



**FAMILY AND COMMUNITY IN
EARLY MODERN SPAIN**

The Citizens of Granada, 1570–1739

JAMES CASEY



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FAMILY AND COMMUNITY IN EARLY MODERN SPAIN

James Casey offers an innovative study of prestige, power, and the role of the family in a Mediterranean city during the early modern period. He focuses on the structure and values of the ruling class of Granada, where a new elite consolidated its authority. The study suggests that their power was linked to the pursuit of honour, which demanded participation in the politics of the commonwealth and depended greatly on the network of personal relations which they were able to build with kinsmen, clients and patrons. It explores the way in which this system contributed to the relative tranquillity of the community during a turbulent time of religious and political change, that of the rise of absolutism and of the Counter Reformation. The book sheds new light on the nature of the early modern family and will be essential reading for historians of early modern Spain and Europe.

JAMES CASEY is Reader in History at the University of East Anglia. He is the author of *The Family in History* (1989) and *Early Modern Spain: A Social History* (1999)

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FAMILY AND COMMUNITY
IN EARLY MODERN SPAIN

THE CITIZENS OF GRANADA,

1570–1739

JAMES CASEY

University of East Anglia, Norwich



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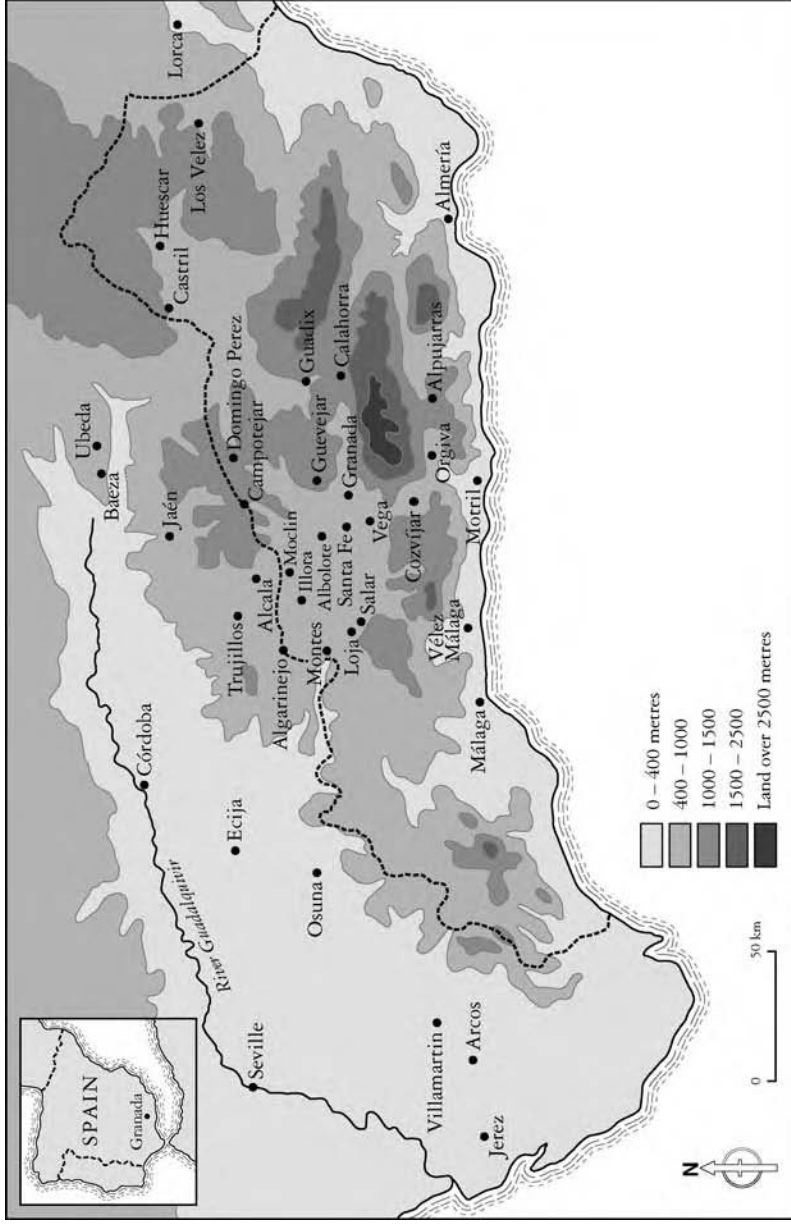
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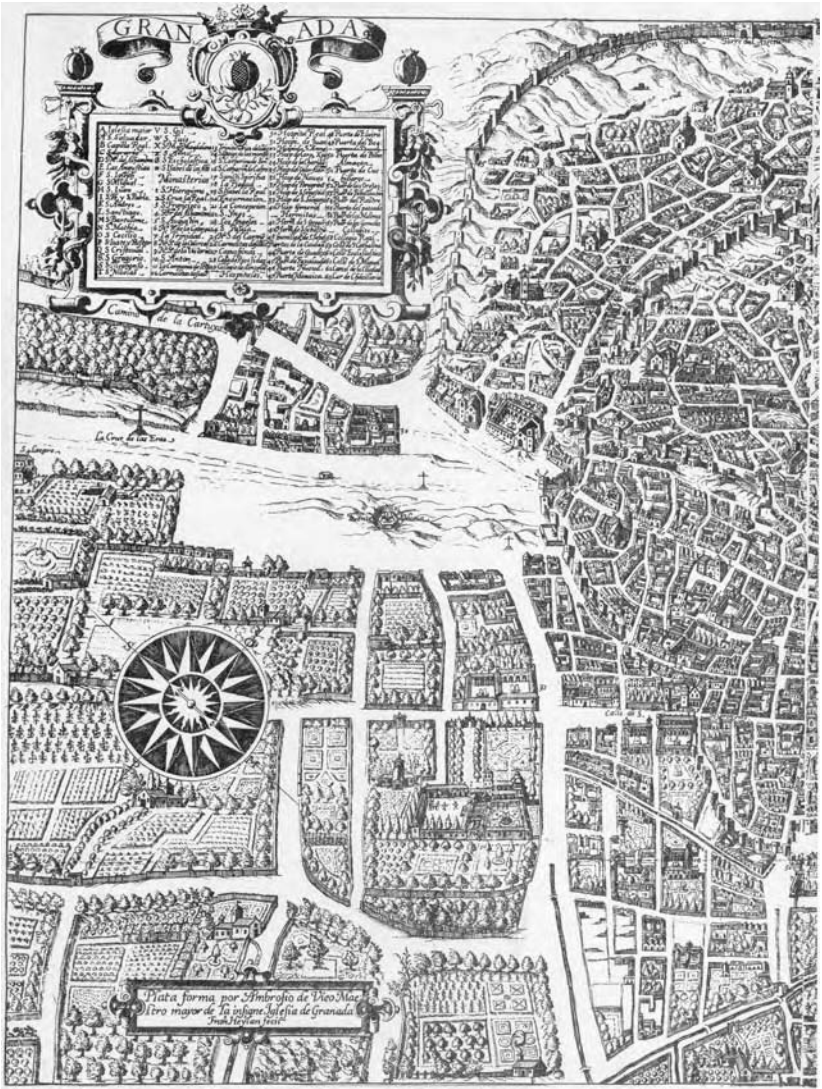
Finally, to the memory of Luis García Ballester, Valencian scholar and friend who first welcomed me to Granada and there opened many doors, this book is gratefully dedicated.

Abbreviations

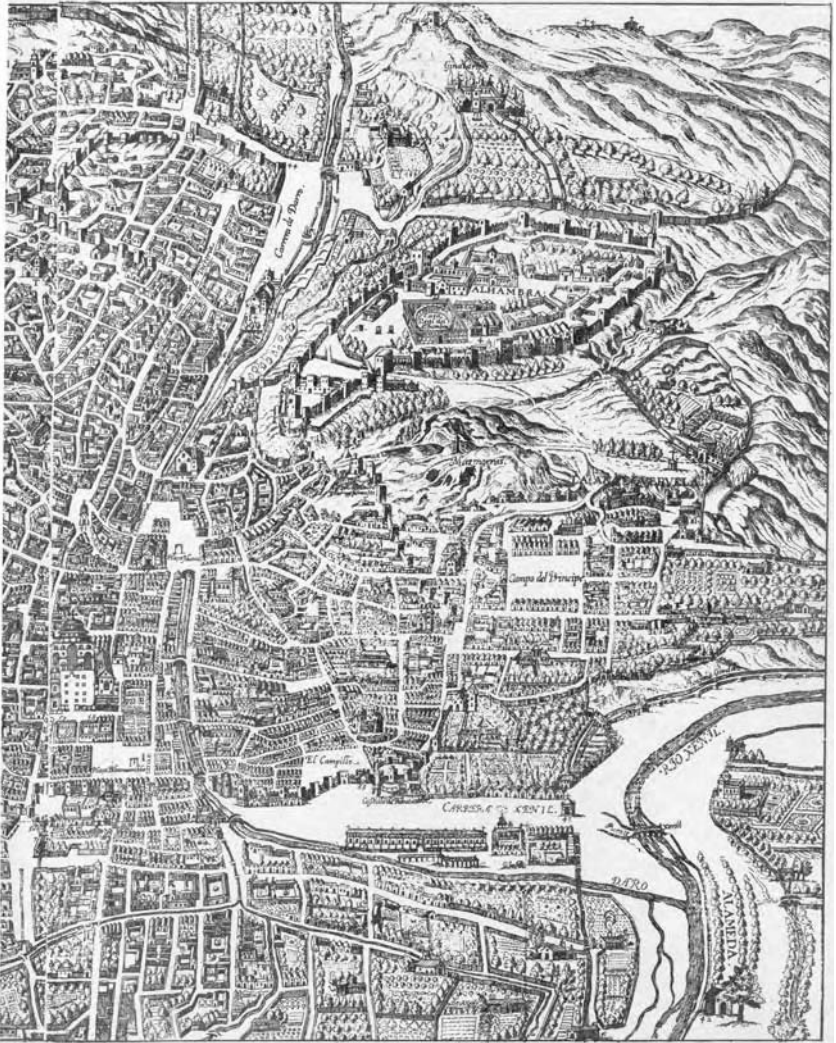
ADG	Archivo Diocesano de Granada
AGS	Archivo General de Simances
AHN	Archivo Histórico Nacional
AHPG	Archivo Histórico de Protocolos de Granada
AMG	Archivo Municipal de Granada
ARCG	Archivo de la Real Chancillería de Granada
BL	British Library
BN	Biblioteca Nacional
BUG	Biblioteca de la Universidad de Granada



Map 1. The Kingdom of Granada. Based on Manuel de Terán *Geografía regional de España* (Barcelona 1968). Elaborated by Philip Judge of the cartographic department of the School of Environmental Sciences, University of East Anglia. The dotted line shows the approximate borders of the Moorish kingdom. Note: Cozvjjar on the map frequently referred to in my text as Villamena (de Cozvjjar).



Map 2a. The City of Granada (NW). Drawn by the architect Ambrosio de Vico (1596).



Map 2b. The City of Granada (SE). Drawn by the architect, Ambrosio de Vico (1596).

Introduction

‘A commonwealth is the proper management of a gathering of families’, affirmed the pioneering economic thinker Martín González de Cellorigo in 1600. ‘Just as the well-ordered family is a true image of the commonwealth’, he went on, so the magistrates must in the home set the example for good order in the city at large.¹ Shortly before this, the political philosopher Juan Costa had published an influential treatise on *The rule of the citizen* (1575). Its title was significant, as he sought to demonstrate that the responsible task of governing other people carried with it the obligation of personal self-discipline, to be learned in the bosom of the family. There was no distinction to be drawn between private and public life; rather, they were mutually reinforcing aspects of moral authority. It was ‘authority’ essentially which distinguished ‘citizens’, setting them apart from the ‘common labouring folk’. The citizen was responsible for the ‘soul’ of the city, which meant essentially its government. Hence, he had an obligation to marry and found a household – ‘a little commonwealth (*república*)’, as Costa termed it. Here he would ‘learn to govern his person, his household and family so that he can understand the best way to rule his community’.²

The Romans called citizens *padres de la patria*, he told his readers, ‘so as to remind them that they must rule the people with the love they show their own children’. Costa wrote with a small-scale, face-to-face society in mind. The citizen should be good at public speaking, he noted, for he would be called upon to move the people to virtuous conduct and assuage their turbulence by his eloquence. The reward for all this was honour –

¹ *Memorial de la politica necesaria* (1600), ed. J. L. Pérez de Ayala (Madrid 1991), 99–100 and 123–4.

² *Gobierno del Ciudadano* (1575, 3rd edition 1584), ed. A. Ubach Medina (Zaragoza 1996). Cf. Xavier Gil Pujol, ‘Ciudadanía, patria y humanismo cívico en el Aragón foral: Juan Costa’, *Manuscripts*, 19 (2001), 81–101, and the same author’s stimulating ‘Republican politics in early modern Spain’, in M. van Gelderen and Q. Skinner (eds.), *Republicanism: a shared European heritage* (Cambridge 2002), 1, 263–384.

the respect of the community, perpetuated through one's descendants for all time. Costa's world-view proved remarkably enduring, and one finds echoes of it in the work of social anthropologists studying small-scale societies down to the present day.

Honour, suggested the anthropologist Julian Pitt-Rivers, determined until quite recently the social hierarchy in the rural communities of Andalusia. Wealth, of course, was important, but it could not and did not procure those services which it is able to do in a market-orientated, capitalist economy. Rather, the wealthy depended on the exercise of the credit which they and their families had been able to build up with their fellow citizens. This moral authority was based on conformity with the norms of the community – on a certain restraint in the acquisition or at least in the exploitation of material possessions, on a visible generosity in their disbursement. As Pitt-Rivers put it, 'Mediterranean honour derives from the domination of persons rather than things, and this is the goal which distinguishes the acquisitive values of Andalusia.'³

The overlap between private and public life and the resulting tensions to which it could give rise are surely nowhere better described than in the portrait which Leopoldo Alas Clarín painted of his adopted city, Oviedo, in his classic novel *La Regenta* (1884–5). In the narrowly bounded horizons of provincial society, authority was won or lost by gossip and personal innuendo. The leaders of the community had to be careful about keeping up appearances in their private lives. Every afternoon the founder members of the *casino*, the local gentlemen's club, would meet for coffee: 'Praise was bestowed, without any great enthusiasm, upon those citizens who knew how to behave in a restrained and courteous manner – without going to extremes in any respect . . . If a member walked by and one of those founder members did not know him, he asked: "Who is that?" "That is the son of. . ., who was the grandson of. . ., who married. . ., who was the sister of. . ."'⁴

It is a world very reminiscent of that described by Thomas Mann in his classic portrayal of the decline of the old patrician class of Lübeck, the milieu into which he had been born in 1875. With the coming of German unification and the mass market, the old autonomy of the city states with their code of honour in business, of hierarchies of power geared to good marriages and public office-holding, was drawing to an end. While it

³ Julian Pitt-Rivers, *The fate of Shechem* (Cambridge 1977), p. 36 and cf. J. Peristiany (ed.), *Honour and shame: the values of Mediterranean society* (London 1965).

⁴ *La Regenta*, translated with an introduction by John Rutherford (London 1984), pp. 132–3.

lasted, however, that world had set out firm guidelines for its members: sacrifice of the self to the family, on whom one's whole standing in the community depended. 'My child, we are not born for that which, with our short-sighted vision, we reckon to be our small personal happiness', old Johann Buddenbrook lectured his wayward daughter Antonie. 'We are not free, separate and independent entities, but like links in a chain, and we could not by any means be what we are without those who went before us and showed us the way.'⁵ Wealth was, of course, the foundation of the dynasty, but it had to be gained in the right way and spent in public service to some extent if one wanted to enjoy that power – the real power in localised communities – which came from moral authority.

If one can hardly hope to understand local society in Spain and its workings without taking into account loyalty to networks of family and clan, the reverse is surely true as well: that the family makes little sense divorced from the community within which its resources, material and moral, were secured. It was a scenario of which Max Weber was aware when he wrote in 1921, 'In the ancient city only the clanless, politically illegitimate plebs were organised in terms of local residence. The individual could be a citizen in the ancient city, but only as a member of his clan.'⁶ Though associated with the idea that the medieval European commune tended to break with older forms and create a federation of free individuals, Weber was more cautious about this than some of his critics allow. He did indeed suggest that money tended to replace other ties, thus permitting the mobility of the individual, and that the commune had certain revolutionary characteristics as a kind of mutual protection league for individuals who had fled from serfdom. But he envisaged the town as perfectly compatible with other forms of community in feudal society. In particular he drew a distinction between Northern Europe where the commune and the guild were primary, and Southern Europe where clans continued to serve as a rival focus of solidarity.

Research since Weber's day has tended to confirm his intuitions. For the medieval period itself there seems to be little doubt: the Italian cities grew in part under the shadow of the aristocratic lineages of the surrounding countryside who took up residence within their walls. They carved out

⁵ *Buddenbrooks* (1902), Penguin edition (London 1957), p. 114.

⁶ *The City*, ed. Don Martindale and Gertrud Neuwirth (London 1958), p. 101. Much insight on the relationship of the clan and the city state can of course be found in the ever-useful N. D. Fustel de Coulanges, *La Cité antique* (Paris 1864).

urban space into clan-dominated neighbourhoods, protected by great towers from which they fought their bloody vendettas.⁷ The situation in medieval Spain may not have been so clear-cut. If clan towers and lineage feuds seem typical of medieval Castile and even in a modified form of that Mediterranean city state Valencia, such manifestations of exclusive loyalty to the wider family appear to have little relevance to the growth of the great trading city of Barcelona.⁸ In any case, the revolt of the common people in the fourteenth century did away with much of the old aristocratic pretension: the city halls rose in the Tuscan towns as the towers of the magnates were pulled down. The development of civic humanism and of the trading economy seemed to betoken the demise of the solidarity of the old clans. And in Castile the measures taken by the Catholic Monarchs, Ferdinand and Isabella, to restore royal authority after the civil war of 1474–9, have often been seen as a turning point in the emergence of cities from under the shadow of clan towers.⁹ What role was left, then, to the institution of the family?

It was the pioneering sociologists of the nineteenth century, and principally Frédéric Le Play (1806–82), who discovered, in a time of unprecedented social upheaval, the latent role of family structures – those often ‘hidden’ or ‘silent’ communities, as Marc Bloch was to call them – in shaping the forms of the wider society. Rather than a study of an ‘institution’ in its own right, the research of Le Play and his disciples was really an investigation of social values as these were inculcated by the experience of family life. Thus, respect for authority, self-reliance, team-spirit, all of these things could vary from region to region and from one historical period to another depending on the way the household, its patrimony and traditions were handed on from generation to generation.¹⁰ Though usually identified with rather arcane enquiries into inheritance practices, Le Play was basically concerned with the transition from the community structures of the Old Regime to the individualism of the new liberal age. Meanwhile in Spain it was the political disorder and corruption associated with the liberal regime which led the sociologist Joaquín Costa (1846–1911) into the exploration of the moral foundations

⁷ Jacques Heers, *Le clan familial au moyen âge* (Paris 1974); Diane O. Hughes, ‘Urban growth and family structure in medieval Genoa’, in P. Abrams and E. A. Wrigley (eds.), *Towns in Societies* (Cambridge 1978), pp. 105–30.

⁸ Stephen P. Bench, *Barcelona and its rulers 1096–1291* (Cambridge 1995), pp. 5–12.

⁹ Marie-Claude Gerbet, *La noblesse dans le royaume de Castille: étude sur ses structures sociales en Estrémadure 1454–1516* (Paris 1979), pp. 434–56.

¹⁰ For a fuller discussion, James Casey, *The history of the family* (Oxford 1989), pp. 11–14.

of citizenship, which he traced back to the structure of the family. If one wanted to understand the contrast between the instability of Castile and the good order enjoyed by Aragon (of which Costa was a native), one could not do better than consider their separate inheritance systems: the pauperisation of the Castilian peasant through subdivision of the inheritance, the moderate prosperity of his Aragonese counterpart, heir to a family farm kept together over the generations. In an address to a congress of jurists in Zaragoza in 1882 he affirmed: 'to the so-called *heir* there is transmitted not only property but the physical and moral entity which we designate as the *house*, with all that baggage of memory, sentiment, virtue, friends and kinfolk, customs, reputation, obligations and responsibilities, which make up the tradition of a family and give it character'.¹¹

The aim of this book is to explore some of the hypotheses listed above: the nature of an honour society, the informal networks which held it together, the link between the family man and the citizen. Its focus is that period of crisis and consolidation associated with the rise of absolute monarchy and the Counter Reformation. That age is increasingly seen as one of 'social discipline', of a return to the values of hierarchy and tradition after the upheavals of the Renaissance and Reformation.¹² Sometimes awkwardly labelled the age of the Counter Reformation, or the age of absolute monarchy, or (referring to the dominant architectural trend of the long seventeenth century) the age of Baroque, this was a civilisation which Michelet regarded as stifling the promise of the Renaissance. In his words, by 1600 it was becoming evident that, at least in Catholic Europe, 'the Middle Ages refuse to die'. The formula is too simple, for the Baroque was to transform as well as inherit familiar aspects of the medieval world. It was an age preoccupied by the new problems of the city and of the mobility of people, reflected in the literature of the *pícaro* (which was not confined to Spain). As thinkers like Montaigne, whose famous essays of 1580 were some of the most popular reading of their day, began to question the rationality of man, the intellectual optimism of the Renaissance appeared to wane. The monuments which have come down to us from this era – the splendid palaces and grandiose churches – may reflect (as Maravall so aptly put it) a search for grandeur

¹¹ 'La libertad de testar y las legítimas', *Revista General de Legislación y Jurisprudencia*, 60 (1882), 422–50.

¹² R. Po-Chia Hsia, *Social discipline in the Reformation: Central Europe 1550–1750* (London 1989); Heinz Schilling, 'El disciplinamiento social en la edad moderna', in J. Fortea, J. Gelabert and T. Mantecón (eds.), *Furor et rabies: violencia, conflicto y marginación en la edad moderna* (Santander 2002), pp. 17–46.

as a reassurance against the disorder and uncertainty of the time. The swirling pillars, broken pediments, play of light and shadow in the art of the Baroque suggest a new sensitivity to the conflict at the heart of creation.¹³ The political turmoil of the period, and in particular the wars of religion, may have helped induce in many contemporary writers, not least Montaigne, a quest for authority in church and state. Those more robust structures of military and bureaucratic authority which we associate with seventeenth-century monarchies, nevertheless, had to come to terms with the traditional forms of power exercised in the small-scale communities over which they ruled.

Much recent writing on the Spanish city has tended to focus on this transition. After the defeat of the urban insurrections of 1520–1, the famous *comunidades*, any lingering sense of ‘community’ appears to have given way to a sharper distinction between rulers and ruled. Local oligarchies consolidated their power in return for service to the Crown, seeking honour at court rather than at home.¹⁴ The process was complex and raised many questions. How, for example, would the new forms of honour bestowed from above relate to that gained within the community through acceptance by one’s peers and acclamation by the ordinary people? Would this new aristocracy, indeed, continue that traditional involvement with public affairs which Juan Costa had defined as the very essence of its privileged status, or would it, as one historian has aptly put it, ‘retreat to the balcony’ as a spectator and no longer an actor?¹⁵

At stake here was a redefinition not only of the structure of politics but of the family as well, as the concept of honour was readjusted to take account of the new reality of power. A new line tended to be drawn in much of early modern Europe between the public forum and the home. In his seminal study of the family during this period, Philippe Ariès suggested that it developed a greater intimacy, becoming more focused on the domestic interior and on the successful placement in life of its offspring rather than on the glories of the lineage and the cult of the ancestors. As a consequence of developments in both religion and education, the child learned the virtues of individual self-discipline in the setting of the godly household. Nursery of the citizen, the family began

¹³ José Antonio Maravall, *La Cultura del Barroco* (Barcelona 1975); W. J. Bouwsma, *The waning of the Renaissance 1550–1640* (New Haven 2000), pp. 112–64.

¹⁴ Mauro Hernández, *A la sombra de la Corona: poder local y oligarquía urbana, Madrid 1606–1808* (Madrid 1995), pp. 1–52.

¹⁵ James Amelang, *Honored citizens of Barcelona: patrician culture and class relations 1490–1714* (Princeton 1986), p. 195.

now to produce those law-abiding individuals and carefully trained bureaucrats on whom the absolute monarchies and the Counter Reformation church depended for their personnel.¹⁶ Put briefly, the study of power in the old regime tends to lead to the family, but then the family itself can only be fully understood in the context of the wider community which it served. It is with an exploration of this interaction that this book is concerned.

¹⁶ *L'enfant et la vie familiale sous l'ancien régime* (Paris 1973), pp. 435–8. Cf. Jonathan Dewald, *Aristocratic experience and the origins of early modern culture: France 1570–1715* (Berkeley, CA 1993), pp. 7–9.

CHAPTER I

Knights and citizens

It was fitting that the emblem of Granada should be the pomegranate, declared her great historian Francisco Bermúdez de Pedraza. For like the seeds of that fruit so tightly packed and arranged that ‘one might say they embrace one another in unbreakable ties of solidarity’, the citizens formed a real community. ‘For it is a close bond of love that comes from breathing the same air, eating the same fruits, drinking at the same fountains, learning at the same school, becoming skilled in the same crafts and exercises.’ And he went on: ‘The temples, theatres, neighbourhoods, squares, promenades . . . mould the hearts of the citizens with a special love, which we call common friendship. If this were to fail, as Cicero says, it would be like the sun failing the earth.’¹ The comment, unconsciously perhaps, evoked memories of a recent turbulent past.

The kingdom of Granada, last fragment of an Islamic civilisation which had once held sway throughout most of the Iberian Peninsula, had taken shape between 1232 and 1246 when the Nasrid dynasty, powerless to halt the overthrow of Al-Andalus by the Christian armies advancing on Seville and Córdoba, threw in their lot with the conquerors. In return for helping the latter take Seville, they were left to rule over Granada as kings or *emirs*, with the status of vassals paying tribute to the Castilian Crown. Their autonomy was guaranteed to some extent by the inaccessible nature of the territory over which they ruled, for Granada was ringed by tangled sierras to the north and west and by the deserts of Almería to the east. ‘Time in the kingdom of Granada fools many’, commented Diego de Mendoza as he sought to explain the slow progress of the royal armies against the Moorish rebels of 1568, ‘for they do not take sufficient account of the roughness of the terrain’.² In the nineteenth century some of its famous sons – Pedro Antonio de Alarcón, Miguel Lafuente Alcántara – provided

¹ *Antigüedad y excelencias de Granada* (Madrid 1608), p. 60v.

² *Guerra de Granada*, ed. Jaime Tió, in *Tesoro de Autores Ilustres*, vol. IV (Barcelona 1842), 124.

graphic accounts of the hazards of travel through the territory. It could still take two or three days by coach to the great ports of Málaga and Almería, whence the Moors had communicated with North Africa, while the main route west, towards Seville and Córdoba, involved a detour to link up with the traffic heading south from Madrid.³ The most sustained relations of Granada were with communities lying up to sixty or seventy kilometres away, roughly the distance a man might travel in a day on horseback: Loja (the staging post for Málaga), Guadix (from where one could head towards Valencia and Italy), and Motril. Yet, though Motril was the nearest seaport for Granada, there was still in the middle of the nineteenth century no road for wheeled vehicles between the two cities.

The frontier with Christian Spain was for much of the later Middle Ages characterised by uneasy relations of truce, punctuated by cross-border raids. The splendid palace of the Alhambra, built in the fourteenth century, bears witness to non-Islamic influence in the portraits which decorate the Hall of Justice. Genoese merchants played a key role in the economy of Granada, attracted there by its famed wealth in silk and sugar.⁴ But it was a country which could not feed itself, depending on the import of grain, not least from its enemy, Castile. And it was politically unstable. Some twenty-five sovereigns succeeded to the throne over the two and a half centuries of its existence, half of them by murdering or deposing their predecessor, and the situation seemed to be getting worse in the later years of Nasrid rule. The feuds within the ruling house reflected those in the kingdom at large among the great lineages of Arabic and Berber origin, recounted in the classic work of Pérez de Hita *Feuds of the Zegri and Abencerraje* (1595).

For all that, it took the Catholic monarchs Ferdinand and Isabella ten long years between 1482 and 1492 to conquer Granada. Though the Castilians had a clear military superiority, especially evident in artillery, victory was achieved mostly by negotiation with local towns and their rulers, as in previous phases of the Reconquest, guaranteeing to the vanquished their lands and their religion. Whatever the intentions behind these treaties, they soon proved to be inoperable in practice as friars and settlers poured into the conquered territory. Within a few years those who were able – mostly the leaders of the conquered people – cut their losses

³ M. Lafuente Alcántara, *El libro del viajero en Granada* (Granada 1843), pp. 57–66; Pedro Antonio de Alarcón, *La Alpujarra* (1873; new edn Granada 1980), *passim*.

⁴ Miguel Angel Ladero Quesada, *Granada: historia de un país islámico 1232–1571* (Madrid 1979), pp. 56–64. On life in Muslim Granada, see especially Rachel Arié, *Etudes sur la civilisation de l'Espagne musulmane* (Leiden 1990), and Rafael G. Peinado Santaella (ed.), *Historia del Reino de Granada*, 3 vols. (Granada 2000), vol. 1, 'De los orígenes a la época mudéjar (hasta 1502)'.

and emigrated to North Africa. A few stayed behind and managed to integrate with the conquerors. One of the outstanding examples was Cidi Yahya, governor of Baza, who negotiated the surrender of that town to the Catholic Kings in 1489 and accepted baptism as 'Don Pedro de Granada'. His descendants, the Granada Venegas as they were known after marriage to that powerful Cordoban family, ranked among the wealthiest landowners in Granada with rents of 7,000 ducats a year, and served as members of the city council and knights of the Military Orders.⁵ The Zegrí lineage also attained honour in the Christian commonwealth. After being gaoled for obstinacy, El Zegrí eventually accepted baptism as Don Gonzalo de Zegrí, and symbolically the tough Archbishop Cisneros then had him arrayed in 'scarlet and silk robes as a knight'. His descendants would go on to play an important role in the social and political life of the city.⁶

In spite of all the promises to respect the religion of the vanquished, opinion was gaining ground that the salvation of souls must take priority over the letter of the treaties and that 'Moors could never be friends with Christians nor loyal to their sovereigns while they observed different laws, rites and ceremonies.'⁷ There was also clearly tension at the social level as immigrants poured in, leading to an agreement that no Moors could henceforth acquire property in the city of Granada and that those already there would live separately from Christians in a kind of ghetto in the Albaicín district (1498). Tensions erupted into riot in December 1499, followed by open rebellion in the more inaccessible countryside in January 1500 (First revolt of the Alpujarras). The disturbances gave the pretext for tearing up the treaties, forcing the population to choose between baptism and exile (1502). The name by which the forced converts were known – Morisco – reflects the fact that if they were no longer Moors, they were not fully accepted as Christians either. No doubt there was a gradual process of assimilation taking place.⁸ But an increasingly

⁵ Enrique Soria Mesa, 'De la conquista a la asimilación: la integración de la aristocracia nazarí en la oligarquía granadina, siglos XV–XVII', *Areas: Revista de Ciencias Sociales* (Murcia), 14 (1992), 51–64.

⁶ Francisco Bermúdez de Pedraza, *Historia eclesiástica* (Granada 1638), p. 195v; on the participation of his descendant Don Gonzalo de Zegrí in tournaments and poor relief in the early seventeenth century, see Francisco Henríquez de Jorquera, *Anales de Granada*, ed. Antonio Marín Ocete (1934), facsimile edition with additional notes by Pedro Gan Giménez and Luis Moreno Garzón, 2 vols. (Granada 1987), vol. II, pp. 575 and 618.

⁷ Bermúdez de Pedraza, *Historia eclesiástica* (1638), pp. 195–195v.

⁸ The challenging new thesis of Amalia García Pedraza, *Actitudes ante la muerte en la Granada del siglo XVI: los moriscos que quisieron salvarse*, 2 vols. (Granada 2002), makes out the case for gradual acculturation. For the more general context, David Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada: society and religious culture in an old-world frontier city* (Ithaca and London 2003).

interventionist government decided to force the pace, attentive both to Counter-Reformation piety and to political control. In 1566 prohibitions on the Arabic language, customs and dress were reintroduced (dating originally from 1502, they had not yet been enforced), despite the warnings of the Marquis of Mondéjar, Captain General and warden of the Alhambra, in Granada, that they would provoke resistance.⁹

The subsequent uprising was sparked off by a variety of factors, not least social unrest. Old Christian settlers, constituting now about half the population (but two-thirds of that of the city of Granada itself), were taking over Morisco property at an alarming rate, exploiting the laws which required written proof of title.¹⁰ As in other parts of the Mediterranean at the time, a displaced peasantry had recourse to arms, and banditry began to flourish. The royal high court, the Chancillería, began to regard the traditional methods of keeping order exercised by the Captain General – negotiation with the *monfies* (bandits) to get them to settle under the protection of the feudal lords – as counter-productive.¹¹ The tensions flared up on Christmas Eve 1568 into the so-called Second Revolt of the Alpujarras. This took the form essentially of a series of guerrilla actions – uprisings in villages here and there throughout the hill country, accompanied by massacres of the local clergy and Old Christian inhabitants. Essentially power in the rebel camp rested with an inner core of armed fighters – 400 Turkish and Berber soldiers sent in from abroad, 3,000 peasants who could lay their hands on either an arquebus or a crossbow, and perhaps 2,000 men equipped with some kind of makeshift pike.¹²

The strategy of the Marquis of Mondéjar as Captain General was to try to isolate these men, pursuing them through the hill country and persuading villagers who had given them shelter to return to the royal obedience. For this purpose he was keen to secure a pardon for the rebels. But his strategy was undermined by the hard line taken by the Chancillería, and by the panic and desire for revenge which had taken hold among the Old Christians of Granada. Prisoners were massacred as the mob invaded the gaol on 17 March 1569, while on 24 June the government decided to remove the Morisco population completely from the city. Mondéjar's cautious strategy anyway did not seem to be working as areas

⁹ The classic study of the Morisco problem is Antonio Domínguez Ortiz and Bernard Vincent, *Historia de los moriscos* (Madrid 1978). The most up-to-date account, focusing on the Granadan situation, is Manuel Barrios Aguilera, *Granada morisca: la convivencia negada* (Granada 2002).

¹⁰ Nicolás Cabrillana, *Almería morisca* (Granada 1989), pp. 38–40 and 57–80.

¹¹ Diego de Mendoza, *Guerra de Granada*, p. 72.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 95; cf. p. 110, for an estimate of 7,500 fighters at the peak.

once pacified would rise up again as soon as the Marquis moved on. It was a ragged series of insurrections, with one village suing for peace, another fortifying itself against the undisciplined Christian militias. Undermined by the hostility of the Chancillería and by many of the city councillors, but also by rivalry with the Marquis of Los Vélez, who had been given command towards Almería, near where he had his estates, a disconsolate Mondéjar was 'invited' to court to 'report on the situation', on 13 September 1569 – an effective removal from all responsibility.

By this time the guerrilla war was at its peak, a series of bush fires raging throughout the kingdom. Though the king's half-brother, the famous Don John of Austria, had been appointed to coordinate strategy in March 1569, he found it scarcely easier than Mondéjar to get cooperation. There were too many locally powerful figures involved: the king's judges of the Chancillería, the Marquis of Los Vélez, the Duke of Sessa and – eventually, once the disturbances had spread to his area of influence on the western fringes of the kingdom – the Duke of Arcos. The Christian forces were essentially militiamen, undisciplined, eager for plunder, potentially mutinous if any attempt were made to restrain their cruelties. They were on short rations anyway – paid, when at all, by the feudal lords who commanded them. The Revolt of the Alpujarras, in fact, illustrated the last phases of a kind of medieval warfare. The cavalry charge of the Marquis of Los Vélez and his son in the battle for Mojácar, the participation of the thirteen-year-old son of the Duke of Arcos alongside his father in the thick of the action, could stand as symbols of a Spain which was passing into history.¹³

The final defeat of the Moriscos and their dispersal through Castile marked a new departure for Granada. In the first place, it witnessed the eclipse of the great house of Mendoza which had dominated the fortunes of the kingdom since the Conquest. There was little love lost between the Mendozas and the other claimants to power in the frontier city, the Chancillería and the city hall. Already in 1522 the town council had protested against the way in which the Captain General acquired municipal office for his own cronies, as well as himself occupying one of the posts of councillor. Mondéjar defended his actions: 'cities and town councillors always seek their own freedom, though it be at the cost of the Prince and his revenues, which is the reason that I need to have my men in the council in Granada . . . Your Majesty should know that there are in this

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 95–6 and 171.

city persons who are not well-disposed towards me', and who were hampering his efforts to get billets and supplies for his troops. In spite of this argument, the Crown ordered in 1526 that no one could hold city office and be in the employment of the Captain General at the same time.¹⁴ It was the beginning of the end for the proud lord of the Alhambra, a restriction of power which the Revolt of the Alpujarras only confirmed.

Though the Marquis of Mondéjar was allowed to return to Granada, he was soon removed again by an appointment in 1572–5 as viceroy of Valencia and then in 1575–9 as viceroy of Naples. His son, the fourth Marquis, was a troublesome fellow who fell foul of the authorities and was under arrest for much of the period between 1581 and his death in 1604. Since he left no son to succeed him, the wardenship of the Alhambra was transferred to the son of the current royal favourite, the Duke of Lerma, who was an absentee.¹⁵ It was not quite the end of the Mendoza. In 1625 Olivares restored the family to their ancient office, and on 29 June Don Iñigo López de Mendoza made his triumphal entry into the city. 'All the nobles and knights of Granada turned out to greet him', reported the chronicler Henríquez de Jorquera, while on the following day he was given a great reception by the city council – 'all this a sign of how popular he was'. But though he spent lavishly on the Alhambra, particularly in laying out its gardens for the citizens of Granada, he was never entirely trusted. There was a clash with the town hall in 1634 over his attempt to embargo supplies of food for the garrison of the Alhambra and mobilise the local militia, and another with the Chancillería in 1642 over whether his officers could claim any jurisdiction outside that fortress-palace.¹⁶ But perhaps more significant than all of this is the relative silence of the sources about the Mendoza in seventeenth-century Granada. The Marquis of Mondéjar now spent most of his time managing the coastal defences from Vélez Málaga; he was absent from the city of Granada at critical junctures like the riots of May 1648 (which we shall come to in a moment). And it was no longer he but his old rivals, the judges of the high court, who were commissioned by the Crown to negotiate troop levies with the city fathers.

¹⁴ Antonio Jiménez Estrella, *Poder, ejército y gobierno en el siglo XVI: la capitania general del reino de Granada y sus agents* (Granada 2004), pp. 283–95.

¹⁵ J. Cepeda Adán, 'Los últimos Mendozas granadinos', in *Miscelánea de estudios dedicados al profesor Antonio Marín Ocete* (2 vols., Granada 1974), vol. 1, pp. 183–204.

¹⁶ Henríquez de Jorquera, *Anales de Granada*, vol. II, p. 904; Manuel Garzón Pareja, *Historia de Granada*, 2 vols. (Granada 1980–1), vol. 1, pp. 215–16.

Created by Ferdinand and Isabella to handle the growing volume of litigation generated by the more ordered, less overtly violent society of Renaissance Spain, this court had been set up in Granada in 1505, with jurisdiction over Andalusia and those parts of Castile which lay south of the Tagus River.¹⁷ The Chancillería, as it was known, consisted of a couple of dozen magistrates: sixteen *oidores* handling civil suits, four *alcaldes de corte* to punish wrong-doers, and three *alcaldes de hijosdalgo* on whose shoulders rested the heavy burden of determining who was or was not an *hidalgo*, a man of noble birth. In an age increasingly obsessed with ancestry, these magistrates played a preponderant role. Additionally, the court as a whole, gathered in plenary session as the *acuerdo* ('agreement'), played a growing role in everything related to public order, from the requisitioning of grain to the enforcement of quarantine against plague-infested areas and the levying of troops for the king's service. As power shifted from the Alhambra by 1568–70, it might well have come to rest with this mighty tribunal which claimed to speak in the royal name. But its members were ultimately too few, and too many of them outsiders, to take up the baton of local administration.¹⁸

On 20 September 1500, in line with familiar Spanish practice in newly won territories, an urban commonwealth was called into being which would give the people of Granada the right of administering their own affairs. As the royal magistrate Jerónimo Castillo de Bobadilla (1547–1605) was to put it, the kings of Castile might enjoy supreme authority throughout their realm – 'for it was they who captured the land, freeing it from subjugation and enslavement to the Gentile' – but they found it convenient to leave the 'management of many things' in the hands of the local inhabitants. In just such a way had acted, he believed, those exemplary models of government, the ancient Romans.¹⁹ 'It is our will and pleasure to ennoble this city and its inhabitants', ran the foundation charter issued by Ferdinand and Isabella in 1500, 'and to give the nobles and magnates (*ricos omes*) who have and will come to live there offices and dignities . . . while assuring to all the people liberties and privileges, so that Granada may increase in population and honour'.²⁰

¹⁷ Richard L. Kagan, *Lawsuits and litigants in Castile 1500–1700* (Chapel Hill 1981), pp. 95–7.

¹⁸ Antonio Ruiz Rodríguez, *La real chancillería de Granada en el siglo XVI* (Granada 1987); Pedro Gan Giménez, *La real chancillería de Granada 1505–1834* (Granada 1988); Inés Gómez González, *La justicia en almoneda: la venta de oficios en la Chancillería de Granada 1505–1834* (Granada 2000).

¹⁹ *Política para corregidores*, 2 vols. (Madrid 1597), vol. I, p. 442 and vol. II, p. 127.

²⁰ The text can be found in Manuel Garzón Pareja, *Historia de Granada*, vol. I, pp. 195–9.

Christian Granada, however, was to take shape in an age when municipal liberties were on the wane, in spite of the profession of faith to the contrary by Ferdinand and Isabella. Rent by feuds between the leading families, the cities of Castile had seen the gradual invasion of their autonomy by the *corregidor*. He was the chief law officer of the town and its district, an outsider who was supposed to stand above the factions and keep the peace between them. Despatched by the kings of Castile to disorderly cities from the fourteenth century, these magistrates had become regular and universal appointments under Ferdinand and Isabella.²¹ One of their number, Jerónimo Castillo de Bobadilla, gave a classic account in 1597 of the enormous responsibilities which lay on their shoulders during their triennium (renewable) of rule. Primarily peace keepers in a feuding society, they held a more general brief to look to all aspects of public order, and that included increasingly the welfare of the poor, the supply of bread and the prevention of plague. They presided over the town council, and though they could not overturn a vote of its members, they were the eyes and ears of the monarch, able to invoke his authority in order to get their way.

The rise of the *corregidor* would have been difficult without another crucial development: the virtual exclusion of the common people from power. 'Although it is true that in the assembly and gathering of the whole town, known as the common council (*concejo abierto*), there lies the higher authority', wrote Castillo de Bobadilla, 'nevertheless by custom this now pertains to the *consejo*.'²² The *consejo* was a closed council of specially designated aldermen, introduced by Alfonso XI in the fourteenth century as a way of combating the alleged fraud and violence which characterised the popular election of magistrates. So in Granada in 1500 there were to be twenty-four city councillors, known from the number as *veinticuatro*s, and they were to be appointed for life by the Crown. Some of the early nominees included royal secretaries with interests in Granada, like Hernando de Zafra, who had played a key role in negotiations for the surrender of the city, and the future great minister of Charles V, Francisco de los Cobos, linked to Zafra by marriage. The first Marquis of Mondéjar also took his seat, though he was the last of his line to do so. Eight of the councillors were Moriscos, like the Granada Venegas, the Zegrí, or Don Hernando de Córdoba; but there were only four of these left by 1556, and

²¹ Marvin Lunenfeld, *Keepers of the city: the corregidores of Isabella I of Castile 1474–1504* (Cambridge 1987); Benjamín González Alonso, *El corregidor castellano 1348–1808* (Madrid 1970).

²² *Política para corregidores* (1597), vol. II, pp. 121–2.

Don Hernando's grandson would quit the capital in high dudgeon in 1568 at an alleged slight on his honour, adopting his old name of Ibn Umayya, to lead the Morisco uprising of that year.²³

The last stand of the common people in the battle for power came with the great uprising in 1519–21 of the towns of Castile, known as the Revolt of the Comuneros. Starting out as a protest against the wasteful court of Charles V, with its high taxes and foreign favourites, it developed overtones of social unrest. The closed city councils tended to give way to juntas of merchants and craftsmen who took responsibility for conducting the revolt and became a kind of parallel government. There were ominous demands for a more thorough reform of local government, including the right of householders to elect representatives to the Cortes or parliament. Meanwhile, in the countryside peasants rose against their feudal lords. It was this threat from the common people which seems to have played a key role in the collapse of the revolt, as the urban patricians and the rural nobles rallied to the king.²⁴ The Comuneros would live on in popular memory to inspire revolutionaries of a later age – the liberals of the nineteenth century saw themselves as their heirs. But in the early modern period they became a by-word for the destructive force of the common people – an awful warning of the threats to life, honour and property which always seemed to accompany democratic politics. A new mood became apparent in post-revolutionary Castile, seeking salvation outside the political arena, in religion rather than the reform of society.²⁵

True, the commonwealth needed 'a variety of estates and conditions', as Castillo de Bobadilla put it, if it were to function properly. Hence, he noted, very often the common people are allowed to elect 'tribunes', as in ancient Rome, in order to keep a check on what is being done by the patricians, and they can 'make their protest against what is done wrong and appeal against it' – to the king, of course.²⁶ Following the same line of thought, Ferdinand and Isabella had provided in the case of Granada for the election of twenty 'sworn men' or jurados, delegated by their parishes to join the veinticuatro in their deliberations. They were to have no vote,

²³ Basic on everything related to the early history of the commune is José Antonio López Nevot, *La organización institucional del municipio de Granada durante el siglo XVI* (Granada 1994). See also David Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada* (Ithaca 2003), pp. 73–82.

²⁴ Joseph Pérez, *La revolución de las Comunidades de Castilla 1520–1* (Bordeaux 1970); Stephen Haliczer, *The Comuneros of Castile: the forging of a revolution 1475–1521* (Madison, Wisconsin 1981).

²⁵ Jodi Bilinkoff, *The Avila of Saint Teresa: religious reform in a sixteenth-century city* (Ithaca and London 1989), pp. 69–77.

²⁶ *Política para corregidores* (1597), vol. II, pp. 121–2.

but they could give their opinion on matters affecting 'the welfare and common good' of the inhabitants, appealing to the Crown against bad government. These tribunes of the people were actually nominated at the outset by the monarchy, but their successors were supposed to be elected by householders, summoned to their local parish church by the ringing of its bell. But there were early complaints that elections were corrupt and dangerous: 'experience shows that some people go around touting for votes and even making threats'. In fact, what tended to happen was that the jurados were allowed by the Crown to renounce their offices on their successors, and they too became a hereditary elite.²⁷

In the Renaissance city participation in the public domain was the highroad to honour. To be a *buen republicano*, a 'good commonwealth man', was what counted for the craftsman Francisco Henríquez de Jorquera (1594–1646?), whose chronicle of his native city gives us one of our best insights into the society and culture of early seventeenth-century Granada. Several 'persons of substance' had died in the city during the year, he noted for 1616, but 'to avoid being tedious I shall not mention them, for they were not commonwealth men (*republicanos*)'.²⁸ The accolades he accorded to prominent citizens – *amparo de los pobres* (refuge of the poor), *defensor de la patria* (defender of the fatherland, usually for having resisted new royal taxes in the Cortes or parliament) – convey the tremendous importance of a reputation built up around activity in the town council. After all, this body – the 'Very Magnificent Lords Granada', as it called itself – touched the life of the community at so many points. The Ordenanzas (municipal ordinances), gathered together and published in 1552 and then again in 1672, reflected a concept of the commonwealth where private and public life overlapped. In the interests of good order, the town hall fixed prices and wages, inspected the quality of goods on sale, regulated access to employment and generally sought to bring all aspects of daily life under the scope of law.

The 'Twenty-four' councillors sat in the old Muslim school, the Madraza, now converted into the council chamber, which lay next to the bustling square of Bibarrambla, where the town crier would proclaim their decrees, and near the great mosque, torn down in 1526 and replaced by a new cathedral (which was not completed, however, until 1704). Bibarrambla was not only the principal market, other than for silk, but

²⁷ López Nevot, *La organización institucional*, pp. 199–200.

²⁸ *Anales de Granada 1588–1646*, vol. II, p. 610. The exact social status of Jorquera is still somewhat unclear. He seems to have owned a little land and to have practised for a time as a tailor.

also the setting for the public rituals which gave the city a sense of identity – the autos-da-fé of the Inquisition, the bullfights and jousts which celebrated victories, royal births, the mysteries of the Catholic faith. To participate in these processions and tournaments was another, very important path to honour. One could do so as a guildsman, whose ranks were clearly prescribed in the Ordenanzas relating to the greatest festivity of all, that of Corpus Christi towards the beginning of summer every year. But to demonstrate leadership was the prerogative of the patrician – a leadership based on courage, equestrian skill and generosity. ‘He was a youth of great parts’, commented Jorquera on the death of the erstwhile veinticuatro Fernando de Espinosa in 1635, ‘a great horseman and a great bullfighter, a fine musician and a true knight.’²⁹

If some patricians, like Espinosa (and like the Knight of Olmedo in Lope de Vega’s play of that name), faced up to wild bulls in person in the public square, the majority contented themselves with the somewhat safer caracole and the cañas, the charge across the narrow square of Bibarrambla on horseback in the face of oncoming opponents, a manoeuvre which required courage and skill and which resulted in at least two deaths through falls in the 1630s. Above all, these celebrations required money – and a willingness not to count the cost. The horses, their trappings, the retinue of lackeys, the tunics and swords, all required wealth – wealth which only a few citizens could command. When Don Cristóbal Ponce de León, son of the veinticuatro of the same name, came to marry in 1599 Doña Jerónima de Castro Valer, daughter of the clerk of the high court Jerónimo de Castro and grand-daughter of the financier Alonso Valer, the promise of dowry included ‘a halter studded with gold pieces worth 1,500 reales . . . and a horse with its trappings of velvet, or 100 ducats (1,100 reales) in its stead’. Juan Pérez de Herrasti, veinticuatro from 1571, kept a collection of ‘tilting rings, tabors, liveries and tabards and a very fine harness’, according to his descendant of the same name, while among his helmets was ‘an engraved Burgundian piece of great value’, not to mention ‘four velvet horse-cloths embroidered with gold and silver’.³⁰

A visible presence in the public domain – at the sessions of the town council in the Madraza or at the jousts in Bibarrambla – was the requirement, therefore, for honour in the Renaissance city, and in this, of course,

²⁹ *Ibid.* vol. II, p. 754. On the importance of this kind of theatre of power, see Edward Muir, *Civic ritual in Renaissance Venice* (Princeton 1981), pp. 186–211.

³⁰ *Historia de la casa de Herrasti* (Granada 1750), p. 82; AHPG RD 460–3v, 28 March 1599. One has to remember that a daily wage for a labourer at this time would be just two reales.

Granada was not unique. Those who lacked the skill or youth to engage personally in tournaments had to be ready to act as patrons. It was as municipal commissioner for the magnificent Corpus Christi fiesta of 1615, followed by that of Saint Peter Martyr, patron of the Inquisition, in the same year, that one of Granada's best-known political figures, Mateo de Lisón y Biedma (1580?–1641), first came to public notice. The triumph of his career, to judge by the accolades he received, was the organisation of the municipal celebration in January 1630 of the birth of the long-awaited heir to the throne, Baltasar Carlos. Though such fiestas were mainly paid for out of the city's budget, they provided a unique opportunity for those chosen to manage them to show generosity of spirit and qualities of leadership.

As well as the bullfights and tournaments there were regular demonstrations of one's wit through what were known as 'poetry jousts'. When in 1640 Don Pedro de Granada, of the family of the old emirs, organised one such competition as part of eight days of ritual atonement for an anonymous handbill posted up overnight which insulted the Virgin Mary, all the knights of Granada rode round the streets with him, proclaiming the event to the beating of drums and the blast of trumpets. By such means did the noble families become aware of their collective identity as a ruling class.

To what extent can a civic community be said to have existed in Granada? There are no collective portraits of the aldermen, none of the urban militia to match Rembrandt's famous painting, *The Night Watch*. It was an image of the Virgin Mary which watched over the council chamber, and as they took their seats, the councillors were to 'devoutly adore it and say a prayer, and ask to be enlightened for the service of her precious Son . . . and that of the King and Queen, our liege lords, and the care and welfare of the commonalty of this city'. In 1618 Granada became the first Spanish town to dedicate itself to the newly approved cult of the Immaculate Conception: all aldermen had to swear henceforth to uphold the doctrine at the expense of their lives, if necessary. And in 1628 work started on the monument which became the symbol of the city: the Triunfo, or Triumph of Our Lady. Entrusted to the sculptor Alonso de Mena but plagued by lack of funds, it was completed in 1631. Beneath the marble statue of the Virgin stood images of the crusader Saint James, 'hammer of the Moors' and patron of Spain, San Cecilio, first apostle of the Roman city and patron of Granada, his fellow martyr San Tesifón, and finally the arms of the city itself, symbolised in the pomegranate.

The monument joined a network of shrines which marked out neighbourhoods and which gave the city its basic sense of identity.

When Bermúdez de Pedraza came to write his account of his homeland in 1638, he looked back to the first summary version that he had published in 1608. 'It was small in format and even smaller in substance', he confessed; a work of youth. Yet it had been the first survey of Granada, and had inspired 'others throughout Spain to take up their pens and give their fellow citizens the benefit of their talent'.³¹ Now, having read their works and with the advantage of maturity, he returned to his theme – that of describing a little commonwealth which, not unlike the human body, had a material structure but also a 'soul', to be found in 'good government'. When Charles V proclaimed the ordinances for the regulation of the water supply in 1538, he addressed them to 'the council, justice, aldermen, veinticuatro, jurados, knights, esquires, craftsmen and worthy men (*hombres buenos*) of this city of Granada'. These various groups constituted the hierarchy which we find again in the regulations for the great procession of Corpus Christi, when at five o'clock in the morning the guilds must assemble with their banners and tapers, heading off in order of precedence.

But if there was honour, as Pedraza would have it, in being a member of such a community – 'a noble city ennoble its inhabitants', he wrote – power lay in the hands of a select few. It was through a narrow gate that one became a *caballero vecino*, a 'citizen knight' – through purchase or inheritance of a seat on the town council.³² It was the increasing financial difficulties of the Habsburgs which proved a godsend to the newly rich. Just as the expansion of the economy was generating more wealth in sixteenth-century Spain, so the bankruptcy of Charles V towards the end of his reign and of Philip II from the start of his opened the floodgates to sales of office, and particularly of posts of alderman. 'Let not people think that the more counsellors there are, the better for the commonwealth', commented the aristocratic spokesman Juan Benito Guardiola in 1591, when the process was only half-way through. It was not to bring more light to debates that men of means were crowding into the council

³¹ Bermúdez de Pedraza, 1638, 'al lector' (preface). Cf. José I. Fortea Pérez (ed.), *Imágenes de la diversidad: el mundo urbano en la corona de Castilla, siglos XVI–XVIII* (Santander 1997), and Richard L. Kagan, 'Cities and the Crown: writing history in Habsburg Spain', in Richard L. Kagan and Geoffrey Parker (eds.), *Spain, Europe and the Atlantic world* (Cambridge 1995), pp. 73–99.

³² For upward mobility in this way, see Ana Guerrero Mayllo, *Familia y vida cotidiana de una élite de poder: los regidores madrileños en tiempos de Felipe II* (Madrid 1993), pp. 11–20; Mauro Hernández, *A la sombra de la corona*, pp. 67–80; Amelang, *Honored Citizens*, pp. 45–51; and Ruth Pike, *Aristocrats and traders: Sevillian society in the sixteenth century* (Ithaca and London 1972), pp. 23–4.

chambers of the land: rather, having invested their money in the purchase of office, 'one has to assume that they want to make the most of their merchandise, like a man buying a horse'.³³ The wealthy became aldermen, thought Castillo de Bobadilla, less out of a zeal for public service than for the opportunity of feathering their own nests – 'pasturing their flocks in other people's land, felling timber on the commons, hunting and fishing where they like, getting those who bring in food or run things to do their bidding as though they were little Indians'.³⁴ A few years later in 1594 the Cortes petitioned the Crown against any further creations of municipal office, for 'with the multitude of votes and opinions, there is only confusion', and it was to be feared that purchasers only invested in the post of alderman 'with an eye on their own interests and ambitions'.³⁵ Granada made it a condition of agreeing to the *servicio*, the subsidy to the Crown, that the number of her aldermen should be reduced to 'the old number'. This was not achieved, but at least there was a pause in new creations: the 'Twenty-fours' rose to forty-six (though keeping their old name) between about 1544 and 1582, then to sixty between 1632 (when sales started again) and 1660.³⁶

But creations of new office were only part of a wider problem: the bartering and auctioning of what were supposed to be positions of trust among families, as private interest appeared to predominate over public responsibility. A lack of male heirs of an age to enter the council chamber (one had to be eighteen years old) was a frequent occurrence and led to a quite dizzying turnover of seats. Often there is a pattern to the kaleidoscopic shifts, as new names turn out on investigation to be those of kinsmen or in-laws of the existing holders. But often too offices were 'leased out' for a period to new men, and sometimes sold off – this last being the fate of the office on which Mateo de Lisón y Biedma had thrown such lustre, when his heiress decided she needed the money to dower her daughters for marriage.³⁷ In these ways opportunities were opened for new men to gain a foothold on the ladder of power. Veinticuatría number 17 was transferred by its owner, Juan de Simancas, to his son-in-law

³³ *Tratado de nobleza* (Madrid 1591), p. 101v. On sale of office generally, Antonio Dominguez Ortiz, *Instituciones y sociedad en la España de los Austrias* (Barcelona 1985), pp. 146–83.

³⁴ *Política para corregidores*, vol. II, p. 193.

³⁵ *Actas de las Cortes*, vol. XVII (1594), pp. 255–6. The rivalry of old and new aldermen is well explored in H. Sancho de Sopranis and J. de la Lastra Terry, *Historia de Jerez de la Frontera*, vol. II, 'El siglo de oro' (Jerez 1965), pp. 16–29.

³⁶ Luis Moreno Garzón (ed.), *El manuscrito de los caballeros XXIV de Granada* (Granada 1986).

³⁷ ARCG 3 / 1692 / 1, *Antonio Ruiz de Salcedo v. Luis Fernández de Córdoba*, 1651.

Juan de Cuéllar Aranda in 1570. Between 1584 and 1592 it had three changes of occupant: Cuéllar's son Baltasar, then (while he was under age), two of his uncles, Gabriel de Céspedes and Melchor de Gadea. Baltasar died young in 1596, without children, and the office was sold to a clerk of the high court, Diego Chacón Hidalgo. When he died in 1633, his son and two daughters wanted to divide the benefits, which meant putting their father's office on the market again. It went to the La Calle family eventually in 1635, but bankruptcy and lack of heirs plagued the brothers Tomás and José, who got rid of the much-bartered asset finally in 1656.³⁸ The occupants of office 17 were among the most influential politicians of their day, but their effectiveness must always have been cramped by concern about the interim and insecure nature of their tenure.

What one notices here is the instability caused not only by a lack of adult males, but also by the failure of co-heirs (as in the Chacón Hidalgo case) to agree on one of their number taking over. Finances must often have been tight. Thus, when Tomás de la Calle died in 1648 urgent steps had to be taken to appoint a deputy since none of his children was of age and the office was reported to be 'deteriorating', saddled with debts which could only be met by an active occupant. In fact, though there was much concern in the literature of the time with profiteers, many veinticuattros refer in their wills to the burdens of public life rather than its sweets. Juan Barahona Zapata complained in 1660 of his losses through ten years of service. 'The work and care have been so immense', he lamented, that he was obliged to ask the town council to 'accord to my house the recompense it deems appropriate'; and he added plaintively, 'I would not ask if we were not so hard up.'³⁹ Though his family continued to hold on to their veinticuatría into the eighteenth century, their political importance – very great under Philip IV – now underwent something of an eclipse as they sank into comfortable mediocrity as gentlemen farmers in nearby Santa Fe. Another of the great political families, that of Mateo de Lisón y Biedma, also tended to fade out, through a combination of lack of male heirs and financial hardship, which motivated the sale of the great man's veinticuatría by his daughter in 1651. At his death ten years earlier, Don Mateo had referred to the accounts still outstanding with the town hall

³⁸ I have pieced together the story from a scattering of sources, notably AHPG Escribanía de Luis Díaz and Juan Ayllón, 419–25v, testament of Juan de Simancas, n.d.; JFM 613–17, Tomás de la Calle, 12 August 1648; FO 703–15, 8 June 1658.

³⁹ AHPG SFM 479–82, 28 December 1660.

(though he had resigned his office back in 1634). He wanted them settled, 'and payment made of what the city owes me or I owe it'.⁴⁰

But for all the worry and expense they entailed, municipal offices commanded rising prices during the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Lisón's veinticuatría was valued at 4,200 ducats, a quarter of the dowry of 16,000 ducats which he received at his marriage in 1601 to the daughter of the wealthy merchant and landowner of Motril, Alonso de Contreras. By 1651 Lisón's own daughter Mariana was able to sell the office for 7,200 ducats to the lawyer Antonio Ruiz de Salcedo. Office 17 was valued at 1,600 ducats in 1570, then at 3,200 in 1596, rising to a maximum of 7,100 ducats by 1633. Hidden in this last sum, however, was a mounting obligation of debt – 4,550 ducats, which the new purchaser had to take over, deducting it from the price. Such investments closed municipal office to all but the wealthy, at a time when a man with an estate of 3,000 ducats was reckoned able to function as a *caballero cuantioso*, maintaining the equipment of a mounted knight. True, Granada could not match Seville, where posts of alderman were valued at 8,500 ducats already in 1599, but it probably kept in step with Madrid, where a seat on the town council cost up to 4,000 around the same time, rising to 9,000 or 10,000 ducats by the middle of the seventeenth century.⁴¹

With so much wealth flowing in to public office, the uneasy feeling grew that it must swamp older values of chivalry. According to the tradition of Roman law, affirmed Castillo de Bobadilla in 1597, the government of a city should normally be reserved to men of good birth, who did not work with their hands. This was 'becoming the rule' in Spain as well, 'and we even forbid aldermen to be notaries or merchants, and all the more so persons of lower estate and condition whose life-style is vulgar and opposed to virtue.' Though it was important for the voice of the people to be heard in the council chamber, there was great advantage too in selecting aldermen from the traditional ruling class. Such men had long experience of government, 'and the common people tolerate their rule better, recalling that their fathers held those same offices'.⁴² The essence of nobility, in fact, resided in the commitment to the sacred trust of serving one's community. It was this, wrote Guardiola in 1591, which 'first created divisions between the lineages of men, for though we were all children of

⁴⁰ AHN Consejos leg. 4209, testament, 25 March 1641.

⁴¹ Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, *Historia de Sevilla*, vol. IV (Seville 1976), p. 86; Guerrero Mayllo, *Familia y vida cotidiana*, p. xiv; Hernández, *A la sombra de la corona*, pp. 327–33.

⁴² *Política para corregidores*, vol. II, pp. 118–19.

the same first parents and created by the hand of God from the same mass, He raised some to glory, majesty and rule and left the others humble, lowly and subordinate'.⁴³

Good government, noted the Cortes in 1612, required that aldermen should abstain from trading in the supply of goods to their community or working with their hands. But was it desirable that they should also be noble? The Cortes from the 1560s had tried to obtain a general ruling on this, at the same time as they opposed the creation of more municipal offices. The Crown, however, played a prudent hand, in line with Bobadilla's warning about the danger of excluding the common people from a voice in government. It was left to individual towns to adopt resolutions and then obtain a special royal privilege by dint of lobbying, as did Madrid in 1603, from which date its aldermen had to be nobles.⁴⁴ Granada tried to follow from 1571, but with less conviction and less success. A frontier town, with much new settlement, she was not eager, for example, to open enquiries into the *limpieza* (purity of blood) of her rulers, many of whom would have had Jewish or Moorish ancestors.⁴⁵ All new entrants into the town council had to submit to an investigation of their qualities, but it was of an informal, ad hoc nature. However, eventually Granada fell into line with what had become a general trend throughout Spain and indeed Europe as a whole by the eighteenth century – the legal requirement that those who served the commonwealth in positions of command should be men of breeding. The turning-point was the royal decree of 8 September 1739, requiring that henceforth the *veinticuatro*s should be men of noble ancestry, a privilege extended in 1754 to those erstwhile tribunes of the people, the *jurados*. The exact circumstances in which the law was introduced are not clear. What one can deduce from the preamble is that there had been much lobbying, that Granada felt herself to be humiliated and out of step with her sisters, like Seville, Córdoba, Jaén, whose councillors were all noble. 'Men of worth' (nobles and those who did not have to work for a living) had more 'authority', ran the decree, and were better able to exercise their duty of regulating the markets and administering the commonwealth 'without fear or favour of the subject'. Also, they were keener to serve the king

⁴³ *Tratado de nobleza* (Madrid 1591), p. 53v.

⁴⁴ Hernández, *A la sombra de la corona*, pp. 55–6.

⁴⁵ López Nevot, *La organización institucional*, pp. 141–2; Jesús Marina Barba, *Poder municipal y reforma en Granada durante el siglo XVIII* (Granada 1992), p. 49; María Angeles Sáez Antequera, *Índice de los libros de cabildo del archivo municipal de Granada 1604–18* (Granada 1988), p. 100.

because of the honourable tradition of their families, and they could get the communities which they ruled to fulfil more readily their responsibilities in this regard.

The law of 1739 was the confirmation of a trend which had been under way for some time before. As in European towns more generally, good order was seen to reside in a carefully graded hierarchy of ranks, with leadership of the community in the hands of men of honour. More emphasis was placed now on good breeding as a prerequisite of public office, on a sharing of cultural values acquired through the family and the school, which inevitably tended to limit social mobility.⁴⁶ Profiting by this new quest for order, absolute monarchy advanced in the seventeenth century not so much by political and administrative centralisation as by recruiting local elites into its service. Entering the 'shadow of the Crown', regional nobilities were forced to assume a delicate role as intermediaries between their communities and the growing leviathan of the early modern state.⁴⁷ But as they pursued the honours of the court, could they retain that old honour within the community on which their authority ultimately depended?

The pages of the chronicle of Henríquez de Jorquera are filled with the challenges facing Granada during the crucial years of transition from the old city state which she used to be to the satellite of the absolute monarchy of the seventeenth century. There was the constant pressure of the government in Madrid for more troops and taxes to buttress a falling empire, the threat to manufacturing and trade caused by successive devaluations of the currency, the fear of the failure of the harvests, a chastisement from God, perhaps, but exacerbated by the wickedness of those in positions of authority who hoarded foodstuffs. It was against this background that some of the city's representatives in the Cortes or parliament began to win applause as 'defenders of the fatherland' by refusing more taxes. Most notable was Mateo de Lisón y Biedma (1580–1641). In his outstanding pamphlets of the 1620s he posed as the defender of provinces like Granada against the court. 'Amid so much wealth, speculation, merry-making and display' at court, he thundered, it was

⁴⁶ Ellery Schalk, *From valor to pedigree: ideas of nobility in France in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries* (Princeton 1986); Amelang, *Honored Citizens*, pp. 98–101; David Parker, *Class and state in ancient regime France* (London 1996), pp. 144–9. The Spanish towns may have placed more emphasis than most on nobility, though of a porous kind; cf. Christopher R. Friedrichs, *The city in early modern Europe 1450–1750* (London 1995), pp. 182–213.

⁴⁷ William Beik, *Absolutism and society in seventeenth-century France* (Cambridge 1985); Sharon Kettering, *Patrons, brokers and clients in seventeenth-century France* (Oxford 1986), pp. 98–183.

hard to see the misery of the common man. His remedy was essentially a return to an older Spain, where feudal lords lived on their estates and looked after their peasants, and the patricians were men of sober manners who would prefer horse-riding to the new luxury of the coach.⁴⁸

It was against this background of tension that in the spring of 1648 there occurred in Granada the most serious upheaval to disturb the peace of that city during the long period which stretched from the suppression of the last revolt of the Moorish people in 1570 to the inglorious collapse of the Bourbon monarchy in 1808.⁴⁹ For three long days, between 18 and 20 May 1648, mobs armed with swords and arquebuses controlled the streets, forcing the corregidor, Don Francisco Arévalo de Zuazo, who had only taken up his position the year before, to flee for his life. He and the councillors were blamed for the spiralling price of bread that spring – though ‘perhaps it was a punishment for our sins, or sheer bad luck on the part of this gentleman, or more likely a bit of both’, mused one contemporary observer.⁵⁰ In any case, with the failure of orders to the bakers to keep the twenty-ounce loaf at just under one *real* (half the daily wage of a labourer at the time), the royal high court for New Castile and Andalusia, the Chancillería, with its headquarters in Granada, had to set up a junta under one of its magistrates, Don Francisco Ruiz de Vergara, to take a tighter grip on the situation. This was a common enough occurrence, when stricter enforcement of quarantine was required in time of plague, for example, or where as now hoarders and speculators seemed to threaten public order.

It was all a bit late. Faced with a bakers’ strike on Saturday and Sunday, angry crowds assembled on the Monday morning at several strategic points in the city – in the Campo del Príncipe, at the heart of the silk workers’ district, and at the other end of town, in front of the great Elvira gate where the labourers would gather in the morning for hire in the neighbouring fields of the Vega. The labourers acclaimed Don Vicencio Levanto, member of one of the Genoese merchant clans which tended to dominate the trades in sugar and wool while being accepted as men of

⁴⁸ *Discursos y apuntamientos* (1622–7).

⁴⁹ There are two useful approaches to the events of 1648: Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, *Alteraciones andaluzas* (Seville 1999), pp. 124–31 and Manuel Garzón Pareja, *Historia de Granada*, 2 vols. (Granada 1980–1), vol. 1, pp. 458–64. I have also used the records of the city council, AMG Actas del Cabildo, vol. XVIII, 1646–8. Note that the events occurred in May, not March, despite the misleading date given by one of the printed sources, the Jesuit newsletter, in *Memorial Histórico Español*, vol. XIX (1865), p. 162.

⁵⁰ Fray Antonio de Jesús, *Epítome de la admirable vida del ilustre varón don Luis de Paz y Medrano* (Granada 1648), p. 86.

noble lineage. Levanto was a knight of the Military Order of Alcántara, 'a man of right good parts, loved and esteemed in the neighbourhood where he had his residence', according to a report drawn up for the government by an eye-witness on 22 May. One might add that his father, Rolando Levanto, had founded in 1636 the convent of Saint Anthony of Padua of barefoot Franciscans, who catered to the poor of the district.⁵¹ But the silk workers had moved faster, marching in a throng to the Plaza Nueva where the Chancillería held court, demanding that another patrician, Don Luis de Paz y Medrano, knight of Calatrava, a man who had built up a reputation for charitable works (and who had been active, indeed, that year in the distribution of bread from his own supply among the poor), take over as corregidor, with judge Ruiz de Vergara as his deputy.

The focus of interest now shifted to the city hall, and the frightened and confused *veinticuatro*s and *jurados*. Some were in favour of joining Paz and Vergara, and their associate, Alonso, son of Antonio Alvarez de Bohorques, first Marquis of Los Trujillos, possibly the most powerful supporter of the regime of Olivares in Granada before his death in 1640. But Bohorques had been a controversial figure because of that power, and his son Alonso had been forced to restore in 1641 the prestigious post of *alférez mayor*, whose responsibility included unfurling the banner of Castile at the accession of a new monarch, to its original holders, the Fernández de Córdoba clan. As well as this obscure tussle for influence between 'new men' like Bohorques and Levanto, who had benefited by the Olivares regime, and their older-established opponents like Fernández de Córdoba, there was clearly division between those who regarded themselves as guardians of the common weal and other *veinticuatro*s who had to be ordered out of Granada as grain hoarders and speculators. After an undignified squabble between the factions on 19 May as to whether Arévalo de Zuazo should be reinstated, and a dangerous incident in which one of the patricians, the ne'er-do-well Albertos de Encalada, killed a rioter, the confirmation of Luis de Paz as the 'people's *corregidor*' and decisive action on bread prices quietened the situation by 20 May. To the accompaniment of the fife and drums of the municipal band, the city fathers processed out of the town hall towards the Campo del Príncipe where the rebels awaited them. There they were greeted with cheers of 'Long live the king and the city council', and after a solemn *Te Deum* in

⁵¹ M. Barrios Aguilera and F. Andújar Castillo (eds.), *Hombre y territorio en el reino de Granada 1570–1630* (Almería 1995), p. 367.

the nearby church of San Cecilio and a promise to obtain a general pardon for all involved, the crowd dispersed.

The troubles were not quite over yet. The people's friend, the Marquis of Los Trujillos, took horse for Madrid to try and secure the promised pardon. Meanwhile, the city council assembled on the evening of 20 May and nervously – and against its better judgement – determined to hold the price of wheat down to 42 *reales* per *fanega*, 'for the time being', in view of the popular unrest. The violence was over, but it had severely shaken the self-confidence of the authorities. It seems to mark, in a sense, the end of the golden age of the veinticuatro, when they had emerged from the shadow of the Captains General and before the pressures from the monarchy bankrupted the city, literally and metaphorically. It was around 1665 that the municipal revenues eventually proved incapable of sustaining a level of expenditure on bread and taxes built up in the previous half century. The Chancillería then took over the running of the city's budget.⁵² But long before that it was becoming evident that the city fathers had not the authority necessary to cope with the increasing pressures on the supply of bread and that the king's judges would have to step in.

Evidence is now emerging of the extent of popular unrest throughout Castile in these years – sparked at times by hunger, but often fuelled by political tensions. The trouble rarely reached the stage of a full-scale rebellion, but it smouldered and occasionally flared up in riots and vendettas.⁵³ What requires clarification is the nature of the lines of fracture within the local communities as these were put under strain by the increasing demands of the state. Some families and factions clearly succeeded better than others in profiting by the patronage which the monarchy was now offering to those who supported it in its time of need. The popularity of Alvarez de Bohorques with the common people of Granada in 1648, for example, must have had something to do with the fact that he and his father had been at daggers drawn with the other veinticuatro for years past as recipients of office (*alférez mayor* in 1626) against the will of the town council, of titles (Marquis of Los Trujillos in 1632) and of fiefs which cut into the jurisdiction of the city. As power slid from the hands of

⁵² Marina Barba, *Poder municipal*, pp. 226–7.

⁵³ Pedro Lorenzo Cadarso, *Los conflictos populares en Castilla, siglos XVI–XVII* (Madrid 1996), and Luis Corteguera, *For the common good: popular politics in Barcelona 1580–1640* (Ithaca 2002), pp. 195–6.

the Bohorques with the fall of their protector, the great royal favourite, the Count Duke of Olivares, who had dominated Spanish politics between 1621 and 1643, they managed to evade the unpopularity accruing to their colleagues on the municipal council in 1648. The May riots had been preceded that spring by agonising debates among the veinticuatro over new demands from the Crown for troop levies, over what to do with the increasing numbers of paupers wandering the streets, over how to cut back on the traditional Corpus Christi festivities. The disagreements among the veinticuatro would have filtered out to the common people and exacerbated tension. We still know all too little about the tinderbox here which was waiting to catch fire, and about the way in which some of the city fathers like Bohorques were able to draw on their moral authority or networks of patronage in order to limit popular disorder.

Throughout Europe the middle years of the seventeenth century appeared to be ones of 'crisis' – of potential and sometimes actual unrest. The breakdown of local communities, the increasing demands of the absolute monarchies, the realignment of local elites, all created the conditions for a conflagration which might need only the spark of a bad harvest or an unpopular tax to set it going. How far local elites participated in these movements and how far they themselves were targets of popular hostility as new-found allies of absolute monarchy clearly varied from country to country and over time.⁵⁴ The disturbances in Granada hint that a key factor may have been the moral authority which the ruling class was able to invoke. In the small-scale societies of the old regime personal rivalries of the kind which pitted Alvarez de Bohorques against his fellow patricians, and patronage ties with the common man of the kind which Luis de Paz or Vicencio Levanto built up, were an essential ingredient of the political system.

In spite of the turmoil occasioned by the rise of the absolute monarchies in seventeenth-century Europe, the hierarchy of power emerged if anything reaffirmed. Historians have been exploring the sometimes subtle ways in which this was achieved – through a culture of deference, inculcated by the school in part.⁵⁵ What seems to be the case in Granada is that

⁵⁴ I have in mind the famous controversy between Boris Porchnev, *Les soulèvements populaires en France de 1623 à 1648* (Paris 1963), and Roland Mousnier, *Fureurs paysannes: les paysans dans les révoltes du XVIIe siècle: France, Russie, Chine* (Paris 1967).

⁵⁵ There is a useful summary of the debate in Ronald G. Asch, *Nobilities in transition 1550–1700: courtiers and rebels in Britain and Europe* (London 2003), pp. 119–22.

the patricians faced both ways at once, aware that only by retaining the trust of their community could they truly serve the best interests of the monarchy and win its favour. Honour at home seemed to be the prerequisite for enjoyment of the honours of the court. But who were these ruling families? Were they sprung from the ordinary people of Granada, and did they keep up networks of kinship, friendship or patronage with their fellow citizens? To these questions we must now turn.

Nobles of the doubloon

Granada had a ruling class, so went the saying, richer in *doblones* (doublons) than in *blasones* (heraldic quarterings).¹ 'A new city, a body composed of members of different origins', commented the humanist Diego Hurtado de Mendoza (1503–75) as he tried to explain the intrigues of 1569 in the city hall which were undermining the authority of his nephew, the Captain General, who was then grappling with the Moorish rebellion. People had come to Granada because they were 'poor and ill at ease in their homelands, or driven by an appetite for gain'. I do not say that there are no gentlemen, he hastened to add, but new cities are turbulent places 'until virtue and wealth take root and a nobility comes into being'.² Granada was peopled by immigrants of diverse origins, wrote the chronicler Bermúdez de Pedraza (1576–1655?). Few enough were the Conquistadors, more frequent the common folk, 'new men who had no opportunities back home: artisans, journeymen and those in service, everything that one could call the lower classes (*plebe*)'.³

The city was one of the largest in Spain, with 11,624 households in which lived 46,496 persons of an age to take communion, according to the great census of 1561. It is generally thought appropriate to increase the latter figure to 52,844 in order to include children under ten years of age (approximately) who would not yet be allowed access to the Eucharist.⁴ Granada was thus brimming with manpower – some way behind Seville and Madrid which would reach 120,000 inhabitants or more, but certainly high up in the second league of European great cities. With the

¹ M. Garzón Pareja, *Historia de Granada*, (2 vols. Granada 1980–1) vol. 1, p. 357.

² *Guerra de Granada*, written around 1570, but not published until 1627. My reference is to the Barcelona edition of 1842, p. 109.

³ *Historia eclesiástica* (1638), p. 186v.

⁴ Bernard Vincent, 'La organización del territorio y la población' in Manuel Barrios (ed.), *Historia del Reino de Granada*, 3 vols. (Granada 2000), vol. II, pp. 35–58 and Juan García Latorre, 'Población, configuración territorial y actividades económicas', *Ibid.*, pp. 675–704.

dispersal of the Moriscos in 1570, the population fell dramatically – to 8,200 households by 1591, equivalent perhaps to 34,226 individuals. Thereafter the picture becomes less clear as the seventeenth-century censuses appear to merit less confidence. But by 1718 the population had recovered to 10,072 households, and then expanded even further to 12,987 by the time of the first modern census, that of the Marquis of Ensenada (1752). This document is the first to record, as well as households, all the individual inhabitants, including children, and it gives a grand total of 51,118 people – the highest figure reached by the city in the course of the early modern period.⁵ The story, therefore, is one of a fairly robust performance after the initial shock of the expulsion of the Moriscos. Amid the gloom of the decline of Spanish population generally during the seventeenth century, Granada appeared to be doing rather well. How was this achieved?

Valiant efforts have been made to press into service the information contained at parish level in the registers of baptisms, marriages and burials, which become increasingly available here as elsewhere in Christian Europe as a result of the reforms of the sixteenth century. From this source it would appear that part of the recovery can be attributed to immigration. About one in six of those marrying in the city of Granada during the seventeenth century had been born elsewhere, a proportion which rises to one in three during the eighteenth century.⁶ Though death took a savage toll, as elsewhere in urban communities of the time which found it hard to cater to the needs of a crowded population for adequate sewage and drinking water, Granada may have enjoyed certain advantages from its mountain setting. Plague, for example, would take hold on the coast round Málaga, but prove slow to move inland from there – except in 1678, the one occasion when the epidemic really struck home. For the rest, it would appear that the city of Granada had a small surplus of births over deaths for much of the time.

The really bad years, when the curve of baptisms faltered and that of burials soared, were those between 1630 and 1660 – the time of the hunger riot of 1648 and of the misery inflicted by a government in desperate need of money and manpower for its wars. In reply to the request for yet another levy – 1,000 men for Catalonia in June of 1646 – the senior

⁵ Cortés Peña and Vincent, *Historia de Granada*, pp. 47–68 and 239–58; J. Sanz Sampelayo, *Granada en el siglo XVIII* (1980), pp. 291–367; F. Sánchez-Montes, *La población granadina del siglo XVII* (Granada 1989), pp. 17–72.

⁶ Sánchez-Montes *La población granadina*, pp. 128–49; Sanz Sampelayo, *Granada en el siglo XVIII*, pp. 374–428.

veinticuatro and an old servant of the Crown, Francisco Fernández de Zapata, protested: 'we would not be doing our duty by His Majesty if we did not apprise him of the condition in which this territory finds itself, especially the peasants, for there is no village without its swarm of debt-collectors and so poor that everyone can see . . . [And then there is] the bad harvest of this year and the risk of losing the little there is, and if we force the labourers into the army, the whole commonwealth will be utterly ruined.'⁷ It was a similar gloomy report which the town council sent up to Philip IV on 28 May 1652. The devaluation of that year had led to the suspension of trade, such that 'at the present time the greater part of the shops in the Alcaicería (silk exchange) and Zacatín (the street of the luxury trades) are closed and with nothing to sell'. In the surrounding countryside farms lay empty due to the lack of manpower and the losses of recent harvests.⁸

And yet there were those who could not quite believe that things were so bad in Granada. In the Cortes of 1621 various deputies from other parts of Castile suggested that the old exemption of the frontier city from the *servicio* (a poll tax on commoners), granted by the Catholic kings in order to encourage settlement of the newly conquered territory, could no longer be justified. For was Granada not 'the most populous and prosperous of cities, abounding in population and in great estates of much worth, not to mention the large volume of trade which passes through there'?⁹ But this was not quite how it seemed to Granadans themselves. In his submission of 24 June 1646 to the government against the levy for Catalonia, Fernández Zapata argued that his native city was really not very well off at all: 'it plays host to outsiders who come to plead their lawsuits and then leave, and to a horde of very poor people who keep their numerous families out of the little they can earn from peddling this and that'. For the rest, there was a bureaucracy – 'officials of the Chancillería, of the town hall and the Holy Office' – and members of the professions – 'doctors of medicine, lawyers' – and finally a working class, 'like bakers and weavers'. But there were no great fortunes, and as the going got tougher, the temptation was to point the finger at outsiders – footloose Portuguese and French immigrants – and the tax farmers who alone seemed to be benefiting from these years of war and depopulation.¹⁰

⁷ AMG Actas del Cabildo, 18, ff. 235–6, *voto* of Francisco Fernández de Zapata, 24 June 1646.

⁸ Domínguez Ortiz, *Alteraciones andaluzas*, pp. 226–8.

⁹ *Actas de las Cortes*, vol. XXXVII, pp. 172–3, 16 October 1621.

¹⁰ AMG Actas del Cabildo, 18, 256v, 13 July 1646 and 236v, opinion of Cristóbal de Castillejo, 24 June 1646.

Granada, it could be said, resembled other court cities, like Madrid, where growth of population and display of wealth continued for a time through their role as political centres. The former capital of the Moors attracted to itself prestige and revenue as the seat of the royal high court for Andalusia and Castile south of the River Tagus. It was here that some of the leading political figures of Habsburg Spain – López Madera, Chumacero – would start their career as jurists and magistrates before moving on to positions in the more prestigious Chancillería of Valladolid and then to court as members of the ruling Council of Castile, which was responsible for most domestic administration.

