



The Altamira Collection and the history of the Dutch Revolt¹

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Abstract. The Altamira Collection, the name by which the exceptional archive accumulated for centuries by the Counts of Altamira is known among Early Modern historians, is one of the most important documentary collections for the study of the Hispanic Monarchy and especially the reign of Philip II. Since, 1868, the ruin of the Casa de Altamira caused the dispersion of the archive, whose papers were acquired by different buyers, including Archer Milton Huntington, founder of “The Hispanic Society of America”. The magnate acquired the collection of books and manuscripts of the Marquis of Jerez de los Caballeros, unique of its kind, and whose papers were largely from Altamira. The Library of the Hispanic Society of America preserves today a significant part of the Altamira documentary collection that constitutes, together with the other collections distributed throughout Europe, a documentary collection of compulsory consultation for historians of the Dutch Revolt.

Key words: Altamira Collection; The Hispanic Society of America; Dutch Revolt.

[es] La Colección Altamira y la historia de la Rebelión de los Países Bajos

Resumen. La Colección Altamira, nombre con el que es conocido entre los historiadores modernistas el excepcional archivo atesorado durante siglos por los condes de Altamira, es uno de los fondos documentales más importantes para el estudio de la Monarquía Hispánica y en especial del reinado de Felipe II. La ruina de la Casa de Altamira provocó la dispersión de su archivo a partir de 1868, cuyos papeles fueron adquiridos por distintos compradores, entre los que se contaba Archer Milton Huntington, fundador de “The Hispanic Society of America”. El magnate compró la colección de libros y manuscritos del marqués de Jerez de los Caballeros, única en su género, y cuyos papeles en una gran parte eran de procedencia Altamira. The Library of the Hispanic Society of America conserva hoy una parte significativa del acervo documental Altamira que constituye, junto a los demás fondos de esta Colección repartidos por Europa, un repositorio documental de obligada consulta para los historiadores de la Revuelta de los Países Bajos.

Palabras clave: Colección Altamira; The Hispanic Society of America; Rebelión de los Países Bajos.

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In the mid-19th century, José María Osorio de Moscoso y de Carvajal, 14th Count of Altamira, possessed the most important private collection of manuscripts concerning the history of Habsburg Spain, preserved in the Palacio de Altamira (near the present Plaza de España in central Madrid)³. It contained not only the archives of several aristocratic families but also many papers removed from royal archives by the conde-duque de Olivares, chief minister of Philip IV between 1622 and 1643.

Two series in the Altamira Archive are of immense importance for those who study the Dutch Revolt: the papers of Philip II's private secretaries Antonio Gracián y Dantisco (1571-76), Mateo Vázquez de Leca, (1573-91), and Jerónimo Gassol (d. 1605); and the papers of Don Luis de Requesens y Zúñiga, governor-general of the Netherlands 1573-76, and his brother Don Juan de Zúñiga y Requesens, Spanish ambassador in Rome 1568-79 and chief minister of Philip II 1583-86. Although the two collections have a different provenance, they overlap:

- The private secretaries became responsible for three distinct types of state papers. They handled the holograph *billetes* exchanged between Philip II and his senior ministers about a wide range of business; they opened the letters and papers received from a wide range of individuals in envelopes addressed “*al rey en su mano*”: and they collected the archives left by many senior ministers when they died (starting with those of Cardinal Espinosa, Philip's principal adviser 1565-72, whom Vázquez had served as private secretary)⁴. The tens of thousands of Philip's holograph *billetes* in the Altamira Archive reveal more about the king's strategic aims and priorities –as well as about the matters that crossed the royal mind as he wrote– than any other single source. The duke of Sessa acquired these papers on the death of Gassol, but in 1625 he ceded them to Olivares, and they entered the Altamira Archive after the death of the last of the conde-duque's direct descendants in the eighteenth century. In 1959, Carlos Riba García provided a useful glimpse of this collection when he published some *billetes* exchanged between Philip II and Mateo Vázquez; but although they covered 436 printed pages, he published only half of one manuscript volume of *billetes*. The Altamira Archive once held at least 100 similar volumes⁵.
- Requesens died in the Netherlands in March 1576. Four months later, on the king's express orders, his officials in the citadel of Antwerp burnt 30 holo-

³ The 14th count (1828-81) boasted many other titles: duke of Atrisco, Maqueda, Montemar and Sessa; marquis of Aguilar, Astorga, Ayamonte, Elche and Leganés, count of Cabra and Trastámara, and many more. See his entry in the Real Academia de la Historia, *Diccionario Biográfico electrónico*. The count commissioned Ventura Rodríguez, the most celebrated Spanish architect of his day, to design the Palacio but it remained unfinished and today only the façade survives: calle de la Flor Alta, 8, the Madrid seat of the Istituto Europeo di Design. See Martínez Medina, A.: *Palacios madrileños del siglo XVIII*, Madrid, Ediciones La Librería, 1997, pp. 61-72.

⁴ Lovett, A. W.: “A Cardinal's papers: the rise of Mateo Vázquez de Leca”, *English Historical Review*, LXXXVI-II (1973), pp. 241-261, at p. 251, noted the unsuccessful bid of Diego de Ayala, the royal archivist at Simancas, to secure the cardinal's papers after his death. See also José Luis Rodríguez de Diego, “La formación del Archivo de Simancas en el siglo XVI. Función y orden interno”, in López-Vidriero, M.^a L. and Cátedra, P. M.^a (eds): *El libro antiguo español, IV: Coleccionismo y bibliotecas (siglos XV-XVIII)*, Salamanca and Madrid, Universidad de Salamanca & Patrimonio Nacional, 1998, pp. 519-57, at pp. 541-43.

⁵ Riba García, C.: *Correspondencia privada de Felipe II con su secretario Mateo Vázquez 1567-91* (Madrid, 1959). The volume, published posthumously, printed only half of the *billetes* in BL *Additional Ms.* 28,263. Although entitled “volume 1”, no more ever appeared.

graph letters from Philip to Requesens and 41 minutes of his replies because (as one of his executors observed) “*el Comendador Mayor escribía tan claro a Su Magestad que no conviene que estos papeles queden vivos*”⁶. Requesens’s brother took charge of his surviving papers, but he already possessed copies of many of them because Zúñiga was his brother’s closest confidant: Requesens sent him copies of almost all important letters and papers. Zúñiga thus possessed copies of Requesens’s correspondence with the king, which partly compensates for the loss of the burned originals⁷. Zúñiga’s papers also include his correspondence as Spanish ambassador in Rome with the king and his ministers: some 800 legajos and registers of documents, perhaps the largest collection of “State Papers” from the reign of Philip II in private hands. After his death in 1586, Zúñiga’s executors transferred his papers to Gómez Dávila, 2nd marquis of Velada, and in 1710 they entered the Altamira Archive with the rest of the Velada papers⁸.

Disaster struck the Altamira Archive shortly after Spain’s “Glorious Revolution” of 1868. The 14th count, heavily in debt, had married the Infanta María Luisa Teresa de Borbón, sister of the King Consort, and the deposition and flight of Queen Isabel II and her consort removed all hope of protection against his creditors. He therefore decided to flee to France and sold his possessions to pay his debts. A Paris book dealer acquired more than 7.000 rare books, shipped them to France, and sold them there in three auctions in 1870. In Madrid, the count’s agents auctioned his works of art (including 1.300 paintings); and they sold his manuscript collection, including numerous Philip II holographs: “*Unas 200 arrobas fueron vendidos a ocho reales arroba a un librero muy conocido de los bibliófilos, llamado Pereda*”, who began to sell it as wrapping paper⁹.

⁶ March, J. M.^a: *El Comendador Mayor de Castilla, Don Luis de Requesens, en el Gobierno de Milan 1571-1573*, 2nd edn, Madrid, Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, 1946, 26 note 4, Don Guillén de San Clemente to Requesens’s widow, Antwerp, 8 May 1576. Archivo General de Simancas (AGS) *Estado* 542/160 is the inventory of Requesens’s papers, made in Antwerp citadel on 29 April 1576, summarized in Gachard, L. P.: *Correspondance de Philippe II sur les affaires des Pays-Bas*, IV, Brussels, 1861, pp. 114-18.

