

EARLY MODERN DYNASTIC MARRIAGES AND CULTURAL TRANSFER

Toward the end of the fifteenth century, the Habsburg family began to rely on dynastic marriage to unite an array of territories, eventually creating an empire as had not been seen in Europe since the Romans. Other European rulers followed the Habsburgs' lead in forging ties through dynastic marriages. Because of these marriages, many more aristocrats (especially women) left their homelands to reside elsewhere. Until now, historians have viewed these unions from a primarily political viewpoint and have paid scant attention to the personal dimensions of these relocations. Separated from their family and thrust into a strange new land in which language, attire, religion, food, and cultural practices were often different, these young aristocrats were forced to conform to new customs or adapt their own customs to a new cultural setting.

Early Modern Dynastic Marriages and Cultural Transfer examines these marriages as important agents of cultural transfer, emphasizing how marriages could lead to the creation of a cosmopolitan culture, common to the elites of Europe. These essays focus on the personal and domestic dimensions of early modern European court life, examining such areas as women's devotional practices, fashion, patronage, and culinary traditions.

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Early Modern Dynastic Marriages and Cultural Transfer

Edited by

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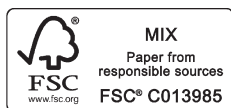
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Chapter 6

The Marriage of João de Alarcão and Margarida Soares and the Creation of a Transnational Portuguese–Spanish Nobility*

Mafalda Soares da Cunha

Introduction

The main aim of this chapter is to analyze the social and political effects of dynastic marriages between the Portuguese and Castilian-Aragonese crowns on the configuration of transnational, aristocratic families during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. To illustrate these questions I have chosen to follow the Soares de Alarcão family (known in Spain as Suárez de Alarcón) and the paths it took between the royal houses of Portugal and Castile for seven generations. (See Table 6.1 for a genealogy of the Soares de Alarcão family.)

The working hypothesis of the chapter is that the identity of the Iberian nobility during this era was characterized by a shared noble culture rather than by any particular features derived from the family's land of origin. That assumption allows us to discuss whether the use of a particular language or culture indicates ties or political loyalties based on criteria of nationality, or, at the very least, place of birth.

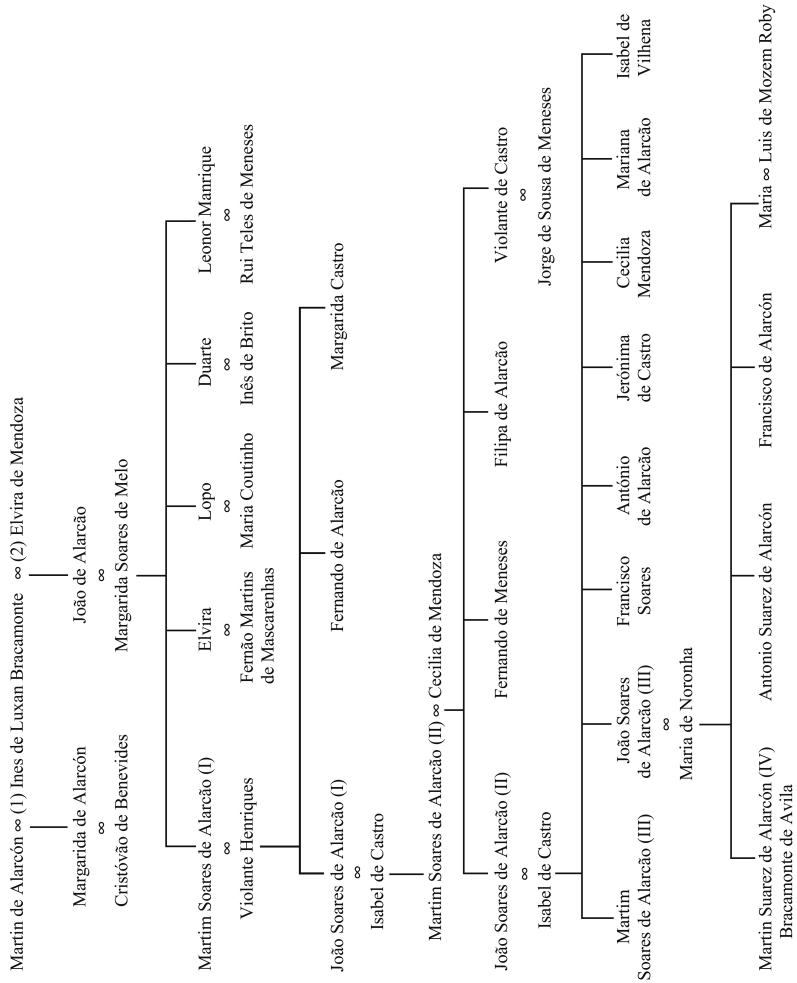
Therefore, this chapter discusses the miscegenation of Iberian nobilities derived from dynastic marriages. It articulates the structural characteristics of this group and its political impact with the individual trajectories and historical contexts in which they developed. While these topics can be of interest for the comprehension of Portuguese early modern history, they can also help us to reflect more broadly on processes of identity construction. When discussing identity construction, I consider both what we would designate today as national—language and cultural production—and social, related with the identity of the nobility.

The Soares de Alarcão Family in Portugal

The marriage of João de Alarcão [?–1546] with Margarida Soares de Melo [dates unknown] represents the beginning of a transnational family trajectory

* This chapter was translated from the Portuguese by Stewart Lloyd-Jones, CPHRC Editorial Services.

Table 6.1 Genealogical Chart of the Soares de Alarcão Family (Fifteenth to Seventeenth Centuries)



between families from Castile and Portugal structured in the shadow of the royal court.

João de Alarcão was the only son of the second marriage of Martín de Alarcón with Elvira de Mendoza. Martín, in turn, was the fourth son of Lope Ruiz de Alarcón, the lord of Valverde, Talayuelas, Veguillas, and Hontecillas in the region of Cuenca. Peerage books identify Martín de Alarcón as a servant of the Catholic Monarchs and as a participant in the conquest of Granada. Maybe as a result of this military service, he received the offices of captain of the guard (*capitão da guarda*) of the Monarchs and governor (*alcaide*) of the fortresses of Porcuña and Moclin (in Andalusia), and also was named commander of the Order of Santiago. João de Alarcão's mother was Elvira de Mendoza, daughter of Juan Furtado de Mendoza, the king of Spain's chief forester (*monteiro-mor*). She became a widow in the late 1490s and went to Portugal in 1500 in the entourage of Princess María, daughter of the Catholic Monarchs and the second wife of the Portuguese king Manoel I. João de Alarcão was still a child, and he accompanied his mother.

