Conversos, Power and the Intermediate Groups in Golden Age Spain

Edited by

Enrique Soria Mesa and Luis Salas Almela

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Introduction

Enrique Soria Mesa and Luis Salas Almela

This volume has been conceived as a collective reflection on certain historiographical concepts which, for various reasons that we will explain below, have been somehow overlooked in recent years. Our aim is to offer the scientific community and interested readers a proposal for renewing the approach to the social category which, for several decades, historians referred to as bourgeoisie. In a first negative approach, we would say that the term bourgeoisie applied to the 15th to 18th centuries would be that which is neither noble nor plebeian. However, reflecting on a term so commonly used, so loaded with specific meanings, and so debated from the fields of politics and ideology, represents a challenge for researchers, requiring a historiographical exercise to trace the evolution of the term itself, its uses, and the debates to which its interpretation has given rise. Therefore, our proposal for a re-reading of the concept of bourgeoisie aims to encompass a wide range of terms associated with the semantic field of that social category in the Modern Age, including terms related to the Economy -such as middle classes or social middle class- or to terms associated with access to power -such as mesocracy-.

It is therefore important to begin by reflecting, at least briefly, on the history of the concept itself in its historiographical use in recent decades, particularly in European historical studies.

The historiographical debate since the mid-20th century

In the middle of the last century, Fernand Braudel spoke of a 'betrayal of the bourgeoisie', an expression that alluded to the withdrawal of an entire social category from its supposed historical destiny, which obviously carries a heavy teleological charge. The idea can be summed up by saying that the bourgeoisie had ceased to fulfil its economic and therefore social function, having invested its wealth in imitation of the nobility. Braudel was following the social characterisation accepted in the European West since the mid-19th century, when Smith's categories according to which nobility equalled passivity and rentierism, while the bourgeoisie was the only social class capable of generating wealth and progress. He also admitted that the sixteenth century had been a century of expansion of European wealth precisely because of the drive of those bourgeoisie who were no longer properly third estate or simple plebeians, but whose aspirations ended up deriving in an imitation of nobiliary customs and ways of life. Almost at the same time, on the other side of the English Channel, John Hexter published a famous essay in which he denied the usefulness of the conceptual division into classes applied to the Modern Age and even the existence of groups that could

even be included in what the 20th century had come to understand as the middle classes, a deeply entrenched cliché in historiography a century ago, a tradition that accepted the emergence of a sort of middle classes in the Tudor period. Thus, began a debate in the Anglo-Saxon sphere whose development could not fail to connect on many points with the discussion initiated by Braudel's work.

British Marxist historiography, with Maurice Dobb at the frontline, accepted the schema in its basic dimensions to begin to study the process by which the transition from the feudal mode of production to capitalism had taken place. That debate went to the heart of Karl Marx's own thought, whose description of Western history was articulated precisely around the explanation of the processes of consolidation of bourgeois capitalism, which was a way of constructing the historical narrative from the point of arrival backwards. Largely because of this, in 1963 the Soviet historian Boris Porshnev proposed an explanation of the rise of the absolutist state as a response to the long chain of popular revolts and rebellions in the first half of the 17th century. In this context, the middle or bourgeois classes would have chosen to support the state in the face of popular demands, an ideological movement that would have been fundamental in the triumph of absolutism. Thus, the rise of monarchical absolutism and the transition from feudalism to capitalism found a coherent link in social stratification. Porshnev's study shifted the debate on a 17th century which did not entirely align with the Marxist scheme, since the bourgeois revolutions should have taken place at the end of that century, at least in England, where by then the middle classes had accumulated sufficient economic power to deal with it and, in fact, revolutionary political movements had already taken place.

From another point of view, the discussion to which this reformulation of Marxist ideas gave rise had particular characteristics when the younger generation of British Marxists offered their contribution. Given that several of its members -especially Thomson, Hobsbawm and Hill- were interested in the processes of social class formation from the point of view of the subaltern classes -the so-called motto 'history from below'-, the debate on the treachery of the bourgeoisie acquired in their contribution a much more political than social or economic connotation, a nuance which it lacked in its French formulation: bourgeois treachery was for them class treachery. In other words, the bourgeoisie had not only and primarily betrayed its economic destiny, but also its unprivileged, underprivileged third-state co-religionists, whose possible alliance they despised. We cannot fail to recall that the integration of the political dimension in this context is a characteristic of British Marxism, whose contributions were integrated quite naturally into previous historiographical debates of both Tory and Whig origin, debates in which political history did not cease to have a preferential place, quite the opposite of what was happening in France with the growing predominance of the Annales School and its emphasis on the collective and on the long duration. Be that as it may, the British Marxists' scheme came to explain the gap that, in Marxist terms, the 17th century represented in the process of overcoming feudalism.

However, the 17th century was also, in the same scheme of things, a century of more or less generalised economic crisis in Europe, a debate presented and summarised by Christopher Hill in a famous collective volume. The very concept of the existence of a generalised crisis in the 17th century was subjected to criticism by A.D. Lublinskaya. For this author, the 17th century was not necessarily a century of economic crisis and bourgeois socio-political betrayal in the process of evolution of capitalism, but a particular stage in the development of feudal manufacturing production. Parallel to all this, a debate centred on the origins of capitalism emerged from Immanuel Wallerstein's proposal. In his work, Wallerstein advocated emphasising the decisive importance of the surplus value generated by world trade as a determining factor in the consolidation of a world capitalist economic system. At the same time, in the same year, Robert Brenner published an article that had the virtue of reopening the debate on the origins of capitalism, in which he presented a thesis contrary to that of Wallerstein. In fact, Brenner was more inclined to look for the beginnings of capitalism in the accumulation of agrarian capital.

Such a wide-ranging debate -spanning several centuries and an entire continent, if not the world as a whole- logically had multiple offshoots. One of them was promoted by L. Stone, who proposed a particular concept of crisis that would have affected the British aristocracy. His crisis of the aristocracy posed the betrayal of the bourgeoisie in terms of social ascent, although looking at the process in reverse, that is, from the perspective of the upper strata of society. For Stone, therefore, the crisis of the aristocracy was largely a consequence of the dissolution of its values and personality by the unstoppable rise of a gentry which, while seeking to imitate its ways of life, brought with its new blood and new values. The discussion to which these works gave rise was integrated back into the traditional debates of British historiography, most particularly with regard to the revolutions of the 17th century and their social and political causes. If the British aristocracy had gone into crisis in the first half of the 17th century, as Stone argued, because of a rapid rise of the lower classes, it was logical to conceive of the revolutions of 1640 and 1688 as the consequence of a realignment of power in which the emerging middle classes would have been in a position to contest power against the decadent aristocracy in crisis. However, the class schema did not quite fit the picture of an English revolution -especially that of 1640- whose main characteristic was the heterogeneity of the conflicting sides. It is no coincidence that the so-called New Political History arose largely out of dissatisfaction with the class schema applied to 17th century English politics. Conrad Russell went so far as to deny any class implication in this political movement, proposing instead a fundamental autonomy of the political dimension from the socio-economic conditioning factors that were at that time the hallmark of Western historiography in its two most influential schools: Marxism and the followers of the French Annales school.

In a similar vein but for the case study of seventeenth-century France, a few years earlier, William Beik had posited the need to understand absolutism in France in the

context of the political ties between the elites and the power centre of the late feudal system, formalised through the extension of the civil service administration of the state. In a way, this implied bringing back Roland Mousnier's suggestion of vertical affective ties rather than horizontal class ties as a central element in the emergence of absolutism, although Beik's re-reading was done from a very different point of view. If that proposal was accepted, it was therefore necessary to reconstruct and analyse the political and social links that led to the mobilisation of the population to the point of producing some kind of armed confrontation, whether it was the Fronde or the Glorious Revolution. To this end, a methodology that other social sciences -particularly sociology and political science- were beginning to use on a massive and very successful scale, namely the reconstruction of social networks, was used. The links between individuals no longer responded fundamentally to class or group typologies, but rather to vertical links between individuals and families that made it possible to explain political alignments and social promotions. This methodology was enthusiastically embraced in the 1980s and 1990s by both Anglo-Saxon and French historiography, whose eagerness to reconstruct networks of sociability has had such an influence on Spanish historiography.

The influence of neo-conservative and post-Marxist ideologies in the last decade of the last century brought with it an overvaluation of the concepts of economic merit and individualism that implicitly led to the rejection of the idea of human collectivities as relevant historical agents. The panorama of social history at the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st showed a clear aversion to the categorisation of social groups whose main virtue was its aversion to generalisations, but whose greatest weakness was the atomisation of studies to the point of making comparisons between national realities very complex. It was not by chance that a crumbly history began to focus on highly specific and heterogeneous cultural themes. As far as the categorisation of the middle classes is concerned, it is not surprising that it was in 1989 that Peter Earle published his influential study on the cultural identity of the middle groups of society in the Modern Age based on an analysis of the lifestyle of the great London merchants in the late 17th and early 18th centuries.

The historiographical landscape in France and England in recent years continues to be burdened, on the one hand, by a revanchist revisionism in the face of the last members of Marxist historiography, while on the other hand it remains highly fragmented. The search for elements of the cultural identity of groups is probably one of the most suggestive historiographical movements of these years, a trend that continues to produce interesting results. For example, French's study of the middle classes -middle sort, in a way conceived as an antecedent of the classes that already clearly existed in the 19th century- proposes a study of the forms of sociability and consumption of the middle classes as a formula for understanding their characteristics and cultural idiosyncrasies. Other interesting examples of contributions in recent years have come from the study of individual cases, even biographies, which seek to outline in greater

detail major processes based on individual experiences, such as the enclosures and the wool trade in early 16th century England.

In Italy, there are not many studies on the mesocracy or 'middle class' in the Modern Age in a specific way. The work that focuses most on this subject is that of Melissa Calaresu and her perception of the possible search for a middle class by the Neapolitan enlightened of the 18th century, based on the work of Francesco Maria Pagano. There are, however, authors, mostly women authors, who have been interested in the 'stratification' of society in general, especially for the last century of the Modern Age and in pre-industrial urban settings, generating some interesting results. Almost all of them focus on the Po Valley region -with the cities of Turin, Venice and Padua standing out- and a good number of them have been approached from a gender perspective. Thus, we find that authors such as Anna Bellavitis, Simona Cerutti and Beatriz Zucca-Micheletto have studied the role of inheritance or dowry from legal perspectives in the development of pre-capitalist society or the role of women in the labour market. Sandra Cavallo considers the extent to which charity played a catalytic role in shaping Italian society in the Modern Age. More general works on Italian society, such as those by C. Black, or those focusing on artisan work and its relationship with the guilds, such as those by Andrea Caracausi, may also be of interest in order to define the limits of the mesocracy or 'middle class' in Early Modern Italy.

In the Portuguese case, it was not until the 21st century that modernist historiography began to take an interest in the definition and socio-economic analysis of the so-called 'estado do meio' by contemporaries. As in other respects, the interest of Portuguese historiography has tended more towards the chronological extremes of the modern period than towards its core, so that we tend to know far more about the 15th and the 18th centuries than about the two hundred years in between. Already in the last third of the 20th century, some authors touched on the question in a more or less tangential way, when dealing generically with Portuguese society in the *Ancien Régime*. They were interested in the legal categorisation of the social hierarchy, its reflection in the imaginary of mobility, decision-making power, the mechanisms of legitimisation or access to honour. All these were fields in which, in one way or another, a social middle class made up of merchants, scholars, well-positioned master craftsmen or wealthy farmers came to the fore. In this sense, the contributions of Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, António Manuel Hespanha from the perspective of the History of Law, Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho or Joaquim Romero Magalhães, more focused on the socio-economic sphere and the powers of the councils, should be underlined. In no case were these works aimed at understanding the mesocracy *per se*, first of all because there had not even been any discussion of its delimitation as a group. For the most part, our knowledge of it came from studies on merchants and local elites in modern Portugal. Suffice it to cite theses such as those of David Grant Smith and Jorge Miguel Pedreira. The city of Porto was, in this sense, a paradigmatic case due to the greater weight of the non-nobiliary component. In 1997, Pedro de Brito's *patriciado urbano*

quinhentista also opened up an interesting line of approach to the mesocracy using the tools of genealogy, with an in-depth reconstruction of families, chaplaincies, entailed estates, investments... which highlighted the conformation of the same endogamic network made up of a bourgeoisie (to use the author's term) with the presence of *fidalga* and, above all, *Cristã-nova* blood. The Judeo-converted origins of these middle groups in Portugal and its territories of expansion is, perhaps, the best-known point and the one that has been most reflected upon in the last third of the 20th century, from the pages dedicated to *La bourgeoisie portugaise au XVIIe siècle* by Frédéric Mauro in 1970 to other more recent ones such as those of Leonor Freire Costa or João de Figueirôa-Rêgo.

It should be reiterated, however, that the real historiographical interest in the middle sectors only gained momentum in Portugal, and only slowly, in the last twenty years. Indirectly, even in the 2000s, when the existence of ways of ennobling and channelling the social mobility of these groups was highlighted, until then a little-recognised phenomenon. The role of the military orders, the clerical career and the Holy Office, studied by scholars such as Fernanda Olival, Nuno Monteiro, José Damião Rodrigues, and Torres. At the same time, the strong presence of these middle groups had become evident when examining the manorial courts and the local ecclesiastical administrations. Such conclusions were reached, for example, by Mafalda Soares da Cunha in her study on the House of Bragança, published in 2000, and she specifically addressed the question of social extraction and the patrimonialisation of minor offices.

In the sphere of public offices dependent on the Portuguese crown, venality has also proved to be a factor of social mobility to a certain extent. These relationships between the performance of trades, mercantilisation and the weight of social and ethno-religious origin have also been addressed for the extra-peninsular Portuguese territories. Nandini Chaturvedula and Susana Münch Miranda have dealt with it for the State of Índia and José Damião Rodrigues for the Azores. The gradual accumulation of works on Brazil's more or less enriched social middle class has had a great impact, apart from some previous studies carried out in North American universities, such as Stuart Schwartz's study on the magistrates of Bahia, among others. Today, the lack of foundation of a dichotomous social vision (elites and poor/slaves) and the fundamental role of these emerging mesocracies in the urban structuring of Portuguese America have at least been demonstrated in books such as those by Martinho and Gorestein, Blaj and Furtado. Previously, the article published in 2011 by Figueirôa-Rêgo and Olival was an excellent global and diachronic approach (1570-1773) on the flexible solutions of the Portuguese crown to the problems of access to the dignities of the middle strata, in the face of theoretical obstacles such as the cleansing of blood.

This type of research has continued to advance along the path already opened up by studies on elites and social mobility, but adapting the gaze to the new object of

study and its own dynamics of dignification and legitimisation. The work of Aldair Carlos Rodrigues, Fernanda Olival, Nuno Camarinhas, Bruno Feitler, Leonor García and Ana Isabel López-Salazar on the sociological function of certain ecclesiastical offices, magistracies and honorary or salaried positions in the Holy Office are part of this line. In parallel, Antonio J. Díaz Rodríguez has analysed the intermediation market between Portugal and the Holy See, structured as a response to the social needs of a mesocratic clientele and controlled in turn by highly specialised individuals from this social middle class. Finally, a second type of research aims to define this social category in itself, based on the works we have just discussed, on the cross-referencing of theoretical sources and, especially, on the analysis of the material -goods, interiors, consumption patterns, signs of distinction, patrimonial projection...-. We must highlight the works of Andreia Durães, Bruno Lopes and Fernanda Olival for Portugal, together with the comparative study between Castile and Portugal published by Máximo García Fernández, or those of Maria Aparecida Borrego and Rogério Félix.

In the Spanish case, the existing panorama can be defined as very polarised in terms of chronology and relatively neglected by current historiography. The trajectory of this historiography during the second half of the 20th century explains the late and insufficient incorporation of Spanish historians into this scientific debate. It is true that we have relevant contributions in this respect, but without obtaining sufficient critical mass to generate a dominant current of thought or at least an intense polemic that could have unveiled the main questions of the phenomenon. Another problem is the enormous bias towards the eighteenth century, the century in which the vast majority of publications are concentrated, with few exceptions. The very valuable studies by Molas Ribalta, García-Baquero, González Enciso, Bustos Rodríguez, Franch Benavent, etc., have all suggested the existence of bourgeois or parabourgeois groups in certain areas during the Age of Enlightenment, especially Cadiz, Valencia, Catalonia and Madrid. In other cases, the obvious importance of foreigners in the formation of these socio-economic groups has been highlighted (Villar-Pezzi, Bustos, Maixé...).

Among the few exceptions in terms of chronology, we should mention some studies by Gómez Zorraquino, generally very well documented, including a valuable book on the commercial bourgeoisie of Saragossa between the 16th and 17th centuries, which we believe has not been sufficiently valued. For these centuries, the subject of our project, and without wishing to be exhaustive, we can also turn to Pike's pioneering studies on the Seville area; to Lohmann Villena's book on the Espinosa family, which is of great interest for its analysis of a very important family that moved comfortably on both sides of the Atlantic; or Lapeyre's classic analysis of Simón Ruiz. Finally, we cannot pass up the opportunity to mention the results of the important congress which was published at the University of Valladolid in three volumes and coordinated by Professor Enciso Recio. The contributions focused on documentary collection as

well as historiographical and conceptual studies, the great majority of which were of a high level. The introductory paper by Professor Alberto Marcos is particularly noteworthy, very revealing and useful.

In recent years, fortunately, other variables have been introduced on the subject, which address it directly or at least touch on it tangentially. Consumption and the relationship with the aristocracy and international mercantile networks (Yun Casalilla), inventories of goods and everyday life (García Fernández, Bartolomé Bartolomé), among others, mark very interesting derivations towards the immediate future.

A renovating proposal in seven case studies

With these considerations in mind, this volume brings together a series of works arising from a research project whose main objective has been to place the discussion, fundamental throughout the most of the 20th century, on the intermediate strata in European societies of the Ancien Régime, back at the centre of the historiographical debate.[1]

Starting from the historiographical overcoming of the myth of the social immobility of Early Modern Europe, José Manuel Triano Milán analyses these same dynamic realities applied to the last century of what we know as the Middle Ages, i.e. the 15th century. Although the processes of social rise and fall were not unknown among medievalists – through, for example, court dynamics or the study of urban oligarchies – the author proposes to place these dynamics at the centre of his analysis in order to illuminate not only the processes of rise and fall, but also to study the mechanisms and even the very categories that marked such processes. In particular, Triano focuses his attention on the concept of tax privilege or tax exemption as a revealing marker of changing social realities that were even linked to the emergence of political identities. However, given that the boundaries between classes were much more diffuse than historiography assumed a few decades ago, and that the tax exemption itself was not exclusive to the nobility and clergy but was, on the other hand, very dynamic, the author opens up a whole range of possibilities for a much more refined hierarchisation. Focusing on the realities of Seville in the 15th century – whose documentary collections are exceptionally rich for the study of these issues – Triano Milán analyses the fundamental role those fiscal realities played in the social dynamics of the city. A city that was still a frontier town and one of the most important and thriving in the Crown of Castile in the last decades of the 15th century.

Enrique Soria Mesa, for his part, claims the importance that the social category of the Judeo-converts had in the History of Spain, articulated around the discrimination

[1] Project financed by the Spanish Ministry of Science, Innovation and Universities, called "The middle class in Andalusia (16th and 17 centuries): power, family and the heritage", reference PID2019-109168GB-I00.

suffered by those who were considered to be of impure blood. A harsh social reality whose long shadow is clearly perceptible throughout the Golden Age in almost all manifestations of art, literature and thought. Being aware of the relative abundance of studies on the Inquisition, this work argues that many of these studies have remained in the epidermis of a much more complex phenomenon than its most institutionalised manifestation. That is to say, the Holy Office and the converse condition, being close realities, are certainly not identical, since suffering an inquisitorial procedure was something exceptional. The vast majority of Judeo-Converso families were able to escape and some managed to rise up the social ladder, largely thanks to forgetting their origins. In his contribution to this volume, Soria Mesa focuses on several of these families settled in the city of Baeza, in the kingdom of Jaén, where they accumulated a great deal of wealth. Not only that, but they were also protagonists in the creation of one of the most representative institutions of the city of Baeza, its university -so closely linked in some of its stages to the figure of San Juan de Ávila- an institution that became a centre of converse sociability. This work, therefore, analyses the process of the creation of the university and the fundamental importance of the converso element in it.

The following text, by Rafael Girón Pascual, takes as its starting point the relationship between institutions of power, both civil and ecclesiastical, in the ancient kingdoms that make up what is now Andalusia -the kingdoms of Seville, Cordoba, Jaen and Granada- and places it within the framework of a complex and stratified society, despite the rigid classifications that theoretically separated the estates and their access to power. In particular, he focuses on those who formed the upper stratum of the plebeian order, the mesocracy, in their multiple professional status, where we find doctors, lawyers, apothecaries, notaries, great artisans and merchants. In particular, Girón focuses on those merchants who were so successful that they became jurors in the quarters or parishes of some of the main Andalusian cities. Theoretically far removed from the positions of power -reserved for the descendants of the families who had played a leading role in the conquest of Andalusia against the Muslims- access to the privilege of these pecheros had to begin with proof, real or invented, of their cleanliness of blood, i.e. the absence of Judeo-converted ancestors. On this basis and with a very healthy patrimony, some large merchants in particular were able to begin to enter the institutions. However, the perspective proposed by the author focuses on studying those individuals and families who, having been denied access to higher-ranking positions -regidores or twenty-fourth councillors- formed a middle stratum of municipal power, the mesocracy. Focusing on the case studies of Cordoba, Seville and Granada, Girón analyses the configuration of society on the basis of the economic activities of those pechero elites -merchants specialising in wool, silk and leather, above all, with a vocation to participate in long-distance trade, including that of the Indies- and their insertion or otherwise in the mesocratic groups. The result is that in Cordoba a true mesocracy was formed, as access to the municipal elite itself was completely closed, while in Seville and

Granada access to the mesocracy was only the springboard to reach the pinnacle of municipal power, the regidurias.

For his part, Luis Salas Almela analyses the years immediately prior and after to the creation of the Seville Consulate of the Indies and the first decades of the institution from the human base -the merchants who joined the Consulate- both those who were most committed to its creation and those who first took control of it. Firstly, he has carried out a prosopographical study of a large group of merchants who were active in those years. Secondly, the text analyses the grouping of those individuals within the consular institution and their access to the posts of prior and consuls at a time when practically nothing was known about the consular institution. It is important to point out that, on the whole, in this text the Consulate is considered first and foremost as a means of access to privilege for its members. Therefore, based on the analysis of the profile and trajectory of several listed individuals, as well as the repetitions and absences of these same individuals in some ways of representation of the Consulate, this contribution offers an interpretative hypothesis on the evolution of the institution in its first quarter of a century of existence.

The work of José María García Ríos focuses on another social group that can be included in the term mesocracy, namely the servants and administrators of the nobility, based on the study of the extensive list of servants of the Counts of Tendilla in Granada in the 16th and 17th centuries. The Counts of Tendilla, a branch of the Castilian house of Mendoza, were undoubtedly the most influential lineage of those who settled in the City of Darro after its incorporation into the Crown of Castile, quickly becoming Marquises of Mondéjar, captains general of the Kingdom and commanders of the fortress of the Alhambra, positions which they held for most of the century of the 16th century. García Ríos proposes an interpretative model to analyse the role played by the servants of the Marquises of Mondéjar within the municipal power of 16th century Granada. Sometimes as solicitors and notaries, sometimes as jurors, some of these individuals came to enjoy, on the one hand, offices as knights twenty-four, that is, to reach the pinnacle of local power, while, on the other hand, others of these noble servants held important positions in the sphere of the Church, the Chancery or the Holy Office.

Clara Sánchez Merina, on the other hand, focuses on the study of the foundation of funerary chapels in Cordoba Cathedral in the modern period, as well as on the decorative programmes displayed in them. The author extracts from this analysis valuable information on the complicated social network that was woven in the cathedral chapter in the Modern Age. Given that the decorative programmes were created to decode a series of interpretative clues that were not visible, but which undoubtedly formed part of the horizon of expectations of the time. We have detected that there are certain spaces of 'justification' in the Cordoban cathedral, basically private chapels founded by canons of possible Judeo-Converse origin,

where the iconographic and decorative programmes attached to their walls become visual discourses of justification, legitimisation and social promotion. In particular, there are two spaces founded in the 16th century where the use of a visual rhetoric at the service of social ascent and the concealment and/or justification of Jewish-conversion ancestry is very present through certain iconographic themes and local devotions that have their expression in the plastic images in their different artistic formats. Such spaces would be the chapel of the Holy Spirit, founded by the Simancas brothers, and the chapel dedicated to San Juan Bautista, refounded by Canon Juan Sigler de Espinosa. The author argues that the presence of the converso in these sacralised spaces can be revealed by analysing the predilection for certain iconographic themes in the 'decorative' programmes that adorn the aforementioned chapels. It is, therefore, an analysis based on conceiving the image as a historical document and a hermeneutic bridge that allows us to delve deeper into the horizon of expectations and the symbolic capital at stake in this type of foundation. To close the volume, Herreros Moya focuses on the study of the city of Cordoba.