⁷ For example Bibliothèque publique et universitaire de Genève (BPU) *Ms Favre* 30/30-74 contains copies of Philip’s holograph letters to Requesens dated 30 January, 5 April, 21 June, 14 August and 30 October 1573, all deploying a combination of bribes and threats to make him accept appointment as governor-general of the Netherlands. Although the originals perished in Antwerp in 1576, these copies sent to Zúñiga survive. In the first, the king declared that finding an immediate and permanent solution to the Dutch revolt had become “el mayor negocio y de mayor importancia que he tenido ni podré tener”, and immodestly expressed the hope that “spero en Dios [...] que os dará mucha salud y vida, pues se empleara en su servicio y en el mío, que es lo mismo” (BPU *Ms Favre* 30/30. AGRB [Archives Générales du Royaume. Brussels] *Manuscrit Divers* 5480/15-16 is another copy, amde by Cardinal Granvelle). Requesens also sent his brother copies of his replies to the king, and they are today in Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan, Madrid (IVdeDJ) 67. On this episode see Versele, J.: “Las razones de la elección de don Luis de Requesens como gobernador de los Países Bajos tras la retirada del duque de Alba (1573)”, *Studia Historica / Historia Moderna*, XXVIII (2006), 259-76.

⁸ For an overview of the Zúñiga archive in its prime, see Bouza, F. J.: “Guardar papeles –y quemarlos– en tiempos de Felipe II. La documentación de Juan de Zúñiga”, *Reales Sitios*, CXXIX (1996), pp. 2-15 y CXXX (1997), pp. 18-33. On the fate of the Velada archive, see Martínez Hernández, S.: *El marqués de Velada y la Corte en los reinados de Felipe II y Felipe III, Nobleza cortesana y cultura política en la España del Siglo de Oro*, Valladolid, Junta de Castilla y León, 2004.

⁹ Poleró, V.: “Colección de pinturas que reunió en su palacio el marqués de Leganés, D. Diego Felipe de Guzmán (siglo XVII)”, *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones, Sección de Bellas Artes*, VI (1898-9), pp. 122-34, at pp. 122-3. “Pereda” was Manuel Pereda, who ran a bookstore frequented by many bibliophiles in calle de

José Sancho Rayón (1830-1900), one of the foremost book and manuscript collectors of his day, heard of this and “*durante un mes fue expurgando y entresacando cuidadosamente de los deshechos legajos esparcidos en el sótano de un almacén de comestibles, cuyo dueño los adquirió del citado librero [Pereda] sin saber éste lo que vendía ni aquel lo que compraba*”¹⁰. At much the same time (according to a charming anecdote) Juan Bautista Crooke, count of Valencia de Don Juan, learned of the auction while walking the streets of Madrid one day, when the call of nature forced him to use the toilet of a sympathetic shopkeeper. He found that the only “*papel higiénico*” available consisted of 16th-century manuscripts, and when he re-entered the shop he asked its owner about its provenance. The shopkeeper replied: “*Procedían de la venta del archivo de Sessa, comprados al peso; muchos habían sido destruidos ya...*”¹¹.

The count hastened to save as many Altamira papers as possible from the posteriors of madrileños, and thus preserve them for posterity. He was not alone: perhaps a dozen other collectors acquired some manuscripts¹².

Today, five locations house major collections of papers of the reign of Philip II from the Altamira Archive: two in Madrid, and one each in London, Geneva and New York. Fortunately, at least some of the bound volumes in the collection have survived intact¹³. Unfortunately, many loose documents have become separated so that the various *billetes* exchanged between Philip II and his secretaries each day,

Preciados, 59. Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, J. L.: *La Epístola a Mateo Vázquez: historia de una polémica literaria en torno a Cervantes*, Alcalá de Henares, Centro de Estudios Cervantinos, 2010, introduction, provides the best account of the sale in 1869—but it was not the first. In 1826, the National Library of Scotland (NLS), Edinburgh, purchased 3,617 books from the Altamira collection: Loudon, J. M.: “The Astorga Collection of Spanish Books now in the National Library of Scotland”, *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, LXX/1-2 (1962), pp. 179-85. The books (NLS Shelfmark G) are now catalogued online.

¹⁰ Poleró, *op. cit.* (note 9), p. 123. Andrés, G. de: “La dispersión de la valiosa colección bibliográfica y documental de la Casa de Altamira.” *Hispania*, XLVI (1986), pp. 587–635, thoroughly documents the Paris book sales. See also Cátedra, P. M.: *Nobleza y lectura en tiempos de Felipe II: la biblioteca de don Alonso Osorio, Marqués de Astorga*, Valladolid, Junta de Castilla y León, 2002.

¹¹ The story first appeared in González de Amezúa y Mayo, A.: *Epistolario de Lope de Vega Carpio*, III, Madrid, Real Academia Española, 1941, p. XXIX note 46. It is, as journalists say, a story that is “too good to check”.

¹² The Biblioteca Nacional de España (BNE) and the Archivo Histórico Nacional (AHN), both in Madrid, the library of the Monasterio de San Lorenzo el Real de El Escorial, the Biblioteca Menéndez y Pelayo (Santander), and the NLS, among others, all acquired fragments of the Altamira collection. For more on the dispersal of manuscripts, see Andrés, *op. cit.* (note 9), pp. 616-26; Bouza, F.: *Corre manuscrito. Una historia cultural del Siglo de Oro*, Madrid, Marcial Pons, 2001, pp. 260-88; and Martínez Hernández, *op. cit.* (note 8), pp. 571-89 (a survey of the present location of the documents of one of the noble houses included in the Altamira Collection, which reveals the problems caused by their dispersion). See also <http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/4019099> for a description of 3 cajas and 503 manuscripts from the Altamira Archive now in Archivo Histórico de la Nobleza, (AHNOB, Toledo) 15. *Archivo de los condes de Altamira*.

¹³ For example, consider the two enormous bound volumes of *billetes* exchanged between Philip II and Antonio Pérez: British Library (BL) *Additional Ms.* 28,262 (668 folios) and IVdeDJ *envío* 60 (385 folios and 16 inserts). Although now separated by over 1,000 kilometres, the two volumes almost certainly came from the same archive because the original binding of both volumes is similar, and they have similar titles (“*Villetes del Secretario Antonio Pérez a Su Magestad del Rey Don Philippe 2º, nuestro señor, respondidos de su real mano*” and “*Billetes de Antonio Pérez respondidos por el Rey*” respectively). Pérez himself probably assembled the volumes in 1590, after he escaped from prison in Madrid and fled to Zaragoza, where his secretary Diego de Bustamente watched him burn *billetes* exchanged with Philip until “*de cinco mazos de papeles que eran los redució a dos*”: *Colección de Documentos Inéditos para la historia de España*, XV, Madrid, Imprenta de la viuda de Calero, 1849, p. 466, “*Declaración de Diego de Bustamente*”, January 1591. The two “*mazos*” presumably entered the royal archive when Pérez fled from Zaragoza to France, leaving his papers behind him, and were later removed by the conde-duque de Olivares.

and the documents that they discussed, are now scattered between several manuscript collections. Thus a letter from an individual, or a *consulta* from a royal council, addressed to the king may today be in Geneva, while Mateo Vázquez's cover note is in London, and Philip's rescript is in Madrid or New York. Many related documents have been lost; others have migrated to other locations that acquired Altamira materials; others still remain in the state archives such as the Archivo General de Simancas (AGS).