Elvira served as Queen María's lady-in-waiting. Due to her close relationship with the queen, in 1508 she received a pension of 200,000 *reis*.¹ Shortly after the queen's death she was given the position of nurse (*aia*) to princesses Isabel and Beatriz because she was thought to have the virtues and knowledge required to educate them in accordance with the high dignity of their station.² This close relationship continued after Manoel I married for the third time, with Elvira serving as Queen Eleanor's lady-in-waiting. Lady Elvira accompanied her on her return to Castile in 1523 and died that same year in Vitoria, in the Basque Country, while in the service of Queen Eleanor, who had been sent to France as a consort to King Francis I.³ Elvira's destiny was intimately linked to her personal relationship with the princesses of Castile and queens of Portugal, and this explains why her roots in Portugal remained shallow. Her instructions to her son, calling on him to expand the chapel in Granada in which her husband was buried, confirms that her main family references continued within the crown of Castile.

The same was not true of João de Alarcão, her only son. He was raised in the same palace as the successor to the Portuguese crown, the future João III. Because of the trust Queen Maria had in Lady Elvira, along with the lady-in-waiting's closeness to the young princesses, she was able to obtain royal permission to pass her pension on to her son and for him to be granted the position of grand master of the hunt (*caçador-mor*) at the royal court in 1521.⁴ Unlike his mother, João

¹ Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (hereafter ANTT), Chancelaria de D. Manuel, L. 24, fol. 178v.

² ANTT, Chancelaria de D. Manuel, L. 25, fols. 172–172v, November 6, 1517.

³ Antonio Suárez de Alarcón, *Relaciones genealogicas de la casa de los marqueses de Torcifal, condes de Torresvedras, su varonia Zevallos de Alarcon y por la casa y primer apellido Suarez* (Madrid: Diego Diaz de la Carrera, 1656), 321.

⁴ ANTT, Chancelaria de D. Manuel, L. 24, fol. 99v; ANTT, Chancelaria de D. Manuel, L. 10, fols. 72–72v; ANTT Chancelaria de D. Manuel, L. 10, fols. 71v–72.; Suárez de Alarcón, *Relaciones genealógicas*, 325–26.

de Alarcão remained in Portugal. One reason for this was his agreement in 1515 to marry Margarida Soares de Melo, who was also a lady in the court of Queen Maria, although of Portuguese birth.

Margarida was daughter of Gomes Soares de Melo, a member of a medieval *fidalgo* family that belonged to the highest rank of the Portuguese nobility. As a result of inheritances and his loyal service to the Portuguese kings, Gomes Soares de Melo had accumulated land and estates. He was governor-general (*alcaide-mor*) of the town of Torres Vedras and lord of Vila de Rei, as well as master of the royal cushion (*reposteiro-mor*) and councilor to Kings Alphonse V, João II, and Manoel I. Margarida was his only heir. Her high social status was proof of the rapid rise of the young Alarcão into the highest levels of the Portuguese nobility and of the active protection Queen Maria extended to her lady-in-waiting's son. João de Alarcão's relative lack of familial roots helps to explain why Gomes Soares de Melo chose João as his son-in-law. In fact João, though favored by the queen, had no family background in Portugal. He was, therefore, more ready to adopt the symbols of his wife's lineage, as demonstrated by the fact that his descendants used the name Soares and adopted Torres Vedras for their home and final resting place. Gomes Soares de Melo had ordered the construction of a sumptuous tomb in the Franciscan monastery in Varatojo, near Torres Vedras, in which the remains of João de Alarcão, who died in 1546, rest. This tomb became a pantheon for successive generations of the family. In a move that signaled both the existence of a new male line and the wish to keep the connection to his wife's estates and family identity, João de Alarcão had a stately home built within the castle of Torres Vedras, separate from that of his father-in-law, who lived in the lower part of the town.⁵ His intentions to settle in Portugal can be confirmed by the sale of his part of his father's inheritance in Granada, retaining only the chapel, which was enlarged in 1532 in accordance with his mother's last wishes.

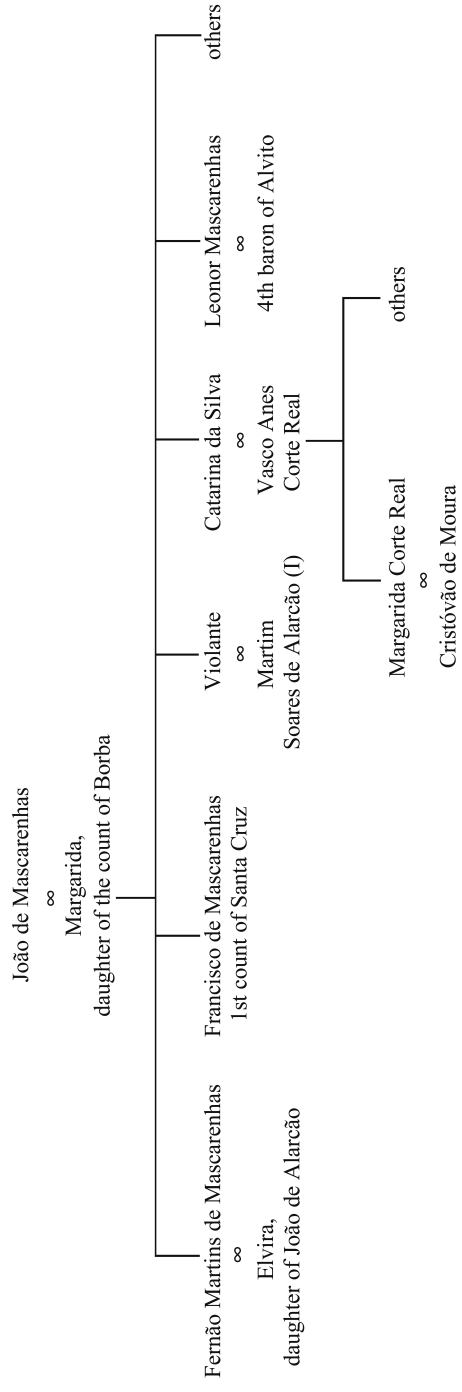
The consolidation of Soares de Alarcão's integration into Portugal's top nobility can be seen in the social distinction of subsequent family alliances. Marriages were arranged only with descendants of titled nobles or with heirs and daughters of *fidalgos* with senior positions within the royal household. João de Alarcão's second marriage was to a daughter of the third count of Abrantes and granddaughter of the first count of Tarouca.⁶

Succeeding generations maintained this standard, seeking matrimony at the top levels of the Portuguese nobility. João's successor, Martim Soares de Alarcão (I), married into the house of Mascarenhas and became brother-in-law of Fernão Martins de Mascarenhas. (See Table 6.2 for a genealogy of the Mascarenhas family.)

⁵ Suárez de Alarcón, *Relaciones genealógicas*, 96, and Manoel Agostinho Madeira Torres, "Descrição Histórica e Economica da Villa e Termo de Torres Vedras" in *História e Memórias da Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa*, vol. 6, part 1 (Lisbon: Typografia da Mesma Academia, 1819), 96.

⁶ Suárez de Alarcón, *Relaciones genealógicas*, 330–31.

