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Everard Nithard's *Memorias*: The Jesuits Confessor's Quest for Re-Fashioning the Self, People, and Events

Silvia Z. Mitchell

After handing off the Spanish embassy papers to the Marquis of Carpio in February of 1677, Cardinal Everard Nithard (1607–1680) retired to a private palace. He dedicated the next two years of his life to writing his *memorias*.¹ The over 8,000 manuscript pages spread over twenty-one volumes form a record of his political travails during the early years of Queen Mariana of Austria's regency, whom Nithard served as her confessor and in a variety of political roles.² Eleven of these volumes contain Nithard's copious notes about himself, political figures he worked with, copies of letters, and a variety of papers that circulated in Madrid through official and unofficial channels. Nithard used these *borradores* (drafts) for the text intended for publication, a "Historical account about

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the disturbances and persecutions don Juan of Austria and his allies promoted against Father Everard Nithard of the Jesuit Order; but under this pretext against the Queen Governor, taken accurately from don Juan's letters and responses to them."³ As a whole, the *memorias* is thus a hybrid text, part draft and part *relación* (narrative of a newsworthy or recent historical event), a genre that became increasingly popular in seventeenth-century Madrid.⁴ Yet, Nithard undertook the writing with the express purpose of salvaging his reputation, or in his own words, proving his innocence, of accusations that led to his dismissal from Madrid and subsequent humiliations he experienced in Rome. The *memorias*, therefore, is principally an egodocument, a source that provides "privileged information about the 'self' that produced it" and should be studied as such.⁵

Nithard's writings do not display the deep psychological self-awareness that is the essential quality of the modern memoir—that of a person engaged in profound self-contemplation and irrevocably transformed by the writing process.⁶ While Nithard was perhaps less deliberate when recording his experiences than a contemporary memoirist, it is possible, as scholars have shown, to apprehend aspects of identity formation, particularly when surviving evidence permits an analysis of acts of remembrance and writing in tandem.⁷ When he used the word *memorias*, Nithard meant memories (and not memoir), but there was a clear intention in this recollection, one that he wanted others to know. While there is absolutely no indication that he fabricated evidence, there was a deliberate planning of the text intended for publication, and even distortions, in his desire to show himself, people, and events in a particular way. Nithard engaged in the process that Stephen Greenblatt calls "self-fashioning" and can be understood as the "role of human autonomy in the construction of identity."⁸ Nithard planned and edited his *memorias* carefully and relied on a variety of authorial strategies to convey his version of events. This editing tells us what he wanted to accomplish and what was foremost in his mind, which makes the lengthy text an egodocument *par excellence*.

GENESIS AND NATURE OF THE TEXT

The two parts of the entire corpus are clearly distinct: eleven volumes of "notes" and "drafts" that were to serve as the bases for the narrative of events collected in nine volumes. The dramatic experiences that Nithard wants to recreate center on his expulsion from the court and

loss of his offices in Mariana's regime. Nithard, as I argue in my study of Mariana's regency, was a scapegoat in a conflict between Mariana and don Juan of Austria (1629–1679), the illegitimate son of Philip IV, Mariana's late husband, over what role, if any, he would be allowed to play in her government.⁹ Tensions reached a height when don Juan delayed and eventually refused to take over the generalship of the Army of Flanders and governorship of the Spanish Netherlands during the War of Devolution (1667–1668), and exploded when Mariana banished don Juan and then issued orders for his arrest. Having been told that Mariana sent an armed guard to imprison him in the early weeks of October, a terrified don Juan fled, leaving behind an open letter, in which he launched a scathing critique of her government. Unable to directly challenge Mariana's royal authority, the letter was written as a manifesto against Nithard and called for his dismissal.¹⁰ A gifted writer and agitator, don Juan's letter inaugurated a pamphlet campaign, sending the court into months of confusion. Reports that Louis XIV was making dispositions to help don Juan with an army to sow discord in Mariana's court sealed Nithard's fate. On February 24, 1669, Mariana issued a royal decree giving her confessor "license to retire," put into effect immediately.¹¹ These are the years and the traumatic event that are the main focus of the *memorias*. Indeed, the inventory attached to the papers Nithard sent to Madrid identifies don Juan's letter-manifesto as "the principal object [of the Historical Account]."¹²

A prolific writer and thoroughly familiar with the genre, Nithard surely had clear ideas in mind when he set out to write his *relación* or account.¹³ *Relaciones* like Nithard's usually focused on recent histories. Some of these are well-known, such as Luis Cabrera de Córdoba's "Relaciones de las cosas sucedidas en la corte de España desde 1599 hasta 1614," or Fray Bartolomé de las Casas's "Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias."¹⁴ *Relaciones* could be focused on more discreet events, such as a royal journey, an execution, a fire, or a procession. Their popularity can be seen in the thousands of extant *relaciones* in the manuscript section of the Biblioteca Nacional de España, private nobility archives, and libraries. In making it a "*Relación histórica*," Nithard signaled his intention to circulate or publish the account. This is confirmed in the notes and the "Inventory of what Cardinal Nithard sent from Rome," that accompanied the papers that are now part of the first volume in the only extant and original copy of the long manuscript. He sent all the papers to a "friend" (*amigo*), who is not identified by name, confirming the remittance of

the drafts (*instrumentos originales*) and the nine bounded volumes (*nueve tomos cosidos*).¹⁵ Some of the *cuadernos* “did not miss anything,” the note says, although it was necessary to “go through the rest of the papers to see what could be used and what should be discarded.”¹⁶ Some of the volumes were marked as clean (*estan limpios*), but others “need to be seen” (*necesitan verse*).¹⁷ Series of blank pages can be found in some of the volumes, indicating that space had been reserved to make additions.

Nithard’s “Historical Account” was part of popular media (aside from *relaciones*) that *madrileños* eagerly consumed on a daily basis—*gacetas* (gazettes), *hojas volantes* (flyers), *avisos* (notices or warnings), *hojas de noticias* (news), *novedades* (news), and *copias de carta* (copies of letters).¹⁸ At the same time, the events described in Nithard’s “Historical Account” greatly contributed to what Antonio Maravall described as the height of the “mass culture” of the baroque in his seminal study of the period.¹⁹ Nithard had not been the only royal confessor enmeshed in controversy, but the amount of papers that circulated puts it in a distinct category.²⁰ Héloïse Hermant identifies the pamphlet campaign don Juan started against Nithard as critical in the emergence and development of public opinion.²¹ Although written a decade later, Nithard’s memorias can be considered the continuation of the war of words that he had lost in 1669, clearly identified in the title. The “Historical account about the disturbances and persecutions don Juan of Austria and his allies promoted against Father Everard Nithard of the Jesuit Order” was thus both a collection of and commentary on the writings that formed the “campaign of opinion” against him.²² Although Nithard’s text falls within a well-established genre of news or recent historical accounts, there is little doubt that the text was conceived with the purpose of re-writing (or righting) what the author/editor conceived as his unfair persecution.

