

THE ULSTER EARLS  
AND BAROQUE  
EUROPE



THOMAS O'CONNOR & MARY ANN LYONS  
EDITORS

# The Ulster earls and baroque Europe

*Refashioning Irish identities, 1600–1800*

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Thomas O'Connor & Mary Ann Lyons

*Editors*



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# The Real Colegio de San Patricio de Nobles Irlandeses of Salamanca: its buildings and properties, 1592–1768

*Ana Castro Santamaría and Nieves Rupérez Almajano*

As is well known, the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries saw the formation of a network of Irish student hostels in university cities on the Continent.<sup>1</sup> A number of these evolved into formal colleges, with royal charters and institutional links to local universities.<sup>2</sup> In Spain, government support for the establishment of what came to be called the Irish colleges was partly motivated by religious sentiment but was also influenced by the complex political strategy of the *Monarquía*. During this period a number of Irish colleges were established on the Iberian Peninsula: Lisbon (1590),<sup>3</sup> Salamanca (1592),<sup>4</sup> Santiago de Compostela (1605),<sup>5</sup> Seville (1612),<sup>6</sup> Madrid

An earlier and shorter version of this article appeared in *Acta Comeniana*, 20–1 (Prague, 2007), pp 183–99. The editors wish to acknowledge the gracious assistance of Dr Vladimír Urbanek, current editor of *Acta Comeniana*. The authors acknowledge the assistance of Dr T. O'Connor in the preparation of this version. The surviving archives of the Real Colegio de San Patricio de Nobles Irlandeses of Salamanca are now in the Russell Library, St Patrick's College/NUI Maynooth. The authors have consulted these archives relating to the Real Colegio de San Patricio (hereinafter CP) on microfilm at the University of Salamanca Archive (hereinafter AUSA). 1 Colm Lennon, 'Education and religious identity in early modern Ireland' in *Paedagogica Historica*, supplementary series 5 (Ghent, 1999), pp 57–75. 2 Thomas O'Connor, *Irish Jansenists, 1600–70: religion and politics in Flanders, France, Ireland and Rome* (Dublin, 2008), chap. 3; Enrique García Hernán, 'Obispos irlandeses y la monarquía hispánica en el siglo xvi' in M.B. Villar García and P. Pezzi Cristóbal (eds), *Los extranjeros en la España moderna* (2 vols, Málaga, 2003), i, 275–80; Javier Burrieza Sánchez, 'Escuelas de sacerdotes y mártires: los colegios del exilio Católico' in Enrique García Hernán et al. (eds), *Irlanda y la monarquía hispánica: Kinsale 1601–2001* (Madrid, 2002), pp 39–73. 3 Hugh Fenning, 'Irishmen ordained at Lisbon, 1587–1850' in *Collectanea Hibernica*, 31–2 (1989–90), pp 103–7; Patricia O Connell, *The Irish college at Lisbon, 1590–1834* (Dublin, 2001). 4 Thomas Morrissey, 'The Irish student diaspora in the sixteenth century and the early years of the Irish college at Salamanca' in *Recusant History*, 14 (1977–8), pp 242–60; M. Henchy, 'The Irish college at Salamanca' in *Studies*, 70 (1981), pp 220–7. 5 Garet Davies, 'The Irish college at Santiago de Compostela. Two documents about its early days' in Margaret Rees (ed.), *Catholic tastes and times: essays in honour of Michael E. Williams* (Leeds, 1987), pp 81–126; Patricia O Connell, *The Irish college at Santiago de Compostela, 1605–1769* (Dublin, 2007). 6 Walter McDonald, 'Irish ecclesiastical colleges since the

(1629)<sup>7</sup> and Alcalá de Henares (1630).<sup>8</sup> It appears that there were colleges in other locations, notably Valladolid and Évora (1590s?)<sup>9</sup> but little is known of them. Except for Alcalá, all of the Irish colleges in Iberia were placed under the control of the Jesuits.<sup>10</sup>

The college at Salamanca was, without a doubt, the most important of these. Philip II, through a royal decree issued in Valladolid on 2 August 1592, charged the rector, the *maestrescuela* (the university judge) and the senate of the University of Salamanca with protecting and favouring the Irish youths who, with his royal permission, were being transferred from Valladolid to Salamanca.<sup>11</sup> This decree is often considered the inception of the Irish college in the city. Known as the Real Colegio de San Patricio de Nobles Irlandeses, it began its operations under the direction of the Irish Jesuit Thomas White (Vitus). Originally a secular priest, he was a native of Clonmel and had come to Spain in 1582 in the entourage of his uncle, Bishop Thomas Strong of Ossory. He had settled in Valladolid where a small group of Irish students formed around him,<sup>12</sup> living off charity and attending the local university. They were supported by the local Jesuits. As in Flanders, the inspiration for setting up an organized Irish student community seems to have come from English contemporaries. In 1589, thanks to the lobbying of Robert Persons SJ (1546–1610), a college for English students, St Alban's, had been endowed by Philip II in Valladolid.<sup>13</sup> As was the case in Douai, it appears that some Irish students were associated with this establishment.<sup>14</sup> They may have been among the twenty-four Irish students in Valladolid in 1590 for whom Bonaventura

Reformation: Seville' in *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, 9 (1872), pp 208–21. 7 Enrique García Hernán, 'Irish clerics in Madrid, 1598–1665' in Thomas O'Connor and Mary Ann Lyons (eds), *Irish communities in early-modern Europe* (Dublin, 2006), pp 267–93; idem, 'El Colegio de San Patricio de los Irlandeses de Madrid (1621–1937)' in *Madrid. Revista de arte, geografía e historia*, 8 (2006), pp 219–46 (<http://www.irishinspain.org/archivos/colirmad.pdf>); idem, 'Clérigos irlandeses en la Corte de Madrid' in Declan M. Downey and Julio Crespo MacLennan (eds), *Spanish–Irish relations through the ages* (Dublin, 2008), pp 49–71. 8 Patricia O Connell, *The Irish college at Alcalá de Henares, 1649–1785* (Dublin, 1997); Óscar Recio Morales, *Irlanda en Alcalá: la comunidad irlandesa en la Universidad de Alcalá y su proyección europea, 1579–1785* (Alcalá, 2004). 9 Patricia O Connell, 'Irish students at the University of Évora, 1618–1718' in *Seanchas Ardnhacha: Journal of the Armagh Diocesan Historical Society*, 20:1 (2004), pp 67–70. 10 Thomas O'Connor, 'Irish migration to Spain and the formation of the Irish college network, 1589–1800' in K. Issacs and L. François (eds), *The sea in European history* (Pisa, 2001), pp 109–23. 11 The date of the royal decree varies from one copy to another: 2, 3, or 12 Aug. Cristóbal de los Cobos, rector of the Society of Jesus college in Salamanca, was charged by Philip II with the move. AUSA, CP, rollo (roll) 3, carpeta (folder, hereinafter 'carp.') 8, see also roll 4. AUSA, lib. 60, f. 110, lib. 61, f. 18v. See V. Beltrán de Heredia, *Cartulario de la Universidad de Salamanca* (6 vols, Salamanca, 1972), iv, 435–6, 439. 12 Edmund Hogan, *Ibernia Ignatiana seu Ibernorum Societatis Iesu partum monumenta* (Dublin, 1880), p. 31. 13 See E. Henson (ed.), 'Registers of the English college at Valladolid, 1589–1862' in *Catholic Record Society*, 30 (1930), pp xiv–xv. 14 Óscar Recio Morales, *Irlanda en Alcalá* (Alcalá, 2004), p. 52.