Table 6.2 Genealogical Chart of the Mascarenhas Family (Mid-Sixteenth Century)



The Mascarenhas family included Francisco de Mascarenhas, first count of Santa Cruz, viceroy of India and future governor of Portugal. The wife of the fourth baron of Alvito also came from the Mascarenhas family, as did the wife of Vasco Eanes Corte-Real. The latter and his wife would be the parents of the future wife of Cristóvão de Moura, first marquis of Castelo Rodrigo, whose central role in the negotiations for the annexation of Portugal to the Hispanic Monarchy in 1580 is well known. It was a kinship network of huge political weight and recognized importance. João de Alarcão's grandson, the second generation to be born in Portugal, who was also called João, married the daughter of the third baron of Alvito. By then, the middle of the sixteenth century, the Soares de Alarcão family was thoroughly incorporated into the highest Portuguese noble elite.

In the following generation, the sixth lord of the house, Martim Soares de Alarcão (II), who was orphaned at a young age, was raised by Fernão Martins de Mascarenhas, head of the Mascarenhas family at that time. As a result, Martim reinforced the family links with the Mascarenhases and inherited part of the estates of Fernão Martins de Mascarenhas and his wife, thereby increasing his house's economic strength. Through the intervention of Queen Catherine, wife of João III, marriage was arranged between him and the heiress of a court *fidalg*o, Filipe de Aguilar, who shared the queen's Castilian origins.

This description of the integration of the Soares de Alarcão family in Portugal now merits a brief pause to allow us to underline the importance of the queen's retinues. While Filipe de Aguilar had been born in Portugal, he was the son of the Castilian Francisco Velázquez de Aguilar, who had arrived in Portugal with his grandmother, María de Velasco. She was married to the Castilian king's treasurer (*contador-mor*), who had lands and title in Extremadura (Castile). The parallels between María de Velasco's life and that of Elvira de Mendoza, insofar as family migration is concerned, are further strengthened by the fact that María de Velasco had also been an important person in queens' households. Before her death in 1539 she was lady-in-waiting to Queen Germana and then to Queen Catherine. As was the case with Elvira, it was María de Velasco's loyalty and service that secured her descendants' integration into the court of the kings of Portugal. Francisco Velázquez was appointed carver (*trinchante*) to the Portuguese Prince João Manoel by royal warrant in 1554⁷ and was married to Cecilia de Mendoza e Bocanegra, also a Castilian in Queen Catherine's retinue and later the queen's maid.⁸ Underlining the importance of the queen's patronage in integrating families of Castilian birth in Portugal, one of the daughters of this marriage was one of Queen Catherine's ladies, who went on to marry António de Lima, a member of Prince Duarte's retinue.

As the oldest son, Filipe de Aguilar inherited his father's estate. His early adult life included time in the royal court and in the Portuguese army in Morocco, more particularly in Ceuta, where he had been since the 1540s and where his

⁷ Ibid., 366 and in appendix, 117.

⁸ Ibid., 367ss.

military activities were acknowledged.⁹ He also served on missions throughout the Mediterranean, receiving orders to return to Portugal in 1558.¹⁰ He was afterwards appointed herald (*mestre-sala*) to the royal house, a position he held under Kings Sebastian, Henry, and Philip II. His experience in North Africa resulted in Cardinal King Henry appointing him captain of Mazagão. He also was named commander of St. Peter of the Order of Christ in Torres Vedras and founded a *morgado* (entailed property).¹¹

Through the good offices of Queen Catherine, after 1554 Filipe de Aguilar married Ana de Lugo, the only daughter of Fernando de Lugo, a Galician exiled in Portugal who was also governor of the Cape Verde Islands.¹² Showing he wished to firmly establish his house in Portugal, Fernando de Lugo founded a *morgado* and chapel within the Convent of Santo Agostinho in Lisbon.¹³ There was only one child from this marriage, Cecilia de Mendoza, who inherited both the Aguilar and Lugo *morgados*. As an example of the patrimonial nature of positions and offices within the court, she inherited the position of herald and the commander of St. Peter of the Order of Christ in Torres Vedras. It was with this wealthy heiress that Martim Soares de Alarcão (II), the sixth lord of the house, married before 1580.

Both father-in-law and son-in-law took Philip II's side in the dynastic dispute in Portugal between 1578 and 1581. Martim commanded forces opposing Anthony, the Prior of Crato, the boisterous son of Prince Luis who was challenging Philip II for the throne. Martim's military effectiveness earned him the animosity of the Prior of Crato, who, "angry with Lord Martim, several times referred to Torres Vedras [Old Towers] as traitors' towers, declaring Martim lost and his house confiscated."¹⁴ Regarding Filipe de Aguilar's participation, we know that he represented his son-in-law in presenting the keys of Lisbon to Philip II in 1581, and that the new king rewarded him with the position of state counselor, which he held until 1586.

Cultural Transfer

Martim's successor to these many estates was João Soares de Alarcão (II), who died in 1618. He married Isabel de Castro, who belonged to a branch of the

⁹ Letter of D. Afonso de Noronha to João III, from Ceuta, October 7, 1545 in Robert Ricard, *Les sources inédites de l'Histoire du Maroc*, vol. 4 (January 1542–December 1550) (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1951), 170–77.

¹⁰ Letter of Queen Catherine to Filipe de Aguilar, from Lisboa, August 28, 1558, in *Catálogo de um seleccionado leilão de manuscritos, autógrafos, fotografias e efêmera* (Lisbon: Livraria Luís Burnay: 2010), 27.

¹¹ Suárez de Alarcón, *Relaciones genealógicas*, 367.

¹² He was asked to return to Portugal in 1554 by the queen: see *ibid.*, in appendix, 117–18.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 368.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 345.

Mascarenhas family, thereby strengthening once more the relationships within the family group. While this endogamous tendency was common at the time, in this case it was to have important implications for the future, as we shall see. Perhaps because he was sickly, João's life was quieter and without military action. However, other actions in his life were to prove important for the argument being developed in this chapter.

The first of these was associated with a complaint against Philip III's policy of favors. The motive was related to the monarch's wish to recover Cascais, a town of little importance but located strategically on the banks of the Tagus and, consequently, crucial to the defense of Lisbon. In order to do so the king had to recompense the counts of Monsanto, to whom Cascais belonged. The count of Monsanto asked for the governorship of Torres Vedras as compensation. However, that post had belonged to the Soares de Alarcão family for generations. In return for this loss, Philip III offered João Soares de Alarcão (II) the title of count of Trocifal (today Turcifal). As that was an insignificant place within the district of Torres Vedras, the seventh head of the Soares de Alarcão family thought the honor in no way made up for the loss of the governorship. His reaction took the form of a judicial claim against the crown, pursuit of which took him to the court in Madrid. The arguments he presented were enough to stop the plan and prevent the deal from being made.

