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# Reforming Early Modern Monarchies

The Castilian *Arbitristas*  
in Comparative European Perspectives

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### Abbreviations

AHN	Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid
AGI	Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla
AGN	Archivo General de la Nación, Ciudad de México
AGS	Archivo General de Simancas, Simancas
BNE	Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid
CJH	Consejos y Juntas de Hacienda
RAH	Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid

FERNANDO BOUZA

## Access to Printing in the Political Communication of the Spanish Baroque and its Effects on the Production of Political *Arbitrios* and *Avisos*

In the *Discurso adonde prueba con razones claras y evidentes cómo se va acabando de todo punto esta monarquía de España*, Jerónimo de Ceballos promotes limiting the properties and rents in the hands of clergymen as a remedy for the problems that afflicted the monarchy.<sup>1</sup> His text is signed in Toledo on 9 February 1620, and it is thought to have been printed in the same city shortly thereafter.<sup>2</sup> In August of the same year the *Discurso* had already garnered a response, in *Por el estado eclesiástico y monarchía española* of Gutierre Marqués de Careaga.<sup>3</sup> This appeared in Granada, where a second reply to Ceballos was published promptly, this time by Feliciano Marañón and under the title *Carta y católico discurso [...] contra el arbitrio que el Licenciado Cevallos Regidor de Toledo dio e imprimió en dicha ciudad a nueve de Febrero del año de mil y seiscientos y veynte*.<sup>4</sup>

Although they differ in their diagnostic, given that the latter two are refutations of the first, the three texts contain an interrogation that stems from concern for the specific situation of the monarchy in Spain. All three justify

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- 1 Jean Vilar: Un pessimisme ‘calculé’. L’introspection économique à Tolède (1618–1628), in: Tolède et l’expansion urbaine en Espagne (1450–1650). Actes du colloque organisé par la Junta de Comunidades de Castilla-La Mancha et la Casa de Velázquez, Tolède–Madrid, 21–23 mars 1988, Madrid 1991, pp. 117–135. Francisco José Aranda Pérez: Jerónimo de Ceballos: un hombre grave para la república. Vida y obra de un hidalgo del saber en la España del Siglo de Oro, Córdoba 2001. This article has benefited from financial support of the projects MINECO HAR2011-27177 and HAR2014-54492 (Gobierno de España).
  - 2 The author incorporated it in his *Arte real* (Toledo 1623). No printed copies remain of the *Discurso*, although manuscript copies do exist. Based on one of them and on the version of *Arte real*, the text is edited by Francisco José Aranda Pérez: Los trabajos de un jurista en acción. Controversias eclesiásticas en torno a Jerónimo de Ceballos entre los reinados de Felipe III y Felipe IV, in: Salustiano de Dios/Javier Infante/Eugenia Torijano (ed.): Juristas de Salamanca. Siglos XV–XX, Salamanca 2009, pp. 153–172.
  - 3 Gutierre Marqués de Careaga: Por el Estado eclesiástico y monarchía española. Respuesta al discurso [...] persuadiendo [...] que esta monarchía de España se yva acabando y destruyendo [...] a causa del estado eclesiástico [...], Granada 1620. The dedication is dated 31 August of the same year. Aranda Pérez: Los trabajos, 2009 (see fn. 2), pp. 124–137.
  - 4 No indication of place [Granada] nor date [1621]. Aranda Pérez: Los trabajos, 2009 (see fn. 2), pp. 137–144.

their composition and publication not as responses to an invitation from the king or from the kingdom, which does occur in other texts of this kind, but rather by appealing to their own desire to satisfy the obligation to give *consilium* on common issues. In that sense, they point directly to Philip IV (recently ascended to the throne) in the case of Marañón's *Carta* or address Philip III (by Fernando de Acevedo, President of the Council of Castile) in the case of the *Discurso* of Ceballos and *Por el estado eclesiástico* by Marqués de Careaga. These three texts are the work of authors who are easily recognisable. All are men of letters (*sacris prophanisque*) who have turned to print, with better or worse fortune, on repeated occasions.

Nonetheless, the latter circumstance did not result in printing of texts in all cases. Pedro Díaz Márquez, for example, presented a brief before the Council of Castile in 1644 with a request to print the text *Mejoras de España*, a text begun in 1635 that proposed twelve measures that would favour the preservation of the monarchy.<sup>5</sup> The council denied him the requested licence to print. Although he did obtain the approval of two of the three designated censors, *Mejoras de España* did not pass the censorship of Francisco de Garnica. This member of the *Consejo de Hacienda* wrote that “we can understand from this inventiveness what Bocalini sensed from ‘il mondo a pezzi quando potessero porre in atto pratico li sconcertati capricci che ogni hora nascono loro nel capo’ (‘the world would go to pieces when they were able to put into practice the baffling whims that come to their minds’) [Centuria prima, *Ragguagli di Parnaso*].”<sup>6</sup> In spite of the negative response, these proposed measures of 1635–1644 (“sconcertati capricci” for Garnica), achieved print publication in fragmentary form between 1665–1671 in a series of a half dozen of typographic loose sheets in which the author presents himself as a “poor, unlearned labourer”.<sup>7</sup>

In a similar way to those authorities in letters, Ceballos, Marañón and Careaga, in 1620 and 1621, the self-proclaimed “unlearned labourer” Díaz Márquez claimed to write because he too was concerned with the situation

5 AHN, Consejos suprimidos, leg. 5789.

6 Francisco de Garnica: [Censura del manuscrito *Mejoras de España* de Pedro Díaz Márquez, 1644], AHN, Consejos suprimidos, leg. 5789. For the quote, Traiano Boccalini: *Ragguagli di Parnaso e scritti minori*, ed. Luigi Firpo, vol. 1, Bari 1948, p. 280.

