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REFORMATION REVOLUTION RESTORATION



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REVOLUTIONS, RESTORATIONS AND HERALDIC POLICY DURING THE REIGN OF FERDINAND VII (1808–1833)

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Every country in the world, whether still in existence or not, has experienced at some time an important social or political change that modified the emblems of the State (flag, anthem, coat of arms, etc.).

This Paper¹, in particular, deals with one of the most complex periods of the Kingdom of Spain, the Reign of Ferdinand VII (1808–1833). During this period there occurred the following overlapping major events:

- a) Entry of a foreign army, first as an ally, soon as an invader (1807–1808).
- b) Complex changes of king and of dynasty in 1808: transfer of power between Charles IV and Ferdinand VII, from father to son and vice versa; transfer of power in favour of Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte, called the *abdications of Bayonne*, and the appointment as king of the emperor's brother, Joseph Bonaparte.
- c) A period of war, both international and civil war (1808–1814), the emergence of some provincial boards (Juntas Provinciales) and a Junta Central (which did not always agree), plus a regency during the time when the King was absent.
- d) A political revolution trying to transform an absolute monarchy into a constitutional one (the Cortes de Cádiz, 1812).
- e) Some annexions of territories to the French Empire, organized as French military governments in Aragón, Navarre and the Basque Country, with a separate civil government under French control in Catalonia (1810–1814).
- f) A restoration that rejected all the previous institutions and became a counter-revolution (1814).
- g) Six years later there was another attempted revolution that lasted for three years (1820–1823);
- h) The invasion of the French Army called *Hundred Thousand Sons of Saint Louis* commanded by the Duke of Angoulême (1823), which ended that revolution and started a second counter-revolution which lasted until the death of Ferdinand VII and the end of his reign (1833).

Consequently, there were different loyalties to different governments and kings: loyalty to the Spanish Bourbons, Charles IV, and Ferdinand VII; loyalties to the Regency, to the Provincial and Central Boards; to the *Cortes de Cádiz* and the laws they passed; loyalty to Joseph I, King of Spain, Napoleon's brother; loyalty to Emperor Napoleon, who commanded the French generals, and created military and civil governments in those territories not linked to Joseph I.

All those abdications, successions, appointments, governments, revolutions, and restorations entailed changes in the heraldic insignia of the administration, one after another. There were also innovations of the royal coat of arms of Joseph I and his government in Madrid; the imperial eagle of the military government of Aragón; and

the arms of the Government of Catalonia. All the while in the background there was the continuity of the traditional heraldry of the monarchy of Fernando VII in the territories not occupied by alternative governments.

The Sources: Sealed Paper

The main source for the study of the heraldry of the period are the *sealed papers* used by notaries between 1808 and 1823. The *sealed paper* was a monopoly of the King (*Estanco del Papel Sellado*) created in 1632 by the Parliament of Castile to be applied to the Kingdom of Castile, and later to the overseas territories. It was implemented through the royal pragmatic decree of December 15, 1636, to the effect that from January 1 of the following year all new documents written on unsealed paper would no longer be accepted as valid.² The new papers had to bear a printed mark consisting of a small cross, the mention of its category, price, year, and a printed seal with the representation of the king's coat of arms.

This was a tax based on royal rights and regalia, collected through the paper used for official documents: administrative, legal, judicial, etc. It was valid for a single year and there were many different categories depending on the value of the documented fact (*Mayor, Segundo, Tercero, Cuarto, para despachos de oficio, para pobres de solemnidad, de ilustres...*) Its function was not just to provide new income for the crown, but also to give more security to public and semi-public documents, avoiding forgeries.³ Since it was mandatory, there is a third function which is to give validity to the document, which would not be legal if it was not written on *sealed paper*.⁴ Finally, in a symbolic sense, it is also the iconic representation of the king, the monarchy, the political power, and/or the state.⁵

All political changes had an impact on the *sealed papers*, ranging from successions (natural or forced) within the same monarchy to unexpected dynastic, ideological, or territorial mutations. The *sealed paper* marked all these changes of power⁶, serving also to create and reinforce the change by building awareness and producing ideology⁷. That is the reason why all political forces that held even partial power have expressed it as soon as they could on sealed paper; by modifying, adding, removing, or entirely changing the seals, arms, or other printed items. No iconographic changes can be considered insignificant, there being continuous adaptations to the political ideology of the moment.⁸

It is important to note that each new seal, coat of arms, or modification was only permitted at the beginning of the next year. For sudden changes, a qualification (*habilitación*⁹) was issued until the end of the year, first handwritten, then printed. This was a short sentence giving validity to the document despite the seal and the arms not corresponding to the new political moment, for example: *VALGA POR EL GOBIERNO DEL LUGARTENIENTE GENERAL DEL REYNO* (*It is valid for the Government of the Lieutenant General of the Kingdom*). This was provided as a temporary measure until the special paper of the new government could be printed.