Underpinning this bureaucratic edifice there was, as Fernández de Zapata suggested, the familiar spectrum of services and trades which one finds in any pre-industrial city – the market gardeners, bakers, tailors, builders, who catered to the need for food, clothing and shelter of their fellow citizens, all duly listed in the censuses of 1561 and 1752. Two activities may be singled out as particularly significant: the production of leather (the chronicler Henríquez de Jorquera suggested that his native city made the best footwear in Spain), and above all that of silk. The latter employed 3,000 people, said Jorquera, which would work out at one in every four households having some connection with the manufacture. For silk working was widespread, reaching out beyond the guild masters, the officially registered spinners and weavers. There were all those ‘honourable ladies who do not spin as a business’, as the municipal ordinance of 1535 put it, ‘but work at home, and even then not all day since they have their housework to do’, and there were the children, who had to be over twelve years of age according to another decree, unless they were helping their parents to spin at home, in which case they must be at least eight years old.¹¹

Silk working was a complex business. The process began with the cultivation of the mulberry tree, which grew particularly well in the high mountains of the Alpujarras and on whose leaf the silkworm spun its cocoon every spring. These early stages were fraught with risk, for silkworms were extremely sensitive and hard to rear and their cocoons did not yield up their thread easily, having to be immersed in clean water, boiled just to the right degree (otherwise the thread would be too sticky or break). Given the value of the tax on raw silk (the *renta de la seda*), which fetched over 100,000 ducats a year at its height, equivalent to the revenue

¹¹ *Ordenanzas* (1672), pp. 52v–53v.

from the Indies, the Crown kept a strict control of the industry. Those who cultivated silk must keep their doors unlocked at all times, for example, so that royal inspectors could make lightning visits, and they must not sell their thread anywhere but in the royal market, the Alcaicería, in the city of Granada. Here, beside the old mosque, on whose ruins was being erected the new cathedral church, lay the great walled bazaar of the silk traders, under the jurisdiction not of the city council but – as had been the way of the Moors – of the prince, and now of his representative, the Marquis of Mondéjar. ‘Girdled by walls and ten gates’, as Bermúdez de Pedraza described it, ‘its clutter of alleys and pathways call to mind the labyrinth in Crete, so that you would need to fix a thread as you go in to make sure you can find your way out again.’¹²

All this careful regulation seems to have contributed in the end to the smothering of a once prosperous trade. One of our best sources of information about the crisis in the production of raw silk is the memorial of Luis de Córdoba in 1618. He noted that whereas the Morisco peasantry of the Alpujarras had been ready to spend several days on the road, travelling by foot from their homes down to the Alcaicería with just a hank or two of yarn, the settlers who replaced them after 1570 were not so inclined. There were too many regulations surrounding the planting of mulberry trees and the sale of the silk thread, and too many taxes; what the conquered Moriscos had been prepared to put up with, the free Old Christian settlers would not. It was a similar analysis which that pillar of the Granadan Enlightenment, Juan Sempere y Guarinos, magistrate of the Chancillería, was to come up with towards the end of the Old Regime. All the efforts of the government had failed to halt the decline of silk and of the mulberry tree. The reason, he thought, was partly changing fashions as cotton and linen began to take over from the cheaper silk stuffs like taffeta – a change here in personal hygiene? – but above all the sheer burden of legislation and taxation weighing down the cultivator.¹³

Increasingly also there were complaints that Spanish raw silk was uncompetitive with that from China and the Philippines, reaching Europe via Mexico after the opening of the route across the Pacific in 1564. The Cortes first got wind of the danger in 1590, but it was not until 1620 that matters reached crisis proportions. In the sessions of that year, it

¹² *Antigüedad y excelencias de Granada* (1608), p. 21v.

¹³ Juan Sempere y Guarinos, *Memoria sobre la decadencia de la seda en el reyno de Granada* (1806?); Félix García Gámez, ‘La seda del reino de Granada . . . 1570–1630’, *Chronica Nova*, vol. XXV (1998), pp. 249–73.

became apparent that a fundamental split was developing between the representatives of towns like Murcia whose wealth depended on raw silk, and those of Toledo, which grew no silk of its own but whose thriving manufacture depended on cheap sources of supply from elsewhere. The voice of Granada was curiously muted. The mulberry trees there lay not on the big estates but on the lands of a small peasantry. Inasmuch as the patricians were attentive to the voice of the people, it was the silk manufacture, from whose ranks some of them had risen, that claimed their interest. In the eye of the storm the celebrated 'defender of the fatherland', Mateo de Lisón y Biedma, was uncharacteristically discreet. The committee of the Cortes on which he sat eventually came down on the side of the weavers, allowing some import of thread from abroad but banning silk cloth.¹⁴

The figures would indicate that Granada recovered by the 1590s the volume of output of thread characteristic of her heyday before the expulsion of the Moriscos – somewhere around 90,000 pounds-weight per year. Thereafter production tended to stagnate, and indeed fall back by the 1680s. The growers were able, it is reckoned, to supply the city manufacture with up to three-quarters of its needs in silk thread, the rest having to be found by way of imports. So Granada struggled through the seventeenth century with an industry which was clearly not doing brilliantly but which continued to provide her with a steady source of income.¹⁵ Despite the gloom – the Cortes of 1621 were told that of the 5,000 looms which used to exist in the city, only 400 were still in operation, and Henríquez de Jorquera could write in the 1640s of a manufacture 'now somewhat crushed' by imports of Italian cloth – the small scale of the Granadan weaving and spinning establishments seems to have given silk a certain flexibility, enabling it to bounce back after each crisis.

For it was essentially a household enterprise, watched over and regulated by a commonwealth which made no clear distinction between economics, welfare and good order. The wealth of a kingdom, proclaimed the *arbitrista* Pedro Fernández Navarrete in 1626, lies in the number of its people, 'for leaving aside that wars are fought with iron wielded by the arm of man, they need money, which will be scarce where there are few taxpayers'.¹⁶ Setting up the Junta de Población in 1625, Philip IV proclaimed that 'one of the

¹⁴ *Actas de las Cortes*, vol. x, pp. 521–2; vol. xxxv, pp. 203–5; vol. xxxvii, pp. 216–21 (committee report, 25 October 1621).

¹⁵ Manuel Garzón Pareja, *La industria sedera en España: el arte de la seda en Granada* (Granada 1972).

¹⁶ *Conservación de monarquías* (1626), ed. Michael D. Gordon (Madrid 1982), p. 65.

blessings of a realm is the abundance of its population', souls for God, servants for the king, and that one of the ways of securing that abundance was to foster 'industry' or manufacture. The Ordinances of Granada, mostly dating from the reign of Charles V but collected together and reissued in 1672, gave expression to this policy.¹⁷ They vary from trade to trade, reflecting the particular preoccupations of each, but leave no one in any doubt that all manufacture, buying and selling of goods lay ultimately under the control of the city fathers. No one was to set up a shop unless examined by the two inspectors (*veedores*) of his guild, chosen annually by these magistrates from a list of four names submitted by the guild. How cloth was to be woven or thread spun was spelled out in sometimes exhaustive detail. To guard against fraud, the general principle was that the shop where one bought a new item must be the workshop where it was made – the locksmiths and hosiers had particular laws on this. Workers must be properly trained: five years' apprenticeship in the main silk trades (but only three if one were trained by one's father or father-in-law), followed by one, two or three years 'wandering' (*andar*) as a journeyman (*oficial*) before one could set up shop for oneself as a master craftsman.

The aim was to create a harmonious community. So there must be no poaching of workmen by one master from another; a craftsman must not buy up more than his fair share of raw material, nor have more than three or four apprentices' nor operate more than two spinning machines, and no one was to dismiss an apprentice without a hearing before the officers of the guild. The dice were no doubt loaded against workmen: there are references to spinning machines operating after midnight, and workers had to certify that they had fulfilled their contract with their existing master before moving on to another. But there was a requirement for silk workers to visit one another in sickness (other than bubonic plague or a wounding, it was specified), and to attend the funerals of their fellows.

Whether this little commonwealth really functioned as it was meant to do, one may doubt. Certainly, as in Córdoba, the patricians seem to have been committed to making it work in the interests of social stability.¹⁸ But there are enough hints in the ordinances themselves that the big trades like silk were falling into the hands of those with capital. Thus, one could have

¹⁷ I am indebted to Inmaculada Arias de Saavedra for the opportunity of consulting this important document. On the guilds, see José Moreno Casado, *Las ordenanzas gremiales de Granada en el siglo XVI* (Granada 1948).

¹⁸ José I. Fortea Pérez, *Córdoba en el Siglo XVI: las bases demográficas y económicas de una expansión urbana* (Córdoba: Caja de Ahorros 1981), pp. 378–88. For the conservatism of a guild economy, see Christopher Friedrichs, *The early modern city 1450–1750* (London 1995), pp. 90–100.

a silk loom in one's house without being a guildsman, so long as one hired a weaver to operate it, and there are references to journeymen who were married and operating looms supposedly under the direction of a master but really on their own.¹⁹ Above all, perhaps, the very fact that by 1667 no complete copy of the ordinances could be found and that it was the king's judges rather than the city fathers who ordered a new edition to be made, would indicate the probable neglect of the code of practice contained in them. The edition eventually published in 1672 seems quite anachronistic, with its reference, for example, to wage rates set in 1552 or earlier.

In the hundred years since the reconquest, wrote Bermúdez de Pedraza in 1638, 'an age of gold has been transformed into one of copper'.²⁰ As a canon of the cathedral, he was disturbed at the lack of funding for his church. The tithes of Granada had been ceded to the Crown on the assumption that it would look after the churches, but this proved not to be the case. The great building work on the cathedral itself, started in 1526, dragged on slowly, having to be funded by expedients like the sale of a title of nobility to Lisón y Biedma's heirs in 1699, and was only finally completed in 1704.²¹ Surveying the incompleteness of the Carthusian monastery, founded on a lavish scale in 1516, Bermúdez de Pedraza pointed up the moral of the story, that 'these are unhappy times'. There is, indeed, a note of pessimism which creeps into his expanded chronicle of 1638 which is not there in the earlier version of 1608, and it coincides interestingly with that downswing of population which we have already noted for the middle decades of the seventeenth century.

And yet in spite of all the difficulties, Granada appeared to afford continuing opportunities to the immigrant, its elite still often composed of self-made men, 'nobles of the doubloon'. The path to honour might start in one's village, then wend its way through an apprenticeship. The merchant Diego Rodríguez referred in his will of 1625 to nineteen-year-old Mateo Rodríguez (no relation) whom he had had in his house for the last 'eight to ten years, during which time I have shown him the silk business, and taught him to read and write with as much care as if he were my son'. He was now to get 220 *reales*, enough to set him up with a loom or two of his own.²² An able youngster would expect to enter a

¹⁹ *Ordenanzas*, section 21, c.45.

²⁰ *Historia eclesiástica, principios y progresos de la ciudad y religion católica de Granada* (Granada 1638), p. 185.

²¹ Enrique Soria Mesa, *El cambio inmóvil: transformaciones y permanencias de una elite de poder, Córdoba, siglos XVI–XIX* (Córdoba 2000), p. 121; Garzón Pareja, *Historia de Granada*, vol. 1, p. 334.

²² AHPG JA 1,654–9, 22 October 1625.

partnership with his master – the latter handling the paperwork from his *escritorio*, his counting house (normally located on the ground floor of the house, as one entered the patio), while the younger man would do the actual buying and selling in one of the shops of the Alcaicería.

It was a partnership of this kind which turned sour for Francisco Muñoz de Torres, motivating a lawsuit which casts considerable light on the organisation of the silk trades. Muñoz was a peasant's son from Güevéjar, a little to the north of the city. His relatives were farmers on the great estate (*cortijo*) of Asquerosa belonging to the Marquises of Santa Cruz. He came to Granada around 1670 and managed to set up a partnership with one of the old-established merchants, Juan Padiál de la Peña, who traded 770,000 *reales* worth of silks in 1685. 'It is common opinion among the merchants of the Alcaicería', reported one of the guild inspectors of Padiál, 'that he is a powerful man, given this kind of wealth'. In time-honoured fashion, the young partner won the heart of Claudia, one of the merchant's two daughters and joint heiresses. Here the trouble started. Muñoz believed that his marriage in 1680 entitled him to a dowry of 220,000 *reales*, given the size of his father-in-law's business; but the old man was only prepared to give 21,000, and struck back at what he regarded as the unfair advantage which Muñoz had taken. Left to himself very largely, the latter was now accused of pocketing more than his fair share of the profits of the company. When he started with me, affirmed Padiál, 'he had no property, and now he has over 24,000 ducats (264,000 *reales*), with eighteen looms working for him throughout the year'.²³ Muñoz de Torres went on to become a great landowner, master of the *cortijo* of Alitaje, on which he and his wife founded a magnificent chantry, or perpetual endowment of masses for their souls. By the time of his death in 1709, *Don* Francisco, as he now was known, was a *familiar* or lay agent of the Inquisition, a position which demonstrated to all the world that he came of impeccable Old Christian ancestry. Here was a man of wealth and honour, who had largely made his own way in the world.

Muñoz de Torres had no direct descendants. But families like the Padiál constituted veritable dynasties, whose prestige was consolidated from one generation to the next by their posts as familiar of the Holy Office, by ownership of land and by the entry of some of their members into the professions, especially the law and the church. The first reference we get to them concerns Jacinto Padiál's request of 1629 to become a

²³ ARCG 3 / 184 / 2, *Padiál v. Muñoz*, 1688–90.

familiar, from which it emerges that his father and grandfather had been silk spinners, the grandfather a native of Aguilar del Campo – ‘humble people’, in the opinion of the *informantes* entrusted with establishing their genealogy, ‘which will make it difficult to get more information about them in Aguilar’. In spite of doubts about who the grandparents actually were, and concern about a penance handed out to Jacinto’s uncle, the Inquisition decided that the family’s wealth and standing were sufficient guarantees. From there the Padial prospered, acquiring land in the village of Alfacar and getting themselves exempted from paying taxes there in 1662, while Juan Padial de la Peña, cousin of the silk merchant, became a barrister and served as deputy to the royal governor or *corregidor* in 1698 and also as interim *veinticuatro* in office 48. The barrister’s grandson Pedro Padial moved to the village of Gabia, where he served as lieutenant in the militia and got the royal chancery court to confirm his status as a noble (*hidalgo*) in 1768. Meanwhile, his cousins were spread through the city of Granada as notaries, priests and merchants, with a focus in the silk-working parish of Santa Escolástica and with a particular devotion to the Jesuits, like so many other of the lesser patrician families.²⁴

The Jesuits appealed in Granada as elsewhere in Spain to a relatively new elite of upwardly mobile men, whose focus was on their own attainments rather than on inherited position. They were more open to *conversos* (converted Jews) than other religious orders of their time.²⁵ But the failure of the Padial to break through from what was essentially a bourgeois to a fully aristocratic status raises interesting questions about attitudes to trade and wealth in Spain. For that expert on all things noble, the Benedictine friar Guardiola, nobles needed to be men of wealth, for without it ‘only with great difficulty if at all can one’s standing be maintained’. On the other hand, those who acquired riches unjustly were damned – ‘those powerful and wealthy men to whom honour is usually paid though they lack every kind of virtue’.²⁶ The Florentine humanist Leon Battista Alberti had suggested that trade was an honourable calling because it furnished the wherewithal for a man to be free, dependent only on his own enterprise, and useful at the same time to his community.²⁷ Older attitudes perhaps survived longer in Andalusia and Castile, where

²⁴ AHN Inquisición, leg.1,478, expediente 17; ARCG 301 / 167 / 221, *hidalguía* Don Pedro Padial, 1768.

²⁵ Cf. Jodi Bilinkoff, *The Avila of Saint Teresa* (Ithaca and London 1989), pp. 87–95.

²⁶ *Tratado de Nobleza* (1591), 66v.

²⁷ *Four books of the family* (1438–41), ed. Guido Guarino (Cranbury, NJ, 1971), pp. 147–53.

Fray Luis de León, son of a judge in the Chancillería of Granada, could write that 'the trader can only fill his house with what he has taken from someone else'.²⁸ Economics was considered essentially as a branch of theology whose responsibility it was to set out the guidelines of a 'moral commonwealth'. But some of these same theologians, often teachers at the great University of Salamanca (hence their name, the 'School of Salamanca'), began around the middle of the sixteenth century to point out that individual morality and the laws of the market might be two different things. In particular, through their focus on the causes of the traumatic rise in prices during the sixteenth century which harmed the poor and threatened to subvert the hierarchy of honour, they pioneered understanding of the 'impersonal' forces of the market which appeared greater than the sum of individual wills. American treasure rather than human greed was to blame, they thought, for price inflation.²⁹ Yet, for all the innovative quality of their thought, the School of Salamanca remained curiously timid when it came to its application. So, for example, Tomás de Mercado could still urge in 1569 that the 'law of the market' offered no excuse for the penitent when he sought absolution for buying and selling above the 'just price'.

There was a similar dilemma apparent when it came to loans at interest, condemned by centuries of Christian tradition as an infringement of charity towards one's neighbour, but tacitly modified by the concept of *lucro cesante* – that a merchant could charge a fee for the 'loss of earnings' on money lying dormant, as it were, in another person's possession. The issue surfaced in Granada in 1679 when the veinticuatro Don Pedro de Nava sued the jurado Don Diego Brochero for 57,843 *reales* worth of silk he had sold him, together with 36,792 he had added as a loan in cash, for an expedition which Brochero was planning to the Indies in 1662. 'In that time I used to deal and trade with my money and textiles and property in the navigation of the Indies', Don Pedro explained to the judges, not so much out of social embarrassment as because traders were entitled to invoke *lucro cesante*, unlike patricians or other members of the Christian commonwealth. He had charged Brochero 7 per cent on both the loan and the silks, whose value was supposed to be paid over by Christmas Day 1663. But Christmas came and went, and Brochero never showed up – swallowed up in the vastness of Spanish America. So by 1679 Nava

²⁸ *La Perfecta Casada* (1583), new edn (Madrid 1975), p. 34.

²⁹ Marjorie Grice-Hutchinson, *The School of Salamanca: Readings in Spanish Monetary Theory 1544–1605* (Oxford 1952), pp. 48–52.

decided to sue the heirs of the ill-fated jurado. It emerged in the course of the trial that merchants were in the habit of setting up partnerships for such ventures on a profit-sharing basis, but added on 10 per cent for the partner who put up the capital. Indeed, the capitalist might charge up to 30 per cent interest, in addition to his half of any profit, if the 'travelling' partner could not pledge sufficient security for return of the capital. The court of the corregidor thought it only fair that Nava should have the interest he was seeking. But on appeal the first chamber of the Chancillería overruled this judgement, upholding what it took to be the precepts of Christian charity. However, on second appeal, another chamber took a different view: Nava was entitled to 'compensation', if not interest: so, let Brochero's heirs pay him 5 per cent on what they owed him, to date from Christmas Day 1663 when the accounts between the two men were supposed to have been settled.³⁰

Visible in this lawsuit is an as yet tentative move towards separating out the needs of a healthy economy, dependent on the freedom of the trader, from the moral behaviour of the Christian gentleman. The devout former fiscal of the Chancillería, Gregorio López Madera, replied to a proposal of 1621 for cutting back on luxury as a way of halting the decline of Spain, that 'we fool ourselves enormously in this matter of excesses and extravagance, for if frugality and moderation are commendable qualities in a man . . . they are not such an unqualified blessing for a commonwealth'. Luxury creates jobs. 'What would be the use of cultivating silk, working it up and selling it, if it were not to go into bedding, tapestries and clothes?' With one eye on Granada where he had an estate, and another on the memory of his father who had been a court physician, he suggested that those who took the moral highroad 'will end up like the bad doctor who bleeds his patient to excess, leaving him feeble and lifeless'.³¹ But then Madera had a somewhat old-fashioned idea of wealth. In his treatise of 1597, he measured the greatness of the Spanish monarchy in terms of what he called its 'grandeur' (*excelencias*) – the vast sums spent on the defence of Christendom, the adornment of churches, the retinues of the grandees, the gold and silver transported from America 'like some latter-day Solomon or Ophir'.³²

³⁰ ARCG 2061 / 13, *Nava v. Brochero* (1679–80). Cf. Grice-Hutchinson, *The School of Salamanca*, pp. 13–18.

³¹ Angel González Palencia (ed.), *La Junta de Reformación 1618–25* (Madrid 1932), pp. 106–7.

³² *Excelencias de la Monarchia y Reyno de España* (Valladolid 1597), p. 74.

Madera's outburst was part of his more general counterblast to the *arbitristas*, the economic writers of the time who were multiplying their nostrums for the recovery of the royal finances. Innovative in adapting to a new mercantilist age, characterised increasingly by wars of trade, they remained curiously wedded to older ideas of the godly artisan and peasant farmer as the backbone of the commonwealth. It was very much the godly household which Martín González de Cellorigo had in mind in his pioneering treatise of 1600, for example, as a remedy for the ills of the commonwealth. If people could be recalled to a sense of their duty as sober householders and benevolent lords of vassals, all might yet be well.³³

In this atmosphere, increasing attention was paid to the work ethic. In a sense, *ociosidad* (idleness) had always been condemned as a vice by Christian thinkers. Recalling the story of one youth condemned to death for thefts, the chronicler Pedraza commented that 'he came to grief by trying to play the gentleman, which is the root one might almost say of all the misfortunes afflicting a community, for in calling a man *don*, they drive him to idleness'.³⁴ Around 1600 statesmen began to take up the call. There was an increasing feeling that Spain was falling behind other nations, that she had not managed to make the transition from the warfare of the *reconquista* to the arts of peace needed by a more settled society – an attitude reflected, of course, in that supreme satire of outmoded chivalry, *Don Quixote* (1605–14). 'The contempt for work has reached such a pitch', affirmed the law professor Gaspar Gutiérrez de los Ríos in 1600, 'that men of lowly origin seem to feel that the way to nobility for their offspring is above all to make them idle.' *Mechanical* trades might involve a dulling of the senses and an appetite for gain, which was unhealthy; but study, agriculture, large-scale trade, these were activities which required a certain greatness of soul. Let hidalgos (the warrior gentry so numerous in crusader Spain) at least try the liberal arts. Indeed, he asked (in an echo of Alberti), would the freedom which comes with trade not be better than hanging on in the retinue of some great man? 'Is there any sadder fate in the world than to be dependent on another man?'³⁵

The essayist Luis Zapata (c.1532–98), cousin of the veinticuatro Baltasar Barahona Zapata, who was to be a mainstay of the Olivares regime in

³³ Cf. J. H. Elliott, 'Self-perception and decline in seventeenth-century Spain', *Past and Present* 74 (1977), pp. 41–61.

³⁴ *Historia Eclesiástica*, p. 230v.

³⁵ *Noticia General para la estimación de las artes* (Madrid 1600), 315.

Granada, dedicated one of his pieces to ‘those who in our day started out with little and came into a great fortune’. The list included Francisco de los Cobos, sometime jurado of Granada before rising to greater eminence as secretary to Charles V, who had an inscription in the chapel he founded which read: ‘All this and more come to the man who is trustworthy, hard-working and resourceful.’ A fellow Andalusian, Gonzalo Argote de Molina (1551–96), a Seville gentleman of somewhat uncertain status and fortune but who turned himself through his researches into the prime authority on the noble houses of the land, adhered to the same opinion. Given the rise and fall of families, it was clear enough that ‘from work and dedication follow good effects, while equally it behoves the prosperous and high-placed not to be arrogant’.³⁶

The question, though, was whether the man who made his money in trade could be fitted into the hierarchy of honour. The Cortes of 1576, after deploring the decline of the martial arts among the nobility and trying to get towns to organise jousts, went on in the very next petition to tell the Crown that it was ‘only right’ that aldermen of the eighteen city states of Castile ‘should not practise any calling, trade or dealing which would undermine the respect and authority due to their persons and offices’. In many places, they noted, they ‘have a hand in working up cloth and silk and such like’.³⁷ The Crown returned a cautious answer to these and subsequent petitions of the kind. Its ambition, it might be said, was rather the other way round – to encourage trade by conferring honour on its practitioners. But it was not until 1682, in harmony with developments in France at the time, that it tried to clear up ‘doubts’ about the alleged ‘incompatibility’ between work and honour. Manufacturing cloth, therefore, was now to be treated as equivalent to farming one’s land – a perfectly noble occupation so long as one did not soil one’s own hands.³⁸ It took some time for the spirit of the new decree to alter provincial attitudes, which were inevitably more conservative. Even as late as 1770 the silk spinner José Pérez de Orozco was defensive about his occupation when applying for admission to the city of Granada as a jurado. He had never worked with his hands, nor had his family, ‘for which they had and have their masters and journeymen’.³⁹

³⁶ *Nobleza de Andalucía*, 1588, ed. Enrique de Toral (Jaén 1957), 202–3; cf. Luis Zapata, (Miscelánea), in *Memorial Histórico Español*, vol. XI (Madrid 1859).

³⁷ *Actas de las Cortes*, vol. V adicional, p. 572.

³⁸ *Novísima Recopilación de las Leyes de España*, 8 / 24 / 1, *pragmática* of 1 December 1682.

³⁹ AMG Caballeros xxiv, 418.

Pérez de Orozco claimed anyway, like other merchants, to be originally of a sword family, reduced by necessity to trade. It was a similar argument advanced by the Castellanos dynasty. Alonso Castellanos, his descendants alleged, had come to Granada as a soldier around 1524. We find him in the census of 1561 heading a large household (including three slaves) in the silk-working district of San Cecilio. One of his sons, Diego, carried on an active business in silk, buying some of the raw material in the 1590s on commission for merchants in Seville and giving out the remainder on his own account to a score of weavers in Granada to be worked up into cloth. Most of these weavers were small artisans (six of them were women), owning their own loom but obviously very dependent on the advance of capital from Diego Castellanos. Diego moved from wealth to honour, purchasing a position of jurado on the city council before his death in 1604. He also acquired a large new house in the more prestigious parish of Santa Ana near the high court, next door to the house of his brother Alonso Castellanos de Marquina, who was also a jurado. The latter, meanwhile, was buying up land in the Vega of Granada in the 1590s, laying the foundation of a new patrician dynasty, and he was one of those active in the Jesuit-inspired campaign of those years for reform of prostitution.⁴⁰

Alonso the Younger married Doña Mencía López, related to Canon Hernando López de Rojas of the collegiate church of San Salvador. The López de Rojas brought wealth and some prestige, but also trouble if anyone cared to stir the waters – for over their head hung suspicion of *converso* ancestry. In any case, Diego's younger son Baltasar followed a career in the church, rising to considerable eminence as the founder of the Capuchin convent in Granada. Events were conspiring to lift the family out of trade into aristocracy. Diego's eldest son Francisco Castellanos de Marquina (1579–1660) acquired a post of veinticuatro in 1620. Married to the heiress Luisa de Orozco, he received from her father a post of registrar (*escribano de cámara*) in the high court, which conferred on him considerable power as well as prestige. He threw himself wholeheartedly into public life, 'living with the splendour, deportment and prestige of a

⁴⁰ I have pieced together the story from scattered information, notably AHPG RD 1,535ff., sale of land to Alonso Castellano (*sid*), 8 September 1598, and RD 1,003–1,016, inventory Diego Castellano, 14 January 1604. The big house in Santa Ana may have come in 1600 through distraint against Alonso's brother-in-law, the jurado Juan Alvarez Dávila, RD 769–73v, 28 June 1600. For Alonso as moral reformer, Pedro Herrera Puga, 'La reglamentación de la prostitución en la Granada de los siglos XVI y XVII', *Actas del cuarto congreso español de historia de la medicina*, vol. 1 (Granada 1979), pp. 118–24.

knight'. As part of this obligation, he mounted the lavish Corpus Christi festivities of 1618 when he was still a jurado. As a veinticuatro he showed himself to be a zealous servant of the Olivares regime, like his cousin by marriage Baltasar Barahona Zapata, over whom also hung the shadow of New Christian ancestry. Both men reaped the rewards of service – knighthoods in the Military Orders – but both had to face the resulting storm of controversy over their origins. Castellanos had been administrator of the unpopular royal excise tax, the *millones*, in 1634, then deputy to the Cortes of 1638, when he began calling himself *Don* Francisco (according to one jaundiced observer). For his good work he obtained from the Crown – significantly not for himself but for his twenty-year-old son Juan, more decently remote from the world of the silk merchant – a knighthood of the chivalric order of Santiago.

'Just as you can tell the New Christians by their *sambenitos* [penitential garb], so you can now tell them by the crosses of the orders of chivalry', wrote one disgruntled foe of Castellanos. 'For this kind of people is so ambitious and fond of honour, and so often has the money to go with it, that they have barely set their heart on something when they get what they want.' The Castellanos, he went on, were weavers and merchants, married to Jewish moneylenders. The blame for this undermining of the old nobility of Spain lay with the orders of chivalry, whose commissioners failed to do a proper work of investigation: 'everything is stitched up as it were among *compadres*'. In fact, the 150 folios of documentation and testimony from 69 witnesses in this case during the years 1643 and 1644 suggest how difficult it was to establish the truth: there was no clear agreement, for example, about how exactly Alonso Castellanos' wife Mencía López was related to the New Christian López de Rojas family. There were never enough documents, and oral testimony took the path of rumour for which no witness would take personal responsibility: 'I have heard, but I cannot say for sure . . .' The government had to assess basically the strength of the opposition, whether justified or not, before deciding to ride out the storm or leave things in suspense for a period.⁴¹

Much seems ultimately to have depended on the acceptability of a merchant to the local community. Julián de Miota Romero was a respected silk trader who became jurado of the city and attracted public acclaim in 1603 as one of the sponsors of the Corpus Christi festivities of that year. His son Juan succeeded him for a while in the business, and as

⁴¹ AHN Santiago 1,720 (Juan de Castellanos de Orozco 1644).

jurado demonstrated his great wealth by mounting the Corpus Christi celebrations for two years running, in 1630 and 1631. Purchasing a veinticuatría in 1637, he was called upon the following year to escort a levy of twenty soldiers offered by the city to Philip IV. His energy and wealth recommended themselves to Olivares, who offered him a knighthood of Santiago. His witnesses were generally sympathetic. True, he and his father had been in trade, but this involved merely 'buying the silk thread and then passing it on to weavers who weave it on their looms and give back the finished cloth to be measured and sold by the merchant in his counting house'. There was no question of working in a shop. The senior alderman of the day, Don Baltasar Barahona Zapata, testifying in their favour, noted that merchants of this kind only handled money, not the silk itself. But to be on the safe side he pointed out that Juan had done 'very little' trading, while other witnesses stressed that he 'always lived in great splendour, and kept a coach and horses'.⁴²

Like Castellanos, Miota Romero was eventually approved for the knighthood. But their cases illustrate the difficulties as well as the opportunities of social mobility through trade. In fact, as one looks at the lists of those entering the Military Orders from Granada, one is struck by how relatively few came in directly from the world of business. Compared with Seville, where many knighthoods were awarded to the great merchants under the progressive regime of the Count Duke of Olivares (1621–43), Granada is hardly in the race.⁴³ The reason has probably to do with the lesser prominence of the latter as a centre for trade. The really big fortunes in both cities were often anyway in the hands of those international capitalists, the Genoese. These had been active in the kingdom of Granada when it was still under Muslim rule, exploiting particularly the rich sugar plantations along the coast and the wool needed by the booming cloth manufacture of the Italian Renaissance towns. One of the most successful of their number was Bartolomé Veneroso, who came to Granada in 1563 and acquired by his death in 1609 one of the largest estates in the kingdom, worth 12,000 ducats a year – an estate which was to go eventually to the Jesuits in the later seventeenth century after his family died out. Veneroso made his fortune in wool, buying it up early in the year by advancing money to the local herd owners and acquiring a near

⁴² AHN Santiago 5,321, testimony Barahona Zapata, 29 April 1654.

⁴³ Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, 'Comercio y blasones: concesiones de hábitos de órdenes militares a miembros del consulado de Sevilla en el siglo XVII', *Anuario de Estudios Americanos*, xxxiii (1976), reprinted in his book, *Estudios Americanistas* (Madrid 1998), pp. 193–238.

monopoly of the facilities for washing and dressing it for export to Italy. As a member of one of the twenty-eight ruling families of Genoa, he enjoyed a kind of aristocratic status which enabled him to consolidate his power, marrying the daughter of the lord of Villanueva de Mesía in 1582, acquiring a *veinticuatria* three years later, and then going on to purchase from the Crown the post of High Constable of the chancery court (1603) for the fabulous sum of 80,000 ducats.⁴⁴

Such careers are not readily to be found among native Granadans. Though these had a unique source of revenue in the silk trade, which was largely in their hands, they often appear in the documents as agents acting for the great houses of Seville (some of these Genoese), rather than as merchant adventurers in their own right. This was true, for example, of Diego Castellanos in the 1590s. There were the exceptions, of course, like Don Pedro de Nava in the 1660s. One of those who traded a little with the Indies was Tomás López de Rojas. At his death in 1673, his inventory listed the 'fourteen or fifteen bags of Mexican pieces of eight' stored in his shop in the Alcaicería, watched over by two pictures of the Immaculate Conception. He had just invested most of his fortune – 10,000 ducats – in a consignment of silk entrusted to a fellow merchant voyaging that year to the Indies. But Tomás was none too confident that he would ever see his silk or his money again, for his partner had gone on to Lima, unable to sell the cargo in the great fair of Portobello. In a dramatic gesture he decided he would put the proceeds under God's protection, founding a chantry (a perpetual endowment of masses for his soul) – 'And if by chance Our Lord were pleased that the said cloth or its equivalent in money were, by some misfortune, to be lost . . . this endowment I hereby revoke.'⁴⁵ America was a distant land. As one looks at the rest of his goods, one senses that this wealthy merchant (with a jurado as one of his executors) was really more at home in his local world – the city of Granada itself, from whose inhabitants he had pawns of rings and other knick-knacks wrapped up in bits of paper for small loans he had made them, and the countryside beyond, with its network of fairs in the market towns round about. In Baza, for example, he had money owing to him from the fair of the previous autumn, and he had accounts there with a

⁴⁴ There is an interesting short biography in María José Osorio Pérez, *Historia del Real Colegio de San Bartolomé y Santiago* (Granada 1987), pp. 75–87. See also Antonio Domínguez Ortiz (ed.), *Historia de Andalucía*, IV (Barcelona 1980), p. 61, and AHPG RD 672–9v, farm of rents of Bartolomé Veneroso, 24 June 1600.

⁴⁵ AHPG EC 303–13v, 4 April 1673; and cf. 331–458v, inventory, 5–9 April 1673.

canon of the local collegiate church. To get to Baza he must have hired a horse, but he had his own 'travelling gear' (*aderezo de camino*), a cushion, portmanteau and stirrups, as well as – for the roads were not safe – two shotguns and eight flasks of gunpowder.

It was by spreading investments that the businessmen of Granada rose to wealth. The leather merchant Luis de Cuadros left at his death in 1629 an estate valued at 13,368 ducats. Of this a third were in the form of credits which he held against a range of tanners and shoemakers in and around the city. He served as an intermediary between the Duke of Arcos, the great magnate of Lower Andalusia, some of whose flocks he was negotiating to buy, and the artisans who worked up the hides; and he held the contract for supplying Granada with its meat. Much of his business was done with men he could trust – his son-in-law, the notary and familiar of the Holy Office Juan de Ayllón, and his partner, José de Velasco, who had lived and worked with him until his marriage. Many debts owed to him were listed as 'uncertain', for they were only set down in the Cuadros ledger, without a formal deed of notary. Indeed, Velasco had used '7,000 or 8,000 *reales*' of his partner's money to buy hides from the Indies and North Africa as well as Granada, and it had to be 'left to his conscience' to say exactly what he owed.⁴⁶ Luis de Cuadros had begun the ascent to honour: a familiar of the Inquisition, he possessed the gold tunic and the dress sword which he would wear in processions of that body; one of his daughters had married the jurado Baltasar de Carmona; and around 45 per cent of his estate was in the form of houses and bonds (*censos*) which procured him the steady income which would enable his heirs to live like gentlefolk.

Cuadros was probably well advised to begin this kind of move, for the chronicles of those years are filled with the rumours and the reality of violent fluctuations in the value of the coinage, as Philip IV and Olivares first devalued it in order to raise funds for war, then periodically revalued in order to counter inflation. The testament of Diego Juárez in the autumn of 1643, just a year after the face value of coins had been slashed by government order, reflects his agony at the loss to his master, whose rents he had painfully collected in fifty 'little bags': 5,000 *reales*, he tells us, were reduced overnight to 1,500.⁴⁷ Pending clarification of whether debts were correspondingly reduced, the silk merchants that year preferred to suspend business, leading to disturbances among the weavers. To pacify them, the corregidor had to advance money to get the looms moving again.

⁴⁶ AHPG RR 1097–1153, division of inheritance of Luis de Cuadros, 28 February 1629–3 March 1630.

⁴⁷ AHPG MP, n.f., testament, 22 October 1643.

What one tends to find is the development of forms of barter, given that obligations could often not be settled in cash at all, or at least not immediately. The testament of the jurado Luis de Salas y Burgos, who died in 1625, is particularly informative on the network of trust which governed his relations with others during the time that he had been a merchant. With his former partner, Juan de Mercado, who had died in 1614, and with the latter's widow Doña Isabella de Morales, there was a constant shuttle of favours which replaced strict accounting as regards who owed what. Did Salas owe Mercado 400 *reales*? But he thought he had already satisfied that debt by getting an apothecary to hand over a quantity of wheat promised to him to his partner's family instead. Then there were the little sums which Doña Isabella had sent to his home over the years, 'sometimes when I approached her, other times without any approach from me', which probably mounted up to 800 *reales*. These unsettled accounts raised questions about what exactly had been a loan and what had been a gift, what had been paid off in kind and what could be accepted as a token of friendship. Unfulfilled obligations of this kind created a network of patronage which linked the members of the community together – aldermen and their former business colleagues, merchants and their former artisan neighbours. Though enveloped in the language of friendship, they were not quite that. Debts were remembered, especially at death, and the misunderstandings they caused could foster tensions.⁴⁸

Nevertheless, the successful businessman would count on solidarities of this kind in his rise to wealth. When Alonso Valer purchased the office of receiver of the royal taxes of Granada in 1595, he presented the usual *fianzas* required in such dealings – the list of guarantors who would bail him out if he got into any difficulty. They included his brother Francisco, 'one of the wealthiest traders in the Alcaicería', as he was described; his son-in-law Jerónimo de Castro, who was a clerk of the high court; and Melchor Ruiz Canales, treasurer of the city and owner of a sugar mill, whose daughter Paula would marry *Don* Luis de Castro Valer, heir to the Castro-Valer fortune. Alonso had purchased an office of veinticuatro in 1593 and Melchor Ruiz Canales followed him into that source of influence and power in 1596. He named Juan Fernández de Córdoba, lord of Orgiva and *alférez mayor* or leader of the town council, as one of the three lives during which he and his heirs could hold the receivership of the revenues of the Crown. In his testament of 1604 he spoke of his seventeen years of

⁴⁸ AHPG JV 1192–1201, 1 October 1625; cf. Iris Origo, *The Merchant of Prato* (London 1957), pp. 343–4.

service to the Duchess of Sessa, another of the Fernández de Córdoba clan, 'in different matters touching her house and estate, both in the court of His Majesty and in other parts outside these realms, in which I employed my own person as well as some agents and clients (*allegados*) of my household'. He reckoned that he had spent over 6,000 ducats on this. He appealed to her heir, the Count of Rivadavia that he grant him and his heirs 'whatever reward and satisfaction he deem appropriate for the unburdening of the conscience of my lady the Duchess . . . as he has promised and I trust he will so do'.⁴⁹

This was where the main fortunes in a pre-industrial economy were to be made – in the exploitation of the obligations of the peasantry to their lords, to the church and the king, and in tax and revenue farming. One of those associated with Alonso Valer in his bid of 1595 was Pedro de los Reyes (c.1555–1625), veinticuatro of Granada from 1603 and one of the eighteen prominent laymen (who included Alonso de Castellanos) responsible for the foundation of the *Recogidas*, the 'home for fallen women', in 1592. Farmer of the tithes in Motril and in several villages of the Vega, he was active in refining the sugar and producing wine from the grapes which came in as part of these revenues in the 1590s. He also played a key role as middleman for Juan Fernández de Córdoba, lord of Orgiva, assuming responsibility for collecting the rents of this magnate to whom he paid a fixed sum in cash.⁵⁰

It was inevitable, given the opportunities here and the socialisation imposed by sitting together on the city council, that businessmen would begin to ape the manners of the aristocracy, not least by acquiring land for themselves. We have already seen it happening in the case of the silk merchant Francisco Muñoz de Torres. One of the better-documented cases is that of Agustín Sánchez Cañamero. He had been in the wool trade, supplying his brother-in-law Felipe de Santiago, a draper, with textiles to sell in his shop (the accounts between the two men had never been cleared up, and a certain rancour is apparent in Cañamero's will of 1680). By a natural progression, he had gone from buying up wool to owning his own flocks of sheep and having them looked after by peasants in the villages and towns round Granada on a fifty-fifty share of the proceeds. This had led in turn to the loan of grain and money to the local inhabitants, and to the purchase of bits of land here and there in a wide

⁴⁹ AHPG RD 726 ff., 20 June–12 July 1595; RD 1514 ff., testament, 2 December 1604.

⁵⁰ AHPG RD 1247–7v, 20 September 1595; RD 1426–8v, 11 December 1598; Enrique Soria Mesa, *Señores y oligarcas: los señoríos del reino de Granada en la edad moderna* (Granada 1997), p. 233.

arc running across the western Vega, from Moclín to Alhama, which must have followed the path of his flocks. His prized possession was perhaps an oil press and a grain mill which he had acquired at auction in Moclín from its bankrupt owner. Finally, to top it all off, he purchased the *veinticuatria* sold by the penniless Don Alonso de Castilla in 1668, paying only 2,000 ducats in cash and the rest – another 4,200 – in the transfer of mortgages owed by its owner to his account. After his death, his widow and her new husband, Don Juan de Avila Quesada, pursued the consolidation of the estate, converting some of the debts owed by the peasantry of Alhama into a *cortijo* (large farm) in that area. A new landed dynasty was taking shape.⁵¹ Would such men be really accepted, though, into the best circles?

The list of the forty-eight *caballeros* (horsemen, perhaps, would be a better translation than knights) who took part in the masque held in the city of Granada on 16 November 1639 to celebrate the wedding of the corregidor, is notable for the sheer diversity of origins hidden beneath the trappings of grandeur. The eight *cuadrillas* or squadrons, each of six horsemen, grouped a fair cross-section of the hundred or so families with pretensions to gentility in Granada. But alongside descendants of the Conquistadors like Fernández de Córdoba and Ponce de León there rode others of doubtful origin. There was Juan Romero de Miota, for example, and Juan Bernardo Veneroso, whose wealth had come from trade. Or there was the youthful Antonio Alfonso de Teruel (1625–97), whose son would become first Count of Villamena but whose own great-grandfather, the lawyer Felipe Pérez de Teruel, had just managed to establish his nobility before the courts in 1590, shortly before his death in 1596. The Teruels remained controversial, young Antonio Alfonso's uncle Juan having failed to convince the Order of Santiago of his Old Christian ancestry in 1632. Then there was Pedro de Cebreros – whose fall from his horse in this masque brought about his death. His grandfather, Jerónimo de Cebreros, had been a draper who had built up a small business for himself, though he could not read or write.⁵²

Out of this varied throng would emerge the ruling elite of a great city, linked to many of its citizens by old and continuing ties of business, linked to one another by wealth and by pretensions to honour of some

⁵¹ AHPG JFT 401–6, testament Cañamero, 6 January 1680; JFT 589–611v, dowry contract of Avila Quesada, 9 September 1684.

⁵² AHPG RD 1139–42v, testament Jerónimo de Cebreros, 1 October 1606; Francisco Henríquez de Jorquera, *Anales de Granada*, vol. II, p. 837. And see below, p. 83.

kind. Magnificence, chivalry, forging or refurbishing half-forgotten family connections with the great houses of Spain, all of this would enter the balance. But ultimately in order to establish nobility the doubloons of the patricians would have to be converted into landed estates. The seventeenth century was to see, in effect, the 'very magnificent lords Granada', symbols of an urban commonwealth, become rather lords *of* Granada – aristocratic dynasties increasingly independent of the city and looking rather to the monarchy as the fount of honour.

CHAPTER 3

Lords of Granada

‘The best procedure now will be for you to forgive me for not paying you’, Don Quixote told the innkeeper, ‘because I cannot contravene the order of knights errant, of whom I know for certain . . . that they did not pay for their lodging or anything else at any inn where they stayed.’¹ So that latter-day paladin of chivalry, Don Quixote, found himself at variance with what he was to call this ‘age of iron’. From the schools and counting houses of the Renaissance was coming a breed of men more used to exploiting the reality of the world than seeking to transcend it. Yet such people aspired to join, not transform the old chivalric hierarchy – with enormous consequences for the social system, and particularly perhaps in Spain. Too many commoners were entering the ranks of the nobility, said the *arbitrista* Fernández Navarrete in 1626. Some argue, he went on, that this was a healthy state of affairs since the ambition to live like a noble spurred men to noble deeds. Yet in practice too many lacked the means to ‘keep up the vain appearance of aristocracy’, and therefore resorted to fraud and to cheating their creditors, ‘for they can no longer get a living in trade or work’.²

Meanwhile, even the down-at-heel squire who hired the services of young Lazarillo de Tormes was dimly aware that people’s lack of respect for him had something to do with money, and he protested: ‘I am not so hard up that I don’t have a bit of land where I *could* run up a house or two, if I chose . . . And I have a dovecote . . . – a pity it has collapsed.’³ Saint Teresa of Avila (1515–82) summed up the spirit of the age with her customary insight: ‘My opinion is that honours and money go together, and that anyone who is seeking honour will not turn his back

¹ Miguel de Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, trans. John Rutherford (London 2000), p. 134.

² *Conservación de monarquías*, pp. 91–2.

³ *Lazarillo de Tormes* (1554), ed. Juan Alcina Franch (Barcelona 1965), p. 76.

on money . . . for it is rare to find any honour paid in this world to a man who is poor.⁴

The frontier society of Granada might seem to fit quite well into this new order. There are no great houses in Granada, wrote the Venetian ambassador Navagiero in 1524; 'the greater part of the Christians are merchants who deal in silk'. Yet by 1739 an aristocracy had clearly taken shape, proud of its ancestry, though insistent also on the virtues of wealth. Aldermen must be men of means, declared the city fathers in 1752, as they enquired into the estate of Miguel Carrillo de Albornoz, a candidate of respectable family, but hard up since he was a younger son. This was on account of the 'prestige which comes to this city when its councillors are distinguished figures, and the benefit to the public when the occupants of such posts are well off', for there would be occasions during the year when they would be called upon to pledge their own patrimony to the satisfaction of their political responsibilities.⁵ But could wealth and honour be so easily reconciled?

When Don Baltasar Barahona Zapata applied for his knighthood of Calatrava in 1634, he was at pains to stress the public service of his maternal grandfather, Juan Sánchez de Piña, paymaster general of the army sent to the Alpujarras in 1568, where he had played a key role as intermediary, negotiating the surrender of the Morisco rebels. Yes, agreed one ninety-year-old witness, the grandfather 'was a man of note in these mountains, known to one and all'. But then came the sting in the tail: Piña had acquired his influence through trade, distributing goods supplied to him by his relatives in Toledo from his shop in the main square of the market town of Ugíjar – though the witness could not remember if he had actually served behind the counter in his own person. In any case, Piña was wealthy enough to be able to marry his daughter to a clerk of the chancery court, Juan Pérez de Barahona, father of Don Baltasar. About the standing of the latter, there was also some question. The statutes of the Orders of Chivalry grouped notaries and scribes along with traders as men who followed 'mechanical' occupations – far removed from the 'ennobling' arts promoted by contemporary theorists like Gutiérrez de los Ríos. But Don Baltasar argued that chancery clerks were not ordinary notaries, but secretaries of the Crown. However, just to be on the safe

⁴ Quoted from 'The way of perfection', by Joseph Pérez, in Carmen Iglesias (ed.), *Nobleza y sociedad en la España moderna* (Oviedo 1996), vol. 1, p. 38. On the question generally, see Asch, *Nobilities in transition*, pp. 33–44.

⁵ AMG Caballeros xxiv, 399, Miguel Carrillo de Albornoz, 1752.

Table 1. *Estate of Don Baltasar Barahona Zapata (1658)*

Office of veinticuatro	77,000	reales
Six houses in Granada, and one in Santa Fe	71,600	
Two taverns and a shop in Granada	91,500	
Casks of wine	29,052	
19.01 hectares of vineyard in Santa Fe	76,010	
201.55 hectares of grain land in Colomera	41,450	
<i>Censo</i> (annuity-bearing bond)	13,200	
Loose credits owing to the estate	7,272	
Furnishings	23,814	
Total	430,898	reales

side, he pointed out that his father had stopped practising law when he bought his veinticuatría back in 1578.⁶ And if a dispensation were needed, surely it could be safely given to an old, if obscure gentry family like the Barahona Zapata. The Zapata had risen through the law to become lords of the village of Cehel in the Alpujarras under Charles V. Don Baltasar's cousin was the poet and philosopher Luis Zapata (1532–98?), whose writings provide an interesting insight into the values of this class – notably their awareness of the precarious nature of wealth, power and status.

The power of the Barahona, unhesitatingly and unstintingly placed at the service of Olivares, was fed by several tributaries – wealth acquired in trade, connections established through office-holding, honourable lineage rescued from obscurity by the talent of its offspring. When Don Baltasar died in 1658 after a lifetime of service to the monarchy and the church as well as his city, he left an estate which reflected the diversity of his interests and those of the patrician class to which he belonged (See table 1).⁷

It may be that we do not have the Barahona estate here in its entirety – entailed property was generally excluded from these post-mortem inventories, which focused on the *bienes libres*, the 'free property', subject to division among all the children of the deceased. But it appears to constitute the bulk of his assets, giving him a comfortable income, at a time when the Crown estimated 220,000 *reales* as a good estate, capable of

⁶ AHN Calatrava 228, Don Baltasar Barahona Zapata, 1634. On the requirements of entry to the Military Orders, see Elena Postigo Castellanos, *Honor y privilegio en la corona de Castilla: el consejo de las ordenes y los caballeros de hábito en el siglo XVII* (Valladolid 1988), pp. 133–55, and more generally, José Antonio Maravall, *Poder, honor y elites en el siglo XVII* (Madrid 1979), pp. 79–134.

⁷ AHPG SFM 248v–81v, 29 March 1658.

yielding a man 1,000 ducats a year. In 1622 the government calculated that there were about 100,000 such families in Castile who might have money to invest in the new *erario* (state bank) proposed by Olivares.⁸ From his lands, houses and shops, Barahona would have drawn rents of around 1,500 ducats a year. Whether the veinticuatría should be reckoned as a source of additional profit is doubtful, for his heir, Don Juan Barahona, complained that the office cost him money. What is clear enough is that the estate required diligence and attention to business if it was to prosper, for it was founded on vineyards and taverns rather than on great lordships. This was not unusual. Reporting on Don Francisco de Córdoba's eligibility for a title, the corregidor of Málaga listed his assets in 1637: 'some houses in town, some irrigated land, 500 ducats worth of *censos*, 7,000 *reales* from the royal sales tax (*alcabalas*)', together with about 2,000 ducats a year from his domain in Casa Palma. He has no vassals, commented the bishop, just houses, bonds, *cortijos* (domains), which brought in altogether about 3,500 ducats. But then, he added, no one in the Kingdom of Granada possessed lordships with the trappings of honour and deference familiar in Castile.⁹ This was, after all, a frontier land.

How – or how far, indeed – had a landed aristocracy emerged in this colonial setting? At the Conquest, the Catholic kings had distributed some lordships to their more notable supporters. But those who were interested in acquiring land here were the cousins or younger sons of the great families, those who sought to establish a *solar* or base for a new dynasty of their own. This was true of the Mendozas, Counts of Tendilla and Marquises of Mondéjar, though they also kept lands and titles in their homeland of Guadalajara, and of the Fernández de Córdoba, though they continued to seek heirs and alliances in their homeland, the Kingdom of Córdoba. Above all, there were the new men who had no *solar*, no homeland of their own worth mentioning, outside the newly conquered territory. Thus, the royal secretary Hernando de Zafra, who had played a prominent role in negotiating the surrender of the kingdom, was granted a fortress in its mountainous northern edge, the castle of Castril, together with the rights to 'whatever land belongs to it . . . for you to plough or fence in for pasture, to rent out for money or for bread to supply your table'.¹⁰

⁸ *Actas de las Cortes de Castilla*, vol. XXXVIII (1623), p. 168, and see above, chapter 1.

⁹ Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, *La sociedad española en el siglo XVII*, 2 vols. (Madrid 1963–70), vol. 1, pp. 211–12.

¹⁰ Joaquín Durán y Lerchundi, *La toma de Granada y caballeros que concurrieron a ella*, 2 vols. (Madrid 1893), vol. II, pp. 235–7. The fundamental work on lordships in Granada is now Enrique Soria Mesa, *Señores y oligarcas: los señoríos del reino de Granada en la edad moderna* (Granada 1997).

But the armies for the conquest of Granada – like those for previous crusades – had been raised to a large extent from the royal towns, which were homes to the knight as well as the foot soldier. The tradition in Spain had always been to reward the conquerors with land rather than lordships, thereby encouraging settlement, as it was thought, and the Catholic kings, having so recently won their throne in wars against their over-mighty subjects, were not minded to change this policy. But nor were they hostile in principle to the idea of feudalism, that hierarchy of honour which was held to be a buttress of monarchy when it worked well. Without a feudal aristocracy, wrote Castillo de Bobadilla – who, as a royal magistrate, had no emotional attachment to the class – a monarchy would be ‘nothing but flesh and feathers, lacking bone and sinew’, and liable to collapse at the first stirrings of unrest within or aggression from without.¹¹ But he criticised the practice which grew up under the Habsburgs after 1516, of the sale of lordships to mere merchants and financiers, and doubted that even where a village bought its own jurisdiction this did more than hand power over to its wealthier members. In any case, it is this late feudalism, introduced by the back door as a fiscal device, which characterises early modern Castile as a whole, and the colonial society of Granada in particular.¹²

The starting point was usually a grant of land at the Conquest to some important captain of the royal armies. Thus, Hernán Pérez del Pulgar was initially assigned thirteen *cavallerías* of land – in other words, thirteen times the normal ‘allotment of a knight’ – as commander of the squadron which captured the Moorish stronghold of Salar in 1489. Then in 1498, after dismantling the battlements of the castle so as to render it militarily useless, Ferdinand and Isabella, gave him this building as well. Though jurisdiction over the settlement continued to lie with the neighbouring royal town of Loja, where Pulgar was an alderman, the latter was becoming de facto the real power in Salar, and by 1526 was simply entitled ‘the lord’ of the village. A kind of usurpation of authority took place in these rather empty territories on the fringes of the old Moorish kingdom. The lands granted to Domingo Pérez de Herrasti, another of the captains in the Conquest, were to be measured out ‘by surveyors who know about these things’, while a further grant in 1526 was to be found for him ‘in any

¹¹ *Política para corregidores*, 2 vols. (Madrid 1597), vol. I, p. 442 and vol. II, p. 127. Cf. Carmen Trillo de San José, ‘La implantación castellana en la Alpujarra: análisis de una política señorial en el reino de Granada’, *Hispania*, 181 (1992), 397–432.

¹² Helen Nader, *Liberty in absolutist Spain: the Habsburg sale of towns 1516–1700* (Baltimore 1990).

waste or newly cleared land or hill country', so long as it was 5 leagues (about 25 kilometres or half a day's ride) distant from the city of Granada, and 'not along any route or watering place of the transhumant flocks'.¹³ In fact, as the author of the family history tells us, Herrasti had to fight to establish exactly where these boundaries were. Purchasing more land from the Moorish inhabitants nearby, he managed to accumulate some 2,000 *fanegas* (about 1,200 hectares) by the time of his death in 1535 – arid, depopulated tracts, where he settled peasant families, calling the new settlement by his own name, Domingo Pérez. Few dared gainsay the authority of this powerful man, which was as real as if the Crown had actually given him a charter (which it appears never to have done).¹⁴

The only challenge Herrasti had to face came, predictably enough, from neighbours as powerful as himself: the Granada Venegas, who were then rounding out their own lordship of Campotéjar. Descendants of a Moorish prince who had converted to Christianity and been granted 810 *fanegas* of land by the Crown, they had gone on in the familiar way to buy out their weaker neighbours and seek effective political control of the settlement by separating it from the jurisdiction of the city of Granada 7 leagues away (where they themselves were aldermen). The subsequent controversy with their colleagues on the city council raised a host of interesting issues. Would the devolution of jurisdiction strengthen policing along this sensitive route from Granada to Jaén, as the would-be lords of Campotéjar alleged, or would it rather encourage bandits to seek sanctuary there? Would it facilitate colonisation of the land, or chase away those who already owned property in the area – fellow aldermen who would never consent to become 'vassals' of the Granada Venegas? The facts were hard enough to come by, and eventually the monarchy decided that the most tangible argument was the fiscal one: in 1627 the Granada Venegas were allowed to purchase the right to collect the royal sales tax (*alcabalas*) in Campotéjar, and in 1637 the right to appoint the local justice (*alcalde mayor*) who would adjudicate disputes among the peasantry. In 1643 they were created Marquises of Campotéjar.¹⁵

The saga illustrates some recurring themes in Granadan history. The first is the way in which settlement was initially focused on the royal cities,

¹³ Juan Pérez de Herrasti, *Historia de la casa de Herrasti* (Granada 1750), pp. 10–13.

¹⁴ Enrique Soria Mesa, 'La familia Pérez de Herrasti: un acercamiento al estudio de la oligarquía granadina en los siglos XVI al XVII', *Chronica Nova*, 19 (1991), 383–403.

¹⁵ Rafael Gerardo Peinado Santaella, 'Los orígenes del marquesado de Campotéjar 1514–1632', *Chronica Nova*, 17 (1989), 261–79.

which were granted control of an extensive hinterland. Thus, the sway of the aldermen of Granada reached out after the Conquest to the frontiers with Córdoba and Jaén, into the steppe country known as the Montes, with its so-called 'Seven Towns', which were obliged to supply the capital city every year with quotas of grain. The citizens of Granada also enjoyed rights of pasture throughout the kingdom, much to the annoyance of some of the other towns, which sought to fence off meadows for their own flocks.¹⁶ The kingdom was not on the route of transhumance of the great Mesta flocks, but it had a limited movement of its own herds from the sierras down to the coastal lowlands in winter, which raised the issue of ownership and control of land. Much of the territory was still waste which had not yet been properly surveyed and where boundaries were unclear. It was largely *secano* – arid land, parched by the heat of summer and the lack of water, with under twenty inches of rainfall a year on average. Settlements tended to concentrate near water and were characterised by their ring of more intensively cultivated and at least partially irrigated fields (the *huerta*). Here the land was carefully surveyed and measured out in the unit known as the *marjal*, equivalent to about one-twentieth of an hectare. In Santa Fe, the new town founded by the Catholic kings in the Vega as they laid siege to the city of Granada, knights were allotted twenty *marjales* of irrigated land, ten of vine and ninety of partly irrigated grain fields; foot soldiers got half of this, which was presumably reckoned sufficient to support a peasant family at the time.¹⁷

Don Baltasar Barahona Zapata had accumulated 362 *marjales* of vineyard by the time of his death in 1658 in Santa Fe and its suburb of Belicena, but his really large holdings were to be found in the arid land of Colomera, in the region of the Montes. This was the rolling hill and steppe country, dotted with the characteristic stubby and evergreen Mediterranean oak (*encina*), which provided the acorns used as fodder for the wandering herds. The land here was ploughed intermittently, usually one year in three, when the seasonal labourers would be brought out of town and housed in the collection of buildings – barns, sleeping quarters, stables – which served as the centre of exploitation for the domain (*cortijo*). In this desolate landscape measurement was by the *fanega*, the amount of grain conventionally sown there, reckoned approximately equivalent to a half or two-thirds of an hectare in most cases. But the characteristic feature of this arid quarter was that it was not properly

¹⁶ ARCG 321 / 4418 / 75, *Lázaro de la Torre v. Motril*, 21 March 1673.

¹⁷ María Carmen Ocaña Ocaña, *La vega de Granada* (Granada 1974), p. 252.

surveyed at all. The Moriscos, concentrating on their patches of *huerta*, had rather neglected the *secano*. At the time of the Conquest there may have been hardly eight people to the square kilometre in the frontier zone of the Montes, to which the citizens of Christian Granada would turn for their bread. Shifting cultivation may often have been the rule in less frequented parts, as in the Marquisate of Cenete on the road down from the Sierra Nevada to Guadix. The resettlement commissioners here in 1570 reported that men would come and go, farming for a year or two at a time, but 'we never saw or heard that any of them bought or sold the farms'.¹⁸

From the middle of the sixteenth century the Habsburgs, casting around for new ways of raising money, sought to survey these waste lands of Spain – the *baldíos* – and put them up to auction. Inevitably, Granada was a favoured target. For nearly forty years 'we have been vexed and molested by land commissions', protested her representatives in the Cortes of 1596, which had stripped citizens of property they thought was already theirs and reassigned it – citizens whose fathers had won this realm in the first place, 'in the service of Their Highnesses the Catholic Kings and in the defence of the Holy Catholic Faith'.¹⁹ In spite of their protests, these commissions continued to disturb the peace of Granada down to the last great one, that of Don Luis de Gudiel y Peralta in 1635. Some patricians probably lost out in the process, notably those with large herds which were liable to be shut out of grazing once the open range came to an end. Thus, prominent in opposition to the sale of *baldíos* was the veinticuatro Pedro Ordóñez de Palma, whose ancestors, of Jewish origin from Toledo, had built up their wealth in the royal finances and in wool from the 1520s.²⁰

One of those most active in exploiting the new opportunities, by contrast, was Antonio Alvarez de Bohorques (1575–1640), father of the popular hero of the disturbances of 1648. Antonio's father, Alonso Núñez de Bohorques (died 1612), had founded the family fortune as a judge of the high court in Granada from around 1574, before being appointed as

¹⁸ Jesús Arias Abellán, *Propiedad y uso de la tierra en el marquesado de Cenete* (Granada 1984), pp. 184–5; Juan García Latorre, 'Población, configuración territorial, actividades económicas', in Manuel Barrios Aguilera (ed.), *Historia del Reino de Granada*, 3 vols. (Granada 2000), vol. II, p. 679.

¹⁹ *Actas de las Cortes de Castilla*, vol. xv (1596), p. 261. Cf. David Vassberg, *Land and society in Golden Age Castile* (Cambridge 1984), pp. 151–83, for the sale of the waste lands generally.

²⁰ Javier Castillo Fernández, 'Estructuras sociales', in Manuel Barrios Aguilera, *Historia del Reino de Granada*, vol. II, p. 191; AHPG Juan Ayllón, 1,840–3, 5 December 1599; *Actas de las Cortes*, vol. xxvi, (1610), pp. 252–5. On the activities of the *conversos*, Linda Martz, 'Toledanos and the kingdom of Granada, 1492–1560s', in R. L. Kagan and G. Parker (eds.), *Spain, Europe and the Atlantic world: essays in honour of John H. Elliott* (Cambridge 1995), pp. 103–24.

President of the Council of Castile in 1605. Through a series of prestigious marriages with patrician families of Granada and Córdoba, father and son built up an impregnable position as power-brokers between the court and two of the key cities of Andalusia. Antonio served as corregidor of Guadix between 1609 and 1611, but also as deputy for Córdoba to parliament in the 1620s and as a member of the Council of Finance in Madrid in the same years – a case of running with the hare and coursing with the hounds! However, it was really in eastern Andalusia, among his mother's people, the Girón of Granada, that his heart lay. With his mother, he founded the great convent of San Basilio in 1614, where he would be laid to rest, and here he invested much effort in organising fiestas and participating in jousts. But his colleagues on the city council never really liked him, especially when he became 'first among equals' through his purchase of the post of *alférez mayor* in 1626 from the absentee heirs of Juan Fernández de Córdoba. But their chief unhappiness derived from the way he sought to exempt his estates from the jurisdiction of the city. In 1610 they had opposed his purchase of *baldíos* and in 1614 they debated whether to oppose the lordship he sought to buy in the settlement he had named after himself, Bohorques, in Colomera, one of the Seven Towns. That they eventually gave way was probably related to their need for grain from his barns that spring. But Don Antonio continued to push at every door, acquiring a title of marquis for his other *cortijo* of Los Trujillos in 1626 and buying jurisdiction over the old-established Vega town of Albolote in 1629, where his properties lay alongside those of other patricians like the Teruel, who were none too pleased with the change.²¹

The battle lines were not always clearly drawn, since the wealthier patricians were beginning that move which would lead them to abandon citizenship of Granada for the honours of the court. One of those who led the opposition to the creation of new lordships by the monarchy was that old thorn in the royal side, Mateo de Lisón y Biedma (allied by marriage, as it happened, to the Fernández de Córdoba and no friend of Bohorques). Yet he had made out one of the most eloquent cases, in his

²¹ Enrique Soria Mesa, *La venta de señoríos en el reino de Granada* (Granada 1995), pp. 177–82. For his tomb, Antonio Gallego Burín, *Granada: guía artística e histórica de la ciudad* (Granada 1982), pp. 195–201. For his economic and political activities, Garzón Pareja, *Historia de Granada*, vol. 1, p. 358; Henríquez de Jorquera, *Anales de Granada*, vol. II, pp. 581, 672 and 674; Sáez Antequera, *Indice de los libros de cabildo*, pp. 108, 122, 130, 190–214, etc. Much information scattered in *Actas de las Cortes*, vol. XXVI (1607–11), pp. 122–3 and 252–5; vol. XXXIX (1623), pp. 5 and 310; vol. XI (1623–4), p. 364; vol. XLVIII (1629), pp. 356–7.

pamphlet of 1622, for thinking that the villages of Spain were unfairly discriminated against by the cities and would be better off acquiring their own jurisdiction over their pastures and taxes.²² Lisón's father had founded the family fortune by purchasing the *cortijo* of Algarinejo towards the frontier with Córdoba for 8,150 ducats in 1586. When Mateo took over in 1613, he offered the Crown 3,200 ducats for its separation from the control of the neighbouring royal town of Loja. The latter protested that such sales could only be justified in the case of a struggling new settlement, not an already flourishing village like Algarinejo. Lisón's attention seems to have been so fully absorbed by the politics of Granada that he let the matter drop, until later in life when his thoughts turned to retirement and the quiet of a rural retreat. In 1634 he resigned his *veinticuatría* on his son-in-law, Luis Fernández de Córdoba, and began building a new house for himself and his third wife and their young son in Algarinejo, where he now also arranged to be buried, designing an altarpiece for his chapel. His last will and testament of 1641 breathes the air of the countryside, with the hurly-burly of Granadan politics left far behind. He called himself in this document 'lord of Algarinejo', but he was far from that. What he had achieved over the years was a piecemeal accumulation of authority over the inhabitants, buying off the Crown for 600 ducats the right to appoint the village constable, and then in 1636 (for 450 ducats) the power of nominating the local notary. His last words were of praise for the latter, his nominee Fernando Vergara, who had managed to protect the interests of the inhabitants, working in harmony with the solicitor general of Loja, another post which Lisón had bought in order to secure his tenant farmers against unreasonable tax demands or distraints.²³ But it was not until 1682 that Lisón's grandson managed to purchase outright jurisdiction over the village, which now contained two hundred households. Even then, it was only in 1737 that the cost – 8,533 ducats – could actually be met and the sale confirmed. What money the family had to hand was devoted instead to buying in 1699 the rather empty title of Marquis of Algarinejo for 16,000 ducats.²⁴

The lengthy saga illustrates some of the contradictions of late feudalism in Granada – the gradual acquisition of land, the purchase of pieces of authority from the Crown at various stages (police officer, notary, village

²² *Discursos y apuntamientos* (1622?), 'primera parte', pp. 4–5.

²³ AHN Consejos leg. 4209, testament, 25 March 1641.

²⁴ Enrique Soria Mesa, "El señorío de Algarinejo, siglos XVI–XVIII", *Revista del Centro de Estudios Históricos de Granada y su Reino*, 2a época, 6 (1992), 319–34.

magistrate), the separate disbursement required for control of the royal taxes (which neither Lisón nor his descendants ever managed to acquire). It was, in a sense, the counterpart of the waning of interest by the great families during the seventeenth century in seats in the city hall, which we noted earlier. Yet it is difficult not to feel that the patricians remained at heart an urban class, not least if one considers the sources of their income.

How valuable were lordships? One of the oldest and most traditional was that of Castril, perched in the mountainous frontier with Jaén, granted to the famous Hernando de Zafra by his masters, the Catholic kings. In 1598 an inventory was drawn up for his descendant Fernando Luis de Zafra, then under age, of the possessions being administered for him by his tutor, the merchant and jurado Juan Alvarez Dávila. In Castril, his revenues were estimated at around 1,866 ducats a year. They came from two principal sources, roughly equivalent in value the one with the other. First, there were the profits of lordship as such – the control of the mill, the bakery, the tavern, the right to hold a court and impose fines, the right to collect the tithe in return for building and maintaining the church and paying the priest. Second, there were the rents payable by the inhabitants for the land they farmed – properties which they held in hereditary copyhold tenure (*emphyteusis*). It was a substantial revenue, but somewhat overshadowed by the 2,000 ducats or so that Zafra drew from the lease of his lands elsewhere – from the little irrigated farms in the Vega of Granada which were rented out to peasant cultivators for a few years at a time, and from the *cortijos* in the Montes and elsewhere, exploited by bigger farmers on payment of so many *fanegas* of wheat and barley every year. And then there were the eleven shops he owned in strategic locations in the city of Granada, in the market square of Bibar-rambla, in the silk exchange (the Alcaicería) and in the Plaza Nueva where litigants thronged as they waited for news of their lawsuits in the nearby high court, all rented out for cash by the month and fetching about 450 ducats a year. In total, Zafra would have counted on an annual revenue of around 4,500 ducats, of which considerably less than a half was derived from the fief of Castril, one of the longest established seignorial estates in the kingdom.²⁵

The situation does not seem very different elsewhere. In fact, figures from the eighteenth century suggest that the estates where the aristocracy

²⁵ AHPG RD 1,617–21, 11 September 1598. The calculations are my own. I have converted rents in kind into cash, assuming that a *fanega* of wheat was equivalent to 22 *reales* and 1 of barley to half that.

had feudal jurisdiction accounted for only a quarter or a third of their revenues. The proportion was 30 per cent, for example, in the case of the Marquises of Algarinejo, who had risen to become the dominant landowner, along with the Teruel, Counts of Villamena, in the kingdom of Granada by the end of the Old Regime.²⁶ For this precociously 'modern' elite, then, it appeared to be doubloons and broad acres which counted, rather than lordship over vassals.

This frontier land had been subjected to two phases of colonisation, one following its conquest in 1492, and the second in the wake of the final expulsion of its native people after their unsuccessful revolt of 1568–70. The aim, as we have seen, was to attract settlement by creating smallholdings rather than large domains. The lands of a settlement would be surveyed, and a mixture of vine, olive and grain, of irrigated and arid would be distributed in *suertes* (allotments) to newcomers. Some lots were bigger than others, and knights were granted twice those of commoners, but in principle the idea was to create fairly egalitarian communes, whose assets were for the use of families and not the other way round. Unlike eastern Europe, however, where serfdom helped maintain this kind of household economy through the early modern period, urbanisation was too far advanced in southern Spain for it to work properly. The Resettlement Junta found it impossible to stop the movement of settlers or the subdivision of holdings among children, whose individual portions would often become uneconomic and then be sold off. Within a generation, by 1595, the Junta had virtually given up the fight, allowing outsiders to acquire peasant holdings and limiting itself to collecting rents for the Crown from whoever acquired possession of them.²⁷

One of the outcomes was the accumulation of land in the hands of the patricians through a painstaking strategy of purchase, sometimes pursued over several generations. The scenario may well be imagined, of peasant need encountering urban wealth. The silk merchant Francisco Muñoz de Torres recounted in his testament of 1709 how he had begun investing in land in the Vega during the 1690s and how the owners very often, either because they were widowed or lacked capital, had let the properties run down.²⁸ Given that a pre-industrial economy revolved largely round the

²⁶ Enrique Soria Mesa, *Señores y oligarcas* (Granada 1997), pp. 146–7.

²⁷ There is a growing literature now on the process of resettlement which can be approached through Manuel Barrios Aguilera and Francisco Andújar Castillo (eds.), *Hombre y territorio en el reino de Granada 1570–1630* (Almería 1995).

²⁸ ARCG 3 / 526 / 3, 27 June 1709.

supply of food, clothing and shelter, merchants inevitably were drawn into the early stages of production. Thus, as we have already seen, the veinticuatro Agustín Sánchez Cañamero, dealing in woollen goods, built up his own flocks of sheep which he entrusted to herdsman in a range of towns to the west of Granada.

One of the greatest of the new estates put together in early modern Granada was that of the Counts of Villamena de Cozvíjar. The basis of their fortune was laid by the lawyer Felipe Pérez de Teruel, an immigrant from Cuenca who, despite gossip about his Jewish origins, managed in 1590 to get the high court to confirm that he was a noble (*hidalgo*). From the 1540s he built up a considerable landed estate in the Vega villages of Albolote and Maracena – olive grove, vineyard, wheat fields – which may have amounted to 966 *marjales* (about 50 hectares) by the time of his death in 1596. With patience and perseverance his successors continued the process, benefiting by good marriages and the restriction of inheritance to the eldest son. They cultivated values of prudence and piety, reflected in the preamble to the will of Antonio Alfonso de Teruel (1625–97), who acknowledged ‘how important it is for the salvation of my soul that I manage properly and well the things that God has entrusted to my care’. So, he painstakingly recorded his improvements to the estate during his tenure of it – the acquisition of two small tracts of land, one of 28 *marjales*, the other of five, in one part of Albolote, two ‘pieces of olive grove’ measuring just one and three *marjales* respectively, in another part of the village. But he was attentive also to the advantages of consolidating the estate, swapping a ‘corner’ of a vineyard for 15 *marjales* (three-quarters of an hectare) of wheat field closer to the ‘ancestral lands’.²⁹

The same policy was pursued by his son Fernando, who married the heiress to the small lordship of Villamena in 1667, and acquired the title of count there in 1687. As feudal lords, he and his wife controlled the courts, which they could use to acquire more substantial assets. They made loans to their vassals, accepting land in satisfaction of the debts. They purchased (as these became available) pieces of the smallholdings originally allocated to settlers in Villamena by the Resettlement Junta after 1570 – a quarter of a *suerte* here, ‘one third of one quarter’ somewhere else.³⁰

²⁹ AHPG JP 62–76v, testament Antonio de Teruel, 17 January 1697.

³⁰ AHPG JFM 408–675, inventory of Luisa de Cepeda, Condesa de Villamena, 9 August 1711–29 November 1712. For their extensive properties by 1752 in neighbouring Padul, see Francisco Villegas Molina, *El valle de Lecrín* (Granada 1972), p. 273.

How were these properties exploited? The economists of the Enlightenment advised against *grandes labranzas*, against the latifundios which were held to be the bane of the fertile Valley of the Guadalquivir. Pablo de Olavide, *Intendente* of Seville, suggested the happy mean was somewhere between 50 and 200 *fanegas*, or 30 and 120 hectares, which is what a family could reasonably 'look after, improve and cultivate'.³¹ There was an additional consideration in the rugged terrain of Upper Andalusia: the difficulty of communications. Whereas the lowlands of Seville and Córdoba had been a source of grain and olive oil since Roman times, the high plains of Granada had a less secure market. The lack of roads and bridges, and the poor quality of transport, proclaimed a guide book to the kingdom as late as 1843, 'cause the fruits of the harvest to pile up and drive down their prices'.³² Certainly, the figures we have would tend to confirm this point. At a time when an *arroba* (11.5 kilos) of wool might sell for 16 *reales*, it was 11 that the jurado Juan Alvarez Dávila had to pay to get his fleeces transported from Alhama to the washing stations of Huéscar 150 kilometres away. The journey would take three weeks by ox cart.³³ The sheer uncertainty of farming in a land subject to drought, to shortage of labour after 1570, to the vagaries of a localised market, may well be imagined. Don Baltasar Barahona Zapata had spent 867 *reales* on digging, pruning and dressing 66 *marjales* of vineyard in Santa Fe the year before his death. We do not know the actual yield of this property, but his newly planted vineyards of the same size nearby furnished 158.5 *arrobos* of wine which 'went sour' and could only be sold for 951 *reales*, barely covering the costs of exploitation.

Patricians were certainly keen on doing a little farming for themselves. Thus, Don Baltasar's cousin, Don Cristóbal Barahona Alarcón, in the course of a busy political life, found time to tend his vineyard and olive trees in Maracena, just outside Granada, planting new stock on 100 *marjales*, building a cellar and an oil press and making other improvements.³⁴ Don Fernando de Teruel, making the inventory of his wife in 1625, listed among the goods she had brought to the marriage or that they had acquired during their time together a pair of mules, two donkeys and a horse, alongside two ploughs and a cart.³⁵ But this was all

³¹ Arias Abellán, *Propiedad y uso de la tierra*, p. 125. Cf. the similar opinion of Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos, *Informe sobre la ley agraria* (1795), ed. J. C. Acerete (Madrid 1968), 54–5.

³² M. Lafuente Alcántara, *El libro del viajero en Granada* (Granada 1843), p. 43.

³³ AHPG Juan Ayllón, 36–7v, 19 January 1599.

³⁴ AHPG JFM 74–87v, testament, 15 February 1719.

³⁵ AHPG JV 715–21v, inventory Francisca del Castillo, 14 March 1625.

rather exceptional – the agricultural equipment disappeared from the Teruel inventories by the later seventeenth century. One major problem was, of course, the scattered nature of the properties, which led to a tendency to lease them out – the more distant ones, indeed, on some kind of hereditary copyhold tenure very often, as the least troublesome way of dealing with them. The testaments of the lawyer Jacinto Barón de Velasco and his wife suggest the nature of the problem. Heirs to an estate in Baeza 150 kilometres away, they were not sure if their local confidant, a friar, had actually leased out the lands as they asked him to do, nor who was living in the shop they owned in the main square, nor what was to be done about their houses which were beginning to fall down.³⁶

Given the fragmentation of property, it was less trouble to hand its management over to local interests. The veinticuatro Pedro de Hinojosa owned over 200 separate ‘fields’ (*hazas*), scattered in six different parts of the Vega just outside Granada. They were mostly wheat fields, with the occasional row of olive trees along their edges. Together they totalled close to 1,900 *marjales* or 100 hectares – a very impressive holding in a highly productive zone, where thirty hectares are reckoned now to constitute a large domain. But the Hinojosa estate must have been very difficult to administer. The average unit was a field of half an hectare. Though some effort had been made to amalgamate the fields, it had not gone very far; instead, this patchwork quilt was simply left in the hands of local farmers who cultivated small pieces. After Don Pedro’s death, his widow handed the collection of the rents over to the merchant Leonardo Rodríguez de Heredia in return for a fixed monthly stipend.³⁷ Who actually did the farming?

On 18 August 1658, three days after ‘Our Lady of August’, the traditional date for delivering to the landlord the wheat due to him, the peasant Pedro López Cañete was taken ill in the house of the wealthy priest Baltasar Castellanos de Marquina, younger brother of the famous and controversial veinticuatro Francisco Castellanos, whose acquaintance we have made in a [previous chapter](#). López Cañete made his will, describing the partnership he had entered into with Don Baltasar for the farming of some land in the village of Maracena, the priest providing the capital – an advance of rent to the landlord, of seed corn for López and wages for his reapers.³⁸ The document entered into an unusual

³⁶ AHPG JRG 232–46v, 27 June and 7 July 1670; MV 688–91, 12 October 1684.

³⁷ AHPG RD 924–933v, 5 August 1599.

³⁸ AHPG LQ 292–294v, 18 August 1658.

amount of detail on the costs of farming, but it reflected a common enough occurrence – the intervention of the gentry themselves, in share-cropping agreements sometimes with peasants, to exploit the land. It was an arrangement which suited the great landowners, who secured their rent from a reliable source, and the peasantry, who derived some investment in their farms.

Marcos de Mesa Molina was a clerk (*receptor*) of the high court when he took a lease for life of the big domain of Asquerosa, belonging to the absentee Marquises of Santa Cruz. It was in the process of becoming a *cortijada* – no longer a domain or *cortijo*, but a peasant settlement of around forty households (among which must be counted the relatives of the wealthy silk merchant Francisco Muñoz de Torres, who was to buy the neighbouring estate of Alitaje). In return for a lump sum of 1,000 ducats every year, the Marquises allowed Mesa Molina to deal with the estate as he saw fit. As well as collecting rent from the local peasantry, he farmed about 130 hectares for himself, which he worked with his own plough teams – eight oxen, twelve horses, five ploughs. To have such a powerful neighbour may well have been as much of an advantage as an embarrassment for the smaller families of the settlement.³⁹

Where to draw the line between such big farmers and the gentry is not always clear. One of the large exploitations in the Vega around 1700 was run by Doña Catalina de Ginestal Ochoa, daughter and brother to two secretaries of the city council. This masterful woman bears more than a passing resemblance to the Granadan dramatist Federico García Lorca's famous heroine in *The House of Bernarda Alba*. Evidently the eldest of a large number of brothers and sisters, she inherited some land from her parents, but took much more on lease from the patricians of Granada and farmed out part of the tithes. She had on her payroll a foreman and herder, and hired additional casual labourers at harvest (whom she kept well supplied with wine). Unmarried herself, she looked after her brothers and sisters, placing two of these in a convent and using her brothers, brothers-in-law and cousins (notaries and priests) as contacts to secure leases and loans from the veinticuatro and jurados of the city.⁴⁰ Doña Catalina's cousin, Osvolda, was married to – and in the process of divorcing – the secretary to the Inquisition, Don Cristóbal Vivero Novoa,

³⁹ AHPG JRG 101–107v and 151–82v, testament and inventory, 20 March–2 May 1669.

⁴⁰ AHPG FAM 641–8v, testament, 26 August 1707. She was too ill to sign her will, so we do not know, alas, if she could read or write.

who also did a little farming, to judge by the hoes, sickles and spade found on his farm in La Zubia at his death in 1684.⁴¹

Gentry could be combined with farming in such circumstances. Thus, Don Cristóbal kept the papers relating to his nobility along with business documents – leases, sales and the like. Miguel Carrillo de Albornoz, seeking to be admitted as a *veinticuatro* in 1752, had to justify his means of support to his future colleagues. He was a younger son of an *hidalgo* family, on a miserable pension of 80 ducats a year from his brother. In order to make ends meet, he had leased some fifteen hectares of land in the Vega from a relative, Don Francisco Parejo, alderman of Santa Fe, paying a labourer to plough it and plant wheat, beans, chickpeas and barley.⁴² It comes as little surprise to find the economic relationship between small gentry and farmers consolidated on occasion by marriage. Thus, Doña María Berruezo, remotely linked to the lords of Castril – one of those poor cousins nestling in the outer branches of the great family trees – stooped to marry the rich peasant of La Zubia, Antonio García de Lara, who ran one of the bigger farms in the Vega around 1700. Antonio was illiterate, as was his father, Diego, who had accumulated some five peasant farms – *suertes* or settlers' allotments – in and around La Zubia before he died in 1687. Buried in his own family vault in La Zubia and able to come up with the large dowry (14,700 *reales*) required to place his daughter as a nun in the city of Granada, Diego epitomised the *labrador rico*, the substantial peasant, who figures in the literature of the Golden Age as already on the threshold of the gentry.⁴³

It was the partnership between the rich peasantry and the petty gentry which was a characteristic feature of the rural economy of Granada. In this rather localised market, there was little call for large-scale farming. It was the mountain peasantry of the Alpujarras who looked after the precious mulberry trees and the raw silk, now much in decline. The sugar plantations of the coastal lowlands, it is true, attracted some big landowners. Alonso de Contreras, father-in-law of Mateo de Lisón y Biedma, owned a huge estate of 2,000 *marjales* (100 hectares) of sugar cane round Motril, which may have brought in as much as 1,000 ducats a year. But those who had capital tended to concentrate on refining the sugar, in one of the seventeen mills which lined the coast from Adra to

⁴¹ AHPG JFT 669–758v, testament and inventory, 11 September–29 December 1684.

⁴² AMG Caballeros xxiv, 399, Miguel Carrillo de Albornoz, 1752–4.

⁴³ AHPG JFT 51–6, 10 January 1687; FAM 661–6v, 28 August 1707. On the rise of such wealthy peasants, Soria Mesa, *Señores y oligarcas*, pp. 177–210.