In 1607 he was called to the succession of the estate of Valverde, close to Cuenca, in Castile, as Diego Ruiz de Alarcón, the first count of Valverde and head of the house of Alarcón in Castile, was dying. The Castilian origins of the Portuguese Alarcão family had re-emerged as a consequence of the laws of succession. The matter, however, was problematic. When the count recovered from his illness, it seemed to the count and the other lords of the houses of Alarcón that João's right to inherit might be at risk because he lived in a different kingdom. In order to prevent future juridical doubts they established an instrument of justification, signed by all interested parties, in which João and the house of Alarcão's right of immediate succession by primogeniture was recognized.¹⁵

However, the information here is rather inconsistent, with other documents stating the date of 1624 for the concession of the title of count of Valverde to Diego Ruiz de Alarcón, and declaring that he had a son. Whatever the case, it is important to stress the persistence of kinship relations with the Alarcóns on both sides of the border and the seemingly natural status of blood succession rights in overcoming any difficulty caused as a result of a foreigner enjoying land and title in another kingdom.

The final important fact in the life of João Soares de Alarcão (II) is associated with his becoming an author. It was said that he "composed some poems, some of which were published."¹⁶ One of these was *La Iffanta coronada por El Rey Don Pedro, Doña Ines de Castro: en octava rima* (The princess crowned by His

¹⁵ Ibid., 371–72, in appendix, 118.

¹⁶ Torres, "Descrição Histórica e Economica," 97.

Majesty King Peter, Lady Ines de Castro: in ottava rima),¹⁷ which was printed in Lisbon in 1606 by Pedro Crasbeeck, a member of a famous line of printers. It is a very rare work of which there are few known copies. Adrien Roig discussed it,¹⁸ as did Leonor Machado de Sousa more recently.¹⁹ It is an epic in which the heroine is Ines de Castro, a lady who became famous for her disastrous affair with the Portuguese King Peter I. As Roig notes, this work is interesting on many levels. First, it was written in Castilian by a Portuguese *fidalg*o. If the language choice cannot be considered anything other than a “demonstration of the bilingualism that prevailed on the Peninsula in that era,” the fact that the dedication, addressed to Francisco de Mascarenhas, first count of Santa Cruz, was written in Portuguese reveals the ability for both languages to be understood on either side of the border.²⁰

It is also worth emphasizing to whom the book was dedicated. As João Soares de Alarcão (II) wrote, the links between the Alarcão and Mascarenhas families were many and lasting. This “close consanguinity” was renewed with his marriage.²¹ His wife, Isabel de Castro, was the sister of Jorge de Mascarenhas, the future count of Castelo Novo and marquis of Montalvão. Therefore, the first count of Santa Cruz was his father-in-law’s cousin. The reason for the dedication could have been the mutual adherence of the Alarcão family and the count of Santa Cruz to the cause of Philip II. Although the count was a faithful servant of Philip II in Portugal, what the author highlights with this dedication is his kinship with Ines de Castro and the “rare happiness” with which he “administered government posts in the East and the West, defending one and the other area from the greatest of dangers.”²² Thus while the Portuguese empire was not part of João Soares de Alarcão’s political trajectory, it seems to have occupied a central place in his value framework.

In terms of theme and literary genre, Roig notes the choice of a Castilian heroine to support a Portuguese epic with the intention of calling attention to the poet’s position regarding Spanish and Portuguese values. In Roig’s words, this work “appears as a symbol of peninsular duality under the rule of the Philips.”²³ In effect, João Soares de Alarcão chose examples that present Spain as a “common mother” and is fulsome in his praise for the Habsburg monarchs while not seeing

¹⁷ Juan Soares de Alarcão, *La Iffanta coronada por El Rey Don Pedro, Doña Ines de Castro: en octava rima* (Lisbon: Pedro Crasbeeck, 1606).

¹⁸ Adrien Roig, “La Infanta coronada de Juan Soares de Alarcón (1606),” in *Actas del séptimo Congreso de la Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas, celebrado en Venecia del 25 al 30 de agosto de 1980*, ed. Giuseppe Bellini (Rome: Bulzoni, 1982), 893–901.

¹⁹ Maria Leonor Machado de Sousa, introduction to João Soares de Alarcão, *La Iffanta coronada por El Rey Don Pedro, Doña Ines de Castro* (Torres Vedras: Livro do Dia, 2009).

²⁰ Roig, “La Infanta coronada,” 894. On bilingualism, see Pilar Vásquez Cuesta, *A língua e a cultura portuguesas no tempo dos Filipes* (Lisbon: Publicações Europa América, 1988).

²¹ Soares de Alarcão, *La Iffanta coronada*, Dedication.

²² Ibid.

²³ Roig, “La Infanta coronada,” 901.

any contradiction with the historical appreciation of the actions of the Portuguese and of the “Lusitanian nation.” The same can also be seen with the use of a combined Portuguese and Castilian heraldry in the book’s frontispiece. Even more expressive of this merger is that his name is printed in a mixture of Castilian (Don Juan) and Portuguese (Soares de Alarcão).

Roig’s analysis of the influence of this poem on Spanish literature, particularly the circulation of the theme of Ines de Castro, is also interesting. At that time this tragic love tale had been little touched upon in Spain; hence, its incorporation into the patrimony of literary references on an Iberian scale was very limited. It is worth considering, therefore, that *La Iffanta coronada* had a significant impact on the spread of this literary theme in Spain and on Luis Vélez de Guevara’s work, *Reinar después de morir* (To reign after death), which many consider a baroque masterpiece.

The case we must now follow, and which is also the climax of this narrative, is that of the poet’s second son who, because of the premature death of his older brother, became head of the house of Soares de Alarcão. Like his father, he was named João Soares de Alarcão (III). From his succession until 1640 he did not distinguish himself from other *fidalgos* of his rank living in Portugal. He served in the king’s army at Cascais, where he led companies of men from his estates while preparing to defend against the disembarkation of English troops in 1625–26. He also played an important role in putting down the tax riots that spread throughout the Portuguese kingdom at the end of the 1630s. Along with other nobles he raised men from his estates to support royal troops in this task. In 1639 he responded to a new appeal by the monarch for military support to confront the threat of a French armada approaching Lisbon. This time he was asked to be part of the army from around Lisbon which included 1,200 men from his lands at Torres Vedras. On the eve of December 1, 1640, Philip IV appointed him governor and captain of Ceuta, one of Portugal’s fortresses in Morocco.

Competing Loyalties: Between João IV and Philip IV

The rupture between Portugal and the Spanish kingdom took place on, precisely, December 1, 1640. The secessionist movement advanced smoothly, seemingly responding to an expectation felt throughout society. The coronation of the new king took place in Lisbon on January 28, 1641 in the presence of representatives of the three estates united in the Cortes, the representative assembly. Thus the eighth duke of Braganza ascended to the throne with the name João IV. His reign over this new political entity, which had recovered the independence lost at the hands of Philip II in 1580, lasted until 1656.²⁴

²⁴ Leonor Freire Costa and Mafalda Soares da Cunha, *D. João IV, 1604–1656*, rev. edn. (Lisbon: Temas e Debates, 2008).