7 The author presents himself in this way in Pedro Díaz Márquez: [Memorial] Señor. Pedro Díaz Márquez, pobre, indocto Labrador, y natural, y vezino de la Ciudad de Villena [...], no indication of place [Madrid?] nor date [1671]. At another moment, the author presents himself as “Labrador, y ganadero que fui, y pobre de solemnidad que soi y natural y vezino de la Ciudad de Villena”, with whose regiment he would have been associated. Quoted by Fernando Díaz Esteban: *Los problemas económicos de Extremadura y los arbitristas del siglo de El Quijote*, in: Asociación Cultural Coloquios Históricos de Extremadura, Trujillo 2005, <http://www.chdetrujillo.com/los-problemas-economicos-de-extremadura-y-los-arbitristas-del-siglo-de-el-quiote/?format=pdf> [21 January 2015].

of the monarchy. Based on his own experience, he had imagined measures to preserve the throne and he wanted to see them in print because, precisely as he said, he wanted “them to be known to His Majesty [Philip IV] and to whom His Majesty would make them known,” but also “to anyone else [who] offers to improve using his improvements.”<sup>8</sup>

This is to say, that in addition to showing a willingness to offer *consilium* to the king, his decision included the pretension to reach the entire community: the king, ministers, and subjects, who in the last instance would most closely experience the improvements if his proposals were applied. Díaz Márquez attempted to satisfy this objective by means of print, a medium capable of converting the author of *Mejoras de España* into a remote advisor to the monarch, in spite of his self-proclaimed condition of unlearned labourer, a former small landowner with agricultural interests.<sup>9</sup>

This article addresses, above all, the impact that access to typographic printing presses had in the production of *arbitrios* (projects) and *avisos* (advice) in the Spanish seventeenth century. The role of printing is evident in the maintenance of polemics such as that opened by Ceballos’ *Discurso* in 1620, which favoured the production of replies and responses also printed in this particular republic of letters that commonly debated community matters. But apparently it also served to attract new writers to the production and publication of texts of similar nature, writers for whom, according to Díaz Márquez, printing allowed entrance of different measures and proposals into the field of discussion.

In his resonant work, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts*, Donald F. McKenzie signalled the relevance of the study of the consequences that relatively easy access to printing could have had in the self-perception and subsequent organisation of communities of traditionally oral and visual nature that had become learned in a short time span. While the societies studied in this respect are distant in time and space from Baroque Spain, the initial hypothesis and methodology are pertinent.<sup>10</sup>

8 Pedro Díaz Márquez: [Memorial en solicitud de licencia de impresión del manuscrito *Primera [-segunda] parte de las Mejoras de España con Jerusalén conquistada y seta mahometana y herética destruida y estado rebeldes de Flandes, Reino de Portugal y Principado de Cataluña reducidos al Rei Don Phelipe quarto nuestro señor*, 1644], AHN, Consejos suprimidos, leg. 5789.

9 One must not ignore the weight of the modest rhetoric in the explanation of the portrait of his own poverty that Díaz Márquez traces, although doubtlessly his repetition of it is notable. Regarding the means of the “agricultural” author and his access to print, see Fernando Bouza: *Decir – y oír decir – en el Siglo de Oro. Comunicación política de las casas de conversación a la República de las Letras*, in: Manuel Peña (ed.): *La vida cotidiana en el mundo hispánico (siglos XVI–XVIII)*, Madrid 2012, pp. 335–355.

10 Donald F. McKenzie: *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts*, London 1986.

In order to understand the impact that greater access to printing may have had in the production of *arbitrios* in the Golden Age, it is necessary to examine this literature, not so much for the concrete content of its proposals, but rather for the very materiality of texts given to be copied by an *ars artificialiter scribendi* that reproduces them mechanically according to the procedures and conventions relevant to a specific period. Hence, the elaboration of a condensed synthesis of some of the transformations that have taken place recently in the history of print will be useful.<sup>11</sup>

At the same time that the history of the book and of reading was transformed into an understanding of the history of written culture, the history of the book and of reading in the early modern period underwent a series of modifications that resulted in the rise of a new conceptualisation of the phenomenon of publication. While it lost the exclusive link to print and now includes circulating manuscripts (which implies definitive inclusion in the category *scribal publication*), historicising publication, both in manuscript and print forms, is now seen as part of a broader history in which other communicative possibilities might also be considered (such as oral or visual publication. These were forms that were recognised in the early modern period for their capacity to allow knowing, for creating memory and, in short, for communicating).

The new status of written material in relation to the oral and visual stands out in the particular history of practices. This history concedes special importance to reading out loud and has reconstructed the uses of the so-called ‘ruminated’ reading, that specific devotional practice linked to mental

11 We will do this beginning with: Christian Jouhaud: *Écriture et action au XVIIe siècle. Sur un corpus de mazarinades*, in: *Annales ESC* 38 (1983), pp. 42–64; id./Alain Viala (ed.): *De la Publication. Entre Renaissance et Lumières*, Paris 2002; Roger Chartier: *Écouter les morts avec les yeux*, Paris 2011; Harold Love: *The Culture and Commerce of Texts. Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England*, Amherst 1998; Pierre Antoine Fabre: *Ignace de Loyola. Le lieu de l’image*, Paris 1992; Elizabeth L. Eisenstein: *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change. Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge 1979; Geoffrey Turnovsky: *The Literary Market. Authorship and Modernity in the Old Regime*, Philadelphia 2009; Roger Chartier (ed.): *Pratiques de lecture*, Paris 1993; Ian MacLean: *Learning and the Market Place. Essays in the History of Early Modern Book*, Leiden 2009; Karen L. Bowen/Dirk Imhof: *Christopher Plantin and Engraved Book Illustrations in Sixteenth-Century Europe*, Cambridge 2008; Pedro M. Catedra: *Invención, difusión y recepción de la literatura popular impresa (Siglo XVI)*, Mérida 2002; Brian Richardson: *Print Culture in Renaissance Italy. The Editor and the Vernacular Text, 1470–1600*, Cambridge 2004; Filippo De Vivo: *Information and Communication in Venice. Rethinking Early Modern Politics*, Oxford 2007; Brendan Dooley/Sabrina Baron (ed.): *The Politics of Information in Early Modern Europe*, London 2001; Michèle Fogel: *Les cérémonies de l’information dans la France du XVIe au XVIIIe siècle*, Paris 1989; Fernando Bouza: *Communication, Knowledge, and Memory in Early Modern Spain*, Philadelphia 2004.



prayer, and to the practice in which texts are combined with recitation and the use of holy cards or pictures.