Estepona, and, for the rest, to buy the cane off the peasant farmer by advancing him money or reducing him to the status of tenant on their lands. There seem to have been few plantations worked as big estates – which may explain the gradual decline of this crop by the later seventeenth century in the face of competition from abroad and lack of capital investment at home.⁴⁴

‘Many of the villages of the kingdom of Granada’, claimed the Cortes in 1595, ‘are inhabited by recent settlers and extremely poor folk.’ Beyond the valuable Vega, with its wheat and vineyards, and the irrigated strips of sugar cane round Motril or Adra, farmers carried on a battle with a poor soil and an arid climate. As one climbs from the Valley of the Guadalquivir up into the mountainous terrain of Upper Andalusia, with the old kingdom of Granada at its heart, the human landscape tends to change along with the physical. Settlement becomes more dispersed, and there are fewer of those fortress-like granges where the seasonal labourers would gather in the fruits of the surrounding latifundia. In Granada the *cortijo*, the ‘domain’, tended to evolve gradually into the *cortijada*, the hamlet or the peasant settlement. Instead of large-scale farming, one had smaller exploitations, often in the hands of a local peasantry. The need, as it were, to spread the risks by leaving more control in local hands was no doubt partly dictated by the arid climate and the lack of a readily accessible market. Even in the ‘Seven Towns’, the granary of the kingdom, from which the city drew much of its supply of bread, the large landowners and farmers had to be cautious. The jurado Francisco de León took a lease for life of a *cortijo* in Moclín, one of the Seven Towns, which belonged to the Augustinian convent in Granada, and sublet it for three years to a local peasant, Juan de Santa Cruz. One of the clauses in the lease specified that: ‘although it may happen – which the Lord God forbend and not permit – that there be fire from heaven or on earth, hail or sleet, too much or too little rainfall, and whether I (Juan) sow the land or not sow it, whether I harvest much or little’, the rent had to be paid.⁴⁵ Normally, dry farming imposed a triennial rotation, involving the division of the *cortijo* into three ‘strips’ (*hojas*). Rather than the familiar ridges and furrows of northern Europe, designed to improve drainage, these *hojas* were more often square-shaped, formed by the criss-cross action of the light Mediterranean

⁴⁴ Francisco Andújar Castillo, ‘Una estructura de poder: el monopolio de la producción y comercialización del azúcar en Adra, siglos XVI–XVII’, in *Hombre y territorio*, pp. 351–81.

⁴⁵ AHPG JFM 382–3v, 18 August 1657. On the land of Granada generally, Joaquín Bosque Maurel and Amparo Ferrer Rodríguez, *Granada: la tierra y sus hombres*, second edition (Granada 1999).

plough, whose aim was to loosen the topsoil and prevent evaporation of moisture. In the normal rotation in the dry lands of Granada, the field would be left completely fallow for a year after the harvest, then begin to be ploughed in the second year, before being sown again in the third.⁴⁶ On better land – as in the estate of Alitaje belonging to the silk merchant Francisco Muñoz de Torres, which lay in the Vega and enjoyed some access to irrigation – the fallow might be reduced to one year in two, and given three or four ploughings (instead of the usual two) to get it ready for sowing.⁴⁷ Farm inventories suggest the limitations of some of the equipment with which the farmer had to work – the plough generally a piece of wood, sometimes lacking a coulter, and valued at around 25 to 50 *reales*. The really valuable assets were the stocks of seed corn, the cartloads of straw mixed in with manure for ploughing in preparatory to sowing and, above all, the plough animals – especially the mule, more nimble than the ox and sturdier than the horse, and at around 500 *reales* a head, double the cost of either of these alternatives.⁴⁸

Yields, hardly surprisingly, tended to be low. If ‘by reason of drought, fog, downpour, storm, hailstone or fire’, agreed Antonio Hernández, peasant of Puliana la Grande, with his landlord Fernando Luis de Zafra, ‘from each *fanega* of seed sown I cannot harvest five’, then the year was to be declared one of ‘harvest failure’ (*esterilidad*). This ratio of five to one seems to have been something of a norm in Western Europe from the High Middle Ages and down through the early modern period.⁴⁹ It is, though, a little surprising to find it on the Zafra estate of Puliana, which was relatively good land, subject to fallow only one year in two, not two in every three as elsewhere. As regards yields per hectare, one lease in the dry land of Guadahortuna in 1657 signalled six *fanegas* of wheat from one of land as threshold below which there would be a declaration of *esterilidad*, involving a rent rebate. This would be the equivalent of four hectolitres per hectare – about a quarter of what land in the *secano* would now be expected to yield. Of course, on the irrigated lands where there was no fallow at all, in fields close to the city of Granada, with a regular rotation of beans, wheat, flax, wheat in a four-year cycle, the yields

⁴⁶ A fundamental guide to agricultural practice is María Carmen Ocaña Ocaña, *La Vega de Granada* (Granada 1974).

⁴⁷ AHPG JBP 142–7v, lease, 12 April 1701.

⁴⁸ AHPG LG 64–8v, inventory of Pedro Gutiérrez, 25 February 1649.

⁴⁹ B. H. Slicher van Bath, *The agrarian history of western Europe 500–1850* (London 1963), pp. 172–3 and 280–2; AHPG Juan Ayllón, 113v–16, lease Zafra-Hernández, 29 January 1599.

reported in the middle of the eighteenth century were as high as 20 hectolitres per hectare.⁵⁰

Much of our knowledge about farming practices comes from the leases of land which the patricians negotiated with their tenants. Generally speaking, they expected payment in cash from their valuable *huerta* properties, and in kind from the *secano*. In his famous tract of 1795 on agrarian reform, Jovellanos advised the landlord not to interfere too much in farming. It was better to agree on a fixed annual rent with one's tenant rather than take a share of the harvest, for the latter procedure 'demands continual vigilance, numerous accountants, tedious balance sheets'.⁵¹ The Granadan landlords seem to have taken him at his word. If you think you cannot meet the fixed quota of grain demanded because the harvest is poor, Luis Méndez de Salazar told the farmer of his estate near Moclín, one of the Seven Towns, you may switch to *partición*, to sharing whatever you can bring in from the fields. But there was a condition: 'first and foremost, before you lay the sickle to the grain, you must notify me so that I can send someone in to check'.⁵² This was the great fear of the landlord, that on these rather distant *cortijos* the peasant would have his own way unless he were tied down to a fixed rental. Don Luis wanted a third of the harvest if the year were bad, others demanded a quarter, but the more usual rental on these *secano* properties was a fifth. That was probably the basis of the calculation of the fixed quantities of wheat and barley required in a normal year.

Much of the rent was for consumption by the owner's household itself. Thus, Rodrigo Dávila Ponce de León specified that he might need to take 120 *fanegas* of wheat and 80 of barley from his tenants during the year for this purpose. Some grain indeed, seems to have been 'hoarded' either for an emergency or to fetch a better price later in the harvest year. When an entire estate was being handed over to a middleman in return for a cash sum, there was sometimes a clause in the contract which insisted that the grain be sold only when the owner authorised its sale – usually in late spring, when old stocks were running out and prices climbing.⁵³

The patricians of Granada kept a close enough interest in the marketing of the produce of their estates, particularly in the case of wine.

⁵⁰ Maria Carmen Ocaña Ocaña, *La Vega de Granada*, p. 454; AHPG CV 13–15v, 11 March 1657.

⁵¹ *Informe sobre la ley agraria*, pp. 69–70.

⁵² AHPG Bartolomé Díaz 587–9v, lease, 18 December 1593.

⁵³ AHPG RD 334–7v, 6 March 1599 (Cerón Valenzuela); EC 53–63v, 12 January 1675 (Sancho de Castilla).

One of the first investments of the lawyer Felipe Pérez de Teruel had been the purchase of the Mesón de la Nao ('The Ship Inn'), which he had acquired in 1555. Situated in the parish of San Gil, in the vicinity of the Chancillería, it catered to the litigants who were a main source of income for the people of Granada. Valued at 1,500 ducats, it could be supplied from the Teruel vineyards just outside the city in Albolote. The family continued to acquire houses and shops, at the same time as they were building up their holdings in land, renting them out to artisans such as carpenters and shoemakers. They were not disturbed by the fact that these shops were just beside their own big residences. Indeed, the first Count of Villamena, Fernando de Teruel, refers in a document of 1720 to the *casas acesorias* (the annexes) abutting on his mansion in the parish of San Matías from which he 'despatched' his wines and where he stored his grain.⁵⁴ In Baltasar Barahona Zapata's estate there were two taverns and a shop, strategically situated along the main thoroughfare of Elvira Street and the busy shopping district of the Zacatín. Don Baltasar's houses were crammed meanwhile with barrel upon barrel of wine, much of it despatched in partnership with the women who ran his taverns. As one reads these inventories, one begins to understand the personal interest which the veinticuatro must have taken in the debates on the *millones*, the sales tax which hit wine particularly hard, and which became a symbol of imperial over-reach after its introduction in 1588.

Though more inclined to lease out their lands than to exploit them directly, the patricians kept a close eye on their tenants. In the first place, they were often enough involved personally in the signing of the contracts, where they met the peasant face-to-face in the confines of their own study. Illiteracy was no bar to communication in a society where so many values and attitudes were derived from a shared popular culture. Mateo de Lisón y Biedma spent time reminiscing with the peasants round Loja, near his estate of Algarinejo, where he spent part of his boyhood and where he retired when he was reaching middle age in 1634.⁵⁵ Of direct involvement in agriculture, it is true, there seems little sign. Despite the popularity of Gabriel Alonso de Herrera's Renaissance masterpiece of 1513 (which was alleged to have rivalled works of chivalry for the attention of the gentry in its day), it no longer figured on the bookshelves of the citizens of Granada by the seventeenth century. Only the first Count of Villamena, true to form, kept any books on the domestic economy at all: one on veterinary

⁵⁴ AHPG JFM 408-675, inventory Cepeda-Teruel, 1711-12; *Ibid.*, 328-48, Teruel, 13 July 1720.

⁵⁵ AHN Santiago 2914, testimony of F. Fernández Mazuela and L. Pérez de Castilla, 1651.

medicine and one on locusts, that scourge of the Mediterranean farmer. Yet the countryside was close to the heart of the patrician and he liked to surround himself with at least an idealised picture of its charms. Apart from the pastoral novel, there was the ever-popular landscape painting, which sometimes shaded off into a religious theme: 'Saint Anthony of Padua preaching to the birds', 'The Saviour with his flock', 'Saint Jerome with the lion'.⁵⁶

In practical terms, the leases of estates left the tenant with considerable discretion about how he actually managed the farm. Some assistance might be given with building or procuring the more expensive items like plough animals, but on the whole very little. A tight supervision was kept over money needed for repairs, with the tenant required to justify any major expenditure. Given that leases rarely exceeded six years by the formal terms of the contract, one might think that there was considerable suspicion and mistrust between the parties. But this would be to ignore the fact that the leases were allowed to run on from one year to the next indefinitely, by tacit agreement, until one side declared its decision to quit, and that the terms and the rents continued to be much the same throughout the period with which we are dealing. Even by the end of the eighteenth century, when it seems that population pressure must have pushed up rents, much of an older culture of patronage continued to survive. Don José Pallares, having rented two *cortijos* off the Count of Villamena in the 1780s, found himself unable to pay the rent, as he explained to his master, 'because the harvests have not been as good as I had hoped, and because the Divine Majesty has seen fit to burden me with two infirmities from beginning to end of the year, those of my wife and daughter'. He threw himself on the Count's mercy, 'given my wretched and ruinous condition', asking him to wait a little longer for his rent: 'I am confident you will, knowing Your Lordship's compassionate heart.'⁵⁷ His trust was not misplaced and the lease was re-negotiated in his favour.

Pallares was an alderman of the small Murcian town of Lorca, close to the border with Granada – a member, therefore, of that farming middle class which we have already come across. Widows and absentees were likely to depend on the business acumen and contacts of such men. Occasionally, in fact, an entire estate would be handed over to a middleman, a revenue farmer, in return for a fixed allowance. Thus, the widow

⁵⁶ AHPG JFM 1159–63v, inventory of Tomás de la Calle, 31 January 1648.

⁵⁷ AHPG MQH 24–9v, renewal of Pallares lease, 28 March 1787.

of Don Pedro de Hinojosa seems to have found this an easier option than dealing directly with the tenants of her 200 or more pieces of land. Another motive for such devolution of responsibility was the need for stricter accounting and budgeting when a household had got itself into debt. Thus, the spendthrift Juan Fernández de Córdoba, *alférez mayor* of the city, made an agreement with Alonso Tomás in 1596 for two years, whereby Tomás would administer the estate, 'farming out all the houses, lands and *cortijos*', paying his master 100 ducats at the start of each month 'for the ordinary expenses of his household'. Whatever surplus was left on the rents was to be devoted to paying Don Juan's debts, with the latter promising not to sign any more drafts without consultation with his administrator – 'so that I can let him know if there is any money left'.

Don Juan was chosen to go to the Cortes in late 1601 as one of the representatives of Granada, and he turned to another revenue farmer, Pedro de los Reyes, to manage his affairs during his absence. There were the usual conditions about the monthly allowance – split now between Don Juan's household in Madrid and that of his wife who was staying behind in Granada. Los Reyes would negotiate the transfer of the money to Madrid, though Don Juan would have to bear the risks involved. There were references also in the contract to the difficulty of getting peasants to pay on time. The fact that Don Juan held the feudal lordship of Orgiva meant that Los Reyes could collect what was owed there 'bearing aloft the rod of justice'. But typically enough this fief only accounted for 380 ducats rent and was dwarfed in importance by the *cortijos*, whose tenants might have to be pursued at some cost through the royal courts. Then there was the risk that Don Juan would spend first and ask questions afterwards. Could he be restrained from signing warrants for expenditure above his household allowance, since any surplus was supposed to go to Los Reyes for debt payments? Don Juan now 'promised and gave his word as a gentleman (*caballero*)' not to saddle any more expenses on the estate during the four years of the contract.⁵⁸

This was obviously where the shoe pinched. The display culture of the patricians – and Don Juan was very much in the public eye in all the tournaments of that time – was costly, and the slow-moving peasant economy might not always be able to keep pace. Rental income in Granada could not compare with that, for example, of the patricians

⁵⁸ AHPG RD n.f., Fernández de Córdoba and Tomás, 25 January 1596; RD 1,484–98v, Fernández de Córdoba and Los Reyes, 1 December 1601.

of Madrid.⁵⁹ Don Juan Fernández de Córdoba must have been the wealthiest of the *veinticuatro*s, but his income would not have exceeded 7,000 ducats, and even that considerable sum was a headache to collect and eke out over the year. María Hurtado de la Fuente brought Don Luis de Paz, the popular hero of the riots of 1648, an income of 3,000 ducats a year at her marriage, and this made him (we are told by his biographer) a wealthy man in the Granada of his day. Don Baltasar Barahona Zapata, the senior *veinticuatro* around that same year, was certainly not in the national league with his 1,500 ducats a year or so – indeed, his family rather faded into provincial obscurity as gentlemen farmers in Santa Fe, unable to meet the costs of political life in Granada.

Certainly, there was little sign of a casual attitude to rents – rather the reverse. Don Juan wanted to know the names of those to whom Alonso Tomás would lease his properties, and the rent agreed, and he reserved the right to inspect the account books at any time. Pedro de los Reyes was to show him what he had collected and spent every year. Essentially these middlemen were supposed to be administrators rather than revenue farmers. Rather than making a profit on the contract, Pedro de los Reyes was assigned a fixed salary every year, to cover his expenses and ‘journeyings’. While Don Juan was resident in Granada, his administrators were under strict orders not to sell the rents in wheat and barley from his estates without his express permission. Yet the sheer difficulty of sorting through papers and accounts seems to have defied the patience of even the most prudent. Thus, Lisón y Biedma noted in his will that for the past twenty-three years he had never checked his income and expenditure, but left everything in the hands of his steward. Is this a clue to the fact that his own bed – valued at the princely sum of 1,600 *reales* – was in pawn to creditors at the time?

‘My master looks so pleased with himself’, observed Lazarillo de Tormes (1554), ‘that nobody meeting him would have any idea but that he ate a hearty supper last night and slept in a warm bed.’ This first great picaresque novel, possibly from the pen of the Granadan patrician Diego de Mendoza, reflected the gulf between illusion and reality facing his class. ‘That nightmare which they call honour’ appeared to dictate a recklessness with regard to the doubloon which would eventually prove fatal. As statesmen grappled with the economic decline of Spain, they castigated the wasteful extravagance of a ruling class which measured its standing ‘in

⁵⁹ Hernández, *A la sombra de la corona*, pp. 102–3.

terms of the number of its servants, the splendour of its houses and the magnificence of its appearance'.⁶⁰

But, in the case of Granada, perhaps the real problem was the sheer difficulty of administering the scattered resources of a pre-industrial economy. The patricians had considerable assets, but they were not always easy to mobilise. Lisón y Biedma died in debt, and his heiress was obliged to sell off the *veinticuatría* which had carried such political weight for a generation in order to raise money for her own daughter's wedding in 1651. On the other hand, the dynasty had so many resources and connections that over the long term, as we have seen, it went from strength to strength, absorbing the bulk of the Fernández de Córdoba patrimonies through skilful attention to marriage and to the limitation of the marriages of its offspring. This was, indeed, the test of survival of a dynasty. If personal self-discipline was not yet within the reach of these cavaliers, could they at least call on the resources of the family and clan in order to bail them out?

⁶⁰ Angel González Palencia (ed.), *La Junta de Reformación 1618–25* (Madrid 1932), p. 236.

The web of inheritance

As the veinticuatro Juan Pérez de Herrasti lay dying in the early morning of 6 September 1578, two key figures were summoned to his bedside: the priest of his parish of San Pedro, who would administer the last rites, and the notary who would draw up his will. 'The household was divided into two factions', the family chronicler recalled: the kinsmen of Doña Leonor de Gadea, Juan's first wife, and her son Andrés, and those of Doña Melchora de Bocanegra, the second wife, desirous of safeguarding the interests of her offspring Baltasar and Lorenzo. 'Little groups gathered here and there, muttering in whispers', including the chaplain, the children's tutor, the steward, two page boys, and an assortment of grooms, porters and maids – all those 'loyal and devoted servants, who would be found at the deathbed of the master'. Then there were the visitors from outside the house – priests from the parish and the cathedral, two doctors and the notary, several aldermen, Don Fernando de Mendoza ('of the house of the Count of Tendilla', the Captain General), and the chief secretary of the town council as representative of the corregidor ('who, learning of the poor state of Juan Pérez, sent along a selection of powders'). All was to no avail, and the great fiestas in the main square that afternoon were interrupted for an announcement of the passing of a great 'commonwealth man' who had died, aged only forty-five, of a fever brought on by the frenzied racing of his horses.¹

What captured the attention of the family chronicler was the battle which had raged around the dying man over the disposal of his inheritance. He had wanted to give the big family house in the parish of San Pedro, together with his lordship of Domingo Pérez, outright to his eldest son, Andrés, adding these to the small entail already established as a trust earlier in the century. But the Bocanegras were determined to safeguard

¹ Juan Francisco de Paula Pérez de Herrasti, *Historia de la casa de Herrasti* (Granada 1750), p. 86.

the rights of the younger sons, children of a second marriage to Melchora de Bocanegra, and they got their way, arguing that Juan was delirious and incapable of making a will. So, the normal Castilian rule of inheritance came into play: the equal subdivision of the property among all the offspring, assigning each his *legítima*, his legitimate portion. 'Forgetting the loss to the family as a whole, they looked only to their own interests, setting a dreadful example', commented the family chronicler, Juan Francisco, looking back on events from the vantage point of 1750. That day back in 1579 would rank as 'among the most memorable and tragic which our house has experienced'.²

One of the familiar features of the early modern period is the rise of the great estate. The new monarchies appeared to depend for much of their authority on a hierarchy of command stretching down from a court aristocracy to the provincial gentry. Absolutism in politics, and the restoration of public order, seemed to march hand in hand with this creation of a network of known lineages on which the king could depend to do his bidding. Instead of the kaleidoscope of shifting elites which had characterised the Middle Ages, with the division of the patrimony among several sons at each generation, one witnessed in much of western Europe after 1500 the rise of primogeniture – the concentration of the inheritance on the head of just one son, usually the eldest – while the younger siblings were encouraged to fan out into the service of the state and the Church. Political authority had its counterpart in the enhancement of household patriarchy – the exercise of greater discretion by the head of the family in arranging the inheritance, the emphasis on his domestic governance in the age of the Reformation.³

In Spain the norm during the Reconquest when land had been available for the taking was the division of the patrimony among all the children. 'Since I have, glory be to God, more realms and estates that I won for myself than I received from my forebears, there will be one for you', the king promised his daughter in Guillén de Castro's play *The Youth of the Cid* (1619). It was advantageous to divide up an inheritance, proclaimed the great Castilian law code of the thirteenth century, the *Siete Partidas*, 'for there follow from inheritance sometimes very serious disagreements about things which go to just one heir, and each one feels much better when he gets his share, and looks after it better and makes better

² *Ibid.*, pp. 84–7.

³ R. J. W. Evans, *The making of the Habsburg monarchy 1550–1700* (Oxford 1979), pp. 91–6. Cf. Bartolomé Clavero, *Mayorazgo: propiedad feudal en Castilla 1369–1863* (Madrid 1974), pp. 21–56.

use of it'.⁴ The conquest of Granada had enabled families to practise this traditional system, placing their cadet branches in the newly won estates of the vanquished land. But for some time before, since in fact the middle of the fourteenth century, a gradual change had been taking place in attitudes – a desire to keep the patrimony of a family together and thereby perpetuate its memory. The problem with *bienes libres* (freely disposable assets), commented Juan Francisco Pérez de Herrasti as he recorded the sale in 1700 of the last piece of the Maldonado inheritance acquired in 1589, was 'how short a lifespan they can expect'. If an aristocracy was to be maintained – and that seemed to be in the interests of the commonwealth at large – then the solution was to create a *mayorazgo*, a 'trust for the eldest child', an inalienable patrimony to be handed on intact from one generation to the next.

'In consideration of the services which you have done for us and which we expect you will continue to do in times to come, and so that there may be an enduring memory of your person and your house', Philip II authorised the veinticuatro Pedro de Hinojosa to set aside the normal law of inheritance, which would have led to a splitting up of his estate among his several children. Invoking his 'absolute royal power, as king and natural lord, recognising no superior on this earth', Philip allowed Don Pedro and his wife Mariana de Granada Venegas to leave the bulk of their estate in trust to their eldest son. There was a caveat entered that the younger children must get at least an annuity from the property, 'but not as much as they would have got from their *legítimas*'. It was not until 1599 that arrangements were finalised, with a resounding declaration from Doña Mariana, now a widow, excluding from the succession anyone meditating heresy or treason – which were the only offences for which a trust could be broken and the property confiscated. She affirmed her wish that 'those who succeed to this entail should be Catholic Christians, obedient to the Holy church of Rome, and loyal and trusty vassals of His Majesty and the Kings of Castile'.⁵ This, of course, was the familiar justification of these foundations, increasingly popular at this time, that they buttressed the authority of the monarchy and the church, thereby contributing to good order in the commonwealth.

⁴ *Las siete partidas del rey don Alfonso el sabio*, facsimile reprint, 3 vols. (Madrid 1972), 6 / 14 / 1. On the inheritance practices of the aristocracy, Marie Claude Gerbet, *La noblesse dans le royaume de Castille: étude sur ses structures sociales en Estrémadure 1454–1516* (Paris 1979), pp. 214–29.

⁵ AHPG RD 1,017–26v, 17 July 1599.

The laws of Castile allowed men and women to dispose freely of one-fifth of their patrimony, within which they would make payments for masses for their souls and make small bequests to charity and to relatives. The bulk of the estate was reserved for the *herederos forzosos*, the 'obligatory heirs' – one's children (including the illegitimate) if one had any, one's parents or grandparents if not. There was no right of automatic inheritance accorded to siblings or to the wider kin group. In principle, the patrimony was divided equally among descendants, which could lead to considerable fragmentation. When the lawyer José Machuca died, his children – the barrister Alonso, the priests Diego (in charge of the important cathedral parish, the Sagrario) and Gabriel, and the two unmarried sisters, Lorenza and María – agreed to keep the property together for as long as their mother was alive. After her death in 1600, they divided up the estate equally, which gave each of them a *legítima* (their 'fair share') amounting to 6,930 *reales*. The big house near the cathedral was to go jointly to the priests Diego and Gabriel, together with two-thirds of their father's fine collection of books (valued at 804 *reales*), while Lorenza and María would take the two-thirds share in the lodging house and neighbouring tavern which the family owned in Gomeres Street near the law courts. The eldest son Alonso, meanwhile, was to take one-third of his father's library and some fields with olive and mulberry trees in the village of Huétor Vega. Alonso's share was valued at only 5,117 *reales*, so it was specified that he would collect the remainder of his *legítima* in due course by payments from his siblings.⁶

'The egalitarian idea underlying the *legítimas* contains within it a monstrous inequality', thundered the nineteenth-century advocates of a reformed civil code, Segismundo Moret and Luis Silvela; 'the hard-working child is equated with the useless, the older with the younger, the one who has few talents with a brother whose abilities mark him out for a leading role in the commonwealth'.⁷ The situation was perhaps not quite so inflexible as they made out. Inevitably, an appeal had to be made to the sense of solidarity of the siblings. Though there was a nominal division of the estate of Doña María de Laguna, widow of Don Juan Muñoz de Salazar, in 1599, the uncle who was entrusted with the proceedings appealed to the offspring who had not yet set up their own households to leave their portions with their elder brother Juan, given that these were likely to be small, with the understanding that he would finish

⁶ AHPG RD 910–16v, *partición* of licenciado Jusepe Machuca, 5 September 1600.

⁷ *La familia foral y la familia castellana* (Madrid 1863), p. 171.

paying the dowry of their sister Isabella who was entering the convent. 'It will be a great thing to do for the Lord', he told them, 'and such a help for your sister, and I promise that as long as I have life I shall aid you in these expenses.'⁸

The cloth shearer Jerónimo de Cebreros, father of the jurados Francisco and Pedro, urged his six surviving offspring to keep his business together. 'I have always loved and cared for my children with great tenderness and without favouritism,' he declared in his will, 'so I enjoin them now not to fall out or go to law.' It would be a mistake to divide up the business, for 'each of them would get very little'. So he left his widow the usufruct of the shop and its management to their eldest boy, Juan. It was understood, of course, that all the children were to be maintained out of the proceeds. And it is interesting to chart the upward mobility achieved by some of their number as a result – the younger brother Pedro acquiring a veinticuatría in 1639, and Juan's son, Pedro the Younger, after a brilliant academic career, securing an appointment in 1636 as one of the chaplains attached to the great burial vault of the Catholic kings.⁹

It was indeed possible to favour one child with a *mejora*, an 'advantage', which consisted of the 'remainder of the freely disposable fifth' of the estate after deductions for masses and miscellaneous legacies, together with a third of the remaining four-fifths. In addition, after all these deductions, the favourite could take his or her *legítima* as well. It has been calculated that these advantages could end up giving the favoured son or daughter well over half the estate, depending on the number of siblings and of bequests to outsiders.¹⁰ Among the nobility of Extremadura under the Catholic Kings, the eldest son would normally expect to receive under this system, in an average family of five siblings, 37.32 per cent of the patrimony.¹¹ On the threshold of the modern age, the Cortes of Toro in 1505 confirmed the right of a testator to advantage one child. In addition, for the first time, they allowed the testator to specify, without seeking royal permission as he had needed to do before then, that he wanted this property to descend in entail to his successors.

⁸ AHPG Juan Ayllón 1,316–28, 4 August 1599.

⁹ AHPG RD 1,139–42v, testament Jerónimo de Cebreros, 1 October 1606. For the activities of the younger generation, see Jorquera, *Anales de Granada*, vol. II, pp. 761 and 837.

¹⁰ Georges de Lacoste, *Essai sur les mejoras ou avantages légitimaires dans le droit espagnol ancien et moderne* (Paris 1911); David Martínez López, *Tierra, herencia y matrimonio: un modelo sobre la formación de la burguesía agraria andaluza* (Jaén 1996), pp. 78–9.

¹¹ Gerbet, *La noblesse dans le royaume de Castille*, p. 217.

The Laws of Toro, claimed the author of the famous report on the effects of entail, Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos, 'opened wide the portals through which have poured into the nobility since the sixteenth century the invasive throng of those who could scrape together a modest fortune'.¹² For Jovellanos, as for other statesmen of the Enlightenment, entails might be justified in the case of those great families which served the state and which required a hereditary fortune in order to maintain their rank and obligations. But what could be the advantage in allowing automatic rights of primogeniture and entail to lesser mortals, who should be looking rather to investment and trade, to the creation of wealth rather than the safeguarding of the honour of the past?

Already indeed when the movement of foundation was at its height in the early seventeenth century, some of the economic writers of the time – the famous *arbitristas* – had criticised it on much the same grounds. 'The grandeur of these realms reposes on the famous houses which are its firm and robust pillars, and would be lessened by any division of their estates', declared González de Cellorigo in 1600. But the spread of primogeniture and entail beyond this class of magnate was only encouraging social parasites, who 'have lofty ambitions and set up great and imposing households which they cannot afford'.¹³ Entails encourage idleness, claimed Pedro Fernández Navarrete in 1626, for 'hardly has a merchant, an artisan or a peasant acquired enough to found an entail in government bonds worth 500 ducats a year than he sets one up, with the result that not only his first born but the other children too grow ashamed of the humble occupations which raised them up in the beginning'.¹⁴ A *mayorazgo*, he thought, really needed an income of 3,000 ducats a year or more if it was to be a financially and politically sound investment – a figure, we may note, associated with the wealthier patricians of Granada, like Don Luis de Paz or Mateo de Lisón y Biedma, but which others, like Baltasar Barahona Zapata, might have to struggle to achieve.

The foundation of the *mayorazgo* of the Teruel between 1585 and 1596 laid the basis, initially on a small scale, of one of the biggest landed estates in the Granada of the Old Regime, that of the later Counts of Villamena. The arrangements took place in several stages, many of them fraught with controversy. The founder of the line, Felipe Pérez de Teruel, had made a fortune as an advocate, investing much of it in land, and in houses and

¹² *Informe sobre la ley agraria*, p. 102.

¹³ *Memorial de la política necesaria*, pp. 169–70.

¹⁴ *Conservación de monarquías*, pp. 95–6.

shops in the city of Granada. He had six children, one of whom discreetly bowed out of further claims on his father's bounty by becoming a Franciscan (Fray Rodrigo). One daughter, Felipa, was married off to a colleague of her father's, the lawyer Gutierre de Argüello, with a dowry of 1,500 ducats, situated on the inn known as the *Mesón de la Nao* which old Felipe owned near the lawcourts, together with a promise of alimony and that Felipa would get an equal share of the inheritance when her parents died. But then in his will Felipe left a *mejora* to his eldest son Luis. Argüello initiated a lawsuit, protesting that he had been cheated on several counts, not least that the inn was not worth 1,500 ducats. After a few preliminary skirmishes, the two sides agreed to make peace when the old man died – 'for the outcome of litigation is doubtful and fraught with risk, and in order to avoid the expense and outgoings to which it usually gives rise, and the better to comply with what their father, the law graduate Teruel, enjoined upon them in his testament and codicil, namely that they should live at peace and in harmony, and keep up the ties of family and friendship which exist between them'. So, Luis made a small additional contribution to the Argüello dowry, including his father's law books (valued at 48 ducats, including the shelves of the library). The Argüello fade out of the Teruel saga at this point – they remain in the professional middle class, while their in-laws move gradually in wealth and life-style into the patriciate.¹⁵

Far different was the fate of the other married daughter, Antonia. She had married well, with Don Alonso del Castillo. He had the drawback of coming from a small town, Lorca, in the kingdom of Murcia, but enjoyed the inestimable advantage of being noble. The dowry was huge, reflecting the fact that old Felipe Pérez de Teruel was now (1593) a very rich man: 3,500 ducats, some of it in land, 'out of regard for the said Don Alonso and to please his father, Captain Alonso del Castillo', with a rider in the contract to the effect that the real dowry would be only 2,500 ducats. Don Alonso agreed at his father-in-law's death in 1596 that he had got more than enough, and he and his wife abandoned any further claim on the estate. In fact, their child, Francisca, would provide the bride for the Teruel heir at the next generation – tying further a knot of amity and patronage which would bring the Castillo estates in Lorca into the possession of the Teruel by 1625.

¹⁵ AHPG RD 321, 19 January 1596.

The accords with Castillo and Argüello were signed on 19 January 1596, shortly after the death of the Teruel patriarch. It left Luis and his brother Gregorio and their unmarried sister Agueda to sort out the rest of the estate. Some of the furnishings of the family home had already been distributed informally – four tapestries, an old carpet and four velvet cushions, for example, to Agueda. There were some unanswered questions about land and cattle in the possession of Luis, since he was still unmarried, though the eldest son, and still living under his father's roof. Here and in other cases the cooperation between father and son had been so close as to render it impossible to separate out exactly what belonged to each. Discounting the assets of Luis, therefore, the inventory of old Felipe's property on the morrow of his death in January 1596 revealed a fortune of 7,692 ducats in *bienes libres* – that is, freely disposable assets, not included in the *mayorazgo* founded back in 1585.

Unfortunately we do not know what the latter amounted to exactly, but the free property included the big family home near the cathedral and much of the valuable land of the Teruel in the Vega of Granada. Deductions had to be made for mortgages to which it was subject. This was the curse of much real estate in the Old Regime – the accumulation of debt from generation to generation, in satisfaction of purchases or dowries which could rarely be satisfied outright. So the net value of the Teruel estate fell to 5,692 ducats, from which the two boys, Luis and Gregorio, were to take their *legítimas* and a joint *mejora*, according to the will of their father. The rather complicated calculation worked out as follows: Luis and Gregorio took an initial fifth, then a third of the remainder, then their individual 'equal shares' with their sister Agueda of what was left. It meant that Agueda got 1,012 ducats in the end, while her two brothers took 4,680.¹⁶

By an additional arrangement, Luis agreed to take over payment of the mortgages on the estate, while Agueda gave up her right to a division of the assets in return for a life pension from her brother. The outcome was that Luis acquired possession of the family home, as well as of much of the land. Three years later, still unmarried, Luis came to an agreement with his brother Gregorio, whose son Fernando was the likely heir to the Teruel name and patrimony. 'Whereas I have always had great love and affection for Gregorio de Teruel, my brother', he declared, 'for the many favours and benefits I have received at his hand', so now he transferred to

¹⁶ AHPG RD 272–90, 22 February 1596.

Gregorio the great house of the family in the vicinity of the cathedral, together with much of his land. He would hold on to the rents for his lifetime (he died in 1602), but after his death the property was to go to Gregorio and his sons. It was not to be a free gift, however, but to be added to the entail founded by their father Felipe back in 1585, and to descend intact in perpetuity through the eldest legitimate males in each generation. If daughters were to succeed in the absence of sons, then their husbands must adopt the Teruel surname.¹⁷

Around this nucleus future generations of Teruel would carefully build up an impressive landed estate, which constituted the material basis of their power and prestige in Granada. Thus a new family, drawn from the ranks of the professional middle class, effectively turned its back on its past and joined the patrician elite – though not without some controversy over its alleged commoner and Jewish origin, as we shall see in due course.

The making of a *mayorazgo* was only one part of a complex strategy by which a family – by agreement among its various members – committed itself to a costly life-style in the public eye, building up networks of contacts which would open opportunities for non-inheriting younger siblings. Some would-be patricians failed notably to set their houses on solid enough foundations, thus storing up trouble for the future. ‘From the division of property follow great inconveniences’, proclaimed the powerful secretary of the chancery court, Pedro de la Fuente Vergara and his wife in 1601, ‘whereby families decline and their great men fade from memory.’ By contrast, those who hold a patrimony transmitted to them by their ancestors, ‘lie under more of an obligation to serve Our Lord God and the King, and to support and nourish their brothers and sisters, and to attend to their relatives and to other matters which are to the great good of the commonwealth’. They singled out their eldest son, Antonio, ‘for the many good works we have received from him’, as their favoured heir, assigning him their main residence near the cathedral, together with the office of alderman, which he had been exercising on their behalf. It was not a large estate, but the founders noted: ‘it has been seen by experience that although entails may consist at their beginning of few properties, afterwards in time the successors increase them, adding other possessions’. The important thing was to affirm the presence of a new dynasty, and considerable attention was paid to its symbolic capital. The holders were always to have or to assume the surname Fuente Vergara

¹⁷ AHPG RD 83–8, 17 January 1599.

and its corresponding coat of arms, 'as we the founders display them, above the main door and in other parts of our house.' And Pedro and his wife now added to the entail six *reposteros* (tabards, or armorial bearings) of wool and silk, together with twelve canvases celebrating the triumphs of Emperor Charles V, 'our liege lord of happy memory', items, they said, of which they were 'particularly fond'.¹⁸

The only problem was that entailed property had to be maintained. Having entered, as it were, the charmed circle of patrician families, the Fuente Vergara had to assume the increased costs of display which went with their new-found position. And it soon emerged that the family patrimony was not sufficient to bear the strain. Don Pedro de la Fuente Jaramillo, who died in 1669, was the last 'commonwealth man' – the last of this once-powerful dynasty to play a public role. 'Everything wasted through the calamity of the times we live in', he complained in his will, he could only offer his eldest son the small entails he had inherited, but without the ready cash to exploit them properly, or the wherewithal to look after his mother (whose dowry he had spent) and four younger siblings. He begged his heir, therefore, 'to try in every way he can to ensure that his mother, brothers and sisters live with the dignity enjoyed by their ancestors'. This was to be achieved by keeping them all together under the one roof and setting aside at least 200 ducats a year for their maintenance, 'and as they die off, let the rent pass to those who are left'. With a kind of Micawber-ish optimism at the end, he anticipated the eventuality that he might come into some money before he died, 'through some accident of inheritance or legacy, or in some other way'.¹⁹

The disconcerting thing about many of the entails was that they were so fragmented. The expectation was that over time, through marriage with heiresses and through succession to childless cousins, the more fortunate descendants would gather several of them together and thus become relatively well-off. But the process tended to be ragged and incomplete because there were so many small entails being created all the time, each with its individual lines of descent. The old feeling that all the children were entitled to a start in life is reflected, for example, in the provision of the childless widow Doña Catalina Fernández Zapata, in favour of her brother Francisco, later corregidor of Zacatecas in the Indies and a powerful political figure in the Granada of the 1640s, and her sister

¹⁸ AHPG RD 1,252–8, 13 October 1601; cf. RD 288–94v, marriage of Francisco de la Fuente Vergara, 28 February 1603.

¹⁹ AHPG GBV 436–41v, 7 May 1669.

Isabella. In 1602 she assigned three shops she owned in the vicinity of the law courts to Francisco, three near the cathedral to Isabella, with the specification that they were to pass to younger children who would not inherit the main estate of their parents. When Isabella, also childless, died in 1645, she left her three shops to Francisco and four houses to her nephew, Juan de Quesada. Meanwhile, the oak trees which she owned, situated in a *cortijo* in Moclín – it was common enough for ownership of trees to be separate from that of land – were to go to Juan's brother, Diego de Quesada, in entail. As the lines of the various nephews are called out, one has a tremendous sense of the importance of the family as a group. To thank Catalina, says the document of 1602, Francisco and Isabella 'got up from the seats where they were sitting and went over to where she was seated and embraced her and promised to help her out in any way she might need as a good brother and sister should'.²⁰

It was this family solidarity which motivated Ana María Dávila Barahona, member of an old patrician dynasty, to leave her small estate in trust. She had married Don Alonso de Ahumada Salazar in 1698 with a dowry of 2,821 ducats. Now in 1703, on her deathbed and with no children of her own, she gave a third of her little estate to her husband, 'in token of the great debt of love there is between us'. The remainder was to be invested in the purchase of some fields, which were to pass in trust to her brother Fadrique, canon of El Salvador, 'for he has many virtues and qualities . . . and I am fond of him, and he takes care of our mother'. After his death the fields were to go to the second child of her other brother, Juan Francisco Dávila, treasurer of the municipal granary.²¹

This diversity of lines of succession created something of a kaleidoscope as far as property was concerned – a colourful mosaic of small estates littered here and there along the paths of migration and settlement of ancestors heading south towards Granada. The risk of neglect was considerable, and Isabella Zapata was at pains to instruct the heirs to the oak trees in Moclín that they must look after them in such a way that the trust 'goes on prospering and does not go into decline'. It paid to keep abreast of developments in the wider clan: how many survivors were left to inherit, or what chance there was of a remote line of cousins coming to an end. Juan Pérez de Herrasti pored over the rambling network of his own connections in 1750, advising his children to keep an eye out for any

²⁰ AHPG RD 91–5v, 4 February 1602; MP, n.f., testament of Isabella María Zapata, 22 March 1645.

²¹ AHPG JBP III–15, 3 February 1703. The aged mother, the lawful heir, had to consent to this arrangement.

inheritance likely to fall in. From one of their distant ancestors, Leonor, daughter of the founder of the dynasty, Domingo Pérez de Herrasti, a tangled thread ran through a labyrinth of heiresses to reach the Counts of El Arco. If this house, now held by the distinguished Luján family of Madrid, had no heirs – as was the case at the moment – ‘ours has a clear right to take over this *mayorazgo*’. But the genealogist of the Luján had failed to notice the connection with Granada. That was not unusual, observed Herrasti with his characteristic dry humour: ‘it is no wonder that anyone who takes it upon himself to tell such a rambling tale would omit some detail, for Homer does nod off’.²²

There were uncertainties, then, over the exact lines of succession, which are reflected in the lawsuits before the king’s high court. When Ana de Aguilera Valdivia died in 1641, she left a *mayorazgo* founded by her grandfather in 1585, but was not sure who the heirs actually were, other than that her grandfather had had two brothers ‘who both went to the Indies and have descendants who are alive at this day’. Three years after her death one of these (from the northern Castilian city of Toro) put in a claim to the Chancillería for the succession through his mother.²³ Mariana Bustamente y Velasco, of a family linked to officials of the Inquisition, founded an entail on several houses and two shops in Granada in 1625. She wanted it to go first to her brother and his children, then to her sisters Isabella and María, and, in the event of the failure of their issue, to her first and second cousins, including some in Córdoba and Llerena. She listed by name just four of these, on both her father’s and mother’s side. After them, the entail was to go to ‘the nearest kinsman, with a preference for the relatives of my father and paternal grandparents who were natives of the town of Aguilar de Campo [Córdoba] and had a house and property there, as well as in the village of Elecha, which my father sold’. I name these places, she went on, ‘so that one can seek out these relatives’.²⁴

As in the case of the Hinojosa-Granada Venegas foundation of 1599, there was always some vagueness about who ‘the nearest kinsman’ might be once the specified lines had ended. Perhaps in a relatively new society like Granada there was less interest in giving property to the extended clan back in the homeland. When the veinticuatro Diego de Vago, a large herd-owner, died in 1658, he asked for all his chattels to be sold and invested in land, houses or bonds (*censos*), which would form a *mayorazgo*.

²² *Historia de la casa de Herrasti*, pp. 43–4.

²³ AHPG AB 129–41, testament, 2 October 1641; 159–60v, *carta de poder*, 4 July 1644.

²⁴ AHPG JV 1,253–64, foundation of *mayorazgo*, 1 December 1625.

Since he had no children, he nominated 'my beloved wife' as his first heir, then 'the sons or daughters which the Lord God might give her in matrimony', then the issue of his sister Mariana, married to the future alderman Martín Pérez de Viana. But if these lines ran out, he had no further kin in mind; rather, he wanted the money to be used 'to provide a dowry for poor orphan girls of this city and its jurisdiction'.²⁵ It was one of the virtues of the Pérez de Herrasti family history, declared the ecclesiastical censor at the time of its publication, that it would serve as a useful document in litigation over succession to entails. 'In this way, we shall free ourselves from that lamentable though common misfortune which afflicts many of our people, that they are passed over in the succession to *mayorazgos* and estates which are theirs by right, because they lack written proof.'²⁶

Entails provoked fierce debate throughout the early modern period. Their supporters, noted the Valencian jurist Tomás Cerdán de Tallada in 1604, argue that they make a state more stable by creating an elite of property holders whose wealth is always at the disposal of the ruler. This might be true, he agreed, of the great families; but the smaller foundations 'are wasted and eaten up by reason of the many lawsuits which their existence provokes and stirs up'. In this way, 'they fall short of the goal of keeping property together, which the founder thought he was bringing about'. As for the suggestion that entails were for the good of the family as a whole, enabling the heir to place his younger siblings in life, 'let the experience of so many sons and daughters and their descendants, who fall by the wayside' speak for itself.²⁷

It was from the angle of the younger son that the Granadan commentators began to attack the institution – though mainly towards the end of the Old Regime. The Society of 'Friends of their Country' (*Amigos del País*), one of those groupings of local Enlightened elites which began to proliferate in the last quarter of the eighteenth century throughout Spain and Spanish America, denounced the *mayorazgo*, in fact, for being now out of step with family feeling. Parents had to place all their children in life, so they were reluctant to invest in their entailed lands which would go only to the eldest, preferring to reserve what they could as *bienes libres* for distribution among all equally.²⁸

²⁵ AHPG JFM 822–5v, 19 April 1658.

²⁶ *Historia de la casa de Herrasti*, preface, n.p.

²⁷ *Veriloquium en reglas de estado* (Valencia 1604), pp. 244 and 251–2.

²⁸ Juan Luis Castellano Castellano, *Luces y reformismo: las sociedades económicas de amigos del país del reino de Granada en el siglo XVIII* (Granada 1984), p. 312.

There was a time when wealthy and powerful houses played a useful role in protecting the citizen, agreed the political economist Juan Sempere Guarinos, prosecutor fiscal of the high court of Granada, in his seminal work of 1805 on the *mayorazgos*; but this was now past, and the disadvantages of so much litigation over succession and such neglect either of agricultural improvement or alternatively of the education of younger brothers could no longer be justified.²⁹ The law of 1789 had in fact just a few years before specified that for the future all entails must be approved in advance by the government, and that they would only be granted to those with at least 3,000 ducats a year in rents, and who 'by their situation might aspire to this distinction in order to devote themselves to a military or political career in the service of the state'. It was the end of an era. But it left the problem of what to do about younger sons.

When the wealthy physician Francisco Lorenzo de Guzmán – father of the 'tribune of the people' of the same name – came to make his testament in 1754, he noted that his eldest son, Francisco, had been educated at the university of Granada, obtaining his doctorate in philosophy and taking minor orders in the church. He had spent 'at least' 700 ducats on the boy's education, he claimed. He was prepared to overlook this expenditure if Francisco went on to take full religious orders, 'for my idea is that he should help out his siblings from his advantaged position as a priest'.³⁰ In fact, the young Francisco was to disappoint his father's expectation and go on to become a political leader instead – one of that rising middle class which would eventually overthrow the Old Regime in Granada.

But the father's plan for his family was typical of an older generation. In 1739, the jurado Juan Tello de Albornoz died, leaving four children. The eldest, José, was training for the priesthood and his brother, Juan, had gone abroad to Mexico, while the two daughters were still at home unmarried, probably condemned to spinsterhood since both were over twenty-five years of age. Juan Tello was the grandson on his mother's side of the wealthy merchant Pedro de Campos Verástegui, and he had built up a respectable patrimony worth 148,592 *reales*, most of it in the form of twenty-five houses scattered across the city and rented out. An important estate had already been set aside for José to enable him to become a priest, including a vineyard with its wine-press and cellar in the nearby village of Alhendín. To this so-called *congrua* (the patrimony of which a man was required to provide proof before receiving the ecclesiastical tonsure) the

²⁹ *Historia de los vínculos y mayorazgos* (Madrid 1805), pp. 97, 299 and 348–64.

³⁰ AHPG TV 153–7, 17 April 1754.

industrious José had managed, with his activity as a cleric in minor orders, to add more land. The jurado in his last will and testament of 1739 now enjoined his son José to pay for the funeral and to take good care of the vineyard, for it was only nominally his. He was to share the proceeds with his sisters and with his brother Juan, once the latter returned from Mexico. After José's death, the land was to pass to Juan's children.³¹

The church, then, could provide a path of material aggrandisement for a sibling group, but it required an initial investment – the years of schooling, the *congrua* – which not all families could afford. The plums of ecclesiastical office were anyway difficult to achieve without patronage of some kind – unless one had the exceptional talent of Pedro de Cebberos, the grandson of the cloth shearer whom we came across earlier as a prebendary of the Royal Chapel. But preferment to these posts of dignity was more likely to come the way of graduates of the prestigious colegios mayores of the great universities of Salamanca, Valladolid or Alcalá de Henares. The former corregidor of Granada, Juan Alfonso Fernández de Córdoba, spoke in his will of 1678 of the 20,000 ducats he had spent on his Jesuit son Diego, 'for I kept him for eight years in Salamanca, at a cost of over 1,500 ducats a year, paying for the investigation of his Old Christian ancestry and other expenses involved in his election as a fellow of the College of Cuenca. I spent 4,000 ducats on his upkeep at court and other places he chose to be, and another 4,000 to equip him in the style appropriate to his rank.'³²

It was a similar amount – 20,000 ducats – that Francisco Sanz de Vellidas, son of a secretary of the Granadan Inquisition, reckoned had been spent on his career at Salamanca over about fourteen years, 'so that I should not miss out on my studies, but aspire to chairs, readerships and prizes, take part in examinations and disputations, write two books, as I have done, and win promotion to the chair of law, as has been the case'. From all of this, he had hoped to 'see the fruit which would enable me to assist my parents and my sisters'. He had three sisters, and as he lay dying his thoughts were for them, since 'I have rendered it impossible for my parents, after all they have spent on me, to place my sisters in a station in life becoming to them.'³³

³¹ AHPG FP 619–24v, 15 July 1739; *ibid.*, inventories 26 August–28 November 1739. Juan Tello's brother-in-law had died in poverty and had to be sheltered by his priest son, cf. APG JBP 403–6v, 1 September 1708.

³² AHPG JFT 174–87, 7 December 1678. Cf. R. L. Kagan, *Students and society in early modern Spain* (Baltimore 1974), pp. 97–8.

³³ AHPG JFT 616–19v, 19 July 1686.

These were the great office-holding dynasties, with contacts at court as well as in the provinces. Few Granadan families had anything like these sums to spend on the promotion of their children and their rewards were correspondingly fewer. The army, that traditional outlet for the petty *hidalgo*, was not much more promising, for it too required considerable investment at the outset and the rewards were uncertain. Many Granadan patricians did send their sons to war, but on a somewhat haphazard basis. A younger son of the *corregidor* Juan Alfonso Fernández de Córdoba, for example, served in the fleet as a captain of infantry, was taken prisoner by the French at the siege of Messina (1649), and after twenty-six months in captivity, returned to the struggle against the enemy in Catalonia. His proud father refused to count the 1,500 ducats he had spent on this son, allowing him instead a small ‘preference’ compared with his siblings – the choice of two of his father’s pistols. When the senior *veinticuatro* Don Baltasar Barahona Zapata, died in 1658, he had managed to establish in life all but the youngest of his eight children. ‘Tesifón is still without a station in life’, he told his heirs on his deathbed, ‘and needs a little more help [than the rest]’; so he was to get the *legítimas* which his two sisters had renounced when they became nuns. ‘I would ask his brothers to let him have these.’ Also, there was a promise of a knighthood in the Military Orders which Philip IV had offered Don Baltasar for one of his sons, in recognition of his long years of loyalty to the Crown as a *veinticuatro*. The four sons were to get together, therefore, and ‘in harmony and brotherly love (*hermandad*)’ decide which of them was to have the honour. Eventually it was young Tesifón who accepted the knighthood (in the Order of Santiago), a useful boost to his chosen career in the army.³⁴ When that other royalist *veinticuatro*, Francisco Castellanos Marquina, died without a male heir, his widow transferred the promise which the king had made to him of a knighthood of Santiago as a dowry with her daughter in 1660. She estimated it to be worth 3,000 ducats, equivalent to about half the value of the Castellanos Marquina office of *veinticuatro*.³⁵

The career of arms was not one that many Granadan patricians could contemplate with equanimity. Gone were the days of the gentleman adventurer, lamented the chronicler of the Herrasti family (himself a veteran of the civil war in Spain between 1702 and 1714). From the vantage point of 1750 he looked back nostalgically on his ancestor, the second lord

³⁴ AHPG SFM 138–45v, testament Baltasar Barahona, 23 March 1658.

³⁵ AHPG JP (1693), 377–8, 11 September 1693; SFM (1660), 401–5, 4 February 1660. For the controversy surrounding the Castellanos knighthood, see above, page 106.

of Domingo Pérez, who had gone to war under the banners of the Emperor Charles V and come home at the head of a mule train laden with plunder. 'What happy times those were, when soldiers did well for themselves', he lamented. His own grandfather, by contrast, had had to sell off some of his land in order to raise a regiment of foot in 1710,³⁶ put on a new footing in the eighteenth century with the organisation of provincial regiments based on the old militias.

A lawsuit which erupted in 1759 between one of the wealthier patricians of the time, Pedro Pascasio de Baños, and his only son, who had risen to become a colonel of dragoons, illustrates some of the costs of a military career. On an allowance from his father of 6,000 *reales* a year, the colonel wanted this more than tripled to 22,000, which he said was absolutely essential if he was to live according to his rank in the garrison of Barcelona. Old Don Pedro protested indignantly that he had already forked out 30,000 *reales* getting his son the post of captain in the first place, then 60,000 to obtain his promotion to colonel, and 134,800 on his wedding.³⁷

The soldier was not going to grow rich. When the sometime captain of horse in Flanders, Don José Pérez de Vivero, came to make his will in 1696, he noted that he had been living for the last year in Granada with his nephew, 'who has been looking after me'. He listed his few belongings: a small pension of 40 *escudos* a month from the Crown which was in arrears for eighteen months past, a scarlet cloak with gold trimmings, a suit of 'London' wool, eighteen fine shirts with lace cravats, a mirror, a mattress and quilt – and really not very much more. The suit and shirts were 'rather worn'. There is a vaguely cosmopolitan touch to the inventory – echoes of the lace and linens of Flanders, the broadcloth of England – but also the poverty of an old soldier from a good Granadan family.³⁸

These old-established families could call upon a multitude of resources. If necessary, at one generation they might have to take gainful employment, but their name and prestige never died and could be resurrected at the appropriate time. The Alvarez (or Bermúdez) de Castro offer an example. Back in 1619 the barrister Juan Bermúdez de Castro had sued out his *ejecutoria*, his warrant of nobility, from the chancery court. It told of a great-grandfather who had come from Galicia as a soldier to the conquest of Granada, whose offspring had turned to the practice of law to support themselves, marrying into trade (Don Juan's maternal grandfather was

³⁶ *Historia de la casa de Herrasti*, pp. 241–2.

³⁷ ARCG 4430/ 109, Baños, 1759.

³⁸ AHPG JP 993–4v, 19 December 1696.

prominent city financier Alonso Valer, who died in 1604). Don Juan's son José became one of the best-known solicitors in the seventeenth-century city, the man entrusted with the business of many patrician families. But he was dogged by personal misfortune – the early death of his first wife in childbirth (1685), that of his married daughter Salvadora, leaving him to rear her three infants, and the ill health of his other daughter María. When he died in 1719 he had little to leave his eventual heir, Salvadora's son, José González Bermúdez de Castro, but the papers of his nobility and a claim to the succession of a small entail in Burgo de Osma, which had come to him through the extinction of the line of Escalante, his mother's people, in 1697. José was put to grammar school, studying 'philosophy' in the college of the Sacromonte; but he practised as a silk merchant, becoming one of the founders of the Royal Silk Company in 1747 and marrying his daughter to his fellow guildsman José Pérez de Orozco, the future alderman. When the Castro heir, Francisco José, came to marry in 1746 he carried to his bride an interesting combination of books in law – the heritage of the seventeenth-century ancestors – and silks 'to be worked up into cloth', a more direct legacy from his father. The upshot of the story is that Francisco died young in 1754, leaving a sickly infant, Mariano Alvarez de Castro, who was brought up in his ancestral homeland of Burgo de Osma. After hesitating between a military and a clerical career, young Mariano eventually used his name, his Escalante connections in Burgo de Osma and – not least – the wealth from silk manufacture in Granada to obtain entry to the Royal Guards (1768). He went on in due course to attain fame as the commander of the town of Girona, directing a heroic (some said obstinate) seven-month resistance against the besieging armies of Napoleon in 1809.³⁹

What the sagas of the Pérez de Orozco and Bermúdez de Castro families would appear to illustrate is the clan-like nature of the patrician elite. Individuals might fall on hard times and be reduced to earning a living as a silk spinner or an attorney, but they kept a memory of the name. Through the connections which the name entailed and the patronage it made available, an able man could hope to restore the fortune of his dynasty. There was in Granada, then, a certain 'circulation of elites' rather than a clear pattern of mobility into the elite from below. Much of what Lawrence Stone has to say about the English nobility of the early modern

³⁹ Joaquín Pla Cargol, *Alvarez de Castro* (Madrid 1946); AHPG JFM 247–52v, test. José Bermúdez de Castro, 8 August 1717; APG FP 582–91v, dowry Francisco González Bermúdez de Castro, 4 November 1748.

period could be applied to Upper Andalusia as well: the dying out of the direct line of succession with relative frequency, the opening of opportunity to 'new men' who often turn out to be the younger sons of older families, risen to wealth through trade or the professions.⁴⁰

The Victoria, who acquired their *veinticuatria* in 1660, were on paper quite well off, with assets which included sugar plantations in Motril. The attached refinery included an entailed dwelling for the family, stocked with old paintings and furnishings. But, as was true of so many patricians, their assets were scattered and hard to administer. 'The sugar mill hasn't been working these many years . . . more than twelve, it would be', complained Don Simón Francisco in 1781. Essentially the problem appears to have been that the Victoria never had ready capital to invest in farming; they struggled to provide the advances which those working their estates actually required. By 1760 the family appears to have been bankrupt.⁴¹

Partly to blame were the numerous offspring who had to be 'placed in life' at each generation. Simón de Victoria y Castro, who died in 1688, left nine children, the same number as his grandson Simón de Victoria Sánchez Moreno (1697–1782). One or two sons lived on at home as bachelors, but these were rare cases. Even the heir on one occasion demanded and obtained after a bitter lawsuit in the high court (1760–5) a separate establishment for himself and his wife. What is interesting is that the younger children almost all found a career. The boys studied mainly for the priesthood, sometimes getting an appointment as chaplain to a religious endowment in the family's gift. One became a Jesuit, another a prebendary of the Royal Chapel, another (Antonio de Victoria, born in 1736) rose to become an Inquisitor in Galicia. Their success evidently owes something to their own abilities, but family contacts seem to have helped. Thus Antonio's paternal grandmother, Francisca Sánchez Moreno, was a first cousin of one of the Inquisitors in Madrid. And she was also a cousin of the nephew of the head of the college of Santa Catalina in Granada, where Antonio had received his education. These contacts were part of the family's collective memory, constituting a treasure chart of opportunity and patronage for later generations.

⁴⁰ Lawrence and Jeanne C. Fawtier Stone, *An open elite? England 1540–1880* (Oxford 1984).

⁴¹ AMG Caballeros XXIV, 426, Don Pablo de Victoria, 1782. Cf. AHPG TV 16–16v and 206–6v rental contracts, 13 January and 24 July 1756; ARCG 507 / 1879 / 2, *Pablo v. Simón de Victoria* (1760–5).

The girls, meanwhile, were mostly placed in marriage. Few lived at home or went into convents. The convent was not a cheap option anyway: it was near 20,000 *reales* which Juan Bartolomé had to pay out when his daughter Francisca joined the nuns of Santa Paula (compared with the 55,000 *reales* which the heir received at his marriage in 1759). As his mother noted, this was more than her *legítima*, and her sisters would have to take less. So, the strategy was to arrange marriages for them as cheaply as possible, which meant looking for husbands who were a bit lower in the social hierarchy – lawyers rather than veinticuatro – or across the family tree to cousins. Ana, for example, was married off to her cousin in the small town of Santa Fe, with a few pieces of furniture and some household linen by way of a dowry. Her sister María, meanwhile, wed the rather down-at-heel heir to the bankrupt Don Pedro de la Fuente Jaramillo, who was satisfied with a token gift of furniture which was never valued.⁴²

The Victoria struggled from one financial crisis to the next. What kept them going was surely their extraordinary network of kin and friends. Not content with tracing his ancestry, Pablo de Victoria in 1782 listed all his cousins and their positions of honour in the commonwealth, reaching out through his mother's people, the Ahumada, to Saint Teresa of Avila herself. Keeping these links in good condition – investing, in other words, time and energy in the cultivation of friendship – allowed the clan to maintain its somewhat precarious position in the social hierarchy.

⁴² AHPG JFM 85–90v, 17 March 1712; FP 150–4, 27 August 1733.

The network of marriage

In 1654 the barrister Antonio Ruiz de Salcedo, son of a man who had come from his native Baza to Granada to serve as accountant of the Resettlement Junta, acquired the old *veinticuatría* of Mateo de Lisón y Biedma. In 1662 he consolidated his position as one of the ruling elite of the city by marrying Lorenza, daughter of the jurado Felipe López de Zúñiga, who had made his fortune in the silk trade. Antonio's father turned over to his son at the wedding some vineyards and grain land which he had bought in 1636 in the Vega of Granada and two *cortijos* in the grain-rich Montes, together with a wayside inn nearby. He also purchased for Antonio a collection of books on law. The bride brought as her dowry a newly built mansion in the increasingly fashionable parish of San Justo, together with furnishings like the bed with its drapes of velvet and damask, valued at 3,500 *reales* (more than the 2,800 at which the eleven-year-old slave girl was priced), and a carriage drawn by two mules, worth 7,000. The whole dowry was estimated at 13,000 ducats, nearly a half of it in cash.¹ It had been 16,000 ducats which the previous holder of the Ruiz de Salcedo *veinticuatría*, Lisón y Biedma, was promised at his marriage to the daughter of Alonso de Contreras, alderman of Motril, in 1601, including some familiar items: the marriage bed of damask, valued at 4,000 *reales* (and which was in pawn for debt at Lisón's death forty years later!), and an eighteen-year-old Berber slave girl and an eleven-year-old slave boy valued together at the same price as the bed.

Like the Contreras match which provided Lisón with his office of alderman and the power base from which he launched his political career, the Zúñiga marriage marked the advent of a new ruling family in Granada, the Ruiz de Salcedo. In the contract, the proud parents affirmed their gratitude for the 'great favours they have received from the powerful

¹ AHPG TP 547-50, 25 January 1662; TP 572-4v, 3 March 1662.

hand of Our Lord in joining the two families in the close bond of kinship'. Their ambition was to acquire even more wealth for the good of their dynasty, 'and they trust that Our Lord will so favour them that they may be able to vouchsafe to the betrothed much comfort and ease, for it would please them greatly to see them prosper'.

Marriage laid the foundations of power. Without the connections it established and without the progeny resulting from it, a man's hold on political office was likely to be brief. Don Diego de Vago, Don Agustín Sánchez de Cañamero, Don Martín Salado Solórzano: the names of these aldermen were quickly enough forgotten since, though married, they failed to produce families which might continue their legacy. The jurado Don Andrés Gómez Méndez had purchased one of the newly created *veinticuatrias* from the Crown in 1635 and played an active part in the crisis of 1648, relinquishing his post on his son Francisco in 1653. But Francisco died in 1696 without male issue, leaving only a daughter Luisa, a nun in Santa Catalina de Zafra. The succession went to her far-out cousin Petronila, a great-grandniece of the wife of old Andrés Gómez Méndez. Petronila carried the office to her husband, Rodrigo Manuel de Castro, a militia captain from the remote Alpujarras. When Rodrigo Manuel's son died in 1755, another remote kinsman on his mother's side from the Alpujarras, the lawyer Bernardo de Valdivia, stepped in on behalf of the twelve-year-old heir. As one follows the Gómez Méndez succession, one becomes aware of the enormous importance of the female line. It helps explain the often bewildering changes of surname among the aldermen, few of whom managed to retain their office in the male line for more than a few generations.²

There were what one might roughly categorise as two opposing strategies of marriage available to elites in the early modern world. One was to limit the dispersal of the inheritance by imposing celibacy on all offspring except the main heir and one or two of his sisters. The risk of this, given the high mortality of the period, was the extinction of the line within a short time. The alternative was to try to marry off as many children as possible, with the consequent danger of fragmentation of a patrimony, a descent of the family into poverty, a blurring of the frontier between the elite and the population at large.

The first solution we might call the Venetian model. In Venice the ruling class had shut its doors to newcomers by the end of the thirteenth

² Cf. Hernández, *A la sombra de la corona*, pp. 162–3, for a similar pattern among the patricians of Madrid.

century, limiting office to the offspring of listed families. and turning themselves into a well-defined oligarchy. The move was accompanied by severe restrictions on who and when one might marry. It was left to just one son to carry on the lineage, while his brothers would stay celibate and surrender to him their share of the paternal inheritance. Meanwhile, those sisters who were allowed to marry must do so within the confines of the patrician group. This was costly in terms of the outflow of dowry, and in order to limit the damage celibacy was the solution invoked. Thus, 60 per cent of the daughters of the Venetian patriciate – three girls out of every five – would have to renounce the world and take the veil as nuns. The inevitable result of this narrowing of the marriage market was the alarming shrinkage in numbers of the Venetian oligarchy over the early modern period.³

By contrast a less exclusive ruling class in Renaissance Florence took a more generous approach. True, the patrician families tended to marry within their own ranks here too, but there seems to have been a greater willingness than in Venice to disperse the inheritance, multiplying marriages as a useful way of procuring allies. The ruling elites of Florence, therefore – somewhat like those of Madrid and Granada – constituted a recognisable social group, but not one defined clearly in law. Numerous families moved in and out at the edges, properties were split up but then reassembled through the marriage of cousins. It was a restless, mobile but ultimately coherent strategy with its own logic, which permitted the old ruling families to survive pretty well intact the upheavals of the early modern world.⁴

Shortly before the Ruiz de Salcedo marriage, in 1651, a very influential treatise was published in Lisbon – *A Letter of Advice to Married Couples*, written by the distinguished soldier Francisco Manuel de Mello, who had recently swapped his allegiance to the Spanish monarchy for that of his native Portugal. He composed the work during a period in gaol for a friend about to get married. Though he himself was a bachelor, he was one of the few laymen in the Iberian world to discuss the topic of the family, and he struck a responsive chord, for his book, after circulating widely in manuscript, went through no less than eight editions in the century or so after its publication. Manuel de Mello was at pains to point out the social implications of marriage and the responsibilities assumed

³ Jutta G. Sperling, *Convents and the body politic in late Renaissance Venice* (Chicago 1999), pp. 1–17.

⁴ Anthony Molho, *Marriage alliance in late medieval Florence* (Cambridge, MA 1994), p. 13; Hernández, *A la sombra de la corona*, p. 153.

towards a wide grouping of people. 'Fathers and mothers-in-law, daughters and sons-in-law, brothers and sisters-in-law', these were to be addressed henceforth just as fathers, brothers, sons, creating an awkward, 'often ill-starred' relationship, for 'the love which is due to persons so close can turn to resentment if it does not take hold'. Hence, the importance of matching the qualities of the two partners – a tricky business, given that 'to satisfy parents one needs to find someone of good family, and to do the best for the future offspring someone who has money, but to please those getting married there needs to be a partner of the same age'.⁵

Negotiations leading to marriage were some of the most sensitive and time-consuming activities of a patrician family, involving a range of intermediaries and extensive enquiries into the background and prospects of the future son or daughter-in-law. When María, one of the two daughters of the patrician Juan Padiál married in 1688, her father kept a note of the proceedings – one of those aide-mémoires which were kept as a kind of running household account by the merchants of Renaissance Florence, for example, or by the rural gentry of Catalonia, and which evolved into the diary or family memoir.⁶ Such documents are rare in Granada, perhaps reflecting that instability of the household which we shall explore later, and all the more precious for that. 'Monday, on the evening of 20 August – I mean, September – of 1688, I went with Don Josef Martínez, priest of San Cecilio, and Felipe Antonio, notary of these realms, to the house of Master Don Atanasio Pascual'. The priest was Juan Padiál's cousin and Don Atanasio a judge of the high court – 'the man who negotiated this affair with me'. Judge Pascual's protégé, Don Jerónimo Ruiz de la Torre, was offered a dowry of 50,000 *reales*, including the clothes which Padiál had chosen for the bride (with the bridegroom's approval), the marriage bed of bronze, 'and if he would like other items of furniture from my house, he can have them at an agreed price; otherwise I shall pay him the rest in money'.⁷

We know about these cases very often because they led to misunderstandings which then had to be sorted out by the courts. It could take months to finalise the arrangements and reach the stage at which the *capitulaciones matrimoniales* – a kind of solemn betrothal charter before a

⁵ *Carta de guía de casados*, pp. 45 and 158.

⁶ Xavier Torres, *Els llibres de família de pagès, segles XVI–XVIII* (Girona 2000); Antoni Simon and Pep Vila, *Cròniques del Rosselló, segles XVI–XVIII* (Barcelona 1998).

⁷ ARCG 3 / 184 / 2, *Padiál v. Muñoz*, 1690.

notary, setting out the conditions for the marriage – could be signed by the parties. Sometimes it took the form virtually of an exchange of vows, as when in 1682 the fourteen-year-old Doña Teresa María de Acevedo Obregón y Aguado (as she signed herself, with all the aplomb of the orphaned heiress of several great houses) gave her *palabra de casamiento* – consent to marriage – to the alderman of the little town of Huéscar, Juan Racto; ‘and all the rigour of the law may be invoked to make us comply’.⁸ It was a kind of feudal homage which Diego de Montalvo (son of a veinticuatro who had risen to become corregidor of Burgos) performed in 1595 when, placing his joined hands in supplication between those of the President of the high court, ‘as a knight and a gentleman he gives his oath to observe the terms and conditions agreed with Don Martín de Loaysa in respect of marriage with his daughter’.⁹ One senses the tremendous commitment of money and prestige which the parties, and of course all the powerful intermediaries on their behalf, had made in getting to this stage, and their apprehension lest anything go wrong and their ‘honour’ be called into question.

Safeguarding the honour of the womenfolk of the family was a crucial consideration. When the jurado Don Jerónimo de Aranda Sotomayor made his will in 1704, he had two daughters still alive, one a widow and the other separated from her husband. To the latter, since she had come back to live with him in the great house opposite the church of San Pedro and was looking after him, he left a *mejora*, a preferential share of his estate. Don Jerónimo had also one surviving son, Luis. He now asked Luis, when it came to the apportioning of the *legítimas*, to give both his sisters ‘the best assets available – whatever can be more easily exploited and can yield an income for their support, for they are women without experience of business’. He was sure that Luis, like the good son he was, would heed his advice, ‘for in looking out for the welfare, standing and reputation of his sisters he is looking out for himself, and these at the end of their life will take this into account, leaving whatever they have to their brother or his offspring’.¹⁰

The general assumption was that the girl provided the material basis of any newly founded family. Her dowry was the first claim on her parents’ estate, a sacred trust which could not be overturned even if she had exceeded her *legítima*, her fair share of the inheritance. She was, indeed,

⁸ AHPG JFT 447–52, 27 September 1682.

⁹ AHPG RD 1,023v–4, oath, 21 August 1595.

¹⁰ AHPG JBP 352–7v, 13 June 1704.

limited still to the maximum *mejora* of the 'third and fifth', but enjoyed the privilege of calculating this either at the time of her marriage or at that of her parents' death, whichever worked out more favourably for her. The dowry grew in size during the later Middle Ages and into the early modern period in Spain as in the rest of Europe for reasons which are not altogether clear. Some historians attribute it to the increasing emphasis from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries on keeping property together in the male line, seeing the dowry as a kind of exclusion of the woman from any further claim on the patrimony of her lineage. But the explanation does not seem at all satisfactory in the Iberian context, given the maintenance of female inheritance rights and the high degree of cooperation between the in-laws after marriage.¹¹ In Granada one witnesses the familiar climb of the value of dowries in the generations after the Reconquest, outstripping the rise in prices over the period and marching in step with the foundation of entails – almost as a recognition of the need to set aside 'free property' which a daughter and future mother could use to place her own offspring in life.

Thus, the Pérez de Herrasti were getting around 300 to 600 ducats with their brides in the early sixteenth century, but then 5,000 to 6,000 in the latter half of that century, and a maximum of 11,000 to 12,000 by the early 1600s. When Diego de Pisa sued his father-in-law Hernando de Zafra for a dowry in 1548, he alleged that Zafra had an estate worth 200,000 ducats, which fetched him 4,000 ducats a year in income. 'In this city, persons of much less quality' normally got 'two or three millions' (of *maravedís*), or about 5,000 to 8,000 ducats. The high court eventually awarded him 2,800 ducats. Laws of 1534 and 1573, re-issued in 1623, tried to set upper limits to dowries in accordance with the income of the father of the bride. Something perhaps was achieved, as the dowry levels in Granada appear to settle down somewhat during the seventeenth century. When the great silk merchant Francisco Muñoz de Torres sued his father-in-law Juan Padial in 1688, he alleged that the latter was one of the wealthiest men in Granada, with a fortune in silks estimated at 70,000 ducats. With only two daughters, he could afford a dowry of 20,000 for each. In fact, Padial was condemned to pay just under 5,000 – the same amount he had offered his other daughter.¹² These were large enough sums. In general, it would appear that a patrician father might have to mobilise two or three years' income from his estate in order to dower a daughter.

¹¹ For a discussion, see Casey, *History of the family*, pp. 67–85.

¹² ARCG 3 / 184 / 2, *Padial v. Muñoz*, 1688–90.

Table 2. *Dowries in early modern Granada*

Periods covered by the sample	1600–99		1700–80	
	B	C	B	C
A				
Patricians	25	58,288	13	47,751
Professionals	30	22,220	19	21,700
Merchants	40	13,696	13	28,500
Master craftsmen	156	3,225	26	4,248
Peasant farmers	106	4,122	18	5,042
Journeyman	10	1,586	3	1,998
Day labourers	12	1,019	2	1,129
No declared status	70	5,559	58	6,966

A: social group to which the parties belonged.

B: number of dowry contracts in the sample.

C: average value of the dowry (in *reales*).

From the table one can obtain an approximate idea of the importance of the transfer of funds in this way in early modern Granada. The source is a sample of dowry contracts for Granada in two distinct periods, 1600–99 and 1700–80 (see table 2).

From the figures above one may deduce that the dowry contract was, unsurprisingly, a feature above all of the marriages of the wealthier members of society, with only limited relevance to journeymen and day labourers. In line with findings elsewhere, one may note also that the formal recording of dowry became generally less interesting even to the upper classes as the Old Regime of corporate groups gave way to a new individualism.¹³ But in its heyday in the seventeenth century the transfer of funds between families was a massive, time-consuming enterprise. Clearly the sums involved in the case of Granada were those appropriate to a provincial town – nothing here to compare with the 30,000 ducats (333,000 *reales*) which the members of the Council of Castile were paying over at marriage.¹⁴ The averages, of course, are as always somewhat misleading. Thus, there was quite a discrepancy between Juan Barahona Zapata, eldest son of Don Baltasar, who was given 218,734 *reales* with his

¹³ Paloma Fernández Pérez, *El rostro familiar de la metrópolis: redes de parentesco y lazos mercantiles en Cádiz 1700–1812* (Madrid 1997), pp. 251–7.

¹⁴ Janine Fayard, *Les membres du Conseil de Castille à l'époque moderne 1621–1746* (Geneva 1979), p. 305.

bride, the daughter of a judge in the chancery court of Pamplona, and Claudio Brigenti, an immigrant from Mantua, who got 15,767 *reales* with Doña Bernarda Peco de Villegas, orphaned daughter of the late secretary of the Holy Office in Granada.¹⁵ Much depended here on family circumstances: Juan Barahona's wife, for example, received her full inheritance at marriage since her father was dead, while the Peco could compensate for lack of wealth by the honour they conferred on an immigrant in search of status.

In Ancient Greece laws were introduced forbidding dowries, commented the sixteenth-century essayist Pedro de Luján, but now, 'so crazy and frivolous have our customs become that not only do you need a dowry but a very big one at that'. Virtue and lineage used to be what one looked for in a wife; now it was all a matter of money.¹⁶ A century later the Portuguese nobleman and writer Francisco Manuel de Mello could lament still the fate of girls whose parents lacked means, 'condemned to lose their freedom and to take up a calling for which they have no desire but which they bitterly endure'. He was referring to the religious life. 'The remedy for all this', he concluded sadly, 'is almost nowhere to be found, because first you would have to reform the whole commonwealth and its faulty customs'.¹⁷

When Felipe López de Zúñiga married his daughter to Antonio Ruiz de Salcedo in 1662, he noted that the huge dowry of 13,000 ducats might exceed her *legítimas* from her mother's and father's estates. No matter; he promised to make good the full sum out of the share of the inheritance that would have gone to his other daughter Leocadia, 'who is presently in the convent of Santa Inés, and is around eleven or twelve years of age'.¹⁸ It was not automatically the case, indeed, that a nun would be excluded from the inheritance: there had to be a specific act of 'renunciation' of *legítimas* in each case, and the Cortes of 1607–11 requested the king to make it a rule henceforth that nuns would not inherit unless they had been expressly included as heirs in their parents' testaments.¹⁹

More generally, there was the problem of the actual size of the dowries required by convents, which had been growing during the sixteenth

¹⁵ AHPG MP 562v–7, Barahona–Torrejón Velasco marriage, 2 December 1639; AHPG LM vol. II, 1,411v–26v, Brigenti–Peco marriage, 21 November 1621.

¹⁶ *Coloquios matrimoniales* (1550), new edition (Madrid 1943), pp. 16–17.

¹⁷ *Carta de guía de casados* (1651), pp. 154–5.

¹⁸ AHPG TP 547–50, 25 January 1662.

¹⁹ *Actas de las Cortes de Castilla*, vol. XXVI, petition 4 of 1611; cf. AHPG LG 1,097–100, renunciation by Claudia Canales, 3 December 1627.

century in line with the inflation of marriage settlements. Not only was there the so-called 'dowry' to provide for the convent, but there was the *ajuar* (furnishing) of the cell of the new entrant, and the *propinas* (gratuities) at the celebration of her entry, together with the pension due during the year of the novitiate in which the candidate prepared her vows. So excessive have these expenses become, claimed the Cortes of 1588, that 'the same amount would be enough to marry with, or at least to buy an annuity and live fairly comfortably in the outside world'. The only trouble with the latter option was that unattached ladies 'are exposed to so many occasions of offending God'. But convents must be less greedy, for such big dowries were not really necessary.²⁰

The cost to the citizens of Granada of placing their daughters as nuns seems to have varied. Certainly, the convent was an aristocratic sanctuary. We get references to illegitimate children or foundlings being entered, but as nuns of the 'half veil', on a reduced dowry; and, of course, there were many other women in attendance as *sergeants* or servants of their mistresses. But the entry of a daughter of the patrician elite was always preceded by some tough bargaining about the subsidy which her family would provide. On three separate occasions, summoned by the ringing of the chapel bell, the nuns would assemble – often still identified by their aristocratic family names, in the older un-reformed convents – to discuss the conditions offered. Let us follow the story of one family, the Afán de Rivera, who had come to Granada at the Conquest and in the familiar way swapped their swords for law books, rising to some prominence as barristers and clerks of the high court.

Andrés Afán de Rivera had served as corregidor of Alcalá de Henares by grace of Philip IV's brother Ferdinand, Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo, and managed to place his son Gaspar (1622–66) in the episcopal household as a page boy. Rewarded with a knighthood of Santiago, Gaspar returned to Granada where he acquired an office of *veinticuatro* and in 1647, with his bride Juana de Gadea (1629–63), a landed estate worth 4,000 ducats. The couple went on to have numerous offspring – three boys (including Pedro, later a judge of the high court of Valladolid) and five girls, who were left as orphans at an early age when their mother died at only thirty-four years of age, followed within a few years by their father. Placed under the tutelage of their grandmother, the four oldest girls were sent to the local Hieronymite nunnery of Santa Paula to be educated,

²⁰ *Actas de las Cortes de Castilla*, vol. VIII, petition 45 of 1588. Cf. vol. XI, petition 25 of 1590. The king promised to investigate.

where they all in due course became nuns. We can follow the story of one of these vocations, that of María. The convent was looking for a dowry of 1,200 ducats – less than the 4,000 with which María's mother had married, and less than the 4,000 which would enable María's youngest sister to marry in 1678. But in 1669, three years after she was orphaned, María could only raise 900 ducats – of which 500 from a charitable endowment for poor girls of her lineage and the rest from the sale of some family silver. Her cousin Antonia de Céspedes was becoming a nun at the same time and Santa Paula agreed to let María share the same festive occasion, thus saving her 300 ducats in gratuities and celebrations. But there were still 300 ducats outstanding on the dowry itself, and the grandmother had to approach the justices to obtain permission to mortgage the Afán de Rivera family home in order to meet this bill.²¹

To become a nun was no mean achievement, therefore. Isabella de Ribas, widow of the aristocratic notary Gregorio de Arriola, helped her son-in-law and heir, the politically vocal veinticuatro Alonso Ruiz de Castilla, to place his daughter Micaela in the convent of the Discalced Carmelites. Even in a reformed order of this kind the costs of entry were steep. Isabella alleged in her will of 1643 that the Carmelites had asked for 2,000 ducats, of which she raised 700 by the sale of some land. And it was she who paid the 100 ducats in celebrations for the profession of her grand-daughter and the 300 to fit out her cell.²²

There was little room for personal preference, no doubt, in an age when the individual was expected to play a role for the good of the family group as a whole. So the author of the Herrasti family memoir recounted how his sixth child received an offer from the Crown of a place in the royal convent of Santa Isabella. On her tenth birthday the little girl donned the habit of a postulant, though she did not make her full vows for another six years. She was joined there by her youngest sister (the tenth child of the author), who was only five; but this infant waited another three years before solemnly declaring her wish – having now reached the 'age of reason' – to become a nun.²³ The convent was close to the Herrasti home in the parish of San Miguel in the old Moorish district of the Albaicín, and the little girls would have received regular visits from the members of

²¹ AHPG EC 231–64, negotiations of 2–16 March 1669; LG 103–4v, dowry of Gaspar Afán de Rivera, 6 January 1648.

²² AHPG TP n.f., 1 July 1643. Cf. her revised will in JFM 697–704, 19 August 1648, where she talks of her contribution to the dowry as 600 ducats.

²³ *Historia de la casa de Herrasti* (1750), pp. 331–2.

their family. Some nuns brought their nurses and servants with them from home. Thus Doña Luisa Domedel sought to place as a *sargenta* or maid, attending on her two grand-daughters in the Carmelite convent, a child she had reared, while María de Heredia sent her maid, an eight-year-old orphan, to the convent of Santa Paula 'to keep my daughter company'.²⁴

Of the daughters of the aldermen of Madrid in the later sixteenth century as many as 42 per cent would become nuns, while the proportion seems to be about a third in the early seventeenth century. By the eighteenth century the ratio had fallen further, to just under a fifth.²⁵ Certainly, the convents facilitated the family strategy of the patricians for a time, but it was never an easy process. They did not come cheap, and their role can not be properly understood outside a culture of devotion which persuaded many young women to devote their lives to God – a culture which developed a particular intensity in the seventeenth century and then began to wane. For the moment it will suffice to note that parents were still left with the enormous bill involved in settling daughters in life, whether as nuns or married persons.

The satisfaction of dowry, whether to a convent or a son-in-law, was one of the biggest financial headaches with which a patrician had to cope. Don Martín de Loaysa promised his son-in-law Diego de Montalvo a dowry of 24,000 ducats, which he could only raise by a variety of stratagems. He promised initially that he would hand over 1,000 in furnishings (carpets, jewels, quilts) and 2,000 in coins of silver as soon as the young couple took their vows, together with a *cortijo* in the kingdom of Jaén (worth 17,000 ducats) and 2,000 in bonds when they received the blessing of the church, and another 2,000 at his death. But when the vows and nuptial blessing were celebrated two months later, Don Martín was still not able to deliver the full amount, so 'I have asked and entreated Don Diego to be so good as to give me time to pay', promising to pay 'interest' on the balance, effectively converting it into an annuity.²⁶

The prominent lawyer Diego de Ribera (1562–1614) was a very wealthy man, but even he counted on the celibacy of several of his five sons in order to facilitate the marriage of his only daughter María with the veinticuatro of old lineage, Luis Beltrán de Caicedo, in 1599. The dowry

²⁴ AHPG AB 115–17v, Domedel, 28 April 1645; AHPG LG, no page numbers, Heredia, 6 October 1622.

²⁵ Guerrero Mayllo, *Familia y vida cotidiana*, p. 104; Hernández, *A la sombra de la corona*, p. 191.

²⁶ AHPG RD 1,023v–4, 21 August 1595; 1,321–44v, 21 October 1595.

offered here was 9,000 ducats, to be satisfied as follows: 2,000 in jewels, clothes and furnishings, 1,000 in two shops in the silk market, 1,000 in fields just beyond the city wall, 2,000 in bonds, and the rest in cash. In addition, Ribera promised to lodge and maintain the young couple, their two pages, lackey and a horse for two years, and not to give any preference (*mejora*) in the estate he would leave at his death to any son in prejudice of the claims of his daughter. Indeed, the lawyer's eldest son, García Sánchez de Ribera, now came forward to guarantee full payment of the dowry, sacrificing if necessary his own share of the paternal estate.²⁷

There were similar arrangements for Jerónima, daughter of the clerk of the high court Jerónimo de Castro and his wife Luisa Valer (heiress of the veinticuatro and financier Alonso Valer), when she married Don Cristóbal Ponce de León, son of a leading city councillor, also in 1599. The Castro-Valer dowry was large for the time – 8,000 ducats – and there was an additional offer of lodging for the young couple, their two servants and their horse for the next two years, which was reckoned to be worth another 1,000 ducats. Jerónima's four brothers, meanwhile, who were then moving into the nobility themselves, were not to object if their sister got more in dowry in this way than each of them could hope to obtain from their parents' estate.²⁸

But such strategies sometimes foundered on the shoals of ambition, misfortune or misunderstanding. Jerónimo Arias de la Cueva, alderman of Guadahortuna, was married to Luisa de Peco Villegas, of the family of the secretary of the Holy Office of Granada, and had two children by her, Alonso and Jerónima. After her death, he married Elvira de Haro, who gave him three more offspring, Jerónimo, Francisco (who died at only twenty-two months old) and María. He married his elder daughter Jerónima off in 1633 to Pedro de la Fuente Jaramillo, son and grandson of well-connected clerks of the high court, with the promise of a large dowry of 4,000 ducats. Meanwhile, Jerónima's brother Alonso was contracted to marry a daughter of the new secretary of the Holy Office, Diego de Loarte. In 1640, the year before he died, old Don Jerónimo Arias de la Cueva persuaded Alonso, now aged nineteen, to sign a document turning over his maternal inheritance to his nine-year-old step-sister María, child of Elvira de Haro. Like a dutiful son, Alonso promptly did so, 'for the great love and affection I bear her', and so that 'my sister may more easily

²⁷ AHPG RD 292–5, 15 February 1599. Cf. María José Osorio Pérez, *Historia del real colegio de San Bartolomé y Santiago* (Granada 1987), pp. 21–33 for further information on the Ribera dynasty.

