

THE EVOLUTION OF COURT WITHIN VICEREGAL HOUSEHOLDS IN THE AMERICAS (1665-1746): THE DECLINE OF A DOMESTIC ECONOMY¹

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ABSTRACT

This article analyses the evolution and development of royal households within the governmental structure of Spanish America between 1665 and 1746. This study aims to provide answers to the governmental crisis that developed in the kingdoms of the Indies after the Crown prohibited viceroys from granting grants and offices to their relatives and servants (1678), which limited the size of viceregal households and their entourages. In short, the purpose is to illustrate how the dismantling of the viceregal domestic structure and the governance from afar affected viceregal households as a nucleus of political power.

KEYWORDS: viceregal household; court, domestic economy; servants; the Indies.

LA EVOLUCIÓN DE LA CORTE Y LAS CASAS VIRREINALES DE LA AMÉRICA ESPAÑOLA (1665-1746): EL DECLIVE DE LA ECONOMÍA DOMÉSTICA

RESUMEN

Este artículo analiza la evolución y desarrollo de las casas reales en el gobierno de la América española entre 1665 y 1746. Este estudio pretende dar respuestas a la crisis gubernativa que se desarrolló en los reinos de Indias tras la prohibición a los virreyes para conceder mercedes y oficios entre sus allegados y criados (1678), la cual redujo la composición de las casas virreinales y sus séquitos. En definitiva, el propósito es dilucidar cómo la descomposición de la estructura doméstica virreinal y el gobierno en la distancia afectó a las casas virreinales como núcleo de poder político.

PALABRAS CLAVE: casa vice-regia; corte, economía doméstica; criados; las Indias.

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1. VICEREGAL HOUSEHOLDS IN THE AMERICAS AS A FORCE FOR THE INTEGRATION AND RESTRUCTURING OF THE KINGDOMS

Incorporating the Americas into the Hispanic monarchy's royal patrimony entailed the integration of vast new territories and the complex task of governing them. However, by establishing vicerealties and, with them, viceregal households, the Crown boosted and pacified the new provinces.² It was in this context that it also established viceregal courts in the Americas, which allowed this viceroy or royal *alter ego* to govern in the absence of the monarch, not as a foreign prince but as a king of the Indies.³ To this end, vicerealties in the Americas were founded according to the political philosophy practised by the Crown of Aragon (*col·ligació*), with viceroys acting as vicarious representatives and plenipotentiaries of royal authority in the kingdoms.⁴ Spanish viceregal households in the Americas were an entity representing the Crown, legitimising its dominion over the newly erected kingdoms and providing a solution for the temporary absence of a monarch.

The court system of viceregal households operated under five premises: (1) to establish a balance of power and harmony in the kingdom in which the viceroy established himself as "head of the house". His household, meanwhile, would provide the economic and social structure where noble power could be concentrated while, in turn, serving the viceroy and the kingdom; (2) to establish the household as a space of authority vis-à-vis civil and religious corporations and local elites; (3) to legitimise the viceregal court and the Indies as kingdoms, given the non-existence of a symbolic royal capital with a local royal presence;⁵ (4) to govern and administer through liberality and patronage in order to integrate Castilian and Spanish American nobility;⁶ (5) to import a model of courtly conduct and ethics that would reflect the court system at a social level.⁷

The Royal Household managed the kingdoms in the Indies as an integrated component, with the court as a political institution.⁸ As such, any changes orchestrated

² *Recopilación de Leyes de los Reynos de las Indias* (RLI) (Madrid: Julián de Paredes), 1681, Book III, Title III, Law I.

³ Biblioteca Nacional España (BNE), R/34077, f. 671. Juan de Solórzano Pereira, *Política Indiana* (Madrid: Juan Díaz de la Carrera, 1648); Jesús Lalinde Abadía, "El régimen virreino-senatorial en Indias", *Anuario de historia del derecho español* 37 (1967): 5-244.

⁴ Rebecca Ard Boone, *Mercurino di Gattinara and the Creation of the Spanish Empire* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 37-44.

⁵ RLI, Book III, Title III, Law I.

⁶ Christian Büschges, "La corte virreinal como espacio político. El gobierno de los virreyes de la América hispánica entre monarquía, élites locales y casa nobiliaria", in *El mundo de los virreyes en las monarquías de España y Portugal*, eds. Pedro Cardim & Joan-Lluís Palos (Madrid: Iberoamericana-Vervuert, 2012), 319-343; Nino Vallen, "What Distributive Justice Requires: Negotiating Empire and Local Orders in Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century New Spain", *Revista de Indias*, 278 (2020): 101-129; José de la Puente Luna, *Andean Cosmopolitans: Seeking Justice and Reward at the Spanish Royal Court* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2018), 123-154.

⁷ Octavio Paz, *Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz o las trampas de la fe* (Barcelona: Seix Barral, 1982), 42.

⁸ Manuel Rivero Rodríguez, "The court of Madrid and the courts of the viceroy", in *A Constellation of Courts. The Courts and Households of Habsburg Europe, 1555-1665*, ed. René Vermeir, Dries Raeymaekers and José Eloy Hortal Muñoz (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2014), 59-76; Alejandra B. Osorio, "The

at court influenced the organisation and composition of royal households. This was the case after the promulgation of the Royal Decree of 28th February 1678, which prohibited Spanish American viceroys from exercising liberality, granting favours, graces and positions among their entourage.⁹ The introduction of this law marked a turning point in the composition of viceregal households in the Americas and the governance of the kingdoms. In view of the above, the study and analysis of the viceregal households that ruled the Indies between 1665 and 1746 –during the reigns of Charles II and Philip V– is unavoidable, as these reigns marked a turning point in the composition of the American viceregal households.¹⁰ The aim is to clarify whether the governance of the Americas, based on a regime with a domestic presence, that is, under the logic and ethical principles governed by the virtues of the prince, evolved towards another model of political economy in which viceregal households were structured under secular criteria for administrative-military purposes.¹¹ Therefore, far from analysing these changes as consequences exogenous to the Hispanic monarchy, this article focuses on whether these transformations were in response to the internal issues of court power, originating from the monarchy’s identity crisis.¹²

2. THE FORMATION OF SPANISH AMERICAN VICEREGAL HOUSEHOLDS (16TH-17TH CENTURIES)

The scarcity of studies on courts as a system of power and the royal household as a space for political legitimisation in the Indies has meant that Americanist historiography has paid very little attention to how viceroys’ households were formed.¹³ There is no section in the different state archives that indicates «court or viceregal household», where the structure and organisation of the viceroyalty is shown.

copy as original: the presence of the absent Spanish Habsburg king and colonial hybridity”, *Renaissance Studies* 34:4 (2019): 704-721.

⁹ Margarita Suárez, “Beneméritos, criados y allegados durante el gobierno del virrey conde de Castellar: ¿el fin de la administración de los parientes?”, in *Parientes, criados y allegados: los vínculos personales en el mundo virreinal peruano*, ed. Margarita Suárez (Lima: PUCP, 2017), 69-95.

¹⁰ For a general summary of this question, see: José de la Puente Brunke, “El virreinato peruano en el primer siglo XVIII americano (1680-1750). Organización territorial y control administrativo”, in *Los virreinatos de Nueva España y del Perú (1680-1740). Un balance historiográfico*, ed. Bernard Lavallé (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2019), 83-98.

¹¹ Political secularisation is understood as the process of political reinterpretation of theological principles, i.e. religion in the service of the political interests of the Monarchy, which is what has become known as the beginning of the ‘secular age’ that ushered in modernity. Jonathan Israel, *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity, 1650-1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

¹² Theodor K. Rabb, *The struggle for stability in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), 60-74.

¹³ Alejandro Cañeque, *The King’s Living Image. The Culture and Politics of Viceregal Power in Colonial Mexico* (New York-London: Routledge, 2004); Pilar Latasa, “La corte virreinal novohispana: el virrey y su casa, imágenes distantes del rey y su corte (s. XVII)”, in *Actas do XII Congresso Internacional de AHILA*, ed. Eugenio Dos Santos (Oporto: Universidade do Porto, 2001a), vol. 2, 115-129; Pilar Latasa, “La Corte virreinal peruana: perspectivas de análisis (siglos XVI y XVII)”, in *El gobierno de un mundo: virreinatos y audiencias en la América hispánica*, ed. Feliciano Barrios (Cuenca: Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 2004), 341-374.

This omission is due to the fact that the viceroy, as the king's living image - paraphrasing the title of Cañeque's book-, acted as a mirror to the king's government and conduct. Early modern political culture was governed by domestic criteria - *oeconomia*-, as Bodin explains, so the king ruled his kingdom as a *pater familias*. Consequently, if the viceroy was an *alter ego*, he had an *alter domus* and a household of his own, reproducing the same political model.¹⁴ In the Americas, viceregal households progressively grew until the early 17th century, when all the functions within a royal court and household were represented. In 1615, Pedro de León Portocarrero indicated that the viceroy appointed *mayordomos* (stewards), *gentilshombres de cámara* (gentlemen of the chamber) «and other duties, everything that he gives and is in the palace is of great benefit».¹⁵ Here, the domestic servants, family and relatives that he took with him for service and company in his household (old or former servants) intermingled with the ministerial servants who served in administrative tasks, many of whom came from the Indies. For the most part, creoles occupied roles in the secretariat of the government or as *asesores de gobierno* (advisors) as well as in the viceroy's personal guard, although many of the domestic servants who departed with the viceroy from Spain ended up being appointed to some ministerial office.¹⁶

For Spanish American viceregal households, being a servant of the royal *alter ego* was «the same as being a lord in Spain» because in the Indies there was «no king but the viceroy. The counts and marquises were his servants and the royal officials and the grandees were the judges (*oidores, alcaldes de corte*) etc.»¹⁷ As recorded in the *juicio de residencia* (judicial review) of Pedro Antonio Fernández de Castro, V Count of Lemos and Viceroy of Peru (1673), the public prosecutor made a distinction between servants and relatives. Servants were considered «all those who received a salary or stipend from a viceroy and ministers», while relatives were «those who had travelled to these kingdoms, or from one province to another in their company, under their licence and under their protection and confidence». To the definition of «relative» and «close» he added that they are those who assist in the household, although they cannot engage in any legal dispute or personal business that would prevent them from accompanying the viceroy and serving in his domestic affairs.¹⁸ What makes it difficult to apply these definitions (servant and family) is that many of the viceroys' relatives became salaried servants once they arrived in the Indies, after the viceroy appointed them to a civil office, mainly in *corregimientos* (a district judge). This practice indicates that the division between the domestic and the governmental spheres did not exist as such. Thus, the servants of the viceroy's household under the king's patronage followed a clientelist

¹⁴ Bibliothèque nationale de France [BnF], Jean Bodin, *Les Six Livres de la République* (Paris: Chez Jacques du Puys, Libraire Juré, à la Samaritaine, 1576) Book I, Chap. II, f. 8.

¹⁵ Pedro de León Portocarrero, *Descripción del Virreinato del Perú* (Lima: Universitaria, 2009), 20. “Da el bisorrey oficios de mayordomos, mestres salas, gentiles hombres de su cámara y otros oficios, que todos cuantos él da y hay en palacio son de grande provecho.”

¹⁶ Guillermo Lohmann Villena, “El Secretario mayor de gobernación del virreinato del Perú. (Notas para un estudio histórico-institucional)”, *Revista de Indias* 234 (2005): 473.

¹⁷ BNE, Ms. 3207, f. 684. *Advertencias de las cosas en que ha de tener particular cuidado el Virrey de la Nueva España*, Madrid, 1603.