The documents in Simancas remained closed to foreign researchers until the 1820s, when two priests from the English College in Valladolid "rode westwards" to transcribe and summarize for the historian John Lingard documents concerning the relations between Spain and England in the 16th century. So little was then known about the archive that Lingard "had to explain the spelling and meaning of the word 'Simancas'" to his publisher¹⁴. Twenty years later, Louis Prosper Gachard (head of the Algemeen Rijksarchief/Archives Générales du Royaume in Brussels: AGRB), and Joseph Melchior Tirán (representing the French government), both received permission to carry out research in Simancas. Gachard examined more than 10,000 documents from the reign of Philip II and commissioned transcripts of more than 1,500 of them; he then published French summaries of his transcripts, together with documents from some other archives, down to 1577 in *Correspondance de Philippe II sur les affaires des Pays-Bas*, 5 vols. (Brussels, 1848-79). Between 1940 and 1960, Joseph Lefèvre published four more volumes of summaries (all of them short) based on Gachard's transcripts covering the years 1577-1598.¹⁵ One of his contemporaries called Gachard, with only slight exaggeration (and perhaps a hint of envy), "emperor of the archives", and the immense volume of his transcripts and publications may have given some the impression that he had surveyed all the relevant Spanish sources concerning the Dutch Revolt. Nevertheless, Gachard apparently never entered the Palacio de Altamira¹⁶.

The same was true of Maurice van Durme, who followed in Gachard's footsteps. The Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis/Commission royale d'Histoire sent him on several prolonged missions to Spain between 1957 and 1985 to find and ca-

¹⁴ Jones, E.: "John Lingard and the Simancas archives", *The historical journal*, X (1967), pp. 57-76, quotation from a letter from Lingard to his publisher, Douglas Mawman, in 1820. The two priests were Alexander Cameron and Thomas Sherburne; Lingard used their transcripts, most of them gathered in 1823, in his *History of England*. Richard Kagan reminded me that in 1830 the American Obadiah Rich received special permission from the king of Spain to gather materials in Simancas for his *Bibliotheca Americana*.

¹⁵ Gachard's notes, summaries and transcripts from Simancas and many other archives outside Belgium survive in AGRB/ARA *Collection Gachard/Collectie Gachard*. Wellens, R.: *Inventaire des papiers, notes et manuscrits de Louis-Prosper Gachard, archiviste général du royaume (1800-1885)* (Brussels, 1983), provides an excellent guide to the collection. <https://dutchrevolt.leiden.edu/dutch/geschiedschrijvers/Pages/Gachard.aspx>, covers Gachard's remarkable 60-year career as archivist and historian. See also Wellens, R.: "Études et travaux relatifs à la vie et à l'œuvre de Louis-Prosper Gachard. Une approche bibliographique", in Paviot, J. (ed.): *Liber Amicorum Raphael de Smedt, III. Historia*, Leuven, 2001: *Miscellanea Neerlandica*, XXV, pp. 415-22; Janssens, G.: "Luis-Prospero Gachard y la apertura del Archivo General de Simancas", *Hispania. Revista Española de Historia*, XLIV (1989), pp. 949-984; and Aerts, E., Mecheleer, L. de and Wellens, R.: "L'âge de Gachard. L'archivistique et l'historiographie en Belgique (1830-85)", in Cotta, I. and Manno Tolu, R. (eds.): *Archivi e storia nell'Europa del XIX secolo: alle radici dell'identità culturale europea. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi nei 150 anni dall'istituzione dell'Archivio Centrale, poi Archivio di Stato, di Firenze Firenze, 4-7 dicembre 2002*, Florence, 2006, pp. 571-99.

¹⁶ Aerts, *op. cit.* (note 15), p. 590, quoting Baron Reiffenberg in 1842. The notes to Aerts's essay provide details on many other works by and about Gachard.

talogue manuscripts related to the history of the Low Countries. The initial fruits of his work appeared in *Les archives de Simancas et l'histoire de la Belgique, IXe – XIXe siècles*, 4 vols (Brussels, 1964-73), which described folio-by-folio the contents of countless legajos in the series *Negociación de Estado (Flandes and Roma)* and *Secretarías provinciales*. “Don Mauricio” (as he was affectionately known in Spain, to archivists and other researchers alike) also sought out relevant material in several Madrid archives, both public (the Archivo Histórico Nacional, the Biblioteca Nacional) and private (the Real Academia de la Historia and the Biblioteca Real in the Palacio de Oriente); but it remains unpublished. Don Mauricio, like Gachard, included no Altamira material.¹⁷

The lack of a modern concordance of the Altamira Archive is perhaps the greatest obstacle that today faces historians of the Spanish Habsburgs, including those who study the Dutch Revolt. Until we have such a concordance, historians must recreate the original paper trail for themselves; so here are some signposts to the Altamira papers in each of the five major repositories, and on their provenance, with special reference to documents concerning relations between Spain and the Netherlands.

1. The Archivo y Biblioteca Francisco de Zabálburu (ABZ), sometimes known as the Archivo de la Casa de la Condesa Viuda de Heredia Spínola, Calle Marqués del Duero, 7, Madrid: the mansion built in the 1870s by Zabálburu and his brothers¹⁸.

The brothers appointed Sancho Rayón as their librarian, and he sorted, identified and labelled the manuscripts acquired from the Altamira and other collections. In 1889, Sancho Rayón purchased some special cajas in which he placed those manuscripts, arranged in carpetas. Between 1995 and 1999 the entire collection was digitized, though still ordered via the *cajas* and folios created by Sancho Rayón: see Mercedes Noviembre Martínez (who oversaw the digitization project), “La Biblioteca de Francisco de Zabálburu: del siglo XIX al XXI”, *Pliegos de Bibliofilia*, VI (1999), pp. 19-32; and María Teresa Llera Llorente, *La Biblioteca Francisco de Zabálburu. Adquisición de fondos y estudio catalográfico*, 2 vols (Mérida, Editora Regional de Extremadura, 2007).

¹⁷ Van Durme published a preliminary guide to the Granvelle collection in the Biblioteca Real: see “Notes sur la correspondance de Granvelle conservée à Madrid”, *Handelingen van de Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis / Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire*, CXXI (1956), 25–83. One day in the 1970s, Don Maurizio showed me a “cahier” he had compiled in the AHN, which included a reference that I treasure: AHN *Inquisición (espontáneos)* libro 1150/24-26, the investigation of Francisco López in February 1608. López, born in Spain, had grown up in the Netherlands and joined a Spanish tercio in the Army of Flanders; in the 1590s his unit mutinied for its pay, and afterwards he deserted to the Dutch army in which he served for about five years. After hostilities ceased, he returned to Spain and denounced himself to the Inquisition for having attended Calvinist services (hence his life story appeared in the series “Espontáneos”: those who denounced themselves). His punishment? The inquisitors placed him under the guidance of a Franciscan friar for a year. After van Durme’s death in 2009, his personal archive –including material for further volumes of *Les archives de Belgique*, including the documents he had found in AHN– was deposited in the university library of Leuven University. See Janssens, G.: “In memoriam dr. Maurice Van Durme”, *Handelingen van de Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis / Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire*, CLXXVI (2010), 219-21.

¹⁸ The archive and the mansion passed from Francisco de Zabálburu to his only daughter, who married the count of Heredia Spínola. After she died in 1964, the archive was closed to researchers because of litigation between various claimants (who in 1980 tried unsuccessfully to sell it to a foreign buyer), but it re-opened its doors in 1987.

- *Cajas* 96-103, 105, 106 and 108 contain the correspondence of Requesens as Capitán-general del Ejército de Flandes, 1573-6, mostly with army officers.
- *Caja* 144 contains a fascinating series of *billetes* exchanged between Philip II and Mateo Vázquez from 1574, mostly about the bad news sent by Requesens and others in the Netherlands.

2. The Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan (IVdeDJ), Calle Fortuny, 43, Madrid: the magnificent mansion in the mudéjar style constructed in the 1870s for Guillermo de Osma y Scull, count consort of Valencia de Don Juan.