From its incorporation into the Crown of Castile in the 13th century, Cordoba was a strongly nobiliary city, in which the great families held all the positions of power, social influence and wealth. Both symbolically and economically, the city soon became one of the major aristocratic centres of Castile. Lineages such as Fernández de Córdoba, Gutiérrez de los Ríos, Argote, Cabrera, Pérez de Guzmán, Carrillo, Hoces, Aguayo, Cárdenas, Valenzuela, Díaz de Morales, Muñiz de Godoy and Saavedra, among others, formed a social network that accumulated considerable prestige and property for generations. However, throughout the Modern Age, other family groups of much less eminent birth gradually rose to positions in this city, some of mercantile and Judeo-Converso origin, others with a rural and agrarian profile, and even others from bureaucratic and administrative circles, which gave rise to a much more complex social variety. In fact, some of these families managed to rise at a still early stage to slip, with greater or lesser dissimulation, among the oldest and most consolidated families in the city, such as the Corral, the Bañuelos and the Villalón families, which by the 17th century was on a par with the aforementioned families without any differences. Other lineages, although they ended up obtaining the habits of military orders and the posts of knight aldermen in the town council, had a much later rise, in the 17th century, and remained to some extent isolated in their own mesocratic group, as was the case with the Vera, Montesinos, Guiral, Concha, Gómez de Figueroa, Torralbo, de la Corte and Muñoz de Velasco families. Only some of the members of that mesocracy were able, at a certain point in the 18th century, to make the leap to the oligarchy and even to some noble title. In any case, their status as careerists was, in a way, never entirely forgotten, as evidenced by the fact that they barely pretended to be married to them. Therefore, starting from this chronology of closure and relative oligarchic opening of the Cordoban elite, Herreros analyses the concern of those lineages for the afterlife and for the fate of their estates after death. It is not only a question, therefore, of

worrying about inheritance or salvation, but also of designing what particular and familiar image was to be given to those who were still alive. The author focuses above all on the aspect, much more visible to posterity than the wills, which represents the funerary aspect of death: where to bury, how to bury, with whom and under what conditions. Chapels, churches, convents and pantheons therefore play a key role in this contribution.

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The Shifting Profiles of Privilege: Exemption, Status, and Social Categorization in Seville in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries[1]

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Introduction

Historians for the past several years have begun rejecting the old paradigm that portrayed early modern society as motionless. Breaking with the legitimizing discourse of forbidding and immobile estates, they have revealed a highly dynamic society with roots in the late medieval period.[2] But medieval historians, particularly in Spain, traditionally have not paid much attention to social mobility, though some important historians recently have pointed in that direction.[3] Regarding the question of alleged stasis in the Crown of Castile, several studies have examined the royal court, municipal oligarchies, and tax structure.[4] They all reflect a period undergoing deep transformations in which the dialectic between the emerging state and other powers brought about not only processes of upward and downward social mobility but also the redefinition of the mechanisms allowing for such mobility and the modification

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[2] Enrique Soria Mesa, *El cambio inmóvil. Transformaciones y permanencias en una élite de poder* (Córdoba, ss. XVI-XIX) (Córdoba: Ayuntamiento de Córdoba, 2000); Enrique Soria Mesa, *La nobleza en la España Moderna. Cambio y continuidad* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2007).

[3] Sandro Carocci, "Social mobility and the Middle Ages," *Continuity and Change* 26:3 (2011), 367. Regarding the limited reception of these studies in Hispanic historiography, and more specifically for the context of the Crown of Aragon, see the excellent work by Albert Reixach Sala, Finances públiques i mobilitat social a la Catalunya de la Baixa Edat Mitjana. Girona, 1340-1440 (Barcelona, CSIC, 2018), 27-38. Also worth mentioning is the recent monograph on this topic coordinated by this author and Victòria Burguera in the journal *En la España Medieval*.

[4] On upward social mobility in the court of Castile see Francisco de Paula Cañas Gálvez, *Burocracia y cancillería en la Corte de Juan II de Castilla. Estudio institucional y prosopográfico* (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 2012). Historiography on late medieval Castilian municipal elites has paid particular attention to their social and political strategies on city councils and their complicated relations with the middle class; one example is the work of José Antonio Jara, who distinguishes between "power elites" and "participation elites," depending on whether or not they were members of the council: José Antonio Jara Fuente, *Concejo, poder y élites. La clase dominante en Cuenca en el siglo XV* (Madrid: CSIC, 2001). The emerging field of taxation had been accompanied by interest in tax professionals, their social profile, and how the field was not only a path to financial gain but also to social promotion; see Pablo Ortego Rico, *Poder financiero y gestión tributaria en Castilla. Los agentes fiscales en Toledo y su reino (1429-1504)* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Fiscales, 2015).

of categories defining group and individual status.[5] Most historians in this regard have pointed to the difficulty in wrestling with a reality undergoing constant transformation, and they have used various markers to frame their analyses, such as patrimony, public office, juridical status, etc. The problem is that these markers are not always homogeneous; nonetheless, most historians have gone in that direction.[6] Tax privileges or exemptions have been one of the key indicators, which is only logical given their role in defining social status. They offered not only economic advantages but, most important, they defined individuals and social groups within a highly hierarchized social reality.[7] They created categories resulting in self-perceptions and the emergence of political identity.[8]

The problem with an analysis based on taxation, however, is that fiscal categories have generally been understood in somewhat simplistic and unambiguous terms. Some authors, believing that medieval distinctions between the privileged (nobility and clergy) and taxpayers were well-defined categories, have taken tax exemption to be a bright line between the two groups. They have assumed that ownership of one of these privileges was enough to overcome social barriers and attain the rank of the lower nobility.[9] But the sources reflect a far more complex and diffuse reality, one in which dividing lines between estates are extremely difficult to define and the clergy and the nobility were not the only ones with exemptions. Many professional and social groups enjoyed dispensations for a variety of reasons, which did not necessarily mean they had attained a higher social rank beforehand. Nor were exemptions as widespread or homogeneous as has been assumed. No one had complete exemption and not all taxes were equally important with regard to status. There was a hierarchy among these privileges, with direct crown taxes on top of the list.[10] And, finally, in contrast to the predominant discourses of the medieval and early modern periods, which too often are read uncritically, privileges were not static. They frequently were disputed by different social groups and were set as a result of conflicts and transformations within a fiscal structure in the process of defining itself.[11]

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[5] The most obvious example of this transformation is how the concept of lower nobility or hidalguía has changed; see especially José Ramón Díaz de Durana, "La otra nobleza, la hidalguía," in Discurso, *memoria y representación: la nobleza peninsular en la Baja Edad Media* (Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 2016), 333-76.

[6] Carocci, "Social mobility," 369-70.

[7] Mauricio Drelichman, "Sons of something: taxes, lawsuits and local political control in sixteenth-century Castile," *The Journal of Economic History* 67:3 (2007), 608-42, p. 610; Michael J. Crawford, *The Fight for Status and Privilege in Late Medieval and Early Modern Castile, 1465-1598* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2014), 44ff.

[8] José Manuel Triano Milán and Pablo Ortego Rico, "Privilegio, honra y distinción. Exenciones fiscales e identidad política urbana en la Castilla bajomedieval," *Studia Historica. Historia Medieval* 40:2 (2022), 59-81.

[9] Marie-Claude Gerbet, "Les guerres et l'accès à la noblesse en Espagne de 1465 à 1592," *Mélanges de la Casa de Velazquez* 8:1 (1972), 295-326, p. 307.

[10] Antonio Collantes de Terán Sánchez, "Los sevillanos ante el impuesto: la exención fiscal (ss. XIII-XVI)," *Boletín de la Real Academia Sevillana de Buenas Letras: Minervae Baeticae* 41 (2013), 293-318.

[11] Luis Díaz de la Guardia y López, "Exención fiscal nobiliaria en el ámbito local bajomedieval: en torno a tres documentos de la villa de Belmonte," *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma*. Serie III. *Historia Medieval*, 19 (2006), 137-73, pp. 139-41.

The following pages analyze how the emerging Castilian tax system gradually delineated processes of social promotion and decline and clarified social categories. The analysis is centered on Seville during the late medieval period, a choice based on three factors. First, its archives contain one of the best late medieval tax records in what was the crown of Castile. Second, Seville was an important city both regionally and in the kingdom as a whole, allowing us to examine local matters while at the same time keeping in mind the larger context.[12] And third, Seville is in Andalusia, a border region throughout the period under analysis. So, the city is a valuable laboratory for better understanding the broader, societal implications of fiscal transformations during this period.

The emergence of a new fiscal paradigm and its social impact in the fourteenth century

The fourteenth century was a point of inflexion in the development of a tax system in the crown of Castile. Traditionally it has been assumed that it evolved in a unidirectional and cumulative manner, separate from fundamental economic and social transformations during this period. But in recent years historians have questioned this notion, instead pointing to how fourteenth-century transformations set the stage for an entirely new reality determined by the crown's military needs and its desire to respond to demands from leading political agents in the kingdom. Only a pact among these actors could have enabled the expansion of a fiscal system during a century marked by deep demographic and economic crises.[13]

The emergence of this new system was not a simple matter. The first step came when Alfonso XI (1131-50) demanded of the Cortes in 1342 that the *alcabala* be imposed; this was an indirect tax at first set at 5 percent of the value of sales in the Kingdom of Castile, though it ended up reaching 10 percent.[14] Endless volumes have been written analyzing this development and its relevance to the consolidation of royal authority, but not all implications have been duly considered. For example, concession of the alcabala redefined how negotiations between the king and the Cortes would take place from then on. Likewise, Alfonso's decision to impose councils on towns that previously had run themselves with open assemblies, along with institutional changes in the Cortes during this period, must be considered alongside the monarchy's desire

[12] Antonio Collantes de Terán Sánchez, "Sevilla en el sistema urbano de la Andalucía bajomedieval," *Edad Media: Revista de Historia* (2014), 79-96, pp. 83-88.

[13] Federico Gálvez Gambero and José Manuel Triano Milán, "Tesoreros, contadores y recaudadores: administración hacendística real y cambio institucional en la Corona de Castilla (1342-1390)," in Francisco de Paula Cañas Gálvez, ed., *La Corona y sus servidores. individualidades, instituciones y estructuras curiales en los reinos hispánicos durante la Baja Edad Media (ca. 1340-1516)* (Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, 2021), 19-56, pp. 19-20.

[14] Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada, *Fiscalidad y poder real en Castilla, 1252-1369* (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 2011), 169-83; and Pablo Ortego Rico and Íñigo Mugueta Moreno, "Kingdoms of Castile and Navarre," in Denit Menjot *et al.*, eds, *The Routledge Handbook of Public Taxation in Medieval Europe* (London: Routledge, 2023), 120-54, pp. 132-33.

for a clear interlocutor among the emerging municipal elites. The crown needed them in order to extend its own influence in the local arena. And the elites, though they already enjoyed a dominant position in the municipal sphere, could envision a more stable framework within which to assert their political and social power, a framework furthermore sanctioned from above. Their arrival thus allowed for the articulation of political relations, a mechanism well oiled though distribution of substantial economic resources and the addition of new means for incorporating these sociopolitical elites within a new state. The first avenue for doing this was through the extraction and management of resources. The alcabala required an ample number of financiers who could manage the new tax and provide liquidity while it was being extracted. In exchange, they gained access to an expanding field and the possibility of building careers serving the crown. Such service was generally compensated with local and regional posts. One example was in the city of Seville, which during the fourteenth century witnessed the rise of a large group of important tax officials, many of whom ended up with municipal posts.[15] Alongside these financial officials, basically a specialized sector, there was a long list of lesser agents, some of them simple investors, who saw the tax structure as an opportunity to complement their commercial or artisanal activities or as a means for obtaining local political power.[16] The second means of integrating the new elites was by spending these resources. At the time the alcabala was established, the crown undertook a thorough overhaul of its military spending on the border, as a result of which very large sums of money were allocated to the nobility and the rising urban elites.[17] The latter, the principal beneficiaries of the crown's growing economic capacity, became the guarantors of the new fiscal model.

The second important step in the transformation of the fiscal system came during the Trastámara dynasty. The reign of Pedro I (1350-69) was characterized by its fluctuations, with the monarch choosing to satisfy the crown's financial needs with as low a political price as possible during a period of economic crisis. But Enrique II's arrival on the throne after the civil war with his stepbrother signaled sharpened interest in taxation.[18] The shift was due both to an interest in getting access to financial resources with which to pay off war debts and to the need to mollify important social groups who had provided financial resources to the crown during the crisis. The stabilization of the alcabala during these years was critical for systemic durability. But Juan I's failed effort to seize the crown of Portugal upset matters, leading to the next important reform. Castile's defeat at the famous Battle of Aljubarrota (1385) put Castile in a difficult position. Aside from the king's damaged prestige, the Portuguese-

[15] Gálvez and Triano Milán, "Tesoreros, contadores," 46.

[16] Pablo Ortego Rico and Juan Manuel Bello León, *Los agentes fiscales en la Andalucía atlántica a finales de la Edad Media: materiales de trabajo y propuesta de estudio* (Murcia: Sociedad Española de Estudios Medievales, 2019), 15-52.

[17] Nicolás Agrait, "Castilian military reform under the reign of Alfonso XI (1312-1350)," *Journal of Medieval Military History* 3 (2005), 88-126, pp. 101-109.

[18] Federico Gálvez Gambero, "La deuda pública en la Corona de Castilla en época Trastámara (ca. 1369-1504), *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 13:1 (2021), 96-118, pp. 98-99.

English military threat was important, given Castile's obvious economic and military weaknesses. The economic cost of those years stretched the fiscal system to its limit, and there was a real danger that not only royal finance but the entire social and political system might snap.[19] After searching for some sort of solution and experimenting with a variety of measures, the king chose an option that would have longlasting importance: to reform the extraordinary funding granted by the Cortes.[20] Funding (*servicios*) granted by the Cortes to the crown from now on would be in accordance with the principles of distributive justice. To that end, contributors (taxpayers) would be assessed according to their wealth. Furthermore, towns and cities would exercise greater autonomy regarding collection management. In other words, town councils would now be participants in the workings of royal finance. The impact of these decisions would play out during the next reign, under Enrique III, when a tax system was consolidated and would last nearly a century. Once the alcabala had become an ordinary tax, the crown could look to it as a regular source of income; meanwhile, the Cortes could provide additional *servicios* as emergencies arose.[21]

The far-reaching impact of these measures was not only political but also social, which is only logical if we consider that their underlying objectives involved a reconsideration of how to define social status. First, the new tax system assumed a certain universality. Both the alcabala and the *servicios*, at least at first, were aimed at the maximum number of taxpayers, never mind all the existing privileges and exemptions.[22] That would be possible only if the population of taxpayers were redefined, to which end the crown went about eliminating widespread general exemptions, with the goal of far more limited concessions.[23] The point was not only to increase tax earnings but also for the crown to be the arbiter of privilege. To that same end, the crown sought to prevent other bodies, notably town councils, from awarding tax exemptions.[24] As a result, many existing exemptions were placed in doubt. It quickly became clear, however, that the monarchy did not have sufficient power to impose its full dominium in this regard, and the issue was a constant point of conflict throughout the late medieval period. Even so, as exemptions were gradually reduced, their social value rose. Additionally, the notion of service to the king – as opposed to considerations such as use and custom, or intrinsic rights – became a more important justification for the social distinction arising from tax privileges.[25]

[19] Luis Suárez Fernández, *Historia del reinado de Juan I de Castilla*, vol. 1 (Madrid: Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 1977), 221.
[20] Isabel García Díaz, "La presión de la fiscalidad real sobre la ciudad de Murcia a finales del trescientos (1370-1390)," *Hispania. Revista española de historia* 49:173 (1989), 841-93, p. 847.
[21] Ortego y Mugueta, "Kingdoms of Castile and Navarre," 135.
[22] However, many of these privileges ended up being respected so as to make the alcabala and servicios viable; Ladero, Fiscalidad y poder real, 68-71.
[23] Federico Gálvez Gambero, "¿Del consenso a la soberanía? Algunas ideas en torno a los orígenes del sistema fiscal castellano en época Trastámara," in *Poder y poderes en la Edad Media*, eds. Raquel Martínez Peñín and Gregoria Cavero Domínguez (Murcia: Sociedad Española de Estudios Medievales, 2021), 507-19.
[24] Triano Milán and Ortego, "Privilegio, honra y distinción," 71.
[25] Díaz de Durana, "La otra nobleza," 371.

A second social result was the implementation of mechanisms for evaluating people's wealth. Expansion of the tax system meant that the crown and its agents had to have a clear sense of the available resources and the means for extracting them. The system would be viable only if there were a broad consensus on the part of taxpayers, to which end the royal treasury came up with the valuable tool of tax rolls.[26] These lists allowed town councils to better control taxpayers and their property while at the same time extending the notion that the tax burden corresponded to wealth. Throughout the century, particularly during the second half, the crown encouraged municipalities to draw up censuses, though many towns were unwilling to hand over such valuable information.[27] In any case, the new system required enormous effort by local authorities, who could carry it off only because of their long experience in local finance. Nonetheless, they were obliged to closely integrate municipal elites and other social groups in the process of drawing up the documents. But the process itself gave town leaders a powerful tool with which to consolidate their own authority. Tax rolls were not just a means for measuring wealth, they were a highly complex mechanism of socioeconomic classification.[28] Having one's name on the rolls indicated if one belonged to the *vecindad*, with all its rights and obligations, and *vecinos* (legal, taxpaying inhabitants) were grouped according to their financial worth: small, medium, and large, with only the latter able to hold public office and engage in economic activities such as the leasing of *rentas*, or municipal revenue.

These economic classifications also affected men's duty to serve in the military, an obligation closely linked to social status.[29] Indeed, transformation of the tax system and increased revenues brought major alterations to military organization in Castile, a kingdom "organized for war."[30] Throughout the fifteenth century the crown made efforts to increase the number of vassals obliged to serve by giving them money or privileges. It also wished to more clearly establish what sort of service vassals were obliged to provide.[31] In addition to the measures already mentioned there was a new institution that would have enormous impact: the *caballería de cuantía*.[32] Approved

[26] María Asenjo González and Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada, "Recensements et textes 'cadastraux' en Castille (XIII-XVIe siècles)," in Albert Rigaudière, ed., *De le estime au cadastre en Europe. Le Moyen Âge* (Paris: Comité pour l'histoire économique et financière de la France, 2006).

[27] Until the early modern era, resistance to handing over lists of town inhabitants meant the crown had little idea of what was going on at the local level, a situation made clear by the crown's survey at the start of the sixteenth century: Juan Manuel Carretero Zamora, *La averiguación de la Corona de Castilla, 1525-1540. Los pecheros y el dinero del reino en le época de Carlos V*, vol. 2 (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, 2008), 458ff.

[28] José Manuel Triano Milán, "Contribuir para no ser excluido. Sistema de tasación fiscal y estructura social en Sevilla y su tierra (s. XV)," in Amélia Aguiar Andrade, *et al.*, eds, *Inclusão e Exclusão na Europa Urbana Medieval* (Lisbon: Instituto de Estudos Medievais, 2019), 199-221, pp. 211ff.

[29] Asenjo and Ladero, "Recensements et texts."

[30] Elena Lourie, "A society organized for war: Medieval Spain," *Past and Present* 35 (1966), 54-76.

[31] Francisco García Fitz, "'Las guerras de cada día' en la Castilla del siglo XIV," *Edad Media. Revista de Historia* 8 (2007), 154.

[32] Agrait, "Castilian military reform," 92; Manuel González Jiménez, "La caballería popular andaluza (siglos XIII-XV)," in *A través de Sevilla y de Andalucía. Estampas de historia medieval* (Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, 2011), 139-42.

by the Cortes of Alcalá de Henares in 1348, this measure required that all men with income above a certain level must serve, providing horse and weapons. Their training, equipment, and service were the subject of constant revision and control, which quickly was linked to the above-mentioned mechanisms for quantifying wealth.[33] Participants in the *caballería de cuantía* received privileges and substantial prestige, along with the possibility of upward social mobility in the military or crown service. They also played an important role in local politics, as we shall see.

In short, major tax reforms from the reign of Alfonso XI (1311-1350) to the reign of Enrique III (1390-1406). brought about profound transformations in Castillian social and political organization. The nobility and elite *caballeros* found a new source of earnings during times of economic decline in exchange for participation in a tax system that they encouraged and military service whose parameters were being made more precise. At the same time, the supposed universality of these new sources of income for the crown expanded royal jurisdiction as the crown could more closely define who was obliged to pay. This led to stricter definitions of exemption, which began being used as a mechanism of social distinction. Differences became more firmly established thanks to the new classification of wealth, a clear-cut distinction between *vecinos* and non-*vecinos*, and a new hierarchy of political, military, and fiscal rights and obligations on the local level.

The rise and consolidation of municipal elites in the fourteenth century

Andalusia played a critical role in the creation of a new fiscal paradigm because of its status as a border region, its recent and incomplete resettlement by Christians, and the permanent threat from the neighboring Muslim kingdom of Granada, all of which allowed the monarchy a greater role. Indeed, the crown implemented new tax measures there before trying them out in the rest of the peninsula.[34] The alcabala was imposed in Andalusia and Murcia in 1333, before the Cortes actually approved it in 1342.[35] Other reforms, however, did not end up being extended beyond Andalusia, which thus retained some of its particularity. That was the case with certain municipal taxes and the so-called *fuero de Andalucía*, the obligation of the Andalusian nobility to pay direct taxes to the crown.[36]

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33 The linkage between military reviews and tax rolls can be seen clearly in certain royal orders, such as that signed by Juan II in 1410 in Jerez de la Frontera, leaving the matter in the hands of the collectors of *monedas*; Archivo Municipal de Jerez de la Frontera, Actas Capitulares [hereafter Act. Cap] 1410, fols. 11r-v.

34 Ladero, *Fiscalidad y poder real*, 173.

35 *Colección de documentos para la Historia del reino de Murcia* [hereafter CODOM], vol. 6, doc. 257.

36 María Concepción Quintanilla Raso and María Asenjo González, "Los hidalgos en la sociedad andaluza a fines de la Edad Media," in José Enrique López de Coca Castañer and Ángel Galán Sánchez, eds, *Las ciudades andaluzas. Actas del VI Coloquio International de Historia Medieval de Andalucía* (Málaga: Universidad de Málaga, 1991), 424; José Manuel Triano Milán, "Entre el deber y la defensa del privilegio, Nobleza y exención fiscal en Andalucía (ca. s. XV-principios del siglo XVI), *Chronica Nova* 46 (2020), 412; Idem, "Hidalguía y fiscalidad en Andalucía a fines de la Edad Media," in Sandra de la Torre Gonzalo, Ekaitz

The social impact of the *fuero*, which affected only the nobility, was felt immediately. Nobles and hidalgos were now obliged to pay assessments that many non-privileged though exempt individuals did not, a situation that led to incomprehension and considerable tension.[37] The measure was always defended by the crown and municipal authorities with the argument that the Andalusian frontier was in a perpetual state of emergency, given the proximity of the Muslims, and that therefore the estate assigned to military defense must also provide economic service.[38] The paradoxical result was that the principal reason for arguing that the nobility was tax-exempt, which was their military service, was now being used as an argument in favor of limiting their privilege within Andalusia.[39]

The *fuero* ended up enabling the crown to extract considerable resources for the royal treasury and, even more important, established an important precedent for its efforts to universalize taxes. There also were important social implications. Exemptions, as stated earlier, were what most clearly defined status, and exemption was what the *fuero* most affected. As a result, the Andalusian nobility lost one of its most important elements of social distinction. This was not the case for the highest-ranking members of the estate, who were clearly recognizable and had a variety of means for making their political and social position known. But the lower nobility was another story. What was often the only distinction between hidalgos and the rest of the population had now disappeared. As a result, their social rank was now in question, while others, who had no noble blood, could push them aside and take their local and regional political posts. Thus, *hidalguía* lost importance as an operative social category in Andalusia throughout the second half of the fourteenth century and much of the fifteenth.[40]

The *fuero* of Andalusia was not the only measure that ended up blurring differences between hidalgos and everyone else. The monarchy, which needed to expand its military and relied upon the dynamism of the *caballería de cuantía*, reduced the economic requirements for entering it.[41] As a result, *caballeros* who became dominant

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Etxeberria Gallastegi, and José Ramón Díaz de Durana, eds, Valer más en la tierra. Poder, violencia y linaje en el País Vasco bajomedieval (Madrid: Sílex, 2000), 341-64, pp. 347-49.

[37] Collantes de Terán Sánchez, "Los sevillanos ante el impuesto," 310. There are many references in the documents regarding resistance to these assessments, especially in the hinterland; on hidalgos' opposition to paying the royal tax in Fregenal in 1439 and in Aracena in 1448 see Archivo Municipal de Sevilla [hereafter AMS] Act. Cap. 1439, fols. 5-6, and Act. Cap. 11-V-1448, fols. 66r-v.

[38] [Noblemen who complained to the king] "live in Andalucia, where generally the rich and the caballeros hidalgos and anyone else pay taxes, which became the custom for the common good and the defense of their lands...". *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de León y Castilla*, vol. 3 (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1866), 630, quoting Cortes de Valladolid of 1451, disp. 40.

[39] Triano Milán, "Entre el deber," 412-16.

[40] Quintanilla Raso and Asenjo González, "Los hidalgos"; Rafael Sánchez Saus, "Los hidalgos andaluces en la Edad Media," in Arsenio Dacosta, Cristina Jular, and José Ramón Díaz de Durana, eds, *Hidalgos e hidalguía en la Península Ibérica (siglos XII-XV)* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2018); Triano-Milán, "Entre el deber."

[41] The price for entry into the *caballería de cuantía* in Seville was 5,000 maravedís, though in the north it reached double that amount; *Cortes*, vol. 2, 617-18 (Cortes de Alcalá of 1348, disp. 77).

in the military gained social status over poor hidalgos, who thus were deprived of the military duties that theoretically justified their status.