¹⁸ Archivo General de Indias (AGI), Escribanía, 534A, ff. 36r-37v; RLI, Book III, Title II, Law 28.

logic, whereby their service was erected as service to the viceroy as the king's alter ego, without a state or institutional purpose.¹⁹

The government officials who served in viceroys' households for much of the 16th century consisted of an *asesor letrado* (a legal adviser), *secretario* (a government secretary), *alguacil de gobierno* (bailiff), *solicitador de provisiones* (solicitor of provisions), *contador* (an accountant), *intérprete de indios* (an Indigenous interpreter), *dos porteros* (two porters) and *pequeño batallón* (a small battalion). For prestige and protection, the viceroy employed a company of personal guards to «quell any uprising and reinforce the authority of the viceroys».²⁰ In the case of the viceroy of Peru, his guard was made up of fifty *gentileshombres de a caballo* (gentlemen on horseback) and *gentileshombres de a pie alabarderos* (halberdiers on foot). By order of Philip II (1568), twenty units of the viceroy's army were obliged to serve in the New Spanish Guard. Consequently, they were unable to continue serving in their previous capacities directly for the viceroy.²¹ During this period, the structure of viceregal households and the authority of the royal *alter ego* began to take shape, with the viceroy attaining the title of «*Excellency*» from the mandate of Gastón de Peralta, 3rd Marquis of Falces, as viceroy of New Spain (1566-67). The courtly rule of the viceroys and the establishment of their royal households stabilised with the arrival of the 2nd Marquis of Cañete (1556-60) and Francisco de Toledo as viceroys of Peru (1568-81) and of Martín Enríquez de Almansa as viceroy of New Spain (1568-80).²²

It was not until the beginning of the 17th century, according to the chronicler Fray Buenaventura de Salinas in his *Memorial* (1631), that viceroys of Peru began to regularly incorporate domestic positions into their household departments, such as a *mayordomo* (the lord steward), a *camarero mayor* (lord chamberlain), a *caballerizo mayor* (master of the horse), *gentileshombres de boca y cámara* (gentlemen of the *boca* and chamber), *pajes* (pages) and other *criados* (servants) who would assist and serve the viceroy both inside and outside the Royal Palace in Lima. The viceroy's entourage reached such grandeur that he made up for «much of the lack that a king's absence makes».²³ Until then viceroys had maintained a household of servants and high- and low-ranking officials, mostly with those former servants who had served in their household before becoming

¹⁹ Nelly Porro Girardi, “Los criados en las Indias del Quinientos: del servicio privado a la función pública”, *XI Congreso del Instituto Internacional de Historia del Derecho Indiano: Buenos Aires, 4 al 9 de septiembre de 1995* (1997): 93-122; Ronald G. Asch, “Patronage, Friendship and the Politics of Access: The Role of the Early Modern Favourite Revisited”, in *The Key to Power? The Culture of Access in Princely Courts, 1400-1750*, ed. Dries Raeymaekers and Sebastiaan Derks (Brill: Leiden-Boston, 2016), 178-201.

²⁰ AGI, Indiferente General, 737, N. 104-130. *On the convenience of viceroys having a viceregal guard* (Valladolid, 17-06-1555).

²¹ RLI, Book III, Title III, Law LXVII. The Peruvian viceroy Andrés Hurtado de Mendoza, Marquis of Cañete (1556-60), erected the Company of *lanceros* and *arcabuceros a caballo* and founded the viceregal chapel; BNE, Ms. 2835, ff. 84r-94v. *Indias de Birreyes*; Bernabé Cobo, *Historia de la fundación de Lima* (Lima: Imprenta Liberal, Calle de la Unión Núm. 317, año 1882 [1639]), 100-103.

²² Manfredi Merluzzi, “Il Perù del viceré Francisco de Toledo: l'affermazione di uno spazio politico cortigiano”, in *Las cortes virreinales de la Monarquía española: América e Italia*, ed. Francesca Cantú (Roma: Viella, 2008), 79-102.

²³ BNE, R/3130. Buenaventura de Salinas y Córdoba, *Memorial de las Historias del Nuevo Mundo, Perú* (Lima: Gerónimo de Contreras, 1631).

viceroy and made up their original retinue. In order to exalt and do justice to the position of viceroy, the prestige achieved after being appointed as royal *alter ego* implied an increase in the original number of his retinue. Once they arrived in the Indies, they recruited the sons and grandsons of the *beneméritos* (meritorious men and descendants of conquistadors and early settlers, in some cases creoles) into their service,²⁴ which led the Crown to limit the number of servants accompanying viceroys from Spain to a total of seventy.²⁵

At the beginning of the 17th century, viceregal households maintained a regular structure, both in terms of government offices and domestic staff. Because of the prestige and authority of the viceroy, treatises were published clarifying his role in the Americas and prescribing his functions²⁶. By the mid-century, Juan de Palafox, Bishop of Puebla de los Ángeles (1640-48), had set out in his treatise *Direcciones para los Señores Obispos* (1646) how a bishop should manage his household and his staff in the manner of a viceroy²⁷. Such viceregal style was regulated since 1603 through the instructions given by the president of the Council of the Indies, Pablo de la Laguna, to the viceroy of New Spain, Juan de Mendoza y Luna, 3rd Marquis of Montesclaros. These instructions developed a protocol for the conduct of viceroys and the working of household departments and servants.²⁸ This measure was essential as the management of a kingdom was similar to that of a household, as maintained by the viceroy of Peru, Francisco de Toledo (1569-81), since «I could not govern the kingdom if I did not have my household and family under good governance».²⁹

The composition of a viceroy's household in Spanish America grew in different ways. Firstly, the appointment as viceroy, president-governor and captain general was an opportunity to incorporate servants from other Castilian households into his staff. Francisco de Toledo, appointed viceroy of Peru after the *Junta Magna* of 1568, transferred his «old servants» to Peru, adding those of his brother Francisco Álvarez de Toledo, 3rd Count of Oropesa, and his niece's. In addition, he incorporated servants «of all the others that, in this court and outside it, he had asked for».³⁰ Expansion was

²⁴ RLI, Book III, Title III, Law XXXI.

²⁵ AGI, Contratación, 5324, N. 1. *Expediente de Diego Fernández de Córdoba, I marqués de Guadalcazar, virrey de México*, Sevilla, 16-06-1612.

²⁶ Matías de Caravantes, *Poder ordinario del Virei del Perú*, 1619?, in Pilar Arregui Zamorano, «Poder de los virreyes del Perú: un manuscrito inédito del siglo XVII», *Historiografía y Bibliografía Americanistas* 29:2 (1985): 3-97. Gaspar de Escalona y Agüero, *Del oficio y potestad del virrey* [Libro manuscrito]. Lima?: 1639? (copy in Archivo Nacional de Chile), ch. XIV, «Tratamientos cortesés»; José Eloy Hortal, «The Regulation of Private Spaces: The Codification of the Royal Chamber of the Spanish Monarchy in the Seventeenth Century», *The Court Historian*, 28:1 (2023): 18-31.

²⁷ Pilar Latasa, «La casa del obispo-irrey Palafox: familia y patronazgo. Un análisis comparativo con la corte virreinal hispanoamericana», in *Palafox: Iglesia, Cultura y Estado en el siglo XVII*, coord. Ricardo Fernández García (Pamplona: Universidad de Navarra, 2001b), 201-228.

²⁸ BNE, Ms. 3207, ff. 679-688.

²⁹ AGI, Patronato, 189, R. 25 (1568); Diego Saavedra Fajardo, *Idea de un Príncipe Político Cristiano, Empresas Políticas* (Amberes: Jeronimo y Iuan Bapt Verdussen, 1655 [1640]), 228.

³⁰ AGI, Patronato, 189, R. 25 (1568). The *Junta Magna* provoked the implementation of confessionalist reforms in the Hispanic kingdoms and America. The organisation of secular and spiritual government in the Spanish Indies under the direction of cardinal Diego de Espinosa, president of the

one of the ways in which viceroys' households legitimised themselves in the absence of an American aristocracy so as to aggrandise those provinces. It was also a reason to send for unoccupied servants from other Castilian houses, as was the case of Juan Francisco de Leyva, 2nd Count of Baños, viceroy of New Spain (1660-64). His retinue comprised a total of 79 servants, of whom the *lacayos* (footmen) from other aristocratic families who joined the Count of Baños' entourage exceeded the number of former servants from his own household by more than half (60.7%).³¹ Five relatives, twenty former servants and a total of forty-eight servants recommended by other lineages (including the Houses of Terranova, Medinaceli, Aitona and Monterrey) made up the retinue. In addition to members of the most prominent noble families in the service of Philip IV, other servants were recommended by governors, state councillors, presidents of councils, as well as the *valido* (king's favourite), Luis de Haro. More servants were proposed by the admiral of Castile, the president of the Council of Castile, the secretary of the Council of the Indies and the imperial ambassador. There were also servants provided by clergymen, such as servants of the cardinal-archbishop of Toledo, and even Discalced Carmelite nuns from Madrid. Finally, it is interesting to note the proposals of servants originating from places such as Madrid and Segovia, where the town councils contributed to the provision of future servants for the viceroy.³²

Sometimes the Royal Household would offer a servant to complete these viceregal houses. One example was when Charles II granted a *médico* (physician) of the King's Chamber to both Baltasar de la Cueva, Count of Castellar, when he was appointed viceroy of Peru in 1673, and to Melchor Portocarrero, Count of Monclova, appointed viceroy of New Spain (1686).³³ In general, the size and composition of a viceregal household was determined by the viceroy's family's social standing and lineage, in addition to his relationship with the monarch. Until the mid-17th century, Spanish America was a secondary destination in the hierarchical destiny of the kingdoms of the Hispanic Monarchy, compared to Naples or Sicily. Although most of its viceroys were among the titled nobility, Spanish-American viceroys were usually *segundones* (the second-born sons of high noble families), with a few exceptions. The first of these was Francisco de Toledo, who served in the court of Emperor Charles V and Philip II. This policy changed in New Spain, which began to receive viceroys from high-ranking aristocratic families from the mid-17th century onwards, as reflected in the case of Francisco Fernández de la Cueva, 8th Duke of Alburquerque (1653-60), grandee of Spain, who had served as a gentleman of the chamber to Philip IV.³⁴

Council of Castile, led to the appointment of new viceroys to implement these reforms, such as Martín Enríquez de Almansa (1568-1580) in New Spain and Francisco de Toledo (1569-1581) in Peru.

³¹ AGI, Escribanía, 223A, f. 402v. *Memoir of the family servants, relatives and other close friends of His Excellency the Marquis Count of Baños.*

³² Ibidem.

³³ AGI, Indiferente, 512, Book III, ff. 14v-15v. *Licencia de pasajeros de Castellar* (1673); AGI, Contratación, 5447, N. 2, R. 23. *Licencia del conde de la Monclova* (1686).

³⁴ AGI, Contratación, 5430, N. 3, R. 31. *Expediente del duque de Alburquerque* (1653); AGI, Contratación, 5432, N. 2, R. 16. *Relación de criados del conde de Baños* (1660).

A third way to fill viceregal households is revealed in the Royal Decree of 9th April 1591, in which the Crown encouraged viceroys to supply their households with the children and grandchildren of *descubridores* (discoverers), *pobladores-pacificadores* (settlers) and *beneméritos*, so that «they would learn civility and have a good education».³⁵ The viceroys' households acted as models of conduct and courtly ethics, whose members were instructed in serving the viceroy with prudence and virtue, as well as according to the protocol, instilling in them a sense of duty to their lord.³⁶ There were even some cases of servants (ancient creoles) who would stay on in the Americas and go on to work for other viceroys. A fourth element consisted of integrating Indigenous oligarchies into the viceroyalty as a reward for good service, such as Andrés de Ávila. This Indigenous man from Jauja (Peru) oversaw the falcons and the royal hunt for the viceroy Count of Castellar (1674-78) and took the place of a dead soldier in the *Compañía de a caballos* (Horse Company) of the viceroy's guard.³⁷ The heterogeneity of these viceregal households allowed a newly arrived royal *alter ego* to incorporate new local servants as well as the servants he had brought with him from Castile. These servants may have returned to the Peninsula before the viceroy had finished his mandate or died during their service. Due to these factors, it is even more difficult to accurately assess the composition of households.

With regard to viceroys' families, relatives (sons, married daughters, sons- and daughters-in-law etc.) were forbidden to accompany them to the Indies unless expressly authorised by the monarch.³⁸ Likewise, their servants, as well as the wives and children they brought with them, needed special approval. This composition made viceregal households hybrid organisations, open to the incorporation of Castilian elites, pre-Columbian nobility, *caciques* (leaders of Indian corporate communities, ethnic lords) and natives, as well as the meritorious creoles from the conquest. An example of this integration into the court system can be seen in the roles that Creoles and the sons of the wealthiest and most reputable men of Peru played as pages of the viceroy, similar to the service provided by the sons of the high Castilian nobility to the king in the *Real Casa de Caballeros Pajes*.³⁹ In order to recreate the royal court in the Indies, viceregal households emulated almost all the features of a royal household but on a smaller scale. As a result, the viceregal court emerged as the meeting place between the rulers and the ruled, where vassals came and requested justice in the form of honours and privileges, and the viceregal household established itself as a source of favours and political mediation between local elites.⁴⁰ The economic model of the viceroy's household was emulated throughout the American provinces and encompassed all spheres,

³⁵ RLI, Book III, Title III, Law XXXI.

³⁶ AGI, Patronato, 189, R. 25. *Advertencias a los criados del virrey Francisco de Toledo* (1568).

³⁷ AGI, Lima, 12. *Consulta al Consejo de Indias* (1678).

³⁸ RLI, Book III, Title III, Law XII.

³⁹ Portocarrero, *Descripción*, 21. Mainly after the Spanish conquest and the beginning of the viceroyalty era, several *caciques* served the first conquistadors and viceroys, such as Gonzalo Moctezuma to Hernán Cortés and later Joaquín de San Francisco Moctezuma (Gonzalo's grandson) to Luis de Velasco, I Marquis of Salinas. See: AGI, Patronato, 245, R. 10 (México, 29-05-1584).