FASHIONING HIS TRUTH

Nithard assembled and strategically grouped the position papers, copies of letters, and pamphlets about him as well as royal decrees, opinions recorded in the councils of juntas in which Nithard was a member. Many of these writings already existed—some he had written himself during the actual events—while others he wrote ten years later. The text achieves coherence through the very act of assembling and grouping these documents, but also writing introductions, adding supporting documents, and writing commentaries. Nithard was both editor and writer and

planned the structure of the “Historical Account” carefully. As the Organizational Chart indicates, the twenty-four *libros* (bounded paper into notebooks), which were organized thematically, forming a total of nine *tomos* (volumes), focus overwhelmingly on the events that culminated in his expulsion.²³

Organizational Chart of Nithard’s “Relación histórica”.

| <i>Topic</i> | <i>Dates and time elapsed in the narrative</i> | <i>Ms/Book</i> | <i>Folios</i> | <i>Number of folio pages</i> |
|---|--|----------------|---------------|------------------------------|
| Introduction: inventory, dedication, biographical information, and historical background until death of Philip IV | 1607–September 1665 | 8344/1 | 1r–54r | 108 |
| Nithard’s rise to counselor of State in juxtaposition to don Juan’s maneuvers | 17 September 1665–July 1666 | 8344/2 | 64r–153r | 178 |
| Nithard’s rise to Inquisitor General in juxtaposition to don Juan’s plans (when Nithard was helping him) | July 1666–February 1667 | 8344/3 | 155r–286v | 262 |
| Narrative of events that led to don Juan moving to Madrid | 16 February 1667–14 June 1667 | 8345/4 | 1r–52r | 104 |
| From don Juan’s entrance to the Council of State to appointment of Governorship of the Spanish Netherlands | 15 June 1667–March 1668 | 8345/5 | 59r–96r | 74 |
| From execution of Malladas to Mariana’s order to don Juan to retire to the city of Consuegra | March 1668–October 1668 | 8345/6 | 99r–184r | 170 |

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| <i>Topic</i> | <i>Dates and time elapsed in the narrative</i> | <i>Ms/Book</i> | <i>Folios</i> | <i>Number of folio pages</i> |
|---|--|----------------|--|------------------------------|
| The "Famous Letter" | 21 October 1668– | 8346/7 | 1r–273r | 546 |
| Papers in favor of don Juan | Fall and winter 1668 | 8347/8 | 1r–216r | 432 |
| Don Juan's escape and campaign against Nithard | Fall and winter 1668 | 8348/9 | 1r–34r | 68 |
| Copies of letters don Juan sent to ministers in Madrid | Fall and winter 1668 | 8348/10 | 35r–59v | 48 |
| Copies of circular letters by don Juan | 14–17 November 1668 | 8348/11 | 60r–95r | 70 |
| Nithard's response to don Juan's letter | October–November 1668 | 8348/12 | 96r–179r Printed documents (181r–201r.) | 166 |
| More letters and council consultations debating whether to meet don Juan's demands and expel Nithard | December 1668 | 8349/13 | 1r–56r | 112 |
| Decision against Nithard | January 1669 | 8349/14 | 56v–105v | 98 |
| Vote of the Council of Aragon in favor of expulsion; Mariana prohibits Nithard to attend council meetings | February 1669 | 8349/15 | 106r–145v | 78 |
| Don Juan's whereabouts during his escape in the Kingdom of Aragon | December 1668–January 1669 | 8349/16 | 146r–183r | 74 |
| Don Juan's march to Madrid; Nithard additional declarations of innocence | 22 January 1669–February 1669 | 8349/17 | 186r–236r | 100 |

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(continued)

| <i>Topic</i> | <i>Dates and time elapsed in the narrative</i> | <i>Ms/Book</i> | <i>Folios</i> | <i>Number of folio pages</i> |
|--|--|--|---------------|------------------------------|
| The court at the verge of civil war and Nithard's exit from Madrid | February 1669 | 8349/18 | 237r–280r | 86 |
| Nithard's written responses to don Juan's accusations | 22 February 1669 | 8350/19 With editing notes in parts of the manuscript | 1r–266 | 532 |
| From Madrid to Rome | 25 February 1669–March 1669 | 8351/20 | 1r–48v | 96 |
| Don Juan's behavior in the aftermath of the expulsion | 25 February 1669–March 1669 | 8351/21 | 49r–165v | 232 |
| Don Juan's entering Aragon as Viceroy | March 1669 | 8351/22 | 166r–283r | 234 |
| Nithard in Rome; resignation to post of Inquisitor General | April–October 1669 | 8352/23 | 1–101r | 202 |
| Nithard does not get post of Ordinary Ambassador | Fall 1669 | 8352/24 | 110r–283r | 346 |

The first Book establishes the distinct path of each of the protagonists in terms of birth, education, and trajectory during the last years of Philip IV's reign.²⁴ Besides establishing his impeccable religious and scholarly credentials as an exemplary Jesuit, Nithard served “sensibly,” and with “modesty, religiosity, and seriousness” as Queen Mariana's confessor.²⁵ Don Juan, on the other hand, was the exact opposite. “While all past centuries have been fertile in producing monsters and monstrosities, which abound in all kinds of histories, much more can be said of these, our present times,” the first sentence in the Preface begins. It immediately reveals the villain of his story: “We refer to one that saw the light on April 6, 1629, born of an actress, known as La Calderona, and the father (it is said) king, but in reality, of an inferior, if well-known figure.”²⁶ Everyone

in Madrid would have known this is don Juan, even before his name was revealed. Not only had don Juan become “a disrepute to the world,” but had incurred the king’s dislike as a result of his military losses in Portugal and unreasonable demands for recognitions.²⁷ Philip IV’s preference to have Nithard rather than don Juan at his death-bed emphasizes the moral contrast between the men, while getting the narrative to the beginning of Mariana’s regency.²⁸

An overview of the space allocated to each section of the story is important to understand how the “Historical Account” was supposed to inform and sway the reader into fully apprehending Nithard’s innocence and don Juan’s guilt. The concise introduction (108 pages) to set up the contrast between the two men follows with a setup (896 pages) of the events and people that contributed to Nithard’s tragedy. Books 2 to 6 are organized around don Juan’s whereabouts and maneuvers to become part of the Regency government.²⁹ Nithard constructed a neat chronological organization, supporting the narrative with an interminable list of all of don Juan’s requests to the Imperial Ambassador and to Nithard to intervene with the queen on his behalf to obtain a permanent political role. We learn of don Juan’s leaving his residence outside of Madrid against the queen’s orders, first to Guadalajara (Book 2),³⁰ then to Madrid (Book 3),³¹ his maneuvers to attend Council of State meetings (Book 4),³² and his delaying tactics when ordered to Brussels (Book 5).³³ He gives himself an important place in the narrative, contrasting don Juan’s unbridled ambition to his virtue and accumulation of offices, first as councilor of State and then as Inquisitor General, his crowning achievement despite his protestations that he did not want it. As it is known, this office gave him a position in the Junta de Gobierno or Regency Council.³⁴ Book 6 discusses the events leading to the open letter, including don Juan’s refusing the governorship, and the summary execution of the Aragonese man, Joseph Malladas, that don Juan had supposedly hired to poison Nithard.³⁵

