



## Beyond Exotica

The consumption of non-European things  
through the case of Juan de Borja (1569-1626).

Bruno A Martinho

Thesis submitted for assessment with a view to  
obtaining the degree of Doctor of History and Civilization  
of the European University Institute

Florence, 26 November 2018



European University Institute  
**Department of History and Civilization**

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Bruno A Martinho



# Abstract

Rhinoceros horns, Asian textiles, Chinese porcelain and Indian furniture populate the inventories of consumers in early modern Madrid. Since the opening of direct maritime routes to Asia at the end of the fifteenth century, these goods reached Europe in ever-greater quantities. By the end of the following century, many high-ranking individuals possessed several of these items. Until now, historiography explained their consumption behaviour as an interest and curiosity in exotic goods. An interest presumed to have culminated in the creation of cabinets of curiosity or in the display of a taste for *Exotica*.

In this thesis, I argue that the perception of exoticness regarding things brought into Europe from overseas is a historical construction concurrent with the arrival of items at the ports of Lisbon and Seville. I claim that it is necessary to go beyond the exoticness attributed to these goods in order to understand the consumption practises in early modern Iberia. For that purpose, this thesis offers a methodology on how to investigate consumption. It takes into consideration the historical complexity of the moment of interaction between a consumer and a thing. In other words, the main aim of my dissertation is to explain the entanglement between the driving forces that lead to consumption and the mechanisms for accessing non-European goods.

To achieve this goal, I focused my study in noblemen and noblewomen who held property near the court in Madrid at the turn of the seventeenth century. I developed my research around the former ambassador in Portugal, the then royal advisor, Juan de Borja y Castro (1533-1606). Thus, I determined the social frame and the period of my study. When Juan de Borja died, he left an exceptional number of exotic items, which provided an excellent opportunity for enquiry. Besides, given Borja's extended contacts within Portuguese networks, my case study allows bridging an analysis of consumption patterns at the court of the Hispanic Monarchy with a capacity of access to global trade.





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# Abbreviations

ADS:	Arquivo Distrital de Santarém (Santarém, Portugal)
AGI:	Archivo General de Indias (Seville, Spain)
AGP:	Archivo General de Palacio (Madrid, Spain)
AGS:	Archivo General de Simancas (Simancas, Spain)
AHN:	Archivo Historico Nacional (Madrid, Spain)
ANTT:	Aquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (Lisbon, Portugal)
BA:	Biblioteca da Ajuda (Lisbon, Portugal)
BG:	Bibliothèque de Genève (Geneva, Switzerland)
BNE:	Biblioteca Nacional de España (Madrid, Spain)
BNP:	Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal (Lisbon, Portugal)
BFZ:	Biblioteca Francisco de Zabálburu (Madrid, Spain)
BL:	The British Library (London, United Kingdom)
IVDJ:	Instituto Valencia de Don Juan (Madrid, Spain)
RAH:	Real Academia de Historia (Madrid, Spain)
RB:	Real Biblioteca (Madrid, Spain)

Cód.:	Códice
Doc.:	Document
Exp.:	Expediente
f. / ff.:	Folio / Folia
Leg.:	Legajo
Mç.:	Maço
Ms./Mss.:	Manuscript
Prot.:	Protocolo



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Print, Inv. FC36671, Istituto Centrale per la Grafica, Rome

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# Acknowledgements

I will be forever indebted to many who offered their generous support to make this thesis possible.

I wish to start by thanking the European University Institute and the *Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia* (FCT), the Portuguese grant authority, for funding my research project. I am very aware of the responsibility that goes with using public funds and I hope that my thesis honours the investment made by both these institutions.

I would like to express my gratitude to my supervisor, Prof. Luca Molà, for his dedication and valuable suggestions. Especially, I want to thank him for his constant encouragement and for the trust he placed in my skills. Particularly, I greatly appreciated the many meetings that we had during the first two years of my PhD.

Besides my supervisor, I owe a great debt of gratitude to Prof. Jorge Flores for providing very useful feedback during the past four years. His very accurate comments and reading suggestions were inestimable to overcome the limitations inherent to doing research in a geography other than that of the context being studied. I also would like to offer my special thanks to Prof. Giorgio Riello and Prof. Bernardo García García. I am grateful that they not only accepted the invitation to be part of my examining board, but also I am grateful for the time both of them dedicated to my project. I thank Prof. Riello for his comments while I was preparing the research project itself and I thank Prof. García García for his valuable suggestions when we met in Madrid in early 2017.

I further wish to acknowledge the contribution of several other scholars.

Firstly, I owe a very great debt of gratitude to Prof. Nuno Senos. He was the one who initially suggested the path of my research. Many years have passed since the first time Prof. Senos whispered to me that he felt that there was no such thing as a taste for the *exotic* in early modern Portugal. Without that remark, my thesis would not have come to be. I am also grateful to him for having suggested and supported my application to the EUI, as well as for having taken the time to read and comment on my work.

Secondly, I would like to offer special thanks to the National Palace of Pena's director, Prof. António Nunes Pereira, for encouraging me to start a PhD, and to Prof. Alexandra Curvelo for passing on to me her enthusiasm for the Iberian consumption of non-European things. I also thank both for supporting my application to the EUI.

Thirdly, I would like to express my deep gratitude to Profs. Henrique Leitão and Stéphane Van Damme for taking the time to read and comment on some of my chapters. Similarly, I am also very grateful to the time that many other scholars dedicated to meeting me and commenting on my ideas, namely Profs. Fernando Bouza Alvarez, Mafalda Soares da Cunha, Bartolomé Yun Casalilla, António Manuel Lopes de Andrade and Drs. Ferran Escrivà Llorca, Cinta Krahe and María Paz Aguiló Alonso. I am also very grateful to all who offered their valuable contribution by email, namely Geoffrey Parker, Jaroslava Kašparová, Miguel Geraldés Rodrigues and Pavel Marek.

Especial mención merece mi *madrina* de doctotado, Dra. Cloe Cavero de Corondelet Fiscowich. Desde mi llegada a Villa Schifanoia en septiembre de 2014 me acogió con los brazos abiertos. Las innumerables conversaciones, sus sugerencias sobre qué líneas de investigación tomar, su pragmatísimo y buen humor han sido fuente de inspiración y esperanza en el tortuoso comienzo de esta tesis.

I warmly thank Madalena Farmhouse Bizarro for proofreading my thesis. Her corrections and suggestions were very helpful to make my research more accessible. Moreover, I wish to thank the assistance provided by the staff at the *Archivo Histórico de Protocolos de Madrid*. They granted me the conditions to collect all the data I needed in the limited time I had. Another special word goes to Miriam Curci at the EUI, because she has the gift of making life simple.

Doing a PhD at the EUI is a very unique experience. Bringing together researchers from all over Europe into one city, where many will be away from their sources, their academic network, their family and friends, could be problematic. Instead, this very intellectually eclectic group provides the perfect framework for us to be constantly questioning and challenging approaches, hypothesis and conclusions. With time, the intellectual debates of these expatriated researchers give room to more intimate conversations. Colleagues become friends. Friends become family.

My deepest and sincere appreciation, therefore, goes to my *Florentine family*. Thank you Déborah, Gaël, Ileana, Lilla and Simon for making this thesis possible. Thank you for your warm support and all the moments we shared. From the coffees in Schifanoia and Salviati to the dinners in our Santa Croce flat. From the trips to have *Cacciucco* in Livorno to those that made us cross the deserts of Utah. *Muito obrigado*.

Finalmente, esta tese dedico-a a ti, Pablo. Sem ti, jamais chegaria tão longe neste percurso. Tudo o que afirmei até aqui, podê-lo-ia repetir mil vezes para fazer jus ao quão fundamental foi a tua contribuição. E, porém, não seria suficiente.... *Gracias*, Pablo.

Lisbon, 2 November 2018

Bruno A Martinho

# Introduction

Early modern objects and materials brought into Europe from Africa, America and Asia have been used by Portugal and Spain as important assets to sustain a discourse about these countries' role as the first global empires. Overall, dozens of exhibitions have continuously reminded us of this for the past three decades. In 1991, in Brussels, amongst over 500 events during the international arts festival *Europalia*, Portugal presented an exhibition celebrating the contacts the Portuguese had maintained with Asia for almost half a millennium. In 2003, in Madrid, the exhibition *Oriente en Palacio*, organised by the Spanish Royal Sites (*Patrimonio Nacional*), unveiled its important heritage of Asian objects for the first time and for a similar purpose. Finally, in 2017, after an intensive diplomatic effort, the Portuguese government and the Kremlin Museums opened the exhibition *Lords of the Ocean* in Moscow. Objects of all sorts were taken from Portuguese museums to Russia to support this exhibition about Portugal's maritime expansion.<sup>1</sup>

In the above examples, as in most exhibitions of this kind, many of the objects were specifically chosen for having been produced outside Europe. Either that, or for being a direct consequence of contacts made by Iberians with non-Europeans. Indian furniture produced for Iberian domestic spaces has been used to demonstrate the existence of international networks of supply and demand. Further to that, porcelain wares displaying European heraldry have been shown as a testimony of cross-cultural contacts between European agents and non-European artisans. In addition, liturgical objects made overseas are said to be evidence of religious missions concurrent with colonial expansion. In short, despite having been made for many different consumers, the objects in these exhibitions have been regarded as a materialisation of imperial expansion and the result of a wide European interest for exotic things.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Aa.Vv., *Via Orientalis. Europalia 91 Portugal*; Mola and Shaw, *Oriente en Palacio*; Dmitrieva, Shcherbina, and Vedushkin, *Lords of the Ocean. Treasures of the Portuguese Empire of the 16th-18th Centuries*.

<sup>2</sup> For the sake of convenience and clarity, I write the term exotic without commas when referring to non-European objects or materials brought into Europe. When written in italics (i.e. *exotic*), the term expresses a condition of exoticness. For a discussion about the concepts of exotic, *exotic* and exoticness, see Chapter 1.

This thesis was born of the perception that these narratives served political purposes underlying the exhibitions. I believe that they did not contribute to a thorough understanding of consumption practises in early modern Iberia. Indeed, it is only the non-European nature of many of the objects in those exhibitions that justify their historical significance, for they stand for the encounters between Europe and the rest of the world. Therefore, I argue that historiography has not yet provided clear evidence that the non-European nature of the objects was the main reason for their consumption in Iberia during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Several scholars have argued that the exotic nature of overseas items was a major driving force for consumption in Central Europe, the Netherlands and in some Italian states, such as Florence. Such contributions claim that what motivated consumption was the curiosity that these objects triggered about the lands where they were produced.<sup>3</sup> Some scholars attempted to transfer these arguments into the Iberian Peninsula, but the evidence for sustaining a similar consumption practise is either not provided, or not entirely convincing.<sup>4</sup>

I base my perception on two aspects. First, as discussed in Chapter 1 of this thesis, *non-European* was not a category of objects in sixteenth-century Iberia, nor even in the beginning of the following century. Therefore, it is not wholly convincing that this could have been a major driving force for consumption. Second, it is somewhat difficult to believe that non-European objects, often identifiable as *de la Yndia* (i.e. from India), could have meant the same thing in cities as different as Lisbon, Seville, Prague or Florence<sup>5</sup> There are, however, reasons to believe that the exotic was normalised – or domesticated – in the Iberian Peninsula by the end of the sixteenth century.<sup>6</sup> I do not claim that there is an Iberian exceptionalism. However, the social networks that went through important intercontinental port cities, such as Lisbon or Seville, need to be brought to the foreground. Indeed, local and social circumstances should not be dissociated from consumption

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<sup>3</sup> I expand this topic in Chapter 1.

<sup>4</sup> I extensively develop this topic in Chapter 1, but a few paradigmatic examples are as follows: Morán Turina and Checa Cremades, *El Coleccionismo En España*; Jordan, 'The Development of Catherine of Austria's Collection in the Queen's Household'; Silva, 'A Recepção de Objectos de Arte Orientais Em Portugal (Notas Para O Seu Estudo)'; Pérez de Tudela and Jordan Gschwend, 'Luxury Goods for Royal Collectors (...)'; Silva, 'Preciosidades E Maravilhas Entre Goa E Lisboa'; Jordan Gschwend, 'Rarities and Novelties'; Jordan Gschwend and Lowe, *The Global City. On the Streets of Renaissance Lisbon*; Serrão, 'Entre a China E Portugal: Temas E Outros Fenómenos de Miscigenação Artística, Um Programa Necessário de Estudos'; Crespo, *A Mesa Do Príncipe. Jantar E Cear Na Corte de Lisboa (1500-1700)*; Prata, *Madrepérola, Cristal de Rocha E Porcelana*.

<sup>5</sup> There are numerous works on the cabinets of curiosity and consumption of exotic goods in these cities. See Chapter 1, especially page 20, footnote number 73. For a discussion about the concept of India, see Chapter 6.

<sup>6</sup> So far, Nuno Senos has been the only scholar who made this claim for the Portuguese case, see Senos, 'O(s) Problemas Do Gosto No Inventário de D. Teodósio I de Bragança'; Senos, 'La Dissolution de La Frontière: Le Problème de L'exotique Au Portugal Au XVIe Siècle'. The expression "domestication" of the exotic has been used for the Dutch case by Gerritsen, 'Domesticating Goods from Overseas: Global Material Culture in the Early Modern Netherlands'. The work of Henrique Leitão is particularly interesting in this respect, see Chapter 6.

patterns, nor from the development of a perception about the exotic world.<sup>7</sup> For the most part, historiography has not sufficiently discussed the specificity of the objects' circumstances despite the narratives it created around non-European objects in museum exhibitions.

In this thesis, I examine the specificities and complexity in the Iberian Peninsula of the consumption of objects and materials produced or transferred in the framework of the first global interactions. Socially, this work concerns a group of noblemen and noblewomen that had property near the court in Madrid. Chronologically, the thesis encompasses the years just before Portugal's integration in the Hispanic Monarchy in 1580, until the end of the first quarter of the seventeenth century. The documentation regarding the Madrid property of the ambassador to Portugal, later royal advisor (*consejero*), Juan de Borja y Castro (1533-1606) determined these social and time frames. The case study is a double opportunity. On the one hand, it bridges consumption patterns at the core of the Hispanic Monarchy to Portuguese elites, allowing for an analysis of the flow of exotic objects between Portugal and Castile. On the other hand, the focus on this period is opportunity to see how access to global trade – in this case, through Portuguese networks – determined consumption of exotic goods in Madrid. It provides a glimpse into the impact (if any) the dynastic union of 1580 had in the consumption of exotic goods.

The main aim of this work is to demonstrate that the consumption of exotic items is much more complex than what has been described so far. As I explain throughout the following chapters, the driving forces that led to consumption cannot be reduced to one single hegemonic explanation. Rather, the motivations depended on the individual and his agenda, on his social relationships, on the moment of acquisition and even on the role of the item when seen in relation to other items. To summarise, I argue that when the research is redirected towards the specificities of the unique relationship between a consumer and each of their possessions, a much more complex picture about consumption practises can be disclosed. Therefore, this thesis aims at going beyond its object of study. It is a methodological contribution to historical enquiry about ways to use material culture for the investigation of consumption.

---

<sup>7</sup> An excellent contribution is the work of Barbara Fuchs, see Chapter 1. I take this opportunity to thank Henrique Leitão for supporting me in my endeavour of pursuing this idea.

## The framework

Until quite recently, the period 1580-1640 was a benchmark in the study of the interaction between Portugal and the rest of the Iberian Peninsula. The nationalist approaches and the supremacy of political history that dominated historiography during the nineteenth and a considerable part of the twentieth century contributed to the perception of this period as a clear-cut segment of Iberian history. Fortunately, scholars have shown increasing interest in the dynastic union of Portugal and Castile for the past three decades. Thanks to the works of Fernando Bouza Álvarez, Rafael Valladares, Jean-Frédéric Schaub, Pedro Cardim, Mafalda Soares da Cunha and Santiago Martínez Hernández, amongst others, the Iberian Union is no longer analysed from distorted nationalistic points of view.<sup>8</sup> Instead, these scholars have started to study the period in an integrated way, attempting to explain the complex social and political environment that allowed the union to last for six decades.

For one thing, historians have been analysing the tension between the virtual separations of the two kingdoms and their areas of influence and the undeniable circulation of individuals and goods inside the Peninsula and across the two empires.<sup>9</sup> For the most part, free circulation of individuals and goods did not officially exist within the monarchy. Pedro Cardim evokes Giovanni Botero (1544-1617) who criticised Philip II at the turn of the seventeenth century for not having established a system that stimulated the circulation of individuals.<sup>10</sup> However, the absence of such a system is intimately related to the difficult negotiations that took place in Tomar in 1581, which allowed the Hispanic Monarchy to aggregate the Portuguese kingdom as an independent political entity. As Bouza puts it, “if the presence of the catholic king in the throne of the Avis meant the suppression of the royal border between Castile and Portugal, the Statute of Tomar was responsible for raising a new dividing line, this time a legal and political one, which had in its exclusivism its main guarantor”.<sup>11</sup> Juan de Borja y Castro is but an example of a high-rank nobleman and statesman who exploited this political division. He profited from the permeability of the Iberian borders to earn political influence and climb the social ladder.

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<sup>8</sup> Bouza Álvarez 2000; Schaub 2001; Valladares 2009; Martínez Hernández 2011; Cardim and Palos 2012; Cardim, Costa, and Cunha 2013; Cardim 2014; Monteiro, Cardim, and Soares da Cunha 2005. See also the texts of Ángeles Redondo Álamo, Bartolomé Yun Casalilla and Mafalda Soares da Cunha in Yun Casalilla, *Las Redes Del Imperio*, 39–63 and 205–231.

<sup>9</sup> Bouza Álvarez, ‘Portugal En La Monarquía Hispánica (1580-1640). Felipe II, Las Cortes de Tomar Y La Genesis Del Portugal Catolico’; Alfonso Mola and Martínez Shaw, ‘Los Tesoros Asiáticos en las Colecciones Reales Españolas’, 16–17; Cardim, Costa, and Cunha, *Portugal na Monarquia Hispánica*; Cardim, *Portugal unido y separado*.

<sup>10</sup> Cardim, *Portugal unido y separado*, 148.

<sup>11</sup> Bouza Álvarez, *Portugal no tempo dos Filipes*, 113. My translation.



In a recent article, Vicente Montojo Montojo and José Javier Ruiz Ibáñez showed that the integration of the Portuguese kingdom in the Hispanic Monarchy was built on opportunities for personal promotion.<sup>12</sup> In this case, those opportunities had a truly global scale. Previously, Bouza Álvarez had already demonstrated that the integration had only been possible, at least in the terms in which it occurred, thanks to the support of the Portuguese nobility and literate officers.<sup>13</sup> However, to a great extent, that support lasted until the *Consejo de Portugal* was extinct in 1639. More specifically, when fears for the loss of privileges affected those noblemen. In summary, what the above-mentioned studies showed is that this period is characterised by constant negotiations between Portuguese elites and the court in Madrid about the status of the Portuguese kingdom within the Hispanic Monarchy.

Sure enough, direct contacts between Lisbon and Madrid did not begin in 1580. Sanjay Subrahmanyam summarised them as follows: “Spanish influence [or more accurately, Castilian] is felt in ever increasing measure on the Portuguese court, on the nobility, and eventually on the merchant class [since the middle of the sixteenth century]”.<sup>14</sup> Such influence is associated with an increasing movement of individuals. For instance, Mafalda Soares de Cunha and Carmen Sanz Ayán focused on that movement when they researched mixed marriages and the presence of Portuguese bankers in Madrid, respectively.<sup>15</sup> Further to that, Bouza demonstrated that some of the most important office holders of the Monarchy had either Portuguese ascendancy, or some sort of close connection to Portuguese nobility at the turn of the seventeenth century. That said, these connections were not forged after 1580. More to the point, the foreign policy of Philip II towards Portugal had strongly relied on the elites that circulated around his aunt, Catherine of Austria, queen of Portugal since 1525. In addition, Philip II’s foreign policy depended on the Portuguese nobility that had migrated to Castile as part of Isabella of Portugal’s entourage upon her marriage to Charles V that same year.<sup>16</sup> As a matter of fact, since the end of the fifteenth century, the intricate marital agreements between the two kingdoms led to a constant presence of Portuguese elites at the court of the kings of the Hispanic Monarchy. Likewise, members of Castilian nobility were often in Lisbon.

When Philip II sent Juan de Borja as his ambassador to Lisbon in 1569 – the symbolic start date of the focus of my thesis –, the court in Madrid was already a reflection of the efforts to integrate all peninsular elites. Not just the Portuguese ones. As Martínez Millán showed, Castilian elites who

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<sup>12</sup> Montojo Montojo and Ruiz Ibáñez, ‘Los Portugueses Y La Política Imperial (...)’, 18–19.

<sup>13</sup> Bouza Álvarez, ‘Portugal En La Monarquía Hispánica [...]’.

<sup>14</sup> Subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia, 1500-1700*, (page 120 in the 2012 edition).

<sup>15</sup> See Mafalda Soares da Cunha in Yun Casalilla, *Las Redes Del Imperio*, 39–63 and 205–231; and Sanz Ayán, *Los Banqueros Y La Crisis de La Monarquía Hispánica de 1640*.

<sup>16</sup> Bouza Álvarez, ‘La Relación de La Nobleza Portuguesa Con La Monarquía Española’, 340–341.

defended the supremacy of Castile over the monarchy's remaining kingdoms dominated the higher offices in the king's household. Nonetheless, all other peninsular elites could find refuge in the remaining households of the royal family, which became strongholds of resistance to the dominance of Castilian interests.<sup>17</sup> In this context, the household of the king's sister, Princess Juana de Austria, who was also the mother of the Portuguese king, became a magnet for Portuguese elites. Therefore, the integration of Portuguese and Castilian elites occurred well before the aggregation of political institutions. It was what Fernando Bouza called an "informal pact" between the monarchy and Portuguese elites. Despite the existence of some resistance and notwithstanding the total detachment of several segments of Portuguese nobility, a still significant part of it was integrated in the governmental machine after 1580. Furthermore, these integrated noblemen were able to profit from the opportunities that their dedication granted. The most celebrated examples being the Mouras, but also the Castelo Brancos or the Sousas.<sup>18</sup>

In addition to this, an important aspect to consider in the integration of Iberian elites is their imperial dimension. For the most part, the Portuguese nobility was strongly engaged in processes of imperial expansion. Alexandra Pelúcia has recently confirmed that the participation of Portuguese high-ranking nobility was not circumscribed to North Africa, as previously defended. They extended their participation throughout the whole range of the empire.<sup>19</sup> More importantly, these noblemen did not take office overseas just to serve the king. If anything, participation in trade was an important factor in their movements.<sup>20</sup>

As a clear separation between trade and nobility did not exist, the same can be said about the Portuguese and Spanish empires themselves. The Statute of Tomar of 1581 guaranteed a separation line between the two, allowing Portuguese elites to keep their area of influence. Nonetheless, as in the case of the circulation of elites within Iberia, borders were penetrable. One of the most famous cases of the penetrability of borders was the South China Sea, where Portuguese and Spanish empires were supposed to be separated. After the aggregation of Portugal to the Hispanic Monarchy, Philip II forbade all kinds of commercial contacts between Manila and the Portuguese ports of Macao, Nagasaki, Malacca and the Maluku Islands.<sup>21</sup> Nevertheless, high profits obtained

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<sup>17</sup> Martínez Millán, *Corte e Casas Reales en la Monarquía*, 21.

<sup>18</sup> Bouza Álvarez, 'La Relación de La Nobleza Portuguesa Con La Monarquía Española', 342. About the Mouras, see: Martínez Hernández, 'D. Cristóvão de Moura E a Casa Dos Marqueses de Castelo Rodrigo (...)'; Martínez Hernández, "En Los Maiores Puestos de La Monarchia". 'El Marqués de Castelo Rodrigo Y La Aristocracia Portuguesa (...)'; About the Sousas, see Pelúcia, 'Martim Afonso de Sousa E a Sua Linhagem (...)'.  
<sup>19</sup> The author provides support to other authors, such as Luís Filipe Thomaz and Luís Filipe Oliveira, who also defended the same idea in the 1980s, see Pelúcia, 'Martim Afonso de Sousa E a Sua Linhagem', 11-12 and 148-149. See also, Costa, *A Alta Nobreza E a Fundação Do Estado Da Índia. Colóquio Internacional*.

<sup>20</sup> Pelúcia, 'Martim Afonso de Sousa E a Sua Linhagem', 250-261. See also Costa, *A Alta nobreza (...)*.  
<sup>21</sup> Ollé, *La empresa de China*, 238-239.

from the exchange of American silver for Chinese silk generated an intense circulation of Portuguese and Spanish merchants between those territories. The repetitive complaints from the metropolis would be ineffective.

For the past two decades, the development of regional economies operating despite political decisions from the metropolises, or beyond national frameworks, has been receiving increasing attention from scholars. Firstly, the works of James C. Boyajian and Sanjay Subrahmanyam focused on the activity of the Portuguese in Asia beyond a nationalistic discourse.<sup>22</sup> Boyajian, for instance, drew attention to the role of the communities of Portuguese new-Christians in Asian trade, which had practically been ignored by most historiography. Secondly, the publication of *Portuguese Oceanic Expansion, 1400-1800* and, more recently, *Polycentric Monarchies* have contributed to change the historiographical approach.<sup>23</sup> Traditional Eurocentric categories, such as geographical borders or national identity, have increasingly given way to the study of the specificities of the economic regions where the empires operated.<sup>24</sup> In *Polycentric Monarchies*, the centre-periphery binomial is deconstructed, revealing a complex reality. The authors demonstrate that rather than interacting only with a centre, “peripheries” also interact amongst themselves, becoming centres of their own. According to the authors, those networks of regional centres are solid structures that support the two global empires.<sup>25</sup>

For the purpose of my project, the above-mentioned studies demonstrated not only that circulation of individuals and goods reached a global scale during the sixteenth century, but also that the networks are much more complex than what the view “centre-periphery” suggests. For instance, it is difficult to determine the route Chinese products took before being consumed in the Peninsula. They could have been acquired in Macao, Malacca or Goa and then transported to Lisbon through the *Carreira da Índia* (the annual maritime connection that linked Lisbon to Goa). They could have been acquired in Macao or Manila and transported to Seville through Acapulco. They could even have been acquired in Goa and taken to East Asia and, from there, transported to Central America and subsequently to Europe. It is, therefore, important to bear in mind that both Spanish and Portuguese merchants moved throughout two empires. They did it despite recurrent prohibitions against contacts between the two imperial spheres.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Boyajian, *Portuguese Trade in Asia under the Habsburgs, 1580-1640*; Subrahmanyam, *Improvising Empire, The Portuguese Empire in Asia, 1500-1700*.

<sup>23</sup> Bethencourt and Curto, *Portuguese Oceanic Expansion, 1400-1800*. Cardim et al., *Polycentric Monarchies*.

<sup>24</sup> Cardim et al., *Polycentric Monarchies*.

<sup>25</sup> Cardim et al., *Polycentric Monarchies*, 4.

<sup>26</sup> The presence of Portuguese merchants, for instance, was common not only in Manila, but also in Central America. See Serrano Mangas, *La encrucijada portuguesa*, 18–19.

In brief, simplified approaches must be put aside in order to focus on the consumption of objects produced in the context of global exchanges. The idea that objects were made in the “periphery” and transported to the “centre” through a single route does not correspond to the complex system of circulation of goods in the early modern period.<sup>27</sup> Furthermore, analysing consumption within a nationally delimited framework is no longer valid. Indeed, the analysis of consumption patterns in Iberia needs to take the informal connections between consumers, agents and supply networks into consideration. That said, determining which objects are European and which are exotic is not a straightforward task in such a complex context. During the late nineteenth century and throughout the twentieth century, scholars have tackled this problem by putting forward definitions of what could be considered non-European. Eventually, this led to the development of concepts such as hybrid or *mestizo* for things that fell between the “European” and the “non-European” categories.<sup>28</sup> However, the limits of such classifications are never completely clear.<sup>29</sup> After all, what objects does this thesis consider?

## The object of study

The main objective of my work is to understand the complexity of the interconnection between consumer and his/her objects and materials in early modern Iberia. To achieve that, the object of study of this thesis is the consumption of objects and materials until now regarded as part of a discourse of a taste for *Exotica*. Developed from the nineteenth century onwards, but with roots that date back to the seventeenth century, the concept of exoticism has been regarded as the major driving force for the consumption of overseas goods. In this thesis, I want to transcend that argument and discuss how a focus on consumption practises can disclose the historical complexity behind the acquisition, safekeeping and/or display of objects and materials. Without denying the possibility of an existent taste for the exotic, I defend that the motivation for consumption cannot be reduced to one main explanation. On the contrary, consumption practises are the outcome of

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<sup>27</sup> For more on the circulation of goods, see Gasch-Tomás, ‘Global Trade, Circulation and Consumption of Asian Goods (...)’; Aram and Yun Casalilla, *Global Goods and the Spanish Empire, 1492-1824*.

<sup>28</sup> For the debate about hybridity and *mestizaje*, see: Levinson, ‘Hybrid Art Forms’; Said, *Culture and Imperialism*; Gruzinski, *La Pensée Métisse*; Dean and Leibsohn, ‘Hybridity and Its Discontents: Considering Visual Culture in Colonial Spanish America’; García Canclini, *Hybrid Cultures*.

<sup>29</sup> See for example the work of Finlay, ‘The Pilgrim Art: The Culture of Porcelain in World History’.

multiple factors that diverge, not only from one individual to another, but also from one moment in the individual's life to another.

My endeavour cannot be completed without considering the numerous efforts that have already been carried out regarding objects and materials brought into Iberia from overseas. The study of these items has indeed been subject to an increasing interest from scholars. Nevertheless, research has been highly conditioned by the agendas of different historiographical fields, by the researchers' individual expertise and by the availability of the documentation. Art historians were the pioneers. Some initial studies even date back to the turn of the twentieth century.<sup>30</sup> However, it was during the beginning of the second half of the last century that art historians started to work consistently on objects produced around the globe for the European market. Specific studies were carried out focusing on Indo-Portuguese furniture, Asian carpets, Chinese porcelain, Indian goldwork, African ivories, Hispano-Philippine ivories or *Mestiço* art.<sup>31</sup> In these contributions, the approach seems to be more related to the expertise of museum curators than to any specific art history explanation. Indeed, few scholars have looked beyond a formalistic approach. One almost exceptional case is Nuno Vassallo e Silva who studied the commercial networks and the consumers of luxury objects in some of his works.<sup>32</sup> The fact that most of these contributions only concerns objects that have survived is a limitation as well. As pointed out by Stacey Pierson, when analysing these objects individually, there is a “temptation to treat them as individual works of art, which is a useful exercise for connoisseurship but not for attempts at objective historical reconstruction”.<sup>33</sup> Analysing extant objects while taking into consideration what has been lost throughout time is, indeed, a task still to be executed.

Focusing on individual objects without considering other material culture to which they might have been related in the past is not the only form of disconnection produced by historiography. During the 1980s, the newborn field of History of Collections detached overseas objects and materials from most European material culture, chiefly because they were regarded as “curiosities”. They

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<sup>30</sup> Some of the preliminary works are: Robinson, *Catalogue of the Special Loan Exhibition of Spanish and Portuguese Ornamental Art*; Viterbo, ‘A Exposição de Arte Ornamental: Notas Ao Catálogo’; Couto, *Alguns subsídios para o estudo técnico das peças de ourivesaria no estilo denominado indo-português*, all cited by Ferreira, ‘Arte Indo-Portuguesa’; and Guido, *Fusión hispano-indígena en la arquitectura colonial*, cited by Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and [...], 1542-1773*, 23.

<sup>31</sup> Silva, *A Arte Indo-Portuguesa*; Távora, *Mobiliário português*; Hallett et al., *O tapete oriental em Portugal*; Díaz, *Chinese Armorial Porcelain for Spain*; Matos, *The RA Collection of Chinese Ceramics*; Silva, *A herança de Rauluchantim*; Crespo, *Jóias Da Carreira Da Índia*; Curnow, ‘The Afro-Portuguese Ivories’; Blier, ‘Imaging Otherness in Ivory’; Osswald, ‘O Bom Pastor Na Imaginária Indo-Portuguesa Em Marfim’; Bailey, Massing, and Silva, *Marfins No Imperio Portugues: Ivories in the Portuguese Empire*; Estella Marcos, *La Escultura Barroca de Marfil En Espana*; Estella Marcos, González, and Manterola, *Ivories*; Gruzinski, *The Mestiço Mind*; Muñoz, ‘El “Arte Plumario” Y Sus Múltiples Dimensiones de Significación’; Russo, *The Untranslatable Image*.

<sup>32</sup> See for example Silva, ‘An Art for Export: Sinhalese Ivory and Crystal in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries’.

<sup>33</sup> Pierson, ‘The Movement of Chinese Ceramics’, 13.

were seen as a fundamental part of all *Wunderkammern* and, therefore, a case study for the history of knowledge production. Moreover, in the beginning of the twenty-first century, economic historians working on the History of Consumption started to pay more attention to things made from non-European materials for the European market. These were understood as part of the trade and consumption of luxury objects in the early modern period. Paradoxically, it has also been within the field of History of Consumption that some of the most interesting attempts to transcend these disconnections have arisen.

Often inspired by Global History, several scholars tried to go beyond a historiographical tradition based on national histories. By doing so, they contributed to a more interconnected view of early modern consumption. Studies focusing on Iberian consumption practises are still scarce, but one recent and important contribution is that of José Lu s Gasch-Tom s. For his PhD thesis, Gasch-Tom s showed that the consumption of Asian goods in Seville was stimulated by consumption practises in Mexico City.<sup>34</sup> Furthermore, by using a large number of probate inventories, Gasch-Tom s developed an analysis of the social distribution of Asian items and concluded that the middle classes consumed more of these goods than the highest social strata.<sup>35</sup> Thanks to this contribution, there is now a general perspective of what individuals across several social layers were consuming – not just collecting – in one of the largest cities in the Peninsula.<sup>36</sup>

Gasch-Tom s' work is indebted to a tradition of historians who, since the 1980s, have studied the role of consumption in economic development. The starting point of this field occurred in 1982 with the publication of *The Birth of a Consumer Society* by Neil McKendrick, John Brewer and J. H. Plumb.<sup>37</sup> In this work, the authors launched the debate about consumption with the statement that there was a “consumption revolution” during the eighteenth century that led to modern consumer societies.<sup>38</sup> Consequently, most debates about consumption adopted a teleological approach, trying to identify the beginning of modern consumption practises, as well as understanding how consumption supports economic growth. Richard A. Goldthwaite was one of the first to enter this debate by defending that there already was an active consumer society in Renaissance Italy.<sup>39</sup> He was also one of the first to draw attention to the needs of considering cultural phenomena as

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<sup>34</sup> Gasch-Tom s, ‘Global Trade, Circulation and Consumption of Asian Goods (...)’, 84, 256.

<sup>35</sup> Gasch-Tom s, ‘Global Trade, Circulation and Consumption of Asian Goods (...)’, 273–277, 293 and 316.

<sup>36</sup> For a discussion on the concept of collection, please see Urqu zar Herrera, *Coleccionismo y nobleza*, 19–24.

<sup>37</sup> In 1978, Joan Thirsk had already drawn the attention to the existence of a significant consumer society in sixteenth- and seventeenth century Britain. See Thirsk, *Economic policy and projects (...)*.

<sup>38</sup> McKendrick, Brewer, and Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society*.

<sup>39</sup> In 1987, Goldthwaite states that the “habits [of spending] marked what is new about the Renaissance and what sets Italy off, economically as well as culturally, from the rest of Europe at the time”, in Goldthwaite, ‘The Empire of Things: Consumer Demand in Renaissance Italy’, 154.

determinant factors for consumption patterns.<sup>40</sup> This approach was also embraced by Daniel Roche in his *Histoire des Choses Banales* and it has recently been included in Gasch-Tomás' study.<sup>41</sup>

Daniel Roche's suggestion for looking into how cultural factors determine the consumption of luxury goods seems to take shape in the work of Maxine Berg, who directed Warwick's Eighteenth Century Centre from 1998 to 2007.<sup>42</sup> Berg states that in writing about luxurious goods "we need to transcend issues of modern consumer culture to seek the specific cultural contexts of objects, possessions and display". Berg reinforced it by stating that "a history of consumer objects must be set in the context of contemporary debates and ideas, the uses and symbolism of objects in daily life, and their place in the identities of individuals, families and groups".<sup>43</sup> This approach points towards the study of the social and cultural context of the reception, which is not the core of the research conducted by economic historians. An important contribution came from Urquizar Herrera who tried to explain collecting practises of Andalusian nobility through the existence of contemporary values and socio-cultural codes, mechanisms of social imitation and the significance of chivalrous ideals and religion.<sup>44</sup> However, despite introducing a discussion on the impact of cultural factors on the demand side, historians of consumption still tend to regard objects as simple goods even when there is a striking diversity of items as the one verified in the goods brought from overseas.

Recently, some historians have diverted their attention from the consumer towards the consumed object. The change of perspective has been influenced by some ideas defended in the field of Global History, namely the claim that a new focal point was needed. Rather than political or

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<sup>40</sup> In the same 1987 article, Goldthwaite affirms that "we obviously cannot be satisfied to explain the rise of the Italian 'empire of things' as merely the result of greater wealth, for greater wealth alone does not explain why men wanted new kinds of objects. Nor is it enough to say that 'conspicuous consumption' was a form of social competition motivated by the desire for prestige, for prestige alone does not explain why the particular things men wanted had prestige value". Instead, the author suggests "an approach that regards any particular historical configuration of consumption habits as a function of the culture of that moment — and an approach, incidentally, that looks at consumption as a whole, blurring the distinction between luxury goods and necessities, between taste and needs, between, even, art and other kinds of objects", in Goldthwaite, 'The Empire of Things: Consumer Demand in Renaissance Italy', 155–156. These ideas would be developed in 1993, Goldthwaite, *Wealth and the Demand for Art in Italy, 1300-1600*.

<sup>41</sup> Roche, *Histoire des choses banales. Naissance de la consommation, XVIIème-XIXème siècle*, 26–27. Gasch-Tomás, 'Global Trade, Circulation and Consumption of Asian Goods (...)', 293–354.

<sup>42</sup> Daniel Roche was amongst the first scholars to draw the attention to the mutability of the concept of luxury Roche, *Histoire des choses banales. Naissance de la consommation, XVIIème-XIXème siècle*, 68 and 85–91, but other authors, such as Jan de Vries, 'Luxury in the Dutch Golden Age in Theory and Practice' have written on this topic.

<sup>43</sup> Berg and Clifford, *Consumers and Luxury*, Preface, 66 and 68.

<sup>44</sup> Urquizar Herrera, *Coleccionismo y nobleza*, 27–28, 70 and 76–78. During the early 1990s, Goldthwaite also explained the existence of an early consuming society in Italy by looking at the urban structure. More recently, Gasch-Tomás introduced a cultural approach in his thesis to complement his economic analysis. In particular, his approach explains why Creole elites in Mexico City were more receptive to Asian goods than Sevillian elites, Gasch-Tomás, 'Global Trade, Circulation and Consumption of Asian Goods (...)', 293–354.

economic spaces, the focus of historical research needs to be human interactions.<sup>45</sup> One way of studying those interactions is through the study of networks of individuals. Another is through the study of objects that convey those interactions. By analysing objects produced in Africa, Asia and America for the European market, historians may disclose the economic, social and cultural implications of global interactions.<sup>46</sup> Anne Gerritsen and Stephen McDowall, for instance, show how material culture can be used to define ideas of “otherness” in the early modern period.<sup>47</sup> In another article, together with Giorgio Riello, Anne Gerritsen develops this argument, stating that objects can create “a world of ideas” about the people who produced them. These are “imaginary spaces”, which the authors call “spaces of global interaction”, where distant societies can meet.<sup>48</sup> Following this line of thought, objects are regarded as intermediaries to understand the past. They are lockers filled with meaning, ready to be disclosed by the user, who will be either the early modern consumer or the modern historian.

Overall, despite these very positive contributions for a study of human behaviour, the unique relationship between an object and the individual consumer at a moment in his life is still secondary. A mere subsidiary when compared to the efforts in understanding the “meanings” of the object or the “motivations” of the consumer. In this thesis, I go a step further. Rather than seeing objects as capsules of meaning or consumer motivations as an invariable condition across time, I focus on the consumer’s interaction with the objects to disclose a much wider intricate net of forces implicated in consumption.

## The structure

This project is built around one single consumer. Objects are complex. Not only can they have multiple uses and meanings, but their role also changes throughout an individual’s life. Thus, rather

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<sup>45</sup> Jürgen Osterhammel and Niels Petersson state that “we can view global history as a type of ‘diagonal’ inquiry cutting across national histories and as an attempt to analyse relations between peoples, countries, and civilizations from perspectives other than those of power politics and economics. Global history includes the history of globalization, but it can also study relations that do not directly contribute to globalization”. Osterhammel and Petersson, ‘The Dimensions of Globalization’, 19–20.

<sup>46</sup> Paula Findlen drew attention to the significance of material culture to global history in her introduction to Findlen, ‘Introduction: Early Modern Things: Objects and Their Histories, 1500-1800’. *Early Modern Things*. Citing Francesca Trivellato, Findlen states that a material culture approach allows “a history that follows the movement of people and things through illuminating case studies of how economic practices, mentalities, and trading communities emerge”, in Findlen, ‘Introduction: Early Modern Things: Objects and Their Histories, 1500-1800’, 16.

<sup>47</sup> Gerritsen and McDowall, ‘Material Culture and the Other’, 89–90, 93–94.

<sup>48</sup> Gerritsen and Riello, ‘Spaces of Global Interactions: The Material Landscapes of Global History’, 112–113.



than a biographical work, or a study about a collection, this thesis uses one individual as a red thread to develop the historical enquiry. By focusing on one single individual, it is possible to understand the workings of a complex network of producers, agents and consumers. Besides, it also allows understanding how social connections stimulated the desire for objects. The analysis of this complex system is particularly relevant taking into consideration that objects can be understood in different ways. By using one single consumer, it allows for a micro-scale case study. An analysis of relationships with the goal being to understand the complexity of consumption practises and how the consumer exploits objects.

For this thesis, I decided to focus on the case of Juan de Borja y Castro (1533-1606). There are two main reasons for this. First, because he is a key figure bringing Portuguese elites and the court of the Hispanic monarchy together. Borja was raised in the shadow of his father, the IV Duke of Gandía, commonly known as Saint Francis of Borja. This granted Borja an extensive network of contacts in Portugal. Later, Borja was to become the ambassador of Philip II in Portugal (1569-1575) and eventually, by the end of the century, Borja had established himself as one of the main members of the *Consejo de Portugal*. Furthermore, Borja was highly connected at the core of the Monarchy. On the one hand, he was appointed *mayordomo-mayor* of Empress Maria of Austria after a diplomatic mission to the Holy Roman Empire (1577-1581). On the other, he was the uncle of the I Duke of Lerma, Philip III's favourite (*valido*).

The second reason sustaining my choice of Juan de Borja is the impressive amount of extant documentation that allows a focus on his consumption practises. Indeed, there are three inventories registered at different moments of his life. Firstly, the inventory of what he took with him in his diplomatic mission to the Holy Roman Empire in 1577. Secondly, the inventory of an estate he managed in the outskirts of Madrid (1600). Thirdly, his own probate inventory (1606). Furthermore, there are ca. 1500 letters, either written or received by him, which provide a personal testimonial. These letters are particularly relevant, because such personal documents are often missing in general studies about consumption practises. Moreover, amongst this plethora of sources, the proportion of references to objects and materials from overseas is remarkable.

The thesis is organised in seven chapters. The first of these is an introduction to the project. It discusses the limits and limitations of the concept of *Exotica*. In addition, the first chapter presents the methodological tools I used to build the thesis. The second chapter introduces the reader to the biography of Juan de Borja. That being said, its main aim is to question the limitations of the argument that there is a taste for exotic things in early modern Iberia. The third chapter then provides a possible answer to the question raised in the previous chapter. It suggests that the consumption of exotic goods could also be a by-product of a consumer's activity. In other words,

the third chapter looks into the mechanisms that the consumer had at his disposal to get exotic goods. For that purpose, Borja's contacts in Lisbon and his position at the *Consejo de Portugal* are thoroughly considered. Hence, I demonstrate that access, too, is the result of different factors (personal connections, formal institutions, opportunity, amongst other aspects). The subsequent four chapters are four case studies. They reveal how analysing the intersection between consumer and object/material can disclose the different driving forces for consumption. Each chapter uses one object or one material mentioned in Juan de Borja's documentation. Naturally, each object develops into different explanations. As might be expected, these different interpretations demand the integration of diverse fields of historical research. In Chapter 4, I bring in History of Science to frame the consumption of rhino horns. Chapter 5, then, demands the inclusion of New Diplomatic History to understand the use of Asian bedcovers (*colchas de la Yndia*) in Borja's embassy to Vienna in 1577. In Chapter 6, some contributions from History of Architecture and Art History are brought in to analyse the consumption practises of Chinese porcelain. Finally, in the seventh and last chapter, Nobility Studies are essential for the analysis of fall-front cabinets. Sure enough, I needed many other contributions from different historiographical fields, such as History of Medicine, Courtly Studies, History of Emotions, for example. That being said, the four above-mentioned chapters are not answers or direct contributions to those fields. Overall, I used historiographical fields to enrich the perspective of the analysis. The four chapters remain centred in the main methodological question of this thesis, meaning the study of the interaction between the consumer and each of his things.

Lastly, it should be added that this thesis is not just a methodological contribution for historical research. It is also an effort to assist museum curators and heritage sector professionals. By drawing from a wide range of research fields, this proposal is of interest for professionals who wish to unveil the historical complexity of objects in their care. More to the point, professionals who are willing to tell a much more layered story than the one that the constraints of an exhibition often impose. By giving pride of place to the entanglement of objects/materials and consumers, this thesis follows the steps recently made in material culture studies. This current path calls for a change in museum exhibitions. Perhaps, the time has come to develop a new narrative. One apart from those that are dedicated to individual collectors or individual works of art. This time, a narrative focusing on the unique and unrepeatable moment of the interaction between a consumer and an object.

# Chapter 1

## *Exotica*

The early connection of Portugal with India, where important colonies were ultimately established, in the long run certainly exercised a real and appreciable influence on the decorative and industrial arts of the mother country. Not only at a very early period in the 16th century were objects of Indian art manufacture imported in great numbers into Portugal, but it also seems evident that to a certain extent popular predilection or fashion led to these objects being imitated in the European country. The present exhibition contains many works of this class, amongst these may be specified the well-known Indo-Portuguese inlaid-wood cabinets, caskets, etc. [...]

This Indian influence naturally did not penetrate to any extent into Spain, but the great colonial empire of the latter country was the cause, at a somewhat later period, of analogous manifestations; works of art from Mexico and the South American colonies, particularly in the precious metals, were, especially during the 17th century, poured into Spain in great profusion – a quaint and semi-barbarous style, probably originated by artists and workmen of mixed breed, renders these objects easily recognisable. Curious reminiscences of aboriginal American ornamentation are clearly noticeable in such things, and Spanish industrial art itself became to a considerable extent inoculated with this **exotic influence**.

Robinson, “Introduction” to *Catalogue*, 1881.<sup>49</sup>

With this introduction to the catalogue of the *Special Loan Exhibition of Spanish and Portuguese Ornamental Art* at the South Kensington Museum (now the Victoria and Albert Museum) in London, in 1881, the curator and art historian John Charles Robinson (1824-1913) attempted to make sense of a wide variety of objects that did not fit in already established European art classifications. Some artistic expressions seemed to escape a European tradition of neatly categorising art according to nation-based “art schools”: Flemish, Italian, British, and so on. The term *Indo-Portuguese*, used for the first time in this text, would quickly become extremely convenient to name an array of material culture produced in the context of the contacts established between

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<sup>49</sup> My emphasis. Robinson, *Catalogue of the Special Loan Exhibition of Spanish and Portuguese Ornamental Art*, 11–12.

Portugal and Asia during the early modern period.<sup>50</sup> Without it, how could the art historian grasp the “powerful extraneous influence or fashion” that poured into Iberian art? How could one make sense of that “exotic influence”?

Following the establishment of long-distance maritime routes at the end of the fifteenth century, the Iberian Peninsula came into direct contact with extra-European markets which provided access to a whole new type of goods. Apart from being the vehicles for the highly lucrative trade on silver and spices, ships arriving in the Iberian Peninsula came packed with a myriad of goods, such as textiles, jewels and precious stones, furniture, perfumed woods and drugs.<sup>51</sup> Some of these were the direct result of commissions from Europe. For this reason, many of the objects either combined European forms and non-European craftsmanship or offered some non-European interpretation of models sent beforehand.<sup>52</sup> Other items could be acquired in their natural state, or without requiring a specific design, such as coconuts, cowries, benzoin resin or pearls. Since some of these items would eventually be transformed into cups, jewellery or another type of ornamented object, traditional art historical categories were not flexible enough to embrace them all. For most of these items, if not the totality of them, the term *Exotica* became a very convenient category. Nonetheless, *Exotica* is a recent historical construction and, as such, its suitability to designate early modern consumption practises must be questioned.

In this chapter, I historicise the concept of *Exotica* at the same time as I discuss the meanings of the terms exotic, *exotic* and exoticness.<sup>53</sup> So far, objects produced in the context of intercontinental contacts for European consumers have been regarded mainly as part of an “*Exotica* discourse”. This has been done as if the ubiquitousness of a taste for exotic things would be, regardless of the historical period, self-explanatory of their consumption.<sup>54</sup> Along with this, those objects have also

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<sup>50</sup> Viterbo, ‘A Exposição de Arte Ornamental: Notas Ao Catálogo’; Couto, *Alguns subsídios para o estudo técnico das peças de ourivesaria no estilo denominado indo-português*. All cited by Ferreira, ‘Arte Indo-Portuguesa’.

<sup>51</sup> For the Portuguese case, see Boyajian, *Portuguese Trade in Asia under the Habsburgs, 1580-1640*. For the Spanish case, see Aram and Yun Casalilla, *Global Goods and the Spanish Empire, 1492-1824*.

<sup>52</sup> Art historians have made an endless number of contributions regarding the circulation of forms. Some few examples can be found in Silva, *A Arte Indo-Portuguesa*; Davidson, *African Ivories from Portuguese Domains*; Osswald, ‘O Bom Pastor Na Imaginária Indo-Portuguesa Em Marfim’; Silva, *A herança de Rauluchantim*; Dias, *O contador das cenas familiares*; Pereira, ‘African Art at the Portuguese Court, C. 1450-1521’; Aa.Vv., *Lacas Namban*.

<sup>53</sup> See page 1, footnote 2.

<sup>54</sup> A few examples of a much longer list of references that take for granted the “taste for exotic things” are: Jordan Gschwend, ‘O Fascínio de Cipango. Artes Decorativas E Lacas de Ásia Oriental Em Portugal, Espanha E Áustria.’; Aguiló Alonso, ‘El Interés Por Lo Exótico’; Jordan, ‘Exotic Renaissance Accessories. Japanese, Indian and Sinhalese Fans at the Courts of Portugal and Spain’; Aa.Vv., *Exotica*; Pérez de Tudela and Jordan Gschwend, ‘Luxury Goods for Royal Collectors (...)’; Mola and Shaw, *Oriente en Palacio*; Aa.Vv., *Orientando la mirada*; Jordan Gschwend, *A rainha colecionadora*; Alfonso Mola, ‘La Fascinación de Oriente En El Mundo Hispánico: El Coleccionismo (ss. XVI-XVIII)’; Jordan Gschwend and Lowe, *The Global City. On the Streets of Renaissance Lisbon*; Serrão, ‘Entre a China E Portugal: Temas E Outros Fenómenos de Miscigenação Artística, Um Programa Necessário de Estudos’; Crespo, *A Mesa Do Príncipe. Jantar E Cear Na Corte de Lisboa (1500-1700): Prata, Madrepérola, Cristal de Rocha E Porcelana*. Other useful references are mentioned below, pages 21-22.

often been regarded as part of processes of *hybridisation* and regarded as *hybrids* or “border objects”.<sup>55</sup> I argue that these categories are historiographic constructions produced by processes of classification of knowledge from the turn of the seventeenth century onwards. They are also a result of culturalist and essentialist views over social organisation.<sup>56</sup> Overall, I approach early modern consumption beyond the divide produced by historiographic categories. I do it to fully address the entanglement of forces that underlie the Iberian consumption of goods from overseas. To achieve that aim a new methodological proposal is required. Presenting that proposal’s theoretical support and tools is the purpose of this chapter.

Chapter 1 comprises three sections. In the first section, I demonstrate how *Exotica* has become a narrative *per se* in works focusing on the history of consumption. In the second section, I challenge the concept by demonstrating its limitations. In particular, its constraints in a study of sixteenth-century-Iberian consumption. On the one hand, *Exotica* has been historically constructed after the seventeenth century and highly influenced by nineteenth-century-orientalist studies. Therefore, its use must consider the chronology of its construction. On the other hand, early modern Iberia had specificities that often make the concept inadequate. As with chronology, the spatial context needs to be taken into consideration. Finally, in the third and last section I show how historical research can go beyond the concept of *Exotica*. All in all, I offer a methodological proposal to study consumption of overseas objects. More to the point, I propose a methodology based on contributions from anthropology that have relevantly claimed a recognition of the close entanglement between humans and things.

## 1.1. Inventing *Exotica*

The concept of *Exotica* is a relatively recent phenomenon. It came to refer objects consumed in Europe – produced either overseas or just by non-European artisans in European soil – for their *exotic* allure. One of the first times the term “exotic” is documented is in Carolus Clusius (1526-1609) *Exoticorum libri decem* (1605). In Clusius’ work, the Latin term *exoticus*, from the Greek *exōtikós*,

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<sup>55</sup> The process of *hybridisation* is implicit to categories of objects that are based on geopolitical dichotomies, such as the Indo-Portuguese or the Mestizo art (see below page 18), but it also occurs that the term “hybrid” is used to describe objects usually grouped under those categories, such as in Curnow, ‘The Afro-Portuguese Ivories’. About “border objects”, see: Crest, *L’Art de Vivre Ensemble. Objets Frontière de la Renaissance au Xxie Siècle*.

<sup>56</sup> On the criticism of culturalism, see: Krishnaswamy, ‘The Criticism of Culture and the Culture of Criticism. At the Intersection of Postcolonialism and Globalization Theory’; Vermeir, ‘Historicizing Culture’.

means nothing more than “foreign”. However, the connotation that the term exotic (no italics) received in the following centuries transformed it into a much broader concept.

From the seventeenth century onwards, the socially-constructed allure associated with objects’ distant provenance fostered a desire for the possession of an imagined exotic world. During this process, the exotic became *exotic*.<sup>57</sup> Today, the concept of *Exotica* is exclusively associated with *exotic* objects. All in all, what makes objects *exotic* is neither their provenance, nor the provenance of their materials, nor its craftsmanship. Instead, what makes objects *exotic* is the consumer’s fascination with the exotic world (no italics). In other words, an object became *exotic* due to the exoticness that someone attributed to them.

The use of this concept is directly linked with historiographical requirements, especially the need for art historical categorisation. Mary D. Scheriff claimed that the distinction between *Exotica* and fine art only exists because it “has helped to frame art history as a discipline”.<sup>58</sup> However, the distinction is not limited to a separation between painting and decorative arts, or between architecture and embroidery. The distinction is also, and perhaps mainly, a geopolitical one.

Developed in a period of consolidation of nation-states in Europe, *Exotica* is not a single case. In the two introductory texts to the catalogue of the 1881 exhibition at the South Kensington Museum, both authors establish categories to classify Iberian objects. The reason for this were the objects that did not fit the already-accepted categories of European art. The “peculiar character” of Spanish mediaeval art, for instance, led Juan Facundo Riaño (1829-1901) to crystallise the concept *Mudéjar* art – also regarded as “Hispano-Moresque”.<sup>59</sup> Hence, the term firstly used by José Amador de los Ríos (1816-1878) in 1859 was finally recognised.<sup>60</sup> Following Robinson’s *Indo-Portuguese*, other comparable concepts emerged during the twentieth century, such as Sapi-Portuguese (for objects produced in Sierra Leone), Bini-Portuguese (for Benin), Sinhalese-Portuguese (for Sri Lanka), Sino-Portuguese (for China), Nippo-Portuguese (for Japan) or Hispano-Philippine.<sup>61</sup> In the case of Spanish colonial America, a more favoured expression was “*Mestizo* art”, coined by Angel Guido in 1925 and recovered in 1999 by Serge Gruzinski.<sup>62</sup> All these

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<sup>57</sup> See Senos, ‘La Dissolution de La Frontière: Le Problème de L’exotique Au Portugal Au XVIe Siècle’.

<sup>58</sup> Sheriff, ‘Introduction: Cultural Contact and the Making of European Art, 1492-1930’, 7.

<sup>59</sup> Robinson, *Catalogue of the Special Loan Exhibition of Spanish and Portuguese Ornamental Art*, 32.

<sup>60</sup> Robinson, 15. Facundo Riaño’s text at the 1881 catalogue is a reprint of an original dated from 1872. See also: Amador de los Ríos, *El Estilo Mudéjar En La Arquitectura. Discurso Del Ilmo. Sr. D. José Amador de Los Ríos: Leído En Junta Pública de 19 de Junio de 1859 [ante La Real Academia de Bellas Artes]*.

<sup>61</sup> Literature on Indo-Portuguese is very extensive, but some works deserve a special reference: Silva, *A Arte Indo-Portuguesa*; Távora, *Imaginária Indo-Portuguesa setecentista*; Távora, *Mobiliário português*; Carita and Sapiéha, *Palácios de Goa*; Silva, *A herança de Rauluchantim*; Dias, *Arte Indo-Portuguesa*.

<sup>62</sup> Guido, *Fusión hispano-indígena en la arquitectura colonial*. Cited by Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America, 1542-1773*, 23. For the definition of “*Mestizo* art”, see Gruzinski, *La Pensée Métisse*; Russo, *The Untranslatable Image*.

concepts bear in themselves a perception of hybridity that conventional categories seem unable to classify.

The concept of hybridity has been the subject of theoretical debate in the fields of sociology and anthropology due to the many constraints it entails.<sup>63</sup> One of the main constraints in working with this term is the implicit acceptance of *purity*. By and large, recognising the existence of hybrid cultures implies supporting the idea that these are exceptional. In addition, it entails the belief that a hybrid culture is the result of two or more pure cultures brought together. This is, however, a reasoning that postcolonial studies have categorically rejected. Carolyn Dean and Dana Leibsohn, for instance, claimed that “hybridity – which is the marking of particular kinds of difference – is generated out of intolerance, out of the need to distinguish and come to terms with unacceptable, conditionally acceptable, or uneasy mixes; That we need a term such as ‘hybrid’ for certain things and practises betrays the exercise of discrimination”.<sup>64</sup> Although it is rather a fierce claim, it is based on the rejection of pure cultures. Such an argument has already been made by other influential scholars. Edward Said, for example, recognised that “partly because of empire, all cultures are involved in one another; none is single and pure, all are hybrid, heterogeneous, extraordinarily differentiated”.<sup>65</sup> Regardless of Said’s views on imperialism’s responsibility in the production of hybrids, García Canclini reminds us that the *hybridisation process* involves the combination of prior-hybridised structures.<sup>66</sup> Despite its ambiguity and lack of objectivity, the idea of the hybrid in any of its forms – from the *Indo-Portuguese* to the *Mestizo* – has thrived. While doing do, it has fed a historiographical field focusing in exotic objects and it contributed to perpetuate and strengthen the geopolitical dichotomy between Europe and the exotic world.

The apparent exceptionality of hybridity has generated a teleological discourse wherein early modern European consumers’ interest in exotic goods could only be explained by an embracing culture of wonder and curiosity. In this regard, Julius von Schlosser (1866-1938) must be acknowledged as the inaugurator of that line of research. In his *Die Kunst- und Wunderkammer der Spätrenaissance* (1908), Schlosser addressed the formation of cabinets of curiosity in early modern Europe for the first time. In particular, Schlosser declared them the ancestors of today’s museums.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*; García Canclini, *Hybrid Cultures*; Burke, ‘Translating Knowledge, Translating Cultures’.

<sup>64</sup> Dean and Leibsohn, ‘Hybridity and Its Discontents: Considering Visual Culture in Colonial Spanish America’, 6.

<sup>65</sup> Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, XXIX. Also cited in Burke, *Cultural Hybridity*, 51.

<sup>66</sup> García Canclini, who defines *hybridisation* as “sociocultural processes in which discrete structures or practices, previously existing in separate form, are combined to generate new structures, objects, and practices” also reminds that “the so-called discrete structures were a result of prior hybridizations and therefore cannot be considered pure points of origin” García Canclini, *Hybrid Cultures*, XXV.

<sup>67</sup> The synthesis of Schlosser, *Die Kunst- Und Wunderkammern Der Spätrenaissance* and the book edited by Impey and MacGregor, *The Origins of Museums* are the first major works to take this approach, but there are other contributions regarding *Kunst- and Wunderkammer* in the same manner. See, for instance, Kaufmann, ‘From Treasury to Museum: The Collections of the Austrian Habsburgs’.

Especially in the sense that they were equivalent tools for the production of knowledge.<sup>68</sup> Early modern sources, such as Samuel Quiccheberg's *Inscriptiones* (1565), supported the argument that defended collections as a form of erudite enquiry. Mainly referring to Albert V of Bavaria's collection, Quiccheberg's treatise is a practical handbook on how to organise objects for accessing knowledge that cannot be obtained from books. Instead of a guide to "some nostalgic trip to a wonderland of bizarre objects", the treatise highlights the erudite importance of an encyclopaedic organisation of material culture.<sup>69</sup> However, Quiccheberg's text was incidental, with limited circulation, and not even the collection of Albert V matches the indications prescribed by Quiccheberg.<sup>70</sup> Furthermore, *Wunderkammern* were mostly a Northern-European phenomenon, as Schlosser himself recognised.<sup>71</sup> Nonetheless, cabinets of curiosities have taken pride of place amongst historiography during the past thirty years. In addition, the consumption of exotic objects and/or materials became almost exclusively associated with this form of collecting.<sup>72</sup>

To a great extent, Schlosser is also responsible for the diffusion of the *Wunderkammer* "field", taking into consideration that the scholar advanced a list of cases on which there was later a thorough research. That happened not only with the collections of Jean du Berry (1340-1416), Margaret of Austria (1480-1530), Ferdinand II of Tirol (1529-1595), Albert V of Bavaria (1528-1579) or Emperor Rudolf II (1552-1612), but also with those of Athanasius Kircher (1602-1680) in Rome, or of Ole Worm (1588-1654) in Copenhagen. All these cases that were addressed in 1908 have also been at the centre of most recent historiography on the history of museums, collections and production of knowledge. In line with these studies, other cases have been brought to light, namely those in the Italian Peninsula, such as the Medici in Florence – especially the *studiolo* of Francesco I (1541-1587) – and that of Ferrante Imperato (1550-1631) in Naples.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> The relationship between Cabinets of Curiosities and the development of knowledge was firstly developed by Samuel Quiccheberg in his treaty *Inscriptiones vel Tituli Theatri Amplissimi* (see Quiccheberg, *The First Treatise on Museums*). During the past twenty years, much has been researched on this topic. See for instance: Schulz, 'Notes on the History of Collecting and of Museums (...); Findlen, *Possessing Nature*.

<sup>69</sup> Robertson, "Preface: Wonderful Museums and Quiccheberg's *Inscriptiones*", in Quiccheberg, *The First Treatise on Museums*.

<sup>70</sup> Meadow, "Introduction" of Quiccheberg, *The First Treatise on Museums*.

<sup>71</sup> Schlosser, *Die Kunst- Und Wunderkammern Der Spätrenaissance*, 23.

<sup>72</sup> The beginning of constant research on this field is marked by the publication of Impey and MacGregor, *The Origins of Museums* and the first number of the *Journal of the History of Collections* in the 1989 'Editorial'. Later, several other scholars have highlighted the curiosity and wonder over exotic items. Check for instance: Pomian, *Collectors and Curiosities*, 65–90; Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions. The Wonder of the New World*; Pearce, *On Collecting*, 112; Daston, 'Curiosity in Early Modern Science'; Findlen, *Possessing Nature*.

<sup>73</sup> For Denmark, see: Schepelern, 'The Museum Wormianum Reconstructed (...); Juel-Jensen, 'Musaeum Clausum, or Bibliotheca Abscondita (...); Hein, 'Learning versus Status?'; For Florence, see Turpin, 'The New World Collections of Duke Cosimo I de' Medici and Their Role in the Creation of a Kunst- and Wunderkammer in the Palazzo Vecchio'; For France, see: Cox-Rearick, *The Collection of Francis I: Royal Treasures*; For Innsbruck, see: Scheicher, 'The Collection of Archduke Ferdinand II at Schloss Ambras: Its Purpose, Composition and Evolution'; For Naples, see: Stendardo, *Ferrante Imperato. Collezionismo e studio della natura a Napoli tra Cinque e Seicento*; For Prague, see: Fučíková, 'The Collection of Rudolf II at Prague: Cabinet of Curiosities or Scientific Museum?'; Findlen, 'Cabinets, Collecting and Natural Philosophy'.



Iberian cases are not mentioned in Schlosser's inaugural text. Nonetheless, the view that *Wunderkammern* flourished as part of princely – Habsburg mainly – patronage has led the models to be transferred to Southwestern Europe. One reason for such a transfer is the fact that the links between Central European and Iberian Habsburg members were very close. Emperor Rudolf II, nephew of Philip II of Spain (1527-1598), was raised in the Iberian Peninsula from 1563 to 1571 and many of the objects in his collections were acquired through his ambassador in Madrid, Hans von Khevenhüller (1538-1606).<sup>74</sup> Besides, Philip II has been regarded as the greatest collector of the sixteenth century. In addition, the Portuguese queen, Catherine of Austria (1507-1578), aunt of Philip II and great-aunt of Rudolf II, is seen as a compulsive collector and supplier of *Exotica* to other Habsburg family members.<sup>75</sup>

There have been several attempts to identify *Wunderkammern* in the Iberian Peninsula. José Miguel Morán and Fernando Checa highlighted the importance of the Escorial as one of the most important early modern museums (*museo*) in Europe. Its library is regarded as an equivalent to a scientific cabinet.<sup>76</sup> These scholars even suggested that Philip II's *cámara del tesoro* at the Alcazár in Madrid was “una verdadera Wunderkammer en la que aparecían también antigüedades, medallas, camafeos, instrumentos de música y curiosidades”<sup>77</sup>. The authors do not seem to see a discrepancy between the reference to *cámara del tesoro* (literally, treasure chamber) and cabinets of curiosities (*Wunderkammer*). That said the contents and the uses of the *cámara del tesoro* have not yet been thoroughly studied to see in it an example of the Central European *Wunderkammer* model.

Annemarie Jordan, for instance, also attempted to correspond Central European models to the collection of Catherine of Austria. Despite a certain confusion between the *Kunst-* and the *Wunderkammer* models, the author argues that Catherine's collection was a transition moment between a mediaeval collecting tradition – the *Schatzkammer* – and a Renaissance one – the *Kunstkammer*. To be more precise, what the author possibly meant was a *Wunderkammer*. Firstly, before 1545, the *recámara* (i.e. wardrobe) mostly kept Catherine's dowry, which leads Jordan to consider it a *Schatzkammer*. In other words, a type of room mainly dedicated to hoard precious objects and usually regarded as the ancestor of Renaissance princely collections.<sup>78</sup> After that date, however, “Catherine can be viewed as a *Kunstkammer* [*Wunderkammer*] collector”.<sup>79</sup> Such an interpretation can be inferred in the following passage:

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<sup>74</sup> Pérez de Tudela and Jordan Gschwend, ‘Luxury Goods for Royal Collectors (...)’.

<sup>75</sup> Jordan, ‘The Development of Catherine of Austria's Collection in the Queen's Household’, 19, 22. See also, Jordan Gschwend, *A rainha colecionadora*.

<sup>76</sup> Morán Turina and Checa Cremades, *El Coleccionismo En España*, 63, 101 and 111.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibidem*, 120.

<sup>78</sup> About these concepts, see also Hein, ‘Learning versus Status?’

<sup>79</sup> The author does not make a clear distinction between the *Kunst-* and *Wunderkammer* model.

[Catherine's] collection can be described as a late fifteenth-century treasury, evolving into an early curiosity collection with primarily precious, exotic and rare objects imported from the Portuguese colonies. Catherine's collection appears to be the first significant, and also the last Renaissance *Kunstammer* collection in Portugal.<sup>80</sup>

What is interesting to note in the author's approach is that what really brings Catherine's collection together with the "Renaissance *Kunstammer*" is the "diversity, abundance, the irregular, the odd and the uncommon" of its contents.<sup>81</sup> In this attempt to see Central European models in Iberia, the scholar minimises what sets them apart. Nonetheless, Jordan admits that Catherine "did not collect items more traditionally associated with contemporary and later *Kunstammern*, such as antiquities, medals, coins, bronzes, large-scale sculpture, drawings or significant paintings, other than portraits".<sup>82</sup> Besides, many of Catherine's objects were European luxury items.<sup>83</sup> Nevertheless, the presence of *Exotica* is regarded as a sufficiently strong evidence to see Catherine's collection not as part of a mediaeval collecting tradition, but as an example of a Renaissance way of collecting – a *Wunderkammer*.

In short, there seems to be a difficulty in tackling the presence of exotic things in Iberian collections without recurring to the explanation of there being a taste for the *exotic*:

Catherine's collection was not encyclopedic in scope, it reflects rather her passion for and fascination with India and the Orient.<sup>84</sup>

Moreover, it is the "fascination with India and the Orient" and the "gusto por el exotismo tan extendido a fines del siglo XVI" that lies behind Morán's and Checa's claim.<sup>85</sup> Their claim is as follows:

Nos encontramos ante la culminación de un sentido coleccionístico que hemos denominado eclético: las piedras precisas [sic], los objetos exóticos, como escritorios chinos, los de laca roja y negra, las cajas de este mismo material, las sillas de la India, las piezas de pasta verde, las cucharas y tenedores de oro, ágata y cristal, las piedras negras, bezares, de vicuña, de taruga, de venado, cuernos de rinoceronte (...), cuernos de bada, ramos de coral, uñas de tigre (...) forman el complejo apartado de los 'naturalia' exóticos, de los 'lusus naturae' habituales a la mentalidade científica y esotérica de fines del siglo XVI.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> Jordan, 'The Development of Catherine of Austria's Collection in the Queen's Household', 8.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibidem*, 9.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibidem*, 10.

<sup>83</sup> "Although, eastern ware formed the central focus of Catherine's collection, she nevertheless continued to make, with the assistance of factors and merchants abroad, purchases of jewelry, books, gold and silver plate, tapestries, expensive clothes and material from France, Italy, Spain and Flanders." in Jordan, 'The Development of Catherine of Austria's Collection in the Queen's Household', 8, 10 and 110, quoting ANTT, N.A. 792, ff. 95r, 141v, 190r, 200v.

<sup>84</sup> Jordan, 'The Development of Catherine of Austria's Collection in the Queen's Household', 15.

<sup>85</sup> Morán Turina and Checa Cremades, *El Coleccionismo En España*, 120.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibidem*.

The difficulty in explaining *Exotica* in the absence of a neatly organised *Wunderkammern* has led to the oversimplified justification of the “taste for the *exotic*”. In other words, as if overseas objects or materials were completely meaningless besides their condition as *exotic*. Rafael Moreira, for example, discreetly suggested an alternative approach. Moreira declared that Catherine of Austria’s “compulsive bulimia” for Asian goods may have never been intended as a collection. Instead, its purpose might have been an assemblage of things to be used within the household or to excite the curiosity of rival dynasties, such as the Valois or the Tudors.<sup>87</sup> This suggestion has recently received the support of Nuno Senos. The scholar defended that exotic objects were part of Portuguese normality, hence, suggesting that the idea of *exotica* may not apply to early modern Portugal.<sup>88</sup>

The sources often used in research about consumption practises may be one of the major limitations when clarifying the role of exotic objects and materials that Iberians possessed. Revealingly, Renata Ago recently criticised consumption historians for their excessive use of probate inventories. Probate inventories have indeed been a main type of source when studying the consumption of exotic goods.<sup>89</sup> José Luís Gasch-Tomás, for instance, successfully used them to demonstrate that the consumption of Asian goods in Mexico City preceded and stimulated the demand for this kind of goods in Seville.<sup>90</sup> In addition, Gasch-Tomás proved that the consumption of Asian goods was stronger amongst middle classes than in the highest social sphere.<sup>91</sup> Nevertheless, probate inventories have their own constraints. Ago noted that “with this type of documentation we know what people had in their houses, but not the way these objects were acquired, for how long they were owned, how many transformations they underwent during this period, or how they were used”.<sup>92</sup> To overcome such constraints, Ago suggests that the information that inventories provide should be analysed in accordance to differences in taste and style.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>87</sup> Moreira, “A Importação de Obras de Arte Em Portugal No Século XVI”, 17.

<sup>88</sup> “dans les intérieurs portugais, il me semble que les objets asiatiques, africains ou américains se mêlaient à ceux venus d’Allemagne, de France et d’Italie et, évidemment, aussi à ceux fabriqués au Portugal. Les arts de l’Europe coexistaient très pacifiquement, sans surprise et sans inquiétude, avec ceux d’autres continents.” in Senos, ‘La Dissolussion de La Frontière: Le Problème de L’exotique Au Portugal Au XVIe Siècle’, 123.

<sup>89</sup> Some examples of the use of inventories for this purpose are: Aguiló Alonso, ‘Separata de: Relaciones artísticas entre España y América’; Trnek, ‘Objectos Exóticos Nas Kunstammer Dos Habsburgos. Respectivos Inventários E Conteúdos’; Karl, ‘Marvellous Things Are Made with Needles’. Bengal “Colchas” in European Inventories, c.1580-1630’; Keating and Markey, ‘“Indian” Objects in Medici and Austrian-Habsburg Inventories. A Case-Study of the Sixteenth-Century Term’; Albaladejo Martínez, ‘Lo Exótico Y Lo Inusual En Los Retraos E Inventarios de Las Infantas Isabel Clara Eugenia Y Catalina Micaela’; Hallett and Senos, *De Todas as Partes Do Mundo: O Património Do 5º Duque de Bragança, D. Teodósio I*.

<sup>90</sup> Gasch-Tomás, ‘Global Trade, Circulation and Consumption of Asian Goods (...)’, 84 and 256. For more on the circulation of goods, see Aram and Yun Casalilla, *Global Goods and the Spanish Empire, 1492-1824*.

<sup>91</sup> Gasch-Tomás, ‘Global Trade, Circulation and Consumption of Asian Goods (...)’, 273–277, 293 and 316.

<sup>92</sup> Ago, *Gusto for Things*, 2 and 8. Gasch-Tomás did not discard this approach as his chapter 7 on “Fashions and tastes for Asian goods of the Hispanic elites” demonstrates. See Gasch-Tomás, ‘Global Trade, Circulation and Consumption of Asian Goods [...]’, 293–354.

<sup>93</sup> Ago, *Gusto for Things*, 2 and 3.

That said, Richard Goldthwaite already claimed that the relationship between an individual and their surrounding cultural phenomena is important when attempting to understand consumption practises.<sup>94</sup> In the early 1990s, Goldthwaite explained the existence of an early consumer society in Renaissance Italy by analysing the urban structure. More to the point, in an article published in 1987, the scholar declared that:

[...] we obviously cannot be satisfied to explain the rise of the Italian ‘empire of things’ as merely the result of greater wealth, for greater wealth alone does not explain why men wanted new kinds of objects. Nor is it enough to say that ‘conspicuous consumption’ was a form of social competition motivated by the desire for prestige, for prestige alone does not explain why the particular things men wanted had prestige value.<sup>95</sup>

The author follows this up with:

[...] an approach that regards any particular historical configuration of consumption habits as a function of the culture of that moment – and an approach, incidentally, that looks at consumption as a whole, blurring the distinction between luxury goods and necessities, between taste and needs, between, even, art and other kinds of objects.<sup>96</sup>

Other historians also embraced Goldthwaite’s acknowledgement of the importance of culture-based explanations in understanding consumption. Such is the case with Daniel Roche or, more recently, Maxime Berg.<sup>97</sup> While leading a small group of scholars connected to the University of Warwick, Berg was particularly interested in discussing how eighteenth-century consumption of goods could be understood through contemporary discussions on the ideas of luxury, “civility, sociability and conversation”.<sup>98</sup> In particular, when there is a need to disclose the objects’ role in daily life and in the formation of identities and ideas.<sup>99</sup> Unfortunately, however, this type of approach is not yet found when studying the consumption of exotic goods in early modern Iberia.

Antonio Urquizar Herrera made an attempt in that direction with his in-depth study of collecting practises of early modern Andalusian aristocracy. Urquizar Herrera recognised the dangers of using the concepts of *Kunst-* and *Wunderkammer* in the Spanish case, as well as applying other ambiguous

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<sup>94</sup> Goldthwaite’s work followed the publication by Neil McKendrick, John Brewer and J. H. Plumb in 1982 of *The Birth of a Consumer Society*, which generated a trend that aimed at identifying the beginning of modern consumption practices. In this work, the authors launched a debate about consumption claiming that there was a “consumption revolution” during the eighteenth century that led to modern consumer societies.

<sup>95</sup> Goldthwaite, ‘The Empire of Things: Consumer Demand in Renaissance Italy’, 155–156.

<sup>96</sup> Goldthwaite, ‘The Empire of Things: Consumer Demand in Renaissance Italy’, 155–156. These ideas would be developed through an entire book in 1993, see: Goldthwaite, *Wealth and the Demand for Art in Italy, 1300-1600*.

<sup>97</sup> Daniel Roche was one of the first scholars to draw attention to the mutability of the concept of luxury, see Roche, *Histoire des choses banales. Naissance de la consommation, XVIIème-XIXème siècle*, 68 and 85–91, but other authors have also written on this topic, see de Vries, ‘Luxury in the Dutch Golden Age in Theory and Practice’.

<sup>98</sup> Berg and Clifford, *Consumers and Luxury*, Preface.

<sup>99</sup> Berg and Clifford, 66 and 68.

terms, such as collections.<sup>100</sup> Because of that, the author highlighted how important it was to consider the significance of contemporary values and social-codes. In particular, the significance of chivalrous ideals and religion.<sup>101</sup> The analysis of specific cases led Urquizar Herrera to explain consumers' behaviour as “una práctica de imitación, reproducción y elevación social”, minimising the cultural or aesthetic interests of the individual consumer.<sup>102</sup> This argument, reminiscent of Norbert Elias's theory of the civilizing process and Bordieu's views on the social construction of taste, cannot however explain deviations from the average norm. Furthermore, it reduces common practises to *mimesis* and to a will of social climbing, without considering the wide range of different motivations for consumption.

Eventually, and despite the aforementioned attempts and methodological proposals to understand the complexity of consumption, the “*Exotica*-narrative” thrived. For the past twenty years, uncountable exhibitions have focused on the exotic allure of the objects. After a first and early attempt with *Orientalia* (Brussels, 1991), museums' interest in *Exotica* took off at the turn of the twenty-first century. This happened with *Exotica* (Vienna and Innsbruck, 2000; Lisbon, 2001) and *Oriente en Palacio* (Madrid, 2003). After these successful exhibitions, many others followed, namely: *Encompassing the Globe* (Washington, DC, and Brussels, 2007; Lisbon, 2009); *Elfenbeine aus Ceylon* (Zurich, 2010), *Encomendas Namban* (Lisbon, 2011), *Lacas Namban* (Madrid, 2013).<sup>103</sup> Other examples are: *Jóias da Carreira da Índia* (Lisbon, 2014), the refurbishment of the Kunsthistorisches Museum's *Kunstskammer* (Vienna, 2013) and, more recently, *The Global City* (Lisbon, 2017).<sup>104</sup> Although what motivated some of these exhibitions was a study of the production techniques of extant objects, their historiographical framework supported the discourse that accredits the consumption of non-European objects and materials to a certain taste for exotic things.

Nevertheless, can the *exotic* really explain the consumption of these objects?

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<sup>100</sup> Urquizar Herrera, *Coleccionismo y nobleza*, 16–19.

<sup>101</sup> Urquizar Herrera, 27–28, 70 and 76–78.

<sup>102</sup> Urquizar Herrera, 27.

<sup>103</sup> Martins and Curvelo, *Encomendas Namban. Os Portugueses No Japão Da Idade Moderna - Namban Commissions. The Portuguese in Modern Age Japan*; Aa.Vv., *Lacas Namban*.

<sup>104</sup> Major exhibitions focusing on extra-European objects include: Aa.Vv., *Via Orientalis. Europalia 91 Portugal*; Aa.Vv., *Exotica*; Trenek, Haag, and Wien, *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien / Exotica*; Mola and Shaw, *Oriente en Palacio*; Aa.Vv., *Portugal e o mundo nos séculos XVI e XVII*; Jordan Gschwend, *Elfenbeine aus Ceylon*; Martins and Curvelo, *Encomendas Namban. Os Portugueses No Japão Da Idade Moderna - Namban Commissions. The Portuguese in Modern Age Japan*; Kirchweger and Haag, *Die Kunstskammer - Die Schätze der Habsburger*; Aa.Vv., *Lacas Namban*; Crespo, *Jóias Da Carreira Da Índia*; Jordan Gschwend and Lowe, *The Global City. On the Streets of Renaissance Lisbon*.

## 1.2. Challenging the *exotic*

As explained above, the discourses about *Exotica* spread extensively throughout historiography regardless of spatial or temporal frameworks. Cabinets of curiosities filled with *Exotica* have been identified, from Iberia to the Holy Roman Empire, from Italy to Denmark.<sup>105</sup> However, given the relatively recent use of the terms *exotic*, *exotic* and *Exotica*, it is surprising that their meanings have not been thoroughly discussed.

In this section, I argue that the term *exotic* is neither absolute, nor immutable. Instead, *exotic* is a transformed product. Deriving from “Exotic”, meaning “foreign”, the term has been contaminated by Edward Said’s version of orientalism. Furthermore, its current use does not account for the specific context of early modern Iberia. To demonstrate this, I start by showing how the *exotic* is a historical construction. Like *Orientalism*, it is based on an opposition, the European versus non-European. In other words, I argue that a culturalist view supported the use of the term *exotic*. This perspective of the world tends to separate Europe and European things from everything else. Therefore, the view implies an essentialist perspective over each of those two sides.

In the case of *Orientalism*, this culturalist essentialism has been subject to extensive criticism and I develop on some of these critiques. I do it, firstly, to assess the limitations of the concepts of *exotic* and exoticness (i.e. the state of being *exotic*).<sup>106</sup> Secondly, to demonstrate the *exotic*’s changeability. For that purpose, I highlight the importance of looking into the concept’s applicability not only over time, but also space. Given the topic of this thesis, I develop its applicability to the specificity of early modern Iberia’s social environment. Barbara Fuchs’ contribution on the impact of the Moorish heritage in the process of exoticisation of the Iberian Peninsula, within the European continent itself, is particularly relevant to understand Iberia as a “frontier society”.

### A historical phenomenon

My objection to what I have called Orientalism is not that it is just the antiquarian study of oriental languages, societies, and peoples, but that as a system of thought it approaches a heterogeneous, essentialist standpoint; this suggests both an enduring Oriental reality and an opposing but no less enduring Western essence, which observes the Orient from afar and, so to speak, from above. This false position hides historical change.

Said, “Afterword” in *Orientalism*, 1994.<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> See page 20, footnote 73.

<sup>106</sup> For comprehensive views on *Orientalism*’s criticism, see for instance: Halliday, ‘Orientalism and Its Critics’ or Almarcegui, ‘Orientalism and Post-Orientalism. Ten Years without Edward Said’.

<sup>107</sup> Said, *Orientalism*, 333.

Said's view on orientalism shares something in common with the notion of *exotic*. They both are grounded on a constructed opposition between two parts. According to Said, modern orientalism was based on "the ineradicable distinction between Western superiority and Oriental inferiority", a distinction built by the West during a period of colonial dominance over the East with the clear aim of securing and reinforcing that dominance.<sup>108</sup> The *exotic*, too, is built on a dichotomous distinction. As Peter Mason argued, "the *exotic* is produced by a process of decontextualization".<sup>109</sup> In other words, the *exotic* does not exist as such. Instead, it is a process done unilaterally. Mason describes it as consisting in the taking of something from an external setting and transferring and recontextualising it in another setting. The exoticness of the *exotic* is created by its external condition. This means that the *exotic* can only exist outside the original setting from which it was extracted. Such a statement presupposes, of course, a clear separation between the two settings – one of which creates the *exotic* and the another one to which the *exotic* refers. Hence, it is the separation – henceforth, the distance between the two settings – that conveys the existence of both Saidian orientalism and the *exotic*.

The separation, without which the *exotic* could not be created, is also a construction. That said, it is necessary to consider the role that Said ascribes to distance in the development of an imaginative geography of the Orient. In order to be apprehended by the West, Europe in particular, the Orient had to be "contained and represented" and this could only be achieved by a demarcation of a "geographical, cultural, linguistic, and ethnic unit called the Orient".<sup>110</sup> This demarcation is what creates the separation, but it is also what makes this new artificial unity approachable. It is precisely this process of demarcation of units that also underlies the decontextualisation-recontextualisation process to which Mason referred. According to this author, the *exotic* is produced when an object is detached from a given cultural setting and placed in another. Hence, it is this transference between two settings that constitutes the process of exoticisation.<sup>111</sup> It is important to note that Mason follows Jacques Derrida's critique against the notion of contexts as something abiding and fixed. This leads him to claim the need to lay bare contexts not as *totalities*, but as *pluralities*.<sup>112</sup> Nevertheless, and although refusing pre-determined artificial contexts such as West and East, North and South, Mason accepts the use of contexts such as "aristocratic and humanistic collections" or "cultural milieu".<sup>113</sup> In short, despite his efforts to abandon artificial units, Mason still builds his view of the *exotic* on a dichotomy between so-called "cultural settings".

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<sup>108</sup>Said, *Orientalism*, 42.

<sup>109</sup> My italics. Mason, *Infelicities. Representations of the Exotic*, 3.

<sup>110</sup> Said, *Orientalism*, 40 and 50.

<sup>111</sup> Mason, *Infelicities. Representations of the Exotic*, 1–2 and 85.

<sup>112</sup> Mason, *Infelicities. Representations of the Exotic*, 12.

<sup>113</sup> Mason, *Infelicities. Representations of the Exotic*, 69–73.

The major pitfall when referring to contexts, regardless of their *plurality*, is the extant danger of considering objects as if they belonged to any particular one. When considering cabinets of curiosities, Mason claims that the “*exotic* quality of the object in a collection of curiosities was contagious, for if every object on display was a curiosity, each of the objects might be supposed to be equally curious”.<sup>114</sup> This approach is what imbues objects with an essence of exoticness, making an existence away from their system impossible. Looked at another way, an essence of exoticness evokes Said’s account of the “Orientalist attitude” as a closed system “in which objects are what they are *because* they are what they are, for once, for all time, for ontological reasons that no empirical material can either dislodge or alter”.<sup>115</sup> It is this Orientalist attitude, or shall I call it “Exoticist attitude”?, that must be denounced in the historiography that deals with the consumption of non-European goods in Iberia.

The “Exoticist attitude” considers that a rhino horn is, despite everything else, an *exotic* item. A casket made of tortoiseshell is invariably an *exotic* piece of furniture. A platter made of Chinese porcelain has embedded in itself an *exotic* allure. This essentialist approach pertaining to the “Exoticist attitude” is precisely what brings Said’s orientalism and the *exotic* so evidently together. Therefore, exoticness should not be understood as an intrinsic characteristic of objects, but rather as a feature of historiographical analysis.

Unconvincingly, Mason attempts to detach the *exotic* from *Orientalism*:

It is not the ‘original’ geographic or cultural contexts which are valued, but the suitability of the objects in question to assume new meaning in a new context. In this respect, exoticist representation can be seen as the opposite of Edward Said’s ‘Orientalism’; although the latter fetishizes authoritative knowledge and geographic specificity, often with a view to actual domination, exoticist representation is indifferent to ethnographic or geographic precision and tends to serve **imaginative** rather than concretely political ends.<sup>116</sup>

This view finds some correspondence with Dorothy Figueira’s definition of exoticism as a romantic illusion and decadent quest – “an excursion into the alien” – where the subject looks for salvation in vain.<sup>117</sup> However, exoticism cannot be regarded as simply having “imaginative” ends. First, because it takes the view of the *exotic* as an immutable notion over time for granted as if existed independently of individuals. Second, today’s understanding of the notion of the *exotic* is heir to the system of thought that Said aimed at denouncing in *Orientalism*. As an example, it is the “Exoticist attitude” that lies behind many of the exhibitions which include *exotic* objects to support

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<sup>114</sup> My italics. Mason, *Infelicities. Representations of the Exotic*, 85.

<sup>115</sup> Said, *Orientalism*, 70.

<sup>116</sup> My emphasis. Mason, *Infelicities. Representations of the Exotic*, 3.

<sup>117</sup> Figueira, *The Exotic. A Decadent Quest*, 163–168.



the role of Iberians as first global empires.

As seen in the previous section, most of the concepts associated with the *exotic* are nineteenth-century constructions: *Exotica*, *Mudéjar*, Indo-Portuguese, and so on. Because the *exotic* has been fuelled by *Orientalism*, the current academic interest for *Exotica* hides a Eurocentric discourse. Indeed, there are works that use the consumption of exotic objects and materials to sustain the view of Iberian courts and cities as cosmopolitan environments. Places where luxurious cultural artefacts from all over the world were gathered and re-exported. Examples of these are: *Exotica: Portugals Entdeckungen im Spiegel fürstlicher Kunst- und Wunderkammern der Renaissance* (2000), *Oriente en Palacio: tesoros asiáticos en las colecciones reales españolas* (2003) and, more recently, *The Global City: On the Streets of Renaissance Lisbon* (2015).

If the *exotic* is a construction, it is not an intrinsic feature of objects. Much of the historiography handling the representations of the exotic used the concepts of *Exotica* or *exotic* without taking the volatility of these terms into consideration. The result is that exoticism unavoidably needs to be approached as a historical phenomenon.

Benjamin Schmidt took a significant step further in historicising exoticism. Schmidt declared that a new form of exoticism was developed during the second half of the seventeenth century. This was when the term exotic came to mean not only something foreign, but also something delightful.<sup>118</sup> In accordance to this, Schmidt defends that the production of geographical works (textual, visual and material) in the Netherlands led the Europeans to see the exotic world (the non-European in general, but frequently referring to America) in a new and completely different way during that period. According to this scholar, the sixteenth-century form of exoticism meant that the distance and separation between Europe and the exotic world was overcome by efforts to find connections. The point being to bridge the differences in order to “smooth the path to imperial progress”.<sup>119</sup> Schmidt declares that earlier European geography of overseas regions is based on very parochial, national or personal accounts and travel diaries. Hence, there is neither a single exotic world, nor a single European audience. In contrast, the new type of exoticism widened the gap between Europe and the rest by fashioning an agreeably exotic world for a universally European consumer. Furthermore, the type of Dutch-produced geography of the second half of the seventeenth century comprised more impersonal accounts and operated in more market-driven conditions that allowed books to serve a more diverse audience.<sup>120</sup> This “new exoticism emphasized

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<sup>118</sup> Schmidt, *Inventing Exoticism*, 325.

<sup>119</sup> An idea that Schmidt developed from Anthony Pagden’s “Principle of Attachment”. See Pagden, *European Encounters with the New World From Renaissance to Romanticism*, 17–49; Schmidt, *Inventing Exoticism*, 13.

<sup>120</sup> Schmidt, *Inventing Exoticism*, 64–68.

variety, abundance, and agreeably digressive concoctions that mixed and matched the wonders of the world – mosques with pagodas, pearls with porcelain – rather than distinguishing among them. It aimed to ‘delight’.<sup>121</sup> In short, the new exoticism fostered the perception of one single alluring *exotic* world at the same type as it developed a sense of “*European sameness*”<sup>122</sup> Although Schmidt’s view provides a valuable contribution by emphasizing the instability of the *exotic* over time, the approach is still fragile. More to the point, the perspective is somewhat lacking, because Schmidt’s contribution does not stress the variability of the concept over space.

## A “frontier society”

While focusing on the perception of the “Turk” in Europe in-between 1450-1750, James G. Harper criticises the essentialist approach of *Orientalism* and defends that “what is seen depends on who is envisioning”.<sup>123</sup> Contemporary criticism supports Harper’s claim in as much as it denounces a static views of space. A major contribution has been that of Doreen Massey, who argued that space is socially constructed.<sup>124</sup> In most studies on the consumption of exotic goods, Europe as a unified space is still taken for granted. This observation led Stephen Greenblatt to ask whether there was a one and only “European practise of representation” during the early modern period.<sup>125</sup> Several scholars have recently demonstrated that the answer to this rhetorical question is hardly positive. Amongst them is Harper who proposed “a composite model with flexible components” to overcome essentialist dichotomies, declaring that “any individual Westerner (or category of Westerner) who imagines the East must plot somewhere on a matrix, the three axes of which are time, geographic location, and worldliness of experience”.<sup>126</sup> Although ambitious, this proposal could very well be applied to studies on *Exotica*.

Through time, the view of the “Turk” moved from the “invincible Turk”, in the fifteenth and first two thirds of the sixteenth centuries, to the “still-formidable, yet ‘vincible Turk’” after the Battle of Lepanto in 1571. From there, to the “innocuous Turk” conveyed by the reverse of Ottoman expansionism during the eighteenth century. Apart from the aspect of time, to understand the perception of the “Turk”, Harper considers the effects of the different European states’ proximity to the “Ottoman threat”. Taken together, the Hispanic Monarchy was the ‘front line’ given its possessions in the Italian Peninsula, whereas France was the rear. This allowed for *turqueries* to

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<sup>121</sup> Schmidt, *Inventing Exoticism*, 5.

<sup>122</sup> Schmidt, *Inventing Exoticism*, 15.

<sup>123</sup> Harper, ‘Introduction’, 7.

<sup>124</sup> Massey, *For Space*.

<sup>125</sup> Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions. The Wonder of the New World*, 8.

<sup>126</sup> Harper, ‘Introduction’, 7–11.

develop in the latter case and not the first. Finally, the third axis is mainly related to social group, although also implying a geographical relation. Each individual will have a personal worldliness that “will affect not only the images he or she consumes but also the degree to which the Ottomans are present in his or her imagination”, for it “can condition a range of responses, from the collaborative and curious to the demonizing and Manichean”.<sup>127</sup>

Harper’s contribution to understand early modern orientalism, together with Schmidt’s work on exoticism, revealed how the transference of historiographical models from one period to another, or from one region to another, may not apply. This seems particularly evident in works that export the *Wunderkammer* model to the Iberian context to explain the existence of exotic objects and/or materials. This issue, which has been addressed by Antonio Urquizar Herrera, is evident matter in studies of *cámaras de maravillas* within the residences of sixteenth-century Spanish elites.<sup>128</sup> Cases



**Image 1.1 – *The Yarmouth Collection (The Paston Treasures)***

Unknown Dutch artist, c. 1665

Oil on canvas, 165 x 246.5cm, Norwich Castle Museum & Art Gallery

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<sup>127</sup> Harper, ‘Introduction’, 7–11.

<sup>128</sup> Urquizar Herrera, *Coleccionismo y nobleza*, 16–19.

like the ones of the Marquis of Velada, or the Duke of Frías.<sup>129</sup> They do not match the examples of Munich, Innsbruck or Prague and, as this thesis demonstrates, Madrid's sixteenth- and early-seventeenth centuries inventories do not record any assemblage of objects corresponding to those models. Therefore, seeing representations of the exotic world in early modern Iberia, for example as depicted in the *The Paston Treasures* (**Image 1.1**), is not only an anachronism, but also an anachorism.

The lack of neatly-organised cabinets of curiosities in early modern inventories in Madrid, together with the absence of pictorial representations of *exotica* assemblages, suggests that the perception of exoticness may not apply to the Iberian case. At least, not as seen in Rudolf II's collections of objects and materials from overseas. One explanation for this may lie in the specificity of the sociological context of the Iberian Peninsula during the early modern period. Furthermore, in the sixteenth century, the Iberian Peninsula itself was also, for Central and Northern Europeans at least, an exotic region.

Throughout the early modern period, Northern European travellers constantly noticed the strangeness of some Iberian cultural practises, namely buildings, gardening, fashion, or even language. Amongst these, the *estrado* – a luxurious space within the domestic space, usually occupied by women, and furnished with expensive materials, such as carpets, cushions, wall hangings and elaborate furniture – and the custom of women sitting on the floor – a practise that lasted until, at least, the late-seventeenth century – were particularly remarked by foreigners.<sup>130</sup> These practises, so embedded in Iberian culture, had been assimilated from Andalusí cultural practises since the medieval period. This happened to the extent that “it was impossible to separate what had become by that point hybridized and local forms”.<sup>131</sup> As Barbara Fuchs has brilliantly demonstrated, this “hybridity” was the basis for the construction of a view of Iberia as an *exotic* region. Following it, Northern and Protestant Europeans exaggerated the differences to strengthen the anti-Spanish propaganda of the Black Legend.<sup>132</sup>

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<sup>129</sup> The studies on these two courtiers have identified cabinets of curiosities in their inventories, but the conclusion is unconvincing. Martínez Hernández claims that a given number of objects in the inventories of the Marquis of Velada “junto con otros más raros y curiosos contribuían a conformar una especie de cámara de maravillas”, see: Martínez Hernández, ‘Don Gómez Dávila Y Toledo (...)’, 270. However, the sources that the scholar used do not demonstrate that the objects were all kept together, see: BFZ, *Altamira*, Carpeta 198, Doc. 1 (testamento e inventario de bienes del Marqués de Velada, Madrid, 29 de julio de 1616). A similar claim is made about the Duke of Frías (see: Delgado et al., *De todos los ingenios los mejores. El Condestable Juan Fernández de Velasco y Tovar, V Duque de Frías*, 157–163.), but again, the sources do not confirm the claim (see *ibidem*, 321-353).

<sup>130</sup> Fuchs, *Exotic Nation. Maurophilia and the Construction of Early Modern Spain*, 14.

<sup>131</sup> Fuchs, *Exotic Nation. Maurophilia and the Construction of Early Modern Spain*, 1-3.

<sup>132</sup> For more on the Black Legend, see Villaverde Rico and Castilla Urbano, *La Sombra de La Leyenda Negra*.

Fuchs' work focuses on the “*constructedness* of Spain's exoticism”, but the scholar recognises “the many ways in which early modern Spanish culture was idiosyncratic in its distinctive hybridization”.<sup>133</sup> Harper, too, had recognised that Spain was a unique case amongst the “front line states” in relation to the Ottoman Empire, because the encounter with Islam was “both internal and external”.<sup>134</sup> Within this “hybridized” society, the *Mudéjar* is a very illustrative example of the cultural environment.<sup>135</sup> Although theorised during the nineteenth century to designate the artistic production of Muslims under Christian rule, the *Mudéjar* is not exclusive to Islamic artisans. It “becomes, over the long period of cultural exchange, fully integrated into local vernaculars”.<sup>136</sup> Fuchs develops the examples of dressing codes and the use of chivalric culture from Moorish traditions (namely the reference to practises such as the *juegos de cañas* and the riding *a la jineta*) that became part of the diplomatic culture of the Hispanic Monarchy during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.<sup>137</sup> María Judith Feliciano is but one scholar who focused on the *Mudéjar* in the New World, which fully demonstrates that the *Mudéjar* became intrinsic to Iberian cultural practises.<sup>138</sup>

Starting with regarding Iberia as a “frontier society”.<sup>139</sup> In such a society, Moorish practises are so assimilated that the consumption of goods produced in an Islamic territory is completely devoid of its religious connotations – a “Moorish habitus” in Fuchs' words.<sup>140</sup> If so, consumption of Moorish goods is to be regarded as appreciation for their quality, rather than some form of *exotic* allure. Two examples supporting this statement were the undisputable high quality to the textiles sold in Granada and the furniture produced with the *taracea* (i.e. intarsia) technique from Moorish tradition – the absolute *obra rica*.<sup>141</sup> These are but two examples of the permeability of Moorish material culture in Catholic Castile. This intricate intimacy between what is “Spanish” and what is “Moorish” leads Fuchs to notice a clear difference from Said's version of orientalism. For Said, “the distance between self and other is crucial for the construction of European superiority”, then, if that distance does not exist, can we, still speak of exoticisation processes?<sup>142</sup>

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<sup>133</sup> Fuchs, *Exotic Nation. Maurophilia and the Construction of Early Modern Spain*, 9.

<sup>134</sup> Harper, ‘Introduction’, 9.

<sup>135</sup> The use of the term hybrid needs some caution. See discussion on page 19.

<sup>136</sup> Fuchs, *Exotic Nation. Maurophilia and the Construction of Early Modern Spain*, 51–59.

<sup>137</sup> Fuchs, *Exotic Nation. Maurophilia and the Construction of Early Modern Spain*, 60–114. *Juego de Cañas* was an equestrian game, like an Iberian version of the joust, that was a popular entertainment – but also a military exercise – within Spanish nobility until the seventeenth century. Riding *a la jineta* was a particular way of riding in which the rider used the knees and the heels to guide the horse through the use of short stirrups and by sitting higher on the saddle.

<sup>138</sup> Feliciano Chaves, ‘Mudejarismo in Its Colonial Context: Iberian Cultural Display, Viceregal Luxury Consumption, and the Negotiation of Identities in Sixteenth-Century New Spain’.

<sup>139</sup> Fuchs, *Exotic Nation. Maurophilia and the Construction of Early Modern Spain*, 2.

<sup>140</sup> Fuchs, *Exotic Nation. Maurophilia and the Construction of Early Modern Spain*, 13.

<sup>141</sup> Fuchs, *Exotic Nation. Maurophilia and the Construction of Early Modern Spain*, 22–23. Aguiló Alonso, *El mueble en España, siglos XVI-XVII*, 161.

<sup>142</sup> Fuchs, *Exotic Nation. Maurophilia and the Construction of Early Modern Spain*, 75–76.

For the process of exoticisation to happen, a distance, or at least a clear cut, is required. Mason argues that for the *exotic* to thrive it needs to be constructed in the process of subtraction from one context and created in a new one. For that reason, the scholar declares that the *exotic* is never at home.<sup>143</sup> The *exotic* is the product of a process of transference and transformation. Therefore, defending a process of exoticisation towards the Moorish or the Islam in a “frontier society” like the Iberian one does not seem destined to succeed. In particular, because a large differentiation of context is not clear. This is precisely the same reasoning that allows me to question the existence of exoticism in the consumption of goods from overseas in early modern Iberia.

The Iberian Peninsula being in the “front line” of contact with Africa, Asia and the New World at the turn of the seventeenth century, would it even be possible for a process of exoticisation to happen? Moreover, taking into consideration that contacts had by then been established for over a century, would the continuous arrival of overseas goods in the ports of Lisbon and Seville still allow for a process of exoticisation to take place? Was it really the *exotic* allure that kept feeding the market for non-European materials? To answer these questions, there is a need to transcend historically-constructed concepts, such as exoticness or *Exotica*, and find an alternative approach to study the reception of non-European goods in early modern Iberia. That is the goal in the following section.

### 1.3. Going beyond exoticness

In a study about the relationship between European music genres and the exotic world, Ralph Locke insisted on the claim that the *exotic* is “relational”: “Exoticism is not an inherent trait in a work but, rather, arises from the interaction of the work and its ‘receivers’”.<sup>144</sup> Despite the seemingly obviousness of this statement, studies on the interaction between consumers and their overseas objects and/or materials are lacking in historiography. Bringing objects to the centre of historical research, rather than departing from constructed models, such as cabinets of curiosities or collections, can offer new insights to understand the driving forces behind the consumption of objects that are usually put under the category of *Exotica*.

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<sup>143</sup> Mason, *Infelicities. Representations of the Exotic*, 1–15.

<sup>144</sup> Locke actually develops the idea from Head, *Orientalism, Masquerade and Mozart’s Turkish Music*. In Locke, *Music and the Exotic from the Renaissance to Mozart*, 28–31.

Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson beautifully summarised the importance of objects to historical research: “Knowing about people’s possessions is crucial to understanding their experience of life, the way they saw themselves in relation to their peers and their responses to the interactions with the social, cultural and economic structures and processes which made up the societies in which they lived”.<sup>145</sup> The question that arises is how can the historian approach the relationality of exotic items?

Following the previous discussion that concluded that exoticness is a historically-constructed phenomenon, in this section I set the tools to study a group of objects that have been so far regarded as *exotic*. I show the constraints of several proposals offered for material culture studies during the past thirty years and how these constraints have led me to eventually integrate some aspects of a recent theoretical framework in this thesis. The anthropologist Tim Ingold advanced the framework that I will be using in this chapter. Subsequently, the chapter then moves on to a more pragmatic section that offers a methodological proposal on how to work with the archival sources usually available to historians. By the end of the chapter, the full theoretical and methodological framework for the development of this thesis will be completed.

## Humans and objects

There is an extensive body of literature recently written on the methodology of Material Cultural Studies.<sup>146</sup> Nonetheless, the first significant contribution to study material culture for its relationality is due to Arjun Appadurai. In 1986, Appadurai argued the need to integrate artefacts in the study of human relations, because “their meanings are inscribed in their forms, their uses, their trajectories”.<sup>147</sup> Appadurai recognised that objects did not have value in themselves, other than the value with which humans endowed them. Further to that, Appadurai defended that value could only be measured in the action of transaction/exchange. In other words, value is determined by analysing the sacrifice of one object to obtain a more desirable one. According to Appadurai, “even though from a *theoretical* point of view human actors encode things with significance, from a *methodological* point of view it is the things-in-motion that illuminate their human and social context”.<sup>148</sup> Despite this ground-breaking approach having moved the focus from the object to the relation between object and subject, the idea that “meanings are inscribed” in objects poses several problems.

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<sup>145</sup> Hamling and Richardson, *Everyday Objects*, 1.

<sup>146</sup> Gerritsen and Riello, ‘Writing Material Culture History (Introduction)’, 3. Harvey, ‘Introduction: Practical Matters’; Ago, *Gusto for Things*; Findlen, ‘Introduction: Early Modern Things (...)’. Riello, ‘Things That Shape History’.

<sup>147</sup> Appadurai, ‘Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value’, 5.

<sup>148</sup> Appadurai, ‘Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value’, 3-5. Original italics.

There is a general agreement amongst historians that objects do not have a single and permanent meaning. Instead, meaning is created through time and space and it is a function of human experience.<sup>149</sup> For example, given its global diffusion and its constant transformation, Chinese porcelain has been regarded as a means of cultural transmission in the sense that objects embody cultural codes that are imported, assimilated, adapted. Furthermore, objects are then re-exported to the original places from where they had originally been imported.<sup>150</sup> This mutability and continuous interchange of meaning surely highlights the need for considering the relationship between objects and the social realities related to them.<sup>151</sup> That being said, the view that objects have meanings embedded in themselves suggests that the object is passive and that meanings are incessantly layered over the object by a human actor.

Alfred Gell attempted to give a voice to things when he called for the need to focus on the agency of artistic objects.<sup>152</sup> More to the point, instead of seeing works of art, or objects, as something with encoded meanings, Gell approaches works of art as performers that can act at the same level as individuals. By dismissing the view that objects have an “intrinsic” artistic nature, Gell argued that “the nature of the art object is a function of the social-relational matrix in which it is embedded”.<sup>153</sup> The result is that Gell departs from the refusal of semiotic approaches to art, and defends that art is:

a system of action, intended to change the world rather than encode symbolic propositions about it. The ‘action’-centred approach to art is inherently more anthropological than the alternative semiotic approach because it is preoccupied with the practical mediatory role of art objects in the social process, rather than with the interpretation of objects ‘as if’ they were texts.<sup>154</sup>

Thus, the ultimate objective of Gell’s anthropological theory of art is “to account for the production and circulation of art objects as a function of this relational context”.<sup>155</sup> Despite the influence that this proposition has had in contemporary thought, the claim for agency of things must be read carefully. It cannot be confound to some kind of belief in the animism of things. That means that the approach to the agency of things should be taken on a methodological, rather than ontological, level.<sup>156</sup>

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<sup>149</sup> Gerritsen and Riello, ‘Writing Material Culture History (Introduction)’, 7; Burke, ‘Translating Knowledge, Translating Cultures’, cited in North, *Artistic and Cultural Exchanges between Europe and Asia, 1400-1900*, 2, and Findlen, ‘Introduction: Early Modern Things: Objects and Their Histories, 1500-1800’, 7.

<sup>150</sup> Finlay, ‘The Pilgrim Art: The Culture of Porcelain in World History’, 177.

<sup>151</sup> Gerritsen and Riello, ‘Writing Material Culture History (Introduction)’, 2.

<sup>152</sup> Gell, *Art and Agency*.

<sup>153</sup> Gell, *Art and Agency*, 7.

<sup>154</sup> Gell, *Art and Agency*, 6.

<sup>155</sup> Gell, *Art and Agency*, 11.

<sup>156</sup> Preda, ‘The Turn to Things: Arguments for a Sociological Theory of Things’, 357; see also Latour, *We Have Never Been Modern*, 94–95. For a discussion on the ontology of things, see Heidegger, ‘The Thing’; Brown, ‘Thing Theory’.



Despite Gell's contribution to bring the agency of objects to the foreground, Daniel Miller continues to see a certain passivity of the object in the literature. This led him to declare the existence of a "tyranny of the subject". In other words, Miller considers there is a supremacy in viewing the object as a mere product of a subject.<sup>157</sup> Works that focus on "biographies" or "the social lives" of things are but attempts to attribute to objects features that are innate to humans – the subject.<sup>158</sup> Even attributing agency to things is endowing them with an emblematic human feature. In an effort to contribute to the emancipation of the object, Miller defended that humans and things are produced dialectically. One example is the relationship between humans and their creations, such as law, religion or art. Humans "both produce and are the products of these historical processes" and the same could be said about more "mundane artefacts such as clothes or statues".<sup>159</sup> In other words, people produce objects which, in turn, produce changes in people who will produce new objects. The clearest example of this is technology. A new product generates in the subject the capacity to produce a more advanced one. There is, however, a premise in this argument that is not unanimously accepted. The duality subject/object remains, supporting a certain opposition of ontological essentialism. Indeed, a human and a thing are considered as the Yin and the Yang – two opposites that complement each other.

Bruno Latour disputes that premise. Latour claims that reality is not an opposition, but an entire hybridity. For Latour, "studying social relations without the nonhumans is impossible", for "what defines our social relations is, for the most part, prescribed back to us by nonhumans".<sup>160</sup> This claim, made just a couple of years after Appadurai's foundational text, was further developed. It turned into an analysis of the relationship between humans and nonhumans when stating that society is just a part of a collective whole in which humans and nonhumans are in constant interaction and change.<sup>161</sup> Therefore, rather than a dialectical relationship between humans and nonhumans, the Latourian idea of *collective* is the actual force that determines every change. Agency lies, not in any of the parts, but in the network that brings everything together.

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<sup>157</sup> Miller, 'Materiality: An Introduction'.

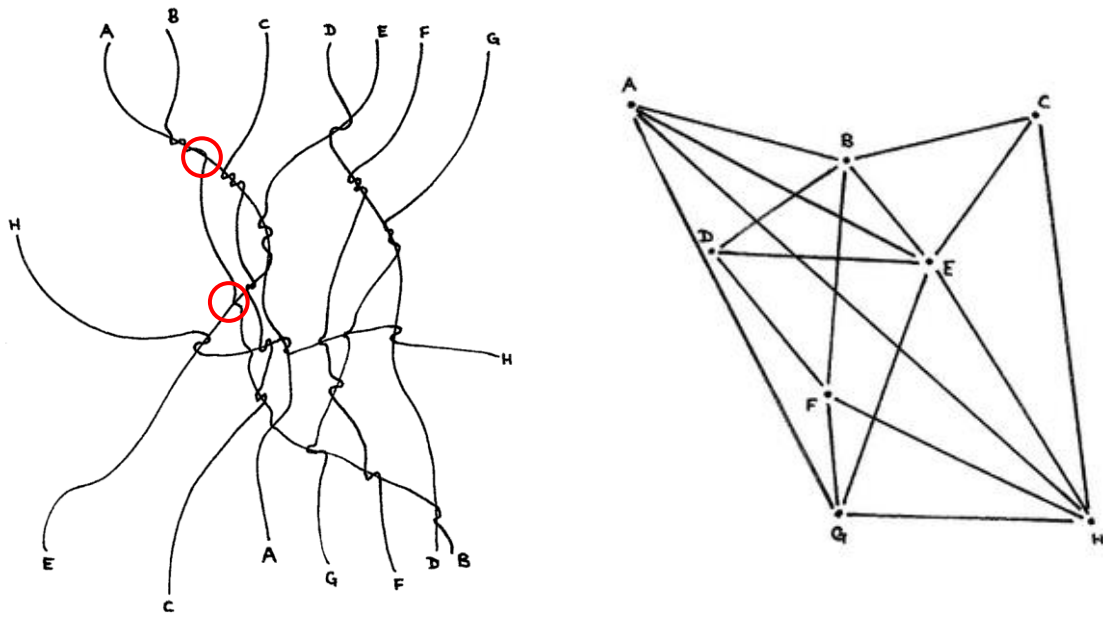
<sup>158</sup> Examples of this are Appadurai, 'Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value'; Kopytoff, 'The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process'; Daston, *Biographies of Scientific Objects*; Daston, *Things That Talk. Object Lessons from Art and Science*; Findlen, 'Introduction: Early Modern Things: Objects and Their Histories, 1500-1800'; Hahn and Weiss, 'Chapter 1: Biographies, Travels and Itineraries of Things'.

See the critique by Holbraad, 'Can the Thing Speak?' at: <http://openanthcoop.net/press/2011/01/12/can-the-thing-speak/> Accessed on 7 July 2018.

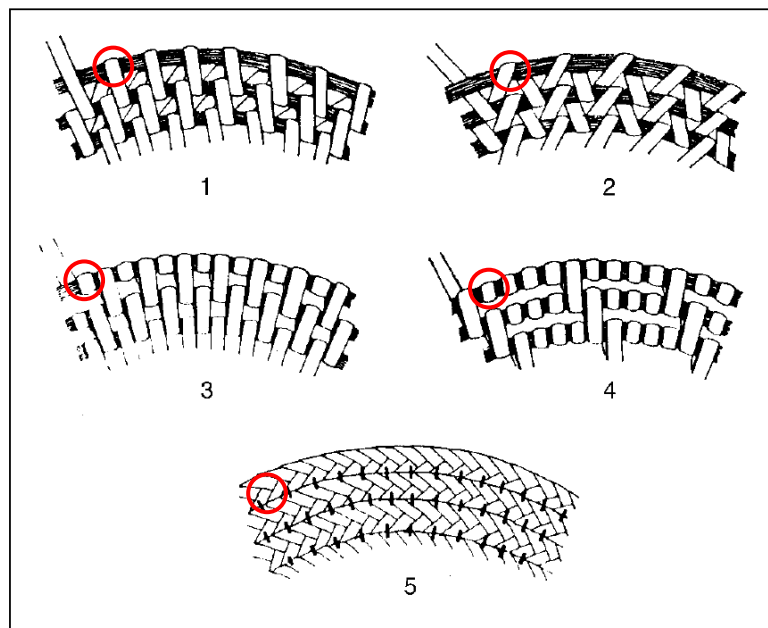
<sup>159</sup> Miller, 'Materiality: An Introduction', 10.

<sup>160</sup> Latour, as Johnson, 'Mixing Humans and Nonhumans Together: The Sociology of a Door-Closer', 310.

<sup>161</sup> Latour, *We Have Never Been Modern*.



**Image 1.2** The network of entangled lines (left) and the network of connected points (right)<sup>162</sup>  
 Model presented by Tim Ingold on which I added the demarcation of points of intersection



**Image 1.3** The “coiled basket” model<sup>163</sup>

Patterns of wrapping in coiled basketry:

(1) plain; (2) figure-of-eight (‘Navajo’); (3) long and short (‘lazy squaw’); (4) Peruvian coil; (5) sewn coil

<sup>162</sup> From Ingold, *Lines. A Brief History*, 82.

<sup>163</sup> From Ingold, ‘On Weaving a Basket’, quoting Hodges, *Artifacts*, 131.

Tim Ingold authored an interesting and recent contribution to the debate. Rather than a network comprising interconnected points (humans or nonhumans), Ingold prefers to see a mesh of interconnected lines that evolve and are in constant transformation (see **Image 1.2**). The change of perspective has a *raison d'être*. For Ingold, humans are just another part of an immense world of materials that are in constant transformation.<sup>164</sup> Further to that, Ingold aims at “returning persons to where they belong, within the continuum of organic life”.<sup>165</sup> Objects and people are regarded, not as static spots in time that can only connect amongst each other in a network, but as “lines” that evolve and are in constant transformation. These “lines” intersect several times with other “lines” and, like weaving a coiled basket, end up forming a meshwork (**Image 1.3**).<sup>166</sup> Instead of engaging in a search for the meaning of things, for their *thingness*, for their unique relationship between each individual object and each individual person, Ingold’s model offers a much more dynamic perspective.

This approach, that seems to bring anthropology closer to quantum mechanics, not only contributes to ending the “tyranny of the subject”, but it also offers a methodological solution to integrate objects in a discipline mainly concerned with people, such as is the case with history. Ingold’s advocacy of “the continuum of organic life” offers a framework with which to approach objects and materials. I find it particularly useful in my analysis.

To begin with, it refutes analysis of human/nonhuman individual relations as something unique and frozen in both time and space. Hence, it rejects all single causes and meta-explanations regarding consumption practises. Because of that, the “coiled basket” model allows the historian to go deeper in the intricate complexity of the relationship between individuals and their things. The historian can integrate the hybridity already claimed by Latour and the changeable nature of human beings. If anything, this approach regards both humans and nonhumans, i.e. both consumers and objects, as mutative “lines” that intersect. They do so amongst themselves one or several times, forming a complexity of interactions that the one-to-one approach to networks cannot sufficiently explain. Notwithstanding the fact that such an epistemological project may seem impossible to achieve, the model allows changing the approach in a new and enriching way. If people, objects and materials are different “lines” that connect and disconnect and if they are in constant transformation, focusing on their intersection moment, rather than on the “lines” themselves, may open a window to understand the wide range of different mechanisms, motivations and aims of consumption.

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<sup>164</sup> Ingold, ‘Materials against Materiality’, 12.

<sup>165</sup> Ingold, ‘Writing Texts, Reading Materials. A Response to My Critics’, 32.

<sup>166</sup> Ingold, ‘On Weaving a Basket’.

In the same way that microhistory claimed the need to focus on small and delimited cases to understand the complexity of historical phenomena, analysing the moment of intersection between individuals and things seems to be the only way to investigate consumption in a multidimensional framework.<sup>167</sup> Therefore, this thesis is not about a consumer and his things. It is about the mechanisms at the disposal of a consumer that allow him to consume things. As it is about the wide range of forces that allow objects to be consumed. On the one hand the arguments can only be valid for one single moment in which the consumer and an object interact. In other words, they do not work as an overall explanation of consumption in early modern Iberia. On the other hand, the following chapters depict a much more elaborate picture of exotic items' consumption than the one that has so far existed.

### The third line

In the meshwork of “lines”, and because this is a historiographical work, a human is required. The selection of a human case-study sufficiently rich to inquire about the mechanisms, driving forces and aims for exotic objects or materials' consumption depends on the natural constraints of the historian. Namely, the availability of sources and the type of information that can be extracted from them. Revealed by the documentation in two Spanish archives, the ambassador Juan de Borja y Castro (1533-1606) came to be a very appropriate case-study.

Amongst the plethora of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century inventories kept at the *Archivo Histórico de Protocolos de Madrid*, two belonging to Juan de Borja mention a significantly high number of exotic things. Those things have already been used to support the view of his taste for the *exotic*.<sup>168</sup> Apart from these two inventories, Ferran Escrivà Llorca identified yet another one at the *Archivo General de Simancas* that refers to Juan de Borja. This inventory, too, is filled with references to exotic objects. The earliest inventory is the one kept in Simancas (1577). Amongst its contents are bedcovers said to be from India (*colchas de la Yndia*), caskets made of tortoiseshell, porcelain, carpets *de la Yndia*, a fan made of ebony, rhinoceros' leather, a cabinet from China, a bottle coated in mother-of-pearl, benzoin resin, a coconut from the Maldives and books *de la China*.<sup>169</sup> The next inventory related to Juan de Borja (1600) includes a gourd *de las Yndias*, three horns made of ivory, two beds and a table from China, several pieces of porcelain and a foot of the “great beast” (*grand bestia*) – possibly from

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<sup>167</sup> About microhistory see the summary by Giovanni Levi, ‘On Microhistory’.

<sup>168</sup> AHPM, Prot. 933 and 2626. Juan de Borja's taste for exotic items was mentioned in Burke and Cherry, *Collections of Paintings in Madrid, 1601-1755*, vol. I:119; and Morán Turina and Checa Cremades, *El Coleccionismo En España*, 158, 163. This argument is discussed in Chapter 2, Section 2.2 of this thesis.

<sup>169</sup> AGS, Cámara de Castilla, Libro 360, ff. 187-201v.

a tapir or a moose.<sup>170</sup> Finally, Borja's probate inventory (1606) comprises, amongst other things, a whole section of rhino horns, silver bottles made in India (*obra de la yndia*), a coconut, several objects made of porcelain, baskets, trays and a gourd *de la yndia*, nine carpets, mats and quilts (*colchas*) also *de la yndia*, and several pieces of furniture made from tropical wood.<sup>171</sup>

These references to exotic objects and materials could be sufficient to establish that Juan de Borja had an interest in *Exotica*. However, inventories are such a complex type of historical source that they should be regarded as the third "line" in the meshwork of humans and objects. As I show in the forthcoming chapters, there are aspects that incommensurably affect the understanding of the meeting point between the human and his objects. Those aspects are the inventories' circumstances of production, the way the information is organised within each document and the impossibility of asserting property omitted from the inventory. Because of these challenges, some premises need to be taken into account.

Up until now, most studies focusing on explaining the consumption of overseas objects and materials in early modern Iberia have used inventories. Since historians became aware of their potential during the 1970s, this type of source has been increasingly used for the study of the history both of mentalities as well as of consumption.<sup>172</sup> These contributions have brought to light a wide range of cases and they have provided several frameworks of consumption without which it would not be possible to analyse individual cases. The significance of inventories as historical sources cannot be denied. Nonetheless, the extensive use of inventories is not free from dangers.

To illustrate this point, let us start by considering an already highlighted limitation of inventories: omissions. Spanish archives are particularly rich in regards to inventories, since it used to be common practise in Castile to list the possessions of individuals following their death so that they could be sold at a public auction – the *almoneda*. The Portuguese Tomé Pinheiro Veiga (1570-1656), who attended some of these *almonedas*, stated that in Philip III's time, after someone's death, all property was usually put up for auction, even if a relative wanted to acquire some of the objects, for s/he would have to bid as anyone else.<sup>173</sup> Despite this statement being constantly repeated in historiographical works, it is not completely accurate. As Greig Parker has recently summarised, "it is [...] important to recognise that probate inventories are not complete, itemised lists of all the

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<sup>170</sup> AHPM, Prot. 933.

<sup>171</sup> AHPM, Prot. 2626.

<sup>172</sup> About the use of probate inventories in historiography, see the following summary: Sobrado Correa, 'Los Inventarios Post-Mortem (...)'. Given its scarcity in the Iberian Peninsula, the use of other type of sources to study consumption, such as account books, has not been as widely used as probate inventories.

<sup>173</sup> "Una de las cosas que mas holgaba de ver en la corte eran las almonedas, porque muriendo un señor o una mujer, se vende cuanto hay en casa, y si el viudo o el hijo quieren alguna cosa ha de comprarlo de su parte y es muy acostumbado para que haya igualdad. Ver aquí las riquezas, la brutalidad de los vestidos, es cosa que no se puede comprender, porque en esto, o sea muebles de casa, son todos príncipes" Veiga, *Fastiginia O Fastos Geniales*, 199.

material goods of the deceased”.<sup>174</sup> In contrast to Pinheiro da Veiga’s statement, some inventories only list the objects in one house, while there may be many, and others only list the objects required to pay the debts of the deceased.

Several other constraints of probate inventories have been discussed elsewhere.<sup>175</sup> However, it is particularly important to keep in mind that each inventory was made with specific aims, each one has its own structure (e.g. by materials; by room; or by type of objects) and that the officers who conducted them had an important role to play in the order by which the objects were listed within each section of the document – arbitrary, by economic value, social relevance, etc. All these specificities complicate the efforts to standardise inventories if a comparative or statistical study is what the historian aims at doing. Besides, the variables can become distorted when external categorisation is applied to the records. In fact, most current studies of early modern consumption are built on statistical methodologies that organise the records in the inventories according to categories which are, by nature, highly problematic– not only *Exotica*, but also “art”, religious objects, and so on. As an example, although many can be given, in his PhD thesis, José Lu s Gasch-Tom s conducted an incredibly extensive study of Asian goods’ consumption in both Mexico City and Seville. Nonetheless, how exactly the goods are accessed as “Asian” is not always evident.<sup>176</sup> In inventories, silk is often mentioned as a material of a given object, but its provenance is usually not stated. Moreover, as I discuss in Chapter 5, the term “India”, which is basic to his thesis, might refer to practically anywhere in the globe apart from Europe.<sup>177</sup> Despite having contributed to provide referential frameworks for the understanding of the consumption of exotic materials and objects in Iberia, studies like this one have also made visible that sources such as inventories need to be considered carefully. Therefore, to go back to Ingold’s analogy of the coiled basket, inventories should be regarded as the third line at the intersection between consumer and object.

In order for the intersection point to be fully analysed, the “lines” of Juan de Borja, his objects and the inventories do not suffice. A sample of other inventories needs to be added to the analysis to determine a relational framework in which the case of Juan de Borja’s things can be inserted. By choosing a sample that can stand for Juan de Borja’s social group – or to use James G. Harper’s “worldliness of experience” –, I aim at understanding the extent to which Borja’s behaviour is conditioned by the individuals who belonged to his social milieu.<sup>178</sup> In order to achieve that, the

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<sup>174</sup> Parker, *Probate Inventories of French Immigrants in Early Modern London*, 11.

<sup>175</sup> Sobrado Correa, ‘Los Inventarios Post-Mortem (...)’; Gasch-Tom s, ‘Global Trade, Circulation and Consumption of Asian Goods (...)’, 32; Riello, ‘Things Seen and Unseen (...)’.

<sup>176</sup> Gasch-Tom s, ‘Global Trade, Circulation and Consumption of Asian Goods (...)’.

<sup>177</sup> See Keating and Markey, ‘“Indian” Objects in Medici and Austrian-Habsburg Inventories. A Case-Study of the Sixteenth-Century Term’. Gasch-Tom s also addresses the problem, but does not present an alternative.

<sup>178</sup> Harper, ‘Introduction’, 8.

only inventory that permits forming a sample for analysis is Borja's probate inventory, issued by Francisco Testa in Madrid in 1606.<sup>179</sup> That being said, the reasons that led to the registration of the other two inventories are quite exceptional, whereas probate inventories are the most standardised type of inventory that can be found in notarial archives in Madrid.

Juan de Borja's probate inventory is, therefore, at the centre of the sample of inventories used in the forthcoming chapters, whose delimitation is marked by two features. Firstly, chronology, for it includes only individuals who shared the same social environment and time frame as Juan de Borja. Therefore, the sample is limited to probate inventories issued within a generation in regards to Borja's death, roughly twenty years before and twenty years after 1606 – i.e. from ca. 1586 to 1626.<sup>180</sup> Secondly, the social group, which means that it only comprises individuals who shared one or more of the following with Borja:

- a) belonged to the nobility;
- b) held a public office;
- c) were knights of a military order;
- d) attended the court in Madrid.<sup>181</sup>

The sample was selected from the Provenance Index developed by Marcus B. Burke and Peter Cherry during the late 1980s for the Getty Information Institute. It is based on the documentation kept at the *Archivo Historico de Protocolos de Madrid*.<sup>182</sup> This means that the sample is also circumscribed to the city of Madrid, hence, most inventories refer to the contents of urban dwellings that could easily be accessed by other members of the nobility frequenting the court. For clarification, **Table 1.1** shows the final list of individuals.

Having chosen the human case-study and the inventories that form the core of the sample to understand the driving forces behind Juan de Borja's consumption of exotic objects or materials, it is still required to stipulate how exotic objects or materials can be identified in the sources. The expression "exotic objects" is neither a category nor a working criterion, even with the italics. Like *Exotica*, it cannot be a category because its conceptualisation as such did not exist in the early modern period. Neither can it be a working criterion, because that would mean imposing an external criterion upon the sources. Therefore, if the purpose is to challenge the category of *Exotica*,

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<sup>179</sup> AHPM, Prot. 2626.

<sup>180</sup> The number of inventories at the Archivo Historico de Protocolos de Madrid increases over time. Therefore, I decided to include a couple of inventories from 1585 in the sample in order to compensate the higher number of inventories issued towards the end of this chronology.

<sup>181</sup> Actually, most of the individuals in the sample fulfil at least two of these requirements.

<sup>182</sup> Burke and Cherry, *Collections of Paintings in Madrid, 1601-1755*.

Name	Title/Office/Info available	Date	Reference
María Pereira	Muger que fue del Sr. Dotor Aguilera, del Consejo Supremo de Su Mag.; y, anteriormente, del Sr. Dotor Benito de Castro	1585	Prot. 989
Antonio Perez	Secretario del Rey	1585	Prot. 989b
Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	Caballero de Santiago	1588	Prot. 590
María de Aragón	Dama de la reina doña Ana de Austria	1593	Prot. 1578
Ana de Toledo y Colona	Marquesa de Velada	1596	Prot. 1810-3a
Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	Marquesa de Poza	1598	Prot. 1810-3
Ana Maria Dugarte Hermossa	Muger que fue del Escrivano Francisco de Cuellar	1598	Prot. 2654b
Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	Comendador Mayor de Calatrava y Caballero Mayor de Su Mag.	1599	Prot. 1006
Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	Juriconsul; Licenciado; Presidente que fue de Castilla	1599	Prot. 932
Juan de la Cerda	Duque de Medinaceli	1607	Prot. 2001
Francisco de Rojas	Marques de Pozas; del Consejo de Estado y Guerra	1609	Prot. 2176
Francisco de Velasco	Caballero de Santiago	1609	Prot. 2284
Francisco de Cuellar	Escrivano del Numero de Madrid	1613	Prot. 2654
Ana Manrique	Condesa De Puñonrostro; "dueña de onor y camarea mor de la serenissª Reyna de françia desde q entro en Palacio"	1616	Prot. 2022
Juan de Mendoza y Castilla	del Consejo y Contaduria Mayor de Hazienda de Su Mag.	1616	Prot. 2298
Juan de Acuña	Marques del Valle; Presidente que fue de Castilla	1616	Prot. 2661
Ruy Gómez de Silva y Mendoza	Marques de Eliseda	1616	Prot. 3146
Juana de Mujita	Viuda de Francisco de Idiaquez (secretario de estado de Itália e de la Ordem de Calatrava)	1617	Prot. 2021
Ana Antonia de Velasco	Marquesa de Celada	1617	Prot. 2021b
Juana de Aragón y Colonna	Marquesa de Villafranca del Bierzo	1617	Prot. 2021c
Mencia de Bobadilla	Marquesa del Valle	1618	Prot. 2662
Leonor de Portugal	Marquesa de Gelves	1618	Prot. 3976
Francisco Enriquez	Conde de Nieva	1618	Prot. 4442
Felipe de Matienço	Alcalde de Laredo; Alguazil Mayor de la Ynquisiçion; Alguazil mayor perpetuo de la ysla de Tenerife	1619	Prot. 2026
Pedro Carlos de Aragón	Archimandrita de Mezina; del Consejo del Rey en el de Italia	1619	Prot. 2026b
Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	Marquesa de Malagón y Frechilla	1620	Prot. 2322
Martin de Padreda	Scrivano que fue de Camara del Consejo y Contaduria Mayor de Hacienda y qentas de Su Mag.	1620	Prot. 2323
Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	Muger del liçenciado Don Luis de Tapia y Paredes que "parte a Salamanca por mandado de SM"	1620	Prot. 2323b
Antonio Orlandis	del Consejo de Su Mag. y Su Secretario y Conservador General de Su Real Patrimonio de los Reynos de Aragon	1620	Prot. 2665
Juan Montoya y Cardona	Regente del Consiglio Collaterale de Napoles	1621	Prot. 2029
Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	Marques de Celada	1621	Prot. 2029-3
Fernando Carrillo	Presidente del Consejo Real de las Indias	1622	Prot. 2031
Hector Piñatelo	Duque de Monteleon	1622	Prot. 2032
Luis Enriquez	Mayordomo de la Reyna; del Consejo de Guerra	1622	Prot. 3485
Alonso Fernandez de Castro	Relator del Consejo Real de las Indias	1624	Prot. 2035
Antonia de Toledo	Duquesa de Medinaceli	1625	Prot. 2040a
Antónia de Rojas	Casada con Gómez del Castillo Sotomayor, Caballero de Santiago	1625	Prot. 2678
Pedro Hurtado de Gaviria	del Consejo de SM en el de Suprema y Gen. Inquisición	1626	Prot. 2040b
Mateo de Carranza	Secretario de Su Majestad	1626	Prot. 2679a
Jorge Cerón Carvajal	Caballero de Santiago	1626	Prot. 2679b

**Table 1.1 – Sample of probate inventories**

Archivo Historico de Protocolos de Madrid



the only possible method to go beyond this concept is to use the information provided directly by the inventories. Amongst all extractable data, references to the materials of which objects are made is the only possible working criteria.

## Exotic materials

A probate inventory is a legal instrument to set the value of private property up for auction, therefore, the focus of these documents is the economic value of objects, which is mainly assessed through their materials.<sup>183</sup> Rather than a sequential enumeration, room by room, of the contents of a house, probate inventories from early modern Madrid were usually organised according to materials – silver, wood, linen, and so on. In some cases, the sections can also be organised according to economic value (i.e. starting with silver and finishing in kitchen metalwork). This ensues from the fact that these documents were elaborated mainly to assess the objects' marketability. Therefore, several inventory officers with different expertise were called to list the inventory. These inventory officers were usually very precise, distinguishing between raw materials and craftsmanship, or declaring if the material was counterfeit or fake.<sup>184</sup> This concern with the accurate registration of the material in the inventories was so relevant that it can be used to identify objects made from materials that were not native to Europe. However, before developing on the latter, it should be highlighted that historiography has often used geographical attributes included in the inventory records to study the consumption of overseas objects and materials.

Geographical attributes are, nonetheless, ambiguous, because certain toponyms were used more as descriptive terms, rather than as real references to provenance. For instance, bedsheets from Holland (*savanas de ollanda*) or writing desks from Germany (*escritorios de allemania*), more than underlining the place of production, they define a certain type of object. *Ollanda* was, in fact, a type of fabric and the references to cabinets made in Germany mainly aim at identifying a group of furniture with similarities in decoration and construction techniques.<sup>185</sup> Further to that, the same applies to the use of certain adjectives such as *allemanisco*, *allemanes*, *vngara*, *turca*, *françes*, or *perssiano*, where the relation to the place of production is uncertain. The fact that so many objects are mentioned as being *de la India* has been used to feed the *Exotica* category, but to what extent this

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<sup>183</sup> Craftsmanship (*hechura*) can also be a factor for economic evaluation, but only rarely is it declared as such.

<sup>184</sup> “dos piedras bezares contrahechas de la yndia de castilla”, in AHPM, Prot. 2322, f. 17; “un diam[an]te falso grande”, in AHPM, Prot. 1578, f. 158v.

<sup>185</sup> In the Diccionario de Autoridades from 1734, the word Holanda is defined as: “Tela de lienzo mui fina de que se hacen camisas para la gente principal y rica. Llamose assí por fabricarse en la Provincia de Holanda”. An example extracted from Don Quixote is given: “Eran quatro camisas de delgada holanda, y otras cosas de lienzo, no menos curiosas que limpias” (Cervantes, Don Quixote, Vol. 1, Chapt. 23) Real Academia Española 1734. About escritorios de Alemania, see Aguiló Alonso, *El mueble en España, siglos XVI-XVII*, 103–105.

expression is sufficiently reliable to designate something made overseas is not clear. For example, an object may have been made in Europe in the manner of *de la India*.<sup>186</sup> A focus on materials can, however, contribute to minimise the pitfalls of geographical attributes.

Notwithstanding the fact that setting aside geographical attributes and identifying exotic materials is, indeed, the first step to go beyond the exoticness of *Exotica*, such a task is not danger free. Supposing that it is possible to define two separate groups of materials, such as those native to Europe and those accessed only following the establishment of long-distance maritime routes during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, simply means ignoring the intercontinental trade of goods that was kept active throughout the whole mediaeval period. One such example is exotic textile fibres. Textiles are often described cautiously by inventory officers who were very precise about the type of textile they were assessing. Therefore, there are hundreds of references to cloths made either of cotton, or silk, such as *anafaya*, brocade, *brocatel*, damask, *caniqui* and *raso*. However, the place of production is not mentioned and, since both cotton and silk were already used in Europe before the sixteenth century, the information in the inventories does not allow these two materials to be undoubtedly seen as exotic. Conversely, coral and mother-of-pearl have been considered as exotic for analytical purposes in this thesis. It is true that both could be obtained in the Mediterranean – in the case of coral there was even an intense export trade of this material to other regions of the globe.<sup>187</sup> Nevertheless, historiography usually regarded them as *exotic*. Further to these, ebony and ivory are two other materials that are here considered as exotic for analytical purposes, because although their supply had preceded early modern commercial routes, the situation changed during the sixteenth and seventeenth century when their trade came to depend almost exclusively on the latter.<sup>188</sup> Therefore, **Table 1.2** is not a list of all exotic materials, but just of those that serve the purposes of this thesis.

By using these materials as a working criterion, the view of *Exotica* as a coherent category faces the first stage of its dismantlement. On the whole, materials were consumed in many different ways. On the one hand, some were intended to be consumed on their own, like resurrection plants, jade or civet musk. On the other hand, there were materials that could be used as components of more complex objects, such as ebony or ivory, often used in furniture. The variability of uses is clearly shown in **Table 1.3**, in which exotic materials are organised according to the diversity of their uses, as listed in the inventories. For a full list of objects that use these materials see **Appendix XII**.

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<sup>186</sup> About the use of the expression “de la India”, see discussion in Chapter 5.

<sup>187</sup> See the recent research by R. Zaugg (Univ. of Lausanne), presented at Budapest in 2017: ‘From the Mediterranean Sea to the Royal Court of Benin. Trade Networks and Cultural Meanings of Red Coral (15th-18th Centuries)’.

<sup>188</sup> Aguiló Alonso, *El mueble en España, siglos XVI-XVII*, 72.

Spanish	English	Spanish	English
Algalia	Civet musk	Lápislázuli	Lapis lazuli
Almizcle	Deer musk	Madera de Brasil	Wood from Brazil
Anime	Copal	Madera de Indias	Wood from Indies
Balsamo	Balsam	Madera de la India	Wood from India
Benjuí	Benzoin resin	Marfil	Ivory
Buzio	Cowry	Nácar	Mother-of-pearl
Calambuco	Aloeswood	Palo de la aguila	Aloeswood
Caoba	Mahogany	Palo Santo	Brazilian rosewood
Cedro de La Havana	Cedar from La Havana	Pastilla	(a pill or tablet)
Coco	Coconut shell	Perla	Pearl
Cocobolo	Cocobolo	Piedra bezoar	Bezoar stone
Concha de tortuga	Tortoiseshell	Piedra de la aguila	(unknown material)
Coral	Coral	Pita	Pita thread
Cuerno de Abada	Rhinoceros horn	Plumas	Feathers
Ebano	Ebony	Porcelana	Porcelain
Gato de Algalia	Civet	Rosa de Jericó	Resurrection plant
Granadillo	Granadillo	Uña de la <i>gran bestia</i>	Nail of the <i>great beast</i>
Jade ( <i>piedra de la hijada</i> )	Jade	Unicornio	Unicorn
Jaspe	Jasper	Vicuña	Vicuña

Table 1.2 – List of exotic materials considered for this thesis<sup>189</sup>

Material	Div.	Material	Div.	Material	Div.
Ebano	55	Palo Santo	6	Palo de la aguila	2
Marfil	49	Coco	5	Piedra de la aguila	2
Nácar	34	Pastilla	5	Algalia	1
Perla	25	Calambuco	4	Almizcle	1
Jaspe	21	Cuerno de Abada	4	Anime	1
Porcelana	19	Piedra bezoar	4	Balsamo	1
Pita	18	Unicornio	4	Cedro de La Havana	1
Coral	14	Madera de Brasil	3	Cocobolo	1
Concha de tortuga	11	Uña de la gran bestia	3	Gato de Algalia	1
Plumas	11	Vicuña	3	Jade	1
Caoba	10	Benjuí	2	Lápislázuli	1
Madera de la India	10	Buzio	2	Rosa de Jericó	1
Granadillo	6	Madera de Indias	2		

Table 1.3 List of exotic materials according to their uses in inventories  
“Div.” stands for “diversity rate”, i.e. number of object names used per material

<sup>189</sup> *Calambuco* and *Palo de la aguila* are often mentioned separately, see Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Fera, Lisbon, 12 June 1571, in AGS, Estado – Portugal, Leg. 389, n. 38-39. However, in 1591, Giovanni Botero declares that “Macin è regno ricco di Aloè, il qual legno (che gli Arabi chiamano Calambuco, alter legno di Aquila) è, per l’odor soauissimo, stimado quasi da tutti quei popoli Orientali à peso de argent”, Botero, *Delle relationi universali (...)*, Vol. II, 145. Rui Loureiro has also considered that *Calambuco* and *Palo de la Aguila* refer to aloeswood/agarwood, see Loureiro, *Fidalgos, missionários e mandarins*, 693.

Material	Recurrence
Ebano	41
Marfil	34
Nácar	25
Jaspe	21
Perla	20
Pita	19
Coco	18
Coral	17
Piedra bezoar	16
Caoba	14
Porcelana	14
Concha de tortuga	11
Benjuí	10
Calambuco	10
Pastilla	9
Plumas	9
Unicornio	9
Algalia	8
Jade	8

Material	Recurrence
Madera de la India	7
Palo Santo	7
Uña de la <i>gran bestia</i>	7
Vicuña	6
Cuerno de Abada	5
Granadillo	5
Piedra de la aguila	5
Almizcle	3
Anime	3
Balsamo	3
Palo de la aguila	3
Gato de Algalia	2
Lapislázuli	2
Madera de Brasil	2
Madera de Indias	2
Rosa de Jericó	2
Buzio	1
Cedro de La Havana	1
Cocobolo	1

**Table 1.4. List of non-European materials organised by their recurrence in inventories**

(“Recurrence” stands for the number of inventories in which materials are recorded.

The sample comprises 41 inventories – it includes Juan de Borja’s inventory.)

The fact that some materials were consumed as raw materials for a wide range of objects, whereas others are consumed in their natural state opens a window of enquiry about the multiple interests that could have been behind their consumption. Ebony is often mentioned as a raw material of furniture, but it can also be part of objects with completely different uses, such as altarpieces, knives, reliquaries or trays. The only comparable material is ivory, which is also widely integrated in furniture, but that can be found in personal objects, such as weapons, fans or cutlery. Furthermore, it should be highlighted that this diversity also applies within the same type of material. When considering tropical wood, for example, consuming ebony and consuming aloeswood could have had very different motivations or aims. Therefore, taking the diversity of materials’ uses into consideration is important. It allows grasping the heterogeneity in the consumption of *Exotica*.

Another interesting feature when focusing on materials while overviewing inventories is to realise how widespread exotic materials had come to be, at least in Madrid amongst the social group under study. Again, diversity must be taken into account. As shown in **Table 1.4**, all individuals represented in the sample had at least one object made from exotic materials. Observing the

materials' recurrence, i.e. the number of consumers per material, reveals that ebony is found in all inventories, whereas thirty-four consumers had some object made with ivory and twenty five consumers had some piece with mother-of-pearl. Besides, the remaining materials are scattered throughout the sample and do not always correspond to the same consumers. Pearls, jasper and pita thread can still be identified in about half of the cases. In addition, coconut shells and coral are present in eighteen and seventeen out of the total forty inventories in the sample. These are impressive results when considering that materials usually regarded as common in Iberia appear in lesser inventories, such as *cuir de cordoue* (i.e. *guadamecil*, not to be confused with *cordoban*) referred in seventeen inventories, or alabaster in only fourteen. Although these results cannot include the range of omissions, it is still very impressive that materials usually considered to be rarities, such as coconut shell, can still be found amongst the possessions of almost half of the consumers.

Most interesting is also how materials that would become very common in late-seventeenth-century furniture, appear here with very low recurrence rates. References to wood such as *palo santo* or *granadillo* do not reach the diversity range of the usage of ebony.<sup>190</sup> The same can be said about mahogany or tortoiseshell mentioned in only fourteen and eleven inventories respectively (see **Table 1.4**).<sup>191</sup> Likewise, the diversity of their usage in objects – ten and eleven, respectively – is also much inferior when compared to ebony and ivory – fifty-five and forty-nine (see **Table 1.3**). Other types of rosewood were still not being fully exploited for the production of domestic objects either. Indeed, the lack of precision in their description, giving them geographical attributes such as *de brasil*, *de la India*, or *de Indias*, indicates that these timbers were yet to be massively demanded by European markets.

These two exercises, on the diversity of uses and recurrence of consumption, reveal once again the heterogeneity within *Exotica* as a category and they also suggest that materials have the potential to be a line of research. By looking at materials, it is possible to inquire about the relationship between their trade and their uses for consumption (consumed in their natural state or as raw materials for other objects). By counting the recurrence of materials per inventory, it is possible to question social patterns of consumption (who consumes what). As mentioned before, historiography focusing on the Iberian consumption of exotic goods has hitherto prioritised the use of geographical attributes in the sources, but materials take pride of place in this thesis.

The thesis' core comprises four cases studies that analyse the meeting point between Juan de Borja

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<sup>190</sup> Baccheschi and Doria, 'Il Legno: Dalle Foreste Americane Al Grande Artigianato d'Europa', 277.

<sup>191</sup> Mahogany and tortoiseshell were widely used for the production of furniture only from the second half of the seventeenth century onwards. See Aguiló Alonso, *El mueble en España, siglos XVI-XVII*, 71–72.

and four items mentioned in his inventories. These are rhinoceros horns, *colchas de la India*, porcelain and fall-front cabinets. Regarding the first case study, rhinoceros horns are amongst the materials with a lowest recurrence rate and diversity of uses, but Borja had seven such items when he passed away in 1606. This anomaly raises several questions that are explored in Chapter 4. With regards to the second case study, the impossibility of certifying the origin of textile fibres should not prevent the study of the consumption of non-European textiles, especially taking into account that textiles were amongst the most important cargoes in ships arriving from Asia. Therefore, I focus on *colchas de la India* – an object that allows inquiring what the main criterion was at the moment of acquisition: provenance, material or object. The third case study concerns porcelain, as it has been considered the *exotic* product *par excellence*. Few exotic materials have been as present in the discourse on the taste for the *exotic* as porcelain. For this reason alone, it is worth exploring why and how it appears in the three inventories associated with Borja. Finally, the fourth case study concerns tropical wood. The whole range of uses of tropical wood is difficult to assess. Nevertheless, amongst all domestic furniture, fall-front cabinets (*escritorios*) were often built with overseas timber. They have been considered “la pieza fundamental del mobiliario” in early modern Iberia and the inventories of Juan de Borja seem to support that argument.<sup>192</sup> More than any other type of furniture, Juan de Borja’s *escritorios* were made from a wide diversity of tropical wood, such as ebony, *palo de la yndia*, *madera de yndias* or *palo de la aguilá*. The final case-study aims at understanding the reasons behind such an investment.

Bringing materials to the forefront of research, but taking the limitations of historical sources into consideration, forms the basis of my proposal to go beyond exoticness and investigate early modern consumption practises. I wish to point out that my purpose was not to build a proposal simply around materials, without actually using them. However, following the methodological framework suggested earlier, there are no known extant objects related to Juan de Borja that could be used to study the intersection moment of consumer and object. Thus, three-dimensional objects are not included as sources in this thesis. In other words, this happened simply because there are no three-dimensional objects that could be relevant. With his *history from things*, Giorgio Riello urged us to “move beyond either the object as example or the object as an easy prop” and I, too, defend that “objects should not be used as an aid for providing enhanced answers, but for asking better questions”.<sup>193</sup> Nonetheless, Riello’s plea is still valid in the absence of actual objects. Thanks to the study of the relationality of materials and objects – not only towards their consumer, but also towards other nonhuman items –, it is possible to build a *history from non-extant things*.

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<sup>192</sup> Aguiló Alonso, *El mueble en España, siglos XVI-XVII*, 98.

<sup>193</sup> Riello, ‘Things That Shape History’, 29.

## Chapter 2

### Juan de Borja y Castro: a man with an exotic taste?

Juan de Borja y Castro (1533-1606) was a statesman, a diplomat, an intellectual, a patron of the arts and a quasi-Jesuit. He was also a loyal servant of the Habsburg rulers of the Hispanic Monarchy and a very ambitious man.<sup>194</sup> The second male son of Francisco de Borja y Aragon (1510-1572), I Marquis of Lombay and IV Duke of Gandía, later canonised Saint Francisco de Borja, Juan de Borja was raised to become a Jesuit priest, with no title or any other significant financial resources.<sup>195</sup> At the age of eighteen, however, he moved away from his religious path, starting a career at court. Using his father's social relations at the court of Charles V, Borja came to claim his own place at the courts of Philip II and Philip III. At the end of his life, Borja was one of the Duke of Lerma's right-hand men and he had been granted his own noble title, becoming both the I Count of Mayalde and I Count of Ficalho.<sup>196</sup>

Literature has focused mainly on Juan de Borja's role as an author and artistic patron, especially for his interest in *curiosities*. He is better known for being the first Spanish author of a work on emblems, *Empresas Morales* (1581), for having been an important musical patron, protector of painters and for having taught poetics in Prague.<sup>197</sup> In addition to this, Borja has been identified as

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<sup>194</sup> In his report to the Republic of Venice in 1605, the ambassador Simone Contarini described Juan de Borja as a reasonable and ambitious man, see BA (Lisbon), 51-IX-51, f.7v.

<sup>195</sup> For reasons of coherence, I use the Spanish version of the family's name, i.e. Borja instead of Borgia, because my thesis has an Iberian focus.

<sup>196</sup> There is some scattered literature about Juan de Borja y Castro: Sánchez Moguel, 'El Primer Conde de Ficallo'; Bravo-Villasante, 'La Literatura Emblemática: «Las Empresas Morales», de Juan de Borja'; Deswarte-Rosa, 'De L'emblématique à L'espionnage (...)'; García Mahiques, *Empresas Morales de Juan de Borja (...)*. Nevertheless, the most complete and updated biography can be found in Escrivà Llorca, 'Erudito, Pietas et Honor (...)'.  
<sup>197</sup> About Borja's music patronage, see Escrivà Llorca, 'Erudito, Pietas et Honor (...)'; to painters, namely to Francisco de Holanda, see Deswarte-Rosa, 'De L'emblématique à L'espionnage (...)'. There is also a letter regarding this matter from Juan de Borja to Philip II: "Aqui [en Portugal] esta un pintor muy stimado que se llama fran[cis]co de olanda y por no ser el Rey aficionado a la pintura desea mucho yr a seruir a V.M. y lleuarle algunas cosas hechas de su mano de



**Image 2.1 Juan de Borja y Castro (1533-1606)**

Unknown artist, 16<sup>th</sup> century

Oil on canvas, 64 x 52.5cm, Lobkowitz Collection, Prague

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Iluminação si V.M. fuere seruido hazerle he yo ir.”, Lisbon, 26 November 1570, in AGS, Estado – Portugal, Leg. 387; and about his lecturer position, the only reference is to be found at Truc, *Album Academiae Pragensis (...)*.



an early consumer of exotic objects given the existence of an inventory from June 1600 that lists gourds of America, horns of chamois, ivory oliphants, porcelain vessels, a cowry or nautilus shell and boxes from China. Apart from this source, two other inventories associated with Borja – not yet fully analysed – include a large number of exotic goods.<sup>198</sup> They are bedcovers (*colchas*), books from China, rhino horns, jade and furniture made from tropical timber. Are these sources evidence that Juan de Borja was a man with an *exotic* taste?

In this chapter, rather than answering it, I develop this question. The profusion of references to exotic things in the possession of one single person is intriguing. It differs significantly to the proportion of such type of items in other contemporary inventories. That said, there is a plethora of other explanations for exotic objects being listed in Juan de Borja's inventories, as the following chapters demonstrate. In addition, the circumstances that determined Borja's behaviour throughout his life must be taken into consideration. My purpose is to understand how those objects reached Borja as a consumer. For that purpose, this chapter is divided into two sections.

The first section presents the social milieu from which Juan de Borja emerged. Furthermore, it displays several networks that he both crossed and connected. In the second section, I present three stages of his life. These stages were either opportunities to acquire exotic things, or they profoundly shaped his motivations for consumption. The chapter does not attempt to provide an unequivocal answer as to whether Borja had a *taste* for the *exotic*, or not. Instead, it showcases the complexity of the topic and the limitations of reading historical sources. More to the point, I claim the need to focus on a threefold relationship between the consumer, the objects/materials and the context of production of sources. It needs to be pointed out that this entanglement of relationships lies behind the whole thesis and that describing its complexity permits a deeper understanding of early modern consumption.

## 2.1. The son of Saint Francisco de Borja

On 24 September 1601, Juan de Borja and his second wife, Francisca de Aragão e Barreto (ca. 1536/7-1615), dictated and signed a joint will in Madrid.<sup>199</sup> Its first clause, right after endowing

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<sup>198</sup> The list of items that Juan de Borja took to Vienna in 1577 was transcribed by Ferran Llorca, but the latter's object of study only concerned books and musical instruments, see Escrivà Llorca, 'Erudito, Pietas et Honor (...)'.  
<sup>199</sup> The date of death is given by Anastácio, 'ARAGÃO, D. Francisca de'.

their souls to God, was the following:

Assi mesmo mandamos que n[uest]ros Cuerpos sean enterrados en la capilla mayor de la yglesia de san Roque de la cassa professa de la compañía De Jesus en la ciudad de lisboa a donde tenemos n[uest]ro enterramiento como consta por las patentes que tenemos del p[adr]e General de la misma Compañia de Jesus y si en uida no Uvieremos hecho la boueda en la d[ic]ha capilla mayor adonde ande estar n[uest]ros cuerpos mandamos que el que sucediere en n[uest]ro mayorazgo la haga luego a lo mas largo dentro de un año despues que pasaremos desta uida.<sup>200</sup>

And further ahead:

“Yten mandamos que todo lo susod[ic]ho que toca a n[uest]ros cuerpos quede a cargo del que sucediere En el mayorazgo que auemos ynstituido y el lo aya de cumplir y cumpla enteramente y sino lo cumpliere dentro El tiempo señalado queremos que pierda El mayorazgo y passe al siguiente en grade con la misma obliga[aci]on”.<sup>201</sup>

In his last will, Juan de Borja made the succession of the *mayorazgo* of the County of Ficalho dependent on the burial of his body in the church of Saint Roch in Lisbon. Saint Roch was one of the first *casas profesas* of the Society of Jesus and a highly important church within the Jesuit network. It was a meeting point for all the Society’s members who wished to embark on overseas missions. Its construction was much indebted to the efforts of Juan de Borja’s father, Francisco de Borja, who encouraged the Portuguese monarchs to provide the required funding.<sup>202</sup> By determining Saint Roch as his burial site, Juan de Borja made the seat of the Society of Jesus in Portugal his private burial chamber. Moreover, he guaranteed that his remains stayed in the church his father built.

Establishing that the inheritance of the *mayorazgo* was dependent on the transference of his remains to Lisbon discloses the impact that Francisco de Borja had on his son’s life. Born into one of the most important Aragonese families of the late-medieval period, Juan de Borja’s early achievements were indebted not only to the deeds of his father, but also to his whole family background. The following pages briefly present the events that marked the first half of Juan de Borja’s life. Furthermore, they highlight how Francisco de Borja prepared his son’s courtly path. In short, the next pages aim at exploring how Juan de Borja acquired tools that allowed him to be later entrusted with two important diplomatic missions.

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<sup>200</sup> ‘Testamento del sr. don Juan de Vorxa’. AHPM, Prot. 2626 [ff. 1008-1015v], f. 1011v.

<sup>201</sup> ‘Testamento del sr. don Juan de Vorxa’. AHPM, Prot. 2626 [ff. 1008-1015v], f. 1012.

<sup>202</sup> Telfer, *The Treasure of São Roque (...)*, 12.

## The family background

Apart from Pope Alexander VI (1431-1503) and a few other members of the very mediatised Italian branch of the Borja family – the Borgias –, the IV Duke of Gandía, Francisco de Borja, is possibly the most well-known member of his family. The House of Gandía had its origins in the *Señorio* of Gandía, created in 1323 by Jaime II of Aragon (1267-1327). It first became associated with a ducal title in 1399, when the title was granted to Alfonso of Aragon and Foix (1332-1412). In 1422, the title was reintegrated in the crown. There it would remain until Ferdinand II, *the Catholic*, decided to sell it to Pere Lluís de Borja (1462-1488), son of the afore-mentioned Pope Alexander VI, Rodrigo de Borja.<sup>203</sup> Pere Lluís' nephew and III Duke of Gandía, Juan II de Borja (1493-1543), then reinforced the links with the royal house by marrying Juana of Aragon. She was the daughter of Alfonso de Aragon, a natural son of *the Catholic* king. Thanks to their connection both to the Aragonese crown and the papal court, the lords of Gandía became a highly influential family within the Hispanic Monarchy. They succeeded in having the Holy Roman Emperor and Spanish King Charles V (1500-1558) declare the III Duke as a *Grande de España* in 1520.<sup>204</sup>

It was also the III Duke, Juan II de Borja, who paved the way for Francisco de Borja. Since Francisco was the great-nephew, from his mother's side, of Queen Joanna *the Mad* (1479-1555), Juan II de Borja managed to integrate his son in the secluded queen's household. Hence, between 1520 and 1524, Francisco de Borja served in Tordesillas as a page of the queen's youngest daughter – and sister of Charles V –, Catherine of Austria (1507-1578).<sup>205</sup> The matrimonial alliances developed by Charles V and the Portuguese king, John III (1502-1557), provided an opportunity for Francisco de Borja. Subsequently, Catherine of Austria married the Portuguese king in 1525 and, in the following year, Charles V married John III's sister, Isabella of Portugal (1503-1539). Eventually, Francisco de Borja married in 1529 to one of Isabella's ladies-in-waiting, Leonor de Castro (1512-1546), the future mother of Juan de Borja.<sup>206</sup> By then, Francisco de Borja had already been completely integrated in the court.

The first few years of Juan de Borja were almost completely determined by his father's position. The third child of Francisco de Borja, Juan was born in Bellpuig, probably on 15 or 16 July 1533, whilst his father was on his way to the *Cortes* that Charles V had summoned to Monzón, Aragon. When Francisco was appointed viceroy of Catalonia on 26 June 1539, he took Juan with him to

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<sup>203</sup> Escrivà Llorca, 'Erudito, Pietas et Honor (...)', 11.

<sup>204</sup> Escrivà Llorca, 'Erudito, Pietas et Honor (...)', 12-13.

<sup>205</sup> Lozano, 'Francisco de Borja, de Criado a Maestro Espiritual de Las Mujeres Habsburgo', 68; García Hernan, 'Francisco de Borja Y Portugal', 191.

<sup>206</sup> García Hernan, 'Francisco de Borja Y Portugal', 192-193.

Barcelona. Four years later, when the III Duke of Gandía died and Francisco succeeded him as head of the House, he had Juan move with him to Gandía. In 1544, Francisco laid the foundation of a Jesuit college that, on 4 November that same year, became the University of Gandía, the first Jesuit university ever established.<sup>207</sup> Juan de Borja attended lessons at this university during the following years, eventually seeing his father become a priest of the Society of Jesus.<sup>208</sup>

During that period, his father's influence became paramount for Juan's financial sustainability as well. In 1548, Juan de Borja was admitted to the Order of Santiago, to which his father already belonged.<sup>209</sup> Following that, in January 1550, Borja became *comendador* of the *encomienda* of Reina, near Badajoz, which was one of the most profitable *encomiendas* that the Order had in the province of León. Juan later confessed that he received it for the services his father had previously accomplished.<sup>210</sup> This would be his most significant source of income throughout the first half of his life and, possibly, until 1578-1580 when he received the *encomienda* of Azuaga, which was also part of the Order.<sup>211</sup> Before that, Juan will have relied almost entirely on his father.



**Image 2.2 – Map of the Iberian Peninsula**  
Some of the cities mentioned in Chapter 2 are highlighted on the map

<sup>207</sup> Escrivà Llorca, 'Erudito, Pietas et Honor (...)', 18–22.

<sup>208</sup> García Mahiques, *Empresas Morales de Juan de Borja (...)*, 19.

<sup>209</sup> AHN, Consejo de Órdenes, Expedientes de pruebas de caballeros de la Orden de Santiago, Exp. 1169

<sup>210</sup> "La encomienda de Reyna que yo agora tengo vale de tres U. a tres mil y quinhientos ducados a que la tengo 23 Años. Dioseme por los servicios de mi padre", Letter from Juan de Borja to Philip II, Lisbon, 22 May 1571, in AGS, Estado – Portugal, Leg. 389, n. 160. Also quoted in Sánchez Moguel, 'El Primer Conde de Ficallo', 486.

<sup>211</sup> "Por lo primero me alegro del alma y entrañas de la encomienda de Azuaga que mas vale y mas la quiero que la mayor de Leon y todo passa la satisfacion que el Rey tiene de V.Sª y lo que el consejo lo a sus despachos de manera que si V.Sª no vive muy alegre offende mucho à Dios que le ha dado lo principal que es la gracia amor y estimacion de quanto noscosen a V.Sª", Letter from Gabriel de Zayas to Juan de Borja, Madrid, 20 November 1578, in AGS, Estado – Alemania, Leg. 684; "El credito de mis gastos se me acabado como ya tengo escrito a v.m. y la encomienda de Azuaga yo no gozo enteram[en]te de ella hasta el Año de 80", Letter from Juan de Borja to Gabriel de Zayas, Vienna, 26 March 1579, in AGS, Estado – Alemania, Leg. 685.

In August 1550, just a few months after receiving the *encomienda* and when Francisco decided to go to Rome to meet Ignatius of Loyola (1491-1556), Juan de Borja followed him. Three months thereafter, when Loyola sent Francisco to his property in Azpeitia, in the province of Guipúzcoa in the North of the Iberian Peninsula, Juan again followed his father.<sup>212</sup> Subsequently, Juan entered the University of Alcalá. Not only had this been the university where Ignatius of Loyola had studied, but it was also a very active centre of a movement for the renewing of Catholicism.<sup>213</sup> This was an important aspect for a son of a recently-ordained priest. Therefore, it comes as no surprise that Juan de Borja's upbringing was deeply shaped by his father's dedication to both the Hispanic monarchs and the Society of Jesus.

## The Jesuit circle

The connections with the Society of Jesus built by Francisco de Borja had an indelible impact on Juan de Borja at both a spiritual and a material level. One individual who bridged those two levels was Antonio de Araoz (1516-1573). Araoz was a Jesuit priest who had been with the two Borjas throughout their Italian journey at all times. He travelled with them from Gandía to Rome, he shared their sojourn in the papal city and returned with them to Azpeitia. Escrivà Llorca states that Araoz was Juan de Borja's own spiritual mentor.<sup>214</sup> However, the significance of this priest, who became the Provincial Superior of the Society of Jesus in Spain (i.e. all kingdoms in the peninsula, except Portugal), went beyond Juan de Borja's individual religious experience and convictions.

Antonio de Araoz, born in Vergara in the province of Guipúzcoa, was a close companion of Ignatius of Loyola and, together with Pedro de Farbo, played an important role in the introduction of the Society of Jesus in Spain. In 1539, on his first return visit to the Iberian Peninsula after living in Rome, Araoz met the *infantas* Maria of Austria (1528-1603) and Juana of Austria (1535-1573), daughters of Charles V. During his second visit in 1542, he visited Francisco de Borja, then viceroy of Catalonia.<sup>215</sup> By then, the Society was well established in Portugal, being the college in Coimbra the largest of the whole Society.<sup>216</sup> Therefore, on his third visit Araoz had the mission of introducing the Society to the court in Valladolid with a recommendation by John III of Portugal. Before reaching the Portuguese court in Almeirim in 1544, Araoz made two stops. The first in

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<sup>212</sup> Escrivà Llorca, 'Erudito, Pietas et Honor (...)', 18–27.

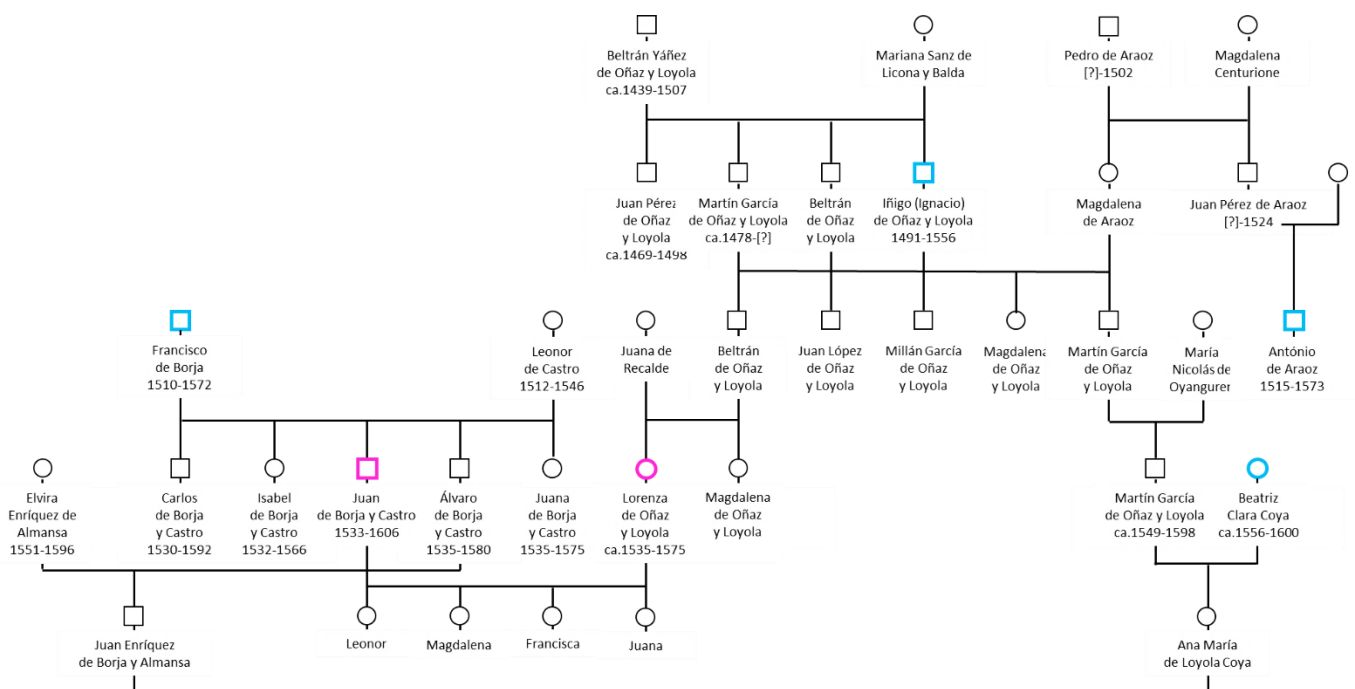
<sup>213</sup> Martínez Millán, 'Grupos de Poder En La Corte (...)', 159.

<sup>214</sup> Escrivà Llorca, 'Erudito, Pietas et Honor (...)', 30.

<sup>215</sup> Astrain, *Historia de La Compañía de Jesús En La Asistencia de España*, vol. I:236–238.

<sup>216</sup> Astrain, *Historia de La Compañía de Jesús En La Asistencia de España*, vol. I:241. Martínez Millán, 'Grupos de Poder En La Corte (...)', 149–150.

Gandía to visit Francisco de Borja and a second in Madrid to visit the two *infantas*. Finally, in March 1545, Araoz arrived in Valladolid with a recommendation by the Portuguese monarch.<sup>217</sup> By then, as he wrote to Ignatius of Loyola, he had already gained the support of the Portuguese nobility amongst the entourage of John III's daughter, Princess Maria Manuela (1527-1545), who had just married Prince Philip.<sup>218</sup> From 1545 onwards, Araoz was also the confessor of Ruy Gómez de Silva (1516-1573), *mayordomo* of Prince Philip from 1548, and, arguably, he also became the confessor of Princess Juana.<sup>219</sup> In 1547, Araoz was appointed Provincial Superior of the province of Spain. In short, all this information shows that when Francisco de Borja and Juan de Borja left for Rome in 1550 with Araoz, the latter was already in contact with the core of the Hispanic court. In 1552, by marriage, Araoz also became Juan de Borja's cousin. Following his return from Rome, Francisco de Borja told Ignatius of Loyola that his son had not yet decided whether he would join the Society of Jesus, but Juan de Borja soon opted for attempting another path.<sup>220</sup> In August 1552, he married Lorenza de Oñaz y Loyola (ca. 1535-1575).<sup>221</sup> She was the grand-niece of Ignatius of



**Table 2.1 – Genealogical tree of Lorenza de Oñaz y Loyola (ca. 1535-1575)**

<sup>217</sup> Astrain, *Historia de La Compañía de Jesús En La Asistencia de España*, vol. I:230–246.

<sup>218</sup> “de los portugueses que están con la princesa somos muy amados, porque allá en Portugal ya tenemos mucho conocimiento”. Letter from Antonio de Araoz to Ignatius of Loyola, Valladolid, 25 March 1545, in *Epistolae mixtae ex variis Europae locis ab anno 1537 ad 1556 scriptae*, Tomo 1, 202.

<sup>219</sup> Escalera, ‘ARAOZ, Antonio de’, 215.

<sup>220</sup> Escrivà Llorca, ‘Erudito, Pietas et Honor (...)’, 29.

<sup>221</sup> The only reference regarding Lorenza's date of birth is to be found at:

<http://castilla.maxerco.es/getperson.php?personID=I39816&tree=Fernandodecastilla>. Accessed on 10<sup>th</sup> April 2017.

Loyola and heiress of the *mayorazgo* of Oñaz y Loyola. The marriage with Lorenza allowed Borja to get hold of the *mayorazgo* originally established by Ignatius's brother, Martin García of Oñaz, in 1536.<sup>222</sup> At the same time, since Lorenza was first cousin once removed of Antonio de Araoz, this marriage allowed Borja to be related to the Provincial Superior of the Society of Jesus in Spain.<sup>223</sup> (see **Table 2.1**)

This marriage had yet another reading. For the Society of Jesus, the marriage of Lorenza and Juan represented the union of the houses of its two most important founding fathers. A century and a half later, the event was still celebrated, not in Europe, but on the other side of the Atlantic where the Society led extensive evangelistic missions. At the entrance of the Society's college in Cuzco, a large painting celebrates the union of these two houses together with the representation of the union of Martin Garcia de Loyola (1549-1598) and the Inca princess Beatriz Clara Coya (ca. 1556-1600) (see **Image 2.3**). The painting, and its label, works as a very powerful tool of legitimation



**Image 2.3 Marriage of Beatriz Clara Coya**

Unknown artist, late 17th century  
Oil on canvas, Iglesia de la Compañía, Cuzco

<sup>222</sup> Serrano y Sanz, 'Convenio Celebrado Entre D. Juan de Borja, D.<sup>a</sup> Lorenza de Oñaz Y D.<sup>a</sup> Juana de Recalde (...)', 147.

<sup>223</sup> Serrano y Sanz, 'Convenio Celebrado Entre D. Juan de Borja, D.<sup>a</sup> Lorenza de Oñaz Y D.<sup>a</sup> Juana de Recalde (...)', García Hernan, 'Ignacio de Loyola Y Su Familia'.

for the presence of the Society in the province of Peru. It shows how the marriage of Juan de Borja to Lorenza de Oñaz y Loyola united the houses of Ignatius and Francisco with the House of the rulers of what remained from the Inca Empire, the Neo-Inca state of Vilcabamba:

D. Martín de Loyola Govern[ado]r de Chile sobrino de N.P.S. Ygn[aci]o hijo de su herm[an]o maior D. Beltran de Loyola caso con D<sup>a</sup>. Beatris Ñvsta heredera y Princesa del Perv como hija de D. Diego Ynga sv vltimo Rey por haver mverto sin hijos sv herm[an]o D. Phelipe Ynga. De D. Martín y de D<sup>a</sup>. Beatris nacio D<sup>a</sup>. Lorenza Ñvsta de Loyola que paso a España por orden de n[uest]ros Reyes Cat[olico]s y la casaron en Madrid con el Ex[celentis]mo S[eñor]r D. Iv[an] de Borja hijo de S. Franc[isc]o de Borja y Embajador del S[eñor]r Rey Phelipe 2<sup>o</sup> a Alemania y Portvgal. Con este Matrimonio emparentaron entre si y con la Real Casa de los Reyes Yngas de Perv las Dos Casas de Loyola y Borja cuya svcesion esta oy en los Ex[celentis]mos S[eñore]s Marqveses de Alcañises Grandes de Primera Clase.<sup>224</sup>

It must be said, however, that the event is fake. Neither did Juan de Borja marry a daughter of the heir to the kingdom of Peru, nor was Lorenza that daughter. Nonetheless, there is a faint trace of veracity in this story, because Martín and Beatriz's daughter indeed married a Borja. This daughter was Ana Maria de Loyola y Coya (1593-1630). She married Juan Enriquez de Almansa y Borja, son of Juan de Borja's brother Alvaro and his niece Elvira, Marquise of Alcañices (see **Table 2.1**). It is not known what led to this misrepresentation, but this was such a powerful topic that there are several versions of the painting in Cuzco.<sup>225</sup> Juan de Borja did play a role regarding Ana Maria, because he was his tutor when she was sent to the Iberian Peninsula.<sup>226</sup> Whatever the explanation may be for the replacement of Juan Enriquez by Juan de Borja, what is relevant for this chapter is that the marriage between Juan de Borja and Lorenza de Oñaz y Loyola was not just a family affair but an event with a long repercussion for the Society of Jesus as well.

In the first few years that followed the wedding, Juan de Borja will have remained, or spent a considerable time, in the province of Guipúzcoa. Extant information is very fragmentary, but, in 1554, Borja requested support to Ignatius of Loyola for the Franciscan convent of Our Lady of Arantzazu in Oñate.<sup>227</sup> Besides, as head of the House of Oñaz y Loyola, he was expected to assist with the defence of the province's coastline. Several years later, Borja informed Philip II that during the regency of Princess Juana (1554-1559) he had been appointed colonel of the province, under the command of his "good friend" Diego de Carvajal, *Capitán General* of Guipúzcoa.<sup>228</sup> It was probably during this time that he organised the defence of the French border from San Sebastián,

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<sup>224</sup> For a reproduction of the cartouche in the painting, see **Appendix VII**.

<sup>225</sup> There are five other known copies of this painting (four have survived), see **Appendix VII**.

<sup>226</sup> Hemming, *The Conquest of the Incas*, 404.

<sup>227</sup> Letter from Juan de Borja to Ignatius of Loyola, January 1554, in Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu, *Sanctus Franciscus Borgia* (...), 1894, vol. I:635. Also quoted in Escrivà Llorca, 'Erudito, Pietas et Honor (...)', 30.

<sup>228</sup> It is Juan de Borja who, in 1597, writes that Carvajal and himself were "muy amigos". Reply to the letter from Andres de Prada, 20 October 1597, in BL, Add. Ms. 28426, f. 42-46v.



where he spent almost three years.<sup>229</sup> However, these responsibilities do not mean that he did not leave Guipúzcoa during all those years, especially since his proximity to the Society of Jesus also allowed other types of contacts.

Important connections at the beginning of the 1550s were those with Ruy Gómez de Silva, of whom Antonio de Araoz was a confessor, and Juana de Austria, who became princess of Portugal after her marriage to the heir of the Portuguese throne in 1552. Francisco de Borja had already been responsible for the princess' education, but their connection was particularly reinforced after Francisco was sent to Lisbon in 1553 to solve some problems within the Society.<sup>230</sup> During the period she spent at the Portuguese court (1552-1554), Juana became very attached to Francisco de Borja and he eventually became her spiritual mentor. When Juana returned to Castile in 1554, she became the centre of a high number of courtiers of Portuguese origin, many of whom would be very close to Ruy Gómez during the years to come, especially after he became the closest advisor of Philip II. Moreover, there was also a close friendship between Ruy Gómez and the princess.<sup>231</sup> Given the fact that the Society of Jesus was already well established in Portugal, it is of no surprise that the group that surrounded the princess was so populated by courtiers of Portuguese origin that became a stronghold of the Society in the Hispanic Monarchy.<sup>232</sup>

The proximity between the Jesuits and this group should be understood in the framework of a movement of renovation of faith that had set roots in both Portugal and Castile since the fifteenth century: the *Recogidos*. This movement, which defended a more personal and intimate religious practise in opposition to a more intellectual approach to matters of faith, found several followers amongst Iberian high-ranking nobility. In particular, the Portuguese court became a special thriving terrain. Therefore, it is of no surprise that the Society of Jesus – created within this same renovating spirit – found in Portugal the first stronghold for its establishment in the Peninsula.<sup>233</sup> Further to that, it is also of no surprise that it used its influence over the members of the Portuguese court to get access to the neighbouring Hispanic court.

Juana de Austria, the *Princesa de Portugal*, became the symbol of that expansion. Juana had experienced how the new form of confessionalism was rooted in the Portuguese court. For

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<sup>229</sup> Juan de Borja mentions to secretary Zayas that he spent three years in San Sebastián in the service of the king: “he seruido particularmente en san sebastian adonde estuue casse tres años tenuendo cargo de aquella fuerça en tiempo de muchos tratos y de mucho trabajo sin ninguna md. ni ayuda de costa hasta que de allí a muchos días se me mandaron dar dos mil ducados por vna vez de viendo yo el día que sali de san sebastian 17 mil ducados”, Letter from Juan de Borja to Gabriel de Zayas, Lisbon, 26 June 1574, in AGS, Estado – Portugal, Leg. 388, n. 34.

<sup>230</sup> Martínez Millán, ‘Introducción’, 82–83; García Hernan, ‘Francisco de Borja Y Portugal’, 195.

<sup>231</sup> Martínez Millán and Carlos Morales, ‘La administración de la Gracia Real (...)’, 33–36.

<sup>232</sup> Martínez Millán, ‘Grupos de Poder En La Corte (...)’.

<sup>233</sup> Martínez Millán, ‘Introducción’, 21.

example, Catherine of Austria had taken residence at the Monastery of *Madre de Deus* in the outskirts of Lisbon, a place frequently visited by other high-ranking noblewomen. Together with the Monastery of the *Madre de Deus* in Setúbal, Lisbon's *Madre de Deus* eventually became a reference that inspired Juana to lay the foundation for a similar institution in Castile, after she returned there in 1554.<sup>234</sup> Founding a female monastery under the order of Saint Francisco in Valladolid in September 1557, which would eventually be transferred to Madrid and become the *Monasterio de las Descalzas Reales*, was the outcome of that new form of “introspective” confessionalism that Juana saw in Portugal. Following Francisco's advice, Juana chose the nuns from the Monastery of Saint Claire in Gandía, and appointed Francisco's aunt, Francisca de Jesús (born Isabel de Borja y Enríquez) (1498-1557) to direct the new monastery.<sup>235</sup> Furthermore, Juana decided to join the Society and she was admitted under the name of Mateo Sánchez in October 1554.

Despite the protection provided by the *Princesa*, the new form of confessionalism and the close relationship with the Jesuits was not unanimous at the Hispanic court. Juana had become a magnet for a group of individuals that historiography would call *ebolistas*, for identifying the Prince of Éboli, Ruy Gómez, as their leader. These individuals, many of them of Portuguese origin or with marital relations to Portuguese nobility, had accepted the new form of confessionalism and supported the Society of Jesus. Nonetheless, the increasing influence that Ruy Gómez was acquiring over Prince Philip generated opposition within the court. Historians have tried to define a counter-balancing group and hence names like *partido albista* or *partido castellano* have been used to define the opposing group. However, how Martínez Millán has already suggested, this was neither a defined closed group, nor was the Duke of Alba their official leader.<sup>236</sup> A good example of the fluidity of these “groups” can be found when Juan de Borja passed through the House of the young Prince Carlos as part of a literary academy presided by the Duke of Alba.

## The Casa de Austria

Juan de Borja was admitted to the household of Prince Carlos de Austria (1545-1568) at the beginning of 1568. Before that, he had served his father, Philip II, and his aunt, Juana de Austria. After the death of Carlos, Juan de Borja travelled to Lisbon where he served the matriarch of the House, Catherine of Austria, and then to Prague, where he became *mayordomo mayor* of Empress Maria of Austria and, finally, from 1603 until his death, he served Queen Margarita of Austria. In

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<sup>234</sup> Pinto, ‘O Mecenato Da Infanta D. Maria de Portugal (1521-1577)’, 75; Toajas Roger, ‘La Capilla Del Cristo de Las Descalzas Reales de Madrid: Arte Y Liturgia En El Siglo XVI’, 118.

<sup>235</sup> Vilacoba Ramos, *El monasterio de las Descalzas Reales y sus confesores en la Edad Moderna*, 36–39.

<sup>236</sup> Martínez Millán, ‘Grupos de Poder En La Corte (...)’.

short, Juan de Borja's career was built on the service to members of the House of Habsburg in Spain: from one Austria to another.

To understand this path, it is necessary to go back to the 1550s and early 1560s, when the court of Juana de Austria became the most important focus of attraction for Spanish aristocracy. Departing to the Low Countries in 1554, Philip II left the regency in his sister's hands. Following the death of the heir to the Portuguese throne, she had been asked to return from Portugal. The *Princesa*, as she was known afterwards at court, took hold of the regency until Philip's return in 1559. This allowed her entourage to acquire a high level of influence.

The extant documentation regarding the whereabouts of Juan de Borja to ascertain his activities during this period is quite limited, but a few laconic references suggest that he was one of the courtiers that gathered around the princess. Juan de Borja, as son of her spiritual mentor, was part of the princess' surroundings since his birth. Further to this, it was commented at court that Juan was about to become Juana's *mayordomo mayor* in 1568.<sup>237</sup> Although that never happened, this piece of information suggests that the proximity to the princess did not depend on Francisco de Borja alone. As a matter of fact, Juan de Borja had a very extensive family on which he could rely.

The connection with the Marquises of Alcañices was amongst the most relevant ones. Juan's sister, Juana de Aragón, married Juan Enríquez de Almansa, III Marquis of Alcañices, in 1550. The daughter of this union later married one of the other siblings of Juan de Borja, Alvaro de Borja and Aragón (c.1534/35-1580).<sup>238</sup> It was at the palace of the marquises of Alcañices in Toro that Juana de Austria married the heir to the Portuguese throne in 1552. Furthermore, Borja is known to have been in Toro a few times.<sup>239</sup> He might even have held a property there, for he wrote to his father in 1569 stating that he was to go to his *encomienda* in Toro before leaving for his diplomatic mission to Portugal.<sup>240</sup> Apart from Toro, intimacy with the princess was also secured in Madrid. In November 1569, Juan de Borja sent news to his father regarding the princess' health and he commented on his aunt, Juana de la Cruz, who was the abbess where Juana had taken residency since 1559, the *Monasterio de las Descalzas*.<sup>241</sup>

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<sup>237</sup> "Por aquí dizen que el Sr. don Juan de Borja hazen mayordomo de la prinçesa; no lo creo." Letter from the Count of Lerma to Francis of Borja, 1<sup>st</sup> October 1568, in Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu, *Sanctus Franciscus Borgia*, (...), 1910, vol. IV:647–650. Also quoted in Escrivà Llorca, 'Erudito, Pietas et Honor (...)', 33.

<sup>238</sup> García Hernan, 'Francisco de Borja y su familia', 63. See also above the section on "The Jesuit circle".

<sup>239</sup> Letter from Carlos de Borja to Francis of Borja, 13 November 1567, in Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu, *Sanctus Franciscus Borgia* (...), vol. IV:545–550. Also quoted in Escrivà Llorca, 'Erudito, Pietas et Honor (...)', 32.

<sup>240</sup> Letter from Juan de Borja to Francis of Borja, 27 November 1569, in Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu, *Sanctus Franciscus Borgia* (...), vol. V:247–249. Also quoted in Escrivà Llorca, 'Erudito, Pietas et Honor (...)', 36.

<sup>241</sup> *Ibidem*.

The integration of Juan de Borja's inclusion in the princess' inner circle is best pictured by the proximity to Ruy Gómez de Silva. It is not known when Borja started to serve Ruy Gómez.<sup>242</sup> Nonetheless, that must have happened before 1568, because, on 2 March of that same year, Ruy Gómez introduced Juan de Borja to Prince Carlos' household.<sup>243</sup> By then, Borja was one of Philip II's *gentilhombre de la boca* and the connections to the members of Carlos' household were already quite solid.<sup>244</sup> Being part of the prince's household made him a member of a generation of courtiers that, after the prince's death on 24 July 1568, was forced to look for ways to serve elsewhere, a path that brought most of them to the highest posts of the court's hierarchy by the end of the century.<sup>245</sup>

Created at the end of 1552 in Valladolid, where Juana's household was based, Carlos' household brought together a restrict group of individuals who, like Borja, had no office and no highly significant source of income.<sup>246</sup> Within the household, many of its members met regularly to discuss literary matters. These meetings became one of the earliest literary *academias* at the Spanish court that would proliferate amongst the early modern aristocracy, especially during the seventeenth century. The academy was presided by the Duke of Alba, Fernando Álvarez de Toledo (1507-1582), but it is the generation that gathered under him that made this *academia* a nest of important courtiers. Apart from Juan de Borja, the *academia* brought together Juan de Silva, married to the IV Countess of Portalegre; Fadrique de Portugal, *Comendador* de los Santos; Gómez Dávila y Toledo, II Marquis of Velada, and his brothers; Cristóvão de Moura, the future I Marquis of Castelo Rodrigo; Juan de Zúñiga, I Duke of Peñaranda de Duero; Juan de Idiáquez, *Comendador Mayor* of León; Francisco de Rojas, III Marquis of Poza; Enrique de Guzmán, II Count of Olivares; and Gómez Suarez de Figueroa, I Duke of Feria.<sup>247</sup>

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<sup>242</sup> Escrivà Llorca claims that Juan de Borja was already at the service of Gómez de Silva, but evidence for this statement is not provided. See Escrivà Llorca, 'Erudito, Pietas et Honor (...)', 29.

<sup>243</sup> Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu, *Sanctus Franciscus Borgia (...)*, vol. I:637, quoted in Escrivà Llorca, 'Erudito, Pietas et Honor (...)', 32. Ruy Gómez was *camarero mayor* of Prince Carlos since 1564, see Feros, *El Duque de Lerma (...)*, 44.

<sup>244</sup> In 1566, it was Borja who, in the name of Philip II, introduced Juan de Silva to the household of Prince Carlos: "Fue [Juan de Silva] su [del príncipe Felipe] Gentil-Hombre de la Boca, desde que se le puso casa al vso de la de Borgoña, y el año de mil quinientos y sesenta y seis lo era tambien del Principe D. Carlos su hijo, como consta por vn poder que el Principe diò en Madrid à cinco de Julio para que D. Juan de Borja, Señor de las Casas de Oñaz, y Loyola, recibiesse, en sombre de su Alteza, Pleyto Omenage al Principe Ruy Gomez de Solva, I Duque de Pastrana, y al Duque de Medina-Sidonia su yerno, de que passarian por lo capitulado para el casamiento del Duque con la Duquesa Doña Ana de Silva y Mendoza su mujer, hija del Príncipe Rvi Gomez, y le otorgò en presencia de D. Jvan de Silva, y D. Christoval de Moura, Gentiles-Hombres de su Boca." in Salazar y Castro, *Historia genealógica de la Casa de Silva*, 520–521.

<sup>245</sup> Bouza Álvarez, 'Corte Es Decepción (...)', 461–462.

<sup>246</sup> Martínez Hernández, 'Don Gómez Dávila Y Toledo (...)', 110–111.

<sup>247</sup> Salazar y Castro, *Historia genealógica de la Casa de Silva*, 526–527.. Also quoted in Bouza Álvarez, 'Corte Es Decepción (...)', 461; Martínez Hernández, 'Don Gómez Dávila Y Toledo (...)', 118.

For several of its members, the legacy of this *academia* was particularly strong. For example, Juan de Zúñiga later wrote from Rome a nostalgic lament about the lost moments shared at the *academia*.<sup>248</sup> In the case of Juan de Borja, he kept his ties with the I Duke of Feria, and both would keep sharing information about authors and printers.<sup>249</sup> Martínez Hernández highlighted the importance of the bonds created at the *academia* and how these connections were still important during the 1590s.<sup>250</sup> Men like Cristóvão de Moura (1538-1613) and Juan de Silva (1532-1601), who would come to share expertise in Portuguese affairs at the end of the century, were part of the group of the *academia*.

The participation of Juan de Borja in this *academia* was also part of his education as a courtier. Having already fulfilled his military responsibilities in Guipúzcoa, Juan de Borja benefited from the meetings of the *academia* to develop his intellectual interests. His major achievement was the publication of a book of emblems in Prague in 1581.<sup>251</sup> He had prepared them in Lisbon, during the years following Prince Carlos' death. Moreover, a few extant poems which are said to be by Borja reveal how poetry, together with music, were activities in which he engaged throughout his life (see **Appendix VIII**).<sup>252</sup>

Following Carlos' death on 24 July 1568, the household was dissolved and Borja, like all the rest, had to find an alternative office. Given his proximity to Princess Juana and his father's links in Portugal, he was soon appointed to replace Fernando Carrillo de Mendoza (ca. 1525-1579) as ambassador in Lisbon. The following Habsburg on Borja's service record would be Catherine of Austria.

## 2.2. A courtier with non-European things

Philip II's decision to replace his ambassador in Lisbon with Juan de Borja was an interesting choice. It is possible that the appointment of Borja may have been a way of removing an *ebolista*

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<sup>248</sup> Martínez Hernández mentions a letter from Juan de Zúñiga after his arrival in Rome in which he declares "se me ha doblado el crédito que tengo de los de la Academia y lo que los quiero, porque no se topan hombres como ellos". Letter from Juan de Zúñiga to Cristóvão de Moura. 26 March 1568, in *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España*, XCVII, 408. Quoted in Martínez Hernández, 'Don Gómez Dávila Y Toledo (...)', 121.

<sup>249</sup> Letters from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Feria, Lisboa, 31 August, 14 September and 26 November 1570 in AGS, Estado – Portugal, Leg. 387; and from 12 June 1571, in *ibidem*, Leg. 389, n. 38.

<sup>250</sup> Martínez Hernández, 'Don Gómez Dávila Y Toledo (...)', 121.

<sup>251</sup> Borja, *Empresas Morales*.

<sup>252</sup> RB, [Cartapacio de Francisco de Morán de la Estrella], 1552-1582, Manuscrito: II/531, ff. 51-52, 141-141v; Pérez de Guzmán, *Cancionero de Príncipes Y Señores. Recogido de Poetas En Su Mayor Parte Inéditos (...)*, 118–119.

from the court at a time when the influence of Ruy Gómez was decreasing and his opponents were taking hold.<sup>253</sup> Despite Borja's lack of experience as ambassador, Philip II could rely on his aunt, Catherine of Austria, to defend his interests in Portugal. What is interesting for this thesis is that this first diplomatic experience became essential for Juan de Borja to claim his own territory at court. The sojourn in Lisbon allowed Borja to reinforce contacts that he had inherited from his father and to develop new ones. One of them would even become his second wife. In Lisbon Borja consolidated a network of social relations which is essential to understand his consumption practises.

In this section, I explore the events that marked the second half of Borja's life, from his first appointment as ambassador in 1569 up to his unexpected death in 1606 and I explain some of the reasons behind the selection of Juan de Borja as the case study for this thesis. Firstly, I start by addressing the importance of the Portuguese connection for the consumption of non-European things. Then, I explore the misfit of Juan de Borja within the court of the Holy Roman Empire. Finally, I present the significance of the institutional framework within which Borja operated from 1582 until his death. Since these three sections correspond broadly to the three periods that Borja spent in Lisbon, Prague and Madrid, the section is organised according to these different locations.

## Lisbon

One of the reasons that makes Juan de Borja a suitable case study for this thesis is that he was connected to several individuals who usually are at the centre of historiographical works about consumption of exotic goods. One of those individuals was Catherine of Austria. Since Annemarie Jordan first analysed the inventories left by Catherine in her PhD thesis, the queen of Portugal has been seen as a member of a network of consumers of non-European objects and materials that extended from Lisbon to Vienna and Prague.<sup>254</sup> Gift-giving practises of exotic things amongst members of the Habsburg family members have supported this view of an international net of consumers who shared the same taste for *exotica*.<sup>255</sup> Given her easy access to non-European goods, Catherine has been regarded as one of the suppliers of such items to other members of the Habsburg family: Juan de Borja having spent five years in Lisbon requires an enquiry about his relationship to Catherine, as well as about his capacity to access exotic goods.

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<sup>253</sup> Martínez Millán, 'Grupos de Poder En La Corte (...)'.  
<sup>254</sup> Jordan Gschwend, *A rainha colecionadora*.

<sup>255</sup> Trenek, Haag, and Wien, *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien / Exotica*; Kaufmann, 'From Treasury to Museum: The Collections of the Austrian Habsburgs'; North, *Artistic and Cultural Exchanges between Europe and Asia, 1400-1900*; Jordan Gschwend, 'Antonio Meyting: Artistic Agent, Cultural Intermediary and Diplomat (1538-1591)'.

The proximity to Catherine of Austria was part of Juan de Borja's mission to Portugal. Philip II had instructed Borja to be at the service of his aunt and to act as she wished. Much has been written elsewhere about the political objectives of the mission, which consisted in convincing the king of Portugal, Sebastian (1554-1578), to participate in the League against the Ottomans and in making him marry Margaret of Valois (1553-1615).<sup>256</sup> However, little has been said about the practises of the ambassador. One of the issues that had to be solved was the location of the ambassadorial house. Philip II delegated the decision to Catherine, who, on the 24 January 1570, told the ambassador to go wherever the king went so that he could sort out the marriage problem.<sup>257</sup> However, the constant mobility of the king and the difficulty in convincing him to marry led Borja to prefer to remain close to the dowager queen.<sup>258</sup> Indeed, in August of that year he required permission not to follow Sebastian on his visit to Coimbra and Oporto.<sup>259</sup> In any case, Sebastian had already set aside Borja in June when he provided the latter with a residence close to Catherine and not to the court.<sup>260</sup> As Catherine's correspondence show, Juan de Borja spent much of the time of his sojourn in Lisbon in her surroundings.<sup>261</sup>

Being close to the dowager queen and unable to handle the issues as he had been instructed meant that Borja had the Habsburg clan's matriarch protection. Furthermore, it meant that he had plenty of time to spare. Borja's letters from Lisbon reveal that he could entertain himself with his

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<sup>256</sup> Letter from Francisco de Eraso to Juan de Borja, Madrid, 6<sup>th</sup> December 1569, in AGS, Estado – Portugal, Leg. 386, n.97; “Instrucion a Don Juan de Borja para la Embaxada de Portugal” from Philip II to Juan de Borja, Madrid, 8 December 1569, in AGS, Estado – Portugal, Leg. 388, n. 195.

<sup>257</sup> Letter from Juan de Borja to Philip II, Évora, 24<sup>th</sup> January 1570, in AGS, Estado – Portugal, Leg. 387.

<sup>258</sup> “no dexa de ser muy gran trabajo y gasto el [el Rey] andar desta manera sin asentar en ninguna parte, y mas estando este Reyno muy caro y muy neçessitado por la peste”, Letter from Juan de Borja to Philip II, 10 March 1570, Évora, in AGS, Estado – Portugal, Leg. 387.

<sup>259</sup> Letter from Juan de Borja to Philip II, Xabregas, 31 August 1570, in AGS, Estado – Portugal, Leg. 387.

<sup>260</sup> Letter from Juan de Borja to Philip II, Sintra, 28 June 1570, in AGS, Estado – Portugal, Leg. 387.

<sup>261</sup> Catherine would often receive correspondence from Madrid through Juan de Borja. Other examples are: “don Juan de borja me dio la carta de Vra alteza de xxix del mês pasado”, Letter from Catherine of Austria to Philip II, Xabregas, 28 September 1570, in AGS, Estado – Portugal, Leg. 387; “Illustre Duque. Por vosa carta que me Dom Ju<sup>o</sup> de Borja deu e pollo q. de uosa parte me dise entendi o desejo que tendes de minha consolação. [...]”, Letter from Catherine of Austria to the Duke of Fera, Xabregas, 13 July 1570, in AGS, Estado – Portugal, Leg. 387; in 1572, the queen asks Philip II to favour Juan de Borja for the latter's services to her: “Tieneme puesta Don Juan de Borja en tan grande obligaçion por el amor y diligencia com que ha tratado y trata las cosas de mi consolaçion y mi seruiçio que no puedo dexar de tener cuydado de hallar alguna cosa en que pueda mostrar el conscimiento que desto tengo, y el desseo de hazer por el lo que por mochas razones meresçe, y sabiendo agora por las nueuas que dan dessos Rey[n]os de V.Al<sup>a</sup> que en ellos ay algunas encomiendas vacas y que le seria a proposito la que tuvo un fulano de Padilla. sin el me hablar en ello, ni yo le dizir que hago esto quise supplicar a V. Al<sup>a</sup> que pues el tiene las calidades y partes que sabemos y no le faltan seruiçios y merescimientos. VAl<sup>a</sup> le haga mrd. de lo mejorar enesta encomienda porque en ello la recibire yo mayor que podre encaresçer y muy particular consolacio[n] de mostrar V.Al<sup>a</sup> el gusto que tiene de assistir tan de verdad a mi seruj<sup>o</sup> y q[ue] con razon condia del amor q[ue] V. Al<sup>a</sup> me tiene que esto es en lo que mas puede seruir a V.Al<sup>a</sup> y lo q[ue] le haze capaz de mayores mdes, y quando supiere q[ue] V.Al<sup>a</sup> le haze esta a mi petiçion creo que no sera pequena parte con ella recibir mayor contentamiento NSr. denxobregas a xxxj de mayo. madre de VAl<sup>a</sup> q[ue] hara q[ue] V.Al<sup>a</sup> mandare. Raynha”, Copy of letter from Catherine of Austria to Philip II, Lisbon, 31 May 1572, in AGS, Estado – Portugal, Leg. 390, n. 47.

intellectual interests. There are several references to his work as intermediary between the Duke of Feria and the Secretary of State Gabriel de Zayas. In November 1570, Borja informed Feria that the book by Frey Luis of Granada (1504-1588) was already being printed.<sup>262</sup> In April 1574, he was again waiting for some sermons by the same friar to be printed so that he could send them to Zayas.<sup>263</sup> In 1573, he sent a picture (*imagen*) by Francisco de Holanda – to whom Borja tried to obtain royal favour – and six calendars to the king and two to Zayas.<sup>264</sup> It was also during his mission in Lisbon that he wrote a book of emblems that he would print several years later in Prague.<sup>265</sup> These pieces of information disclose a man that was not completely isolated from the social context in Lisbon and it suggests that Borja maintained a network in that city that allowed answering requests from Madrid.

Indeed, the diplomatic correspondence between 1569 and 1575 shows that Borja slowly adapted to the city. From January 1570 to January 1572, Borja constantly asked permission to return to his *encomienda* in Castile, but the pace of requests became more spaced in time.<sup>266</sup> In January 1573, Borja thanked Zayas for allowing him to stay a few more months in Portugal.<sup>267</sup> On 26 June 1574, he admitted he had received “mucho regalo y merced” in that country.<sup>268</sup> This evolution in Borja’s behaviour – from rejection to gratification – might also be explained by the events in Castile. At

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<sup>262</sup> Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Feria, Xabregas, 26 November 1570, in AGS, Estado – Portugal, Leg. 387.

<sup>263</sup> Letter from Juan de Borja to Gabriel de Zayas, Lisbon, 26 April 1574, in AGS, Estado – Portugal, Leg. 392, n. 53.

<sup>264</sup> Letters from Juan de Borja to Gabriel de Zayas, Lisboa, 22 January and 21 July 1573, in AGS, Estado – Portugal, Leg. 391, n. 133 and 19.

<sup>265</sup> Letter from Juan de Borja to Manuel Quaresma Barreto, Berlanga, 18 July 1575, in AGS, Estado, Leg. 393, f.185. Also quoted in Deswarte-Rosa, ‘De L’emblématique à L’espionnage (...)’, 169.

<sup>266</sup> “Yo queria salir com mi Hazienda por que esta tudo tan caro que no bastara la que yo tengo”, Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Feria, Lisbon, 14 July 1570, in AGS, Estado – Portugal, Leg. 387; “Por lo cuydado que VS tiene de hazerme siempre md en mis negoçios le beso mil vezes las manos lo que yo deseo es estar en parte que mejor lo pueda servir a VS y ai le pido que acabado este negoçio y partiendose la Reyna me de liçença que yo la pida para boluerme con ella per que el quedar aqua seria muy sin sin[?] y no esta esto de manera que VS me deva mandar otra cosa pues pierde aqui el Hombre el tiempo y la hazienda muy sin gusto y pues se el que VS tiene de hazerme md muy confiado quedo que le ade parezer que tengo era esto Razon.”, Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Feria, Xabregas, 26<sup>th</sup> November 1570, in AGS, Estado – Portugal, Leg. 387; “No dexa de porverme[?] en mucho cuydado lo que v.m. me escribe çerca de la dificultad que ay en darme su Magt liçença y sentirlo ya mucho mas sino confiase de su Real animo que me há de hazer outra md quando fuere tiempo y assi yo no torno a tratar de ella hasta ver de todo el fin a estos negoçios. La Razon que yo tengo para desear salir de aqui son muchas y por q[ue] tengo escrito ya algunos a v.m. no las refiero no es la menor lo mucho que aqui se gasta por ser la tierra muy cara y las obligaçiones que yo en ella tengo muy grandes”, Letter from Juan de Borja to Gabriel de Zayas, Lisbon, 27 October[?] 1570, in AGS, Estado – Portugal, Leg. 389, n. 31. The same request with the same arguments is resent to Philip II on 7 September 1571, in AGS, Estado – Portugal, Leg. 389, n. 51; “En mi particular supp.co a v.m. aga recuerdo al s.or Ruy Gomez y al s.or doctor velasco lo que pido es liçença. El darmela seria la mayor md que se me puede hazer. El acrescent<sup>o</sup> de salario es cosa que a mi me jmporta muy poco pues es el tan poco de lo que yo tengo mas necesidad es de vna buena ayuda de costa para poder salir de aqui/ supppo a v.m. trate esto comm neg<sup>o</sup> de vn tan su servidor de modo que se tome en ello alguna conclusion.”, Letter from Juan de Borja to Gabriel de Zayas, Lisbon, 19<sup>th</sup> January 1572, in AGS, Estado – Portugal, Leg. 390, n. 120.

<sup>267</sup> Letter from Juan de Borja to Gabriel de Zayas, Lisbon, 22 January 1573, in AGS, Estado – Portugal, Leg. 391, n. 133.

<sup>268</sup> “Las causas porque pido esta liçença es por el deseo y necesidad que tendo de casar mis hijas y de mirar por la açendilla que tenemos y juntasse con esto estar ya cargado de los pesadumbres desta tierra aun que en ella se me haze mucho regalo y m[er]ce[d] y spcialm[en]te la Reyna a quien yo deuo mucho seruir”, Letter from Juan de Borja to Gabriel de Zayas, Lisbon, 26 June 1574, in AGS, Estado – Portugal, Legajo 388, fol. 34.



the beginning of the 1570s, a sequence of deaths virtually extinguished the group to whom Borja was so attached: the Duke of Feria died in 1571, Borja's father passed away in September 1572, Antonio de Araoz followed in January 1573, Ruy Gómez in July and Juana de Austria in September of that same year. With the group almost disintegrated, the diplomatic mission at the Portuguese court started to reveal itself as an opportunity to look for alternatives at the Hispanic court.

In November 1573, although he did not complain anymore, he started to investigate the possibility of being granted a position closer to the king at court. Some of the letters of this period justify the request based on his already accomplished service as an ambassador.<sup>269</sup> By March of the following year, Borja again asked permission to leave, but this time he supported his request with the need to arrange his daughters' marriage and to look after both his wife and his *encomienda*.<sup>270</sup> It took more than a year to obtain the royal permit. Only on 5 July 1575 was he ready to depart. Eventually, Lorenza died on 13 September 1575 and this event imposed some changes to Borja's plans.<sup>271</sup>

With Lorenza's death, the *mayorazgo* of Oñaz y Loyola passed on to his elder daughter, Leonor, and Borja was left with four daughters and no male heir. A second marriage was imperative. Under the protection of Catherine of Austria, Borja married one of her ladies-in-waiting, Francisca de Aragão e Barreto (ca. 1536/7-1615). Daughter of Nuno Rodrigues Barreto, Francisca de Aragão was also Borja's second cousin, on his mother's side. Additionally, Francisca's uncle was Francisco Barreto (1520-1573), who had served as governor of the *Estado da Índia* from 1555 to 1558. Therefore, this marriage reinforced Borja's blood links with the Portuguese high-ranking nobility.