⁴⁰ Alejandro Cañeque, "De parientes, criados y gracias. Cultura del don y poder en el México colonial (siglos XVI-XVII)", *Histórica* 29:1 (2005): 7-42.

multiplying in the *corregidores de indios*,⁴¹ the presidents of royal audiencias,⁴² the governors,⁴³ captains general etc., as well as in the ecclesiastical sphere with archbishops and bishops, who on numerous occasions took interim command of the viceroyalty.⁴⁴

3.VICEREGAL HOUSEHOLDS TOWARDS THE END OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

In order to reconstruct the composition of a viceroy's household in the Indies, it is necessary to consult two essential primary sources. The first of these is the record book of the *Casa de la Contratación* (Board of Trade) in Seville, where all the servants, relatives and friends who accompanied the viceroys before leaving for America were listed. This is a valuable but insufficient information, given that it only lists the names of the servants, their family and place of origin, but omits the office they held with the viceroy, as this would have happened once the viceregal seat was assumed. To contrast and reconstruct viceregal households, including their domestic servants as well as their governors throughout their terms in office, it is essential to consult the reports of viceroys' families at the end of their rule. This information can be found in the *juicios de residencia* (judicial review) by the *fiscal* (public prosecutor) of the *Real Audiencia*.⁴⁵ This data leads us to scrutinise the families and servants of sixteen viceroys of New Spain (including three interim archbishop-viceroys) and eleven viceroys of Peru (three of them interim archbishop-viceroys) between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

By the end of the 17th century, Spanish American viceregal households had transformed themselves into authentic royal households, maintaining a staff worthy of royalty. The viceroy acted as the father of the family and ran the kingdoms domestically, similar to the government of a monarchy and adhering to the Aristotelian principle that «the whole house was governed by one».⁴⁶ Among these viceregal households, the family and servants of Baltasar de la Cueva, Count of Castellar, who governed Peru between 1674 and 1678, stand out and serve as a model. He was finally dismissed after serious accusations against him for exercising «excessive» generosity among his servants, close confidants and relatives, as well as engaging in illicit trade.⁴⁷ However,

⁴¹ Jerónimo Castillo de Bobadilla, *Política para corregidores* (Madrid: Madrid: Imprenta Real de la Gaceta, 1775 [1591]), ff. 259-366. Javier E. Robles Bocanegra, *Efigies del rey en los Andes. Cultura política y corregidores de indios en el gobierno de Lope García de Castro (Perú, 1564-1569)* (Lima: Caja Negra, 2022), 193-197.

⁴² BNE, R/34077, *Política Indiana*, Book V, ff. 776-787.

⁴³ RLI, Book V, Title II, Law XLVIII.

⁴⁴ AGI, Contratación, 5422, N. 39. *Licencia de pasajero de Juan de Palafox y Mendoza* (1640).

⁴⁵ RLI, Book II, Title XXIV, Law XIII. As Burkholder and Chandler point out, "An *audiencia* was an appellate court with administrative and advisory responsibilities. Its jurisdiction extended throughout a territorial unit also called an *audiencia*." Mark A. Burkholder and D. S. Chandler, "Creole Appointments and the Sale of Audiencia Positions in the Spanish Empire under the Early Bourbons, 1701-1750", *Journal of Latin American Studies* 4:2 (1972): 187-206.

⁴⁶ Aristóteles, *Política* [1255b] (Madrid: Alianza, 2014), 71; AGI, Escribanía, 226B, 2º cuaderno, ff. 3r-4v. *Criados del II marqués de Mancera*. The viceregal household of Mancera had an almost royal dignity due to the large extension of its departments, mainly dedicated to domestic service.

⁴⁷ AGI, Escribanía, 536A-544B. *Residencia a Castellar*, Lima, 1678-83.

one of the main reasons for his fall was the rise to power of Don Juan José of Austria, leaving the viceroy without the Dowager Queen Mariana's protection. Nevertheless, the grandeur and magnificence of his household did justice to the role of the king's representative in the Indies, comprising a total of ninety-seven members. The case of Castellar serves as an example of the lavishness of a viceregal household in the Indies at its peak. By examining all its staff and functions, we can see how the extent of the viceregal family and the economic cosmos of the Spanish American kingdoms reflected how European monarchies and grand houses operated during the Early Modern Era.⁴⁸

Baltasar de la Cueva, Count of Castellar, descended from the House of Alburquerque, a lineage of viceroys in the service of the Crown. His origins allowed him to enjoy certain privileges that made him one of the viceroys with the greatest prerogatives. In 1673, once appointed viceroy of Peru, he obtained an exclusive licence from Charles II to take with him his wife Teresa María Arias de Saavedra (Countess of Castellar), his mother-in-law Catalina Enríquez, the viceroy's cousin Francisco Ramírez, 2nd Marquis of Rivas, and his nephew Tomás de Saavedra: a total of four members of his immediate family.⁴⁹ Although I have called this retinue «family», the concept of family at this time extended to the economic government of the household, or «family administration», and to that of the kingdom. The members of an *alter domus* included both direct family and servants, all of whom could serve as domestic servants to the prince or lord, as well as ministers of the realm; both functions were closely linked to political and bureaucratic government.⁵⁰

One of the most important offices of the household and the administration of the kingdom was that of the *secretario de gobernación* (secretary of governance). All matters of governance, letters and internal (local) as well as external proceedings passed through him. He also maintained direct correspondence with the Council of the Indies. Alongside him was the *secretario de cartas* (secretary of letters), who was responsible for overseeing correspondence and preventing political and administrative matters from being delayed. The selection of these ministers was not only based on virtues and knowledge of the office (good penmanship and great experience, etc.) but also loyalty to the viceroy, as they were responsible for all appointments and the granting of favours and graces. Castellar appointed Pedro de la Cantera, a knight of Santiago, as his secretary, who he entrusted with sensitive affairs.⁵¹ Bernardo de Ojeda, knight of Alcántara, also acted as *secretario de cartas* and *escribano de cámara* (chamber scribe), as well as exercised the office of secretary during Pedro de la Cantera's absences. In addition to these positions, there was the *veedor* (inspector of accounts) and an accountant who kept the accounts of incoming and outgoing funds, totalling four offices dedicated to the governance and administration of the kingdom.

The hybrid nature of the departments in a viceroy's household meant that, on numerous occasions, the *alter ego* would make some noteworthy appointments to his

⁴⁸ Otto Brunner, *Nuevos caminos de la historia social y constitucional* (Buenos Aires: Alfa, 1976), 87-124.

⁴⁹ AGI, Contratación, 5439, N. 21 (1673).

⁵⁰ Daniela Frigo, *Il padre di famiglia. Governo della casa e governo civile nella tradizione dell'«economica» tra cinque e seicento* (Roma: Bulzoni, 1985), 69.

⁵¹ AGI, Indiferente, 512, Book III, ff. 29r-v (1673).

government before or after his arrival in the Americas. This was the case with the *asesor de gobierno* (government adviser), who was regularly incorporated into the viceroy's service once he had arrived in the Indies. The viceroy would also often elect an *oidor* (civil judge) of the *Real Audiencia* to hear open contentious cases involving the government. On other occasions, the viceroys included a lawyer from the Peninsula in their entourages, like Melchor de Navarra, 2nd Duke of La Palata (1681-89), did with the Aragonese jurist Juan Luis López. This appointment was due to the adverse political climate in Peru after the dismissal of Castellar in 1678 and the new limitations for viceroys to designate only twelve offices among his servants.⁵² Castellar's advisor was the longest standing civil judge (*oidor decano*) of the *audiencia* of Lima, Álvaro de Ibarra, who had been an advisor to previous viceroys, assisting the 9th Count of Alba de Liste (1655-61), the 8th Count of Santisteban (1661-66), and the 10th Count of Lemos in the pacification of Puno (1670). He also acted as interim president of the kingdom of Peru between 1672 and 1674.⁵³

On some occasions, newly arrived viceroys would employ servants of former viceroys in their households not only as advisors, but also by offering them a role in the civil government or juridical system (like *corregimientos*). These appointments would make these servants the viceroys' "clients", which reinforced the heterogeneity of their role. In addition to the general advisor, viceroys had an *asesor de indios* (advisor for the Indigenous population), who was responsible for their governance and evangelisation. The *asesor de indios* would receive a salary for this role, which effectively made him a member of the household and a servant.⁵⁴ This minister was appointed once the viceroy had arrived in Lima, the City of Kings, and was usually a doctor of canons from the University of San Marcos as well as a lawyer from the *Real Audiencia* of Lima. This was because by the 18th century the *Protección de indios* had been incorporated as a ministry in the Real Audiencia.⁵⁵ One example was Tomás de Salazar, who exercised these functions of *catedrático* (professor) during the government of Manuel de Oms, 1st Marquis of Casteldosrius (1707-1710). As a result, those who the viceroy ingratiated with a civil office (like a *corregimiento*) became his clients, even if they had arrived as servants in his household. Meanwhile, those who received a salary directly from the viceroy's household were classified as servants, including those whom the viceroy granted a governmental office and served him in the Court of Lima or those who did not have a fixed role assigned. These appointments complemented the viceroy's household in governmental matters without belonging to his original entourage from the Peninsula.

Among positions within the viceregal household (i.e., those that oversaw the government and provided personal assistance to the viceroy), the *mayordomo* stands out because of the essential nature of his role. He was in charge of organising and maintaining the viceroy's household according to good governance, discretion, moral virtue and decency. He was also "in charge of the economic running" of the household,

⁵² AGI, Escribanía, 543A, ff. 12r-v.

⁵³ AGI, Lima, 11.

⁵⁴ José Ignacio Rubio Mañé, *El virreinato. Orígenes y jurisdicciones y dinámica social de los virreyes* (México: FCE, 1983), I, 77.

⁵⁵ AGI, Escribanía, 548A, f. 20r (1714).

with the other servants subordinated to him.⁵⁶ He also oversaw access to the viceroy, was informed about *veedor's* tasks, the storekeeper's expenditure, and the cleanliness and punctuality of meals. Moreover, he had a seat at the viceroy's right hand inside and outside the palace. In the case of Castellar, he offered this intimate and loyal position to his close friend Alonso Arias de Echavarría.⁵⁷

The second in command was the *camarero*, an appointment usually occupied by long-standing servants in the viceroy's household. The *camarero* was an ancient role whose purpose was to guard the viceroy during his daily duties or assist in more intimate tasks, such as dressing.⁵⁸ Castellar granted the position to Félix de Arias y Echavarría, his *mayordomo's* brother. Under the authority of the *camarero* were the *ayudas de cámara* (valets of the chamber), nine servants in Castellar's chamber who assisted the *mayordomo*. Among them there were a *guardarropa* (the Master of the Great Wardrobe), a barber, a tailor, a porter and a *mozo de retrete* (toilet assistant). The *camarero* also supervised the *medico de cámara* (chamber physician). A team of physicians, who attended the viceroy and his entourage, completed this extensive and grand domestic staff, fit for a Peruvian *alter domus* and thus reflecting his great status. This department consisted of a family doctor, Dr Juan Isidoro Romero, physician to the Chamber of Charles II, who was offered to Castellar on his departure for the Indies. He was accompanied by a bleeder for the treatment of fevers that viceroys occasionally suffered from in the Caribbean and Panama and that led to their death on several occasions. There was also the *maestresala*, the chief minister who attended the viceroy's table and correctly observed ceremony and protocol.⁵⁹ The *maestresala* would also serve the food and drink with the pages, a dignity that fell to Francisco de Sola. In the domestic service to the household and to the viceroy, other servants included the *repostería* (kitchen and pastry staff), which consisted of twelve members for Castellar (seven cooks and five *reposteros* -pastry cooks-). Among them there were a senior cook and his assistant, four kitchen porters, a pastry chef, his assistant and five waiters, two of whom were black.⁶⁰

Then, there was the *caballerizo* (equerry), a palace officer of great honour and trust "exercised by men of quality",⁶¹ who would ride behind the viceroy's carriage in public and accompany him on his travels. His duties were to care for the horses and mules as well as managing the coachmen and the stables as a means of transport for the viceroys. The importance of this servant was such that he could stay in the palace and he oversaw the viceroy's household of pages. The pages department was essentially a

⁵⁶ The order is established following Alonso Núñez de Castro on the offices of the Royal Household, *Libro histórico político*, Book I, Chap. X (Barcelona: Andrés García de la Iglesia, 1698 [1658]), f. 157; Real Academia Española (RAE), *Diccionario de Autoridades*, IV, "mayordomo" (1734): <https://apps2.rae.es/DA.html>

⁵⁷ AGI, Escribanía, 536A, s. f. *Memoria de los criados y familia del conde de Castellar*.

⁵⁸ Gil González Dávila, *Teatro de las grandezas de la villa de Madrid* (Madrid: Thomas Iunti, 1623), f. 314.

⁵⁹ BNE, R/6388, f. 532v. Sebastián de Covarrubias, *Tesoro de la Lengua o Española* (Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1611).