If all roads lead to Rome, the entire corpus of the “Historical Account” leads to don Juan’s letter-manifesto against Nithard. Books 7–21 (2,432 pages) spread over six of the nine volumes begin from the day of the letter on October 21, 1668, and end February 24, 1669, with Nithard’s expulsion. With a marked slowing down of the narrative, Nithard begins a meticulous analysis of don Juan’s charges that reproduced and expanded the war of words that took place in those months. He dedicates Books 7 and 8 (each taking up a full volume) to the letter and position papers

in support and against the accusations, including the one he wrote in 1668.³⁶ Books 9–18 analyze don Juan's letters written during his escape through the Kingdom of Aragon to ministers of the Junta de Gobierno and their individual responses.³⁷ Don Juan's march to Madrid as part of his threat to remove Nithard by force (Book 19), where we learn in excruciating detail Nithard's increasing isolation, takes up an entire volume as well.³⁸ The two letters don Juan wrote from the outskirts of Madrid on February 22, threatening to enter the city and forcibly remove the confessor, anticipate the climax of the story (Book 20).³⁹ This Book ends with Nithard's accepting his fate with Christian resignation, casting the expulsion as martyrdom. Nithard threw himself on his knees and offered the queen his resignation, likening his ordeal to that of Jonah's.⁴⁰ Once back in the Inquisitor's palace and as the dreaded royal decree arrived, he astonished witnesses with his exemplary demeanor. Accepting his fate with the utmost resignation, he displayed disregard for his welfare and had to be urged to take care of his person and belongings in anticipation of the long journey ahead. His servants later found in his "poor bed," "instruments of mortification" that provided additional evidence of his exceptional piety.⁴¹

The "Historical Account" resolves the main conflict following the two protagonists into the aftermath of the crisis (1,014 pages). Books 21 and 22 focus on don Juan, recounting "the additional plots he concocted against the confessor and others" and his "proceedings as governor of the Kingdom of Aragon."⁴² The last volume discusses the maneuvers that forced Nithard to resign the post of Inquisitor General and "to conclude the [Historical Account]," the "additional violence Royal Ministers carried out against the person of the Father Confessor."⁴³ The "violence" refers to the regency government's refusal to appoint him ordinary ambassador in Rome, a post that was permanent and more prestigious than the post of extraordinary ambassador, which he eventually obtained. It is then highly significant that the ending point of the "Historical Account" was the "violence" he was subjected to, instead of, for example, his elevation to a cardinalate (in 1672), another deliberate choice that highlights the desire to convey his sufferings.

The entire writing enterprise reveals Nithard's nearly obsessive and painstaking quest to deal with the traumatic experience caused by the expulsion. Words like "infamy" (*infamia*), "dishonor" (*deshonor*), "disrepute" (*descrédito*), "exile" (*desterrarme*), and "disgraceful departure"

(*ignominiosa salida de la corte*) recall his deep sense of injustice, a sentiment consistently conveyed throughout the text. Since Nithard spend the bulk of his narrative discussing the precedents and the consequences of don Juan's letter-manifesto—the source of his disgrace—taking such pains to analyzing it, responding to it, and collecting documents that one way or another related to it, what was it about the letter that Nithard objected?

FASHIONING THE SELF

Don Juan's accusation of tyranny implied that Nithard was Mariana's *valido* or favorite/prime minister and, because of this position, able to exercise overt control of the government. While the pain and humiliation of the expulsion were a core preoccupation as discussed in the previous pages, the actual accusation of corruption (i.e., accumulating wealth that belonged to the monarchy) and/or seeking power (i.e., dominating the court and the ruler) as *validos* have been perceived to act troubled him deeply as well. On the one hand, the *memorias* abundantly document the dignities and appointments Nithard gained through Mariana's patronage and seek to show the unfairness of his dismissal from these positions. On the other hand, the voluminous text reveals Nithard's obsessive quest for proving that he actually never had the role of *valido*.

Relying on a variety of authorial strategies, including writing about himself in the third-person, Nithard privileged his religious, scholarly, and moral virtues. "The Father Confessor" was born to an "illustrious German noble family" on December 8, a key date that alludes to the foundational Jesuit (and Habsburg) belief in the Immaculate Conception of Mary.⁴⁵ After the Imperial Army saved him at the ninth hour from being executed at the hands of Protestants, he dedicated his life to religion as a young man, taking up the Jesuit habit at twenty-two.⁴⁶ His scholarly credentials also met the Jesuit's high standards: he studied at the University of Graz, completing degrees in Philosophy, Theology, and Canon Law in two years (not the usual six), he tells us. All his writings display fluency in Latin and deep familiarity with Canon Law, an expertise that was evident in his ability to finish extensive and well-learned pieces of writing in relatively short periods of time.⁴⁷ The Jesuit vows of poverty and humility drive the presentation of the self as well. He ate only sixteen ounces of food every day and preferred water rather than wine. Occasionally, he admitted, he drank chocolate. His "abstinence served him well not just to practice the mortification [of the flesh], but also to

keep his mind alert to deal with so many and such grave matters.”⁴⁸ He “lived detached from worldly concerns” and made constant references to his dislike for dignities.⁴⁹ Nithard’s “sanctity and prudence” (*santidad y prudencia*) were clear for all to see, he wrote.⁵⁰ Judging by the extent of discussion in the “Historical Account,” he clearly cherished the honor of becoming Inquisitor General and felt deeply the humiliation of having to renounce it while in Rome. Nevertheless, when he moved into the residence allocated for the Inquisitor General in Madrid, he described himself as “someone who waited for his death instead of hoping for his conservation.”⁵¹

Nithard’s adherence to Jesuit ideals surely contributed to his self-fashioning into a wise, detached, and benevolent figure in the regency government. “Either because of his virtue or his natural inclination,” Nithard wrote about himself, “he was so benign that nothing offended him, so modest that nothing affected him, so suffering that nothing perturbed his demeanor, and so constant in the face of adversity that he appeared unfeeling.”⁵² One of the most consistent themes in the “Historical Account” is his presentation of the self as being sought after for counsel but uncommitted to the fray of court politics. This could be observed in the Council of State deliberations,⁵³ but also in the *memorias*. For example, the execution of Malladas outraged his colleagues and was the flame that ignited the conflict between the queen and don Juan. He defended the queen’s legal right to execute the man with a lengthy juridical argument based on Canon Law and political theory in the “Historical Account.”⁵⁴ Yet, when relating the outrage of his colleagues in the Junta de Gobierno about the execution, Nithard admitted that he judged it “more convenient to not oppose them with arguments and persuasions until the scandal diminished on its own.”⁵⁵ During the debate when the Junta de Gobierno “voted” whether or not don Juan should be allowed to attend Council of State meetings, Nithard abstained. The Father Confessor “did the right thing in not voting” as “required by the nature of his position, ministry, and profession.”⁵⁶ His ambivalence to assuming a political position came through, therefore, in word as well as deed.

How did Nithard envision his role in the regency government? Although he evidently valued his privileged position in Mariana’s court and then as representative of Spain in the Papal court, Nithard appeared conflicted about his political role. He seemed to desire the kind of ministry as confessor and official member of Mariana’s regime that did

not violate the principles of his order, emphasizing scholarly credentials as a theologian and limiting “meddling” in state matters.⁵⁷ One of the most interesting pieces of writing where he worked out the accusation of tyranny goes in depth on the notion of what a *valido* is, and his argument goes hand-in-hand with current scholarly understandings of the position in the Spanish court.⁵⁸ This is one of the many individual pieces that ended up in the volumes of notes, and since his writings in the *borradores* are generally less formal, this one is specially useful as well because he used the first person and addressed Mariana as his interlocutor. His goal in this piece was to refute “don Juan’s principal accusation that I was the Prime Minister, *valido* of Your Majesty.”⁵⁹ He explains that other than the Junta de Teólogos that Mariana asked him to preside over, he never hosted juntas or council meetings in his house, as *validos* have usually done.⁶⁰ He never had a meeting with her to discuss political reports *a boca* (orally) as *validos* frequently did and that the main royal secretary was the one who did.⁶¹ Control of the royal coffers was out of the scope of his responsibility and he cites the fact that he had neither the Presidency of the Council of Finance, nor was he in charge of the distribution of royal grants and favors either, the cornerstone of a *valido*’s purpose.⁶² In Nithard’s own words, “I never had any inclination [to the position of *valido*] for the difficulty that it entails, the intolerable weight that it poses even to the strongest, and not the least as a result of my religious position and natural religious introspection.”⁶³ Here, we see a person very much aware of the political role in the traditional style of a *valido*, but rejecting it.