In synthesis, and despite the scarcity of sources referring to Borja's activities during his sojourn in Lisbon, this period is particularly interesting for this thesis. First, it becomes evident that the three axes that shaped Borja's earlier period converged in Portugal: Francisco de Borja's connections to Portuguese aristocracy, the strong influence of the Society of Jesus at the court, plus the proximity to the Habsburgs through Catherine of Austria. Secondly, the few references that have reached us about Borja's liaisons reveal that he must have been well inserted in Lisbon's social life and they suggest that he had direct access to things from overseas. Finally, Borja reinforced those links by

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<sup>269</sup> "En mis negocios Hable muy largo con El marq[ue]s [de Denia] el qual los lleva bien entendidos para de mi p[ar]te suplicar a su Magt. se acuerde de hazerme md. pues a ya quatro años que le siruo en este officio. tambien me dixo el marques que la Reyna le hauia mandado q[ue] de su parte hablase en mi particular muy apretadam[en]te a su Magd. y q[ue] tambien le escreuia sobre ello aunque yo no lo he suplicado porque se quan poco aprouechan diligencias aquien tiene poca dicha si su Magt. fuesse seruido de honrarme y hazerme podria entretenerme En su seru[ici]o lo que fuesse su voluntad pero en todo se cumpla la de su Magd. Doy cuenta de todo esto a v.m. como de tan[?] señor mio lo prinçipal para descansar y tambien para que sepa mi jntento y en el me aga la md. que suele", Letter from Juan de Borja to Gabriel de Zayas, Lisbon, 25 November 1573, in AGS, Estado – Portugal, Legajo 391, fol. 56.

<sup>270</sup> Escrivà Llorca, 'Erudito, Pietas et Honor (...)', 41.

<sup>271</sup> Escrivà Llorca, 'Erudito, Pietas et Honor (...)', 42.

marrying into Portuguese aristocracy after his wife's death, almost immediately after leaving the realm. This period of Borja's life is a crossroads to understand the consumption of exotic goods. Therefore, I repeatedly come back to it during the following chapters.

## Prague

Upon Juan de Borja's return to Castile in 1575, the pleas by the Spanish ambassador at the imperial court to be replaced in his functions could finally be answered. In early 1576, Philip II chose Juan de Borja to take the place of Francisco Hurtado de Mendoza, IV Count of Monteagudo.<sup>272</sup> In addition, he asked him to find a second wife speedily before leaving on his mission.<sup>273</sup> The reason for this request may have lied in the interest of having the wife of the ambassador integrated in the household of the dowager empress, Maria of Austria (1528-1603). Philip II had always counted on his sister for the defence of Spanish interests at the imperial court and she had always played a very influential role next to her husband Maximilian II.<sup>274</sup> Therefore, extending the ambassador's network through the empress' household could surely reinforce the system of Spanish patronage at the imperial court. Juan de Borja proceeded with his king's request and looked for a second wife, but he also had his own agenda.

Before going to Vienna, Borja had several matters to sort out, which forced the departure to be considerably delayed.<sup>275</sup> In the first place, the loss of Lorenza meant that Borja had lost the rights over the *mayorazgo* of Oñaz and Loyola, which had to be handed over to his elder daughter. These circumstances required Borja to find a solution, which he eventually found on 17 June 1577.<sup>276</sup> A marriage between his daughter and her cousin, Pedro of Borja and Centelles (1553-1629), heir of Carlos of Borja, V Duke of Gandía, was arranged. With it, Borja guaranteed that the *mayorazgo* could be kept within the House of Borja. In addition, Borja negotiated his own marriage. He had chosen one of Catherine of Austria's ladies-in-waiting, Francisca of Aragon and Barreto.<sup>277</sup> Nonetheless, King Sebastian delayed the authorisation for her departure from court and Borja was

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<sup>272</sup> Bad'ura, 'Los Borja Y El Reino de Bohemia', 43–44.

<sup>273</sup> Edelmayer, 'Aspectos del trabajo de los embajadores (...)', 44.

<sup>274</sup> González Cuerva, 'From the Empress to the Ambassador (...)'.  
<sup>275</sup> "La conclusión del casamiento de Don Juan de Borja se va alargando más de lo que yo querría, pues depende della su partida para Alemania, que querría mucho se abreviasse lo posible porque he dado licencia al Marqués de Almazán para que, acabada la Dieta, se venga. Y quedarían muy desiertos mis negocios si don Juan tardase mucho en llegar allá." Letter from Philip II (by Gabriel de Zayas) to Juan de Silva, Madrid, 13 May 1576, in AGS, Estado, Libro [Leg.?.]. 393, s.f., quoted in Escrivà Llorca, 'Erudito, Pietas et Honor (...)', 45.

<sup>276</sup> Escrivà Llorca, 'Erudito, Pietas et Honor (...)', 48.

<sup>277</sup> Letter from Catherine of Austria to Philip II, 29 March 1576, in AGS, Estado – Portugal, Leg. 393, quoted in Escrivà Llorca, 'Erudito, Pietas et Honor (...)', 44.



**Image 2.4 Juan de Borja y Castro (1533-1606)**

Martin Rota-Kolunić, 1580

Print, Inv. FC36670, Istituto Centrale per la Grafica, Rome

left waiting.<sup>278</sup> The wedding eventually took place between 6 and 8 September 1576.<sup>279</sup> Notwithstanding, the event was not sufficient to allow immediate departure. Borja was still busy with the embassy's preparations and the negotiations for his daughter's marriage. Only in late June 1577 was Borja ready to leave the Peninsula.<sup>280</sup> By then, Francisca was already heavily pregnant. Having left from Valencia, the appointed ambassador was forced to interrupt his journey in Genoa due to his first son's birth, which delayed the arrival at the imperial court even more.<sup>281</sup> Finally, in December 1577, Juan de Borja and his entourage arrived in Vienna.

This embassy to the Empire differed in several ways to the previous experience in Portugal. Whereas the negotiations with Sebastian concerned dynastic alliances and commercial interests in

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<sup>278</sup> Details about the reasons for King Sebastian to delay the permit for Francisca of Aragón to leave Portugal can be found in Escrivà Llorca, 'Erudito, Pietas et Honor (...)', 45-47.

<sup>279</sup> Escrivà Llorca, 'Erudito, Pietas et Honor (...)', 46

<sup>280</sup> Escrivà Llorca, 'Erudito, Pietas et Honor (...)', 48.

<sup>281</sup> Escrivà Llorca, 'Erudito, Pietas et Honor (...)', 49.

Asia, the negotiations with Rudolf were mainly about war (Low Countries), territorial interest (the governor of Milan's occupation of Finale, in Liguria) and the protection of Catholicism within the Empire. However, there was also another significant difference. Whereas Philip II had delegated much of the negotiation for the embassy in Portugal to his ambassador and his aunt Catherine, Borja's autonomy at the Empire was much more restricted. Most decisions were taken in Madrid and simply written down to Borja who had to communicate them to the emperor.<sup>282</sup> Philip also lost many of the early expectations regarding his sister Maria's capacity to have an influence. Apart from the obvious differences in matters of negotiation, Maria of Austria could not play a similar role to her aunt's in Lisbon. At the very least, she was isolated in Prague in the beginning of Borja's embassy while the emperor remained mostly in Vienna.

During the period at the Empire, Borja spent most of his time close to the empress in Prague, but made sure to keep his links with the Hispanic court and his other social networks in the Iberian Peninsula. On the one hand, his letters demonstrate that he was particularly well informed about Portuguese affairs. On the other hand, it is known that, before departing to Vienna, Borja had requested authorisation to take Father Teruel with him. Father Teruel was none other than the rector of the College of Plasencia, in Castile.<sup>283</sup> In effect, he kept his Jesuit network throughout the whole period. For example, in 1581, he lectured on poetics at the Clementinum College in Prague.<sup>284</sup> Furthermore, the Jesuit links built in the Portuguese-Castilian and Valencian milieu, where he had been educated, reveal that he maintained close contact with some of the important Catholic nobility of the Empire.

Notwithstanding that literature has defined this group of Catholic nobility gathering around Empress Maria of Austria in Prague as the *Spanish Faction* of the imperial court, this nationalistic label hides a more complex system of patronage and mixed interests that cannot be reduced to one single group.<sup>285</sup> As Pavel Marek argued, these noblemen never formed a compact group: “se tratava más bien de unos grupos individuales que competían entre sí que de un conjunto de personas que sostuviera un programa común”.<sup>286</sup> Most of these individuals did not defend Philip's interests due to their religion, but because the Spanish diplomatic agents had managed to secure a widespread system of negotiated gratifications individually.

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<sup>282</sup> In the recompilation of documentation regarding the embassy of Juan de Borja that Bohumil Bad'ura made, it is very clear that the ambassador was very limited at the Imperial court. The correspondence from Madrid even detailed the content of the conversation that Borja was allowed to keep with Philip II's clients at the Empire, see Bad'ura, 'Los Borja Y El Reino de Bohemia', 55–56.

<sup>283</sup> Letter from Philip II to the Provincial Sup. Society of Jesus, 12 July 1576, in AGS, Estado–Castilla, Leg.158, n.129.

<sup>284</sup> Truc, *Album Academiae Pragensis Societatis Iesu 1573-1617 (1565-1624)*, 31.

<sup>285</sup> González Cuerva, 'El Ascenso Del Partido Católico (...)'; Štěpánek, *La Praga Española.*; Koller, 'El facción española y los nuncios en la corte (...)'.  
<sup>286</sup> Marek, *La Embajada Española En La Corte Imperial (...)*, 48.

Juan de Borja had to handle much of these negotiations himself, working towards obtaining an alliance of Catholic nobility.<sup>287</sup> Nonetheless, there were other links forged at a more personal level. During his stay in Prague, Juan de Borja received a significant number of relics from Bohemian, Moravian, Carinthian and Hungarian Catholic aristocrats. W. Telfer, studying those relics, identified many of those individuals and if a common thread can be singled out, that is their shared support of the Society of Jesus. The most well-known cases are those of the Dietrichsteins and the Pernsteins. Wratislav von Pernstein (1530-1582), Chancellor of Bohemia, Imperial Councillor and married to Maria Manrique of Lara, was very close to Juan de Borja, to whom he offered a Holy Thorn.<sup>288</sup> Later in 1582, links would become even tighter when Borja's cousin, Ferdinand of Aragon and Borja, married Wratislav's daughter, Joanna of Pernstein and Manrique of Lara. Even more so in 1610, when their offspring married Juan de Borja's son and heir, Carlos. The other tie is Adam Dietrichstein, ambassador in Madrid between 1564 and 1573.<sup>289</sup> Dietrichstein was regarded as a loyal defender of Philip II's interest in the Empire and, at an unknown date, he offered a set of relics to Borja as a sign of close friendship.<sup>290</sup> Later, Borja would write from Prague complaining about Dietrichstein for not actively defending Philip's interests anymore, which shows how fragile were the connections with Madrid.<sup>291</sup> Thanks to the study by W. Telfer, it is possible to see that Borja's network in the Empire did not rely solely on the Habsburgs or service to the empress, but that it was a complex system of interrelations that was made possible to a great extent by the transnational connections eased by the Society of Jesus.

Still, Empress Maria was regarded as the ultimate supporter of the Jesuits in the Empire, which is evident in an emblem published in a panegyric after her death (**Image 2.5**). It was then amongst the empress' household that Borja found a highly influential Jesuit priest to whom he became closely related. Portuguese by birth, Francisco António used to preach for the empress and he later became confessor of Juan de Borja and Francisca of Aragon. Besides, and as expected, Francisca of Aragon integrated the empress' household. This proximity to Maria of Austria would be compensated at the time of leaving Prague. When Maria finally set off on her return trip to Madrid, Juan de Borja was appointed her *mayordomo mayor* – the highest office within a household and one which he would keep until the empress' death in 1603.

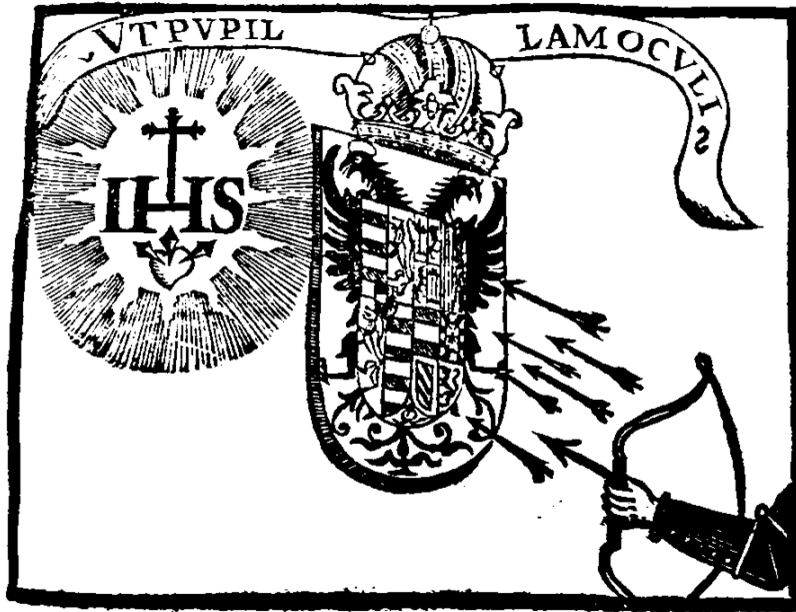
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<sup>287</sup> About the system of gratifications, see: Marek, *La Embajada Española En La Corte Imperial (...)*, but also González Cuerva, 'From the Empress to the Ambassador (...)'.  
<sup>288</sup> Telfer, *The Treasure of São Roque (...)*, 92–93.

<sup>289</sup> Edelmayer, 'Aspectos del trabajo de los embajadores (...)', 40.

<sup>290</sup> Telfer, *The Treasure of São Roque (...)*, 92

<sup>291</sup> Marek, *La Embajada Española En La Corte Imperial (...)*, 78–79.



**Image 2.5 – Print dedicated to Empress Maria of Austria**  
Engraver unknown, Print on paper, 1603

To conclude, and despite its considerable difference from the previous diplomatic mission, the embassy of Borja to the Empire is particularly interesting for this thesis for three main reasons. To begin with, the inventory of the objects that Borja took on to Vienna in 1577 has survived and it reveals a very significant range of non-European items amongst the cargo. Although it is not complete, the plethora of overseas objects and materials hardly finds parallel in other contemporary inventories.<sup>292</sup> Chapter 5 particularly addresses this source and shows how the contents of the inventory are so intricately dependent on early modern diplomatic practises.

Secondly, most of what has been researched on the circulation of exotic things from the Iberian Peninsula to the Empire has focused on gift-giving practises amongst members of the Habsburgs or on the role of Hans von Khevenhüller, the imperial ambassador in Madrid (1574-1606), as Rudolf II's broker. Like Catherine of Austria in Portugal, Rudolf II has been regarded as the collector *par excellence* of exotic things and his *Kunstammer* is part of most historiographical works on cabinets of curiosities in the early modern period. Nonetheless, the presence of other consumers of exotic goods at the imperial court has not attracted the same level of attention.

Finally, the diplomatic mission of Juan de Borja to the Holy Roman Empire presents itself as an opportunity to transcend national frameworks that usually frame studies on the consumption of non-European things. Notwithstanding that most of Borja's links had been built in the Iberian

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<sup>292</sup> AGS, Cámara de Castilla, Libro 360, ff. 187-201v. The inventory has been studied by Escrivà Llorca in the framework of Juan de Borja's musical patronage, but its potential to understand consumption practices of non-European things has not been explored, see Escrivà Llorca, 'Erudito, Pietas et Honor (...)', Chapter 5.

Peninsula, Borja's social network was not based on national identities. In fact, during his diplomatic mission, the House he belonged to and his Jesuit education came together with his Portuguese network. Chapter 4 reveals how Borja desperately tried to use his economic and social relationships in Portugal to ascend within the court in Madrid, especially during the process of integration of the Portuguese crown in the Hispanic Monarchy, between 1578 and 1580.

As a final remark, it should not be forgotten that Prague was an opportunity for Borja to develop his humanistic interests. During those four years, he supported the publication of musical works and published his own book on emblems. These deeds, together with the remaining diplomatic activity and individual agenda disclose Juan de Borja's multifaceted *persona*, or in Fletcher's words, his *persona mixta*.<sup>293</sup> In short, it is the mission to the Empire that best shows the complexity of the consumer's interests and motivations which, of course, are to be reflected on his consumption habits.

## Madrid

The death of Maximilian II in October 1576 was the ultimate event that made Maria of Austria decide to return to Castile. Nevertheless, it was only in 1581, after thirty years living in the Empire that Maria, with Juan de Borja already appointed as her *mayordmo mayor*, left Prague towards the *Monasterio de las Descalzas Reales* in Madrid. The empress' journey was a complex enterprise coordinated by the imperial ambassador in Madrid Hans von Khevenhüller. This was not a simple relocation of a few individuals. Two thousand people travelled with Maria of Austria and the retinue's journey involved *joyeuses entrées* and other celebrations throughout towns on route. It is intriguing that Juan de Borja did not join the moving court until it reached Innsbruck. This led Escrivà Llorca to argue that he took the opportunity to handle some kind of private business in Munich. Wherever the explanation may lie, Borja did eventually accompany Maria entering Madrid the following year.<sup>294</sup>

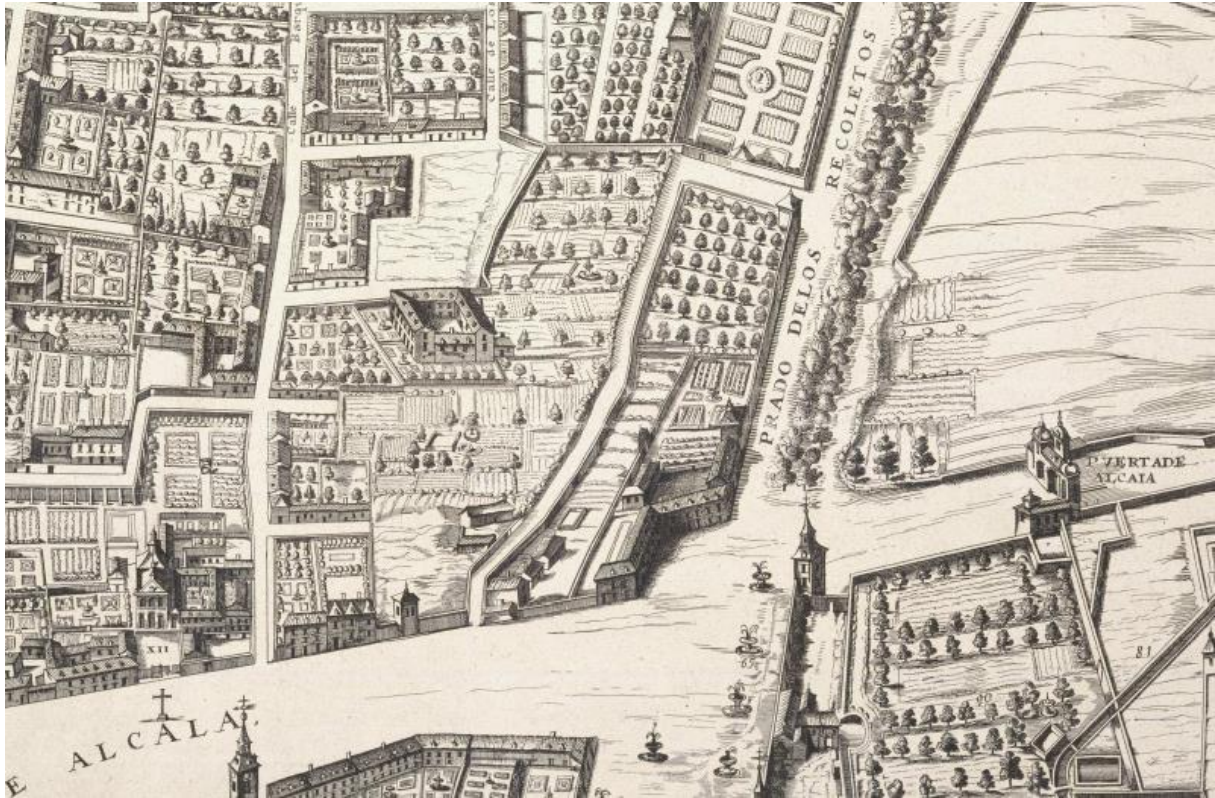
At that moment, Philip II was in Lisbon managing the integration of Portugal in the Hispanic Monarchy and he required the empress to take the viceroyalty. Borja travelled with the empress to Lisbon where they arrived in April 1582.<sup>295</sup> Given Maria's refusal to take the post, the viceroyalty was handed to her son, Archduke Albert of Austria (1559-1621). Maria eventually returned to

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<sup>293</sup> Fletcher, *Diplomacy in Renaissance Rome the Rise of the Resident Ambassador*.

<sup>294</sup> Escrivà Llorca, 'Erudito, Pietas et Honor (...)', 58-59.

<sup>295</sup> Escrivà Llorca, 'Erudito, Pietas et Honor (...)', 63.



**Image 2.6** The *Huerta de Buenavista* (at the centre)

Pedro Teixeira and Salomon Savery, 1656 (detail)

Print

Madrid where she joined the *Monasterio de las Descalzas Reales* and Borja moved into a house in front of the monastery.<sup>296</sup> This house at the *Plaza de las Descalzas*, however, was not his sole residence after Borja's return.

One of the most important spaces during the forthcoming years was the *Huerta de Buenavista*. The *huerta*, a term that usually refers to a house with an orchard in the outskirts of the city – i.e. a semi-urban and semi-rural property – was located on the slope of the Calle de Alcalá. The location is relevant because this was one of the main roads to enter and exit the city, connecting the Alcázar with the Monastery of Saint Jerome, where the monarchs were often hosted (and next to which some years later Philip IV would build his *Palacio del Buen Retiro*). Constantly mentioned as the *huerta de don juan de borja*, this property was used either to receive the monarchs or to have receptions that were more informal. However, the story of this *huerta* is far more important and complex for this thesis than what could be assumed at a first glance. Indeed, the view that Juan de Borja had a collection of paintings and a cabinet of curiosities is largely based on an inventory of this property's contents.

<sup>296</sup> Escrivà Llorca, 'Erudito, Pietas et Honor (...)', 63. The location of the house that Juan de Borja held in front of the monastery is confirmed by a plan drawn by the architect Juan Gómez de Mora in ca. 1609, see RB, *Planta de las casas del Duque de Lerma en la Plaza de las Descalzas*, [1609?], IX/M/242/2 (15). The volume of this house can still be easily identified in Pedro Teixeira's 1656 plan of Madrid (see **Appendix IX**).



The name of Juan de Borja as a grand collector appears in a few works about history of collections in early modern Iberia, but most of them derive either from the work of J. Miguel Morán and Fernando Checa or of Peter Cherry and Markus B. Burke.<sup>297</sup> In both cases, the authors support themselves on an *Huerta de Buenavista* inventory concluded in Madrid on 27 June 1600.<sup>298</sup> It leads them to describe Juan de Borja not only as a grand collector of paintings – “la galeria del conde de Ficallo es, con la de Felipe II, en El Escorial, una de las más importantes del siglo XVI”.<sup>299</sup> Also as a collector of exotic things:

“El inventario de 1600 nos resulta también especialmente interesante para nuestro estudio, pues nos introduce en el tema de la cámara de maravillas, al revelarnos la existencia de varios camarines que agrupan ordenadamente distintas clases de objetos exóticos, raros y curiosos”.<sup>300</sup>

The *Huerta de Buenavista* inventory is quite an exceptional one, for it lists the objects by rooms, which is very uncommon in inventories of this period from Madrid. However, this inventory is also a false friend for historians since the title “ynbentario de los bienes de don Ju[an] de borxa” misleads the reader. The things in it did not belong to Juan de Borja. In reality, it is the opening of the inventory that betrays the title:

“las d[ic]has casas [que nonbram de buena vista que fueron de don juan de borxa conde de fycallo] y lo que en ellas esta de menaxe de casa pinturas retratos y otras cosas de diferentes suertes es de su m[a]g[esta]d del rrei n[uest]ro señor”.<sup>301</sup>

The *huerta*'s contents belonged to the king, but this contradiction is easily explained by the fact that the inventory is product of the system of *mercedes* at the Spanish court.

The *huerta* was “de” Juan de Borja only to the extent that it was part of his office as *mayordomo mayor* of Empress Maria of Austria. According to Trevor J. Dadson, the *Huerta de Buenavista* had been offered to Philip II by Cardinal and Archbishop of Toledo Gaspar de Quiroga (1512-1594). When the empress returned from Prague in 1582, Philip conceded the property to his sister and Juan de Borja, as her *mayordomo mayor*, was charged with its maintenance.<sup>302</sup> It is not very clear what the conditions of the agreement were, because, in 1589, in a letter that exempts Juan de Borja from the obligation of housing royal officials (*regalía de aposento*), the *huerta* is always said to belong to

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<sup>297</sup> Markus B. Burke state that “Juan de Borja, Conde de Ficallo, possessed more than 200 pictures” based on the inventory at AHPM, Prot. 933, ff. 379v-386v, see Burke and Cherry, *Collections of Paintings in Madrid, 1601-1755*, vol. I:119.

<sup>298</sup> AHPM, Prot. 933, ff. 379v-386v.

<sup>299</sup> Morán Turina and Checa Cremades, *El Coleccionismo En España*, 163.

<sup>300</sup> Morán Turina and Checa Cremades, *El Coleccionismo En España*, 158.

<sup>301</sup> AHPM, Prot. 933, f. 379.

<sup>302</sup> Dadson, ‘Un Palacio Para Un Conde (...)’.

him – “el tiene en los arrabales desta Villa Junto al camino y caños que llaman de Alcalá vna cassa huerta en la parrochia de Sanct Gines”.<sup>303</sup> This information does not invalidate that the property was part of his office at the empress’ household and, perhaps, it is the fact that Borja used the property so often that it became known simply as the *huerta de Don Juan*.

From the correspondence with Phillip III’s favourite, the Duke of Lerma, it is understood that Borja used the *huerta* for meals and small reunions either with the Duke or with other members of the court. On 10 January 1599, the Duke of Lerma wrote to Borja asking to have lunch with him at the *huerta*.<sup>304</sup> A year later, Philip III invited the empress to have lunch there, which suggests that the property did not belong at all to Borja.<sup>305</sup> Indeed, just a few days after the invitation, Lerma informed Borja that the king and the queen would have a small meal at the *huerta* and that Borja had to have everything in order.<sup>306</sup> A few months later, on 20 April 1600, Lerma informed again that the king wanted to have lunch at the *huerta* and that Juan de Borja should once again make the preparations.<sup>307</sup>

Despite its recurrent use by the king, the Duke and Borja, this was still a property conceded to the empress. One of the alleys of access to the *huerta* even kept the memory of its tenant – the “Calle de la Emperatriz”. Moreover, in the 1600 inventory there is no reference to a room directly related to Juan de Borja. Instead, there was “La pieça de la enperatriz”.<sup>308</sup> In addition, there was a *camarin* of porcelains and glass.<sup>309</sup> This was a type of room that was often part of female apartments.<sup>310</sup> Apart from the misleading title, one of the reasons for the confusion generated by the inventory of the *huerta* is the fact that the latter was never put at the centre of the study of Juan de Borja’s “collection” and its context of production was never considered. As a matter of fact, this inventory should not be regarded with the same lens as the one used for probate inventories. It was an inventory made to transfer the property management from the responsibility of Juan de Borja to the *Junta de Obras y Bosques* – the administrative body responsible for the management of royal estates.<sup>311</sup>

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<sup>303</sup> *Privilegio y exención de huéspedes perpetuo de las casas y jardín que don Juan de Borja tiene junto al camino y caños que llaman de Alcalá y cartas de pago de la paga de ducados a su majestad por la merced*, 1589, in RB, “Papeles varios sobre el monasterio de Nuestra Señora de Prado y sobre la Audiencia del Reino de Galicia”, II/2518, f. 233.

<sup>304</sup> “mañana Va su mag[esta]d a caça y io tengo tanto que açer que quería que no me estorvasen y para esto supp[li]co a Vs<sup>a</sup> mande que en su guerta nos tentan de comer a Vs<sup>a</sup> y a mi y que vaya la menos jente que se pudiere y no lo sepa nadie y podremos avlar un poco”, Letter from the Duke of Lerma to Juan de Borja, Madrid, 10 January 1599, in BL, Add. Ms. 28422, ff. 27-31v.

<sup>305</sup> “La Emp[eratri]z açeta de muy buena voluntad la yda a comer a la Huerta quando Su Mag[esta]d mandare”, Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Lerma, Madrid, 13 January 1600, in BL, Add. Ms. 28422, f. 238.

<sup>306</sup> Letter from the Duke of Lerma to Juan de Borja, Madrid, 17 January 1600, in BL, Add. Ms. 28422, ff. 256-257v.

<sup>307</sup> Letter from the Duke of Lerma to Juan de Borja, Madrid, 20 April 1600, in BL, Add. Ms. 28422, ff. 388-388v.

<sup>308</sup> AHPM, Prot. 933, ff. 384v-385.

<sup>309</sup> AHPM, Prot. 933, ff. 385-386.

<sup>310</sup> For more on *camarines*, see Chapter 6 on porcelain.

<sup>311</sup> About the Real Junta de Obras y Bosques see: Díaz González, *La Real Junta de Obras y Bosques en la época de los Austrias*; Fernández Talaya, ‘La Real Junta de Obras y Bosques’.

Unlike Dadson's opinion, the property was not transferred to the king after the empress' death (1603). In February 1600, Borja wrote to Lerma asking for a decision to be taken regarding what ought to be done about the *huerta*. Borja agreed that the architect Francisco de Mora should visit the place to assess its value, a task to be followed by an inventory that allowed the *descargo*, i.e. the release, of Juan de Borja from his duty.<sup>312</sup> This was something Borja wished to see concluded quickly, for on 12 June 1600 Juan de Borja asked the duke to free him from sorrows and expenses by transferring the *huerta* to the *Junta*: “suplico a V. ex<sup>a</sup> para librarne de pesadumbres y de gasto se sirva de mandar q[ue] se entregue la Huerga a la Junta de obras y bosques”.<sup>313</sup>

Finally, on 25 June, the officers from the *Junta* visited the *huerta*.<sup>314</sup> Two days later the inventory was concluded. Borja continued to be consulted about the property, since in May 1601 the duke asked him whether the *huerta* was in good conditions to receive the king.<sup>315</sup> However, from November 1600 onwards, the *Buenavista* had an appointed governor, and Borja was only in charge of acquiring the surrounding properties for the king.<sup>316</sup> Apparently, this expansion project was later abandoned and eventually the *huerta* was sold to the Count of Salinas.<sup>317</sup>

I introduced here the case of the *Huerta de Buenavista* not only because it has generated misunderstandings regarding Juan de Borja's belongings, but also because this case is exemplary of the misuse of historical sources for the study of the history of consumption. In reality, inventory records are often used without considering their context of production or their internal organisation. In the case of the inventory of the *Huerta de Buenavista*, it has been used more to support extant historiographical discourses on the taste for *exotica*, than to understand the relation of the items to the consumer.

Apart from this methodological issue, the *huerta* is also significant for this thesis. It represents the new position that Borja occupied at court, after his return to Madrid. Given his responsibility as

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<sup>312</sup> Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Lerma, Madrid, 23 February 1600, in BL, Add. Ms. 28422, ff. 313-314v.

<sup>313</sup> Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Lerma, Madrid, 12 June 1600, in BL, Add. Ms. 28423, f. 42.

<sup>314</sup> Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Lerma, Madrid, 25 June 1600, in BL, Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 74-75v.

<sup>315</sup> “Su mgt. qujere yr el mjercoles a dormjr a san agustin y el jueves ay y a posar a buenavista por ser buen tiempo p<sup>a</sup> alli yr ruega a VS q[ue] proque q[ue] su aguela lo tenga por bien y q[ue] se la mande VS tener[P] barrjda y desenbarazada y linpia la calleja adonde sale una puerta q[ue] esta alla abajo en la huerta p<sup>a</sup> tomar alli el coche”, Letter from the Duke of Lerma to Juan de Borja, Buitrago, 15 May 1601, in BL, Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 43-44v. See also letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Lerma, Madrid, 9 June 1601, in BL, Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 68-69v.

<sup>316</sup> “El governador de buenavista si a podido havra dado cuenta a V.ex<sup>a</sup> del termino que esta la compra de las Huertas questan junto a las de su Magd y si huviere mañana de yr a comer alla yo quiero ser conbidado de Vex<sup>a</sup> para tomar Resoluçion de lo que alli se ha de Hazer V.ex<sup>a</sup> Responda de palabra a don fernando questo bastara”, Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Lerma, Madrid, 18 November 1600, in BL, Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 319-320v. See also the letters in: BL, Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 428-429v; BL, Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 20-21v, 23-26v, 53-56v, 68-69v, 75-77v, 90-91v, 124-126v, 208-209v, and 240-241v.

<sup>317</sup> Dadson, ‘Un Palacio Para Un Conde (...)’.

Maria's *mayordomo mayor*, Borja could not leave the surroundings of the *Monasterio de las Descalzas Reales*, which forced him to stay almost permanently in Madrid. Therefore, he did not follow Philip II into the Escorial, nor did he immediately follow his successor to Valladolid when the court was temporarily transferred to that city (1601-1606). Furthermore, once Philip III ascended to the throne, Borja obtained several offices at court that required constant meetings, many of them organised at the *huerta*. Despite being described by the Venetian ambassador as a man that “wouldn't exhaust himself for affairs of state”, Borja, nonetheless, acquired an impressive capacity of influence at the turn of the century.<sup>318</sup> Less than a month after the death of Philip II, Juan de Borja was appointed member of the *Consejo de Estado y Guerra* and in the following year he integrated the *Consejo de Portugal*.<sup>319</sup>

The period in Madrid was indeed the most fruitful in Borja's life. On 4 September 1596, Borja obtained a royal *merced* for more than sixty-three years in the service of the House of Austria: the title of I Count of Mayalde – a small town on the outskirts of Zamora, in Castile.<sup>320</sup> A title that would be followed by another one just three years later. Given his strong connections to Portugal and his loyalty to the Habsburgs, Juan de Borja became a cornerstone in the fiscal policy of the monarchy and a means to penetrate the Portuguese institutional system, which had been blocked to Castilians given the aggregation of the kingdom's agreements made in Tomar in 1581.<sup>321</sup> The fact that Borja was married to a Portuguese noblewoman made things easier. On 23 October 1599, just about a year after the death of Philip II, Borja obtained in Portugal the title of Countess of Ficalho for his wife. As the holder of a Portuguese title, Borja could claim some rights in the neighbouring kingdom, a condition that was only matched by Juan de Silva (1532-1601), who also had been ambassador in Lisbon and who also married a Portuguese noblewoman, Filipa de Silva († ca. 1590), heiress to the County of Portalegre.<sup>322</sup> It must be recognised, however, that the main thing responsible for such a rocketing career after the death of Philip II was Francisco Gómez de Sandoval-Rojas y Borja (1553-1625), V Marquis of Denia and I Duke of Lerma.

Lerma was Philip III's favourite, but also nephew of Juan de Borja from his mother's side. Borja continued to receive royal favour until his sudden death in September 1606. On the 16<sup>th</sup> of April 1600, from the Master of the Order of Santiago, i.e. Philip III, Juan de Borja obtained the

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<sup>318</sup> “Don Juan de Borxa es de buen entendim[ien]to ambiçioso no se fatiga por cosas destado de este se ade proponer encaminando siempre lo quel duque de lerma quisiere y quando no se yra com la opinion de los muchos.” In “Relacion que hiço alla republica de Venezia Simon contarín el año de 1605. de la embaxada que hauia echo en España y de todo lo q[ue] entendia dellas cossas della”, in BA, Cód. 51-IX-51, f. 7v.

<sup>319</sup> Escrivà Llorca, ‘Erudito, Pietas et Honor (...)’, 66.

<sup>320</sup> Escrivà Llorca, ‘Erudito, Pietas et Honor (...)’, 66.

<sup>321</sup> Feros, *El Duque de Lerma (...)*, 296.

<sup>322</sup> Bouza Álvarez, ‘Corte Es Decepción (...)’, 470–471.

appointment as one of the *Trece*, the selected group at the top of the hierarchy of the Order.<sup>323</sup> In 1604, after the empress' death in the previous year, Borja obtained the office of *mayordomo* at the household of Queen Margarita of Austria (1584-1611) and in 1606 he became her *mayordomo mayor* – a blow of Lerma to extend his clientele into the core of the queen's household.<sup>324</sup> Other *mercedes* were also granted to the sons of Juan de Borja, consolidating his position as one of the right-hand men of the duke.

The relevance of this final period for this thesis is indebted to two main reasons. First, it was during this period that Borja joined the *Consejo de Portugal*, which allowed him a privileged position for the management of Portuguese affairs within the Hispanic Monarchy. As *veedor de la hacienda*, he led the reform of the Portuguese financial system after the death of Philip II – a task which was achieved thanks to the support of a network of clients based in Lisbon. Amongst those clients was Luis de Figueiredo Falcão, a notary at the *Casa da Índia* who became a main broker in the provision of exotic goods for Borja.<sup>325</sup> The second reason is the fact that Borja's correspondence from the period 1598-1606 has survived, which allows understanding the social context in which Borja moved. The letters exchanged with the Duke of Lerma during this period reveal the practise of a man specialised in Portuguese affairs and in control of all communication between Portuguese elites and the centre of decision-making in Madrid. These complex social interactions, which are developed in depth on the final chapter of this thesis, constitute the net through which the *lines* of Juan de Borja and his exotic items were woven.

## In conclusion

In September 1606, Juan de Borja died due to complications following an accident at the El Escorial. Borja had been long suffering from gout and by the final years of his life he could barely move and had to be transported in a sedan chair. On 1 September one of the carriers let the sedan chair fall on a staircase and Juan de Borja came out of the accident severely injured. He passed away two days later. The death of Juan de Borja on 3 September 1606 was followed by regular juridical procedures. The testament was opened and an inventory of his possessions was carried out in order to sell them at a public auction to cover the deceased's debts.

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<sup>323</sup> Escrivà Llorca, 'Erudito, Pietas et Honor (...)', 69.

<sup>324</sup> Escrivà Llorca, 'Erudito, Pietas et Honor (...)', 68.

<sup>325</sup> The *Casa da Índia* was the Portuguese institutional body for the management of overseas trade. For more information, see Chapter 3.

As the following chapters aim at demonstrating, Borja's probate inventory is the mirror of Borja's individual life path, which was built on the circumstances that surrounded him. Having grown up in his father's shadow, Juan de Borja was able to develop close contacts not only with the Society of Jesus, but also with the court in Madrid and with high-ranking nobility in Portugal. Eventually, the connections to Portugal made him an asset when Philip II was seeking someone to appoint as ambassador to the court of King Sebastian. Consequently, Borja's experience in Lisbon gave him the skills to become a resident ambassador at the Empire. For that post, the connections to the Society of Jesus were an added advantage. The short exile in Vienna and Prague were the opportunity to ascend within the court and, on his return to Madrid, Borja had already secured a very comfortable position as the empress' *mayordomo mayor*. Bearing these events in mind is essential to understand Borja's consumption practises, because the objects and materials that Borja assembled throughout his life cannot be separated from this mesh. The next chapter will show how all these lines came together in a very short period. In addition, it will explain how Borja used the mechanisms at his disposal to access exotic goods.

# Chapter 3

## Exotic objects as by-product

Throughout this thesis I demonstrate that the consumption of objects and materials from non-European regions cannot be exclusively explained by a taste for *Exotica*, but rather by a wide range of reasons that can only be understood if the moment of intersection between consumer and object/material is analysed. For that intersection to happen, two things are required: a driving force for consumption and a set of mechanisms that allow consumption to take place. Chapter 3 aims at analysing what allowed consumption to take place. To be more precise, I look into the mechanisms of access to goods and I evaluate the role of different actors, beyond the consumer to disclose how consumption was made possible through the existence of informal networks acting through formal institutions.

I argue that, regardless of the consumer's interests or intentions, the high number of non-European things in Borja's probate inventory is a result of the specificity of his position, which put those things within his reach. Juan de Borja had a privileged and direct access to goods arriving from Asia at the *Casa da Índia*, in Lisbon, which made acquisition to be a somewhat straightforward affair. Instead of focusing on the advantages of exploiting this access, I address the relationship between Juan de Borja and one of his brokers in the Portuguese city, namely Luis de Figueiredo Falcão. To focus on this player allows me to analyse how that informal relationship was facilitated by the institutional framework of the *Consejo de Portugal*. Due to documentation constraints, the chapter focus on the brief period between the death of Philip II in September 1598 and Borja's jubilation from the office of *Consejero de Portugal* in September 1605 – with a special emphasis on the period between 1599 and 1601. Practical constraints notwithstanding, there is space for analysing the entanglement of formal institutions, informal networks and the agency of the consumer.

Chapter 3 is organised in three sections. Firstly, I depart from the sample of inventories to demonstrate that Borja had an uncommon variety of exotic items, which raises the hypothesis that such a variety was a direct outcome of his position at the head of the *Consejo de Portugal*. Secondly, I give pride of place to the agency of Borja in his relationship to the institutional framework of the *Consejo*. I disclose how Borja managed to enter the *Consejo* and become his leading figure during the reformation of Portuguese finances at the beginning of Philip III's reign. At the same time, I explain how these reforms granted Borja the opportunity to become the main intermediary between Portuguese and Castilian interests. Thirdly, the final section focuses on the practises within that institutional framework, namely Borja's relationship to the notary of the *Casa da Índia* in Lisbon, who supplied all types of exotic things. By giving pride of place to the informal connections that operated through institutional bodies, I demonstrate that Juan de Borja's acquisition of exotic objects was a by-product of his service to the monarchy.

### 3.1. Exceptional consumers?

Juan de Borja's probate inventory (1606) stands out both for the variety of exotic items and for their sheer quantity. As the chapters that follow reveal in more detail, at the time of his death, Borja left seven rhino horns, ten *colchas de la yndia*, at least nine fall-front cabinets made with tropical woods (without counting those made of ebony), together with tables and beds "de la yndia", taffeta from China, leather *de la yndia* and a cape made with American fur. Such an impressive group of exotic objects is difficult to find in other contemporary inventories. However, it is a reference to a Hungarian piece of clothing and to twenty-five German cups that triggers the question of whether the objects in the inventory are also a reflection of Borja's own career at the service of the monarchy.<sup>326</sup> Would these objects be in his inventory had he not been ambassador at the Empire, or *mayordomo mayor* of Maria of Austria, Holy Roman Empress and queen consort of Hungary?

In this section, I briefly go through the sample of inventories to demonstrate that the extensive diversity of exotic objects in Borja's inventory is almost exceptional. For this exercise, I selected the four objects analysed in the forthcoming chapters of this thesis (rhino horns, *colchas*, porcelain and fall-front cabinets), plus a few other exotic items that are usually the subject of historical

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<sup>326</sup> AHPM Prot. 2626, ff. 1022-1078v.



NAME	DATE	REF.	Rhino/ Unicorn	Colchas de la Yndia/China	Porcelana	Escritorios (exc. Ebony)	Coconut cups	Mother-of-pearl	Bezoar stone	Alfombra/Tapete "de la Yndia"	Estera "de la yndia"	Catre/Cama "de la yndia"	Biombo	TOTAL
María Pereira	1585	Prot. 989												0
Antonio Perez	1585	Prot. 989b		X										1
Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	1588	Prot. 590	X											1
María de Aragón	1593	Prot. 1578	X		X		X	X	X					5
Ana de Toledo y Colona	1596	Prot. 1810-3a	X	X	X		X	X	X	X				7
Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	1598	Prot. 1810-3			X			X	X	X	X			5
Ana María Dugarte Hermossa	1598	Prot. 2654b												0
Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	1599	Prot. 1006		X	X		X	X	X					5
Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	1599	Prot. 932							X	X				2
Juan de Borja y Castro	1606	Prot. 2626	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X		9
Juan de la Cerda	1607	Prot. 2001	X	X				X	X					4
Francisco de Rojas	1609	Prot. 2176						X				X		2
Francisco de Velasco	1609	Prot. 2284		X		X		X	X	X		X		6
Francisco de Cuellar	1613	Prot. 2654												0
Ana Manrique	1616	Prot. 2022		X	X				X					3
Juan de Mendoza y Castilla	1616	Prot. 2298												0
Juan de Acuña	1616	Prot. 2661		X		X	X	X		X		X		6
Ruy Gómez de Silva y Mendoza	1616	Prot. 3146		X		X	X	X				X		5
Juana de Mujita	1617	Prot. 2021												0
Ana Antonia de Velasco	1617	Prot. 2021b		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	10
Juana de Aragón y Colonna	1617	Prot. 2021c		X	X	X		X	X			X		6
Mencia de Bobadilla	1618	Prot. 2662		X	X	X	X	X				X	X	7
Leonor de Portugal	1618	Prot. 3976	X		X			X						3
Francisco Enriquez	1618	Prot. 4442	X	X					X		X	X		5
Felipe de Matienço	1619	Prot. 2026					X							1
Pedro Carlos de Aragón	1619	Prot. 2026b					X	X	X			X	X	5
Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	1620	Prot. 2322	X		X	X	X	X	X					6
Martin de Padreda	1620	Prot. 2323	X					X	X					3
Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	1620	Prot. 2323b				X								1
Antonio Orlandis	1620	Prot. 2665				X		X	X			X		4
Juan Montoya y Cardona	1621	Prot. 2029				X								1
Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	1621	Prot. 2029-3	X	X						X		X		4
Fernando Carrillo	1622	Prot. 2031					X		X					2
Hector Piñatelo	1622	Prot. 2032											X	1
Luis Enriquez	1622	Prot. 3485	X		X				X					3
Alonso Fernandez de Castro	1624	Prot. 2035				X								1
Antonia de Toledo	1625	Prot. 2040a				X		X						2
Antônia de Rojas	1625	Prot. 2678			X									1
Pedro Hurtado de Gaviria	1626	Prot. 2040b												0
Mateo de Carranza	1626	Prot. 2679a												0
Jorge Cerón Carvajal	1626	Prot. 2679b		X			X							2

Table 3.1 – Exotic objects in probate inventories

studies on *Exotica*. To be more precise, I added coconut cups, objects made with mother-of-pearl, bezoar stones, carpets *de la yndia/china*, rush mats, beds *de la yndia/china* and screens (i.e. *biombo* or *mamparà*) (see **Table 3.1**).

Following my breakdown of available information, a surprising finding is revealed. Apart from Juan de Borja, there is another consumer who stands out in the sample for a large diversity of exotic things: Ana Antonia de Alvarado y Velasco. There is virtually no personal information about her, apart from the one given by her inventory and a few genealogical works. Nonetheless, it is precisely Ana Antonia's genealogy that contributes to reinforce the hypothesis that the consumption of exotic objects was not just a matter of individual will, but also a consequence of taking office at the service of the monarchy in matters that directly concerned overseas territories.<sup>327</sup>

Ana Antonia de Alvarado y Velasco was the granddaughter of Alonso de Alvarado (1500-1556), one of the conquerors of Peru together with Francisco Pizarro, *mariscal* (i.e. marshal) of the Viceroyalty of Peru, *corregidor* (i.e. mayor) of Cuzco and lord of Villamor (see **Table 3.2**).<sup>328</sup> The connection with the viceroyalty of Peru will have followed her father's, García López de Alvarado, who became *capitan general* of that region. This raises the hypothesis of a direct connection to the supply of goods from overseas. However, this is not the only intriguing fact about Ana Antonia.

Like Juan de Borja, her father, García López de Alvarado, was part of the Duke of Lerma's network of clients. In 1599, García López de Alvarado was granted the title of I Count of Villamor, precisely during the most active moment of concession of titles, in other words, at the beginning of Philip III's reign. Furthermore, García López was also a *mayordomo* of Empress Maria of Austria. In a document kept at the British Library showing the composition of the empress' household, García López's name comes in third place, right after the emperor's ambassador, Hans von Khevenhüller, and the empress' *mayordomo mayor*, Juan de Borja.<sup>329</sup> When the empress' will was changed in February 1603, the Count of Villamor signed it as a witness, together with Khevenhüller and Borja. It is not, however, clear whether the document refers to the II or I count, because Cabrera de Cordoba states that García Lopez died in the summer of 1602.<sup>330</sup> Finally, his important role at court can also be measured by the two marriages that he managed to negotiate for his offspring.

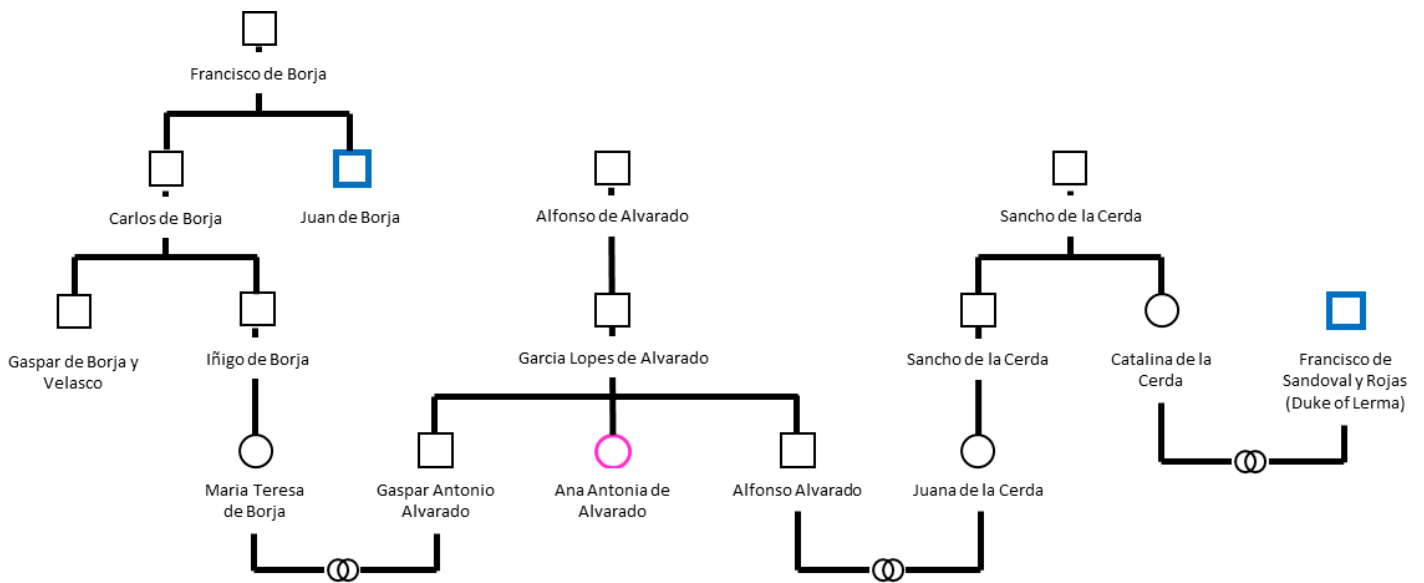
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<sup>327</sup> Aguiló Alonso already noticed that the consumption of furniture was associated with offices related to Indias, see Aguiló Alonso, 'El Coleccionismo de Objetos Procedentes de Ultramar a Traves de Los Inventarios de Los Siglos XVI Y XVII', 120.

<sup>328</sup> Soler Salcedo, *Nobleza española*, 216.

<sup>329</sup> 10 September 1603, in BL, Add. MS. 28707, ff. 67-68.

<sup>330</sup> Abreu y Bertodano, *Coleccion de los tratados de paz (...)*, Part I, 152-156; Cabrera de Córdoba, *Relaciones de Las Cosas Sucedidas En La Corte de España, Desde 1599 Hasta 1614*, 152.



**Table 3.2 – Genealogical Tree of Ana Antonia de Alvarado**

García López’s elder son, thus, Ana Antonia’s brother, Alfonso de Alvarado y Velasco married Juana de la Cerda in 1601. She was the niece of the Duke of Lerma and a descendent of the Duke of Medinaceli.<sup>331</sup> Further to that, Ana Antonia’s other brother, Gaspar Antonio de Alvarado, who following their brother’s decease became III Count of Villamor, married one of Juan de Borja’s great-nieces, Maria Teresa de Borja.<sup>332</sup> Ana Antonia herself married Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba y Figueiroa (1570-1621), who received the title of I Marquis of La Celada in 1614 and became *mayordomo mayor* of Philip III.

The intricate connections between Borja, Lerma, Khevenhüller and Ana Antonia’s father is astonishing and it is tempting to infer a kind of group behaviour in consumption, due to the relationship of these four individuals, as proposed by Urquizar Herrera.<sup>333</sup> Indeed, Khevenhüller was the main supplier of exotic objects to Emperor Rudolf II and Lerma possessed a wide variety of exotic things, as the inventories of his Burgos palace disclose.<sup>334</sup> However, the I Count of Villamor’s probate inventory has not been found yet, which prevents ascertaining whether Ana Antonia’s exotic goods were part of her dowry –transferred to her by her father –, or whether they were acquired later. In any case, as I demonstrate in the forthcoming chapters, group behaviour does not suffice to explain the complex entanglement of factors that may have led each single individual to consume things.

<sup>331</sup> Cabrera de Córdoba, *Relaciones de Las Cosas Sucedidas En La Corte de España, Desde 1599 Hasta 1614*, 111.

<sup>332</sup> Soler Salcedo, *Nobleza española*, 217.

<sup>333</sup> Urquizar Herrera, *Coleccionismo y nobleza*.

<sup>334</sup> Vera, *Bienes muebles en el palacio ducal de Lerma*.

Beyond social behaviour's impact in individual consumption practises, the elements in the group share another common feature that may have strongly determined their consumption habits: they all had easy access to goods from overseas. The most studied case is, of course, the imperial ambassador Khevenhüller acting as the main provider of exotic goods to Rudolf II. Indeed, Rudolf II was able to gather an important collection of non-European items, not only because he wanted to do so, but also because he had the means to do it. Khevenhüller, who travelled to Lisbon to do his purchases, was in fact the key that allowed Rudolf II to have direct access to exotic goods.<sup>335</sup> In Borja's case, his position at court was closely connected to overseas territories, namely by becoming the leading figure of the *Consejo de Portugal*. This granted him direct access, not only to all types of officials in Lisbon, but also to merchants and investors who wanted to negotiate leasing contracts for the trade of exotic commodities. Finally, the link between Ana Antonia's relatives and the viceroyalty of Peru, when juxtaposed to the high diversity of exotic objects and materials in her probate inventory, also suggests something more than just a coincidence. Taken together, the "coincidence" that all these individuals had easy access to overseas territories, or trade routes, when they were assembling a high diversity of exotic items supports the need to investigate the relationship between consumption and accessibility to goods.

Maintaining the methodology that I chose for this thesis, I will not use a comparative study between Borja and one of the other individuals in the group, such as Ana Alvarado, for instance. Instead, I continue to follow Borja's *line*.<sup>336</sup> I analyse how his integration in the institutional framework of the *Consejo de Portugal* allowed the strengthening, or development, of informal networks that granted access to exotic goods.

## 3.2. The Consejo de Portugal

[...] guarde dios a quien sin pasar ocho dias despues de ser Rey me hizo tan gran m[er]ced como servirse de mi en su Consejo destado y haviendo sido V.S. el medio para hazersse esta m[er]ced no puedo sino tener por çiertas otras mayores por la misma mano[.] guardeme dios a V.S.

Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Lerma, 7 August 1599.<sup>337</sup>

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<sup>335</sup> Pérez de Tudela and Jordan Gschwend, 'Luxury Goods for Royal Collectors (...)'; Alvar Ezquerra, *El Embajador Imperial Hand Khevenhüller (1538-1606) En España*.

<sup>336</sup> For a discussion of Tim Ingold's concept of *lines*, see Chapter 1.

<sup>337</sup> BL, Add. Ms. 28422, ff. 108-110v.

Following Philip II's death on 13 September 1598, there were substantial changes at the offices at court. The transition triggered a transformation in the distribution of powers at the centre of the Hispanic Monarchy. These transformations operated at political, administrative, economic and financial levels and they aimed at reforming the institutional organisation of the monarchy after a long reign of forty-two years.<sup>338</sup> At the centre of the remodelling was the favourite of the new king Francisco de Sandoval y Rojas (1553-1625), Marquis of Denia and future Duke of Lerma.<sup>339</sup>, who took this opportunity to consolidate his monopoly of royal favour.<sup>340</sup> Lerma started by distributing offices to a solid supporting clientele of loyal courtiers. Amongst them was Juan de Borja, immediately appointed as member of the *Consejo de Estado y Guerra*.<sup>341</sup> The above citation shows Borja's gratefulness for this action and it is evidence that Borja was confident that this would be just the first step before obtaining "otras [mercedes] mayores".

## Entering the Consejo

After the death of Philip II, Juan de Borja obtained several royal graces that allowed him to achieve a very high position at court. Nevertheless, what contributed to his social ascension was not just his kinship to the new king's favourite, but also the fact that he was an expert in Portuguese affairs, making him particularly suitable to take on a role in the reform of the Portuguese administration. Borja had, indeed, built his Portuguese expertise over the years, thanks to his family ancestry, to his diplomatic experience and his personal networks.<sup>342</sup> Therefore, in that same letter, in which he showed his gratefulness to the duke, Borja requested the duke's support to become member of the *Consejo de Portugal* – the organism within the polysynodial system of the monarchy advising the king in all matters concerning Portugal and its empire.<sup>343</sup>

Conceived during the negotiations for the integration of the Portuguese crown in the Hispanic Monarchy at the *Cortes* of Tomar in 1581, the *Consejo de Portugal* was only officially formed in November 1582 when Philip II left to Madrid. It was designed as a council of state and was

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<sup>338</sup> García García, *La pax Hispanica*, 3.

<sup>339</sup> For the sake of convenience, I will refer to "Duke of Lerma" or "Lerma" even when regarding the period before the concession of the title.

<sup>340</sup> Feros, *El Duque de Lerma (...)*, 140.

<sup>341</sup> Escrivà Llorca, 'Erudito, Pietas et Honor (...)', 66.

<sup>342</sup> For more on this, see chapter 5.

<sup>343</sup> "En lo que toca al particular si puedo yo entrar en el consejo de portugal para poder con mas fundam.to dezir a V.S lo que en esto [h]ay lo pregunt[é] al dotor pero Barbosa[,] y le pedi que escribiesse a V.S. lo que en esto [h]ay como creo que lo ha hecho". Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Lerma, Madrid, 7<sup>th</sup> August 1599, in BL, Add. Ms. 28422, ff. 108-110v.

intended to support the king's decisions, while the latter was absent from the kingdom. In practise, though, it could be considered as an off-site ruling body.<sup>344</sup> As Fernando Bouza demonstrated, the *Consejo* had the power to influence the attribution of the most important offices in Portugal and its empire. The distribution of royal favour, the provision of bishoprics, the appointment of viceroys in India, the captains of overseas trading posts, as well as captains for the armadas, were all considered by the *Consejo* before the king made a decision. For this reason, Bouza adds that, even if Portugal's viceroy, based in Lisbon, was the country's highest authority on governance, the fact that the *Consejo* always followed the king, it gave the latter a capacity of interference that overshadowed the viceroy.<sup>345</sup> Therefore, by integrating the *Consejo* and by becoming its *de facto* president, though not in title, Borja became its highest individual. More precisely, Borja was responsible for managing all matters concerning the Portuguese administration.<sup>346</sup>

To enter the *Consejo*, Borja had, however, to overcome one regulatory limitation. At its genesis, the *Consejo* was an answer to the commitment of the Catholic king, who had guaranteed in Tomar that all matters concerning Portugal would continue in the hands of the Portuguese nobility.<sup>347</sup> The *Consejo de Portugal* included, at least until the first major reform of 1602, a *vedor* for financial supervision, one or more members of the clergy, high-ranking officials from the *Desembargo do Paço* (i.e. the equivalent to a Portuguese supreme court) and a secretary, apart from other minor officers, such as notaries, one accountant, judicial officers, doctors and chaplains.<sup>348</sup> The essential criterion in selecting members was that they all had to be Portuguese. Borja may have been the son of a Portuguese noblewoman, but he was not a Portuguese *natural*. This was an obstacle that had to be overcome and to which I will come back later. Meanwhile, I will dedicate the following paragraphs to Borja's activity in the period between Philip II's death and his own integration in the *Consejo* in late 1599.

As member of the *Consejo de Estado*, Borja had been requested to oversee and ask for information

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<sup>344</sup> Schaub, *Portugal na monarquia hispânica*, 25.

<sup>345</sup> Bouza Álvarez, 'Portugal En La Monarquía Hispánica (1580-1640). Felipe II, Las Cortes de Tomar Y La Genesis Del Portugal Catolico', 356–357.

<sup>346</sup> At this time, the *Consejo* did not have a president, because only the king could preside over it. However, the office of *vedor de hacienda* had, in practice, the same responsibility of that of president – especially if attached to the title of "mas antigo" (see below, 96-100). When Borja was appointed *vedor de hacienda*, the Count of Vilanova was very clear about this: "quando aqui chegou a nova de VS entrar no Conselho de portugual se disse logo q. era presidente, lembrome q. escrevi a VS q. estimava mto não ser estilo servirem titulos nos tribunais em q. auia presidente p.a sera eu o p.ro q. o fiseze com VS o q. disse emtão não era p.a o não faser, digo isto porq. emtemdo q. estar provido o lugar de do[n] Cristovão he titulo[?] VS ou como veador da fasenda no nome e no mais presidente ou cem nome e efeito presidente [...]" Letter from the Count of Vilanova to Juan de Borja, Lisbon, 29 February 1600, in BL, Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 267-269v.

<sup>347</sup> Bouza Álvarez, 'Portugal En La Monarquía Hispánica (1580-1640). Felipe II, Las Cortes de Tomar Y La Genesis Del Portugal Catolico', 350.

<sup>348</sup> Luxán Meléndez, 'Los funcionarios del Consejo de Portugal', 197–198. See also Bouza Álvarez, 'Portugal En La Monarquía Hispánica (1580-1640). Felipe II, Las Cortes de Tomar Y La Genesis Del Portugal Catolico', 355.

regarding the Portuguese administration in a few informal meetings at the house of the Marquis of Poza.<sup>349</sup> These meetings, or *juntas*, had been formed as a temporary and urgent measure to overcome the monarchy's deplorable financial state at the end of Philip II's reign. After a third bankruptcy procedure opened in 1596, the impossibility of obtaining credit, together with the mortgage of all regular income, the royal *hacienda* had reached a stage of almost complete dependency on the Genoese *asentistas* for liquidity.<sup>350</sup> Within the context of a complete reshuffle of posts, the Duke of Lerma took the opportunity to request the monarchy's kingdoms to participate more in improving the royal *hacienda*. Especially, by reducing expenditure in armed conflicts and in the interest rates of the monarchy's debt as well as by increasing the profits provided by the system of *asentamientos*.<sup>351</sup> Naturally, the *Consejo de Hacienda* required a full reform, particularly because its members, and the Marquis of Poza at its head, were at the centre of several intrigues at court.<sup>352</sup> Amidst the *Consejo de Hacienda*'s fragility, during the period that immediately followed the death of Philip II, several meetings, or *juntas*, took place at the residency of the Marquis of Poza. These meetings of royal counsellors were not bound by the composition of any *consejo*. Instead, members of the *Consejos de Estado*, such as Cristóvão de Moura and Juan de Borja, met members of the *Consejo de Hacienda* and the *Consejo de Indias*.<sup>353</sup> Cabrera de Córdoba informs that these meetings took place between September and December 1599, but a letter from Borja in the summer of that year indicates that these meetings had been organised much earlier.<sup>354</sup>

If, on the one hand, the *juntas* aimed at solving the financial problems in an agile way and within a coordinated strategy to the whole monarchy, on the other hand, for the Portuguese case, they were also a clear infringement of the agreements of Tomar. Juan de Borja was perfectly aware of that fact when, at the end of July, he requested the duke to set specific dates for the *junta* and to invite

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<sup>349</sup> Letters from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Lerma, Madrid, 30 and 31 July 1599, in BL, Add. Ms. 28422, ff. 95-98v and 99.101v. There is another reference to a meeting at Poza's residence in *ibidem*, ff. 134-137v. See *infra* footnotes 382-383.

<sup>350</sup> Fortea Pérez, 'Entre dos servicios', 66-67. See also García García, *La pax Hispanica*, 205-208.

<sup>351</sup> Fortea Pérez, 'Entre dos servicios', 69-72.

<sup>352</sup> Carlos Morales, 'Política Y Finanzas En El Siglo XVI (...)', 232-234.

<sup>353</sup> Fortea Pérez, 'Entre dos servicios', 71, footnote 22. See also Cabrera de Córdoba, *Relaciones de Las Cosas Sucedidas En La Corte de España, Desde 1599 Hasta 1614*, 39, 52, 55, 60, 63-64.

<sup>354</sup> "El martes nos juntamos en casa del marques de poça en la Junta de portugal y se fueran viendo los papeles de martin Aluarez de castro lo que puedo dizir a VS ques quespero q. a de ser de mucho servicio del Rey y aprouecham[ien]to de su hazienda con llevar las cosas al cabo para que esto se aga con parta y todo lo que se huviere de hazer sea por el Consejo de Portugal conforme a lo questa jurado y prometido conviene mucho que don Xpoval y pedralvares continúen en esta junta pues no seran parte para que se dexen de hazer lo que conviene pues somos muchos mas los votos esto mesmo le parece al marques de poça. El miercoles nos tornamos a juntar en mi Huerta poça don xpoval joan pascual Ramirez y yo para determinar ciertos despachos q. se enbian a Portugal q. hiran con el ordinario de mañana para q. VS los vea y Su Magd. los firme", Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Lerma, Madrid, 30 July 1599, in BL, Add. Ms. 28422, ff. 95-98v.

Portuguese vassals to attend, in order that the reforms could be made with “tenderness”.<sup>355</sup> Despite complaints from the members of the *Consejo de Portugal*, the *junta* kept meeting. In 1602, there was an attempt to bring the *Junta de Portugal* closer to the *Consejo de Portugal*, by formalising its existence with a new charter. However, since it kept counting with Castilian members, it never ceased to be a source of conflict with Portuguese elites.<sup>356</sup>

Borja actively participated in the *junta* until the summer of 1600.<sup>357</sup> A couple of letters from this period show that the contracts concerning the trade with Portuguese India were being discussed directly in the *junta*, with the expectation of increasing the value by which the leasing contracts were being made.<sup>358</sup> As Bernardo García García has already shown, that was indeed the main purpose of these meetings.<sup>359</sup> Nevertheless, since the legitimacy of these meetings was under question by the members of the *Consejo de Portugal*, Borja had to integrate the *Consejo* to appease discontentment.<sup>360</sup>

Borja’s appointment to the *Consejo* finally happened in October 1599. That being said, it was much more than just a political achievement. For this to occur, Borja had to become a *natural portugues*, which meant that he had to obtain real estate in Portugal. Consequently, the event had a direct impact on his household’s *acrecentamiento*. The whole process is, besides, an excellent example of how entangled were the relationships between the service to the monarchy, the strengthening of a noble house, the fluidity of national identities and how a formal institution was also a stage for this entanglement to occur. It is, then, necessary to go through these practises in order to place the mechanisms used by Borja to access exotic goods.

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<sup>355</sup> “Por la consulta de la junta de portugal vera VS como a parezido que se enbie a pedir a portugal Relaçion de la Rentas de aquel Reyno y de los gastos forçosos y no por esto se perdera punto en lo q[ue] se a de tratar. [...] Parezeme que conviene que se señalen días ordinarios para ella [la Junta][.] Tornome a firmar en q[ue] conviene q[ue] aya en ella portugueses para q[ue] todo lo que se hiziere sea mas curto y se haga con mas suauidad. El marques de poça me dixo que le parecia esto muy bien”, Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Lerma, Madrid, 31 July 1599, in BL, Add. Ms. 28422, ff. 99-101v.

<sup>356</sup> Luxán Meléndez, ‘El control de la hacienda portuguesa desde el poder central’. For more on the Junta, see also Martín Gutiérrez, *La Junta de Hacienda de Portugal*.

<sup>357</sup> García García, *La pax Hispanica*, 247.

<sup>358</sup> “Despues de la postura que en la Junta que a noche hizimos parezio consultar con V.Magd en que se dava por los derechos de cada nao de la Jndia que este año viniessse quarenta q[on]tos con las condiciones el Arrendam[ien]to del contrato pasado se a offrescido otra postura en que dan los mismo quarenta q[on]tos por cada nao y demas antiçipan çiento y çinq.ta mil cruçados con jnteres do ocho por çiento [...]”, Letter from Juan de Borja to Philip III, Madrid, 30 May 1600, in BL, Add. Ms. 28422, ff. 425-426v; See also Lerma’s comment to this letter: “Esto queda bien assi pero ved todavia si se les podra sacar mas porq[ue] la ganacia debe de ser mucha segundo han crecido esta renta en tiempo q[ue] los enemigos an llevado pimienta según los avisos q[ue] tenemos y tambien he mirado en q[ue] no tratan de condiçion ninguna para en casso q[ue] estas naos se detubiessen, vedlo todo en la Junta q[ue] lo allí os pareçiere terne por conueniente y assi lo podréis executar açiendo los despachos necesarios como aquí deçis”, Comment from Lerma to a letter from Juan de Borja to Philip III, Madrid, 1 June 1600, in BL, Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 2-3v.

<sup>359</sup> García García, *La pax Hispanica*, 244–247.

<sup>360</sup> See the request written to the Duke of Lerma on the 7 August 1599, in BL, Add. Ms. 28422, ff. 108-110v.



After the first time that he went to the *Consejo de Portugal* as its member, Borja confessed to Lerma the resentment with which he was received:

[...] el capellan m[ay]or [Jorge de Ataíde] me Hizo vna platica diziendo que si aquel consejo hauia hecho consultas a su Magd. auia sido por guardar sus libertades y no por no ser yo la persona con aquellos mas auian de holgar[.] yo les Respondi agradeçendosselo[.] Aun q[ue] no hauia dexado de sentir que no me tuuiessen por tan natural portugues como yo lo hera[.] enfin jure y començe luego a despachar con ellos y quedamos tam compadres como antes.<sup>361</sup>

Before attending the *Consejo* for the first time, Borja had already managed to obtain his Portuguese *naturalidade*. Nonetheless, Portugal's great-chaplain still accused Borja of entering the *Consejo* "by the roof" and openly spoke against him, indicating that his relationship to the Duke of Lerma was the only reason for having entered the *Consejo*.<sup>362</sup> The great-chaplain's grievance had deeper roots, which I discuss below. Despite Borja's new *naturalidade* and expertise on Portuguese affairs, his integration in the *Consejo* was regarded as an interference of Castile and an infringement of the privileges agreed in Tomar in 1581. Indeed, the great-chaplain's criticism had some foundation. The whole process for obtaining the *naturalidade*, or "nativeness" – to use Tamar Herzog's translation –, had not been a straightforward matter. Instead, it was an ingenious process that came to grant Borja a whole new set of rights.

As Tamar Herzog demonstrated, the idea of "nativeness" was far beyond questions of identity, or personal feelings. Well before the existence of national states, the concept of "nativeness" (*naturaleza* in Spanish, but also valid for *naturalidade* in Portuguese) in early modern Iberia defined a community of people who had the exclusivity of access to certain rights.<sup>363</sup> Therefore, the idea of a community – a Spanish community in Herzog's study – was a social creation, neither institutionalised, nor legal.<sup>364</sup> In other words, what defined boundaries of early modern communities "was never who was a Spaniard, who was a Frenchman, or who was a citizen of a local community. At stake was always the question of who could enjoy a specific right or be obliged to perform a certain duty".<sup>365</sup> Amongst others, one duty was the commitment of natives to be involved in the community. So, in order to achieve the *naturaleza*, neither religion, nor vassalage,

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<sup>361</sup> Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Lerma, Madrid, 13 November 1599, in BL, Add. Ms. 28422, ff. 179-180v.

<sup>362</sup> In August 1601, Borja was informed that Jorge de Ataíde, great-chaplain of Portugal, had accused him of having "e[n]trado no Conselho p.lo telhado E co[m] forza de seu parente". Letter from [Estvão da Gama?] to Juan de Borja, Valladolid, 29 August 1601, in BL, Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 213-214v.

<sup>363</sup> Herzog, *Defining Nations*, 8.

<sup>364</sup> "une creation sociale et non pas insitutionnelle ou légale [qui] dépendait de relations complexes entre les intérêts et les norms, l'acteur individuel et les contraintes sociales et théoriques", in Herzog, 'Être Espagnol dans un monde moderne et transatlantique', 14.

<sup>365</sup> Herzog, *Defining Nations*, 4–6.



**Image 3.1 – Francisca de Aragão e Barreto (ca. 1536/7-1615)**

Martin Rota-Kolunić, 1580

Print, Inv. FC36671, Istituto Centrale per la Grafica, Rome

were enough, but rather their direct involvement with a local community.<sup>366</sup> The easiest way to testify that involvement was by being recognised as a *vecino*, i.e. someone who holds a residency and lives there and who can also demonstrate a will to live there and participate in the community.<sup>367</sup> Vicinity (*vencidad*), hence, becomes a condition for “nativeness”. This seems to be the strategy taken by Borja.

Despite not having any lands in Portugal that he could declare as his residency, Borja could turn to his wife. Ângela Barreto Xavier, who followed Herzog’s lead on her study about the concept of *aturalidade* in Portugal, noticed that the recognition of *vizinhança* – i.e. the equivalent to *vencidad* – could be obtained as long as the petitioner was married to a local woman (“molher da Terra”) while taking residency in the realm and demonstrating his will to keep residing there.<sup>368</sup> Borja had no intention of moving to Portugal, but he could always claim the title of *vizinho* if he had access to real estate in that kingdom. Therefore, in the beginning of 1599, Francisca de Aragão requested

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<sup>366</sup> Herzog, *Defining Nations*, 9-10.

<sup>367</sup> Xavier, ‘«Natural, Ou Nom Natural de Nossos Reynos» (...)’, 29; Herzog, *Defining Nations*, 8.

<sup>368</sup> Xavier, ‘«Natural, Ou Nom Natural de Nossos Reynos» (...)’, 29.

to the king the income over the village of Ficalho in Portugal, claiming ancestral rights over that territory. She also requested a title.<sup>369</sup> The Duke of Lerma was interested in resolving the matter as soon as possible, thus, he immediately sent the request to the *Consejo de Portugal*, which had the authority to advise the king on the titles in Portugal. However, Borja submitted a new petition asking to separate the request in two parts. He came to realise that it would be better to drop the request for the title and to ask only for the income over the village, possibly fearing that the concession of the title would raise a wave of opposition at the *Consejo*.<sup>370</sup> The privilege of the income over Ficalho was granted to Francisca de Aragão in March and Borja told Lerma that he expected this to make the path to obtaining a title easier.<sup>371</sup> Nonetheless, this was not impediment to access the *Consejo*. Borja's last-minute decision to split his wife's petition in two parts –property and title – demonstrates that what was essential in order to be integrated in the *Consejo* were the rights inherent to the ownership of real estate in Portugal.

Furthermore, Borja requested to be appointed to the *Consejo* on 7 August 1599, a date when he still did not have the title. Nonetheless, the title was still required to confirm the granted rights. A similar procedure had been taken for the Count of Portalegre, Juan de Silva (1532-1601), a case to which Borja would be often compared, including by himself:

[...] el conde de portalegre no fue tenido por natural portugues por ser casado con portuguesa sino por tener su muger estado en portugal y titulo para que en casasse con ella y assi como conjunta pers<sup>a</sup> gozo del titulo don Ju<sup>o</sup> de silva y como conde de portugal pudo ser mayordomo m[ay]or y despues del consejo y governador del Reyno. En mi fue lo mismo que por tener Doña fran[cis]ca tierra en portugal le hizo su magd. de hazerla villa y darle jurisdiccion y titulo de condesa de la villa de ficallo y yo gozo de tudo esto como marido y conjunta pes<sup>a</sup> suya y como conde de portugal me hizo mrd. su Magd. de la plaça del consejo y del officio de de[sic] veador da fazenda.<sup>372</sup>

As Juan de Silva, Borja became a Portuguese *natural* through his wife's rights. Thanks to that new position, he could integrate the *Consejo*. An achievement that was not celebrated by everyone. While

<sup>369</sup> “A la petiçion de doña fran[cis]ca pareze que se deue remitir al consejo de aqui con algun decreto favorable y visto en este consejo se sepa el parecer de los gobernadores de portugal aviendo de pasar por todas estas manos sera menester no perder tiempo en començarlo en pasando el dia de los Reyes”, Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Lerma, Madrid, [January], in BL, Add. Ms. 28422, ff. 30-31v.

<sup>370</sup> “Con este va la consulta del memorial de doña fran.ca q. V.S. remitio al consejo de portugal y aunq. se pedia esto y el titulo no nos parezio que convenia por agora tratar sino tan solam.te de q. Su Magd. haga md. a doña fran.ca de darle a ficallo de juro como le tenia su antecesor lo que havia hecho el Rey q. esta en el çielo con todos sino en ella Hecha agora esta md. se llevara adelante hasta ponerlo en termino q. con la buena venida de su Magd. se le pueda dar el titulo conforme a la md. que V.S. nos dessea hazer”, Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Lerma, Madrid, 17 February 1599, in BL, Add. Ms. 28422, ff. 33-34v.

<sup>371</sup> “La mrd que su Magd nos há hecho en darnos ficallo de juro a sido muy grande por que se fundara sobre alla la quesperamos del titulo a VS bejamos las manos por ella a quien suplicamos la besse a su Magd por nosotros”, Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Lerma, Madrid, 13 March 1599, in BL, Add. Ms. 28422, ff. 40-42v.

<sup>372</sup> Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Lerma, Madrid, 19 October 1600, in BL, Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 277-279v.

still waiting for the title, Borja wrote to Lerma regarding the opinion of the *Consejo* on the matter:

Agora buelve la respuesta del consejo de portugal en lo que toca a doña fran[cis]ca y bien se hecha de ver en ella el poco gusto que algunos tienen de tener me.<sup>373</sup>

The title was eventually granted to Francisca de Aragão on 23 October 1599.<sup>374</sup> Nevertheless, given the discontentment at the *Consejo*, Borja waited until the second week of November to attend the meeting. In reality, Borja wanted to be able to present some sort of evidence of the attribution of the title in order to set aside the extant opposition at the *Consejo*:

Importa mucho que mande VS buscar vn papel que tiene del D. Pero barbosa en que dize que su Magd. Puede dar titulo e condesa de ficalho a doña fran[cis]ca y q[ue] teniendo ella el titulo puede su Magd. Hazerme a mi de su consejo y que esto conuiene mucho a su seruicio para ser seruido como conuiene en aquel consejo con ollar este papel se acaban todas las dificultades q[ue] hagora ponen los q[ue] les pesa desta prouision.<sup>375</sup>

The intricate process to obtain the Portuguese *naturalidade* demonstrates that, in order to access the *Consejo*, Borja had to navigate through the complex juridical system that sustained the union of the Iberian crowns. Certainly, the success of the process was indebted to Borja's network at the court in Madrid – namely to Lerma –, but it still required legal legitimacy. Perhaps, the letter that the Count *Meirinho-Mor* of Portugal (i.e. an officer of justice for high-ranking persons) wrote in November 1599 is the best evidence of the importance of gathering support from other individuals at court, as well as legal legitimacy. The Count *Meirinho-Mor* supported Borja by stating that all reasons were sufficiently strong to demonstrate that he ought to be considered a Portuguese, but it also discloses the attempt to find in Borja a patron to grant him favours.<sup>376</sup> Indeed, half a year later, Borja would compensate the Count *Meirinho-Mor*'s support by granting favours to both him and one of his relatives.<sup>377</sup>

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<sup>373</sup> Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Lerma, Madrid, 25 September 1599, in BL, Add. Ms. 28422, ff. 144-147v.

<sup>374</sup> Sánchez Moguel, 'El Primer Conde de Ficallo', 481.

<sup>375</sup> Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Lerma, Madrid, 27<sup>th</sup> October 1599, in BL, Add. Ms. 28422, ff. 171-172v.

<sup>376</sup> "tinha escrito a V.S. quão portuguez me parecia e dado as razões na minha passada [carta], na resposta mo pareço m[ui]to mais, no q[ue] de alguns dias p[ar]a ca corre não só julgo a V.S. por portuguez mas por Jrmão do s[en]hor don João de Castelbr[an]co meu tio", Letter from the Count *Meirinho-mor* of Portugal to Juan de Borja, Lisbon, 12th November 1599, in BL, Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 163-164v.

<sup>377</sup> The Count thanks Borja for the favour granted to Lourenço de Castel-Branco, in Letter from the Count *Meirinho-mor* of Portugal to Juan de Borja, Belém, 30 June 1600, in BL, Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 352-354v.

## El mas antiguo

Han hecho **mas antiguo** del consejo de Portugal á don Juan de Borja, porque no hay allí nombre de presidente, porque lo era el Rey cuando estaba este Consejo en Portugal; y con esto **pasan por su mano todos los papeles y consultas** de aquel reino, habiendo quitado esto á don Cristóvão de Mora que lo hacia antes, aunque no se le ha quitado el poder entrar en el dicho Consejo.

Cabrera de Cordoba, 4 December 1599.<sup>378</sup>

When Borja finally integrated the *Consejo de Portugal* he did it as the “mas antiguo” (i.e. the longest in office), an honorary title that granted him the *de facto* presidency of the *Consejo*, even if not officially. This deed was not surprising, because not only had Borja very close ties with the Duke of Lerma, but also because the latter had recognised, right from the start of Philip III’s reign, that his uncle had an important expertise on Portuguese affairs.<sup>379</sup> Borja, thus, became part of a group of courtiers who held a high-ranking post in Philip II’s administration and who not only managed to survive, but who also were able to improve their position at court as a result of the reform instigated by Lerma.<sup>380</sup> What is yet to be explained is the social dimension that the position of head of the *Consejo* entailed. In other words, what exactly did it mean that Borja had access to “todos los papeles y consultas”?

The developments of the first months at the front of the *Consejo* demonstrate that both Lerma and Borja were working towards controlling not only the communication with Lisbon, but also all affairs regarding the neighbouring kingdom. As Bernardo García García claimed, Juan de Borja was “el alma del Consejo de Portugal” in the first few years of Philip III’s reign and the one who promoted the reform of the Portuguese administration.<sup>381</sup>

To start with, the governors in Lisbon and some members of the *Consejo* in Madrid had to be replaced. At the *Consejo*, the priority was to alienate Cristóvão de Moura, I Count of Castelo Rodrigo, and Jorge de Ataíde, great-chaplain of Portugal and Bishop of Viseu. The removal of Castelo Rodrigo was rather smooth and quick. He was given the title of marquis and the post of viceroy in Lisbon, a golden reward that kept him away from the centre of the monarchy, at the same time fulfilling the need to change Portugal’s government.<sup>382</sup> The removal of Ataíde posed a bigger challenge, though. Ataíde received from Philip III the office of general inquisitor in

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<sup>378</sup> My emphasis. Cabrera de Córdoba, *Relaciones de Las Cosas Sucedidas En La Corte de España, Desde 1599 Hasta 1614*, 52.

<sup>379</sup> “Todo lo q[ue] V.S.<sup>a</sup> advierte de las cosas de portugal son como de P[er]s[o]na q[ue] Tanbien saue lo q[ue] conviene”, Letter from the Duke of Lerma to Juan de Borja, Cercedilla, 30 October 1598, in BL, Add. Ms. 28422, ff. 8-9v.

<sup>380</sup> Martín Gutiérrez, ‘La Union Iberica a Traves de Una Familia Burocratica: Los Alvarez Pereira’. Available at: <http://www.historiadelderecho.es/> Accessed on the 7 December 2017.

<sup>381</sup> García García, *La pax Hispanica*, 244.

<sup>382</sup> See García García, *La pax Hispanica*, 245.

Portugal, but he refused taking that post without first receiving the title of cardinal from the pope. The conflict generated by Ataíde's refusal is emblematic of the transformations in the balance of powers at the *Consejo*, which from then on would be based on the close relationship between Lerma and Borja. The affair is also emblematic of how Borja became the main intermediary between the centre of the Hispanic Monarchy and the Portuguese elites.

The great-chaplain Jorge de Ataíde had been part of the *Consejo* since its beginning and he was, together with Cristóvão de Moura, one of its leading figures, meaning that he had managed to acquire a high position at court. Borja's appointment disrupted the *status quo* and triggered a confrontation.<sup>383</sup> Lerma soon removed the great-chaplain's authority and demanded that Cristóvão de Moura (who only left to Lisbon in April 1600) and Juan de Borja review all enquiries and opinions on royal patronage concerning him.<sup>384</sup> Only upon de Moura and Borja's agreement, Ataíde's requests would be sent to the king.<sup>385</sup> Obviously, this generated complaints from Ataíde, who felt overrun, and the confrontation turned into an open conflict.<sup>386</sup> Refusing to accept the office of general inquisitor in Portugal without the title of cardinal, because he considered it a prerogative of the office, Ataíde shot complaints in all directions. To begin with, against the Duke of Sessa, ambassador in Rome, for his incapacity to obtain the title from the pope.<sup>387</sup> Furthermore, Ataíde also declared his mistrust of Lerma, Borja and the whole *Consejo*. The situation became so polarised that Lerma asked Borja to inform Ataíde that he absolutely had to take the office of inquisitor first and, only then, would he be in the position of receiving the cardinalship.<sup>388</sup> Nonetheless, the great-chaplain stayed put in Madrid, waiting.<sup>389</sup> Borja, then, acted as intermediary between the great-chaplain and Philip III (i.e. Lerma).

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<sup>383</sup> Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Lerma, Madrid, 13 November 1599, in BL, Add. Ms. 28422, ff. 179-180v. See also above, 92.

<sup>384</sup> About the delay of the departure of Cristóvão de Moura, see Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Lerma, Madrid, 25 March, 6 and 29 April 1600, in BL, Add. Ms. 28422, ff. 353-353v, 373-374v and 394-395v.

<sup>385</sup> Letter from the Duke of Lerma to Juan de Borja, Madrid, 15 February 1600, in BL, Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 256-258v.

<sup>386</sup> Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Lerma, Madrid, 3 March 1600, in BL, Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 292-293v.

<sup>387</sup> "Otra carta escribe en la materia de su capelo desconfiado de la poca diligencia que el duque de sesa há hecho ni a dexado hazer al a gente de portugal sin quel sepa la causa que havido para dexarsse de hazer lo que su Magd. a mandado en esta materia", Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Lerma, Madrid, 3 March 1600, in BL, Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 292-293v.

<sup>388</sup> "El capellan mayor se me quexo de lo q. Vexa le Havia escrito y que yo y el consejo teniamos la culpa en no haverle dicho lo que nos parecia en[Juan]to al vsar de su bien[e?] yo le dixi lo que me paresio El Respuende agora a V. exa su Resoluçion es de no salir de Aqui sin el Capelo". Lerma replies: "Al Capellan maior se le respo[n]de q[ue] espero que cu[m]pla lo que Su Mt. le ha ma[n]dado q[ue] es esso lo que le conuiene au[n] para conseguir lo que prete[n]de ", Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Lerma, Madrid, 2 April 1600, in BL, Add. Ms. 28422, ff. 366-367v.

<sup>389</sup> "El capelan mayor de portugal supp.ca a Su Magd mande escrever ala gente de portugal sobre su particular lo que vera Vexa por los papeles que con esta van. Lo que puedo çertificar a v.exa. es que ay muy gran necesidad de yr El Inquisidor General a residir a portugal. El esta resuelto de no yr sin el capelo y supuesto esto conviene dar prissa", Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Lerma, Madrid, 21 April 1600, in BL, Add. Ms. 28426, fol. 325-325v.

See also the letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Lerma mentioning Ataíde's request for the duke to write a letter to the ambassador in Rome on his support, 29 April 1600, in BL, Add. Ms. 28422, ff. 394-395v. Besides, see the letter

Following Lerma's orders, on 11 June 1600, Borja met with Ataíde hoping to convince him either to depart to Portugal, or to abdicate the office of great inquisitor, which the king had granted him.<sup>390</sup> Ataíde continued to refuse to move without becoming a cardinal and Borja had to keep acting as intermediary to Lerma.<sup>391</sup> The stalemate that was generated would not finish until the summer of 1601.

At the beginning of that summer, all members of the *Consejo*, including the great-chaplain, left for Valladolid with the rest of the court, while Borja stayed behind due to his office as *mayordomo mayor* to Empress Maria.<sup>392</sup> Fernanda Olival claims that, while the court was in Valladolid, the effective power over the *Consejo* belonged to Ataíde, but, given the conflict with Lerma, this seems unlikely. The scholar supports her argument by stating that, in July 1601, Lerma asked Ataíde to write a

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from Ataíde to Borja in which the former's determination to stay in Madrid is evident: "Eu s[enh]or. Sempre disse a V.S. e ao S[enh]or. Conde de ficalho q[ue] não auia de ir a Portugal com o officio de Inquisidor geral, nem com outro algum, sem o Capelo, por muitas razões q[ue] pera isso tenho [...]. Bem sey q[ue] o S[na]to officio de Portugal ha m[ui]to t[em]po q[ue] tem necessidade de pessoa q[ue] o gouerne porq[ue] tudo está perdido; e eu estou mto prompto pera por a uida por o seruir; mas não ey de ir a Portugal com o officio de Inq[uisid]or geral, nem com outro algu[m], senão for com o Capelo; porq[ue] isto entendo q[ue] conve[m] o dia de oje ja autoridade do s[an]to officio, e ao seruiço de nosso s[enh]or e de Sua Mag[esta]de; e també[m] a mi[m] proprio, q[ue] todauia devo lembrarme de que[m] sou, e de como tenho seruido, e do lugar em q[ue] El Rey q[ue] de[us] tem me achou na minha terra, e de como procedi nisto. [...] e [j]a isto estiuera acabado, se o embaixador de Roma não impedira daremse as primeiras cartas q[ue] sua Mgde escreueo ao Papa", Letter from Jorge de Ataíde [Geor. Epis.] to the Duke of Lerma, Madrid, 27 May, 1600, in BL, Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 332-332v.

<sup>390</sup> "Ayer habiendo hablado con el card[ena]l y con Franqueza despues del consejo destado fue conforme a la orden q[ue] Vexa me embio a mandar de parte de su Magd. hablar al capellan mayor[.] allele en la cama conualeçiendo del açidente de gotta questos dias a tenido[.] Dixele todo lo que se me mando persuadiendole q.to le convenia para el buen fin de lo que pretiende yr hazer su offiço a portugal pues por lo que de Roma se escribe en estas temporas no ade Haver creaçion de cardenales y de qualquier manera ade preçederle Joanetin de Oria [Giannettino Doria] y que da neçesi[dade?] q. ay en portugal acudir a las cosas del Sto. offiço no sufren esta dilaçion. El tumor muy mal este Recado diçiendo q. por ninguna manera saldria de aqui sin capelo yo le aprete mucho hasta deçile que su S<sup>a</sup> se determinasse en hazer lo que Su Magd. ordenava o se determinasse a dexar el offiço por que su Magd. estava determinado de proverle. Respondiome q. Su Magd. podia hazer lo que fuere servido del offiço pero q. sin el capelo no havia de poner los pies en portugal. yo le çertifique que tenia orden para q. en consejo se propusiesen personas para este offiço esto tomo el muy mal. Aviendo llegado a esto llame a pedralvarez que auia ydo conmigo para que me ayudasse y Aun quel hizo su offiço nada basto p[ara] rendirle y assi yo me vine por ser ya tarde no queriendo tomar su respuesta diçiendo quel estava muy apasionado para resolverse en neg[ocio] que tanto le j[m]portava q. se encomendasse a dios y q. despues me respondiesse. Çertifico a V.ex<sup>a</sup> que he quedado lastimado de verle tan asido desta ambiçion. [...] Veremos si este hombre se pone en Razon porq. hasta agora muy fuera della esta.", Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Lerma, Madrid, 12 June 1600, in BL, Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 39-42v.

<sup>391</sup> Juan de Borja writes to Lerma: "El obispo capellan mayor pide a V.Ex<sup>a</sup> Audiencia y a mi que le alcance respuesta de V.ex<sup>a</sup> yo Recebire muy gran md", following a request made by Ataíde "Aqui vay o escrito pera o s[enh]or Duque de lerma, façame VS<sup>a</sup> M[ercê] de lho mandar esta noite, e de procurar q[ue] responda logo porq[ue] Importa fallarlhe como VS sabe." Letter from Jorge de Ataíde [Geor. Epis.] to Juan de Borja, Madrid, 6<sup>th</sup> November 1600, in BL, Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 51-51v. There are other occasions in which Borja acts as intermediary between Ataíde and Lerma. See for instance: "En lo que toca al obispo capellan m[ay]or ya no ay quesperar mas pues el papa no hizo creaçion de cardenales en estas temporas de la primera semana de quaresma y assi conviene que Su Magd. siendo servido le escribiesse uns [...] de su mano diçiendo que ya q[ue] en estas temporas el papa no ha hecho cardenales que le agradeçera mucho que quiera[.] vista la neçesidad que ay de su persona para el buen gouerno de la Jnquisiçion quiera[?] luego usar del bune[?] que tiene e jrse a portugal por la mucha neçesidad que escriven a Su Magd. ay de que aga cabeça en aquellos tribunales y si para asentar los neg[oci]os tocantes a la jnquisiçion le parece que ay neçesidad de tratarlos con su Magd. lo podra hazer luego estando çierto que mayor jnstançia hara por su capelo y con mayor razon que estando aqui.", Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Lerma, Madrid, 8 April 1601, in BL, Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 15-19v.

<sup>392</sup> Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Lerma, Madrid, 16 June 1601, in BL, Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 75-77v.

proposal for the reform of the *Consejo*, a proposal that eventually was the departure point for the whole reform of 1602. Nevertheless, the document that Ataíde wrote was scrutinised by a *junta* of the *Consejo de Estado* formed by Manuel de Castel Branco, II Count of Vila Nova de Portimão, the royal confessor, Fray Gaspar de Córdoba, the secretary of state Pedro Franqueza and, unsurprisingly, Juan de Borja.<sup>393</sup> In fact, during the whole period he spent in Madrid, Borja kept being consulted on several matters, controlling the information of the *Consejo* despite being absent from the meetings<sup>394</sup>. When Borja finally moved to Valladolid, after the death of the empress, the royal chronicler wrote:

“Ha venido [a Valladolid] con sus Magestados don Juan de Borja con su casa, el cual dicen ha de estar ocupado aqui en el Consejo de Portugal, como lo estaba en Madrid, con las consultas y **papeles de importancia**”.<sup>395</sup>

Those “papeles de importancia” were, indeed, the core of Juan de Borja’s activity at the head of the *Consejo*. The great-chaplain’s case reveals how Borja became the leading element of the *Consejo* and the intermediary between the latter and Lerma. His capacity to manage those “important papers” made him the prominent intermediary between the interests of the monarchy and the Portuguese elites. By controlling the communication between Lisbon and Madrid/Valladolid, Borja equally had direct access to networks of supply of goods from overseas. Indeed, several years later, in 1624, the *valido* Count-Duke Olivares complained about the fact that he did not have direct access to the information that arrived from Lisbon, declaring that “se está en peligro de que usurpen más mano los ministros superiores, de quien es forzoso fiar lo que se ignora”.<sup>396</sup> For the short period of 1599 to 1605, the documentation clearly shows that Borja filtered all information sent from Lisbon, which allowed him to control the disputes with the elites, to negotiate trading contracts under the royal monopoly and to acquire the best quality goods in the city.

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<sup>393</sup> Olival, *D. Filipe II*, 135. Contrastingly to Olival, José Antonio Escudero declared that the Count of Vila Nova was the one leading the Consejo in Valladolid (see Escudero, ‘La Corte de España En Valladolid: Los Consejos de La Monarquía a Principios Del Siglo XVII’, 499.). This is possible (although he only integrated the *Consejo* in 1602, see Luxán Meléndez, ‘Los funcionarios del Consejo de Portugal’, 198).

<sup>394</sup> Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Lerma, Valladolid, 5 November 1601, in BL, Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 187-187v.

<sup>395</sup> My emphasis. Cabrera de Córdoba, *Relaciones de Las Cosas Sucedidas En La Corte de España, Desde 1599 Hasta 1614*, 12 July 1603, 180.

<sup>396</sup> See Elliot, Peña, and Negro del Cerro, *Memoriales y cartas del Conde Duque de Olivares. Política interior, 1621-1646*, Vol. I, Doc. IV, 83, quoted in Barrios Pintado, *La gobernación de la Monarquía de España (...)*, 535.



### 3.3. The intermediary

I started this chapter with the hypothesis that consumption of exotic goods was an office-holding activity by-product. However, holding office is but one aspect of the story. The other aspect concerns the informal networks that operated through that office. In the previous section, I demonstrated how access to the *Consejo de Portugal* demanded from Borja a shrewd navigation through institutional rules, whose success depended on his own personal social network. Indeed, Borja's activity at the head of the *Consejo de Portugal* constituted the background to Borja's access to exotic goods. His role as an intermediary between the monarchy, the court in Madrid, Portuguese elites and office holders in Lisbon provided all the necessary tools for that access.

In this final section, I highlight the entanglement between Borja's activity at the head of the *Consejo* and his informal networks to disclose that his consumption pattern can only be understood if all these aspects are brought together. I demonstrate that accessing exotic goods from overseas was not so much a question of financial resources, but rather of an activity and of social connections related to markets in Portugal – the Iberian Peninsula's main supply centre of exotic goods.

To support this claim, I take the institutional framework to demonstrate that part of Borja's activity was to negotiate contracts regarding the trade of exotic goods over which the monarchy held a monopoly. This granted some benefits to Borja, gains that were directly connected to the subject of the trade. Slave trading is a good illustration of Borja's role and benefits. Then, I focus on Borja and Luis de Figueiredo's personal relationship. Figueiredo was a notary at the *Casa da Índia* in Lisbon and he was one of Borja's main advisors when reforming the Portuguese financial system. More to the point, he was a link that allowed Borja to access exotic products of the best quality. Finally, I reveal that Borja and Lerma's consumption of exotic goods depended on informal contacts that developed within the institutional link.

#### Negotiating contracts

In the framework of the monarchy's financial reform led by Lerma, right after the death of Philip II, the reform of Portuguese finances was a major concern. Portugal had become an important player in early modern intercontinental trade, therefore, increasing the value of rents coming from leasing the trade of certain products over which the monarchy had the monopoly became a major

priority.<sup>397</sup> In February 1599, before Borja had even entered the *Consejo* but when the *junta* for the matters of Portugal was already meeting periodically, Borja informed Lerma that “vnos hombres de negoçios q[ue] quieren arrendar los puertos de portugal me an tomado por medio para que yo represente a VS como persona sobre lo q[ue] agora estan arrendados”.<sup>398</sup> This is the first known case in which Borja assumes a role of intermediary in the negotiation of leasing contracts.

Borja’s control over the negotiations only occurred once Cristóvão de Moura, a leading figure and *veedor de hacienda* at the *Consejo*, was dispatched to Portugal as its viceroy. Borja himself had suggested the appointment.<sup>399</sup> In his correspondence with Lerma, Borja had indeed been insisting on the urgency of reforming the government in Lisbon and Portuguese finances, given the accusations of financial mismanagement reaching the court.<sup>400</sup> As a result, in March 1600, Borja took the office of *veedor de hacienda*, which allowed him to overview all contract negotiations discussed at the *Consejo*.<sup>401</sup>

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<sup>397</sup> For more on economic history of the Portuguese empire see Costa, Lains, and Miranda, *An Economic History (...)*.

<sup>398</sup> Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Lerma, Madrid, 17 February 1599, in BL, Add. Ms. 28422, ff. 32-33v.

<sup>399</sup> “despues de Hauer yo considerado y hauer oydo mucho en esta materia a todos parece que no conviene poner tres ni çinco por haver mostrado la esperiençia quã herrado a sido sino que lo que conviene es que sea un solo virey o governador en portugal no se juzga que aya quien incha esta plaça y assi todos sus amigos y enemigos confiessan que el mas conveniente para el ser[vicio] de Su Mag[esta]d y p[ar]a el bien de aquel Reyno seria don Xpoual por que nadie vivira mas recatadam[en]te quel ni a nadie se le podra dezir mas claram[en]te lo que conviene que a el y con su Ausençia este consejo se ordenara como mas convenga al ser[vicio] del Rey y al buen guvierno”, Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Lerma, Madrid, 11<sup>th</sup> September 1599, in BL, Add. Ms. 28422, ff. 134-137v. Two weeks later, Borja returns to the issue: “[...] lo a mostrado bien la esperiençia de mas de ser cosa muy aueriguada ser mejor el gouierno de vna cabeça quel de muchas [...]. Haviendo de ser un Virrey o gouernador (El vn nombre y otro q[?] puede tener segun las promessas) o ade ser estrangero este no lo puede ser sino algun prinçipe muy conjunto en sangre con su Magd. En esto ay los jnconuenientes q[ue] se dexan considerar. la dificultad y costa grande con que ade venir lo mucho que se le ade dar para su gasto y entretenimento. la dificultad quando no saliese muy a proposito de [...] de mudar a otra parte de mas desto lo mucho que tardara en venir y la mucha necesidad que ay de prouer este cargo en mucha breuedad. Haviendo de ser natural portugues las unas principales personas que ay en aquel Reyno son El duque de bragança y el de Aueyro a ninguna dellos por agora me parece que conviene darles este cargo. De los gouernadores tampoco juzgo que conviene tomar vno y dexar a los demas por El agrauio que se les haria a los que despiediessen [...] que por culpas los quita vna y altro[?] solo [...]. Estando las cosas en este estado haviendo lo muy bien pensado me parece que lo que mas conviene al ser[vicio] de su Mag[esta]d. es hazer virrey a don Xpoual assi por su esperiençia que tiene del gouierno de aquel Reyno como por ser persona que tanta md. ha Reçebido y assi es Razon que sirva mas y quando el no acertare aservir como deue desasido de lo de aqui sera muy façil cosa retirarle a su casa.”, Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Lerma, Madrid, 24 November 1599, in BL, Add. Ms. 28422, ff. 185-186v. See also: Luxán Meléndez, ‘Los funcionarios del Consejo de Portugal’, 200.

<sup>400</sup> “hauendosi començado a tratar de la neçesidad q[ue] ay de poner orden y conçierto en todo lo que toca a portugal assi en el gouierno como en la açienda y en el consejo parezio que esto se dexasse paa la buelta de Su Mag[esta]d y para la yda de portugal pero el tiempo a dado a entender que conuiene al seru[icio] de dios y al de su Magd. q[ue] sin sperar ala yda de Su Mag[esta]d a portugal se trate del remedio desto de manera que antes que su Magd. alla vaya se aga la mudança de gouernadores y del gouierno de la justiçia y de la Açienda (si se juzgase q[ue] conuiene hazerse) y assi es muy neçesario que esto se confiera y trate para q[ue] con la buena llegada de su Magd pueda mejor resolver y mandarlo que mas conuenga a su seruiçio”, Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Lerma, Madrid, 7<sup>th</sup> August 1599, in BL, Add. Ms. 28422, ff.108-110v. And: “Señor mio Vs trayga pensado q[ue] conviene dar orden en el gouierno de portugal antes q[ue] su Mag[esta]d alla va (como entiendo quel mismo[?] consejo tiene consultado)”, Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Lerma, Madrid, 11 September 1599, in BL, Add. Ms. 28422, ff. 134-137v.

<sup>401</sup> Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Lerma, Madrid, 25 March 1600, in BL, Add. Ms. 28422, ff. 353-353v.

The leasing contracts' successful negotiation with the Portuguese crown was a crucial matter for the financial sustainability of the realm. Portugal played a role as *entrepôt* for the distribution of goods, with rents coming mainly from the re-exportation of imported commodities.<sup>402</sup> These made the crown's revenue largely dependent on customs' duties and on payments to the king for direct access to commodities under the royal monopoly. Moreover, when the distribution of commodities fell under royal property's rights, social bodies had to negotiate contracts with the monarchy to determine the fee, the conditions in which trade could happen and for how long trading would take place. This gave the monarchy a steady source of income while relinquishing the responsibility of handling transportation logistics. This happened with the most profitable commodities, such as pepper, gold from Elmina, Brazilwood or slaves, for instance.<sup>403</sup> It is, therefore, not surprising that one of the financial reform's first priorities was to increase this type of income.<sup>404</sup>

Borja's primary role as *veedor de hacienda* was to negotiate the contracts with applicants, but there was another level of negotiation to be conducted. Borja was fully aware of the sensibilities of Portuguese elites and the danger of alienating them. Like everything else in the Hispanic Monarchy, the union and the governance of overseas territories was a process of constant negotiation and renegotiation.<sup>405</sup> By July 1599, Borja had already requested Lerma to allow Portuguese vassals to attend the meetings of the *Junta* if conflict was to be avoided.<sup>406</sup> Nonetheless, the new position clashed directly with the duties of institutionalised offices. When reviewing the negotiations that had just taken place regarding a contract for the provision of ships to the Portuguese crown, Borja displayed his grief to Lerma. His grievance was with Portuguese officials, both in Lisbon and in Madrid, who preferred to criticise his management rather than handling the negotiations themselves. Lerma supported his uncle by legitimising the reforms in face of the mediocre profits obtained during the previous two decades.<sup>407</sup>

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<sup>402</sup> Costa, Lains, and Miranda, *An Economic History of Portugal, 1143–2010*, 76.

<sup>403</sup> Costa, Lains, and Miranda, *An Economic History of Portugal, 1143–2010*, 97.

<sup>404</sup> On a short comment to Juan de Borja, Lerma asked his uncle to continue the negotiations at the *Junta* to see whether he could obtain higher rents from the contract of pepper: "ved todavía si se les podra sacar mas porq[ue] La ganacia debe de ser mucha segundo han crecido esta renta en tiempo q. los enemigos an llevado pimienta", Comment by the Duke of Lerma on a letter from Juan de Borja to Philip III, Madrid, 1 June 1600, in BL, Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 2-3v.

<sup>405</sup> For more on "divided authority" in the Hispanic Monarchy, see Grafe, *Distant Tyranny (...)*, Chapter 5.

<sup>406</sup> "para q[ue] todo lo que se hiziere sea mas curto y se haga con mas suauidad", Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Lerma, Madrid, 31 July 1599, in BL, Add. Ms. 28422, ff. 99-101v.

<sup>407</sup> "En teniendo el aviso de los 60 q[uen]tos que se devian en portugal del contrato de las naos a don Xptoal lo que vera V.ex<sup>a</sup> por los papeles que con esta van el embio mi carta a fernal da silva y el responde lo que V.ex<sup>a</sup> vera por la copia q[ue] con esta sera./ Tomando este neg[foci]o de mas ariba no puede V.ex<sup>a</sup> creer lo que yo he pasado y paso con los ministros de portugal assi con los que residen en Lisboa como con algunos de los deste consejo sobre quexarse de la administracion de la hazienda de portugal quexandose que se trate ni comuniquen con castellanos ny que los

The trust deposited on Borja allowed him to be a main player during the years of 1599 to 1601 in supervising the negotiation of the most important leasing contracts with the Portuguese crown. From the management of ports and custom houses at the border with Castile (*portos secos*) to the cargo of ships to be taken to India.<sup>408</sup> From the sales of pepper and trade of brazilwood to the financial negotiations with new-Christians.<sup>409</sup> Amongst the negotiations, the case of the contract of the slave trade is particularly illustrative of how Juan de Borja used his position in formal institutions to obtain commodities from overseas.<sup>410</sup>

At the end of the sixteenth century, the Atlantic slave trade fell mainly under two types of monopoly. On the one hand, there were the contracts with the Portuguese crown for the exportation and/or transport of slaves in the West African ports of Guinea, Cape Verde, Elmina, São Tomé and Angola and from these to Brazil. On the other hand, there were the licences provided by the Castilian crown for the introduction of slaves in the Spanish possessions in Central and South America. Since the supply centres were mainly dominated by Portuguese merchants, the union of the crowns, after 1580, opened up a whole set of opportunities for these merchants to manage the transportation of slaves in the Spanish empire. The contracts were kept separated,

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arendam[men]tos se agan aqui y aora q[ue] yo les digo lo que parece que conviene muchas vezes no basta y assi ando a las vezes desgustado con los vnos y con los otros[.] Enq[uan]to hazersse aqui los contratos yo les digo que por que no los hazen ellos q[ue] Su Mag[esta]d no se lo a proveydo y q[ue] acreçentando ellos la hazien mucho holgara Su Mag[esta]d que alla lo agan pero que no se q[ue]xe[n] si dexandolo ellos de hazer los hazemos nosotros”. To this the duke replied: “en lo poco que hastagora se ha puesto la mano se ha visto qua[n] justame[n]te puede Su M[age]sta]d queixarse de los que hastagora la ha tenido a su cargo pues en 20 años no ha tenido ningu[n] aprouechamiento y dela de aca se ha llevado ta[n]ta como V.S<sup>a</sup> y el mu[n]do saben qua[n]ta ha llevado de Castilla y ma[n]da Su M[age]sta]d que con lo que queda por cobrar de los 60 q[ue]ntos se acuda a cosas ta[n] precisas de su ser[vice]o como conuiere y que si se deve[n] de ta[n] atras como V.S. señala se le haga el cargo que meresse”. Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Lerma (and reply), Madrid, 24th August 1600, in BL, Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 188-190v.

<sup>408</sup> See Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Lerma, Madrid, 30 May 1600, in BL, Add. Ms. 28422, ff. 425-426v; Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Lerma, Madrid, 1 June 1600, in BL, Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 11-13v; and Letter from the Duke of Lerma to Juan de Borja, Medina del Campo, 2 July 1600, in BL, Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 125-126v.

<sup>409</sup> For correspondence about the contracts of pepper, see – chronologically – Letter from the Duke of Lerma to Juan de Borja, Tordesillas, 17 July 1600, in BL, Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 125-126v; Letter from Juan de Borja to Philip III, Madrid, 23 September 1600, in BL, Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 231-232v; Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Lerma, Madrid, 17 October 1600, in BL, Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 255-256v; Letter from the Duke of Lerma to Juan de Borja, El Pardo, 11 December 1600, in BL, Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 352-353v; Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Lerma, Madrid, 17 January 1601, in BL, Add. Ms. 28423, f. 392-393v; Letter from the Duke of Lerma to Juan de Borja, Tordesillas, 27 January 1601, in BL, Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 391-391v. About brazilwood, see Letters from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Lerma, Madrid, 17 July 1600 and 4 April 1601, in BL, Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 133-134v and Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 11-12v. About the negotiations with new-Christians, two examples can be found in a Letter from the Duke of Lerma to Juan de Borja, Sarrión, 1 September 1599, in BL, Add. Ms. 28422, ff. 124-125v, and in a Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Lerma, Madrid, 11 September 1599, in BL, Add. Ms. 28422, ff. 134-137v.

<sup>410</sup> Since this subsection is focused on the formal institutions in which Juan de Borja participated and the role that intercontinental trade had in the financial organisation of the Portuguese monarchy, slaves are referred here as a commodity. For historiography on the trade of enslaved people, see: Felner, *Angola. Apontamentos Sobre a Ocupação E Início Do Estabelecimento Dos Portugueses O Congo, Angola E Benguela Extraídos de Documentos Históricos*; Vila Vilar, ‘Los asientos portugueses y el contrabando de negros’; Vila Vilar, *Hispanoamerica Y El Comercio de Esclavos*; Peralta Rivera, *El Comercio Negrero En América Latina (1595-1640)*; Silva, *Dutch and Portuguese in Western Africa*; Caldeira, *Escravos E Traficantes No Império Português*; Caldeira, ‘Angola and the Seventeenth-Century South Atlantic Slave Trade’; Phillips Jr., William D., *Slavery in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia*.

but the number of investors who could comply with the conditions of the contracts was quite low, which led many of the Portuguese investors to transfer themselves to Madrid where they could negotiate the contracts directly with the *Consejo de Portugal*.<sup>411</sup>

In 1600, the contract of Angola – i.e. the Portuguese crown’s permission to extract slaves from Angola and take them to Brazil – and the *asiento de negros* – i.e. the contract with the Castilian crown to transport slaves into Spanish America – was handed over to the same investor: João Rodrigues Coutinho.<sup>412</sup> Coutinho could then sell licences for other merchants to participate in the trade. In the case of the Portuguese contract, there was usually a clause that reserved some of the licences to the king. The king could, then, distribute them as a grace towards his vassals.<sup>413</sup> Since Juan de Borja was one of the key negotiators, it was only natural that he would come to benefit from the dealings.

Ya esta dada orden para q. de portugal avisen de quantos esclavos [h]ay vacos y se hara luego la provision de los de Vex<sup>a</sup> [.] El contrato de Angola se va tratando y hasta acabarse no podre dezir los esclavos q[ue] sacaremos de Adahala[.] a su tiempo avisare de todo. El tiempo de pagarsse los esclavos es quando vienen los navios de guinea que suele ser por San Ju[an]. Vex<sup>a</sup> vea os quiere que sean algunas negras y aviseme dello y la cobranca dexela a mi cargo.<sup>414</sup>

An interesting detail in this letter is the specific reference to black female slaves (*negras*). The king would often distribute slaves as gratifications (*adabala*) in the form of slaves, but only rarely were those slaves brought into the Iberian Peninsula. Usually, they were just used as currency for trading goods. However, the fact that Borja asked Lerma to specify how many female slaves he wanted, declaring that he would take care of the payment, suggests that he was managing the transport of slaves that would eventually be for the direct service to the duke.<sup>415</sup>

The effort paid back, because Borja, too, received a gratification on slaves. Having secured an annual gratification of six slaves for Lerma and another six for himself, Borja would immediately set to work on the negotiation of yet another contract for the transport of slaves from Angola. He did so, hoping to secure a few other slaves for clients of his network, as can be inferred by the following passage:

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<sup>411</sup> Vila Vilar, ‘Los asientos portugueses y el contrabando de negros’. See as an example: Bonciani, ‘Os Irmãos Coutinho No Atlântico: Escravidão, Governo E Ascensão Social No Tempo Da Monarquia Hispânica’.

<sup>412</sup> Vila Vilar, *Hispanoamerica Y El Comercio de Esclavos*, 38; Bonciani, ‘Os Irmãos Coutinho No Atlântico: Escravidão, Governo E Ascensão Social No Tempo Da Monarquia Hispânica’.

<sup>413</sup> I would like to thank Miguel Galdes Rodrigues for all his explanations and reading suggestions about the dynamics of the slave trade during this period.

<sup>414</sup> Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Lerma, Madrid, 4 April 1600, in BL, Add. Ms. 28422, ff. 368-369v.

<sup>415</sup> In citation above: “V ex.a vea os quiere que sean algunas negras y aviseme dello”. I renew my thanks to Miguel Galdes Rodrigues for having drawn my attention to this detail.

Por la md. de los esclavos beso las manos a V. ex.a podera V.ex.a besarlas a Su Magd. por si y por mi. [...] Los esclavos son seis cada Año Para V. ex.a y otros seis para mi digo esto porq. me dixo pedralvarez q. se lo pregunto V.ex.a. Agora Hazemos otro contrato de Angola en que podremos sacar algunos para los amigos, entienda Vex<sup>a</sup> q[ue] estos no cuestan nada al Rey por q[ue] despues de contratado lo q[ue] ande dar se sacan estos sclavos por adahala.<sup>416</sup>

Two months later, following a discussion with the governors of Portugal, the Consejo de Hacienda and the viceroy Cristóvão de Moura, Borja secured the addition of ten extra slaves to the annual allowance of twenty-two slaves to be distributed amongst top office holders at court.<sup>417</sup>

If the provision of slaves was a direct outcome of Borja's position at the head of the *Consejo*, what other benefits could he get from this position? Could he have had a privileged access to objects? The following subsection explores Borja's informal links to the *Casa da Índia* in Lisbon and how this resulted in the creation of a special supply channel that turned Borja into an intermediary, not only in the negotiation of leasing contracts and the acquirement of slaves, but also in the acquisition of exotic goods.

### The key to the *Casa da Índia*

The possibility of reserving a number of slaves within the leasing contracts to have them be distributed as gratifications discloses a system of consumption tightly associated with the offices at court. Indeed, thanks to his efforts in the negotiation of such leasing contracts for the Portuguese crown, Juan de Borja was able to secure an annual gratification of six slaves for himself. As another letter reveals, he would proceed with the negotiations in order to secure a higher number of slaves to be distributed throughout his social network.<sup>418</sup> The role of intermediary was inseparable from his performance at the office of *veedor de hacienda* at the *Consejo de Portugal*. Furthermore, it deeply relied on his informal social networks at the supply centre, i.e. in Lisbon.

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<sup>416</sup> Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Lerma, Madrid, 29 April 1600, in BL, Add. Ms. 28422, ff. 394-395v.

<sup>417</sup> “Y con ella la consulta de angola q[ue]s neg[ocio] de mucha jmportançia y assi nos a costado mucho trabajo ponerle en este estado ase consultado con los gobernadores y con el consejo de Hazienda y con el virey y con el parecer de todas vaya concluydo para q[ue] Su Mag[esta]d siera[?] servido le firme[.] A mi me parece ques cosa muy conueniente a su serv[icio] esta resolucion que se toma”, Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Lerma, Madrid, 26 June, 1600, in BL, Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 76-77v; “Memoria de los esclavos vacos. Por las relaciones que se embieron de Portugal consta que estan vacos viente y dos esclavos de los q[ue] Su M[a]g[esta]d suele proueer en sus ministros. Los dos dellos en el Contracto de Cabo uerde y dos en el de sancto thome y deziocho en las casas de la Ciudad de Lisboa. / Tiene su mgd echo merced de doze dellos, seis al señor Duque de Lerma y seis al s[eñor]r Conde de ficalho, Estos se pueden cumplir en los doz del contracto de Cabouerde q[ue] son los mejores, y los mas en las tres Casas de Lisboa, cobrandolos en esclauos. / Y en el contracto nuevo que se ha de hazer de Cabouerde, se procuraran añadir algunos esclavos y a estos se podran passar los que ahora se toman en las tres casas porque son mejores. / En el Contracto nuevo d'Angola se pusieron diez esclavos, pero destos no se trata asta q[ue] Su M[a]g[esta]d aprueve el aziento q[ue] le esta consultado”, Letter from Pedr'Alvares Pereira to [Juan de Borja?], Madrid, in BL, Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 311-313v.

<sup>418</sup> See above, page 105 and footnote 447.

The entanglement of his performance at court offices and of his dealings within his personal social networks is best illustrated in a letter written on 28 March 1601 by Luis de Figueiredo, one of the *escrivães* (i.e. notary) of the *Casa da Índia* in Lisbon. In this letter, the *escrivão* informed Borja about contracts of pepper and brazilwood that the latter was negotiating. At the same time, Luis de Figueiredo also asked Borja whether he agreed with the price set for two carpets from Cambay (Khambhat) that he had been “chasing” for a while.<sup>419</sup> As this episode unveils, Borja did not become an impressive consumer of exotic goods just because he was directly negotiating contracts for the monarchy on the trade of such items. He became an impressive consumer because his social network was extended along the chain of circulation of goods – from the supplier to the consumer.

The *Casa da Índia* was the main customs house in Portugal for goods coming from overseas, as well as the colonial administration’s headquarters. There, the commodities were loaded and unloaded, freight charges were paid to the royal treasure, ships preparation logistics were handled, offices were appointed, general regulations were issued, all communication with the trading posts overseas was channelled there and all the issues regarding this system’s administration were managed. In short, the *Casa da Índia* controlled – or aimed at controlling – the traffic of goods.<sup>420</sup> To avoid smuggling and tax evasion, the officials of the *Casa* carefully registered all commodities, both sent and received. Moreover, regulations rigorously codified the offices’ structure and their function within the organisation, to the point that registration was comparable to having a notary’s sanction. Because of this, the *escrivães* of the *Casa* were top officials. Revealingly, Juan de Borja had direct access to one of these top officials.

The *escrivães* had direct access to all goods that arrived from overseas. More significantly, through their work, they acquire expertise about the quality of all the items arriving at the *Casa*. At the head of the *Casa*’s administration was the *Provedor*, responsible for overseeing the registration of all goods belonging to the crown. The *guarda-mor* usually oversaw private goods at the courtyard of the *Casa*, but the *Provedor* would still control all the important items inside the building. If the *Provedor* could not attend, the most senior *escrivão* would replace him. According to seventeenth-century regulations, *escrivães* had to record everything by order of the *Provedor* and, since they had access to every piece of information, they were appointed by the king.<sup>421</sup> In short, they acted as custom brokers.

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<sup>419</sup> “Ando a caça de duas alcátifas de cãobaya de seis varas. tenho descuberto hua do mesmo tamanhoç que me afirma seu dono custou do p.ro custo na yndia oytenta e seis mil R[?] Se açhar outra semegante determino conpralas posto que pide por ella quatroçentos crusados se V.S. não mandar o contrario.” Letter from Luis de Figueiredo to Juan de Borja, Lisbon, 28 March 1601, in BL, Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 126-127v.

<sup>420</sup> Geraldès, ‘Casa Da Índia: Um Estudo de Estrutura E Funcionalidade (1509-1630)’, 4–7, 13–14.

<sup>421</sup> Geraldès, ‘Casa Da Índia: Um Estudo de Estrutura E Funcionalidade (1509-1630)’, 56–216.

The two surviving regulatory instruments about the procedures for the unloading and registration of goods reveal that the *escrivão* had to be present at all times. According to the former of those regulatory documents, from King Manuel I's time (1509), the clearance of goods was to be made at two tables inside the *Casa*. One was for clearing drugs, spices and other goods that needed to be weighted. The other existed to clear unweighed goods that were simply divided up, such as textiles, or even slaves. In the second regulatory instrument, dated from the seventeenth century, this system still prevailed. Furthermore, in this second document more attention was given to the role of the *escrivão*. At each table there ought to be two *escrivães*. Each one had to register the evaluation of the goods in order to determine the value of the tax to be paid. Certain products, such as precious stones, pearls or amber had to be evaluated by expert evaluators. The quality of the drugs, for instance, had to be confirmed by the Royal Physician.<sup>422</sup> Since the *escrivão* had to be present at all times, he would acquire an impressive expertise on all exotic goods as well as become acquainted with the individuals within the trading network, from merchants way up to monarchy officials. The importance of the office of *escrivão* is summarised in the first person by Luis de Figueiredo Falcão as follows:

[...] aduerto a V[ossa] S[enhoria] q[ue] escrivão da caza da yndia he de tanta confiança q[ue] se deue ter m[ui]ta consideração no prouer delles porq[ue] podem aprouceitar m[ui]to e danar mto mais e o em q[ue] não deuo escreuer em carta.<sup>423</sup>

Forged either before or during the embassy in Lisbon (1569-1575), Juan de Borja's relationship with the *escrivão* Luis de Figueiredo Falcão (1548/49-1631) was at least a quarter of a century old when Borja became head of the *Consejo de Portugal*. It had had its roots within the group of courtiers who had served the princess Juana de Austria.

Figueiredo was married to Maria de Quinhones, daughter of Luisa de Quinhones, one of the princess' lady-in-waiting.<sup>424</sup> It is not clear whether Figueiredo was already part of that circle before becoming acquainted with Juan de Borja, or whether it was Borja who facilitated Figueiredo's connection to the princess' household. Most likely, it was the latter. Later in his life, Figueiredo declared Juan de Borja had raised him and that Borja was like a father and a lord to him. More precisely, Figueiredo felt that he owed everything to Borja.<sup>425</sup> In a letter from Figueiredo to Juan

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<sup>422</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>423</sup> Letter from Luis de Figueiredo to Juan de Borja, Lisbon, 3 April 1601, in BL, Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 128-131v.

<sup>424</sup> Lisboa, 'FALCÃO, Luís Figueiredo'. See also: Leal, *Portugal antigo e moderno; dicionário (...) de todas as cidades, villas e freguezias de Portugal e de grande numero de aldeias*, vol. VII:84-87; Figueiredo Falcão, *Livro em que se contém toda a fazenda (...)*.

<sup>425</sup> “[...] queixarmehey de V.S. q. me criou [...]”, Letter from Luis de Figueiredo to Juan de Borja, Lisbon, 4 April 1601, in BL, Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 132-133v. Later Figueiredo would also make some confessions to Borja concluding: “Soo com VS fallo por que he meu pay e meu s[en]hor e a quem depois de Deus devo tudo.”, Letter from Luis de Figueiredo, [Lisbon?], 1 September 1601, in BL, Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 161-162v



de Borja, on 19 November 1600, the former thanks him by stating that he had “V.S. pera me favoreçer e ajudar como sempre fez”.<sup>426</sup>

Certainly, by 1572, Figueiredo was already at the service of Juan de Borja.<sup>427</sup> During the latter’s diplomatic mission in Portugal, Figueiredo was not yet an *escrivão* at the *Casa da Índia*, nonetheless, he acted as intermediary to obtain goods for individuals at the top of both Iberian courts. In 1572, Figueiredo was ordered to handle a shipment of silk in Granada for Catherine of Austria.<sup>428</sup> Later, in April 1574, secretary Zayas also benefited from one of Figueiredo’s trips to Madrid to ask whether Figueiredo could acquire some sapphires in Lisbon for him.<sup>429</sup> There is a gap in the correspondence between June 1574 and January 1600, which makes it difficult to understand the evolution of the relationship between Borja and Figueiredo. However, the extant correspondence discloses a relationship that must have been forged while Borja was still part of Juana de Austria’s entourage, later reinforced in Lisbon, while at Catherine of Austria’s service, continuing through the rest of Borja’s life.

Borja depended on Figueiredo as a useful intermediary in financial matters. Between December 1572 and July 1573, Figueiredo made, at least, two journeys to Madrid.<sup>430</sup> On 31 December 1573, Borja informed secretary Gabriel de Zayas that he wished to send Figueiredo again to the court for personal reasons – “cosas mias”.<sup>431</sup> The stays in Madrid were rather short and Borja constantly asked Zayas to favour Figueiredo and to allow him to return quickly.<sup>432</sup> The “cosas mias” that made the presence of Figueiredo so indispensable were essentially financial matters. The purpose of Figueiredo’s journey to Madrid in December 1572, for instance, was to collect Borja’s salary increase and the allowance for the ambassador’s extraordinary costs.<sup>433</sup>

Luis de Figueiredo’s financial expertise, together with his office at the *Casa da Índia* – the starting date of which is, unfortunately, unknown – allowed him to play a key role in the reform of Portuguese finances. Figueiredo was the one who informed Borja about the corruption at the *Casa*

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<sup>426</sup> Later on his life, Figueiredo obtained royal favour by becoming *fidalgão da Casa Real*. On 19 September 1631, he became Secretary of State of Portugal (see Lisboa, ‘FALCÃO, Luís Figueiredo’). Between 1617 and 1619, Figueiredo edited and published the *Livro em que se contém toda a fazenda (...)*. See Leal, *Portugal antigo e moderno; dicionário (...)*, vol. VII:84–88.

<sup>427</sup> Letter from Juan de Borja to Gabriel de Zayas, Lisbon, 10 December 1572, in AGS, Estado – Portugal, Leg. 390, n. 121.

<sup>428</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>429</sup> “figueredo me dixo q[ue] v.m. le mandava buscar vna çafira para un sello la qual no se allo al presente yo tenia la que va con esta. v.m. se sirva de ella aunque no es tan buena como yo quisiera”, Letter from Juan de Borja to Gabriel de Zayas, Lisbon, 26 April 1574, in AGS, Estado – Portugal, Leg. 392, n. 53.

<sup>430</sup> Letter from Juan de Borja to Gabriel de Zayas, Lisbon, 10 December 1572, in AGS, Estado – Portugal, Leg. 390, n. 121; Letter from Juan de Borja to Gabriel de Zayas, Lisbon, 21 July 1573, in AGS, Estado – Portugal, Leg. 391, n. 19.

<sup>431</sup> “con la primera ocasion queria enbiar ay a figueredo a tratar cosas mias”, Letter from Juan de Borja to Gabriel de Zayas, Lisbon, 31 December 1573, in AGS, Estado – Portugal, Leg. 391, n. 4.

<sup>432</sup> “hara v.m. [Zayas] la m[er]ced de favoreçer a figueredo que suele hazer en mis cosas”. Letter from Juan de Borja to Gabriel de Zayas, Lisbon, 10 December 1572, in AGS, Estado – Portugal, Leg. 390, doc. 121.

<sup>433</sup> *Ibidem*.

*da Índia* and gave enough account for Borja to change the system. In July 1601, Borja informed Lerma that he had received directly from Figueiredo a detailed account of the situation at the *Casa da Índia*. Lerma was advised to send the account to the Marquis of Castelo Rodrigo, the viceroy of Portugal, and to tell him not to share the information, neither with the *Consejo de Portugal*, nor with any other Portuguese office holder. If he was to share that information with someone to analyse the data, such a person had to be a Castilian. Borja confessed to Lerma that there were so many people involved in the scheme, which Figueiredo was investigating, that unmasking them and fixing the situation would increase the financial plunder to an extent comparable to the income of the annual return of the ships from Asia.<sup>434</sup>

The situation described above had not been the first time that Figueiredo informed Borja of the Portuguese financial situation. A year before, he had already informed Borja on the deviations from the authorised Atlantic trade, as follows:

Pellas nouas que deuem yr com este entedera V.S. **quão prejudiçial he** ao seruiço de deus e del Rey yren embarcações estrangeiras a portos desta coroa e o q[ue] mereçe quem **contra contrato e prouizois** faz q[ue] hurcas vão do brazil emdereutura a olanda: e peor q[ue] **aya que[m] contra tudo: este dano fauoreça** acuda deus q[ue] a V.S. guarde como mynha s[enh]ora deseija para remediar estes males. em Lx<sup>a</sup>, 4 de marco 1600.<sup>435</sup>

Therefore, Luis de Figueiredo was providing highly sensitive information to Juan de Borja. In turn, Borja rewarded his loyalty by asking for the king to bestow him favour.<sup>436</sup> Certainly, Figueiredo's position as a *Casa da Índia's* *escrivão* resulted in the production of expertise that was of importance for the monarchy. Moreover, the zeal with which he conducted his work provided enough reasons for him to be protected. However, the individuals that operated through such a position, namely Borja and Lerma, also had reasons to protect Figueiredo. In other words, an exterior attack on Figueiredo would mean an interference in the access of Juan de Borja to the *Casa da Índia*. As with all early modern relationships of patronage, the social capital of the individuals was paramount. In this case, the office holder would grant the patron privileged access to an institutional body – the *Casa da Índia* –, and the patron would protect and favour the office holder.

That said, given the high responsibility of Figueiredo's office as *escrivão*, he was soon confronted with accusations of stealing pepper from the *Casa da Índia*. To defend himself against the accusation, Figueiredo appealed to Borja hoping to find in him a defender and a comprehensive patron:

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<sup>434</sup> Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Lerma, Madrid, 14 July 1601, in BL, Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 107-110v.

<sup>435</sup> Letter from Luis de Figueiredo, Lisbon, 4 March 1600, in BL, Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 297-297v.

<sup>436</sup> "Luis de figueredo es muy zeloso de la hazienda de su Magd. y muy fiel offiçial de la casa de la Jndia adonde a muchos años que sirve y assi mereze que se le haga md", Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Lerma, Madrid, 14 July 1601, in BL, Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 107-110v.

[...] eu não quero de dom y[oa]o [Don Juan] nenhu[m]a m[ercê] senão que [...] não consinta se ynfame hu[m] oficial del Rey quanto mais eu[,] a quem elle criou: e que o leite que mamey em sua caza não tinha tão roym mestura: e se asy o não fizer a deus ao Rey: amando me hey de queixar e gritar pella justiça do çeo [...] q[ue] toda p[esso]a sabe q[ue] não podem sair sacos de p[imen]ta da caza da yndia se não com portas abertas estando o prouedor e todos oficiais guardas trabalhadores port[ei]ro e mercadores presentes e não sou tão desatinado que enjeitase d[inhei]ro trazido a caza: e fose lãõçar sacos de p[imen]ta fora da caza da yndia a uista e faça de todo mundo.<sup>437</sup>

Several letters like this were written to Borja. They were filled with loud complaints and requests for setting forth a rigorous inquiry about the events, which shows that Figueiredo depended on his life-long patron not only for obtaining favour, but also to obtain justice. The outcome of these accusations is not known, but the bond between Figueiredo and Borja allowed the former to move up the social scale and to become, from 1602 onwards, secretary of the *Consejo de Portugal* in Madrid.<sup>438</sup> Thanks to this link, it can be said that Borja had the key to the *Casa da Índia*, at least for some time.

## A final word on access

The access to the *Casa da Índia*, through the *escrivão* Figueiredo, ultimately meant that Juan de Borja had first-hand information about what was available for acquisition. Furthermore, it meant that he could always acquire items of the best quality. Additionally, it meant that Borja himself could become an intermediary for handling the acquisition of overseas goods. As I will discuss further in Chapter 6, the acquisition of porcelain by the Duke of Lerma aimed at manifesting the scale of the patronage network of the king's *valido*. However, this network was highly dependent on the holders of three offices: the *veedor de hacienda* of the *Consejo de Portugal*, the viceroy of Portugal and the *escrivão* of the *Casa da Índia*.

At some point before mid-November 1600, the Duke of Lerma asked the viceroy of Portugal, Cristóvão de Moura, to search for a dining set made of porcelain. However, as Borja's documentation reveals, the process relied on the *escrivão* and on his patron.<sup>439</sup> On 19 November, Figueiredo informed Borja that the viceroy had given him the task of finding a set of porcelain for Lerma. He was specifically instructed to mention that the porcelain was addressed to the viceroy and to be paid with the viceroy's money, although the duke would actually be the one to pay for

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<sup>437</sup> Letter from Luis de Figueiredo, Lisbon, 4 March 1600, in BL, Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 298-299v.

<sup>438</sup> Luxán Meléndez, 'Los funcionarios del Consejo de Portugal', 210.

<sup>439</sup> "Este dia pasado [o Marquês de Castelo Rodrigo] me chamou e disse que buscasse por todas vias em seu nome e por dr<sup>o</sup> hua baixela toda de porcelana pera o s<sup>ñ</sup>or duque que as outras cousas dira depois esta se comprar", Letter from Luis de Figueiredo to Juan de Borja, Lisbon, 19 November 1600, in BL, Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 74-75v.

the transaction.<sup>440</sup> Juan de Borja mediated the communication between Figueiredo and Lerma and it soon became evident that the acquisition did not comprise porcelain alone. This was a major purchase that included boxes filled with carpets, *colchas* and other textiles *de la china* and Figueiredo expressed his satisfaction for having been able to provide the best quality products he was able to find.<sup>441</sup> Once the acquisition was made, Borja informed the duke that the matter was settled. In addition, Borja asked the duke to thank Figueiredo and the viceroy of Portugal for having handled the whole process.<sup>442</sup> In less than five months, Lerma had acquired a large number of exotic goods in Lisbon, not simply by using the regular institutional channels, but by relying on Borja's patronage relationship to Luis de Figueiredo.

Figueiredo continued to write to Borja regarding the acquisition and shipment of exotic goods to Madrid. On 3 April, Figueiredo mentioned that he would look for the required "pau da china", which had probably been requested by Borja.<sup>443</sup> It is not clear for whom was the timber destined to, but, again, the circuits were the institutional ones. By 10 April, the "pau" had already been delivered to the *correio-mor* (i.e. the "Master of the Posts") who was in charge of delivering the cargo.<sup>444</sup> Again, on 11 April, Figueiredo sent ebony to Madrid for the Duke of Lerma.<sup>445</sup> This ebony was part of a contract of 100 *arrobas*, i.e. ca. 1470 kilos, according to the Portuguese weighing system, or ca. 1130 kilos according to the Castilian system, for which Figueiredo had already payed, expecting to be compensated when a new contract for the acquisition of slaves was closed.<sup>446</sup> Therefore, once again, Borja's position at the *Consejo* allowed him to negotiate the contract of slaves, from which the compensation would be taken to reimburse the acquisition of ebony to the Duke of Lerma.

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<sup>440</sup> "Com esta va la memoria de lo que se compro en lisboa del dinero que alla tenia V.ex<sup>a</sup> en poder de luis de figueredo", Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Lerma, Madrid, 25 March 1601, in BL, Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 454-456v.

<sup>441</sup> "As couzas que forão pera o Duque são as mylhores e mais trasordynarias q[ue] pude descobrir. a mayor parte dellos e como V.S. se contente fico satisfeito e subejiam[en]te bem pagado. ficarãome vinte cruzados como acuzei a V.S. o que peço me faça ni de ordem do q[ue] deuo fazer delles. q[ue] o que comprar yra na cayxa de toucar de mynha se[nho]ra Dona Ana." Letter from Luis de Figueiredo to Juan de Borja, Lisbon, 3 April 1601, in BL, Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 128-131v.

<sup>442</sup> "esto todo viene con las demas cosas que traen a Su Magd que sera ay muy presto segun los días q[ue] a que partiu de lisboa. [...] las porçelanas [...]son muchas y muy buenas y es vna vaxilla entera en que se puede dar de comer al Rey muy limpiamente. Los caxones en que vienen las alombras y las colchas y paños de la china estos podra Vex<sup>a</sup> ver y el pauellon que todo me dizen ques muy bueno[.] si lo fuere mandarsselo ha Vex<sup>a</sup> agradecer al Marques de Cast[e]ll[odrig]o y a luis de Figueredo ques el que lo a negociado. Ocho mil m[a]r[avedi]es dize que quedan en su poder que los embiara en papos de Almizque", Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Lerma, Madrid, 25 March 1601, in BL, Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 456-456v.

<sup>443</sup> "O pao da china procurarey logo e mandarey se o puder descobrir que he tarde para ser bom", Letter from Luis de Figueiredo to Juan de Borja, Lisbon, 3 April 1601, in BL, Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 128-131v.

<sup>444</sup> "O pao da china se entregou ao home q. serve de correo mor com ordem de o mandar com este são seis ar[ra]te[i]s", Letter from Luis de Figueiredo to Juan de Borja, Lisbon, 10 April 1601, in BL, Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 136-137v.

<sup>445</sup> Letters from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Lerma, Lisbon, 11 and 18 April 1601, in BL, Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 20-21v and 23-26v.

<sup>446</sup> Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Lerma, Madrid, 31 May 1601, in BL, Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 67-67v.

The entanglement between the offices at court and their work generated opportunities for consumption and profit. At the end of his life, when about to leave his post as *Capitán General de la Gente de Guerra* in Portugal, the melancholic Juan de Silva, Count of Portalegre, lamented to Juan de Borja the fact that he had always performed his duty without profiting, as much as he should have, from the circumstances.<sup>447</sup> In the following quotation, the count of Portalegre discloses that goods from overseas could easily be accessed while holding an office in Portugal:

[...] de ninguno de los provechos que otros podrian llamar lícitos yo me he valido (...). Poder jurar que no llevo una alcatifa ni un catre ni un negro ni porcelanas ni aun pastillas.<sup>448</sup>

By legitimate “provechos”, the Count of Portalegre certainly meant *liberty chests* (*caixas de liberdades* or *gasalhados*). *Liberty chests*, often shortened to *liberdades*, were privileges that allowed bringing a certain quantity of goods from overseas, either duty-free or with very special tax rates, which the privilege holder could directly sell himself. This system, which had been implemented at the beginning of the sixteenth century, was highly sought-after because it allowed very significant profits. Although *liberty chests* were mainly intended for a ship’s crew, the privilege extended to officeholders in the administration both in Goa and in Lisbon.<sup>449</sup>

Although granted by the king, these *liberdades* were still restricted to the direct management of affairs related with the *Carreira da Índia*. Therefore, Juan de Silva’s plea is better understood if regarded as part of a self-fashioning rhetoric discourse as the royal *hacienda’s* diligent protector, rather than the denouncement of an illicit practise. Actually, Juan de Borja does not seem to have had any conscientious objection. While discussing royal finances with Figueiredo, Borja informed the Duke of Lerma about how the mechanism worked. Put simply, it meant that taking compensation was the same as having the king granting a favour in return for all the efforts deployed when managing Portuguese finances.

Tambien me parece advertir a Vex<sup>a</sup> que sera muy justo que pues Vex<sup>a</sup> se cansa y trabaja con las cosas de portugal **ques Razon q[ue] Su Magd. haga alguna m[er]ced a v.ex<sup>a</sup> en aquel Reyno como las ha hecho a otras muchas personas** con darle liçençia para q[ue] pueda traer de la Jndia cada año tantos quintales de clavo sin pagar derechos ni fletes lo que no siente la Açienda del Rey y sera de mucho aprouecham[ien]to para vex<sup>a</sup> para poder traer de portugal muchas alajas de casa y muchos brincos. [...]

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<sup>447</sup> For more about the Count of Portalegre, see: Bouza Álvarez, ‘Corte Es Decepción (...)’.

<sup>448</sup> Letter from Juan de Silva to Juan de Borja, Lisbon, 8 February 1600, in BL, Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 248-250v.

<sup>449</sup> Godinho, *Os Descobrimentos e a Economia Mundial (...)*, Vol. 2, 88-89. For more on the mechanism of liberty chests, see also Boxer, ‘The Papers of Dom Antonio de Ataíde’, 35-38.

Resolviendosse Vex<sup>a</sup> en la cantidad [de quintales] que ade pedir a Su Magd **no ay mas que Hazer que escreuirmelo que sin que vaya al consejo yo hare el despacho** para Su Magd le mande firmar y **figueredo le pueda llevar y beneficiar** por la orden que v.ex<sup>a</sup> le diere. Destas liçençias tienen muchas per[son]as el conde da Vidigueyra la tiene muy grande y es perpetua para su casa. La s<sup>a</sup> doña cathalina la tiene de 300 q[uinta]les cada año y tanto benjuy que en fin vale 15U# cada año. Otras per[son]as tienen de a 6 q[uinta]les y a 20 q[uinta]les le querido poner esto por q[ue] entienda V.ex<sup>a</sup> q[ue] no es nouedad. A so aduertir que para gozar desta m[erced] no es menester ser natural [...].<sup>450</sup>

To justify a *liberdade* on loads of clove, Borja added that it did no damage to the royal *hacienda*.<sup>451</sup> This letter reveals that the mechanism was directly connected to office holding in the Portuguese administration, especially with overseas affairs.

Like Borja's suggestion of being rewarded in loads of clove, the case of Juan de Silva, or the negotiation of slave trade leasing contracts, demonstrate that taking office in Portugal, or overseeing Portuguese affairs, usually translated into an opportunity for consumption of exotic goods. This is once again verifiable in the case of the Count of Vila Nova de Portimão in Lisbon.<sup>452</sup> At the same time that he gathered information regarding ships' arrival from Asia, the count offered his services to Borja, suggesting acquiring items on Juan de Borja's behalf. There was, actually, a special reason for this on that occasion. Borja's son, Francisco, married his cousin, the Princess of Squillace, Ana de Borja Pignatelli, in September 1599.<sup>453</sup> In June of the following year, Ana's father, Pedro de Borja, was granted the office of Stratigotus of Messina.<sup>454</sup> According to the Count of Vila Nova, the event was an opportunity for Pedro to take objects *de la India* to Italy. The Count specifically suggested he could proceed with the purchase in Borja's name and, then, ship the things to Madrid, where Borja could give them to his daughter-in-law. In turn, she could deliver the items to her father.<sup>455</sup> There is no evidence of whether the Prince of Squillace actually took exotic goods

<sup>450</sup> Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Lerma, Madrid, 4 July 1601, in BL, Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 88-89v.

<sup>451</sup> "Torno a cordar a v.ex<sup>a</sup> el Albitrio del clavo en la casa de la Jndia por ser la cosa en quel Rey puede hazer mas md. a vex<sup>a</sup> sin costarle de su hazienda y certifico a vex<sup>a</sup> que lo desseo mucho por que ade ser vna açienda de mucho gusto p<sup>a</sup> v.ex<sup>a</sup>", Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Lerma, Madrid, 2 August 1601, in BL, Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 127-128v.

<sup>452</sup> It is not clear what Manoel de Castelo-Branco did in Lisbon between 1599 and 1602, but from the content of his letters to Juan de Borja, he might have had a place at the *Conselho de Estado* – a position that he held at least after 1606. Manoel de Castelo-Branco received the title of II Count of Vila Nova de Portimão from Philip III on the 29 of March 1599 and in 1602 was appointed as *consejero* at the *Consejo de Portugal* in Valladolid, where he took a prominent position. After the death of Juan de Borja he left the *Consejo* and departed to Portugal where he became *Conselheiro de Estado* of the Marquis of Castelo Rodrigo. See Labrador Arroyo, 'La Casa Real Portuguesa de Felipe II Y Felipe III: La Articulación Del Reino a Través de La Integración de Las Elites de Poder (1580-1621)', 751–752.

<sup>453</sup> Jiménez Belmonte, *Las Obras En Verso Del Príncipe de Esquilache*, 71.

<sup>454</sup> Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Lerma, Madrid, 16 June, 1600, in BL, Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 57-58v.; Letter from the Count of Miranda to Juan de Borja, [Madrid], 13 July 1600, in BL, Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 374-374v.

<sup>455</sup> "Podemos ter Naos o Mês q[ue] vem façame V.S. merçe de mavisar o emprego que auemos de fazer, E depois faremos contas. Não duvide V.S. de se alargar no Rol que eu sou home abonado. E lembro q[ue] he bem que leve o Príncipe cousas da jndia a Jtalia, E que lhas de mi señora donna Anna. Respondame V.S. a este Capitulo muito largamente Por que pesa esta materia somente, tenho minhas desconfianças Reprezadas", Letter fro the Cout of Vila Nova to Juan de Borja, Lisbon, 17 June 1600, in BL, Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 348-351v.

with him, but the letter from the Count of Vila Nova reveals, once again, how consumption was highly determined by informal links amongst office holders.

The office of *veedor de hacienda* at the *Consejo de Portugal* certainly put Borja in a privileged position to access exotic goods traded through the Portuguese channels. Nonetheless, this was not the only office that granted him such access to exotic goods. During his diplomatic mission thirty years earlier, Borja had had the opportunity to acquire a large number of exotic items. In 1575, well before knowing that he would be appointed ambassador in Vienna, Borja and his first wife, Lorenza de Oñaz y Loyola, left Portugal. When they did so, they took with them a large number of domestic furnishings exempted from customs' taxes. On 10 June 1575, amongst bed linen, *colchas*, carpets, tapestries, mattresses, blankets, chair, tables and kitchenware, Borja received the licence to bring a few exotic items, as follows: fourteen reed mats “de la yndia”; three-hundred items of porcelain; sixteen slaves; one bed canopy “de la yndia”; two boxes “de la yndia”; eleven chairs made from exotic timber and crimson velvet.<sup>456</sup>(see **Appendix VI**).

A final example of the link between the acquisition of exotic things and occupying an office in Portugal concerns the Duke of Osuna. On 19 December 1579, Osuna was about to leave Portugal, where he had been in Philip II's service – “por n[uest]ro mandado y en cossas de n[uest]ro seruiçio”.<sup>457</sup> Before leaving, however, Osuna asked the king to authorise him to bring a large number of exotic goods with him. The goods were as follows: five carpets, seven leather pieces, fifteen trays, nine boxes, one reed mat and several items of cutlery said to be *de la yndia*, plus one hundred and fifty items of porcelain, fans, a lacquer box, other items made with tortoiseshell and eleven slaves.

## In conclusion

[...] com haver entendido la Empz q[ue] la Reyna ns<sup>a</sup> quedava buena y que ayer se havia de hazer su entrada publica en este lugar há holgado mucho y com todo esto **no a querido holvidar la costumbre de alemaña y assi me a mandado que enbie a v ex<sup>a</sup> esta copilla doro por parezerle bien labrada** para que de su parte la de v. ex<sup>a</sup> a la Reyna ns<sup>a</sup>. visitandola de su parte y dandole la en hora buena de su salud [...].<sup>458</sup>

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<sup>456</sup> AGS, Cámara de Castilla, Libro 360, ff. 48-49.

<sup>457</sup> AGS, Cámara de Castilla, Libro 361, ff. 192-193.

<sup>458</sup> Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Lerma, Madrid, 12 June 1600, in BL, Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 39-42v.

The German custom of offering cups led Empress Maria of Austria to send a golden cup to Queen Margarita of Austria as a token for her wishes of good recovery.<sup>459</sup> This would be of little interest for this thesis were it not for the fact that twenty-five German cups were registered in Juan de Borja's inventory. There is no document to explain the reason for that exceptional number of German vessels.<sup>460</sup> However, it is hard not to see a link between Borja, his diplomatic mission to the Empire in the 1570s and the quarter of century that he dedicated to the service of the empress. Were these annual gifts for the empress to present to her *mayordomo mayor* every year? Alternatively, did Juan de Borja make these purchases during his embassy? At this point, it is impossible to know, but it is very unlikely that these cups would be in Borja's probate inventory had he taken different offices at court.

This chapter has suggested that the consumption of exotic objects was conditioned and influenced by access to formal institutions. Juan de Borja was able to assemble a large number of items from overseas because he was ambassador in Portugal, because he led the reform of Portuguese finances at the *Consejo de Portugal* and because he had informal networks that connected him to the *Casa da Índia* in Lisbon. Other informal connections, such as with the Society of Jesus or other members of the court, may also have played a role. Nonetheless, these were not considered given the scarcity of sources. The material that I analysed reveals that most of the exotic objects mentioned in Borja's correspondence were a by-product of his activity while managing matters concerning Portugal. Briefly, access to exotic items was not always the outcome of a conscious will to acquire them. It may simply have been the result of informal networks that operated through the Portuguese institutional system.

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<sup>459</sup> See Groebner, *Liquid Assets, Dangerous Gifts*.

<sup>460</sup> In the sample, only the inventory of Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza has a comparable number of German cups, see AHPM, Prot. 3146, f. 195.



# Chapter 4

## Rhino horns

Rhinoceros horns and unicorn powder or bezoar stones and nails of the *gran bestia* are some of the most exciting things that can be found in early modern inventories.<sup>461</sup> These materials are so fascinating in today's imaginary that it is almost impossible to talk about them without using terms such as *exotic*, *curious* or *wonder*. The compilation and publication of folk and fairy tales during the nineteenth century and the current expansion of fantastic fiction in Western media could be pointed out as being responsible for this association. In any case, the development of cabinets of curiosity during the early modern period, where some of these materials could be found, definitely enhanced the argument for the taste for *exotica* amongst historiography. In the work of authors such as Checa & Moran, Annemarie Jordan, and even Fernando Bouza, it is clear that the *exotica* metanarrative has been prioritised over the analysis of the relationship that objects establish with both one another and the consumer.<sup>462</sup>

The way by which the discourse about a given taste for *exotica* has prevented a clear understanding of the role of exotic objects is particularly evident in an article about the collection of Duarte de Bragança (1569-1627), I Marquis of Frechilla. Departing from three different inventories, Fernando Bouza argues that the marquis had a collecting taste not far from that of the *Wunderkammer* – “unos gustos coleccionísticos no muy lejanos a los de las *Wunderkammern* clásicas” –, since his inventories register many natural, artificial or exotic wonders:

Así, las rodela chinas, colchas de la India, pedazos de piedra bézar, uña de la gran bestia, unicornios en raspas, el coco de Maldivas y el ‘pedaço de güeso de cavallo marino’ **no desentonan** con el cuerno de abada o el ‘diente que llaman de el peje mujer’ ni con el conjunto de veinticuatro pinturas doradas de la China sobre tabla.<sup>463</sup>

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<sup>461</sup> In Spanish, the use of the expression *gran bestia* can either refer to a moose or a tapir. In a late Spanish translation (1675) of the text of Andrea Bacci about the topic (1577), the *gran bestia* is defined as a moose, see Bacci, *Virtudes (...)*.

<sup>462</sup> Morán Turina and Checa Cremades, *El Coleccionismo En España*; Pérez de Tudela and Jordan Gschwend, ‘Luxury Goods for Royal Collectors (...)’.

<sup>463</sup> (my emphasis) Bouza Álvarez, ‘En La Corte Y En La Aldea de D. Duarte de Braganza. (...)’, 271–272.

This quotation, which is strongly indebted to a whole body of earlier historiography, supports the discourse on *exotica* and *Wunderkammern*. However, the objects are decontextualised from the inventories and it is not possible to understand the relation in which they were placed to other records in those same inventories. Moreover, the claim that the objects from one of the source inventories “no desentonan” – i.e. that they match – with the objects on the other source is not supported, because the contexts of production of the inventories are not considered in the analysis.

In this chapter, I challenge this approach by focusing on the relationship between Juan de Borja and rhinoceros horns, which are archetypal items in works that support the *Exotica* discourse. The relationship is attested by two different documents: on the one hand, Borja’s probate inventory that lists the existence of seven rhino horns; on the other, a reply from the Portuguese royal physician to a request of information made by Juan de Borja concerning the properties of a given horn. I start by analysing the information given by the physician to reveal that rhino horns were, in the 1570s, mainly regarded for their medical benefits. I then move on to analyse the references to this type of exotic material both in Borja’s probate inventory and across the sample of inventories used for this thesis. This exercise discloses a close association between rhino horns and other *materia medica*, supporting the argument advanced in the former section. This finding, however, raises another question. Since, most *materia medica* is to be found amongst female consumers, the reason for Juan de Borja to have left seven horns at the end of his life still requires explanation. The last section provides one argument that suggests that those same medical properties could be behind other uses beyond healing practises. Indeed, contemporary beliefs on the thaumaturgical powers of materials and the senses, namely touch, can offer an explanation closely linked to Borja’s own status as a nobleman and to his office as *gentilhombre de la boca* at the court of Philip II.

Through this analysis, I aim at showing that the possession of rhino horns during this period by Spanish elites had little to do with a taste for the *exotic*. Instead, these objects ought to be seen primarily for the prophylactic properties they were thought to have. These properties were responsible for the uses that would be given to the objects. Nevertheless, this statement does not mean that all consumers would use them in the same way. The case of Juan de Borja shows that the consumption of rhino horns is also linked to biographical aspects of the individual consumer. Eventually, what this chapter demonstrates is that in order to understand the driving force for consumption as well as its practises, the agency of the individual consumer cannot be overlooked.

## 4.1. A medical advice

The diplomatic mission of Juan de Borja to Lisbon between 1569 and 1575 was, above all, an opportunity to develop social networks in Portugal. Given the futility of following Sebastian on his frenetic moves around the kingdom and North Africa, Borja spent most of his time in the surroundings of Catherine of Austria. He found plenty of time to write a book on emblems, to negotiate the acquisition of books for members of the court in Madrid, to support painters and to handle the acquisition of luxury goods, such as silk from Granada, to the dowager queen.<sup>464</sup> Hence, Borja could extend his contacts at the Portuguese court as well as through the net of merchants in the city.<sup>465</sup> Furthermore, given the availability of exotic goods in Lisbon, this was also a place where to buy things from overseas. The city's most important commercial street, the *Rua Nova dos Mercadores*, was known for having plenty of shops specialised in exotic goods.<sup>466</sup> These were widely available in Lisbon but so was the required expertise to advise potential consumers on their acquisitions.

During his mission, and probably thanks to his contacts with merchants, Borja was offered the opportunity to acquire some rhino horns and teeth that had just arrived in Lisbon from overseas. In order to ascertain the quality of the investment, Borja used his contacts at the Portuguese court and asked for an opinion to the royal physician Jorge Godinho.<sup>467</sup> Godinho had been a physician of King John III (r. 1521-1557), but his authority on rhino horns seems to be consequence of the continuous flow of these items through the Iberian Peninsula. As Godinho himself tells us, rhino horns had long been arriving in Lisbon and this was not the first time that he had to investigate the supposed benefits of rhino parts. Sometime earlier, the governor of the Portuguese State of India, Antonio Moniz Barreto (gov. 1573-1575), had sent to Lisbon a cup made of rhino horn, a piece of skin, a tooth and a small amount of blood which were said to be useful against illnesses such as melancholia and throat swelling. A few years later, in 1579, a similar group of items – for which a famous illustration exists (see **Image 4.1**) – would be sent to the imperial court in Vienna by the ambassador of Rudolf II in Madrid, Hans von Khevenhüller.<sup>468</sup> It is then very likely

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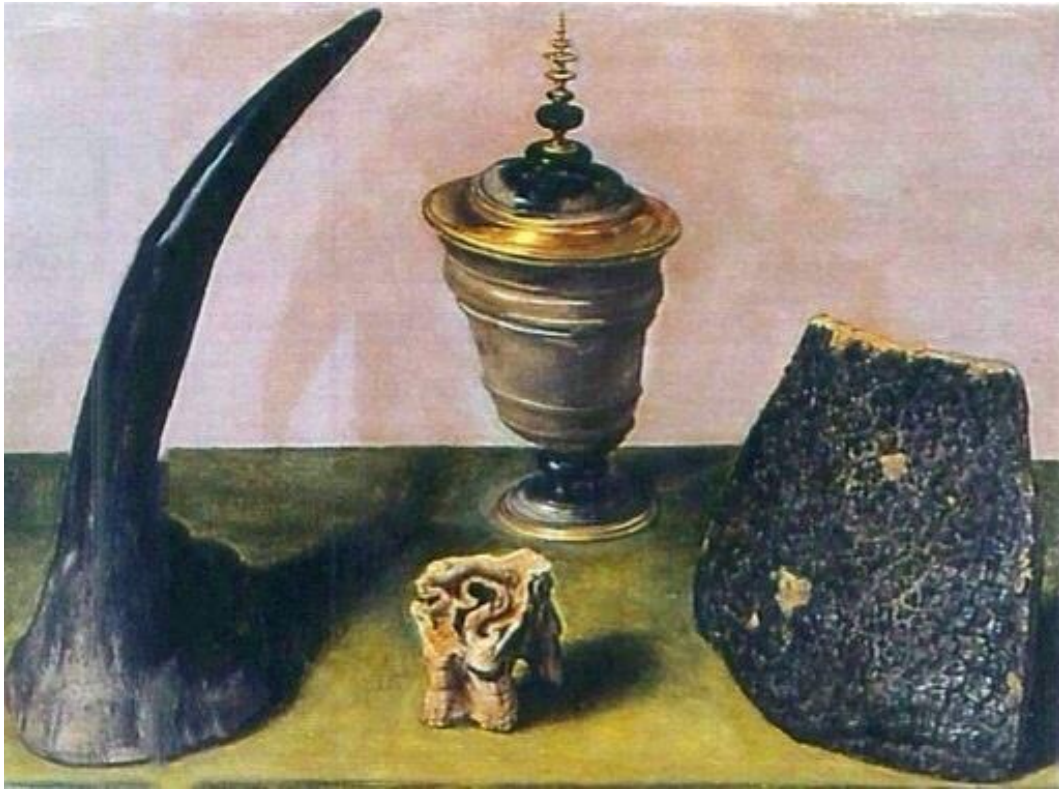
<sup>464</sup> See Chapter 2. About the commission of silk in Granada, see: Letters from Juan de Borja to Gabriel de Zayas, Lisbon, 10 December 1572 and 9 June 1574, in AGS, Estado – Portugal, Leg. 390, n. 121 and Leg. 392, n. 116.

<sup>465</sup> As part of his diplomatic mission, Juan de Borja had to negotiate loans with merchants in Lisbon: “suppco a v.m. q[ue] de mi parte supp.ce a su Magd. sea seruido de mandar que me pague lo que me deue porq[ue] los mercaderes aqui en yo lo he librado no Haviendoles en me diran pagando quierendo aqui cobrar de mi lo qual sera jnposible poder yo pagar”, Letter from Juan de Borja to Gabriel de Zayas, Lisbon, 10 September 1573, in AGS, Estado–Portugal, Leg.391, n.77-78.

<sup>466</sup> Jordan Gschwend and Lowe, *The Global City. On the Streets of Renaissance Lisbon*.

<sup>467</sup> The physician signs as George Godynez when he writes in Castilian and Georgius Godinum when writing in Latin. For the sake of convenience, I use the modern Portuguese version of the name: Jorge Godinho.

<sup>468</sup> Pérez de Tudela and Jordan Gschwend, ‘Luxury Goods for Royal Collectors (...)’.



**Image 4.1 – Rhino horn, cup, tooth and skin**

Dirk de Quade van Ravesteyn, 1590-1600

Parchment, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna<sup>469</sup>

that it was this continuous consumption of rhino horns that triggered the intellectual investigation about the usefulness of rhino horns – an investigation in which Godinho was deeply involved.<sup>470</sup>

Written in the form of a medical letter (*consilium*), Godinho's text to Juan de Borja is, before anything else, a contribution to justify consumption. Rather than being evidence that the consumption of rhino horns was motivated by curiosity, what this text shows is that in order to evaluate the investment risk of an exotic material, knowledge about the natural world had to be produced. The lens must hence be inverted. Rather than seeing the will for the production of knowledge as the driving force for consumption – as the discourse on the interest in curiosities implies –, it was consumption that became the engine for the production of knowledge. Indeed, the debate about the rhino horn occurred not merely for intellectual purposes, but because there were concrete concerns with the commercial value of raw materials and their pragmatic utility.

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<sup>469</sup> Sammlung von Handschriften und alten Drucken, [*Museum Rudolfs II.*] ; *Bestiarium*, 1. Teil, Cod. 129, fol. 10. I would like to thank Almudena Pérez de Tudela for this reference.

<sup>470</sup> BA, Cod. 46-VIII-12, ff. 121-122. I would like to thank António Manuel Lopes de Andrade for having drawn my attention to this source.

In this section, I analyse how Godinho’s opinion was formed and I demonstrate that the production of knowledge in early modern Iberia was inseparable from trade, from the function attributed to the products of nature and from consumption practises. This analysis follows Cañizares-Esguerra’s claim that “the Iberians first created a culture of empirical, experimental and utilitarian knowledge-gathering of massive proportions that did not get its cues from the classics or the learned, but from merchants, enterprising settlers and bureaucrats”.<sup>471</sup> This view, which has been supported by many other scholars, has also found support for the case of the Netherlands.<sup>472</sup> Indeed, Harold Cook has demonstrated that the production of knowledge in seventeenth-century Netherlands was also inseparable from trade and imperial expansion.<sup>473</sup> Nevertheless, eventual specificities of the production of knowledge in early modern Iberia need to be looked at in order to understand the relational context of Jorge Godinho and Juan de Borja.<sup>474</sup> Indeed, the latter were part of these networks that connected production of knowledge, trade and demanding consumers. Godinho’s text brings these worlds together by attempting to produce for a prospective consumer an intelligible and coherent verdict developed from the erudite use of classical sources, travel accounts from the natural environment of the rhinoceros and direct experience with items available in Lisbon.

## A hermeneutical conundrum

The first consideration that can be extracted from Godinho’s reply to Juan de Borja is that the consumption of rhino horns was strongly connected to the properties attributed to the unicorn horn.

Da propriedade, e virtudes do unicornio, e donde vem e o mesmo do corno, couro, dente da abada:

Al illustrissimo señor dom Juan de Borja (...)

Mandome v. s. Illustrissima que le significasse por un memorial los provechos que se dizen que ay en el cuerno pequeño que aora se trae de la India de Portugal y de los dientes del animal. Porque le dizen que es assaz provechoso en ciertas enfermedades.<sup>475</sup>

<sup>471</sup> Cañizares-Esguerra, *Nature, Empire, And Nation*, 19. During the 1980s, several Portuguese scholars had already drawn the attention to the interconnection between knowledge production and seafaring practices in Portugal, namely Joaquim Barradas de Carvalho (see Carvalho, *O Renascimento Português [...]*) and Luís Filipe Barreto (see Barreto, *Os Descobrimientos e a Ordem do Saber* and *Caminhos do Saber no Renascimento Português*).

<sup>472</sup> See the diverse contributions in the edited volume by Bleichmar et al., *Science in the Spanish and Portuguese Empires, 1500-1800*; Costa, *Medicine, Trade and Empire: Garcia de Orta’s Colloquies on the Simples and Drugs of India (1563) in Context*.

<sup>473</sup> Cook, *Matters of Exchange*.

<sup>474</sup> About the production of knowledge of the natural world in the Iberian empires, see Cañizares-Esguerra, ‘Iberian Science in the Renaissance: Ignored How Much Longer?’; Cañizares-Esguerra, *Nature, Empire, And Nation*; Brotóns and Eamon, *Más allá de la Leyenda Negra*; Costa, *Medicine, Trade and Empire: Garcia de Orta’s Colloquies on the Simples and Drugs of India (1563) in Context*; Leitão and Sánchez, ‘Too Much to Tell (...)’.

<sup>475</sup> “Da propriedade, e virtudes do unicornio, e donde vem e o mesmo do corno, couro, dente da a[?]ada”. The last word is of very difficult reading, but given the content of the document, it seems to be making reference to “aBada”. BA, Cód. 46-VIII-12, fols. 121-122v.

As deduced from this quotation of the opening of the document, Godinho's text is a dissertation on the medical properties of rhino horns that could not be separated from those attributed to unicorn horns. The confusion between unicorns and rhinos is manifest in Godinho's text, but instead of being evidence of the author's unawareness of the topic, what this document shows is that the nature of the unicorn, as well as of the rhino, was a topic that occupied many sixteenth-century scholars who worked on what we would call today zoology, botany and medicine. After all, for sixteenth-century Europeans, a unicorn was as verisimilar as any other creature from a distant land and, like the rhino or the elephant, it was just another element of "nature's infinite inventiveness and variety".<sup>476</sup>

Godinho was well established at the Portuguese court and he was chosen for Borja's task because he was already an authority on the subject. He had just written a short treatise (a *memorial*) on the "Unicornio o Monocerote" and, from his text, especially from his marginalia, it is obvious that this treatise – today unfortunately lost – was not a late medieval bestiary, but a work of natural philosophy. Indeed, other contemporary European studies on the nature of the unicorn combined, usually, philological analysis with empirical evidence.<sup>477</sup> First, the authority of Classical authors was brought into analysis in order to ascertain the physical characteristics of the animal, then contemporary first-hand observation or information was brought into the equation and, finally, the results of experimentation – to verify whether the former information was real – were discussed. Godinho's *consilium* was certainly no exception, because this is exactly what the author does in the reply to Juan de Borja. At the time as he supports his argument on both erudite references and travel accounts from Asia, Godinho reinforced his opinion with the authority provided by the results of experimentation with different types of horns.

For the purpose of this chapter, Godinho's *consilium* can be analysed in two parts, which more or less corresponds to that hermeneutical-empirical entanglement. On the one hand, there is the more pragmatic side of the reply to Juan de Borja, which aimed at physically distinguishing the horn under discussion from other similar items and to provide the addressee with information about pathologies or conditions against which the horn could be useful. On the other hand, there are the supporting arguments and references that put this text amongst a much larger debate that was occupying several authors during the third quarter of the sixteenth century. This text may not be a treatise, but the medical advice provided by Godinho cannot be separated from the contemporary intellectual debate, which was largely developed around a hermeneutical conundrum.

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<sup>476</sup> Bamforth, 'On Gesner, Marvels and Unicorns', 113–118.

<sup>477</sup> See Pomata and Siraisi, *Historia*.

Let us start with this second point. When referring to the type of horn that had arrived in Lisbon, Godinho writes that “Conrrado” – i.e. Conrad Gessner – states that the animal from which this type of horn was extracted is called “rhynocerotem” by the “Indians”. By making this reference, Godinho shows that he was perfectly aware of one of the founding works of modern zoology, Conrad Gessner’s *Historiæ Animalium* (1551), which is also one of the first works to question the nature of the unicorn and to put it in contrast with the “rhynocerotem”. The main reason for these two creatures to be put together is indebted, amongst other reasons, to the fact they both were thought to have only one horn and because those horns were said to be effective against all types of poison. Nevertheless, the confusion and the debate around them cannot be fully understood if Godinho’s text is not placed amongst a philological question that, after Gessner, became the departure point of most texts about the unicorn and/or the rhino.

The departing point is a very limited group of Classical references, mainly Pliny the Elder, Ælien and Philostratus, in which the existence of a fierce beast with only one horn living somewhere in India is mentioned. However, the extant descriptions of such animal do not match with one another and, to add to the confusion, they do not always use the same term: *asinus Indicus*, *monoceros*, *unicornis*, *rhinoceros* are all used to describe sometimes only one animal, other times different animals. The philological debate of the sixteenth century departs from the analysis of the etymology of these names. Is the *monoceros* from the Greek μονοκέρωσ: *mono* (one) + *keras* (horn), which is later translated to Latin as *unicornis*: *uni* (one) + *cornus* (horn), the same animal as the rhinoceros, from the Greek ρινόκέρωσ: *rino* (nose) + *keras* (horn)? Does the description of the “wild asses” with one horn in Ælien’s and Philostratus’ work also correspond to a *monoceros*? Given the difficulty of answering these questions, some scholars looked for help in the bible, but the different translations from original texts were not consistent either. In Saint Jerome’s Vulgate, for instance, *monoceros* was translated into *unicornis* in some verses, while in others it became *rhinoceros*.<sup>478</sup> Most sixteenth-century scholars recognise such confusion between the *monoceros*/unicorn and the rhinoceros, but there is general agreement that they are two different animals. However, the continuous necessity to distinguish the two creatures, which lasted well up to the seventeenth century, suggests that great confusion about the nature of both the unicorn and the rhino persisted.

As the unicorn became a riddle without solution, more and more scholars tried to clarify what a *monoceros* and a rhino really were. From the 1550s onwards, and especially after Gessner’s work, the interest on the topic did not seem to stop: Paolo Giovio (1550 and 1552), Amatus Lusitanis (1553), Pierre Belon (1553), Conrad Gessner again in 1554, Andres Laguna (1555), Piero Valeriano

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<sup>478</sup> Covarrubias Orozco, *Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana o Española, o Española*, 112–113.

(1556), Nicolas de Monardes (1565), Andrea Marini (1566), Andrea Bacci (1573), Ambroise Paré (1582), Francisco Velez (1593 and 1613) and Edward Topsell (1607) are but a few names of the participants in this discussion.<sup>479</sup> The reason for this growing interest on the unicorn lies not only on a philological or on a zoological interest, but also, and mainly, on a medical question.

In part, interest had been raised because Classical authors had mentioned the prophylactic benefits of the horn of a creature living in “India”. In the *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* (ca. 40-ca. 120 AD), Philostratus mentions the existence of “wild asses” in India with a horn on the forehead, from which the Indians used to make cups,

[...] for they declare that no one can ever fall sick on the day on which he has drunk out of it, nor will any one who has done so be the worse for being wounded, and he will be able to pass through fire unscathed, and he is even immune from poisonous draughts.<sup>480</sup>

This description also seemed to correspond to Aelian’s texts written after the account of Ctesias (fifth century BC) who stated that “whoever drinks out of this horn is protected against all incurable diseases” and could not “be cut off by poison”.<sup>481</sup>

With this information registered by Classical authors, and after the arrival of the first rhino in Europe since Antiquity in 1515, it did not take long for sixteenth century scholars to start associating the horn of those “wild asses” with that of the rhino.<sup>482</sup> Although this animal’s physical features did not fit with Classical texts, the properties of the horn seemed to be validated by information that was sporadically arriving from Asia in small amounts. The fragmented, and sometimes cryptic, information about both the rhinoceros and its horn contributed to feed the scholarly debate.

## Empirical knowledge

As most of his contemporaries, Godinho did observe Classical texts, as the scattered references through the marginalia to Aristotle, Appian, Strabo and Martial confirm. Nonetheless, being a medical doctor in Lisbon, the main European entrance gate of rhino horns during the whole

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<sup>479</sup> Iovii, *Historiarum Sui Temporis*; Lusitanus, *In Dioscoridis Anazarbei de Medica Materia Libros Quinque E Narrationes Eruditissimae*; Belon du Mans, *Les Observations de Phisiers Singlaritez (...)*; Gesner, *Appendix Historiae Quadrupedum Uniparorum & Oviparorum*; Laguna, *Pedacio Dioscorides Anazarbeo (...)*; Valerianus, *Hieroglyphica Sive de Sacris Aegyptiorum Literis Commentarii*; Monardes, *Dos Libros (...)*; Marini, *Discorso Contra La Falsa Opinione dell’Alicorno*; Bacci, *L’Alicorno. Discorso Dell’eccellente Medico et Filoso M. Andrea Bacci Nel Quale so Tratta Della Natura dell’Alicorno, & Delle Sue Virtù Eccellentissime*; Paré, ‘De La Licorne’; Velez de Arciniega, *Pharmacopoei, de Simplicium Medicamentorum Collectione (...)*; Velez de Arciniega, *Historia de Los Animales (...)*; Topsell, *The History of Four-Footed Beasts and Serpents*.

<sup>480</sup> Philostratus, *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana* (...), vol. I, 235.

<sup>481</sup> Aelianus, ‘Fragment XXV’, 54.

<sup>482</sup> After the fall of the Roman Empire, the first recorded rhinoceros to have been brought to Europe was the one that King Manuel I of Portugal received from Goa in 1515.



sixteenth century, Jorge Godinho had the advantage of having access to a range of information that his contemporaries in Central Europe did not. To be more precise, Godinho had direct access to different types of horns and to updated information about the natural habitat of the creatures from which they had been removed. It is this empirical knowledge that forms the core of the reply to Juan de Borja's request. This part of the text also distinguishes Godinho from other scholars in Europe at the time.<sup>483</sup>

In this more pragmatic part of the *consilium*, Godinho shows his capacity to categorise rhino horns according to their morphology and provenance. Thereby, he distinguishes the horns from the Southeast coast of Africa, “antre o cabo das correntes e de boa esperança”, from those from Gujarat (*Cambaia*) (which could also be from Bengal or Patane), in the North of the Indian subcontinent. This is significant because the distinction reveals that Godinho was aware that horns did not all come from the same animal species. Those from the African coast had long been arriving in Portugal and they were black, brown or grey and between three and four spans long. They were extracted from an animal known locally as “Gandara”.<sup>484</sup> Godinho does not hesitate in identifying it as the Unicorn or *Monocerote* – the source of all horns that had been consumed in Portugal and the subject of the treatise that he had already written. Contrastingly, those from the Indian subcontinent were only one span long, yellow as wax, very glossy and their presence in Lisbon was much more recent.<sup>485</sup> These were extracted from an animal in *Cambaia* called locally as “Bada”, which Godinho identifies as rhinoceros. Godinho is, thus, very conscious of a difference between African and Indian horns, unlike his contemporaries.<sup>486</sup>

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<sup>483</sup> A useful contribution about the production of science from empirical evidence and experimentation in Iberian empires is Barrera-Osorio, ‘Knowledge and Empiricism in the Sixteenth-Century Spanish Atlantic World’. Nonetheless, there is a large list of historiographical texts that have addressed the production and circulation of knowledge in early modern Iberian empires, especially in regards to the uses of exotic drugs. See, for instance: Andrade, ‘Drogas Do Oriente’; Boxer, ‘A Note on the Interaction of Portuguese and Chinese Medicine in Macao and Peking (16th-18th Centuries)’; Županov, ‘Drugs, Health, Bodies and Souls in the Tropics: Medical Experiments in Sixteenth-Century Portuguese India’; Županov, ‘Conversion, Illness and Possession: Catholic Missionary Healing in Early Modern South Asia’, Abril 2005; Cañizares-Esguerra, *Nature, Empire, And Nation*; Županov, ‘Conversion, Illness and Possession: Catholic Missionary Healing in Early Modern South Asia’, 2008; Bleichmar et al., *Science in the Spanish and Portuguese Empires, 1500-1800*; Cook and Walker, ‘Circulation of Medicine in the Early Modern Atlantic World’; Walker, ‘The Medicines Trade in the Portuguese Atlantic World: Acquisition and Dissemination of Healing Knowledge from Brazil (c. 1580–1800)’; Andrade, Mora, and Torrão, *Humanismo e ciência*; Costa, *Medicine, Trade and Empire: Garcia de Orta's Colloquies on the Simples and Drugs of India (1563) in Context*; Černá, ‘A Powerful Antidote, a Strange Camel and Turkish Pepper: Iberian Science, the Discovery of the New World and the Early Modern Czech Lands’.

<sup>484</sup> “Muchos años y muchos tienpos ha que de las partes de la India que se dize antre o cabo das correntes e de boa esperança nos traen a Portugal unos cuernos negros y pardos y cinzientos y de varios colores. largos de dos tres quatro palmos y mas gruessos en la raiz mui agudos de punta los quales dizen que son de unos animales que en aquella region andan en tierra a la marina y en su lengua de los indios dizen que se lhaman Gandaras”. BA, Cód. 46-VIII-12, f. 121.

<sup>485</sup> BA, Cód. 46-VIII-12, ff. 121r-121v.

<sup>486</sup> As a matter of fact, one of the main differences between these two groups is that African rhinos (which include both black and white rhinos) are double-horned, but the distinction was not made after the number of horns of each species, but by the direct observation of the type of horns that Godinho had access to.

Once having settled the difference between horns (and animal species), Godinho then moves into explaining what he knows about the second type of horns – those that were sent from North India. Since there was very little information on which he could rely, Godinho calls for the help of contemporary accounts of individuals who had been in Asia to ascertain the properties of those horns. Most noteworthy is his reference to Frey Gaspar da Cruz's *Tractado em que se co[n]tam muito por este[n]so as cousas da China*, published in Évora (1569-70).<sup>487</sup> Since this was the most updated account on Asia, Godinho strongly relied on it in his reply to Juan de Borja and wrote to his addressee that Gaspar da Cruz had mentioned the existence in “India” of an animal called *Bada* with only one horn. However, according to Frey Gaspar da Cruz, this horn had no other medical use apart from aiding against haemorrhoids.<sup>488</sup>

This scepticism about the effects against poison is also recorded by Garcia da Orta, but in a slightly different way. In his *Coloquios* (Goa, 1563; Latin version: Antwerp, 1567), Orta also mentions that rhino horn was used as a cup against poison (“para a peçonha”) in Bengal, but he is sceptic about the efficacy of the horn, not because horns do not have any power against poison (as Ambroise Paré would defend almost two decades later), but because the locals mistake rhino horn for the true unicorn horn: “[...] eu não vi algum rinocerote, mas sey que os de Bengala usan do corno para a peçonha, cuidando ser o unicorneo; mas ele não o he, segundo a entençam dos que bem o sabem”.<sup>489</sup>

By referring to the effectiveness of horns against haemorrhoids, Godinho seems to give pride of place to the account of Gaspar da Cruz. However, like Garcia da Orta, Godinho is also not able to deny the existence of horns that could be effective against poison and, thus, he writes down in his *consilium* to Juan de Borja that it is said that the horn could be ground and poured into water or wine to dissolve poison.<sup>490</sup>

The fact that both Orta and Godinho were resistant to accept the uselessness of rhino horns is comprehensible because there were simply too many textual references and empirical accounts to discard the power of the horn straight away. Actually, the “virtue” of the unicorn horn was only starting to be questioned at about the same time as Godinho wrote his *consilium*. Not even a decade had passed since Andrea Marini (1566) had written the first ever treatise against the supposed

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<sup>487</sup> “como ha poquos annos que se trae este cuerno no ay escrito del cosa que sea notable, solamente andado con curiosidad buscando algo en las historias de india [...] y en una breve relacion de la china”, BA, Cód. 46-VIII-12, f. 121v.

<sup>488</sup> “mas nam tem virtude, se nam he para almorreimas” Cruz, *Tractado Em Que Se Cõtam Muito Por Estêso as Cousas Da China (...)*, f. 9v.

<sup>489</sup> Orta, *Coloquios Dos Simples E Drogas Da India*, vol. II, 75.

<sup>490</sup> BA, Cód. 46-VIII-12, 122.

potential of the unicorn horn.<sup>491</sup> Andrea Bacci and Ambroise Paré supported that point some years later, 1573 and 1582, but Godinho probably never had the chance to read these works. Besides, the accounts arriving from the natural habitat of the creatures from which the horns were removed were constantly challenging the most sceptical views in Europe. Indeed, almost two decades after Godinho's text, the always very critical Jan Huygen van Linschoten (1563-1611) still recognised the prophylactic properties of rhino horns. In his *Itinerario* (1596), he tells that:

[...] in Bengala are found great number of the beast, which in Latine are called Rhinocertes, and of the Portingalles Abadas, whose horne, teeth, flesh, blood, clawes, and whatsoever he hath, both without and within [his bodie], is good against poison, and is much accounted of throughout all India.<sup>492</sup>

So pervasive was this view that in 1619, during a visit of Philip III to Lisbon, the Jesuits put on a play at the *Colégio de Santo Antão* during the course of which a personification of Bengal symbolically offered a medical rhino horn to the king – “vn medicinal cuerno de bada”.<sup>493</sup> The persistence of this view is not surprising, since there were also other actors in this story who were interested in stimulating that belief.

## Merchants and dealers

Merchants and dealers had in the rhino horns an interesting source for obtaining high profit. The great prophylactic properties attributed to the horn of the unicorn fed a continuous demand for this item, especially because a clear distinction between the unicorn and other more tangible beasts was not yet firmly established. In short, what was actually a unicorn horn was open for interpretation.<sup>494</sup> This allowed the rhino horns market to flourish; a market that benefited from the very high prices for which the items could be traded.

The demand sustained the price of rhino horns that made them to be sold as luxury items. In his definition of the *Bada* (i.e. the rhinoceros), Covarrubias included a reference to the horn in which he specifically mentioned the cost as a describing feature:

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<sup>491</sup> Marini, *Discorso Contra La Falsa Opinione dell'Alicorno*, 7.

<sup>492</sup> Linschoten, *The Voyage of John Huygen van Linschoten to the East Indies*, vol. I:96.

<sup>493</sup> Mimoso, *Relación de La Real Tragicomedia (...)*.

<sup>494</sup> In the *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* (ca. 40-ca. 120 AD), Philostratus mentions the existence of “wild asses” in “India”, with a horn on the forehead, from which the Indians used to make cups “for they declare that no one can ever fall sick on the day on which he has drunk out of it (...) and he is even immune from poisonous draughts”, in Philostratus, *The Life (...)*, vol. I, p. 235. Aelian's text that followed the account of Ctesias (fifth century BC) also claimed that this horn “protected against all incurable diseases” and poison, in Aelianus, “Fragment XXV”, 54.

El cuerno del rinocerote dizen tiene virtud contra el veneno, como el del vnicornio: y los vasos que se hazen dél, **se estiman en mucho precio**.<sup>495</sup>

Precisely the price that some clients were willing to pay for unicorn horns instigated Andrea Marini to write his *Discorso contra la falsa opinione dell'Alicorno* (1566). The aim was to defend the interest of princes exploited by “mercantanti astute [che] hanno hauuto campo d'ingannargli”.<sup>496</sup> Despite scholar contributions to clarify the efficacy of horns – amongst which Godinho's *consilium* is a perfect example –, it seems that the market kept being fed with horns consciously recognised as counterfeit by their suppliers. In 1613, Francisco Velez de Arcinega, the apothecary of the archbishop of Toledo, revealed that:

algunos boticarios tiene[n] en sus boticas cuernos de Rhinocerotes **para hazer con ellos ostentacion al vulgo, y engañarle**, diciendo, son de Vnicornios verdaderos, mas no lo son, [...] ni tienen mas prouecho y virtudes que los demás cuernos.<sup>497</sup>

Commercial interests were then feeding the market, not only by exploiting the stories about the properties of the horns, but also by introducing items sold as the “true ones”. The consequences of such actions were largely recognised, even if merchants were not as directly blamed as Marini and Velez. Already in the mid-sixteenth century, Garcia da Orta adverted that in Bengal rhino horn cups were used because they were believed to be made from the true unicorn horn, but only experts would identify the difference.<sup>498</sup>

Jorge Godinho was also perfectly aware of this situation. As early as the 1550s, in a letter to a certain Portuguese physician called Francisco Godinho, he informed that common people (*vulgijs*) often bought a type of deer antler thinking they were buying unicorn horn.<sup>499</sup> The activity of merchants and dealers cannot hence be separated neither from the motivation for consumption nor from the production of knowledge.<sup>500</sup> Indeed, what this letter to Francisco Godinho, together with Marini's, illustrates is that the trade of horns – or better said the exploitation of the demand for such a product – was behind the production of knowledge.

It was the concern for the quality of the investment within a market flooded with false stories and “counterfeit” items that led Juan de Borja to ask for an informed opinion to the royal physician at the Portuguese court. An opinion that was not fully formed, for the *consilium* that has survived is not a clearly written text made by someone who had completed research on the subject. Instead, the *consilium* is to be better looked at as a work-in-progress in which the author puts together all

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<sup>495</sup> My emphasis. Covarrubias Orozco, *Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana o Española, o Española*, Part I, f. 78v.

<sup>496</sup> Marini, *Discorso Contra La Falsa Opinione dell'Alicorno*, 7.

<sup>497</sup> (my emphasis) Velez de Arcinega, *Historia de Los Animales Mas Recebidos En El Uso de Medicina (...)*, 50.

<sup>498</sup> Orta, *Coloquios Dos Simples E Drogas Da India*, vol. II, 75.

<sup>499</sup> BNP, Cód. 7198, f. 82r.

<sup>500</sup> See Cook, *Matters of Exchange*.

his references and pieces of information that he could gather in order to provide a conclusion. Therefore, the production of knowledge was closely intertwined with the commercial interests of merchants and investment analysis set forth by consumers.

To sum up, it can be declared that merchants and dealers played a significant role in feeding the interest for unicorn horns amongst consumers, which explains the high demand for rhino horns at the turn of the seventeenth century. These private commercial interests sustained the existence of a common belief in the power of unicorn horns as a way of nourishing the profitable trade of rhino horns. Given the high prices that such items could attain, several scholars invested in clarifying the real effectiveness of the products. Nonetheless, with such a widespread practise and interested agents in the persistence of that common belief, the findings of the medical debate would require a long time to be accepted. Besides, the consumption of rhino horns was part of a much larger system of common belief that encompassed many other materials from overseas. The following section shows precisely how rhino horns were integrated in the consumption habits of early modern aristocratic consumers from Madrid.

## 4.2. Keeping rhino horns for their power

One of the most striking aspects of Juan de Borja's probate inventory is a section entitled "Cuernos de bada" – i.e. rhino horns.<sup>501</sup> No other inventory in the sample used for this thesis has such a category, nor lists more than one item when rhino horns are mentioned. Juan de Borja, however, left five rhino horns – one dark and large, another white and tall, and three smaller ones –, a gourd made of rhino horn and a pot (*olla*) made from the same material. Such particularity is an excellent departing point to question the motives for acquiring these materials at the Hispanic court at the turn of the seventeenth century.

Historiography has hitherto highlighted the *exotic* allure of rhino horns, but I challenge that interpretation in this section. The difficulty of accessing them or the fact that some horns are today mounted on elaborated stands has been interpreted as evidence that the desire for social manifestation was the major driving force (see **Image 4.2**).<sup>502</sup> Rather than attempting to deny this claim, I prefer to demonstrate that the context in which rhino horns are mentioned in probate

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<sup>501</sup> "Bada" and "abada" are both used, in Castilian and Portuguese, to refer to the rhinoceros.

<sup>502</sup> See, for instance: Jordan Gschwend, 'A Masterpiece of Indo-Portuguese Art (...); Mosco, 'The Medici and the Allure of the Exotic'; Crespo, *A Mesa Do Príncipe. Jantar E Cear Na Corte de Lisboa (1500-1700): (...)*.



**Image 4.2 – Drinking vessel**

Goa or Lisbon, Late 16th century

Rhinoceros horn and gilded silver, h. 20.9 cm

Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, Kunstkammer, 3732

inventories offers clues for alternative and better-supported interpretations. To achieve this, I analyse the interior organisation of the inventories and I make a survey of all references to exotic materials across the inventories in the sample in order to reveal a pattern for the consumption of rhino horns. Given the confusion between rhino and unicorn horns, the analysis is centred on both these items. The section is, hence, organised in two parts. First, I present the results of this survey to reveal that the consumption of rhino horns cannot be separated from the consumption of materials that were considered as *materia medica*. Second, since the survey reveals that *materia medica* was to be found mostly amongst female consumers, I discuss the role of women in healing practises and I provide a reading for the consumption of rhino and unicorn horns across the sample beyond the argument for social manifestation. An interpretation to explain why Juan de Borja had a whole section dedicated to rhino horns will be left for the third and final section of this chapter.

## Materia medica

Attempting to make sense of the significance of rhino horns for early modern consumers by simply using inventories can be problematic. As in most documents of this kind produced in Madrid at the turn of the seventeenth century, Juan de Borja's probate inventory does not provide sufficient information about the objects to understand their use by the consumer nor their place within the domestic space. It is hence almost impossible to attempt to identify the horns mentioned in the inventory of Juan de Borja with the carved cups with gilt-silver mounts such as the one depicted above. Even when considering the context of the records in the inventory, the information that can be extracted is very limited. In Borja's case, the horns are preceded by a bronze brazier and several boxes of forks and knives, and followed by an ivory and walnut box ("bote de marfil"), a painted nautilus ("caracol de nacar pintado") and several logs and boards of ebony. The apparent impossibility of making sense of this information demands, thus, an alternative approach. For this case, Borja's rhino horns must be put in context with other contemporary inventories.

Amongst the sample of inventories that I decided to use for this thesis, there are four other cases recording rhino horns (see **Table 4.1**).<sup>503</sup> Maria de Aragón (†1593) had "un baso de cuerno de bada, con un pie de oro esmaltado", Juan de la Cerda, Duke of Medinaceli, (†1607) had "un vasito de querno de la havahada", Leonor de Portugal, Marquise of Xelbes, (†1618) had "un Barquillo de la yndia gordo labrado de figuras de sierpes de cuerno de la Bada" and in the inventory of Francisco Enriquez, Count of Nieva, (†1618) there were two "vaso[s] de cuerno abada" in the care of his wife, the countess. In these inventories rhino horns are listed amongst silverware (Maria de Aragón and Leonor de Portugal), jewels (Maria de Aragón, Juan de la Cerda and the Countess of Nieva) or glass objects (Juan de la Cerda and the Countess of Nieva).<sup>504</sup> Given the recurrent confusion between the rhinoceros (*bada*) and the unicorn, other references to unicorn horns should also be considered.

There are nine cases where unicorn appear (see **Table 4.1**). In most of them, unicorn horn is mentioned as the material of drinking vessels. Ana de Toledo y Colona had "vna copa de alicornio"; Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba a "baso grande forado que llaman de licorno", Guiomar Pardo y Tavera "un basitto redondo pequeño de unicornio" and a couple of spoons made in the same material, Martin de Padreda had "un baso de onicornio con dos asas", Luis Enriquez left "un basso de vnicornio guarnecido de horo", Leonor de Portugal "un Basso de vnicornio liso sin guarnizion metido en una caxuela" and the Count of Nieva had "un baso de ynicornio con su pie de plata",

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<sup>503</sup> See Chapter 2.

<sup>504</sup> AHPM, Prot. 1578, f. 159; Prot. 2001, f. 1480v; Prot. 3976, f. 202v; Prot. 4442, f. 67.

	P1578	P1810-3a	P2322	P3976	P4442*	P2001	P2029-3	P2323	P2626	P3485	P590
Cuerno de Abada	X			X	X	X			X		
Unicornio	X	X	X	X	X		X	X		X	X
Ebano	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Marfil	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Jaspe	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Nácar	X	X	X	X		X	X	X		X	
Perla	X	X	X	X	X	X					X
Pita		X	X	X	X		X	X		X	
Coco	X	X		X	X				X	X	
Coral	X	X	X	X	X					X	
Jade ( <i>pedra de la hijada</i> )	X	X	X		X	X				X	
Piedra bezoar	X	X	X		X	X		X			
Plumas			X		X	X	X			X	
Porcelana	X	X	X	X						X	
Uña de la <i>gran bestia</i>	X		X		X	X					X
Benjuí	X	X	X		X						
Concha de tortuga			X	X	X					X	
Pastilla	X	X	X		X						
Algalia		X	X		X						

	P1578	P1810-3a	P2322	P3976	P4442*	P2001	P2029-3	P2323	P2626	P3485	P590
Calambuø			X	X					X		
Caoba			X			X	X				
Piedra de la aguila			X	X						X	
Almizde		X								X	
Anime	X	X									
Lapislázuli				X		X					
Madera de Indias									X	X	
Madera de la India			X						X		
Palo Santo			X				X				
Rosa de Jericó	X		X								
Balsamo										X	
Buzio			X								
Gato de Algalia									X		
Madera de Brasil									X		
Palo de la aguila			X								
Vicuña										X	
Cedro de La Havana											
Cocobolo											
Granadillo											

**Table 4.3 – Non-European materials according to consumers of rhino or unicorn horns\***  
(Coloured cells correspond to materials that are mentioned, at least, in half of the inventories per gender)

which was, like the rhino horn, in the care of his wife. In regards to the context in which these items are listed, three broad groups can be recognised. Either unicorn was mentioned amongst drinking vessels, silver or tableware (Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba, Martin de Padreda, Luis Enríquez, Leonor de Portugal and the Countess of Nieva), inside fall-front cabinets (Ana de Toledo y Colona, Guiomar Pardo y Tavera), or amongst jewels (Maria de Aragón and Juan Lorenzo de Castilla).<sup>505</sup>

In the case of Juan de Borja, the inventory neither mentions rhino horns amongst silverware inside cabinets, nor does it reveal any particular mounting, such as the one with an enamelled golden foot owned by Maria de Aragón. It is hard to establish a direct connection between Borja's rhino horns and similar objects owned by other individuals. Nonetheless, there is a gender differentiation amongst the consumers that can shed some light on the subject. **Table 4.1** shows the consumption of exotic materials by the eleven individuals who were said to have either rhino or unicorn horns amongst their possessions.<sup>506</sup> The table is organised by gender and by amount of references to exotic materials.

<sup>505</sup> AHPM Prot. 590, f. 1364; Prot. 1578, f. 159v; Prot. 1810-3, f. 1344; Prot. 2029-3, f. 1653; Prot. 2322. ff. 17v, 18v, 19v, 22v; Prot. 2323, f. 398; Prot. 3485, f. 676; Prot. 3976, f. 202v; Prot. 4442, f. 66v.

<sup>506</sup> For a discussion about the criteria for the selection of these materials as non-European, see Chapter 1.

\* - The inventory of the Count of Nieva (Prot. 4442) is considered on the female side, because most of the references to exotic materials were listed as either belonging to, or being in the care of, the Countess.



	Prot. 2322	Prot. 4442*	Prot. 1578	Prot. 1810-3a	Prot. 2021c	Prot. 1810-3	Prot. 1006	Prot. 2662	Prot. 3976	Prot. 3485	Prot. 2021b	Prot. 2001	Prot. 2678	Prot. 2284	Prot. 2022	Prot. 2661	Prot. 2665	Prot. 2654b	Prot. 2626	Prot. 3146	Prot. 2323	Prot. 2323b	Prot. 2029-3	Prot. 590	Prot. 2176	Prot. 2026b	Prot. 2679a	Prot. 2026	Prot. 2031	Prot. 2679b	Prot. 989	Prot. 989b	Prot. 932	Prot. 2654	Prot. 2298	Prot. 2021	Prot. 2029	Prot. 2032	Prot. 2035	Prot. 2040a	Prot. 2040b							
Rhinoceros hom		X	X					X			X								X																													
Unicorn	X	X	X	X				X	X											X		X	X																									
Nácar	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X		X	X																						
Perla	X	X	X	X	X	X		X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X		X	X																							
Pita	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			X	X	X	X				X																					
Coco	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X		X		X	X	X	X	X																		
Coral	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X				X	X	X	X			X						X		X	X					X														
Jade ( <i>piedra de la hijada</i> )	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			X	X																																					
Piedra bezoar	X	X	X	X	X	X	X				X	X	X	X		X					X						X		X																			
Plumas	X	X			X		X		X	X	X							X						X																								
Porcelana	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X					X																													
Uña de la <i>gran bestia</i>	X	X	X	X	X	X					X													X																								
Benjuí	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			X				X																																		
Concha de tortuga	X	X		X		X	X	X	X	X		X		X		X							X				X																					
Pastilla	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			X	X	X																																				
Algalia	X	X	X	X	X	X	X						X	X																																		
TOTAL EXOTIC ITEMS	15	14	12	12	12	10	10	9	9	9	8	7	7	6	6	5	5	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	3	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			

□ Female      ■ Male

**Table 4.4 – Non-European materials according to consumers (only selected group of items)**

With this systematisation, it is made clear that amongst female consumers certain non-European substances tend to be mentioned together. When analysing the data, if we exclude ebony, ivory and jasper – because they are practically ubiquitous within the sample –, the overview of the inventories reveals that when rhino/unicorn horns are mentioned, mother-of-pearl, pearls, pita thread, coconut shells, coral, jade, bezoar stones, porcelain, benzoin resin and *pastillas* are also mentioned. To this group, feathers, nail of the *great beast*, tortoiseshell and civet musk can also be added due to their high recurrence. Therefore, rhino and unicorn horns may appear across the sample, but in female inventories, they seem to be part of a set.

The female predominance over this set of materials becomes even more evident when we analyse the recurrence of this restricted group of sixteen non-European materials in all inventories of the sample (**Table 4.2**). Female consumers possess an average of 9 out of 16 materials, whereas amongst male consumers that average is of 3 out of 16. The numbers also show that 8 out of 14 women possess more than 50% of this group of materials (the top five consumers are Guiomar Pardo y Tavera with 15 out of 16, the Countess of Nieva with 14, Maria de Aragon, Ana de Toledo y Colona and Juana de Aragón y Colonna with 12), while amongst male consumers there are only two individuals who possess more than half of these items (Diego Fernández with 10 and Luis Enríquez with 9 of these materials).<sup>507</sup>

<sup>507</sup> The case of Juan de la Cerda is problematic and could actually contribute to reinforce the gender distinction. In the inventory of Juan de la Cerda's mother-in-law, Ana de Toledo y Colona (†1596), AHPM, Prot. 1810-3a, ff. 1291v-

The questions that must be asked at this point are: why are there certain materials that are often mentioned together? In addition, why is there an almost female exclusiveness in consuming those materials? Some light may be shed on these questions when considering the context in which these materials were listed. One interesting observation about female consumers is that these materials were often kept inside cabinets and chests.

In Maria de Aragón's inventory (1593), for example, after listing the silver, we find three fall-front cabinets and a chest followed by a list of what I assume to be their contents: jewels, glass objects, a nautilus ("un caracol de madre perla guarneçido de plata dorada con su caja"), more jewels, a reliquary, the aforementioned cup made of rhino horn, more jewels, a small bit of unicorn ("un poquito de unicornio"), scented water ("agua de olor"), textiles, and liturgical objects. Further ahead in the inventory, we find rosaries, bezoar stones, jasper ("piedras de restañar sangre"), jade ("piedra de la ijada"), a rosary against melancholia (possibly made of jet), a piece of coconut shell, one rose of Jericho, fragments of benzoin resin and amber amongst textiles, followed by other chests and cabinets, a nail of the *gran bestia* and, finally, in the kitchen, copal resin ("anime") and *pastillas*.<sup>508</sup>

The inventory of the VII Countess of Nieva included amongst the things of her husband (1618) begins by listing textiles, which are followed by a little chest from Germany. Inside this chest there were benzoin resin, *pastillas* and civet musk ("olores diferentes que son menjui pastilla y un bidrito con algalia"). Afterwards, one cabinet, mentioned amongst boxes from India, holds two jasper stones, while others hold coins, one cup made of unicorn ("un baso de unicornio con su pie de plata"), glass vessels, two cups made of rhinoceros horn, coral, a book of hours, jade ("una mascara de piedra de yjada"), two more devotional books, more coral, a nail of the *gran bestia* ("un casco de una uña p<sup>a</sup> el curason") and several bezoar stones.<sup>509</sup>

We can also include in this list the case of Guiomar Pardo y Tavera (1620), the wife of the consumer about whom Bouza wrote the text at the beginning of this chapter. In this inventory, objects are specified by chest and cabinet. Inside the cabinet numbered 423, the inventory officer found a flask of jet, a spoon of unicorn, jade ("una piedra para el mal de olor de la yjada") and a

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1348v, there is a section entitled "Cossas que estauan en los escriptorios que mi sa m[an]do a mi sa dona A[ntonia] su hija". However, the "cossas" (i.e. things) sent to her daughter, Antonia de Toledo, are not to be found in the latter's inventory (1625), in AHPM, Prot. 2040a. However, the inventory of Juan de la Cerda (1607), in AHPM; Prot. 2001, has many of the same materials. Is it possible that the things that Ana de Toledo sent to her daughter were listed not in the latter's inventory, but in that of her husband? This could explain why the inventory of Juan de la Cerda seems to be closer to the "female pattern" while his wife's inventory, Antonia de Toledo (Prot. 2040a), does not register any material of the set that I am analysing in these pages.

<sup>508</sup> AHPM, Prot. 1578.

<sup>509</sup> AHPM, Prot. 4442, f. 59 onwards.

small portion of nail of the *gran bestia*.<sup>510</sup> Furthermore, in the cabinet numbered 287, there were counterfeit bezoar stones, a small portion of nail of the great beast, a rosary and four threads of jasper beads (“quentas de sangre”), a coconut shell of high quality balsam (“de balsamo muy bueno”), and unicorn scraps (“raspas de unicornio”). Inside the cabinet 436, there is a rose of Jericho (“para quando esten la mugeres de parto”). Finally, there is a reference to a mortar.<sup>511</sup>

This brief overview of how this set of non-European materials is mentioned in inventories also allows for considering a medical potential. Indeed, there are references of materials for the pain of the side (“para el mal de olor de la yjada”), for the heart (“p<sup>a</sup> el curason”), to stop haemorrhages (“de restañar sangre”), for when women are about to give birth (“para quando esten la mugeres de parto”), for melancholia (“para la melancolia”). Moreover, it can be added that, although not specified, some of the materials are known for having been attributed with certain prophylactic proprieties, such as the nail of the *great beast*, bezoar stones and, of course, rhino and unicorn horns.<sup>512</sup> The recurrence of these references require that special attention is given to the connection between female consumers and materials with prophylactic, pharmacological and/or thaumaturgical proprieties.

## A women's thing?

The fact that rhino horns are connected to other materials that are said to possess medical properties stands for the need to investigate the relationship between prophylactic and thaumaturgical materials and their consumers. The fact that those substances tend to appear, primarily, amongst female consumers confirms that the medical aspect of the items should be given pride of place. Indeed, the role that women played in early modern domestic healing practises can explain why rhino horns are to be better understood amongst the history of medicine, rather than in the field of *Kunst-* and *Wunderkammern* history.

Studies on the role of women in healthcare, both as receivers and practitioners, have received greater attention since the publication of a groundbreaking article by Monica Green in 1989.<sup>513</sup> More recently, other scholars, such as Mary Fissell and Monserrat Cabré, have developed this field of research and have demonstrated that the participation of women in medical practises was far

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<sup>510</sup> AHPM, Prot. 2322, f. 22v.

<sup>511</sup> AHPM, Prot. 2322, f. 17.

<sup>512</sup> On nails of the *great beast*, see Brooks, ‘The Nail of the Great Beast’. On bezoar stones: Alves, ‘A pedra-bezoar - realidade e mito em torno de um antídoto (séculos XVI e XVII)’; Borschberg, ‘The Euro-Asian Trade in Bezoar Stones (Approx. 1500-1700)’.

<sup>513</sup> Green, ‘Women’s Medical Practice and Health Care in Medieval Europe’.

greater and widespread than just midwives or caretakers. During the late middle ages and the early modern period, women acted as healers, of both the male and the female body, they authored medical treatments, and they were responsible for the management and administration of treatments within the domestic space.

The overlapping of other domestic practises, such as cooking or the preparation of cosmetics, with medical practises has led Mary Fissell to summarise conveniently the scope of the activity of women as medical practitioners with the concept of “bodywork”. Maria de Los Ángeles Pérez Samper had already, during the 1990s, drawn attention to the entanglement of what today is considered medical care with other practises. However, Fissell suggests that we “investigate the relationship between the work we consider medicine and the broader category of attending to the human body”, which demanded the attention of a variety of skills that could be as large as to include “laundresses, barbers, bathhouse-keepers, domestic servants, and of course, physicians [for the healthy body]”, as well as “surgeons, apothecaries, bonesetters, oculists, dentists, physicians, and a host of others” for “the ailing body”.<sup>514</sup> All these individuals had a role to play in guaranteeing that the six non-naturals could be perfectly balanced, as defended by Hippocrates and Galen, whose theories on healthcare were virtually unanimously accepted in early modern Europe.

Correspondingly, women played a role in diverse healthcare practises in order to guarantee that balance. Monserrat Cabré stated that “in the medieval West, notions of health – of how to maintain it or restore it – were not restricted to the absence of illness but were concerned with an ampler sense of well-being”.<sup>515</sup> Thus, “from the confection of perfumed waters, oils, and incenses to change the smell of the surrounding air, to the preservation and cooking of all kinds of foods, household recipes attest to the basic everyday management of the six non-naturals as well as close attention to the body and its well-being”.<sup>516</sup> It is within this context that many of the non-European substances in the inventories have to be integrated, such as civet musk, benzoin resin and balsam. Although regarded today as raw materials for cosmetics, these substances are mentioned amongst others that have a medical purpose, such as jades, roses of Jericho or even the antidotal bezoar stones. This close connection is not only to be found within the drawers of the fall-front cabinets pertaining to these women, but also in contemporary recipe books.

In one of the compendia of recipes designed for women, the *Manual de mujeres en el cual se contienen muchas y diversas recetas muy buenas*, which circulated at the turn of the seventeenth century, some of

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<sup>514</sup> Fissell, ‘Introduction: Women, Health and Healing in Early Modern Europe’, 5.

<sup>515</sup> Cabré, ‘Women or Healers? Household Practices and the Categoris of Health Care in Late Medieval Iberia’, 36–37.

<sup>516</sup> Cabré, ‘Women or Healers? Household Practices and the Categoris of Health Care in Late Medieval Iberia’, 36–37.

the materials kept by Maria de Aragón, Guiomar Pardo and the Countess of Nieva were required to produce a significant number of odoriferous substances, medicines, toothpastes or even dyes for coifs.<sup>517</sup> As an example, for a certain toothpaste, it was required to grind together five ounces of alabaster, four ounces of porcelain, six ounces of fine sugar, one ounce of white coral, another of cinnamon, one half ounce of small pearls and another of musk. Teeth were then to be cleaned with this powder and rinsed with tepid white wine.<sup>518</sup>

According to Cabré, these recipes targeted mainly women, who were active participants in the transmission of that knowledge.<sup>519</sup> They circulated both in written and oral form, including amongst women from high nobility. As this scholar demonstrates, some high-ranking women had indeed a thorough understanding of recipes and healthcare practises.<sup>520</sup> Caring for the sick was not necessarily a “professional” activity, i.e. when women did it as their main activity; instead, it was, mainly, an activity developed within the domestic space. Therefore, in order to develop caring services at home, women needed to have access to the ingredients prescribed by the recipes. In addition, if relying on the number of recipes with these materials, it seems that some materials were quite common or, at least, accessible.