⁶⁰ AGI, Escribanía, 536A. The sources indicate 'black' -negro- to refer to the two waiters who served in the viceroy's kitchen.

⁶¹ RAE, *Diccionario de Autoridades*, II (1729), "caballerizo", <https://apps2.rae.es/DA.html>

school for court protocol and customs, overseen by a *caballero* (gentleman). His role was crucial in the education of court procedure, with his prowess in the art of chivalry (riding a horse) as well as the handling of weapons inspiring nobility in his apprentices (see graph 1).⁶² Castellar gave this responsibility to Antonio Arias, a long-term servant who accompanied him to all his posts, from chancelleries and councils to the embassy at the Imperial Court in Vienna (1666-70). To demonstrate his military and domestic grandeur, the viceroy granted Antonio Arias de Alijar a grand stables department, which was composed of a *cochero mayor* (senior coachman), two chamber coachmen, a *sota-cochero* (second coachman), a groom and two sedan carriers. To complete the entourage, there were ten additional *lacayos* (footmen: six footmen, two mule drivers, one trumpet player and one black carriage driver), who went in front of the viceroy when he travelled on horseback.

Castellar maintained a total of seven *gentilshombres de cámara* and two *gentilshombres de boca*, who were servants he trusted as they held positions of great distinction. The former oversaw the dressing and undressing of the viceroy, usually waiting on him during meals, as well as accompanying him on his carriage outings while keeping a watchful eye. Similarly, the *gentilshombres de boca* served the viceroy at the table, escorted him when he went to chapel or would accompany him on horseback if he left the palace walls.⁶³ The size of this department demonstrates not only the domestic splendour of the viceroy's household (see graphs 1, 3 and 6), but also the greatness of his person and office, as demonstrated in the number of *pajes de cámara* (pages of the chamber) there were, a total of eighteen, who acted as servants, companions, and assistants in the antechambers of the *alter ego*, as well as serving him at the table. In general, they were skilled servants, reflecting the effective training for their roles in court. At the centre of the viceregal household when it reached its zenith was the confessor Friar Felix de Como, a native of Como (Milan) and a member of the Franciscan order. Until the establishment of the Royal Chapel in the Indies in 1595 (specifically in Lima), the formalisation of the viceroy's household, crucial to the political framework of the Hispanic Monarchy, remained incomplete.⁶⁴ The confessor (who used to hold the office of chamber theologian *-teólogo de cámara-*) was one of the most important members that the viceroy brought with him, both as an advisor in matters of theology and morality and as his personal confessor. He oversaw the spiritual health of the viceroy and his flock, as well as the Royal Chapel in Lima.⁶⁵

Another very relevant servant in the viceroy's household was the *embajador* (ambassador). This position was a great honour as it involved proclaiming the arrival of the viceroy in the City of Kings so as to prepare his reception as well as announcing

⁶² José Eloy Hortal Muñoz, *Las guardas reales de los Austrias hispanos* (Madrid: Polifemo, 2013).

⁶³ González, *Teatro*, ff. 315-316.

⁶⁴ AGI, Lima, 11. The royal chapel in Lima was composed of a senior chaplain (600 pesos), five chaplains (500 pesos each) and a sacristan (400 pesos). Guillermo Nieva Ocampo, Ana Mónica González Fasani, "Lima and the Ecclesiastical Entourage of the Viceroys (1600-50): The Royal Chapel", in *Politics and piety at the royal sites of the Spanish monarchy in the seventeenth century*, coord. by José Eloy Hortal Muñoz (Turnhout: Brepols, 2021), 137-166.

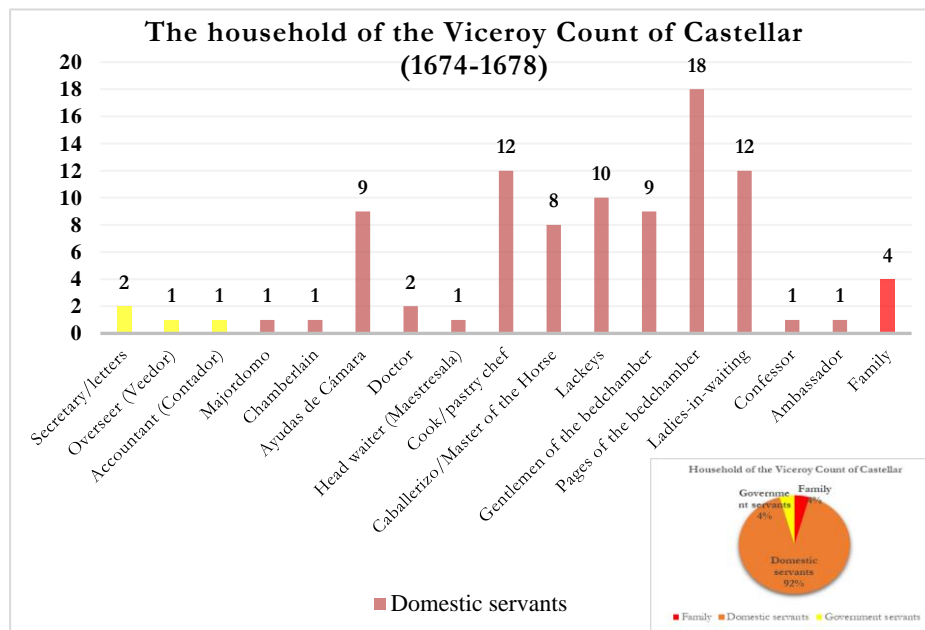
⁶⁵ Juan de Palafox, *Direcciones para los señores obispos y cartas pastorales* (Madrid: Gabriel Ramírez, 1762), f. 65.

the immediate discharge of the outgoing viceroy. In addition, his diplomatic function had an impact on the political mediation with other embassies or local Indigenous elites, and to receive commissions and representations from cabildos in the interior of Peru to Lima.⁶⁶ This role was granted to Tomás de Valdés, a member of the Order of Santiago and very close friend to Castellar.⁶⁷ Finally, there were twelve ladies-in-waiting in the service of the vicereine Countess of Castellar, a number on a par with that of other vicereines, similar to the impressive retinue of the first vicereine of Peru, Teresa de Castro, Marquise of Cañete (1556-60), who had ten ladies-in-waiting and an unknown number of maids, or that of the 1st Marquise of Guadalcázar, María Ana de Riederer de Paar, who had been a lady of queen Margaret of Austria.⁶⁸ In total, the number of all the domestic staff in the Castellar household, not including the family, consisted of eighty-five servants, two of whom were knights of Santiago and one of Alcantara. The scale of the domestic staff contrasts with that of the four administrative positions in the vicereine household, a department and offices that was still attached to the viceroy's personal (domestic) service.

⁶⁶ AGI, Escribanía, 537A, f. 2319v; Juan de Torquemada, *Monarquía Indiana*, t. I, vol. IV, ch. I (Sevilla: Mathías Clavijo, 1615), 320 (https://historicas.unam.mx/publicaciones/publicadigital/monarquia/mi_vol01.html).

⁶⁷ AGI, Escribanía, 536A.

⁶⁸ Ladies/maids-in-waiting of vicereines: María Ana de Riederer, 1st Marquise of Guadalcázar (14), AGI, Contratación, 5324, N. 1; Francisca Enríquez de Rivera, 4th Countess of Chinchón (13), AGI, Contratación, 5400, N. 45; Antonia de Sandoval y Afán de Rivera, 1st Marquise of Cadreita (15), AGI, Contratación, 5416, N. 83; Antonia Marcela de Acuña, 1st Countess of Salvatierra (8 waitresses), AGI, Contratación, 5424, N. 2, R. 11; Juana Francisca Díez de Armendáriz, 8th Duchess of Albuquerque (13), AGI, Contratación, 5430, N. 3, R. 31; Mariana Isabel de Leyva, 2nd Countess of Baños (17), AGI, Contratación, 5432, N. 2, R. 16; Ana de Silva y Manrique, 8th Countess of Santisteban (17), AGI, Contratación, 5432, N. 2, R. 74; Ana de Borja y Centella, 10th Countess of Lemos (17), AGI, Contratación, 5435, N. 2, R. 24; Francisca Toledo de Aragón y Frezza, 2nd Duchess of La Palata (12), AGI, Contratación, 5444, N. 149; Elvira de Toledo y Córdoba, 8th Countess of Galve (10 ladies and 5 maids), AGI, Contratación, 5450, N. 47; María Andrea de Guzmán, 1st Duchess of Atlixco (24 servants), AGI, Contratación, 5458, N. 1, R. 27; Juana de Oms y Cabrera, 1st Marquise of Casteldosrius (12), AGI, Contratación 5463, N. 43; Constanza Ruffo y Lanza, 4th Princess of Santo Buono (7), AGI, Contratación, 5468, N. 2, R. 12; María Ventura de Guirior, 1st Marquise of Guirior (5 maids), AGI, Contratación, 5517, N. 2, R. 12. During the 18th century there were hardly any viceroys who travelled with their wives (those who had them), as a consequence of the change in the figure of the viceroy as the father of the family and the system that governed the Indies according to criteria based on domestic economy, therefore, this section of ladies or maids disappeared. An exceptional case was that of the vicereine 2nd Marquise of Amarillas who took 10 women in her retinue, Christoph Rosenmüller, *Viceroy Güemes's Mexico: Rituals, Religion, and Revenue* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2024), ch. 2.



Graph 1: Departmental distribution of the Castellar household.⁶⁹

This graph shows the viceregal authority as the highest royal representative in Peru at its peak. The number of domestic servants (85) contrasts with that of the governmental/administrative servants (4), which implies an economically domestic approach to the management of the kingdom.⁷⁰ Patronage determined Castellar's government, so much so that he granted a total of nineteen offices of justice and another military office among his domestic servants and relatives.⁷¹ However, from the mid-16th century onwards, viceregal households and courts began to fluctuate as a political space. They eventually settled in the early years of the 17th century when the various departments became relatively stable. It was after the dismissal of Castellar (1678), one of the grandest and most ostentatious viceroys of Peru, that this organisation of power began to tentatively modify its structure. Viceregal households adapted the staffing in their various departments according to their own logic and principles of government, emulating the changes made within the political organisation of court.

⁶⁹ The entourage that accompanied him from Cádiz and the governmental offices recorded at his residence (yellow): AGI, Contratación, 5439, N. 21 (Sevilla, 07-11-1673); AGI, Escribanía, 536A (Lima, 1678).

⁷⁰ Hernando de Mendoza, *Tres tratados compuestos* (Nápoles: Tarquinio Longo, 1602), f. 1.

⁷¹ AGI, Escribanía, 536A, ff. 41r-44v (1679).

4. THE ENTOURAGE OF SPANISH AMERICAN VICEROYS IN THE SERVICE OF TWO DYNASTIES (1665-1746)

The court underwent changes due to the new political justification and *raison d'être* that the Catholic Monarchy adopted after the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, when the Crown ceased to govern under the authority of Rome, and as such, the concept and structure of the Catholic Monarchy was left without political justification. As a result of this identity crisis, the structures that had organised the kingdoms - the royal households and the viceroy as the father of the family - no longer served the political cause and historical-mystical destiny that the Habsburg monarchs had established. Unable to eliminate the courtly political system, the monarchy was forced to reconfigure the viceregal system. Therefore, the reforms that these institutions underwent were no more than a response to the identity crisis and the new structure of the kingdoms. This policy was set in motion on the arrival of Don Juan José of Austria in February 1677 and its main reform was the dismissal of Castellar a year later and the integral reform of liberality in all viceroyalties.⁷²

This rupture meant that the *raison d'être* of the monarchy no longer corresponded with the expansion of the territories with the aim of propagating the Catholic faith (*Monarchia Universalis*), thus putting into question the existence of large-scale viceregal households, as they did not respond politically to the objectives for which they had been created.⁷³ Nor was it justified in defending the Catholic agenda created in Rome, as it was still negotiated during the reigns of Philip III and Philip IV, when the viceregal residences reached their zenith.⁷⁴ The difference from previous reigns, which also supported the same cause, is seen in the resistance against certain religious orders sent from Rome to oversee the evangelisation efforts in the Americas. At the same time, the crisis of identity and its religious objectives led to a reorganisation of the territories within the American kingdoms. This restructuring granted these kingdoms greater political and economic influence within the central government of the Monarchy. Simultaneously, new political interests of the monarchy were acting to improve military defence against foreign powers and the kingdoms' finances. In short, a shift from a model governed by domestic economic criteria to one of political economy was on the horizon. This apparent «political secularisation» -understood as a process of political re-interpretation of theological principles⁷⁵ - resulted in a transfiguration of the

⁷² Archivo General de Palacio [AGP], Reinados, Caja 79/3 and Administración General (AG), leg. 928 and 929; Paul K. Monod, *The Power of Kings Monarchy and Religion in Europe 1589-1715* (New Haven-London: Yale University Press, 2001), 273-328.