The *caballeros de cuantía* then demanded more seats on city councils. Resettlement of newly Christian territories and the advantages of a borderland had already favored their upward social mobility into municipal posts. Alfonso XI's reforms accentuated this process. With the rise of the *homines novi*, hidalgos' presence was reduced, and the new men, many of them conversos, became the dominant force on city councils. Intermarriage with members of the aristocracy, shared interests, and the adoption of common cultural and social practices favored identification between these groups, so much so that the practice since the reign of Alfonso X of reserving half the public posts for hidalgos and the other half for urban *caballeros* began being dropped by mid-century.[42] The distinction lost its meaning, and *hidalguía* remained a criterion for very few posts, generally honorific ones.[43]

Seville offers a good example of this process. Its municipal elite emerged out of a blend of diverse groups after the conquest and resettlement of the territory. But in the fourteenth century, the rise of non-noble figures increased to the point that they held the majority of government posts. This development was intensified by political strife, the civil war, and the long fourteenth-century crisis.[44] The success of these new elites and their descendants generally was due to their ability to expand their holdings and marry well. It is no coincidence that by the second half of the century a significant number of city council members were related to one another.[45]

But service to the crown was an even more promising route to a seat on the council. As crown administration expanded, so too did the number of offices on the local or regional level. Some even managed to obtain posts at the royal court. Compensation often included the much desired post as city councilor (*regidor*) or a similar position. Military service in this border region was of particular interest to the monarchy and afforded rapid promotion and the consolidation of solid lineages based on what was, after all, the *caballería*'s original purpose.[46] But administrative posts were also important, especially those connected to taxes, a sector characterized by the familiar rhetoric of service to the throne and the common good and where posts offered the prospect of abundant wealth along with political power and useful contacts. The

[42] Sánchez Saus, "Los hidalgos," 223.

[43] One clear example is the mayordomazgo, the principal economic post of the Seville council; Antonio Collantes de Terán Sánchez, "La élite financiera en la Sevilla bajomedieval: los mayordomos del concejo," *Revista d'historia medieval* 11 (2000), 18.

[44] Rafael Sánchez Saus, *Las élites políticas bajo los Trastámaras. Poder y sociedad en la Sevilla del siglo XIV* (Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, 2009), 163.

[45] Rafael Sánchez Saus, "Antigüedad, riqueza y parentesco. Criterios de jerarquización en las élites concejiles en el siglo XIV," in Antonio Caballos Rufino and Ségolène Demougin, eds, *Migrare. La formation des élites dans l'Hispanie Romaine* (Bourdaux: Ausonius, 2006), 573-84, pp. 574-78.

[46] Rafael Sánchez Saus, "Los orígenes sociales de la aristocracia sevillana en el siglo XVI," *En la España Medieval* 9 (1986), 1119.

limited documentation available for the late fourteenth century indicates that many Seville *regidores* held financial posts before joining the council and often continued doing so afterwards. (See appendix.)

Despite these opportunities, however, not everyone with social status and economic means managed to obtain a seat on the city council, as the families in control were increasingly resistant to new blood.[47] But there were sites of power other than city government.[48] As a result, a new social sector began taking shape that was not part of the council elite itself but which nonetheless exercised some power. Finance was one of the key sectors that attracted this new middle class. As the tax structure expanded, specialists found a way to make a good living and at the same time gain political influence.

Among the various royal posts promising the possibility of advance, the most important were the *jurados*, elected representatives of neighborhoods or districts whose principal task was to inform the crown about anything that might affect the running of the city council.[49] There is some documentation of Seville's *jurados* asking the council or the crown that measures be taken against abuse or improprieties.[50] But documentation is scarce until well into the fifteenth century, and therefore it is difficult to say if they really acted as a counterweight to the city council.[51] We do know, however, that their jurisdictions were broad and extended beyond mere audits. Though they could not vote on the council, they could speak. They also, crucially, had considerable influence over their local parish, where they controlled public safety and markets.[52] Above all, they were essential players in the realm of municipal and royal taxation, levying and collecting taxes, both of which might include abuse or dishonesty.[53]

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47 Enrique Ruiz Pilares, *La sociedad política en Jerez de la Frontera a finales de la Edad Media* (Cádiz: Universidad de Cádiz, 2020), 116-18.

48 José María Monsalvo Antón, "Gobierno municipal, poderes urbanos y toma de decisiones en los concejos castellanos (consideraciones a través de los concejos salmantinos y abulenses)," in *Las sociedades urbanas en la España Medieval: XXIX Semana de Estudios Medievales* (Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 2003), 409-488, 451.

49 Ruiz Pilares, La sociedad política, 149 and Marcos Fernández Gómez, "Los jurados y el derecho concejil sevillano," in Marcos Fernández Gómez and Pilar Ostos Salcedo, eds, *El libro de los privilegios de los jurados de Sevilla* (Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, 2010), 67-88, pp. 79-82.

50 Two clear examples are the 1448 request to the city council to remove the new meat tax because it violated a city ordinance, and the 1452 petition to halt the concession of fortresses belonging to the city: AMS Act. Cap. 26-VI-1448, fols. 39-40; AMS Act. Cap. 6-XI-1452, fols. 7-8.

51 Fernández Gómez, "Los jurados y el derecho," 68-70.

52 Ibid, 84-86.

53 The ordinances that Alfonso XI granted the city stated that these officials must participate in tax collection and the appointment of collectors; AMS Sec. 1, Privilegios, 1:14, transcribed in Deborah Kirschberg Schenk and Marcos Fernández Gómez, *El concejo de Sevilla en la Edad Media (1248-1254). Organización institucional y fuentes documentales,* vol. 2 (Seville: Ayuntamiento de Sevilla, 2002), 75-89. Tax collectors were routinely denounced for abuses. For example, Juan González, who lived in the San Ildefonso parish, was forced to move in 1440 to escape harassment by a collector; AMS Papeles del Mayordomazgo [hereafter Pap. May.], caja 41, fols. 379f-380v.

By the end of the fourteenth century Seville's *jurados* were a heterogeneous group in terms of origin, wealth, and background.[54] As with city council seats, their posts were increasingly sought after as a means for social advance. The crown began awarding posts in return for services, which meant the post's benefits only grew in importance. Thus, a job originally conceived as a means for defending commoners began being considered a means of personal patronage.

Aristocrats and the struggle for tax privilege in the fifteenth century

Throughout the fifteenth century elites in Seville consolidated their gains and sought ways to further differentiate themselves from the rest of society. Some historians have argued that these new lineages became more "aristocratic," adopting behavior and social and cultural practices that imitated the nobility.[55] Their new definition as a group as such obliged them to more tightly control access to the town council, the institution they now dominated.[56] While this control did not entirely halt the arrival of new sectors, it was increasingly clear that it was impossible to join the council elite without their permission.

Military service was especially important as elites sought to widen the gap between them and everyone else in this border region. Aside from the opportunities already mentioned, it reinforced the ethos of *caballería* that justified their social power. While elsewhere in Europe some were questioning the sense of defining the aristocracy in terms of their military function, in Andalusia both the high aristocracy and urban elites had a clear argument in favor of their continued participation in the fight against the infidel.[57] Another way of consolidating lineages was through land. Those able to establish seigneurial estates (*señoríos*) had a considerable advantage when it came to surviving economic and political turmoil.[58] Most of these estates were in the region of Aljarafe, producing olives that were a crucial part of Seville's flourishing international trade.[59] Service to the monarchy throughout the expanding administration was another path to upward social mobility, though financial posts in Seville seem to have lost their edge. Possibly this was the result not only of the elite *caballeros* moving away from that sector but also of royal restrictions. Alfonso XI had already ruled that leasing of municipal rents was forbidden for elite council members, a measure aimed at eliminating abuse, and starting with the reign of

[54] Antonio Collantes de Terán Sánchez, "Los jurados en la sociedad sevilla (1253-122)," in Marcos Fernández Gómez and Pilar Ostos Salcedo, eds, *El libro de los privilegios de los jurados de Sevilla* (Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, 2010), 89-105, pp. 95ff.

[55] Sánchez Saus, Las élites políticas, 229ff.

[56] Jara Fuente, *Concejo, poder y élites*, 120.

[57] On this debate in Castile see Jesús D. Rodríguez Velasco, *El debate sobre la caballería en el siglo XV. La tratadística caballeresca en su marco europeo* (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, 1996), 289-316.

[58] Sánchez Saus, "Antigüedad, riqueza y parentesco," 583.

[59] Mercedes Borrero Fernández, "Los cambios en la política de formación patrimonial de la oligarquía de Sevilla a finales de la Edad Media: el ejemplo de una familia de jurados," *Meridíes* 3 (1996), 161-74, p. 162.

Enrique III that limitation extended to all royal rents.[60] Thus by the 1430s, the *mayordomos* (council stewards or treasurers) and their post, the *mayordomazgo*, were no longer in the hands of *regidores*; the post was now controlled by the new middle class.[61] At the same time, the number of *regidores* holding royal financial posts was reduced. It was no longer the case that the most important treasurers and controllers all came from Seville, though it is true that many elite men did continue their involvement in that sector. Juan Manuel Bello and Pablo Ortego have identified more than twenty such figures in Seville from 1480-1504 who were either members of the city council or close relatives of *regidores*.[62]

While the lineages did everything they could to underline their distinction, there were obstacles in this regard. First was their uncertain origin. Though genealogy, the language of power, had not been extensively developed during the fifteenth century, we still find testimony claiming aristocratic pasts for some of the city's leading families. The most common recourse was to claim a (real or fictitious) link to one of the two hundred *caballeros hidalgos* who had conquered the city of Seville.[63]

The second obstacle, something that had, ironically, helped many of these families achieve their position in the first place, was the *fuero* of Andalusia. Loss of fiscal exemption deprived them of one of their favorite tools for establishing their superiority, leaving them at a disadvantage vis-à-vis elites in the rest of the crown of Castile. They took a two-pronged approach to resolving the issue. First, families of city council members tried to avoid having to pay direct taxes not because they were noblemen but because of the service they had provided the king through their offices. That is what happened in 1442 when members of the city council ordered that collection of the *pedido regio* (one of two means for collecting revenues from the Cortes, the other being *monedas*) be halted so they could ask the king to exempt them from such an offensive tax.[64] The request went nowhere. The king refused to give up both the important revenues derived from the tax and his authority to impose it. Therefore, Seville municipal elites tried to make a distinction as concerned taxes or, more precisely, assessments on wealth. Unlike in the rest of Andalusia and Murcia, there was no tax roll of hidalgos separate from other taxpayers, because doing so would have made clear the very non-aristocratic origins of some of the city's most important families.[65] Instead, lists were drawn up including all the nobility as well as leading members of the military orders and the elites on the city council, along with

[60] AMS Sec. 1, Privilegios, 15:3.

[61] Collantes de Terán Sánchez, "La élite financiera," 21-22.

[62] Juan Manuel Bello León and Pablo Ortego Rico, *Los agentes fiscales en la Andalucía Atlántica a finales de la Edad Media. Materiales de trabajo y propuesta de estudio* (Murcia: Sociedad Española de Estudios Medievales, 2019), 156-67.

[63] Sánchez, Saus, "Los orígenes sociales," 1126.

[64] AMS Pap. May., caja 43, fols. 96r-97v.

[65] Sánchez Saus, "Los hidalgos andaluces," 234.

what each one owed regardless of their holdings.[66] There were two advantages to this approach. From an economic angle, the amounts owed, established by a council most of whose members were on the list, were far below what they would have paid based on their wealth. And from the perspective of social status, the lists were even better, as having one's name there meant their holdings would not be audited, given that those on the list were different than the rest, even if they paid the same taxes.

At the same time as they were defining themselves in this manner, the new elites also more clearly delineated their social position and their participation in local politics. One of their principal ambitions had to do with finance, a field in which they were increasingly involved, to the point that by the end of the century they were sidelining older families in the field.[67] Certain individuals had particular influence over local finance and key financial posts such as mayordomo. Some historians have described this process as the emergence of a true economic elite linked to finance.[68] But though taxation was undoubtedly important, even more important for these people were the *juradurías*, which were desirable for their own sake, not just as a means for obtaining a seat at the city council table. In return for services, the crown handed out these posts, which increasingly were lifetime appointments and could even be inherited.[69] As a result, the social heterogeneity that earlier had marked jurados was now a thing of the past. Jurados were increasingly similar to council elites; they were all keenly interested in military service, advantageous marriages, and their own wealth.[70]

The end of mobility? Evaluation of exemptions and the resurgence of *hidalguía* in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries

The process by which the new elites took on the appearance of an aristocracy and began occupying municipal posts has led some historians to say that they had closed themselves off by the end of the fifteenth century.[71] Yet there are many indications that social mobility continued to be common and that this social group continued undergoing transformations. Indeed, one sees increasing efforts at social delineation affecting not only the group but everyone in urban society. Dividing lines among social sectors were more visible, while mobility among them also was defined. Again, tax exemption played a key role.

[66] Lists for 1432 and 1453: AMS Pap. May., caja 36, fols. 37r-38v; and caja 52, fols. 407r-409v; published in José Manuel Triano Milán, *La llamada del rey y el auxilio del reino. Del pedido regio a las contribuciones de la Santa Hermandad (1406-1498)* (Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, 2018), 263-65 and 703-704.

[67] Bello y Ortego, Los agentes fiscales, 167-80.

[68] Collantes de Terán Sánchez, "La élite financiera," 15-17.

[69] Hipólito Rafael Oliva Herrer, "'El estado y la gobernación de la ciudad.' Una mirada a los jurados sevillanos a fines de la Edad Media," in Isabel Montes Romero-Camacho, ed., *El reino de Sevilla en la Baja Edad Media. 30 años de investigación (1989-2019)* (Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, 2022), 533-52, pp. 538-39.

[70] Ruiz Pilares, *La sociedad política*, 60-61.

[71] Ibid, 105.

By the end of the fifteenth century, municipal elites had reached their goal of setting themselves apart. The great families of Seville were easily recognized throughout society and were increasingly mingling with the high nobility, with whom they were linked through a variety of clientage networks.[72] Two elements helped bring about this situation: the gradual elimination of the *fuero* of Andalusia, and attainment of the longed-for tax exemptions. Again, this was due to major transformations in crown finance after it became more than apparent that the old system was not working, a problem seen particularly during the reign of Enrique IV.[73] One way or another, the crown had managed to find a way out thanks to reduced military spending during the fifteenth century. But once Ferdinand and Isabel took the throne of Castile, things changed. The Castilian War of Succession (1475-79), which also involved Portugal, was very expensive and as a result made it clear that reforms were required. That was followed by the War of Granada (1482-92) and the first war with Italy (1494-98).[74] In particular, the reforms affected extraordinary taxes, with two important modifications: definition of the taxable population and reduction of many exemptions. After much discussion, the monarchy confirmed tax privileges for the clergy and the nobility and for people working directly for the crown. The rest were either placed in doubt or simply eliminated.[75]

Technically these changes did not affect the *fuero* of Andalusia, but the nobility and the urban elites saw them as an opportunity to dodge their tax obligations. City council members were the first to take that stance, claiming exemptions by saying that they served the crown and, therefore, the common good.[76] Their aggressive stance marked a contrast with the crown's constant and somewhat hollow reiterations regarding their obligation to pay.[77] The crown, in fact was ambivalent; on the one hand it defended the *fuero*, but on the other it needed the municipal elites to extract taxes from everyone else and therefore had to keep them happy. The *regidores*' success on this count signaled a way forward that quickly everyone else included in the *fuero* began taking, though with mixed results. With the conquest of Granada in 1492, the justification for making demands on the nobility disappeared, and slowly the *fuero* lost its raison d'être.[78]

Opposition to the *fuero* and the elites' desire to distinguish themselves from the rest had worked in favor of reviving the *hidalguía*.[79] The monarchy took full advantage

[72] For example, Francisco García Fitz, Deborah Kirschberg, and Marcos Fernández Gómez, 1444: *Sevilla en guerra* (Seville: Diputación de Seville, 2015).
[73] Triano Milán, La llamada del rey, 92-98 and 213-230.
[74] Ibid, 231-42 and 477ff.
[75] Ibid, 484-88.
[76] Juan Manuel Carretero Zamora, "Las oligarquías locales y los mecanismos de exención del servicio de Cortes en época de Carlos V," *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma*. Serie IV. *Historia Moderna* 11 (1998), 12-13.
[77] Examples in Carmona (Archivo de la Real Chancillería de Granada [hereafter ARCHGR], pleitos, caja 14174, pieza 12); Jerez (AGS Cámara de Castilla, Pueblos, leg. 9 fols 322, 337-39, 340, 364); and Antequera (ARCHGR pleitos, caja 780, pieza 4; and caja 098, pieza 15).
[78] Crawford, The fight for status, 49-58; Triano Milán, "Entre el deber," 421-27.
[79] Sánchez Saus, "Los hidalgos andaluces," 238.

of this situation. Since the end of the fourteenth century it had tried, with uneven success, to control access to and recognition of the lower levels of the nobility.[80] Unlike with the *hidalguía de sangre*, the crown here tried linking *hidalguía* to service. Under that system it would be the king who would grant the honor, or remove it. That was the theory. In fact, monarchs did not have the ability to control that reality or to impose their will over a complex web of local legal traditions throughout the kingdom. So, the monarchy took another tack. The 1492 Pragmática de Córdoba declared that town councils would act as first-instance judges in cases concerning hidalgos, while higher royal courts would take appeals.[81] In practice this was an admission that the matter would and should remain in the hands of the municipal elites.

Thus city-council families managed to legitimate their dominance and control social reproduction. *Regidores* tended to ratify hidalgos' requests given that a negative vote might reveal their non-aristocratic origins.[82] There was a tendency to reject requests from outside the city that might upset the status quo. When local courts did not confirm *hidalguía*, appeals were lodged, generally to the Chancillería.[83] There, the challenge was to prove *hidalguía* without proof; earlier, proof was easy to provide in the form of tax exemption, but this was difficult to do now because the *fuero*, though constantly challenged, was still being implemented. Thus, after the royal treasury gave elites responsibility for tax collection and management, in cities such as Seville they also could control access to the lower ranks of the nobility. At the end of the fifteenth century, towns took advantage of their new jurisdictions and modified tax rules. Either to collect more or simply to satisfy local elites' interests, traditional direct impositions were now made indirect and therefore more effective[84] As a result, Seville was free to create a new mechanism of social distinction. In the early sixteenth century, royal taxes were paid in part through a sales tax on meat, and it was through that tax that the city established an exemption for hidalgos and the clergy. With the crown's permission, the city drew up a list of those who were exempt, which the royal tribunals of justice from then on accepted as proof of *hidalguía*.[85]

As a result of all this, *hidalguía* as a social category was revalued not only among the elites who controlled the city council but also among the middle class who wished for

[80] Díaz de Durana, "La otra nobleza," 361-363.

[81] *Nueva Recopilación*, Book, 2, tit. 11, law 8 (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1775), 237-42.

[82] Carretero Zamora, "Las oligarquías locales," 23.

[83] On the Chancillería of Granada, see Crawford, The fight for status, 47; and Domingo Centenero Arce, "De lo cuantitativo a lo cualitativo: Los pleitos de hidalguía y la tratadística jurídica. 1500-1700," *Obradoiro de historia moderna* 24 (2015), 289-308. On the Chancillería of Valladolid, whose jurisdiction lay north of the Tagus River, see Drelichman, "Son of something" 616.

[84] Antonio Collantes de Terán Sánchez, "Teoría y práctica de la obligación fiscal en la Andalucía bajomedieval: impuestos directos versus impuestos indirectos," in Carlos Martínez Shaw, Pedro Tedde de Lorca, and Santiago Tinoco Rubiales, eds, *Andalucía, España, las Indias: pasión por la historia: homenaje al profesor Antonio-Miguel Bernal* (Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, 2015), 145-64.

[85] Crawford, *The fight for status*, 49-58.

greater distinction. Regardless of their past, many managed to take advantage of the new situation, which led to sometimes remarkable situations in which hidalgos might descend from obviously taxpaying families, conversos, or outsiders. One case was the Genovese families who settled in Seville; the Pinelo family, for example, managed to get recognized as hidalgos by arguing that they had enjoyed a similar status in Genoa.[86]

As *hidalguía* became a key element of social distinction in Seville, the middle class continued asserting its influence locally. They were increasingly involved in taxation, as we have seen. Military service was still relevant, though after the conquest of the Kingdom of Granada attention shifted to North Africa and the new fronts opened up by Castile's ambitious international activities. There were new bureaucratic opportunities, new posts and offices, with the office of *contino regio* being the most paradigmatic.[87]

The post of jurado, meanwhile, had become almost exclusively middle class. Their growing social and political relevance went hand-in-hand with institutional definition and strategies aimed at protecting privileges and reaffirming identity.[88] Though some jurados continued doing their assigned job, there are many indications that taxpayers felt increasingly distant from their alleged representatives.[89] In some cities, in fact, tasks formerly assigned to jurados were repackaged into new jobs, indicating the jurados' duties had been intentionally altered. The near identity of jurados and hidalgos tended to definitively cement this process.[90]

Conclusion

Castile's tax system underwent a profound transformation during the fourteenth century as a result of war and a meeting of the minds among some of the kingdom's leading political agents. Not only did this create greater resources for the king, it had a broad impact throughout society and the political world. The assumption that certain taxes were universally assessed meant that exemptions were one of the best ways of measuring status. The development of mechanisms for doing this involved very detailed registries or lists of *vecinos*' rights and obligations. At the same time, the growth of the state and its involvement in local power meant that service to the crown became one of the principal means for upward social mobility. Military service, judicial

[86] Marcos Fernández Gómez, Pilar Ostos Salcedo, and María Luisa Pardo Rodríguez, *Tumbo de los Reyes Católicos en el concejo de Sevilla*, vol. 9 (Seville: Diputación de Sevilla, 2001), 471-73.

[87] Ruiz Pilares, La sociedad política, 178-79.

[88] María Luisa Pardo Rodríguez, "El libro de los jurados de Sevilla de 1517: estrategias materiales en la construcción de una memoria institucional," *Edad Media. Revista de Historia* 13 (2012), 183-205, pp. 197-98.

[89] The above-mentioned conflicts in Carmona and Antequera illustrate tensions between city councilmen and the jurados.

[90] *Ordenanças de Sevilla* (Seville, 1527), 15. The city ordinances specified that all those who held the post of jurado for the first time would now be considered hidalgos, with which commoners' representatives were now, effectively noblemen.

and administrative posts, and tax collection were among the most common examples. Tax posts in particular, requiring both specialization and considerable wealth, were an enormously efficient way for urban elites to consolidate their position.

In Seville, a tax system defined around differences between hidalgos and non-hidalgos, along with royal efforts to encourage the *caballería de cuantia*, led to local lineages slowly taking control of the city council. The group at first was heterogeneous, but over time began adopting practices and behavior of the high nobility. That, along with intermarriage and tight control over social mobility, led to a sharper distinction among social groups in the city. However, their goals were to some degree limited by the *fuero* of Andalusia and the disappearance of tax exemptions, the best and clearest indicator of status. Throughout the fifteenth century, elites in Seville were constantly struggling to obtain the same privileges enjoyed by their counterparts throughout Castile. By the end of the century, important tax reforms and the return of the *hidalguía* to some extent dampened the need for such efforts.

While elites worked to define themselves as a group, a similar process was taking place just below them with the emergence of a middle class. The newcomers, despite their enormous social and economic dynamism, could not always obtain desirable seats on the city council, forcing them to seek other avenues to political prominence by serving the crown or holding certain municipal posts. They particularly favored tax posts, replacing city councilmen who faced new restrictions. The reproduction of certain elite practices and the institutional definition of their posts marked the upward movement of the middle class toward the end of the century.

None of these developments were linear or direct. There were constant political, economic, and social advances and setbacks during this turbulent period. There were interclass conflicts on the city council reflecting families' particular clientage networks and the interests of the nobility as they all fought for control. Desire to dominate the council produced hostility both toward peers outside the city and toward the Seville middle class that was knocking on the council's door. Aristocratization and the growing gap between high and low through mechanisms such as *hidalguía* did not remove the threat of social mobility, however. Seville's enormously dynamic economy meant that many middle-class families acquired wealth and influence that far surpassed that of the old ruling elites whom they sometimes managed to push aside. Many of these new families were conversos; along with institutional hostility toward those with Jewish origins, notably the establishment of the Inquisition in 1480, the old ruling families did what they could to halt conversos' upward mobility. Their efforts were in vain. In the following decades, commercial expansion and a growing economy spurred the relentless upward mobility of a long list of powerful families engaged in finance. Those whose ancestors had been Jews, such as the Alcázar and the Alemán families, now sat atop Seville's political system as the flourishing middle class consolidated and spread its influence.

Name	Municipal post	Year	Financial post
Luis Bocanegra	Regidor (town councillor) (1389)	1389-1390	Chief steward (*mayordomo*) of the city council
		1399	Solicitor to negociate city tax matters with the crown
Sologrús Bocanegra	Regidor (1414)	1394	Collector of royal rents in the Seville archbishopric and thebishopric of Cadiz
		1406?	Military treasurer
Guillén de las Casas[1]	Regidor ¿1374?	1374	Chief treasurer of Andalusia
		1381-1382	*Mayordomo* of the city council
Martín Fernández Cerón	Regidor (1381)	1380	Collector of tax to pay for four royal galley ships
	Alcalde mayor (local appellate judge) (1400)	1392-1393	*Mayordomo* of the city council
	Fiel ejecutor (1408)		
Alfonso Fernández Fuentes	Regidor (1372)	1372-1373 y 1376-1377	*Mayordomo* of the city council
		1376	Requisitioner of the goods of Yusaf Pichón, *Contador mayor* (Chief treasurer of the king), who was disgraced
		1377	Collector of taxes paid by commoners for the navy
Alonso Fernández de Marmolejo	Jurado (1377-1380)	1378	Collector of taxes paid by commoners for the navy
	Regidor (1380)	1384-1385	Assistant *mayordomo*
		1384-1394	City council accountant
		1388	Chief treasurer of Seville mint
Francisco Fernández de Marmolejo	Regidor (1387)	1383 y 1387	Contador mayor (Chief treasurer of the King)
		1387-1388 y 1397-1399	*Mayordomo* of the city council
Alonso Fernández Melgarejo	Jurado	1382	Chief treasurer of Andalusia
	Regidor (1390)		
Fernando Guillén de Villafranca	Regidor (1370)	?	Chief treasurer of Andalusia?
		1374-1375 y 1378-1379	*Mayordomo* of the city council
Alfonso Martínez	Regidor	1383-1384	*Mayordomo* of the city council
Nicolás Martínez de Medina	Jurado (1385?)	1387	Collector of alcabalas in Seville
		1400?	Chief treasurer of Andalusia
	Regidor (1400)	1405	Collector of fines levied after the 1391 pogrom
		1406	Chief treasurer of the *pedido*
Juan Martínez de Medina	Regidor (1385)	1384	Royal moneylender
		1385-1386	Mayordomo of the city council
Juan Martínez de Sevilla	Regidor (1383)	1384	Outfitter of royal fleet
		1383-1385 y 1402-1407	Mayordomo of the city council
	Fiel ejecutor (1396)	1390	Tax farmer for meat tax

Table 1. Seville city council members and their financial posts (1368-1414).