Nithard’s portrait as cardinal provides additional insights about his competing identities and is worth considering in light of his *memorias* (see Fig. 6.1). The inscription located in the bottom right of the canvas confirms the sitter’s identity, the date of the painting (1674), his membership in the Jesuit order as well as his roles as Queen Mariana’s Confessor and Spain’s Inquisitor General.⁶⁴ Art historian Natividad Galindo relates the composition to a well-established typology for cardinals, accounting for the specific symbols attached to the sitter.⁶⁵

Scholars have not noted, surprisingly, the similarity in the composition of Nithard’s portrait to those of Mariana as governor, of which many copies survive (see Fig. 6.2). Both are caught in the act of writing, emphasized in both portraits with the addition of multiple details on the desk they are using. Given the charges that Nithard was Mariana’s *valido*, these similarities could be critical to understand the confessor’s self-fashioning.



Fig. 6.1 Alonso del Arco, (1635–1704), Cardinal Juan Everardo Nithard, 1674, oil on canvas. Museo del Prado, Madrid, Spain. Inventory P003341 (Photo credit, Museo Nacional del Prado/Art Resource, NY)

As scholars have shown, portraits of the Duke of Lerma and the Count-Duke of Olivares depicted in nearly identical way as Philip III and Philip IV, respectively, were overt forms of self-representation, in their cases, as alter egos of the kings.⁶⁶ It is unclear the extent of Nithard's intervention in the composition of the portrait⁶⁷—if the attribution to Alonso del



Fig. 6.2 Juan Carreño de Miranda (1614–1685), Queen Mariana of Austria as Governor, c. 1675, oil on canvas. Museo de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando. Inventory 640 (Photo credit, Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, Madrid/Art Resource, NY)

Arco is correct, it was painted in Madrid, not in Rome where he was at the time—or whether he commissioned it.⁶⁸ One way or another, unlike Lerma and Olivares, Nithard did not utilize this—or any other—image during his purported *valimiento* to flaunt his position.⁶⁹ The differences between his and the queen's portrait also, like in the *memorias*, indicate the split between the secular and the religious. Mariana's portrait as governor is loaded with political messages.⁷⁰ First and foremost, this was a Spanish Habsburg queen—widow and governor—handling one of the thousand documents that have her signature and executive decisions on a wide range of state matters.⁷¹

The elements in Nithard's portraits all point to his religious and scholarly status. The books in the background and specially the tomes by Thomas Aquinas and Cyril of Jerusalem on the desk point to his station as a theologian. The inclusion of an *Inmaculada* in the upper-left portion of the composition is an unmistakable reference to the sitter's authorship of the theological treatise in defense of the dogma.⁷² Finally, he is clearly writing a book, not handling a document. The portrait, as the entire corpus of the *memorias*, indicates Nithard's desire to have it both ways: to enjoy the perquisites of the dignities he gained from Mariana's patronage, without getting too involved in state matters. In the treatment of the most important relationship of his life and career, Nithard's quest becomes most evident.

SILENCES, DISTORTIONS, AND APPROPRIATIONS

As a Jesuit confessor to the queen of Spain, Nithard occupied a traditional role of influence.⁷³ When Mariana became head of state, however, Nithard's position acquired additional political significance—perhaps unprecedented for a Jesuit⁷⁴—even before either one of them decided what role he would be allowed to, invited to, or, as the *memorias* indicate, be willing to play in her political regime. Nithard's treatment reserved for don Juan—the villain—and himself—the saint—are stable throughout the text, but not so with Mariana. Despite Mariana's centrality in his career and as the source of authority and power at court, she appears as a moving target in the text. One of the proclaimed purposes, stated in the second part of the title of the “Historical Account,” was to prove that don Juan's persecution of Nithard was deployed as a political attack “against the Queen Governor.” The political matters that dominated the court are

completely subordinated, however, to the events that are only relevant to the genesis of don Juan's letter-manifesto against Nithard.

Mariana's authority and historical reputation do not concern Nithard at all. An analysis of the role Mariana plays in his narrative also points to the main concern of the author: his self. Nithard exalts and disempowers Mariana based on the needs of his narrative. In his extended juridico-political justification for the infamous execution of Malladas, for example, he maintains his innocence by affirming that he had nothing to do with it and by defending her "legitimate" prerogative to order it in a point-by-point exposition. Nithard affirms that she had the authority given by the "king's testament" and that she was not even required to account to the "Republic (i.e., the Spanish monarchy) and the people." "Everyone should assume," he continues, "that she must have had her well-founded reasons to order the execution."⁷⁵ A few pages later, he argues that ministers had the obligation to obey the queen more so than if the king would have ordered it, "because kings make themselves to be feared, while queens lacked that privilege."⁷⁶ Her kaleidoscopic power is also denoted with catch phrases: the "party" (faction) of the queen is mentioned frequently, but without regard to the implications (she is demoted to being another member of the court), only as a means to strengthen his position. To be against the "queen's party" was to be against the confessor.

Nithard appropriated demonstrations of reverence and loyalty to Mariana for him and his cause. One of the volumes of the *borradores* has a collection of papers where he worked out the "testimonies of my innocence," where we can see this dynamic at work perfectly. For example, when the city of Madrid offered an army to Mariana to deal with don Juan's disobedience as a show of loyalty, Nithard interpreted it as a "clear testimony of *my* innocence."⁷⁷ Likewise, cities and localities in the Kingdom of Aragon sent don Juan's letters to Madrid unopened as a clear demonstration to the queen that these places would not even entertain don Juan's propositions. Nithard, again, interpreted this act as evidence of his innocence.⁷⁸ He took similar liberties when discussing what viceroys and governors in the peninsula as well as the Council of State and the Council of Castile did to deal with don Juan's challenge. Considered by all an affront to the queen, Nithard made it about his innocence.⁷⁹ While Nithard did not fabricate evidence, he interpreted it for his convenience.