The Sources: registers of notary deeds

The method utilised for this study was to consult the notary books of at least one representative notary in each of the cities of the different territories in the years 1808–1823: Madrid, Barcelona, Zaragoza, Navarra, Basque Country, Valencia, and Cádiz.¹⁰

THE SEALED PAPER OF FERDINAND VII

We selected those notaries who had books without chronological interruptions, and who continued to live and work in their homeplace, because those who escaped to areas free of the French governments would represent an ideologically distorted view. We began with the notaries of Madrid as a point of reference for the monarchy and the capital of the kingdom, but without regarding these as the normal archetypes because all the cities followed different chronologies and evolutions.

Evolution in Madrid

The year 1808 begins with its specific paper for that year, that is, with the name of the current king Charles IV. After his abdication in favor of his son, Ferdinand VII, as a consequence of the so-called Mutiny of Aranjuez, on March 19, we have the printed authorisation: *VALGA PARA EL REYNADO DEL SEÑOR DON FERNANDO VII (Valid for the reign of Ferdinand VII)* in documents dated March 19. Ferdinand entered Madrid on the 24th, where he was proclaimed king (without being recognized as such by Marshal Murat, head of the French troops stationed in Madrid). [Figure 1]

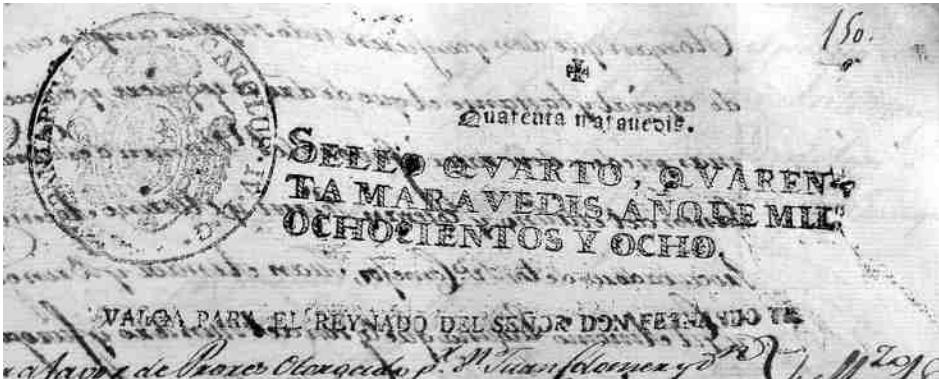


Figure 1: (AHPM, 22873, f. 150r, March 4, 1808).

In April, Emperor Napoleon summoned Ferdinand VII and Charles IV to Bayonne, (they arrived separately on the 20th and 29th respectively) to clarify their status, and he forced Ferdinand to renounce the throne. Charles IV argued that his abdication was forced by circumstances; after a meeting on May 5, with a complex political situation, (Charles IV was afraid of a revolution after the Madrid uprising of May 2) Ferdinand returned the Crown to his father. This was the day before Charles relinquished the crown to Napoleon. From there, Charles IV and Queen María Luisa settled in Rome, while Ferdinand VII was confined in the Château of Valençay.¹¹ Napoleon appointed Marshal Murat Lieutenant of the kingdom, and thus we find on May 17 the first qualification: *VALGA POR EL GOBIERNO DEL LUGAR-TENIENTE GENERAL DEL REYNO (Valid for the government of the Lieutenant General of the Kingdom)*. [Figure 2]



Figure 2: (AHPM, 22873, f. 233r, May 17, 1808).

A month later, by a decree published on June 6, Napoleon named his brother Joseph I king of Spain, who met that same month a *Cortes* or Assembly of Notables in Bayonne, where a Constitution was drawn up, sworn to on July 7.¹² After this, Joseph I entered Spain, being proclaimed king in Vitoria on the 12th of that month.

The normal process would be to enable the current *sealed paper* for the new king, until the beginning of the following year, when new *paper* with his coat of arms would be printed. But there was no time for any authorisation for him because a few days later, as a result of the French defeat in the battle of Bailén (July 16–19), Joseph I left Madrid on the 28th and the Spanish troops entered. Thus, to the previous qualifications (the last one of the Lieutenant) a new one was added: *VALGA PARA EL REYNADO DEL SEÑOR DON FERNANDO VII (Valid for the Reign of Ferdinand VII)*. Thus, the legal documents now carried on a seal and three authorisations, one of them repetitive.

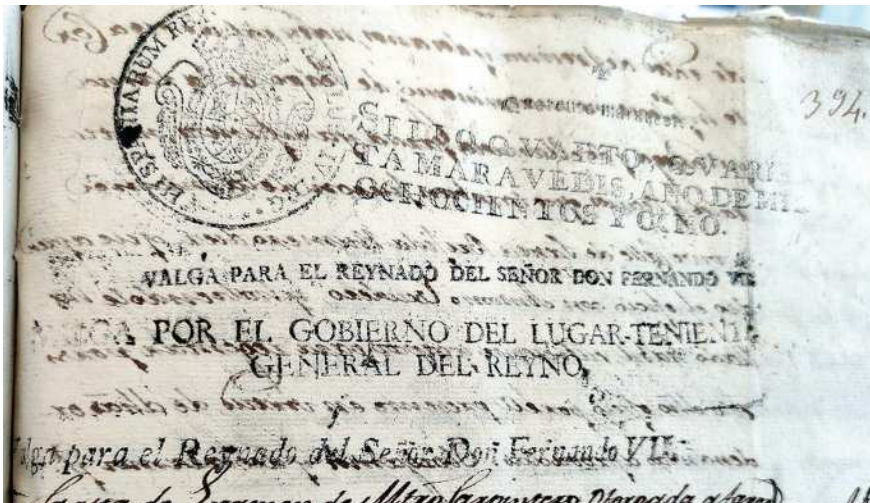


Figure 3: (AHPM, 22873, f. 394r, August 13, 1808)

THE SEALED PAPER OF FERDINAND VII

The situation soon changed again. With Napoleon's successful campaign to recapture Madrid, and the taking of that city on December 2, everything was once again under his control. Thus, at the beginning of the following year 1809, there was a new Sealed Paper with the arms of King Joseph Bonaparte that lasted until 1812, with no modifications.