[1] His father and grandfather also held important tax posts in royal service.

Name	Municipal post	Year	Financial post
Pedro de Monsalve	Regidor (1370)	1371?	Collector of *tercias reales* in Seville archbishopric
		1368-1370	Mayordomo of the city council
Ruy Pérez Esquivel	Regidor (¿1381?)	1369	Tax farmer, Murcia mint
		1371?	Contador mayor (Chief treasurer of the king)
		1378?	Chief treasurer of Andalusia
	Alcalde mayor (local appellate judge)	1388	Collector of servicio, Carmona
Fernando Pérez de Villafranca	Regidor (1386)	1366	Moneylender, town of Niebla
		1388-1389	Mayordomo of the city council
Pedro Rodríguez Esquivel	Regidor (1385)	1386-1387	Mayordomo of the city council
		1397 y 1400	Collector of council taxes
Miguel Ruiz	Regidor (¿1373?)	1373-1374 y 1377-1378	Mayordomo of the city council
		1376-1381? y 1384-1385	Chief treasurer of Andalusia
		1380	Collector of monedas, Murcia
Alfonso Sánchez de Triana	Regidor (1371)	1371	Mayordomo of the city council
		1376	City council accountant
		1378	Collector, city cleaning fees
Martín Yáñez de Aponte	Regidor	1368	Chief treasurer
	Alcalde mayor (local appellate judge)		

AMS, Pap. May., 1377-1380, Docs. 1-4, 8, 10-11; 1381-1382, Doc. 15; 1383-1384, Doc. 2; 1384-1386, Docs. 34, 54, 123, 130, 133, 137, 143; 1386-1387, Docs. 4, 14, 21; 1387-1388, Doc. 11; 1393-1395, 4; 1396-1400, Doc. 10. CODOM, vol. 8, pp. 183-189; vol. 11, pp. 5-7. See also Gálvez and Triano Milán, "Tesoreros"; and Sánchez Saus, *Las élites políticas*, 49-140.

Table 1. Continued.

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Judeoconversos, intermediate groups and social ascent in Golden Age Spain: the foundes of the University of Baeza[1]

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Introduction[1]

It is clear that the study of Judeo-converts (*judeoconversos*) in late medieval and modern Spain has not received the historiographical attention that it deserves; not when we consider the fact that it was an essential phenomenon in the historical development of our country, and its importance to fields such as literature, philosophy, culture, art… Virtually nothing of the Golden Age can be understood without grasping the role played by this particular community, united above all by the ties generated by the discrimination they suffered for their *sangre impura*: impure blood.

It may seem strange for me to assert this when, after all, there are thousands of works on the Inquisition. It is true that these types of studies abound, and even more could be written given the incredible impact that the fearsome tribunal of faith had, but these studies have largely ignored the *judeoconversos* and *judaizantes* (crypto-Jews). There *is* a relationship between these groups and the Inquisition, and a very direct one, of course, but they are, nevertheless, very different things. We have only skimmed the surface of the phenomenon, as it were, analyzing only those prosecuted by the Holy Office; that is, the exceptions to the rule. In doing so, we have forgotten the rest, perhaps 90% of the total, those who survived the maelstrom, some faring better or worse; those who escaped into oblivion, and, especially, those who thrived and ascended the social ladder, of whom there were many.

This brief work is about them, a first examination of the group of New Christians (*cristianos nuevos*) who settled, since ancient times, in the city of Baeza, then located in the prosperous Kingdom of Jaén, one of the Spanish Monarchy's most interesting groups; not only for their numbers, which were considerable, or for their wealth and influence, which, over time, was great, but rather for being the creators of a very special institution: the Universidad de Baeza, a veritable hotbed of converts that stood

[1] This work is part of the La Mesocracia en la Andalucía de los Siglos XVI and XVII. *Poder, Familia y Patrimonio* Research Project (PID2019-109168GB-I00), funded by the Ministry of Science and Innovation, Ministry of Economy and Competitiveness.

out and shone, and that arbored, for much of his life, a key historical figure: San Juan de Ávila. The following pages look at who the founders of this temple of knowledge were and their family and social circumstances.

The University of Baeza

As is well known, this educational institution, the University of Baeza, was founded by a papal bull in 1538, when Pope Paul III ordered the construction of a university in the Jaén city, one of several smaller universities (*universidades menores*) that existed in Spain (along with, for example, that of Osuna), which rounded out a national panorama dominated by the large ones of Salamanca and Valladolid, along with Alcalá de Henares, Santiago de Compostela, Seville and Granada.

In this way the Pontiff legally endorsed the plans of Rodrigo López, an almost unknown but essential figure whom we will revisit further below. In his will this benefactor had expressed his desire to found a school (*escuela*) in his home city, thus favoring its people and facilitating their access to higher education, still expensive and elitist at the time.

From a first school of Letters it soon grew into a full-fledged university thanks to the work of priest Juan de Ávila, whose religious activity earned him the informal title of *El Apóstol de Andalucía* (1500-1569)[2] and canonization as a saint of the Catholic Church in 1946, also being designated a doctor of the Church in 2012. The Vatican's change of attitude towards him is striking, to say the least, as in 1531 he had been denounced by other clerics before the Inquisition of Seville, being prosecuted and imprisoned for two years by the Holy Office on suspicion of being *judaizante*; that is, a crypto-Jew.

Indeed, although he was not a heretic, he was a *judeoconverso*, as was the aforementioned Rodrigo López, as were all his relatives, as we will see. In addition, Juan de Ávila surrounded himself with rather heterodox clerics, who have been described as *alumbrados* (Bernardino de Carleval, Diego Pérez de Valdivia...). All of them were of identical Jewish descent, and were, sure enough, subjected to persecution by the Holy Office.

The institution having disappeared, today the indelible legacy endures of what was a prestigious cultural foundation created by *judeoconversos*, Judeo-converts, and pursuing lines of thought that sought to trace a different path in the Spanish spirituality of the Golden Age. But, who were the protagonists of this peculiar founding process?

[2] On him, well known in some ways, of interest are the works that will be mentioned below, by Father Álvaro Huerga and Luis Sala Balust. But it is opportune to also refer to the biographical summary, signed by Francisco Martín Hernández, available in the *Diccionario Biográfico Electrónico* of the Royal Academy of History, available online at: https://dbe.rah.es/biografias/13453/san-juan-de-avila.

A bit of historiography

The University of Baeza has received a relatively high degree of attention historiographically, especially in recent times. Although much remains to be learned, it is true that our knowledge of mid- and high-ranking educational institutions in the Old Regime was very limited until a few decades ago, but the number of works dedicated to it is considerable if we compare it to those on others of a similar stature (Osuna) or higher (Granada or Seville). Of course, there is still much more to be said.[3]

As concerns what I am interested in highlighting here, and providing a brief look at those works that shed light on the issue I am studying here, we must mention the well-known one by Ximénez Patón, the first to deal with the foundation of the University of Baeza. In the pages dedicated to it, however, we do not find a single piece of valuable information about the possible family ties between the three great figures who, as we will see below, were the protagonists of its foundation; let alone about the secondary characters who moved in their family circles for more than a century.[4] Somewhat later, other authors of the time provide us with a few references allowing us to trace an incipient filiation between them, the same relationships repeated *ad nauseam* by those who went on to copy them, without further research. The topic will be discussed in detail later.

Without a doubt, Álvaro Huerga has been the historian who has most notably highlighted the University of Baeza in his work, dedicating several excellent studies to the city's luminaries, later situated in their Andalusian and Hispanic sphere.[5] And at its heart, in every way, was the famous figure of San Juan de Ávila. Following a path not too far away, we must refer to Luis Sala Balust's excellent edition of the complete works of the *Apostle of Andalusia*,[6] which provides a wealth of information in the book's footnotes and introduction.

Recently, and from a philological perspective, we must point to the work of Professor María Dolores Rincón and her colleagues, which have restored the University of Baeza to its rightful place in scholarship. Heading up a large group of researchers, her own abundant publications, and those of the people working with her, have focused attention on our subject here, which is worthy of praise.[7]

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[3] A complete historiographical panorama, in Inmaculada Arias de Saavedra Alías's *La Universidad de Baeza en la Edad Moderna. Estado de la cuestión y síntesis de su trayectoria, in Universidades hispánicas: colegios y conventos universitarios en la Edad Moderna (II)*], Salamanca, 2010, pp. 15-44.

[4] Bartolomé Ximénez Patón, *Historia de la antigua y continuada nobleza de la ciudad de Jaén*, Jaén, 1628, chapter 20.

[5] The first work, Álvaro Huerga Teruelo, *Los alumbrados de Baeza*, Jaén, 1978. Recast later in *Historia de los alumbrados (1570-1630). II. Los alumbrados de la Alta Andalucía. (1575-1590),* Madrid, 1978.

[6] Juan de Ávila, *Obras completas* (Introduction, editing and notes by Luis Sala Balust and F. Martín Hernández), Madrid, 2000-2003, 4 vols.

[7] Among many other publications, I highlight here her work as an editor (together with Raúl Manchón Gómez) of the collective book *El maestro Juan de Ávila (1500-1569). Un exponente de humanismo reformista*, Madrid, 2014.

As regards this city's *judeoconversos*, the book that Professor Pedro Andrés Porras Arboledas dedicated to the *converso* communities of Baeza and Úbeda is of some interest. The great gaps in documentation that the former suffers in relation to notarial documents and other local ones mean that this contribution is less significant, in the first case, while in relation to Úbeda a remarkable number of documents is presented.[8] Equally noteworthy is the work by the aforementioned Dr. Porras Arboledas, publishing some of the few notarial records from the sixteenth century that are preserved from what were once a multitude of public notaries.[9]

For my part, I touched on the subject recently in an article dedicated to the survival of a large group of *conversos* from Jaén after the Inquisitorial repression, and their subsequent social insertion, among which several from the Baeza area stand out; specifically, the Herreras, but also the Molinas and Dávilas, among others with a more limited presence.[10]

From the rest of the publications on Baeza, as well as old histories, and recent Art History studies, some information of limited value has been culled as regards what interests us here, although, in the future I am sure they will be much more valuable when the study of the *judeoconversos*, as a group, is approached in a comprehensive way.[11]

The genealogy of a very complex family group

To date, we know almost nothing about who the protagonists of the foundation of this university were, having only a few bits of information, often repeated *ad infinitum* by different sources, but without further basic research providing new information. These often consist of names, positions and a kind of postscript that is systematically reiterated: "nephew of" (*sobrino de*). There are few strands with which to weave anything of value.

[8] Pedro Andrés Porras Arboledas, *Las comunidades conversas de Úbeda y Baeza en el siglo XVI*, Jaén, 2008.

[9] Pedro Andrés Porras Arboledas, "El protocolo más antiguo de Baeza (enero-febrero de 1516)", *Acta historica et archaeologica mediaevalia*, 26 (2005), pp. 1123-1140, recast and expanded in "Los protocolos de Úbeda (1506-1507) y de Baeza (1512). Regesta de su contenido e índices", *Cuadernos de Historia del Derecho*, 14 (2007), pp. 207-283. The list of 16th-century records preserved for this city, unfortunately very scarce, is found in Rafael Rodríguez-Moñino Soriano *et alii*, "Catálogo de los protocolos notariales de Baeza," in the *Boletín de Información del Ilustre Colegio Notarial de Granada*, 85 (1988), pp. 143-163.

[10] Enrique Soria Mesa, "De la represión inquisitorial al éxito social. La capacidad de recuperación de los judeoconversos andaluces entre los siglos XV-XVII: el ejemplo del linaje Herrera," *Medievalismo*, 24 (2014), pp. 399-417.

[11] Among many other studies, I refer to the works of Francisco de Bilches, *Santos y santuarios del obispado de Jaén y Baeza...*, Madrid, 1653; Fernando de Cózar, *Noticias y documentos para la Historia de Baeza*, Jaén, 1884 (ed. facsímil de Granada, 2006); Rafael Rodríguez-Moñino Soriano, *El archivo de la antigua Universidad de Baeza*, Baeza, 1989, and *Aproximación a la historia eclesiástica de la ciudad de Baeza (Jaén),* Jaén, 2000; "La universidad de Baeza a la sombra de Pedro Fernández de Córdoba", *Liceo Franciscano*, 166-168 (2003), pp. 378-393; *La Universidad de Baeza. Documentos para su historia* (estudio preliminar, selección y transcripción de documentos por Antonio Ortega Ruiz), Sevilla, 2015, 2 vols.

In this regard, the old text by Martín de Ximena Jurado is canonical; he, in the mid-seventeenth century, and in his particular catalogue of bishops of Jaén, gives us a certain family context in this long text:

> "In the same year of 1538... Dr. Rodrigo López, a native of Baeza, a chaplain and relative of the Supreme Pontiff Paul III, founded in this city the Schools and University that are in it... for whose endowment the same founder and the venerable Pedro López, a **relative** of his, a native of Baeza and archdeacon of Campos at the Church of Palencia, united and furnished them, with apostolic authority, with seven benefices that both had in this bishopric and the abbey of Alcalá la Real... Of which the first patrons and perpetual administrators were the venerable Juan de Ávila... and Dr. Rodrigo Pérez de Molina... Dr. Rodrigo Pérez de Molina... was succeeded by his brother, Canon Juan Ruiz de Molina, and the latter, in turn, by Pedro Fernández de Córdoba, Canon of Jaén, who left as his successor his nephew Miguel Fernández de Córdoba, Chief Chaplain of the Chapel of San Juan Evangelista of the same Schools."[12]

In my view, this is where the rest of the successive mentions of kinship between them comes from. Not even an author as concerned with genealogy as Francisco de Torres indicates anything relevant about these founding lineages, despite discussing them at length.[13]

For my part, systematically poring over documents about Castile's nobility and local elites, for 25 years, has borne fruit. I currently have considerable information on Baeza's *judeoconversos*, and with this data I have been able to correctly reconstruct the group, a very large set of families comprising it, as well as to determine the Judaic origins of all of them.

The General Archive of Simancas, National Historical Archive, Library of the Royal Academy of History, National Library of Spain, Archive of the Royal Chancellery of Granada, Historical Records Archive of Granada, Archive of the Diocesan Curia of Granada, Provincial Historical Archive of Cordoba and the Municipal Archive of Baeza[14] are some of the facilities that contain the files and manuscripts that have allowed me to reconstruct dozens of lineages of *converso* families from Baeza.

On this occasion, for obvious reasons of space and opportunity, only a few notes will be featured, relating to the concrete branch that concerns us here. The rest, little by little, will appear in several volumes of genealogies dedicated to this city and this very

[12] Martín de Ximena Jurado, *Catálogo de los obispos de las iglesias catedrales de la diócesis de Jaén*, Jaén, 1654, p. 468.

[13] Francisco de Torres, *Historia de Baeza* (edited by José Rodríguez Molina), Baeza, 1999.

[14] In the latter case, I am grateful for the kindness of my disciple and great friend, Dr. Rafael Girón Pascual, for having provided me with some interesting information from the depleted notarial records from the 16th century.

particular social community. These will constitute the first volume in a long series of books dedicated to reconstructing, to the best of my ability, all the major *judeoconverso* lineages of Spain, including those of Las Indias (Spain's overseas colonies), from their Hebraic origins to their definitive inclusion in the dominant echelons of society, and their future ascent, in many cases, to noble status.

In any case, it seems clear that we are dealing here with three different moments, embodied in two family groups, forming a single and very complex kinship network. To this we could add (I will not cover them here, but rather in future works) the following generations of patrons, Canon Miguel Fernández de Córdoba, Pedro's nephew; and Dr. Francisco Yáñez de Herrera... all of whom were directly related to each other, although it is not always easy to establish their exact filiation. Let us look at this in some detail.

The origin of this whole foundational movement, comprised of several successive waves, was the Baeza cleric Rodrigo López, aka Rodrigo López de Molina, a relative of Pope Paul III who was able, like so many other Spanish *judeoconversos* of the time, to accumulate an incredible number of benefices thanks to his close relationship with the Roman Curia, reduced to a veritable marketplace of such perquisites, bordering on simony.

Dr. Antonio J. Díaz Rodríguez has recently explained to us the mechanisms of this shady world of influence peddling, covert venality, massive corruption and intermediaries of power in several works of great interest, revealing a fascinating socio-political world until a few years ago completely ignored by national and international historiography.[15]

Having managed to accumulate a secure a considerable revenue stream through the collection of rents, Rodrigo López's sincere piety allowed him to construct a building, material and immaterial, of the greatest significance in his home city. With him, family efforts were combined to bring this colossal task to fruition; tainted origins were cleansed, and a form of religiosity was embraced in which they moved much more comfortably; the same as Juan de Ávila's, with whom they collaborated extensively, but also that of Santa Teresa de Jesús, charged with similar and contemporaneous tasks.

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[15] Antonio J. Díaz Rodríguez, "La especulación beneficial entre Roma y España (ss. XVI-XVII)", in Galera Andreu, Pedro Antonio y López Arandia, Mª Amparo (eds), *Un humanista giennense en Roma. Gutierre González Doncel*, Jaén, 2016 (In print)"; "Papal Bulls and Converso Brokers: New Christian agents at the service of the Spanish Monarchy in the Roman Curia (1550-1650)", *Journal of Levantine Studies*, 6 (2016); "Un mercado beneficial: la mercantilización de beneficios eclesiásticos en Castilla y Portugal", in Iglesias Rodríguez, J.J., Pérez García, R.M. and Fernández Chaves, M.F. (eds), *Comercio y cultura en la Edad Moderna*, Sevilla, 2015, pp. 1125-1140; *El clero catedralicio en la España moderna: los miembros del cabildo de la catedral de Córdoba (1475-1808),* Murcia, 2012; "La instrumentalización de los cabildos catedrales. Los Salazar como estudio de caso de la minoría judeoconversa", in Enrique Soria Mesa y Antonio J. Díaz Rodríguez (eds), *Iglesia, poder y fortuna. Clero y movilidad social en la España moderna*, Granada, 2012, pp. 115-137; "El precio del nepotismo. Coadjutoría y resigna en las catedrales andaluzas (ss. XVI-XVIII)", *Chronica Nova*, 35 (2009), pp. 287-309.

Together with Rodrigo, his brother, Pedro López, contributed to the foundation by contributing large amounts of revenue from his benefices and positions, as Pedro was Archdeacon of Campos and Canon of the See of Palencia. These two brothers, therefore, were involved in the first founding phase, dated from 1538.

The next impulse was provided by a new generation, and took place around 1568, the date of the will of Dr. Rodrigo Pérez de Molina, also an Archdeacon of Campos. This remarkable character, as much a convert as those aforementioned, and those who will follow, was Rodrigo and Pedro's nephew. The filiation between the groups, long cast in doubt, was resolved by my discovery that his father was Diego de Sevilla, first cousin of the first two founders. I will provide further details on this issue in due course, but will limit myself to noting it here.

An auxiliar of this second Rodrigo, Pérez de Molina by surname, was his brother Juan Ruiz de Sevilla, a canon of Palencia, as well as many other relatives, also holding the title of Abbot of Fuente Cebadón in the Diocese of Astorga. He succeeded his brother on the Board of the fledgling foundation.

All of the above, all of this commitment to instituting the University, and the wherewithal to do so, was inherited by Canon Pedro Fernández de Córdoba, the last great figure who intervened in this first creative stage, and perhaps the most important. A nephew of all the previous figures, his filiation is much more complex, and it is still not completely clear to me. The relationship, in any case, was very close, for the parameters of the time, as evidenced by the marriage of Isabel de Sevilla, sister of the aforementioned Rodrigo Pérez de Molina and Juan Ruiz de Sevilla, to Fernando Fernández de Córdoba.

At first, I came to think that Canon Pedro Fernández de Córdoba was the fruit of said two, but this proposition is refuted by other documents, too complex to be analyzed here. Although it is far from proven, it seems that this Pedro was the son of the Contador Fernando Fernández de Cordoba and his wife María de Molina. Thus, he was a member of the same line of *conversos* from Córdoba, and, by his mother, of the Molina family, also *conversos*.

Everything becomes more complicated when we observe that husband and wife could have, in fact, been the same as those mentioned above, in the event of some nominative error, since Isabel de Sevilla was, actually, also a Molina, a surname carried by her brother Rodrigo. The problem lies not in this point, but in the fact that the first Fernández de Córdoba seems to have been the son of Rodrigo de Córdoba, while the second, the Contador, would have been the son of Juan Fernández de Córdoba. Doubts shall remain in this regard pending the discovery of new documents clarifying the question.

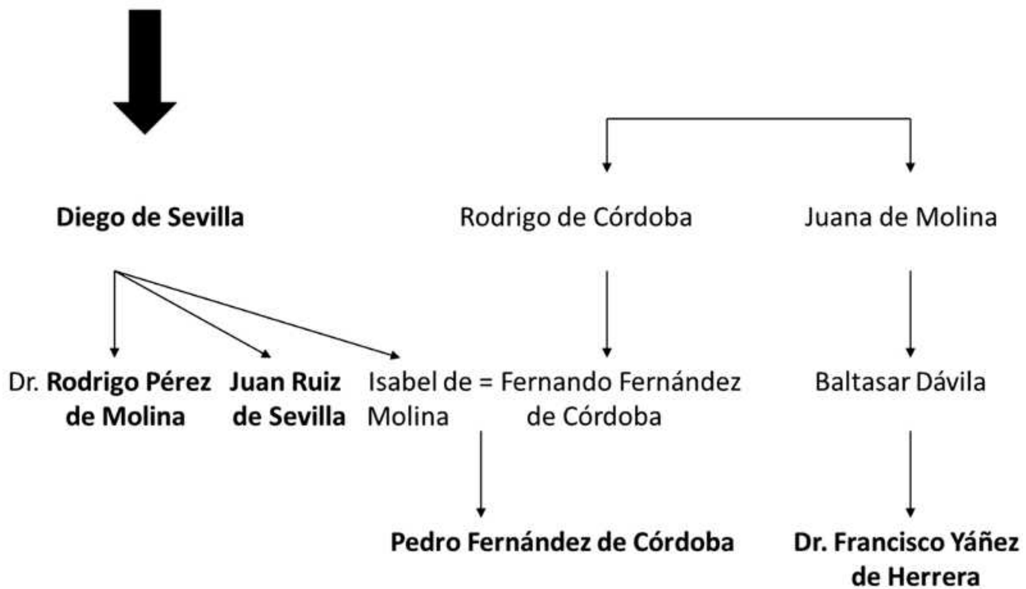

Figure 1.

The graph in Figure 1 shows us what has been expressed here, and adds to the equation the kinship relationship of the following founder, one of the most important in the second and much more opaque stage in the University of Baeza's history. I am referring to Dr. Francisco Yáñez de Ovalle, or Yáñez de Herrera. He and the other relatives related to the institution are dealt with in the appendix found at the end of this text.

Social Advancement and *limpieza de sangre* (purity of blood)

Whatever the correct family affiliations, the fact that the figures who founded the University of Baeza were *judeoconversos* is beyond question. At this point, the Hebraic origins of all the individuals involved in the key moments of the founding of the institution are clear. The contributions of the aforementioned Álvaro Huerga and, to a lesser extent, Sala Balust, evidenced decades ago the *converso* past of Rodrigo López, Rodrigo Pérez de Molina and Pedro Fernández de Córdoba, as well as Diego Pérez de Valdivia, Bernardino de Carleval and, of course, San Juan de Ávila. The Judaic origins and, in addition, the heterodox religious tendencies, of the latter three, in the eyes of the ever-vigilant Inquisition, were evidence suggesting heresy in the form of crypto-Judaism.

All this is true. But what is indicated in the previous paragraph is a broad summary of everything we know. We have nothing else. Beyond the origins of the question, and

without any further details, except those provided by Huerga, nothing else has been studied. What happened at the end of the 16th century and during the first half of the 17th?

What occurred is that the focus of attention shifted from the religious to the social sphere; from the individual to the collective; from people to families; from the evil that came from heterodox beliefs to the social sin that was a tainted ancestry.[16] I am referring, obviously, to the historical problem of *Limpieza de Sangre* (Purity of Blood).

With regards to this, for Baeza, we know almost nothing; nothing exceptional, as we still know very little about the rest of the national sphere. There has been a lot of repetitive theorizing, but it has contributed little or nothing to build on what the classics provided,[17] and they have involved very little or no consultation of archives. I have been working on this question in relation to Andalusia and Castile,[18] and mean to continue to in the coming years, this time also covering the general framework of the Spanish Monarchy.[19]

[16] I use this expression in homage to the excellent work of J.-P. Dedieu, DEDIEU, J.P., "¿Pecado original o pecado social? Reflexiones en torno a la constitución y la definición del grupo judeoconverso en Castilla", *Manuscrits*, 10 (1992), pp. 61-76.

[17] Especially Mr. Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, Julio Caro Baroja and Albert Sicroff.