Naughton OFM, bishop of Ross, petitioned the court.<sup>15</sup> In 1592 White presented an Irish student group to Philip II on the occasion of the latter's visit to Valladolid. His plan was to secure a foundation, like St Alban's, for his students and his efforts bore fruit.<sup>16</sup>

The title of 'royal college' was justified not only by the king's formal act of foundation but also by the economic support the institution received from the Crown from the start. In 1593, by royal charter, Philip II granted a juro (a type of annuity) of 350,000 maravedís (that is, 10,293 reals)<sup>17</sup> for the sustenance of the seminary and his successors continued this charity, despite the difficulty in obtaining the promised funds. The juro was first secured on the alcabala tax of Córdoba (sales tax of 10 per cent) and its administrative area and then on the mints of the realm, in particular that of Toledo. However, when the mintage plunged, the rector at the time, Paul Sherlock, was able to shift the financing onto the pepper levy, which was collected for two or three years before passing onto the alcabalas of Madrid after 1638.<sup>18</sup>

In addition to the kings' support, the Colegio de San Patricio received numerous donations during its early years from Queen Margarita, wife of Philip III (through her confessor, the Jesuit Richard Haller), from the Empress Maria Anna of Austria, from important members of the nobility and from private individuals as well as from many bishops, archbishops and cathedral chapters, some of them quite distant.<sup>19</sup> This assistance may be explained in

15 Burrieza Sánchez, 'Escuelas de sacerdotes y mártires', p. 51. 16 Hogan, *Ibernia Ignatiana*, p. 31. 17 The Habsburgs maintained a complex, bimetallic system based on gold and silver. Precious metal coin had two different values simultaneously: the intrinsic value of the metal set by the market and the nominal value set by the Government. The basic gold coin was the ducat (ducado) called escudo after 1537. The basic silver coin was the real and the abstract unit of account was the maravedí. A real was worth 34 maravedís and a ducat was the equivalent of 375 maravedís. Values varied over time. One escudo was worth 400 maravedís in 1566, 440 in 1609 and 450 in 1700. The wage of a Spanish foot-soldier remained at three escudos monthly from 1534 until 1634 when it was raised to four. 18 This is the account, in brief, according to a document on the 'State of the Irish seminary in August 1639' and in the tax records. Also, several decrees with these royal concessions have been preserved, although the *Libro de recibos y limosnas* (Book of receipts and alms) clearly reflects the fact that they were not always collected on time or in total. AUSA, CP, rollo 8, legajo (file, hereinafter leg.) 25; rollo 27, carp. 18; rollo 3, carp. 18; rollo 19, leg. 18, carp. 1. 19 Among the college's documents is the *Libro de limosnas* (Book of alms) (AUSA, CP, rollo 19, leg. 18, carp. 1), in which all the donations received since 1596 had been noted. It contains, for example, the donation from Madrid delivered on one occasion by the priest Francisco Suárez, those given by the bishops, archbishops and chapters of Salamanca, Plasencia, Zamora, Santiago, Lugo, Orense, Mondoñedo, Oviedo, Braga, Ciudad Rodrigo, Ávila, Burgos, Segovia, Jaén, Badajoz, Córdoba, Cartagena, Murcia, Sigüenza, Coria, Calahorra and Osma. Among the members of the nobility, the counts of Lemos, of Alba de Aliste, of Peñaranda, of Oropesa, of Ayala and the duke and duchess of Alba, the duchesses of Osuna and of Feria, the duke of Arcos, the countess of Cifuentes, the marquise of Cuellar, the marquesses of Astorga and the marquess of Tarazona. Other figures who supported the college were Fabio Nelli de Espinosa, a banker from Valladolid; Juan de Borja (perhaps the famous creator of emblems); Juan de

<i>Year</i>	<i>Income</i>	<i>Expenses</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Income</i>	<i>Expenses</i>
1596-7	827088		1622	883598	608932
1597-8			1623	835616	703896
1598-9			1624	663714	501675
1599-1600			1625	1627857	1430141
1600-1			1626		
1601-2	2024851	1972902	1627	873732	994454
1602	412500		1628	621109	621713
1602-3	567114	655179	1629	671680	698587
1604-5	434982	737100	1630	38780	511128
1605-6	658102	921898	1631	141467	907570
1606-7	655108	1005256	1632	753782	1047643
1607-8	460066	885183	1633	415672	531664
1608-9	1430332	1418254	1634	445400	486549
1609-10	346154	743206	1635	442000	440336
1610-11	689625	954865	1636	433300	405042
1611-12	1111168	1235274	1637	879648	845070
1612-13	666810	871319	1638	497420	485588
1613-14	416994	585295	1639	1006366	771902
1614-15	856978	678157	1640	616522	574748
1616-17	293494	525757	1641	602064	596642
1617	1935361	1453332	1642	652307	681394
1618			1643	346188	530910
1619			1644	470594	636922
1620	691139	581200	1645	285600	600610
1621	636586	548410	1646	910554	837454

Figure 10.1: Income and expenditure in the Irish college, Salamanca, 1546-1646.

part by the fact that early on it was customary for two students to walk to several towns and request donations for the college from each chapter by reciting a Latin prayer in which they communicated the necessity and the piety of the enterprise. The superiors also travelled to different locations asking for donations.<sup>20</sup>

The revenues collected during these first years were also supplemented by the contributions the students themselves made. Specifically, it had been established that the college would receive the alms from the Masses said by the student priests. The quantity was not fixed; it varied depending on the number of collegians and of those who were ordained.<sup>21</sup> Donations also came from

Palafox, bishop of Puebla; Diego de Arce, General Inquisitor; and various Irish merchants settled in Spain. <sup>20</sup> This is evident when speaking of the donation given by the Cathedral of Plasencia. This practice must have ended relatively soon, for the proceeds did not always compensate for the time invested. AUSA, CP, rollo 27, leg. 25. <sup>21</sup> The income thus received was reduced due to an order given by the Jesuit provincial which left two Masses free per week for each collegiate priest



Ireland. For instance, Fr James Archer SJ was in Ireland collecting funds in 1596. In particular he made composition with the possessors, presumably Catholic, of confiscated Church property in return for contributions to the fledgling college.<sup>22</sup>

Fifteen years later, on 30 May 1608, the Colegio de los Irlandeses, as the Irish college became known, was officially incorporated into the University of Salamanca, gaining from then on the honours and privileges enjoyed by all other colleges.<sup>23</sup> A year later a royal charter granted by Philip III on 31 August 1609 specified the garb to be worn by students. They were to dress like Irish collegiates in the already established Irish college in Lisbon, in a cassock and cape of black woollen cloth bearing the insignia of Saint Patrick which consisted of an episcopal staff with a serpent entwined upon it surmounted with a small multicoloured cross.<sup>24</sup> Some years later, on 14 May 1616, the university authorized them to change their garb so as to distinguish them more clearly from the 'familiar' of other colleges. The new uniform was greyish brown with a similarly coloured cape, a red and white cross with green foot, which was the insignia of Saint Patrick and the symbol of the Irish nation.<sup>25</sup>