For Nithard's colleagues in the Junta de Gobierno, don Juan's demands became a political dilemma that went well beyond Nithard. Peñaranda, undoubtedly the most experienced politician in the group, reminded don Juan that "because of the Testament of the King, father of Your Highness, she was not only the Queen but also the King with incontestable power to govern."⁸⁰ Peñaranda reminded don Juan that his demand to Mariana to dismiss Nithard from court was an assault on her sovereignty, but to Nithard, it was another proof of his innocence. "If I were guilty of what don Juan accused me of," Nithard reasons, "The Count [of Peñaranda] should have the obligation to accept don Juan's demand as just and thus support it."⁸¹ Nithard's affirmation distorts Peñaranda's intention: to defend Mariana's royal authority, regardless of Nithard's innocence. This was one of the principles regulating the political culture of Madrid, one that all of Nithard's colleagues adhered to.⁸²

In his eagerness to make a case against don Juan and emphasize the unfairness of his persecution, he misrepresented and exaggerated the nature of the disorders. For example, he wrote that many at court were "terrorizing Her Majesty with threats and disorders; with resistance to her royal decrees, and by publicizing the amount of supporters on don Juan's side."⁸³ This is incorrect. Ministers were ambivalent about taking sides to defend Nithard, but never challenged Mariana's authority. On the contrary, they counseled her to acquiesce to don Juan's demands to protect her regime. Further, it was don Juan who had fled the queen's wrath and was fearful of Mariana. In that same passage, Nithard indicates that there was a plot—a sworn allegiance—that considered kidnapping the king, take over the government from Mariana, who would be sent to a convent, all of it in order "to separate her majesty from the Father Confessor."⁸⁴ Here, he blatantly distorted the truth, using events that took place a decade later to describe what happened in 1668–1669. When Carlos II reached his legal majority on November 6, 1675, a period of disorder followed as the young king was unable to get out from under his mother's influence. In 1676, there was a plot to kidnap the king in order to separate him from his mother, who was seen as having too much control over the young king, which was no longer legal or politically acceptable. This plot took place when Mariana was no longer regent and under the utmost secrecy. The five people at court that plotted the scheme—and don Juan was not one of them—abandoned it as absurd and it never took place.⁸⁵ It would have been unthinkable to plot something like this when Mariana's juridical authority as regent—that is governor of

the monarchy and tutor of the king—was protected by the late king’s testament. In using the difficulties Mariana faced in the post-regency period and projecting them on the events that occurred during the regency—and this is not a small manipulation of the truth—Nithard put himself at the center, without regard for the queen’s image. Her power is only a tool for him to use in the text.

Silences are just as important as the overwhelming amount of information—and distortions—for Nithard to achieve his goals. Most evident is the lack of discussion of the grave political matters of the period. Even though Nithard was not in charge of policy, as a member of the Council of State and the Junta de Gobierno, he had been privy to all that assailed the regency government. These problems were also behind the clash between the queen and don Juan *and* facilitated the latter’s ability to get his demands met: Nithard’s expulsion. As stated in the early part of this essay, the “plot” of the “Historical Account” was built on don Juan’s whereabouts and acts against Nithard. The main goal of the “Historical Account” is to set a wrong right, but this is Nithard’s wrong not the queen’s.

LIFE AND AFTERLIFE OF THE *MEMORIAS*

Nithard started writing in the spring of 1677, when his career had come, once more, to a dead end as a result of the events that led to Mariana’s separation from Carlos and don Juan’s taking over the reins of power as the king’s main advisor.⁸⁶ During the time that took him to write his “Historical Account,” another change of regime, however, was quietly taking place; by the time the *memorias* arrived in Madrid, the mood of the court had noticeably changed. Mariana returned to Madrid during the last days of September 1679 fully restored to her son’s presence. Carlos II had not only reconciled with his mother, but he was about to announce the elevation of the VIII Duke of Medinaceli to the position of prime minister of the monarchy. To complete the changes, the now eighteen-year-old king was marrying the French princess, Marie-Louise of Orleans (r. 1679–1689). The events of the *memorias* were a thing of the past. Since the summer of 1679, the Gazettes and the diplomatic reports and letters describing the court only talked about the king’s marriage and the queen mother’s imminent return to Madrid.⁸⁷ Lack of printed or hand-written copies is further evidence that despite his intention, Nithard’s “Historical Account” had little impact, if any, with his contemporaries.

Nevertheless, Nithard's presentation of events, people, and himself had a tremendous effect in the way subsequent generations of historians interpreted the period. Gabriel Maura y Gamazo, whose classic study continues to be a first stop for students of Carlos II's reign, relied heavily on the text.⁸⁸ Although Maura recognizes Nithard's weaknesses and reticence when it came to political matters, he nevertheless assumed that he was in charge of the government. As Laura Oliván has eloquently argued, notions about women and political power deeply shaped Maura's interpretation.⁸⁹ Yet, like Nithard, Maura mimics the inconsistent treatment of Mariana in the *memorias* and takes her away from the center as well. Other specialists have mined individual portions of the text for a variety of purposes, but no one has seen through Nithard's extensive self-fashioning.⁹⁰ Nithard's testament and other types of evidence support the notion of his innocence in the charges of corruption and undue influence.⁹¹ Scholars are finally understanding that don Juan's letter and subsequent pamphlet campaign helped him avoid the charge of *lèse majesté*, which further supports Nithard's claim that the charges against him were fabricated.⁹² His unmistakable privileged position notwithstanding, when analyzed as an egodocument, the *memorias* support the idea that he was in policy matters, a marginal figure.

Yet, Nithard's *memorias* had tremendous influence on shaping perceptions of the period. This shows in the persistent historiographical tendency to focus exclusively on court politics, obviating the grave matters that actually shaped the conflicts that dominated the court during the early years of the regency. Biographies of don Juan and histories of the period repeat many of Nithard's catch phrases, such as the "party of the queen," demonstrating the pervasive effect of the text. If the *memorias* are to be used for any sort of relevant historical investigation, it is equally, if not even more, critical to understand the genesis of the writing and the author's goals at the time of the writing. We could still use the documents reproduced in the text with surgical precision, without giving up on the critical information about the self Nithard provided. The impact of Nithard's *memorias* on the historiography of the events discussed is a cautionary tale about the importance of remembering that an egodocument such as this one can be used to understand a lot more than one individual. In this case, it helps us challenge and deconstruct—rather than perpetuating—power structures that marginalized some while giving too much agency to others.

NOTES

1. María del Carmen Sáenz Berceo, *Confesionario y poder en la Espana del siglo XVII: Juan Everardo Nithard* (Logroño, Spain: Universidad de la Rioja, 2014), p. 287; Biblioteca Nacional de España, hereafter BNE manuscript, hereafter ms. 8344 folio, hereafter fol. 23 v.
2. All manuscripts that composed the text (BNE ms. 8344 to 8364) can be accessed through the Biblioteca Digital Hispánica: <http://bdh.bne.es/bnesearch/detalle/bdh0000072649>.
3. “Relación histórica de las cosas que han sucedido en España desde el año 1660, acerca de los disturbios y persecuciones movidas por D[on] Juan José de Austria y sus aliados contra el P[adre] Juan Everardo Nidardo de la Compañía de Jesús ... pero debajo de este color y pretexto contra la Reina Gobernadora ... sacada fielmente de las cartas de D[on] Juan y respuestas a ellas.” BNE ms. 8344, fol. 1r. (All translations are mine. I did not modernize the original Spanish text).
4. Antonio Maravall, *Culture of the Baroque: Analysis of a Historical Structure*, Terry Cochran, trans. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1986), 99.
5. Mary Fulbrook and Ulinka Rublack, “In Relation: The ‘Social Self’ and Ego-Documents” *German History* vol. 28, no. 3 (2010): 263–272, 263.
6. The process of writing a memoir has been described by a leading expert in the genre, Mary Karr, as “*always* [having] profound psychological consequence to its author” (her emphasis), *The Art of Memoir* (New York: Harper Collins, 2015), xx.
7. For early modernists, the role of memory and writing has been at the core of understanding identity formation: “It is through memory and narrative, then, that individual’s identity is constituted.” James R. Farr, *Who was William Hickey? A Crafted Life in Georgian England and Imperial India* (New York and London: Routledge, 2019), 6. Equally important is to situate those memories and understandings of the self in specific social and cultural contexts in which the early modern author, as either a conscious or unconscious autobiographer, operated. These can be apprehended in the text, Thomas F. Mayer and D. R. Woolf, *The Rhetorics of Life-Writing in Early Modern Europe: Forms of Biography from*