The social background to this political change is not, even today, sufficiently explained in the historiography. Is it possible, as the publicists and historians of the Restoration claim, that there was a social consensus? Is it possible that the loyalties and the convergence of interests demonstrated by the majority of the social elite towards the Habsburgs during these 60 years just melted away? The flight of Portuguese *fidalgos*, including João Soares de Alarcão and his family, to Castile during the first months of 1641 challenges the more simplistic explanations and demands more complex answers that involve further examination of dynastic loyalty and strategic questions present in the consolidation of the newly sovereign Portugal.

The following is the narrative of the events in which João Soares de Alarcão (III) played a central role.²⁵ On February 7, 1641 two ships left the Tagus River and set sail. One of the ships (*bergantim*) carried some *fidalgos* and their families. Among them were Pedro and Jerónimo Mascarenhas, sons of the viceroy of Brazil, the first marquis of Montalvão; Lopo da Cunha, lord proprietor of Assentar, and his son Pedro; and Luís da Cunha the only son of Lourenço da Silva, the well-known retired president of the Portuguese high court (*regedor da Casa da Suplicação*). On the other ship, from Hamburg (although some say it was English), were the governors of Ceuta and Tangier—João Soares de Alarcão and Duarte de Meneses, third count of Tarouca—along with their families and servants. Days later it was reported the passengers had disembarked in Andalusia with the intention of seeking refuge in Castile as a sign of their loyalty to Philip IV, whom they considered the legitimate king of Portugal. A few days later there was another defection of *fidalgos*. While fewer in number, their reasons for leaving Portugal were the same. Fearing the marquis of Montalvão's sympathy towards Castile, in February a new ship was ordered to set sail for Brazil, on which embarked the Jesuit Francisco de Vilhena with express orders to determine the viceroy's loyalty to the new king of Portugal. Should it prove necessary, he was given the authority to remove Montalvão and appoint a new governor of Brazil.

The departure of the *fidalgos* for Castile during February caused concern in Lisbon. They were all well-known nobles with land, knighthoods, commanderships in military orders, and governorships granted by the king. Some, such as Duarte de Meneses, third count of Tarouca, even had titles or, such as Pedro Mascarenhas, João Soares de Alarcão, and Luís da Silva, were heirs to well-established noble houses. It became clear to all that the apparent unanimity of December 1 was wide of the mark. João IV and his supporters discovered that their hope that Portuguese *fidalgos* and dignitaries in Madrid would rally to the Braganza cause could not be assured and that the oaths sworn at the January coronation were no guarantee of loyalty. Moreover, the dispensation of favors and positions by João IV could not ensure either the gratitude or allegiance of those appointed. Therefore, this was the beginning of a period of distrust and suspicion.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 128ff.

In fact, many of the fugitives kept the positions within the royal household they had held before December 1. For example, Pedro Mascarenhas was comptroller (*vedor*) of the royal household, in which role he participated in the Cortes; João Soares de Alarcão was herald; and Jerónimo Mascarenhas was a deputy to the Mesa da Consciência e Ordens.

They served disingenuously, as they themselves later confessed, since they had immediately decided not to accept the new political situation. Margarita of Savoy, duchess of Mantua, who was at that time vicereine of Portugal, later confirmed to Philip IV that on the very day of the uprising, João Soares de Alarcão, after trying unsuccessfully to take control of one of Lisbon's fortresses, came to warn her of the fact and to ask her for orders. He was undecided as to whether to stay and wondered how he could best serve the Habsburgs in Portugal. The duchess two years later conveyed to Philip IV João's dilemma: he was unsure

whether he should seek to leave that kingdom immediately and establish order in Ceuta, to which Your Majesty had appointed him captain general, and in which he had already been sworn by me; and I, after having given him much deserved thanks, recognized that the most important royal service would be to secure the fortress at Ceuta, which was key to the Straits and the preservation of the Andalusian coast as well as the swiftest way to subdue the Portuguese kingdom.²⁶

João Soares de Alarcão (III), Pedro Mascarenhas, Duarte de Meneses (count of Tarouca), Luís da Silva, and Lopo da Cunha even presented Philip IV with a letter written on December 5 by the marquis of La Puebas—who was in prison at Lisbon—recommending them to Philip IV and noting

that they are Your Majesty's loyal subjects and know no better thing than to live or die in your service. They cannot declare this loudly, in order to protect their persons and their lives for the greater service of Your Majesty ... they protest that any action contradicting this truth is violent and untrue and that as soon as they are able they will leave this kingdom to throw themselves at Your Majesty's feet.²⁷

As a result, and supported by the knowledge stemming from their close kinship—João Soares de Alarcão was cousin to the two Mascarenhas brothers, while Lopo da Cunha was the brother-in-law of the third count of Tarouca—they jointly prepared their flight. Given the steps taken by João IV in a document of December 19, 1640 designed to prevent the unauthorized departure of Portuguese over the border, the *fidalgos* had to wait for the right time. Their chance came with the

²⁶ Suárez de Alarcón, *Relaciones genealógicas*, 389–90.

²⁷ “Conspiração contra D. João 4o,” *Arquivo bibliographico* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1877), vol. 1, 317.

order to take up their posts as governors of Ceuta and Tangier, to which they had been appointed during the time of Philip IV. As king, João IV confirmed these appointments, demanding only that they restate their oath of loyalty—which is what they clearly did, though João Soares de Alarcão later claimed he did so under duress. After this proof of loyalty to the new king, those two *fidalgos* received royal authorization to leave Lisbon in haste as well as financial support to help with the arrangements they needed to make for their departure. Speed was crucial because the fortresses in Ceuta and Tangiers had not yet declared support for the new Portuguese king.

The secrecy surrounding this departure was remarkable. The governors of the Moroccan fortresses chose not to impart the escape plan to those family members traveling with them, let alone to those who were staying behind in Portugal. Their mediator in Castile was Father Manuel de Macedo, a Dominican who was later arrested and tortured in Portugal for information. Outside the group of fugitives only the archbishop of Braga knew of the plan. With less certainty, it is also claimed that the marquis of Vila Real had been warned of their intention to leave Portugal.

The hastiness of the *fidalgos*' departure may have prevented the archbishop of Braga from joining them. He remained in Lisbon to assess the possibility of, or even to prepare, a counter-coup. The archbishop took the opportunity, through João Soares de Alarcão, to send letters to Philip IV, the count-duke of Olivares, Diogo Soares, and to royal councilors stating his loyalty. João Soares de Alarcão also carried missives from the duchess of Mantua and lists of *fidalgos* loyal to João IV and those who were for Castile. With this they sought to pass on as much information as possible about the condition of the kingdom with the aim of organizing a successful counter-offensive. Consequently, the papers with all this information were hidden in a box containing pieces of quince cheese, although Maria de Noronha, wife of the newly appointed governor of Ceuta, often spoke of them while in her chamber. The countess of Tarouca, wife of the governor of Tangiers, would later declare that she was astounded by Maria de Noronha's careless conversation as her husband had told her nothing prior to their departure and spoke of the matter only once they had arrived in Gibraltar.²⁸

They longed to serve the king to whom they had sworn an oath, take up arms against the Braganza traitor, and make Portugal obey, and through such words and deeds ensure honor and royal favor. In a long letter to his father, the marquis of Montalvão, written in Niebla on February 12, Pedro Marcarenhas did not disguise his intentions. He expected a sizeable reward for his service and that Philip IV would raise him "higher than the duke of Braganza," even making his the greatest house in all Spain. As for João Soares de Alarcão it was loyalty that was important:

²⁸ Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal (BNP), *Coleção Pombalina*, 476, fols. 38–40. *Diligência feita com dois criados de D. João Soares de Alarcão e de sua mulher que vieram de Madrid*, s/d [1641].