Figure 4: (AHPM, 22876, f. 38r, February 16, 1809)

In 1812, as a result of the Battle of the Arapiles on July 22 and the defeat of the French army, Joseph I left Madrid for the second time (albeit temporarily), which was occupied on August 12 by General Wellington. The Sealed Paper of Joseph I was then replaced with that of Ferdinand VII. A further military reversal saw Joseph I returning to Madrid on 2nd November, following which an authorisation in favour of Joseph I marked that sealed paper of Ferdinand VII: *VALGA POR EL REINADO DEL SEÑOR D. JOSEF PRIMERO* (Valid for the reign of Joseph I). [Figure 5]



Figure 5: (AHPM, 22879, f. 358r, December 20, 1812)

The new Sealed Paper of Joseph I for the following year 1813 was used for only a short period, because on March 17, due to the difficult war situation, he left Madrid forever.

On June 11 a paper of Ferdinand VII was issued with the Constitutional seal approved by the *Cortes of Cádiz* the year before: *FERD. VII. D. G. ET CONST. MONARCH. HISP. REX. (Ferdinand VII, by the grace of God and the Constitution of the Monarchy, king of Spains)*. [Figure 6]

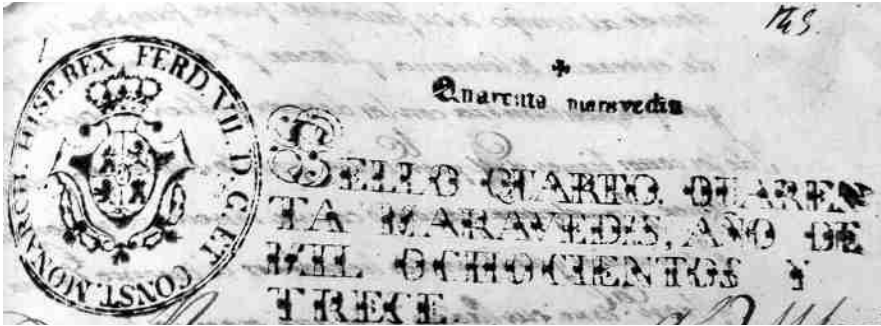


Figure 6: (AHPM, 22880, f. 145r, June 11, 1813).

The French defeat at Vitoria on June 21 and the Treaty of Valençay on December 11 ended the war, and with it the changes of sealed paper and the authorisations thereof. With the restoration to the throne of Ferdinand VII another policy began, to cancel the seals and symbols with constitutional content.

Evolution in Barcelona

The notary studied from Barcelona is Josep Maria Torrent i Sayrols. In common with all parts of the kingdom in early 1808 he used paper of Charles IV for the year 1808, plus the authorisation in favour of Ferdinand VII following the abdication of March 19¹³, and the authorisation for the lieutenant after the resignations of Bayonne May 5.¹⁴ The situation in the subsequent months and into the year 1809 is confused: he uses neither the paper of Joseph I nor that of Ferdinand VII, but rather that of Charles IV for the years 1807 and 1808, with the usual authorisations for Ferdinand VII and Murat, plus a validation for the year 1809: *VALGA PARA EL AÑO DE MIL OCHOCIENTOS NUEVE (Valid for the year 1809)*.¹⁵ [Figure 7]

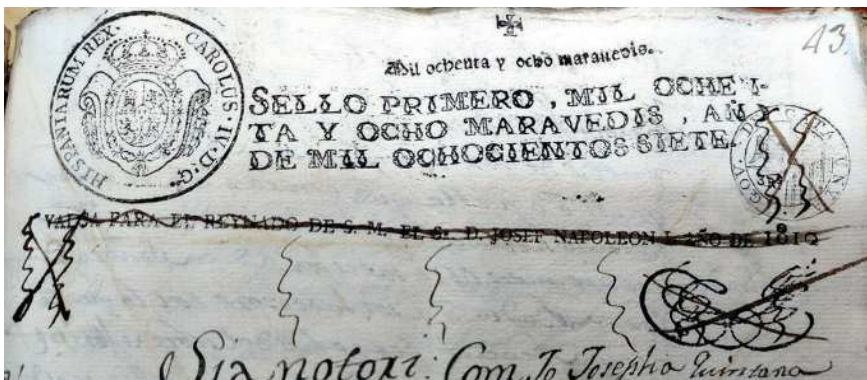


Figure 7: (AHPB, 1199/4, f. 43r)