Of course, as a field of study, manuscript and print publication are autonomous, but it is important to highlight that, ultimately, behind the shift to manuscript or print copy a conscious choice or, preferably, a strategy may be identified. Here the influence of the historiography of the missionary phenomenon seems evident. In fact, the category of *industriæ* has become central in the historiography of early modern publication, being understood as a communicative response that adapts or responds to certain circumstances.<sup>12</sup> On many occasions, the choice is resolved in the combined and multiple use of oral, visual and written material as occur in certain ceremonies that appear in royal, ecclesiastic, community or simply individual publication.

Little remains, in short, of the old history of the revolution of print. Well known are its humanistic origins and its enlightened development; the supposed revolution of print generally has been identified in relation to the gradual and progressive advances in printed books that came to be intimately associated with individual authorship. Nonetheless, studies of reading practices have demonstrated that a much more active role was reserved for readers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries than that of passive receptors of the ideas supplied by an author, who is elevated to heroic status.

In reading out loud, the very act of reading became a kind of representation in which the reader acted/activated the writing. This occurred among unlearned as well as learned audiences, where the reader would complete the text resorting to his own memory of commonplaces and knowledge. In the same way, the practice of reading in silence was accompanied on many occasions by writing, whether because one read with pen in hand to be able to add *marginalia* or because one copied quotes or paragraphs as *excerptæ* in handbooks or notebooks, and thus the reader became a writer or even a second author. In a manner similar in which previously submissive readers had gained autonomy with regard to authors of the Early Modern Age, studies of the history of print have demonstrated conclusively that authorship was also dependent on agents of edition, such as printers, book dealers and other book merchants.

As is well known, the appearance of printing in the West in the mid-fifteenth century probably aided in the decrease of illiteracy, but, in fact,

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12 Translator's note: Missionaries created the category of *industriæ* to refer to the possible mediums at their disposal for achieving their objectives; when they preached among learned people they employed certain mediums, when they preached among the unlearned, others were used. This missionary phenomenon reveals a deliberate communicative strategy in the medium chosen.

it did not determine by itself a mass literacy, which would not develop for some time. However, by multiplying the volume of copies in circulation, print did indeed facilitate broader and more general access to texts. The increased presence of print became a daily reality both for whomsoever could read autonomously and for those who listened to others read out loud. Printing fostered the emergence of a modern public, which we understand as a mass, non-discriminating community of strangers that gather around the reading of texts that are nearly the same because they are produced through the process of printing that uses the same moulds.

The existence of this audience, progressively larger and broader, contributed towards the phenomenon of printed editions becoming a commercial market. Additionally, this reading public made editorial commerce an arena in which both authors and merchants became involved in editorial business in search of productive printings of all kinds of works, including those related to religious practices. Commercial motives linked to an interest in increasing the editorial market brought to the presses works that had previously only been distributed in oral form. This access provided new distribution in educated spheres and at the same time generalised the translation into vernacular languages of many classic texts so that a growing number of people, for whom previously direct access to the texts had been impossible, could now read or hear read.

Ultimately, printing did not only facilitate access to texts, read or heard, but also favoured the emergence of a greater number of authors who were motivated to publish their own compositions, regardless of their nature. Some of these authors trusted print when they decided to make publicly known their memories and advice or wished to produce cautionary documents regarding the situation in which they found themselves, as either individuals or as members of families, neighbourhoods, social class and even in some cases as members of kingdoms and monarchies.

At the same time, in spite of initial suspicions, printing eventually convinced societies of *savants* to adapt to it and they transformed themselves into a modern Republic of Letters, another example of how printing demonstrated an extraordinary capacity for generating new communities of readers. Its mechanics ended up linked to the practice of public community diffusion and, thus, became an instrument for promoting a new form of political communication between the governed and those who govern.

On the side of the governing bodies, typography had gradually become more present in daily government during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in all the European territories where print was available. The growing use of print as an instrument in the hands of those who had governmental duties may be seen in the example directly below.

Between 1629 and 1634, Diego Hurtado de Mendoza y Guevara, Vice Count of La Corzana, occupied the position of *asistente* of Seville.<sup>13</sup> During the years that he was in charge of this Andalusian municipality, he earned much praise, but was also accused of abuses and misappropriation of taxes collected in the city. When his term ended, the new *asistente*, García Sarmiento de Sotomayor, opened an inquiry into over fifty accusations made against his predecessor.

In answer to some of the 53 accusations made against him, Hurtado de Mendoza presented accounting records from his five years of government in Seville. Because of this, we can see, on almost a day to day scale, both the volume and the nature of the expenses of the municipal government of a city of the importance of Seville at the height of the Golden Age. The detail of the accounting records presented by the *asistente* in his testimony bear witness to all kinds of expenses, from street cleaning to the cost of the divers in the city's river, and include the one hundred *reales* paid to the builder who put in the foundation for the stone bridge that, in imitation of the bridge in London, Don Diego wanted to construct over the Guadalquivir River.<sup>14</sup>

In the context of this article, the particular accounts that refer to payments made to paper suppliers and printers, among whom Francisco de Lyra is prominent, merit examination.<sup>15</sup> With de Lyra and other printing masters, Hurtado de Mendoza arranged the acquisition of reams of paper and the publication of a good number of *autos* (judicial acts), *mandamientos* (legal commands), *autos para enviar a los lugares* (decrees to be sent to the villages) or *autos de buena gobernación* (proceedings of good governance) from the very beginning of his term of office in 1629.<sup>16</sup>

Historians who work on the history of the book tend to qualify this type of minor printing, or “no books”, as printing trifles (*receterías o menudencias de imprenta* in the Spanish of the era).<sup>17</sup> A century and a half after the ap-

13 Antonio Rodríguez Villa: *Noticia biográfica y documentos históricos relativos a Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, primer Conde de la Corzana*, Madrid 1873.

14 AHN, Consejos suprimidos, leg. 28042. For the memento of the bridge over the Thames that La Corzana could have seen during his term as ambassador in England, see Diego Hurtado de Mendoza y Guevara: *A Don Gaspar de Guzmán, Conde de Olivares, [...] Puente de Sevilla*, Impreso por mandado de su Señoría, Sevilla 1631, fol. [1r].

15 Aurora Domínguez Guzmán: *La imprenta en Sevilla en el siglo XVII. Catálogo y análisis de su producción, 1601–1650*, Sevilla 1992.