I see it as my duty not to part from those with whom I stood, and in my conscience I have not found enough reasons to break my oath and homage to a king who preserves the Catholic faith and as long as it is so and I am alive, I will not stop bowing to him no matter how lost he may be, nor will I ever abandon my king whom I followed in better days, and with my sword I shall follow him unto death, and if ever I would see him beaten, I will stand at his feet and weep at his misfortune.²⁹

Their motivation for leaving Portugal indicates both their refusal to accept the legitimacy of the duke of Braganza's ascendancy to the Portuguese throne, which they did not hesitate to describe as treachery, and their belief that the usurper's reign would be brief and that Portugal would soon be restored to Philip. They wished, therefore, to take part in this restoration and sought to ensure they were not compromised by the situation in Portugal. Moreover, it was in the power of the two new governors to prevent the delivery of the two strategic outposts of Ceuta and Tangier to the new king in Lisbon, which was a matter of some significance.

João Soares de Alarcão clearly understood the situation. In support of his material disinterest, and reinforcing the honor that motivated him, he wrote to his brother, stating that as soon as he arrived in Castile he would hand over his credentials as governor of Ceuta and declare, "I want nothing from Ceuta, neither from Portugal nor from Castile." He added:

I can give up Ceuta, since I have not yet taken possession of it. I do not wish that what was entrusted to me be lost to Portugal by my hand; I seek only to save my honor by following unto death the king to whom I have sworn an oath of loyalty.³⁰

The prevailing view was that support or opposition by Brazil for the Braganza cause depended upon the speed with which the marquis of Montalvão was informed and of the persuasiveness of the letters from his sons. Pedro Mascarenhas wrote to his father explaining that his position had never altered and that it was only circumstances that obliged him to feign support for the duke of Braganza. He also warned that the marquis of Montalvão should send ships to Castile rather than to Portugal, for in that way "Portugal would lose power in all ways." He also suggested that Lisbon had neither the desire nor the ability to help Brazil and that he, Pedro, had heard no further discussion on this subject, "as if it had never existed and had never been necessary."³¹

²⁹ António Gomes da Rocha Madahil, *Cartas da restauração* (Coimbra: n.p., 1940), 41.

³⁰ Madahil, *Cartas da restauração*, 42–43.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 52.

As we can see, the departure of these *fidalgos* had an effect that went beyond a simple declaration of loyalty to a king they considered legitimate. It implied a defined strategy that sought to halt the process of Portuguese independence through the appropriation of its sources of overseas revenues, of which Brazil was the most important contributor. If we add to this the matter of the North African settlements, then their tactics are even clearer.

Although João de Alarcão had declared his disinterest in Ceuta, the geostrategic analyses of that settlement being made at the time in the Spanish court took a different view. As the duchess of Mantua recognized, Ceuta was the “key to Africa and to Spain”³² and was essential for the protection of the Andalusian coast and the security of the ocean fleets to Seville. This was in addition to the military advantage for the subjugation of the kingdom of Portugal. The neighboring settlement of Tangier reinforced these offensive and defensive possibilities. From this viewpoint, the opportunity to retain Ceuta and Tangier under Castilian control was not a negligible advantage. However, the Catalanian uprising, France’s aggressive policies, and constant Muslim piracy placed Castile’s Mediterranean strategy in peril and, more importantly, created potential risks for the Castilian coast.

The arrival of the governors appointed to the two Portuguese fortresses in Ceuta and Tangier was, therefore, important to Philip IV. In fact, the gratitude of the Castilian monarch, who felt indebted to João Soares de Alarcão for the retention of Ceuta as part of his kingdom, was significant to promote Alarcão’s career. So much so that he made specific mention of it in the letter granting him Castilian nationality (*naturalaleza*), which he signed in 1645, following the reference to Alarcão’s departure from Portugal, “and in so doing you have secured the fortress of Ceuta, the only one owned by that crown, which remains under my orders.”³³

Quite surprisingly, in Lisbon there was no significant mention of the loss of these two fortresses. The same cannot be said in relation to the judgment of the acts committed, for which the punishment was severe. There was no room for complacency or for delay. On February 26, a royal warrant was issued ordering summary judgment of the fugitive rebels, who were declared guilty of *lèse-majesté* and of rebellion against the state and the royal person. Issuing sentence on May 4, the Mesa da Consciência e Ordens expelled the fugitives from the military orders to which they belonged. They were afterwards condemned to death and their land and titles confiscated.

However, time was to show that the matter of North Africa had not yet been resolved. Subsequent events prolonged the restlessness relating to those frontiers

³² Francisco Manuel de Melo, *Tácito Português. Vida, Morte, Dittos e Feitos de El Rey Dom João IV de Portugal*, pref. and transcription by Raul Rêgo (Lisbon: Livraria Sá da Costa Editora, 1995 [1650]), 105.

³³ Suárez de Alarcón, *Relaciones genealógicas*, 115 appendix.

that were to have important repercussions in the 1641 conspiracy against João IV and in the political destiny of Ceuta.³⁴

In Spain Once More

These *fidalgos* left behind rich estates. They also left memories and some symbols of their family identity. Returning to the Soares de Alarcão family, João said, “I left my parents, my friends, and above all the bones of my grandfathers. To sustain their blood and pride I have left their ashes.” He asked his brother, “if at any time, my brother, you pass Torres Vedras, I ask that you go to the chapel in Varatojo, or to the grave of our grandfathers, and ask for their blessing in my name.”³⁵ With a clear understanding of his composite origin he added, “from today on my children will only keep their Alarcão surname. The Soareses, being from Portugal, shall remain there.”³⁶ However this did not happen, as in all subsequent documents concerning the identity of his children, the composite surname was retained. In fact, the genealogy written by one of his descendants is credited using both surnames.³⁷

The fugitive *fidalgos* remained confident Philip IV would reward them generously and enable them to re-establish houses matching those they had left behind. The king did not do this for all of them, despite his initial generous reception, in which he offered a whole series of noble titles and funds to enable them to remain in Castile. The count of Tarouca was made marquis of Tarouca (although some authors say marquis of Penalva), Pedro de Mascarenhas was made count of Castelo Novo, João Soares de Alarcão was made count of Torres Vedras, Lopo da Cunha was named count of Assentar, and Luís da Silva, count of Vagos. They were all Portuguese titles, and the grateful king in this way insisted on representing himself as the king of Portugal. However, the titles came with neither land nor the political and taxation rights with which they were customarily associated.