Rhino horns recipes have not yet been found, but there are recipes in medical treatises that use a material that, as seen above, was so often confused with rhino horns – and that is also to be found within female inventories: the unicorn horn. On his book about the uses of animal substances in medical practise (1613), the apothecary Francisco de Velez de Arciniega presents a recipe on how to prepare unicorn horn in order to take the most of its antidotal proprieties:

Para conseguir las virtudes que del cuerno del Vnicornio se dessean si acaso alguno le alcança a tener, es necessario por ser tan denso, y compacto, antes que se aya de vsar

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<sup>517</sup> In Martínez Crespo, *Manual de Mujeres En El Cual Se Contienen Muchas Y Diversas Reçeutas Muy Buenas*, benzoin resin was an ingredient of: “Caçoleta de olor” (page 38), “almohadillas de rosas” (44), “Pevetes de olor para perfumar” (53), “Pasticas de olor para perfumar” (57), “Pevetes de olor para perfumar” (68), and “Polvillos de olor de Chipre” (76); Civet musk was needed for: “Caçoleta de olor” (38), “almohadillas de rosas” (44), “Pevetes de olor para perfumar” and “Caçoleta de olor para perfumar” (53), “Pasticas de olor para perfumar” (57), “Tinta para tocas leonadas” (58), “Pomas para oler y confortar” (61), “Recetas para aguas olorosas” (64), “Para hazer otra agua almizcada muy oloroda” (65), “Pevetes de olor para perfumar” (68), “Polvillos de olor de Chipre” (76); and coral for: “Polvos para los dientes” (37), “Polvos para secar la lágrimas y aclarar la vista” (39), “Pebetes para los dientes”,(45), “Remedio para no mover” (56), “Polvos para limpiar y encarnar los dientes” and “Receta para hacer unguento cetrino” (75).

<sup>518</sup> Martínez Crespo, *Manual de Mujeres En El Cual Se Contienen Muchas Y Diversas Reçeutas Muy Buenas*, 37.

<sup>519</sup> For a discussion about authorship of early modern recipes and target readers, see Cabré, “Las practicas de la salud en el ámbito doméstico: las recetas como textos de mujeres (s.XIV-XVII).”, 25-41.

<sup>520</sup> Cabré, ‘Women or Healers? Household Practices and the Categoris of Health Care in Late Medieval Iberia’, 40–43. Cabré’s argument, although mainly built from documentation from the medieval period, can also be supported for the early modern period. Not only the contents of the cabinets that we just saw justify the existence of so many pharmacological materials, but also because other sources indicate their activity as healers. In the *Livro de reçeptas de pivetes, pastilhas, e lvas perfimadas y conserbas* (BNE, Mss. 1462, ff.31v-32) there is a recipe of “pastillas q[ue] haze la Condesa de Puñonrostro”. The recipe of this countess, of whom there was also another recipe to make soap, is an example of high-ranking women who carried out practices to ensure the well-being of the body.

del, tenerle preparado: la preparación del qual, y de los demás que tienen virtud contra veneno será esta. Tomarse la cantidad que quisieren, y limandola primero con vna lima subtil, la echaran en vna vasija de vidrio, sobre la qual echaran tanta cãtidad de çumo de Limones, o de Cidra que baste para que se cubra, y meneandola las vezes necessarias con vna espátula ebúrnea, o de alguna madera de materia densa, se dexara estar el dicho çumo hasta tanto que se aya gastado, y adelgazado su poluo: y quando huuiere adquirido subtileza, se echara en vna losa en la qual se molera de la manera que las piedras, o metales, hasta tãto que no se sienta entre los dientes, ni con la lengua el dicho poluo. Quando este desta manera se cogera de la losa, y después de seco se guardara en vn vaso de vidrio [...].<sup>521</sup>

The highly detailed way in which Velez describes the preparation of the unicorn horn reveals that this item was consumed not just as a simple curiosity. Furthermore, inventories testify for its widespread consumption amongst high-ranking women in Madrid as the existence of bits, scraps or cups made of unicorn is often documented. Schematised on **Table 4.5** are Maria de Aragón's "poquito de unicornio guarneçido de plata dorada", Ana de Toledo y Colonna's "copa de alicornio", Guiomar Pardo y Tavera's "dos papeles con raspas de unicornio", "tres cucharas de unicornio" and "basitto redondo pequeño de unicornio" and, finally, Countess of Nieva's "baso de ynicornio con su pie de plata".<sup>522</sup> Again, unicorn is closely linked to the group of substances used within domestic healing practises. The question that must be asked at this point is: how can the consumption of unicorn by women help us understand the consumption of rhino horns by Juan de Borja?

Owner	Item	Section	Ref. AHPM
Maria de Aragón	"un poquito de unicornio guarneçido de plata dorada"		P1578, f. 159v
Ana de Toledo y Colona	"y mas vna copa de alicornio"	"Cossas que estauan en los escriptorios que mi s <sup>a</sup> m[nd]do[?] a mi s <sup>a</sup> dona @[antonio?] su hija"	P1810-3a, f. 1344
Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	"otro baso grande dorado que llaman de licorno pesa un marco y tres onzas y de oro y echura treynta y seis Rs que montan en [...]"	"Reposteria"	P2029-3, f. 1653
Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	"dos papeles con raspas de unicornio"	Dentro del contador 287	P2322, f. 17v
	"dos cucharas de unicornio sin cabos"	Dentro del escritorio 328	P2322, f. 18v
	"basitto redondo pequeño de unicornio"	Dentro del escritorio 356	P2322, f. 19v
	"cuchara de unicornio sin cabo"		P2322, f. 22v
Martin de Padreda	"un baso de onicornio con dos asas"	"Plata dorada"	P2323, f. 398
Luis Enriquez	"un basso de vnicornio guarneçido de horo"	"Plata branca" - Dentro de un cofre	P3485, f.676
Leonor de Portugal	"un Basso de vnicornio liso sin guarnizion metido en ina caxuela de madera y cuero leonado"	"Plata"	P3976, 202v
Francisco Enríquez	"un baso de ynicornio con su pie de plata"	In the care of his wife, the Countess of Nieva	P4442, f. 66v
Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	"1 pedazo de unicornio engarzado quero[?] que baldra tras ducados"	"Joyas de oro"	P590, f. 1354

**Table 4.5 – Unicorn in probate inventories**

<sup>521</sup> Velez de Arciniega, *Historia de Los Animales Mas Recebidos En El Uso de Medicina (...)*, 44–45.

<sup>522</sup> AHPM, Prot. 1578, f. 159v; AHPM, Prot. 1810-3, f. 1344; AHPM, Prot. 2322, ff. 17v, 18v, 22v and 19v; AHPM, Prot. 4442, f. 66v.

The answer lies on the wide-ranging belief on the prophylactic properties of the unicorn/rhino horn. Juan de Borja was not a woman, but as Godinho's *consilium*, the inventories in the sample and the flow of contemporary publications show, unicorn/rhino horn must be understood within the *materia medica* during this period. This does not mean, however, that Juan de Borja was necessarily performing healing practises. What brings Juan de Borja and female consumers together is their common belief in the capacity of materials to transform matter from one stage to another – an ill body into a healthy one, poison into water, etc. It is this belief that eventually would take rhino horns far beyond the intimacy of the domestic space up to the centre of the court ceremonial. Here, at last, Juan de Borja had a role to play.

### 4.3. The power of touch

The previous two sections aimed at demonstrating how rhino horns were, on the one hand, at the centre of a scholarly debate about their medical efficacy and, on the other hand, that they were widely consumed together with *materia medica* while that debate took place. Indeed, the practise of owning rhino horns, as well as bits and scraps of unicorn, was a parallel phenomenon to the flow of publications that came into public view between the moment Juan de Borja consulted Jorge Godinho and the end of the first quarter of the seventeenth century. Merchants and dealers might have played a role for the longevity of such a strong belief in this material, but there was also a common belief in the capacity of materials to transform matter from one stage to another.

In this final section, I look into how that transformation required the senses to occur, in particular the sense of touch. First, I look into some of the materials and objects kept together inside women's fall-front cabinets intended to be used for healing practises. Amongst them were small holy relics that also had a healing purpose, but their effect required the action of the senses. Eventually, I demonstrate that the sense of touch was used for the same reasons. More precisely, touch was needed to liberate the power of the rhino/unicorn horn in a courtly ceremony that Borja might have performed himself as *gentilhombre de la boca*.

#### Smelling and touching for divine assistance

Inventories from Madrid at the turn of the seventeenth century show that *materia medica* kept in

the fall-front cabinets of high-ranking women were often mixed together with objects used for conveying spiritual comfort. Many of these were made of materials that would activate a reaction of the senses, especially touch or smell. Eventually, that could, in certain cases, induce physical healing. Some of the common materials in this category were jet and agarwood, but a word must also be said about holy relics. Apart from reliquaries in oratories, many holy remains of saints were kept in little boxes and jewels within fall-front cabinets. Is there ground to draw a relationship between rhino horns and holy relics?

In order to answer this question, let us start by looking again to the contents of fall-front cabinets mentioned in female inventories. Together with civet musk, jade, unicorn power and other materials for “bodycare” – in Fisher’s words –, Madrid consumers kept several religious images and liturgical objects: images of saints, crucifixes, rosaries, books of hours and holy relics. By being kept there, these objects of private piety demonstrate that “spiritual care” could not be separated from the practises of “bodycare”. On the one hand, materials required divine assistance to be effective – as suggested by an early modern recipe for a beverage to cure madness where the mixture of nettle seeds, white wine, ivy, rue and fennel could only be effective if taken while praying the Lord’s Prayer and the Hail Mary or the Apostles’ Creed. On the other hand, divine intervention required often a material trigger.<sup>523</sup> Rosaries made of beads against melancholia (“un rosario de piedras para la melancolia”) are the perfect departure point for this discussion.

Epitomised by Shakespeare’s Hamlet, melancholy became during the early modern period a term to designate a whole range of medical conditions that somehow comprised emotional disorder and trouble of the mind. For Jeremy Schmidt, melancholy can be seen as “a pattern of thought, mood, and behavior [...] which was determined not only by the condition of the body, but also by the state of the soul”.<sup>524</sup> Melancholy was a serious concern, especially for the courtier. As Felice Gambin noticed, Baldassare Castiglione had stated that melancholy must never be brought into the relationship between courtier and prince. For Castiglione, the melancholic is always miserable, vain and an enemy of illustrious thoughts and, hence, not welcome at the court.<sup>525</sup> The danger of melancholy was such a real fear for the early modern courtier that they sought to protect themselves with proper substances or treatment. Both moral philosophy and religious comfort were seen as valid therapies to restore the mind’s equilibrium.<sup>526</sup>

It is in this light that we should consider rosaries. Used as instruments to keep concentration while

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<sup>523</sup> BNE, Mss. 1462, fol. 65.

<sup>524</sup> Schmidt, *Melancholy and the Care of the Soul. Religion, Moral Philosophy and Madness in Early Modern England*, 2.

<sup>525</sup> Gambin, *Azabache. El Debate Sobre La Melancolía En La España de Los Siglos de Oro*, 54.

<sup>526</sup> Schmidt, *Melancholy and the Care of the Soul. Religion, Moral Philosophy and Madness in Early Modern England*, 14.



praying, rosaries were the most intimate objects when it comes to the relationship with God, to a degree that their touch or odour could influence that relationship. Therefore, the choice of the materials from which rosaries were made was not random. Maria of Aragon's "rosario de piedras para la melancolia" was most likely made of jet. Jet had long been regarded as a magical product against melancholy.<sup>527</sup> That is probably why Guiomar Pardo y Tavera had four rosaries made from it.<sup>528</sup> Since it is abundant in Asturias, jet is not considered in this thesis as an exotic material, but the fact that a material with prophylactic powers is used for the production of such a personal religious device reveals that the properties of a material had a role to play in order to obtain spiritual comfort.

This close connection between material and spiritual comfort allows us to enquire about a rosary that Juan de Borja sent to Philip II's secretary, Gabriel de Zayas, during his diplomatic mission in Portugal. Sent in December 1573, this particular object had been chosen specifically for its colour and for its odour.<sup>529</sup> The material is not mentioned, but there is the possibility that it could be made from *calambuco*. In the inventories of our sample, rosaries made from *calambuco* are relatively common. Ana Antonia de Alvarado y Velasco, Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel and Antonio Orlandis had one each, Juana de Aragón y Colona and Mencia de Bobadilla both had two, Diego Fernandez de Córdoba had four and Guiomar Pardo y Tavera had eight rosaries made from *calambuco*.<sup>530</sup> Apart from inventories, rosaries made from this material are also mentioned in a sermon published in 1686, in which Father António Vieira argues that their odour can never be pleasant to God if they are not used by the faithful ("os bons").<sup>531</sup> But why should the odour of *calambuco* be pleasant in the first place? In addition, why is its odour associated with God's sense of smell? Again, the answer brings the physical properties of the material and their spiritual significance together.

*Calambuco* is a type of agarwood used since ancient times for the production of perfumes. Native to the Indian subcontinent, agarwood is actually the aromatic resin produced by a type of fungus (*Phaeoacremonium parasitica*) within the heartwood of *Aquilaria* trees.<sup>532</sup> Several terms are used for the same substance: agarwood, aloeswood, *calambuco*, *palo de la aguilá*.<sup>533</sup> Its use is mentioned in the

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<sup>527</sup> Gambin, *Azabache. El Debate Sobre La Melancolía En La España de Los Siglos de Oro*, 15.

<sup>528</sup> AHPM, Prot. 1578, f. 166; AHPM, Prot. 2322, f.20v.

<sup>529</sup> "este Rosario me parezio bien por ser de bueno color y tener algun olor de suyo y assi le enbio a v.m. a me depachar[?] esta llaneza pues soy tan su serv[id]or." Letter from Juan de Borja to Gabriel de Zayas, Lisbon, 31 December 1573, in AGS, Estado – Portugal, Leg. 391, n. 4.

<sup>530</sup> Respectively: AHPM Prot. 2021, f.416; Prot. 2323, f. 874; Prot. 2665, f. 848; Prot. 2021, ff. 906v, 908v-909; Prot. 2662, f. 528 and 538v; Prot. 1006, ff. 518v-519; Prot. 2322, ff. 27v-28.

<sup>531</sup> Vieira, *Maria rosa mystica*, 223.

<sup>532</sup> See Andrade, 'Drogas Do Oriente'; Loureiro, *Fidalgos, missionários e mandarins*.

<sup>533</sup> See above page 47, footnote 189.

New Testament. After the Crucifixion, the body of Christ was removed and wrapped in linen cloths with a mixture of myrrh and aloes.<sup>534</sup> These aloes refer to aloeswood/agarwood, which had been used in many parts of the Middle East and the Indian Subcontinent as an aromatic substance, and should not be confused with the genus *Aloe* that was used to cure wounds. Aloes – not *aloe* – are also mentioned in Psalm 45, where their odoriferous properties are put in evidence: “Your garments are fragrant with myrrh and aloes and cassia”. In this Psalm, aloes are mentioned as a gift of God, which gives them a spiritual dimension. Hence, the use of aloes, i.e. agarwood, for rosaries provided a material support to a device that conveyed a spiritual action, but the mediation was made through the sense of smell. It is from this perspective that I suggest to consider holy relics.

Since medieval times, the body remains of saints and objects associated with their lives were regarded as the embodiment of the absent divine. This belief in the capacity of the divine to manifest itself in the world through otherwise irrelevant objects is usually referred to as *praesentia*.<sup>535</sup> The consumption of holy relics, which increased exponentially after the Council of Trent (1545-1563), is reflected on inventories of the sample. However, relics are not always listed in the same way. More to the point, it is possible to distinguish two groups of relics. Either they are mentioned in oratories and amongst things belonging to places of devotion, or they are mentioned amongst the contents of fall-front cabinets. Whereas in the first case, relics are usually kept in reliquaries and destined for devotion, the second group is more randomly described. It is this second group that allows me to draw a connection with the remaining *materia media* in the contents of the fall-front cabinets.

Let us consider the context of the references to the relics inside fall-front cabinets. In a sequence of twenty objects listed in the inventory of Maria de Aragón, amongst which the rhino horn is mentioned, there are rings, twenty-four ounces of gold, a silver box, an image of a *agnus dei* with relics, a cameo, more rings, a cross filled with relics (“una cruz llena de rreliquias”), an image of Christ, another cross, a bit of unicorn and a small reliquary.<sup>536</sup> For Ana de Toledo y Colona the inventory describes the contents of her fall-front cabinets, as well as of those that had been sent to her daughter. Inside these, there were: a small casket with a thorn from the crown of Christ, two reliquaries with relics wrapped in paper (“con papeles de reliquias”), an image of Saint

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<sup>534</sup> Bible, Gospel of John, 19:39-40.

<sup>535</sup> An interesting contribution for the adaption of the concept for sociological studies can be found here: “Praesentia as associated with saintly relics is concerned with how the absent divine and the holy dead can be made manifest through the presence of a seemingly insignificant fragment of ordinary material made extraordinary by association: the religious relic.” in Hetherington, ‘Spatial Textures: Place, Touch, and Praesentia’, 1940.

<sup>536</sup> AHPM, Prot. 1578, ff. 158v-159v.

Anthony inside a small bag of relics, a small glass or rock crystal vessel with relics, another box with relics wrapped in paper, a reliquary, and two other boxes with relics. These are mentioned amongst bezoar stones, *pastillas*, a unicorn cup, jewels, civet and dear musk, as well as ointments for the heart (“vaso de unguentos de coraçon”).<sup>537</sup> Another such example is Juana de Aragón y Colonna. Like the previous cases, inside the drawers of her fall-front cabinets, Juana de Aragón kept several crosses, boxes and bags with relics together with jewels, “virtuous” stones (“piedrecillas virtuosas”), civet musk, an image of an *agnus dei* and agarwood powder.<sup>538</sup>

The relics in these inventories differ quite significantly from other more famous sets of relics. They are not fancifully displayed in reliquaries in oratories. They are wrapped in paper and mentioned amongst bezoar stones and civet musk. This observation suggests that this type of relics could have had a role in healing practises.

The use of relics to cure illnesses or assist with the recovery of the sick is as old as the practise of assembling relics itself, but relics obtained a new popularity after the Council of Trent. In 1611, Sanchez Dávila wrote that:

“Nunca fueron las Reliquias tã buscadas como agora, ni tan preciadas quando se hallan, y no cuerpos enteros, ni algunas partes notables dellos, sino **qualquiera poluo de sus cenizas**, ò de la tierra de sus sepulchros, ò alguna parte pequena de las ropas.”<sup>539</sup>

This practise of getting hold of even the most insignificant ashes of a saint had a very famous archetype: Philip II, who had accumulated more than 7500 relics in El Escorial. Philip II was famous not only for having acquired a large number of relics, but also for using them in moments of agony. On his deathbed, in 1598, Philip II asked for the relics of Saint Sebastien, Saint Vincent Ferrer, Saint Alban and others to be brought to him in order to alleviate his pain. In 1587, the king had already ordered a thorn of the crown of thorns to be brought into the bedchamber of Prince Philip when the latter was suffering from measles. Similarly, when his first-born son, Prince Don Carlos, fell ill in 1562, Philip ordered the body of Saint Diego of Alcalá to be put into his son’s bed in the hope of recovery.<sup>540</sup> In all these cases, physical proximity to the point of touch was believed to be necessary to trigger divine assistance.

Healing relics have been regarded either as a sign of a certain religious fanaticism of Philip II, or as a motif of common belief amongst non-educated people. However, the aforepresented review

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<sup>537</sup> AHPM, Prot. 1578, ff. 1344-1347v.

<sup>538</sup> AHPM, Prot. 2021, ff. 905-906 and 909.

<sup>539</sup> My emphasis. Dávila, *De la veneracion que se deve a los cuerpos de los sanctos (...)*, 11.

<sup>540</sup> Christian, *Religiosidad local en la España de Felipe II*, 192; Ferrer García, ‘Felipe II Y La Conquista de Reliquias Por Los Tercios de Flandes (...)’, 85.

of inventories from Madrid, as well as the publication of manuals on how to venerate relics at the beginning of the seventeenth century, show the importance of objects/materials as mediators in the relation with God. Moreover, as these manuals reveal, relics were not mere religious items of personal devotion or vehicles through which God exercised His will. Relics were indeed the triggers used by believers to call for divine intervention and solve a certain physical problem.

In the manual *De la veneracion que se deve a los cuerpos de los Sanctos y a sus reliquias* (1611), Sanchez Dávila began his instructions by saying that hope in eternity is locked in the ashes of the servants of God (“en cuyas cenizas se encierra la esperança de la eternidad”).<sup>541</sup> This close connection between material and immaterial becomes more evident as the author presents several cases to the reader in which to touch a relic produced miraculous effects in a believer’s body. One such case was the story of a blind woman who recovered her sight after touching a relic of Saint Stephen with her eyes.<sup>542</sup> The capacity of holy relics to produce miraculous recoveries is also actively defended by Martin de Roa in his *Antigüedad veneracion i fruto de las sagradas imagenes, i reliquias* (1622). The author mainly presents cases from Antiquity, like the veil of Veronica that was used to cure leprosy or the relics of Saint Martin applied to an inflamed tongue.<sup>543</sup> However, Roa writes at length about the materiality of the *agnus dei* – a medal or disc with a printed Lamb of God blessed by the pope—, which used to be made with white wax anointed with water and balsam. According to the author, balsam had the capacity to cure all physical and spiritual illnesses (“para curar todas llagas i enfermedades nuestras assi corporales, como espirituales”).<sup>544</sup> What is curious about these texts is that they suggest that faith might not have sufficed.

For God’s action to take place, or to be enhanced, it had to be activated through the sense of touch. Touch was then required to transform matter from one given stage to another. Consumers who kept relics had to touch them to obtain a divine transformation of a sick body into a healthy one. The same applied to rosaries that had to be held (i.e. touched) and smelled so that peacefulness could be brought into the mind. However, aside God’s intervention, some materials known for their thaumaturgical properties also required touch in order to be activated. After all, much of the myth of the prophylactic capacity of the rhino horn was associated with the ability of the unicorn to transform poison into clear and harmless water through the touch of its horn.<sup>545</sup>

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<sup>541</sup> Dávila, *De la veneracion que se deve a los cuerpos de los sanctos (...)*, 11.

<sup>542</sup> Dávila, *De la veneracion que se deve a los cuerpos de los sanctos (...)*, 12.

<sup>543</sup> Roa, *Antigüedad Veneracion I Fruto de Las Sagradas Imagenes I Reliquias (...)*, 152–161.

<sup>544</sup> Roa, *Antigüedad Veneracion I Fruto de Las Sagradas Imagenes I Reliquias (...)*, 122–123.

<sup>545</sup> The tradition goes back to *Physiologus* (second century AD).

## Releasing the power of the unicorn

In Juan de Borja's probate inventory, there are seven rhino horns mentioned in a separate category – one of them a pot (*olla*). Since having unicorn items together with other *materia medica* was mainly a female practise, which is not verified in Borja's inventory, it is yet to be explained why Borja had such a quantity of items. It is very doubtful that he was keeping them for the preparation of recipes. Nonetheless, as seen through Godinho's *consilium*, their prophylactic/thaumaturgical properties were a major driving force for their acquisition. Why would Borja keep rhino horns in such a different way from most women? Focusing on the relevance of the sense of touch in the early modern period might help answering this question.

In this last subsection, I argue that the sense of touch, due to its inherent capacity to release materials' prophylactic/thaumaturgical properties, demanded rhino horns to be integrated in court ceremonial as part of princely prerogatives. In fact, the sense of touch was more than just a way of acquiring cognition from the surrounding environment and the possibility of touching rhino horns cannot be reduced to a manifestation of acquisitive power by high-ranking nobility. The sense of touch, as I discuss here, was at the crossroads that interconnected the capacity to change physical conditions (illness/healthiness), individual religious beliefs (faith, but also practises for divine intervention) and consumption (for this case, embracing everything from the driving force for consumption to the uses of things).

A few recent studies have claimed for the need to give pride of place to the sense of touch when investigating about the early modern period, especially when focusing on ways of perceiving.<sup>546</sup> Following today's agreement that human perception is culturally influenced, several scholars have invested in historicising the senses and in challenging their hierarchy.<sup>547</sup> Mark S. R. Jenner, for instance, demonstrated the significance of taste and touch for cognition in the case of an eighteenth-century English physician. The scholar eventually defends that “if we are to develop the historical analysis of the senses, we need to shift ‘cultural history’ towards an approach which unites perception and practise, the mental and the physical”.<sup>548</sup> If this perspective is to be accepted, the significance of the senses needs to be investigated in order to understand how individuals connected to phenomena around them.

In the history of Western Europe, the most representative case of this statement is the “Royal Touch” ceremony that used to be performed at English and French courts during the mediaeval and early modern periods. In these highly frequent ceremonies, individuals suffering from certain

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<sup>546</sup> One excellent example is the work of Kate Smith. See Smith, ‘Sensing Design and Workmanship (...)’.

<sup>547</sup> See: Harvey, *Sensible Flesh*; Clark, *Vanities of the Eye*.

<sup>548</sup> Jenner, ‘Tasting Lichfield, Touching China: Sir John Floyer’s Senses’.

illnesses – most often scrofula – were brought to the presence of the king who would lay his hand on him/her and cure them, as Christ had miraculously done. The king would distribute golden coins that people would touch for healing throughout the recovery. For Marc Bloch, who famously investigated this practise in his work *Les Rois thaumaturges* (1924), the phenomenon was explained by the existence of a “collective mentality” which attributed magical powers to kings.<sup>549</sup> The justification of the belief through the existence of a “collective mentality” is today highly debatable. Recently, Stephen Brogan retook the topic and offered a manifold argument for explaining the reasons that led so many individuals to travel long distances so that they could be touched by the king. The scholar suggests three main reasons: faith (that God would intervene through the royal touch), opportunism (since individuals would receive a golden touch-piece after the touch) and pragmatism (because all other treatments had failed).<sup>550</sup> Neither the royal touch ceremony nor the reasons that led people to attend it can be transplanted to early modern Iberia, but this well-researched case provides a referential framework with which one can examine the consumption of rhino horns by Juan de Borja.

Relying on a couple of very rare references, it can be assumed that touching rhino/unicorn horns was a higher nobility’s prerogative. In the definition of the word *cuerno* of his famous dictionary (1611), Sebastián de Covarrubias establishes an interesting relationship between the prophylactic properties of the rhino horn and the status of nobility:

De los cuernos ay algun prouecho en la Medicina [...]. El del vnicornio, dizen purga las aguas de todo veneno, y assi se hacen vasos preciosos del. La misma virtud dizen tiene el cuerno del rinocerote, ô bada.<sup>551</sup>

Los azeytes preciosos con que [los antiguos] se vngian en los vaños tenían en cuernos. Los hombres ordinarios en cuernos de toros, o bueyes; y los señorazos, y poderosos en cuernos de rinocerote.<sup>552</sup>

Robert de Nola also recommends high-ranking nobility to use rhino/unicorn horns in the second edition of his famous *Libro de guisados, manjares y potajes intitulado Libro de cozina* (1529).

Mas realmente y en verdad que los grãdes señores no deuriã en ningũa manera beuer sino en vasos de vidro, Mayormente en **vn vidro muy fino q[ue] se dize de selicornio, porq[ue] eñ[e]ste tal vidro no se puede dar en ningũa manera a beuer p̄oçoña, por quãto no es posible q[ue] la suffra el buē vidro sin q[ue]brarse**. E por esta razõ los grãdes señores d[e]uriã beuer antes en vasos de vidro q[ue] no en los de oro ni plata.<sup>553</sup>

<sup>549</sup> Bloch, *Les Rois Thaumaturges*: (...). See also: Brogan, *The Royal Touch in Early Modern England*. (...), 6–7.

<sup>550</sup> Brogan, *The Royal Touch in Early Modern England* (...), Introduction (especially page 21).

<sup>551</sup> Covarrubias Orozco, *Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana o Española, o Española*, Part I, f. 174v.

<sup>552</sup> Covarrubias Orozco, *Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana o Española, o Española*, Part I, f. 174, citing Martial, *Epigrams*, Book 14.

<sup>553</sup> Nola, *Libro de Guisados Manjares Y Potajes* (...), ff. VII–VIIv.

Nola recommends it following his description of how to serve high-ranking nobility at the table. Rhino/unicorn horns are mentioned not as part of medical treatment, as we have seen in the texts mentioned in the first part of this chapter regarding women's *materia medica*. Instead, they are mentioned as an item required for the service of the table. This is an interesting aspect, because some inventories of male consumers mention rhino/unicorn cups amongst drinking vessels.<sup>554</sup>

For a high-ranking nobleman, being served at the table was a highly ritualised ceremonial and every single movement was strictly codified. A very important aspect of the ritual was the moment in which the king or the nobleman was served a drink. Drinking vessels were never put on the table. Instead, the act of drinking required a servant, who could be a nobleman from a lower rank, to perform a ritualised act of bringing the cup and giving it to drink to his lord. According to Nola, serving a king or a high-ranking lord was more appropriate if the ceremony “of the salver” (*cerimonia de la salva*) took place. This ceremony required two individuals: one who would hold the cup and the salver; another one who would hold the ewer, taste the drink to ascertain that it was free from poison and then serve the lord. If that cup would be made of unicorn (*selicornio*), as the quotation above describes, the cup would break itself.

What these references reveal is that touching is the lost link between rhino horns, their prophylactic/thaumaturgical properties and the status of nobility. On the one hand, there is the touch between elements that activates the transformation of materials. In Nola's account, the horn would break when touched by poison. In the *Physiologus* tradition, the poison would be transformed into harmless liquid when touched by the unicorn horn. On the other hand, there was a noble exclusiveness in being able to touch rhino/unicorn horns. If Nola encouraged noblemen to acquire such horns to be used at the service of the table, Covarrubias admitted that they were only at the reach – i.e. touch – of the very high-ranking nobility. This interconnection allows bringing Borja back into the discussion.

A possible explanation that I would like to provide for Juan de Borja to have kept seven items of rhino horns up until the end of his life is precisely his place at the court of the Spanish Habsburgs. Before being sent to Portugal on his diplomatic mission in 1569, Borja was Philip II's *gentilhombre de la boca*. According to the regulations of the court offices issued between 1647 and 1651 – since earlier regulations about this office have not survived –, the office of *gentilhombre de la boca* had three categories: *panatiers*, *coperos* and *trinchantes*. They were all under the supervision of the *ujier*, who would decide the role each *gentilhombre de la boca* would play every week. There is also information

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<sup>554</sup> See page 132.

that at the end of the reign of Philip II some of the *gentilhombres de la boca* would serve at *comidas publicas*, the official ceremonies when the king would eat in front of the court.<sup>555</sup> Could this be the reason for Juan de Borja to have had such a distinctive quantity of rhino horns? Were these items somehow related with his office as *gentilhombre de la boca* and the duties that he had to perform during the ceremonies in which the king would eat in public? Would there be a *ceremonia of the salva* during the ritual?

Whatever is the right answer to these questions, the access to rhino/unicorn horns was still a privilege most associated with nobility.

Poison was one of the biggest threats of the age.<sup>556</sup> Because of that, the ceremonial at court reveals that the strong belief in the power of the unicorn (adapted to rhino) was a serious matter. So serious that rhino horns soon found a place amongst the most precious things of a noble house. Like relics, rhino horns became priceless at the end of the sixteenth century, as can be seen by the 7 June 1597 decision of the Spanish governor in Manilla, Francisco de Guzmán to add a sword with a dagger, a ewer and salver made of gold and a rhino horn “labrado de gran virtud para la salud” to the *mayorazgo* of his House.<sup>557</sup> This virtue for good health would allow that the transformative power of rhino/unicorn horns became inseparable from the prerogatives of the royal capacity to purify the world through their touch.

A later case to support this statement is found in Baltasar Gracián’s *El Criticón* (1651-1657; second part from 1653) where a visit to a nobleman’s house is described. The character Salastano receives the visit of two men, Andrenio and Critilo, and they talk about how the states of the Hispanic Monarchy are to be happy because they were purified by the actions of its kings, who Salastano compares to unicorns:

[...] decidme, aquel nuestro inmortal héroe el rey católico don Fernando, ¿no purificó a España de los moros y de judíos, siendo hoy el reino más católico que reconoce la Iglesia? El rey don Felipe el Dichoso, porque bueno, ¿no purgó otra vez a España del veneno de los moriscos en nuestros días? ¿No fueron éstos, salutíferos unicornios? [...]

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<sup>555</sup> See: *Relación de lo que toca a los mayordomos de su magestad y lo que deve hacer el semanero conforme al estilo antiguo de la casa del emperador don Carlos nuestro señor que aya gloria y después se fue continuando la mayor parte dello en la de su magestad don Phelipe 2º que dios tiene como consta de los papeles de aquel tiempo y relaciones que sobre ello dio el contralor Juan de Sigoney*, AGP, AG, Leg. 644, quoted in Hortal Muñoz and Labrador Arroyo, *La Casa de Borgoña: La Casa Del Rey de España*, 331–332.

<sup>556</sup> Gentilcore, *Healers and Healing in Early Modern Italy*, 103.

<sup>557</sup> The *mayorazgo* was an institution from Castilian law that allowed the estate from the nobility to be kept together from one generation to another without being devised through inheritance. The estate kept under the *mayorazgo* would be passed in its entirety to the heir of the noble title. In regards to objects, usually only objects with a special representation status for the noble house were added to the *mayorazgo*. For this case, see “Escritura por la cual Dn. Franco. Tellos de Guzman agrego al Mayorazgo de su Casa, una Espada, y Daga, una Jarra y Salva de ora, y un Cuerno de Bada, labrado, de gran virtud para la salud. Manila, June 7-10, 1597.”, in *The Newberry Library*, Edward E. Ayer Manuscript Collection quoted in Butler, *A Check List of Manuscripts in the Edward E. Ayer Collection*, 166.



Creedme que es felicidad de los Estados de la casa de España y de Austria, debida a sus coronados unicornios.<sup>558</sup>

To support his argument, Salastano invites his guests into his *camarín* to show them his collection where a unicorn cup was kept:

Llegaos a este camarín, que os quiero franquear los muchos preservativos y contravenenos que yo guardo. En este rico vaso de unicornio han brindado la pureza de la fe los Católicos Reyes de España. Estas arracadas, también de unicornio, traía la señora reina doña Isabel para guardar el oído de la ponzoña de las informaciones malévolas [...].<sup>559</sup>

At this point, a huge distance had been traversed. According to Gracián's text, the unicorn horn had been used by the Catholic Kings as drinking vessels. However, for Salastano, they were already a relic, not of the extraordinary or the *exotic*, but of the Catholic Kings themselves, who with their touch had transformed, like the unicorn, the poison of heresy into the harmless and purified water of the Catholic faith. Less than a century after Juan de Borja requested medical advice about rhino horns, these had become relics to be displayed for guests. Once again, the function of the object had changed.

## In conclusion

Cups made of rhino horn and acquired by sixteenth- and seventeenth-century consumers are still preserved in several museums across the world. The fine level of carving or applied decoration of these objects has led historians to consider them examples of a taste for things coming from far off lands or for *curious* extravagances. However, a close analysis of inventories from the turn of the seventeenth century from Madrid together with a focus on the particular case of Juan de Borja tells a different story.

In this chapter, I demonstrated that pharmacological, prophylactic or even thaumaturgical properties of rhino horns cannot simply be considered “an added advantage” to consumption.<sup>560</sup> First, when Juan de Borja had the possibility of acquiring a rhino horn that had just arrived in Lisbon, he asked the Portuguese physician Jorge Godinho to ascertain its medical qualities. These

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<sup>558</sup> Gracián y Morales, *El Criticón*, Vol. I, 227–228.

<sup>559</sup> Gracián y Morales, *El Criticón*, Vol. I, 229.

<sup>560</sup> Jordan Gschwend, ‘A Masterpiece of Indo-Portuguese Art (...)’, 49.

were the main reason for consumption. A side effect of this action was that it actually stimulated Godinho to investigate them. Hence, consumption stimulated the production of knowledge. Second, this chapter revealed that when consumed, rhino/unicorn horns were not kept for the same reasons by everyone. Women tended to have them amongst other *materia medica* that they would use as part of healing practises, whereas men usually kept them amongst drinking vessels. Finally, a focus on the use of the senses showed that the properties of the rhino/unicorn horn could only be released when activated through touch. The sense of touch had then the power of changing matter from one stage to another, of triggering divine intervention and, of course, of displaying the consumer's capacity to control those processes. Therefore, it is not surprising that rhino/unicorn horns would be integrated in courtly culture.

There is no source disclosing Juan de Borja's use of the seven rhino horns mentioned in his probate inventory. What I did in this chapter was to unfold early modern consumption practises of rhino horns in order to have a clearer picture of what might have led this consumer to assemble these exotic items. The prophylactic properties of the horns were certainly at the basis for their acquisition. Nonetheless, it is very probable that their use was manifold and, especially, that it went through several changes over the short thirty years that spanned from Godinho's *consilium* to Borja's death in 1606.

# Chapter 5

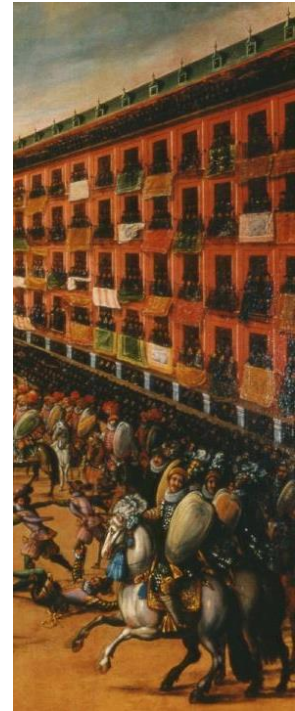
## *Colchas de la Yndia*

Less than two years after leaving Portugal, Juan de Borja was again undertaking preparations for a new diplomatic mission. On 4 February 1577, a large number of coffers, boxes and bundles of household objects received Philip II's authorisation to be dispatched from Madrid to Vienna to be used in Juan de Borja's embassy at the imperial court.<sup>561</sup> Exotic textiles, books from China, porcelain, benzoin resin, clove and a piece of rhino skin are but some of the items amongst a very long list that records the most luxurious things that the ambassador was taking with him. The very high proportion of non-European objects in this list finds no parallel when compared to contemporary probate inventories. In addition, contrastingly to the latter, this list was not made to record just the property of someone, but rather, it reflects the selection of objects that were considered worth being part of an embassy. In other words, it provides a very specific context in which exotic objects had a role to play. Amongst the items, the registration of seven textile items named *colchas de la Yndia* is particularly remarkable.

In this chapter *colchas de la Yndia* are the common thread that I use for disclosing alternative explanations for the consumption of exotic objects and materials in early modern Iberia. Rather than using an explanation based on taste or fashion, I depart from the context of production of Borja's 1577 diplomatic inventory to question the reference to such a high number of *colchas*. More specifically, I consider Juan de Borja's own agency in the selection of items to include in his embassy. By bringing the agency of the consumer to the foreground, I demonstrate that the high number of references to exotic objects in Borja's embassy is better understood if the focus is redirected to the ambassador's efforts of becoming an expert on Portuguese affairs within the court of the Hispanic Monarchy.

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<sup>561</sup> *Cédula de Paso*, 4 February 1577, in AGS, Cámara de Castilla, Libro 360, ff. 187-201v.



**Image 5.1 – Fiesta en la Plaza Mayor de Madrid**

Juan de la Corte, 1623

Oil on canvas, 158x285 cm; Museo de Historia de Madrid

The term *colcha* literally stands for embroidered bedcover, but translating *colcha* for bedcover or quilt can be misleading. As Barbara Karl has recently pointed out, these translations do not account for the multiple uses that could be given to *colchas* in early modern Iberia. More than a bedcover, a *colcha* – in either Portuguese or Spanish – was a rich and usually densely embroidered piece of textile often amongst the most prestigious home furnishings and it is not rare that they were registered as part of trousseaux.<sup>562</sup> They could be used on beds, but also to cover tables or to hang on walls.<sup>563</sup> Given their rich decoration and high cost, *colchas* became favourite textiles to hang on balconies during public ceremonies or urban festivities.<sup>564</sup> (Image 5.1) *Colcha de la Yndia*, on the other hand, is a more problematic expression. As discussed further ahead, the geographical attribute *de la Yndia* is manifold and cannot be reduced to an Indian production.<sup>565</sup> Instead, it should be read as referring to *colchas* coming from overseas – usually Asia – or decorated with some sort of design that made them distinguishable.

<sup>562</sup> See for example: Faria, ‘Entre O Campo E a Cidade: Bens Móveis E de Raiz Nos Dotes de Casamento Em Guimarães’; García Fernández, ‘La Dote Feminina: Posibilidades de Incremento Del Consumo Al Comienzo Del Ciclo Familiar: Cultura Material Castellana Comparada (1650-1850)’.

<sup>563</sup> Karl, *Embroidered Histories*, 12–13 and 63.

<sup>564</sup> Ferreira, ‘Os Têxteis Chineses Em Portugal Nas Opções Decorativas Sacras de Aparato (Séculos XVI-XVIII)’, 141–142 and 225–251. See for example : “Porque a fermosura dos panos bordados das alcatifas das colchas, & de outras ricas sedas, com que as janelas estauão com a competencia ornadas era vista q bem mostrava o poder da nobreza, & riqueza do Reyno de Portugal” Cabral and Gomes, *Relações das sumptuosas festas (...)*, f. 8v. quoted in Ferreira, ‘Os Têxteis Chineses Em Portugal Nas Opções Decorativas Sacras de Aparato (Séculos XVI-XVIII)’, 248.

<sup>565</sup> See Chapter 6, 190-191.



**Image 5.2 – Colcha**  
Bengal, Índia, 16th or 17th century  
Silk embroidery over linen (cotton lining), 335 x 227 cm  
Palácio Nacional de Sintra

Despite the recurrence of references to *colchas* in literature (mostly produced by art historians and museum curators), there still is fragmentary understanding of the characteristics of these items. However limited by the shortage of surviving items, or by the short and often laconic references in written sources, scholars have identified three main groups of *colchas* based on a geographic criterion.<sup>566</sup> Those produced in Bengal are usually defined by a ground of undyed white cotton where designs are embroidered with undyed yellow silk – a.k.a. tussah. The designs usually comprise biblical scenes and classical mythology, often mixed with Bengali or Islamic motives (see **Image 5.2**).<sup>567</sup> The production of Gujarat is said to be more heterogeneous, but its main difference

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<sup>566</sup> Barbara Karl has noted that Maria José de Mendonça attempted a classification based on design, rather than on centres of production, see: Mendonça, 'Alguns Tipos de Colchas Indo-Portuguesas (...)'; Karl, *Embroidered Histories*, 13.

<sup>567</sup> Karl, *Embroidered Histories*, 13.



**Image 5.3 – Colcha**

Ahmedabad, Gujarat, ca. 1640-1650<sup>568</sup>

Silk embroidery over silk satin, 296x221 cm

Museu do Caramulo

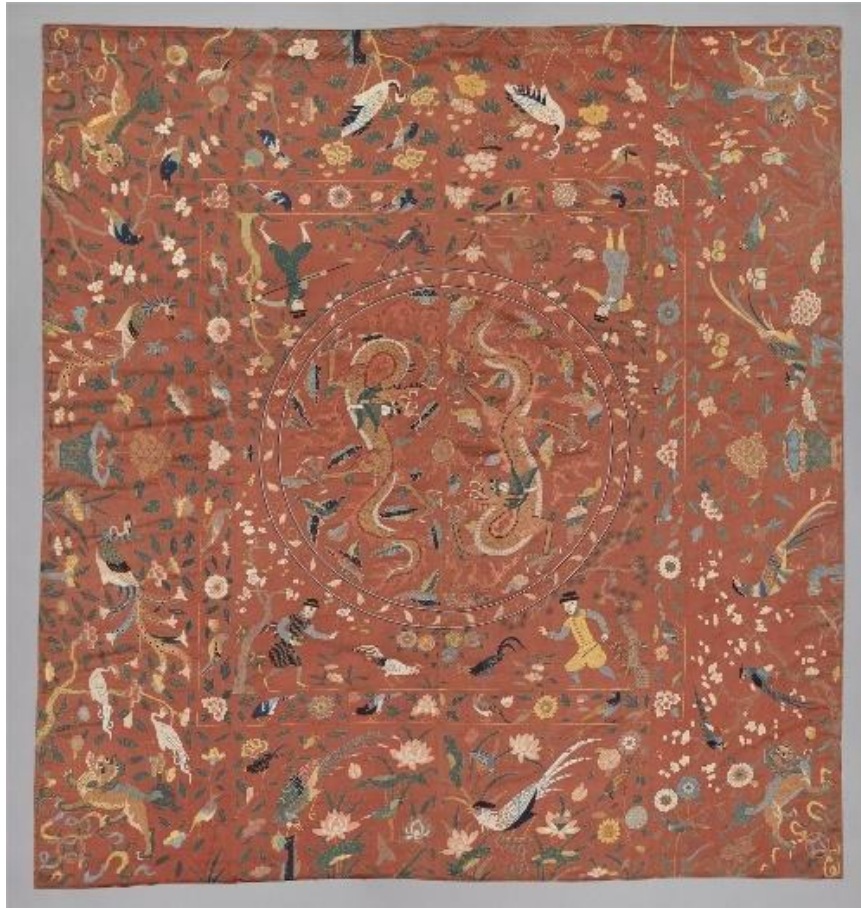
from the former is the diversity of colours used in the same piece. Often embroidered over satin, they could also use a gold or silver thread (see **Image 5.3**).<sup>569</sup> The third group comprises Chinese *colchas*.<sup>570</sup> Maria João Ferreira argued that this group could hardly form a typology, since the production of *colchas* in China seems to have fully adapted to the demand. Given the variety of the production, it is very difficult for curators and textiles experts to attribute extant objects to a Chinese production, unless specific iconographic elements are depicted (see **Image 5.4**).

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<sup>568</sup> Karl, 'Vénus E Marte "à Indiana": A Colcha Do Museu Do Caramulo'.

<sup>569</sup> Karl, *Embroidered Histories*, 74.

<sup>570</sup> Ferreira, 'Os Têxteis Chineses Em Portugal (...)', 304–305.



**Image 5.4 – Colcha**

China, late 16th or 17th century

Silk and gilt-paper-wrapped thread embroidery over silk satin, 213.4 x 200.7 cm

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Although there is yet much to research about the diverse centres of production or the mechanisms of commission, the reason *colchas* are included in this thesis is of another nature. In this chapter, the aim is to understand the driving forces that led Juan de Borja to take seven *colchas de la Yndia* with him on his diplomatic mission to Vienna. In order to achieve this aim, it is necessary to understand the dynamics of early modern diplomatic practises. New Diplomatic History has already brought the role of objects in diplomatic practise to the foreground, hoping to understand cultural transfers between courts.<sup>571</sup> However, most of those studies focused on gift-giving practises, power representation or practises of commensurability between states, the ambassador usually being seen as an agent or middleman. Despite the challenge raised by New Diplomatic

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<sup>571</sup> Fletcher, *Diplomacy in Renaissance Rome the Rise of the Resident Ambassador*. See also Frigo, 'Corte, onore e ragion di stato'; Brauner, 'Connecting Things'; Um and Clark, 'Introduction. The Art of Embassy'; Biedermann, Gerritsen, and Riello, *Global Gifts: The Material Culture of Diplomacy in Early Modern Eurasia (Studies in Comparative World History)*; Gamero Igea, 'Gift Exchange, Self-Representation, and the Political Use of Objects During Ferdinand the Catholic's Reign'; Hennings and Sowerby, 'Introduction: Practices of Diplomacy'.

History to integrate the agency of diplomats, little has been written on the use of objects by diplomatic agents as a means for their own social ascension. In this case study, I show that Juan de Borja used *colchas de la Yndia* to fashion himself as an expert on Portuguese political, military and economic affairs.

To support this argument, this chapter is organised in two parts. First, I focus on the preparation of the diplomatic mission. I show how the selection of objects to integrate the embassy was the outcome of Borja's will to demonstrate his expertise on Portuguese affairs.<sup>572</sup> Such knowledge was Borja's personal asset that granted him a distinguished position at the imperial court, because there was no resident Portuguese ambassador in Vienna. To make his advantage visible to others, Borja opted for taking with him a type of home furnishing that could almost only be obtained through Portugal at that time: *Colchas de la Yndia*. In the second part, I focus on how the *colchas* could be used to create an opportunity for social ascension. For courtiers, diplomatic missions could often generate a feeling of exile, because they would be kept away from the court and from the possibility of obtaining royal favour. To transform this exile into an opportunity for social ascension, Borja used *colchas de la Yndia* as a way to manifest his privileged position to access Portuguese markets. Naturally, this position came together with knowledge about Portuguese affairs. In other words, Borja used *colchas de la Yndia* as part of courtly codes, such as the need to be *splendid*, to communicate his expertise. Indeed, more than exotic, *colchas de la Yndia* were luxurious textiles that found a receptive audience in courtly culture. To obtain them, courtiers needed to access Portuguese markets, a connection that Borja made possible. Eventually, this subtle manifestation of expertise was transformed into an open and desperate declaration of his knowledge right after the battle of Ksar el-Kebir in 1578. With the loss of the Portuguese king, and being Philip II amongst the best-positioned candidates for the succession, the aggregation of Portugal to the Hispanic Monarchy became a predictable consequence. At this point, Borja sent energetic letters to Madrid manifesting his full-knowledge about Portuguese affairs, hoping that he would be called back to the Peninsula to take a leading role in the whole process.

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<sup>572</sup> The challenges presented by the use of the concept of diplomacy for the early modern periodAge have already been addressed in Rudolph, 'Entangled Objects and Hybrid Practices? (...)', 7–8. I have decided to use it following Rudolph's understanding of the concept.



## 5.1. Borja's personal asset

Looking at the preparation for the diplomatic mission to Vienna, of which Juan de Borja was in charge, needs to take into consideration that Portugal did not have a permanent ambassador at the Empire during the sixteenth century. Permanent embassies were not common at this time, and only in a few exceptional cases was the presence of a permanent ambassador abroad a justifiable expense. In this section, I present evidence on how the preparation of the embassy and especially the decision to include an impressive number of *colchas de la Yndia* was part of an effort to overcome a gap. By presenting himself as an agent with privileged access to Portuguese markets, Juan de Borja could work both as a diplomat for his king, but also as an intermediary for Portuguese affairs.

Actually, the interests of Lisbon and Madrid were not equally represented at the imperial court. Since the time of Ferdinand, *the Catholic*, the Hispanic Monarchy had settled a permanent ambassador at the Empire, a practise that was kept throughout the reigns of Charles V and Philip II, but this was still a very exceptional case of permanent embassies in early modern Europe.<sup>573</sup> Indeed, the only information extant about diplomatic missions sent from Portugal is the dispatch of Henrique of Portugal (ca. 1540-1625) in 1578, who arrived in Vienna in February, and Elisio of Portugal who reached Prague in May 1580 to communicate the death of the Portuguese king.<sup>574</sup> The mission of Elisio, for instance, only lasted two weeks.<sup>575</sup> This state of things offered an excellent opportunity for Borja. There is no documentation directly related to his connections to Portugal during this period, but Borja's background, the list of objects that he took with him to Vienna and his behaviour during the diplomatic mission leave little room for doubt.

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<sup>573</sup> Levin, *Agents of Empire. Spanish Ambassadors in Sixteenth-Century Italy*, 6.

<sup>574</sup> About Henrique de Portugal, see Sousa, *Historia Genealogica Da Casa Real Portuguesa (...)*, Tomo X, 796. There is also a letter from Vienna written by Juan de Borja on 22 February 1578 to Gabriel de Zayas informing that: "Partimos de Praga a los 6 deste. Diez leguas de aqui topamos a Don Enrique de portugal que yva de Viena (hauiendo hecho su visitacion el Emp.or de parte de su Rey) a visitar a la Emperatriz, detuvimonos dos dias alli, y llegamos aqui a Viena a los 15 deste [...].", in AGS, Estado – Alemania, Leg. 682; About Elisio de Portugal there is another letter written by Juan de Borja in Prague on 17 May 1580 to Juan de Zúñiga stating that "Don Elisio de Portugal llego aqui a noche enviado por los gobernadores de Portugal a dar la mta(?) al Emp.or y a su madre de la muerte del Rey don Enrique y Aunq(ue) no publi(?) más no dexo de sospechar que (venía) a pedir alguna Jntervesion (...?)", in BG, Colection E. Favre, Vol. XIV, ff. 211, 212v.

<sup>575</sup> "El Embaxador de Portugal se partió esta mañana al amanecer, no sé que en su venida haya habido más misterio de lo que tengo escrito a V. Exa", Letter from Juan de Borja to Juan de Zúñiga, Prague, 30 May 1580, in BG, Colection E. Favre, Vol. XIV, ff. 213, 214v.

## The know-how

On 12 June 1571, during his diplomatic mission in Portugal, Juan de Borja sent a letter with a list of goods traded between Portugal and the states ruled by Philip II to the I Duke of Feria, Gómez Suarez de Figueroa y Córdoba.<sup>576</sup> Its aim seems to have been to prove that Portugal was completely dependent on the Hispanic Monarchy and that goods exported from its states were vital to the Portuguese economy.<sup>577</sup> In fact, the letter that goes with the list stresses the need to regulate the circulation of goods between the Monarchy and that kingdom because sumptuary laws were not being respected and the goods were consumed in Portugal without being properly taxed.<sup>578</sup> At the same time, this letter, which could be seen as a state document, might have served other more personal aims. Indeed, what can be read between the lines is that Borja was thoroughly informed about the type of goods traded with Portugal, what was coming from where and what the destination of exported goods was. Finally, he was aware of the trade routes within the Portuguese empire that did not go through Lisbon for certain goods. In short, the list shows how deeply detailed was Borja's knowledge of Portuguese commercial networks.

The list comprises ten sections corresponding to regions from where Portugal imported goods, as well as one section dedicated to the goods exported to “España” (possibly Castile).<sup>579</sup> At the top of the list, Borja puts Flanders, a place from where Portugal imported dairy products, gunpowder, weapons, copper, iron, tar, timber for the shipbuilding industry, cereals, tapestries and other textiles (amongst them, Italian silk). The second section is dedicated to “India”, a term that seems to describe goods brought through the *Carreira da India*. Not surprisingly, spices head the list (mainly pepper, clove, cinnamon, ginger, nutmeg and mace), followed by precious stones, drugs (*drogas de botica*), incense, pearls, silk, amber, musk, benzoin resin, ebony, porcelain, textiles, cotton fabrics, carpets, *colchas*, agarwood, beds, shields, cowries, bezoar stones, coconuts, ending with slaves. The list continues with goods imported from Brazil (sugar, brazilwood, cotton and amber), from São Tomé (sugar, slaves, wood of different colours), from Cape Verde and the Gulf of Guinea (sugar, cotton, goatskin, slaves, red pepper, ivory and gold), from Madeira (sugar, wine and preserves), from the Azores (woad – *pastel* – and alum), from “España” (silver, iron, steel, weapons,

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<sup>576</sup> AGS, Estado – Portugal, Leg.389, n. 38-39.

<sup>577</sup> “[...] vera V.S. de quan poca importancia son las [cosas] que nos dan y como no pueden vivir sin las que les damos pues entran Armas y yerro y madera [...]”, AGS, Estado – Portugal, Leg. 389, n. 38-39.

<sup>578</sup> “[...] Aunque la mayor parte de ellas [the imported goods] estén ya vedadas por leyes y prematicas, en la observancia de ellas [las leyes] ay muy notable descuydo y asi se venden aqui [in Portugal] y se usa de ellas como si se hiziesen en la misma tierra. En todas ellas se podría poner remedio y particular[en]te de lo que de Viscaya y galiçia viene que es de lo que mayor neçesidad tienen y en lo que menos resguardo ay y es en tanta manera que no se haze ediffiçion en Lisboa que la madera no sea de galiçia y la clavaçon asi de las casas como de las naos que no sea de viscaya o de flandes [...]”, Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Feria, Lisbon, 12 June 1571, in AGS, Estado – Portugal, Leg. 389, n. 38-39.

<sup>579</sup> See **Appendix XI**.

items for shipbuilding, timber for house-building, textiles, leatherwork, wheat, rice, dried fruits and wine), from the Canary Islands (wine and wheat) and from England (textiles, lead, tin and metal for artillery). Finally, the goods Portugal exported to España are said to be spices, drugs (*drogas de botica*), amber, musk, benzoin resin, *colchas*, carpets, beds, precious stones, ebony, textiles, sugar, brazilwood, dried fish, salt, figs, straw, tuna, thread and preserves.

To this list, Borja added a few comments that demonstrate his knowledge about trade networks. Regarding trading with Flanders, Borja declares that it was worth more than a million in gold (in coins?) every year and he justifies its place at the top of the list with the argument that all Italian products entered Portugal through that region – “porq. todas las cosas de Italia y de otras partes vienen a flandes y de alli vienen aqui”. Concerning goods from “India”, it states that they were mostly taken from Lisbon to Flanders, even when part of the cargo was also exported to “España”, France and Italy – “la mayor parte dello va para flandes y lo demas para spaña, françia e ytalia”. Almost all sugar, brazilwood, cotton and ivory was shipped to Flanders. Furthermore, Borja was aware that Canary Islands’ wine was taken to Brazil and other parts of the world. In regards to the slave trade, Borja knew that a high number of slaves were taken from São Tomé not only to India and Brazil, but also to Seville, although they were taxed in Lisbon. The same was true for slaves taken from Cape Verde and the Gulf of Guinea to Seville, also taxed in Portugal.

It is intriguing that Borja shared this information, which is essentially a financial matter, not with secretary Gabriel of Zayas, but with the Duke of Feria, who was *consejero de Estado y Guerra*. At this point, the personal proximity between Borja and Feria might shed some light as to why. Throughout their diplomatic correspondence, Borja and Feria share comments regarding literature, luxury items and court festivities. On 31 August 1570, Borja sent Feria a few verses written by a Portuguese poet at the court and asked his opinion about them.<sup>580</sup> This seems to be a trivial matter in their relationship, since subsequent correspondence deals with a hired writer in Portugal and some business involving books.<sup>581</sup> Later, in November, Borja confessed to Feria that

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<sup>580</sup> “estos versos Hizo Resende q. es un Hombre muy docto de este Reyno enbiolos para que V.S. los vea”. Possibly Borja refers to André de Resende (1500-1573) or to his cousin André Falcão de Resende (1527-1599). Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Feria, Lisbon, 31 August 1570, in AGS, Estado – Portugal, Leg. 387.

<sup>581</sup> On the 14th of September, Borja informed Feria about the best men of letters in the kingdom: “Para escusar los mejores letrados que en este Reyno ay me parezio tomar el parecer del pe. fray Luis de Granada y del Maestro cano secretario de la Reyna y los dos se conformaron en que los mas famosos son el D. lope Çintil [Lopo Gentil] y El D. Bartholome philipe y El D. Alvaro Vaaz con los quales se comunicara luego el negoçio y a causa de hauer yo estos dias estado mal dispuesto de un romalliço no se apresto por obra esto como se hara a todo qto. VS mandare.” On the 26 November 1570, Borja commented on a business involving books at the same time that he also informed Feria that he had tried to hurry Dr Lopo Gentil [the selected man of letters for the Duque’s business] to finish his writing: “Yo doy toda la prissa que puedo al doctor lope çentil para que acabe lo que escriue en el negoçio de VS”, in AGS, Estado – Portugal, Leg. 387.

he had been chasing a specific tapestry to which he had to renounce because it was acquired by the Queen Dowager.<sup>582</sup> Borja also shared information that was more personal when he mentioned that he would have enjoyed seeing the duke in his yellow trousers at the wedding. Borja was probably referring to the king's wedding to Ana de Austria in Segovia earlier that month.<sup>583</sup> This level of intimacy should not be surprising, given Borja's own background.

Feria was part of a network that had been knitted around Juan de Borja's father, Saint Francisco de Borja, and had acquired expertise on Portuguese affairs, especially after being sent to Lisbon in the autumn of 1568 to mitigate the antagonism between the Queen Dowager and the Cardinal Inquisitor-General.<sup>584</sup> Feria was much more than just the holder of an office related to the country where Juan de Borja was ambassador. He had been amongst the first patrons of the Society of Jesus in the Iberian Peninsula and he was closely related to Juan de Borja's former patron Ruy Gómez de Silva as well as Borja's father.<sup>585</sup> García Hernán goes even further and claims that "between Ruy Gómez, Feria and Father Araoz there was such identification with [Francisco of] Borja to the extent that they all seemed to be one sole person".<sup>586</sup> When Feria died in 1571, Borja confessed to Gabriel de Zayas the importance of such loss: "La perdida del Duque de Feria siento yo como quien tan su deudo y seruidor[,] dios le tenga en el çielo".<sup>587</sup> These were more than just formal words. Indeed, their level of personal acquaintance is not to be found anywhere else in the remaining official diplomatic correspondence sent from Borja to the court in Madrid. Nonetheless, this proximity was also a privileged channel that allowed Borja to obtain favour from the king, especially given Feria's post as *consejero de Estado*.<sup>588</sup> At this level, personal interest was intertwined with state affairs. Thus, it is not surprising that Borja preferred to pass to someone of trust the information about such a relevant matter as the Portuguese commercial networks.

This correspondence with the Duke of Feria has two important aspects. First, it shows that the expertise that Borja developed during his diplomatic mission in Lisbon immensely influenced the selection of items that he eventually took in his mission to Vienna. If the list and letter sent to

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<sup>582</sup> Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Feria, Xabregas, 26 November 1570, in AGS, Estado – Portugal, Leg. 387.

<sup>583</sup> Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Feria, Xabregas, 26 November 1570, in AGS, Estado – Portugal, Leg. 387.

<sup>584</sup> Letter from the Duke of Feria to Francis of Borja, Madrid, 3 July 1569, in Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu, *Sanctus Franciscus Borgia* (...), vol. V, 114. Also quoted in García Hernán, 'Felipe II y Francisco de Borja', 234.

<sup>585</sup> García Oviedo, 'Benefactores Portugueses de La Compañía de Jesús En La Corte de Felipe II: Revisión de La Cuestión En El Centenario Del Nacimiento de Rui Gomes de Silva', 24 and 42.

<sup>586</sup> García Hernán, 'Felipe II y Francisco de Borja', 234. According to Ferran Escrivà Llorca, Father Antonio Araoz was Juan de Borja's initial spiritual mentor (Escrivà Llorca, 'Erudito, Pietas et Honor [...]', 30). See Chapter 2.

<sup>587</sup> Letter from Juan de Borja to Gabriel de Zayas, Lisbon, 27 October 1571, in AGS, Estado – Portugal, Leg. 389, n. 31.

<sup>588</sup> Borja asked the duke to meet Ruy Gómez and the latter's wife, the Princess of Eboli, to find a way of granting him a *merced* for when he left Lisbon behind: "Suppco. a VS me aga md de juntarse con Ruy Gomez a tratar de lo que deven Hazer de mi para que tomado un fin cada uno me aga la md que confio para conseguirle y pues no suppco a VS q[ue] lo trate con mi s<sup>a</sup> la prinçesa de Eboli no pido mucho." Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Feria, Lisbon, 26 November 1570, in AGS, Estado – Portugal, Leg. 387.

List of goods sent to Feria (1571)	Inventory (1577)	List of goods sent to Feria (1571)	Inventory (1577)
Alcatifas	X	Lacre	
Almizque		Macia	
Ambar	X	Nuez	
Anil		Palo de aguila	
Azero		Palo de la china	
Benjui		Perlas orientales	
Brincos de la China		Piedras	X
Buçios		Piedras bezares	
Calambuco		Pimienta	X
Camas		Porcelanas	X
Canela	X	Rodelas	
Canfora		Ropa blanca/pintada de algodón	(Ropa de la Yndia)
Catres		Salitre	
Cayro para amarras		Sandalos	
Clavo	X	Seda	X
Coco de maldivas	X	Tafetan	
Colchas de seda	X		Cuero de bada
Damasco	X		Scrivania de la China
Drogas de Botica	(Algalia)		Caja de la India
Ebano	X		Siete libros de la China
Esclavos y esclavas (índios y cafres)	X		Ostionario de la China
Gengibre			Joyel de oro labrado en la China
Gengibre y nueces en conserva			

**Table 5.1 – Non-European items from the list of goods sent to the Duke of Feria mentioned in the diplomatic inventory of 1577**

Feria on June 1571 is confronted with the inventory of the items sent to Vienna in 1577, striking coincidences are revealed. It can even be declared that the latter looks more like a catalogue of Asian goods available in Lisbon than a list of household items. Many of the items mentioned in the 1577 inventory had been included in the list that Borja wrote to Feria six years earlier. Borja took *colchas* to Vienna, but he also took three large and one medium-size fine carpet (*alfombras*) and six small fine mats (*alcatifa*) “de la Yndia”.<sup>589</sup> Further to that, cloth and linen (*ropa*) “de la Yndia”, porcelain, amber, deer and civet musk, spices, coconuts, precious stones and slaves (see **Table 5.1**).

The second aspect that we can infer from the correspondence with the Duke of Feria confirms that Borja’s own activity as ambassador and his personal networks were intricately connected. As recent studies within New Diplomatic History have shown, the ambassador was more than just a representative of the state or the monarch. In her work about diplomatic practises at the turn of the sixteenth century in Rome, Catherine Fletcher recovered Valentin Groebner’s notion of *persona mixta* to define the ambassador as a combination of private individual and envoy.<sup>590</sup> Indeed,

<sup>589</sup> *Cédula de Paso*, 4th February 1577, in AGS, Cámara de Castilla, Libro 360, ff. 187-201v.

<sup>590</sup> Fletcher, *Diplomacy in Renaissance Rome the Rise of the Resident Ambassador*, 36–37. See also, Groebner, *Liquid Assets, Dangerous Gifts*, 68–69.

ambassadors had complex and multifaceted agendas while performing their missions and they were agents in their own right in the construction of identities, for the circulation of information, ideas and objects, and in generating informal relations at an international level.<sup>591</sup> Marika Keblusek, for instance, noted that diplomats must be studied from the point of view of “convergence of cultural, political and intellectual mediation in one figure”, avoiding single disciplinary perspectives.<sup>592</sup> All these dimensions should be considered in the analysis, but the agency of individuals should also not be forgotten, as Diana Carrió-Invernizzi highlighted.<sup>593</sup> The significance of this aspect has recently been reinforced by Cloe Cavero de Carondelet who, in her PhD thesis on the patronage of Cardinal Bernardo de Sandoval (1546-1618), showed that artistic patronage was the outcome of “constant negotiation between the self, [the Cardinal’s] own convictions and beliefs, and the wider contexts to which he belonged”.<sup>594</sup> The same applies to the diplomat. The selection of items to take in the embassy, which until the proliferation of seventeenth-century-permanent diplomatic councils depended solely on the ambassador, was the result of this complex net of interests and people.<sup>595</sup>

One illustrative example of the interconnection between objects and individuals’ personal interests is the significant difference between the house furnishings that Borja brought from Portugal in 1575, well before knowing that he would soon embark in another mission, and the furnishings that he took to Vienna in 1577. In the former journey, the proportion of goods said to be from overseas does not take such a preminent place as in the latter case.<sup>596</sup> There were indeed a few

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<sup>591</sup> Carrió-Invernizzi, ‘Introducción’, 17–34; Carrió-Invernizzi, ‘A New Diplomatic History and the Networks of Spanish Diplomacy in the Baroque Era’.

<sup>592</sup> Keblusek, ‘Introduction: Double Agents in Early Modern Europe’, 2011, 6.

<sup>593</sup> Carrió-Invernizzi, ‘A New Diplomatic History and the Networks of Spanish Diplomacy in the Baroque Era’, 607.

<sup>594</sup> Cavero De Carondelet, ‘Art, Piety and Conflict in Early Modern Spain’, 6.

<sup>595</sup> Fletcher, “‘Furnished with Gentlemen’: The Ambassador’s House in Sixteenth-Century Italy’, 519–520.

<sup>596</sup> “En el bosqu[ue] de seguía A diez de Junio de 1575 anºs se despacharon las çedulas de passo siguientes dirmadas de su Md. y referendadas de Juan Vazquez sin señal: // [Cédula] de passo para una cama de grana guarneçida de oro y seda; dos pauellones de tafetan lino y seda; seis colchas; dos catres uno dorado y outro açul colorado; ocho alcatifas; veynte y q[ua]tro tapiçes y paños de lana seda y damascos de diferentes suertes; ocho reposteros; diez colchones de ruan; oco almoadas de terçio pelo y damasco; seis mantas fraçadas; ocho esteras de la yndia; dos vendekas labradas; ocho de caxas y lios con ropa blanca vestidos tocados y cosas de recamara de su persona casa y criados; çien pieças de porçelanas; quatro sillas de terçio pelo; dos bufetes; un almofrete[?] con su cama; seis negros y negras que don Juº de Borja embax.or en portugal embia a estos rey[n]º libre de d[e]r[ech]ºs ter[mi]no de quatro meses”; “otra [cédula de paso] para dos camas La Una de damasco açul y la outra de paño verde com su madera; un pauellon encarnado; doze paños de tapiçeria; seys reposteros [sic]; seys almoadas de terçio pelo verde; seis colchones de Ruan; un almofrex[?] con otra cama; quatro negros y negras; dos lios con herramienta de çoçina; un cofre con guarniçiones y cosas de caualleriza que don Juº de Borja embax.or en portugal enbua de aquel Reyº a estos de Castilla libre de derºs termino de quatro meses.”; “otra [cédula de paso] para quatro azemulas[?] cargadas com scriptorios en que vienen papeles y joyas de la muger y hijos de don Juº de Borja embax.or en portugal q[ue] enbia de aquel Reyº a estos de castilla syn catax m[?] escudrinar[?] libre de drºs termino de quatro meses.”; “otra [cédula de paso] para dos camas de damasco carmesy verdes con goteras de tela de oro y sobremesa de lo mismo y su madera; un pauellon labrado de la yndia; seis colchas; dos cueros de catre el uno leonado y el otro verde; diez paños de tafetan verde y naranjado; ocho alcatifas o alombras; doze paños de tapiçeria; ocho repostretos [sic]; diez almoadas de terçio pelo y damasco carmesy y de cuero naranjado; diez colchones de ruan; seis mantas fraçadas blancas; seis esteras de la yndia; dos vendejas; dos tableros y dos caxas de la yndia; seis lienços pintados de flandes; diez ymagenes pintadas de pinzel en lienzo y en tabla grandes

exotic items, like reed mats or chairs made from tropical wood, but the list mainly comprises the type of items that is expected to be found in a high-ranking house: textiles made with silk and gold thread, cushions made with damask and velvet, tapestries, furniture, paintings and kitchenware. In the second journey, however, the high number of luxury items and the proportion of exotic goods is quite exceptional – especially comparing it with the probate inventories that I used for this thesis – suggesting that the ambassador must have had specific reasons for this selection.

## A Portuguese luxury

Putting the list sent to the Duke of Feria in 1571 and the diplomatic inventory of 1577 side by side reveals that the latter very closely reflects the knowledge of Portuguese overseas trade expressed in the first document (see **Table 5.1**). Even the decision of including rhino skin (“cuero de bada”) was an exceptional decision, for this was a material not yet widely available. In fact, as seen in the previous chapter, the imperial ambassador Khevenhüller would only be sending some rhino items to Vienna in 1579. However, the most striking decision is the inclusion of seven *colchas de la Yndia*. Most historians focusing on Asian textiles in Iberia agree that their consumption during the sixteenth century was very limited and that a wider purchase of these goods only took place at the transition to the seventeenth century.<sup>597</sup> However, the variation of availability in Portugal, Castile and the Empire must be considered here.

The main reason for seven *colchas de la Yndia* being something quite extraordinary is because in the 1570s these objects were not common in Castile. If we compare the 1577 list with the sample of inventories chosen for this thesis (1586-1626), only a very late parallel is possible. The earliest reference in the sample to *colchas de la Yndia* is dated 1596 and concerns three items belonging to the Marquise of Velada, Ana of Toledo and Colonna.<sup>598</sup> Most other inventories mention one *colcha* only, but Juana of Aragon and Colonna (often known as Giovanna Pignatelli), left in 1617 six *colchas de la Yndia*.<sup>599</sup> It is interesting to realise that both these women were connected to Pedro Alvarez de Toledo Osorio (1546-1627), V Marquis of Villafranca del Bierzo, brother of the former

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y pequenas; quatro retratos en lienço y en tabla; doze cofres arcas y baules con casullas frontales y recaudo para dezir misa; ropa blanca vestidos usados de su persona y criados y cosas de recam[er]a; tres arquillas de tocas; duzentas porçelanas; ocho rodela las siete doradas y la una negra; ho[n]ze sillas de terçio pelo carmesy y de palo de la yndia; quatro bufetes tres mesas y una silla labradas de lastrina[?]; un almofrex con cama; quatro lios de caas de cuadros; seis negros y negras; un lio con la herramienta de la cozina; que don Juº de Borja embax.or en portugal embia del dho reyº a estos de Castª libre de drºs ter[m]ino de quatro meses”, in AGS, Cámara de Castilla, Libro 360, ff. 48-49.

<sup>597</sup> See Ferreira, ‘Os Têxteis Chineses Em Portugal Nas Opções Decorativas Sacras de Aparato (Séculos XVI-XVIII)’; Canepa, *Silk, Porcelain and Lacquer*; Karl, *Embroidered Histories*. Ferreira, Karl and Canepa.

<sup>598</sup> AHPM, Prot. 1810-3, ff. 1291v-1348v.

<sup>599</sup> AHPM, Prot. 2021, ff. 905-920.

and husband of the latter. Also intriguing is the fact that Juana of Aragon and Colonna was first cousin to Anna Borgia of Aragon and Pignatelli, VI Princess of Squillace, married to Francisco of Borja and Aragon, XII Viceroy of Peru and son of Juan de Borja. Therefore, not only was the consumption of *colchas* very limited, but also the very few cases recorded in the sample were somehow interconnected.

A similar case that stands out is the Count of Nieva's inventory.<sup>600</sup> In the 1618 inventory, after the decease of Francisco Enríquez of Almansa and Manrique, married to the VI Countess of Nieva, seven *colchas de la Yndia* were listed. Although a rather late example, it is still interesting to note that the father of Francisco Enríquez was Martín Enríquez of Almansa and Ulloa, IV Viceroy of New Spain and VI Viceroy of Peru. Could this high number of *colchas* be associated with the direct access to Asian goods in America? This question matches the arguments developed in Chapter 3, but, instead of insisting on that possibility, I prefer now to focus on the simple fact that probate inventories reinforce the view that Asian *colchas* were not widely consumed in Madrid before the end of the sixteenth century.

There can be some structural explanations for this observation. The exportation of Asian goods directly into Castile was only made possible after the establishment of the commercial route that connected Manilla to Acapulco/Veracruz and Seville in 1571. However, as José Luis Gasch-Tomás has shown, the consumption of Asian goods in Seville was quite diminutive when compared to other European luxury goods.<sup>601</sup> Even for the beginning of the seventeenth century, most of the textiles arriving from Manila-America were raw silk, unlike the export from Philippines to New Spain the majority of which was made of manufactured silk.<sup>602</sup> Besides, Castile had its own silk industry, making it (i.e. Granada, Valencia, Toledo, Murcia) an exporter rather than an importer, being the imported raw silks mainly destined to Castilian silk manufacturers – which, anyway, does not seem to have happened before 1580.<sup>603</sup> This situation in Castile, however, contrasts with the reality on the Portuguese side.

In the Portuguese case, the first records of Asian silks arriving in Lisbon date back to 1501.<sup>604</sup> Throughout the sixteenth century, these textiles formed part of 70% of private cargo in the ships of the *Carreira da Índia*, amongst which *colchas* were transported.<sup>605</sup> Teresa Canepa also argues that, during the first decades of the sixteenth century, silk-finished products were accessible only to an

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<sup>600</sup> AHPM, Prot. 4442, ff. 46v-67v.

<sup>601</sup> Gasch-Tomás, 'Global Trade, Circulation and Consumption of Asian Goods (...)', 255–275.

<sup>602</sup> Gasch-Tomás, 'Global Trade, Circulation and Consumption of Asian Goods (...)', 221.

<sup>603</sup> Gasch-Tomás, 'Global Trade, Circulation and Consumption of Asian Goods (...)', 74-75, 223–225. Also quoted in Canepa, *Silk, Porcelain and Lacquer*, 73.

<sup>604</sup> Canepa, *Silk, Porcelain and Lacquer*, 52.

<sup>605</sup> Boyajian, *Portuguese Trade in Asia under the Habsburgs, 1580-1640.*, quoted in Karl, *Embroidered Histories*, 19.



elite at the Lisbon court, making them suitable as diplomatic gifts.<sup>606</sup> These isolated pieces of information reveal that Asian silks were already available in Lisbon by the time Juan de Borja was ambassador there, but since its consumption was still very limited, they also seem to have been appreciated as luxurious items appropriate for diplomatic missions.

If Asian silks' consumption was restricted in general, what to say about *colchas de la Yndia*? In the context of Portuguese imports the consumption of *colchas de la Yndia* at the time of Borja's embassy to Vienna was still an extremely rare phenomenon. Karl informs that one of the earliest inventories to mention Asian *colchas* in Portugal dates back to 1550.<sup>607</sup> It belongs to an individual at the top of the Portuguese court – the *camareiro-mor* of King John III, Francisco of Castelo Branco Valente. Only very few other cases are known for the second half of the century. In 1558, Queen Catherine of Austria received three *colchas* from the *Casa da Índia*.<sup>608</sup> Five years later, the inventory of the V Duke of Bragança, Teodósio I, refers to three *colchas* “da India”. The 1576 inventory of the *Infante* Duarte, V Duke of Guimarães and grandson of King Manuel I, mentions only one.<sup>609</sup> Despite the rarity of *colchas* in Portugal, these short references still overtake extant information regarding the same items in Castile. Therefore, Juan de Borja had almost certainly to bring from Portugal the *colchas de la Yndia* listed in 1577.

In the letter that Borja sent to the Duke of Feria with the list of goods that passed through Portugal, *colchas* were included. Under the section dedicated to what came from “India”, amongst other things, Borja mentioned: “gran cantidad de ropa blanca de algodón gruesa y delgada para tocados de mugeres; Ropa pintada de algodón de muchas suertes; muchas alcatifas; muchas colchas de seda y otras suertes”, and further ahead under the section dedicated to the goods that went from Portugal to the rest of the Peninsula there were “alcatifas; colchas; catres”.<sup>610</sup> It is evident that the importation of *colchas* from Asia is sufficiently important to be mentioned within this list, but the list does clarify what the proportion of *colchas de la India* amongst the *colchas* exported to “España” was.<sup>611</sup> Interestingly, the *colchas* that arrived to Portugal from Asia were not the only type of *colchas* to be exported to Castile. Lisbon had an important number of manufacturers of *colchas*. In 1551,

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<sup>606</sup> Canepa, *Silk, Porcelain and Lacquer*, 61.

<sup>607</sup> Karl, *Embroidered Histories*, 56.

<sup>608</sup> ANTT, Núcleo Antigo, 797, ff. 112-114v, quoted from Jordan Gschwend, ‘Rarities and Novelties’, 39, and in Karl, *Embroidered Histories*, 57.

<sup>609</sup> Karl, *Embroidered Histories*, 57.

<sup>610</sup> Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Feria, Lisbon, 12<sup>th</sup> June 1571, in AGS, Estado – Portugal, Leg. 389, n. 38-39.

<sup>611</sup> See **Appendix III**. Apart from *colchas*, Borja's list also make reference to overseas carpets (*alcatifas*). The same occurs in his probate inventory, where there are several references to carpets *de la Yndia* (“alfombra fina de la Yndia”), AHPM, Prot. 2626, ff. 1042-1042v. However, there is no evidence that the production of *colchas* and carpets were connected. For this reason, I do not develop on carpets on this thesis. For more on the consumption of overseas carpets in Iberia, see Hallett and Pereira, ‘The Oriental Carpet in Portugal?’.

Lisbon counted 127 makers of *colchas* and 10 workshops where these items were made. There were even specific regulations for the artisans who made *colchas*.<sup>612</sup>

The origin of this Iberian interest for *colchas* is not clear, but in her recent monographic study about Indian *colchas*, Barbara Karl highlighted the fact that these objects were already being exchanged as diplomatic gifts in Asia when the Portuguese reached India in 1498.<sup>613</sup> She also suggested that the Islamic heritage in Portuguese territory in Europe might have created a predisposition for this type of textile at the reception level.<sup>614</sup> Determining which came first, production or demand, is not the aim of this chapter. However, it is interesting to note that the production of *colchas* in Asia or with Asian craftsmanship found in Iberia a very receptive clientele.

This scenario contrasts quite vividly with the one in the Holy Roman Empire. The earliest extant reference of *colchas* reaching the Empire is a royal permit allowing its transportation for outside Castile (a *cédula de paso*) from 10 May 1576.<sup>615</sup> It includes three embroidered *colchas* together with pieces of silk “de la Yndia” for making two canopies and carpets “de yndias”. It is not clear whether they were Asian *colchas*, but the fact that they were embroidered, two were white and the other made of taffeta, points towards Indian artistry.<sup>616</sup> This *cédula* is contemporary to the period when Borja was preparing his mission to the Empire, but it is not possible to ascertain whether it played a role when deciding to take seven *colchas de la Yndia* to Vienna. Nonetheless, if a load of seven *colchas* was an outstanding deed for the Iberian context, it must have been even a more impressive one for consumers in Central Europe.

The chronology reveals a difference of a generation between this 1576 *cédula* and the first reference to *colchas* in the Lisbon inventory of John III’s *camareiro-mor* dated from 1550. Additionally, all known sources regarding the exportation of Asian *colchas* to the Empire are much later than the *cédula*. In 1591, there was a shipment of gifts from Archduke Albert VII of Austria, Viceroy of Portugal, to Rudolf II including four white *colchas* and to Archduke Ernest two *colchas* decorated with hunting scenes.<sup>617</sup> In June 1592, Juan Manrique de Lara registered four *colchas*, three from “India

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<sup>612</sup> Pedroso, ‘Uma Colcha Indo-Portuguesa (...)’, 69–71, also quoted in Karl, *Embroidered Histories*, 25.

<sup>613</sup> Karl, *Embroidered Histories*, 29.

<sup>614</sup> Karl, *Embroidered Histories*, 25.

<sup>615</sup> To know more about *cédulas de paso*, especially on how the system worked, see García García, ‘Regalos y consumos suntuarios entre las cortes de Madrid y Bruselas (...)’, and García García, ‘Regalos diplomáticos y bienes suntuarios en la corte española (1580-1665)’.

<sup>616</sup> AGS, Cámara de Castilla, Libro 360, f. 116v. Quoted by Pérez de Tudela and Jordan Gschwend, ‘Luxury Goods for Royal Collectors (...)’, 38. Karl, by mistake, mentions this source as being from 1567, Karl, *Embroidered Histories*, 64.

<sup>617</sup> “quarto colchas blancas labradas” and “dos colchas [...] labradas con Monteria”, *Cédula de Paso*, 18 September 1591, in AGS, Cámara de Castilla, Libro 362, f. 471v. Also quoted by Pérez de Tudela and Jordan Gschwend, ‘Luxury Goods for Royal Collectors (...)’, 74. Barbara Karl, by mistake, informs that the shipment was to the ambassador Hans von Khevenhüller, but the German ambassador was just the carrier, see Karl, *Embroidered Histories*, 64.

de Portugal” and another manufactured (*labrada*) in Castile to take to Ferdinand II of Tirol.<sup>618</sup> In addition, in 1594, Empress Maria of Austria sent to the imperial court in Vienna a *colcha* with yellow stitches, which Karl has identified as an Indian work.<sup>619</sup> Again, these cases are both later and exceptional.

The growth in the consumption of Asian *colchas* towards the seventeenth century, which is suggested by the increasing number of references in inventories of deceased consumers in Madrid, does not seem to have been emulated at the Empire. Karl has claimed that *colchas* were not common in Northern Europe because both the Dutch and the English were never convinced by their profitability and, thus, the lack of references regarding the commission of these goods by northern Europeans.<sup>620</sup> The fact that Rudolf II kept *colchas* within his *Kunstammer* is probably due to the inexistence of a former practise of consuming such type of bedcovers and to the difficulty of accessing them, which lied almost exclusively on Portuguese trade routes. More to the point, more than an Iberian household item, Borja’s decision of taking *colchas* to Vienna seems to be related to the access to Portuguese trade routes.

### A cultural broker?

As we have just seen, *colchas* had not yet fully acquired a place amongst Iberian consumers when Borja left to the Empire and their consumption at the Empire was very exceptional. In contrast, in Portugal the consumption of Asian *colchas* is documented since mid-sixteenth century. This suggests that Borja must have acquired them through agents in Lisbon and to demonstrate his capacity of doing so. Given his social network and the expertise developed during his diplomatic mission in Lisbon, Juan de Borja had privileged access to Portuguese markets. This was perhaps his biggest personal asset by the time he was sent on a second mission in 1577. However, having that asset and showing it were two different things. If the letter that he sent to the Duke of Feria in 1571 reveals Borja’s expertise, showing that expertise required more than a letter. It required consumption.

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<sup>618</sup> “quarto colchas, tres de la India de Portugal y la otra labrada en Castilla”, Letter to the viceroy in Valencia, Montejo, 18 June 1592, in AHN, Consejos, Libro 2394, f. 55v. Quoted in Pérez de Tudela and Jordan Gschwend, ‘Luxury Goods for Royal Collectors (...)’, 78; Karl, *Embroidered Histories*, 65.

<sup>619</sup> “una colcha de puntos amarillos con una mantellina de lo mismo”, *Cédula de Paso*, 2 May 1594, in AGS, Cámara de Castilla, Libro 363, f. 149v. Quoted by Pérez de Tudela and Jordan Gschwend, ‘Luxury Goods for Royal Collectors (...)’, 81; Karl, *Embroidered Histories*, 64–65.

<sup>620</sup> Karl, *Embroidered Histories*, 26.

The role of *colchas de la Yndia* in the diplomatic inventory of 1577 can be better understood when this document is confronted with the list that Borja sent to Feria six years earlier. The comparison reveals that the undeniable significance of the number of objects “de la Yndia” in 1577 should not be read as evidence of an interest in their Asian origin, but as a reflection of the significance that this region had in Portugal’s commercial balance. The list sent to Feria is very clarifying in this respect. In fact, Borja mentioned India right after Flanders. The detail and length of his notes acknowledge that Portuguese economy depended on these two major economic regions. By bringing items from those regions to Vienna, Borja could demonstrate his capacity to access the Portuguese trade system – a position that he was better equipped to fulfil rather than anyone else at the Empire. Indeed, we should not forget that there was no permanent diplomatic representation of the Portuguese king at the imperial court.

Thus, the first hypothesis for such a large number of things from overseas in Borja’s embassy is that they are related to a will to act as cultural broker at the Empire. Several scholars working with diplomatic history have highlighted the role of the diplomat as cultural broker or supplier of luxury items.<sup>621</sup> On his work about Spanish ambassadors in Italy during the sixteenth century, Michael J. Levin demonstrated how these actors allowed Italian painting to be produced for Spanish consumers at the court, starting with Philip II. Levin also demonstrated that other locally produced unique objects were sought after by the court in Madrid, such as Venetian glass, books and relics.<sup>622</sup> An overview of other diplomats supports the argument that diplomats and office holders abroad, such as governors or viceroys, acted as suppliers for the goods manufactured or traded at the regions where they were allocated. One such example was the VI Constable of Castile who, as governor of Milan, from 1592 to 1600, purchased for the court in Madrid rock-crystal objects, which was one of the major luxury products manufactured in the city.<sup>623</sup>

As said before, the 1577 inventory resembles indeed a catalogue of goods available in Portugal. Borja took seven books “de la China”, i.e. either about China or in Chinese, a casket made with tortoiseshell, a writing desk said to be “de la China”, a box “de la India”, a jewel made of gold crafted “en la China” and a piece of rhino skin. The latter is interesting, since it is very unlikely that in 1577 a rhino horn could have arrived in the Iberian Peninsula through the Spanish route.<sup>624</sup> Moreover, furniture made in Asia or with Asian craftsmanship was also widely available in

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<sup>621</sup> See, for instance, Keblusek, ‘Introduction: Double Agents in Early Modern Europe’, 2011.

<sup>622</sup> Levin, *Agents of Empire. Spanish Ambassadors in Sixteenth-Century Italy*, 183–199.

<sup>623</sup> Cruz de Carlos, ‘El VI Condestable de Castilla, Coleccionista E Intermediario de Encargos Reales (1592-1613)’.

<sup>624</sup> See Chapter 3 on rhino horns.

Lisbon.<sup>625</sup> This plethora of goods from overseas, but mainly from the Portuguese area of influence, could hardly be obtained from other supply centres other than Lisbon.

In regards to objects and materials from overseas, the most well-known diplomat searching for this type of goods was Hans von Khevenhüller (1537-1606), the imperial ambassador in Madrid. Khevenhüller has been at the centre of several studies, not only because he left a detailed diary of his life in the Peninsula, but also because he has been regarded as the main supplier of *exotica* to Rudolf II and to the grand dukes of Tuscany.<sup>626</sup> Pablo Jiménez Díaz, for instance, noted that he dispatched non-European objects and animals to the Empire right after arriving in Madrid in 1574, while Emperor Maximilian was still alive.<sup>627</sup>

During his stay at the Empire, the large number of holy relics that Juan de Borja gathered illustrates his role as a supplier. W. Telfer demonstrated, more than eighty-five years ago, that the collection of relics offered by Juan de Borja to the church of Saint Roch in Lisbon was assembled during his diplomatic mission at the Empire.<sup>628</sup> Originally intended for the Escorial, several of these relics came from Central Europe.<sup>629</sup> Like the VI Constable of Castile in Milan or the Spanish ambassadors in Venice and Rome, Borja also had an expertise in the items he could provide.

Considering that the inventory of what Borja took to Vienna almost resembles a catalogue of the goods traded through Portugal, it could be argued that Borja was intending to become a supplier of those goods for the imperial court. Unfortunately, the lack of documentation does not allow this argument to be developed. Nonetheless, and independently of the validity of the previous argument, this extraordinary document is better understood not in a framework of a diplomat as a cultural broker, but within the context of diplomatic practise as an opportunity of self-fashioning to obtain royal favour and ascend on the social scale. I suggest that Borja used *colchas de la Yndia* as an element of a wider strategy to transform the diplomatic mission to Vienna into an opportunity from a situation comparable to an exile.

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<sup>625</sup> See Chapter 6.

<sup>626</sup> Pérez de Tudela and Jordan Gschwend, 'Luxury Goods for Royal Collectors (...)'; Jiménez Díaz, *El Coleccionismo Manierista de Los Austrias Entre Felipe II Y Rodolfo II*, 166. See also Veronelli, 'La Historia de Hans Khevenhüller, Embajador Cesáreo En La Corte de España'; Veronelli and Labrador Arroyo, *Diario de Hans Khevenhüller. Embajador Imperial En La Corte de Felipe II*.

<sup>627</sup> Jiménez Díaz, *El Coleccionismo Manierista de Los Austrias Entre Felipe II Y Rodolfo II*, 143–145.

<sup>628</sup> Telfer, *The Treasure of São Roque (...)*, 65–129.

<sup>629</sup> Silva, 'Breve Historial Do Santuário Das Relíquias de S. Roque', 12.

## 5.2. From exile to opportunity

Juan de Borja's diplomatic mission to the Empire, from 1577 to 1581, was a turning point in his career. Borja left Lisbon in 1575, hoping to be able to return to Castile in order to organise his estate and to provide a future for his two daughters. However, what followed was not exactly what Borja had in mind when he requested his return. In October 1575, Borja's wife, Lorenza of Oñaz and Loyola, passed away.<sup>630</sup> Consequently, Borja had to hand over the rights over the House of Oñaz to his elder daughter. Apart from the *encomienda* that he had as part of his privileges as a knight of the Order of Santiago, Borja did not own much. However, by the time he returned from the Empire in 1581, Borja had secured the office of *mayordomo-mayor* of Empress Maria of Austria. This was the highest office in her household, second only to the imperial ambassador in Madrid. This achievement was, in great part, due to Borja's position at the epicentre of Philip II's circle of clients at the Empire and his close contacts within the Society of Jesus. Nonetheless, Borja prepared earlier to guarantee that this mission would not erase the expertise that he had developed and nourished during his upbringing in his father's shadow during his mission in Portugal. Preparing an ambassadorial house to communicate his privileged access to Portuguese trading networks was the first step to guarantee that his second diplomatic mission would be an opportunity for social ascension.

In this second section, I discuss on how a diplomatic mission to Vienna was compared to an exile from the court and I disclose special measures that Borja had to take in order to transform the situation into an opportunity for social climbing. I argue that the objects taken to Vienna were part of a process of self-fashioning. Juan de Borja undertook such a process to create a distinctive place within the imperial court and, perhaps mainly, back in Madrid. Furnishing the ambassadorial house with *splendid* objects, such as *colchas de la Yndia*, that could only be obtained through Portuguese networks were a subtle way of manifesting Borja's expertise. It allowed him to work as an intermediary in all matters concerning the kingdom of Portugal. Indeed, when Borja arrived in Vienna, Portugal and the group of the remaining Iberian kingdoms were still ruled by different monarchs, but the events that followed the decision of King Sebastian to take his army to North Africa in 1578 changed the situation. At that moment, being able to prove that he was the master in Portuguese affairs very much needed by Philip II could make Borja achieve a position back at the court in Madrid and a leading role in the process of aggregation of the neighbouring kingdom.

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<sup>630</sup> Letter from Alvaro de Veancos to Gabriel de Zayas, Lisbon, 15 October 1575, in AGS, Estado – Portugal, Leg. 392, n. 148.

## The destierro

For a man who had built a social network interwoven between the Portuguese court in Lisbon, the entourage of Juana de Austria in Castile and the Jesuit circle in the Basque region, Gandía and Rome, Vienna was not the most obvious place to where someone would be sent. However, the recently elected Emperor Rudolf II had been raised in the Iberian Peninsula and the Society of Jesus had been established in the Empire since the 1550s. The fact that Philip II's sister remained in Prague also provided continuity in the service of the House of Austria. Nonetheless, a diplomatic mission to the Empire could easily be seen as an exile.

The idea of exile – *destierro* – had already been raised by Juan de Borja's predecessor, Francisco Hurtado de Mendoza, Count of Monteagudo and I Marqués de Almazán. In a letter to secretary Zayas, Monteagudo complained that he left Vienna completely broke, which, he adverted, usually happened to those who would serve their masters in an exile such as the Empire – “un destierro y tal como el de Alemaña” – and that it would be much better if they could just stay quietly at home – “quedarse en su rincón”.<sup>631</sup> Given his almost total absence of social connections at the Empire, Borja expressed a similar level of anguish. However, compassionate views for the ambassador's despair in their *destierro* need to be moderated.

The idea of diplomatic missions as an exile was a *topos* in sixteenth-century courtly culture. This perception by Iberian nobility was rooted in a much larger debate about the *soledad* of the diverse kingdoms and territories of the Hispanic Monarchy where their legitimate lord was absent.<sup>632</sup> Fernando Bouza transfers this problem of *soledad* of the realms into courtly culture, arguing that the nobility without an office close to the prince also felt *soledad*.<sup>633</sup> However, Bouza sees the offices outside the court as a learning experience for young noblemen who wished to serve their king. This experience could in time provide a positive outcome. In the meanwhile, diplomats had to overcome the *soledad* by making an effort to maintain permanent contact with members of the court.<sup>634</sup>

In December 1572, during his first diplomatic mission, Borja told secretary Gabriel of Zayas how important his letters were to help him endure the *destierro* that Lisbon was:

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<sup>631</sup> My emphasis. Letter from the Marquis of Montagudo to Gabriel de Zayas, 29 May 1577, in AGS, Estado, Leg. 1406, n. 68, quoted in Edelmayer, ‘Aspectos del trabajo de los embajadores (...)’, 45.

<sup>632</sup> Bouza Álvarez, ‘Servir de Lejos. (...)’; Martínez Hernández, ‘Don Gómez Dávila Y Toledo (...)’, 144–155; Bouza Álvarez, ‘Lisboa sozinha, Quase Viúva’.

<sup>633</sup> “(...) la cultura cortesana hispánica de los siglos XVI y XVII contó también con la experiencia de la soledad en que, valga la expresión, quedaban los cortesanos que no residían de asiento junto al primer caballero que era el propio rey y a al que servían”, in Bouza Álvarez, ‘Servir de Lejos. (...)’, 72–73.

<sup>634</sup> See Mesotten, ‘Behind the Curtains of Diplomacy’, 307.

Confesso a v.m. lo que me consuela en este **destierro** es la **correspondencia** que tendo con v.m. porque cierto a no ser esto parezeme que hiziera algun desatino y me fuera por ay.<sup>635</sup>

In his letters from Rome, Juan of Zúñiga and Requeséns (1539-1586), ambassador in the papal city from 1568, was very clear in stating that he did not want the office – most likely because this too could be seen as an exile. Furthermore, he expressed comfort in receiving letters from friends, which discloses the desperate need to have news from the court in Madrid:

no ay otro regalo para las **pesadumbres** desta Corte [Roma] sino las **cartas** de los amigos.<sup>636</sup>

Santiago Martínez Hernández commented on Juan of Zúñiga's correspondence and he highlighted the importance of keeping an informal network of contacts at the court. This could secure better conditions for getting an office closer to the king after the end of the mission.<sup>637</sup>

From the extant correspondence that Borja sent from the Empire, it does not seem that he allowed the links to the Peninsula to weaken. Since he was married to a Portuguese noblewoman, he had additional reasons to maintain connections with formal social networks. The events following the battle of Ksar el-Kebir (4 August 1578) brought to light the importance of those links. Two of Francisca of Aragon's brothers remained in North Africa as captives following the defeat of the Portuguese army. On 13 May 1579, Borja wrote to Zayas hoping to have a letter from Philip II to Ahmad al-Mansur (1549-1603), the sultan of Morocco, to have his brothers-in-law released in advance.<sup>638</sup> Furthermore, the events taking place in Portugal during the busy reign of Cardinal-King Henry I (1578-1580), which eventually led to the aggregation of the kingdom to the Hispanic Monarchy, required Juan de Borja to be constantly updated if he wanted to play a role in the process. Thus, he also became a source of information to other court members, as a letter that the Duke of Alba wrote thanking the information he had received testifies.<sup>639</sup>

Keeping a network of information and social contacts was not the only way to guarantee that a place would be offered at court once the diplomatic mission ended. Another possibility was to

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<sup>635</sup> My emphasis. Letter from Juan de Borja to Gabriel de Zayas, Lisbon, 10 December 1572, in AGS, Estado – Portugal, Leg. 390, n. 121.

<sup>636</sup> Letter from Juan de Zúñiga to Pedro de Velasco, Rome, 1 April 1568, in Fuensanta del Valle, Sancho Rayón, and Zabálburu, *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España*, vol. XCVII:413, also quoted [with mistake] in Martínez Hernández, 'Don Gómez Dávila Y Toledo (...)', 149.

<sup>637</sup> Martínez Hernández, 'Don Gómez Dávila Y Toledo (...)', 146–155.

<sup>638</sup> "Suppco a v.m. nos aya una carta de Su Magd. para el Xarife pidiendole que permita q[ue] se busquen dos cativos her[ma]nos que se llaman Gonçalo nunez barreto y fran.co barreto y allandolos quiera tratar de su rescatte sin sperar a ser rescatados con los demas cautivos", Letter from Juan de Borja to Gabriel de Zayas, Prague, 13 May 1579, in AGS, Estado – Alemania, Leg. 685.

<sup>639</sup> Letter from the Duke of Alba to Gabriel de Zayas, 29 March 1580, in AGS, Estado, Leg. 413, quoted in Escrivà Llorca, 'Erudito, Pietas et Honor (...)', 52–53.



develop an expertise that would allow him to distinguish himself at court.<sup>640</sup> In other words, Juan de Borja could use the mission to the Empire to exploit his already built connections and demonstrate that his expertise was indispensable for the monarchy. In other words, Borja would have to fashion himself as an expert on Portuguese affairs.

Firstly developed by Stephen Greenblatt almost forty years ago, the perception of early modern self-fashioning has been recently revised by Laura Delbrugge with a particular focus on Iberia<sup>641</sup>. Delbrugge's edited volume "moves away from Greenblatt's initial conclusion that self-fashioning is exclusively determined by dominant social forces outside the individual" and stresses the importance of "the existence of individual agency in the construction of identity, either conscious or unconscious, that is considered to be the core of self-fashioning".<sup>642</sup> At this stage, I do not wish to pursue the issue of identity.<sup>643</sup> Instead, I take into consideration that the diplomat was a *persona mixta*, in other words, he was someone with personal and official interests.<sup>644</sup> Because of this, it becomes evident that the 1577 list of objects for the embassy to Vienna was the outcome of Borja's agency to project a certain image about himself. To include a high number of objects brought through Portuguese networks, when they did not reflect a common consumption practise in Madrid, reveals a thoughtful decision as to how to demonstrate a privileged capacity of access those goods. In short, Borja decided to use codes of courtly culture for consumption, such as *splendore*, to manifest where the social and economic connections of the diplomat lied.

## The ambassadorial house

Amongst the very long – and incomplete – list dispatched from Madrid in 1577 recording the objects to be sent to Vienna, the number of *colchas de la Yndia* stands out.<sup>645</sup> Juan de Borja was taking nothing less than seven of these items. Two were white and embroidered in yellow, another was embroidered in white and a fourth was said to be made of herb (i.e. tussah silk) with white decoration.<sup>646</sup> This probably means that they were all made in Bengal or by Bengali artisans.<sup>647</sup>

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<sup>640</sup> Ago, 'Splendor and Magnificence', 70.

<sup>641</sup> Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning. From More to Shakespeare*.

<sup>642</sup> Delbrugge, 'Introduction', 3–4.

<sup>643</sup> About a discussion regarding Borja's "national identity", see Chapter 3.

<sup>644</sup> Fletcher, *Diplomacy in Renaissance Rome the Rise of the Resident Ambassador*, 36–37.

<sup>645</sup> See **Appendix III**.

<sup>646</sup> On coffer no. 2: "Una colcha blanca labrada de punto Amarillo de la Yndia; Otra colcha de la Yndia de la misma labor", "Otra colcha de la Yndia labrada de blanco" and "otra colcha de la Yndia de yerba pequeña pespuntada de blanco"., in *Cédula de Paso*, 4th February 1577, in AGS, Cámara de Castilla, Libro 360, f. 187.

<sup>647</sup> In his *Itinerario* (1595), Jan Huygen van Linschoten refers that in Bengal coverlets are made of a yellowish material called "the herb of Bengal", cited in Karl, "'Marvellous Things Are Made with Needles'. Bengal "Colchas" in European Inventories, c. 1580-1630', 4.

Barbara Karl has noted that Bengal *colchas* were considered to be of a higher quality and more appreciated than others were.<sup>648</sup> That might explain why these four were better described in the inventory than the three other *colchas de la Yndia* kept in coffers no. 3, 7 and 8, without information regarding their craftsmanship<sup>649</sup> All these seven *colchas* are mentioned amongst many other items that can be regarded as luxury goods, because only the ones that required a licence to be taken out of Castile – a *cédula de paso* – were registered. In fact, most items in the embassy were omitted of this inventory.<sup>650</sup> The incompleteness of the information can, nonetheless, limit our understanding of their use. It is not possible to clarify whether these objects were intended for Borja’s personal use, for members of Borja’s entourage or whether they were gifts to be offered. Whatever the case may be, the ambassador would still be the ultimately responsible person for the items’ selection. Despite the political or state representation reading that objects can have, their acquisition and selection was the responsibility of the diplomatic agent. Therefore, the 1577 inventory is a trigger to study the driving force behind the acquisition of such an exceptional quantity of *colchas de la Yndia* by Philip II’s ambassador.

To understand the relevance of material culture in early modern diplomatic practises it must be beared in mind that the ambassador’s house was the centre of a diplomat’s activity. As Catherine Fletcher recently noted, the ambassadorial house was the place where the ambassador worked, but, more important than that, it was the place where the diplomat received and entertained. Rather than a phenomenon concerning the particular sphere, diplomatic hospitality was a service that contributed to enhance the honour of the prince. Therefore, hospitality had to be ‘princely’, or, in other words, it had to be *splendid*.<sup>651</sup>

The concept of *splendore* had been developed by Giovanni Pontano (1429-1503) throughout the last quarter of the fifteenth century and finally published in 1498 as one of the five social virtues, together with *liberalita*, *beneficientia*, *magnificentia* and *conviventia*. Pontano developed *splendore* from the concept of *magnificentia*, which in Aristotelean tradition referred to conspicuous consumption in accordance to one’s wealth. *Magnificentia* became increasingly associated with public display of wealth through lasting works such as architecture and, hence, Pontano conceptualised *splendore* as the consumption of ornaments and furnishings for the house.<sup>652</sup> On the one hand, Evelyn Welsh called for the importance of not reading Pontano’s work as a treaty or a description of social

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<sup>648</sup> See Karl, *Embroidered Histories*.

<sup>649</sup> *Cédula de Paso*, 4 February 1577, in AGS, Cámara de Castilla, Libro 360, ff. 187-201v.

<sup>650</sup> Containers are numbered but the total number of containers does not match the numbering: “Cofres” are numbered from 1 to 19, but there are only 16 *cofres* in total; there is one box number 14; three *baúles* although they are numbered up to no. 43 and two bundles labeled “lio n° 30” and “lio n° 31”.

<sup>651</sup> Fletcher, “Furnished with Gentlemen”: The Ambassador’s House in Sixteenth-Century Italy’, 525–526.

<sup>652</sup> Pontano, *I trattati delle virtù sociali*.

practises.<sup>653</sup> On the other hand, Renata Ago claimed that Pontano's work was highly influential for the development of early modern consumption, since the need of being *splendid* required abundant consumption.<sup>654</sup> In Pontano's words, "it is the obligation of the splendid man [...] to acquire as many of these objects [furnishings such as vases, plates, linens, beds, etc.] as possible". However, *splendore* also meant "having [domestic objects] of the most excellent quality, with some superiority that is due either to the artistry or to the material, or to both".<sup>655</sup> In this respect, *colchas* were a more suitable answer to these requirements.

To begin with, *colchas* were textiles. Textiles were the major investment within the home and were often the most expensive items that aristocratic consumers possessed. They defined interior spaces, covering almost all visible surfaces.<sup>656</sup> There were many reasons for this. Tapestries and carpets were surfaces for iconographic programmes that could highlight the name of a given noble House, but needs that are more pragmatic supported their use. Textiles allowed higher comfort standards by minimising the impact of low temperature and by allowing the creation of different settings within the room without touching on the architectural shell. On her study about beds in early modern Spain, Ágreda Pino has demonstrate how the use of textile canopies (*pavellones*) served at delimiting more intimate spaces which could maintain a warm temperature overnight for a comfortable sleep.<sup>657</sup> Hence, it is not surprising that Borja took with him one *cama de grana* with golden and silk fringes with curtains and a *pavellon* and another "pabellón con su manga" made in the same way of his *colchas de la Yndia*.<sup>658</sup> Besides, canopies and the whole set of textiles for the bed – the term *cama* could refer just the textiles, being the bed just a wood structure without decoration – were also means of producing a dazzling effect due to the richness of the materials.

Regarding *colchas de la Yndia*, produced both in today's India and China at the end of the sixteenth century, they were often made of silk, they used metal threads and were profusely embroidered. Silk perfectly fits the idea of *splendore*, not just because it was bright – the verb *splendeo*, from which *splendore* derived, meant "to shine, be bright".<sup>659</sup> In addition, because it was the most expensive and rarest textile – high cost and rarity were part of Pontano's *splendore*.<sup>660</sup> Furthermore, the high quality of the craftsmanship of Asian *colchas* answered the other demand established by Pontano: artistry.

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<sup>653</sup> Welch, 'Public Magnificence and Private Display (...)', 214.

<sup>654</sup> Ago, 'Splendor and Magnificence'.

<sup>655</sup> Ago, 'Splendor and Magnificence', 64.

<sup>656</sup> Richardson and Hamling, 'Ways of Seeing Early Modern Decorative Textiles', 5.

<sup>657</sup> Ágreda Pino, 'Vestir El Lecho. Una Introducción Al Ajuar Textil de La Cama En La España de Los Siglos XV Y XVI'.

<sup>658</sup> *Cédula de Paso*, 4 February 1577, in AGS, Cámara de Castilla, Libro 360, f. 187.

<sup>659</sup> Ajmar-Wollheim and Dennis, *At Home in Renaissance Italy*, 306.

<sup>660</sup> Pontano mentioned and translated in Ago, 'Splendor and Magnificence', 64.

Barbara Karl revealed that Bengali *colchas* were often recognised by their high quality: Gaspar Correia (1495-1561), João de Barros (ca. 1496-1570) and Jan Huygen van Linschoten (ca. 1563-1611) agreed on the fact that Bengali embroidered textiles, namely *colchas*, could not be surpassed.<sup>661</sup>

Borja's inventory does not provide enough information that allows ascertain whether the *colchas* taken to Vienna were indeed from Bengal or whether they could have been produced in Gujarat, China or even in Europe with Asian craftsmanship. The challenges posed by the expressions “de la Yndia” are addressed elsewhere in this thesis.<sup>662</sup> However, none of the authors of the three major contributions for the study of *colchas* – Barbara Karl for Bengali and Gujarati *colchas*; Maria João Ferreira and Teresa Canepa for Chinese textiles – took this problem in consideration.<sup>663</sup> Overall, a clear separation between Indian and Chinese *colchas* in European inventories is virtually impossible to make. For this reason, Borja's *colchas* can only be analysed as Asian in a broad sense. Nevertheless, regardless of the exact provenance, information about the consumption of *colchas* from these different locations does not seem to diverge significantly, neither in chronology nor in materials. What is relevant for this thesis is that, rather than a particular taste for exotic things, the registration of Borja's Asian *colchas* in an inventory where only luxury goods were listed suggests that their consumption was primarily motivated by the need to be *splendid*. Contrastingly, to what Renata Ago has noted, I argue that rather than using individual expertise to achieve *splendore*, Borja used *splendore* to manifest expertise.<sup>664</sup>

This is particularly evident if we return to the connection between *splendore* and hospitality in diplomatic practises. Within courtly culture, every detail about official ceremonial was considered in order to guarantee that guests would be received according to their rank, which was of the upmost importance if the mission was to be successful. As Giulia Galastro demonstrated for the Genoese Republic, “in this ‘coded language’ of hospitality, textiles were a vital grammatical structure, speaking not just about the host and their household, but the whole of Genoa”.<sup>665</sup> In the

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<sup>661</sup> Gaspar Correia (1495-1561) reported that, in 1502, the sheik of Malindi presented Vasco da Gama with a *colcha* from Bengal, where “marvellous things [were] made with needles”. In *Década IV* of João de Barros' *Décadas da Ásia* (published in 1615, well after Barros' death) it is claimed that “nas cousas de labores de agulha [...], a todas as gentes os Bengalas levam vantagem, como se vê nos lavrados das colchas riquissimas, e de outras cousas que de lá vem” Barros and Couto, *Da Ásia*, Decada IV, Liv. IX, Cap. I, 456–457. Linschoten in his *Itinerario* (1596) shared the same opinion, but he added that no European artisan could surpass the Bengalis. Quoted in Karl, “Marvellous Things Are Made with Needles”. Bengal “Colchas” in European Inventories, c.1580-1630’, 3–4; Karl, *Embroidered Histories*, 30.

<sup>662</sup> See Chapter 6, 190-191.

<sup>663</sup> Ferreira briefly mentioned the challenge of working with this concept, but decided to consider the expression *panos da Índia* as referring to textiles of Asian provenance supporting her decision on an English reference from 1705. Ferreira, ‘Os Têxteis Chineses Em Portugal Nas Opções Decorativas Sacras de Aparato (Séculos XVI-XVIII)’, 181. Ago noted that “the best way for the lesser nobility to achieve splendour was to exploit their areas of expertise, particularly if their specialty enjoyed a high exchange value”.

<sup>664</sup> Ago, ‘Splendor and Magnificence’, 70.

<sup>665</sup> Galastro, ‘Wondrous Welcome: Materiality and the Senses in Diplomatic Hospitality in Sixteenth-Century Genoa’.

case of Borja, arriving in Vienna with a whole set of Asian textiles, they would speak about himself, his household and the whole world to which he was linked.

The property of *colchas de la Yndia* to communicate the bifold intention of *splendore* and hospitality is best understood if it is taken into consideration that they were regarded as highly sophisticated domestic products at the Iberian Peninsula. Indeed, they spoke of both domesticity and luxury. This domestic use of *colchas* is particularly evident in the way contemporary sources present them. In the inventory of Ana de Toledo y Colona (1596), *colchas* are in a section entitled “Colchas”; in Juan de la Cerda’s (1607) under “Camisas y Ropa Blanca”; in Ana Antonia de Velasco’s (1617) in “Ropa Blanca”, and in Diego Fernandez de Cordoba’s inventory (1599) *colchas* are also amongst “Ropa Blanca”.<sup>666</sup> Certainly, the inventories refer to an administrative organisation rather than a utilitarian one, but this grouping of *colchas* amongst linen and other textile furnishings find a parallel in contemporary literature. In Lope de Vega’s plays, several references to the use of *colchas* can be found. For instance, in the Sevillian environment of *Esclava de su galán* (1625-1630).<sup>667</sup> In this play, the character Pedro uses *frazadas* (i.e. blankets) and *colchas de la China* to create an antithesis equivalent to the fact that the protagonist, a nobleman, is in love with a slave girl.<sup>668</sup> The *frazada* stands for poor material, warm effect, and belonging to winter, while the *colcha* “de la China” stands for rich and cool, and proper for the summer. A similar contrast recurring to materials is used in *Con su pan se lo coma* (1622), in which Inarda, a peasant woman, does not want to look boorish, so, when she has to prepare her home for the reception of the king and other noblemen, she does not prepare the bed. Instead, she lets the king and noble guests to bring their own gilded beds with rich silk *colchas*.<sup>669</sup> In *El leal Creado* (1621), *colchas* either “de la China” or made with pita thread are mentioned amongst bed sheets made of fine textile, lace and embroidered cushions.<sup>670</sup> Thus, most of the sources agree on presenting *colchas de la Yndia* or *de la China* as fine linen amongst other items of high quality textile furnishings.

This practise of referring to *colchas* as home furnishings is also verified in some letters exchanged between Juan de Borja and the Duke of Lerma at the turn of the century. In 1601, the Duke of

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<sup>666</sup> AHPM Prot. 1813-3, ff. 1312v-1313; Prot. 2001, ff. 1509-1513; Prot. 2021, ff. 385-391v; Prot. 1006, ff. 511-511v.

<sup>667</sup> It is not possible to know until which extent the Sevillian consumption pattern would differ from Madrid in regards to *colchas*, however, it is still worth considering this reference.

<sup>668</sup> “El invierno tenga yo tales frazadas, / y los veranitos frescos / estas colchas de la China” in Vega, *Obras de Lope de Vega*, 1930, vol. XII:154.

<sup>669</sup> “Los aposentos he puesto / lo mejor que yo he podido. / Camas no, que no he querido / parecer villana en esto. / Ellos las traerán doradas, / con ricas colchas de seda.” *Con su pan se lo coma*, 1622, in Vega y Carpio, *Obras de Lope de Vega*, 1917, vol. IV:327.

<sup>670</sup> “Pues verás una cama que parece / que ha extendido su mano la limpieza / y la curiosidad abierto el cofre. / Sábanas, que beber su holanda puedes; / almohadas de randas y labores, / colcha de hilo de pita y de la China.” in Vega, *Obras de Lope de Vega*, 1930, vol. VII:184.

Lerma was investing in the construction of several residences in Lerma and Valladolid, requiring, hence, several items to be used within the domestic sphere. Between late 1600 and early 1601, Borja conveyed information to Lerma regarding the acquisition in Lisbon of several items. In March 1601, he informed the duke that the acquisition of porcelains, carpets, *colchas*, *paños de la China* and a canopy had been accomplished and they were on their way to be delivered to the duke.<sup>671</sup> This purchase, to which I will come back later in this thesis, was meant to be followed by similar ones. Indeed, on the last day of May of the same year, the duke asked Borja to update him about his business in Portugal in order to know how much money he could spend every year in that kingdom with things for his service – “dinero p[ar]a **comprar cosas en portugal de servicio**”.<sup>672</sup> This reference to “cosas de servicio” reappears two weeks later in a letter by Juan de Borja:

Con esta embio la prouision de los seis sclavos que V.ex<sup>a</sup> tiene en lisboa p[ar]a q[ue] se guarde en su contadoria[,] bien podrian acrescentarse otros seis y cobrarse a dineros y con esto se podria yr cada año comprando **cossas de serviço p[ar]a la casa**.<sup>673</sup>

These letters together with all other sources – from the diplomatic inventory of 1577 to the probate inventories taken in Madrid during the 1610s and 1620s, including literary sources, such as Lope de Vega’s plays – converge in the inclusion of Asian *colchas* amongst home furnishings. However, this convergence, which is verified in Iberian references, namely those related to Madrid, contrasts with a few other references that mention *colchas* owned by consumers in the Holy Roman Empire.

Barbara Karl noted that both in Ambras and Prague *colchas* were not intended to be for everyday use, but that they were kept in cupboards. This contrasts with known references regarding Portuguese consumption practises.<sup>674</sup> For example, in 1596, the inventory of Ferdinand II von Tirol’s *Kunstammer* in Schloss Ambras listed an “Indianische grosse deckhen von zarter” and a Bengal cape.<sup>675</sup> These two pieces were amongst other objects said to be either “Indianische”, “Mörisch” or “Turggische”. The same type of geographical grouping can be observed in the inventory of Rudolf II’s *Kunstammer*, which listed a *colcha* under the section “Indian writing desks and chests and what is found within” and which was included in a much larger part dedicated to objects attributed to “India”.<sup>676</sup>

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<sup>671</sup> Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Lerma, Madrid, 25 March 1601, in BL, Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 454-456v.

<sup>672</sup> Reply by the Duke of Lerma to a letter from Juan de Borja, 31 May 1601, in BL, Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 67-67v.

<sup>673</sup> My emphasis. Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Lerma, Madrid, 16 June 1601, in BL, Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 75-77v.

<sup>674</sup> Karl, *Embroidered Histories*, 51.

<sup>675</sup> Boheim, ‘Urkunden Und Regesten Aus Der K. K. Hofbibliothek’, CCCVII. Also quoted in Karl, *Embroidered Histories*, 65.

<sup>676</sup> The importance of the geographical attribute as a distributive factor has already been noted by Barbara Karl. Inventory of Rudolf II quoted in Karl, *Embroidered Histories*, 66.

This striking difference between the use of *colchas de la Yndia* in the Iberian Peninsula and in the Empire discloses how Borja used two courtly codes – *splendore* and hospitality – to manifest his close connections to networks that went through Portugal. If, on the one hand, this mitigated the impact of being *desterrado*, on the other hand, it made public his distinctiveness within the court. Only thanks to his relationships with Portuguese nobility and his easy access to the Portuguese market could he have taken to Vienna seven *colchas de la Yndia*, at such an early date.

## The expert

*Splendour* and hospitality were codes of courtly culture that Borja used to manifest his connections within the Portuguese court. However, the tumultuous political situation that followed the battle of Ksar el-Kebir forced Borja to act differently so that he could play a role in the process of aggregation of Portugal. At this point, he took the initiative in several energetic letters that he wrote to Madrid and fully manifested his expertise about Portuguese affairs. This was, after all, the opportunity that he had been working for.

Having received news about the death of Sebastian at the Battle of Ksar el-Kebir on 4 August 1578, and anticipating the succession crisis that was about to swallow the kingdom, Borja sent a long letter to Philip II. The letter, written in late September, was sent less than a year after Borja's arrival at the imperial court. In it, Borja advises Philip II on how to proceed in order to guarantee the aggregation of the Portuguese crown once the aged and childless Cardinal-King Henry I passed away.<sup>677</sup> It is a long document summarising the rights of several heirs to the throne and defending the advantages to the Portuguese aristocracy were it to align with Philip II. Borja's comment that he would not be fulfilling his duty if he did not advise the king on this matter shows that the letter was not a reply to a request but, instead, was sent out of Borja's own initiative.<sup>678</sup>

During the following year, there was a continuum of letters written from Prague to Madrid about the situation in Portugal. In January 1579, Borja claimed his total inadequacy as an ambassador at the Empire and manifested his impatience to handle the affairs in Portugal:

me bullen los pies para tratar de esse negocio adonde pienso que podria servir mejor que aqui segun el desgusto com que vivo entre esta gente.<sup>679</sup>

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<sup>677</sup> Letter from Juan de Borja to Philip II, Prague, 27 September 1578, in AGS, Estado – Alemania, Leg. 683, n. 28.

<sup>678</sup> “no me parece que compliera con mi obligacion si dexara de hausar de lo que aqui digo a V.Magd”, *ibidem*.

<sup>679</sup> Letter from Borja to Gabriel de Zayas, Prague, 17 January 1579, in AGS, Estado – Alemania, Leg.685.

Subsequent letters show that Borja closely followed what was happening in Portugal – “Las cossas de portugal nos tienen con mucha sospecha”.<sup>680</sup> Or “Las cossas de portugal me tienen con mucho cuydado”.<sup>681</sup> Borja could not miss this opportunity. Keblusek declared that “the main precondition for an agent’s success was his ability to construct and maintain networks”.<sup>682</sup> More than the usefulness of these networks for his role as agent, the networks determined his position at court, particularly after the aggregation of the new kingdom. Therefore, Borja endeavoured to be called back to the Peninsula and take a position he could control. On 14 May 1579, Borja once again insisted in participating in the process of integration of Portugal in the Hispanic Monarchy:

Las cossas de portugal me tienen con mucho cuydado[,] por que quisiera ver a Su Magd muy desenbaraçado para tratar desto como conviene[,] algunas cossas que se me offrescan en esta materia he comenzado a poner por escrito[,] aun que no podrá yr con este[,] pero enbiarlohe con otro no por que entienda que sea menester mas advertimientos sino por cumplir yo con mi obligaçion [...].<sup>683</sup>

On 29 June 1579, Borja returned to the subject and asked to be kept informed about the events.<sup>684</sup> His will to participate in the process of aggregation of the Portuguese crown is evident in a letter he sent from Prague in February 1580, less than a month after the death of Henry of Portugal.<sup>685</sup> In it, he restated that he would not be fulfilling his duty if he did not write it and he detailed what ought to be done at a military level, should the country need to be invaded.<sup>686</sup>

Following the above, Juan de Borja demonstrated his masterly knowledge of the neighbouring kingdom’s military defences, as well as an awareness of measures that had to be taken to avoid the loss of its overseas possessions. Borja specifically advised that time was the most important aspect. Speed was required to avoid that the Portuguese organise a proper defence. The solution was to have a good armada, to move fast and to take the fortresses of Cascais and Setúbal. Following that, Lisbon would immediately fall. Borja knew that neither Cascais nor Setúbal had fortresses strong enough to resist a strong attack by sea, as he also understood the vulnerability of Portuguese cavalry and the importance of sending an army by land. A land army could enter through the plains of Extremadura and Alentejo in order to raise a siege on Lisbon, once the coastline had been secured. Under siege, such a large city would not resist for more than a month with its supply network cut. Indeed, in the summer of 1580 Philip II’s armies marched to Lisbon to face the

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<sup>680</sup> Letter from Borja to Gabriel de Zayas, Vienna, 26 March 1579, in AGS, Estado – Alemania, Leg. 685.

<sup>681</sup> Letter from Borja to Gabriel de Zayas, Prague, 14 May 1579, in AGS, Estado – Alemania, Leg. 685.

<sup>682</sup> Keblusek, ‘Introduction: Double Agents in Early Modern Europe’, 2011, 4.

<sup>683</sup> Letter from Borja to Gabriel de Zayas, Prague, 14 May 1579, in AGS, Estado – Alemania, Leg. 685.

<sup>684</sup> “El suceso de portugal me tienen con mucho cuydado y assi suppco a v.m. me mande avisar de lo que se sufriere saber.” Letter from Juan de Borja to Gabriel de Zayas, Prague, 29 June 1579, in AGS, Estado – Alemania, Leg. 685.

<sup>685</sup> Letter from Juan de Borja to Philip II, Prague, 27 February 1580, in AGS, Estado – Alemania, Leg. 688, n. 51.

<sup>686</sup> “me há parezido que no cumplia com mi obligaçion”, *ibidem*.



troops of António, Prior of Crato, the other claimant to the Portuguese throne. On 25 August, in the Battle of Alcântara, on the outskirts of the city, Philip II was victorious and Lisbon fell. The events practically confirmed Borja's prophecy.<sup>687</sup>

Borja's letter also displays a serious concern with the overseas possessions, especially those of India, Brazil and the fortress of Elmina. With the events that were taking place in Portugal, if the Portuguese did not send ships to Asia, it could raise suspicion. To avoid that, Philip II was advised to send ships with letters to the viceroy of the *Estado da Índia*, Luis de Ataíde, Count of Atouguia, and other captains of Portuguese possessions to assure them that they had nothing to fear, as long as they did not contest the rights of Philip II. The messages ought to be sent by the Portuguese route, the route of New Spain and by land, through Aleppo. Borja closed the letter asking for pardon for the boldness of his initiative and justifies himself with his dedication and wish to help. Eventually, he offers his services to be employed for the task at hand:

[...] el zelo que tengo a su Real serui[cio] me ha forçado a ello, desseando mucho mas emplearme en esta Jornada con mi persona y hazienda en seruir a V.M[agesta]d trabajando que no estar aqui sin hazer nada, hallandome mas abil para lo que ay se offresce que para lo que aqui ay q[ue] hazer, aunque soy para todo y inutil.<sup>688</sup>

## In conclusion

The absence of a resident Portuguese ambassador at the imperial court presented itself as a perfect opportunity for Juan de Borja. The network that he inherited from his father in Portugal, the relationships that he strengthened during his first diplomatic mission, his second marriage to a Portuguese noblewoman and, above all, his knowledge about Portuguese trade networks meant that he could become an intermediary for Portuguese affairs at the Empire. His knowledge and social links were his personal asset that would distinguish him at both courts, in Vienna and Madrid. The events of 1578-1580 (the death of Sebastian of Portugal and the subsequent process for the aggregation of Portugal to the Hispanic Monarchy) were an opportunity that Borja could not afford to miss. In synthesis, the events that took place between the diplomatic mission in Portugal and the end of the embassy at the Empire reveal that, throughout the period, Borja slowly

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<sup>687</sup> Following the defeat at the Battle of Alcântara, Antonio reorganised the resistance at the Azores, but his army was definitively defeated in 1583. For more on this topic, see: Valladares, *A conquista de Lisboa*.

<sup>688</sup> Letter from Juan de Borja to Philip II, Prague, 27 February 1580, in AGS, Estado – Alemania, Leg. 688, n. 51.

exploited his expertise in order to improve his social position. Since there is no documentation concerning the period of the preparation of the embassy, Borja's behaviour at the Empire is a clue to understand the inclusion of a high number of *colchas de la Yndia* amongst his cargo.

The seven *colchas de la Yndia* included in the list should be regarded as part of the courtly codes that Borja used to define his place at the Vienna court. To answer to courtly requirements of *splendore* and hospitality, Borja chose luxurious textiles inaccessible to most. Since in the 1570s, Asian textiles supply was practically only possible through Portugal, the ambassador not only manifested his capacity to access these goods, but also his expertise about that kingdom and its trade networks.

To sum up, this chapter highlighted the importance of localising consumption. As suggested by some literature, the use of *colchas de la Yndia* differed significantly from Iberian- to Northern-European contexts. The case of Borja reinforces that argument. The list of items that he brought from Portugal into Castile after his first diplomatic mission does not mention a considerable number of objects from overseas. Conversely, the diplomatic list of 1577 is so close to the list of goods traded in the Portuguese empire, which Borja sent to Feria in 1571, that the former resembles almost as a catalogue of goods that Borja could make available. Even if *colchas* were to be regarded as *exotic* at the Empire, as suggested by the fact that both Ferdinand II von Tirol and Rudolf II kept *colchas* amongst their Asian objects, Borja's driving force for consumption was his ties with Portugal.

# Chapter 6

## Porcelain

On 21 February 1601, Juan de Borja informed his nephew, Francisco de Sandoval y Rojas, that porcelains recently commissioned were ready to be dispatched from Lisbon. To accommodate these objects, Sandoval y Rojas, who had just been granted the ducal title of Lerma (in 1599), was advised to adapt an existing room in one of his palaces. The suggestion came at perfect time, because Borja's nephew was investing in the construction of his palace and seat of his new ducal house in Lerma. Borja was very clear about the need of this room, which he called a *camarín*. If anything, Lerma was advised to invest in the creation of a *camarín*, because all men of the highest rank ought to have one:

[...] mande escojer vna muy buena pieça para hazer vn muy buen camarín por ques vna parte necesaria en vna tan prinçipal casa.<sup>689</sup>

This reference is very intriguing. If read superficially, the reader might assume that the *camarín* is a type of “ancestor” to the late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Baroque rooms of Chinese porcelain. Indeed, it is hard not to think of rooms like the one in Berlin's Charlottenburg Palace or even in earlier examples such as the ceiling of the Palace of Santos in Lisbon. An alternative reading suggests that the *camarín* could be a *Kunstkammer*, which would mean that the porcelain was being commissioned to enrich the exotic contents of Lerma's collection. Common impressions aside, instead of embarking on a teleological discourse about the creation of porcelain cabinets, or *Kunstkammern*, the sixth chapter of this thesis aims at enquiring about the relational context of Juan de Borja and the Duke of Lerma. This enquiry is done within the framework of the reception of Chinese porcelain amongst aristocratic elites. In particular, elites in Madrid during the last decades of the sixteenth century. Through this exercise, I aim at understanding why Juan de Borja encouraged the Duke of Lerma to build a specific room in order to keep porcelain.

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<sup>689</sup> Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Lerma, Madrid, 21 February 1601, in BL, Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 410-411v.

Further to that, I demonstrate that the consumption of porcelain in Madrid at this time was not primarily motivated by a presumed interest in exotic things. Rather, I argue that porcelain was domesticated in the Iberian Peninsula by the end of the sixteenth century. Therefore, its consumption can be entirely explained by standards and practises that belong to the domestic sphere. In order to support this claim, the chapter is developed in three stages. First, I show that the documentation does not support the argument that porcelain was consumed due to a taste for exotic things. Second, I stress the significance of looking at porcelain as a ceramic material, rather than as a collectible curio. Thirdly and lastly, I reveal how the nature of the material was an answer to domestic needs. In the case of the Duke of Lerma, those needs were to strengthen his recently created ducal house.

## 6.1. A “Chinesenessless” import from China

In the literature, the reception of Chinese porcelain in Europe is embedded in a teleological narrative. That narrative establishes that porcelain consumption was a growing phenomenon from the late Middle Ages up until early twentieth century. From a precious rarity entering the continent through Egypt or the Levant in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, porcelain became an *exotic* item increasingly available in Europe after the opening of new oceanic routes at the beginning of the sixteenth century.<sup>690</sup> Further to that, there was an explosion of consumption when the Dutch East India Company (VOC) became the main supplier of porcelain during the following century. The subsequent and unstoppable pan-European fashion and appetite for this evasive material filled aristocratic cabinets during the eighteenth century and the bourgeois interiors during the nineteenth century. At least, this has been how the evolution of Chinese porcelain consumption in Europe has been hitherto told.

That being said, recent works for the Netherlands, Portugal and Spain showed that a less homogenous process underlies such a neatly told story. Anne Gerritsen claimed that Chinese porcelain was already highly “domesticated” during the seventeenth century. Further to that, Nuno Senos used the same term to describe the consumption practises of the Portuguese Duke of Bragança a century earlier. In addition, Cinta Krahe discovered significant differences between

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<sup>690</sup> Whitehouse, ‘Chinese Porcelain in Medieval Europe’, 65.

consumption of porcelain in Portugal and in Habsburg Spain during the same period.<sup>691</sup> Therefore, this calls for an analysis that takes the specific context of porcelain acquisition into consideration. In particular for this thesis, the context in which the Duke of Lerma acquired porcelain.

## Porcelana

I will start with a lexicological problem in an effort to challenge the metanarratives that impose post-eighteenth-century views of exoticism on documentation from earlier periods. Most revealingly, many historiographical works take the word *porcelana* for granted. However, when looking at Madrid inventories from the turn of the seventeenth century, it becomes evident that *porcelana* is a term that neither means the material “porcelain”, neither does it specifically refer to a context of production.

As with many other early modern terms, the word *porcelana* needs to be understood. In her recent work about consumption of Chinese porcelain in Habsburg Spain, Cinta Krahe summed up the multiple meanings ascribed to this word during the early modern period. Nuno Senos did the same thing in the case of Duke of Bragança in Portugal. For the most part, *porcelana* meant not only the material that today we call porcelain but also an undetermined type of recipient like a bowl.<sup>692</sup> On the one hand, Sebastián de Covarrubias defined *porcelana* in 1611 as an object made of transparent clay – “vn barro transparente” – brought from China.<sup>693</sup> On the other hand, contemporary inventories reveal a much more confusing reality. As the following table shows, *porcelana* could refer to an object made of glass, gold, silver, wood or indeed any other material.

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<sup>691</sup> Gerritsen, ‘Domesticating Goods from Overseas: Global Material Culture in the Early Modern Netherlands’; Senos, ‘Conclusão: De Todas as Partes Do Mundo’; Krahe, *Chinese Porcelain in Habsburg Spain*; Campen and Eliens, *Chinese And Japanese Porcelain For The Dutch Golden Age*; Corrigan et al., *Asia in Amsterdam*; Canepa, *Silk, Porcelain and Lacquer*.

<sup>692</sup> Krahe, *Chinese Porcelain in Habsburg Spain*, 23–26; Rojo Vega, *El Siglo de Oro. Inventario de Una Época.*, 67–70; Senos, ‘The Empire in the Duke’s Palace. Global Material Culture in 16th-century Portugal’, 132.

<sup>693</sup> Covarrubias Orozco, *Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana o Española, o Española*, Parte II, f. 146.

Owner	Object	Section	Reference
Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	“Dos porcelanas grandes de bidro”	Bestidos de hombre	P590, f. 1373v
Ana de Toledo y Colona	“Una vorcelana de vidrio berde con un angeo”	Plata que sirbe a mi s <sup>a</sup> la marquesa y sus hijos	P1810-3, f. 1304
Ana de Toledo y Colona	“Una borcelana de vidro grande de mermelada”	Conseruas	P1810-3, f. 1318
Juan de la Cerda	“Una porcelanica de oro a modo de media naranja por de fuera tallada de unas llamas y esmaltadas de rrojo y por de dentro unas líneas de rrojo que son medidas de onças”	Cosas de Cristal y Joyas	P2001, f. 1478v
Juana de Aragón y Colonna	“Dos Porcelanas de plata”	Dentro de un cofre.	P2021, f. 911
Juana de Aragón y Colonna	“Una porcelanica de plata blanca”	Dentro de una arquilla.	P2021, f. 912
Juana de Aragón y Colonna	“Dos Porcelanicas de plata blancas redondas con sus asientos y asillas”	-	P2021, f. 920
Francisco Rojas	“Una porçelana de bidro verde guarneçida de plata dorada con quatro leones”	Plata blanca	P2176, f. 267
Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	“Otras dos porcelanitas la una de palo y la otra de bexuco”	Dentro de un escritorio	P2322, f. 19v
Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	“Una porcelanita [...] que es de tortuga”	Dentro de un escritorio	P2322, f. 19v
Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	“Otras dos porcelanitas mas pequeñas de tortuga”	Dentro de un escritorio	P2322, f. 19v
Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	“Una porçelana de Tortuga”	-	P2322, f. 23v
Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	“Dos porcelanicas de xaspe de la yndia doradas y ochabadas”	-	P2322, f. 23v
Juan de Borja y Castro	“Una porçelana grande de Vidrio de barçelona dorada de vnas aguilas”	Vidrios	P2626, f. 1040
Juan de Borja y Castro	“Otra porçelana de bidrio de barçelona mayor que la de arriba con unos ramos de fluta dorados”	Vidrios	P2626, f. 1040
Juan de Borja y Castro	“Vna porçelana de vidrio de barçelona con su pie de plata”	Vidrios	P2626, f. 1040

**Table 6.1 – Ambiguity of the term *porcelana***

**Table 6.1** clearly shows that the term *porcelana* was widely used to refer to certain forms of objects. Its meaning as a specific type of ceramic paste was not established at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Therefore, the introduction of a geographical attribute was the easiest way to make it clear that objects were made from porcelain. Although the expression *porcelana de la China* can be found in inventories, *porcelana de la India* was more widely used by inventory officers (see **Table 6.2**).

The prevalence of references to *porcelana de la India* over *porcelana da la China* suggests that consumption of Chinese products was not motivated by their “Chineseness” at the turn of the century. Nowhere in the inventories, nor in correspondence, is there evidence that porcelain was consumed because of a link with China. Needless to say, this is a major difference from later consumption practises of porcelain. The development of *chinoiserie* during the seventeenth- and eighteenth-centuries’ France, Netherlands or England, and eventually across Europe, was mainly a Western formulation about China – if not the whole “Orient”.<sup>694</sup> Contrastingly, the Iberian sources from the late sixteenth century describe porcelain as just another commodity brought from *India*.

<sup>694</sup>See for example: Porter, ‘Monstrous Beauty: Eighteenth-Century Fashion and the Aesthetics of the Chinese Taste’; Romano, *Impressions de Chine. L’Europe et l’englobement du monde (XVIe-XVIIe siècles)*, 289–305.

Owner	Object	Section	Reference
Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	“Vna porçelana de la yndia estraordin <sup>a</sup> dorada”	Oro y plata labrada	P1006, f. 499
Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	“Una porcelana grande de la Jndia”	Porcelanas	P1006, f. 527
Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	“Dos porcelanas turquessas "tendidas vna verde y otra color[a]da”	Porcelanas	P1006, f. 527
Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	“Siete dozenas[dezenas?] de trincheos de la Jndia”	Porcelanas	P1006, f. 527
Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	“Vna botixilla dorada de la Jndia”	Porcelanas	P1006, f. 527v
Maria de Aragón	“Çinco Porçelanas finas de la china”		P1578, f. 166v
Maria de Aragón	“Otros dos Platos finos pquenos de la yndia”		P1578, f. 167
Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	“Cuarenta y ocho porcelanas de la yndia”	Porçelanas	P1810-3, f. 1762v
Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	“Tres aceyteras y uinagreras todo de la yndia”	Porçelanas	P1810-3, f. 1762v
Ana Antonia de Velasco	“Doce porcelanas de la india”	Esriptorios	P2021b, f. 376
Ana Antonia de Velasco	“Doce porcelanas de la yndia”	Camarin	P2021b, f. 422v
Ana Antonia de Velasco	“Quatro plasticos de porcelana de la yndia”	Camarin	P2021b, f. 422v
Juana de Aragón y Colonna	“Quince porcelanicas de la Jndia”	Dentro una arca	P2021c, f. 915
Ana Manrique	“En otra aquilla de los olores ay quatro porçelanas muy pequeñas de la yndia con dos bidrios y dos pares de tijeras para guantes”	Guantes de cordoban y cordobanes y cosas de olor	P2022, f. 386v
Ana Manrique	“Quatro porçelanicas muy pequeñas de la yndia y çinco bucaros de Portugal”	En un escritorio Grande de nogal, y un contadorçillo, y en un baulico, y dos arquillas	P2022, f. 390
Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	“Ocho porzelanitas de escudilla de la Yndia”	Dentro de un contador	P2322, f. 17
Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	“Seis porcelanicas de la yndia”	Dentro de un contador	P2322, f. 17
Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	“Diez plattos de porzelana de la yndia”	Dentro de un contador	P2322, f. 17
Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	“Diecisiete porzelanas de la yndia”	Dentro de un escritorio	P2322, f. 23
Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	“Una porcelanita de la China”	Dentro de un escritorio	P2322, f. 23v
Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	“Una garrafa grande de porzelana de la yndia”	Dentro de un escritorio	P2322, f. 23v
Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	“Dos porcelanas grandes "de porzelana de la yndia”	Dentro de un escritorio	P2322, f. 24v
Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	“Un salero pequeño de porzelana de la yndia”	Dentro de un escritorio	P2322, f. 24v
Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	“Un aguamanil de porzelana de la yndia”	Dentro de un escritorio	P2322, f. 24v
Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	“Un leon de porzelana de la yndia”	Dentro de un escritorio	P2322, f. 24v
Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	“Un brinco de porzelana de la yndia [...] con un yndio a caballo”	Dentro de un escritorio	P2322, f. 24v
Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	“Seis porzelanas de la yndia berdes y amarillas”	Dentro de un escritorio	P2322, f. 24v
Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	“Dos porzelanas de la yndia”	Dentro de un escritorio	P2322, f. 24v
Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	“Dos porzelanicas de la yndia”	Dentro de un escritorio	P2322, f. 24v
Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	“Una porcelana de Rota de la Yndia”	Dentro de un escritorio	P2322, f. 28
Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	“Una porzelana de la yndia guarnesçida de plata dorada y pié de plata alto”		P2323, f. 33v
Mencia de Bobadilla	“Una porçelanilla de la yndia”		P2662, f. 541v
Antonio Orlandis	“Unas porcelanas de la yndia”		P2665, f. 852v
Antonia de Rojas	“Dos porçelanitas de la yndia”	Esriptorios de alemania arquillas y otras cossas	P2678, f. 792v
Antonia de Rojas	“Una porcelana como fuente fina de la china”	Sillas bufetes y cosas de madera	P2678, f. 799v
Jorge Cerón Carvajal	“Dos porcelanillas de la china”		P2679b, f. 786

**Table 6.2 – List of objects made of porcelain with geographical attributes (*de la yndia/ china*)**

## The idea of China

It needs to be questioned whether there was an interest in China in sixteenth-century Iberia that led to porcelain consumption. For the most part, an admiration for China was not widely developed in Europe during this period. For example, Rui Loureiro, Antonella Romano and Christina Lee provided proof that solid information about China only started to reach the Iberian Peninsula in the second half of the sixteenth century.<sup>695</sup> Although Europeans knew of the existence of China itself, at least since the thirteenth century, accounts about that country were still very limited in number and readership until the 1580s. Therefore, I argue that an interest in objects' "Chineseness" could not exist before that.

Despite limited, information about China had nonetheless reached the Iberian Peninsula. In the particular case of the Portuguese court, it had received information since the beginning of the sixteenth century. Moreover, circulation of manuscripts with accounts from China was quite intense by mid-century.<sup>696</sup> Rui Loureiro, for example, discussed in detail the flow of information about China that reached Lisbon. In his work, Loureiro highlighted the importance of the return voyage of Fernão Peres de Andrade from Canton (Guangzhou), the letters sent by the members of the first Portuguese embassy to China and the Jesuit accounts. All these stand as the most important contributors for the valorisation of China in the framework of Asian trade.<sup>697</sup> During the second half of the sixteenth century, interest in the Middle Kingdom increased considerably. By 1552, João de Barros and Fernão Lopes de Castanheda started to publish news about China.<sup>698</sup> These publications were soon to be followed by the publication of other travel accounts in such important European printing centres as Venice, for example.<sup>699</sup>

Nonetheless, since the contacts made by the Portuguese were limited to coastal areas (apart from a few exceptions), knowledge about China was still indirect and very fragmentary. Moreover, the interest in China seems to have been mainly motivated by economic opportunities. One very illustrative example was the discussion taking place at the Hispanic court during the 1570s and 1580s about the possibilities of conquering China. That project aimed at taking control of the maritime trade in Southeast Asia, where Chinese merchants dominated. However, later events would soon reveal the impossibility of this expansionist plan.<sup>700</sup>

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<sup>695</sup> Loureiro, *A China Na Cultura Portuguesa Do Século XVI*; Loureiro, *Fidalgos, missionários e mandarins*; Lee, *Western Visions of the Far East in a Transpacific Age, 1522–1657*; Loureiro, 'A Construção Da Imagem Da China No Século de Quinhentos'; Romano, *Impressions de Chine. L'Europe et l'englobement du monde (XVIe-XVIIe siècles)*.

<sup>696</sup> Loureiro, 'A Construção Da Imagem Da China No Século de Quinhentos', 27–29; 35–36.

<sup>697</sup> Loureiro, *Fidalgos, missionários e mandarins*, 444–445. See also Chapters 5–6, 10, 13, 15.

<sup>698</sup> Barros and Couto, *Da Asia*; Castanheda, *História Do Descobrimento E Conquista Da Índia Pelos Portugueses*.

<sup>699</sup> Romano, *Impressions de Chine. L'Europe et l'englobement du monde (XVIe-XVIIe siècles)*, 32–38.

<sup>700</sup> Ollé, *La empresa de China*.



If there was, however, an attraction to China, or a specific interest for Chinese products, that can only have started during the last quarter of the sixteenth century. On the whole, the first texts ever published in Europe that were entirely dedicated to China appeared only in the 1570s. For example, Gaspar da Cruz's *Tractado em que se cõtam muito por estẽso as cousas da China*, in 1570, or Bernardino de Escalante's *Discurso sobre la navegaci3n que los portugueses hacen a los reinos y provincias de Oriente, y de la noticia que se tiene de las grandezas del reino de la China*, in 1577. The distribution and impact of these works was extremely limited, but they do convey a certain admiration for China.<sup>701</sup> Loureiro actually declared that the text by Gaspar da Cruz presents China as an almost perfect social model worthy of admiration.<sup>702</sup>

A feeling of admiration for China was to reappear in Fern3o Mendes Pinto's book, *Peregrinaç3o*, published in 1614 (but finished around 1582). In this famous book, Mendes Pinto writes about his adventures in Asia while describing the regions where he travelled. The author supports the view of China as an ideal society, notwithstanding its religion, which the author condemns. Furthermore, Mendes Pinto adds another layer that can have contributed to a growth in fascination about China. By mixing biographical account with fiction, Mendes Pinto creates a tale made true by the authority inherent to the physical presence of its author in the events.<sup>703</sup> In other words, the reader receives pragmatical information about China and at the same time is excited about the narrators' adventures. In brief, in *Peregrinaç3o* the ingredients of Chineseness were served with those of exoticness.<sup>704</sup>

For the most part, as I showed above, the importation of Chinese material culture cannot have been motivated by an idea of Chineseness. By the time Iberians started to shape an idea of Chineseness, they were already well acquainted with Chinese material culture. This is confirmed by Juan Gonz3lez de Mendoza's *Historia de las cosas mas notables, ritos y costumbres del gran Reyno de la China*. This was one of the first publishing enterprises to bring to Europeans some knowledge on China.<sup>705</sup> The text comprised the author's own account and a group of other earlier texts about that Asian territory. First published in Rome in 1585, this work reached a much wider audience than the Portuguese accounts. Further to that, it was the first to reveal to Europeans that porcelain was made from a special type of clay. Hence, it dismissed earlier opinions about the subject, such

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<sup>701</sup> Romano, *Impress3es de Chine (...)*, 56–58.

<sup>702</sup> Loureiro, *Fidalgos, mission3rios e mandarins*, 638.

<sup>703</sup> Loureiro, Chapter 25.

<sup>704</sup> I refer mainly to the discussion on the separation between the world of the observer/reader and the *exotic* world. See Chapter 1 and forthcoming pages about Leit3o's and Sanch3z's argument on the creation of a *mundus novus*, see page 193.

<sup>705</sup> Romano, *Impress3es de Chine (...)*, 65–73.

as Duarte Barbosa's view that mentioned the use of crushed shells.<sup>706</sup> Thus, González de Mendoza's text confirms that porcelain had been consumed in Europe even if its raw material was still unknown. Nevertheless as Antonella Romano put it, porcelain entered in European homes before Europeans have entered in China.<sup>707</sup>

On the whole, the fascination for China was perhaps a consequence of consumption, rather than a cause for it. Amalia von Solms, Princess-consort of Orange, (1602-1675) is regarded as a pioneer in the development of porcelain cabinets and of a taste for *chinoiserie*.<sup>708</sup> That being said, by the time Amalia von Solms had assembled her collection, other developments had occurred. On the one hand, the number of publications about the Middle Kingdom increased considerably throughout the seventeenth century. That, in turn, stimulated curiosity over that immense territory. On the other hand, the Dutch arrived in Java in 1595. Needless to say, that arrival granted them access to Chinese goods in Asian trading posts. In addition to that, the capture of two Portuguese ships and the hugely successful auction of their cargo in Amsterdam in 1602 and 1603 stimulated an enormous increase in the imports of Chinese goods to Amsterdam.<sup>709</sup> Thanks to the growing knowledge about China and the growing offer, the conditions were finally ready for the development of a taste for Chinese things.<sup>710</sup> That being said, this combination of factors may help to understand the consumption practises of Amalia von Solms. However, it cannot explain Juan de Borja's and the Duke of Lerma's consumption of porcelain. What, then, encouraged these earlier cases to possess porcelain?

## Brought from India

It could be argued that the debate about the idea of China is superfluous because the idea of China was already implicit in the references to objects *de la India*. Both *China* and *India* could be regarded as referring to the East as a whole. Again, this proposition needs to be discussed. Many decades ago, Vilhelm Slomann noticed that “the meaning of ‘India’ in the sixteenth and the seventeenth

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<sup>706</sup> “Ay otras tiendas de porcelanas de diferentes maneras, coloradas, verdes, doradas, y amarillas: valen tan baratas q[ue] por quatro reales dan cincuenta piezas. Hazense de vn barro rezio, el qual deshazen, y muelen, y echan en vnos estanques de agua, que tienen muy bien hechos de piedra de cantería: y despues de bien rebuelto en el agua, de la nata que queda encima hazen las mas finas, y quanto mas abaxo va, son mas bastas. Hazense de la forma que las de aca, y despues las doran, y ponen el color que quieren: el qual jamas pierde[n]. Luego las cuezen el horno, y esto se há visto, y es mas versimil, que lo que dize cierto Duardo Barbosa, que anda en Italiano, que se hazen de caracoles de mar, los quales se muelen y los mete[n] debaxo de tierra a afinarse cien años, y otras cosas que acerca desto dize.” González Mendoza, *Historia de Las Cosas Mas Notables, Ritos Y Costumbres Del Gran Reyno de La China (...)*, 24–25.

<sup>707</sup> In Romano's words: “le monde chinois a déjà commence à entrer en Europe, avant même que l'Europe ait trouvé à s'installer sur le territoire chinois” Romano, *Impressions de Chine (...)*, 75.

<sup>708</sup> Treanor, “Une Abondance Extra Ordinaire”: The Porcelain Collection of Amalia van Solms’.

<sup>709</sup> Ketel, ‘Early 17 Th Century Chinese Trade Ceramics for the Dutch Market’.

<sup>710</sup> Kehoe, ‘Dutching at Home and Abroad’.

centuries was notoriously indefinite and puzzling”, as it could mean everything, not only from the Cape of Good Hope eastwards, but also westwards when used to describe America.<sup>711</sup> The sample of inventories that was used for this thesis confirm the statement. Despite it being common to distinguish between “Indias” (America) and “India de Portugal” (Asia), when “India” alone is mentioned it is difficult to understand to which “India” the author refers.<sup>712</sup> For instance, the inventory of Guiomar Pardo y Tavera includes “dos calabacitas de la Yndia para chocolate”.<sup>713</sup> These chocolate cups can be Mexican, Indian or even made of Chinese porcelain. In other sources, however, the meaning of “India” can be inferred from the context of its use. For example, when used in relation to Portugal, it usually refers to Asia. Nonetheless, the flexible – and rather convenient – use of the expression *de la India* should not be interpreted as unawareness for the place of production of goods.

In the letter that Juan de Borja wrote from Lisbon to the Duke of Feria in June 1571, porcelain is included in the section “Lo q[ue] viene de la India para portugal” – i.e. what comes from India to Portugal.<sup>714</sup> This does not mean that Borja did not know where porcelain was made. Indeed, evidence suggests that he was aware of the most recent information about China. First, it is curious to note that porcelain was mentioned in that list right before “many kinds of trinkets from China and Khambhat”.<sup>715</sup> This suggests that there is some sort of mental connection between porcelain and trinkets from China. Second, while in Lisbon, Borja collected much information about the geography of the Portuguese Empire. Philip II had commanded his ambassador to investigate the exact location of the Maluku Islands, for example. The king needed that information, so that a direct route with New Spain could be opened. In 1570 Borja was already assembling maritime charts to clarify the exact position of the islands. In turn, he gained a wide knowledge about Southeast Asia.<sup>716</sup> Three years later, Borja forwarded a letter to Philip II originally sent by Gregorio

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<sup>711</sup> For a discussion on the concept of *India*, see: Slomann, ‘The Indian Period of European Furniture’, Part III, 201.

<sup>712</sup> As two examples: María de Aragón had “Seis platos finos de porcelanas de las yndias”, in AHP, Prot. 1578, f. 167; Ana Antonia de Velasco had “Dos estericas de las yndias de colores”, in AHPM, Prot. 2021b, f.384v. This fact was already cited by Aguiló Alonso (1990). Francisco de Rojas had “dos bufetes de la yndia de portugal labrados de palo santo”, in AHPM, Prot. 2176, f. 218; Juan Lorenzo de Castilla had “tres esferas de la yndia de portugal”, in AHPM, Prot. 590, f. 1377v. In Spanish, the term “India” seems to be used to designate all non-European territories Cardim, *Portugal unido y separado*, 156–157.

<sup>713</sup> AHPM, Prot. 2322, f. 27v.

<sup>714</sup> See Chapter 5.

<sup>715</sup> “Lo q[ue] viene de la India para portugal: [...]; Porçelanas; muchas suertes de brincos de la china y cambaya”, Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Feria, Lisbon, 12th June 1571, in AGS, Estado – Portugal, Leg. 389, n. 38-39.

<sup>716</sup> “Cada dia voy tomando nueva luz en lo que toca a las demarcaciones entendiendo el cuidado que aca ponen en escureçer esta uerdad lo qual spero sacar muy en limpio. Y asi hago hazer algunas cartas de nauegar. Vnas conforme a lo que sopena de la uida les mandan hazer a los maestros y otras conforme a la uerdad con que ellos entienden que se deuen hazer. Va a dezir de lo vno alotro catorçe grados por lo menos. y tomase esto mas a las manos viendo que las cartas que alla en la india se hazen son conforme a nra uerdad. yo procurare recoger todos esos pepeles para q. V.M. uea la razon que tienen para ser aquello suyo lo qual no dexara en algun tiempo de ser de prouecho”, Letter from

González, the “vicar of China”. In this letter, its author provides a long description about the trade in Southeast Asia while referring to most islands and territories of the region. Moreover, the letter mentioned the goods that were produced and traded amongst them, from Malacca to the Philippines. Regardless of a clear concern when characterizing the different territories, it is also evident that Chinese merchants were important in the region. When Chinese merchants sailed to the island of Mindanao in the Philippines, for example, they traded porcelain for wax and tortoiseshell.<sup>717</sup> Given all the information to which Borja had access during his diplomatic mission in Lisbon, it is more than likely that he was fully aware of the fact that porcelain was made in China. Yet, porcelain was a material that was brought *de la India*.

The letter that Father González sent to Borja is likewise interesting. It discloses that the expression *de la India* should not be interpreted as embracing interest in something that was simply *oriental*. Recent historiography has defended that there is a difference between the processes of acquisition of knowledge about the exotic world during the sixteenth century and those of later periods. One of the arguments raised is that sixteenth-century Iberians perceived non-European spaces in ways that were different from how the Dutch later perceived them. Most of the sixteenth-century literary production aimed at individualising the different places and areas of the *Indias*. That was done while understanding their differences, their religion and political structures, their economic resources and their culture.<sup>718</sup> Father Gregorio González also did this in the letter that he sent to Juan de Borja in the 1570s. All in all, that letter shows that the exotic world was not perceived as a unit external to Europe. Rather, it was a diverse and complex conglomerate of multiple territories that had to be apprehended. The idea of a single *oriental* and *exotic* world had not yet developed.

Several scholars have tried to determine when did the idea of an exotic world as a conceptual unit appeared in Europe. At the centre is the need to see a more heterogenous framework in the way Europeans apprehended exotic spaces during the early modern period. As discussed in Chapter 1, Benjamin Schmidt defended that the idea of a unified East full of allure is the outcome of a large production of geographical works in the Netherlands over the second half of the seventeenth

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Juan de Borja to Philip II, Lisbon, 31 August 1570, in AGS, Estado – Portugal, Leg. 387. See also: Letters from Juan de Borja about the armada from New Spain to the Maluku Islands, 5 August 1570, in AGI, Patronato, 46, R.8.

<sup>717</sup> *Relacion del Vicario dela China escrita a Don Juan de Borxa sobre el yerro enla Navegacion que hacian los Castellanos para las Islas Platareas, y la forma como quedarian señores en muchos Reynos, y enla Navegacion para la Nueva España y para la China, haciendola para la Isla enlos Luzones, con otras muchas advertencias y noticias muy Curiosas, è interesantes*, 1573, in Archivo del Museo Naval, Colección Fernández de Navarrete, Nav. XVIII, 21, Available at: [www.upf.edu/asia/proyectos/che/s16/vicari.htm](http://www.upf.edu/asia/proyectos/che/s16/vicari.htm), accessed on 26 March 2018. See also: Letters from Juan de Borja about the armada from New Spain to the Maluku Islands, 5 August 1570, in AGI, Patronato, 46, R.8.

<sup>718</sup> Lach has demonstrated through his work that precise knowledge about the different parts of Asia was enlarged throughout the century: “Even though Europe’s focus was still blurred before 1550, a perceptive European could begin to see the separate parts of Asia distinctly”, in Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vols. I, 823. (see chapters VI-IX, and the epilogue, 822-835).

century. The author claimed that, in a former form of geography, Europeans attempted to “bridge distances and erase global distinctions” in order to understand the exotic world, whereas in a later form of geography they “sought to extend and expand those qualities that differentiated [them] from the exotic world, emphasizing precisely the diversions and attractions of an enticingly unfamiliar globe”.<sup>719</sup> The distinction was enlarged and made more evident with a clear separation of the two worlds. On the one hand, there was Europe. On the other hand, there was the Exotic. Eventually, the Exotic would be a source of attraction, fascination and curiosity.

Recently, Henrique Leitão and Antonio Sánchez have supported the existence of a “first phase” in the production of knowledge about non-European spaces. According to these scholars, the first phase was characterised by the efforts to create “for the first time, a discursive conceptualization and a reification of this ‘New World’”.<sup>720</sup> In other words, the idea of a *Mundus Novus* was created not only because it was new, but also because it was a *Mundus*. In short, the idea of the existence of an external coherent unity also had to be created. As these scholars have argued, “a ‘world’ means essentially an immense totality of connected elements, coherently disposed. The important aspect to note is that a world is not a place, it is not a *situs* [...]. It is a unique and harmonious whole, despite being composed of myriads of elements of many varied characteristics”.<sup>721</sup> Only after this process has been accomplished, could the second phase take place. The second phase would be that of the late sixteenth century and seventeenth century. Then, “specific descriptions of botany, biology, and natural phenomena could be made against a background that was already ontologically assured”.<sup>722</sup>

Following these arguments, the expression *de la India* cannot be interpreted as a conceptualised unit, or as a synonym for the “Exotic world”. Instead, it needs to be understood in a more indistinct way. Antonella Romano drew attention to the fact that efforts to define the concepts of *India* and *Indias* were still being made during the seventeenth century.<sup>723</sup> Because the creation of an autonomous *mundus* had not been fully achieved by the end of the sixteenth century, perhaps the expression *de la India* needs to be understood simply as a way to describe a broad economic region, or merely an area of distribution of goods.

That said, Borja was not the only one to be aware that porcelain *de la India* was made in China. Tomé Pires, for instance, wrote about the topic in his *Suma Oriental* (1515, not published before

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<sup>719</sup> Schmidt, *Inventing Exoticism*, 14.

<sup>720</sup> Leitão and Sánchez, “Too Much to Tell (...)”, 170.

<sup>721</sup> Leitão and Sánchez, “Too Much to Tell (...)”, 174.

<sup>722</sup> Leitão and Sánchez, “Too Much to Tell (...)”, 170.

<sup>723</sup> Romano, *Impressions de Chine. L'Europe et l'englobement du monde (XVIe-XVIIe siècles)*, 29–32.

the twentieth century). Besides, thanks to the information provided by João de Barros and Frey Gaspar da Cruz between 1552 and 1570, Iberians knew that porcelain was a Chinese product.<sup>724</sup> Yet, this does not mean that porcelain-consuming Iberians were consciously consuming “China”. There is no evidence in Madrid’s turn-of-the-seventeenth-century inventories that porcelain consumers were motivated by its Chineseness.

## 6.2. A domesticated material

To understand the driving force behind Lerma’s consumption, Chinese porcelain must be regarded not for its extraordinary characteristics, but for how it responded to certain European needs. In Leitão and Sánchez’s “first phase” of knowledge production about the exotic world, the “the ‘new’ [...] is fully domesticated and quite alien to the medieval monsters and *mirabilia*”. In other words, when facing the extraordinary or the different, bridges had to be built in order to make them commensurable:

“Novelties were not persuasive because they were associated with exceptional circumstances, but because they contained a certain commensurability with what was known in Europe [...]. This strategy obviously helps in creating a credible *Mundus*, but clearly attenuates the sense of newness”.<sup>725</sup>

Consumption of Chinese material culture should be seen in this light. At least, when analysing how Juan de Borja managed the commission of porcelain for the Duke of Lerma. Rather than extraordinary, or embedded in Chineseness, porcelain was a material perfectly suited for certain domestic practises.

Notwithstanding the fact that this may not be the best example, I suggest we depart from Juan de Borja’s probate inventory. The idea being, to analyse the relational context of the records of porcelain directly in the sources. The 1606 inventory of Borja’s possessions mentions five jars (*boyon*) and two porcelain platters. This very small number of items is referenced under a section entitled “bandejas = Porçelanas calabaça, mosqueador de marfil”. This, in turn, suggests that porcelain objects were regarded more in terms of their material, rather than for their function, form or provenance.<sup>726</sup>

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<sup>724</sup> Loureiro, ‘A Construção Da Imagem Da China No Século de Quinhentos’.

<sup>725</sup> Leitão and Sánchez, ‘Too Much to Tell (...)’, 180-181.

<sup>726</sup> AHPM; Prot. 2626, ff. 1040v-1042.

In this section, I argue that porcelain objects were mainly consumed due to their material. In addition, I contend that their consumption cannot be differentiated from the consumption of other non-exotic materials, such as Portuguese terracottas or Venetian glass. Moreover, although its manufacture quality could not be reproduced in Europe, I argue that the use of Chinese porcelain was already domesticated in the Iberian Peninsula by the start of the seventeenth century.

## A kind of pottery

One very good example to start with is a seventeenth-century account of a conversation that is reported to have taken place in 1563 between the Portuguese Archbishop and Ambassador to the Council of Trent, Fray Bartolomeu dos Mártires, and the Pope Paul IV. According to the chronicler, the Portuguese Archbishop tried to convince the pope to replace his silver tableware with one made of porcelain:

Temos, disse, em Portugal hum genero de baixella, que com ser de barro se avantajava tanto à prata em graça & limpeza, que aconselhara eu a todos os Principes (se um pobre frade pôde fiar de sy dar conselho) que nao usarão outro serviço, & desterrarão de suas mesas a prata. Chamamoslhe em Portugal Procelanas, vem da Índia, fazemse na China. He o barro tão fino & transparente, que as brancas deixão atrás os cristaes & alabastros: & as que são variadas de azul enleão os olhos representando uma composição de alabastro & çafiras. O que tem de quebradisso, recompensão com a barateza. Podemse estimar dos mayores Principes por delicia & curiosidade, & por tal se tem em Portugal.<sup>727</sup>

In this account, what stands out are the advantages of porcelain as a material, rather than its provenance. The Archbishop was not trying to convince the pope using arguments about the porcelain's provenance. Instead, he was stressing the advantages of that material in comparison with silverware. Porcelain was superior to silver in elegance and neatness. Its transparency exceeded crystal and alabaster. It could enchant the eyes, it deserved to be appreciated for the delight of princes. What is more, it was cheap. Its low price – or humility, as Carneiro de Sousa called it – certainly made porcelain preferable in the context of the Counter Reformation.<sup>728</sup> For the most part, if the pope wanted to silence his critics, excessive expenditure needed to be avoided. Porcelain was, therefore, a solution to cut expenses without abdicating from sumptuous consumption.

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<sup>727</sup> Sousa, *Vida de D. Fr. Bartolomeu dos Martyres*, Tomo I, Liv. II, 313.

<sup>728</sup> Sousa, 'Um Diálogo Sobre Porcelanas Chinas Entre Fr. Bartolomeu Dos Mártires E O Papa Pio IV', 96.

Among all the arguments that the chronicler said to have been advanced by the Archbishop to convince the pope, the reference to India and China does not form a reason to sustain acquisition. India and China were included in the discourse because these two references highlighted the role of the Portuguese monarchy as the intermediary that allowed the pope to have access those goods. Actually, following that conversation in 1563, the pope would, indeed, commission some porcelain from Lisbon.<sup>729</sup> Therefore, the reference to provenance is used not to stimulate consumption, but to stress that if the pope wanted porcelain, he had to request it to the Portuguese king.

For its part, an analysis of inventories also discloses the significance of the material in porcelain consumption in early seventeenth century Madrid. Interestingly, porcelain is always mentioned together with other ceramic objects. One such case is the “Room of the Tower” of the Alcázar in Madrid. In this room, Philip II had a great number of porcelain items that he had assembled throughout his life. However, these pieces did not have the room for themselves only. The room was also used to keep other ceramic objects. These objects formed a group that the inventory describes as “porcelanas y demás cosas de este género”.<sup>730</sup> What brings all items together is the fact that all the objects were made of clay. More specifically, provenance is only mentioned as a way of distinguishing materials.

The ceramic nature of what was kept in the “Room of the Tower” is quite evident in just a short segment of the whole inventory. Within a list of 149 records, objects made of *porcelana* are the majority, but they were amongst other types of ceramicware. In a sequence of forty records, from record no. 4286 to no. 4326, there are objects from *Faenza*, plates made of alabaster, a platter made of clay from Persia (*barro de Persia*), a bowl (*lebrillo*) from Talavera (most probably Talavera de la Reina), a smaller ceramic bowl (*escudilla*) that was a gift of the viceroy of Peru, a platter from China, two clay vessels (*tinajuelas*) from Badajoz, other small clay objects (*brincos*) from Talavera, some small pitchers (*búcaros*), two jugs (*cantarilla*) from Estremoz and more terracotta pitchers from Badajoz, four large pitchers from dark clay (*barro negro*) from China, a bottle from Estremoz and a large gourd (*calabaza*) made of blue and white porcelain (*porcelana*).<sup>731</sup>

An overview of other probate inventories from Madrid’s aristocratic elites at the turn of the seventeenth century reveal a similar pattern when grouping objects. For example, the inventory of Diego Fernandez de Córdoba. Under the section entitled “Porcelanas”, a large *porcelana* “de la Jndia” is registered together with “porcelanas turquessas”, a basket from Talavera and two tankards

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<sup>729</sup> Sousa, *Vida de D. Fr. Bertolamen dos Martyres*, 314.

<sup>730</sup> The reference is dated 12 May 1603, in Sánchez Cantón, *Inventarios Reales. Bienes Muebles Que Pertenecieron a Felipe II*, vol. II, 279.

<sup>731</sup> Sánchez Cantón, vols. II, 265–276, more specifically 268–271.



from Flanders.<sup>732</sup> Further examples include the inventory of Francisca Henriquez de Almansa which also has a section entitled “Porçelanas”. There, forty-eight “porcelanas de la yndia” are listed together with trays (*bandejas*) and small pitchers (*búcaros*) from Portugal, more of these vessels from Venice and Barcelona and two ceramic pieces (*barros*) from Talavera.<sup>733</sup> A final example is Maria de Aragón. In her inventory, five fine *porcelanas* from China and five fine plates of *porcelanas* “de las yndias” appear in the same folio as a plate from Talavera and glass objects from Venice and Barcelona.<sup>734</sup> In short, once again the order seems to be related more to the material than to provenance.

This type of accumulation of ceramics does not just refer to a specific way of organising information within inventories. For one thing, those ceramics were frequently found in a room called *camarín*. By and large, high-ranking nobility had a *camarín* in their palaces where ceramic and glass objects were kept together. For instance, Ana Antonia de Velasco had such a *camarín*. She was the wife of Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba, *mayordomo* of Felipe III and I Marquis of Celada (deceased in 1617). Ana Antonia de Velasco stored the following items in her *camarín*: “porcelanas de la yndia”, four small plates of “porcelana de la yndia”, plates and pots from Talavera, small pitchers (*búcaros*) from Estremoz, other pitchers simply said to be from Portugal, and eighteen “bidrios de Uenençia”, i.e. Venice.<sup>735</sup> References to *camarines* in sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century sources are relatively frequent. Nonetheless, knowledge about these rooms, about their function or about their contents is still very limited.

In his dictionary published from 1611 onwards, Covarrubias clearly defines *camarín* as “a restricted room where ladies have their porcelains, earthenware, glass, and other curious things”.<sup>736</sup> Cinta Krahe also showed that keeping porcelain was mainly a practise of aristocratic ladies.<sup>737</sup> Despite focusing on Portuguese examples, Nuno Senos developed the subject and concluded that, in the case of the Duke of Bragança, the *casa dos vidros e das porcelanas* was a feminine room. To quote a further example, there are two *casas dos vidros e das porcelanas* in the inventory of Teodósio I de Bragança (1563): one for the dowager-duchess and another for her daughter-in-law.<sup>738</sup>

However, the above examples and Covarrubias’ definition cannot explain the whole scope of

<sup>732</sup> AHPM, Prot. 1006, ff. 527-527v.

<sup>733</sup> AHPM Prot. 1810-3, ff. 1762v-1763.

<sup>734</sup> AHPM Prot. 1578, ff. 166v-167.

<sup>735</sup> AHPM Prot. 2021, ff. 421v-422v.

<sup>736</sup> “el retrete donde tienen las señoras sus porcelinas, barros, vidrios, y otras cosas curiosas”, in Covarrubias Orozco, *Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana o Española, o Española*, Parte I, f. 123v.

<sup>737</sup> Krahe, *Chinese Porcelain in Habsburg Spain*, 290, 296.

<sup>738</sup> Senos, ‘Conclusão: De Todas as Partes Do Mundo’.

information that inventories provide. On the one hand, inventories from aristocratic ladies seem to support Covarrubias' definition. On the other hand, the term *camarín* as used by Juan de Borja in his aforementioned letter to the Duke of Lerma certainly does not fit in that definition. Moreover, the understanding of *camarines* is limited by the scarcity of historiographical literature on the matter. Apart from a study by Almudena Pérez de Tudela, there are virtually no works about

Owner	Date	Type of Source	Reference
Fernando Álvares de Toledo, Duke of Alba	1571	Letter to his illegitimate son	Pérez de Tudela, "The Third Duke of Alba", 186
María Enríquez de Toledo y Guzmán, Duquesa de Alba	1574	Description by Saint Teresa de Ávila	Jesus, <i>Las Moradas</i> , VI, Cap. 4, 8.
(Huerta de Buenavista)	1600	Inventory	AHPM, Prot. 933, ff. 381, 385
	1601	Letter from Juan de Borja	BL, Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 410-411v; BL, Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 13-13v
Francisco de Sandoval y Rojas, Duke of Lerma	1607	Description by Cabrera de Cordoba	Cabrera de Córdoba, <i>Relaciones de Las Cosas Sucedidas En La Corte de España</i> , (...). 12 May 1607
	1616	Inventory	Archivo Historico de Protocolos de Lerma, Pedro Lozano, 1616, f. 554, quoted in Vera, <i>Bienes muebles en el palacio ducal de Lerma</i> , 36–37, 113–115.
Francisco de Rojas, Marquis of Poza	1609	Probate inventory	AHPM, Prot. 2176, f. 221v.
Fernando Afán de Ribera, Duke of Alcalá	ca. 1603-1604		Lleó, "La "Apoteosis de Hércules""; Bocardó, <i>Financa, Coleccionismo E Diplomazja</i> (...), 317
Juan Ferbández de Velasco, Duke of Frías	1608-1609	Inventory	AHPM, Prot. 28450. See also: Montero Delgado, <i>De todos los ingenios los mejores</i> , 327-329, 354
	1613-1614	Probate inventory	AHPM, Prot. 24851. See also: Montero Delgado, <i>De todos los ingenios los mejores</i> , 337
Mariana de Padilla Manrique, Duchess of Uceda	1611	Description by Cabrera de Cordoba	Cabrera de Córdoba, <i>Relaciones de Las Cosas Sucedidas En La Corte de España</i> , (...), 429–431.
Duchess of Medina de Rioseco [Vittoria Colonna Henríquez-Cabrera?]	1612	Description by Cabrera de Cordoba	From Madrid, 15th December 1612, in Cabrera de Córdoba, <i>Relaciones de Las Cosas Sucedidas En La Corte de España</i> , (...), 502–504.
Príncipe Felipe, future Philip IV	1613-1621		Kagan, <i>Clio &amp; the Crown</i> , 207–208.
Rodrigo Calderón, Marquis of Siete Iglesias	1615	Letter from Francisco de Quevedo to the Duke of Osuna	Quevedo y Villegas and Rodríguez Marín, <i>Doce Cartas de D. Francisco de Quevedo</i> . (...), 6–8.
Ana Manrique, Countess of Puñonrostro	1616	Probate inventory	AHPM, Prot. 2022, f. 355v.
Gómez d'Ávila y Toledo, Marquis of Velada	1616	Inventory	BZ, Altamira, Carpeta 198, Doc. 1, quoted in Martínez Hernández, <i>Don Gómeç Dávila y Toledo</i> (...)
Ana Antonia de Velasco, Marquesa de Celada	1617	Probate inventory	AHPM, Prot. 2021b, f. 412v.

**Table 6.3 – List of references to *camarines* at the turn of the seventeenth century**

early modern Spanish *camarines*.<sup>739</sup> Therefore, further inquiry about the role of this room in the architectural space of noble palaces is required.

The above table gathers all references to *camarines* hitherto found in the sources. It demonstrates that notwithstanding the prominence of references associating *camarines* with aristocratic ladies, they were not exclusively feminine spaces. During the beginning of the seventeenth century, *camarines* were built for the Duke of Lerma, the Duke of Alcalá, the Duke of Uceda or the Duke of Frías. However, it cannot be claimed that there was a trend towards a masculinisation of these rooms. The uses and practises of these *camarines* are not fully known and they could have performed different uses according to their owners. However, there is one aspect that stands out about the objects that are kept inside those *camarines*: they all seem to have performed a very utilitarian role within the domestic space.

## A utile material

The utilitarian function of *camarines* has already been acknowledged. Senos claimed that the purpose of two *casas dos vidros e das porcelanas* in the inventory of Teodósio de Bragança was merely a utilitarian one. Such rooms were just where objects from similar materials were kept together.<sup>740</sup> Indeed, those two rooms even kept glass objects, Chinese porcelain and ceramics of European production, such as Pisa, Valencia and Estremoz. Senos also noted that Chinese porcelain was not dominant either in terms of number or monetary value. Furthermore, this very utilitarian function attributed to Chinese porcelain is supported by a second case also in Portugal. Most revealingly, when several porcelain objects arrived in Lisbon in 1562 for the dowager-queen of Portugal, Catherine of Austria, the items were delivered to Joana Gonçalves, the one responsible for the queen's apothecary.<sup>741</sup> Therefore, the very utilitarian use of porcelain cannot have eluded Juan de Borja. Furthermore, it is hard to accept that a material that Borja might have seen as part of the apothecary could turn into a curio to be displayed in a very specific room. What was, then, the function of porcelain?

On 25 March 1601, Borja described the porcelain that had just been bought for the Duke of Lerma. He described it as a full dinnerware set, one fit to serve the king at the table in a very neat manner

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<sup>739</sup> Pérez de Tudela, 'La III duquesa de Alba y la arquitectura religiosa y palaciega entre Italia y España'.

<sup>740</sup> Senos, 'Conclusão: De Todas as Partes Do Mundo'.

<sup>741</sup> ANTT, Maço 106, Doc. 66, N. 14101, quoted in Krahe, *Chinese Porcelain in Habsburg Spain*, 131.

– “en que se puede dar de comer al Rey muy limpiamente”.<sup>742</sup> This reference is particularly interesting because it recalls a claim made by Anne Gerritsen regarding the consumption of Chinese porcelain in the Netherlands during the seventeenth century. Gerritsen argues that porcelain was domesticated due to the physical proximity between objects and individuals. Actions like touching, seeing and wearing allowed Asian goods to be fully integrated in Dutch culture in mid-seventeenth-century Netherlands.<sup>743</sup> Iberian elites’ exposure to Chinese porcelain a century earlier justifies the need to investigate the possibility of a comparable domestication process.

Firstly, Borja’s letter revealing the use of porcelain as table service supports the need for developing Gerritsen’s argument of domestication based on physical interaction. Secondly, Borja’s reference to the neatness (*limpiamente*) of porcelain discloses how porcelain answered needs created by the growing importance of preventive healthcare at the turn of the seventeenth century. I will now address these two sides of the domestication of porcelain.

For the late sixteenth century, the first argument to support the domestication of porcelain in the Iberian Peninsula is the fact that most of the contents of the *camarines* refer to objects related to the consumption of food or drink. That includes Philip II’s “Room of the Tower”. Naturally, Philip II’s case is the most emblematic one, because record no. 4352 alone refers to six hundred and sixty porcelain bowls, some of ordinary size, some smaller.<sup>744</sup> What else could this record refer to if not to some sort of dining set? Especially if we consider that the references that immediately follow it are to sauce bowls (no. 4354) and salt cellars (no. 4361). Further to that, the references that precede the porcelain bowls are other sauce bowls (no. 4347), platters (no. 4342), bottles (no. 4337-9) and olive oil cruets (no. 4336). Juan de Borja’s probate inventory mentions two platters, but the restrict number of items does not allow to go deeper in this demonstration. The inventory of the *Huerta de Buenavista* (1600) does not provide much more information either. There are a few jars (*boyones*) and a few bowls and plates (*palanganas* and *platos*), but this is not sufficient to make a statement.<sup>745</sup>

Nonetheless, combining porcelain with other ceramic items within the *camarines* reveals the importance of physical interaction. No other case is more representative than the *bucaros* from Extremoz. These *bucaros* were small pitchers made of terracotta in the Portuguese region of Alentejo. They were exported to Castile in large quantities during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These small vessels were intended to keep water cool and they were very popular

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<sup>742</sup> Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Lerma, Madrid, 25 March 1601, in BL, Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 456-456v.

<sup>743</sup> Gerritsen, ‘Domesticating Goods from Overseas: Global Material Culture in the Early Modern Netherlands’.

<sup>744</sup> “seiscientos y sessenta escudillas de porcelana del tamanho de las ordinarias y algunas un poco menores”, in Sánchez Cantón, *Inventarios Reales. Bienes Muebles Que Pertenecieron a Felipe II*, 274.

<sup>745</sup> AHPM, Prot. 933, f. 385v.

amongst ladies at the court in Madrid. The flavour that cold terracotta gave to water was one of the reasons for their consumption. In addition to that, they answered to more pressing needs. Natacha Seseña has revealed how high-ranking ladies at the court became addicted to the practise of nibbling the edges of the vessels. This became such a serious addiction that some of them could eat up to one whole pitcher per day. The practise of *bucarofagia* studied by Seseña has been widely accepted.<sup>746</sup> That said, my interest in this topic is that the presence of *bucaros* in the *camarines*, together with other terracotta vessels, was not due to collecting or displaying purposes. Instead, they answered to very practical needs.

As an example of the consumers' practical needs, Borja asked the duke not to open the boxes of porcelain before the *camarín* was ready.<sup>747</sup> To a large extent, the importance of the *camarín* was due to its function in safekeeping a whole set of very fragile goods. Besides, when Borja told the duke that the porcelain dinnerware set could be used to “dar de comer al Rey”, porcelain is back to its primary function. In other words, porcelain was meant to serve as dinnerware.

The second argument for the domestication of porcelain also lies on the letter to Lerma. Borja did not only tell the duke that he could offer a meal to the king with the recently purchase set of porcelain. More to the point, Borja stated that he could offer this meal “muy limpiamente”, i.e. very neatly. This term is the same that Fray Bartolomeu dos Mártires' chronicler used to describe porcelain:

“Temos [...] em Portugal hum genero de baixella, que com ser de barro se avantaça tanto à prata em graça & limpeza, que aconselhara eu a todos os Principes”.<sup>748</sup>

Despite being written at a much later stage (1616), this account refers to events that occurred in 1563. This coincides with Borja's letter and it is worth questioning the reasons as to why both sources refer to porcelain as something *limpio*.

The reference to neatness discloses a sixteenth-century-growing concern with preventive healthcare. This is not to be confused with healing practises, however. On their recent work, Sandra Cavallo and Tessa Storey demonstrated how in Renaissance Italy the publication of preventive healthcare advices in the form of regimens led to the consolidation of a preventive culture after the second half of the sixteenth century. Eventually, the new health concerns led to

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<sup>746</sup> Seseña, *El Vicio Del Barro*.

<sup>747</sup> “Parezeme que V. ex<sup>a</sup> no mande abrir los caxones de las porçelanas hasta q[ue] tenga camarín en que ponerlas so pena de peder la mayor parte dellas”, Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Lerma, 25 March 1601, in BL, Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 454-456v.

<sup>748</sup> Sousa, *Vida de D. Fr. Bertolameu dos Martyres*, Tomo I, Liv. II, 313.

the adoption of new forms of material culture.<sup>749</sup> The authors also show how the regimens were increasingly appropriated by the nobility in a period when social transformations were underway towards an increased significance of concepts such as gentility.<sup>750</sup>

Concerns with individual hygiene rose considerably during the second half of the sixteenth century. This allowed for the development of a wide range of material culture that we often find in contemporary inventories. Aimed mainly at the equilibrium of the four humours and the control of the six non-naturals, the recurrence of censers and perfumed waters, linen towels, combs, amongst other examples, are to be understood within the preventive culture that developed during the sixteenth century. Cavallo and Storey go even further and argue that the design of certain items of material culture, such as narrow drinking vessels and snow containers for the table – *rinfrascatore* – derive from advice on how to drink certain drinks. The concern for the removal of impurities and dirtiness from the body, namely by scrubbing and brushing to maintain health, show the new importance of being clean.<sup>751</sup> Neatness and good appearance became part of the daily life, but these were also concerns that not all social strata could afford. Consequently, neatness soon became associated with gentility and noble identity.

Besides being a sign of gentility, it must be added that the terms *limpio*, *limpieza* and *limpiamente* acquired yet another meaning in the Iberian Peninsula. Apart from revealing concerns with hygiene and preventive healthcare, the idea of *limpieza* was closely associated with “limpieza de sangre”. Particularly, because the “limpieza de sangre” was a central aspect in the definition of nobility in the Iberian Peninsula during the early modern period. *Limpieza* referred to bodily neatness, but also to spiritual purity and ancestry. In the words of Bartolomeu dos Mártires’ chronicler, porcelain exceed silver in “graça” and “limpeza”. Therefore, it was very clear that porcelain was the most adequate material for a high-ranking nobleman. Since, porcelain would stand for this dual meaning of “graça” and “limpeza”, the nobility appropriated it as symbol both of its gentility and of its ancestry.

So, going back to Borja’s letter, the porcelain commissioned by Lerma should be regarded as the most adequate material for the domestic needs of a nobleman. In particular, a nobleman who had just been granted the title of duke. On the one hand, allowing the king to eat “muy limpiamente” revealed Lerma’s refined culture – his gentility. On the other hand, it also embodied an idea of “limpieza” that aimed at strengthening the ancestry of the recently created House of Lerma.

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<sup>749</sup> Cavallo and Storey, *Healthy Living in Late Renaissance Italy*, 62.

<sup>750</sup> Cavallo and Storey, *Healthy Living in Late Renaissance Italy*, 33-47.

<sup>751</sup> Cavallo and Storey, *Healthy Living in Late Renaissance Italy*, 240-269

### 6.3. Porcelain for a high-ranking House

Philip III granted the ducal title of Lerma to Francisco of Sandoval-Rojas on 11 November 1599. The new title required a new seat for the House. Therefore, the construction of a new palace in Lerma began in 1601. This puts the acquisition of porcelain right in the middle of these events, suggesting that the *camarín* was to be built in that new residence. There was, however, another palace more likely to be the porcelain's destination.

Between 1599 and 1600, the Duke of Lerma actively acquired properties in Valladolid. One of the properties was the palace of Francisco de los Cobos (ca. 1477-1547), the former secretary of the *Consejo de Estado*, at the Plaza de San Pablo. He would later sell most of the properties to other members of the court once he managed to convince the king to transfer the court from Madrid. The property that had been bought to de los Cobos was eventually sold to the king in December 1601.<sup>752</sup> The court, however, had been transferred to Valladolid the previous January and the king stayed in this property throughout the whole year of 1601. Therefore, when Borja advised Lerma to build a *camarín* for his porcelain, the latter was hosting the king in Valladolid. Was the *camarín* supposed to be built in the palace at the Plaza de San Pablo? There is yet another letter from Borja reinforcing this possibility.

In April 1601, just two months after the porcelain had been purchased, Borja wrote to Lerma to let him know of his satisfaction that the cargo had safely arrived in Valladolid. Borja also mentioned all the works that were under way in the new houses that Lerma had acquired in the city:

Mucho holgare que huviesse llegado lo que venia de portugal y mucho mas holgare de que despues de hauerlo visto quede V ex<sup>a</sup> satisfecho de que sea de su gusto. Beso las manos a Vex<sup>a</sup> por hauerle parezido bien mi consejo de no abrir las porçelanas hasta ponerlas en su lugar. Harta embidia tengo a don fran[cis]co de hauerle mostrado Vex<sup>a</sup> su oratorio y no a mi. Consuelome em escrivirme el que le dixo vex<sup>a</sup> que se le acordo de mi quando le conçartava harto desseo yo verlo toda assi la cassa como la capilla de san pablo y el monasterio de sam diego y el camarim plega dios que me lo dexe ver.<sup>753</sup>

The specific reference to the *camarín* when the palace at the Plaza de San Pablo was being refurbished suggests that this was no ordinary room. More to the point, it must have been a central piece in the consolidation of the recently created Ducal House of Lerma. It was a piece that a “tan principal casa” required.<sup>754</sup>

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<sup>752</sup> Feros, *El Duque de Lerma (...)*, 172. See also: Urrea Fernández, ‘La Plaza de San Pablo Escenario de La Corte’.

<sup>753</sup> Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Lerma, Madrid, 4 April 1601, in BL, Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 13-13v.

<sup>754</sup> Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Lerma, Madrid, 21 February 1601, in BL, Add. Ms. 28423, fol. 410-411v.

In this last section, I go through the importance of the *camarín* in the process of affirmation of the Duke of Lerma at court. What were the reasons behind the construction of this type of room where porcelain was stored?

As aforementioned, there was no single type of *camarín*. It could have been a feminine space, a *recámara* or a *studiolo*. What they seem to have in common is their restricted access. That said, they were not storage rooms. The *camarín* was actually a sumptuous room that could be used for receptions, such as hosting meals for the king. It was intended to dazzle. Whatever the case, porcelain had a role to play. Because of that, it needs to be analysed from the perspective of its intersection with the *situs* of its use. Not only that, but also considering its consumer. Eventually, the *camarín* reveals that porcelain had an important role to play in the consolidation of the Duke of Lerma's recently created ducal House.

## The *camarín*

To understand the connection between porcelain and *camarines* it should firstly be made clear that these rooms cannot be read as an Iberian version of something else. George Kubler studied *camarines* in religious buildings in Spain during the seventeenth century. Kubler considered them a local phenomenon, in other words, something not to be found outside the Iberian sphere of influence.<sup>755</sup> Civil *camarines*, such as the ones that I previously identified, should also be regarded as a local development of former types of aristocratic spaces with restricted access. Covarrubias defined the *camarín* as “a restricted room where ladies have their porcelains, earthenware, glass, and other curious [*curiosas*] things”.<sup>756</sup> Nonetheless, the definition does not comprise all types of *camarines*. Indeed, it is not entirely accurate that these were just female spaces. Besides, the use of the word *curiosas* by its author must not be understood as something exotic or wonderful. The adjective *curioso* could also stand for something intricately worked on/handcrafted.<sup>757</sup>

This meaning of *curiosidad* as something intricately worked on, or decorated, has been either mistaken for a more *exotic* meaning of the term or, at least, subordinated to it. Consequently, that lead to historians looking at objects adjectivised as *curiosos* as objects that belonged to cabinets of

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<sup>755</sup> Kubler, ‘El Camarin Del Siglo de Oro’.

<sup>756</sup> “el retrete donde tienen las señoras sus porcelinas, barros, vidrios, y otras cosas curiosas”, in Covarrubias Orozco, *Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana o Española, o Española*, Parte I, f. 123v

<sup>757</sup> Covarrubias defined “Cvrioso” as “el que trata alguna cosa con particular cuidado, y diligencia, y de allo se dixo curiosidade, vel a curia, o del adverbio cur; porque el curioso anda siempre preguntando, porque es esto, y porque estoto (...)”, in Covarrubias Orozco, *Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana o Española, o Española*, Part I, f. 178. In the eighteenth century, the *Diccionario de Autoridades* still highlighted the “cuidado y diligencia” aspect of the term, by defining “Curioso” as: “Aseado, primoroso, esmeraldo en la execución de las cosas.”, in Real Academia Española, *Diccionario de La Lengua Castellana (...)*, Tomo II (1729).



curiosities. In addition, the practise is the result of a tendency to export the *Wunderkammer* model to the Iberian context to justify the existence of non-European things.<sup>758</sup> The reasons for this have already been discussed in the first chapter of this thesis. Nonetheless, it is worth remembering that the reasons are mainly due to historiographical interpretations. At the basis was the diversity of encyclopaedic accumulations of objects that was systemised by Samuel von Quiccheberg in 1565. For the most part, this framework supported extensive theorisation throughout the twentieth century.<sup>759</sup> The dangers of using the concept of *Wunderkammer* in Spain have already been addressed.<sup>760</sup> However, it is the notion of “encyclopaedic accumulation” itself that is at stake. As inventories show, exotic materials such as porcelain do not form part of a group of an “encyclopaedic” set.

Besides, the impetus to see assemblages of porcelain in *camarines* as collections is controversial. In this section, it is not my aim to discuss if porcelain was consumed as a collection or not. For the Spanish case, Urquizar Herrera already discussed the use of the term “collection” at length. Departing from Pomian's concept of *semiphores* and the idea that collecting is a pluridimensional phenomenon, Urquizar recognises that objects consumed by Andaluzian elites were “pensados” and, therefore, “coleccionados”.<sup>761</sup> Nevertheless, Urquizar also defends that these collections were amassed not due to aesthetic or erudite interest, but because consumers’ behaviour was based on a practise of social imitation and reproduction aiming at going up the social scale.<sup>762</sup> This claim is highly problematic, because it does not take the agency of the diverse consumers into consideration.

If I were to use *camarines* as a case study, there would be two main weaknesses in an argument of social *mimesis*. On the one hand, there is a horizontal weakness, for it does not recognise the gender diversity of practises associated with the use of *camarines*. On the other hand, there is a vertical weakness. If there were social *mimesis*, would it not be expected that the contents of Lerma’s *camarín* would be like the ones of Philip II? Further to that, would it not be expected that Lerma’s *camarín* would be the model for other lower ranking nobility's *camarines*, such as Ana Antonia de Velasco's, the Marquesa de Celada, *camarín*? However, what the few cases known to us show about *camarines* is that diversity was the rule, rather than the exception.

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<sup>758</sup> Morán Turina and Checa Cremades, *El Coleccionismo En España*, 153–171. See also discussion in Chapter 1.

<sup>759</sup> From Schlosser, *Die Kunst- Und Wunderkammern Der Spätrenaissance* to Pomian, *Collectors and Curiosities*, 65–90; Pearce, *On Collecting*, 112.

<sup>760</sup> Urquizar Herrera, *Coleccionismo y nobleza*, 16–19.

<sup>761</sup> Urquizar Herrera, *Coleccionismo y nobleza*, 20–24.

<sup>762</sup> Urquizar Herrera, *Coleccionismo y nobleza*, 27.

Going back to Covarrubias, *camarines* are defined as a room associated with ladies. Nonetheless, one of the earliest accounts of a visit to a *camarín* damages the idea that these rooms were exclusive to women. Saint Teresa of Ávila visited the *camarín* of the Duchess of Alba in 1574, giving the following account:

[...] entráis en un aposento de un rey o gran señor, o creo camarín los llaman, adonde tienen infinitos géneros de vidrios y barros y muchas cosas, puestas por tal orden, que casi todas se ven en entrando. Una vez me llevaron a una pieza de éstas en casa de la Duquesa de Alba [...], que me quedé espantada en entrando, y consideraba de qué podía aprovechar aquella barahúnda de cosas.<sup>763</sup>

The first thing that stands out from this quotation is that Saint Teresa says that *camarines* are part of the apartments of a king or a high-ranking nobleman (“de un rey o gran señor”). Although the room she visited belonged to the duchess, there is nothing gender-exclusive in the text. There is, however, a more interesting aspect of this account. The saint stated she was “espantada” – i.e. between horrified and surprised – with the number of things she saw in the *camarín*. That room, filled with “infinite types of glass and earthenware and many things”, made a very strong impression on her:

[...] y aunque estuve allí un rato, era tanto lo que había que ver, que luego se me olvidó todo de manera que de ninguna de aquellas piezas me quedó más memoria que si nunca las hubiera visto, ni sabría decir de qué hechura eran, mas por junto acuérdase que lo vio”.<sup>764</sup>

The impact of the whole *camarín* is clearly much more significant than the features of individual objects. The “barahúnda”, the pell-mell of ceramic and glass vessels juxtaposed in the same room, created a dazzled and overwhelmed reaction. Rather than wonder or exoticness of individual objects, Saint Teresa describes a place of conspicuous and lavish consumption. What is more, this type of consumption can be connected to the Renaissance concept of *splendore*.<sup>765</sup>

By considering *camarines* a development from an earlier form of hoarding and of displaying wealth in the Iberian context, I argue that they should be regarded as the persistence of the *recámara* in aristocratic residences. The *recámara*, or its Portuguese equivalent, the *guarda-roupa*, has been compared to the Central European *Schatzkammer*.<sup>766</sup> However, beyond being a place where to hoard wealth, both the Castilian *recámara* and the Portuguese *guarda-roupa* seem to have been

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<sup>763</sup> Jesus, *Las Moradas*, VI, Cap. 4, 8.

<sup>764</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>765</sup> See Chapter 5.

<sup>766</sup> Jordan, ‘The Development of Catherine of Austria’s Collection in the Queen’s Household’, 7. About the *guarda-roupa* in Portugal, see Senos, *O Paço Da Ribeira, 1501-1581*, 118–120, 140–141 and – with some methodological issues, but still useful – Crespo, ‘O Processo Da Inquisição de Lisboa Contra Duarte Gomes (...)’, 628–641.

associated with practices of social manifestation. Certainly, the concept of *camarín* was not standardised by the time Juan de Borja wrote to the Duke of Lerma about the acquisition of porcelains. However, Lerma's *camarín* closely resembles a *recámara*.

Listed in 1616, the contents of the *camarín* in Lerma suggest that the room was neither a place of study – like a *studiolo* –, nor a place dedicated to encyclopaedic accumulation of objects – like a *Wunderkammer*. The contents of the *camarín* in Lerma reveal that the Duke was using this room to store his valuables, which was the main purpose of late-medieval and early modern *recámaras*. The inventory of the *camarín* barely mentions porcelain and the core of the *camarín* seems to have been very valuable goods, such as textiles and jewels.<sup>767</sup> Indeed, some years later, one of the Duke of Lerma's *camarines* (either this one or another in yet another palace) was regarded as a very significant financial asset. In fact, following the Battle of Gibraltar on 25 Abril 1607, it was said that the Duke's *camarín* was worth 100.000 *ducados*. A sum that he was ready to use to help rebuilding the defence of the coastline.<sup>768</sup> To a great extent, this seems to indicate that the *camarín* was a place for hoarding wealth in Lerma's case.

The wealth accumulated in these *camarines* also justified a high investment in their decoration. The only extant *camarín* to have survived from this period is the one belonging to the III Duke of Alcalá in Seville, at the Casa de Pilatos. Built by the architect Juan de Oviedo (1565-1625) at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Duke's *camarín grande* is covered by a ceiling that reveals its level of magnificence. Painted by Francisco Pacheco (1564-1644) between 1603 and 1604, this is one of the earliest painted ceilings in Seville.<sup>769</sup> The painting represents the Apotheosis of Hercules, an allegory to the efforts required to achieve glory. Apart from the iconographic representation, the ceiling imposes itself on the room as a piece of sumptuousness. Moreover, Pacheco's technical challenges reveal the importance this room had within the palace. It created a scenario of abundance that must be taken into consideration. An abundance that is very close to the structure of a *recámara*. An abundance that echoes the dazzled effect experienced by Saint Teresa some years earlier.

The lavishness of some of these investments is explained by the fact that *camarines* were not just meant to keep things. They were also places to receive very important people. The same Duke of

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<sup>767</sup> Archivo Historico de Protocolos de Lerma, Pedro Lozano, 1616, f. 554, quoted in Vera, *Bienes muebles en el palacio ducal de Lerma*, 36–37, 113–115.

<sup>768</sup> From Madrid, 12 May 1607, in Cabrera de Córdoba, *Relaciones de Las Cosas Sucedidas En La Corte de España, Desde 1599 Hasta 1614*, 303–306.

<sup>769</sup> Lleó, 'La "Apotheosis de Hércules"'.

Alcalá, for instance, is known to have had such practise in his *camarín*.<sup>770</sup> We should bear in mind that Juan de Borja also expressed the wish of visiting the Duke of Lerma's *camarín* in Valladolid.<sup>771</sup> Other high-ranking noblemen seem to have done the same thing. On 13 February 1611, the Duchess of Uceda, who was married to the Duke of Lerma's son, expected to receive Philip III and Margarita de Austria. The event was a visit to her oratory and *camarín*.<sup>772</sup> The following year, on 28 November 1612, during the wedding of Luisa Gómez de Sandoval y Rojas Manrique de Padilla, the elder daughter of the Duke of Uceda – thus, granddaughter of the Duke of Lerma –, the bride's mother-in-law, the Duchess of Medina de Rioseco, offered a meal to the king in her *camarín*.<sup>773</sup> Again, a comparison with earlier rooms for hoarding wealth might be of help to understand these rooms as a local development. Despite the lack of references to Castilian examples, in the Portuguese case, the equivalent of the *recámara*, the *guarda-roupa*, was also a room for receiving important guests. By mid-sixteenth century, both the Portuguese court and the court of the Duke of Bragança used the *guarda-roupa* for receiving ambassadors and high-ranking nobility.<sup>774</sup>

The Duke of Lerma's *camarín* is in between these two paradigms: a place where expensive and diverse objects were kept and a room for receiving important guests. This does not mean, however, that other types of *camarines* did not exist, especially as we move towards the end of the first quarter of the seventeenth century. For example, the *camarín* of Lerma's most trusted *valido*, the Marquis of Siete Iglesias, Rodrigo Calderón de Aranda (1576-1621), may have been an encyclopaedic type of *camarín*. Francisco de Quevedo (1580-1645), in a 1615 letter to the III Duke of Osuna (1574-1624), for instance, assumed that Calderón would certainly be happy to have things from the Levant in his *camarín*.<sup>775</sup> There is no more information about Calderón's *camarín*, but this comment suggests he would have a collecting interest in Turkish-made objects. Yet another example is the one that João Bautista Lavanha (1555-1624) built for Prince Philip (the future King Philip IV)

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<sup>770</sup> Boccardo, 'Financa, Collezionismo E Diplomazia Tra La Spagna E Genova', 317.

<sup>771</sup> Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Lerma, Madrid, 4 April 1601, in BL, Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 13-13v.

<sup>772</sup> "sus Magestados [...] han vuelto esta tarde [del Prado], con ocasion de pasar mañana á la tarde á casa de los Duques de Uceda, por el pasadizo que hay desde Palacio á ella , para ver el camarín y oratorio de la Duquesa, que dicen hay en él muchas curiosidades de cosas ricas y esquisitas, y su Excelencia ha puesto su gusto en juntarlas; de las cuales dará algunas á sus Magestades y á las damas", From Madrid, 12 February 1611, in Cabrera de Córdoba, *Relaciones de Las Cosas Sucedidas En La Corte de España, Desde 1599 Hasta 1614*, 429–431.

<sup>773</sup> From Madrid, 15 December 1612, in Cabrera de Córdoba, *Relaciones de Las Cosas Sucedidas En La Corte de España, Desde 1599 Hasta 1614*, 502–504.

<sup>774</sup> Senos, *O Paço Da Ribeira, 1501-1581*, 140–141; Crespo, 'O Processo Da Inquisição de Lisboa Contra Duarte Gomes (...)', 632-634.

<sup>775</sup> "El marqués de Siete Iglesias -Rodrigo Calderón- no sólo me dio audiencia, pero me enseñó toda su casa, es apasionadísimo amigo de Vuestra Excelencia, y muy seguro, y se holgará para su camarín con algunas cosillas de Levante." Letter from Francisco de Quevedo to the Duke of Osuna, 16th of December 1615, in Quevedo y Villegas and Rodríguez Marín, *Doce Cartas de D. Francisco de Quevedo. Unas parcial y otras totalmente inéditas*, 6–8.

some years later (between 1613 and 1621). In the *camarín* of the “Torre Alta” of the Alcázar, Lavanha built a *camarín* as “a place of universal but practical learning”.<sup>776</sup>

Notwithstanding that diversity might have been the rule for *camarines*, in the afore-mentioned cases, *camarines* seem to have been used for social manifestation. They were places where *magnificentia* and *splendore* could be displayed through architecture and lavish consumption.

## An extensive clientele

As discussed above, porcelain was a means to communicate the gentility and ancestry of a high-ranking noble house. Moreover, it was yet another way of reinforcing Lerma’s position at court. What is more, it was a means to manifest his capacity to access goods that were only available through Portugal.<sup>777</sup> Indeed, before porcelain became widely available in Europe through Amsterdam at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the main port for its acquisition was Lisbon. Cinta Krahe already noticed that until the 1570s, porcelain available in Madrid came mostly from Lisbon. However, even after that date the acquisition was still dependent on official traders who travelled to Madrid or through the exchange of gifts with family members based either in Portugal, or with special links to that kingdom.<sup>778</sup>

One good example of this is the I Duke of Osuna, Pedro Téllez-Girón y de la Cueva (1537-1590). Osuna led one of the most important noble houses in Castile at the end of the sixteenth century. He had very strong family links to Portugal, dating back to the fourteenth century. His own sister was married to the Duke of Aveiro, one of the few Portuguese ducal houses. Hence, it is not surprising that he was appointed with a diplomatic mission in Portugal in 1579. On his return to Castile, he brought six hundred and thirty pieces of porcelain with him. His sister, the Duchess of Aveiro, had offered him one hundred and fifty of these items.<sup>779</sup>

The case of Osuna shows how return trips from Portugal were often a good opportunity to import luxury goods. In particular, goods that were not widely available in Madrid. By and large, this was also what Borja did after his return from his mission in Lisbon. When Borja left Portugal in 1575, he was granted authorisation to transport three hundred *porcelanas* to Castile.<sup>780</sup> It is not clear

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<sup>776</sup> Kagan, *Clio & the Crown*, 207–208.

<sup>777</sup> The use of porcelain by noblemen to demonstrate networks of influence has already been addressed by Kate Smith. Despite focusing in eighteenth century Britain, the scholar raises several hypothesis which I also consider in my chapter. See Smith, ‘Manly objects?: Gendering Armorial Porcelain Wares’.

<sup>778</sup> Krahe, *Chinese Porcelain in Habsburg Spain*, 87–89.

<sup>779</sup> *Memoria das cossas que enbia el duque de osuna*, in AGS, Cámara de Castilla, Libro 361, ff. 192-193.

<sup>780</sup> AGS, Cámara de Castilla, Libro 360, ff. 48-49.

whether all these *porcelanas* were actually made of porcelain. However, it is very probable that such was the case, for they required a licence to be transported across the border. Two years later, when he left to Vienna, Borja also took several items of porcelain as part of a group of objects that used to arrive in the Iberian Peninsula through Portugal. As discussed in the previous chapter, in the same way as *colchas de la yndia*, porcelain could be used to reinforce the image of the ambassador. An image of him as someone with privileged access to a world of goods with a limited distribution in Europe.

These two cases, the Duke of Osuna and Juan de Borja, are clues to interpret the role porcelain had for the Duke of Lerma. Following the acclamation of Philip III, Sandoval y Rojas was not only granted the ducal title, but he also managed fully to restructure the offices at court, namely by bringing forth members of his clientele. Having become the indisputable favourite of the king, Lerma managed to convince Philip III to move the court from Madrid to Valladolid, which was closer to his estate in Lerma. Within two years, from 1599 to 1601, Lerma strengthened his control over his clientele and undertook impressive speculative investments in real estate in Valladolid. These investments granted him considerable profit. The construction of a new ducal palace in Lerma and the refurbishment of the palace in Valladolid certainly fortified his image as landowner and favourite of the king. Porcelain, if anything, added yet another layer to his grand display.

By using Chinese porcelain, and despite not having direct links to Portugal, the Duke of Lerma could demonstrate that his network of clients could provide him access to a world of goods well beyond the limits of his House. His access to a network of goods from Portuguese trading areas was not limited to his uncle Juan de Borja. Indeed, Borja played but a small role in the process of acquisition. Borja was more of an adviser than a negotiator. Actually, Cristóvão de Moura (1538-1613) was the one who managed the purchase of porcelain.<sup>781</sup> Cristóvão de Moura was the former favourite of Philip II who was now in Lisbon. He had been removed from the court in Madrid and he was granted a golden exile as viceroy of Portugal in April 1600.<sup>782</sup> By using porcelain, Lerma could demonstrate that his former rival at court had become part of his clientele. More to the point, his rival had become one of his suppliers.

Building a *camarín* where he could serve the king with porcelain allowed Lerma to make it very clear that he had a network that supported his position at the top of the *Grandes* of the monarchy. Thus, concerning Philip III's *valido*, porcelain acted as a player in the consolidation of power.

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<sup>781</sup> “[...] todo me dicen ques muy buenol,] se lo fuere mandarsselo ha Vex<sup>a</sup> agradecer al Marques de CastlR<sup>o</sup> y a luis de Figueredo ques el que lo a negociado. [...]”, Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Lerma, Madrid, 25 March 1601, in BL, Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 454-456v.

<sup>782</sup> Feros, *El Duque de Lerma (...)*, 130.

## In conclusion

The consumption of Chinese porcelain was transversal across Iberian elites at the turn of the seventeenth century. Nonetheless, this phenomenon should not be regarded as the reflection of an interest in Chinese goods. In fact, the consumption of Chinese material culture is prior to the development of an idea of China as something mysterious, alluring and attractive. This is an important point, as those were said to be the reasons behind much of the consumption from the seventeenth century onwards. In other words, in the Iberian Peninsula, the consumption of Chinese porcelain at the end of the sixteenth century cannot be explained by its “Chineseness”.