THE SEALED PAPER OF FERDINAND VII

Only at the beginning of 1810 (**Figure 7**) do we find the first authorisation for the reign of Joseph I: *VALGA PARA EL REYNADO DE S.M. EL SR. D. JOSE NAPOLEON I AÑO DE 1810* (Valid for the reign of His Majesty Joseph Napoleon I year 1810). And on July 4th, two new seals were added: one ink stamp and another on the dry stamp, belonging to the Government of Catalonia. The quality of stamped seals is poor in this document, so we have illustrated it with a clearer sample from other documents (**Figure 8 and 9**):



Left, *Figure 8*: (AHPB, 1199/6, f. 82r). Right, *Figure 9*: (AHPB, 1199/5, f. 1r)

The fact that the *paper* of Joseph I was not used in 1808 and 1809 and the addition of the two stamps just mentioned in 1810 informs us that Catalonia was not following the government of Joseph I. This fact is made quite evident from May 1812 when the *paper* only bears the following two stamps on the left margin (**Figure 10**):



Left, *Figure 10*: (AHPB, 1199/6, f. 153r). Right, *Figure 11*: (AHPB, 1199/7, f. 194r).

These seals changed their design in June 1813, when the impaled Napoleonic eagle and pales was replaced by a seal with the Golden Fleece collar and a civic crown (**Figure 11**).

The withdrawal of the French army from Barcelona in 1814 leads to the first local *sealed paper* of Ferdinand VII on June 1, 1814, with the constitutional legend on the border of the seal: *FERD. VII. D. G. ET CONST. MONARCH. HISP. REX. (Ferdinand VII, by the grace of God and the Constitution of the Monarchy, king of Spains)* [Figure 12]



Figure 12: (AHPB, 1199/8, f. 67r).

Evolution in Zaragoza (Aragón)

In Zaragoza our enquiry was conducted through books of the notary Joaquín Vicente de Almerge. As in Madrid and Barcelona, following the abdication of Charles IV there are qualifications for Ferdinand VII¹⁶ and after that monarch's resignation we have the qualification for Lieutenant Murat.¹⁷ The difference between Madrid or Barcelona and Zaragoza is that the first two cities were already occupied by the French army before the start of the war, while Zaragoza was not; so, when the war began, they refused the *paper* of Murat or Joseph I and used only *paper* of Charles IV with validation for Ferdinand VII.

The sealed *paper* of Joseph I only came to be used after the capture of Zaragoza by the French army, on February 21, 1809, first with a handwritten authorisation (February 28) and then printed (March 14)¹⁸; from January 1, 1810, his proper *paper* with his coat of arms was used.¹⁹ This *paper* remained in use until January of the following year, 1811, when an authorisation in the name of the Emperor was added: *Valga para el Reynado del S. M. I. Y R. Napoleon I. y año de mil ochocientos once (Valid for the Reign of His Imperial and Royal Majesty Napoleon I and the year 1811)* [Figure 13].

After March 7, 1811 Napoleon *paper* was used, with its seal bearing the Napoleonic eagle and the legend *NAPOLEON I. EMPERADOR DE LOS FRANCESES Y REY DE ITALIA (Napoleon I, Emperor of French and King of Italy, and the addition Gobierno de Aragón (Government of Aragón).* [Figure 14]

THE SEALED PAPER OF FERDINAND VII

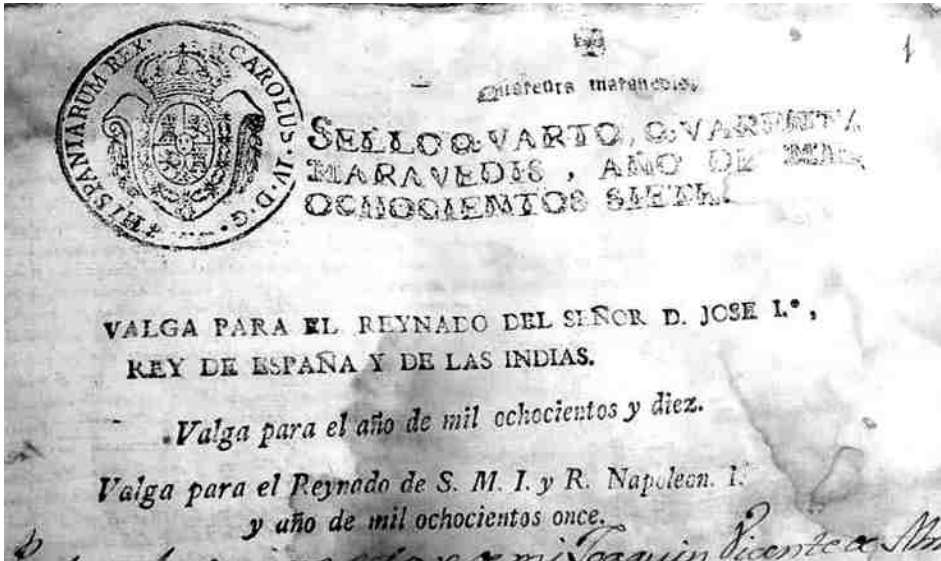


Figure 13: (AHPZ, Almerge, 1811, f. 1r).



Figure 14: (AHPZ, Almerge, 1811, f. 71r).