16 As an example consider: “A Andrés Blanco, 3 resmas de papel para ynprimir autos de buena gobernación”, 1 December 1629; “A Francisco de Lira que ynprimió unos mandamientos para notificar a los escrivanos de la jurisdiction enbien las causas ante su señoría”, 5 December 1629; “A Juan del Poyo por ynprimir un auto para ynbiar a los lugares”, 23 December 1629. AHN, Consejos suprimidos, leg. 28042.

17 Silvia González-Sarasa Hernández: *Delimitación conceptual y problemas terminológicos en torno a una tipología editorial del impreso antiguo*, in: *Revista de biblioteconomía y doc-*

pearance of printing in Western Europe, as the Sevillian case proves, broad use of typography had become habitual for those who were, in one way or another, in charge of governmental matters.

Without going into propagandistic, representational or normative uses, which are the most well-known cases,<sup>18</sup> advances in typographic copy in widely varied spheres of the practical government of the Spanish Monarchy appear to have accelerated since the middle of the reign of Philip II. His was also a monarchy in type print that saw printing arrive in Lima in 1584 and in Manila in 1593, but that, above all, knew how to take advantage of the many useful applications of the *ars artificialiter scribendi*. For instance, we should keep in mind various advantages: the capacity to make a number of copies from one original, to do so in less time and at a lower cost; and that copies are the same, or nearly the same, in comparison with manuscript copies.

In 1580, Philip II had a printing press moved to the border at Badajoz with which he began to publish royal documents and other print instruments in Portuguese, even before he took control of the estates following the Lusitanian succession. During the previous decade, promotion of significant initiatives of the monarchy, such as the sale of uncultivated lands, either communal or those belonging to the vassals of the Church, or the campaign of general prayers of 1575, benefited greatly from the press medium.<sup>19</sup> The press was also used in cases of examination of celebrated topographic or geographic *relaciones* of Castile<sup>20</sup> or the Indies because of the need to organise answers for their necessarily systematic handling.<sup>21</sup> Less well-known, however, is the use of typography in the organisation of the general campaign of transoceanic observations of lunar eclipses from 1577–1578 and 1584, when the instructions composed by the cosmographer Juan López de Velasco were printed and were sent as far afield as the Solomon Islands.<sup>22</sup>

umentación 14:2 (2011), <http://revistas.um.es/analesdoc/article/view/124511/125021> [21 January 2015].

18 Fernando Bouza: *Imagen y propaganda. Capítulos de historia cultural del reinado de Felipe II*, Madrid 1998.

19 Fernando Bouza: *Monarchie en lettres d'imprimerie. Typographie et propaganda au temps de Philippe II*, in: *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine* 41 (1994), pp. 206–222.

20 Francisco Javier Campos: *Las relaciones topográficas de Felipe II. Índices, fuentes y bibliografía*, in: *Anuario jurídico y económico escorialense* 36 (2003), pp. 439–574.

21 Francisco de Solano (ed.): *Cuestionarios para la formación de las relaciones geográficas de Indias*, Madrid 1988; Richard Konetzke: *Die "Geographischen Beschreibungen" als Quellen zur Hispanoamerikanischen Bevölkerungsgeschichte der Kolonialzeit*, in: *Jahrbuch für Geschichte von Staat, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft Lateinamerikas* 7 (1970), pp. 1–75.

22 Juan López de Velasco: *Instrucción para la observación del Eclipse de Luna, y cantidad de las sombras que su Magestad mandó hazer [...] en las ciudades y pueblos de España-*

The reign of his son, Philip III, witnessed the great expansion of minor printing that occurred parallel to the organization of the expulsion of the *moriscos*.<sup>23</sup> The period began with a conscious maximisation of the press to raise sanitary barriers against the advance of the plague in 1599, when the massive diffusion of the treatise of Doctor Mercado was accompanied by authentic *circulares litterae* that were distributed to the city councilmen and the masters of Castilian vassals.<sup>24</sup>

In short, the advantage that the press could offer in “communicative” articulation between the king and the kingdom stands out in the distribution, in 1622, of the printed *Relación de lo que el Rey Nuestro Señor ha resuelto, para el bien, conseruación, y seguridad destes Reynos, aliuio, y descanso de sus vassallos, con acuerdo de la Junta, que ha mandado hazer de los Presidentes, y algunos de su Consejo, y otros Ministros, y personas de diferentes Tribunales, y profesiones, y de la Diputación del Reyno, a que ha assistido su Real persona*.<sup>25</sup> Of note is the fact that this *Relación* was distributed along with an order by which the recipients were invited to express their opinion regarding the resolutions and proposals of the *Junta de Reformación*. There can be little doubt that this willingness to generate a response in specific parts of the kingdom by means of the circulation of a printed flyer that put forth reformation ideals, in which some *arbitrista* authors had great influence, is of special relevance.<sup>26</sup>

Of course, the use of minor printings in governmental matters was not limited to the monarchic office, but was also frequent in diocesan, aristocratic, and municipal administrations. The use of printing to establish relations between the prelates and the faithful deserves special attention. In this regard, the seventeenth century witnessed the consolidation of pastoral letters destined to the entire community of faithful, a print genre that ob-

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les de las Indias [...], No indication of place [Madrid] nor date [1577]; María Luisa Rodríguez Sala: Un documento inédito para la historia de la ciencia en México: la observación del eclipse de luna del 17 de noviembre de 1584, in: Tzintzun. Revista de estudios históricos 24 (1996), pp. 131–139.

23 Manuel Fernández Chaves/Rafael Pérez García: En los márgenes de la ciudad de Dios. Moriscos en Sevilla, Valencia 2009.

24 Luis de Mercado: Libro en que se trata con claridad la naturaleza, causas, prouidencia, y verdadera orden y modo de curar la enfermedad vulgar, y peste, Madrid 1599. This work was sent to all the *corregidores* accompanied by the [Orden circular sobre el envío de un tratado contra la peste del Doctor Mercado], no indication of place [Madrid] nor date [1599].