If the previous chapter called for the importance of localising consumption, this chapter’s major concern is the need to temporalise consumption. For Iberians in the late sixteenth century, porcelain was a sought-after material mainly due to its physical properties. Kept with other pottery and glass vessels, porcelain was a type of ceramic ware above all. It was much appreciated for its neatness and grace. These ideals were also intrinsic values of nobility, especially taking into consideration that the term “limpieza” in Iberia – with which Juan de Borja describes porcelain – had a double meaning. On the one hand, “limpieza” was a requirement of preventive healthcare, hence disclosing a form of gentility. On the other hand, it stood as a synonym of the nobility’s ancestry. In particular when used as part of the debate about “limpieza de sangre” in early modern Catholic Iberia. Thus, by evoking both gentility and ancestry, porcelain seemed to be a very appropriate material for high-ranking nobility.

In the Duke of Lerma’s case, porcelain would reveal the gentility of its consumer and the ancestry of its house. Moreover, after all the acquisition process, which Borja managed, porcelain would also highlight the extraordinary extension of his clientele. Indeed, in order to purchase porcelain, Lerma needed access to a supply centre. By the turn of the seventeenth century, porcelain was still a product with a very limited distribution in Europe. At that time in Castile, the only consumers with large numbers of porcelain were individuals who had supply networks that went through Portugal. Given that Lerma was gathering efforts to place his House amongst the *Grandes de España*, porcelain was a perfect tool to demonstrate his wealth, his networks and his place within Hispanic high-ranking nobility.





# Chapter 7

## Fall-front Cabinets

No contemporary resource can match timber's preeminent ranking in the pre-industrial world. Timber was not only the steel, aluminum, plastic, and fiberglass of past ages, but the oil, coal, and gas as well. [...] From the cradle to the coffin, the largest percentage of all past material culture has been wooden and, to the eternal chagrin of archaeologists, often non-enduring [...].<sup>783</sup>

By making this statement in the introduction to his book on the exploitation of Brazil's colonial timber, Shawn William Miller highlighted the contrast between the significance of wood for the early modern world and the obscurity of our current knowledge of its production, trade and use. Perhaps, it is wood's "non-enduring" feature that explains why very little has been written on such an important raw material, especially about the importation of tropical timber in Europe. Nonetheless, it is very unlikely not to stumble on a piece of furniture made from ebony or mahogany when visiting a museum with early modern collections or when walking through a heritage site from the sixteenth or seventeenth century. Since the inventories used for this thesis reinforce the omnipresence of tropical wood amongst the possessions of early modern consumers, it becomes unavoidable to address the issue.

In this chapter, I focus on the relationship between Juan de Borja and fall-front cabinets made from tropical wood. Fall-front cabinets – *escritorios* – were, according to María Paz Aguiló Alonso, "the fundamental piece of furniture" in early modern Spanish interiors.<sup>784</sup> An overview of the inventories taken as sample for this thesis supports that statement. Therefore, in the first section of the chapter, I depart from the inventories to demonstrate that Borja had an exceptional number of pieces of furniture made from exotic timber. Especially, fall-front cabinets. In the second section, I advance an interpretation for the existence of such a large number of *escritorios* amongst Borja's possessions. I do it by focusing on the significance of these objects for high-ranking nobility.

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<sup>783</sup> Miller, *Fruitless Trees*, 3–4.

<sup>784</sup> Aguiló Alonso, *El mueble en España, siglos XVI-XVII*, 96.



**Image 7.1 – *Escritorio* (Fall-front cabinet)**

Gujarat (probably, made) or Sindh (possibly, made), 16<sup>th</sup> century

Wood, veneered with rosewood, inlaid with exotic woods, ivory, brass and micromosaic motifs

35.5 x 45 x 30cm, Acc. N. 317-1866, Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Indeed, fall-front cabinets not only were recurrent and numerous in Iberian aristocratic residences, but they were also subject to a large investment. In particular, in the choice of materials. There is hardly another type of furniture to which they could be compared. Thus, it is necessary to discuss what led consumers to make this investment. The third and final section of the chapter is mainly concerned with materials. It focuses on a potential justification for the omnipresence of exotic wood in Borja's *escritorios*. I suggest that the driving force for acquisition was based on accessibility to suppliers, on the physical advantages of the material and on a positive sensorial response to furniture made from tropical timber. In addition, it must be kept in mind throughout the text that I analyse fall-front cabinets for the role they played for early modern Iberian aristocracy. They were inseparable from the practises of nobility and this chapter aims at understanding why.

## 7.1. Exotic timber

The quotation with which I opened this chapter is a wake-up call for the scarcity of historiographical research about the relationship between humans and timber. Especially when dealing with consumption habits where it is impossible not to realise that timber is everywhere. Miller attempted to explain the scarcity of research with the fact that most wooden objects tend to perish with time. However, many others, especially furniture, survived, kept in museums or private collections, waiting for someone to disclose their story. It has also been noticed that it is difficult to identify accurately the materials of extant objects given their patinas created with the passage of time. That and the ambiguity of the terms mentioned in archival sources may have discouraged researchers to invest in such endeavour.<sup>785</sup> In fact, as Edwards & Codrington already noticed in 1937, terminology of timber in sources is usually very generic. It does not allow for an accurate correspondence to actual species.<sup>786</sup> Nonetheless, some archival sources, notably probate inventories, can still be very useful to understand the consumption and trade of exotic timber in early modern Iberia.

This section is intended to ascertain the degree of diffusion and uses of non-European types of timber across the sample of inventories. Reading the forty inventories discloses the reference to eleven types of exotic wood. The most frequent reference is unquestionably ebony (*evano*), followed at great distance by mahogany (*caoba*). Despite it being possible that the term *evano* may refer to any kind of very dark wood, it is recurrent to find a distinction in sources amongst ebony, agarwood (*calambuco*) and mahogany. Other references are just avowedly ambiguous, such as “madera de yndias” or “palo santo”. Yet, these references open a window to understand the diffusion of non-European timber for the furnishing of high-ranking residential spaces.

Following the premiss put forward in Chapter 1, I reveal the dissemination of materials through their application range. In other words, rather than attempting a comparison with timber native to Europe or counting the quantities of material – a futile task given the impossibility of determining the omissions in the inventories – I disclose how extensive was the consumption of each type of material by looking into the diversity of objects in which they were used. Indeed, in Chapter 1 (**Tables 1.3** and **1.4**) I showed that ebony not only was the exotic material with the widest range of applications, but that it was also the one which was more recurrent across consumers. With **Table 7.1** I go a step further and I show the diverse applications of exotic timber mentioned in the inventories but discriminated by consumer.

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<sup>785</sup> Carvalho, ‘Indo-Portuguese Furniture’, 172.

<sup>786</sup> Edwards and Codrington, ‘India and the West. Reflections upon a Recent Controversy’, 270, quoted in Carvalho, ‘Indo-Portuguese Furniture’, 172.





Some of the terms tend to come associated with specific types of objects. This is the case of agarwood for rosaries, mahogany for chests (*arcas*) and tables (*bufetes*), *granadillo* and *palo santo* for large pieces of furniture. Diversely, ebony, as mentioned in Chapter 1, is associated with a wide range of objects, from furniture to altarpieces, from cutlery to clocks. Obviously, this exercise is not exempt from flaws. It is not possible to ascertain whether the description in the inventory matches the species of timber of the actual object. However, the exercise reveals that, in some cases, there is a greater distinction between timbers. In the examples of Juan Montoya y Cardona (P2029) and Antonia de Rojas (P2678), the diversity of consumption of non-European wood is quite low. Apart from ebony, the former only consumed *granadillo*, whereas the latter only had mahogany. That being said, the inventories of Ana Antonia de Alvarado y Velasco (P2021b), Mencia de Bobadilla (P2662), Guiomar Tavera (P2322) and Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel (2323b) are more diversified. They all mention five types of exotic wood. In this ranking, Juan de Borja (P2626) is the one with the highest diversity rate. There are six different references to exotic timber (see **Table 7.1**). Again, the exercise has limited accuracy, because the terms might be just a generic name for similar types of wood. However, it suggests that, at least in the inventory of Juan de Borja, there was special care in noting down the provenance of timber, for there are references to wood “de yndias”, “de la yndia” and “de brasil”.

Object	Material	Object	Material
Escritorio	Calambuco	Cama [Mueble]	Ebano
	Caoba		Granadillo
	Ebano		Madera de la India
	Granadillo		Palo Santo
	Madera de Brasil	Cruz	Calambuco
	Madera de Indias		Ebano
	Madera de la India	Madera de la India	
	Palo Santo	Arca	Caoba
	Ebano		
Bufete	Caoba	Palo Santo	
	Cedro de La Havana	Caja	Caoba
	Ebano		Ebano
	Granadillo	Madera de la India	
	Madera de la India	Bandeja	Ebano
Palo Santo	Madera de la India		
	Palo Santo		

**Table 7.2 – Objects with the most diverse range of exotic timber**  
(systematised from Table 7.1)

In this exercise of listing down the uses of exotic timber, it becomes clear that the latter is mainly used as part of furniture. There are some references to wooden trays and boxes, but most references concern large pieces of furniture. Examples of these are tables (*bufetes*), fall-front cabinets (*escritorios*), beds (*camas*) and chests (*arcas*). A closer look, however, reveals that fall-front cabinets (*escritorios*) distinguish themselves for the wider use of exotic timber (see **Table 7.2**).

This observation is interesting because it matches the fact that fall-front cabinets were amongst the most ubiquitous objects in domestic interiors. Aguiló Alonso’s statement that *escritorios* were “the fundamental piece of furniture” remains valid when analysing our sample of inventories. In fact, fall-front cabinets are mentioned in forty out of the forty-one inventories that form the sample (including Juan de Borja’s). **Table 7.3** shows the objects that have the highest recurrence rates – i.e. which are listed in a higher number of inventories. Tables and candleholders (*candelero*) are the only objects that are mentioned in all inventories, immediately followed by cushions (*almohada*), boxes, beds and fall-front cabinets. The remaining objects in the table can be considered as highly recurrent, since they are mentioned in at least 65% of the inventories. Once again, the table does not account for omissions and it is very unlikely that some consumers would not have chests, or towels. Nevertheless, it still provides a good picture of the recurrence of objects.

Object	Rec.	Object	Rec.	Object	Rec.
Bufete	41	Bacia	33	Asador	27
Candelero	41	Cama [Textil]	33	Cadena	27
Almohada	40	Cruz	33	Lienzo	27
Caja	40	Paño	33	Campana	26
Cama [Mueble]	40	Relicário	33	Candil	26
<b>Escritorio</b>	<b>40</b>	Tapiceria	33	Cobertor	26
Arca	39	Vaso	32	Estera	26
Silla	39	Banco	31	Frasco	26
Cofre	38	Cuchillo	31	Mortero	26
Pieça	38	Escudilla	31	Taza	26
Cuchara	37	Repostero	31	Capa	25
Jarro	37	Servilleta	31	Colgadura	25
Salero	37	Taburete	31	Libro	25
Savana	37	Pomo	30	Manta	25
Alfombra	36	Tenedor	30	Medias	25
Imagen	36	Calentador	29	Rosario	25
Plato	36	Mesa	29	Azucarero	24
Salva	36	Pintura	29	Ferrezuelo	24
Toalla	36	Ropa	29	Jubon	24
Bolsa	35	Sobremesa	29	Mangas	24
Brasero	35	Sortija	29	Quadro	24
Colchon	35	Camisa	28	Baúl	23
Fuente	35	Olla	28	Calças	23
Cazo	34	Retrato	28	Cortina	23
Colcha	34	Sarten	28	Frontal	23

**Table 7.3 – List of objects according to their recurrence in inventories**

(“Rec.” stands for “Recurrence”, i.e. the number of inventories in which objects are mentioned. The table includes the sample of 40 inventories plus Juan de Borja’s inventory, making it a total of 41)

**Table 7.4**  
**Distribution of *escritorios* according to type of timber and geographical attributes**  
 (Highlighted rows show high recurrence, whereas highlighted columns show high diversity)

	European Geo. Attributes and European Timber		Native			
"de alemania"	X					
"de benencia"						
"de flandes"						
"de Genoba"						
"de granada"						
"de italia"						
"de milan"						
"de Salam anca"						
"napolitano" / "de napolcs"						
Cipres						
Encina + Box + Damasco						
Nogal	X					
Nogal + Box						
Nogal + Cuero						
Piño						
Piño + Nogal						
<b>Non-European Geo. Attributes and Non-European Timber</b>						
"berberisca"						
"de brasil"	X					
"de la china"						
"de la yndia"						
"de la ysla de la madera"						
Ebano						
Ebano + Caoba + Granadillo + Marfil						
Ebano + Marfil						
Ebano + Marfil + Damasco						
Ebano + Marfil + Encina						
Ebano + Marfil + Esmalte						
Ebano + Marfil + Granadillo						
Ebano + Marfil + Madera de Brasil						
Ebano + Marfil + Piño						
Ebano + Marfil + Plata						
Ebano + Marfil + Terciopelo						
Ebano + Nogal						
Ebano + Peral						
Ebano + Plata						
Ebano + Plata + Bronce						
Ebano + Plata + Oro						
"ebano de portugal"						
"ebano de portugal" + Marfil						





The wide consumption of fall-front cabinets also indicates that *escritorios* were not just luxury objects. Fall-front cabinets could be made from a broad selection of timber, both exotic and local. In my sample, fall-front cabinets are said to be made in any combination of these types: box, agarwood, mahogany, cypress, ebony, holm oak, *granadillo*, “madera de Indias”, “madera de la India”, “palo de la aguila”, pear tree, walnut, rosewood (*palo santo*), pear wood and pine. Other materials could be used to decorate the structure, such as bronze, tortoiseshell, leather, jasper, mother-of-pearl, silver or velvet. Apart from wood, there are also references to cabinets made entirely of cork, ivory or silver. Outside the sample, in the inventory of the furnishings of the *Huerta de Buenavista*, there is even a reference to an *escritorio* made of Venitian glass.<sup>787</sup> Besides, and contrastingly to carpets, which were mainly said to be “Turkish”, the geographical attributes given to fall-front cabinets are much more diverse. There are references to “Alemania”, “China”, Flanders, Genoa, Granada, “India”, “Indias”, “Ytalia”, Madeira, Naples and Salamanca. Some of these attributes may refer to the same type of object, such as “de evano” and Naples.<sup>788</sup> Or “madera de la India” and “hecho en la yndia”. Nonetheless, the level of diversity of materials and geographical attributes finds no parallel in any of the other top recurrent objects.

**Table 7.4** collects this information from all inventories. It reveals that there are three major patterns when considering fall-front cabinets. Twenty-eight out of forty (28/40) consumers had “escritorios de alemania”, twenty-three out of forty (23/40) had cabinets made of ebony and ivory – a sum that goes up to twenty-six (26/40) if we add those that do not mention ivory –, and eighteen (18/40) had cabinets made from walnut. This high-recurrence of the same types of *escritorios* could point towards a behaviour of social imitation, as pointed out by Urquizar Herrera.<sup>789</sup> However, it cannot explain the deviations on the table.

**Table 7.4** shows three main deviations. The inventories of Juan de Borja (P2626), Mencia de Bobadilla (P2662) and Guiomar Pardo y Tavera (2322) disclose a level of diversity in the combination of non-European geographical attributes and raw materials that is not verified in the remaining cases of the sample (see **Table 7.4**). Borja had *escritorios* “de la china”, “de la yndia”, ebony and ivory, ebony and “madera de brasil”, agarwood and silver, “madera de Indias” and “madera de la India”. Mencia de Bobadilla is said to have had *escritorios* “de la Yndia”, made of ebony, ebony and ivory, and with *granadillo*, mahogany, tortoiseshell and mother of pearl, plus others decorated with silver and velvet. Guiomar Pardo had *escritorios* “de la Yndia”, from Madeira,

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<sup>787</sup> AHPM, Prot. 933, f. 385v.

<sup>788</sup> According to Aguiló Alonso, fall-front cabinets of ebony and ivory would be supplied from Portugal but their production was carried out in Naples, see: Aguiló Alonso, ‘La exaltación de un reino’.

<sup>789</sup> See above Chapter 1, 24-25.

made of ebony or ebony and ivory, or even ebony “de Portugal” (Mozambican hardwood?), plus others with silver or ivory. This plethora of materials distinguishes these consumers from the sample. To understand their behaviour, each case needs to be analysed according to individual motivations, conditions for access, or opportunity. For this reason, the questions raised by this systematisation of data are discussed throughout the following two sections. I maintain the case of Juan de Borja as common thread throughout the analysis.

## 7.2. Escritorios as keepers

With an extended genealogy, descending from popes and dukes, Juan de Borja was part of the ancient *nobleza de sangre* (see **Image 7.2**).<sup>790</sup> Even so, he was born a second son – a circumstance that left him without titles or properties. Nonetheless, by the end of his life, Juan de Borja had managed to acquire a position at court that would place him amongst the highest nobility in the monarchy. He had obtained the title of I Count of Mayalde, he benefited from the title of I Count of Ficalho as consort and he had obtained the rents over the villages of Reina, near Badajoz, (1550) and Azuaga (1578) – the rights of which he eventually handed over to his son, Francisco, since these were part of the Order of Santiago. In 1600, he reached the top of the hierarchy of the Order by becoming one of the *Trece*. Indeed, not only had Borja brought titles to his household, but he had also increased its *dignidad* thanks to the several services he carried out for the monarchy. He led ambassadorial missions in Portugal and the Empire. He was appointed *mayordomo-mayor* of both Empress Maria and Queen Margarita of Austria. Finally, while being at the service of the king at the *Consejos de Estado* and *Portugal*, Borja became one of the most preeminent members of Philip III's court. An interesting detail that is transversal to all these achievements is that they all implied the consumption of a very significant quantity of paper.

I argue that Borja's possession of almost thirty *escritorios* was a direct consequence of the practises that his status as a high-ranking nobleman entailed. As a member of the nobility – which is a feature common to all consumers in the sample –, Juan de Borja offers an opportunity to enquire about

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<sup>790</sup> There is a long tradition of studies on the nobility in Spain. For an overview, see: Dominguez Ortiz, *Las Clases Privilegiadas En El Antiguo Régimen*; García Hernán, *La Nobleza En La España Moderna*; Aa.Vv., *Nobleza Y Sociedad En La España Moderna*; Pérez, 'La Aristocracia Castellana En El Siglo XVI'; Carrasco Martínez, 'Las Noblezas de Los Reinos Hispánicos. Modos de Integración Y Conflictos En La Segunda Mitad Del Siglo XVI (Ponencia)'; Carrasco Martínez, *Sangre, Honor Y Privilegio. La Nobleza Española Bajo Los Austrias*; Soria Mesa, 'La Nobleza En La España Moderna. Presente Y Futuro de La Investigación'; Hernández Franco, *Sangre Limpia, Sangre Española. El Debate Sobre Los Estatutos de Limpieza (siglos XV-XVII)*; Guillén Berrendero, *La Edad de La Nobleza. Identidad Nobiliaria En Castilla Y Portugal (1556-1621)*.

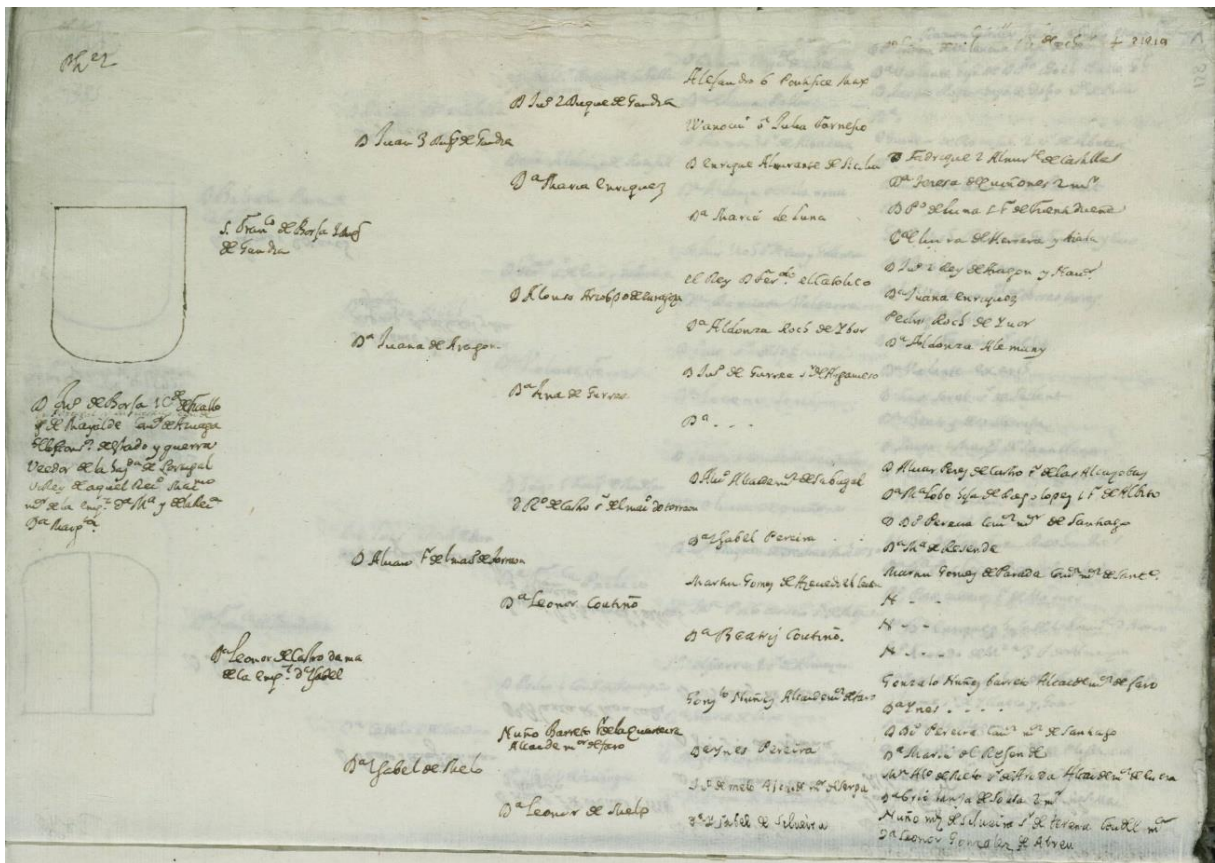


Image 7.2 – Costados de Juan de Borja

the reasons for that widespread consumption of fall-front cabinets. The section is not circumscribed to Borja’s case, though. Given the absence of primary sources to confirm what exactly Juan de Borja kept in his *escritorios*, the section is built on the relation between Borja’s practises and other contemporary references. Apart from sources regarding other courtiers at the turn of the seventeenth century, I use several works by Lope de Vega in which *escritorios* appear as metaphors. With this, I advance an interpretation for the existence of such a large number of *escritorios* amongst the possessions of Juan de Borja – an interpretation that offers a much more complex view of the driving force that led high-ranking nobility into this consumption practise. More specifically, I demonstrate that *escritorios* were keepers of deeds, money and jewels, as well as keepers of letters and family papers, such as privileges and royal *mercedes*. In short, I defend that *escritorios* were consumed because they were keepers of the practises of nobility during the early modern period in the Iberian Peninsula.

## Money

During the two periods in which Juan de Borja acted as ambassador for Philip II, money was a frequent topic of concern. As mentioned earlier, diplomatic missions were often a promising way for non-firstborn noblemen to ascend the social scale, but through the documentation related to Borja's diplomatic missions it becomes obvious that such a path required some affluence. An ambassador would have to be able to face the expenses of his household and most of the diplomatic activity before being compensated by the king. Given the uncertainty of the length of each mission, the availability of liquidity and the capacity of access to credit were concerns frequently addressed in diplomatic correspondence.

During his stay in Lisbon, Borja requested licences for both the transference of capital, or for authorisations of credit, several times. In December 1572, the ambassador asked secretary Zayas to issue a *cédula de paso* so that his salary and allowance for extraordinary expenses could be collected in Madrid and taken to Lisbon.<sup>791</sup> In April and June 1574, Borja wrote again to Zayas asking to have his expenses covered as soon as possible. One of this period's major concerns was the payment of Borja's expenses made in the name of the king to equip twelve ships to be sent to Santander. The reimbursement was made through a bill of exchange in Seville. Borja could not withdraw this bill before the king had given its consent, however.<sup>792</sup> The following year, when he

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<sup>791</sup> “Tanbien he menester çedula de paso para el dinero de la ayuda de costa y del salario en todo esto hara v.m. la md de favoresçer a figueredo que suele hazer en mis cosas”, Letter from Juan de Borja to Gabriel de Zayas, Lisbon, 10 December 1572, in AGS, Estado – Portugal, Leg. 390, n. 121.

<sup>792</sup> “Ya tengo escrito a v.m. lo que jnporta cumplirse mis letras pues son de dinero por mi buscado com mucho trabajo y por orden de su Mag[esta]d y para su serviçio y dexandosse de cumplir no puedo dexar de hauer falta en el [...] y assi supp[li]co a v.m. que se enbie luego a mandar a fran[ci]s[co] duarte q[ue] cumpla mis letras o sino se me enbie a mi un credito para q[ue] en seuilla se pague la cantidad que tendo ya escrito y la demas que fuere menester si se huuiere de comprar alguna artilleria para lo qual sera muy trabajo de allar mas dinero y pues este es sin ninguno interes deve de agradecer con mandar que se pague bien”, and “Los gastos tras ordinarios en que tengo puesto mi dinero tantos dias aun no se me acada de librar quanto mas de pagar quando esto no se hiziere luego no tenre de quien quexarme sino de v.m. por eso tenga v.m. paçiençia”, Letter from Juan de Borja to Gabriel de Zayas, Lisbon, 28th April 1574, in AGS, Estado – Portugal, Leg. 392, n. 56.

In June, Juan de Borja writes once again: “A mi se me haze tan mala obra en no cumplir seny[?] mis letras que lo podria mal encarezer a v.m. cobrarsse el Dinero no querer darze y assi los postreros mil ducados de que di letras sobre v.m. per no hauerme los aun entregado me los tienen sispensos hasta saber que ay se ayan pagado y las personas q[ue] los an de hauer son pobres y quieren su dinero y yo llevo esto con mucho trabajo y vea v.m. que gusto puede hombre tener adonde ni le pagan su salario ni sus gazes ni los gastos trasordinarios que deve de haver çerca de dos Años que se me deve parte del dinero q[ue] tengo puesto y demos de esto ni lo que se a buscado aqui con tanto trabajo para aprestoar estos nauios y tan sin jnteres Ay no se quiere pagar. Torno a dezir a v.m. que si quando se me enviase a mandar que gaste algo por cuenta de Su Mag[esta]d y no se me enbiare el dinero o credito que yo no podre hazer por que este poco de credito con que aqui vinya he le ya perdido [...] Suppco a v.m. q[ue] si me ade hazer m[er]ce[d] en su vida sea hazer q[ue] se cumplan luego estas letras”, Letter from Juan de Borja to Gabriel de Zayas, Lisbon, 6 June 1574, in Estado – Portugal, Leg. 392, n. 113.

The payment was finally authorised in July: “Es la cuenta que esta dando don Joan de borja Enbax[ad]or por su mag[esta]d nel rreyno de portugal de lo que gasto com las doze naos y gente dellas que se enbargaron en lisboa en el mês de abril passado y se ynbiaron a santader para seruir en la armada que alli se hazia de que hera general pero melendez de auiles se carga çinco mill y quiiientos ducados que tomo para el d[ic]ho efecto y rremitio la paga a los

had already obtained the authorisation to return to Castile, Borja was still dependent on the transference of money to Portugal for clearing his debts.<sup>793</sup> Moreover, the list of Borja's extraordinary expenses clearly shows that he had to put money in advance from his own *hacienda* beforehand. Only later would the king compensate him.<sup>794</sup>

During the period he spent at the Empire, the situation did not change. The list of expenses is quite large and it comprises a wide range of expenditures, such as allowances for the sons of Empress Maria, the payment of her chaplain, or money for the post itself. The reimbursements were usually collected in Augsburg through the Fuggers.<sup>795</sup> There are several references to the cost of sending Alvaro de Veancos – Borja's private secretary – to that city.<sup>796</sup> It can be concluded from all this activity that Borja would have to have a large quantity of money at his disposal. This could be either in cash or in the form of bills of exchange. Large quantities of money required a safe – a function that *escritorios* were specifically designed to fulfil.

In the play *Lo que pasa en una tarde*, Lope de Vega discloses that intimate association by equating a fall-front cabinet to a sheath:

Siempre por ellos [los requiebros]  
deja la vaina la espada  
y el escritorio el dinero.<sup>797</sup>

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tres mill a fran[cis]co duarte a seulla y la de los dos mill y quinientos rrestantes por tres libranças al secretario çayas conuiene que los señores contador fran[cis]co de garnica y secreta[río] Ju[an] delgado den rrazon de los nirs[?] que en qualquier maneras se ayan librado al d[ic]ho Enbaxador para el dho efecto/ y ansi mismo la del d[ic]ho señor secretario delgado de la orden que se le dio para entender en lo suso d[ic]ho fecha en m[adri]d a veynte y quatro de Jullio de mill y quinientos y setenta y quatro años”, *Cuenta de D. Juan de Borja*, in AGS, Contaduría Mayor de Cuentas, CMC-II, 489, 1574.<sup>793</sup> “Don Juan de Vorja embaxador por V.M[a]g[esta]d en Portugal supp[li]ca a V.M[a]g[esta]d le aga m[e]r[ce]d de mandarle dar su lizençia por su çedula para que pueda sacar destes reynos de V.M[a]g[esta]d siete mill Ducados y metellos en los de Portugal por que los há menester para el gasto de su cassa”, *D. Juan de Borja*, 1574, in AGS, Cámara de Castilla – Memoriales, 432, f. 157; and “Don Ju[an] de borja embax[ad]or em portugal dize que V.M[a]g[esta]d fue seruido de dalle liçençia para benirse a castilla y que por deuer en Lisboa y otras partes de aquel Rey[no] mas de doze mill ducados y porq[ue] Para pagallos a menester balerse de su hazienda y de la de sus amigos suplica a V.M[a]g[esta]d le haga m[e]r[ce]d de dalle liçençia para sacar de los Reynos de castilla al de portugal diez mill ducados attento a q[ue] no se la a hecho m[e]r[ce]d en los años passados de settenta y dos y senta y tres y settenta y quatro y V.M[a]g[esta]d, le suele hazer m[e]r[ce]d cada un año de quatro mill ducados de liçençia y a que no puede arrancar su casa sin pagar sus deudas”, *D. Juan de Borja*, 1575, in AGS, Cámara de Castilla – Memoriales, 446, f. 335.

<sup>794</sup> *Memoria de lo que don Ju<sup>o</sup> de Borja del consejo de V. Magd y su embaxador çerca de la Persona del Ser.mo Rey de portugal há gastado en su real seruio en gastos extra ordinarios desde doçe de nobienbre de 1572 años hasta diez y seis de março de 1574 anos*; and *Juan de Borja / Relaçion de gastos extraordinarios, 1571-1575*, both in AGS, Consejo de Hazienda, DGT, 567.

<sup>795</sup> “Hazesele cargo al dho don juan de borja de doze mill taleres de asesenta y ocho cruçeres[?] cada vno de que Antonio fúcar y sobrinos y Thomas miller en su nombre dieron su letra de cambio sobre si mysmo para que se le pagasen al d[ic]ho don ju[an] f[ec]ha a XXI de nou[embr]e de DLXXVI en la çidad de Augusta”, *Cargo para Don Juan de Borja*, 22 November 1577, in AGS, Consejo de Hazienda, DGT, 568.

<sup>796</sup> “Q[uen]ta de lo que se há reseuido y gastado en las cossas q[ue] se han ofrescido del seruio de Su md en esta embaxada de alemaña desde prim[ero] de hen[ero] del año passado de UDLXXVI hasta ultimo de aBril deste presentte ano de UDLXXIX años en la forma sig[uient]e [...]”; 1 January 1577 – 30 April 1579, in AGS, Consejo de Hazienda, DGT, 568.

<sup>797</sup> Vega y Carpio, *Obras de Lope de Vega*, 1913, vols. II, 306.

The sheath (*vaina*) belongs to the sword (*espada*), as the cabinet belongs to money (*dinero*). This association between the cabinet and money, which can be extended to other forms of material wealth, such as jewels, is recurrent in Lope de Vega's plays.<sup>798</sup> A recurrence that is very interesting to explore in this section, because it suggests that *escritorios* were a preferred means the nobility used to hoard wealth – a compulsory practise for the early modern nobleman.

Departing from a treatise by Huarte de San Juan published in 1575, the scholar Joseph Pérez has claimed that without wealth, there was no true nobility, for wealth was necessary to keep the House's honour.<sup>799</sup> Huarte de San Juan had declared that the honoured man required wealth to supply his necessities, to live in accordance with the nobility and antiquity of his ancestors. Hence, wealth was a means that allowed nobility to fulfil the prerequisites to achieve honour. It is interesting to note that Juan de Borja fulfils all six requirements that Huarte de San Juan listed. Firstly, valour. He proved it earlier in his life when he commanded the defence of San Sebastián.<sup>800</sup> Secondly, "substance" (*hacienda*).<sup>801</sup> This was achieved through everything that comprised his household, in particular the *encomiendas* granted to him by both the Order of Santiago and the titles he obtained. Thirdly, antiquity, an obvious feature for a member of the House of Borja. Fourthly, an honourable office, which in Borja's case included the diplomatic missions and the office of *mayordomo-mayor*. Fifthly, a good name and surname together. Finally, the ornament of his person. There are several evidences of this in his probate inventory, namely clothing.<sup>802</sup> Therefore, the hoarding of wealth was not just a requirement for Borja's activity as an ambassador. It was a requirement for being considered an honoured man.

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<sup>798</sup> Vega y Carpio, *Obras de Lope de Vega*, vols. III, 87; vol. V, 288; vol. VI, 38; vol. X, 266, 558.

<sup>799</sup> Pérez, 'La Aristocracia Castellana En El Siglo XVI', 58.

<sup>800</sup> See Chapter 2, 60-61.

<sup>801</sup> The translation is from the English edition of 1594, translated from the Italian edition by Camilo Camili. See: San Juan, *Examen de Ingenios = The Examination of Mens Wits: In Whicch by Discovering the Varietie of Natures, Is Shewed for What Profession Each One Is Apt, and How Far He Shall Profit Therein*, 227.

<sup>802</sup> "Seis cosas me parece que ha de tener el hombre para que enteramente se pueda llamar honrado; y cualquiera de ellas que le falte quedará su sér menoscabado. [...] La primera y más principal es el valor de la propia persona en prudencia, en justicia, en ánimo y valentía. Ésto hace las riquezas y mayorazgos, de éste nacen los apellidos ilustres, de este principio tienen origen todas las noblezas del mundo; y si no, vamos á las casas grandes de España, y hallaremos que casi todas tuvieron origen de hombres particulares, los cuales con el valor de sus personas ganaron lo que ahora tienen sus descendientes. La segunda cosa que honra al hombre, después del valor de la persona, es la hacienda, sin la cual ninguno vemos ser estimádo en la república. La tercera es la nobleza y antigüedad de sus antepasados: ser bien nacido y de claro linaje es una joya muy estimada, pero tiene una falta muy grande, que sola por sí es de muy poco provecho, así para el noble como para los demás que tienen necesidad. Porque ni es buena para comer, ni beber, ni vestir, ni calzar, ni para dar ni fiar; antes hace vivir al hombre muriendo, privado de los remedios que hay para cumplir sus necesidades; pero junta con la riqueza no hay punto de honra que se le iguale. Algunos suelen comparar la nobleza al cero de la cuenta gua risma, el cual solo por sí no vale nada, pero junto con otro número le hace subir. La cuarta que hace al hombre ser estimado es tener a guna dignidad ú oficio honroso, y por lo contrario, ninguna cosa baja tanto al hombre como ganar de comer en oficio mecánico. La quinta cosa que honra al hombre es tener buen apellido y gracioso nombre, que haga buena consonancia en los oídos de todos, y no llamarse majagranzas ó majadero, como yo los conozco. [...] Lo sexto que honra al hombre es buen atavío de su persona, andar bien vestido y acompañado de muchos criados." San Juan, *Examen de Ingenios Para Las Ciencias*, 277–278.

The interpretation can even be taken a step further. Saint Teresa de Ávila's affirmation that "honours and money almost always walk together" suggests that *escritorios* were not only the lockers of Borja's wealth.<sup>803</sup> They were also, and by extension, the lockers of his own honour. In another play by Lope de Vega, a high-ranking nobleman at the court in Madrid boasts about his honour as if it would be safely kept inside an *escritorio* inherited from his parents. An "*escritorio*" that another character in the play attempts to violate by "forging" a key:

*Alberto:* [...] Tengo un escritorio honrado  
que no admite falsedades,  
que, de mis padres dejado,  
se ha de guardar con verdades.  
Sé que llave falsa han hecho  
para sacarme el honor,  
y las guardas contrahecho,  
que siendo alma era mejor  
que se guardara en el pecho.<sup>804</sup>

In this metaphor, the *escritorio* is used as the guardian of Alberto's honour and of the honour of his House. It is, hence, not surprising that so much investment was made in the acquisition and display of *escritorios*. Furniture historian Aguiló Alonso already noticed that the number of *escritorios* per consumer increased exponentially towards the end of the sixteenth century.<sup>805</sup> More to the point, it was amongst the nobility that this diffusion became more notorious.

By the mid-seventeenth century, the Portuguese writer Francisco Manuel de Melo used the *escritorio* as an allegory precisely to criticise noblemen's practises. In the dialogue *O Escritório Aparento* (1655) – i.e. *The Avaricious Fall-front Cabinet* – Francisco Manuel de Melo condemns hoarding practises that, according to him, prevented economic growth.<sup>806</sup> This work has been regarded as an ideological piece in which the economic views of its author are set against the values of an old order, represented by the nobility. While Manuel de Melo defended the circulation of money and its use for the economic development of the realm, the avaricious owner of the cabinet preferred to hoard his wealth.<sup>807</sup>

Lope de Vega had already used the fall-front cabinet as a representation of the avarice of their owners, such as in *La Piedade Ejecutada* (1623) and *Padrino Desposado* (ca. 1610).<sup>808</sup> That said, Manuel

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<sup>803</sup> "honras y dineros casi siempre andan juntos", Santa Teresa, *Camino de perfección*, Cap. II, 6. Quoted in Pérez, 'La Aristocracia Castellana En El Siglo XVI', 58.

<sup>804</sup> Vega y Carpio, 'El castigo del discreto', in *Obras de Lope de Vega*, vol. IV, 183.

<sup>805</sup> Aguiló Alonso, *El mueble en España, siglos XVI-XVII*, 96.

<sup>806</sup> Melo, 'O Escritório Aparento. Apólogo Dialogal Segundo'.

<sup>807</sup> Pereira, 'Escritório Aparento', 128.

<sup>808</sup> "Bayna de vna espada fuerte,/ nube de vn Sol de contento,/ caja de dados fin fuerte,/ escritorio de auariento,/ que se hunde por fu muerte.", Vega y Carpio, 'El Padrino Desposado', in *Obras de Lope de Vega*, vol. VIII, 265.



de Melo puts the fall-front cabinet at the centre of the debate. Indeed, the dialogue is between four speaking coins kept inside the *escritorio*. One of the coins complains of being imprisoned and forgotten. It complains that it is buried inside one of the drawers, making it useless.<sup>809</sup> Furthermore, the criticism against the nobility becomes particularly evident when the same coin confesses that, at some point in its life, it belonged to a high-ranking nobleman (a *grande*). Despite the insistence of the latter's secretary, the *grande* would refuse to relinquish the coin, even when his family was going through an appalling financial situation.<sup>810</sup> It seems that giving up the coin would be comparable to giving up the family's honour.

To sum up, with the above references I demonstrated that money – either in cash, bills of exchange or exchangeable objects such as jewels – was inseparable from the concept of honour. In other words, the former made the latter possible. In the case of Juan de Borja, the concern with money had yet another layer, since taking offices in the service of the monarchy required an availability of liquidity. This liquidity had to be kept safely in *escritorios* before being spent. In this sense, the extensive consumption of *escritorios* across the aristocracy has to be regarded for the dual function of these pieces of furniture as keepers of nobility's wealth and honour.

## Deeds

For early modern nobility, wealth was not limited to money or expensive objects. Much of it came from real estate. Huarte de San Juan declared that every honoured man required *hacienda*: a complex concept that comprised liquidity, real estate and financial assets and transactions. When Juan de Borja had to return the *Huerta de Buenavista* to the king in 1600, a long description of ca. seventy deeds (*escripturas*) in his possession was made together with the inventory of the property's contents.<sup>811</sup> Thus, the management of the property was also related with the management of other financial obligations. As can already be inferred, the management of this entire *hacienda* was not possible without written contracts kept together with money inside fall-front cabinets.

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<sup>809</sup> The complaint is made by *Português*, a 150 year-old golden coin made by order of the Portuguese king: *Português*: “[...] vim a poder deste maldito rico avarento donde, como vós outros, há tantos anos que al não faço senão gemer e chorar minha triste sorte, pois [...] me vejo preso, inútil e esquecido, sem ser visto dos homens que a necessidade me deu para criados ou dos grandes, que a cobiça me destinou para amigos [...] passando miserável vida ferrolhado nas malditas masmorras destas gavetas que, vivo, me servem de sepultura.” in Melo, ‘O Escritório Avarento (...)’, 74.

<sup>810</sup> *Português*: “A cousa mais antiga de que me lembro em minha vida, é que não sei porque rodeos, me achei em poder de um grande, com outros parentes meus de meu tamanho, que o servíamos. Queria-nos ele tanto que, por mais que o seu veador às vezes lhe requeria nos trocasse, porque a família por falta de dinheiro estava perecendo, nunca jamais houve remédio.” in Melo, ‘O Escritório Avarento. Apólogo Dialogal Segundo’, 79.

<sup>811</sup> AHPM, Prot. 933, ff. 386v-393. For more on this source, see Chapter 2, pp. 75-79.

Lope de Vega offers an insight to understand the relevance of deeds and other similar contracts for a nobleman. In his play *La Dama Boba* (1613), the *caballero* – i.e. a mid-ranking nobleman – Laurencio aims at wining Finea’s love. However, the real objective is neither her love nor her money. Instead, if he achieves his aim, he will have access to the income stability provided by a deed that she keeps inside a fall-front cabinet. A deed which grants him steady and safe revenue:

*Laurencio:* ¿No están las escrituras de una renta  
en un cajón de un escritorio, y rinden  
aquello que se come todo el año?  
¿No está una casa principal tan firme  
como de piedra, al fin yeso y ladrillo,  
y renta mil ducados a su dueño ?  
Pues yo haré cuenta que es Finea una casa,  
una escritura, un censo y una viña,  
y seráme una renta con basquina;  
demás que, si me quiere a mí, me basta.<sup>812</sup>

The deed, the leasing agreement (*censo*) and the vineyard are the real objective of Laurencio’s claim. On the one hand, these documents guarantee financial stability. On the other hand, they determine Finea’s status as a lady. The fall-front cabinet is, then, not a mere keeper of wealth/honour. It is the keeper of Finea’s social status which is grounded on real estate, rents and agricultural land. Likewise, Laurencio needed to access those to secure his own status as *caballero*. In short, the *escritorio* is the keeper of both Finea’s and Laurencio’s condition as nobility.

In the case of Borja, the concession of the *encomiendas* by the Order of Santiago, for example, would also have been concluded through the registration of a contract. Despite the lack of primary sources confirming that Juan de Borja used *escritorios* to keep this type of documents, sources from other fellow courtiers leave no room for doubt.

Like Juan de Borja, the II Marquis of Velada also participated in the meetings of the court’s literary *academia* during his youth.<sup>813</sup> When Velada died, the contents of his *escritorios* were broadly described in the probate inventory. In his Madrid residence, apart from other *escritorios* filled with papers, there was a large walnut fall-front cabinet known as *el archibo* – i.e. the archive – where all deeds of the marquis were kept.<sup>814</sup> Velada’s inventory is also interesting for the difference between the

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<sup>812</sup> Vega y Carpio, 'La Dama Boba', in *Obras de Lope de Vega*, vol. XI, 611.

<sup>813</sup> See Chapter 2, 64.

<sup>814</sup> “las cosas que ay en Madrid a cargo de Juan de Alba guarda Ropa de Su Excelencia: un escritorio de nogal sin pies, nueve escritorios çerrados llenos de papeles que fueron de don Juan de Çúñiga, una arquilla de papeles çerrada que la tenía Francisco Gómez, una caja grande quadrada llena de memoriales que no ymportan, una escrivanía berde çerrada, un escritorio de taraça con seis caxones con papeles del pleito de Villatoro, un escritorio de pino largo çerrado que digen se llama del Comendador Mayor sin llave”; “lo que solía tener a su cargo Pedro Ruiz moço de cámara: un escritorio de pino con sus compartimentos que se hizo para tener Gómez los papeles en septiembre de 1603, un escritorio grande de nogal que llaman el archibo donde están todas las escrituras del estado de Su

contents of the *escritorios* kept in the country residences of Velada and Ávila and those in Madrid, where he actually lived as the king's *mayordomo-mayor* until his death. In Velada, the marquis possessed chests filled with old papers and twenty-two old “libros de la hazienda” – i.e. account books. Similarly, in Ávila, several strongboxes were filled with more *hacienda* papers.<sup>815</sup> However, in Madrid, the *escritorios* kept the “escripturas del estado de Su Excelencia”. In other words, whereas in Velada and Ávila the contents of the *escritorios* and strongboxes were mainly documents regarding the management of the marquis' *hacienda*, in the residence of Madrid, the *escritorios* held the deeds that confirmed the “substance” of the marquis own position as a high-ranking nobleman. The deeds, and the *escritorios* to hold them, had to be on hand. They could not be separated from the activity of high-ranking nobility. García Hernán noticed that low-ranking nobility often struggled to demonstrate that they belonged to the highest social rank. Therefore, they had to carry the documents that could prove their status at all time.<sup>816</sup> This was certainly not the case of Borja or Velada, but the numerous *escritorios* in Velada's inventories were filled with papers that justified their social position and provided evidence of their role at court. Indeed, both Velada and Borja were *mayordomos-mayores* – offices that required the production of yet another type of important papers: letters.

### Letters, billetes and consultas

The British Library keeps ca. 1400 letters received by Juan de Borja during the last eight years of his life. One hundred more, written between 1571 and 1606, are kept at the Instituto Valencia de Don Juan in Madrid.<sup>817</sup> This impressive quantity of papers is but a small fraction of the total number of correspondence exchange during his lifetime. The remaining letters are either scattered or lost. Nonetheless, these 1500 documents were kept somewhere by their owner before they made their way into the Altramira Collection, from where they were acquired by those two

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Excelencia”, BZ, *Altamira*, Carpeta 198, Doc. 1. Quoted in Martínez Hernández, ‘Don Gómez Dávila Y Toledo (...)’, 44, footnote 8.

<sup>815</sup> “Cossas que ay en Velada a cargo de Francisco Hernández casero de palacio: primeramente quatro bufetes de nogal pequeños, dos bufetes de nogal grandes, un arca de pino çerrada de papeles antiguos, dos arcas çerradas llenas de papeles, veinte y dos libros de la hazienda de Su Excelencia viejos”; “en el camarín de los açulejos: muchos papeles que son registros de escrivanos”; “cossas de Guarda Ropa que están en Ávila a cargo de Christóval Farinas Mayordomo del Hazienda de Su Excelencia: un cofre grande barreado çerrado número 37 de papeles de hazienda del tiempo de Malpartida, un cofre çerrado lleno de papeles del hazienda de Su Excelencia”, BZ, *Altamira*, Carpeta 198, Doc. 1. Quoted in Martínez Hernández, 44, footnote 8.

<sup>816</sup> García Hernán, *La Nobleza En La España Moderna*, 21.

<sup>817</sup> IVDJ, Letters exchanged with Philip II (E5, TII, 23), Archduke Albert of Austria (E48, C64, 12-37), Juan de Zúñiga (ES, T1, 118; E14, C27, K7-22; E47, C62, 238-244), Sor Margarita de la Cruz (E42, C54, 43-48) and Fernando de Borja (E19, C28, LI, 5 and 30).

libraries.<sup>818</sup> Again, *escritorios* were the most natural place to keep them and that is due to the importance of correspondence for an early modern nobleman, such as Borja.

Fernando Bouza has demonstrated how correspondence played a central role in the education of early modern courtiers. This historian focused on the case of Jeronimo de Ataíde, Marquis of Colares (ca. 1597-1669).<sup>819</sup> Ataíde collected and spent a year reading letters written by the Duke of Lerma over half a century before. Bouza states that the relevance of correspondence for courtiers was so great that letters would circulate between them. They would even be kept in family archives and libraries as “testimonio de la antigüedad y grandeza de la familia”.<sup>820</sup>

Recently, Diego Pacheco Landero has reminded us that what distinguished the man of letters (*letrado*) from the nobleman was the following: whereas the former had a technical knowledge based on books, the nobleman’s knowledge was a pragmatic one based on the experience of managing an estate. This experience was not limited to the nobleman’s own life, but it also comprised the experience achieved by his ancestors: “la idea del servicio heredado venía de la mano de la herencia de la virtud para acometerlo, fundamento indiscutible de la condición de nobleza”.<sup>821</sup> This could well explain the fact that only Borja’s letters from the period in which he acted as member of the *Consejos de Estado* and *Portugal* have survived. Indeed, his son, Carlos de Borja, eventually took up his father’s position. Regardless of the intentions for their preservation, it cannot be denied that letters were at the centre of the activity of early modern aristocracy with offices at court. Especially after Philip II had institutionalised the written *billete* as the main way of communication between courtiers and their king.<sup>822</sup>

*Billetes*, written enquiries (*consultas*) and letters were produced in massive quantities and often this was a heavy burden to deal with. When in the autumn of 1601 Philip III decided to spend some time near León hunting stags, the Duke of Lerma took the opportunity to do some homework:

El Rey dios le g[uar]de queda bueno y entretiene por esta tierra buscando los venados q[ue] los ay y muy buena brama. Ya muerto algunos. Yo me contento com tener vn poco de quietud para entender en vnos escritorios q[ue] he traydo llenos de papeles.<sup>823</sup>

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<sup>818</sup> Most of the correspondence that belonged to Juan de Borja was part of the Altamira Collection, which is today divided across different archives. For more on the Altamira Collection, see Léopold, *Inventaire de La Collection Edouard Favre: (archives de La Maison d’Altamira)*.

<sup>819</sup> Attribution made in Magalhães, ‘A Jornada Dos Vassalos, Por D. Jerônimo de Ataíde Em 1625’, 102.

<sup>820</sup> Bouza Álvarez, ‘Papeles Y Opinión: Políticas de Publicación En El Siglo de Oro’, 67–93, especially 78–80.

<sup>821</sup> Pacheco Landero, “Que Sirva Tan Bien Como Hiço Su Padre”. *La Alta Nobleza Y El Servicio Como Alter Ego Regio En La Monarquía Hispánica*. See also Thompson, ‘DO UT DES: La Economía Política Del “Sericio” En La Castilla Moderna’, 287–288.

<sup>822</sup> Bouza Álvarez, ‘El Mecenazgo Real Y El Libro: Impresores Y Bibliotecas En La Corte de Felipe II’; Martínez Hernández, ‘Memoria Y Escritura Privada En La Cultura Nobiliario-Cortesana Del Siglo de Oro: Los Papeles Del Marqués de Velada’, 396.

<sup>823</sup> Letter with reply by the Duke of Lerma to Juan de Borja, Madrid, 6 October 1601, in BL, Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 173-174v.

It is very possible that inside those *escritorios* were some of the letters and *consultas* exchanged with Juan de Borja that today are part of the British Library collection. The need for fall-front cabinets to keep all these papers led to a closer association between this type of furniture and the growing bureaucratized structure of the early modern state. In the increasingly complex state administration, members of the nobility used public offices to widen the opportunities for social mobility. Service (*servicio*) had become a powerful means for early modern aristocracy to strengthen their households and to create opportunities to obtain honour and royal favour.

As recent literature has frequently highlighted, service was based on a contractual relationship between patron (*señor*) and client (*vasallo*). Both parts had obligations and rights. Service had to be rewarded and throughout the early modern period, Iberian elites increasingly relied on offices at court to improve their social position.<sup>824</sup> Given that all this political activity was executed through paper, nobility in the Hispanic Monarchy had to overcome the initial refusal for assimilating a literate culture, regarded as part of clergy. They needed to do so if they wanted to access offices at court.

The written word could be used to render service to the monarch, but it could also be used as a political weapon. One famous example is the case of Francisco de Mendoza, admiral of Aragón (1547-1623). Accused of having contributed to the publication, if not written, several libels against the Duke of Lerma, the admiral was arrested in May 1609. His fall-front cabinets, filled with papers, were promptly confiscated. The confiscation of fall-front cabinets did not end there and the search for evidence continued until 1610.<sup>825</sup> This episode where *escritorios* are constantly mentioned shows that the relevance of this type of furniture goes well beyond that of a safe. They protect one's wealth, but also one's activity as a politician and writer, in other words, one's own thoughts. Hence, inside the cabinet, wealth and real estate meet the activity of the nobleman as a politician.

By the turn of the seventeenth century, taking public office had become associated with the production of paper. If we agree with Fernando Bouza, to whom “el poder moderno se hizo posible sobre la escritura, sobre bufetes y pluma”, then *escritorios* were the keepers of that power and a reminder of the role of noblemen as servants of the monarchy.<sup>826</sup> Hence, paperwork – in fact, literate education in general – became associated with power and social climbing. Eventually, the nobility learned how to integrate correspondence, as well as other forms of writing, as an inherent culture practise. They not only perpetuated the memory of the House, but writing was

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<sup>824</sup> Thompson, ‘DO UT DES: La Economía Política Del “Sericio” En La Castilla Moderna’, 295; Terrasa Lozano, ‘Por La Polémica Gracia Del Rey Universal (...)’.

<sup>825</sup> About this case, see Bouza Álvarez, ‘Quién Escribe Dónde. (...)’

<sup>826</sup> Bouza Álvarez, *Comunicación, Conocimiento Y Memoria En La España de Los Siglos XVI Y XVII*, 80.

also important for pedagogical reasons, as the aforementioned case of the Marquis of Colares demonstrates.<sup>827</sup>

There was yet another type of papers to be found within cabinets integrated in that noble culture: the “courtly letter”. This type of letter writing became common amongst courtiers throughout the sixteenth century. This highly codified and regulated type of letter, usually holographic, was restricted to a very specific social group. Treatises regulated titles, formatting and calligraphy and their mastery was part of being a nobleman and a courtier.<sup>828</sup> A courtly letter was not only political. It was also intimate. Much imbedded in chivalrous culture, intimacy and love were still noble attributes, and the expression of personal feelings separated the aristocracy from common people.<sup>829</sup> The correspondence exchanged between Juan de Borja and the Duke of Feria is, perhaps, the most illustrative of this affirmation. Nonetheless, there are also examples in the correspondence exchanged with the Duke of Lerma.<sup>830</sup> Therefore, the cabinet was not only an attribute of nobility, but also an attribute of the aristocratic courtier.

## Interpersonal bonds

All the previous sub-sections approach cabinets as keepers of practises of nobility from the point of view of their contents. However, none of them considers the actual object. In this last subsection, I look at fall-front cabinets from the point of view of their role in keeping patronage bonds. In this perspective, when presented as gifts, *escritorios* became mediators particularly suitable to consolidate relationships of patronage amongst members of the nobility.

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<sup>827</sup> “Bien se puede colegir de semejante parecer que la escritura privada había sido asumida por la nobleza –y no sólo por ella– como una práctica más, y sin duda imprescindible, de su habitus cultural, reafirmando su uso como conservadora de la memoria, como uno de los más útiles medios para la perpetuación de una imagen personal.” Martínez Hernández, ‘Memoria Y Escritura Privada (...)’, 399.

<sup>828</sup> Martín Baños, ‘Familiar, Retórica, Cortesana: Disfraces de La Carta En Los ‘Tratados Epistolares Renascentistas’; Martín Baños, ‘Letras Misivas, Letras Humanas, Letras Divinas (...)’, 34–38.

<sup>829</sup> For the french case, see Dewald, *Aristocratic Experience and the Origins of Modern Culture*, 174–205.

<sup>830</sup> To the Duke of Feria, see for instance: “Mucho quisiera ver en la boda a VS con calças amarillas por ver quanto mas perdido traeria la colorar recaño y de mas si danço Don Hernando mi Hermano con la s<sup>a</sup> doña m<sup>a</sup> Manuel fuerte ofiçio a tomadoo su Ama en ospedar nouios Pero efin todas dan en esto al cabo y a la postre.”, in Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Feria, Xabregas, 26 November 1570, in AGS, Estado – Portugal, Leg. 387; To the Duke of Lerma: “com dos onças de caña fistola[?] me purgue la semana pasada com que me he hallado mejor del achaque de la orina pero lo que me há hecho mas provecho es la carta de v.ex<sup>a</sup> llena de mil regalos y m[er]ce[d]e[s] que me tiene consolado y alentado pues veo en V.ex<sup>a</sup> que me corresponde con el amor que le tengo como A hijo de mi Alma y este es el verdadero remedio q[ue] de ay se me ade embiar pues para tiene esto mas virtud que todo los remedios q[ue] mercado me puede embiar”, Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Lerma, Madrid, 19<sup>th</sup> September 1601, in BL, Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 160-161v; See also: “El Viernes querria besar las manos de VS<sup>a</sup> y que Para esto se viniese a comer conmigo con condiçion que trayga VS<sup>a</sup> Consigo a mi s<sup>a</sup> Doña fran[ci]sca y me habiese si los an de tenter carne y Pescado”, Letter from the Duke of Lerma to Juan de Borja, Madrid, 22 December 1599, in BL, Add. Ms. 28422, ff. 217-218v

Amongst the very few references of objects that Borja sent from Lisbon during his diplomatic mission, there is the information of several fall-front cabinets. These cabinets were delivered to Philip II in Madrid at the end of 1573. The king soon expressed his delight in a reply to his ambassador:

A Don Juan de Borja. [...] las arquimesas y los scriptorios [que] con el [Marques de Denia] me embiastes, os agradezco mucho, porque son tan curiosos, y bien acabados que he recibido con ellos mucho gusto [...].<sup>831</sup>

These would not be the only fall-front cabinets that Philip II would receive. Recently, Almudena Perez de Tudela wrote about the furniture of Philip II and she noticed how often fall-front cabinets were exchanged as gifts with the Catholic king. In 1585, 1587 and 1591, Philip II received cabinets as gifts from the Great Dukes of Tuscany, from a former Genoese ambassador and from the governor of Milan.<sup>832</sup> The examples disclose a need to set patronage links towards Philip II.

Much has been written about the role of gifts, especially at the diplomatic and courtly level during the early-modern period. However, *escritorios* seem to have been particularly suitable to fulfil that role.<sup>833</sup> Their close association to the practises of nobility made them very appropriate to reinforce bonds of patronage. Borja used *escritorios* to reinforce his bond to the court in Madrid, hoping to mitigate the effects of the feeling of being exiled.<sup>834</sup> At the same time, they granted him “social status and prestige”.<sup>835</sup> Borja, in fact, profited from his position in Lisbon to send other fall-front cabinets to certain members of the court with whom he would like to establish a patronage relationship. In April 1574, he informed secretary Zayas that he would send him an *escrivania* made of ebony, like the one that he had just sent to Philip II.<sup>836</sup> A month later, the cabinet had not yet been sent, but Borja guaranteed that he had not forgotten the matter. He stated that the *escrivania* was finished, but it still required the decoration to be applied to it.<sup>837</sup> It was important to ensure

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<sup>831</sup> Letter from Philip II to Juan de Borja, El Pardo, 9 January 1574, in AGS, Estado – Portugal, Leg. 388, n. 2. Actually, Borja already knew Philip II had received them because he had commented with Zayas that he knew how much the king had appreciated them, in Letter from Juan de Borja to Gabriel de Zayas, Lisbon, 31 December 1573, in AGS, Estado – Portugal, Leg. 391, n. 4. According to Aguiló, *arquimesa* is the aragonese name for a fall-front cabinet, Aguiló Alonso, *El mueble en España, siglos XVI-XVII*, 97.

<sup>832</sup> Pérez de Tudela, ‘Los Muebles de La Colección de Felipe II Y de Su Hija La Infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia’, 34.

<sup>833</sup> Since the inaugural work by Mauss, *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies*, there were many important contributions. Amongst them, it is worth highlighting Kettering, ‘Gift-Giving and Patronage in Early Modern France’; Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France*.

<sup>834</sup> About the perception of diplomatic missions as an exile, see above Chapter 5.

<sup>835</sup> Kettering, ‘Gift-Giving and Patronage in Early Modern France’, 131.

<sup>836</sup> Given the ambiguity of terms, in this chapter the terms *escrivania* and *escritorio* are considered as equivalent.

<sup>837</sup> “Ay enbio a v.m. un tintero y saluadera muy vellacos[?] por q[ue] no se an allado otros hechos quedanse acabando una escrivania de ebano para v.m. de la misma manera que una que yo enbie a Su Magde. con el marques que esta en el cielo y en ella yvan mehores tintero y hasta acabarse tenga v.m. paçiencia”, Letter from Juan de Borja to Gabriel de Zayas, Lisbon, 26 April 1574, in AGS, Estado – Portugal, Leg. 392, n. 53; “La escrivania esta acabada solo le falta la çerradura y la guarniçion”, Letter from Juan de Borja to Gabriel de Zayas, Lisbon, 21 May 1574, in AGS, Estado – Portugal, Leg. 392, n. 97.

that Zayas noticed that a gift was being offered to him.

The fall-front cabinets that Borja sent from Portugal to Madrid are examples of attempts to reinforce the bonds with higher-ranking members of the court. That being said, this was not an exclusive “bottom-up” phenomenon. In August 1572, Catherine of Austria also sent an *escrivania* to Secretary Zayas in Madrid.<sup>838</sup> Granting favour to one of the main intermediaries to Philip II, rather than just demonstrating gratitude, allowed nourishing an interpersonal bond. Such a bond intertwined with her link to the king of the Hispanic Monarchy – even if the latter was Catherine’s own nephew. *Escritorios*, for the entire role they had in the practises of nobility, became the perfect tool to keep those patronage bonds strong.

### 7.3. Sensuous materials

Remarkably – but perfectly logically – the specialist literature has down-played, not to say overlooked, the single most obvious characteristic of a luxury object as decoration, the very characteristic that determined its success or failure – its topography of sensuous surface. [...] It is logical that this should be the case, given that specialist scholarship has – with notable exceptions – largely turned away from the experience of the decorative objects, preferring to treat the object as a material fact awaiting ordering and interpretation.<sup>839</sup>

In a provocative book about decorative objects in early modern China, Jonathan Hay has suggested an alternative approach to understand objects. Rather than focusing on their interpretation, the scholar should redirect the focus towards the ways human sensorially respond to objects. What I have hitherto done in this chapter – and in the whole thesis – is to advance an interpretation for the consumption of objects based on their relationship to the subject. However, in this particular chapter, the relationship between subject and object is not evident enough to allow a straightforward justification for the consumption of cabinets made of certain types of timber. Perhaps it is time to follow Jonathan Hay and Susan Sontag’s lead – to whom “in place of a hermeneutics we need an erotics of art” – and include the experience of the material in the understanding of consumption of objects.<sup>840</sup>

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<sup>838</sup> “La escrivania y las demas buxerías son de la Reyna y ella por parecerle poco tornara por medio a su secretario p[ar]a enviarlas a v.m. pero en estando en orden yo las enviare y escrivire un capitulo de manera que le pueda ver su Mag[esta]d”, Letter from Juan de Borja to Gabriel de Zayas, Lisbon, 6 August 1572, in AGS, Estado – Portugal, Leg. 390, n. 21-22.

<sup>839</sup> Hay, *Sensuous Surfaces: The Decorative Object in Early Modern China*, 12.

<sup>840</sup> Sontag, ‘Against Interpretation’.



Therefore, in this last section, I argue that Juan de Borja acquired *escritorios* made from exotic timber due to his connoisseurship about the properties of the materials. The accessibility to supply networks in Lisbon allowed for a higher knowledge about different types of wood that might have influenced the acquisitions. His connoisseurship developed essentially in two ways: the practical advantages of the materials and a more sensorial response to the objects. Following that, the next section is organised in three parts. First, I address the intricate relationship between availability of materials and expertise, namely through cases in Lisbon, where Borja had important connections. Second, I discuss two important practical applications of exotic timber. On the one hand, its resistance to furniture beetles, making it more convenient if important papers were to be kept inside fall-front cabinets. On the other hand, its health benefits, especially when timber was also odoriferous. Finally, I respond to Hay's provocation and I suggest that the consumption of tropical wood was often sensorial-driven.

## Towards a connoisseurship of materials

By the end of the sixteenth century, Lisbon had become a supplier port of exotic timber and loads were constantly reaching Madrid by the second decade of the following century. *Escritorios* often crossed the border towards Madrid, together with exotic timber. In the Portuguese town of Abrantes, not far from the border with Castile, several contracts for the transport of goods were signed at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Several of these shipments were to Portuguese merchants in Madrid who were dealing with exotic goods. Amongst sugar and other spices or ivory, tropical timber was often mentioned. In the contracts from 1607 to 1625 that survived to this day, there are references not only to brazilwood, *pau de chumbo*, *pao preto/evano de Mozambique*, *pao da china* and *pao santo*, but also to furniture (“hum escritorio de angelim com seus peis huzados e dourado e em sarapilheirado e hum quaichão da india con sete paineis velho con suas gauetas”).<sup>841</sup>

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<sup>841</sup> “serta camtidade de pau de brasil q[ue] [...] quintais a quatro arobas cada quintal portugeses he de quatorze paos pretos pera [...] e sincoemta e hũ pau de chunbo”, 19<sup>th</sup> May 1607, in ADS, Cartório Notarial de Abrantes, Maço 24, ff. not numbered; “trese paos pretos de mosaobique q[ue] pezarão quatro quintais e seis arateis” and “hum escritorio de angelim com seus peis huzados e dourado e em sarapilheirado e hum quaichão da india con sete paineis velho con suas gauetas e ojto quintais de pao da china q[ue] vão en sinquo paos quatro grandes e hum pequeno e os quaichois leuao suas chaues”, 10 May 1624, in ADS, Cartório Notarial de Abrantes, Maço 36, ff. 84-86v; “sinquo paos pretos de mozambique que pezarão trinta he duas arobas e meja [...] vinte e quatro dentes de marfim que pezarão vinte e ojto arobas e seis arateis portugesas de trinta he dous arateis cada aroba e asim mais ojto paos santos que pezarão setenta arobas portugesas de trinta he dous arateis”, “doze demtes de marfim q[ue] pezarão todos dezanoue arobas e seis arateis portugesas de trinta he dous arateis cada aroba e asim mais sete paos negros de mosambique que pezarão todos trinta he quoatro arobas portugesas de trinta he dous arateis cada aroba e asim mais dous paos grandes e tres taboas de pao samto que pezarão trinta e tres arobas e des arateis portugesas de trinta e dous arateis” and “quatro demtes de marfim q[ue] pezarão seis arobas e ojto harateis [...] seis paos de pao santo pezarão trinta[?] e seis arateis”, 15 May 1624, in ADS, Cartório Notarial de Abrantes, Maço 36, ff. 89v-92v; “des taboas de pao santo q[ue] pezarão vinte e

Following these references, it seems that the transportation of small amounts of exotic timber with pieces of furniture from Lisbon to Madrid was a regular phenomenon.

One of the Portuguese merchants in Madrid to whom some of the loads of the timber above were addressed, Luis Henriques Cardoso, was caught in a lawsuit that is illustrative of the regular circulation of exotic timber and furniture.<sup>842</sup> In the autumn of 1623, a fall-front cabinet was confiscated in Cáceres, near the border with Portugal. Arguably, this happened because the cabinet was made with materials that, according to chapter 13 of the sumptuary law of February of the same year, were forbidden to import into Castile. Although there is no direct reference in the given chapter to the importation of wood, a lawsuit was set forth. The lawsuit directly affected Henriques Cardoso to whom the fall-front cabinet was sent. Despite it being made from *angelim* – a timber native to Brazil –, during the process Henriques Cardoso defended that the confiscated cabinet was made from ordinary wood (“madera ordinaria”). Possibly, he was only trying to demonstrate that the exportation of that type of wood was not forbidden. However, other witnesses in the lawsuit also refer to *angelim* as non-foreign timber. The carpenter in Lisbon who built the *escritorio* declared that it was made only with wood from Portugal: “tudo he madeira deste R[e]ino q[ue] não he made[e]ira prohibida”. Another witness, the diamond cutter Fernão Diaz (possibly an acquaintance of Henriques Cardoso) referred to the *escritorio* as “peças deste Rejno [Portugal] e de suas conquistas e não de Rejno estranho”. Finally, Henriques Cardoso argued that the *escritorio* “no es de reino estraño ni de ebano ni contra prematica si no de madeira ordinaria”. Despite the special circumstances in which these statements were made (i.e. trying to prove that Henriques Cardoso did not break a sumptuary law), the case still challenges the concept of exoticness by highlighting the connection between consumption and place of acquisition – in this case, Lisbon. Moreover, it suggests that exotic timber could be something “ordinary”, at least, when it was part of an implemented system of circulation of similar materials or goods. In short, the continuous flow of exotic timber would render it as something “ordinary”.

The ordinariness of the circulation of exotic timber also implied the development of a specific expertise about the materials that were being traded. To return to the case of Juan de Borja, knowledge about timber was more than accidental. It was part of his activity at the *Consejo de Portugal* and as an intermediary for other courtiers. While at the *Consejo* (1599-1605), Borja negotiated some of the contracts for the transportation of exotic timber. In 1601, Borja discussed

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ojto arobas” and “vinte e hum pao samto q[ue] pezarão sesenta e quatro arobas e vinte e ojto arateis seis paos de samdalos vermelhos pezarão vinte e duas arobas e meja sinquo paos de heuano mosanbique pezarão vinte arobas vinte e quatro harateis”, 16 May 1625, in ADS, Cartório Notarial de Abrantes, Maço 37, ff. 104v-106v.

<sup>842</sup> AHN, Consejos, Legajo 33933, n. 9. The quotations in this paragraph are all from this document.

the necessity of reviewing the contracts on brazilwood with a notary at the *Casa da India* in Lisbon.<sup>843</sup> At the same time, he negotiated the acquisition of ebony and *palo de la China* for the Duke of Lerma in Lisbon. That ebony, for instance, was shipped from Lisbon in May 1601 to be delivered to the duke. As might be expected, this shipment was not an extraordinary event.

The availability and circulation of materials was also closely intertwined with the development of an expertise by artisans working with wood. The case of rhino horns, which I discussed in Chapter 4, already demonstrated that the continuous supply of goods fomented the local development of a highly specialised knowledge. The continuous provision of exotic timber led to the same result. Throughout the aforementioned lawsuit that followed the confiscated *escritorio* in Cáceres, the fall-front cabinet was constantly said to be made either from “wood from India” or from “mahogany, ebony and ivory”. Nonetheless, at the end of the process, the artisan who had built it was called for a hearing and, only then, the doubts regarding the timber were clarified. Francisco Fernandes, a carpenter with a shop in Rua das Arcas in Lisbon, made the fall-front cabinet with Brazilian *angelim* wood and decorated it with Brazilian jacaranda and orange tree wood.<sup>844</sup> Furthermore, Fernandes added some other details. He declared he was used to making this type of furniture to sell to his customers at his shop (“pera vender ao povo na sua tenda”) and that similar fall-front cabinets were usually made throughout that street (“onde se costumão fazer e lavar semelhantes escritorios”).<sup>845</sup> The artisan’s testimony reveals his expertise in distinguishing different types of Brazilian wood. This was an expertise directly related to his office. The reference that similar fall-front cabinets were made on the Rua das Arcas in other shops offers a view of this street, if not the city, as a hub of highly specialised knowledge in exotic timber.

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<sup>843</sup> “Oy hemos açetado tres posturas q[ue] se na hecho en tres Rentas. Los duzmos[?] del brasil y el palo del brasil y los fletes de las naos de la Jndia”, Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Lerma, Madrid, 17 July 1600, in BL, Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 133-134v; “A conta do pao do brasil estimarey m[ui]to mande VS se veja muy de vagar e se considere o dano q. tem feito a faz.a del Rey e ao estado o modo que se teve no negoçio pera se dar Remedio como mais comuenha ao seruiço de deus e del Rey e desta Republica que tão mal parada estaa”, “O pao da China procurarey logo e mandarey se o puder descobrir que he tarde para ser bom”, Letter from Luis de Figueiredo to Juan de Borja, Lisbon, 3 April 1601, in BL, Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 128-131v; “O pao da china se entregou ao home q. serve de correo mor com ordem de o mandar com este são seis ar.tes [arrateis]”, Letter from Luis de Figueiredo to Juan de Borja, Lisbon, 10 April 1601, in BL, Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 136-137v; “Mandoume V.ex<sup>a</sup> responder a lo que digo q[ue] di orden para quel euano q[ue] alli tiene V.ex<sup>a</sup> se entregue a luis de figueredo p<sup>a</sup> q[ue] le enbie a essa corte que aviendosse dado cuenta a su Magd. lo apruevase me responde y este euano no es sino de V.ex<sup>o</sup>”, Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Lerma, Madrid, 18 April 1601, in BL, Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 23-26v; “Ya tengo aviso de Luis de figueredo que tiene el euano en su poder y q[ue] con la primera ocasion de carros le embiara”, Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Lerma, Madrid, 3 May 1601, in BL, Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 37-38v; “El euano spero que llegara presto por que tengo auiso que a dias que partiu de lisboa”, Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Lerma, Madrid, 26 May 1601, in BL, Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 56-57v; “El Euano spero que llegara muy presto segun me escriven de lisboa en cartas que acabo agora de Reçebir son çien Arrobas de palo cuestan mil Reales de prata”, Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Lerma, Madrid, 31 May 1601, in BL, Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 67-67v.

<sup>844</sup> “pao de Angelim do Brasil vermelho guarneçido de outro pao q[ue] se chama jacarandá tambem do Brasil”, in AHN, Consejos, Leg. 33933, n. 9.

<sup>845</sup> AHN, Consejos, Legajo 33933, n. 9, Hearing (in Portuguese).

The explanation of why there as a place with such a highly specialised knowledge in exotic timber can be found in the activity of the city as a centre for shipbuilding. Perhaps this is a more convincing argument, rather than just broadly relating expertise with the availability of raw materials. In fact, one of the main reasons for the continuous supply of exotic timber in Lisbon was the demands from the dockyards.

Since the Europeans first set foot in America, or when Spaniards arrived to the Philippines, the abundance of timber was immediately noticed.<sup>846</sup> Such abundance of forests promised to compensate the shortages felt in Europe, which had already led to policies of forest management in the Iberian Peninsula.<sup>847</sup> The dependence on direct access to large sources of timber was highly due to the pressure from shipbuilders whose work not only required gigantic quantities of material, but also timber with very specific characteristics. Given its incorruptibility, hardwood was soon recognised as preferable for certain parts of the ship more susceptible to suffer attacks from shipworm. Moreover, shipworm, *Teredo navalis*, was one of the major concerns of shipbuilding. Given the volume of the investment made in the industry, a high expertise on the main raw material for this industry was not only a requirement for its sustainability, but also a requirement for the sustainability of the all-mercantile system built on investments that depended on the technological superiority of the fleets.

In a recent book, John T. Wing provides an insight into the expertise of master carpenters during the early modern period. They had to be skilled in inspecting forests in search for appropriate trees, as well as choosing the exact time of the year and the month in which trees ought to be cut in order to maximise the life span of timber. They had to be able to detect diseases or impaired growth, locate knots in the wood; and identify which parts were more suitable for the purpose of the timber. Yet another important skill for carpenters was to know how to store freshly cut timber before using it and to know the exact way in which it ought to be stored to avoid fungal attacks. This expertise was transmitted through written texts, especially concerning the shipbuilding industry.<sup>848</sup> Besides, this type of knowledge reveals not only the profound empirical knowledge associated with timber, but it also reveals that the construction of every element of the ship required wood with different characteristics.

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<sup>846</sup> For Central America, see Funes Monzote, *From Rainforest to Cane Field in Cuba: An Environmental History since 1492*, 7, also quoted in Wing, *Roots of Empire: Forests and State Power in Early Modern Spain, c.1500-1750*, 87. For Brazil, there are references to the abundance of forests since Pero Vaz de Caminha informed the king of Portugal in 1500. Other famous references can be found in Salvador, *A História Do Brasil de Frei Vicente de Salvador* (1624). For the Philippines, see Morga, *Sucesos de Las Islas Filipinas*, 253–254, also quoted in Wing, *Roots of Empire (...)*, 113.

<sup>847</sup> Wing, *Roots of Empire (...)*, see chapters 1 and 2.

<sup>848</sup> Wing, *Roots of Empire (...)*, 92.

The production of furniture with hardwood cannot be separated from the urban contexts in which cabinetmakers were inserted. More to the point, in the case of Lisbon, the connections between the shipbuilding industry and carpentry should not be overlooked. In the aforementioned case of the *escritorio* confiscated in Cáceres, the carpenter Fernandes not only demonstrated his superior knowledge about the exact type of wood used for the fall-front cabinet, but he also revealed that he had made it with the left-overs in his office. This revelation suggests that cabinetry was not an exclusive occupation of carpenters. In fact, the few studies conducted about labour organisation of carpenters in early modern Lisbon agree in the lack of separation according to their specialisation. At least, that is what the several regulatory instruments issued by the city authorities suggests. Such measures were intended to separate cabinetmakers from other wood workers, such as carpenters of buildings or carpenters from the dockyard.<sup>849</sup> The same can actually be verified in other Iberian cities of the time.<sup>850</sup> Since they all used the same raw materials, wood workers had also in common the fact that they had to compete for accessing timber. In addition, this common use of the same raw materials also means that they shared similar concerns for the quality of the latter. Another aspect bringing together the workers was that cabinetry often lived from the left-overs of the shipbuilding industry.

One of the reasons for the use of shipbuilding left-overs was the interest by consumers in high-quality timber. Consumers, too, recognised the advantages of using hardwood for the production of some of their most esteemed items. When Philip II had to commission timber for the crosses of Benvenuto Cellini's and Pompeo Leoni's sculptures of Christ, the material was commissioned in Lisbon and said to be *angelim*. In the case of the cross for the Cellini Christ, the timber was actually taken from a ship that had gone to India several times due to its resistance.<sup>851</sup> Therefore, despite the role that the availability of tropical timber had in stimulating the production of furniture with hardwood, it was not the unique aspect. Consumers were also developing an expertise on the materials' qualities.

The privileged access that Juan de Borja had to suppliers in Lisbon – as seen in the cases of rhino horns, *colchas de la Yndia* and porcelain – implies the existence of processes of knowledge transfer

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<sup>849</sup> Caetano, *A Antiga Organização Dos Mesteres Da Cidade de Lisboa*; Langhans, *As Antigas Corporações Dos Ofícios Mecânicos E a Câmara de Lisboa*; Reis, 'Os "Homens Rudes E Muito Honrados Dos Mesteres"'.  
<sup>850</sup> Aguiló Alonso, *El mueble en España, siglos XVI-XVII*, 44.

<sup>851</sup> For the cross for the Christ of Cellini, see "nao Portuguese que avia ydo a la india de Portugal quarto o cinco veces", in Villacastín, 'Memorias de Fray Antonio de Villacastín [1595]'. For the cross of the Christ of Pompeo Leoni, see "[...] cuya cruz ha sido hecha con cierta madera que ha venido de las Indias llamada 'angelino'. Hacerla llegar hasta aquí desde Lisboa ha costado una gran suma de dinero, y para hacerla pasar por las malas travesías de un tan largo camino ha sido necesario ideas y usar extrañas invenciones y artimañas.", Lhermite, *El Pasatiempos de Jehan Lhermite. Memorias de Un Gentilhombre Flamenco En La Corte de Felipe II Y Felipe III*, 328–329. Both quoted in Vega Loeches, 'Idea E Imagen de El Escorial En El Siglo XVII: Francisco de Los Santos', 448, footnote 1315.

about the properties of wood as well. Indeed, Borja's group of *escritorios* suggests a connection between access to knowledge and acquired materials. If, on the one hand, there is a high number of items made from hardwood, on the other hand, the types of hardwood mentioned in the inventory were those usually transported through Portuguese trade networks. As seen on **Tables 7.1 and 7.4**, Borja had fall-front cabinets made from agarwood, which was mainly collected from Southeast Asia, wood from Brazil, wood from India and *palo santo*, which usually also refers to Brazil or, in other cases, to Mozambican hardwood. Contrastingly, Mateo de Carranza (P2679a), for instance, had mahogany, cocobolo and *granadillo*, which were all types of timber native to Spanish America. It is, thus, hard to ignore the relationship between consumption and the entanglement of access to trade routes, development of expertise and processes of knowledge transfer.

## Hardwood: a material advantage

Amongst twenty-nine references to *escritorios* in Juan de Borja's inventory, the majority was made from some type of tropical wood. Two were made from ebony and ivory and said to be from Brazil. One was made from the same materials, but said to be made in India. Three were made from "palo de la yndia". In addition, another one was made from "madera de indias". Finally, yet another was made from "palo de lagula" (also known as *calambuco*).<sup>852</sup> To these references, it should also be added that there were eight other *escritorios* made from ebony and ivory. Three of these were made in Naples. In brief, and regardless of the place of production, more than half of the *escritorios* in the inventory (sixteen out of twenty-nine) had at least one exotic wood as their main raw material.

It can be claimed that referring exotic timber is usually equivalent to refer to hardwood. This feature takes pride of place when considering the contents of the *escritorios*. As discussed in the previous section, the latter were of primary importance for their noble consumers. Thus, it can be assumed that there were some concerns in avoiding that the deeds inside the cabinet were destroyed, following biological attacks on the container. As Aguiló Alonso, Pérez de Tudela and Moura Carvalho have already stated, using hardwood was an efficient way of keeping furniture beetles away.<sup>853</sup> Despite the obviousness of this observation, there has been virtually no research to understand the extent that resistance to biological infestation played in determining consumption of furniture amongst early modern nobility. Particularly, in the case of fall-front cabinets.

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<sup>852</sup> See Chapter 1, footnote 193.

<sup>853</sup> Aguiló Alonso, *El Mueble en España (...)*, 71; Pérez de Tudela, 'Los muebles de la colección de Felipe II (...)', 36-37; Carvalho, *Indo-Portuguese Furniture*, 172.

A few references suggest that the concern with biological attacks did have some relevance. Following what I discussed in regards to the importance of keeping family papers safe, the case of the Count de los Arcos (1567-1637) suggests that *escritorios* “de la India” were particularly suitable to take on that function. In particular, the function of showing the antiquity and dignity of a noble house. Apart from some other important papers and books, in his will the Count referred to letters that he kept in an *escritorio* “de la India”, “que todas son de importancia”.<sup>854</sup> Despite the lack of research on the relationship between conservation concerns and the production of furniture, primary sources on the cabinetry of the Royal Monastery of El Escorial suggest that this was a relevant factor.

On his description of the library of the El Escorial, Father Sigüenza reveals the relationship between its design and the concern with the preservation of books from moths and dust.<sup>855</sup> In some detail, the author describes the materials that were used to build the library. It is worth noticing the profusion of hardwoods brought from overseas:

Lo que antiguamente se solia hazer para vn libro estimado y como joya preciosa que se presentaua a un Principe, que era guardarlo en caxas o arcas de ciprés, o cedro, se vee aqui como cosa ordinaria para todos, porque la materia y madera de que están hechos estos estantes es toda preciosa, la mas ordinaria nogal; las demás traídas de las Indias, cahoua de dos suertes, que llaman macho y hembra, de color de brasil, algo menos encendido. Ácana de color castaño obscuro, algo mas noble y encendido, digamos como de sangre cubierta. Euano, cedro, naranjo, terebinto; de todas estas enxamladas y entretexidas, se compone, por el contorno de toda la piega, vna fabrica de orden dórico hermosissimo.<sup>856</sup>

The reason for this profusion of exotic timber, apart from its value as *preciosa*, seems to be related to its resistance to infestation and rotting. Several sources mention the use of hardwood for its incorruptibility. The hieronymite friar Jeronimo de Sepulveda, writing at the beginning of Philip III's realm, praised the timber used for the chairs in the choir of the El Escorial. He stated that they were “traídas del cabo del mundo”, in other words, brought from the end of the world, and he declared that they were all *incorruptibles*.<sup>857</sup> The use of such adjective – incorruptible – was not

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<sup>854</sup> Martínez Hernández, ‘Memoria Y Escritura Privada (...)’, 406.

<sup>855</sup> “De suerte, que desde que el Sol sale, hasta que se pone, la alumbrada por vna o por otra parte, excepto en las horas del medio día, que no la ha menester. Es esto grande ayuda para la conseruacion de los libros, porque con el sol y con el ayre no se puede encubrir el daño ni disimularse, ni las polillas ni el poluo gastarlos: cosa de importancia, porque con estos enemigos perecen los libros”, Sigüenza, *Historia de La Orden de San Jerónimo*, II:571.

<sup>856</sup> Sigüenza, II:571.

<sup>857</sup> “Si de las grandes pinturas, si de las sillas de esta gloria y coro y de sus preciosas maderas, traídas del cabo del mundo, y de sus grandes labores y diversidad de maderas, todas todas incorruptibles, que vienen a ser por todas ciento y veinte y ocho, con mucho compás puestas, hubiera de hablar”, Sepúlveda, ‘Historia de Varios Sucesos Y de Las Cosas Más Notables Que Han Acaecidos En España Y Otras Naciones Desde El Año de 1584 Hasta El de 1603, Escrita Por El P. Fray Jerónimo de Sepúlveda, El Tuerto, Monje Jerónimo de San Lorenzo El Real de El Escorial’,

exceptional. Still in regards to the choir, in 1578, Antonio de Padilla had already recommended that both its seats and the ornaments of the sacristy should be made with timber from Central America, and other parts of *Indias*, given their “incorruptibility”.<sup>858</sup> Nevertheless, it is Sigüenza who better attests the direct relationship between the choice of timber and conservation concerns. When describing the interior of the drawers of the sacristy where liturgical clothes were kept, the chronicler declares that they had been made with cedar given its incorruptibility. Such incorruptibility prevented the attack of moths:

El suelo de estas es de cedro, por la **incorruptibilidad y limpieza; y ansi no se ha visto que alguna de estas tablas crie polilla.**<sup>859</sup>

This description of the interior of the drawers, together with the above references, reveal not only the concern with biological attacks, but they also disclose the high expertise required to choose the best suitable material to prevent them. What is more, the quality of the high diversity of hardwood arriving in Iberian ports can be regarded as a major factor for allowing local cabinetmakers to compete against the most active European centres for cabinetmaking. Examples of which being those of Augsburg or Florence. Contrastingly to *escritorios de alemania*, *escritorios* made with hardwood, when compared to other timber such as walnut, offered an advantage to consumers who wanted to safe keep important papers.

Hardwood's “incorruptibility” could have been a decisive factor for its consumption, especially for the construction of furniture. However, and apart from cabinetry, exotic timber had other applications praised by its consumers. Agarwood, for instance, was used to build *escritorios*, but it was especially praised for its pharmacological properties. In 1601, Juan de Borja mediated the dispatch of an agarwood fall-front cabinet from Empress Maria of Austria to Queen Margarita de Austria. The queen had been subjected to bloodletting and the empress expressed her wish to send her something with which she could improve:

Dize la Empz. que la tomo tam de repente la sangria de la Reyna que no se allo com[?] enbiarle sino con este **escritorio de calambuco** que por ser cosa nueva le Embia a V. ex<sup>a</sup> para que de su parte le da a la Reyna. Estas cosas de calambuco **se estiman mas en la Jndia q[ue] no aca porque alla conoçen las propiedades desta palo.**<sup>860</sup>

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371. Quoted in Vega Loeches, ‘Idea E Imagen de El Escorial En El Siglo XVII: Francisco de Los Santos’, 422–423, footnote 1288.

<sup>858</sup> “debía mandar se truxesen de la Nueva España y del Peru o de otras partes de las Indias maderas quasi incorruptibles ya que se parece seria justo se hiciese, todo ello de materia cuyo engrandezca el valor y riqueza tubiese correspondencia con las demas cosas de la iglesia”, in IVDJ, Envio 6, f. 107, quoted in Aguiló Alonso, ‘La Sillería Del Coro Del Monasterio de El Escorial’, 54.

<sup>859</sup> My emphasis. Sigüenza, *Historia de La Orden de San Jerónimo*, II:617.

<sup>860</sup> My emphasis. Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke de Lerma, Madrid, 4 November 1601, in BL, Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 192-193v.



The Duke of Lerma replied by saying that Borja was absolutely right. The wood had an excellent smell – “tenia v.m. aga Razon[,] pues quando no fuese por mas[,] q[ue] el olor del palo es ezelente”.<sup>861</sup> No matter how puzzling it might seem to relate fall-front cabinets with healing devices, agarwood was commonly used due to its fragrance., as demonstrated before in the case of the praying beads.<sup>862</sup>

The use of certain types of wood for healing practises was not rare. Throughout most of the sixteenth century, the use of guaiac wood was considered the most effective treatment of French pox – often regarded as an early modern type of syphilis.<sup>863</sup> Sandalwood could be used for fevers.<sup>864</sup> Both Garcia da Orta (1536) and Cristobal da Costa (1572) discussed the benefits of *palo cobra* against snakebites and several diseases, such as rheumatism or smallpox.<sup>865</sup> In his history of Brazil (1624), Friar Vicente do Salvador made a direct reference to the health benefits of many of the trees found there:

[...] se estimam outros [paus do Brasil], porque estilam de si óleo odorífero, e medicinal, quais são umas árvores mui grossas, altas e direitas chamadas copaibas, que golpeadas no tempo do estio com um machado, ou furadas com uma verruma, ao pé estilam do âmago um precioso óleo, com que se curam todas as enfermidades de humor frio, e se mitigam as dores que delas procedem, e saram quaisquer chagas, principalmente de feridas frescas, posto com o sangue, de tal modo, que nem fica delas sinal algum, depois que saram: e acerta às vezes estar este licor tão de vez, e desejoso de sair, que em tirando a verruma, corre em tanta quantidade como se tiraram o torno a uma pipa de azeite; porém, nem em todas se acha isto, senão nas que os índios chamam fêmeas, e esta é a diferença que tem dos machos, sendo em tudo o mais semelhante, nem só tem estas árvores virtude no óleo, mas também na casca, e assim se acham ordinariamente roçadas dos animais, que as vão buscar para remédio de suas enfermidades.<sup>866</sup>

What the case of the *escritorio* sent by the empress reveals is that wood was carefully selected according to its properties. Be it for shipbuilding, crucifixes for mighty sculptures, healing devices or fall-front cabinets, the selection of wood was of the most importance. The properties of tropical wood allowed cabinetmakers in Iberia to compete with other production centres around Europe. This happened not only because they had a pragmatic application, but also because consumers were well aware of the advantages of tropical timber.

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<sup>861</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>862</sup> See Chapter 4.

<sup>863</sup> Stein, *Negotiating the French Pox in Early Modern Germany*, Chapter 4.

<sup>864</sup> Walker, ‘Acquisition and Circulation of Medical Knowledge (...)’, 265.

<sup>865</sup> Walker, ‘Acquisition and Circulation of Medical Knowledge (...)’, 258-260.

<sup>866</sup> Salvador, *A História Do Brazil de Frei Vicente de Salvador*, Livro I, Capítulo VI.

## A certain form of pleasure

The pragmatic advantages of tropical timber were not the only motivation for consumers to desire fall-front cabinets made with this type of material. There was yet another reason that can explain why these were able to compete with *escritorios de alemania* for the preference of consumers. *Escritorios de alemania* were the most common piece of luxury furniture in Iberian domestic spaces. This triggers the question of what was the place of furniture made from exotic timber. In other words, what were the reasons that allowed furniture produced in Lisbon to compete with furniture produced in the Empire. Historiography has attempted to classify consumption patterns with arguments based on social manifestation. Following on these arguments, Aguiló Alonso explained the consumption of ebony furniture in Spain by relating it to ideals of luxury and fashion. In addition, the scholar took a step further when she highlighted the material characteristics of furniture. Aguiló claimed that the ebony's dark colour allowed ivory, silver and golden decorations to stand out and that ebony was particularly suitable for polishing.<sup>867</sup> I will take a further step by suggesting an explanation based on the consumers' sensorial responsiveness.

Half a century ago, Susan Sontag challenged art historians by claiming that “interpretation takes the sensory experience of the work of art for granted, and proceeds from there. This cannot be taken for granted, now. [...] What is important now is to recover our senses. We must learn to *see* more, to *hear* more, to *feel* more.”<sup>868</sup> In this thesis, I am not going against interpretation, but Sontag is right in bringing sensory experience to the foreground. Naturally, Sontag was referring to the historian's own sensory experience. The sensory experience of individuals in the past has been secondary. Jonathan Hay recently confessed his shock when realising that “art history as an academic discipline discouraged the discussion of pleasure” and that this was “another blind spot” in the discipline.<sup>869</sup> For all that, can we keep ignoring the influence of the senses when studying consumption behaviour?

To end this chapter, I attempt an answer to these concerns. I provide an explanation for the choice of exotic timber based on a sensory response of consumers. In other words, I argue that what allowed for the success of *escritorios* made from tropical timber was their capacity to produce pleasure.

In order to investigate the relevance of sensory experience, *Ego-Dokumente* would be the most convenient material with which to work. However, the lack of this type of sources concerning

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<sup>867</sup> Aguiló Alonso, *El mueble en España, siglos XVI-XVII*, 113.

<sup>868</sup> Sontag, ‘Against Interpretation’.

<sup>869</sup> Hay, *Sensuous Surfaces: The Decorative Object in Early Modern China*, 15.

Juan de Borja and his fall-front cabinets imposes an alternative approach. Therefore, I decided to establish a comparison between *escritorios de alemania* and *escritorios* made from tropical timber. The former, mainly produced around Augsburg, distinguish themselves for the high quality of the inlaid decoration, usually figurative and often depicting landscapes, mythological compositions or architectural fantasies.<sup>870</sup> The latter, made from tropical timber, are normally simpler, although some rather elaborate geometric or vegetal inlaid, or carved work is often common. For their materials and decorative techniques, they can be compared to two other woodworks from the monastery of El Escorial. On the one hand, the doors made in Augsburg and placed in the king's apartments. On the other hand, the library and choir, which I already mentioned when describing the advantages of hardwood. I will start with the former.

Nowadays, five of the extant doors at the El Escorial were made in Augsburg during the second half of the sixteenth century. Father Sigüenza described four of these, but since their location in the monastery changed, it is not possible to correspond accurately the description to every door. Nonetheless, the source is enlightening. Philip II offered three of these doors to the monastery between 1571 and 1574. This offering happened not long after they were built. They have been attributed to a master called Bartolomé Weisshaupt.<sup>871</sup> Weisshaupt worked in Augsburg, where inlaid woodwork became an important product for exportation.<sup>872</sup> In fact, apart from the doors, Philip II also received *escritorios* from that German city (see **Image 7.3**).<sup>873</sup>



**Image 7.3 – Escritorio (Fall-front cabinet)**  
Augsburg (probably, made), late 16<sup>th</sup> century (more info on p.VI)

<sup>870</sup> Aguiló Alonso, *El mueble en España, siglos XVI-XVII*, 103–105.

<sup>871</sup> Aguiló Alonso, 'La Ebanistería Alemana En El Monasterio de El Escorial', 334.

<sup>872</sup> Aguiló Alonso, *El mueble en España, siglos XVI-XVII*, 42, 103–105.

<sup>873</sup> Aguiló Alonso, 'La Ebanistería Alemana En El Monasterio de El Escorial', 335.

The Augsburg techniques were also applied to the Escorial's doors. In his description of the monastery, Father Sigüenza wrote the following:

En los dos testeros o frentes de esta pieça [la Galería Grande de los aposentos del rey] donde tiene las entradas tiene dos puertas de Marchetería, **de lo mejor y mas bien labrado** que nos ha venido de Alemania, **bien traçadas** y entendidas; colunas dobladas a los lados, con sus encasamentos y nichos en los intercolumnios. En los nichos, pedestales, frisos, cornijas, targetas y otras piegas, hermosas labores y embutidos de diuersas maderas, obra que parece corta la vida de vn hombre para acabarla.<sup>874</sup>

Desde esta pieça [la alcoba del rey] se sale a vn transito que va a dar a la escalera por donde se baja a la Sacristía, y por donde se sube a lo alto de la Iglesia y al claustro: tiene dos puertas de marquetería de Alemania, **muy galanas, y labradas con ygal primor** que las otras, de aquellas diferencias de maderas, y embutidos tan detenidos y hermosos, desde el alcoba o dormitorio.<sup>875</sup>



**Image 7.4 – Door**

Augsburg, 1572, Real Sitio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial

<sup>874</sup> My emphasis. Sigüenza, *Historia de La Orden de San Jerónimo*, II:569.

<sup>875</sup> My emphasis. Sigüenza, *Historia de La Orden de San Jerónimo*, II:570.

When describing these doors, what caught Father Sigüenza’s eye was the quality of craftsmanship. To be specific, the high quality (“mas bien labrado”) inlaid work (“marcheteria”), the architectural design (“bien traçadas”), the details (“hermosos laboras”) and the meticulous work (“que parece corta la vida de vn hombre”). Of the two other doors, Sigüenza only stated that they were crafted with equal mastery (“labradas con ygual primor”). There is no reference to the wood that was used; only that many types of woods were, indeed, used (“de diversas maderas”). Therefore, in both cases, Sigüenza highlighted the quality of craftsmanship rather than the materials that were used.

Sigüenza’s description of the choir and library is diametrically different. I mentioned before that the choice of wood for the sacristy and library was largely indebted to the incorruptibility of the materials. However, what attracted Father Sigüenza was the timber’s diversity of colours. About the library, he summarised his opinions by writing that “la materia y madera de que están hechos estos estantes es toda preciosa”, but what really stood out were the colours: wood brought from the *Indias*, mahogany of two types, almost the same colour of brazilwood or brownish bullytree wood (“ácana de color castaño obscuro”), as dark as blood. The contrast of so many different colours was such that the result was considered “variado y hermoso”.<sup>876</sup> (**Image 7.5**)



**Image 7.5 – Library**  
Real Sitio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial

<sup>876</sup> Sigüenza, *Historia de La Orden de San Jerónimo*, II:571.

Sigüenza, again, emphasised the colour when he described the choir's seats:

así hace todo una como cubierta a las sillas de mucha autoridad; muchos de estos embutidos se hacen de la madera de terebinto o cornicabra, **por el excelente color, aguas y labores que tiene, y admite harta lisura y pulimento.** Tenían en España poco uso y noticia de esta madera y de su hermosura; ya van estimándola en lo que merece, porque para estas piezas pequeñas es excelente. El alto de estas sillas es de dieciséis pies, **y con no tener figuras ni más entalladuras de lo que pide y permite el mismo orden, son hermosísimas, de gran autoridad y nobleza [...].**<sup>877</sup>

Two slightly later descriptions broadly confirm his opinion. Vega Loeches noted that both Lhermite (1597) and the Jesuit Juan de Mariana paid more attention to the wood's diversity of colours than to the architecture.<sup>878</sup> That attention can be inferred from the following excerpt:

Son las sillas del coro de ébano, de boj, de caoba, de nogal, de terebinto, y llama la atención, ya por la delicadeza con que están trabajadas, ya por **la vistosa variedad de sus colores,** negras las unas, rojas las otras, estas blancas, aquellas con ondas y del color del oro.<sup>879</sup>

Overall, colour is one of the main features of the wood that Frey Vicente do Salvador highlighted when justifying the use of tropical timber in Brazil's forests:

Nem menos são as madeiras do Brasil **formosas** que fortes, porque **as há de todas as cores,** brancas, negras, vermelhas, amarelas, roxas, rosadas e jaspeadas, porém tirado o pau vermelho, a que chamam Brasil, e o amarelo chamado Tataisba, e o rosado Arariba, os mais não dão tinta de suas cores, e, contudo, são estimados por sua formosura para fazer leitos, cadeiras, escritórios e bufetes.<sup>880</sup>



**Image 7.6 – Choir**  
Real Sitio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial

<sup>877</sup> My emphasis. Sigüenza, *Historia de La Orden de San Jerónimo*, II:600.

<sup>878</sup> “Los sitiales de los monjes, colocados arriba y abajo, están hechos con maderas muy preciosas venidas unas de las Indias, como el cedro, la caova, la acana y ébano, y otras de Europa, como el boj, el nogal y la nueva cornicabra, que es una madera no ha mucho encontrada y descubierta en España. La arquitectura es corintia y está elaborada muy artificiosamente” Lhermite, *El Pasatiempos de Jehan Lhermite* (...). See also Vega Loeches, ‘Idea E Imagen de El Escorial En El Siglo XVII: Francisco de Los Santos’, 426.

<sup>879</sup> Mariana, ‘De Rege et Regis Institutione [1599]’, vols. II, 554.

<sup>880</sup> Salvador, *A História Do Brazil de Frei Vicente de Salvador*, Livro I, Capítulo VI.

Returning to Sigüenza choir description, the seats have very limited decoration (“no tener figuras ni más entalladuras de lo que pide”), yet they are very beautiful and noble (“hermosísimas, de gran autoridad y nobleza”) (**Image 7.6**). This description radically contrasts the one about the doors from Augsburg. That characterisation reveals that it is the colour and polish potential of exotic timber that gives beauty and authority to the finished work. In other words, neither composition, iconography nor craftsmanship accomplishes it.

The nature of tropical timber produces a sensory response inherent to its material. This can be quite a strong response. When describing the *angelin* used for the Cellini Christ, Lhermite said:

“Y es esta **madera de tan bello color** y son sus **vetas tan hermosas**, que ha algunos ha hecho creer que tiene la misma apariencia y es de la misma especie que la madera que se empleó para crucificar a Nuestro Redentor”

The beauty of the material, based on its colour and veins, almost acquires a spiritual significance. This happened with *calambuco* as well, as described in Chapter 4. The fragrance of the *calambuco* beads were meant to provide some sort of mental peacefulness. In the case of the fall-front cabinet that Empress Maria of Austria offered the queen, it was meant to help improve her health. Borja associated timber with the prophylactic properties that were attributed to it in India – “se estiman mas en la Jndia q[ue] no aca porque alla conoçen las propiedades desta palo”.<sup>881</sup> However, it should not be excluded that the fragrance could be simply appreciated for the pleasure of sensing it.

In Lope de Vega’s play *El Abanillo*, the character Fabio appears on the stage disguised as a French merchant selling small fans brought from Portugal:

**Estefan**

¡Oh, amigo, en buen hora venga!  
Muestre a ver los abanillos.

**Fabio.**

Traigo invenciones diversas  
de la China, de la India,  
con olorosas maderas  
de Calambuco, Angelín,  
palo de Aguila y canela;  
éste es hecho de rosal.<sup>882</sup>

More than for its medical properties, the seller attempts to seduce the consumer by appealing to the pleasuring smells of agarwood, angelin, cinnamon and rose bush. As with these fans, Juan de Borja’s *escritorios* made from tropical timber were, perhaps above all, a feast for the senses.

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<sup>881</sup> Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke de Lerma, Madrid, 4 November 1601, in BL, Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 192-193v.

<sup>882</sup> Lope de Vega, *El Abanillo* (entre 1604-1618), in *Obras completas*, vol. III, p. 15.

## In conclusion

At the turn of the seventeenth century, the consumption of objects made from tropical timber was widespread across the nobility in Madrid. Different types of hardwood were used for furniture, religious images or small utensils, like fans or trays. However, a common pattern for the consumption of these items has not been identified. Quite the opposite. This chapter has highlighted the need to consider as many factors as possible when trying to understand consumption. Previous chapters stressed the need to localise consumption, or to consider the specificities of the chronological period in which consumption took place. In the current chapter, such topics were also addressed, but other layers were added to the discussion. One added layer is the importance of considering the practises of the individual within his/her social stratus. As a nobleman and an office holder within the monarchy, Borja had to handle money, deeds, correspondence, official enquires and similar papers. *Escritorios* were, thus, inseparable from his activity. What the analysis over Borja's case demonstrated is that the role of the object is directly dependant on the consumer's practises. *Escritorios* were also acquired by noblewomen, merchants, or other consumers with acquisitive power, but the driving force for doing so cannot be explained with the arguments that were used for Juan de Borja.

Throughout this chapter, I have also considered other factors that may have played a role for consumption of exotic goods. They were the knowledge about the properties/qualities of the materials, or the sensorial responses of individuals to materials. Rather than alternative interpretations, they should be seen as equally relevant aspects. Overall, because they, too, might have influenced consumption.

In synthesis, by taking this perspective, I revealed that to understand the intersection point between consumer and object/material, all the forces that interact in that point need to be considered. Therefore, it should be expected that future studies about trade and transformation of exotic materials, such as tropical timber, or studies about the sensorial behaviour of early modern consumers, brings new insights into the inseparable entanglement between humans and things.



## Conclusion

The development of European cabinets of curiosity during the seventeenth century implied the inventory and classification of the objects and materials that they aimed at protecting. These practises remain a primary function of today's museums that, as such, have produced many of the categories of material culture that we continue to use. The endless variety of non-European objects and materials assembled during the early modern period is often difficult to interpret due to the lack of information regarding the contexts of consumption. Therefore, the only feature that could embrace all those items together has often explained their existence in European collections: their exotic provenance. Supported on well-documented cases in Florence, Innsbruck or Prague during the late sixteenth and throughout the seventeenth century, consumption has been justified by a curiosity for things from overseas or by a certain taste for exotic goods. During the nineteenth century, orientalism fed exoticist discourses and *Exotica* came to be an appropriate concept to classify all the items that did not fit European categories of material culture. Nonetheless, *Exotica*, as the notion of exoticism itself, is a historical construction that was developed after the period in which many of those items were brought into Europe – especially if we take into consideration that Iberians already had long-distance trade routes in the Atlantic by the mid-fifteenth century. In this regards, analysing the consumption of exotic goods through the lens of exoticism can be misleading. In fact, going beyond *Exotica* is inevitable. It is inevitable not because it is not valid as an explanation. It is inevitable because it cannot be the only explanation and because it is hindering the understanding of the full complexity of the driving forces that may have led to consumption.

In this thesis, I aimed at demonstrating that a change of paradigm is required when approaching the study of material culture. There is a need for a paradigm that allows disclosing the historical complexity underlying consumption practises. Rather than searching for an overall explanation for the consumption and/or uses of things, there is a need to invest in a micro-scale approach which should focus on the moment of intersection between the consumer and the object. Further to that, it should consider the crossway between the object and other non-humans mentioned in the

sources used for the research. Such a procedure can unveil a more layered picture of what motivated consumption practises. The focus of this thesis is non-European objects consumed in the Iberian Peninsula during the late sixteenth century and early seventeenth century. Nonetheless, the methodological proposal aspires to be useful to other studies of non-extant material culture.

The methodological proposal is reflected in the way this thesis was structured. I began by questioning the prevailing hegemonic explanation for the consumption of exotic goods in early modern Iberia. Then, I demonstrated its limitations. Rather than trying to deny it, I sought to transcend the prevailing views. More to the point, I advance other possible methods to study consumption. In this regards, the work of Tim Ingold was particularly inspiring, especially his claim for the need to look at people and objects as “lines” that interact with each other. Threads that are in constant transformation. This “organic perspective” allowed me to see the driving forces for the consumption of goods as unique and full of complexity. What is more, the circumstances of the interaction between item and consumer continuously change. Therefore, in order to understand the complexity of that point of interaction, the focus should be redirected to the interacting “lines” and the mechanisms that brought them together. This change of paradigm explains the fact that the bulk of this thesis is developed around a human actor and four of his possessions. The following paragraphs put in evidence some of the advantages of this process.

The departure point of this thesis was the need to demonstrate that *Exotica* is a historically constructed concept whose use in the context of early modern Iberia is problematic. The allure of the exotic, i.e. what we usually know as exoticness, rather than a universal reaction to everything that comes from outside, depends on the social interactions of each individual. Given the obvious discrepancies between social interactions with exotic contexts in large Iberian port cities, such as Lisbon or Seville, and those in other European cities that had no direct contact with non-European regions, the perception of the exotic was necessarily different. Highlighting this was precisely the aim of the first chapter. Nonetheless, stating that the perception of the exotic world in Central Europe cannot be the same as in the Iberian Peninsula does not mean that Iberia was different – or exceptional. Instead, as in any other historiographical research, it calls for the need to consider the particular circumstances of that society. Barbara Fuchs demonstrated that early modern Spain was a “frontier society” that integrated cultural practises usually associated with Christian societies, as well as practises seen as Islamic. Fuchs’ work is, indeed, a milestone. It demonstrates that Iberia, too, was exoticised within Europe. Peter Mason declared that for the exotic to happen, a distance was required, or, at least, a border. This requirement was difficult to fulfil in the case of the Iberian Peninsula. That was due not only to its Islamic heritage, but also because of the relationship with non-European regions. As several authors have been demonstrating for the Portuguese case, high-

ranking nobility was intricately connected to offices of the empire.<sup>883</sup> Hence, if individuals were moving in and out of Iberia, from and to overseas territories, the existence of a real border is difficult to determine. Just as difficult to determine is whether exotic objects and materials kept a special provenance-based allure for Iberian consumers, or not. In any case, attempting to answer these questions is a rather fruitless exercise since, as suggested before, consumption is the result of an intricate interaction of several variables. Exoticness, if applicable, is but one of them, as chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7 attest.

Indeed, the last four chapters of this thesis put forth the significance of developing the research about the intersection between a consumer and his things. For each case, some variables received more attention than others did. As was to be expected, I followed the leads provided by the sources. Therefore, in Chapter 4, the focus was put on medical reasons. In Chapter 5, on the diplomatic practises' demands. In Chapter 6, on the requirements of social status and manifestation. In Chapter 7, on the everyday practises of consumers. As revealed in each chapter, there is never one simple driving force for consumption. Instead, multiple variables interact with each other, such as the particular circumstances of the individual, the time of acquisition, the cultural beliefs. In order to show more clearly how those variables change, a single individual was chosen. The case of Juan de Borja is, thus, the common thread of this thesis, through which the complexity behind consumption is analysed. The wide range of possibilities for consumption was identified chapter by chapter. That being said, I wish to highlight five aspects that are transversal to those four chapters.

The first conclusion is perhaps rather obvious: this thesis revealed the importance of localising consumption in both space and time. Much of the discourse about exotic goods' consumption takes the idea of Europe for granted. Moreover, the specificities of each European region are seldom considered. Barbara Fuchs made an important contribution by drawing attention to the impact of the Islamic cultural heritage in early modern Iberia. Indeed, contemporary travellers from other Western European states noticed cultural specificities in this region. These specificities led Fuchs to declare that the existence of processes of exoticisation within Europe must be taken into consideration when handling the extra-European. Following on this contribution, this thesis has slightly adapted the terms used by Fuchs. Rather than putting too much emphasis on geopolitical entities, the differences of perception about the exotic should highlight the social networks of individuals. Bearing in mind that space is socially constructed, the study of consumption should

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<sup>883</sup> See Introduction.

be redirected to a given group of interconnected individuals. In this thesis, I used a sample of inventories from a pre-determined group. Nevertheless, it was by following the case of Juan de Borja that it became evident that consumption was mostly motivated by the “space” of the consumer. This space was not bound to Madrid alone. It included Lisbon, Vienna, Prague and all Borja’s connections to Portuguese overseas territories. Indeed, in the case of Juan de Borja, the high number of exotic items, when compared to other high-ranking noblemen and noblewomen in Madrid, cannot be separated from his connections to Portuguese elites. Neither can it be detached from his role as negotiator of leasing contracts for the trade of exotic goods when he was at the head of the *Consejo de Portugal*. The same could be said about time. Through the case of porcelain, for instance, I demonstrated that material culture from overseas was already domesticated in Iberia by the end of the sixteenth century. Several scholars have demonstrated how the processes for knowledge production about overseas territories took more than one approach during the sixteenth century. Early efforts of commensurating differences between those territories and the domestic space eventually gave room to a systematic organisation of knowledge based on classification. China is precisely a very good example of this. Although the Portuguese had been receiving news from there since the beginning of the century, the news were not sufficient to produce a perception of “Chineseness”. Such an awareness can only have been developed towards the turn of the seventeenth century. If “Chineseness” was the major driving force for the consumption of porcelain during the eighteenth century, other explanations are required to understand consumer behaviour two centuries earlier. In this regards, the time of consumption is determinant.

The second important aspect of this thesis is that consumption practises are not always equal across the high-ranking nobility. The analysis of the inventories that I used reveals that there are significant differences within the sample. This observation is interesting, because it demonstrates that the consumption behaviour of this group is more heterogenous than what has been claimed. Urquízar Herrera’s work on collecting practises of Andalusian nobility – which is still the most in-depth study of its kind – evidenced that collecting was motivated by the necessity of social imitation. Although our studies diverge in content – in his case, artistic objects and Andalusian nobility, in my case, exotic items and nobility at the court of Madrid –, the analysis of the sample of inventories revealed that social imitation does not suffice to explain consumption behaviour. Indeed, the third chapter, for instance, reveals how the capacity of accessing goods determined the type of objects consumed. Certain items were more frequent amongst some individuals, than others were. This variability was not just due to a matter of will, but also because of more opportunity to acquire them. In addition, the study of rhino horns’ consumption reveals a clear

gender discrepancy directly associated with the roles of the individuals within the domestic space (female healing practises), or in the course of their responsibilities while taking office at court (the rhino horn cup as part of the office of *gentilhombre de la boca*). Finally, the case of the *colchas* brings to the foreground the agency of the individual consumer. In addition, it shows how his personal objectives influence consumption. Indeed, if it had not been for Borja's determination to be recognised as an expert in Portuguese affairs, perhaps the proportion of goods from overseas in his embassy would not have been so high.

Amongst the heterogeneity of driving forces within the sample, there are also some common ones. The third aspect to highlight is that the properties of each item were often related to ideals of nobility. Despite it not being the unique driving force, the needs of social manifestation motivated consumption, indeed. Yet, as the needs of social manifestation were part of the condition of nobility, the objects used for display had to have the properties, or characteristics, that answered those needs. Therefore, exotic objects became integrated in consumption practises because the materials of which they were made resolved existing domestic needs. See porcelain, for instance. As a superior type of ceramic ware, porcelain was particularly suitable to convey ideas of neatness and grace which were of fundamental importance to high-ranking Iberian nobility. Another example are *colchas* made of silk, which answered the requirements of *splendore* and hospitality demanded by court ceremonial. The same could also be said about the role that rhino horns could have performed in court ceremonial, since this material was only at the reach of "señorazos y poderosos". Thus, in the old debate about what motivates consumption, whether offer or demand, in what regards to Iberian nobility and its exotic objects, demand seems to be the leading force.

As a fourth point, the former observation takes me to conclude that consumption was often a result of everyday requirements. Rather than seeing consumption of luxurious items as a caprice, or a programmatic decision for purposes of social manifestation, it could simply be a pragmatic consumption. The plethora of fall-front cabinets that are scattered across the inventories reveals that this piece of furniture was essential to keep all the affairs that a nobleman had to handle throughout his life. Hence, the type of material that they were made of was not a trivial matter. It was an important aspect, should the noblemen wish to protect the contents of those cabinets. Importing tropical hardwood answered this very pragmatic need perfectly. The same argument can be applied to the consumption of rhino/unicorn horn amongst female consumers. Given the belief in its prophylactic powers, which promised to prevent all types of poisoning, rhino/unicorn horn was an answer to a need that could not be satisfied otherwise.

Finally, this work brought the need of recovering the hitherto overlooked significance of the senses to the foreground. Namely, the importance of the senses in consumption practises. A belief that the power of touch triggered the locked powers of materials (e.g. the case of rhino horns), that odours relaxed the mind (e.g. *calambuco* praying beads), or that pleasure could be obtained from admiring a colourful array of wood in a piece of furniture (e.g. the library at the El Escorial) confirm that senses had an enormous role to play when consuming things. For example, rather than just mere superstition, the belief in the power of touch to change matter from one condition to another was at the foundation of the intense debate about the prophylactic properties of the rhino horn that crossed Europe during the 1570s. In line with this, the relationship between smell and consumption also needs to be recovered. In this thesis, I looked into how odours might have helped in cases of melancholia. Moreover, it must not be forgotten that the hugely important global trade of musk also relates to the role of these perfume essences in early modern health care practices. Therefore, notwithstanding that accessing the experience of pleasure obtained from objects and materials may well be one of the hardest challenges for the historian, can we really ignore its influence over consumption?

These five aspects constitute the major contribution of this thesis to the study of early modern consumption practises. However, some side aspects can also enrich other historiographical fields. By focusing on the career path of Juan de Borja, the second and third chapters are a contribution to courtly studies. The work of Fernando Bouza, Bernardo García García, José Martínez Millán, Santiago Hernández Martínez and Félix Labrador Arroyo were fundamental to understand the fluid relations between the court of the Hispanic Monarchy and Portuguese elites. Nevertheless, the case of Juan de Borja adds a new layer to these investigations. With a profile very like that of Juan de Silva, the I Count of Portalegre, Juan de Borja is an example of the close transnational connections in the Iberian Peninsula in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. In addition, the chapter on rhino horns offers a contribution to the History of Science, especially in what regards to Portugal. By drawing attention to the existence of an imperial-based empiric knowledge about *materia medica* in the third quarter of the sixteenth century, this chapter adds a contribution to the studies of Iberian History of knowledge, such as the work of Jorge Cañizares – Esguerra, Juan Pimentel or Palmira Fontes da Costa. Furthermore, the few pages in the chapter about porcelain, which concern the *camarín*, are a modest contribution to the field of History of Architecture. Despite the scattered references to this particular type of room made elsewhere, a systematic reflection focusing only on this space has not yet been conducted and I hope this contribution may trigger an interest in this forgotten space.

Despite the contribution that I attempted to bring to historiography, some issues still could not be handled within this thesis. The methodological proposal offered in the previous pages can be applied to objects, but only as long as there is enough documentation to recover the relationship with the consumer. The richness of Spanish archives is, hence, very promising. I believe that the analysis that I used in the case of Juan de Borja could be repeated with other consumers. However, an historian would find many limitations were they to apply the same exercise to Portuguese consumers of the same period. These limitations exist because there is considerably less documentation available. Consequently, for Portuguese consumers, personal motivations can hardly be disclosed, but a methodical assemblage of references about one single type of item may provide a glimpse over the diversity of driving forces and practises associated with that item. As an example, in this thesis the use of Lope de Vega's plays was quite helpful to counterbalance the silence of other sources.

The second constraint of this thesis' methodology concerns its limited usefulness for museum curators who are only interested in the stories of the objects in their care. Unfortunately, most exotic items that are kept either in museums, or for sale in the art and antiques market, have lost their link with the early modern consumer. If the link to the consumer no longer exists, how can museum curators investigate the objects in their care? This thesis does not provide a direct answer to this question, but it offers a framework for enquiry. Taken into consideration that the interconnection between consumer and objects is unique and full of complexity, I suggest that the object might serve as a gateway to understand that complexity. Rather than focusing on the extant object alone, an investment in the study of non-extant objects can provide answers that the former cannot. For instance, research about the sensorial response to materials may unveil a range of perceptions at the reception level that can be used as an interpretative framework for the curator.

These constraints demonstrate that, although this thesis opens an alternative window to study consumption, much is yet to be done. One of the major gaps in historiography, which I had to handle, concerns the scarcity of studies about the importation and transformation processes of exotic materials. As revealed in this thesis, materials are a major driving force for consumption, but most studies still focus on the finished product. Amongst all materials, our ignorance over the trade and transformation of wood in the early modern world is overwhelming. Apart from the materials, another research path that could still be explored regards the role of the senses in consumption. Although I tackled the issue in several chapters, neither the supremacy of the visual in contemporary societies has been sufficiently questioned, nor has the impact of other senses

been fully understood. Could touch and smell be the missing link between the consumption of agarwood praying beads, Flemish tapestries and Renaissance bronze statuettes?<sup>884</sup>

In brief, I demonstrated how going beyond *Exotica* led me to unveil a much more layered story behind the consumption of exotic goods in early modern Iberia. This project started because I considered that the argument that explained consumption of such goods with an interest in their exoticness lacked documental evidence. Indeed, in the cases that I analysed throughout my research, I did not find any evidence that exoticness was a motivation for consumption. Although I do not entirely reject the possibility that curiosity could have played a role, there is a wide range of better arguments to explain the phenomenon. To conclude, my project is a contribution to demonstrate that a change of focus towards the intersectional moment between consumers and things allows us to better understand early modern consumption of exotic goods.

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<sup>884</sup> Geraldine A. Johnson, A taxonomy of touch; Geraldine A. Johnson, “In the Hand of the Beholder: Isabella d’Este and the Sensual Allure of Sculpture,” in: *Sense and the Senses in Early Modern Art and Cultural Practice*, ed. A. Sanger and S.T. Kulbrandstad Walker (Ashgate Press, 2012), 183-197, 2012; Geraldine A. Johnson, “Touch, Tactility, and the Reception of Sculpture in Early Modern Italy,” in: *A Companion to Art Theory*, ed. P. Smith and C. Wilde (Blackwell, 2002), 61-74, Jan 1, 2002; Geraldine A. Johnson, “The Art of Touch in Early Modern Italy,” in: *Art & The Senses*, ed. F. Bacci and D. Melcher (Oxford University Press, 2011; second ed. 2013), 59-84, 2011



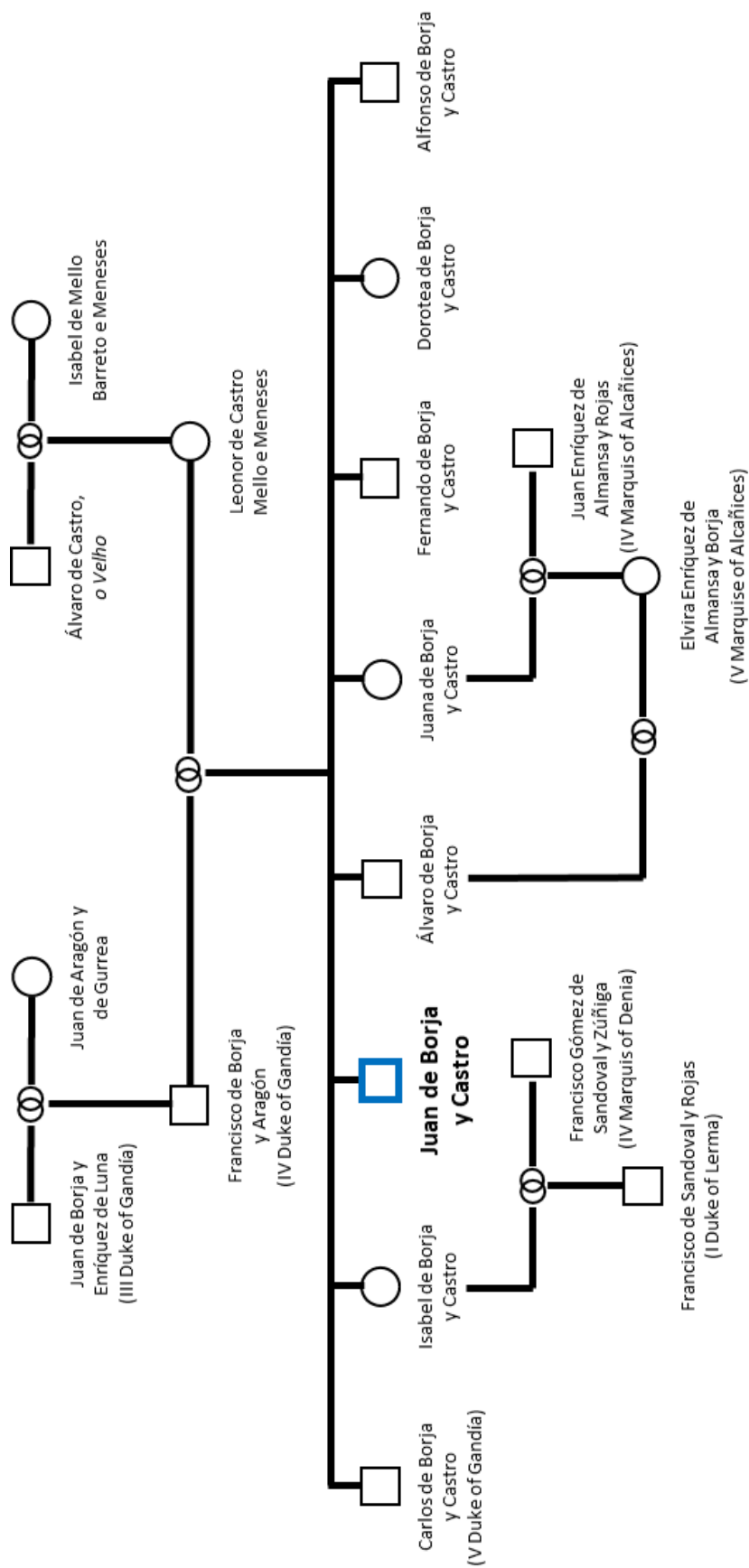
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# Appendix I – Genealogical tree of Juan de Borja





## Appendix II – Chronology of Juan de Borja y Castro

1533	Juan de Borja y Castro was born in Bellpuig
1539	He moves to Barcelona with his father
1543	He moves to Gandía with his father
after 1544	He attended lessons at the University of Gandía
1548	He was admitted at the Order of Santiago
1550	He receives the <i>encomienda</i> of Reina, near Badajoz He travels to Rome with his father in order to meet Ignatius of Loyola He moves to Azpeitia, in the province of Guipúzcoa
after 1550	He is admitted at the University of Alcalá de Henares
1552	He married Lorenza de Oñaz y Loyola
1554-1559	He is appointed colonel of Guipúzcoa under the command of Diego de Carvajal He organises the defence of the French border from San Sebastián
1566	He introduces Juan de Silva to the household of Prince Carlos
before 1568	He starts serving Ruy Gómez de Silva, Prince of Éboli
1568	He is admitted to the household of Prince Carlos He participates in the <i>academia</i> presided by the Duke of Alba
1569	He travels to Portugal as ambassador of Philip II
1575	His diplomatic mission ends Lorenza de Oñaz y Loyola dies
1576	Juan de Borja is appointed ambassador at the Holy Roman Empire He marries Francisca de Aragão e Barreto
1577	He travels to Vienna on his second diplomatic mission
ca. 1578-1580	He receives the <i>encomienda</i> of Azuaga
1581	He publishes his book of emblems, <i>Empresas Morales</i> , in Prague He lectures on poetics at the Clementinum College in Prague His second diplomatic mission ends He is appointed <i>mayordomo mayor</i> of Empress Maria of Austria He returns with Maria of Austria to the Iberian Peninsula
1582	He arrives in Lisbon with Maria of Austria He returns to Madrid with the empress He becomes responsible for the <i>Huerta de Buenavista</i>
1596	He becomes I Count of Mayalde
1598	He is appointed member of the <i>Consejo de Estado y Guerra</i>
1599	Francisca de Aragão e Barreto becomes I Countess of Ficalho Juan de Borja is admitted to the <i>Consejo de Portugal</i>
1600	He becomes one of the <i>Trece</i> of the Order of Santiago

	His responsibilities at the <i>Huerta</i> are transferred to the <i>Junta de Obras y Bosques</i>
1603	Empress Maria of Austria dies and Borja is appointed as one of her will's executors
1604	He is appointed <i>mayordomo</i> of Queen Margarita of Austria
1606	He is appointed <i>mayordomo mayor</i> of the queen In September he dies at the Monastery of San Lorenzo de El Escorial

## Appendix III – Juan de Borja's inventory (1577)

### ***Cédula de Paso*, 4<sup>th</sup> February 1577**

**in Archivo General de Simancas, Cámara de Castilla, Libro 360, ff. 187-201v.**

#### **/f. 187/**

De paso para las cosas conthenidas enesta oja señalada en fin de las d[ic]has cosas de Juan Uasquez que don Juan de Borja que Ua por embaxador de Su M[agesta]d a Alemania embia a Ualencia libre de d[e]r[echo]s [...] de nouenta días.

#### *Memoria de lo que don Juan de Borja embia adelante*

En cofre nº 1

Vna cama de grana con franjas de oro y seda con quatro cortinas y çielo y rodapie

Doze Paños de tafetán carmesy y amarillo

Vn pabellón de tafetán carmesy y amarillo

En otro cofre nº 2

Una colcha blanca labrada de punto amarillo de la yndia

Otra colcha de la yndia de la misma labor

Vn pabellon con su manga de la misma labor

Vn peynador y vna mantellina de la misma labor

Dos almoadas con dos azeruelos labrados de colorado

Otra colcha de la yndia labrada de blanco

Otra colcha de tafetan morado forrada e[n] tafetan carmesy

Otra colcha de la yndia de yerba pequeña respuntada de blanco

Vn cuero de cordouan v[er]de dorado al rededor

Doa paños de damasquillo carmesy y blanco con çenefas de brocatel de la china

Vna casulla de tafetan azul y blanco con su frontal

Otra casulla de raso leonado con su frontal

#### **/f. 187v/**

En otro cofre nº 3

Vna sobremesa de damasco carmesy con la çenefa de tela de oro vna cubierta desta sobremesa de tafetan carmesy

Vna cama de damasco carmesy con su sielo las goteras de brocado con quatro cortinas y rodapie

Quatro mançanas guarneçidas desta cama

Vnaspaldera de tafetan carmesy

Tres paños de tafetan v[er]de y amarillo y una sobreuentana

Otraspaldera de tafetan v[er]de

Çinco almoadas de t[e]r[çio]p[el]o negro y cordouan

Tres maneçillas de marfil para rascar

Dosteras de palleta de la yndia

Dos cabos de abano

Vna corneta de marfil labrada

Otra esterilla de la yndia

Vnaa carta de marear  
Vna estera grande de la china con figuras  
Vna colcha blanca de la yndia  
Dos pajaros de la yndia

En otro cofre nº 4  
Ocho panos de damasco y t[e]r[cio]pelo carmesy

En otro cofre nº 6  
Una caja de pasticas atochada con lienços y lauores  
Otra caja en que ua vn cofre de tartaruga guarneçido de plata y lleno de ylo y brincos de barro y bemjui atochada la caja con dos pieças de hierua  
Otra caja de angelin en que ua vn script[ori]o guarneçido de plata con pasticas y pebetes dentro  
Ocho sabanas  
Vna pieça de hierba raxada  
Vn benden blanco  
Vna estera de la yndia

**/f. 188/**

En otro cofre nº 7  
Vna caja con brincos de bemjuy atochado con hilo y lienços y lauores  
Dos sabanas de olanda guarneçidas de randas  
Otra sabana de red guarneçida  
Dos traueseros labrados de seda carmesy y otros dos de oro y otro de puntos blancos de la yndia  
Dos almohadas labradas de punto amarillo  
Nueue toallas de olanda guarneçidas  
Otra toalla de olanda guarneçida de red  
Un peynador guarneçido de red  
Vn peynador guarneçido de trençillas  
Dos traueseros de olanday red con sus almohadillas de lo mismo  
Otros dos traueseros d randascon sus almodillas de lo mismo  
Vn trauesero y quatro almohadllas labrados de confitillos  
Nueue cuellos con tres pares de puños  
Seys sabanas de olanda  
Vna pieça pequena de tela de seda de la china  
Vna colcha grande de la yndia

En otro cofre nº 8  
Una colcha de la yndia con otras cosas ya usadas

En otro cofre nº 9  
Un manteo de damasco carmesy  
Tres fundas de jaulas de damasco v[er]de  
Una ropilla de raso negro  
Otra ropa de t[e]r[cio]pelo negro guarneçida de canutillos de plata  
Vna saya de t[e]r[cio]pelo negro de lauores  
Otra saya de raso negro prensado  
Vna basquina de tela de plata bordada

**/f. 188v/**



Otra basquiña de tela de oro  
Vna ropa de damasco v[er]de bordada  
Otra ropa de tela de oro forrada de felpa  
Vn jubon de raso negro encarnado bordado  
Otro jubon de telilla de plata y negro  
Otro jubon de cuero adobado de ambar  
Vn capote de raso negro guarneçido  
Otra vasquiña de raso negro  
Vna sabana ençima de todo  
Vn jubon de raso pardo bordado

En otro cofre nº 10  
Nueue caxas en que ua ochenta y ocho pieças de porçelanas  
Nueue porçelanas grandes  
Vn aguamanil  
Vna calabaza  
Vna alcatifa uieja pequena

En otro cofre nº 11  
Doze porçelanas grandes  
Diez platos pequenos  
Dos saluas y çinco brincos de porçelanas

En otro cofre nº 30  
Tres alhombras grandes y una mediana finas de la yndia

En otro cofre nº 31  
Seys alcatifas finas pequenas de la yndia

E[n] vn almofrex grande  
Nueue paños de tapiçeria  
Un çielo de una cama de pano v[er]de  
El cobertor desta cama

**/f. 189/**

En otro almofrex  
Siete paños de tapiçeria  
Vna antepuerta de tapiçeria  
Quatro cortinas de paño de la sobre d[ic]ha cama

El Rey

[...]

**/f. 197/**

Qualesquier n[uest]ras justiçias y all[cal]des de sacas y cosas vedades dezmeros aduaneros portasgueros guardas y otras personas que estais e[n] guarda de los puertos de mar y tierra de los Reynos de landaluzia y granada y murçia y de los de tierra que ay entre estos n[uest]ros Reynos de castilla y aragon o Valençia y a

cada vno y qualquier de vos porque don Ju[an] de Borja ba por n[uest]ro e[m]baxador a Vngria cerca de la persona del serenissimo enperador mi muy caro y muy amado sobrino y lleua la plata bestidos joyas y otras cosas contenidas en çinco ojas de papel desta otra parte scriptas que yran rubricadas al fin de cada pana dellas de Ju[an] Basquez de Salazar n[uest]ro secretario y de la camara y demas dello lleua seis roçines de las colores y seriales siguientes: Vn roçin mediano de color castaño escuro y calçado del pie yzquierdo con vna estrella e[n] la frente/ Otro roçin asi mismo y mediano de color bayo con otra estrella e[n] la frente y abiertas las narizes y el pie yzquierdo calçado/ Otro roçin pequeño de colore ruçio cortadas las narizes/ Otro roçin creçido de color castaño con vna estrellica e[n] la frente/ Otro roçin creçido de color morzillo tordillo sin otra zeñal/ Otro roçin creçido ruçio desorejado y tres mill ducados e[n] dinero de oro y plata para su gasto que montan Vn quento y çiento y vey[n]te y çinco mill m[a]r[avedi]s. Os mandamos dexeis y consintais pasar al d[ic]ho e[m]baxador y a la persona o personas que llebaren a cargo lo suso d[ic]ho con todo ello sin les pedir ni lleuar por ellos derechos ni otra cosa alguna que para enquanto a esto yo dispenco presentandose primeramente la d[ic]ha persona que lo lleuare a cargo e[n] esta casa de la duana del puerto por donde pasare y jurando que no lleua otra cosa alguna agena ni e[n]comendada ni de las por nos vedadas y defendidas y mando que para ello os dure /f. 197v/ esta ç[edul]a por termo de sesenta dias contados desde el dia de la data della en adelante y que vala aunque vaya señalada de los n[uest]ros contadores mayores. Fecha en madrid a seis de março de mill y qui[n]ient[os] y setenta y siete años yo el Rey. Refrendada de Ju[an] Basquez sin señal.

*Memoria de la Ropa que don Ju[an] de Borja lleua*

Cofre N<sup>ro</sup> 4

Quatro taças de plata doradas e[n] sus caxas

Vna caxa con vn tocado

Vn cuerno de bada

Vnas pieças y de hierba pequeñas para jubones

Vn abano de marfil

Vn abano de ebano guarneçido de plata con su tafetan verde

Nueue platos de plata medianos

Vna salua de plata dorada labrada de figuras

Vn forro de lobos blancos en vna maleta de bocaçi

Vn saquillo con vn poco de canela

Otro con vn poco de clauo que todo sera tres libras

Dos pares de votas de muger verdes plateadas

Otras dos coloradas plateadas

Vna scriuania de la china guarneçida de plata con tintero y saluadera y funda de damasco verde

Vna caxa de la yndia pequeña con çinco porçelanas muy chicas

Dos aranbellas de hierba de la yndia de menos de vara

Caxa n<sup>o</sup> 14

Vn caliz de plata con su patena

Vna cruz de plata

Dos candeleros de plata

Vna paz de plata

Vn ostiario de plata

Vna campanilla de plata

Dos binajeras de plata

Vna salua de plata

Vn adereço de altar verde con dos Pares de manteles

Vn paño de damasco y brocatel para armar el altar  
Una casulla de damasco verde y tela de oro bordada  
Un paño de arambel de seda  
Dos toallas de aguamanos  
Vna bolsa de corporales  
Vna ara  
Vn misal  
Vn pergamino de las palabras de la consagración

Cofre nº 15  
Çinco escofiones de oro y plata  
Tres apretadores de lo mismo  
Tres toallas de rede de oro  
Vna çestilla

**/f. 198/**

Unos jubones de lienço y toallas y almohadillas y otras menudencias  
Vnos cuerpos de raso y otro de chamillote guarneçidos de terçiopelo  
Una colcha de seda morada pespuntada  
Una fuente de plata dorada  
Un aguamanil de plata dorado  
Una almohada de tafetan encarnado con su almohadilla de lo mismo llenos de rosas[?]  
Una ropa de la yndia labrada  
Dos platos de porçelana uno grande y otro pequeño  
Dos porçelanas doradas  
Vna garrafa de porçelana  
Otra de nacar  
Vna bandeja

Cofre nº 16  
Vn hornamento de tafetan negro guarneçido de terçiopelo con su frontal  
Dos çenefas azules y dos coloradas  
Tres pedaços de bemjui enbultos en vn paño  
Vna almohadilla con clauo y pimienta  
Vna caxilla de machacan  
Vna caxilla blanca con quatro porçelanas las tres doradas y la vna blanca y un salero de porçelana  
Vna caxilla de la yndia con cañutos de seda  
Tres caxillas de la yndia con ylo y pañiquelos  
Vn pedaço de lienzo con que ban apretadas estas caxas  
Tres pedaços de anime  
Quatro sabanas de lienço  
Honze baras y una quarta de damasquillo blanco y carmesi de toledo  
Una caxa con dos candiles de plata  
Vna porçelana de la yndia grande  
Dos aguamaniles de porçelana vno dorado  
Vna garrafa de la yndia de porçelana  
Vn manteo de carisea blanca

Cofre nº 17

Dos fuentes de plata medianas con su caja  
Dos aguamaniles de plata grandes dorados los bolbederos y berdes en sus caxas  
Dos platos grandes de plata de manjar  
Dos copas de plata labradas de sinçel doradas con sus sobrecopas  
Vna copa de plata blanca con dos orejas  
Una benera de plata  
Dos binajeras de plata blancas  
Vn cubillo de plata dorado con su sobrecopa  
Vn bucaro de plata dorado de sinçel blanco con su sobrecopa  
Vn aguamanil de la misma manera  
Vn baso grande de plata  
Vn salero de jaspe guarneçido de plata dorada  
Vn baso de nacar guarneçido de plata dorada  
Una caçuela de plata blanca alta  
Vna confitera de nacar guarneçida de plata dorada

**/f. 198v/**

Vn perfumador de plata blanca  
Un baso de plata castañado dorado con su sobrecopa  
Vna caja de cuchillos guarneçidos de nacar con catorze pieças  
Tres cucharas de nacar guarneçidas de plata  
Dos garrafas de agua de plata labradas blancas  
Dos aguamaniles pequeños de plata blancos llanos  
Otros dos aguamaniles blancos de plata pequeños labrados  
Un salero pequeño de plata dorado con su cubierta  
Dos pares de tigeras de plata blancas  
Vn coco de maldiuar guarneçido de plata dorada con su caja  
Otro coco de maldiuar guarneçido de plata blanca  
Vna salua de plata labrada dorados los altos  
Vna salba blanca labrada de figuras

Bavl nº 40

Siete libros de la china  
Quatro libros de canto de organo  
Vn libro de la horden de Santiago  
Quinze libros  
Una aguja pequeña de marear de marfil  
Vna caxica de ojas de plata  
Una capa y vna ropilla de paño negro  
Un capote de paño negro  
Vna capa de raja negra guarneçida de terçiopelo cortado y ropilla de gorgoran Un capote y ropilla de gorgoran pardo guarneçido y la ropilla aforrada en martas Vn herrezuelo y ropilla de raja verde guarneçido  
Vn herrezuelo y ropilla de telilla de seda negra y montera  
Vn jubon de olanda con pestañas de raso negro  
Vnos greguescos de terçiopelo negro cortado  
Un jubon de tafetan verde  
Un jubon de tafetan pardo  
Unas mangas de raso negro  
Unos greguescos de tafetan pardo

Un talabarte de terçiopelo negro con clauaçon plateada  
Un jubon de tafetan negro  
Un herrezuelo de paño verde  
Una ropa verde de chamelote de seda con pasamanos de oro aforrada en martas  
Bavl nº 41

Vna caja con carie [sic] y nacar  
Un ostiario de la china con monedas  
Una ymagen entre dos tablas  
Vn libro verde  
Diez y siete libros  
Un baso de cuerno  
Dos ymagenes guarneçidas de ebano  
Çinco sombreros de fieltro  
Dos esterillas de la yndia  
Quatro pares de çapatos blancos y un par negros  
Uno de terçiopelo

**/f. 199/**

Vn par de pantuflos de terçiopelo  
Vn sombrero de tafetan negro pespuntado con vna trençilla  
Dos caracoles  
Dos pares de talabartes  
De cuero negro pespuntado  
Ropilla y herrezuelo de filel negro  
Mas quatro pares de çapatos de terçiopelo  
Vn alfange  
Una dozena de cabritillas  
Una caja de gorras con çinco gorras  
Una prensa de ebano  
Mas quatro librillos de cante  
Vna canpanilla de plata  
Una adereço de espada de terçiopelo negro  
Un talabarte de terçiopelo negro con la clauazon dorada  
Unos borçeguies de cordouan  
Dos pares de botas blancas  
Ocho paredes [sic] de çapatos negros de cordouan  
Tres pares de çapatos blancos  
Unos estribos y copas doradas  
Doze pares de medias de seda  
Una espada y daga labrada plateada  
Otras dos espadas negras  
Dos pares de botas negras de cordouan  
Unas calças de terçiopelo negro  
Otras de pasamanos verdes  
Otras de pasamanos pardas  
Vn herrezuelo y ropilla y montera de alma caja

Cofre nº 18

Tres dozenas de puntas de cristal guarneçidas de plata y çintas de tela de plata azules

Çinquenta y dos uotones de cristal guarneçidos de plata  
Quarenta puntas de oro guarneçidas de rubis y esmeraldas menudas con sus çintas de tela parda y plata  
Vna çinta de oro de treinta y quatro pieças con diez y siete perlas gruesas y veinte y tres diamantes  
Vn collar de oro de veinte y vna pieças. con veinte y dos perlas pequeñas y çinco diamantes y çinco rubis  
Vna cruz de oro con diez diamantes y tres perlas  
Un apretador de oro de quinze pieças con ocho perlas vn poco mayores y onze diamantes  
Unas arracadas con dos rubis y dos esmeraldas y vna perla cada vna  
Vn joyel de oro con çinco diamantes pequeños y vna esmeralda y rubi y una zafira  
Una caixa con quarenta y ocho botones y quarenta y siete rosetas y veinte y nueue trabiesas guarneçidos de rubis y esmeraldas muy menudas  
Otra caixa con quarenta y nueue botones de oro con la misma guarniçion y treinta y siete botones de punta guarneçidos de rubis muy pequeños  
Una bola de plata

**/f. 199v/**

Una caixa con sesenta botones de oro grandes esmaltados de negro y blanco  
Otra caixa con quarenta y nueue botones de oro labrados y esmaltados con un ruui pequeño en cada uno  
Vn apretador de oro con diez y nueue pieças esmaltado de negro açul y blanco  
Vnos bicos de oro con quarenta y nueue pieças y veynte y quatro perlas pequeñas y veinte y çino rubies pequeños  
Vna pera de ambar guarneçida de oro y rubis pequeñitos y una perla pequeña  
Vnas arracadas de oro con una perla cada una y guarda de rubis muy pequeñitos  
Una cuchara y vn tenedor de cristal guarnecidos de oro y ruuis muy menudos  
Vn ruçador de plata  
Dos pomos de plata  
Vn escupidor de plata  
Ropa blanca de seruiçio  
Vna caixa con un basso de algalia  
Un pomico de ambar guarneçido de oro de cauo de toca  
Una caixa con veynte sortijas de oro y piedras  
Dos veneras una de oro y otra de plata con dos cadenas de oro  
Una caixa pequeña de plata con un cruçifixo baçiado dentro

Una canasta  
Syete tablas de manteles alemaniscos  
Quatro tablas de manteles reales  
Quar[en]ta seruilletas alemaniscas  
Onçe seruilletas reales  
Syete tohallas de olanda  
Des tablas de aparador

Baul numº 42  
Çinco libros de canto  
Otros siete librillos de canto  
Una biblia[?] pequeña  
Siete librillos  
Dos pares de botas negras de corduan  
Unas botas blancas

**/f. 200/**

Una cuera de benado  
Un manto de capitulo

Unos greguescos de t[e]rz[i]opelo rico  
 Dos pares de seruillas unas de cuero y otras de fieltro  
 Un herrezuelo y ropilla y greguescos y montera y calçones de [...] pardo y sombrero de lo mismo  
 Unos greguescos de damasco verde con sus medias de seda  
 Tres faltriqueras de cuero  
 Unas botas e[n]zeradas  
 Una espada con sus asa y talauarti con la clavaço[n] plateada  
 Vn jubon de olanda cruda con sus pestañas de raso verde  
 Otro de lo mismo con pestañas de raso pardo  
 Otro de lo mismo con pestañas de raso negro  
 Otro blanco llano  
 Una guarniçion de espada dorada con toda la clavaçon  
 Doze camissas  
 Çinco toallas de aguamanos  
 Dos pares de calçetas  
 Seis pares de escarpines  
 Una caxa con çintas  
 Vna baçia de plata  
 Un jarro de plata  
 Unas espuelas doradas  
 Una baçia de plata para lauar las manos  
 Un jarro de plata para lo mismo  
 Una salua de plata dorada  
  
 Vn çeston  
 Ocho platos grandes de plata  
 Ocho platos medianos de plata  
 Treynta trincheos de plata  
**/f. 200v/**  
 Un açucarero de plata  
 Un salero de plata dorado con su cubierta de pimentero  
 Una calderilla de plata e candado con su cadena e[n] una bolsa de cuero  
 Otra calderilla de plata dorada por de fuera con dos abbas[?] e[n] una bolsa de cuero  
 Dos cucharas de plata y dos tenedores dorados  
 Doze cucharas de plata blanca  
  
 En otro çeston  
 Veynte trincheos de plata  
 Dos saluas de plata llanas  
 Una copa blanca labrada e[n] [e]l m[ism]o de plata  
 Quatro candeleros de plata pequeños  
 Una taza de plata dorada e[n] su caxa  
 Dos jarros de plata blanca de una hechura  
 Una caxa con dos cubillos de plata  
  
 Cofre numº 19  
 Una colcha blanca castellana  
 Una basquiña de raso amarillo guarneçida  
 Otra basquiña de damasco negro guarneçida

Otra basquiña de damasco pardo guarneçida  
Vn jubon de tafetan amarillo  
Otro jubon de tafetan negro  
Çinco sortijas de oro las quatro con piedras  
Unas arracadas de oro guarneçidas de rubies pequeños  
Un joyel de oro labrado en la china  
Una cadena de oro q[ue] pesa ocho o[nça]s reales  
Diez porçelanas  
Tres pares de guantes de ambar traydos

**/f. 201/**

Un poco de hilo portugues q[ue] sera m[edi]a libra  
Una ropa de tafetan  
Un manto de [...?]  
Un salero de plata pequeño  
Una capa de paño  
Otra de raja  
Una cuera tapetada  
Tres gorras de rizo[?]  
Un talauarte de t[e]rz[i]opelo  
Camissas usadas y otra ropa blanca de serui[çi]o  
Treynta varas despumilla[?] y otras[?] tocas  
Un [...?] de oro  
Una toca de red  
Unas medias de seda negras

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Tres esclauas  
Quatro esclauos  
Dos coches  
Dos mulas de coche  
Quatro azemilas dos de coche y dos de carga  
Diez e[n]tre baules y arquillas de bestidos y cossas usadas de sus criados  
Un escriptorio con papeles y despachos  
Una messa con sus pies  
Tres capas e[n]zeradas que e[n]bia la reyna n[uest]ra s[eñor]a a la e[m]peratriz  
Un balandran de mezcla verde  
Unos calçones de lo mismo  
Un herre[z]uelo de bedel  
Vn fieltro con sus faldas de lo mismo

**/f. 201v/**

Una caja de gorras  
Una caja de sombreros con tres sombreros  
Una maleta de t[e]rz[i]opelo negro  
Dos de baqueta  
Una bolsa de t[e]rz[i]opelo negro para chapines  
Dos balestas con sus gafas  
Una aljaua  
Dos carcajes  
Tres bolsas de cuero para agua la vna turquesca otra guarneçida de plata  
Tres pares de botas de cordouan las unas pequenas



Un çinto v[er]de respuntado con su alfanje  
Tres sombreros de sol  
Unas espuelas plateadas y otras barniçadas  
Unas botas e[n]zeradas

El Rey.



## Appendix IV – Inventory of the Huerta de Buenavista (1600)

### *Ynbentario de los bienes de don Ju[an] de borxa, 27<sup>th</sup> June 1600*

in Archivo Historico de Protocolos de Madrid, Protocolo 933, ff. 379v-386v.

#### */f. 379/*

27 de Junyo de 1600 a[ño]s

Su mag[esta]d ynbentario de los bienes de don Ju[an] de borxa

En la villa de madrid a v[in]<sup>te</sup> e siete días del mes de junio de mill e seysçientos años estando en las casas que nonbram de buena vista que fueron de don juan de borxa conde de fycallo comendador deçuaga que es de la orden de santiago E que Las d[ic]has casas son en nesta d[ic]ha villa en las parroquias de san m[arti]n[ç] e san xines a los canos de alcalá por a[n]te my el scriu[an]o pu[bli]co el señor sebastian hurtado beyedor y contador de las Obras Reales de su m[a]g[esta]d del alcaçar desta d[ic]ha Villa y casa Real del Pardo = dixo q[ue] las D[ic]has casas y lo que en ellas esta de menaxe de casa pinturas rretratos[ç] y otras cosas de diferentes p[er] suertes es de su m[a]g[esta]d del rrei n[uest]ro señor E por hacienda suya e para q[ue] dello se haga ynbentario en presencia del d[ic]ho sebastian Hurtado en nonbre d su m[a]g[esta]d conforme a lo acordado por los señores de la junta de obras e bosques por decreto de v[in]<sup>te</sup> y çinco días deste d[ic]ho mes de junio y ano de mill y seysçientos que esta rubricado de los d[ic]hos señores de la junta y el d[ic]ho decreto quedo en poder del d[ic]ho sebastian hurtado // [...?] de abreo en [...?] del d[ic]ho don juan de borxa como persona q[ue] lo a tenido a cargo declaro e manifesto las cosas sig[uien]tes:

En una pieça de la d[ic]has casas que nonbran destudio abia

#### */f. 379v/*

[Yten] Un lienço grande con su marco dorado e su corredija de tafetan carmesy que es vn paso de la pasion quando açaban a n[uest]ro señor del suelo crucyfado

[Yten] Una Ymaxen de san Fran[cisc]o pequena con vna muerte en las manos con marco dorado

[Yten] Una Ymaxen en lienço de nuestra señora de populo con marco dorado

[Yten] Un Lienço del Laboratorio del zulveu[?] de la çena con marco dorado

[Yten] Un Lienço de san Fran[cisc]o capussino con su marco dorado

[Yten] Un Lienço de la oraçon del huerto con su marco dorado

[Yten] Tres Lienços de La madalena con sus marcos dorados

[Yten] Un Lienço con un [chris]p[t]o atado ala coluna con su marco dorado

[Yten] Un Lienço de san geronimo con su marco dorado

[Yten] Un Lienço con un cristo muerto en[?] las çebanas sepuelto con su marco dorado]

[Yten] Un eçomo [ecce homo] en Lienço con su marco dorado

[Yten] Un Lienço del nasz[i]m[ien]to de n[uest]ro señor con su marco dorado

[Yten] Un Lienço del descendimi[en]to de la cruz con su marco dorado

[Yten] Un Lienço de otro desçendimiento /f. 380/ de La cruz con nuestra s[eñor]a de esmayada al pie dela arrimada a la escalera con su marco dorado

[Yten] Un Lienço de San Fran[cis]co de padua con marco dorado

[Yten] Un Lienço de la ymaxen de n[uest]ra señora con el nino Jesus dormido e san Ju[an] e san jusepe con marco dorado

[Yten] Un Lienço retrato del padre fran[cis]co de borxa con marco dorado

[Yten] Un Lienço del retrato de la duquesa de gandia muger del padre fran[cis]co el marco de madera blanca sin dorar

[Yten] Un quadro pequeño de un cristo crucyfado con marco de nogal sin dorar

[Yten] Un quadro abis[?] lumbres[?] que haze dos rostros. Vno de vna beronica y otro de nuestra s[eñor]a el marco sin dorar

[Yten] dos tablicas de paysaxes de flandes con marcos dorados  
 [Yten] dos quadros en Laminas de cobre el uno es delçendimiento de la cruz y el otro de lo mismo guarneszdidos de la yndia  
 [Yten] Una santa catalina puesta en un bidro que suele andar esmenear[?] los oxos guarneçida de terçiopele azul por de fuera  
 [Yten] Un biricundo[?] que es vna copa en[?] thaen[ç] vn pie de la gran bestia con vna una menos  
**/f. 380v/**  
 [Yten] Una calabaca de las yndias retorcida colgada de unos cuernos de camuça  
 [Yten] Una lanterna de polona colgando en la pieça con su bola de açofar  
 [Yten] dos bufetes de nogal y una mesa de pino con vn caxon de baxo cubiertos cada vna con us sobremesas de damasco carmesi  
 [Yten] Unas armas ymperiales pintadas en papel  
 [Yten] Una mapa en papel pintada  
 [Yten] diez mapas guarneçidas de tafetan verde alarredonda  
 [Yten] Un banco de nogal con su respaldo  
 [Yten] diez y seys bolas de xaspes diferentes con sus pies de madera  
 [Yten] diez e sseis figurillas de bronce  
 [Yten] Un cristo de bronce chiquito metido en vna caja de madera  
 [Yten] tres cornetas de marfil  
 [Yten] tres aguxas de marear de la yndia de portugal  
 [Yten] Una copa de metal dorada que sirbe de estrolauio  
 [Yten] Otros dos ynstrumentillos de estrolauio  
 [Yten] Quatro ramylletes de las yndias  
 [Yten] Una Calabaça de las yndias  
 [Yten] Un rilox de sol en una piedra de alabastro  
 [Yten] dos lobos[globos?] de papel  
 [Yten] Un perro façiado[?] de barro  
 [Yten] Unos estantes de libros con diez cortinas de tafetan carmesi

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En la alcoba junto al mysmo estudio ay las cosas siguientes

[Yten] Una ymaxen de n[uest]ra s[eñor]a em vn quadro grande dorado los marcos  
 [Yten] Un quadro grande del rey dabi con su marco dorado  
 [Yten] Un quadro de adam y eba cubierto con un tafetan berde  
 [Yten] Un quadro de Lienço del nacim[ien]to con san simeon  
 [Yten] Un catre dorado de la china con vn colchon de rraso berde y amarillo falso  
 [Yten] dos almohadas grandes de lo mismo y tres pequenas açules y dos chiquitas de cuero colorado  
 [Yten] Ocho sillas de cuero bordadas a lo turquesco con franxas de oro y seda

Y en el camarin de las armas ay lo siguiente

[Yten] Quatro rrodelas de la china  
 [Yten] dos alabardas doradas aforradas en t[er]z[i]opelo berde  
 [Yten] dos achetas vngaras guarneçidas de plata  
 [Yten] Otra cubierta de capa  
 [Yten] Quatro achetas vngaras con palos blancos  
 [Yten] Dos maças de armas vngaras  
 [Yten] Una espada ancha con su canal[?] dorada y la guarniçion de yerro nyclada  
 [Yten] dos colores turquescos guarneçidos de plata dorada  
 [Yten] Una espada de montear  
 [Yten] dos achetas de alemanya con sus espadas dentro

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[Yten] Una espada con dos oxas nyclada de alemania  
 [Yten] dos alfanxes  
 [Yten] otro alfanxe damasquino a manera de cuchillo  
 [Yten] otro alfanxe pequeno con vn cabo de marfil  
 [Yten] Una daga con su puño dorado  
 [Yten] otro alfanxe con la guarniçion plateada  
 [Yten] Otra espada a lo antiguo dorada  
 [Yten] Una daga que sirbe de estrolago  
 [Yten] Una espada que sirbe de estrolago  
 [Yten] Una balesta de birotos  
 [Yten] Otra de de bodoques labrada de marfil  
 [Yten] Una caja de yerramienta de guerta  
 [Yten] Una alxaua de cuero con sus xaras[?]  
 [Yten] Tres arcabuces de alemania con sus fundas de baqueta  
 [Yten] dos pistoletes el uno de dos llaves y el otro de vna con sus fundas t[er]z[i]opelo  
 [Yten] Un murriondorado  
 [Yten] dos estribos vngaros con sus espuelas

Y en la galeria abia las cosas sigui[en]tes

[Yten] Un rretrato del rrey don f[e]r[nan]do el catolico  
 [Yten] El rretrato de la rreyna dona Ysabel  
 [Yten] otro del Rey don felipe primero  
 [Yten] otro de la rreyna dona juana  
 [Yten] otro del enperador don carlos  
 [Yten] otro de la enperatriz su muger  
 [Yten] otro del rrey don felipe segundo  
 [Yten] otro de la rreyna dona ana su muger  
 [Yten] otro del rrey don Ju[an] tercero de portugal

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[Yten] otro de la rrey[n]a dona catalina su muger  
 [Yten] otro del rey don al[ons]o de napoles prim[er]o  
 [Yten] el rrey don alonso el sauio  
 [Yten] el rrey don enrique de portugal que fue cardenal  
 [Yten] otro dell rey don alonso de napoles  
 [Yten] otro de rroberto rey de napoles  
 [Yten] un retrato rrey de napoles  
 [Yten] matias rey de Vngria  
 [Yten] Carlos Duque de borgona  
 [Yten] otro de carlos duque da borgona  
 [Yten] otro de Jacob rrey descocia  
 [Yten] Godo fregullon [Godofredo de Bouillón?]  
 [Yten] otro de tutda[?]  
 [Yten] otro de Tristan de acuna portugues  
 [Yten] munsur del Lautrach[?]  
 [Yten] otro del marq[ue]s de pescara  
 [Yten] prospero Colona  
 [Yten] otro de antonyo de caybo[?]  
 [Yten] otro de colon  
 [Yten] otro de andrea doria  
 [Yten] otro de her[nan]do cortes  
 [Yten] otro de don f[e]r[nan]do de t[ole]do duque de alba

[Yten] otro del marques del gasto[?]  
[Yten] otro de f[e]r[nan]do gonçaga  
[Yten] Jacobo marq[ue]s de marinan[?]  
[Yten] P[edr]o estolfa[?]  
[Yten] otro de borgon  
[Yten] otro del gran cap[it]an g[onzal]o f[e]r[nande]z de cordoba  
[Yten] Lorenço de mediçis  
[Yten] otro de agustino barbarico cap[it]an  
[Yten] otro de Vgo conde

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[Yten] otro de Pandolfo tirano [Pandolfo Malatesta]  
[Yten] otro de Gatamelata  
[Yten] otro de basilios prinçipe de moscolua  
[Yten] otro de p[edr]o melo anes[?]  
[Yten] otro de ermolaos barbolo [Ermolao Barbaro?]  
[Yten] otro de sagadinos surtan  
[Yten] otro de lorenço de mediçis p[rim]o de leon decimo  
[Yten] otro de Julian de mediçis padre del clem[en]te setimo  
[Yten] otro retrato de oracio de oria[?]  
[Yten] otro de [...?] cordero  
[Yten] otro del duque Valentino  
[Yten] Lucreçia de borza duquesa de ferrara  
[Yten] otro del cardenal de guissa  
[Yten] otro de enrique duque de guissa  
[Yten] Don Ju[an] de borza duque de camarin  
[Yten] Dona Luisa de borxa duquesa de villa ermosa  
[Yten] otro del duque de gandia don fran[cis]co de borxa  
[Yten] don juan de borza conde de ficallo  
[Yten] otro de dona fran[cis]ca de aragon su muger  
[Yten] otro del cardenal don enrique de borxa  
[Yten] otro de don ju[an] de borxa marq[ue]s de navarres  
[Yten] otro de don alonso de borxa  
[Yten] otro del maestro de montessa  
[Yten] otro de soliman  
[Yten] otro de Xuriferrez de Marruecos  
[Yten] otro del gran tavorlan rey de tartara  
[Yten] otro de xacome de treço  
[Yten] otro de leon albertos  
[Yten] otro de magaleanes  
[Yten] Jacobo salazar  
[Yten] otro de trocatotas[?]  
[Yten] otro de ludubico canoso danti[?]  
[Yten] otro de juan bocaci

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[Yten] otro retablo [...?]  
[Yten] otro de picos mirandula [...?]  
[Yten] otro de alexandro ybolençe[?]  
[Yten] otro de manos arcucis[?]  
[Yten] otro del dotor navarro  
[Yten] otro de paulo lastrençis[?]  
[Yten] otro de Ualantros[?]  
[Yten] otro de Uartuelue[?]

[Yten] otro de Paulo Gobio  
[Yten] otro de Niculao de saxe  
[Yten] otro de Lavrençios patriarca de benençia  
[Yten] otro de tomas morus  
[Yten] otro de fran[cis]co sebiez[?]  
[Yten] otro de ynaçio de loyola  
[Yten] otro del cardenal de mediçis  
[Yten] otro del cardenal ganbela  
[Yten] otro de systo quinto  
[Yten] otro de greg[ori]o deçimoterçio  
[Yten] otro de pio quinto  
[Yten] otro de pio quarto  
[Yten] otro de paulo quarto  
[Yten] otro de marcelo sigundo  
[Yten] otro de julio terçio  
[Yten] otro de paulo terçio  
[Yten] otro de clemente setimo  
[Yten] otro de adriano sexto  
[Yten] Leon dezimo  
[Yten] Julio segundo  
[Yten] otro de pio tercero  
[Yten] alexandro sexto  
[Yten] otro de ynocnçios otabo  
[Yten] systo quarto  
[Yten] otro de paulo sigundo

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[Yten] Pio segundo  
[Yten] otro de calisto tercero  
[Yten] otro retrato de la princesa dona juana entero  
[Yten] otro de la s[eñor]a ynfanta dona ysabel tambien entero  
[Yten] otro de la ynfanta dona catalina de la misma manera  
[Yten] otro del prinçipe don carlos  
[Yten] otro de don juan de austria  
[Yten] otro del enperador maximiliano en un [...?] lo redondo  
[Yten] la enpetriz [sic] muger de la misma man[er]a  
[Yten] otra de dona ana ant[oni]a hija de don gr[aci]a de albarado entero  
[Yten] un retrato pequeño de alberto durerdo  
[Yten] quatro tablillas de flandes de los quatro sentidos  
[Yten] Doçe tablillas de Villanos alemanes  
[Yten] Doçe ynpresas de las de don Ju[an] de borga  
[Yten] Los quatro tienpos del ano en quadros pequeños  
[Yten] çinco quadros de balan[?] las tres con marcos dorados y las dos syn marcos  
[Yten] Un quaro con un cardenal y un biejo lonce  
[Yten] Tres tablas de bendederas de fruteras y pescaderas de milan  
[Yten] Otro lienço de la çoçina de flandes  
[Yten] tres cabeças de la gran bestia y los cuernos naturales  
[Yten] otros tres cabeças de venados  
[Yten] tres bolas de candiles de açofar  
[Yten] Unos morillos de açofar en una chimenea

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En la pieça de mas afuera que cae sobre la guerta nueva auia el sig[uint]e:

[Yten] Un retrato[sic] del archique[sic] alberto con vn tafetan carmesy

[Yten] otro retrato del archiduque arnesto

[Yten] Un retrato de una hoja del duque de florençia

[Yten] otro retrato de caalina Rey[n]a de chipre

En la saleta junto a la escalera prinçipal auia

[Yten] Diez lienços de flandes con sus marquillos de madera

En una sala grande mas adentro auia

[Yten] Veynte y seis cabeças de enperadores

[Yten] Dos de eradico y demodico

[Yten] Un muchacho pintado en vn lienço que sopla un tiçon

[Yten] seys quadros de flandes con sus marcos dorados Los tres de onbres de la fama e los tres de mugeres de la fama

[Yten] Quatro quadros de paysaxes de flandes con sus marcos dorados

[Yten] Diez canecas de venados con sus cuernos naturales

[Yten] Dos volas de candiles de açofar

[Yten] seys sillas de cuero de respaldar

[Yten] dos morillos de açofar con su[?] paleta y tenaças

[Yten] un palánquin de la china

[Yten] una mesa ochaua de caspe con sus pies de madera

[Yten] un lienço de flandes sobre la chimenea

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En la pieça de las alazenas auia lo sig[uien]te

[Yten] una lanterna de polonia

[Yten] Un catre de la china dorado con un colchon amarillo y azul de rrado falso

[Yten] dos almoHadas grandes del mysmo rraso amarillo y berde

[Yten] dos almoHadas pequeñas

[Yten] otras dos de cuero pequeñas

[Yten] un quadro de san p[edr]o y san pablo con su marco dorado

[Yten] catorce quatro de santos padres con los quadros dorados

[Yten] otro de san Juan grisostimo el marco syn dorar

[Yten] Un bufete de la china dorado

En la pieça de la enperatriz auia lo siguiente

[Yten] dos ymaxenes de nuestra s[eñor]a con los marcos dorados y sus tafetanes carmesy

[Yten] un san p[edr]o con el marco dorado y su cortina de tafetan carmesi

[Yten] un retrato de sancto domingo con su marco dorado

[Yten] otro de santo tomas de aquino con su marco dorado

[Yten] san vicente ferrer con marco dorado

[Yten] san p[edr]o madrir con marco dorado

[Yten] santo antolin arçob[is]po de florençia con su marco dorado

[Yten] santa catalina de sena [sic] con marco dorado

[Yten] otro de san fran[cis]co syn marco

[Yten] otro san fran[cis]co syn marco

[Yten] san diego con su marco dorado

[Yten] san b<sup>no</sup> [bernardo? benedicto?] con su marco syn dorar

[Yten] san buenabentura con marco dorado

[Yten] santo antonio de padua con marco dorado

[Yten] tres tablicas pequeñas de paysajes con sus marcos dorados



[Yten] una lanterna de polonia pequeña

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En la capilla auia lo sig[uien]te:

[Yten] Una santa catalina

[Yten] dos candeleros de açofar

[Yten] unas palabras de la consagraçion

[Yten] Una ara de xaspe

[Yten] Una almohadilla de damasco carmesi trayda

[Yten] un banco de espaldar con sus alaçenas

[Yten] Una cortina de tafetan verde bieja en vna bentana

[Yten] Vna pila de agua bendita de talabera

Y en otro retrete auia:

[Yten] Una mesa de trucos

En una pieça antes de entrar al camarin auia:

[Yten] ocho sillas de rota de nogal

Entrose en el camarim de los bidrios y porcelanas en el qual auia lo siguiente:

[Yten] Una mesa de xaspe quadrada de molduras syn pies

[Yten] Una silla de oxço[?] con una almoadilla de seda de matices

[Yten] Un remate de fuente con ramos de coral fino e piedras amicatistas en estos caue[ç] y algunas puntas de cristal

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[Yten] Un escriptorio de bidrio de veneçia

[Yten] dos bandexas de la china de madreperlas grandes

[Yten] otras dos grandes de la china ordinarias

[Yten] otras doçe de la china ordinarias

[Yten] Quatro bandexas de las yndias de castilla

[Yten] Una caja de la china con vn basso de metal blanco que suele en que beben los chinos

[Yten] Una caja rredonda de la china

[Yten] Diez bassos de cuero de turquia

[Yten] dos bandexillas con los mismos bassos

[Yten] nuebe porcelanas guarnecidas de plata blanca y dorada

[Yten] Un buçio guarnecido de plata dorada

[Yten] Quatro bidrios guarnesz[y]dos de plata blanca y dorada

[Yten] Un quatro de una mona y un papagayo a dos a cela[ç]

[Yten] Dos corchos dorados

[Yten] tres calabaças de porcelanas grandes

[Yten] Un perfumador

[Yten] cinco buyones de porcelana grandes

[Yten] mas otro pequeño

[Yten] cinco palanganas v platos grandes de porcelana

[Yten] otra palangana grande

[Yten] tres escudillas de porcelana [...?] grandes

[Yten] dos faroles de bidrio de benençia ynperiales grandes

[Yten] otros quatro de barcelona

[Yten] quatro baçias de bidrio labradas de benençia

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[Yten] Dos tinaxas enpedradas de badaxoz

[Yten] Un buçio blanco

[Yten] quince piramires [sic] de madera para macetes[?]

En el Xardin que llaman de zenador iba Lo siguiente

[Yten] Tres mesas de xaspe con sus pies de madera que es xaspe de tortossa

[Yten] seys lienços de flandes con sus marcos de pino

[Yten] Una tabla de la rrisa[ç] con su marco

[Yten] dos Remates de bronçe es uno de vna açucena el otro de vna poma

[Yten] otros dos remates quadrados de plomo y metal

[Yten] Un remate de porcelana

[Yten] Una fera de oxa de late[ç]

[Yten] Un rremate de pabellon de bronze

[Yten] Catorce tiestos grandes de naranxos

[Yten] quatro tiestos de talabera

[Yten] tres figuras de marmol la una del emperador carlo otra de julio cesar otra de vn duque de florencya

[Yten] Un remate que esta en la frente del xardin del estanque que es vn caballo de bronce con vn barbaro en [...] que es vna montaria con dos perros y un xabalí a los pies

En un retrete auia

[Yten] seys tabuletes biejos

[Yten] y dos bancos de pino biejos

[Yten] Una escalera[ç] grande y otra pequena

[Yten] Un lienço delabrado[ç]

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[Yten] Un quadro de retratos

[Yten] Un retratillo de larchidduque arnesto[ç]

[Yten] nueve lienços de flandes biejos

[Yten] un remate de fuentes en que se ade hacer vn peñasco

[Yten] dos regaderas de cobre biejas

[Yten] dos açadores biejos

[Yten] dos podones nuevos

[Yten] un candil de sala redondo de açofar

≈ Titulos de escrituras ≈

Una escritura otorgada por dona ysabel de vivanco y sarabia viuda mug[e]r que fue de don a[n]t[oni]º de contreras por lo qual çe dio rrenun[unçiaçion] e hiço con su m[u]g[e]r[ç] en fauor de don joan de borja de que [...] y cinquenta y dos [...] de jº perpetuo y [...] con drº de [...] que tenia sobre el sitio jardin casas y çercado y corrales que [...] don joan de borja tiene en esta uilla de madrid a los canos de alcalá perroquia de san jines que y[ç] la tierra que nonbran del escudo[ç] quel d[ic]ho sitio es diez y seis suelos y medio y [...] con su huerta de [uicendo...] y con otro pedaço de huerta del d[ic]ho don joan de borja y con solar de muniz de peralta y con la calle que ba a las huertas y con [...] que son çensuarios al d[ic]ho don joan de borja y [uicendo?] barrio nuevo de peralta como [...] por la escritura de la d[ic]ha [...] /f. 387/ dencion y consumo[ç] que passo a[n]te pº de salaçar escriui[an]º su fecha[ç] en esta ui[ll]ª de m[adri]d a diez y siete dias del mes de abril del año de mill y qui[n]ient[os] y nobenta y cinco y una transaçion echa por joan lopez de vivanco contador de la hacienda de su mag[esta]d y dona a[n]tonia de lara su muger y pº laynez[ç] de lara y bernardino de ugarte[ç] y el maestro don joan sarauia de larriva thesorero de la s[anc]ta yglessia de tuy sobre la hacienda que quedo de dona ysabel sarauia que nopaso[ç] a[n]te escri[van]º y esta f[ir]mada de los susod[ic]hos su [...] en quince de abril de quin[ient]os y ochenta y uno =

Y una escritura de rrenunçiaçion y trespaso otorgada por pedro laynz y bernardino Ugarte y Joan de sarauia de la rriua hijos y herederos de bernardino ugarte y de la d[ic]ha dona ysabel de sarauia su muger en que çe dieron al d[ic]ho contador vivanco y dona a[n]tonia de lara su muger diez y seis rreales y un quartillo de censo y treinta[ç] en cada una nopo[ç] escritura otorg[a]da en esta uilla en treçe de mayo de qui[nient]os y ochenta y uno a[n]te xpoual rriano escri[van]º que fue del numera desta d[ic]ha uilla.

Una escriptura de rreconocimiento que hizo fr[ancisc]o ydiaquez secretario de su mag[esta]d como testamentario del rrejente julio cevaro[ç] de los quinientos y cinquenta y dos maravedis y medio de censo perpetuo que se pagan de contador juan lopez de bivanco como señor del d[ic]ho censo por escriptura otorgada /f. 387v/ En esta uilla de madrid a diez y ocho dias del mes de abril de myll y quinientos y ochenta y dos años a[n]te juº miguel escri[van]º de su mag[esta]d y viº desta d[ic]ha villa de m[adri]d.

Una escritura de censo perpetuo contra alonso barroso y juan barroso corredores desta corte de quantia de diez y siete mill marauedis de censo perpetuo en cada un año que se pagan a dona ysabel de sarabia biuda mug[e]r que fue de vernardino de urgate difunto criado que fue de su mag[esta]d enfecha En esta uilla de m[adri]d a beynte y quatro dias del mes de março de mill y quinientos y setenta y un años ante Riano escribano la qual d[ic]ha escriptura es traslado de la que paso ante el d[ic]ho rriano escri[van]º sacado a[n]te martin alº escriuano rreal desta d[ic]ha villa de m[adri]d a treynta y un dias del mes de otubre de mill y quinientos y ochenta y quatro años.

Un rregonocimiento de censo en fauor del contador bibanco de quantia de quinientos y cinquenta y dos marauedis e medio de censo perpetuo en cada un ano con drº de beyntena que pagan don juº de borja mayordomo mayor de la mag[esta]d de la enperattiz enfecha de la d[ic]ha escriptura de rreconocimiento fue en esta villa de m[adri]d a diez y siete dias del mes de dizienbre de myll y qui[nien]tos y ochenta e quatro año a[n]te martin alonso escri[van]º de su mag[esta]d viº desta d[ic]ha villa de madrid. //

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Una escriptura de zensso perpetuo otorgada por gregorio marinez de peralta clerigo presbitero viº desta billa de m[adri]d con fr[ancisc]o [...] tejedor de terçipelo viº desta villa de m[adri]d de quantia de quatro dºs e quatro sallinas en cada un año enfecha en esta d[ic]ha villa de m[adri]d a treynta dias del mes de julio de mill y quiºs y ochenta e syete años a[n]te diº[diego?] de henasc[ç] escribano del numº desta d[ic]ha villa de m[adri]d.

Una escriptura de benta otorgada por fran[cisc]o hernandez carbonero viº desta villa de madrid en fauor de don juº de borxa en que bendio al d[ic]ho fr[ancisc]o hernandez carbonero dos solares con cardo de quatro sallinas de rrenta en cada un año enfecha de la d[ic]ha escriptura fue en esta d[ic]ha villa de m[adri]d a v[ei]nte y nuebe dias del mes de mayo de myll y qui[nient]os y ochenta y ocho a[ñ]os a[n]te jer[onimo] bazquez escri[van]º Real natural de la ciudad de toledo.

Una escriptura de censo perpetuo que otorgo gregorio martinez de peralta [...] viº desta villa de m[adri]d en fauor de alonso rramirez de montalban viº desta villa de m[adri]d en que dio a censo perpetuo al d[ic]ho gregorio martinez tres sitios e suelos en la perroquia de san xines en la calle de don juº de borja y estanto dos[ç] juntos el uno con el otro y alindan[ç] por entranbos lados con suelos de fran[cisc]o Htts[ç] tejedor de terçipelos e por las espaldas con solares que eran de dona mençia ortiz por preçio de seis duºs y seis [salinas?] de Renta y çenso /f. 388v/ En cada un año enfecha En esta d[ic]ha villa de m[adri]d a treynta dias del mes de julio de mill y qui[nient]os y ochenta y syete años a[n]te diº de henaoc[ç] escri[van]º del numº de la d[ic]ha villa de m[adri]d.

Una escriptura de declaraçion que otorga de declaraçion que otorga alonso rramirez de montaban viº desta villa de m[adri]d en fauor de don juº de borja en que por ella declara y dice que aun que conpro de fran[cisc]o

de pris[ç] zapataero vi° desta d[ic]ha villa de m[adri]d dos solares de tierra yerma la uerdad es aver comprado y tomado a zenso perpetuo con dr° de veyntena los d[ic]hos solares por horhorden [sic] y para el d[ic]ho don ju° de borja [...] comprado con su mesmo di[...] por preçio de v[ei]nte y ocho dicados cada solar con el d[ic]ho cargo y declaro ansy mismo auer de entregar la escriptura de benta original enfecha de la d[ic]ha escriptura es en esta billa de m[adri]d a v[ei]nte y ocho dias del mes de mayo del año pasado de myll y qui[nient]os y ochenta y ocho años a[n]te jer[oni]mo bazquez [e]scriv[an]° Real en esta d[ic]ha villa y natural de la çuadad de toledo.

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Un ynstrumento otorgado por dona laura clara muger de felipo vizconde en que aze [...] bienes de rreal ducal senador de milan y un poder por ella dado a felipo vizconde otorgado en ocho de junio de qui[niento]s y sententa e çinco en la d[ic]ha milan ttraduzido de diego graçian y una sustituiçion del d[ic]ho poder.

Un poder que otorgo Ypolita laura de ceari[ç] mug[e]r de marco a[n]t[oni]o a ju° antonio posio[ç] para que pueda acetar los bienes y herençia de julio claro[ç] su padre enfecha en la çuadad de milan a treynta e dos del mes de mayo de mill y qui[nient]os y setenta y çinco a[ño]s a[n]te andrea tiraboscho[ç] notario en la d[ic]ha milan traduzido por diego graçian.

Una escriptura de benta que otorgo fr[ancisc]o ydiaquez secret° de su mag[esta]d como testamentario de el Rejente julio claro a favor de ju° de ysaguirre en que le bendio unas casas e jardin enfecha de la d[ic]ha escriptura de En esta villa de m[adri]d a ocho dias del mes de otu[br]e de myll y qui[niento]s y ochenta e tres años a[n]te ju° gutierrez [e]scri[van]° de su mag[esta]d.

Una escriptura de benta otorgada por al° barroso y ju° barroso y diego de la rayeuge[ç] [...] desta villa en favor de julio claro Rexente una parte de tierra e solar otorgada en esta villa de m[adri]d en quattro de septi[en]bre **/f. 389v/** del año de quinientos y setenta y uno que paso a[n]te xpobal rriane [e]scri[van]° que fue del num° desta d[ic]ha villa con una lizençia dada por dona ysabel sarabia biuda mug[e]r que fue de uernardino [...] como seõora del direto dominio dell.

Una escriptura de poder y sustituiçion que otorgo felipe bizconde natural desta çuadad de milan a julio pirro[ç] y fran[cisc]o ydiaquez secret[ari]o de su mag[esta]d enfecha en la villa de m[adri]d a quinze dias del mes de nobiembre de myll y qui[nient]os y setenta y cinco años a[n]te lucas de carrea [e]scri[van]° de su mag[esta]d.

Una escriptura sacada del [...] Registro de xpobal de arriaviel[ç] [e]scri[van]° otorgada por di[eg]° de lara sastre eugenio despinosa zapatero en que declara que tomaron cierta tierra e[n]tre lad d[ic]has p[ar]tes acenso que la d[ic]ha [escriptura?] fue otorgada en esta villa en onze de septienbre de qui[niento]s y setenta y un años ante xpobal de arriano [e]scri[van]° del num° desta d[ic]ha villa.

Una escriptura de zenso otorgada por alonso barroso y juan barroso vi°s desta villa en que tomaron azenso de dona ysabel sarabia viuda mug[e]r que fue de uernardino ugarte la tierra **/f. 390/** que tenia frontero desta villa de madrid y azia los caños de alcalá peroquia de san xines que se nonbra la tierra del escudo[ç] que fue otorgada en esta d[ic]ha villa en beynte e quattro de março de quinientos y setenta y uno a[n]te el d[ic]ho xpobal de arriano [e]scri[van]°.

Una escriptura de Reconocimiento de senso perpetuo otorgada a fauor de gaspar de fuentes[ç] vi° desta villa de madrid por eujenio despinoza patero en veynte y çinco dias de hebrero de qui[nient]os y ochenta e dos años por a[n]te di° de henas[ç] [e]scri[van]° pu[cli]co que fue del num° desta d[ic]ha villa.

Una escriptura de autos[ç] y benta otorgada por alonso barroso en fauor de dona ysabel sarabia sacada con autoridade jura[ç] que paso a[n]te martin alonso escribano de su mag[esta]d enfecha en esta billa de m[adri]d a b[ey]nte y dos dias del mes de septienbre del año de mill y qui[nient]os y setenta e nueve y con ello otra

escritura otorgada por el d[ic]ho alonso barroso en favor del s[eño]r don ju° de borja en que el bendio dos solares de tieRa yerma que son en zima /f. 390v/ Los caños de alcalá en la tieRa que nonbran del escudo[ç] que fue de doña ysabel sarabia otorgada en esta d[ic]ha villa de madrid en treze dias del mes de junio del año de mill y qui[nient]os y ochenta e cinco a[n]te martin alonso [e]scri[van]o.

Otra escriptura de zenso perpetuo otorgada por ju° de alarcon [e]scri[van]o en favor de ju° barroso corredor y de alonso barroso su hermano de un solar que dellos se tomou a zenso en la d[ic]ha tierra del escudo que fue otorgada en esta d[ic]ha villa en diez dias del mes de abril del año de quinientos y setenta e dos que paso a[n]te xpobal de arriano [e]scri[van]o que fue de num° de esta d[ic]ha villa = y con ello una lizençia otorgada por mª de lahiz[ç] mug[e]r de gaspar de fuentes en virtud De su poder ffª en esta d[ic]ha villa en v[eyn]te y ocho dias de agosto del año de ochenta e çinco a[n]te martin al° [e]scri[van]o de su mag[esta]d = y con ello otra escritura de zesyon e traspasso otorgada por el d[ic]ho ju° de alarcon [e]scri[van]o en febor del d[ic]ho s[eño]r don ju° de borja de un solar en la tierra del escudo en cima del molino del azeyte enfecha en diez y ocho de julio del año de qui[nient]os y ochenta /f. 391/ E cinco a[n]te ju° de alarcon [e]scri[van]o de su mag[esta]d .

Una escriptura de benta y enagenazion otorgada por gaspar de fuentes en favor de don ju° de borja por la qual se bendio dos myl e quattrozientos y sesenta e syete marauedis de censo perpetuo que tenia sobre ciertos solares de[...?] sytio de las casa y jardín y guerta del s[eño]r don ju° de borja otorgada en esta d[ic]ha villa en siete dias del mes de junio del año de myll y quinientos y ochenta e nueve que passo a[n]te fran[cisc]o de barrio escrivano de su mag[esta]d vi° de la billa de turrijos.

Una libranza dada dada por el s[eño]r don ju° de borja en favor de gaspar de fuentes para que le pasase ciento y ochenta e syete myl e trescientos y cinco marauedis por la benta de zierto zensso que le rredimio y de otros que de nuebo le conpro enfecha en siete de junio del año de quinientos y ochenta e nueve con una carta de pago a las espaldas della otorgada por el d[ic]ho gaspar de fuentes de la d[ic]ha libranza en esta d[ic]ha villa en siete dias del mes de junio de myll y qui[nient]os y ochenta e nueve.

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Otra escriptura de benta y Renunçiaçion otorgada por p° laines criado de su mag[esta]d en favor de gaspar de fuentes por la qual le bendio seis mill y docientos y treinta e nueve marauedis de zenso perpetuos en cada año por escriptura otorgada en esta d[ic]ha villa de m[adri]d a diez y siete de nobienbre del año de quinientos y ochenta e uno que paso a[n]te xpobal de rriano [e]scri[van]o que fue del num° de esta d[ic]ha villa

Una escriptura de rreconocimy[en]to de zenso perpetuo otorgada por alonso barroso corredor de joyas[ç] en fauor de gaspar de fuentes de myl e seteientos y setenta e seis marauedis de zenso perpetuos sobre unos solares otorgada en esta d[ic]ha villa en diez e nueve dias del mes de henero del año de quinientos y ochenta e dos a[n]te di° de hinas[ç] [e]scri[van]o que fue del num° desta d[ic]ha villa.

Otra escriptura de Reconocimiento de zenso perpetuo otorgado por melchior de villacon portero del ayuntamiento desta billa de quinientos y nobenta y dos marauedis de zenso perpetuo en cada un año en favor /fol. 392/ de gaspar de fuentes otorgado en esta villa de m[adri]d en beynte dias del mes de julio del año de qui[nient]os y ochenta e dos a[n]te diego de henas[ç] [e]scri[van]o que fue del num° desta d[ic]ha villa.

Otra escriptura de Reconozimiento de Zenso perpetuo otorgada por antonio de cerbera de toro criado de don carlos de craso En fauor de gaspar de fuentes de trescientos y setenta y cinco marauedis de zenso perpetuo En cada un año otorgada En esta d[ic]ha uilla v[in]te y dos dias del mes de dizienbre del año de myll y qui[nient]os y ochenta y uno a[n]te El d[ic]ho diego de henas[ç] sr[i]u[ano]o

Otra escriptura de rreconocimy[en]to de zenso otorgada por pedro gonzales labrador v[e]z[in]° desta villa de un ducado de censo perpetuo En favor de gaspar[ç] de fuente sin fecha En esta villa En diez E syete de mayo del año de qui[ñient]°s y ochenta e tres ante alonso de bayllo[ç] Escribano de su mag[esta]d v[e]z[in]° desta villa.

Una escriptura otorgada por alonso barroso corredor En que se Encargo de ziertos solares que estaban por dar de los que [eugenio?] despinosa sotomaioir y otros a zenso perpetuo de doña ysabel de sarabia que fue otorgada En esta d[ic]ha villa de madrid a beynte y dos dias del /f. 392v/ mes de septienbre del año de myll y quinientos y setenta e nueve ante martin alonso s[c]r[i]u[an]° de su mag[esta]d desta d[ic]ha villa.

Una escriptura de rreconocimiento de censo otorgada por pedro gonzales labrador En fauor de gaspar de fuentes de Un ducado de çenso perptuo sin fecha En madrid en dies y syete de mayo del año de quinientos y ochenta y tres por ante alonso de bayles[ç] s[c]r[i]u[an]°.

Otra escriptura otorgada por eugenio despinosa En que se encargo de ciertos solares que estaban por dar de los quel y alonso barroso tomaron de doña ysabel sarabia que sin fecha de la d[ic]ha escriptura es En esta villa de m[adri]d a v[e]n[te] y dos dias del mes de septienbre del año de mill y quinientos y setenta e nueve por ante martin alonso escribano de su mag[esta]d v[e]z[in]° desta d[ic]ha villa.

Una escriptura de rreconocimiento de censo puerpetuo otorgado por pedro de morales xpiano nueuo del rreyno de granada En fauor de gaspar de fuentes de mill y quinientos marauedis de zenso perpetuo En cada un año[ç] /f. 393/ sin fecha en esta villa de madrid a ocho dias el mes de henero del año de mill y quinientos y ochenta e dos a[n]te diego de henas s[c]r[i]u[an]° que fue del numero desta d[ic]ha villa.

Una escriptura de censo perpetuo otorgada por alonso barroso y Ju[an] barroso corredores que tomaron azenso perpetuo de doña ysabel de sarabia biuda mug[e]r que fue de uernardino de ugarte una terra frontera en esta villa a los caños de alcalá perroquia de san gines que nombran la tierra del escudo en fecha en esta villa en beynte y quattro dias del mes de março del ano de myll y quinientos y setenta e uno que fue ante c[ris]p[t]obal de arriano[?] escribano del numero de esta d[ic]ha uilla.

Una escriptura de rredençion de censso otorgada por gaspar de fuentnes en favor del s[e]ñor don Ju[an] de borja de unos censos perpetuos en fecha en esta d[ic]ha villa en siete de junio del año de quinientos y ochenta e nueve por ante fran[cis]co de barrio s[cri]v[an]o de su mag[esta]d v[ec]i[n]o de las de ade torrijos[?].

Una escriptura de rreconocimiento de censo otorgada por el señor don Ju[an] de borja en favor de gaspar /f. 393v/ de fuentes de beynte e quattro R[cales] zenso perpetuo en cada un año en fecha en esta villa de m[adri]d a beynte e ocho dias del mes de septienbre del año de mill y quinientos y ochenta e cinco por ante martin alonso escribano.

Una escriptura de rreconocimiento de censo perpetuo otorgada por el señor don juan de borja de myll y ciento y ochenta e quattro marauedis en favor de gaspar de fuentes en fecha en esta d[ic]ha villa de madrid a treze d[ia]s del mes de junio del año de mill y qui[niento]s y ochenta e cinco que por ante martin al[ons]° s[c]r[i]v[an]°

Una escriptura de rreconocimiento de zenso otorgada por el señor don juan de borja de mill setecientos y setenta e seis marauedis de zenso en cada un año en fauor de gaspar de fuentes en fecha en esta d[ic]ha billa de m[adri]d a diez e syete d[ia]s del mes de diz[ienbr]e del año de mill y qui[niento]s y ochenta e quatro ante martin al[ons]° s[c]r[i]v[an]°

Una memoria synple de los zensos que gaspar de fuentes delas contiene sobre algunos solares en la tierra que llaman del escudo

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Una escritura de rreconocimy[en]to de zenso perpetuo otorgada por beatriz gonzalez biuda mug[e]r que fue de p[edr]o gonzalez labrado y como curadora de sus hijos de tres cientos y setenta e conco marabedis de zendo en cada un año

En favor del s[eño]r don ju[an] de borja en fecha en esta d[ic]ha villa en cinco d[ia]s del mes de julio del año de mill y qui[niento]s y ochenta e nueve a[ño]s a[n]te fr[ancisc]o de barrio s[c]r[i]v[an]° de su mag[esta]d v[e]z[in]° desta d[ic]ha villa.

Otra escritura de rreconocimy[en]to de zenso otorgada por juan martinez de la fuente limosnero mayor de la mag[esta]d de la enperatriz en favor del s[eño]r don Ju[an] de borja de mill y qui[niento]s m[arauedi]s de censo y tr[esciento]o[s][?] en cada uno año por escritura otorgada en esta billa de m[adri]d a cinco d[ia]s del mes de julio de myll y qui[niento]s y ochenta e nueve años por ante fr[ancisc]o de barrio s[c]r[i]v[an]° de su mag[esta]d v[e]z[in]° desta d[ic]ha villa.

Otra escritura de rreconocimy[en]to de censo perpetuo otorgada por fran[cis]co g[onz]a[lez] v[e]c[in]° desta d[ic]ha villa en favor del señor son ju[an] de borja de mill y qui[nient]os mar[auedi]s de censo perpetuo en cada un año **/f. 394v/** en fecha en esta villa de m[adri]d en diezesyete dias del mes de hen[er]° del año de mill y quinientos y nobenta e quatro que paso a[n]te fr[ancisc]o alonso escribano de su mag[esta]d v[e]z[in]° desta d[ic]ha villa.

Una escritura de reanus[ia]zon[?] de censo perpetuo otorgada por mateo de rosales en favor de el l[icencia]do barrionuevo de peralta de quatro ducados de censo perpetuo en cada una ãno en fecha en dos dias del mes de hebrero del año de myl y qui[niento]s y ochenta e ocho a[n]te alonso de bayllo s[c]r[i]v[an]° de su mag[esta]d v[e]z[in]° desta d[ic]ha villa

Una escritura de zenso perpetuo otorgada por gabriel de tapia procurador del num[er]° desta billa que tomo a censo de juan barros y alonso barroso su hermano un solar de los de la tierra del escudo en f[ec]h<sup>a</sup> en esta billa de madrid a beynte e ocho dias del mes de hebrero del año de myll y quinientos y setenta y tres que paso a[n]te c[ris]p[t]obal de arriano s[c]r[i]v[an]° que fue del num[er]° desta d[ic]ha billa.

Una escritura de rreconozim[ien]to de zensso otorgada por gabriel de tapia procurador del num[er]° desta d[ic]ha villa **/f. 395/** en favor de doña ysabel de sarabia de dos ducados de censo perpetuo en cada un año por escritura de censo otorgada en esta billa de m[adri]d a quatro d[ia]s del mes de nobienbre del año de myll e quin[ien]to[s] y setenta y dos que passo a[n]te di[eg]o[?] mendez s[c]r[i]v[an]° que fue del num[er]° desta d[ic]ha vy[ll]ª.

Una escriptura de rreconozimiento de zenso perpetuo otorgado por francisco sanchez v[e]z[in]° desta uilla de m[adri]d en favor del s[eño]r don Ju[an] de borja de quatro d[ucado]s de censo en cada año otorgada en esta d[ic]ha billa de m[adri]d a b[eyn]te y un d[ia]s del mes de junio del año de qui[niento]s y nobenta e quatro que paso a[n]te fr[ancisc]o al[ons]° s[c]r[i]v[an]° de su mag[esta]d.

Una escritura de reconozimiento otorgada por fran[cis]co sanchez v[e]z[in]° desta billa en favor del s[eño]r don Ju[an] de borja de myll y qui[niento]s y nobenta e tres marauedis de censo y rrenta en cada un año en fecha en esta villa de m[adri]d diez y siete de hen[er]° de qui[niento]s y nobenta e quatro ante fran[cis]co alonso s[c]r[i]v[an]°.

Una escritura de trueque y cambio otorgada por el s[eño]r don Ju[an] de borja con el liçençiado garçia de barrionuevo de peralta sobre unos solares en f[ec]h<sup>a</sup> en esta billa de m[adri]d a beinte y uno de mayo de

quinientos y noventa e quatro ante di[eg]° de portes[?] s[c]r[i]v[an]° de su /f. 595v/ mag[esta]d v[e]z[in]° desta d[ic]ha billa de madrid.

Una escriptura de teconocimiento de zenso otorgada por Ju[an] de balençia boticario en favor de el cabildo del santissimo sacramento de la yglesia de santa cruz desta villa de syete reales de zenso perpetuo en cada un año en fecha en esta villa de madrid a diez e nueve de diciembre del año de ochenta e cinco a[n]te fran[cisc]co de molleda s[c]r[i]v[an]° de su mag[esta]d v[e]z[in]° desta d[ic]ha villa.

Una escriptura otorgada por p[edr]° de quenca v[e]z[in]° desa villa arrendador de lalcauala de las heredades de beinte y nueve ducados de lalcabala de la benta de las casas del retenteguesoclaro[?] que conpro el s[eño]r don ju[an] de borja otorgada en esta billa a nueve de henero de myll y qui[niento]s y chenta e seis que paso a[n]te fr[ancisc]co de molleda s[c]r[i]v[an]° v[e]z[in]° desta d[ic]ha villa.

Una escriptura de benta y traspasse otorgada por pedro de quenca y sebastian de pinto y fran[cisc]co maldonado quatros y mayordomos del cabildo del santissimo sacramento que se zelebra en la yglesia parroquial de santa cruz desta billa de m[adri]d en favor del señor don ju[an] de borja de diez y seis rreales de zenso perpe/f. 396/tuo en cada un año en fecha en m[adri]d a quatro días de agosto de qui[niento]s y ochenta e seis porante adrian zaldilar[?] escribano de su mag[esta]d v[e]z[in]° desta d[ic]ha billa.

Una escriptura de rreconocimiento perpetuo otorgado por alonso martinez de cos v[e]z[in]° y rreg[id]or que fue desta d[ic]ha villa en favor del cabildo del santissimo sacramento de la yglessia de santa cruz desta villa de diez y seis reales de zenso perpetuo en cada un año f[ec]ha en esta villa de m[adri]d en diez de junio del año de myll y qui[niento]s y setenta pora[n]te andres obreo s[c]r[i]v[an]° del num[er]° desta d[ic]ha billa de m[adri]d.

Una escriptura de obligaçion otorgada por antonio de salzedo de ocharan[?] tapiador en que se obligo a hazer ciertas tapias en fecha en esta villa de madrid en trece dias del mes de hebrero del año de myll y qui[niento]s y setenta e tres que paso a[n]te juan gutierrez escribano de su mag[esta]d v[e]z[in]° de esta d[ic]ha uilla.

Una escriptura de enajenaçion otorgada por grancisca prieta biuda mug[e]r que fue de melchior de billacon difunto como curador de las personas y bienes de sus hijos y por juan serano /f. 396v/ y m[ari]ª de uillacon su mug[e]r fecha con auturidad de just[içi]ª en favor del s[eño]r don ju[an] de borja en fecha en esta villa de m[adri]d a quatro de agosto del año de mill y quinientos y noventa e dos ante ju[an] de la cotera escribano del num[er]° desta d[ic]ha villa.

Una escriptura otorgada por martin de arteaga cantero y consortes[?] en favor del rrejente julio claro en fecha en treze del mes de septiembre del año e mill y qui[niento]s y setenta e tres por a[n]te ju[an] gutierrez escribano de su mag[esta]d de esta d[ic]ha villa.

Otra escriptura de obligaçion otorgada por el d[ic]ho martin de arteaga en favor del rrejente julio claro sobre hazerle unos pilares de piedra berro queria[?] en fecha en esta villa de madrid a doze de mayo del año de myll y qui[niento]s y setenta y tres años el d[ic]ho juan gutierrez escribano.

Una escriptura de carta de pago otorgada por martin de arteaga cantero de beinte e quatro ducados en favor del rejente julio claro de beinte e quatro ducados en fecha en esta uilla de m[adri]d en trece d[ia]s del mes de sptiembre del año /f. 397/ de mill y quinientos y setenta e tres pora[n]te ju[an] gutierrez s[c]r[i]v[an]° de su mag[esta]d.

Otra escriptura de carta de pago otorgada por fran[cisc]co garçia y diego martin labradores en favor del rejente julio claro para hazer ziertas tapias otorgada en esta uilla de m[adri]d en quince d[ia]s del mes de dizienbre del año de myll y qui[niento]s y setenta e uno que paso a[n]te ju[an] gutierrez s[c]r[i]v[an]°.



Una escriptura de testamento otorgada por melchior de billacon portero su f[ec]ha en esta villa en nuebe d[ia]s del mes de junio del año de mill y qui[nient]°s y nobenta e uno ante p[edr]o badillo s[c]r[i]v[an]°.

Una escriptura de reconocimiento de zenso otorgada por melchior de billacon portero de quinientos y nobenta y dos m[a]r[ave]ys de censo perpetuo en cada un año en favor del señor don ju[an] de borja su fecha en esta villa de m[adri]d a b[ein]te y ocho d[ia]s del mes de julio de myll y qui[niento]s y ochenta e nuebe años por a[n]te fran[cis]co barrio s[c]r[i]v[an]° de su mag[esta]d v[e]z[in]° de la billa de torrijos.

Una escriptur de zesyon e renunçiaçion otorgada por el contador juan de sarabia en fauor de juan serrano albañiz de treynta y seis reales de zenso perpetuo en cada un año otorgada en esta villa de m[adri]d a b[ein]te y cinco d[ia]s del mes de ju[li]o del año de myll y qui[niento]s y nobenta y doss a[n]te el c[ris]p[t]obal mexia s[c]r[i]v[an]° de su mag[esta]d v[e]z[in]° des/**f. 397v**/ta villa de m[adri]d.

Una escriptura de reconocimiento de zenso otorgada por pedro de buyttago[?] y ortelano y juliana de pepe[?] su mug[er] becinos desta villa de m[adri]d de treinta reales de zenso perpetuo en cada un año en favor del s[eño]r don ju[li]o de borja su fecha en esta villa de madrid en siete días de julio desta año de quinientos y nobenta e dos por a[n]te c[ris]p[t]obal mejia s[c]r[i]v[an]° de su mag[esta]d v[e]z[in]° desta d[ic]ha villa.

Una escriptura de declaraçion y traspaso otorgada por juan serrano albañiz en favor del señor don juan de borja en que declaro que treynta e seys r[eale]s de zenso perpetuo que conpro del contador ju[an] de sarabia fueron parra el señor don juan de borja su fecha en beynte y çinco de junio del año de mill y qui[niento]s y nobenta e dos ante c[ris]p[t]obal mexia s[c]r[i]v[an]° de su mag[esta]d v[e]z[in]° de esta billa.

Una escriptura de benta otorgada por alonso ramirez de montalban v[e]c[in]° de toledo en favor del señor don juan de borja de unas casas en fecha en esta billa de madrid en beinte y ocho dias del mes de mayo del año de mill y qui[nient]°s y ochenta e ocho porante geronimo bazquez s[c]r[i]v[an]° de su mag[esta]d v[e]z[in]° desta d[ic]ha villª de m[adri]d.

#### **/f. 398/**

Una escriptura de benta otorgada por pedro arias sastre v[e]z[in]° desta billa de madrid en favor de francisco de prei zapatero de un suelo que le vendio por escriptura otorgada en est d[ic]ha uilla en diez e syete de agosto del año de qui[niento]s y ochenta e syete porante diego de henao[?] s[c]r[i]v[an]° del numero desta d[ic]ha billa con una lizençia dada por el señor del direto dominio.

Una escriptura de benta y traspaso otorgada por francisco de pris zapatero en favor de alonso ramirez de montalban de dos solares que le bendio por escriptura otorgada en esta billa a tres de março del año de qui[niento]s y ochenta e ocho porante martin alonso escribano de su mag[esta]d v[e]z[in]° desta d[ic]ha villa.

Una escriptura de lizençia del señor del direto dada por gregorio muñiz y señor del zenso perpetuo de pedrimiento de pedro arias sastre para bender a francisco de pris zapatero un solar su fecha en esta billa en dos de março de qui[niento]s y ochenta e ocho pora[n]te diego de henao[?] s[c]r[i]v[an]° del num[er]° desta d[ic]ha billa con

Una escriptura de benta del d[ic]ho solar otorgada por el d[ic]ho p[edr]o arias en favor del d[ic]ho fr[ancis]co de pris **/f. 398v/** en el d[ic]ho día mes y año.

Una escriptura de benta y censo perpetuo otorgada por doña mençia de biamonte biuda de don martin de aluvia v[e]z[in]° desta d[ic]ha villa de madrid en que dio a censo a alonso Ramirez de montalban un sytio y suelo por escriptura otorgada en esta d[ic]ha villa de m[adri]d a diez y siete d[ia]s del mes de julio del año de myll y qui[niento]s y ochenta e syete que passo a[n]te di[eg]o de henao[?] s[c]r[i]v[an]° que fue del numero desta d[ic]ha villa.

Una escritura de benta otorgada por el prior frayle y conbento del monesterio de san geronimo el Real dest villa de madrid en favor del señor don ju[an] de borja de una casa y jardin que le bendieron por escritura otorgada en esta billa de madrid a beynte y un dias del mes de o[c]tubre del año de mill qui[niento]s y nobenta e çinco por a[n]te diego de Robles s[c]r[i]v[an]º de su mag[esta]d v[e]z[in]º desta d[ic]ha billa.

Dos mandamientos de posesyon de unos suelos firmados del alcalde arce de otalora[?] y de p[edr]o de la casetra[?] s[c]r[i]v[an]º de probinçia en esta corte h[ec]hos en v[ei]nte y dos de junio de qui[niento]s y nobenta y dos d[ia]s en çinco de julio de qui[niento]s y nobenta e quatro con los autos de posesyon.

**/f. 399/**

Una escritura de conzierto e declaraçion otorgada por fray p[edr]o de hita arquero del conbento de san ger[oni]mo el real y p[edr]o hernandez labrador y luis g[on]z[al]v[ez] [?] tapiador su yerno sobre el ronpimiento de una tapia y pared otorgada en esta villa de m[adr]id a seis d[ia]s del mes de março del año de mill y qui[niento]s y nobenta e cinco pora[n]te francisco g[on]z[al]v[ez] [?] de valdes s[c]r[i]v[an]º de su mag[esta]d natural del lugar de villar de aguila con un mandamiento de denunçiaçion de nueba obra.

Un pleyto y demanda prozeso de estre[?] el prior y conbento de san geronimo contra juan muñiz de la fuente limosnero mayor de la magestad de la enperatriz en que pidio el d[ic]ho monesterio posesyon de unas casas que el d[ic]ho juan muniz de la fuente hizo donaçion a arias garçia su sobrino quel pleyto se començo ante el señor alcalde arce de otalora[?] y p[edr]o de calastra s[c]r[i]v[an]º de probinçia en el qual era una escritura de donaçion otorgada por el dicho Juan muñiz de la fuente limosnero mayor en favor de zacarias garçia estudiante su fecha en esta d[ic]ha villa en diez e syete dias del mes de septienbre del año de mill y qui[niento]s nobenta e uno a[n]te juan gutierrez escribano de su magestad v[e]z[in]º desta d[ic]ha villa de m[adr]id.

**/f. 399v/**

Una escritura de benta otorgada por francisco sanchez de santa cruz e baltasara de linares su mug[e]r vecinos desta villa de madrid en favor de el señor don juan de borja de dose suelos y parte de cassa y guerta con lo en ello e [...?] y labrado en las perroquias de san xines y san luis su fecha en esta d[ic]ha billa de madrid en diez y seis d[ia]s del mes de dizienbre del año de mill y qui[niento]s y nobenta e seis pora[n]te Juan gutierres s[c]r[i]v[an]º de su mag[esta]d v[e]z[in]º desta d[ic]ha villa con un mandamiento y auto de posesyon.