- Cassandra Fedele to Louis XIV* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1995), 3–5.
8. Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago, 2005), xvi–xvii, quote in 256.
 9. Silvia Z. Mitchell, *Queen, Mother, and Stateswoman: Mariana of Austria and the Government of Spain* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2019), 109–131.
 10. For a transcription and a philological analysis of multiple extant copies, see Anna Vermeulen, *A cuantos leyeren esta carta: Estudio histórico-crítico de la famosa carta de don Juan José de Austria, fechada en Consuegra el 21 de octubre de 1668* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2003). For a translation of the entire letter, see Mitchell, *Queen, Mother, and Stateswoman*, 120.
 11. Mitchell, *Queen, Mother, and Stateswoman*, 127.
 12. “Inventario de los papeles que imbió desde Roma el Cardenal Nidardo.” “Contiene el libro séptimo, que es el principal objeto, las respuestas a la carta escrita por el S[eñ]or Don Juan en Consuegra a 21 de Octubre de 68...” BNE ms. 8344, fols. 6r and 10v.
 13. On his education and writing skills, see below and Mitchell, *Queen, Mother, and Stateswoman*, pp. 125–126. On the written-controversy between don Juan and Nithard, see Héloïse Hermant, *Guerres de plumes: Publicité et cultures politiques dans l’Espagne du XVIIe siècle* (Madrid: Bibliothèque de la Casa de Velázquez, 2012).
 14. *Luis Cabrera de Córdoba, Relaciones de las cosas sucedidas en la corte de España desde 1599 hasta 1614*, Ricardo García Cárcel, ed. (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, Consejería de Educación y Cultura, 1997). Bartolomé de las Casas’ text has been translated into English several times and is commonly used in the classroom.
 15. “Amigo. Remito a V[ue]S[elencia] un legajo de instrumentos originales y nueve tomos cosidos q[ue] contiene la memoria adjunta, que V[ue]S[elencia] acabara de reconocer para ver si están íntegros Y en un legajo van diferentes quadernos q[ue] pueden tocar a los libros cosidos y algunos se debe ver añadir a ver de tocarse como es lo q[ue] paso en Roma al S[eñ]or Car[dena]l con los demás y otros papeles curiosos.” BNE ms. 8344, fol. 5r.

16. “Reconociendo q[ue] en los libros cosidos no falta nada y las materias que contiene; se sigue el trabajo de reconocer todos los demás papeles p[ar]a añadir los útiles y separar los inútiles.” BNE ms. 8344, fol. 5r.
17. “Inventario de lo que envió de Roma el Cardenal Nitardo.” BNE ms. 8344 fols 6r–8r.
18. Ricardo García Cárcel, “Prefacio,” in *Luis Cabrera de Córdoba, Relaciones de las cosas sucedidas en la corte de España desde 1599 hasta 1614*, Ricardo García Cárcel, ed. (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, Consejería de Educación y Cultura, 1997), 9–42, 21.
19. Maravall, *Culture of the Baroque*, 99.
20. Nicole Reinhardt, *Voices of Conscience: Royal Confessors and Political Counsel in Seventeenth-Century Spain and France* (Oxford University Press, 2016), 335–349.
21. Hermant, *Guerres de plumes*.
22. “Relación histórica de las cosas que han sucedido en España desde el año 1660, acerca de los disturbios y persecuciones movidas por D. Juan José de Austria y sus aliados contra el P. Juan Everardo Nidardo de la Compañía de Jesús ... pero debajo de este color y pretexto contra la Reina Gobernadora ... sacada fielmente de las cartas de D. Juan y respuestas a ellas.” BNE ms. 8344, fol. 1r.
23. In this case, “libro” refers to bound pieces of paper as in a *cuaderno* or notebook; see Sebastián de Cobarrubias Orozco, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o Española*, 2nd ed., Felipe C. R. Maldonado, ed. (Madrid: Editorial Castalia, 1995), 715.
24. “En que se refiere el origen y procedimientos del S[eño]r Don Juan y P[adr]e Nidardo hasta el día del fallecimiento del Rey Ph[elip]e 4^o” BNE ms. 8344, fol. 10r.
25. “Con su santa y laudable educación...[sirvió] con modestia, cordura, religión, y gravedad de costumbre.” BNE ms. 8344, fols. 50v–51r.
26. “Si bien todos los siglos pasados han sido muy fertiles y fecundos en producir diversos géneros, y especies de monstruos y monstruosidades, de que están llenas las historias, mucho más parece lo ha sido y es el presente en que vivimos: y dejando aparte otros casi innumerables q[ue] se han visto y experimentado, referimos solo uno de tantos que salió a luz a 6 de Abril de 1629, nacido de Madre Farsanta llamada, la Calderona, y de Padre (según la imputación) Rey pero a la verdad de otro de inferior espera no

- conocido, si bien señalado con el dedo y delineado en las facciones genio y costumbre de su hijo.” BNE ms. 8344, fol. 19r.
27. “[Don Juan fue] un descrédito a los ojos del mundo.” BNE ms. 8344, fol. 27r.
28. “más quisiera [yo] tener a la hora de mi muerte a mi cabeza, al P[adr]e Juan Eberardo Nitardo que al S[eño]r don Juan de Austria.” BNE ms. 8344, fol. 54r.
29. BNE ms. 8344, fol. 64r to ms. 8345, fol. 184r.
30. “En que se refiere lo que paso entre los dos después de la muerte de Ph[elip]e 4^o hasta el mes de Julio de 1666, en que su Alteza, desde Consuegra paso a la Ziudad de Gudadalaxara.” BNE ms. 8344, fols. 64r-153r.
31. “En que se refiere lo que el S[eño]r Don Juan por si y sus Aliados maquino y obro estando en Guadalaxara hasta haverse venido a Madrid repentinamente y sin licencia por el mes de Abril de 1667.” BNE ms. 8344, fols. 155r–286v.
32. “En que se refiere lo que paso desde el 16 de febrero de 1667 hasta 15 de junio del mismo año en que entró en el Consejo de Estado.” BNE ms. 8345, fols. 1r–52r.
33. “En que se refiere lo que obro el S[eño]r Don Juan desde el 15 de Junio de 67 hasta fin de Marzo de 1668 quando partió de Madrid para encaminarse a la Coruña y de allí a Flandes.” BNE ms. 8345, fols. 59r–96r.
34. For his appointment as Councilor of State, BNE ms. 8344, fols. 100r–101r., for the Inquisitor General, 169v–199v. Pope Alexander VII's letter ordering him to accept the position is duly reproduced in its original Latin and with Spanish translation, fols. 219r–233v.
35. “de lo que obro desde el fin de Marzo de 68 hasta haverse despedido de su viaje a Flandes y su M[a]g[esta]d. Mandado, se volviese a Consuegra hasta otra orden, y acaba con una carta del S[eño]r Don Juan de 25 de Junio de 68 sobre el Garrote de Malladas.” BNE ms. 8345, fols. 99r–184r.
36. “Contiene el libro séptimo, que es el principal objeto, las respuestas a la carta escrita por el S[eño]r Don Juan en Consuegra a 21 de Octubre de 68...” BNE ms. 8346, fols. 1r–273r. “En que se refieren los papeles que salieron en defensa de la carta de 21 de octubre de 1668 y otros, en contrario, y en primer lugar un papel del s[eño]r Don Juan...” BNE ms. 8347, fols. 1r–216r.