²⁸ AHPG RD 460–3v, 28 March 1599.

find an estate in life and live with honour'. But after the father's controlling hand was removed by death in 1641, the siblings fell to quarrelling: Alonso refused to honour the commitment to María, alleging that he had been forced into it by his father and that he had been too young to know what he was doing. Meanwhile, María sued her step-sister Jerónima for having obtained too big a dowry (thus contributing indirectly to the ruin of the Fuente Jaramillo dynasty noted in [the previous chapter](#)).²⁹

'How many in their wills defraud children of their birth-right, leaving most of the estate to one of their number', protested the Jesuit authority on the family, Matías Sánchez, in 1740. 'How many force daughters or sons to take an estate in life for which they have no inclination, so that the favourite can attain the position to which they aspire!' It was a long-standing problem. Already an anonymous memorial to Philip IV of around 1621 had complained that 'it has become so much the custom in our Spain for parents to give all their estate to one daughter to enable her to marry more advantageously than they leave the others without a dowry'.³⁰ In fact, recourse was often needed to a wider grouping than merely the sibling group if an advantageous marriage was to be achieved. There were the charitable endowments left by ancestors to enable the poor girls of a lineage to marry or become nuns, part of that extensive network of Counter Reformation charity and piety which held the unmarried girl to be an occasion of sin. Don Cristóbal Barahona, hard up and with four sons and three daughters to place in life, listed in his will those to which his family could lay claim, including one which had to be traced back five or six generations through the Salazar lineage.³¹ Given their contacts, aristocrats may have had particular opportunities of applying for the more open endowments. Thus, the Marquis of Campotéjar had founded four of these *patronatos*, initially for members of his own family and for the children of old servants of his house, but throwing them open to any orphan girl of Granada if there was no other candidate in a particular year. In 1714 there were no kinswomen or servants of the Marquis of Campotéjar available, but the small sums – at 53 ducats each endowment, more suitable for an artisan than a patrician – went to María Josefa López Ballesteros, whose parents were dead but whose relatives were high-placed

²⁹ ARCG 3 / 1322 / 10, Arias de la Cueva, 1641. Pedro de la Fuente Jaramillo never got the full dowry, dying in considerable hardship in 1669 (see above, p. 88).

³⁰ Angel González Palencia (ed.), *La Junta de Reformación 1618–25* (Madrid 1932), p. 237; Matías Sánchez, *El padre de familias* (Málaga 1740), second edition (Madrid 1792), pp. 61–2.

³¹ AHPG JFM 102–10, 15 February 1719.

lawyers and later aldermen of the city, and Estefania Bravo de Anaya, daughter of a knight of Alcántara who had been a member of the royal Council of Finance.³²

Also, of course, the wider kin group could sometimes be called upon to help with the dowry. Thus, when Vicente Ferrer Gadea married his daughter Rafaela to Judge Lorenzo de la Bastida of the high court of Granada in 1712, he offered a dowry of 9,000 ducats, which comprised the following: 3,000 ducats in land which he had acquired at his own marriage to Mariana Colodrero, 2,000 ducats from his wife's cousin, the priest Francisco de Marichica (but only to take effect when the latter's brother died), 2,000 in household furnishings from his wife's mother, 'and other uncles and relatives' on that side of the family, and the rest in the form of a bakery and inn near Motril from one of Don Vicente's own aunts (transferable, however, only after her death). Given the uncertainty surrounding some of these items, the bride's uncle, Juan Manuel de la Chica y Colodrero, judge of the House of Trade in Seville, stepped in to offer 200 silver *escudos*, together with a 'big, new *estrado*' (the elaborate 'platform' on which Spanish ladies of the Golden Age sat when entertaining), with its accompanying carpet and twelve velvet and damask cushions. Finally, the nineteen-year-old Vicente Ferrer junior, heir to his father's estate, signed a declaration that he was happy to give up any of his own rights to the legacies included in his sister's dowry.³³

Manuel de Mello suggested that a girl who lacked a dowry might consider as a partner someone who was not of such good birth as herself – someone who had risen to prominence through 'the favour of the Prince, or great wealth, or notable talent in arms or letters'. But he added the significant qualification: he must be of Old Christian ancestry. Such enquiries may have been a frequent enough prelude to marriage negotiations in Granada. Marcos de Mesa Molina had been born in the little Cordoban town of Puente Don Gonzalo and had come to Granada as a young man to practise as a notary, eventually rising to become a clerk of the high court. In 1623 he sought the hand of Ana Chavarría, daughter of an accountant of the Holy Office and first cousin of a priest of the Chapel Royal in Granada. The Chavarría were Basques: poor but desperately proud of their Old Christian ancestry. 'Since I was not a native of this city', Mesa Molina recalled towards the end of his life in 1669, 'my

³² AHPG JFM 438–46, 6 and 14 July 1714. The candidates were chosen by the patron, the Archpriest of the cathedral.

³³ AHPG JFM 102–10, 26 February 1712.

father-in-law found the means to get Dr Rincón, Inquisitor of Granada, who knew the families of Córdoba where I am from, to make some enquiries, and having found out that Marcos de Mesa, my father, was the first cousin of Master Mesa Cortes, Inquisitor of that city, and other pertinent details, he agreed to accept the match'.³⁴ Many foundation charters of the *mayorazgos* of Granada spelled it out clearly, that the descendants of the founders must choose acceptable marriage partners or be excluded from the succession. 'They may not marry any woman who is not free of the taint of Jewish or converso ancestry', decreed Doña Mariana Granada Venegas, herself of an old Moorish line, 'or one who has ever been condemned to do penance by the Holy Inquisition'.³⁵

In his treatise of 1777 on marriage, the spokesman of the government plans for reform at that time, Joaquín Amorós, noted that in France poor nobles could make good by stooping to marry wealthy commoners. That was impossible in Spain, he thought: 'it would mean that in time families would become mixed up (*se confundiesen*)'.³⁶ Amorós did not develop the point, but he seems to be referring to the importance of female succession in Spain – the woman must carry a good name; wealth alone was not enough. Marriage, therefore, would tend to be contracted within a fairly narrow circle of known lineages.

The question of kin marriage has generated a rich ethnographic literature which needs to be taken into account by the historian. For the anthropologist Jack Goody the Mediterranean world had distinguished itself since Antiquity by the 'diverging inheritance' pattern of its inhabitants, who allowed much property to go to females as well as males. Arab cultures had reversed the trend somewhat by adopting the idea of cousin marriage – retrieving lineage property by favouring the union of a man with his father's brother's daughter. Christendom had, by contrast, forbidden such incestuous unions, using the full weight of a celibate and well-integrated ecclesiastical hierarchy from the twelfth century to get its way. Whatever the thinking of the church, the reality of life for the late medieval aristocracy seems to have been the conservation of the patrimony by seeking dispensations to marry within the forbidden degrees of kinship. Marriage between cousins seems to have developed apace during the Renaissance as part of the concern for 'stabilisation' of the ruling dynasties which we noted earlier. Through such interweaving of family

³⁴ AHPG JRG 101–5, 20 March 1669.

³⁵ AHPG 338 RD 1,017–26v, 17 July 1599.

³⁶ *Discurso . . . del consentimiento paterno para el matrimonio de los hijos* (Madrid 1777), pp. 179–85.

destinies over the generations, a network of wealth and power was created which could be seen as the very foundation of aristocratic pre-eminence in the Old Regime.³⁷

On the other hand, if younger sons were to marry at all under a system which increasingly limited their rights to inheritance, they might have to look outside the lineage and outside even their class, to girls of lower social status. At the lower levels of the aristocracy anyway the marriage market was likely to be much more open. On the threshold of the modern age, the lesser nobility of one Spanish province, Extremadura, tended to be geographically mobile, and consanguinity seems not to have been a major factor in their strategies of marriage.³⁸ In the frontier society of Granada, with its thrusting cohorts of lawyers, petty cavaliers and traders, the evidence is sometimes ambivalent and needs to be interpreted with caution.

One factor which may be kept in mind is that the Christian church was in principle opposed to marriage with blood relatives. It is for the good of the commonwealth that we forbid matrimony with those already related to us, claimed the influential Marco Antonio de Camós, citing the authority of Saint Augustine, the better to ensure that 'love and good fellowship (*caridad*) spread more widely through society at large'.³⁹ Dispensations were granted, but only in accordance with a somewhat narrow list of conditions: that the girl lacked a dowry, was twenty-four years of age or over and risked being left as an old maid unless she accepted the offer of some cousin to 'take her under his wing' (*ampararla*), and/or that the village where she lived was so small that there was no one of her age and status whom she could readily find as an alternative partner. These were the reasons advanced time after time to the ecclesiastical authorities in seventeenth-century Granada in order to be allowed to marry someone within the third and fourth degree of kinship – that is, the children and grandchildren of first cousins. Note that the whole process was costly and bureaucratic, involving preliminary clearance with the Holy See through a network of agents, before the actual investigation

³⁷ Jack Goody, *The development of the family and marriage in Europe* (Cambridge 1983); Gérard Delille, *Famille et propriété dans le royaume de Naples, XVe–XIXe siècle* (Paris 1985), pp. 237–80; Nuno Gonçalo Freitas Monteiro, *O crepúsculo dos grandes: a casa e o património da aristocracia em Portugal, 1750–1832* (Lisbon 2003), pp. 77–81.

³⁸ Marie-Claude Gerbet, *La noblesse dans le royaume de Castille: étude sur ses structures sociales en Estrémadure 1454–1516* (Paris 1979), pp. 174–5.

³⁹ *Microcosmia* (1592), part 2, p. 70.

of the need for the marriage could get under way in Granada, where neighbours would be called to testify.

Where first cousins were involved – the second degree of kinship – dispensations were hard to obtain. They generally involved certifying that the couple had behaved irresponsibly, even dishonourably, that the man had compromised the honour of his fiancée and rendered her unmarriageable by either sleeping with her or at least visiting her house *a deshoras* (at ‘god-forsaken hours’ of the night). More discreetly in the cases of the better off, it might be alleged that as the man and woman were first cousins, they had enjoyed privileged rights of visiting each other which had somehow clouded the reputation of each. If a dispensation were forthcoming in such cases, it would often mean the man and woman having to stand before the congregation in church with lighted candles in their hands, while the priest read out their fault – though this requirement seems to have been waived where the applicants were of good family. But whatever his standing, the bridegroom who wished to marry a first cousin was expected to undertake some form of penance. The first, one might say, was the payment of the bull of dispensation itself, which drove poorer penitents to make the trip to the Holy Father in person (no mean feat in those days of travel on foot through territories ravaged by war, banditry or epidemic). If the groom did not undertake the hazards of a journey to Rome, he would be liable for several months of ‘community service’ – sweeping out the church, for example, or making the beds for the poor in one of the city hospitals. Much depended on the degree of blame to be attached to the penitents and on the discretion which it was thought fit to apply to members of the elite.⁴⁰

Marrying first cousins was comparatively rare. For other kin marriages the church was more indulgent: there was no penance attached, other than the fees which began to worry the authorities during the Enlightenment.⁴¹ Certainly the whole system of dispensations had grown into a large bureaucracy of notaries and agents, whose records portray a rather stultifying world of legal jargon which corresponded poorly with the reality of family strategies. Marrying a first cousin was likely to be a costly business: Josef Francisco Dávila had to pay 16,000 *reales* for the papal dispensation

⁴⁰ See, for example, ADG Expedientes Matrimoniales, leg. 1,492, Diego de Ortuño, 18 January 1666; Diego Fernández of Illora, 15 June 1665; Don Juan Fernández de Terán, knight of Santiago, 28 March 1665; Juan del Valle, 30 September 1666; leg. 1,493, Pedro de Arjona, 3 October 1665.

⁴¹ Luis Sierra, SJ, *La reacción del episcopado español ante los decretos de matrimonios del ministro Urquijo de 1799 a 1813* (Bilbao 1964), pp. 114–25.

allowing him to wed his first cousin (mother's sister's daughter), María Ignacia Barahona Alarcón, in 1738 – or rather, as his bride noted, since he had not the money, it was she who bore the cost.⁴² What could have motivated such a costly manoeuvre? One feature, above all, appears to characterise the marriage of first cousins in early modern Granada: that one of the partners was not well off, and that certainly applies to Josef Francisco Dávila and his brother, the priest Juan Fernando. Of an old family, they had too many sisters to place in marriage, as they confessed in their wills, and they seem to have grabbed the opportunity to take María Ignacia under their wing, just a year after she had been left the usufruct of the estate of her childless first husband, the Marquis of San Miguel. The wealthy helping out the poor, through family piety: something similar may explain the union in 1636 between Francisco Antonio Veneroso, of the wealthy Genoese dynasty of that name, with his first cousin Gabriela de Loaysa. For the chronicler Henríquez de Jorquera, 'it was a very happy outcome for both parties, for the groom was very well off and his cousin very poor'.⁴³ When the veinticuatro Simón de Victoria married his first cousin in 1723, it may have been an act of piety towards the daughter of his father's penniless younger brother, for she brought him no dowry. But the penalty of such an arrangement was that he in his turn began to sink under a weight of debt, which is reflected in his will of 1782.

First-cousin marriages were what one might call symptoms of trouble: they were costly to procure and a sign that a family was turning in on itself. They defied the religious values of the time, and they do not even seem to have enjoyed much support in popular culture. Occasionally, it is true, a *mayorazgo* might impose on its female successors the duty of marrying a cousin; but in one disputed succession of 1639, Doña Constanza Galindo protested that she had been forced to marry Don Pedro Galindo much against her will, 'and she wept and told of her grief, for they say that a union of first cousins never prospers'.⁴⁴ The interests of the dynasty, however, would generally prevail. When Antonia de Teruel married Alonso del Castillo in 1593, as we have seen, she was promised a larger dowry than usual in order to match the excellence of the Castillo lineage. What more natural, then, than that their daughter and heiress Francisca should be pledged by way of return as a bride to her first cousin, Fernando de Teruel? The negotiations over blood line and money were all

⁴² AHPG FP 657–64, 27 January 1752.

⁴³ *Anales de Granada*, vol. II, p. 765.

⁴⁴ ARCG 3 / 1693 / 7, Galindo (Ecija and Córdoba), 1639.

the easier to handle between such close relatives. An alternative pattern of alliance, but one which could also save money on dowries and on genealogical investigations, can be seen in the case of Baltasar Barahona Zapata's children, Pedro and Gregoria, who both married into the Pareja Obregón family of Antequera. From later evidence, it may be surmised that Pedro was about fourteen or fifteen at the time (1643), and that the bride was chosen for him by his father, now getting on in years and with numerous young children to settle.

Such close unions were somewhat unusual. More typical would be Pedro's second marriage in 1665, six years after María de Pareja Obregón died. Now a widower of thirty-six and in control of his own destinies, Pedro chose Isabella Juana de Gadea as his new bride. She was a 25-year-old widow, living with her brothers since her parents were both dead. She was related to Pedro in what was known officially as the 'third and fourth' degrees of kinship – that is, her grandmother was a first cousin of Pedro's father. Witnesses testified that this rather remote relationship was as stated – that it was 'common fame among the older people of Granada'. They also confirmed that Isabella needed to marry a cousin because she 'has less dowry than she would require if she were to marry someone (else) of her own standing'. No scandal would result from their union, 'for not only are the parties of an equivalent rank and quality, but their family connection is not so close that it would cause any [embarrassment]'.⁴⁵ Indeed, the 'prohibited degrees' may have been rather academic to most people of the time, who had a vague sense perhaps of being related, without carrying a map of such relationships around with them in their head. Don Luis de Paz, the hero of the people in the riots of 1648, referred the officers enquiring into the nobility of his cousin Blas Manuel Paz to the papers relating to inheritance held in Santa Fe. For himself, he knew that his mother, Isabella de Paz, had married his father, Luis de Paz, 'without a dispensation, since they were not cousins in any known degree, although he has heard tell that they came of one and the same family'.⁴⁶

Generally speaking, the patricians avoided situations where they would need to seek dispensations of consanguinity or affinity. Those issued by the Granada diocese are concerned overwhelmingly with the countryside, not the towns – with a world bounded by the horizons of the village. It is true that one has only to reconstruct a few genealogies to become aware of a criss-cross pattern of alliances among the patrician houses; but here, as

⁴⁵ ADG expedientes matrimoniales, leg. 1,493, 3 March 1665.

⁴⁶ AHN Calatrava 1,972, Blas Manuel Paz, 1661.

in early modern Naples, the connections managed often to stay just outside the prohibited degrees of kinship laid down by the Catholic church.⁴⁷ What tended to happen was marriage within a known circle of families – perhaps related somehow by blood or affinity, but in any case classifiable as ‘friends’ or ‘friends of friends’. If we follow the Barahona Zapata a little further, we can see that two years before Pedro married Isabella de Gadea, his brother Gaspar had wedded her cousin, María Muñoz de Gadea. Shortly afterwards, in 1668, Gaspar’s daughter Francisca was betrothed to another cousin in the fourth degree, Juan Osorio Pavón, while Francisca’s sister Leonor married Osorio’s colleague on the Royal Junta of Resettlement, Sebastián Ruiz de Salcedo, heir to that rising family of veinticuatro. The plot thickens, as it were, when in 1671, at the death of Juan Osorio’s grandmother, Inés, we find Don Pedro Barahona buying some of her lands in Santa Fe, which she had bought in turn from the Gadeas.⁴⁸ Clearly relations of trust were being built up here, which were strengthened by the exchange of women between households at marriage.

Trust was, of course, crucial between those ‘ill starred relatives’ of whom Manuel de Mello spoke, for so much property changed hands or was pledged at marriage. The penalty of disagreement might be painful litigation – the fate of Antonio Ruiz de Salcedo in 1679, when his father-in-law, the jurado Felipe López de Zúñiga, passed away, leaving his son Melchor a *mejora* of his estate. The *mejora* was given, ran the terms of the codicil of 1679, ‘because Melchor is poor and has many obligations’; but it seemed to defraud Antonio’s wife Lorenza de Zúñiga of her fair share of the inheritance and to be contrary to the great hopes and fair promises of their marriage contract of 1662.⁴⁹ The advantage of marrying within a circle of friends and kinsmen, then, was that one could more easily reconcile such differences.

On the other hand, one might hope to save a little money by adopting a son-in-law from outside the city. It was, indeed, regarded as something of a *mésalliance* to send a daughter out to a provincial town in this way. Thus, the thirteen-year-old Teresa María Acevedo, heiress to the *cortijo* of Doña Marina, was married off to Don Juan Pedro Racto García de Villanueva from the little town of Huéscar in 1682, with the girl’s

⁴⁷ Delille, *Famille et propriété*, pp. 217–37.

⁴⁸ AHPG EC 1,222–34v, *partición* of the estate of Inés Osorio Pavón, 1671.

⁴⁹ ARCG 2311 / 12, *Ruiz Salcedo v. Zúñiga*, 1679–80. Possibly Melchor had gone bankrupt in the administration of the Castilla estate, cf. AHPG EC 55–63v, 12 January 1675.

grandmother and guardian getting an assurance from the groom that he would come to live in Granada, 'and he will not take his lady wife away from this city . . . and to this he makes his oath by the Lord God and by the Holy Virgin, his Blessed Mother, and by the four sacred gospels'.⁵⁰ But Teresa María was an heiress; other girls could not afford to be so choosy, for marriage out might be the only alternative to no marriage at all.

This kind of matching – of geographical origin, of family background, of wealth – was sufficiently flexible in the end to allow an influx of new men into the oligarchy of Granada. Where a distinguished house was down on its luck for lack of money or for other reasons, it would have to allow some of its members to contract matrimony at the margins of what was acceptable. Juan Fernando Dávila, canon of the cathedral church of Granada, was heir to a very old *mayorazgo*, much shrunken in value by the eighteenth century. In fact, out of his own ecclesiastical benefice he had to pay for his father's funeral and debts, and place six sisters in life. Two of these became nuns, and the third, Teresa, married Juan Miguel de Salazar, who was related by marriage to her mother's family, the Barahona Alarcón, though without any blood ties to the bride herself. That left three sisters, who could expect very little in the way of dowry. One of these, María Francisca, was given to a gentleman from the little Murcian town of Caravaca, a certain Don Fernando Monreal. He was little known in Granada. Indeed, when he approached the Provisor of the diocese on 1 February 1751 in order to obtain his 'letters of freedom' certifying that there was no obstacle, his witnesses were the muleteers who had accompanied him from Caravaca four months earlier. A request was made for a dispensation from the bans, apparently in order to avoid publicity and the expenses of a grand wedding. So, on 3 February, just two days later, the pair were married. María Francisca was nearly twenty-seven years old, and to all appearances heading for the life of an old maid, when Don Fernando made his miraculous intervention. But how was he to be paid?

Canon Juan Fernando Dávila, the bride's brother, handled the negotiations. He had managed to scrape together around 5,000 *reales* from various charitable endowments – most of them managed by his colleagues, the Dean and chapter of the cathedral of Granada, and the remainder by his brother-in-law Juan Miguel de Salazar. Then there were various items of clothing and furniture – twelve changes of linen, two

⁵⁰ AHPG JFT 447–52, 27 September 1682.

ebony writing desks, some paintings and jewels – which came to 15,754 *reales*. The balance of 4,000 *reales* was to come in the form of a small *cortijo* in Iznalloz, which was supposed to be shared by all the Dávila siblings, but which Juan Fernando now asserted was really his to dispose of at will since he had paid all the family debts and placed his other sisters in life. Indeed, he added that María Francisca would have got nothing if there had been a strict accounting of their father's inheritance, but he wanted to give her this dowry 'for the great love and affection that he has for the said lady, his sister'. Finally, just to show Monreal's gratitude for the honour of being allowed to wed a Dávila, even one so poor and ageing as María Francisca, the groom offered a large sum in *arras* – 11,000 *reales*, or nearly half what his bride was worth – 'in token of the virginity, purity of blood, praiseworthy virtues and other estimable attributes which characterise the said lady'. This would be added to the dowry in the normal way and sustain María Francisca in her widowhood.⁵¹

It was through such means that the patrician dynasties were able to ensure their survival. As one looks at their genealogies, the triumph of their artful planning of the succession becomes apparent. There must be not too many offspring reserved for the celibate life, for that could prejudice the chances of survival. Those who would marry – and most did – must aim to create new opportunities rather than cut themselves off by incestuous alliances within the lineage. This was – like Florence and unlike Venice – an essentially mobile world, in which the patricians counted on the solidarity of friends, cousins and patrons in order to get by.

⁵¹ AHPG FP 60–9v, 3 February 1751.

CHAPTER 6

Blood wedding

In 1543, as the New Year opened, a scandal erupted in Granada involving two of the city's most powerful families, the Zafra, lords of Castril, and the Pisa, sons of a judge in the high court, who had founded a great landed estate not long before in 1535. It was a tense time in Spain as a whole, with the news of the discomfiture of the Emperor Charles V's attack on Algiers the year before still fresh in people's minds. But what occupied the gossips in the Andalusian city around the Feast of the Epiphany 1543 was the ill-starred love of Leonor, the fifteen or sixteen-year old daughter of Hernando de Zafra, and Diego, younger son of Judge Juan Rodríguez de Pisa, which had nearly caused a feud between two of the most powerful families of the time. Zafra was the grandson of the famous secretary of the Catholic kings, who had played a key role in negotiations for the surrender of Granada in 1492. A very wealthy man, with estates rumoured to be worth 4,000 ducats a year, he was married to Catalina de los Cobos, niece of Charles V's secretary Francisco de los Cobos, who had started his career in Granada under Zafra patronage and now virtually ran the domestic affairs of Castile.¹ The Pisa were not quite so powerful, but they were growing in influence. Judge Pisa had become one of the first *veinticuatro*s of the city in 1516, representing it in the Cortes of 1523. He founded a *mayorazgo* for his eldest son García de Pisa, who succeeded him as alderman and as deputy to the Cortes in 1544, and another for his second son Diego, the protagonist of our story; each estate was reckoned to be worth just over 1,000 ducats a year.² Above all, perhaps, the family attained renown at this time through the patronage

¹ Hayward Keniston, *Francisco de los Cobos, Secretary of the Emperor Charles V* (Pittsburgh 1958).

² María Angustias Moreno Olmedo, *Heráldica y genealogía granadinas* (Granada 1976), pp. 88–90. The estates passed by the early seventeenth century through heiresses to Gaspar de Teves, Marquis of La Fuente, rumoured to be the illegitimate son of Olivares; cf. J. H. Elliott, *The Count Duke of Olivares: the statesman in an age of decline* (New Haven 1986), p. 478.

it extended to the charitable work of San Juan de Dios, founder of a hospital for the poor and active in pacifying feuds in his adopted city before his death in 1550. The Pisa would have need of all his help in this regard – in pouring oil on troubled waters.

Diego de Pisa had become good friends with the Zafra heir, Hernando the younger (1524–79), a man of about the same age as himself and who was almost a neighbour, for the splendid Zafra house lay just about ten minutes' walk up along the River Darro from his own. It was probably through Hernando that Diego (who must have been about eighteen at the time) met Leonor, who was a couple of years younger, in the autumn of 1542. The developing romance can be followed through seventeen letters which he wrote to her during the months that followed, letters which she incautiously kept in a casket in her room – precious tokens of love which, as Diego once complained, would have to stand for now in place of other gifts which he wanted but did not dare to send her. The correspondence has been preserved for posterity, like some others of its kind, by being placed as evidence before the courts in the judicial battle which eventually erupted. There it lies, each letter with the careful annotation that it was read back to Diego, who confessed that 'it seemed to him that the hand is his'. The letters were smuggled into the house through servants, who came and went – 'Little Inés', 'The Indian woman', 'the Peralta woman' (who soon showed herself to be not entirely reliable) – who met Diego at one of the public ovens or in one of the nearby squares. They must have acted in part as interpreters, for Leonor was only semi-literate. She had evidently been taught to read by her cousins of the convent of Santa Catalina beside her own house, founded by her great-grandfather, the secretary Zafra, for women of his lineage. But she found it hard to compose more than a few lines on paper: 'learn to write and don't give up, if you can', Diego lectured her on more than one occasion.

As for meetings, Diego could see Leonor briefly at church. At Christmas he hoped to see her in the nearby convent of La Victoria, or perhaps in the Royal Chapel at matins, 'that your ladyship might enjoy the carols (*chanzonetas*) they sing there, for all the ladies of Granada will be there – but none of the old folk'. He now began to frequent the alley where a gate led into the servants' quarter of the Zafra house, with its stables and patio. The gate was not locked until well after dark, and Leonor would arrange to meet him there. In due course, he managed to obtain entry and, as Leonor would later put it, 'take her and become her husband'. All would be well, thought the young lovers, for the families were nearly equal in status and Diego had powerful friends who would plead his suit with the

Zafra. These included friars from the convent of La Victoria (for the Pisas were reputed for their piety), and the Captain General himself, the Marquis of Mondéjar, and even, it was hoped, Diego's friend and Leonor's brother, Hernando de Zafra the younger.

But the negotiations proved more difficult than anticipated. Leonor was only one of thirteen children. Though the eldest girl, she was still barely sixteen and, in the opinion of her father, rather young for marriage. But old Hernando's problems were primarily financial, as he struggled to finish the convent of Santa Catalina founded by his grandfather and to pay for the studies of three of his sons at Salamanca. He would prefer to wait a bit. Particular opposition came from Leonor's grandmother, Mayor de los Cobos, sister of Charles V's chief minister, who thought that the girl could do better for herself – 'that her parents, through the relations and kinship they have with important people and families . . . could marry her with someone of importance or having a title'. When Mondéjar called to press the suit of young Diego de Písa, Leonor's mother, Catalina de los Cobos, handled the interview. She gave an evasive answer: 'that the *Comendador Mayor* of León (i.e., Francisco de los Cobos, who held this rank in the Chivalric Order of Santiago) was a kind of father for her, that she could do nothing without his permission and approval.' So, Mondéjar decided to approach the great minister directly towards Christmas 1542, sending him a present of capons. 'My love', wrote Diego to Leonor hurriedly, 'according to what the Marquis told me today, he expects letters from the *Comendador Mayor* within these twelve days' and in another undated note, he reassured her: 'he is to leave for court very soon. I think he will fix everything, with the help of God'.

Then disaster struck. Diego's cape was discovered in the patio of the Zafra house as he tried to make a hurried exit over the wall one night. Suspicions aroused, Leonor's room was searched and the incriminating letters impounded. According to one witness, her father 'wanted to kill her', but, thinking better of it, bundled the hapless girl next door into the convent of Santa Catalina. The same day, young Hernando de Zafra clashed with Diego in the street, telling him to his face that 'he had behaved very badly, being his friend yet plotting treachery like this in his house', whereupon both men and their accompanying retinues of servants reached for their swords. Prompt intervention by the authorities averted bloodshed, and both parties were placed in the royal gaol. But what was to be done with Leonor? Her father and kinsmen, we are told, thought of spirited her away to 'some fortress far from this city, or of putting her in a convent'. But Leonor proved obstinate: she would not become a nun, but

insisted that Diego was already her husband. Letters were written to Francisco de los Cobos asking for his advice. With his usual caution, the great statesman replied that 'since she said what she said and avowed that Diego de Pisa was her husband, there was nothing more to be said, but let them have their way and leave them to it'.

Meanwhile, Diego de Pisa appealed to the bishop's court against the impediments being placed in the way of his marriage to Leonor. Accompanied by 'many arquebusiers and armed men', he strode up to Santa Catalina and had his bride removed from her cell. A rather hurried ceremony was arranged – an exchange of vows before the parish priest in the gateway to the convent, then the nuptial blessing (the exchange of rings and 'placing of a veil' over the bride and groom) in the doorway of the chapel. The Zafra had decided not to put up any resistance, but they ordered 'the doors and windows of their house to be shut so that none of their servants could look out to see what was going on'. Do not worry, Diego assured Leonor: this kind of anger only lasts a week. In fact, it took a year before the two families were on speaking terms again. Leonor's mother recalled how 'out of regard for certain gentlemen who pleaded with me to treat the couple as my children and forgive them', she had agreed to a reconciliation. She and her husband 'have sat down to eat with the said Diego de Pisa and his wife at table in his house', and he had gone with them on occasion to their estates in Castril. But it was a fragile peace, which broke down when no dowry proved to be forthcoming. After the death of Francisco de los Cobos on 10 May 1547, which deprived Diego of the hope of preferment he had been allegedly nurturing from that source, the young man decided to sue his father-in-law in September of that year. The old bitterness revived, and Zafra damned the marriage of his daughter as clandestine, never approved by him, and deserving punishment rather than financial support. The chancery court thought otherwise. After taking Zafra's finances into account, it ordered him to pay 2,800 ducats – about half of what his son-in-law thought would be reasonable. The trial, with all its accompanying heartbreak of recriminations (old Hernando de Zafra deposited the seventeen love letters from Pisa to his daughter in order to blacken their character) dragged on for nearly three years, from September 1547 to July 1550.³

The ill-starred romance of Diego and Leonor points to the disturbing impact which affairs of the heart could have in a traditional culture which

³ ARCG 3 / 1102 / 2, *Zafra v. Pisa*, 1547–50. Cf. Gene Brucker, *Giovanni and Lusanna: love and marriage in Renaissance Florence* (London 1986), for another conflict of emotion and interest.

was shaped by the code of honour. Marriage for the patricians was almost an affair of state, involving the transfer of large sums in dowry and the commitment to alliance with another lineage. The intervention of the Marquis of Mondéjar and of Francisco de los Cobos in the negotiations between the Zafra and the Pisa also suggests the way in which patrons could lay their own honour on the line in attempts to arrange a satisfactory outcome. The household, in other words, was open to so many influences from outside that damage done to its interests could easily spread more widely through the community, discrediting its friends. In a society like sixteenth-century Granada where the exchange of goods and labour could not often be satisfied immediately in money, but where debts tended to convert themselves into sometimes irksome obligations of friendship, or at least good fellowship, reputation was a crucial asset. To be a man of honour was to have one's private life subjected to some of the same scrutiny as was reserved for one's business or political dealings. In 1542 Hernando de Zafra appeared to lose some of that moral authority which gave him leadership within the local community: he had not been able to keep order in his own household, nor maintain the respect of his daughter and servants.

Spanish writers of the Renaissance started out by considering the family as one part of the wider commonwealth. Teaching a man about his responsibilities as head of a household was traditionally seen as part of the instruction in citizenship. The running of a household was, after all, a branch of what might now be called social welfare: the care of the young, the poor, the elderly, the general production and distribution of goods, everything in fact to do with what the writers of the time called 'the economy'.⁴ But during the early modern period the economy came to be envisaged mainly in terms of state power, while new emphasis was placed on the family as the nursery of morality. An influential and pioneering treatment of the subject came from the pen of the great Valencian humanist Juan Luis Vives, whose *Instruction of the Christian Woman*, written in 1524 for the young Mary Tudor, went through many editions. Though strict and somewhat traditional as regards the framework of activity set out for the good wife, it was quite remarkable for the way it thrust into the foreground a role and an activity hitherto taken for granted.

⁴ Marco Antonio de Camós, *Microcosmia y gobierno universal del hombre cristiano* (Barcelona 1592), 6th dialogue; Juan de Pineda, *Diálogos familiares de la agricultura cristiana*, ed. Juan Meseguer Fernández, 5 vols. (Madrid 1963–4), 21st and 22nd dialogues.

Something similar could be said of *The Perfect Wife* (1583), written by the professor of theology at Salamanca and one of Spain's greatest poets, Fray Luis de León, who was the son of a judge in the high court of Granada. The essay was cited by the chronicler Bermúdez de Pedraza in 1608 as one of the two masterpieces of Fray Luis which had brought renown to his native city. The other was the mystical treatise *The Names of Christ*, written while the poet was a prisoner of the Inquisition and published in 1583. In the second part of the latter, dedicated to Inquisitor Portocarrero, Fray Luis referred to the controversy he had aroused by his recent essay on marriage. His colleagues criticised him for spending time on such a 'frivolous' topic, he observed. After all, he was professor of theology, not of canon law, under whose jurisdiction marriage had traditionally fallen; nor was he a confessor, capable of counselling persons on sins of the flesh. Rather, his essay of 1583 marked a relatively new departure as an informal guide for the godly wife and mother. Fray Luis drew his inspiration, as he confessed, from the Scriptures rather than from practical knowledge of the married state. As with Vives (who *was* married, and happily), one senses a certain pedantry, which takes too little account of domestic reality. Nevertheless, the significant thing is that a book on married women could come from the pen of such a distinguished man.⁵

Fray Luis treated the married state as a vocation in its own right. It might not be quite as good as the celibate life, devoted exclusively to the service of God, but it was a perfect calling all the same, with its own rules and obligations. The married woman pleased God not by trying to imitate the nun, but by dedicating herself to the management of a family. Thus, domestic chores were presented for the first time as a form of prayer. In this way, the family was assuming increasingly the role of moral foundation of the godly community in Spain as elsewhere in Europe. The trend could not go so far, of course, as in Protestant countries, where the married state was indeed equated with godliness and with fulfilling a kind of moral obligation. But Catholic writers were persuaded of the virtues of the good marriage, not only as a source of procreation and a way of regulating lust but as a spiritual companionship between two individuals helping each other on the path to salvation.⁶ Whether there were children

⁵ *De los nombres de Cristo* (1583), preamble of part 2. And cf. Bermúdez de Pedraza, *Antigüedad y excelencias de Granada* (Madrid 1608), p. 126, for the impact that this book had in Granada and elsewhere.

⁶ Camós, *Mircocosmia* (1592), 2nd part, p. 69; cf. Antonio Arbiol, *La familia regulada* (Zaragoza 1715), pp. 2–3.

or not, a dowry or not, kinsmen or not, seemed largely irrelevant to the basic moral purpose of the family. At most, the ecclesiastical writers, like the Franciscan Juan de Pineda in 1589, would point to the advantages of having a good lineage inasmuch as moral qualities tended to be inherited. But it was above all the moral quality of the spouse which was crucial to the new family of the Renaissance and Reformation, and for this purpose the church emphasised – as it had been doing since the High Middle Ages – that marriage was made by the two individuals themselves, not by their parents or kin groups. If the family was to be a moral beacon, it must have compatibility of temperament at its core – a compatibility all the more necessary, as Cervantes once pointed out, since marriage in Catholic Europe was a sentence for life.⁷

The well-thumbed copy of *Don Quixote*, ‘missing some of its pages’, that the Countess of Villamena left at her death in 1712, must have opened her eyes to the power of love, since amorous adventures figure so prominently in the novel, leading to rupture with parents (the case of the beautiful Moorish girl Zoraida), to madness, to disgrace. But then the very fabric of the story is woven around the dedication of the knight errant to the service of his fair lady; however comic, love had always a serious side as the very foundation of the code of chivalry by which the men of the Golden Age aspired to live. This was indeed its origin, partly at least, in the medieval cult of the Virgin Mary, a civilising influence in that twelfth-century world where the priest, the knight and the lady – to use the classification made famous by the historian Georges Duby – cooperated to limit violence.⁸ For violence was everywhere when it came to the relations between men and women, and the *fueros* or laws drawn up for the colonists on the Spanish frontier paid close attention to regulating the penalties for the abduction of women which brought shame on the lineage. Had the woman fled with the man of her own consent? Was it better, then, to allow her to marry him, or alternatively hound him to death? The answers varied, according to the region and according to the need of manpower. Clandestine marriages, made without the knowledge of the kin, were damnable, concluded the great law code of thirteenth-century Castile, the *Siete Partidas*, ‘for they may well give rise to very great hatreds and killings and woundings . . . for the kinsmen feel themselves

⁷ *Don Quixote*, part 2, chapter 19.

⁸ *Le chevalier, la femme et le prêtre: le mariage dans la France féodale* (Paris 1981).

dishonoured that their woman should through lasciviousness go with a man who would not merit her as a spouse'.⁹

In his wide-ranging study of the Andalusian nobility published in 1588, Gonzalo Argote de Molina paid much attention to the destructive force of the medieval vendettas, and commented: 'In every age and in every nation, ladies have been a source of peace and harmony, but also sometimes of great quarrels.'¹⁰ In 1595 there appeared a book which perhaps more than any other shaped the view which Christians had of Moorish Granada, and which they held, indeed, by way of reflection, of their own society. It was the famous *History of the Feuds of the Zegrí and Abencerraje*, a story of chivalrous knights whose violent falling out among themselves – in an uncanny echo of the Arthurian legend – helped precipitate the fall of the Andalusian Camelot. Beautifully embroidered out of popular ballads or *romances*, it was the work of Ginés Pérez de Hita (1544–1619), a man of somewhat obscure background, probably a shoemaker from the Murcian frontier towns of Mula or Lorca who rose to become a steward of the local magnate, the Marquis of Los Vélez, accompanying his master on campaign in 1568 against the rebels of the Alpujarras, where he made his acquaintance with Moorish culture. The feuds of the Moors were motivated fundamentally by competition for the hands of fair ladies. 'Do you really want the lovely Daraxa to wed you by force?', the noble Musa asks Reduán. After all, I myself was once her suitor, until I saw that she really loved Zulema Abencerraje. Must we fight over such things? 'It would be a sorry thing indeed that the most esteemed knights which the King can call on should go out to slaughter one another every day in the Vega, leaving the King without a single one to turn to in his time of need . . . with the enemy at the gate from one day to the next.'¹¹

In the great compilation of Spanish folk customs published in 1871–2, Pedro Antonio de Alarcón described the clandestine courtship which characterised all classes in his native Granada and served often to provoke conflict between families. As in the days of Diego de Pisa and Leonor de Zafra, there was the quiet tryst of the young lovers without the authorisation of their parents and kinsmen. The result was that 'Granada is the land of unequal marriages, that is to say, of alliances of love between rich

⁹ Heath Dillard, *Daughters of the Reconquest: Women in Castilian Town Society 1100–1300* (Cambridge 1984), pp. 134–45; *Las Siete Partidas del Rey Don Alfonso el Sabio*, 4 / 3 / 5.

¹⁰ *Nobleza de Andalucía* (1588), new edn (Jaén 1957), p. 375.

¹¹ *Historia de los Vandos de los Zegríes y Abencerrajes* (Madrid 1983), p. 159. And for the popularity of these tales M. S. Carrasco Urgoiti, *El moro de Granada en la literatura del siglo XVI al XIX* (Granada 1989).

and poor.’ Somewhat optimistically, perhaps, Alarcón believed that though the parents might ‘bellow with rage’ at first, they would become reconciled within the year as their first grandchild was born.¹² In the Granada of García Lorca there appears to be less room for illusion. ‘Two factions! We are two factions here now’, called out the mother in *Blood Wedding* (1933), as her son set out in pursuit of the bride who had dishonoured him. Victim of an arranged marriage, the girl had run off with the man she really loved. ‘The day of blood has come again’, vowed her outraged mother-in-law.

The literature of a society creates a myth over time, consecrating certain norms of behaviour, expectations and values which mould reactions to events. Granada was part of that culture of the Spanish Golden Age which through the drama, the poem and the novel explored the nature of sexual inclination and its dangers when confronted by the claims of honour. In one of the greatest of his plays, *Punishment without Revenge* (1631), the ageing Lope de Vega painted for his audience the stark conflict between the two. The Duke of Ferrara has only an illegitimate son to succeed him, Federico, the dearly loved fruit of his amorous early years. Bowing to the wishes of his subjects that he provide them with a legitimate heir so as to avoid the feuds which must erupt between Federico and his cousins, the Duke marries Casandra, of the princely House of Mantua, while Federico is promised to the Duke’s niece Aurora in a neat attempt to unite the legitimate and illegitimate branches of the House of Ferrara. But the plans are undone as passion takes a hand and Casandra falls in love with her stepson Federico. The power of love conquers all – concern for safety, reputation, morality. ‘When I think of God and the Duke, I confess I tremble’, Casandra tells Federico, ‘but then I see that life itself is the very justification of love, and my guilt grows less.’ The inevitable tragedy follows with the discovery of the lovers and their secret execution as an act of state.

What can have been the impact of such stories on the public who so eagerly flocked to the theatre in Spain’s Golden Age? One catches echoes of them in the pleas before the bishop’s court, demanding freedom to marry: ‘first the sun would have to fail’, one young girl retorted to her parents’ insistence that she not wed the man she had chosen; ‘they can break me into a thousand pieces, but I will marry him’, swore another.¹³ Life imitating art? When the royal chronicler Tomás Tamayo de Vargas approached the Cortes in 1629 to get funding for new editions of the

¹² E. Correa Calderón (ed.), *Costumbristas españoles*, 2 vols. (Madrid 1951), vol. II, pp. 425–6.

¹³ ADG leg. 1,214, Luisa Alvarez, 4 July 1657, and many other examples of the kind.

chronicles, he pointed out how valuable these had been in setting a moral example for the citizen. Even the romances of chivalry had set forth a dream of heroism, however implausible. But now the novel and the play had taken over in the last decade, undermining morality, 'with no example for the people to follow other than lewdness'.¹⁴ The playhouse of Granada, built in 1593, was so magnificent, wrote Bermúdez de Pedraza, that it could rival that of ancient Rome, and he dwelled on the marble columns at the entrance supporting a pediment with the arms of the city, which led in to a quadrangular patio surrounded by row after row of terraced seating (with separate seats for men and women), over which a great golden canopy could be drawn to protect the audience from the elements. And how substantial was the fare offered to the people of Granada? A useful recreation, thought our chronicler, when the plays were good, 'but we see few enough of these nowadays; rather, they do much harm to the citizen's purse and to his morals'. His contemporary, Henríquez de Jorquera, could only agree: a waste of money and time, the theatre was where 'one learned how to carry on love-making, with men going soft and women freely taught how to be brazen and lewd'.¹⁵

Theatre was clearly felt to have a major impact on the morals of the age. There were periodic attempts to limit the damage – orders from the Crown in 1591 that there should be plays on no more than two days per week, and in 1604 that anyone forming a company of actors would need a royal licence. The Jesuits were particularly keen to see the public theatre closed down, despite (or perhaps because of) the importance they attached to dramatic performance in their own colleges. There were various suspensions decreed in the course of the seventeenth century, as the public mood veered towards pessimism in the face of military defeat, economic decline and outbreaks of plague. But it was only in 1706 that the town council of Granada finally rallied to the opinion that the theatre was an occasion of sin and that victory in the civil war then raging between Bourbon and Habsburg required a sacrifice to God – for in the playhouse young girls learned the 'dreadfully lewd and indecent proposition that you should marry the person you fancy, taking no account of the proper respect due to your parents'.¹⁶

¹⁴ *Actas de las Cortes*, vol. XLVIII (1629), pp. 323–7.

¹⁵ *Anales de Granada*, vol. 1, p. 81; Bermúdez de Pedraza, *Historia Eclesiástica de Granada* (1638), p. 41v. Cf. Melveena McKendrick, *Theatre in Spain 1490–1700* (Cambridge 1989), pp. 201–8.

¹⁶ Antonio Luis Cortés Peña and Bernard Vincent, *Historia de Granada*, vol. III, *La época moderna* (Granada 1986), p. 318. Cf. Manuel Garzón Pareja, *Historia de Granada*, vol. II, pp. 109–10.

The campaign against the theatre was one part of that broad attempt in the Reformation and Counter Reformation to create a godly laity – no longer to accept, as in the Middle Ages, a division between the saints, marked out for God by their life of celibacy, and the sinners, over whom fell a kind of protective mantle of prayer vouchsafed to them by the saints, but to insist that all must learn to live according to the same moral standards. The watchword of the age came to be that of discipline, with parts of Catholic Europe almost matching the zeal of the Puritan north for the closure of theatres and brothels and the chastisement of sin.¹⁷ There was, indeed, a long tradition of control in this area. Castillo de Bobadilla reminded his readers of the edict of Charles V enjoining the corregidor to punish ‘public sins’, a term which covered gambling, blasphemy and usury as well as adultery and fornication. It was all part of the maintenance of good public order. To it was now added by the Council of Trent (1563) a stricter obligation on the laity to live in a godly fashion. Applying its edicts, the synod of Granada in 1565 ordered parish priests to keep a book listing those who were ‘public sinners’ so that measures could be taken to deal with them. Here, as in other spheres, the Counter Reformation witnessed not so much a new departure in theology as in bureaucracy, paralleling the growth of policing in the secular domain.¹⁸

There developed in Granada as in other parts of Catholic Europe a party of devout men and women, often under the guidance of the Jesuits as their spiritual confessors, who made it their aim to engage in practical works of religion, including charity to the poor but also waging war on sin. The famous Don Luis de Paz, hero of the populace in the crisis year of 1648, was one of this number. He would interfere, at great risk to his own life, in liaisons between men and women which showed no hope of leading to marriage. He had to be dissuaded by his confessor, we are told, from having the poplars lining the avenues leading up to the Alhambra, laid out by the Marquis of Mondéjar in the 1630s for knights and ladies to take the air in their new-fashioned carriages, cut down as an occasion of sin.¹⁹ In support of the Jesuit campaign to have the *mancebía* (public brothel) closed down, a group of devout laymen, including the financier Pedro de los Reyes, and the father of the leading veinticuatro Francisco de

¹⁷ Cf. Mary Perry, *Gender and Disorder in Early Modern Seville* (Princeton 1990).

¹⁸ *Constituciones sinodales del arzobispado de Granada*, chapter 8, paragraph 8.

¹⁹ Fray Antonio de Jesús, *Epítome de la admirable vida del ilustre varón Don Luis de Paz y Medrano* (Granada 1688), pp. 85–6.

Castellanos Marquina, set up a refuge for fallen women in 1594, Santa María Egipciaca.²⁰

The campaign against the public brothel – situated like the theatre near the Plaza del Campillo and close to the markets area – was a major feature of the Granada of the Counter Reformation. An older generation defended the institution, the Jesuit chronicler tells us – *personas graves*, who alleged that if it were abolished ‘greater offences against God were to be feared in the commonwealth’. But the reformers were thinking along other lines. ‘It would not be so bad if it were just a case of incorrigible reprobates’, alleged the Jesuit spokesman, ‘but the really sad thing is to see all the care and education given to sons of good family go to waste, while the poor girls are abandoned and no regard paid to their health.’²¹ This lobby was ultimately successful in persuading the reforming government of Olivares to close down the licensed brothels throughout Spain in 1623.

But there were limits to the zeal of this Puritan party in a Mediterranean society like Granada. The cathedral chapter voiced its opposition to the stricter requirements of the Council of Trent on seeking out and punishing adulterers. The old laws of Castile provided adequate remedy, it suggested, and avoided the danger of publicising a man’s dishonour through a public trial. Adultery was best left to the discretion of the party affected rather than being subject to an official enquiry. And the government, whose approval was needed for the legislation of the synod to take effect, added a rider that the ecclesiastical judge, the Provisor, while he could admonish an adulterer could not actually punish him.²² The ecclesiastical courts, in fact, could not move against moral delinquents at all in practice without clearing their warrants with the local secular magistrate and getting his constable to assist their own. Castillo de Bobadilla noted that the corregidor would only proceed against such wrongdoers if there was public scandal. He also made the point that simple fornication between the unmarried – of the kind which Diego de Pisa and Leonor de Zafra were accused of – was not usually punishable anyway. That is to say, it would either be left to the parties to arrange between themselves, or, if there was notable scandal, to a summary and preferably secret

²⁰ José Manuel Gómez-Moreno Calera, *La Arquitectura religiosa granadina en la crisis del Renacimiento 1560–1650* (Granada 1989), p.188.

²¹ Joaquín de Bethencourt, SJ and Estanislao Olivares, SJ (eds.), *Historia del colegio de San Pablo de Granada 1544–1765* (Granada 1991), pp. 109–10.

²² Juan Tejada y Ramiro (ed.), *Colección de cánones y de todos los concilios de la iglesia española*, 5 vols. (Madrid 1849–55), vol.v, pp. 397–400. And see the rider to *the Constituciones sinodales*, p. xv.

intervention by the magistrate to have the girl removed from town and the boy gaoled for a few days to cool off.²³

Juan Francisco Pérez de Herrasti in his family history records the continual problem facing the patricians as their sons reached adolescence, often with no fixed career or vocation to channel and absorb their energies. An idle, gilded youth, brought up to have its way: such were the troublemakers in early modern Granada. The author could point to his ancestor Juan (1591–1650), for example, who, ‘allowing himself to be carried away by the high spirits of youth’, had certain affairs with women, one of which resulted in the birth of an illegitimate child. And there was the author’s own grandfather, Juan Manuel (1659–1736). Succeeding to his father’s estate in 1675 when he was only sixteen, the orphan was sent to live with his sister’s family in Guadalcanal. But there he ‘became caught up in distractions which boded no good’, and he had to be packed off back to Granada, where a suitable bride was found for him in 1678, when he was still only nineteen.²⁴ But such liaisons were not always so easy to break.

In 1657 Juan Cristino, the eighteen-year-old page boy of the corregidor of Baeza, fled across the border to Granada with his master’s ward, the seventeen-year-old orphan Mariana de los Herreros, throwing himself on the protection of the ecclesiastical authorities. He told the court that he and Mariana had met a year and a half ago and ‘they fell in love (*se enamoraron*).’ More than that, they ‘exchanged vows’ (*palabra de casamiento*) and, under its cover, ‘made love many times’. They wanted to get married, but they had not dared to say so, ‘because the corregidor would have stopped it and taken their lives for this’. The young lovers had taken refuge in the house of a *veinticuatro* of Granada, Leonardo de Salazar, sheltered by servants there who were friends of Juan Cristino from childhood.

They arranged to get the priest Canon Gonzalo de Acosta, who was an old friend of the corregidor, to mediate. The letters from the corregidor, Don Gonzalo Pacheco de la Vega, knight of Santiago, to Acosta have been preserved. They breathe a sense of outrage that people under his authority could have abused his confidence in this way. He talked of the ‘absolute madness’ of Mariana in doing something like this, ‘to her own harm and that of the reputation of my house’. My wife and I treated her like a daughter, he told Canon Acosta, and she ate with us at table. What was to

²³ *Política para corregidores* (1597), vol. 1, pp. 497–512 and 692–3.

²⁴ *Historia de la Casa de Herrasti* (1750), pp. 143 and 202.

be done? He wanted to know if Mariana had ‘surrendered her honour’ to his former page, ‘if she was really forced to go ahead’. Told of their commitment, he wrote back saying that he would have nothing more to do with his ward, that she could marry for all he cared, but ‘in me she will find no refuge ever’, nor in any of her former protectors among his circle of friends, ‘for they will learn of this outrage’. Canon Acosta told the Provisor – the bishop’s official who presided over the diocesan court and handled matrimonial business – that he thought the marriage should go ahead, but in secret, without publication of the bans, for ‘he understands that there is someone going around in pursuit of Juan Cristino, which might stop this marriage taking place, which would mean that Mariana, who is such a well-born lady and so modest, will suffer notable dishonour’. Cautiously, the Provisor ordered the marriage to proceed immediately, but with the warning that Juan and Mariana were not to sleep together (*no se junten*) until it was safe for the bans to be called.²⁵

How is one to interpret this document? The crucial role of the clergy as a refuge for the young lovers emerges clearly enough. Canon law had traditionally emphasised freedom of marriage, but at times the diocesan authorities in Granada stepped a little beyond its strict provisions. Honour seems uppermost in the mind of the Provisor and of Canon Acosta – the nature of the wound inflicted on the pride of the canon’s lifelong friend, the corregidor; the reputation of the well-brought-up Mariana and the need to ensure that she did not end up as an abandoned woman. Safeguarding honour appears to outweigh other considerations. The interests of the wider community, of the authority of heads of household and of public morality, are not really taken into account. There is no suggestion, for example, that the transgression committed by Juan and Mariana should go beyond the confessional, or that an example should be made of the sinners by some public castigation. Rather, the hope seems to have been that the authority of the diocesan court might serve to impose a solution on both sides, thus cutting the Gordian knot of honour.

In Granada the control of the church over marriage seems to have been asserted increasingly in the years following the Council of Trent. As part of the bureaucratisation which was one aspect of the Counter Reformation, the ecclesiastical archives began to be properly ordered and preserved. Trent standardised the procedure by which baptisms and

²⁵ ADG EM leg. 1,214, 23 October–4 November 1657.

marriages were registered, as part of a wider campaign to enhance the sanctity of the married state. A campaign was waged against cohabitation and particularly against bigamy, which now became a serious offence punishable by the Inquisition. Those marrying outside the parish were expected to provide testimony of their freedom to marry – that a previous spouse had died, for example. They would also have to produce three witnesses who had known them for some time past, and preferably also the little tickets issued at Easter every year certifying that they had taken communion in the parish where they lived before. By the later seventeenth century this policing of marriage in the diocese of Granada – each diocese had its own customs regulated by local synods and varying slightly – had become very strict indeed and now involved the presentation of certificates of baptism. Control of marriage, one might say, had become the focal point of moral discipline in the Counter Reformation – but the godly society appeared to owe more to bureaucratic regulation than to pastoral guidance. And the way that regulation was applied perhaps owed more to the need to preserve honour than to protect the morals of the Christian.

In principle, canon law upheld freedom of marriage, much in the spirit of *Romeo and Juliet*. Observers commented on the apparent rigour of this policy in the Spain of the Counter Reformation. ‘There is another rather curious custom they have’, wrote Madame d’Aulnoy, ‘and it is that when a girl wants to marry and is of age, if she has made her choice and even though her mother and father do not approve of it, she has only to talk to her parish priest . . . Immediately he will have her taken out from her parents’ house and placed in a convent . . . If she persists in her wish to marry, the parents are forced to give her a dowry in accord with their standing and wealth, and she gets her way.’²⁶ Studies of Spanish America have recently highlighted the importance of this interventionism by the church courts in an ethnically mixed society, where freedom of marriage might be thought to imperil the hierarchy of estates and castes even more than in peninsular Spain. How far could the mandate of the tribunals override the honour of families? And where did that honour ultimately lie: in rescuing a girl’s tarnished reputation by allowing her to marry her lover, or in holding out against a misalliance at all costs?²⁷

²⁶ Juan García Mercadal, *Viajes de extranjeros por España y Portugal, siglos XVI, XVII y XVIII*, 3 vols. (Madrid 1952–62), vol. II, p. 1,104.

²⁷ Patricia Seed, *To love, honor and obey in colonial Mexico: conflicts over marriage choice 1574–1821* (Stanford 1988), pp. 63–91.

The records need careful interpretation, for behind the official warrants in defence of canonical freedom lies a murky world of intrigue and manipulation, which we only learn about later from other sources. Thus, the orphan Doña Ursula de la Fuente Hurtado was removed in 1642 by the ecclesiastical officer from the house of her cousin Don Pedro in a demonstration of force which made it appear in public that her guardians were opposed to her proposed marriage with Don Manuel de Corvera (later *alcalde mayor* or deputy corregidor of Granada). But then several years later in 1649, in the course of litigation over inheritance, it emerged that the whole affair had been stage-managed between Pedro, Manuel and the girl's aunt in order not to disappoint other relatives who were trying to arrange Ursula's marriage to someone else. To avoid bitterness in the family, the image was conveyed in public of a headstrong girl 'carried off' by her lover without the approval of her guardians, when the contrary was the case in reality.²⁸

But undoubtedly some of these conflicts between young people and their elders were real enough. On 1 March 1570 Antonio Castellón, son of the chief secretary to the city council of Granada, approached the diocesan court protesting that Francisca de Xea wanted to marry him, but that her grandfather, the merchant Francisco Descalona, her mother (now remarried to the lawyer Salazar) and her relatives, 'with wheedling and threats have persuaded her not to go ahead with the wedding'. He demanded that the Provisor intervene, for 'the sacrament of marriage has to take its course freely'. Four witnesses were called, who testified to the fact that for the past two years Antonio spoke with Francisca 'by night through a window, and they talked intimately like man and wife' – until Francisca's family found out and put a stop to the meetings. The Provisor ordered that Francisca be removed from her home and placed in the Carmelite convent. One of the maids in the Salazar household later gave testimony of what happened. Two constables (one from the ecclesiastical tribunal, the other from the royal court), with their rods of office, arrived at the house, along with Antonio's brother and two other men (one of whom would have been the notary). Francisca said she did not want to leave with them, that she was not being ill-treated, though her mother was trying to persuade her not to go ahead with the marriage to Castellón. You must come with us, replied the constables, on pain of excommunication. Francisca was only fifteen years old.

²⁸ ARCG 507 / 1874 / 11, *Corvera v. Canicia*, 1649. More information on this kind of strategy can be found in Antonio Alcalá Galiano, *Memorias*, 2 vols. (Madrid 1886), vol.1, pp. 208–13 and 355.

On the following day, 2 March, the Provisor came to interview her at the Carmelite convent where she was now being held. Four months ago, she told him, Antonio had given her 'a vow of marriage' (*palabra de casamiento*) – a vague term which could cover either a betrothal or a marriage in the days before the Council of Trent ruled that a priest must be present for a marriage. Under its cover, he had had 'carnal knowledge of her.' Antonio assured the Provisor later that he had not intended to go against the Tridentine rules by celebrating a wedding without a priest being present – 'of the kind they call clandestine'. He might have sinned in having relations with Francisca and he could be punished for that; but the court must recognise that the two were betrothed and had the firm intention of marrying. He was, he affirmed, 'a good Christian, fearful of God and of his conscience, of pure Old Christian descent and race' – and had no sense of having done anything very wrong.

Francisca's parents meanwhile appealed to the royal court against the Provisor, alleging that Francisca wished to become a nun. In fact, we have the young girl's letter written about this time (end of March or beginning of April 1570) to her mother – 'Very magnificent Lady' – telling of the peace she had at last found among the Carmelites. She thanked God for 'opening my eyes and giving me to understand the things of this world, how all is a farce (*burla*) except for being in his house'. It is a touching document, written with a rough hand and an almost phonetic spelling. The prioress subscribed to it a short note telling Francisca's mother that her daughter wanted to join the community, 'because she has been taken with the conversation and affection of all the nuns here'. The wheels of justice turned slowly. It was not until 19 May that the royal court decided to leave the case in the hands of the church, so long as the Provisor conducted a second interview to determine Francisca's real wishes. On 9 June 1570, in response to a plea from Antonio that the Carmelites were exerting undue influence, the Provisor ordered that Francisca be removed from there to a neutral house. Interviewing her again that day, he found that she really wanted to marry Antonio. As she had said earlier, anything else would be 'just to please' her parents. The sentence of the court was that Francisca must be allowed to wed Antonio, and that as soon as possible, without bothering with the calling of the bans which would only give her family a chance of more interference. But there was the ruling from the royal court to consider: that Francisca's parents must be allowed every right of appeal. After much litigation and rancour, Antonio did eventually marry Francisca and founded a family. Ironically, though, towards the end of his life he was

sentenced to exile from Granada for killing a knight who had seduced his daughter.²⁹

The most important guide to the thinking of the church on matrimony, to judge by the publicity given to his work throughout Catholic Europe and by the number of editions to which it ran during the early modern period, was Tomás Sánchez. Born into a hidalgo family in Córdoba in 1551 and claimed as a kinsman by the Dávila, an important dynasty of veinticuatro in Granada, Tomás Sánchez entered the Jesuit Order when he was very young, being transferred to its recently founded College of San Pablo in the old Moorish city in 1568. There he spent the rest of his life, until his death in 1610, playing a crucial role as confessor to the elites.³⁰ His major work was published in Genoa in 1592 and then in Madrid in three volumes in 1602–5 – the monumental *Ten Books of Discussion on the Holy Sacrament of Matrimony*.³¹ The title was well chosen, for the book adopts a flexible, even a somewhat adventurous approach to the relations between men and women, between husband and wife, pushing back the limits of sin involved in the physical pleasure taken in each other's company to their fullest extent.

Sánchez was a casuist – indeed, one of those most savagely attacked by Blaise Pascal in his famous *Provincial Letters* of 1656–7 for their excessive cleverness in adjusting the Christian moral code to the exigencies of real life. He was, in effect, drawing on that long Renaissance tradition of trying to break down the barrier between a godly clergy and a sinful laity, suggesting that morality was within the grasp of all, the married man as much as the celibate priest. But unlike Saint François de Sales, whose *Introduction to the Devout Life* (1610) provided a flexible and extremely popular guide for a godly laity, the Spanish Jesuit worked within the bureaucratic and legalistic framework of canon law. His monumental Latin tomes were not meant to be read by the laity – as he pointed out when warding off criticism of the sometimes explicit nature of his discussion of sexual problems – but to serve as a benchmark for confessors when judging the sinfulness or otherwise of specific actions. For our present purposes, we may note his defence of freedom of marriage. In an eloquent defence of liberty in general, somewhat out of keeping with his usual

²⁹ ADG EM leg. 1405, Antonio Castellón and Francisca de Xea, March–June 1570; and cf. AHPG RD 375–85 renunciation of office by Castellón, 5 April 1595. Cf. Henríquez de Jorquera, *Anales de Granada*, vol. II, p. 525 (where the name and date are surely muddled?).

³⁰ Julián J. Lozano Navarro, *Tomás Sánchez* (Granada 2000). For the relationship to the Dávila, AHN Santiago 2408, Juan Fernando Dávila Porcel, 1669.

³¹ *Disputationum de Sancto Matrimonii Sacramento*, 3 vols. (Madrid 1602–5).

cautious legalism, he noted that the Romans and natural law up to a point gave parents authority over their children, but that these could not be condemned to a life of servitude. 'I believe it safer to hold that children are obliged on pain of mortal sin to ask for their parents' opinion on their marriage, but not necessarily to follow it', he argued; 'and therefore it might be permissible for them to enter the union of their choice even though their parents are against it.' However, he went on, the main thing was to avoid scandal and 'bitter enmities' (*odia capitalia*), whereby the supreme virtue of 'good fellowship' (*caritas*) – that is, the ability of the community as a whole to live together in peace – would be infringed.³² This question of the feud is one to which Sánchez returned. It clearly figured large in his judgement of how far the law of the church could or should be applied, overriding the alternative rights of families to safeguard honour. Though in principle the choice of the spouse must be left up to the individual, nevertheless there were cases where a child would be obliged on pain of mortal sin to marry someone chosen for them by their parents, 'as when it is a way of resolving feuds'.

In principle, freedom of marriage was only one part of a more general attempt at regulating the morals of lay society. The canon lawyers began to lay out the grounds from the twelfth century on which one could distinguish a valid marriage from mere sinful cohabitation. The freedom to marry implied the obligation to stay with the same partner for life, contrary to the mores of an age which allowed the putting away of barren wives who could not produce an heir. Marriage is a joining of minds, not merely, or even necessarily, of bodies, wrote the Franciscan Antonio Arbiol. He cited the Holy Family of Nazareth and Saint Joseph, whose increasing popularity in Spain as in the rest of Europe from the later Middle Ages was of enormous significance.³³ So, marriage was to be made, in the ecclesiastical view, by a simple exchange of vows to take each other as man and wife. A distinction was drawn between the 'promise for the future' (*de futuro*), and the commitment 'here and now' (*de praesenti*), but in practice it might be difficult to tell the two apart. Although the Lateran Council of 1215 had ruled that a priest must be present for a marriage to be 'lawful', it was the contracting parties

³² *Disputationum*, book 4, discussion 23 (vol. 1, pp. 800–2).

³³ Antonio Arbiol, *La familia regulada*, 1715, ed. Roberto Fernández (Zaragoza 2000), pp. 2–3. On the struggle between lay and clerical views of marriage from the critical turning-point of the twelfth century, Georges Duby, *Le chevalier, la femme et le prêtre: le mariage dans la France féodale* (Paris 1981), pp. 190–4.

themselves who made the marriage 'valid', and for that they did not need priest or even witnesses. This kind of clandestine marriage raised enormous problems of verification, as indeed did the 'promise of marriage'. The church courts of Europe were kept busy throughout the later Middle Ages with suits from young lovers who alleged that they had plighted their troth – were in fact man and wife, whatever their parents might say.³⁴

The Spanish term for the betrothal, the *desposorio*, continued to serve for the wedding as well. Was it a betrothal or a wedding that the patrician Juan Padial recalled when he spoke of the evening of 1 October 1684, when the terms of his daughter's marriage to Francisco Muñoz de Torres were agreed, 'and the notary stayed to supper . . . as did Don Josef Martínez, priest of San Cecilio, who married them (*los desposó*)'?³⁵ Perhaps the distinction would hardly have occurred to Padial, since the priest was the brother of the notary, and the latter was the husband anyway of his first cousin. What had taken place in the Padial home that evening was a solemn, binding engagement, whether technically a marriage or a betrothal. There could be no going back without loss of honour. The synod of 1565, whose constitutions published in 1573 laid the basis for the Counter Reformation in Granada, forbade a married couple to 'sleep together' (*no se junten*) until they had received the nuptial blessing in church, which must follow the wedding no later than six months afterwards on pain of excommunication. In fact, we know that this regulation was not strictly observed. But even as it stands, it reflects an attitude to marriage which is fundamentally secular – that is, the blessing or *velación* would only take place when the couple were ready to face the community as heads of a new household established the day before, usually, by the transfer of property from the bride's parents to the groom and the signing of the dowry contract.

'Clandestine betrothals and marriages were always the cause and occasion of great harm and upset', proclaimed the Cortes of Castile in 1582. Though the Council of Trent had tightened up on marriage itself, it had done nothing about betrothals, with the result that 'many young ladies and women of high rank have been taken in, and there have followed numerous important lawsuits to the detriment of their wealth and reputation'. The Cortes wanted similar safeguards for betrothals as for marriage – publicity and the opportunity for the family to object to the proposed match. Its successor in 1588 returned to the attack: 'Many

³⁴ Richard Helmholz, *Marriage litigation in medieval England* (Cambridge 1974), pp. 32–9.

³⁵ ARCG 3 / 184 / 2, *Padial v. Muñoz de Torres*, 1690.

honourable young ladies of good family are deceived by promises made to them of marriage, and many sons married beneath them to the dishonour of their parents and lineages because of the force which these promises entail, even though they are made thoughtlessly and in secret as is the way with young people.³⁶ The King promised to write to the Pope, but nothing was done.

Rather, Spain dragged into the modern age what looked like a dysfunctional marriage system dating from the early days of the formation of Canon Law. It was not until 1776 that the government finally broke with Rome on this matter and insisted that parents must give their consent to marriages of children under twenty-five years of age. The spokesman for the reform, Joaquín Amorós, noted that clandestine betrothals had up until then been considered binding by the courts. It only required a couple of witnesses of dubious character, he tells us, to establish the existence of such promises, which would lead to the gaoling of a man if he tried to back down.³⁷ It seemed like a charter for the scheming adventuress, and in any case a recipe for personal unhappiness. So, one finds Diego Sánchez in the ecclesiastical gaol in Granada in 1682 making a declaration before a notary that he did not promise matrimony to Inés de Llamas, despite the ruling of the diocesan court that he had done so, but that the only way he could now get out of prison was to accept the sentence and agree to marry her. But he was making the present declaration so that everyone would know he was acting under duress, that the marriage would therefore be invalid and he reserved his right of appeal against it on these grounds.³⁸

The question inevitably arises as to the purpose served by such coercion. In theory the diocesan court was operating in accord with Canon Law, seeking to uphold the sanctity of matrimony. But the issue seems to have been more the honour of the girl and her family.³⁹ In Granada, as in other Mediterranean societies of the time, the authorities appear to have shown less interest in ferreting out moral wrong-doing than with safeguarding public order and preventing feud. At the same time as Antonio Castellón was seeking to have Francisca de Xea removed from parental

³⁶ *Actas de las Cortes de Castilla*, vol. VI (1579–82), petition 19, and 9 (1586–8), petition 43.

³⁷ *Discurso en que se manifiesta la necesidad y utilidad del consentimiento paterno para el matrimonio* (Madrid 1777), pp. 256–9.

³⁸ AHPG MV n.f., 14 March 1683. Cf. AHPG FO 794, 9 August 1658.

³⁹ Cf. Guido Ruggiero, *The boundaries of Eros: sex crime and sexuality in Renaissance Venice* (Oxford 1985), pp. 18–19; Angel Rodríguez Sánchez, *Hacerse nadie: sometimiento, sexo y silencio en la España de finales del siglo XVI* (Lleida 1998), pp. 147–50.

authority, he was having to fend off a suit from Francisca's cousin, Jerónima de Herrera, who asserted that Antonio had promised marriage to her and taken her virginity. She had got to know Antonio when her father moved into an apartment in the town council building beside the Castellón. But while Antonio's father was chief secretary, Jerónima's was only a porter, and he died anyway, leaving her an orphan. Her reputation already tarnished by gossip about her flirtations with the corregidor's page boys, she stood little chance of getting people to believe that Antonio had promised her marriage (though she could appeal, as so many in her situation did, to the royal courts for a dowry to ransom the attain to her honour). But would the legal system really provide much protection for the weak?

When the veinticuatro Felipe de Villarreal was still a youth, he and his brothers would often visit Feliciana Vázquez de Zúñiga, one of those poor neighbours or remote cousins who often survived on their friendship with important families like the Villarreal. Feliciana was good company – literate, elegant – but she had no money. Her father was dead and she lived alone with her mother, Doña Jacinta. One neighbour, who was 'twelve or fourteen' years old at the time, recalled how she thought Feliciana was already married to Felipe, for he seemed to spend most of the day in her house, only going back to sleep at his own. Her mother told her that they were not yet man and wife 'according to the ordinance of Holy Mother church'. In 1728 a baby arrived, Casimiro, who was brought for baptism to the local church of San José. The priest later testified that he went round to the Vázquez de Zúñiga house, where Doña Jacinta confessed to him that the infant was the child of her daughter Feliciana and Felipe de Villarreal. The good priest then arranged to waylay Felipe as he came to visit, and 'following some questions and answers', got him to admit that he was the father. However, 'as regards marriage, he could not contemplate this just yet, since he had no money to keep up his state in life . . . asking us to give him time, that he would talk to his father'. In any event, he denied that he had ever promised marriage to Feliciana. In reply to the latter's mother, he explained that his hands were tied, that if he tried to marry his father would 'put him in the street'.⁴⁰

Felipe was not more than about twenty at the time, an eldest son living at home and financially dependent on his father in the usual fashion of the patrician youth. But Feliciana and her mother were not going to let things

⁴⁰ ARCG 2060 / 1, *Casimiro v. Felipe and Manuel de Villarreal*, 1751.

slip by so easily. They sued for marriage in the diocesan court. However, the trial revealed all the imperfections of the procedure once the superior party – the Villarreal – felt that they had nothing to lose by holding out. Felipe warned Feliciana's neighbours not to testify, 'that if they did, he would ruin them'. One witness recalled her father – 'a very Christian sort of man, god-fearing, but not venturesome' – refusing to get involved, 'so as not to have anything to do with people with such a bad conscience and always ready with papers'. Though the Provisor by his sentence of 24 March 1735, after nearly seven years of litigation, ordered Felipe either to marry the girl or give her a dowry of 500 ducats, the latter now appealed to the nuncio in Madrid. At this point, Feliciana, with no means to fight on, agreed to drop her suit in return for an annuity and recognition of their son. The conflict took its toll of Felipe: in poor health, he resigned his post of alderman after the death of his father to his younger brother Manuel (1748), and within a couple of years he was dead. Neither he nor Feliciana ever married, and they were never reconciled.

Trouble flared again just before his death, as his illegitimate son, Casimiro, now sued his father in the royal courts, demanding to be recognised officially as his child. Though Felipe had agreed in principle to do so by the terms of his agreement with Casimiro's mother, and though in 1736 the eight-year-old boy was entered in the monastery school of San Jerónimo as *Don Casimiro Villarreal y de Zúñiga*, 'legitimate son' of Felipe and Feliciana, the father tried to keep contacts to a minimum. By 1746 the growing boy was more aware of his situation and demanded more openness from his father – 'otherwise you make it impossible for me to show my face in front of people, or to claim any honourable employment'. In 1751 Casimiro lodged his formal appeal for recognition in the chancery court, placing in evidence the written correspondence he had had with his father and other Villarreal relatives. The letters reflect the strain in relations, particularly the embarrassment of cousins like Don Juan Pedro de Jáuregui, whom Casimiro approached in order to see if he would talk to his father about non-payment of the promised annuity. This proved to be just the start of a long war between Casimiro and his uncle, Manuel de Villarreal, over succession to the Villarreal entail, with the chancery court finally ruling – but not until 1781 – that Casimiro would be entitled to succeed if Manuel died without issue.

The Villarreal litigation reminds us of the ambiguous status of the illegitimate in Granadan society, at once part of the clan yet not fully so. Like their mothers, they symbolised the conflict at the heart of Granadan society, between the integrity of the household and the wider solidarity of

the clan. They occupied intermediate positions in the hierarchy of employment – Casimiro was a clerk in the office of an *escribano de cámara*, a court registrar – yet retained a lively memory of the honour which they felt to be theirs. They represented, in a sense, the uncertainty of rank and authority in a society geared to the interests of groups wider than the household. It was the existence of such parallel hierarchies which had allowed compromising friendships to develop in the first place between two patricians of equal honour but diverse wealth like Felipe de Villarreal and Feliciana Vázquez de Zúñiga.

Indeed, it was this ambiguity which underlay the whole extraordinary saga of clandestine betrothals and marriages in the Andalusian city. The courtship of Diego de Pisa and Leonor de Zafra could develop as far as it did because a marriage alliance was assumed to be a possibility between two such prominent families; but it ran into trouble because Diego, though noble, was not wealthy. It was in this grey zone that the church courts could play a useful role as mediators. Their voice was one of authority, which those entangled in an impossible conflict between passion and interest could invoke as a way of saving face. In a faction-prone society, the great concern was to assuage resentments and allay the fear of dishonour rather than build a new moral order.

Cradle of the citizen

For Spanish writers of the Golden Age like Juan Costa and Cellorigo, the household was what they called 'a little commonwealth', where men were trained for the responsibilities of power – educated to be citizens. The household served a crucial function in a pre-industrial society as a centre for the production and redistribution of wealth: for the care of the dependent poor, now largely taken care of by the state but then integrated into a domestic economy as servants; for the schooling of the young, now the responsibility of institutions but then often left to 'masters' who gathered their apprentices or their pupils into their homes; and of course for the care of those who because of sickness or old age could no longer look after themselves in an age when the hospital was still either a refuge for the homeless traveller or the dying pauper. The wealthier the citizen, the larger his household establishment was likely to be, and the 'big house' would exert a significant influence over its neighbourhood as a source of employment, charity or patronage.¹

The right governance of such an enterprise was the science of economics (*económica*), in the sense in which men understood the term in a pre-industrial society, an enormously responsible task set out in an abundant literature. Whereas economics traditionally focused on the household, what men called politics dealt with the good order of the state.² During the early modern period, as we noted earlier, economics and politics tended to come together as the twin concerns of the mercantilist state. Meanwhile, the Renaissance and Reformation, and the Counter Reformation too, by emphasising the perfectibility of man through education began to lay a new emphasis on the family as a moral entity, a source of spiritual regeneration. Jesuits were prominent here, in fostering a greater

¹ Peter Laslett, *The world we have lost* (London 1965). There is an expanded edition (London 1983).

² Daniela Frigo, *Il padre di famiglia: governo della casa e governo civile nella tradizione dell' 'Economica' tra cinque e seicento* (Rome 1985), chapter 6.

intimacy between husband and wife (with its counterpart their particular hostility to extra-marital liaisons) and in emphasising the importance of the school as a nursery of the good Christian and the good citizen. A new concept of discipline was gaining ground, as family honour came to attach itself increasingly to the rearing of the young.³ Such developments may be summed up as part of a trend towards patriarchy, or the growing authority of parents within the home. But how far were they characteristic of a society like Golden Age Spain where the kin group was still so influential? To what extent did domestic arrangements and the allocation of living space foster or impede the desired goal of the reformers?

The patrician houses which still stand in Granada are often now deserted by their owners, but they have been preserved at least from the demolition which often accompanies urban renewal in more prosperous towns. They cluster thickly in the older neighbourhoods, those of the sixteenth century tending to lie in a kind of arc round the fortress of the Alhambra, those of a later date reaching out from the law courts and the business centre, reflecting the changing balance of power in the city after 1570.⁴ All proudly carry coats of arms sculpted above the main doorway, though most strive not for grandeur but to accommodate those great households of old, with their four or five children, their dozen or so serving men and women, their granaries, cellars and stables, and of course their frequent guests. A grand Andalusian palace of that age was the one which Francisco de los Cobos built for himself in his native Ubeda – 59 *varas* (yards or metres) wide and eight deep, and two storeys high. Few in Granada could match that. The house of the veinticuatro Agustín Sánchez Cañamero, for example, was 13 *varas* wide and six deep, though to this should be added the *casas acesorias*, the ‘annexes’ used as stables or cellars in many cases, which ran a further 23 *varas* along the street. It cost him 62,284 *reales*, or about the same price as he had paid for his seat on the city council.⁵

Initially the Conquistadors occupied older dwellings of the Muslim aristocracy, which they then partially refashioned. The palace of the Fernández

³ Louis Chatellier, *The Europe of the devout: the Catholic Reformation and the formation of a new society* (Cambridge 1987), pp. 142–7; Philippe Ariès, *L'enfant et la vie familiale sous l'ancien régime* (Paris 1973), p. 429.

⁴ A splendid introduction to this topic is María Angustias Moreno Olmedo, *Heráldica y genealogía granadinas* (Granada 1976), with attached maps.

⁵ Manuel Gómez Moreno, *Guía de Granada*, 2 vols. (Granada 1892), vol. 1, p. 203; AHPG JFT 589–611v, Avila Quesada (for Sánchez Cañamero) 9 September 1684. Cf. Hayward Keniston, *Francisco de los Cobos, secretary of the Emperor Charles V* (Pittsburgh 1958), p. 152.

de Córdoba – alas, pulled down in 1919 – can partly be visualised from the splendid Moorish-style coffered ceilings now repositioned in the municipal archive. The Teruel house near the cathedral, which accounted for 33,000 of the 84,837 *reales* at which the estate of the old lawyer Felipe Pérez de Teruel was valued at his death in 1596, kept much of its Moorish interior down to the twentieth century when it was demolished. The Salazar were greeted every time they crossed the threshold of their own home with the Arabic inscription running round the four walls of the lobby: ‘Victory rests with Allah in the end’, which was the motto of the old Nasrid ruling dynasty.⁶ These houses were generally built of brick, as was the Muslim tradition, but the principal doorway and the main staircase would often be fashioned out of fine stone from the Sierra de Elvira. Some boasted large adjoining gardens, like that of Don Jerónimo de Montalvo, with its two hectares laid down to pomegranate, walnut and other fruit trees, though perhaps the norm would be closer to the patio of 11.70 by 5.20 metres to be found in the Salazar town house. Space seems to have been at a premium in the centre of town, as suggested by the reports of conflicts with neighbours to be found in the notarial archives. Thus, the veinticuatro Baltasar de Torres had to reach a complicated arrangement with his neighbour in 1596, exchanging rooms in order to prevent his top floor overhanging the patio of the latter.⁷

Boundaries were always a problem as the subdivision of a building in one generation between the heirs was replaced by the acquisition of rooms piecemeal by outsiders in the next. It was always of ‘houses’ in the plural that contemporaries spoke: *las casas de mi morada* – ‘the houses of my dwelling’. At the death of Luisa de Cepeda, first Countess of Villamena, in 1711, the inventory covered the ‘three rooms’ she had bought ‘to add on to her main house’, access to which was achieved by opening new doors through the party wall. Her cousin by marriage, Francisca de Teruel, had taken over two rooms which belonged to the house next door of her brother-in-law and confidant Don Alonso de Peralta, who in turn had found it more convenient to use one of Francisca’s rooms. Shortly before, Isabella de Padial had incorporated the house next door belonging to her brother Luis and wife by closing

⁶ Rafael López Guzmán, *Tradicción y clasicismo en la Granada del siglo XVI: arquitectura civil y urbanismo* (Granada 1987), pp. 469, 495 and 509–15.

⁷ AHPG RD n.f., Torres and Carvajal agreement, 21 November 1596; 250 RD 1,003–6v, Simancas and Villegas agreement, 25 August 1584.

up the separate entrance to the street and opening another from inside, 'so that all three of us would be together'.⁸ Subdivision of houses among siblings and their subsequent consolidation through purchase or exchange created a kaleidoscope, out of which would emerge in time clusters of buildings in the hands of a wealthy individual. These *casas acesorias* (annexes) could be used for a variety of purposes, as store-houses, to lodge kin, to house servants. Doña Juana Muñoz de Salazar, widow of the veinticuatro Pere Juan Civo, leased one out in 1608 to the widow of the lord of Guadalcázar. There was an open doorway leading from it to the main house and it was agreed that this needed to be blocked up by fitting a door, with its lock and key, so as to separate the two families. The ease with which domestic space could be rearranged was reflected in the next paragraph of the lease, allowing the lady of Guadalcázar to open up 'any new doorway or window . . . or run up any wall', on condition she restored everything to its original condition when she left at the end of the year.⁹

Occasionally attempts were made to tear down the old and start from new. The veinticuatro Pedro de los Reyes had accumulated a series of large houses along Veronica Street in the parish of La Magdalena. It was a tough neighbourhood, near the markets, full of casual labourers, taverns and prostitutes (whom Los Reyes sought to reform by helping to set up the house for fallen women, Santa María Egipcíaca, in 1595). But it was there in 1598 that he began building his fine new residence, negotiating everything in detail with the masons and carpenters, spelling out how thick the walls were to be and how many nails should be used in each plank of the flooring. He had to provide the materials and to keep the workers supplied with cash as the building proceeded. An archaeologist would be needed to reconstruct the plan, but what the various documents suggest is how rarely architects were called in when it came to creating domestic space, how the house tended to grow organically by piecemeal additions and adjustments by those who lived in it.¹⁰

It took time anyway for a particular house to become a badge of identity for a family. Francisco Domedel, veinticuatro and proponent of continuing war with England after the defeat of the Armada in 1588,

⁸ AHPG EC 623–5, 23 April 1675; cf. JFM 505, Cepeda, 9 August 1711, and EC 159–67, Francisca de Teruel, 1 May 1674.

⁹ AHPG 412 GHS 1,231–1,231v, 22 December 1607.