From its origins until 1611, the college in Salamanca took in over 200 Irish students,<sup>26</sup> some of whom went on to achieve considerable prominence.<sup>27</sup> One of these was William Bathe, to whom the authorship of the *Ianua linguarum*, published in Salamanca that same year, is attributed. His stay at the Colegio de San Patricio is attested in at least three undated accounts: one, general in character, which lists all the Irish young men that had lived there since the college

to say them for their intentions, and thus receiving the corresponding donations. AUSA, CP, rollo 27, leg. 25. 22 Walter McDonald, 'Irish colleges since the Reformation' in *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, 10 (1873), pp 360-6. 23 AUSA, CP, rollo 4, carp. 8. Nevertheless, the college is listed in the student register beginning in the academic year 1595-6. AUSA, registers 309-17. See Sala Balust, *Constituciones, estatutos y ceremonias de los antiguos colegios seculares de la Universidad de Salamanca* (4 vols, Salamanca, 1962), i, 29. 24 AUSA, CP, rollo 3, carp. 8. 25 AUSA, CP, rollo 4, carp. 8. Villar y Macias confuses these two habits, an error repeated by other authors. M. Villar y Macias, *Historia de Salamanca* (3 vols, Salamanca, 1887), ii, 348. With time they went back to using the black habit, as can be observed in a drawing by W. Bradford engraved by I. Clark in 1809, London (Plate 23). 26 AUSA, CP, rollo 3, carp. 6. The number of students housed by the college varied considerably from year to year and depended exclusively on the income and donations it counted on. Up till 1640 the number of collegiates oscillated between five and twenty, though it usually hovered around twelve; in addition, one must consider the three priests of the Society, the servant boys and the Irish guests who were received temporarily. AUSA, CP, rollo 19, leg. 18, carp. 1. 27 Up until 1611, the college had produced two archbishops, one bishop, a protonotary apostolic, six doctors of theology and several with other titles in the humanities, in addition to a general, a provincial and several vicars and abbots of religious orders 'who have written very worthwhile books and documents', AUSA, CP, rollo 3, carp. 6. Widening the chronological scope, O'Connor notes: 'It is claimed that between 1594 and 1644, Salamanca educated 370 students, including one primate of all Ireland, 4 archbishops, 5 bishops, 9 provincials of religious orders, 30 martyrs, 120 Order priests, 12 distinguished writers, 40 doctors of Divinity'. O'Connor, 'Irish migration', p. 113.

was transferred from Valladolid to Salamanca in 1592; another which highlights the priests of the Society of Jesus, to whom the college had been entrusted; and a third which noted the Irish students who had stayed in Castile and were available for missionary work in Ireland. His name is listed as 'Gulielmus Batheus (or Bathaeus) Dublinen jesuita' or, in Castilian form, Guillermo Batheo.<sup>28</sup> According to his first biographer, Paul Sherlock,<sup>29</sup> Bathe eventually became rector and for some years could have been one of the other two Jesuits who helped run the seminary.<sup>30</sup> For this reason, it is most likely that the *Ianua Linguarum*, which was later to influence Comenius and other authors so much, was not written at the Society's college in Salamanca, but rather in the Irish college, where he must have been lodged during his stay in the city between 1606 and 1614.

The primary object of this essay is to present an account of the material rather than the institutional history of the early years of the Colegio de San Patricio. In particular it will describe the process through which the college acquired a permanent home. It was during Bathe's years there that the college community, initially accommodated in provisional premises, embarked on the task of acquiring a permanent site, adapted to the specific needs and functions of the educational institution. Bathe died before the decisive adaptations and changes seen through by his successor, Fr Paul Sherlock.

## I

Philip II's decision to entrust the Irish seminary to the care of the Society of Jesus had a determining influence not only on its operations, but also on the future location of the Colegio de San Patricio in Salamanca. College rectors were always Irish Jesuits, assisted in the running of the college by two other resident Jesuit priests. At least from 1602, the college was subject to an annual visitation by the local Society provincial, who paid particular attention to the college accounts. The students attended arts and theology courses at the Jesuit college in the city. It was stipulated that they could have classes in arts, cases of conscience and controversies at the Irish college only if these were not offered in the Jesuit college. Further, the rector of the Jesuit college was present at the

<sup>28</sup> AUSA, CP, rollo 3, carp. 6. <sup>29</sup> E.S.J. Hogan, 'Father William Bathe' in *The Month*, 77 (1893), p. 545. Sherlock arrived at the Irish college of Salamanca as a student in July 1612. Therefore, he was there at the same time as Father Bathe for several months and, according to him, the latter taught the collegiates music and ceremonies. AUSA, CP, leg. 18, carp. 1, Libro de recibos y limosnas, f. 39r., rollo 19. Some brief biographies of Sherlock and Bathe in C.E. O'Neill and J.M. Domínguez SJ (eds), *Diccionario histórico de la Compañía de Jesús biográfico-temático* (4 vols, Rome and Madrid, 2001), i, 370; iv, 3565. <sup>30</sup> In the eighteenth century it is noted that the college needed, for its 'governance and good teaching', in addition to the rector, two professors or teachers, one of them teaching theology, the other philosophy. AUSA, CP, rollo 27, leg. 25.

entrance examination for candidates from at least 1626 onwards.<sup>31</sup> The Irish students were even buried in the Jesuit church.<sup>32</sup>

However, the Jesuit college in Salamanca had not yet been completed when the Irish college was founded in 1592. It was situated in the eastern part of the city, in the neighbourhood known as San Vicente (St Vincent) or 'Santana' (St Ann), separated from Cathedral Hill, where the university stood, by the Milagros reservoir, a body of water that was the repository for much of the city's filth and rubbish. Despite being in a somewhat marginal area and isolated from the university complex, it was not the only college there. Due to the foundational fever experienced in the sixteenth century it was not easy to find plots of land that were vacant or for sale in the city centre. In fact, a good deal of the land which extended from the Benedictine monastery and St Vincent's college to the convent of St Francis was gradually taken up by Archbishop Fonseca college,<sup>33</sup> the Notable College of Mary Magdalene founded by don Martín Gasco, St Mary of the Angels college and other, shorter-lived colleges such as that of St Lazarus, of Saints Peter and Paul and of St Andrew as well as two convents of religious: the Dominicans of Penitence and St Anne's of the order of St Benedict.<sup>34</sup> Since the Cistercians of Our Lady of Loreto did not have a large enough site within the town walls, they established themselves *extra muros*, before St Francis's gate.<sup>35</sup>

The Jesuits, who in 1548 were installed uncomfortably in a rented house in the vicinity of the church of St Blaise, started acquiring the surrounding

31 AUSA, CP, rollo 19, leg. 18 and rollo 3, carp. 8, especially the 'Respuesta de nuestro padre general [Claudio Acquaviva] dadas al memorial del padre Thomas Vitus', Rome, 5 Apr. 1604. In Father Sherlock's day, a lesson was read on the controversies of the faith for five years and perhaps longer. ('Estado del seminario de los irlandeses ... agosto de 1639', AUSA, CP, rollo 8.)