25 No indication of place [Madrid] nor date [1622].

26 Ángel González Palencia (ed.): La Junta de Reformación. Documentos procedentes del Archivo Histórico Nacional y del General de Simancas, 1618–1625 (Archivo Histórico Español 5), Valladolid 1932.

tained its definitive shape at the hands of Alonso de Santo Tomás during his years in Málaga (1664–1692).<sup>27</sup>

In the same way, what would later be known as printed forms, with blank spaces to be filled in by hand, began to proliferate in the *escribanías* (clerks' offices) and also in the secretariats of the councils, the Inquisition and orders as well in the universities and diocesan vicarages. One could say that an important part of the exercise of power became increasingly linked to these minor printed materials, the 'not-books', *receterías* or printing trifles, the copies of which were becoming increasingly more numerous while at the same time they were becoming more identical to their originals because of their mechanical reproduction.

It goes without saying that this kind of typography, present in daily life, was also used by private individuals in establishing relations with various powers or simply with other individuals. The same Francisco de Lyra who worked for the *asistente* of Seville in the five years between 1629–1634 gave testimony twenty years later in the trial opened concerning a 1651 *manifiesto* printed by some *jurados* of Seville enouncing the Royal Court.<sup>28</sup>

Because the *manifiesto* had appeared without the necessary license from the Royal Council, Lyra and other printers from the city were questioned about their production of the kinds of documents that today would be called minor. From the declarations of the master printers, we deduce that they often produced advices, legal information, court decrees, thesis, legal briefs or testaments, as these printouts became a substantial part of the daily work of their offices.

To make all of these minor printings public, from legal arguments to rulings and from legal briefs to advices, printers suggested that it was not customary to request permission from the council and that, in the best of cases, compliance was achieved by obtaining a local licence. They affirm, however, that they did always request the royal licence when it had to do with *relaciones* or *pronósticos*, because in these two cases the texts were printed to be sold, something that did not happen with the other minor

27 For example Alonso de Santo Tomás: Carta pastoral [...] a los feligreses de su Obispado en el tiempo que Dios N. Señor castigava toda España con la sequedad de sus campos, no indication of place [Málaga] nor date [1680]; id.: Carta pastoral [...] a los fieles de su Obispado en el tiempo que Dios N. Señor castigo esta ciudad y su comarca con un temblor de tierra, no indication of place [Málaga] nor date [1680]; id.: Carta pastoral [...] a los fieles de su Obispado exortándolos a hazimiento de gracias en ocasion del triunfo que tuvieron las Armas Cesáreas y católicas contra las Otomanas el dia 12 de Setiembre de 1683, no indication of place [Málaga] nor date [1683].

28 AHN, Consejos suprimidos, leg. 26444. The document was *Epítome y manifiesto que el cabildo de los Cavalleros Iurados de [...] Sevilla dio por informe al Sr. D. Pedro de Zamora Hurtado [...]*, Sevilla 1651.

printings that were assigned a testimonial value or, in general, were merely publicity.

The censure that preceded the printing of material destined for sale was an exclusive prerogative of the crown, which delegated its processing among various bodies of the kingdom, such as the Councils of Castile or Aragón. Consistent in the official requirement of diverse approvals or censorship, which were added to those of the diocesan authorities, the system was relatively agile and, in practice, appears to have been more permissive than the inquisitorial censorship that dealt with printed material in circulation.<sup>29</sup>

Of course, the weight of preliminary censorship cannot be ignored in the case of some works understood in the broad field of literature of *arbitrios* and *avisos*. So, like in the case of *Mejoras de España* by Díaz Márquez, the Council of Castile did not consider timely the publication in 1611 of the *Repetición de la pragmática del pan* by Damián de Priego Tineo;<sup>30</sup> or of *Alivio y desempeño de su Majestad con sus reinos y señoríos* by Diego de Chavarría Elguezúa in 1648.<sup>31</sup> As has been indicated, it would not have been necessary to request a royal licence to print legal relations, advices and other papers that, usually of very small size, were distributed selectively because they were not destined for sale. An important part of the literature of *arbitrios* would have fallen under these parameters.

To understand in exact terms the facility of private individuals to access printing, one must also start with the above-mentioned saleable nature of typography. Although it is known that in the early modern period there were some very large printers (Aldus, Plantin, Elzevier, Moretus) who surrounded themselves with the writers they promoted, the overwhelming majority of typography masters of the period responded to a model that is simply commercial.

In the case of books, strictly speaking, their possible clients were anyone who arranged with them the printing of a certain work, whether this be the authors or, in many cases, the party who acquired the printing licence for someone else's work (frequently printers or book dealers who acted as sponsors and invested in the publishing market). In the case of the printing trifles not destined for sale, the requirements would have been even less significant, since the complex set of royal norms regarding printing was never able to control this entire universe of stamped papers.<sup>32</sup>

29 Fernando Bouza: "Dásele licencia y privilegio". Don Quijote y la aprobación de libros en el Siglo de Oro, Madrid 2012.

30 AHN, Consejos suprimidos, leg. 45797.

31 AHN, Consejos suprimidos, leg. 5789.

32 Fermín de los Reyes: El libro en España y América. Legislación y censura, 2 vols., Madrid 2000.

The influence of these sponsors of printing in the Spanish publishing market of the *Siglo de oro* cannot be underestimated. The existence of a mass public, one not discriminated by social status, made this business possible. A kind of publishing capitalism imposed itself here, joining interest and risk.

The average print run of a book in the Spanish Golden Age is generally thought to have been one thousand five hundred copies, a relatively high number that could outsell expectations in some genres for which there was high demand (regulations, indices, medical treatises, sermons, comedies, novels, almanacs, lunar calendars, *relaciones*, prayers, notebooks, broad sheets etc.). Nonetheless, one should not assume that minor printed matter was published in large print runs; preserved documentation allows us to establish that there were only tens or hundreds of copies of these works not destined for sale such as relations, service lists, advices, decisions or legal information.

In some instances involving potentially high profit, the financial aspects of the publishing business could only be met by true businessmen. Such is the case of the *asentista*, Juan de Rosales, who gave an advance of 60,000 ducats to cover the estimated cost of the publishing and distribution of the *Nueva recopilación* in 3 volumes, produced in 1640 by the presses of Catalina del Barrio and Diego Díaz de la Carrera. The edition was prepared to be delivered to all places where justice was carried out in courts of first instance. Rosales, former treasurer of *servicios de millones* in Madrid, funded the enormous print run of 18,000 books. He was confident that he would make a generous profit because the 3 volumes of the *Nueva recopilación* would sell for 20 ducats, which would produce a profit of 60,000 ducats.<sup>33</sup>

As mentioned, many of the sponsors were printers or book dealers. Not only were they interested in defraying the publishing cost of legal, spiritual or literary works, but they also entered political polemics. Much remains to be analysed regarding the role of these book merchants with the publication of what we generally refer to as royal propaganda or, at the time of its production, as literature of *arbitrios* and *avisos*.