37. BNE ms. 8348, fols. 1r-201r. and ms. 8349, fols. 1r-280r.
38. "...hasta haver llegado al lugar de Zinquenta leguas de la Corte..." BNE ms. 8350, fols. 1r-266r.
39. "Hasta haver llegado al lugar de Zinquenta leguas de la Corte, desde donde escribió otras dos cartas a Su M[a]g[esta]d en 22 de Febrero que se referiran en el libro siguiente con las respuestas que se dieron a ellas." BNE ms. 8350, fols. 1r-266r. and 8351, fols. 1r-48v.
40. "que yo, remordido de mi mala conciencia, trataba de huir el castigo merecido por tales excesos con que padeciera enormemente la reputación y el crédito de mi persona y puestos" BNE ms. 8351, fol. 4r. "si Su M[a]g[esta]d tiene por su mayor servicio... y el que yo (como Jonas) sea hechado al mar..." BNE ms. 8351, fol. 4v. Note shift to the first person, a slip that was not infrequent throughout.
41. "para hacer sus religiosas penitencias... como lo testificaron los instrumentos de su mortificación, que al tiempo de su partida, hallaron sus criados, entre la ropa de su pobre cama." BNE ms. 8345, fol. 92v.
42. "En que se refiere lo que el S[eño]r Don Juan obro en Castilla después de la salida del Inquisidor General...refiriendo movimientos y atentados que urdió el Sr. Don Juan contra el Confesor de la Reyna y otras personas." BNE ms. 8351 49r-165v. "En que se refieren los procedimientos del S[eño]r Don Juan desde el dia que entro en Aragon como Virrey de Aragón y Vicario General ad honorem..." BNE ms. 8351, fols. 166r-283r. These two Books are noted incomplete in the inventory, Book 21 lacks an introduction and 22 still in draft form. BNE ms. 8344, fol. 12v.
43. "Tomo no[ve]no. Contiene el lib[ro] 23 en que se refiere lo que pasó al P[adr]e Confesor en Roma, acerca de la renunciación del puesto de Inquisidor General de España y acaba concluyendo el libro, donde paso al 24 en que se verá otra violencia q[ue] los ministros R[eale]s executaron en la persona y honra del P[adr]e Confesor." BNE ms. 8352, fols. 1r-283r.
44. These examples were taken from BNE ms. 8350, fol. 239v. and ms. 8351, fol. 15v., but similar sentiments can be found possibly in every volume.
45. See below for a discussion about Nithard's theological disquisition defending the dogma. The Jesuits and the Habsburgs were staunch

- supporters as well. See, Anna Coreth, *Pietas Austriaca*. William D. Bowman and Anna Maria Leitgeb, trans. (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2004), 52.
46. BNE ms. 8344, fols. 48r–57v.
 47. Mitchell, *Queen, Mother, and Stateswoman*, 125–126.
 48. “abstinencia que no solo le servía de mortificación, sino de medicina, para tener despejada la cabeza para tantos y tan graves negocios.” BNE ms. 8345, fol. 91v.
 49. “vivió descarnado del mundo... con modestia, cordura, religión, y gravedad de costumbre.” BNE ms. 8344, fol. 51r.
 50. BNE ms. 8345, fol. 61v.
 51. “Desde que se mudó a la casa del Inquisidor General... mas era quien cada día esperaba la muerte de quien anhelaba su conservación.” BNE ms. 8345, fol. 91v.
 52. “Era el Padre Eberardo, o por virtud, o por naturaleza tan benigno que nada le indignaba, tan modesto, que nada le descomponía; tan sufrido, que nada le perturbaba su ánimo, y tan constante en las adversidades que nada ya parecía insensible.” BNE ms. 8345, fol. 91v.
 53. See, for example, Nithard’s vote on the peace of Portugal. A draft of his opinion with 162 points of argument and counterargument based on canon law and scripture, including plenty of quotations in Latin and translations in BNE ms. 22,086(1). The final version, supposedly given to the queen, who requested individual votes from state councilors, expanded to 265 points. Archivo General de Simancas, Estado, legajo 2538.
 54. BNE ms. 8345, fols. 99r–184r.
 55. “La irritación y encono conque el Conde de Peñaranda y el Marqués [de Aytona] hablaban sobre esta materia, y reconociendo que por entonces no estaban capaces de admitir la razón; juzgó [el Padre Confesor] que era lo mas conveniente, no oponerse a ellos con muchos argumentos y persuasiones hasta que passase la borrasca y se sosiege...” BNE ms. 8345, fol. 140r.
 56. “Hizo bien en no votar como pide la obligación de sus puestos, ministerio, y profesión.” BNE ms. 8345, fol. 17r.
 57. Experts agree on the role of theology as fundamental aspect of the order. See, Harro Höpfl, *Jesuit Political Thought: The Society of Jesus and the State, c. 1540–1630* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 2, 168, 181, and chapter 8, 164–185; in Spain,

- theology was considered the best weapon against Protestantism, Julian J. Lozano Navarro, *La compañía de Jesús y el poder en la España de los Austrias* (Madrid: Cátedra, 2005), 380.
58. John H. Elliott and L. W. B. Brockliss, eds. *The World of the Favourite* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999); John H. Elliott, *The Count-Duke of Olivares: The Statesman in an Age of Decline* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986); Antonio Feros, *Kingship and Favoritism in the Spain of Philip III of Spain, 1598–1621* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); and Francisco Tomás y Valiente, *Los validos en la monarquía española del siglo XVI. Estudio Institucional* (Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1982).
 59. The notes are part of a larger portion where he works out all of don Juan's accusations, this one being the first: "Cargo Primero. Este es el principal de los que me haze el S[eño]r. Don Juan constitúyeme primer ministro, valido de V. M[a]g[esta]d." BNE ms. 8355, fol. 33v.
 60. BNE ms. 8355, fol. 36r.
 61. BNE ms. 8355, fol. 37r.
 62. BNE ms. 8355, fol. 36v.
 63. "Jamás tuve a ella alguna inclinazion por la grave dificultad que consigo trae, por el peso de ella intolerable a los mas crecidos tanto por el estado de mi personal y natural encogimiento." BNE ms. 8355, fol. 33v.
 64. "D. D. Joan. Everard, Nidard, Societ. HIS/ ex Germano Hispan', Marianae/Austriacae Hisp. Raginae A Conf = ".
 65. Natividad Galindo, "El cardenal Juan Everardo Nithard (1674). Alonso del Arco," *El retrato español en el Prado: del Greco a Goya*, Leticia Ruíz Gómez, ed. (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 2006), 126.
 66. On the Duke of Lerma and Philip III, see Feros, *Kingship and Favoritism*, chapter 5, "in his image and likeness," 91–109. On the Count-Duke of Olivares and Philip IV, see Museo Nacional del Prado, *El Palacio del Rey Planeta: Felipe IV y el Buen Retiro* (Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, 2005), 80.
 67. The earliest provenance of the portrait dates to the nineteenth century. It was part of the collection in the Museo de la Trinidad and became part of the Patrimonio Nacional in 1836, entering the Museo del Prado collection, see Biblioteca del Museo del Prado, *Inventario general de Pintura, Museo de la Trinidad*, Pintura 488,