The abovementioned *paper* was continuously used for the following two years, until July 14, 1813, when the *paper* of Ferdinand VII was used with the constitutional seal as shown previously (Figure 15).



Figure 15: (AHPZ, Almerge, 1813, f. 266r).

Evolution in Pamplona (Kingdom of Navarre) and in the Basque Country.

Many historians believe that the Royal Pragmatic of December 15, 1636, created *sealed paper* in both kingdoms of Castile and Navarre,²⁰ but our research in the notarial and municipal books of this period shows that this was not the case: at least Navarre and the Basque Country were exempt.²¹

The kingdom of Navarre was united with the crown of Castile after the conquest of 1512, but kept its *Fueros* (territorial privileges) and its legislative institutions, “as an equal union, each one retaining its ancient nature, both in law and in territory and government, remaining a proper kingdom, with its territory and jurisdiction, institutions and privileges”.²² In this situation, it is logical to think that the provisions of the Cortes of Castile in 1632 might not be directly applicable to Navarre, and that the King would have difficulties in imposing the Royal Pragmatic of 1636.

Scholars of taxation in the nineteenth century readily admit that Navarre was exempt from *sealed paper* from the time of the Law of Modification of *Fueros* of 1851. Only after 1852, by royal order of April 29, did documents addressed to other provinces have to be written on *sealed paper*.²³ In reality, the kingdom of Navarre had been exempt for a long time before; at least in the period studied here, from 1807 to 1820, it was not used. This is how it appears in the books of the notaries of Pamplona Faustino Ibáñez²⁴ and José Francés²⁵; here the sealed paper was only used during the Liberal Triennium, from 1821 to 1823.

As far as the Basque Country is concerned, the introduction of *sealed paper* as early as 1637 would be plausible since it was part of the kingdom of Castile, but in reality, it followed the same cycle as Navarre: there was no *sealed paper* between 1807 and 1820, and it was used only during the Liberal Triennium. The notary studied here was Primo León de Arrieta, from Hernani. Despite having initially selected the city of San Sebastián, the notarial books of that city were completely destroyed in the assault, looting, and fire in September 1813 by Wellington’s English and Portuguese troops. The fact that there is no sealed paper in this period prevents us from specifying whether there was any link between Navarre and the Basque Country with the government of Joseph I, but it confirms the idea that the *sealed paper* and its emblems are a good resource to easily determine the link to a specific government or monarchy.

Evolution in Valencia

The notary studied is Mateu Manuel Boix; his books are kept at the Real Colegio Seminario Corpus Christi, in Valencia (RCS CC). Here the year 1808 follows the common evolution since the *paper* of Charles IV: validation for Ferdinand VII (on April 4²⁶) and validation for Lieutenant Murat (on May 19²⁷). But on May 23, the so-called *Crit del Palleter* (the shout of the straw seller) took place, that is, the uprising against Napoleon and Joseph I, in such a way that after the 28th²⁸ there is no more authorisation of the Lieutenant and there is only the authorisation for Ferdinand VII; and from the outset of the following year 1809 there is only *sealed paper* of this King.

This situation continues for the following two years until Valencia was occupied by the French army on January 9, 1812, and then began the *sealed paper* of Joseph I, with the legend *JOSE NAP. I. P. L. G. DE DIOS REY DE L. ESP. Y DE L. IND.* (*Joseph Napoleon I by the Grace of God King of the Spains and of the Indies*).²⁹ It therefore seems

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that the kingdom of Valencia was under the rule of Joseph I, but there is the particularity that on the sides of the oval shield there is the inscription: *EXERC^o DE ARAG.* (*Army of Aragón*). Valencia was taken by General Suchet, head of the Aragón Army, where there was a military government of its own, alien to Joseph I. This note on the seal implies that, although Valencia officially maintained a dependency on the government of Joseph I, it is in fact linked to General Suchet, who extended his power beyond Aragón (**Figure 16**).

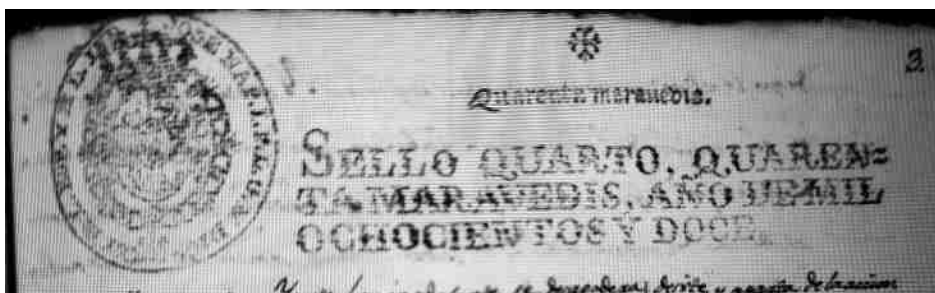


Figure 16: (RCS CC, 8013, Boix, 1811–1813, f. 3r, February 8, 1812).