32 This follows from the discussion of the charges paid to the incumbent of St Blaise (AUSA, CP, rollo 27, leg. 25).

33 It was this very building that was given by the king in 1827 to the Irish college, given that part of the Jesuit college which had been ceded to them in the eighteenth century, when the Jesuits were expelled, was occupied by troops. In 1830 they had to abandon the old Fonseca college when the colleges were restored temporarily and lived there again uninterruptedly from 1838 to 1936 (AUSA, leg. 2815). See M. Sendin Calabuig, *El Colegio Mayor del Arzobispo Fonseca en Salamanca* (Salamanca, 1977), pp 79–80; A. Rodríguez G. de Ceballos, *Estudios del Barroco salmantino. El Colegio Real de la Compañía de Jesús (1617–1779)* (Salamanca, 1985), pp 128–9.

34 The St Mary of the Angels college, founded in 1563, was immediately adjacent to the Irish college. St Lazarus college, founded in the last third of the sixteenth century, was situated on the slope of St Vincent, and those of Saints Peter and Paul or St Andrew installed in a house built in 1604 in front of this monastery. Shortly after, the Irish college also looked for a building in the parish of St Blaise in the Immaculate Conception College of Theologians, founded in 1608. M.N. Rupérez Almajano, 'Monumentos salmantinos desaparecidos: el insigne colegio de Santa María Magdalena' in *Salamanca. Revista de Estudios*, 37 (1996), pp 105–32; Villar y Macías, *Historia de Salamanca*, i, 208; ii, 337, 348 and 357; iii, 25–27; Sala Balust, *Constituciones*, i, 27.

35 They began building in 1584, two years after the foundation deed was granted. See M.J. Redondo Cantera, 'Apuntes para la historia del desaparecido convento de San Bernardo en Salamanca: su edificio' in *Boletín del Seminario de Arte y Arqueología*, 60 (1994), pp 436–55.

houses and plots of land, beginning in 1553, though they did not take the measures needed to convert the confusion of hovels and corrals which had housed the college into a new building until 1576. A brother called Valeriani was charged with designing it, but his plans were considered too sumptuous in Rome and in the end the more sober project of a priest called Rosis held sway. His designs were to be corrected in turn and annotated in 1586 by the royal architect, Juan de Herrera. According to the plans that have come down to us, the college was envisaged originally as a large edifice consisting of two buildings, each some 150 feet long, adjacent to each other, with rooms on either side of a central corridor, between which there would be a transverse wing, lower in height, that would in turn separate two rectangular courtyards. In the end only half of one building, a section of porticoed courtyard and the transverse wing were constructed, in addition to a temporary chapel.

In 1589 the walls of the lower floor of the first building had barely been raised. That year the master builder Juan de Nates was contracted to finish it within a period of nine years, at a proposed cost of 12,000 ducats. This time, work proceeded more quickly and long before the target date, in mid-1594, it was practically finished, though the courtyard still had to be completed and the cost had risen to 18,000 ducats. The edifice that was constructed had three storeys, with a wine cellar underneath and an open gallery on top for taking walks. This was to make up for the lack of a garden. Forty-four rooms were arranged in the main and second storeys, and the ground floor was reserved for the porter's lodge, visitors' quarters, classrooms, and so on. The exterior walls were made of stone brought from Villamayor and the only decoration was the projecting strip between the storeys and the linear arrangement of the rectangular windows with their simple frames. In 1594 the master builder Hernando de Nates started the construction of another, smaller building perpendicular to the previous one at its eastern end, where the refectory and library were to be installed. It would have only two storeys, constructed of rubble-work except for the door and window frames, and its price would climb to 2,000 ducats. Parallel to these two buildings, two wings were raised, consisting of two storeys featuring arches constructed on pillars.

Finally, the new church was inaugurated in December 1595, according to the designs of Brother Juan de Tolosa, an accomplished architect. Considered provisional, it was nevertheless a substantial structure, comprising three naves separated by pillars with built-in Tuscan semicolumns. The central nave was covered by a brick vault and the lateral ones by wood, and it had at least five altars and two portals, one of them permitting direct access from the street. Its walls were built of brick and beaten earth with plaster finish. At this stage, construction slowed and subsequently came to a permanent halt. This was due to the publication of the will of Queen Margarita in 1611. In it, she had made provision for the conversion of the Jesuit college into a royal foundation and

wished that a new and splendid building be constructed in the centre of the city.<sup>36</sup> Nevertheless, at least till 1665, when the Real Colegio del Espíritu Santo (Royal College of the Holy Spirit) was inaugurated, Jesuit students continued to live in the older quarters, which have survived, though considerably reduced and transformed, to the present day. When they left the older buildings, it was suggested at one point that the Colegio de San Patricio should be moved into the abandoned complex, but this idea was discarded in the end.<sup>37</sup>

II

Given the links between the Irish college and the Jesuits, it should come as no surprise that when looking for a site in Salamanca to establish the new Irish foundation, care was taken that it should be as close as possible to the Jesuit College,<sup>38</sup> although that was not always possible. The Colegio de San Patricio began its operations with 'much deprivation and discomfort' in rented houses 'in different neighbourhoods.' It occupied, for example, the abbot's house in the small Square of St Cebrian, which belonged to the cathedral and had formerly housed the students of the Military College of Alcántara,<sup>39</sup> located practically at the opposite end of the city. In 1607 the Irish students still did not have their own house. They continued to live in rented houses and when they were threatened with eviction, they turned to the king so that through his intercession the university might transfer to them, for two or three years at least, the houses that had belonged to the Colegio Trilingüe (Trilingual College), then unoccupied.<sup>40</sup>

As we have pointed out, the donations with which the Irish college supported itself in its first years were sufficiently abundant to permit the acquisition of several houses, but they were not adjacent and probably did not satisfy the conditions required for conversion into a college.<sup>41</sup> Indeed, almost

<sup>36</sup> For a detailed study of the history of this first college of the Society see A. Rodríguez G. de Ceballos, 'El primitivo colegio de la Compañía de Jesús en Salamanca (1545-1665)' in *Miscelánea Comillas*, 46 (1966), pp 103-69, repr. in A. Rodríguez G. de Ceballos, *Estudios sobre arquitectura y arte en Salamanca y su provincia* (Salamanca, 2005), pp 75-108. <sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 88-9. <sup>38</sup> When the Jesuits' new building was being constructed, the Irish college considered in fact whether, when the College of the Society was moved, it would be advisable to change the location of their own college (AUSa, CP, rollo 27, leg. 25). <sup>39</sup> Archivo Histórico Provincial de Salamanca [hereinafter AHPsa], protocolo (hereinafter prot.) 5323, f. 363r. This is also noted by Villar y Macías, *Historia de Salamanca*, ii, 347. <sup>40</sup> Royal decree, 4 Sept. 1607 (AUSa, CP, rollo 3, carp. 8). On the Colegio Trilingüe see A. Casaseca, *Rodrigo Gil de Hontañón (Rascafría, 1500-Segovia, 1577)* (Salamanca, 1988), pp 269-71; A. Carabias, 'Evolución histórica del Colegio Trilingüe de Salamanca, 1550-1598' in *Studia Historica. Historia Moderna*, 1 (1983), pp 143-69; V. Beltrán de Heredia, *Cartulario*, iv, 435-6. <sup>41</sup> Specifically, they bought two houses called the 'Casa del Sol' in the concurso of creditors of Diego Gutiérrez, located in the St Vincent Street, one of them at its entrance, to the right, and the other a bit further on to the left. They would often rent them,

twenty years went by until the Irish clerical community was in a position to buy the houses and sites which were suitable for amalgamation into a permanent site, where it would then remain for over a century and a half.