Una escritura de benta otorgada por francisca gomez biuda muger que fue de francisco de segobia v[e]z[in]ª desta billa como abuela y curadora de anjela de tapia su nieta en favor de mateo de rosales de unos suelos otorgada en esta d[ic]ha villa en syete dias del mes de octubre del año de qui[niento]s y ochenta e syete porante luis de favez [?] s[c]r[i]v[an]º del numero desta d[ic]ha villa = y una escritura de donaçion otorgada por mateo de rosales clerido presbitero **/f. 400/** v[e]z[in]º de la villa de Ualladolid en favor de juan martinez de la fuente clerigo limosnero mayor de la magestad de la enperatriz su fecha en esta uilla de madrid a ocho dias del mes de abril del año de mill y qui[niento]s y ochenta e ocho por a[n]te alonso de bayleo s[c]r[i]v[an]º de su mag[esta]d v[e]z[in]º desta d[ic]ha villa de madrid y una fee dada por Juan gutierrez s[c]r[i]v[an]º de la cabeza otorgamiento y una clausula del testamento de mateo rosales que otorgo a[n]te miguel rodriguez escribano de su magestad y del numero de la uilla del escurial en ella a beinte e seis d[ia]s del mes de septienbre del año de mill y quinientos y ochenta y ocho = y una escritura de donaçion otorgada por Juan martinez de la fuente limosnero mayor de la mag[esta]d de la enperatriz a fran[ci]sco g[on]z[al]v[ez] de santa cruz su sobrino su fecha en beinte e syete dias del mes de julio de mill y qui[nient]ºs y nobenta e un años a[n]te juan gutierrez escribano de su mag[esta]d v[e]z[in]º desta d[ic]ha villa.

Una escritura de benta otorgada por francisco ydiaquez secretario de su magestad como albazea y testamentario del rejente julio claro **/f. 400v/** en favor de el señor don Ju[an] de borja de unas casas corrales

y jardin otorgada a[n]te juan gutierrez escribano e notario de la audienzia arzobispal de esta villa de madrid su fecha en ella a ocho d[ia]s del mes de o[c]tubre del año de myll y qui[nient]°s y ochenta e tres.

Una memoria de las escripturas pretençientes al señor don Ju[an] de borja y su hacienda ques simple escripta en quatro hojas.

Una escriptura de reconocimiento de zenso perpetuo otorgada por francisca prieta biuda mug[e]r que fue de melchior de villacon en favor del señor don ju[an] de borja de seis reales de zenso perpetuo en cada un año otorgada en esta d[ic]ha villa en syete dias del mes de julio del año de quinientos y nobenta e dos pora[n]te c[ris]p[tobal megia s[c]r[i]v[an]° de su magestd v[e]z[in]° desta uilla de m[adri]d.

Una escriptura de benta otorgada por alonso barroso corredor de joyas b[e]z[in]° desta billa en favor de melchior de uillacon portero de layntamiento desta billa de cinco reales y un quartillo de zenso perpetuo en /f. 401/ cada un año su fecha en esta d[ic]ha villa en treynta e un d[ia]s del mes de diciembre del año de qui[niento]s y ochenta e quatro ante fran[cis]co suarez s[c]r[i]v[an]° del num[er]° desta d[ic]ha villa.

Una escriptura de zenso perpetuo otorgada por melchior de billacon portero de layuntamiento desta billa y andres de reysaque[?] cocinero de don juan zapata de cardenales en que tomaron de juan sarabia de Ramales montero de camara de su mag[esta]d su lar y medio en la tierra que nombran del escudo por[?] escriptura otorgada a[n]t juan miguel escribano de su mag[esta]d v[e]z[in]° desta d[ic]ha billa en ella en diez y ocho de diciembre del año de mill y qui[nient]°s y ochenta e uno.

Una escriptura de benta otorgada por alonso de [...?] desta d[ic]ha villa en favor de ju[an] de valenzia boticario de una tierra frontera que la bendio alas norias[?] su fecha en esta d[ic]ha villa de madrid en diez e nueve d[ia]s del mes de dizienbre del año de myll y qui[nient]°s y ochoenta e çinco por a[n]te fran[cis]co de molleda s[c]r[i]v[an]° de su mag[esta]d con la licençia que dieron los quatro del cabildo del santisymo sacramento de la yglesia de santa cruz desta /f. 401v/ uilla para la d[ic]ha benta que fue en el d[ic]ho dia y ante el d[ic]ho s[c]r[i]v[an]° con una escriptura al pie de la referida otorgada por el d[ic]ho Ju[an] de balençia boticario en que declara que las d[ic]has benta y compra es para el señor don Ju[an] de borja otorgada en el d[ic]ho dia a[n]te el d[ic]ho escribano en lo qual era un mandamiento de posesyon y posesyon [sic] en birtud de lo tomado.

Un preuillgio de exsençion de casa despachado por el lizençiado laguna y luis satan[ç] de ayla cauallero de la horden de santiago en favor del señor don ju[an] de borja para que no se de guesped de aposento en la casa guerta y jardín que triene al camino y caños de alcalá parouquia de san xines.

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En la d[ic]ha villa de madrid a diez e nueve dias del mes de setienbre e año de myll e seys cientos años ante my escriuano p[ublic]° e t[e]s[tig]° de yust[icia] [...?] don Juan de borxa mayordomo mayor de la magestad de la enperatriz conde de ficallo comendador de Çuaga ques de la /f. 401 biz/ orden de Santiago dixo que todas las cosas de menaxe de casa e bienes contenydos e declarados en este ynventario por quenta e riesgo[?] del d[ic]ho s[en]or don juan de borxa se entreguen a val[?] de abreo residente en esta corte que esta presente para que en nobre de su mag[esta]d del Rey don felipe nuestro señor e por hazienda suya lo tenga para a [...?] a su mag[esta]d ya quien se le ordenare – y las escripturas e recados contenydos que este ynventario se entreguen a sebastian hrtado beyedor e contador de las obras reales del acaçar desta villa de madrid y casa real del pardo para que los tenga en su poder [...?] de su mag[esta]d como tal behedor e contador y el d[ic]ho avas de abreo otorgo quel a reczebido[?] y esta entregado y tiene en su poder por hazienda de su magestad y con orden del d[ic]ho señor don Juan de borza todo el menaxe de casa pinturas retratos e demas cosas de diferentes suertes contenydas en este ynventario según y como en cadaa partida va declarado y es pagificado[?] y el d[ic]ho sebastian hurtado behedor e contador que a si mysmo estaba presente confeso

tener en su poder y estar entregado de todas estas escrituras titulos y recados en este ynventario contenydos según y como ques de su soba declarado y en razon de la e[n]trega /f. 401 biz v/ e resz[i]b[imien]°[?] del d[ic]ho menaxe de casa e bienes y de las d[ic]has escrituras que de presente [...?] los d[ic]hos avas de abreo e sebastian hurtado recunçaron las dos leyes[?] y espition[?] del d[erech]°[?] y las demas leyes q[ue] hablan acerca de la prueba de la entrega y de lo demas que de presente no constan y parece que les nan valan dello otorgaron deposito para dar quenta y entregarlo a su mag[esta]d ya quien en su nonbre se ordenare e mandare como bienes e hazienda de su mag[esta]d e p[ar]a ello hizieron obligaçion en q[ue] forma de d[e]r[ech]°

Y [...?] antonio Cacto y Juan de Benabides y Luis Gonzalez estantes en esta d[ic]ha villa de madrid y corte de su mag[esta]d e la firmaron los d[ic]hos s[eñore]s don Juan de Borxa e sebastian hurtado e auas de abreo a quien yo [...?] doy fee que consta.

[...]

Don Juan de Borja

Sebastian Hurtado

Arias de Abreu

[...?]

/f. 566/

XXX de ag[ost]° 1600 a[ñ]°s

Su mag[esta]d del rey n[uest]ro s[eñor] scriptura que otorgo don juan de borxa

En la villa de madrid a treynta dias del mes de agosto de myll e seysçientos años ante mi el scriuano pu[bli]co e t[es]tig[is]° de yuso e scriptos el señor don juan de borxa conde de ficallo comendador de çuaga ques de la orden de santiago mayordomo mayor de la magestad de la enperatriz residente en esta villa de madrid y corte de su mag[esta]d dixo que por quamto su mag[esta]d se a querido serbir de sus casas xardin e guerta que son es esta d[ic]ha villa de madrid a los caños de alcalá en la parroquia de san gines que alla[?] don por una parte con la calle que nonbran de alcalá e por otra parte con la calle de barquillo e con guerta de el doctor frias e con guerta del secretario fran[çis]co gonzalez de heredia y con suelos de dona mençia de bracamonte y asi mismo del menaxe de casa que esta dentro de las d[ic]has casas y el d[ic]ho señor don juan de borxa lo a entregado enteramente por mano de arias de abreo como parece por el ynventario que dello se hizo portanto el d[ic]ho s[eñor] don juan de borxa ratificaua e ratifico la d[ic]ha entrega fecha por el d[ic]ho arias de abreo en nonbre del d[ic]ho s[eñor] don juan de borxa e siendo necessaryo de nuebo lo haze porante my de presene escribano e a mayor abundamyento prometio de no yr ny benyr antraello[?] que cada quando q[ue] su mag[esta]d fuere seruydi de mandar q[ue] haga otra escritura en qualquer forma /f. 566v/ que se a la hara otorgara con las clausulas binculos[?] e e firmezas que se le pidieron que dandose como ade quedar e queda esta escritura e lo en ella contenydo en su fuerla e bigor e lo dio e traspaso a su mag[esta]d qualq[ue]r d[e]r[ech]o que en qualquer manera le perteneza bien cunplidamente para que desde luego quede como queda y el de su mag[esta]d las d[ic]has casas xardin guerta y menaxe de casa e pueda hazer e disponer dello lo q[ue] fuere su voluntad sienpre ande ser a quenta de su real hazienda los reparos costas e gastos del benefiçio e admynistraçion de la d[ic]ha casa y heredad como lo tiene respondido a una consulta que por los señores del consejo de bosques se le hizo que para guarda del d[e]r[ech]° del d[ic]ho señor don juan de borxa queda en su poder y el d[ic]ho señor don juan de borxa se obligo que antes[?] [de?] este d[ic]ho año de myll e seys çientos quytara e rompera[?] los censos al quytar questan sobre las d[ic]has casas xardin e guerta para que dello quede desobligado se le dexo e dio a su mag[esta]d con todo el d[e]r[ech]° que alla tiene [...?] posesion e propiedad e dello y se registro quito e aparto e lo çedio renunçio e traspaso en su mag[esta]d y en quien tubiere su d[e]r[ech]° y en ello q[ue] bistyo[?] e apodero e dio e pod[e]r cunplido p[ar]a[?] q[ue] [de?] su mag[esta]d se reyntregue en la posesion de las casas huerta ee xardin e dello la [...?] /f. 567/ y en nobre de su mag[esta]d se constituyo por su tenedor e ynguylino posehedor para acudir con todo ello a la p[ar]te de su mag[esta]d en cuyo[?] favor se obligo a la [...?] e saneamyento dello con las clausulas e requisitos de d[e]r[ech]° necerrarios y esta escritura de rogacyon de

lo referido a de ser bastante para entero titulo syn que sea neces[sari]º otra demas que sienpre se a de cunplir de su contenydo e para quel d[ic]ho s[eño]r don juan de borxa abia[?] por forme[?] lo de suso contenydo se obligo a si e a sus bienes e su poder a qualesq[ui]er justiçias de su magestad de qualesq[ui]er [testigos?] que sean e aya jurisdicyon se sumetio y por espeçial sumision se sometio a los señores del consejo de las ordenes de su magestad p[ar]a que ante las d[ic]has justiçias e cada una dellas pueda ser cunbenydo[?] al cunplimiento de esta scriptura renunciando como para ello renuncia su proprio fuero e su jurisdicyon e domyzilio el [...?] jurisdicion [...?] para que por todo remedio e [...?] de d[e]r[ech]º e via excautiba[?] le cunpelan[?] [...?] asi como si contra el d[ic]ho señor don juan de borxa se fuese pasado por sentençion difinitiba dada por juez cunpetente en contra de terziojuicio[?] por el d[ic]ho señor /f. 567v/ don juan de borxa consentida y pasada en autoridad de cosa juzgada sobre quales leys e la que dise que sea [...?] y a ello fueron t[estig]os florian de lugo y el contador luis de alarcon e g[eroni]mo sanchez estantes en esta d[ic]ha v[ill]ª de madrid y corte de su mag[esta]d e conforme[?] de su d[e]r[ech]º el d[ic]ho s[eño]r don juan de borxa otorgome al qual doy fee [...?]

Don Juan de Borja

Passo ante my:

Rodrigo de Salazar scry[va]no



## Appendix V – Inventory 1606

***Testamento del sr. don Juan de Vorxa, 4<sup>th</sup> September 1601***  
***Ynbentario de los b[fiene]s de don Juan de borxa, 14<sup>th</sup> September 1606***  
**in Archivo Historico de Protocolos de Madrid, Protocolo 2626, ff. 1008-1078v.**

**/f. 1008/**

Testamento del sr. don Juan de Vorxa

Las casas reales de san lorenço el rreal que es çerca de la villa del escorial a quatro dias del mes de s[etiembr]e. de mill y seisçientos y seis años ante El señor liçençiado Alonso Ramirez de montenegro Alcaede mayor en la d[ic]ha villa y juez de la fabrica de san lorenço el rreal por su mag[esta]d. y ante mi El pressente escr[i]u[an]o Parescio El señor Don Fran[cis]co. de borja conde de mayalde gentil hombre de la camara de su mag[esta]d comendador de la encomienda de azuaga De la horden de santiago hijo mayor que quedo del señor don Juan de borja conde de mayalde y de ficallo del consejo de estado del Rey n[uest]ro señor y del de portugal y mayordomo mayor de la Reyna nuestra señora y dixo que el d[ic]ho don Juan su padre murio a noche en estas rreales casas y tiene fecho y otorgado su **testam[en]to** cerrado juntam[en]te con la señora doña fran[cis]ca de aragon condessa de mayalde y ficallo su mug[er] ante **fran[cis]co testa** escr[i]v[an]o Publico en la villa de madrid **su otorgamiento** en ella a **quatro dias del mes de s[etiembr]e de mill y seisçientos y un años** que es este que ex[?] si ue ante su mrd[?] y ante mi el d[ic]ho escr[i]u[an]o pidio al d[ic]ho s[eñor] alcalde mayor que atento[?] que los testigos ynstrumentales del d[ic]ho testam[en]to no estan en esta ui[ll]a ni se pueden aberde[?] Progimo[?] para que dePongan sus d[ic]hos y reconozcan sus firmas y para sauer lo que el d[ic]ho señor Don Juan su p[adr]e[?] ordena y donde se manda enterrar mande Receuir los testigos que se Pudieren auer de pressente que conozcan las firmas del d[ic]ho testam[en]to y con ellos las conPrueue o la parte que dellas Reconoçieren y de como El d[ic]ho testamento no estar roto ni cançelado ni en parte ssospechoso y anssi mesmo como el d[ic]ho señor don Juan **/f. 1008v/** de borja su Padre es muerto naturalmente y passado desta pressente uida y con esto se abra y Publique el d[ic]ho testam[en]to con protestaçion que haçe su s[en]hor[ia]a ques Para balidaçion de la d[ic]ha abertura y cecontenido en el d[ic]ho testamento fuere neçessario haçer alguna mas aueriguazion en comprouaçion de las firmas de su otorgaçion e otra qualquier diligençia judicial o estrajudicial de manera q[ue] por falta della no contenga en ssi el d[ic]ho Testam[en]to colussion[?] o defeto alguno para su Validaçion esta presto de la haçer cada E quando que a su d[e]r[ech]o conuenga y sea necessario y lo firmo testigos el padre antonio colaçio de la compa[ñ]ia de yesus morador en m[adr]id y P[edr]o[?] de araoz[?] criado del d[ic]ho difunto El Conde don Fran[cis]co de borja ante mi fran[cis]co gil escr[i]u[an]o.

El d[ic]ho señor alcalde mayor uisto el d[ic]ho Pedim[en]to y el d[ic]ho testamento y que no esta roto ni cançelado ni en parte sospechoso y que parece estar otorgado con la solenidad del d[e]r[ech]o mando se Reçuan los testigos que Press[entemen]te el d[ic]ho señor Conde don fran[cis]co de borxa que esta Presto delos examinar al tenor del d[ic]ho Pedimiento ansi lo Proue yo e mando y firmo t[e]s[tigo]s[?] d[ic]hos el liçençiado Alonso rramirez a[n]te mi fran[cis]co gil escr[i]u[an]o.

E luego incontinentemente el d[ic]ho señor conde a[n]te el d[ic]ho señor alcalde mayor y ante mi el escr[i]u[an]o Para **/f. 1009/** La d[ic]ha informaçion Pressento y ot[o]r[g]o al liçençiado bartolome leonardo de argensola clerigo Presuitero capellan que fue de la s[en]hor[ia]a enperatriz Res[iden]te en corte del qual se Reçiuo juram[en]to inberuo[?] sacerdotis y el le celebros puniendo la mano en el pecho en forma de d[e]r[ech]o e

preguntado Por el pedimj[ent]º dixo auiendole sido mostrado el d[ic]ho testamento y tenido en sus manos que las firmas que estan en la otorgaçion del d[ic]ho testam[en]to que diçen don Juan de borxa dona fran[cis]ca de aragón fran[cis]co antonio florian de lugo El dotor assensio Lopez fran[cis]co testa escr[i]u[an]º Publico las Reconoçe que son de los mismos que en el caste[?] declara y de la misma mano de cada uno y las que acostumbran haçer y firmar porque conoçe las personas y les a uisto firmar otras veçes y estas firmas del d[ic]ho testam[en]to y las quales a uisto haçer son todas una misma cossa y saue que el d[ic]ho fran[cis]co Testa es escr[i]u[an]o publico del num[er]º de m[adri]d auido y tenido por fiel legal y de confirança y a los autos y escrituras judiciales y estrajudiciales que ante el an passado y passan se les a dado y da entera fee y credito en juiçio y fuerza del y conoçe que el signo del d[ic]ho testam[en]to es suyo y el q[ue] acostumbra y las demas firmas del d[ic]ho testam[en]to no las conoçe = y saue que el d[ic]ho señor Don Juan de borja es difunto naturalm[en]te y Passado desta present uida que murio a noche Por que le a uisto muerto en su Aposento y esto es la uerdad /f. 1009v/ Para el juram[en]to q[ue]l hixo y lo firmo y dixo ser de hedad de mas de quanrenta a[ñ]os firmo el señor alcalde mayor El liçenziado Alonssso Ramirez b[a]r[tolo]me Leonardo de argensola a[n]te mi fran[cis]co gil escr[i]u[an]o.

E luego inq[ue] ante el d[ic]ho s[eñ]or alcalde mayor y ante mi escr[i]u[an]º el d[ic]ho señor conde Para la d[ic]ha informaçion Pressento Portº[?] aarias[?] abro guarda damas de su mag[esta]d Ressidente e[n] san lorenço [...?] qual se reçiuio juram[en]to en forma de d[e]r[ech]o e preg[a]do al tenor del pedim[en]to y siendole mostrado el c[ic]ho testam[en]to = dixo que de las firmas que estan en la orogaçion del conoçe las que dixe don Juan de borja dona fran[cis]ca de aragon otorgantes fran[cis]co antonio florian de lugo testigos instrumentales y el signo y firma que dice fran[cis]co testa escr[i]u[an]º Pu[bli]co y son de las mismas personas y testigos que en ellas y cada una dellas se declara porque este testigo conoçe las personas y reconoçe sus firmas por auerselas bisto haçer a cada uno de por si tratandoles heestas y las que les a uisto haçer son todas una misma cossa y a los testigos de quien depone los tiene por personas honrradas y de fee y credito y al d[ic]ho fran[cis]co testa por escr[i]u[an]o fiel legal y de confiança en suo ofiçio y a los autos y escrituras judiciales y estrajudiciales que ante el an pas[s]ado[?] y pasan se les a dado y da entera fee y cre- /f. 1010/ dito en juiçio y fuera del y saue que el d[ic]ho Don Ju[an] de Borja murio a noche naturalmente y le a uisto muerto en su aposento y esto es la uerdad para el juram[en]to que hiço y lo firmo con el d[ic]ho señor alcalde mayor y dixo ser de hedad de cinquenta anos el liçenziado Alonso Ramirez Arras de abreo a[n]te mi fran[cis]co gil escr[i]u[an]o.

E luego incontinente ante el d[ic]ho S[eñ]or alcalde mayor y ante mim el escr[i]u[an]º el d[ic]ho señor Conde Para la d[ic]ha informaçion pressento Portº[?] a Juan de açedo guarda damas de si mag[esta]d del qual se Reçiuio juramento en forma de derecho y el lejico[?] y prometio de deçir Verdad y siendole mostrado el dicho testamento y las firmas de su otorgaçion = dixo que conoçe las que dice don Ju[an] de borja doña fran[cis]ca de aragon otorgantes fran[cis]co antonio florian de lugo testigos y el signo y firma de fran[cis]co testa escr[i]u[an]o y saue que son de las mismas Personas y nombres que en ellas y en cada una dellas se contiene porque conoçe las personas y les a tratado a todos y cada uno de por ssi y conoçe sus firmas porque ele a uisto haçer otras yertas y las queles a uisto hazer es todas Una misma cossa y a los d[ic]hos testigos les tiene por Personas honrradas y de fee y credito y al dicho fran[cis]co testa por escr[i]u[an]º fiel legal y de confiança en su ofiçio y a los autos y escrituras judiciales y estrajudiciales que ante el an pasado y pasan se les a dado y da entera fee y credito. /f. 1010v/ en juiçio y fuera del el qual saue es escri[van]o Publico del numero en madrid, y el di[ch]o testamento auiendole tenido en sus mano a uisto que no se esta roto ni lançeado ni en parte sospechosso y que esta otorgado con la solenidad del d[e]r[ech]o y sabe que el d[ic]ho señor don Juan de borxa es difunto y passado desta pres[en]te uida para la otra que murio a noche y el le a uisto muerto naturalmente en su aposento y esto es la uerdad para el juram[en]to q[ue] hiço y lo firmo con el señor alcalde mayor y diço ser de hedad de treinte y ocho años. El lic[en]diado alonso ramirez, Juan de açedo a[n]te mj Fran[cis]co Gil escri[van]o.



E luego incontinentemente ante el d[ic]ho señor alcalde mayor el d[ic]ho señor conde don fran[cis]co de borja dixo q[ue] para ora no se hallan mas testigos que depongan en la d[ic]ha conprouazion que con los esaminados y de de uajo[?] de la protestaçion de su pedimiento mande abrir y Publicar el d[ic]ho testamento y Pidio Justiçia y lo firmo testigos d[ic]hos El conde don fran[cis]co de Borja ante mi Fran[cis]co gil escr[i]u[an]o.

El d[ic]ho señor Alcalde mayor uisto estos autos en formaçion y el d[ic]ho testamento que no esta roto ni cancelado ni en parte sospechoso y que Parece estar oorgado con la solenidad del d[e]r[ech]o de baxo de la d[ic]ha protestaçion le mando abrir leer y publicar y anssi auiero dar los traslados que Pidiere el d[ic]ho señor conde y las demas Personas ynteresadas autoriçadas y en publica forma a todo lo qual dixo que /f. 1011/ ynterPonia e ynterPusso sua otoridad y decreto Judicial en lo que a lugar de derecho y lo firmo testigos dichos El liçençiado Alonso Ramirez a[n]te mi fran[cis]co gil escr[i]u[an]o.

E luego incontinentemente en pressençia del d[ic]hos alcalde mayor y del d[ic]ho señor conde y de los d[ic]hos tes[tigo]s que en esta informacion An depuesto y de otras personas que se hallaron pressentes yo el d[ic]ho escr[i]u[an]o corte los hilos del d[ic]ho testamento y le abri ley e publique a la letra que es o yeron todos y Paresçio estar escrito en diez planas de papel y al cauo firmado de dos firmas que dicen don Juan de borja doña fran[cis]ca de aragon y el d[ic]ho señor alcalde mayor señalo con la Rubrica de su firma juntamente conmigo el presente escr[i]u[an]o las dichas diez Plomas del d[ic]ho testam[en]to que es como se sigue a[n]te mi fran[cis]co gil escr[i]u[an]o.

### Testamento

En nombre de la santissima Trinidad Padre hijo y spiritus santo tres personas y un solo dios uerdadero este es el testamento y ultima uoluntad y dispusiçion que nos don Juan de borja conde de ficallo y de myalde de el Conseejo de estado y de portugal y ueedor de hacienda del rrey n[uest]ro señor y mayordomo mayor de la rreina n[uest]ra señora y la condessa dona fran[cis]ca de argon su muger haçemos estando sanos y en n[uest]ro sano y entero iuicio a onrra y seruicio de dios n[uest]ro señor y de su benditissima madre la uirgen santa maria n[uest]ra se[ñor]a y descardo de n[uest]ras conçiencias confesando su fe catolica de la santa yglesia Romana protestando que en ella queremos /f. 1011v/ viuir y morir como fieles cristianos y verdaderos hijos de la santa yglesia.

Primeram[en]te encomendamos n[uest]ras animas a dios n[uest]ro señor que las crio y Por la sangre de su Unigenito hijo las Redimio Para que las Reçia en su eterna gloria y bien aVenturança.

Assi mesmo mandamos que n[uest]ros Cuerpos sean enterrados en la capilla mayor de la yglesia de san Roque de la cassa professa de la compaña De Jesus en la ciudad de lisboa a donde tenemos n[uest]ro enterramiento como consta por las patentes que tenemos del p[adr]e General de la misma Compañia de Jesus y si en uida no Uvieremos hecho la boueda en la d[ic]ha capilla mayor adonde ande estar n[uest]ros cuerpos mandamos que el que sucediere en n[uest]ro mayorazgo la haga luego a lo mas largo Dentro de un año despues que pasaremos desta uida.

Iten mandamos que quando fallecieremos se depositen n[uest]ros Cuerpos y de cada uno de nos q[ue] la yglesia o colegio de la compaña de Jesus que en el tal lugar huviere y no le auiendo que sea en el mas cerca que huviere Para lo qual tenemos tambien liçençia y patente del mismo Padre general y mandamos que a la tal cassa o colegio se le de De limosna Treçientos Ducados y de allo mandamos que sean Traslados n[uest]ros cuerpos y de cada uno de nos otros Con la mayor Breuedad que fuere Posible con que no passe de dos años a lo mas largo al d[ic]ho n[uest]ro entierro de la yglesia de san Roque de la compaña /f. 1012/ De Jesus.

Iten mandamos que en el dia de n[uest]ro fallecimiento y de cada uno de nos y en el dia siguiente y en los demas conseentinos sin intermission se nos digan dos mill misas a cada uno de no otros Repartidas como pareçiere a n[uest]ros Testamentarios y esto sin demas del nouenario ordinario assi mesmo queremos y ordenamos que quando n[uest]ros huesos de cada uno de nos fueren llevados al d[ic]ho nuestro enterramiento a la çiudad De lisboa en la iglessia de Cada lugar Por donde passaren se digan quatro missas aquel dia o los sig[ui]entes y llegando a la d[ic]ha iglessia de san Roque rogamos y pedimos Por m[e]r[ce]d nos digan Vna missa entonada de mas de la que cada dia se nos diçe rreçada Rogando a n[uest]ro señor por n[uest]ras Animas como dellos tenemos Por cierto lo haran conforme a la adición y deuoción q[ue] nosotros les hauemos tenido.

Yten mandamos que todo lo susod[ic]ho que toca a n[uest]ros cuerpos quede a cargo del que sucediere En el mayorazgo que auemos ynstituido y el lo aya de cumplir y cumpla enteramente y sino lo cumpliere dentro El tiempo señalado queremos que pierda El mayorazgo y passe al siguiente en grade con la misma obliga[ç]ion.

Yten queremos y madamos que aqualquiera memorial o memoriales que se hallaren firmados de n[uest]ros nombres o de cada uno de nos se les de entera fee y credito y se cumpla y guarde enteramente todo lo en el o en ellos contenido y tenfa la misma fuerça y Vigor /f. 1012v/ como si fuera testamento o codiçilio o qualquiera otra Vltima uoluntad.

Iten declaro yo don Juan de borja que de doña Lorença de oñaz y loyola mi primera muger que en gloria Sea tengo quatro hijas las dos monjas profesas en el monesterio de las descalças françiscas desta uilla De madrid que se llaman Sor Juan baptista y sor fran[çis]ca de Jesus las quales por profession no pueden heredar cosa alguna Las otras dos son doña leonor que es la mayor de todas casada con don pedro centellas mi sobrino y dona madalena condessa de fuensaldaña doña muger de don Juan de uiuero conde de fuensaldaña a las quales tengo dado todo y aun mas de lo que les podria Uenir de sus legitimas y ellas tienen hechas sus Renunçaciones Por escrituras publicas que se hallaran en mi poder Las quales quiero que se cumplan porque considerando la haçienda que dexamos y el poder que nos dan las leyes deste Reyno y la facultad Real que tenemos y no entrar en partiçion los tres mill ducados que la enperatriz n[uest]ra señora nos ha echo m[e]r[ce]d an Reçeuido mucho mas de lo que Por derecho les podia uenir yo quisiera tener tanto que les pudiera dar mas instituyamos y nombramos por nuestros herederos Universales a n[uest]ros hixos legitimos a don fran[çis]co A don antonio don carlos y don Hernando q[ue] la forma y manera que lo tenemos Declarado en la escritura de mayorazgo q[ue] tenemos sustituidos.

Yten yo Don Juan de Borja nonbro por tutora y Curador de mis hixos los que fueren de menor hedad a dona fran[çis]ca mi muger y su madre y faltando ella Lo que dios no permita nombramos Por tutor y curador a don fran[çis]co de sandoual Duque de lerma /f. 1013/ Al qual supplicamos no haga m[e]r[ce]d de querer lo aceptar y mirar por ellos como si fuesen sus hijos.

Yten mandamos que a n[uest]ros Criados y criadas de cada uno de nos quando dios nos lleuar desta uida les den Lutos de buen paño y se pague luego todo lo que se les deuemos de sus salarios.

Yten manDamos que n[uest]ras deudas todas las que se hallaren deuersse se paguen con toda la breuedad posible y a las deudas forçosas mandamos lo aCostumbrado.

Y Para cumplir efetuar y guardar todo contenido en este n[est]ro testamento y en el momorial o memorialles que se hallaren firmados de n[uest]ros nombras o de qualquiera de nos diximos y nombramos por n[uest]r[os]s Albaçias[ç] y testamentarios Primeram[en]te al que de nos quedar Viuo y juntamente a don

fr[ancis]co n[uest]ro hijo y a don fran[cis]co de sandoval Duque de lerma y a don thomas de borja ouispo de mallaga y a don albaro de cordoua gentil hombre de la camara de su mag[esta]d y al padre fran[cis]co Anotnio n[uest]ro Confessor y a florian de lugo Guarda Joyas de la emperatriz n[uest]ra señora a los [e] suplicamos y rrogamos y Encargamos mui encareçidam[en]te lo quieran azetar y executar con toda a diligencia y breuedad posible como de ellos confiamos y queremos que todos juntos ayan de Concurrir en la execuçion de lo que /f. 1013v/ se huuiere de haçer pero en casso que alguno de ellos muera o estuuiere aUsente o enfermo o de otra manera Ligitimamente y a pedido para no podersse hallar pressente con los demas queremos que los que se allaren Juntos puedan cumplir y ordenar lo que se ofreciere con tal que no sean menos que tres aun que si se espera que con breuedad podian concurrir los que faltaren en tal casso queremos que Para la execuçion de cosas graues de aguarden para que se hallen todos Juntos y en qualquiera manera que se Juntaren lo que pareçiere a la mayor parte dellos esso queremos que se haga y cumpla a los quales concurriendo en la manera susod[ic]ha damos todo n[uest]ro Poder entero y cumplido bien y assi como nos le tenemos y Plenaria aUtoridad qual de derecho mas Valga y baler Pueda Para disponer de qualquiera manera q[ue] la execuçion de todo lo pornos ordenado entrando en todos n[uest]ros bienes sin consentir ni dar lugar a que nadie Pueda entrar En ellos ni aprehenderlos por uia de herençia ni por otra alguna hasta que el todo sea ya cumplido lo que Por nos esta dispuesto y ordenado ueniendo y en ajenando lo que pare ello fuere menester de los d[ic]hos n[uest]ros bienes y su menester fuere tornando dinero a camuio para pagar algunas deudas o para despedir algunos criados n[uest]ros y Para poder haçer qualquiera conzierto y conuennçia que les Pare/f. 1014/ciere y Para que puedan declarar todas las deudas que por uentura se ofrecieren sobre el sentido de las palabras deste n[uest]ro testamento o del memorial o memoriales y a dichos y finalmente les damos todo El poder general pleno y cumplido y libre qual de derecho se puede dar aquales quiera Albaçeas y testamentarios para todo lo suso d[ic]ho como nos lo podriamos haçer y disponer por nos mismos y de derecho mas lugar huuiere con todas aquellas y cautelas como a los d[ic]hos n[uest]ros albaçeas les pareciere y mas libremente quisieren y es n[uest]ra Uoluntad que los d[ic]hos n[uest]ros testamentarios no puedan ser Remouidos ni inPedidos de la sobred[ic]ha entera execuçion hasta estar del todo Cumplido lo que por nos queda mandado aun que sea passado El año y enpo que la ley limita para la aUtoridad de los albaçeas A los quales ya todos y a cada uno dellos si necesario es para del pues de passado El sobred[ic]ho iempo que la ley pone tornamos de nuevo a nombrar por n[uest]ros testamentarios y executores de mia ultima uoluntad y les tornamos a dar el mismo poder cumplido y autoridad entera que dure hasta que no queda nada por cumplir de todo lo por nos ordenado y sin que en tiempo alguno les falte el d[ic]ho poder bueno entero y bastante qual conuiene para la d[ic]ha perfeta execuçion y si /f. 1014v/ casso fuere que antes della murren algunos no quedando mas que uno o dos queremos quel de nos que sobreuiuiere o El uno o dos que querdaren puedan nombrar Uno o dos que mejores les pareciere De suerte que por lo menos sean siempre tres para cumplir y guardar todo lo que faltare para el cumplimiento de n[uest]ra Ultima uoluntad a losbquales de nuevo nombramos damos assi mismo todo n[uest]ro poder poder que tenemos dado a los testamentarios por nos arriua nombrados y tantas ueçes quantas fuere menester de nuevo se le tornamos a Dar a los que de nuevo assi fueren nombrados Por todas las ueçes que lo fueren y Para todo El tiempo que fuere menester hasta la perfecta y entera ex[ecuci]on ya dicha sin que Por falta de poder se dexede cumplir todo lo susod[ic]ho.

Con esto concluimos este n[uest]ro testamento El qual queremos que balga y sea preferido a qualquiera otro testam[en]to codiçillos Donaçiones causa mortis y otras quales quiera ultimas uoluntades y dispusiçiones q[ue] antes de agora ayamos hecho y otorgado las quales todas anulamos reuocamos y damos por ningum Valor y efeto aun que tengan clausulas derogatorias penales precisas y espeçiales que si neçessario es las damos aqui por especificadas de las quales no nos acordamos y esto que assi ordenamos y mandamos que por donaçion causa mortis o de otra qualquiera Ultima Uoluntad o que balga como mejor y mas /f. 1015/ Cumplidam[en]te de derecho aya lugar y pueda baler y el mismo ualor queremos que tenga

para que assi se guarde y cumpla lo que dexaremos dispuesto y ordenado En el sobred[ic]ho memorial o memoriales firmados de n[uest]ros nombres o cada uno de nos.

Va escrito este n[uest]ro testamento en diez planas con esta en que ban n[uest]ras firmas fecho en madrid A siete de septiembre // en la prim[era]<sup>a</sup> Plana ba entre Renglonos de esta dos / en la 3 plana entonada En la 4. Va vorrado Ligitimo y entre Renglonos Vniversales valga y a siete de septiembre 1601 años valga Don Juan de borxa Doña fran[cis]ca de aragon.

La ui[ll]<sup>a</sup> de m[adri]d a ueinte y quaro dias de el mes de septiembre De mill y seisçientos y un años ante mi el escr[i]u[an]o y testigos Pareçieron Pressentes los señores Don Ju<sup>o</sup> de Borxa mayordomo mayor de la mag[esta]d de la enperatriz y el auito señor santiago y treçe de la d[ic]ha orden conde de mayalde y de ficallo y dona fran[cis]ca de aragon su muger condessa de mayalde y ficallo y dieron y entreg[ar]on a mi el pressente escr[i]u[an]o esta escritura cerrada y sellada la qual dixeron y rescrita en diez Planas de papel a ser su testam[en]to y Postumera Uoluntad y por tal otorgauan y otorgaron todo lo en el Contenido y quieren que Ualgan Por sus testam[en]to y sino Por su codiçillo o en aquella bia e forma que mejor ouiere lugar de d[ic]r[ech]o y dijeron ir declarados con el here<sup>o</sup>s[herederos?] albaçeas y testamentarios y sepoltura y rreuocaron otro testam[en]to o cobdiçilio que antes deste ayan fecho q[ue] quieren /f. 1015v/ que no balgan salbo este y ansi lo dixeron y otorgaron y firmaron De sus nombres a quien yo el escr[i]u[an]o dorfeque[ç] conozco Siendo testigos El dotor asçenssio Lopes abo[a]do y el p[adr]e fran[cis]co antonio de la Compañia de Jesus y estevan de miranda ansi mismo de la comp[añi]<sup>a</sup> y florian de lugo del auito de montessa y El licenciado Xpoual auero de cauaza y atharco[?] mola [...?] de la mag[esta]d de la enperatriz y antonio de matos v[ezino]s desta d[ic]ha ui[ll]a Don Juan de borja Dona Fran[cis]ca de aragon fran[cis]co antonio floran de lugo xpoual nauarro de carriaça el dotor ascenssio lopez esteban de miranda antonio de matos atarco[?] mola e yo fran[cis]co testa escri[van]o de su mag[esta]d y Publico del numero y del ayuntamiento desta v[ill]a de madrid y su tierra pres[en]te fui lo signe en testimonio de verdad. fran[cis]co testa escri[van]o publico [...?] a Poder y en la margen y [...?]de otras y estas y las que ele a uisto haçer el lic[en]ciado alonso ramirez yo franc[is]co gil escri[van]o del Rey nuestro s[eñ]or y del num[er]o y ayuntamiento de la villa del escorial y de los fechos del mones[teri]o de s[an]to lor[enz]o el real pres[en]te fuy a lo que d[ic]ho es que de mi se haçe minçion y lo fize sacar en estas ocho fojas con esta en que lo signe.

En testim[on]n[y]o de verdad  
Fran[cis]co Gil s[cr]ivan]o

**/f. 1016/**

En San Lorenço El Real a Veinte y ocho d[ia]s del mes de agosto de mill y seisçientos y seis años ante mi el pressente escri[van]o y t[est]ig[o] de jusocçritos[?] el s[eñ]or Don Juan de Borja conde de mayalde y de ficallo del consexo de estado del Rey nuestro señor y de el de Portugal y mayordomo mayor de la reyna nuestra señora estando en su sano juiçio de su libre y espontanea boluntad dixo que el tiene otorgado su testamento en compañía y juntamente con la señora condessa doña fran[cis]ca de aragon su muger en la villa de madrid a veinte y quatro dias de el mes de septiembre de mill y seisçientos y un años Por ante fran[cis]co testa escri[van]o de su mag[esta]d y publico del num[er]o y del ayuntam[en]to de la d[ic]ha vi[ll]a de madrid el qual otorgo cerrado y sellado como al pressente esta y a el se refiere y aquel quiere que balga y se afirme y baledero segun y como en el se contiene y siendo necessario de nuevo lo otorgaua y otorgo y reuocaua y reuoco otros qualesquer testamento o testamentos cobdiçilio o cobdiçilios y postumera boluntad que aya otorgado aun que tengan qualesquier clausulas derogatorias y no quiere que balgan sino el d[ic]ho testamento y de nuevo dico que añadia y añadio las declaraciones siguientes:

Primeramente mandaua y mando que se digan por su anima seis mill missas entrando en ellas las que tiene mandadas deçir en el d[ic]ho testamento de manera que por todas sean seis mill misas /f. 1016v/ y que se

digán con la mayor breuedad que fuer posible en los conuentos y parroquias y por las perssonas que pareçiere a los señores sus testamentarios a quien lo encargar.

Yten declara que los señores sus Albaçeas ande ser el señor Duque de lerma y la d[ic]ha señora condesa Dona fran[cis]ca de aragon muger del d[ic]ho señor don Juan y el señor conde de villa nova su sobrino y florían de lugo del auito de montessa su criado a los quales y a cada uno dellos in solidum dixo que daua y dio su poder cunplido el que de d[e]r[ech]o en al casso se requiere que dure y ade durar aun que ssea passado el año hasta que sea cunplido y executado su testam[en]to y este cobdiçilio.

Yten dixo que era y es su boluntad que se paguen todas las deudas que pareçieren deuer el y la d[ic]ha señora dona fran[cis]ca de aragon su muger aun que parezea ser contraidas por sola la d[ic]ha doña fran[cis]ca por que esta claro y anssi lo confiesso que las contrajo por bien de anbos para sustentar las cargas del matrimonio y para criar sus hijos las quales se paguen con toda breuedad de los bienes libres que dexó y no bastando de los frutos y rentas del mayorazgo y mayorazgos que tienen otorgados el y la d[ic]ha señora doña fran[cis]ca de que la suso d[ic]ha s[eño]ra doña fran[cis]ca a de ser usufrutuaria por sus dias y no /f. 1017/ alcançando los frutos de los d[ic]hos mayorazgos por los dias de la d[ic]ha señora dona fran[cis]ca a pagar las d[ic]has deudas se pague lo que se restare deviendo de los frutos del mayorazgo de mayalde que es en Castilla que se fundo de bienes libres de entranbos los d[ic]hos señores don Juan y doña fran[cis]ca su muger esto no obstante una clausula de la fundaçion de el d[ic]ho mayorazgo de mayalde que habla açerca de la dispussion de los bienes libres.

Yten dixo y declaro que por quanto su mag[esta]d del Rey nuestro señor le hiço m[e]r[ce]d que pudiesse disponer de los gaxes que a el se le dan por del consexo de Portugal para que dispusiese dellos para despues de sus dias como le paresçiesse = dixo que mandaua y mando que todos los d[ic]hos gaxes que a el le perteneçen y perteneçieren los aya y lleue don carlos de borja su hixo mientras no goçare la renta que le queda en el mayorazgo del condado de ficallo que se fundo en su fauor y del ofiçio de veedor de façienda de que su mag[esta]d le hiço m[e]r[ce]d.

Y despues que comieçe a goçar del d[ic]ho mayorazgo o del d[ic]ho ofiçio manda que los d[ic]hos gajes se partan entre el d[ic]ho don carlos y don fernando su hijo comendador mayor de montessa ygualmente de manera que con lo que tuieren de otra renta el uno y el otro con los dichos gaxes queden yguals en renta cada uno y lo mismo se entienda de los esclauos /f. 1017v/ que su mag[esta]d me ha hecho m[e]r[ce]d en Portugal = Y todas estas declaraciones y cada una dellas dijo el d[ic]ho s[eño]r Don Juan que queria se guardasen y cunpliesen aun que no bayan declaradas en el d[ic]ho testam[en]to diversa[?] o en contr[ar]io dellas y que esto valga como testam[en]to o como cobdiçilio o como ultima uoluntad o para que lla via y forma que mejor aya lugar de d[e]r[ech]o y suplicaua y suplico al señor Duque de lerma como señor y sobrno que tanta m[e]r[ce]d y fauor le a hecho la continue pues lo mereçe el amor entranable[?] y el respecto grande que siempre le a tenido y le deja encomendados y en sus manos a la d[ic]ha señora doña fran[cis]ca y a sus hijos y que tambien se acuerde de sus criados para haçerles m[e]r[ce]d y lo dixo y otorgo anssi ante mi el escri[van]o y testigos que fueron pressentes Luis de figueredo secretario de su mag[esta]d y juan de açedo y arias de abreo y don antonio de nestrossa[?] y luis de baldees estantes en san lorenço y el señor otorgante que yo el escri[van]o conzco lo firmo Don Juan de Borxa passo ante mi fran[cis]co gil escri[van]o [...?] Par yo fran[cis]co Gil escriuano del Rey nuestros y del numero y ajuntamiento de la villa del escorial Pres[en]te fuy a lo que d[ic]ho es y lo signe.

En t[e]st[e]m[on]yo de verdad  
Fran[cis]co Gil sc[ri]van[o]

**/f. 1018/**

Comis[s]ion del s[e]ño[r] don Garcia de medrano del consejo de su magestad  
Ynbentario de los b[ie]ne[s] de don Juan de borxa conde de ficallo del consejo destado de su magesta  
Fran[cis]co Testa

**/f. 1018v/** [en blanco]

**/f. 1019/**

Don Philippe poles yslas y tierra r la graçia de dios Rey de cas[till]a de Leon de aragon de las dos siçilias de Jher[usale]m de portugal de nauarra de granada de toledo de Valençoa de galçia de mallorca de seuilla de Çerdena de cordoua de corçega de murçia de Jaen de los algarues de algezira de gibraltar de las yslas de canarias de las yndias orientales y occidentales yslas y tierra firme del mar oceano archiduque de austria duque de borgoña de brauante y milan ç[ia]da[de] de abspurg de Flandes y de tirol y de varcelona s[e]ño[r] de vizcaya y de molina ettz[er]a a vos Don Garzia de medrano del nuestro cons[e]jo.

Salud y graçia sepades que nos somos ynformado que don Juan de Borja conde de ficalo mayordomo mayor de dona margarita de austria n[uest]ra muy cara y muy amada muger y del nuestro consejo de estado es fallecido y que deue suma y cantidad de dinero a muchas personas que se cobrasen por execuçiones acudiendo a los alcaldes de nuestra casa y corte, y justiçia ordinarias se seguiria mucha costa y gasto que demas del daño de los vienes los acrehedores bendrian [...?] mucho perjuicio per que abria menos hazienda para satisfacerlas y teniendo consideraçion o la calidad del d[ic]ho don Ju[an] de Borja y seru[i]çio que no a echo para que se proçeda con justificaçion y cunpla y pague las [dichas?] deudas y el descargo y cunplim[ent]o de su anuma con que nos queremos que se tenga mucha quenta y cuidado visto por los del n[uest]ro consejo fue acordado que os deuiamos de cometer como por la presente os lo cometemos y mandamos que los que esta n[uest]ra carta os fuere mostrada os ynformeis y sepaos por todas las vias y maneras que os pareçiere mas conuinientes q[ue] vieres q[ue] dan del d[ic]ho don Ju[an] de Borja ansi de plata joyas tapiçeria y otros adreços y arreos de su casa y recamera sen[?] otra qualquier manera y los hagais cobrar y recoger y poner en la parte y lugar y persona que os pareçiere y deis orden que se vendan y administren en la forma que mas en beneficio fuere de la d[ic]ha hazienda para que se cunpla el descargo y cunplim[ent]o de su anima y ansi mismo auerigues que deudas deue el d[ic]ho don Ju[an] de Borja y a que personas y llamadas y oidas las partes a quien toca areis pago a los d[ic]hos acreedores de lo que se les deuiere conforme a derecho que para ello vos damos poder cunplido con todas las ynçidencias y dependencia anexidades y conexidades y por esta n[uest]ra carta mandamos que los d[ic]hos allos de n[uest]ra casa y corte y de las n[uestr]as chançillerias y audiencias y justiçias ordinarias desto n[uest]ros reynos no conozcan [...?] **/f. 1019v/** entrometan a conozer en cosa tocante a lo susod[ic]ho y que vos remitan lo que ante ellos se pidiere que por la pres[en]te los ynuiamos[?] y auemos por ynviados[?] del conozim[ient]o dello y no fazades en [...?].

En Madrid a catorze dias del mes de setiembre de mil y seiscientos y seis a[ño]s, [...?]

[firmas]

**/f.1020/**

En la villa de madrid a veynte y çinco dias del mes de septiembre de mill y seiscientos y seis anos el s[e]ño[r] don garçia de medrano cauallero de la orden de santiago del q[onse]jo supremo de su mag[esta]d hauiendo visto la prouision y comy[s]ion de atrás = dixo que la obedesa[?] o obedesas[?] con el acatamy[en]to deuido = y en su cunplimy[ent]o nonbro a francisco testa scriuano del numero y ayuntamy[en]to desta villa por su scriuano para que ante el pasen todos los neg[oci]os tocantes a la d[ic]ha comy[s]ion = y ansi lo mando e firmo =

L[i]c[encia]do don Garcia de Medrano

Ante mi: Fran[cis]co Testa

En m[adri]d el d[ic]ho día y el d[ic]ho Fran[cis]co esta acepto el d[ic]ho nonbramiento y juro en forma de [...?].

Fran[cis]co Testa

/f.1020v/ [en blanco]

/[sin numero]/

Ynbentario de los bienes del s[eño]r don Ju[an] de uorja

/[sin numero]/ [en blanco]

/f. 1021/

En la villa de madrid veinte y cinco di[as] del mes de sep[tiembr]e de mil y seisçientos y seis a[ño]s a[n]te el l[icencia]do don gar[cia] de medrano cauallero del abito de santiago del consexo de su mag[esta]d ques particular para la aberiguaçion de los b[iene]s que quedaron de don Ju[an] de borxa conde de ficallo maiordomo maior de la Reyna n[uest]ra s[eño]ra p[ara][?] hazer pago a sus acreedores [...?] florian mansilla de lugo como testam[entari]o del d[ic]ho don Ju[an] e pres[ent]e lo [...?] siguiente.

Florian Mansilla de Lugo como vno de los testamentarios q[ue] soy y quede de Don Juan de Borja Conde de Ficallo del Cons[ejo] de Estado de su Ma[gesta]d y May[or]do[m]o mayor de la Reyna n[uest]ra s[eño]ra – Digo que por fallestimiento del susso d[ic]ho quedaron bienes muebles y rayzes de los quales combiene hazer jnventario – A V. M. supp[li]co mande q[ue] el d[ic]ho jnventario se haga conforme a derecho ante scriuano que dello de fee. Y pido Justicia ett[ecetera].

Florian Mansilla de Lugo

Por el d[ic]ho s[eño]r don garçia de medrano vista [...?] se haga ynbentario jurado y en forma de todo los bienes que quedaron del d[ic]ho don Juan de borxa e sosetaiga[?] para lo ver e proueber just[amen]te.

Ante mi: Fran[cis]co Testa

/f. 1021v/ [en blanco]

/f. 1022/

Ynbentario de los bienes del s[eño]r don Ju[an] de Borxa Conde de Ficallo maiordomo maior de la Reyna nuestra señora del consexo destado del rreyno n[uest]ro señor del abito de santiago treçe de la d[ic]ha horden que se hace por mandado del s[eño]r don gar[ci]a de medrano del q[onsejo] de su m[agesta]d cauallero del auito de sanct[iag]o.

En la uilla de madrid v[ein]te y cinco di[as] del mes de sep[tiembr]e de mill e seisçientos e seis años. en cumplimiento del d[ic]ho auto el s[eño]r Florian de lupon cauallero del abito de montessa como uno de los testamentarios del s[eño]r don Juan de borxa conde de ficallo maiordomo maiorde la reina nuestra señora del consexo destado del rey n[uest]ro s[eño]r del abito de sanctiago trece de la d[ic]ha horden a[n]te mi el pressente scriuano enpieça a hazer e hizo ynbentario de los b[iene]s del d[ic]ho s[eño]r don Juan en la forma siguiente:

Primeramente doze albas de plata doradas apertas que todas doze pessan quarenta y un marcos y çinco onças en su caja de pino aforrada – 41.m 5 o[nça]s

Un brassero pequeño de plata labrado de relieve con su cubierta y baçia pessa el brasero y baçia veinte y quatro marcos seis onças y quatro ochauas y la cubierta çinco marcos çinco onças e quatro ochauas que todo hacen treinta marcos e quatro onças esta en una caja de pino – 30.m. 4

**/f. 1022v/**

Dos cantaros de plata blancos labrados de relieve acanelados con dos asas cada uno e su tapador pissan ambos veinte y çinco marcos e quatro onças estan con sus fundas de fissa – 25.m 4

Un bufete de heuano guarneçido de plata blanca es labrado de figuras de relieve pesa la plata diez e nueue marcos e seis onças – 19.m 6

Dos candiles de plata blancos para encima la messa con su bolta[?] y çinco mecheros cada uno e cañones e pies y ambos tienen de pesso diez marcos seis onças y siete ochauas – 10.m 6. 7

[...] **/f. 1024/** [...]

#### Plata dorada

Una fuente grande de plata dorada por de dentro labrada de medio relieve con quatro figuras que pesso onçe marcos siete honas seis ochauas

Otra fuente de plata dorada por de dentro labrada de vnos uestiones y en medio la dibissa de mererissisatis[?] que pesso onçe marcos çinco onças tres ochauas

Dos fuentes grandes de plata doradas de dentro y fuera labradas de reçercado que pesaron diez y nueue marcos y seis onças y una ochaua

Dos fuentes medianas de plata doradas por de dentro **/f.1024v/** y fuera labradas de reçercado que ambas pesaron treze marcos dos onças dos ochauas

#### Aguamaniles

Dos aguamaniles de plata dorados labrados de reçercado con las asas de encontado que ambos pesaron dos marcos siete honças tres ochauas

Vn aguamanil de plata dorado labrado de relieve con su tapador asa y pico pessa seis marcos y quatro onças siete ochabas

Un aguamanil de plata dorado labrado de relieve con tres figuras y tres caueças y en el pico vn mascarón pesa seis marcos y tres onças

Vn aguamanil de plata dorado apartes con vna dibissa que diçe procul.[?] con un mascarón pesa quatro marcos quatro onças y una ochaua

**/f. 1025/**

#### Garrafas

Quatro garrafas de plata doradas labradas de relieve obra de la yndia con su tapador cada una que todas pesan quinze marcos

Otra garrafa de plata dorada de la yndia labrada de relieve con su tapador y cadenilla que tiene numero çinco y pessa dos marcos seis onças siete ochauas

Dos aguamaniles de plata dorados sin asas a manera de garrafillas lisas que ambas pesan dos marcos tres honças y una ochaua

#### Frascos quadrados

Dos frascos de plata dorados quadrados labrados de reçercado con quatro garras por pies que ambos pesan ocho marcos y çinco honças

#### Copas bohemias

Dos copas Voemias de plata doradas la una con su tapador labradas de medio relieve que la una esta quebrada que ambas pesan çinco marcos siete honças seis ochauas

**/f. 1025v/**

Dos copas tudescas de plata doradas con su tapador cada una que ambas pesaron çinco marcos seis onças una ochaua

Una copa tudesca de plata dorada con su tapador lisa labrada de reçercado pessa dos marcos una onça quatro ochauas

Otra copa tudesca de plata dorada con su tapador pessa dos marcos una onça tres ochauas



Otra copa de plata dorada tudasca grande con su sobrecopa labrada de recercado pessa tres marcos y çinco onças

Dos copas Vazas tudescas de plata doradas hermanas de pie bajo que ajustan vna con otra que anbas pesan quatro marcos dos onças siete ochabas

Vna copa tudasca a manera de caliz labrada de medio /f. 1026/ relieve con su sobrecopa quebrada por el suelo que pessa dos marcos y tres onças

Otra copa tudasca de plata dorada con su sobrecopa labrada de reçercado que pesso dos marcos y tres onças [...] /f. 1026v/

#### Copas alemanas

Dos copas alemanas de plata doradas que encapla una en la otra labradas que anbas pessen tres marcos dos onças quatro ochauas

Dos copas alemanas drandes la una como la otra cada una con tres rostros y dentro en el medio un escudo de armas esmaltados de colores que anbas pesaron diez y seis marcos una onça y seis ochauas

Dos copas alemanas que entra una en otra de plata doradas con seis mascarones cada una que anbas pesaron nuebe marcos y çinco onças

Una copa alemana de pie alto toda dorada con tres mascarones y un frisso en el pie blanco esmaltado de colores que pesso tres marcos una onça y çinco ochauas

/f. 1027/

Dos copas alemanas labradas de medio relieve hermanas con quatro mascarones cada una que ambas pesaron un marco conço onças quatro ochauas

Dos copillas tudescas de plata doradas labradas de picado que la una esta quebrado el pie y se adereço que anbas pesaron un marco y quatro onças y seis ochauas

#### Copas españolas

Una copa española pequena de pie mediano labrada de medio relieve por de dentro con los quatro tiempos del año que pesso un marco y çinco onças

Vna copa española con su sobrecopa con una figura de niño por remate en la sobrecopa quebrado el pie que se adereço que pesso un marco una onça dos ochauas

/f. 1027v/

Vna copa española de pie alto dorada con unos pescados y una rana en medio que pesso vn amrcos dos onças tres ochauas

Vna copa española de plata dorada con una sirena en medio y unos peçes pesso un marco y quatro onças çinco ochabas

Vna copa de plata dorada con su sobrecopa y por remate vn ramo y por pie vn troço que le esta cortando una figura de hombre pesso un marco dos onças çinco ochauas

Una copa de plata dorada por de dentro y acanelada por de fuera de dorado y blanco con dos asas de encontado y dentro un escudo niclado que pesso un marco una onça y siete ochauas

[...] /f. 1028/ [...]

Una copa de plata dorada estriada de pie alto que pesso dos marcos una onça y çinco ochauas

Vna copa de nacar guarneçida de plata con quatro granates y un buzio en el medio y el pie de vn afigura pesso toda ella çien reales

Una copa de nacar a manera de vallena con su cubierta de plata dorada con una figura de Juananas[?] en la boca obra de alemania en duçientos y çinquenta reales de peso y hechura

Vna copilla de plata dorada de pie uazo a canelado con dos asas de encontado pessa siete onças y quatro ochauas

/f. 1028v/

Vna copita de plata dorada seisabada con dos asas peso siete onças y seis ochauas

### Copas altas de alemania

Un relicario de plata dorado grande hechura de copa de alemania con seis rostros alaredonda de la copa y tres en el pie y una çinta de plata esmaltado de colores y por remate vn Jesus pessa trece marcos una onça y una ochaua

Otro relicario como el de arriba pessa doce marcos siete onças y tres ochauas

Otro relicario mas pequeño que los de arriba y de la misma hechura pesa seis marcos dos onças y çinco ochauas

Otro relicario como el de la partida antes desta y de la misma hechura y pesa seis m[ar]cos dos onças çinco ochauas

### **/f. 1029/**

Dos copas bohemias de plata doradas de pie bajo de una hechura de n[umer]o 30 que anas pesan tres marcos y una onça que encaja una en otra

Dos copas alemanas altas que entra una en otra con tres modelos de puntas de diamantes labradas de medio relieve y el pie grauado del numero treinta y uno que pesan anbas quatro marcos dos onças y una ochaua

### Vasos

Un basso de plata dorado acastañado con su sobrecopa de numero treinta y dos que pesa tres marcos dos onças seis ochauas questa quebrado

Un vasico a manera de barco **/f. 1029/** de plata dorado liso pequeño con dos asas y su pie de encontado pessa seis onças seis ochauas

[...]

Vn basso de plata a manera de barco liso con 4 obalos esmaltados y una sierpe en medio y dos lagartijas por asas que pesa dos m[ar]cos quatro onças y dos ochauas

### **/f. 1030/**

Vn baso varquillo de plata dorado liso con dos conchas en las asas y una punta en medio pessa un marco y dos onças

Vn barco grande de plata largo con su pie y por de dentro liso y por de fuera labrado de cercado de una oja grande romana pessa a tres marcos una onça tres ochauas

### Piramide

Un piramide de plata dorado liso con quatro obalos y la boca redonda a manera de tapador de bota pesa dos marcos

Vna candela de plata labrada de medio relieve toda dorada con su tapador de num[er]o 38 pesa dos marcos y dos ochauas

Otra candela grauada con su tapador de numero 39 pesa un marco seis honças y seis ochauas

### **/f. 1030v/**

Dos candelas de plata doradas labradas de reterçiado con sus tapadores de medio digo de numero quarenta pesan quatro marcos y quatro onças dos ochauas

### Linterna

Una linterna de plata dorada a pares pessa vn marco y dos ochauas y media

### Salbas de pie alto

Dos salbas de plata doradas de pie alto labradas a manera de ojos y en medio un escudo liso y el pie a manera de tronco de n[umer]o 42 que anbas pesan ocho marcos quatro ochauas

Vna salba de plata dorada lisa labrada a manera de rayos estreados num[er]o 43 pessa dos marcos y siete honças

Vna salba de plata dorada aobada labrada de relieve y dos figuras y dos mascarones y unos pajaros de n[umer]o 44 pesa dos m[ar]cos y tiene honças

### **/f. 1031/**

Vna salba de plata dorada con ocho cantoneras pessa quatro marcos y una honça

Vna salba de plata dorada redonda de pie alto labrada de çercado pesa dos marcos quatro onças y çinco ochauas

Vna salba de plata dorada por de dentro y el pie redondo labrado de ojas de num[er]o 47 pesa dos marcos dos onças y una ochaba

#### Saleros

Vn salero de plata dorado liso quadrado y desdorado pessa dos marcos çinco onças y seis ochauas  
**/f. 1031v/**

Dos saleros de plata dorados redondos hermanos labrados de relieve pesan anbos un marco y siete honças  
Un salero de plata dorado ques de tres pieças açucarero y pimentero de n[umer]o 50 pessa quatro marcos dos onças seis ochauas

Dos saleros de plata dorados triangulados labor de alemania labrados de figuras de relieve que al uno le falta un pie pessen anbos tres marcos y una onça çinco ochauas  
**/f. 1032/**

#### Açucareros

Dos açucareros de plata dorados hermanos con sus cubiertas labrados con unos reuses pesan anbos dos marcos una honça quatro ochauas

Vn pimentero pequeño de plata dorado liso de pie alto pesa tres honças y seis ochauas en quarenta reales de plata

Un caja de plata dorada con su cubierta a manera de ostiario labrado de relieue con figuras y una ymajen de n[uest]ra señora en el tapador de n[umer]o 54 pessa tres marcos tres onças y una ochaua

Un trincheo de plata dorado labrado con la dibissa del [...] con quatro bollillas por garras de n[umer]o 55 pesa dos m[ar]cos una honça dos ochauas  
**/f. 1032v/**

Vn belador de plata dorado con tres escudos esmaltados y tres mecheros en una y una punta en medio obra de alemania pessa onze marcos y tres ochauas

Vna vrnia a manera de cantaro hechura de talla de plata dorada a partes labrada de relieue con dos asas de sierpes y su tapador con una figura pessa tr[int]a[?] y dos marcos çinco onças y una ochaua

Un tornillo de plata dorado para palillos sobre una peaña con unas armas pessa dos marcos y seis honças [...]  
**/f. 1033/ [...]**

Vn tornillo de bronçe dorado para palillos

Un jarro y vna salba de nacar el jarro guarneçido de plata dorado que terna hasta dos ducados de plata y la salba no tiene plata y esta todo quebrado y deshecho

Vna confetera de nacar a manera de naueta con una tortuga de plata por pie y el borde guarneçido de plata dorado que tendra hasta çien reales de plata  
**/f. 1033v/ [...]**

#### **/f. 1034/**

#### Plata blanca

Dos fuentes de plata blanca aobadas pequeñas labradas de relieve anbas de una manera = pesa seis marcos tres onças tres ochauas

Un perfumador grande de plata prolongado que se parte en dos matades con sus asas y con su çaçoleta de cobre pessa doçe m[ar]cos y çinco onças y dos ochauas

Un perfumado de plata quadrado enrregado con su cubierta y puerta y quatro bolos por pies con su çaçoleta de cobre pessa quatro marcos siete onças çinco ochauas

Vn pomo de plata pequeño liso con su tapador asergereado[?] pessa dos marcos dos honças siete ochauas  
Un pomo de plata blanco para brasero lisso redondo pessa dos marcos çinco onças y ochaua y media

#### **/f. 1034v/**

O pomo de plata blanca redondo abierto por medio con unos agujeros con una esfera dentro pessa un m[ar]co y çinco onças

Un perfumador de bola de plata blanca labrado de medio relieve obra de la yndia con pie rostico de plata con tres dalfines en el pie pesa quatro marcos tres onças seis ochauas

Un pomo perfumador pequeño con su pie liso con su tapador y con unos agujeros pesa un marco y una honça

Un yncensario de plata blanco labrado de çercado con quatro cadenas de plata pesa seis marcos

Vn brasero de plata blanco quadrado labrado de çercado con quatro asas de plata pesa quatro marcos siete honças çinco ochauas

Un Vrasero de mesa de plata con su rejuela con dos asas de euano pesa seis marcos 3 onças seis ochauas  
**/f. 1035/**

Una naueta de plata blanca rayada que serbe al ynventario pesa dos marcos una onça çinco ochauas

Una calderilla de plata blanca acanalada con una cadena de plata por asas pesa dos marcos dos onças y una ochaua

Un bernegal de plata blanco a manera de uenera con un morciegalo al pie y por asa un caballo marino pesa dos marcos seis onças y quatro ochauas

Vn bernegal de plata blanco labrado de vnas ondas con dos asas y su pie liso pesa un marco çinco onças y una ochaua

Vn vernegal de plata blanco de ondas con tres caracoles por pies y en el pico una sierpe pesa dos marcos una onça quatro ochauas

**/f. 1035v/**

Vn barquito de plata pequeño labrado de unos obanos[?] con un caño por pico y su assa pesa un marco y una onza y seis ochauas

Un basso de plata blanco liso con los bordes gruesos a manera de talla pesa sin marco seis onças seis ochauas

Un vasso de plata blanco de pie alto labrado de çercado pesa un marco tres onças y çinco ochauas

Un basso de plata pequeño con vnos hoyos y dos asillas pesa quatro honças y çinco ochabas y media

Un baso pequeño de plata aobado a manera de coraçon con su asa y unos obanos[?] pesa quatro honças  
[...] **/f. 1036/** [...]

Un barquillo de plata blanco labrado de picado granujado con dos asas pesa quatro onças tres ochauas

Vn bassico de plata con ssu tapador y una cruz en cima pesa quatro honças y çinco ochauas

Vn basso de calanbuco con el pie de plata liso que pesa siete onças la plata y el palo libra y media y una onça

Una teja de plata blanca de pie alto con su fuente de tres canos pesa tres marcos y quatro onças y quatro ochauas

Una texa de plata acanalada pesa dos marcos tres onças quatro ochauas

**/f. 1036v/**

Vna taça de plata vlanca ancha de pie alto con unos picos y una punta en medio esmaltada de açul pesa tres marcos y quatro onças

Vn mochuelo de plata vlanco con su tapador pesa siete onças y seis ochauas

Dos garrafas de plata blanca con sus tapadores asidos de una cadenilla de plata pesan anbas çinco marcos una onça y quatro ochauas

Una çaquela de plata blanca lisa con su cubierta y astil de plata con tres pies pesa dos m[ar]cos dos onças y una ochaua y media

Una escupidera de plata blanca con su tapador lissa que se p[ar]te por medio el tapador pesa dos marcos tres honças y una ochaua

**/f. 1037/**

Vna salba de plata blanca redonda labrada de çercado con tres obalos y tres puntas en la falda pesa dos marcos y quatro ochauas

Una salua de plata blanca enrajada de calados por el suelo y la falda pesa un m[ar]co tres honças y una ochaua

Una salba de bufano parda y amarilla con una guarniçion de plata

Vna confitera de plata con su tapador y en çima una assa labrada de cercado con tres compartimentos dentro pesa çinco marcos y dos onças

Yten un alçafate de plata blanco enrejado pessa quatro marcos y siete honças

Vna alçafate mediano abentanado mas pequeño pesa dos marcos çinco onças y dos ochauas

Vn alzafate pequeño acentanado pesa dos marcos una honça tres ochauas

[..] /f. 1037v/ [...]

Vna ruçiadera de plata blanca labrada de çercado con su pie y tapador pessa un marco dos onças dos ochauas

Vn ramilletero de plata blanca lisso con ssu pie lisso un m[ar]co dos onças y seis ochauas

Vna ollica con su cubierta de plata blanca lissa con dos asas pesa un m[ar]co y siete ochauas

Un candelero de plata çerrado liso con su cubierta que se abre que serbe para poner en el estadas[?] de çera con sus pieças y cadena y cabo todo de plata pessa tres marcos seis onças y ochaua y media

/f. 1038/

Dos candelereos de plata antiguos labrados de gallorice pesan tres m[ar]cos y seis ochauas y media

Vna palmatoria de plata con sus pinças y cadenilla y mechero pessa un m[ar]co y tres ochauas

Dos oberos de plata con sus pies en treangulo pesan anbos siete onças

Vn cucharon de plata con su pico y cabo pessa un m[ar]co y siete ochauas y media

Yten un orinal pequeño de plata lisso pessa un marco quatro onças y seis ochauas

Vna Vacia de plata pequeña de brassero con dos asas pessa dos marcos çinco onças y quatro ochauas

Vna messa de plata Vlanca con sus chapas y molduras labrada de çercado pessa treinta y siete marcos tres onças siete ochauas

/f. 1038v/

Vn toro de plata blanca para palillos con quatro yndios a los lados pesa tres marcos y tres honças

Un coco grande guarneçido de plata con su tapador de plata que la plata pesa dos marcos tres onças dos ochauas

Otro coco grande guarneçido de plata de medio relieue con su tapador y un mascarón al pie pesa la plata quatro marcos seis honças

Un sillón guarneçido de plata arcon y respaldar y otra pieça que la plata pesa doçe marcos y quatro ochauas y media

Un farol de evano con vnos balaustres torneados con una çerradura de plata y cordones de seda negra

Un coco sin guarneçion

[..] /f. 1039/ [...]

#### Cristales y bidrios y alabastro y barcos

Vn basso de xptal alto sin tapador lavrados de unos ramos con dos asas de oro sin esmalte y el pie guarneçido de oro sin esmalte en ssu caja de madera guarneçida de cuero negro

Una copa alta de xptal de una pieça sin tapador con una roca[?] arriba el pie guarneçida de oro con esmalte de blanco y negro en su caja de madera forrada en terçiopelo berde

Vna papelina de xptal alta labrada de unos ramos con su tapador con dos anillos de oro esmaltados de negro en el pie en su caja forrada de Uayena berde

/f. 1039v/

Vna sierpe de xptal grande con seis guarniçiones de oro con su tapa y caxa

Vn bernegal de xptal con un mascarón de bibora con tres guarniçiones de oro en su caja forr[a]da en su caja en terçiopelo negro

#### Vidrios

Quatro basos grandes con dos asas cada una y sus tapadores y los basos a manera de bolas estriadas

Tres uasos altos de bidrio de barçelona los dos con tapadores y el otro sin el con tos[?] asas

Una bola redonda de bidrico de barçelona con su pie alto y tapador

Dos garrafas de bidrio de barçelona estriadas

Vna fuente de bidrio luminado el suelo

**/f. 1040/**

Vn baso alto de vidrio de barçelona con su qubierta

Vna canderilla de vidrio de Uarçelona con su asa retorçida

Una porçelana grande de vidrio de barçelona dorada de vnas aguilas

Otra porçelana de bidrio de barçelona mayor que la de arriba con unos ramos de fluta dorados

Vn barreño de bidrio de barçelona grande dorado de oro y berde con sus mascarones y dos asas retorçidas que era hendido

Otro varreño de bidrio cristalino que ti[en]e una assa quebrada y esta quebrado

Vna porçelana de bidrio de barçelona con su pie de plata

Un frasco de bidrio de la tierra con su tapador y tornillo de plata

**/f. 1040v/**

Vna vaçia de bidrio de barçelona estriada con unos mascarones

Un jarro grande de hasta de bidrio de colores

Una çelada de barro colorado

Tres garrafillas de alabastro

Un barro colorado a manera de calauaça quebrado

Dos bolas grandes de jaspe y dos medianas

Seis pequeñas

Bandejas = Porçelanas calabaças, mosqueador de marfil

Un boyon grande de porçelana encabestrado con su tapador

[...] **/f. 1041/** [...]

Otro boyon alto a manera de tinaja de porçelana sin tapador

Otro voyon de porçelana gr[an]de con un collar de plata

Otro boyon de porçelana pequeño encaustrado con su tapador

Otro boyon de porçelana desporçillado y el tapador quebrado

Una fuente grande de porçelaa gorda

Otra fuente de porçelana un poco desporçillada y endida

Un çesto ochauado de junco de la yndia con su cubierta

**/f. 1041v/**

Vna caja redonda blanca dorada con quatro çerraduras de plata

Otra caja redonda con su cubierta de la yndia quebrada colorada

Una bandeja de calauaça negra y otros colores

Otra vandeja ochauada el suelo negro y bordes colorados de junco

Tres bandejas grandes el çerco de fuera colorado

Dos uandejas muy quebradas

Una artessa de madera de la yndia labrado y dorado por de dentro

Otra artessa de madera de la yndia de suelo negro con unos ramos dorados

Una calauaça de la yndia colorada y dorada

**/f. 1042/**

Un amoscador de marfil grande que se coje en su funda

Un tablero grande a manera de artessa de oro y negro lisa

Alfombras y esteras de palma y de junco

Una alfombra fina grande de la yndia de portugal con el campo carmessi y la çenefa verde y amarilla con franjas de seda carmessi que tiene ocho uaras y quarta de largi y de ancho tres y terçia num[er]o uno

Otra alfombra n[umer]o 2 fina de la yndia de campo colorado con tina rueda en medio y el campo berde con rapaçejos de seda carmesi y tiene de largo seis baras y de ancho dos dos y tres quartas

Una alfombra n[umer]o 3 fina de la yndia de campo carmessi y la çenefa amarilla y el regruse[?] de fuera de campo negro con ra-**/f. 1042v/**pacejos berde de largo seis baras y de ancho tres menos quarta

Una alfombra n[umer]o 18 fina destofa de cana el campo colorado y el de la zenefa colorado labrado de unos compartimentos açules y blancos con franxas de lana açul que tiene çinco baras de largo y de ancho 4 Otra alfombra como la de arriba de numero diez y nueue en otro tanto

Una alcatifa de campo blanco de diferentes colores con unos compartimentos açules y blancos y flueco colorado de largo tres baras y terçia de ancho dos

Una alfombra nueva de la yndia numero quarenta de campo colorado y el de la çenefa blanco con compartimentos amarillos y franjas de carmessi tiene de largo siete baras y quarta y de ancho dos y dos terçias

Una alfombra num[er]o 28 fina de la ynda grande campo colorado y çenefa uerde y çertequife[?] blanco /f. 1043/ De animales y flores con franjas de sseda colorada de largo seis baras tres quartas y de ancho tres baras

Una alfombra grande numero quarenta y tres que t[ien]e de largo honçe uaras y terçia y de ancho quatro ques basta

Otra alfombra grande num[er]o 44 como la de arriba que tiene de largo doçe baras y de ancho quatro

Una alfombra de alcaraz vieja verde y amarilla con tres ruedas de largo tres baras y media y de ancho bara y tres quartas

Unalcatifa num[er]o 5 pequeña fina de la yndia de campo carmessi y una rueda en m[edi]o berde rota con un remiendo de bocaçi

Una alcatifa pequena dina de la yndia numero ocho el campo carmessi y cenefa verde con una mancha de tinta con franjas de seda carmesi t[ien]e de largo dos uaras y m[edi]a y de ancho dos tercias[?] ochaua [...] /f. 1043v/ [...]

Una alcatifa numero treinta y çinco fino de la yndia de campo carmessi y una rueda a marilla en m[edi]o y los requifes blancos y rapacejos amarillos cortos dos baras y media y de ancho dos menos sestilla[?]

Una alcatifa de seda de colores de la yndia campo carmessi con una rueda en m[edi]o açul de itra rueda pequeña campo carmessi y çenefa berde con rapacejos carmessi el tiene de largo de largo tres baras y de ancho dos y sesma

Una alcatifa num[er]o [10] de lana pelo alto de campo berde /f. 1044/ y es de la cenefa amarilla requifes de diferentes colores los rapacejos colorados tiene de largo dos baras y quarta y de ancho dos baras

Vn tapete numero 11 peludo con una rueda en medio de largo tres baras y tres quartas y de ancho dos y quarta

Un tapete basto peludo roto por tres y quatro partes

Un tapete peludo açul con un agujero grande con la çenefa pajiça

#### Esteras

Una estera de palma afelpada del num[er]o uno

Otra estera de palma afelpada con unos quadros de labor negro

/f. 1044v/

Vna estera nueva de la yndia para ventana de juncos verdes labrada de seda de colores

Otra estera de juncos colorados

Una cubierta colorada listada de açul blanco con muchas borlas de algodón

Una cubierta de algodón de colores con unos rapaçejos negros que tiene quatro listas amarillas y quatro coloradas y una açul en medio labrada de colores

#### Tapicerias

Nuebe paños y una antepuerta de tapiçeria fina de figuras y storia de Jacob de seis asnas de cayda que todas tienen tresçientas y sesenta y quatro asnas y m[edi]a

/f. 1045/

Ocho paños paños de tapiçeria de uoscaje hordinaria de çinco asnas de cayda la çenefa ancha de compartimentos y figurillas que tiene duçientas y siete asnas y media

Siete paños de tapiçeria hordinaria de boscaje de çinco asnas de cayda y otro paño del mismo boscaje de quatro asnas menos quarta de cayda y todos ellos çiento y nouenta y dos asnas que tienen dos arrequibis[?] en la çenefa campo leonado y 50 en la figura que era en lo alto de la çenefa tiene una canastica de berduras Siete paños de tapiçeria hordin[ari]a de boscaje de çinco asnas de cayda con dos arrequiles[?] en la zenefa en campo leonado atorçaladas de blanco y açul y en la figura questa en lo alto de la çenefa con un pebelloncillo en la caueza que tienen çiento y setenta y siete asnas y m[edi]a

**/f. 1045v/**

Nuebe paños de tapiçeria de boscaje finos de bruselas con dos arriquiles en canpo negro y en lo alto de la çenefa una figura de çinco asnas de cayda y tienen duçientas y cinquenta y dos asnas y m[edi]a

Seis paños de tapiçeria fina de bruselas de seis asnas de cayda con arrequiles[?] en campo amarillo que tienen çieno y quarenta y seis asnas y media

Una antepuerta ques [...?] tapiceria de [...?] de quatro asnas de cayda y tienen onçe asnas

Un paño de tapiz de deboçion de la oracion y prendimento de n[uest]ro s[eño]r Jesu xpto que tiene catorce asnas y media

[...] **/f. 1046/** [...]

Pellejos

Un herrezuelo de mantas çevillinas finas con la cubierta de tafetan negro entorchado guarneçido con dos pasamanos de raso tezidos

Otro ferrezuelo de martas de bellinas largo con la cubierta de capichola negra

Otro ferrezuelo de cebellinas mas pequeño con la cubierta de damasquillo negro menudo en qui[ñient]os y cinquenta reales

Un capote y ropilla con mangas de garras de zeuellidas con la cubierta de damasco negro y la espada de terciopelo

**/f. 1046v/**

Una ropa ungara de martas çebellinas larga bieja con la cubierta de damasco negro con dos de pasamanos de seda

Un capote de mangas de raposos herreros con la cubierta de tentaña[?] negra con alamares

Otro capote con mangas el forro de onçillas con cubierta de raja aceytunado guarneçido con pasamanos y alamares de seda parda

Un cobertor de cama de onçillas con la cubierta de tafetan açul y una fianza de seda

Otro cobertor de cama de honçillas con la cubierta de tafetan carmessi

Otro cobertor de cama de pellejos de [...?] de martas gallegas con la cubierta deraso açul y amarillo

**/[sin numero]/**

Otro cobertor de cama de pellejos de guscon la cubierta de tafetan verde

Vn forro de rropa ungara de pellejos raposos herreros sin cubierta sin cubierta [sic]

Unas medias calzas anchas de raposos con la cubierta de tafetan pardo

Dos manguitos de forros de raposos el uno con cubierta de terçiopelo negro y el otro sin cubierta

Un par de guantes de pellejos de trigue

Dos pellejos de gatos de galia

Dos quartos de ropa de camas[?] de lobos çerbales y quinze pedaços de los mismos lobos

Un capote sin mangas de camas de raposos herreros con cubierta de damasco pardo con pasamanos y alamares de seda[?] parda

**/[sin numero]/**

Un capote de pellejos de animales de la yndias pardo y blanco con cubierta de damasco negro con dos pasamanos de seda y alamares

Dos pellejos adereçados de gamos

Vn paño de quatro pellejos de carneros de yndias de colores

[...] **/f. 1047/**

Pabellones y colchas de la yndia



Vn pabellon blanco de yerba de la yndia con unas franjas de seda cruda con su capilla de lo mismo con fluecos de seda de seda blanca traydo

Un pabellon açul de gassa de la yndia adamascado con su capilla de terciopelo berde lavrado de seda y oro con flueco de oro y seda uerde

Vn pabellon de gassa amarillo adamascado con su manga de terciopelo encarnado y oro con su franja de oro y seda

Vn pabellon de gassa carmessi con una franja de oro y la manga de terciopelo carmessi bordada de oro con su franja de oro y seda obra de la yndia

**/f. 1047v/**

Vn pabellon de damasco açul y amarillo con su manga y rodapie de terciopelo açul y su cobertor del m[ism]o damasco forrado en lienço amarillo

Un pabellon de tafetan carmessi y blanco de la yndia con mangas y rodapies e terciopelo carmesi y blanco con franjas de seda de las mismas colores

#### Colchas de la Yndia

Vna colcha de la yndia de rasillo blanco forrada en tafetan amarillo respuntada de seda blanca de largo quatro baras menos quarta y de ancho tres menos quarta

Una colcha de caniqui grande blanca con fraxa de seda cruda de largo tres baras y tres qu[ar]tas y de ancho tres respuntada de seda cruda labrada de monteria

Una colcha de canique blanca de la yndia con franjas blancas de seda respuntada y labrada de torcalles[?]

**/f. 1048/** de seda cruda con una rueda grande en medio y unos compartimentos con animales y en las esquinas del cuerpo con pajaros[?]

Una colcha de la yndia que tiene el cuerpo de raso carmessi forrada entafetan verde y la çenefa de raso amarillo de largo tres baras y de ancho dos y media

Una colcha croderin[?] de la yndia el cuerpo encarnado y la zenefa uerde y amarillo de largo tres baras y quarta

Una colcha grande blanca de canequi respuntada de seda amarilla que tiene quatro varas y quarta de largo y de ancho tres y media

Una colcha viancalavrada de seda amarilla de monteria en las çenefas con sus franjas de seda blanca de largo tres baras y qu[ar]ta y dos y m[edi]a de ancho

[...] **/f. 1048v/** [...]

Una colcha grande de caniqui rota con su franja de seda amarilla

Una colcha de tafetan amarillo tornasolado

Una colcha de raso açul bordada de oro y seda de colores con una rueda en medio xcon una pajara y bordados los requifes forrada en tafetan tornasolado

Dos pieças de filete blancas

#### Cueros de Uerberia

Un cuero de candi de la yndia leonado respuntado de seda de colores con dos ruedas en el m[edi]o y unos animales con una franja de m[edi]a seda u[er]de forrado en bocaçi colorado

**/f. 1049/**

Otro cuero de la yndia bordadas las çenefas y una rueda en el medio forrado en olandilla colorada

Vn cuero de la yndia todo bordado de seda blanca y berde con dos ruedas en m[edi]o con quatro pajaras forrado en lienço verde

Un cuero de la yndia leonado respuntadas las çenefas de seda de colores y una rueda en m[edi]o con quatro pajaros sin forro

Un cuero de la yndia leonado pintado con quatro figuras a las esquinas

Una bolsa grande Verberisca con su correa

Una escarçela de quero

Seis queros de badana blancos pequenos

**/f. 1049v/**

Un quero leonado de baqueta de uerberia

Un cuero redondo turco pintado con una rueda en medio pintada y en las çenefas unas tiras pintadas de açul y blanco colorado

Otro cuero redondo turco pintado con una rueda g[ran]de de diferentes colores

Medio cuero de ante

Dos cueros de Venado

Dos cuerdas de xaez de la gineta de cuero berberisco bordado de hilo de oro

Una almartaga la cauezada de tela açul con su cordon de media seda açul

[...] **/f. 1050/** [...]

Colgaduras. Camas almoadas sobremesas guadamaçies

Ocho paños de armas de damasco carmesi con los estremedios[ç] y çenefas de terciopelo carmesi de amedio ancho cada tira de terciopelo e forrados en bocassi colorado de res varas y dos tercias de cayda que tienen quarenta y nuebe anchos y todos ellos ciento y quarenta y nueue baras y dos terçias

Ocho paños de damasco encarnado y blanco con las çenefas

**/f. 1050v/** [...]

Ocho paños de armar de damasco açul de la yndia forradas en lienço açul de a quatro baras escasas de caida guarnecidas con franjas de seda açul de quarenta y dos anchuras y ciento y sesenta y ocho uaras

Trece paños de armas de damasco carmessi de granada sin forro guarnecidos de una franja de oro y seda de nobenta y una anchuras de quatro baras de cayda y todas ellas tienen trescientas y sesenta y quatro baras

Onçe paños de armas de tafetan de ytalía listados **//f. 1051//** de colores de tres baras y ochaua de cayda de sesenta y tres anchuras y çiento y nobenta y siete baras a onçe reales vara

Nueue paños del mismo tafetan que tienen quarenta y nueue anchuras de quatro uaras y sesma de cayda y ducientas y quatro baras

Nueue paños de armar de arañueles encarnados y amarillos con çenefas de tafetan amarillo de dos varas y media de cayda que tienen quarenta y çinco anchuras y ti[en]e[?] doscientos y doce baras y media

Doce paños de armar y una sobreventana de tafetan tornasolado de berde y carmessi con las çenefas y entremedios de tafetan verde listados de cayda tres baras y m[edi]a y todas du[cient]os y cinq[uen]ta y nuebe baras

**/f. 1051v/** [...]

Siete paños de carmesi con una sobrebentana de tafetan carmessi y amarillo de tres baras y media de cayda de quarenta y dos anchuras y m[edi]a y tienen ciento y treinta y nueue baras con seis que tiene la sobrebentana

**/f. 1052/**

Seis paños de armar de arambeles de telilla de ytalía listados de lana y seda de colores de quatro baras [...?] un doçabo de cayda y tienen treinta y çinco anchuras y m[edi]a y çiento y çinquenta baras y m[edi]a

Doçe paños de armar de tela de oro labrado carmessi y amarilla de quatro baras y quarta de cayda que tienen quarenta anchos y çiento y setenta baras y mas quatro sobrebentanas y puertas y una sobremessa llana todo de la misma tela que en todo ay çiento y nouenta y siete uaras y una terçia

Ocho paños de tela de oro rassa carmessi con una sobrebentana y una sobremessa con entremdios de raso carmesi la cayda **/f. 1052/** de la tela a quatro baras menos sesma que tienen treinta y un anchos y çiento y diez e nueue baras menos sesma y mas quatro baras y terçia que tiene la sobrebentana y sobremessa que son por todas ciento y treinta y tres baras y tercia de tela

Doçe paños de armar de damasco açul con çenefas y entremedios de terçiopelo naranjados guarnecidos de franjas de oro y seda ancho forrado en bocasi açul de tres varas y dos tercias de toda cayda y tienen quarenta y ocho anchos y çiento e setenta y seis baras

Siete paños de armas de tafetan blanco de la china pintados de oro y matiçes forrados en tafetan leonado della china con sus franjas de oro de la china nuevos que tienen treinta y seis anchos **/f. 1053/** [...] y medio de tres baras y tres quartas de cayda y çiento y treinta y çinco baras y m[edi]a

La cama desta colgadura tiene çielo y catorçe anchos sueltos que son las cortinas guarneçidas de las mismas franjas de oro y forrados del mismo tafetan y su cobertor rodapiés y sobremesa de lo mismo que toda ella tiene nouenta y una baras

Trece baras y media de tafetan blanco pintadas de oro de la china que sirbe para la colgadura de arriba

#### Camas

Una cama de damasco carmessi de granada que tiene çielo y çinco cortinas cobertor y rodapiés y el cobertor forrado en tafetan de la misma color guarneçida /f. 1053v/ con franjas y alamares de oro y seda con su madera dorada la seda

Una cama de brocado rico de oro que tiene çielo y cobertor del mismo brocado y dos cortinas del mismo brocado y otras dos de damasco carmessi y oro y rodapiés del mismo brocado guarneçida con franjas anchas y angostas de hilo de oro y alamares de oro y con quatro mançanas de hilo de oro y seda con su madera dorada

Una cama grande de brocado de turquia que tiene çielo y dos cortinas y cobertor y las goteras y çenefas y rodapiés bordado de tela de oro sobre terciopelo carmesi y otras dos cortinas de velo carmesi y oro con su madera dorada

[...] /f. 1054/ [...]

Una cama de tafetan berde de colchado y por de dentro carmesi con su çielo y quatro cortinas y cobertor blanco y carmessi colchado con una franja de seda a la redonda y alamares de seda berde con quatro manillas de seda uerde

Una cama de tela y terciopelo uerde de que tiene quatro cortinas de damasco uerde y amarillo y su cobertor del mismo damasco con su çenefa de la misma tela y su rodapiés de la d[ic]ha tela con su franjas y alamares de seda y oro con quatro mançanillas de seda y oro que no tiene madera

/f. 1054v/

Una cam de damasco açul y terçiopelo naranjado que ti[en]e çielo tunbado y quatro cortinas cobertor y rodrapiés con sus alamares de hilo de oro y seda y el cobertor forrado en tafetan açul con çinco manzanillas de hilo de oro y seda con su madera dorada

Una cama de raja de mezcla açul con su çielo quatro cortinas cobertor y rodapiés guarneçida con franjas y a la manera de seda de colores con su madera de nogal

una camilla de tejadillo de damasco carmesi de una pieza con sus rodapiés y madera de nogal con sus franjas y alamares de oro

[...] /f. 1055/ [...]

Una cama de tafetan blanco bordado de la china de unos pajaros y flores de ylo de oro que tiene çielo y çinco y cortinas con su cobertor todo bordado con sus puntas de franja de seda y oro ques nueva

#### Camas de cuerdas

Vna cama de cuerdas que se arma en el ante[?] hechura de yndia hecha de red

Otra de cuerdas blanca de algodón hechura de la yndia

/f. 1055v/

Otra de junco blanco leonado y amarillo de la yndia

#### Sobremesas

Una sobremesa de terçiopelo verde bieja y manchada de largo quatro baras y quatro anchuras

Una sobremesa de damasco berde y amarilla con su çenefa de tela verde

Una sobremessa grande de damasco verde con çenefa de terçiopelo berde y su franja de seda uerde

Dos sobremesas pequeñas de damasco y terciopelo uerde

Una sobremessa grande de damasco carmessi de quatro anchuras forrada en olandilla colorada

/f. 1056/

Una sobremessa de damasco açul forrada en lienço açul

#### Almohadas

Onçe almohadas de tela de oro de anbas partes carmessi y amarillo con sus cayreles[?] de oro y seda

Seis almoadas de brocado destrado con su caprel[?] de oro y seda  
Doçe almoadas destrado de terçiopelo y damasco berde con sus borlas y guarnicion de seda uerde  
Quatro almoadas destrado de terçiopelo carmessi y damasco carmessi con sus cayreles[?] y borlas de seda y oro

Nueue panos de armar y ocho sobreventanas y antepuertas de cueros de guadameçies dorados y negros que en todos ay quatro[s] y un pieles

**/f. 1056v/**

Onçe paños de guadameçies de armar con sobrebentanas y antepuertas de oro y açul en todos ay trecientos y setenta y tres pieles

Tres platos pequeños de guadameçies de plata con perfiles de negro que todos tienen tr[eint]a pieles y media [...]

Un espaldar destrado de tafetan carmesi forrado en bocassi que tiene diez y ocho baras y media

**/f. 1057/**

Vn espaldar destrado de tafetan verde forrado en bocasi que tiene diez y nueue baras y media

Un espaldar de damasco dorado y carmessi forrado en bocassi que tiene doce baras

Un espaldar de tafetan carmesi forrado entafetan carmesi que tiene catorçe baras

Doçe baras de tafetan açul de la china nuevo

Diez baras de terçiopelo naranjado felpado de morado

Un espaldar destrado de tafetan uerde forrado en bocasi verde que tiene ocho baras

Una cubierta de silla de andar de damasco carmessi con alamares y franjas de seda todo en una pieça con seis mançanillas de seda

**/f. 1057v/**

Un paño açul v[ein]te y quatro[?] de cuenca que tiene veinte y çinco baras

Un colchon de rasillo berde uiejo

Cuchillos

Una caja de cuchillos con dos tenedores que tiene doçe pieças con cabos de marfil redondos

Una caja de cuchillos que tiene pieças con cauos de marfil con quadros de cuchilla ancha

Una caja de cuchillos con cabos de marfil y nacar con pintas negras de seis pieças

Una caja de doçe cuchillos con cauos de hierro pabonados

Dos cuchillas anchas de dos cortes para trinchar con cauos de cuerno

Una vola de bronçe labrada de taujia con un braserico en medio agujereada que sirbe p[ar]a candil

**/f. 1058/**

Cuernos de bada

Un cuerno de bada el mas negro y grande numero vno

Otro cuerno de uada blanco el mas alto

Otro cuerno de uada mas pequeño

Otro cuerno de bada mas pequeño que los de arriua

Otro cuerno de uada pequeño como el de arriba

Una gorguera a manera de calabaçilla de cuerno de bada con uetas negras

Una olla de cuerno de Vada

Un boto de margil con el suelo y tapador de palo de nogal

[...] **/f. 1058v/** [...]

Un caracol de nacar pintado por de fuera de verde

Tres tablas de evano que pesan ocho arrobas

Otros dos troncos de evano que pesan çinco arouas y quinze libras

Otros dos troncos del evano pesan seis arouas y çinco libras

[...] **/f. 1059/** [...]

Otros dos troncos de ebano que pesan çinco arrobas y cinco libras

Dos troncos grandes y otro de cosa de media bara y dos rajás que todo ello pessa siete arrobas

Un cuerno de marfil que tiene bara y quarta poco mas o menos que pesa quarenta y dos libras

Vn vaculo de marfil

### Madera

Una mesa de la yndia con sus pies que se doblan con cantoneras y bisagras de plata

Otra mesa de la yndia mas pequeña que la de arriba con cantoneras de plata doradas en bebidas con sus pies que se doblan

Otra mesa de la yndia con sus vancos de madera colorada y con 4 bisagras

[...] /f. 1059v/ [...]

Una mesa de alemania enbutida de madera de colores con sus bancos que se doblan

Otra mesa de alemania envutida de madera de colores como la de arriba

Una madera de cama grande de palo santo de la yndia con sus guarniçiones de bronçe dorado

Un catre de madera de la yndia dorado y nefro con sus tablillas

Un escritorio grande de alemania que tiene de largo bara y ochaua y de alto tres quartas con dos puertas con figuras y paisajes con sus aldauas ques de obra fina

Un escritorio de alemania obra muy fina de bara y ochaua de /f. 1060/ largo y tres quartas de alto con dos puertas y en cada una dellas una figura de muger con sus cantoneras y aldauas y con su cubierta de cuero

Un contador de evano y marfil y madera de brasil de dos ter[ci]as de largo y una de alto y cinco gauetas con sus çerraduras y aldauas

Un escritorio contador de evano y marfil digo de brasil como el de la partida antes desta

Un escritorio pequeño contador con çinco gauetas de ebano perfiladas y de marfil y esmaltadas de oro blanco y berde cubierto de terciopelo carmessi

Otro escritorio contador pequeño como el de arriba que era mal tratado

/f. 1060v/ [...]

Otro escritorio de media bara de largo y terçia de alto cubierto de terciopelo carmessi con un passamano de plata con sus aldavones y çerradura y bisagras dorado

/f. 1061/

Un escritorio de la china labrado de oro y negro con sus aldauas y çerraduras y bisagras dorado

Un escritorio de evano y marfil napolitano que tiene una puerta y en ella un escudo de marfil con unas figuras de hombres armados las cerraduras y cantoneras dorado y de largo una bara y de alto dos terçias con su cubierta de damasco carmessi y amarillo

Otro escritorio como el de arriba en otro tanto

Un escritorio de ebano y marfil obra de napoles tienen la nauetas un escudo de marfil y en ellas la ystoria de susana de largo bara y qu[art]a y de ancho media con su cubierta de damasco carmesi

/f. 1061v/

Un escritorio contador de ebano y marfil de madera colorada con perfiles de marfil y onçe gauetas y una puerta de largo una bara y de alto çinco toçavos[?] con su cubierta de damasco carmessi y amarillo

Un escritorio contador de ebano con los conpartimentos de evano y perfiles de marfil y la herramienta dorada

Un escritorio contador de evano con sus perfiles y conpartimentos de marfile con once gauetas con la herramienta dorada de largo una bara y de alto poco mas de una terçia con su cubierta de damasco carmessi y amarillo

Un escritorio pequeño de palo de aguila con una puerta y seis hauetas con la herramienta de plata

/f. 1062/

Vn escritorio de taujia con cubierta de terciopelo carmesi y por de dentro con unas figuras y molduras de bronçe dorado y plateado y quatro garras de bronçe por pies doradas con un pontesficio y en cima unas figuras de bronçe

Un escritorio contador de ebano y marfil hecho en la yndia de diez y seis gauetas con escudetes dorados de largo una uara y de alto una tercia

Un escritorio de eņina con sus compartimentos de ebano y perfiles de box con la herramienta dorada de largo tres quartas y de alto una teręia con su cubierta de damasco carmesi y amarillo

**/f. 1062v/**

Un escritorio contador obra de madera de alemania tiene ocho ęerraduras con sus botoneras de largo bara y quarta y de alto una teręia

Un escritorio contador de palo de la yndia cassi negro con perfiles y compartimentos de palo amarillo y colorado de doce gauetas de largo una uara y de alto poco mas de teręia con la herra[m]ta dorada

Un escritorio contador de palo de la yndia casi colorado con tableros y una maęilla de box y evano con doce ęerraduras **/f. 1063/** y herramienta plateada con algunas molduras me[no]s[?] en las gauetas de alto una teręia y de largo una bara

[...]

Otro escritorio contador de la misma manera quel de arriba

**/f. 1063v/**

Un escritorio de alemania con sus ęerraduras y aldavones y cantoneras de largo tres quartas y de alto dos teręias

Un escritorio de alemania con un cruz en la puerta y una paja en cime con su cerradura de largo tres quartas y de alto cassi dos

Un escritorio de alemanua y en medio de la tapa una figura de ęorra con su herramienta de largo tres quartas y de alto media bara

Un escritorio de alemania con la cubierta dec uero negro con su erramienta de largo ęinco quartas y de alto dos teręias

Un escritorio de alemania con las gauetas a un lado p[ar]a papeles **/f. 1064/** con botones y escudetes de tres quartas de largo y de alto poco mas de una teręia

Un escritorio de alemania con una poręelana en medio de onęe gauetas las nueue pequeņas y dos grandes

Un cajon de pino con dos puertas con cubierta de cuero negro y por de dentro forrado en bocasi colorado con su cerradura y llaue

Un escritorio de madera de yndias colorado con ocho gauetas con su cerradura forrdo en cuero vayo

Una arquilla de la yndia toda dorada con dos cajones y por de dentro colorado

**/f. 1064v/**

Una arquilla de nogal baja con dos compartimentos con un tablero en cada uno que la ęierra

Un catre biejo con sus tablillas de madera de la yndia

Vn vufete de portugal de ebano con sus perfiles de marfil y los pies de ebano redondos tiene dos hierros cortos y un trauesaņo de pie a pie de largo uara y teręia y de largo tres quartas y su cubierta de cordoban leonado todo

Un befete grande de napolos de ebano y compartimentos y medallas de marfil tallado con figuras y flores con la herramienta dorada y quatro hierros y los pies con medallas talladas y encont[a]do **/f. 1065/** de largo bara y media y de ancho tres quartas con cubierta de cordoban leonado

Otro bufete de napolos de evano y marfil con los compartimentos y medallas y del mismo tamaņo y seņal quel desta otra parte

Otro bufete de napolos de ebano y marfil con perfiles y medallas talladas e[con?] ystorias en el marfil tiene quatro escudos sin armas en los cantos de la cenefa y en ellas un encontrado de marfil tallado de bara y media de largo y de ancho tres qu[ar]tas con cubierta de cordouan leonado

[...] **/f. 1065v/** [...]

Otro bufete de napolos de ebano y marfil con perfiles la guarnięion y compartimentos grauados de ystorias en el marfil y en las cenefas unnas medallas de rostros a lo romano y los pies de ebano con los perfiles de marfil y quatro hierros de largo bara qu[ar]ta y de ancho tres quartas con su cubierta de cordovan leonado y de ancho bara me[no]s ochaua

Tres vufetes de vaqueta un colorado en madera de nogal de [...?] con su caueęo

**/f. 1066/**

Otro bufete de napoles de evano y marfil con los perfiles enviejados y medallas de marfil tallados con la ystoria de adan y eba y los pies de ebano con un cordon de marfil ques mas bajo que los de arriba de largo bara y quarta y dos tercias de ancho

Otro bufete grande de alemania labrado con los pies de lo mismo y quatro yerros en ellos de largo bara y çinco ochauas y de ancho bara menos ochaua

#### Sillas

Çinco sillas bajas rasas de baqueta colorada en madera de nogal que sirben con los bufetes de arriba para de camino[?]

Quatro sillas grandes de nogal con asientos y espaldares de tela de oro de turquia con sus franjas y franjones de seda y oro y clauaçon dorada

#### **/f. 1066v/**

Dos sillas y un tabulete de madera de nogal con los asientos y espaldares de tela de oro carmessi con sus franjas de oro y seda

Seis sillas de madera de nogal con los asientos y espaldares de terciopelo carmessi con franjas y rapacejos de ylo de oro y seda las quatro altas

Quatro taburetes bajas de madera de nogal con los asientos y espaldar de terciopelo berde y franjas de seda berde y clauaçon dorada

Dos sillas de nogal con asientos y espaldar de terciopelo açul con franjas y rapaçejos de oro y seda

[...] **/f. 1067/** [...]

Una silla de nogal baja con asiento y espaldar y en los braços colchados de cuero colorado

Dos taburetes de nogal con el asiento y espaldar de cuero colorado el mejor

Una silla rassa que se dobla con el asiento de teriopelo negro

Dos taburetes de nogal con el asiento y respaldo de cordovan labrado respuntados de seda amarilla

Una silla pequeña de andar con tres bolas con el asiento y espaldar de terciopelo pardo viejas y quebrada

#### **/f. 1067v/**

Una silla de andar mayor que la de arriba con asiento y respaldo de cuero colorado con dos volas que toda ella esta quebrada

Un respaldo de nogal con un quadro de damasco carmessi que se dobla en dos partes que sirbe para la cama

Dos bancos de nogal biejos y quebrados anbos

#### Arcas

Una arca de pino blanca de bara y tres quartas de largo y tres barrotes de hierro en la cubierta con sus cantoneras de hierro y llaue

Otra arca mas pequeña que la de arriba con tres barrotes de hierro en la cubierta con sus cantoneras de hierro y llaue

Una arca quadrada grande de pino con dos çerraduras sin llaue

#### **/f. 1068/**

Quatro acheros largos y estrechos de pino barreteados de quero con sus aldauas y çerraduras

Unarca negro cubierta de cuero con sus cantoneras y dos aldauas y su çerradura

Una arca de pino grande cassi quadrada cubierta con un pellejo rojo de pelo barreada con dos aldauas y una zerradura en medio y dos a los lados para calnados

Una arca cubierta de cuero negro uarreteada con sus aldauas quitados los goznes

Dos arcas grandes de pino y en çima de las tapas un uarrote de madera

Una arca de pino con cupbierta de cuero negro con dos çerraduras quitada la una chapa y tres aldauas pequeñas de hierro en m[edi]o de las çerraduras

#### **/f. 1068v/**

Vna arca alta negra con un barrote de madera en la tapa de la çerradura

Una arca de pino con su cerradura en m[edi]o de dos baras de largo

Una arca de pino con dos barras de hierro por de dentro con dos çerraduras que salen de las d[ic]has barras con unos conpartimentos

Una arca de aya que la tapa de la cerradura se abre con dos aldauones de hierro

Una arca cassi quebrada con dos puertas de pino en cima y una aldauilla que la cierra que sirbe de caja para escriptorio gr[an]de de alemania

[...] /f. 1069/ [...]

Una arca de pino de bara y quarta de lardo con cinco barras de hierro y una cerradura en medio y otras dos a los lados de candados

Una arca de pino con tres barras de hierro cantoneras y aldauas de una terçia en ancho

Una arca negra de portugal barreada de hierro con dos aldauas y dos çerraduras

Dos arcas negras de portugal barreadas de hierro la una con armas ynperiales

Una arca de aya que se abre por la tapa de la çerradura con dos aldauas de hierro

Unas fianbreras con si sillon de madera cubiertas de cuero negro con barras de hierro y sus correas y llaues y un sillon que sirbe para ellas con su pie no anchas[?] y [...?]

Siete cajones de pino toscos sin tapas cada uno baldra cinco r[eale]s

Una arca de flandes barreada de hierro

Una arca de pino con sus abracaderas y cerradura

Un hachero de pino guarneçido de hierro con tres bisagras y una criadura en m[edi]o y dos maneçillas por candados

Dos arcas de pino de portugal con una çerradura sin llave ni goznes

[...] /f. 1070/ [...]

Una frasquera de pino guarneçida de hierro con cantoneras y bisagras

Dos estantes para libros de tablas de pino

Una prensa de madera de nogal mediana

Un calentador de nogal con dos chapas de oja de laia[?]

Un atril de madera de la yndia

Una bela de haçer ayre de pino con un angeo

/f. 1070v/

Çinco mesas de pino para tinelo grandes con sus uancos por pies

Un cofre tunbado cubierto de acero barreado de hierro con una cerradura rota en medio y a los lados dos pestillos para poner calnados y dentro deste cofre esta una messa para armar altar para d[e]z[i]r misa de camino

Un cofre negro tunbado auerto de cuero barretuado con dos cerraduras a los lados con un pestillo

[...] /f. 1071/ [...]

Otro cofre ques como el de la partida antes desta

Otro cofre tunbado y barreado

Otro cofre como el de arriba

Otro cofre tunbado con una çerradura en medio con dos petillos a los lados para calnados

Un cofre negro tunbado y barreado con unas armas ynperiales y una çerradura en m[edi]o

Otro cofre como el de arriba

Otro cofre como el de arriba

/f. 1071v/

Otro cofre como el de arriba con armas ynperiales

Madera de Camas

Una madera de cama de ruedas

La madera de tres camas de tejadillo con sus tornillos varrillas y todo su adereço con su maleton de sayal

Un baculo cayado de palo despino

Literas



Una litera con una cubierta de ençerado de lienço blanco con alamares de hilo blanco y por de dentro forrada en baqueta colorada y clauaçon dora[da] con sus dos baras

Otra litera con cubierta de encerado berde con alamares berdes y colorados dorrada en terciopelo negro y por de dentro en raso carmessi y su clauaçon dorada sin uarras

**/f. 1072/**

Otra litera con cubierta de ençerado verde con alamares verdes y colorados forrada en terciopelo digo con cubierta de baqueta y por de dentro en raso negro y un encerado uerde ençima con sus alamares colorados y blanco

#### Hierro y cobre de coçina

Tres asadores grandes de hierro biejos

Dos çaos grandes de cobre estañados anbos

Un çao de cobre mas pequeño viejo

Una sartén de acero grande bi[ej]a

Una cobertera de cobre biexa

Un cauallo de hierro biejo

[...] **/f. 1072v/** [...]

Un barquillo grande de cobre con su asa biejo

Quitahunbre grande de hierro para la coçina para manpara de asar

Una enfriadera grande de cobre aobada con dos asas de cobre

Una caldera grande de cobre con dos asas aboleada[?]

Un frasco de cobre cassi nuevo grande a manera de cantaro con dos asas y su caño en m[edi]o

**/f. 1073/**

Otro frasco de codre como el antecedente

Otro frasco de cobre mayor que los de arriba abollado el caño

Oro cofre mas pequeño que tiene las asas en m[edi]o y sin caño

Otro frasco mas delgado con las asas junto al caño

Otro frasco de cobre con las asas en medio y su caño

Una cerradura de alemania con dos llaues y quatro pestillos y cerradero

Un calnado hecho en alemania

[...] **/f. 1073v/** [...]

Una prensa de hierro con dos tornillos

Un espejo de acero grande con su moldura de nogal y una talla de yeso

Dos cajas con sus pesos pequeños de Ualanças y marco

**/f. 1074/**

#### Libros de musica

Un libro grande de mano de misal

Otro de la misma manera

Otro de mano de misal de felipe de mon.te enquadernado

Otro de mano como el de antecedenente

Otro como el de arriba

Otro de misal cubierto de cuero colorado de molde del maestro vitona[?]

Otro como el de arriba

[...] **/f. 1074v/** [...]

Zinco libros de misal y manificas de orlando de caso con cubiertas de becerro tro de midal de blanco

Otro de misal de [...] del m[ism]o bitoria con cubierta de pergamino

Otro de clariano[?] de pratica de cuero bayo

Seis quadernos con cubierta de papel açul

**/f. 1075/**

Diez libros del maestro bitoria con cubierta de quero colorado  
Çinco libros de las lamentaçiones con cuviertas de cuero  
Seis libros cubiertos de beçerro de motetes  
Otros çinco libros de motetes en tablas colorados de cuero  
Çinco liuros encuadernados en pergaminos todos  
Ocho libros encuadernados de pargamino con cintas coloradas  
[...] /f. 1075v/ [...]

Seis libros cubiertos en tablas  
Seis cuerps encuadernados en pargamino blanco  
Çinco libros en quadernados en quero  
Otros cinco de la misma manera  
Çinco libros de motetes  
Çinco cuerpos de libros de motetes de guerrero  
/f. 1076/

Çinco cuerpos de libros de orado pequeños  
Otros çinco de diversos autores con listones de seda  
Quatro libros de veto[?] en español  
Çinco libros de orlando con çintas encarnadas y blancas  
Otros çinco de orlando mas pequeños  
Quatro libros encuadernados en quero colorado y dorado  
Çinco cuerpos de libros de rufo  
Otros çinco del mismo  
Çinco cuerpos de phelipe de monte  
[...] /f. 1076v/ [...]

Quatro cerpos de libros pequeños de lamentaçiones

#### Organos

Un organo alto de madera de alemania que tiene vna rueda y d muchas consonançias  
Un claviorgano con tres caucordios y seis misturas  
Un clauianuano grande en una caja de madera pintada de negro con sus pies para la caja  
/f. 1077/

Un organo de duchainas[?] con sus fuelles[?] pequeños

#### Viguelas

Una caja de madera pintada de uerde con çinco viguelas de arco

#### Pinturas y Retratos

Un retrato de diatristan con su auito de calatraua con su quadro  
Un retrato de don ga[rci]a de albarado conde de Villamor con su arco dorado  
Un retrato de la princesa dona juana dormido  
Un retrato del gran maestre de malta  
Un retrato del rey don fernando

[...] /f. 1077v/ [...]

Del duque durbino

De basco de gama

Del prinçipe ruy gomez de silva

Se sant Ju[an] limosnero

De un papa

De prospero colon

Del preste Ju[an] de las yndias

Del poeta ouidio

De barbaroja

De morata el loco

**/f. 1078/**

De la mag[esta]d de la ynperatriz

Del enperador Rodolfo

De larquiduque arnesto

De la duquesa de alva vieja sin marco

De la duquessa de villa hermosa

Del çid

Dos retratos el uno del hermano archiduque alberto y otro dela serenissima ynfanta doña ysauel

[...] **/f. 1078v/** [...]

Las bodas de diatristan en lienço sin moldura de dona mariana de uelasco condesa de v[illa]mor

Lienços sin marcos medianos y pequeños de diferentes payses ay diez y seis

Americus Uespuçios

Otro de unos pescados



## Appendix VI – Cédulas de Paso for Juan de Borja

### ***Cédulas de paso para Don Juan de Borja, June 1575*** **in Cámara de Castilla/Cédulas de Paso, Libro 360**

/ff. 48-49/

En el bosqu[ue] de segouia A diez de Junio de 1575 anºs se despacharon las çedulas de passo siguientes dirmadas de su Md. y refrendadas de Juan Vazquez sin señal:

[Cédula] de passo para una cama de grana guarneçida de oro y seda; dos pauellones de tafetan lino y seda; seis colchas; dos catres uno dorado y outro açul colorado; ocho alcatifas; veynte y q[ua]tro tapiçes y paños de lana seda y damascos de diferentes suertes; ocho reposteros; diez colchones de ruan; oco almoadas de terçio pelo y damasco; seis mantas fraçadas; ocho esteras de la yndia; dos vendekas labradas; ocho de caxas y lios con ropa blanca vestidos tocados y cosas de recamara de su persona casa y criados; çien pieças de porçelanas; quatro sillas de terçio pelo; dos bufetes; un almofrete[?] con su cama; seis negros y negras que don Juº de Borja embax.or en portugal embia a estos rey[n]º libre de d[e]r[ech]ºs ter[m]ino de quatro meses.  
[...]

otra para dos camas La Una de damasco açul y la outra de paño verde com su madera; un pauellon encarnado; doze paños de tapiçeria; seys reposteros [sic]; seys almoadas de terçio pelo verde; seis colchones de Ruan; un almofrex[?] con otra cama; quatro negros y negras; dos lios con herramienta de coçina; un cofre con guarniçiones y cosas de caualleriza que don Juº de Borja embax.or en portugal enbua de aquel Reyº a estos de Castilla libre de derºs termino de quatro meses.  
[...]

otra para quatro azemulas[?] cargadas com scriptorios en que vienen papeles y joyas de la muger y hijos de don Juº de Borja embax.or en portugal q[ue] enbia de aquel Reyº a estos de castilla syn catax m[?] escudrinar [?] libre de drºs termino de quatro meses.  
[...]

otra para dos camas de damasco carmesy verdes con goteras de tela de oro y sobremesa de lo mismo y su madera; un pauellon labrado de la yndia; seis colchas; dos cueros de catre el uno leonado y el otro verde; diez paños de tafetan verde y naranjado; ocho alcatifas o lombras; doze paños de tapiçeria; ocho repostretos [sic]; diez almoadas de terçio pelo y damasco carmesy y de cuero naranjado; diez colchones de ruan; seis mantas fraçadas blancas; seis esteras de la yndia; dos vendejas; dos tableros y dos caxas de la yndia; seis lienços pintados de flandes; diez ymagenes pintadas de pinzel en lienzo y en tabla grandes y pequenas; quatro retratos en lienço y en tabla; doze cofres arcas y baules con casullas frontales y recaudo para dezir misa; ropa blanca vestidos usados de su persona y criados y cosas de recam[er]ª; tres arquillas de tocas; duzentas porçelanas; ocho rodela las siete doradas y la una negra; ho[n]ze sillas de terçio pelo carmesy y de palo de la yndia; quatro bufetes tres mesas y una silla labradas de lastrina[?]; un almofrex con cama; quatro lios de caas de cuadros; seis negros y negras; un lio con la herramienta de la cozina; que don Juº de Borja embax.or en portugal embia del dho reyº a estos de Castª libre de drºs ter[m]ino de quatro meses.



## Appendix VII – Marriage of Beatriz Clara Coya

The following list of paintings depicting the marriage of Beatriz Clara Coya, as well as their attributions, is based on a presentation made by Gabriela Lavarello Vargas de Velaochaga in March 2012.

in <http://slideplayer.es/slide/20280/#> Accessed on 23 September 2018.



Fig. VII.1 - Unknown artist, late 17th century

Oil on canvas, Iglesia de la Compañía de Jesus, Cuzco

Source: <http://cuadernoscaicaen.blogspot.com/2016/05/imagenes-del-arte-irreinal.html>



Fig. VII.1.1 – Detail from previous



Fig. VII.2 - Unknown artist, late 17th century  
 Oil on canvas, Iglesia de la Compañía de Jesus, Arequipa  
 Source: <https://www.pinterest.co.uk/pin/515099276114487927/>



Fig. VII.3 - Unknown artist, 1718  
 Oil on canvas, Museo Pedro Osma, Lima  
 Source: [commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:The\\_Marriage\\_of\\_Captain\\_Martin\\_de\\_Loyola\\_to\\_Beatriz\\_%C3%91usta.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:The_Marriage_of_Captain_Martin_de_Loyola_to_Beatriz_%C3%91usta.jpg)





Fig. VII.4 - Unknown artist, [late 17th century?]  
 Oil on canvas, Beaterio de Copacabana, Lima  
 Source: <https://www.pinterest.co.uk/pin/388646642828738128/>



Fig. VII.5 - Unknown artist, 18th century  
 Oil on canvas, Iglesia de la Compañía de Jesus, Cuzco  
 Source: <http://slideplayer.es/slide/20280/1/images/24/Matrimonio+de+uno+de+los+Loyola.jpg>



## Appendix VIII – Poems by Juan de Borja

### *Copla*

in Pérez de Guzmán, *Cancionero de Príncipes Y Señores. (...)*, 118–119.

*Copla y pregunta que hizo á la Condesa de Andrade Doña Catalina de Zúñiga, Dama de la Reina Doña Isabel de Valois*

Díganme los amadores  
Si es pesar ó si es placer  
El diligente deseo;  
Y de todos los colores  
Cuál tiene, sin negro ser,  
Mayor deudo com lo feo.

Y si puede la victoria  
Subir al hombre vencido  
En algun tiempo jamás;  
Ó cula á una dulce gloria:  
El querido en ser querido,  
Ó el que quiere en querer más.

*Respuesta de la Condesa de Andrade, Doña Catalina de Zúñiga*

El diligente deseo  
Podría ser de placer  
Por el dulce devaneo;  
Mas la fineza de él, creo  
Que está puesta en padecer.  
Porque aunque poder cumplille  
En servivio del amado,  
Es el bien más estimado,  
Lo que cuesta el diferille  
Hace el mérito doblado.

Mayor deudo com lo feo,  
No siendo el negro color,  
Sin saber si es lo mejor,  
Yo diria á ley de creo  
Que de aquél el resplandor.  
Subir un hombre vencido  
Podrá, cuando la victoria  
Gute de echar en olvido  
Al que ayer favorecido  
Hoy la cae de la memoria.

Mas pensar que el ser amado  
Com el que ama tiene igual,  
Eso estará averiguado  
Por ser caso reservado  
Para gusto de caudal.  
Para amado quién no basta?  
Para amar hay bueno alguno?  
Á no temer lo importuno,  
Jurara que de esta casta  
No há quedado ya ninguno.”

***Glosa de Don Ju° de Borja [et al]***  
**in Real Biblioteca, [*Cartapacio de Francisco de Morán de la Estrella*], 1552-1582,**  
**Manuscrito : II/531.**

**/f. 51/**

*Glosa de Don Ju° de Borja*

Mucho estoy marauillado  
Bras de tu terrible suerte  
que nunca acierte la muerte  
a acuarte de Matar  
y si teme el vivir  
y quieres çierta sperança  
para acauar de morir  
Oluida Bras A Contanza

Oluida ya esa Afiçion  
Bras, Oluida y creeme Ami  
que Constança es para ti  
El cabello de Sant Son.  
ella sola te da fuerça  
que no te Mate tu pena  
y aunque no Puedas, esfuerça  
Librate de su cadena. **/f. 51v/**

Que en ser libre tem por zierto  
que de Pura soledad  
De tu firme voluntad  
seras en dos Oras muerto  
Y no Dejes Puerta Abierta  
a ninguna Confiança  
ni a un sobre Prenda muy zierta  
no fies en esperanza

Si esperas Contentamiento  
nunca acaua de llegar  
y e temiendo algun Pesar  
tiene las alas de viento,  
no te Asegures cuytado  
de bien que esperança hordena  
por que esta determinado  
Que no Ay esperança buena.

/f. 51v/

*A vna Dama que se esconde de su Galan Por averse condesado – De Dõ Juan de borja*

Nueva Confesion seõora  
A sido la que heçistes  
Que bien que os Arepentistes  
pues estais contra mi Agora  
peor que nunca estubistes.  
pasauanse en un memento  
con vezes, çien mill enojos  
tornanvan fuerça los ojos.  
para llorar su tormento  
causado Por sus Antojos.

Mas Agora os escondéis  
la causa yo no la se  
y si es Por Prouar mi fe  
sabed que la hallareis  
Mas firme que nunca fue. /f. 52 /  
Escusado es ya Provarme  
no se gaste tiempo enesto  
que desde aqui yo Protesto  
que sie de confessarme  
sera Por confesar esto.

Decidme que os confesastes  
en Dios y en v[uest]ra conçiencia  
ved do llega mi dolencia  
que de lo que vos Pecastes  
hago yo la penitencia  
Pareçiole Al Confesar  
que la Penitencia dada  
viendoos tan desarmorada  
La cumpliera yo mejor  
Aun que nunca Peque nada

Contodo Pienso valerme  
Con lo que Pensais dañarme  
Ye venido A consolarme  
Si os holgavades de verme  
Com yntencion de Matarme  
Por que esto ya que fuese  
Ade ser desta manera  
pero sea que aunque muera  
Si e[n] tal estado me diese  
ningun outro vien pidiera.

Y Por esto os An mandado  
por mayor mal evitar  
que no cureis de mirar  
com Pensamiento dañado  
a quien tan bien saue Amar  
el remedio esta en la mano  
mas Por que tiene este nombre  
e miedo que no es asombre  
Mas él sera tan liviano  
que Perdera tal renombre.

Y Pues deseais que muera  
mas vrevemente lo hareis  
Sios miro que me mireis  
y es la mas çierta manera  
Que para matar teneis.  
Ningun escrupulo os quede  
que de aqui Puede naçer  
pensar que aveis de querer  
que en v[uest]ro valor se puede  
ver, Que esto no puede ser.

/f. 141/

*Letra de Don Juan de borja desuiniendose de una Dama*

Desdiezas si me Acabais  
Muy buena dicha saeria,  
Si hareis sino os cansais  
Por mayor desdicha mia  
Muy POCO os queda que haçer  
Segun lo que teneis hecho  
en que os Podeis de tener  
en un hombre tan deshecho  
y tan hecho aPadesçer

La Costumbre diçen que es  
Muy Gran remedio en los males  
yo digo que es Al reues  
que antes los haçe mortales.  
Ved A lo que me A traydo  
el uso, y mi sufrimiento  
que de Puro ser sufrido  
vengo a deçir lo que siento  
quando ya estou sin sentido.

Los que veran que Porfio  
A quejarme de mi suerte  
Pensaran que desuario  
com la rauia de la muerte,  
Mas contodo bien veran  
que no es tiempo de mentir  
Muy Grande agrauio me haran  
esTando Para morir  
Los que no me creeran.

De mi Comienço A quejarme /f. 141v/  
que de vos es Por demas  
Pues no Procure librarne  
de v[uest]ras manos jamas.  
Aunque se que no Pudiere  
Por mas que yo lo Prouara  
que muy pesar me saliera  
y mas cosa me costara  
qualquier Prueba que hiçiera

Todo lo Tendo Prouado  
basta el bien me salia mal  
si me hallaua confiado  
era muy Peor señal  
Temblaua el Alma en mis pechos  
en ver sombras de Alegria  
bienes era contrahechos  
que simpre el Plaçer venia  
viespera de mil despechos.

Si Acaso estaua contento  
que pocas veçes seria  
sentia un remordimiento  
que el Alma me deshaçia  
Profecias eran es estas  
del mal en que aora me veo  
Mil cosas lleuava acuestas  
que la s lleuaba el desso  
sobre mi cabeça Puesta.

y Pareçianme A Mi  
tan ligeras de llebar  
que nunca cosa sentí  
como avellas de dejar  
Si esto que era enfin Pesado  
com dejarlos, sentí Pena  
Juzque quien lo abra Prouado  
Si alguna ora tube buena  
Quan cara me Abra costado.

O Memorias de mi bien  
venidas Por mi Gran mal  
ensin sois vos solas quien  
Memorias no haçen señal  
Pues lo que Paso Por mi  
vien merçiera se<sup>o</sup>nora  
que Pagarades aqui  
en esta Postiera ora  
Lo que en la vida os serui

Ninguna lastima llebo  
de la vida, y no hago nada  
Antes conzco que os debo  
en el fin de la jornada  
y Pues queda deneçida  
n[uest]ra cuenta con mi muerte  
Qual deuia ser la vida  
Pues tengo Por buena suerte  
verla al cabo y tan Perdida

Quiça Pensaran queyo  
Alargo el mal Por contallo  
Mas Por el Paso en q[ue] esto  
que es muy Peor lo q[ue] callo.  
Mas vivid vos muy segura  
que mientras qye yo uiuiere  
no lo sabra criatura  
despues de muerto no se  
lo que hare en la sepultura

/f. 141v/

*Letra*

No me voy que con vos quedo  
Y aunque en Ausençia quedais  
connigo en el Alma vais

Asi que enesta Partida  
de mi no os aPartareis  
que Por testigo estareis  
demi tristeza creşçida  
yo se que hare tal vida  
que a gran lastima os mobais  
con sp[?]





## Appendix IX – Casa de las Descalzas

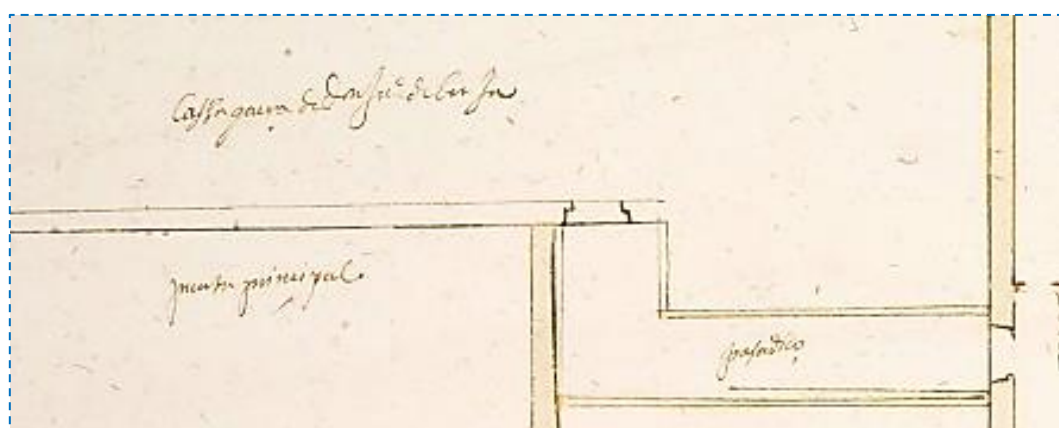
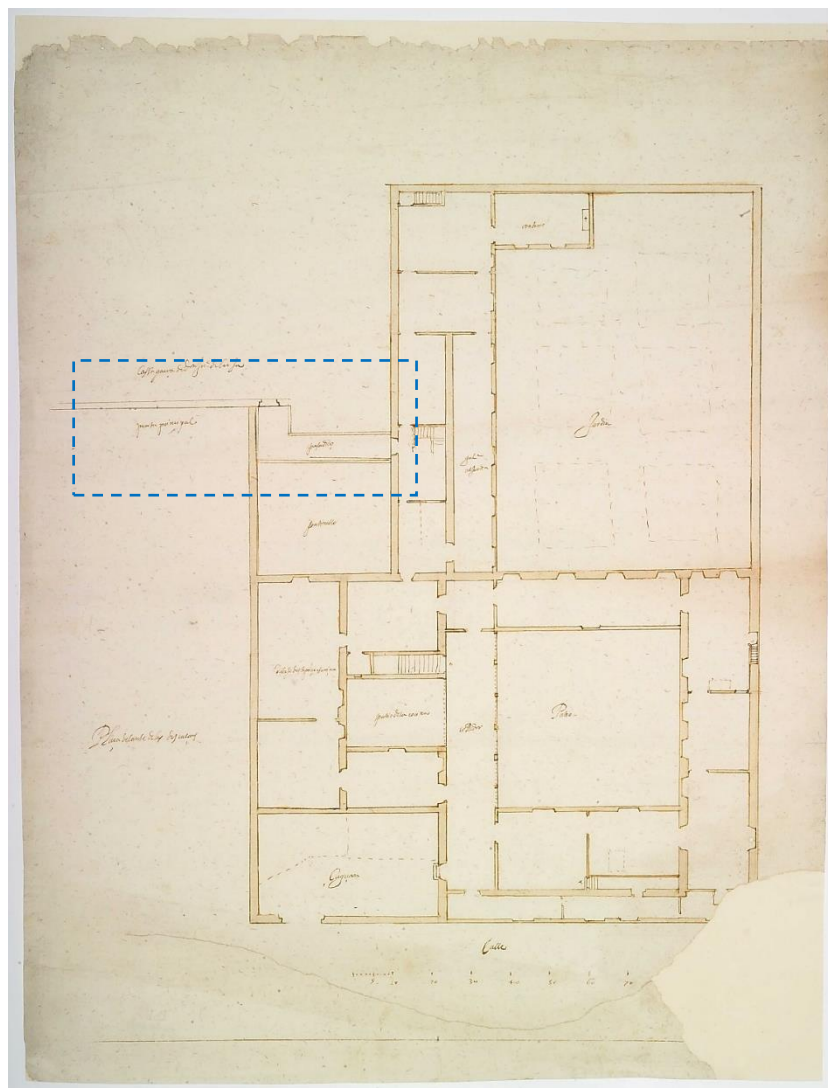


Fig. IX.1 - *Planta de las casas del Duque de Lerma en la Plaza de las Descalzas*, [1609?]  
Source: Real Biblioteca (Madrid), IX/M/242/2 (15)

The focused section shows the reference to the house that Juan de Borja had at the *Plaza de las Descalzas*.

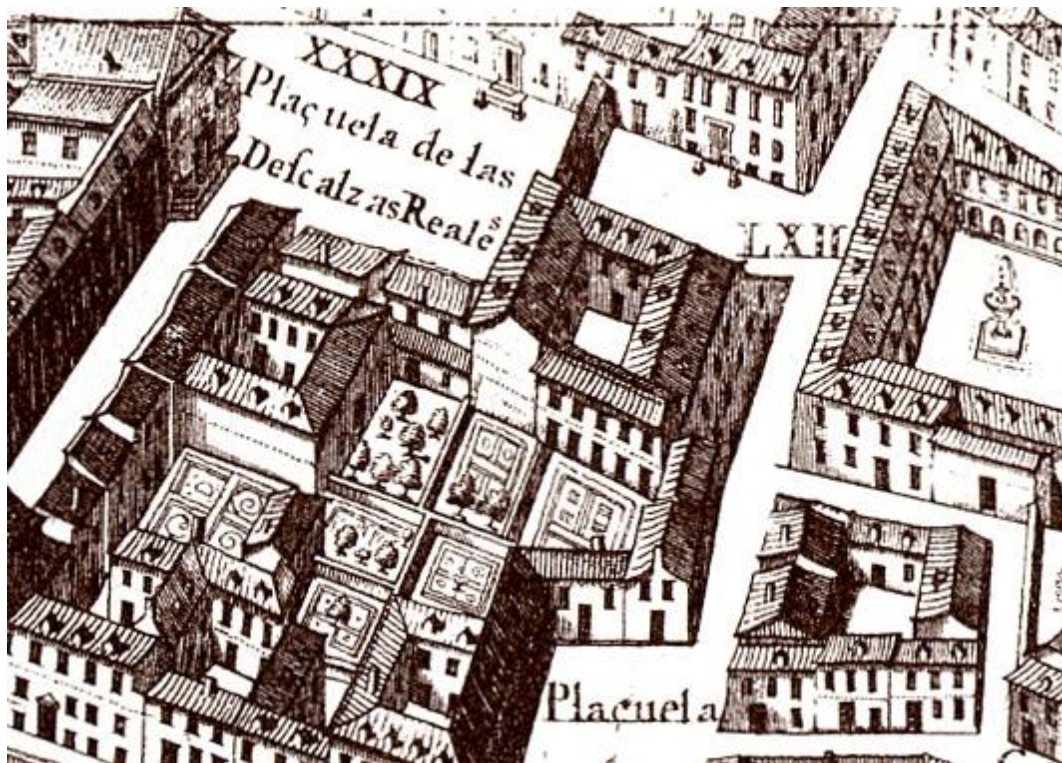


Fig. IX.2 – Plazuela de las Descalzas Reales  
Pedro Teixeira and Salomon Savery, 1656 (detail)

Source: <https://otrosplanes.wordpress.com/2016/07/14/la-plaza-de-las-descalzas-reales/>



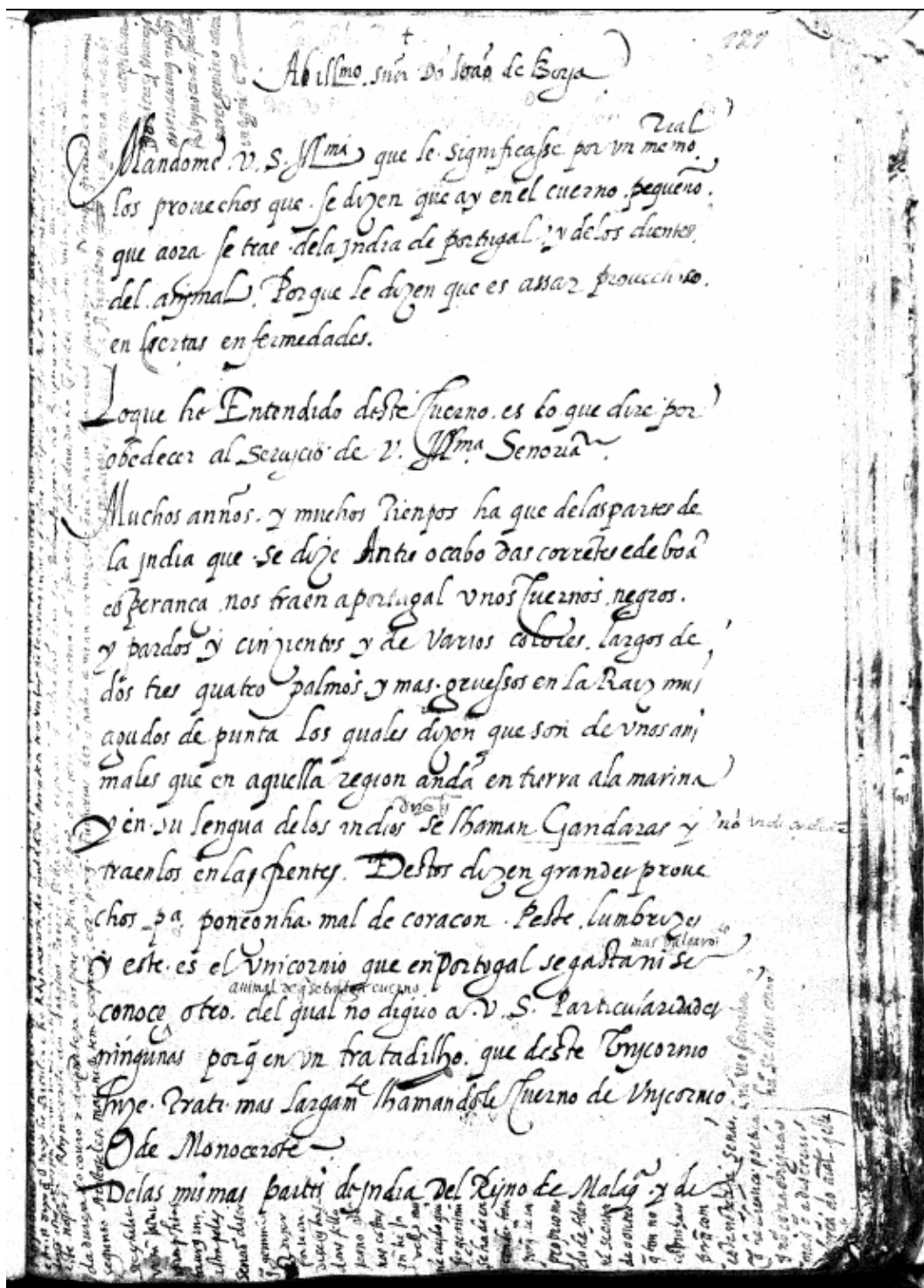
Fig. IX.3 – *Vista del convento de las Descalzas Reales*  
Juan Minguet, 1758

Source: [www.museodelprado.es/coleccion/obra-de-arte/vista-del-convento-de-las-descalzas-reales/661db77d-cb45-4ac2-9581-45e13950b927](http://www.museodelprado.es/coleccion/obra-de-arte/vista-del-convento-de-las-descalzas-reales/661db77d-cb45-4ac2-9581-45e13950b927)

*Da propriedade, e virtudes do unicornio, e donde vem e o mesmo do corno, couro, dente da a[Bada]*

in Biblioteca da Ajuda, Códice 46-VIII-12, ff. 121-122.

Transcribed by Antonio Manuel Lopes de Andrade, University of Aveiro (Portugal)



/f. 121/

Consilium 21

Al illustrissimo señor don Juan de Borja

Da propriedade, e virtudes do unicornio, e donde vem e o mesmo do corno, couro, dente da a[Ba]da[?]

[acrescento na margem esquerda/topo de fólio 121: “Rhynoceros primeiramente no es...de que trato Arist. por que Appiano dixo estas palabras: Rhynoceros non multo ...maior est...// esta longa anotação cita Aristóteles, Apiano e Estabão e Marcial a propósito das propriedades e características do rinoceronte”]

Mandome v. s. Illustrissima que le significasse por un memorial los provechos que se dizen que ay en el cuerno pequeño que aora se trae de la India de Portugal y de los dientes del animal. Porque le dizen que es assaz provechoso en ciertas enfermedades.

Lo que he entendido deste cuerno es lo que dire por obedecer al servicio de v. Illustrissima Señoría.

Muchos años y muchos tienpos ha que de las partes de la India que se dize antre o cabo das correntes e de boa esperança nos traen a Portugal unos cuernos negros y pardos y cinzientos y de varios colores. largos de dos tres quatro palmos y mas. gruesos en la raiz mui agudos de punta los quales dizen que son de unos animales que en aquella region andan en tierra a la marina y en su lengua de los indios <sup>dizen que se lhaman</sup> Gandaras y traenlos en las frentes. Destos dizen grandes provechos pera ponçonha. mal de coracon. Peste. lumbrizes y este es el unicornio que en Portugal se gasta <sup>mas vulgarmente</sup> ni se conoce otro <sup>animal de que se trata</sup> cuerno del qual no diguo a v. s. particularidades ningunas porque en un tratadillo que deste Unicornio hize trate mas largamente lhamandole cuerno de Unicornio o de Monocerote.

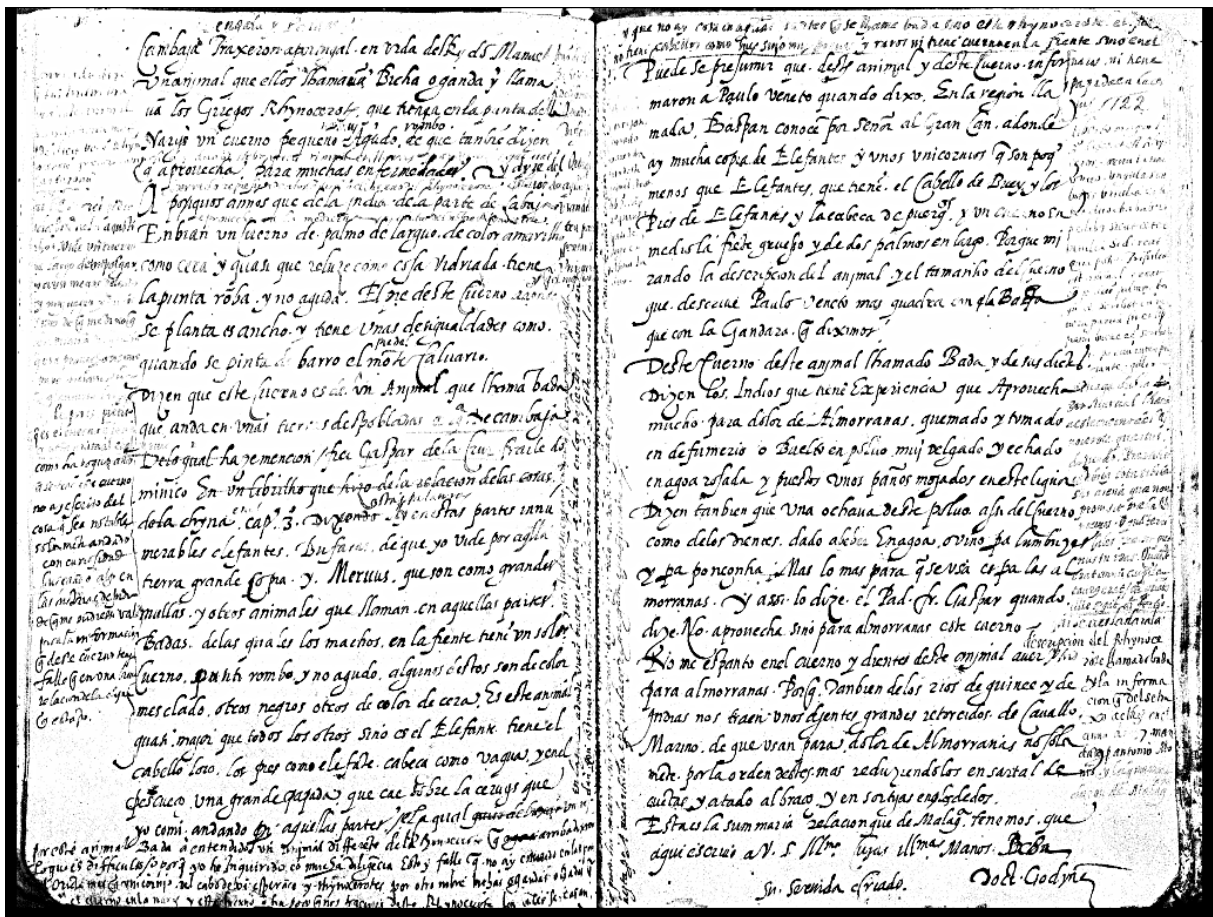
De las mismas partes de India del Reino de Malagueta y de

[acrescento na margem esquerda de fólio 121: “[C]onrado dize que los Indios lhanan a este animal sandabenamet dedicit uocem rhynocerotem...// el reverendo padre frei pedro de la orden de los Agustinhos vide un cuerno de largo de un polgar y aun menos delgado y mui negro y durissimo de que me dixo que le avisavan de la india que era poderosissimo para melancholia zalenturas? largas epilepsias. pienso que es el cuerno que le nace en el cervis// como ha poquos annos que se trae este cuerno no ay escrito del cosa que sea notable, solamente andado con curiosidad buscando algo en las historias? de india de que me pudiesse valer para la informacion que deste cuerno tengo salle? y en una breve relacion de la china que[...?]”]

/f. 121v/

[acrescento na margem direita de fólio 121v ao lado de “D. Manuel”: “Año de 1515 refiere esto fidelissimamente Amado sobre? Dioscorides//Y dize del Orta que los Indios de aquellas partes usan del contra ponçoña pensando que es unicornio y que el nunqua le vido”]

Cambaia <sup>Bengala y Patare?</sup> traxeron a Portugal en vida del Rey don Manuel un animal que ellos lhamavan Bicha o Ganda y llamavan los Griegos rhynocerote que tenia en la punta de la narys un cuerno pequeno <sup>non mui</sup> agudo, rombo de que tambien dizen que aprovecha para muchas enfermedades. [Y dizen/texto da margem]



A pouquos annos que de la India de la parte de Cambaia enbian un cuerno de palmo de larguo de color amarillo como cera y quasi que reluze como cosa vidriada. tiene la punta romba y no aguda. El pie deste cuerno se planta de ancho y tiene unas desigualdades como quando se pinta de barro el pie del monte Calvario.

Dizen que este cuerno es de un animal que llama bada que anda en unas tierras despobladas cerqua de Cambaia de lo qual haze mención frei Gaspar de la Cruz fraile dominico en un librilho que hizo de la relacion de las cosas de la China en el cp.º 3.º diziendo estas palavrás: Ay en estas partes innumerables elefantes, bufaras de que yo vide por aquella tierra grande copia y Meruus que son como grandes mullas y otros animales que llaman en aquellas partes Badas de las quales los machos en la frente tienen un solo punti??? rombo y no agudo. algunos destos son de color mesclado otros negros otros de color de cera. Es este animal quasi maior que todos los otros sino es el elefante. tiene el cabello loro los pies como elefante cabeça como vaqua y en el pescueço una grande papada que cae sobre la cervys que yo comi andando por aquellas partes.

[acrescento no final de fólio 121v e início de 122: “Por este animal Bada a entendido un animal differente del Rinocerote y arriba diximos lo que es difficil isso porque yo he inquirido con mucha diligencia esto y falle que non ay conocido en las partes [d]el oriente mas que unicornio del cabo de boa esperanza y rhynocerotes por otro nombre hebas? o gandas o badas que [tienen?] el cuerno en la nariz y este cuerno que ha poco y nos traen es deste rhynocerote los quales se casan”]

[acrescento na margem esquerda de fólho 122: “Da India mandou Antonio Monyz governador de Malaqua hu copo deste corno. hu pedaço do couro deste animal que he mui grosso escabroso e preto hu dente. hu pouquo de sangue do qual assi tudo manda dizer que e...formação que o couro fervido em agua e o corno[?] em poo aproveita para a melancholia e para inchaços da garganta e para adivinancia[?]”]

y que non ay cosa en aquellas partes que se lhame bada sino este rhynocerote el qual non tiene cabellos como sino mui poquos y raros ni tiene cuerno en la frente sino en el naris. ni tiene papada en la cervis.

[acrescento na margem direita de fólho 122: “Alberto Magno 1º 3º dixo. et est Rhynoceros cornu in nac? unico. unguas...Marcial lhama a este cuerno del Rhynocerote quantus diziendo Prestitit ...tota tibi lesar arena quae non promisit praelia rhynoceros[...?]”]

Puede se presumir que deste animal y deste cuerno informaron a Paulo Veneto quando dixo: el la region llamada Raspan conocen por señor al Gran Can adonde ay mucha copia de elefantes y unos unicornios que son poquo menos que elefantes que tienen el cabello de buey y los pies de elefantes y la cabeza de puerquos y un cuerno en medio la frente grueso y de dos palmos en largo. Porque mirando la descripcion del animal y el tamanho del cuerno que describe Paulo Veneto mas quadra con la Bada que com la Gandara que diximos.

Deste cuerno deste animal lhamado Bada y de sus dientes dicen los Indios que tienen experiencia que aprovecha mucho para dolor de almorranas. quemado y tomado en defumerio o buelto en polvo mui delgado y echado en agoa rosada y puestos unos paños mojados en este liquor. Dizen tambien que una ochava deste polvo assi del cuerno como de los dientes dado a beber en agoa o vino para lumbrizes y para ponçonha. Mas lo mas para que se usa es para las almorranas. Y assi lo dize el padre frei Gaspar quando dize: No aprovecha sino para almorranas este cuerno.

[acrescento na margem direita de fólho 122: “aqui se tresladara la descripcion del rhynocerote lhamado bada y la informacion que del se traxo a elrey en el anno de 37? mandado para antonio monis y la que me mandaron de Malag.”]

No me espanto en el cuerno y dientes deste animal aver ... para almorranas. Porque tambien de los rios de Guínee y de Indias nos traen unos dientes grandes retorcidos de cavallo marino de que usan para dolor de almorranas no solamente por la orden destes mas reduziendolos en sartal de cuentas y atado al braço y en sortyas en los dedos.

Esta es la summaria relacion que de Malagueta tenemos aqui escrivo a V. S. Illustrissimo cujas illustrissimas manos besa su servidor e criado.

Doct. Godynez

## Appendix XI – List to the Duke of Feria

### ***Letter from Juan de Borja to the Duke of Feria, 12th June 1571*** **in Archivo General de Simancas, Estado/Portugal, Leg. 389, nº 38-39**

Ill[ust]r[isi]mo señor

Son tantos los papeles que con este correo van que bastan para cansar a v.s. sin que yo lo aga com ser largo en esta carta y así no tratare de las materias sobre que escribo a su Mag[esta]d.

La memoria que va con esta contiene (como vs. vera) las cosas que de los Reynos de Su Mag[esta]d entran en este y las que de este salen y por ellas vera v.s. de quan poca jmportançia son las que nos dan y como no pueden vivir sin las que les damos pues entran Armas y yerro y madera y las de mas cosas que la memoria contiene y así sera façil cosa poner regla en las que pareziere y Aun que la mayor parte de ellas esten ya vedadas por leyes y prematicas en la observançia de ellas ay muy notable descuydo y así se venden aqui y se usa de ellas como si se Hiziesen en la misma tierra. En todas ellas se podria poner Remedio y particularm[en]te de lo que de Vizcaya y galiçia viene que es de lo que mayor neçesidad tienen y en lo que menos resguardo ay y es en tanta manera que no no se Haze ediffiçio en lisboa que la madera no sea de galiçia y la clauaçon así de las casas como de las naos que no sea de Viscaya o de flandes y cada una de las que vienen de los Reynos de Su Mag[esta]d son tan necesarias como estos. En su genero he dicho esto en suma para si pareziere bien se pueda en particular tratar del remedio de algunos en que se pueda conoçer aqua mas la falta que hara el no tenerlos/. [...] de Lisboa 12 de Junio.

Ill[ust]r[isi]mo señor

beso las manos a V. S. su servido

Don Juan de Borja

#### *Memoria de las mercaderias q[ue] entran y salen en el Reyno de Portugal*

Lo q[ue] viene de flandes para Portugal:

Manteca; queso; Tocino; Poluora; todo genero de Armas; cobre; Hierro; azero; Alquitran; Xarcias para naos; todos los masteles para las d[ic]has naos; muchas tablas de bordos y de pino en gran cantidad; clauaçones para casas; çera; sebo; tapicerias; Arbines[?]; muchos paños tendidos; casiscas de todas suertes; bayetas; anascotes; olandas; lienços; fustanes de muchas suertes; telas de jubones de muchas suertes; catasoles de todas suertes; sargas; bocaranes; terçiopelo, Rasos, damascos y cetines de todas suertes; tocados de mugeres; oro hilado; Raxas; camuças; todas suertes de merçerias; tametes de todas suertes; mucho trigo y centeno; estaño labrado; brocados; telas de plata; y otras muchas sedas de oro y plata q[ue] vienen de Italia; y otras muchas menudencias porq[ue] todas las cosas de Jtalia y de otras partes vienen a flandes y de allo vienen aqui. Valdra todo lo que viene destas cosas de flandes para portugal mucho mas de un million de oro cada año

Lo q[ue] viene de la India para portugal:

Pimienta; clauo; canela; gengibre; macia; nuez; anil; lacre; muy gran cantidad de todas estas cosas; gengibre y nueçes en conserua; muchas drogas de botica; enlienso; todas suertes de pedreria; perlas orientales muy buenas; seda en madexa blanca; damascos y tafetanes de muchas suertes labrados; Ambar; Almizque; menjui de todas suertes; canfora; atricar[?]; ebano; Porçelanas; muchas suertes de brincos de la china y cambaya; gran cantidad de ropa blanca de algodón gruesa y delgada para tocados de mugeres; Ropa pintada de

algodon de muchas suertes; muchas alcatifas; muchas colchas de seda y otras suertes; sandalos; palo de aguila; palo de calambuco; catres y camas de varandas de muchas suertes; salitre; rodela; buçios; cayro para amarras y xarçia; azero; piedras bazares; coco de maldibar; muchos sclauos y sclauas así indios como cafres; palo de la çhina para dolientes. Vale mucho dinero todo lo que viene de india cada año y la mayor parte dello va para flandes y lo demas para spaña françia e ytalía.

Lo q[ue] viene del brasil para portugal:

de Açúcar como çiento y veinte mill Arrobas cada Año; de palo brasil para tinta como diez mill quintales cada Año; Algodones como diez mill arrobas; Ambar y otras menudencias.

Lo que Viene de la Isla de sant thome Para Portugal:

de açucar como cien mill arrobas cada año; Mucha cantidad de sclauos; muchos sclauos que de alli van a la india y al brasil; Palo de colores que sirue para muchas cosas; y para seulla Van muchos sclauos pagando aca los derechos.

Lo que Viene de Cabo Verde y Costa de malagueta y mina Para Portugal:

Açucar, y algodon como seis mill arrobas cada año; muchos cueros de cabras; sebo; mucha cantidad de sclauos; y muchos que van de allo a las indias; tambien a seulla pagando los derechos; malagueta; marfil; mucho oro.

Lo que viene de la isla de la madera para portugal:

de Açucar Casa Año Como treinta mill arrobas; de vinos mucha cantidad; de conseruas de todas suertes mucha cantidad;

Casi todos los açucares Palo del brasil Algodonos y marfil se nauega Para flandes.

Lo q[ue] vine de las Islas de los azores:

Sale muy gran cantidad de pastel que va para castilla inglaterra y flandes; Tambien alumbres q[ue] vienen para aqui que se nauegan para todas partes.

Lo que viene de spaña para Portugal:

Plata que de ninguna otra parte viene; grandissima cantidad de paños y granas de todas suertes; mucha cantidad de sedas de toda suerte; hierro, azero, y armas de viscaya; ancoras clauaciones y brea para naos; remos asi de galeras como de otras suertes; Arroz y almendra; Trigo; açafran; cueros de india; palo de las antillas para curar los dientes; Viene de galiçia toda la madera p<sup>a</sup> casas; muchos nauios de auellanas y mançanas pescados secos y vnos; gorras y bonetes de todas suertes; cordouanes y guadameçis; mucha cantidad de vinos de xerez y de otras partes; caña fistola de las indias; lana para sombreros; duelas para las pipas; toda la madera para vaynas despadas y caxas.

de las Canarias vienen:

Vinos; trido; y de los vinos de alli se proueen para el brasil y otras partes.

Lo q[ue] va de portugal para spaña:

Todas suertes despeçerías; drogas de botica; Anil; Ambar; Almizq[ue]; Menjuí; todos brincos de índia; Alcatifas; Colchas; Catres; pedrería; palo prieto qes ebano; Rropa de india; açucar; palo del brasil; pescado seco; sal; Higo; Pasa; atunes; mucha suma de lienços; Hilo blanco de muchas suertes; muchas conseruas.

de Inglaterra vienen para aqui gran cantidad de paños; Plomo, y staño, y metal para Artillería.



## Appendix XII – List of all inventory records in the sample per material

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Acero	[material]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	859v
Acero	Adereço	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	874
Acero	Antojos	Juan de Acuña	P2661	917v
Acero	Antojos	Juan de Acuña	P2661	918
Acero	Antojos	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1481
Acero	Antojos	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1481v
Acero	Arca	Luis Enriquez	P3485	671v
Acero	Bolsa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1345v
Acero	Brasero	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	916v
Acero	Brasero	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	547
Acero	Brasero	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	547
Acero	Cadena	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1317
Acero	Cadena	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1347v
Acero	Cadena	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	21
Acero	Cadena	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	907
Acero	Cadena	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	910
Acero	Cadena	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	210
Acero	Cinta	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	210
Acero	Cofre	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	29
Acero	Cofre	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	29
Acero	Cordon	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	874
Acero	Cordon	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	210v
Acero	Escudo	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	522v
Acero	Escudo	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	522v
Acero	Espejo	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1073v
Acero	Imagen	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	905v
Acero	Imagen	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	905v
Acero	Imagen	Luis Enriquez	P3485	671v
Acero	Pieça	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	210
Acero	Puntas	Luis Enriquez	P3485	669v
Acero	Relicário	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	874
Acero	Relicário	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	538
Acero	Rosario	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	416
Acero	Sarten	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1322v
Acero	Sarten	Ana Manrique	P2022	361
Acero	Sarten	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	528v
Acero	Sarten	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	528v
Acero	Sarten	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1072
Acero	Sarten	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1513v
Acero	Sarten	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1513v
Acero	Sombrero	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1756
Agata	[material]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	670v
Agata	Ara	Maria de Aragón	P1578	162
Agata	Brinco	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1347v
Agata	Cadena	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	402v
Agata	Cadena	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Agata	Cadena	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Agata	Copa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1345
Agata	Cuchillo	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	515v
Agata	Cuchillo	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	516v
Agata	Cuchillo	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	516v
Agata	Cuchillo	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	516v
Agata	Cuchillo	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	516v
Agata	Cuchillo	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	518v
Agata	Escudilla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1478
Agata	Frasco	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	777
Agata	Imagen	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1753
Agata	Pieça	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	518v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Agata	Pieça	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1343v
Agata	Pintura	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	522v
Agata	Pintura	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	522v
Agata	Pomo	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	267v
Agata	Rosario	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1305
Agata	Rosario	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	518
Agata	Rosario	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	518v
Agata	Rosario	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	519
Agata	Rosario	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	200
Agata	Salva	Luis Enriquez	P3485	671v
Agata	Sortija	Luis Enriquez	P3485	668v
Agata	Vaso	Luis Enriquez	P3485	671v
Alabastro	[material]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	939
Alabastro	Arca	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	185
Alabastro	Candelero	Luis Enriquez	P3485	667
Alabastro	Cazo	Ana Maria Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1016
Alabastro	Cuna	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1760
Alabastro	Garrafa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1040v
Alabastro	Imagen	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	378v
Alabastro	Imagen	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1345
Alabastro	Imagen	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1760
Alabastro	Imagen	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	948
Alabastro	Imagen	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	62v
Alabastro	Mortero	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1753
Alabastro	Pieça	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	769v
Alabastro	Pila	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	792v
Alabastro	Pila	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	529v
Alabastro	Vaso	Ana Manrique	P2022	389
Algalia	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1347v
Algalia	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1347v
Algalia	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1347v
Algalia	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	392v
Algalia	[material]	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1752v
Algalia	[material]	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1753
Algalia	[material]	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	685v
Algalia	[material]	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	61
Algalia	[material]	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	26v
Algalia	[material]	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	26v
Algalia	[material]	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	26v
Algalia	[material]	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	908
Algalia	[material]	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	538
Algodon	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1344v
Algodon	[material]	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1757v
Algodon	[material]	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1757v
Algodon	Almilla	Luis Enriquez	P3485	667v
Algodon	Colcha	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	59
Algodon	Colcha	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	59
Algodon	Colcha	Juana de Mujita	P2021	86v
Algodon	Colcha	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	207
Algodon	Colcha	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	526v
Algodon	Cubierta	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1044v
Algodon	Cubierta	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1044v
Algodon	Paño	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Algodon	Paño	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1767v
Algodon	Toalla	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1756v
Algodon	Toalla	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1756v
Algodon	Toalla	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1756v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Algodon	Toalla	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1756v
Algodon	Toalla	Maria Pereira	P989	236
Almizcle	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1347v
Almizcle	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	392v
Almizcle	[material]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	670v
Ambar	[material]	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	416
Ambar	[material]	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	416
Ambar	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	392v
Ambar	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	392v
Ambar	[material]	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1483v
Ambar	[material]	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	907v
Ambar	[material]	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	910v
Ambar	[material]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	670v
Ambar	[material]	Maria de Aragón	P1578	166
Ambar	[material]	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1344
Ambar	Abanico	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1011v
Ambar	Abanico	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1383
Ambar	Abano	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	208
Ambar	Abano	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	208
Ambar	Arrecada	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	416v
Ambar	Bolsa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1347
Ambar	Bolsa	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	495v
Ambar	Bolsa	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	495v
Ambar	Bolsa	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	18v
Ambar	Bolsa	Juan de Acuña	P2661	915
Ambar	Bolsa	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	907
Ambar	Bolsa	Maria de Aragón	P1578	165
Ambar	Bolsa	Maria de Aragón	P1578	165
Ambar	Bolsa	Maria de Aragón	P1578	165
Ambar	Bolsa	Maria de Aragón	P1578	165v
Ambar	Brinco	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1346v
Ambar	Cabritilla	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	912v
Ambar	Cabritilla	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1344
Ambar	Cadena	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	67
Ambar	Cadena	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1486v
Ambar	Cadena	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1486v
Ambar	Caja	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	792v
Ambar	Caja	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	911v
Ambar	Caja	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	913
Ambar	Cinta	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1484
Ambar	Cinto	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1364
Ambar	Coletto	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1647v
Ambar	Coletto	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	399
Ambar	Coletto	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1014
Ambar	Cruz	Maria de Aragón	P1578	159v
Ambar	Cuba	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	527v
Ambar	Cuenta	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1344
Ambar	Cuenta	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	682
Ambar	Cuenta	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1479v
Ambar	Cuenta	Luis Enriquez	P3485	669
Ambar	Cuera	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	240
Ambar	Cuera	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	248
Ambar	Frasquera	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	405v
Ambar	Guantes	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1347
Ambar	Guantes	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	518
Ambar	Guantes	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	518
Ambar	Guantes	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1017
Ambar	Guantes	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1017
Ambar	Guantes	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1017
Ambar	Guantes	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1483v
Ambar	Guantes	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1483v
Ambar	Guantes	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1483v
Ambar	Guantes	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	908
Ambar	Guantes	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	908v
Ambar	Guantes	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	208
Ambar	Guantes	Luis Enriquez	P3485	670

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Ambar	Guantes	Maria Pereira	P989	237
Ambar	Hilo	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1010
Ambar	Imagen	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1010v
Ambar	Pieça	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1306v
Ambar	Pieça	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1306v
Ambar	Pieça	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	683
Ambar	Pieça	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1485
Ambar	Pieça	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	209v
Ambar	Pieça	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	210
Ambar	Pomo	Maria de Aragón	P1578	158v
Ambar	Rosario	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	518
Ambar	Rosario	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	905
Ambar	Rosario	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	906v
Ambar	Rosario	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	907v
Ambar	Rosario	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	200
Ambar	Rosario	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	538v
Ambar	Rosario	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1156v
Ambar	Salva	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1344
Ambar	Salva	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1363v
Ambar	Sapato	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	208v
Ambar	Vestido	Juan de Mendoza y Castilla	P2298	329v
Anafaya	Ferrezuelo	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1643
Anafaya	Ferrezuelo	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1646
Anafaya	Ferrezuelo	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1463v
Anafaya	Ropa	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1463
Anafaya	Sotana	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1014
Anascote	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	382
Anascote	Ferrezuelo	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	238v
Anascote	Loba	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviña	P2040b	637-[652]
Anascote	Mangas	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviña	P2040b	637-[652]
Anascote	Manteo	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviña	P2040b	637-[652]
Anime	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1316
Anime	[material]	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	909
Anime	[material]	Maria de Aragón	P1578	173
Azabache	Avito	Aldoña de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	874
Azabache	Brazalete	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	905v
Azabache	Brazalete	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	201
Azabache	Brinco	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	18
Azabache	Cadena	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	908
Azabache	Caja	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1347v
Azabache	Candelero	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1759v
Azabache	Cinto	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	32v
Azabache	Cordon	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	15v
Azabache	Frasco	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	22v
Azabache	Frutero	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1316v
Azabache	Imagen	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	32v
Azabache	Joya	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1364v
Azabache	Joya	Maria Pereira	P989	236v
Azabache	Paz	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1759v
Azabache	Puntas	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1307
Azabache	Puntas	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	193
Azabache	Rosario	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1317
Azabache	Rosario	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	518v
Azabache	Rosario	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	20v
Azabache	Rosario	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	20v
Azabache	Rosario	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	20v
Azabache	Rosario	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	20v
Azabache	Rosario	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	906v
Azabache	Rosario	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	200v
Azabache	Rosario	Luis Enriquez	P3485	670
Azabache	Rosario	Maria Pereira	P989	237
Azabache	Sortija	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1754v
Balsamo	[material]	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	494v
Balsamo	[material]	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	495
Balsamo	[material]	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Balsamo	[material]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	670v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Balsamo	[material]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	670v
Bayeta	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1299
Bayeta	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	381v
Bayeta	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	382v
Bayeta	[material]	Fernando Carrillo	P2031	1030v
Bayeta	[material]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	793
Bayeta	[material]	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	193v
Bayeta	Almilla	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1011v
Bayeta	Almilla	Juan de Acuña	P2661	888
Bayeta	Bolsa	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1496v
Bayeta	Bota	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1468
Bayeta	Caja	Ana Manrique	P2022	357
Bayeta	Cama [Mueble]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1291v
Bayeta	Capa	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	239
Bayeta	Capa	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	693v
Bayeta	Capa	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	694v
Bayeta	Capa	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1462
Bayeta	Casco	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1467
Bayeta	Cesta	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1299v
Bayeta	Cubierta	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1298
Bayeta	Faldellín	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	784v
Bayeta	Ferrezuelo	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1643
Bayeta	Ferrezuelo	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1646v
Bayeta	Ferrezuelo	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	383v
Bayeta	Ferrezuelo	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	401v
Bayeta	Ferrezuelo	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1300v
Bayeta	Ferrezuelo	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	952
Bayeta	Ferrezuelo	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	238v
Bayeta	Ferrezuelo	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	238v
Bayeta	Ferrezuelo	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	238v
Bayeta	Ferrezuelo	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	694v
Bayeta	Ferrezuelo	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	759
Bayeta	Ferrezuelo	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	760
Bayeta	Ferrezuelo	Juan de Acuña	P2661	886v
Bayeta	Ferrezuelo	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1464
Bayeta	Ferrezuelo	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1464v
Bayeta	Ferrezuelo	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1464v
Bayeta	Ferrezuelo	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1464v
Bayeta	Ferrezuelo	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1464v
Bayeta	Ferrezuelo	Martín de Padreda	P2323	404
Bayeta	Ferrezuelo	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	525v
Bayeta	Forro	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1013
Bayeta	Forro	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1464v
Bayeta	Forro	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1465
Bayeta	Forro	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1370v
Bayeta	Forro	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Bayeta	Gaban	Luis Enriquez	P3485	661
Bayeta	Gaban	Luis Enriquez	P3485	661
Bayeta	Garnacha	Fernando Carrillo	P2031	1030v
Bayeta	Garnacha	Fernando Carrillo	P2031	1030v
Bayeta	Garnacha	Juan de Acuña	P2661	886v
Bayeta	Garnacha	Juan de Acuña	P2661	886v
Bayeta	Garnacha	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Bayeta	Garnacha	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Bayeta	Jubon	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1371v
Bayeta	Mangas	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1316
Bayeta	Manta	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	387v
Bayeta	Manta	Antonio Perez	P989b	470v
Bayeta	Manteo	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	384v [sic]
Bayeta	Manteo	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1013v
Bayeta	Manteo	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	248v
Bayeta	Manteo	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Bayeta	Manteo	Luis Enriquez	P3485	674
Bayeta	Paño	Juana de Mujita	P2021	82v
Bayeta	Paño	Luis Enriquez	P3485	661v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Bayeta	Picça	Antonio Perez	P989b	472
Bayeta	Picça	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	241v
Bayeta	Repostero	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	526
Bayeta	Ropa	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	382v
Bayeta	Ropa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1308v
Bayeta	Ropa	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1013v
Bayeta	Ropa	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	785
Bayeta	Ropa	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	785v
Bayeta	Ropa	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	953v
Bayeta	Ropa	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	247
Bayeta	Ropa	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	247
Bayeta	Ropa	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	758
Bayeta	Ropa	Luis Enriquez	P3485	673v
Bayeta	Ropa	Maria de Aragón	P1578	169
Bayeta	Ropa	Martín de Padreda	P2323	404v
Bayeta	Ropilla	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1643v
Bayeta	Ropilla	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1340v
Bayeta	Ropilla	Fernando Carrillo	P2031	1030
Bayeta	Ropilla	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	239v
Bayeta	Ropilla	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	239v
Bayeta	Ropilla	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	239v
Bayeta	Ropilla	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	694v
Bayeta	Ropilla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1459
Bayeta	Ropilla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1459v
Bayeta	Ropilla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1459v
Bayeta	Ropilla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1459v
Bayeta	Ropilla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1459v
Bayeta	Ropilla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1459v
Bayeta	Ropilla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1459v
Bayeta	Ropilla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1496v
Bayeta	Ropilla	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1146v
Bayeta	Saya	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	382v
Bayeta	Saya	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1307
Bayeta	Silla	Ana Manrique	P2022	358v
Bayeta	Silla	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	949
Bayeta	Sotana	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1013
Bayeta	Sotana	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	760
Bayeta	Sotana	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	760
Bayeta	Sotana	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	760
Bayeta	Sotana	Juan de Acuña	P2661	886v
Bayeta	Sotana	Luis Enriquez	P3485	661v
Bayeta	Sotana	Luis Enriquez	P3485	661v
Bayeta	Sotana	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1340
Beatilla	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1344v
Beatilla	Cama [Textil]	Maria de Aragón	P1578	164v
Beatilla	Cortina	Maria Pereira	P989	238v
Beatilla	Pabellon	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1342v
Beatilla	Paño	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1759
Beatilla	Picça	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	34
Beatilla	Picça	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	34v
Beatilla	Picça	Maria de Aragón	P1578	169v
Beatilla	Toalla	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1344v
Beatilla	Toalla	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	706v
Beatilla	Toalla	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	707
Beatilla	Toalla	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	707
Beatilla	Toalla	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	707
Beatilla	Toalla	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1382v
Beatilla	Toalla	Juana de Mujita	P2021	87
Beatilla	Toalla	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	180v
Beatilla	Toca	Maria de Aragón	P1578	170
Bejuco	Porcelana	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	19v
Benjuí	[material]	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	416v
Benjuí	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1313v
Benjuí	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1313v
Benjuí	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1314
Benjuí	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1314

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Benjú	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1347v
Benjú	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	392v
Benjú	[material]	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	495
Benjú	[material]	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1753
Benjú	[material]	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1753v
Benjú	[material]	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1754
Benjú	[material]	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1758v
Benjú	[material]	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	61
Benjú	[material]	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	18v
Benjú	[material]	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	18v
Benjú	[material]	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	32v
Benjú	[material]	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	910
Benjú	[material]	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	911v
Benjú	[material]	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	915v
Benjú	[material]	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	915v
Benjú	[material]	Maria de Aragón	P1578	166
Benjú	[material]	Maria de Aragón	P1578	169
Benjú	[material]	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	527v
Benjú	Rosario	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1348v
Benjú	Rosario	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	518v
Benjú	Rosario	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	518v
Bocaci	[material]	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	420
Bocaci	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1299
Bocaci	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1299
Bocaci	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1299
Bocaci	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1300
Bocaci	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1338
Bocaci	[material]	Ana Maria Dugarte de la Hemossa	P2654b	1017
Bocaci	[material]	Ana Maria Dugarte de la Hemossa	P2654b	1017
Bocaci	[material]	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	503
Bocaci	[material]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	881v
Bocaci	[material]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	889v
Bocaci	[material]	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1048v
Bocaci	[material]	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1470v
Bocaci	[material]	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1470v
Bocaci	[material]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	657
Bocaci	[material]	Maria Pereira	P989	238
Bocaci	[material]	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	192v
Bocaci	Almohada	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1294v
Bocaci	Almohada	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1756
Bocaci	Almohada	Maria Pereira	P989	238v
Bocaci	Antepuerta	Luis Enriquez	P3485	658
Bocaci	Antipara	Juan de Acuña	P2661	817
Bocaci	Arca	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1506v
Bocaci	Arca	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	212v
Bocaci	Arca	Luis Enriquez	P3485	672
Bocaci	Bañil	Luis Enriquez	P3485	668v
Bocaci	Bañil	Luis Enriquez	P3485	671
Bocaci	Biombo	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	417v
Bocaci	Biombo	Ana Manrique	P2022	355v
Bocaci	Caja	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1064
Bocaci	Cama [Textil]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1292
Bocaci	Cofre	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1505v
Bocaci	Cofre	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1506
Bocaci	Cofre	Luis Enriquez	P3485	659
Bocaci	Cofre	Luis Enriquez	P3485	659
Bocaci	Cofre	Luis Enriquez	P3485	659v
Bocaci	Cofre	Luis Enriquez	P3485	661
Bocaci	Cofre	Luis Enriquez	P3485	672
Bocaci	Cofre	Luis Enriquez	P3485	672v
Bocaci	Colgadura	Luis Enriquez	P3485	655
Bocaci	Cortina	Ana Manrique	P2022	381v
Bocaci	Cortina	Ana Manrique	P2022	381v
Bocaci	Cortina	Ana Manrique	P2022	381v
Bocaci	Cortina	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1161v
Bocaci	Cubierta	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	510v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Bocaci	Cubierta	Juan de Acuña	P2661	889v
Bocaci	Escabelo	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1057
Bocaci	Espaldar	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1056v
Bocaci	Espaldar	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1057
Bocaci	Espaldar	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1057
Bocaci	Paño	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1294
Bocaci	Paño	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1050
Bocaci	Paño	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1052v
Bocaci	Pieça	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	222
Bocaci	Pieça	Juan de Acuña	P2661	782v
Bocaci	Repostero	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	178
Bocaci	Sobremesa	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	509v
Bocaci	Sobremesa	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1755
Bocaci	Sombrero	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1337v
Borne	Arca	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	876
Borne	Arca	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	876
Borne	Candelero	Juan de Acuña	P2661	816v
Box	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	356v
Box	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	386
Box	Arca	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	374v
Box	Bola	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1482
Box	Bufete	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	793
Box	Cruz	Maria de Aragón	P1578	159
Box	Escova	Juan de Acuña	P2661	921
Box	Escritorio	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1062
Box	Escritorio	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1062v
Box	Escritorio	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1063
Box	Escritorio	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviria	P2040b	637-[652]
Box	Imagen	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	402v
Box	Imagen	Ana Manrique	P2022	359
Box	Imagen	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	795v
Box	Morillo	Ana Manrique	P2022	356v
Box	Peana	Juan de Acuña	P2661	924v
Box	Peine	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	213v
Box	Peine	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	213v
Box	Pieça	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	372v
Box	Pieça	Juan de Acuña	P2661	916
Brocado	[material]	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	502v
Brocado	[material]	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	502v
Brocado	[material]	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	505v
Brocado	[material]	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	65v
Brocado	Almohada	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1056
Brocado	Almohada	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1451
Brocado	Almohada	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1451v
Brocado	Banco	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	521
Brocado	Cama [Textil]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1292
Brocado	Cama [Textil]	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	48v
Brocado	Cama [Textil]	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	278v
Brocado	Cama [Textil]	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1053v
Brocado	Cama [Textil]	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1053v
Brocado	Cama [Textil]	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1451v
Brocado	Cama [Textil]	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	215
Brocado	Casula	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1501v
Brocado	Casula	Maria de Aragón	P1578	161v
Brocado	Colchon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1495
Brocado	Colgadura	Juan de Acuña	P2661	794
Brocado	Colgadura	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	215
Brocado	Dossel	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1292
Brocado	Dossel	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	49v
Brocado	Dossel	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	49v
Brocado	Dossel	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	276v
Brocado	Dossel	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1452
Brocado	Dossel	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1452
Brocado	Dossel	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1452v
Brocado	Dossel	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1452v
Brocado	Peana	Juan de Acuña	P2661	827

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Brocado	Pieça	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	178v
Brocado	Silla	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Brocado	Silla	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Brocado	Silla	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Brocado	Silla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1452v
Brocado	Sobremesa	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	215v
Brocatel	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1211[sic]
Brocatel	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1211v[sic]
Brocatel	[material]	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	786
Brocatel	[material]	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	786
Brocatel	[material]	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	786
Brocatel	[material]	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	786
Brocatel	[material]	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	786v
Brocatel	[material]	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	787v
Brocatel	[material]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	881
Brocatel	[material]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	672
Brocatel	[material]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	672v
Brocatel	[material]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	672v
Brocatel	Almohada	Luis Enriquez	P3485	658v
Brocatel	Almohada	María de Aragón	P1578	165
Brocatel	Bolsa	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Brocatel	Cama [Textil]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1292v
Brocatel	Casula	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	214v
Brocatel	Casula	María de Aragón	P1578	160v
Brocatel	Colgadura	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	767v
Brocatel	Colgadura	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	521
Brocatel	Dossel	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	917v
Brocatel	Dossel	Luis Enriquez	P3485	658v
Brocatel	Frontal	Luis Enriquez	P3485	675v
Brocatel	Silla	Luis Enriquez	P3485	675v
Brocatel	Taburete	Luis Enriquez	P3485	675v
Bronce	Atril	Ana Manrique	P2022	367
Bronce	Bacia	Luis Enriquez	P3485	659
Bronce	Bola	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1057v
Bronce	Boton	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	777
Bronce	Brasero	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	407v
Bronce	Brasero	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermosa	P2654b	1011
Bronce	Brasero	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	527v
Bronce	Brasero	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	242v
Bronce	Brasero	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	686v
Bronce	Brasero	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	51v
Bronce	Brasero	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	51v
Bronce	Brasero	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	190
Bronce	Bufete	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	783v
Bronce	Bufete	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	780v
Bronce	Caja	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	792v
Bronce	Caja	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	17v
Bronce	Caja	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	908v
Bronce	Caja	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	527v
Bronce	Caja	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	528
Bronce	Caja	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	195
Bronce	Cama [Mueble]	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1634v
Bronce	Cama [Mueble]	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	782
Bronce	Cama [Mueble]	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1059v
Bronce	Cama [Mueble]	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	488v
Bronce	Cama [Mueble]	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	910v
Bronce	Cama [Mueble]	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1337v
Bronce	Campana	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1314
Bronce	Campana	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	783
Bronce	Campana	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	19v
Bronce	Campana	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	911v
Bronce	Campana	Juana de Mujita	P2021	85v
Bronce	Campana	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	542v
Bronce	Candado	Luis Enriquez	P3485	659
Bronce	Candelero	Juan de Acuña	P2661	816

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Bronce	Candelero	Luis Enriquez	P3485	665v
Bronce	Copa	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	403v
Bronce	Cruz	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Bronce	Cruz	Ana Manrique	P2022	368
Bronce	Cruz	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviña	P2040b	637-[652]
Bronce	Cuchara	Luis Enriquez	P3485	668v
Bronce	Escritorio	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Bronce	Escritorio	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	66v
Bronce	Escritorio	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1062
Bronce	Escudilla	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	494v
Bronce	Especjo	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	190v
Bronce	Estufilla	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Bronce	Frasco	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	67
Bronce	Imagen	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermosa	P2654b	1012
Bronce	Imagen	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	783
Bronce	Imagen	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	783
Bronce	Imagen	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	794
Bronce	Imagen	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	854
Bronce	Imagen	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	225
Bronce	Imagen	Juan de Acuña	P2661	821v
Bronce	Imagen	Juan de Acuña	P2661	860
Bronce	Imagen	Juan de Mendoza y Castilla	P2298	333v
Bronce	Imagen	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	909
Bronce	Imagen	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	915v
Bronce	Imagen	Luis Enriquez	P3485	665v
Bronce	Imagen	Luis Enriquez	P3485	670v
Bronce	Imagen	María de Aragón	P1578	165
Bronce	Imagen	Martin de Padreda	P2323	399
Bronce	Imagen	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	530
Bronce	Imagen	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	539v
Bronce	Imagen	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1343
Bronce	Imagen	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1156v
Bronce	Jarro	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	783v
Bronce	Jarro	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	534
Bronce	Medalla	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	495v
Bronce	Medalla	Juan de Acuña	P2661	822v
Bronce	Medalla	Juan de Acuña	P2661	862v
Bronce	Medalla	Juan de Acuña	P2661	862v
Bronce	Medalla	Juan de Acuña	P2661	862v
Bronce	Medalla	Juan de Mendoza y Castilla	P2298	333
Bronce	Medalla	Luis Enriquez	P3485	669v
Bronce	Morillo	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	423v
Bronce	Morillo	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1017
Bronce	Morillo	Luis Enriquez	P3485	659
Bronce	Mortero	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	18
Bronce	Pieça	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	51v
Bronce	Pieça	Juan de Acuña	P2661	862v
Bronce	Pieça	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1033
Bronce	Pieça	Luis Enriquez	P3485	659
Bronce	Pieça	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	545
Bronce	Pieça	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1343v
Bronce	Pila	Luis Enriquez	P3485	670
Bronce	Pomo	Luis Enriquez	P3485	670
Bronce	Pomo	Luis Enriquez	P3485	670
Bronce	Relicário	Ana Manrique	P2022	367v
Bronce	Relicário	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	63
Bronce	Relicário	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	769v
Bronce	Relicário	Juan de Acuña	P2661	823
Bronce	Relicário	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1479v
Bronce	Relicário	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Bronce	Relicário	Martin de Padreda	P2323	399v
Bronce	Relicário	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	520
Bronce	Relicário	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviña	P2040b	637-[652]
Bronce	Reloj	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Bronce	Reloj	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	223v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Bronce	Reloj	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	23
Bronce	Reloj	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1469v
Bronce	Reloj	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	909v
Bronce	Reloj	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	544v
Bronce	Retablo	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	22
Bronce	Retablo	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	22
Bronce	Retrato	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	494v
Bronce	Retrato	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	526v
Bronce	Salva	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	495v
Bronce	Salva	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	786
Bronce	Salva	Luis Enriquez	P3485	671v
Bronce	Sortija	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	193v
Bronce	Tenedor	Luis Enriquez	P3485	668v
Bronce	Tintero	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	495v
Bronce	Tintero	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	786
Bronce	Tintero	Juan de Mendoza y Castilla	P2298	333
Bronce	Vaso	Luis Enriquez	P3485	671v
Bucho	Cuba	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	496v
Bucho	Cuba	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	496v
Bufano	Apretador	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	201
Bufano	Arrecada	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	199v
Bufano	Cadena	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	199
Bufano	Cadena	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	199
Bufano	Cadena	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	201
Bufano	Cadena	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	201
Bufano	Cadena	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	201
Bufano	Cadena	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	210
Bufano	Cadena	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	210
Bufano	Cadena	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	210
Bufano	Cadena	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	210
Bufano	Caja	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1340
Bufano	Cinta	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	210
Bufano	Cinto	Luis Enriquez	P3485	670
Bufano	Gargantilla	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	210
Bufano	Peine	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	494v
Bufano	Pieça	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	210
Bufano	Salva	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1037
Buzio	Arca	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	32v
Buzio	Rosario	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	20v
Calabaza	Bandeja	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	62v
Calabaza	Bandeja	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1041v
Calabaza	Caja	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	65v
Calabaza	Calabaza	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	33v
Calabaza	Cruz	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	30
Calabaza	Cruz	Juan de Acuña	P2661	823v
Calabaza	Cruz	Juan de Acuña	P2661	824
Calabaza	Cruz	Juan de Acuña	P2661	829v
Calambuco	[material]	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	909
Calambuco	Cruz	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	681v
Calambuco	Rosario	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	874
Calambuco	Rosario	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	416
Calambuco	Rosario	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	848
Calambuco	Rosario	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	518v
Calambuco	Rosario	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	519
Calambuco	Rosario	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	519
Calambuco	Rosario	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	27v
Calambuco	Rosario	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	28
Calambuco	Rosario	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	906v
Calambuco	Rosario	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	906v
Calambuco	Rosario	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	908v
Calambuco	Rosario	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	200v
Calambuco	Rosario	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	200v
Calambuco	Rosario	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	528
Calambuco	Rosario	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	538v
Calambuco	Vaso	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1036

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Cambray	[material]	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	424
Cambray	[material]	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	424v
Cambray	[material]	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	424v
Cambray	[material]	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	424v
Cambray	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1343
Cambray	[material]	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1754
Cambray	[material]	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1754v
Cambray	[material]	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1757v
Cambray	[material]	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1757v
Cambray	[material]	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	61
Cambray	[material]	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1513
Cambray	[material]	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	909v
Cambray	[material]	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	206
Cambray	[material]	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	206
Cambray	[material]	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	206
Cambray	[material]	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	206
Cambray	Abanico	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	205v
Cambray	Abanico	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	205v
Cambray	Abanico	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	205v
Cambray	Abanico	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	209
Cambray	Abanico	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	213
Cambray	Camisa	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1509
Cambray	Cofia	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1344v
Cambray	Cofia	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	909v
Cambray	Cofia	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	913v
Cambray	Cofia	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	209
Cambray	Cofia	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	194
Cambray	Cofia	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	194
Cambray	Cuello	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	873v
Cambray	Cuello	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	873v
Cambray	Cuello	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	790v
Cambray	Cuello	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1017
Cambray	Cuello	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	957
Cambray	Cuello	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	253
Cambray	Cuello	Juan de Acuña	P2661	902
Cambray	Cuello	Juan de Acuña	P2661	902
Cambray	Cuello	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1509v
Cambray	Cuello	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1510v
Cambray	Cuello	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1511
Cambray	Cuello	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	915
Cambray	Cuello	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	205v
Cambray	Cuello	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	193
Cambray	Frutero	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	35
Cambray	Frutero	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	35
Cambray	Frutero	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	36
Cambray	Gorguera	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1510v
Cambray	Gorguera	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1510v
Cambray	Gorguera	Luis Enriquez	P3485	668v
Cambray	Lienzo	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	873v
Cambray	Lienzo	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	205v
Cambray	Lienzo	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	205v
Cambray	Pabellon	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	912v
Cambray	Pabellon	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	912v
Cambray	Paño	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1345
Cambray	Pieça	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1510
Cambray	Pieça	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1510
Cambray	Puño	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1510
Cambray	Toalla	Juan de Acuña	P2661	900v
Cambray	Toalla	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	914
Cambray	Toalla	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	914v
Cambray	Toalla	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	180v
Cambray	Valona	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	958v
Cambray	Valona	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	913v
Cambray	Valona	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	211
Camuza	[material]	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	505v
Camuza	Calças	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	694

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Camuza	Calças	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1455
Camuza	Calças	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1455
Camuza	Calças	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1455
Camuza	Jubon	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	398v
Camuza	Medias	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1455v
Camuza	Medias	Juan de Mendoza y Castilla	P2298	329v
Camuza	Morrión	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	523
Camuza	Ropa	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	240v
Cañamazo	[material]	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	384 [sic]
Cañamazo	[material]	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	384 [sic]
Cañamazo	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1211v[sic]
Cañamazo	[material]	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	61
Cañamazo	[material]	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	65
Cañamazo	[material]	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	65v
Cañamazo	[material]	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1371v
Cañamazo	[material]	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1371v
Cañamazo	[material]	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	207v
Cañamazo	[material]	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	207v
Cañamazo	[material]	Maria de Aragón	P1578	163
Cañamazo	Alfombra	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	49v
Cañamazo	Almohada	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviña	P2040b	637-[652]
Cañamazo	Asiento	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	34
Cañamazo	Banda	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1642v
Cañamazo	Banda	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1340v
Cañamazo	Bolsa	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	61
Cañamazo	Bolsa	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	62
Cañamazo	Bolsa	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	204v
Cañamazo	Bolsa	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	204v
Cañamazo	Bolsa	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	532v
Cañamazo	Bufete	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1636
Cañamazo	Dossel	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	394
Cañamazo	Dossel	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	210v
Cañamazo	Dossel	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	49v
Cañamazo	Dossel	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	914v
Cañamazo	Frontal	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	65
Cañamazo	Paño	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1340v
Cañamazo	Pieça	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	213v
Cañamazo	Pieça	Maria de Aragón	P1578	171
Cañamazo	Renda	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1649v
Cañamazo	Senefa	Maria de Aragón	P1578	163
Cañamazo	Senefa	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	184
Cañamazo	Silla	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1635
Cañamazo	Silla	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1298v
Cañamazo	Silla	Ana Manrique	P2022	358
Cañamazo	Silla	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Cañamazo	Silla	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Cañamazo	Silla	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Cañamazo	Silla	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Cañamazo	Silla	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	215
Cañamazo	Silla	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	215
Cañamazo	Silla	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	215
Cañamazo	Silla	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	215
Cañamazo	Silla	Juan de Acuña	P2661	806
Cañamazo	Silla	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	204v
Cañamazo	Silla	Maria de Aragón	P1578	167v
Cañamazo	Silla	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	527
Cañamazo	Silla	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	545v
Cañamazo	Sobremesa	Juan de Acuña	P2661	783v
Cañamazo	Sobremesa	Martin de Padreda	P2323	409v
Cañamazo	Taburete	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1635
Cañamazo	Taburete	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	421
Cañamazo	Taburete	Ana Manrique	P2022	356
Cañamazo	Taburete	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Cañamazo	Taburete	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Cañamazo	Taburete	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Cañamazo	Taburete	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Cañamazo	Taburete	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	215
Cañamazo	Taburete	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	215v
Cañamazo	Taburete	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	781
Cañamazo	Taburete	Juan de Acuña	P2661	808v
Cañamazo	Taburete	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1377v
Cañamazo	Taburete	Martin de Padreda	P2323	413v
Cañamazo	Taburete	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	542v
Cañamazo	Taburete	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	545v
Cañamo	Sapato	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	496v
Cariqui	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1315
Cariqui	Colcha	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1047v
Cariqui	Colcha	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1047v
Cariqui	Colcha	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1048
Cariqui	Colcha	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1048v
Cariqui	Pieça	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	34
Caoba	Arca	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	875v
Caoba	Arca	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	373
Caoba	Arca	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	799
Caoba	Arca	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	16v
Caoba	Arca	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1504v
Caoba	Banco	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	798
Caoba	Bufete	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	875
Caoba	Bufete	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	875v
Caoba	Bufete	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1635v
Caoba	Bufete	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	793
Caoba	Bufete	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	793
Caoba	Bufete	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	798
Caoba	Bufete	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Caoba	Bufete	Felipe de Matieço	P2026	1011
Caoba	Bufete	Fernando Carrillo	P2031	1032
Caoba	Bufete	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	780v
Caoba	Bufete	Juan de Acuña	P2661	811v
Caoba	Caja	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Caoba	Contador	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	875
Caoba	Escritorio	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	875
Caoba	Escritorio	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	875
Caoba	Escritorio	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Caoba	Escritorio	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	546v
Caoba	Mesa	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	799v
Caoba	Mesa	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	218
Caoba	Muleta	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1469
Caoba	Reja	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	375
Caoba	Taburete	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	798v
Carvon	[material]	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1766v
Catalufa	[material]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	880
Catalufa	Calçon	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	384v [sic]
Catalufa	Calçon	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Catalufa	Cama [Textil]	Fernando Carrillo	P2031	1030
Catalufa	Cama [Textil]	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	949v
Catalufa	Cama [Textil]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	779
Catalufa	Cama [Textil]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	656v
Catalufa	CoBERTOR	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Catalufa	Colgadura	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	787v
Catalufa	Colgadura	Juan de Acuña	P2661	786v
Catalufa	Colgadura	Luis Enriquez	P3485	655
Catalufa	Colgadura	Luis Enriquez	P3485	655v
Catalufa	Cortina	Juan de Acuña	P2661	889v
Catalufa	Frontal	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	795
Catalufa	Garnacha	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Catalufa	Garnacha	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	481v
Catalufa	Pabellon	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	521v
Catalufa	Paño	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	276
Catalufa	Pieça	Juan de Acuña	P2661	880

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Catalufa	Pintura	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviria	P2040b	637-[652]
Catalufa	Sayo	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	247
Catalufa	Silla	Juan de Acuña	P2661	807v
Catalufa	Silla	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	220
Catalufa	Sobremesa	Luis Enriquez	P3485	656
Catalufa	Verdugado	Felipe de Matienco	P2026	1012v
Catalufa	Verdugado	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	188v
Caza	[material]	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	61
Caza	[material]	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	916
Caza	[material]	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	523
Caza	Corporal	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	25
Caza	Cuello	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	909v
Caza	Delantal	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	791v
Cedro de La Havana	Bufete	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	875v
Cera	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	369
Cera	[material]	Maria Pereira	P989	237
Cera	Bugia	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1314
Cera	Bugia	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1314
Cera	Bugia	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1759v
Cera	Imagen	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1642v
Cera	Imagen	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	378v
Cera	Imagen	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	796
Cera	Imagen	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	854v
Cera	Imagen	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1752
Cera	Imagen	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	948v
Cera	Imagen	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	948v
Cera	Imagen	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	62v
Cera	Imagen	Juan de Acuña	P2661	822
Cera	Imagen	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	909
Cera	Imagen	Luis Enriquez	P3485	669
Cera	Imagen	Martin de Padreda	P2323	410
Cera	Imagen	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	534
Cera	Imagen	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	534
Cera	Imagen	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	534v
Cera	Imagen	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	535v
Cera	Imagen	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	539v
Cera	Libro	Ana Maria Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1014v
Cera	Libro	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	541
Cera	Lienzo	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1760
Cera	Pieça	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1318v
Cera	Pintura	Martin de Padreda	P2323	399
Cera	Retrato	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	526v
Cerâmica	Açafate	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1345
Cerâmica	Brinco	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1313v
Cerâmica	Bucaro	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1345
Cerâmica	Cantaro	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	422
Cerâmica	Cantaro	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	543
Cerâmica	Caracola	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1762v
Cerâmica	Celada	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1040v
Cerâmica	Frasco	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1304
Cerâmica	Frasco	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	495
Cerâmica	Garrafa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1317v
Cerâmica	Imagen	Juan de Acuña	P2661	923
Cerâmica	Imagen	Juan de Acuña	P2661	923v
Cerâmica	Imagen	Juan de Acuña	P2661	923v
Cerâmica	Imagen	Juan de Acuña	P2661	923v
Cerâmica	Imagen	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	912
Cerâmica	Jarro	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	422
Cerâmica	Jarro	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	267
Cerâmica	Olla	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	267
Cerâmica	Perfumador	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	916
Cerâmica	Pieça	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	422
Cerâmica	Pieça	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1317v
Cerâmica	Pieça	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1317v
Cerâmica	Pieça	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1317v
Cerâmica	Pieça	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1317v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Cerâmica	Pieça	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1317v
Cerâmica	Pieça	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1321v
Cerâmica	Pieça	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1346
Cerâmica	Pieça	Ana Manrique	P2022	392v
Cerâmica	Pieça	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1762v
Cerâmica	Pieça	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1762v
Cerâmica	Pieça	Juan de Acuña	P2661	823
Cerâmica	Pieça	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	908
Cerâmica	Pieça	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	910
Cerâmica	Pieça	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	910
Cerâmica	Pieça	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	910
Cerâmica	Pieça	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	910
Cerâmica	Pieça	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	910v
Cerâmica	Pieça	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	910v
Cerâmica	Pieça	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	913v
Cerâmica	Pieça	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	915v
Cerâmica	Pieça	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	545
Cerâmica	Pieça	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	547v
Cerâmica	Rosario	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	907
Cerâmica	Rosario	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	910
Cerâmica	Rosario	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	910
Cerâmica	Tinaja	Ana Manrique	P2022	386 (sic)
Cerâmica	Tinaja	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	497v
Cerâmica	Tinaja	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	918v
Cerâmica	Tinaja	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	545
Cerda	Cordon	Maria de Aragón	P1578	166
Cerda	Escova	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1299
Chamelote	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1310v
Chamelote	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	368v
Chamelote	[material]	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	786
Chamelote	[material]	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	759
Chamelote	[material]	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	759
Chamelote	[material]	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	194v
Chamelote	[material]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	673v
Chamelote	[material]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	673v
Chamelote	[material]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	673v
Chamelote	[material]	Maria de Aragón	P1578	162
Chamelote	[material]	Maria de Aragón	P1578	162
Chamelote	[material]	Maria de Aragón	P1578	162
Chamelote	Avito	Felipe de Matienco	P2026	1012v
Chamelote	Basquiña	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	784
Chamelote	Basquiña	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	785v
Chamelote	Basquiña	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	952v
Chamelote	Basquiña	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	757
Chamelote	Basquiña	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	757v
Chamelote	Basquiña	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	757v
Chamelote	Calçon	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	384v [sic]
Chamelote	Cama [Textil]	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	477v
Chamelote	Capa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1340v
Chamelote	Capa	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1756
Chamelote	Capa	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	193v
Chamelote	Casula	Juan de Acuña	P2661	827
Chamelote	Colehon	Antonio Perez	P989b	476
Chamelote	Dossel	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1292v
Chamelote	Dossel	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Chamelote	Escapulário	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	785
Chamelote	Ferrezuelo	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	380v
Chamelote	Ferrezuelo	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	761v
Chamelote	Ferrezuelo	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1464
Chamelote	Ferrezuelo	Juan de Mendoza y Castilla	P2298	329
Chamelote	Ferrezuelo	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	190v
Chamelote	Ferrezuelo	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	182v
Chamelote	Ferrezuelo	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	188v
Chamelote	Jubon	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1648
Chamelote	Jubon	Felipe de Matienco	P2026	1012v
Chamelote	Jubon	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviria	P2040b	637-[652]



Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Chamelote	Manteo	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	785
Chamelote	Peana	Juan de Acuña	P2661	827
Chamelote	Ropa	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Chamelote	Ropa	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	380v
Chamelote	Ropa	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	381
Chamelote	Ropa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1307v
Chamelote	Ropa	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	757
Chamelote	Ropa	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	762
Chamelote	Ropa	Juan de Acuña	P2661	887
Chamelote	Ropa	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1465
Chamelote	Ropa	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	188v
Chamelote	Ropilla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1460
Chamelote	Ropilla	Juan de Mendoza y Castilla	P2298	329
Chamelote	Ropilla	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1147
Chamelote	Ropilla	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1147
Chamelote	Saya	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1308v
Chamelote	Sotana	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	761v
Chamelote	Vestido	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	525
Chamelote	Vestido	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	525v
Cipres	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	356v
Cipres	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	356v
Cipres	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	356v
Cipres	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	356v
Cipres	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	358v
Cipres	Arca	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	373v
Cipres	Arca	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	376
Cipres	Arca	Ana Manrique	P2022	354v
Cipres	Arca	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Cipres	Arca	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	61
Cipres	Arca	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	29v
Cipres	Arca	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	520
Cipres	Arca	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	540v
Cipres	Arca	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	542
Cipres	Cama [Mueble]	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Cipres	Escritorio	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	61
Cipres	Escritorio	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	539
Cipres	Escritorio	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	542v
Cipres	Prensa	Ana Manrique	P2022	356v
Claveque	Apretador	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	777
Claveque	Arrecada	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	777v
Claveque	Cinto	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	516v
Claveque	Gargantilla	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	776v
Claveque	Joya	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1480
Claveque	Punzon	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	777
Cobre	Adaga	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	516
Cobre	Alquitara	Ana Manrique	P2022	361
Cobre	Alquitara	Ana Manrique	P2022	361
Cobre	Alquitara	Juan de Acuña	P2661	857v
Cobre	Alquitara	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	190v
Cobre	Asador	Ana Manrique	P2022	361
Cobre	Bacia	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1302v
Cobre	Bacia	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1322
Cobre	Bacia	Ana Manrique	P2022	361
Cobre	Bacia	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	527v
Cobre	Bacia	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	527v
Cobre	Bacia	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	528
Cobre	Bacia	Fernando Carrillo	P2031	1032v
Cobre	Bacia	Fernando Carrillo	P2031	1032v
Cobre	Bacia	Fernando Carrillo	P2031	1033
Cobre	Bacia	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1766
Cobre	Bacia	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	242v
Cobre	Bacia	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	243
Cobre	Bacia	Juan de Acuña	P2661	852
Cobre	Bacia	Juan de Acuña	P2661	852
Cobre	Bacia	Juan de Acuña	P2661	853v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Cobre	Bacia	Juan de Acuña	P2661	854
Cobre	Bacia	Juan de Acuña	P2661	854
Cobre	Bacia	Juan de Acuña	P2661	860
Cobre	Bacia	Juana de Mujita	P2021	88v
Cobre	Bacia	Luis Enriquez	P3485	659
Cobre	Bacia	Martin de Padreda	P2323	414
Cobre	Bacia	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1175
Cobre	Bacia	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1175
Cobre	Bacia	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1175
Cobre	Baül	Luis Enriquez	P3485	659v
Cobre	Brasero	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Cobre	Brasero	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1299
Cobre	Brasero	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1300
Cobre	Brasero	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1300v
Cobre	Brasero	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1303
Cobre	Brasero	Ana Manrique	P2022	355v
Cobre	Brasero	Ana Manrique	P2022	360v
Cobre	Brasero	Ana Manrique	P2022	360v
Cobre	Brasero	Ana Maria Dugarte de la Hermosa	P2654b	1011
Cobre	Brasero	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	527v
Cobre	Brasero	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	527v
Cobre	Brasero	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	959v
Cobre	Brasero	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	242v
Cobre	Brasero	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	242v
Cobre	Brasero	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	51v
Cobre	Brasero	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	51v
Cobre	Brasero	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	782
Cobre	Brasero	Juan de Acuña	P2661	852
Cobre	Brasero	Juan de Acuña	P2661	852
Cobre	Brasero	Juan de Acuña	P2661	852v
Cobre	Brasero	Juan de Acuña	P2661	852v
Cobre	Brasero	Juan de Acuña	P2661	852v
Cobre	Brasero	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1378
Cobre	Brasero	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Cobre	Brasero	Luis Enriquez	P3485	659
Cobre	Brasero	Maria de Aragón	P1578	172v
Cobre	Brasero	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	547
Cobre	Caja	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1300
Cobre	Caja	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	217
Cobre	Caldera	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1650v
Cobre	Caldera	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	423
Cobre	Caldera	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1322v
Cobre	Caldera	Ana Manrique	P2022	360v
Cobre	Caldera	Ana Manrique	P2022	360v
Cobre	Caldera	Ana Manrique	P2022	361v
Cobre	Caldera	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	527v
Cobre	Caldera	Fernando Carrillo	P2031	1033
Cobre	Caldera	Juan de Acuña	P2661	853v
Cobre	Caldera	Juan de Acuña	P2661	856
Cobre	Caldera	Juan de Acuña	P2661	857v
Cobre	Caldera	Juan de Acuña	P2661	858
Cobre	Caldera	Juan de Acuña	P2661	858v
Cobre	Caldera	Juan de Acuña	P2661	858v
Cobre	Caldera	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1072v
Cobre	Caldera	Juana de Mujita	P2021	88
Cobre	Caldera	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	547v
Cobre	Caldera	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviria	P2040b	637-[652]
Cobre	Caldero	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1651
Cobre	Caldero	Ana Manrique	P2022	360
Cobre	Caldero	Ana Manrique	P2022	362
Cobre	Caldero	Ana Maria Dugarte de la Hermosa	P2654b	1016
Cobre	Caldero	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1017v
Cobre	Caldero	Juan de Acuña	P2661	853v
Cobre	Caldero	Juan de Acuña	P2661	853v
Cobre	Caldero	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Cobre	Caldero	Juana de Mujita	P2021	88v
Cobre	Caldero	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1175
Cobre	Calentador	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1378v
Cobre	Calentador	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Cobre	Calentador	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	918v
Cobre	Calentador	Maria Pereira	P989	238v
Cobre	Cantaro	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1650v
Cobre	Cantaro	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	423
Cobre	Cantaro	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1322
Cobre	Cantaro	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1322v
Cobre	Cantaro	Ana Manrique	P2022	360
Cobre	Cantaro	Ana Manrique	P2022	362
Cobre	Cantaro	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	527v
Cobre	Cantaro	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	528v
Cobre	Cantaro	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1017v
Cobre	Cantaro	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	959v
Cobre	Cantaro	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	243
Cobre	Cantaro	Juan de Acuña	P2661	854
Cobre	Cantaro	Juan de Acuña	P2661	860v
Cobre	Cantaro	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1514
Cobre	Cantaro	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1514
Cobre	Cantaro	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1380v
Cobre	Cantaro	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Cobre	Cantaro	Juana de Mujita	P2021	88
Cobre	Cantaro	Maria Pereira	P989	237v
Cobre	Cantaro	Maria Pereira	P989	238
Cobre	Cantaro	Martin de Padreda	P2323	414
Cobre	Cantaro	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	548v
Cobre	Cantimplora	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Cobre	Cantimplora	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1655
Cobre	Cantimplora	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	423
Cobre	Cantimplora	Ana Manrique	P2022	360
Cobre	Cantimplora	Ana Manrique	P2022	360v
Cobre	Cantimplora	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	527v
Cobre	Cantimplora	Juan de Acuña	P2661	853
Cobre	Cantimplora	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	190v
Cobre	Cazo	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1317v
Cobre	Cazo	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1322
Cobre	Cazo	Ana Manrique	P2022	361
Cobre	Cazo	Ana Manrique	P2022	361v
Cobre	Cazo	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1017v
Cobre	Cazo	Fernando Carrillo	P2031	1032v
Cobre	Cazo	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1765v
Cobre	Cazo	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1765v
Cobre	Cazo	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1766
Cobre	Cazo	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	959v
Cobre	Cazo	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	243v
Cobre	Cazo	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	243v
Cobre	Cazo	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	51v
Cobre	Cazo	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	51v
Cobre	Cazo	Juan de Acuña	P2661	853v
Cobre	Cazo	Juan de Acuña	P2661	854v
Cobre	Cazo	Juan de Acuña	P2661	855
Cobre	Cazo	Juan de Acuña	P2661	855
Cobre	Cazo	Juan de Acuña	P2661	855
Cobre	Cazo	Juan de Acuña	P2661	855v
Cobre	Cazo	Juan de Acuña	P2661	857v
Cobre	Cazo	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1072
Cobre	Cazo	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1072
Cobre	Cazo	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Cobre	Cazo	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	918v
Cobre	Cazo	Juana de Mujita	P2021	88v
Cobre	Cazo	Maria Pereira	P989	237v
Cobre	Cazo	Maria Pereira	P989	238
Cobre	Cazo	Martin de Padreda	P2323	414