As a result of the battle of Vitoria (June 21), Suchet had to leave Valencia on July 5, 1813, and the next day the Spanish army of General Villacampa entered. Thus, on August 9 we have the first *sealed paper* of Ferdinand VII.³⁰

Evolution in Cádiz

Cádiz was a town that was never conquered by the French army and it was also here that the famous courts were held which on March 19, 1812 approved the so-called *Constitution of 1812*. It is useful to compare the changes in the *sealed paper* in this city with the other cities that were under the control of French authorities at some point. The books of the notary Luis Barrera de los Heros, whose complete documentary series is preserved for the entire period, were investigated.

Since the beginning of 1808, Cádiz follows the same dynamic as all the previous examples: *sealed paper* of Charles IV, authorisations in favour of Ferdinand VII from April 7 (whether handwritten³¹ or printed³²), and authorisation for Lieutenant Murat on the 18th. of May.³³ From this date, there is no notarial activity until June 3, then using the stamped paper of Charles IV with the authorisation of Ferdinand VII. There is no paper of any French authority (neither the Lieutenant nor King Joseph I). From the beginning of the year 1809, the *sealed paper* of Ferdinand VII was used without any changes until the year 1812 inclusive, and there was no *paper* from any French authority (neither from the Lieutenant nor from King Joseph I)

In 1813 there is a significant change; a new *sealed paper* of Ferdinand VII was created with the constitutional legend on the seal: *FERD. VII. D. G. ET CONST. MONARCH. HISP. REX.* (*Ferdinand VII, King of Spain by the grace of God and the Constitution of the Monarchy*).³⁴ Although the Constitution was approved in March 1812, the *sealed paper* with the reference to the constitutional monarchy began in January of the following year, according to the custom of political changes of any kind, the only difference being that there was no prior authorisation (**Figure 17**).



Figure 17: (AHPC, 5011, 1813, f. 1r).

The use of the Constitutionalist *paper* was of very short duration because in 1814 the absolutist restoration of Ferdinand VII took place and there was a return to the *sealed paper* without references to the Constitution of 1812: 1814 FERD.VII. D. G. HISPANIARUM ET INDIAR. REX. (1814. Ferdinand VII, by the Grace of God King of Spains and the Indies). [Figure 18]

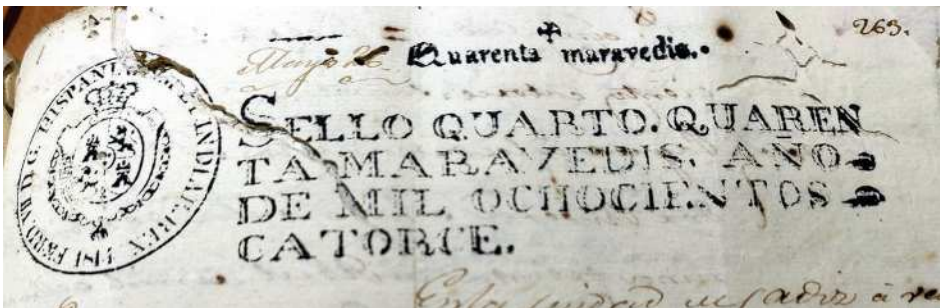


Figure 18: (AHPC, 5011, 1813, f. 263r).

The Liberal Triennium (1820–1823)

With the pronouncement of Lieutenant Colonel Riego in Cabezas de San Juan (Seville), the Constitution of 1812 was proclaimed and sworn to by Ferdinand VII on March 9, 1820. Thus began a period of about three years (the *Liberal Triennium*) that also had an impact on *sealed paper*, but unlike the years of the Peninsular War, which had seen political and territorial fragmentation in many governments, this period was territorially united.

The year 1820 began with a stamped *paper* of Ferdinand VII for that year, which consisted of the coat of arms in the center with the legend FERDIN. VII. D. G. HISP. ET IND. REX. (Ferdinand VII by the grace of God King of the Spains and the Indies) surrounded by the collar of the Golden Fleece; on the left, it bears reference to the category and value of the stamp (*Sello 4° 40 mrs*) and on the right to the year (*Año de 1820*). After the swearing-in of the Constitution the following validation was added: “Enabled, sworn by the King to the Constitution on March 9, 1820” (Figure 19).

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Left, *Figure 19*: (AHPM, 22886, f. 69r, April 11, 1820). The dry stamp bears the bust of the king in uniform with the same legend. Right: *Figure 20*: (AHPM, 22886, f. 69r, April 11, 1820).

The new liberal government made changes to the *paper* for the following year, 1821. This included the procedural addition of the category, the value, and the year in rectangular borders. The coat of arms was also simplified to quarterings of Castile and León, Granada and Anjou. The most important change, however, was in the legend of the seal: *1821. FERN. VII. D. G. ET CONST. MONARC. HISPANIC. REX. (Ferdinand VII, King by the Grace of God and the Constitution of the Monarchy)* [*Figure 21*].



Figure 21: (AHPM, 22886, f. 1r, January 2, 1821).

Almost the same characteristics are observed for the following year 1822, with the difference of removing the year from the inside of the seal (*Figure 22*).

In the year after that, 1823, there were two changes, which were both symbolic and very significant: first, the legend of the seal was written in Spanish and the numeral was no longer written in Roman letters: *FER. 7º. POR LA GRA. DE DIOS Y LA CONST. REY DE LAS ESP. (Ferdinand 7th, by the Grace of God and the Constitution, King of the Spains)* [*Figure 23*] A second change that year was the dry stamp. This bore the same legend in Spanish, but the king was represented in the form of a short bust, without any uniform and more naturalistically, as an elderly person (*Figure 24*).