Between 1912 and 1915 Osma sent his manuscript collection in instalments (“*envíos*”) to the noted archivist Antonio Paz y Meliá who prepared a detailed catalogue of each *envío* of documents received from the Instituto—hence the organization of the collection into *envíos*, some with separate *carpetas* containing related groups of documents in chronological order. Gregorio de Andrés, librarian of the Instituto between 1974 and 1996, updated and annotated the catalogue and the fichero of the collection; and his successors both digitized and prepared an online index of the entire manuscript collection, which greatly facilitates consultation—albeit currently this can only take place in the Instituto itself.¹⁹

- *Envíos* 67 and 68 contain over 1,000 documents from Requesens’s years as governor-general of the Netherlands, not counting *Envío* 68 folio 285: a register of almost 400 pages containing copies of orders to troops and bankers signed by Requesens between January 1575 and March 1576²⁰.

3. The British Library (BL, until 1973 the British Museum Library), Department of Western Manuscripts, 96 Euston Road, London: an ugly modernist building opened in 1997.

Pascual de Gayangos, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Spanish Language in the British Museum*, 4 vols (London, 1877–1893), provided a folio-by-folio analysis of almost all the 200 volumes containing documents acquired from the Altamira Archive, but organized in five themes (“Classes”), rather than in numerical order. This complicates consultation, because the printed version lacks an index. Nevertheless, thanks to digitization by Google, each of Gayangos’s four volumes can now be found online, downloaded and “searched”, making it possible to locate every document (for example) to, from, or about Requesens. In addition, Gayangos prepared thousands of handwritten index cards, currently pasted into huge volumes on the shelves of the Manuscript Reading Room in the British Library (in the past, some librarians have denied this but I swear to you that they are available to the persistent researcher).

¹⁹ Osma, G. de: *Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan. Memoria 1916* (Madrid, Imprenta Ibérica, 1916), provided details on his Foundation, including the provision that if money for its maintenance could not be found in Spain, it should go to the university of Oxford. See also Andrés, G. de: *La fundación del Instituto y Museo de Valencia de Don Juan*, Instituto de Estudios Madrileños del CSIC, Madrid, 1984.

²⁰ IVdeDJ *Envío* 68/285, a register of 197 folios lacking its title page and first folio, was originally entitled “In diversorum III”, similar to the “Registres aux Ordres” that contain similar orders issued between 1582 and 1682 in AGRB, *Secrétairerie d’État et de Guerre/Secretarie van State en Oorlog*, 7-71. For proof of this identification, see Parker, G.: *Guide to the Archives of the Spanish Institutions in or concerned with the Netherlands (1556–1706)*, Brussels, Archives et Bibliothèques de Belgique, 1971; reprinted 1987), 47 note 1. The inventory of Requesens’s papers on 29 April 1576 mentioned three registers entitled *In diversorum primo, secundo et tercio*: AGS *Estado* 542/160.

- *Additional Mss* 28,385-28,388 are all full of letters and papers sent by officials in the Netherlands to Cardinal Espinosa and others at the court of Spain, 1565-1604. Gayangos, *Catalogue*, III, 388-408, provided a brief description of each document. Jacobo Fitz-James Stuart y Falcó, duke of Berwick y Alba, *Epistolario del III duque de Alba*, 3 vols (Madrid, 1952), included transcripts of the letters in these volumes written by his predecessor while he served as governor-general of the Netherlands, 1567-1573.

4. The Bibliothèque de Genève (BPU, formerly Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire de Genève), “Collection Édouard Favre”, Parc des Bastions, Geneva: part of an academic complex built between 1868 and 1871.

In 1906, Édouard Favre inherited some 10,000 documents from the Altamira Archive after the death of his friend Paul Chapuy, and not only donated them to the BPU but also paid for them to be repaired and bound into 82 volumes. Léopold Micheli of the BPU provided a folio-by-folio description, modelled on the one prepared by Gayangos for the similar documents in London: Micheli, L.: “Inventaire de la collection Édouard Favre”, *Bulletin Hispanique*, XI (1909), pp. 295-322; XII (1910), 49-70, 2:140-162, 3:317-26; XIII (1911), 61-74, 195-204 and 337-47; XIV (1912) 77-95. Micheli’s catalogue also appeared posthumously as a separate volume, together with a preface by Alfred Morel-Fatio and an invaluable index: Micheli, *Inventaire de la collection Édouard Favre (Archives de la maison d’Altamira)* (Bordeaux, 1914). Some additional papers from the collection, and some that were incomplete or undated, later became BPU *Collection Édouard Favre*, Vol. 83, “Pièces diverses” (341 folios). Its contents do not appear in Micheli’s *Inventaire*. Bort Tormo, E.: “La vida en la embajada de Roma en la época de don Juan de Zúñiga Requesens (1568-1580)”, in Núñez Roldán, F. (ed.): *Ocio y vida cotidiana en el mundo hispánico moderno*, Sevilla, Universidad de Sevilla, 2007, pp. 451-60, commented memorably on the dimensions of the Favre collection:

Personalmente he tenido ocasión de transcribir 2,500 cartas [escritas por Zúñiga] de los fondos antes referidos de la Casa de Altamira que se encuentran en Ginebra, y que corresponden en un 80 por ciento sólo a los años 1577, 1578 y 1579. Por ellas puedo afirmar que el embajador trabajaba mucho. He llegado a contar hasta 17 cartas en un día... (p. 459).

Historians of relations between Spain and the Netherlands will find the following volumes of special interest:

- *Collection Édouard Favre* 30: letters and papers of Requesens, 1566-1576 (ff 1-74 contain 27 letters sent to him by Philip II, 1572-1573, many of them holograph).
- *Collection Édouard Favre* 38 and 39: papers of the 3rd marquis of Velada, while he served as a senior officer of the Army of Flanders, 1636-43.
- *Collection Édouard Favre* 60: important papers on the Netherlands, many from the period of Requesens’s government, including letters exchanged in November 1573 between Julián Romero, Prince William of Orange and Philippe Marinx van St Aldegonde about negotiations to end the war (ff. 43-69)²¹.

²¹ Gachard, L. P.: *Correspondance de Guillaume le Taciturne*, III, Brussels, C. Muquardt, 1851, pp. 81-7, printed the letters from Orange (in Delft) to Romero (in The Hague) from copies in AGS. These are the originals.

5. The Library of the Hispanic Society of America (HSA), “Altamira Papers”, 613 West 155th Street, New York: a handsome purpose-built edifice opened on Audubon Terrace in 1908.

The 32 boxes of HSA “Altamira Papers” contain some 3,000 documents from the Altamira Archive dating from the 1490s to the 1820s, the majority in Spanish but with some items in Arabic, Dutch, English, French, Italian, Latin and Portuguese. Thanks to a generous grant from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, in 2012 and 2013 Bethany Aram, Rachael Ball and Geoffrey Parker, assisted by John O’Neill (Curator of manuscripts and rare books at the HSA), sorted, identified and catalogued all the Altamira papers (except for about 20 documents in Arabic: the only language that none of us could read). We then arranged the contents of each box in separate carpetas that contained related groups of documents in chronological order, and created a searchable online catalogue (currently available only in the HSA Library). Here are a few highlights concerning relations between Spain and the Netherlands:

- HSA *Altamira Papers* 2-IV-30, Requesens to Andrés Ponce de León, 18 February 1574, copy (probably sent to Zúñiga). After less than three months in the Netherlands, Requesens bombarded his closest ally on the Council of State in Madrid with pleas for his recall.

Vuestra Merced no piense que es encarecimiento lo que al rey escribió de lo de aquí, porque cierto está muy peor, y si no fuese haciendo dios milagro, y muy grande, no es posible hecharse los enemigos del pays ni rreduzirse las tierras perdidas; y quando este fuese, tan poco es posible pasar adelante con la costa que es menester para sustenalla. Y ningún rremedio veo sino es la venida del rey.