[18] Without mentioning the moriscos, we can refer to these publications, among others: "Nobles advenedizos. La nobleza del reino de Granada en el siglo XVI", in E. Belenguer Cebrià (Coord.), *Felipe II y el Mediterráneo*, Vol. II, *Los grupos sociales*, Madrid, 1999, pp. 61-75; "Los judeoconversos granadinos en el siglo XVI: Nuevas fuentes, nuevas miradas", in Antonio Luis Cortés Peña y Miguel Luis López-Guadalupe (eds) *Estudios sobre Iglesia y Sociedad en Andalucía en la Edad Moderna*, Granada, 1999, pp. 101-109; *El cambio inmóvil. Transformaciones y permanencias en una elite de poder (Córdoba, siglos XVI-XIX),* Córdoba, 2000; "Las pruebas de nobleza de los veinticuatros de Córdoba. El control de la familia", in J.L. Castellano, J.P. Dedieu and Mª V. López-Cordón (eds), *La pluma, la mitra y la espada. Estudios de historia institucional en la Edad Moderna*, Madrid, 2000, pp. 291-301; "La nobleza del reino de Granada: estado de la cuestión y líneas de investigación", in Manuel Barrios Aguilera y Ángel Galán Sánchez (eds), *La Historia del Reino de Granada a debate. Viejos y nuevos temas. Perspectivas de estudio*, Málaga, 2004, pp. 369-388; "Burocracia y conversos. La Real Chancillería de Granada en los siglos XVI y XVII", in Francisco J. Aranda Pérez (Coord.), *Letrados, juristas y burócratas en la España Moderna*, Cuenca, Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 2005, pp. 107-144; "Ascenso social y legitimación en la Granada moderna: la Real Maestranza de Caballería de Granada", in Inés Gómez González and Miguel L. López-Guadalupe Muñoz (eds), *La movilidad social en la España del Antiguo Régimen*, Granada, 2007, pp. 173-192; "Tomando nombres ajenos. La usurpación de apellidos como estrategia de ascenso social en el seno de la élite granadina durante la Época Moderna", in E. Soria Mesa, J.J. Bravo Caro and J.M. Delgado Barrado (Coords.), *Las élites en la Época Moderna: la Monarquía Española. I. Visiones generales*, Córdoba, 2009, pp. 9-28; *La nobleza en la España Moderna. Cambio y continuidad*, Madrid, 2007; "Los Linajudos. Honor y conflicto social en la Granada del Siglo de Oro", in Julián Lozano Navarro y Juan Luis Castellano (coords.), *Violencia y conflictividad en el universo barroco*, Granada, 2010, pp. 401-427; "Los estatutos municipales de limpieza de sangre en la Castilla moderna. Una revisión crítica", *Mediterranea. Ricerche Storiche*, 27 (April 2013), pp. 9-36; "Los judeoconversos de Baena (siglos XV-XVII). Rechazo e integración social", *Ituci*, 4 (2014), pp. 95-106 (in collaboration with Santiago Otero Mondéjar); *El origen judío de Góngora*, Córdoba, 2015; "Góngora judeoconverso. El fin de una vieja polémica", in B. Capllonch, S. Pezzini, G. Poggi, J. Ponce Cárdenas (a cura di), *La Edad del Genio: España e Italia en tiempos de Góngora*, Pisa, 2014, pp. 415-434.

[19] This is a first glimpse at my latest book, Enrique Soria Mesa, *La realidad tras el espejo. Ascenso social y limpieza de sangre en la España de Felipe II*, Valladolid, Universidad de Valladolid-Cátedra Felipe II, 2016.

The consultation of many archival collections has allowed me to delve into the drama related to this question of *limpieza de sangre* (purity of blood) in Baeza between 1590 and 1640, with these dates denoting when this secular phenomenon reached a fever pitch. In the evidence presented by aspirants to Military Orders, and that submitted by members to obtain positions in the Holy Office, or any other type of Inquisitorial ministry, there are sometimes references to the infected blood of these Baeza families making up the broad kinship network involved in the University's founding. The names of Molina, Sevilla, Muñiz, Dávila, Herrera... appear again and again in the mouths of witnesses, who parroted what they had heard their elders say.

Of course, many of the declarants lied, whether out of friendship or self-interest, testifying that the candidates were, in fact, Old Christians, and another good percentage actually knew nothing, having forgotten, over the generations, the **stain** that afflicted them. But those who remembered, and/or those who dared to say what they knew, are key when it comes to showing the tension-fraught atmosphere spawned by discrimination based on blood lines in Golden Age Spain.

These oral testimonies are constantly reinforced by physical records in the form of *sambenitos* those surnames in some Baezan churches, infamous articles that have all but disappeared from Spanish dioceses,[20] but that are sometimes described. I am referring to the names of the prisoners, their convictions, dates, filiation (*wife of...*) and professions, on occasion. This was the case in Baeza, but, unfortunately for historians, only in some cases. Only concerning the surname Molina, these are:

Mayor de Molina, daughter of Gómez García de Molina, burned
Juana de Molina, daughter of Juan de Molina, burned
María de Molina, wife of Alonso de Molina el Chiquito, burned
Mayor Gonzalez, wife of Ruy Gonzalez de Molina, burned
Mencía Dávila, wife of Pedro de Molina, burned
Juana de Molina, wife of Fernando de Haro, burned
Gonzalo de Molina, burned
Isabel Gómez, wife of Pedro de Molina, burned
Gómez García de Molina, burned
Isabel Rodríguez, wife of Gabriel de Molina, jeweler, burned
Violante Rodríguez, wife of Gómez de Molina, burned
Teresa de Molina, daughter of Gómez García de Molina, burned
Teresa de Molina, sister of Rodrigo de Molina, burned
Rodrigo de Molina, son of Gómez de Molina, butler, burned
Ruy Gonzalez de Molina, burned
Mencía Gutiérrez, wife of Gómez García de Molina, burned
Rodrigo de Molina, reconciled

[20] The exception, at the Diocesan Museum of Tui.

Teresa de Molina, wife of Pedro de Sevilla, reconciled
Inés de Molina, reconciled
Gabriel de Molina, burned
Alonso de Molina el Chiquito, burned
Fernán Gómez de Molina, burned
García Gómez de Molina, burned[21]

Not only was the memory of these figures' infamy maintained through a fascinated contemplation of these tainted surnames in each locality, but there were also "specialists" charged with transmitting this knowledge from generation to generation. Local genealogists knew very well the true ancestry of those who had been assimilated and were beginning to form part of their city's elite, and they were often willing to charge handsome sums to not reveal the truth, blackmailing aspirants to offices, dignity and honor. If they failed to pay, they would denounce them, testifying against them, mixing truths and lies, in order to prevent them from ever entering certain military orders, inquisitorial families or chapters. These blackmailers were what were called *linajudos*.[22]

This is not the place to discuss this subject in detail, basically for reasons of space, but I cannot forego this opportunity to cite a testimony from the era, newly discovered archival data of indisputable value that will soon see the light in its entirety in the form of a specific work of greater magnitude.

A defamatory document possessed by a resident of Baeza from the late 16th-century contained a list of the main local residents of Hebrew progeny. Its caustic title, to add insult to injury, was "*Memorial of those found to be descendants of those who were found at the death of my Lord and Redeemer Jesus Christ.*"[23]

With these genealogical compilations, of varying veracity, it was sought to keep the mark of infamy alive by recalling again and again the family past of the descendants of Baeza's Jews, who, increasingly rich and exalted, were also increasingly envied and hated, with their enemies turning not only to archival documents, but also the perennial stain of the *sambenitos*, which were hung in full view of everyone in local churches.

This is what happened in 1611 to Don Ponce de Molina y Cabrera, then still a mere alderman, when he was vehemently insulted by Juan de Barrionuevo, one of the

[21] AHN, Military Orders, Santiago, exp. 2066. These are references contained in the controversial file of Don Mendo de Contreras, a resident of Jaén (1640). Discussing the issue and bringing this list were José Miguel Delgado Barrado and Amparo López Arandia, *Poderosos y privilegiados. Los caballeros de Santiago de Jaén (siglos XVI-XVIII),* Madrid, 2009. But I have made my own transcription of the document, which differs slightly from the one they provide.
[22] Enrique Soria Mesa, "Los linajudos...".
[23] AHN, Inquisición, 1842, 1.

members of the city's Holy Office. Oral insults, said to his face, and also libel in writing, affirmed that he descended by a straight line from a man condemned by the Inquisition, of whom the corresponding *sambenitos* were preserved.[24]

The extensive litigation that ensued made clear the great problems that the Molinas, the main family that we have been studying in these pages, suffered throughout the sixteenth century, and even during the first decades of the seventeenth, to overcome their Judeo-convert legacy. Again and again, despite their steady social ascent (or precisely because of it), many spiteful Baezans insisted on pointing to their Jewish progeny.

This happened in 1568, in 1576, 1597... when the various relatives of Don Ponce de Molina had to prove, again and again, their noble origins. After winning this legal dispute for their honor, and after another long suit in the Royal Chancellery of Granada (1620-1626), the Molinas finally managed to expunge their past, but it had taken more than one hundred and fifty years to do so.

I emphasize all this to clearly show that the Judeo-convert question did not come to an end, by any means, during the time of Philip II, nor with the Inquisition. Not at all. In fact, the great problems of *limpieza de sangre* occurred under Philip III and Philip IV, and this, purity of blood, was the most important factor in relation to the *judeoconversos*, a social group much more affected by attempts at social exclusion and discrimination than by the Holy Office's persecution.

If we remove the *marranos*, of Portuguese origin, from the equation, family lines that had converted long before (*conversos antiguos*) were almost unaffected by the tribunal of faith as of the first decades of the 16th century. Judaism, as a heresy in this community, had almost disappeared after the atrocious *autos de fe* of the late 14th and early 15th centuries.

And yet, whatever their political orthodoxy, *all of them*, and I underscore this, all the *conversos* were openly attacked on this basis throughout the entire Modern Era, being discriminated against throughout the Golden Age, a time that saw the legal and practical flourishing of the *Estatutos de Limpieza de Sangre*, or Purity of Blood Statutes.

This was the atmosphere in which the creators of the University of Baeza and their relatives, close and distant, lived; and this is the context in which this foundation must be understood. This educational institution was, of course and above all, a center of re-evangelization, of course, but it was also an instrument of social advancement,

[24] The document, in AHN, Inquisición, 1842, 1, is extracted by Elisabeth Balancy, *Violencia civil en la Andalucía Moderna (ss. XVI-XVII). Familiares de la Inquisición y banderías locales*, Sevilla, 1999, pp. 46-47.

integration and assimilation of these rich and powerful families who wished to put aside as soon as possible their Jewish origins, forgetting them and having others forget too, laying claim to status as *cristianos viejos*, Old Christians, though this was a fabrication, and pretending to be members of ancient noble lines. And for this it was essential to adapt to the daily customs of the nobility and to lead aristocratic ways of life.[25]

While others, and they themselves, turned their houses into mansions and palaces, dressed richly, commissioned heraldic shields, erected altarpieces and funerary chapels, and exhibited ersatz coats of arms, in our case the centerpiece of this entire effort at social regeneration was the creation of the University of Baeza, a monument in stone, as well as an element of intangible heritage, that undoubtedly sprang from this interest. Without considering this interpretation, which I hope will open up new lines of research, we will never fully understand the fascinating story of the University of Baeza.

The Church as a refuge and platform of power

After first being mostly dedicated to crafts and commerce, soon the most ambitious members of the Judeo-convert community began to delve into the dangerous but very profitable speculative universe of *arrendamiento de rentas*. Most of them collected taxes for the crown (*rentas reales*), but some also got involved in the management of seigneurial and ecclesiastical finances.

The city of Baeza produced a great number of tax collectors (*arrendadores de rentas*) in the first quarter of the 16th century;[26] a total of eighteen people, specifically, which means that this remote city in the province of Jaén, on the political and geographical periphery of the Crown of Castile, ranked fifth in this regard, very high relative to its population and its general importance, only being surpassed by Granada, the leader in the kingdom in this regard, Seville, Toledo and Madrid. It stood above the likes of Valladolid, Segovia, and Burgos... and more than doubled cities like Cordoba, to which it had many ties.

This phenomenon reveals, I believe, that there was a lot of capital available in Baeza to invest in an activity that was both fraught with risk and highly profitable; and that those who opted to participate in such a hazardous enterprise also formed tight-knit family networks, which we will point to again in these pages, then embodied in the heart of the Church. In both cases, of course, these were comprised of a broad set of Judeo-convert lineages, the same ones mentioned above.

[25] I cover this thoroughly in Enrique Soria Mesa, *La nobleza en la España Moderna...*

[26] David Alonso García, "Notas sobre la cooperación en el arrendamiento de rentas reales (1500-1525)", *IX congreso Internacional de la Asociación Española de Historia Económica*, Murcia, 2008. Available at www.um.es/ixcongresoaehe/pdfB2/Notas%20sobre.pdf.

These were the names of the royal tax collectors, residents of the city of Baeza:

Alonso Dávila
Fernando Dávila
Rodrigo de Ayala
Francisco de Baeza
Pedro de Baeza
García de Cazorla
Martín Fernández de Córdoba
Alonso de Herrera
Diego de Herrera
Álvaro de Molina
Esteban de Molina
Gómez de Molina
Lope de Molina
Luis de Molina
Juan Rodríguez de Baeza
Antonio Román de Argüello
Juan Salido
Día Sánchez Dávila

Except for Antonio Román de Argüello and Juan Salido, all the others were well-known *conversos* of demonstrable Hebraic affiliation, which I will demonstrate, thoroughly, in due course. Almost all of them were members of the extensive lineages of the Molinas, Herreras, Dávilas, Baezas, Córdobas, Ayalas, etc.; that is, most distinguished members of the local Judeo-convert community.

Moreover, we know nothing about Juan Salido, except that his surname was illustrious and, presumably, denoted nobility in the region. But there were also those bearing that surname linked to Baezan converts. Antonio Román de Argüello, meanwhile, was a notary public in the 1520s,[27] which is important, much more revealing is the evidence placing him within a group of 170 residents of Baeza, largely of Judeo-convert origin, who had been illicitly registered as nobles in the municipal records. Or, at least, this was an accusation levelled in 1526 by none other than the Royal Chancellery of Granada's Alcaldes de los Hijosdalgo ("Judges of the Noblemen").[28] That is, in both cases, and more in the latter, the opinion was suspended until they could be correctly ascribed to one social stratum or another.

Once wealth had been acquired, and after increasing it through mercantile activities and the aforementioned tax collection, Baeza's *conversos* of the specific circle that we

[27] Adelina Romero Martínez, "La cofradía de escribanos públicos del número de Baeza (1521-1527)", *Historia. Instituciones*. Documentos, 22 (1995), p. 549.
[28] ARChG, 5081-2. I am currently preparing a study of the document, with its corresponding family and social context.

study in this text tended to opt for one of the routes from which they were officially barred, but which, in reality, were natural ways to conceal their real ancestries and to, above all, rise in society.

I am referring to the Church as a collective destination, the prevailing option in the case in question. This was a sphere of professional dedication that, although standard among *conversos*, is striking in this particular kinship circle because it was so massive. Of course, they were not the only ones in the Crown of Castile, as I have recently shown,[29] but such a marked accumulation of ecclesiastical positions is remarkable because it was systematic and concentrated in a short period of time.

Without going into detail (there would be so much to say, for example, about the Chapel of the Dean of Lima!) the Appendix closing this text features an extensive, though not at all exhaustive, account of this kinship group's accumulation of clerical positions.

Conclusion. An unstoppable ascent

Unstoppable social ascent. Among the many other keys to the interpretation of this aspect of our history, this is one that must be addressed with great urgency, due to how neglected it has traditionally been by the scholarly community. Let us take a look at it.

Though the *conversos* that founded the University of Baeza encountered serious problems due to the impurity of their blood during the Golden Age, the truth is that all these families eventually became nobles, laying claim to pure lineages. However aberrant this may seem in theory, this was the natural destiny of all the rich, influential and powerful groups, also at the local level.[30]

In our case, and this is a mere glimpse at future and more thorough studies, the likes of the Molina, Dávila, Herrera, Baeza, Córdoba, Jaén and Muñiz families... gradually scaled the social ladder, concealing their ethnic/religious origins with a cloak of silence and beginning to acquire hallmarks of nobility.

We should not forget that this also included the assumption of other people's identities. This is the case of the Molinas, prominent in the pages of this article, who sought to impersonate a minor branch of the flourishing lineage of this surname based in the neighboring city of Úbeda, professed descendants, in turn, of a line of nobles from Biscay. The Herreras, meanwhile, strove to do the same thing with the Señores de Pedraza, and the Dávilas managed to insert themselves into the complex kinship network of the noble houses of the city to which their name referred (Ávila).

[29] Enrique Soria Mesa, *La realidad tras el espejo...*

[30] I cover the subject at length in Enrique Soria Mesa, *La nobleza...*

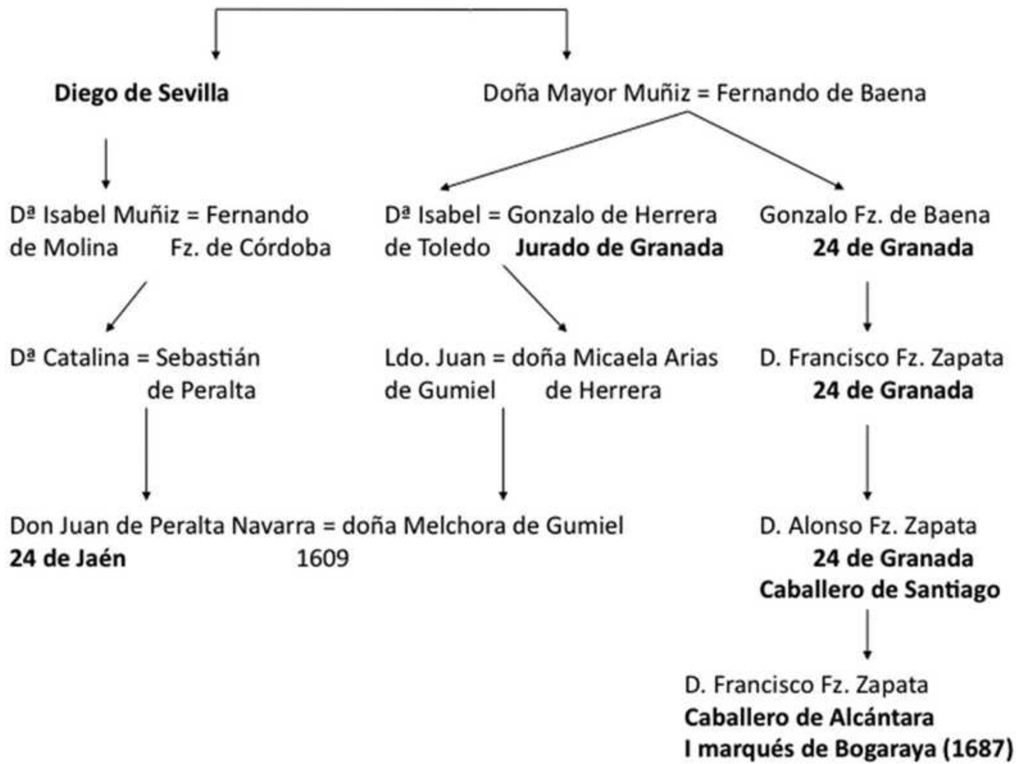

Figure 2.

The veracity of these usurped surnames was gradually accepted by the populace, as was the case across the rest of Spain.[31]

We could examine the subject at length, but it will suffice to mention a couple of cases as examples, with further discussion of the topic to be undertaken in the near future. An illustrious Baezan, Día Sánchez Dávila, was a very rich mid-16th century merchant who, after acknowledging his Jewish ancestry before the Inquisition earlier in life, ended his days as a very powerful oligarch from Granada and master of that city's Villa Cázulas.[32]

Other Baeza families, directly and indirectly related to the previous one, went even further. These included the Muñiz-Sevillas, who were part of the family line that ended up producing the Marquises of Bogaraya, residing, like so many others, in the city of Granada. Married to the wealthy Baena family, also descendants of people who had been condemned, this time natives of the eponymous town, over time they produced twenty-four aldermen from Jaén and Granada, knights of Military Orders, and, finally, a marquisate. This is a simplified outline of their evolution in their early days.

[31] Enrique Soria Mesa, "Tomando nombres ajenos...".
[32] Enrique Soria Mesa, *Señores y oligarcas. Los señoríos del reino de Granada en la Edad Moderna*, Granada, 1997.

Appendix: Family relationships between the ecclesiastics who founded the University of Baeza

Nº	Name	Positions	Remarks
1	Dr. Rodrigo López de Molina	Chaplain of Paul III	Founder
2	Pedro López de Molina	Archdeacon of Campos and Canon of Palencia	Brother of the former. Contributed to the founding
3	Dr. Rodrigo Pérez de Molina	Archdeacon of Campos	Nephew of those proceeding (son of his first cousin). Refounder of the University.
4	Juan Ruiz de Sevilla	Canon of Palencia. Abbot of Fuencebadón (Astorga)	Patron. Brother of the former. AKA Juan Ruiz de Molina
5	Pedro Fernández de Córdoba	Canon of Baeza	Patron. The definitive refounder of the institution. Nephew and heir of no. 5
6	Rodrigo de Molina	Canon of Jaén	Close relative of no. 3
7	Melchor de Molina	Prior of San Pablo de Úbeda	First cousin of the former
8	Alonso de Navarrete	Archpriest of Baeza	Nephew of no. 3
9	Commander (*Comendador*) Diego de Rivera	Commander of the House and Church of Sancti Spiritus de Baeza	AKA Comendador Diego de Sevilla. Relative of no. 3
10	Luis de Molina	University Professor. Prior of San Gil de Baeza	Son of a second cousin of no. 5
11	Juan Antonio Muñiz de Salcedo	Prior of San Marcos	Close relative of no. 1 and son of a second cousin of no. 6
12	Juan de Salcedo	Vicar of the Nuns of St. Catherine (Santa Catalina)	First cousin of the former
13	Dr. Alonso Muñiz	Canon of Baeza	Founded the chapel in the Cathedral; dead in 1539. Close relative of the family group
14	Miguel Fernández de Córdoba	Canon of Jaén	Nephew and heir of no. 5 Chaplain of the chaplaincy founded by no. 13
15	Francisco Hernández	Canon of San Hipólito de Córdoba (St. Hippolytus)	Distant relative of the family group
16	Alonso Díaz Reyes de Carleval	Presbyter	Nephew of Bernardino de Carleval. Son of a second cousin of no. 5
17	Francisco de Herrera	Canon of Granada	Nephew of the former
18	Dr. Rodrigo de Ayala	Prior of Linares	Distant relative of the family group
19	Diego Arias de Mendoza	Canon of Seville	Distant relative of the family group
20	Dr. Pedro Muñiz de Molina	Dean of Lima	Founded chaplaincies and patronages to marry off female relatives, all from the family circle of the founders of the University, of whom he was an immediate relative
21	Alonso de Armijo Altamirano	Precentor of Panama and other positions in the Indies	Nephew of the former
22	Dr. Martín Yáñez Dávila	Prior in the Bishopric of Jaén	Close relative of the founding nucleus

Nº	Name	Positions	Remarks
23	Dr. Francisco Yáñez Dávila	Prior in the Bishopric of Jaén	Brother of the former
24	Dr. Diego Yáñez Dávila	Carmelite of the Province of Castilla la Vieja (Old Castile) General definer of the order. Noted theologian	Brother of those preceding
25	Rodrigo Maestro Rodrigo	Prior in the Bishopric of Jaén	Brother of those preceding
26	Asensio de Molina	Prior of San Pablo de Baeza	Close family member of the founders
27	Dr. Gabriel de Mendoza	Canon of Jaén	Patron. Probable relative.
29	Esteban de Molina	Presbyter	Had problems with the Inquisition. Close family member of the founders
29	Rodrigo Pérez de Vivero	Canon of Jaén and Archdeacon of Campos	Founded patronages. Nephew of the Yáñez Dávila brothers
30	Dr. Pedro Díaz de Herrera	Presbyter	Blood uncle of no. 16 and great uncle of no. 17
31	Alonso de Padilla	Prebendary of Seville	Relative of the founders, through the Molinas, to an indeterminate degree. On the maternal side, also a *converso*, he descended from a man condemned by the Inquisition

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Hidden and reviled patricians?: Commercial mesocracy in sixteenth and seventeenth centuries southern Castile[1]

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Abstract*: This article examines the presence (or absence) of a mercantile meritocracy in the cities of Córdoba, Seville and Granada based on notarial, forensic, and ecclesiastical sources, as well as municipal records. The article will also look into trade in these cities and the formation of commercial networks between them and the rest of the world in the 16th and 17th centuries.*

Keywords*: Trade, merchants, Córdoba, Granada, Seville, 16th and 17th centuries, converted Jews*

Introduction: state of the art and sources

In the Early Modern Age, the territory of the modern region of Andalusia was divided into four kingdoms (Seville, Córdoba, Jaén, and Granada), with capitals in their homonymous cities, where local power was centralised in a set of shared institutions, both secular and religious, especially local councils and cathedral chapters.

While from the council, *corregidor* and *regidores* (which often were known as *veinticuatros*, as this was their original number) dealt with civil matters, in the episcopal and archepiscopal palaces and cathedrals prelates, along with their canons, addressed all religious issues.

The remaining social groups including, *plebeyos*, *pecheros*, or simply the common, included the peasants that tilled the fields and fed the rest of the population; the craftspeople that made all the manufactured goods demanded by society; the merchants that dealt in raw materials and other goods; the poor and the beggars that struggled to make a living; and, finally, the slaves. At the top of this unprivileged sector of the social spectrum was the so-called *mesocracy*, a group formed by liberal professionals (physicians, lawyers, apothecaries, clerks), wealthy craftspeople, and merchants. Of the latter, only the most successful could gain some authority in the parishes and the neighbourhoods by taking the office of *jurado*.