The nucleus consisted of five houses belonging to the graduate Francisco Osorio, the beneficiary clergyman of San Polo, and two more to Diego Gutiérrez, the chaplain of the White Virgin Hospital. These acquisitions were made in 1610. The process probably began at the beginning of that year, or somewhat earlier, and was concluded in September. On 27 March 1610 Father Francisco de Galarza, provincial of the Society of Jesus in Castile, had already signed the licence to buy out the redeemable ground rent (*censo*) for the two 'principal large houses' and three smaller ones that belonged to the graduate Francisco Osorio. The entrance to the first two was in front of the carriage portal to the Society of Jesus college, on what was called the little Square of St Dominic, because of the hermitage dedicated to him given up to the Jesuits, or the Convent of Penitence, because of the convent of the same name situated in its vicinity. The three smaller houses, which backed on to the others, opened onto Hornillos Street. In addition, these properties were adjacent to the St Mary of the Angels college and to the houses of Diego Gutiérrez.

During the talks that preceded the purchase, rector Thomas White emphasized the benefit that would accrue to the college community through the purchase as it would be housed in a good, 'very healthy' location immediately next to the Jesuit college, which would mean great comfort for them, as they could avoid 'walking from one rented house to the next in different neighbourhoods'. Indeed, they could not have found a site closer to the Jesuit college, but it is still curious that its salubrity<sup>42</sup> should be highlighted among its qualities. In fact, one of the arguments brandished by those in favour of moving the Society's college to the vicinity of the university, in front of the famous *Casa de las Conchas* (House of the Shells), was that the site where it was located was enormously insalubrious. What is more, the college had the reputation in the province of Castile of being a 'cemetery' where the young students went to be interred.<sup>43</sup>

The houses of the graduate Osorio were valued at 2,000 ducats because of their number as well as the quality of their construction and their extension, which entailed an annuity of 100 ducats in redeemable ground rent. The purchase was closed before a scribe named Cosme Alderete on 7 June 1610.<sup>44</sup>

but since tenants could not always be found and they did not produce large returns, on 22 Nov. 1632 they sold them to the convent of the Minims for 2,200 reals, which they were to pay for by offering Masses. See AUSA, CP, Libro de recibos y limosnas, rollo 19. leg. 18. carp. 1 and rollo 9, leg. 3. <sup>42</sup> AHPSa, prot. 4332, fol. 766r.; deed of purchase is also in AUSA, CP, rollo 42. <sup>43</sup> Rodríguez G. De Ceballos, 'El primitivo colegio', p. 78; idem, *Estudios del Barroco salmantino*, p. 28. <sup>44</sup> AHPSa, prot. 4332, ff 756r.-765v.; see also treaties and licence, ff 766r.-768v. in AUSA, CP, rollo 42. This ground rent was redeemed in two parts, half on 4 Mar. 1616 and the rest on 29 Mar. 1621. Curiously, the acquisition of these five houses was omitted by the college in

Two months later, on 12 August, Father White had already made a notarial agreement with Diego Gutiérrez by which the latter consented to sell him, for 1,010 ducats upon receipt of the licence from the provincial, the two houses that were adjacent to those mentioned above which he had in the neighbourhood of 'Santana', next to the Peñuelas de San Blas, in order to house the college.<sup>45</sup> Specifically, it was a large house that Benito de Soria had built the previous year; its main entrance was in front of the Jesuit college and he had incorporated another, smaller doorway facing on to Hornillos Street, in which there was a stream that frequently flooded the area.<sup>46</sup> The price of 1,010 ducats included the charge of three annuities with which Diego Gutiérrez had bought them, to which a fourth annuity would be added in favour of Gutiérrez, of which but a small quantity was paid in cash.<sup>47</sup>

In order to countenance the outlay (over 3,000 ducats) involved in the acquisition of these properties, the priests Cristóbal de los Cobos, vice-rector of the Society's college and superior of the Irish seminary, and Ricardo Conbeo, vice-rector of the same college, addressed a letter to the *Cortes* (parliament) which met in Madrid in 1610, with the aim of obtaining economic aid. In it, they stated the need for a college in Salamanca where the Irish students who came to the realm could study in comfort, to return later to their lands with a good education to preach the Catholic faith to their compatriots and willing to face martyrdom in the process. The petition was well received. The *Cortes* accepted the foundation and its patronage and agreed to give the Colegio de San Patricio a 3,310-ducat donation to buy a house in which the students could be brought together. They imposed the condition that a plaque should be

subsequent accounts which list the plots it was established on, and discloses the purchase of houses following 1600. AHPSa, prot. 5616, f. 959 and AUSA, CP, rollo 19, leg. 18, carp. 1 (Libro de recibo y limosnas, f. 35v). This information can also be found in rollos 27 and 42. <sup>45</sup> AHPSa, prot. 2965, ff 1181r-1182v. <sup>46</sup> Both houses adjoined other houses belonging to Francisco de Osorio, Doctor Espinosa and María Tapia, a nun at the Mother of God Convent. Benito de Soria had inherited the large house from his mother-in-law, whereas he bought the small one from María Tapia on 7 Sept. 1609. Subsequently, on 16 Mar. 1610, he sold them to Diego Gutiérrez before the same scribe, Tomé Salcedo, along with the encumbrance of three ground rents: one of 764.24 reals and two chickens in principal and 50 in rent to the St Ann Monastery, another of 3,300 reals in principal and 165 in rent to María de la Cruz and the third of 1,980 reals in principal and 99 in rent to Antonio Rodríguez, who represented María Tapia. See AUSA, CP, rollo 9, leg. 3 and rollo 42. <sup>47</sup> AHPSa, prot. 2965, ff 670-679v.; AUSA, CP, rollo 19, leg. 18, carp. 1 (Libro de recibo y limosnas, f. 35v). Diego Gutiérrez was paid 60 ducats and a ground rent of 400 ducats in principal and 20 in rent was established in his name, which subsequently, on 14 Jan. 1612, Diego Gutiérrez transferred to Francisco Osorio. Moreover, due to this purchase, the college was obliged, following several lawsuits, to take on another charge of 5,000 maravedis a year and 80,000 in principal in favour of the chaplaincy founded by Pedro Maldonado de Anaya which Benito de Soria had not declared when he sold his house. In 1613, however, the Irish college managed to redeem several of these charges, at least the 400 ducats transferred to Francisco Osorio and the 300 of María de la Cruz. See AUSA, CP, rollo 42.