⁷³ José Martínez Millán & José Eloy Hortal Muñoz, *La Corte de Felipe IV (1621-1665): Reconfiguración de la Monarquía católica* (Madrid: Polifemo, 2015), t. I, vol. I, 3-56. Richard G. Trewinnard, "The Household of the Spanish Monarch: Structure, Cost and Personnel, 1606-65" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Cardiff, University of Wales, 1991).

⁷⁴ Eduardo Torres Arancivia, *Corte de Virreyes. El entorno del poder en el Perú del siglo XVII* (Lima: PUCP, 2014), 63-68.

⁷⁵ José Manuel Nieto Soria, "Origen divino, espíritu laico y poder real en la Castilla del siglo XIII", *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 27 (1997): 79. Nieto Soria's definition is accurate to apply to the late 17th century, where Leibniz indicated that the France of Louis XIV in 1672 did not need to give reasons to

functionality and governmental nature of the viceroy and his household, implying a restructuring of its departments and members. The reforms of vicerealties began in 1678 with the limitation of exercising liberality and the reduction of excessive concession of grants that military and civilian personnel could distribute among their servants, as had occurred in Catalonia, Aragon, Sicily and Naples. These restrictions ultimately led to the elimination of all supernumerary posts. This policy was followed by a substantial reform in the king's household in June 1681, aimed at controlling how many servants had the right to consume daily rations, which continued in 1683, 1684 and 1686. By then, Charles II personally took over the management of his household without the influence that the Dowager Queen Mariana of Austria had exercised until then.⁷⁶

All this was due to a new policy championed by Don Juan José of Austria after he came to power in February 1677. A number of his priorities were to return vicerealties to the status of an educated high nobility loyal to the new interests of the Crown, recover the powers and privileges delegated to viceroys and concentrate them in the Council of the Indies as a central body of power, and, finally, convert the *reales audiencias* into provincial courts of justice. Thus, the intention was to counteract the considerable authority that viceroys had gained during *the government of the Count-Duke of Olivares* (1621-1643), *the favourite* of King Philip IV. This change involved reclaiming certain powers previously granted to viceroys and subjecting their actions to legal scrutiny. This was one of the key factors that finally led to the publication of the *Recopilación*, a scheme that had been postponed since the early 17th century. Originally, its redaction had been entrusted to Juan de Solórzano Pereira and Antonio de León Pinelo.⁷⁷ This shift became more apparent during the reign of Charles II. From that point onward, the political direction of the monarchy was no longer rooted in the Catholic principles dictated from Rome. Instead, it stemmed from a uniquely Spanish confessionism centred around the defence of the *Patronato Regio*. This shift led to the pursuit of specific and divergent interests from those of the Holy See.

The removal of Castellar as viceroy in July 1678, stemming from the Catholic Monarchy's crisis concerning its *raison d'être*, had three main consequences. Firstly, it led to the restructuring of the political standards in court, which had previously facilitated governance in Spanish America. This restructuring severely limited the liberality exercised by viceroys to the point of near elimination. The second consequence was the reduction of the number of members in their households, as reflected by the 2nd Duke of La Palata's argument when he was appointed Castellar's

the world for its enterprises, as its ancestors had done. Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, *Political Writings*, part. IV 'Mars Christianissimus' (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988 [1683]), 122.

⁷⁶ AGP, AG, leg.929; Jon Arrieta Alberdi, *El Consejo Supremo de la Corona de Aragón (1494-1707)* (Zaragoza: Institución "Fernando el Católico", 1994), 515-518; Marcelo Luzzi Traficante, "La Casa de Borgoña durante el cambio dinástico y durante el siglo XVIII (1680-1761)", in *La Casa de Borgoña: la casa del rey de España*, directed by José Eloy Hortal Muñoz y Félix Labrador Arroyo (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2014), 132.

⁷⁷ Arrigo Amadori, *Negociando la obediencia. Gestión y reforma de los virreinos americanos en tiempos del conde-duque de Olivares (1621-1643)* (Sevilla: CSIC, 2013), 87; Newberry Library [NL], Vault Ayer Ms. 1222. Juan de Solórzano Pereira, *Libro de la Recopilación de las cédulas, cartas, Provisiones y ordenanzas Reales, que en diferentes tiempos sean despachado para el gobierno de las Indias Occidentales* (Lima: 1622).

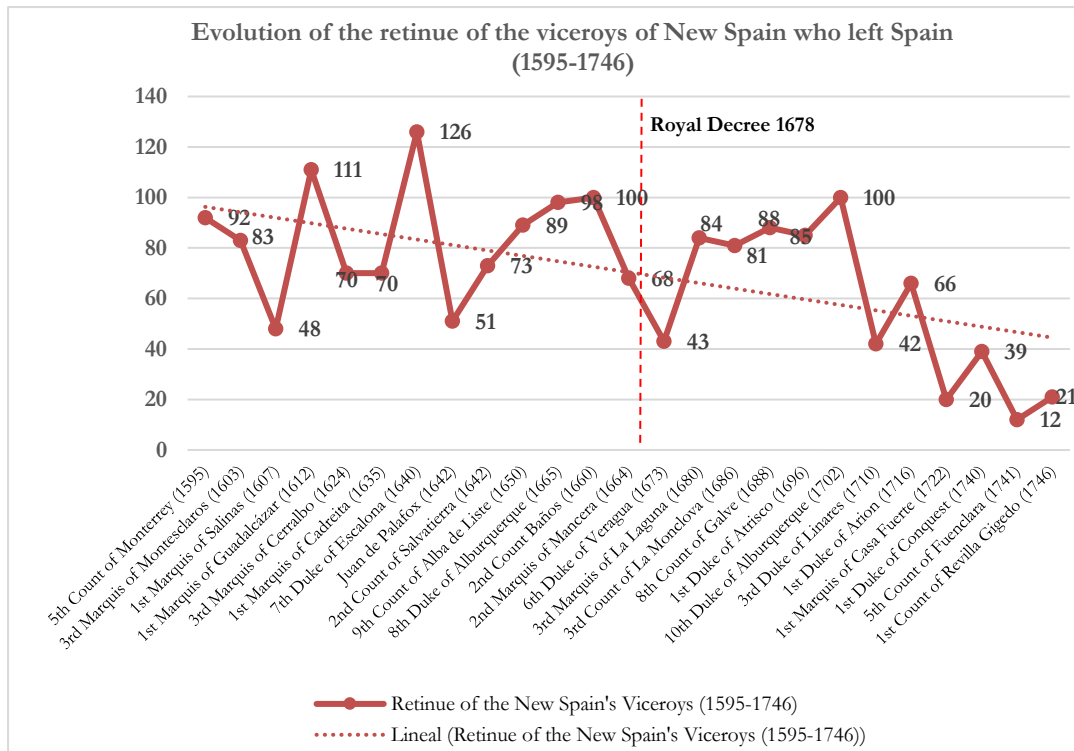
successor in 1680: «no viceroy goes to the Indies without a decent sized family to follow him, and few will follow him 3,000 leagues, exposed to the labours and great dangers suffered, without hope of any reward or comfort».⁷⁸ Thirdly, the role exercised by the viceroy's household and his role as father of the family was reduced to mere appearance, both in his actions and in his representation. His regal figure transmuted into an ordinary minister with delegated «viceroy-bureaucrat» power (in expression by Iván Escamilla), devoted to administrative and military tasks during the Bourbon century, instead of a liberal policy and the delegation of competences.⁷⁹ In this respect, the evolution of the entourage and the staff in Spanish American viceregal houses is inescapable. This shift was due to the absolute power and governance of the Crown, even at a distance, which allows us to understand the changes orchestrated within the monarchy.

In this context, the evolution of the retinue in viceregal households in Spanish America followed this same trend. After remaining relatively stable and with a high number of servants during the first three quarters of the 17th century, a significant change took place during the last two decades of the 17th century. The list of relatives and servants of the viceroys who left Spain for the Indies collected by the *Casa de la Contratación* in Seville, and later in Cádiz (1717), known as «*Pasajeros a Indias*», allows us to identify its development. During the first three quarters of the 17th century (1600-75), viceroys maintained a constant number of servants: an average of 80.9 servants per viceroy in New Spain (graph 2), and 97.4 servants per viceroy in Peru (graph 3), typical of a policy that exalted this role as father of the family.⁸⁰ However, after the coming of age of Charles II (1675) and throughout the reign of Philip V (1700-46), the number of servants accompanying viceroys fell substantially (graph 4), except for three isolated cases that maintained a magnificent retinue. The overall number of servants who accompanied the viceroys to the Indies between 1678 and 1746 fell considerably both in number and in percentage compared to first the three quarters of the 17th century. For New Spain the figure was 51.75 and for Peru 53.25 (Graph 4).

⁷⁸ AGI, Lima, 18, s. f. (01-10-1680). *Letter from the viceroy Duke of La Palata to Charles II asking him to provide twelve offices.*

⁷⁹ Iván Escamilla González, “La corte de los virreyes”, in *Historia de la vida cotidiana en México. La Ciudad Barroca*, II, coord. Antonio Rubial García (México: El Colegio de México-FCE, 2005), 394-396.

⁸⁰ William J. Booth, “The New Household Economy”, *The American Political Science Review* 85:1 (1991): 59-75.



Graph 2: Prepared by the author.⁸¹

The 24 viceroys listed include the viceroy's family as well as the vicereine's ladies-in-waiting, even though they were not considered official servants of the viceroy. Some notable cases are Juan de Palafox (servants he transferred as Bishop of Puebla de los Ángeles in 1640), who carried a reduced cortege, or that of the 10th Duke of Albuquerque (1702), who, at the beginning of the 18th century, was accompanied by a retinue as great as those of early 17th century.⁸²; Viceroy 1st Duke de la Conquista (1740), which is taken from the list of the servants who were employed during his rule, and it was the smallest retinue. The latter's rule lasted only five days, as he died on his arrival in Mexico City, so this account is valid for his entourage from the departure.⁸³ In the case of the 5th Count of Fuenclara (1741), reference is also made to the retinue he maintained during his government, as that of his departure from Seville has not

⁸¹ The references of the viceroys in the table correspond to AGI, Contratación, signatures following the chronological order indicated in the graph: 5249, N. 1, R. 2; 5273, N. 3; México, 1092, L. 13, f. 5v; 5324, N. 1; 5389, N. 1; 5416, N. 83; 5422, N. 34; 5422, N. 39; 5424, N. 2, R. 11; 5429, N. 75; 5430, N. 3, R. 31; 5432, N. 2, R. 16; 5434, N. 1, R. 46; 5439, N. 126; 5443, N. 2, R. 127; 5447, N. 2, R. 23; 5450, N. 47; 5458, N. 1, R. 27; 5458, N. 2, R. 107; 5469, N. 2, R. 10; 5472, N. 2, R. 5.

⁸² The 10th Duke of Albuquerque (1702), listed in AGI, México, 658, ff. 31v-34r. According to Michel Bertrand in his book *Grandezza y miseria del oficio. Los oficios de la Real Hacienda de la Nueva España, siglos XVII y XVIII* (México: FCE, 2013): "he arrived with one hundred servants", ch. V, note 79, listed in AGI, México, 610.

⁸³ AGI, Escribanía, 243A, ff. 18r-19r.