¹⁰ AHPG RD 1,243–5v, 3 August 1598 (masonry); 338 RD 352–352v and 372–89v, 5 and 6 March 1599 (carpentry). On building techniques at the time, M. A. Tojas Roger, *Diego López de Arenas, carpintero, alarife y tratadista en la Sevilla del siglo XVII* (Seville 1989).

belonged to a large clan in the parish of San Andrés which was scattered over several apartments and houses. It was only in 1645 that Francisco's daughter Luisa, widow of the veinticuatro Pedro Guillén de Contreras, decided to place the great house of her father in entail, to pass henceforward from eldest son to eldest son.¹¹ It was in the same year that another widow, Doña María de Cabrera, mother of Fernando Osorio Calvache, deputy corregidor of Murcia, decided that their family home in San Jerónimo Street would pass together with the annexes on each side to her eldest son, Fernando. It would be a shame, she thought, for the annexes to be separated from the main building, 'for they frame it well and give it a good appearance'.¹² The continuity of the dynasty embodied in the house seems to have been uppermost in the mind of the *alférez mayor* Luis Fernández de Córdoba when he made improvements to his palace in 1592 and put up an inscription to the fact that he had done so 'to the memory of the ancestors and to the benefit of those who come after'.¹³

But the big house had ultimately only a transient importance for the Granadan patrician. *Esperando la del cielo* ('While awaiting the one in heaven'), such was the motto carved round the façade of the palace of the Zafra, a reminder of the shortness of life and an invitation to look next door to the convent of Santa Catalina de Zafra where the continuous round of prayer for the Zafra ancestors provided the real anchor of the lineage. The original home of the Pérez de Herrasti was just beside this, a series of buildings acquired by the founder of the dynasty shortly after the Conquest and amalgamated by him in the usual way into one large, rambling house, 'with a spacious garden'. But then in 1579, at the death of the third Herrasti, the house went to the children of his second wife, the Bocanegra, rather than to his heir. Thereafter the family tended to rent accommodation in Granada or to live with their in-laws. By 1700 they seem to have fixed themselves for a time in the parish of San Miguel in the dowry house of Juan Manuel Pérez de Herrasti's wife, before moving later in the century down to the parish of San Justo, where they figure in the census of 1752. Amid all these changes, the one thing which gave them a certain continuity was their burial vault, the chapel of Our Lady of Good Fortune, in the parish church of San Pedro beside their original family home.

The Teruel, meanwhile, had accumulated so many houses across the city by marrying heiresses – Mesía and Cepeda in particular – that they

¹¹ AHPG AB 115–17v, 28 April 1645.

¹² AHPG AB 72–8, 27 April 1645.

¹³ Gómez Moreno, *Guía de Granada*, vol. 1, pp. 204–5.

had an embarrassment of choice about where to live. What tended to happen was that the ageing grandparents would retire to the Mesía house in the parish of San Matías (as did Antonio Alfonso, who died there a very old man in 1698), while the heir and his family would occupy the palace near the cathedral. In 1720, since the heir apparent was the second son, Francisco, he and his wife were assigned the Mesía house, from which he moved as his own son and heir married. By the time of the census of 1752 Francisco, now an elderly gentleman of sixty, had moved further away from the centre of power, leasing the great house of the Mendoza in the parish of San Cecilio. This movement in and out of neighbourhoods was adjusted to the particular circumstances of the individual family. It was encouraged by the fact that at the death of the father a house, if not entailed, might have to be divided up or sold off in order to give all the children their *legítimas*. This instability of residence meant that it was difficult to associate the great families with particular neighbourhoods. In years of crisis, like 1648 or 1706, the appointment of city councillors to attend to particular neighbourhoods seems somewhat arbitrary. Thus the chronicler of the Herrasti tells us how his grandfather, Juan Manuel, was delegated in 1706 to list those capable of bearing arms in the parishes of San Bartolomé and San Cristóbal. His only qualification seems to be that he lived in the neighbouring parish of San Miguel with his wife's people, the Afán de Rivera. It was not the house which counted, but the solidarity of the various kinsmen and in-laws, scattered across the face of the city, united only in death through the burial vault (almost all the Pérez de Herrasti ancestors were gathered in the parish of San Pedro).

In his great novel *Doña Luz*, set in the small Andalusian town of Cabra (or possibly its neighbour, Doña Mencía) in 1860, Juan Valera reconstructed the manner of a patrician life which had not changed much since the Old Regime. Doña Luz, an orphan, lives with Don Acisclo who had administered the estate of her late father, enriching himself in the process. Her father's house lies empty, except for the foreman and his helper who look after it. Don Acisclo's is a huge barrack-like dwelling, a centre of an agricultural exploitation, with the office on the ground floor where he meets his tenants and workers, the cellars and granaries where his harvests are stored, the *casa del campo* (or *acesoria*, as it was known in Granada) where the many servants eat and live, come and go, under the watchful eye of the *ama de llaves* (the 'mistress of the keys'). Meals are brought next door to the master's house, a rambling edifice where Doña Luz and her maid have 'three or four' rooms, where she eats with Don Acisclo for preference in the big kitchen, hung with trophies of the hunt, rather than

in the dining room. Space is abundant: the masters live upstairs in winter, retreating to the downstairs apartments (which duplicate those above) in summer in order to keep cool. The great reception rooms, with their formal portraits of the family, come alive at the numerous fiestas, when Don Acisclo's five married children, each living separately, congregate to celebrate a common memory – a celebration which is extended to the community at large on Holy Thursday as Don Acisclo heads the procession of the religious brotherhood to which he belongs. Work, religion, demography: they were all factors helping to shape the space within which family life acquired its characteristic features in Andalusia.

The census of 1561, submitted to the king for tax purposes on the basis of returns of those taking the sacraments of confession and communion at Easter and excluding therefore the very young, provides an interesting if incomplete insight into patterns of residence. It speaks of 'houses' (*casas*) as well as of 'households' (*vecinos*), enabling us to see the connection between the two.¹⁴ In the parish of San Andrés, for example, a Domedel widow lived with her niece, maid servant and slave in the same house but in different rooms from the jurado Domedel, his son and daughter and slave, while further down the street Francisco Domedel (possibly the future veinticuatro) lived with his wife, two servants and a slave. His kinsman Andrés Loaysa, meanwhile, shared a house in the same parish, but lived in a separate household, as the Domedel widow and the jurado. In the neighbouring parish of San Justo, Marcelina de Loaysa lived with her husband the jurado Juan de Palma, counting among her children Gregorio Ordóñez de Palma, important in the 1580s as deputy to the Cortes, and Francisco, to whom she gave the surname of her Domedel cousins. And in another part of the parish there was Gonzalo de Palma and his family.

As one follows the thread of connection through this labyrinth, one becomes aware that the household of the patrician might often be a kind of apartment within a bigger house, like Doña Luz's 'three or four rooms'. It seems to be something of this kind that was inventoried when the aged Don Juan de Ahumada Salazar and his wife Margarita Valer de la Serna passed away in 1693. They had their private chapel with all the necessary furnishings for the celebration of mass, and beside it the 'main room' (*cuarto principal*) with its splendid but worn tapestry and its twelve chairs for receiving visitors, and leading off that a small study, with its desk and

¹⁴ AGS Cámara de Castilla, leg. 2150, census of 1561.

papers. Beyond it there was another reception room, fitted out for the mistress of the house, with its great Turkish carpet and cushions where she and her friends would recline after the Spanish fashion, watched over by portraits of her husband and two sons. This led into a large area which seems to have served the whole family for daily living and sleeping. A large curtain with the family coat of arms separated the master's bed with its canopy from a kind of parlour-cum-kitchen with its pots and pans and table for cooking and eating. Four other beds were listed here, one presumably for their black slave girl Isabella, and the others for two unmarried daughters, Josefa and the unfortunate Luisa, 'who suffers from dementia', and who went to live after their parents' death with their brother Alonso. Downstairs – for all the rooms listed so far were on the first floor – there was little but a kind of porter's lodge. Interestingly – and typically in the Europe of the time – none of the rooms, other than the *cuarto principal*, was given a name which might indicate specialised function. There seems to be rather a lack of intimacy in this mobile household, with the criss-crossing of the paths of master and slave.¹⁵

There may have been particular problems of economic hardship in this once prestigious family, for we are told a little later that the rents of the *mayorazgo* were now barely sufficient to maintain it.¹⁶ But in a sense that was the characteristic feature of the patrician family: it never had enough money, indeed it never had a budget, for it earned and spent as a clan, making up for shortages through the solidarity of its members. The puzzle is to know what one means by the terms family or household in considering the Ahumada Salazar. Juan and Margarita's married children lived in houses of their own, but the households as such were less significant than the labyrinthine connections among their members. When their eldest son, Don Jerónimo, knight of Santiago, died in 1697, his brother Alonso renounced his share of the inheritance on his sisters, taking Josefa and Luisa in to live with him. An elderly bachelor of fifty-two, he founded a new family in the following year by marrying Ana María Dávila, his brother's step-daughter, a girl probably born around 1680. Ana María, to judge by her will of 1703, seems to have been fond of the man whom as a child she would have known as her uncle and who was now her husband, and of Alonso's sister Josefa, whom Ana María called 'my aunt and sister' (see Dávila-Ahumada Salazar genealogy, p. 301). As one follows the gifts she made on her sick-bed in 1703 – to her widowed mother, Francisca

¹⁵ AHPG JP 453ff., inventory, 23 October 1693.

¹⁶ AHPG JBP 221–224, testament Alonso Ahumada Salazar, 22 April 1704.

Clara Barahona Alarcón, to her Dávila brothers, to the servants by whom she was surrounded (not only 'the girl who helps in the kitchen', but the steward's wife, and not only his wife but his mother-in-law too!), one gets a quite vivid sense of a loosely structured, rambling household, with much movement in and out, and with the invisible ties of obligation the really significant ones in this society.¹⁷

Many of these families started out anyway under the authority of the parents of one or other spouse. Juan de Ahumada Salazar's mother-in-law, Catalina de la Serna, widow of an alderman of Motril, got married for the second time to one of the Castro Valer clan, bringing with her to Granada her seventeen-year-old son Pedro Adriano, whom she married off to the daughter of lawyer Gregorio de Rojas Calderón (himself married to a Castro). Calderón offered a dowry of 10,000 ducats, of which 6,000 in the value of a *veinticuatria* he would buy for the new citizen of Granada, 2,000 in cash and the furnishings of a house, and the remaining 2,000 in what was known as *alimentos* (alimony, or bed and board) for eight years, for the young couple, four servants and a horse. If his career took him outside Granada, Dr Calderón offered Pedro Adriano the option of coming with him or staying on in the Calderón house in Granada. If the young man and his wife preferred, however, they could set up house for themselves elsewhere at any time.¹⁸ It had been alimony for two years, together with two servants and a horse, that Pedro Adriano's aunt Doña Jerónima de Castro had been offered when she married back in 1599.¹⁹

The youth of the newly wed probably explains many of these arrangements. In 1597 Don Pedro de Zayas had been contracted to marry Francisca, daughter of Alonso de Robles of Caravaca, with Francisca coming to live with the Zayas indefinitely. But then Pedro's father and mother died, leaving him an orphan of around fifteen years of age and in very poor health. So, his guardian suggested that 'in order for Don Pedro to recover his health, and so as to prevent his estate . . . being burdened with the additional expense that he would have if his wife Doña Francisca came to live with him', the consummation of the marriage and the nuptial blessing would be postponed for two years. Not very romantic, perhaps! But after the two years were up, Don Pedro would go to live in Caravaca with his father-in-law, who promised to take in the young couple, 'giving

¹⁷ AHPG JBP 111-15, testament Ana María Dávila Barona, 3 February 1703; cf. 304-304v, codicil, 15 June 1703.

¹⁸ AHPG GHS (volume for the year 1622-23), 344-8, dowry contract, 4 April 1622.

¹⁹ AHPG RD 460-3v, 28 March 1599.

them a roof over their heads and their meals . . . and paying for a manservant and two maids to attend them'. The arrangement was to last four years, but it could be terminated earlier if old Alonso de Robles remarried and Pedro and Francisca decided they could not get on with their new step-mother/mother-in-law.²⁰

What these complex arrangements suggest is that it was expected that the patrician on marrying would eventually look out for a separate household for himself, but that in the meantime, because of his youth, he could count on remaining for a few years with his in-laws – probably in the same house but in a separate suite of rooms. Co-residence did not always work out. Lawsuits before the chancery court remind us of the bitterness which could sometimes develop. One begins to understand in the circumstances the precautions taken by Captain Cepeda de Ayala (founder of the *mayorazgo* of which would eventually pass to the Teruel) to guard against such friction. At his death in 1598, he specified that his young widow, then pregnant with their seventh child, should go on living in the big house near the cathedral, which he was giving to his eldest son in entail. The lodging was to be 'comfortable and adequate for her rank and condition', with the proviso that when the heir married, 'and the house becomes too small for everybody', the widow was to move next door into the *casa acesoria* where the captain's sister was then living. If the two women could not agree, money was to be found for the sister to rent a place of her own.²¹

The Franciscan authority on the family, Antonio Arbiol, wrote in 1715 that it was better on the whole to avoid occasions of conflict by setting married couples up in their own separate household, even though that might involve more expense. 'It is more satisfactory to have bread to eat in peace and harmony', he thought, 'than to have all kinds of delicacies amid continual bickering and upsets.'²² More work requires to be done before we can have a satisfactory picture for Granada overall, but preliminary soundings in six of the twenty-three parishes, grouping about a third of the population, would suggest that the nuclear family household was the norm, as it was in most parts of western Europe at the time.²³ Of 5,724 households overall, there were 147 which can be identified as headed by

²⁰ AHPG RD 1,140–4v, 2 October 1599.

²¹ AHPG RD 1,257–3, 1 August 1598.

²² *La familia regulada con doctrina de la sagrada escritura* (Zaragoza 1715), pp. 95–6. There is a new edition by Roberto Fernández (Zaragoza 2000).

²³ Cf. J. Casey and B. Vincent, 'Casa y familia en la Granada del antiguo régimen', in *La familia en la España mediterránea, siglos XVI–XIX* (Barcelona 1987), pp. 172–211.

male patricians (though for completeness one would have to add others headed by widows and maiden ladies). Of these, 95, or 64.6 per cent, were nuclear – that is, composed of parents and children only, to the exclusion of other relatives. The others were fundamentally extended laterally to include the orphaned siblings and nephews or nieces of the master or his wife. There were very few cases of multiple family households – for example, of a married son or daughter living with parents – although, as we have seen, this might be a temporary arrangement for a couple of years after marriage. But the rule clearly was, as the Andalusian proverb went, *casada casa quiere* ('the married woman wants a house of her own'). However, as we have seen, the bare statistics do not really convey the intimacy of visiting and interaction between the individual family groups, separated from one another sometimes by no more than a *tabique*, a plaster wall.

Churchmen were thinking of that moral foundation of the family which must take precedence over its economic aspects. Arbiol emphasised that the family began with the good understanding between a man and a woman – a union of souls, as he put it; from that everything else would flow. Of course, as one looks at the system of arranged marriages at very early ages, one may wonder how companionate the relationship between the spouses could be. The Pérez de Herrasti seem to have married when they were around twenty to twenty-five years of age, and their brides were more often around seventeen or eighteen. A sample of sixteen first marriages of patricians in the later seventeenth century gives an average age of 21.6 years for the brides, 27.0 for their husbands, while twenty-three such marriages in the early eighteenth century give average ages of 20.7 and 25.0 years respectively.²⁴ But these mathematical averages mask a great variety of compartments, with some girls in their teens and others in their late twenties. The Cuenca Mora brides, for example, were only 14, 13, 17 and 15 years old at marriages over successive generations, in 1672, 1689, 1736 and 1755, with their husbands aged 23, 27, 34 and just 13 respectively. Family circumstances, widowhood of the mother, the number of other siblings expecting to marry, the size of the dowry – all these factors would have to be taken into account before we can have a satisfactory picture of the norm. What we can deduce from the literary sources, though, is that youthful marriage was acceptable and that a

²⁴ The sample is based on birth and marriage certificates submitted in proof of nobility, AMG Caballeros XXIV. Cf. Hernández, *A la sombra de la corona*, p. 154, for the patricians of Madrid, who were marrying at 28 (males) and 18 (females) at this period.

disparity of ages between bride and groom was not regarded as intolerable. For example, Leandro Fernández de Moratín's famous comedy of 1806, *El sí de las niñas*, while arguing for the freedom of the young to choose their partners, presents through the figure of the elderly but sympathetic Don Diego the alternative logic of the arranged marriage. After all, he offers the friendship and protection which the vulnerable heroine needs, and the audience is left with the distinct impression that love would probably grow in time.

Young people had responsibilities thrust upon them at an early age in that society. Thus Juan Manuel Pérez de Herrasti was sixteen when his father died in 1675; the following year he was officially emancipated from tutelage and allowed to run his own estate, as well as take up his post of *veinticuatro* for which the lower age limit was eighteen. It was a natural next step, therefore, for him to choose a wife, which he did in 1678, marrying the sixteen-year-old Juana Afán de Rivera. The age pyramid which has been calculated for about a third of the population of Granada from the great census of Ensenada (1752) would suggest that only 13.9 per cent of the patrician and professional class lived beyond their fiftieth birthday, only 5.2 per cent beyond 60.²⁵ Mortality was high among the patricians. The Pérez de Herrasti males seem often to have died when they were around forty or fifty years of age – Juan in 1579 when he was forty-five, from a fever brought on by racing his horses too furiously in the summer heat, Andrés in 1732 from a fall from a horse. It was a violent age and duels took their toll in other families.

Clearly great affection linked the members of these households, despite their early dissolution in death or the arranged marriages between teenage girls and older men. Ana María Dávila spoke of 'how much I owe him and how much he cares for me', as she left a third of her estate to her elderly spouse, Alonso de Ahumada Salazar. In 1658 Don Baltasar Barahona Zapata asked to be placed in the same coffin, if possible, as his first wife, though she had died back in 1616, 'so that she may accompany me in death after being such good company in life'.²⁶ One may wonder, though, how much bonding between man and wife there could be when the household was so open to outside influences. Step-mothers, illegitimate children, maiden aunts, servants and slaves and so many other dependants in the main apartments or next door created an

²⁵ Calculations based on ARCG *catastro* of Ensenada (1752). Cf. Casey and Vincent, 'Casa y familia', pp. 179–80.

²⁶ AHPG SFM 138–45v, 23 March 1658.

extremely complex unit, even if a couple at marriage aspired to create a living space of their own.

From another point of view, one may question how far the house itself served as a focus of sociability for the citizens of Granada. Though we have the occasional reference to visiting – for example, twelve friends joined the merchant Juan García de Barea regularly in his home to say the rosary in the 1640s – more often such activities went on within other frameworks like the *cofradía* or religious fellowship.²⁷ This was where Don Luis de Paz spent much of his time, and before that, in his wild youth, with his friends on the hunt. His wife was an extremely pale figure. The woman's domain was the home, as one can see in the will of Ana María Dávila in 1703, much richer in legacies to servants than that of her husband Don Alonso de Ahumada Salazar in the following year. And the wills of other women suggest a flourishing network of house visits, with small gifts not only to friends but also to the slaves or servants of these friends.²⁸ Increasingly in the seventeenth century we get references to the *alfileres*, the pin money, which the mistress of the house would receive on a regular basis from her husband to spend as she chose. Manuel de Mello was concerned by the new trend, as he perceived it, of allowing women much greater freedom within the home – their own rooms, their own expenditure – which seemed to undermine rather than consolidate the family.

The ultimate aim of the institution, of course, was to secure the next generation. There was increasing debate by the eighteenth century regarding the poverty or material concerns of parents which might lead them to restrict the number of their offspring.²⁹ But our sources would suggest rather that children were desired and made much of. 'Thanks be to Almighty God', Francisco Pérez de Herrasti is alleged to have exclaimed at the news that his brother Juan's wife had given birth to a son, 'for there has come into the world someone to inherit my house'.³⁰ The succession may have been uppermost in the minds of the kin, but it sometimes rivalled the emotion felt for quite other reasons by the parents. One of the sadder aspects of the Ahumada Salazar imbroglio examined earlier was the fate of the child of the elderly Don Jerónimo de Ahumada Salazar. His death in 1697 led his brother Alonso to expose a fraud which

²⁷ AHPG MP n.f., testament of Juan García de Barea, 14 July 1643.

²⁸ For example, AHPG EC 1,075–81, testament of Inés Pavón de Guzmán, 25 February 1651.

²⁹ Arbiol, *La familia regulada*, p. 462; Matías Sánchez, *El padre de familias* (Málaga 1740), pp. 43–5.

³⁰ *Historia de la casa de Herrasti*, pp. 105–6.

had occurred some years before. On 25 December 1694 Jerónimo's wife, Francisca Clara Barahona, had given birth to a child which only survived a few days, dying before it could be baptised. We may let Alonso take up the story: 'Forasmuch as the said Francisca Clara was in poor health, and in order not to make her condition worse in the aftermath of the delivery, my brother Don Jerónimo arranged to have a child called Lázaro Josef taken from the foundling home attached to the cathedral of this city . . . the which child has been and is being reared at present in the home of Doña Francisca Clara under the name of Juan.' Juan was the name of the Ahumada Salazar grandfather. But now Francisca Clara had been told the truth, 'that the child's name is not Juan and he is not her son'. Alonso presented his witnesses before the magistrates, explaining how the substitution had been concocted between Don Jerónimo and his sister María and her two sons.³¹

The tragedy raises many questions. Francisca Clara was already quite elderly at the time of her failed delivery – perhaps nearing forty years of age. She already had children by her first marriage, including the 22 year-old Don Juan Francisco Dávila, who gave testimony to the investigation in 1697. Alonso de Ahumada's motives in exposing the fraud were, avowedly, to prevent the little foundling Lázaro Josef from ever attempting to claim succession to the family estate, and in this he seems to have enjoyed the support of Francisca Clara's sons by her first marriage. His own relations with the unhappy mother – who was at once his sister-in-law and his mother-in-law – were not good, since he was trying to retrieve a family heirloom, an old tapestry, which she had taken from Don Jerónimo's home in part satisfaction of her dowry. This kind of family was too complex to be easily contained within our definitions of the household. Rights of inheritance constantly overlapped with and constrained the freedom, emotional and physical, of the individual.

A crisis would often come about when one of the partners to a marriage died. The figure of the patrician widow was a familiar one. Often still young and saddled with children who were not yet of age, what should she do? The Jesuit Gaspar Astete devoted many pages to the problem. A widower could remarry with a clear conscience in order to find a woman to look after his home, but for the widow the solution was not so clear. Loyalty to her husband's memory would suggest that she stay chaste. 'If she has parents or parents-in-law, it would be good for her to

³¹ AHPG Juan Felix Martínez, 450–6v, 15 May 1697. The same device of child substitution was employed for the daughter of Olivares. I am grateful to Sir John Elliott for this reference.

return to their home . . . especially if she is young and good-looking', thought Astete. But the important thing was for her to rise to the challenge of disciplining her children: 'let her be a manly woman (*mujer varonil*), let her strive to correct and chastise them and instil in them the fear of God'. She might try to obtain the assistance here of an elderly tutor or governor, 'to educate the children, discipline the servants and look after the property'.³² After the death of the veinticuatro Juan Muñoz de Salazar in 1596, it had been indeed his widow, María de Laguna, who ran the household, with the assistance of her brother, the lawyer Pedro de Laguna, who took over the veinticuatría.³³

Running the family as 'tutor' was one thing, but administering the property of children who were under age as *curador ad bona* (guardian of the estate), and signing documents on their behalf as *curador ad litem* (guardian with power of attorney) required special authorisation. Thus after the death of Doña María de Laguna in 1599 the younger children agreed to live with their brother Juan Muñoz de Salazar, but the eldest, the 20-year-old María de Salazar, had to make a formal petition to the justices for Juan to be appointed as guardian of herself and her younger brother Diego.³⁴ In other words, no relative had automatic rights of custody over children who were under age. Generally husbands in their wills would see to it that their widow took control, but they might attach conditions. When Diego Maldonado, knight of Santiago and lord of the important little market town of Noalejo, died in 1596 he left three children – the eldest, Diego, now 'over fourteen', who was to be allowed to administer the *mayorazgo*, and Juan and Mariana, who seem to have been around ten or twelve years of age and were deemed to be in need of a guardian. Maldonado wanted his wife Francisca and her mother María Bazán, sister of the Marquis of Santa Cruz, to be joint guardians, but he also wanted Francisca to go and live with her mother and her brothers in Baeza, 'for if they are together they can live more honourably'. It is not clear if Maldonado was thinking of money or moral conduct, given that he was entrusting to Diego at the same time the maintenance of two illegitimate children whom he acknowledged in the will. If his wife refused to live in Baeza, she was to be excluded from any say in the affairs of her children.³⁵

³² *Tratado del gobierno de la familia* (Burgos 1603), pp. 53–4. Cf. Ann Crabb, *The Strozzi of Florence: widowhood and family solidarity in the Renaissance* (Ann Arbor 2000).

³³ AHPG Juan Ayllón, 1,316–28, *partición*, 4 August 1599.

³⁴ AHPG Juan Ayllón 1,374–1,374v, 6 September 1599.

³⁵ AHPG RD 782–93, 16 April 1596. In fact, by a codicil of 4 May 1596, María de Bazán was appointed sole tutor of the infants.

Remarriages created particular problems. When Mateo de Lisón y Biedma died in 1641 he had to provide for the offspring of three marriages. He wanted his only male heir, Jesús Manuel, a child by his third wife and still very young, to be sent back from Algarinejo to Granada, to the household of his eldest daughter, Mariana de Lisón y Contreras and her husband Luis Fernández de Córdoba, to be reared there. The sister of Jesús Manuel, little Ginesa de Lisón y Carvajal, was to be brought up with her step-sister Francisca de Lisón y Contreras. Meanwhile, of Mateo's two children by his second marriage, one was a Franciscan friar and the other, Josefa, was living with her grandfather, the government minister Gregorio López Madera, on a rather modest pension of 800 *reales* a year from her father.³⁶

The instability of the family, given the high mortality of the age, appeared to some observers to be made worse by the way the laws of dowry and inheritance worked. As Moret and Silvela put it in their essay arguing for reform, 'when the husband is snatched away by the hand of destiny, the Castilian family falls to pieces: its property is divided and fragmented, and there is no guarantee that the mother will be left in charge'.³⁷ When Bartolomé de Hinojosa died in September 1596, he left a seventeen-year-old widow, Guiomar Maldonado, and an infant daughter, Mariana, aged five months. The dowry promised had been 4,700 ducats, of which 2,254 had been handed over in cattle and furnishings, and the rest was mostly outstanding, to be raised from Guiomar's uncle and brother. Guiomar now demanded the return of her dowry in the usual way, together with the *arras*, the bridal gift offered by the groom to a virgin bride, which in this case amounted to 800 ducats, her clothes and the marriage bed (often the most valuable item of furniture in those days). Given that she had a baby daughter to rear, Guiomar also felt she was entitled to a pension of 500 ducats a year from her husband's estate. But she had reckoned without Bartolomé's formidable mother, Mariana de Granada Venegas, who was busy at this time creating a *mayorazgo* for Bartolomé's younger brother Don Pedro de Hinojosa. Her defence of the Hinojosa patrimony forced Guiomar to accept just the return of her clothes, but not her bridal and mourning gowns, and 250 ducats by way of *arras*. As for her five-month-old grandchild, Doña Mariana reckoned that 80 ducats a year would be enough to rear her, increasing to 133 when she reached her eighth birthday.³⁸

³⁶ AHN Consejos leg. 4,209, testament, 25 March 1641.

³⁷ *La familia foral*, p. 185.

³⁸ AHPG RD 1107–1109v, 24 September 1596, and 1229, 6 November 1596.

Mothers faced the recurring hazard of childbirth – sometimes, like Francisca Clara Barahona, when they must have been nearing middle age. On the other hand they seem to have avoided breast-feeding when they had the means. The Jesuit commentator Tomás Sánchez noted that some of his contemporaries were worried about having sexual relations as long as the mother was breast-feeding in case it affected the supply of milk. He pointed to the example of the poor, where mothers would suckle the infant for two years, with no deleterious effect of conjugal relations on the infant.³⁹ But patrician families nevertheless seem to have preferred recourse to wet-nurses. These might on occasion live elsewhere, but the norm seems to have been to try and bring them into the family home. The merchant Juan Piñero died in 1751, leaving a widow with a two-year-old baby, who was being looked after by a resident wet-nurse (two years seems to have been the normal duration of suckling at the time), and the census of Ensenada has several references to these *amas de leche* in the houses of the elite. Indeed, the early journal of the period, the *Gacetilla Curiosa*, carried several advertisements in 1764 from women seeking a position as wet-nurses ‘in the house’. Don Alonso de Ahumada Salazar in his will of 1704 left 200 *reales* to the old nurse who had reared him and apparently still lived with him.⁴⁰

In principle, such nurses were under closer supervision than those who lived at a distance and who were more often employed to suckle illegitimate offspring. But tragedies could arise. The chronicler of the Herrasti family tells us of the fate of his second child, born on 12 July 1730, mysteriously found dead five days later, ‘apparently smothered by his nurse, as the latter’s flight would lead us to suppose’.⁴¹ Of the ten offspring born to him, Herrasti lost five in infancy, two of them killed by smallpox when they were one and seven years of age respectively. There was clearly great affection shown towards the young – Herrasti spoke of himself and his wife ‘transfixed with grief’ at the loss of the five-day-old, though perhaps mainly because he was the only one of their progeny not to have received baptism (and hence carried no name).

For the rest, there was little room for excessive indulgence in an age when the individual was expected to play his or her role as a member of the group. So, personal inclination can hardly have been at issue when Herrasti placed two of his infant daughters, as we saw earlier, in a convent

³⁹ *De sancto matrimonii sacramento*, vol. III, pp. 1,181–4 (book 9, *disputatio* 22).

⁴⁰ AHPG FP 462–70v, testament of Juan Piñero, 28 September 1751.

⁴¹ *Historia de la casa de Herrasti*, p. 331.

near their home. The concept of the 'home' as such can hardly be said to exist. What we have is a fine network of personal ties reaching out across the physical space of the community as a whole, an archipelago of family units, scattered along streets and neighbourhoods, embracing houses, convents and schools. In later years the college for 'noble ladies' (*Colegio de Doncellas Nobles*), founded in 1530 but really taking off only from the 1670s with its move to the old Dávila Ponce de León family home, became a more frequent resort of orphaned girls of good family as religious vocations tended to decline somewhat.⁴²

Boys too tended to grow up quickly in this society, loosening the ties that bound them to the parental home. A turning-point seems to have come around the tenth or eleventh birthday, when the youngster would be given a man's cap (*gorra*) – the case of Andrés Pérez de Herrasti in 1579. When her son Gonzalo Zegrí de Alarcón (1564–1621) turned thirteen, his widowed mother Isabella Porcel de Peralta provided him with a horse and his own page boys. When he turned eighteen the spirited youth grieved her by taking her to court and demanding control of his father's estate.⁴³ Antonio Pérez de Herrasti was sixteen when he participated in his first tournament in 1745 as a member of the aristocratic fraternity of the *Maestranza* – two years older than Antonio Alfonso de Teruel when he rode out in the masquerade mounted by the patricians in 1639 to celebrate the wedding of the *corregidor*. Much of the education of the patrician was of this kind – learning to wield the sword (there are references to such exercises in the Alhambra during the sixteenth century), to ride skilfully, to hunt (one of the favourite pastimes of the popular *corregidor* of 1648, Don Luis de Paz, and ably defined by Lope de Vega in his great drama of the 1620s, *El Mejor Alcalde el Rey*, as a preparation for the life of the soldier).

For real war was never far away. Juan Francisco Pérez de Herrasti, chronicler of his family, tells us that he was not yet fifteen when he set out in the troubled year 1711 with his father for the campaign against the Habsburg pretender. With his father away in the army for much of the time, the young Juan Francisco had a rather nomadic upbringing, moving to his mother's people, the Ortega, in Guadalcanal for part of the time but appearing to live mostly with his grandfather in Granada. There are quite vivid portraits, for all that, of the domestic scene which he had known as a

⁴² Garzón Pareja, *Historia de Granada*, vol. II, p. 62.

⁴³ AHPG 236 Bartolomé Díaz, 296–301, 26 June 1582; Cf. Henríquez de Jorquera, *Anales de Granada*, vol. II, p. 642.

child. His aunt Elvira, mother of his first cousin Jacinta who was to become his wife, was a formidable old lady until her death at the age of 87 in 1738: 'Her pastimes were the domestic chores. She was the first to rise in the morning . . . When she had nothing else to do she would get out her sewing . . . and to guard against the cold of winter, she would spin cloth for herself, her children and her servants.' As regards his own mother, Jacinta de Ortega, the author combines respect with a hint of distance from a lady of whom he cannot have seen very much as he was growing up. She was virtually abandoned by her military husband, but she managed to overcome her feelings of frustration and jealousy, we are told: 'Most careful of our upbringing and education, she managed to combine the affection of a true mother with an emphasis on the law of God, never overlooking the slightest fault we committed.'⁴⁴ One senses the formalism here of domestic relations as they were set out by the Franciscan writer Antonio Arbiol around this time: 'in well-run households, all the sons and daughters should kiss the hand of their father and their mother and their grandparents when they are about to leave the house or come back in'.⁴⁵

Arbiol, like other ecclesiastical writers, was concerned about the moral discipline of the young, in which good education had a key role to play. Fathers must teach their sons to read, write and count, and their daughters at least to read, 'for these are assets becoming to a rational being, and it is really something to be ashamed of that a man, though poor, cannot sign his name and give an account of himself in writing'. In what might almost be taken for an echo of Protestant sentiment, Friar Arbiol laid down that 'the good father of a family must be a zealous evangelist to all his household'. However, though he advocated the reading of holy books together, his plan for the moral development of the family looks beyond its walls. Rather than prayers in the home (of which there is no mention), it is the frequentation of mass and the sacraments which is stressed in the section of the book devoted to 'the principal virtues through which a household flourishes'.⁴⁶ The Jesuit Matías Sánchez was equally keen on education and piety, but though he could recall with tears in his eyes reading aloud to his family as a child from the *Lives of the Saints*, it is the sermon and catechism in church which figure most prominently in his scheme of things.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ *Historia de la casa de Herrasti*, pp. 200 and 252.

⁴⁵ *La familia regulada*, p. 591.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 141–335.

⁴⁷ *El padre de familias*, pp. 86–8.

It was the school which the early spokesman for the Jesuit ideal, Father Pedro de Ribadeneira, emphasised as one of the pioneering contributions which his order was making to the reform of European society, helping to fashion a new elite of sober, self-disciplined citizens.⁴⁸ One of the keys to the Jesuit success was that their colleges emphasised 'education' in the broad sense and not merely 'instruction', and that they cooperated closely with the family through their 'congregations' or pious brotherhoods recruited in part from past pupils. Primary schooling in Granada seems to have been in a state of some neglect, to judge by the ordinances of reform decreed by the city council in 1530. The 'masters of first letters' were essentially 'scriveners', who could compose a letter for customers as well as teach how to read or, for an additional fee, how to write as well. The problem hitherto had been the lack of control over their quality, so from 1530 the secretary to the town council and one of the aldermen were to supervise the examination of competence to be conducted by the guild of scriveners. It was emphasised that 'the masters must take great care to train their pupils in sound Christian doctrine and behaviour', getting them to recite the Pater Noster, Ave Maria and the Ten Commandments every day.⁴⁹

Whether this would be the case of Don Servando, the 'master of first letters' memorably captured by the folklorist Antonio Juan Afán de Ribera in one of his essays, may be doubted. Don Servando, living alone in a rather squalid lodging house in the Granada of the closing years of the Old Regime, 'taught the serving lads and polished up the accounts of stewards and butlers who were not very good with the pen'.⁵⁰ Probably much early education depended on the stimulus and interests of the parents. Doña María de Olivares, daughter of a lawyer and wife of Melchor Ruiz Canales, of a distinguished family of financiers and veinticuatro, was able to keep her own 'memorandum of assets, debts and moneys which I owe and are owed to me, signed by me'. Her fairly neat signature, in capital letters (*Doña María de Olivares*), matches that of her eldest daughter, the seventeen or eighteen-year-old postulant *Soror Claudia de San Miguel*, who must have owed much in this respect to her mother.⁵¹ The chronicler Francisco Bermúdez de Pedraza had equally a decided

⁴⁸ *Vida de Ignacio de Loyola* (1572), Austral edition (Madrid 1946), pp. 177–92.

⁴⁹ *Ordenanzas, título 61*. Cf. Richard Kagan, *Students and society in early modern Spain* (Baltimore 1974), pp. 8–19.

⁵⁰ *Cosas de Granada* (Granada 1889), p. 35.

⁵¹ AHPG LG 1,172v–5, 6 December 1627.

advantage for someone of his middle-class background in that his mother, Catalina de Bermúdez, was literate.⁵²

One could recruit a private tutor. On 9 July 1764 there appeared an advertisement in the newly founded Granada weekly, the *Gacetilla Curiosa*, which ran as follows: 'There has arrived in this city a man of forty-two years of age, a grammarian and philosopher, who seeks to become a tutor for the education of young masters, or else a steward or a secretary for correspondence.'⁵³ It must have been someone of this kind that the wealthy notary Juan Francisco Tafur and his wife Magdalena Sáez Diente hired for their nephew Antonio, whom they had reared from the time he was two years old, 'giving him an education and putting him to study with masters whom we have kept under our roof to instruct him in letters and Christian doctrine'. After he had finished his primary schooling and was proficient in grammar, they sent him to the college of San Miguel to study theology.⁵⁴ Alternatively a child might be placed in the family of his teacher as a 'pupil'. It was 60 ducats a year which Professor Manuel de Fuentes of the University of Granada charged for taking in the son of Judge Martín de Carvajal of the Chancillería after his father's death in 1594 and teaching him grammar.⁵⁵ Mostly such cases related to orphans and are often couched in terms which resemble an apprenticeship. Thus, Tomás de Muros sought to place his three young sisters, who were around eight years old, with his uncle Doctor Diego Varón, offering him 100 ducats and 18 *fanegas* of wheat every year from his estate for their maintenance. His younger brother Bernardo, meanwhile, was to go and live with Don Sebastián de Lara, a lawyer in the town of Ubeda, where the Varón had connections. Bernardo was to serve Lara 'in any fair and reasonable way' for four years, during which time he was to be fed and clothed, and to 'become proficient in reading and writing, of which he has the rudiments at the present time but not enough to get by'. After the first year, he was also to begin the study of Latin grammar, with Don Sebastián 'teaching him at home, and giving him books and time off to learn'.⁵⁶

There were all sorts of variations on this theme, which resembled the kind of education that noble youths had traditionally received as page boys. The bishops often kept large households of this kind. 'His household was a

⁵² AHPG 340 Juan de Encalada and Diego Sánchez 157–68, 16 February 1599.

⁵³ *Ave María: mamotreto en que van enquadernados todos los semaneros granadinos* (Granada 1765).

⁵⁴ AHPG JFT 357–63v, 20 September 1685.

⁵⁵ AHPG 399 Luis Ortiz 107–8, 27 February 1599.

⁵⁶ AHPG GHS 211v–13, 27 March 1620, and 218v–20, 30 March 1620.

seminary', the chronicler Pedraza tells us of Hernando de Talavera, Archbishop of Granada between 1492 and 1507, 'where he reared the younger sons of the lords of Spain and other orphans, for in their different ways one is as lacking in means as the other'.⁵⁷ There were 250 of these pages and servants, we are told, picking up an education part-time – not too different, one may assume, from that which the fourteen-year-old Thomas More was receiving at around the same time in the household of Cardinal Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury. It must have been a relic of this system which we find in the case of twelve-year-old Juan de Molina Muñoz, placed in 1622 by his tutor 'in service to' Don Pedro Jiménez de Ahumada for three years and eight months. 'He is to serve (Don Pedro) as a page boy in his house in all that may be asked of him that is not dishonourable, and Don Pedro is to provide him with meals, clothing and shoes, a roof over his head and a bed, in sickness and in health, treating him well. And at the end of this period he must have taught him to read and write *letra menuda* (cursive writing?) and to read notarial hand fluently.' The penalty of failure, as in other apprenticeship contracts, was that Don Pedro would have to pay for the boy's education elsewhere.⁵⁸

Page boys continue to be found in the documentation down to the eighteenth century, usually attached to the judges of the chancery court, but they were increasingly rare. More often by now it was in one of the ordinary schools of the city that the young patrician would make his way. Thus Don Luis de Paz, the popular hero of 1648, had begun to learn to 'read, write and count' with one such school master. *Pupilaje* – living in with the tutor – could be arranged in exceptional circumstances, as by a widow of the small town of Colomera for her son and heir with the schoolmaster Diego Peñalver in 1793. But Peñalver's main clientele came from within Granada itself. The inventory of his school suggests some of the education he dispensed – numerous *catones* (graded readers) and a handbook for 'learning to read in six months', various *artes de escribir*, a large assortment of rulers and some books on arithmetic . . . He possessed a 'geography for children', some Spanish, Latin and French grammars (including the famous Nebrija), but little in the way of history or literature, except for 'a third volume' of *Don Quixote*. His numerous books of a religious character, in which Fray Luis de Granada occupied a prominent place, together with a primer on 'good manners and civility', suggest that the demands of the city council in 1530 for moral discipline in

⁵⁷ *Historia eclesiástica*, p. 187v.

⁵⁸ AHPG LG 132v–5, 9 May 1622.

schools were not going unheeded. But the very gentle Fray Luis would have opened the eyes of the child to the law of God as seen in the natural world around him.⁵⁹

It was this combination of Renaissance humanism and religious discipline which the adolescent would encounter as he graduated from primary school to the study of Latin grammar. Numerous 'grammar schools' of this kind were founded in Counter Reformation Granada, mostly to cater to the needs of the church. San Miguel, originally set up to evangelise the Moriscos but then converted to the use of Old Christians after the rebellion of 1568, had to send its students on holy days to the cathedral choir. The funding of these colleges was dependent on ecclesiastical benefices, and the city council got the king to decree in 1605 and 1624 that these should be reserved where possible for natives of the diocese. Certainly Bermúdez de Pedraza was concerned by two problems which may have been inter-connected: lack of student discipline, and lack of opportunities for native Granadans in competing for the few available scholarships.⁶⁰

It was against this background that the Jesuit colleges assumed their importance. The Jesuits came to Granada in 1554, founding their college of San Pablo; but their maximum impact came rather later, as they took over the *mayorazgo* of the famous lawyer Diego de Ribera in 1642 when his sons died without heirs. With the funds they established a college which was expanded in 1702 when the direct line of descent of the great Genoese financier and veinticuatro Bartolomé Veneroso came to an end and his vast estates passed to their order. This new college of San Bartolomé and Santiago excelled as a cultural and educational centre in the Granada of the later Baroque. Jesuit colleges aimed to move beyond mere instruction to the formation of character itself through closer all-round supervision of the youngster. Certainly the programme of San Bartolomé and Santiago, with its regulation of the working day, of commensality and civility, must have inculcated a heightened self discipline. In their memorial of 1702 to the king asking for authorisation to devote the bulk of the Veneroso inheritance to education, the Jesuits pointed out that this was the highest form of charity to one's fellow citizens. Whereas endowments to feed the poor, marry orphans or ransom

⁵⁹ AHPG JZF 46–53v, 20 April 1793.

⁶⁰ *Historia eclesiástica*, pp. 220–2. Cf. María del Carmen Calero Palacios, *La enseñanza y educación en Granada bajo los Reyes Austrias* (Granada 1979) and Calero Palacios, Inmaculada Arias de Saavedra and Cristina Viñes Millet, *Historia de la universidad de Granada* (Granada 1997).

captives – of the kind which Bartolomé Veneroso had originally envisaged – helped individuals, schools contributed to ‘the utility, benefit and advancement of the public interest, for in these colleges, as in a workshop or armoury, by dint of training and formation in letters and virtue, are forged knowledgeable and godly instruments of labour in the vineyard of the church, and for the management and government of the commonwealth’.⁶¹

One should beware of overestimating the impact of Jesuit discipline, however. Indeed, it was of the continued indiscipline of their students that the college of Santiago (as it then was, with forty inmates) complained in 1677 – of climbing over walls at night and frequentation of women of easy virtue.⁶² In the end, the school reflected the mores of the aristocratic and honour-conscious society of which it was part, and rather than the individual, it was the lineage which still counted for most in patrician circles. Don Luis de Paz had been made a knight of Calatrava at the tender age of eight. At thirteen, he was transferred by his ambitious parents – ‘who saw the liveliness of his mind and wished for achievements which would obtain for him promotions corresponding to his rank’ – to the Jesuit college, where he began the study of Latin grammar.⁶³ But then, when he was only sixteen, he was removed from school because his parents had found a wealthy bride for him. The obligations of rank outweighed personal preference or achievement.

At the end of the day, this was not a society structured around the kind of intimate household envisaged in the treatises on child-rearing. The focus of loyalty was the lineage rather than the nuclear family, and, as for the Pérez de Herrasti, the burial vault provided that stability over time which orphanage, marriage and subdivision of estates would not allow to develop in any other way. When Don Fernando de Céspedes Oviedo died in 1622 he left an infant daughter, the five-year-old Juana María, as his heir. Through his mother he was linked to the Cuéllar Simancas family, secretaries of the Chancillería who had risen to become *veinticuatro*s of Granada, through his father to a judge in Madrid. He married the granddaughter of judge Cano of the Council of Castile, and when his wife died she was interred in the Cano tomb in Tarancón near Madrid. Half established in Granada, therefore, in his will of 1622 Fernando provided

⁶¹ F. Martínez Lumbereras, *Historia del real colegio de San Bartolomé y Santiago* (Granada 1915), pp. 72–4.

⁶² María José Osorio Pérez, *Historia del real colegio de San Bartolomé y Santiago* (Granada 1987), pp. 52–3.

⁶³ Antonio de Jesús, *Epítome de la admirable vida*, p. 8.

for his own interment – in Tarancón, if he died there and if in Granada, then with his mother's people, the Cuéllar Simancas, in the great Franciscan convent. But these arrangements were only temporary. He hoped that his daughter Juana María would take up residence in Granada and have a new burial vault constructed, in which case his remains, together with those of his wife and the three young children who were buried with her, were to be removed there, 'for my will is that we should all be together there where my daughter Doña Juana María is living, so that she may pray to God for our souls'.⁶⁴

In this lengthy document there is little reference to the living arrangements of those who were still alive. The cult of the lineage tended to eclipse that of the individual. There are indications here as in other parts of Reformation and Counter Reformation Europe, it is true, of a growing interest in the family as a moral foundation of the godly commonwealth, the cradle of the Christian citizen. But it is not clear that this approach enjoyed much popular appeal during the early modern period. There are splendid depictions of the Holy Family which set out the new ideal. But the iconography is not as rich as that, for example, of the child-centred art of the seventeenth-century Netherlands, which celebrates youth and exudes confidence in the perfectibility of man in this life. Rather, over depictions of the Christ child in Granada hangs the shadow of the Crucifixion, symbolised by the cross or the Crown of thorns which lurks in the background of the painting.⁶⁵ This emphasis on death no doubt contributed to a sense of the fragility of the individual, creating an atmosphere in which the cult of the wider community could flourish.

⁶⁴ AHPG GHS 553–69, 22 June 1622.

⁶⁵ Francisco Javier Martínez Medina, *Cultura religiosa en la Granada renacentista y barroca* (Granada 1989), pp. 315–16. My impressions were formed looking at the collection of paintings of this genre in the museum of San Juan de Dios. Cf. Simon Schama, *The embarrassment of riches: an interpretation of Dutch culture in the Golden Age* (London 1991), pp. 486–96.

The shadow of the ancestors

'There are two kinds of lineage in this world', Don Quixote told Sancho Panza, 'those that sprang from princes and monarchs, and that time has gradually destroyed . . . and others that began with low-born people, and have prospered little by little'.¹ But if many could agree with the knight of La Mancha that virtue was to be found even in men of obscure parentage, there was an increasing trend around this time to seek for it a more secure foundation. Much commentary on the ills of society had as its target the blurring of ranks, the rise of new men, the disintegration of the Christian commonwealth through selfishness. This is an age of iron, wrote Suárez de Figueroa in 1617: 'no longer can a man count on his friends, no longer on true counsel, no longer on good will. All has become lies, all fair-seeming, all love of the self.' The growth of cities in particular had contributed to this outcome, where one had to judge a man by his *traje* (costume) rather than his *linaje* (family background).² As part of the restoration of the age of chivalry, from which he hoped would flow great benefits for Spain, the Benedictine monk Juan Benito Guardiola, urged that greater attention be paid to lineage when promoting men to positions of honour and leadership. For coming of a noble family 'is important as a stimulus to acts of heroism, famous achievements and feats of arms worthy of enduring memory'.³

In spite of the vaunted individualism of Renaissance man, the trend since the later Middle Ages had been to emphasise the importance of 'pedigree' as well as 'valour' in those who aspired to honour. The most influential treatise of the age, Castiglione's *The Courtier* (1528), set out a pattern of gentility based on upbringing and education which went

¹ *Don Quixote*, part 1, chapter 21.

² Cristóbal Suárez de Figueroa, *El pasagero* (Madrid 1617), pp. 132–3; Antonio Liñán y Verdugo, *Guía y avisos de forasteros que vienen a la corte* (Madrid 1620), pp. 75–6.

³ *Tratado de nobleza* (Madrid 1591), p. 84v.

beyond the achievements of the man on horseback. The cult of chivalry itself, so popular in the Renaissance, fostered the self-consciousness of the elite as a band of brothers whose code of conduct was that of honour rather than force. It was this spirit which underlay the Castilian law of 1451, forbidding the arming as knights of men of common birth – such people as ‘have not been born into nor reared in the profession of knighthood, nor practised it through long custom’.⁴

The usurpation of knightly status continued to worry the Catholic Monarchs Ferdinand and Isabella as they tried to restore order after the long and bloody conflicts which had preceded their reign. In a well-ordered society there must be a pyramid of ranks in which those who defended the realm were paid for by those who laboured. Thus their decree of 1492 deplored the numbers claiming to be noble over the last generation or so: if this were allowed to continue, ‘in a short while there would be very few taxpayers left in our realms’.⁵ The questions asked of witnesses in the enquiries of the time reflect the suspicion that claimants had got out of paying taxes because they were powerful men. Had the alleged noble, therefore, enjoyed the protection of some great house? Had he threatened the local inhabitants ‘with drawn sword on horseback’? Had he been so wealthy – or so poor – that his town council omitted to tax him?

Hidalguía (nobility) was always difficult to classify exactly in a society like Spain whose traditions were those of continuous warfare. It included, after all, those numerous impoverished families scattered across the north of the Peninsula, from the Basque Country and the ‘Mountain Country’ to the north of Burgos through Asturias to Galicia, referred to by the Cortes of 1593 as those who ‘through the shedding of so much blood kept alive in these realms the name of the Christian religion’ and who ‘through pride in their ancestry . . . found consolation for their poverty’.⁶ As the Moorish frontier moved south, memory of lineage gave those with whom one came in contact a measure of one’s reliability. Reputation was crucial here, for one could be known as *muy hidalgo* (‘very much the gentleman’), as well, presumably, as less so. Hence the fascination on the frontier with tracing ancestry, as a guarantee of honour in a mobile and turbulent society. One witness to the nobility of the Contreras family in 1639, an aged priest of over eighty years of age, recalled hearing his elders talk

⁴ *Nueva Recopilación*, 6 / 1 / 4.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 2 / 11 / 8.

⁶ *Actas de las Cortes de Castilla*, vol.XIII (1593), pp. 63–6.

about them: 'in those times most of the inhabitants of this city who had just arrived would talk to one another and tell where they had come from, since the upheavals and conflicts in this kingdom were so recent and there were so many Moors, for which reason everyone sought to establish who he was and where he was from'.⁷ Keeping alive the memory of the lineage also played an important role in that other frontier society, seventeenth-century Russia, where the *mestnichestvo* assigned office to nobles on the basis of their clan membership, until Peter the Great abolished the system. And a fascination with genealogy was characteristic of the Latin American elites in colonial times. One may feel that similar factors were at work there as in Spain: the use of lineage to recreate the hierarchy of the homeland in a mobile frontier environment. It was an enduring passion. In his *Tales of the Alhambra* (1832), Washington Irving gave a memorable portrait of the down-at-heel Mateo Ximenes, who told the author: 'I know we belong to some great family or other, but I forget whom. My father knows all about it: he has the coat of arms hanging up in his cottage.'

During the Renaissance an increasingly literate and critical public had begun to look more critically at these oral memories. As part of the wave of publication of local histories came attempts to find out more about the great men of the community and their background. One of the most significant of genealogical enquiries of the time was that on the Andalusian nobility published by Gonzalo Argote de Molina of Seville in 1588. Armed with a warrant from the Crown to consult whatever archives he needed, he tells us that he looked up marriage contracts and wills, censuses and tax returns, tomb inscriptions and chronicles, in the course of an investigation which lasted twenty years and which aimed to dispel 'many errors which the common people take to be fact, and many great fables'. But this was a delicate and dangerous business, as the chronicler Ortiz de Zúñiga was to find in Seville and Cascales in Murcia, for many papers had been lost and the 'ambition of powerful men' was an impediment to finding out the truth.⁸

More and more it proved necessary in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to establish the identity of one's family – for entry to colleges, for example, or to posts with the Holy Office, or to a range of other positions which required 'purity of blood' (*limpieza de sangre*). A law of

⁷ ARCG H 115 / 8, 21 July 1639.

⁸ *Nobleza de Andalucía* (1588), ed. Manuel Muñoz y Garnica (1866), re-edited with introduction by Enrique de Toral (Jaén 1957), p. 21.

the Catholic Kings of 1501 barred entry to government office, including confidential positions of notary, lawyer or *veinticuatro*, to grandsons of anyone condemned for heresy by the Holy Office. And the orders of chivalry – Santiago, Calatrava, Alcántara – once dedicated crusaders against the Moor, sank during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to exclusive brotherhoods which conferred honour without much responsibility. Obtaining a *hábito*, a tunic emblazoned with a cross of one of these orders, became for many leading nobles ‘an obsession, the chief topic of their conversation, the goal of their activity, and a source of worry, expense and conflict which cost not a few their fortune, health and even life itself’.⁹

There were several degrees of honour in Spain. The mere *hidalgo* claimed the honour of descent from ‘a man of worth’, though he himself might not be worth very much; the *caballero* (knight) had at least a horse and fought in battle, and the term was by the sixteenth century increasingly reserved for knights of the Military Orders; and finally, to become a knight one had to demonstrate not only *hidalguía* but also *limpieza de sangre*, that one was descended from grandparents on both mother’s and father’s side of the family who were Old Christians.¹⁰ Inevitably much confusion entered into these overlapping classifications. When Baltasar de la Fuente Vergara, younger son of the powerful family of chancery clerks and *veinticuattros* of Granada, sought to go the Indies in 1602, he drew up what was known as an *información de testigos* – a series of statements from important people, on oath before a judge – about his family background. The high court intervened to stop the proceedings half way through, putting the examining magistrate (*alcalde mayor*, or deputy to the *corregidor* of Granada) under house arrest for usurping its function. Only the high court, it ruled, could determine if a man were a noble or not. Yes, agreed the unhappy *alcalde mayor*, while arguing that he thought Baltasar had only wanted to prove his Old Christian ancestry, a necessary qualification for emigration to the New World.¹¹

Getting witnesses to testify before a judge to one’s family background was a recognised way of establishing a claim to something – an entail, for example, or a charitable endowment. It might also serve as useful evidence later of a claim to nobility. Proof of nobility was both arbitrary and

⁹ Domínguez Ortiz, *La sociedad española*, vol. 1, p. 198.

¹⁰ Juan Hernández Franco, *Cultura y limpieza de sangre en la España moderna* (Murcia 1996), pp. 62–4; Elena Postigo Castellanos, *Honor y privilegio en la corona de Castilla* (Madrid 1988), pp. 133–55.

¹¹ ARCG H 301 / 175 / 51, 26 April 1602.

complex, depending to a great extent on what the certificate from the court was meant to achieve. Several cases in seventeenth-century Granada were of an interim nature: Juan Guillén de Contreras initiated legal proceedings in 1639 so that his errant brother Francisco, condemned to death by the courts, should be executed as a noble and not hanged as a common criminal; the bankrupt merchant Francisco de Córdoba fought in 1625 to establish that as a noble he should not be gaoled for debt.¹²

During the sixteenth century the king's high courts in Valladolid and Granada were intervening more in such cases in order to stop the acquisition of *hidalguía* by the back door. The so-called *pleitos de hidalguía* (lawsuits seeking to establish noble status) came to constitute one of the principal items of business of these august tribunals, rising sharply over the sixteenth century. Part of the reason must be, as in other parts of Europe at the time, an attempt to restrict access to the nobility. For the knight, the man on horseback who had won fame at the point of a sword, was becoming something of an anachronism in a more ordered society – as Don Quixote was to find to his cost. In northern Europe it was, indeed, increasingly possible to buy one's way into the nobility, but such a solution seemed inapplicable in Spanish conditions. Sales of nobility – or, more exactly, 'confirmations' of noble status in return for a donation to a hard-pressed monarchy – proved to be something of a flop. The wealthy peasant Pedro Crespo, hero of Calderón's drama, *The Mayor of Zalamea*, gave his reasons for not taking up such an offer: 'Is there anyone who does not know that I am a common man, though an Old Christian?' In small-scale communities, and especially perhaps in a crusading country where around 10 per cent of the population had a claim to knighthood anyway, the opinion of one's peers was what really counted.¹³

The normal path of social advancement lay through the courts of law, where one could establish a claim to honour at the bar of public opinion if one enjoyed the backing of enough friends and neighbours. Warrants (*ejecutorias*) confirming nobility rose gradually in the best-studied region, Extremadura, during the first half of the sixteenth century before increasing in spectacular fashion in the 1560s and 1570s. They then levelled off at or around the earlier rate reached in the 1550s.¹⁴ The Cortes of 1593

¹² ARCG H 301 / 115 / 8 (1639), and 301 / 109 / 43 (1625).

¹³ I. A. A. Thompson, 'The purchase of nobility in Castile 1552–1700', *Journal of European Economic History*, 8 (1979), 313–60.

¹⁴ Janine Fayard and Marie-Claude Gerbet, 'Fermeture de la noblesse et pureté de sang en Castille', *Histoire: économie et société*, 1 (1982), 51–75.

explained the movement in their own way – the unprecedented demand since 1568 for money and troops for the wars to establish control of Granada and Portugal, to which we may add the great increase in the *alcabala* tax after the spectacular bankruptcy of the monarchy in 1575. For that generation it became more interesting than ever to secure the privileged status of an *hidalgo*. To stem the flood, the Crown now proposed by its decree of 1592 to introduce more stringent controls on the interrogation of witnesses. It also wanted to review warrants confirming *hidalguía* which had been too generously issued by the courts, it believed, during the past twenty years. The Cortes were appalled: at a time when the loyalty of subjects to the Crown had never been so tested as in these wars currently under way against the powers of northern Europe, when therefore they might expect some reward for all their effort, opening an enquiry into whether newly confirmed nobles really deserved their privilege would inflict ignominy on whole groups of people. ‘If one looks at histories of the ancient world’, they lectured the king, ‘one finds no method so efficacious in spurring men to serve their country as entry to the senate and other offices which conferred nobility’.¹⁵

But they were also concerned about the new standards of proof. These included a demand for more hard evidence, such as exemption from taxes rather than simple common fame. The problem was that direct taxation was light or sometimes – as in the city of Granada – non-existent and that the bulk of government revenue was raised through indirect means. Thus, in Andalusia *hidalgos* paid the excise along with everybody else at the time of purchase, ‘and any distinction depends on the will of the local council, which, if it so wishes, every fifteen or twenty years may authorise a reimbursement of some kind to the nobility’. But nothing was certain. In cities like Granada the patricians really needed to establish their *hidalguía* in some other way, such as buying land in a village where half the local offices were reserved for nobles and getting elected to one of these positions, or establishing their reputation as gentlemen by securing release from gaol for debt.

In spite of the protests, the Crown made few concessions. The measure of 1592 was one of the last of the thirty-seven laws introduced from the later Middle Ages to define and protect nobility in Castile. During the seventeenth century the emphasis was more on consolidation of best practice, with increasing use of documents (certificates of baptism and

¹⁵ *Actas de las Cortes*, vol. XIII (1593), pp. 63–76; *Nueva Recopilación*, 2 /11 /8 and 33, laws of 1492 and 1592.

marriage were, of course, now more readily available). In fact, the law of 1592 seems to have been only patchily enforced, with interrogation of witnesses left largely, as in the past, to local notaries rather than to magistrates sent out specially from Granada. Investigations of *hidalguía* still fundamentally depended for their success on one's standing in the local community. Hence, a prohibition was introduced in 1703 on these communities allowing tax exemptions to new families without making a proper investigation of their genealogy and submitting the documentation to the high court in Granada. This decree seems to have taken cognisance of a new development which was taking place, whose explanation is not entirely clear. Whereas in the sixteenth century the chancery records are abundant and informative, if somewhat anarchic, as all kinds of petty suits of nobility came the way of the high court, seeking release from gaol for debt or from the hangman's rope, those of the later seventeenth century became increasingly sedate. They are often mere summaries of evidence seen and returned to a town council, authorising any relevant tax exemption. There was more written documentation available now – baptism and marriage certificates, tax registers – and less need to interrogate witnesses. Whether it became harder for new men to establish their alleged nobility is uncertain, for documents could be forged and complaints about this continued down to the end of the Old Regime. But there is surely some significance in the fact that it took longer to secure a warrant from the courts – four years from the lodging of the suit in Extremadura in the early sixteenth century, a full thirteen years by the end of that century. One may surmise that the nobility of Granada, as in the rest of Spain, was beginning to close its ranks gradually over the early modern period.

The motive usually alleged for establishing one's *hidalguía* was wrongful inclusion in a register of taxpayers. Though Granada was exempted in principle, as a land in need of settlers, from the direct royal tax (the *servicio*), things were not quite so simple in practice. In the town of Illora, for example, if the royal excise, the *alcabala*, did not fetch enough in any one year to pay the quota for which the town was liable, resort was had to a poll tax from which anyone claiming nobility must seek to extricate himself. In some places paying the excise itself was regarded as demeaning. Thus, the Pérez de Encalada family, an important dynasty of notaries in seventeenth-century Granada, one of whose members aggravated the crisis of 1648 by killing a rioter, established an early claim to nobility in their native town of Villalba de Alcor (Huelva) in 1541. There they got one of the local fishwives to testify that they had never paid the extra coin of the

alcabala when they bought their fish at her door. 'They said they were hidalgos', she recalled – though she had only their word for it.¹⁶

One of the articles of the great royal decree on the subject, that of 1492, suggested that crafty individuals would actively provoke a lawsuit simply in order to procure an *ejecutoria*, a warrant from the courts, certifying their noble status, even though they enjoyed *de facto* exemption from taxes. This seems to be what happened in the case of the powerful notary Gregorio de Arriola, who sought testimony of his lineage *ad perpetuam rei memoriam* in 1610, because 'the people who know about this matter are very advanced in years and aged, and he is afraid that, given their great age, it is very likely they will cease to be around within the next few years'.¹⁷ When the *fiscal* (Crown prosecutor) objected that there were no urgent reasons for determining the matter at this time, Arriola tried another tack, alleging that the authorities of Isbor had begun taxing the land he owned in the village. It is doubtful that the village had any quarrel with this powerful landowner, whose aim was simply to secure a coveted *ejecutoria* (eventually despatched on 20 November 1614). Though it may have been better to have been so far above suspicion that one did not need such documents at all, one should not underestimate their value to upwardly mobile families in a frontier city like Granada. Bernabé Moreno de Vargas, an authority on the nobility, thought that such official declarations of status were more helpful than not.¹⁸

These warrants of nobility were a proclamation to the world of a man's standing in his community. When the Crown prosecutor investigated the claims to nobility of the veinticuatro Rodrigo Dávila Ponce de León – who generously donated all his stocks of wheat to the people in the riots of 1648 (see below, p. 263), – he visited the little town of Illora, one of the 'seven towns' charged with the supply of grain to the city of Granada. The Dávila claimed to have been settled there since the Conquest. Though in order to attract population, all settlers had been exempted from paying direct taxes to the Crown, commoners were liable for occasional demands by the town hall for money to make good shortfalls in the excise (which was the normal source of revenue paid by all). This would happen, for example, when there was a road to pave, a bridge to build or a detachment of the king's troops to billet. One witness noted that the authorities 'did not dare' assign troops for billeting to Rodrigo's father, Diego, 'because

¹⁶ ARCG 301 / 118 / 14 (1607).

¹⁷ ARCG H 301 / 103 / 41 (1611).

¹⁸ *Discursos de la nobleza de España* (1622), new edn (Madrid 1971), pp. 73–80.

the said Diego de Avila was such an important man, but he has no idea whether he was a hidalgo or not one at all'. The family seem to have left Illora anyway in 1536, when Diego became veinticuatro of Granada. But they held on to the old house, which was 'the biggest and grandest in the town, with its coat of arms above the main door', and to their *cortijo* of Turrillas, given to them at the Conquest. It was not their only estate, but it was 'the one they esteem most highly and look after . . . since it is proof of their nobility'. Unfortunately, the old register of the *repartimiento* or 'division' of lands assigned to the original Conquest families – almost everywhere a prized testimony of noble ancestry – had gone missing from the town hall. Though the town council considered sending someone to the great royal archive in Simancas to make a copy so as to establish 'the names and family background of the *ganadores*' (or as we might say, conquistadors), lack of money ruled this out.¹⁹

Despite the gaps in the evidence, the Dávila Ponce de León were able to overawe their opponents. Their great house in Granada near the cathedral still stands, turned in the later seventeenth century into a famous orphanage and school for patrician girls. 'With their many servants and horses', recalled one witness, the Dávila figured 'among the leading participants in tournaments and cavalcades, and they sat during commemorations in church and public celebrations alongside the other knights of this city'. One might add that they would also have enjoyed the right to mount the platform in the public hall of the high court and sit beside the judges while they were pronouncing sentence, and the right to be members of the exclusive confraternity of 'Charity and Refuge', the Caridad, which looked after the poor. Such were the marks of nobility in seventeenth-century Granada. Wealth and connections of this kind were needed if one were to fight a lawsuit over *hidalguía* to its conclusion. In Extremadura such litigation could last for between six and ten years from the start to the conclusion of the second appeal; perhaps a little less in Granada, given the proximity of the high court.

In this delicate area of social status, the tribunals seem to have functioned as a kind of sounding board for rumour and public opinion. Not many seventeenth-century Granadans obtained a definitive judgement, declaring them to be hidalgos 'beyond question', imposing 'perpetual silence' on those who said they were not. Often they might have to make do, in spite of appeal, with a declaration that they had 'tenure' (*posesión*)

¹⁹ AHN Santiago 2402, García Dávila (1670); ARCG H 302 / 330 / 9, Rodrigo Dávila (1588).

of nobility, but that the court reserved judgement as to whether they deserved it – whether they had ‘outright ownership’ (*propiedad*). For that the claimant needed to identify clearly a link with a recognised noble ‘house of origin’ (*solar*), which required contacts and influence well beyond the frontiers of the too recently conquered kingdom of Granada. It was easier and quicker to get a warrant authorising execution by the sword rather than by the hangman’s rope, or release from the debtors’ gaol – interim injunctions which proved that the family was honourable – than to get one’s name expunged from a tax register. In that sense, litigation over nobility could go on for generations. One branch of a family might have to fight a battle which another had already gone through, and a later generation might have to sue out a *sobrecarta* (a ‘reaffirmation’ of its status), if there was any question about the line of descent.

Thus, many patrician families lived for much of their early career in a kind of grey zone of uncertainty – like one of the grandest of them all, the Teruel, Counts of Villamena. Their fortunes were laid by the lawyer Felipe Pérez de Teruel, who was active in the chancery court of Granada in the latter part of the sixteenth century. He had come from Cuenca where his father Hernán and his brothers had demanded to be removed from the tax registers of the town back in 1535. Hernán obtained the usual cautious judgement awarded to a powerful man: he was in de facto *posesión* of the privileges of nobility, but the high court was not sure that he deserved them. The sentence went to appeal, where it hung fire until 1551 when the previous judgement was upheld. But finally in 1590, on a second appeal, the now wealthy and powerful lawyer Felipe secured the overturning of the shameful sentence, with the award of ‘outright nobility’ (*hidalguía en propiedad*). A new star was born in the aristocratic firmament.²⁰

Felipe’s grandson, Juan de Teruel, went on to claim a knighthood of Santiago in 1632. But this was to move too fast. Entering one of the orders of chivalry was a sign that one now belonged to a national, rather than merely a local elite, and the enquiries into lineage were more thorough than for mere nobility. They included – and this was where Juan de Teruel came unstuck – an investigation of one’s mother’s family, whereas this was optional for *hidalguía*, which focused essentially on the male line. Also, questions were now asked about possible Jewish ancestry. ‘Please do

²⁰ ARCG H 301 / 79 / 31 (1590). Just 3 per cent of the Granadan population were officially classified as *hidalgos* in 1591; cf. A. Molinié-Bertrand, ‘Les “hidalgos” dans le royaume de Castille’, *Revue d’Histoire Economique et Sociale*, 52 (1974), 50–82.

me the favour, your lordship, of just taking a look at Don Juan', wrote one poisoned pen to the President of the Council of the Orders of Chivalry, 'and you will see the face of a man they paint pulling on a rope around Christ's neck.'²¹

Increasingly popular in the early seventeenth century, these knight-hoods appealed essentially to those who hoped to make a career beyond the confines of the city. Whereas there were between thirty and fifty new entrants a year in Spain as a whole around 1600, by the 1620s the numbers were closer to 150. Nineteen out of 171 veinticuatro in sixteenth-century Granada donned the tunic of a knight of one of the Orders; in the court city of Madrid, the proportion was as high as one-fifth of the aldermen.²² The rise may reflect in part a desire to foster martial values among the nobility, but also clearly had a fiscal aspect as new entrants were expected to contribute a sum of between 3,000 and 5,000 ducats to the Crown. It would be better, the Council of Orders had suggested some time before, for the king not to offer knighthoods to people without checking first with it about the quality of candidates, for if these had to be refused, then it was a greater stain on the honour of their families than if they had never been promised anything in the first place.²³

The investigations into ancestry were themselves the problem, suggested the Cortes of 1623 as they demanded that a man whose forebears had already been checked three times should not have the matter re-opened. In fact, the trend was the other way, towards increasing rigour, at least in principle. There was a powerful lobby which believed that only by restoring the values of chivalry could Spain be saved from her enemies. It is against this background that one may see the campaign to restrict entry to that embodiment of the old chivalry, the Military Orders. The crosses which had been offered so freely under Olivares came to be rather harder to get thereafter as new entrants fell back to around a hundred a year. 'Dear Casimiro', wrote Felipe de Villarreal to his illegitimate offspring in 1747 in reply to the latter's request for backing in his claim for a cross of Santiago, you will have to prove your affiliation to your four sets of grandparents, much to the annoyance of all our kin and at great cost

²¹ AHN Santiago 8048, Teruel (1632).

²² López Nevot, *La organización institucional del municipio de Granada*, pp. 144–5; Guerrero Mayllo, *Familia y vida cotidiana de una elite de poder*, p. 21.

²³ Elena Postigo Castellanos, *Honor y privilegio en la Corona de Castilla* (Madrid 1988), pp. 126 and 170–1. Cf. L. P. Wright, 'The Military Orders in sixteenth and seventeenth-century Spanish society', *Past and Present* 43 (1969) and José Antonio Maravall, *Poder, honor y élites en el siglo XVII* (Madrid 1979).

given the need to copy all the family papers. For the rest, 'it all depends on your persistence (*empeño*) and on money, with the backing of some grandee; if not, you won't get anywhere'.²⁴

The lengthy procedure would begin with the appointment by the Council of Orders of two 'recorders' (*informantes*), one a knight and the other a friar of the particular order to which the candidate had applied. They were supposed to visit the claimant's homeland and seek out documents and witnesses as to his ancestry. Inevitably, these investigators belonged to the same social class as the family they were investigating, and there were complaints about their lack of rigour. They are not to accept hospitality from the claimants, ruled the Council in 1661, nor to lodge in houses set at their disposal by the latter or their friends; and they must not omit any of the questions on the list they took with them from Madrid, regardless of the embarrassment to the candidate. Their reports give a sometimes vivid insight into the magnitude of the task facing them, especially given the poverty of communications in such a vast country in the pre-industrial period.

No *informante* was able to make the journey from Madrid to Granada in under five days. But Granada was only the beginning of a circuit which would take him along the path of migration of the family he was studying from as far back as the candidate's four grandparents. Thus, Francisco González de Sepúlveda, investigating García Dávila Ponce de León in 1666, had to move from Ubeda to Seville, from one end of Andalusia to the other. I have covered 188 leagues, he reported (about 950 kilometres); I have spent 24 days on the road, 34 interviewing witnesses and 2 more drawing up my report. Even then, there were complaints that Don Francisco had cut corners: he did not ask me anything about García Dávila's maternal grandfather (suspected of not being a noble), complained one alderman of Ubeda, blaming it on the fact that his wife was dying in Ecija, which motivated his hasty departure for that town. News travelled slowly, roads were poor. Even in the late spring of 1667, it took four and a half days, between 29 April and 3 May, to cover the 38 leagues (around 200 kilometres) from Alcalá la Real to Jerez de la Frontera. In winter, heavy rains were liable to cut the routes of Andalusia. Having left Baena on 13 January 1684, the recorders for Cristóbal Barahona Alarcón had to apologise to Madrid for only reaching the coast at Vélez Málaga on 18 January – 'for the severity of the storm and the state of the roads did

²⁴ ARCG 2060 / 1, Villarreal 1747.

not allow greater speed'. At an earlier stage of their enquiries, they had had to take refuge in Santa Fe, unable to pursue their journey to Loja because of the storm of 18 December 1683, 'with its heavy rainfall and the swelling of the rivers Genil and Cacán'.²⁵ And if one avoided the hazards of nature, there was always the risk from humans – the loss of mail between Andalusia and Madrid 'because of the many robberies committed', as García Dávila's *informantes* reported on 30 October 1666.

The network of communication which, in spite of everything, these bureaucrats were able to maintain between the provinces and Madrid was impressive in its way. Slow and uneven it may have been, but it reflected a cautious, methodical respect for the law and for the written document which cut across the more informal hierarchies of honour operating at the local level. But this was just where conflicts were most likely to occur: in gaining access to and interpreting the written document. In the lengthy investigations of 1666 into the family of García Dávila Ponce de León efforts were made to track down baptismal registers and testaments and other texts which might shed light on its exact affiliations. Some documents proved to be more readily available than others – marriage contracts, for example, with their specification of property, but not birth certificates. Hence, perhaps, the inaccuracies which became apparent when witnesses were asked their age: Antonio de Teruel, born in 1625, thought he was fifty years old in 1666, while another 56-year old put himself down as sixty-three in the same trial. Part of the explanation may be the desire of witnesses to appear old, given that they were expected to talk about the ancestors; but it is likely that they had little interest in that pre-industrial age in knowing exactly the date of their birth anyway.

In fact, it proved extremely hard to track down even the original parish registers, which were sometimes missing, either because required by the episcopal visitor for checking or, as one suspects, because the family had spirited away a compromising document. Thus, the Council of Orders refused to accept the copies of the baptismal entries of García Dávila's maternal grandparents in Baeza and Ubeda, alleging that they looked like forgeries. When the *informantes* tried to get first the parish priest, then the bishop, to release the original registers, they were met with a refusal. There was too great a risk, declared the vicar general of Granada, of a loss of precious documents, 'on which depends [knowledge of] the origins and legitimate descent of the sons of this city and diocese'. And the Dávila

²⁵ AHN Calatrava 238, Cristóbal Barahona (1684).

begged the Council of Orders to accept this decision, since the clergy could never be coerced, having a 'sovereign jurisdiction' of their own.

There was a similar fear of forgery of wills and marriage contracts. Having eventually tracked down the notary who had drawn up the will of García Dávila's maternal great-grandfather, the *informantes* threatened that unless he handed over the original, they would stay on in Granada at his expense. After protesting that he was liable to get into trouble with the high court if documents went missing, the hapless official agreed to unstitch a wad of sixty pages, in the middle of which was the original testament, but insisted he would not let the whole register go to Madrid – 'let it cost him whatever it should cost him'. By February of the following year (1667), the *informantes* had moved on to another notary, whom they had to help search for the register in which the Dávila maternal grandfather had made his will back in 1624. In the failing winter light, the three men recorded their unsuccessful rummaging among old papers – 'all afternoon, until eight o'clock at night'. When the missing register turned up the following day, the notary offered to make a copy, but, when shown the royal edict of 1629 requiring submission of original documents if and when required, in the timeless Spanish way, 'he said that he obeyed His Majesty's ruling (*cédula*) and placed it over his head, but that as regards carrying it into effect, speaking with all due respect, he could not hand over the book'.²⁶

Ultimately these investigations had to stand or fall by the oral testimony of witnesses. García Dávila was able to persuade the Council of Orders to overlook the uncertainty surrounding his maternal grandparents because his father Rodrigo, corregidor of Jerez, was such a good servant of the Crown, and because the Duke of Arcos spoke in his favour. Interviewed in his palace of Marchena, this grandee acknowledged that the Dávila were 'knights of great distinction and very ancient nobility, and he and his father always treated them as kinsmen and gentlemen of their house'. The special standing of this witness was evident in that he spoke without being put under oath or having to give his age, and with the rubric that the investigators had first sought permission to question him. For the rest, the *informantes* questioned sixty-nine witnesses formally, and 'many more' informally. This seems to have been the norm – somewhat more than would be required to establish mere *hidalgúia* (in 1588 the Dávila had presented twenty witnesses in Granada and twenty in their

²⁶ AHN Santiago 2402, García Dávila (1666–7).

homeland of Illora), rather less than the hundred or more who might be questioned in really controversial cases, like that of Juan de Teruel in 1632.

Unlike witnesses in *hidalguía* investigations, who were chosen by the claimant, those for the orders of chivalry were selected by the investigators. Most were men – overwhelmingly so in the case of the latter. Though a few women did testify to what they had heard as children, lineage seems to have been a male preserve, in marked contrast to the significant role of women in trials over property and inheritance. Investigations into genealogy were particularly delicate. Though witnesses were assured that their depositions would be kept absolutely secret, few could be confident of this. Juan de Teruel sent his brother to Mérida in 1632, where investigations were under way into their maternal grandfather, Tello Hernández Mesía, ‘and he hid away in a house in the suburbs and came out at night to talk to people’. One witness refused, therefore, to testify in person but wrote secretly to Madrid, ‘since he could see that the investigators were rather favourably disposed towards the claimant, and some witnesses were afraid that there was no secrecy’.²⁷ Shortly afterwards, those investigating Baltasar Barahona Zapata had to order this powerful political figure out of Granada, ‘since many witnesses had complained they were being solicited and browbeaten into not telling the truth’. Barahona had contrived, the investigators complained, ‘that the witnesses we were examining should be aware that he would know what they said’.²⁸

The gossip and the poison-pen letters surrounding the early seventeenth-century trials, when ‘new men’ like Teruel, Castellanos, Barahona were making their way forward, were merciless. ‘Everyone in Mérida knows that the Hernández Mesía are commoners and Jews’, declared one witness, but no one will say so openly. Instead, those interviewed limited themselves to reporting that they had overheard someone else question the status of a claimant – though that other person would be quick to deny saying anything if called in for interrogation. What underlay these rumours? Pure envy, suggested Baltasar Barahona Zapata, favourite of Olivares, in 1635. In some cases the vendetta can be easily enough uncovered, as when Antonio Maldonado Calvillo, who had helped spread the slander about Juan de Teruel’s humble origins, subsequently avowed that he had done so in a fit of pique when the latter ran off with his daughter and married the girl against her father’s will. In the

²⁷ AHN Santiago 8048, Teruel (1632).

²⁸ AHN Calatrava 228, Baltasar Barahona (1635).

case of Francisco Castellanos in 1643, one of the witnesses against his Old Christian ancestry was the priest Jerónimo de Jerez, who was a brother-in-law of the notary Gregorio de Arriola and uncle of the veinticuatro Alonso Ruiz de Castilla. The family crops up in notarial documents of the time as very respectable but poor, and Ruiz de Castilla played a prominent role in the disturbed year of 1648 as one of the spokesmen against further levies for the Crown. It seems possible that his grumbling against Castellanos five years before this was motivated by resentment of the latter's subservience to the interests of the monarchy.²⁹ Another of Castellanos' opponents was the famous poet Pedro Soto de Rojas (1584–1658). Having spent part of his life at court, where he befriended Lope de Vega and Góngora, this man of letters secured in 1616 an appointment as canon of the collegiate church of El Salvador in his native Granada. He played an active political role as representative of his church at court. One of his colleagues was canon Hernán López de Rojas, alleged to be related to Castellanos on his mother's side. Rumours were spread by Soto – under the veil of anonymity – about the Jewish background of his colleague, thus smearing Castellanos. One suspects that further research might uncover a vendetta at work here, born of the petty squabbles of the cloister.³⁰

Normally, though, the testimonies were fairly neutral or supportive, a reflection of the fact that the candidate for the honour of knighthood was generally accepted by his peers. The witnesses were men of standing and mature years (few were under fifty). If not themselves nobles, they would be clergy or familiars of the Holy Office, men with a finger on the pulse of social life in the community. Some were famous in their own right, like Bernabé Moreno de Vargas, who modestly described himself as having 'much information about times past' in Mérida, where he was called to trace the genealogy of the Teruel maternal grandparents, the Hernández Mesía in 1632. But, though Vargas knew that they had become distinguished jurists, he was not entirely certain about their origins. As one follows his testimony, one becomes aware of something he had already alluded to in his great treatise on the nobility of ten years before: the sheer proliferation of lines of descent, traced through women as much as men. Though it was right, he thought, for men to place their wives' arms on

²⁹ AHPG MP n.f., testament of Isabella de Ribas, 19 May 1645 and EC 541–8v, Ruiz de Castilla, 30 May 1675; AMG Actas del Cabildo, vol.xviii, 5 March 1648.

³⁰ AHN Santiago 1,720, Francisco Castellanos; testimony of Rojas 30 May 1644. Cf. Cristina Viñes Millet, *Figuras granadinas* (Granada n.d.), pp. 135–7.

their own coat – ‘for they should honour them as companions and consorts for life’ – and though it was customary to incorporate the arms of houses to whose estates one succeeded, this led to confusion over time. ‘Let nobles take care not to bear the arms of many lineages but only of those they cannot do without,’ he warned, ‘for I have seen as many quarterings on a coat of arms as there are countries on a map of the world.’³¹

The problem was evident to him now as he pondered the maternal line of the Teruel. Were the Hernández Mesía part of the same lineage as the physician Lope Mesía, of whom it was rumoured that he was a Jew who had taken his name from his godparents at baptism? As one watches the kaleidoscope of names whirl round relentlessly, echoes of Juan de Zabaleta come to mind: be careful whom you marry, for the stain of a penance imposed by the Inquisition will spread widely through the ‘veins of the citizenry’.³² Zabaleta referred his readers to the *sambenitos*, the tunics worn by penitents in the autos de fe hung up in perpetuity in the main church of each town. It was in response to rumour about the maternal ancestry of Baltasar Barahona Zapata that the commissioners of the Military Orders asked the sacristan of the parish of Santiago (to which the *sambenitos* had been removed from the cathedral in 1611) for a ladder to climb up and read the names. But the sacristan said ‘he did not dare do this, for the man in question was very powerful and held sway with the vicar general of the diocese’.³³

Amid all the innuendo one thing was clear: that reputation was more important than the actual record of the past. It was this which dismayed the pioneering researcher into the Andalusian nobility, Argote de Molina, as he spent twenty years going from one archive to the next, armed with a warrant from Philip II. We have been too remiss in keeping records, which could have dispelled many ‘great fables’ – which must have crept into my history as well, he added modestly. ‘For since men of power are consumed by ambition, you will scarcely find one who is content to trace his origins to anyone less than a king or an emperor.’³⁴ The Herald King at Arms (*Rey de Armas*) would sometimes issue a statement of the armorial bearings attached to a particular name or set of names, as he did for the

³¹ *Discursos de la nobleza de España* (1622), new edn (Madrid 1971), p. 188.

³² *El día de fiesta por la mañana* (1654), in E. Correa Calderón (ed.), *Costumbristas españoles*, 2 vols. (Madrid 1950), vol.1, pp. 213–16.

³³ AHN Calatrava 228, Barahona, report of 15 February 1635.

³⁴ *Nobleza de Andalucía* (1588), p. 21.