placed on the main door of the building and to the right of the main altar of its chapel with 'the arms of these realms' sculpted on it together with the following inscription: 'This college was built by the Crown of Castile for the sustenance of the Christian religion of Ireland the year the Catholic King Philip III expelled the Moors, enemies of the faith, from the Realm, 1610.' Similarly, on 17 March, Saint Patrick's Day, vespers and Mass were to be celebrated in the chapel with the utmost solemnity, praying to God for the conservation and exaltation of the faith in the realm, to which the Salamanca town council was to be invited. If the foundation were to disappear, the property of the building, or a portion of it to the value of the sum donated, would revert to the realm. Once the arms and the inscription were placed on the door, on 17 June 1611, the rector and the vice-rector of the seminary undertook before a notary to satisfy all those conditions, and the document was then sent to the town council of Salamanca, which approved it on 1 July of the same year. This donation of 3,310 ducats was destined to finance the plots of land for which, as we have seen, the college had already bought out the redeemable ground rent. However, according to a communication between the town council and the king, dated 8 January 1611, more than 20,000 ducats would be required in order to transform the houses into a proper college.<sup>48</sup>

The members of the Irish college had to move to the houses acquired between the Calle de Hornillos and the Plazuela de Santo Domingo towards the close of 1610.<sup>49</sup> On 17 June 1611 the provincial of the Society, Gaspar de Vegas, conceded to Father Thomas Vitus a licence 'to preserve the Holy Sacrament and say Mass in the seminary' in a room situated in the uppermost area of the house, on the condition that it be 'well adorned and decently outfitted'.<sup>50</sup> An image of Saint Patrick, the Irish apostle, to which Pope Paul V had granted a series of graces and indulgences in 1612, was also to be placed there.<sup>51</sup>

Once it had settled into its new location, the Colegio de San Patricio tried to purchase a few more houses in order to accommodate service rooms as well as to enlarge the garden and the corrals. The opportunities for enlargement were not, however, great and were basically limited to the few apartments still left on the eastern side of the block, for the Colegio de Los Ángeles occupied the western part.

On 22 August 1614 Diego de Carvajal sold to the college, free of charges, a house he had inherited from his uncle, near the Jesuit college, for 90,000

<sup>48</sup> AUSA, CP, rollo 6, leg. 1; rollo 3, carp. 6. This subsidy is also noted by Villar y Macías, *Historia de Salamanca*, ii, 347. The collection of this sum was not, however, made totally effective until 1624. AUSA, CP, rollo 19, leg. 18, carp. 1. <sup>49</sup> This fact has been confirmed, since in Oct. 1610 the chapter rented once again the abbot's house, which, according to the document, had been the 'Colegio de los Irlandeses'. This indicates that it had been in operation for a long period. See AHPSa, prot. 5323, f. 363r. <sup>50</sup> AUSA, CP, rollo 3, carp. 8. <sup>51</sup> AUSA, CP, rollo 3, carp. 5.



maravedís. White paid in cash.<sup>52</sup> Around that date, steps had been taken to acquire another, small house which was very old and of little use, belonging to a beneficiary from Santo Tomé; the acquisition was finalized on 24 December 1616 for 80 ducats, once the bishop's authorization had been secured.<sup>53</sup> Lastly, on 3 September 1621 the Madre de Dios convent sold Father Tomás de Briones a house – whose annuity had not been more than five ducats per year – that had belonged to two nuns, for 40,000 maravedís.<sup>54</sup> All of these properties were within the vicinity of the college, in contrast with what happened with some buildings and sites which the seminary would purchase in the eighteenth century.<sup>55</sup>

The construction work carried out by the Irish college on the newly acquired buildings must initially have been minimal. They may have limited themselves to redistributing the spaces according to their needs. The precarious state of the installations must have been notorious, however, since it was noted in the *Libro de recibos y limosnas* (Book of receipts and alms) in 1629 that the seminary still lacked a clothes room, pantry, kitchen, refectory and sleeping chambers.<sup>56</sup> For this reason, beginning in 1630, once all the annuities incurred by the purchase of the houses were paid off and there were no more charges due, the rector, Father Paul Sherlock, thought it necessary to undertake a more thorough reform, which in some places must have involved

52 AHPSa, prot. 3753, ff 604–606r. They had previously adjoined the houses of the college and the houses of Benito de Soria and Diego Gutiérrez. The intention to buy it went back to at least 1611, as it is noted during the visit of Gaspar de Vegas. See AUSA, CP, rollo 19, leg. 18, carp. 1 (*Libro de recibo y limosnas*, 35v). 53 AHPSa, prot. 4697, ff 1324r–1325v. Información de utilidad y licencias, ff 1326r–1340r. 54 AHPSa, prot. 2974, ff 914r–915. 55 Specifically, in 1705 it bought a house from Felipe Rodríguez de Quintas, adjacent to the college, and another in 1730 from the Colegio de las Once Mil Vírgenes (College of the Eleven Thousand Virgins) in the San Blas parish. Initially, the idea was for them to extend the college, as a bakery and a corral, but thinking it over both properties were exchanged in 1738 for a residence that the Royal Chapel of St Mark had in Hornillos Street, though they had to pay them an additional 1,000 reals. A new house was built there in 1742 which the college began renting out. In 1740, it bought from Gregoria Muñoz the house immediately next to it in Hornillos Street as well, for 966 reals and 25 maravedís. The Town Hall also ceded it an extensive plot on Hornillos Street for a perpetual foro (leasehold) of five reals and a half on which four houses could be built; these the college undertook to construct. Also in Hornillos Street, in front of the wine store, it bought a plot for two houses from don Manuel Rodríguez de Pedrosa, and another from Mateo González. In addition to these houses and plots of land in Hornillos Street, in the same year of 1739 it acquired more property in the street that went up to las Peñuelas so as to avoid the possibility of its kitchen or chapel being registered. Thus, in 1742 it bought the property that lay in front of the kitchen from Cayetano Rodríguez for 740 reals, adjacent to a ruined house opposite the infirmary, in the little Square of St Dominic or the Penitence, which had been bought from the church of St Blaise in 1737, following a lawsuit, because St Blaise's wanted to build on it to the detriment of the light that reached the college, and the chapel in particular. AHPSa, prot. 4911, s.f.; prot. 4912, ff 364r–365r; AUSA, CP, *Libro de hacienda del Colegio de nobles Irlandeses*, 1743. Index of houses owned by this seminary, rollo 27, rollo 10. 56 AUSA, CP, rollo 19, leg. 18, carp. 1 f. 77r.

complete reconstruction. As we have mentioned, several of the houses were old and most of the walls were made of beaten earthen blocks, with the sole exception of the façade that faced the little Square of St Dominic, so as time passed they threatened to collapse and had become 'totally uninhabitable'. In 1636 the rector spent 1,000 ducats remaking the wall which separated the St Mary of the Angels college from the house's garden and building the rector's quarters above them. In 1638 he bought a plot with a small house for 500 reals<sup>57</sup> and the following year he reconstructed the tower, an architectural feature which was to give the Colegio de San Patricio a civil rather than religious appearance.<sup>58</sup> At the same time, another, two-storey block was constructed: the refectory, pantry and wine cellar would be located in the lower storey and other rooms in the upper, possibly student bedrooms. Finally, grilles were placed on the street windows, thus concluding the reconstruction and requiring the investment of another 1,000 ducats.<sup>59</sup> Judging by the extent and the cost of this building work, which involved expenses comparable to those the Society incurred with its investment in the small block of its old college,<sup>60</sup> it may be surmised that it was at this moment that unity was finally given to the initial, heterogeneous collection of houses and corrals. With the construction of the new edifice on part of the painfully acquired sites, the college had eventually assumed what would be its characteristic appearance.