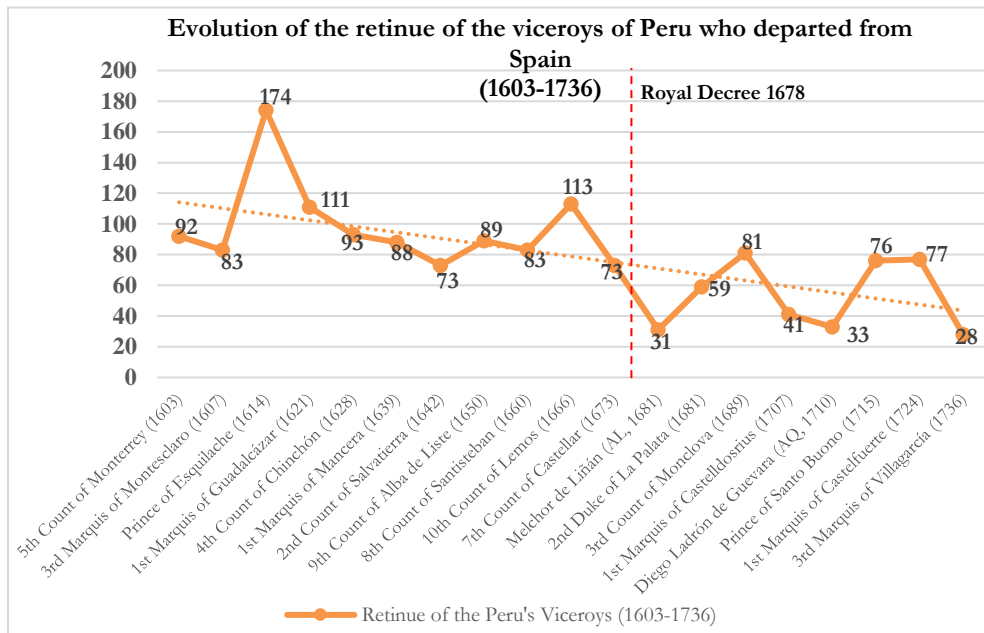
been located.⁸⁴ I have not included the cases of the acting Archbishop-Viceroy Francisco García (1611-12), nor the 1st Marquis of Gelves (1621-24), of whom there is no record in AGI, *Contratación*. The Bishop-Viceroy Marcos de Torres (1648-49) is not referred to either, because he was Bishop of Yucatán and is not a reliable reference because he only had 8 servants. Neither is the Bishop-Viceroy of Puebla de los Ángeles, Diego Osorio (1664), with 4 servants, nor is the Archbishop-Viceroy of Mexico, Payo Enríquez (1673-80), whose entourage is not known either through "*Contratación*" or "*Escribanía*". Juan de Ortega, Bishop-Viceroy of Michoacán (1696), is omitted as this information does not appear in his account. Juan Antonio Vizarrón (1730) had a total of 27 servants, most of them clergymen, which does not correspond with the analysis of the viceregal flats and servants.⁸⁵

There is only one interim viceroy listed: Juan de Palafox, Bishop of Puebla (1640-42), who, because of the proximity in dates between his arrival in New Spain and his appointment as interim viceroy, we can assume that he made up his retinue with the servants who originally accompanied him to Mexico. The rest of the prelates or interim viceroys did not bring with them a large retinue, as they were viceroys due to exceptional circumstances (resolving a social and political crisis or the death of a viceroy), and they were already in America with a small retinue typical of a prelate, so they do not fall into the logical category of the regular appointment of viceroys with a large retinue. As such, they have not been included in order to avoid breaking the statistics and study we are analysing. The last case, that of Revillagigedo, the information is available only when he left as governor of Cuba in 1734, with a total of five servants (with his wife).⁸⁶ In general, viceroys kept a similar number of servants from the time they arrived from Castile until they left the viceroyalty, as the servants appointed to govern a *corregimiento* were replaced by courtiers from Lima, such as servants of former viceroys or local elites.

⁸⁴ AGI, Escribanía, 245A, 1º Cuaderno, ff. 159r-175v.

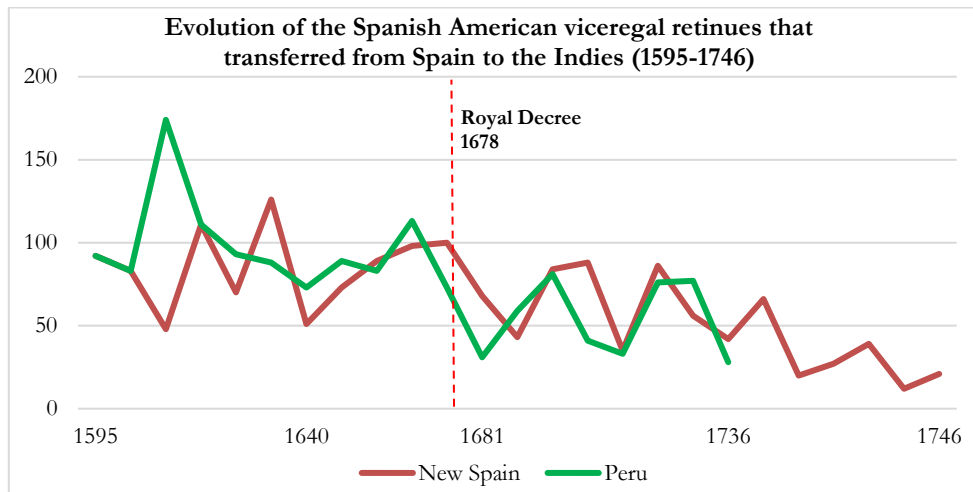
⁸⁵ AGI, Contratación, 5478, N. 1, R. 13.

⁸⁶ AGI, Contratación, 5481, N. 2, R. 23. The small number of servants with whom he went to the Indies and his status (as a governor), opting for the data offered in his *juicio de residencia* (judicial review). AGI, Escribanía, 246A, 1º Cuaderno, ff. 47r-48r.



Graph 3: Prepared by the author.⁸⁷

⁸⁷ For the 19 viceroys analysed, we count the retinue they brought from Spain, including the viceroy's family (wife and daughters, not the viceroy), as well as the ladies-in-waiting of the vicereines. For the viceroys 5th Count of Monterrey (1603), 3rd Marquis of Montesclaros (1606), 1st Marquis of Guadalcázar (1621), 2nd Count of Salvatierra (1642), 9th Count of Alba de Liste (1650) and the 3rd Count of Monclova (1689), we only have a reference of their departures to Mexico, so that their arrival dates in Peru (once they had left New Spain) are approximate. The data for the interim Archbishop-Viceroy Melchor de Liñán (1681) is taken from the end of his government, the same as for the interim viceroy Diego Ladrón de Guevara, bishop-of Quito (1710). I have not included the interim viceroy Diego Morcillo, archbishop of Charcas (1720), because the Crown granted him the privilege of not undergoing an inspection and, therefore, his retinue does not appear in the *juicio de residencia*; nor that of the 2nd Count of Superunda (1746) because he had arrived as governor of Chile, with only one servant, in 1737. The references from AGI, Contratación follow the chronological order indicated in the graph: 5249, N. 1, R. 2; 5273, N. 3; 5345, N. 78; 5324, N. 1; 5400, N. 45; 5421, N. 43; 5424, N. 2, R. 11; 5429, N. 75; 5432, N. 2, R. 74; Escribanía, 541A; 5444, N. 149; 5447, N. 2, R. 23; 5463, N. 43; 5451, N. 18; 5468, N. 2, R. 12; 5474, N. 1, R. 22; 5482A, N. 1 R. 34.



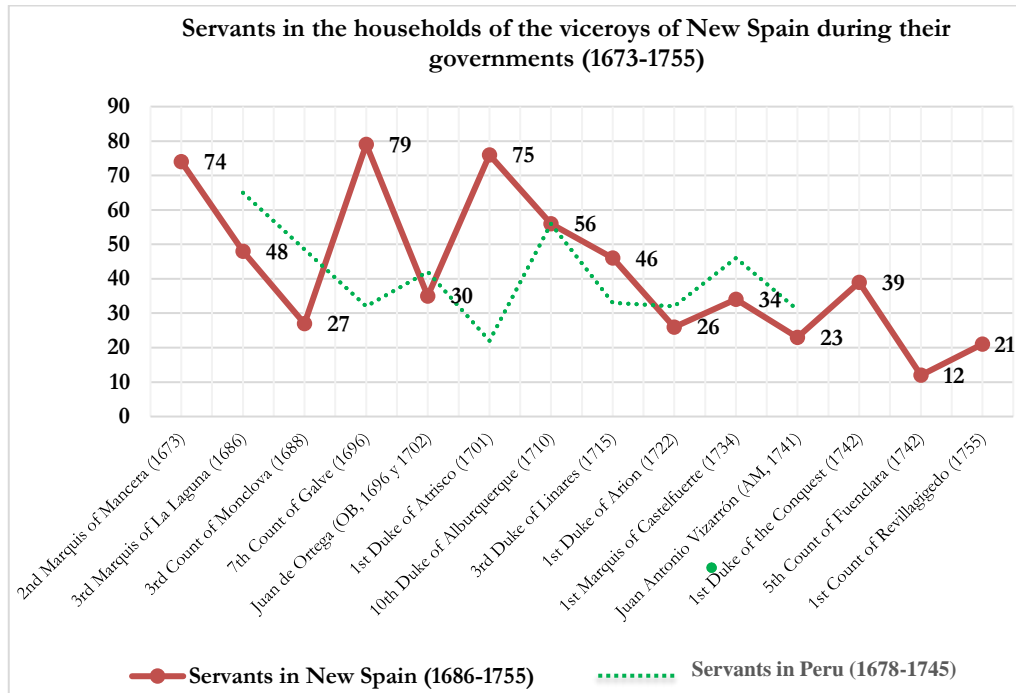
Graph 4: Prepared by the author.

This idea is reinforced if we look at the number of servants who served during the viceroys' rule in the Indies between 1675 and 1746, as recorded in their *juicios de residencia*. The total number of members in a viceregal retinue began to decrease after the Royal Decree of 28th February 1678, which prohibited viceroys from granting graces and offices, although this measure was minimally reduced by the Decree of 26th August 1680, limiting them to a maximum of twelve offices. What can be observed, however, is that it implied a change in the structure of the household and the viceregal government, even though it was not observed.⁸⁸ Between 1675 and 1746 the average number of servants who aided viceroys in the governance of New Spain was 39.7 (graph 5) and 39.8 for Peru until 1736 (graph 6). These figures indicate a substantial reduction of thirty servants for viceroys of New Spain and some forty in Peru with respect to the staff who departed with the royal *alter ego* throughout practically the whole of the 17th century. Nevertheless, these figures are considerably less drastic when analysing the entourage of family and servants who served in viceregal houses during their rule (graph 5).⁸⁹ In general, the number of members tended to increase, as the viceroy incorporated new members of his entourage into his service, specifically from the local elites or servants of previous viceroys, as well as he added members of the viceregal guard. From 1680 onwards, these compositions decreased, not only because many servants were appointed as clients and dependents of the viceroy in *corregimientos*, *alcaldías mayores* or military offices,⁹⁰ but also because the domestic function of these households shifted towards an original political function.

⁸⁸ AGI, Indiferente, 430, L. 42, ff. 85r-86v (1678). Lewis Hanke, *Los virreyes españoles en América durante el gobierno de la Casa de Austria* (Madrid: Atlas, 1976), vol. VI, 66 and 121.

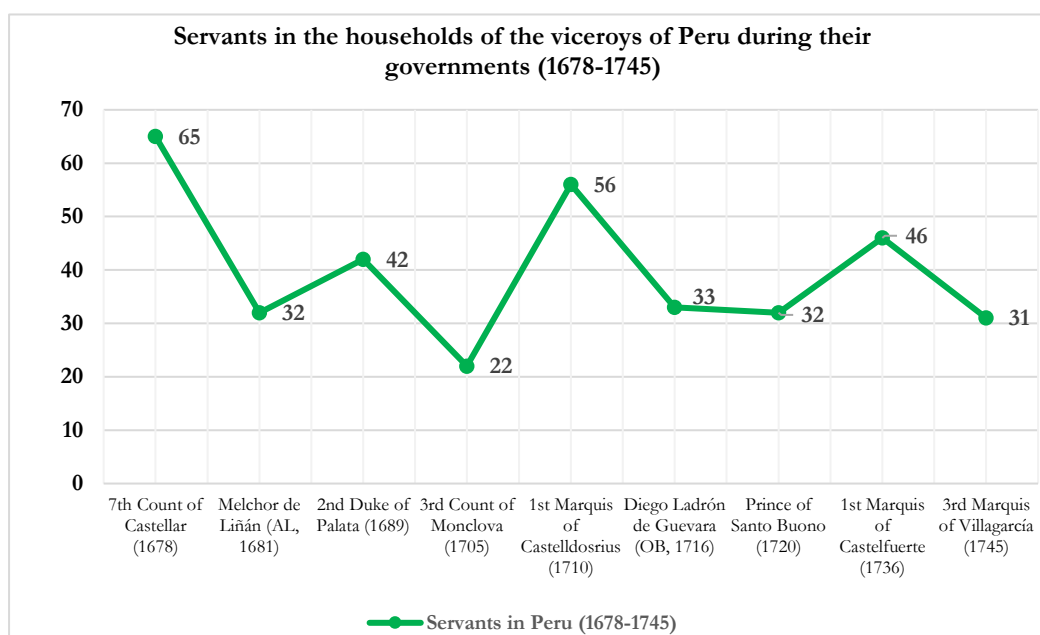
⁸⁹ Christoph Rosenmüller, *Patrons, Partisans, and Palace Intrigues. The Court Society of Colonial Mexico, 1702-1710* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2008), 59-65.

⁹⁰ Office of the *alcalde mayor*, a first-instance judge and administrator of a district, regional magistrate, provincial administrator, known also as a *corregidor* in some parts.



Graph 5: Prepared by the author.⁹¹

⁹¹ The data on the Archbishop-Viceroy Juan de Ortega corresponds to the total of his two terms (1696 and 1701-1702). For his first term, his family and household (with a clear ecclesiastical character) consisted of 18 servants and 12 servants for the second term, making a total of 30 servants, AGI, Escribanía, 233A, ff. 74r-75r. The case of the acting Archbishop-Viceroy Vizarrón is included because he maintained a family similar in number and composition to that of a viceroy. The sources come from AGI, Escribanía, following a chronological order: 226B, 2º cuaderno, ff. 3r-4v; 229B, ff. 4-r; 229C, 3º cuaderno; 230A, ff. 3r-5v; 233A, 1º cuaderno, ff. 17r-v; 232B, f. 47r-48r; México, 658, ff. 31v-34r; 235B, 4º cuaderno, ff. 3r-4v; 238C, ff. 2r-v; 241A, 2º cuaderno, ff. 15r-v; 242A, 1º Cuaderno, ff. 59v-61v; 243A, 1º Cuaderno, ff. 18r-19r; 245A, 1º Cuaderno, ff. 159r-175v; 246A, 1º Cuaderno, ff. 47r-48r.