No doubt realizing that this, too, was impossible, Requesens ended with a plea “*que me saque de Flandes, y no para otro cargo, que no pretendo del rrey otro merced; y quando me hiziese todas las del mundo, no la tendré en nada negándome esta*”²².

- HSA *Altamira Papers* 3-II-12, Cardinal Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle to Juan de Zúñiga, Naples, 6 December 1573, copy. Writing just after Requesens arrived in the Netherlands, the Cardinal stressed the need to win over the hearts and minds of its inhabitants because “*aunque su magestad quiera, no podrá proveerse sumas tan grandes que basten para supplir lo que se deve, especialmente a la gente de guerra*”. Even then, the Cardinal felt profoundly pessimistic. “*Conozco el umor de la tierra: que aunque viene Christo a gobernarlos, no dexaran de murmurar y de decir lo que se les antojara*”.

Parker, G.: *The Grand Strategy of Philip II*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1998, p. 142, discussed the exchange and its context.

²² Rodents have eaten away the month, but internal evidence shows that Requesens sent his lament in February. He had already written to Ponce on 26 January and 14 February with a similar plea “*que me saque de Flandes*” (*Nueva colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España y de sus Indias [Nueva CODOIN]*, I, pp. 79-80 and 173-174). An even longer plea to Ponce on 24 February 1574 also once formed part of the Altamira Archive: IVdeDJ 68/170, a copy mostly in code sent by Requesens to his brother, who deciphered it.

- HSA *Altamira Papers* 3-V-15, Granvelle to Zuñiga, Naples, 23 September 1574, holograph. After repeating his warnings that Philip could never regain the Netherlands by force alone, Granvelle prophesied that “*aquellos estados, si porfiamos y no les ganamos la voluntad, ruynarán los reynos de Su Magestad, y su reputación*”.
- HSA *Altamira Papers* 18-II-3, “*Relación que a dado Pedro de Mondragón, que a sido preso, que a estado con los enemigos*”, undated, but May 1575. The document records the interrogation of a Spanish soldier captured while fighting in Holland for the Dutch. Mondragón had served with two Spanish comrades in the garrison of Loevestein Castle for the previous seven weeks, and he now provided his captors with information on the weaknesses in its defences, on the prospects for a surprise attack on Spaarndam, and on the poor morale of the Dutch rebels. Perhaps Mondragón hoped that this intelligence would save his life, but if so he miscalculated. On the back of his interrogation we read: “*fue arcabuzeado en la plaza del castillo de Amberes*”²³.

Other HSA collections also contain important documents from the Altamira Archive relating to Spain and the Netherlands. For example,

- HSA *Ms* B2010, the duke of Alba to “V.S.I” (Cardinal Diego de Espinosa), undated but 16 April 1567, is a 4-page holograph letter describing in detail the duke’s “exit interview” with Philip II at Aranjuez just before he left Spain to suppress the Dutch Revolt²⁴.
- HSA *HC*380/97, folder 40, contains 10 letters from Alba to Don Juan de Zúñiga, 1569-1572²⁵.
- HSA *HC*380/98, folders 41-54, contains letters to and from Requesens and Zúñiga about England, 1563-1579, while they served as Spanish ambassadors in Rome. It includes extensive correspondence concerning the Ridolfi Plot of 1570-1571, which aimed to overthrow Queen Elizabeth of England with the assistance of troops from the Netherlands.

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²³ AGS *Estado K* 1537/54, don Diego de Zúñiga, Spanish ambassador in Paris, to Philip II, Paris, 29 May 1575, reported a recent skirmish in which royal troops encountered three Spaniards fighting for the Dutch. They killed two and captured a third, who (said Zúñiga) would be “arquebuzado”. The third man must have been Mondragón.

²⁴ See also Alba’s letter to Espinosa dated 17 April 1567, written by a secretary with a holograph postscript, also originally in the Altamira Archive, but now BL *Additional Ms.* 28,385/6.

²⁵ Berwick y Alba, D.: *Epistolario del III Duque de Alba*, II, Madrid, 1952, published three of the letters in *HC*380/97 from the minutes in the Alba archive. The HSA documents are the originals, cyphered with a decrypt. “HC” stands for the sales catalogues published by Karl Wilhelm Hiersemann of Leipzig, who specialized in Spanish and Latin American items. Between 1905 and 1915, A. M. Huntington purchased the entire contents of several catalogues, including all items listed in Hiersemann, K. W.: *Biblioteca Iberica, being a choice collection of scarce and valuable books and manuscripts on Spain and Portugal... containing the libraries of D. Antonio de la Peña y Guillén, cura castrense de la Plaza de Madrid, D. Federico Olmeda, presbítero, Maestro de la Capilla de Burgos, and other collections. Catalogue 380*, Leipzig, c. 1910, 237 pp. Hiersemann did not reveal the provenance of the “colecciones de cartas históricas... de gran rareza, y algunos pueden decirse únicos” in his catalogue, but *HC*380/97 and 98 clearly came, directly or indirectly, from the archive of Don Juan de Zúñiga.

The current location of these five major portions of the Altamira Collection, though scattered, is not random. Paul Chapuy, from whom Édouard Favre inherited the collection of Spanish manuscripts now in the BPU, had served not only as Swiss consul-general in Madrid but also, between 1861 and 1871, as librarian and tutor of the count of Altamira²⁶. As Micheli stated coyly in his *Inventaire*, “how these documents came into the possession of [Chapuy] is not known”; but he revealed that, after he spirited them out of Spain, Chapuy tried to sell them to the duke of Aumale. Because the duke declined, the collection came to Favre instead of to the Musée Condé at Chantilly.²⁷

Sancho Rayón met Chapuy soon after he had rescued some of the collection from “*el sótano de un almacén de comestibles*”. In 1872 he persuaded the bankers Juan, Mariano and Francisco de Zabálburu to accept rare books and manuscripts from the Altamira Archive as repayment of the substantial debt owed to them by the count. The brothers asked Sancho Rayón to select the best items for their library, but each time he and Francisco de Zabálburu tried to do so, Chapuy “*nos recibió como a un perro en misa*” and refused to let them in –no doubt because Chapuy intended to add the best manuscripts to his own collection and feared that Sancho Rayón would use his expert knowledge pre-empt him²⁸.

Although Sancho Rayón eventually secured many priceless items for the Zabálburu library, Chapuy managed to remove from Spain a substantial portion of the Altamira Archive (the future “Collection Édouard Favre” at BPU). He was not the first to do so: the count of Valencia de Don Juan had begun the process in 1870.

According to his son-in-law Guillermo de Osma, writing in 1915, after the count discovered that the Altamira Archive contained numerous documents written by important luminaries of Golden Age Spain, “*comenzó a hojear somerisimamente y a separar legajos que en tal concepto le habían de interesar*”. Then, on hearing that Sancho Rayón was doing the same, “*y deseando mi suegro adquirir de una vez todo el resto de aquel archivo, hubo de acudir a su cuñado, el señor Disdier, quien invirtió en tal adquisición determinada cantidad*”. Osma recalled that, “*entonces, no ya por legajos que previamente se repasaban, sino en montón y cargados en coches, se llevó el resto del archivo.*” And “*en montón y cargados en coches*”, the count promptly and clandestinely shipped some of his most valuable acquisitions to London²⁹.

In February 1870 William Steet, “chancelier of the Spanish Consulate General” in London, informed Edward Bond, keeper of manuscripts at the British Museum, that he had received from the count of Valencia de Don Juan a collection of 22 holograph letters sent by Philip II in 1557 and 1558 to Duke Emanuel-Philibert of Savoy,

²⁶ A brief obituary in 1905 described Paul Chapuy as “a likeable and erudite man. He lived in Geneva, where he was born, and reached a great age, living in almost total seclusion”: *Gazette de Lausanne et Journal Suisse*, 11 February 1905, page 2. On Édouard Favre (1855-1942), who devoted his life to scholarship and the support of missionary activity in Africa, see the obituary in *Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Geschichte*, XXIII (1943), pp. 279-282.