During this construction work, the chapel with its sacristy had to be housed in the lower storey, where it was commonly found at colleges in Salamanca. At the same time, the San Patricio seminary started putting together a library, which it had lacked until then; it was installed in the rector's quarters as well as in a room above it. Once again, Father Sherlock was behind the initiative. Just as the Jesuits relied in their day on the monies obtained by the publication of the *Disputationes Metaphysicae* of Father Francisco Suárez to finance the construction of their college,<sup>61</sup> Father Sherlock also took advantage of the income provided by his books to enrich the chapel with a new frontal for the altar and a silver lamp<sup>62</sup> and to collect a considerable library, whose contents in 1640 had attained a value of 40,000 reals. In order to fund it, in 1634 and 1635 he initially invested the 5,500 reals sent to him by Fernando de Vera, arch-

57 AUSA, CP, rollo 8. Nonetheless, this house is never alluded to in references to the plots of land bought by the college. See AHPSa, prot. 5616, fol. 959; AUSA, CP, rollo 27. 58 Towers were common elements of palaces in Salamanca in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The neighbouring College of la Magdalena, which had bought the old manor house of the Figueroa family, also had a tower until the façade was rebuilt well into the eighteenth century. See Almajano, 'Monumentos salmantinos', pp 109, 124. 59 AUSA, CP, rollo 27, section entitled 'Hacienda antigua'. Partial references to these reforms in the Libro de recibo y limosnas, ff. 99r., 100r. in AUSA, CP, rollo 19, leg. 18, carp. 1. 60 It also cost about 2,000 ducats. See Rodríguez G. de Ceballos, *El primitivo colegio*, p. 86. 61 *Ibid.* 62 The silver lamp and the new frontal cost 1,100 reals which came from the first volume of the *Anteloquios*. AUSA, CP, rollo 19, leg. 18, carp. 1, ff 92-108.

bishop of Cuzco, for having dedicated his *Anteloquia Cogitationum in Salomonis Canticorum Canticum* (Lyon, 1633) to him. In 1636 and 1637 Father Sherlock bought some books in Medina worth 1,350 reals, which he intended to pay for with what he earned from the publication of the second tome of the 'Cantares' (that is, the *Anteloquios* ...). In the three years that followed, he set aside another 12,000 reals he had earned to a large extent from the proceeds of this publication. The sums allocated in this way diminished in subsequent years, but increased again in 1645 and 1646, reaching the sum of 2,700 reals, thanks this time to the income received through the publication of his *Apología de la Scientia Media*.<sup>63</sup>

The Colegio de San Patricio expressed its special recognition of Father Sherlock for the structural improvements carried out under his direction. He is all the more worthy of merit when one takes into account that in order to cover the expenses brought on by constructing the new buildings and settling the ground rents that encumbered the plot of land where the seminary was situated, he counted on hardly any external aid. Indeed, in 1624, after taking several measures and following agreements made in 1618, 1619 and 1620, the Crown of Castile agreed to become the sole patron of the seminary and committed itself to paying 16,000 ducats to it, 4,000 of which was to be allocated for the construction of the college and the remainder was set aside for the establishment of an annual rent for its support.<sup>64</sup> Nonetheless, this foundation and donation never actually took effect, so in order to finance the new construction of the college, only donations the Society's priests secured 'with incredible fatigue and industry' could be counted on, along with the proceeds of the sale, with the superiors' permission, of their limited assets as in the case of the two 'casas del Sol' (houses of the Sun), which barely provided any income. Sherlock also made use of a public excise tax, the collection of which was transferable to a private party, known as the *juro de millones*, which he enjoyed in Salamanca from 1638 to 1644, the year in which it was sold.<sup>65</sup> In addition, the numerous donations initially given by nobles, chapters, and

63 AUSA, CP, rollo 19, leg. 18, carp. 1. ff 92-108. Another edition of the *Anteloquia* is dedicated to the nephew of don Fernando de Vera, Brother Antonio de Vera y Figueroa. The complete title of the last work cited is *Pauli Leonardi [...] Responsum ad expostulationes recentium quorundam theologorum contra scientiam mediam liber singularis: in tres partes tributes* (Lyon, 1644). In one account it is stated that the seminary did not contribute anything to the library, which is why the provision relating to it upon the death of Father Sherlock depended on the will of the Jesuit General. It appears, however, that the college was able to keep its library, according to the accounts of the books that have been preserved. AUSA, CP, rollo 8. 'Estado del seminario de Irlandeses ... 1639'. 64 Documents relating to the patronage of the realm in AUSA, CP, rollo 6. The failure to comply is mentioned in rollo 27, 'Hacienda antigua'. 65 AUSA, CP, rollo 27, 'Hacienda antigua'. The casas del Sol (houses of the Sun) were sold in 1632, shortly after work on the rector's quarters began. They also had a licence to sell the ground rent to a house and a wine storeroom in Alaejos which produced no benefits whatsoever.

private individuals had been cut back in 1630 to those provided by the churches of Plasencia and Sigüenza and the count of Peñaranda.<sup>66</sup> On the other hand, Father Sherlock achieved a certain amount of security in the collection of the *juro* of 350,000 maravedis ceded by the Crown by managing to secure it on the alcabalas of Madrid.

In hindsight, we know that several structures were built, such as a new granary and a new wine storeroom, but these improvements probably did not entail major modifications to the edifice of the Colegio de San Patricio as it had been configured following the construction work completed in 1640. The document that gives us the best idea of its features is the description and assessment carried out by the architects Jerónimo García de Quiñones and Simón Gabilán Tome on 19 December 1774.<sup>67</sup> This was required before the Irish college was sold to the San Juan military college, prior to the Irish college community moving into the recently vacated Jesuit college, following the suppression of the order in Spain. The survey information is rounded out with partial references to the various offices of the seminary collected in an account from 1772.<sup>68</sup>

From this we learn that the plot of land which the Irish college occupied was completely irregular, a trapezoid, limited by streets on two sides.<sup>69</sup> The main façade of the college faced the old Peñuelas of St Blaise Street or the St Dominic Square, in front of the old Jesuit college, converted at the time into a royal hospice. It was 171 feet long, but not in a straight line: two angles were formed by a bend in the roadway, which eventually became known as the *Calle de los Irlandeses* (Irish Street). The western wall adjoined the St Mary of the Angels college and measured 120 feet, Hornillos Street measured 177, and to the east the plot extended 85 feet where it was bounded by one house that had been bought by the Colegio de San Patricio and was continually rented out, and by another, belonging to the Royal Chapel of St Mark. According to the architects, the entire plot covered an area of 17,835 square feet.