Graph 6: Prepared by the author.⁹²

This decrease in the number of servants was not due to an economic crisis in Spanish America.⁹³ On the contrary, these reforms revealed a change in the *raison d'être* of the monarchy and, as such, in the Spanish American government, directly implying a progressive reconfiguration in the conformation, function, political nature, and representative nature of viceregal households and the viceroy. There was an effort to take apart the domestic model of Spanish American viceregal governments. Following the introduction of the liberality reforms and the dismissal of Castellar, this dismantling occurred from 1680 onwards in Peru, and between 1700-1746 in New Spain. These changes manifested difficulties in interdependent relationships generated by clientelist and patronage networks, especially since the viceroys were prohibited from exercising liberality to a maximum of twelve offices in 1680, including the granting of military offices.⁹⁴ The viceroy, as father of the family, could no longer provide distributive justice in the form of offices, grants and favours. From that point

⁹² The account of the interim Archbishop-Viceroy Diego Morcillo (1720-24) has not been included because he did not undergo a *juicio de residencia*. The household of the 1st Count of Superunda (1745-1761), the last viceroy appointed by Philip V, is not included because it does not appear in the AGI (although we have been able to ascertain from different manuscripts that it did not exceed 40 members, as will be seen below). The data has been extracted from AGI, Escribanía, following the chronological order of the graph: 536A; 541A, ff. 49v-51v; 543A, 1º cuaderno, ff. 12r-v; 546A, ff. 6r-7v; 548A, ff. 20r-23r; 550A, 1º cuaderno, ff. 12r-13v; 552A, ff. 38r-v; 555A, ff. 3r-4r; 557A, ff. 12r-13r.

⁹³ Herbert S. Klein & Sergio T. Serrano Hernández, "Was there a 17th Century Crisis in Spanish America?", *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Economic History* 37:1 (2019): 43-80.

⁹⁴ Richard Konetzke, *Colección de documentos para la Historia de la formación social de Hispanoamérica (1493-1810)* (Madrid: CSIC, 1958), t. I, vol. II, 726-728.

on, the Council of Indies directly appointed most of these positions. Although viceroys maintained a great deal of autonomy and exceeded the distribution of offices established by the *Recopilación* (1681), most of the ministries of justice and administrations were appointed from Madrid, causing the viceroalties to evolve towards provinces or governorships associated with Madrid.⁹⁵ This policy responded to a new form of government, prompted by the Spanish monarchy's identity crisis, in which domestic (patrimonial) government was moving towards another model of political economy (territorial). That is, to control and militarise the kingdoms and, as such, to restrict viceregal households. However, this did not prevent clientelist and patronage relations based on loyalty from continuing throughout the Bourbon century.⁹⁶

Another relevant aspect to consider are the changes orchestrated at court in Madrid. If we look at graphs 5 and 6, each sharp decline (which does not imply an interim government) reveals a change of political management at the helm of the government of the Spanish monarchy. That is, it corresponded to the arrival of a new prime minister or secretary of state and finance, which implied a restructuring of the Royal House and, in turn, viceregal households.⁹⁷ In 1677, the arrival of Don Juan José of Austria corresponded with the fall of Viceroy Castellar in Peru and the limitation of liberality in the Indies, reducing the scale of the households of successive viceroys, which was consolidated during the reign of Philip V. During the period of secretary of state José de Grimaldo (1724-26), the 1st Marquis of Castelfuerte was sent to Peru (1724) with a staff of 37 servants while two years earlier (1722) the 1st Marquis of Casa Fuerte to Mexico with 20 servants. The same can be seen in the government of José Patiño, head of the Secretariat of State and the Office of the Navy, the Indies and the Treasury (1726-36), a period in which the 3rd Marquis of Villagarcía was appointed as viceroy of Peru with 28 servants. Finally, the government of the secretary of the treasury Juan Bautista Iturralde in 1739 enacted new ordinances in the Royal Household in order to reduce the service to the monarch. Thus, while the 1st Marquis of La Conquista arrived as viceroy of New Spain with 39 servants in 1740, the 5th Count of Fuenclara only brought twelve in 1741.⁹⁸

The twilight years of the court system consolidated during the reign of Ferdinand VI, under the ministry of the Marquis of la Ensenada (1749), who abolished the *Casa de Castilla* (Household of Castile) and established the Household of the King.⁹⁹ Ensenada also sent three of his protégés to the Indies to work in very small viceregal

⁹⁵ Manuel Rivero Rodríguez, *La edad de oro de los virreyes. El virreinato en la Monarquía Hispánica durante los siglos XVI y XVII* (Madrid: Akal, 2011), 289; Ernesto Schäfer, *El Consejo Real y Supremo de las Indias. Historia y organización del Consejo y de la Casa de Contratación de las Indias*, vol. I (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2003), 259-308.

⁹⁶ Adrien J. Pearce, *The Origins of Bourbon Reform in Spanish South America, 1700-1763* (New York: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2014), 43-62.

⁹⁷ Carlos Gómez-Centurión, "La corte de Felipe V: el ceremonial y las Casas reales en el reinado del primer Borbón", in *Felipe V y su tiempo*, ed. Eliseo Serrano (Zaragoza: Fundación Fernando el Católico, 2004), 879-914.

⁹⁸ AGP, AG, leg. 929. *Reforma y reglamento de la Casa Real*, Madrid, 13-04-1739.

⁹⁹ BNE, Ms. 6862. *Nueva planta de la Casa Real* (1749); AGP, AG, leg. 939/3.

households: Sebastián de Eslava (1740-49) with 12 servants in New Granada,¹⁰⁰ the 1st Count of Revillagigedo (1746-55) with 21 servants in New Spain, and the 1st Count of Superunda (1745-61) in Peru, whose household does not appear in the *juicio de residencia*, although we can ascertain that it consisted of no more than 31 servants and 4 relatives.¹⁰¹ The coup de grace was delivered by Charles III with the unification of the King and Queen's Households into the King's Household of Spain.¹⁰² This reform had its effect on viceregal households in the Americas, where the number of their entourages in the areas of civil and military administration increased as opposed to the viceroy's domestic or personal service, completely transforming its function and *raison d'être*. In this sense, the viceroys appointed from the mid-18th century onwards attested to the new office they represented as expert military strategists and versed merchants. Personal merit based on meritocracy was superimposed on hereditary blood,¹⁰³ determining the election of Bourbon viceroys as ordinary agents with a clear bureaucratic background, most of them being ingratiated with a noble title for the first time.¹⁰⁴ It was at this time that the viceregal household transformed its constitution and functionality.

5. THE NEW STAFF IN SPANISH AMERICAN VICEREGAL HOUSEHOLDS (1680-1746)

The patrimonial model of viceregal households gradually gave way to a more «institutionalised» and «secular» regime, in which amassing revenues necessary for adequate military protection was the cornerstone of the territorial and political organisation of the Indies.¹⁰⁵ Until then, the domestic governance system, which operated through courtly households with extensive retinues, fostered the belief that the most profitable endeavour for the kingdoms was warfare. The Treasury relied on defeating their enemies, then either forcing them to sign peace agreements or, conversely, carrying out their complete destruction. As a result, numerous bankruptcies occurred, with all expenditure directed toward military efforts. By the late 17th century, during the identity crisis of the Catholic Monarchy, economic policy

¹⁰⁰ AGI, Escribanía, 808A, 2^o cuaderno (1751).

¹⁰¹ For the retinue of the Viceroy Count of Superunda, see: José Bravo de Rivero, *Relación de las exequias, y fúnebre pompa al señor D. Juan V. el Fidelísimo, Rey de Portugal* (Lima: Imp. Carlos Marín, 1752), ff. 176-177; Miguel Sáinz de Valdivieso Torrejón, *Parentación Real. Luctuosa Pompa. Sumptuoso Cenotaphio* (Lima: 1748); Pilar Latasa, “Negociar en red: familia, amistad y paisanaje. El virrey Superunda y sus agentes en Lima y Cádiz (1745-1761)”, *Anuario de estudios americanos*, 60:2 (2003): 463-492. From these works we can indicate that the governmental offices of Viceroy Superunda's household highlighted 4 secretaries, 3 advisors and 2 notaries.

¹⁰² José Martínez Millán, “Crisis y descomposición del sistema cortesano”, in *Crisis y descomposición*, 13-190.

¹⁰³ Jay M. Smith, *The Culture of Merit: Nobility, Royal Service and the Making of Absolute Monarchy in France, 1600-1789* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1996), 227-262.

¹⁰⁴ Jorge Chauca García, *De comerciante a gobernante. Ambrosio O'Higgins virrey del Perú, 1796-1801* (Madrid: Sílex, 2019), 345-367.

¹⁰⁵ BNE, MS. 3133. *Relación de gobierno de Superunda*, ff. 73v-75r (1761); Víctor Peralta Ruiz & Dionisio de Haro, *España en Perú (1796-1824). Ensayo sobre los últimos gobiernos virreinales* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2019), 13-16.

underwent a shift, in which prudence and balance of payments equilibrium were the cardinal points of the new economic administration.¹⁰⁶ These changes led to the establishment of the *Junta de Comercio* in 1679, marking the beginning of an administrative overhaul prompted by the rise of commercial interests.¹⁰⁷ This restructuring aimed to increase the involvement of the kingdoms in central politics while reorganising professions and political jurisdictions. Consequently, warfare became a detriment to the economy.¹⁰⁸

This new logic was more akin to a government ruled by an imperative of political rather than domestic economy. These ministers, being experts in the fields of economic and military administration, reduced the number of servants with whom the viceroys travelled to the Americas. This absence of grandeur in politics evolved until those viceroys at the end of the Bourbon century, who came from lower nobility and kept the funding of their cohorts very small, in line with the rest of the contemporary European nobility.¹⁰⁹ It was their military careers that allowed them to obtain a viceroyalty in the Indies, being men «more accustomed to the camps than to the courts, more to the office than to the salon».¹¹⁰

Throughout the 18th century, according to Krieger, the personal service once rendered directly to monarchs (or viceroys in this case as «the living image of the king») was now rendered to monarchies as an institution.¹¹¹ This change in status is reflected in the viceregal accounts at the end of the reign of Philip V, in which the «*Memoirs of the servants, attachés and relatives of the viceroy*» changed to «*Memoirs of the advisor and other official ministers who were so at the time of the Government of the Most Excellent Lord*», as recorded in the lists of the viceroys of New Spain, 5th Count of Fuenclara (1742) and 1st Count of Revillagigedo (1755).¹¹² Similarly, the viceroy's personal guard changed its function and name from the time of the 2nd Duke of La Palata in Peru (1681-89) to the Guard of the Royal Palace, as was fully confirmed during the rule of the 1st Duke of La Conquista, Viceroy of New Spain (1740-41). At this time, the Guard - of *alabarderos* (halberdiers) and *de a caballo* (on horseback)- underwent a major reform and was reduced in its composition and pay.¹¹³ Likewise, the change is reflected in the governmental, judicial, financial and military offices personally granted by the viceroy.

¹⁰⁶ Pedro Portocarrero y Guzmán, *Theatro Monarchico de España* (Madrid: Juan García Infaçon, 1700), Disc. II, Chap. VII-IX, ff. 124-143.

¹⁰⁷ William J. Callahan, "A Note on the Real y General Junta de Comercio, 1679-1814", *The Economic History Review* 21:3 (1968): 519-528.

¹⁰⁸ Regina Grafe & Alejandra Irigoin, "A stakeholder empire: the political economy of Spanish imperial rule in America", *The Economic History Review* 65:2 (2012): 609-651.

¹⁰⁹ John Shovlin, "Toward a Reinterpretation of Revolutionary Antinobility: The Political Economy of Honor in the Old Regime", *The Journal of Modern History* 72:1 (2000): 35-66.

¹¹⁰ Manuel de Mendiburu, *Diccionario Histórico-Biográfico del Perú* (Lima: VI, Francisco Solís, 1885 [1874]), 113.