33 Based on information contained in the AHN, Consejos suprimidos, leg. 25847, 27784 and 25677. These deal with: Recopilación de las leyes destos reynos [...] que se ha mandado imprimir con las leyes que después de la última impresión se han publicado [...] esta recopilación va diuidida en tres tomos, Madrid 1640–1641. In the case of the *Nueva recopilación* of 1640, this was a forced “distribution”, a kind of *arbitrio* of normative literature by which the purchase of the 3 volumes of the work was mandatory (at 20 ducats the set). In spite of this, apparently in the end, the business deal was not so profitable for Juan de Rosales because of the high printing and distribution costs of the work.



Still very little is known about the process of publication and commercialisation of *arbitrista* printed matter. Initially, part of it was not sold, but instead was distributed for free, to be published in the places considered opportune, above all in the palace itself and in the court tribunals. Apparently, this is the case, among others, of the *Advertencias importantes acerca del buen gobierno y administración de las Indias* by the Franciscan Juan de Silva, printed in Madrid in 1621.<sup>34</sup>

Notable among these *memoriales infomativos*, one from Silva to Philip III was included in which he requested that the monarch defray the cost of printing the *Advertencias*, saying “es forçoso darse impressas a V.M. y a los de su Consejo de Indias, para que se enteren de cosa tan importante” (“it is obligatory to give printed copies to His Majesty and to the members of his Council of the Indies, so that they be made aware of such important issues”).<sup>35</sup> Once the Franciscan’s petition was transferred to the Council of the Indies, the order was given that “impriman [los memoriales] y se den a cada uno de los dichos señores del Consejo, por la noticia y buenos que dellos pueden resultar” (“[the relations] be printed and be given to each of the members of the council, because of the notice and benefit that can result from them”).<sup>36</sup> In effect, 200 *reales* were given to pay the printer, Fernando Correa de Montenegro, for the publishing of the *Advertencias*,<sup>37</sup> although apparently no copies were printed for public sale, given that the work did not have an official value, which is to say, a sales price established for the sale of books.

Undoubtedly, those titles of the literature of *arbitrios* that did have an official price were published with the intention of being sold. For example, Gómez Arias de Mises obtained a license finally to print his *Avisos morales, urbanos y políticos* in 1658. The authorisation from the council is dated on 22 June of the same year and, with a speed not surprising of Baroque typo-

34 Juan de Silva: *Advertencias importantes acerca del buen gobierno y administración de las Indias así en lo spiritual como en lo temporal. Repartidas en tres memoriales informativos, dados en diferentes tiempos a su Magestad, y Real Consejo de Indias*, Madrid 1621.

35 The *memorial* by Juan de Silva is not dated, but the royal decree by Philip III that transferred it to the Council of the Indies is dated in Madrid on 16 April 1619. Juan de Silva: *Advertencias*, 1621 (see fn. 34), unpagged preliminaries.

36 Madrid, 29 August 1620 (favourable *relación* from the Council of the Indies); Madrid, September 1620 (decree of the Council of the Indies). Juan de Silva: *Advertencias*, 1621 (see fn. 34), unpagged preliminaries.

37 Decreed letter from the Council of the Indies regarding the printing of the *Advertencias* of brother Juan de Silva, Madrid, 1 October 1620, Archivo General de Indias, *Indiferente*, 428, L. 35. 164V. Fernando Correa died before the *Advertencias* were actually printed, and the copies had the footer “En Madrid. Por la viuda de Fernando Correa de Montenegro [Catalina de Barrio y Ángulo].” (“In Madrid. By the widow of Fernando Correa de Montenegro [Catalina de Barrio y Ángulo].”)

graphy, on 11 August the printing had been completed. The price of the *Avisos*, unbound, would rise to 62 *maravedies*, a little less than two *reales*. It was determined that each of the 15 and a half broad sheets of which it consisted could be sold for 4 *maravedies*.<sup>38</sup> Thirty years earlier, in 1628, the value of the *Provechosos adbitrios* of Barbón y Castañeda set the price at 4 *maravedies* for each of its 8 broad sheets, so that the cost of the whole volume, always unbound, was 32 *maravedies*.<sup>39</sup>

As Guillén Barbón himself tells, first he had distributed the text in some “papers printed at my own expense” exclusively destined to be turned in to the king and his ministers during Lent in 1627. Once this first printing was done, he requested permission to publish his *arbitrios* in book form and, when he received permission, donated this privilege to the Brotherhood of the Ánimas del Purgatorio of the church of Santiago in Madrid. This was the entity that paid for the edition circulated with the printer’s mark, Madrid 1628, and subsequently profited from its commercialisation.<sup>40</sup> On other occasions, as in the case of the *Arte real* by Jerónimo de Ceballos (Toledo 1623), the author himself financed the publication of his discourse and *avisos* by paying for the printing.<sup>41</sup>

However, as we know, printing was also financed by third parties who entered the process by paying for the publication of a work, an expense that would be recovered through the sale of the print run and thus assumed that there was great demand for the type of title in question. So, for example, the 1654 Madrid edition of *Resoluciones prácticas morales y doctrinales de dudas en baxas y creces de la moneda de vellón* by Pedro Aíngo de Expeleta was printed with funding from Juan de Valdés. This book merchant acted as the grantee of the licence for the work and therefore as the *de facto* owner of the text that he published. Proof of his ownership of the text is demonstrated by

38 Gómez Arias de Mieses: *Avisos morales, urbanos y políticos que a Don Manuel Arias de portes [...] a su instancia*, Madrid 1658. The record of valuation, AHN, Consejos suprimidos, leg. 47507.

39 Guillén Barbón y Castañeda: *Provechosos adbitrios al consumo del vellón, conservación de plata, población de España y relación de auisos importantes a las cosas que en ella necesitan de remedio*, Madrid 1628, Tasa, Madrid, 12 de febrero de 1628, unpagged preliminaries.