The main building must have comprised two blocks in an L formation, with

66 The chapter of Sigüenza started giving an annual donation of 50 ducats in 1611; it prolonged the concession till 1640, when it was reduced to 40 ducats and one real in a *juro* placed on the alcabalas of Madrid. Also in 1611, the chapter of Plasencia started giving a donation of 100 ducats, which they had to request yearly. From 1617 on it was reduced to 50 ducats and renewed every seven years till 1659 when the chapter stopped giving the donation due to its own difficulties. These donations entailed the saying of two Masses or two rosaries upon the death of every chapter member from each of these churches, which at times represented a great burden. The count of Peñaranda started giving them twelve fanegas (a unit of capacity of 55.5 litres, in some regions) of wheat per year in 1636, which was augmented in 1639 to 36. See AUSA, CP rollo 27, leg. 25, 'Limosnas particulares'. 67 AHPSa, prot. 5616, ff 956r.-958v. 68 'Advertencia para el buen gobierno de lo temporal del seminario y sus oficinas, 1722' (AUSA, CP, rollo 27, leg. 25). 69 This does not match completely the orientation given in the deed or that given by the architects when they noted its boundaries because its orientation hinges on which direction is taken to be north, but this is not an obstacle for indicating its position.

façades facing north and east forming a courtyard in which apparently two bays had been built, for mention is made of the 'cloister's L formation'.<sup>70</sup> It consisted of two storeys and had two doors, each with its portal, the main one in front of the Jesuit college. The ground floor housed the chapel with its sacristy, the refectory, the rector's quarters and several service rooms: a kitchen, a pantry, wood and coal storerooms, a washing room and a French kitchen.

Under the refectory and the French kitchen was a wine cellar dug into the rock and covered by a vault, accessible from the refectory. The water reservoir had been dug out in the same manner, 'with the title cistern, tank, or repository', which supplied the washing room. In the pantry floor there were large half-buried earthenware jars for salt, raisins, figs, chick peas, lentils, etc. and another small reservoir for the drinking water that was brought daily from the fountain in the Park of St Francis, as was water from the river and the well was not potable. Access to the upper storey was by means of a wooden ladder and on this second storey were sixteen small rooms with their bedrooms and corresponding narrow entrances and, in addition, in the eastern section, a hall or gallery 111 feet long by 18 feet wide which was lit by eleven windows. As noted by the architects, the exterior and the dividing walls were made of masonry and good, easily hewn stone 'in keeping with all lawfulness' (except for the portion adjoining the St Mary of the Angels college, which was made of black earth). This warrants the supposition that if the building did not have great artistic value, it was at least a solid and functional structure.

Apart from these two main blocks, the rest of the plot was taken up by the garden or vegetable patch, the corral, the stables and various service rooms distributed mainly in the western and southern areas. Some of these structures consisted of more than one storey too. Thus, from the wood storeroom, with its window that opened onto Hornillos Street, one climbed up to a *salón* ('parlour') with no ceiling aside from the roof, which extended over the carriage gate portal and the stables, intended to serve as a bread storage area. Through the French kitchen, one entered another mezzanine covered in the same fashion, located above the coal storeroom with a small door close to the south-eastern angle where the 'common alcoves' or toilets, which were cleaned with the water from the corral well, were located. It appears they did not manage to channel the water with a conduit to the neighbouring reservoir, though mention is made of this on several occasions. A new granary, which was

<sup>70</sup> The architects write that the first storey is arranged in the following way: 'portal y puerta principal, portal y puerta de carros, capilla, sacristia, cocina, despensa, leñero, carbonera, laboratorio, refectorio, cocina francesa, esquadra de claustro, jardín corral, cavalleriza y otros cuartos y ofizinas'; ('portal and main door, portal and carriage door, chapel, sacristy, kitchen, pantry, wood and coal storerooms, washroom, refectory, French kitchen, cloister ell formation, garden, corral, stable and other rooms and offices').

quite long and wide, had been built, and below it was a wine cellar, but it was only suited for storing the wine that was consumed before May, after which the midday sun would overheat it. There was, furthermore, a dovecot, a hen-coop with around eighteen chickens for a ready supply of fresh eggs, a cobbler's, an infirmary, a barber's (in front of the kitchen) and a 'wardrobe' for storing clothing, with its corresponding divisions, intended for eighteen people.

The garden was well kept, one part also serving as a vegetable patch. Lettuce, spinach, French onions, parsley, celery and other vegetables were grown, each in its own bed in front of the windows of the rector's quarters. There were trees and vines for shade and different types of flowers: carnations, tulips, hyacinths, iris flowers, broom shrubs, Madonna lilies and more which were watered from the corral well, though there were two others in the garden itself.

Due to the expulsion of the Jesuits in April 1767, King Carlos III laid down in May 1768 that the students of all Irish colleges operating in Spain should be gathered in one part of the magnificent building vacated by the Jesuits. Specifically, they were allotted the east block, where the Jesuit community had lived, with its good corridors, rooms, library and other chambers, and from then on the area would be named 'Ireland'.<sup>71</sup> The move must have been made around 1770. Now that the building that had formerly housed the Irish college no longer had any tenants to take care of it, it began to deteriorate. The roof's framework and several of the storeys remained in good condition, but some of the old wood had begun to rot because of the frailty of the arches, carelessness in retiling, or the strong winds that buffeted the doors and windows, damaging the partition walls. Moreover, the iron fittings and locks had been removed from many doors and windows. All of this produced a notable decline in its value compared with when it was inhabited by the Irish college community. For this reason, the architects valued it at 60,000 reals, and it was sold for this sum to the San Juan military college on 19 June 1775. For the military college, the old Irish college building, though in need of repairs, was comfortable and 'disposed in the form of a college', which was a considerable advantage over the house they had occupied until then.<sup>72</sup>

The San Juan collegiates were not to enjoy their new college for more than a few years. During the war of independence, the French constructed a fortress in the San Vicente Monastery and shortly thereafter started destroying all the buildings in the vicinity to guarantee its defence. On 13 March 1812 the time came for the college of St Mary of the Angels and the old Colegio de San

71 Rodríguez G. de Ceballos, *Estudios del Barroco*, pp 127-9. 72 AHPSa, prot. 5616, ff 945-950v. The autos (writs) and deeds in ff 951-76. On the part of the Irish college, don José Fernando Caballero, general visitor for the Salamanca bishopric and rector of San Patricio, carried out the sale.

Patricio to be destroyed.<sup>73</sup> The Irish college community did not suffer any loss, however, as the Jesuit college remained standing and when that building was destined for other uses, the king compensated the Irish, ceding the old Fonseca college to them. Within the collegiate panorama of the nineteenth century, it could be said that they were genuinely privileged.

73 The destruction took place on 13 Mar. 1812, while other buildings in the environs were collapsing. M.N. Rupérez Almajano, 'La guerra de la Independencia y su incidencia en el patrimonio arquitectónico y urbanístico salmantino' in *Salamanca. Revista de Estudios*, 40 (1997), p. 283.



Interest in the Irish in Europe in the early modern period has quickened in recent years, facilitated by better funding, increased research co-operation and enhanced digital resources. This volume presents the most recent research results in the field, beginning with a reassessment of the 'Flight of the Earls' in the context of European power politics. Essays follow Irish migrants through the labyrinth of confessional Europe, exploring their reception in the baroque imagination and their efforts to define themselves and their place in the new Europe of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

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