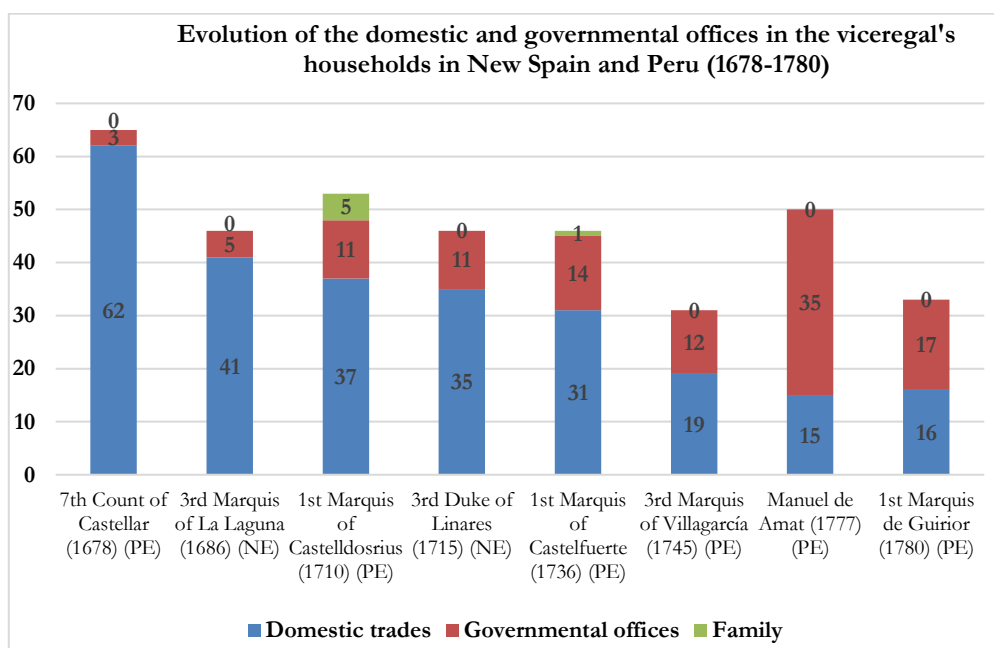
¹¹¹ Leonard Krieger, *Kings and Philosophers 1689-1789* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1970), 4-5.

¹¹² AGI, Escribanía, 245A, 1^o cuaderno, ff. 58r-v, México, 17-07-1748; AGI, Escribanía, 246A, 1^o cuaderno, ff. 47r-48r; México, 07-01-1757.

¹¹³ These reforms began with the interim government of Diego Morcillo (1720) and were continued by the viceroys Marquis of Castelfuerte (1725), Fuenclara (1741) and Villagarcía (1746), who reduced its initial composition to one third. AGI, Lima, 410, 411; Escribanía, 557C, ff. 466r-548v.

As recorded in the lists of the provision of offices, those appointments were made in the name of the «*Superior Government of the Kingdom*» and not in the personal capacity of the viceroy.¹¹⁴

During the final decades of Charles II's rule, but mostly during Philip V's, the staff that had structured the households and service to viceroys throughout the 16th and 17th centuries -*mayordomos, gentileshombres, pajes, ayudas de cámara*, etc.- underwent serious modifications. Governmental offices such as secretarial, advisory and military services took precedence over domestic services, which were reduced to their minimum capacity. From the first half of the Bourbon century, domestic servants appeared as officers integrated into the governmental departments -secretariat, advisory services, captaincies- with the latter holding a dominant role in the structure of the viceroy's household (graph 7). Although the structure of the household was modified, it retained nonetheless its political function and brought together the loyalties and allegiances of both local and Hispanic elites. The changes enabled the household to establish itself as the apex of courtly power until the onset of the liberal revolutions. This new structuring of the viceregal household was substantiated by the reforms implemented by the court in Madrid from the beginning of the 18th century and consolidated with the arrival to power of the Marquis of la Ensenada.¹¹⁵ From then on, viceroys kept their households very small since they could not fund a large domestic staff in the *corregimientos* while providing a large number of military and governmental personnel.



Graph 7: Prepared by the author.

¹¹⁴ AGI, Escribanía, 555A, ff. 147r-247v. Lima, 13-01-1736.

¹¹⁵ Carlos Gómez-Centurión, “La reforma de las Casas Reales del marqués de la Ensenada”, *Cuadernos de Historia Moderna* 20 (1998): 59-83.

Viceroyalty reduced their domestic service. Many of them travelled without their family while increasing the number of governmental offices. One example was the Prince of Santo Buono, Viceroy of Peru (1722). His “*familia del Excelentísimo Señor Príncipe*” (not his personal family but his servants) was made up of seven members (three secretaries, two *mayordomos*, a *camarero* and a *caballerizo*), and was separated from the other departments (gentry, valets, etc.).¹¹⁶ Likewise, these cutbacks impacted in subsequent viceroys of New Spain: the 1st Marquis of Casa Fuerte (1734) reduced his family to five members; three in the household of the 1st Duke of La Conquista (1741) and two in that of the 5th Count of Fuenclara (1746). In the records of the *juicios de residencia*, which list the servants in the viceroy’s service, family and relatives do not usually appear so we hardly know when, if at all, the family of the royal *alter ego* no longer participated in government, which was the primary function of the household. What we do see is an increase in the number of governmental and military offices in the form of advisors, secretaries, captains, and cavalymen in mid-18th century (graph 7).

The last viceregal households in Peru during the reign of Philip V are a clear example of this curtailment, such as that of the 1st Marquis of Castelfuerte (1736), who governed with 14 officials between advisors and secretaries, in addition to 21 captains, cavalymen and military members; or that of the 3rd Marquis of Villagarcía (1745), who administered the kingdom with 4 advisors and 8 secretaries, both cases unprecedented in the Indies. The same occurred with the first appointments of the reign of Ferdinand VI, exemplified in the 1st Count of Revillagigedo, Viceroy of New Spain (1755), who maintained a large number of military personnel (captains, halberdiers, sub-lieutenants, etc.) in his service.¹¹⁷ Meanwhile the general adviser’s role became increasingly important, as evidenced by the 1st Count of Superunda, who appointed Juan Gutiérrez de Arce, a criminal judge (*alcalde del crimen*) in the *Real Audiencia* of Lima, as his general advisor once he took office in 1745.¹¹⁸

This policy intensified after the period we analyse, during the reign of Charles III (1759-88). By then, more than half of the members of the viceroy’s household were secretarial officers and advisors. This was the case of Manuel de Amat, viceroy of Peru (1761-76), who governed with 50 servants, of which there was one *mayordomo* and 14 servants made up of *gentilshombres* and pages, leaving a total of 35 secretaries, agents, advisors and captains.¹¹⁹ The same can be said of his successor, the 1st Marquis of Guirior (1776-80), who maintained 33 servants with 16 domestic offices and 27 government offices, including an archivist into the viceregal secretariat, further reinforcing the government.¹²⁰ These changes indicate that the retinue in the viceroy’s

¹¹⁶ Francisco Andújar Castillo, “La red clientelar del príncipe de Santo Buono, virrey del Perú, más allá de su séquito. Estudio a partir de una sátira contra la corrupción”, *Investigaciones Históricas, época moderna y contemporánea*, 41 (2021): 7-44.

¹¹⁷ AGI, Escribanía, 246A, 1^o cuaderno, ff. 47r-48r. México, 07-01-1757.

¹¹⁸ AGI, Lima, 415. Following the *Recopilación* of 1681, viceroys were prohibited from appointing *oidores* as government advisors. Juan Gutiérrez de Arce was able to become the *alcalde del crimen* due to the absence of competent judges, a decision that the Council of the Indies approved.

¹¹⁹ Archivo Histórico Nacional (AHN), Consejos, 20332, exp. 1, ff. 29r-30r. Lima, 03-01-1778.

¹²⁰ AHN, Consejos, 20344, exp. 1, ff. 28r-v. Lima, 28-03-1783.

household evolved from a domestic staff that functioned as the nucleus of power for civil and justice ministries to becoming flourishing administrative and military departments. It was the trust and intimacy with the viceroy derived from good management that allowed many of these officials to become servants belonging to the royal *alter ego's* family, rather than the other way around. All these developments led to a bureaucratising rebalance of the departments in viceroys' households as well as in royal households as a whole throughout Europe, where relationships based on personal dependence evolved towards the impersonality of laws.¹²¹ Likewise, the figure of the viceroy gradually lost the chivalrous ethic that governed his office until the beginning of the 18th century, consolidating his role as a military man and tax collector. However, this transition in no way gave rise to political institutionalisation since personal, clientelist and courtly patronage relations predominated beyond the liberal revolutions.¹²²

CONCLUSIONS

So far, historiography has argued that the period between the reigns of Charles II and Philip V was characterised by the loss of control over the American territories, which resulted in impotence in the face of the authority that the Crown exercised over the vicerealties, a fact that was epitomised in the sale of offices.¹²³ These theories have established the history of the Americas between 1665 and 1746 as a period of the decline of governance from afar, which has made it possible to give a coherent narrative and a linear structure to the era. However, these lines of research have not considered the silent revolutions that occurred during this period, mainly by ignoring the changes that took place within the political paradigm of the time: the court system and the viceregal households. The court system based the political relations on patronage and clientelism (domestic economy), that is, as a regime that operated on the basis of personal relationships within government (non-institutional). Meanwhile, households and royal sites connected and integrated the territory into the monarch's patrimony, while at the same time enabled its governability, transcending the will of individuals in order to perpetuate the dynasty. The evolution provoked by the identity crisis of the monarchy led to changes in the form of management, the composition of the viceregal courts, as well as a new form of distributing merit and honour. These reforms not only affected the Hispanic monarchy, but also occurred in a general European context and cannot be explained by corruption or sale of offices.¹²⁴

¹²¹ Gerald E. Aylmer, *The Crown's Servants. Government and Civil Service under Charles II, 1660-1685* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 269-278; Pierre Bourdieu, "De la maison du roi à la raison d'État. Un modèle de la genèse du champ bureaucratique", *Actes de la Recherche en Sciences Sociales* 118 (1997): 55-68.

¹²² Michel Bertrand & Zacarías Moutoukias, *Cambio institucional y fiscalidad: Mundo hispánico, 1760-1850* (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2018), 1-21.

¹²³ Ángel Sanz Tapia, *¿Corrupción o necesidad? La venta de cargos de gobierno americanos bajo Carlos II (1674-1700)* (Madrid: CSIC, 2009); Christoph Rosenmüller, *Corruption and Justice in Colonial Mexico, 1650-1755* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019).

¹²⁴ Wolter Swart Koenraad, *Sale of offices in the Seventeenth Century* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1949), 19-44.

This dismantling of the domestic model in viceregal households resulted in a new Spanish American territorial administration since the viceroy's household from the mid-18th century onwards no longer acted as a centre of power to which the viceregal elites turned in order to obtain favours and advance their political careers. One consequence of this was the reduction in the number of viceregal retinues. During the Bourbon century, these reforms took hold, manifesting themselves in a process of administrative secularisation and mercantile development as the basis of the political economy that was emerging in Europe.¹²⁵ Consequently, the viceregal household was moulded to fit this process that reached the Spanish American viceroy, who ceased to be a royal official and became an ordinary minister subordinate to the law (*Recopilación*, 1681). This is how it was first recorded in the *Recopilación* of 1681 and in successive reprints during the 18th century (1756, 1774, 1791). From the government of the 1st Count of Superunda (1745-61) onwards, viceroys of Peru were given the title of «Lieutenant General of the Royal Armies, Viceroy and Captain General of the Kingdom of Peru».¹²⁶ The same occurred with most of the viceroys appointed to New Spain and New Granada, who maintained the rank of lieutenant general after the mandates of the 1st Count of Revillagigedo (1746) and Sebastián de Eslava (1739).¹²⁷ In order to become viceroy, it was necessary to reach the military rank of lieutenant general, thus the importance of the dignity of captain general almost supplanted that of the royal *alter ego*.¹²⁸ The formerly exalted figure of the viceroy was militarised, transmuting its regal nature into a military one. The kingdoms of the Indies became a territory to be managed administratively and defensively, showing signs of becoming a colonial regime with the establishment of intendancies, under the command of a viceregal household that had lost much of its regal aura.

¹²⁵ Ana Crespo Solana, "A change of ideology in Imperial Spain? Spanish commercial policy with America and the change of dynasty (1648-1740)", in *Ideology and Foreign Policy in Early Modern Europe*, eds. David Onnekink and Gijs Rommelse (London-New York: Routledge, 2011), 215-242; Sharon Kettering, "The Decline of Great Noble Clientage During the Reign of Louis XIV", *Canadian Journal of History/Annales canadiennes d'histoire* 24 (1989): 157-177.

¹²⁶ AHN, Consejos, 20346, exp. 1, f. 1r. *Residencia a Agustín de Jáuregui* (1788).

¹²⁷ Ainara Vázquez Valera, "Redes de patronazgo del virrey Sebastián de Eslava en el Nuevo Reino de Granada", *Príncipe de Viana* 254 (2011): 137; Gabriel B. Paquette, *Enlightenment, Governance, and Reform in Spain and its Empire, 1759-1808* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

¹²⁸ Christopher Storrs, *The Spanish Resurgence, 1713-1748* (New Haven-London: Yale University Press, 2016), 43.

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