João Soares de Alarcão (III) remained firm in his refusal to govern Ceuta, despite Philip IV’s insistence on sending him there. However, he gave immediate proof of his loyalty when, in April 1642, he fought bravely on the border, across from the Portuguese province of Beira. Later he found his place among the institutions of Spain. In April 1642 he was appointed councilor of war, and in May chief steward (*mordomo-mor*) to the queen. The following year, recognition of his role in consolidating Castilian control of Tangier led Philip IV to appoint him governor of the fortress. However, before he was

³⁴ Costa and Cunha, *D. João IV*; Mafalda de Noronha Wagner, *A Casa de Vila Real e a conspiração de 1641 contra D. João IV* (Lisbon: Edições Colibri, 2007).

³⁵ Madahil, *Cartas da restauração*, 41.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 43.

³⁷ Suárez de Alarcón, *Relaciones genealógicas*, frontispiece.

able to take office, the residents of Tangier declared themselves for King João IV, and the troops under Soares de Alarcão's command were unable to reduce them. Nevertheless, his military advance continued. It is said that he excelled in the arts of war and that he wrote about them, although the writings were never published. Diogo Barbosa Machado, a well-known Portuguese bibliographer from the seventeenth century, said its title was *Arte militar, e do que deve obrar qualquer soldado e cabo em governar e menear as arenas*.³⁸ In 1644 he fought at Lérida and later took part in the Portuguese intelligence committees (*Juntas de Inteligencias*). In 1645 he was granted the privilege of Castilian *naturaliza*. Finally, in 1646, he agreed to govern Ceuta, a post he held for the next eight years, despite his asking to return immediately after the usual three years.³⁹

He was reunited with his sons in Spain, where they served with him in the war, being trained in the use of arms in his company in Ceuta. The elder, Martim Soares de Alarcão (IV), who was seeking to make his name, enlisted in the royal navies and served during the revolts of Naples before returning to Ceuta and then to Catalonia. He died during an assault on the fort of San Juan de los Reyes in Barcelona in 1652. At the time of this painful loss the house was granted the royal favor of 2,000 escudos in a Castilian command and the title marquis of Trocifal, the small place close to Torres Vedras that Philip III had wanted to turn into a county and which Martim (II), João Soares de Alarcão's father, had refused to do.⁴⁰

Antonio Suárez de Alarcón, the second son, became heir to the estate. The prestige of the Alarcão lineage lacked visibility in the years that followed. The size of the Hispanic monarchy and the opulence of the Spanish aristocracy made competition for positions of prominence very difficult, especially in view of the mistrust hanging over the Portuguese exiles. Matching the revenues and prestige they enjoyed in Portugal would be almost impossible. This could be one of the justifications for the book *Corona Sepulcral. Elogios à morte de D. Martin Suarez de Alarcón*, which was dedicated to console the youth's father, the recently appointed marquis of Trocifal and count of Torres Vedras.⁴¹ This book is a collection of writings, mainly poems, written by several famous contemporary authors, including Alonso de Alarcón, the canon of Ciudad Rodrigo and secretary to the bishop of Pamplona, Francisco de Alarcón. The coming together of so many individuals from the same family group to

³⁸ Diogo Barbosa Machado, *Biblioteca Lusitana: histórica, crítica e cronológica*, vol. 4, 2nd edn. (Lisbon: Bertrand, 1935), 700. This book was originally published in 1759.

³⁹ Suárez de Alarcón, *Relaciones genealógicas*, 114–15ff.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 395.

⁴¹ *Corona Sepulcral. Elogios à morte de D. Martin Suarez de Alarcón escritos por diferentes plumas sacados a luz por Don Alonso de Alarcon, canonigo de la Santa Iglesia de Ciudad Rodrigo e secretario de D. Francisco de Alarcon ...* (Madrid: Petrus de Villafraanca, 1652).

publicly praise the virtues of the young relative is significant. The poems eulogize the bravery and qualities of Martim, composing a funerary crown in a “monument worthy of his noble ashes.”⁴² If “with mysterious propriety the Ancients considered parents responsible for all glories of their sons, even more so if both of them were heroes.”⁴³ Such offspring could only be explained through the qualities of their predecessors. Another way of comforting the grieving father was “to show how the life of Martin was lost while serving his king.”⁴⁴

The genealogical work Antonio developed through the publication of three books from 1656 to 1665 is evidence of his perception for the need to enhance the Alarcón lineage in Spain.⁴⁵ The books were written in Castilian and tell of the military achievements, the antiquity, and the glorious past of the heads of this family. The first to be published, in 1656, was a long and well-researched genealogical investigation of both the Alarcão and the Soares families. It was dedicated to the king and contained a detailed notice of the merits of the progenitors of the family’s male line and of the Soares family from remote times. It also describes in minute detail the matrimonial alliances and the attributes of their ancestors, highlighting that many of them had royal blood.

In 1661 *Arbol genealógico* was published. It gave form to the desire of one of his cousins, Fernando Teles de Faro, the count of Arade, who wanted “an account of my male line, for since all the documents pertaining to my house were left in Portugal, I find myself with no such documentation.” He hesitated in his request, but since he “saw in the chamber some books in which everything about the Silva family was written,” he gained courage. The genealogist agreed immediately, and even thanked him for the opportunity because he had several predecessors in the Silva family,” and because of this he was interested in their glories.”⁴⁶ Like Antonio, Fernando Teles was Portuguese, but he had only recently been exiled. His defection created a political scandal in Lisbon, since he had been one of the first supporters of the duke of Braganza and had rendered him loyal service for almost 20 years.

The *Commentarios de los hechos del señor Alarcon, Marques de la Valle Siciliana y de Renda*, which was published in 1665, had been written in 1663,

⁴² Ibid., 2.

⁴³ Ibid., 3.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 11.

⁴⁵ Suárez de Alarcón, *Relaciones genealógicas*; Antonio Suárez de Alarcón, *Arbol genealogico y resumen breve de la varonia de Don Fernando Tellez de Faro y Silva, Conde de Arada* (Madrid: Diego Diaz de la Carrera, 1661); and Antonio Suárez de Alarcón, *Commentarios de los hechos del señor Alarcon, Marques de la Valle Siciliana y de Renda, y de las guerras en que se halló por espacio de cinquenta y ocho años* (Madrid: Diego Diaz de la Carrera, 1665).