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Cobre	Cazo	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1175v
Cobre	Cazo	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1175v
Cobre	Cazo	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1175v
Cobre	Cazo	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1175v
Cobre	Cazo	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1175v
Cobre	Coco	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	528
Cobre	Colador	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1322v
Cobre	Colador	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	528
Cobre	Colador	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1513
Cobre	Colador	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1513v
Cobre	Cuba	Martin de Padreda	P2323	414
Cobre	Cuchara	Ana Manrique	P2022	361v
Cobre	Cucharon	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1380
Cobre	Enfriadera	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	242v
Cobre	Enfriadera	Juan de Acuña	P2661	854
Cobre	Enfriadera	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1072v
Cobre	Enfriadera	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1514
Cobre	Enfriadera	Juana de Mujita	P2021	88
Cobre	Enfriadera	Maria de Aragón	P1578	172v
Cobre	Enfriadera	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1175
Cobre	Escalfador	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1302v
Cobre	Escalfador	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1322v
Cobre	Escalfador	Ana Manrique	P2022	360v
Cobre	Escalfador	Ana Manrique	P2022	360v
Cobre	Escalfador	Ana Manrique	P2022	360v
Cobre	Escalfador	Ana Manrique	P2022	391v
Cobre	Escalfador	Juan de Acuña	P2661	853
Cobre	Escalfador	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1469v
Cobre	Escalfador	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1514
Cobre	Escalfador	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1514
Cobre	Escalfador	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1514
Cobre	Frasco	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	528
Cobre	Frasco	Juan de Acuña	P2661	853
Cobre	Frasco	Juan de Acuña	P2661	853
Cobre	Frasco	Juan de Acuña	P2661	853v
Cobre	Frasco	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1072v
Cobre	Frasco	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1073
Cobre	Frasco	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1073
Cobre	Frasco	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1073
Cobre	Frasco	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1073
Cobre	Frasco	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1514
Cobre	Frasco	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1381
Cobre	Frasco	Maria Pereira	P989	237v
Cobre	Frasco	Maria Pereira	P989	238v
Cobre	Horma	Ana Manrique	P2022	360v
Cobre	Horma	Ana Manrique	P2022	360v
Cobre	Horma	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1017v
Cobre	Horma	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	918v
Cobre	Horma	Juana de Mujita	P2021	88v
Cobre	Horno	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	423
Cobre	Horno	Ana Manrique	P2022	360
Cobre	Horno	Ana Manrique	P2022	360
Cobre	Horno	Ana Manrique	P2022	360
Cobre	Horno	Juan de Acuña	P2661	854v
Cobre	Horno	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1513
Cobre	Horno	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	918v
Cobre	Horno	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	226
Cobre	Imagen	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1750v
Cobre	Imagen	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1173v
Cobre	Jarro	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1017v
Cobre	Jarro	Juan de Acuña	P2661	858v
Cobre	Jarro	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1378v
Cobre	Jarro	Maria de Aragón	P1578	173
Cobre	Lámina	Pedro Hurtado de Gavia	P2040b	637-[652]
Cobre	Olla	Fernando Carrillo	P2031	1033
Cobre	Olla	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Cobre	Olla	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Cobre	Olla	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	226

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Cobre	Olla	Maria de Aragón	P1578	172v
Cobre	Olla	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviña	P2040b	637-[652]
Cobre	Olla	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1175v
Cobre	Perfumador	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1299
Cobre	Perfumador	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1320
Cobre	Perfumador	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1034
Cobre	Perfumador	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1034
Cobre	Perfumador	Juana de Mujita	P2021	88
Cobre	Pieça	Ana Manrique	P2022	361
Cobre	Pieça	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	849v
Cobre	Pieça	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1765v
Cobre	Pieça	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	243
Cobre	Pieça	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	243
Cobre	Pieça	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	243
Cobre	Pieça	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	243
Cobre	Pieça	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	243v
Cobre	Pieça	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	51v
Cobre	Pieça	Juan de Acuña	P2661	853v
Cobre	Pieça	Juan de Acuña	P2661	855
Cobre	Pieça	Juan de Acuña	P2661	855
Cobre	Pieça	Juan de Acuña	P2661	855v
Cobre	Pieça	Juan de Acuña	P2661	855v
Cobre	Pieça	Juan de Acuña	P2661	856v
Cobre	Pieça	Juan de Acuña	P2661	857
Cobre	Pieça	Juan de Acuña	P2661	858v
Cobre	Plato	Luis Enriquez	P3485	659
Cobre	Regadera	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	423v
Cobre	Regadera	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1299
Cobre	Regadera	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1300v
Cobre	Regadera	Ana Manrique	P2022	362
Cobre	Regadera	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1016
Cobre	Regadera	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	527v
Cobre	Regadera	Juan de Acuña	P2661	853
Cobre	Reja	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1317
Cobre	Salero	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1322v
Cobre	Sarten	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1322v
Cobre	Taller	Luis Enriquez	P3485	659
Cobre	Tinaja	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	243v
Cobre	Tinaja	Juan de Acuña	P2661	861
Cobre	Vaso	Ana Manrique	P2022	360v
Cobre	Vaso	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1016
Cobre	Vaso	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	784v
Cobre	Vaso	Juan de Acuña	P2661	855v
Cobre	Vaso	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1513
Cobre	Vaso	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1513
Cobre	Vaso	Martin de Padreda	P2323	414
Coco	[material]	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	496
Coco	[material]	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1038v
Coco	[material]	Maria de Aragón	P1578	166
Coco	Cadena	Luis Enriquez	P3485	670
Coco	Coco	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	376
Coco	Coco	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1319v
Coco	Coco	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	495v
Coco	Coco	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	501v
Coco	Coco	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1015
Coco	Coco	Fernando Carrillo	P2031	1026
Coco	Coco	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	15
Coco	Coco	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	17v
Coco	Coco	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	18v
Coco	Coco	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	33
Coco	Coco	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	33
Coco	Coco	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	759
Coco	Coco	Juan de Acuña	P2661	924v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Coco	Coco	Maria de Aragón	P1578	171v
Coco	Coco	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	528
Coco	Coco	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	537v
Coco	Coco	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	541v
Coco	Coco	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1341v
Coco	Rosario	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	874
Coco	Rosario	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	416
Coco	Rosario	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	777v
Coco	Rosario	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	792v
Coco	Rosario	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1015v
Coco	Rosario	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	66v
Coco	Rosario	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	66v
Coco	Rosario	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	905v
Coco	Rosario	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	906v
Coco	Rosario	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	906v
Coco	Rosario	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	913
Coco	Rosario	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	200
Coco	Rosario	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	200v
Coco	Rosario	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	200v
Coco	Rosario	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	200v
Coco	Rosario	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	200v
Coco	Rosario	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	200v
Coco	Rosario	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	200v
Coco	Rosario	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	201
Coco	Rosario	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	202
Coco	Rosario	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	528
Coco	Rosario	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	528
Coco	Rosario	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	537
Coco	Rosario	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	537v
Coco	Rosario	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	538
Coco	Vaso	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1038v
Coco	Vaso	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1038v
Cocobolo	Cofre	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	519
Concha de tortuga	Arca	Juan de Acuña	P2661	831
Concha de tortuga	Arca	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	542
Concha de tortuga	Bandeja	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	18v
Concha de tortuga	Bañil	Luis Enriquez	P3485	667v
Concha de tortuga	Caja	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	30
Concha de tortuga	Caja	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	908v
Concha de tortuga	Caja	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	201
Concha de tortuga	Caja	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	201v
Concha de tortuga	Caja	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	537
Concha de tortuga	Cofre	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	781v
Concha de tortuga	Cofre	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	61v
Concha de tortuga	Cofre	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	910v
Concha de tortuga	Cofre	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	914v
Concha de tortuga	Cofre	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	520
Concha de tortuga	Cofre	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	537v
Concha de tortuga	Cuchillo	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	516
Concha de tortuga	Escritorio	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	875
Concha de tortuga	Escritorio	Juan de Acuña	P2661	830v
Concha de tortuga	Escritorio	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	910v
Concha de tortuga	Escritorio	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	539
Concha de tortuga	Escritorio	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	540v
Concha de tortuga	Escudilla	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	908
Concha de tortuga	Porcelana	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	19v
Concha de tortuga	Porcelana	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	19v
Concha de tortuga	Porcelana	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	23v
Concha de tortuga	Retablo	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	21v
Concha de tortuga	Taza	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	210v
Coral	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1346
Coral	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1346
Coral	[material]	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	499
Coral	[material]	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	499v
Coral	[material]	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	683v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Coral	[material]	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	67
Coral	[material]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	669v
Coral	[material]	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	195v
Coral	Banda	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	200
Coral	Cadena	Luis Enriquez	P3485	670v
Coral	Cadena	Luis Enriquez	P3485	673v
Coral	Caja	Antonio Perez	P989b	471v
Coral	Caja	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	67
Coral	Cruz	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	520
Coral	Cuchara	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	687
Coral	Cuchillo	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	516v
Coral	Cuchillo	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	193v
Coral	Hilo	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1752v
Coral	Hilo	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1752v
Coral	Imagen	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1346
Coral	Imagen	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	499
Coral	Imagen	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1761
Coral	Imagen	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	249v
Coral	Imagen	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	19
Coral	Imagen	Juan de Acuña	P2661	823
Coral	Pieça	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	199
Coral	Plancha	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1754v
Coral	Rosa de Jerico	Maria de Aragón	P1578	166
Coral	Rosario	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1305
Coral	Rosario	Ana Maria Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1010
Coral	Rosario	Ana Maria Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1010
Coral	Rosario	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	853v
Coral	Rosario	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	518
Coral	Rosario	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	518
Coral	Rosario	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	518
Coral	Rosario	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	518v
Coral	Rosario	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	519
Coral	Rosario	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1015v
Coral	Rosario	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	200
Coral	Salero	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	199v
Corcho	Banco	Ana Manrique	P2022	358v
Corcho	Escrivania	Juan de Acuña	P2661	830v
Cordoban	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1313
Cordoban	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1338
Cordoban	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	386
Cordoban	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	386
Cordoban	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	386
Cordoban	[material]	Antonio Perez	P989b	469v
Cordoban	[material]	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	502v
Cordoban	[material]	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	505
Cordoban	[material]	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	505v
Cordoban	[material]	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	507
Cordoban	[material]	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	525
Cordoban	[material]	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	213v
Cordoban	[material]	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1483v
Cordoban	[material]	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1497v
Cordoban	Adereço	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1649
Cordoban	Almartaga	Juan de Acuña	P2661	790v
Cordoban	Almohada	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1294v
Cordoban	Almohada	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1300
Cordoban	Almohada	Ana Manrique	P2022	381v
Cordoban	Almohada	Ana Manrique	P2022	381v
Cordoban	Almohada	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	497
Cordoban	Almohada	Juan de Acuña	P2661	790
Cordoban	Almohada	Juan de Acuña	P2661	791v
Cordoban	Almohada	Juan de Acuña	P2661	792
Cordoban	Almohada	Maria de Aragón	P1578	165
Cordoban	Almohada	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1340
Cordoban	Arca	Ana Manrique	P2022	354v
Cordoban	Arca	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Cordoban	Arca	Juan de Acuña	P2661	800v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Cordoban	Arca	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1377v
Cordoban	Armario	Luis Enriquez	P3485	660v
Cordoban	Banco	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	219v
Cordoban	Banco	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1507
Cordoban	Bolsa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1313
Cordoban	Bolsa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1346
Cordoban	Bolsa	Ana Maria Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1013
Cordoban	Bolsa	Antonio Perez	P989b	469v
Cordoban	Bolsa	Antonio Perez	P989b	469v
Cordoban	Bota	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1337
Cordoban	Bota	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	497v
Cordoban	Bota	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	759v
Cordoban	Bota	Juan de Acuña	P2661	891v
Cordoban	Bota	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1468
Cordoban	Bufete	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1064v
Cordoban	Bufete	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1065
Cordoban	Bufete	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1065
Cordoban	Bufete	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1065v
Cordoban	Bufete	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1339
Cordoban	Cadena	Juan de Acuña	P2661	891v
Cordoban	Caja	Ana Manrique	P2022	354v
Cordoban	Cinto	Juan de Acuña	P2661	892
Cordoban	Cinto	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1469
Cordoban	Cofre	Ana Manrique	P2022	359
Cordoban	Cofre	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	186
Cordoban	Coletto	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1644
Cordoban	Coletto	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1338
Cordoban	Coletto	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1013v
Cordoban	Coletto	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	694
Cordoban	Coletto	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	694
Cordoban	Coletto	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	694v
Cordoban	Coletto	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	695
Cordoban	Coletto	Juan de Acuña	P2661	888
Cordoban	Cuera	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	240
Cordoban	Cuera	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	240
Cordoban	Escritorio	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	856
Cordoban	Guantes	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1345v
Cordoban	Guantes	Ana Manrique	P2022	386
Cordoban	Guantes	Ana Manrique	P2022	386
Cordoban	Guantes	Ana Manrique	P2022	392
Cordoban	Guantes	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	517v
Cordoban	Guantes	Juan de Acuña	P2661	916v
Cordoban	Guantes	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1483v
Cordoban	Jubon	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1647v
Cordoban	Mala	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1337v
Cordoban	Mangas	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1018
Cordoban	Pieça	Juan de Acuña	P2661	878v
Cordoban	Pieça	Juan de Acuña	P2661	878v
Cordoban	Pieça	Juan de Acuña	P2661	878v
Cordoban	Repostero	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1633v
Cordoban	Repostero	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1633v
Cordoban	Sapato	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	497v
Cordoban	Sapato	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1468
Cordoban	Sapato	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1468
Cordoban	Silla	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1635
Cordoban	Silla	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1635
Cordoban	Silla	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1635
Cordoban	Silla	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1649v
Cordoban	Silla	Ana Manrique	P2022	358
Cordoban	Silla	Ana Manrique	P2022	358
Cordoban	Silla	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	798v
Cordoban	Silla	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Cordoban	Silla	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	857
Cordoban	Silla	Antonio Perez	P989b	475
Cordoban	Silla	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	520v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Cordoban	Silla	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	520v
Cordoban	Silla	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	521
Cordoban	Silla	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	949
Cordoban	Silla	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	216
Cordoban	Silla	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	216
Cordoban	Silla	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	216
Cordoban	Silla	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	216v
Cordoban	Silla	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	216v
Cordoban	Silla	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	701v
Cordoban	Silla	Juan de Acuña	P2661	807
Cordoban	Silla	Juan de Acuña	P2661	807
Cordoban	Silla	Juan de Acuña	P2661	807v
Cordoban	Silla	Juan de Acuña	P2661	809
Cordoban	Silla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1453
Cordoban	Silla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1453
Cordoban	Silla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1453
Cordoban	Silla	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	220
Cordoban	Sobremesa	Martin de Padreda	P2323	402v
Cordoban	Taburete	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1635
Cordoban	Taburete	Ana Manrique	P2022	356
Cordoban	Taburete	Ana Manrique	P2022	358v
Cordoban	Taburete	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1011
Cordoban	Taburete	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1067
Cordoban	Taburete	Martin de Padreda	P2323	413v
Cotonia	[material]	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	206v
Cotonia	[material]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	672
Cotonia	[material]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	673v
Cotonia	Almilla	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Cotonia	Cobertor	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1758
Cotonia	Colcha	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Cotonia	Colcha	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1657
Cotonia	Colcha	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	389v
Cotonia	Colcha	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1312v
Cotonia	Colcha	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1313
Cotonia	Colcha	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1313
Cotonia	Colcha	Ana Manrique	P2022	371
Cotonia	Colcha	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1016v
Cotonia	Colcha	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	957
Cotonia	Colcha	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	784
Cotonia	Colcha	Juan de Acuña	P2661	905v
Cotonia	Colcha	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Cotonia	Colcha	Juana de Mujita	P2021	86v
Cotonia	Colcha	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	207
Cotonia	Colcha	Luis Enriquez	P3485	667
Cotonia	Colcha	Maria de Aragón	P1578	170
Cotonia	Colcha	Martin de Padreda	P2323	405
Cotonia	Colcha	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	526v
Cotonia	Colcha	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	179v
Cotonia	Jubon	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1315v
Cotonia	Manteo	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	386v
Cotonia	Manteo	Ana Maria Dugarte de la Hermissa	P2654b	1014v
Cotonia	Manteo	Luis Enriquez	P3485	667v
Cotonia	Pabellon	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	219
Crea	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	372v
Crea	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	372v
Crea	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	372v
Crea	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	372v
Crea	[material]	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	214
Crea	[material]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	672
Crea	Almohada	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	388v
Crea	Almohada	Ana Manrique	P2022	371v
Crea	Almohada	Juan de Acuña	P2661	901v
Crea	Almohada	Juan de Acuña	P2661	903v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Crea	Almohada	Juan de Acuña	P2661	912v
Crea	Colchon	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	871
Crea	Colchon	Martin de Padreda	P2323	405
Crea	Savana	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	873
Crea	Savana	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	385v
Crea	Savana	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	385v
Crea	Savana	Ana Manrique	P2022	371
Crea	Savana	Ana Manrique	P2022	372
Crea	Savana	Ana Manrique	P2022	373
Crea	Savana	Ana Manrique	P2022	373v
Crea	Savana	Juan de Acuña	P2661	910
Crea	Savana	Juan de Acuña	P2661	912
Crea	Savana	Luis Enriquez	P3485	667
Crea	Toalla	Juan de Acuña	P2661	910
Crea	Toalla	Juan de Acuña	P2661	910
Crisolita	Avito	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	874
Crisolita	Sortija	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Cristal	[material]	Maria de Aragón	P1578	165
Cristal	Adereço	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1754v
Cristal	Aguamanil	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	776v
Cristal	Antojos	Juan de Acuña	P2661	917v
Cristal	Antojos	Juan de Acuña	P2661	917v
Cristal	Antojos	Juan de Acuña	P2661	917v
Cristal	Antojos	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1481
Cristal	Antojos	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1481v
Cristal	Antojos	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	910
Cristal	Apretador	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	874v
Cristal	Arca	Juan de Acuña	P2661	830v
Cristal	Arca	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	202
Cristal	Arrecada	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	874
Cristal	Arrecada	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	402v
Cristal	Arrecada	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1347
Cristal	Arrecada	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1348
Cristal	Avito	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	416v
Cristal	Barril	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	499v
Cristal	Bola	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1306
Cristal	Bola	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	202
Cristal	Bola	Luis Enriquez	P3485	668
Cristal	Bola	Maria de Aragón	P1578	168
Cristal	Bola	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	528
Cristal	Bolsa	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	201v
Cristal	Bolsa	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	201v
Cristal	Bordado	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1344
Cristal	Boton	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1304v
Cristal	Boton	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1305
Cristal	Boton	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1305
Cristal	Boton	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1305
Cristal	Boton	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1347
Cristal	Boton	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1348
Cristal	Boton	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	777
Cristal	Boton	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	777v
Cristal	Boton	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1486
Cristal	Boton	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1486v
Cristal	Brinco	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1348
Cristal	Cadena	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1305v
Cristal	Cadena	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1306
Cristal	Cadena	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1484v
Cristal	Caja	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	907v
Cristal	Caja	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	907v
Cristal	Caja	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	911v
Cristal	Caja	Luis Enriquez	P3485	668v
Cristal	Caja	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	528
Cristal	Calabaza	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	523v
Cristal	Calabaza	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	537
Cristal	Caldera	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	528

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Cristal	Cascavel	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1346
Cristal	Cinta	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1304v
Cristal	Coluna	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1346v
Cristal	Coluna	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1346v
Cristal	Coluna	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	776v
Cristal	Coluna	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	202v
Cristal	Copa	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	67
Cristal	Copa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1039
Cristal	Copa	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1477v
Cristal	Copa	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1477v
Cristal	Copa	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1478
Cristal	Copa	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1478
Cristal	Copa	Maria de Aragón	P1578	158
Cristal	Gordon	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	23v
Cristal	Cruz	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	874
Cristal	Cruz	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	776v
Cristal	Cruz	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	854
Cristal	Cruz	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	249v
Cristal	Cruz	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	15v
Cristal	Cruz	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	211
Cristal	Cruz	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	516
Cristal	Cruz	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	538v
Cristal	Cuba	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	523v
Cristal	Cuchara	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1752
Cristal	Cuchara	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1481
Cristal	Cuenta	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	422v
Cristal	Cuenta	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	202
Cristal	Cuenta	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	202v
Cristal	Escudilla	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1346v
Cristal	Escultura	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1039v
Cristal	Espejo	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1316
Cristal	Espejo	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	797
Cristal	Espejo	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	797
Cristal	Espejo	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	223
Cristal	Espejo	Juan de Acuña	P2661	818v
Cristal	Espejo	Juan de Acuña	P2661	923v
Cristal	Espejo	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1372v
Cristal	Espejo	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	207v
Cristal	Frasco	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	416v
Cristal	Frasco	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1303v
Cristal	Frasco	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1480
Cristal	Frasco	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	907v
Cristal	Frasco	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	201v
Cristal	Frasco	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	201v
Cristal	Frasco	Luis Enriquez	P3485	668v
Cristal	Garrafa	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	874
Cristal	Garrafa	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	261v
Cristal	Garrafa	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	523v
Cristal	Hilo	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1752v
Cristal	Imagen	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	402v
Cristal	Imagen	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	404
Cristal	Imagen	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1305v
Cristal	Imagen	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1306v
Cristal	Imagen	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1346
Cristal	Imagen	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1346
Cristal	Imagen	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1347
Cristal	Imagen	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	224v
Cristal	Imagen	Martin de Padreda	P2323	398v
Cristal	Jarro	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	524
Cristal	Joya	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1656
Cristal	Joya	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	15
Cristal	Joya	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	198
Cristal	Olla	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	261v
Cristal	Papelina	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1039
Cristal	Pieça	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1304
Cristal	Pieça	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1305v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Cristal	Pieça	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	261
Cristal	Pieça	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	261
Cristal	Pieça	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	261
Cristal	Pieça	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	261v
Cristal	Pieça	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	261v
Cristal	Pieça	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	261v
Cristal	Pieça	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	261v
Cristal	Pieça	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	66v
Cristal	Pieça	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	24
Cristal	Pieça	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1478
Cristal	Pieça	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1478
Cristal	Pieça	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1478
Cristal	Pieça	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1480
Cristal	Pieça	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1480
Cristal	Pieça	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	912
Cristal	Pieça	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	199
Cristal	Pieça	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	201v
Cristal	Pieça	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	201v
Cristal	Pieça	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	201v
Cristal	Pieça	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	213
Cristal	Pieça	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	536
Cristal	Pieça	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	538v
Cristal	Pila	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Cristal	Pila	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	523v
Cristal	Pila	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	523v
Cristal	Pila	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	524
Cristal	Pomo	Ana Manrique	P2022	379
Cristal	Pomo	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	201
Cristal	Pomo	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	201v
Cristal	Pomo	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	201v
Cristal	Pomo	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	528
Cristal	Porcelana	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	267v
Cristal	Pulpito	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	30v
Cristal	Puntas	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1347
Cristal	Puntas	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1348
Cristal	Puntas	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	22
Cristal	Puntas	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	22v
Cristal	Relicário	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	874
Cristal	Relicário	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	403v
Cristal	Relicário	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1346v
Cristal	Relicário	Ana Manrique	P2022	368
Cristal	Reloj	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	909v
Cristal	Reloj	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	909v
Cristal	Reloj	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	197v
Cristal	Reloj	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1343v
Cristal	Renda	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1348
Cristal	Rosario	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	874
Cristal	Rosario	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1305
Cristal	Rosario	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	848
Cristal	Rosario	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	518v
Cristal	Rosario	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	518v
Cristal	Rosario	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	519
Cristal	Rosario	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1015v
Cristal	Rosario	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1485v
Cristal	Rosario	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	193
Cristal	Salero	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	499v
Cristal	Salero	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	201v
Cristal	Salero	Maria de Aragón	P1578	158
Cristal	Salva	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	907v
Cristal	Sello	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	32v
Cristal	Sello	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	906
Cristal	Sortija	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1305v
Cristal	Sortija	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1480
Cristal	Taza	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	499v
Cristal	Taza	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	499v
Cristal	Teja	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1303v
Cristal	Tenedor	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1752

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Cristal	Tenedor	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1481
Cristal	Vaso	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1656
Cristal	Vaso	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	403
Cristal	Vaso	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	403
Cristal	Vaso	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1303v
Cristal	Vaso	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1303v
Cristal	Vaso	Ana Manrique	P2022	379
Cristal	Vaso	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	66v
Cristal	Vaso	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	67
Cristal	Vaso	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	67
Cristal	Vaso	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	33v
Cristal	Vaso	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1039
Cristal	Vaso	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1039v
Cristal	Vaso	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	201v
Cristal	Vaso	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	203
Cristal	Vaso	Luis Enriquez	P3485	667v
Cristal	Vaso	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	523v
Cristal	Vaso	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1340
Cristal	Venera	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1343v
Cuerno	[material]	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	192v
Cuerno	Antojos	Juan de Acuña	P2661	917v
Cuerno	Caja	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	67v
Cuerno	Caja	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1481v
Cuerno	Candelero	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	34v
Cuerno	Cuchillo	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1302v
Cuerno	Cuchillo	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	517
Cuerno	Cuchillo	Juan de Acuña	P2661	915v
Cuerno	Cuchillo	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1057v
Cuerno	Frasco	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	507v
Cuerno	Frasco	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	507v
Cuerno	Frasco	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	509v
Cuerno	Imagen	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1752
Cuerno	Imagen	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1753
Cuerno	Imagen	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	535v
Cuerno	Pieça	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1345
Cuerno	Pieça	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	526v
Cuerno	Tenedor	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1302v
Cuerno	Vaso	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1751
Cuerno de Abada	[material]	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1058
Cuerno de Abada	[material]	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1058
Cuerno de Abada	[material]	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1058
Cuerno de Abada	[material]	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1058
Cuerno de Abada	[material]	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1058
Cuerno de Abada	Gorguera	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1058
Cuerno de Abada	Olla	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1058
Cuerno de Abada	Vaso	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	67
Cuerno de Abada	Vaso	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	67
Cuerno de Abada	Vaso	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1480v
Cuerno de Abada	Vaso	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	202v
Cuerno de Abada	Vaso	Maria de Aragón	P1578	159
Cuero	[material]	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1650
Cuero	[material]	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1650
Cuero	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1313
Cuero	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1339v
Cuero	[material]	Antonio Perez	P989b	470
Cuero	[material]	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	496
Cuero	[material]	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	496v
Cuero	[material]	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	497v
Cuero	[material]	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	505
Cuero	[material]	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	515
Cuero	[material]	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	26v
Cuero	[material]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	785
Cuero	[material]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	879
Cuero	[material]	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1048v
Cuero	[material]	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1049

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Cuero	[material]	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1049
Cuero	[material]	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1049
Cuero	[material]	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1049
Cuero	[material]	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1049
Cuero	[material]	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1049v
Cuero	[material]	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1049v
Cuero	[material]	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1049v
Cuero	[material]	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1049v
Cuero	[material]	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1049v
Cuero	[material]	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1483v
Cuero	[material]	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1497v
Cuero	[material]	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1497v
Cuero	[material]	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	915
Cuero	[material]	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	220v
Cuero	[material]	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	220v
Cuero	[material]	Maria de Aragón	P1578	164v
Cuero	[material]	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	184
Cuero	Abano	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	208
Cuero	Adereço	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	524v
Cuero	Aljaba	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	508v
Cuero	Almohada	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	368v
Cuero	Almohada	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1294v
Cuero	Almohada	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1294v
Cuero	Almohada	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1294v
Cuero	Almohada	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1295
Cuero	Almohada	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1295
Cuero	Almohada	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1295
Cuero	Almohada	Felipe de Matieço	P2026	1012
Cuero	Almohada	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1756
Cuero	Almohada	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1756
Cuero	Almohada	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	212v
Cuero	Almohada	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	212v
Cuero	Almohada	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	212v
Cuero	Almohada	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	49
Cuero	Almohada	Juan de Acuña	P2661	791v
Cuero	Almohada	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1470
Cuero	Almohada	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	910v
Cuero	Almohada	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	919
Cuero	Almohada	Juana de Mujita	P2021	82v
Cuero	Almohada	Luis Enriquez	P3485	671
Cuero	Almohada	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	526v
Cuero	Antepuerta	Maria Pereira	P989	235
Cuero	Antojos	Juan de Acuña	P2661	917v
Cuero	Arca	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	856
Cuero	Arca	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1765
Cuero	Arca	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1765
Cuero	Arca	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1765
Cuero	Arca	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1765
Cuero	Arca	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1765
Cuero	Arca	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1765
Cuero	Arca	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1765
Cuero	Arca	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1765
Cuero	Arca	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1765v
Cuero	Arca	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	221
Cuero	Arca	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	61
Cuero	Arca	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1068
Cuero	Arca	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1068
Cuero	Arca	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1069v
Cuero	Arca	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1498
Cuero	Arca	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1508v
Cuero	Arca	Luis Enriquez	P3485	672
Cuero	Arca	Luis Enriquez	P3485	672
Cuero	Arca	Luis Enriquez	P3485	673v
Cuero	Arca	Maria de Aragón	P1578	168v
Cuero	Banco	Juan de Acuña	P2661	815





Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Cuero	Escritorio	Juan de Mendoza y Castilla	P2298	325v
Cuero	Escritorio	Luis Enriquez	P3485	667v
Cuero	Escritorio	Luis Enriquez	P3485	668
Cuero	Escritorio	Luis Enriquez	P3485	668v
Cuero	Escritorio	Luis Enriquez	P3485	670v
Cuero	Escritorio	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	538v
Cuero	Escritorio	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	185
Cuero	Escrivania	Aldoña de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	875v
Cuero	Escrivania	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	519v
Cuero	Escrivania	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1765v
Cuero	Escrivania	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1768
Cuero	Escrivania	Juan de Acuña	P2661	801
Cuero	Escrivania	Juan de Acuña	P2661	801v
Cuero	Escudo	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	522v
Cuero	Frasco	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1655v
Cuero	Frasco	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	508v
Cuero	Frasco	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	526v
Cuero	Frasquera	Aldoña de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	876
Cuero	Frasquera	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	417v
Cuero	Frasquera	Juan de Acuña	P2661	801
Cuero	Frasquera	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1504v
Cuero	Frasquera	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1505
Cuero	Frasquera	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	547v
Cuero	Guantes	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	518
Cuero	Lanza	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	523
Cuero	Libro	Antonio Perez	P989b	469
Cuero	Libro	Antonio Perez	P989b	469
Cuero	Libro	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1074
Cuero	Mala	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1299v
Cuero	Mala	Juan de Acuña	P2661	878
Cuero	Mala	Juan de Acuña	P2661	878
Cuero	Mesa	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1636
Cuero	Mesa	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	417v
Cuero	Olla	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	67
Cuero	Pieça	Antonio Perez	P989b	467v
Cuero	Pieça	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	211v
Cuero	Pieça	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	212
Cuero	Pieça	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	701v
Cuero	Pieça	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	702
Cuero	Pieça	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	702
Cuero	Pieça	Juan de Acuña	P2661	878
Cuero	Pieça	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	527v
Cuero	Pieça	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1341
Cuero	Pieça	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	187v
Cuero	Quadro	Luis Enriquez	P3485	675
Cuero	Reloj	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	522v
Cuero	Reloj	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	522v
Cuero	Riendas	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	497
Cuero	Silla	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Cuero	Silla	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Cuero	Silla	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1298
Cuero	Silla	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1298
Cuero	Silla	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1298
Cuero	Silla	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1298
Cuero	Silla	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1298
Cuero	Silla	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1298
Cuero	Silla	Antonio Perez	P989b	473v
Cuero	Silla	Antonio Perez	P989b	473v
Cuero	Silla	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	520v
Cuero	Silla	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	520v
Cuero	Silla	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	520v
Cuero	Silla	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	520v
Cuero	Silla	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	698
Cuero	Silla	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	702

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Cuero	Silla	Juan de Acuña	P2661	806v
Cuero	Silla	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1067
Cuero	Silla	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1067v
Cuero	Silla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1452v
Cuero	Silla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1453
Cuero	Silla	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1378
Cuero	Silla	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	220
Cuero	Silla	Luis Enriquez	P3485	675v
Cuero	Silla	Maria de Aragón	P1578	167v
Cuero	Silla	Maria de Aragón	P1578	167v
Cuero	Sobremesa	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	420
Cuero	Sobremesa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1297v
Cuero	Sobremesa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1300
Cuero	Sobremesa	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	496
Cuero	Sobremesa	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	496v
Cuero	Sobremesa	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	211v
Cuero	Sobremesa	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	211v
Cuero	Sobremesa	Juan de Acuña	P2661	784v
Cuero	Sobremesa	Juan de Acuña	P2661	796v
Cuero	Sobremesa	Juan de Acuña	P2661	796v
Cuero	Sobremesa	Juan de Acuña	P2661	796v
Cuero	Sobremesa	Luis Enriquez	P3485	658
Cuero	Sombrero	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1314
Cuero	Sombrero	Juan de Acuña	P2661	879
Cuero	Taburete	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Cuero	Taburete	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Cuero	Taburete	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1067
Cuero	Taburete	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1453
Cuero	Tapete	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	59v
Cuero	Vaso	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1039
Cuero	Vestido	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	694v
Damasco	[material]	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	420v
Damasco	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1300v
Damasco	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	366v
Damasco	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	366v
Damasco	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	366v
Damasco	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	366v
Damasco	[material]	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermosa	P2654b	1011v
Damasco	[material]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	880
Damasco	[material]	Juan de Mendoza y Castilla	P2298	330
Damasco	[material]	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Damasco	[material]	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	913
Damasco	[material]	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	220v
Damasco	[material]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	655v
Damasco	[material]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	673
Damasco	[material]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	673v
Damasco	[material]	Maria de Aragón	P1578	162
Damasco	[material]	Maria de Aragón	P1578	164v
Damasco	[material]	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	548
Damasco	[material]	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	178v
Damasco	Almilla	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	757v
Damasco	Almilla	Martin de Padreda	P2323	405
Damasco	Almohada	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Damasco	Almohada	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	368
Damasco	Almohada	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	368v
Damasco	Almohada	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	384v [sic]
Damasco	Almohada	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1294v
Damasco	Almohada	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1295
Damasco	Almohada	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1295
Damasco	Almohada	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	956v
Damasco	Almohada	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	689v
Damasco	Almohada	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	279v
Damasco	Almohada	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	767
Damasco	Almohada	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	767
Damasco	Almohada	Juan de Acuña	P2661	790

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Damasco	Almohada	Juan de Acuña	P2661	790
Damasco	Almohada	Juan de Acuña	P2661	790v
Damasco	Almohada	Juan de Acuña	P2661	791
Damasco	Almohada	Juan de Acuña	P2661	826
Damasco	Almohada	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1056
Damasco	Almohada	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1056
Damasco	Almohada	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1371
Damasco	Almohada	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	219v
Damasco	Almohada	Luis Enriquez	P3485	658v
Damasco	Almohada	Maria de Aragón	P1578	165
Damasco	Almohada	Maria de Aragón	P1578	172
Damasco	Almohada	Martin de Padreda	P2323	401v
Damasco	Antepuerta	Juan de Acuña	P2661	785
Damasco	Antepuerta	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	217
Damasco	Antipara	Juan de Acuña	P2661	816v
Damasco	Arca	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	856
Damasco	Avito	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Damasco	Banda	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1502v
Damasco	Banda	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1502v
Damasco	Basquiña	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1308
Damasco	Basquiña	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1308v
Damasco	Bastidor	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1313v
Damasco	Bolsa	Ana Manrique	P2022	366v
Damasco	Bolsa	Antonio Perez	P989b	470
Damasco	Bolsa	Maria de Aragón	P1578	163
Damasco	Calçon	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	759v
Damasco	Calçon	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Damasco	Cama [Textil]	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1634
Damasco	Cama [Textil]	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1634
Damasco	Cama [Textil]	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	369
Damasco	Cama [Textil]	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	369
Damasco	Cama [Textil]	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	369v
Damasco	Cama [Textil]	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	369v
Damasco	Cama [Textil]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1291v
Damasco	Cama [Textil]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1291v
Damasco	Cama [Textil]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1291v
Damasco	Cama [Textil]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1292
Damasco	Cama [Textil]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1292
Damasco	Cama [Textil]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1292v
Damasco	Cama [Textil]	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	787
Damasco	Cama [Textil]	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	787
Damasco	Cama [Textil]	Antonio Perez	P989b	466v
Damasco	Cama [Textil]	Antonio Perez	P989b	466v
Damasco	Cama [Textil]	Antonio Perez	P989b	470v
Damasco	Cama [Textil]	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	510
Damasco	Cama [Textil]	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	510
Damasco	Cama [Textil]	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	510
Damasco	Cama [Textil]	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	510
Damasco	Cama [Textil]	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	510v
Damasco	Cama [Textil]	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1012
Damasco	Cama [Textil]	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1755
Damasco	Cama [Textil]	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1755
Damasco	Cama [Textil]	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	210
Damasco	Cama [Textil]	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	210
Damasco	Cama [Textil]	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	210
Damasco	Cama [Textil]	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	217v
Damasco	Cama [Textil]	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	688
Damasco	Cama [Textil]	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	688v
Damasco	Cama [Textil]	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	690
Damasco	Cama [Textil]	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	48v
Damasco	Cama [Textil]	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	49
Damasco	Cama [Textil]	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	49
Damasco	Cama [Textil]	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	278
Damasco	Cama [Textil]	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	278
Damasco	Cama [Textil]	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	278

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Damasco	Cama [Textil]	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	278v
Damasco	Cama [Textil]	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	767
Damasco	Cama [Textil]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	779
Damasco	Cama [Textil]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	779v
Damasco	Cama [Textil]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	780
Damasco	Cama [Textil]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	782v
Damasco	Cama [Textil]	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1053
Damasco	Cama [Textil]	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1054
Damasco	Cama [Textil]	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1054v
Damasco	Cama [Textil]	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1054v
Damasco	Cama [Textil]	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1452
Damasco	Cama [Textil]	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1452
Damasco	Cama [Textil]	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1452
Damasco	Cama [Textil]	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1377
Damasco	Cama [Textil]	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Damasco	Cama [Textil]	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	476v
Damasco	Cama [Textil]	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	217
Damasco	Cama [Textil]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	656v
Damasco	Cama [Textil]	Maria de Aragón	P1578	164
Damasco	Cama [Textil]	Maria de Aragón	P1578	164
Damasco	Cama [Textil]	Martin de Padreda	P2323	401v
Damasco	Cama [Textil]	Martin de Padreda	P2323	402
Damasco	Cama [Textil]	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	521
Damasco	Cama [Textil]	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	521
Damasco	Cama [Textil]	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1337
Damasco	Cama [Textil]	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1337v
Damasco	Cama [Textil]	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1337v
Damasco	Cama [Textil]	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviria	P2040b	637-[652]
Damasco	Cama [Textil]	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1160v
Damasco	Cama [Textil]	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1160v
Damasco	Cama [Textil]	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1161
Damasco	Cama [Textil]	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	178v
Damasco	Cama [Textil]	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	178v
Damasco	Capa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1046
Damasco	Capa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1046.1
Damasco	Capa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1046.1v
Damasco	Capa	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1502
Damasco	Capa	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	184v
Damasco	Capa	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	184v
Damasco	Casula	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1759
Damasco	Casula	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	214v
Damasco	Casula	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	700v
Damasco	Casula	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1501v
Damasco	Casula	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1501v
Damasco	Casula	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1502
Damasco	Casula	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1502
Damasco	Casula	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1502v
Damasco	Casula	Maria de Aragón	P1578	160v
Damasco	Casula	Maria de Aragón	P1578	160v
Damasco	Casula	Maria de Aragón	P1578	160v
Damasco	Casula	Maria de Aragón	P1578	160v
Damasco	Casula	Maria de Aragón	P1578	161
Damasco	Casula	Maria de Aragón	P1578	161v
Damasco	Casula	Maria de Aragón	P1578	161v
Damasco	Casula	Maria de Aragón	P1578	161v
Damasco	Casula	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	531v
Damasco	Cobertor	Luis Enriquez	P3485	657
Damasco	Coche	Antonio Perez	P989b	474
Damasco	Cofre	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	541v
Damasco	Colchon	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	918v
Damasco	Colchon	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	524v
Damasco	Colchon	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1339v
Damasco	Colchon	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1340
Damasco	Colgadura	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1012
Damasco	Colgadura	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	276
Damasco	Colgadura	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	276v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Damasco	Colgadura	Juan de Acuña	P2661	786
Damasco	Colgadura	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	475v
Damasco	Colgadura	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Damasco	Colgadura	Luis Enriquez	P3485	654v
Damasco	Colgadura	Luis Enriquez	P3485	655v
Damasco	Colgadura	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1337
Damasco	Colgadura	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1337v
Damasco	Colgadura	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1161
Damasco	Colgadura	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1163v
Damasco	Cortina	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1294
Damasco	Cortina	Juan de Acuña	P2661	824
Damasco	Cortina	Juan de Acuña	P2661	829v
Damasco	Cortina	Luis Enriquez	P3485	657
Damasco	Cortina	Luis Enriquez	P3485	658v
Damasco	Cubierta	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1298
Damasco	Cubierta	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1057
Damasco	Cubierta	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1162v
Damasco	Cubierta	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1162v
Damasco	Cubierta	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1162v
Damasco	Cubierta	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1163
Damasco	Cubierta	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1163
Damasco	Dalmatica	Maria de Aragón	P1578	162v
Damasco	Dossel	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1633v
Damasco	Dossel	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	367v
Damasco	Dossel	Juan de Acuña	P2661	789v
Damasco	Dossel	Juan de Acuña	P2661	789v
Damasco	Dossel	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1452v
Damasco	Dossel	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	217v
Damasco	Dossel	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	178v
Damasco	Escritorio	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1061
Damasco	Escritorio	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1061
Damasco	Escritorio	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1061
Damasco	Escritorio	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1061
Damasco	Escritorio	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1062
Damasco	Espaldar	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1057
Damasco	Espaldar	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1067v
Damasco	Faldellin	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Damasco	Faldellin	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	953
Damasco	Faldellin	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	696
Damasco	Faldellin	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1369v
Damasco	Faldon	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	694
Damasco	Ferrezuelo	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	759v
Damasco	Ferrezuelo	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1046
Damasco	Ferrezuelo	Martin de Padreda	P2323	403v
Damasco	Frontal	Ana Manrique	P2022	366
Damasco	Frontal	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	795
Damasco	Frontal	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Damasco	Frontal	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1758v
Damasco	Frontal	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	700v
Damasco	Frontal	Juan de Acuña	P2661	826v
Damasco	Frontal	Juan de Acuña	P2661	827
Damasco	Frontal	Juan de Acuña	P2661	828
Damasco	Frontal	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1366v
Damasco	Frontal	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	918
Damasco	Frontal	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	918
Damasco	Frontal	Juana de Mujita	P2021	85
Damasco	Frontal	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	531v
Damasco	Frontal	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	532
Damasco	Garnacha	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Damasco	Garnacha	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Damasco	Imagen	Luis Enriquez	P3485	672v
Damasco	Mantel	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1522v
Damasco	Mantel	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1522v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Damasco	Mantel	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1523v
Damasco	Mantel	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1523v
Damasco	Mantel	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1524
Damasco	Mantel	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1524
Damasco	Mantel	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1524
Damasco	Mantel	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1168
Damasco	Manteo	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	383
Damasco	Manteo	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1308
Damasco	Manteo	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1312
Damasco	Manteo	Ana Maria Dugarte de la Hermosa	P2654b	1013v
Damasco	Manteo	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	785
Damasco	Manteo	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1012v
Damasco	Manteo	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	247v
Damasco	Manteo	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1500
Damasco	Manteo	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	191
Damasco	Manteo	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	191
Damasco	Manteo	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	191v
Damasco	Orinal	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	222
Damasco	Pabellon	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1047v
Damasco	Paño	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1293v
Damasco	Paño	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1293v
Damasco	Paño	Antonio Perez	P989b	467
Damasco	Paño	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1757v
Damasco	Paño	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	689
Damasco	Paño	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	689
Damasco	Paño	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	48
Damasco	Paño	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1050
Damasco	Paño	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1050
Damasco	Paño	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1050v
Damasco	Paño	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1050v
Damasco	Paño	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1052v
Damasco	Paño	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1502v
Damasco	Paño	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	529v
Damasco	Paño	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1161
Damasco	Peana	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	529v
Damasco	Pieça	Antonio Perez	P989b	467
Damasco	Pieça	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	48v
Damasco	Pieça	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	48v
Damasco	Pieça	Juan de Acuña	P2661	791v
Damasco	Pieça	Juan de Acuña	P2661	816v
Damasco	Pieça	Juan de Acuña	P2661	829v
Damasco	Pieça	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	502
Damasco	Pieça	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	178v
Damasco	Repostero	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	521
Damasco	Ropa	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1643
Damasco	Ropa	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	399v
Damasco	Ropa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1309v
Damasco	Ropa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1309v
Damasco	Ropa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1338v
Damasco	Ropa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1341
Damasco	Ropa	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	784
Damasco	Ropa	Fernando Carrillo	P2031	1030v
Damasco	Ropa	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	239v
Damasco	Ropa	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	247
Damasco	Ropa	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	695
Damasco	Ropa	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	758
Damasco	Ropa	Juan de Acuña	P2661	887
Damasco	Ropa	Juan de Acuña	P2661	887
Damasco	Ropa	Juan de Acuña	P2661	887v
Damasco	Ropa	Juan de Acuña	P2661	887v
Damasco	Ropa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1046v
Damasco	Ropa	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1464v
Damasco	Ropa	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1371
Damasco	Ropa	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Damasco	Ropa	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Damasco	Ropa	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	191v
Damasco	Ropa	Luis Enriquez	P3485	661v
Damasco	Ropa	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviria	P2040b	637-[652]
Damasco	Ropa	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviria	P2040b	637-[652]
Damasco	Ropa	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviria	P2040b	637-[652]
Damasco	Ropa	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1146
Damasco	Rosario	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	874
Damasco	Saya	Ana Maria Dugarte de la Hemossa	P2654b	1013
Damasco	Saya	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	952v
Damasco	Servilleta	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1318v
Damasco	Servilleta	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1318v
Damasco	Silla	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Damasco	Silla	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1300v
Damasco	Silla	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	216v
Damasco	Silla	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	219
Damasco	Silla	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	219v
Damasco	Silla	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	220
Damasco	Sobremesa	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1650
Damasco	Sobremesa	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	394
Damasco	Sobremesa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1292
Damasco	Sobremesa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1293v
Damasco	Sobremesa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1297v
Damasco	Sobremesa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1297v
Damasco	Sobremesa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1297v
Damasco	Sobremesa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1298
Damasco	Sobremesa	Antonio Perez	P989b	466v
Damasco	Sobremesa	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	509v
Damasco	Sobremesa	Fernando Carrillo	P2031	1030
Damasco	Sobremesa	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1755
Damasco	Sobremesa	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1755
Damasco	Sobremesa	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	211
Damasco	Sobremesa	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	211
Damasco	Sobremesa	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	211v
Damasco	Sobremesa	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	689v
Damasco	Sobremesa	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	689v
Damasco	Sobremesa	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	689v
Damasco	Sobremesa	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	50v
Damasco	Sobremesa	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	50v
Damasco	Sobremesa	Juan de Acuña	P2661	783
Damasco	Sobremesa	Juan de Acuña	P2661	783v
Damasco	Sobremesa	Juan de Acuña	P2661	784
Damasco	Sobremesa	Juan de Acuña	P2661	784
Damasco	Sobremesa	Juan de Acuña	P2661	784v
Damasco	Sobremesa	Juan de Acuña	P2661	784v
Damasco	Sobremesa	Juan de Acuña	P2661	785v
Damasco	Sobremesa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1055v
Damasco	Sobremesa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1055v
Damasco	Sobremesa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1055v
Damasco	Sobremesa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1055v
Damasco	Sobremesa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1056
Damasco	Sobremesa	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1377
Damasco	Sobremesa	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1377
Damasco	Sobremesa	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	919
Damasco	Sobremesa	Juana de Mujita	P2021	89
Damasco	Sobremesa	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	217
Damasco	Sobremesa	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	219v
Damasco	Sobremesa	Luis Enriquez	P3485	656
Damasco	Sobremesa	Luis Enriquez	P3485	657v
Damasco	Sobremesa	Maria de Aragón	P1578	172
Damasco	Sobremesa	Martin de Padreda	P2323	402
Damasco	Sobremesa	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1337
Damasco	Sobremesa	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1161v
Damasco	Sobremesa	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1161v
Damasco	Sobremesa	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1162
Damasco	Sobremesa	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1162
Damasco	Sobremesa	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1162

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Damasco	Sobremesa	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1162
Damasco	Sobremesa	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1162
Damasco	Sobremesa	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1162v
Damasco	Sobremesa	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1162v
Damasco	Sobremesa	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1162v
Damasco	Sobremesa	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	184
Damasco	Sobremesa	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	192v
Damasco	Tapete	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1452
Damasco	Toalla	Juan de Acuña	P2661	900v
Damasco	Toalla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1523
Damasco	Toalla	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	532
Damasco	Vaquero	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	759v
Damasco	Verdugado	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	380
Damasco	Verdugado	Ana María Dugarte de la Hemossa	P2654b	1011
Damasco	Verdugado	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	952v
Damasco	Vestido	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	785
Diamante	[material]	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1655v
Diamante	[material]	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	15v
Diamante	[material]	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	15v
Diamante	[material]	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	15v
Diamante	[material]	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	15v
Diamante	[material]	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	20
Diamante	[material]	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	24
Diamante	[material]	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	765
Diamante	Apretador	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1656
Diamante	Apretador	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	404
Diamante	Apretador	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	853v
Diamante	Apretador	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	680v
Diamante	Apretador	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	65v
Diamante	Arrecada	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	402v
Diamante	Arrecada	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	403
Diamante	Arrecada	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	956
Diamante	Arrecada	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	249
Diamante	Arrecada	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	195v
Diamante	Banda	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	194v
Diamante	Boton	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1655v
Diamante	Boton	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1304v
Diamante	Boton	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1305
Diamante	Boton	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1306
Diamante	Boton	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	249
Diamante	Boton	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	65v
Diamante	Boton	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1487
Diamante	Brazaletes	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	249v
Diamante	Brinco	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	956v
Diamante	Cadena	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	847v
Diamante	Cadena	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	249v
Diamante	Cadena	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	65v
Diamante	Cadena	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1484
Diamante	Cadena	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1484
Diamante	Cadena	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	195v
Diamante	Cinta	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1304
Diamante	Cinta	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	680v
Diamante	Cinta	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1484
Diamante	Cinta	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1484
Diamante	Cinta	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	195
Diamante	Cinto	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	66
Diamante	Cinto	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	225
Diamante	Cruz	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1306v
Diamante	Cruz	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	847v
Diamante	Cruz	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	249
Diamante	Cruz	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	249
Diamante	Cruz	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	249
Diamante	Cruz	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	65v
Diamante	Cruz	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1484v
Diamante	Cruz	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	498
Diamante	Cruz	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	195v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Diamante	Cruz	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	536v
Diamante	Gargantilla	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1304
Diamante	Imagen	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	404
Diamante	Imagen	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1305v
Diamante	Imagen	Ana María Dugarte de la Hemossa	P2654b	1010v
Diamante	Imagen	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	847v
Diamante	Imagen	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	249
Diamante	Imagen	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	249
Diamante	Imagen	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	249
Diamante	Joya	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1633
Diamante	Joya	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1656
Diamante	Joya	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	776
Diamante	Joya	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	249v
Diamante	Joya	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	65v
Diamante	Joya	Guioimar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	16v
Diamante	Joya	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1485
Diamante	Joya	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1486v
Diamante	Joya	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	195
Diamante	Joya	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	195
Diamante	Joya	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	199
Diamante	Joya	Luis Enriquez	P3485	670v
Diamante	Libro	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	905
Diamante	Medalla	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	66
Diamante	Medalla	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	66v
Diamante	Picça	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	853
Diamante	Picça	Luis Enriquez	P3485	667v
Diamante	Pluma	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	65v
Diamante	Pluma	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	516
Diamante	Relicario	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	536v
Diamante	Reloj	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	195
Diamante	Reloj	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	537
Diamante	Sortija	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	874
Diamante	Sortija	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Diamante	Sortija	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Diamante	Sortija	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Diamante	Sortija	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1655v
Diamante	Sortija	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	403
Diamante	Sortija	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1305v
Diamante	Sortija	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1305v
Diamante	Sortija	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1305v
Diamante	Sortija	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1305v
Diamante	Sortija	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	777
Diamante	Sortija	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	777
Diamante	Sortija	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	847v
Diamante	Sortija	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	847v
Diamante	Sortija	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	853v
Diamante	Sortija	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	66
Diamante	Sortija	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1484v
Diamante	Sortija	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1484v
Diamante	Sortija	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1485
Diamante	Sortija	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1485
Diamante	Sortija	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Diamante	Sortija	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Diamante	Sortija	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	906
Diamante	Sortija	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	196
Diamante	Sortija	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	196
Diamante	Sortija	Maria de Aragón	P1578	158
Diamante	Sortija	Maria de Aragón	P1578	158v
Diamante	Sortija	Maria de Aragón	P1578	158v
Diamante	Sortija	Maria de Aragón	P1578	159
Diamante	Sortija	Maria Pereira	P989	236v
Diamante	Sortija	Martin de Padreda	P2323	398v
Diamante	Sortija	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	516v
Diamante	Sortija	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	516v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Diamante	Sortija	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	516v
Diamante	Sortija	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	536v
Diamante	Sortija	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	536v
Diamante	Sortija	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1156v
Ebano	[material]	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1058v
Ebano	[material]	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1058v
Ebano	[material]	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1058v
Ebano	[material]	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1059
Ebano	Abanico	Guioimar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	25
Ebano	Ara	Maria de Aragón	P1578	162
Ebano	Arca	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	875v
Ebano	Arca	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	373v
Ebano	Arca	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	374
Ebano	Arca	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	374v
Ebano	Arca	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	406v
Ebano	Arca	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1313v
Ebano	Arca	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1345v
Ebano	Arca	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	793
Ebano	Arca	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Ebano	Arca	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Ebano	Arca	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Ebano	Arca	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Ebano	Arca	Guioimar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	29v
Ebano	Arca	Guioimar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	31v
Ebano	Arca	Guioimar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	32v
Ebano	Arca	Guioimar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	34v
Ebano	Arca	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1504v
Ebano	Arca	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	537v
Ebano	Arca	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	538
Ebano	Arca	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	538
Ebano	Arca	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	538
Ebano	Arca	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	538v
Ebano	Arca	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	541
Ebano	Arca	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	542
Ebano	Arca	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	542
Ebano	Arca	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	542
Ebano	Arca	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	185v
Ebano	Atril	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	375
Ebano	Atril	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	531
Ebano	Banda	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	207v
Ebano	Bandeja	Ana Manrique	P2022	389
Ebano	Bandeja	Ana Manrique	P2022	389
Ebano	Bastidor	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1313v
Ebano	Bastidor	Guioimar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	33
Ebano	Baúl	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1767v
Ebano	Baúl	Luis Enriquez	P3485	669v
Ebano	Baúl	Luis Enriquez	P3485	671
Ebano	Baúl	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	537v
Ebano	Bandon	Guioimar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	30v
Ebano	Brasero	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	781v
Ebano	Brasero	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	63v
Ebano	Brasero	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	781
Ebano	Brasero	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1034v
Ebano	Brasero	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	907v
Ebano	Brinco	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1345
Ebano	Bufete	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	875v
Ebano	Bufete	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	875v
Ebano	Bufete	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Ebano	Bufete	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	372
Ebano	Bufete	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	372
Ebano	Bufete	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1297v
Ebano	Bufete	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1297v
Ebano	Bufete	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1300v
Ebano	Bufete	Ana María Dugarte de la Hemossa	P2654b	1012v
Ebano	Bufete	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	783v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Ebano	Bufete	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	783v
Ebano	Bufete	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	793
Ebano	Bufete	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Ebano	Bufete	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Ebano	Bufete	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Ebano	Bufete	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Ebano	Bufete	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Ebano	Bufete	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Ebano	Bufete	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	855v
Ebano	Bufete	Antonio Perez	P989b	468
Ebano	Bufete	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	500v
Ebano	Bufete	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	521v
Ebano	Bufete	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1011v
Ebano	Bufete	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	686v
Ebano	Bufete	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	283
Ebano	Bufete	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	780v
Ebano	Bufete	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	780v
Ebano	Bufete	Juan de Acuña	P2661	809v
Ebano	Bufete	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1022v
Ebano	Bufete	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1064v
Ebano	Bufete	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1065
Ebano	Bufete	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1065
Ebano	Bufete	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1065
Ebano	Bufete	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1065v
Ebano	Bufete	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1066
Ebano	Bufete	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1507v
Ebano	Bufete	Juan de Mendoza y Castilla	P2298	325v
Ebano	Bufete	Juan de Mendoza y Castilla	P2298	325v
Ebano	Bufete	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Ebano	Bufete	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Ebano	Bufete	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	491v
Ebano	Bufete	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	910v
Ebano	Bufete	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	910v
Ebano	Bufete	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	910v
Ebano	Bufete	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	910v
Ebano	Bufete	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	910v
Ebano	Bufete	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	910v
Ebano	Bufete	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	916v
Ebano	Bufete	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	219v
Ebano	Bufete	Luis Enriquez	P3485	665v
Ebano	Bufete	Luis Enriquez	P3485	674v
Ebano	Bufete	Martin de Padreda	P2323	412v
Ebano	Bufete	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	527
Ebano	Bufete	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	528v
Ebano	Bufete	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	528v
Ebano	Bufete	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	534
Ebano	Bufete	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	539
Ebano	Bufete	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	541
Ebano	Bufete	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	542
Ebano	Bufete	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	542v
Ebano	Bufete	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	542v
Ebano	Bufete	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	543
Ebano	Bufete	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	544
Ebano	Bufete	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	544
Ebano	Bufete	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	544
Ebano	Bufete	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	544
Ebano	Bufete	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1339
Ebano	Bufete	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1339v
Ebano	Bufete	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviña	P2040b	637-[652]
Ebano	Caja	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1344
Ebano	Caja	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	63
Ebano	Caja	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	67v
Ebano	Caja	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	67v
Ebano	Caja	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	18
Ebano	Caja	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	905v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Ebano	Caja	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	527v
Ebano	Caja	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	528
Ebano	Caja	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	539v
Ebano	Caja	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	541
Ebano	Cama [Mueble]	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Ebano	Cama [Mueble]	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Ebano	Cama [Mueble]	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	910v
Ebano	Cama [Mueble]	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1337v
Ebano	Candelero	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	30v
Ebano	Candelero	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1368
Ebano	Candelero	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	539
Ebano	Cesta	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	24
Ebano	Cofre	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	519
Ebano	Cofre	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	519
Ebano	Contador	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	875
Ebano	Contador	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	875
Ebano	Contador	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1342
Ebano	Contador	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1011v
Ebano	Contador	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	950v
Ebano	Contador	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	222v
Ebano	Contador	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	18
Ebano	Contador	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	24
Ebano	Contador	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1060
Ebano	Contador	Juan de Mendoza y Castilla	P2298	325v
Ebano	Contador	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	219v
Ebano	Contador	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	519
Ebano	Contador	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	539v
Ebano	Contador	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	541
Ebano	Contador	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	541
Ebano	Contador	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	541v
Ebano	Cruz	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1306v
Ebano	Cruz	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1346
Ebano	Cruz	Ana Manrique	P2022	368
Ebano	Cruz	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	500v
Ebano	Cruz	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	264
Ebano	Cruz	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	62v
Ebano	Cruz	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	30
Ebano	Cruz	Juan de Acuña	P2661	821
Ebano	Cruz	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1365v
Ebano	Cruz	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1365v
Ebano	Cruz	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	199v
Ebano	Cruz	Luis Enriquez	P3485	669
Ebano	Cruz	Luis Enriquez	P3485	672v
Ebano	Cruz	Luis Enriquez	P3485	672v
Ebano	Cruz	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	520
Ebano	Cruz	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviña	P2040b	637-[652]
Ebano	Cuchillo	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1382v
Ebano	Escritorio	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	875
Ebano	Escritorio	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	875
Ebano	Escritorio	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1636
Ebano	Escritorio	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1636
Ebano	Escritorio	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1636v
Ebano	Escritorio	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	374
Ebano	Escritorio	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	374
Ebano	Escritorio	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	374
Ebano	Escritorio	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	375v
Ebano	Escritorio	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	375v
Ebano	Escritorio	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1297v
Ebano	Escritorio	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1343
Ebano	Escritorio	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1346
Ebano	Escritorio	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Ebano	Escritorio	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Ebano	Escritorio	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Ebano	Escritorio	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Ebano	Escritorio	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Ebano	Escritorio	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Ebano	Escritorio	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v



Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Ebano	Imagen	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1296
Ebano	Imagen	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1296
Ebano	Imagen	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1296
Ebano	Imagen	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1010v
Ebano	Imagen	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1012
Ebano	Imagen	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1012
Ebano	Imagen	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	783
Ebano	Imagen	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	783
Ebano	Imagen	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	795v
Ebano	Imagen	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	796
Ebano	Imagen	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	796v
Ebano	Imagen	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1010v
Ebano	Imagen	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1010v
Ebano	Imagen	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1015v
Ebano	Imagen	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1760v
Ebano	Imagen	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1761v
Ebano	Imagen	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	948
Ebano	Imagen	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	948v
Ebano	Imagen	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	224v
Ebano	Imagen	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	225
Ebano	Imagen	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	62v
Ebano	Imagen	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	62v
Ebano	Imagen	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1366
Ebano	Imagen	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Ebano	Imagen	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	913
Ebano	Imagen	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	915v
Ebano	Imagen	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	917v
Ebano	Imagen	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	917v
Ebano	Imagen	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	199
Ebano	Imagen	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	210
Ebano	Imagen	Luis Enriquez	P3485	666v
Ebano	Imagen	Luis Enriquez	P3485	666v
Ebano	Imagen	Luis Enriquez	P3485	666v
Ebano	Imagen	Luis Enriquez	P3485	671
Ebano	Imagen	Luis Enriquez	P3485	671v
Ebano	Imagen	Luis Enriquez	P3485	671v
Ebano	Imagen	Luis Enriquez	P3485	671v
Ebano	Imagen	Luis Enriquez	P3485	671v
Ebano	Imagen	Luis Enriquez	P3485	672v
Ebano	Imagen	Luis Enriquez	P3485	672v
Ebano	Imagen	Martin de Padreda	P2323	398v
Ebano	Imagen	Martin de Padreda	P2323	399
Ebano	Imagen	Martin de Padreda	P2323	399v
Ebano	Imagen	Martin de Padreda	P2323	399v
Ebano	Imagen	Martin de Padreda	P2323	400
Ebano	Imagen	Martin de Padreda	P2323	400
Ebano	Imagen	Martin de Padreda	P2323	400v
Ebano	Imagen	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	529
Ebano	Imagen	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	533v
Ebano	Imagen	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	533v
Ebano	Imagen	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	534
Ebano	Imagen	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	534
Ebano	Imagen	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	534v
Ebano	Imagen	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	534v
Ebano	Imagen	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	535
Ebano	Imagen	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	535
Ebano	Imagen	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	535
Ebano	Imagen	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	535v
Ebano	Imagen	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	535v
Ebano	Imagen	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	539v
Ebano	Imagen	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1341v
Ebano	Imagen	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviña	P2040b	637-[652]
Ebano	Imagen	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviña	P2040b	637-[652]
Ebano	Imagen	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviña	P2040b	637-[652]
Ebano	Imagen	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviña	P2040b	637-[652]
Ebano	Imagen	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviña	P2040b	637-[652]
Ebano	Imagen	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	181v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Ebano	Imagen	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	181v
Ebano	Lámina	Luis Enriquez	P3485	666v
Ebano	Lámina	Luis Enriquez	P3485	671v
Ebano	Lámina	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	521v
Ebano	Lámina	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	521v
Ebano	Lanza	Juan de Acuña	P2661	916
Ebano	Libro	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	910
Ebano	Maceta	Maria de Aragón	P1578	171v
Ebano	Mapa	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1638v
Ebano	Mapa	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1638v
Ebano	Marco	Luis Enriquez	P3485	662v
Ebano	Marco	Luis Enriquez	P3485	662v
Ebano	Marco	Luis Enriquez	P3485	671v
Ebano	Martillo	Juan de Acuña	P2661	920v
Ebano	Mosqueador	Juan de Acuña	P2661	819
Ebano	Mosqueador	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1363v
Ebano	Muleta	Ana Manrique	P2022	355
Ebano	Muleta	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	915v
Ebano	Ostiarío	Maria de Aragón	P1578	172
Ebano	Peana	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	63
Ebano	Pieça	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	872
Ebano	Pieça	Antonio Perez	P989b	470
Ebano	Pieça	Juan de Acuña	P2661	917v
Ebano	Pieça	Juan de Acuña	P2661	921v
Ebano	Pieça	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	538
Ebano	Piés [de mueble]	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	780v
Ebano	Piés [de mueble]	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	519v
Ebano	Piés para escritorio	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Ebano	Pintura	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Ebano	Pintura	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Ebano	Pintura	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Ebano	Pintura	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	377v
Ebano	Pintura	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	526v
Ebano	Pintura	Luis Enriquez	P3485	662
Ebano	Pintura	Luis Enriquez	P3485	671v
Ebano	Pintura	Luis Enriquez	P3485	671v
Ebano	Pintura	Luis Enriquez	P3485	671v
Ebano	Pintura	Luis Enriquez	P3485	671v
Ebano	Pintura	Martin de Padreda	P2323	399
Ebano	Pintura	Martin de Padreda	P2323	399
Ebano	Pintura	Martin de Padreda	P2323	399
Ebano	Pintura	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	522
Ebano	Pintura	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	535
Ebano	Pintura	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	182
Ebano	Pintura	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	182
Ebano	Quadro	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	224
Ebano	Quadro	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	230
Ebano	Quadro	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	230
Ebano	Quadro	Juana de Mujita	P2021	85v
Ebano	Quadro	Juana de Mujita	P2021	85v
Ebano	Quadro	Luis Enriquez	P3485	669v
Ebano	Quadro	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	519v
Ebano	Quadro	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	519v
Ebano	Quadro	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	519v
Ebano	Quadro	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	519v
Ebano	Quadro	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	519v
Ebano	Quadro	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	519v
Ebano	Quadro	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	519v
Ebano	Quadro	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	520
Ebano	Reja	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	872
Ebano	Reja	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	375
Ebano	Reja	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1317
Ebano	Reja	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	267v
Ebano	Reja	Juan de Acuña	P2661	819
Ebano	Reja	Juan de Acuña	P2661	819v
Ebano	Reja	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	911v
Ebano	Reja	Martin de Padreda	P2323	397v
Ebano	Reja	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1156



Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Ebano	Reja	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	187v
Ebano	Relicario	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	378v
Ebano	Relicario	Ana Manrique	P2022	367v
Ebano	Relicario	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	855
Ebano	Relicario	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	16v
Ebano	Relicario	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	21
Ebano	Relicario	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	21v
Ebano	Relicario	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	21v
Ebano	Relicario	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	280v
Ebano	Relicario	Juan de Acuña	P2661	821
Ebano	Relicario	Juan de Acuña	P2661	823
Ebano	Relicario	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Ebano	Relicario	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	499v
Ebano	Relicario	Luis Enriquez	P3485	666v
Ebano	Relicario	Martin de Padreda	P2323	399v
Ebano	Relicario	Martin de Padreda	P2323	400
Ebano	Relicario	Martin de Padreda	P2323	400
Ebano	Relicario	Martin de Padreda	P2323	400
Ebano	Relicario	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	519
Ebano	Relicario	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	520
Ebano	Relicario	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	530
Ebano	Relicario	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	530
Ebano	Relicario	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	531
Ebano	Relicario	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviria	P2040b	637-[652]
Ebano	Relicario	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviria	P2040b	637-[652]
Ebano	Relicario	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviria	P2040b	637-[652]
Ebano	Relicario	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviria	P2040b	637-[652]
Ebano	Relicario	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1156v
Ebano	Relicario	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	183
Ebano	Relicario	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	187v
Ebano	Reloj	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	20v
Ebano	Reloj	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	219v
Ebano	Retablo	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	20v
Ebano	Retablo	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	21v
Ebano	Retablo	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	21v
Ebano	Retablo	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	21v
Ebano	Retablo	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	21v
Ebano	Retablo	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	22
Ebano	Retablo	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	22
Ebano	Retablo	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	22
Ebano	Retablo	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	22
Ebano	Retablo	Luis Enriquez	P3485	669
Ebano	Retablo	Luis Enriquez	P3485	671v
Ebano	Retablo	Luis Enriquez	P3485	671v
Ebano	Retablo	Luis Enriquez	P3485	671v
Ebano	Retrato	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	526v
Ebano	Retrato	Luis Enriquez	P3485	669
Ebano	Rosario	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	379
Ebano	Rosario	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1338
Ebano	Rosario	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	518v
Ebano	Rosario	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	518v
Ebano	Rosario	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	518v
Ebano	Rosario	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	518v
Ebano	Rosario	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	519
Ebano	Rosario	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1754
Ebano	Rosario	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	66v
Ebano	Rosario	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	67
Ebano	Rosario	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	67v
Ebano	Rosario	Juan de Acuña	P2661	916v
Ebano	Rosario	Juan de Acuña	P2661	916v
Ebano	Rosario	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1482
Ebano	Rosario	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1482

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Ebano	Rosario	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1482
Ebano	Rosario	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	200
Ebano	Rosario	María de Aragón	P1578	166
Ebano	Rosario	María Pereira	P989	237
Ebano	Salva	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1313v
Ebano	Salva	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1762v
Ebano	Salva	Juana de Mujita	P2021	85v
Ebano	Tablero de Xadrez	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	374v
Ebano	Tablero de Xadrez	Luis Enriquez	P3485	658v
Ebano	Vaso	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1346
Encina	Arca	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	373v
Encina	Arca	Ana Manrique	P2022	355
Encina	Arca	Ana Manrique	P2022	359
Encina	Escritorio	Juan de Acuña	P2661	799v
Encina	Escritorio	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1062
Encina	Imagen	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	530
Encina	Maceta	Ana Manrique	P2022	386
Esmalte	Apretador	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	777
Esmalte	Apretador	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	847
Esmalte	Avito	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	66
Esmalte	Avito	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	66
Esmalte	Avito	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	20
Esmalte	Banda	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	775
Esmalte	Banda	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1486
Esmalte	Banda	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Esmalte	Banda	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	197v
Esmalte	Bandeja	Luis Enriquez	P3485	669
Esmalte	Bolsa	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	199v
Esmalte	Boton	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1340v
Esmalte	Boton	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	776v
Esmalte	Boton	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	777
Esmalte	Boton	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	777
Esmalte	Boton	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	848
Esmalte	Boton	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1015v
Esmalte	Boton	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	681v
Esmalte	Boton	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	681v
Esmalte	Boton	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	683
Esmalte	Boton	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	66
Esmalte	Boton	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	260
Esmalte	Boton	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	765
Esmalte	Boton	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1479v
Esmalte	Boton	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1479v
Esmalte	Boton	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1479v
Esmalte	Boton	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1479v
Esmalte	Boton	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1479v
Esmalte	Boton	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1485
Esmalte	Boton	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1487
Esmalte	Boton	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Esmalte	Boton	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	905v
Esmalte	Boton	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	905v
Esmalte	Boton	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	213v
Esmalte	Boton	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	516v
Esmalte	Brazalete	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	905
Esmalte	Brazalete	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	198
Esmalte	Cadena	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	404
Esmalte	Cadena	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1306
Esmalte	Cadena	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	775v
Esmalte	Cadena	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	775v
Esmalte	Cadena	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	847v
Esmalte	Cadena	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	854
Esmalte	Cadena	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	854
Esmalte	Cadena	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1015
Esmalte	Cadena	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1015
Esmalte	Cadena	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	955v
Esmalte	Cadena	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	66
Esmalte	Cadena	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	66

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Esmalte	Cadena	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	764v
Esmalte	Cadena	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1484
Esmalte	Cadena	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1485
Esmalte	Cadena	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1486v
Esmalte	Caja	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	782v
Esmalte	Caja	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	261
Esmalte	Candado	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	416v
Esmalte	Candelero	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1032v
Esmalte	Chiflo	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	500v
Esmalte	Cinta	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1306
Esmalte	Cinta	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1484
Esmalte	Cinto	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	775v
Esmalte	Cinto	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	499
Esmalte	Cinto	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1015v
Esmalte	Cinto	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	66
Esmalte	Cinto	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1479
Esmalte	Cinto	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1479
Esmalte	Copa	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	257
Esmalte	Copa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1026v
Esmalte	Copa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1026v
Esmalte	Copa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1039
Esmalte	Copa	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1472v
Esmalte	Copa	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1472v
Esmalte	Cruz	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	211
Esmalte	Cruz	Maria de Aragón	P1578	159v
Esmalte	Escritorio	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1060
Esmalte	Estribo	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	525
Esmalte	Frasco	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	201v
Esmalte	Fuente	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1341v
Esmalte	Imagen	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1305v
Esmalte	Imagen	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1306v
Esmalte	Imagen	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	847v
Esmalte	Imagen	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	906v
Esmalte	Imagen	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	200
Esmalte	Jarro	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1474
Esmalte	Joya	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1656
Esmalte	Joya	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	848
Esmalte	Joya	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	499v
Esmalte	Joya	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	956
Esmalte	Joya	Guimar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	15v
Esmalte	Joya	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1485
Esmalte	Joya	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	195
Esmalte	Joya	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	195
Esmalte	Joya	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	516v
Esmalte	Medalla	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	66
Esmalte	Olla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1473
Esmalte	Olla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1473v
Esmalte	Olla	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	912
Esmalte	Papelina	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	782
Esmalte	Papelina	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1039
Esmalte	Pieça	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	499
Esmalte	Pieça	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	261
Esmalte	Pieça	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1472
Esmalte	Pieça	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1472v
Esmalte	Pieça	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1473
Esmalte	Pieça	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1473v
Esmalte	Pieça	Luis Enriquez	P3485	667v
Esmalte	Pieça	Luis Enriquez	P3485	667v
Esmalte	Pieça	Luis Enriquez	P3485	667v
Esmalte	Pomo	Luis Enriquez	P3485	667v
Esmalte	Relicário	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	403v
Esmalte	Relicário	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1028v
Esmalte	Relicário	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1028v
Esmalte	Relicário	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1028v
Esmalte	Relicário	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1028v
Esmalte	Relicário	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	199v
Esmalte	Relicário	Luis Enriquez	P3485	667v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Esmalte	Reloj	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	909v
Esmalte	Reloj	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	909v
Esmalte	Reloj	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	909v
Esmalte	Reloj	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	909v
Esmalte	Reloj	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1343v
Esmalte	Retablo	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	403v
Esmalte	Retablo	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	776
Esmalte	Rosario	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	403v
Esmalte	Rosario	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	854
Esmalte	Rosario	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1753
Esmalte	Rosario	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1485v
Esmalte	Rosario	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	200v
Esmalte	Rosario	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	200v
Esmalte	Salero	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	201v
Esmalte	Sortija	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1305v
Esmalte	Sortija	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1305v
Esmalte	Sortija	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1305v
Esmalte	Sortija	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	847v
Esmalte	Sortija	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	853v
Esmalte	Sortija	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	262
Esmalte	Sortija	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1480
Esmalte	Sortija	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1484v
Esmalte	Sortija	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1484v
Esmalte	Sortija	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1485
Esmalte	Sortija	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1485
Esmalte	Sortija	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Esmalte	Sortija	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Esmalte	Sortija	Maria de Aragón	P1578	159
Esmalte	Sortija	Maria de Aragón	P1578	159
Esmalte	Sortija	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	536v
Esmalte	Sortija	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	536v
Esmalte	Sortija	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	537
Esmalte	Sortija	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	537
Esmalte	Sortija	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	537
Esmalte	Taza	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1036v
Esmalte	Taza	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1472
Esmalte	Teja	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	850
Esmalte	Vaso	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	410
Esmalte	Vaso	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1029v
Esmalte	Vaso	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	201v
Esmalte	Vaso	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	203
Esmalte	Vaso	Maria de Aragón	P1578	159
Esmalte	Venera	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	775v
Esmalte	Venera	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	764v
Esmeralda	[material]	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	403
Esmeralda	[material]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	667v
Esmeralda	Apretador	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	681
Esmeralda	Apretador	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	764v
Esmeralda	Arrecada	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1305v
Esmeralda	Brazalete	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	874
Esmeralda	Cadena	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	682v
Esmeralda	Calabaza	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1486v
Esmeralda	Imagen	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	776
Esmeralda	Joya	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1306
Esmeralda	Sortija	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1305v
Esmeralda	Sortija	Ana Maria Dugarte de la Hemossa	P2654b	1010
Esmeralda	Sortija	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	499v
Esmeralda	Sortija	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1479v
Esmeralda	Sortija	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Esmeralda	Sortija	Maria de Aragón	P1578	158
Esmeralda	Sortija	Maria de Aragón	P1578	158v
Esmeralda	Sortija	Maria de Aragón	P1578	159
Esmeralda	Sortija	Maria Pereira	P989	234v
Esmeralda	Sortija	Maria Pereira	P989	236v
Esmeralda	Sortija	Martin de Padreda	P2323	398v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Esmeralda	Venera	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	682v
Esparto	Estera	Ana Manrique	P2022	387v
Esparto	Estera	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	51v
Esparto	Estera	Juan de Acuña	P2661	940v
Esparto	Estera	Luis Enriquez	P3485	660v
Esparto	Estera	Maria de Aragón	P1578	172
Esparto	Estera	Maria Pereira	P989	238
Esparto	Estera	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	189v
Estaño	Cuchara	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1016v
Estaño	Frasco	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	496
Estaño	Frasco	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	59v
Estaño	Frasquera	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	495v
Estaño	Frasquera	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	495v
Estaño	Vaso	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	527v
Estopa	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1319v
Estopa	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1321v
Estopa	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	372
Estopa	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	372v
Estopa	[material]	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1016
Estopa	[material]	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1757v
Estopa	[material]	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	957v
Estopa	[material]	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	959
Estopa	[material]	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	706v
Estopa	[material]	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1376
Estopa	[material]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	672
Estopa	Alba	Ana Manrique	P2022	373
Estopa	Bolsa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1319v
Estopa	Cofia	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	209v
Estopa	Cortina	Ana Manrique	P2022	373
Estopa	Cortina	Ana Manrique	P2022	385
Estopa	Cuello	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	873v
Estopa	Mantel	Ana Manrique	P2022	371
Estopa	Mantel	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	957v
Estopa	Mantel	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	958
Estopa	Mantel	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	958
Estopa	Paño	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1757v
Estopa	Savana	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Estopa	Savana	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1315
Estopa	Savana	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1320
Estopa	Savana	Ana Manrique	P2022	373
Estopa	Savana	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1017
Estopa	Savana	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1017
Estopa	Savana	Fernando Carrillo	P2031	1031
Estopa	Savana	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1757
Estopa	Savana	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1768
Estopa	Savana	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	957v
Estopa	Savana	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	959
Estopa	Savana	Juan de Acuña	P2661	903v
Estopa	Savana	Juan de Acuña	P2661	910v
Estopa	Savana	Juan de Mendoza y Castilla	P2298	332v
Estopa	Savana	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	500
Estopa	Savana	Maria Pereira	P989	237v
Estopa	Tocador	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	785v
Estopa	Xergón	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	959
Felpa	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1211[sic]
Felpa	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1211[sic]
Felpa	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	382
Felpa	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	382v
Felpa	[material]	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	696
Felpa	[material]	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Felpa	[material]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	672v
Felpa	[material]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	674
Felpa	[material]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	674
Felpa	[material]	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	184
Felpa	Alfombra	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Felpa	Alfombra	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Felpa	Alfombra	Maria de Aragón	P1578	165
Felpa	Almilla	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1644v
Felpa	Almilla	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	761v
Felpa	Almilla	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	784
Felpa	Almilla	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	914v
Felpa	Beca	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	785
Felpa	Beca	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1013
Felpa	Beca	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	190v
Felpa	Beca	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	190v
Felpa	Bota	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1313
Felpa	Cama [Textil]	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	209v
Felpa	Capa	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1463
Felpa	Colcha	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1657
Felpa	Colcha	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	390
Felpa	Delantal	Juan de Acuña	P2661	883v
Felpa	Ferrezuelo	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1013
Felpa	Ferrezuelo	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	694v
Felpa	Ferrezuelo	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	761
Felpa	Ferrezuelo	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	761v
Felpa	Ferrezuelo	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	525v
Felpa	Forro	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1647
Felpa	Forro	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1309v
Felpa	Forro	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	758
Felpa	Forro	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	758v
Felpa	Forro	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	193v
Felpa	Forro	Luis Enriquez	P3485	661
Felpa	Gaban	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	761
Felpa	Gorra	Juan de Acuña	P2661	878
Felpa	Imagen	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	913
Felpa	Imagen	Luis Enriquez	P3485	673v
Felpa	Mangas	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1310
Felpa	Mantel	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	384v [sic]
Felpa	Manteo	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	386v
Felpa	Manteo	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	191
Felpa	Manteo	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	191
Felpa	Medias	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1316
Felpa	Medias	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	910
Felpa	Ropa	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	65
Felpa	Ropa	Maria de Aragón	P1578	169
Felpa	Sayo	Ana Manrique	P2022	367v
Felpa	Vestido	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	794v
Felpa	Vestido	Luis Enriquez	P3485	670
Feltro	[material]	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1645
Feltro	[material]	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1645v
Feltro	[material]	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1645v
Feltro	[material]	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	400v
Feltro	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1340
Feltro	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1340
Feltro	[material]	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Feltro	Cobertor	Antonio Perez	P989b	471v
Feltro	Cortina	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	510v
Feltro	Litera	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	698v
Feltro	Maceta	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	400v
Feltro	Silla	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Feltro	Silla	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1650
Feltro	Silla	Juan de Acuña	P2661	807v
Feltro	Silla	Juan de Acuña	P2661	808
Feltro	Silla	Maria de Aragón	P1578	167v
Feltro	Sombrero	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1337
Feltro	Sombrero	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1014v
Feltro	Sombrero	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	951
Feltro	Sombrero	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	951
Feltro	Sombrero	Juan de Acuña	P2661	891
Feltro	Sombrero	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1466v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Feltro	Sombrero	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1466v
Feltro	Sombrero	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1466v
Feltro	Sombrero	Luis Enriquez	P3485	659
Feltro	Sombrero	Martin de Padreda	P2323	404
Feltro	Sombrero	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	191
Feltro	Sombrero	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	191
Fresno	Arca	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	793
Gasa	[material]	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	873v
Gasa	[material]	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1648v
Gasa	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1315
Gasa	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1315
Gasa	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1348v
Gasa	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1348v
Gasa	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	371
Gasa	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	371
Gasa	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	390v
Gasa	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	390v
Gasa	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	390v
Gasa	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	390v
Gasa	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	390v
Gasa	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	390v
Gasa	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	390v
Gasa	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	390v
Gasa	[material]	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	793
Gasa	[material]	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	793v
Gasa	[material]	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1382v
Gasa	[material]	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	913
Gasa	[material]	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	914
Gasa	[material]	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	204v
Gasa	[material]	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	204v
Gasa	[material]	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	205
Gasa	[material]	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	207v
Gasa	[material]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	672
Gasa	[material]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	672
Gasa	[material]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	672
Gasa	[material]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	673
Gasa	Abanico	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	25
Gasa	Almohada	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1314v
Gasa	Almohada	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	913v
Gasa	Almohada	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	204
Gasa	Banco	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	204v
Gasa	Banda	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	518
Gasa	Banda	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1482v
Gasa	Banda	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1482v
Gasa	Banda	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	911
Gasa	Banda	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	911
Gasa	Banda	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	911
Gasa	Banda	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	911
Gasa	Banda	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	911
Gasa	Banda	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	911
Gasa	Banda	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	912v
Gasa	Banda	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	914
Gasa	Banda	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	914v
Gasa	Banda	Luis Enriquez	P3485	672
Gasa	Banda	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	194v
Gasa	Cama [Textil]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1312
Gasa	Cortina	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1344
Gasa	Frontal	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Gasa	Frutero	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	34v
Gasa	Gotera	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	873v
Gasa	Manto	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1310v
Gasa	Manto	Luis Enriquez	P3485	673
Gasa	Pabellon	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1292v
Gasa	Pabellon	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1047
Gasa	Pabellon	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1047

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Gasa	Pabellon	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1047
Gasa	Pabellon	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Gasa	Pabellon	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	912v
Gasa	Pabellon	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	526v
Gasa	Pabellon	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1340v
Gasa	Pabellon	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1341
Gasa	Paño	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	914v
Gasa	Paño	Luis Enriquez	P3485	672
Gasa	Pieça	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	204v
Gasa	Pieça	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1340
Gasa	Pieça	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1344
Gasa	Ropa	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	382
Gasa	Ropa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1307v
Gasa	Toalla	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	873
Gasa	Toalla	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	873
Gasa	Toalla	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	873v
Gasa	Toalla	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	793
Gasa	Toalla	Felipe de Matiengo	P2026	1019
Gasa	Toalla	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	65v
Gasa	Toalla	Juan de Mendoza y Castilla	P2298	333v
Gasa	Toalla	Luis Enriquez	P3485	668
Gasa	Toalla	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	524v
Gasa	Toalla	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	524v
Gasa	Toalla	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	532
Gasa	Toca	Ana Maria Dugarte de la Hemossa	P2654b	1012
Gasa	Vestido	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	190
Gato de Algalia	Animal	Juan de Acuña	P2661	892v
Gato de Algalia	Animal	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1046.1
Gorgoran	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	382v
Gorgoran	[material]	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	503
Gorgoran	[material]	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	503
Gorgoran	[material]	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	503
Gorgoran	[material]	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1465v
Gorgoran	[material]	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	913
Gorgoran	[material]	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	913
Gorgoran	[material]	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	913
Gorgoran	[material]	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	193v
Gorgoran	[material]	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	194
Gorgoran	Almilla	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Gorgoran	Almilla	Felipe de Matiengo	P2026	1013
Gorgoran	Balandran	Luis Enriquez	P3485	672v
Gorgoran	Banda	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	915
Gorgoran	Basquiña	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1308v
Gorgoran	Basquiña	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	953
Gorgoran	Basquiña	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	757v
Gorgoran	Bolsa	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1649v
Gorgoran	Calças	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1338v
Gorgoran	Calças	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1342
Gorgoran	Calçon	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1646
Gorgoran	Calçon	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	398
Gorgoran	Calçon	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	401
Gorgoran	Calçon	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	761v
Gorgoran	Calçon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1456
Gorgoran	Calçon	Juan de Mendoza y Castilla	P2298	329
Gorgoran	Calçon	Juan de Mendoza y Castilla	P2298	329v
Gorgoran	Calçon	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Gorgoran	Capa	Felipe de Matiengo	P2026	1013
Gorgoran	Capa	Martin de Padreda	P2323	405
Gorgoran	Colchon	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1634v
Gorgoran	Colchon	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	392
Gorgoran	Goladura	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	787v
Gorgoran	Faldellin	Martin de Padreda	P2323	404v
Gorgoran	Ferrezuelo	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	399v
Gorgoran	Ferrezuelo	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	401
Gorgoran	Ferrezuelo	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	402
Gorgoran	Ferrezuelo	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	951v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Gorgoran	Ferrezuelo	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	951v
Gorgoran	Ferrezuelo	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	952
Gorgoran	Ferrezuelo	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	238v
Gorgoran	Ferrezuelo	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	694v
Gorgoran	Ferrezuelo	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	758
Gorgoran	Ferrezuelo	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	758v
Gorgoran	Ferrezuelo	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	759
Gorgoran	Ferrezuelo	Juan de Acuña	P2661	884
Gorgoran	Ferrezuelo	Juan de Acuña	P2661	884v
Gorgoran	Ferrezuelo	Juan de Acuña	P2661	885
Gorgoran	Ferrezuelo	Juan de Acuña	P2661	885
Gorgoran	Ferrezuelo	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1463v
Gorgoran	Ferrezuelo	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1463v
Gorgoran	Ferrezuelo	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1463v
Gorgoran	Ferrezuelo	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1500
Gorgoran	Ferrezuelo	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Gorgoran	Ferrezuelo	Luis Enriquez	P3485	661v
Gorgoran	Ferrezuelo	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	525
Gorgoran	Garnacha	Juan de Acuña	P2661	885
Gorgoran	Gorra	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	241
Gorgoran	Gorra	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	241
Gorgoran	Jubon	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	398
Gorgoran	Jubon	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1013
Gorgoran	Jubon	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1013v
Gorgoran	Jubon	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	951v
Gorgoran	Jubon	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	951v
Gorgoran	Jubon	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	757v
Gorgoran	Jubon	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	760v
Gorgoran	Jubon	Juan de Mendoza y Castilla	P2298	329
Gorgoran	Jubon	Juan de Mendoza y Castilla	P2298	329
Gorgoran	Jubon	Luis Enriquez	P3485	661v
Gorgoran	Jubon	Martin de Padreda	P2323	404
Gorgoran	Jubon	Martin de Padreda	P2323	404
Gorgoran	Jubon	Martin de Padreda	P2323	404
Gorgoran	Manteo	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1012v
Gorgoran	Manteo	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	191
Gorgoran	Manteo	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	191
Gorgoran	Pieça	Juan de Acuña	P2661	882v
Gorgoran	Pieça	Juan de Acuña	P2661	882v
Gorgoran	Pieça	Juan de Acuña	P2661	891
Gorgoran	Pieça	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	913v
Gorgoran	Ropa	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	381
Gorgoran	Ropa	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	381v
Gorgoran	Ropa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1340v
Gorgoran	Ropa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1341
Gorgoran	Ropa	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1014v
Gorgoran	Ropa	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1013
Gorgoran	Ropa	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1017
Gorgoran	Ropa	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	953
Gorgoran	Ropa	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	959
Gorgoran	Ropa	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	65
Gorgoran	Ropa	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	761
Gorgoran	Ropa	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	191v
Gorgoran	Ropa	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	191v
Gorgoran	Ropa	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1145
Gorgoran	Ropilla	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1643v
Gorgoran	Ropilla	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	398v
Gorgoran	Ropilla	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	398v
Gorgoran	Ropilla	Fernando Carrillo	P2031	1030v
Gorgoran	Ropilla	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	951v
Gorgoran	Ropilla	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	951v
Gorgoran	Ropilla	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	693v
Gorgoran	Ropilla	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	694
Gorgoran	Ropilla	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	695
Gorgoran	Ropilla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1460

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Gorgoran	Ropilla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1461v
Gorgoran	Ropilla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1461v
Gorgoran	Ropilla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1465
Gorgoran	Ropilla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1465
Gorgoran	Ropilla	Martin de Padreda	P2323	403v
Gorgoran	Ropilla	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1145v
Gorgoran	Ropilla	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1146v
Gorgoran	Ropilla	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1146v
Gorgoran	Sobremesa	Juan de Acuña	P2661	784
Gorgoran	Sotana	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	760
Gorgoran	Sotana	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	760
Gorgoran	Sotana	Juan de Acuña	P2661	885
Gorgoran	Sotana	Juan de Acuña	P2661	885v
Gorgoran	Sotana	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Gorgoran	Valona	Martin de Padreda	P2323	403v
Gorgoran	Verdugado	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	384v [sic]
Gorgoran	Vestido	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	396
Gorgoran	Vestido	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	401v
Gorgoran	Vestido	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1010v
Gorgoran	Vestido	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	784v
Gorgoran	Vestido	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	785
Gorgoran	Vestido	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	693
Gorgoran	Vestido	Luis Enriquez	P3485	661v
Gorgoran	Vestido	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	525
Gorgoran	Vestido	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	525
Grana	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1315v
Grana	[material]	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	213
Grana	Adereço	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1496
Grana	Bolsa	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	210v
Grana	Cama [Textil]	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	510v
Grana	Cama [Textil]	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1011v
Grana	Cama [Textil]	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	49
Grana	Cama [Textil]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	781
Grana	Cama [Textil]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	782
Grana	Cama [Textil]	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	214v
Grana	Cama [Textil]	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	178v
Grana	Cobertor	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	954
Grana	Cobertor	María de Aragón	P1578	164v
Grana	Cobertor	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	181v
Grana	Cobertor	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	181v
Grana	Cortina	Juan de Acuña	P2661	781
Grana	Faldellin	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	953v
Grana	Manta	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	51
Grana	Manta	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	51
Grana	Manta	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	51
Grana	Manta	Juan de Acuña	P2661	913v
Grana	Manta	María de Aragón	P1578	164v
Grana	Manta	María de Aragón	P1578	169
Grana	Manteo	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1348v
Grana	Manteo	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1015
Grana	Manteo	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	247v
Grana	Pabellon	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1300
Grana	Pabellon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1495
Grana	Paño	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	509v
Grana	Sobremesa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1297v
Grana	Sobremesa	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1755v
Grana	Sobremesa	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	211v
Grana	Sobremesa	Martin de Padreda	P2323	414v
Grana	Tela	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	496v
Grana de polvo	Almilla	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	760v
Grana de polvo	Cama [Textil]	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Grana de polvo	Ropa	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	758v
Granada	[material]	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1364v
Granada	[material]	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Granada	[material]	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Granada	[material]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	667v
Granada	Apretador	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	495v
Granada	Borla	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	20v
Granada	Boton	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1306
Granada	Copa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1028
Granada	Gargantilla	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	249v
Granada	Gargantilla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1485v
Granada	Imagen	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	905v
Granada	Imagen	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	195v
Granada	Pieça	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1306
Granada	Pieça	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	267
Granada	Rosario	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	777
Granada	Rosario	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	200
Granada	Sortija	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	847v
Granada	Sortija	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1383v
Granada	Tenedor	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1752
Granadillo	Arca	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	538
Granadillo	Bola	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	538
Granadillo	Bufete	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	372v
Granadillo	Bufete	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Granadillo	Bufete	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Granadillo	Cama [Mueble]	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	782
Granadillo	Cama [Mueble]	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	488v
Granadillo	Contador	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	875
Granadillo	Contador	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	541
Granadillo	Escritorio	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	875
Granadillo	Escritorio	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	875
Granadillo	Escritorio	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Granadillo	Escritorio	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	489
Guadamecil	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1294
Guadamecil	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1294
Guadamecil	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	368v
Guadamecil	[material]	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	496v
Guadamecil	[material]	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	497v
Guadamecil	[material]	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	497v
Guadamecil	[material]	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	784v
Guadamecil	[material]	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1494
Guadamecil	[material]	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1381v
Guadamecil	[material]	Maria de Aragón	P1578	163v
Guadamecil	[material]	Maria de Aragón	P1578	164
Guadamecil	[material]	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1165
Guadamecil	Almohada	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1756
Guadamecil	Almohada	Maria de Aragón	P1578	165
Guadamecil	Antepuerta	Juan de Acuña	P2661	797v
Guadamecil	Antepuerta	Luis Enriquez	P3485	658
Guadamecil	Antepuerta	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1165
Guadamecil	Arca	Antonio Perez	P989b	467v
Guadamecil	Cofre	Antonio Perez	P989b	470v
Guadamecil	Cofre	Antonio Perez	P989b	471
Guadamecil	Colchon	Antonio Perez	P989b	470v
Guadamecil	Colgadura	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	209v
Guadamecil	Colgadura	Juan de Acuña	P2661	794
Guadamecil	Colgadura	Juan de Acuña	P2661	794v
Guadamecil	Colgadura	Juan de Acuña	P2661	795
Guadamecil	Colgadura	Juan de Acuña	P2661	795
Guadamecil	Colgadura	Juan de Acuña	P2661	795
Guadamecil	Colgadura	Juan de Acuña	P2661	795v
Guadamecil	Cubierta	Juan de Acuña	P2661	797
Guadamecil	Cubierta	Juan de Acuña	P2661	797
Guadamecil	Cubierta	Juan de Acuña	P2661	797
Guadamecil	Cubierta	Juan de Acuña	P2661	797v
Guadamecil	Paño	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1056
Guadamecil	Paño	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1056v
Guadamecil	Pieça	Antonio Perez	P989b	471
Guadamecil	Pieça	Antonio Perez	P989b	471

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Guadamecil	Pieça	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1764
Guadamecil	Pieça	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1764
Guadamecil	Pieça	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	209v
Guadamecil	Pieça	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	211v
Guadamecil	Pieça	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	212
Guadamecil	Pieça	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	48v
Guadamecil	Pieça	Juan de Acuña	P2661	795v
Guadamecil	Pieça	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	178v
Guadamecil	Plato	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1056v
Guadamecil	Sobremesa	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1650v
Guadamecil	Sobremesa	Ana Manrique	P2022	387v
Guadamecil	Sobremesa	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	212
Guadamecil	Sobremesa	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	212
Guadamecil	Sobremesa	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	212
Guadamecil	Sobremesa	Juan de Acuña	P2661	796
Guadamecil	Sobremesa	Juan de Acuña	P2661	796
Guadamecil	Sobremesa	Juan de Acuña	P2661	796
Guadamecil	Sobremesa	Juan de Acuña	P2661	796
Guadamecil	Sobremesa	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1372
Guadamecil	Sobremesa	Luis Enriquez	P3485	658
Gusanillo	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1314v
Gusanillo	[material]	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1465v
Gusanillo	Imagen	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Gusanillo	Mantel	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1320
Gusanillo	Mantel	Ana Manrique	P2022	372v
Gusanillo	Mantel	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	511v
Gusanillo	Mantel	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1016v
Gusanillo	Mantel	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1756v
Gusanillo	Mantel	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	957
Gusanillo	Mantel	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	61
Gusanillo	Mantel	Juan de Acuña	P2661	897v
Gusanillo	Mantel	Juan de Acuña	P2661	910v
Gusanillo	Mantel	Juana de Mujita	P2021	87
Gusanillo	Mantel	Martin de Padreda	P2323	407
Gusanillo	Mantel	Martin de Padreda	P2323	407
Gusanillo	Mantel	Martin de Padreda	P2323	407
Gusanillo	Mantel	Martin de Padreda	P2323	407
Gusanillo	Mantel	Martin de Padreda	P2029	
Gusanillo	Paño	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Gusanillo	Paño	Martin de Padreda	P2323	407v
Gusanillo	Paño	Martin de Padreda	P2323	407v
Gusanillo	Paño	Martin de Padreda	P2323	407v
Gusanillo	Paño	Martin de Padreda	P2323	408v
Gusanillo	Servilleta	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Gusanillo	Servilleta	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1314
Gusanillo	Servilleta	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1319v
Gusanillo	Servilleta	Ana Manrique	P2022	372
Gusanillo	Servilleta	Ana Manrique	P2022	372
Gusanillo	Servilleta	Ana Manrique	P2022	372v
Gusanillo	Servilleta	Ana Manrique	P2022	372v
Gusanillo	Servilleta	Ana Manrique	P2022	373
Gusanillo	Servilleta	Ana Manrique	P2022	373
Gusanillo	Servilleta	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	957
Gusanillo	Servilleta	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	958v
Gusanillo	Servilleta	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	783
Gusanillo	Servilleta	Juan de Acuña	P2661	909
Gusanillo	Servilleta	Juan de Acuña	P2661	909v
Gusanillo	Servilleta	Juan de Mendoza y Castilla	P2298	332
Gusanillo	Servilleta	Juan de Mendoza y Castilla	P2298	332
Gusanillo	Servilleta	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Gusanillo	Servilleta	Juana de Mujita	P2021	86v
Gusanillo	Servilleta	Martin de Padreda	P2323	407v
Gusanillo	Servilleta	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	524
Gusanillo	Toalla	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	873

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Gusanillo	Toalla	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1302v
Gusanillo	Toalla	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1315
Gusanillo	Toalla	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1315
Gusanillo	Toalla	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1315
Gusanillo	Toalla	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1344v
Gusanillo	Toalla	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1344v
Gusanillo	Toalla	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1344v
Gusanillo	Toalla	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1344v
Gusanillo	Toalla	Ana de Toledoy Colona	P1810-3a	1344v
Gusanillo	Toalla	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	790
Gusanillo	Toalla	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	958
Gusanillo	Toalla	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	705v[sic]
Gusanillo	Toalla	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	706v
Gusanillo	Toalla	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	707
Gusanillo	Toalla	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	707
Gusanillo	Toalla	Juan de Acuña	P2661	899v
Gusanillo	Toalla	Juan de Mendoza y Castilla	P2298	332
Gusanillo	Toalla	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	918
Gusanillo	Toalla	Luis Enriquez	P3485	667
Gusanillo	Toalla	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	523
Gusanillo	Toalla	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	523
Gusanillo	Toalla	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	524
Gusanillo	Toalla	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	524
Gusanillo	Toalla	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	546
Gusanillo	Toalla	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	546
Gusanillo	Toalla	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	180v
Gusanillo	Toalla	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	194v
Hierro	[material]	Fernando Carrillo	P2031	1032v
Hierro	[material]	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1766v
Hierro	[material]	Guimar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	25
Hierro	[material]	Guimar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	27v
Hierro	[material]	Guimar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	33
Hierro	[material]	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	189v
Hierro	Adaga	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	516
Hierro	Alicate	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1343v
Hierro	Arca	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	799
Hierro	Arca	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Hierro	Arca	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1067v
Hierro	Arca	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1067v
Hierro	Arca	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1068
Hierro	Arca	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1068
Hierro	Arca	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1068v
Hierro	Arca	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1069
Hierro	Arca	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1069
Hierro	Arca	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1069
Hierro	Arca	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1069
Hierro	Arca	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1069
Hierro	Arca	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1069v
Hierro	Arca	Juan de Mendoza y Castilla	P2298	333
Hierro	Arca	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	916v
Hierro	Asador	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1322v
Hierro	Asador	Ana Manrique	P2022	361v
Hierro	Asador	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1766
Hierro	Asador	Juan de Acuña	P2661	857
Hierro	Asador	Juan de Acuña	P2661	858v
Hierro	Asador	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1072
Hierro	Asador	Juana de Mujita	P2021	87v
Hierro	Asador	Juana de Mujita	P2021	88v
Hierro	Asador	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1175v
Hierro	Bolsa	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1753v
Hierro	Brasero	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Hierro	Brasero	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1651
Hierro	Brasero	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	423
Hierro	Brasero	Ana Manrique	P2022	361v
Hierro	Brasero	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1017v
Hierro	Brasero	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1765v
Hierro	Brasero	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	242v
Hierro	Brasero	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1469

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Hierro	Brasero	Martin de Padreda	P2323	411
Hierro	Brasero	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	547
Hierro	Brasero	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1343v
Hierro	Bufete	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	857v
Hierro	Bufete	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	857v
Hierro	Bufete	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	858
Hierro	Bufete	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1507
Hierro	Caja	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	520v
Hierro	Caja	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1069v
Hierro	Caja	Maria de Aragón	P1578	159
Hierro	Caja	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	520
Hierro	Caja	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	194v
Hierro	Caldera	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1322v
Hierro	Caldera	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	283v
Hierro	Caldera	Juan de Acuña	P2661	857v
Hierro	Caldero	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	423
Hierro	Caldero	Juan de Acuña	P2661	853v
Hierro	Caldero	Juan de Acuña	P2661	853v
Hierro	Caldero	Juan de Acuña	P2661	854
Hierro	Calentador	Juan de Acuña	P2661	861
Hierro	Cama [Mueble]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	660v
Hierro	Cama [Mueble]	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	526v
Hierro	Candado	Juan de Acuña	P2661	863v
Hierro	Candelero	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1766
Hierro	Candelero	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1513v
Hierro	Candil	Ana Manrique	P2022	360v
Hierro	Candil	Ana Manrique	P2022	361v
Hierro	Candil	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1766
Hierro	Candil	Juan de Acuña	P2661	860v
Hierro	Candil	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	918v
Hierro	Candil	Maria de Aragón	P1578	172v
Hierro	Casco	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	522v
Hierro	Casco	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	522v
Hierro	Casco	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	523
Hierro	Cazo	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	423v
Hierro	Cazo	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	528
Hierro	Cazo	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	528
Hierro	Cazo	Juan de Acuña	P2661	854v
Hierro	Cazo	Juan de Acuña	P2661	857v
Hierro	Cazo	Juan de Acuña	P2661	859
Hierro	Cazo	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	918v
Hierro	Cazo	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	918v
Hierro	Cazo	Juana de Mujita	P2021	88v
Hierro	Cazo	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	190
Hierro	Cinta	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	496v
Hierro	Cinto	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1317
Hierro	Cofre	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1754v
Hierro	Cofre	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1070v
Hierro	Cofre	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1505
Hierro	Cofre	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1505v
Hierro	Cofre	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1505v
Hierro	Cofre	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1505v
Hierro	Cofre	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	914v
Hierro	Cofre	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	519
Hierro	Cofre	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	520
Hierro	Cofre	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	542v
Hierro	Colador	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1322v
Hierro	Colador	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	528
Hierro	Colador	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1513v
Hierro	Coluna	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1319v
Hierro	Cubierto	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1322v
Hierro	Cuchara	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	423v
Hierro	Cuchara	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1322v
Hierro	Cuchara	Ana Manrique	P2022	360v
Hierro	Cuchara	Ana Manrique	P2022	361

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Hierro	Cuchara	Ana Manrique	P2022	361v
Hierro	Cuchara	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1016
Hierro	Cuchara	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1766
Hierro	Cuchara	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	243v
Hierro	Cuchara	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	243v
Hierro	Cuchara	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	283v
Hierro	Cuchara	Juan de Acuña	P2661	856
Hierro	Cuchara	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1513v
Hierro	Cuchara	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1379v
Hierro	Cuchara	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Hierro	Cuchara	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	918v
Hierro	Cuchara	Maria Pereira	P989	238
Hierro	Cuchara	Martin de Padreda	P2323	414
Hierro	Cuchara	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1175v
Hierro	Cuchillo	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	516
Hierro	Cuchillo	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	32
Hierro	Cuchillo	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1057v
Hierro	Cuchillo	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	190v
Hierro	Escritorio	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	32
Hierro	Escudo	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	522v
Hierro	Escudo	Juan de Acuña	P2661	859v
Hierro	Espumadera	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	423v
Hierro	Espumadera	Ana Manrique	P2022	360v
Hierro	Espumadera	Juan de Acuña	P2661	856v
Hierro	Espumadera	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1513v
Hierro	Estribo	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	525
Hierro	Frasquera	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1070
Hierro	Horma	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	528
Hierro	Horma	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1513v
Hierro	Horno	Juan de Acuña	P2661	854v
Hierro	Horno	Juan de Acuña	P2661	858
Hierro	Horno	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1513
Hierro	Lanza	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	523
Hierro	Lanza	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	523v
Hierro	Lanza	Maria de Aragón	P1578	165
Hierro	Llave	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1322v
Hierro	Martillo	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1299
Hierro	Martillo	Ana Manrique	P2022	362
Hierro	Martillo	Maria de Aragón	P1578	173
Hierro	Mesa	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	219
Hierro	Morillo	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1651
Hierro	Morillo	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	423v
Hierro	Morillo	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1298v
Hierro	Morillo	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1300
Hierro	Morillo	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1017
Hierro	Morillo	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1017v
Hierro	Morillo	Juan de Acuña	P2661	854v
Hierro	Morillo	Juan de Acuña	P2661	857v
Hierro	Morillo	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	918v
Hierro	Morillo	Juana de Mujita	P2021	88v
Hierro	Morillo	Maria Pereira	P989	238
Hierro	Mortero	Juan de Acuña	P2661	856v
Hierro	Mortero	Juan de Acuña	P2661	856v
Hierro	Mortero	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	540v
Hierro	Pala	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1322v
Hierro	Pala	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1322v
Hierro	Pala	Ana Manrique	P2022	360
Hierro	Pala	Ana Manrique	P2022	360v
Hierro	Pala	Ana Manrique	P2022	361v
Hierro	Pala	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	243
Hierro	Pala	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	244
Hierro	Pala	Juan de Acuña	P2661	857
Hierro	Pala	Juan de Acuña	P2661	857v
Hierro	Pala	Juan de Acuña	P2661	858v
Hierro	Pala	Juan de Acuña	P2661	859
Hierro	Pala	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1513v

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Hierro	Pala	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1513v
Hierro	Pala	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	918v
Hierro	Pala	Juana de Mujita	P2021	88v
Hierro	Pala	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	226
Hierro	Pala	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1175v
Hierro	Pala	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	190v
Hierro	Parrilla	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1322v
Hierro	Parrilla	Ana Manrique	P2022	360v
Hierro	Parrilla	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1016
Hierro	Parrilla	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1017v
Hierro	Parrilla	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	959v
Hierro	Parrilla	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	243
Hierro	Parrilla	Juan de Acuña	P2661	856
Hierro	Parrilla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1514
Hierro	Parrilla	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Hierro	Parrilla	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	918v
Hierro	Parrilla	Maria de Aragón	P1578	173
Hierro	Parrilla	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1175v
Hierro	Peana	Juan de Acuña	P2661	859
Hierro	Perfumador	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	916
Hierro	Peso	Ana Manrique	P2022	361v
Hierro	Peso	Juan de Acuña	P2661	863
Hierro	Peso	Maria Pereira	P989	238
Hierro	Pieça	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1650v
Hierro	Pieça	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1652
Hierro	Pieça	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	423v
Hierro	Pieça	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1298v
Hierro	Pieça	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1303v
Hierro	Pieça	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1319v
Hierro	Pieça	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1322v
Hierro	Pieça	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1322v
Hierro	Pieça	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1322v
Hierro	Pieça	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1342v
Hierro	Pieça	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1348
Hierro	Pieça	Ana Manrique	P2022	360v
Hierro	Pieça	Ana Manrique	P2022	360v
Hierro	Pieça	Ana Manrique	P2022	361
Hierro	Pieça	Ana Manrique	P2022	361
Hierro	Pieça	Ana Manrique	P2022	361v
Hierro	Pieça	Ana Manrique	P2022	361v
Hierro	Pieça	Ana Manrique	P2022	361v
Hierro	Pieça	Ana Manrique	P2022	362
Hierro	Pieça	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1016
Hierro	Pieça	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1016
Hierro	Pieça	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	517
Hierro	Pieça	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	517v
Hierro	Pieça	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	517v
Hierro	Pieça	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	517v
Hierro	Pieça	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	517v
Hierro	Pieça	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	528
Hierro	Pieça	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	528v
Hierro	Pieça	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	528v
Hierro	Pieça	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1765v
Hierro	Pieça	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1765v
Hierro	Pieça	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1766v
Hierro	Pieça	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1766v
Hierro	Pieça	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1766v
Hierro	Pieça	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	244
Hierro	Pieça	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	22v
Hierro	Pieça	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	284
Hierro	Pieça	Juan de Acuña	P2661	856
Hierro	Pieça	Juan de Acuña	P2661	858v
Hierro	Pieça	Juan de Acuña	P2661	858v
Hierro	Pieça	Juan de Acuña	P2661	859v
Hierro	Pieça	Juan de Acuña	P2661	859v



Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Hierro	Pieça	Juan de Acuña	P2661	918v
Hierro	Pieça	Juan de Acuña	P2661	919v
Hierro	Pieça	Juan de Acuña	P2661	920
Hierro	Pieça	Juan de Acuña	P2661	920v
Hierro	Pieça	Juan de Acuña	P2661	921
Hierro	Pieça	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1470
Hierro	Pieça	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1480v
Hierro	Pieça	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1513v
Hierro	Pieça	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1513v
Hierro	Pieça	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1379v
Hierro	Pieça	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1380
Hierro	Pieça	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	918v
Hierro	Pieça	Juana de Mujita	P2021	88
Hierro	Pieça	Juana de Mujita	P2021	88v
Hierro	Pieça	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	226
Hierro	Pieça	Luis Enriquez	P3485	673v
Hierro	Pieça	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	547v
Hierro	Pieça	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1175v
Hierro	Pieça	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	190
Hierro	Pieça	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	190
Hierro	Plancha	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1322v
Hierro	Prensa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1338
Hierro	Prensa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1073v
Hierro	Prensa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1073v
Hierro	Punzon	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	195
Hierro	Rallo	Ana Manrique	P2022	360v
Hierro	Rallo	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	528v
Hierro	Rallo	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	547v
Hierro	Rastillo	Ana Manrique	P2022	357
Hierro	Reja	Juan de Acuña	P2661	848
Hierro	Sarten	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1322v
Hierro	Sarten	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1322v
Hierro	Sarten	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1322v
Hierro	Sarten	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1017v
Hierro	Sarten	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1017v
Hierro	Sarten	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	243v
Hierro	Sarten	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	243v
Hierro	Sarten	Guimar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	31v
Hierro	Sarten	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	505
Hierro	Sarten	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	505
Hierro	Sarten	Juana de Mujita	P2021	88v
Hierro	Sarten	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1175v
Hierro	Sarten	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	190
Hierro	Sello	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1343v
Hierro	Sello	Guimar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	31v
Hierro	Silla	Maria de Aragón	P1578	172
Hierro	Tenaz	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1299
Hierro	Tenaz	Ana Manrique	P2022	362
Hierro	Tenaz	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1017v
Hierro	Tenaz	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1766
Hierro	Tenaz	Juana de Mujita	P2021	88v
Hierro	Tenaz	Maria de Aragón	P1578	173
Hierro	Tenedor	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1322v
Hierro	Tijeras	Guimar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	32
Hierro	Tijeras	Maria Pereira	P989	237v
Hierro	Vara	Ana Manrique	P2022	361v
Hierro	Vaso	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1513
Hierro	Vaso	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1513
Hierro	Vaso	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	
Hijueta	[material]	Guimar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	36
Hilado	[material]	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1767
Hilado	[material]	Guimar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	27
Hilado	[material]	Maria Pereira	P989	237v
Hilado	Cordon	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	497

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Hilado	Cordon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1483
Hilo	[material]	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	391
Hilo	[material]	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	391
Hilo	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1319v
Hilo	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1343
Hilo	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1343
Hilo	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1345v
Hilo	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1347v
Hilo	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	391
Hilo	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	391
Hilo	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	391
Hilo	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	391
Hilo	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	391
Hilo	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	391
Hilo	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	391
Hilo	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	391
Hilo	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	391
Hilo	[material]	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1753v
Hilo	[material]	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1754
Hilo	[material]	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1754
Hilo	[material]	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1758
Hilo	[material]	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1758
Hilo	[material]	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	67
Hilo	[material]	Guimar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	27
Hilo	[material]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	881v
Hilo	[material]	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1383v
Hilo	[material]	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1384
Hilo	[material]	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1385
Hilo	[material]	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	909
Hilo	[material]	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	910
Hilo	[material]	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	910
Hilo	[material]	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	910v
Hilo	[material]	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	911v
Hilo	[material]	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	915v
Hilo	[material]	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	210v
Hilo	[material]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	667v
Hilo	[material]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	670v
Hilo	[material]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	672
Hilo	[material]	Maria Pereira	P989	237
Hilo	[material]	Maria Pereira	P989	237
Hilo	[material]	Maria Pereira	P989	237
Hilo	[material]	Maria Pereira	P989	237
Hilo	[material]	Maria Pereira	P989	237
Hilo	[material]	Maria Pereira	P989	237
Hilo	[material]	Maria Pereira	P989	237
Hilo	[material]	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	193v
Hilo	Almilla	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1644v
Hilo	Almohada	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1344v
Hilo	Almohada	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1016
Hilo	Almohada	Juan de Acuña	P2661	906
Hilo	Almohada	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	913v
Hilo	Almohada	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	913v
Hilo	Banda	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	911
Hilo	Banda	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	914
Hilo	Banda	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	914
Hilo	Bolsa	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	785v
Hilo	Caja	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	908v
Hilo	Calças	Martin de Padreda	P2323	408v
Hilo	Cinta	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1344
Hilo	Cinta	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	206
Hilo	Cofia	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	209v
Hilo	Colcha	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	390
Hilo	Colcha	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	957
Hilo	Colcha	Luis Enriquez	P3485	657
Hilo	Cordon	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1758
Hilo	Cordon	Juan de Acuña	P2661	825v
Hilo	Cordon	Maria de Aragón	P1578	162



Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Jaspe	Pila	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1641v
Jaspe	Pila	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	379
Jaspe	Piramide	Juan de Acuña	P2661	938
Jaspe	Pomo	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1522
Jaspe	Porcelana	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	23v
Jaspe	Retablo	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	189
Jaspe	Rosario	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	518v
Jaspe	Rosario	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	17v
Jaspe	Sello	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1342
Jerga	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1343v
Jerga	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1345v
Jerga	Calças	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1339
Jerga	Calçon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1456v
Jerga	Cama [Textil]	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Jerga	Capa	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1463
Jerga	Capa	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1373
Jerga	Cobertor	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Jerga	Ferrezuelo	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1646v
Jerga	Ferrezuelo	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1501
Jerga	Jubon	Juan de Mendoza y Castilla	P2298	329
Jerga	Pieça	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1342v
Jerga	Ropa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1339
Jerga	Ropa	Juan de Acuña	P2661	888v
Jerga	Ropilla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1461
Jerga	Valona	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	401v
Jerga	Vestido	Juan de Mendoza y Castilla	P2298	329v
Junco	Bandeja	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1041v
Junco	Cama [Mueble]	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1055v
Junco	Cesta	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1041
Junco	Estera	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	874v
Junco	Estera	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1294
Junco	Estera	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1767
Junco	Estera	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1044v
Junco	Estera	Luis Enriquez	P3485	660v
Junco	Estera	Martin de Padreda	P2323	413v
Junco	Muleta	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	496
Lacre	[material]	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	494v
Lacre	[material]	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1754
Lacre	[material]	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1754
Lacre	[material]	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	17v
Lacre	[material]	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	32v
Lacre	[material]	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	910
Lacre	Bacia	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	547
Lacre	Colchon	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	871
Lacre	Colchon	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	871
Lampazo	Paño	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	691
Lana	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1211[sc]
Lana	[material]	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	786
Lana	Alcatifa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1043v
Lana	Alfombra	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1294v
Lana	Alfombra	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1294v
Lana	Alfombra	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1294v
Lana	Alfombra	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	513
Lana	Alfombra	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	208
Lana	Alfombra	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1042
Lana	Alfombra	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1042v
Lana	Almohada	Ana Manrique	P2022	384
Lana	Almohada	Ana Manrique	P2022	384v
Lana	Almohada	Ana Maria Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1016v
Lana	Almohada	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	788
Lana	Almohada	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Lana	Antepuerta	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	207v
Lana	Basquiña	Luis Enriquez	P3485	674
Lana	Calças	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1314
Lana	Calças	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	759v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Lana	Calçon	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	496v
Lana	Calçon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1466
Lana	Cobertor	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Lana	Cobertor	Luis Enriquez	P3485	658
Lana	Colchon	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Lana	Colchon	Ana Manrique	P2022	384v
Lana	Colchon	Ana Manrique	P2022	384v
Lana	Colchon	Ana Manrique	P2022	384v
Lana	Colchon	Ana Manrique	P2022	384v
Lana	Colchon	Ana Manrique	P2022	384v
Lana	Colchon	Ana Manrique	P2022	384v
Lana	Colchon	Ana Manrique	P2022	385
Lana	Colchon	Ana Maria Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1017
Lana	Colchon	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	492
Lana	Colchon	Luis Enriquez	P3485	675
Lana	Colchon	Luis Enriquez	P3485	675
Lana	Colchon	Martin de Padreda	P2323	405
Lana	Colgadura	Luis Enriquez	P3485	656
Lana	Cortina	Luis Enriquez	P3485	658v
Lana	Ferrezuelo	Felipe de Matiengo	P2026	1013
Lana	Ferrezuelo	Juan de Acuña	P2661	885v
Lana	Ferrezuelo	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1464
Lana	Ferrezuelo	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1464
Lana	Ferrezuelo	Juan de Mendoza y Castilla	P2298	329v
Lana	Garnacha	Juan de Acuña	P2661	885v
Lana	Gorra	Juan de Acuña	P2661	890v
Lana	Jubon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1457
Lana	Jubon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1457
Lana	Mangas	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1315v
Lana	Mangas	Ana Maria Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1013
Lana	Mangas	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	51v
Lana	Manta	Felipe de Matiengo	P2026	1016v
Lana	Manta	Luis Enriquez	P3485	658
Lana	Manta	Luis Enriquez	P3485	658
Lana	Manta	Luis Enriquez	P3485	658
Lana	Manteo	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	785
Lana	Medias	Ana Manrique	P2022	382v
Lana	Medias	Felipe de Matiengo	P2026	1013v
Lana	Medias	Juan de Acuña	P2661	889
Lana	Medias	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1372
Lana	Medias	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Lana	Paño	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	47v
Lana	Pieça	Fernando Carrillo	P2031	1030
Lana	Pieça	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	241v
Lana	Repostero	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	48
Lana	Repostero	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	48
Lana	Repostero	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	48
Lana	Repostero	Luis Enriquez	P3485	658
Lana	Ropa	Ana Manrique	P2022	382v
Lana	Ropa	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1465
Lana	Ropilla	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	694v
Lana	Ropilla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1459v
Lana	Saya	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	872v
Lana	Sotana	Juan de Acuña	P2661	885v
Lana	Tapete	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1293
Lana	Tapiceria	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1293
Lana	Tapiceria	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1293v
Lana	Tapiceria	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1293v
Lana	Tapiceria	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	206v
Lana	Tapiceria	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	206v
Lana	Tapiceria	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	206v
Lana	Tapiceria	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	207
Lana	Tapiceria	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	207
Lana	Tapiceria	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	207
Lana	Tapiceria	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	207

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Lana	Tapicería	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	207
Lana	Tapicería	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	207
Lana	Tapicería	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	207v
Lana	Tapicería	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	690v
Lana	Tapicería	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	47v
Lana	Tapicería	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	48
Lana	Tapicería	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	526
Lana	Vestido	Juan de Mendoza y Castilla	P2298	329v
Lanilla	Loba	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviria	P2040b	637-[652]
Lanilla	Mangas	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1308v
Lanilla	Mangas	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviria	P2040b	637-[652]
Lanilla	Manteco	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviria	P2040b	637-[652]
Lapislázuli	Rosario	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1485v
Lapislázuli	Rosario	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1485v
Lapislázuli	Rosario	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	200v
Lapislázuli	Rosario	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	200v
Lapislázuli	Rosario	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	200v
Lapislázuli	Rosario	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	200v
Laton	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	361v
Laton	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	361v
Laton	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	386 (sic)
Laton	Bacia	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1316
Laton	Bacia	Ana Manrique	P2022	360
Laton	Bacia	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1016
Laton	Bacia	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	527v
Laton	Bacia	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1765v
Laton	Bacia	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	242v
Laton	Bacia	Juan de Acuña	P2661	860
Laton	Bacia	Juan de Acuña	P2661	861v
Laton	Bacia	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1378v
Laton	Bacia	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1379
Laton	Bacia	Juana de Mujita	P2021	88
Laton	Bacia	Juana de Mujita	P2021	88
Laton	Bacia	Maria Pereira	P989	237v
Laton	Bacia	Maria Pereira	P989	238
Laton	Bacia	Maria Pereira	P989	238v
Laton	Bacia	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	547
Laton	Bacia	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1175
Laton	Bacia	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	189v
Laton	Bola	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	540v
Laton	Bola	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	190
Laton	Boton	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	777
Laton	Brasero	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1765v
Laton	Cadena	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	775v
Laton	Cadena	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	498v
Laton	Caja	Antonio Perez	P989b	469v
Laton	Caja	Antonio Perez	P989b	470
Laton	Caja	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	907v
Laton	Caldera	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1322v
Laton	Caldera	Juan de Acuña	P2661	861
Laton	Caldera	Juana de Mujita	P2021	88
Laton	Calentador	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1300
Laton	Calentador	Ana Manrique	P2022	361v
Laton	Calentador	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1011v
Laton	Calentador	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1016
Laton	Calentador	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1017v
Laton	Calentador	Juan de Acuña	P2661	861
Laton	Calentador	Juan de Acuña	P2661	863v
Laton	Calentador	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1378v
Laton	Calentador	Maria de Aragón	P1578	172v
Laton	Campana	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	780 [sic]
Laton	Candelerero	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	423v
Laton	Candelerero	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1300
Laton	Candelerero	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1302v
Laton	Candelerero	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1342v
Laton	Candelerero	Ana Manrique	P2022	362
Laton	Candelerero	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1016

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Laton	Candelerero	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	527v
Laton	Candelerero	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1017v
Laton	Candelerero	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1766
Laton	Candelerero	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	960
Laton	Candelerero	Juan de Acuña	P2661	823
Laton	Candelerero	Juan de Acuña	P2661	861
Laton	Candelerero	Juan de Acuña	P2661	861
Laton	Candelerero	Juan de Acuña	P2661	861
Laton	Candelerero	Juan de Acuña	P2661	862
Laton	Candelerero	Juan de Mendoza y Castilla	P2298	333
Laton	Candelerero	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1380v
Laton	Candelerero	Juana de Mujita	P2021	88
Laton	Candelerero	Juana de Mujita	P2021	88
Laton	Candelerero	Maria de Aragón	P1578	172v
Laton	Candelerero	Maria Pereira	P989	237v
Laton	Candelerero	Martin de Padreda	P2323	414v
Laton	Candil	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1655v
Laton	Candil	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1655v
Laton	Candil	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1655v
Laton	Candil	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1300
Laton	Candil	Ana Manrique	P2022	361
Laton	Candil	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	528
Laton	Candil	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1765v
Laton	Candil	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	960
Laton	Candil	Juan de Acuña	P2661	860v
Laton	Candil	Juan de Acuña	P2661	861v
Laton	Candil	Juan de Mendoza y Castilla	P2298	332v
Laton	Candil	Juana de Mujita	P2021	88
Laton	Candil	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	222
Laton	Candil	Maria de Aragón	P1578	172v
Laton	Cañon	Antonio Perez	P989b	469v
Laton	Cazo	Ana Manrique	P2022	361
Laton	Cazo	Ana Manrique	P2022	362
Laton	Cazo	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1017v
Laton	Cazo	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1017v
Laton	Cazo	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	918v
Laton	Cazo	Maria Pereira	P989	237v
Laton	Cazo	Martin de Padreda	P2323	414
Laton	Cazo	Martin de Padreda	P2323	414
Laton	Cofre	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	799
Laton	Colador	Juan de Acuña	P2661	861
Laton	Cruz	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	906
Laton	Cruz	Maria de Aragón	P1578	159
Laton	Espumadera	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	243v
Laton	Espumadera	Juan de Acuña	P2661	858
Laton	Espumadera	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1379v
Laton	Espumadera	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	918v
Laton	Espumadera	Martin de Padreda	P2323	414
Laton	Frasco	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	495
Laton	Imagen	Maria de Aragón	P1578	158v
Laton	Morillo	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1298v
Laton	Morillo	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1300
Laton	Morillo	Ana Manrique	P2022	361v
Laton	Morillo	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1766
Laton	Morillo	Juan de Acuña	P2661	860
Laton	Morillo	Juan de Acuña	P2661	860
Laton	Morillo	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	545v
Laton	Mortero	Ana Manrique	P2022	360
Laton	Mortero	Ana Manrique	P2022	360
Laton	Mortero	Ana Manrique	P2022	360v
Laton	Mortero	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1765
Laton	Mortero	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1766v
Laton	Mortero	Maria de Aragón	P1578	173
Laton	Pala	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1299
Laton	Perfumador	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1766v
Laton	Peso	Ana Manrique	P2022	361

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Laton	Peso	Juan de Acuña	P2661	862
Laton	Peso	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1383
Laton	Peso	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	540v
Laton	Pieça	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1342
Laton	Pieça	Juan de Acuña	P2661	860
Laton	Pieça	Juana de Mujita	P2021	88
Laton	Pieça	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	190v
Laton	Plato	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	190
Laton	Rastillo	Ana Manrique	P2022	357
Laton	Relicário	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	855
Laton	Reloj	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	522
Laton	Reloj	Maria de Aragón	P1578	171
Laton	Salva	Juan de Acuña	P2661	862v
Laton	Salva	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1384
Laton	Tintero	Juan de Acuña	P2661	862
Laton	Tintero	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1384
Laton	Vaso	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1650v
Laton	Vaso	Juan de Acuña	P2661	858
Laton	Vaso	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	547
Laton	Vaso	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	547
Laton	Xeringa	Juan de Acuña	P2661	863v
Lienzo	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1314
Lienzo	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1314v
Lienzo	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1315v
Lienzo	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1315v
Lienzo	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	371v
Lienzo	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	371v
Lienzo	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	371v
Lienzo	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	371v
Lienzo	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	371v
Lienzo	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	372
Lienzo	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	372
Lienzo	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	372
Lienzo	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	372
Lienzo	[material]	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	511v
Lienzo	[material]	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1757v
Lienzo	[material]	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1757v
Lienzo	[material]	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1757v
Lienzo	[material]	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1757v
Lienzo	[material]	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	957v
Lienzo	[material]	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	214
Lienzo	[material]	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	706v
Lienzo	[material]	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	706v
Lienzo	[material]	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	706v
Lienzo	[material]	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	61
Lienzo	[material]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	897
Lienzo	[material]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	897
Lienzo	[material]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	897v
Lienzo	[material]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	897v
Lienzo	[material]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	898
Lienzo	[material]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	898
Lienzo	[material]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	901v
Lienzo	[material]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	903
Lienzo	[material]	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1049
Lienzo	[material]	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	213
Lienzo	[material]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	673
Lienzo	[material]	Maria de Aragón	P1578	169v
Lienzo	[material]	Maria de Aragón	P1578	170v
Lienzo	[material]	Maria de Aragón	P1578	170v
Lienzo	[material]	Maria Pereira	P989	236
Lienzo	[material]	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	194v
Lienzo	Açerico	Juan de Acuña	P2661	901v
Lienzo	Açerico	Juana de Mujita	P2021	86v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Lienzo	Almilla	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	915v
Lienzo	Almohada	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1319v
Lienzo	Almohada	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1320
Lienzo	Almohada	Ana Manrique	P2022	384v
Lienzo	Almohada	Antonio Perez	P989b	476
Lienzo	Almohada	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	511
Lienzo	Almohada	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1016
Lienzo	Almohada	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	958
Lienzo	Almohada	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	254
Lienzo	Almohada	Guioimar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	34
Lienzo	Almohada	Guioimar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	34
Lienzo	Almohada	Juana de Mujita	P2021	86v
Lienzo	Almohada	Juana de Mujita	P2021	86v
Lienzo	Almohada	Juana de Mujita	P2021	86v
Lienzo	Almohada	Juana de Mujita	P2021	86v
Lienzo	Almohada	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	224v
Lienzo	Almohada	Maria Pereira	P989	235
Lienzo	Almohada	Martin de Padreda	P2323	406
Lienzo	Almohada	Martin de Padreda	P2323	406
Lienzo	Almohada	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	181
Lienzo	Amito	Ana Manrique	P2022	371
Lienzo	Bastidor	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1643
Lienzo	Bañil	Luis Enriquez	P3485	672
Lienzo	Bolsa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1314v
Lienzo	Bolsa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1319v
Lienzo	Bolsa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1320
Lienzo	Bolsa	Ana Manrique	P2022	371v
Lienzo	Bolsa	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	511v
Lienzo	Bolsa	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1495v
Lienzo	Bolsa	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Lienzo	Bonete	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Lienzo	Calças	Ana Manrique	P2022	370
Lienzo	Calças	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	253
Lienzo	Calças	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1170
Lienzo	Calçon	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	957v
Lienzo	Calçon	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Lienzo	Calçon	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Lienzo	Calçon	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	501v
Lienzo	Calçon	Martin de Padreda	P2323	408
Lienzo	Calçon	Martin de Padreda	P2323	408v
Lienzo	Camisa	Ana Maria Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1017
Lienzo	Camisa	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	511v
Lienzo	Camisa	Juan de Mendoza y Castilla	P2298	332
Lienzo	Camisa	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Lienzo	Camisa	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	501
Lienzo	Camisa	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Lienzo	Camisa	Luis Enriquez	P3485	667v
Lienzo	Camisa	Maria de Aragón	P1578	171
Lienzo	Camisa	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1170
Lienzo	Cofia	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	495
Lienzo	Cofia	Maria Pereira	P989	237
Lienzo	Cofre	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	910v
Lienzo	Colcha	Antonio Perez	P989b	467v
Lienzo	Colcha	Juan de Acuña	P2661	905v
Lienzo	Colcha	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Lienzo	Colcha	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Lienzo	Colcha	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Lienzo	Colchon	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	871
Lienzo	Colchon	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	392
Lienzo	Colchon	Antonio Perez	P989b	476
Lienzo	Colchon	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	254
Lienzo	Colchon	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	706
Lienzo	Colchon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1495
Lienzo	Colchon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1495
Lienzo	Colchon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1495

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Lienzo	Colchon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1495
Lienzo	Colchon	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	492
Lienzo	Colchon	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	920
Lienzo	Colchon	Luis Enriquez	P3485	675
Lienzo	Colchon	Martín de Padreda	P2323	405
Lienzo	Colchon	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	524v
Lienzo	Colchon	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	181v
Lienzo	Colchon	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	181v
Lienzo	Corporal	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	61
Lienzo	Corporal	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	25
Lienzo	Cortina	Maria Pereira	P989	235
Lienzo	Cuello	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1755v
Lienzo	Delantal	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1322
Lienzo	Frontal	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1642
Lienzo	Imagen	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1011
Lienzo	Imagen	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1011
Lienzo	Imagen	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1761
Lienzo	Imagen	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1761
Lienzo	Imagen	Juan de Acuña	P2661	922v
Lienzo	Imagen	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1368v
Lienzo	Imagen	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1368v
Lienzo	Imagen	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1173
Lienzo	Jubon	Ana Manrique	P2022	370
Lienzo	Jubon	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1011
Lienzo	Jubon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1459
Lienzo	Jubon	Luis Enriquez	P3485	667v
Lienzo	Jubon	Maria de Aragón	P1578	170
Lienzo	Lámina	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviria	P2040b	637-[652]
Lienzo	Lienzo	Maria de Aragón	P1578	172
Lienzo	Lienzo	Maria de Aragón	P1578	172
Lienzo	Litera	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1071v
Lienzo	Mangas	Ana Manrique	P2022	370v
Lienzo	Mangas	Ana Manrique	P2022	371v
Lienzo	Mangas	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	496v
Lienzo	Manteo	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1315v
Lienzo	Mapa	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	184v
Lienzo	Medias	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1455v
Lienzo	Mosqueador	Luis Enriquez	P3485	661
Lienzo	Pabellon	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1047v
Lienzo	Pabellon	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	915v
Lienzo	Pabellon	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	915v
Lienzo	Pálla	Maria de Aragón	P1578	163v
Lienzo	Paño	Ana Manrique	P2022	370v
Lienzo	Paño	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	511v
Lienzo	Paño	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	689
Lienzo	Paño	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1050v
Lienzo	Paño	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1382
Lienzo	Paño	Juana de Mujita	P2021	87
Lienzo	Paño	Martín de Padreda	P2323	407v
Lienzo	Paño	Martín de Padreda	P2323	408v
Lienzo	Peinador	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1170
Lienzo	Pieça	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	387
Lienzo	Pieça	Ana Manrique	P2022	371v
Lienzo	Pieça	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	855
Lienzo	Pieça	Juan de Acuña	P2661	882
Lienzo	Pieça	Juan de Acuña	P2661	912v
Lienzo	Pieça	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1509v
Lienzo	Pieça	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Lienzo	Pieça	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Lienzo	Pieça	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Lienzo	Pieça	Maria de Aragón	P1578	170
Lienzo	Pieça	Maria de Aragón	P1578	170v
Lienzo	Pieça	Maria de Aragón	P1578	170v
Lienzo	Pieça	Maria de Aragón	P1578	170v
Lienzo	Pieça	Maria de Aragón	P1578	170v
Lienzo	Pieça	Maria de Aragón	P1578	170v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Lienzo	Pieça	Maria de Aragón	P1578	170v
Lienzo	Pintura	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1295
Lienzo	Pintura	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1295
Lienzo	Pintura	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1295
Lienzo	Pintura	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1295v
Lienzo	Pintura	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1295v
Lienzo	Pintura	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1296
Lienzo	Pintura	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1296
Lienzo	Pintura	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1300
Lienzo	Pintura	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1300v
Lienzo	Pintura	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1300v
Lienzo	Pintura	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1300v
Lienzo	Pintura	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1300v
Lienzo	Pintura	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1300v
Lienzo	Pintura	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	797
Lienzo	Pintura	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Lienzo	Pintura	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	526v
Lienzo	Pintura	Fernando Carrillo	P2031	1029
Lienzo	Pintura	Fernando Carrillo	P2031	1029v
Lienzo	Pintura	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	949
Lienzo	Pintura	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	949
Lienzo	Pintura	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	699
Lienzo	Pintura	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	51
Lienzo	Pintura	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	51
Lienzo	Pintura	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	51
Lienzo	Pintura	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	63
Lienzo	Pintura	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	63
Lienzo	Pintura	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	63
Lienzo	Pintura	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	63
Lienzo	Pintura	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	63v
Lienzo	Pintura	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	63v
Lienzo	Pintura	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	63v
Lienzo	Pintura	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	63v
Lienzo	Pintura	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	63v
Lienzo	Pintura	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	63v
Lienzo	Pintura	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	63v
Lienzo	Pintura	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	63v
Lienzo	Pintura	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	63v
Lienzo	Pintura	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	63v
Lienzo	Pintura	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1078v
Lienzo	Pintura	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1078v
Lienzo	Pintura	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1451
Lienzo	Pintura	Luis Enriquez	P3485	659
Lienzo	Pintura	Luis Enriquez	P3485	660
Lienzo	Pintura	Luis Enriquez	P3485	662v
Lienzo	Pintura	Luis Enriquez	P3485	663
Lienzo	Pintura	Luis Enriquez	P3485	663v
Lienzo	Pintura	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	521v
Lienzo	Pintura	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	522
Lienzo	Pintura	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	522v
Lienzo	Pintura	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	522v
Lienzo	Pintura	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	182v
Lienzo	Quadro	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1639
Lienzo	Quadro	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	231
Lienzo	Quadro	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	281
Lienzo	Quadro	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	281
Lienzo	Quadro	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	281v
Lienzo	Retrato	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	496
Lienzo	Retrato	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1761v
Lienzo	Retrato	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1078v
Lienzo	Retrato	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	522
Lienzo	Ropa	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1465v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Lienzo	Salva	Ana Manrique	P2022	370
Lienzo	Savana	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1314v
Lienzo	Savana	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1315
Lienzo	Savana	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1318v
Lienzo	Savana	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1318v
Lienzo	Savana	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1318v
Lienzo	Savana	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1318v
Lienzo	Savana	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1319v
Lienzo	Savana	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1320
Lienzo	Savana	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1320
Lienzo	Savana	Ana Manrique	P2022	370v
Lienzo	Savana	Ana Manrique	P2022	371
Lienzo	Savana	Ana Manrique	P2022	371
Lienzo	Savana	Ana Manrique	P2022	371
Lienzo	Savana	Ana Manrique	P2022	373
Lienzo	Savana	Ana Manrique	P2022	373
Lienzo	Savana	Ana Manrique	P2022	373v
Lienzo	Savana	Ana Manrique	P2022	392v
Lienzo	Savana	Ana Manrique	P2022	392v
Lienzo	Savana	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1014v
Lienzo	Savana	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1017
Lienzo	Savana	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1017
Lienzo	Savana	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1016v
Lienzo	Savana	Fernando Carrillo	P2031	1031
Lienzo	Savana	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	254
Lienzo	Savana	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	705v
Lienzo	Savana	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	705v
Lienzo	Savana	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	705v
Lienzo	Savana	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	784
Lienzo	Savana	Juan de Acuña	P2661	824v
Lienzo	Savana	Juan de Acuña	P2661	901
Lienzo	Savana	Juan de Acuña	P2661	901
Lienzo	Savana	Juan de Acuña	P2661	901
Lienzo	Savana	Juan de Acuña	P2661	906
Lienzo	Savana	Juan de Acuña	P2661	906
Lienzo	Savana	Juan de Acuña	P2661	906v
Lienzo	Savana	Juan de Acuña	P2661	906v
Lienzo	Savana	Juan de Acuña	P2661	906v
Lienzo	Savana	Juan de Acuña	P2661	911
Lienzo	Savana	Juan de Acuña	P2661	911v
Lienzo	Savana	Juan de Acuña	P2661	911v
Lienzo	Savana	Juan de Acuña	P2661	911v
Lienzo	Savana	Juan de Acuña	P2661	912
Lienzo	Savana	Juan de Acuña	P2661	912
Lienzo	Savana	Juan de Acuña	P2661	912
Lienzo	Savana	Juan de Mendoza y Castilla	P2298	332
Lienzo	Savana	Juan de Mendoza y Castilla	P2298	332v
Lienzo	Savana	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1382
Lienzo	Savana	Juana de Mujita	P2021	86v
Lienzo	Savana	Juana de Mujita	P2021	87
Lienzo	Savana	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	207
Lienzo	Savana	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	213
Lienzo	Savana	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	213v
Lienzo	Savana	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	224v
Lienzo	Savana	Maria de Aragón	P1578	169v
Lienzo	Savana	Maria de Aragón	P1578	170
Lienzo	Savana	Maria Pereira	P989	235
Lienzo	Savana	Maria Pereira	P989	235
Lienzo	Savana	Maria Pereira	P989	235v
Lienzo	Savana	Maria Pereira	P989	237v
Lienzo	Savana	Maria Pereira	P989	237v
Lienzo	Savana	Martin de Padreda	P2323	405v
Lienzo	Savana	Martin de Padreda	P2323	405v
Lienzo	Savana	Martin de Padreda	P2323	405v
Lienzo	Savana	Martin de Padreda	P2323	405v
Lienzo	Savana	Martin de Padreda	P2323	405v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Lienzo	Savana	Martin de Padreda	P2323	406
Lienzo	Savana	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	524
Lienzo	Savana	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	524
Lienzo	Savana	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1167
Lienzo	Savana	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	179v
Lienzo	Savana	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	179v
Lienzo	Savana	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	179v
Lienzo	Savana	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	181
Lienzo	Servilleta	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1756v
Lienzo	Servilleta	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1381v
Lienzo	Sobremesa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1056
Lienzo	Toalla	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1657
Lienzo	Toalla	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1657
Lienzo	Toalla	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1657
Lienzo	Toalla	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	388
Lienzo	Toalla	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	390v
Lienzo	Toalla	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1315
Lienzo	Toalla	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1315
Lienzo	Toalla	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1315v
Lienzo	Toalla	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1344v
Lienzo	Toalla	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1344v
Lienzo	Toalla	Ana Manrique	P2022	370v
Lienzo	Toalla	Ana Manrique	P2022	370v
Lienzo	Toalla	Ana Manrique	P2022	370v
Lienzo	Toalla	Ana Manrique	P2022	373
Lienzo	Toalla	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	511v
Lienzo	Toalla	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	511v
Lienzo	Toalla	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1756v
Lienzo	Toalla	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	255
Lienzo	Toalla	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	707
Lienzo	Toalla	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	707
Lienzo	Toalla	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	59v
Lienzo	Toalla	Guionar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	34v
Lienzo	Toalla	Juan de Acuña	P2661	897v
Lienzo	Toalla	Juan de Acuña	P2661	900
Lienzo	Toalla	Juan de Acuña	P2661	900v
Lienzo	Toalla	Juan de Acuña	P2661	901v
Lienzo	Toalla	Juan de Acuña	P2661	909v
Lienzo	Toalla	Juan de Acuña	P2661	910
Lienzo	Toalla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1512
Lienzo	Toalla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1512
Lienzo	Toalla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1512
Lienzo	Toalla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1512
Lienzo	Toalla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1512v
Lienzo	Toalla	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1382v
Lienzo	Toalla	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1382v
Lienzo	Toalla	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1383v
Lienzo	Toalla	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Lienzo	Toalla	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Lienzo	Toalla	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	914
Lienzo	Toalla	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	914
Lienzo	Toalla	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	914
Lienzo	Toalla	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	205
Lienzo	Toalla	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	207
Lienzo	Toalla	Luis Enriquez	P3485	667v
Lienzo	Toalla	Maria Pereira	P989	235v
Lienzo	Toalla	Maria Pereira	P989	236
Lienzo	Toalla	Maria Pereira	P989	236
Lienzo	Toalla	Maria Pereira	P989	236
Lienzo	Toalla	Martin de Padreda	P2323	407v
Lienzo	Toalla	Martin de Padreda	P2323	408
Lienzo	Toalla	Martin de Padreda	P2323	408v
Lienzo	Toalla	Martin de Padreda	P2323	408v
Lienzo	Toalla	Martin de Padreda	P2323	409
Lienzo	Toalla	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1340v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Lienzo	Toalla	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1170
Lienzo	Toalla	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	194v
Lienzo	Toalla	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	194v
Lienzo	Tocador	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Lince	[material]	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1046.1
Lince	Ropa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1046.1
Lince	Savana	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	958
Lino	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1321v
Lino	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1321v
Lino	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1344v
Lino	[material]	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1757v
Lino	[material]	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1767
Lino	[material]	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	66v
Lino	[material]	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	916v
Lino	[material]	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	187v
Lino	Alba	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1502v
Lino	Imagen	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1346
Lino	Savana	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	957v
Lino	Savana	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	959
Lino	Toalla	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1756v
Lino	Toalla	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1756v
Lino	Xergón	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	959
Madera	[material]	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1757v
Madera	[material]	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1767
Madera	[material]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	848v
Madera	[material]	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1059
Madera	Abanico	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1469
Madera	Açafate	Ana Manrique	P2022	389
Madera	Alacena	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1013v
Madera	Almohada	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	916
Madera	Arca	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1016
Madera	Arca	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	797v
Madera	Arca	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Madera	Arca	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	949v
Madera	Arca	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1068v
Madera	Arca	Maria de Aragón	P1578	168v
Madera	Arca	Maria de Aragón	P1578	168v
Madera	Arca	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	540v
Madera	Arco	Luis Enriquez	P3485	675
Madera	Bacia	Ana Manrique	P2022	358v
Madera	Bacia	Ana Manrique	P2022	359
Madera	Bastidor	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1643
Madera	Bastidor	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	419
Madera	Bastidor	Ana Manrique	P2022	357v
Madera	Bastidor	Luis Enriquez	P3485	660
Madera	Biombo	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	417v
Madera	Biombo	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	219
Madera	Brasero	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	407v
Madera	Brasero	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1299
Madera	Brasero	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1011
Madera	Brasero	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	527v
Madera	Brasero	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	782
Madera	Brasero	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Madera	Brasero	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	547
Madera	Bufete	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	372v
Madera	Bufete	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	417v
Madera	Bufete	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	521
Madera	Bufete	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	283
Madera	Bufete	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	918v
Madera	Bufete	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	219v
Madera	Bufete	Luis Enriquez	P3485	670v
Madera	Bufete	Luis Enriquez	P3485	671
Madera	Caja	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1297v
Madera	Caja	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1298v
Madera	Caja	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1313v
Madera	Caja	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1316

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Madera	Caja	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1317v
Madera	Caja	Ana Manrique	P2022	357
Madera	Caja	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Madera	Caja	Antonio Perez	P989b	470
Madera	Caja	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	494v
Madera	Caja	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	519v
Madera	Caja	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	519v
Madera	Caja	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	520
Madera	Caja	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1759
Madera	Caja	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1765
Madera	Caja	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	220
Madera	Caja	Guioimar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	19
Madera	Caja	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1069v
Madera	Caja	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1469
Madera	Caja	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1506v
Madera	Caja	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	908v
Madera	Caja	Luis Enriquez	P3485	671
Madera	Caja	Maria de Aragón	P1578	172v
Madera	Cama [Mueble]	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	870v
Madera	Cama [Mueble]	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	369
Madera	Cama [Mueble]	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	369
Madera	Cama [Mueble]	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	418v
Madera	Cama [Mueble]	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	418v
Madera	Cama [Mueble]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1291v
Madera	Cama [Mueble]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1291v
Madera	Cama [Mueble]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1291v
Madera	Cama [Mueble]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1292
Madera	Cama [Mueble]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1292
Madera	Cama [Mueble]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1292v
Madera	Cama [Mueble]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1292v
Madera	Cama [Mueble]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1299
Madera	Cama [Mueble]	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1016v
Madera	Cama [Mueble]	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	797v
Madera	Cama [Mueble]	Antonio Perez	P989b	470v
Madera	Cama [Mueble]	Antonio Perez	P989b	476
Madera	Cama [Mueble]	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	510
Madera	Cama [Mueble]	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	510v
Madera	Cama [Mueble]	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	510v
Madera	Cama [Mueble]	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	521
Madera	Cama [Mueble]	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	521v
Madera	Cama [Mueble]	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1755
Madera	Cama [Mueble]	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1755
Madera	Cama [Mueble]	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1764v
Madera	Cama [Mueble]	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	217
Madera	Cama [Mueble]	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	217
Madera	Cama [Mueble]	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	217
Madera	Cama [Mueble]	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	217v
Madera	Cama [Mueble]	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	217v
Madera	Cama [Mueble]	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	217v
Madera	Cama [Mueble]	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	217v
Madera	Cama [Mueble]	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	217v
Madera	Cama [Mueble]	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	217v
Madera	Cama [Mueble]	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	217v
Madera	Cama [Mueble]	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	277v
Madera	Cama [Mueble]	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	278
Madera	Cama [Mueble]	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	278
Madera	Cama [Mueble]	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	278
Madera	Cama [Mueble]	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	278v
Madera	Cama [Mueble]	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	782
Madera	Cama [Mueble]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	803v
Madera	Cama [Mueble]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	848
Madera	Cama [Mueble]	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1059v
Madera	Cama [Mueble]	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1064v
Madera	Cama [Mueble]	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1451v



Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Madera	Cama [Mueble]	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1507v
Madera	Cama [Mueble]	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1377
Madera	Cama [Mueble]	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	488
Madera	Cama [Mueble]	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Madera	Cama [Mueble]	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	910v
Madera	Cama [Mueble]	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	213v
Madera	Cama [Mueble]	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	215
Madera	Cama [Mueble]	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	217v
Madera	Cama [Mueble]	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	218v
Madera	Cama [Mueble]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	654v
Madera	Cama [Mueble]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	660
Madera	Cama [Mueble]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	660
Madera	Cama [Mueble]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	675
Madera	Cama [Mueble]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	675
Madera	Cama [Mueble]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	675v
Madera	Cama [Mueble]	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	520
Madera	Cama [Mueble]	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1337v
Madera	Cama [Mueble]	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	187
Madera	Candelero	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1322
Madera	Candelero	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	795v
Madera	Candelero	Juan de Acuña	P2661	816v
Madera	Candelero	Luis Enriquez	P3485	662
Madera	Cantimplora	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	190v
Madera	Cazo	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	190v
Madera	Coche	Antonio Perez	P989b	474
Madera	Cofia	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1655
Madera	Cofre	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	876v
Madera	Cofre	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1752v
Madera	Cofre	Luis Enriquez	P3485	672
Madera	Cofre	Luis Enriquez	P3485	672
Madera	Cofre	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	542
Madera	Coluna	Luis Enriquez	P3485	675v
Madera	Cruz	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Madera	Cruz	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1641
Madera	Cruz	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	379
Madera	Cruz	Ana Manrique	P2022	357
Madera	Cruz	Ana Manrique	P2022	367v
Madera	Cruz	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	526v
Madera	Cruz	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1761v
Madera	Cruz	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1761v
Madera	Cruz	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	948v
Madera	Cruz	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	30
Madera	Cruz	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	769v
Madera	Cruz	Juan de Acuña	P2661	821
Madera	Cruz	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	917v
Madera	Cruz	Juana de Mujita	P2021	85v
Madera	Cruz	Luis Enriquez	P3485	670
Madera	Cruz	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	529v
Madera	Cruz	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	536
Madera	Cuchara	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1016v
Madera	Cuchara	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	28
Madera	Cuenta	Luis Enriquez	P3485	668
Madera	Cuna	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1292v
Madera	Devanadera	Luis Enriquez	P3485	658v
Madera	Enjugador	Ana Manrique	P2022	356v
Madera	Escalera	Ana Manrique	P2022	359
Madera	Escritorio	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	24
Madera	Escritorio	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1059v
Madera	Escritorio	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1059v
Madera	Escritorio	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1060v
Madera	Escritorio	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1062v
Madera	Escritorio	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Madera	Escritorio	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	212
Madera	Escritorio	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	212
Madera	Escudilla	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	17

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Madera	Escultura	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	29
Madera	Escultura	Luis Enriquez	P3485	673v
Madera	Espejo	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	797
Madera	Espejo	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	223
Madera	Espejo	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	223
Madera	Espejo	Luis Enriquez	P3485	670v
Madera	Espejo	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	194
Madera	Estante	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	33
Madera	Frasquera	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	417v
Madera	Frasquera	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	418
Madera	Frasquera	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1505
Madera	Horma	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	497v
Madera	Imagen	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1306v
Madera	Imagen	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1011
Madera	Imagen	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	796
Madera	Imagen	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	796
Madera	Imagen	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	526
Madera	Imagen	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	526
Madera	Imagen	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	526
Madera	Imagen	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1753v
Madera	Imagen	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1760
Madera	Imagen	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1760v
Madera	Imagen	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1761v
Madera	Imagen	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	948v
Madera	Imagen	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	948v
Madera	Imagen	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	63
Madera	Imagen	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	63
Madera	Imagen	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	63
Madera	Imagen	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	63
Madera	Imagen	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	63
Madera	Imagen	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	33v
Madera	Imagen	Juan de Acuña	P2661	822
Madera	Imagen	Juan de Acuña	P2661	822
Madera	Imagen	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1365v
Madera	Imagen	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1366
Madera	Imagen	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1377v
Madera	Imagen	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	912
Madera	Imagen	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	913v
Madera	Imagen	Luis Enriquez	P3485	669
Madera	Imagen	Luis Enriquez	P3485	671
Madera	Imagen	Luis Enriquez	P3485	672v
Madera	Imagen	Luis Enriquez	P3485	672v
Madera	Imagen	Martin de Padreda	P2323	400v
Madera	Imagen	Martin de Padreda	P2323	400v
Madera	Imagen	Martin de Padreda	P2323	400v
Madera	Imagen	Martin de Padreda	P2323	401
Madera	Imagen	Martin de Padreda	P2323	401
Madera	Imagen	Martin de Padreda	P2323	401
Madera	Imagen	Martin de Padreda	P2323	401
Madera	Imagen	Martin de Padreda	P2323	401
Madera	Imagen	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	529
Madera	Imagen	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	529
Madera	Imagen	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	530v
Madera	Imagen	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	530v
Madera	Imagen	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	530v
Madera	Imagen	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	531
Madera	Imagen	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	531
Madera	Imagen	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	534
Madera	Imagen	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	546v
Madera	Imagen	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	547
Madera	Marco	Ana Manrique	P2022	358
Madera	Mesa	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1764v
Madera	Mesa	Hector Pñatelo	P2032	283
Madera	Mesa	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	782
Madera	Mesa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1059

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Madera	Mesa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1059
Madera	Mesa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1059
Madera	Mesa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1059v
Madera	Mesa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1059v
Madera	Mesa	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1379
Madera	Mosqueador	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	502
Madera	Muleta	Luis Enriquez	P3485	660v
Madera	Oratório	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	19v
Madera	Oratório	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	30v
Madera	Oratório	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	31
Madera	Organo	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1076v
Madera	Paz	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1759v
Madera	Peana	Ana Manrique	P2022	358
Madera	Peana	Ana Manrique	P2022	368v
Madera	Peana	Juan de Acuña	P2661	922v
Madera	Peana	Luis Enriquez	P3485	673v
Madera	Pieça	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1649v
Madera	Pieça	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1652
Madera	Pieça	Ana Manrique	P2022	357
Madera	Pieça	Ana Manrique	P2022	357v
Madera	Pieça	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	857
Madera	Pieça	Antonio Perez	P989b	470
Madera	Pieça	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	496v
Madera	Pieça	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	517v
Madera	Pieça	Juan de Acuña	P2661	822
Madera	Pieça	Juan de Acuña	P2661	848
Madera	Pieça	Juan de Acuña	P2661	848
Madera	Pieça	Juan de Acuña	P2661	879v
Madera	Pieça	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	226
Madera	Pieça	Martín de Padreda	P2323	413v
Madera	Pieça	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	535
Madera	Piés para escritorio	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Madera	Pintura	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Madera	Pintura	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1295v
Madera	Pintura	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	794
Madera	Pintura	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	794v
Madera	Pintura	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	795
Madera	Pintura	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	795v
Madera	Pintura	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	795v
Madera	Pintura	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	796
Madera	Pintura	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	796
Madera	Pintura	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	796
Madera	Pintura	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	796
Madera	Pintura	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	796
Madera	Pintura	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	796v
Madera	Pintura	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	796v
Madera	Pintura	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	796v
Madera	Pintura	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	526v
Madera	Pintura	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	526v
Madera	Pintura	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	699
Madera	Pintura	Juan de Acuña	P2661	696v
Madera	Pintura	Luis Enriquez	P3485	662
Madera	Pintura	Luis Enriquez	P3485	671v
Madera	Pintura	Martín de Padreda	P2323	399
Madera	Pintura	Martín de Padreda	P2323	399
Madera	Pintura	Martín de Padreda	P2323	399
Madera	Pintura	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	535
Madera	Pintura	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	535
Madera	Pintura	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	535v
Madera	Pintura	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	546v
Madera	Pintura	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	546v
Madera	Pintura	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	546v
Madera	Pintura	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	546v
Madera	Piramide	Juan de Acuña	P2661	924

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Madera	Piramide	Juan de Acuña	P2661	924
Madera	Pomo	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	33v
Madera	Porcelana	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	19v
Madera	Prensa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1073v
Madera	Quadro	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	769
Madera	Quadro	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	769v
Madera	Ramilletero	Ana Manrique	P2022	368
Madera	Ramilletero	Ana Manrique	P2022	368
Madera	Ramilletero	Ana Manrique	P2022	368
Madera	Reja	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1642v
Madera	Reja	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	203
Madera	Reja	Luis Enriquez	P3485	671
Madera	Relicário	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1297
Madera	Relicário	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Madera	Relicário	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Madera	Relicário	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Madera	Relicário	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Madera	Relicário	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	183
Madera	Retablo	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	782v
Madera	Retablo	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	21v
Madera	Retablo	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	22
Madera	Retablo	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	31
Madera	Retablo	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviria	P2040b	637-[652]
Madera	Rosario	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	518v
Madera	Rosario	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	518v
Madera	Rosario	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	519
Madera	Rosario	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	200v
Madera	Rosario	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	538v
Madera	Silla	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1317v
Madera	Silla	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	521
Madera	Silla	Juan de Mendoza y Castilla	P2298	326
Madera	Taburete	Martín de Padreda	P2323	413v
Madera	Vaso	Maria de Aragón	P1578	173
Madera de Brasil	[material]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	819
Madera de Brasil	Contador	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1060
Madera de Brasil	Escritorio	Juan de Acuña	P2661	800v
Madera de Brasil	Escritorio	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1060
Madera de Indias	Escritorio	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1064
Madera de Indias	Fuente	Luis Enriquez	P3485	658v
Madera de la India	Atril	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1070
Madera de la India	Bandeja	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	33v
Madera de la India	Bandeja	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1041v
Madera de la India	Bandeja	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1041v
Madera de la India	Bufete	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	519
Madera de la India	Bufete	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	527
Madera de la India	Caja	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	495
Madera de la India	Cama [Mueble]	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	527
Madera de la India	Cruz	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	378v
Madera de la India	Escritorio	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1062v
Madera de la India	Escritorio	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1062v
Madera de la India	Escritorio	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1063
Madera de la India	Escudo	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	522v
Madera de la India	Frasquera	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	405v
Madera de la India	Mesa	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	186
Mana	[material]	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	494
Mana	[material]	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	915v
Mana	[material]	Maria de Aragón	P1578	166v
Marfil	[material]	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1059
Marfil	Abanico	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	384v [sic]
Marfil	Abanico	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	25
Marfil	Abano	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	909v
Marfil	Adaga	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	517
Marfil	Ara	Maria de Aragón	P1578	162
Marfil	Arca	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	374
Marfil	Arca	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	374v
Marfil	Arca	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	793

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
marfil	Arca	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Marfil	Arca	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Marfil	Arca	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	62
Marfil	Arca	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	29v
Marfil	Arca	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	538
Marfil	Arca	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	538
Marfil	Arca	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	539
Marfil	Arca	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	540v
Marfil	Arca	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	542
Marfil	Baculo	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1059
Marfil	Baúl	Luis Enriquez	P3485	669v
Marfil	Baúl	Luis Enriquez	P3485	671
Marfil	Baúl	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	537v
Marfil	Brinco	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1348
Marfil	Bufete	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	875v
Marfil	Bufete	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Marfil	Bufete	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	372
Marfil	Bufete	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	372
Marfil	Bufete	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1297v
Marfil	Bufete	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1300v
Marfil	Bufete	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Marfil	Bufete	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Marfil	Bufete	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Marfil	Bufete	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Marfil	Bufete	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	855v
Marfil	Bufete	Antonio Perez	P989b	468
Marfil	Bufete	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	521v
Marfil	Bufete	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1011v
Marfil	Bufete	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	283
Marfil	Bufete	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	780v
Marfil	Bufete	Juan de Acuña	P2661	809v
Marfil	Bufete	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1064v
Marfil	Bufete	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1065
Marfil	Bufete	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1065
Marfil	Bufete	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1065
Marfil	Bufete	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1065v
Marfil	Bufete	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1066
Marfil	Bufete	Juan de Mendoza y Castilla	P2298	325v
Marfil	Bufete	Juan de Mendoza y Castilla	P2298	325v
Marfil	Bufete	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Marfil	Bufete	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Marfil	Bufete	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Marfil	Bufete	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Marfil	Bufete	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	910v
Marfil	Bufete	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	910v
Marfil	Bufete	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	910v
Marfil	Bufete	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	916v
Marfil	Bufete	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	219v
Marfil	Bufete	Luis Enriquez	P3485	665v
Marfil	Bufete	Luis Enriquez	P3485	674v
Marfil	Bufete	Martin de Padreda	P2323	412v
Marfil	Bufete	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	519
Marfil	Bufete	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	527
Marfil	Bufete	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	528v
Marfil	Bufete	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	534
Marfil	Bufete	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	541
Marfil	Bufete	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	542
Marfil	Bufete	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	542v
Marfil	Bufete	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	542v
Marfil	Bufete	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	543
Marfil	Bufete	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	544
Marfil	Bufete	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	544
Marfil	Bufete	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	544
Marfil	Bufete	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	544
Marfil	Caja	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	494v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Marfil	Caja	Juan de Acuña	P2661	800
Marfil	Caja	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1481v
Marfil	Caja	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	905v
Marfil	Caja	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	201
Marfil	Caja	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	528
Marfil	Caja	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	528
Marfil	Caja	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	539v
Marfil	Cama [Mueble]	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Marfil	Cama [Mueble]	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	527
Marfil	Candelero	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	14v
Marfil	Candelero	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	908
Marfil	Candelero	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	539
Marfil	Cesta	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	18
Marfil	Cofre	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	519
Marfil	Cofre	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	542
Marfil	Contador	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	875
Marfil	Contador	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1011v
Marfil	Contador	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	950v
Marfil	Contador	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	222v
Marfil	Contador	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	18
Marfil	Contador	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	24
Marfil	Contador	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1060
Marfil	Contador	Juan de Mendoza y Castilla	P2298	325v
Marfil	Contador	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	219v
Marfil	Contador	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	519
Marfil	Contador	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	539v
Marfil	Contador	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	541
Marfil	Contador	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	541
Marfil	Contador	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	541v
Marfil	Cruz	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	378v
Marfil	Cruz	Juan de Acuña	P2661	821
Marfil	Cuba	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	541v
Marfil	Cuchara	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	28
Marfil	Cuchillo	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	515v
Marfil	Cuchillo	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	515v
Marfil	Cuchillo	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	516
Marfil	Cuchillo	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	516
Marfil	Cuchillo	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	516
Marfil	Cuchillo	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	516v
Marfil	Cuchillo	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	516v
Marfil	Cuchillo	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	516v
Marfil	Cuchillo	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	516v
Marfil	Cuchillo	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	516v
Marfil	Cuchillo	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	516v
Marfil	Cuchillo	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	516v
Marfil	Cuchillo	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	517
Marfil	Cuchillo	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	517
Marfil	Cuchillo	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	517
Marfil	Cuchillo	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	517
Marfil	Cuchillo	Juan de Acuña	P2661	916
Marfil	Cuchillo	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1057v
Marfil	Cuchillo	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1057v
Marfil	Cuchillo	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1057v
Marfil	Envase	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1058
Marfil	Escova	Juan de Acuña	P2661	921
Marfil	Escritorio	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	875
Marfil	Escritorio	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1636
Marfil	Escritorio	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1636
Marfil	Escritorio	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	374
Marfil	Escritorio	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	374
Marfil	Escritorio	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	375v
Marfil	Escritorio	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	375v
Marfil	Escritorio	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1297v
Marfil	Escritorio	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v



Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Marfil	Quadrante	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1480v
Marfil	Quadro	Luis Enriquez	P3485	669v
Marfil	Reja	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	375
Marfil	Relicário	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	519
Marfil	Reloj	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Marfil	Reloj	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	522
Marfil	Reloj	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	522
Marfil	Retrato	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	526v
Marfil	Rosario	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	518v
Marfil	Rosario	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	538v
Marfil	Ruciadera	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	32
Marfil	Sello	Juan de Mendoza y Castilla	P2298	333
Marfil	Tablero de Xadrez	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1651v
Marfil	Tablero de Xadrez	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	374v
Marfil	Tablero de Xadrez	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	496
Marfil	Tablero de Xadrez	Luis Enriquez	P3485	658v
Marfil	Tenedor	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1057v
Mármol	Bufete	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	233
Mármol	Imagen	Luis Enriquez	P3485	667
Mármol	Imagen	Luis Enriquez	P3485	667
Mármol	Imagen	Luis Enriquez	P3485	667
Mármol	Imagen	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	530
Mármol	Medalla	Antonio Perez	P989b	474
Mármol	Mesa	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	233v
Mármol	Mortero	Ana Manrique	P2022	389
Mármol	Retablo	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	31
Mármol	Vaso	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	539
Marta	[material]	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	707v
Marta	[material]	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1465
Marta	[material]	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Marta	[material]	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	206
Marta	Capa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1309v
Marta	Cobertor	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1046v
Marta	Estuffilla	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	785v
Marta	Ferrezuelo	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1046
Marta	Ferrezuelo	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1046
Marta	Forro	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1338v
Marta	Mangas	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	918v
Marta	Ropa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1211[sic]
Marta	Ropa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1046v
Marta	Ropa	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1465
Marta	Sombrero	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1342v
Metal	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	360
Metal	[material]	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	31
Metal	[material]	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	31v
Metal	Arca	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1068
Metal	Bacia	Ana Manrique	P2022	361
Metal	Bacia	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	283v
Metal	Bacia	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	223
Metal	Brasero	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	222
Metal	Calentador	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1070
Metal	Campana	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1642v
Metal	Campana	Ana Manrique	P2022	367
Metal	Campana	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	27v
Metal	Campana	Juan de Acuña	P2661	861v
Metal	Campana	Maria de Aragón	P1578	173v
Metal	Campana	Maria Pereira	P989	236v
Metal	Candelero	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	190v
Metal	Cantaro	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	283v
Metal	Cazo	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	959v
Metal	Cazo	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1469v
Metal	Cazo	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1513
Metal	Escalfador	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	223
Metal	Escudo	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	517v
Metal	Horno	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	283v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Metal	Imagen	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1760v
Metal	Imagen	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1761
Metal	Mortero	Ana Manrique	P2022	361v
Metal	Mortero	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	528
Metal	Mortero	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	31v
Metal	Pintura	Luis Enriquez	P3485	671v
Metal	Salva	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1481
Metal	Sello	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	31v
Moscovia	[material]	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviña	P2040b	637-[652]
Moscovia	Silla	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	874v
Moscovia	Silla	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	874v
Moscovia	Silla	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1011
Moscovia	Taburete	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	876v
Moscovia	Taburete	Fernando Carrillo	P2031	1032
Nácar	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	368v
Nácar	[material]	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1058v
Nácar	Almilla	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	785v
Nácar	Arca	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Nácar	Arca	Juan de Acuña	P2661	830
Nácar	Arca	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1504v
Nácar	Arrecada	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	199v
Nácar	Atril	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	547v
Nácar	Banda	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1648v
Nácar	Bandeja	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	24v
Nácar	Bandeja	Martin de Padreda	P2323	410
Nácar	Bañil	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	541
Nácar	Bolsa	Ana Maria Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1012
Nácar	Bolsa	Luis Enriquez	P3485	668v
Nácar	Bolsa	Maria de Aragón	P1578	165
Nácar	Cadena	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	416v
Nácar	Cofre	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	538v
Nácar	Confitera	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1033
Nácar	Copa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1028
Nácar	Copa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1028
Nácar	Cortina	Ana Manrique	P2022	367
Nácar	Cuchara	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1301v
Nácar	Cuchara	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	687
Nácar	Cuchara	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	17v
Nácar	Cuchara	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	28
Nácar	Cuchara	Maria de Aragón	P1578	166
Nácar	Cuchara	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	193v
Nácar	Cuchillo	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	517
Nácar	Cuchillo	Juan de Acuña	P2661	915v
Nácar	Cuchillo	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1057v
Nácar	Cuchillo	Maria de Aragón	P1578	169
Nácar	Escritorio	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	18
Nácar	Escritorio	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	540v
Nácar	Escultura	Maria de Aragón	P1578	158
Nácar	Espejo	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	223
Nácar	Espejo	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	223
Nácar	Frasco	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	526v
Nácar	Frasco	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	912
Nácar	Frasco	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1342
Nácar	Hilo	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1752v
Nácar	Imagen	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	853v
Nácar	Imagen	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	201
Nácar	Jarro	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1033
Nácar	Medalla	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	17v
Nácar	Medias	Ana Maria Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1013
Nácar	Medias	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	792v
Nácar	Mesa	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1498v
Nácar	Naveta	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	23v
Nácar	Pieça	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	33
Nácar	Pieça	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	535
Nácar	Relicário	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1296v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Nácar	Reloj	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	28
Nácar	Rosario	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	519
Nácar	Rosario	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1752v
Nácar	Rosario	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	20v
Nácar	Salva	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1033
Nácar	Tenedor	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	28
Nácar	Toalla	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1019
Nogal	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	357v
Nogal	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	386
Nogal	[material]	Maria de Aragón	P1578	168v
Nogal	Alacena	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermosa	P2654b	1013v
Nogal	Alacena	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	220
Nogal	Antepuerta	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	781v
Nogal	Antipara	Juan de Acuña	P2661	816v
Nogal	Aparador	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1372
Nogal	Aparador	Martin de Padreda	P2323	413
Nogal	Arca	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	875v
Nogal	Arca	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Nogal	Arca	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	372v
Nogal	Arca	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	373v
Nogal	Arca	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	374
Nogal	Arca	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1304
Nogal	Arca	Ana Manrique	P2022	355
Nogal	Arca	Ana Manrique	P2022	355
Nogal	Arca	Ana Manrique	P2022	355
Nogal	Arca	Ana Manrique	P2022	356
Nogal	Arca	Ana Manrique	P2022	359
Nogal	Arca	Ana Manrique	P2022	359
Nogal	Arca	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	858v
Nogal	Arca	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	858v
Nogal	Arca	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	858v
Nogal	Arca	Antonio Perez	P989b	467v
Nogal	Arca	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1011
Nogal	Arca	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1011v
Nogal	Arca	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1011v
Nogal	Arca	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1754
Nogal	Arca	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	950
Nogal	Arca	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	62
Nogal	Arca	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	63v
Nogal	Arca	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	31
Nogal	Arca	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	31v
Nogal	Arca	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	781v
Nogal	Arca	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	781v
Nogal	Arca	Juan de Acuña	P2661	893
Nogal	Arca	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1064v
Nogal	Arca	Juan de Mendoza y Castilla	P2298	326v
Nogal	Arca	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	542v
Nogal	Arca	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	546v
Nogal	Arca	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	546v
Nogal	Arca	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	185
Nogal	Arca	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	185v
Nogal	Arca	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	186
Nogal	Arca	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	187
Nogal	Arca	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	187
Nogal	Armario	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Nogal	Atril	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1642v
Nogal	Atril	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	376
Nogal	Atril	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1768
Nogal	Atril	Juan de Acuña	P2661	816v
Nogal	Atril	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1372v
Nogal	Banco	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	875v
Nogal	Banco	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1652
Nogal	Banco	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	418
Nogal	Banco	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1297v
Nogal	Banco	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1321v
Nogal	Banco	Ana Manrique	P2022	356

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Nogal	Banco	Ana Manrique	P2022	357v
Nogal	Banco	Ana Manrique	P2022	358v
Nogal	Banco	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	857v
Nogal	Banco	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	858
Nogal	Banco	Antonio Perez	P989b	473
Nogal	Banco	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	520v
Nogal	Banco	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	520v
Nogal	Banco	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	520v
Nogal	Banco	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1011
Nogal	Banco	Fernando Carrillo	P2031	1032
Nogal	Banco	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1764v
Nogal	Banco	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1764v
Nogal	Banco	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	950
Nogal	Banco	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	219v
Nogal	Banco	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	219v
Nogal	Banco	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	219v
Nogal	Banco	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	50v
Nogal	Banco	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	50v
Nogal	Banco	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	50v
Nogal	Banco	Juan de Acuña	P2661	815
Nogal	Banco	Juan de Acuña	P2661	815
Nogal	Banco	Juan de Acuña	P2661	815
Nogal	Banco	Juan de Acuña	P2661	815v
Nogal	Banco	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1067v
Nogal	Banco	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1453
Nogal	Banco	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1378
Nogal	Banco	Juana de Mujita	P2021	82v
Nogal	Banco	Maria de Aragón	P1578	168
Nogal	Banco	Maria de Aragón	P1578	168
Nogal	Banco	Martin de Padreda	P2323	412v
Nogal	Banco	Martin de Padreda	P2323	412v
Nogal	Banco	Martin de Padreda	P2323	413
Nogal	Banco	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	527
Nogal	Banco	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	527
Nogal	Banco	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1158v
Nogal	Banco	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1171
Nogal	Banco	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	185v
Nogal	Banda	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	207v
Nogal	Bandeja	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1322v
Nogal	Bandeja	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1766v
Nogal	Bandeja	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	244
Nogal	Bandeja	Juan de Acuña	P2661	857v
Nogal	Bastidor	Ana Manrique	P2022	356v
Nogal	Bastidor	Luis Enriquez	P3485	675v
Nogal	Biombo	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	219
Nogal	Biombo	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	219
Nogal	Brasero	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Nogal	Brasero	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1651
Nogal	Brasero	Ana Manrique	P2022	355v
Nogal	Brasero	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	527v
Nogal	Brasero	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1017v
Nogal	Brasero	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	959v
Nogal	Brasero	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	959v
Nogal	Brasero	Juan de Acuña	P2661	852
Nogal	Brasero	Luis Enriquez	P3485	659
Nogal	Bufete	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	875
Nogal	Bufete	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	875
Nogal	Bufete	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	875
Nogal	Bufete	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	876
Nogal	Bufete	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Nogal	Bufete	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Nogal	Bufete	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Nogal	Bufete	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1635v
Nogal	Bufete	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1635v
Nogal	Bufete	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1635v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Nogal	Bufete	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1635v
Nogal	Bufete	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1636
Nogal	Bufete	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	372v
Nogal	Bufete	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	372v
Nogal	Bufete	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	417v
Nogal	Bufete	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	417v
Nogal	Bufete	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1297
Nogal	Bufete	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1297v
Nogal	Bufete	Ana Manrique	P2022	355
Nogal	Bufete	Ana Manrique	P2022	355
Nogal	Bufete	Ana Manrique	P2022	355
Nogal	Bufete	Ana Manrique	P2022	355
Nogal	Bufete	Ana Manrique	P2022	355v
Nogal	Bufete	Ana Manrique	P2022	355v
Nogal	Bufete	Ana Manrique	P2022	355v
Nogal	Bufete	Ana Manrique	P2022	355v
Nogal	Bufete	Ana Manrique	P2022	356
Nogal	Bufete	Ana Manrique	P2022	357v
Nogal	Bufete	Ana Manrique	P2022	358
Nogal	Bufete	Ana Maria Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1011
Nogal	Bufete	Ana Maria Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1016v
Nogal	Bufete	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	797v
Nogal	Bufete	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	798
Nogal	Bufete	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Nogal	Bufete	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Nogal	Bufete	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Nogal	Bufete	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	856
Nogal	Bufete	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	857v
Nogal	Bufete	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	857v
Nogal	Bufete	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	857v
Nogal	Bufete	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	858
Nogal	Bufete	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	858
Nogal	Bufete	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	519v
Nogal	Bufete	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	520v
Nogal	Bufete	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	521v
Nogal	Bufete	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1011
Nogal	Bufete	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1011
Nogal	Bufete	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1011
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Nogal	Bufete	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1011
Nogal	Bufete	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1011
Nogal	Bufete	Fernando Carrillo	P2031	1032
Nogal	Bufete	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	949v
Nogal	Bufete	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	950
Nogal	Bufete	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	950
Nogal	Bufete	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	950v
Nogal	Bufete	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	950v
Nogal	Bufete	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	218
Nogal	Bufete	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	218
Nogal	Bufete	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	218
Nogal	Bufete	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	218v
Nogal	Bufete	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	218v
Nogal	Bufete	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	218v
Nogal	Bufete	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	218v
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Nogal	Bufete	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	218v
Nogal	Bufete	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	218v
Nogal	Bufete	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	218v
Nogal	Bufete	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	698v
Nogal	Bufete	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	50v
Nogal	Bufete	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	50v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
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Nogal	Bufete	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	50v
Nogal	Bufete	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	50v
Nogal	Bufete	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	63v
Nogal	Bufete	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	283
Nogal	Bufete	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	283
Nogal	Bufete	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	781v
Nogal	Bufete	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	781v
Nogal	Bufete	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	781v
Nogal	Bufete	Juan de Acuña	P2661	809v
Nogal	Bufete	Juan de Acuña	P2661	809v
Nogal	Bufete	Juan de Acuña	P2661	810
Nogal	Bufete	Juan de Acuña	P2661	810
Nogal	Bufete	Juan de Acuña	P2661	810
Nogal	Bufete	Juan de Acuña	P2661	810
Nogal	Bufete	Juan de Acuña	P2661	810v
Nogal	Bufete	Juan de Acuña	P2661	810v
Nogal	Bufete	Juan de Acuña	P2661	810v
Nogal	Bufete	Juan de Acuña	P2661	811
Nogal	Bufete	Juan de Acuña	P2661	811v
Nogal	Bufete	Juan de Acuña	P2661	811v
Nogal	Bufete	Juan de Acuña	P2661	811v
Nogal	Bufete	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1065v
Nogal	Bufete	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1506v
Nogal	Bufete	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1507v
Nogal	Bufete	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1507v
Nogal	Bufete	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1508
Nogal	Bufete	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1378
Nogal	Bufete	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1378
Nogal	Bufete	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Nogal	Bufete	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Nogal	Bufete	Juana de Mujita	P2021	82v
Nogal	Bufete	Juana de Mujita	P2021	82v
Nogal	Bufete	Juana de Mujita	P2021	86
Nogal	Bufete	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	212v
Nogal	Bufete	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	219v
Nogal	Bufete	Maria de Aragón	P1578	168
Nogal	Bufete	Martin de Padreda	P2323	412v
Nogal	Bufete	Martin de Padreda	P2323	412v
Nogal	Bufete	Martin de Padreda	P2323	412v
Nogal	Bufete	Martin de Padreda	P2323	412v
Nogal	Bufete	Martin de Padreda	P2323	412v
Nogal	Bufete	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	527
Nogal	Bufete	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	527
Nogal	Bufete	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	529v
Nogal	Bufete	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	542v
Nogal	Bufete	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1339
Nogal	Bufete	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviria	P2040b	637-[652]
Nogal	Bufete	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviria	P2040b	637-[652]
Nogal	Bufete	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviria	P2040b	637-[652]
Nogal	Bufete	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1158
Nogal	Bufete	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	185v
Nogal	Bufete	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	185v
Nogal	Bufete	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	186
Nogal	Caja	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	375
Nogal	Caja	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	375
Nogal	Caja	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1298v
Nogal	Caja	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1300
Nogal	Caja	Ana Manrique	P2022	356
Nogal	Caja	Ana Manrique	P2022	356
Nogal	Caja	Ana Manrique	P2022	358
Nogal	Caja	Ana Manrique	P2022	359
Nogal	Caja	Ana Manrique	P2022	359
Nogal	Caja	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	857v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Nogal	Caja	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1762v
Nogal	Caja	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1768
Nogal	Caja	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	217
Nogal	Caja	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	219v
Nogal	Caja	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	220
Nogal	Caja	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	220v
Nogal	Caja	Juan de Acuña	P2661	799v
Nogal	Caja	Juan de Acuña	P2661	817v
Nogal	Caja	Juan de Acuña	P2661	818
Nogal	Caja	Juan de Acuña	P2661	818
Nogal	Caja	Juan de Acuña	P2661	818
Nogal	Caja	Juan de Acuña	P2661	818v
Nogal	Caja	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1506
Nogal	Caja	Juana de Mujita	P2021	86v
Nogal	Caja	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1339v
Nogal	Calentador	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1070
Nogal	Cama [Mueble]	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	876v
Nogal	Cama [Mueble]	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Nogal	Cama [Mueble]	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1634
Nogal	Cama [Mueble]	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	369v
Nogal	Cama [Mueble]	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	418
Nogal	Cama [Mueble]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1292v
Nogal	Cama [Mueble]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1299
Nogal	Cama [Mueble]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1299
Nogal	Cama [Mueble]	Ana Manrique	P2022	354
Nogal	Cama [Mueble]	Ana Manrique	P2022	356v
Nogal	Cama [Mueble]	Ana Manrique	P2022	358v
Nogal	Cama [Mueble]	Ana Manrique	P2022	358v
Nogal	Cama [Mueble]	Ana Manrique	P2022	392
Nogal	Cama [Mueble]	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1012v
Nogal	Cama [Mueble]	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	787
Nogal	Cama [Mueble]	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	858v
Nogal	Cama [Mueble]	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	510
Nogal	Cama [Mueble]	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	510
Nogal	Cama [Mueble]	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	510
Nogal	Cama [Mueble]	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	510
Nogal	Cama [Mueble]	Fernando Carrillo	P2031	1032v
Nogal	Cama [Mueble]	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1755
Nogal	Cama [Mueble]	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1765
Nogal	Cama [Mueble]	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	950v
Nogal	Cama [Mueble]	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	217v
Nogal	Cama [Mueble]	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	217v
Nogal	Cama [Mueble]	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	217v
Nogal	Cama [Mueble]	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	221v
Nogal	Cama [Mueble]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	804
Nogal	Cama [Mueble]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	804
Nogal	Cama [Mueble]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	804v
Nogal	Cama [Mueble]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	804v
Nogal	Cama [Mueble]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	805
Nogal	Cama [Mueble]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	805
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Nogal	Cama [Mueble]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	805v
Nogal	Cama [Mueble]	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1054v
Nogal	Cama [Mueble]	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1452
Nogal	Cama [Mueble]	Juan de Mendoza y Castilla	P2298	326
Nogal	Cama [Mueble]	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1379
Nogal	Cama [Mueble]	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1379
Nogal	Cama [Mueble]	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Nogal	Cama [Mueble]	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Nogal	Cama [Mueble]	Juana de Mujita	P2021	83
Nogal	Cama [Mueble]	Juana de Mujita	P2021	87v
Nogal	Cama [Mueble]	Juana de Mujita	P2021	88v
Nogal	Cama [Mueble]	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	215
Nogal	Cama [Mueble]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	660
Nogal	Cama [Mueble]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	660v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
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Nogal	Cama [Mueble]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	660v
Nogal	Cama [Mueble]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	675
Nogal	Cama [Mueble]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	675
Nogal	Cama [Mueble]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	675
Nogal	Cama [Mueble]	Maria Pereira	P989	238
Nogal	Cama [Mueble]	Maria Pereira	P989	238
Nogal	Cama [Mueble]	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	519v
Nogal	Cama [Mueble]	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	526v
Nogal	Cama [Mueble]	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	526v
Nogal	Cama [Mueble]	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviña	P2040b	637-[652]
Nogal	Cama [Mueble]	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviña	P2040b	637-[652]
Nogal	Cama [Mueble]	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1159
Nogal	Cama [Mueble]	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	186v
Nogal	Candelero	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Nogal	Candelero	Ana Manrique	P2022	359
Nogal	Candelero	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	798
Nogal	Candelero	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1764v
Nogal	Candelero	Maria de Aragón	P1578	173
Nogal	Contador	Ana Manrique	P2022	355
Nogal	Contador	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	222v
Nogal	Contador	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	222v
Nogal	Contador	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	222v
Nogal	Contador	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	62
Nogal	Cuna	Juan de Acuña	P2661	805v
Nogal	Envase	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1058
Nogal	Escabelo	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Nogal	Escabelo	Ana Manrique	P2022	355v
Nogal	Escabelo	Ana Manrique	P2022	355v
Nogal	Escabelo	Ana Manrique	P2022	357v
Nogal	Escabelo	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1764v
Nogal	Escabelo	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1767v
Nogal	Escabelo	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	50v
Nogal	Escritorio	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Nogal	Escritorio	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1307
Nogal	Escritorio	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1342
Nogal	Escritorio	Ana Manrique	P2022	355
Nogal	Escritorio	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	856v
Nogal	Escritorio	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	857
Nogal	Escritorio	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	857
Nogal	Escritorio	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1010v
Nogal	Escritorio	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1753v
Nogal	Escritorio	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1754v
Nogal	Escritorio	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1755
Nogal	Escritorio	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1755
Nogal	Escritorio	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	950
Nogal	Escritorio	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	222v
Nogal	Escritorio	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	697v
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Nogal	Escritorio	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	697v
Nogal	Escritorio	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	697v
Nogal	Escritorio	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	61
Nogal	Escritorio	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	62
Nogal	Escritorio	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	62
Nogal	Escritorio	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	67v
Nogal	Escritorio	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	67v
Nogal	Escritorio	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	780v
Nogal	Escritorio	Juan de Acuña	P2661	800
Nogal	Escritorio	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1508
Nogal	Escritorio	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	907
Nogal	Escritorio	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	909
Nogal	Escritorio	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	909
Nogal	Escritorio	Juana de Mujita	P2021	84
Nogal	Escritorio	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	212
Nogal	Escritorio	Luis Enriquez	P3485	670v



Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Nogal	Escritorio	Maria Pereira	P989	234
Nogal	Escritorio	Martin de Padreda	P2323	412v
Nogal	Escritorio	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1338
Nogal	Escritorio	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviria	P2040b	637-[652]
Nogal	Escritorio	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviria	P2040b	637-[652]
Nogal	Escritorio	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	185
Nogal	Escritorio	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	185
Nogal	Escrivania	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1342
Nogal	Escrivania	Ana Manrique	P2022	356
Nogal	Escrivania	Ana Manrique	P2022	359
Nogal	Escrivania	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	857
Nogal	Escrivania	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1504v
Nogal	Escrivania	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	185v
Nogal	Espaldar	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1067v
Nogal	Espejo	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1073v
Nogal	Estante	Ana Manrique	P2022	358
Nogal	Estante	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	185v
Nogal	Estante	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	185v
Nogal	Imagen	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1761
Nogal	Imagen	Luis Enriquez	P3485	670
Nogal	Marco	Ana Manrique	P2022	356
Nogal	Mesa	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1635v
Nogal	Mesa	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	375
Nogal	Mesa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1297
Nogal	Mesa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1297
Nogal	Mesa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1297
Nogal	Mesa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1297
Nogal	Mesa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1297
Nogal	Mesa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1297
Nogal	Mesa	Ana Manrique	P2022	354
Nogal	Mesa	Ana Manrique	P2022	355
Nogal	Mesa	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Nogal	Mesa	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	520
Nogal	Mesa	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1764v
Nogal	Mesa	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	219
Nogal	Mesa	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	219
Nogal	Mesa	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	233v
Nogal	Mesa	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	50v
Nogal	Mesa	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	50v
Nogal	Mesa	Juan de Acuña	P2661	812
Nogal	Mesa	Juan de Acuña	P2661	812
Nogal	Mesa	Juan de Acuña	P2661	812
Nogal	Mesa	Juan de Acuña	P2661	812v
Nogal	Mesa	Juan de Acuña	P2661	812v
Nogal	Mesa	Juan de Acuña	P2661	812v
Nogal	Mesa	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1498v
Nogal	Mesa	Juana de Mujita	P2021	86
Nogal	Mesa	Juana de Mujita	P2021	87v
Nogal	Mesa	Luis Enriquez	P3485	670v
Nogal	Mesa	Maria de Aragón	P1578	168
Nogal	Mesa	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	547v
Nogal	Mosqueador	Ana Manrique	P2022	372
Nogal	Oratório	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1636
Nogal	Oratório	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	371v
Nogal	Oratório	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	533
Nogal	Peine	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1313v
Nogal	Perfumador	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	916v
Nogal	Pieça	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	372v
Nogal	Pieça	Antonio Perez	P989b	470
Nogal	Pieça	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	216v
Nogal	Pieça	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	217
Nogal	Pieça	Juan de Acuña	P2661	816v
Nogal	Pieça	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1506
Nogal	Pieça	Luis Enriquez	P3485	669v
Nogal	Pieça	Martin de Padreda	P2323	413

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Nogal	Pieça	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	547v
Nogal	Piés [de mueble]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	811
Nogal	Piés [de mueble]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	811
Nogal	Piés [de mueble]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	814
Nogal	Piés para escritorio	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	798
Nogal	Piés para escritorio	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Nogal	Piés para escritorio	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1505v
Nogal	Piés para escritorio	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	185v
Nogal	Prensa	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1655
Nogal	Prensa	Juan de Acuña	P2661	818
Nogal	Prensa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1070
Nogal	Prensa	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1507v
Nogal	Prensa	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	539
Nogal	Reja	Ana Manrique	P2022	356v
Nogal	Reja	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1765
Nogal	Silla	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	874v
Nogal	Silla	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Nogal	Silla	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Nogal	Silla	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1298
Nogal	Silla	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1298
Nogal	Silla	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1298
Nogal	Silla	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1298
Nogal	Silla	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1298
Nogal	Silla	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1298
Nogal	Silla	Ana Manrique	P2022	358
Nogal	Silla	Ana Manrique	P2022	358
Nogal	Silla	Ana Manrique	P2022	358
Nogal	Silla	Ana Manrique	P2022	358
Nogal	Silla	Ana Manrique	P2022	358
Nogal	Silla	Ana Manrique	P2022	358
Nogal	Silla	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Nogal	Silla	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	857v
Nogal	Silla	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	520v
Nogal	Silla	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	520v
Nogal	Silla	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	520v
Nogal	Silla	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1767
Nogal	Silla	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	949
Nogal	Silla	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	949
Nogal	Silla	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	216v
Nogal	Silla	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	216v
Nogal	Silla	Juan de Acuña	P2661	806
Nogal	Silla	Juan de Acuña	P2661	806
Nogal	Silla	Juan de Acuña	P2661	806v
Nogal	Silla	Juan de Acuña	P2661	806v
Nogal	Silla	Juan de Acuña	P2661	806v
Nogal	Silla	Juan de Acuña	P2661	807
Nogal	Silla	Juan de Acuña	P2661	807
Nogal	Silla	Juan de Acuña	P2661	807
Nogal	Silla	Juan de Acuña	P2661	807v
Nogal	Silla	Juan de Acuña	P2661	809
Nogal	Silla	Juan de Acuña	P2661	809
Nogal	Silla	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1066
Nogal	Silla	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1066
Nogal	Silla	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1066v
Nogal	Silla	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1066v
Nogal	Silla	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1067
Nogal	Silla	Maria Pereira	P989	233v
Nogal	Silla	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	527
Nogal	Silla	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	527
Nogal	Silla	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviria	P2040b	637-[652]
Nogal	Silla	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1158v
Nogal	Silla	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1159
Nogal	Silla	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1159
Nogal	Silla	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1159
Nogal	Silla	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1159
Nogal	Taburete	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	876v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Nogal	Taburete	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Nogal	Taburete	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Nogal	Taburete	Ana Manrique	P2022	356
Nogal	Taburete	Ana Manrique	P2022	356
Nogal	Taburete	Ana Manrique	P2022	358v
Nogal	Taburete	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	857v
Nogal	Taburete	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	949
Nogal	Taburete	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	949
Nogal	Taburete	Juan de Acuña	P2661	808
Nogal	Taburete	Juan de Acuña	P2661	808v
Nogal	Taburete	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1066v
Nogal	Taburete	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1066v
Nogal	Taburete	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1067
Nogal	Taburete	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1067
Nogal	Taburete	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1453
Nogal	Taburete	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviria	P2040b	637-[652]
Nogal	Telar	Ana Manrique	P2022	356
Olanda	[material]	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	389
Olanda	[material]	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	424
Olanda	[material]	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	424v
Olanda	[material]	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	424v
Olanda	[material]	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	424v
Olanda	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1295
Olanda	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1312
Olanda	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1312
Olanda	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1315
Olanda	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1338
Olanda	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1343v
Olanda	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1344v
Olanda	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1348v
Olanda	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	371v
Olanda	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	371v
Olanda	[material]	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1016v
Olanda	[material]	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1017
Olanda	[material]	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1754
Olanda	[material]	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1757
Olanda	[material]	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1757
Olanda	[material]	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1757v
Olanda	[material]	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	61
Olanda	[material]	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	36
Olanda	[material]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	881v
Olanda	[material]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	897v
Olanda	[material]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	898
Olanda	[material]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	898
Olanda	[material]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	898
Olanda	[material]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	898v
Olanda	[material]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	898v
Olanda	[material]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	898v
Olanda	[material]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	898v
Olanda	[material]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	899
Olanda	[material]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	899
Olanda	[material]	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1049
Olanda	[material]	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1383v
Olanda	[material]	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	908v
Olanda	[material]	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	914v
Olanda	[material]	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	206
Olanda	[material]	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	206
Olanda	[material]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	668v
Olanda	[material]	Maria Pereira	P989	237
Olanda	[material]	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	523
Olanda	[material]	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	523
Olanda	Açerico	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	385
Olanda	Açerico	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	388v
Olanda	Açerico	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	389

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Olanda	Açerico	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	391
Olanda	Açerico	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1320
Olanda	Açerico	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	511v
Olanda	Açerico	Juan de Acuña	P2661	901v
Olanda	Açerico	Juan de Acuña	P2661	906
Olanda	Açerico	Juan de Acuña	P2661	906
Olanda	Açerico	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	920
Olanda	Açerico	Juana de Mujita	P2021	86v
Olanda	Alba	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1642
Olanda	Alba	Ana Manrique	P2022	371
Olanda	Alba	Ana Manrique	P2022	371v
Olanda	Alba	Ana Manrique	P2022	373
Olanda	Alba	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1759
Olanda	Almartaga	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1513
Olanda	Almilla	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	34
Olanda	Almilla	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	758
Olanda	Almilla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1509
Olanda	Almilla	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	915
Olanda	Almilla	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	916
Olanda	Almilla	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	213
Olanda	Almilla	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	213
Olanda	Almohada	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Olanda	Almohada	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1656
Olanda	Almohada	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1656v
Olanda	Almohada	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1656v
Olanda	Almohada	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1656v
Olanda	Almohada	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	385
Olanda	Almohada	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	385
Olanda	Almohada	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	386v
Olanda	Almohada	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	388v
Olanda	Almohada	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	388v
Olanda	Almohada	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	391
Olanda	Almohada	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1314v
Olanda	Almohada	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1314v
Olanda	Almohada	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1314v
Olanda	Almohada	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1314v
Olanda	Almohada	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1314v
Olanda	Almohada	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1314v
Olanda	Almohada	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1314v
Olanda	Almohada	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1314v
Olanda	Almohada	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1314v
Olanda	Almohada	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1314v
Olanda	Almohada	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1315v
Olanda	Almohada	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1320
Olanda	Almohada	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1320
Olanda	Almohada	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1344v
Olanda	Almohada	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1348v
Olanda	Almohada	Ana Manrique	P2022	370v
Olanda	Almohada	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	789v
Olanda	Almohada	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	789v
Olanda	Almohada	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	789v
Olanda	Almohada	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	789v
Olanda	Almohada	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	790
Olanda	Almohada	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	511v
Olanda	Almohada	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	511v
Olanda	Almohada	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1016v
Olanda	Almohada	Fernando Carrillo	P2031	1031v
Olanda	Almohada	Fernando Carrillo	P2031	1031v
Olanda	Almohada	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1757
Olanda	Almohada	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1757
Olanda	Almohada	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	957
Olanda	Almohada	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	957v
Olanda	Almohada	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	958

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Olanda	Almohada	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	250v
Olanda	Almohada	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	250v
Olanda	Almohada	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	251
Olanda	Almohada	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	251
Olanda	Almohada	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	251
Olanda	Almohada	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	705[sic]
Olanda	Almohada	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	705v[sic]
Olanda	Almohada	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	59
Olanda	Almohada	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	59
Olanda	Almohada	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	59
Olanda	Almohada	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	66v
Olanda	Almohada	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	34
Olanda	Almohada	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	34
Olanda	Almohada	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	34
Olanda	Almohada	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	36
Olanda	Almohada	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	783v
Olanda	Almohada	Juan de Acuña	P2661	901v
Olanda	Almohada	Juan de Acuña	P2661	901v
Olanda	Almohada	Juan de Acuña	P2661	906
Olanda	Almohada	Juan de Acuña	P2661	906
Olanda	Almohada	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1510
Olanda	Almohada	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1511v
Olanda	Almohada	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1511v
Olanda	Almohada	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1381
Olanda	Almohada	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	913v
Olanda	Almohada	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	914v
Olanda	Almohada	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	914v
Olanda	Almohada	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	915v
Olanda	Almohada	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	916
Olanda	Almohada	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	920
Olanda	Almohada	Juana de Mujita	P2021	86v
Olanda	Almohada	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	205
Olanda	Almohada	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	205
Olanda	Almohada	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	207
Olanda	Almohada	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	207
Olanda	Almohada	Luis Enriquez	P3485	667
Olanda	Almohada	Maria de Aragón	P1578	166v
Olanda	Almohada	Maria de Aragón	P1578	166v
Olanda	Almohada	Maria de Aragón	P1578	171
Olanda	Almohada	Maria Pereira	P989	235
Olanda	Almohada	Martin de Padreda	P2323	405v
Olanda	Almohada	Martin de Padreda	P2323	405v
Olanda	Almohada	Martin de Padreda	P2323	406
Olanda	Almohada	Martin de Padreda	P2323	406
Olanda	Almohada	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	524
Olanda	Almohada	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1340v
Olanda	Almohada	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1169v
Olanda	Almohada	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1169v
Olanda	Almohada	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1169v
Olanda	Almohada	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	179v
Olanda	Almohada	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	179v
Olanda	Almohada	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	179v
Olanda	Almohada	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	179v
Olanda	Almohada	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	179v
Olanda	Almohada	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	179v
Olanda	Almohada	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	179v
Olanda	Almohada	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	180
Olanda	Almohada	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	180
Olanda	Almohada	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	180
Olanda	Almohada	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	180
Olanda	Almohada	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	180
Olanda	Almohada	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	180
Olanda	Almohada	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	180
Olanda	Almohada	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	180

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Olanda	Almohada	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	180
Olanda	Almohada	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	180
Olanda	Almohada	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	180
Olanda	Almohada	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	193
Olanda	Almohada	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	193
Olanda	Armito	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1642v
Olanda	Banda	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1348
Olanda	Banda	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	205v
Olanda	Basquiña	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	957
Olanda	Bañil	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	542v
Olanda	Bolsa	Antonio Perez	P989b	470v
Olanda	Bolsa	Antonio Perez	P989b	470v
Olanda	Calças	Juan de Acuña	P2661	902
Olanda	Calças	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1509
Olanda	Calçon	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	385v
Olanda	Calçon	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	523v
Olanda	Calçon	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	523v
Olanda	Calçon	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	524
Olanda	Calçon	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	181
Olanda	Camá [Textil]	Antonio Perez	P989b	466v
Olanda	Camisa	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	386
Olanda	Camisa	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	386
Olanda	Camisa	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	386v
Olanda	Camisa	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	386
Olanda	Camisa	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	386v
Olanda	Camisa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1315
Olanda	Camisa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1315v
Olanda	Camisa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1348v
Olanda	Camisa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1348v
Olanda	Camisa	Ana Manrique	P2022	370
Olanda	Camisa	Ana Manrique	P2022	392v
Olanda	Camisa	Ana Maria Dugarte de la Hemossa	P2654b	1014v
Olanda	Camisa	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	511v
Olanda	Camisa	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	511v
Olanda	Camisa	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	253
Olanda	Camisa	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	253
Olanda	Camisa	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	253
Olanda	Camisa	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	253
Olanda	Camisa	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	36
Olanda	Camisa	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	36
Olanda	Camisa	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	36
Olanda	Camisa	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	36
Olanda	Camisa	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	783v
Olanda	Camisa	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	783v
Olanda	Camisa	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1509
Olanda	Camisa	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1509
Olanda	Camisa	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1511
Olanda	Camisa	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	494v
Olanda	Camisa	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	915
Olanda	Camisa	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	205
Olanda	Camisa	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	205
Olanda	Camisa	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	205
Olanda	Camisa	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	205v
Olanda	Camisa	Luis Enriquez	P3485	667
Olanda	Camisa	Luis Enriquez	P3485	668v
Olanda	Camisa	Martin de Padreda	P2323	408
Olanda	Camisa	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	524
Olanda	Camisa	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1341
Olanda	Camisa	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1170
Olanda	Camisa	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1170
Olanda	Camisa	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	194
Olanda	Cañon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1509
Olanda	Cinta	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	208v
Olanda	Cobertor	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Olanda	Cofia	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	253

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Olanda	Cofia	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	59v
Olanda	Cofia	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1509v
Olanda	Cofia	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1509v
Olanda	Cofia	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1384
Olanda	Cofre	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	876v
Olanda	Colcha	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1657
Olanda	Colcha	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1657
Olanda	Colcha	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	389v
Olanda	Colcha	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	390
Olanda	Colcha	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1312v
Olanda	Colcha	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1312v
Olanda	Colcha	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1312v
Olanda	Colcha	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1312v
Olanda	Colcha	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1312v
Olanda	Colcha	Ana Manrique	P2022	372
Olanda	Colcha	Ana Manrique	P2022	372
Olanda	Colcha	Ana Manrique	P2022	373
Olanda	Colcha	Ana Maria Dugarte de la Hermosa	P2654b	1014
Olanda	Colcha	Antonio Perez	P989b	468
Olanda	Colcha	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	511v
Olanda	Colcha	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	511v
Olanda	Colcha	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1016v
Olanda	Colcha	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1016v
Olanda	Colcha	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1758
Olanda	Colcha	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1758
Olanda	Colcha	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	251
Olanda	Colcha	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	251
Olanda	Colcha	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	251
Olanda	Colcha	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	251
Olanda	Colcha	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	705
Olanda	Colcha	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	59
Olanda	Colcha	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	784
Olanda	Colcha	Juan de Acuña	P2661	904
Olanda	Colcha	Juan de Acuña	P2661	904v
Olanda	Colcha	Juan de Acuña	P2661	904v
Olanda	Colcha	Juan de Acuña	P2661	904v
Olanda	Colcha	Juan de Acuña	P2661	905
Olanda	Colcha	Juan de Acuña	P2661	905
Olanda	Colcha	Juan de Acuña	P2661	905v
Olanda	Colcha	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	914v
Olanda	Colcha	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	914v
Olanda	Colcha	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	207
Olanda	Colcha	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	207
Olanda	Colcha	Luis Enriquez	P3485	657
Olanda	Colcha	Maria de Aragón	P1578	170
Olanda	Colcha	Maria Pereira	P989	237
Olanda	Colcha	Martin de Padreda	P2323	405v
Olanda	Colcha	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1341
Olanda	Colcha	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	179v
Olanda	Colcha	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	179v
Olanda	Colchon	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	392
Olanda	Colchon	Antonio Perez	P989b	470v
Olanda	Colchon	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	511
Olanda	Colchon	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	511
Olanda	Colchon	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	526v
Olanda	Colchon	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	526v
Olanda	Colchon	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1339v
Olanda	Colgadura	Juan de Acuña	P2661	788v
Olanda	Corporal	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1759v
Olanda	Corporal	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	61
Olanda	Corporal	Juan de Acuña	P2661	824v
Olanda	Corporal	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	207

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Olanda	Corporal	Luis Enriquez	P3485	668v
Olanda	Cubierta	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1211v[sc]
Olanda	Cubierta	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1312
Olanda	Cuello	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	253
Olanda	Cuello	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	253
Olanda	Cuello	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	253v
Olanda	Cuello	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	495
Olanda	Cuello	Maria de Aragón	P1578	171
Olanda	Cuello	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1169v
Olanda	Delantal	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1655
Olanda	Delantal	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1302v
Olanda	Delantal	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	282v
Olanda	Delantal	Juan de Acuña	P2661	901v
Olanda	Delantal	Juan de Acuña	P2661	909v
Olanda	Frontal	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1642
Olanda	Frontal	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	795
Olanda	Frutero	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	35
Olanda	Frutero	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1382
Olanda	Frutero	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	180
Olanda	Frutero	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	180v
Olanda	Jubon	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	389v
Olanda	Jubon	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1315
Olanda	Jubon	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1315v
Olanda	Jubon	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1340
Olanda	Jubon	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	239v
Olanda	Jubon	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	758v
Olanda	Jubon	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	758v
Olanda	Jubon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1458v
Olanda	Jubon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1458v
Olanda	Jubon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1459
Olanda	Jubon	Juan de Mendoza y Castilla	P2298	329
Olanda	Jubon	Juan de Mendoza y Castilla	P2298	329v
Olanda	Jubon	Luis Enriquez	P3485	661
Olanda	Jubon	Luis Enriquez	P3485	661
Olanda	Jubon	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1147v
Olanda	Jubon	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1147v
Olanda	Lienzo	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	388v
Olanda	Lienzo	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	392v
Olanda	Lienzo	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1343
Olanda	Lienzo	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1343
Olanda	Lienzo	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1345
Olanda	Lienzo	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1348v
Olanda	Lienzo	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1348v
Olanda	Lienzo	Ana Manrique	P2022	370v
Olanda	Lienzo	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1757
Olanda	Lienzo	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	958v
Olanda	Lienzo	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	958v
Olanda	Lienzo	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	706
Olanda	Lienzo	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	786
Olanda	Lienzo	Juan de Mendoza y Castilla	P2298	331v
Olanda	Lienzo	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	205v
Olanda	Lienzo	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	205v
Olanda	Lienzo	Luis Enriquez	P3485	667v
Olanda	Lienzo	Maria de Aragón	P1578	171
Olanda	Lienzo	Maria Pereira	P989	236
Olanda	Lienzo	Martin de Padreda	P2323	409v
Olanda	Lienzo	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	523v
Olanda	Lienzo	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	524
Olanda	Mangas	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1316
Olanda	Mangas	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1316
Olanda	Mangas	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1759
Olanda	Mangas	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	696v
Olanda	Mangas	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	696v
Olanda	Mantel	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1656v
Olanda	Mantel	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	385v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Olanda	Mantel	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	791
Olanda	Manteo	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1656v
Olanda	Manteo	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	384
Olanda	Pabellon	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1319v
Olanda	Pálla	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	25v
Olanda	Paño	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	387v
Olanda	Paño	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	391
Olanda	Paño	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1348v
Olanda	Paño	Ana Maria Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1012
Olanda	Paño	Ana Maria Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1014
Olanda	Paño	Ana Maria Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1014
Olanda	Paño	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	792v
Olanda	Paño	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	495v
Olanda	Paño	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1757
Olanda	Paño	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	61v
Olanda	Paño	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	25v
Olanda	Paño	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	785
Olanda	Paño	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1511v
Olanda	Paño	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1381v
Olanda	Paño	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Olanda	Paño	Luis Enriquez	P3485	672v
Olanda	Peinador	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	388v
Olanda	Peinador	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	389
Olanda	Peinador	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1315v
Olanda	Peinador	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	511v
Olanda	Peinador	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	957v
Olanda	Peinador	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	253
Olanda	Peinador	Juan de Acuña	P2661	903
Olanda	Peinador	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1509
Olanda	Peinador	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1509v
Olanda	Peinador	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1510
Olanda	Peinador	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	914v
Olanda	Peinador	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	205
Olanda	Peinador	Maria Pereira	P989	236v
Olanda	Peinador	Martin de Padreda	P2323	409
Olanda	Peinador	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	523v
Olanda	Peinador	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1169v
Olanda	Pieça	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1656v
Olanda	Pieça	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	386
Olanda	Pieça	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	389v
Olanda	Pieça	Ana Maria Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1014v
Olanda	Pieça	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Olanda	Pieça	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Olanda	Pieça	Luis Enriquez	P3485	669v
Olanda	Pieça	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1147v
Olanda	Pieça	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1147v
Olanda	Ropa	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1372v
Olanda	Roquete	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	34
Olanda	Savana	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1642
Olanda	Savana	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	385v
Olanda	Savana	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	385v
Olanda	Savana	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	386v
Olanda	Savana	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1315
Olanda	Savana	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1320
Olanda	Savana	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1320
Olanda	Savana	Ana Manrique	P2022	370v
Olanda	Savana	Ana Manrique	P2022	371v
Olanda	Savana	Ana Manrique	P2022	392v
Olanda	Savana	Ana Maria Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1014
Olanda	Savana	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	789v
Olanda	Savana	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	790v
Olanda	Savana	Antonio Perez	P989b	470v
Olanda	Savana	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	511
Olanda	Savana	Fernando Carrillo	P2031	1031
Olanda	Savana	Fernando Carrillo	P2031	1031