In April 1823, the invasion of the so-called One Hundred Thousand Sons of San Luis began, marking the restoration of the absolutist monarchy of Ferdinand VII and a return to the political model prior to the Triennium. This change appears on the *sealed*



Figure 22: (AHPM, 22886, f. 1r, January 10, 1822).



Left, Figure 23: (AHPM, 22886, f. 1r, January 14, 1823). Right: Figure 24: (AHPM, 22886, f. 1r, January 14, 1823).

paper as an authorisation, with the announcement of the repeal of the Constitution of 1812. In the case of Madrid, this occurred after the entry of the French army on May 23: *Habilitado en nombre del Rey nuestro Señor, quitada la Constitución en 23 de mayo de 1823* (Authorized in the name of the King our Lord, removed from the Constitution on May 23, 1823). As the cities fell under the power of the Duke of Angoulême there were new and different validations (Figure 25).

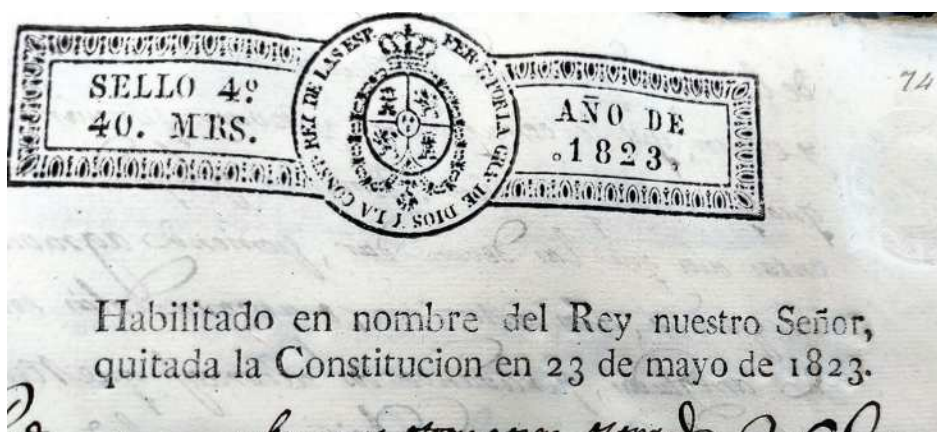


Figure 25: (AHPM, 22886, f. 74r, June 6, 1823).

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Finally, the paper of 1824 confirmed the return to the absolutist monarchy with the modification of the legend of the stamp, eliminating the reference to the Constitution: FERD. VII. D. G. HISP. E.T. IND. REX. There was a concurrent return to the dry seal prior to 1822: FERDIN. VII. D. G. HISP. ET IND. REX (Figure 26).



Figure 26: (AHPM, 22887, f. 1r, January 3, 1824).

Once again attention is drawn to the specific cases of Navarre and Basque Country, where *sealed paper* was not introduced at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and came into use for the first time under the liberal government of the Triennium. In Navarre, the notary Faustino Ibáñez used it for the first time on September 16, 1821,³⁵ (a year and a half after the oath of the Constitution) and for the last time on March 28, 1823³⁶; since which time sealed paper was never used again. A few days later Ibáñez escaped from Pamplona to Miranda de Arga and Puente la Reina, returning to Pamplona on October 12.

In the case of the Basque Country, the notary of Hernani, Primo León de Arrieta, did not use the *sealed paper* until November 17, 1821, in a small book just entitled *Register of Sealed Paper of Public Deeds granted by Primo León de Arrieta, Public Notary at the town of Hernani...*³⁷ A year and a half later, on April 20, 1823³⁸, he stopped using *sealed paper*. Thus in the case of both Navarre and the Basque Country *sealed paper* was only ever used for just over a year and a half.

In conclusion it is evident that the sealed paper and its validations was a useful vehicle for the demonstration of political power because it could be adapted rapidly in the face of political changes, showing the existence of new governments within between two weeks and a month of their institution.

¹ This Paper has been developed thanks to two projects: «Mercados y espacios económicos en el Mediterráneo Occidental: la formación de un entorno internacional de comercio europeo en el tránsito a la modernidad» ([HAR2015-65285-R MINECO/FEDER, UE]) and «Globalización económica y nuevos espacios internacionales: mercados europeos y redes comerciales bajomedievales en el Mediterráneo Occidental» ([PID2019-104157GB-I00/AEI/10.13039/501100011033 MICINN]). It has been financed by Fundación “La Caixa” (ID 100010434) al proyecto «FENIX. La formación de un entorno internacional de comercio en red: los negocios de un mercader catalán en el tránsito a la modernidad» ([2017ACUP0195]), in the *Grup de Recerca Consolidat en Arqueologia Medieval i Postmedieval (GRAMPMed)* (Generalitat de Catalunya 2021SGR 236) and the *Instituto de Arqueología* of Universitat de Barcelona (IAUB).