[1] This work was undertaken within the framework of project La mesocracia en la Andalucía de los siglos XVI y XVII. Poder, familia y patrimonio (PID2019-109168GB-I00), funded by Ministerio de Ciencia e Innovación and directed by Drs Enrique Soria Mesa and Luis Salas Almela.

In theory, councils and other positions of power (both secular and religious) were occupied by the nobility, the illustrious descendants of those who waged war against al-Andalus to take Jaén, Córdoba, and Seville (13th century), and Granada (15th century). They possessed the best land, palaces, and real estate in the city, with the corresponding rents, and served in the army, the church, and the administration as loyal royal servants. These lineages monopolized titles and rights of primogeniture and wore the exclusive habits of the military orders.

The *mesocracy*, in contrast, rarely enjoyed these privileges, making the best of minor positions in the local administration, often through corporate bodies such as brotherhoods and guilds, or through offices linked with the Holy Office or Inquisition, especially as *familiares*. As hinted above, one of the few connections between the council and the mesocracy was through the office of *jurado* – two representives from each parish before the council – an office virtually monopolised by merchants. I shall not deal here with other links related to the guild structure, which in Castile, and Andalusia in particular, was greatly controlled by councils, as the *veinticuatros* appointed trade inspectors, another position that fell to the mesocracy, although always in submission to the council elites.

For the mesocracy, promotion to the nobility was a chimerical aspiration. This was categorically incompatible with the manual work that most of them did, so they had to make do with the status of 'purity of blood', which allegedly certified that they were free from Muslim or Jewish blood, known in contemporary treatises as *sangre infecta* ('stained blood'), no small feat in the south of the Iberian Peninsula. Anyone that wished to access any kind of public position, no matter how low, was made to go through a series of tests to prove their blood status. According to the official narrative, the large number of individuals that passed these tests was proof that society had succeeded in getting rid of Moriscos and converted Jews for good.

This traditional narrative has been challenged over the last 50 years by historians such as Francisco Márquez Villanueva and Enrique Soria Mesa and their disciples, as we shall see later. In the 16th and 17th centuries, the southern kingdoms were full of descendants of Jews and Muslims. Although the expulsion of the Moriscos in 1570 –Kingdom of Granada– and 1609-1614 –the whole country– were turning points, the consequences of this event were not as drastic as generally believed,[2] and the descendants of converted Jews, for their part, appear to have faced few obstacles to access the institutions.

This mesocracy, the majority of whose members were the descendants of converted Jews, faced different, and sometimes insurmountable, obstacles to access local power, but this varied greatly depending on local conditions.

[2] Enrique Soria Mesa, *Los últimos moriscos: pervivencias de la población de origen islámico en el reino de Granada (siglos XVII-XVIII),* Universidad de Valencia, Universidad de Granada, Universidad de Zaragoza, 2014.

This study of the commercial mesocracy in Córdoba, Seville, and Granada will examine their respective social structures and the role played by economic activity within them, in order to establish whether this mesocracy can be argued to have fully crystallised as a social group. I shall not address the situation in the fourth southern city with a vote in the Castilian *cortes*, Jaén, because although craft and commercial activity in it is well understood, less is known about access to *regimientos*, a key factor for my enquiry.

I shall begin by examining economic activity in Córdoba, Granada, and Seville, which revolved around the production of wool cloth, silk, and leather, and their export, especially to Spanish America, most notably the Sevillian productions.

Second, I shall focus on the mercantile groups in operation in these cities from a social perspective, trying to establish their origin, activities, and wealth. This section will be heavily determined by recent research approaches, which are in turn conditioned by the availability of statistical data, much more abundant in Córdoba than in Seville and Granada, where the sources are much more diffuse and, to a large extent, qualitative in nature.

The third section will analyse whether a mesocracy in the full extent of the word formed in these cities. Two models will be theorised: a *true mesocracy*, which only took place in Córdoba, where the nobility successfully blocked the promotion of a large number of upstarts; and a *failed mesocracy*, which is what I think occurred in Seville and Granada, where merchants and bureaucrats easily assaulted municipal power through various channels. This analysis is based on the detailed study of the entry of mercantile lineages into the urban councils in these cities. Finally, I shall present some conclusions, followed by the relevant bibliography.

Various sources have been used. The main is notarial documents examined in various Andalusian historical archives (Archivo Histórico de Protocolos de Granada, Archivo Histórico Provincial de Córdoba, and Archivo Histórico Provincial de Sevilla) over the last few years. Powers of attorney, sales contracts, commercial orders, haulage contracts, wills, dowries, foundations of primogenitures, commercial inventories... a wide array of documents that can reveal multiple aspects of economic and mercantile life in the south.

Ecclesiastical documents from parish archives in Córdoba and Granada, including baptisms, marriages, and burials, as well as those related to religious life, such as patronages, charitable donations, and chaplaincies, which also help to reconstruct the make up of merchant families in detail.

Finally, I have also consulted documents in several national archives. The Archivo General de Indias has been used to track commodities sent from Córdoba, Seville, and

Granada to Spanish America, and, conversely, the arrival of American raw materials to southern workshops (American hides and colourants), both *in situ* and through the online portal PARES. This online resource and familysearch.com have facilitated the consultation of documents currently held in the Archivo Histórico Nacional, section Órdenes Militares, including the files of order members, which include a wealth of genealogical information about elite families. This work has also included the examination of lawsuits in the major Castilian judicial archives, the Chancillerías of Granada and Valladolid. Merchants were frantic litigants, against one another and against all manner of institutions, but this rich source of information remains largely untapped.

I cannot claim full credit for the results of this study, which was undertaken with the collective effort of the research team of *Laboratorio de Estudios Judeoconversos*, directed by Professor Enrique Soria Mesa. I wish to thank Professor Soria and Luis Salas Almela, Antonio J. Díaz Rodríguez, Gonzalo Herreros Moya, Ángel Mª Ruiz Gálvez, José María García Ríos, and Alejandro Cerro García, among others, for their suggestions, ideas, and references, many of which have found their way into these pages.

State of the art: merchants and production in the southern kingdoms

In the Early Modern Age, the three cities under consideration stood out for their protoindustrial workshops and their national and international trade links. All of them hosted thousands of craftspeople and hundreds of merchants. The latter were particularly numerous and wealthy in Seville, because of their participation in the colonial commercial networks that linked the city with America, North Africa, and the rest of Mediterranean and Atlantic Europe. In most instances, these were the descendants of Jews. Who and how numerous were these merchants? In what commodities did they deal? What was their role in the economy of their cities in the 16th and 17th centuries? Did they have problems with the Inquisition? What happened with their wealth and their descendants?

Although numerous studies address this issue, not all of them have approached all three kingdoms, and especially their capitals, from the same point of view.

Kingdom of Córdoba

In the 16th century and up to the 1620s, the city of Córdoba was a giant factory, the quality and volume of whose productions overspilled the city and even the Hispanic Monarchy. A factory, needless to say, without fossil fuels or agglomerations of workmen in large brick buildings, but with thousands of small workshops scattered across the city's parishes, and with many looms in private houses. This manufacturing activity was not confined to the city but extended to many villages in its hinterland, especially the valley of Pedroches, Bujalance, Morente, and some seigniorial villages in the Campiña (Lucena, Priego, Cabra, etc.).

What works have addressed the study of Córdoba's craftspeople and merchants in the 16th and 17th centuries? The literature includes a few publications on the city's economy and trade, which highlight the enormous economic and demographic growth undergone by the city in the opening centuries of the *Ancien Régime*.

Going back to the Middle Ages, John H. Edwards is mostly concerned with the trade in *merino* wool and wheat.[3] He argues that the textile sector was poorly developed in the city in the Late Middle Ages, and that a large proportion of the enormous amounts of wool collected in the kingdom was exported – after being washed in Córdoba – through Seville's harbour. At the time, this commercial sector was dominated by Burgos-based merchants. Ricardo Córdoba has written several works on preindustrial production and trade in Córdoba from the point of view of technology (preindustrial commodities, technical treatises),[4] transport,[5] and the organisation of guilds.[6] Their disciples Javier López Rider and David J. Govantes-Edwards have expanded this topic to the production and trade in charcoal and glass, as well as taxation.[7] José Manuel Escobar Camacho has examined craftspeople in late medieval Cordoban parishes.[8] Other aspects about trade can be found in Ana Moreno and María del Rosario Relaño's study about the wine trade in 15th-century Córdoba.[9] Finally, the participation of some Jewish convert merchant lineages in local power has been examined by Margarita Cabrera Sánchez.[10]

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[3] John H. Edwards, "Oligarchy and merchant capitalism in Lower Andalusia under the Catholic Kings: The case of Cordoba and Jerez de la Frontera", *Historia. Instituciones. Documentos*, 4 (1977), pp. 11-33; ID, 'El comercio lanero en Córdoba bajo los Reyes Católicos', *Actas del I Congreso de Historia de Andalucía. Andalucía Medieval*, Córdoba, 1978, I, pp. 423-428; *ID, Christian Córdoba. The city and its región in the late Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

[4] Ricardo Córdoba de la Llave, *La industria medieval de Córdoba* (Córdoba: Caja provincial de Ahorros de Córdoba, 1990). *ID*, 'Los batanes hidráulicos de la cuenca del Guadalquivir a fines de la Edad Media: explotación y equipamiento técnico', *Anuario de estudios medievales*, 41 (2011), pp. 593-622.

[5] Ricardo Córdoba de la Llave, 'Comunicaciones, transportes y albergues en el reino de Córdoba a fines de la Edad Media', *Historia. Instituciones. Documentos*, 22 (1995), pp. 87-118.

[6] Ricardo Córdoba de la Llave, 'Poder municipal y control gremial: legislación e impuestos en materia industrial del cabildo de Córdoba a fines del siglo XV', *Ifigea*, 5-6 (1988-1989), pp. 173-206.

[7] Javier López Rider, 'El gasto municipal de los concejos castellanos a fines de la Edad Media: El caso de Córdoba en la segunda mitad del siglo XV (1452-1500)', *Historia. Instituciones. Documentos*, 42 (2015), pp. 199-239; ID., 'La producción de carbón en el Reino de Córdoba a fines de la Edad Media: un ejemplo de aprovechamiento del monte Mediterráneo', *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 46 (2016), pp. 819-858. David Govantes-Edwards, *El papel social y político de las pirotecnologías en la Edad Media Hispana y fórmulas de transmisión: vidrio y cerámicas vidriadas*, (Doctoral dissertation), Córdoba, Universidad de Córdoba, 2021; David Govantes-Edwards, Javier López Rider, Chloë N. Duckworth, "Glassmaking in medieval technical literature in the Iberian Peninsula", *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies*, 12, 2, 2020, pp. 267-291.

[8] José Manuel Escobar Camacho, *Córdoba en la Baja Edad Media. Evolución urbana de la ciudad* (Córdoba: Caja Provincial de Ahorros, 1989).

[9] Ana Moreno Moreno and María del Rosario Relaño Martínez, 'El comercio del vino en la Córdoba del siglo XV' in *Andalucía entre oriente y occidente, (1236-1492): actas del V Coloquio Internacional de Historia Medieval de Andalucía*, ed. Emilio Cabrera Muñoz, (Córdoba: 1986), pp. 495-502.

[10] Margarita Cabrera Sánchez, 'El problema converso en Córdoba. El incidente de la Cruz del Rastro', in *La Península Ibérica en la era de los Descubrimientos*, ed. Manuel González Jiménez (Seville: 1997), pp. 331-339; ID., 'Los conversos de Córdoba en el siglo XV: la familia del jurado Martín Alfonso', *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 35 (2005), pp. 185-232; ID., 'Cristianos nuevos y cargos concejiles: jurados conversos en Córdoba a fines del Medievo', *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma, Historia Medieval*, 29 (2016), pp. 115-181.

For the Early Modern Age, Bartolomé Yun Casalilla's work addressed the wheat trade and the subsistence crisis that hit the city in the opening decades of the 16th century, based on documents in the archive of Simancas and the Córdoba episcopal archive.[11] Almost at the same time, José Ignacio Fortea Pérez published *Córdoba en el siglo XVI*,[12] a reference-rich, central work for our topic. The book argues that the economic base of the city was the manufacture of wool cloth and silk, the production of which grew exponentially throughout the 16th century (chased up close by the taxes imposed on these commodities). Fortea also analysed the cloth markets, not only in the neighbouring kingdoms, but also in Portugal (especially the cities of Lisbon and Elvas), a relationship that has left a thick trail of letters of exchange. According to Fortea, Córdoba was at the same level as the major Castilian manufacturing centres: Toledo, Segovia, and Granada. Alfonso Bustos Hernández's work also deals, more superficially, with the cloth industry, and provides valuable references of municipal records and ordinances.[13] More generally, Juan Aranda Doncel[14] and José Manuel Escobar Camacho[15] also make references to commercial activity in Córdoba and its various parishes during the 16th century.

In recent years, our knowledge about Cordoban merchants – especially those that descended from Jews – has made considerable progress with the contributions made by Professor Enrique Soria Mesa and his team from a social history perspective. Professor Soria began this trend with his work *El cambio inmóvil*,[16] which addressed the problems that some lineages of Jewish origin, such as the Barchilónes, the Baenas, and the Ceas, among others, faced to enter the city's elite circles. In recent years, Professor Soria has delved into the Jewish and mercantile connections of some key figures in Córdoba's cultural stage, such as the poets Luis de Góngora[17] and Juan Rufo, the latter of which was the son of a Jewish dyer with big stakes in the pastel trade,[18] and into their investment policies – works of art, palaces, and chapels – adopted by families of Jewish origin.[19] Especially significant for the topic at hand is his recent

[11] Bartolomé Yun Casalilla, *Crisis de subsistencias y conflictividad social en Córdoba a principios del siglo XVI. Una ciudad andaluza en los comienzos de la modernidad* (Córdoba: Diputación de Córdoba, 1980).

[12] José Ignacio Fortea Pérez, *Córdoba en el siglo XVI: Las bases demográficas y económicas de una expansión urbana* (Córdoba: Monte de Piedad y Caja de Ahorros de Córdoba, 1981).

[13] Alfonso Bustos Hernández, *La pañería cordobesa en los siglos XV y XVI* (Córdoba: Diputación de Córdoba, 1996).

[14] Juan Aranda Doncel, *Historia de Córdoba: La época moderna (1517-1808)* (Córdoba: Caja de Ahorros de Córdoba, 1984). *ID*, 'El barrio cordobés del campo de la verdad en lo siglos de la Modernidad (1570-1807)', *Al-Mulk, Anuario de Estudios Arabistas*, II, 16 (2018), pp. 171-216.

[15] José Manuel Escobar Camacho, 'La ciudad de Córdoba a fines del siglo XVI: su evolución urbana' en *Córdoba en tiempos de Felipe II*, ed. Rafael Vázquez Lesmes y Miguel Ventura Gracia (Córdoba: Caja de Ahorros y Monte de Piedad de Córdoba, 1999), pp. 173-185.

[16] Enrique Soria Mesa, *El cambio inmóvil. Transformaciones y permanencias en una elite de poder (Córdoba, siglos XVI-XIX)* (Córdoba: Ayuntamiento de Córdoba, 2000).

[17] Enrique Soria Mesa, *El origen judío de Góngora* (Córdoba: Hanover, 2015).

[18] Enrique Soria Mesa, 'Juan Rufo, judeoconverso. El origen judío del autor de La Austriada', *Creneida: Anuario de Literaturas Hispánicas*, 6 (2018), pp. 8-45.

[19] Enrique Soria Mesa, 'El patrimonio histórico-artístico de las élites judeoconversas españolas. Propuestas de análisis desde la historia social', *Mediterranea Ricerche Storiche*, 46 (2019), pp. 251-276.

work about the appointment of converted Jews as *jurados*, a position which, as noted, was monopolised by wealthy merchants.[20]

Also, of note for our topic are the doctoral dissertations and publications of two of Professor Soria's disciples: Francisco I. Quevedo Sánchez and Marcos R. Cañas Pelayo. The former, who left us too soon, analysed several convert lineages in Córdoba and Granada, such as the Aragonés, Herrera, and Córdoba-Ronquillo families and the *jurado* Martín Gómez de Aragón, all of which were active mercantile clans that sought social promotion.[21] Marcos Cañas, for his part, used his doctoral dissertation to examine the strategies deployed by Portuguese "marranos" – many of whom were merchants– to enter the Cordoban society of the 16th and 17th centuries, and has published several case studies that analyse the trajectory of some of these families in detail.[22]

The work of Antonio J. Díaz Rodríguez also includes some comments about commercial activity, especially in relation to the participation of Cordoban clergymen in the wine trade[23] and the convert origin –the descendants of craftspeople and merchants – of many of them.[24] His work also addresses the social promotion of Cordoban convert merchants,[25] a topic that was also addressed by Gonzalo Herreros Moya[26] and Ángel Mª Ruiz Gálvez.[27]

[20] Enrique Soria Mesa, "Una mesocracia judeoconversa: La presencia conversa entre los jurados de Córdoba (ss. XVI-XVII), una primera aproximación a su estudio" in Enrique Soria Mesa (ed.), *Córdoba judía*, Córdoba, Real Academia de Córdoba, 2019, pp. 185-214.

[21] Francisco I. Quevedo Sánchez, *Familias en movimiento. Los judeoconversos cordobeses y su proyección en el reino de Granada (ss. XV-XVII),* Unpublished doctoral dissertation, (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2016); *ID*. 'Estrategias familiares con fines económicos y sociales. El caso del jurado cordobés Martín Gómez de Aragón', *Historia y Genealogía*, 3 (2013), pp. 65-82; *ID*., 'Inventando el pasado. La familia judeoconversa Herrera de Córdoba y Granada', *Anahgramas: Análisis históricos de Grado y Máster*, 1 (2014), pp. 235-272; ID., 'Nobles judeoconversos: los oscuros orígenes del linaje Córdoba-Ronquillo', *Sefarad: Revista de Estudios Hebraicos y Sefardíes*, 76, 2 (2016), pp. 363-396 and ID. 'Juan Recio Aragonés, un judeoconverso entre la élite lucentina', *Medievalismo: Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Estudios Medievales*, 27 (2017), pp. 259-283.

[22] Marcos Rafael Cañas Pelayo, *Los judeoconversos portugueses en el tribunal inquisitorial de Córdoba: un análisis social (ss. XVI-XVII),* Unpublished doctoral dissertation, (Córdoba: Universidad de Córdoba, 2016); ID., 'Judaizantes y Malsines: redes criptojudías portuguesas durante el seiscientos ante el Tribunal de Córdoba', *Historia y Genealogía*, 3 (2013), pp. 23-40; ID. 'De una compañía comercial a la inserción en la élite cordobesa: Los Fernández de Carreras (siglos XVI-XVIII)', *Espacio, tiempo y forma, Serie IV, Historia Moderna*, 32 (2019), pp. 263-288.

[23] Antonio J. Díaz Rodríguez, 'Inversión económica y gestión patrimonial particular entre los prebendados de la España moderna: Córdoba (1500-1800)', *Obradoiro de historia moderna*, 21 (2012), pp. 157-189.

[24] Antonio J. Díaz Rodríguez, *El clero catedralicio en la España moderna: los miembros del Cabildo de la Catedral de Córdoba (1475-1808)* (Murcia: Editium, 2012).

[25] Antonio J. Díaz Rodríguez, 'Roma y el patrimonio judeoconverso: negocios curiales y ascenso social entre los conversos andaluces (ss. XVI-XVII)', *Mediterranea Ricerche Storiche*, 46 (2019), pp. 277-314.

[26] Gonzalo J. Herreros Moya, '"Escudos pintan escudos": heráldica de judeoconversos y mercaderes en Córdoba en la edad moderna', *Mediterranea Ricerche Storiche*, 46 (2019), pp. 349-382.

[27] Ángel María Ruiz Gálvez, 'Los estudios sobre el patrimonio judeoconverso en la corona de Castilla: Las promociones artísticas como instrumento de integración social', *Mediterranea Ricerche Storiche*, 46 (2019), pp. 225-250.

Finally, I have also published several studies on Cordoban merchants, including the participation of the Genoese in the city's trade, especially in the wool sector and the export of the output of the river washing areas, as well as the arrival of Italian technologies (looms, cards, weights) alongside steel, swords, and medicines.[28] I also published a chapter about convert merchants in the book *Córdoba judía*, some of whose arguments have been upgraded and re-elaborated in this article, and another one, recently, on merchants' tombs.[29]

Kingdom of Seville

Seville is, by some distance, the most thoroughly studied southern Spanish kingdom. The kingdom comprised two major commercial hubs in the 16th and 17th centuries: the city of Seville, seat of the Casa de Contratación and the Consulado de Mercaderes and, in the final decades of the 1500s, the most populous city in the Iberian Peninsula with nearly 130,000 inhabitants –and second in the Hispanic Monarchy after Naples– and the harbours in the Bay of Cádiz under both royal and seigniorial jurisdiction (Cádiz, Sanlúcar, Puerto de Santa María, Tarifa, Gibraltar, etc.).

In my view, the role of Cádiz and the nearby harbours in the American trade in the 16th and 17th centuries has been, in my view, undervalued. Although the monopoly of Seville was uncontested (although the situation before the fleet system prevailed in 1565 was not so straightforward), the participation of Cádiz-based networks in the American trade was as active as that of the Sevillian ones, if they were not in fact one and the same.

Many studies have examined trade and merchants in Seville, although most have focused on the 17th and 18th centuries, rather than the 16th.[30] Along with the classic contributions by Enrique Otte,[31] Ruth Pike,[32] Eufemio Lorenzo Sanz,[33] and Lutgardo García Fuentes,[34] I wish to highlight Juan Gil's colossal *Los judeoconversos y*

[28] Rafael M. Girón Pascual, *Comercio y Poder. Mercaderes genoveses en el Sureste de Castilla durante los siglos XVI y XVII (1550-1700),* (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid-Cátedra Simón-Ruiz, 2018).

[29] Rafael M. Girón Pascual, "Mercaderes judeoconversos de Córdoba en el siglo XVI" in Enrique Soria Mesa (ed.), *Córdoba judía*, Córdoba, Real Academia de Córdoba, 2019, pp. 215-253. ID. "La muerte y los mercaderes en la Córdoba de la Edad Moderna (ss. XVI-XVII)" en Ana Ruiz Carmona (coord.), *La muerte en Córdoba: Creencias, ritos y cementerios (3). El arte de morir en la Época Bajomedieval y Moderna*, Córdoba, Real Academia de Córdoba, 2022, pp. 235-251.

[30] Antonia Heredia Herrera, *Sevilla y los hombres del Comercio (1700-1800),* Seville, Editoriales Andaluzas Unidas, 1989.

[31] Especially his posthumous Enrique Otte, *Sevilla, siglo XVI. Materiales para su historia*, Seville, Centro de Estudios Andaluces, 2008.

[32] Ruth Pike, *Aristócratas y comerciantes. La sociedad sevillana en el siglo XVI*, Barcelona, 1978.

[33] Eufemio Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España con América en la época de Felipe II,* Valladolid, Institución Cultural Simancas, 1986.

[34] Lutgardo García Fuentes, *El comercio español con América (1650-1700),* Seville, Escuela de Estudios Hispanoamericanos, 1980; ID., *Sevilla, los vascos y América. (las exportaciones de hierro y manufacturas metálicas*

la Inquisición sevillana.[35] The genealogical reconstructions in volumes 3, 4, and 5 have played a key role in the identification of convert merchants. Also, of great interest are the recent works by the University of Seville professors Manuel Fernández Chaves and Rafael M. Pérez García on the participation of Portuguese converts – who were part of the same networks of which Spanish converts were active members– and Burgos-based merchants in the slave trade in Charles V's Seville.[36] They share many of the tenets of the social history approach deployed in this article.

Most of the international merchants that made it into the Sevillian urban council were active participants of the American trade. The bibliography about this group is long and wide, and includes contributions from virtually every modern historiographical trend.[37] Especially significant are recent works on foreign merchants, the production of a new generation of Andalusian scholars.[38]

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en los siglos XVI, XVII y XVIII, Bilbao, Laida, 1991; ID., *Los peruleros y el comercio de Sevilla con las Indias, 1580-1630,* Seville, Universidad de Sevilla, 1997.

[35] Juan Gil, *Los judeoconversos y la Inquisición sevillana*, Seville, Fundación el Monte, 2000-2003.

[36] Manuel F. Fernández Chaves and Rafael M. Pérez García, "La élite mercantil judeoconversa andaluza y la articulación de la trata negrera hacia las Indias de Castilla, ca. 1518-1560", *Hispania*, 76 (2016), pp. 385-414; Manuel F. Fernández Chaves, "La consolidación del capitalismo portugués en Sevilla. Auge, caída y resurgir político del mercader Bento Váez, 1550-1580" in Juan José Iglesias Rodríguez, José Jaime García Bernal and José Manuel Díaz Blanco (eds), *Andalucía en el mundo atlántico moderno. Ciudades y redes*, Madrid, Sílex, 2018, pp. 193-238; Rafael M. Pérez García, "La trayectoria histórica de la comunidad mercantil burgalesa en la Sevilla moderna: ascenso social y mutación económica. El caso del mercader Alonso de Nebreda" in Juan José Iglesias Rodríguez, José Jaime García Bernal and José Manuel Díaz Blanco (eds), *Andalucía en el mundo atlántico moderno. Ciudades y redes*, Madrid, Sílex, 2018, pp. 157-191. ID., "El capital burgalés y la conexión de Sevilla con el eje económico del norte de Europa a comienzos del reinado de Carlos I", in Juan José Iglesias Rodríguez and José Jaime García Bernal (eds): *Andalucía en el mundo moderno. Agentes y escenarios*, Madrid, 2016, Sílex, pp. 35-57; Rafael M. Pérez García, "La llegada del palo brasil americano a los mercados europeos: grupos mercantiles transnacionales y pretensiones monopolísticas, 1499-1530", *Revista de Indias*, 81, 283, 2021, pp. 603-634; Manuel F. Fernández Chaves, 'El "trato e avenencia del reino de Angola para el Brasil e Indias de Castilla" de 1594-1600: Gestión y organización de la trata de esclavos en una época de transición', *Revista de Indias*, 82, 284, 2022, pp. 9-44; Manuel F. Fernández Chaves, "Juan Bautista Rovelasca y el tráfico de esclavos hacia América del contrato de Santo Tomé de 1583-1589 . Gestión de un enclave esclavista en decadencia", *Anuario de estudios americanos*, 79, 2, 2022, pp. 451-485; Rafael M. Pérez García, "El capitalismo de Génova y Burgos y la apertura de la ruta negrera de Santo Tomé al Caribe en la década de 1520", *Anuario de estudios americanos*, 79, 2, 2022, pp. 419-450.