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Olanda	Savana	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1757
Olanda	Savana	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	250
Olanda	Savana	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	250
Olanda	Savana	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	250
Olanda	Savana	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	250v
Olanda	Savana	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	250v
Olanda	Savana	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	705v
Olanda	Savana	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	705v
Olanda	Savana	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	705v
Olanda	Savana	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	705v
Olanda	Savana	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	59
Olanda	Savana	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	59
Olanda	Savana	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	36
Olanda	Savana	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	36
Olanda	Savana	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	36
Olanda	Savana	Juan de Acuña	P2661	906v
Olanda	Savana	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1512v
Olanda	Savana	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1512v
Olanda	Savana	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1381
Olanda	Savana	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1382v
Olanda	Savana	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	911v
Olanda	Savana	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	911v
Olanda	Savana	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	912v
Olanda	Savana	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	914v
Olanda	Savana	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	915v
Olanda	Savana	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	916
Olanda	Savana	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	916
Olanda	Savana	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	920
Olanda	Savana	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	207
Olanda	Savana	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	207
Olanda	Savana	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	207
Olanda	Savana	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	207
Olanda	Savana	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	213v
Olanda	Savana	Luis Enriquez	P3485	667
Olanda	Savana	Maria de Aragón	P1578	169v
Olanda	Savana	Maria Pereira	P989	235
Olanda	Savana	Martin de Padreda	P2323	405v
Olanda	Savana	Martin de Padreda	P2323	405v
Olanda	Savana	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	179v
Olanda	Savana	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	179v
Olanda	Senefa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1348v
Olanda	Sobremesa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1055v
Olanda	Toalla	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1656v
Olanda	Toalla	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1657
Olanda	Toalla	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1657
Olanda	Toalla	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	388
Olanda	Toalla	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	388
Olanda	Toalla	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	388
Olanda	Toalla	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	388
Olanda	Toalla	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	388v
Olanda	Toalla	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1297
Olanda	Toalla	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1297
Olanda	Toalla	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1302v
Olanda	Toalla	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1315
Olanda	Toalla	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1319v
Olanda	Toalla	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1348
Olanda	Toalla	Ana Manrique	P2022	371v
Olanda	Toalla	Ana Manrique	P2022	390
Olanda	Toalla	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	790
Olanda	Toalla	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	790
Olanda	Toalla	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	790
Olanda	Toalla	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	791
Olanda	Toalla	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	511v
Olanda	Toalla	Fernando Carrillo	P2031	1031v
Olanda	Toalla	Fernando Carrillo	P2031	1031v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Olanda	Toalla	Fernando Carrillo	P2031	1031v
Olanda	Toalla	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1756v
Olanda	Toalla	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1757
Olanda	Toalla	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1767v
Olanda	Toalla	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	255
Olanda	Toalla	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	705v[sic]
Olanda	Toalla	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	707
Olanda	Toalla	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	59v
Olanda	Toalla	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	59v
Olanda	Toalla	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	25
Olanda	Toalla	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	36
Olanda	Toalla	Juan de Acuña	P2661	899
Olanda	Toalla	Juan de Acuña	P2661	899v
Olanda	Toalla	Juan de Acuña	P2661	899v
Olanda	Toalla	Juan de Acuña	P2661	899v
Olanda	Toalla	Juan de Acuña	P2661	900
Olanda	Toalla	Juan de Acuña	P2661	900
Olanda	Toalla	Juan de Acuña	P2661	900
Olanda	Toalla	Juan de Acuña	P2661	903
Olanda	Toalla	Juan de Acuña	P2661	903
Olanda	Toalla	Juan de Acuña	P2661	909v
Olanda	Toalla	Juan de Acuña	P2661	909v
Olanda	Toalla	Juan de Acuña	P2661	910
Olanda	Toalla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1509v
Olanda	Toalla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1509v
Olanda	Toalla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1511v
Olanda	Toalla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1511v
Olanda	Toalla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1511v
Olanda	Toalla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1512
Olanda	Toalla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1512
Olanda	Toalla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1512v
Olanda	Toalla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1522v
Olanda	Toalla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1524
Olanda	Toalla	Juan de Mendoza y Castilla	P2298	331v
Olanda	Toalla	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Olanda	Toalla	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	914
Olanda	Toalla	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	914
Olanda	Toalla	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	914
Olanda	Toalla	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	914
Olanda	Toalla	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	914
Olanda	Toalla	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	914v
Olanda	Toalla	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	914v
Olanda	Toalla	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	205
Olanda	Toalla	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	205
Olanda	Toalla	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	205
Olanda	Toalla	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	206v
Olanda	Toalla	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	206v
Olanda	Toalla	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	225v
Olanda	Toalla	Maria Pereira	P989	236
Olanda	Toalla	Maria Pereira	P989	236
Olanda	Toalla	Martin de Padreda	P2323	408
Olanda	Toalla	Martin de Padreda	P2323	408
Olanda	Toalla	Martin de Padreda	P2323	408v
Olanda	Toalla	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	523v
Olanda	Toalla	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	524
Olanda	Toalla	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	179v
Olanda	Toalla	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	180v
Olanda	Toalla	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	180v
Olanda	Toalla	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	180v
Olanda	Toalla	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	180v
Olanda	Toalla	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	180v
Olanda	Toalla	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	180v
Olanda	Toalla	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	180v
Olanda	Toalla	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	193
Olanda	Toca	Ana Manrique	P2022	370
Olanda	Toca	Ana Manrique	P2022	370
Olanda	Toca	Ana Manrique	P2022	370

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Olanda	Toca	Maria Pereira	P989	236
Olanda	Tocador	Juan de Acuña	P2661	902
Olanda	Tocador	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	908v
Olanda	Tocador	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1170
Olanda	Vestido	Juan de Mendoza y Castilla	P2298	329v
Olanda	Vestido	Juan de Mendoza y Castilla	P2298	329v
Onza	Capa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1046v
Onza	Cobertor	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1046v
Onza	Cobertor	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1046v
Oro	[material]	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	384 [sic]
Oro	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1211[sic]
Oro	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1211[sic]
Oro	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1211[sic]
Oro	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1211[sic]
Oro	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1211v[sic]
Oro	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1211v[sic]
Oro	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1312
Oro	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1313v
Oro	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1313v
Oro	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1343
Oro	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1343v
Oro	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1346
Oro	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1346
Oro	[material]	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1017
Oro	[material]	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1753v
Oro	[material]	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1754v
Oro	[material]	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1758v
Oro	[material]	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	213
Oro	[material]	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	213
Oro	[material]	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	214
Oro	[material]	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	214
Oro	[material]	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	683
Oro	[material]	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	683v
Oro	[material]	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	65v
Oro	[material]	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	66
Oro	[material]	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	15
Oro	[material]	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	261v
Oro	[material]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	881
Oro	[material]	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	914v
Oro	[material]	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	207v
Oro	[material]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	667v
Oro	[material]	Maria de Aragón	P1578	158v
Oro	[material]	Maria de Aragón	P1578	162
Oro	[material]	Maria de Aragón	P1578	162
Oro	[material]	Maria de Aragón	P1578	162
Oro	[material]	Maria de Aragón	P1578	162
Oro	[material]	Maria de Aragón	P1578	162
Oro	[material]	Maria de Aragón	P1578	163
Oro	[material]	Maria de Aragón	P1578	163
Oro	[material]	Maria de Aragón	P1578	163v
Oro	[material]	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	184v
Oro	[material]	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	187v
Oro	Açafate	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	374v
Oro	Açafate	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1499v
Oro	Açafate	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1499v
Oro	Açerico	Juan de Acuña	P2661	829
Oro	Açerico	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	913v
Oro	Adaga	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	516
Oro	Adaga	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	517
Oro	Adaga	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	262v
Oro	Alfombra	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1376v
Oro	Almilla	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	384v
Oro	Almilla	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1013
Oro	Almilla	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	34
Oro	Almilla	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Oro	Almilla	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Oro	Almilla	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	912v
Oro	Almilla	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	914v
Oro	Almilla	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	915
Oro	Almilla	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	213
Oro	Almohada	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	368
Oro	Almohada	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	368
Oro	Almohada	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	368v
Oro	Almohada	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1295
Oro	Almohada	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1313v
Oro	Almohada	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1314v
Oro	Almohada	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1314v
Oro	Almohada	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1318v
Oro	Almohada	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	788
Oro	Almohada	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	518
Oro	Almohada	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1753v
Oro	Almohada	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1756
Oro	Almohada	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1756
Oro	Almohada	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	214v
Oro	Almohada	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	62
Oro	Almohada	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	34
Oro	Almohada	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	34
Oro	Almohada	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	34
Oro	Almohada	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	279v
Oro	Almohada	Juan de Acuña	P2661	790v
Oro	Almohada	Juan de Acuña	P2661	791
Oro	Almohada	Juan de Acuña	P2661	791
Oro	Almohada	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1056
Oro	Almohada	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1056
Oro	Almohada	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1451
Oro	Almohada	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1512v
Oro	Almohada	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	913v
Oro	Almohada	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	915
Oro	Almohada	Luis Enriquez	P3485	673
Oro	Almohada	Maria de Aragón	P1578	165
Oro	Almohada	Maria de Aragón	P1578	170
Oro	Almohada	Maria de Aragón	P1578	171
Oro	Almohada	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	178
Oro	Almohada	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	188
Oro	Altar	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	534
Oro	Antepuerta	Juan de Acuña	P2661	797v
Oro	Antojos	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	500
Oro	Antojos	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1481
Oro	Apretador	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	874v
Oro	Apretador	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1656
Oro	Apretador	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	402
Oro	Apretador	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	404
Oro	Apretador	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	777
Oro	Apretador	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	847
Oro	Apretador	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	853v
Oro	Apretador	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	955v
Oro	Apretador	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	956
Oro	Apretador	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	680v
Oro	Apretador	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	681
Oro	Apretador	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	681
Oro	Apretador	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	495v
Oro	Apretador	Luis Enriquez	P3485	668
Oro	Arandela	Ana Maria Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1015v
Oro	Arca	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1345
Oro	Arca	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1753v
Oro	Arrecada	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	874
Oro	Arrecada	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	874
Oro	Arrecada	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	874
Oro	Arrecada	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	402v
Oro	Arrecada	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	403
Oro	Arrecada	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	416v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Oro	Arrecada	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1305v
Oro	Arrecada	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	777v
Oro	Arrecada	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	956
Oro	Arrecada	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	195v
Oro	Arrecada	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	195v
Oro	Arrecada	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	196v
Oro	Arrecada	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	196v
Oro	Arrecada	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	196v
Oro	Asiento	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	908v
Oro	Avito	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	499
Oro	Avito	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	500
Oro	Avito	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	502v
Oro	Avito	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	66
Oro	Avito	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	66
Oro	Avito	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	66
Oro	Avito	Guimar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	20
Oro	Avito	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	905v
Oro	Avito	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	196v
Oro	Avito	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	538v
Oro	Avito	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1344
Oro	Banda	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1648v
Oro	Banda	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	775
Oro	Banda	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	497
Oro	Banda	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	22v
Oro	Banda	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1481
Oro	Banda	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1486
Oro	Banda	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1502v
Oro	Banda	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Oro	Banda	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	915
Oro	Banda	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	194v
Oro	Banda	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	197v
Oro	Banda	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	201
Oro	Banda	Luis Enriquez	P3485	667
Oro	Banda	Luis Enriquez	P3485	672v
Oro	Bandeja	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1042
Oro	Barril	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	499v
Oro	Basquiña	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1307v
Oro	Basquiña	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1307v
Oro	Basquiña	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1307v
Oro	Basquiña	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1308
Oro	Basquiña	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	784
Oro	Basquiña	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	784
Oro	Basquiña	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	247v
Oro	Beca	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	785
Oro	Bolsa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1346
Oro	Bolsa	Ana Manrique	P2022	366v
Oro	Bolsa	Ana Maria Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1012
Oro	Bolsa	Ana Maria Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1012
Oro	Bolsa	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	495
Oro	Bolsa	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	956v
Oro	Bolsa	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	956v
Oro	Bolsa	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	67v
Oro	Bolsa	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	18v
Oro	Bolsa	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1500
Oro	Bolsa	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Oro	Bolsa	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	199v
Oro	Bolsa	Maria de Aragón	P1578	165
Oro	Bolsa	Maria de Aragón	P1578	165
Oro	Bolsa	Maria de Aragón	P1578	165
Oro	Bolsa	Maria de Aragón	P1578	165
Oro	Bolsa	Maria de Aragón	P1578	165v
Oro	Bolsa	Maria de Aragón	P1578	169
Oro	Bordado	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1344
Oro	Boton	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1655v
Oro	Boton	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1304v
Oro	Boton	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1304v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Oro	Boton	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1305
Oro	Boton	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1305
Oro	Boton	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1305
Oro	Boton	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1305
Oro	Boton	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1306
Oro	Boton	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1306
Oro	Boton	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1306
Oro	Boton	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1340v
Oro	Boton	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1348
Oro	Boton	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	776v
Oro	Boton	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	776v
Oro	Boton	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	501
Oro	Boton	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	249
Oro	Boton	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	681v
Oro	Boton	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	681v
Oro	Boton	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	682v
Oro	Boton	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	683
Oro	Boton	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	65v
Oro	Boton	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	65v
Oro	Boton	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	66
Oro	Boton	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	66
Oro	Boton	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	260
Oro	Boton	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	765
Oro	Boton	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1478v
Oro	Boton	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1479v
Oro	Boton	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1479v
Oro	Boton	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1485
Oro	Boton	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1486
Oro	Boton	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1486v
Oro	Boton	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1487
Oro	Boton	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Oro	Boton	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	905v
Oro	Boton	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	197
Oro	Boton	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	197
Oro	Boton	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	213v
Oro	Boton	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	225
Oro	Boton	Luis Enriquez	P3485	667v
Oro	Boton	Martin de Padreda	P2323	398v
Oro	Boton	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	516v
Oro	Brazaletes	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	874
Oro	Brazaletes	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	874
Oro	Brazaletes	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	195
Oro	Brazaletes	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	196v
Oro	Brazaletes	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	198
Oro	Brinco	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1346v
Oro	Brinco	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1346v
Oro	Brinco	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	956v
Oro	Cadena	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	874
Oro	Cadena	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Oro	Cadena	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	402v
Oro	Cadena	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	403v
Oro	Cadena	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	404
Oro	Cadena	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	404
Oro	Cadena	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1305v
Oro	Cadena	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1306
Oro	Cadena	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1306
Oro	Cadena	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1306
Oro	Cadena	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1346v
Oro	Cadena	Ana Maria Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1010
Oro	Cadena	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	777
Oro	Cadena	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	847v
Oro	Cadena	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	499
Oro	Cadena	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	500
Oro	Cadena	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	500v
Oro	Cadena	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	500v
Oro	Cadena	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	500v
Oro	Cadena	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1015

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Oro	Cadena	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1015
Oro	Cadena	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1015
Oro	Cadena	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	955v
Oro	Cadena	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	955v
Oro	Cadena	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	682v
Oro	Cadena	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	66
Oro	Cadena	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	66
Oro	Cadena	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	66
Oro	Cadena	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	260
Oro	Cadena	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	260v
Oro	Cadena	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1478v
Oro	Cadena	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1479
Oro	Cadena	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1484
Oro	Cadena	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1484
Oro	Cadena	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1484v
Oro	Cadena	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1485
Oro	Cadena	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1485
Oro	Cadena	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1486v
Oro	Cadena	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1486v
Oro	Cadena	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1363v
Oro	Cadena	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1363v
Oro	Cadena	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Oro	Cadena	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	905
Oro	Cadena	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	905
Oro	Cadena	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	210
Oro	Cadena	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	225
Oro	Cadena	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	225
Oro	Cadena	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	536v
Oro	Cadena	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	536v
Oro	Cadena	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	537v
Oro	Cadena	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1343
Oro	Cadena	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	195v
Oro	Caja	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1298v
Oro	Caja	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	217
Oro	Caja	Juan de Acuña	P2661	831v
Oro	Caja	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	905v
Oro	Caja	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	906
Oro	Caja	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	907v
Oro	Caja	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	907v
Oro	Caja	Maria de Aragón	P1578	168v
Oro	Caja	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	527v
Oro	Caja	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	528
Oro	Caja	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	528
Oro	Calabaza	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	853v
Oro	Calabaza	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1486v
Oro	Calabaza	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	907v
Oro	Calabaza	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	523v
Oro	Cama [Mueble]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1291v
Oro	Cama [Mueble]	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	217v
Oro	Cama [Mueble]	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	217v
Oro	Cama [Mueble]	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	217v
Oro	Cama [Textil]	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	369
Oro	Cama [Textil]	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	369v
Oro	Cama [Textil]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1291v
Oro	Cama [Textil]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1291v
Oro	Cama [Textil]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1292v
Oro	Cama [Textil]	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	787
Oro	Cama [Textil]	Antonio Perez	P989b	466
Oro	Cama [Textil]	Antonio Perez	P989b	466v
Oro	Cama [Textil]	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	510v
Oro	Cama [Textil]	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	510v
Oro	Cama [Textil]	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	209v
Oro	Cama [Textil]	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	688v
Oro	Cama [Textil]	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	48v
Oro	Cama [Textil]	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	48v
Oro	Cama [Textil]	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	49



Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Oro	Cama [Textil]	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	49
Oro	Cama [Textil]	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	278
Oro	Cama [Textil]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	779
Oro	Cama [Textil]	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1053v
Oro	Cama [Textil]	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1055
Oro	Cama [Textil]	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	214v
Oro	Cama [Textil]	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	215
Oro	Cama [Textil]	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	217
Oro	Cama [Textil]	Maria de Aragón	P1578	164
Oro	Cama [Textil]	Maria de Aragón	P1578	164
Oro	Cama [Textil]	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	521
Oro	Cama [Textil]	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1337v
Oro	Cama [Textil]	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviña	P2040b	637-[652]
Oro	Camafco	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1346
Oro	Camafco	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	501
Oro	Camafco	Maria de Aragón	P1578	158v
Oro	Camisa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1345
Oro	Camisa	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	66v
Oro	Camisa	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1511
Oro	Camisa	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	194v
Oro	Candado	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	416v
Oro	Candelero	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	14v
Oro	Candelero	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	198v
Oro	Cañon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1482
Oro	Capa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1308
Oro	Capa	Ana Maria Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1014
Oro	Capa	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1502
Oro	Capa	Maria de Aragón	P1578	162v
Oro	Capa	Maria de Aragón	P1578	169
Oro	Cascavel	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1346
Oro	Casula	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	393v
Oro	Casula	Ana Manrique	P2022	369
Oro	Casula	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Oro	Casula	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Oro	Casula	Juan de Acuña	P2661	827
Oro	Casula	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1501v
Oro	Casula	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1501v
Oro	Casula	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1502
Oro	Casula	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1502v
Oro	Casula	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	918
Oro	Casula	Maria de Aragón	P1578	161v
Oro	Casula	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	531v
Oro	Cazo	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1753
Oro	Cinta	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1304
Oro	Cinta	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1304v
Oro	Cinta	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1304v
Oro	Cinta	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1306
Oro	Cinta	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1484
Oro	Cinta	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1484
Oro	Cinta	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1484
Oro	Cinta	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	195
Oro	Cinta	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	198
Oro	Cinta	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	208v
Oro	Cinto	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1656
Oro	Cinto	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	403v
Oro	Cinto	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1304v
Oro	Cinto	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1304v
Oro	Cinto	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	775v
Oro	Cinto	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	498v
Oro	Cinto	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	499
Oro	Cinto	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	501
Oro	Cinto	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1015v
Oro	Cinto	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	683
Oro	Cinto	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	66
Oro	Cinto	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	66

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Oro	Cinto	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	66
Oro	Cinto	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1486
Oro	Cinto	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	516v
Oro	Cobertor	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1160v
Oro	Coco	Maria de Aragón	P1578	171v
Oro	Coco	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	537v
Oro	Cofia	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1345
Oro	Cofia	Ana Maria Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1012
Oro	Cofia	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	913v
Oro	Cofia	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	209
Oro	Cofre	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	955v
Oro	Cofre	Juan de Acuña	P2661	918
Oro	Cofre	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	209
Oro	Colcha	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1312v
Oro	Colcha	Antonio Perez	P989b	467v
Oro	Colcha	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1048v
Oro	Coletto	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	757
Oro	Coletto	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	525v
Oro	Colgadura	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	209v
Oro	Colgadura	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	276
Oro	Colgadura	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	767
Oro	Colgadura	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	215v
Oro	Colgadura	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	216v
Oro	Colgadura	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	217v
Oro	Colgadura	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1337v
Oro	Colgadura	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1161
Oro	Colgadura	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	178
Oro	Coluna	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1346v
Oro	Coluna	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	776v
Oro	Coluna	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	905v
Oro	Copa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1346v
Oro	Copa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1039
Oro	Copa	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1477v
Oro	Copa	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1478
Oro	Copa	Maria de Aragón	P1578	158
Oro	Cordon	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	775
Oro	Cordon	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	775
Oro	Cordon	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	496
Oro	Cordon	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	497
Oro	Cordon	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1751
Oro	Cordon	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1752
Oro	Cordon	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	764v
Oro	Cordon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1482v
Oro	Cordon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1482v
Oro	Cordon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1482v
Oro	Cordon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1482v
Oro	Cordon	Maria de Aragón	P1578	162v
Oro	Corporal	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Oro	Corporal	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1760
Oro	Corporal	Maria de Aragón	P1578	161v
Oro	Cortina	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	48v
Oro	Cortina	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	49v
Oro	Cruz	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	874
Oro	Cruz	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1306v
Oro	Cruz	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1306v
Oro	Cruz	Ana Manrique	P2022	379
Oro	Cruz	Ana Manrique	P2022	379
Oro	Cruz	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	847v
Oro	Cruz	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	854
Oro	Cruz	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	500
Oro	Cruz	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	681v
Oro	Cruz	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	15v
Oro	Cruz	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	261
Oro	Cruz	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1484v
Oro	Cruz	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1486

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Oro	Cruz	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	498
Oro	Cruz	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	905v
Oro	Cruz	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	905v
Oro	Cruz	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	195v
Oro	Cruz	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	195v
Oro	Cruz	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	195v
Oro	Cruz	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	195v
Oro	Cruz	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	195v
Oro	Cruz	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	211
Oro	Cruz	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	516
Oro	Cruz	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	529v
Oro	Cruz	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	536
Oro	Cruz	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	536
Oro	Cruz	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	536v
Oro	Cubierta	Juan de Acuña	P2661	825v
Oro	Cubierta	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	912v
Oro	Cubierta	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1162v
Oro	Cuchara	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	500v
Oro	Cuchara	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1481
Oro	Cuchara	María de Aragón	P1578	158
Oro	Cuchillo	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	515v
Oro	Cuchillo	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	516v
Oro	Cuchillo	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	516v
Oro	Cuchillo	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	516v
Oro	Cuchillo	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	196v
Oro	Cuenta	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1344
Oro	Cuenta	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	682
Oro	Cuenta	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1479v
Oro	Cuerda	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1049v
Oro	Dalmatica	María de Aragón	P1578	162v
Oro	Dossel	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1633v
Oro	Dossel	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	367v
Oro	Dossel	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	367v
Oro	Dossel	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1292v
Oro	Dossel	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1759
Oro	Dossel	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	210v
Oro	Dossel	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	49v
Oro	Dossel	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	49v
Oro	Dossel	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	49v
Oro	Dossel	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	49v
Oro	Dossel	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	277v
Oro	Dossel	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1452v
Oro	Dossel	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	914v
Oro	Dossel	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	215
Oro	Dossel	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	216
Oro	Dossel	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	216v
Oro	Dossel	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	217v
Oro	Dossel	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	217v
Oro	Dossel	María de Aragón	P1578	160
Oro	Dossel	María de Aragón	P1578	169v
Oro	Dossel	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	548v
Oro	Dossel	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	178
Oro	Escritorio	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	697v
Oro	Escritorio	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	61v
Oro	Escritorio	María de Aragón	P1578	157v
Oro	Escritorio	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	185
Oro	Escrivania	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	875v
Oro	Escudo	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	522v
Oro	Escultura	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	18
Oro	Escultura	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	33
Oro	Escultura	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1039v
Oro	Espada	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	494v
Oro	Espada	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	262v
Oro	Estribo	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	525
Oro	Faldellín	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	873
Oro	Faldellín	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Oro	Ferrezuelo	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1308
Oro	Ferrezuelo	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	192v
Oro	Franjon	Juan de Acuña	P2661	882v
Oro	Franjon	María de Aragón	P1578	163
Oro	Frasco	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1303v
Oro	Frasco	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1345v
Oro	Frasco	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	777
Oro	Frasco	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	499v
Oro	Frasco	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	956
Oro	Frasco	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	22v
Oro	Frasco	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	201v
Oro	Frontal	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	393v
Oro	Frontal	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	393v
Oro	Frontal	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1211v[sic]
Oro	Frontal	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Oro	Frontal	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1758v
Oro	Frontal	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1759
Oro	Frontal	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1759
Oro	Frontal	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	214
Oro	Frontal	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	214
Oro	Frontal	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	63
Oro	Frontal	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	30v
Oro	Frontal	Juan de Acuña	P2661	828
Oro	Frontal	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1501
Oro	Frontal	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	918
Oro	Frontal	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	918
Oro	Frontal	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	918
Oro	Frontal	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	216
Oro	Frontal	María de Aragón	P1578	163
Oro	Frontal	María de Aragón	P1578	163
Oro	Frontal	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	531v
Oro	Frontal	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	531v
Oro	Frontal	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	532
Oro	Frutero	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1345
Oro	Frutero	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	705v[sic]
Oro	Frutero	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	66v
Oro	Frutero	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	34v
Oro	Frutero	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	34v
Oro	Frutero	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	34v
Oro	Frutero	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	35
Oro	Frutero	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	35
Oro	Frutero	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	35v
Oro	Frutero	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1510
Oro	Frutero	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1511
Oro	Frutero	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	913v
Oro	Frutero	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	916v
Oro	Frutero	Luis Enriquez	P3485	668v
Oro	Fuente	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	64v
Oro	Gargantilla	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1304
Oro	Gargantilla	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	776v
Oro	Gargantilla	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	249v
Oro	Gargantilla	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Oro	Garrafa	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	874
Oro	Guantes	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	707v
Oro	Hijuela	María de Aragón	P1578	160v
Oro	Hijuela	María de Aragón	P1578	161v
Oro	Hilo	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1010
Oro	Hilo	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1010v
Oro	Hilo	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1011v
Oro	Imagen	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	404
Oro	Imagen	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1305v
Oro	Imagen	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1305v
Oro	Imagen	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1306v
Oro	Imagen	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1346
Oro	Imagen	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1346
Oro	Imagen	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1346

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Oro	Imagen	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1346
Oro	Imagen	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1346
Oro	Imagen	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1346
Oro	Imagen	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1346
Oro	Imagen	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1346
Oro	Imagen	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1346v
Oro	Imagen	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1346v
Oro	Imagen	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1347
Oro	Imagen	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1010v
Oro	Imagen	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1010v
Oro	Imagen	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1010v
Oro	Imagen	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	776
Oro	Imagen	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	794
Oro	Imagen	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	847v
Oro	Imagen	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	853
Oro	Imagen	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	853
Oro	Imagen	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	853v
Oro	Imagen	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	499
Oro	Imagen	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	500
Oro	Imagen	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1015v
Oro	Imagen	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1751v
Oro	Imagen	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	956
Oro	Imagen	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	249
Oro	Imagen	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	18
Oro	Imagen	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	21
Oro	Imagen	Juan de Acuña	P2661	821v
Oro	Imagen	Juan de Acuña	P2661	821v
Oro	Imagen	Juan de Acuña	P2661	831
Oro	Imagen	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	905
Oro	Imagen	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	905
Oro	Imagen	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	905v
Oro	Imagen	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	906
Oro	Imagen	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	906v
Oro	Imagen	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	906v
Oro	Imagen	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	907v
Oro	Imagen	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	908
Oro	Imagen	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	197
Oro	Imagen	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	200
Oro	Imagen	Maria Pereira	P989	234v
Oro	Imagen	Maria Pereira	P989	236v
Oro	Imagen	Martin de Padreda	P2323	398v
Oro	Imagen	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	531
Oro	Imagen	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	533v
Oro	Imagen	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	535v
Oro	Imagen	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	536v
Oro	Imagen	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	181v
Oro	Jacz	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	692
Oro	Joya	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1656
Oro	Joya	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1656
Oro	Joya	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1304
Oro	Joya	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1306
Oro	Joya	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1306
Oro	Joya	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1306v
Oro	Joya	Ana Manrique	P2022	368
Oro	Joya	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	777v
Oro	Joya	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	499v
Oro	Joya	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	500
Oro	Joya	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	956
Oro	Joya	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	66
Oro	Joya	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	15
Oro	Joya	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	16v
Oro	Joya	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	16v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Oro	Joya	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	16v
Oro	Joya	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	16v
Oro	Joya	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	16v
Oro	Joya	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1480
Oro	Joya	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1485
Oro	Joya	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1365
Oro	Joya	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	195
Oro	Joya	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	195
Oro	Joya	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	195
Oro	Joya	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	195
Oro	Joya	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	195v
Oro	Joya	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	195v
Oro	Joya	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	195v
Oro	Joya	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	195v
Oro	Joya	Maria Pereira	P989	236v
Oro	Joya	Maria Pereira	P989	236v
Oro	Joya	Martin de Padreda	P2323	398v
Oro	Joya	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	516v
Oro	Jubon	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1309v
Oro	Jubon	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1309v
Oro	Jubon	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1309v
Oro	Jubon	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1310
Oro	Jubon	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1310
Oro	Jubon	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1015
Oro	Jubon	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1015v
Oro	Jubon	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	785v
Oro	Jubon	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	758v
Oro	Jubon	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1370
Oro	Jubon	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1370
Oro	Jubon	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	193
Oro	Jubon	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	525v
Oro	Lanza	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	523
Oro	Libro	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1010v
Oro	Libro	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1752v
Oro	Libro	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1752v
Oro	Libro	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1364
Oro	Libro	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	905v
Oro	Libro	Maria de Aragón	P1578	161v
Oro	Libro	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1343v
Oro	Lienzo	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1316
Oro	Lienzo	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	66v
Oro	Lienzo	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	25
Oro	Ligas	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	873
Oro	Ligas	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1017
Oro	Mala	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	280
Oro	Mangas	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1310
Oro	Mangas	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1310
Oro	Mangas	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	785v
Oro	Mangas	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	497
Oro	Mangas	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	525v
Oro	Manilla	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1010
Oro	Manilla	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	955v
Oro	Manilla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1485v
Oro	Manta	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	65
Oro	Mantel	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1310v
Oro	Mantel	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1310v
Oro	Manteo	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1312
Oro	Manteo	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	784
Oro	Manteo	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	785
Oro	Manteo	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	692v
Oro	Manteo	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	757
Oro	Medalla	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	681
Oro	Medalla	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	66
Oro	Medalla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1504
Oro	Medalla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1504
Oro	Medalla	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1364

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Oro	Medalla	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	906
Oro	Medalla	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	225
Oro	Medalla	Luis Enriquez	P3485	669
Oro	Medalla	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	194v
Oro	Moneda	Guioimar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	15
Oro	Moneda	Maria Pereira	P989	236v
Oro	Olla	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	681v
Oro	Olla	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	911v
Oro	Oratório	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	372
Oro	Pabellon	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	278v
Oro	Pabellon	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	219
Oro	Pália	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	692
Oro	Paño	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Oro	Paño	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1758v
Oro	Paño	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1050v
Oro	Paño	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1052
Oro	Paño	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1052v
Oro	Paño	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	914v
Oro	Paño	Maria de Aragón	P1578	162
Oro	Paño	Maria de Aragón	P1578	162v
Oro	Paño	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	531v
Oro	Papelina	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1039
Oro	Pasamanos	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1308
Oro	Pasamanos	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1211v[sic]
Oro	Pasamanos	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1312v
Oro	Pasamanos	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	495
Oro	Pasamanos	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	913
Oro	Pasamanos	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	194v
Oro	Pasamanos	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	209
Oro	Pasamanos	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	210v
Oro	Pasamanos	Luis Enriquez	P3485	673
Oro	Pasamanos	Luis Enriquez	P3485	673
Oro	Pasamanos	Luis Enriquez	P3485	673
Oro	Pasamanos	Luis Enriquez	P3485	673
Oro	Peana	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	529v
Oro	Pieça	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1303v
Oro	Pieça	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1303v
Oro	Pieça	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1304
Oro	Pieça	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1305
Oro	Pieça	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1305v
Oro	Pieça	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1306
Oro	Pieça	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1306
Oro	Pieça	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1306
Oro	Pieça	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1306v
Oro	Pieça	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1306v
Oro	Pieça	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1310
Oro	Pieça	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1337v
Oro	Pieça	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1346v
Oro	Pieça	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1346v
Oro	Pieça	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1010
Oro	Pieça	Antonio Perez	P989b	470v
Oro	Pieça	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	499
Oro	Pieça	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	500
Oro	Pieça	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	956
Oro	Pieça	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	209v
Oro	Pieça	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	215
Oro	Pieça	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	261
Oro	Pieça	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	682
Oro	Pieça	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	683
Oro	Pieça	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	701v
Oro	Pieça	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	260v
Oro	Pieça	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	261v
Oro	Pieça	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	280
Oro	Pieça	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	280v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Oro	Pieça	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1472v
Oro	Pieça	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1473v
Oro	Pieça	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1478
Oro	Pieça	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1478
Oro	Pieça	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1485
Oro	Pieça	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1487
Oro	Pieça	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1487
Oro	Pieça	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1383v
Oro	Pieça	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1383v
Oro	Pieça	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1384
Oro	Pieça	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1384
Oro	Pieça	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	201v
Oro	Pieça	Luis Enriquez	P3485	667v
Oro	Pieça	Luis Enriquez	P3485	667v
Oro	Pieça	Luis Enriquez	P3485	669v
Oro	Pieça	Luis Enriquez	P3485	669v
Oro	Pieça	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	536
Oro	Pieça	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	538v
Oro	Pieça	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	547v
Oro	Pieça	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	194
Oro	Pila	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	523v
Oro	Pila	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	524
Oro	Plancha	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	500
Oro	Plancha	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1504
Oro	Pluma	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	516
Oro	Pomo	Ana Manrique	P2022	379
Oro	Pomo	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	682v
Oro	Pomo	Maria de Aragón	P1578	158v
Oro	Pomo	Maria Pereira	P989	234v
Oro	Pomo	Maria Pereira	P989	236v
Oro	Pomo	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	528
Oro	Porcelana	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1478v
Oro	Paño	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1316
Oro	Paño	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1316v
Oro	Paño	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1016v
Oro	Paño	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	499v
Oro	Puntas	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1304v
Oro	Puntas	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	249
Oro	Puntas	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1486
Oro	Puntas	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	916v
Oro	Punzon	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1347
Oro	Punzon	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	777
Oro	Ramillete	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1366v
Oro	Ramillete	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	201
Oro	Relicário	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	874
Oro	Relicário	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	874
Oro	Relicário	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	403v
Oro	Relicário	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1297
Oro	Relicário	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1347
Oro	Relicário	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	855
Oro	Relicário	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	261v
Oro	Relicário	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	262
Oro	Relicário	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	199v
Oro	Relicário	Luis Enriquez	P3485	667v
Oro	Relicário	Maria Pereira	P989	236v
Oro	Relicário	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	536
Oro	Relicário	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	536v
Oro	Relicário	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	536v
Oro	Relicário	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	536v
Oro	Relicário	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	187v
Oro	Reloj	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	521v
Oro	Reloj	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	521v
Oro	Reloj	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	521v
Oro	Reloj	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	522
Oro	Reloj	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1751v
Oro	Reloj	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1754v
Oro	Reloj	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	909v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Oro	Reloj	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	909v
Oro	Reloj	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	909v
Oro	Reloj	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	909v
Oro	Reloj	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	909v
Oro	Reloj	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	195
Oro	Reloj	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	197v
Oro	Reloj	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1343v
Oro	Renda	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	248v
Oro	Repostero	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	48
Oro	Repostero	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	521
Oro	Retablo	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	403v
Oro	Retablo	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	776
Oro	Retablo	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	906v
Oro	Retablo	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	907v
Oro	Retablo	Maria Pereira	P989	236v
Oro	Retablo	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	538v
Oro	Ropa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1307v
Oro	Ropa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1308
Oro	Ropa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1309v
Oro	Ropa	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1010v
Oro	Ropa	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	784
Oro	Ropa	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	784
Oro	Ropa	Juan de Acuña	P2661	823v
Oro	Ropa	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1499v
Oro	Ropa	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	188v
Oro	Rosario	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	874
Oro	Rosario	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	403v
Oro	Rosario	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1305
Oro	Rosario	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1305
Oro	Rosario	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1305
Oro	Rosario	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1305
Oro	Rosario	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1305
Oro	Rosario	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1317
Oro	Rosario	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1347v
Oro	Rosario	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1010
Oro	Rosario	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	848
Oro	Rosario	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	853v
Oro	Rosario	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	853v
Oro	Rosario	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	854
Oro	Rosario	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	854
Oro	Rosario	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	518
Oro	Rosario	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	518v
Oro	Rosario	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	518v
Oro	Rosario	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	519
Oro	Rosario	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	519
Oro	Rosario	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1015v
Oro	Rosario	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	681
Oro	Rosario	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	66v
Oro	Rosario	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	66v
Oro	Rosario	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	28
Oro	Rosario	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1485v
Oro	Rosario	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1485v
Oro	Rosario	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1485v
Oro	Rosario	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	905v
Oro	Rosario	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	906v
Oro	Rosario	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	906v
Oro	Rosario	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	908v
Oro	Rosario	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	200
Oro	Rosario	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	200
Oro	Rosario	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	200v
Oro	Rosario	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	200v
Oro	Rosario	Luis Enriquez	P3485	667v
Oro	Rosario	Luis Enriquez	P3485	669v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Oro	Rosario	Maria Pereira	P989	236
Oro	Rosario	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	528
Oro	Rosario	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	528
Oro	Rosario	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	538v
Oro	Rosario	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	538v
Oro	Rosario	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1156v
Oro	Salero	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	199v
Oro	Salero	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	201v
Oro	Salva	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1344
Oro	Salva	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Oro	Salva	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	911v
Oro	Sapato	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	208v
Oro	Saya	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1307
Oro	Saya	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1308v
Oro	Saya	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1308v
Oro	Sello	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1346v
Oro	Sello	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	19v
Oro	Sello	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	906
Oro	Silla	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1635
Oro	Silla	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	367v
Oro	Silla	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	367v
Oro	Silla	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Oro	Silla	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	215v
Oro	Silla	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	215v
Oro	Silla	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	215v
Oro	Silla	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	215v
Oro	Silla	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	698
Oro	Silla	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	280
Oro	Silla	Juan de Acuña	P2661	806
Oro	Silla	Juan de Acuña	P2661	806
Oro	Silla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1508v
Oro	Silla	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	216
Oro	Silla	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	216
Oro	Silla	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	217
Oro	Silla	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	217v
Oro	Silla	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	220
Oro	Silla	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1339v
Oro	Silla	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1163v
Oro	Sobremesa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1291v
Oro	Sobremesa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1292
Oro	Sobremesa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1297v
Oro	Sobremesa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1297v
Oro	Sobremesa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1298
Oro	Sobremesa	Antonio Perez	P989b	466v
Oro	Sobremesa	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1755
Oro	Sobremesa	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1755v
Oro	Sobremesa	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	50v
Oro	Sobremesa	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	50v
Oro	Sobremesa	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	279v
Oro	Sobremesa	Martín de Padreda	P2323	414v
Oro	Sobremesa	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1162
Oro	Sobremesa	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1162
Oro	Sombrero	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1015v
Oro	Sombrero	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	951
Oro	Sombrero	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1466
Oro	Sombrero	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1466
Oro	Sortija	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	874
Oro	Sortija	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Oro	Sortija	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Oro	Sortija	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1655v
Oro	Sortija	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	404
Oro	Sortija	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1305v
Oro	Sortija	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1305v
Oro	Sortija	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1305v
Oro	Sortija	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1305v
Oro	Sortija	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1305v



Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Oro	Venera	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1343v
Oro	Vestido	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	794v
Oro	Vestido	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	794v
Oro	Vestido	Luis Enriquez	P3485	668
Paja	Açafate	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1345v
Paja	Açafate	Juan de Acuña	P2661	917
Paja	Alcofa	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	18v
Paja	Alcofa	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	33v
Paja	Arca	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1307
Paja	Bandeja	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	26
Paja	Caja	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	376
Paja	Caja	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1313v
Paja	Caja	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1345
Paja	Caja	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1345
Paja	Caja	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1346
Paja	Caja	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1346
Paja	Caja	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	62
Paja	Caja	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	62v
Paja	Caja	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	914v
Paja	Cesta	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1753v
Paja	Cesta	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	915
Paja	Cesta	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	915
Paja	Cesta	Maria Pereira	P989	236v
Paja	Cesta	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	192v
Paja	Cesta	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	193v
Paja	Cofre	Luis Enriquez	P3485	669v
Paja	Gordon	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1017
Paja	Gordon	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	210
Paja	Escova	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	210
Paja	Escritorio	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	212
Paja	Estera	Maria de Aragón	P1578	172
Paja	Imagen	Juan de Acuña	P2661	831
Paja	Picça	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	208v
Paja	Rosario	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	20v
Palma	Abanico	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1469
Palma	Abano	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	33v
Palma	Cesta	Luis Enriquez	P3485	668v
Palma	Estera	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	874v
Palma	Estera	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1650v
Palma	Estera	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	419v
Palma	Estera	Ana Manrique	P2022	387v
Palma	Estera	Ana Manrique	P2022	387v
Palma	Estera	Ana Manrique	P2022	387v
Palma	Estera	Ana Maria Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1016
Palma	Estera	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1017
Palma	Estera	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1762v
Palma	Estera	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	244v
Palma	Estera	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	244v
Palma	Estera	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	244v
Palma	Estera	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	244v
Palma	Estera	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	244v
Palma	Estera	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	690
Palma	Estera	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1044
Palma	Estera	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1044
Palma	Estera	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	920
Palma	Estera	Maria de Aragón	P1578	172
Palma	Estera	Martin de Padreda	P2323	413v
Palma	Estera	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	189
Palma	Mosqueador	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1765v
Palma	Sombbrero	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	241v
Palma	Tapete	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1496
Palmilla	Cama [Textil]	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	768
Palmilla	Sobremesa	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	509v
Palo de la aguilá	Escritorio	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1061v
Palo de la aguilá	Rosario	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	519

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Palo de la aguilá	Rosario	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	27v
Palo de la aguilá	Rosario	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	28
Palo Santo	Arca	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Palo Santo	Bandeja	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	15v
Palo Santo	Bufete	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	218
Palo Santo	Cama [Mueble]	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1634v
Palo Santo	Cama [Mueble]	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Palo Santo	Cama [Mueble]	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1059v
Palo Santo	Candelero	Juan de Acuña	P2661	816
Palo Santo	Candelero	Juan de Acuña	P2661	862
Palo Santo	Candelero	Juan de Mendoza y Castilla	P2298	333v
Palo Santo	Escritorio	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Palo Santo	Escritorio	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Palo Santo	Escritorio	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Paño	[material]	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	504
Paño	Adereço	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1649
Paño	Alfombra	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	874v
Paño	Almohada	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1755v
Paño	Almohada	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1756
Paño	Almohada	Juana de Mujita	P2021	82v
Paño	Antepuerta	Juan de Acuña	P2661	785
Paño	Antepuerta	Juan de Acuña	P2661	785v
Paño	Antepuerta	Juan de Acuña	P2661	785v
Paño	Antepuerta	Juan de Acuña	P2661	785v
Paño	Antepuerta	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Paño	Antepuerta	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	219v
Paño	Antepuerta	Maria Pereira	P989	238v
Paño	Balandran	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1338v
Paño	Calçon	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	758v
Paño	Calçon	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	760v
Paño	Calçon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1456
Paño	Calçon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1456v
Paño	Calçon	Juan de Mendoza y Castilla	P2298	329
Paño	Calçon	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Paño	Cama [Textil]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1292v
Paño	Cama [Textil]	Ana Maria Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1013
Paño	Cama [Textil]	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	510v
Paño	Cama [Textil]	Fernando Carrillo	P2031	1030
Paño	Cama [Textil]	Fernando Carrillo	P2031	1030
Paño	Cama [Textil]	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1755
Paño	Cama [Textil]	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	49
Paño	Cama [Textil]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	781
Paño	Cama [Textil]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	781v
Paño	Cama [Textil]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	782
Paño	Cama [Textil]	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	479
Paño	Cama [Textil]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	655v
Paño	Cama [Textil]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	660
Paño	Cama [Textil]	Maria de Aragón	P1578	164v
Paño	Cama [Textil]	Martin de Padreda	P2323	402
Paño	Cama [Textil]	Pedro Hurtado de Gavia	P2040b	637-[652]
Paño	Camisa	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	494v
Paño	Capa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1339
Paño	Capa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1341
Paño	Capa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1342
Paño	Capa	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	692v
Paño	Capa	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1461
Paño	Capa	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1462v
Paño	Capa	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1463
Paño	Capa	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1463
Paño	Capa	Maria de Aragón	P1578	169
Paño	Capa	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	191
Paño	Casco	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1466v
Paño	Casco	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1466v
Paño	Cobertor	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	871
Paño	Cobertor	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	181v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Paño	Colgadura	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	870v
Paño	Colgadura	Felipe de Matiengo	P2026	1016v
Paño	Colgadura	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	526v
Paño	Cortina	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1650
Paño	Cortina	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	219v
Paño	Cortina	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1161v
Paño	Cortina	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	178v
Paño	Cubierta	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	912v
Paño	Ferrezuelo	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1646
Paño	Ferrezuelo	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1646v
Paño	Ferrezuelo	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1646v
Paño	Ferrezuelo	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	397v
Paño	Ferrezuelo	Felipe de Matiengo	P2026	1013v
Paño	Ferrezuelo	Fernando Carrillo	P2031	1030v
Paño	Ferrezuelo	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	951v
Paño	Ferrezuelo	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	952
Paño	Ferrezuelo	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	952
Paño	Ferrezuelo	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	952
Paño	Ferrezuelo	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	238v
Paño	Ferrezuelo	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	238v
Paño	Ferrezuelo	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	238v
Paño	Ferrezuelo	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	694v
Paño	Ferrezuelo	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	694v
Paño	Ferrezuelo	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	758v
Paño	Ferrezuelo	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	758v
Paño	Ferrezuelo	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	760v
Paño	Ferrezuelo	Juan de Acuña	P2661	886
Paño	Ferrezuelo	Juan de Acuña	P2661	887
Paño	Ferrezuelo	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1464
Paño	Ferrezuelo	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1464
Paño	Ferrezuelo	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1464
Paño	Ferrezuelo	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1464
Paño	Ferrezuelo	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1373
Paño	Ferrezuelo	Martin de Padreda	P2323	403
Paño	Ferrezuelo	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	525
Paño	Frutero	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	180v
Paño	Gaban	Juan de Acuña	P2661	887v
Paño	Gaban	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviña	P2040b	637-[652]
Paño	Garnacha	Fernando Carrillo	P2031	1030v
Paño	Garnacha	Fernando Carrillo	P2031	1030v
Paño	Garnacha	Juan de Acuña	P2661	886
Paño	Garnacha	Juan de Acuña	P2661	886v
Paño	Guantes	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1374
Paño	Guantes	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Paño	Loba	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviña	P2040b	637-[652]
Paño	Loba	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviña	P2040b	637-[652]
Paño	Mangas	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviña	P2040b	637-[652]
Paño	Mangas	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviña	P2040b	637-[652]
Paño	Manta	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1758v
Paño	Manteo	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviña	P2040b	637-[652]
Paño	Manteo	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviña	P2040b	637-[652]
Paño	Medias	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1767v
Paño	Medias	Luis Enriquez	P3485	661v
Paño	Pabellon	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1292v
Paño	Pieça	Juan de Acuña	P2661	912v
Paño	Repostero	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1633v
Paño	Repostero	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	691
Paño	Repostero	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	691v
Paño	Repostero	Maria de Aragón	P1578	163v
Paño	Ropa	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1013v
Paño	Ropa	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviña	P2040b	637-[652]
Paño	Ropa	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1147
Paño	Ropilla	Felipe de Matiengo	P2026	1013v
Paño	Ropilla	Fernando Carrillo	P2031	1030
Paño	Ropilla	Fernando Carrillo	P2031	1030v
Paño	Ropilla	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	951v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Paño	Ropilla	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	694v
Paño	Ropilla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1459
Paño	Ropilla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1459
Paño	Ropilla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1459v
Paño	Ropilla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1460
Paño	Ropilla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1461
Paño	Ropilla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1461
Paño	Ropilla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1461
Paño	Ropilla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1497
Paño	Ropilla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1497
Paño	Ropilla	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	485
Paño	Ropilla	Martin de Padreda	P2323	403
Paño	Ropilla	Martin de Padreda	P2323	403
Paño	Silla	Maria de Aragón	P1578	167v
Paño	Sobremesa	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1650
Paño	Sobremesa	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1650v
Paño	Sobremesa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1297v
Paño	Sobremesa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1297v
Paño	Sobremesa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1297v
Paño	Sobremesa	Ana Manrique	P2022	382v
Paño	Sobremesa	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	496
Paño	Sobremesa	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	510v
Paño	Sobremesa	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	510v
Paño	Sobremesa	Felipe de Matiengo	P2026	1014
Paño	Sobremesa	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1755v
Paño	Sobremesa	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	211v
Paño	Sobremesa	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	211v
Paño	Sobremesa	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	211v
Paño	Sobremesa	Juan de Acuña	P2661	783
Paño	Sobremesa	Juan de Acuña	P2661	783
Paño	Sobremesa	Juan de Acuña	P2661	783
Paño	Sobremesa	Juan de Acuña	P2661	785
Paño	Sobremesa	Juan de Acuña	P2661	785
Paño	Sobremesa	Luis Enriquez	P3485	660
Paño	Sobremesa	Maria Pereira	P989	235
Paño	Sobremesa	Martin de Padreda	P2323	402v
Paño	Sobremesa	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1161v
Paño	Sotana	Felipe de Matiengo	P2026	1013v
Paño	Sotana	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	758v
Paño	Sotana	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	760v
Paño	Sotana	Juan de Acuña	P2661	886
Paño	Vestido	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	395v
Paño	Vestido	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	401v
Paño	Vestido	Felipe de Matiengo	P2026	1013
Paño	Vestido	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1524v
Paño	Vestido	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Paño de Segovia	Vestido	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	525
Paño de Segovia	Garnacha	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Paño de Segovia	Manteo	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	486
Papel	[material]	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1754
Papel	[material]	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	33v
Papel	[material]	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	909
Papel	[material]	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	909
Papel	[material]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	668v
Papel	[material]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	669
Papel	Caja	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	185v
Papel	Carta	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1752
Papel	Carta	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1753v
Papel	Carta	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1754
Papel	Carta	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1754
Papel	Estampa	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	495
Papel	Estampa	Juan de Acuña	P2661	829
Papel	Estampa	Juan de Acuña	P2661	829
Papel	Estampa	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	915
Papel	Estampa	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	193v
Papel	Imagen	Ana Manrique	P2022	367v



Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Papel	Imagen	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1759v
Papel	Imagen	Luis Enriquez	P3485	671v
Papel	Imagen	María de Aragón	P1578	172v
Papel	Imagen	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	194
Papel	Libro	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1752
Papel	Libro	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1752v
Papel	Mapa	Luis Enriquez	P3485	660
Papel	Pieça	Juan de Acuña	P2661	828v
Papel	Pintura	Luis Enriquez	P3485	660
Papel	Quadro	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	917v
Papel	Quadro	Juana de Mujita	P2021	85v
Papel	Relicário	Ana Manrique	P2022	367v
Papelon	[material]	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	24v
Papelon	Arca	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	24
Papelon	Bandeja	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	26
Papelon	Caja	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	24
Papelon	Salva	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	24v
Papelon	Salva	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	24v
Papelon	Tintero	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	24v
Pastilla	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1347v
Pastilla	[material]	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1753v
Pastilla	[material]	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1754
Pastilla	[material]	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1754v
Pastilla	[material]	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	61
Pastilla	[material]	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	26v
Pastilla	[material]	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	907
Pastilla	[material]	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	908v
Pastilla	[material]	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	910
Pastilla	[material]	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	913v
Pastilla	[material]	María de Aragón	P1578	173
Pastilla	Caja	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1344v
Pastilla	Caja	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	792v
Pastilla	Caja	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1753
Pastilla	Caja	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	26v
Pastilla	Caja	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	908v
Pastilla	Caja	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	528
Pastilla	Cesta	María de Aragón	P1578	173
Pastilla	Cofre	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	910v
Pastilla	Rosario	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1347v
Pellejo	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1211v[sic]
Pellejo	[material]	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1758
Pellejo	[material]	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	213v
Pellejo	[material]	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1046.1v
Pellejo	[material]	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1470
Pellejo	Arca	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1068
Pellejo	Capa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1046.1v
Pellejo	Cofre	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	858v
Pellejo	Frasquera	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	418
Pellejo	Jubon	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	398v
Pellejo	Paño	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1046.1v
Pellejo	Ropa	Fernando Carrillo	P2031	1030v
Pellejo	Ropa	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	240v
Pellejo	Ropa	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1464v
Peltre	Bola	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1017v
Peltre	Escudilla	María Pereira	P989	238
Peltre	Plato	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1317v
Peltre	Plato	Juana de Mujita	P2021	88
Peltre	Plato	María de Aragón	P1578	166v
Pelucia	Delantal	Juan de Acuña	P2661	883v
Pelucia	Delantal	Juan de Acuña	P2661	883v
Pelucia	Delantal	Juan de Acuña	P2661	883v
Pelucia	Forro	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	238v
Peral	[material]	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	201
Peral	Escritorio	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	67v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Peral	Joya	María Pereira	P989	236v
Perla	[material]	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1754v
Perla	[material]	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	682
Perla	[material]	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	682
Perla	[material]	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	65v
Perla	[material]	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	66
Perla	[material]	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	66
Perla	[material]	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	906
Perla	[material]	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	910
Perla	[material]	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	199v
Perla	[material]	María de Aragón	P1578	167
Perla	[material]	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	189v
Perla	Açerico	Juan de Acuña	P2661	829
Perla	Adereço	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1306
Perla	Apretador	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	847
Perla	Apretador	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	955v
Perla	Apretador	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	956
Perla	Arandela	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1015v
Perla	Arrecada	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	874
Perla	Arrecada	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	402v
Perla	Arrecada	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	249
Perla	Arrecada	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	905
Perla	Arrecada	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	198v
Perla	Arrecada	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	198v
Perla	Bolsa	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1011
Perla	Borla	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	20v
Perla	Boton	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1306
Perla	Boton	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	853
Perla	Boton	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1486v
Perla	Brazalete	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	195
Perla	Cadena	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	402v
Perla	Cadena	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	955v
Perla	Cadena	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	65v
Perla	Cadena	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1482
Perla	Cadena	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1365v
Perla	Cadena	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	200
Perla	Calabaza	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	853v
Perla	Cinta	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1304v
Perla	Cinta	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	680v
Perla	Cinta	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1486
Perla	Gargantilla	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1304v
Perla	Gargantilla	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	776v
Perla	Hilo	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1346v
Perla	Hilo	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1010
Perla	Hilo	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1010v
Perla	Hilo	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	776v
Perla	Hilo	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	955v
Perla	Imagen	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1010v
Perla	Imagen	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	794
Perla	Imagen	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	795
Perla	Imagen	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	21
Perla	Joya	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1304
Perla	Joya	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	249v
Perla	Manilla	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1010
Perla	Medalla	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	66v
Perla	Pieça	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1306
Perla	Pieça	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1306
Perla	Pieça	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1010
Perla	Pieça	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	199
Perla	Puntas	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1304v
Perla	Puntas	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	249
Perla	Rosario	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	680v
Perla	Rosario	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	200
Perla	Rosario	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	538v
Perla	Sello	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	199



Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Piedra bezoar	[material]	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	67v
Piedra bezoar	[material]	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	67v
Piedra bezoar	[material]	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	67v
Piedra bezoar	[material]	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	17
Piedra bezoar	[material]	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1481v
Piedra bezoar	[material]	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	907
Piedra bezoar	[material]	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	907v
Piedra bezoar	[material]	Maria de Aragón	P1578	164v
Piedra bezoar	[material]	Maria de Aragón	P1578	165v
Piedra bezoar	[material]	Maria de Aragón	P1578	165v
Piedra bezoar	[material]	Maria de Aragón	P1578	165v
Piedra bezoar	[material]	Maria de Aragón	P1578	165v
Piedra bezoar	[material]	Martin de Padreda	P2323	398
Piedra bezoar	[material]	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1340
Piedra bezoar	[material]	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1166
Piedra bezoar	[material]	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1166
Piedra bezoar	Copa	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	403v
Piedra bezoar	Pieça	Fernando Carrillo	P2031	1026v
Piedra bezoar	Vaso	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	687
Piedra de la aguilá	[material]	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	494v
Piedra de la aguilá	[material]	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	15
Piedra de la aguilá	[material]	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	200
Piedra de la aguilá	[material]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	669v
Piedra de la aguilá	Cuenta	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	193
Piño	[material]	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	62
Piño	Alacena	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1011v
Piño	Alacena	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	220
Piño	Alacena	Juan de Acuña	P2661	816v
Piño	Altar	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1366v
Piño	Antipara	Juan de Acuña	P2661	817
Piño	Antipara	Juan de Acuña	P2661	817
Piño	Aparador	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	858
Piño	Aparador	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1011v
Piño	Arca	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Piño	Arca	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1637
Piño	Arca	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	417v
Piño	Arca	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1318v
Piño	Arca	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1320
Piño	Arca	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1322
Piño	Arca	Ana Manrique	P2022	354v
Piño	Arca	Ana Manrique	P2022	354v
Piño	Arca	Ana Manrique	P2022	354v
Piño	Arca	Ana Manrique	P2022	355
Piño	Arca	Ana Manrique	P2022	355v
Piño	Arca	Ana Manrique	P2022	356v
Piño	Arca	Ana Manrique	P2022	356v
Piño	Arca	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	798
Piño	Arca	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	799
Piño	Arca	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	799
Piño	Arca	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	799
Piño	Arca	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Piño	Arca	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	858
Piño	Arca	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	858
Piño	Arca	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	858v
Piño	Arca	Antonio Perez	P989b	466
Piño	Arca	Antonio Perez	P989b	466
Piño	Arca	Antonio Perez	P989b	466v
Piño	Arca	Antonio Perez	P989b	467
Piño	Arca	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	520
Piño	Arca	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	520v
Piño	Arca	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	521
Piño	Arca	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	521
Piño	Arca	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	521v
Piño	Arca	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	521v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Piño	Arca	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1011v
Piño	Arca	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1011v
Piño	Arca	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1011v
Piño	Arca	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1765
Piño	Arca	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1765v
Piño	Arca	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1766v
Piño	Arca	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	949v
Piño	Arca	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	949v
Piño	Arca	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	950
Piño	Arca	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	59v
Piño	Arca	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	782
Piño	Arca	Juan de Acuña	P2661	893v
Piño	Arca	Juan de Acuña	P2661	894
Piño	Arca	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1067v
Piño	Arca	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1067v
Piño	Arca	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1068
Piño	Arca	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1068
Piño	Arca	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1068v
Piño	Arca	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1068v
Piño	Arca	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1068v
Piño	Arca	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1069
Piño	Arca	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1069
Piño	Arca	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1069v
Piño	Arca	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1069v
Piño	Arca	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1069v
Piño	Arca	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1505
Piño	Arca	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1507v
Piño	Arca	Juan de Mendoza y Castilla	P2298	326
Piño	Arca	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1379v
Piño	Arca	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	915
Piño	Arca	Juana de Mujita	P2021	84
Piño	Arca	Juana de Mujita	P2021	86
Piño	Arca	Juana de Mujita	P2021	86v
Piño	Arca	Juana de Mujita	P2021	87
Piño	Arca	Juana de Mujita	P2021	89v
Piño	Arca	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	212v
Piño	Arca	Maria Pereira	P989	233v
Piño	Arca	Martin de Padreda	P2323	413
Piño	Arca	Martin de Padreda	P2323	413
Piño	Arca	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviña	P2040b	637-[652]
Piño	Arca	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	186
Piño	Arca	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	186
Piño	Arca	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	186
Piño	Arca	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	187
Piño	Armario	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Piño	Armario	Juana de Mujita	P2021	82v
Piño	Armario	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	186
Piño	Asiento	Ana Manrique	P2022	358v
Piño	Atril	Juan de Acuña	P2661	850
Piño	Baculo	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1071v
Piño	Banco	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	876
Piño	Banco	Ana Manrique	P2022	358v
Piño	Banco	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	857v
Piño	Banco	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	858
Piño	Banco	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1011
Piño	Banco	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1764v
Piño	Banco	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	219v
Piño	Banco	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	219v
Piño	Banco	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	219v
Piño	Banco	Juan de Acuña	P2661	815v
Piño	Banco	Juan de Acuña	P2661	815v
Piño	Banco	Juan de Acuña	P2661	815v
Piño	Banco	Juan de Acuña	P2661	815v



Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Piño	Candelero	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	521
Piño	Cofre	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1322v
Piño	Contador	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1011v
Piño	Cruz	Juan de Acuña	P2661	821
Piño	Escalera	Ana Manrique	P2022	355v
Piño	Escalera	Ana Manrique	P2022	355v
Piño	Escritorio	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1297v
Piño	Escritorio	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Piño	Escritorio	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1754v
Piño	Escritorio	Juan de Acuña	P2661	800
Piño	Especjo	Juan de Acuña	P2661	818v
Piño	Estante	Juan de Acuña	P2661	816
Piño	Estante	Juan de Acuña	P2661	816
Piño	Estante	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1070
Piño	Estera	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Piño	Frasquera	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	418
Piño	Frasquera	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1070
Piño	Frasquera	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	916v
Piño	Jaula	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1652
Piño	Marco	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	222
Piño	Marco	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	222
Piño	Mesa	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1655
Piño	Mesa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1297
Piño	Mesa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1321v
Piño	Mesa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1322
Piño	Mesa	Ana Manrique	P2022	354
Piño	Mesa	Ana Manrique	P2022	354
Piño	Mesa	Ana Manrique	P2022	354
Piño	Mesa	Ana Manrique	P2022	355v
Piño	Mesa	Ana Manrique	P2022	356
Piño	Mesa	Ana Manrique	P2022	356v
Piño	Mesa	Ana Manrique	P2022	357v
Piño	Mesa	Ana Manrique	P2022	357v
Piño	Mesa	Ana Manrique	P2022	358v
Piño	Mesa	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Piño	Mesa	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	857v
Piño	Mesa	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	858
Piño	Mesa	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	858
Piño	Mesa	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	858
Piño	Mesa	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	520v
Piño	Mesa	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	521
Piño	Mesa	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1764v
Piño	Mesa	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	218v
Piño	Mesa	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	218v
Piño	Mesa	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	218v
Piño	Mesa	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	219
Piño	Mesa	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	219
Piño	Mesa	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	219
Piño	Mesa	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	219
Piño	Mesa	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	219
Piño	Mesa	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	219
Piño	Mesa	Juan de Acuña	P2661	812v
Piño	Mesa	Juan de Acuña	P2661	812v
Piño	Mesa	Juan de Acuña	P2661	813
Piño	Mesa	Juan de Acuña	P2661	813
Piño	Mesa	Juan de Acuña	P2661	813
Piño	Mesa	Juan de Acuña	P2661	813
Piño	Mesa	Juan de Acuña	P2661	813v
Piño	Mesa	Juan de Acuña	P2661	813v
Piño	Mesa	Juan de Acuña	P2661	813v
Piño	Mesa	Juan de Acuña	P2661	850
Piño	Mesa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1070v
Piño	Mesa	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	919
Piño	Mesa	Juana de Mujita	P2021	87v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Piño	Mesa	Juana de Mujita	P2021	87v
Piño	Mesa	Juana de Mujita	P2021	87v
Piño	Mesa	Juana de Mujita	P2021	87v
Piño	Mesa	Juana de Mujita	P2021	89
Piño	Mesa	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	219v
Piño	Mesa	Luis Enriquez	P3485	665v
Piño	Mesa	Luis Enriquez	P3485	665v
Piño	Mesa	Luis Enriquez	P3485	671
Piño	Mesa	Luis Enriquez	P3485	676v
Piño	Mesa	Maria de Aragón	P1578	168v
Piño	Mesa	Martin de Padreda	P2323	412v
Piño	Mesa	Martin de Padreda	P2323	412v
Piño	Mesa	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	187
Piño	Perfumador	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	916
Piño	Pieça	Ana Manrique	P2022	355v
Piño	Pieça	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	222
Piño	Pieça	Juan de Acuña	P2661	805v
Piño	Pieça	Juan de Acuña	P2661	850
Piño	Pieça	Juan de Acuña	P2661	850
Piño	Pieça	Juan de Acuña	P2661	850v
Piño	Piés [de mueble]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	813v
Piño	Piés [de mueble]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	814
Piño	Piés [de mueble]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	814
Piño	Piés para escritorio	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	797v
Piño	Ratonera	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1379
Piño	Reja	Juan de Acuña	P2661	848
Piño	Tarima	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	876
Piño	Tarima	Ana Manrique	P2022	357v
Piño	Tarima	Ana Manrique	P2022	357v
Piño	Tarima	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	521
Piño	Tarima	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	950v
Piño	Tarima	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	222
Pita	[material]	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	391
Pita	[material]	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	391v
Pita	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1343
Pita	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	391
Pita	[material]	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	67
Pita	[material]	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	27
Pita	[material]	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	908v
Pita	[material]	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	908v
Pita	[material]	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	909
Pita	[material]	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	909
Pita	[material]	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	207v
Pita	[material]	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	209
Pita	[material]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	668v
Pita	[material]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	671
Pita	Abanico	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	213
Pita	Almilla	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	389v
Pita	Almohada	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	789v
Pita	Almohada	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	790
Pita	Almohada	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	705v[sic]
Pita	Almohada	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	65v
Pita	Arca	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	540v
Pita	Caja	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1752v
Pita	Colcha	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	511
Pita	Colcha	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	526v
Pita	Colcha	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	179v
Pita	Cuello	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	874
Pita	Delantal	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	389
Pita	Devanadera	Luis Enriquez	P3485	669
Pita	Hilo	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	61v
Pita	Hilo	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	211
Pita	Jubon	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1315v
Pita	Lienzo	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	388v
Pita	Pabellon	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	526v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Pita	Peinador	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	389
Pita	Peinador	Martin de Padreda	P2323	409
Pita	Peinador	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	523
Pita	Picça	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	390v
Pita	Puntas	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	390v
Pita	Toalla	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1656v
Pita	Toalla	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	390v
Pita	Toalla	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1302v
Pita	Toalla	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	790
Pita	Toalla	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	855v
Pita	Toalla	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	706v
Plata	[material]	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1654v
Plata	[material]	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	404v
Plata	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1211[sic]
Plata	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1211[sic]
Plata	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1211[sic]
Plata	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1211[sic]
Plata	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1211v[sic]
Plata	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1312
Plata	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1347
Plata	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	368v
Plata	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	368v
Plata	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	368v
Plata	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	368v
Plata	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	380
Plata	[material]	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	500
Plata	[material]	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	500
Plata	[material]	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	500v
Plata	[material]	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	503
Plata	[material]	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1752v
Plata	[material]	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1754
Plata	[material]	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	956v
Plata	[material]	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	214
Plata	[material]	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	267
Plata	[material]	Hector Pinatelo	P2032	274v
Plata	[material]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	922v
Plata	[material]	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1363
Plata	[material]	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	207v
Plata	[material]	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	208v
Plata	[material]	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	217
Plata	[material]	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	217v
Plata	[material]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	673
Plata	[material]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	673
Plata	[material]	Maria de Aragón	P1578	159v
Plata	[material]	Maria de Aragón	P1578	162
Plata	[material]	Maria de Aragón	P1578	162
Plata	[material]	Maria de Aragón	P1578	162v
Plata	[material]	Maria de Aragón	P1578	163
Plata	[material]	Maria de Aragón	P1578	163v
Plata	[material]	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	193v
Plata	Açafate	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1654
Plata	Açafate	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	406
Plata	Açafate	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	425
Plata	Açafate	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1303v
Plata	Açafate	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1316v
Plata	Açafate	Ana Manrique	P2022	377
Plata	Açafate	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Açafate	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	852
Plata	Açafate	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1014
Plata	Açafate	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	64v
Plata	Açafate	Juan de Acuña	P2661	934
Plata	Açafate	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1476
Plata	Açafate	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1499v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Plata	Açafate	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1499v
Plata	Açafate	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	471
Plata	Açafate	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	908
Plata	Açafate	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	911
Plata	Açafate	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	911
Plata	Açafate	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	912
Plata	Açafate	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	912
Plata	Açafate	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	203
Plata	Açafate	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	203
Plata	Açafate	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	203v
Plata	Açafate	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	204
Plata	Açafate	Luis Enriquez	P3485	675v
Plata	Açafate	Maria de Aragón	P1578	157v
Plata	Açafate	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	539v
Plata	Açafate	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	545
Plata	Açafate	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1342
Plata	Açafate	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1342
Plata	Açafate	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	187v
Plata	Aceitera	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1302
Plata	Aceitera	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Aceitera	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Aceitera	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1474v
Plata	Aceitera	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1362v
Plata	Aceitera	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Plata	Aceitera	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	223v
Plata	Aceitera	Maria Pereira	P989	234
Plata	Aceitera	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviria	P2040b	637-[652]
Plata	Acicate	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	500v
Plata	Adaga	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	516
Plata	Adaga	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1468v
Plata	Adereço	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	779
Plata	Adereço	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	222
Plata	Aguamanil	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	776v
Plata	Aguamanil	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1751
Plata	Aguamanil	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	763v
Plata	Aguamanil	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	763v
Plata	Aguamanil	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1024v
Plata	Aguamanil	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1024v
Plata	Aguamanil	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1024v
Plata	Aguamanil	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1024v
Plata	Aguamanil	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1025
Plata	Aguamanil	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1341v
Plata	Aguamanil	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviria	P2040b	637-[652]
Plata	Almilla	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	384v
Plata	Almilla	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Plata	Almilla	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	504
Plata	Almilla	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	914v
Plata	Almilla	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	915
Plata	Almilla	Luis Enriquez	P3485	668
Plata	Almohada	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1300
Plata	Almohada	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1756
Plata	Almohada	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	913v
Plata	Almohada	Maria de Aragón	P1578	163
Plata	Almohada	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	187v
Plata	Almohada	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	187v
Plata	Almohada	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	188
Plata	Antojos	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	528v
Plata	Antojos	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	528v
Plata	Antojos	Luis Enriquez	P3485	658v
Plata	Arandela	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1343
Plata	Arandela	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1471
Plata	Arca	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	406
Plata	Arca	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	406v
Plata	Arca	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1307
Plata	Arca	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1345v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Plata	Arca	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Arca	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Arca	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	16v
Plata	Arca	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	27v
Plata	Arca	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	27v
Plata	Arca	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	29v
Plata	Arca	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	29v
Plata	Arca	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	32v
Plata	Arca	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	34v
Plata	Arca	Juan de Acuña	P2661	830v
Plata	Arca	Maria de Aragón	P1578	158
Plata	Arca	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	518
Plata	Arca	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	537v
Plata	Arca	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	538v
Plata	Arca	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	541
Plata	Arca	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	542
Plata	Arca	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	185v
Plata	Atril	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	203
Plata	Atril	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	532v
Plata	Atril	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	547v
Plata	Azucarero	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	872
Plata	Azucarero	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	409v
Plata	Azucarero	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1301v
Plata	Azucarero	Ana Manrique	P2022	377
Plata	Azucarero	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	779
Plata	Azucarero	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Azucarero	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Azucarero	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	850v
Plata	Azucarero	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	501
Plata	Azucarero	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	501
Plata	Azucarero	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1014
Plata	Azucarero	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1750
Plata	Azucarero	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	954v
Plata	Azucarero	Juan de Acuña	P2661	928v
Plata	Azucarero	Juan de Acuña	P2661	932v
Plata	Azucarero	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1032
Plata	Azucarero	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1362v
Plata	Azucarero	Juana de Mujita	P2021	84
Plata	Azucarero	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	223v
Plata	Azucarero	Maria de Aragón	P1578	157
Plata	Azucarero	Maria Pereira	P989	234
Plata	Azucarero	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	517
Plata	Azucarero	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviria	P2040b	637-[652]
Plata	Azucarero	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1155v
Plata	Bacia	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	872
Plata	Bacia	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1652
Plata	Bacia	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1652
Plata	Bacia	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	405v
Plata	Bacia	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	406
Plata	Bacia	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	406
Plata	Bacia	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1303
Plata	Bacia	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1303
Plata	Bacia	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1303v
Plata	Bacia	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1342v
Plata	Bacia	Ana Manrique	P2022	377v
Plata	Bacia	Ana Manrique	P2022	377v
Plata	Bacia	Ana Manrique	P2022	378v
Plata	Bacia	Ana Manrique	P2022	379v
Plata	Bacia	Ana Manrique	P2022	379v
Plata	Bacia	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	781
Plata	Bacia	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Bacia	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Bacia	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Bacia	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	851
Plata	Bacia	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	498

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Plata	Bacia	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1014
Plata	Bacia	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1750v
Plata	Bacia	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	264v
Plata	Bacia	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	63v
Plata	Bacia	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	63v
Plata	Bacia	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	763v
Plata	Bacia	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	763v
Plata	Bacia	Juan de Acuña	P2661	928
Plata	Bacia	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1038
Plata	Bacia	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1471v
Plata	Bacia	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1471v
Plata	Bacia	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1476v
Plata	Bacia	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1477
Plata	Bacia	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1363v
Plata	Bacia	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	471
Plata	Bacia	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	203
Plata	Bacia	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	223
Plata	Bacia	Maria de Aragón	P1578	157v
Plata	Bacia	Maria de Aragón	P1578	157v
Plata	Bacia	Martin de Padreda	P2323	397
Plata	Bacia	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	521v
Plata	Bacia	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	522
Plata	Bacia	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	522v
Plata	Bacia	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1341v
Plata	Baculo	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	499v
Plata	Banco	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	64
Plata	Banda	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1481
Plata	Banda	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	209v
Plata	Banda	Luis Enriquez	P3485	673
Plata	Bandeja	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	406
Plata	Bandeja	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	64v
Plata	Bandeja	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	15
Plata	Bandeja	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	15v
Plata	Bandeja	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	19
Plata	Bandeja	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	26
Plata	Bandeja	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	203v
Plata	Bandeja	Luis Enriquez	P3485	669
Plata	Bandeja	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	547
Plata	Basquiña	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1307v
Plata	Basquiña	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1307v
Plata	Basquiña	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1307v
Plata	Basquiña	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	784
Plata	Basquiña	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	784
Plata	Basquiña	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	784
Plata	Basquiña	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1499v
Plata	Bastidor	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1313v
Plata	Baúl	Luis Enriquez	P3485	667v
Plata	Baúl	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	541
Plata	Blandon	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	262
Plata	Blandon	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	30
Plata	Blandon	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	30v
Plata	Blandon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1504
Plata	Blandon	Luis Enriquez	P3485	669
Plata	Bola	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	67v
Plata	Bolsa	Ana Maria Dugarte de la Hermosa	P2654b	1011v
Plata	Bolsa	Ana Maria Dugarte de la Hermosa	P2654b	1012
Plata	Bolsa	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	495
Plata	Bolsa	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1753v
Plata	Bolsa	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	18v
Plata	Bolsa	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	25v
Plata	Bolsa	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1385
Plata	Bolsa	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Plata	Bolsa	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	201
Plata	Bolsa	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	210
Plata	Bolsa	Maria de Aragón	P1578	165

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Plata	Bolsa	Maria de Aragón	P1578	165
Plata	Bolsa	Maria de Aragón	P1578	165
Plata	Bolsa	Maria de Aragón	P1578	169
Plata	Bordado	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	194v
Plata	Bordado	Luis Enriquez	P3485	673
Plata	Borla	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	20v
Plata	Bota	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1654v
Plata	Bota	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1469v
Plata	Bota	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1363
Plata	Boton	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	406v
Plata	Boton	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1211v[sic]
Plata	Boton	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1348v
Plata	Boton	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	777
Plata	Brasero	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	871v
Plata	Brasero	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	407
Plata	Brasero	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	407v
Plata	Brasero	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1300v
Plata	Brasero	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1303
Plata	Brasero	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	781v
Plata	Brasero	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	781v
Plata	Brasero	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Brasero	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Brasero	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Brasero	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	852
Plata	Brasero	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	955
Plata	Brasero	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	956v
Plata	Brasero	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	262
Plata	Brasero	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	686v
Plata	Brasero	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	63v
Plata	Brasero	Juan de Acuña	P2661	925
Plata	Brasero	Juan de Acuña	P2661	931v
Plata	Brasero	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1022
Plata	Brasero	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1034v
Plata	Brasero	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1034v
Plata	Brasero	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1363v
Plata	Brasero	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	470
Plata	Brasero	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	907v
Plata	Brasero	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	203
Plata	Brasero	Maria de Aragón	P1578	157v
Plata	Brasero	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	524
Plata	Brasero	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	187v
Plata	Brinco	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1346v
Plata	Brinco	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1750v
Plata	Brinco	Maria Pereira	P989	237
Plata	Bufete	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	872
Plata	Bufete	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	372v
Plata	Bufete	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1297v
Plata	Bufete	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1303
Plata	Bufete	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	783v
Plata	Bufete	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	783v
Plata	Bufete	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	851v
Plata	Bufete	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	500v
Plata	Bufete	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	262
Plata	Bufete	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	686v
Plata	Bufete	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	50v
Plata	Bufete	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	16v
Plata	Bufete	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	30v
Plata	Bufete	Juan de Acuña	P2661	925
Plata	Bufete	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1022v
Plata	Bufete	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	491v
Plata	Bufete	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	910v
Plata	Bufete	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	219v
Plata	Bufete	Maria de Aragón	P1578	157v
Plata	Bufete	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	192v
Plata	Bugia	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Plata	Bugia	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Cadena	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1346v
Plata	Cadena	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	780
Plata	Cadena	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	780
Plata	Cadena	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	780
Plata	Cadena	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	854
Plata	Cadena	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	21
Plata	Cadena	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1480v
Plata	Caja	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1652v
Plata	Caja	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1654v
Plata	Caja	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	376
Plata	Caja	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	406v
Plata	Caja	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1303v
Plata	Caja	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1306v
Plata	Caja	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1306v
Plata	Caja	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1316
Plata	Caja	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1340
Plata	Caja	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1343v
Plata	Caja	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1347
Plata	Caja	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1347
Plata	Caja	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1347
Plata	Caja	Ana Manrique	P2022	378v
Plata	Caja	Ana Manrique	P2022	379v
Plata	Caja	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	782v
Plata	Caja	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	783v
Plata	Caja	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Caja	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Caja	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	852v
Plata	Caja	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	852v
Plata	Caja	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	853
Plata	Caja	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	499
Plata	Caja	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1751v
Plata	Caja	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1753
Plata	Caja	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1753
Plata	Caja	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1753v
Plata	Caja	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1754v
Plata	Caja	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	64v
Plata	Caja	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	67
Plata	Caja	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	67v
Plata	Caja	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	67v
Plata	Caja	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	15
Plata	Caja	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	261
Plata	Caja	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1041v
Plata	Caja	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1476v
Plata	Caja	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1487v
Plata	Caja	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1504
Plata	Caja	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1504
Plata	Caja	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1363
Plata	Caja	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	905v
Plata	Caja	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	905v
Plata	Caja	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	906
Plata	Caja	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	906v
Plata	Caja	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	908
Plata	Caja	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	911v
Plata	Caja	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	202v
Plata	Caja	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	202v
Plata	Caja	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	203v
Plata	Caja	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	204
Plata	Caja	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	204
Plata	Caja	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	204
Plata	Caja	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	204
Plata	Caja	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	211
Plata	Caja	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	222v
Plata	Caja	Luis Enriquez	P3485	673
Plata	Caja	Maria de Aragón	P1578	158v



Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Plata	Caja	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	522v
Plata	Caja	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	522v
Plata	Caja	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	523
Plata	Caja	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	523v
Plata	Caja	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	527v
Plata	Caja	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	537
Plata	Caja	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	539v
Plata	Caja	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1155v
Plata	Caja	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1156v
Plata	Calabaza	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	498
Plata	Calabaza	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	500v
Plata	Calabaza	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	258
Plata	Calabaza	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	267
Plata	Calabaza	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	271
Plata	Calabaza	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	271
Plata	Calabaza	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	203v
Plata	Calabaza	Luis Enriquez	P3485	676
Plata	Calças	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1497
Plata	Calçon	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	760
Plata	Calçon	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	761
Plata	Calçon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1456
Plata	Calçon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1456
Plata	Calçon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1456
Plata	Calçon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1456
Plata	Caldera	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	498v
Plata	Caldera	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	498v
Plata	Caldera	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	501v
Plata	Caldera	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1750v
Plata	Caldera	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	954v
Plata	Caldera	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	266
Plata	Caldera	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	64v
Plata	Caldera	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	16
Plata	Caldera	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	20
Plata	Caldera	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	763
Plata	Caldera	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1035
Plata	Caldera	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	523v
Plata	Caldera	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1155
Plata	Calentador	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1300v
Plata	Calentador	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Calentador	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	263v
Plata	Calentador	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	63v
Plata	Calentador	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1470v
Plata	Calentador	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	524
Plata	Cáiz	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1642v
Plata	Cáiz	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	410
Plata	Cáiz	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1296v
Plata	Cáiz	Ana Manrique	P2022	376
Plata	Cáiz	Ana Manrique	P2022	379
Plata	Cáiz	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Cáiz	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	499v
Plata	Cáiz	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	500
Plata	Cáiz	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	501
Plata	Cáiz	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1750v
Plata	Cáiz	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1750v
Plata	Cáiz	Juan de Acuña	P2661	926v
Plata	Cáiz	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	918
Plata	Cáiz	Juana de Mujita	P2021	85
Plata	Cáiz	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	203v
Plata	Cáiz	Maria de Aragón	P1578	161v
Plata	Cáiz	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	532v
Plata	Cáiz	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	183v
Plata	Cama [Mueble]	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1337v
Plata	Cama [Textil]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1291v
Plata	Cama [Textil]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1291v
Plata	Cama [Textil]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1292
Plata	Cama [Textil]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1292v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Plata	Cama [Textil]	Antonio Perez	P989b	466
Plata	Cama [Textil]	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	210
Plata	Cama [Textil]	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	688v
Plata	Cama [Textil]	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1160
Plata	Cama [Textil]	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1161
Plata	Campana	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1296v
Plata	Campana	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1314
Plata	Campana	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	783
Plata	Campana	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	849
Plata	Campana	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	500v
Plata	Campana	Felipe de Matiengo	P2026	1014
Plata	Campana	Juan de Acuña	P2661	861v
Plata	Campana	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1367v
Plata	Campana	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	203v
Plata	Campana	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1155v
Plata	Candado	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1346v
Plata	Candado	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1752v
Plata	Candado	Maria de Aragón	P1578	157v
Plata	Candado	Maria de Aragón	P1578	159v
Plata	Candelerero	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	872
Plata	Candelerero	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	872
Plata	Candelerero	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Plata	Candelerero	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1296v
Plata	Candelerero	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1302
Plata	Candelerero	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1302
Plata	Candelerero	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1302
Plata	Candelerero	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1303
Plata	Candelerero	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1303
Plata	Candelerero	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1347
Plata	Candelerero	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1347
Plata	Candelerero	Ana Manrique	P2022	376
Plata	Candelerero	Ana Manrique	P2022	377
Plata	Candelerero	Ana Manrique	P2022	378
Plata	Candelerero	Ana Manrique	P2022	378
Plata	Candelerero	Ana Manrique	P2022	378
Plata	Candelerero	Ana Manrique	P2022	378v
Plata	Candelerero	Ana Manrique	P2022	379
Plata	Candelerero	Ana Manrique	P2022	379v
Plata	Candelerero	Ana Maria Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1012v
Plata	Candelerero	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	780
Plata	Candelerero	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	783v
Plata	Candelerero	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	783v
Plata	Candelerero	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Candelerero	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Candelerero	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Candelerero	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	849v
Plata	Candelerero	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	852v
Plata	Candelerero	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	852v
Plata	Candelerero	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	852v
Plata	Candelerero	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	852v
Plata	Candelerero	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	853
Plata	Candelerero	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	498v
Plata	Candelerero	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	502
Plata	Candelerero	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	502
Plata	Candelerero	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	502v
Plata	Candelerero	Felipe de Matiengo	P2026	1014
Plata	Candelerero	Felipe de Matiengo	P2026	1014v
Plata	Candelerero	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1750
Plata	Candelerero	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1750
Plata	Candelerero	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1750
Plata	Candelerero	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1750v
Plata	Candelerero	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1750v
Plata	Candelerero	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	954v
Plata	Candelerero	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	954v
Plata	Candelerero	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	260v
Plata	Candelerero	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	264

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Plata	Candelero	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	264
Plata	Candelero	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	267
Plata	Candelero	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	63v
Plata	Candelero	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	63v
Plata	Candelero	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	64v
Plata	Candelero	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	67
Plata	Candelero	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	16
Plata	Candelero	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	16
Plata	Candelero	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	16
Plata	Candelero	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	16
Plata	Candelero	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	30
Plata	Candelero	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	30v
Plata	Candelero	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	30v
Plata	Candelero	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	275
Plata	Candelero	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	275
Plata	Candelero	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	763
Plata	Candelero	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	763
Plata	Candelero	Juan de Acuña	P2661	925v
Plata	Candelero	Juan de Acuña	P2661	927
Plata	Candelero	Juan de Acuña	P2661	927v
Plata	Candelero	Juan de Acuña	P2661	927v
Plata	Candelero	Juan de Acuña	P2661	927v
Plata	Candelero	Juan de Acuña	P2661	928
Plata	Candelero	Juan de Acuña	P2661	933
Plata	Candelero	Juan de Acuña	P2661	934v
Plata	Candelero	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1030
Plata	Candelero	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1030
Plata	Candelero	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1030v
Plata	Candelero	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1030v
Plata	Candelero	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1032v
Plata	Candelero	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1037v
Plata	Candelero	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1038
Plata	Candelero	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1471v
Plata	Candelero	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1475v
Plata	Candelero	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1475v
Plata	Candelero	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1363
Plata	Candelero	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1368
Plata	Candelero	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1368
Plata	Candelero	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	472v
Plata	Candelero	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	472v
Plata	Candelero	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	474
Plata	Candelero	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Plata	Candelero	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Plata	Candelero	Juana de Mujita	P2021	85
Plata	Candelero	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	203v
Plata	Candelero	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	222v
Plata	Candelero	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	222v
Plata	Candelero	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	223
Plata	Candelero	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	223
Plata	Candelero	Luis Enriquez	P3485	675v
Plata	Candelero	Maria de Aragón	P1578	157v
Plata	Candelero	Maria de Aragón	P1578	162
Plata	Candelero	Maria Pereira	P989	234v
Plata	Candelero	Martin de Padreda	P2323	397
Plata	Candelero	Martin de Padreda	P2323	397
Plata	Candelero	Martin de Padreda	P2323	410
Plata	Candelero	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	518
Plata	Candelero	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	518
Plata	Candelero	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	530
Plata	Candelero	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	530
Plata	Candelero	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	531
Plata	Candelero	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	532
Plata	Candelero	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	533v
Plata	Candelero	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviña	P2040b	637-[652]
Plata	Candelero	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviña	P2040b	637-[652]

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Plata	Candelero	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1156
Plata	Candil	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1342v
Plata	Candil	Ana Manrique	P2022	379
Plata	Candil	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	779v
Plata	Candil	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Candil	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	30v
Plata	Candil	Juan de Acuña	P2661	932
Plata	Candil	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1022v
Plata	Candil	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	226
Plata	Candil	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1343
Plata	Cañon	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1346v
Plata	Cañon	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	498
Plata	Cañon	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	499
Plata	Cañon	Maria de Aragón	P1578	157v
Plata	Cantaro	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	270v
Plata	Cantaro	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1022v
Plata	Cantaro	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1032v
Plata	Cantaro	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	912
Plata	Cantaro	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	203v
Plata	Cantaro	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	521v
Plata	Cantimplora	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1302
Plata	Cantimplora	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1303v
Plata	Cantimplora	Ana Manrique	P2022	378v
Plata	Cantimplora	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	852
Plata	Cantimplora	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	498v
Plata	Cantimplora	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1014
Plata	Cantimplora	Juan de Acuña	P2661	932
Plata	Cantimplora	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1475v
Plata	Cantimplora	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	471v
Plata	Cantimplora	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	471v
Plata	Cantimplora	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	222v
Plata	Cantimplora	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	223
Plata	Cantimplora	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	521v
Plata	Cantimplora	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1156
Plata	Capa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1309v
Plata	Capa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1309v
Plata	Capa	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1462v
Plata	Caracola	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	954v
Plata	Caracola	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1474
Plata	Casco	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1347
Plata	Casula	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	393v
Plata	Casula	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1502
Plata	Casula	Maria de Aragón	P1578	161v
Plata	Cazo	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1347
Plata	Cazo	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1347v
Plata	Cazo	Ana Manrique	P2022	377
Plata	Cazo	Ana Manrique	P2022	377v
Plata	Cazo	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Cazo	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Cazo	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Cazo	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1750v
Plata	Cazo	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1753
Plata	Cazo	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	64
Plata	Cazo	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	64
Plata	Cazo	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	64v
Plata	Cazo	Juan de Acuña	P2661	931v
Plata	Cazo	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1032
Plata	Cazo	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1036v
Plata	Cesta	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1303v
Plata	Cesta	Ana Manrique	P2022	368
Plata	Cesta	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1752v
Plata	Cesta	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1753v
Plata	Cesta	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	20
Plata	Cesta	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	29
Plata	Cesta	Juan de Acuña	P2661	926v
Plata	Cesta	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1477

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Plata	Cesta	Luis Enriquez	P3485	669
Plata	Cesta	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	541v
Plata	Chiflo	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	500v
Plata	Cinta	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1313
Plata	Cinta	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1316
Plata	Cinta	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	208
Plata	Cinta	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	208
Plata	Cinta	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	208v
Plata	Cinta	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	208v
Plata	Cinta	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	208v
Plata	Cinta	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	208v
Plata	Cinto	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1304v
Plata	Cinto	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1479
Plata	Cinto	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1343v
Plata	Coco	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1319v
Plata	Coco	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	501v
Plata	Coco	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1015
Plata	Coco	Fernando Carrillo	P2031	1026
Plata	Coco	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	15
Plata	Coco	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	33
Plata	Coco	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1341v
Plata	Coco	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	187v
Plata	Cofre	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	781v
Plata	Cofre	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Cofre	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1753
Plata	Cofre	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	955v
Plata	Cofre	Juan de Acuña	P2661	830
Plata	Cofre	Juan de Acuña	P2661	918
Plata	Cofre	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	475
Plata	Cofre	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	209
Plata	Cofre	Martin de Padreda	P2323	410
Plata	Cofre	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	520
Plata	Cofre	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	537v
Plata	Cofre	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	538v
Plata	Cofre	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	193v
Plata	Colcha	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	957
Plata	Coletto	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	525v
Plata	Colgadura	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	209v
Plata	Colgadura	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	215v
Plata	Colgadura	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	217
Plata	Colgadura	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1160
Plata	Confitera	Ana Manrique	P2022	378
Plata	Confitera	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	502
Plata	Confitera	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	763v
Plata	Confitera	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1033
Plata	Confitera	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1037
Plata	Confitera	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	222v
Plata	Confitera	Martin de Padreda	P2323	410
Plata	Confitera	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1342v
Plata	Confitera	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1156
Plata	Contador	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	18
Plata	Contador	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	541v
Plata	Copa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1301
Plata	Copa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1301
Plata	Copa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1301
Plata	Copa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1301
Plata	Copa	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	498
Plata	Copa	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	498v
Plata	Copa	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	498v
Plata	Copa	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	498v
Plata	Copa	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	500v
Plata	Copa	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	500v
Plata	Copa	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	500v
Plata	Copa	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	500v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Plata	Copa	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	500v
Plata	Copa	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	500v
Plata	Copa	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	500v
Plata	Copa	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	501v
Plata	Copa	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	501v
Plata	Copa	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1750v
Plata	Copa	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1751
Plata	Copa	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	258
Plata	Copa	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	267
Plata	Copa	Juan de Acuña	P2661	929
Plata	Copa	Juan de Acuña	P2661	933v
Plata	Copa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1025
Plata	Copa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1025v
Plata	Copa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1025v
Plata	Copa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1025v
Plata	Copa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1025v
Plata	Copa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1025v
Plata	Copa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1025v
Plata	Copa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1025v
Plata	Copa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1025v
Plata	Copa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1025v
Plata	Copa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1025v
Plata	Copa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1026
Plata	Copa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1026v
Plata	Copa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1026v
Plata	Copa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1026v
Plata	Copa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1026v
Plata	Copa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1026v
Plata	Copa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1026v
Plata	Copa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1026v
Plata	Copa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1026v
Plata	Copa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1026v
Plata	Copa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1027
Plata	Copa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1027
Plata	Copa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1027
Plata	Copa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1027
Plata	Copa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1027v
Plata	Copa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1027v
Plata	Copa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1027v
Plata	Copa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1027v
Plata	Copa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1027v
Plata	Copa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1027v
Plata	Copa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1028
Plata	Copa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1028
Plata	Copa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1028
Plata	Copa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1028v
Plata	Copa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1029
Plata	Copa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1029
Plata	Copa	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1471
Plata	Copa	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1363
Plata	Copa	Luis Enriquez	P3485	676
Plata	Copa	Maria de Aragón	P1578	157v
Plata	Copa	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	521v
Plata	Copa	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	524
Plata	Copa	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1155
Plata	Cordon	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	405v
Plata	Cordon	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	777
Plata	Cordon	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	777
Plata	Cordon	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	15v
Plata	Cordon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1482v
Plata	Cordon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1482v
Plata	Cordon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1482v
Plata	Cordon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1483
Plata	Cordon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1483
Plata	Cordon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1483
Plata	Corneta	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1346v
Plata	Corneta	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	500
Plata	Corneta	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	500
Plata	Cortina	Ana Manrique	P2022	367
Plata	Cortina	Antonio Perez	P989b	471
Plata	Cortina	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	183v
Plata	Cruz	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1296v
Plata	Cruz	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1306v
Plata	Cruz	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	781
Plata	Cruz	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	249v

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Plata	Cruz	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	264
Plata	Cruz	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	67
Plata	Cruz	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	16
Plata	Cruz	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	16v
Plata	Cruz	Juan de Acuña	P2661	930v
Plata	Cruz	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1502v
Plata	Cruz	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1365v
Plata	Cruz	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1367v
Plata	Cruz	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	906
Plata	Cruz	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	917v
Plata	Cruz	Luis Enriquez	P3485	672v
Plata	Cruz	Maria de Aragón	P1578	159
Plata	Cruz	Maria de Aragón	P1578	159v
Plata	Cruz	Maria Pereira	P989	234v
Plata	Cruz	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	532v
Plata	Cuba	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1653
Plata	Cuba	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	496v
Plata	Cuchara	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	872
Plata	Cuchara	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Plata	Cuchara	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	407
Plata	Cuchara	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1301v
Plata	Cuchara	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1301v
Plata	Cuchara	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1301v
Plata	Cuchara	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1301v
Plata	Cuchara	Ana Manrique	P2022	376v
Plata	Cuchara	Ana Manrique	P2022	376v
Plata	Cuchara	Ana Manrique	P2022	376v
Plata	Cuchara	Ana Manrique	P2022	378
Plata	Cuchara	Ana Maria Dugarte de la Hermosa	P2654b	1010
Plata	Cuchara	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Cuchara	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Cuchara	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Cuchara	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	849
Plata	Cuchara	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	500
Plata	Cuchara	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	502
Plata	Cuchara	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	502
Plata	Cuchara	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1014v
Plata	Cuchara	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1750
Plata	Cuchara	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1751
Plata	Cuchara	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	955
Plata	Cuchara	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	687
Plata	Cuchara	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	64v
Plata	Cuchara	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	31v
Plata	Cuchara	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	764
Plata	Cuchara	Juan de Acuña	P2661	933v
Plata	Cuchara	Juan de Acuña	P2661	934v
Plata	Cuchara	Juan de Acuña	P2661	934v
Plata	Cuchara	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1521v
Plata	Cuchara	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1522
Plata	Cuchara	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1522
Plata	Cuchara	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1363
Plata	Cuchara	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1363
Plata	Cuchara	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1363
Plata	Cuchara	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	472v
Plata	Cuchara	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	473
Plata	Cuchara	Juana de Mujita	P2021	84
Plata	Cuchara	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	222v
Plata	Cuchara	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	222v
Plata	Cuchara	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	223v
Plata	Cuchara	Maria de Aragón	P1578	157
Plata	Cuchara	Maria Pereira	P989	234
Plata	Cuchara	Maria Pereira	P989	234
Plata	Cuchara	Maria Pereira	P989	234
Plata	Cuchara	Martin de Padreda	P2323	397v
Plata	Cuchara	Martin de Padreda	P2323	397v
Plata	Cuchara	Martin de Padreda	P2323	398

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Plata	Cuchara	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	518
Plata	Cuchara	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	521v
Plata	Cuchara	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1343
Plata	Cuchara	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviria	P2040b	637-[652]
Plata	Cuchara	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1155v
Plata	Cuchara	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	188
Plata	Cuchara	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	193v
Plata	Cuchara	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	194
Plata	Cucharon	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	849v
Plata	Cucharon	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	955
Plata	Cucharon	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	263
Plata	Cucharon	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	266
Plata	Cucharon	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	31v
Plata	Cucharon	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1038
Plata	Cucharon	Martin de Padreda	P2323	397v
Plata	Cucharon	Martin de Padreda	P2323	397v
Plata	Cucharon	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviria	P2040b	637-[652]
Plata	Cuchillo	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	407
Plata	Cuchillo	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Cuchillo	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	515v
Plata	Cuchillo	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	516
Plata	Cuchillo	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	516
Plata	Cuchillo	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	516
Plata	Cuchillo	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	516
Plata	Cuchillo	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	516
Plata	Cuchillo	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	516
Plata	Cuchillo	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	516
Plata	Cuchillo	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	517
Plata	Cuchillo	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	517
Plata	Cuchillo	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	517
Plata	Cuchillo	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	517
Plata	Cuchillo	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	517
Plata	Cuchillo	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	258
Plata	Cuchillo	Juan de Acuña	P2661	915v
Plata	Cuchillo	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1522
Plata	Cuchillo	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	222
Plata	Cuchillo	Luis Enriquez	P3485	669
Plata	Cuchillo	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	518v
Plata	Cuchillo	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	518v
Plata	Cuchillo	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1343v
Plata	Cuchillo	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1156v
Plata	Cuera	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1461v
Plata	Cuna	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1476
Plata	Dedal	Ana Maria Dugarte de la Hermosa	P2654b	1012
Plata	Dedal	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	28
Plata	Dedal	Maria de Aragón	P1578	157v
Plata	Dedal	Maria Pereira	P989	234v
Plata	Delantal	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1309v
Plata	Diadema	Ana Manrique	P2022	367v
Plata	Diadema	Ana Manrique	P2022	368
Plata	Diadema	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1368
Plata	Dossel	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1292
Plata	Dossel	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	216
Plata	Enfriadera	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	262
Plata	Enfriadera	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	266
Plata	Envase	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1041
Plata	Escalfador	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Escalfador	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1471v
Plata	Escritorio	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1636v
Plata	Escritorio	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	374
Plata	Escritorio	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Escritorio	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Escritorio	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	855v
Plata	Escritorio	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	61v
Plata	Escritorio	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	61v
Plata	Escritorio	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	66v
Plata	Escritorio	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	17v
Plata	Escritorio	Juan de Acuña	P2661	798v
Plata	Escritorio	Juan de Acuña	P2661	830v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Plata	Escritorio	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1060v
Plata	Escritorio	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1061v
Plata	Escritorio	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	910v
Plata	Escritorio	Luis Enriquez	P3485	668
Plata	Escritorio	Maria de Aragón	P1578	157v
Plata	Escritorio	Maria de Aragón	P1578	158
Plata	Escritorio	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	539
Plata	Escritorio	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1344
Plata	Escritorio	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	185
Plata	Escrivania	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	20
Plata	Escrivania	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	539
Plata	Escrivania	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	541
Plata	Escrivania	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1156v
Plata	Escrivania	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	185v
Plata	Escudilla	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1653
Plata	Escudilla	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	425
Plata	Escudilla	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1301v
Plata	Escudilla	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1303v
Plata	Escudilla	Ana Manrique	P2022	376v
Plata	Escudilla	Ana Manrique	P2022	377
Plata	Escudilla	Ana Manrique	P2022	379v
Plata	Escudilla	Ana Manrique	P2022	380
Plata	Escudilla	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	778v
Plata	Escudilla	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Escudilla	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	849
Plata	Escudilla	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	497v
Plata	Escudilla	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	502
Plata	Escudilla	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	502
Plata	Escudilla	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	502
Plata	Escudilla	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1014v
Plata	Escudilla	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	263v
Plata	Escudilla	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	266v
Plata	Escudilla	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	267v
Plata	Escudilla	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	64
Plata	Escudilla	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	64
Plata	Escudilla	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	64v
Plata	Escudilla	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	15
Plata	Escudilla	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	31
Plata	Escudilla	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	764
Plata	Escudilla	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	764
Plata	Escudilla	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	764
Plata	Escudilla	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	472
Plata	Escudilla	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Plata	Escudilla	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	908
Plata	Escudilla	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	911
Plata	Escudilla	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	222v
Plata	Escudilla	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	222v
Plata	Escudilla	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	223v
Plata	Escudilla	Maria de Aragón	P1578	157
Plata	Escudilla	Maria de Aragón	P1578	157
Plata	Escudilla	Maria Pereira	P989	234
Plata	Escudilla	Martin de Padreda	P2323	397
Plata	Escudilla	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	521v
Plata	Escudilla	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	523
Plata	Escudilla	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1343
Plata	Escudilla	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1156
Plata	Escultura	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	779
Plata	Escultura	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	499v
Plata	Escultura	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	20
Plata	Escultura	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	20
Plata	Escultura	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	764
Plata	Escultura	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1036v
Plata	Escultura	Maria de Aragón	P1578	158
Plata	Escultura	Matco de Carranza	P2679a	518v
Plata	Escultura	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviña	P2040b	637-[652]

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Plata	Escultura	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviña	P2040b	637-[652]
Plata	Escupidero	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	872
Plata	Escupidero	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	404v
Plata	Escupidero	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1303
Plata	Escupidero	Ana Manrique	P2022	379v
Plata	Escupidero	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Escupidero	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1750v
Plata	Escupidero	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	63v
Plata	Escupidero	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	764v
Plata	Escupidero	Juan de Acuña	P2661	925v
Plata	Escupidero	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1036v
Plata	Escupidero	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1476v
Plata	Escupidero	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	911
Plata	Escupidero	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	203
Plata	Escupidero	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	522v
Plata	Esfera	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1156
Plata	Espatula	Ana Manrique	P2022	377
Plata	Espatula	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Espatula	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	64v
Plata	Espejo	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	797
Plata	Espejo	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	222v
Plata	Espejo	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	207v
Plata	Espumadera	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	502
Plata	Estribo	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	525
Plata	Estufilla	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	849v
Plata	Estufilla	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	913
Plata	Faldellin	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	873
Plata	Forol	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1038v
Plata	Ferrezuelo	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	761
Plata	Ferrezuelo	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	761
Plata	Ferrezuelo	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1463v
Plata	Ferrezuelo	Maria de Aragón	P1578	169
Plata	Ferrezuelo	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	192v
Plata	Forro	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1317
Plata	Forro	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	758v
Plata	Frasco	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1654
Plata	Frasco	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	406v
Plata	Frasco	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1302
Plata	Frasco	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1302
Plata	Frasco	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1304
Plata	Frasco	Ana Manrique	P2022	377v
Plata	Frasco	Ana Manrique	P2022	377v
Plata	Frasco	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Frasco	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Frasco	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	498v
Plata	Frasco	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	499
Plata	Frasco	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	499v
Plata	Frasco	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	499v
Plata	Frasco	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	501
Plata	Frasco	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	502
Plata	Frasco	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	955
Plata	Frasco	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	258
Plata	Frasco	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	265v
Plata	Frasco	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	267v
Plata	Frasco	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	67v
Plata	Frasco	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	16
Plata	Frasco	Juan de Acuña	P2661	930
Plata	Frasco	Juan de Acuña	P2661	930
Plata	Frasco	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1025
Plata	Frasco	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1040
Plata	Frasco	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1476
Plata	Frasco	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	912
Plata	Frasco	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	203v
Plata	Frasco	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	223
Plata	Frasco	Luis Enriquez	P3485	669

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Plata	Frasco	Martin de Padreda	P2323	396v
Plata	Frasco	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	523
Plata	Frasco	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	544v
Plata	Frasco	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1342
Plata	Frasco	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	195
Plata	Frasco	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	195v
Plata	Frasquera	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	405v
Plata	Frasquera	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	522
Plata	Frontal	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	393v
Plata	Frontal	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1211v[sic]
Plata	Frontal	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Frontal	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Frontal	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	214
Plata	Frontal	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1501
Plata	Frontal	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	194v
Plata	Frontal	Maria de Aragón	P1578	162v
Plata	Frontal	Maria de Aragón	P1578	163v
Plata	Frontal	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	531v
Plata	Frontal	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	532
Plata	Frutero	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1750v
Plata	Frutero	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	16
Plata	Frutero	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	34v
Plata	Frutero	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	34v
Plata	Frutero	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	34v
Plata	Frutero	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	35
Plata	Frutero	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	35
Plata	Frutero	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1511
Plata	Frutero	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	913v
Plata	Frutero	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	916v
Plata	Frutero	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	223
Plata	Frutero	Martin de Padreda	P2323	397v
Plata	Fuente	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	872
Plata	Fuente	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Plata	Fuente	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1652v
Plata	Fuente	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	425
Plata	Fuente	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1301
Plata	Fuente	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1301
Plata	Fuente	Ana Manrique	P2022	378
Plata	Fuente	Ana Manrique	P2022	378
Plata	Fuente	Ana Manrique	P2022	380
Plata	Fuente	Ana Manrique	P2022	380
Plata	Fuente	Ana Maria Duggarte de la Hemossa	P2654b	1010v
Plata	Fuente	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	778
Plata	Fuente	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Fuente	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Fuente	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	851
Plata	Fuente	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	851
Plata	Fuente	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	852
Plata	Fuente	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	852
Plata	Fuente	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	498
Plata	Fuente	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	501
Plata	Fuente	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	501
Plata	Fuente	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	502
Plata	Fuente	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1014
Plata	Fuente	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1014v
Plata	Fuente	Fernando Carrillo	P2031	1027
Plata	Fuente	Fernando Carrillo	P2031	1027
Plata	Fuente	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1750
Plata	Fuente	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	265
Plata	Fuente	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	265
Plata	Fuente	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	683v
Plata	Fuente	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	64
Plata	Fuente	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	64v
Plata	Fuente	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	763
Plata	Fuente	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	763
Plata	Fuente	Juan de Acuña	P2661	926

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Plata	Fuente	Juan de Acuña	P2661	926
Plata	Fuente	Juan de Acuña	P2661	927
Plata	Fuente	Juan de Acuña	P2661	927
Plata	Fuente	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1024
Plata	Fuente	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1024
Plata	Fuente	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1024
Plata	Fuente	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1024
Plata	Fuente	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1034
Plata	Fuente	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1474
Plata	Fuente	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1474
Plata	Fuente	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1474v
Plata	Fuente	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	470
Plata	Fuente	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	470
Plata	Fuente	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	470v
Plata	Fuente	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	470v
Plata	Fuente	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	911
Plata	Fuente	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	222v
Plata	Fuente	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	222v
Plata	Fuente	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	223
Plata	Fuente	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	223v
Plata	Fuente	Luis Enriquez	P3485	676
Plata	Fuente	Maria de Aragón	P1578	157
Plata	Fuente	Maria Pereira	P989	234v
Plata	Fuente	Martin de Padreda	P2323	396
Plata	Fuente	Martin de Padreda	P2323	396
Plata	Fuente	Martin de Padreda	P2323	396
Plata	Fuente	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	517
Plata	Fuente	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	517
Plata	Fuente	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	521v
Plata	Fuente	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	532v
Plata	Fuente	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1341v
Plata	Fuente	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviña	P2040b	637-[652]
Plata	Fuente	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviña	P2040b	637-[652]
Plata	Fuente	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviña	P2040b	637-[652]
Plata	Fuente	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	195v
Plata	Gaban	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	525
Plata	Garrafa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1301
Plata	Garrafa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1301
Plata	Garrafa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1301v
Plata	Garrafa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1303v
Plata	Garrafa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1303v
Plata	Garrafa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1303v
Plata	Garrafa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1346v
Plata	Garrafa	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Garrafa	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Garrafa	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	259v
Plata	Garrafa	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	64
Plata	Garrafa	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	64v
Plata	Garrafa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1025
Plata	Garrafa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1025
Plata	Garrafa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1036v
Plata	Garrafa	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1470v
Plata	Garrafa	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1470v
Plata	Garrafa	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1487
Plata	Garrafa	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	906v
Plata	Garrafa	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	912
Plata	Garrafa	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	912
Plata	Garrafa	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	203v
Plata	Garrafa	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	222v
Plata	Gorra	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	498v
Plata	Imagen	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1346
Plata	Imagen	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1346v
Plata	Imagen	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1347
Plata	Imagen	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	782v
Plata	Imagen	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	782v
Plata	Imagen	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	783

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Plata	Imagen	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	795
Plata	Imagen	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	852v
Plata	Imagen	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	854
Plata	Imagen	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	499
Plata	Imagen	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	500
Plata	Imagen	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1750v
Plata	Imagen	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1750v
Plata	Imagen	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1751
Plata	Imagen	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1751v
Plata	Imagen	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1761
Plata	Imagen	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1761
Plata	Imagen	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	948v
Plata	Imagen	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	224v
Plata	Imagen	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	224v
Plata	Imagen	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	19
Plata	Imagen	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	19
Plata	Imagen	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	19
Plata	Imagen	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	19
Plata	Imagen	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	19
Plata	Imagen	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	19v
Plata	Imagen	Juan de Acuña	P2661	821v
Plata	Imagen	Juan de Acuña	P2661	821v
Plata	Imagen	Juan de Acuña	P2661	821v
Plata	Imagen	Juan de Acuña	P2661	831
Plata	Imagen	Juan de Acuña	P2661	831
Plata	Imagen	Juan de Acuña	P2661	931
Plata	Imagen	Juan de Acuña	P2661	932v
Plata	Imagen	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1450v
Plata	Imagen	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Plata	Imagen	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	906
Plata	Imagen	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	913
Plata	Imagen	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	915v
Plata	Imagen	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	917v
Plata	Imagen	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	210
Plata	Imagen	Luis Enriquez	P3485	669
Plata	Imagen	Luis Enriquez	P3485	671v
Plata	Imagen	Maria de Aragón	P1578	158v
Plata	Imagen	Maria de Aragón	P1578	159v
Plata	Imagen	Martin de Padreda	P2323	399v
Plata	Imagen	Martin de Padreda	P2323	399v
Plata	Imagen	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	529v
Plata	Imagen	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	531
Plata	Imagen	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	531
Plata	Imagen	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	533v
Plata	Imagen	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	533v
Plata	Imagen	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	533v
Plata	Imagen	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	533v
Plata	Imagen	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	533v
Plata	Imagen	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	534
Plata	Imagen	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	535v
Plata	Imagen	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviria	P2040b	637-[652]
Plata	Imagen	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviria	P2040b	637-[652]
Plata	Imagen	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	181v
Plata	Imagen	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	181v
Plata	Imagen	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	181v
Plata	Imagen	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	183
Plata	Imagen	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	183
Plata	Imagen	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	183
Plata	Imagen	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	188
Plata	Incensario	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	30v
Plata	Incensario	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1034v
Plata	Jarro	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	872
Plata	Jarro	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Plata	Jarro	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	410
Plata	Jarro	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1301
Plata	Jarro	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1303
Plata	Jarro	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1303
Plata	Jarro	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1303
Plata	Jarro	Ana Manrique	P2022	376v
Plata	Jarro	Ana Manrique	P2022	377
Plata	Jarro	Ana Manrique	P2022	377v
Plata	Jarro	Ana Manrique	P2022	377v
Plata	Jarro	Ana Manrique	P2022	378
Plata	Jarro	Ana Manrique	P2022	379
Plata	Jarro	Ana Manrique	P2022	380
Plata	Jarro	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermosa	P2654b	1010v
Plata	Jarro	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermosa	P2654b	1016v
Plata	Jarro	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	779
Plata	Jarro	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	779
Plata	Jarro	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Jarro	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Jarro	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Jarro	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	849
Plata	Jarro	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	853
Plata	Jarro	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	498
Plata	Jarro	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	498
Plata	Jarro	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	501
Plata	Jarro	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	501
Plata	Jarro	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	501
Plata	Jarro	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	502
Plata	Jarro	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1014v
Plata	Jarro	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1015
Plata	Jarro	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1750
Plata	Jarro	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	954v
Plata	Jarro	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	955
Plata	Jarro	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	267v
Plata	Jarro	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	63v
Plata	Jarro	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	31
Plata	Jarro	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	763v
Plata	Jarro	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1033
Plata	Jarro	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1474
Plata	Jarro	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	472
Plata	Jarro	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	472
Plata	Jarro	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	472
Plata	Jarro	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	472
Plata	Jarro	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	911
Plata	Jarro	Juana de Mujita	P2021	84
Plata	Jarro	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	222v
Plata	Jarro	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	222v
Plata	Jarro	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	223
Plata	Jarro	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	223v
Plata	Jarro	Maria de Aragón	P1578	157
Plata	Jarro	Maria Pereira	P989	234
Plata	Jarro	Maria Pereira	P989	234
Plata	Jarro	Martin de Padreda	P2323	396v
Plata	Jarro	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	517
Plata	Jarro	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	517v
Plata	Jarro	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	523
Plata	Jarro	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	523
Plata	Jarro	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	532
Plata	Jarro	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1342
Plata	Jarro	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviria	P2040b	637-[652]
Plata	Jarro	Rodrigo Vazquez Arce	P932	1156
Plata	Joya	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	499v
Plata	Joya	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	499v
Plata	Joya	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	502v
Plata	Joya	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	15
Plata	Joya	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	16v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Plata	Joya	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	187v
Plata	Jubon	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	398
Plata	Jubon	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1309v
Plata	Jubon	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1310
Plata	Jubon	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1211[sic]
Plata	Jubon	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1015v
Plata	Jubon	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	760
Plata	Jubon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1456v
Plata	Jubon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1456v
Plata	Jubon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1459
Plata	Jubon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1499
Plata	Jubon	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1370
Plata	Lámina	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	521v
Plata	Lámina	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	521v
Plata	Libro	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1314
Plata	Libro	Antonio Perez	P989b	469
Plata	Libro	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1752v
Plata	Libro	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	16v
Plata	Libro	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1372
Plata	Libro	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	195
Plata	Lienzo	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1316
Plata	Ligas	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1648
Plata	Ligas	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	792v
Plata	Ligas	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	792v
Plata	Llavero	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1014
Plata	Llavero	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	783v
Plata	Llavero	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	852v
Plata	Mangas	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1310
Plata	Mangas	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1313
Plata	Mangas	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	497
Plata	Mangas	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	188v
Plata	Mantel	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1310v
Plata	Mantel	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1310v
Plata	Mantel	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1371v
Plata	Medalla	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	499
Plata	Medalla	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	905v
Plata	Mesa	Antonio Perez	P989b	471v
Plata	Mesa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1038
Plata	Mesa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1059
Plata	Mesa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1059
Plata	Moneda	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	683
Plata	Moneda	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	15
Plata	Mortero	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	64v
Plata	Mortero	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	18
Plata	Mortero	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	203v
Plata	Mortero	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	523v
Plata	Mosqueador	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	502
Plata	Mosqueador	Juan de Acuña	P2661	819
Plata	Mosqueador	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1363v
Plata	Naveta	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1035
Plata	Olla	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1653
Plata	Olla	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	405v
Plata	Olla	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	408
Plata	Olla	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	409
Plata	Olla	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1302
Plata	Olla	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1303
Plata	Olla	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1303
Plata	Olla	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1303v
Plata	Olla	Ana Manrique	P2022	380
Plata	Olla	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Olla	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Olla	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	498v
Plata	Olla	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	267
Plata	Olla	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	267
Plata	Olla	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	267
Plata	Olla	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	64

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Plata	Olla	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	64
Plata	Olla	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	20
Plata	Olla	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	31
Plata	Olla	Juan de Acuña	P2661	932
Plata	Olla	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1037v
Plata	Olla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1471
Plata	Olla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1471v
Plata	Olla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1471v
Plata	Olla	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1363
Plata	Olla	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	912
Plata	Olla	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	912
Plata	Olla	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	203v
Plata	Olla	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	223
Plata	Olla	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	517
Plata	Olla	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	522v
Plata	Olla	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	523
Plata	Olla	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	523
Plata	Olla	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	523
Plata	Olla	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1342
Plata	Oratório	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	31
Plata	Orinal	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1038
Plata	Ostiaro	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1296v
Plata	Ostiaro	Ana Manrique	P2022	376
Plata	Ostiaro	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	223
Plata	Ostiaro	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	532
Plata	Ostiaro	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	541
Plata	Ostiaro	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	183v
Plata	Pabellon	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	278v
Plata	Paña	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	692
Plata	Palillero	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1038v
Plata	Palmatoria	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	872
Plata	Palmatoria	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	405
Plata	Palmatoria	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1303
Plata	Palmatoria	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1315
Plata	Palmatoria	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1347
Plata	Palmatoria	Ana Manrique	P2022	368
Plata	Palmatoria	Ana Manrique	P2022	377
Plata	Palmatoria	Ana Manrique	P2022	379
Plata	Palmatoria	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	780
Plata	Palmatoria	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Palmatoria	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	20
Plata	Palmatoria	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1038
Plata	Palmatoria	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1475v
Plata	Palmatoria	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1476
Plata	Palmatoria	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1367v
Plata	Palmatoria	Juana de Mujita	P2021	85
Plata	Palmatoria	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	203
Plata	Palmatoria	Maria Pereira	P989	234v
Plata	Palmatoria	Martin de Padreda	P2323	397v
Plata	Paño	Ana Manrique	P2022	373
Plata	Paño	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Paño	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1758v
Plata	Paño	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	767v
Plata	Paño	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	914v
Plata	Paño	Maria de Aragón	P1578	169v
Plata	Papelina	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1471v
Plata	Papelina	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviria	P2040b	637-[652]
Plata	Pasamanos	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1211v[sic]
Plata	Pasamanos	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1312v
Plata	Pasamanos	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	194v
Plata	Pasamanos	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	209
Plata	Pasamanos	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	209v
Plata	Pasamanos	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	210v
Plata	Pasamanos	Maria de Aragón	P1578	171v
Plata	Patena	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1296v
Plata	Patena	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v



Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Plata	Patena	Luis Enriquez	P3485	666
Plata	Paz	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	499
Plata	Peine	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1347
Plata	Perfumador	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	404v
Plata	Perfumador	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1303
Plata	Perfumador	Ana Manrique	P2022	377
Plata	Perfumador	Ana Manrique	P2022	380
Plata	Perfumador	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Perfumador	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Perfumador	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Perfumador	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Perfumador	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	498v
Plata	Perfumador	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	64
Plata	Perfumador	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	64v
Plata	Perfumador	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1034
Plata	Perfumador	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1034
Plata	Perfumador	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1034v
Plata	Perfumador	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1363v
Plata	Perfumador	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	472
Plata	Perfumador	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	524
Plata	Pieça	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	872
Plata	Pieça	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1652v
Plata	Pieça	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	406v
Plata	Pieça	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	406v
Plata	Pieça	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1302
Plata	Pieça	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1302
Plata	Pieça	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1303v
Plata	Pieça	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1312
Plata	Pieça	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1312
Plata	Pieça	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1315v
Plata	Pieça	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1317
Plata	Pieça	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1317
Plata	Pieça	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1346v
Plata	Pieça	Ana Manrique	P2022	379
Plata	Pieça	Ana Maria Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1010
Plata	Pieça	Ana Maria Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1011
Plata	Pieça	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	848v
Plata	Pieça	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	849v
Plata	Pieça	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	850
Plata	Pieça	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	850
Plata	Pieça	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	851
Plata	Pieça	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	852
Plata	Pieça	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	500v
Plata	Pieça	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1015
Plata	Pieça	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1015
Plata	Pieça	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1751
Plata	Pieça	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	209v
Plata	Pieça	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	256v
Plata	Pieça	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	258v
Plata	Pieça	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	260v
Plata	Pieça	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	263
Plata	Pieça	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	266
Plata	Pieça	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	267
Plata	Pieça	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	701v
Plata	Pieça	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	64
Plata	Pieça	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	64
Plata	Pieça	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	64
Plata	Pieça	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	64
Plata	Pieça	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	64
Plata	Pieça	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	64
Plata	Pieça	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	64
Plata	Pieça	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	64
Plata	Pieça	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	64
Plata	Pieça	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	64

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Plata	Pieça	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	64v
Plata	Pieça	Guioimar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	15v
Plata	Pieça	Guioimar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	15v
Plata	Pieça	Guioimar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	15v
Plata	Pieça	Guioimar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	27
Plata	Pieça	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	274v
Plata	Pieça	Juan de Acuña	P2661	922v
Plata	Pieça	Juan de Acuña	P2661	929
Plata	Pieça	Juan de Acuña	P2661	931v
Plata	Pieça	Juan de Acuña	P2661	933
Plata	Pieça	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1032v
Plata	Pieça	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1470v
Plata	Pieça	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1471
Plata	Pieça	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1471
Plata	Pieça	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1471v
Plata	Pieça	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1471v
Plata	Pieça	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1487
Plata	Pieça	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1487
Plata	Pieça	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1487v
Plata	Pieça	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	907v
Plata	Pieça	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	911
Plata	Pieça	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	911
Plata	Pieça	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	920
Plata	Pieça	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	203
Plata	Pieça	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	210
Plata	Pieça	Luis Enriquez	P3485	671
Plata	Pieça	Luis Enriquez	P3485	672v
Plata	Pieça	Luis Enriquez	P3485	676
Plata	Pieça	Luis Enriquez	P3485	676
Plata	Pieça	Luis Enriquez	P3485	676
Plata	Pieça	Martin de Padreda	P2323	396v
Plata	Pieça	Martin de Padreda	P2323	397
Plata	Pieça	Martin de Padreda	P2323	398
Plata	Pieça	Martin de Padreda	P2323	398v
Plata	Pieça	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	521v
Plata	Pieça	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	523
Plata	Pieça	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	523
Plata	Pieça	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	523
Plata	Pieça	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	523v
Plata	Pieça	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	523v
Plata	Pieça	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	530
Plata	Pieça	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	532v
Plata	Pieça	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviria	P2040b	637-[652]
Plata	Pieça	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviria	P2040b	637-[652]
Plata	Pieça	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	178v
Plata	Pieça	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	183
Plata	Pieça	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	187v
Plata	Pieça	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	195v
Plata	Pila	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Plata	Pila	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	405
Plata	Pila	Ana Manrique	P2022	376v
Plata	Pila	Ana Manrique	P2022	376v
Plata	Pila	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Pila	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Pila	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	498v
Plata	Pila	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1014v
Plata	Pila	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	954v
Plata	Pila	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	954v
Plata	Pila	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	64
Plata	Pila	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	473
Plata	Pila	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	911
Plata	Pila	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	222
Plata	Pila	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1342
Plata	Pila	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviria	P2040b	637-[652]
Plata	Pila	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1155

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Plata	Pimentero	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	872
Plata	Pimentero	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Plata	Pimentero	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	409v
Plata	Pimentero	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1302
Plata	Pimentero	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	779
Plata	Pimentero	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Pimentero	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Pimentero	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	498
Plata	Pimentero	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1014
Plata	Pimentero	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1750
Plata	Pimentero	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	64v
Plata	Pimentero	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1032
Plata	Pimentero	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1363
Plata	Pimentero	Juana de Mujita	P2021	84
Plata	Pimentero	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	223v
Plata	Pimentero	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	517
Plata	Pimentero	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviña	P2040b	637-[652]
Plata	Pimentero	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	188
Plata	Pintura	Luis Enriquez	P3485	671v
Plata	Pintura	Luis Enriquez	P3485	671v
Plata	Pintura	Luis Enriquez	P3485	671v
Plata	Pinza	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	780
Plata	Piramide	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1030
Plata	Pistola	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	518v
Plata	Pito	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	500
Plata	Plancha	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1347
Plata	Plancha	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	500
Plata	Plancha	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1750
Plata	Plancha	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1750v
Plata	Plancha	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1753v
Plata	Plancha	Martin de Padreda	P2323	396v
Plata	Plato	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	872
Plata	Plato	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1652
Plata	Plato	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1652
Plata	Plato	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	409v
Plata	Plato	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	409v
Plata	Plato	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1301v
Plata	Plato	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1301v
Plata	Plato	Ana Manrique	P2022	377
Plata	Plato	Ana Manrique	P2022	377v
Plata	Plato	Ana Manrique	P2022	377v
Plata	Plato	Ana Manrique	P2022	377v
Plata	Plato	Ana Manrique	P2022	378v
Plata	Plato	Ana Manrique	P2022	378v
Plata	Plato	Ana Manrique	P2022	378v
Plata	Plato	Ana Manrique	P2022	379
Plata	Plato	Ana Manrique	P2022	379v
Plata	Plato	Ana Manrique	P2022	379v
Plata	Plato	Ana Manrique	P2022	379v
Plata	Plato	Ana Manrique	P2022	379v
Plata	Plato	Ana Manrique	P2022	379v
Plata	Plato	Ana Manrique	P2022	379v
Plata	Plato	Ana Manrique	P2022	379v
Plata	Plato	Ana Manrique	P2022	379v
Plata	Plato	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	778
Plata	Plato	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	778
Plata	Plato	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	778
Plata	Plato	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	778v
Plata	Plato	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Plato	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Plato	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Plato	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Plato	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	848v
Plata	Plato	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	848v
Plata	Plato	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	849

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Plata	Plato	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	850v
Plata	Plato	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	850v
Plata	Plato	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	851v
Plata	Plato	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	501
Plata	Plato	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	501
Plata	Plato	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	501
Plata	Plato	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	501
Plata	Plato	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	501v
Plata	Plato	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1014v
Plata	Plato	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1014v
Plata	Plato	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1750
Plata	Plato	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1750
Plata	Plato	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1750
Plata	Plato	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	955
Plata	Plato	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	955
Plata	Plato	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	683v
Plata	Plato	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	683v
Plata	Plato	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	686v
Plata	Plato	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	763
Plata	Plato	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	763
Plata	Plato	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	764
Plata	Plato	Juan de Acuña	P2661	925
Plata	Plato	Juan de Acuña	P2661	927
Plata	Plato	Juan de Acuña	P2661	927v
Plata	Plato	Juan de Acuña	P2661	927v
Plata	Plato	Juan de Acuña	P2661	934
Plata	Plato	Juan de Acuña	P2661	934
Plata	Plato	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1032
Plata	Plato	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1056v
Plata	Plato	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1475v
Plata	Plato	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	470v
Plata	Plato	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	470v
Plata	Plato	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	470v
Plata	Plato	Juana de Mujita	P2021	84
Plata	Plato	Juana de Mujita	P2021	84
Plata	Plato	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	222v
Plata	Plato	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	222v
Plata	Plato	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	222v
Plata	Plato	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	223
Plata	Plato	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	223
Plata	Plato	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	223
Plata	Plato	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	223
Plata	Plato	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	223
Plata	Plato	Maria de Aragón	P1578	157
Plata	Plato	Maria de Aragón	P1578	157
Plata	Plato	Maria Pereira	P989	234
Plata	Plato	Maria Pereira	P989	234
Plata	Plato	Maria Pereira	P989	234v
Plata	Plato	Maria Pereira	P989	234v
Plata	Plato	Martin de Padreda	P2323	396v
Plata	Plato	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	517v
Plata	Plato	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	517v
Plata	Plato	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	517v
Plata	Plato	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	521
Plata	Plato	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	521
Plata	Plato	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1342v
Plata	Plato	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1342v
Plata	Plato	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviña	P2040b	637-[652]
Plata	Plato	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviña	P2040b	637-[652]
Plata	Plato	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1155v
Plata	Plato	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1155v
Plata	Plato	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	188
Plata	Pluma	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1346v
Plata	Pluma	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1346v
Plata	Pluma	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	67v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Plata	Pomo	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	407
Plata	Pomo	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1303v
Plata	Pomo	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1346v
Plata	Pomo	Ana Manrique	P2022	378v
Plata	Pomo	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Pomo	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	849
Plata	Pomo	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	852v
Plata	Pomo	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	852v
Plata	Pomo	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	501
Plata	Pomo	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1014
Plata	Pomo	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	954v
Plata	Pomo	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	955v
Plata	Pomo	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	67v
Plata	Pomo	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	67v
Plata	Pomo	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	16
Plata	Pomo	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	16
Plata	Pomo	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	764
Plata	Pomo	Juan de Acuña	P2661	926
Plata	Pomo	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1034
Plata	Pomo	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1034
Plata	Pomo	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1034v
Plata	Pomo	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1034v
Plata	Pomo	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Plata	Pomo	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	906v
Plata	Pomo	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	911v
Plata	Pomo	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	912
Plata	Pomo	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	912
Plata	Pomo	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	912
Plata	Pomo	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	203
Plata	Pomo	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	204
Plata	Pomo	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	223
Plata	Pomo	Luis Enriquez	P3485	667v
Plata	Pomo	Luis Enriquez	P3485	667v
Plata	Pomo	Maria de Aragón	P1578	158v
Plata	Pomo	Maria de Aragón	P1578	158v
Plata	Pomo	Maria de Aragón	P1578	159v
Plata	Pomo	Maria de Aragón	P1578	171v
Plata	Pomo	Maria Pereira	P989	236v
Plata	Pomo	Martín de Padreda	P2323	397
Plata	Pomo	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1341v
Plata	Pomo	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviria	P2040b	637-[652]
Plata	Pomo	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1156
Plata	Porcelana	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Porcelana	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1753
Plata	Porcelana	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	267
Plata	Porcelana	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	267v
Plata	Porcelana	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	31v
Plata	Porcelana	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	33v
Plata	Porcelana	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1040
Plata	Porcelana	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1481v
Plata	Porcelana	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	908
Plata	Porcelana	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	911
Plata	Porcelana	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	912
Plata	Porcelana	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	920
Plata	Porcelana	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	207
Plata	Porcelana	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	517
Plata	Porcelana	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1155v
Plata	Porcelana	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1156v
Plata	Pulpito	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	30v
Plata	Pulpito	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	30v
Plata	Puño	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1316
Plata	Puño	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1014v
Plata	Puño	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	499v
Plata	Punzon	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1347
Plata	Quadro	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	782v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Plata	Quadro	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	519v
Plata	Quadro	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	182
Plata	Ramillete	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	30
Plata	Ramillete	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1366v
Plata	Ramilletero	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1037v
Plata	Ramilletero	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1342
Plata	Ramilletero	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1342
Plata	Ramilletero	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1342v
Plata	Redoma	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	498v
Plata	Regadera	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	500v
Plata	Reja	Aldonza de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	872
Plata	Reja	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1014v
Plata	Reja	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	267v
Plata	Reja	Juan de Acuña	P2661	819
Plata	Reja	Juan de Acuña	P2661	819v
Plata	Reja	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	911v
Plata	Reja	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	203
Plata	Reja	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1156
Plata	Reja	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	187v
Plata	Relicario	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1296v
Plata	Relicario	Ana Manrique	P2022	376
Plata	Relicario	Ana Manrique	P2022	376
Plata	Relicario	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1015
Plata	Relicario	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	16v
Plata	Relicario	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	16v
Plata	Relicario	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	21
Plata	Relicario	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	21
Plata	Relicario	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	21
Plata	Relicario	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	21v
Plata	Relicario	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	21v
Plata	Relicario	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	29
Plata	Relicario	Juan de Acuña	P2661	823
Plata	Relicario	Juan de Acuña	P2661	926v
Plata	Relicario	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1028v
Plata	Relicario	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1028v
Plata	Relicario	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1028v
Plata	Relicario	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1028v
Plata	Relicario	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Plata	Relicario	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	499v
Plata	Relicario	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	906
Plata	Relicario	Maria de Aragón	P1578	159v
Plata	Relicario	Maria de Aragón	P1578	173
Plata	Relicario	Martín de Padreda	P2323	398v
Plata	Relicario	Martín de Padreda	P2323	399v
Plata	Relicario	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	518
Plata	Relicario	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	530
Plata	Relicario	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	530
Plata	Relicario	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	530v
Plata	Relicario	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	531
Plata	Relicario	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviria	P2040b	637-[652]
Plata	Relicario	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1156v
Plata	Relicario	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	183
Plata	Reloj	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	522
Plata	Reloj	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	23
Plata	Reloj	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	909v
Plata	Reloj	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	909v
Plata	Reloj	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	909v
Plata	Reloj	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	909v
Plata	Reloj	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	909v
Plata	Renda	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	
Plata	Renda	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	194
Plata	Retablo	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	15
Plata	Retablo	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	16
Plata	Retablo	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	21v
Plata	Retablo	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	21v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Plata	Retablo	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	21v
Plata	Retablo	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	21v
Plata	Retablo	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	21v
Plata	Retablo	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	23
Plata	Retablo	Luis Enriquez	P3485	669
Plata	Retablo	Luis Enriquez	P3485	671v
Plata	Retablo	Luis Enriquez	P3485	671v
Plata	Retablo	Luis Enriquez	P3485	671v
Plata	Retablo	Luis Enriquez	P3485	671v
Plata	Retrato	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1481v
Plata	Riendas	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	497
Plata	Ropa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1307v
Plata	Ropa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1307v
Plata	Ropa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1309v
Plata	Ropa	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	784
Plata	Ropa	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1465v
Plata	Ropa	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1499v
Plata	Ropa	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1370
Plata	Ropilla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1461
Plata	Rosario	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	777
Plata	Rosario	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	518
Plata	Rosario	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	518
Plata	Rosario	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	518v
Plata	Rosario	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	518v
Plata	Rosario	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	519
Plata	Rosario	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	519
Plata	Rosario	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	519
Plata	Rosario	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	519
Plata	Rosario	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	61v
Plata	Rosario	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	14v
Plata	Rosario	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	20v
Plata	Rosario	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	20v
Plata	Rosario	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	20v
Plata	Rosario	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	538v
Plata	Ruciadera	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1303v
Plata	Ruciadera	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1037v
Plata	Ruciadera	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	203v
Plata	Ruciadera	Maria Pereira	P989	234v
Plata	Ruciadera	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	518v
Plata	Salero	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	872
Plata	Salero	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Plata	Salero	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	409v
Plata	Salero	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	409v
Plata	Salero	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1301v
Plata	Salero	Ana Manrique	P2022	380
Plata	Salero	Ana Maria Dugarte de la Hermosa	P2654b	1010v
Plata	Salero	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	779
Plata	Salero	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Salero	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Salero	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	848v
Plata	Salero	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	850v
Plata	Salero	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	498
Plata	Salero	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	499v
Plata	Salero	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	501v
Plata	Salero	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	502
Plata	Salero	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1014
Plata	Salero	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1015
Plata	Salero	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1751
Plata	Salero	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	954v
Plata	Salero	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	954v
Plata	Salero	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	955v
Plata	Salero	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	259v
Plata	Salero	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	64v
Plata	Salero	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	764
Plata	Salero	Juan de Acuña	P2661	926

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Plata	Salero	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1031
Plata	Salero	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1031v
Plata	Salero	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1031v
Plata	Salero	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1031v
Plata	Salero	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1362v
Plata	Salero	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Plata	Salero	Juan de Mujita	P2021	84
Plata	Salero	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	223
Plata	Salero	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	223v
Plata	Salero	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	223v
Plata	Salero	Maria de Aragón	P1578	157
Plata	Salero	Maria de Aragón	P1578	158
Plata	Salero	Maria Pereira	P989	234
Plata	Salero	Martin de Padreda	P2323	398
Plata	Salero	Martin de Padreda	P2323	398
Plata	Salero	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	517
Plata	Salero	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	521v
Plata	Salero	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	521v
Plata	Salero	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviria	P2040b	637-[652]
Plata	Salero	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviria	P2040b	637-[652]
Plata	Salero	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviria	P2040b	637-[652]
Plata	Salero	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1155
Plata	Salero	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1155
Plata	Salero	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1155
Plata	Salserilla	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1303
Plata	Salserilla	Ana Manrique	P2022	378
Plata	Salserilla	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	778v
Plata	Salserilla	Fernando Carrillo	P2031	1027
Plata	Salserilla	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	203v
Plata	Salserilla	Luis Enriquez	P3485	668v
Plata	Salva	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	872
Plata	Salva	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	874
Plata	Salva	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	405
Plata	Salva	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1296v
Plata	Salva	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1301v
Plata	Salva	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1301v
Plata	Salva	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1301v
Plata	Salva	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1301v
Plata	Salva	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1302
Plata	Salva	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1340
Plata	Salva	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1344
Plata	Salva	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1345v
Plata	Salva	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1346v
Plata	Salva	Ana Manrique	P2022	376
Plata	Salva	Ana Manrique	P2022	376v
Plata	Salva	Ana Manrique	P2022	376v
Plata	Salva	Ana Manrique	P2022	377
Plata	Salva	Ana Manrique	P2022	377v
Plata	Salva	Ana Manrique	P2022	378
Plata	Salva	Ana Manrique	P2022	378v
Plata	Salva	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	778v
Plata	Salva	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	778v
Plata	Salva	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	780
Plata	Salva	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	780
Plata	Salva	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Salva	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Salva	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Salva	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Salva	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Salva	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	848v
Plata	Salva	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	850
Plata	Salva	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	852v
Plata	Salva	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	498v
Plata	Salva	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	499
Plata	Salva	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	502
Plata	Salva	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1014v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Plata	Salva	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1750v
Plata	Salva	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1751
Plata	Salva	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	954v
Plata	Salva	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	955
Plata	Salva	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	955v
Plata	Salva	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	64
Plata	Salva	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	64v
Plata	Salva	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	64v
Plata	Salva	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	16v
Plata	Salva	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	20
Plata	Salva	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	20
Plata	Salva	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	30v
Plata	Salva	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	31v
Plata	Salva	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	32
Plata	Salva	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	763v
Plata	Salva	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	763v
Plata	Salva	Juan de Acuña	P2661	925v
Plata	Salva	Juan de Acuña	P2661	925v
Plata	Salva	Juan de Acuña	P2661	928
Plata	Salva	Juan de Acuña	P2661	928v
Plata	Salva	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1022
Plata	Salva	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1030v
Plata	Salva	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1030v
Plata	Salva	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1030v
Plata	Salva	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1031
Plata	Salva	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1031
Plata	Salva	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1031
Plata	Salva	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1037
Plata	Salva	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1037
Plata	Salva	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1037
Plata	Salva	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1037
Plata	Salva	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1502v
Plata	Salva	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1363
Plata	Salva	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1363v
Plata	Salva	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1363v
Plata	Salva	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	471
Plata	Salva	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	471
Plata	Salva	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	471
Plata	Salva	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	471v
Plata	Salva	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	471v
Plata	Salva	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	472v
Plata	Salva	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	473
Plata	Salva	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	473
Plata	Salva	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	906v
Plata	Salva	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	907v
Plata	Salva	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	911
Plata	Salva	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	912
Plata	Salva	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	203
Plata	Salva	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	203v
Plata	Salva	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	203v
Plata	Salva	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	204
Plata	Salva	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	204
Plata	Salva	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	204
Plata	Salva	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	222v
Plata	Salva	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	222v
Plata	Salva	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	223
Plata	Salva	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	223v
Plata	Salva	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	223v
Plata	Salva	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	223v
Plata	Salva	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	223v
Plata	Salva	Maria de Aragón	P1578	157
Plata	Salva	Maria de Aragón	P1578	157
Plata	Salva	Maria Pereira	P989	234v
Plata	Salva	Maria Pereira	P989	234v
Plata	Salva	Martin de Padreda	P2323	396v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Plata	Salva	Martin de Padreda	P2323	398
Plata	Salva	Martin de Padreda	P2323	398
Plata	Salva	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	517v
Plata	Salva	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	521v
Plata	Salva	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	524
Plata	Salva	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	538v
Plata	Salva	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	541
Plata	Salva	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1343
Plata	Salva	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1343
Plata	Salva	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1343
Plata	Salva	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviria	P2040b	637-[652]
Plata	Salva	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviria	P2040b	637-[652]
Plata	Salva	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1155
Plata	Sapato	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	873
Plata	Sapato	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	410
Plata	Sapato	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	410v
Plata	Sapato	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1313
Plata	Sapato	Ana Maria Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1011v
Plata	Sapato	Ana Maria Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1015v
Plata	Sapato	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1017
Plata	Sapato	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1017
Plata	Sapato	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	953v
Plata	Sapato	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	911
Plata	Sapato	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	208v
Plata	Saya	Maria de Aragón	P1578	169v
Plata	Sello	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1343v
Plata	Sello	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	854
Plata	Sello	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	499
Plata	Sello	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	499
Plata	Sello	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	499v
Plata	Sello	Juan de Mendoza y Castilla	P2298	333
Plata	Senefa	Maria de Aragón	P1578	163
Plata	Silbato	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	499
Plata	Silbato	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	499
Plata	Silla	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	502v
Plata	Silla	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1038v
Plata	Silla	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	217v
Plata	Silla	Maria de Aragón	P1578	172
Plata	Sombrero	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1019
Plata	Sombrero	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	951
Plata	Sombrero	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1466
Plata	Sombrero	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1466
Plata	Sortija	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1305v
Plata	Sortija	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1316v
Plata	Sortija	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	494v
Plata	Sortija	Luis Enriquez	P3485	669
Plata	Sortija	Maria de Aragón	P1578	159
Plata	Sotana	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	761
Plata	Taller	Ana Manrique	P2022	377v
Plata	Taller	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Taller	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	64v
Plata	Taller	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	911v
Plata	Taller	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	222v
Plata	Taller	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	223v
Plata	Taller	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	521v
Plata	Taller	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1155
Plata	Taza	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	408
Plata	Taza	Ana Manrique	P2022	376v
Plata	Taza	Ana Maria Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1015
Plata	Taza	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	498
Plata	Taza	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	498
Plata	Taza	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	498
Plata	Taza	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	498
Plata	Taza	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	498
Plata	Taza	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	498

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Plata	Taza	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	498
Plata	Taza	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	499v
Plata	Taza	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	499v
Plata	Taza	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	501v
Plata	Taza	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	501v
Plata	Taza	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	501v
Plata	Taza	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	501v
Plata	Taza	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	501v
Plata	Taza	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	501v
Plata	Taza	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	501v
Plata	Taza	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	501v
Plata	Taza	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	501v
Plata	Taza	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	501v
Plata	Taza	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	502
Plata	Taza	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	502v
Plata	Taza	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1014v
Plata	Taza	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1014v
Plata	Taza	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1015
Plata	Taza	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	262v
Plata	Taza	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	64
Plata	Taza	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	64
Plata	Taza	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	64
Plata	Taza	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	64
Plata	Taza	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	16
Plata	Taza	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1036v
Plata	Taza	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1470v
Plata	Taza	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Plata	Taza	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	222v
Plata	Taza	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	223v
Plata	Taza	Luis Enriquez	P3485	676
Plata	Taza	Luis Enriquez	P3485	676
Plata	Taza	Maria Pereira	P989	234v
Plata	Taza	Martin de Padreda	P2323	397
Plata	Taza	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	522v
Plata	Taza	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviña	P2040b	637-[652]
Plata	Taza	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviña	P2040b	637-[652]
Plata	Taza	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1154v
Plata	Taza	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1154v
Plata	Teja	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	850
Plata	Teja	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1036
Plata	Teja	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1036
Plata	Teja	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	203v
Plata	Teja	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	208v
Plata	Tembladera	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviña	P2040b	637-[652]
Plata	Tenaz	Maria Pereira	P989	234v
Plata	Tenedor	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	872
Plata	Tenedor	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Plata	Tenedor	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	409
Plata	Tenedor	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1302
Plata	Tenedor	Ana Manrique	P2022	376v
Plata	Tenedor	Ana Manrique	P2022	378
Plata	Tenedor	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Tenedor	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Tenedor	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	849
Plata	Tenedor	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	502
Plata	Tenedor	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	502
Plata	Tenedor	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	516v
Plata	Tenedor	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1014v
Plata	Tenedor	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1750
Plata	Tenedor	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1752
Plata	Tenedor	Juan de Acuña	P2661	934v
Plata	Tenedor	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1522
Plata	Tenedor	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1363
Plata	Tenedor	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	473
Plata	Tenedor	Juana de Mujita	P2021	84
Plata	Tenedor	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	222v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Plata	Tenedor	Maria de Aragón	P1578	157
Plata	Tenedor	Martin de Padreda	P2323	397v
Plata	Tenedor	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	518
Plata	Tenedor	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviña	P2040b	637-[652]
Plata	Tenedor	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1155v
Plata	Tijeras	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1303v
Plata	Tijeras	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	780
Plata	Tijeras	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	780
Plata	Tijeras	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	955
Plata	Tijeras	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	16
Plata	Tijeras	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	30v
Plata	Tijeras	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	222v
Plata	Tijeras	Maria de Aragón	P1578	157v
Plata	Tintero	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	410v
Plata	Tintero	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1346v
Plata	Tintero	Ana Manrique	P2022	378v
Plata	Tintero	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	852v
Plata	Tintero	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	499
Plata	Tintero	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	31v
Plata	Tintero	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	32
Plata	Tintero	Juan de Acuña	P2661	922
Plata	Tintero	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	204
Plata	Tintero	Maria de Aragón	P1578	157v
Plata	Tintero	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	541
Plata	Tintero	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1155v
Plata	Tintero	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1156
Plata	Tintero	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	188
Plata	Toalla	Juan de Acuña	P2661	899v
Plata	Toalla	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	914
Plata	Toca	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1316v
Plata	Toca	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1316v
Plata	Toca	Ana Maria Dugarte de la Hemossa	P2654b	1015v
Plata	Toca	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1383
Plata	Tocador	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	537v
Plata	Vajilla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1474v
Plata	Vaquero	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	873
Plata	Vara	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1316
Plata	Vaso	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1652
Plata	Vaso	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1652v
Plata	Vaso	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	410
Plata	Vaso	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1301
Plata	Vaso	Ana Manrique	P2022	379
Plata	Vaso	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Vaso	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Plata	Vaso	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	498
Plata	Vaso	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	498
Plata	Vaso	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	498
Plata	Vaso	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	498v
Plata	Vaso	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	498v
Plata	Vaso	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	498v
Plata	Vaso	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	498v
Plata	Vaso	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	499
Plata	Vaso	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	499v
Plata	Vaso	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	500v
Plata	Vaso	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	500v
Plata	Vaso	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	500v
Plata	Vaso	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	501
Plata	Vaso	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	501v
Plata	Vaso	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	501v
Plata	Vaso	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	502
Plata	Vaso	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	502
Plata	Vaso	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	502
Plata	Vaso	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	502
Plata	Vaso	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1014v
Plata	Vaso	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1750v



Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Porcelana	Envase	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1041
Porcelana	Envase	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1041
Porcelana	Escritorio	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1064
Porcelana	Escudilla	Ana Manrique	P2022	388v
Porcelana	Escudilla	Ana Manrique	P2022	388v
Porcelana	Escudilla	Ana Manrique	P2022	388v
Porcelana	Escudilla	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	919
Porcelana	Escultura	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	24v
Porcelana	Fuente	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1041
Porcelana	Fuente	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1041
Porcelana	Garrafa	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	527
Porcelana	Garrafa	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	527v
Porcelana	Garrafa	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1762v
Porcelana	Garrafa	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	24v
Porcelana	Jarro	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	527
Porcelana	Olla	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	919
Porcelana	Olla	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	545
Porcelana	Perfumador	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1762v
Porcelana	Picça	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	547v
Porcelana	Plato	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	422v
Porcelana	Plato	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1346
Porcelana	Plato	Ana Manrique	P2022	388
Porcelana	Plato	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	919
Porcelana	Plato	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	207
Porcelana	Plato	Luis Enriquez	P3485	668v
Porcelana	Plato	Maria de Aragón	P1578	167
Porcelana	Plato	Maria de Aragón	P1578	167
Porcelana	Porcelana	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	792v
Porcelana	Porcelana	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	799v
Porcelana	Porcelana	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	499
Porcelana	Porcelana	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	527
Porcelana	Porcelana	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	17
Porcelana	Porcelana	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	23
Porcelana	Porcelana	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	23v
Porcelana	Porcelana	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	24v
Porcelana	Porcelana	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	24v
Porcelana	Porcelana	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	24v
Porcelana	Porcelana	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	24v
Porcelana	Porcelana	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	28
Porcelana	Porcelana	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	33v
Porcelana	Porcelana	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	786
Porcelana	Redoma	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	919
Porcelana	Salero	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	24v
Porcelana	Tinaja	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	545
Raja	[material]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	882
Raja	[material]	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1465v
Raja	Antepuerta	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Raja	Cama [Textil]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1300
Raja	Cama [Textil]	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	210
Raja	Cama [Textil]	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	210v
Raja	Cama [Textil]	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	689
Raja	Cama [Textil]	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1054v
Raja	Cama [Textil]	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1495
Raja	Cama [Textil]	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	215
Raja	Cama [Textil]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	656
Raja	Cama [Textil]	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1337v
Raja	Cama [Textil]	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1160v
Raja	Cañon	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	504
Raja	Capa	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1643v
Raja	Capa	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1643v
Raja	Capa	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1643v
Raja	Capa	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1647
Raja	Capa	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1647v
Raja	Capa	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	394v
Raja	Capa	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	394v
Raja	Capa	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	395

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Raja	Capa	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	401
Raja	Capa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1309v
Raja	Capa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1338
Raja	Capa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1338v
Raja	Capa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1338v
Raja	Capa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1339v
Raja	Capa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1341
Raja	Capa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1341
Raja	Capa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1341
Raja	Capa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1341
Raja	Capa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1341
Raja	Capa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1341v
Raja	Capa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1342
Raja	Capa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1342
Raja	Capa	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1013
Raja	Capa	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1013
Raja	Capa	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	213v
Raja	Capa	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	238v
Raja	Capa	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	239
Raja	Capa	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	239
Raja	Capa	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	693v
Raja	Capa	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	693v
Raja	Capa	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	693v
Raja	Capa	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	694v
Raja	Capa	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	695
Raja	Capa	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	758
Raja	Capa	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1462
Raja	Capa	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1462
Raja	Capa	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1462v
Raja	Capa	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1462v
Raja	Capa	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1373
Raja	Capa	Luis Enriquez	P3485	661v
Raja	Capa	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	525
Raja	Capa	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1147
Raja	Capa	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1147
Raja	Capa	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1147
Raja	Cobertor	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Raja	Colgadura	Luis Enriquez	P3485	655v
Raja	Colgadura	Luis Enriquez	P3485	655v
Raja	Cuna	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	417
Raja	Delantal	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1309v
Raja	Ferrezuelo	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1308
Raja	Ferrezuelo	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1338
Raja	Ferrezuelo	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1341v
Raja	Ferrezuelo	Ana Maria Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1013
Raja	Ferrezuelo	Ana Maria Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1015v
Raja	Ferrezuelo	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1013v
Raja	Ferrezuelo	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	238v
Raja	Ferrezuelo	Juan de Acuña	P2661	886
Raja	Ferrezuelo	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1146v
Raja	Garnacha	Juan de Acuña	P2661	886
Raja	Jubon	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	761v
Raja	Mangas	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1310
Raja	Mascara	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1467
Raja	Mascara	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1508v
Raja	Pabellon	Juana de Mujita	P2021	83
Raja	Paño	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	527
Raja	Ropa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1338v
Raja	Ropa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1338v
Raja	Ropa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1341
Raja	Ropa	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	247
Raja	Ropa	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	693v
Raja	Ropa	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	695v
Raja	Ropa	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1464v
Raja	Ropa	Luis Enriquez	P3485	661v
Raja	Ropa	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1145
Raja	Ropa	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1145



Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Raja	Ropa	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1145
Raja	Ropa	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1145v
Raja	Ropa	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1146v
Raja	Ropa	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1146v
Raja	Ropa	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1147
Raja	Ropa	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1147
Raja	Ropilla	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1643
Raja	Ropilla	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1338v
Raja	Ropilla	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	759v
Raja	Ropilla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1465v
Raja	Ropilla	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviña	P2040b	637-[652]
Raja	Ropilla	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1145v
Raja	Ropilla	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1145v
Raja	Ropilla	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1146
Raja	Ropilla	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1146
Raja	Ropilla	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1146v
Raja	Ropilla	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1146v
Raja	Ropilla	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1147
Raja	Sobremesa	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	919
Raja	Sobremesa	Martín de Padreda	P2323	402v
Raja	Tapete	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1495v
Raja	Tapete	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1495v
Raja	Vestido	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	395v
Raja	Vestido	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	693
Raja	Vestido	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	693
Raposo Ferrero	[material]	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	507v
Raposo Ferrero	Calças	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1046.1
Raposo Ferrero	Capa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1046v
Raposo Ferrero	Capa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1046.1
Raposo Ferrero	Forro	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	507v
Raposo Ferrero	Forro	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1046.1
Raposo Ferrero	Mangas	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1046.1
Raso	[material]	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	384
Raso	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1300v
Raso	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1310v
Raso	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1310v
Raso	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1310v
Raso	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1211[sic]
Raso	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1211[sic]
Raso	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1211v[sic]
Raso	[material]	Antonio Perez	P989b	470
Raso	[material]	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	956v
Raso	[material]	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	213
Raso	[material]	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	213
Raso	[material]	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	213
Raso	[material]	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	759
Raso	[material]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	880v
Raso	[material]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	882
Raso	[material]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	889v
Raso	[material]	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	912
Raso	[material]	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	194v
Raso	[material]	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	208v
Raso	[material]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	673
Raso	[material]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	673
Raso	[material]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	673v
Raso	[material]	Maria de Aragón	P1578	161
Raso	[material]	Maria de Aragón	P1578	161
Raso	[material]	Maria de Aragón	P1578	161
Raso	[material]	Maria de Aragón	P1578	162
Raso	[material]	Maria de Aragón	P1578	162
Raso	[material]	Maria de Aragón	P1578	162v
Raso	[material]	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1344

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Raso	[material]	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	188
Raso	Almilla	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1647v
Raso	Almilla	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	757
Raso	Almilla	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	915v
Raso	Almilla	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	193
Raso	Almohada	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	873
Raso	Almohada	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1756
Raso	Almohada	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	689v
Raso	Almohada	Luis Enriquez	P3485	673
Raso	Almohada	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	178
Raso	Antipara	Juan de Acuña	P2661	817
Raso	Antipara	Juan de Acuña	P2661	817v
Raso	Antipara	Juan de Acuña	P2661	817v
Raso	Antipara	Juan de Acuña	P2661	817v
Raso	Arca	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	27v
Raso	Arca	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	29v
Raso	Arca	Juan de Acuña	P2661	830
Raso	Arca	Juan de Acuña	P2661	830
Raso	Arca	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	538
Raso	Balandran	Luis Enriquez	P3485	673v
Raso	Banda	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1480v
Raso	Banda	Luis Enriquez	P3485	673
Raso	Basquiña	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	380v
Raso	Basquiña	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	381v
Raso	Basquiña	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	384
Raso	Basquiña	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	384 [sic]
Raso	Basquiña	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1307v
Raso	Basquiña	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1308
Raso	Basquiña	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1308v
Raso	Basquiña	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	784
Raso	Basquiña	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	784
Raso	Basquiña	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	784v
Raso	Basquiña	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	784v
Raso	Basquiña	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	952v
Raso	Basquiña	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	213v
Raso	Basquiña	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	248
Raso	Basquiña	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	695
Raso	Basquiña	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	695v
Raso	Basquiña	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	696v
Raso	Basquiña	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	761
Raso	Basquiña	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1500v
Raso	Basquiña	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1369
Raso	Basquiña	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1369v
Raso	Basquiña	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1369v
Raso	Basquiña	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1370v
Raso	Basquiña	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1370v
Raso	Basquiña	Maria de Aragón	P1578	169
Raso	Bastidor	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1313v
Raso	Biombo	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	527v
Raso	Bolsa	Ana Manrique	P2022	366v
Raso	Bolsa	Juan de Acuña	P2661	826
Raso	Caja	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1313v
Raso	Caja	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	521
Raso	Caja	Juan de Acuña	P2661	800
Raso	Caja	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1470
Raso	Calças	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1644
Raso	Calças	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1644
Raso	Calças	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1646
Raso	Calças	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1646
Raso	Calças	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1646v
Raso	Calças	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1647v
Raso	Calças	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	395
Raso	Calças	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	395
Raso	Calças	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	395
Raso	Calças	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	395

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Raso	Calças	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	395v
Raso	Calças	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	401v
Raso	Calças	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	240
Raso	Calças	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	693
Raso	Calças	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	693
Raso	Calças	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	693v
Raso	Calças	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	693v
Raso	Calças	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	693v
Raso	Calças	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	695
Raso	Calças	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	697
Raso	Calças	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	758
Raso	Calças	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	758
Raso	Calças	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	758v
Raso	Calças	Juan de Acuña	P2661	888v
Raso	Calças	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1454v
Raso	Calças	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1454v
Raso	Calças	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1454v
Raso	Calças	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1455
Raso	Calças	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1455
Raso	Calças	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1455
Raso	Calças	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1455
Raso	Calças	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1372v
Raso	Calças	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1372v
Raso	Calças	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	525v
Raso	Calças	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1148
Raso	Calças	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1148
Raso	Calçon	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	384
Raso	Cama [Textil]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1291v
Raso	Cama [Textil]	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	49
Raso	Cama [Textil]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	779v
Raso	Cañon	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	507
Raso	Cañon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1465v
Raso	Capa	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	398v
Raso	Capa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1309v
Raso	Capa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1341
Raso	Capa	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	953v
Raso	Capa	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	693v
Raso	Capa	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	693v
Raso	Capa	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	695
Raso	Capa	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1462
Raso	Capa	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1462v
Raso	Capa	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1463
Raso	Capa	Maria de Aragón	P1578	162v
Raso	Casula	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1641v
Raso	Casula	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	393v
Raso	Casula	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	393v
Raso	Casula	Ana Manrique	P2022	369
Raso	Casula	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Raso	Casula	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1759
Raso	Casula	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	214v
Raso	Casula	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	700
Raso	Casula	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	700v
Raso	Casula	Juan de Acuña	P2661	827v
Raso	Casula	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	918
Raso	Casula	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	531v
Raso	Cesta	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	913
Raso	Cobertor	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1211[sc]
Raso	Cobertor	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1046v
Raso	Colcha	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1312v
Raso	Colcha	Antonio Perez	P989b	467v
Raso	Colcha	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	509v
Raso	Colcha	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	689v
Raso	Colcha	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	59
Raso	Colcha	Juan de Acuña	P2661	905v
Raso	Colcha	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1047v
Raso	Colcha	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1048

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Raso	Colcha	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1048v
Raso	Colcha	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1160v
Raso	Colchon	Antonio Perez	P989b	476
Raso	Colchon	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1755
Raso	Colchon	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	213
Raso	Colchon	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	213
Raso	Colchon	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	213
Raso	Colchon	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1057v
Raso	Colchon	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Raso	Colchon	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	213
Raso	Colgadura	Fernando Carrillo	P2031	1030
Raso	Colgadura	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	209v
Raso	Colgadura	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	209v
Raso	Colgadura	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	218
Raso	Colgadura	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	218v
Raso	Cruz	Juan de Acuña	P2661	821
Raso	Cuello	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1465
Raso	Cuera	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1340
Raso	Dossel	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1292v
Raso	Dossel	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1759
Raso	Escritorio	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	212
Raso	Faldellin	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	873
Raso	Faldon	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	694
Raso	Faldon	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	694
Raso	Faldón	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1759v
Raso	Ferrezuelo	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	696
Raso	Ferrezuelo	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1463v
Raso	Frontal	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1641v
Raso	Frontal	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1641v
Raso	Frontal	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1641v
Raso	Frontal	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	393v
Raso	Frontal	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	393v
Raso	Frontal	Ana Manrique	P2022	366v
Raso	Frontal	Ana Manrique	P2022	366v
Raso	Frontal	Ana Manrique	P2022	368v
Raso	Frontal	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	795
Raso	Frontal	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Raso	Frontal	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Raso	Frontal	Felipe de Matiengo	P2026	1018v
Raso	Frontal	Felipe de Matiengo	P2026	1018v
Raso	Frontal	Felipe de Matiengo	P2026	1018v
Raso	Frontal	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1758v
Raso	Frontal	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	214
Raso	Frontal	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	700
Raso	Frontal	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	700v
Raso	Frontal	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	700v
Raso	Frontal	Guomaro Pardo y Tavera	P2322	29v
Raso	Frontal	Juan de Acuña	P2661	827v
Raso	Frontal	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	918
Raso	Frontal	Maria de Aragón	P1578	163
Raso	Frontal	Martin de Padreda	P2323	409
Raso	Frontal	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	532
Raso	Garnacha	Fernando Carrillo	P2031	1030v
Raso	Imagen	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	794
Raso	Imagen	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1761
Raso	Imagen	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1365v
Raso	Imagen	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	540v
Raso	Jubon	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	381v
Raso	Jubon	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	381v
Raso	Jubon	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1309v
Raso	Jubon	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1309v
Raso	Jubon	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1309v
Raso	Jubon	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1310
Raso	Jubon	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1340
Raso	Jubon	Ana Maria Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1013v
Raso	Jubon	Ana Maria Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1015

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Raso	Jubon	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1012
Raso	Jubon	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	953
Raso	Jubon	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	239v
Raso	Jubon	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	239v
Raso	Jubon	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	247v
Raso	Jubon	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	247v
Raso	Jubon	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	247v
Raso	Jubon	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	248
Raso	Jubon	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	248
Raso	Jubon	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	694
Raso	Jubon	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	695
Raso	Jubon	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	695
Raso	Jubon	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	696v
Raso	Jubon	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	761
Raso	Jubon	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	761v
Raso	Jubon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1458v
Raso	Jubon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1458v
Raso	Jubon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1459
Raso	Jubon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1496v
Raso	Jubon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1499v
Raso	Jubon	Juan de Mendoza y Castilla	P2298	329
Raso	Jubon	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1370
Raso	Jubon	Luis Enriquez	P3485	673v
Raso	Jubon	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1147
Raso	Jubon	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1147
Raso	Jubon	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1147
Raso	Jubon	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1147v
Raso	Jubon	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1147v
Raso	Jubon	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1147v
Raso	Lámina	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviña	P2040b	637-[652]
Raso	Litera	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1071v
Raso	Litera	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1072
Raso	Litera	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	526v
Raso	Mangas	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	382v
Raso	Mangas	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	382v
Raso	Mangas	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	383v
Raso	Mangas	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	383v
Raso	Mangas	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	383v
Raso	Mangas	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1308v
Raso	Mangas	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1308v
Raso	Mangas	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1308v
Raso	Mangas	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1308v
Raso	Mangas	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1308v
Raso	Mangas	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1308v
Raso	Mangas	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1310
Raso	Mangas	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1310
Raso	Mangas	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1310
Raso	Mangas	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1310
Raso	Mangas	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1310
Raso	Mangas	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1015
Raso	Mangas	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	785v
Raso	Mangas	Antonio Perez	P989b	469v
Raso	Mangas	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	693
Raso	Mangas	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	695
Raso	Mangas	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	695v
Raso	Mangas	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	696
Raso	Mangas	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1500
Raso	Mangas	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1500v
Raso	Mantel	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	190
Raso	Manteo	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	381
Raso	Manteo	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	784
Raso	Manteo	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	692v
Raso	Manteo	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	757
Raso	Manteo	Martín de Padreda	P2323	404v
Raso	Manto	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	785v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Raso	Pabellon	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1012
Raso	Pabellon	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	219
Raso	Paño	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1294
Raso	Paño	Antonio Perez	P989b	467
Raso	Paño	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1052v
Raso	Paño	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1161v
Raso	Pieça	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1310
Raso	Pieça	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1312
Raso	Pieça	Antonio Perez	P989b	467
Raso	Pieça	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	247
Raso	Pieça	Juan de Acuña	P2661	792v
Raso	Pieça	Luis Enriquez	P3485	657
Raso	Pieça	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1339
Raso	Pieça	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	194
Raso	Pintura	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	522
Raso	Pintura	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	522
Raso	Repostero	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	691
Raso	Retablo	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	22
Raso	Ropa	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Raso	Ropa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1307
Raso	Ropa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1309v
Raso	Ropa	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1015
Raso	Ropa	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	785
Raso	Ropa	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	785
Raso	Ropa	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	758v
Raso	Ropa	Juan de Acuña	P2661	884v
Raso	Ropa	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1369
Raso	Ropa	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1370v
Raso	Ropa	Luis Enriquez	P3485	672v
Raso	Ropa	María de Aragón	P1578	169
Raso	Ropa	María de Aragón	P1578	170
Raso	Ropa	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1145
Raso	Ropa	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1147
Raso	Ropa	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	188v
Raso	Ropilla	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1643v
Raso	Ropilla	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	398v
Raso	Ropilla	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1338v
Raso	Ropilla	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1017
Raso	Ropilla	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	951v
Raso	Ropilla	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	239
Raso	Ropilla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1459v
Raso	Ropilla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1460v
Raso	Ropilla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1461
Raso	Ropilla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1461v
Raso	Ropilla	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	525
Raso	Saya	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1307
Raso	Saya	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1308v
Raso	Saya	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1010v
Raso	Saya	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1013
Raso	Saya	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1015
Raso	Saya	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1015
Raso	Saya	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1015
Raso	Saya	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	785
Raso	Saya	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	695v
Raso	Saya	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1500v
Raso	Saya	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	189
Raso	Silla	Juan de Acuña	P2661	806
Raso	Sobremesa	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1162v
Raso	Sotana	Fernando Carrillo	P2031	1030v
Raso	Taburete	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	798v
Raso	Taburete	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	798v
Raso	Taburete	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1765
Raso	Toalla	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	532
Raso	Toalla	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	532
Raso	Tonelete	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1648

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Raso	Vaquero	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	392v
Raso	Vestido	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1015
Raso	Vestido	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	794v
Rosa de Jericó	Rosa de Jerico	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	23v
Rosa de Jericó	Rosa de Jerico	Maria de Aragón	P1578	166
Rubi	[material]	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Rubi	[material]	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	538v
Rubi	Apretador	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	853v
Rubi	Apretador	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	681
Rubi	Boton	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1306
Rubi	Boton	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	65v
Rubi	Cadena	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	65v
Rubi	Cadena	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1484
Rubi	Cadena	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	195v
Rubi	Cinta	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1304
Rubi	Cinta	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	680v
Rubi	Cinta	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1484
Rubi	Cinto	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	197
Rubi	Cruz	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	15v
Rubi	Gargantilla	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1304
Rubi	Gargantilla	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1304v
Rubi	Imagen	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1010v
Rubi	Imagen	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	853v
Rubi	Joya	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1304
Rubi	Medalla	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	66v
Rubi	Picça	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	195v
Rubi	Pluma	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	65v
Rubi	Relej	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	537
Rubi	Sortija	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1305v
Rubi	Sortija	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1010
Rubi	Sortija	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	847v
Rubi	Sortija	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	249v
Rubi	Sortija	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1484v
Rubi	Sortija	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1484v
Rubi	Sortija	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1485
Rubi	Sortija	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Rubi	Sortija	Maria de Aragón	P1578	158
Rubi	Sortija	Maria de Aragón	P1578	158v
Rubi	Sortija	Maria de Aragón	P1578	159
Rubi	Sortija	Maria Pereira	P989	234v
Rubi	Sortija	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	537
Rubi	Sortija	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	537
Rubi	Sortija	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	538v
Rubi	Tenedor	Maria de Aragón	P1578	158
Rubi	Toca	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	682v
Safira	[material]	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Safira	[material]	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Safira	Apretador	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	495v
Safira	Sortija	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	404
Safira	Sortija	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	66
Safira	Sortija	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1484v
Safira	Sortija	Maria de Aragón	P1578	158v
Sal	Teja	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	67
Sarga	[material]	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	65
Sarga	[material]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	881
Sarga	Calçon	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Sarga	Colcha	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1341
Sarga	Colchon	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1340
Sarga	Faldon	Juan de Acuña	P2661	828
Sarga	Ferrezuelo	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1464
Sarga	Ferrezuelo	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1464
Sarga	Ferrezuelo	Martin de Padreda	P2323	403
Sarga	Garnacha	Fernando Carrillo	P2031	1031
Sarga	Jubon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1457
Sarga	Loba	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviria	P2040b	637-[652]
Sarga	Mangas	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Sarga	Mangas	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviria	P2040b	637-[652]
Sarga	Manteo	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviria	P2040b	637-[652]
Sarga	Picça	Antonio Perez	P989b	466
Sarga	Sotana	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	760
Sarga	Sotana	Juan de Acuña	P2661	885v
Sarga	Valona	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Seda	[material]	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	421
Seda	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1294
Seda	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1310v
Seda	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1211[sic]
Seda	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1211v[sic]
Seda	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1312
Seda	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1315v
Seda	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1343
Seda	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1343v
Seda	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1345v
Seda	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1345v
Seda	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1346
Seda	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1347v
Seda	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1347v
Seda	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	382v
Seda	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	390
Seda	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	390v
Seda	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	390v
Seda	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	390v
Seda	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	390v
Seda	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	391
Seda	[material]	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	793
Seda	[material]	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	793v
Seda	[material]	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1014
Seda	[material]	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1757
Seda	[material]	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1757
Seda	[material]	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1757v
Seda	[material]	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1758
Seda	[material]	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1758
Seda	[material]	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	213v
Seda	[material]	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	214
Seda	[material]	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	61
Seda	[material]	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	66v
Seda	[material]	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	27
Seda	[material]	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	759
Seda	[material]	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	785
Seda	[material]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	881
Seda	[material]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	882v
Seda	[material]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	883
Seda	[material]	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1048v
Seda	[material]	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1049
Seda	[material]	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1049
Seda	[material]	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1384v
Seda	[material]	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1384v
Seda	[material]	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1384v
Seda	[material]	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1384v
Seda	[material]	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	908
Seda	[material]	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	910
Seda	[material]	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	914
Seda	[material]	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	207v
Seda	[material]	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	207v
Seda	[material]	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	207v
Seda	[material]	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	207v
Seda	[material]	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	207v
Seda	[material]	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	209v
Seda	[material]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	667v
Seda	[material]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	669v
Seda	[material]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	671
Seda	[material]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	671
Seda	[material]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	671



Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Seda	Basquiña	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1308
Seda	Basquiña	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1308
Seda	Basquiña	Ana Manrique	P2022	382
Seda	Basquiña	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	784
Seda	Bolsa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1312
Seda	Bolsa	Ana Manrique	P2022	391
Seda	Bolsa	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1011
Seda	Bolsa	Antonio Perez	P989b	469
Seda	Bolsa	Antonio Perez	P989b	469v
Seda	Bolsa	Antonio Perez	P989b	469v
Seda	Bolsa	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1752v
Seda	Bolsa	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1752v
Seda	Bolsa	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	956v
Seda	Bolsa	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	956v
Seda	Bolsa	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	67v
Seda	Bolsa	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	18v
Seda	Bolsa	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	18v
Seda	Bolsa	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1483v
Seda	Bolsa	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1373v
Seda	Bolsa	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1383v
Seda	Bolsa	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Seda	Bolsa	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	204v
Seda	Bolsa	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	210
Seda	Bolsa	Maria de Aragón	P1578	165
Seda	Bolsa	Maria de Aragón	P1578	169
Seda	Borla	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1319v
Seda	Borla	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	494v
Seda	Borla	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	497
Seda	Borla	Luis Enriquez	P3485	658v
Seda	Bota	Luis Enriquez	P3485	669v
Seda	Boton	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1211v[sic]
Seda	Cadena	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	193v
Seda	Caja	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1298v
Seda	Caja	Antonio Perez	P989b	469v
Seda	Caja	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	214v
Seda	Calças	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1012
Seda	Calças	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1013v
Seda	Calças	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1454v
Seda	Calças	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1454v
Seda	Calças	Juan de Mendoza y Castilla	P2298	329
Seda	Calças	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1148
Seda	Calçon	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	761
Seda	Camá [Textil]	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	870v
Seda	Camá [Textil]	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	369v
Seda	Camá [Textil]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1291v
Seda	Camá [Textil]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1291v
Seda	Camá [Textil]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1292v
Seda	Camá [Textil]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1300
Seda	Camá [Textil]	Ana Manrique	P2022	382
Seda	Camá [Textil]	Ana Manrique	P2022	382
Seda	Camá [Textil]	Antonio Perez	P989b	466
Seda	Camá [Textil]	Antonio Perez	P989b	466v
Seda	Camá [Textil]	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	510
Seda	Camá [Textil]	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	510
Seda	Camá [Textil]	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	210
Seda	Camá [Textil]	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	688
Seda	Camá [Textil]	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	49
Seda	Camá [Textil]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	780
Seda	Camá [Textil]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	780v
Seda	Camá [Textil]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	780v
Seda	Camá [Textil]	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1053v
Seda	Camá [Textil]	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1054
Seda	Camá [Textil]	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1054v
Seda	Camá [Textil]	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1055
Seda	Camá [Textil]	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1495
Seda	Camá [Textil]	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	217v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Seda	Camá [Textil]	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	215
Seda	Camá [Textil]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	655v
Seda	Camá [Textil]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	657
Seda	Camá [Textil]	Martin de Padreda	P2323	401v
Seda	Camá [Textil]	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1337v
Seda	Camá [Textil]	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviña	P2040b	637-[652]
Seda	Camisa	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	386
Seda	Camisa	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	386
Seda	Camisa	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	386v
Seda	Camisa	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	386v
Seda	Camisa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1345
Seda	Camisa	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	915
Seda	Camisa	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	194v
Seda	Capa	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1014
Seda	Capa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1046v
Seda	Capa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1046.1
Seda	Capa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1046.1v
Seda	Capa	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1462
Seda	Capa	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1496v
Seda	Capa	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1496v
Seda	Capa	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1382v
Seda	Capa	Luis Enriquez	P3485	668v
Seda	Casula	Juan de Acuña	P2661	827
Seda	Casula	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1501v
Seda	Casula	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1501v
Seda	Casula	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1502
Seda	Casula	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1502v
Seda	Cesta	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	18v
Seda	Chiflo	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	500v
Seda	Chinelas	Maria de Aragón	P1578	168
Seda	Cinta	Juan de Acuña	P2661	881v
Seda	Cinta	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1483
Seda	Cinta	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1384v
Seda	Cinta	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	909v
Seda	Cinta	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	207
Seda	Cinta	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	208
Seda	Cinta	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	208
Seda	Cinta	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	208
Seda	Cinta	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	208v
Seda	Cinta	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	208v
Seda	Cinta	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	208v
Seda	Cinta	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	208v
Seda	Cinta	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	208v
Seda	Cinta	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	208v
Seda	Cinta	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	211
Seda	Cinta	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	211
Seda	Cinta	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	211v
Seda	Cinta	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	213
Seda	Cinta	Maria de Aragón	P1578	165
Seda	Cinto	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	32v
Seda	Cinto	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1468v
Seda	Cinto	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1469
Seda	Cobertor	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Seda	Cobertor	Antonio Perez	P989b	466v
Seda	Cobertor	Antonio Perez	P989b	471v
Seda	Cobertor	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	282v
Seda	Cobertor	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1046v
Seda	Cobertor	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Seda	Cofia	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1012
Seda	Cofia	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	792v
Seda	Cofia	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	495
Seda	Cofia	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	61v
Seda	Cofia	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	913v
Seda	Cofia	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	209
Seda	Cofre	Juan de Acuña	P2661	830
Seda	Cofre	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	209

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Seda	Cofre	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	193v
Seda	Colcha	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1312v
Seda	Colcha	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1312v
Seda	Colcha	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1312v
Seda	Colcha	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	855v
Seda	Colcha	Antonio Perez	P989b	467v
Seda	Colcha	Antonio Perez	P989b	467v
Seda	Colcha	Antonio Perez	P989b	467v
Seda	Colcha	Juan de Acuña	P2661	905v
Seda	Colcha	Juan de Acuña	P2661	905v
Seda	Colcha	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1047v
Seda	Colcha	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1047v
Seda	Colcha	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1047v
Seda	Colcha	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1048
Seda	Colcha	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1048
Seda	Colcha	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1048v
Seda	Colcha	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1048v
Seda	Colcha	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1341
Seda	Colcha	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1341
Seda	Colgadura	Juan de Acuña	P2661	788v
Seda	Colgadura	Luis Enriquez	P3485	656
Seda	Cordon	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	495v
Seda	Cordon	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	496
Seda	Cordon	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	497
Seda	Cordon	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	497
Seda	Cordon	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	518
Seda	Cordon	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	25v
Seda	Cordon	Juan de Acuña	P2661	825v
Seda	Cordon	Juan de Acuña	P2661	879
Seda	Cordon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1482v
Seda	Cordon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1482v
Seda	Cordon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1482v
Seda	Cordon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1482v
Seda	Cordon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1483
Seda	Cordon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1483
Seda	Cordon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1483
Seda	Cordon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1483
Seda	Cordon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1483
Seda	Cordon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1483
Seda	Cordon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1483
Seda	Cordon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1483
Seda	Cordon	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	906
Seda	Cordon	Maria de Aragón	P1578	162v
Seda	Corporal	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	796v
Seda	Corporal	Maria de Aragón	P1578	161v
Seda	Cortina	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	510v
Seda	Cortina	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	49v
Seda	Cortina	Juan de Acuña	P2661	882v
Seda	Cubierta	Juan de Acuña	P2661	825v
Seda	Cubierta	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1057
Seda	Dossel	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1633v
Seda	Dossel	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1634
Seda	Dossel	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	367v
Seda	Dossel	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1292v
Seda	Dossel	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	49v
Seda	Dossel	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	49v
Seda	Dossel	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	49v
Seda	Dossel	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	215
Seda	Escudo	Juan de Acuña	P2661	879v
Seda	Escultura	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	18
Seda	Escultura	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	33
Seda	Espada	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	494v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Seda	Espada	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1454
Seda	Estera	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1764
Seda	Estera	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1044v
Seda	Farol	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1038v
Seda	Ferrezuelo	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	761
Seda	Ferrezuelo	Martin de Padreda	P2323	403
Seda	Ferrezuelo	Martin de Padreda	P2323	403
Seda	Ferrezuelo	Martin de Padreda	P2323	403
Seda	Franjon	Juan de Acuña	P2661	882v
Seda	Frasco	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	496v
Seda	Frasco	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	507v
Seda	Frasco	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1469
Seda	Frontal	Ana Manrique	P2022	366
Seda	Frontal	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	795
Seda	Frontal	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Seda	Frontal	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Seda	Frontal	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1758v
Seda	Frontal	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1759
Seda	Frontal	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	65
Seda	Frontal	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	30v
Seda	Frontal	Luis Enriquez	P3485	665v
Seda	Frutero	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	34v
Seda	Frutero	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	34v
Seda	Frutero	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	35
Seda	Frutero	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1510
Seda	Frutero	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	913v
Seda	Frutero	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	916v
Seda	Frutero	Luis Enriquez	P3485	668v
Seda	Frutero	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1169v
Seda	Gaban	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	525
Seda	Gorguera	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1510v
Seda	Guantes	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	707v
Seda	Guantes	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Seda	Guantes	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	211
Seda	Guantes	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	528
Seda	Hijuela	Maria de Aragón	P1578	160v
Seda	Hijuela	Maria de Aragón	P1578	161v
Seda	Imagen	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1760
Seda	Imagen	Juan de Acuña	P2661	821v
Seda	Imagen	Juan de Acuña	P2661	828v
Seda	Imagen	Juan de Acuña	P2661	831
Seda	Imagen	Juan de Acuña	P2661	831
Seda	Imagen	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	533v
Seda	Jubon	Ana Maria Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1011
Seda	Jubon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1457
Seda	Jubon	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Seda	Lienzo	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	25
Seda	Lienzo	Maria de Aragón	P1578	166
Seda	Ligas	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	952
Seda	Ligas	Martin de Padreda	P2323	404
Seda	Loba	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviria	P2040b	637-[652]
Seda	Mangas	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1310
Seda	Mangas	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1310
Seda	Mangas	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1315v
Seda	Mangas	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1345
Seda	Mangas	Antonio Perez	P989b	469
Seda	Mangas	Antonio Perez	P989b	469v
Seda	Mangas	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Seda	Mangas	Luis Enriquez	P3485	668v
Seda	Mantel	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1310v
Seda	Mantel	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1756v
Seda	Mantel	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1767v
Seda	Mantel	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	529v
Seda	Manteo	Ana Manrique	P2022	382
Seda	Manteo	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	785





Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Seda	Rosario	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	518v
Seda	Rosario	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	518v
Seda	Rosario	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	519
Seda	Rosario	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	519
Seda	Rosario	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	519
Seda	Rosario	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	519
Seda	Rosario	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	519
Seda	Rosario	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	519
Seda	Rosario	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	519
Seda	Rosario	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	519
Seda	Rosario	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	519
Seda	Sapato	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	497
Seda	Sapato	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	497
Seda	Saya	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	872v
Seda	Saya	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1308v
Seda	Sayo	Ana Manrique	P2022	367
Seda	Sayo	Ana Manrique	P2022	367v
Seda	Senefa	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1451v
Seda	Senefa	Maria de Aragón	P1578	163
Seda	Silla	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	367v
Seda	Silla	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1298
Seda	Silla	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	520v
Seda	Silla	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	949
Seda	Silla	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	215
Seda	Silla	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	215
Seda	Silla	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	215
Seda	Silla	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	215
Seda	Silla	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	215
Seda	Silla	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	216
Seda	Silla	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	216
Seda	Silla	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	61
Seda	Silla	Juan de Acuña	P2661	806
Seda	Silla	Juan de Acuña	P2661	809
Seda	Silla	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1066
Seda	Silla	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1066v
Seda	Silla	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1066v
Seda	Silla	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1066v
Seda	Silla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1452v
Seda	Silla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1453
Seda	Silla	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	220
Seda	Silla	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	220v
Seda	Silla	Maria de Aragón	P1578	167v
Seda	Silla	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	527
Seda	Sobremesa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1291v
Seda	Sobremesa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1292
Seda	Sobremesa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1297v
Seda	Sobremesa	Ana Manrique	P2022	382v
Seda	Sobremesa	Antonio Perez	P989b	466v
Seda	Sobremesa	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	509v
Seda	Sobremesa	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	510v
Seda	Sobremesa	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	50v
Seda	Sobremesa	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	279v
Seda	Sobremesa	Juan de Acuña	P2661	784
Seda	Sobremesa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1055v
Seda	Sobremesa	Martin de Padreda	P2323	402v
Seda	Sotana	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	761
Seda	Sotana	Juan de Acuña	P2661	885v
Seda	Taburete	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	215
Seda	Taburete	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	215v
Seda	Taburete	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	216
Seda	Taburete	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	61
Seda	Taburete	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1066v
Seda	Taburete	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1066v
Seda	Taburete	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1067
Seda	Taburete	Martin de Padreda	P2323	413v
Seda	Tapete	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1293

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Seda	Tapete	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1293v
Seda	Tapete	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	277
Seda	Tapete	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1496
Seda	Tapete	Martin de Padreda	P2323	401v
Seda	Tapiceria	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1293v
Seda	Tapiceria	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1293v
Seda	Tapiceria	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	206
Seda	Tapiceria	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	206v
Seda	Tapiceria	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	206v
Seda	Tapiceria	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	206v
Seda	Tapiceria	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	206v
Seda	Tapiceria	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	207
Seda	Tapiceria	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	207
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Seda	Tapiceria	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	207v
Seda	Tapiceria	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	690v
Seda	Tapiceria	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	47v
Seda	Tapiceria	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	47v
Seda	Tapiceria	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	48
Seda	Tapiceria	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	526
Seda	Toalla	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1767v
Seda	Toalla	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	707
Seda	Toalla	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	707
Seda	Toalla	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	707
Seda	Toalla	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	61
Seda	Toalla	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	61
Seda	Toalla	Juan de Acuña	P2661	910
Seda	Toalla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1511v
Seda	Toalla	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	911v
Seda	Toalla	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	914
Seda	Toalla	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	914
Seda	Toalla	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	914
Seda	Toalla	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	914v
Seda	Toalla	Luis Enriquez	P3485	669v
Seda	Toalla	Martin de Padreda	P2323	409
Seda	Toalla	Martin de Padreda	P2323	409v
Seda	Toalla	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	524
Seda	Toalla	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	524v
Seda	Toalla	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	524v
Seda	Toalla	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	524v
Seda	Toalla	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	180v
Seda	Toca	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1211v[sc]
Seda	Toca	Ana Maria Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1014v
Seda	Toca	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1757v
Seda	Toca	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1757v
Seda	Toca	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1496
Seda	Toca	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1383
Seda	Toca	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	909
Seda	Toca	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	208v
Seda	Toca	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	208v
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Seda	Toca	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	209
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Seda	Toca	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	209
Seda	Toca	Maria de Aragón	P1578	166v
Seda	Valona	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1510v
Seda	Velo	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	511
Seda	Vestido	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	794v
Seda	Vestido	Martin de Padreda	P2323	402v
Tabi	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	368v
Tabi	[material]	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	213
Tabi	[material]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	672v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Tabi	[material]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	672v
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Tabi	[material]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	673
Tabi	[material]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	673
Tabi	Almilla	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	193
Tabi	Calçon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1456
Tabi	Calçon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1456
Tabi	Faldellin	Juan de Mendoza y Castilla	P2298	330v
Tabi	Forro	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	384
Tabi	Frontal	Ana Manrique	P2022	366
Tabi	Frontal	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	531v
Tabi	Jubon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1457v
Tabi	Jubon	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	525v
Tabi	Mangas	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	525v
Tabi	Picça	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	178v
Tabi	Ropa	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	380
Tabi	Ropa	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	247
Tabi	Ropa	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1499v
Tabi	Ropa	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1500v
Tabi	Tapete	Ana Manrique	P2022	366
Tabi	Vaquero	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	873
Tabi	Vestido	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	401
Tafetan	[material]	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1642
Tafetan	[material]	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1642
Tafetan	[material]	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1648v
Tafetan	[material]	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1648v
Tafetan	[material]	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	384v
Tafetan	[material]	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	384v
Tafetan	[material]	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	384v
Tafetan	[material]	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	384v
Tafetan	[material]	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	384 [sic]
Tafetan	[material]	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	394
Tafetan	[material]	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	394
Tafetan	[material]	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	401v
Tafetan	[material]	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	420
Tafetan	[material]	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	421
Tafetan	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1293v
Tafetan	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1294
Tafetan	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1295
Tafetan	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1298
Tafetan	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1298
Tafetan	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1338v
Tafetan	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1339v
Tafetan	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	366v
Tafetan	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	366v
Tafetan	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	381v
Tafetan	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	382v
Tafetan	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	382v
Tafetan	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	382v
Tafetan	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	382v
Tafetan	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	382v
Tafetan	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	383
Tafetan	[material]	Ana Maria Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1014
Tafetan	[material]	Ana Maria Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1016v
Tafetan	[material]	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	787v
Tafetan	[material]	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	787v
Tafetan	[material]	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	788
Tafetan	[material]	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	788v
Tafetan	[material]	Antonio Perez	P989b	470
Tafetan	[material]	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	494v
Tafetan	[material]	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	495v
Tafetan	[material]	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	503v
Tafetan	[material]	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	503v
Tafetan	[material]	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	509v
Tafetan	[material]	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	510

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Tafetan	[material]	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	510
Tafetan	[material]	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1012
Tafetan	[material]	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1752
Tafetan	[material]	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1755
Tafetan	[material]	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	956v
Tafetan	[material]	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	248v
Tafetan	[material]	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	689
Tafetan	[material]	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	690
Tafetan	[material]	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	48v
Tafetan	[material]	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	48v
Tafetan	[material]	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	65
Tafetan	[material]	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	65
Tafetan	[material]	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	65v
Tafetan	[material]	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	66v
Tafetan	[material]	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	759
Tafetan	[material]	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	767v
Tafetan	[material]	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	767v
Tafetan	[material]	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	785
Tafetan	[material]	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	785
Tafetan	[material]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	789
Tafetan	[material]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	789
Tafetan	[material]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	789
Tafetan	[material]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	826
Tafetan	[material]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	880
Tafetan	[material]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	880
Tafetan	[material]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	880v
Tafetan	[material]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	880v
Tafetan	[material]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	880v
Tafetan	[material]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	883v
Tafetan	[material]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	899
Tafetan	[material]	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1053
Tafetan	[material]	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1057
Tafetan	[material]	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1465v
Tafetan	[material]	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1465v
Tafetan	[material]	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1465v
Tafetan	[material]	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1470
Tafetan	[material]	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1470
Tafetan	[material]	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1385
Tafetan	[material]	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	911
Tafetan	[material]	Juana de Mujita	P2021	85v
Tafetan	[material]	Juana de Mujita	P2021	89
Tafetan	[material]	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	194v
Tafetan	[material]	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	204v
Tafetan	[material]	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	204v
Tafetan	[material]	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	204v
Tafetan	[material]	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	204v
Tafetan	[material]	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	204v
Tafetan	[material]	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	207v
Tafetan	[material]	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	216
Tafetan	[material]	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	219v
Tafetan	[material]	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	219v
Tafetan	[material]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	657
Tafetan	[material]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	657
Tafetan	[material]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	657
Tafetan	[material]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	657
Tafetan	[material]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	657
Tafetan	[material]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	657v
Tafetan	[material]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	671
Tafetan	[material]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	672v
Tafetan	[material]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	673
Tafetan	[material]	Maria de Aragón	P1578	164
Tafetan	[material]	Maria Pereira	P989	237
Tafetan	[material]	Martin de Padreda	P2323	402
Tafetan	[material]	Martin de Padreda	P2323	402v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Tafetan	[material]	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	524v
Tafetan	[material]	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1161v
Tafetan	[material]	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	178v
Tafetan	[material]	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	187v
Tafetan	[material]	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	189v
Tafetan	Abano	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	208
Tafetan	Açafate	Juan de Acuña	P2661	917
Tafetan	Açerico	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	384
Tafetan	Alba	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	65
Tafetan	Almilla	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	384 [sic]
Tafetan	Almilla	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	496
Tafetan	Almilla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1458v
Tafetan	Almilla	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Tafetan	Almilla	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	915v
Tafetan	Almilla	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	915v
Tafetan	Almilla	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	193
Tafetan	Almilla	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	193
Tafetan	Almohada	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1644v
Tafetan	Almohada	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1295
Tafetan	Almohada	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1318v
Tafetan	Almohada	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1344v
Tafetan	Almohada	Ana Manrique	P2022	382v
Tafetan	Almohada	Ana Manrique	P2022	383
Tafetan	Almohada	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	785v
Tafetan	Almohada	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1756
Tafetan	Almohada	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	279v
Tafetan	Almohada	Juan de Acuña	P2661	791v
Tafetan	Almohada	Juan de Acuña	P2661	826
Tafetan	Almohada	Juan de Acuña	P2661	831
Tafetan	Almohada	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1481
Tafetan	Almohada	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1512v
Tafetan	Almohada	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	911v
Tafetan	Almohada	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	204v
Tafetan	Almohada	Luis Enriquez	P3485	674
Tafetan	Almohada	Maria de Aragón	P1578	170
Tafetan	Almohada	Maria de Aragón	P1578	170
Tafetan	Almohada	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	187v
Tafetan	Antepuerta	Luis Enriquez	P3485	657
Tafetan	Antepuerta	Luis Enriquez	P3485	657v
Tafetan	Ara	Antonio Perez	P989b	469
Tafetan	Arca	Juan de Acuña	P2661	830
Tafetan	Arca	Juan de Acuña	P2661	830v
Tafetan	Arca	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	911v
Tafetan	Avito	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Tafetan	Avito	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Tafetan	Avito	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Tafetan	Avito	Ana Maria Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1011v
Tafetan	Banco	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1378
Tafetan	Banda	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1648v
Tafetan	Banda	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	399v
Tafetan	Banda	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1316
Tafetan	Banda	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1340v
Tafetan	Banda	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	497
Tafetan	Banda	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1755v
Tafetan	Banda	Juan de Acuña	P2661	883v
Tafetan	Banda	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1481
Tafetan	Banda	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1482v
Tafetan	Banda	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1482v
Tafetan	Banda	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	915
Tafetan	Banda	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	209v
Tafetan	Basquiña	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	382v
Tafetan	Basquiña	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1307v
Tafetan	Basquiña	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1308
Tafetan	Basquiña	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1012v
Tafetan	Basquiña	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	248

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Tafetan	Basquiña	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	695v
Tafetan	Basquiña	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	757
Tafetan	Basquiña	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	757
Tafetan	Basquiña	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	757v
Tafetan	Basquiña	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	757v
Tafetan	Basquiña	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1370
Tafetan	Bastidor	Maria de Aragón	P1578	168
Tafetan	Baúl	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	540
Tafetan	Beca	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	247v
Tafetan	Biombo	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	527v
Tafetan	Bolsa	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1642v
Tafetan	Bolsa	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	384v [sic]
Tafetan	Bolsa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1314v
Tafetan	Bolsa	Ana Manrique	P2022	366v
Tafetan	Bolsa	Antonio Perez	P989b	466v
Tafetan	Bolsa	Antonio Perez	P989b	469
Tafetan	Bolsa	Antonio Perez	P989b	469
Tafetan	Bolsa	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	507v
Tafetan	Bolsa	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	25v
Tafetan	Bolsa	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	26v
Tafetan	Bolsa	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	532v
Tafetan	Bonete	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	495
Tafetan	Bonete	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	495v
Tafetan	Caja	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	376
Tafetan	Caja	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1306v
Tafetan	Caja	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	29
Tafetan	Caja	Juan de Acuña	P2661	830v
Tafetan	Caja	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1481
Tafetan	Caja	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1506v
Tafetan	Caja	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	906
Tafetan	Caja	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1339v
Tafetan	Calças	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1647
Tafetan	Calças	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1338v
Tafetan	Calças	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	240
Tafetan	Calças	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	693v
Tafetan	Calças	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1046.1
Tafetan	Calças	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1454v
Tafetan	Calças	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1454v
Tafetan	Calças	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1455
Tafetan	Calças	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1455
Tafetan	Calças	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1455
Tafetan	Calças	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1497
Tafetan	Calças	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1497
Tafetan	Calças	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1524v
Tafetan	Calças	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	525v
Tafetan	Calçon	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	760
Tafetan	Calçon	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	761v
Tafetan	Calçon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1456
Tafetan	Calçon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1456
Tafetan	Calçon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1456
Tafetan	Calçon	Luis Enriquez	P3485	661
Tafetan	Calçon	Luis Enriquez	P3485	661v
Tafetan	Calçon	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	188
Tafetan	Calçon	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	188
Tafetan	Cama [Textil]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1291v
Tafetan	Cama [Textil]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1292v
Tafetan	Cama [Textil]	Ana Manrique	P2022	382
Tafetan	Cama [Textil]	Antonio Perez	P989b	468
Tafetan	Cama [Textil]	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1755
Tafetan	Cama [Textil]	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	210
Tafetan	Cama [Textil]	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	688
Tafetan	Cama [Textil]	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	688v
Tafetan	Cama [Textil]	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1053
Tafetan	Cama [Textil]	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1053
Tafetan	Cama [Textil]	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1054

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Tafetan	Cama [Textil]	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1054v
Tafetan	Cama [Textil]	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1055
Tafetan	Cama [Textil]	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	218
Tafetan	Cama [Textil]	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	218
Tafetan	Cama [Textil]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	657
Tafetan	Cama [Textil]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	660
Tafetan	Cama [Textil]	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviria	P2040b	637-[652]
Tafetan	Cama [Textil]	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1160v
Tafetan	Capa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1309v
Tafetan	Capa	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1461
Tafetan	Capa	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1462v
Tafetan	Capa	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1462v
Tafetan	Capa	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1463
Tafetan	Capa	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1369v
Tafetan	Capa	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1382v
Tafetan	Casco	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1466v
Tafetan	Casco	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1466v
Tafetan	Casco	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1467
Tafetan	Casco	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1467
Tafetan	Casco	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1467
Tafetan	Casco	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1467
Tafetan	Casula	Ana Manrique	P2022	366
Tafetan	Casula	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Tafetan	Casula	Juan de Acuña	P2661	826
Tafetan	Casula	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	531v
Tafetan	Cesta	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	374v
Tafetan	Cesta	Maria Pereira	P989	236v
Tafetan	Cobertor	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1046v
Tafetan	Cobertor	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1046v
Tafetan	Cobertor	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1046.1
Tafetan	Cobertor	Luis Enriquez	P3485	657
Tafetan	Cofre	Luis Enriquez	P3485	669v
Tafetan	Colcha	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	420v
Tafetan	Colcha	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	420v
Tafetan	Colcha	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1312v
Tafetan	Colcha	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1312v
Tafetan	Colcha	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1014
Tafetan	Colcha	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	788
Tafetan	Colcha	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	788
Tafetan	Colcha	Antonio Perez	P989b	467v
Tafetan	Colcha	Antonio Perez	P989b	467v
Tafetan	Colcha	Antonio Perez	P989b	467v
Tafetan	Colcha	Antonio Perez	P989b	470v
Tafetan	Colcha	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	509v
Tafetan	Colcha	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	509v
Tafetan	Colcha	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	510v
Tafetan	Colcha	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1758
Tafetan	Colcha	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	954
Tafetan	Colcha	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	689v
Tafetan	Colcha	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	689v
Tafetan	Colcha	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	59
Tafetan	Colcha	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	279v
Tafetan	Colcha	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	767
Tafetan	Colcha	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	784
Tafetan	Colcha	Juan de Acuña	P2661	905v
Tafetan	Colcha	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1048v
Tafetan	Colcha	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1377
Tafetan	Colcha	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Tafetan	Colcha	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	912v
Tafetan	Colcha	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	219
Tafetan	Colcha	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	219
Tafetan	Colcha	Luis Enriquez	P3485	657
Tafetan	Colcha	Luis Enriquez	P3485	657
Tafetan	Colcha	Luis Enriquez	P3485	675v
Tafetan	Colcha	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1160v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Tafetan	Colcha	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1161
Tafetan	Colcha	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1161
Tafetan	Colcha	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	190
Tafetan	Colchon	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Tafetan	Colchon	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1340
Tafetan	Coletto	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1644
Tafetan	Coletto	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1644
Tafetan	Coletto	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	399
Tafetan	Coletto	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	399
Tafetan	Coletto	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1013v
Tafetan	Coletto	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	694v
Tafetan	Coletto	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1462
Tafetan	Coletto	María de Aragón	P1578	171
Tafetan	Colgadura	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Tafetan	Colgadura	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	855
Tafetan	Colgadura	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	767v
Tafetan	Colgadura	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	768
Tafetan	Colgadura	Juan de Acuña	P2661	787
Tafetan	Colgadura	Juan de Acuña	P2661	787
Tafetan	Colgadura	Juan de Acuña	P2661	787v
Tafetan	Colgadura	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	476
Tafetan	Colgadura	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	218
Tafetan	Colgadura	Luis Enriquez	P3485	656
Tafetan	Colgadura	Luis Enriquez	P3485	660
Tafetan	Colgadura	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	548v
Tafetan	Colgadura	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviria	P2040b	637-[652]
Tafetan	Colgadura	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviria	P2040b	637-[652]
Tafetan	Corporal	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Tafetan	Corporal	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1759v
Tafetan	Corporal	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1760
Tafetan	Cortina	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	420v
Tafetan	Cortina	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	788
Tafetan	Cortina	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	510v
Tafetan	Cortina	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1755
Tafetan	Cortina	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	280v
Tafetan	Cortina	Juan de Acuña	P2661	781
Tafetan	Cortina	Juan de Acuña	P2661	882v
Tafetan	Cortina	Juan de Acuña	P2661	889v
Tafetan	Cortina	Juan de Acuña	P2661	889v
Tafetan	Cortina	Juan de Acuña	P2661	895
Tafetan	Cortina	Juan de Acuña	P2661	895
Tafetan	Cortina	Juan de Acuña	P2661	895
Tafetan	Cortina	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	910
Tafetan	Cortina	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	912
Tafetan	Cortina	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	912
Tafetan	Cortina	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	219v
Tafetan	Cortina	María de Aragón	P1578	161v
Tafetan	Cortina	Martin de Padreda	P2323	410
Tafetan	Cortina	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	183v
Tafetan	Cortina	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	184
Tafetan	Cubierta	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	532v
Tafetan	Cuello	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1457v
Tafetan	Cuello	Juana de Mujita	P2021	85
Tafetan	Cuera	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1461v
Tafetan	Cuera	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1461v
Tafetan	Cuera	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1461v
Tafetan	Cuera	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1461v
Tafetan	Delantal	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1014
Tafetan	Delantal	Juan de Acuña	P2661	883
Tafetan	Dossel	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1018v
Tafetan	Dossel	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	211
Tafetan	Dossel	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1496
Tafetan	Dossel	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	914v
Tafetan	Escabelo	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1057
Tafetan	Escapulário	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1345
Tafetan	Escapulário	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	785v

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Tafetan	Escritorio	Antonio Perez	P989b	469
Tafetan	Escrivania	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	222v
Tafetan	Escudo	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	522v
Tafetan	Escultura	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	33
Tafetan	Espaldar	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1056v
Tafetan	Espaldar	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1057
Tafetan	Espaldar	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1057
Tafetan	Faldellin	Aldoña de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	873
Tafetan	Faldellin	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Tafetan	Ferrezuelo	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1046
Tafetan	Ferrezuelo	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1046
Tafetan	Ferrezuelo	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1463v
Tafetan	Ferrezuelo	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1463v
Tafetan	Ferrezuelo	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1463v
Tafetan	Ferrezuelo	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1464
Tafetan	Ferrezuelo	Luis Enriquez	P3485	661v
Tafetan	Forro	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1211[sic]
Tafetan	Forro	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1211v[sic]
Tafetan	Forro	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1211v[sic]
Tafetan	Forro	Maria de Aragón	P1578	170v
Tafetan	Frontal	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Tafetan	Frontal	Juan de Acuña	P2661	826
Tafetan	Frontal	Juan de Acuña	P2661	828
Tafetan	Frontal	Maria de Aragón	P1578	161v
Tafetan	Frontal	Maria de Aragón	P1578	163
Tafetan	Frontal	Maria de Aragón	P1578	163v
Tafetan	Frontal	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	532
Tafetan	Frontal	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	184
Tafetan	Garnacha	Fernando Carrillo	P2031	1030v
Tafetan	Gorra	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1337
Tafetan	Gorra	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1337
Tafetan	Gorra	Fernando Carrillo	P2031	1030v
Tafetan	Imagen	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1754v
Tafetan	Imagen	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1761v
Tafetan	Imagen	Luis Enriquez	P3485	671v
Tafetan	Imagen	Luis Enriquez	P3485	673v
Tafetan	Imagen	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	535
Tafetan	Imagen	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	540v
Tafetan	Jubon	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1643v
Tafetan	Jubon	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1308
Tafetan	Jubon	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1310v
Tafetan	Jubon	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1211v[sic]
Tafetan	Jubon	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1340
Tafetan	Jubon	Ana Maria Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1013
Tafetan	Jubon	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	785v
Tafetan	Jubon	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	951
Tafetan	Jubon	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	953
Tafetan	Jubon	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	239v
Tafetan	Jubon	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	757
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Tafetan	Jubon	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	759v
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Tafetan	Jubon	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	760
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Tafetan	Jubon	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	760v
Tafetan	Jubon	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	760v
Tafetan	Jubon	Juan de Acuña	P2661	887v
Tafetan	Jubon	Juan de Acuña	P2661	887v
Tafetan	Jubon	Juan de Acuña	P2661	887v
Tafetan	Jubon	Juan de Acuña	P2661	888
Tafetan	Jubon	Juan de Acuña	P2661	888
Tafetan	Jubon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1456v
Tafetan	Jubon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1456v
Tafetan	Jubon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1456v
Tafetan	Jubon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1457