- pp. 500–501. According to Galindo, it may have been commissioned by the Jesuit Imperial College of Madrid, Galindo, “El cardenal Juan Everardo Nithard (1674),” p. 126. I sought information on the provenance of the portrait but without positive results; I would like to thank Leticia Ruíz, archivist of the Museo de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, for her valuable assistance.
68. The attribution by Natividad Galindo, “Presencia de Alonso del Arco en los fondos del Museo del Prado,” *Boletín del Museo del Prado*, IV, 1983, 111–114.
 69. Jonathan Brown, “Peut-on Assez Louer Cet Excellent Ministre? Imagery of the Favourite in England, France and Spain,” in *The World of the Favorite*, John Elliott and Brockliss, eds. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), 223–235.
 70. See, Mercedes Llorente, “Imagen y autoridad en una regencia: los retratos de Mariana de Austria y los límites del poder,” *Studia Histórica. Historia Moderna* vol. 28 (2006): 211–238.
 71. Mitchell, *Queen, Mother, and Stateswoman*, 9, 50–51, 135.
 72. He mentions it in BNE ms. 8344, fol. 52v. A printed version was published posthumously and anonymously in Antwerp in 1682. *Examen Theologicum quatuor propositionum quorund auctor anonymorum quibus aspergunt maculam cultui festo & De immaculata conceptione SS. Dei Matris Virginis: Necnon Constitutioni S. D. N. Alexandri VII & Decembri 1661: Prefigitur Corolla Virginea & Hugone Sifilino* (Antwerp, 1682). On the popularity of the genre in Spain, see, specially, Suzanne L. Stratton, *The Immaculate Conception in Spanish Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).
 73. See, for example, the important political role of Richard Haller, confessor of Queen Margarita of Austria (r. 1598–1611); Magdalena S. Sánchez, *The Empress, the Queen, and the Nun: Women and Power at the Court of Philip III of Spain* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998).
 74. Rafaella Pilo, *Juan Everardo Nithard y sus causas no causas. Razones y pretextos para el fin de un valimiento* (Madrid: Silex, 2010).
 75. “Su magestad tiene la misma autoridad y potestad que el Rey difunto tubo, y se la tiene comunicada por diferentes clausulas de su Real Testamento.” “Tampoco está obligada a dar satisfacción a la Republica y Pueblo, pues este debe presumir que S[u] Mag[esta]d ha obrado con toda justificación y tenido motivos

- bastantes y relevantes y tales qual que no conviene publicarlos.” BNE ms. 8345, fol. 157r.
76. “porque los Reyes de suyo se hacen temer, y reverenciar, y son raros los que se les atreben privilegio de que carecen ordinariamente las Reynas, por su retiro, y poca comunicación.” BNE ms. 8345, fol. 159v.
77. BNE ms. 8362, fols. 70v–72r.
78. BNE ms. 8362, fols. 41r–42r.
79. There are multiple “Testimonios de mi inocencia” organized by institutions, including the Council of Castile, the city of Madrid, the Council of State, and the Junta de Gobierno BNE ms. 8362, fols. 40r–78r. and fols. 195r–198r.
80. “Que la Reyna n[uest]ra S[eño]ra en virtud del testamento del Rey n[uest]ro S[eño]r (que Dios aya) no es oy solamente Reyna, sino también Rey, con tan plena facultad para gobernar, Reynar, y mandar en todos sus reynos y dominios, como residía en la personal del Rey.” BNE ms. 8362, fol. 52r.
81. “porque si esto es asi (como se debe creer) y que yo fuesse Reo y culpado en lo que el Señor Don Juan me imputa debía el Conde en virtud de esta protesta y cumplimiento de sus obligaciones... que su pretensión era justa y que devia proserguirla y que le asistiría en todo para conseguirla.” BNE ms. 8345, fols. 51r–51v.
82. The dictum, “obedezco pero no cumpro,” (“I obey but do not comply”) is ideal to illustrate the dual principle of veneration to royal power, but political rights by citizens and ministers. John H. Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America, 1492–1830* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 131.
83. “Atterrorizaban a Su Mag[esta]d, con amenazas de alborotos, y de resistencia a su reales resoluciones; daban a entender y publicaban, que habría muchos que defendiesen a Don Juan...” BNE ms. 8345, fols. 13r–13v.
84. “...y que para este efecto tenían mas de sesenta, entre grandes, y Títulos, seguros y aun llegaban a decir, juramentados, que de esto había de resultar, el apoderarse de la persona del rey de el gobierno; y aun encerrar a la reyna en un Convento; y que todo era por el Confesor, que por sus fines particulares no quería venir en lo que pretendía el Sr. D. Juan.” BNE ms. 8345, fols. 13r–13v.
85. Mitchell, *Queen, Mother, and Stateswoman*, 174.

86. He confirms the date of writing in BNE ms. 8344, fol. 27r. On Carlos II's inability to confront his mother as the cause of the crisis of the court in 1676–1677, see Mitchell, “Growing Up Carlos II: Political Childhood in the Court of the Spanish Habsburgs,” in *The Formation of the Child in Early Modern Spain*. Grace E. Coolidge, editor (Ashgate, 2014, Routledge, 2016), 189–206.
87. The *Gazeta Ordinaria de Madrid* was published from July 4, 1677 to April 2, 1680; reports focused on the peace with France, the king's marriage, and Mariana's arrival in 1679. Not even don Juan's death is hailed as important news <https://www.boe.es/buscar/gazeta.php>. The focus on Mariana's return and the king's marriage is confirmed in the memoirs written by the Marquis Pierre of Villars, the French ambassador to Madrid, and the letters by his wife, the Marquise Marie of Villars, sent to France from the summer 1679 until 1680. See, Marquis de Villars, *Mémoires de la cour d'Espagne sous le regne de Charles II, 1678–1682* (London, 1861). The Marquise's letters begin November 2, 1679, within the time that Nithard's memorias arrived in Madrid, focusing on the two queens and the rise of Medinaceli to the position of Prime Minister. See, “Cartas de la Señora de Villars a la Señora de Coulanges,” in *Viajes de extranjeros por España y Portugal: desde los tiempos más remotos hasta comienzos del siglo XX*, José García Mercadal, ed. (Madrid: Aguilar, 1999), vol. 3, 671–736.
88. Gabriel Maura y Gamazo, *Carlos II y su corte. Ensayo de Reconstrucción biográfica*. 2 vols. (Madrid: Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, 1911 and 1915).
89. Laura Oliván Santaliestra, *Mariana de Austria: imagen, poder, y diplomacia de una reina cortesana*, 53–127.
90. For example, Pilo, *Juan Everardo Nithard*, has focused on one of the twenty-one volumes. In her biography of Nithard, Sáenz Berceo has utilized a variety of documents from the *memorias* to complement additional archival research.
91. On his financial situation, see Nithard's testament in Archivo Histórico Nacional, Estado Clero-Jesuitas Legajo 263; and Sáenz Berceo, *Confesionario y poder*, pp. 273–296. On his inability or unwillingness to dispense royal patronage while in Madrid, see Tomás y Valiente, who calls Nithard a “valido frustrado” or frustrated favorite, as a result; *Los validos*, p. 71; and Mitchell, *Queen, Mother, and Stateswoman*, 125.
92. Reinhardt, *Royal Confessors and Political Counsel*, 341.