²⁷ Micheli, “Inventaire de la collection Édouard Favre”, 2. <http://pares.mcu.es/ParesBusquedas20/catalogo/description/4019099> is less coy: “No se sabe si esta fracción documental le fue entregada como donación, compra o a cambio de su sueldo impagado”.

²⁸ Gonzalo Sánchez-Molero, *op. cit.* (note 9), pp. 61-63.

²⁹ Andrés, *op. cit.* (note 10), p. 618, quoting a “Nota” prepared by Osma in 1915 and deposited in IVdeDJ. Don Gregorio consulted the correspondence in the British Library regarding the acquisition of its Altamira documents in 1870, and quoted from it at pp. 619-623 of his excellent article; but my reading of the correspondence differs somewhat from his. In addition, Don Gregorio appears to have overlooked the correspondence from 1871.

governor-general of the Netherlands and commander of the royal army at the battle of St Quentin. Steet stated that the count had authorized him to offer the letters “for sale on behalf of their owner (who has recently acquired them from the House of Altamira, in which they have been preserved since the time of Mateo Vázquez, an ancestor [!], and one of that king’s ministers.)”³⁰ In fact Antonio Gracián, not Vázquez, acquired these letters in 1570 upon the death of the royal chronicler Dr Juan Páez de Castro; and he placed them “*en un legajo cerrado y sellado.*” From there they entered the royal archive and then passed to that of the duke of Sessa, and so to the count-duke of Olivares and the Altamira Archive.³¹

Steet indicated that if the British Museum would pay £200 for these letters, the count would “offer them a most interesting collection of papers of the same epoch, many of them relating to the Great Armada of Philip II”, as well as 41 letters from Don Juan de Austria to Cardinal Espinosa during the war of Granada (1569-1571), and a “volume in folio four inches thick of letters from Antonio Pérez to Philip II concerning all sorts of state affairs”. He offered these three items, containing a total of 800 letters, for £650. In April 1870, Bond recommended that the Trustees of the British Museum pay £400 for them. The count accepted the lower price, though stipulating that “of course the sale must be effected in the name of Mr F. Disdier and not in mine.” They became BL *Additional Manuscripts* 28.262-28.264³².

Thus began an elaborate minuet between Bond, Steet, the count, and Federico Disdier (married to the count’s sister Julia Crooke). Although the count handled all the negotiations, he insisted that the documents acquired by Disdier and himself were completely separate, and in May 1870 he warned that if Bond declined, Disdier’s “aim is to sell them... in Paris, Brussels or anywhere else where he can get the best price”. In the same letter the count announced that he had packed into three chests a consignment from his own collection of Altamira documents, to be delivered to Steet. “*Son 191 volúmenes numerados y un legajo de papeles sueltos,*” and he offered them to the British Museum for £1250 – although he again insisted that the transaction be made in the name of Disdier. At one point Bond became suspicious and asked why the papers were not in the Archivo General de Simancas (perhaps worrying that they had been stolen), but the count suavely asserted that the ancestors of the illustrious House of Altamira included Mateo Vázquez (a priest) and Diego de Espinosa (a cardinal), as well as Requesens, Zúñiga, and numerous aristocrats who

³⁰ BL, *Department of Manuscripts Departmental Archive* “Papers regarding purchase and acquisition of Manuscripts, 1866-1870”, f. 801, Steet to Bond, 25 February 1870. Edward Augustus Bond (1815-1898), became an assistant in the BL manuscript collection in 1838, rising to assistant keeper of manuscripts in 1854, keeper in 1866, and principal librarian in 1878 –introducing such important reforms as installing electric light in the reading room and commissioning a comprehensive catalogue of printed books (see his entry in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*).

³¹ Domingo Malvadi, A.: *Bibliofilia humanista en tiempos de Felipe II: la biblioteca de Juan Páez de Castro*, Salamanca, Ediciones de la Universidad de Salamanca, 2011, pp. 540-42, “*Lo que hay en el cofre de papeles del doctor Páez*”, compiled by Antonio Gracián after Páez’s death, included “*Las cartas originales que se hallaron entre estos papeles escritas de mano de su majestad al duque de Saboya cuando lo de San Quintín*”.

³² Details from BL *Department of Manuscripts Departmental Archive* “Papers regarding purchase and acquisition of Manuscripts, 1866-1870”, ff. 802-8, Steet to Bond, 25 February, 2, 14 and 21 March, and 25 April 1870. Gayangos, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 116-79, provided a detailed description of each folio in these three volumes. Gayangos may have secured some other items on the count’s list and kept them for himself, because on his death they passed to the Biblioteca Nacional de España: see Biblioteca Nacional de España (BNE), Ms. 20.210/69/1-20 (“*Cartas de Felipe II a don Juan*”, 1568-1570) and Ms. 20.212/36 (“*18 Cartas de Don Juan de Austria a personas varias*”, 1569-1577).

had served Philip II. Reassured, Bond again recommended purchase to the Trustees “to prevent the dispersion of the collection, and to secure documents which disclose so authentically the method of government and the actual relations of the king [Philip II] with his principal ministers and officers.” The Trustees agreed, and upon payment of £900 the volumes became *Additional Mss.* 28.334-28.503.³³

In January 1871, the count was back. Through Steet, he offered to sell Bond thirteen more volumes and a bundle of 390 *billetes* exchanged between Philip and Vázquez for £350. Yet again, the count used Disdier as cover, and Steet informed Bond that (underlining in the original):

What I have particularly to request, on behalf of the C. de V. [Conde de Valencia de Don Juan], is that *the slips of paper with a few words in his hand-writing which are placed in some of the volumes should be carefully removed and destroyed... The Count earnestly desires that his name should not appear in the negotiation.*

The Trustees acquired them for £270 “which Mr Bond considers very reasonable” –as indeed it was, since the bound volumes included the register of Cardinal Espinosa’s letters for 1565-1572 (now BL *Additional Ms.* 28.704) as well as the 390 holograph *billetes* (now BL *Additional Ms.* 28.699 and 28.700).³⁴

Perhaps the count intended the proceeds of these sales to pay off the loan from Disdier that had enabled him to purchase a larger share of the Altamira Archive, because he now informed Steet that he would sell no more. Instead, he intended to retain the papers that “*yo he adquirido para mi estudio y recreo*” –adding provocatively: “*Mi colección es cuando menos 2 veces más numerosa que la de Mr D[isdier]*”³⁵. We now know that the count’s personal collection consisted of some 30.000 documents, mostly in loose bundles. In 1888 his only child, Adelaida Crooke, married Guillermo de Osma, an avid connoisseur and collector of art, and in 1904 she inherited all her father’s property and papers. Since the couple remained childless, in 1915 they created the “Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan” as a permanent private foundation “to make [their] collections available for study, basing its organization upon that of the Hispanic Society [of America].” As a colleague wrote after Osma’s sudden death in 1922: “No history of the time of Philip II can be effectively undertaken without an examination of the material there.” That remains true today³⁶.

³³ Details from BL *Department of Manuscripts Departmental Archive* “Papers regarding purchase and acquisition of Manuscripts, 1866-1870”, ff. 818-33v (the last two folios provide a summary of the volumes). Gayangos, *op. cit.*, II, p. 538 and 652-824, III, 1-819 and IV, *passim*, gave a short description of each document.

³⁴ Details from BL *Department of Manuscripts Departmental Archive* “Papers regarding purchase and acquisition of Manuscripts, 1866-1870”, ff. 820-1, Conde de Valencia de Don Juan to Steet, Madrid, 8 May 1870; *ibidem*, “1871-1873”, f. 280, Steet to Bond, 9 February 1871. Gayangos omitted from his *Catalogue* several of the volumes in this final consignment, including BL *Additional Mss* 28.699-28.700. Andrés, “La dispersion”, 623, provided the call-numbers for the Altamira documents omitted by Gayangos, as well as those from the second consignment sold by the count of Valencia de Don Juan included seriatim in Gayangos, *Catalogue*, vol. IV. The *Catalogue of additions to the manuscripts in the British Museum in the years 1854-1875*, London, 1877, pp. 460-495, 497 and 534-540, listed all Altamira documents received.