[37] Marie Helmer, *Économie et société au XVIIe siècle: un "cargador de Indias", Jahrbuch für Geschichte Lateinamerikas = Anuario de Historia de América Latina*, 4 (1967), pp. 399-409; Lutgardo García Fuentes, *Exportación y exportadores a Indias 1650-1700", Archivo hispalense: Revista histórica, literaria y artística,* 60, 184 (1977), pp. 1-40; Antonia Heredia Herrera, *Los dirigentes del Consulado de Cargadores a Indias*, in B. Torres Ramírez and J.J. Hernández Palomo (eds), *Andalucía y América en el Siglo XVII: actas de las III Jornadas de Andalucía y América*, 1, 1985, pp. 217-236. Juan Bautista Ruiz Rivera and Manuela García Bernal, *Cargadores a Indias*. Madrid, MAPFRE, 1992; M. García Garralón, *La Universidad de Mareantes de Sevilla 1569-1793*, Seville, Diputación de Sevilla, 2007.

[38] José Manuel Díaz Blanco, *La corona y los cargadores a Indias portugueses de Sevilla (1583-1645)* in Felipe Lorenzana de la Puente, Francisco J. Mateos Ascacíbar (eds), *Iberismo. Las relaciones entre España y Portugal. Historia y tiempo actual: y otros estudios sobre Extremadura*, 2008, pp. 91-104; José Manuel Díaz Blanco and Natalia Maillard Álvarez, *¿Una intimidad supeditada a la ley? Las estrategias matrimoniales de los cargadores a Indias extranjeros en Sevilla (siglos XVI-XVII)* in Francisco Chacón Jiménez (ed.), C.J. Gómez Carrasco (ed.),

As noted, studies that deal with trade in Seville and the Bay of Cádiz in the 16th century are greatly outnumbered by those that address the issue in the late 17th and, especially, the 18th century, when the seat of the *Carrera de Indias* was moved to Cádiz.[39] The Cádiz-born chronicler Agustín de Horozco left two manuscripts, *Discurso de la fundación de la ciudad de Cádiz* (1591) –published in 1929– and *Historia de la ciudad de Cádiz* (1598) not published until 1845,[40] which are key to understand productive and commercial activity in 16th-century Cádiz, not least because they were written by an eyewitness. In many ways, these works remain unmatched today. Two 20th-century authors also stand out: Antonio Romeu de Armas and Hipólito Sancho de Sopranis. Antonio Romeu de Armas's *España en el África atlántica*[41] presents a political view of the Catholic Monarch's and Charles V's intervention in North Africa, especially around Santa Cruz de la Mar Pequeña, and also touches on some economic matters (gold, fisheries) to the end of the 16th century. In his *Cádiz, metrópoli del comercio con África en los siglos XV y XVII*,[42] the author does little more than paraphrasing Agustín de Orozco's work. The most significant works of the medievalist Hipólito Sancho de Sopranis are his *Historia del Puerto de Santa María* and several articles about the city's Jewish quarter and about Cádiz's commercial relations with Barbary.[43] Although these works are crucial to understand, in broad terms, commercial practices and commodities, they sorely lack the social element.

Familias, recursos humanos y vida material, Murcia, Universidad de Murcia, 2014, pp. 485-501. Manuel F. Fernández Chaves and José Manuel Díaz Blanco, *Una élite en la sombra. Los comerciantes extranjeros en la Sevilla de Felipe III*, in Enrique Soria Mesa, J.J. Bravo Caro, J.M. Delgado Barrado, *Las élites en la época moderna: la monarquía española*, vol. 3, Córdoba, Universidad de Córdoba, 2009, pp. 35-50; Rafael M. Girón Pascual, "Capital comercial, capital simbólico. El patrimonio de los cargadores a Indias judeoconversos en la Sevilla de los siglos XVI y XVII", *Mediterranea. Ricerca storiche*, 46 (2019), pp. 315-348.

[39] See especially: Manuel Bustos Rodríguez, *Los comerciantes de la carrera de Indias en el Cádiz del siglo XVIII: (1713-1775),* Cádiz, Universidad de Cádiz, 1995. ID, *El consulado de cargadores a Indias en el siglo XVIII: (1700-1830),* Universidad de Cádiz, Editorial UCA, 2017; Juan José Iglesias Rodríguez, *Una ciudad mercantil en el siglo XVIII: El Puerto de Santa María*, Brenes, Seville, Muñoz Moya y Montraveta, 1991; ID. "Las infraestructuras portuarias de la bahía de Cádiz ante el reto del monopolio americano", *Studia historica. Historia moderna*, 39, 2 (2017), pp. 185-219; Juan José Iglesias Rodríguez and José Miguel Bernal, *Memorias de un mercader a Indias: imágenes de España y América en el siglo XVIII*, El Puerto de Santa María, Concejalía de Cultura, 2004; María Guadalupe Carrasco González, *Comerciantes y casas de negocios en Cádiz (1650-1700),* Cádiz, Universidad de Cádiz, 1997; Ana Crespo Solana, *Entre Cádiz y los Países Bajos: una comunidad mercantil en la ciudad de la ilustración*, Cádiz, Fundación Municipal de Cultura del Ayuntamiento de Cádiz, 2001.

[40] Agustín de Horozco, *Historia de la ciudad de Cádiz*, Cádiz, Imprenta de don Manuel Bosch, 1845.

[41] Antonio Romeu de Armas, "La torre africana de Santa Cruz de la mar pequeña. Su segunda fundación", *Anuario de Estudios Atlánticos*, 1 (1955), pp. 397-477. ID, *España en la África Atlántica*, Madrid, Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1956.

[42] Antonio Romeu de Armas., *Cádiz, metrópoli del comercio con Africa en los siglos XV y XVI*, Cadiz, Dante, 1976.

[43] Hipólito Sancho de Sopranis, "Las relaciones mercantiles entre Cádiz y Marruecos a finales del siglo XVI", *Mauritania* 222 (1946), pp. 114-116; 223, pp. 137-138; 225, pp. 183-185; ID., "La judería del Puerto de Santa María de 1483-1492", *Sefarad: Revista de Estudios Hebraicos y Sefardíes*, 13, 2 (1953), pp. 309-324; ID., *Historia del Puerto de Santa María desde su incorporación a los dominios cristianos en 1259 hasta el año mil ochocientos: ensayo de una síntesis*, Cádiz, Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Cádiz, 2007.

In recent years, Arturo Morgado,[44] Eloy Martín Corrales,[45] and José Antonio Martínez Torres[46] have addressed trade with Barbary in such commodities as red bonnets, wax, and dates. Finally, I must highlight Miguel Royano Cabrera's recent book about Aragonese merchants in Seville and Cádiz, based on notarial sources, and my article about the Burgos-born merchant Diego de Polanco.[47]

Kingdom of Granada

As I pointed out elsewhere, the Kingdom of Granada had no major harbours in the 16th century,[48] so its merchants had to rely on the ports in the kingdoms of Seville (Seville and Cádiz), Murcia, and Valencia (Cartagena and Alicante). The harbours (or beaches) of Malaga, Vélez Málaga, Motril, Almuñécar, and Almería were limited to the commercialisation of local products, especially sugar, wine, and raisins. Despite this, the central geographical position of Granada between the Atlantic and the Mediterranean harbours facilitated the transit of American products towards Italy, a cheaper option than sea transport.

Although numerous works in the bibliography of Enrique Soria Mesa, one of the leading authors about the convert group in Granada,[49] deal with convert merchants from the city,[50] as does the doctoral dissertation of the late Francisco Quevedo Sánchez, which analyses converts from Granada and Córdoba, many of them merchants, we are still lacking a specific study about this key group for the

[44] Arturo Morgado García, "Las relaciones entre Cádiz y el norte de África en el siglo XVII", *Trocadero*, (1998-1999), pp. 73-94; Arturo Morgado García, "El mercado de esclavos en el Cádiz de la Edad Moderna (1650-1750)", *Tiempos modernos: Revista Electrónica de Historia Moderna*, 6, 18, 2009.

[45] Eloy Martín Corrales, "Exportaciones españolas al Mediterráneo musulmán (siglos XVI-XVIII)" in José Antonio Martínez Torres (ed.) *Circulación de personas e intercambios comerciales en el mediterráneo y el atlántico (Siglos XVI, XVII, XVIII),* Madrid, 2008, pp. 215-233; ID., "El comercio de la bahía de Cádiz con el norte de África 1492-1767" in Isabel Lobato Franco and José María Oliva Melgar, *El sistema comercial español en la economía mundial (siglos XVII-XVIII). Homenaje a Jesús Aguado de los Reyes*, Huelva, Universidad de Huelva, 2013, pp. 257-281.

[46] José Antonio Martínez Torres, "Plata y lana para el infiel. La saca de moneda, paños y bonetes desde España hacia el Mediterráneo y el Atlántico africano (siglos XVI-XVII)" in José Antonio Martínez Torres (ed.) *Circulación de personas e intercambios comerciales en el mediterráneo y el atlántico (Siglos XVI, XVII, XVIII),* Madrid, 2008, pp. 215-233.

[47] Miguel Royano Cabrera, *La comunidad mercantil de la corona de Aragón en la Baja Andalucía (1516-1556),* 2023, Seville, Universidad de Sevilla, 2020; Rafael M. Girón Pascual, "Esclavos y muchas otras cosas. La red comercial de Diego de Polanco, mercader burgalés y regidor de Cádiz (s. XVI)", *Anuario de estudios americanos*, 79, 2, 2022, pp. 543-571.

[48] Rafael María Girón Pascual, "Puertos sin puerto: El comercio en las "playas" del reino de Granada (siglos XVI-XVII)", *E-Spania: Revue électronique d'études hispaniques médiévales*, 22 (2015).

[49] Enrique Soria Mesa, "Conversos, comerciantes y regidores: el origen mercantil de la élite local granadina (ss. XVI-XVIII)" in Juan J. Iglesias Rodríguez, Rafael M. Pérez García and Manuel F. Fernández Chaves (eds), *Comercio y Cultura en la Edad Moderna*, Seville, Universidad de Sevilla, 2015, pp. 185-202.; ID, "El negocio del siglo: los judeoconversos y la renta de la seda del Reino de Granada (siglo XVI)", *Hispania*, 76, 253 (2016), pp. 415-444.

[50] Enrique Soria Mesa, "Burocracia y conversos: la Real Chancillería de Granada en los siglos XVI y XVII" in Francisco José Aranda Pérez (ed.), *Letrados, juristas y burócratas en la España moderna*, 2005, pp. 107-144; ID., *La nobleza en la España moderna: cambio y continuidad*, Madrid, Marcial Pons, 2007.

economy of 16th-century Granada.[51] I have paid some attention to Granada-based convert merchant lineages,[52] and to the relationship between convert and Genoese merchants in my book *Comercio y Poder.*[53] However, paraphrasing Enrique Soria, it can be said that the major mercantile sagas that arrived in Granada from Córdoba (Armijo, Roa, Córdoba, Baena, Montesinos, Aragonés, Dávila) and Toledo (Cepeda, Alcocer, San Pedro, Ortiz, Hurtado, de la Fuente, Velluga, Moncada, Castellano) are still waiting for a historian.[54]

A good approximation to economic activity in the city and kingdom is presented in Francisco Andújar Castillo and Julián Pablo Díaz López's chapter in *Historia del Reino de Granada.*[55] Silk production and manufacture was one of the most important economic activities in the kingdom, and one of the most popular among the city's merchants, as we shall see below.

The financial and mercantile activity of converts in Málaga in the early 16th century has been analysed by two medievalists: María Teresa López Beltrán and José Enrique López de Coca Castañer.[56] There are few known references about the activity of convert merchants in Almería during the 16th century. Traditional historiography holds that the harbour of Almería underwent a deep crisis in the opening decades of the century, and that the expulsion of the Moriscos from the Kingdom of Granada in the 1570s lay the final nail in the port's coffin. It is clear, at any rate, that naval contacts with Italy and North Africa in the 16th century were hoovered up by Cartagena and, especially, Alicante. Antonio Muñoz Buendía's unpublished doctoral dissertation deals with a few merchant families (Carbonell, Vázquez, Salmerón, Íñiguez, Almansa, Valenzuela, Bonachera) many of which were of Aragonese origin (specifically from Alicante),[57] but little attention is paid to their ancestry, although some of them (Almansa and Salmerón) were likely descendants of converts.

[51] Francisco I. Quevedo Sánchez, *Familias en movimiento. Los judeoconversos cordobeses y su proyección en el reino de Granada (ss. XV-XVII),* Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Granada, Universidad de Granada, 2016.

[52] Rafael M. Girón Pascual, "Mercaderes de seda, "verlegers" y veinticuatros: Los Castellano de Marquina de Granada (1569-1644)" in Juan J. Iglesias Rodríguez, Rafael M. Pérez García and Manuel F. Fernández Chaves (eds), *Comercio y Cultura en la Edad Moderna*, Seville, Universidad de Sevilla, 2015, pp. 715-730.

[53] Rafael M. Girón Pascual, *Comercio y Poder. Mercaderes genoveses en el Sureste de Castilla durante los siglos XVI y XVII (1550-1700),* Valladolid, Universidad de Valladolid-Cátedra Simón-Ruiz, 2018.

[54] Enrique Soria Mesa, "Conversos, comerciantes y regidores...", *op. cit.*, pp. 191 y 191.

[55] Francisco Andújar Castillo and Julián Pablo Díaz López "Las actividades económicas" in Manuel Barrios Aguilera (ed.), *Historia del Reino de Granada*, II, Granada, Legado Andalusí, 2000, pp. 59-100.

[56] Among others: María Teresa López Beltrán, *El Puerto de Málaga en la transición a los tiempos modernos*, Malaga, Universidad de Málaga, 1986.; ID., "Redes familiares y movilidad social en el negocio de la renta: el tándem Fernando de Córdoba – Rodrigo Álvarez de Madrid y los judeoconversos de Málaga", *Revista del Centro de Estudios Históricos de Granada y su Reino*, 24 (2012) pp. 33-72; José Enrique López de Coca Castañer, *El Reino de Granada en la época de los Reyes Católicos: repoblación, comercio y frontera*, Granada, Universidad de Granada, 1989.

[57] Antonio Muñoz Buendía, *La ciudad de Almería y su tierra en la época de Felipe II. Moriscos y repoblación*, Tesis doctoral inédita, Granada, Universidad de Granada, 1997, p. 531.

Merchants in Córdoba, Seville and Granada

Córdoba

The effective commercialisation of Córdoba's large cloth, silk, and leather output required a solid mercantile sector, and the city harboured one of the largest merchant communities in Castile. In some sectors, they did not only deal in commodities produced by others but were involved in the whole production and commercialisation process.

This table, published by Fortea, reflects the existence of just under 600 merchants in the city of Córdoba in the late 16th century, although it leaves out merchants in hides, of which there must have been quite a few, so a figure of 650-700 can be safely assumed. Merchants bought raw materials (dyes, mordants, wool, silk) and technology (looms, cards) and coordinated a *Domestic System* of production. Despite this, their role in the city has been neglected by historiography.

Merchants	**1579-1584**
In cloth	208
In silk	200
In canvas	90
In haberdashery	40
In spices	50
In iron	3
Total	**591**

Table 1. Merchants in Córdoba in the late 16th century.[58]

But let us leave figures aside to assume a more social outlook, beginning with the name of some of these merchants and their families, again, resorting to Fortea.

Table 2 reflects the top contributors to the cloth rent in Córdoba. Of Diego Rodríguez de Córdoba (second) we know little: only that he was the brother-in-law of Alonso Suárez (first). Of Juan Ximénez de Escobar (fourth), who was appointed *jurado* in the city in 1595, and *vecino* of the parish of San Andrés, we know that he sold Cordoban cloth in Seville, Utrera, and Granada.[59] Juan Fernández Barchilón (third), stood out for selling cloth far and wide, including Jerez de la Frontera, Zafra, Carmona, Palma del Río, Porcuna, and Granada.[60] I wrote a bit about Alonso Suárez in the final sections of my work about Cordoban merchants, especially concerning his convert ancestry and the social promotion of his lineage; their patronages and rights of primogeniture passed to the Saavedras, which eventually became Dukes of Ribas.[61] Alonso Suárez set up a network to export Cordoban cloth to Portugal (where he found financial back up and pastel from the Azores to dye his cloth), the city of Granada, and Gibraltar.

[58] Source: José Ignacio Fortea Pérez, *Córdoba en el siglo XVI*...p. 243.
[59] AHPCo, 15825P, ff. 381v and 630r.
[60] AHPCo, 15314P, ff. 160r; 182v; 712r; 722v and 725r.
[61] Rafael M. Girón Pascual, "Mercaderes judeoconversos de Córdoba ...", pp. 240-248.

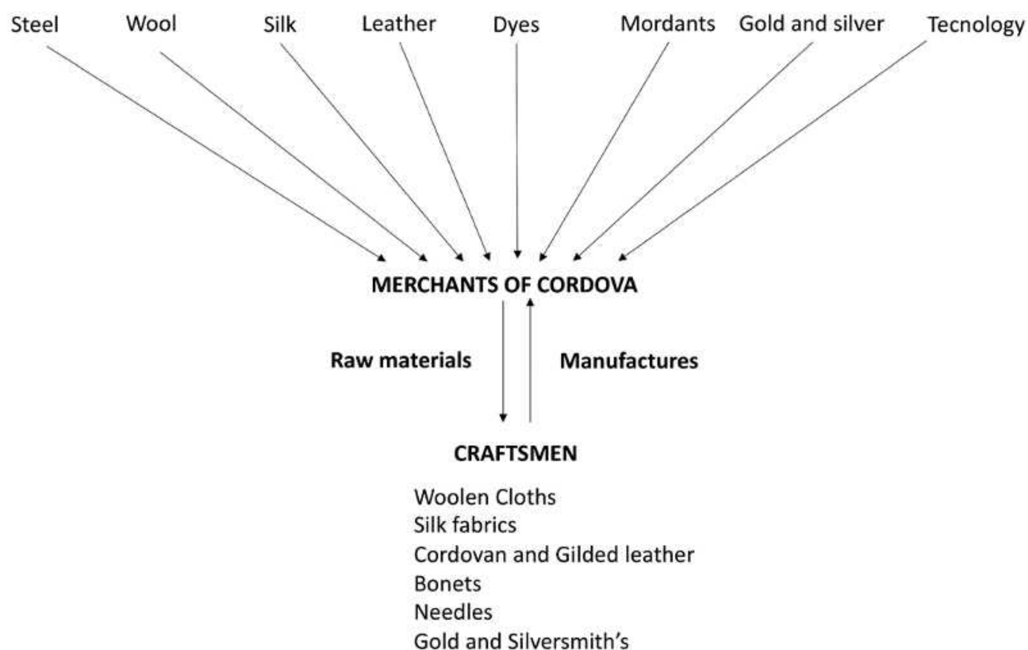

Figure 1. Merchants as a key piece in the production of cloth.[62]

Cloth merchant	Rents (in *maravedíes*)
Alonso Suárez	200,000
Diego Rodríguez de Córdoba	175,000
Juan Fernández Barchilón	125,000
Juan Ximénez de Escobar	125,000

Table 2. The largest contributors to the cloth rents in Córdoba (1581).[63]

Gibraltar was a major entrepot for Cordoban cloth on its way to North Africa, specifically Tangiers, Safi, Larache, and Cap Ghir, as well as the interior cities of Fes, Taroudant, and Marrakesh. The network, which was active at least between 1550 and 1580, was represented in Gibraltar by the merchant Álvaro Gómez, who channelled Cordoban and Valencian cloth, among other commodities.

The Córdoba, Castil, Aragonés, Suárez, Uceda, Martínez del Molino, Barchilón, Sánchez de Arias, Pérez Maquedano, and Sánchez de las Granas were all active manufacturing and mercantile lineages of convert origin. Nearly all of them or, rather, their parents and grandparents, had had problems with the Inquisition. It was very rare for members of this network not to have had relatives indicted by the Holy Office, and for their family names not to feature in the famous 'bundle 100' in Simancas.

The network sent a wide array of products to Gibraltar, especially silk cloth (taffeta, velvet, satin); cloth, generally cheap types, *catorcenos* (1,400 threads), *dieciochenos*,

[62] Fuente: AHPCo. Author's own.
[63] Fuente: José Ignacio Fortea Pérez, *Córdoba en el siglo XVI*...pp. 374-375. Elaboración propia.

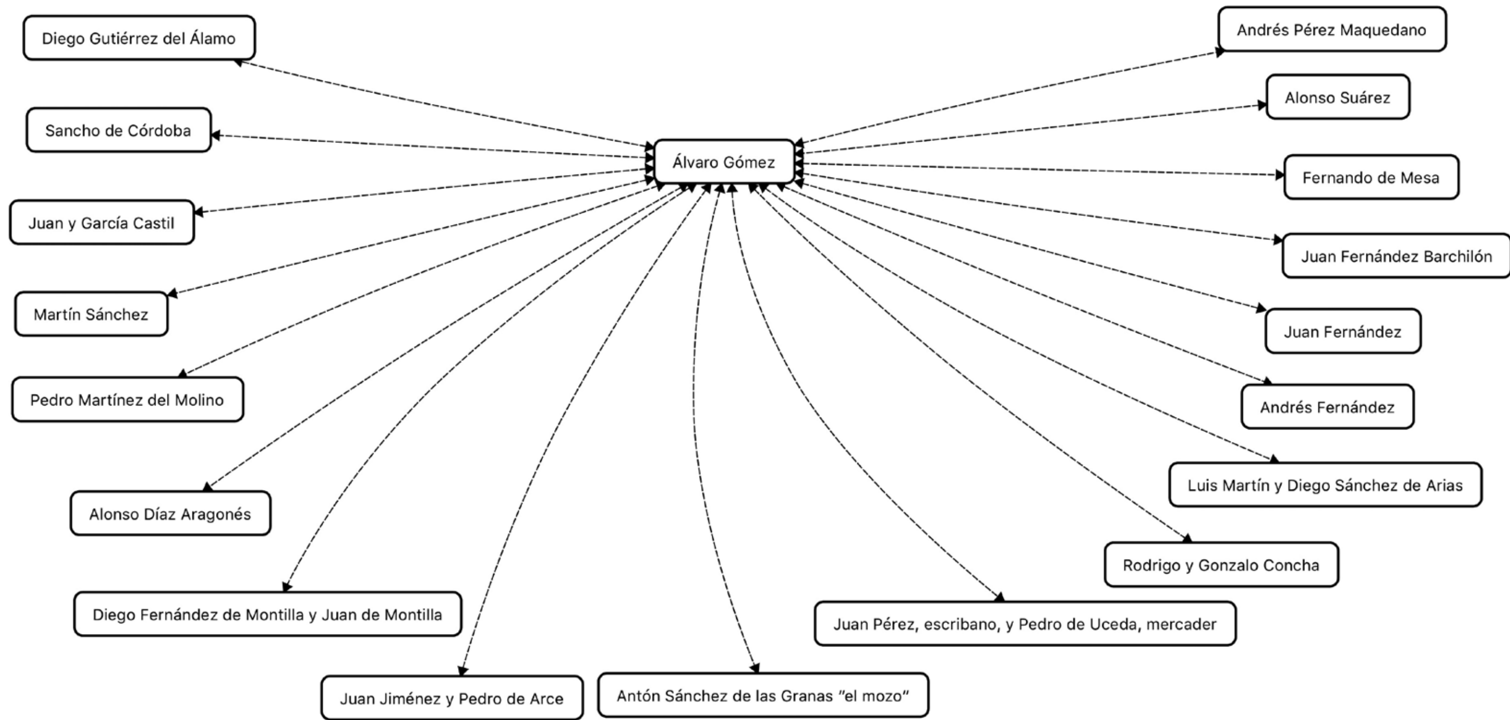

Figure 2. The Cordoban network of Álvaro Gómez, merchant in Gibraltar (1550-1580).
Source: AHPCo, Passim. Author's own.

Map 1. The Córdoba-Gibraltar route and its connections with Tangiers and Ceuta.

but also *veinticuatrenos*, *palmillas*, black wipes, canvas... They also dealt in cloth from Segovia and Valencia and silk from Granada, as well as in non-textile products such as saffron.[64] They sent dozens of cargoes per year, brought to Gibraltar by mule trains or carts before being shipped to Barbary.

Álvaro Gómez was not the only Gibraltar-based merchants to receive Cordoban textiles. Álvaro Carreño, Roque Machado, Pedro Hernández, Martín López, and the Tarifa-born Toribio Sánchez also feature in the record. The Córdoba-Gibraltar route was probably the most efficient to connect Córdoba with the harbours of Tangiers and Ceuta.

This network perfectly illustrates the commercialisation of Cordoban products, but it was not the only one. We have evidence of the commercialisation of these commodities (Cordovan cloth, embossed leather, cloth, and silk) in America via the fleets that set

[64] AHPCo, 9.264, f. 78r.

sail from Seville, and Cordoban bonnet makers send many of their goods to Cádiz through the Aragonés and the Castril merchant houses.