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Tafetan	Jubon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1457v
Tafetan	Jubon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1457v
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Tafetan	Jubon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1457v
Tafetan	Jubon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1458
Tafetan	Jubon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1458
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Tafetan	Jubon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1458v
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Tafetan	Jubon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1458v
Tafetan	Jubon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1459
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Tafetan	Jubon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1459
Tafetan	Jubon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1459
Tafetan	Jubon	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1373
Tafetan	Jubon	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	193
Tafetan	Jubon	Luis Enriquez	P3485	661
Tafetan	Jubon	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1147v
Tafetan	Jubon	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1147v
Tafetan	Ligas	Ana Maria Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1011v
Tafetan	Ligas	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	792v
Tafetan	Ligas	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	792v
Tafetan	Ligas	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	495v
Tafetan	Ligas	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	785
Tafetan	Ligas	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	208
Tafetan	Ligas	Martin de Padreda	P2323	404
Tafetan	Mangas	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	383v
Tafetan	Mangas	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	383v
Tafetan	Mangas	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1308v
Tafetan	Mangas	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1310
Tafetan	Mangas	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1310
Tafetan	Mangas	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1310
Tafetan	Mangas	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1211v[sic]
Tafetan	Mangas	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1341
Tafetan	Mangas	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1342
Tafetan	Mangas	Ana Maria Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1013v
Tafetan	Mangas	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	760v
Tafetan	Mangas	Juan de Acuña	P2661	888
Tafetan	Mangas	Juan de Acuña	P2661	888
Tafetan	Mangas	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1370
Tafetan	Mangas	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	484
Tafetan	Mangas	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	189v
Tafetan	Mangas	Luis Enriquez	P3485	661v
Tafetan	Manta	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	188v
Tafetan	Mantel	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1310v
Tafetan	Mantel	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1310v
Tafetan	Manteo	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	383
Tafetan	Manteo	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1312
Tafetan	Manteo	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	191v
Tafetan	Manto	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1348v

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Tafetan	Mascara	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1467
Tafetan	Medias	Juan de Mendoza y Castilla	P2298	329v
Tafetan	Mosqueador	Ana Manrique	P2022	372
Tafetan	Mosqueador	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1363v
Tafetan	Mosqueador	Luis Enriquez	P3485	661
Tafetan	Oratório	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	31
Tafetan	Ostiaro	Juan de Acuña	P2661	824
Tafetan	Pabellon	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1293
Tafetan	Pabellon	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	855
Tafetan	Pabellon	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	278v
Tafetan	Pabellon	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1047v
Tafetan	Pabellon	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	477
Tafetan	Pabellon	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	912v
Tafetan	Paño	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1294
Tafetan	Paño	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Tafetan	Paño	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Tafetan	Paño	Antonio Perez	P989b	466
Tafetan	Paño	Antonio Perez	P989b	467
Tafetan	Paño	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	25
Tafetan	Paño	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	767v
Tafetan	Paño	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1050v
Tafetan	Paño	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1051
Tafetan	Paño	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1051
Tafetan	Paño	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1051
Tafetan	Paño	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1051v
Tafetan	Paño	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1052v
Tafetan	Paño	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1470
Tafetan	Paño	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1502v
Tafetan	Paño	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1371
Tafetan	Paño	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1371
Tafetan	Paño	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1377
Tafetan	Paño	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1377
Tafetan	Paño	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1377
Tafetan	Paño	Maria Pereira	P989	233v
Tafetan	Paño	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	531v
Tafetan	Paño	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	184v
Tafetan	Peinador	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	193
Tafetan	Pieça	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	420
Tafetan	Pieça	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	420
Tafetan	Pieça	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	420v
Tafetan	Pieça	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1308
Tafetan	Pieça	Antonio Perez	P989b	466
Tafetan	Pieça	Antonio Perez	P989b	466
Tafetan	Pieça	Antonio Perez	P989b	466v
Tafetan	Pieça	Antonio Perez	P989b	470
Tafetan	Pieça	Antonio Perez	P989b	472
Tafetan	Pieça	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	215
Tafetan	Pieça	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	239v
Tafetan	Pieça	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	241v
Tafetan	Pieça	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	48v
Tafetan	Pieça	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	36
Tafetan	Pieça	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	280v
Tafetan	Pieça	Juan de Acuña	P2661	792
Tafetan	Pieça	Juan de Acuña	P2661	826v
Tafetan	Pieça	Juan de Acuña	P2661	827v
Tafetan	Pieça	Juan de Acuña	P2661	883
Tafetan	Pieça	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	918
Tafetan	Pieça	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	178v
Tafetan	Pieça	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	183v
Tafetan	Pieça	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	189v
Tafetan	Pintura	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	794
Tafetan	Pintura	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	794
Tafetan	Pintura	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	795v
Tafetan	Pintura	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	526v
Tafetan	Puntas	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1307
Tafetan	Quadro	Luis Enriquez	P3485	669v

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Tafetan	Relicário	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1344
Tafetan	Ropa	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Tafetan	Ropa	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Tafetan	Ropa	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Tafetan	Ropa	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	382
Tafetan	Ropa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1307v
Tafetan	Ropa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1307v
Tafetan	Ropa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1307v
Tafetan	Ropa	Ana Maria Dugarte de la Hermosa	P2654b	1011v
Tafetan	Ropa	Ana Maria Dugarte de la Hermosa	P2654b	1015
Tafetan	Ropa	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	785
Tafetan	Ropa	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1012v
Tafetan	Ropa	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	238
Tafetan	Ropa	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	238
Tafetan	Ropa	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	247
Tafetan	Ropa	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	693v
Tafetan	Ropa	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	695v
Tafetan	Ropa	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	695v
Tafetan	Ropa	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	757
Tafetan	Ropa	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	758
Tafetan	Ropa	Juan de Acuña	P2661	823v
Tafetan	Ropa	Juan de Acuña	P2661	829v
Tafetan	Ropa	Juan de Acuña	P2661	884v
Tafetan	Ropa	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1463
Tafetan	Ropa	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1463
Tafetan	Ropa	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1500v
Tafetan	Ropa	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1370
Tafetan	Ropa	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1370
Tafetan	Ropa	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1373
Tafetan	Ropa	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	182v
Tafetan	Ropa	Luis Enriquez	P3485	672v
Tafetan	Ropa	Martin de Padreda	P2323	404v
Tafetan	Ropa	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	188v
Tafetan	Ropilla	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1338
Tafetan	Ropilla	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1340
Tafetan	Ropilla	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1341
Tafetan	Ropilla	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1341
Tafetan	Ropilla	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1342
Tafetan	Ropilla	Ana Maria Dugarte de la Hermosa	P2654b	1017
Tafetan	Ropilla	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	239
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Tafetan	Ropilla	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	239v
Tafetan	Ropilla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1459
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Tafetan	Ropilla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1496v
Tafetan	Ropilla	Martín de Padreda	P2323	403
Tafetan	Ropilla	Martín de Padreda	P2323	403v
Tafetan	Ropilla	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	525
Tafetan	Ropilla	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	525
Tafetan	Saya	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Tafetan	Saya	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1307
Tafetan	Saya	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1309v
Tafetan	Saya	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	952v
Tafetan	Saya	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	248
Tafetan	Saya	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	697
Tafetan	Saya	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1369
Tafetan	Saya	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	189
Tafetan	Saya	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	189v
Tafetan	Silla	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	698v
Tafetan	Sobremesa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1291v
Tafetan	Sobremesa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1337
Tafetan	Sobremesa	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1014
Tafetan	Sobremesa	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	496v
Tafetan	Sobremesa	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1755
Tafetan	Sobremesa	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	218v
Tafetan	Sombbrero	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1314
Tafetan	Sombbrero	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1314
Tafetan	Sombbrero	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1340v
Tafetan	Sombbrero	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1340v
Tafetan	Sombbrero	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1756
Tafetan	Sombbrero	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1756
Tafetan	Sombbrero	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	951
Tafetan	Sombbrero	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	951
Tafetan	Sombbrero	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	241v
Tafetan	Sombbrero	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	280
Tafetan	Sombbrero	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	280
Tafetan	Sombbrero	Juan de Acuña	P2661	890v
Tafetan	Sombbrero	Juan de Acuña	P2661	890v
Tafetan	Sombbrero	Juan de Acuña	P2661	890v
Tafetan	Sombbrero	Juan de Acuña	P2661	891
Tafetan	Sombbrero	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1466
Tafetan	Sombbrero	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1466
Tafetan	Sombbrero	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1466
Tafetan	Sombbrero	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1466v
Tafetan	Sombbrero	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1466v
Tafetan	Sombbrero	Luis Enriquez	P3485	659
Tafetan	Sombbrero	Luis Enriquez	P3485	659
Tafetan	Sombbrero	Martín de Padreda	P2323	404
Tafetan	Sombbrero	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	191
Tafetan	Sotana	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	758v
Tafetan	Sotana	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	760
Tafetan	Sotana	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	760
Tafetan	Tapete	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	59v
Tafetan	Tela	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	213
Tafetan	Toalla	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	873
Tafetan	Toalla	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	873
Tafetan	Toalla	Ana Manrique	P2022	367
Tafetan	Toalla	Ana Manrique	P2022	367
Tafetan	Toalla	Ana Manrique	P2022	367
Tafetan	Toalla	Ana Manrique	P2022	390
Tafetan	Toalla	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	793
Tafetan	Toalla	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1019
Tafetan	Toalla	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	65v
Tafetan	Toalla	Juan de Acuña	P2661	903v
Tafetan	Toalla	Juan de Mendoza y Castilla	P2298	333v
Tafetan	Toalla	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	483

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Tafetan	Toalla	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	503
Tafetan	Toalla	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Tafetan	Toalla	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Tafetan	Toalla	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	911v
Tafetan	Toalla	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	911v
Tafetan	Toalla	Luis Enriquez	P3485	661v
Tafetan	Toalla	Luis Enriquez	P3485	668
Tafetan	Toalla	Luis Enriquez	P3485	672v
Tafetan	Toalla	Martín de Padreda	P2323	409v
Tafetan	Toalla	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	524v
Tafetan	Toalla	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	524v
Tafetan	Toalla	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	532
Tafetan	Toalla	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	532
Tafetan	Toalla	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	546
Tafetan	Valona	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	401v
Tafetan	Vaquero	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1460
Tafetan	Vaquero	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1460
Tafetan	Vaquero	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1460
Tafetan	Verdugado	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	873
Tafetan	Verdugado	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	384v [sic]
Tafetan	Verdugado	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1312
Tafetan	Verdugado	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	785v
Tafetan	Verdugado	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	248v
Tafetan	Verdugado	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1501
Tafetan	Verdugado	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1369v
Tafetan	Verdugado	Luis Enriquez	P3485	674
Tafetan	Vestido	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	784v
Tafetan	Vestido	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	190
Tafetan	Vestido	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	190
Tafetan	Vestido	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	190v
Tafetan	Vestido	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	191v
Tafetan	Vestido	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	182
Tafetan	Vestido	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	525v
Tela	[material]	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1644v
Tela	[material]	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	384 [sic]
Tela	[material]	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	384 [sic]
Tela	[material]	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	384v [sic]
Tela	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1294
Tela	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1211[sic]
Tela	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1211[sic]
Tela	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1211[sic]
Tela	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1211[sic]
Tela	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1211[sic]
Tela	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1312
Tela	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1312
Tela	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	366v
Tela	[material]	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1015v
Tela	[material]	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	502v
Tela	[material]	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	503
Tela	[material]	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1755v
Tela	[material]	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	213v
Tela	[material]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	879v
Tela	[material]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	881
Tela	[material]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	881
Tela	[material]	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1371v
Tela	[material]	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	908v
Tela	[material]	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	914v
Tela	[material]	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	216
Tela	[material]	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	217
Tela	[material]	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	217v
Tela	[material]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	673
Tela	[material]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	673
Tela	[material]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	673
Tela	[material]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	673v
Tela	[material]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	673v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Tela	[material]	Maria de Aragón	P1578	161
Tela	[material]	Maria de Aragón	P1578	162
Tela	[material]	Maria de Aragón	P1578	162
Tela	[material]	Maria de Aragón	P1578	162v
Tela	[material]	Maria de Aragón	P1578	162v
Tela	[material]	Maria de Aragón	P1578	163
Tela	[material]	Maria de Aragón	P1578	163
Tela	[material]	Maria de Aragón	P1578	163
Tela	[material]	Maria de Aragón	P1578	163
Tela	[material]	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	184
Tela	[material]	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	184v
Tela	[material]	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	184v
Tela	[material]	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	187v
Tela	[material]	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	188
Tela	[material]	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	189v
Tela	[material]	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	195
Tela	Almartaga	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1049v
Tela	Almilla	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1644
Tela	Almohada	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	368
Tela	Almohada	Antonio Perez	P989b	468
Tela	Almohada	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	212
Tela	Almohada	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	212v
Tela	Almohada	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	279v
Tela	Almohada	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1056
Tela	Almohada	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1451
Tela	Almohada	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1451
Tela	Almohada	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1451v
Tela	Almohada	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1451v
Tela	Almohada	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	915
Tela	Almohada	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	217v
Tela	Almohada	Maria de Aragón	P1578	163
Tela	Almohada	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	524v
Tela	Almohada	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	178
Tela	Altar	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	534
Tela	Antepuerta	Maria Pereira	P989	238
Tela	Arca	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1753v
Tela	Arca	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1755
Tela	Basquiña	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1307v
Tela	Basquiña	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1307v
Tela	Basquiña	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1307v
Tela	Basquiña	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1308
Tela	Basquiña	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	687v
Tela	Basquiña	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1499v
Tela	Basquiña	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	188v
Tela	Bolsa	Ana Manrique	P2022	366v
Tela	Bolsa	Luis Enriquez	P3485	674
Tela	Bolsa	Maria de Aragón	P1578	165
Tela	Bolsa	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	532v
Tela	Bolsa	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	532v
Tela	Caja	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1298v
Tela	Caja	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	520
Tela	Calçon	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	761
Tela	Calçon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1456
Tela	Cama [Textil]	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	369v
Tela	Cama [Textil]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1291v
Tela	Cama [Textil]	Antonio Perez	P989b	466
Tela	Cama [Textil]	Antonio Perez	P989b	466
Tela	Cama [Textil]	Antonio Perez	P989b	466v
Tela	Cama [Textil]	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	217v
Tela	Cama [Textil]	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	209v
Tela	Cama [Textil]	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	688v
Tela	Cama [Textil]	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	278
Tela	Cama [Textil]	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1054
Tela	Cama [Textil]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	656v
Tela	Cama [Textil]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	656v
Tela	Cama [Textil]	Luis Enriquez	P3485	656v
Tela	Cama [Textil]	Maria de Aragón	P1578	164

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Tela	Cama [Textil]	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1160
Tela	Capa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1309v
Tela	Capa	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1756
Tela	Capa	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1496v
Tela	Capa	Maria de Aragón	P1578	162v
Tela	Casco	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1467
Tela	Casula	Ana Manrique	P2022	369
Tela	Casula	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1502
Tela	Casula	Maria de Aragón	P1578	160v
Tela	Casula	Maria de Aragón	P1578	161v
Tela	Casula	Maria de Aragón	P1578	161v
Tela	Cobertor	Luis Enriquez	P3485	675
Tela	Cobertor	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1160v
Tela	Colcha	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1312v
Tela	Colcha	Antonio Perez	P989b	467v
Tela	Colcha	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1161
Tela	Colgadura	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	276
Tela	Colgadura	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	215v
Tela	Colgadura	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	216v
Tela	Colgadura	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	217
Tela	Colgadura	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	217v
Tela	Colgadura	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1160
Tela	Colgadura	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1161
Tela	Colgadura	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	178
Tela	Coluna	Luis Enriquez	P3485	655
Tela	Corporal	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Tela	Cortina	Antonio Perez	P989b	471
Tela	Dalmatica	Maria de Aragón	P1578	162v
Tela	Dalmatica	Maria de Aragón	P1578	162v
Tela	Dossel	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	367v
Tela	Dossel	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	210v
Tela	Dossel	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	210v
Tela	Dossel	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	210v
Tela	Dossel	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	210v
Tela	Dossel	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	210v
Tela	Dossel	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	211
Tela	Dossel	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	211
Tela	Dossel	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	49v
Tela	Dossel	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	49v
Tela	Dossel	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	49v
Tela	Dossel	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	277v
Tela	Dossel	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	216
Tela	Dossel	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	216v
Tela	Dossel	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	217v
Tela	Dossel	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	217v
Tela	Dossel	Maria de Aragón	P1578	160
Tela	Dossel	Maria de Aragón	P1578	169v
Tela	Dossel	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	548v
Tela	Dossel	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	178v
Tela	Dossel	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	178v
Tela	Escudo	Juan de Acuña	P2661	881v
Tela	Faldon	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	694
Tela	Ferrezuelo	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1647v
Tela	Ferrezuelo	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	758v
Tela	Ferrezuelo	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	761
Tela	Ferrezuelo	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	192v
Tela	Forro	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1317
Tela	Frontal	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1211v[sc]
Tela	Frontal	Ana Manrique	P2022	369
Tela	Frontal	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	214
Tela	Frontal	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	63
Tela	Frontal	Juan de Acuña	P2661	827v
Tela	Frontal	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1501
Tela	Frontal	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	918
Tela	Frontal	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	918
Tela	Frontal	Juana de Mujita	P2021	85
Tela	Frontal	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	216
Tela	Frontal	Maria de Aragón	P1578	162v



Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Tela	Frontal	Maria de Aragón	P1578	163v
Tela	Frontal	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	531v
Tela	Frontal	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	531v
Tela	Frontal	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	532
Tela	Frontal	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	532
Tela	Frontal	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	184
Tela	Frontal	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	184
Tela	Fratero	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	420v
Tela	Gaban	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	761
Tela	Gorguera	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	911
Tela	Imagen	Luis Enriquez	P3485	669v
Tela	Jubon	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1647v
Tela	Jubon	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1647v
Tela	Jubon	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	398
Tela	Jubon	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1308
Tela	Jubon	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1310
Tela	Jubon	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1310v
Tela	Jubon	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1211[sic]
Tela	Jubon	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1211v[sic]
Tela	Jubon	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1015
Tela	Jubon	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1015
Tela	Jubon	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1015
Tela	Jubon	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1015v
Tela	Jubon	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	785v
Tela	Jubon	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	951v
Tela	Jubon	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	953
Tela	Jubon	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	694
Tela	Jubon	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	758v
Tela	Jubon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1456v
Tela	Jubon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1456v
Tela	Jubon	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1499
Tela	Jubon	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1370
Tela	Jubon	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1370
Tela	Jubon	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1373
Tela	Jubon	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	193
Tela	Jubon	Luis Enriquez	P3485	661
Tela	Maceta	Luis Enriquez	P3485	673
Tela	Mala	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	280
Tela	Mangas	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1015
Tela	Mangas	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	785v
Tela	Mangas	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1371v
Tela	Mangas	Luis Enriquez	P3485	673
Tela	Mangas	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	188v
Tela	Manta	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	65
Tela	Manteo	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	697
Tela	Manto	Maria de Aragón	P1578	162v
Tela	Pabellon	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1300
Tela	Pabellon	Luis Enriquez	P3485	667
Tela	Pálla	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	692
Tela	Paño	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	48
Tela	Paño	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	48
Tela	Paño	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	276
Tela	Paño	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1052
Tela	Paño	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1052
Tela	Paño	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1052v
Tela	Paño	Maria de Aragón	P1578	160v
Tela	Paño	Maria de Aragón	P1578	162v
Tela	Paño	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	531v
Tela	Pieça	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	280
Tela	Pieça	Juan de Acuña	P2661	788v
Tela	Pieça	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1147v
Tela	Pieça	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1147v
Tela	Repostero	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	521
Tela	Repostero	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	178
Tela	Ropa	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1647

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Tela	Ropa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1312
Tela	Ropa	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1370
Tela	Ropa	Luis Enriquez	P3485	673
Tela	Ropa	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	188v
Tela	Saya	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1307
Tela	Saya	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1308v
Tela	Silla	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	367v
Tela	Silla	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	215v
Tela	Silla	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	215v
Tela	Silla	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	215v
Tela	Silla	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	215v
Tela	Silla	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	280
Tela	Silla	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1066
Tela	Silla	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1066v
Tela	Silla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1453v
Tela	Silla	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	216
Tela	Silla	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	216
Tela	Silla	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	216
Tela	Silla	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	217
Tela	Silla	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	217v
Tela	Silla	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1158v
Tela	Silla	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1163v
Tela	Sobremesa	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	211
Tela	Sobremesa	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	211v
Tela	Sobremesa	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	50v
Tela	Sobremesa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1055v
Tela	Sobremesa	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1162
Tela	Sotana	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	758v
Tela	Taburete	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1066v
Tela	Toca	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1496
Tela	Toca	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1383
Tela	Toca	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1383v
Tela	Tocador	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	911
Tela	Vaquero	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	761
Tercianela	Basquiña	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1012v
Tercianela	Calçon	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Tercianela	Calçon	Luis Enriquez	P3485	661v
Tercianela	Ferrezuelo	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	760
Tercianela	Ferrezuelo	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	760v
Tercianela	Ferrezuelo	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1464v
Tercianela	Ferrezuelo	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	482
Tercianela	Ferrezuelo	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	525
Tercianela	Ferrezuelo	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	525
Tercianela	Garnacha	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Tercianela	Ropa	Juan de Acuña	P2661	885
Tercianela	Ropa	Juan de Mendoza y Castilla	P2298	330v
Tercianela	Ropa	Martin de Padreda	P2323	404v
Tercianela	Ropilla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1459v
Tercianela	Ropilla	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	525
Tercianela	Ropilla	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	525
Tercianela	Sotana	Juan de Acuña	P2661	886v
Tercianela	Sotana	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Tercianela	Vestido	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	525
Terciopelo	[material]	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1648v
Terciopelo	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1295
Terciopelo	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1310v
Terciopelo	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1211[sic]
Terciopelo	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1211[sic]
Terciopelo	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1211v[sic]
Terciopelo	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1312
Terciopelo	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1315
Terciopelo	[material]	Ana Manrique	P2022	383
Terciopelo	[material]	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	502v
Terciopelo	[material]	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1755v
Terciopelo	[material]	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1755v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Terciopelo	[material]	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	211
Terciopelo	[material]	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	213
Terciopelo	[material]	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	213
Terciopelo	[material]	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	213v
Terciopelo	[material]	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	213v
Terciopelo	[material]	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	696
Terciopelo	[material]	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	279
Terciopelo	[material]	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	279v
Terciopelo	[material]	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	759
Terciopelo	[material]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	781v
Terciopelo	[material]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	879v
Terciopelo	[material]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	881
Terciopelo	[material]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	882
Terciopelo	[material]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	882v
Terciopelo	[material]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	884
Terciopelo	[material]	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1057
Terciopelo	[material]	Juan de Mendoza y Castilla	P2298	330
Terciopelo	[material]	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Terciopelo	[material]	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	480
Terciopelo	[material]	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	912v
Terciopelo	[material]	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	912v
Terciopelo	[material]	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	912v
Terciopelo	[material]	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	912v
Terciopelo	[material]	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	193v
Terciopelo	[material]	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	194
Terciopelo	[material]	Maria de Aragón	P1578	161
Terciopelo	[material]	Maria de Aragón	P1578	162v
Terciopelo	[material]	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	184
Terciopelo	[material]	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	188v
Terciopelo	[material]	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	189v
Terciopelo	Açafate	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	374v
Terciopelo	Açafate	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1499v
Terciopelo	Açafate	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1499v
Terciopelo	Açerico	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1646
Terciopelo	Alabarda	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	523
Terciopelo	Alabarda	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1164
Terciopelo	Almartaga	Juan de Acuña	P2661	790v
Terciopelo	Almohada	Aldoña de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	874v
Terciopelo	Almohada	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Terciopelo	Almohada	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	368
Terciopelo	Almohada	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	368v
Terciopelo	Almohada	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1294v
Terciopelo	Almohada	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1294v
Terciopelo	Almohada	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1295
Terciopelo	Almohada	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1295
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Terciopelo	Almohada	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1313v
Terciopelo	Almohada	Ana Manrique	P2022	381
Terciopelo	Almohada	Ana Manrique	P2022	381v
Terciopelo	Almohada	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1012v
Terciopelo	Almohada	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	788
Terciopelo	Almohada	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	855
Terciopelo	Almohada	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	497
Terciopelo	Almohada	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1012
Terciopelo	Almohada	Fernando Carrillo	P2031	1030v
Terciopelo	Almohada	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1755v
Terciopelo	Almohada	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1756
Terciopelo	Almohada	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	953v
Terciopelo	Almohada	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	212
Terciopelo	Almohada	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	212
Terciopelo	Almohada	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	212
Terciopelo	Almohada	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	212v
Terciopelo	Almohada	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	212v
Terciopelo	Almohada	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	212v
Terciopelo	Almohada	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	212v
Terciopelo	Almohada	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	212v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Terciopelo	Almohada	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	212v
Terciopelo	Almohada	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	212v
Terciopelo	Almohada	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	214v
Terciopelo	Almohada	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	689v
Terciopelo	Almohada	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	692
Terciopelo	Almohada	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	701v
Terciopelo	Almohada	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	279v
Terciopelo	Almohada	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	279v
Terciopelo	Almohada	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	767
Terciopelo	Almohada	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	767
Terciopelo	Almohada	Juan de Acuña	P2661	790
Terciopelo	Almohada	Juan de Acuña	P2661	790
Terciopelo	Almohada	Juan de Acuña	P2661	790v
Terciopelo	Almohada	Juan de Acuña	P2661	790v
Terciopelo	Almohada	Juan de Acuña	P2661	790v
Terciopelo	Almohada	Juan de Acuña	P2661	791
Terciopelo	Almohada	Juan de Acuña	P2661	791
Terciopelo	Almohada	Juan de Acuña	P2661	791v
Terciopelo	Almohada	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1056
Terciopelo	Almohada	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1056
Terciopelo	Almohada	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1451
Terciopelo	Almohada	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1451v
Terciopelo	Almohada	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1451v
Terciopelo	Almohada	Juan de Mendoza y Castilla	P2298	331
Terciopelo	Almohada	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1373v
Terciopelo	Almohada	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1377v
Terciopelo	Almohada	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	479v
Terciopelo	Almohada	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Terciopelo	Almohada	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	217v
Terciopelo	Almohada	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	219
Terciopelo	Almohada	Luis Enriquez	P3485	657v
Terciopelo	Almohada	Luis Enriquez	P3485	657v
Terciopelo	Almohada	Luis Enriquez	P3485	658v
Terciopelo	Almohada	Luis Enriquez	P3485	671
Terciopelo	Almohada	Maria de Aragón	P1578	165
Terciopelo	Almohada	Maria Pereira	P989	238
Terciopelo	Almohada	Martin de Padreda	P2323	401v
Terciopelo	Almohada	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	538
Terciopelo	Almohada	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1343
Terciopelo	Almohada	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviña	P2040b	637-[652]
Terciopelo	Almohada	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1163v
Terciopelo	Almohada	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1163v
Terciopelo	Almohada	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	178
Terciopelo	Almohada	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	179
Terciopelo	Almohada	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	184v
Terciopelo	Almohada	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	184v
Terciopelo	Almohada	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	188
Terciopelo	Antepuerta	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Terciopelo	Antojos	Luis Enriquez	P3485	658v
Terciopelo	Arca	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1307
Terciopelo	Arca	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	27v
Terciopelo	Arca	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	29v
Terciopelo	Arca	Juan de Acuña	P2661	830
Terciopelo	Arca	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	911v
Terciopelo	Arca	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	185v
Terciopelo	Atril	Juan de Acuña	P2661	816v
Terciopelo	Atril	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1377v
Terciopelo	Balandran	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Terciopelo	Banco	Ana Manrique	P2022	358v
Terciopelo	Banco	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1158v
Terciopelo	Banda	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	213v
Terciopelo	Banda	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1481
Terciopelo	Barril	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	499v
Terciopelo	Basquiña	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1310
Terciopelo	Basquiña	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	952v
Terciopelo	Basquiña	Maria de Aragón	P1578	169

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Terciopelo	Baúl	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	919
Terciopelo	Beca	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	785
Terciopelo	Beca	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1013
Terciopelo	Beca	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	696
Terciopelo	Beca	Juan de Mendoza y Castilla	P2298	330v
Terciopelo	Beca	Luis Enriquez	P3485	674
Terciopelo	Bolsa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1312
Terciopelo	Bolsa	Antonio Perez	P989b	469
Terciopelo	Bolsa	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	495
Terciopelo	Bolsa	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	495v
Terciopelo	Bolsa	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	522
Terciopelo	Bolsa	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	522
Terciopelo	Bolsa	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1469v
Terciopelo	Bolsa	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1500
Terciopelo	Bolsa	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1370
Terciopelo	Bolsa	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	194
Terciopelo	Bolsa	Luis Enriquez	P3485	658v
Terciopelo	Bolsa	Luis Enriquez	P3485	674
Terciopelo	Bolsa	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	524
Terciopelo	Cadena	Juan de Acuña	P2661	891v
Terciopelo	Cadena	Juan de Acuña	P2661	891v
Terciopelo	Cadena	Juan de Acuña	P2661	891v
Terciopelo	Caja	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1651v
Terciopelo	Caja	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	418
Terciopelo	Caja	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1298v
Terciopelo	Caja	Ana Manrique	P2022	369
Terciopelo	Caja	Ana Manrique	P2022	379
Terciopelo	Caja	Antonio Perez	P989b	469v
Terciopelo	Caja	Antonio Perez	P989b	471
Terciopelo	Caja	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	498
Terciopelo	Caja	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	521
Terciopelo	Caja	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	216v
Terciopelo	Caja	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	217
Terciopelo	Caja	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	217
Terciopelo	Caja	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	217
Terciopelo	Caja	Juan de Acuña	P2661	830
Terciopelo	Caja	Juan de Acuña	P2661	831v
Terciopelo	Caja	Juan de Acuña	P2661	879
Terciopelo	Caja	Juan de Acuña	P2661	879
Terciopelo	Caja	Juan de Acuña	P2661	879
Terciopelo	Caja	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1470
Terciopelo	Caja	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	906
Terciopelo	Caja	Maria de Aragón	P1578	168v
Terciopelo	Caja	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	193
Terciopelo	Calças	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1340
Terciopelo	Calças	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1340v
Terciopelo	Calças	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1013v
Terciopelo	Calças	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1013v
Terciopelo	Calças	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1755v
Terciopelo	Calças	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	693v
Terciopelo	Calças	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1454v
Terciopelo	Calças	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1372v
Terciopelo	Calças	Martin de Padreda	P2323	403v
Terciopelo	Calças	Martin de Padreda	P2323	403v
Terciopelo	Calçon	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	399v
Terciopelo	Calçon	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1013v
Terciopelo	Calçon	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1013v
Terciopelo	Calçon	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	760v
Terciopelo	Calçon	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	761v
Terciopelo	Calçon	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	761v
Terciopelo	Calçon	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Terciopelo	Calçon	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	483v
Terciopelo	Calçon	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Terciopelo	Calçon	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Terciopelo	Calçon	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Terciopelo	Calçon	Luis Enriquez	P3485	661v
Terciopelo	Calçon	Martin de Padreda	P2323	403v
Terciopelo	Calçon	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	525v
Terciopelo	Cama [Textil]	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	369
Terciopelo	Cama [Textil]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1292
Terciopelo	Cama [Textil]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1292
Terciopelo	Cama [Textil]	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1012v
Terciopelo	Cama [Textil]	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	787
Terciopelo	Cama [Textil]	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	787
Terciopelo	Cama [Textil]	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	510
Terciopelo	Cama [Textil]	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	510
Terciopelo	Cama [Textil]	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	510
Terciopelo	Cama [Textil]	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	510
Terciopelo	Cama [Textil]	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1755
Terciopelo	Cama [Textil]	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1755
Terciopelo	Cama [Textil]	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1755
Terciopelo	Cama [Textil]	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	209v
Terciopelo	Cama [Textil]	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	49
Terciopelo	Cama [Textil]	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	49
Terciopelo	Cama [Textil]	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	65
Terciopelo	Cama [Textil]	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	768
Terciopelo	Cama [Textil]	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	768
Terciopelo	Cama [Textil]	Juan de Acuña	P2661	779
Terciopelo	Cama [Textil]	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1053v
Terciopelo	Cama [Textil]	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1054
Terciopelo	Cama [Textil]	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1054v
Terciopelo	Cama [Textil]	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1377
Terciopelo	Cama [Textil]	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Terciopelo	Cama [Textil]	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	479
Terciopelo	Cama [Textil]	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	215
Terciopelo	Cama [Textil]	Martin de Padreda	P2323	401v
Terciopelo	Cama [Textil]	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviña	P2040b	637-[652]
Terciopelo	Cama [Textil]	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1160
Terciopelo	Cama [Textil]	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1160v
Terciopelo	Cama [Textil]	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1161
Terciopelo	Capa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1309v
Terciopelo	Capa	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	693v
Terciopelo	Capa	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	693v
Terciopelo	Capa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1046
Terciopelo	Capa	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1462v
Terciopelo	Capa	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1463
Terciopelo	Capa	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1496v
Terciopelo	Capa	Luis Enriquez	P3485	661v
Terciopelo	Casco	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	522v
Terciopelo	Casco	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	523
Terciopelo	Casula	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1759
Terciopelo	Casula	Juan de Acuña	P2661	826v
Terciopelo	Casula	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1502
Terciopelo	Casula	Maria de Aragón	P1578	160v
Terciopelo	Cesta	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1313v
Terciopelo	Chinelas	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	786
Terciopelo	Chinelas	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	793v
Terciopelo	Chinelas	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	759v
Terciopelo	Chinelas	Juan de Acuña	P2661	891v
Terciopelo	Chinelas	Luis Enriquez	P3485	658v
Terciopelo	Chinelas	Luis Enriquez	P3485	662
Terciopelo	Cobertor	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	855
Terciopelo	Cobertor	Antonio Perez	P989b	466v
Terciopelo	Coco	Maria de Aragón	P1578	171v
Terciopelo	Cofre	Juan de Acuña	P2661	918
Terciopelo	Cofre	Maria Pereira	P989	236v
Terciopelo	Colcha	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	510v
Terciopelo	Colcha	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1048
Terciopelo	Colgadura	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	874v
Terciopelo	Colgadura	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	209
Terciopelo	Colgadura	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	209v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Terciopelo	Colgadura	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	767
Terciopelo	Colgadura	Juan de Acuña	P2661	786
Terciopelo	Colgadura	Juan de Acuña	P2661	792
Terciopelo	Colgadura	Juan de Mendoza y Castilla	P2298	331
Terciopelo	Colgadura	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Terciopelo	Colgadura	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	215
Terciopelo	Colgadura	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	217v
Terciopelo	Colgadura	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1160
Terciopelo	Colgadura	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1161
Terciopelo	Colgadura	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1163v
Terciopelo	Coraza	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1342v
Terciopelo	Cordon	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	495v
Terciopelo	Cortina	Juan de Acuña	P2661	781
Terciopelo	Cubierta	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1314
Terciopelo	Cuchillo	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	518v
Terciopelo	Cuera	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	65
Terciopelo	Dossel	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1633v
Terciopelo	Dossel	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1633v
Terciopelo	Dossel	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1634
Terciopelo	Dossel	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	367v
Terciopelo	Dossel	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	367v
Terciopelo	Dossel	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	367v
Terciopelo	Dossel	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1292v
Terciopelo	Dossel	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1759
Terciopelo	Dossel	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	210v
Terciopelo	Dossel	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	49v
Terciopelo	Dossel	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	49v
Terciopelo	Dossel	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	49v
Terciopelo	Dossel	Juan de Acuña	P2661	789v
Terciopelo	Dossel	Juan de Acuña	P2661	789v
Terciopelo	Dossel	Juan de Acuña	P2661	789v
Terciopelo	Dossel	Juan de Acuña	P2661	789v
Terciopelo	Dossel	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1452v
Terciopelo	Dossel	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1452v
Terciopelo	Dossel	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1452v
Terciopelo	Dossel	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	917v
Terciopelo	Dossel	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1340
Terciopelo	Dossel	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1161
Terciopelo	Dossel	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1163
Terciopelo	Escritorio	Aldoña de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	875
Terciopelo	Escritorio	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Terciopelo	Escritorio	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	697v
Terciopelo	Escritorio	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	61v
Terciopelo	Escritorio	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	61v
Terciopelo	Escritorio	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	61v
Terciopelo	Escritorio	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	18
Terciopelo	Escritorio	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	18
Terciopelo	Escritorio	Guíomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	29
Terciopelo	Escritorio	Juan de Acuña	P2661	798v
Terciopelo	Escritorio	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1060v
Terciopelo	Escritorio	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1062
Terciopelo	Escritorio	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1504v
Terciopelo	Escritorio	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1367v
Terciopelo	Escritorio	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1380v
Terciopelo	Escritorio	Luis Enriquez	P3485	671
Terciopelo	Escritorio	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	542
Terciopelo	Escritorio	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	185
Terciopelo	Escritorio	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	185
Terciopelo	Escritorio	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	185
Terciopelo	Escritorio	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	185
Terciopelo	Escrivania	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1342
Terciopelo	Escrivania	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	222v
Terciopelo	Escrivania	Juan de Acuña	P2661	799
Terciopelo	Escrivania	Juan de Mendoza y Castilla	P2298	326
Terciopelo	Escrivania	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1372
Terciopelo	Escrivania	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	910v
Terciopelo	Escrivania	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	910v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Terciopelo	Escrivania	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1156v
Terciopelo	Escrivania	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	185v
Terciopelo	Escudo	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1164
Terciopelo	Escudo	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	189v
Terciopelo	Estera	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	189v
Terciopelo	Faldellin	Maria de Aragón	P1578	161
Terciopelo	Ferrezuelo	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1645v
Terciopelo	Ferrezuelo	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1646v
Terciopelo	Ferrezuelo	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	380
Terciopelo	Ferrezuelo	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	696v
Terciopelo	Ferrezuelo	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	761v
Terciopelo	Ferrezuelo	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	761v
Terciopelo	Ferrezuelo	Juan de Acuña	P2661	884
Terciopelo	Ferrezuelo	Juan de Mendoza y Castilla	P2298	329
Terciopelo	Forro	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Terciopelo	Frontal	Ana Manrique	P2022	366
Terciopelo	Frontal	Ana Manrique	P2022	366v
Terciopelo	Frontal	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1758v
Terciopelo	Frontal	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1759
Terciopelo	Frontal	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1759
Terciopelo	Frontal	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1759
Terciopelo	Frontal	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	65
Terciopelo	Frontal	Juan de Acuña	P2661	826v
Terciopelo	Frontal	Juan de Acuña	P2661	827v
Terciopelo	Frontal	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	918
Terciopelo	Frontal	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	184
Terciopelo	Frontal	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	184
Terciopelo	Frontal	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	184
Terciopelo	Gaban	Luis Enriquez	P3485	661
Terciopelo	Garnacha	Fernando Carrillo	P2031	1030v
Terciopelo	Garnacha	Juan de Acuña	P2661	884
Terciopelo	Gorra	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	400
Terciopelo	Gorra	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1340v
Terciopelo	Gorra	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1340v
Terciopelo	Gorra	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1340v
Terciopelo	Gorra	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1341
Terciopelo	Gorra	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1755v
Terciopelo	Gorra	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	241
Terciopelo	Gorra	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	241
Terciopelo	Gorra	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	241
Terciopelo	Gorra	Juan de Acuña	P2661	890
Terciopelo	Gorra	Juan de Acuña	P2661	890
Terciopelo	Gorra	Juan de Acuña	P2661	890
Terciopelo	Gorra	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1466
Terciopelo	Gorra	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1373
Terciopelo	Gorra	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	191
Terciopelo	Gorra	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	191
Terciopelo	Gotera	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	280v
Terciopelo	Gotera	Juan de Mendoza y Castilla	P2298	331v
Terciopelo	Imagen	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	796v
Terciopelo	Imagen	Juan de Acuña	P2661	821v
Terciopelo	Imagen	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	917v
Terciopelo	Imagen	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	181v
Terciopelo	Jaez	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	692
Terciopelo	Jaez	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	692
Terciopelo	Joya	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	956v
Terciopelo	Jubon	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	951
Terciopelo	Lanza	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	523
Terciopelo	Libro	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	189
Terciopelo	Litera	Ana Manrique	P2022	392
Terciopelo	Litera	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1071v
Terciopelo	Litera	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1072
Terciopelo	Litera	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	919
Terciopelo	Mala	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	400v
Terciopelo	Mala	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1312

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Terciopelo	Mala	Ana Manrique	P2022	383
Terciopelo	Mala	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1755v
Terciopelo	Mala	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1755v
Terciopelo	Mangas	Antonio Perez	P989b	469
Terciopelo	Mangas	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1018
Terciopelo	Mangas	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	65
Terciopelo	Mangas	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1046.1
Terciopelo	Mangas	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	525v
Terciopelo	Manta	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	65
Terciopelo	Mantel	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1310v
Terciopelo	Mantel	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1310v
Terciopelo	Mantel	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	247v
Terciopelo	Manteo	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1013v
Terciopelo	Manteo	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1015
Terciopelo	Manteo	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	191v
Terciopelo	Marco	Luis Enriquez	P3485	671v
Terciopelo	Mascara	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	208v
Terciopelo	Mesa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1297
Terciopelo	Morrión	Maria de Aragón	P1578	171v
Terciopelo	Muleta	Luis Enriquez	P3485	660v
Terciopelo	Oratório	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	372
Terciopelo	Orinal	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	222
Terciopelo	Pabellon	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1047
Terciopelo	Pabellon	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1047
Terciopelo	Pabellon	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1047
Terciopelo	Pabellon	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1047v
Terciopelo	Pabellon	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1047v
Terciopelo	Pálla	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	214v
Terciopelo	Pálla	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	248
Terciopelo	Pálla	Juan de Acuña	P2661	823v
Terciopelo	Paño	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1293v
Terciopelo	Paño	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1294
Terciopelo	Paño	Antonio Perez	P989b	467
Terciopelo	Paño	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	48
Terciopelo	Paño	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	48
Terciopelo	Paño	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	30
Terciopelo	Paño	Juan de Acuña	P2661	788v
Terciopelo	Paño	Juan de Acuña	P2661	789
Terciopelo	Paño	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1050
Terciopelo	Paño	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1050
Terciopelo	Paño	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1052v
Terciopelo	Paño	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1502
Terciopelo	Paño	Maria de Aragón	P1578	163v
Terciopelo	Paño	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	548v
Terciopelo	Paño	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1161
Terciopelo	Paño	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	184v
Terciopelo	Peinador	Luis Enriquez	P3485	658v
Terciopelo	Pieça	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1310
Terciopelo	Pieça	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1312
Terciopelo	Pieça	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	857
Terciopelo	Pieça	Antonio Perez	P989b	467
Terciopelo	Pieça	Antonio Perez	P989b	470
Terciopelo	Pieça	Antonio Perez	P989b	471v
Terciopelo	Pieça	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1019
Terciopelo	Pieça	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	213v
Terciopelo	Pieça	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	213v
Terciopelo	Pieça	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	241v
Terciopelo	Pieça	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	701
Terciopelo	Pieça	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	701v
Terciopelo	Pieça	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	702
Terciopelo	Pieça	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	702
Terciopelo	Pieça	Juan de Acuña	P2661	792v
Terciopelo	Pieça	Juan de Acuña	P2661	883
Terciopelo	Pieça	Juan de Acuña	P2661	891
Terciopelo	Pieça	Juan de Acuña	P2661	891

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Terciopelo	Pieça	Luis Enriquez	P3485	658v
Terciopelo	Pieça	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	543
Terciopelo	Pieça	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1161v
Terciopelo	Relicário	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	535v
Terciopelo	Reloj	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	522
Terciopelo	Repostero	Antonio Perez	P989b	471
Terciopelo	Repostero	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	48
Terciopelo	Repostero	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	48
Terciopelo	Repostero	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	277
Terciopelo	Repostero	Maria de Aragón	P1578	163v
Terciopelo	Repostero	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1163
Terciopelo	Repostero	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	178
Terciopelo	Retablo	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	23
Terciopelo	Ropa	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Terciopelo	Ropa	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	380v
Terciopelo	Ropa	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	381v
Terciopelo	Ropa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1307v
Terciopelo	Ropa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1307v
Terciopelo	Ropa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1308
Terciopelo	Ropa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1309v
Terciopelo	Ropa	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1010v
Terciopelo	Ropa	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1015
Terciopelo	Ropa	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	784v
Terciopelo	Ropa	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1013
Terciopelo	Ropa	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	953
Terciopelo	Ropa	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	238
Terciopelo	Ropa	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	238
Terciopelo	Ropa	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	247
Terciopelo	Ropa	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	695v
Terciopelo	Ropa	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	695v
Terciopelo	Ropa	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	758v
Terciopelo	Ropa	Juan de Acuña	P2661	884v
Terciopelo	Ropa	Juan de Acuña	P2661	884v
Terciopelo	Ropa	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1369
Terciopelo	Ropa	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1373
Terciopelo	Ropa	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Terciopelo	Ropa	Martin de Padreda	P2323	404v
Terciopelo	Ropilla	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	402
Terciopelo	Ropilla	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	693v
Terciopelo	Ropilla	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	695
Terciopelo	Ropilla	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	760v
Terciopelo	Ropilla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1460v
Terciopelo	Ropilla	Martin de Padreda	P2323	403v
Terciopelo	Ropilla	Martin de Padreda	P2323	403v
Terciopelo	Ropilla	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	525
Terciopelo	Salero	Maria de Aragón	P1578	158
Terciopelo	Sapato	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1644
Terciopelo	Sapato	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1648v
Terciopelo	Sapato	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1339
Terciopelo	Sapato	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	497v
Terciopelo	Sapato	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	783v
Terciopelo	Sapato	Juan de Acuña	P2661	891v
Terciopelo	Sapato	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1468
Terciopelo	Sapato	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1468
Terciopelo	Sapato	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1468
Terciopelo	Sapato	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1468
Terciopelo	Sapato	Luis Enriquez	P3485	658v
Terciopelo	Saya	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	382
Terciopelo	Saya	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1307
Terciopelo	Saya	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1307
Terciopelo	Saya	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1308
Terciopelo	Saya	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1013
Terciopelo	Saya	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1013
Terciopelo	Saya	Ana María Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1015

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Terciopelo	Saya	Ana Maria Dugarte de la Hemossa	P2654b	1015
Terciopelo	Saya	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	855
Terciopelo	Saya	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	248v
Terciopelo	Saya	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1500v
Terciopelo	Saya	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1369
Terciopelo	Saya	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1372
Terciopelo	Saya	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	189
Terciopelo	Saya	Maria de Aragón	P1578	169v
Terciopelo	Sayo	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	239v
Terciopelo	Sayo	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1146
Terciopelo	Senefa	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1500v
Terciopelo	Senefa	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	548v
Terciopelo	Silla	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	874v
Terciopelo	Silla	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1635
Terciopelo	Silla	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	367v
Terciopelo	Silla	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1298
Terciopelo	Silla	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1298v
Terciopelo	Silla	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1300v
Terciopelo	Silla	Ana Manrique	P2022	358
Terciopelo	Silla	Ana Manrique	P2022	358
Terciopelo	Silla	Antonio Perez	P989b	468
Terciopelo	Silla	Antonio Perez	P989b	476
Terciopelo	Silla	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	520v
Terciopelo	Silla	Fernando Carrillo	P2031	1032
Terciopelo	Silla	Fernando Carrillo	P2031	1032
Terciopelo	Silla	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1764v
Terciopelo	Silla	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	212v
Terciopelo	Silla	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	215v
Terciopelo	Silla	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	216
Terciopelo	Silla	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	216
Terciopelo	Silla	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	698
Terciopelo	Silla	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	701v
Terciopelo	Silla	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	701v
Terciopelo	Silla	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	781
Terciopelo	Silla	Juan de Acuña	P2661	806
Terciopelo	Silla	Juan de Acuña	P2661	806
Terciopelo	Silla	Juan de Acuña	P2661	806
Terciopelo	Silla	Juan de Acuña	P2661	807v
Terciopelo	Silla	Juan de Acuña	P2661	809
Terciopelo	Silla	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1066v
Terciopelo	Silla	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1066v
Terciopelo	Silla	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1067
Terciopelo	Silla	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1067
Terciopelo	Silla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1452v
Terciopelo	Silla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1453v
Terciopelo	Silla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1508v
Terciopelo	Silla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1508v
Terciopelo	Silla	Juan de Mendoza y Castilla	P2298	331
Terciopelo	Silla	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1377v
Terciopelo	Silla	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	919
Terciopelo	Silla	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	219
Terciopelo	Silla	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	219
Terciopelo	Silla	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	220
Terciopelo	Silla	Luis Enriquez	P3485	666
Terciopelo	Silla	Luis Enriquez	P3485	675v
Terciopelo	Silla	Maria de Aragón	P1578	167v
Terciopelo	Silla	Maria de Aragón	P1578	172
Terciopelo	Silla	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1339v
Terciopelo	Silla	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1339v
Terciopelo	Silla	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1343
Terciopelo	Silla	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1159
Terciopelo	Silla	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1163v
Terciopelo	Silla	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1163v
Terciopelo	Silla	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	186v
Terciopelo	Silla	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	186v
Terciopelo	Silla	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	186v

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Terciopelo	Sobremesa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1291v
Terciopelo	Sobremesa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1292
Terciopelo	Sobremesa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1297v
Terciopelo	Sobremesa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1297v
Terciopelo	Sobremesa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1297v
Terciopelo	Sobremesa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1297v
Terciopelo	Sobremesa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1298
Terciopelo	Sobremesa	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	509v
Terciopelo	Sobremesa	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	510v
Terciopelo	Sobremesa	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	510v
Terciopelo	Sobremesa	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1755
Terciopelo	Sobremesa	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	211
Terciopelo	Sobremesa	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	211v
Terciopelo	Sobremesa	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	211v
Terciopelo	Sobremesa	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	211v
Terciopelo	Sobremesa	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	50v
Terciopelo	Sobremesa	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	50v
Terciopelo	Sobremesa	Juan de Acuña	P2661	783v
Terciopelo	Sobremesa	Juan de Acuña	P2661	783v
Terciopelo	Sobremesa	Juan de Acuña	P2661	784v
Terciopelo	Sobremesa	Juan de Acuña	P2661	785v
Terciopelo	Sobremesa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1055v
Terciopelo	Sobremesa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1055v
Terciopelo	Sobremesa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1055v
Terciopelo	Sobremesa	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	218
Terciopelo	Sobremesa	Martin de Padreda	P2323	402
Terciopelo	Sobremesa	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1162
Terciopelo	Sobremesa	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1162
Terciopelo	Sobremesa	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1162
Terciopelo	Sobremesa	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1162
Terciopelo	Sobremesa	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1162
Terciopelo	Sobremesa	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1162
Terciopelo	Sobremesa	Rodrigo Vazquez Ares	P932	1162
Terciopelo	Sobremesa	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	178v
Terciopelo	Sobremesa	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	184
Terciopelo	Sombrero	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	241v
Terciopelo	Sombrero	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1466
Terciopelo	Sotana	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	760
Terciopelo	Sotana	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	761v
Terciopelo	Sotana	Juan de Acuña	P2661	884
Terciopelo	Sotana	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Terciopelo	Sotana	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Terciopelo	Taburete	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	798v
Terciopelo	Taburete	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	858
Terciopelo	Taburete	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1764v
Terciopelo	Taburete	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	216
Terciopelo	Taburete	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	216
Terciopelo	Taburete	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	216v
Terciopelo	Taburete	Juan de Acuña	P2661	808v
Terciopelo	Taburete	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1066v
Terciopelo	Taburete	Luis Enriquez	P3485	660v
Terciopelo	Taburete	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1339v
Terciopelo	Tapete	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1452
Terciopelo	Valona	Martin de Padreda	P2323	403v
Terciopelo	Vaquero	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1460
Terciopelo	Vaquero	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	192v
Terciopelo	Vaso	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1039v
Terciopelo	Verdugado	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1312
Terciopelo	Verdugado	Ana Maria Dugarte de la Hemossa	P2654b	1011
Terciopelo	Verdugado	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	785v
Terciopelo	Vestido	Ana Maria Dugarte de la Hemossa	P2654b	1015
Terciopelo	Vestido	Luis Enriquez	P3485	668
Terracota	[material]	Maria de Aragón	P1578	166
Terracota	Olla	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	67
Tirela	Ropa	Luis Enriquez	P3485	674
Tiritaña	Ropa	Ana Maria Dugarte de la Hemossa	P2654b	1013v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Tiritaña	Sobremesa	Juan de Mendoza y Castilla	P2298	332
Topazio	Joya	Maria Pereira	P989	236v
Topazio	Pieça	Luis Enriquez	P3485	669v
Topazio	Sortija	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Turquesa	[material]	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	30
Turquesa	[material]	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Turquesa	Sortija	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	66
Turquesa	Sortija	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Turquesa	Sortija	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	516v
Uña	[material]	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1480v
Uña	Brazaletes	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	905
Uña	Uña	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	494v
Uña	Uña	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	67v
Uña	Uña	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	17v
Uña	Uña	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	22v
Uña	Uña	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	
Uña	Uña	Maria de Aragón	P1578	169
Unicornio	[material]	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	17v
Unicornio	[material]	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1364
Unicornio	[material]	Maria de Aragón	P1578	159v
Unicornio	Copa	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1344
Unicornio	Cuchara	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	18v
Unicornio	Cuchara	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	22v
Unicornio	Vaso	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1653
Unicornio	Vaso	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	66v
Unicornio	Vaso	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	19v
Unicornio	Vaso	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	202v
Unicornio	Vaso	Luis Enriquez	P3485	676
Unicornio	Vaso	Martin de Padreda	P2323	398
Vaqueta	[material]	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1049v
Vaqueta	Almilla	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	785v
Vaqueta	Arca	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1506v
Vaqueta	Arca	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	916v
Vaqueta	Baúl	Ana Manrique	P2022	354
Vaqueta	Baúl	Ana Manrique	P2022	354v
Vaqueta	Baúl	Ana Manrique	P2022	355
Vaqueta	Baúl	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	857
Vaqueta	Baúl	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	520
Vaqueta	Baúl	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	520
Vaqueta	Baúl	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	520
Vaqueta	Baúl	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	520v
Vaqueta	Baúl	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1011v
Vaqueta	Baúl	Fernando Carrillo	P2031	1031v
Vaqueta	Baúl	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1506
Vaqueta	Baúl	Juan de Mendoza y Castilla	P2298	326
Vaqueta	Baúl	Juana de Mujita	P2021	83v
Vaqueta	Baúl	Luis Enriquez	P3485	660
Vaqueta	Baúl	Martin de Padreda	P2323	413
Vaqueta	Baúl	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	520
Vaqueta	Baúl	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	520
Vaqueta	Bota	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1337
Vaqueta	Bufete	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	283
Vaqueta	Bufete	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	283
Vaqueta	Bufete	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1065v
Vaqueta	Bufete	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1506
Vaqueta	Bufete	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	219v
Vaqueta	Bufete	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1339
Vaqueta	Caja	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	520
Vaqueta	Caja	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	521
Vaqueta	Caja	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	51v
Vaqueta	Caja	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1506
Vaqueta	Caja	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1506v
Vaqueta	Caja	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1506v
Vaqueta	Caja	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	222v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Vaqueta	Caja	Luis Enriquez	P3485	660
Vaqueta	Cesta	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	374v
Vaqueta	Coche	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1649
Vaqueta	Cofre	Ana Maria Dugarte de la Hermossa	P2654b	1010v
Vaqueta	Cofre	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	798
Vaqueta	Cofre	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	798
Vaqueta	Cofre	Antonia de Rojas	P2678	799
Vaqueta	Cofre	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	856
Vaqueta	Cofre	Antonio Perez	P989b	468
Vaqueta	Cofre	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	521
Vaqueta	Cofre	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	521v
Vaqueta	Cofre	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	950
Vaqueta	Cofre	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	950
Vaqueta	Cofre	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	221v
Vaqueta	Cofre	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	782
Vaqueta	Cofre	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1505
Vaqueta	Cofre	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1505v
Vaqueta	Cofre	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1505v
Vaqueta	Cofre	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1505v
Vaqueta	Cofre	Luis Enriquez	P3485	676v
Vaqueta	Cofre	Martin de Padreda	P2323	413
Vaqueta	Cofre	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	520
Vaqueta	Escabelo	Alonso Fernandez de Castro	P2035	1130-...
Vaqueta	Escritorio	Martin de Padreda	P2323	412
Vaqueta	Espada	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1454
Vaqueta	Estrado	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	220v
Vaqueta	Litera	Antonio Perez	P989b	473
Vaqueta	Litera	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1071v
Vaqueta	Litera	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1072
Vaqueta	Mala	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1651v
Vaqueta	Mala	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1299v
Vaqueta	Mala	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1299v
Vaqueta	Mala	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1300v
Vaqueta	Mala	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1318
Vaqueta	Mala	Ana Manrique	P2022	381v
Vaqueta	Mala	Ana Manrique	P2022	381v
Vaqueta	Mala	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1377v
Vaqueta	Mangas	Ana Manrique	P2022	381v
Vaqueta	Manta	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	701
Vaqueta	Mesa	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	220
Vaqueta	Pieça	Martin de Padreda	P2323	410v
Vaqueta	Sapato	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1468
Vaqueta	Silla	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	874v
Vaqueta	Silla	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	874v
Vaqueta	Silla	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	368
Vaqueta	Silla	Ana Manrique	P2022	358
Vaqueta	Silla	Ana Manrique	P2022	358
Vaqueta	Silla	Antonia de Toledo	P2040a	856-901v
Vaqueta	Silla	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	857v
Vaqueta	Silla	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1011
Vaqueta	Silla	Fernando Carrillo	P2031	1032v
Vaqueta	Silla	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	949
Vaqueta	Silla	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	216
Vaqueta	Silla	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	698v
Vaqueta	Silla	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	781
Vaqueta	Silla	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	781
Vaqueta	Silla	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	781
Vaqueta	Silla	Juan de Acuña	P2661	806v
Vaqueta	Silla	Juan de Acuña	P2661	807
Vaqueta	Silla	Juan de Acuña	P2661	809
Vaqueta	Silla	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1066
Vaqueta	Silla	Juan de la Cerda	P2001	1453
Vaqueta	Silla	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	220
Vaqueta	Silla	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	220v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Vaqueta	Silla	Luis Enriquez	P3485	660v
Vaqueta	Silla	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	520
Vaqueta	Silla	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1339v
Vaqueta	Silla	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviria	P2040b	637-[652]
Vaqueta	Taburete	Aldonça de Guzman Yesquibel	P2323b	876v
Vaqueta	Taburete	Antonio Orlandis	P2665	857
Vaqueta	Taburete	Fernando Carrillo	P2031	1032
Vaqueta	Taburete	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	216
Vaqueta	Taburete	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	520
Vaqueta	Taburete	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviria	P2040b	637-[652]
Vicuña	Cobertor	Luis Enriquez	P3485	658
Vicuña	Manta	Felipe de Matienço	P2026	1012
Vicuña	Manta	Francisco de Velasco	P2284	687v
Vicuña	Manta	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	913v
Vicuña	Manta	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	915
Vicuña	Manta	Pedro Carlos de Aragón	P2026b	1341
Vicuña	Sombrero	Juan de Mendoza y Castilla	P2298	329
Vicuña	Sombrero	Juan de Mendoza y Castilla	P2298	329
Vidrio	[material]	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1300
Vidrio	[material]	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	494v
Vidrio	[material]	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	495
Vidrio	[material]	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	910
Vidrio	Arrecada	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	909
Vidrio	Bacia	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	960
Vidrio	Bacia	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1040v
Vidrio	Bola	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1039v
Vidrio	Boton	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	66v
Vidrio	Boton	Francisco Enriquez	P4442	66v
Vidrio	Boton	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	32v
Vidrio	Brinco	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1754v
Vidrio	Brinco	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1754v
Vidrio	Brinco	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1754v
Vidrio	Brinco	Maria Pereira	P989	237
Vidrio	Bucaro	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	786
Vidrio	Cadena	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1317
Vidrio	Cadena	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1321v
Vidrio	Cadena	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1347
Vidrio	Cadena	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	908v
Vidrio	Cadena	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	214
Vidrio	Cadena	Luis Enriquez	P3485	670v
Vidrio	Caja	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1300
Vidrio	Caja	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	24
Vidrio	Caja	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	528
Vidrio	Calabaza	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	267
Vidrio	Caldera	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1040
Vidrio	Candelero	Ana Manrique	P2022	368v
Vidrio	Cofre	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1752v
Vidrio	Cruz	Ana Manrique	P2022	368v
Vidrio	Cuba	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1753
Vidrio	Escudilla	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	267v
Vidrio	Esfera	Juan de Acuña	P2661	924
Vidrio	Frasco	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	421v
Vidrio	Frasco	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1314
Vidrio	Frasco	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	496
Vidrio	Frasco	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	526v
Vidrio	Frasco	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1762v
Vidrio	Frasco	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	960v
Vidrio	Frasco	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1040
Vidrio	Frasco	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1373v
Vidrio	Frasco	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	916v
Vidrio	Frasco	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	919
Vidrio	Frasco	Leonor de Portugal	P3976	212v
Vidrio	Frasquera	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	496
Vidrio	Frasquera	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	496
Vidrio	Fuente	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1039v
Vidrio	Garrafa	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1039v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Vidrio	Imagen	Ana Manrique	P2022	368v
Vidrio	Imagen	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	796
Vidrio	Imagen	Antónia de Rojas	P2678	796
Vidrio	Imagen	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	910
Vidrio	Imagen	Luis Enriquez	P3485	671v
Vidrio	Jarro	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1040v
Vidrio	Lámina	Pedro Hurtado de Gaviria	P2040b	637-[652]
Vidrio	Ostiaro	Ana Manrique	P2022	368v
Vidrio	Pieça	Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba	P2029-3	1655v
Vidrio	Pieça	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	422v
Vidrio	Pieça	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1315v
Vidrio	Pieça	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1316v
Vidrio	Pieça	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1346
Vidrio	Pieça	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	527
Vidrio	Pieça	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	527
Vidrio	Pieça	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	527
Vidrio	Pieça	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	527
Vidrio	Pieça	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	527
Vidrio	Pieça	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1763
Vidrio	Pieça	Francisco de Cuellar	P2654	960v
Vidrio	Pieça	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	267
Vidrio	Pieça	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	15v
Vidrio	Pieça	Hector Piñatelo	P2032	280
Vidrio	Pieça	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1373v
Vidrio	Pieça	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1373v
Vidrio	Pieça	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1383v
Vidrio	Pieça	Luis Enriquez	P3485	670
Vidrio	Pieça	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	545
Vidrio	Pieça	Mencia de Bobadilla	P2662	547v
Vidrio	Pieça	Ruy Gomez de Silva y Mendoza	P3146	193
Vidrio	Pila	Ana Manrique	P2022	368v
Vidrio	Pomo	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1318
Vidrio	Pomo	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1344v
Vidrio	Pomo	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1345v
Vidrio	Pomo	Juana de Aragón y Colonna	P2021c	914v
Vidrio	Pomo	Luis Enriquez	P3485	669
Vidrio	Pomo	Maria de Aragón	P1578	173
Vidrio	Porcelana	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1304
Vidrio	Porcelana	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1318
Vidrio	Porcelana	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1343
Vidrio	Porcelana	Francisco de Rojas	P2176	267
Vidrio	Porcelana	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1040
Vidrio	Porcelana	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1040
Vidrio	Porcelana	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1040
Vidrio	Porcelana	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1373v
Vidrio	Puntas	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1317
Vidrio	Ramillete	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1759v
Vidrio	Ramillete	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1759v
Vidrio	Ramilletero	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1762v
Vidrio	Redoma	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1299v
Vidrio	Relicário	Francisca Enriquez de Almansa	P1810-3	1760
Vidrio	Relicário	Juan Montoya y Cardona	P2029	
Vidrio	Relicário	Mateo de Carranza	P2679a	518
Vidrio	Retablo	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	22
Vidrio	Retablo	Luis Enriquez	P3485	669
Vidrio	Rosario	Ana de Toledo y Colona	P1810-3a	1316v
Vidrio	Rosario	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	518v
Vidrio	Salva	Ana Manrique	P2022	368v
Vidrio	Taza	Juan Lorenzo de Castilla	P590	1373v
Vidrio	Tintero	Juan de Acuña	P2661	918
Vidrio	Vaso	Diego Fernandez de Cordoba	P1006	499v
Vidrio	Vaso	Guiomar Pardo y Tavera	P2322	26v
Vidrio	Vaso	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1039v
Vidrio	Vaso	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1039v
Vidrio	Vaso	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1040
Vidrio	Vaso	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1040
Vidrio	Vaso	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1040



Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Yeso	Espejo	Juan de Borja y Castro	P2626	1073v
Yeso	Estampa	Jorge Cerón Carvajal	P2679b	780 [sic]
Yeso	Imagen	Juan de Acuña	P2661	828v

Material	Object	Owner	Ref.	Fol.
Yeso	Picça	Juan de Acuña	P2661	822v
Yeso	Picça	Juan de Acuña	P2661	858v
Yeso	Quadro	Ana Antonia de Velasco	P2021b	377v



## Appendix XIII – Number of different objects registered for each material

Material	Div.
Plata	205
Oro	142
Seda	98
Terciopelo	98
Tafetan	89
Madera	60
Hierro	59
Raso	59
Cristal	57
Ebano	55
Tela	53
Damasco	51
Marfil	49
Cuero	48
Olanda	48
Lienzo	46
Nogal	43
Vidrio	40
Piño	39
Esmalte	38
Cobre	37
Bronce	36
Laton	34
Nácar	34
Paño	34
Lana	30
Bayeta	27
Cordoban	27
Ambar	26
Hilo	26
Gorgoran	25
Perla	25
Vaqueta	23
Diamante	21
Felpa	21
Jaspe	21
Piedra	21
Raja	21

Material	Div.
Bocaci	20
Acero	19
Chamelote	19
Porcelana	19
Gasa	18
Perpetuan	18
Pita	18
Metal	17
Rubi	17
Agata	16
Azabache	16
Cañamazo	16
Catalufa	16
Cerámica	15
Cambray	14
Coral	14
Paja	14
Sarga	14
Grana	13
Jerga	13
Tabi	13
Box	12
Brocado	12
Guadamecil	12
Alabastro	11
Concha de tortuga	11
Estopa	11
Granada	11
Papel	11
Plumas	11
Brocatel	10
Bufano	10
Caoba	10
Cuerno	10
Esmeralda	10
Madera de la India	10
Marta	9
Beatilla	8

Material	Div.
Cera	8
Hueso	8
Pellejo	8
Plomo	8
Tercianela	8
Cotonia	7
Feltro	7
Mármol	7
Palma	7
Algodon	6
Camuza	6
Claveque	6
Granadillo	6
Gusanillo	6
Lino	6
Palo Santo	6
Papelon	6
Anascote	5
Cipres	5
Coco	5
Crea	5
Junco	5
Pastilla	5
Raposo Ferrero	5
Yeso	5
Calabaza	4
Calambuco	4
Caza	4
Cuerno de Abada	4
Encina	4
Estaño	4
Picote de Cordoba	4
Piedra bezoar	4
Unicornio	4
Anafaya	3
Caniqui	3
Grana de polvo	3
Lacre	3

Material	Div.
Lanilla	3
Lince	3
Madera de Brasil	3
Moscovia	3
Peltre	3
Peral	3
Safira	3
Topazio	3
Uña de la <i>gran bestia</i>	3
Vicuña	3
Benjuí	2
Borne	2
Buzio	2
Cerda	2
Corcho	2
Crisolita	2

Material	Div.
Hilado	2
Madera de Indias	2
Onza	2
Palmilla	2
Palo de la aguila	2
Paño de Segovia	2
Pelucia	2
Piedra de la aguila	2
Terracota	2
Tiritaña	2
Turquesa	2
Algalia	1
Almizcle	1
Anime	1
Balsamo	1
Bejuco	1

Material	Div.
Bucho	1
Cañamo	1
Carvon	1
Cedro de La Havana	1
Cocobolo	1
Esparto	1
Fresno	1
Gato de Algalia	1
Hijuela	1
Jade	1
Lampazo	1
Lapislázuli	1
Mana	1
Rosa de Jericó	1
Sal	1
Tirela	1

## Appendix XIV – Recurrence of materials in sample of 41 inventories

Material	Rec.
Ebano	41
Nogal	41
Plata	41
Tafetan	41
Terciopelo	40
Damasco	39
Lienzo	39
Olanda	38
Oro	38
Seda	38
Madera	37
Raso	37
Piño	36
Hierro	35
Marfil	34
Vaqueta	33
Bronce	32
Cuero	32
Paño	32
Cobre	31
Tela	30
Cristal	27
Laton	27
Bayeta	26
Diamante	26
Vidrio	26
Esmalte	25
Gorgoran	25
Nácar	25
Raja	25
Ambar	24
Cordoban	24
Gasa	24
Gusanillo	23
Hilo	23
Chamelote	22
Lana	22
Jaspe	21

Material	Rec.
Felpa	20
Perla	20
Piedra	20
Cañamazo	19
Cotonia	19
Pita	19
Coco	18
Cera	17
Coral	17
Estopa	17
Guadamecil	17
Palma	17
Cambray	16
Feltro	16
Piedra bezoar	16
Bocaci	15
Catalufa	15
Metal	15
Acero	14
Alabastro	14
Caoba	14
Esmeralda	14
Grana	14
Porcelana	14
Rubi	14
Agata	13
Granada	13
Paja	13
Brocado	12
Perpetuan	12
Azabache	11
Concha de tortuga	11
Tabi	11
Algodon	10
Beatilla	10
Benjuí	10
Brocatel	10
Calambuco	10

Material	Rec.
Cerámica	10
Cuerno	10
Papel	10
Sarga	10
Box	9
Pastilla	9
Plumas	9
Tercianela	9
Unicornio	9
Algalia	8
Cipres	8
Jade	8
Jerga	8
Marta	8
Pellejo	8
Crea	7
Esparto	7
Hueso	7
Junco	7
Lino	7
Madera de la India	7
Palo Santo	7
Uña de la <i>gran bestia</i>	7
Camuza	6
Lacre	6
Mármol	6
Plomo	6
Vicuña	6
Bufano	5
Caza	5
Cuerno de Abada	5
Encina	5
Granadillo	5
Hilado	5
Peltre	5
Piedra de la aguila	5
Safira	5
Calabaza	4

Material	Rec.
Moscovia	4
Turquesa	4
Yeso	4
Almizcle	3
Anafaya	3
Anascote	3
Anime	3
Balsamo	3
Caniqui	3
Claveque	3
Estaño	3
Mana	3
Palo de la aguila	3
Peral	3
Picote de Cordoba	3
Topazio	3

Material	Rec.
Borne	2
Cerda	2
Corcho	2
Crisolita	2
Gato de Algalia	2
Grana de polvo	2
Lanilla	2
Lapislázuli	2
Lince	2
Madera de Brasil	2
Madera de Indias	2
Palmilla	2
Pelucia	2
Raposo Ferrero	2
Rosa de Jericó	2
Terracota	2

Material	Rec.
Tiritaña	2
Bejuco	1
Bucho	1
Buzio	1
Cañamo	1
Carvon	1
Cedro de La Havana	1
Cocobolo	1
Fresno	1
Hijuela	1
Lampazo	1
Onza	1
Paño de Segovia	1
Papelon	1
Sal	1
Tirela	1

***Denunciacion de un escritorio, un tapete y otras cosas, Cáceres, 1623-1626***  
**in Archivo Historico Nacional, Consejos, Legajo 33933, N° 9**

Martin Fernandez de la Casas Alquacil de Cacerez y el Sr. Fiscal de S. M.

Contra

Luis Enriquez Cardozo

[PART I]

*/f. 1/* “En la villa de cazeres a quatro dias del mes de octubre de mill y seisientos y veinte y tres años entre las nueve y las diez oras de la noche sus mercedes don Juan de medina rrosales rruiz de barrientos correjidor desta villa y el lizenziado bernabe vaca de avila su alcalde maior porante mi el escrivano publico y testigos dixeran que andando sus mercedes rroncando por esta villa como lo acostunbran para la quietud della y sus vezinos llegaron all meson del camino llano que esta fuera del poblado de esta villa que tiene Juan rrodriguez a donde de presente está y en el allaron algunos harrieros y entrellos tres portugueses que all[?] unos ele[?] avia hallado un **escritorio grande con su pie de madera de caova guarnezido de evano /f. 1v/ y marfil** que el d[ic]ho escritorio estava presente el qual dixeran ser contra las prematicas rreales en que prohibe poderse entrar de rreynos estraños en este de castilla cosas de madera evano y marfil ni otras cosas labradas fuera deste rreyno do graves penas y que el d[ic]ho escritorio **se avia labrado en el reino de portugal** el qual sus mercedes mandaron abrir y sabrio y miraron los cajones del que son catorze y el ultimo del medio a la parte de abaxo que es mayor que los demas estava zerrado con llave a lo que parezio y pidiendo la llave a los d[ic]hos arrieros dixeran notraerla ni averse la dado la persone que entrego el d[ic]ho escritorio por lo qual sis mercedes mandaron a Juan fernandez de prado zerrajero vezino desta villa abriese el d[ic]ho caxon el qual lo hizo ansi y aviendo se abierto se allo */f. 2/* En el d[ic]ho caxon **una sobremesa o carpeta de cuero respuntada y labrada de seda** de colores y con flocadura de seda verde y forrada en olandilla colorada que dixieron sus mercedes ser contra la prematica rreal por ser labrada en rreyno estraño atento a lo qual paza a veriguazion del caso mandaron hazer e hizieron esta cabeza de prozeso y por el tenor della se tomen las declaraciones a los d[ic]hos harrieros y se hagan las demas dilijenias nezesarias a[n]si lo proveieron y mandaron y firmaron testigos el d[ic]ho Juan fernandez de prado y alonso Jil vezinos de la d[ic]ha villa Don Juan de medina el lizenziado vaca a[n]te my Juan guerra escrivano

[Yten] E luego yncontinenty[?] sus mercedes el d[ic]ho correjidor y alcalde maior dixeran que a */f. 2v/* tento los d[ic]hos harrieros portugueses demas del d[ic]ho escritorio y carpeta traen otras mercadurias y para ver lo que es y si traen algunas contra las prematicas rreales mandose desfardelo y descosa un terzio de los que traen para lo ver lo qual se hizo ansy y se descordelo y desfardo uno de los d[ic]hos terzios que dixo pedro gonzales harriero traeren surrequa[?] y parezio ser tudo lo que en el venia **canela** y no otra cosa con lo qual sus mercedes mandaron all d[ic]ho harriero lo buelba a coser y en fardelar y ansi lo hiziron siendo testigos Juan rrodriguez de la casa estantes en la d[ic]ha villa don Juan de medina el lizenziado vaca a[n]te my Juan guerra escrivano

[Yten] Declarazion de andres fernandez. En la villa de cazeres a */f. 3/* quatro dias del mes de octubre de mill y seisientos y veinte y tres años para la d[ic]ha averiguazion sus mercedes los d[ic]hos correjidor y alcalde

maior Rezibieron juramento de un onbre que dixo llamarse andres fernandez y ser vezino de la villa de montaluan[?] rreyno de portugal y ello hizo por Dios n[uest]ro señor y una señal de Cruz en forma de derecho y prometio de dezir verdad de lo que supiere y le fuere perguntado y a viendo jurado se le pregunto lo siguiente

[Yten] Preguntado diga y declare el escritorio con su pie guarnezido de evano y marfil que se le a hallado y aprehendido con su pie en un cazon y en el cazon del medio en la gaveta que se abrio por no tener llave por mandado de sus mercedes quien se lo entrego a dundelo[?] lleva y a quien y la /f. 3v/ **sobremesa** que se allo en el d[ic]ho cajon y gaveta de en medio e nel d[ic]ho escritorio que **es de quero labrada de seda** de colores forrada en olandilla colorada con flocadura de seda verde dizo que el d[ic]ho **escritorio guarnezido de evano y marfil y madera de caova** de la forma que le a sido allado **se lo entrego rodrigo moreno en abrantos rreyno de portugal para que lo levase a la villa de madrid con una carta zerrada a luis enriquez cardoso** en la calle de las carretas y este que declara por ser harriero y ganar su vida al d[ic]ho ofizio por su parte rrezibio el d[ic]ho escritorio para lo entregar a quien se le ordeno y no le entrego llave ninguna del d[ic]ho escritorio y el cajon bajero del medio del d[ic]ho escritorio de la parte de abajo venia zerrado con llave /f. 4/ Por mandado de sus mercedes los d[ic]hos correjidor y alcalde maior se abrio el d[ic]ho cajon por un zerrajero y en el se allo la d[ic]ha sobremesa de quero rreferida nesta declarzion la qual este que declara no sabia viniesse en el d[ic]ho cajon porque se lo dieron zerrado como se le[?] allo y esto rresponde

[...] [Yten] Preguntado declare que mas mercadurias trae en su rrequa[?] demas del d[ic]ho escritorio y so- /f. 4v/ **Bremesa** dixo que trae cantidad de **canela y azucar** piedra para diferente persona que el dueño de el escritorio y para el dueño del d[ic]ho escritorio lleva tansolamente con el **una caja de barros de lisboa** y no otra cosa alguna

[...] /f. 8/ [...] [Yten] E luego sus mercedes el d[ic]ho correjidor y alcalde mayor mandaron abrir la d[ic]ha caja de barros y contarse y se abrio y se allaron y contaron **ochenta y zinco jarros o barros** de diferentes hechuras colorados ordinarios chicos y grandes los ochenta y tres sanos y los dos quebrados todo lo qual y el d[ic]ho escritorio con su pie y sobremesa de quero mandaron enbargar y poner en deposito en poder de Juan rrodriguez mesonero vezino desta villa all qual mandaron otorgue deposito dello a[n]si lo proveieron y mandaron testigos Juan fernandez de prado y pedro flores vezino y estante en cazeres Don Juan de medina /f. 8v/ El lizenziado vaca Juan guerra escrivano

[...]

/fol. 9v/ [Yten] En la d[ic]ha villa de cazeres el d[ic]ho dia quatro de otubre de mill y seiszientos y veinte y tres años sus mercedes los d[ic]hos correjidor y alcalde maior aviendo visto las declaraciones desuso y autos dyxeron mandavan prender y prendieron ell d[ic]ho andres fernandez portugues por esta causa ansi lo proveieron y mandaron testigos Juan rrodrigues portugues y alonso Jil vezinos de la d[ic]ha villa Don Juan de medina el lizenziado vaca a[n]te my Juan guerra escrivano

[Yten] andres fernandez vezino de montalvan en nonbre de antonio garzia pase por castilla por el rregistro de la Liseda con una caxa de pino de barros de lisboa y un **escritorio echo en Lisboa** lo qual se despacho por carta de Luis fernandez castil blanco en despacho de maior quantia albuquerque /f. 10/ a tres de otubre de mill y seiszientos y veinte y tres años fernandez sanchez Lindo ziento[?] y ochenta vae nuna[?] mayor pasca[?] castilla el contenido que da el orijinal en mi poder a Liseda quatro de otubre de mill y seiszientos y veinte y tres años manuel falcato

[Petición] [Yten] En la villa de cazeres a quatro de otubre de mill y seis[zientos] y veinte y tres años ante don Ju[an] de medina correjidor desta villa m[art]in fernandez de la casa presento la petizion siguiente



martin fernandez de la casa como mas aia lugar de derecho de nunzio y en caso siendo nezesario rrequerello[?] y acuso criminalmente a andres fernandez portugues vezino de la villa de montalvan en portugal y a los demas que rremanezieren culpados y premisas R[?] /f. 10v/ y es el caso que estando como esta **prohibido por sel capitulo treze de la prematica de madrid de onze de febrero deste presente año** que ninguna persona pueda meter de fuera destes rreynos colgaduras camas sillas almohadas colchas sobremesas y otras cosas echas por los ynconvinientes que la d[ic]ha prematica rrepresenta e sansi que el d[ic]ho denunciado contra viniendo a la d[ic]ha Dispusizion metio del rreyno de portugal en este de castilla **un escritorio con su pie guarnezido de evano y marfil** y en el caxon del medio en la gaveta **una sobremesa de cuero labrada de seda** de colores forrada en olandilla colorada con flocadura de seda a verde y una caja con ochenta y zinco jarros de barro de diferentes echuras los dos dellos quebrados /fol. 11/ Todo lo qual se hizo y fabrico en el d[ic]ho rreyno de portugal en la zidad de lisboa como parece del despacho por el suso d[ic]ho esibido portanto a v[ues]a[m]e[r]ze[d] pido y suplico prozeda contra el susod[ic]ho y lo Mnde rretener en la prision en que esta que aviendole tomado su confision protesto traer esta denunziacion mas en forma pedir y alegarlo demas que a mi derecho convenga sobre que pido just[ic]ia costas y para ello Etc<sup>a</sup>[?] y juro bachillernevado[?]

[...] /f. 17v/ [...]

[Yten] E luego yncontinenti el d[ic]ho dia mes e año d[ic]hos el d[ic]ho andres fernandez portugues dixo e otorgo dava su poder /f. 18/ un P[?] lido a benito bazo damian blasquez cristoval gonzales pedro gamonales procuradores del audienzia desta villa y a cada uno dellos ynolitun[?] espeziamente para queen su nonbre lo defiendan a[n]te la justizia rreal desta villa desta causa alegando e nella de su justizia e rresponda a tudo lo que contra el se dixere pidiere y alegare pida terminos preg[un]te preguntas testigos provanzas y escrituras y otro jenero de prueba pida publicaciones haga conclusiones e rrenunziaziones de terminos pida coisa sentenzia o sentenzias consienta las de su favor y delas encontraro y de otro agravio apelen y supliquen y sigan el[?] apelazion y suplicazion adonde y con derecho se deva seguir y dar quien la ssiga pidan costas y las rreziban y cobren y de nmemoriales della si y enfeto agan todos los demas autos /f. 18v/ y di lizenzias judiziaes y estra judizia les que convengan y sean nezesarias y lo miesmo que el haria presente siendo que para ellos les dio el mismo poder que tiene con obligazion y rrelevazion enforma en cuio testimonio lo otorgoante mi el d[ic]ho escrivano publico siendo testigos pedro carrillo de figueroa y cristoval mateos y alonso jil vezinos de la d[ic]ha villa y arruego del d[ic]ho otorgante que dixo no saber firmar lo firmo un testigo cristoval macteos a[n]te mi Juan guerra escrivano

[...] /f. 21 /

[Petición] [...] En la villa de cazeres a seis de otubre de mill y seiszientos y veinte y tres año ante el lizen[zia]do vaca de avila alcalde maior de esta villa benito bazo presento la petizion siguiente

/f. 21v/ Benito Bazo en nonbre de andres fernandez preso en la carzel publica desta villa rrespondiendo ala denunziazion de martin fernandez de la casa suten o rrepetido = digo que no prozedo y que mi parte a deserau[?] suelto y dado por libre lo primero por lo jeneral e por que no es puesta por parte ni contra parte culpada en tienpo ni forma ni con zierta rrelazion y asi la niego afirmandome en la confesion de mi parte. Lo otro porque my parte ningun delito a cometido dupuestas dos cosas una que es del rreyno de portugal a donde no consta que este promulgada la prematica de madrid en que se funda la d[ic]ha denunziazion otra que mi parte llevaba y lleva el escritorio que le a sido haprehendido en le qual tenia la sobremesa zerrada sin saber ni parte della por mandado de rrodrigo /f. 22/ Moreno vezino de habrantes a Luis enrriquez cardoso estante en madrid y por su parte que a my parte se a de pagar de manera que conforme a estas dos rrazones = mi parte no a cometido delito ni yncurrido en penas algunas pues no tenia noticia de la d[ic]ha prematica y no metio cosas prohibidas para vender ni para usar dellas ni a provecharse y el d[ic]ho escritorio y

sobremesa es delas personas rreferidas y no de mi parte y así no deve ni puede darse por perdido ny la d[ic]ha sobremesa y alo menos sin zitar a sus dueños hazer prozesos sobre ello lo otro porque mi parte es hombre honrrado un simple harriero y que gana su vida exerziendo su ofizio de harriero por los portes que se le pagan no acostunbrado a cometer delitos algunos ni a contravenir a las leyes y prematicas rreales y de la pre/f. 22v/Matica de madrid de onze de febrero deste año no tenia ni a tenido notizia y ansi lo juro a dios y esta cruz ✠ en anima de mi parte por tudo lo qual a v[uesa]m[erze]d suplico y pido rrepela la d[ic]ha denunziacion y lo en ella contenido y sobretodo pido justizia

[Yten] otro sy atento que mi parte es harriero que lleva por supoerte cargas a madrid y de detenerle en esta villa rrezibe mucho daño costa y descomodidad a v[uesa]m[erze]d suplico y pido = Le mande soltar dela prision en que le tiene y no ynpida prosiga su viaje y camino y de no lo hazer a[n]si y aver prozedido contra my parte sobre el d[ic]ho escritorio y carpeta de cuero apelo pelo a[n]te su mag[esta]d = y ante quien y con derecho devo y puedo y protesto lo que a mi parte convenga y lo pido por testimonio y sobretodo justizia y costas /fol. 23/ El lizenziado benito Jil de molina [...]

[Francisco Tello rejects the arguments presented by Benito Jil, stating the Andres Fernandez should had never entered in Castille with the forbidden goods. Benito Jil writes another petition]

/f. 24v/ [Petición] [...] “digo que sin embargo vuesa merzed ai deve proveer conforme pedido tengo por lo d[ic]ho y alegado y porque la prematica rreal en que se funda la parte contraria no obliga a hombre herriero senzillo y gnorante como es mi parte y vezino del rreyno de portugal a donde no consta estar publicada la d[ic]ha prematica lo otro porque la d[ic]ha prematica habla en las cosas que se meten de otros rreynos o en estos del rrey n[uestro] señor lo qual se colije de las proprias palabras de la d[ic]ha prematica que diz en que los que metieren de fuera destes rreynos en estos /f. 25/ cosa echa de lana seda Etc<sup>a</sup>[?] y **siendo como es el rreyno de portugal e este de castilla de un mismo rrey y señor como es su mag[esta]d en este caso no se berifica la d[ic]ha prematica maiormente no constando que el escritorio se a echo de marfil ni el ni la carpeta echa fuera destes rreynos** y finalmente porque consta que el d[ic]ho escritorio y carpeta no son de my parte y por su parte leva las d[ic]has cosas a madrid a persona conozida y en este caso adonde mi p[ar]te para sí ni para su uso ni para vender no consta que meta el d[ic]ho escritorio y carpeta y lo lleva es contra la rrazon dela justizia y equidad condenara mi parte en perdimiento de las d[ic]has coisas y aun hablando devidamente prozeder contra el pues a mi parte el mandato de quien le alquilo para que llevase a madrid en sus bestias el d[ic]ho escritorio y mesa y la rrazon de su oficio = simpleza de su persona le escusa /f. 25v/ de toda culpa y quando prozedo se pudiera hazer avia de ser contra los dueños del d[ic]ho escritorio y sobremesa por lo qual a v[uesa]m[erze]d suplico y pido haga y provea como es este escrito se contiene y mas aia lugar en favor de mi p[ar]te Justizia y costas Etc<sup>a</sup>[?] [...]

[This petition is followed by a request to allow Andres Fernandez to continue his journey to Madrid; Francisco Tello contests and requests for the rejection of Beinto Jil’s petition; in f. 28, see “Provanza de m[art]in fernandez de la casa contra andres fernandez portuges”; in f. 33v, see “Provanza de andres fernandez contra m[art]in fernandez de la casa”]

[...] /f. 37v/ [Sentencia] [Yten] En el pleito que ante nos pende entre partes de la una martin fernandez de la casa actor y denunziador y de la otra andres fernandez rreo denunziado visto rreo denunziado visto Etc<sup>a</sup>[?]

Fallamos atento los autos y meritos del d[ic]ho pleito que por la culpa que rresulta contra el d[ic]ho andres fernandez para ver pasado y metido del rreyno de portugal a este de castilla el escritorio con su pie y sobremesa de quero sobre que a sido la d[ic]ha denunziacion contra lo dispuesto por la rreal prematica de

su mag[esta]d promulgada en la villa de madrid a diez dias del mes de hebrero de mill y seizesientos y veinte y tres años en ela capitulo treze della que le **devemos de condenar y condenamos** en perdymiento del d[ic]ho escritorio con su pie /f. 38/ y sobremesa lo qual aplicamos a la camara de su mag[esta]d juez y denunciador conforme a la d[ic]ha rreal prematica y para que se de a cada uno lo que toca mandamos se vendaen pu[bli]ca almoneda y se rrematee nel maior ponedor y no azemos mas condenazion all d[ic]ho andres fernandez por su notoria pobreza y ser hombre ynorante y por no constar que tienpo a ques esta en este rreyno de castilla y rreservamos su derecho a la camara y denunciador para que sigan su justizia con rrodrigo moreno cuio dizer el d[ic]ho andres fernandez es el d[ic]ho escritorio y sobremesa y contra otra qualquiera persona en rrazon de los treinta mill m[aravedi]s en que yncurrio por sacar lo susod[ic]ho del d[ic]ho rreyno a este de castilla echo y fabricado como su callado y aprehendido y juzgando por esta mia sentenzia difinitiva a[n]si lo pronunziamos y mandamos con costas en /f. 38v/ que condenamos al d[ic]ho andres fernandez a nuestra tasazion Don Ju[an] de medina el lizenziado vaca [...]

[From f. 42 onwards: description of the public auction (Almoneda) during which the confiscated fall-front cabinet was sold to the *licenciado* Andrés Cordero for 550 reales; Petition by Martin Fernandez de la Casa requesting to have Andrés Cordero under arrested if he does not pay for the fall-front cabinet.]

[...] /f. 52v/ [Petición] [...] Pedro Gamonales en nonbre de el lizen[zia]do andres cordero vezino y abogado deta villa en la causa que contra el trata m[art]in fernandez de la casa criado de du m[erze]d Don Juan de medina rrosales sin perjuizio de mis apelaziones y protestaziones sin ser visto rrenunziarlas ni apartarme dellas digo que el d[ic]ho mi parte esta preso hasta tanto que pague **quarenta y ocho ducados del prezio de un escritorio y sobremesa** que en el se rremato y por rredimir la vajazion y molestia que a my parte se le haze consigno y ago deposito ante v[uesa]m[erze]d de los d[ic]hos quarenta y ocho ducados del prezio del d[ic]ho escritorio y sobremesa. Pido y suplico a vuesamerzed los aia por consignados y mande se pongan en el depositario jeneral desta villa /f. 53/ y soltar a mi parte de la d[ic]ha prision libremente pues es justizia que pido costas y de todo testimonio Etc<sup>a</sup>[?] el bachiller a[n]dres Cordero [...]

[Notification about the release of the *licenciado* Andrés Cordero]

## [PART II]

/f. 54/ [...] Don Ph[elip]e Por la grazia de dios rrey de castilla [...] Etc<sup>a</sup> = a vos el escrivano o escrivanos por a[n]te quien uvieren pasado o en cuio poder esta el prozeso y autos que en esta m[i]a Carta se hazia mencion y a cada uno de vos a quien fuere notificada salud y grazia sabed que sebastian moreno en nonbre de Luis enriquez de cardoso mercader vezino desta villa de madrid se presento a[n]te el presidente y oidores /f. 54v/ del nuestro Consejo y contaduria maior de hazienda en grado de apelazion nulidad y agravio o como mejor de derecho uvisse Lugar de ziertos autos y sentenzia dados y pronunziados por el correjidor de la villa de Cazeres **en rrazon de zierto descamino de un escritorio para papeles y un pellejo de la india para Cama y una canastra de barros** que rrodrigo moreno vezino de abrantos rremitia a el d[ic]ho su parte por un harriero que **venian de la ziuudad de Lisboa** y llegando ala d[ic]ha vi[ll]a de cazeres el d[ic]ho correjidor visitando la posada donde estava el d[ic]ho harriero le avia preguntado por los despachos de aduanas y a viendoselos mostrado de las demas mercadurias que traia aparte y dividio las mercadurias rreferidas diziendo eran perdidas por averse [o]ff[ic]i[o] en el rreyno de portu/f. 55/gal y avia detenido en la d[ic]ha villa de cazeres ell d[ic]ho harriero algunos dias haziendole grandes molestias segun que mas largamente en los d[ic]hos autos y sentenzia se contiene y declaralos quales dixo ser ningunos ynjustos y agraviados contra el d[ic]ho su parte y como tal nos pidio y suplico los mandasemos rrebocar y rrezibir en el d[ic]ho grado de

apelazion y darle m[i]a carta y provizion compulsoria proveyendo sobrello como su esen[an]za m[erze]d[?] lo qual visto por el presidente y oidores del d[ic]ho m[i]o Consejo y contaduria maior de hazienda rrezibieron su presentazion y sie acordado deviamos demandar dar esta m[i]a carta para nos en la d[ic]ha rrazon y nos tuvimoslo por bien por la qual mandamos que dentro de tres dias primeros siguientes de como con esta m[i]a carta fuere desrrequeridos por parte del d[ic]ho luis enriquez de carodoso le deis y entregueis un tras /f. 55v/ lado autentico del prozeso y autos que en rrazon delo susod[ic]ho se uvieren [o]ff[ic]io[?] y causado sin que falte cosa alguna escrito en linpio signado e firmado zerrado y sellado en manera que aga fé para lo traer y presentar a[n]te nos pagando os los derechos que por ello uvierdes de auez conforme alla ranzel[?] de m[i]os rreynos los quales asentada el fin del signo[?] so pena del quatro tanto para la m[i]a Camara y fisco. Dada en madrid a v[in]te y siete dias del mes de abril de mill y seisientos y veinte y quatro años el marques de montes claros el lizenziado Don fran[zisc]o morales salazar el lizenziado Don antonio de contreras el lizenziado bartolome marquez de prado y o simon cabreros escrivano de camara del rrey n[uest]ro señor La fiz escrevir por su mandado con acuerdo del presidente y oidores del su consejo y contaduria mayor de hazienda Registrada m[art]in De mendieta porcanziller maior

/f. 58v/ [...]

[Yten] El lizen[zia]do bernabe vaca de avila alcalde maior desta villa de cazeres por vuestra mag[esta]d digo que a pedimiento de luis enriquez cardoso vezino desa corte se [...?] la rreal Provision con que fue rrequerido franzisco [...] portillo escrivano de los rreynos y del numero desta d[ic]ha vi[ll]a para que diese un tanto y traslado autorizado del prozeso que en la rreal provision se aze menzion y por que delos autos del ade constar a v[uest]ra mag[esta]d = que la denunziacion que m[art]in fernandez de la casa yzo a andres fernandez portugues por aver entrado en este rreyo de castilla del de portugal **un escritorio de madera de caova evano y marfil** fue justa y conforme alo dispuesto por el capitulo treze de las leies y prematicas rreales que para el buen gobierno deste rreyno de castilla y p[ar]a su rreparo y benefizio hizieron y plomulgaron en diez de hebrero del año pasado de mill y sei[zientos] y v[in]te y tres años por el qual se ordena y manda que desde el dia de # su promulgazion en adelante no se pueda meter de fuera del rreyno ninguna cosa echa de lana o seda margil evano y en las palabras proemiales del d[ic]ho capitulo se aze menzion de las cosas que entran echas como son camas sillas de madera y **aun que no parece que se haze menzion de escritorios se an de rregular por la misma despusizion** por militarla mesma rrazon en ello p[or]q[ue] en las demas cosas por que en el d[ic]ho capitulo aze estezion a otras demas de las referidas y porque la parte contraria se a quejado a v[uest]ra mag[esta]d con color de que el d[ic]ho escritorio y denunziacion fue por via de descamino y no por via de contravenzion a lo dispuesto por la d[ic]ha ley y prematica me a parezido dar quenta dello a v[uest]ra mag[esta]d a quien sulico y pido lo advierta[?] y que si se diese lugar a semejantes quejas se contravendria a lo dispuesto por las /f. 59/ d[ic]has leies echas con tanto acuerdo y diliberazion y se dara lugar a que la nazon portuguesa meriese en este rreyno cosas semejantes y otras y [.....] fabrica de las que se azen en este rreyno de castilla con cuio valor y prezio se consumen las aziendas y se saca la moneda deste rreyno que dando los sudictos naturales del en los peligros de la nezsidad sin teneren que trabaxar como lo a mostrado la esperenzia y los daños que delo contrario se an seguido y ansi parece que la condenazion que le fue s[enten]s[iad]a[?] all d[ic]ho andres fernandez fue justa en conformidad de la d[ic]ha dispusizion que se ade servir v[uest]ra mag[esta]d declararlo ansee[?] mandar que siga su just[izi]a en la rreal chanzieleria de granada para donde tiene apelado e sirviendose de mandar otra cosa lo guardare y cumplire como el menor y mas obidiente ministro de v[uest]ra mag[esta]d cuia pers[on]a guarde m[i]o señor con aumento de maiores rreinos cazeres treinta de maio de mill y seis[zientos] y v[in]te y quatro a[ño]s el lizen[zia]do bernabe vaca de avila a[n]te mi franzisco portillo escrivano.

[...]

/sin numero/

[Declaración]

Luis henriques cardoso en el pleito con martin fernandez de las casas ante V[uesa] A[lteza] parezco i pongo demanda al susodicho i digo q[ue] alva dos años i medio poco mas o menos que rodrigo moreno veciño de la villa de abrantos como encomendero que era i es de manuel mendez per cui a mi ierno vecino de la ciudad de lisboa me remitió a esta corte que le avia inbiado para que lo iciese **un escritorio con sus gabetas de madera ordinaria** para meter papeles en el i **una sobremesa de cuero** respuntada i una canasta de barros de portugal con \_ ordinario del dicho reino a esta corte q[ue] lo traia para mi remitido del dicho rodrigo moreno pagados los derechos que se debian a V[uesa] A[lteza] i viniendo por la villa de caceres el dicho ordinario por denunciacion del dicho martin fernandez criado i alguacil del corregidor el susodicho i su alcalde maior se lo quitaron diciendo que era de ebano indo contra prematica i sin aver parte lejitima ni citarme como dueño que era dello lo dieron por perdido, no lo pudiendo ni debiendo acer ansi por no ser contra prematica como por no aver oido nu aver se hecho la causa conmigo i reconociendo el agravio i vezacion q[ue] me avian hecho en quitarme la dicha carpeta barros i escritorio luego q[ue] llego a noticia q[ue] avia puesto demanda sobre ello como lo avian hecho otras personas a quien quiraron una tachuelas de la misma forma declinaron juridicion i pidieron se remitiese esta causa ala chancilleria de granada adonde se debia conocer della i por autos de vista i revista se les denego en lo qual me an hecho muchas costas i detenidome en la causa mas de dos años a lo qual no es zusto[?] de lugar = portanto a V[uesa] A[lteza] pido i suplico mande revocar la dicha sentencia i condenar al dicho martin fernandez a que me buelva dichas costas i gastos q[ue] en la prosecucion desta causa se me an seguido i siguieren asta q[ue] con efeto me lo entregue pues es justicia q[ue] pido costas i para ello [...?] = i juro en forma esta demanda [...?] = i ofrezco me aprobar co necesario = Luis Enriques Cardoso.

[...]

[Mandato de interrogatorio]

D. Felipe pela graçia de Dios [...] saved que pleito esta [pen]diente y se trata en el tribunal de oydores de mi contaduria m[ai]or de hazienda entre luis henriquez cardosso y sebastian moreno su procurador de la una parte y martin f[ernande]z de las cassas y françisco deçurita su procurador de la otra: sobre el descamino de un scritorio y las demas causas y Raçones en el processo del d[ic]ho pleito contenidas en el qual las p[ar]tes dizeran y alegaron de su justiçia hasta tanto que concluyeron y el d[ic]ho negoçio fue Reçivido, aprueva con termino de quarenta dias comunes alas d[ic]has partes para hazer uso y provanças que corren y sequentar desde veinte y siete dias del mes de Agosto passado deste presente ano de seiçientos y veinte y seis y por parte del d[ic]ho luis henriquez cardosso me fue suplicado le mandase dar mi carta, requisitoria para que pudiesse hazer su provança ante vos / como mi md[?] fuere y visto en el mi consejo de hazienda con su acuerdo mande dar la presente = Por la qual os rogamos y encargamos que si el d[ic]ho Luis enriquez cardoso / o persona con su poder bastante pareçiere ante vos dentro del d[ic]ho termino hagais venir y pareçer ante vos personalmente a los [...?] que representaren y ansi pareçidos por ante un scrivano o notario que dello de fee reçivireis cada uno dellos juramento segun forma de derecho y sus d[ic]hos y deposiçiones [...?] y apartadamente les preguntad la hedad que an y de donde son v[e]z[in]os y por las demas[?] preguntas Generales de la ley y despues por las del ynterrogatorio / o ynterrogarios que se os presentaren que yran firmados de Simon m[artine]z Cabrerros mi s[c]r[ivan]o de Camara y no por otro alguno y al testigo que dizere que sacce la pregunta preguntandle como y por que la save y al quello eyo[?] deçir Aquien y quando y qe personas estarian presentes y al que dizere que lo cree como y porque lo cree por manera que cada uno delos d[ic] testigos de Razones suficietes de su [ic]ho y deposiçion

[...]

[Preguntas]

Por las preguntas siguientes se examinen los testigos que representarem por parte de Luis Henriquez Cardoso en el pleito con Martin Fernandez de las Casas = sobre escritorio, barros, i carpeta, que por denunciacion suia se declararon por perdidos en la villa de Caceres por la justizia della =

1. Primeramente se an preguntado los testigos por el conocimiento de las partes litigantes i si tienen noticia desta causa [...] =

2. i si sabem que abra tres años poco mas o menos que de ordem del dicho Luis Henriques; Manuel Mendez Percura[?] **su ierno iço acer un escritorio** para meter papeles en el en la ciudad de Lisboa, **en la calle que llaman de las arcas donde se acostumbran labrar**, , el qual **era, i es, de madera ordinaria i no de ebano** i luego que se acabo remitió a la villa de Abrantes a Rodrigo Moreno su encomendero con unos barros i una sobremesa para que desde allo se le remitiera al dicho Luis Henriquez a esta corte todo junto, aviendo pagado primero el dicho Manuel Mendez en la dicha ciudad de Lisboa todos los derechos que se debian pagar en los puertos aduanas, i otras partes, de que saco papeles dello para que pudiesen venir libremente, digan los testigos i temitanse a los dichos papeles que estan en los autos etc<sup>a</sup> =

3. i si sabem que luego que el dicho Rodrigo Moreno recibió los dichos barros carpeta i escritorio los remitió a esta corte con arriero pagandole supoerte para que en ella los diera al dicho Luis Henriquez, cuos eran i le entrego los papeles por donde constaba estar pagados los derechos de aduanas i trazendolo el dicho arriero por su camino sin que en ningun lugar se detubiese ni embargase = justizia alguna = don Diego de Medina Rosales corrijidor de la dicha villa de Caceres por denunciacion de Martin Fernandez de las Casas su criado hiço[?] causa al dicho arriero por decir era de reino estraño, i contra premativa i lo declaro por perdido i lo vendio i remato i el precio dello dividio en tercias partes como de la sentencia dada consta que esta en los autos a que se re[...] testigos digan ettc<sup>a</sup> =

4. i si sabem que los dichos barros de Portugal i sobre mesa [i escri]torio labrado en el, era de madera ordinaria i no de [ebano] i ninguna cosa dellas no era ni es contra premativa [...] reino estraño antes el dicho reino esta incorpor[ado en] el de Castilla i como tal las dichas mercaderias que [...] i son del dicho Luis Henriquez i otras qualesquier a [...] nero pueden entrar en el pagando los derechos con [...] se pagaron digan ettc<sup>a</sup> =

5. i si sabem que el dicho escritorio de madera ordinaria [costou?] treientos reales en plata doble en la ciudad de Lisboa [...] se iço i labro, i la dicha carpeta ciento i setenta i cin[co rea?]les, i los dichos barros seis reales i mas cien reales todo la misma moneda de plata doble que se dieron i pagaron [...] arriero que lo traia por su porte desde la dicha villa de Abrantes a esta de mas de los derechos de aduanas que parecieran [...] los autos los quales se re[...] los testigos [etc<sup>a</sup> =?]

[...]

Teste[munh]os [em português]

Francisco f[e]r[nande]s **carpint[ei]ro da Rua das arcas morador nesta çidade de L[isbo]a** na mesma Rua de idade de trinta e oito annos testimunha q[ue] jurou aos santos evangelhos e perguntado pelo costume[?] disse nada;

Perguntado elle test[emunh]a pella prim[ei]r pergunta digo pella segunda pergunta do interrogatorjo do Autor Luis Henriques Cardoso que lhe foi lida disse q[ue] he verdade q[ue] elle test[emunh]a como carpint[ei]ro que he da Rua das arcas desta çidade **costuma fazer escriptorijos contra sobras[?] de seu offyçio pera vender ao povo na sua tenda [...] tendo elle testimunha feito em sua tenda o escriptorio de q[ue] se tratta de pao de Angelim do Brasil vermelho guarneçido de outro pao q[ue] se chama jacarandá tambem do Brasil e perfilado de pao de Larangeira q[ue] tudo he madeira deste R[e]jino q[ue] não he made[ei]ra prohibida** o qual escriptorio elle testimunha vendeo a hum Manoel [...] Per[ei]ra o qual Manoel Mendez Per[ei]ra ad tempo q[ue] lhe comprou lhe disse q[ue] hya

esperar sua esposa a Castella e q[ue] o queria pera o dar de presente e depois disso perguntando elle test[emunh]a ao dito Manoel Me[n]dez Pereira se o dito escriptorjo contentara elle lhe respondeo q[ue] mandandoo pera castella lho embarçarão e não sabia o que sobre isso passava e isto he o que ele testemunha deste caso sabe pella razão q[ue] dito tem[?] e p[or] lhe correr pella mão e el não disse da pergunta a q[ue] somente[?] for dado p[or] testemunha e assjnou e eu Balthasar [...?] o escrivj. fran[cisc]co f[e]r[nande]s Antonjo de Payva;

Fernão Diaz Lapidarjo de diamantes morador nesta cidade de L[isbo]a junto a São Gião de idade de v[in]te e sete annos testemunha q[ue] jurou aos santos evang[el]hos e perguntado pello costume disse nada;

J Perguntado elle testemunha pella p[rimeir]a pergunta do interrogatoryo do Autor Luis Henriquez cardoso q[ue] lhe foi lida disse q[ue] elle test[emunh]a conhece muito bem ao autor e tem no[ti]çia desta causa[?] tal[?] não disse;

J Perguntado elle test[emunh]a pella segunda pergunta disse q[ue] he verdade q[ue] avera tres annos pouco mais ou menos q[ue] Manoel Mendez per[eir]a por orden do autor Luis Henryques cardoso **seu sogro comprou nesta çidade na Rua das arcas (aonde se fazem semelhantes escriptorios) hum escriptorjo de madeira ordinarja, e não de evano.** E logo que o comprou, o remetteo desta çidade pera o R[ei]no de Castella consignado ao autor Luis Henriquez Cardoso o qual escriptorjo lhe custou trezentos Reales em prata q[ue] são doze mil r[eai]s[?] moeda desta R[ei]no e juntam[en]te lhe comprou **e remeteo hum couro do Cinde** q[ue] ouvvyo dizer lhe custara çento setenta e çinco Reales q[ue] são em moeda deste Reino sete mil r[eai]s[?] de q[ue] o dito Manoel Mendez devia pagar seus direitos como constará de seus despachos, e he pub[li]co e notoryo q[ue] levando hum Arreiro o dito escriptorjo e couro lhe embarçarão sendo peças deste Rejno e de suas conquistas e não de Rejno estranho e el não disse nem das mais perguntas q[ue] todas lhe forão lidas e declaradas eo sabe pello ver possar e assjnou e eu Balthasar [...?] o escrivj fernão Diaz Antonjo de Payva;

[...]

[Petición] - En el v[in]te y dos de Diciembre de seis[ciento]s y v[in]te y seis

Luis Enriquez cardoso en el pleito con martin fernandez de las casas digo que aviendo visto V[uesa] A[lteza] el proceso desta c[ausa] allara que he probado mi intencion i demanda bien[?] i cumplidamente con mucho numero de testigos fidedignos i maiores de toda ecepcion; i que la parte contraria no a ynobado[=] cosa alguna en su favor que le agnobeche[?]; y en [...?] [pa]rticular he probado que **el escriptorio sobre que es este pleito no es de reino estraño ni de ebano ni contra prematica si no de maderá ordinaria hecho i labrado en [la] ciudad de lisboa Reino de Portugal; el qual no es es[tra]ño antes incorporado en el de castilla i que semejan[tes] mercaderias i cosas se an traído i traem ordinariam[en]te [de]l, alas personas que las piden i se traen no solo para esta corte como a mi se me traem pera para otros quales [q]uier lugares** = y lo scrip[to]rio la sobremesa i barros que se me remitiam desde la dicha ciudad de lisboa se podia acer libremente i sin pena alguna por no ser como esta dicho ninguna cosa dellas contra prematica ni prohibida meter en este reino maiormente aviendose pagado todo los derechos de aduanas i portazgos pertenecientes a V[uesa] A[lteza] como de las cartas de pago consta y hestan en los autos = por todas las quales raciones i las demas que en mi favor acen o acer pueden = pido i suplico a V[uesa] A[lteza] mande que revocando la dicha sentencia dada en esta causa por don Diego de medina rosales correjidor q[ue] fue de caceres por denunciacion de la parte contraria; condenar i condeno a los susodichos a que me dem i buelban el dicho escriptorio barros i carpeta o por ello su juzto precio i valor que tengo liquidado libremente i sin costa alguna con mas las q[ue] tengo hechas i que se icieren asta la real [...?] pues es justicia que pido costas i para ello[?]. Luis Enriques Cardoso.





## Appendix XVI – List of Archival Correspondence

### AGS: Archivo General de Simancas (Simancas, Spain)

Reference	Date	Place	Sender	Addressee
Consejo y Junta de Hacienda, Leg. 146, n° 12	1575.07.05	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Pedro de [Escovedo?], Sec <sup>o</sup> de Su Mag <sup>de</sup>
Consejo y Junta de Hacienda, Leg. 148, n° 9	1575.06.04	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Pedro de [Escovedo?], Sec <sup>o</sup> de Su Mag <sup>de</sup>
Estado/Cast., Leg.158, n° 129	1576.07.12	Casa del Bosque	Provincial de la Compañía de Jesus	Felipe II (assina Gabriel de Zayas)
Estado/Port., Leg.386, n° 97	1569.01.13	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Felipe II
Estado/Port., Leg.386, n° 97	1569.12.06	Madrid	Felipe II (signed: Francisco de Eraso)	Juan de Borja
Estado/Port., Leg.387	1570.01.24	Évora	Juan de Borja	Felipe II
Estado/Port., Leg.387	1570.11.26	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Felipe II
Estado/Port., Leg.387	1570.09.27	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Felipe II
Estado/Port., Leg.387	1570.03.10	Évora	Juan de Borja	Felipe II
Estado/Port., Leg.387	1570.03.18	Évora	Juan de Borja	Felipe II
Estado/Port., Leg.387	1570.06.28	Sintra	Juan de Borja	Felipe II
Estado/Port., Leg.387	1570.07.29	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Felipe II
Estado/Port., Leg.387	1570.09.14	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Felipe II
Estado/Port., Leg.387	1570.09.27	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Felipe II
Estado/Port., Leg.387	1570.08.31	Xabregas	Juan de Borja	Felipe II
Estado/Port., Leg.387	1570.09.18	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Felipe II
Estado/Port., Leg.387	1570.10.13	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Zayas
Estado/Port., Leg.387	1570.10.13	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Zayas
Estado/Port., Leg.387	1570.11.26	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Zayas
Estado/Port., Leg.387	1570.01.01	Évora	Juan de Borja	Felipe II
Estado/Port., Leg.387	1570.01.24	Évora	Juan de Borja	Zayas
Estado/Port., Leg.387	1570.01.24	Évora	Juan de Borja	Felipe II
Estado/Port., Leg.387	1570.11.26	Xabregas	Juan de Borja	Duque de Feria
Estado/Port., Leg.387	1570.10.13	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Duque de Feria
Estado/Port., Leg.387	1570.07.14	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Duque de Feria
Estado/Port., Leg.387	1570.08.31	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Duque de Feria
Estado/Port., Leg.387	1570.09.14	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Duque de Feria
Estado/Port., Leg.387	1570.09.28	Xabregas	Catarina de Áustria	Felipe II
Estado/Port., Leg.387	1570.07.13	Xabregas	Catarina de Áustria	Duque de Feria
Estado/Port., Leg.388, fol. 2	1574.01.09	El Pardo	Felipe II	Juan de Borja
Estado/Port., Leg.388, fol. 8	1574.01.25	El Pardo	Felipe II	Juan de Borja
Estado/Port., Leg.388, fol. 17	1574.04.1	Madrid	Felipe II	Juan de Borja

Reference	Date	Place	Sender	Addressee
Estado/Port., Leg.388, fol. 34	1574.06.26	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Zayas
Estado/Port., Leg.388, fol. 42	1574.08.21	Madrid	Felipe II	Juan de Borja
Estado/Port., Leg.388, fol. 49	1574.09.30	Madrid	Felipe II	Juan de Borja
Estado/Port., Leg.389, nº 2	1571.12.9	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Felipe II (en manos de Sec <sup>o</sup> Gabriel de Zayas)
Estado/Port., Leg.389, nº 31	1571.10[P].27	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Gabriel de Zayas
Estado/Port., Leg.389, nº 38	1571.06.12	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Duque de Feria
Estado/Port., Leg.389, nº 38-39	1571.06.12	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Duque de Feria
Estado/Port., Leg.389, nº 51	1571.09.07	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Felipe II (en su mano)
Estado/Port., Leg.389, nº 58	1571.07.07	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Gabriel de Zayas
Estado/Port., Leg.389, nº 160	1571.05.22	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Gabriel de Zayas
Estado/Port., Leg.389, nº 160	1571.05.22	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Felipe II (en su mano)
Estado/Port., Leg.390, nº2	1572.07.19	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Felipe II (en su mano)
Estado/Port., Leg.390, nº3	1572.07.25	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Felipe II (en su mano)
Estado/Port., Leg.390, nº21-22	1572.08.06	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Gabriel de Zayas
Estado/Port., Leg.390, nº24	1572.08.09	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Gabriel de Zayas
Estado/Port., Leg.390, nº47	1572.05.31	Lisboa	Rainha D. Catarina	Felipe II
Estado/Port., Leg.390, nº55	1572.05.31	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Felipe II (en su mano)
Estado/Port., Leg.390, nº87	1572.01.22	Lisboa	Francisco de Holanda	Felipe II
Estado/Port., Leg.390, nº105	1572.01.19	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Felipe II (en su mano)
Estado/Port., Leg.390, nº120	1572.01.19	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Gabriel de Zayas
Estado/Port., Leg.390, nº121	1572.12.10	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Gabriel de Zayas
Estado/Port., Leg.390, nº 123	1572.12.10	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Gabriel de Zayas
Estado/Port., Leg.390, nº 124	1572.12.12	Lisboa	Catarina de Áustria	Felipe II
Estado/Port., Leg.390, nº 134	1572.12.10	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Felipe II (en su mano)
Estado/Port., Leg.391, nº 4	1573.12.31	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Gabriel de Zayas
Estado/Port., Leg.391, nº 6	1573.12.05	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Gabriel de Zayas
Estado/Port., Leg.391, nº 7-8	1573.09.19	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Gabriel de Zayas
Estado/Port., Leg.391, nº 13	1573.10.03	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Gabriel de Zayas
Estado/Port., Leg.391, nº 14	1573.10.03	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Felipe II (en su mano)
Estado/Port., Leg.391, nº 19	1573.07.21	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Gabriel de Zayas
Estado/Port., Leg.391, nº 47	1573.11.30	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Felipe II (en manos de Sec <sup>o</sup> Gabriel de Zayas)
Estado/Port., Leg.391, nº 56	1573.11.25	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Gabriel de Zayas
Estado/Port., Leg.391, nº 77-78	1573.09.10	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Gabriel de Zayas
Estado/Port., Leg.391, nº 133	1573.01.22	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Gabriel de Zayas
Estado/Port., Leg.392	1575.06.04	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Gabriel de Zayas
Estado/Port., Leg.392, nº5	1574.03.18	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Felipe II
Estado/Port., Leg.392	1574.04.02	Almeirim	Juan de Borja	Felipe II (en su mano)
Estado/Port., Leg.392	1574.03.18	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Gabriel de Zayas
Estado/Port., Leg.392	1574.06.09	Xabregas	Rainha D. Catarina	Felipe II
Estado/Port., Leg.392	1574.04.02	Almeirim	Juan de Borja	Gabriel de Zayas

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Estado/Port., Leg.392, n°14	1574.07.14	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Gabriel de Zayas
Estado/Port., Leg.392, n°16	1574.08.14	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Felipe II (en su mano)
Estado/Port., Leg.392, n°16	1574.08.14	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Felipe II (en su mano)
Estado/Port., Leg.392, n°19	1574.02.04	Almeirim	Juan de Borja	Felipe II (en su mano)
Estado/Port., Leg.392, n°20	1574.02.04	Almeirim	Juan de Borja	Gabriel de Zayas
Estado/Port., Leg.392, n°21	1574.02.04	Almeirim	Juan de Borja	Felipe II
Estado/Port., Leg.392, n°26	1574.02.04	Almeirim	Juan de Borja	Gabriel de Zayas
Estado/Port., Leg.392, n°27	1574.08.25	Xabregas	Rainha D. Catarina	Felipe II
Estado/Port., Leg.392, n°29	1574.08.31	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Felipe II (en su mano)
Estado/Port., Leg.392, n°31	1574.08.27	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Felipe II (en su mano)
Estado/Port., Leg.392, n°30	1574.08.28	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Felipe II (en su mano)
Estado/Port., Leg.392, n°32	1574.08.31	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Gabriel de Zayas
Estado/Port., Leg.392, n°33	1574.08.27	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Gabriel de Zayas
Estado/Port., Leg.392, n°34	1574.08.31	Xabregas	Rainha D. Catarina	Felipe II
Estado/Port., Leg.392, n°39	1574.08.14	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Gabriel de Zayas
Estado/Port., Leg.392, n°45	1574.10.17	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Gabriel de Zayas
Estado/Port., Leg.392, n°46	1574.10.25	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Gabriel de Zayas
Estado/Port., Leg.392, n°47	1574.03.18	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Gabriel de Zayas
Estado/Port., Leg.392, n°49	1574.02.05	Almeirim	Juan de Borja	Gabriel de Zayas
Estado/Port., Leg.392, n°52	1574.04.02	Almeirim	Juan de Borja	Gabriel de Zayas
Estado/Port., Leg.392, n°53	1574.04.26	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Gabriel de Zayas
Estado/Port., Leg.392, n°56	1574.04.28	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Gabriel de Zayas
Estado/Port., Leg.392, n°61	1574.03.28	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Felipe II (en manos de Sec° Gabriel de Zayas)
Estado/Port., Leg.392, n°63	1574.10.29	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Gabriel de Zayas
Estado/Port., Leg.392, n°64	1574.11.08	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Felipe II (en su mano)
Estado/Port., Leg.392, n°65	1574.11.08	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Gabriel de Zayas
Estado/Port., Leg.392, n°69	1574.10.25	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Gabriel de Zayas
Estado/Port., Leg.392, n°70	1574.05.25	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Felipe II (en manos de Sec° Gabriel de Zayas)
Estado/Port., Leg.392, n°73	1574.11.12	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Gabriel de Zayas
Estado/Port., Leg.392, n°74	1574.12.01	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Felipe II (en su mano)
Estado/Port., Leg.392, n°75	1574.12.01	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Gabriel de Zayas
Estado/Port., Leg.392, n°77	1574.08.28	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Felipe II (en su mano)
Estado/Port., Leg.392, n°78	1574.08.18	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Gabriel de Zayas
Estado/Port., Leg.392, n°84	1574.04.23	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Felipe II (en manos de Sec° Gabriel de Zayas)
Estado/Port., Leg.392, n°85	1574.04.23	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Felipe II (en su mano)
Estado/Port., Leg.392, n°87	1574.04.28	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Felipe II (en su mano)
Estado/Port., Leg.392, n°88	1574.04.28	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Felipe II (en manos de Sec° Gabriel de Zayas)
Estado/Port., Leg.392, n°89	1574.05.21	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Felipe II (en manos de Sec° Gabriel de Zayas)

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Estado/Port., Leg.392, nº90	1574.05.23	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Felipe II (en manos de Secº Gabriel de Zayas)
Estado/Port., Leg.392, nº91	1574.05.23	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Felipe II (en su mano)
Estado/Port., Leg.392, nº92	1574.05.28	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Gabriel de Zayas
Estado/Port., Leg.392, nº93	1574.05.04	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Gabriel de Zayas
Estado/Port., Leg.392, nº94	1574.05.14	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Gabriel de Zayas
Estado/Port., Leg. 392, nº95	1574.05.15	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Gabriel de Zayas
Estado/Port., Leg. 392, nº97	1574.05.21	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Gabriel de Zayas
Estado/Port., Leg. 392, nº99	1574.05.23	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Gabriel de Zayas
Estado/Port., Leg. 392, nº109	[abril 1574]	Lisboa	[Juan de Borja]	
Estado/Port., Leg. 392, nº110	1574.04.28	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	
Estado/Port., Leg. 392, nº112	1574.06.06	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Felipe II (en su mano)
Estado/Port., Leg. 392, nº113	1574.06.06	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Gabriel de Zayas
Estado/Port., Leg. 392, nº114	1574.06.07	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Gabriel de Zayas
Estado/Port., Leg. 392, nº116	1574.06.09	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Gabriel de Zayas
Estado/Port., Leg. 392, nº135	1574.09[10].27	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Gabriel de Zayas
Estado/Port., Leg. 392, nº136	1574.06.09	Xabregas	Francisco Cano	Gabriel de Zayas
Estado/Port., Leg. 392, nº147	1575.02.29	Madrid	Felipe II	Juan de Borja
Estado/Port., Leg. 392, nº148	1575.10.15	Lisboa	Alvaro de Veancos	Gabriel de Zayas
Estado/Port., Leg. 392, nº194			Juan de Borja	
Estado/Port., Leg. 392, nº195	1575.06.04	Lisboa	Juan de Borja	Felipe II (en su mano)
Estado/Port., Leg. 392, nº217	1575.12	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Juan de Silva
Estado/Port., Leg. 393, nº54	1576.06.20		Secretario da Rainha D. Catarina	Juan de Borja
Estado/Alem., Leg.680, nº 74	1577.12.19	Viena	Juan de Borja	Felipe II
Estado/Alem., Leg.680, nº 75	1577.09.20	Viena	Juan de Borja	Gabriel de Zayas
Estado/Alem., Leg.680, nº 77	1577.09.07	Genova	Juan de Borja	Felipe II (en manos de Secº Gabriel de Zayas)
Estado/Alem., Leg.680, nº 78	1577.09.27	Genova	Juan de Borja	Gabriel de Zayas
Estado/Alem., Leg.680, nº 84	1577.11.17	Trento	Juan de Borja	Gabriel de Zayas
Estado/Alem., Leg.682	1578.02.22	Viena	Juan de Borja	Gabriel de Zayas
Estado/Alem., Leg.682	1578.11.01	Praga	Juan de Borja	Felipe II (en manos de Secº Gabriel de Zayas)
Estado/Alem., Leg.682	1578.10.28	Praga	Juan de Borja	Felipe II (en manos de Secº Gabriel de Zayas)
Estado/Alem., Leg.682	1578.10.07	Praga	Juan de Borja	Felipe II (en manos de Secº Gabriel de Zayas)
Estado/Alem., Leg.682	1578.11.07	Praga	Juan de Borja	Felipe II (en manos de Secº Gabriel de Zayas)
Estado/Alem., Leg.682	1578.12.17	Praga	Juan de Borja	Felipe II (en manos de Secº Gabriel de Zayas)
Estado/Alem., Leg.682	1579.01.07	Praga	Juan de Borja	Felipe II (en manos de Secº Gabriel de Zayas)

Reference	Date	Place	Sender	Addressee
Estado/Alem., Leg.682	1579.02.17	Praga	Juan de Borja	Felipe II (en manos de Sec <sup>o</sup> Gabriel de Zayas)
Estado/Alem., Leg.682	1579.05.13	Praga	Juan de Borja	Felipe II (en manos de Sec <sup>o</sup> Gabriel de Zayas)
Estado/Alem., Leg.682	1579.07.10	Praga	Juan de Borja	Gabriel de Zayas
Estado/Alem., Leg.683, fol. 5	1578.04.05	Posonia	Juan de Borja	Felipe II (en su mano)
Estado/Alem., Leg.683, fol. 6	1578.04.14	Viena	Juan de Borja	Felipe II (en su mano)
Estado/Alem., Leg.683, fol. 28	1578.09.27	Praga	Juan de Borja	Felipe II (en su mano)
Estado/Alem., Leg.684	1578.07.09	Viena	Juan de Borja	Gabriel de Zayas
Estado/Alem., Leg.684	1578.11.20	Madrid	Gabriel de Zayas	Juan de Borja
Estado/Alem., Leg.685	1578.12.22	Viena	Juan de Borja	Gabriel de Zayas
Estado/Alem., Leg.685	1579.01.17	Praga	Juan de Borja	Gabriel de Zayas
Estado/Alem., Leg.685	1579.01.24	Praga	Juan de Borja	Gabriel de Zayas
Estado/Alem., Leg.685	1578.02.27	Viena	Juan de Borja	Gabriel de Zayas
Estado/Alem., Leg.685	1579.03.26	Viena	Juan de Borja	Gabriel de Zayas
Estado/Alem., Leg.685	1579.05.13	Praga	Juan de Borja	Gabriel de Zayas
Estado/Alem., Leg.685	1579.05.14	Praga	Juan de Borja	Gabriel de Zayas
Estado/Alem., Leg.685	1579.05.14	Praga	Juan de Borja	Gabriel de Zayas
Estado/Alem., Leg.685	1579.06.29	Praga	Juan de Borja	Gabriel de Zayas
Estado/Alem., Leg.685	1578.05.15	Praga	Juan de Borja	Gabriel de Zayas
Estado/Alem., Leg.687	1579.01.17	Praga	Juan de Borja	Gabriel de Zayas
Estado/Alem., Leg.687	1579.05.12	Praga	Juan de Borja	Felipe II (en su mano)
Estado/Alem., Leg.687	1579.05.13	Praga	Juan de Borja	Felipe II (en su mano)
Estado/Alem., Leg.688, f.51	1580.02.27	Praga	Juan de Borja	Felipe II
Estado/Alem., Leg.688, f.70	1580.09.27	Praga	Juan de Borja	Felipe II
Estado/Alem., Leg.688, f.87	1580.12.13	Hamenster [Münster?]	Juan de Borja	Felipe II (en manos de Sec <sup>o</sup> Juan de Idiaquez)
Estado/Alem., Leg.688, f.117	1581.08.06	Polen	Juan de Borja	Felipe II (en manos de Sec <sup>o</sup> Juan de Idiaquez)

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CEF, XIV, ff. 1-6v	1577/10/12	Genova	Juan de Borja	Juan de Zuñiga
CEF, XIV, ff. 7-8v	1577/12/14	Viena	Juan de Borja	Juan de Zúñiga
CEF, XIV, ff. 9-10v	1577/12/22	Viena	Juan de Borja	Juan de Zúñiga
CEF, XIV, ff. 11-12v	1577/12/28	Viena	Juan de Borja	Juan de Zúñiga
CEF, XIV, ff. 13-14v	1578/01/04	Viena	Juan de Borja	Juan de Zúñiga
CEF, XIV, ff. 15-16v	1578/01/15	Viena	Juan de Borja	Juan de Zúñiga
CEF, XIV, ff. 17-22v	1578/02/26	Viena	Juan de Borja	Juan de Zúñiga

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CEF, XIV, ff. 23-24v	1578/03/09	Viena	Juan de Borja	Juan de Zúñiga
CEF, XIV, ff. 25-26v	1578/03/26	Posonia	Juan de Borja	Juan de Zúñiga
CEF, XIV, ff. 27-28v	1578/03/24	Posonia	Juan de Borja	Juan de Zúñiga
CEF, XIV, ff. 29-30v	1578/03/31	Posonia	Juan de Borja	Juan de Zúñiga
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CEF, XIV, ff. 39-41v	1578/05/01	Viena	Juan de Borja	Juan de Zúñiga
CEF, XIV, ff. 42-44v	1578/05/10	Viena	Juan de Borja	Juan de Zúñiga
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CEF, XIV, ff. 54-55v	1578/07/16	Lintz	Juan de Borja	Juan de Zúñiga
CEF, XIV, ff. 56-58v	1578/08/10	Praga	Juan de Borja	Juan de Zúñiga
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CEF, XIV, ff. 76-79v	1578/12/10	Praga	Juan de Borja	Emperador
CEF, XIV, ff. 80-85v	1579/01/15	Praga	Juan de Borja	Juan de Zúñiga
CEF, XIV, ff. 86-87v	1579/01/15?	Praga	Juan de Borja	Juan de Zúñiga
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CEF, XIV, ff. 219-220v	1580/06/21	Praga	Juan de Borja	Juan de Zúñiga
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Add. Ms. 28422, ff. 2-2v	1587.03.14	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Felipe II
Add. Ms. 28422, ff. 3-3v	1597.01.12	Madrid	Juan de Borja	
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Add. Ms. 28422, ff. 78-79v	1599.07.19	Barcelona/ Tarragona	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja



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Reference	Date	Place	Sender	Addressee
Add. Ms. 28422, ff. 428-428v	1600.05.29	Madrid	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28422, ff. 429-429v	1600.05.30	Madrid	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28422, ff. 430-431v	1600.05.29	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28422, ff. 432-433v	1600.05.30	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28422, ff. 434-435v	1600.05.28	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 1-1v	1600.06.01	San Lorenço	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 2-3v	1600.06.01	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Filipe III
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 4-4v	1600.06.01	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Filipe III
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 5-10v	SEM DATA	[del Consejo]	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 11-13v	1600.06.01	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 15-16v	1600.06.03	Segovia	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 17-17v	1600.06.04	Balsain	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 18-19v	1600.06.07	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 20-21v	1600.06.12	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Filipe III
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 22-23v	1600.06.12	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Filipe III
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 24-24v	1600.06.11	San Lorenço	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 25-26v	1600.06.12	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Filipe III
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 27-28v	1600.06.13	Segovia	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 29-29v	1600.06.13	Segovia	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 30-31v	1600.06.05	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 32-34v	1600.06.08	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 35-38v	1600.06.04	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 39-42v	1600.06.12	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 43-44v	1600.06.12	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 45-46v	1600.06.12	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 47-48v	1600.06.13	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 49-54v	1600.06.15	Avila	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 55-56v	1600.06.12	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 57-58v	1600.06.16	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 59-62v	1600.06.16	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 63-64v	1600.06.18	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 65-65v	1600.06.25	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 66-67v	1600.06.25	Salamanca	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 68-69v	1600.06.26	Salamanca	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 70-71v	1600.06.29	Salamanca	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 72-73v	1600.06.24	Salamanca	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 74-75v	1600.06.25	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 76-77v	1600.06.26	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 78-79v	1600.06.26	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 80-81v	1600.07.01	Fuente del Saúco	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 82-83v	1600.07.02	Medina del Campo	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 84-84v	1600.06.29	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 85-86v	1600.07.02	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma

Reference	Date	Place	Sender	Addressee
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 87-87v	1600.07.06	Medina del Campo	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 88-91v	1600.07.06	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 92-96v	1600.07.10	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 97-97v	1600.07.12	Salamanca	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 98-110v	1600.07.13	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Filipe III
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 111-112v	1600.07.09	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 113-113v	1600.07.13	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 114-114v	1600.07.13	Tordesillas	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 115-116v	1600.07.15	San Miguel	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 117-120v	1600.07.13	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 121-123v	1600.07.14	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 124-124v	1600.07.17	Tordesillas	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 125-126v	1600.07.17	Tordesillas	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 127-127v	1600.07.20	Valhadolide	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 128-129v	1600.07.20	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 130-131v	1600.07.22	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 132-132v	1600.07.22	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 133-134v	1600.07.17	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 135-137v	1600.07.19	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 138-138v	1600.07.16	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 139-141v	1600.07.30	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 142-144v	1600.07.30	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 145-146v	1600.07.31	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 147-149v	1600.08.03	Valhadolide	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 150-151v	1600.08.01	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 152-153v	1600.08.04	Valhadolide	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 154-155v	1600.07.16	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 156-156v	1600.08.06	Valhadolide	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 157-157v	1600.08.06	Valhadolide	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 158-159v	1600.07.15	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 160-162v	1600.08.04	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 163-164v	1600.08.05	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 165-166v	1600.08.05	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 167-168v	1600.08.08	Valhadolide	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 169-170v	1600.08.10	Valhadolide	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 171-172v	1600.08.07	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 173-174v	1600.08.09	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Filipe III
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 175-177v	1600.08.16	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Filipe III
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 178-179v	1600.08.20	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Filipe III
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 180-182v	1600.08.20	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 183-183v	1600.08.27	Valhadolide	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 184-185v	1600.08.24	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 186-186v	1600.08.04	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma

Reference	Date	Place	Sender	Addressee
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 187-187v	1600.08.24	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 188-190v	1600.08.24	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 191-193v	1600.08.29	Valhadolide	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 194-195v	1600.08.31	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Filipe III
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 196-197v	1600.08.16	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 198-198v	1600.09.01	Almenara	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 199-200v	1600.08.21	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 201-202v	1600.09.03	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 203-204v	1600.09.04	San Lorenço	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 205-206v	1600.08.31	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 207-208v	1600.09.09	?	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 209-210v	1600.09.01	[del consejo de portugal]	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 211-212v	1600.09.13	Madrid	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 213-213v	1600.09.19	San Lorenço	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 214-214v	1600.09.19	San Lorenço	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 215-215v	1600.09.19	San Lorenço	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 216-216v	1600.09.20	San Lorenço	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 217-217v	1600.09.21	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 218-218v	1600.09.21	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 219-220v	1600.09.21	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 221-222v	1600.09.20	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 223-223v	1600.09.27	San Lorenço	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 224-225v	1600.09.27	San Lorenço	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 226-226v	1600.09.27	San Lorenço	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 227-228v	1600.09.30	San Lorenço	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 229-230v	1600.09.23	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Filipe III
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 231-232v	1600.09.23	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Filipe III
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 233-233v	1600.09.13	Madrid	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 234-235v	1600.10.02	[en el bosque]	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 236-238v	1600.10.01	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 239-240v	1600.10.02	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 241-242v	1600.10.04	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 243-243v	1600.10.08	San Lorenço	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 244-244v	1600.10.11	San Lorenço	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 245-246v	1600.07.10	Roma	Don Alonso Manrique	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 247-248v	1600.10.13	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Filipe III
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 249-250v	1600.10.13	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Filipe III
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 251-252v	1600.10.08	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 253-254v	1600.10.11	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 255-256v	1600.10.17	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 257-260v	1600.10.12	San Lorenço	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 261-261v	1600.10.18	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 262-262v	1600.10.18	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma

Reference	Date	Place	Sender	Addressee
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 263-263v	1600.10.19	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 264-264v	1600.10.19	San Lorenço	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 265-276v	1600.10.20	San Lorenço	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 277-279v	1600.10.19	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 280-280v	1600.10.19	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 281-282v	1600.09.26	Madrid	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 283-284v	1600.10.20	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 285-285v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	SEM NOME	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 286-286v	1600.10.29	Madrid	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 287-288v	1600.10.26	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 289-290v	1600.10.29	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 291-291v	1600.10.28	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 292-293v	1600.11.02	Madrid	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 294-295v	1600.11.02	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Filipe III
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 296-299v	1600.11.03	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Filipe III
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 300-301v	1600.11.03	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 301-302v	1600.11.04	Madrid	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 303-304v	1600.11.05	[Madrid]	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 305-305v	1600.11.05	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 306-307v	1600.11.06	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 308-309v	1600.11.08	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 310-310v	1600.11.11	[de mi aposento]	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 311-312v	1600.11.08	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Filipe III
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 313-314v	1600.11.12	Madrid	Dona Francisca de Aragão	
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 315-315v	1600.11.13	El Pardo	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 316-316v	1600.11.13	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 317-318v	1600.11.15	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 319-320v	1600.11.18	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 321-322v	1600.11.15	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Filipe III
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 323-325v	1600.11.17	Madrid	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 326-328v	1600.11.18	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Filipe III
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 329-329v	1600.11.18	Madrid	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 330-331v	1600.11.18	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 332-333v	1600.11.21	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Filipe III
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 334-335v	1601.02.04	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Filipe III
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 336-337v	1601.11.21	Valhadolide	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 338-339v	1600.11.21	El Pardo	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 340-341v	1600.11.22	El Pardo	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 342-343v	1600.11.22	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 344-344v	1600.11.23	El Pardo	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 345-345v	1600.11.13	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 346-347v	1600.12.04	Valhadolide	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 348-348v	1600.12.05	El Pardo	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja



Reference	Date	Place	Sender	Addressee
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 349-350v	1600.12.03	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 351-351v	1600.12.06	[de la Junta de Portugal]	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 352-353v	1600.12.11	El Pardo	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 354-354v	1600.12.13	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 355-359v	1600.12.16	Madrid	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 360-366v	1600.12.18	Madrid	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 367-370v	1600.12.18	Madrid	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 371-376v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	[Juan de Borja]	[Duke of Lerma]
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 377-377v	1600.12.12	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 378-379v	1601.01.03	[de mi aposento]	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 380-380v	1601.01.04	Madrid	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 381-381v	1601.01.09	Madrid	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 382-382v	1601.01.18	Madrid	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 383-386v	1601.01.10	Madrid	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 387-388v	1601.01.21	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 389-390v	1601.01.21	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 391-391v	1601.01.27	Tordesillas	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 392-393v	1601.01.17	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 394-395v	1601.02.03	Lerma [?]	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 396-397v	1601.02.01	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 398-399v	1601.02.01	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 400-400v	1601.02.08	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 401-402v	1601.02.11	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 403-403v	1601.02.11	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 404-405v	1601.01.28	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 406-409v	1604.02.20	Valencia	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 410-411v	1601.02.21	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 412-412v	1601.02.22	Caravajales[?]	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 413-414v	1601.02.25	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 415-416v	1601.03.04	Valhadolide	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 417-418v	1601.03.05	Valhadolide	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 419-419v	1601.03.08	Valhadolide	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 420-420v	1601.03.07	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 421-422v	1601.03.06	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Filipe III
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 423-424v	1601.03.04	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Filipe III
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 425-427v	1601.03.11	Valhadolide	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 428-429v	1601.03.10	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 430-431v	1601.03.18	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Filipe III
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 432-432v	1601.03.18	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Filipe III
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 433-435v	1601.03.06	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Filipe III
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 436-442v	1601.03.18	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Filipe III
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 443-444v	1601.03.21	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 445-446v	1601.03.21	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma

Reference	Date	Place	Sender	Addressee
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 447-448v	1601.03.18	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 449-449v	1601.03.18	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 450-453v	1601.03.24	Valhadolide	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 454-456v	1601.03.25	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 457-458v	1601.03.21	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 459-460v	1601.03.26	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 461-462v	1601.03.25	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28423, ff. 463-463v	1601.03.29	Valhadolide	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 1-4v	1601.04.01	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 5-6v	1601.04.01	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 7-8v	1601.04.01	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 9-10v	1601.03.21	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 11-12v	1601.04.04	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 13-13v	1601.04.04	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 14-14v	1601.04.01	Valhadolide	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 15-19v	1601.04.08	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 20-21v	1601.04.11	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 22-22v	1601.04.21	Valhadolide	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 23-26v	1601.04.18	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 27-27v	1601.04.25	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 28-29v	1601.05.03	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Filipe III
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 30-31v	1601.05.03	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Filipe III
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 32-32v	1601.04.28	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 33-[...?]	1601.05.03	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 37-38v	1601.05.03	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 39-40v	1601.04.15	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 41-42v	1601.05.12	Buitrago	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 43-44v	1601.05.15	Buitrago	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 45-45v	1601.05.17	Cantalejo	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 46-49v	1601.05.26	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Filipe III
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 50-51v	1601.05.26	Valhadolide	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 52-52v	1601.05.23	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 53-56v	1601.05.23	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 56-57v	1601.05.26	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 58-59v	1601.06.02	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 60-61v	1601.06.02	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Filipe III
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 62-63v	1601.06.09	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Filipe III
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 64-64v	1601.06.12	San Lorenço	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 65-65v	1601.05.31	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 66-66v	1601.05.28	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 67-67v	1601.05.31	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 68-69v	1601.06.09	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 70-73v	1601.06.06	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma

Reference	Date	Place	Sender	Addressee
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 74-74v	1601.06.11	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 75-77v	1601.06.16	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 78-78v	1601.06.23	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 79-80v	1601.06.20	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 81-82v	1601.06.23	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 83-84v	1601.04.17	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 85-86v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	[Juan de Borja]	
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 87-87v	1601.07.04	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 88-89v	1601.07.04	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 90-91v	1601.07.07	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 92-93v	1601.07.07	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 94-97v	1601.07.04	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 98-100v	1601.07.11	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 101-102v	1601.07.25	Valhadolide	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 103-104v	1601.07.21	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 105-106v	1601.07.14	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 107-110v	1601.07.14	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 111-112v	1601.07.18	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 113-114v	1601.07.21	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 115-116v	1601.07.21	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 117-117v	1601.07.28	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 118-119v	1601.08.01	Valhadolide	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 120-121v	1601.08.08	Valhadolide	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 122-123v	1601.08.04	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 124-126v	1601.08.01	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 127-128v	1601.08.02	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 129-130v	1601.08.22	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 131-132v	1601.08.18	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 133-133v	1601.08.25	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 134-134v	1601.09.08	Valhadolide	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 135-136v	1601.08.15	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 137-138v	1601.08.15	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 139-140v	1601.09.05	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 141-142v	1601.09.12	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 143-144v	1601.09.12	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 145-146v	1601.09.19	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Filipe III
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 147-148v	1601.11.10	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Filipe III
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 149-150v	1601.09.15	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 151-151v	1601.09.22	Valhadolide	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 152-153v	1601.10.06	Valhadolide	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 154-155v	1601.09.22	Valhadolide	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 156-157v	1601.09.19	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 158-159v	1601.09.23	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma

Reference	Date	Place	Sender	Addressee
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 160-161v	1601.09.19	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 162-163v	1601.10.02	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 164-165v	1601.10.08	Valhadolide	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 166-168v	1601.10.10	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 169-170v	1601.09.29	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 171-172v	1601.09.28	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 173-174v	1601.10.06	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 175-176v	1601.10.13	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 177-177v	1601.10.20	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 178-178v	1601.10.22	V <sup>a</sup> [?] Marta	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 179-180v	1601.10.23	Tabara [?]	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 181-183v	1601.10.28	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 184-184v	1601.11.01	Valhadolide	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 184-186v	1601.10.24	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 187-187v	1601.11.05	Valhadolide	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 188-189v	1601.11.07		Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 190-191v	1601.11.03	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 192-193v	1601.11.04	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 194-195v	1601.11.09	Valhadolide	Duke of Lerma	
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 196-197v	1601.10.31	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 198-199v	1601.11.04	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 200-201v	1601.11.10	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Filipe III
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 202-203v	1601.11.10	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Filipe III
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 204-205v	1601.11.10	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Filipe III
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 206-207v	1601.11.10	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 208-209v	1601.11.14	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 210-211v	1601.11.18	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 212-212v	1601.11.19	Balsain	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 213-214v	1601.11.19	Balsain	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 215-215v	1601.11.21	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 216-217v	1601.11.21	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 218-219v	1601.11.24	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 220-222v	1601.11.29	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 223-224v	1601.12.05	Valhadolide	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 225-227v	1601.12.08	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 228-231v	1601.12.06	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 232-233v	1601.12.15	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 234-235v	1601.12.20	Valhadolide	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 236-237v	1601.11.12	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 238-239v	1601.12.22	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 240-241v	1601.12.26	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 242-245v	1601.12.20	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 246-247v	1602.01.02	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Filipe III

Reference	Date	Place	Sender	Addressee
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 248-249v	1603.11.08	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Filipe III
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 250-251v	1601.12.29	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 252-255v	1601.12.29	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 256-257v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	[Duke of Lerma]	
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 258-259v	1602.01.02	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 260-261v	1602.01.05	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 262-262v	1602.01.02	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 263-264v	1602.01.05	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 265-266v	1602.01.08	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 267-270v	1602.01.16	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 271-274v	1602.01.17	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 275-276v	1602.01.19	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 277-278v	1602.01.23	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 279-280v	1602.02.02	Leon	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 281-282v	1602.03.09	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 283-284v	1602.03.06	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 285-288v	1602.03.16	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 289-290v	1602.03.20	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 291-291v	1602.03.23		Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 292-294v	1602.03.23	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 295-295v	1602.03.27	Valhadolide	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 296-298v	1602.03.27	Valhadolide	Duke of Lerma	
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 299-302v	1602.03.30	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 303-304v	1602.03.27	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 305-308v	1602.04.06	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 309-309v	1602.04.15	[de las posadas]	Duke of Lerma	
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 310-311v	1602.04.13	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 312-314v	1602.05.11	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 315-316v	1602.05.13	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 317-318v	1602.05.16	Aranjuez	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 319-320v	1602.05.16	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 321-321v	1602.05.14	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 322-323v	1602.05.16	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 324-325v	1602.05.19	Aranjuez	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 326-327v	1602.05.25		Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 328-328v	1602.05.27	Aranjuez	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 329-329v	1602.06.01	Barajas	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 330-334v	1602.06.04	Barajas	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 335-336v	1602.06.05	San Lorenço	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 337-338v	1602.06.05	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 339-340v	1602.06.06	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 341-342v	1602.06.08	San Lorenço	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 343-344v	1602.06.10	San Lorenço	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja

Reference	Date	Place	Sender	Addressee
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 345-345v	1602.06.08	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 346-347v	1602.06.09	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 348-348v	1602.06.09	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 349-350v	1602.06.10	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 351-352v	1602.06.12	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 353-354v	1602.06.18	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 355-355v	1602.06.21	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 356-357v	1602.06.21	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 358-359v	1602.07.01	San Lorenço	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 360-361v	1602.07.11	El Pardo	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 362-363v	1602.06.27	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 364-364v	1602.06.30	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
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Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 367-368v	1602.08.14	Valhadolide	Duke of Lerma	
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 369-372v	1602.08.05	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 373-374v	1602.08.17	Valhadolide	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
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Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 378-378v	1602.08.19	Valhadolide	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 379-380v	1602.08.21	Valhadolide	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 381-382v	1602.08.29	Valhadolide	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 383-384v	1602.08.24	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 385-386v	1602.08.21	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
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Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 413-414v	1602.09.25	Valhadolide	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 415-416v	1602.09.21	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 417-418v	1602.10.05	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 419-420v	1602.09.25	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 421-421v	1602.10.16	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 422-422v	1602.11.06		Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 423-426v	1602.10.23	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 427-428v	1602.10.16	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 429-429v	1602.11.09	Valhadolide	Duke of Lerma	

Reference	Date	Place	Sender	Addressee
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 430-430v	1602.11.01	Valhadolide	Duke of Lerma	
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 431-432v	1602.10.26	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 433-434v	1602.10.23	Valhadolide	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 435-436v	1602.12.04	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28424, ff. 437-438v	1602.10.25	Valhadolide	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 1-2v	1603.01.17	Ventosilla	Duque de Ventosilla	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 3-3v	1603.01.08	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 4-5v	1603.01.01	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 6-7v	1603.01.25	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 8-10v	1603.01.22	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 11-12v	1603.02.02	Valhadolide	Duke of Lerma	
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 13-16v	1603.01.29	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 17-18v	1603.02.04	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 19-20v	1603.02.08	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 21-21v	1603.02.12	Valhadolide	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 22-22v	1603.02.07		D. Juan de Acuña	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 23-24v	1603.02.12	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 25-26v	1603.02.19	Valhadolide	Duke of Lerma	
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 27-28v	1603.02.24	Valhadolide	Duke of Lerma	
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 29-30v	1603.02.22	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 31-31v	1603.02.25	Valhadolide	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 32-34v	1603.02.26	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 35-36v	1603.02.27	Valhadolide	Duke of Lerma	
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 37-38v	1603.02.25	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 39-40v	1603.03.04	Valhadolide	Duke of Lerma	
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 41-42v	1603.03.04	Valhadolide	Duke of Lerma	
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 43-44v	1603.03.01	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 45-46v	1603.03.05	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 47-48v	1603.03.05	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 49-50v	1603.03.08	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 51-52v	1603.03.05	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 53-54v	1603.03.12	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 55-55v	1603.03.15	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 56-57v	?	?	?	?
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 58-59v	1603.03.15	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 60-60v	1603.02.21	Valhadolide	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 61-61v	1603.02.22	Valhadolide	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 62-63v	1603.03.19	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 64-64v	1603.03.26	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 65-66v	1603.03.22	Madrid	Don Francisco de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 67-67v	1603.04.06	Valhadolide	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 68-69v	1603.04.02	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 70-71v	1603.03.26	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma

Reference	Date	Place	Sender	Addressee
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 72-74v	1603.04.11	San Lorenço	Duke of Lerma	
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 75-75v	1603.04.12	San Lorenço	Duke of Lerma	
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 76-78v	1603.04.12	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 79-79v	1603.04.21	Aranjuez	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 80-81v	1603.05.04	Aranjuez	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 82-83v	1603.05.12	Aranjuez	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 84-85v	1603.05.12	Aranjuez	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 86-86v	1603.05.12		Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 87-88v	1603.05.29	Buitrago	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 89-89v	1603.06.14	Burgos	Duke of Lerma	
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 90-91v	1603.06.23		Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 92-93v	1603.07.02		Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 94-95v	1603.07.18		Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 95-96v	1603.07.18	Valhadolide	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 97-97v	1603.07.24	[de mi posada]	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 98-98v	1603.08.05	Madrid	Duke of Lerma	P.te de H <sup>a</sup> [?]
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 99-99v	1603.08.05	Madrid	Duke of Lerma	P.te de H <sup>a</sup> [?]
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 100-100v	1603.08.01	[de mi posada]	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 101-101v	1603.08.10	San Lorenço	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 102-102v	1603.08.10	[de casa]	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 103-103v	1603.08.21	Madrid	Duke of Lerma	
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 104-105v	1603.09.05		Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 106-108v	1603.09.08	[de nra posada]	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 109-111v	1603.09.09	[de mi posada]	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 112-113v	1603.09.12	[de mi posada]	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 114-115v	1603.09.22	[deste consejo]	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 116-117v	1603.09.29	Madrid	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 118-120v	1603.10.02	Madrid	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 121-123v	1603.10.10	Madrid	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 124-125v	1603.10.14	Ventosilla	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 126-127v	1603.10.22	Ventosilla	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 126-127v	1603.10.19	Tordesillas	Duke of Lerma	
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 129-133v	1603.10.22	Ventosilla	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 134-135v	1603.10.22	Ventosilla	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 136-137v	1603.11.07	Valhadolide	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 138-139v	1603.10.23	Valhadolide	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 140-141v	1603.11.20	El Pardo	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 142-143v	1603.11.16	Valhadolide	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 144-145v	1603.11.24	El Pardo	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 146-147v	1603.11.24	Valhadolide	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 148-149v	1603.10.29	Valhadolide	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 150-151v	1603.11.27	Valhadolide	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 152-152v	1603.12.01	Madrid	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja



Reference	Date	Place	Sender	Addressee
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 153-155v	1603.12.04	Valhadolide	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 156-157v	1603.12.10	Madrid	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 158-159v	1603.12.11	Madrid	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 160-161v	1603.12.13	Santa Cruz de la Zarza	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 162-163v	1603.12.19	La Pesquera	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 164-166v	1603.12.19	La Pesquera	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 167-168v	1603.12.20	Utiel	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 169-170v	1603.12.14	Valhadolide	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 171-172v	1603.12.26	Valencia	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 173-174v	1603.12.27	Valencia	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 175-176v	1603.12.17	Valhadolide	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 177-178v	1603.12.24	Valhadolide	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 179-180v	1604.01.03	Valencia	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 181-182v	1603.12.31	[Valhadolide]	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 183-184v	1603.12.31	Valhadolide	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 185-186v	1604.01.10	Valencia	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 187-188v	1604.01.07	Valhadolide	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 189-190v	1603.12.28	Valhadolide	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 191-191v	1604.01.24	Denia	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 192-194v	1604.01.21	Valhadolide	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 195-199v	1604.02.18	Valhadolide	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 200-201v	1604.02.20	Valencia	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 202-202v	1604.03.04	La Almarcha	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 203-208v	1604.03.04	Valhadolide	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 209-210v	1604.03.12	Valhadolide	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 210-211v	1604.03.12	San Lorenzo	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 212-213v	1604.02.18	Valhadolide	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 214-215v	1604.02.18	Valhadolide	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 216-217v	1604.04.11	Valhadolide	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 218-220v	1604.03.19	Olmedo	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 221-221v	1604.03.17	[mi posada]	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 222-222v	1604.05.15	Valhadolide	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 223-224v	1604.06.29	?	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 225-226v	1604.08.07	[mi posada]	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 227-228v	1604.08.10	[mi posada]	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 229-233v	1604.08.18	Madrid	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 234-235v	1604.08.21	[mi posada]	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 236-237v	1604.08.22	Valhadolide	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 238-239v	1604.09.17	Madrid	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 240-241v	1604.09.20	Madrid	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 242-243v	1604.09.26	[de la posada]	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 244-244v e 247-247v	1604.10.10	Valhadolide	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma

Reference	Date	Place	Sender	Addressee
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 245-246v	1604.10.05	Lerma	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 248-249v	1604.10.23	Ventosa	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 250-251v	1604.10.30	Valhadolide	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 252-253v	1604.10.25	Valhadolide	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 254-254v	1604.12.14	Madrid	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 255-255v	1604.12.18	Madrid	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 256-257v	1604.12.21	Valhadolide	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 258-259v	1604.12.20	[en consejo]	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 260-262v	1604.12.21	Valhadolide	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 263-264v	1604.12.30	Madrid	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 265-268v	1605.01.10	Villacastín	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 269-270v	1605.02.06	Ventosa	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 271-271v	1605.02.06	Ventosa	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 272-273v	1605.02.22	Tordesillas	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 274-274v	1605.02.26	Tordesillas	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 275-275v	1605.02.26	Tordesillas	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 276-277v	1605.03.18	Valhadolide	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 278-278v	1605.03.18	[de la posada]	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 279-280v	1605.03.21	[de mi posada]	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 281-282v	1605.04.06	Madrid	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 283-284v	1605.04.20	Madrid	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 285-288v	1605.04.14	[de mi posada]	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 289-291v	1605.05.24	Madrid	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 292-293v	1605.06.13	Valhadolide [?]	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 294-294v	1605.06.21	[de la cama (?)]	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 295-295v	1605.06.26	Ventosa	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 296-296v	1605.07	Lerma	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 297-298v	1605.07.04	Valhadolide	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 299-300v	1605.07.03	Valhadolide	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 301-302v	1605.07.02	Valhadolide	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 303-305v	1605.07.09	Valhadolide	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 306-307v	1605.07.23	Valhadolide	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 308-309v	1605.07.23	Valhadolide	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 310-311v	1605.07.20	Valhadolide	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 312-313v	1605.08.02	Burgos	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 314-315v	1605.08.04	Ventosa	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 316-317v	1605.08.06	Lerma	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 318-319v	1605.08.11	Valhadolide	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 320-320v	1605.08.16	Burgos	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 321-322v	1605.08.17	Burgos	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 323-323v	1605.08.18	Burgos	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 324-325v	1605.08.20	Burgos	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 326-326v	1605.08.24	Burgos	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja

Reference	Date	Place	Sender	Addressee
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 327-327v	1605.08.27	[de la posada]	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 328-329v	1605.08.29	Burgos	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 330-331v	1605.08.29	Burgos	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 332-333v	1605.09.05	Valhadolide [?]	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 334-337v	1605.08.29	Madrid [sic?]	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 338-339v	1605.09.08	Valhadolide [?]	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 340-341v	1605.09.10	[de la posada]	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 342-343v	1605.09.12	Valhadolide [?]	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 344-346v	1605.09.21	Valhadolide	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 347-347v	1605.10.06	Valhadolide	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 348-349v	1605.10.29	[de mi posada]	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 350-351v	1605.12.23	Madrid	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 352-353v	1605.12.23		Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 354-354v	1606.02.04	Valhadolide	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 355-355v	1606.02.16	Madrid	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 356-357v	1606.02.17	Valhadolide	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 358-358v	1606.02.18	[de mi posada]	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 359-360v	1605.12.24	[de mi posada]	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 367-367v	1606.02.22	[de la posada]	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 368-374v	1606.02.29	Madrid	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 375-376v	1606.03.11	[de mi posada]	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 377-378v	1606.03.14	[de mi posada]	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 379-379v			Gonzalez de Mendosa	
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 380-380v	1606.03.28	Madrid	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 381-387v	1606.05.26	Madrid	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 388-389v	1606.06.16	Madrid	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 390-391v	1606.06.17	Madrid	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 392-393v	1606.06.18	Madrid	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 394-397v	1606.07.06	Madrid	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 398-399v	1606.07.08	Madrid	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 400-401v	1606.07.16	Madrid	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 402-402v	1606.07.11	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 403-420v	1606.07.18	Madrid	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 421-421v	1606.07.19	Madrid	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 422-423v	1606.07.19	Madrid	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 424-425v	1606.07.20	San Lorenzo	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 427-428v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 429-429v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 430-430v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 431-431v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 432-432v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL		Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 433-433v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Dona Francisca de Aragão	
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 434-434v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma

Reference	Date	Place	Sender	Addressee
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 435-436v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Duke of Lerma	
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 437-438v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 439-440v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 441-442v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 443-444v	SEM ANO 10.21	San Lorenço	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 445-446v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Duke of Lerma	
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 447-447v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Duke of Lerma	
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 448-448v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 449-449v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Duke of Lerma	
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 450-451v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 452-452v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Duke of Lerma	
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 453-453v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Duke of Lerma	
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 454-454v	SEM ANO 12.02	SEM LOCAL	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 455-455v	SEM DATA	S. Gerónimp	Duke of Lerma	
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 456-457v	SEM DATA	Madrid	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 458-459v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 460-461v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 462-463v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Duke of Lerma	
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 464-464v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Duke of Lerma	
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 465-466v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 467-468v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Duke of Lerma	
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 469-469v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 470-470v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 471-472v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 473-473v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 474-475v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 476-477v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 478-480v	1617.08.05	Lerma	?	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 489-490v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Juan de Borja	
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 491-492v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Juan de Borja [?]	Rei
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 493-494v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Juan de Borja [?]	Pe. Francisco Rodrigues [?]
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 495-496v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Juan de Borja [?]	Luis Alvares de Vasconcelos [?]
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 497-497v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Juan de Borja [?]	Rei
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 497-497v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Juan de Borja [?]	Cristoval de Moura
Add. Ms. 28425, ff. 498-499v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Juan de Borja [?]	
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 1-2v	1592.11.20	Sevilla	Cardeal D. Rodrigo de Castro	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 3-4v	1592.08.30	Praga	D. Guillem de San Clemente	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 5-6v	1592.11.15	Sevilla	Cardeal D. Rodrigo de Castro	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 7-10v	1593.03.29	Gandia[?]	Comendador Martinez	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 11-12v	1593.03.27	Lisboa	Conde de Vilanova	Juan de Borja

Reference	Date	Place	Sender	Addressee
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 13-14v	1593.05.30	San S[ebasti]na	D. Maria de Taborda	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 15-16v	1593.06.19	Lisboa	Conde de Vilanova	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 17-18v	1593.06.26	Lisboa	Conde de Vilanova	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 19-20v	1593.07.03	Bata[?]	D. Miguel Sanz de la Llosa	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 21-22v	1594.11.04	Azpeitia	D. Juan Perez de Aguirre	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 23-23v	1594.12.11	[De mi casa]	Fabio Lanano[?]	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 24-25v	1595.01.08	Salamanca	Jacobo Archero	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 26-27v	1595.04.09	Nápoles	Domingo de Torres	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 28-29v	1595.10.10	Oliva	Duquesa de Gandia	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 30-31v	1595.10.05	Valhadolide	Francisco de la Serna[?]	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 32-33v	1596.01.14	Barcelona	Domingo de Torres	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 34-36v	1596.07.31	Nápoles	Príncipe de Esquilache	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 37-38v	1596.10.12	Bruxelas	Charreton de Chassey	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 39-40v	1596.01.17	Bruxelas	Charreton de Chassey	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 41-41v	1597.01.18	Madrid	Felipe II	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 42-46v	1597.10.20	El Escorial	Andres de Prada	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 47-47v	1597.04.19	Madrid	Felipe II	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 48-49v	1598.01.22[?]	Bruxelas	Cardeal Alberto de Áustria	Felipe II
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 50-51v	1598.02.10	Madrid	Fr. Antonio de Aguilar; Francisco Antonio	Emperatriz Maria de Áustria
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 52-54v	1598.08.08	Esquilache	Príncipe de Esquilache	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 55-56v	1598.08.08	Bruxelas	D. Pedro de Borja	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 57-58v	1598.08.09	Bruxelas	D. Pedro de Borja	Sor Juana de la Cruz
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 59-59v	1598.08.12	San Lourenço	Garcia de Loaisa	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 60-61v	1598.08.21	Nápoles	Duque de Olivares	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 62-63v	1598.08.29	Roma[?]	Bartolome Perez de Niveros[?]	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 64-65v	1598		Duque de Gandia	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 66-66v	1598.10.15	Ruidebrat[?]	Ldo. Juan de Frias	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 67-68v	1598.10.20	Nápoles	Duque de Olivares	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 69-71v	1598.10.25	Compiano	Príncipe de Valdetaro	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 72-73v	1598.11.09	Sevilla	Francisco Guerrero	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 74-74v	1598.11.15	Salamanca	D. Antonio de Borja	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 75-75v	1598.11.06	Santander	D. Fernando de Riva Hen <sup>a</sup>	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 76-76v	1598.11.18	Cepentes[??]	D. Leonor de Borja	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 77-77v	1598.11.13	Cepentes[??]	D. Leonor de Borja	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 78-79v	1598.11.17	Ferrara	Clemente VIII	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 80-80v	1599.01.04	[de cassa]	Ldo. Alonso Ramirez	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 81-83v	1599.01.12	Gravina	Príncipe de Esquilache	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 84-86v	1599.11.13	Lisboa	Conde Meirinho-mor	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 87-88v	1600.10.07	Madrid	[Juan de Borja ???]	[Felipe III ?]
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 89-95v	1599.02.01	Roma	Cardeal Mathei	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 96-96v	1599.03.01	Valhadolide	Gaspar de Cordova	Juan de Borja

Reference	Date	Place	Sender	Addressee
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 97-98v	1599.03.02	Roma	Cláudio Aguaviva	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 99-101v	1599.04.01	Simari[?]	Príncipe de Esquilache	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 102-102v	1599.04.14	Valhadolide	António de Padilla	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 103-103v	1599.04.27	Roma	Cardeal de Dietrichstein	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 105-105v	1599.05.17	Barcelona	D. Álvaro de Córdova	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 106-106v	1599.05.31	Barcelona	Aleipos[?] Vaz	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 108-108v	1599.05.31	Barcelona	Marquês de Velada	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 109-110v	1599.06.09	Mex[i]co [?]	Conde de Monterrey	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 111-112v	1599.06.12	La Coruña	Francisco de Villa Roel	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 113-114v	1599.06.14	Nápoles	Ferra[n]te[?] Fomar[?]	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 115-115v	1599.07.22	Nápoles	Conde de Lemos	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 116-117v	1599.07.22	Milão	Ldo. Juan de Frias	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 118-120v	1598.10.20	Compiano	Príncipe de Valdetaro	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 121-121v	1599.07.03	[de casa]	Pedralvarez Pereira	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 122-124v	1599.08.09	Barcelona	Príncipe de Esquilache	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 125-126v	1599.08.14	Vinaroz	Príncipe de Esquilache	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 127-128v	1599.08.21	Madrid	Pedralvarez Pereira [?]	Felipe III
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 130-131v	1599.08.25	Gandia	Duque de Gandia	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 132-135v	1599.09.04	Lisboa	Conde de Vilanova	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 136-140v	1599.09.10	Lisboa	Conde de Vilanova	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 141-144v	1599.09.13	Lisboa	Conde de Vilanova	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 145-148v	1599.09.16	Lisboa	Conde de Vilanova	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 149-149v	1599.10.24	Valencia	Duque de Gandia	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 150-151v	1599.10.04	Angusta[?]	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 152-153v	1599.10.09	Madrid	Pedralvarez Pereira	
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 154-155v	1599.10.30	Nápoles	Fr. Juan de Panxani[?]	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 156-157v	1599.02.02	Valência	Duque de Gandia	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 158-160v	1599.11.01	Madrid		
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 161-162v	1599.11.05	Belém	Conde Meirinho-mor	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 163-164v	1599.11.12	Lisboa	Conde Meirinho-mor	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 165-166v	1599.11.05	Lisboa	Lourenço Correa	Felipe III
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 167-169v	1599.11.05	Lisboa	Lourenço Correa	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 170-171v	1599.30.29		João Fogaça Leça	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 172-172v	1599.11.13	Lisboa	D. Juan de Silva	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 173-174v	1599.11.26	Lisboa	Conde de Vilanova	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 175-176v	1599.11.29	Madrid	Pedralvarez Pereira	Filipe III
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 177-177v	1599.12.24	Madrid	Pedralvarez Pereira	Filipe III
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 178-179v				
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 180-181v	1599.11.29	Madrid	Príncipe de Valdetaro	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 182-182v	1599.12.11	Lisboa	Conde de Vilanova	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 183-189v			Lourenço Correa	Juan de Borja [?]
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 190-192v	1599.09.19	Lisboa	D. Juan de Silva	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 193-194v	1599.12.01	[de casa]	Pedralvares Pereira	Juan de Borja

Reference	Date	Place	Sender	Addressee
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 195-196v	1599.12.03	Montemor	Martim Gonalez de la Camara	Manoel de Castillo, Conde de Vilanova
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 197-197v	1599.12.08	Vaciamadrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 198-199v	1599.12.10	Madrid	Pedralvares Pereira	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 200-201v	1599.12.07	Lisboa	D. Juan de Silva	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 202-202v	1599.12.16		Conde de Villamor	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 204-207v	1599.12.24		Juan Pascoal	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 208-209v	1599.05.24	Barcelona	Luis de Avalos	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 210-211v	1599.12.24		Pedralvares Pereira	Marqu�s de Velada [?]
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 212-213v	1599.12.27		Pedralvares Pereira	Juan de Borja [?]
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 214-216v			Pedralvares Pereira	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 217-218v	1599.12.22		Pedralvares Pereira	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 219-220v	1599.12.31	N�poles	[ileg�vel]	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 221-222v	1600.01.09	Ucles	Conde de Villamor	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 223-224v	1600.01.10		Martim Gonalez de la Camara	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 225-226v	1600.01.16	Lisboa	Juan de Acosta	Felipe III
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 227-228v	1600.01.16	Madrid	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 229-230v	1600.01.24	Madrid	D. �lvaro de Carvajal	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 231-232v	1600.01.24		Pedralvares Pereira	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 233-235v	1600.01.24 [?]		Pedralvares Pereira	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 236-237v	1600.01.24 [?]		Pedralvares Pereira	Felipe III
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 238-238v	1600.02.17		Papa Clemente VIII	Fr. Antonio
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 239-240v	1600.01.30	Gante	Baltazar de Z�niga	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 239-240v	1600.02.08	Lisboa	D. Juan de Silva	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 242-244v	1600.02.08	[de casa]	D. Juan de Silva	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 245-246v				
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 247-247v				
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 248-250v	1600.02.08	Lisboa	D. Juan de Silva	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 251-252v	1600.02.12	Lisboa	Conde de Vilanova	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 253-255v	1600.02.12	Lisboa	Conde de Vilanova	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 256-258v	1600.02.15	Madrid	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 259-261v	1600.02.19	Lisboa	Conde de Vilanova	
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 262-263v	1600.02.20	Valencia	Leonor de O�naz y Borja	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 264-266v	1600.02.26	Lisboa	Conde de Vilanova	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 267-269v	1600.02.29	Lisboa	Conde de Vilanova	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 270-270v	1600.02.29	Varegas[?]	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 271-273v	1600.03.04	Lisboa	Conde de Vilanova	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 274-275v	1600.03.04	Lisboa	Conde de Vilanova	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 276-278v	1600.03.11	Lisboa	Conde de Vilanova	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 279-281v	1600.04.01	[de casa]	Ldo. Covarrubias	Felipe III
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 282-283v	1600.04.03	Lisboa	Conde de Vilanova	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 284-284v	1600.04.09	Lisboa	Conde de Vilanova	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 285-286v	1600.04.09	[de la carcel]	D. Richardo Aquines	Juan de Borja

Reference	Date	Place	Sender	Addressee
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 287-287v			Pedralves Pereira	Juan de Borja [?]
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 288-288v	1600.04.18			Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 289-289v	1600.04.16	San Gerónimo[?]	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 290-291v	1600.04.17	Mazagão	Diogo Lopes de Carvalho	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 292-293v	1600.03.03	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma [?]
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 294-295v	1600.04.27		Alferes-mor	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 296-296v e 301-301v	1600.01.15	Lisboa	Luis de Figueiredo	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 297-297v e 300-300v	1600.03.04	Lisboa	Luis de Figueiredo	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 298-299v	1600.03.04	Lisboa	Luis de Figueiredo	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 302-302v	1600.04.20	Lisboa	Luis de Figueiredo	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 303-306v		Lisboa [?]	Luis de Figueiredo	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 307-309v		Lisboa [?]	Luis de Figueiredo	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 310-310v	1600.04.30	[de casa]	Pedralvares Pereira	Juan de Borja [?]
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 311-313v	1600.06.28	Madrid	Pedralvares Pereira	Juan de Borja [?]
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 314-314v	1600.05.03	Toro[?]	Ana de Urries	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 315-317v	1600.05.06	Lisboa	Juan Gomes de Silva	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 318-321v	1600.05.08	Lisboa	Conde de Vilanova	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 322-324v	1600.05.12	[de casa]	Pedralvares Pereira	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 325-325v	1600.04.21	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 326-331v	1600.05.20	Madrid	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 332-332v	1600.05.27	Madrid	Geor. Epis., Bispo Capelão-mor	
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 333-334v	1600.06.10	Lisboa	Conde de Vilanova	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 335-338v	1600.06.03	Lisboa	Conde de Vilanova	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 339-340v	1600.06.03	Lisboa	Juan Gomes de Silva	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 341-341v	1600.06.04		Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 342-344v	1600.06.15		Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 345-346v	1600.06.16	Valhadolide [?]	Francisco de Borja	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 347-347v	1600.06.07	Segóvia	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 348-351v	1600.06.17	Lisboa	Conde de Vilanova	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 352-354v	1600.06.30	Belém	Conde Meirinho-mor	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 355-356v	1600.07.01	Lisboa	Diogo da Fonseca	Felipe III
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 357-362v	1600.07.01	Lisboa	Conde de Vilanova	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 363-365v	1600.07.02	[de casa]	Geor. Epis., Bispo Capelão-mor	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 366-368v	1600.07.02	Lisboa	Cristóvão de Moura	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 369-371v	1600.07.04	Belém	Conde Meirinho-mor	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 372-373v	1600.07.11	[de casa]	Conde de Miranda	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 374-374v	1600.07.13	[de casa]	Conde de Miranda	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 375-376v	1600.07.15	[de la posada]	Conde de Miranda	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 377-380v	1600.07.13	[Lisboa ?]	Conde de Vilanova	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 381-385v	1600.07.22	Lisboa	Conde de Vilanova	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 386-389v	1600.07.22	Tordesillas	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja



Reference	Date	Place	Sender	Addressee
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 390-390v	1600.07.16	Tordesillas	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 391-391v e 393-393v			D. João de Meneses	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28426, ff. 392-392v			Juan de Borja	Conde de Miranda
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 1-2v	1600.08.04	Lisboa	Conde de Vilanova	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 3-4v	1600.08.05	Lisboa	Conselho Geral do Santo Ofício da Inquisição de Portugal	Filipe III
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 5-5v	1600.08.05	Valhadolide	Álvaro de Córdova	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 6-6v	1600.08.07	Lisboa	Conde de Vilanova	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 7-11v	1600.08.21	Madrid	D. Constantino	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 12-13v	1600.08.25	[de casa]	Pedralvares Pereira	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 14-15v	1598.03.01		Condessa de Tentúgal	Damião de Aguiar
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 16-17v	1600.04.11	[de casa]	D. Constantino	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 18-19v	1600.09.06	[de casa]	D. Constantino	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 20-24v			Francisco de Almeida	D. Constantino, su hermano
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 25-25v	1600.09.04	San Lorenço	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 26-29v	1600.09.07	Lisboa	Conde de Vilanova	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 30-36v	1600.09.20	Belém	Conde Meirinho-Mor	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 37-39v	1600.09.21	Belém	Conde Meirinho-Mor	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 40-40v	1600.09.23	Madrid	Geor. Epis., Bispo Capelão-mor [?]	
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 41-43v	1600.10.07	Lisboa	Lourenço Correa	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 44-45v	1600.10.08	Lisboa	Conde de Vilanova	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 46-49v	1600.10.08		Pedralvares Pereira	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 50-50v	1600.10.28		Pedralvares Pereira	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 51-51v	1600.11.06	[de casa]	Geor. Epis., Bispo Capelão-mor	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 52-53v	1600.11.09	Belém	Conde Meirinho-Mor	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 54-57v	1600.11.09	Belém	Conde Meirinho-Mor	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 58-70v	1600.11.10	Belém	Conde Meirinho-Mor	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 71-73v	1600.11.10	Azeitão	Duque de Aveiro	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 74-75v	1600.11.19	Lisboa	Luis de Figueiredo	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 76-77v	1600.11.28	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 78-79v	1600.12.02	[de casa]	Conde de Niebla	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 80-81v	1601.03.23	Madrid		[Juan de Borja (?)]
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 82-83v	[1601.03?]	[de mi posada]	Juan de Borja	Juan de Idiaquez
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 84-85v	1601.01.16			
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 86-87v	1601.01.17	Pivoa [?]	Conde de Vilanova	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 88-88v	1601.01.09	Madrid	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 89-91v	1601.01.19	Villacastrín	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 92-93v	1600.11.25	Azeitão	Duque de Aveiro	
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 94-94v	1601.01.17	Espinar	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 95-101v	1601.01.26	Tordesilhas	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 102-102v	1601.02.11	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma

Reference	Date	Place	Sender	Addressee
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 103-103v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Pedralvares Pereira	
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 104-104v	1604.05.24	Valhadolide	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 105-106v	1600.03.04	Santo Thas[?]	Fr. Gaspar de Córdova	
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 107-108v	1600.04.20	Santo Thas[?]	Fr. Gaspar de Córdova	[ao Rei?]
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 109-109v	1601.03.14	Madrid	Juan de Borja	Cristóvão de Moura
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 110-125v	1604.12.03	Madrid	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 126-127v	1601.03.28	Lisboa	Luis de Figueiredo	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 128-131v	1601.04.03	Lisboa	Luis de Figueiredo	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 132-133v	1601.04.04	Lisboa	Luis de Figueiredo	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 134-135v	1601.04.07	Lisboa	Luis de Figueiredo	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 136-137v	1601.04.10	Lisboa	Luis de Figueiredo	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 138-139v	1601.05.01	Valhadolide [?]	Juan de Borja	Pedralvares Pereira
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 140-140v	1601.05.24	[de casa]	Pedralvares Pereira	
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 141-143v	1601.06.02	Valhadolide	Pedralvares Pereira	
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 144-145v	1601.06.16	Viena	Ernesto	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 146-147v	1601.06.22	Bruxelas	Baltazar de Zúñiga	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 148-149v	1601.09.01	Valhadolide	Francisco Gonçalo de Heredia	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 150-151v	1601.09.01	Valhadolide	Álvaro de Córdova	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 152-153v	1601.08.06	[Lisboa ?]	Conde de Vilanova	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 154-160v	1601.09.14	Lisboa	Lourenço Correa	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 161-162v	1601.09.01	?	Luis de Figueiredo	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 163-163v	1601.10.13	Valhadolide	Juan de Idiaquez	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 164-165v	1601.10.25	Valencia	Fr. Francisco de Sosa	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 166-169v	1601.10.04	Azuaga	Florian de Lugo	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 170-171v	1602.01.05	Corbarra [?]	Dona Catalina de Zúñiga	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 172-173v	1602.01.22	Milão	Conde de Fuentes	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 174-175v	1602.02.04	Leon	Filipe III	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 176-177v	1602.05.12	?	D. Tomás de Borja	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 178-178v	1602.05.23	Toledo	Cardeal de Toledo	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 179-179v	1602.05.24	Valhadolide	Ldo. Vigil de Quiñones	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 180-181v	1602.09.03	Bruxelas	Baltazar de Zúñiga	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 182-183v	1602.09.15	Ostende	Baltazar de Zúñiga	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 184-185v	1602.11.09	Valhadolide [?]	Luis de Figueiredo	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 186-187v	1602.12.06	Valhadolide	D. Richardo Aquines	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 188-192v				
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 193-193v	1603.03.07	Valhadolide	Filipe III	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 194-195v	SEM ANO 03.11	Valencia	Condessa de Lemos	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 196-197v	1603.03.21	Valhadolide	Dona Catalina de Zúñiga	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 198-199v	1603.04.05	Valhadolide	Diego de Ibarra	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 200-200v	1603.05.01	Madrid	Dona Isabel de Leiva	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 201-201v	1603.05.08	?	Alferes-Mor	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 202-203v	1603.05.09	Madrid	D. Juan de Cardona	Juan de Borja

Reference	Date	Place	Sender	Addressee
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 204-205v	SEM ANO 05.12	Monforte	Condessa de Lemos	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 206-206v	1603.07.06	[de casa]	D. Henrique de Souza	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 207-210v	SEM ANO 07.15	?	Condessa de Lemos	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 211-212v	1603.07.21	Gandía	Duque de Gandía	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 213-214v	1601.08.29	Valhadolide	[Assinatura riscada] [Estvão da Gama?]	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 215-215v	1601.11.24	Valhadolide	Estevão de Ibarra	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 216-216v	1603.07.13	Leça	Luis Álvares de Tavora	Filipe III
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 217-219v	1603.07		Henrique de Sousa	Filipe III [?]
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 220-221v	1603.08.05	Madrid	D. Rodrigo Calderón	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 222-222v	1603.10.06	[de la posada]	Conde de Saldaña	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 223-226v	1603.08.28	Valhadolide	Martim Afonso Mexia [?]	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 227-227v	1603.09.02	Madrid	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 228-229v	1603.09.28	Estremoz	Bispo de Viseu	
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 230-230v	1603.09.03			
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 231-232v	1603.10.09	Valhadolide	Martim Afonso Mexia [?]	
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 233-237v	1603.08.14	Valencia	Leonor de Borja	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 238-238v	1603.08.18	Valencia	Leonor de Borja	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 239-240v	1603.09.06	[deste Cons <sup>o</sup> ]	Ldo. Covarrubias	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 241-241v	1603.09.13		Luis de Figueiredo	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 242-242v	1603.12.03		Luis de Figueiredo	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 243-243v	1603.09.13	?	Antonio de Borja	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 244-244v	1603.10.01	Saragoça	Antonio de Borja	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 245-246v	1603.09.13	?	Antonio de Borja	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 247-247v	1603.09.21	?	?	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 248-248v	1603.10.06	Madrid [?]	?	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 249-249v	1603.10.07	Madrid [?]	?	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 250-250v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	?	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 251-251v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	?	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 252-252v	1603.10.07	Madrid	Dona Luisa Osório	Dona Francisca de Aragão
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 253-253v	1603.10.08	Lisboa	Fr. Manuel de [...?]	
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 254-255v	1603.10.08	Madrid	Pero Lopez de Vilanova	
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 256-257v	1603.11.10	Valhadolide	Pero Lopez de Vilanova	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 258-259v	1604.02.09	Madrid	Bispo de Leiria	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 260-262v	1603.10.08	Madrid	Pe. Francisco Antonio	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 263-264v	1603.10.08	Madrid	Florian de Marsilla de Lugo	
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 265-270v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	[Conde de Monsanto]	
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 271-272v	1603.10.27	[em casa]	Conde de Monsanto	
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 273-274v	1603.11.18	Valhadolide	Conde de Monsanto	
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 275-275v	1600.11.16	El Pardo	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 276-276v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Luis Álvares de Tavora	
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 277-278v	1603.11.20	San Lorenço	Francisco de Borja	Juan de Borja

Reference	Date	Place	Sender	Addressee
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 279-280v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Luis Álvares de Tavora	
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 281-286v	1603.11.28	El Pardo	D. Juan de Idiáquez	
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 287-289v	1603.11.26	El Pardo	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 290-292v				
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 293-294v	1603.11.22	Lisboa	Nicolau de Faria	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 295-298v	1603.12.01	Valencia	Leonor de Borja	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 299-300v	SEM ANO 12.14	Valhadolide	Condessa de Lemos	
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 301-302v	1603.12.20	Lisboa	Alonso de Castro Macedo	Filipe III
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 303-304v	1603.06.29	Burgos		
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 305-306v	1604.01.16	Lisboa	Alonso de Castro Macedo	Filipe III
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 307-309v	1604.01.18	Madrid	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 310-310v	1604.01.20	Valencia	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 311-312v	1604.03.10	Valencia [?]	Conde de Miranda	
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 313-314v	1604.03.10		Ldo. Damanso	
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 315-316v	1604.02.07	Valencia	Francisco de Borja	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 317-318v	1604.03.06	Madrid	Pe. Francisco Antonio	
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 319-319v	1604.03.19	?	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 320-327v	1604.02.20	Valencia	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 328-332v	1604.08.12	Valhadolide	D. Juan de Idiáquez	
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 333-338v	1604.03.18	Villacastrín	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 339-340v	1604.03.07	Lisboa	D. Juan de Mendoça	
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 341-341v	1604.02.03	[na Secretaria]	Luis de Figueiredo	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 342-343v	1604.10.11		Luis de Figueiredo	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 344-347v	1604.03.20	Olmedo	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 348-349v	1604.05.10	SEM LOCAL	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 350-351v	1604.05.31	Madrid	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 352-352v	1604.06.12	[em casa]	Bispo Pedro de Castillo	
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 353-353v e 358-358v	1604.07.25	SEM LOCAL	Bartolomeu da Fonseca	
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 354-355v	1604.07.15	[de la posada]	Juan de Borja	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 356-357v	1604.07.27	Lisboa	Bispo Conde	
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 359-360v	1604.06.12	Madrid	Pe. Francisco Antonio	
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 361-361v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Pe. Francisco Antonio	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 362-362v	1603.10.18	Medina	Pe. Alonso Ferrer	
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 363-364v	1604.08.02	Roma	D. Jose de Mello	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 365-365v	1604.08.17	[de casa] [Madrid?]	Conde de Vimioso	
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 366-366v	1604.09.22	[de casa]	Cardeal Ginaser [?], Nuncio	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 367-368v	1604.08.23	Roma	Pe. Claudio Aquaviva	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 369-370v	1604.09.25	[Das Cachoeiras] [Lisboa?]	Lourenço da Silva	
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 371-378v	1604.03.27	Valhadolide	Duke of Lerma	
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 379-379v	1606.07.12	SEM LOCAL	Bispo Capelão-Mor	Juan de Borja

Reference	Date	Place	Sender	Addressee
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 380-380v	1604.09.26	Estremoz	D. Constantino	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 381-386v	1600.08.03	Valhadolide	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 387-388v	1605.03.24	Madrid	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 389-393v	1605.04.26	Ventosilla	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 394-395v	1605.06.18	Valhadolide	Fernando Alvares de Castro	
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 396-396v	1605.06.22	Madrid	Ldo. Silva Torey[?]	
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 397-397v	1605.09.15	Valhadolide	Juan Carrillo	
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 398-399v	1605.07.23	Lerma	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 400-401v	1605.08.04	?	Conde de Vilanova	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 402-402v	1605.08.07	?	Conde de Vilanova	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 403-405v	1605.08.11	Lisboa	Henrique de Sousa	
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 406-407v	1605.08.17	Valhadolide	Luis de Figueiredo	
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 408-408v	1605.08.19	Valhadolide	Luis de Figueiredo	
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 409-410v	1605.08.23	Valhadolide	Luis de Figueiredo	
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 411-414v	1605.08.24	Valhadolide	Luis de Figueiredo	
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 415-415v	1605.11.13	Valhadolide		
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 416-417v	1605.11.18	Lisboa	Bispo Pedro de Castillo	
Add. Ms. 28427, ff. 418-420v	1605.12.20	Madrid	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 1-2v	1606.02.20	Madrid	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 12-15v	1606.04.10	Lisboa	Ldo. Molina de Medrano	Filipe III
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 16-17v	1606.04.30	Seita [?]	D. Afonso de Noronha	
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 18-19v	1606.05.20	Seita [?]	D. Afonso de Noronha	
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 20-21v	1606.04.17	Valhadolide	Fernão de Maltez [?]	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 22-27v	1606.05.19	Valdemoro [?]	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 28-28v	1605.09.26	[de casa]	Fr. Diogo de Mardones [?]	
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 29-30v	1606.05.12	Roma	Marquês de Villena	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 31-32v	1606.05.30	Roma	Priores de la Confradia de la Sma. Resurreccion de Roma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 33-34v	1606.06.02	Lisboa	Câmara de Lisboa	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 35-35v	1606.06.03	Lisboa	Gonçalo Pires de Carvalho	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 36-37v	1606.06.03	Lisboa	Gonçalo Pires de Carvalho	
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 38-38v	1606.06.03	Lisboa	Gonçalo Pires de Carvalho	
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 39-40v	SEM DATA	Lisboa	Gonçalo Pires de Carvalho	
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 41-41v	1606.11.27	?	Gerónimo de Castro	
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 42-42v	1606.07.07	Lisboa	Bispo D. Pedro de Castillo	
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 43-44v	1606.06.21	Lisboa	Bispo D. Pedro de Castillo	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 45-45v	1606.08.17	Lisboa	Bispo D. Pedro de Castillo	
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 46-46v	1606.08.18	Lisboa	Bispo D. Pedro de Castillo	

Reference	Date	Place	Sender	Addressee
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 47-49v	1607.07.07	San Lourenço	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Idiaquez
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 50-59v	1607.10.09	Lisboa		
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 60-66v				
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 67-68v				
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 69-90v				
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 91-91v	1608.07.20	Lisboa	João Gomes da Silva	
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 92-92v	1608.12.08	Roma	António Mascarenhas	
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 93-93v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	[Conde de Vilanova ?]	
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 94-95v	SEM ANO 06.30	Lisboa	Conde de Vilanova	
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 96-97v	SEM ANO 01.30	Lisboa	Conde de Vilanova	
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 98-100v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Conde de Vilanova	
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 101-102v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Conde de Vilanova	
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 103-104v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Conde de Vilanova	
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 105-106v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Conde de Vilanova	
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 107-108v	1602.03.26	Labrujo	Conde de Vilanova	D. Fernando de Borja [meu primo que deus guarde]
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 109-110v	1606.03.13	SEM LOCAL	Conde de Vilanova	D. Fernando de Borja [comendador-mor de Montesa meu primo]
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 111-111v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Conde de Vilanova	D. Fernando de Borja
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 112-113v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Conde de Vilanova	D. Fernando de Borja [comendador-mayor de Montesa]
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 114-119v	1605.02.18	SEM LOCAL	Conde de Vilanova	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 120-122v	1605.03.09	Madrid	Duke of Lerma	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 123-123v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Pedralvares Pereira	
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 124-124v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Pedralvares Pereira	
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 125-125v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Pedralvares Pereira	
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 126-126v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Pedralvares Pereira	
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 127-128v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Pedralvares Pereira	
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 129-129v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Pedralvares Pereira	
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 130-130v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Juan de Borja	Pedralvares Pereira
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 131-131v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Pedralvares Pereira	
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 132-133v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Pedralvares Pereira	
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 134-134v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Pedralvares Pereira	
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 135-135v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Pedralvares Pereira	
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 136-136v	1606.12.25	Valhadolide		
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 137-138v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Conde Meirinho-mor	Conde de Vilanova
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 139-139v	SEM DATA	Belém	Conde Meirinho-mor	
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 140-140v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Conde Meirinho-mor	Cristóvão Suarez [secretario]
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 141-143v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Conde Meirinho-mor	
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 144-147v	1597.10.03	SEM LOCAL	Filipe II	Governadores de Portugal
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 148-149v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL		

Reference	Date	Place	Sender	Addressee
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 150-150v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Álvaro Mendes de Castro	Conde Meirinho-mor
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 151-151v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Fr. Luis do Deserto	Ao Rei.
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 152-153v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	D. Luis de Portugal	Duke of Lerma
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 154-154v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Pedralvares Pereira	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 155-155v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL		Conde de Portalegre
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 156-174v				
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 175-190v				
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 191-191v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Simão Guedes	
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 192-192v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Juan de Borja	
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 193-194v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Baltasar Barrera	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 195-196v	SEM DATA	Madrid	Condessa de Altamira	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 197-197v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Ventura da Morra Serrão [veador da cidade de Angra]	
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 198-199v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Ventura da Morra Serrão [veador da cidade de Angra]	
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 200-201v				
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 202-202v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL		
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 203-203v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Manuel Mendes de Vasconcelos	
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 204-204v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Pedro[?] Estevez	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 205-205v	1606.06.19[?]	SEM LOCAL	D. António de Ataíde	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 206-206v	1606.07.08	SEM LOCAL	António de Tavares	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 207-207v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL		
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 208-209v	1600.02.24	Lisboa		
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 210-212v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL		
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 213-214v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL		
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 215-216v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL		
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Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 218-218v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL		
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 219-221v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL		
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 222-223v	1603.11.29	SEM LOCAL	Vice-rei de Portugal	
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 224-224v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL		
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 225-227v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL		
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 228-229v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL		
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 230-230v e 233-233v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL		
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 231-232v	1600.10.23	SEM LOCAL		
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 234-237v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL		
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 238-238v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL		
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 239-240v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL		
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Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 245-245v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL		
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 246-246v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL		
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 247-249v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL		

Reference	Date	Place	Sender	Addressee
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 250-251v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL		Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 252-253v	1600	SEM LOCAL		
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 254-274v	1606	Madrid		
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 275-275v	1600.03.12	Madrid		
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 276-277v	1601.06.14	Valhadolide		Vice-rei[Castelo-Rodrigo?]
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 278-278v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	SEM NOME	
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 279-280v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	SEM NOME	
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 281-286v	1599.11.19	SEM LOCAL	Fr. Gaspar de Córdova	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 287-294v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL		
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 295-296v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL		
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 297-298v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL		
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 299-306v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL		
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 307-307v e 310-310v	1605.08.13	SEM LOCAL		
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 308-309v	1611.03.05	Lisboa		
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 311-326v	1615.01.09	Lisboa		
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 327-329v	1601.09.03	Valhadolide	Fr. Gaspar de Córdova	Fr. Domingo de Mendoça
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 330-331v	1601.09.10	Madrid	Fr. Domingo de Mendoça	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 332-332v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Pedro de Ledesma	
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 334-335v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Pedro de Ledesma	
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 336-337v	SEM ANO 10.18	SEM LOCAL	Juan Francisco da Ponte	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 338-339v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Juan de Borja	Juan Francisco da Ponte
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 340-341v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Juan de Borja	Marquês de Villamizar[?]
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 342-343v	SEM ANO 11.28	SEM LOCAL	Soror Francisca de Jesus	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 344-344v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	D. Alvaro de Araya[?] Pereira	
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 345-345v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Nicolas Doria	
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 346-346v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL		
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 347-347v	SEM ANO 08.12	Penarandas [?]	Francisco Juan de Santa Maria Porto Carrero	
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 348-348v	SEM DATA	[Deste Coll <sup>o</sup> de la Comp <sup>a</sup> ]	Josefo Cresuelo	
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 349-350v	SEM DATA	Madrid	Jacob Felix	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 351-352v	SEM DATA	Madrid	Fr. Domingo de Mendoça	
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 353-354v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL		
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 355-355v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Fr. Domingo de Mendoça	
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 356-356v	1608.04.13	Madrid	Fr. Luis de Oliva	
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 357-357v	SEM ANO 09.07	Madrid	D. Juan de Velasco	
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 358-358v	SEM ANO 10.03	Valhadolide ou Valência	D. Juan de Velasco	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 359-359v	SEM ANO 11.22	Alcala	D. Juan de Velasco	
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 360-360v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Principe de Valdetaro	Juan de Borja
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 361-361v	1589.11.06	?	Fr. Luis de Azpeitia	
Add. Ms. 28428, ff. 362-363v	SEM DATA	SEM LOCAL	Juan de Borja	Príncipe de Esquilache



**IVDJ: Instituto Valencia de Don Juan (Madrid, Spain)**

Reference	Date	Place	Sender	Addressee
E19_C28_LI, 30	1604.12.13	Valladolid	Juan de Borja	Fernando de Borja
E19_C28_LI, 5	1601.10.09	Valladolid	Juan de Borja	Fernando de Borja
E24_C38, 409	1583.11.13		Pres <sup>te</sup> Consejo de Hacienda	Felipe II
E24_C38, 426	1583.07.15		Pres <sup>te</sup> Consejo de Hacienda	Felipe II
E42_C54, 43	1603.09.20	Madrid	Soror Margarita de la Cruz	Juan de Borja
E42_C54, 44	1603.10.04	Madrid	Soror Margarita de la Cruz	Juan de Borja
E42_C54, 45	1603.10.08	Madrid	Soror Margarita de la Cruz	Juan de Borja
E42_C54, 46	1604.08.25	Madrid	Soror Margarita de la Cruz	Juan de Borja
E42_C54, 47	1603.09.20	Madrid	Soror Margarita de la Cruz	Juan de Borja
E42_C54, 48	S/F	Madrid	Soror Margarita de la Cruz	Juan de Borja
E48_C64, 12	1595.08.29	Alcalá	Cardenal Alberto de Áustria	Juan de Borja
E48_C64, 13	1595.09.10	Puebla	Cardenal Alberto de Áustria	Juan de Borja
E48_C64, 14	1595.09.21	Monserrat	Cardenal Alberto de Áustria	Juan de Borja
E48_C64, 15	1595.09.26	Barcelona	Cardenal Alberto de Áustria	Juan de Borja
E48_C64, 16	1595.12.07	Saint Jean de Maurienne	Cardenal Alberto de Áustria	Juan de Borja
E48_C64, 17	1598.08.28	Antwerp	Cardenal Alberto de Áustria	Juan de Borja
E48_C64, 18	1596.10.18	Brussels	Cardenal Alberto de Áustria	Juan de Borja
E48_C64, 19	1597.01.03	Brussels	Cardenal Alberto de Áustria	Juan de Borja
E48_C64, 20	1598.11.01	Trent	Cardenal Alberto de Áustria	Juan de Borja
E48_C64, 21	1597.01.14	Brussels	Cardenal Alberto de Áustria	Juan de Borja
E48_C64, 22	1597.04.09	Brussels	Cardenal Alberto de Áustria	Juan de Borja
E48_C64, 23	1597.06.09	Brussels	Cardenal Alberto de Áustria	Juan de Borja
E48_C64, 24	1597.11.10	Brussels	Cardenal Alberto de Áustria	Juan de Borja
E48_C64, 25	1598.08.11	Brussels	Cardenal Alberto de Áustria	Juan de Borja
E48_C64, 26	1598.11.01	Trent	Cardenal Alberto de Áustria	Juan de Borja
E48_C64, 27	1598.12.23	Milan	Cardenal Alberto de Áustria	Juan de Borja
E48_C64, 28	1599.01.21	Milan	Cardenal Alberto de Áustria	Juan de Borja
E48_C64, 29	1599.01.30	Milan	Cardenal Alberto de Áustria	Juan de Borja
E48_C64, 30	1600.01.10	Brussels	Cardenal Alberto de Áustria	Juan de Borja
E48_C64, 31	1600.01.30	Gand	Cardenal Alberto de Áustria	Juan de Borja
E48_C64, 32	1600.07.13	Bruges	Cardenal Alberto de Áustria	Juan de Borja
E48_C64, 33	1600.07.17	Gand	Cardenal Alberto de Áustria	Juan de Borja
E48_C64, 34	1600.08.15	Gand	Cardenal Alberto de Áustria	Juan de Borja
E48_C64, 35	1600.12.06	Brussels	Cardenal Alberto de Áustria	Juan de Borja
E48_C64, 36	1601.06.03	Brussels	Cardenal Alberto de Áustria	Juan de Borja
E48_C64, 37	1603.07.02	Brussels	Cardenal Alberto de Áustria	Juan de Borja
E47_C62, 238	1578.05.18	Viena	Juan de Borja	Juan de Zúñiga
E47_C62, 239	1579.01.06	Prague	Juan de Borja	Juan de Zúñiga

Reference	Date	Place	Sender	Addressee
E47_C62, 240	1579.12.29	Prague	Juan de Borja	Juan de Zúñiga
E47_C62, 241	1579.05.04	Prague	Juan de Borja	Juan de Zúñiga
E47_C62, 242	1579.08.31	Prague	Juan de Borja	Juan de Zúñiga
E47_C62, 243	1579.09.07	Prague	Juan de Borja	Juan de Zúñiga
E47_C62, 244	1579.12.15	Prague	Juan de Borja	Juan de Zúñiga
E5_TII, 23	1573.07	San Lorenzo El Real	Felipe II	Juan de Borja

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Reference	Date	Place	Sender	Addressee
II/2110, doc. 98	1604.04.13	Bayona	Manuel do Tojal	Diego Sarmiento de Acuña
II/2113, doc. 45	1605.09.06	Bayona	António Borges de Sousa	Diego Sarmiento de Acuña
II/2113, doc. 79	1605.09.14	Bayona	António Borges de Sousa	Diego Sarmiento de Acuña
II/2114, doc. 53	1604.10.8	Valladolid	Diego Sarmiento de Acuña	
II/2115, doc. 19	1606.02.20	Valladolid	[Pedro Álvares Pereira ?]	Diego Sarmiento de Acuña
II/2120, doc. 76	1604.10.09	Lisboa	Manuel do Tojal	Diego Sarmiento de Acuña
II/2127, doc. 152	1606.09.03	El Escorial	Diego García Jove	Diego Sarmiento de Acuña
II/2128, doc. 173	1603.12.30	Valladolid	Sebastián de Salazar	Diego Sarmiento de Acuña
II/2130, doc. 199	1605.06.25	Valladolid	Andrés Ximénez	Diego Sarmiento de Acuña
II/2132, doc. 69, f. 108	1597.02.03		Juan de Borja	Cristóval de Moura
II/2138, doc. 147	1599.05.04	Madrid	Juan Remírez Freile	Diego Sarmiento de Acuña
II/2145, doc. 71	1598.07.22	Madrid	Juan Remírez Freile	Diego Sarmiento de Acuña
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Cartório Notrial de Abrantes, Maços 24, 26, 27, 28, 35, 36, 37, 43.

### **AGI: Archivo General de Indias (Seville, Spain)**

Patronato, 46, R.8:

Letters from Juan de Borja, 5<sup>th</sup> August 1570

### **AGP: Archivo General de Palacio (Madrid, Spain)**

Administración General, Legajo 644:

*Relación de lo que toca a los mayordomos de su magestad y lo que deve hacer el semanero conforme al estilo antiguo de la casa del emperador don Carlos nuestro señor que aya gloria y después se fue continuando la mayor parte dello en la de su magestad don Phelipe 2º que dios tiene como consta de los papeles de aquel tiempo y relaciones que sobre ello dio el contralor Juan de Sigoney.*

### **AGS: Archivo General de Simancas (Simancas, Spain)**

Cámara de Castilla/Memoriales, 421 (ff. 18, 37, 85), 432 (f. 157), 446 (f.335), 465 (ff. 18, 43), 538 (f.96), 639 (f.124), 820 (f.182).

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Consejo de Hazienda, Dirección General del Tesoro, 567

*Pliego*, 1587.07.26[?];

*Relación de gastos extraordinarios*;

*Memoria de lo que don Juº de Borja del consejo de V. Magd y su embaxador çerca de la Persona del Ser.mo Rey de portugal há gastado en su real seruiçio en gastos extra ordinarios desde doçe de nobiembre de 1572 años hasta diez y seis de março de 1574 anos.*

*Cargo para don Juan de Borja*, 1574

Consejo de Hazienda, Dirección General del Tesoro, 568

*Cargo para Don Juan de Bojra*, 1577;

*Q[uen]ta de lo que se há reseuido y gastado en las cossas q[ue] se han ofrescido del seruiçio de Su md en esta embaxada de alemaña desde primº de benº del año passado de UDLXXVIJ hasta ultimo de aBril deste pressente ano de UDLXXIX años en la forma sig[uient]e*, 1577.01.01-1579.04.30;

*Quenta [de lo que Antonio Függer ha entregado en Augusta al secretario de Don Juan de Borja].*

Consejo de Hazienda, Dirección General del Tesoro, 569

*Juan de Bojra, 1577-1580.*

Contaduría Mayor de Cuentas, I, 1572, doc. 20

*Juan de Borja, de dos naves que embargó en Lisboa para la armada del adelantado Pedro Meléndez*

Contaduría Mayor de Cuentas, II, 489

*Cuenta de D. Juan de Borja, 1574*

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*Cuentas de la Embajada de D. Juan de Borja a Alemania*

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### **AHN: Archivo Historico Nacional (Madrid, Spain)**

Consejo de Órdenes, Expedientes de pruebas de caballeros de la Orden de Santiago, Expediente 1169.

Consejos – Legajo 33933, N° 9:

*Denunciacion de un escritorio, un tapete y otras cosas.*

Consejos – Libro 2394 (f. 55v):

Letter to the viceroy in Valencia, Montejo, 18<sup>th</sup> June 1592 (quoted in Pérez de Tudela and Jordan Gschwend, 'Luxury Goods for Royal Collectors (...)', 78).

Clero – Jesuitas, Provincia de Loyola, Legajo 179, n° 8:

*Memorial del pleito de D. Juan de Borja com D. Mariana de Loyola sobre la administracion por esta señora de las rentas de la Casa de Loyola.*

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*Dote de D. Magdalena de Borja, 1584.12.07.*

### **AHPM: Archivo Historico de Protocolos de Madrid (Madrid, Spain)**

Protocolos: 989, 590, 932, 1578, 1006, 1810-3, 2001, 2021, 2022, 2026, 2029, 2029-3, 2031, 2032, 2035, 2040, 2176, 2284, 2298, 2322, 2323, 2654, 2661, 2662, 2665, 2678, 2679, 3146, 3485, 3976, 4442.

### **ANTT: Aquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (Lisbon, Portugal)**

Corpo Cronológico, Maço 106, doc. 66, (quoted in Krahe, Chinese Porcelain in Habsburg Spain, 131):

*Alvará da Rainha D. Catarina para os seus contadores leuares em conta a Afonso de Zuniga, seu tesoureiro, as porcelanas que vieran da Índia.*

Núcleo Antigo, 792 (ff. 95r, 141v, 190r, 200v) (quoted in Jordan, 'The Development of Catherine of Austria's Collection in the Queen's Household', 8, 10 and 110), 797 (ff. 112-114v) (quoted in Jordan Gschwend, 'Rarities and Novelties', 39., and in Karl, *Embroidered Histories*, 57.).

### **BA: Biblioteca da Ajuda (Lisbon, Portugal)**

Códice 46-VIII-12, ff. 121-122

*Da propriedade, e virtudes do unicornio, e donde vem e o mesmo do corno, couro, dente da abada*

Códice 51-IX-51

*Relacion que hizo alla republica de Venezia Simon contarín el año de 1605. de la embaxada que hauia echo en España y de todo lo q[eu] entendia dellas cossas della*

**BG: Bibliothèque de Genève (Geneva, Switzerland)**

Collection Édouard Favre, vol. XIV:

Letters from Juan de Borja during his diplomatic mission at the Holy Roman Empire, 1577-1580

**BNE: Biblioteca Nacional de España (Madrid, Spain)**

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*Livro de receitas de pivetes, pastilhas, e lvas perfumadas y conserbas*

**BNP: Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal (Lisbon, Portugal)**

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*Cartas de George Godinho medico del Rey D. João 3º sobre as falsas opiniões de Galeno Averroes e outros autores arabes. E dissertações varias sobre m[uit]as enfermidades e seus remedios, 1580.*

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Miro, Carpeta 24, doc. 968, 969.

Letters from Juan de Borja to Mateo Vazquez and the Duke of Gandía

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Manuscripts, Add. Ms. 28422, 28423, 28424, 28425, 28426, 28427, 28428, 28707.

**IVDJ: Instituto Valencia de Don Juan (Madrid, Spain)**

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*Instrucciones que Felipe II envía a don Juan de Borja sobre el matrimonio del rey de Portugal con la hija del Duque de Baviera*, 1573.07.

E14 (C27/K7-K12), E19 (C28/LI/5, 7, 30), E20 (C29/534), E21 (C31/301), E42 (C54/43-48), E47 (C62/238-244), E48 (C64/12-37)

Letters from and to Juan de Borja, 1577-1606

**RAH: Real Academia de Historia (Madrid, Spain)**

Manuscrito, 9/296 (f. 158v):

*Costados de Juan de Borja y Castro, Aragón y Baretto, I conde de Ficallo en Portugal, I conde de Mayalde, comendador de Azuaga en la Orden de Santiago, de los Consejos de Estado y Guerra de Felipe II, veedor general de la Hacienda de Portugal, virrey de dicho reino, mayordomo mayor de la emperatriz doña María de Austria y de la reina doña Margarita de Austria.*

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Manuscrito: II/531:

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“Papeles varios sobre el monasterio de Nuestra Señora de Prado y sobre la Audiencia del Reino de Galicia”: *Privilegio y exención de huéspedes perpetuo de las casas y jardín que don Juan de Borja tiene junto al camino y caños que llaman de Alcalá y cartas de pago de la paga de ducados a su majestad por la merced*, 1589.

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