² You can see the text complete on that Royal Pragmatic in AMADOR, Joaquín: El papel sellado español. http://www.rahf.es/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/Academvs6_art%C3%ADculo-JOQUÍN-AMADO.pdf

³ Baltar, Juan Francisco, ‘Notas sobre la introducción y desarrollo de la renta de papel sellado en la monarquía española (siglos XVII y XVIII)’, *Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español*, 66 (1996), pp. 523–528.

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⁴ The signature, sign and remark of the notary give to the document public faith, but without *sealed paper* it was no longer legally valid. Pérez-Ainsua Méndez, Natalia: *El Papel Sellado en el Antiguo y Nuevo Régimen: Heráldica y alegorías en el sello*, (2007) pp. 38–39.

⁵ Pérez-Ainsua Méndez, op. cit., pp. 3–4, note 10.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 152 calls it “un microcosmos en el que todo cambio que se producía referente al poder central quedaba ahí reflejado.”

⁷ Hunt, Lynn: *La Rivoluzione francese. Politica, cultura, classi sociali*, (2007) p. 31.

⁸ Romero Tallafigo, Manuel: “Prólogo”; Pérez-Ainsua Méndez, p. 18.

⁹ Pérez-Ainsua Méndez, pp. 61–72.

¹⁰ The archives and notaries studied are as follows: Archivo Histórico de Protocolos de Madrid (**AHPM**) notary Antonio López de Salazar; Arxiu Històric de Protocols de Barcelona (**AHPB**) notary Josep Maria Torrent i Sairols; Archivo Histórico de Protocolos de Zaragoza (**AHPZ**) notaries Joaquín Vicente de Almerge and Pablo Fernández Trebiño; Archivo Real y General de Navarra, Pamplona (**ARGN**) notaries Faustino Ibáñez, José Francés y Juan José Francés, as well as books at the Archivo Municipal; Archivo Histórico Provincial de Gipuzkoa, Oñati (**AHPG**) notary from Hernani, Primo León de Arrieta; Archivo Histórico Provincial de Cádiz (**AHPC**) notary Luis Barrera de los Heros; and Real Colegio Seminario de Corpus Christi (**RCS CC**) notary Mateu Manuel Boix.

¹¹ Rodríguez Pérez, Gabriel, ‘Los preliminares de la guerra de la Independencia’, *Aspectos inéditos de la guerra de la Independencia* (Madrid, 2018), pp. 48–62.

¹² Argumosa Pila, Jesús, ‘Antecedentes geopolíticos de la guerra de la Independencia’, *Aspectos inéditos de la guerra de la Independencia* (Madrid, 2018), p. 23.

¹³ The first validation in favour of Ferdinand VII came into force on March 31, AHPB, 1199/3, f. 59r.

¹⁴ The first validation in favour of Murat came into force on May 21, AHPB, 1199/3, f. 85r.

¹⁵ AHPB, 1199/3, f. 1r.

¹⁶ Handwritten on 1st April (AHPZ, Almerge, 1808, f. 58v) and printed on 20 May (AHPZ, Almerge, 1808, f. 93v).

¹⁷ Handwritten on 20 May (AHPZ, Almerge, 1808, f. 93v).

¹⁸ AHPZ, Almerge, 1809, f. 40r and f. 104r.

¹⁹ AHPZ, Almerge, 1810, f. 1r.

²⁰ Pérez-Ainsua Méndez, p. 42.

²¹ Natalia Pérez-Ainsua cited in Pérez-Ainsua Méndez, p. 44, note 20; Allende, Ángel, *Timbres españoles (Catálogo, 1969)*, p. 221.

²² Miranda, F.; Ilundain, E., Balduz, J., *Cien años de Fiscalidad en Navarra (1841–1891)*, (Pamplona, 1998), p. 154.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 237.

²⁴ There is no *sealed paper* in 21455–3 (1807), 4 (1808), 5 (1809), 6 (1810), 7 (1811) 8 (1812); 21456–1 (1813), 2 (1814), 3 (1815), 4 (1816) 5 (1817); 21457–1 (1818), 2 (1819) 3 (1820).

²⁵ There is no *sealed paper* in 21346–1 (1807), 2 (1808) y 3 (1809); 21349–1 (1816), 2 (1817) 3 (1818); 21350–1 (1819) 2 (1820).

²⁶ RCS CC, Valencia, notary M.M. Boix, 7818, f. 231r

²⁷ *Ibid.*, f. 337r

²⁸ *Ibid.*, f. 365r

²⁹ RCS CC, Valencia, notary M.M. Boix, 8013, f. 3r

³⁰ RCS CC, Valencia, notary M.M. Boix, 8014, f. 45r

³¹ AHPC, Notaria 20, Luis Barrera de los Heros, 5006 (1808), f. 90r.

³² *Ibid.*, f. 92r.

³³ *Ibid.*, f. 131r.

³⁴ AHPC, Notaria 20, Luis Barrera de los Heros, 5011 (1813), f. 1r.

³⁵ ARGNavarra, 21457–4, 16 de septiembre de 1821.

³⁶ ARGNavarra, 21458–2, 28 de marzo de 1823.

³⁷ AHPGipuzkoa, Oñati, 3–1483, Portada.

³⁸ AHPGipuzkoa, Oñati, 3–1484, f. 48r, April 20, 1823.