Díaz de Palencia, notaries of Granada who were claiming to be nobles in 1622. The Díaz, he affirmed confidently, 'are very good hidalgos', to be found in the Mountains of Burgos and the kingdom of Murcia 'and other parts', while the Palencia arms included eight heads of Moors, as granted to them by the Catholic Kings as a reward for their prowess in skirmishes along the Granadan frontier. Whether the family of the Granadan notary, Alonso Díaz de Palencia, had actually any right to place these arms above his door was a question the Herald at Arms could not resolve. In 1675 one of the Arriola clan, Juan Osorio, presented a rather similar certificate for admission as a familiar of the Holy Office. Their origin 'lies buried in the ashes of time', reported the *Rey de Armas*, 'so that one cannot get at the truth but must resort to conjecture'. The conjecture included a 'Gothic' or 'Greek' prince as mythical ancestor, and reference to a ninth-century hero, Osorio Gutiérrez, from whom descended the Marquis of Astorga, the Count of Altamira and, just possibly, the Osorio Arriola of Granada. The arms of the Osorio, set above the main door, would in any case over time forge a spurious link with this prestigious line.³⁵

A similar kind of slippage into a noble clan was a tactic frequently enough used. Names were often treacherous, as witnesses in *hidalguía* suits pointed out, for slaves could adopt those of their masters. And arms were scarcely more reliable. The silk merchant Francisco de Córdoba had the arms of the Counts of Alcaudete engraved on the silverware with which he is served at table, noted one weaver, called as a witness to the *hidalguía* which might free his master from the debtors' gaol. The weaver's wife could recall a conversation in her house ten years before with a man from Alcaudete, 'who looked as though he were over 90', who told her about her employer's grandfather, saying the latter 'had been a brother (*hermano*) or first cousin (*primo hermano*) of the Count of Alcaudete, but she does not remember for sure if he said brother or cousin'.³⁶ It was poverty in any case, so it was alleged, which had driven this son of a great house to leave Alcaudete and seek his fortune in the wider world. This was the stuff of legend on the Granadan frontier, and not only there, of course: that some mythical ancestor had been driven by misfortune – lack of money or the persecutions of the vendetta – to quit his homeland.

³⁵ ARCG H 301 / 107 / 19 (Díaz de Palencia, 1622); AMG Caballeros XXIV, 407 (Osorio 1756). Cf. Enrique Soria Mesa, 'Genealogía y poder: invención de la memoria y ascenso social en la España moderna', *Estudis*, 30 (2004), pp. 21–56.

³⁶ ARCG H 301 / 109 / 43 (Córdoba 1625).

Whether one could actually persuade the courts that one was linked to a particular *solar* or noble house was another matter. Juan Pérez de Barahona, clerk of the chancery, claimed in 1553 to be the son of Juan Pérez de Barahona the Elder, who had left his homeland of Villañane, a village near the border of Castile with the Basque Country, in order to make his fortune. Fortune came his way in the shape of a good marriage with the daughter of a chancery clerk, whose office he took over as part of the marriage settlement. He claimed to be a relative of the Duke of Nájera, who had his lands near Villañane. The Duke's son was persuaded to testify that some Barahona had indeed served his father and been recognised as his cousins – the two categories often went together at the time. But what he could not guarantee was the affiliation of the Granadan clerk himself. Above all, Juan Pérez failed to persuade the *pariente mayor*, the head of the Barahona clan, who occupied the great house in Villañane, with its 'lofty tower built of stone, very ancient, standing four-square with its battlements and embrasures', to come and testify on his behalf. It was not until 1617 that things began to change in this respect. That year Antonio de Aranda Alarcón (1557–1631), great-great-grandson in the male line of Juan Pérez de Barahona the Elder and from a branch of the clan which had made its fortune further west, through marriages in Antequera and Ronda and Vélez Málaga, was appointed as one of the Inquisitors of Granada. He used the opportunity to refurbish connections with his kinsmen already established there, the Barahona Zapata, as they were now known. He brought in his brothers from Vélez Málaga: Juan de Aranda Barahona, for whom he acquired a *veinticuatria* in 1618, and Alonso Alarcón Barahona, whose surnames reflect the profitable marriages of their ancestors and remind us of the importance of female succession in Spain. Then, in 1620, he initiated a suit in the Chancillería to establish the nobility of his male line, visiting the old home of Villañane (near Logroño, as it happened, where he had started out as Inquisitor in 1614). Such a distinguished visitor received a more cordial welcome than that accorded half a century before to the chancery clerk. This time the *pariente mayor*, Rodrigo Barahona, agreed to come with him to Granada, 'as with one who was his kinsman', meeting the brothers 'who treated and feted him as the head of their house.' This 'lord and master of the house of Varona', as he described himself, agreed to testify on behalf of his Granadan cousins. He had heard of them, though not met them, since he was a child of twelve, when his father would send them letters. His own house was indisputably noble: he described the fortifications of the castle where he lived, and 'the very ancient documents of his ancestors', going back to a

'time out of mind'. Judgement was awarded in favour of the family in 1622 (see Barahona Alarçon genealogy, p. 297).³⁷

Being able to identify a place of origin – preferably a fortified castle like Villañane – and a 'clan chief' was important for the upwardly mobile families of Granada. Spain, of course, was a vast country and the difficulties of maintaining communication along the routes of migration were enormous. Yet travel was frequent enough, especially among that small class of bureaucrats – Inquisitors, royal judges, *informantes* of the orders of chivalry – which held the empire together. It was while on business in the little Aragonese town of Herla that the notary Andrés de Sandoval came across news of the family background of Jacinto de Fuentes, deputy for Granada to the Cortes of 1632, and his father Bernardino, the wealthy collector of the *millones* tax. When some of the inhabitants of Herla learned that he was from Granada, he later recalled, 'they came up to me and asked me if I knew there one Martín de Fuentes, and I said I did not . . . and then they asked me if I knew Bernardino, his son, and then I realised who it was and said I knew him very well'. From there flowed a discussion about the good standing of the family. Hospitality to the traveller and exchange of news were, of course, the life-blood of little communities like Herla in the days before mass communications. It was a similar experience which another witness in the case could recount. Diego Pollino de Montalvo, successor to Bernardino de Fuentes as collector of the *millones* and in trouble with the Crown over shortfalls in his receipts, was in Madrid in the winter of 1624–5 when two Aragonese gentlemen came to lodge in the inn where he was staying. 'I do not remember their names', he told the court, 'but they asked me about Bernardino Olarte de Fuentes and his sons', whose noble ancestry then became the topic of their conversation.³⁸

Whether one kept up family ties across such vast distances depended on several factors. Probably the most important of these was how successful an emigrant had been in making a name for himself in Granada. As he acquired wealth and rose in political importance, his thoughts would begin to turn to his homeland and to the need (and indeed the possibility) of refurbishing old ties. Bernardino corresponded with the head of his clan by letter, we are told, but never met him. It was only in 1610 that

³⁷ ARCG H 301 / 101 / 32 (Barahona Zapata 1610); 301 / 108 / 31 (Barahona Alarcón 1625). For a picture of Villañane, see Edward Cooper, *Los castillos señoriales de Castilla de los siglos XV y XVI*, 2 vols. (Madrid 1980), vol. 1, p. 212.

³⁸ ARCG H 110 / 27 (Fuentes 1625).

Bernardino's eldest son, Juan, went to Herla, 'to visit and find out about the kinsmen he had in that town by the name of Fuentes'. Juan died young in 1618 and the torch was then taken up by his half-brother Jacinto, who also visited Aragon for the first time in 1625, meeting now the *pariente mayor* and staying in the 'big house' of the Fuentes, 'which stood in the main square . . . beside the church yard . . . with its escutcheon above the door'. When the head of the clan testified to Jacinto's *hidalguía*, he noted that he had only met 'this man who said he was his cousin' a few days before, but was happy to be counted as 'his friend and ally, eager to see things turn out well for him'. Herla was a small town, lying under the lordship of the Duke of Villahermosa, and though its ruling families claimed to be hidalgos, they also admitted to having jobs as peasant farmers and – in the case of the clan chief – as a notary. Poverty had evidently driven the grandfather, Martín de Fuentes, to seek his opportunity in the new society of Granada around 1570, when the Moors were finally driven from there.

The memory of the clan could endure for several generations, reaching across social boundaries and giving even ordinary citizens a vague sense of identity with the elite. When the wealthy silk spinner José Pérez de Orozco – uncle by marriage of the future hero of the Spanish resistance against Napoleon, Mariano Alvarez de Castro (1749–1810) – came to demand a place as jurado on the city council in 1770, he compiled a massive dossier on his ancestry. The Orozco were nobles, who had lived as soldiers in the garrison of the Alhambra until the later seventeenth century, when José's great-great-grandfather had turned to trade. The latter's grandfather, Alonso, had died back in 1622, leaving to his son 'all my arms, together with the sword and its trappings which belonged to my father, and also all the titles, favours and privileges and other papers which I have and which come to me from the Valley of Orozco (Basque Country), and all these are folded up in Moorish-style silk cloths placed in a leather-bound chest'. He had written a little preamble himself, so that his descendants should derive profit from all his effort: 'It is a very honourable thing for men to live in the knowledge that they are good, and that their fathers have a long and unsullied ancestry . . . and have never been found wanting in anything, but rather each of them has ventured his life for the sake of honour.' And when the father of the silk spinner José came to revise the collection of papers in 1761, he added a little homily of his own for his children:

May they handle all their dealings . . . in such a manner that they may say . . . as I can say up until now, that they have never seen the inside of any gaol, and my

father and forebears can say the same. Nor have we indulged, however great the temptation of gain, in any cheating, swindling, fraud or that kind of thing . . . In a word, our care has been to give unto God what belongs to God and to Caesar what belongs to Caesar, which is the sure foundation of a sturdy and pure nobility.³⁹

The redaction of family memoirs as a stimulus to honourable behaviour was a common enough practice among the patricians of Renaissance Florence. But these were more coherent than the jumble of *ejecutorias* of nobility, testaments and essays in family trees which constituted their equivalent in Granada.⁴⁰ The Florentine memoirs evolved in a mercantile society, accustomed to keeping accounts of the earnings and outgoings of the household. The same factor may have influenced the development of the diaries and autobiographies which were becoming so common in early modern Catalonia.⁴¹ In Granada by contrast the emphasis on the lineage was overwhelming – but within the framework of the community at large. Juan Pérez de Herrasti was born in 1696 and was quite an elderly gentleman when he published in 1750 one of the best of the Granadan memoirs, looking back on his own life and that of his ancestors. The mammoth task he had undertaken filled him with some trepidation. ‘You will find here nothing but mistakes and botched efforts’, he warned his readers, ‘some due to my own ignorance and others to the common weakness of those born with the stain of original sin.’ His only comfort was to place his family history under the protection of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary, patron of Granada. For he took pride in both being a citizen of such a famous city and a servant of Mary, who ‘to confound human arrogance was born humble’. What prince of this world, boasting of his descent from the kings of Troy – ‘such an easy thing to invent but so difficult to prove’ – could match that?⁴²

How did the church react to all this? Condemning the obsession of parents with having their offspring marry and continue the succession to the lineage, Saint Teresa of Avila wrote: ‘it is indeed a great pity that the world we live in is so blind and misguided that parents think their honour lies in keeping alive an enduring memory of the dross of worldly pomp’.⁴³ And yet her own father and uncles, though of Jewish ancestry, had fought

³⁹ AMG Caballeros XXIV, 418 (Pérez de Orozco 1770).

⁴⁰ Kent, *Household and lineage*, pp. 273–8.

⁴¹ Antoni Simón i Tarrés, *Cavallers i ciutadans a la Catalunya del cinc-cents* (Barcelona 1991); cf. Xavier Torres, *Els llibres de família de pagès* (Girona 2000).

⁴² *Historia de la casa de Herrasti*, opening dedication, n.p.

⁴³ *Libro de las fundaciones* (1582), new edn (Madrid 1951), pp. 80–1.

hard and successfully to establish that they were of noble lineage. Her contemporary, the Countess of Feria, widowed at twenty-four, left her young family to become a nun. Of her spiritual adviser, the great Juan de Avila, she would write that he was her real father. Her family and kin she loved 'with a measure and a half, but to him as a minister of God she was devoted body and soul'.⁴⁴ For the writers of the Counter Reformation the important thing was the individual and his conscience. On the other hand, there was understandable pride in being associated with inspiring spiritual leaders. Don Pablo de Victoria, presenting his genealogy to the city council in 1776 for admission as a veinticuatro, traced his ancestry back through his great-grandmother María de Ahumada Salazar to Saint Teresa of Avila herself!⁴⁵

The clergy were often summoned as witnesses in the investigations of *hidalgúia*, for they were knowledgeable about families and their connections, and many were themselves noble. The Jesuit Pedro de Fonseca Dávila, summoned to give evidence for one of the Paz lineage, provided an unusually clear and authoritative statement of the descent, 'and he knows these things because he has dealt most particularly with matters of ancestry'. One may contrast this interest with the rather casual attitude displayed by his fellow witness, Luis de Paz, the people's choice as leader in the riots of 1648, who was aware that connections existed with other members of the clan but could not chart the route.⁴⁶ But then Father Fonseca, a remote cousin, was an assessor (*calificador*) of the Inquisition, with some responsibility for tracing the ancestry of New Christians – among whom he could count himself, as a descendant of the financier Díaz Sánchez Dávila who had established the family in Granada.⁴⁷

In giving his approval of the *Life* of Luis de Paz for publication in 1668, the censor appointed by the Archbishop thought that the author, Fray Antonio de Jesús, an Augustinian friar, was too little forthcoming on the family background of the Paz. 'True, I can hear the response of our learned author', he went on: 'like the humble friar he is, he tells me that where there is nobility of virtue one does not need to bother about that of blood.' Yet virtue shone all the more brightly in the setting of a virtuous lineage.⁴⁸ There was a similar reaction to the publication of the family

⁴⁴ *Vida del venerable maestro Juan de Avila* (1588), new edn (Madrid 1952), p. 117.

⁴⁵ AMG Caballeros XXIV, 426.

⁴⁶ AHN Calatrava 1,972 (Blas Manuel de Paz 1661).

⁴⁷ Cf. Linda Martz, 'Toledanos and the Kingdom of Granada 1492–1560s' in *Spain, Europe and the Atlantic World*, ed. Richard Kagan and Geoffrey Parker (Cambridge 1995), pp. 103–24.

⁴⁸ *Vida de Luis de Paz* (1688), opinion of Fray Juan de Antequera.

history of the Herrasti in 1750. The Archbishop's representative thought it a very useful work – useful not only to the author's descendants, whom it would encourage in the path of virtue, but to the commonwealth of Granada, which would be honoured by this broadcasting 'of the splendour of its eminent families'. And his colleague, the royal censor (another patrician cleric), was equally laudatory. It was true that genealogies were often a source of vanity and falsehood, he agreed; but when properly researched – 'handled with the serious and critical circumspection which is appropriate' – they could be a force for good. 'A regulated appetite for honour is morally acceptable', he concluded, expressing the hope that other Granadans would now follow suit.⁴⁹

Lineage was, of course, extremely important in the eyes of the Holy Office and its supporters. It has been calculated that nearly half the aldermen of Granada in the later sixteenth century were of Jewish origin, including the family of the great poet Fray Luis de León, whose father was a judge in the high court.⁵⁰ The penances decreed against the New Christians who relapsed into the ways of their ancestors were meant to be kept alive in the collective memory through the public display of the *sambenitos*, the penitential tunics hung up for all time in the main church in each community. After pressure from the Archbishop, the Inquisitors of Granada finally agreed in 1611 to remove these badges of shame, source of some controversy, from the cathedral to the relative obscurity of the parish church of Santiago, near where the tribunal held court. *Limpieza de sangre* – purity of Old Christian blood – remained a crucial element in the definition of honour in Granadan and Spanish society.

The collective honour of the lineage had won out over the rights of the individual. The sense of personal identity tends to fade before the overwhelming presence of monuments to ancestry. Portraits of the individual, it is true, appear to grow in popularity during the seventeenth century. Certainly Don Pedro de Granada Venegas, first Marquis of Campotéjar, left at his death in 1643 an impressive collection of the genre – including one of his wife, but mostly of his ancestors, going back to the time of the Moors.⁵¹ But this was a great courtier, and as the seventeenth-century novelist María de Zayas put it, having one's portrait painted was more a

⁴⁹ *Historia de la casa de Herrasti* (1750), opinions of the censors Franquis and Berruezo.

⁵⁰ Javier Castillo Fernández, in *Historia del Reino de Granada*, (Granada 2000), vol. II, pp. 190–1.

⁵¹ José Antonio García Luján, 'De arte y milicia: el linaje Granada Venegas', *Hidalguía*, 285 (2001), 241–54. Cf. Julián Gallego, *Visión y símbolos en la pintura española del siglo de oro* (Madrid 1987), 217–23.

thing one did at court than in the provinces – unless, as in the case of Juan Valera's *Doña Luz*, one got an itinerant craftsman to paint the whole gallery of ancestors at one fell swoop for a bargain price. When Don Juan de Ahumada Salazar died in 1693 he left only three portraits – one of himself and two of his brothers. Amid the vast range of paintings which Don Joseph de la Calle left with his sister-in-law Margarita de Carmona when he went off to Madrid to serve as deputy to the Cortes of 1648, there was only one portrait of a member of the family – that of Gabriel de la Calle, canon of the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela.⁵²

Certainly, as one looks at the icons with which this society surrounded itself, one cannot fail to be struck by the prominence of armorial bearings rather than of portraits of the self. Margarita de Carmona and her husband the veinticuatro Tomás de la Calle had their coat of arms placed above their bed as the sole artistic embodiment of their marriage.⁵³ Much art work was still going into religious imagery, particularly in connection with the decoration of tombs and burial chapels. It was here that during the later Middle Ages a timid representation of the self, in the form of the portrait of the donor and his family, began to establish itself. Typical of the man, perhaps, was the commission which Mateo de Lisón y Biedma issued shortly before his death in 1641 for a painting of himself to accompany the new altarpiece of the saints in his manorial chapel of Algarinejo. But such self-advertisement was rather frowned upon in Counter Reformation Granada.

The synod of 1565 which applied the reforms of the Council of Trent legislated specifically against grand tombs. In the body of the church there were to be only plaques which were level with the floor, while in the private chapels there were to be no more trophies, shields or spears hung, 'for it is a great abuse and a vestige of paganism'.⁵⁴ Rather than depict the self, which could be regarded as a dangerous form of hubris, Granadans preferred increasingly to let the symbol of the lineage and the image of the tutelary spirits occupy the foreground. Thus the burial chapel of the Paz in Santa Fe, of which Luis de Paz was patron, was entered through a wooden grille topped by a coat of arms with quarterings of the four lineages from whom the founder claimed descent. The central panel of the altarpiece showed Christ being flogged at the pillar, while side panels portrayed the Three Kings, Saint James and Saint Anne. Round the walls

⁵² AHPG JFM 769–70, inventory, 30 December 1648.

⁵³ AHPG JFM 1,159–63v, inventory, 23 January 1648.

⁵⁴ *Constituciones sinodales del arzobispado de Granada* (1565), 2nd edn (Madrid 1805), 3 / 10 / 15.

was inscribed in bold lettering: ‘This chapel belongs to the illustrious lord Cristóbal de Paz, Gentleman of His Majesty and Receiver General of the Orders (of Chivalry) and the lady Isabella de Miranda his wife, and their heirs. In this year 157–, (the last figure of the date missing).⁵⁵ This was the matrix within which the values of Luis de Paz and other city politicians of the seventeenth century took shape. The house of the dead served as a focus of piety but also of honour, a symbol of commitment to a world beyond the self.

⁵⁵ AHN Calatrava 1,972 (Blas Manuel Paz 1661).

The spirit of the clan

The stars influence the character of a people, wrote Bermúdez de Pedraza in 1609, while being a native of a noble city like Granada was itself a kind of guarantee of nobility. Above all there were the spiritual benefits to be found in a great city, where there were ‘many convents of friars and devout women, virtuous priests and laity of good life’, such that God bears with the majority of the citizens who are sinners, ‘waiting for their change of heart (*penitencia*)’.¹ A little later Henríquez de Jorquera charted for his readers the topography of a Granada whose landmarks were essentially religious. There were not only the twenty-three parish churches, but the plethora of wayside shrines, images of the Virgin and above all crosses of alabaster or wood which littered the urban landscape, erected by the local neighbourhoods or artisan guilds. The shoemakers had their icon in the Street of Al-Hamar (founder of the Nasrid dynasty), the second-hand clothes dealers theirs in the Street of the Inns, the carpenters one of Saint Joseph strategically situated at the entrance used by women to get into the theatre. At many of these shrines were placed oil lamps which were kept burning night and day, and here would come throngs to celebrate with merrymaking on the anniversary of the image.²

Another focus of devotion was the tombs of the holy men. There had been reports of miracles at that of the first archbishop of the reconquered city, Hernando de Talavera. In 1595 the discovery of the alleged relics of the proto-Christian martyrs Cecilio and Tesifón led to a new cult in the Sacromonte. ‘Most fortunate city’, exclaimed Bermúdez de Pedraza, to have such tokens of love from such holy people, who seek to remain with you even in death. Relics were not superstitious, he argued somewhat

¹ *Antigüedad y excelencias de Granada* (Madrid 1608), pp. 147–147v.

² *Anales de Granada*, vol.1, pp. 265–7. And see the fundamental new work of David Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada: Society and Religious Culture in an Old-World Frontier City 1492–1600* (Ithaca and London 2003), pp. 91–118.

defensively, for 'when we gaze on them, we contemplate the heroic virtues of the saint, his patience, humility, charity, piety'. True, they also had protective powers, for they could put the Evil One to flight and ward off danger.³

The memory of the saints was a joyous thing and it gave rise to the red-letter days of the Granadan calendar. Some of the shrines themselves seem to have grown up in strategic sites where people would gather anyway at certain seasons. Thus the hermitage of San Sebastián on the banks of the Genil was popular, thought Henríquez de Jorquera, for its fine walks and views, while the great crucifix in Christ's Threshing-floor, on the road leading out of the city towards Madrid, attracted crowds seeking the sun in winter and cool breezes on a summer's night.⁴ The precious image of Our Lady of La Antigua, kept in the cathedral, was the protector of the city as a whole from danger such as drought, though it seems to have been overtaken, to judge by Henríquez de Jorquera, by the growing popularity of Our Lady of Las Angustias, whose intercession brought much-needed rainfall in the spring of 1635.⁵

Some of the great celebrations of identity in the Renaissance city had been the 'Acts of Faith' mounted by the Inquisition initially in Plaza Nueva, then by the end of the sixteenth century in the central square of Bibarrambla. These *autos-da-fe* were characterised not so much by the burnings of heretics (always conducted off-stage after the crowds had dispersed) as by the processions of penitents and the preaching. The Inquisition kept itself active over the early modern period, but by the later sixteenth century, in line with developments elsewhere in Spain, it was less concerned with major heresy and more with reform of popular customs. Its victims tended to be witches, blasphemers and the like.⁶ Though it left the regulation of sexual morality largely to the court of the archbishop, its name was invoked as a warning to those suspected of bigamy, for that particular offence pertained to the Holy Office.

For the rest, its hold on the popular imagination seems to have experienced a considerable falling away during the period with which we are concerned. One of the last great *autos* in Granada was in 1615 – four years

³ *Antigüedad y excelencias de Granada*, p. 184.

⁴ *Anales de Granada*, vol. I, p. 269.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 751. This cult of Our Lady of 'Distress' had been promoted by a confraternity from 1545, and boosted by the conversion of the shrine into a parish church in 1610, cf. F. Sánchez-Montes, *La población granadina*, p. 63.

⁶ Flora García Ivars, *La represión en el tribunal inquisitorial de Granada 1550-1819* (Madrid 1991), pp. 159-74; J. M. García Fuentes, *La Inquisición en Granada en el siglo XVI* (Granada 1981), pp. 437-40.

after the archbishop had the *sambenitos* (the penitential tunics) of all those condemned in previous ages removed from the cathedral. The Inquisitors were joined in Bibarrambla by the judges of the Chancillería and the veinticuatro, as Henríquez de Jorquera tells us, together with 'enormous crowds from all over the kingdom of Granada and elsewhere', in a lengthy ritual which lasted from six in the morning to eight at night. Eighty-three individuals trooped barefoot in tunics of shame, confessing the error of their ways and were reconciled to Holy Mother church; five more were sentenced to a public whipping (of which two were for bigamy); just one unfortunate person was 'relaxed' to the secular authority for burning as an impenitent heretic. It was a fairly typical scenario: this was a society characterised by a high degree of orthodoxy in matters of belief.

After 1615 the Inquisition appears to fade into the background. The appointment in 1617 of one of the great Barahona clan as Inquisitor in Granada – a man who was to labour under accusations of nepotism – was a sign of the times. The Holy Office, rather than being an active defender of the faith, became a guarantor of the social hierarchy, the focus of the ambitions of upwardly mobile patricians who were eager to secure its patronage in order to pass themselves off as Old Christians. In 1631, to meet royal demands for a subsidy, it decided to put on sale posts of constable. Mateo de Lisón y Biedma offered 500 ducats for one in Loja, near his estate of Algarinejo. As the investigating commissioner pointed out, this enthusiasm seems to have been prompted less by faith than by a desire to stem rumours about the supposed Jewish ancestry of his second wife Baltasara, daughter of Gregorio López Madera.⁷ Lisón, indeed, had his own reservations about the religious life of his country, attacking the excessive amounts of land passing into the hands of the church. However, this was still a profoundly Catholic society, and in the preamble to his will of 1641 the turbulent patrician protested his faith 'in all that the Holy Mother church of Rome believes and upholds' and that if he were ever found to say anything else, 'it will be because I am out of my mind'.

Catholicism was bound up with the political identity of this frontier land, as in 1618 when the city councillors voted henceforth to maintain the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception at the cost of their lives, erecting ten years later the monument of the Triumph of Our Lady which became the very symbol of Granada. On Good Friday, 6 April 1640 Granada

⁷ Rafael de Lera García, 'Venta de oficios en la Inquisición de Granada 1629–44', *Hispania*, 48 (1988), 909–62.

awoke to the shock of a broadsheet pinned to the walls of the town hall impugning the doctrine of the Virgin Birth. During the next couple of months, a period of great hardship when no rain fell and bread prices began to creep upwards, against a background of terrible conflict abroad and exhausting levies of troops which now had to be found increasingly by raiding the taverns and seizing the unemployed, a messianic fervour gripped the citizens of Granada. The religious confraternities turned out in their throngs at dusk, with thousands of torches aflame, the 'humble' craftsmen rather overshadowed by the knights on horseback and the royal judges who also joined the parades. When the culprit was discovered on 7 June, the corregidor ordered *luminarias*, the placing of lights in all buildings after nightfall, the bells of all the churches pealed and the artillery of the Alhambra fired salvos of joy. The knights paraded on horseback in all their finery, the veinticuattros thronged to the cathedral for a Te Deum, while the magistrates of the high court paraded in turn to their titular church of Our Lady of Grace. Weeks of sermons followed in one church after another, folk dances by young boys and girls were held, and a special bullfight was dedicated to the celebration of the event.⁸

This ritual was merely a more intense version of the *fiestas del desagravio*, the rites of atonement, held in the city in 1635 in response to the sacrileges allegedly inflicted on the Blessed Sacrament by the enemy during the war in Flanders. It was also just one of a number of festivities celebrated every year, in commemoration of the taking of Granada from the Moor, of Spanish victories abroad, of the birth and death of princes, of the canonisation of saints, and especially of Corpus Christi, the real focus of the civic year. A festival of the universal church and promoted by the popes from the fourteenth century, it acclimatised itself well in a city like Granada which had come late into the Christian fold and lacked the repertory of folk saints which served other communities. Coinciding with the transition from spring to summer at a variable date in late May/early June, this holy day offered an opportunity for conviviality among the citizenry, affording a colourful spectacle of parades with giants and dragons, folk dancing and bullfights. It became a major platform for the veinticuattros to demonstrate that magnificence and benevolence to their fellow citizens which justified their hold on power. One veinticuatro and

⁸ Henríquez de Jorquera, *Anales de Granada*, vol. II, pp. 846–59. The culprit turned out to be a crazed hermit who was sentenced to ten years in the galleys. For a description of one of these processions, José Luis Orozco Pardo, *Christianópolis: urbanismo y Contrareforma en la Granada del seiscientos* (Granada 1985), pp. 166–70.

one jurado were chosen by lot each year to organise the celebrations. They were given a subsidy by the town council, which soared from 400 ducats in 1600 to 2,000 by 1618, then a maximum of 3,000 by 1630, with a warning from the council that if the commissioners spent any more they would have to make up the difference out of their own pockets. But serving as a commissioner in a good year was a highroad to political influence – for Lisón y Biedma in 1615, for Castellanos Marquina in 1636.⁹

Growing out of the tradition of tableaux, theatrical representations began to be added to the Corpus celebrations in Granada. These were the *autos sacramentales*, depicting the mystery of the Eucharist – the hidden God enclosed in a wafer of bread. Some of the finest dramas in the Spanish language, from the pen of Pedro Calderón de la Barca (1600–81), belong to this genre. Though his major works were written for the festivities in Madrid, some were played in Granada, in 1640, 1662 and 1691. They are haunting variations on a theme, that all the world is a stage and all human beings actors, as it were, in a kind of charade. Let the prince and the pauper have their brief day since all is false-seeming and the true hierarchy, that of virtue, hidden now, will be restored at death. Not all the *autos sacramentales* were quite as sophisticated as this, however; those written in Granada bear the imprint of a popular culture which was content to celebrate in a two-dimensional narrative the triumphs of the Faith.¹⁰

The concept of the world as a stage or a dream came to have a powerful hold on the imagination of the Baroque, and may reflect the increasing attention of the Counter Reformation to the brevity of life and the need to prepare for death. From the later Middle Ages European art and culture had adopted this theme in a significant way, dwelling with fervour on the macabre, whether as a reaction to the sequels of the Black Death or (more probably) as a mirror image of the growing attachment to material possessions and the joys of this life.¹¹ The Counter Reformation capitalised on this movement, and the art of dying well came to be the visible symbol of belonging to a community which reached beyond the grave to embrace the faithful and the ‘faithful departed’.

⁹ Miguel Garrido Atienza, *Antiguallas granadinas: las fiestas del Corpus* (1889), ed. José Antonio González Alcantud (Granada 1990), p. 16. And see above, p. 19.

¹⁰ Garrido Atienza, *Antiguallas granadinas*, pp. 178–96, for the text of *El Divino Apolo*, written for the 1690 festivity by one of the patricians, Sebastián de Gadea. For a ballad describing the festivities of 1660, see Bibiana Moreno Romera, *Artistas y artesanos del barroco granadino* (Granada 2001), pp. 17–20.

¹¹ Philippe Ariès, *The hour of our death* (London 1983), pp. 128–32; Johann Huizinga, *The waning of the Middle Ages* (London 1924), pp. 140–52.

The doctrine had been growing in the Later Middle Ages of purgatory as an ante-chamber where the dead awaited release from the temporary punishment of sin, a release which could be facilitated by the prayers of the faithful on earth. Some of the finest examples of late medieval art are the burial chapels where masses for the dead were ‘chanted’ (chantry chapels). In reaction to the belief of the Protestants in the direct relation of the individual with God, the Catholic Reformers took their stand on the traditional doctrine that the church was a visible community of sinners and saints. As well as striving for salvation by his own efforts, the Christian must look to intermediaries – the holy men and women whose prayers would commend him to God’s favour. Replying to Protestant objections to the cult of saints, the Seville writer on the family, Pedro de Luján, noted: ‘It is good manners, nay indeed good sense, when you have to ask the king for something, to get the steward to put in a good word for you.’¹² One of the characteristic features of the Counter Reformation in Spain, as in the rest of Catholic Europe, was the proliferation of *capellanías*, those endowments of perpetual prayer for the souls of the deceased. Symbols of a belief in salvation as a collective effort, they seemed to immobilise in the end too much wealth and too much human activity in the service of the dead.¹³

Funerary ritual was one of the most enduring ways in which a clan could affirm its identity, as friends and relatives gathered to proclaim their solidarity with the bereaved. Dying itself was a very public act. One thinks of the coming and going of servants, friends, kinsmen, priests, notaries around the sick-bed of Juan Pérez de Herrasti on 6 September 1579, and the proclamation of his demise that same evening to the crowds assembled in Bibarrambla for the bullfight. Doctors of medicine were often there – the one who attended Lisón y Biedma in 1641 witnessed the statesman’s last will and testament – but they were overshadowed by those other two pillars of the Old Regime, the confessor and the notary. Both of these would take the dying man step by step through an accounting of his life, sometimes for hours on end, noting down the debts he could remember, debts to God, of course, but also to his fellow citizens.¹⁴ The death bed was not only the place of final accounting in this world, but also the

¹² *Coloquios matrimoniales* (1550), new edition (Madrid 1943), p. 157.

¹³ Carlos M. N. Eire, *From Madrid to purgatory: the art and craft of dying in sixteenth-century Spain* (Cambridge 1995), pp. 208–18.

¹⁴ One of the fullest accounts I have come across is in ARCG 3 / 1389 / 13, regarding the death of the silk merchant Don Luis Marín (1683).

setting for a drama of salvation as the forces of good and evil grappled for the soul of the dying man. In his testament of 1719 the veinticuatro Cristóbal Barahona Alarcón, knight of Calatrava, asked to be removed from bed immediately he died and placed on a cross of ashes on the floor, but on top of his coat of arms and wrapped in the cape of his Military Order with its cross.

Funerals were a major occasion for gatherings of friends and relatives, an opportunity to assist the dying man and to comfort the bereaved. One 75-year-old priest called to testify in 1553 to the noble ancestry of the Barahona Zapata could recall the funeral of their grandfather Alonso Barahona sixty years earlier in the original homeland near Burgos:

A man rode on a horse, clad in mourning, and he bore aloft a lance and pennant, and many other men followed him on foot and they held over their heads large shields on poles . . . and there was much wailing; and then the wailing would stop, and they would dash the shields to the ground and try to smash them, while the man on horseback would drag the pennant through the dust; and this they did several times until they reached the church.¹⁵

All this was dangerous, for it was 'a time of feuds', as another witness recalled, in which the Barahona had to take refuge from their enemies. Bermúdez de Pedraza attributed to Ferdinand and Isabella the reform of some of the more 'lugubrious' mourning customs. They simplified the habits of the mourners, forbade men to let their beard grow long, and in 1502 limited gatherings at funerals to the close family (including uncles, nephews and servants).

Religious reformers were working in the same direction, accepting that men needed assistance on the path to the next life but trying to redefine that community in terms of a fellowship of prayer. When Alonso de Barahona's descendant, the veinticuatro Baltasar Barahona Zapata, died in 1658, this former pupil of the Jesuits spoke more about the friars and the poor than about his kin. He wanted 500 *reales* to be distributed to 'poor relatives within the fourth degree' (that is, the grandsons of first cousins), but also 'in the nine days following my burial, two *maravedies* are to be given in alms in my house to any poor beggar who comes in to claim them . . . and I would ask and enjoin those of my executors who wish to give an example of piety to handle this in person for love of God.' This opening of the house during the ritual nine days of intense

¹⁵ ARCG 301 / 101 / 32, testimony of Francisco Gutiérrez de Maçuela, 1553. For similar displays in Europe at the time, see Malcolm Vale, *War and chivalry* (London 1981), p. 88.

mourning, and the belief in the particular efficacy of the prayers of the poor subsisted throughout the Old Regime. As late as 1793 we find the daughter-in-law of the leading city politician Don Manuel de Villarreal ordering that 'the door of my house should stand open while my body lies there, so that anyone who wishes can come in to visit it'; and over the following three days the executors were to distribute, 'at the front door', 900 *reales* to the poor.¹⁶

Impressive must have been the funeral of Don Francisco Bartolomé Acevedo, son of a judge in the high court. In the usual way of a patrician at the time, he asked for the paupers of Saint John of God to carry his coffin, to be followed by the priest of his parish of Santa Escolástica and twenty-four other priests, together with the friars from the main convent of Saint Francis where he was to be interred, and friars from a range of other convents – the Carmelites, Trinitarians, Mercedarians, Dominicans, 'since my father and I were great friends of these houses'.¹⁷ But by this time (the 1680s) there was a growing tendency to cut back on such pomp. Thus, the very devout and wealthy Don Antonio Alfonso de Teruel, buried in the same Franciscan convent, thought it sufficient to invite his parish priest and twenty other clerics and the whole convent of Saint Francis, 'and my will is that there should be no further pomp or ostentation'. Don Cristóbal Barahona Alarcón not long afterwards wanted just the priests of his parish to attend his funeral, 'without further pomp or vanity', alleging lack of means (which led him also to forbid music, 'which I do not regard as prayer').¹⁸ There were undoubtedly variations here, but one senses an increasing desire for privacy in eighteenth-century Granadan wills. The wealthy pharmacist Don Francisco Mouton y López forbade the ringing of the parish bell except at the time of his death and for an hour while he was actually being laid to rest, and even then only if there was still daylight, 'for it is a hard thing that a parish should be plunged into grief just because it has lost one of its parishioners'.¹⁹ One can only imagine the publicity of death in earlier years, with bells tolling all day, at least for prominent citizens.

With death so frequent and at such a young age, families tended to see urban space in terms of a network of shrines, sacred places which gave them a sense of identity in a way in which the too mobile household did

¹⁶ AHPG JZF 201–7, Villarreal, 28 February 1793; SFM 138–45v, Barahona, 23 March 1658.

¹⁷ AHPG JFT 121–31, 19 September 1681.

¹⁸ AHPG JFM 74–87v, 15 February 1719; JP 62–76v, Teruel, 17 January 1697.

¹⁹ AHPG MQH 16–21, 14 February 1788.

not. The memoir of the Herrasti family called attention to the burial of an ancestor, the sixth lord of Domingo Pérez, in 1675 beside his beloved wife in the Augustinian convent, 'forgetting the ancient vault of honour where lie all the Herrasti clan (*gente*)' in the parish of San Pedro.²⁰ It was not only love which counted, of course. Don Cristóbal Barahona Alarcón requested burial with the Oratorians in Saint Philip Neri, a new order pioneering a more flexible attitude to prayer, though his particular choice was motivated by 'the great devotion I have to Our Lady of Sorrows', venerated there. His nephew Don José Francisco Dávila buried three of his young children in Saint Philip Neri, but his own body was to be laid to rest in the lineage tomb in the great convent of the Merced.

Such burial vaults were a relatively recent development in Europe, accompanying the growth of more clearly defined lineages. They were a spiritual counterpart of the growth of the entailed estate, and the owner of the one was regarded as the patron of the other and the head of the lineage – until a successful junior branch saw fit to found its own entail and burial vault.²¹ Setting aside a chapel for the lords of Garcéz in the cathedral of Jaén in 1412, the bishop and chapter observed: 'men and women of different degree in this world are more honoured in their persons and lineages when their tombs are marked out and set aside for them in a place of honour, for the other things of this world all pass away, but these tombs stand for ever as a memorial'.²² As we have seen, Don Fernando de Céspedes Oviedo, when thinking of establishing his dynasty in Granada in 1622, thought first of the tomb which he must build. And it was a new mausoleum which Don Diego Maldonado was building in his lordship of Noalejo when death surprised him in Granada in 1596. He wanted his body brought to the little town, accompanied by six of his servants and six friars from the convent-mausoleum which he was building there, with six torches ablaze on the journey in the kind of grim spectacle which greeted Don Quixote on one of his adventures.²³

The burial vault provided a focal point for the often scattered lineages of Granada. When Doña Ana de Aguilera Valdivia, wife of the veinticuatro Don Jerónimo Núñez Moreno, died in 1641 she was heiress to two such vaults: one in Porcuña (Jaén), which had come to her through her

²⁰ *Historia de la Casa de Herrasti*, pp. 186–7.

²¹ F. W. Kent, *Household and lineage in Renaissance Florence* (Princeton 1977), pp. 259–63 and 280; Philippe Ariès, *Western attitudes towards death* (London 1976), pp. 22 and 48–9.

²² Cited in Argote de Molina, *Nobleza de Andalucía*, pp. 612–14.

²³ AHPG RD 782–793, 16 April 1596.

mother, and another in Córdoba, which had belonged to her mother's cousin, the alderman of that city, Pedro González de Aguilera. She chose to be buried in Porcuña (where her bones were to be transported after the flesh had been given time to rot away), but she wanted masses said in Córdoba also in perpetuity for her soul.²⁴ It was as patron of the great burial vault of the Paz in Santa Fe that Don Luis de Paz attained much influence in the 1640s, for the patron was regarded in some sense as the *pariente mayor*, the clan chief, with a special right to be consulted when genealogical enquiries were under way. The patron of the main chapel in the convent of the Merced, Juan Muñoz de Salazar, figures prominently at the centre of a network of families like the Dávila and the Barahona Alarcón in the later seventeenth century. It would be interesting to follow the threads of solidarity which linked these clans in death as in life, in burial as in marriage.

To prepare for death by living close to the burial vault of one's family seems to have had a certain appeal. Thus when the 'Great Captain', commander of Ferdinand the Catholic's armies in Italy, died in 1515, he was buried in the main chapel of the monastery of San Jerónimo, and his widow, the Duchess of Sessa, moved her residence to that neighbourhood, leading to its development as clients of the great house also moved there into what came to be and still is known as 'the district of the Duchess'.²⁵ Luis Fernández de Córdoba challenged in 1578 the female succession to parts of the Sessa inheritance, winning the lordship of Orgiva in 1583, and began to build a new burial chapel for himself in the Franciscan convent, which was conveniently located beside his main house. His widow, Francisca Fernández de Córdoba, faced with the extinction of the line when their son and heir Juan died suddenly in 1603, transferred the chapel to Juan's illegitimate child, Luis Gabriel, for whom she had created a new entail. Meanwhile, Orgiva passed in entail to the senior member of the house of Córdoba, Antonio, first Marquis of Valenzuela (1570–1642), who affirmed his new status by setting up a separate vault for the remains of his family in the convent of the Discalced Carmelites.²⁶ This reformed order of nuns owed their foundation to Saint Teresa of Avila, canonised in 1622 and symbol of a reforming Spain close to the heart of the Count-Duke of

²⁴ AHPG AB 129–41, 2 October 1641.

²⁵ Bosque Maurel, *Geografía urbana*, p. 86; Gallego Burín, *Granada*, pp. 291–3; Manuel Gómez Moreno, *Guía de Granada*, vol. 1, pp. 363–4 and 373.

²⁶ Francisco Fernández de Bethencourt, *Historia genealógica y heráldica de la monarquía española*, 10 vols. (Madrid 1897–1920), vol. VII, pp. 244–50.

Olivares, who took power that same year. Was it more than a coincidence that Valenzuela was a prominent royalist at the time, while his illegitimate cousin Luis Gabriel would marry the heiress to that leading opponent of the regime, Mateo de Lisón y Biedma? One may speculate whether Lisón himself would have felt more comfortable with the Franciscans, champions of the poor.

Burial chapels were a costly mark of prestige. The construction of that of the Great Captain in San Jerónimo dragged on from at least 1523 until 1568, under great financial constraints. Much of the cost came in relation to the altarpiece which was to show sculptured figures of the donor and his wife, and these do not appear to have been completed until about 1605. It was simpler and cheaper to have portraits painted. It was 300 *reales* which Lisón y Biedma paid for the altarpiece to decorate the chapel in Algarinejo where he was to be interred in 1641 – a picture of the Assumption of Our Lady, ‘with a portrait of myself and my coat of arms’. Doctor Cruzado wanted his altarpiece – in a tomb reckoned to cost the princely sum of 1,000 ducats – to show Our Lord, Our Lady, Saint John, ‘and kneeling at their feet the said Doctor Cruzado and his wife, with an inscription saying that this chapel and its endowment of masses were founded by them’. But it is interesting that the doctor’s widow, married to her second husband, mentioned the chapel but not the portraits, wanting instead a painting of Christ at the Pillar to hang over their last resting place.²⁷

Keeping alive the memory of the dead was the first and most serious obligation of the heir. The jurado Juan Fernández de Molina required his daughter to have candles placed on his tomb every All Saints and All Souls Day (1 and 2 November respectively), while Ana de Aguilera Valdivia wanted a *fanega* of wheat to be placed on hers – a relic of an old pagan custom, now Christianised by the provision that it was payment to the priests who would say mass that day. Neither Fernández de Molina nor Aguilera Valdivia appear to have distinguished clearly between the two festivities.

The cult of the dead had evolved slowly under the impact of Christianity from the desire to placate the possibly vengeful spirits by offerings of food to the attempt to help the soul on its way to eternal repose by prayer. The Counter Reformation witnessed a spiralling upwards of the number of masses being left for this purpose. The single greatest bequest was probably the 6,000 masses requested by the wealthy rancher and

²⁷ AHPG LM 603–8, Elvira de Salazar, 25 July 1620; the Cruzado chapel is described by his executor the jurado Juan Fernández de Molina, in AHPG LG 1,052–61v, 28 June 1627.

veinticuatro Don Diego de Vago (of which 4,000 were for himself and 2,000 for his parents) in 1658; but then he was childless and well off. The more usual ceiling was 2,000 by the middle or end of the seventeenth century. He was limiting himself to 2,000, announced the pious Antonio Alfonso de Teruel (who was certainly not short of money) in his will of 1697, because he had had so many more said for his intentions during his life-time. 'I am dying poor, with not enough assets to repay my wife's dowry, and anyway I have arranged to have masses said during my lifetime', declared Cristóbal Barahona Alarcón a little later, to explain why he was only asking for 200 funeral masses. For an earlier generation masses were counted in the hundreds rather than the thousands – around 850 for the very devout Baltasar Barona Zapata in 1658, 600 for his old political rival, the not-so-devout Mateo de Lisón in 1641. Much, of course, depended on circumstances which at this distance are often impossible to decipher – personal inclination (women generally left more masses than their husbands), economic situation and the like.²⁸

One thing is clear: the belief in the particular efficacy of the mass as an instrument for release of the soul from the pains of purgatory. Barahona Zapata asked that 100 of his masses should be said on the day of his death and the remainder as soon as possible afterwards, 'and I would ask my executors for the love of God that they see this is done with all haste . . . selling gold or whatever else of my belongings can be most easily sold . . . so that God may have mercy on my soul'. Antonio Alfonso de Teruel wanted high mass chanted at the main altar of Saint Francis, but at the same time the friars were to relay one another at each available altar in the convent, saying a mass and going to murmur a prayer over his grave. For Barahona Zapata it mattered that the celebrants should be of good life; at least, he took pains to mention this as desirable, though the efficacy of the mass did not absolutely depend on it. Although the ritual might be for the edification of the congregation – and one notices increasing reference by the eighteenth century to the masses which the testator had attended in his own lifetime rather than those commissioned after his death – this was not the main consideration. Rather, the funeral masses were a symbolic expression of a community which was greater than the individual. Barahona Zapata left 100 masses to be said for his 'parents, wife, kinsmen, friends and

²⁸ Guerrero Mayllo, *Vida cotidiana*, p. 375 gives an average of 1,600 masses left by the aldermen of Madrid in the reign of Philip II, though noting that the more common actual figure was between 100 and 1,000. These figures increased by the seventeenth century to an average of 2,588, falling to 991 by the eighteenth century; Hernández, *A la sombra de la corona*, p. 160.

benefactors', and another 100 for 'persons to whom I have done any wrong' (of whom there were no doubt quite a few in his long and controversial political career), and if they did not need the favour, let them be said 'for the soul that is most lonesome in purgatory'. For what could be worse in a world of kinsmen and patrons than to be able to call on neither?

But in the framework of salvation propounded by the Counter Reformation the clan had to be adjusted to the needs of a wider spiritual community. One of the significant features of the disposal of property was the burdening of heirs other than immediate descendants with the obligation of pious works of various kinds – the chantry of perpetual masses (*capellanía* or *memoria*), but also the feeding of the poor, the ransom of prisoners, the dowering of girls for marriage or the religious life. When Adrián Pérez del Castillo died leaving two daughters aged fifteen and eight, he provided that if they died without offspring his whole estate was to become a religious endowment, to be arranged by his brother Marcos, who was to be the girls' tutor. The sons of Marcos were to be chaplains, and if they had no issue then the sons of his other brothers Francisco and Bartolomé and their descendants. It all read very much like the foundation of a *mayorazgo*, except that the revenues were to be consecrated to the service of God – at least nominally, since the testator specified that this was to be a *patronato de legos*, a lay endowment which excluded the church authorities from meddling with the arrangements.²⁹

It was a similar 'lay trust' which the lawyer Andrés de Burgos founded at his death: 'in order to keep alive the memory of my ancestors and myself, and above all in order to serve the Lord God and His glorious and blessed mother by means of the happy endowment of masses and prayers herein set forth.' He established a fund of approximately 3,500 ducats, including a couple of houses and three tracts of land, which were to pass to his eldest son Juan, by way of a *mejora*, a 'preference' over his five other offspring (two of whom were friars and one a nun anyway). Juan was to pay from the proceeds every year thereafter for a high mass on the day of the founder's namesake, Saint Andrew, another high mass on the feast of the Incarnation for the soul of the founder's first wife and a low mass for his second, four low masses for his parents, brothers and sisters and dead child Antonio, one low mass in honour of Saint Teresa (just canonised that year, 1622), and finally one mass each in honour of Our Lady's Conception and Sorrows.³⁰

²⁹ AHPG MA 137–42v, 7 February 1620.

³⁰ AHPG GHS III–20, 21 January 1622.

It would seem to be almost the rule, at least among the lesser gentry, that wherever the direct line of descent came to an end, then the estate would pass first to the service of religion, though within this rubric brothers, cousins, foster-children would find satisfaction either as chaplains to the endowment or as its 'patrons', holding the property on which it was secured and appointing the chaplain. Doña Magdalena Sáez Diente, wife of the influential notary Juan Francisco Tafur, described in her will of 1685 how she and her husband had reared the latter's nephew Antonio Tafur from infancy, being childless themselves, and how they had acquired an estate of 110 *marjales* (about five hectares) of vineyard on the road to Jaén. But rather than leave the land outright to Antonio, she converted it into a chantry. Together with her husband's office of notary and the big house they had bought during the marriage, the property (valued at 10,000 ducats of which she had a half-share) was to support a perpetual endowment of six masses every year for the soul of Doña Magdalena, 'her parents and grandparents, on the father's and mother's side, her brothers, uncles and other individuals of her blood'. Meanwhile Antonio, 'a most virtuous' young man to whom they had given all their 'love and affection', was to become the first chaplain, to be succeeded by the offspring of her brothers and sister. The 'patron' of the endowment, who would select the chaplain, was to be Antonio himself. If he failed to nominate a successor, then the Master of Schools of the cathedral would act, inviting applications from kinsmen of the Sáez Diente a month in advance. He was to choose as chaplain 'the nearest in blood and the oldest in age, so long as he is virtuous and respectable and lives quietly'. If after thirty days no kin presented themselves, the patron was to invite applications from 'priests who are poor and Old Christians, so long as they are virtuous and learned'.³¹

Such endowments were a useful source of funds for poorer members of a clan, looking around for a scholarship which might help educate one of their sons. The powerful leather merchant Luis de Cuadros, founder of a line of aldermen, provided in his will of 1629 for the education of his grandson Lucas de Ayllón by founding a chantry of two masses to be said every week in the Franciscan convent. While Lucas was a child, his father was to get the Franciscans to say the masses, using the rest of the substantial endowment (700 ducats) to pay for the boy's study for the priesthood.³² The *capellania* could be seen as an act of piety in more ways

³¹ AHPG JFT 357-63v, 20 September 1685.

³² AHPG RR 1,097-153, 28 February 1629.

than one, spreading wealth more evenly among a wider range of kinsmen than would be possible under the *mayorazgo*, while keeping together the property and memory of the founder. Thus, the great silk merchant Francisco Muñoz de Torres, having no children of his own, set up one such endowment in 1709. His property was extensive, consisting mainly of the *cortijo* of Alitaje in the Vega of Granada, some 4,500 *marjales* (about 225 hectares) of prime quality land. It was all to be tied down to pay for four grand chantries, each reckoned to be worth 300 ducats a year to the incumbent, who would say in return 150 masses during each and every year in the cathedral. The bulk of the foundation charter is taken up with a list of all those kinsmen who could put in a claim to be chaplains (the dean and chapter were to be patrons with ultimate responsibility for nominating the chaplain if there was a competition). Some eighteen families were called, starting with the issue of his favourite niece María, for whose marriage he had recently provided a rich dowry, proceeding through his peasant cousins of Güevéjar, then the relatives of his well-connected Padial wife, including Don Juan Padial, deputy corregidor of Granada, and so on out to friends like the notary of the elite, Don José Bermúdez de Castro. His wife, Doña Claudia Padial, founded a similar *capellanía* on her half of the property at her death nine years later, though her list of chaplains was interestingly different, with a preference for the foster-child they had reared and, after him, a concentration on the Padial connection. She wanted a preference for the descendants of Padial males rather than of females. They were to get 100 ducats a year to help with their studies for the priesthood. Both she and her husband recognised that the estate might well yield more than the 300 ducats allotted to each of the chaplains, in which case the latter were to enjoy the surplus.³³

These large endowments were relatively easy to administer, even if there was increasing concern, voiced by reformers like Lisón y Biedma, about tying down so much property in this kind of mortmain. The real problem came with the smaller foundations, which mortgaged or immobilised property in a rather haphazard fashion. Isabella de Ribas, widow of Gregorio de Arriola who had died in 1624, had fallen into arrears by the time of her own death in 1647 on the chantries for which she was responsible: one of 600 ducats payable from the rent of some houses, another of 100 ducats from a *censo*, a third of 300 on some fields in the

³³ ARCG 3 / 526 / 3, 27 June 1709 and 1 October 1718. On chantries generally in Spain, see Juan Pro Ruiz, 'Las capellanías: familia, iglesia y propiedad en el antiguo régimen', *Hispania Sacra*, 41 (1989), 585–602.

Vega, the rents from which were payable to her son, the priest Salvador de Arriola. None the wiser, she went on to add 500 ducats for the purchase of land or houses to pay for six masses a year for the soul of her other son Luis, prematurely deceased, and an undisclosed sum – ‘to come from the body of my estate’ – to pay for a high mass every year for her own soul. Small wonder, perhaps, that the son-in-law and eventual heir of the Arriola, the veinticuatro Alonso Ruiz de Castilla, was forced to sell off lands – and to quarrel with his brother-in-law Salvador over who owned what. Alonso Ruiz de Castilla was a disgruntled politician, liable to be found on the side of the anti-royalists in the city council. Yet piety ultimately had its compensations, not only spiritual but in terms of the scholarship his grandson won in 1670, thanks to a line of descent traced through Isabella de Ribas from her second cousin, the wealthy lawyer Diego de Ribera, who had originally set up the endowment.³⁴

Isabel’s nephew, the priest Don García de Ribas, founded another set of *capellanías* for his kin, but he warned: ‘I know by experience that the property often falls into decline after a little while through bad administration, with no care given to the actual possessions and their need for maintenance, or to keeping a check on mortgages due.’ And he, rather unusually, invited the diocesan authorities to keep an eye on his foundations.³⁵ The monastery of San Jerónimo ‘must take particular responsibility for ensuring that the house and lands are kept properly and that their income goes up rather than down’: such was the enjoinder which Pedro Fernández de Palma attached to his endowment of sixty masses a year for the souls of his family buried in that cloister.³⁶ The opinion of one government committee in 1797 that chantry lands were distinguished by their general atmosphere of neglect, barely yielding 2 per cent on capital, could be applied to a much earlier period. The religious endowment, though a useful prop of the clan, was the responsibility of no one because it belonged to everyone.³⁷

The economy of salvation which we have just described required a numerous class of people set apart as intercessors for their fellow men.

³⁴ I have summarised a more intricate story rather baldly here. The bones are to be found in AHPG MP n.f., testament of Isabella de Ribas, 1 July 1643; JFM 697–704, revised testament, 19 August 1648; EC 687–705, genealogy of Ruiz de Castilla, 3 September 1670; ARCG 3 / 1689 / 1, Salvador de Arriola v. Ruiz de Castilla, 1635.

³⁵ AHPG CV 352–358v, 25 August 1657.

³⁶ AHPG SFM 377–383v, 25 August 1659.

³⁷ Juan Sempere y Guarinos, *Historia de los vínculos y mayorazgos* (Madrid 1805), p. 427. Cf. AHPG 293 Bartolomé Díaz 547–57v, accounts of the chantry of Luis Méndez de Salazar, 1 November 1591.

One of the characteristic features of the Counter Reformation, in fact, was the expansion in the numbers of the clergy. Bermúdez de Pedraza in 1608 listed 598 monks and friars and 706 nuns in Granada; by the middle of the eighteenth century there were around the same number of nuns but now close to 1,600 male religious. Add to this some 400 secular priests, so that by 1752 the clergy must have accounted for a little over 5 per cent of the urban population.³⁸ The nuns had reached their peak in the early seventeenth century. Always drawn from a wealthy minority of the European elites before the nineteenth-century expansion of orders dedicated to nursing and teaching, they nevertheless underwent a significant change during the Counter Reformation thanks to the inspiration particularly of Saint Teresa of Avila and her campaign for a renewal of evangelical poverty. Her 'discalced' or barefoot order of Carmelites became the symbol of a renewal of female spirituality, renouncing property and preferring to live off alms. Bermúdez de Pedraza tells us of the initial opposition of the Archbishop to the introduction of the Discalced Carmelites in 1582 because they had no guaranteed income. But they were needed, thought the chronicler, because the older convents had become too lax, serving as a kind of social centre from which gossip flowed.³⁹

The backbone of the church was the secular clergy. But they were relatively few in number and often tied down in serving the religious endowments of their lineages rather than in pastoral work. The Counter Reformation was carried forward rather by the friars, and these in a sense renounced the earthly for the spiritual family. The nineteen-year-old José Garnica, 'having considered the dangers and travail of the world, and the snares which lie in wait to entrap the conscience', announced his intention of joining the Mercedarians. His mother paid over 250 ducats to the convent and set up an endowment which would yield to José in person 15 ducats a year 'for books and other things I might need'.⁴⁰ Friars could sometimes dispose of fairly significant annuities. The veinticuatro Juan López Navarro left 3,000 *reales* a year to his grandson, a Carmelite friar, and appointed him as one of the executors of his will. But, in general, friars were a cheap option for a family: they cost relatively little in the way of endowment and, unlike secular priests, they did not expect to share in the inheritance. Normally, at their profession, they specified that they

³⁸ Cortés and Vincent, *Granada: la época moderna*, p. 294; Sanz Sampelayo, *Granada en el siglo XVIII*, p. 652.

³⁹ *Historia eclesiástica*, p. 263.

⁴⁰ AHPG LO 313–22, 15 March 1624.

wanted their claims on the inheritance to go to their parents or siblings, not to their convent. Thus, the sixteen-year-old Pedro de Ribera became the easiest of the children of the powerful lawyer Diego de Ribera to settle in life when in 1598 he entered the Discalced Carmelites, asking only that his father redeem a *censo* of 500 ducats which the friars owed and set up a chantry of nine masses a year in honour of Our Lady and in memory of his mother.⁴¹ The same could be said of Rodrigo, one of six children of the founder of the Teruel dynasty, who entered the Franciscan order, as we saw earlier.

There were complaints about the proliferation of these mendicant friars, however. In 1603 the archbishop opposed the wish of the strict Augustinians to found a new house in Granada. 'There are fourteen convents for men in this city', he told the government; 'more than enough for a city bigger than Granada.' Most of them had to struggle in order to live because the local population was so poor. Yet the town council and the Chancillería thought that a suitable site could be found in the depopulated former Morisco district, the Albaicín, because it was so difficult of access that 'rarely can the inhabitants get to hear a sermon or frequent devotions . . . so that sometimes friars from the [lower] city have to go up there to preach and hear confessions'.⁴² Though Lisón and other patricians were critical of the new wave of establishments, others found it a useful source of prestige for their family. Thus, Lisón's own father-in-law, Alonso de Contreras signalled his wealth by building the convent of Saint Francis de Paul in Motril, while Lisón's sparring partner, Alvarez de Bohorques, marked his advent to power in the Granada of Olivares by endowing the monastery of San Basilio as a mausoleum for his family.

The Cortes of 1632 attached to its vote of a subsidy to the Crown the condition that no more such foundations should be allowed. But they were in the vanguard of Spanish spirituality at the time. One of the most distinguished of their members was Fray Luis de Granada (1504–88), educated by the Dominicans of Santa Cruz where his mother had worked as a washerwoman, before entering there as a friar. Though he worked mostly outside Granada and though his writings, like the *Guide of Sinners* (1556), were often controversial and led to trouble with the Inquisition, his influence on the spiritual life of his native city seems to have been

⁴¹ AHPG RD 1,982 ff., 9–10 November 1598; GHS (1622–23 register), 61–7, Juan López Navarro, 17 January 1622. On the other Ribera children, Osorio Pérez, *Historia del real colegio*, pp. 29–32.

⁴² Antonio Luis Cortés Peña, *Religión y política durante el antiguo régimen* (Granada 2001), pp. 157–61.

considerable, to judge not least by copies of his works to be found in inventories of patrician families. His fundamental aim, like that of other great religious reformers of the sixteenth century, was to recreate a Christian community which should include the laity as much as the clergy. Hence, the emphasis in the *Guide of Sinners*, on two fundamental points: that virtue is welcoming, not 'thorny, forbidding and gloomy', and that its practice does not distract from the business of life, but rather that the man who is a good Christian 'will farm his vineyard . . . all the better'.⁴³

This approach was very much that of the greatest spiritual force of the Counter Reformation: the Jesuits. From their college of San Pablo, founded in 1554, their influence spread through the ranks of the laity of Granada by preaching, teaching and moral guidance in confession. Their influence is not always easy to trace through the legal documents which are our main source, for unlike other religious orders they did not encourage the setting up of burial vaults or perpetual endowments of masses in their churches. It is almost in passing that Don Baltasar Barahona Zapata tells us: 'I have been a child of the Society of Jesus, and I have always gone to confession and trained and guided my conscience (with them).' In view of this it is somewhat surprising that he only left them a few silver cruets for the altar, but did not invite them to the funeral. But this in a sense was the secret of the Jesuits' influence: their relative discretion and informal 'guiding of consciences'. Pedro de la Cruz, who opened the door for visitors to the Jesuit house, gained a reputation for wheedling those who had called on other business into coming to confession.⁴⁴ It was their sermons that Henríquez de Jorquera had in mind when he praised their 'enormous benefit to the Granadan commonwealth'; that, and their novel *congregaciones*.

The *congregación* was a new form of an old institution: the confraternity. These spiritual brotherhoods had grown up in Europe in the Middle Ages within a framework of belief – of which indulgences were one part – which held that merit could be accumulated collectively and applied to less worthy individuals when and where required. Attacked by the Protestants as a negation of individual responsibility, they underwent a subtle transformation during the Counter Reformation, being directed more to the performance of good works than to their traditional rituals of prayer

⁴³ *Guía de pecadores* (Lisbon 1556), ed. José María Balcells (Barcelona 1986), dedication to Doña Elvira de Mendoza, and pp. 222–3.

⁴⁴ *Historia del colegio de San Pablo*, p. 75. He died in 1620.

and conviviality.⁴⁵ The patrician wills suggest greater identification with this new kind of brotherhood. Thus, Cristóbal Barahona Alarcón belonged to the 'Third Order' of the Carmelites and Franciscans, and Antonio Alfonso de Teruel was a prominent member of the very aristocratic Confraternity of Charity and Refuge which catered to the needs of the poor. These groupings appealed, we are told by the Jesuit chronicler of the time, to 'those who play a part in public life, who are involved in the government of the city, which they rule after a Christian fashion. They are interested in the welfare of the people rather than themselves, seeing to the good of the poor. They keep good order in their homes and behave in every way as perfect knights.'⁴⁶

Much research will be required before we can properly assess the full measure of their impact on society and politics. For in many ways they retained the traditions of the older confraternities, not least their class basis (the Charity and Refuge, for example, only admitted nobles) and their addiction to fiestas. In principle, they were committed to giving their members greater individual responsibility for their actions and more of a social conscience, getting them to think of the interests of the wider community and promoting the nuclear family at the expense of the lineage as the cradle of the citizen. It may be significant that some of the greatest patrons of the Jesuits in Granada were relatively new men – like Baltasar Barahona Zapata, or like Bartolomé Veneroso, the Genoese financier and plutocrat, or Pedro de los Reyes, entrepreneur and moral reformer. And others – Dávila Fonseca, Arias Mansilla – had Jewish blood. The spiritual message of the Jesuits was that of internal conversion, a commitment as an individual to practical works of charity, a conception of the community which went beyond the spirit of the clan. For that reason it is not surprising to find many of them, like Barahona Zapata, sympathetic to the reform programme of Olivares, who himself had a Jesuit confessor.⁴⁷

How far did the Jesuit influence spread through Granada? The registers of the municipal council for the reign of Philip III (1598–1621) would suggest the existence of some controversy over their acquisition of property. But in 1640, when the centenary of the Society was commemorated,

⁴⁵ Maureen Flynn, *Sacred charity: confraternities and social welfare in Spain 1400–1700* (London 1989); Brian Pullan, *Rich and Poor in Renaissance Venice* (Oxford 1971), pp. 33–42 and 279–81.

⁴⁶ *Historia del colegio de San Pablo*, p. 128.

⁴⁷ Cf. Jodi Bilinkoff, *The Avila of Saint Teresa: religious reform in a sixteenth-century city* (Ithaca and London 1989), pp. 87–95, and Julián J. Lozano Navarro, *La Compañía de Jesús y el poder en la España de los Austrias* (Madrid 2005), pp. 190–3.

the chronicler Henríquez de Jorquera could write of the great impression made by their scholars and by their several confraternities: the Anunciata (composed of students), the Holy Spirit (merchants and jurados), and the Holy Trinity (patricians). One senses here a model of reform which was essentially a compromise between the old loyalties of caste and the new conception of the moral commonwealth.

It is virtually impossible to separate out charity as we would understand it from piety, for both went hand in hand in the attitude of the patricians to the commonwealth. After all, masses for the soul were beneficial to the community in this life as in the next, for they were an essential means of support for the convents to which the poor would look for succour in time of hardship. When Doña Bernardina Dalvo, widow of the secretary to the city council, died in 1645, she left most of her property in alms. Some of the money went on masses; but most of it went into a trust fund to be administered by the Capuchins, the Brothers of Saint John of God and the friars of Our Lady of Ransom (La Merced) for the ransoming of captives (still a live issue on the Moorish frontier), the dowering of orphan girls of the Dalvo lineage, the care of the sick in the hospital of Saint John of God and in the Capuchin convent, and the provision of food for the hungry poor in the prisons of Granada.⁴⁸ Shortly before, Doña Mariana Anpudias, widow of a notary, left an endowment in perpetuity of ten ducats a year for masses for her soul, but double that amount to 'place in life' orphan girls of her lineage.⁴⁹

'One must keep in mind', wrote Fustel de Coulanges in his pioneering study of 1864 on 'The Ancient City', 'that in times gone by what bound a society together was religious ritual. Just as the altar at home served to join together all the members of a family, so the city was the gathering of those who had the same protector gods.'⁵⁰ Following on from his insight, the early sociologists like Emile Durkheim highlighted the importance of religion in promoting the values by which weakly structured communities – those lacking the highly developed division of labour and exchange of services characteristic of an industrial society – might develop some sense of identity and cohesion beyond the simple biological grouping of parents and offspring.⁵¹ The development of the concept of the citizen, therefore, may have owed much to the religious

⁴⁸ AHPG AB 339–54, 7 December 1645.

⁴⁹ AHPG LG n.f., 8 March 1629.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 166.

⁵¹ Emile Durkheim, *The division of labour in society* (1893), new edition (New York 1964).

upheavals in Reformation Europe which broke the traditional hold of cults associated with the local community, those elaborate fiestas and rituals which graced the medieval calendar and which anchored a population in a particular neighbourhood and landscape. Recent historiography of the Reformation and Counter Reformation has tended to focus less on the doctrinal differences between these two movements and more on the trend of both towards the promotion of social discipline – that is to say, the enforcement of generalised standards of morality by puritan zealots, both Catholic and Protestant, wherever they captured power. The new order was characterised by either the uprooting of the local folk heroes and saints in Protestant countries, or their partial substitution in Catholic lands by more generalised devotions to men and women of exemplary life.⁵² But the example of Granada may suggest that the Counter Reformation message had to adjust itself to the particular forms which the family and the commonwealth assumed at the local level.

⁵² R. Po-Chia Hsia, *Social discipline in the Reformation: Central Europe 1550–1750* (London 1989).

The law of honour

As he listed for his readers the monuments of Granada, Henríquez de Jorquera paused in Plaza Nueva to contemplate the Chancillería, fourth on his list, after the Alhambra, the cathedral and the royal chapel, but preceding in importance the city hall. The law courts, he pronounced, were 'the temple, fortress and stronghold of great monarchies', where 'the offences of the powerful are remedied and the poor get their due'.¹ The splendid new building which housed it was completed in 1587, partly funded, as legend would have it, out of a fine levied on the lord of Salar for refusing to take off his hat in the presence of the king's judges. Above the main door was inscribed the legend, which symbolised a new order of things: 'to match the gravity of the business herein transacted, His Prudent and Catholic Majesty Philip II decreed that this place of resolution of disagreements should be both large and handsome'. Bermúdez de Pedraza marvelled at how a simple piece of paper, issued by the tribunal under the royal seal, could command more authority than the king in person in less fortunate lands.²

Diego Hurtado de Mendoza (1503–75), younger son of the house of Mondéjar, hereditary wardens of the Alhambra and Captains General of Andalusia, gave a classic account of the slippage of power around the time of the Revolt of the Alpujarras (1568–70) from his family, old sword nobles, to these new men of the long robe. By a fortunate coincidence for the historian (though hardly for him), he had been exiled from court for losing his temper and drawing a sword in the royal palace. Detained in Granada at a critical turning-point in the history of his native city, he used his considerable literary gifts to analyse the factional struggles which had made the Revolt possible and hard to put down. 'Imbued with a lofty notion of their calling, which they tell us is the understanding of the

¹ *Anales de Granada*, vol. 1, p. 73.

² *Historia eclesiástica*, p. 5v.

things of this world and the next', he tells us, the high court judges (*oidores* or 'auditors') claimed the right of hearing appeals against injustice from anyone in any circumstance within the king's jurisdiction. But in doing so, he thought, they tended to aggravate the problem of lawlessness which they were trying to remedy – like banditry among the Moriscos – for adjudication of guilt or innocence required knowledge of the local circumstances which the judges notably lacked.³

But, he noted, the rule of the men of law had now become the norm throughout Christendom, and the more pragmatic approach to Morisco lawlessness adopted by the old nobility – giving refugees from feuds shelter on their estates – was no longer feasible. Men of the sixteenth century were beginning to look back with revulsion on the ways of their ancestors. Thus, Argote de Molina in 1588, recalling the feuds of the Trapera and Aranda clans in the frontier town of Ubeda around 1400, observed with satisfaction that both had vanished from the scene: 'it is a condign chastisement from heaven that the fame of the lineages which were responsible for these troubles has faded from the memory of man'.⁴ Many of the patricians of Granada, indeed, recalled coming south to this frontier land in the early days in order to escape from the feuds of their homelands.

Of course, the frontier had its own code of violence. The Herrasti family kept a memory of how their founder had had to 'break lances' with his powerful neighbour, the converted Moor Don Pedro de Granada Venegas, 'in order to get possession of the land awarded him by the royal bounty'.⁵ And the violent actions and words of some of the Mendoza – threatening to beat up, for example, their opponents on the town council – were not a good augury for the future. The pride of these great families led to innumerable quarrels of precedence. Thus in 1588 a riot nearly broke out when Don Alonso de Granada Venegas, together with 'many knights, friends and kinsmen', clashed with a judge who had ordered him to remove the symbols of Moorish royal ancestry from his coat of arms. Quarrels of this kind were a recurring problem, even in the case of patricians of modest demeanour like the very law-abiding Baltasar Barahona Zapata. This pupil of the Jesuits caused an uproar in the theatre one day in 1642 – when he was sixty-four years old! – over

³ *Guerra de Granada*, pp. 8–10.

⁴ *Nobleza de Andalucía*, pp. 561–2.

⁵ *Historia de la casa de Herrasti*, pp. 27–8.

the special seat accorded to a royal judge who had come to protect the actresses from the attentions of the cavaliers.⁶

It might be thought that a society like this, so imbued with the culture of honour, would find it very difficult to submit to the authority of the courts of law. As the Duke of Sessa wrote to the governor of Milan around 1620 on behalf of a dependant – while disclaiming any intention of perverting the course of justice – ‘when a man is being punished the stain can spread to those of his blood who are without guilt’. Unless the culprit was a reprobate disowned by his family, these had a claim also on the magistrate’s clemency.⁷ The concept of individual responsibility for one’s actions had to struggle with an older concept of the need for peace among warring groups, which might be best left to discipline their own members.

Additionally, in civil suits, it was hard to apply the law of contract rigorously in small-scale societies where tacit agreements among neighbours or family members modified the literal sense of the document. Litigation in such instances enables us to see, for example, how property might be nominally ‘sold’, but with the tacit understanding that it was to be leased back to the seller, who had no other way of raising a lump sum in cash. An agreement of a related kind by Diego Chumacero, son of the famous minister of Philip IV, to ‘sell’ his veinticuatría to Cecilio Ferrer Gonzaga on condition that he could buy it back if the occupant were chosen to represent the city in the Cortes, led to conflict between the two men in 1660.⁸ We may recall the marriage contract of Antonia de Teruel with Alonso del Castillo in 1593, discussed in an earlier chapter, where the dowry was set officially at 3,500 ducats, but then reduced by secret agreement to just 2,500. Given the structure of authority at the time, with women owning so much property but their husbands having to administer it, there was constant uncertainty about whether the woman’s signature – necessary for sale or mortgage of any part of her estate – had been freely obtained or not.⁹ If she could not sign her name, of course, the opportunity for litigation over her alleged consent was all the greater. Then there are the orphans to be considered, nominal owners of much

⁶ Henríquez de Jorquera, *Anales de Granada*, vol. II, pp. 525 and 916. And see José Cepeda Adán, ‘Los últimos Mendozas granadinos del siglo XVI’, *Miscelánea de estudios dedicados al profesor Antonio Marín Ocete*, 2 vols. (Granada 1974), vol. I, pp. 183–204, for the violence of this family.

⁷ Agustín G. de Amezúa (ed.), *Lope de Vega en sus cartas*, 4 vols. (Madrid 1935–41), vol. IV, p. 313. And cf. Osvaldo Raggio, *Faide e parentele: lo stato genovese visto dalla Fontanabuona* (Turin 1990), pp. xvii–xviii for similar concepts in seventeenth-century Genoa.

⁸ Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, *Historia de Andalucía* (Barcelona 1981), vol. IV, p. 87.

⁹ Cf. the law of Toro (1505) on how to interpret a wife’s signature on a mortgage: *Nueva Recopilación*, 5 / 3 / 9.

property which had to be administered for them by step-fathers or guardians, with all the risk which that entailed of negligence or fraud. This situation was bound to cause problems, for the reason given by the legal reformers Moret and Silvela in 1863, as they tried to reduce the areas of potential conflict: 'We would go so far as to say that courts of law can never come to a judgement in full knowledge of all the facts of a case in matters which demand an acquaintance with what a family gets up to behind the scenes.'¹⁰ On the other hand, it was precisely the intractable nature of family disputes – the accusations of bad faith, of renegeing on oral agreements, of having spent this or that on one child and less on another – that kept the courts so busy.

Though the calculation is very approximate, one may reckon that something like a fifth of the cases heard by the Chancillería of Granada during the early modern period concerned family disagreements of one kind or another.¹¹ Typical of the misunderstandings which arose was the case of an elderly lady of Grazalema on the frontier of the old kingdom of Granada. In 1717 she had made a will leaving her estate to her husband. But her nephew claimed that she only held the land on trust. It belonged to their parents and grandparents, and they had only left it to her because she was unmarried and living with them when they died. They never suspected that she would go on to marry a penniless young adventurer and squander the estate on him.¹²

The uncertain status of property was a characteristic feature of a pre-industrial society where wealth was transmitted largely by dowry and inheritance rather than acquired by individual effort. Linked to this was the shortage of cash and the tendency to convert debts into long-term mortgages (*censos*), which accumulated over the generations until the value of an office, a house or a field might be purely nominal given the weight of old debts for which it was liable. Complicating this issue even further was the sheer uncertainty about what *censos* were payable from a particular property. Though notaries were required to keep records of all transactions from 1502 rather than simply giving away the copy to the parties, it was not always easy to remember which notary kept which papers or where they had been handed on after his death. We have come across the problem already in the matter of investigations of noble ancestry, and much of what was discussed there is relevant to property suits as well.

¹⁰ *La familia foral*, p. 129.

¹¹ ARCG catalogues (*fichero*). Cf. Kagan, *Lawsuits and litigants*, pp. 110–11.

¹² ARCG 512 / 2364–5 / 5 and 6, *Soria v. Guerra* (1717–19).

The veinticuatro Cecilio Ferrer Gonzaga bought some 70 *marjales* or about three hectares of fertile huerta in Darabenaz in the Vega of Granada, which he handed over to his son Don Luis in 1671. Then in 1685 two of the latter's sisters entered as nuns in Santa Paula, and Luis, unable to pay the whole dowry immediately, chose to pay in instalments – 1,200 ducats over eight years, together with a pension for life to his sisters of 80 ducats a year, all saddled on Darabenaz. But five years later, in 1690, an increasingly harassed Luis sold the property to the rising tycoon Francisco Muñoz de Torres. It was agreed that as part of the purchase price Francisco would take over payment of the mortgages on another vineyard which Luis held in Albolote; no mention seems to have been made of Darabenaz, though Luis later alleged that he tried to persuade his sisters to forego their claims there. In any case, their brother having failed to meet the agreed dowry payments, the convent of Santa Paula distrained on the new owner, Francisco Muñoz, who, to make matters worse, found that the farmer of the estate continued to pay the rent to Don Luis, who had promptly pocketed the money. The courts awarded the bulk of the property to Santa Paula, ordering compensation for Muñoz out of what remained. Don Luis now sold off this rump, getting his son Don Vicente Ferrer to pledge his lands to indemnify the purchaser against any loss, promising not to mortgage or sell them until the latter was satisfied.¹³

So much property was tied down by entail or mortgage, so much ill-surveyed or of unclear status because of oral agreements that the courts were often involved but could rarely adjudicate firmly. In 1653 the high court upheld the claim of the veinticuatro Miguel de Acosta and his wife Ana de Aguilera Valdivia that Juan Pérez Valenzuela, farmer of some land in Villa del Río (Córdoba) should have paid rent for it to them and not, as he had been doing, to the veinticuatro Jerónimo Núñez Moreno. The dispute can be traced back to the will of Moreno's late wife, Ana de Aguilera Valdivia the Elder. She had been heiress to two estates in Villa del Río: the *mayorazgo* of her cousin Pedro González de Aguilera, and the *bienes libres* or free property acquired by her mother and passed on to her in dowry. But which was which? The dowry land, the elder Ana specified in her will of 1644, was 140 *fanegas*, 'which make four *ubadas* less four *fanegas*, for each *ubada* of land in the kingdom of Córdoba . . . holds 36 *fanegas*'. She was wise to make this plain, for one of the features of landholding in a country with extensive fallows and measurement by seed

¹³ AHPG JP 723ff., agreement of 24 December 1693.

sown rather than by survey was the usurpation of fields at the edge of a domain – of which Antonio Alfonso de Teruel complained, for example, in his will of 1697. But the Aguilera Valdivia had a further problem, which was that a mortgage of 400 ducats lying on the entailed lands in Villa del Río had been redeemed, thus turning land to that value into ‘free property’, which the elder Ana now left to her husband Jerónimo Núñez Moreno. One can understand some of the confusion of Pérez Valenzuela, the actual farmer of the estate, when he told the Chancillería that he thought he was ploughing free, not entailed land. The kaleidoscope of other interests involved – for the free land was split up among various relatives and some of it burdened with masses in perpetuity – could only work with the good will and cooperation of the parties involved.¹⁴

In a society where perhaps two-third of testators could not read or write, respect for the written document bordered on awe. Thus, Doña Rufina de Cuéllar was persuaded to sign over an office of notary which she had inherited to a practitioner in return for an annuity of 130 ducats. But, as she later confessed, she was not sure exactly what she had signed. She had relied on advice that she could not simply lease the office but must nominally sell it. However, she wanted it to be clearly understood that she regarded herself as still the legal owner with full authority to leave or bequeath it to whomever she pleased. If any documents appeared to say the contrary, ‘it will be because people have misled me, for I have had a lot of trouble through not being able to read and write, though I can sign my name’.¹⁵ Hence, the litigiousness of early modern society, where a fundamentally oral culture was overlaid by a rigid legal protocol. It was in the courts of law that the truth would begin to unravel, revealing the misunderstandings, the informal agreements, the frustrated hopes which swirled around the written contract.

Writing played a key role in supplementing the deficiencies of memory in an age when so much property was handed down from generation to generation, saddled with half-forgotten obligations. Referring to the three different entails which he held, founded over a hundred years before, Diego Arias Calderón, knight of Calatrava and kinsman of Don Luis de Paz, noted that part of the land was mixed up with his own free property, ‘and if there is any doubt about which is which, I want the successor to the

¹⁴ AHPG AB 129–41, 2 October 1641; ARCG 3 / 765 / 10. Cf. the will of Ana de Aguilera the younger, AHPG MV 315–18v, 17 August 1676.

¹⁵ AHPG JP 165–72v, 10 September 1787. One third of testators in sixteenth-century Granada could sign their names, cf. García Pedraza, *Actitudes ante la muerte*, vol. 1, p. 489.

mayorazgo to choose'. He had personal experience of the danger of confusion, for the cellar abutting on his main house where he stored his wines had been the subject of a lawsuit, not yet settled, over whether or not it was part of a charitable trust. 'The suit has lain dormant these many years', he noted; but, like the holder of an interim patent of nobility, one could never be sure where the next challenge might come from. Hence Don Diego's care to specify that all the papers relating to the entails he held should be handed on to the heir 'with a judicial inventory . . . so that men can see for all time to come that I have done my duty'. And for added security, all matters relating to his will were to be handled by the notary José Bermúdez de Castro, 'because I have confidence in him and because I keep all the papers relating to my estate in his office'.¹⁶

Papers were like weapons – handy instruments for harassing people whom one disliked for other reasons. The point is memorably conveyed in the novel of Pérez Galdós, *Doña Perfecta* (1876), where litigation over the lands belonging to the protagonist increases in proportion to the hostility which his progressive ideas arouse in a backward community. Whereas the local authorities would be more inclined to reconcile the parties to a conflict or an aggression, since they or their relatives must go on living together in the same little community, the appeal courts like the Chancillería tended to uphold the letter of the law. Law in old Spain had been essentially local law. The corregidor if he was a *letrado* (a university-trained 'man of letters'), or his deputy, the *alcalde mayor*, if he was not, held their court in the district capitals and anything of moment was supposed to be referred to them. They were officers appointed by the Crown, generally outsiders – though when Don Luis Laso de la Vega was appointed corregidor of Granada in 1626, the chronicler Henríquez de Jorquera recorded the joy of the patricians, 'for he was born in Málaga and reared in Granada, where he has many kinsmen'.¹⁷ And one of the Padial dynasty was serving as *alcalde mayor* there in 1698. Meanwhile, routine policing was left to locally elected justices or *alcaldes*.

It is hard to know just how much business came the way of these officers since most of their papers have disappeared. Essentially litigation was regarded with distaste by the moral writers of the time. Even a judge like Castillo de Bobadilla favoured agreements between the parties as a way of resolving lawsuits, 'even though each has to give up something'.

¹⁶ AHPG JP 176–90v, 29 November 1696.

¹⁷ *Anales de Granada*, vol. II, p. 677.

The danger in allowing a trial to proceed, he thought, was that insults and dishonour would creep in: 'There is nothing men esteem more than their good reputation and honour . . . for they would rather have that than life or wealth.'¹⁸ The problem, declared Marco Antonio de Camós, was that litigation broke the good fellowship of the community, and was particularly abhorrent between family members: 'It is possible to go to court over property without losing a basic respect and good will towards the other party, but it can only be done with difficulty.'¹⁹

There are strict adjurations in many Granadan wills – even one of a judge of the Chancillería – on heirs not to open litigation even if they feel cheated by the disposal of the inheritance. And the recurring advice of theologians like Tomás Sánchez, Pedro de Ledesma or Matías Sánchez, and of lay writers on the family like Manuel de Mello, was that parents should generally not try to disinherit or punish wayward children who married without their consent. Martín de Villanueva, having come to Granada to get the high court to strip his eldest daughter of the right to succeed to his *mayorazgos* for marrying against his wishes, repented of his action as he lay dying. 'I have nourished great hatred and enmity against her and her husband, for in this matter she did not show me the respect I deserved as her father, nor did her husband, though we had been friends.' Now he thought better of it, however: 'in order that God may pardon my soul, I forgive them and accept them back into my grace, so that I in turn may be in God's grace, which is what really matters to me'.²⁰

Inevitably some conflicts could not be resolved this way and ended up in court. The phrase no doubt conveys a false image of due process of law, whereas we can deduce from the fundamental treatise of the corregidor Castillo de Bobadilla that the magistrate was more in the nature of a 'little father' of his community, now acting as chairman of the town council, now inspecting the markets or the levy of troops for the king, now issuing secret warrants for the removal of fallen women to avoid publicising the dishonour of their families. When he did 'hold court', it was likely to be nearly as informal as that of Sancho Panza in Cervantes' immortal tale. There should be fixed times for court, thundered Bobadilla, 'and in public hearings, let there be silence, as much as we can get, for always, or at least in most cases, there is such a babble of voices that one can hardly

¹⁸ *Política para corregidores*, vol. II, pp. 219 and 261.