⁴⁶ Suárez de Alarcón, *Arbol genealógico*, 2–3.

a short time before the author's death. The book was dedicated to the king as a pledge of his commitment to continue serving him, though he had to leave army life because of ill health. He was only 27. In a letter to the king printed with the book, he said that the book

should be of great service to Your Majesty for the glory it brings his vassals by referring to the invincible bravery and feats particular to the Spanish ... and those of the present, seeing the example of those past, can become enflamed in generous emulation to try to imitate them, because the occasions that have led to wars caused by rebellion in Spain are no fewer than the ones caused by ambition in Italy.⁴⁷

It was therefore the military exploits of his ancestor, Fernando de Alarcón, in the wars of Granada and of Italy from 1482 to 1540, that Antonio Suárez de Alarcón bequeathed to the Spaniards as a remedy for the revolts of the present.

Tying up Loose Ends

The case of the Soares de Alarcão family confirms the importance of the houses of Portuguese queens both in the circulation of nobility between the two kingdoms and in their patronage in support of integration of newcomers within the receiving society. However, if it is clear that the queens' favor facilitated these processes, the truth is that their patronage does not seem to have met with great resistance from among Portuguese courtiers.

Similarly, the replacement of a Portuguese male line (Soares) with one of Castilian origin (Alarcón) does not seem to have caused any upset. Nor were any doubts raised about this new male Castilian line becoming the head of a well-established house of Portuguese origin. The formulas used in the inheritance of wealth replicated those that were usual in such circumstances, and the later reproductive strategies followed a standard common among *fidalgos* in Portugal who were on the fringes of the titled nobility. Some of the more apparent factors included concentrating the transmission of wealth and the establishment of *morgados*; and also arranging marriages that were either economically advantageous—to heiresses belonging to the houses of Soares de Melo first, and then of Aguilar, with the incorporation of estates, distinctions such as military orders, governorships, and senior court positions—or socially advantageous, such as with descendants from houses with a noble title. I also ought to highlight that the relatively endogamous marriage trends of the Soares de Alarcão family—conducted within the orbit of the Mascarenhas family—also agree with the propensity to exclusivity in matrimonial choices within the upper echelons of the Portuguese nobility. Equally similar to that

⁴⁷ Suárez de Alarcón, *Commentarios*, n.p.

of their Portuguese peers was their attention to overseas military service, although not in just any territory. It was traditional at that time for the heirs to *fidalgos* houses to engage in military service in North Africa, a tradition the Soares de Alarcão family kept.

It is also important to point out that family roots in Portugal did not prevent the retention of links, property, and family memories across the border. These were operational and capable of activation, as was demonstrated by the ability of the Portuguese Soares de Alarcão branch to inherit from the Castilian Alarcóns despite possible contradictions between the legal systems of the two kingdoms. As the genealogical treaties of the last title-holder of the house state, it was the illustrious quality of forebears that mattered and should be remembered. Also in this respect, there were no ideological differences between the Iberian nobilities.

Nor did language present an obstacle to group identity—either in the specific case of this family or among the nobility as a whole. Within court circles and among gentlemen of culture, both Portuguese and Castilian were spoken and written. The topic is well known.⁴⁸ What is worthy of note in the 1606 epic poem is the appreciation of the moral qualities of the several characters that were in no way altered by mentioning their country of origin. Nor did this present any contradiction with their belonging to the political space that was the Spanish monarchy. The epithets—Portuguese, Luso and Lusitano, or Spanish or Castilian—were simply employed as attributes to describe certain characteristics, and not as denunciatory categories suggesting political opposition. The linguistic mix existing within these circles was proof of the intermingling of families and of the expectations of an Iberian public. The same is not true, however, in relation to the genealogical texts produced in Spain after the 1640 restoration.

It is for this reason that the kingdom of birth is perhaps not the best category for justifying the political choices of members of the nobility (or of any other social group), although historians still hotly debate this question. There is currently a consensus regarding its complexity and that its analysis demands careful attention to the contextualization of behavior. It is therefore important to make clear that the labels “Portuguese” and “Castilian” existed and that in certain contexts they could be used to indicate differentiated, and even conflicting, political spaces.⁴⁹ The Portuguese knew their own spaces, rights, and privileges and believed it was absolutely clear they did not wish to be Castilian, nor did they wish the kingdom to be assimilated by Castile or any other crown.

⁴⁸ Vázquez Cuesta, *A língua e a cultura portuguesas*; Diogo Ramada Curto, “A língua e a literatura ao longo do século XVI,” in *Cultura escrita. Séculos XVI a XVIII* (Lisbon: ICS, 2007), 57–90. See also the bibliographies in both of these books.

⁴⁹ Pedro Cardim, “De la nación a la lealtad al rey. Lorenzo de Mendonça y el estatuto de los portugueses en la Monarquía española de la década de 1630,” in *Extranjeros y enemigos en Iberoamérica: la visión del otro. Del imperio español a la Guerra de la Independencia*, ed. David González Cruz (Madrid: Sílex, 2010), 57–88.

The dynastic question that had hung over Portugal since the third quarter of the sixteenth century paved the way for suspicions and the appearance of parties that some politicians in those days classified as being specifically pro- or anti-Castilian. However, historical literature has already proven that this “black and white” labeling of political oppositions is difficult to apply to the choices that were made in 1580 and in 1640, either within the kingdom or, as we have seen, among the nobility. The decision process was far more complicated than that. In any case, these Manichaean perceptions serve as a reminder of the growing social understanding of Spain as a potential political threat and, therefore, of the need that was felt to define more precisely (and then monitor) the rights of the Portuguese. Frontiers and divisions were established in order to identify more rigorously this universe of private rights and privileges. It was in this sense that the Letters Patent of Tomar (*Carta Patente*) and conviviality with other kings of the Spanish monarchy contributed more towards a Portuguese reflection on identity and the creation of mechanisms of exclusion than to encouraging the vassals of both kingdoms to integrate. Nevertheless, there were coexisting ambivalent plans.⁵⁰ The example analyzed here demonstrates that.

The Soares de Alarcão family (and perhaps others who did not support the new king of Portugal in 1640) struggled with this set of questions. For the first time they were confronted with contradictory loyalties and bonds. Loyalty to the king, reverence for the memory of their ancestors, regard for their honor, and love of their land were until then sentiments that had coexisted naturally. However, the 1640 succession introduced an external and disruptive element, and with it the need to prioritize these different bonds, leaving no margin for doubt that the political space no longer coincided with social and cultural spaces.

João Soares de Alarcão’s 1641 letter to his brother reflects this difficulty. Juridical legitimacy and links to the monarch were of prime importance in coming to a decision. Perhaps a lack of confidence in the Braganza enterprise’s chances of success was also a consideration. Whatever the case, we see from the subsequent actions of João Soares de Alarcão and his sons that they sought to capitalize on their assets in order to ensure their integration into Spain. This forced them to significantly alter their discourse. They tried to link the retention of the Ceuta fortress in the hands of Philip IV with the struggle to maintain the integrity of the territories within the Spanish monarchy and with their Spanish family’s deeds and service. Within this framework the contents of the genealogical writings are a very good indication of the need for the Soares de Alarcão family to adapt to the new political reality in Spain and to their exile from Portugal. By remaining loyal to the king, they became Spaniards.

⁵⁰ Cardim, “De la nación a la lealtad al rey.”

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