³⁵ BL *Department of Manuscripts Departmental Archive* “Papers regarding purchase and acquisition of Manuscripts, 1871-1873”, f. 293, Steet to Bond, 12 June 1871, quoting a letter to him from the count dated 9 June.

³⁶ Gilman Proske, B.: *Archer Milton Huntington*, New York, The Hispanic Society of America, 1963, pp. 16-17; Read, C. H.: “Obituary Notice: Guillermo de Osma”, *The Antiquaries Journal*, II (1922), pp. 267-268. Other details from Andrés, *op. cit.* (note 10), pp. 622-624.

The provenance of the two other major portions of the Altamira Archive is also connected. As already noted, José Sancho Rayón competed with the count of Valencia de Don Juan in acquiring as many Altamira papers as possible, first encouraging the Zabálburu brothers to accept documents as repayment for their loan and then helping them to select and to catalogue them –but he also retained some documents for himself. This explains why the contents of six volumes of the correspondence of Requesens and Zúñiga, published by Sancho Rayón and financed by Francisco de Zabálburu, included not only documents from ABZ but some from the HSA “Altamira Papers” as well. The latter later travelled from Madrid to New York via Seville.³⁷

Sancho Rayón began buying and selling books and manuscripts in 1855, sometimes working with Pascual de Gayangos and after 1877 with Zabálburu. He also served as co-director of two major series of documentary publications: the *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España* (CODOIN), and the *Colección de libros raros y curiosos*. The Yale University Hispanist, William Knapp, edited a volume in Sancho’s second series, and in 1892 he served as paid scholarly companion when Archer Milton Huntington, son of a wealthy railroad magnate, visited Spain for the first time. When Huntington returned six years later, he visited the mansion of Manuel Pérez de Guzmán y Boza, Marquis of Jerez de los Caballeros (1852-1929), who by then owned the finest collection of Spanish rare books outside the Biblioteca Nacional. Huntington attended a literary discussion held in the marquis’s library, and immediately fell in love with its contents. He told his mother “I feel like an old-time gold-miner who has run upon a pocket of nuggets in a sluggish stream and, my soul, but they do shine!”³⁸

They soon shone even brighter. Shortly after Huntington’s visit, the marquis acquired the entire library of Sancho Rayón, including “*algunos paquetes de papeles viejos*”. The disorder of Sancho Rayón’s collection was legendary –the marquis’s brother used to say of a complex situation: “*jeso está más enrevesado que la casa de don José Sancho*!” –and there was no time to sort through the “*paquetes de papeles viejos*” before the marquis decided to make a bid to enter the Spanish Senate. To raise money for this, in September 1901 he offered to sell to Huntington his entire collection of rare books and manuscripts, including those just acquired from Sancho Rayón, for a million pesetas. He and Huntington signed the sale contract in January 1902.³⁹

³⁷ CODOIN, CII, Madrid, 1892, “Correspondencia de Felipe II con los hermanos Don Luis de Requesens y Don Juan de Zúñiga”, and Nueva CODOIN, 5 vols, Madrid, 1892-1894: “Correspondencia de don Luis de Requesens y don Juan de Zúñiga con Felipe II, con el Cardenal Granvela, con don Diego de Zúñiga, y otros”. The six volumes cover the period January 1573 to October 1574.

³⁸ Information from Proske, *op. cit.* (note 36), pp. 16-7; and Coddington, M.: “Archer Milton Huntington, Champion of Spain in the United States”, in Kagan, R. L. (ed.): *Spain in America: the origins of Hispanism in the United States*, Urbana, IL, 2002, pp. 142-70 (quotation about nuggets from p. 155). On Huntington’s tempestuous personal life see the biographical essay by Selby Kiffer in Tripp, D. (ed.): *Magnificent coins of the Spanish World. The Archer M. Huntington Collection*, New York, 2012, pp. 10-2.

³⁹ Rodríguez-Moñino, A. and Brey Mariño, M.^a: *Catálogo de los manuscritos poéticos Castellanos existentes en la Biblioteca de The Hispanic Society of America (siglos XV, XVI y XVII)*, III, New York, The Hispanic Society of America, 1966, pp. 12-106 (biographies of Sancho Rayón and the marquis: quotation about chaos from p. 52); and O’Neill, J.: “Don Manuel Pérez de Guzmán, marqués de Jerez de los Caballeros, bibliófilo y académico”, *Boletín de la Real Academia Sevillana de Buenas Letras*, XXXVII (2009), pp. 331-44.

The marquis asked a local bibliophile, Francisco Rodríguez Marín, to prepare his library for shipment, despite the latter's furious condemnation of the sale: “*¡Qué gran desgracia! ¡Como si se hubiera tragado el mar ese tesoro; peor aún, pues que irá a parar en Nueva York!*”, he wrote to Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, who had just become Director of the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid. “*Tener dinero es tenerlo todo, y somos pobres y los yanquis son ricos*”, Rodríguez Marín raged. “*¡Más daño nos ha hecho Mister Huntington solo que todos sus paisanos!*” in the Spanish-American War. Menéndez y Pelayo agreed with this extravagant comparison –“*la venta de la biblioteca del Marqués significa una pérdida mayor que la de las colonias*”– and he expressed special regret at the loss of the rare books and “*preciosos manuscritos*” that had belonged to Sancho Rayón. Rodríguez Marín spent the next month packing the library into chests ready for shipment and “*todos los días me he pasado en su casa 3 o 4 horas tomando notas y apuntes, y aun copiando lo que me parecía más interesante*”. As he did so, he gradually realized the immense value of Sancho Rayón's “*paquetes de papeles viejos*”. He found “*centenares de cartas originales de y a Felipe II, documentos interesantísimas referentes a la causa del gran duque de Osuna, ... cartas autógrafas e inéditas de Quevedo, trabajos también autógrafas y no publicados de Arias Montano*”. Appalled, “*separé 15 o 20 manuscritos de los de Sancho, a fin de que no se enviaran sino cuando yo los viese y extractase*” A letter to Menéndez y Pelayo in March 1902 provided some specifics:

*Entre los contados papeles del Marqués de Jerez que aún no se han enviado a Nueva York, y que se mandarán por el correo, recogí para copiarlas unas cartas de Felipe II y de su secretario Pedro de Hoyo, curiosísimas, referentes a unos ensayos que se hacían en secreto para convertir en oro la plata y aún el plomo. Eran de Sancho Rayón*⁴⁰.

We now know that Rodríguez Marín never sent this “*curiosísima*” correspondence to New York, but instead kept it for himself. In 1927, now Director of the Biblioteca Nacional, he gave a public lecture entitled *Felipe II y la Alquimia*, justifying his choice of topics because “*soy poseedor de ciertos billetes originales del secretario Pedro de Hoyo, respondidos al margen por Felipe II*”. Rodríguez Marín provided a partial transcript of eight billetes written in January and February 1567, adding some facsimiles to the printed text (proving that he had kept the originals, instead of making copies). He informed his readers that the papers had belonged to Sancho Rayón; he did not say that he had stolen them⁴¹.

The eight billetes revealed an interesting divergence of opinion between the minister and his master. Hoyo, secretary of the *Junta de Obras y Bosques*, fervently believed that the “*maestro*” working at a special furnace in his house would produce enough gold to fund the king's expensive policies –notably sending the duke of Alba

⁴⁰ Rodríguez Marín, F.: *Epistolario de Menéndez Pelayo y Rodríguez Marín (1891-1912)*, publicado con algunas breves notas por este último, Madrid, C. Bermejo, 1935, pp. 201-11, Rodríguez Marín to Menéndez y Pelayo, 15 January, 16 February and 26 March 1902, and Menéndez y Pelayo to Rodríguez Marín, 29 January 1902; *ibidem*, 203, note 1, Rodríguez Marín to Mariano de Cavia, 27 January 1902.

