of Edward II. This chronicle is divided into three parts; in the first is an abridgment of Geoffrey of Monmouth's "Historia Britonum," in the second, a history of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman kings, down to the death of Henry III., and in the third a history of the reign of Edward I. The principal object of the work was apparently to show the justice of Edward's Scottish wars.

The language in which the chronicle is written is singularly corrupt, and is a curious specimen of the French of Yorkshire.

48. THE WAR OF THE GAEDHIL WITH THE GAILL, or, THE INVASIONS OF IRELAND BY THE DANES AND OTHER NORSEMEN. *Edited, with a Translation, by* JAMES HENTHORN TODD, D.D., Senior Fellow of Trinity College, and Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University, Dublin. 1867.

The work in its present form, in the editor's opinion, is a comparatively modern version of an undoubtedly ancient original. That it was compiled from contemporary materials has been proved by curious incidental evidence. It is stated in the account given of the battle of Clontarf that the full tide in Dublin Bay on the day of the battle (23 April, 1014) coincided with sunrise; and that the returning tide in the evening aided considerably in the defeat of the Danes. The fact has been verified by astronomical calculations, and the inference is that the author of the chronicle, if not himself an eye-witness, must have derived his information from those who were eye-witnesses.

The contents of the work are sufficiently described in its title. The story is told after the manner of the Scandinavian Sagas, with poems and fragments of poems introduced into the prose narrative.

49. GESTA REGIS HENRICI SECUNDI BENEDICTI ABBATIS. THE CHRONICLE OF THE REIGNS OF HENRY II. AND RICHARD I., 1169–1192; known under the name of BENEDICT OF PETERBOROUGH. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, Oxford, and Lambeth Librarian. 1867.

This is a chronicle of the reigns of Henry II. and Richard I., known commonly under the name of Benedict of Peterborough, and is one of the best existing specimens of a class of historical compositions of the first importance to the genuine student.

50. MUNIMENTA ACADEMICA, OR, DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF ACADEMICAL LIFE AND STUDIES AT OXFORD (in Two Parts). *Edited by* the Rev. HENRY ANSTEY, M.A., Vicar of St. Wendron, Cornwall, and lately Vice-Principal of St. Mary Hall, Oxford. 1868.

The purpose of this work is to supply materials for a History of Academical Life and Studies in the University of Oxford during the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries.

51. CHRONICA MAGISTRI ROGERI DE HOUEDENE. Vol. I. *Edited by* WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. 1868.

This work has long been justly celebrated, but not thoroughly understood until Mr Stubbs' edition. The earlier portion, extending from 732 to 1148, appears to be a copy of a compilation made in Northumbria about 1161, to which Hoveden added little. From 1148 to 1169—a very valuable portion of this work—the matter is derived from another source, to which Hoveden appears to have supplied little, and not always judiciously.

From 1170 to 1192 is the portion of the work which corresponds with the Chronicle known under the name of Benedict of Peterborough (*see* No. 49); but it is not a copy, being sometimes an abridgment, at others a paraphrase of it; occasionally the two works entirely agree, showing that both writers had access to the same materials, but dealt with them differently. From 1192 to 1201 may be said to be wholly Hoveden's work; it is extremely valuable, and an authority of the first importance.

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