¹⁹ *Microcosmia*, part I, p. 205.

²⁰ AHPG GHS 31v–35, 12 January 1620.

think straight'.²¹ Whatever decisions came out of these local tribunals must essentially have found its way into the notary's register as an agreement by the parties to carry out some payment, some adjustment of boundaries, or whatever.

Much of our knowledge of the working of the local courts comes, in fact, from cases taken on appeal to the Chancillería. Here one difference may strike the researcher: that whereas the local justices were generally reluctant to upset seisin – that is, the pre-eminent right of the occupier to stay on a piece of property until an overwhelming case can be made out to the contrary – the Chancillería judges were less likely to shy away from confrontation with vested interests. This 'house of ill adventure', as the Moriscos were alleged to have called the Chancillería, was supposed to bring succour to the orphan, the widow and the poor. It does indeed appear to have been very open, accepting virtually every *demanda* or plea, ordering the defendant 'to give a straight reply' even though he would protest its vexatious nature, according often an *entretanto*, an 'interim award' of funds against the disputed property, in order to keep the plaintiff going. But essentially it could only operate with local information and this threw the real onus of decision back on the local justices.

Here the power behind the throne was the notary. Castillo de Bobadilla quoted with some disgust the proverb: 'If I can get my solicitor to do the paperwork, I don't care who the judge is.' He objected in principle to the habit of leaving the solicitor free to interview witnesses on his own, which led to fraud. We may let one witness, Juan Franco, in a case of 1660 from Montilla, help set the scene. He was going home to lunch at noon one day, when he passed in front of a notary's office, in whose doorway was standing his friend Don Luis Díez de Mesa. 'Juan Franco, listen to what the good Father Berrio has to say', Don Luis called out, and he began to read aloud what the priest was alleged to have said on behalf of the other party to the lawsuit, a certain Antonio de Aguilar. 'I swear to God I made no such statement', moaned Berrio, who was in the room at the time. Aguilar's solicitor, he protested, had given a particular slant to what he had actually said, scribbling on a piece of paper and asking for a quick signature, though the priest was too ill to read what he had written. As soon as he found out the trickery, he had gone round to see the notary, 'and in public, in front of many people, he told the clerk that he and his

²¹ *Política para corregidores*, vol. II, p. 242. Things were improving, he thought, with the appointment of attorneys (*Procuradores*).

master were a pair of scoundrels'.²² It was for reasons like this that Castillo de Bobadilla urged the magistrate to interrogate witnesses in person. But as in 1592 when the Crown insisted that specially commissioned *receptores* should henceforth do this job in pleas of nobility, the cost in time and money seems to have been a deterrent to litigants and judges alike, who therefore continued to rely basically on the ordinary solicitor.

There were thirty offices of notary in Granada. Though the king had to approve the incumbents, the offices were venal. They varied in value according to the practice each had built up, some serving the humble working-class population of the old Moorish quarter, the Albaicín, others the business and aristocratic interests in the city centre. Around 1600 notarial offices were changing hands for between about 1,500 and 3,500 ducats – equivalent, therefore, at the upper end of the scale to the price of a *veinticuatría*. And they climbed in value like the latter during the early seventeenth century, to 7,200 ducats for that of Juan Fernández de Molina in 1627, 6,000 for Juan de Navas in 1686, 4,350 for Juan Francisco Tafur in 1680, all of these serving a patrician clientele. But much of this inflation was accounted for by adding mortgages on to the price: thus, the Navas office was only worth about 4,000 ducats net. Inevitably given inheritance of office, many of these men seem to come from dynasties of lawyers. The father of Navas was a notary in Ecija, and the in-laws of the Tafur, the Sáez Diente, were notaries in Villamena and probably under Teruel patronage.²³ Juan Agustín de Navas, who may have been a cousin, was chief clerk of the royal excise and married to the heiress of the wealthy but illiterate baker, Inés de Estrada.

It did not cost much to become a notary. The merchant Tomás López de Rojas left 300 ducats in his will of 1673 for one of his dependants to be trained for the post. The difficult hurdle was rather after training, to become established in one of the thirty regular offices, which required great wealth or great influence. Some notaries managed to move into the charmed circle of the patricians. This was notably the case with the clerks of the Chancillería. Here venality of office was well established, affording some opportunity to local families to participate in judicial decision-making.²⁴ The dozen *escribanos de cámara* or registrars were the eyes

²² ARCG 3 / 703-4 / 1.

²³ AHPG JFT 357-63v, Magdalena Saez Diente, 20 September 1685; JN 220-21v, Juan de Navas, 23 March 1686; LG 1,052-61v, Juan Fernández de Molina, 28 June 1627.

²⁴ Inés Gómez González, *La justicia en almoneda: la venta de oficios en la Chancillería de Granada 1505-1834* (Granada 2000).

and ears of the court, and the guardians of its memory. It was they who filed and stored the evidence in a trial, giving them much influence over its outcome. The names of some are familiar enough, for they would go on to play a role in the political life of Granada as *veinticuatro*s – Baltasar Barahona Zapata, Pedro de la Fuente Vergara, Jerónimo de Castro. Their importance can be measured by the value of their offices: 12,000 ducats that of Fuente Vergara in 1596, 14,000 that of Castro in 1601. At the time of the Revolt of the Alpujarra in 1568–70, one noble recalled, ‘anyone having any business to consult or transact with His Highness (Don Juan de Austria, commander of the army), or any favour to ask of him, would have recourse, as I often did myself, to the said Pedro de la Fuente Vergara’. Another remembered seeing the father of the illustrious cavalier Juan Fernández de Córdoba, *alférez mayor* of the city, waiting patiently outside the great secretary’s door prior to ‘taking a stroll with him’.²⁵

By the seventeenth century a more ordered society appeared to be able to dispense to an increasing extent with the direct intervention of the high court in its affairs. As in pleas of *hidalguía*, the practice was now to devolve responsibility onto local authorities to conduct the investigations and the gathering of evidence, while the *oidores* would limit themselves to a supervisory role, issuing interim injunctions or demanding a review of the decision of the court of first instance. The records of the high court become less full over time – not that the Chancillería was less important, but its old role of tutor to an undisciplined, feuding society was now redundant: the people of Granada had learnt the arts of peace.

Thus the guardians of the memory of the high court, the *escribanos de cámara*, saw their archives gather dust. They themselves ceased to have their finger on the pulse of the society and its conflicts. Rather, this task was falling more and more to the informal and more locally based legal counsellor or advocate. Of these, thirty-two are listed as practising before the bar in the city of Granada alone in 1575. A further 208 were admitted between 1601 and 1650, 500 in 1651 to 1700 and an all-time high of 995 in 1701 to 1750 for the areas of southern Spain under the jurisdiction of the Chancillería. The College of Advocates was founded in Granada in 1641 to regulate this increasingly popular profession.²⁶

²⁵ ARCG 301 / 175 / 51.

²⁶ Eladio de Lapresa Molina, *Historia del ilustre colegio de abogados de Granada 1726–1850* (Granada 1976), pp. 239–341. But cf. Kagan, *Lawsuits and litigants*, pp. 60–77, whose figures would suggest a drop in both the activity of the Chancillería in seventeenth-century Valladolid and the numbers of advocates.

The early counsellors were men of great influence. One thinks of Felipe Pérez de Teruel, who made a fortune in his own lifetime, allegedly by some sharp practice, 'using tricks and subterfuges', 'putting in tendentious pleas', 'looking to his own interest', according to witnesses in the judicial enquiry of 1575.²⁷ Then there was Diego de Ribera, 'one of the wealthiest and most powerful men in this city' at his death in 1614, according to Henríquez de Jorquera. Ribera, a petty noble of Cordoban ancestry, declared assets of 3,000 ducats near the start of his career in 1578 when he married the daughter of the secretary to the Granada city council, Pedro de Castellón (whose son and heir Antonio had recently won notoriety in a 'wedding of blood', as we saw earlier). By the time of his death in 1614 he appears to have been worth 70,000 ducats, which would be equivalent to the assets of the great silk merchants of the city. It was a fortune comparable to that of the lawyers who had made their way into the Council of Castile, though rather inferior to that of the aldermen of Madrid.²⁸ Certainly Diego de Ribera was not flush with money – one notes this in the careful arrangements he had to make for the marriage of his only daughter with the aristocratic Don Luis Beltrán de Caicedo in 1599, his constant fretting over the expenditure of his wastrel younger son Diego and the borrowing against the estate to which his eldest son and heir García was reduced after his father's death as he ventured on a military career.²⁹

But wherever there was a down-at-heel warrior class – typically in the old Moorish frontier with Jaén or, more recently, in the villages of the eastern Alpujarra towards Almería, whose inhabitants faced the Berber corsairs year in year out – there was thought of placing one of the sons in the militia, another in the priesthood, the third in the law. Bernardo de Valdivia, of an old family in the Almerian hill town of Berja, was not untypical. In 1737 the 31-year-old presented himself before the judges of the Chancillería with his baptismal certificate, his title of *bachiller* (probably from the University of Granada) and his certificate of *pasantía*, that is, of having served the requisite period as a barrister's clerk. In front of the assembled magistrates he then made a choice of themes to debate and defend, answering the 'questions and supplementary queries which some

²⁷ Antonio Ruiz Rodríguez, *La Real Chancillería de Granada en el siglo XVI* (Granada 1987), p. 151.

²⁸ F. Martínez Lumberras, *Historia del Real Colegio de San Bartolomé y Santiago*, p. 5. Cf. Mauro Hernández, *A la sombra de la corona*, pp. 108–9 and Janine Fayard, *Les membres du Conseil de Castille à l'époque moderne 1621–1746* (Geneva 1979), pp. 431–2.

²⁹ Martínez Lumberras, *Historia del Real Colegio*, pp. 8–9; Osorio Pérez, *Historia del Real Colegio*, pp. 30–1.

of the said judges put to him'. Admitted to the bar, he took his oath, 'promising in the first place to uphold the purity of the Conception of Mary . . . and not to plead unjust causes nor advance unfair arguments, nor to ask for excessive fees nor anything at all from the poor'. Eleven years later Valdivia was admitted to the college of advocates on presentation of his genealogy which showed him to be of hidalgo descent.³⁰

Lawyers, thought Bermúdez de Pedraza, 'are just as valuable to mankind as is the soldier who sacrifices his life's blood in defence of his family and country'. For they 'give back life to those who are at death's door and hope to those who are in despair'.³¹ It is a sentiment we find echoed in the wills of litigants. Don Juan de la Torre Avellaneda, lord of Vélez de Benaudalla, was fulsome in praise of Pedro Ruiz de Bejarano, the lawyer who had defended his many lawsuits and whose daughter Isabella he went on to marry. Thanks to his father-in-law's diligence, said Don Juan, he had been able to reclaim his ancestral heritage. Had Bejarano not done much of his work without a fee, these costly and doubtful lawsuits could never have been pursued, and he wanted to show his appreciation now as he lay dying in 1622 by transferring to his wife all his free property, 'given how much I owe to her and her father.' Shortly before, the noble lord of Noalejo had placed his young children, as he lay dying, under the protection of his lawyer, the famous Diego de Ribera.³²

Bejarano would go on to become a judge in the high court of Charcas (Bolivia), remitting to his daughter at his death silver which would find its way into the economic bloodstream of Granada. But such cases were relatively few. Despite the names one finds in the pages of Bermúdez de Pedraza, the striking thing is rather the fewness of the Granadan advocates who made their way into the imperial bureaucracy. Practice at the bar was not anyway the usual path of promotion into the judiciary, which tended to be recruited from the university colleges of Old Castile and the chairs of law.³³ It had been Ribera's wish that if his children had no heirs his estate should become a pious endowment for the education of his kinsmen and fellow citizens in the University of Salamanca. But when that eventuality arrived in 1640, the Jesuits, who were called to be its patrons, got the Archbishop to modify the arrangements. Salamanca was expensive: it was calculated that each student would need a minimum of 100

³⁰ AMG Caballeros xxiv 402, Valdivia (1756).

³¹ *Antigüedad y excelencias de Granada*, p. 127.

³² AHPG GHS 731-7v, Torre Avellaneda, 29 August 1622; RD 782-93, Maldonado, 16 April 1596.

³³ Kagan, *Lawsuits and litigants*, p. 76.

ducats a year to live off, and it would be costly to buy and furnish an appropriate new building. Would it not be more economical to use the Ribera family home as a school, especially since it was conveniently situated near the existing Jesuit college of San Pablo? And instead of marketing the crops from the Ribera estate and sending the money to Salamanca, one could place the good local produce directly on the tables of faculty and students. A college building in Granada would have the additional advantage of serving as a monument to the memory of an 'illustrious and noble citizen'.

This was the solution adopted. There were to be 16 *colegiales* (scholarship holders), together with up to eight other suitably qualified candidates paying their own way, studying either theology or law in the University of Granada, all under the patronage of Saint James, whose statue rose above the main portal, where the coat of arms of the great lawyer Diego de Ribera was also sculpted. The foundation charter of 1642 proclaimed the aims of the college as being to turn out graduates 'capable of serving the church and the Christian commonwealth, with a good grounding in letters and virtue'. As well as swearing an oath to uphold the Immaculate Conception, the pupils must seek to advance the cause of the Jesuits 'when they found themselves in the high positions to which the Lord God may deign to call them'. But could letters and virtue alone win the glittering prizes of imperial service? In a remainder of deference to the wishes of the founder, it was provided that two pupils might be sent to Salamanca at any one time to complete their education in law, 'given the greater opportunities there usually are to obtain fellowships in the major colleges and university chairs, as well as benefices in the church and other offices'.³⁴ The college expanded into the Colegio de San Bartolomé y Santiago in 1702 when the direct line of the great Genoese merchant Bartolomé Veneroso also came to an end and his estates passed to the Jesuits. Though it was the most prestigious educational institution in the Granada of the Old Regime, its graduates tended to move within a rather narrow local circuit of promotion, at least until the Bourbons sought to break the hold of Salamanca. As well as lacking patronage in the outside world, the college was always rather short of funds and had to keep a tight rein on expenditure. Was it ultimately the case that the symbolic union of law and trade – the fortunes of Diego de Ribera and Bartolomé Veneroso – was just not sufficient to create the wealth needed by a great national institution?

³⁴ Martínez Lumbreras, *Historia del Real Colegio*, pp. 17–19.

There was, thus, a certain divorce in the seventeenth century between the magistrates of the Chancillería, who tended to come from the urban elites of Old Castile via the prestigious major colleges of Salamanca or Valladolid, and the patricians of Granada. That could have been a cause of friction. That it was not was surely due to the ties of patronage which established themselves at the local level as some of the magistrates sought to found new dynasties in this colonial land. In the Indies, laws against marrying or acquiring land in the area which one was sent to govern began to be relaxed in the later seventeenth century as the hard-pressed monarchy allowed the creole elites to acquire judgeships of the high courts for money or as a reward for service. In Granada this trend was less obvious, though one can point to a few examples. The Cortes of 1623 backed the petition of the deputy from Granada, the veinticuatro Antonio de Torres Camargo, to be considered for office in one of the high courts. He was the son of a magistrate who had married into one of the old Conquest families and he had been reared in Granada, where he held a chair of law in the university. In 1638 he got his reward, being appointed as judge in the high court of his native city. His son Diego was elevated to the bench there also in 1650 as a reward for services rendered to the Crown while an alderman, though he was not allowed to vote on lawsuits.³⁵ It became more common in the eighteenth century, as the Enlightened ministers sought to broaden the base of recruitment into the bureaucracy, for Granadans to obtain office in the high court of their native city.

Before then, it was usually what one might call the ‘carpet baggers’ – law graduates from northern Spain sent to Granada as judges near the start of their careers – who set up the network of patronage on which the system of government depended for its smooth functioning. Most of the magistrates had their eyes set on their own homelands, where they tended to invest the fortunes they made in the course of their careers. But a few were desirous of a new start, possibly, as in the case of the Valcárcel who married with the Teruel, or Gregorio López Madera, whose fortune ended up after some labyrinthine transfers also with the Teruel – because of their relatively humble background. Madera was procurator *Fiscal* of the Chancillería between 1590 and 1602 at an exciting stage in the history of Granada when the lead tablets of the Sacromonte appeared to give the

³⁵ *Actas de las Cortes de Castilla*, vol. XXXIX (1623), pp. 84–5. For native Granadans appointed in the eighteenth century, see María Angeles Pérez Samper, ‘Los magistrados de la Chancillería de Granada a mediados del siglo XVIII’, *Actas del II Coloquio de Historia Moderna de Andalucía* (Córdoba 1983), vol. II.

city a providential role in the spread of Christianity. The young magistrate threw himself into the defence of the authenticity of the relics in a couple of publications.³⁶ After promotion to Madrid, he kept up contacts with Granada, marrying his daughter Baltasara to Lisón y Biedma and acquiring the lordship of Villamena de Cozviyar in 1627, which he left to the veinticuatro Luis de Cepeda, son of his wife by her first marriage. The Teruel were the residual heirs here, and around the same time they nearly picked up another Chancillería estate – that of judge Francisco Robles de la Puerta, who died in 1642. He had purchased from the Crown the lordship of Los Ogíjares, which went to his son-in-law, the veinticuatro Alonso de Bocanegra, grandson of a celebrated Granadan lawyer.

Friendship could be as compromising, one may feel, as relationships of blood, given the intricate network of patronage which linked individuals in the small-scale societies of the time. Thus, Don Juan de Molina, clerk of the court and linked to the Castellanos Marquina dynasty, spoke of his dependence on Judge Francisco de Alva. The judge, he noted in his will of 1685, ‘in all my trials and tribulations has helped me out with great generosity . . . and I would ask him, since he knows my hardship and obligations, to keep an eye on my family and the rearing of Don Jacinto de Molina, my son. Godly man that he is, may he bring the boy up in his shadow, as I confide of his magnanimous nature he will do, given the love and friendship he has shown me. I trust in God and in his lordship that the authority (*crédito*) of my house will not wane, given such protectors.’³⁷

It was precisely these ties of a personal kind which blunted the hard edge of confrontation between law and honour. In this clan-based society, networks of acquaintance ran from top to bottom of the social pyramid and from the Basque Country to Andalusia, conferring on individuals the cachet of honour (or alternatively the stigma of dishonour) and establishing thereby the bridgeheads of dialogue between rulers and ruled. Witnesses to the nobility of the notary Gregorio de Arriola could recall how Judge Vidaña of the high court had been visiting his wife’s property one day when he was told that Gregorio’s father lived in the neighbourhood, and he announced to those around him that he knew the family and that they were all of good stock. Two other judges from the Basque Country, homeland of the Arriola, were cited by another witness as having chatted

³⁶ Kathryn A. Woolard, ‘Bernardo de Aldrete and the Morisco problem’, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 44 (2002), pp. 446–80; Jean-Marc Pelorson, *Les letrados: juristes castillans sous Philippe III* (Poitiers 1980), pp. 358–9.

³⁷ AHPG JN 131–7v, 18 February 1685.

to him about the good standing of the family.³⁸ There are other examples of this kind, which raise the question of whether justice could ever be impartial, when even outsiders like these three *oidores* could identify litigants as 'friends of friends'.

Whether all this made much difference in the end to the outcome of litigation is a matter of debate. Judges were expected to place professional honesty above everything else, as is suggested in that classic of Spanish literature, *La Celestina*, written on the threshold of a new world, the ordered Spain of the Catholic Kings (1499). The hero, Calixto, furious at the execution of his servant, breaks out: 'Oh, cruel judge, how badly you have repaid me for the bread you ate off my father's table! . . . But what is this, Calixto? Were you dreaming . . .? Do you not realise that for justice to take its course it can take no account of friendship, kinship or the home?' (p. 116). Questioned about the posts of familiar of the Holy Office allegedly distributed by Inquisitor Barahona to his friends of suspect ancestry, the Inquisitor's cousin Don Baltasar Barahona Zapata roundly rebutted the charge of favouritism or corruption: 'the Inquisitor was a very honourable gentleman and a very conscientious official, and he would not do anything which was not right and proper, not for his relatives, not for anybody'.³⁹ Another cousin, the essayist Luis Zapata (1532–98?), dedicated a piece to describing that 'upright and strict magistrate' Judge Alarcón, who had served in the Chancillería for thirty years: 'in all of which time no litigants objected to his hearing their case . . . nor was he denounced in any *visita* (judicial enquiry)'. At his death, his coffin was borne aloft by the citizens of Granada, 'and most of what they found in his study were three or four coffers full of letters from princes and lords which he had not seen or read or answered, but which were just as he had received them with their seals unbroken'.⁴⁰

Perhaps the Zapatas 'protested too much'. Suspicion hung over judges who were too close to their kin, or who built up compromising friendships because they served too long in the same place. The sixteenth-century Cortes wanted judges to be moved on after ten years, and there were still complaints reaching the Junta of Reform in 1623 about this matter. The issue was not so much one of blatant corruption, but rather more subtle than that. As the Duke of Sessa wrote in 1618 to Don Juan Chumacero, a judge in the high court of Granada at the time, thanking

³⁸ ARCG 301 / 103 / 41.

³⁹ AHN Santiago 1,720, Castellanos (1644).

⁴⁰ *Miscelánea*, in *Memorial Histórico Español*, vol. XI (Madrid 1859), pp. 483–4.

him for the favourable outcome of one of his lawsuits: 'it is true that if one has not justice on one's side, there can be no valid role for friendship, but often it requires an effort to determine where justice lies'. And the letter ended with a promise to help Chumacero get a posting at court.⁴¹ In fact, three years later Chumacero was promoted to the Council of the Military Orders, and from there he rose through the Council of Castile to become President of that august body after the fall of Olivares in 1643. He never forgot his Granadan friends. On his mother's side, the Carrillo, he was first cousin of one of the most important patricians of that city, Don Alonso de Loaysa, created first Count of El Arco in 1626. He purchased a *veinticuatria* in Granada for his son Diego Chumacero, and an estate in Málaga, for which he acquired the title of Count of Guaro in 1648. Meanwhile the links with the Loaysa were consolidated by the double marriage of his son and heir Diego, second Count of Guaro, and his daughter Juana to these Granadan magnates, who eventually went on to inherit the Chumacero estates.

As *veinticuatro*s of Granada, the Chumacero were well placed to serve as brokers between the interests of the city and those of the monarchy. But they were also involved in feuding – not least with Olivares himself – and herein lay another risk attaching to the close relations between the judges and the citizenry. In the enquiries of 1634 into Don Baltasar Barahona Zapata's genealogy, Inquisitor Gámez recounted his brushes with this powerful family, starting with its senior member, the Inquisitor Antonio Barahona Alarcón, about whose New Christian antecedents in Granada he was kept well informed and who had died a few years before in 1631. Gámez was frank about the bad relations which developed between him and the Barahona, with Inquisitor Antonio denouncing him to Madrid and he in turn, whenever any of the Barahona connection had dealings in his court, 'not letting them away with anything, though upholding justice'.⁴²

This was still a violent society and the risks of vendetta slumbered just below the surface. The Barahona could remember their great fortified tower in their homeland of Villañane where in the time of the Catholic Kings 'all the kinsmen took refuge, for that was a time of feuding and war'.⁴³ Flickers of armed conflict between families there certainly were, as we have seen, often in the case of clandestine betrothals, as between Diego de Pisa and the

⁴¹ Amezúa, *Lope de Vega en sus cartas*, vol. IV, p. 196.

⁴² AHN Calatrava 228, Barahona Zapata (1634).

⁴³ ARCG 301 / 101 / 32, Barahona Zapata (1610) – the testimony is from 1553.

Zafra in 1547, or Antonio de Castellón and the Escalona-Salazar family in 1570. Having disgraced himself as a youth by his amorous escapades, Antonio de Castellón continued true to form when he took over his father's post of secretary to the city council, killing one of the Agreda in 1595 for trifling with the affections of his daughter without intending to marry her. He managed to commute the death penalty into exile from the city for a period of sixteen years.⁴⁴ The chronicle of the early seventeenth-century city is stained with blood.

And yet such incidents were contained – limited essentially to the individuals involved, without dragging their powerful kin into the fray. Part of the explanation may lie in the structure of the kin groups themselves. Essentially open-ended, rambling affairs, they were as likely to include kinsmen from one side of the dispute as from the other. On 24 May 1596 the *alguacil* (constable) of Granada denounced Don Francisco Dávila and Don Juan Osorio for 'having issued a challenge, then left town and struck at each other with drawn swords'. Both youths had been wounded, but while Dávila returned to his father's house to die, Osorio sought sanctuary in the convent of San Jerónimo. The *alcalde mayor* had both men placed under house arrest, the initial reaction to all such skirmishes. But when Dávila died on 1 June he opened an enquiry, prompted by the dead boy's father, Don Pedro Dávila, who claimed 'the severest penalties' together with 8,000 ducats by way of 'damages'. On 11 October, the court sentenced Osorio to be decapitated, with all his belongings confiscated, of which half would go the Crown and half to the victim's family. Through powerful intermediaries, meanwhile, Osorio had managed to get Don Pedro to pardon him. The Crown held its hand, taking no action while waiting for tempers to cool. Osorio quietly left town, under bail, to serve an office of alderman which his wife had brought him in dowry in Alcalá la Real on the Jaén border. By 1622 he was back in his homeland, serving as captain of the militia of Santa Fe. Yet memories were long. We know about the case because it surfaced again in the enquiries of 1756 into the nobility of the Osorio, who could claim to have been sentenced to a noble death by decapitation rather than hanging in 1596. But if people could not forget, they might forgive, and we find the leading citizens of Santa Fe turning out in 1603 to testify to the noble status of Don Juan Osorio. By 1756 the Osorio were intimately linked by marriage

⁴⁴ AHPG RD 375 ff., sale of Castellón office, 5 April 1595. For the background, Henríquez de Jorquera, *Anales de Granada*, vol. II, p. 527 – though the details seem a little hazy.

to the Barahona Zapata, who in turn were linked to the Dávila. It would be difficult, had anyone been so minded, to tear apart this seamless cloak.⁴⁵

Above all, it was hardly necessary to resort to violence when through the ubiquitous lawsuits of the age the honour of one's opponent could be dragged through the mud by insinuation and hostile testimony. Don Juan de Teruel paid dearly for overlooking this point when he applied for a knighthood of Santiago in 1632. Rumours about his New Christian ancestry were spread by his own father-in-law Don Juan Maldonado Treviño, 'a very choleric man', as he was described by one of the witnesses. Interrogated by the commissioners, Maldonado eventually confessed his fault. Yes, he had quarrelled with Teruel because the latter had got a warrant from the diocesan courts to allow him to marry Maldonado's daughter against her father's wishes. 'Irritated by these insults, carried away by passion and anger and with no grounds for his statement, he had said on different occasions all that he is alleged to have said, and worse.'⁴⁶ The other side of the coin was that 'impartial' testimony was sure to land a person in trouble with one or other of the parties and thereby further divide the local community. Don Francisco de Guerra came to see me about my testimony over his wife's will, wrote the monk Fray Juan de Santa Inés to Don Cristóbal de Soria in the Grazelema lawsuit of 1717 which we have already examined. 'He told me how upset he was at my testimony, and I know he has said the same to my family, and I did not know what to say in return, because since he is my friend, I regret that he should think I would want to do him harm.' He had intended to avoid testifying altogether and had only agreed to do so under orders from the prior of his convent.⁴⁷

Antonio Maldonado Calvillo, *escribano de cámara* in charge of pleas of nobility, became involved in similar bitter feuding around this time. His son was killed in a duel in 1636, possibly not unrelated to his father's unpopularity as the right-hand man of Luis Gudiel de Peralta, the royal commissioner entrusted at that time with selling off the common lands of Granada, as well as obtaining a subsidy from the patrician families. When Antonio was rewarded with a knighthood of the orders of chivalry; he found it prudent to ask that the enquiries into his genealogy be conducted in Madrid 'because of the enemies he has in Granada'.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ AMG Caballeros XXIV, 407, Pedro de Osorio Barahona (1756).

⁴⁶ AHN Santiago 8,048, Teruel (1632).

⁴⁷ ARCG 512 / 2365 / 5, Guerra v. Soria, 1719.

⁴⁸ Manuel Danvila, 'Cortes de Madrid de 1646 a 1647 y de 1649 a 1651', *Boletín de la Real Academia de Historia*, 16 (1889), 267.

The *tachas* or 'defects' alleged against witnesses in lawsuits before the judges of the high court are a vivid testimony to the faction and bitterness which could divide a community. Don Lope Cerón de Valenzuela sued the veinticuatro Antonio Núñez in 1588 for holding on to property of his late wife Doña Luisa Muñoz which should have come to him as husband of Luisa's daughter and heiress by her first marriage. He was alleged to have gone around soliciting testimony from enemies of the defendant, 'especially Inés de Palencia who goes around dressed like a nun, and Ana de Molina, a half-caste *mulata*, who was a slave of María de Molina (mother of Luisa Muñoz)', with whom Antonio had quarrelled, forbidding them access to his house. There was also the widow Catalina de la Cerda, who used to be friendly with Luisa Muñoz, but since Antonio's brother-in-law outbid her for a field she was interested in buying, 'there were words between them and as long as Luisa lived, they would not speak to each other'. This 'hatred and enmity' was alleged by Antonio to extend to another of the witnesses against him, Catalina's sister, married to Josef Gutiérrez, 'and everyone else in that house'.⁴⁹

Managing such factions was one of the most difficult tasks facing the corregidor, in the opinion of that leading authority Castillo de Bobadilla in 1597. And it was a similar message that Lisón y Biedma put across in his memorial of 1622. 'The calm, peace and tranquillity of a commonwealth, and its ability to pay taxes and services with comfort', Lisón wrote, 'depend on having a corregidor, governor or magistrate who is suitable.' When ruled by worthy magistrates, 'the rich man pays the poor man, the aldermen fulfil their obligations and do not try to line their pockets with illicit dealings'. Above all, the worthy magistrate tolerates no feuding among the leading families, 'which are the usual cause of quarrels, killings, tragedies, the ruin of estates, bitterness and hatreds which linger on in lineages'.⁵⁰ It was a pious aspiration, but Lisón gave little idea of how it was actually to be achieved.

One of the great efforts of the religious reformers had gone precisely into this area. Saint John of God, famous for his works of charity among the poor in Granada, was also celebrated for reconciling quarrels. A handsome fresco on the walls of his hospital still shows the saint intervening to pacify his turbulent fellow citizens. Similarly, the Jesuit confraternity of the Trinity devoted much of its activity not only to poor relief but to visiting prisons, 'whereby they secured many pardons for

⁴⁹ ARCG 507 / 1925 / 6, 1588.

⁵⁰ *Discursos y apuntamientos*, p. 5v.

murders, getting the two sides to agree, patching up quarrels or separations between man and wife, making people friends again and bringing lawsuits to an end'.⁵¹ And much of the work of Don Luis de Paz was equally directed towards the same end – charity in the original sense of the word: *caritas*, or good fellowship. The testaments of seventeenth-century Granada speak frequently of the pain caused by a killing of a member of the family, but of the desire of the testator to forgive, 'so that God may forgive me'. And the letters of remission, the *cartas de perdón*, bear witness to the overwhelming desire of that society for peace in the community.

These mostly concern fairly humble people, who refer to 'virtuous and honourable' intermediaries who have sought their consent. Occasionally they carry a warning that the other side is to stay out of the neighbourhood in future, and – a significant rider – that the pardon is not being offered 'out of fear that justice might not be done'. But that fear, indeed, seems to underlie many such documents. When her only son was killed in 1690, the widow Juana de Navas lamented that he was the only support of herself and her daughter. She refused an initial approach by the killer, brother-in-law of the boy's employer, the landowner Manuel de Castro, an approach conducted through a Capuchin friar. But weary of the lack of progress in the trial – for the culprit had friends 'who are rich and powerful, and who have the ear of the justice and clerk of the court of the city of Granada' – she agreed to accept compensation in cash (part of which would go to the friar in alms). She pardoned the culprit 'insofar as pertained to her rights . . . while reserving to the Crown its right to pursue the case on behalf of the public'.⁵² This distinction between 'private' and 'public' interest was one which Castillo de Bobadilla also alluded to, suggesting that only grave crimes like murder would fall under the second heading, but that the good magistrate might want to pursue all offences *ex officio*, 'so as to protect every person against harm or insult'.⁵³ A new concept of the community was thus beginning to take shape.

In the end, it may have been less the influence of religious ideas, powerful and persuasive though that must have been, or the activity of peacemakers like Saint John of God, which contributed to the more orderly society of early modern times than the way in which the courts

⁵¹ *Historia del Colegio de San Pablo*, p. 124.

⁵² AHPG Orgiva: Francisco de Céspedes (1690–4), pp. 8–10v, 6 February 1692. On these letters of remission, seen as a buttress of the powerful, see Tomás A. Mantecón Movellán, *Conflictividad y disciplinamiento social en la Cantabria rural del antiguo régimen* (Santander 1997), pp. 271–84.

⁵³ *Política para corregidores*, vol. II, p. 288. Cf. Francisco Tomás y Valiente, *El derecho penal de la monarquía absoluta, siglos XVI, XVII y XVIII* (Madrid 1969), pp. 397–405.

themselves were structured. Given that so few lawsuits were pushed to a conclusion, the threat to vested interests may in the end not have been all that great. The son-in-law of the leading nobleman of Granada, the Marquis of Valenzuela, after suing his father-in-law and then his own brother, the Count of Luque, in the high court for maintenance of himself and his wife in 1687, decided to withdraw his plea by 1700 when he saw he was getting nowhere. My wife and I, he announced, 'have many and excessive expenses in the pursuit of these claims, for the defendants are powerful individuals, with greater resources on their side'. Intermediaries were trying to fix up a settlement, and he hoped for at least 2,500 ducats a year. In the end he had to settle for 750.⁵⁴

As one follows the claims and counter-claims, the figures for income presented by the Marquis of Valenzuela and challenged by his son-in-law, one becomes aware of the point made by Moret and Silvela, that it was difficult for the courts to adjudicate on disputes within the family since the truth was wrapped up in the intimacy of close personal relationships. Since so much litigation in the Old Regime was about property which passed through inheritance or marriage, through those secret paths of kinship, the Chancillería could serve at best only as a blunt instrument for resolving disputes. But what it could do was to hold the ring while the parties sought to mobilise the witnesses on which such cases ultimately depended. In the small-scale communities of the Old Regime, litigation was designed to serve less as arbitration of rights than as a forum in which one could peacefully marshal supporters and attempt to overawe opponents – less through the force of one's arguments than through the demonstration of one's standing in the community. Like the canon law in the case of marital disputes, the civil law had to adapt itself to the constraints of an honour society.

The dispute over the Atienza will, which we looked at earlier, dragged through one court after another. 'Given the power and influence of Don Cristóbal with the magistrate and notary of this town (Grazalema)', protested Don Francisco, I cannot get justice. So, the royal high court in Granada gave Don Francisco a certificate authorising him to approach his nearest *alcalde mayor* so that the latter could sit as an 'assessor' (*acompañado*) to check proceedings. But Don Francisco chose Ronda, because (said his opponent) he was a friend of the magistrate there. The Chancillería then issued a further warrant, ordering the justice of nearby

⁵⁴ ARCG 3 / 295 / 4.

Cortes to act instead. But, protested Don Francisco, the latter was a sword noble, not a lawyer and would have to sit with a legal assessor of his own, and anyway all the lawyers in the neighbourhood went in awe of the priest, Don Cristóbal. In that case, resolved the Chancillería, we shall send out a barrister from Granada, whose costs you and the plaintiff will share equally. This was typical of the form of intervention now being assumed by the royal high court. It would hear every kind of *demanda* (plea), but rarely get directly involved in the case itself, preferring to delegate authority onto chosen ministers at the local level. But one should not underestimate the high degree of control which this decentralisation, set in place essentially during the seventeenth century, enabled the royal judges to keep over their jurisdiction. Freed from much of the minutiae of business which had clogged operations in the sixteenth century, the more streamlined system of later times appears to have functioned quite effectively as a way of drawing the sting of local confrontations, thereby preventing their degeneration into armed conflict.⁵⁵

⁵⁵ On this whole issue, see the pioneering study of R. L. Kagan, *Lawsuits and Litigants in Castile 1500–1700* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1981), which takes a rather different perspective on the efficiency of the royal court of Valladolid from the one taken here.

Good Commonwealth men

On 23 March 1641, just before the elaborate penitential rites of Holy Week which marked the highpoint of the ecclesiastical year and at the same time the highest prices likely to be reached by the bread of the old harvest, the knights of Granada gathered in their confraternity of 'Charity and Refuge' (*Caridad y Refugio*) and agreed to mount an enormous banquet for all the poor of the city. Over 500 paupers turned up at the Jesuit college for the occasion, where they received confession and communion before being led in procession by the knights through the streets towards the hospital of the confraternity behind the banner borne aloft by its Chief Brother, Don Diego Carrillo de Mendoza, knight of Santiago and lord of the town of Huélago. Separated into three great halls, for the men, the women and the children respectively, the 500 were waited on by knights and priests, and at the end were each given a loaf of bread and half a *real*.¹ It was a spectacular performance which took place against a grim background of hardship for the city as a whole – days of rumour about devaluation of the currency, days which were to see the city fathers operating the press gang to round up *holgazanes* (idlers) from the taverns in order to meet the demands of the king for more troops to fight back against invasion and rebellions in Catalonia and Portugal.

Abundant ink had been spilled by writers and statesmen in Spain as in the rest of Europe in order to cope with a problem which seemed ever more visible, a product both of the growth of towns and of a bourgeois mentality which refused to accept poverty as a mark of godliness. There was no honour in being at the mercy of what the day will bring, wrote the Seville physician and novelist Mateo Alemán; rather, it was an 'opportunity for every kind of evil . . . and a path to hell'.² A couple of years earlier

¹ Henríquez de Jorquera, *Anales de Granada*, vol. II, p. 886.

² *Guzmán de Alfarache* (1599), new edn (Barcelona 1976), p. 158. Cf. Michel Cavaillac, *Gueux et marchands dans le 'Guzmán de Alfarache'* (Bordeaux 1983) and José Antonio Maravall, *La literatura picaresca desde la historia social, siglos XVI y XVII* (Madrid 1986).

the magistrate Castillo de Bobadilla had warned the corregidor that one of the most challenging tasks facing him would be that of providing bread for a hungry population. The question of the poor seemed to be linked to a wider one which preoccupied statesmen of the time, that of *carestía* or 'dearth' – the dearness of goods in an age marked by the phenomenon of price inflation, which was perceived initially as a moral problem of greed and selfishness. But the other side of the same coin was the perception of *ocio* (idleness), against which religious reformers were beginning to wage a relentless campaign in their attempt to break down the caste-like hierarchy of saints and sinners and fashion a more godly laity. Foundlings and fallen women, drunkards and gamblers seemed to be all part of one problem – the scourge of the *pícaro*, the rogue who lived from hand to mouth, spreading moral contagion and becoming the very symbol of the early modern city.

The Ordinances of Granada paid close attention to registering those who were lodging in the inns: innkeepers had to inform the magistrates of the names at the end of every week. In 1532 a special constable had been instituted to deal with the wandering poor, 'those many persons from outside who have taken to the life of the vagabond, pretending to be poor and begging in the streets and churches by day, while by night they commit much vandalism and robbery, taking over the city and eating up its supplies of food'.³ In spite of all the fears, the immigrant poor seem to have played very little role in the disturbances of the seventeenth-century city. We need only remember that in the spring of 1648 it was the silk-working district of San Cecilio and that of the rural labourers around the convent of La Merced which were in the eye of the storm, not the parish of the Magdalena where the taverns and the lodging houses gathered in the muleteers and the market porters and the so-called 'dangerous classes'.

But how rootless was this migrant proletariat? Pedro de Mues had come from his native Asturias thirteen months earlier, when death surprised him in Granada in the winter of 1680. In his testament he spoke of his trade which was selling dried fruit (raisins, figs, hazelnuts, chestnuts and 'lard') in the square near the cathedral. He lived with his nephew Juan and was surrounded by other Asturians for whose children he had stood as godfather (*compadre*), to whom he had made small loans and from whom he had borrowed in his turn. His belongings were few, but they included a 'pine bed with straps', its mattress, quilt, sheet and pillow, which he

³ *Ordenanzas*, 120 / 1 (1532).

wanted his nephew to share with his brother-in-law and one of his *compadres*; 'and let them sleep together in the bed without any quarrelling, and let the last one sell it when he goes back to Asturias and use the money for masses for my soul'.⁴ Five years later the illiterate Frenchman Juan Blanco, living in the markets area of La Magdalena parish, made his will, just before he was carted off to hospital. He owed his brother-in-law, married to his sister back in the Auvergne (from where most of the immigrant French came), the rent of the house where he and his brother Antonio lived. Despite his poverty, he kept alive the memory of a small farm he owned back in France, which was to be sold to pay for masses for his soul.⁵

The census of 1561 reminds us that the 'floating' population of Granada was not all that large, that the *posadas* or lodging houses, often run by widows, sheltered perhaps up to half a dozen tenants. The *corrales de vecinos* or tenement blocks, low-slung, barrack-like buildings two storeys high, grouped round an inner patio and offering just single rooms, were considerably larger.⁶ There were, of course, the paupers who were never properly inventoried, those who slept rough in the porches of the big houses and convents, or the orphans who wandered the streets, of whom the corregidor told the town council on 10 March 1648 that he had never seen so many wandering the streets and begging alms.⁷ In that hungry spring they exceeded the capacities of the *casa de la doctrina*, the orphanage attached to the cathedral, to give them shelter. Such persons are obviously difficult to inventory through the records of the notary, but they do tend to be picked up by another valuable, if under-utilised source, the 'letters of freedom' required by the diocese of Granada for anyone marrying outside the parish of his or her birth. Thus in the diocesan archive there lie shelved thousands upon thousands of little life stories telling of the paths of migration of ordinary men and women. A striking picture emerges of a mobile population. Studies of the parish registers indicate that about one in six of those marrying in seventeenth-century Granada came from outside the city, though mostly from a short distance away – nearly 40 per cent from the province itself, from the towns and villages of the hinterland within a day's journey on horseback.⁸

⁴ AHPG MV 1,370–5v, 13 December 1680.

⁵ AHPG MV, 137–9, 19 June 1685.

⁶ There is a description in Antonio J. Afán de Ribera, *Cosas de Granada* (Granada 1889), pp. 31–8.

⁷ Domínguez Ortíz, *Alteraciones andaluzas*, p. 125.

⁸ Francisco Sánchez-Montes González, *La población granadina en el siglo XVII* (Granada 1989), pp. 132–47. On patterns of rural–urban migration, David Reher, *Town and country in pre-industrial Spain: Cuenca 1550–1870* (Cambridge 1990), pp. 249–63.

It is through the stories they tell us of their earlier lives, if and when they came to marry, that we can best capture the profile of the poor. Juan de la Cruz had been brought by his parents from Cabra (Córdoba) to Granada when he was aged eight, 'and shortly after arriving his father and mother died', leaving him 'at such a tender age in a strange land, with no fixed shelter nor house nor dwelling'. Only when he was about twenty-three had he found a steady job as a servant and been qualified for inclusion in the parish register of those taking confession and communion every Eastertide. What interested the ecclesiastical authorities was where he had fulfilled his Easter obligations before then. Like the wandering shepherds, he told them, he had taken communion with the anonymous crowds in the cathedral.⁹ The 33-year-old widow Francisca Pizarro, with two young children in charge, lived by doing odd jobs for the nuns of Santa Paula and by taking in washing, as she did for Josef Ramos, a 26-year-old muleteer from Berja in the Alpujarras, who had moved to Granada to look for work as a builder 'or anything else he could find'. The case came before the ecclesiastical authorities because Ramos had eventually moved in with Francisca and they were living together as man and wife without being married, 'to the great scandal' of the neighbours.¹⁰

Poverty among the more settled population of craftsmen and householders arose mainly in conjunction with the life cycle, namely the passage through sickness to old age and widowhood. In the census of Ensenada (1752) some 2,450 persons in a total urban population of 50,143 were classified as 'indigent' (*pobres de solemnidad*).¹¹ These seem often to fall into the category of widows or of the elderly - of men in their sixties or over, no longer capable of working at the profession under which they are listed. Some such explanation - advancing years and accompanying infirmity - must underlie the simple testament of Esteban López Tenorio, literate and obviously related to the notary Francisco López Tenorio before whom he made his will. In this document he merely asserted his desire to be buried in the Carmelite convent of La Cabeza where his son Lucás was a friar, leaving it to the latter to arrange the burial and masses, 'for God has seen fit to bring me to such indigence that I have no property to dispose of nor the wherewithal to arrange my burial'.¹²

⁹ ADG EM leg. 416, 30 October 1751. Cf. María del Prado de la Fuente Galán, *Marginación y pobreza en la Granada del siglo XVIII: los niños expósitos* (Granada 2000), pp. 110-11.

¹⁰ ADG EM leg. 417, 24 April 1751.

¹¹ Juan Sanz Sampelayo, *Granada en el siglo XVIII* (Granada 1980), p. 215.

¹² AHPG FLZ 92-3, 31 December 1637.

Sickness was the explanation most often invoked by craftsmen themselves to explain their descent from an admittedly always Spartan existence into poverty. When the silk weaver Tomás Salado Solórzano died in 1660 his assets amounted to his bed with its two mattresses of wool ('old and torn'), a table with half a dozen stools and chairs, three old coffers, a couple of pans and jugs, the clothes of himself and his wife. Though a master of his craft, he had no loom of his own, and he had had to rely on charity for the burial of his first wife, 'for during her illness and my own we spent the few goods we owned'.¹³ In a population already so close to the margin of subsistence, inability to earn from one day to the next could tilt the balance towards destitution. Hence the importance of the convalescent home where Don Luis de Paz gathered those discharged from hospital, too weak yet to return to work and gathering in 'taverns and lodging houses, porches and doorways'.¹⁴

In spite of all the hardship, however, there were reserves in these artisan families which could be drawn upon. The master craftsmen were part of a network of families which could often count on support from cousins who were priests, lawyers, even members of the patrician elite. Thus, Tomás Salado Solórzano was helped by his cousin, the lawyer Antonio Solórzano, when it came to paying for the funeral of his first wife. He seems also to have been related to the veinticuatro Don Martín Salado Solórzano, who served in office 15 (belonging to the Jáuregui dynasty) between 1670 and 1689.

Don Martín had been a silk merchant himself before becoming a veinticuatro, and he continued to frequent his old friend, the merchant Diego Marín, with whom he had various ties of *compadrazgo* (godparenthood). These families often lived near one another and shared common values. For the spinning and weaving of his silk, for example, Marín would turn to the men and women who lived nearby, sometimes just next door, in their parish of San Nicolás. Close personal ties would thus develop between merchant and artisan, as the latter went to his master's house to play cards of an evening or got a job for his relatives in one area or another of the big house. In these circumstances it is hardly surprising that gossip was rife about the family life and marital problems of Diego Marín and his son Luis, as serving girls met the spinners who entered the patio of the big house to deliver and collect work from the master's

¹³ AHPG FDP 440-2v, 15 September 1660.

¹⁴ Fray Antonio de Jesús, *Epítome de la admirable vida*, p. 47.

escritorio or office.¹⁵ Diego Marín – like those other great silk merchants of the day, Juan Padial and his son-in-law Francisco Muñoz de Torres – was at the centre of an elaborate network of ‘friendships’ which reached down from the city hall (Don Martín Asalado Solórzano) to the ranks of the master craftsmen, and no doubt even beyond them. Sometimes the network was reinforced by family ties. Thus, Doña Isabella de Chaves, aunt of the jurado and later veinticuatro Andrés Gómez Méndez, reared the orphan girl Petronila del Río for seven years before marrying her off to the surgeon barber Juan de Navarrete, who was related to Doña Isabella’s first husband.¹⁶

The big house served as a kind of refuge for the poor, at least to the extent of giving many of them accommodation in service for a few years. According to the census of 1561 perhaps as many as a quarter of the population of the aristocratic parish of San Pedro were servants or slaves.¹⁷ One of the marks of authority in the broad sense was the large household, characteristic particularly of the upper nobility and the judges of the high court. Thus the *oidor* (judge) Lope de León, father of the poet, kept a steward, a secretary, two lackeys, a page, a butler, three slave girls and a slave boy, a maid and a man-servant and an *ama*, who may have been either a wet-nurse or a house-keeper in charge of the keys. Had Fray Luis this home where he had grown up, therefore, in mind when he advised *The Perfect Married Woman* in 1583 to remember that ‘only blind fortune and not any law of nature’ separated her from her maids? But often people take servants for granted, assuming that ‘they can stay up all night and be on their knees all day’.¹⁸

Certainly there can have been little love lost between many servants and their bossy masters. In 1751 when Leonardo López de Ballesteros, former deputy corregidor and brother of the veinticuatro Sebastián López de Ballesteros, tried to block the marriage of his serving man Miguel Serrano to his maid Josefa Fernández, a little world of migration and the near picaresque comes to light. Miguel, born near Genoa in 1719, had left there ‘around eleven or twelve years of age with some friends’, tramping his way through Murcia, Madrid and Alhama before turning up in Granada around 1733. He worked as a porter in the square of Bibarrambla, but

¹⁵ ARCG 3 / 1389 / 13.

¹⁶ AHPG RR, 18 January 1626.

¹⁷ Vincent and Cortés, *Granada: la época moderna*, p. 68.

¹⁸ *La perfecta casada*, pp. 80–1; and on his father’s servants, Aurelia Martín Casares, *La esclavitud en la Granada del siglo XVI* (Granada 2000), p. 135.

had no fixed domicile. He complied with the precepts of the church, taking communion every Easter; but the little certificates issued by the priests at the altar had been lost, along with the sachet of relics he kept them in. In 1748 he had applied to be a lackey with Don Leonardo, who asked him for references. He could not supply any, Don Leonardo remembered; indeed, he had heard that Serrano had bought his baptism certificate 'from a tramp who wandered through the city'. Serrano was a dubious character, he warned, and he had had to intervene once to get him out of gaol on a charge of wounding a man. Serrano, for his part, protested that Don Leonardo was now trying to have him seized by the authorities as a vagabond for the levy of that year. As usual, the provisor stepped in to protect freedom of marriage – and another young couple without visible means of support swelled the ranks of the Granadan poor.¹⁹

One of the interesting features of service in Granada, as apparently in the rest of Spain, was the fairly rapid turnover of personnel. Though legacies to servants in wills were common, there was often enough a condition attached: that so-and-so would still be in service when the employer died. Certainly there are few cases of employers exerting themselves on behalf of their servants in those cases where one might expect it, namely applications for a licence to marry. It is usually fellow servants or friends who come along to testify to the previous life history of the candidate; and masters do not seem to have acted as godparents for their employees. On the other hand, given the arrangement of domestic space, the two worlds of master and servant were often so close that a kind of intimacy was bound to develop from time to time. This is particularly evident if we consider the importance of the domestic slave.

In the census of 1561, out of a population of 43,000 people capable of making their confession (that is, over ten or twelve years of age), nearly 1,000 were slaves. This figure was equivalent to about one-third of all those listed as being in domestic service.²⁰ Slaves remained fairly numerous into the seventeenth century, but by the census of 1752 they had virtually disappeared. A tremendous revolution had occurred over the early modern period, therefore, in the utilisation of domestic labour. No doubt, slavery had become incompatible with the quest for privacy – that

¹⁹ ADG EM leg. 418, 13 August–8 October 1751. There is an insight into migration to and from domestic service on pp. 249–63.

²⁰ Martín Casares, *La esclavitud*, pp. 104–9.

division of rooms which Manuel de Mello found to be increasingly the fashion in the aristocratic houses of his day (1651).

But for much of the early modern period captive labour must have been a familiar sight in the houses of Granada. It is overwhelmingly domestic labour that we are dealing with, not agricultural or manufacturing work of the kind to be found at the time in the Indies. As might be expected, therefore, there was a preference for women rather than men. They were, of course, only available to those with money to spend. Their price – varying, of course, with sex, age and quality – climbed to around a peak of 100 ducats on the eve of the Revolt of 1568, falling thereafter as many of the defeated Moriscos were sold into slavery, and then recovering something like its old level by the end of the century. To set this figure in perspective, one may point to the embroidered crimson harness with inlay of silver valued at 178 ducats and a bed of walnut with damask hangings worth 267, which were given to Don Gonzalo de Zegrí, later champion of the poor, when he came of age in 1582.²¹ This was a very hierarchical society, where the elite effortlessly and with all good conscience disposed of resources vastly greater than did those engaged in labouring for them.

Attitudes to slavery seem to have been somewhat mixed. In 1569 Fray Tomás de Mercado, spokesman for the advantages of world trade as a kind of fulfilment of God's plan – through the bringing together of diverse peoples and their produce – deplored the hunt for slaves. But like other writers of the time he thought that enslavement might be legitimate in a war against an enemy hostile to Christianity and to reason.²² Hence, the description carefully attached to sales of slaves in Granada, that they were the product of 'a just war'. Slaves could be troublesome: the town council petitioned the Crown in 1630 to stop owners hiring them out for gainful employment with tradesmen as they did in the Indies, for they circulated too freely, formed associations and promoted unrest among their domestic brethren.²³

Slaves who worked outside the house were liable to become emancipated up to a point, earning and spending money, and meeting up with members of the opposite sex. The view of the church was that slaves were free to marry, whatever the owner might have to say. The inevitable

²¹ AHPG 236 Bartolomé Díaz 296–301, 26 June 1582. On slaves in Seville – 6, 327 of them in a population of about 120,000 – cf. Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, *La esclavitud en Castilla en la edad moderna* (Granada 2003), pp. 1–64.

²² *La economía en la Andalucía del Descubrimiento* (1569), ed. Antonio Acosta (Seville 1985).

²³ Garzón Pareja, *Historia de Granada*, vol. 1, pp. 437–8.

conflicts over this issue can be found in the records of the Archbishop's court and they help us to penetrate an otherwise obscure world. Thus, in 1587 Diego de Dueñas, secretary of the Chancillería, protested against the desire of his slave Francisco (surnamed also 'de Dueñas') to marry his slave-girl Leonor. It was his intention to sell one of them outside Granada, he told the diocesan judge, and to occupy the other on his farm outside town, and so they would not be able to live together as man and wife. Nor would he change these plans to make people happy: 'it is not reasonable to hinder me in disposing of my own property'. In spite of such opposition the provisor ordered the marriage to proceed.²⁴ What kind of life the couple enjoyed after that can only be imagined.

A similar guerrilla campaign between master and slaves is described for us in a dispute of 1642 over the valuation of the estate of Don Jerónimo Arias de la Cueva. One of his slaves, 'the black woman Catalina', was alleged to be worth less than the price at which she was officially rated, for she was 'a lazy sort of girl, often sickly and bedridden, who did what she liked and had scandalous relations with men'. When she determined to get married, her owner, fearing that this would reduce her price, tried to sell her for just 15 ducats, but was told by the provisor that he could not send her outside Granada. As for Don Jerónimo's other black slave, Bartolomé, he was a perpetual runaway, a drunkard and handy with his fists.²⁵ In contracts of sale, vendors were asked to guarantee that the slave was not sickly, not given to drink or to stealing, not likely to run away, giving us a clue as to why people might not want slaves round the house at all – unless they were children who could be trained.

In the best of cases, and probably often where a slave had been reared in the household, a certain affection could grow up between him and his master. Thus, Doña Magdalena de Ayllón, cousin of the important notary of that name, wanted her little Morisco slave girl Xata, whom she had baptised María and who was now twelve to fourteen years old, to be freed. After ten years, unpaid service, she was to get 20 ducats, 'for a bed or for whatever she would like'. Doña Magdalena, though, seems to have anticipated possible criticism from her heirs, who may have felt themselves cheated of their inheritance, for she took care to specify that she was showing this generosity 'for the service she has given me, and because I have reared her, and for the love I bear her'. Her six-year-old slave boy Jerónimo was to be freed when he reached the age of fifteen; meanwhile

²⁴ ADG EM leg. 1,405, 15 January–2 March 1587.

²⁵ ARCG 3 / 1322 / 10.

her husband, a merchant, was to 'finish his upbringing and keep him at home . . . and during this interval get him to learn a trade, whatever he shows an inclination for, so that he should not go astray'.²⁶ In general, emancipations of slaves were not all that common in Granada and those that took place tended to affect the elderly – of whom Cervantes for one wondered what would be the fate when turned out of doors at that age.

But much of the testimony that we have testifies to a certain warmth of human relationship – set, no doubt, within the strict framework of hierarchy characteristic of the time, but real enough. The veinticuatro Diego de Vago freed his 30-year-old slave Juan Moreno at his death in 1658, because 'he has given me very good service and been very loyal'. Juan was to get his bed, chest and clothes and two *reales* a day (the pay of an unskilled labourer) for life, 'and I instruct my heirs that if [Juan] finds himself in any difficulty they are to come to his aid'.²⁷ Melchora Moreno de la Fuente, wife of the well-known painter Diego García Melgarejo, active in Granada around 1700, had brought two slaves to her marriage. One, Teresa de Jesús, had opted to go on living with her mistress, though freed; the other, María Manuela, twenty years old, had been reared by Doña Melchora, who now requested her to go on serving her husband until the latter either remarried or left Granada, when she was to be freed. The two girls were to stay together, getting a house and 200 ducats each, so that 'they can live decently, without doing too much work . . . and I would ask them never to forget me in their prayers, for I have found in them fidelity, Christianity and virtue'.²⁸

The difference between a slave and a servant could at times be rather nominal. Neither might have a home of their own other than the big house where they were both reared. Paupers were quite often placed in service when they were very young. Exempt, at least in theory, from paid labour for their first few years, they were usually classified as 'earning their keep' from about nine or ten years of age, when they would have to work off their earlier nurture by a kind of indentured labour. Thus, the lawyer Gregorio Díaz Navarrete agreed with Josef de Alarcón from the village of Alhendín to take the latter's six-year-old daughter Angela into his house for twelve years. For the first three years she would earn no wages, but for the following nine her father would collect on her behalf 3 ducats a year, and at the end of the contract Angela herself would receive a brand-new

²⁶ AHPG RR, 7 February 1626.

²⁷ AHPG JFM 822–5v, 19 April 1658.

²⁸ AHPG ERG 58–67v, 7 March 1701.

outfit of cape, tunic, petticoat, blouse, stockings and shoes.²⁹ Such contracts might advantage the employer in most cases, but in some they made it hard to get rid of a servant if circumstances changed – as the later *veinticuatro* Diego Chacón Hidalgo found when he left on a mission outside Granada, when he had to place his maid with another family for the rest of her term.³⁰

The word for servant, *criado*, carried with it a certain ambiguity, since it was also the term for a foster-child. Doña Antonia de Aleu, of an important family of priests in the Granada of the early 1700s, had inherited from her sister a little girl from the foundling hospital who had been promised a dowry of 50 ducats when she came to marry.³¹ Close ties with the employer could sometimes develop as a result. Isabella García had virtually lost ties with her mother, now remarried, when she came to make her will. Instead her trust was placed in her employer, the notary Alonso del Castillo: ‘since I was aged two or three, my master and mistress . . . have brought me up . . . until now when I am twenty years old . . . and in all this time I have only been able to help in the house for ten years’. She left it to them to say what she was owed, ‘given the great love and charity they have shown me, bringing me up as their daughter rather than a maid’.³² In some of these cases it turns out that the *criado* was an illegitimate child of the master, a Cinderella figure kept in the kitchen, until the father died and the true story unfolded in a lawsuit over inheritance. No wonder Fray Luis de León advised the ‘perfect married woman’ not to make an enemy of her maids in case gossip spread family secrets through town.

In any case, it was extremely rare, as in other parts of early modern Europe, for such foster children to be fully adopted or left as heirs. Doña María Sáez de Simancas had just one son, Don Jerónimo de Alvarado, a naval officer. If he did not get back home, she wanted her property to be converted into masses for her soul. Meanwhile, Isabella, ‘a child whom I have reared in my house and whose parentage is unknown’, was only to get her clothes and 20 ducats.³³

There is perhaps nothing surprising in this, for not even blood kin were privileged in this way: nephews and nieces were charged for their

²⁹ AHPG TP 658–658v, 18 September 1662.

³⁰ AHPG LG (1622), 199–202, transfer of service contract, 17 June 1622.

³¹ AHPG ERG 380–7v, 15 December 1701.

³² AHPG MP 553–553v, 18 November 1639.

³³ AHPG LO 832–6v, 5 September 1624.

maintenance if they were orphans, and they were unlikely to be left as heirs outright without some religious endowment being attached. In any case, the shortage of coin throughout a pre-industrial society meant that obligations were likely to be transmuted into some wider form of patronage, and this was as true of relations between employers and servants as of other categories. The oidor Juan Antonio de Hinojosa declared in his will of 1748 that 'all the *familia*' (by which he meant his servants) had served him loyally, 'for which reason I wish I had a lot of money so that I could reward them for some of it'. Instead, their wages were heavily in arrears; but, as a gesture of his good intentions (and in a way which suggested some conflict with his own children) he authorised his manservant and the latter's wife to go on living in the big house for the rest of their days.³⁴

As testators like Hinojosa reviewed their obligations, they inevitably had to account for their dealings with dependants. Doña María Téllez, widow of the lawyer Bernabé de Encalada, noted that she still owed 900 *reales* to one of her servants who had left her employment some time earlier and was reported to have died. She wanted this money to be handed over for masses for his soul.³⁵ 'While the Lord God has given me breath, I have been responsible for running my home, under his divine providence', declared the veinticuatro Juan de Simancas. His dealings with 'the many servants of different nations' in his employment, he tells us, had always been strictly monitored in his account book (an interesting reference to a source for family history of which few examples have yet come to light in Granada). However, 'it could be that some error has crept into these accounts. As a consequence I hereby bequeath a hundred masses which are to be said for the souls of those who have been in my service.' These masses were to be said by those priests most close to the poor, the Franciscans.³⁶

Very often it was a dowry which female servants would get from their employer when they left his service to get married, rather than wages as such. During the actual years of service it seems to have been assumed that maids had no need of cash to spend on themselves, no need of a private life as such. The chancery clerk Fernando Varela de Villaverde, hard up through fines levied on him in a recent royal *visita* or inspection, was

³⁴ AHPG JLZ 770-6, 18 June 1748. On the ambiguous relationship of love and tension between employers and servants see Dennis Romano, *Housecraft and statecraft in Renaissance Venice 1400-1600* (Baltimore 1996), pp. 193-222.

³⁵ AHPG JFM 333-5, 29 July 1657.

³⁶ AHPG 214 Luis Díaz and Juan Ayllón, 419-25v, 1578.

nevertheless at pains to place his maid María, asking one of his cousins who was a priest, 'to see if he could help find her a husband by applying for charity to a religious endowment or other funds of the kind usually reserved for orphans'.³⁷ The servant was often, then, a dependant for whom the employer felt some responsibility.

Fernández Navarrete criticised the large serving bodies kept by the Spanish nobility – too large, he thought, to be of any real use (1626). Some of those in service in the Granada of the time appear, indeed, to have little real function other than contributing to the grandeur of the household of which they were part. The fourteen-year-old Antonio de Quintanilla had come to Granada with his master when the latter was appointed president of the high court. He had been assigned his own apartment (*aposenito*), where he lived with an aunt who had reared him. He had his own bed and silverware. He now asked his aunt to share with the president the responsibility for seeing to his burial and the masses for his soul.³⁸ When the widow Inés de Córdoba came to make her will in 1619 she made a similar request regarding her burial to the veinticuatro Don Rodrigo de Córdoba Ronquillo, 'whom I have served and reared'. She was sure he would oblige her, for he and his parents had looked after her from childhood, 'helping me when I was in difficulty and looking after me when I was sick.' She was no longer a servant as such. Rather, she lived in a room of her former employer's house on a small annuity of 10 ducats a year from her daughter's husband, and she had her own bed with its two sheets, pillow, mattress and blanket. These were to go, not to Don Rodrigo, but to an old woman who lived beside the nearby convent of the Holy Martyrs, 'because of our friendship and because I know she is poor, and so that she may remember to pray to God for my soul'.³⁹

From this relationship of cooperation within the household it was not such a great step to dependence within the neighbourhood, once the servant had come of age, left service and established his own family. For the assumption was that when – or if – the *criado* completed the period of *crianza*, of 'rearing', he or she would then get their wages in the form of a wedding gift. Large households were not really typical of Granada, perhaps not even of Spain as a whole. A decree of 1492 ordered the aldermen of Jerez not to have 'squires, citizens or craftsmen' living in their houses as 'members of your family, eating at table with you'. But

³⁷ AHPG LG n.f., 8 May 1621.

³⁸ APG PS n.f., 21 May 1615.

³⁹ APG MA 1,058–9v, 23 September 1619.

then it went on, in a way which suggests that this was the more common option: 'you have many of them as retainers (*allegados*)', and they 'turn up at your house' on festive days or when trouble was brewing. The image evokes that of ancient Rome, with the senators parading through the streets with their clients as a demonstration of their authority.⁴⁰ It was a world which was passing away as the feud declined in the sixteenth century. As in the Italian towns of the Renaissance, patrician households in Spain – and certainly in Granada – were relatively small compared with the large establishments of the English and perhaps French nobilities. Urban living quite simply required other tactics of defending one's corner.⁴¹

When Ana de Segura, whose husband was absent in Flanders 'in the service of His Majesty', came to make her will in 1602, she noted that she was 'very poor' and would have to leave arrangements for her funeral and masses to her executors, a neighbour and a priest of her parish of San Matías. Her debts included some 'arrears of accounts', probably for the spinning of silk, with the jurado and merchant José Díaz de Bobadilla. 'In satisfaction of this, please give him a picture of Our Lord Jesus Christ on the cross and Our Lady and Saint Ambrose, painted on boards, and I entreat him to accept it as a token of affection, for I would love to have the means to repay him for the kindness he has ordinarily shown me in his household.'⁴²

In general, the notarial registers would suggest that the poor helped themselves rather than depending very much on employers or patrons; but the two lifelines were there when needed. In a pre-industrial economy money circulated as one element in an exchange of services which quickly assumed the overtones of 'friendship'. When the French tavern-keeper Pedro del Bosque, originally from Toulouse, made his will in 1661, he had very little in the way of material possessions – a bed, a suit and hat, a couple of barrels of wine, some jars and glasses, all auctioned off for the miserable sum of 203 *reales* after his death. It was just about enough to cover the costs of his burial in the chapel of Saint Louis, King of France, in the convent of San Antonio Abad, which ministered to the spiritual needs of the markets area. Most of the 'wealth' he possessed was, in fact, in the form of loans (which he seems to have stood little chance of

⁴⁰ Juan Moreno de Guerra, *Bandos en Jerez* (Madrid 1929), pp. 36–7.

⁴¹ This is a point ably made by Richard A. Goldthwaite, *Wealth and the demand for art in Italy 1300–1600* (Baltimore 1995), pp. 239–40

⁴² AHPG RD 1,217–18v, 25 September 1602.

collecting): three precious pieces of eight (24 *reales* in silver, not the usual copper) which he had loaned to a woman 'whose name I cannot remember . . . but she lives in the street of the royal gaol, once you pass the little hospital, in the first or second house'; 39½ *reales* given to the foreman of the veinticuatro Don Diego Vago, 'a loan I made to him on the day of the bull fight which was held in Bibarrambla square to celebrate the birth of the Prince' (Felipe Próspero, born four years before in 1657); and 'many other persons' which he would get his confessor to name on a list. One senses an investment here in building up a network of friends and acquaintances to whom he himself could turn when he needed help. His biggest obligation was his link with the veinticuatro Don Diego de Rueda who had been supplying him with wine for his tavern for the last eight years. On one occasion he had signed a promissory note for 2,020 *reales* – a fortune – in favour of Don Diego so that the latter, as a privileged creditor, could override the claims of other creditors and get him released from the debtors' gaol. It was a fictitious note, avowed the tavern-keeper, 'for I placed my trust in the friendship between us, that the said alderman would never ask me for the money, given the affection he showed for me'. In fact, everything turned out all right, as Don Diego handed the note over to the friars of San Antonio Abad for masses for the dead man's soul.⁴³

The network of petty debts linking the poor is one of the signal features of life in the seventeenth-century city, and not only of course in Granada. With money so rare and precious, and so liable to be stolen, it made sense to let it circulate, even with minimal security. The neighbours might be wealthy men and their friendship a form of patronage. The great silk merchant Francisco Muñoz de Torres won much praise for his charity. One of those who benefited was Doña Isabella Barrero, daughter of a scrivener and wife of a master in the silk trade who had probably worked for Don Francisco but now found himself terminally ill in the hospital of Saint John of God. Isabella's son Juan was a Carmelite friar, but she had two other children still dependent on her, a son of eighteen and a daughter, Salvadora, of fourteen. As she lay dying in April 1703, she asked her patron, who had been attending to her in her illness, to see to her burial, 'for the love of God . . . and that Our Lord God may forgive him his sins'. A year later, Don Francisco put up the handsome dowry of 8,800 *reales* which enabled the still very young Salvadora to find a husband.⁴⁴

⁴³ AHPG FDP 768–74, 6 October 1661.

⁴⁴ AHPG JS 118–19v, 24 April 1703; JBP 1,084–8, 27 December 1704.

The accounts of tradesmen which survive – often in the form of pleas before the high court – would suggest a not unexpected pattern of credit linking them to patrician families. Thus the pharmacist Don Antonio de Chaves was sued by his brothers for underestimating their father's fortune, which had consisted of annual presents of two pigs ('in lieu of payment for medicines') from the Marquis of Salar, and 'winter and summer clothing, silver trinkets . . . stockings, handkerchiefs, lengths of linen, together with half an *arroba* (about ten pounds) of chocolate' from the Countess of Luque. None of this entered the regular accounts of the firm.⁴⁵ This kind of confidence, enveloped in the language of friendship, provided the framework of patronage which bound the urban community together. Crossing the horizontal divisions into classes, there were the ties of personal obligation, which in a small town like Granada were hard to forget. Thus, the tailor Juan Salvador Morales made a successful plea in 1625 to be recognised as the illegitimate son of the brother-in-law of the veinticuatro Antonio Ruiz García, who was linked in his turn by marriage to the clan of Fernández de Córdoba and Lisón y Biedma.⁴⁶ But while such contacts might blunt the sharp edge of confrontation between rich and poor, they could not eliminate it altogether.

'Merchants should be great alms-givers', wrote Fray Tomás de Mercado, as he sought to adjust traditional Christian morality to the needs of a trading economy, for 'through alms men are cleansed and freed of many stains and burdens which they pick up through ignorance rather than malice'.⁴⁷ Merchants were particularly prominent in founding charitable institutions in Renaissance Europe, but it was perhaps the older tradition of chivalry which ultimately shaped attitudes in Spain. 'Works of charity are the steps to heaven', affirmed Guillén de Castro in his famous drama of 1619, *The Youth of the Cid*, which set out the aspirations of knighthood for his generation. As the eponymous hero sits down to eat with the leper, to the disgust of his attendants, he affirms that caring for the unfortunate is a hallmark of the gentleman. The important thing was face-to-face contact with one's fellow man, whereby one could learn to see God in the poor. Thus, the city of Motril would organise a banquet for the poor every year on Holy Thursday, waiting on them at table 'with much devotion, elegance and propriety' – only to find themselves outbid one year by their colleague Don Luis de Paz who, instead of standing to the side, promptly

⁴⁵ ARCG 3 / 182 / 7 (1790–5).

⁴⁶ AHPG LO 664–9, 5 June 1625.

⁴⁷ *Suma de tratos* (1569), p. 148.

seated himself between two of the 'dirtiest and most disgusting paupers in the gathering'.⁴⁸

Ritual self-abasement of this kind was an important part of the theatre of politics in a Spanish city: like the dramas mounted every Corpus Christi, it emphasised the fundamental equality of man, subverting for a day, like the ancient Roman Saturnalia, the normal hierarchy, thereby acting as a kind of safety valve to draw off threats to its stability. But the ritual had to be carefully orchestrated within the limits of 'propriety'. It was just about tolerable for Luis de Paz to stand outside the door of the theatre or of the butcheries, holding out his hat for alms, given that the Confraternity of Charity and Refuge – the most exclusive and important of the confraternities by the seventeenth century – would do much the same, with two knights taking it in turn to beg every day in public.⁴⁹ But when Don Luis went further and, in a practical exercise of charity, carried a mattress to a poor woman through the streets in person, his action was frowned upon by his kinsmen. 'Don Luis, how can your worship go around like this?' protested his *compadre* Don Esteban Osorio. 'Have more pride in yourself and do not stoop to things unworthy of your blood.' What will people think of our clan 'which would let you walk the street in this way'? On the other hand, he rallied to the persuasion of his valiant kinsman and agreed to help him carry the mattress. Was Counter Reformation preaching about the denial of the self beginning to have its effect?

This was an age of transition where dignity was starting to be defined in different ways, as one can see, for example, in the controversy aroused by the new Congregation of the Holy Spirit set up by the Jesuits in 1597. It was somewhat unusual from the outset in grouping both the elite and more humble folk – knights as well as commoners, rich merchants and poor journeymen', according to the chronicler of the time. It started out initially with a programme of visiting the sick in the hospital of Saint John of God on public holidays, 'making their beds, cutting their hair and nails'. But then in 1601 it embarked on a new venture, one which (we are told) had not been tried before except by that eccentric holy man, John of God, in the 1550s. This involved the members going out into the streets with a large sack in order to collect alms – coins if they were available, but also meats and clothes. There was much 'murmuring', apparently about the alms collectors being allowed to accost passers by after dusk and about

⁴⁸ Antonio de Jesús, *Epítome de la admirable vida*, pp. 117–18.

⁴⁹ Henríquez de Jorquera, *Anales de Granada*, vol. 1, p. 258.

the blackmail they could exercise by targeting the richer areas of town. After an initial suspension by the Archbishop, the Congregation had to be allowed out again in the hunger year of 1604, and continued active thereafter, with 'jurados of this city, wealthy merchants, secretaries of the high court and notaries public not disdaining to place the sack of the pauper over their black capes'— the black cape, one will recall, being the item of dress which really distinguished the citizen from the common folk.⁵⁰

If this charity may have done something to reduce social tensions and defuse popular anger at high bread prices in 1648, it was accompanied by a new moralising tone characteristic of poor relief in Reformation Europe. Don Luis de Paz was concerned that the poor should be set to work and not just stand as recipients of chivalric largesse. Thus, he would seek out employment for the able-bodied, telling them: 'Brothers, idleness is the mother of all vice and you have to get rid of it through work.'⁵¹ Archbishop Talavera, we are told, would go out early in the morning to where the labourers assembled, near the Elvira Gate or in Plaza Nueva, take a spade in his hands and begin digging while reciting the Pater Noster, 'for working with your hands does not stop you commending yourself to God with your heart and lips'.⁵² Don Luis de Paz, typically enough, was in the vanguard of change here too, at least as regards his own class, the patricians. We find him, for example, throwing off his hat, cape and sword one day and going behind the forge of a blacksmith *compadre* to pump the bellows — to some scandal among passers-by, who noticed that he was still wearing the cross of Calatrava on his tunic. Or again, he would work in person on the new hospital he was building, carrying planks on his shoulder; but this time, following his example, many knights also pitched in, 'helping him carry the stones in person'.⁵³

All of this was well and good, but there was the basic fact of which contemporaries were becoming aware that the resources of an agrarian society were barely adequate to cover the needs of the poor unless carefully husbanded. What Fray Gregorio de Alfaro wrote of Córdoba in 1597–8, that it lacked the wealth which cities with great merchants could convert into alms, might be applied equally to Granada.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ Joaquín de Bethencourt and Estanislao Olivares, SJ, *Historia del colegio de San Pablo de Granada 1554–1765* (Granada 1991), p. 106.

⁵¹ Antonio de Jesús, *Epítome de la admirable vida*, p. 37.

⁵² Bermúdez de Pedraza, *Historia eclesiástica*, pp. 187–187v.

⁵³ *Epítome de la admirable vida*, pp. 58–63.

⁵⁴ Julio Caro Baroja, *Las formas complejas de la vida religiosa* (Madrid 1978), p. 455.

'One of the things most needful in a commonwealth . . . is hospitals', thought Bermúdez de Pedraza, dedicating a chapter to the topic. The hospitals figured in second place, it is true, after the convents and parish churches, but they formed an imposing corpus of building. There was the great Royal Hospital, still one of the most impressive examples of Spanish Renaissance architecture, founded by the Catholic Kings, catering to the insane and to those suffering from venereal disease, that new scourge of Renaissance armies. There was the pioneering foundation of Saint John of God, whose twenty-four disciples, gathered in a simple brotherhood obedient to the rule of Saint Augustine but under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop, ran six great dormitories of twenty-eight beds each for all manner of sick paupers. There was the hospital of the Charity, founded by the knights of Granada in 1513, which really began to acquire great prestige and become the most prestigious aristocratic fraternity in the city during the seventeenth century. The herd owners had their hospital of San Sebastián where their shepherds could be tended on their visits to town; the silk workers had theirs where poor journeymen could be looked after; and the *veinticuatro* José de la Calle, rather overlooking the claims of his nephew, left his fortune to found a hospital for victims of scurvy, from which he himself had suffered while a prisoner in France.⁵⁵ Impressive by sheer number, these small foundations were ultimately rather disjointed. It has to be remembered that hospitals in those days were looked upon as only for the destitute, the household and the family being the normal refuge of the ordinary citizen in time of distress.

Faced with the increasing challenge of poverty in the early modern period, governments attempted to distinguish between the deserving poor, who were the known faces in the urban crowd, men and women fallen on hard times through age or sickness, but as householders part of a recognisable urban community, and the vagabond, the rogue who begged his way through life as an alternative to work. The laws of 1523–58 in Castile really laid down the framework here for several centuries, with their prohibition on begging without a licence from one's parish and the justices of the town. Thereafter it was a case of trying to set up institutions – shelters, hospices, workhouses – which might take the beggar off the street, care for the young and the handicapped and set the able-bodied to work. Similar developments were taking place elsewhere in Catholic Europe.⁵⁶ But given the mobile nature of labour in a pre-industrial

⁵⁵ Moreno Olmedo, *Heráldica*, pp. 42–3; Gallego Burín, *Granada*, p. 382.

⁵⁶ Brian Pullan, *Rich and poor in Renaissance Venice* (Oxford 1971), pp. 197–238.

economy, with surges of demand at harvest time, it often proved counter-productive to lock the 'sturdy beggar' away in institutions. Hospices where paupers could be interned were regarded as a means of limiting contagion, both physical and moral, and were mooted in Spain in one form or another from at least the middle of the sixteenth century. But they seem only to have become properly funded during the Age of Enlightenment. That of Granada, for example, opened its doors in 1753 and set its inmates to work on making canvas, then in demand for the expanding fleet – though the Royal Hospital had been trying to gather in paupers since 1671.⁵⁷

There was perhaps a new urgency about tackling the problem during the early modern period. When the harvests failed, it was the town council and the Chancillería which had increasingly to step in. There was the *tasa*, the maximum price at which grain could officially be sold, though this seems never to have worked properly. Rather, the city concentrated on buying grain and selling it at cost price through the *pósito* or municipal granary. When the purchase was urgent, the *veinticuatro*s had to borrow the sum against their private estates, pending confirmation by the Crown that the loan was really necessary. For example, in 1599 Pedro de Santillana, having taken over as *veinticuatro* in office 17 from Jerónimo de Castro, was called upon to guarantee the latter against further responsibility for the 50,000 ducats borrowed by the town councillors that year for the purchase of grain.⁵⁸ Re-floating the granary after the crisis of 1648 involved Don Juan Barahona Zapata in 'excessive and never-ending toil, leaving me no time for my own business'.⁵⁹

Of course, those *veinticuatro*s who dedicated themselves to the supply of bread could enormously enhance their prestige. The chronicler Henríquez de Jorquera describes the jubilation in the hungry month of April 1636 when 1,400 donkeys trudged through the great gate of Elvira with their precious load of 4,700 *fanegas* of wheat, acquired by the diligence of the *veinticuatro* Juan de Contreras, to the sound of trumpets and cheers from the crowd. They paraded in front of the Chancillería before heading down through Bibarrambla to the municipal store-house, the *alhóndiga*. When the rains interrupted work and travel in February and

⁵⁷ Vincent and Cortés, *Granada: la época moderna*, p. 281; Garzón Pareja, *Historia de Granada*, vol. II, p. 78; Manuel Vallecillo Capilla, *Política demográfica y realidad social en la España de la Ilustración: la situación del niño expósito 1753–1814* (Granada 1990); María del Prado de la Fuente Galán, *Marginación y pobreza en la Granada del siglo XVIII: los niños expósitos* (Granada 2000), pp. 33–134.

⁵⁸ AHPG RD 1,367–8v, 9 November 1599.

⁵⁹ AHPG SFM 479–82, 28 December 1660.

March 1618, the town hall gave the rural labourers two *reales* or a loaf of bread each day. Fear of contagion spurred on efforts. Thus, the previous autumn, in September 1617, the corregidor warned the council that ‘you all know of the many paupers in this city suffering from fevers and dysentery (*cámaras*)’, and he got a subsidy for twenty extra beds to be placed in the hospitals of Saint John of God and the Charity. But later the same year, in November, the council addressed the problem of vagabonds from outside the city exhausting the charity available. They were particularly concerned at those who pretended to be peddlers selling chestnuts and almond sweets (*turrón*), and they ordered these to be rounded up, given a small sum and sent back to their homelands. Those who were able-bodied natives were to be placed in service, and only the genuinely infirm were to be allowed to beg, with a badge guaranteeing their status.⁶⁰ Indeed, one of the features of the early modern period was the increasing resort to seizure of vagabonds – defined as such by their moral behaviour (that is, because they were found in taverns or were denounced by their neighbours as living in sin) – to supply the never-ending demand of the Crown for troops. Here the growth of the state and the ready-made solution to a social problem could march hand in hand.

The crisis of 1648 illustrated the political dimensions of the supply of bread only too well. According to the city council, the real problem was not the shortage of grain but its panic stocking by those traditional providers, the town of Ubeda and its territory. ‘Since our jurisdiction and authority do not extend so far’, suggested the veinticuatro Andrés Gómez Méndez on 20 May 1648, let us ask the judges of the king’s high court to despatch two commissioners to compel the corregidor of Ubeda to allow the free flow of grain.⁶¹ And, as we saw earlier, the real hero of the people at that time were these Chancillería judges, especially Don Francisco Ruiz de Vergara, whose authority over grain hoarders seemed to be so much more effective than that of the city fathers. By a cruel twist of fate, several veinticuattros were punished that summer by the Crown, allegedly for exceeding their authority and compelling citizens to deliver up stocks of grain. Thus, Don Juan Guillén de Contreras, who had used his family influence in Jaén in 1636 to secure much-needed wheat, was arrested by secret order of the Council of Castile and held incommunicado, while Don Francisco Castellanos de Marquina, normally a pliant

⁶⁰ AMG Actas 9, 14 September and 3 November 1617.

⁶¹ AMG Actas del Cabildo 18, 20 May 1648.

servant of the Crown, was told to leave his home and stay twenty leagues away from the city. Such detention without trial was intolerable, protested Don Juan de Miota Romero; he was sure that Castellanos and his colleagues 'had acted with the legality and fairness which one would expect of men of such good family and high office'. It was an obligation of the city 'to defend at law those who suffer without reason'. But more cautious, or less friendly colleagues, voted for a watered-down resolution, merely 'pleading' with the king to review the matter.⁶²

Some of the *veinticuatro*s, of course, would not have looked kindly on the efforts of Castellanos and Contreras, for it would only have cheapened the price of the grain they themselves wished to put on sale from their own estates. Some rental contracts specified that the revenue farmer should hold back the grain until the last moment, the month of May, when the stocks from the previous year's harvest were nearly exhausted. On the other hand, the rioting in 1648 could have got worse had it not been for the activity of some of the patricians in coming forward to offer bread to the people – men like Rodrigo Dávila Ponce de León, who had just taken his seat as a *veinticuatro* at the beginning of the year. 'So great is the desire he has to serve the city and the public good', he told his fellow *veinticuatro*s, that he authorised Don Luis de Paz to take all the grain from his *cortijos* (big estates) and 'sell it at whatever price he liked, keeping back nothing for his own family, for in this matter he wishes to hazard all he has'.⁶³ It was to still such rumours in the face of another looming crisis that on 11 May 1652 the Chancillería conducted a lightning inspection of stocks of grain in private houses in Granada. Each magistrate was assigned a parish where he would search each building in turn, in the company of an alderman and a notary. Householders were left with 'just what they needed for their own table'. Somewhat smugly, the tribunal reported that 'the common people were very satisfied with this measure since it was carried out in no superficial way but rather with the utmost rigour. And since we found little in the way of wheat or barley, we could dispel their illusions.'⁶⁴ What the events of these years may demonstrate is the existence of a devout or 'godly' faction – to call them a party would be too strong – which wished to regulate the market more strictly than their fellows. But the ultimate ineffectiveness of the city council meant that much of the care of the poor had to be left to private initiatives.