40 The printer’s mark says: En Madrid, Por Andrés de Parra, 1628, A costa de la Confradía de las ánimas de Purgatorio de la Parochia de Santiago de Madrid, a quien el Autor ha hecho limosna del Privilegio. To consult the quote in the text, see Barbón y Castañeda: *Provechosos adbitrios*, 1628 (see fn. 39), Prólogo al Lector, unpagged preliminaries.

41 Jerónimo de Ceballos: *Arte real para el buen gobierno de los reyes y príncipes y de sus vassallos*, ed. Salustiano de Dios, Madrid 2003 [Toledo 1623]. The printer’s mark says: “En Toledo, a costa de su Autor”. In the colophon: “En Toledo, en casa de Diego Rodríguez, Impresor del Rey Nuestro Señor”. The valuation of *Arte* by Ceballos establishes the price for each of the unbound copies at 6 *reales* and 10 *maravedies*.

the fact that he was responsible for the significant dedicatory to the powerful advisor Antonio de Luna.<sup>42</sup>

Due to the commercialisation of typography, individuals involved seemed to have enjoyed full ease of access to printing. Perhaps the Marqués de los Vélez was not wrong when, in 1597, he wrote the solemn phrase “Ya no ay nadie que no ymprima” (“There is now no one who does not print”).<sup>43</sup> The opinion of Luis Fajardo is not only testimony of a considerable increase in the number of printed documents, observable even in the decline in average quality of the typographic products, but also in an increase in numbers of those who strive to become authors through the use of printing.

As was pointed out above, practices of the period fostered reading with pen in hand, an act which encouraged readers to adopt the role of writer. Thus Guillén Barbón expressly encouraged the future readers of his *Provechosos adbitrios* of 1628 that “si experiencia tuvieres de lo en él contenido, yo te ruego comentes con libre censura a la margen dél lo que te pareciere” (“if you have experience in that which is contained here, I request that you comment freely in the margins on whatever you judge suitable”).<sup>44</sup> In this way, to read his *arbitrios* implied an invitation to comment on them, to write briefly about the issues dealt with there, but all of this with a base in the actual experience of the reader.<sup>45</sup>

Today great importance is given to the effect printing had, not only to make new readers or new listeners flourish, but also new authors who, given the typographic commercialisation and the relative ease with which printing permits were obtained, could allow themselves to publish their own ideas.

Proof that the greater ease in becoming an author in print existed is the fact that this circumstance generated great criticism and suspicion in com-

42 Pedro Aíngo de Zepeleta: *Resoluciones prácticas morales y doctrinales, de dudas en bajas y creces de la moneda de vellón en los Reynos de Castilla y León antes y después de la ley y premática della [...]* Con adiciones en esta segunda impresión de otras concernientes a las desta baxa [...] De importancia al fuero interno, y al externo Político y Judicial. Que al seruicio de la causa pública y beneficio de los Fieles ofrece unas y otras, Madrid 1654. The whole printer's mark states: “In Madrid, por María de Quiñones, año de 1654. A costa de Juan de Valdés Mercader de libros, véndese enfrente Santo Tomás.” The dedicatory to Luna is signed by Valdés in Madrid, on 6 November 1654. The work was composed of 40 broad sheets, each one priced at 4 *maravedies*, which resulted in a total price of 160 *maravedies* per copy.

43 Letter by Luis Fajardo de Requesén to Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, Benavente, 29 November 1597, Biblioteca de la Real Academia Española, Madrid, Manuscrito 73, fol. 412r.

44 Barbón y Castañeda: *Provechosos adbitrios*, 1628 (see fn. 39), Prólogo al Lector, unpaginated preliminaries.

45 Regarding the importance of the *marginalia* in the reading of texts of political interest, Saúl Martínez Bermejo: *Translating Tacitus. The reception of Tacitus' works in the vernacular languages of Europe, 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> centuries*, Pisa 2010.

munication mediums of Golden Age learned culture. The most memorable case is that of Luis López, a pastry maker settled in Zaragoza, who published some works of historic themes. In the prologue to his *Tropheos y antigüedades de Zaragoza*, 1639, López refers to himself as “una pluma de ganso” who had not doubted in “hacer punta con tantas otras como buelan de remontadas Águilas” (“a goose feather who had not doubted in sharpening the point with all the others who fly like climbing Eagles”). Although his feather was from a goose rather than an eagle, he presented himself as an author since he published at his own expense, financing the publication of his works.<sup>46</sup>

The existence of more books and of more authors – given that *there is now no one who does not print* – provoked the appearance of a very particular kind of thought that could be classified as *arbitrismo biblioclasta*.<sup>47</sup> *Biblioclasmo* had its origins in criticism of the excess of books in circulation and their *arbitrismo* nature stemmed from a connection between the over-abundance of books and the troubles of the monarchy and consequently proposed its restoration by means of a correction of such excess.

Related to the well-known criticism of the ruinous effects of the existence of too many grammar schools and the proposition to reduce their numbers, the most complete biblioclast *arbitrio* was composed by Diego Hurtado de Mendoza y Guevara. It dealt with the same *asistente* of Seville who did not hesitate to use printing as an exercise of his governmental duties.

In 1633 Hurtado de Mendoza y Guevara published anonymously, but most probably in Seville, the *memorial* entitled *Por el agricultura, criança, artífices, marinería del Reyno. Contra el exceso de libros nuevos*. This reached the hands of Philip IV; he had a copy of the book in his library in the Torre Alta del Alcázar in Madrid.<sup>48</sup> In addition, the powerful advisor Lorenzo Ramírez de Prado had a copy of the *memorial*, included in the category of “defensas y inuectivas [...] en varias materias” (“defences and invectives [...] on various topics”) in the inventory of his enormous library, in which *De cive* by Thomas Hobbes and the *Essais* of Michel de Montaigne could also be found, along with an excellent selection of literature of *arbitrios*.<sup>49</sup>

The argumentation in *Por el agricultura* is based on the supposition that the decline in productive activities was due to the increase of what Hurtado

46 For these testimonies, Fernando Bouza: Papeles y opinión. Políticas de publicación en el Siglo de Oro, Madrid 2008, pp. 21–23.