⁴¹ Rodríguez Marín, F.: *Felipe II y la Alquimia*, Madrid, Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, 1927, p. 8 and 18-9 (provenance from Sancho Rayón). The lecture also appeared in *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, XC (1927), 427-44.

to the Netherlands at the head of a large army, which cost the royal treasury at least a million escudos. Philip II remained unconvinced. “*En verdad que aunque yo soy incrédulo destas cosas, que desta no lo estoy tanto, aunque no es malo serlo, porque si no saliese, no se sintiese tanto*”⁴².

Rodríguez Marín’s lecture may have left some of his audience disappointed, because (as he noted at several points) “*puede que falten algunos*” billetes in the series, and so he did not know the end of the story. He apparently did not realize that the eight *billetes* that “*separé*” in Seville had themselves been separated by Sancho Rayón from the 128 similar *billetes* exchanged between the king and Hoyo, now in ABZ *Caja* 146; or that other *billetes* from the same series, once in the Altamira Archive, are now in IVdeDJ *Envío* 61 (409 *billetes* and 87 attachments), acquired by the count of Valencia de Don Juan⁴³. The count also included a bundle of 173 more *billetes* in the large consignment he sold to the British Library in 1870 (now BL, *Additional Ms.* 28.350). Five more *billetes* are today among the HSA “Altamira Papers”.⁴⁴ Still more *billetes* may be found in AGS, *Casas y Sitios Reales*. After his death in 1953, Rodríguez Marín’s eight *billetes* passed with the rest of his archive to the Biblioteca Tomás Navarro Tomás of the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas in Madrid⁴⁵.

The dispersion of the *billetes* exchanged between Hoyo and the king, once preserved in a single series that spanned the years 1560 to 1568, epitomizes the obstacles that face historians who seek to study documents once housed in the Altamira Archive.

⁴² *Ibidem*, pp. 18-28, quotations from the eight *billetes*. Another document from the Altamira archive recorded the direct cost of Alba’s march to the Real Hacienda: BL, *Additional Ms* 28.386/27-31, stating the expenditure of Francisco de Lixalde (866.833 escudos) and Hieronimo de Curiel (191,500 escudos), forwarded by Alba on 23 October 1567 (*ibidem*, f. 75). This total, although huge, did not include indirect costs such as expenditure by the communities along Alba’s route (soon known as the “Camino de los Españoles”). Consider some examples from Franche Comté, which boasts excellent surviving archives. Archives Départementales du Doubs, Besançon (ADD) *Archives anciennes* 2B 1512, is a 411 folio register listing the victuals provided by each community in Franche-Comté to Alba’s troops as they passed through (most claims seem to have been settled by deducting the cost of the victuals from the community’s tax liability). ADD *Archives anciennes, Fonds des États*, carton supplémentaire 57, recorded local taxes diverted to prepare for the duke’s approach (e.g. to build bridges), or unpaid because of damage done by the troops. ADD *Archives anciennes* B 1920, accounts of the town of Dôle for 1567-1568, included a claim from December 1567 by the local carters who had supplied Alba’s troops with vehicles to transport their weapons, but never saw their carts again. Archives Départementales de la Haute Saône (Vesoul), *Archives anciennes* E282 Supplément 110 (=Archives communales de Gy), CC 5, cahier 4, accounts for 1567, recorded numerous expenditures by the small town of Gy arising from Alba’s odyssey, some chargeable (wood for the duke’s campfires; preparing roads and bridges) others gifts (free claret for the commissioners sent in advance by the duke to inspect the roads and bridges). Taken together, the total cost of Philip II’s decision to send Alba and his army to the Netherlands must have exceeded two million escudos –and of course his mission failed.

⁴³ Íñiguez Almech, F.: *Casas reales y jardines de Felipe II*, Madrid, CSIC, 1952, pp. 177-207, printed in a single chronological order extracts from 52 *billetes* in ABZ, IVdeDJ and AGS exchanged between Philip II and Hoyo concerning the royal palaces and gardens. Andrés, G. de: “Inventario de documentos del siglo XVI sobre El Escorial que se conservan en el Archivo del Instituto Valencia de Don Juan”, *Ciudad de Dios*, CXCIV (1981), pp. 511-95, printed extracts of the *billetes* that discussed work at the pharaonic mausoleum and monastic complex.

⁴⁴ Cano de Gardoqui García, J. L. and Pérez de Tudela Gabaldón, A.: *La correspondencia de Felipe II con su secretario Pedro de Hoyo conservada en la British Library de Londres (1560-1568)*, Valladolid, Universidad de Valladolid, 2017, printed not only all the *billetes* in the BL but also the five in HSA.

⁴⁵ Herrera Tejada, C.: *Inventario del Archivo de Francisco Rodríguez Marín*, Madrid, CSIC, 1996, p. 89: *Caja* 85/2 “*Billetes de Pedro de Hoyo*”.

It is unlikely that Huntington noticed the absence of the eight *billetes* in 1902 when the 15.000 books and manuscripts sorted and packed by Rodríguez Marín arrived in New York, because the manuscripts went into his private vault at the Hispanic Society of America. Since they remained unsorted, although Huntington “had a friendly rivalry” with Osma when it came to collecting Spanish items, he never knew that he too had acquired part of the Altamira Archive.⁴⁶ The contents of his private vault officially entered the Society’s collection only after Huntington’s death in 1955 and the manuscripts, stacked in piles, remained unsorted. Subsequently, various scholars went through the piles and extracted manuscripts related to the Society’s other collections: Antonio Rodríguez-Moñino for poetry; Charles Faulhaber for medieval manuscripts; and Arnold Reichenberger and José Regueiro for Golden Age drama collections. Cataloguing the remaining manuscripts acquired in 1902 from Sancho Rayón and Jerez de los Caballeros revealed connections with some of the material previously extracted. To give just one example, HSA Ms B2401 contains several letters by and about Francisco de Quevedo Villegas (1580-1645), without any note of provenance; but examination of the HSA “Altamira Papers” proved that the letters in Ms B2401 had been plucked from the manuscripts received from Seville in 1902.

When Menéndez y Pelayo heard a rumour in 1900 that the marquis of Jerez de los Caballeros was about to sell to Huntington “*su singular y maravillosa colección*” of books and manuscripts he predicted “*mayor desastre y más irremediable sería este que los de Cavite y Santiago de Cuba*”. His antipathy towards Huntington only softened when the Biblioteca Nacional began to receive complimentary copies of the facsimiles produced by the HSA that “*me han parecido de una perfección tipográfica insuperable*”. “*Al fin, del lobo un pelo*”, he commented wryly to Rodríguez Marín: “*Si [Huntington] nos da reproducido algo de lo que se ha llevado, eso iremos ganando*”. In 1986 Gregorio de Andrés, librarian of the IVdeDJ, was more generous when he concluded his brilliant account of the dispersion of the Altamira Archive: “*Sírvanos de consuelo que, aunque la mitad [de dicha colección] está fuera de España, todos los poseedores actuales conservan con esmero y cuidado sus colecciones*”. Moreover –unlike Rodríguez Marín and the eight *billetes* that “*separé*” from the Altamira documents purchased by Huntington– those foreign owners have made them available “*al estudio de los investigadores, después de haberlas salvado de una cierta destrucción en 1869, por lo que merecen nuestro agradecimiento*”⁴⁷.

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⁴⁶ Proske, *op. cit.* (note 36), pp. 16-17, mentions the “friendly rivalry”.

⁴⁷ Rodríguez Marín, *op. cit.* (note 40), pp. 174-5 and 220-2, Menéndez y Pelayo to Rodríguez Marín, 6 November 1900 and 22 October 1902; Andrés, *op. cit.* (note 10), p. 626.

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