⁶² *Ibid.*, ff. 302v–303, 24 July 1648.

⁶³ AMG Actas del Cabildo, 18, ff. 276v–277, 20 May 1648.

⁶⁴ Domínguez Ortiz, *Alteraciones andaluzas*, pp. 228–30.

In an earlier crisis afflicting the city in 1618, when the incessant rains of February and March interrupted work on the land, 'that compassionate gentleman Don Gonzalo Zegrí and many other knights, landowners and men of means' helped out. When just three years later Don Gonzalo died, 'his virtue and prudence and charity were on everyone's lips, and his death was lamented by the poor, towards whom he always showed himself a pious father'.⁶⁵ Luis de Paz preferred to distribute food to the poor – 'his poor' – himself rather than having it done for him by a committee of the town hall, according to his biographer, because he knew the individual circumstances of the recipients.

In spite of efforts to create work-houses in the eighteenth century, the old attitude of generosity to the poor as a mark of piety and nobility continued to thrive. In 1789 the silk merchant Don Juan Navarro Palencia, brother of Miguel who was to become alderman of the city in 1815 after establishing his noble ancestry in the time-honoured way, left a generous legacy to the poor. He wanted the freely disposable one-fifth of his estate to be divided into three parts, one to be distributed to needy families in his own parish, another to the elderly poor in the silk trades, and the remainder to a secret fund administered by the prior of the Dominican convent. The concentration of charity on limited sectors – on known faces, one might say – and the link between charity and religion were thus still prominent features of 'the good commonwealth man'. Don Juan's father, the merchant Don Manuel Navarro Palencia, had an even more traditional outlook: his bequests to the poor in 1791, as the ancien régime was crumbling in France, included money to the Dominicans to provide paupers with rosary beads and needy silk workers with bulls of indulgence.⁶⁶

A traditional form of charity, therefore, appeared to be comparatively resilient in Granada in the face of all the challenges raised against it during the early modern period. At a time when much of the rest of Europe was heading towards a more institutionalised form of poor relief, which concentrated on separating the deserving poor from the moral reprobates who seemed to threaten good social order, the Granadan tradition seems a little anachronistic. The 'good commonwealth men' of Tudor and Stuart England were surely those who built schools and hospitals, but who also had no time for the idle and could be notably harsh in disciplining those who hung around taverns or had children out of wedlock. The *buen*

⁶⁵ Henríquez de Jorquera, *Anales de Granada*, vol. II, pp. 618 and 642.

⁶⁶ AHPG FPA 46–52, 25 February 1791; FPA 69–75v, 30 April 1789.

republicano, by contrast, knew 'his poor' as friends and dependants. No doubt this helped reinforce a rather unequal social order. Did it, though, provide political stability through the maintenance of the family, the clan, the neighbourhood? Were the patricians able to defend the *patria chica*, the 'little fatherland', against the outside forces which were threatening to split them from their people?

Defenders of the Fatherland

The great bankruptcy of Philip II in 1575, symptom of the ever-increasing cost of modern warfare in the age of gunpowder and global empires, may stand as a kind of turning point in the development of the state in Castile, requiring the forging of a new relationship between the centre and the periphery, the court and the country. The eighteen cities of Castile began to be summoned more frequently to the Cortes or parliament so that they could be persuaded or bullied into voting more taxes. Money, everyone could now agree, was the 'sinews of war' and the deputies sought to find a way of reconciling the needs of the state with the welfare of the population.¹

Underlying the debates of the time was the realisation that standing armies and high taxes were here to stay. An older concept of the *república* or commonwealth as owing only a limited support to the *estado*, the 'estate' of the sovereign, now began to break down, as economists and statesmen increasingly emphasised the interaction between the two: a strong king was needed for a strong kingdom. As one of the first of the *arbitristas*, Martín González de Cellorigo, put it in 1600: 'The common people (that many-headed, restless thing) and its spokesmen allege that we could get the country back on its feet by abolishing taxes and cutting the public debt, without reflecting that not only the king suffers thereby, but the kingdom as well.'² Taxation, from being a *servicio*, a service freely accorded to the Crown, now became a citizen duty, and the margin for debate about it became correspondingly narrow. In that sense, parliament ceased to have a clearly defined role – one reason, perhaps, why it was no longer summoned after the middle of the seventeenth century.³

¹ Geoffrey Parker, *The army of Flanders and the Spanish Road 1567–1659* (Cambridge 1972), pp. 145–56; I. A. A. Thompson, *War and government in Habsburg Spain 1560–1620* (London 1976), pp. 67–73.

² *Memorial de la política necesaria*, p. 90.

³ Cf. I. A. A. Thompson, *Crown and Cortes: government, institutions and representation in early modern Castile* (Aldershot 1993), and Charles Jago, 'Habsburg absolutism and the Cortes of Castile', *American Historical Review*, 86 (1981).

But the principal reason was perhaps the notable failure of that body to grapple with the crying need for *fiscal* reform. Essentially all the tax increases since 1575 were based on the assumption that the eighteen cities which represented the kingdom in the Cortes would be assigned financial quotas which they were to some extent free to raise in their own way. The main taxes were indirect – the *alcabalas* or 10 per cent duty on sales of all kinds of goods, supplemented after the disaster of the Armada in 1588 by the *millones*, an excise on wine, vinegar, olive oil and meat.⁴ Recognition of the enormous complexity and fraud involved in their collection led the government to seek a more uniform and, if possible, fairer tax system. One major effort was made by the new regime of the Count Duke of Olivares in 1623: the setting up of a state bank – ‘treasuries’ (*erarios*) – in which the wealthier citizen would be compelled to invest. The government made a rough and ready calculation of 100,000 families in Castile worth at least 20,000 ducats each, or 1,000 ducats a year in income. This was the upper middle class of Castile, the lawyers, the physicians, the urban patricians and the gentry, taken together with the nobility. Surely, thought the government, such men could lend the Crown 200 ducats a year over the next five years in order to fund the proposed bank, which would then become self-financing through its monopoly of lending out money. Would it be difficult to find out people’s income? But this had to be done, however unpopular, as in other countries, which had assured in this way ‘the safety and tranquillity of their commonwealths, for out of the extreme poverty of the many and the excessive wealth of the few there usually arise disturbances, riots and civil wars’.⁵

In fact, the ambitious project foundered, for parliament hesitated to give the Crown a secure income of this kind. Leading the opposition was Don Mateo de Lisón y Biedma, deputy from Granada to the Cortes of 1621 and thereafter until 1627 its solicitor general (*procurador mayor*) in Madrid. Underlying Lisón’s hostility was a basic sense that until there was a reform of the court and its ways – a reduction of extravagance, greater decentralisation of responsibility on to the provinces for their own government – any money raised would simply flow into a bottomless bucket. One had only to look at the huge waste now. ‘This is one of the reasons why Your Majesty is so short of money and your vassals so upset’, he

⁴ Modesto Ulloa, *La hacienda real de Castilla en el reinado de Felipe II*, 2nd edn (Madrid 1977), Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, *Política y hacienda de Felipe IV* (Madrid 1960), and Carlos Carande, *Carlos V y sus banqueros*, 3 vols. (Madrid 1943–67).

⁵ *Actas de las Cortes de Castilla*, vol. XXXVII, pp. 180–5, address of the President, 13 May 1623.

argued, 'that they see the taxes that cost them so much to pay and that are the blood and sweat of so many poor people, being given over to the benefit and promotion of favourites.' The state bank seemed a good idea in theory, but it would in practice be as leaky as a sieve – or, in Lisón's homely image, like 'a canal where the water oozes through the soft clay'.

Much of what Lisón had to say can be found in other sources of the time, especially perhaps in the better known treatise of 1640 by Diego de Saavedra Fajardo. Saavedra was from Murcia, the region next door to Granada, from which the Lisón family had come originally and with which the Teruel were closely linked. Saavedra went on to serve the monarchy, travelling through Europe as a diplomat and acquiring the experience which would enable him to mount an acute criticism of his own government. Like Lisón, he pointed to the excessive investment of his countrymen in the church, the court and display. The king required financial support, of course, but there was a risk of pouring money into a bottomless bucket, 'for power is mad and needs to be checked by prudent economies'.⁶

Lisón had no intention of passing into outright opposition to the monarchy. The main reason he was told to leave court in 1627 was not so much because of what he said as the way he said it, publishing his opinions – though he denied that he had intended these to circulate more widely than among 'a couple of dozen' ministers. For the rest, he was very much the patrician, fully enmeshed in a hierarchy of honour. After the Cortes of 1621 he thrust himself forward for a *merced*, a favour, from the king, claiming – somewhat disingenuously – that 'in this assembly he has given good service, voting the required subsidies with the loyal devotion, as is his duty'. So the government agreed that the tempestuous spokesman from Granada should be brought back within the fold by the offer of a post of corregidor.⁷ The offer did not take effect, however. But Lisón continued to keep a foot in both camps. In January 1630, only a few years after his exile from court, he was entrusted by the city of Granada with organising the fiesta to celebrate the birth of the long-desired heir to the throne, Baltasar Carlos, the previous year. In a popular broadsheet celebrating the occasion, he was lauded as both 'vigilant regarding the

⁶ *Empresas políticas* (1640), ed. Francisco J. Díez de Revenga (Barcelona 1988), chapter 69.

⁷ Manuel Danvila, "Nuevos datos para escribir la historia de las Cortes de Castilla en el reinado de Felipe IV", *Boletín de la Real Academia de Historia*, 15 (1889), 416. However, there were also moves afoot to have him investigated for usurping land in Motril; see J. H. Elliott, *The Count-Duke of Olivares* (New Haven 1986), p. 306.

interests of the commonwealth and fervent in the love he bears his Prince'.⁸ Could the two strategies be reconciled after all?

Brokerage and patronage were key elements in the construction of the early modern state out of the congeries of local cities and regions which composed it. The quest for the honours of the court, the network of kinship and alliance stretching from the capital into the provinces, all these were important ingredients in the forging of the 'absolute monarchies' of the seventeenth century, less 'absolute' in practice and more dependent on working by agreement and on the cooptation of local elites than once thought.⁹ From that point of view Granada was likely to pose special problems for the Spanish Crown.

There is little hope that the aldermen will agree to the new quotas for the *millones* tax, reported the corregidor in 1609, for they have a tradition of resistance, 'and there are few persons of breeding in this town hall who could aspire to some mark of recognition from His Majesty'.¹⁰ It was not that Granadans were insensitive to the needs of the Monarchy. After the news broke of the defeat of the Armada in 1588, the deputies from that city had taken a vigorous stand in the Cortes in support of the continuing struggle, both for the safeguard of trade and the honour of God and the king. But there was no doubt a certain war weariness which was beginning to enter in after so many years of unresolved conflict.

It is very evident in the pages of Bermúdez de Pedraza's chronicle.¹¹ A well-educated and well-travelled man, Pedraza was a graduate of the University of Salamanca, a distinguished author of books on law and politics, and a canon of Granada cathedral from 1628. By 1638, he was giving vent to an increasing disillusionment with this 'age of copper' in which government had become remote from the people, taxes were rising, money was hard to come by and power seemed to have passed to careerists. Though he owed his promotion the year before (1637) as treasurer of the cathedral to the king, he was increasingly critical of the monarchy.

The people of Granada were by nature 'good commonwealth men and wedded to keeping their privileges of freedom, for each man would give not only his money but his life for its legitimate defence'. But Pedraza was

⁸ Bibiana Moreno Romera, *Artistas y artesanos del barroco granadino* (Granada 2001), p. 413.

⁹ Sharon Kettering, 'The historical development of political clientelism', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 18 (1988), 419–47.

¹⁰ AGS PR caja 88, ff. 176–81. I owe this information to the kindness of Professor I. A. A. Thompson.

¹¹ *Antigüedad y excelencias de Granada*, p. 145v. There is a brief life of this important figure in Cristina Viñes Millet, *Figuras granadinas* (Granada, n.d.), pp. 127–9.

evidently worried towards 1638 by the direction which royal politics was taking. His book, published that year, is full of praise for Ferdinand and Isabella, the founders of Christian Granada, for they had been like a father and mother to the people. Since their day ambitious courtiers had come between the two, emptying the royal treasury and forcing the master to go cap in hand to his vassals. Let the prince examine his conscience and think of the account he would have to render to the Almighty, 'of revenue mis-spent, moneys thrown away, fiestas multiplied, loans never paid back, taxes levied for no good reason, services left without reward, losses inflicted by war'.¹² It was a damning indictment of the government, barely veiled by the generality of its reference. And a backward glance at the reign of Charles V enabled Pedraza to slip in a barbed comment on how, once upon a time, there had been freedom to talk about these things in the Cortes. 'The authority of the Cortes', he wrote, 'depends on voting being free.'

Pedraza's values were shaped by education in both law and theology. Lisón seems to have depended mainly on Scripture for his points of reference. In a sense a legal training could cut both ways, either leading to a veneration of tradition or to a faith in the Roman principle that the 'safeguarding the people is the ultimate law', which was the bedrock on which the nascent theory of absolutism ultimately reposed in the seventeenth century. One of the spokesmen of the new order was, curiously enough, Lisón's own father-in-law, the distinguished jurist and government minister, Gregorio López Madera. He had been a magistrate of the high court of Granada between 1590 and 1602, where he wrote his key work on the 'splendours of the Spanish monarchy'. He began it by trying to 'dispel the error' of those who traced the origin of kingship to tyranny. Quoting Seneca, he gave his opinion that 'a society (*comunidad*) would be nothing but a heavy burden for the humble and an opportunity for robbery and crime by the powerful if there were no kings'. Could the commonwealth govern itself? Perhaps so in theory, but 'when we consider the temperament of men, how easy it is for them to fall out and how different are their opinions', it was unlikely that self-government would work in practice.¹³ Not much common ground here, one would think, with his future son-in-law, Mateo de Lisón y Biedma.

Knowledge of the law no doubt played a part in the constitutional opposition to the new absolutism, and not only in its defence. Prominent

¹² *Historia eclesiástica*, pp. 193v–4v.

¹³ *Excelencias de la monarchia y reyno de España* (Valladolid 1597), pp. 1–4.

in resistance to new taxes in 1609 was the famous barrister Diego de Ribera, counsellor to the city fathers and – possibly as a result of this activity – promoted the following year to his own *veinticuatría*.¹⁴ Some Granadans dedicated their lives to the collecting of documents which would illustrate and safeguard their privileges. It was probably something of this order to which Canon Manuel de Tébar was referring when he asked for 638 pages of manuscript on the laws of the kingdom which he had been compiling for the last twelve years to be placed in the cathedral archive.¹⁵ Many of the distinguished patricians had important law libraries – Felipe Pérez de Teruel in 1596, Antonio Ruiz de Salcedo in 1662. But in spite of the value of some of the volumes, what is interesting is the readiness to get rid of the books – for example, by the sons of Teruel as part of the settlement with their brother-in-law Argüello. Few legal dynasties ever formed in Granada: the Teruel became landowners, as did the Ruiz de Salcedo, while the son and heir of Diego de Ribera became an officer of the militia. Once a father purchased a *veinticuatría* for his heir, in fact, a family tended to give up the practice of the law, turning to the exploitation of land or other investments, in contrast to the jurists in the city council of Barcelona, for example.¹⁶

What one tends to find in the libraries of the established patricians – those of Don Fernando de Teruel, first Count of Villamena, in 1711, or of Felipe Barahona Alarcón in 1697 – are books of history, of chivalry, occasionally of political philosophy. But the elites of Granada kept rather few books compared with their counterparts in some other parts of Spain.¹⁷ Barahona had a couple of dozen titles, Villamena about 112, together with ‘diverse small books, legal memoranda, sermons’ and a collection of Italian and French literature, alas, not inventoried. Villamena was in an unusually privileged position since he was heir, through his wife, to the library of Gregorio López Madera. Some of the law books of the latter survived, including his celebrated *Excellent Qualities of the Spanish Monarchy* of 1597, and there is an interesting collection of literature of the time, including a copy of *Don Quixote* and of Góngora’s poetry which must have whiled away the few idle hours that Madera would have allowed himself. More study will have to be given to these collections and

¹⁴ AGS PR caja 88, ff. 176–811, report of the corregidor, 11 July 1609. Again, I am indebted to Professor Thompson for this reference.

¹⁵ AHPG ERG 224–8, 4 November 1700.

¹⁶ Amelang, *Honored Citizens*, pp. 68–73.

¹⁷ Cf. Manuel Peña, *Cataluña en el Renacimiento: libros y lenguas* (Lleida 1996), pp. 123–52.

what we have to say here can only be in the nature of first impressions. But one is struck at the outset by the evident cosmopolitanism of the book-owners – an interest in the histories and descriptions of the Indies most notably. Awareness of the Indies would be kept alive, of course, by the small but significant export of silk there by patricians like Don Pedro de Nava or the Castellanos Marquina – which may have been an additional incentive for the aldermen to turn out in procession in 1636 to give thanks for the safe arrival that year of the treasure fleets from the New World.

The narrowness of local life, by contrast, is to be seen in the various little books on riding in tournaments and on the orders of chivalry. Political attitudes may have been influenced by the omnipresent classics of Mariana, *History of Spain*, and of Saavedra Fajardo, *Political Enterprises*. As we have suggested, reading Saavedra would have familiarised the patrician with political ideas advanced by Lisón – that is, a circumspect attitude to the claims of the court (which he could find also in Mariana). The copy of Navarrete's *Conservation of Monarchies* (1626), which must have passed through López Madera's hands to those of the Teruel family, would have driven home the same point.¹⁸

But rather than books it was surely icons and images which helped shape the Granadans' view of the world. Compared with the rather scanty holdings of the written word, the patrician households abounded in paintings, which were sometimes lovingly handed on in dowry or at death, with reference to the name of the artist. Some of these were of local fame, like the veinticuatro Pedro de la Calle himself, but there are the occasional references to a Titian, to a Jacopo Bassano and others. The paintings were predominantly of landscapes or of saints; very few were of a historical or political reference. The one exception is that of Don Juan Muñoz de Salazar, or rather of his widow Doña María de Laguna in 1599. Given Salazar's connections with the court – his family were related to Vázquez de Molina, the powerful secretary of Philip II – we can better understand the wealth of paintings depicting contemporary events in France during the Wars of Religion. There were portraits of the Queen of France, for example, and of the Duke of Guise and of 'a French gentleman', as well as pictures of Philip II, of Ferdinand and Isabella and of 'The Prince as a Child' (Philip III?). By contrast, there were rather few books in the Salazar household, though it is not clear whether the

¹⁸ AHPG JP 407–408, inventory Barahona, 10 June 1697; JFM 527–30v, inventory of Luisa de Cepeda y Ayala, 5 November 1712.

painted genealogy of the Kings of France should count as art or as a political document.¹⁹ We have already noted how few portraits there were in Granadan homes, and the same appears to be true of political iconography. A prominent city politician like Don Baltasar Barahona Zapata left quite a rich collection of paintings (though no books – at least, none considered of any value), but there was only one portrait of a monarch, that of Philip III, to remind this leading royalist of the cause which he had striven to uphold at considerable personal cost.

The obtaining of service from Granada was likely to be more difficult in the seventeenth than in the sixteenth century because of the eclipse of the influence of that great courtier family, the Mendoza, Marquises of Mondéjar and wardens of the Alhambra. Few of the other great families of Castile had much direct involvement in the life of the former Moorish capital. The Bazán had a mausoleum in the convent of Sancti Spiritus, and prayers were offered there in 1588 for the repose of the soul of the famous admiral, the first Marquis of Santa Cruz, who had been expected to lead the Armada against England. The Dukes of Arcos maintained a vague patronage of the convent of Santa Clara, but Henríquez de Jorquera could refer to the poverty of the nuns there because their great protector was an absentee. And the association of the Loaysa, Counts of El Arco and Guaro with the nuns of the regular Carmelites was but a fading memory by 1768, though, as the house chronicler recalled, they were still mindful to send down from Madrid a load of wax candles for use in Holy Week.²⁰ But essentially it was now left to the judges of the royal high court to negotiate whatever additional levies of troops or benevolences in money which the Crown required.

The general responsibility of these magistrates for public order was leading them anyway into increasing intervention in matters which the aldermen believed fell within their jurisdiction, like the supply of food and prevention of contagion and regulation of the guilds. Under Olivares they came to play a major role in raising troops and revenue as well. The critical year of 1648 saw the judges intervening on several fronts, discussing with the aldermen the levy of an additional 600 men and forming a junta with them under the chairmanship of Judge Francisco Ruiz de Vergara to act against grain hoarding. When hunger spurred popular

¹⁹ AHPG Juan Ayllón 1,136–1,328, 4 August 1599.

²⁰ *Extraordinario acaecimiento. . . y breve noticia de la fundación y antigüedad del borden de Nuestra Señora del Carmen . . . en dicha ciudad de Granada* (1768). I am grateful to the Sisters for permission to consult this document.

disturbances on 18 May, Ruiz de Vergara was acclaimed by the crowds as a tough magistrate who would accompany the saintly patrician Don Luis de Paz in taking over the government of the city from the *veinticuatro*s. When the riots subsided, he was publicly thanked by the city council for using his own money to purchase wheat for the populace.²¹

The judges of the Chancillería came mostly from well-established families of Old Castile, educated at the Universities of Salamanca or Valladolid, and they enjoyed a prestige and wealth which few patricians of Granada could match. On the other hand, some of them found an interest in linking up with the good families over whom they were sent to rule. Ruiz de Vergara, for example, went on in the following year (1649) to marry the daughter of the Count of Luque, the *alférez mayor* of Granada. Mostly these great ministers would choose their brides in their own homelands, where they would also aim to found their great landed estates as the culmination of a successful career.²² But some of the less prestigious would find Granada a congenial investment. Gregorio López Madera, for example, the son of a royal physician over whom hung a suspicion of Jewish ancestry, developed a great attachment to this Andalusian city where he served the formative years of his career as *fiscal* or prosecutor of the Chancillería between 1590 and 1602. This was a stirring time in Granada, with the discovery of the supposed relics of the first Christian evangelists, Saints Cecilio and Tesifón, and ancient tablets prophesying a leading role for the Arabs in the propagation of Christianity in the latter days. Madera, though he was to play a prominent role in the expulsion of the Moriscos in 1610–12, threw himself heart and soul into the defence of the authenticity of the relics of the Sacromonte in two publications of 1595 and 1601.²³

Whether it was the emotional ties thus created or more material calculations which spurred him on, Madera forged closer links with the patricians of Granada, marrying his daughter Baltasara to Mateo de Lisón y Biedma after the latter lost his first wife, Mariana de Contreras, around 1620. Madera and Lisón never saw eye to eye on politics, the one a spokesman for absolute monarchy, the other quite the reverse, and

²¹ AMG Actas del Cabildo 18, 7 June 1648.

²² Janine Fayard, *Les membres du Conseil de Castille à l'époque moderne 1621–1746* (Paris 1979), 240–311; Enrique Soria Mesa, 'Burocracia y conversos: la real chancillería de Granada en los siglos XVI y XVII' in F. J. Aranda Perez (ed.), *Letrados, juristas y burócratas en la España moderna* (Cuenca 2005), pp. 107–44.

²³ Cf. Kathryn A. Woolard, 'Bernardo de Aldrete and the Morisco problem: a study in early modern Spanish language ideology', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 44 (2002), 446–80.

disagreements over dowry and the upbringing of the two children by this marriage further complicated matters. It was hardly surprising, therefore, that when in 1628 Madera purchased a fief in Granada, the small village of Villamena de Cozvíjar – which cost him 6,400 ducats – he should leave it to his second wife. After his death she remarried, and it was the son of this marriage, Don Luis de Cepeda y Ayala, who inherited the estate. Don Luis had no surviving sons; instead, his heiress Luisa carried the property in marriage to Fernando de Teruel, who then acquired the title of Count of Villamena in 1687.²⁴

The Teruel went on to arrange a further marriage with the ruling families in Madrid. The daughter of the first Count of Villamena, Isabella Francisca, was married in 1708 to Antonio Valcárcel, judge of the high court of Granada between 1695 and 1709 and son of a Councillor of Castile. The Valcárcel marriage may be explained in part by the uncertain reputation of this family in their native Extremadura, where they had fought a lawsuit of *hidalguía* in 1630 to clear away suspicion of artisan and *converso* origins.²⁵ Marriage into the imperial bureaucracy tended to follow, in the usual fashion, paths trodden by other members of one's family. Thus, the leading city politician of the closing years of Charles II's reign, Cristóbal Barahona Alarcón, was linked by multiple ties of marriage to the ministerial elite at court. His sister Isabella married Luis de Villamarín, a magistrate in the Chancillería before being promoted to the Council of Military Orders in Madrid. The Villamarín were known to the Barahona through their common Roldán grandparents who had come from Baena originally. And once established in Madrid, Isabella went on, after the death of her first husband, to wed José Díaz de Ortega, a member of the Council of the Indies. It was probably through this connection, and through the marriage of Cristóbal's elder brother Felipe with María Antonia Salazar who carried some Frasso blood, that Cristóbal met his bride Andrea Frasso, daughter of a Sardinian gentleman, Pedro Frasso, who had served as a judge in the high court of Lima (Peru) before being promoted to a post in the Council of Aragon (under whose jurisdiction Sardinia lay). Inevitably, Cristóbal went on to arrange the marriage of Andrea's sister, María Magdalena Frasso (both were orphans), with his

²⁴ Enrique Soria Mesa, *La venta de señoríos en el reino de Granada bajo los Austrias* (Granada 1995), p. 97, and the same author's *Señores y oligarcas: los señoríos del reino de Granada en la época moderna* (Granada 1997), p. 275.

²⁵ Janine Fayard, *Les membres du conseil de Castille*, 269; Jaime Contreras, 'Linajes y cambio social: la manipulación de la memoria', *Historia Social*, 21 (1995), 105–24.

own ward, Juan Francisco Dávila, orphaned son of his sister Francisca Clara Barahona (see genealogy, p. 301. Dávila-Ahumada Salazar).²⁶

This extensive network of kin which linked the various members of the imperial bureaucracy to the patricians of Granada makes it very difficult to visualise two parties, the court and the country, whose lines of confrontation can be clearly drawn. Rather, the *veinticuatro*s found themselves caught in a web of personal obligations which must have compromised their political stance. The tendency was always to try and foreshorten the kinship ties which did exist, drawing sometimes quite humble fry into the net of the greatest families in Spain. Thus, the Marquis of Santa Cruz, called to testify to the worthiness of the eighteen-year-old Don Fernando de Teruel to become a knight of Santiago in 1660, could refer to this upwardly mobile young man quite cheerfully as his 'nephew' (*sobrino*). But Fernando was actually the son of the somewhat suspect Ana Francisca de Quesada, of a junior branch of the lords of Garcíez in the kingdom of Jaén, linked through her maternal grandmother to the Benavides, lords of Jabalquinto, who in turn were married to the Bazán, Marquises of Santa Cruz. In other words, Fernando de Teruel was a second cousin twice removed, not a nephew, of that great house. One may note in passing that Judge Francisco Ruiz de Vergara, now a minister of the Council of Castile, gave testimony on his behalf – 'he knows because he lived in Granada a long time'. The similar testimony of Luis Enríquez, born in Peru, reared in Granada and now an alderman of Madrid, on behalf of Teruel, whom he had got to know in Granada 'while his father was a judge there', reminds us of the small-scale world of the imperial elites, scattered across two continents but held together by the memory of the clans.²⁷

In 1664 the Granadan patrician Rodrigo Dávila Ponce de León as *corregidor* of Jerez, was unlucky enough to be involved in some disturbance, which led the Crown to send out an agent to investigate his conduct in the affair. On hearing the news, the head of the clan, the Duke of Arcos, drove into Jerez in his coach. 'Tell the investigating magistrate', he is reported to have said to the secretary who nervously danced attendance on him, 'that the *corregidor* belongs to my house', and left without waiting for an answer.²⁸ Remote connections with the great houses were

²⁶ The genealogies have been reconstructed from a variety of manuscript sources. And cf. José Pérez Balseira, *Los caballeros de Santiago*, 3 vols. (Madrid 1932–4), vol. II, n. 181.

²⁷ AHN Santiago 8049, Teruel (1660).

²⁸ Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, *La sociedad española en el siglo XVII* (Madrid 1963), vol. 1, p. 221. For the Duke's later intervention on behalf of Don Rodrigo's son when the latter was applying for a knighthood of Santiago, see above, chapter 8.

a matter of pride, kept alive in ritual celebrations like the poetry competition organised by one of the La Cueva clan in Granada in 1662 in honour of his kinsman the Duke of Albuquerque who had recently returned from service as Viceroy of Mexico.²⁹

Ties of patronage spread from top to bottom of the social hierarchy. One of the most powerful men in the Granada of the early seventeenth century was Antonio Alvarez de Bohorques (c.1575–1640), whom we came across in an earlier chapter as one of those most active in land purchases in the province. Bohorques seems to have played the role of broker between the court and the country to perfection, currying favour with both. Though he clashed with Granada in 1610 over his purchase of waste lands, he stood up in the Cortes of 1626 to deplore the loss of pasture through the ploughing of such waste – precisely what he himself had secured a royal privilege to do. Though he voted in 1622 for the *erarios* – one of a handful of councillors in Granada to do so – by 1623 he seemed to have changed his mind, urging caution and the need to find a tax that would not harm the poor. Most surprising of all, in these same Cortes of 1623 he called the attention of the deputies to the need to press the Crown to give some reward to that inveterate troublemaker, Lisón y Biedma, for his services in the previous parliament of 1621. Involved in the purchase of feudal jurisdictions, he confessed that he would not go ahead with that of Albolote where ‘good friends’ (including Fernando de Teruel, leader of the opposition there?) were unhappy about being transferred out of royal jurisdiction. A couple of years later (1629) the ministers handling the Cortes were annoyed that the king was paying more heed to the recommendations of Bohorques regarding the distribution of rewards than to their own. The importance of this kind of patronage was signalled by Argote de Molina in his study of the Andalusian nobility in 1588. Antonio’s father, Judge Alonso Núñez de Bohorques, enjoyed a reputation as benefactor of his native town of Villamartín in the kingdom of Seville and indeed of Andalusia as a whole, ‘through the great favour he shows to those who have ability and come from that part of the world’.³⁰

The relationship between Bohorques and Lisón is a reminder of the personal ties which might blunt the edge of political opposition. Lisón

²⁹ Antonio Gallego Morell, *Francisco y Juan de Trillo y Figueroa* (Granada 1950), pp. 32–3.

³⁰ There is a great need for a biography of this important and controversial politician. I have pieced together the story from scattered references, including Pérez Balsera, *Caballeros de Santiago*, vol. IV, n. 334; Argote de Molina, *Nobleza de Andalucía*, p. 415; the relevant volumes of the *Actas de las Cortes*; and especially the studies of Enrique Soria Mesa, *Venta de Señoríos* (1995) and *Señores y Oligarcas* (1997).

should not be excluded from the network of patronage: that seems to have been the belief of the wily *alférez mayor*, as he sought to win the greatest possible number of friends in the town hall of Granada. Lisón himself, after all, had his own circle of influence. We glimpse it in his will of 1641 when he refers to the three posts of alderman which he had procured off the Crown for his dependants in Loja, the small market town within whose jurisdiction lay his own fief of Algarinejo. From Granada to Motril, where the heirs of his first wife would inherit all the patronage of Alonso de Contreras through to Loja, Lisón had a voice to be reckoned with. And if we look at the marriage network of Luis de Paz, who held the destinies of Granada in his hands at a critical juncture in May 1648, we notice a similar spread of influence – from Motril where his wife had the great sugar plantations of the Hurtado de Fuente, through to Guadix where his sister was married to one of the local Guiral potentates, then Torre don Ximeno further up on the road to Jaén where his aunt Sabina was married into the Carvajal family, and back down to Santa Fe where the great mausoleum under the patronage of Luis de Paz served as a focus for the clan.³¹ The various members of the grouping served at different levels – Rodrigo de Carvajal, Aunt Sabina's brother-in-law, as a much trusted lawyer in Granada, cousin Alonso de Paz y Guzmán as an administrator of the much hated *millones* tax in Seville (grinding, as it were, the faces of the poor whom Don Luis had dedicated his life to protecting), Diego Dávila Calderón (cousin of Luis de Paz through the Arias Mansilla) as a 'defender of the fatherland', who won popular acclaim by his opposition to the *millones* in the Cortes of 1632.

Consolidating the ties of patronage and preventing any real rupture between the court and the country was a shared culture of honour and chivalry. Those who governed Granada, from the Chancillería and the Council of Castile, were not only *letrados*, university graduates, but also cavaliers, proud of their ancestry and their faithfulness to their liege lord. Ruiz Vergara composed a book on the Order of Santiago. When Don Luis Gudiel y Peralta, who had been a magistrate in Granada between 1619 and 1624, was despatched there to raise a donative in 1634, hearts sank. Yet in the event he fitted rather well into local society, receiving a knighthood of Calatrava in 1636 in a ceremony attended not only by his fellow magistrates but by all the nobility of Granada, with the Marquis of

³¹ On Sabina de Paz, AhPG MA 984v–7, 11 November 1620.

Valenzuela standing as his sponsor.³² The Orders of Chivalry constituted almost a second *patria*, a spiritual homeland to which men felt an intense loyalty. The testaments of the Granadan patricians echo this sense. The leading veinticuatro, Don Cristóbal Barahona Alarcón, after a life spent in transit between the court and Granada, with lands and family in Baena and Vélez Málaga, yet thought first of his brothers, the knights of Calatrava, when he came to die. They were to arrange for his burial, wrapping the body in the cloak of the Order and sending word post haste to the great convent in La Mancha where prayers would be offered for his soul.³³

Some nineteen of the veinticuattros of the sixteenth century held a knighthood of the Military Orders. It was a signal recognition of service to the monarchy and the culmination of a lifetime's ambition, though the reward became cheapened during the seventeenth century. It was not only an individual who was honoured in this way but a whole lineage. When Don Jerónimo de Ahumada Salazar, married to Cristóbal Barahona's sister, received his cross of Santiago in 1649 it was as a reward for the services of his uncle who had raised troops for the Crown and died on campaign in Milan in 1638. Don Jerónimo himself was only fourteen, a member of a family which had put down roots in Granada fairly recently through marriage to the heiress of a dynasty of financiers and lawyers founded by Alonso Valer and Jerónimo de Castro around 1600. In 1649 an impressive ceremony at court welcomed him into an elite at once Granadan and national. The youth declared his ambition of serving the Apostle Saint James and of learning the rules of chivalry in the convent dedicated to the saint in Vélez Málaga. His sponsors then placed on him his spurs and sword, dubbing him three times with the words: "God and the Apostle Saint James make a good knight of you." A friar of the Order blessed him as he knelt, and placed the white cape with its bright red cross over his shoulders. Thereupon the other knights present came forward to embrace him as their brother. In fact, it is doubtful whether Don Jerónimo ever learned the rules of chivalry since the period of apprenticeship was commuted to attendance at two masses. Similarly his vows of poverty and chastity – for this was a Military order, more akin to those on the other side of the Muslim frontier than to anything known in Christian Europe – were commuted to ones of marital faithfulness and placing an

³² Henríquez de Jorquera, *Anales de Granada*, vol. II, p. 773. For his opposition to some of the expedients proposed for raising revenue, see J. H. Elliott, *The Count Duke of Olivares* (1986), p. 481.

³³ AHPG JFM 74–87v, 15 February 1719.

inventory of his belongings at the disposal of the Master (who, since the reign of the Catholic Kings, was the monarch himself). Don Jerónimo lived a rather quiet life in Granada, in which the main incidents were those affecting the family – the routine drama of marriage and inheritance, of births and deaths, which we have already examined. The Ahumada Salazar inheritance ended up with the Victoria family by the beginning of the eighteenth century, a house which showed little interest in serving the Crown and which confined itself very largely to municipal politics and the management – or mismanagement, since they went bankrupt by 1760 – of their sugar plantation in Motril.³⁴

Service to the Crown was part of a tradition in a rather limited number of families, equivalent to an inheritance which one could pass on to one's children. The testament was the place where those who were badly off could record the help they or their forefathers had given to the monarchy, throwing themselves on the piety of the king in their present difficulties. Thus the bankrupt Don Gaspar de Aguilar, related to the Barahona Zapata, recalled the death of his grandfather in the Revolt of the Alpujarras – almost a hundred years earlier! – and the pension of 200 ducats which the Crown had granted him for his lifetime by way of compensation. 'I would ask and entreat His Majesty if in line with his customary benevolence, he would deign to transmit this bounty to Don Juan de Aguilar y Flores, my second son, or any other of the seven children I have . . . for they are badly off.'³⁵ But securing such privileges required astuteness. This was the point made by Cristóbal Barahona Alarcón as he surveyed the decline of his own fortunes, inadequate to sustain his seven young offspring. He rather regretted the time he had given to politics, as solicitor general of Granada in Madrid in the 1690s and then as a member of the Junta set up to hold the city for Philip V in the War of the Spanish Succession (1702–13). While my colleagues got promotions, 'I, given my natural shyness (*cortedad*), did not venture to ask His Majesty for any preferment which might alleviate my lack of resources.' So now, to remedy this sad state of affairs, 'I place myself at His Majesty's feet, and my wife and children under his royal protection, and I beg him to look after them in consideration of my services.' Perhaps his eldest son could be allowed to continue as administrator of the royal forest outside Granada, the Soto de Roma, sharing the salary

³⁴ AMG Caballeros xxxiv, 426, 25–26 June 1649. Cf. Ana Guerrero Mayllo, *Familia y vida cotidiana de una élite de poder* (Madrid 1993), p. 21.

³⁵ AHPG SFM 470–2v, 26 November 1660.

with his mother to help her bring up the rest of the family? Or any other office would be welcome: 'let this clause (of my will) find its way to the royal feet of His Majesty to ask for help in my hour of need'.³⁶

This was the rhetoric of an aristocracy with a sense of personal obligation to their liege lord; but could they as aldermen bind the city of Granada as a whole to make sacrifices of men and money for the same cause? As one reads the register of the notary Venegas for March 1677, with act after act by which humble craftsmen and peasants pay up to 1,000 *reales* – not much less than a year's wages for an unskilled labourer – to substitutes who would agree to go in their stead in the levy of that year, one begins to sense the dilemma with which the patricians were confronted. It might be in their interests to stand well with the Crown, but could they then contain the popular anger which must follow?³⁷

Fear of the people, fear of royal anger: this was the dilemma which faced the city council at the beginning of 1648, with yet another demand from Madrid, this time for a levy of 600 men, which came at a time when the councillors were debating whether to cut back on the usual Corpus Christi festivities and how to halt the spiralling trend of grain prices. In view of the particular seriousness of events which followed – the outbreak of rioting on 18 May, though against high bread prices, not against the levy as such – one may wonder whether the chain of patronage stretching from the court to the city hall and from there out to the popular neighbourhoods had at last snapped under the strain. Disagreements among the patricians on how much to spend on Corpus had been unusually sharp at the beginning of the year. Some of the voting on 10 January followed predictable lines: the corregidor and Francisco Castellanos Marquina, grateful for a recent award of a knighthood of Santiago to his son, voted to reduce expenditure, in line with the perceived need to devote more resources to war. But it is more surprising to find Alonso Ruiz de Castilla, who had cast doubts on the Old Christian ancestry of Castellanos joining the latter. Ruiz de Castilla was in dire financial straits himself; but Alonso de Coca Ortuño, who came from an equally straitened middle-class background, voted against the corregidor and demanded a Corpus celebration as magnificent as in previous years.

³⁶ AHPG JFM 347–50v, 15 February 1719.

³⁷ APG MV 579–663, purchases of substitutes for the levy in various towns of the kingdom (Illora, Montefrío, Moclín, etc.), March 1677. For popular resistance to the city council over the donative of 1712, see Emilia Martínez Ruiz, 'El cabildo municipal de Granada ante los impuestos estatales durante la Guerra de Sucesión 1700–13', *Chronica Nova*, 11 (1980), 269–84.

Was this, indeed, the voice of the craftsmen and guilds of Granada speaking: more expenditure on the needs of the community than of the Monarchy?

But then it came to the debate of 2 March on the royal demand for 600 troops. Coca Ortuño reminded his colleagues that he had been one of the aldermen in charge of the levies of previous years; but now he felt that Granada could not give more than 100. The Crown should be told, agreed Don Alonso Ruiz de Castilla in one of his last interventions in the city hall before his death that summer, of 'the great lack of money available and the great hardship', with the peasantry reduced to eating 'loaves of millet and barley and the like'. The determining voice was that of the senior veinticuatro, Don Francisco Fernández Zapata (in the absence of Don Baltasar Barahona Zapata, on duty as corregidor of Guadix). The seventy year-old Don Francisco had a long and distinguished career behind him, having served as corregidor of Zacatecas in the Indies. A royalist if ever there was one, he played his hand prudently. Granada had always served her king promptly, he told the meeting, but now the dearth of bread and the lack of public funds made this more difficult. Since the king had deigned to remit the matter to the President of the Chancillería and Judge Alonso Ramírez de Prado, 'who are so well informed about the hardship and poor state of this city', a committee of aldermen should be elected to discuss with them just what the city could afford. On 5 March Don Francisco gave a more candid opinion: 50,000 *reales* in cash (generally reckoned enough to recruit about 100 men) would be a reasonable offer in the circumstances. He was joined by that other inveterate royalist (on whose suitability for a knighthood of Santiago he had testified just a few years before), Francisco Castellanos Marquina. The majority rallied to this lead, but a minority of 'populists' held out for more: Coca Ortuño (who wanted the villages included in a global offer of 75,000 *reales*), Ruiz de Castilla, and several other hardliners, who had little to hope for from royal patronage.³⁸

In the event the levy was overtaken by popular rioting. It is probable that reports of divisions in the city council on the levy emboldened the crowd in their demand for cheaper bread. But more work will have to be done before we can have a clear idea of how the parties were formed and how strong they actually were. Ties of patronage may possibly have cut across the divisions of class, as would be suggested by a reconstruction of

³⁸ AMG Actas del Cabildo 18, debates of 2 and 5 March 1648.

the family connections of the vocal popular leader Alonso de Coca Ortuño. Let us examine this particular network a little more closely (see genealogy on p. 300).

When the merchant Nicolás Ruiz de Aldana died in January 1659, he confessed: 'I have no property to bequeath, nor the wherewithal to pay for my burial.' For this, he concluded piously, 'I render many thanks to the Lord God.' But he had a son who was a friar in the Franciscan convent, that great refuge of the poor 'to which I have much devotion', and where he expected to be interred if his son could arrange it with the Father Guardian, 'for the love of Our Lord God'. A year later, his son Juan made his will. He was also a merchant and had little property other than his wife's dowry, 'for the times have been harsh and expensive' (these were the years, after all, of falling population and production in Granada, as the toll of war began to bite). But his executors included Luis de Paracuellos, secretary of the President of the high court and probably brother of the notary Tomás de Paracuellos before whom he made his will. His burial would be taken care of by the confraternity of the Holy Sacrament of which he was a member. Poverty, hardship, disappointed expectations, certainly, but also a community where the threads of friendship, however tenuous, must have provided some sense of a continuing role in the community.

Juan had married Teresa Peón y Coca. Her father Alonso López Peón had been a silk merchant who died in poverty in 1649, throwing her mother Inés Coca, daughter of a notary, on the charity of her mother's people, specifically the clerk (*relator*) of the chancery Alonso de Coca Ortuño, who became a *veinticuatro* in 1639. Alonso knew the López Peón well, for his mother, Antonia de Contreras, shared a burial chapel with them, the convent of the Trinitarian friars. Antonia had died in 1623, entrusting to her husband, Alonso's father, the attorney Alonso Rodríguez de Coca, the care of her uncle who was living with them. 'I beg and enjoin him for the love my uncle has borne us and our children', she wrote in her will, 'that he protect and favour him, treating him as he would a father, and that he do the same with my other relations who might seek his help.' This Alonso put up the dowry which enabled his niece Inés Coca to wed Alonso López Peón. Meanwhile, López Peón and the Contreras were also close to the silk merchant Diego Rodríguez, who shared a tomb with them in the Trinitarian convent and lived beside Alonso López Peón. From Diego Rodríguez another web of patronage spread out through the parish of the Magdalena – through his confraternity sited in the nearby convent of San Antonio, through the endowment he left for the López

Peón to study for the priesthood and say masses for his soul, and through his nineteen-year-old foster-child Mateo Rodríguez whom he had trained up in the silk business and who now, with a legacy of 20 ducats, would attempt to make his way in the world with a little help from his friends.³⁹

Kinship, neighbourhood, patronage grouped people of very different social and economic backgrounds. Thus, the great Fernández de Córdoba family, into an illegitimate branch of which the politician Mateo de Lisón y Biedma married his daughter and eventual heiress, was also linked to the tailor Juan Salvador de Morales. The latter was the illegitimate son of Diego de Morales and in 1625 he sued his father's heirs for a share of the inheritance. These included Antonio Ruiz García, then a jurado, who went on to become a veinticuatro in 1634 and to marry his son and heir to Francisca Fernández de Córdoba, grand-daughter of Lisón.⁴⁰

Connections of lineage or patronage were, of course, only one strand in the complex pattern of popular culture. It is not always easy to grasp the values of the artisans, for they were not generally a literate class. Some, however, did possess books. Thus, the master tailor Francisco Mateo del Peso made an inventory of the twenty-six volumes in his library when he came to marry in 1686. There were eight or so titles, including the famous *History of Spain* by the Jesuit Mariana, an *Ecclesiastical History of Spain* (possibly that of Granada by Bermúdez de Pedraza), and a *History of Granada and of the rebellion of the Moriscos* (which must be that of Luis del Mármol, published in 1600). Del Peso had an interesting range of religious literature, including Fray Luis de Granada's *Symbol of Faith*, which aimed to lead the reader to God through a knowledge of the natural world, and a life of Saint John – probably the Saint John of God who had been an itinerant bookseller in Granada before experiencing conversion and dedicating himself to the care of the poor. It was a selection of readings which would have given del Peso a certain awareness of the world around him, particularly that of his native Granada.⁴¹ The books were worth 480 of his total capital of 7,746 *reales*. Del Peso also had forty-four paintings, and clearly some pretensions to being a gentleman, for he

³⁹ The network has been reconstructed principally from APG TP 130–130v, Nicolás Ruiz de Aldana, 5 Jan. 1659; TP 333–4, Juan Ruiz de Aldana, 29 Aug. 1660; JR 73–83, testament and dowry of Alonso López Peón, 21 and 24 Aug. 1623; JR 89v–93, Antonia de Contreras, 5 November 1623; TP 845–846, Inés Coca, 21 October 1663; JA 1,654–1,659, Diego Rodríguez, 22 October 1625 – and on the latter see above, p. 38.

⁴⁰ APG LO 664–9, agreement on inheritance, 5 June 1625.

⁴¹ APG MV 592–7v, 29 August 1686.

boasted a sword and dagger. The inkwell and sand dispenser suggests that he also turned his own hand to writing.

There are several cases of this kind. One has only to think of the great chronicler Francisco Henríquez de Jorquera (1594–1646?), whose annals of his native city give us a vivid insight into the values of that rather indeterminate ‘middle class’ of early seventeenth-century Granada – solid householders, men who through patronage or marriage could expect to acquire property and standing within the community. Jorquera is silent about his own origins, but research so far would suggest that he was a somewhat footloose character. Son of a soldier who had fought in the Alpujarras in 1568 and been granted a small-holding in the village of Alfacar just outside Granada, Jorquera worked in the shop of a master tailor until 1621. Now a 27-year-old widower, he fell in love with the 14-year-old daughter of his employer, resorting to the bishop’s court in the usual way in order to override the opposition of her parents to the marriage. The fact that his bride was ‘deposited’ for safe-keeping in the house of Don Diego del Aguila, soon to succeed his father Alonso as *veinticuatro*, may hint at one of the connections which our chronicler had with the elite of the city about whose families he was so well informed.⁴² He also published a pamphlet celebrating the fiesta mounted in 1630 by Mateo de Lisón y Biedma – whom he labelled ‘defender of the fatherland’ – in honour of the birth of the heir to the throne, Baltasar Carlos. In any case, Jorquera had been able to travel more than most of his class – to Toledo in 1625 and to Seville in 1627.

What differentiates the political attitudes of the Granadan artisans from their equivalents in guild cities like Barcelona or London is perhaps an absence of confidence in themselves or their class.⁴³ Jorquera has little interest in guilds and almost no political sense. His world is that of the street festival and of the doings of the great lineages. Rather like the beggar Mateo Ximenes whom Washington Irving found hanging around the Alhambra palace, he might have told anyone who cared to ask: ‘I know we belong to some great family or other, but I forget whom. Probably, like Jorquera, our master tailor Mateo del Peso shared the patrician values of chivalry and magnanimity, of an ordered hierarchy in which each citizen knew his place.

⁴² See the information contained in Antonio Marín Ocete’s preface to the 1934 edition of Jorquera, *Anales*, vol. 1, pp. xxiii–xxvii.

⁴³ See the important study of artisan autobiographies of the time by James Amelang, *The Flight of Icarus: artisan autobiography in early modern Europe* (Stanford 1998).

Among the patricians themselves the key word – as in the time of the *caciques* of nineteenth-century Spain depicted by Clarín – was moderation. Avoid divisions, for they stir up the people. So, the ‘royalist’ and ‘populist’ tendencies must be held in check, and the community present a united front to the outside world. The surly and recalcitrant might be excluded from the manna at the disposal of the Crown, but the overly ambitious would also be punished by being marginalised within the local community. The honours awarded by the court for loyalty depended, after all, on the foundation of honour which a family enjoyed within Granadan society. Over-zealous royalists were never allowed to forget the point. One of the most reliable allies of Olivares on the city council of Granada in the 1620s was Baltasar Barahona Zapata. He had been one of the few, for example, to vote in favour of the proposed state banks, the *erarios*, which so infuriated Lisón and others, in 1622. Awarded a knighthood of Calatrava in 1634, he found himself subject to aspersions on his nobility and purity of blood. ‘So it has come about that having served Your Majesty with such love and in such an open fashion,’ he wrote angrily to Madrid, ‘I have become the victim of envy.’ Already in 1628, after giving his vote in favour of a renewal of the *millones*, ‘there were enemies who with little fear of God had the gall to make insinuations about my honour, writing letters without signatures, as they are doing again now.’⁴⁴ Fortunately for Barahona, he could count on the backing of Luis Gudiel y Peralta, the commissioner sent to Granada in 1634 to extract donatives from the wealthier citizens. Remitting Don Baltasar’s memorandum to court, the minister emphasised ‘the great zeal and devotion with which he has come forward to serve in the matter of the 200,000 ducats voted by the city’. But, as the incident illustrates, the honour of the leading families was intimately bound up with their honour as citizens.

⁴⁴ AHN Calatrava 228, Baltasar Barahona Zapata, 1634–5.

Conclusion

In his famous tale, *The Three-Cornered Hat*, one of her favourite sons, Pedro Antonio de Alarcón (1833–91), described his native Guadix in the last days of the ancien régime: ‘Our ancestors still lived in the old Spanish way, supremely slowly, proud of their ancient traditions, at peace with God, their Inquisition and their friars, with their picturesque inequality before the law, with their privileges, customs and personal immunities.’ The story is about a miller who made friends with his powerful neighbours, among them the bishop and the corregidor, whom he royally entertained in his delightful garden, regaling them with the fruits of the season. That way he got things done: ‘Could Your Lordship get them to reduce the taxes they’re asking off me? Would Your Worship just sign this little certificate for me? . . . It is true I punched so-and-so today, but he was asking for it and I hope you put him in gaol, not me.’ But things eventually began to turn sour for the miller as the corregidor began to pay too much attention to his wife. In the course of his amusing little tale, Alarcón delicately reconstructs for us the Granada of his fathers, where private and public obligations were hopelessly entangled, where authority belonged to a man rather than to an office.¹

One of the features of the early modern period in Europe was the gradual shift from a society of this kind, structured in terms of caste and family, of corporate bodies like estates of the realm, guilds and communes, towards one more familiar to us today, where the individual is the cornerstone of the commonwealth, linked to his fellow man by largely anonymous ties of professional obligation which are regulated through money. The development was complex, propelled forward by a mixture of state power, the market economy, and not least, as Max Weber and Richard Tawney once famously and acutely diagnosed, the

¹ *El sombrero de tres picos* (1874), ed. Arcadio López-Casanova (Madrid 1979).

growth of a spirit of religious introspection in the centuries following the Reformation.²

The collapse of the old regime posed the questions anew. On 29 May 1808 the four-year-old son of the Count of Luque, *alférez mayor* of Granada, bore aloft the banner of the city at the head of a crowd clamouring for rejection of the new monarch imposed on them by Napoleon, the latter's brother Joseph Bonaparte. That banner which had presided at the proclamation of each new king was now pressed into service as a shroud for the Old Regime. For the town council had just voted to send deputies to Bayonne to swear allegiance to Joseph, only to be forced to retreat humiliatingly in the face of popular demonstrations inspired in large part by that new force in politics, the student body. As traditionally happened at moments of crisis in the city's history, a junta was formed of magistrates of the Chancillería, including that acute critic of the society of his time, Juan Sempere y Guarinos, and the town council, including Don Manuel de Villarreal, uncle of the illegitimate Casimiro and a man with a close finger on the pulse of popular emotion. But now for the first time representatives of the wider society were summoned to join them – from the jousting fraternity of the Maestranza, from the religious orders, and from those elected tribunes of the people, the *Diputados del Común*. In the event this attempt at rallying the forces of the commonwealth proved to be short-lived as the French armies swept through Spain, forcing the Junta to disband and the old city council to pick up the reins of power. On 29 January 1810 it officially welcomed the invader and the veinticuatro made what deals they could with their new king, Joseph.³

The crisis of authority in Granada which had become evident in May 1808 had been threatening for some time as the town hall ceased to be the focal point of ambition for leading citizens – those *buenos republicanos* of the days of Henríquez de Jorquera and Bermúdez de Pedraza whose prestige and authority came from service to the local commonwealth. As in the rest of Europe, the golden age of the city state was drawing to a close. Alexis de Tocqueville in his classic study of *The Old Regime and the Revolution* (1856) was to make the point that administrative centralisation during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had fatally weakened the

² Max Weber, *The Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism* (1904), and R. L. Tawney, *Religion and the rise of capitalism* (1921). I discuss their significance more fully in my book, *The History of the Family* (Oxford: Blackwell 1989), pp. 163–5.

³ Antonio Gallego y Burín, *Granada en la Guerra de la independencia* (Granada 1923).

old structures of community, creating in their stead a more integrated, and more exclusive, elite at the national level and posing new problems of authority in its relationship with classes beneath it. What had been a recognisable citizen estate of the realm in the fourteenth century, with an assured part in government had become by 1789 a rather too self-conscious 'middle' class, fatally aware of its inferiority to the single estate which really counted in terms of prestige and power, the aristocracy.⁴

In the course of this study several characters have emerged who have been labelled – rather too loosely, no doubt – 'middle class': the would-be priest turned political rebel, Lorenzo de Guzmán, the pharmacist Don Francisco Mouton, who refused to have the bells rung at his funeral. What seems to unite these men is that, sprung from the professions or trade, they no longer sought to hide the fact and discreetly edge their way into the patriciate. Rather, they had both the wealth and the self-confidence to demand that social arrangements be tailored to suit their needs, which they thought coincided with those of the commonwealth as a whole. Thus, Lorenzo reformed the municipal granary in the interests of the poor, while Mouton sought to leave his money to 'those who deserve it' rather than to the specified heirs. A new concept of the individual and of the commonwealth seems to be appearing on the horizon.⁵

One of the turning points as far as Granada was concerned was probably the controversy which arose in 1781 over the admission of another pharmacist, Don Juan de Miras Calafat, as a jurado. Calafat had refused to abandon his pharmacy, though careful to demonstrate his noble ancestry. The majority of the city council objected to this, and the Chancillería had had to intervene, in line with royal policy encouraging trade, to get them to back down. In the heated debates in the city hall, the voice of Don Manuel de Villarreal was perhaps the loudest of those urging concession – to avoid wounding Calafat in his *pundonor* ('point of honour'), and to avoid confrontation with the judges of the high court.⁶ Perhaps unsurprisingly this capable, loyal servant of the Crown obtained

⁴ Alexis de Tocqueville, *L'Ancien Régime et la Révolution* (1856), ed. J. P. Mayer (Paris 1967), pp. 162–3.

⁵ Biographies of these and other innovators would be highly desirable. Meanwhile, on Francisco Lorenzo's activity in the supply of grain, see Sanz Sampelayo, *Granada en el siglo XVIII*, p. 155, and Marina Barba, *Poder municipal*, pp. 155, 188–9, 197 and 355. His father's will and inventory can be found in AHPG TV 153–7 and 449ff., and 469ff., April–June 1754. For Mouton, AHPG MQH 16–21, 14 February 1788.

⁶ AMG Caballeros XXIV, 424, Miras Calafat (1781–2). Cf. ARCG 3 / 1626 /4, Miras Calafat (1781–2).

his reward in 1790 with his promotion as first Marquis of Casa Villarreal. The older families, meanwhile, had been taking refuge in the religious brotherhoods like the Caridad, in which Antonio Alfonso de Teruel played a prominent role in the later seventeenth century, or increasingly in the Maestranza, the jousting fraternity founded in 1686.

The response of Charles III's government, to allow the election by household heads of new 'tribunes of the people', the *Diputados del Común*, who would sit and vote with the hereditary patrician aldermen, was a tentative move towards the installation of 'democratic' institutions – rather undermined, though, by the fact that there were only two or three *diputados* in any one town and that elections failed to generate much interest. The crisis of May 1808 when the city hall lost control of the streets of Granada exposed the hollowness of the old structures of authority. However, the resolution of the crisis, imposed from outside, gave no clear indication of what the future direction of policy should be. The Old Regime was restored in 1814 in the person of the legitimate Bourbon pretender, Ferdinand VII, and the process of inheritance of posts of town councillor got back into its stride as if nothing had happened in the interval. The mixture of old and new was summed up in the application of Miguel Navarro Palencia to be admitted to the office of jurado which he purchased in 1815. He was a merchant, born into a family which had grown wealthy in the silk trade. He emphasised the qualifications which he felt entitled him to a position of leadership in the commonwealth: he was an *hidalgo notorio*, a familiar of the Inquisition, a landowner with over 1,000 ducats a year from this source. He had been elected to serve as a *diputado del común* in years past and had participated in debates of the reforming society, the *Amigos del País*. Finally, he was unapologetic – a sign of the new times? – about his wealth from trade, 'with which he has done many notable services for his country, especially during the time of our oppression'.⁷

Navarro Palencia might come from an old-established family, but the comfortable assumptions of a god-given right to rule which had once characterised the patricians were perhaps beginning to wear a bit thin. They could no longer maintain the concept of themselves as *padres de la patria*, fathers of their community, in quite the same way. They remained, indeed, wedded to the idea of patronage and to the face-to-face dealings with colleagues and inferiors which had characterised the

⁷ AMG Caballeros XXIV, 436. On the family and their patronage of their workers, see above, p. 264.

Old Regime.⁸ Nonetheless, the essence of those turbulent times of transition to a liberal society was the perceived conflict which many now felt to exist between obligations to friends and family and those to a more impersonal body politic.

In 1834, as a new constitution was proclaimed in Spain, offering fresh hope for the future, the theatre-going public thrilled to a play by one of the leading political and intellectual figures of his day, Francisco Martínez de la Rosa. *The Conspiracy of Venice* is generally reckoned to be a cornerstone of the Romantic movement in the Spanish-speaking world. It tells of two young lovers doomed by fate. Laura, daughter of a patrician, loves Ruggiero, a foundling, much to the dismay of her father. To make matters worse, Ruggiero is involved in a conspiracy against the state: a struggle for liberty, which will lead him to the scaffold. Laura's uncle is one of the magistrates called upon to decide the fate of the youth. But he abandons that role in some confusion when it emerges that Ruggiero is very probably his own son, carried off by pirates when a child. It is a plot with many twists and turns, in keeping with the Romantic vein, but it raises some interesting questions for the historian. There is, first, the theme of liberty – liberty for the citizen, which goes hand-in-hand with liberty for the individual in his private life. Then there is the matter of duty: can it override private affections?⁹

Martínez de la Rosa (1787–1862) came of an old Granadan family whose members had been silk merchants and patricians in the century or so before he was born. The drama which he put on stage in 1834 reflects some of the conflicts which lay at the heart of an older society and whose resolution formed the liberal agenda: the rejection of an inherited mandate to rule, the safeguarding of the rights of the individual, the delimitation of duty and self-interest. By contrast, the overlap between the private and public domains had been a characteristic feature of the Old Regime. Gifts, friendships, feuds interfered with the obligations of office and the freedom to buy and sell at the most favourable price.

Granada, we have suggested, was essentially a clan society. The memory of the ancestors was what held together a scattered elite – an elite, indeed, whose very strength came from the deep roots of memory which reached down through the hierarchy of property and power. The individual

⁸ Jesús Cruz, *Gentlemen, Bourgeois and Revolutionaries: Political Change and Cultural Persistence among the Spanish Dominant Groups 1750–1850* (Cambridge 1996).

⁹ *La conjuración de Venecia*, ed. María J. Alonso Seoane (Madrid 1993). On the author, see Jean Sarrailh, *Un homme d'état espagnol: Martínez de la Rosa* (Bordeaux 1930).

tended to recede quietly behind the façade of the great tombs with their coats of arms, behind the lineage whose former triumphs set out the framework of support within which he might hope to succeed in his turn. Apparently ruled by a bureaucracy in church and state, whose magnificent written records can guide but also entrap the historian, this society governed itself by more informal laws of personal obligation. It was by no means a static culture. Rather, the economic and political pressures of the early modern period generated tensions which would eventually modify the strength of ties of patronage.

In his magisterial study of the entailed estate, Juan Sempere y Guarinos, magistrate of the high court and one of the leading intellectuals of Granada, explained how important the lineage had once been for the safety of the person. 'Now that the march of civilisation has made everyone aware of the natural and civil rights of all men, and that the authority of princes is sufficient to have them respected, it is hard for us to imagine what attention had once to be paid to securing life and property.'¹⁰ His point was that the old corporate groupings which had given shape to society and protection to the individual – the ties of kinship, or those between lord and vassal, or those of the commune perhaps – were no longer necessary. The great estate no longer served a useful social role as a great tree in whose branches and in whose shade the weak could take refuge. That left its economic role; but in terms of economic growth the *mayorazgo* only hindered the activity of the individual and could no longer be justified.

Sempere envisaged the 'economy' as something bigger now than the *económica*, the administration of the household, dear to the writers of the Golden Age. And indeed that separation out of the private sphere of the 'family' as a space dedicated to the companionship of the sexes and the education of the young from the public activity of the citizen and the worker was one of the characteristic features of the transition to modern times. It was a transition symbolised in the great Spanish law of 1776 which laid down the need for parental consent for marriage for the young, and which threatened the disobedient with disinheritance. The marginalisation of the church is an interesting aspect of this edict, but perhaps equally so is the signal it sent out that a father was to be the master of his own household. Gone, in other words, were the days when a Diego de Pisa could force himself as a son-in-law on a Hernando

¹⁰ *Historia de los vínculos y mayorazgos* (Madrid 1805), p. 97.

de Zafra, exploiting the ambiguities of social status (was honourable background equivalent to great wealth?) and of authority (could a father say no to a mediator like the Marquis of Mondéjar?). Out of the chrysalis of the old lineage society, therefore, one could begin to see the tentative emergence of the individual, obliged to make his way in a wider, colder world.

Genealogical tables

The symbols used are as follows:

n. 1604 Antequera: born in Antequera in 1604

m. (1) 1618 Juan Fernández: first marriage to J.F. in 1618

+ 1640: died in 1640

s. p.: *sine prole* (without issue)

Kt. Calatrava: Knight of the Order of Calatrava

24G (1): veinticuatro of Granada in office 1

M: a male whose name is unknown

F: a female whose name is unknown

E (1613): *ejecutoria* of nobility despatched in 1613

EL (1610): *ejecutoria of limpieza* (purity of blood)

FSO: *familiar* of the Inquisition

H: *heredera* (heiress)

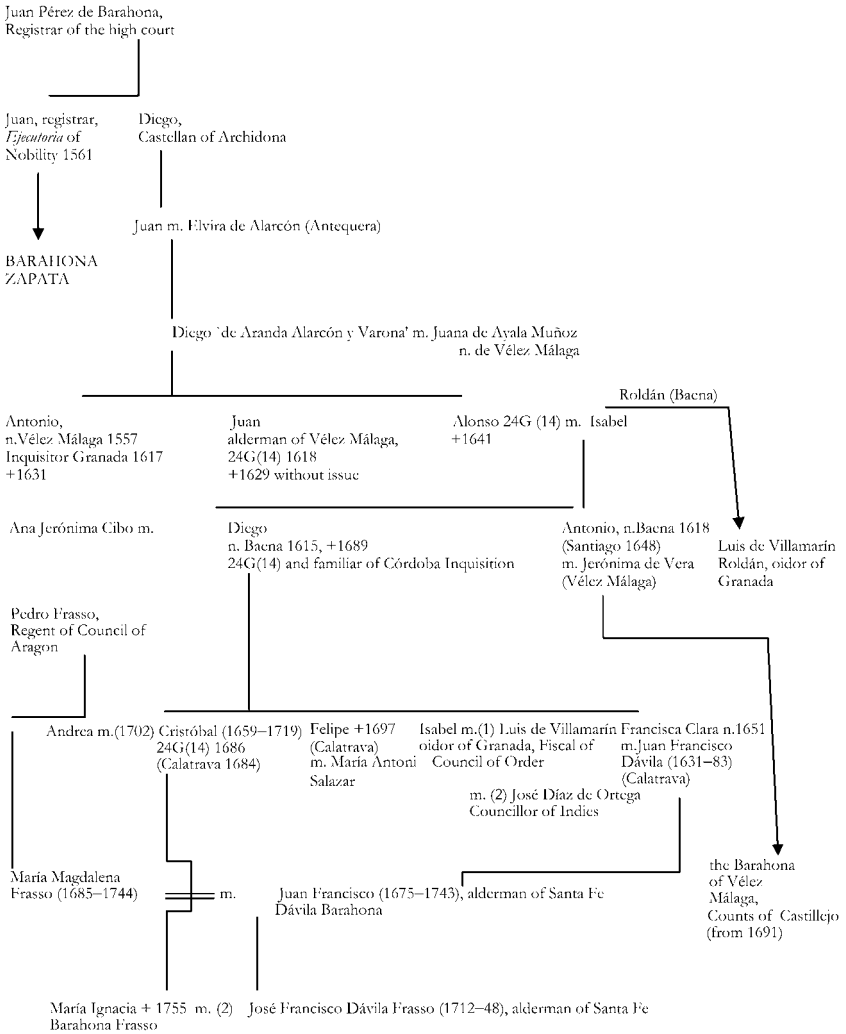
N: a nun

P: a priest

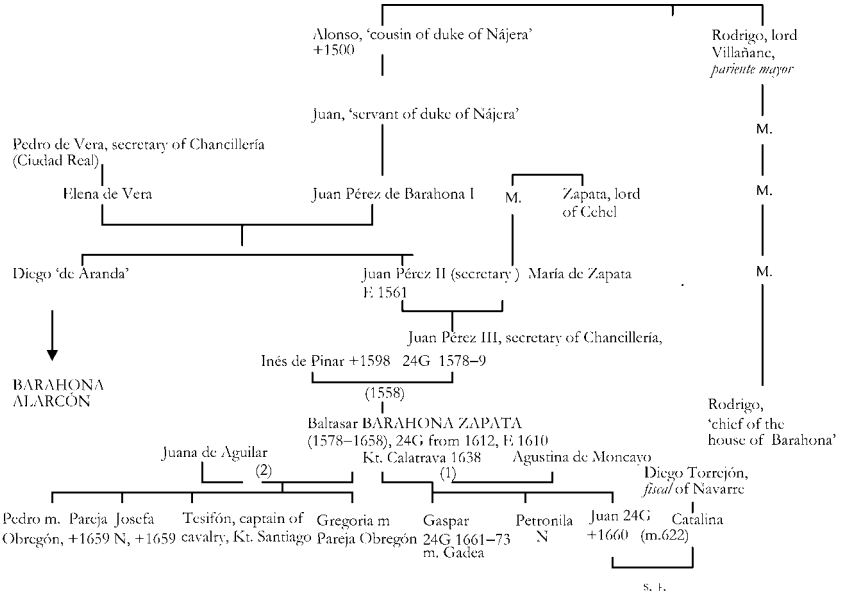
┌─┐ married (or =)

┌──┐ siblings

BARAHONA ALARCÓN

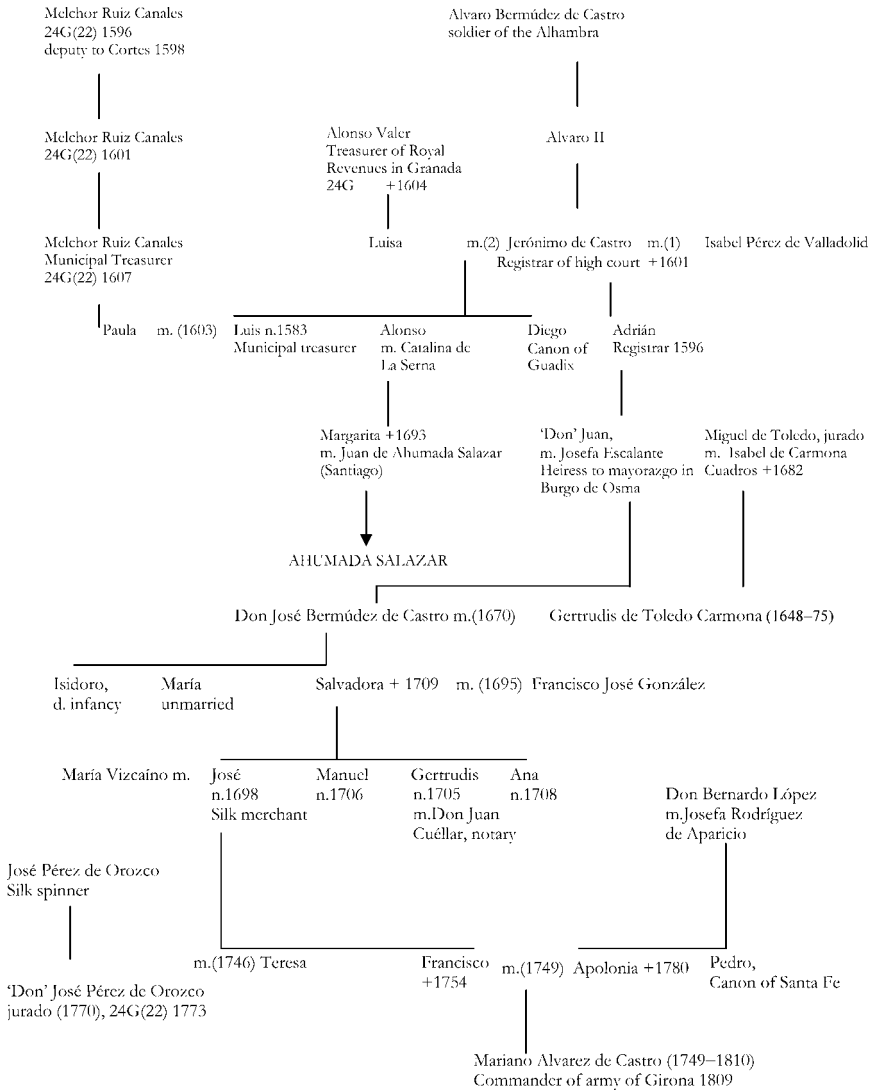


BARAHONA ZAPATA



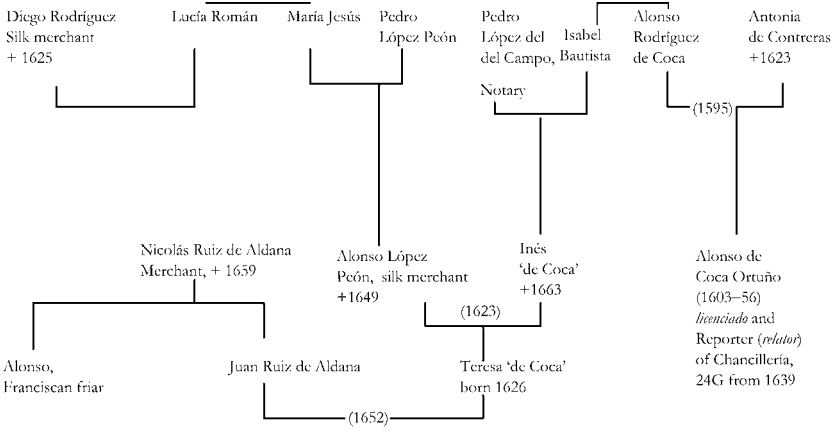
S. I.

BERMÚDEZ DE CASTRO

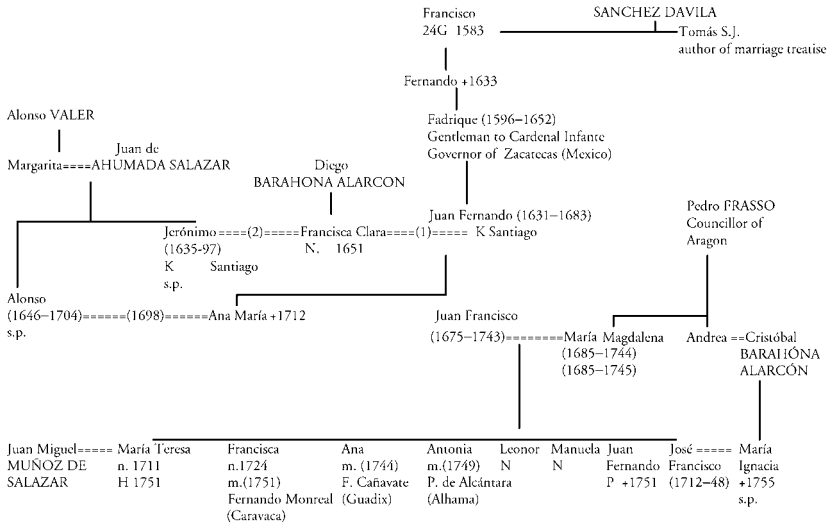


Genealogical tables

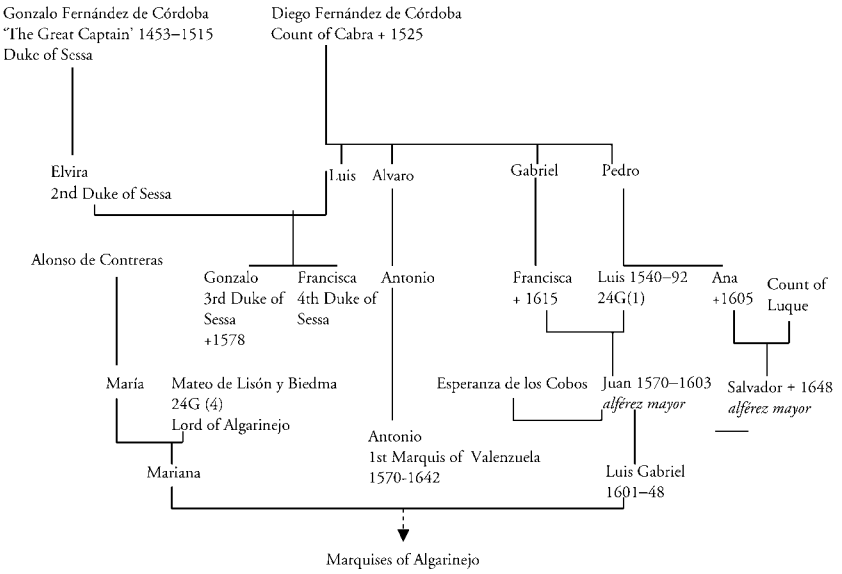
COCA ORTUÑO



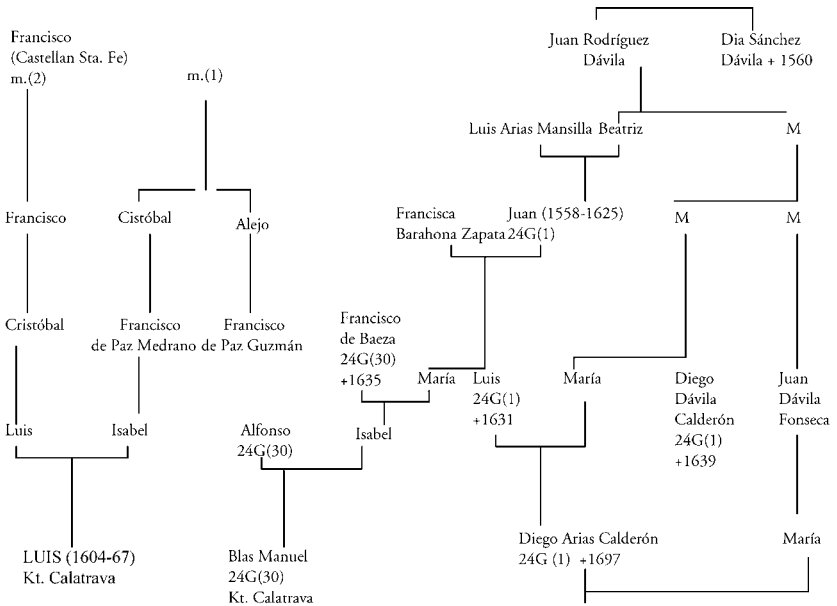
DAVILA-AHUMADA SALAZAR



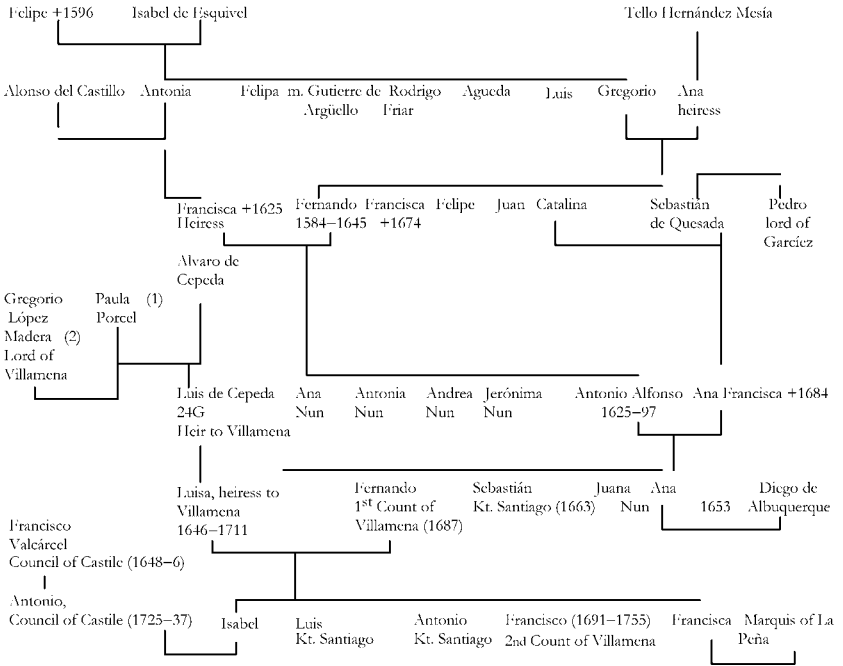
FERNANDEZ DE CORDOBA/ LISON Y BIEDMA



PAZ



TERUEL



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ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE FOOTNOTES

ADG	Archivo Diocesano de Granada
AGS	Archivo General de Simancas
AHN	Archivo Histórico Nacional
AHPG	Archivo Histórico de Protocolos de Granada
AMG	Archivo Municipal de Granada
ARCG	Archivo de la Real Chancillería de Granada
BL	British Library
BN	Biblioteca Nacional
BUG	Biblioteca de la Universidad de Granada

MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

- I. AHPG (Archivo Histórico de Protocolos de Granada). Footnotes refer to the registers by the initials of the notary, followed by page numbers, then date.

1570–1650

Mateo de Acosta; Juan de Almazán; Juan de Ayllón; Bartolomé Díaz; Rodrigo Dávila; Juan de Encalada; Luis González; Gonzalo Hernández Salgado; Francisco López Tenorio; Luis Morales; Luis Ortiz; Martín de Paracuellos; Tomás de Paracuellos; Juan de Robles; Rodrigo Rosa; Pedro Serrano; Juan Vázquez.

1651–1700

Esteban de la Calle; Juan de la Calle; Juan Francisco Mesías; Salvador Francisco de Molina; Juan Agustín de Navas; Felipe de Orense; Juan de Palacios; Francisco de la Peña; Luis de Quijada; Juan Ruiz Gómez; Salvador de Saavedra; Juan Francisco Tafur; Gaspar Bautista Velarde; Melchor Manuel Venegas.

1701–1750

Jerónimo López Zurbano; Francisco Antonio Montilla; Francisco Piñero; Tomás de Viedma.

1751–1800

Francisco de Paula Arroyo; Manuel de Quesada y Huerta; José de Zayas Fernández de Córdoba.

2. ARCG (Archivo de la Real Chancillería de Granada)

A. Litigation over inheritance

3 / 184 / 2; 3 / 1322 / 10; 3 / 1102 / 2; 3 / 1692 / 1; 2061 / 3; 3 / 526 / 3; 4430 / 109; 507 / 1879 / 2; 507 / 1874 / 11; 2060 / 1; 507 / 1925 / 6; 3 / 1389 / 13; 3 / 182 / 7; 512 / 2317 / 9.

B. Litigation over *hidalguía*

118 / 14, Pérez de Encalada (1607 and 1653); 103 / 41, Arriola (1611); 330 / 9, Dávila (1588); 79 / 31, Teruel (1590); 101 / 32 Barahona Zapata (1610); 108 / 31 Barahona Alarcón (1625); 110 / 27, Fuentes (1625; 105 / 41, Bermúdez de Castro (1619); 107 / 19, Díaz de Palencia (1622); 109 / 43, Francisco de Córdoba (1625); 109 / 19, Hernández de Mesía (1588); 67 / 5 and 88 / 17, Arias Mansilla (1542–94); 75 / 24, Gadea (1587); 115 / 8, Contreras (1640); 175 / 51, Fuente Vergara (1602).

3. ADG (Archivo Diocesano de Granada).

Expedientes matrimoniales: *legajos* (years in brackets)

- A. *saca, demanda*, dispensation of bans: 1404 and 1405 (1570–90); 1420 and 1421 (1616); 1213 and 1214 (1657); 1318, 1319 and 1320 (1687–8), 411, 416, 417 and 418 (1751), 743 (1780).
- B. Dispensations of kinship: 1492 and 1493 (1665–6); 1406 and 1407 (1666–8); 783, 789 and 798 (1775–7).
- C. Divorce and separations: 23, 65 and 68 (mostly only surviving from 1790s, but some earlier material).

4. AHN (Archivo Histórico Nacional)

Ordenes Militares: *expedientes* of Santiago and Calatrava for the following:

1,720 (Juan de Castellanos 1644); 228 (Baltasar Barahona Zapata 1635); 2,408 (Juan Fernando Dávila Porcel, 1669); 469 (Nicolás Carnero y Mata, 1661); 5,321 (Juan de Míota Romero, 1656); 8,049 (Fernando de Teruel y Quesada, 1660); 5,628 (Juan Jerónimo Muñoz de Salazar, 1642); 2,914 (Alonso Fernández de Córdoba and Lisón, 1651); 2,402 (García Dávila Ponce de León, 1670); 8,048 (Juan Teruel y Mesía, 1632); 8,050 (Sebastián de Teruel y Quesada, 1663); Antonio Alfonso de Teruel Cepeda, 1691; 163 (Diego Arias de Mansilla, 1661); 238, (Cristóbal Barona y Alarcón, 1684); 422 (Sebastián Canicia Maldonado, 1696); 5,618 (Jaime José Muñoz de Guzmán, 1701); 1,972 (Nlas Manuel Paz Guzmán, 1661); 1,971 (Luis de Paz, 1622).

5. AMG (Archivo Municipal de Granada).

A. Actas del Cabildo

Volume number (years in brackets):

9 (1617–18), 10 (1621–2) and 18 (1646–8).

B. Caballeros XXIV: Probanzas

391 (Nicolás López de Ballesteros, 1742); 393 (Juan Josef de la Cueva, 1747); 394 (Manuel de Villarreal, 1748); 395 (Antonio Montalvo Carrillo, 1750); 407 (Pedro de Osorio, 1756); 416 (Francisco de Oviedo Castillejo, 1769); 418 (Joseph Pérez de Orozco, 1770); 399 (Miguel Carrillo, 1754); 402 (Bernardo de Valdivia, 1756); 404 (Antonio de Cuenca y Mora, 1756); 428 (Francisco de Salcedo, 1735); 426 (Pablo de Victoria, 1787); 419 (Rodrigo Luis de Castro, 1772); 413, Pedro Antonio de Alfaro, 1765); 424 (Juan de Miras Calafat, 1781); 436 (Miguel Navarro Palencia, 1815); 406 (Fernando Montero, 1758).

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