47 Here we follow *ibid.*, pp. 111–130.

48 Diego Hurtado de Mendoza y Guevara: *Por el agricultura, criança, artífices, marinería del Reyno. Contra el exceso de libros nuevos y mal uso en las ciencias, física, medicina, iurisprudencia, matemática, astrología y otros abusos y costrumbres en las profesiones de las Repúblicas [...]*, no indication of place [Sevilla] 1633.

49 Inventario de la librería del señor D. Lorenzo Ramírez de Prado, no indication of place [Madrid] nor year [1662].

de Mendoza qualifies as the new language of Babel, the language of the pen. Once those who could have worked as labourers, herdsmen, craftsmen or sailors learned to read and write, they abandoned such trades although of utter importance to the monarchy and instead got involved in contemplative activities that produced nothing and ruined the kingdom.

For those reasons, Hurtado de Mendoza proposed restoring the monarchy through a series of measures that, beginning with the closure of the grammar schools of poor quality (these had proliferated under the protection of pious foundations), would attempt to curb the destructive effects of the Babelism that originated in writing. Among such measures, on one hand, one would find also a complete modification of the system of access to printing, by ordering that only a reduced number of titles could be published, a measure that would put an end to the ease of printing that was described above. On the other hand, all works in circulation should be published anonymously, without allowing even the names of the authors of critiques or approvals to appear. This anonymity, which was prohibited by Castilian regulations, would be a necessary measure to halt the decline of the monarchy, for according to Hurtado de Mendoza, one of the worst effects of the new language of the pen was precisely the ambition of becoming an author.

The measures proposed by the *asistente* of Seville were not accepted and print anonymity continued to be opposed to the greatest degree possible. Nonetheless, it is true that the monarchy adopted a series of measures intended to control the proliferation of titles and authors of certain types of material, without modifying the well-established commercial system of access to print.

A royal order in 1627 established that “no relations or letters, neither defences nor panegyrics nor gazettes nor news nor sermons nor speeches or papers dealing with issues of State or government, nor *arbitrios* nor popular songs, nor dialogues or other things no matter how trivial or of how short they may be, will be printed, unless they have and show a first inspection and approval by the court from one of the members of the council, who will be named by the court commissioner”. Javier García Martín, who has opportunely called attention to the importance of this regulation, believes that it stands as a clear precursor to the Borbon *juez de imprenta* (‘judge of printing’).<sup>50</sup>

50 “[...] no se impriman [...] relaciones ni cartas, ni apologías ni panegíricos, ni gazetas, ni arbitrios ni coplas, ni diálogos ni otras cosas, aunque sean muy menudas y de pocos renglones, sin que tengan ni lleven primero examen y aprobación de la Corte de uno de los del Consejo que se nombre por Comisario de esto”. Javier García Martín: *El juzgado de imprentas y la utilidad pública. Cuerpo y alma de una Monarquía vicarial*, Bilbao 2003, pp. 210f. for the 1627 ruling.

In light of the consideration of the printing records following this date, practical application of the royal order of 1627 does not appear to have been effective.<sup>51</sup> It was not until 1648 that a *juez superintendente de impresiones y libros* was instated, expressly designed for supervising works about “Gobierno General i Política, Causa Pública, Iustificación de Regalías i Derechos Reales” (“General Government, Public Cause, Justification of Royal Prerogative and Rights”).<sup>52</sup> The objective was to take responsibility for the concession or denial of required printing permits for the production of texts that can be included within the sphere of literature of *arbitrios* and *avisos*, these relating to issues of public treasury and politics and the general government for the public cause. As is stated in the judicial decree that created the Superintendence, the volume of these papers had grown so large that a judge dedicated exclusively to the matter had become necessary for the consideration of the printing of such material.

The most well-known of these superintendents was the first of them, Lorenzo Ramírez de Prado. In 1651 he acted on a large shipment of books and papers that had apparently been printed in Seville without the required royal licence and that were intended to be distributed in the court. Among the works was Quevedo’s *Marco Bruto*. The councillor had himself named “juez particular sobre lo tocante a la impresión de libros destos Reynos” and ensured his pre-eminent jurisdiction prevailed over this material, by excluding the officers of *servicios de millones* who wanted to take charge of the process.<sup>53</sup>

Twenty years after the Viscount of la Corzana (Hurtado de Mendoza) had alerted others of the dangers of criticism that frequently occupied conversations in bake houses and informal gathering places, Juan de Zabaleta, in his *Errores celebrados*, does not leave room for doubt about the discredit that affected “ministers of the public government” concerning the risks taken by those who entered the offices of the government of the Republic, particularly the judges. According to Zabaleta, some *políticos* (“politicians”) concerned themselves with provoking a rift between public offices and the people, and “the common people read in books or hear in conversations that the ministers of the public government are rough, terrible, cruel and bloodthirsty [...]. The common people do not know how to discover the truth, but rather only to follow an opinion; going wherever it may lead them and not where they ought to go.”<sup>54</sup>

51 Bouza: *Dársele licencia*, 2012 (see fn. 29), pp. 91–93.

52 Ibid.

53 AHN, Consejos suprimidos, leg. 28225.

54 “[...] el vulgo lee en los libros u oye en las conversaciones que los ministros del gobierno público son ásperos, terribles, crueles y sangrientos [...]. El vulgo no sabe descubrir una

Printing had helped new authors and new readers to emerge; it made the dissemination of increasingly more diverse opinions possible. Through all of this, it contributed eventually to the modification of relational terms in political communication, because at the same time power brokers had made use of printing to govern (to order and to gain knowledge) or to legitimate themselves, printing had helped the common people to read and had helped many of them to publish their speeches or to imagine that they could. And the voices that wanted the council and *avisos* they had written to be heard/read grew so much that the creation of an instance of jurisdictional proceedings dedicated to overseeing print publication became necessary.

No one will be surprised by the classic adverse conceptualisation of the common people, but the fact that they did not only use foul language, but also read and write appears to owe a great deal to the capacity of print to put more texts in circulation. A great availability of texts meant that more people could read them or hear them being read and also that more people could aspire to become writers, even if their quills were from a goose, or they were, with or without modesty, poor and unlearned commoners.

English translation: Paula Sprague

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verdad sino seguir una opinion; vase donde le llevan y no donde había de irse.” Juan de Zabaleta: *Errores celebrados* [1653], ed. D. Hershberg, Madrid 1972, pp. 123 f.





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