Seville

The lack of an overall study about Sevillian merchants in the 16th century necessarily limits the scope of this section, although an article by Eberhard Crailsheim does at least present quantitative data for the 17th century.[65] The work analyses the extraordinary contributions paid to the Crown in the 1630s and 1640s, and yields a figure of 640 merchants for the city of Seville, although this must be regarded as a low ebb, because this was a time of severe economic crisis. In addition, this contribution mostly affected major international merchants, both Spanish and foreign, so it is reasonable to assume that smaller players were left out of the reckoning.

A rough estimate suggests that in the final decades of the 16th century the number of merchants in Seville must have exceeded 1000. This is just over the number of merchants in Córdoba (650-700), although Sevillian merchants were much wealthier and had larger commercial capital stocks than their Cordoban counterparts, owing to their direct links with America.

The commercial networks that converged in Seville reached the whole European continent (Portugal, Italy, Flanders, France, England, Baltic regions, Russia) and

Merchants in the Carrera de Indias			
Pedro de Vega	Martín Berganzo	Alonso Fernández de Flandes	Pedro de Carmona
Hernando Vallejo	Gaspar Alcaide	Hernando de Carmona	Juan Cristóbal Puebla
Juan Pérez Lazcano	Juan de la Barrera	Francisco Torres Cámara	Pedro Milán Bravo
Antonio de Melo	Rodrigo de Torices	Hernán López Ramírez	Pedro de Tapia
Pedro de Retes	Lope de Tapia	Gonzalo de Armenta	Domingo de Leaegui
Pedro de Victoria	Cristóbal de Salcedo	Diego Álvarez Gaibor	Pedro Pablo Minucho
Juan de Serón	Lope de Munibe	Francisco Gallo de Escalada	Diego García Almonte
Antonio Cuadrado	Gabriel Díaz	Pablo Martínez de Francia	Francisco de Almonte
Alonso de Carrión	Cristóbal de Carrión	Diego de Herrera Arias	Juan López de Ayala
Antón de Armijo	Gaspar de Perales	Juan de Salcedo Reinalte	Miguel de Jaúregui
Miguel de Caviedes	Juan Díaz Caro	Miguel Hernández Calero	Nerozo del Nero
Lucas de la Sal	Diego de Padilla	Rodrigo de León Garavito	Martín Sánchez de Solís
Baltasar Marco	Diego de Quevedo	Hernando de Tordesillas	Andrés Plamont
Pedro de Moncada	Diego de Padilla	Antón Sánchez de Uceda	Alonso Román

Table 3. Some merchants with America in Juan Escalante de Mendoza's fleet (1596).[66]

[65] Eberhard Crailsheim, "Extranjeros entre dos mundos. una aproximación proporcional a las colonias de mercaderes extranjeros en Sevilla, 1570–1650", *Jahrbuch für Geschichte Lateinamerikas = Anuario de Historia de América Latina (JbLA),* 48, 2011, pp. 179-202.

[66] Source: AGI, Contratación, 1114-1117. Author's own.

beyond (Armenia, Ottoman Empire, Persia, Morocco) and across the Atlantic and the Pacific (Spanish and Portuguese colonies) in both America and the Far East. Thousands of merchants from these regions came to Seville to trade anything with anybody.

The top of this group was occupied by the uberwealthy merchants that ran the *Carrera de Indias* with America. Most of these merchants had humble beginnings and camefrom convert lineages, and they totally blew up the traditional social structure of the city with their enormous wealth, which allowed them to compete with the high Castilian aristocracy in the size of their daughters' dowries.[67] We shall talk about them more in depth in the following section.

Granada

In Granada, the 1561 census, studied by Felipe Ruiz Martín, is only a very partial source, as it leaves out some parishes and does not include the name of the merchants.[68] To make matters worse, the census predates the demographic cataclysm brought about by the War of the Alpujarras and the expulsion of the Moriscos from the kingdom, including the merchants; the mercantile picture of the city in the early 17th century resembled little that in the closing decades of the 1500s.

Therefore, no quantitative approach is possible, so we can only tackle the issue qualitatively, based on notarial records and some lawsuits filed in the Real Chancillería de Granada.

In one of these lawsuits, dated to 1563-1565 and, therefore, before the war, about 200 silk merchants (although only 68 are named) filed a lawsuit against silk weavers, because a city ordinance forbade the former from having spindles in their homes.[69] No evidence exists to attest that the litigants belonged to the Morisco minority, so it is assumed that most continued active after the Morisco revolt.

I have studied the families and origins of a significant number of these merchants, and most were of convert origin, many of which came from the kingdoms of Toledo, Córdoba, and Jaén. I am currently preparing a monograph about it alongside Professor Enrique Soria Mesa.[70]

Concerning cloth merchants, the evidence, based on notarial records, is much more disperse.

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[67] Rafael M. Girón Pascual, "Capital comercial, capital simbólico..."

[68] Felipe Ruiz Martín, "Movimientos demográficos y económicos en el Reino de Granada durante la segunda mitad del siglo XVI", *Anuario de Historia Económica y Social*, I, (1968), pp. 127-183.

[69] Archivo de la Real Chancillería de Granada, 2869-1.

[70] Provisional title: *El reino de la seda. Mercaderes judeoconversos en la Granada del siglo XVI.*

Silk merchants			
Diego Hernández	Juan Alonso	Francisco de Villafranca	Diego de Quesada
Luis Muñoz	Juan de Calderón	Gonzalo Gómez	Diego de Montalbán
Alonso Castellanos	Melchor del Carpio	Juan Rodríguez de Bujalance	Martín de Fuentes
Pedro de Quesada	Gaspar Rodríguez	Pedro Gómez	Baltasar de la Serna
Francisco Sánchez	Melchor Alonso	Ambrosio Hernández	Gonzalo Juárez
Gonzalo Martínez	Adrián Pérez	Alonso de Valladolid	Alonso de Castro
Juan Rodríguez	Ruy Díaz	Rodrigo de Santiago	Alonso Gutiérrez
Juan González	Miguel de Burgos	Sebastián de la Tuesta	Diego de Toledo
Francisco Sánchez	Pedro Ramírez	Baltasar de San Pedro	Juan López
Benito Juárez	Alonso de Luque	Hernando de Baena	Gabriel de Castro
Gaspar Pérez	Francisco Ortiz	Juan Rodríguez Buenadueña	Gaspar Rodríguez
Alonso de Soria	Cristóbal Sánchez	Lope del Hierro Carvajal	Francisco Pérez
Nuño de la Peña	Pedro Álvarez	Francisco Hernández	Francisco de Valenzuela
Diego Suárez	Juan de Valdés	Diego Hernández Rodríguez	Ciscos de Miranda
Pedro Ortiz	Luis del Castillo	Gaspar de Paredes	Diego de Valenzuela
Hernando Franco	Gonzalo de Baeza	Melchor de Oñate de Vega	Melchor de Valenzuela
Juan de Loaysa	Francisco de Rivera	Antón Ruiz de Blanca	Juan de Guadalajara

Table 4. Some silk merchants in Granada based on the 1563-1565 lawsuit.[71]

The previous table presents the name of 51 merchants that brought Castilian wool cloth (Segovia, Ávila, Cuenca, Córdoba, Baeza, and Puertollano, among others) to Granada in the second half of the 16th century. There must have been many more. Most had been born in Granada, but we also find naturals of Valladolid (Rodríguez de Santa Cruz), Córdoba, Lorenzo Ortiz (agent of the Córdoba-based Suárez), the Basque Country (Arbolancha and Urdaneta), and Portugal, Diego Mendes. Later, we shall see that some of them –Alonso de Valer, Melchor Ruiz Canales, and José Díaz de Bobadilla– climbed to the position of *veinticuatros* in the city.

In total, despite the fragmentary nature of the information, we can estimate 300-350 merchants in Granada in the second half of the 16th century. This was a significant number, but below that of Seville or Córdoba.

This is in addition to a significant number of Genoese merchants (Pelegro de Mayolo and his nephews Vicencio Mayolo and Vicencio Bestaño, Agustín and Francisco Escalla, Francisco and Bartolomé Veneroso, Marco Antonio Gavi, and Juan Andrea Oliver) who imported all kinds of Italian textiles (Florentine and Genoese *rajas*, Bolognese veils) and Castilian cloth (Segovia, Córdoba, Baeza).[72]

Dealing in cloth or silk – and often both – these merchants participated in commercial networks that spread beyond the Kingdom of Granada and Castile. For instance, Juan

[71] Source: ARChG, 2869-1. Author's own.

[72] See Rafael M. Girón Pascual, *Comercio y poder…*

Álvarez Dávila imported Castilian and Flemish cloth and exported silk to America through Seville, as illustrated in Figure 3.

Needless to say, this was not the only network of this nature. The Granada-born Miguel de la Peña and his partners Gabriel de Salazar (Priego de Córdoba) and Bartolomé de Soria (Lisbon) exported silk woven in Granada and Priego and imported spices (pepper, cloves, cinnamon, sugar) and cloth from the Portuguese colonies (*diegogies*, *camiquí*, *canicules*, *chaparies*, *beirames*, *balagatinos*, *pacharíes*...), as part of global networks.[73]

As impressionistically noted in the previous sections, the merchants of Córdoba, Seville, and Granada and the commercial networks of which they were part in the 16th and 17th centuries formed a wide spectrum in terms of activity and wealth. Now, we shall see if this activity allowed them to accrue sufficient capital and prestige to climb to power, nobility, and honours, or whether they were stuck in the mesocracy for generations.

Cloth merchants		
Alonso Franco	Pedro de Guevara	Blas de Salamanca
Pablo Centeno	Luis de Paniza	Juan Hernández de Robles
Gabriel de Guzmán	Gaspar de Baeza	Francisco Rodríguez de Santa Cruz
Hernán Rodríguez	Juan Díaz	Juan Martínez de Arbolancha
Francisco de Valer	Alonso de Valer	Melchor Ruiz Canales
Tomás Ruiz	Alonso de Porras	Luis González de Toledo
Diego de Almansa	Diego de Baeza	Alonso Méndez
Marcos Díaz	Francisco de Madrid	Gaspar de Urdaneta
Francisco Ruiz	Baltasar Ruiz	Pedro de los Reyes
Francisco de Quirós	Miguel de la Peña	Diego Mendes
Diego de la Torre	Alejo Dávila	José Díaz de Bobadilla
Hernando de Aguilar	Melchor de Aguilar	Sebastián de Soria
Sebastián Pollino	Hernando de Palma	Juan de Salazar
Juan de Villanueva	Blas de León	Francisco de Contreras
Juan Fernández	Jerónimo Cebreros	Cristóbal de Villanueva
Juan Daza	Matías de Bobadilla	Francisco Fernández de Burgos
Juan Álvarez Dávila	Lorenzo Ortiz	Roque Vaca

Table 5. Cloth merchants in Granada 1563-1600.[74]

Merchants and mesocracy in Andalusian cities: two diverging models

What role did merchants play in local power in southern Castile? Were mercantile lineages able to enter the city councils, or where they pushed aside by the nobility, to

[73] AHPrG, G-283, f. 554r; G-294, f. 273r.
[74] Source: AHPrG. Author's own.

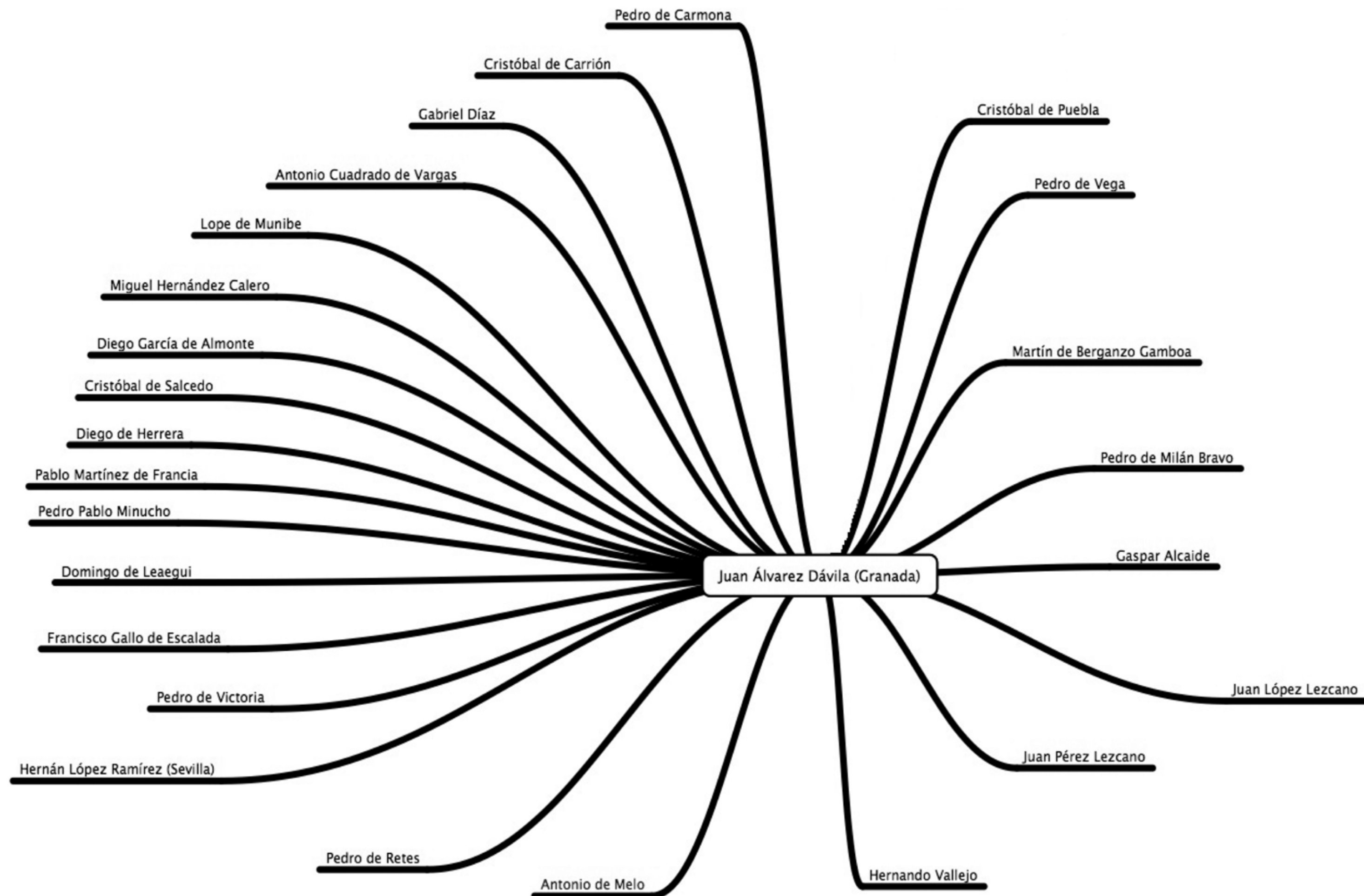

Figure 3. The commercial network of the Granada-based Juan Álvarez Dávila and the merchants with America in Seville. Source: AHPrG, G-313. Author's own.

play a secondary role in which the status of purity of blood and access to corporate groups was all they could aspire to?

Two clearly different models emerge when this issue is examined in the cities of Granada, Córdoba, and Seville. These models are marked by historical, social, and economic circumstances, which shaped these cities differently in the turn of the Early Modern Age. This outcome is, in any case, surprising, given how much these cities, especially Córdoba and Seville, had in common.

A true mesocracy: the city of Córdoba

Previous sections have presented the large number of merchants active in Córdoba (and their wealth) in the 16th and 17th centuries. Now, we must examine whether they were able to access municipal power as *caballeros veinticuatros*. The evidence suggests that, apart from rare exceptions, these lineages were barred access to these honours.

The city's elite, the descendants of the 13th-century Castilian conquerors, kept a tight grip on the *veinticuatrías* until well into the 18th century; the Aguayo, Argote, Berrio, Cabrera, Cárcamo, Carrillo, Castilla, Godoy, Góngora, Gutiérrez de los Ríos, Hoces, Méndez de Haro, Messía, Saavedra, Sosa, Sotomayor, Valenzuela, Venegas, and, especially, the various branches of the Fernández de Córdova, already occupied these offices in the 15th century.[75] It is true that the late 15th century witnessed the arrival of numerous new lineages, such as the Cea, Cárdenas, Herrera, Tafur, Luna, Orozco, and Fernández de Mesa, among others, to the local scene, but the convulse social conditions in the city at the time did not allow them to hold on to their newly-gained position. This was, to a large extent, because of the arrival of the Inquisition to the city in the 1480s, and of the ferocious persecution of converts by inquisitor Lucero, who in 1504 sent 107 alleged *judaizantes*, including a few *veinticuatros*, to the stake.

The purge of convert *regidores* and their families changed the council's profile. Many lineages emigrated to other Andalusian cities or the countryside, where they accepted social demotion to work for the region's nobility in seigniorial households. Some managed to return to the city after several generations, reinventing their genealogies and changing their name, but that did not suffice to give them access to *regimientos*.

The society that emerged from Lucero's persecutions lacked in 'illustrious' converts, and only the lowest layers of convert society (craftspeople, poor merchants) remained; although they managed to improve their lot in economic terms, in the 16th and 17th centuries they had to make do with minor forms of local power, including

[75] Margarita Cabrera Sánchez, *Nobleza, oligarquía y poder en Córdoba al final de la Edad Media* Universidad de Córdoba, Monte de Piedad y Caja de Ahorros de Córdoba, 1998.

offices within the Inquisition and brotherhoods. This social group never made it to the *veinticuatros* and had to make the most of their professional occupations as craftsmen, merchants, clerks, and apothecaries.

The requirement of purity of blood status to enter the council, imposed in 1568, certainly did not help.[76] This may be a key factor for the absence of mesocracy in cities in which this requirement came late (Jaén and Granada), but it had no effect whatever in Seville, as we shall see.

Therefore, the city council closed down for the Cordoban commercial mesocracy. Only a few foreign merchants, such as the Cantabrian (and old Christians) Lamadrid and Concha, managed the occasional *veinticuatría*; the rest simply gave up even trying. At most, some were able to, exceptionally, marry their daughters with the second-born sons of the families that monopolised the council, and some of these became the main heirs when the line of the first-born became extinct. This was the case, for instance, with the uberwealthy merchant Cristóbal de Soto Alférez, *jurado* in Córdoba, who married his daughters Justa and Catalina (with 12,000 ducats dowries) to the *veinticuatros* Alonso Pérez de Saavedra and Bernardino Suárez de Góngora in the opening decades of the 17th century. The former *veinticuatro* was a widower with a male heir and the latter was a third-born. The convert merchant Diego Suárez Martínez, whose lineage included five *jurados* in 16th-century Córdoba, married Catalina de Saavedra, sister of the *veinticuatro* Alonso (above), eventually enabling the appointment of his son, Gonzalo Saavedra Hoces, as *veinticuatro* (but quite late, in 1663). Gonzalo, however, failed to produce an heir, so the Suárez family could not consolidate their position in the council.[77]

The remaining Cordoban mercantile lineages were content to occupy the office of *jurado* throughout the 16th and 17th centuries. Veritable mesocratic dynasties whose progress was arrested by the top layers of society and the power that they wielded.[78]

The situation of the Cordoban mesocracy stood in sharp contrast with the situation in the other two cities under study: Seville and Granada.

Lineage	Number of *jurados*	Period
de las Granas	3	1599-1677
Gómez de Figueroa	5	1580-1661
Barchilón	4	1592-1650
Rofos	2	1560-1590

Table 6. Some dynasties of Cordoban merchants and jurados that never gained veinticuatrías.

[76] Enrique Soria Mesa, “Los Estatutos municipales de Limpieza de Sangre en la Castilla Moderna. Una revisión crítica”, *Mediterránea. Ricerche Storiche*, 27 (2013) p. 36.

[77] Girón Pascual, Rafael M., “Mercaderes judeoconversos de Córdoba…”, op. cit., pp. 250-253.

[78] For this, see Enrique Soria Mesa, “Una mesocracia judeoconversa…”, op. cit.

[79] Source: AHPCo. Author’s own.

Failed mesocracy: the unstoppable rise of the merchants

If in Córdoba the social promotion of mesocratic groups was blocked by the wealthy and powerful local nobility, which effectively barred access to *veinticuatrías* to most merchants (at least in the 16th and 17th centuries), the picture was very different in Seville and Granada, although for different reasons. There, a Córdoba-style mesocracy never crystallised; upstarts easily assaulted municipal councils, gained the status of *hidalguía*, and, in a few cases, even entered the ranks of the titled nobility. This process was slow in some instances and swift in others, but relatively easy for everyone with the right tools and enough wealth.

Seville

The elite that came to dominate Seville after the Castilian conquest of 1248 was similar to that which prevailed in Córdoba and Jaén,[80] and these elites were even linked by family bonds. By the late 15th century, however, these original lineages, impoverished or purged by the dynastic changes that gave the Crown to the Trastámaras, had been virtually replaced by merchant families of convert origin, boosted by the role played by Seville's harbour as the main outlet of olive oil, wine, and cereal from Seville's hinterland towards the European and north African markets.[81]

The discovery of America in 1492 did nothing but accelerate these changes: the enormous profits derived from the trade with America catapulted merchants and their families into municipal power.[82] The council became full of merchants, many of convert origin, and the few nobles that still retained *veinticuatrías* had few qualms to marry their first-borns to the daughters of upstarts and their enormous dowries. As such, the medieval councillors Afán de Rivera, Guzmán, Coronel, Manzanedo, Tenorio, Ponce de León, Saavedra, and Zúñiga gave way in the council to the Castilians Alcázar, Alcocer, Almansa, Contador de Baena, León Garavito, Caballero, Illescas, Sánchez Dalvo, Tapia, Armijo, Núñez Pérez, Vallejo, Casaus, Jaúregui, Espinosa, Monsalve, Medina, de la Puebla, López Ramírez, Armenta, Almonte, Salcedo, Colindres, and Serón; or to the foreign Pinelo, Paiva, Melo, Bécquer, Conique, Vivien, Helman, Maestre, etc.

Among the mercantile lineages that took over the Sevillian council there were a few of unmistakable convert descent, which were able to break the boundaries of mesocracy to access municipal power in one or two generations. This is, without a doubt, the greatest difference between Seville and Córdoba. In Seville, the profits of international

[80] Rafael Sánchez Saus, *Caballería y linaje en la Sevilla medieval*, Seville, Diputación de Sevilla, 1989.

[81] Juan Manuel Bello León and Manuel González Jiménez, "El puerto de Sevilla en la Baja Edad Media (siglos XIII-XV)", in Blanca Garí and David Abulafia (eds), *En las costas del Mediterráneo occidental. Las ciudades de la Península Ibérica y del reino de Mallorca y el comercio mediterráneo en la Edad Media,* Barcelona, Omega, 1996, pp. 213-236.

[82] Juan Cartaya Baños, "Un listado inédito de veinticuatros de Sevilla (1494-1590)", *Historia Instituciones Documentos*, 49, 2022, pp. 83-116.

trade were the picklock that opened the padlock of a weakened nobility which could not compete economically with the new class. The following two examples illustrate a process that was repeated dozens of times.

The Núñez Pérez

The marriage of Diego Núñez Pérez and Ana Márquez de Baeza, both born in the county of Niebla, resulted in the birth of Francisco Núñez Pérez and Marcos Núñez Pérez.[83] The former remained in Seville while the latter lived in Antwerp for most of his life, although he returned to Seville to die. The two brothers created a successful company to deal in wool between Seville and Flanders, and also to invest in black slaves and the silver mines of Cazalla in conjunction with their partners in Mexico and Portugal.[84]

Francisco's son, Diego Núñez Pérez, whom we find buying wool in Córdoba with his father in 1570 and 1571,[85] entered the Sevillian council in 1597 and the status of *hidalguía* in 1608, after over twenty years of court action at the Real Chancillería de Granada. Before, in 1587, he had been granted a privilege of *hidalguía*. He changed his name to *Pérez de Meñaca*, falsifying his genealogy to present himself as a descendant of this illustrious Basque family.

In this long lawsuit (1586-1608), witnesses expressed grave doubts about the Basque and *hidalgo* origin of the Núñez Pérez: "they are reputedly the descendants of Jews"; "their descendants were processed and punished by the Holy Office of the Inquisition for observing the dead law of Moses"; and "they are not from Vizcaya, but from Gibraleón". The court even requested reports from Meñaca, in Vizcaya, where the *vecinos* declared that "the masters of the house are called Meñaca, and never there was a Núñez Pérez among them". However, the most interesting deposition is perhaps that of witness Tomás Moreno:

> One day, around six months ago, I was with Andrés de Alba, of the General Inquisition in Seville, and in a friendly conversation he touched on a matter pertaining to Diego Núñez Pérez; he said, the inquisitor: "he is not content with being *veinticuatro* and having a privilege as *hidalgo*, he also wants to prove it"; "it

[83] See Manuel Francisco Fernández Chaves, "El patronato de las hermanas conversas Ana y Juana Núñez Pérez en Sevilla. Siglos XVII-XIX". In Da caridade à solidariedade: políticas públicas e práticas particulares no mundo Ibérico, Universidade do Minho. 2016, pp. 113-127; Manuel Francisco Fernández Chaves and Natalia Maillard Álvarez, "Lecturas de un mercader y tratante de esclavos: Francisco Núñez Pérez (+1573)", in Natalia Maillard Álvarez, Manuel Francisco Fernández Chaves Bibliotecas de la Monarquía Hispánica en la primera globalización (siglos XVI-XVIII), 2021, pp. 17-62; Hillerkuss Finn, Thomas, and Quiñones Flores, Georgina Indira, "El testamento de Luis Núñez Pérez de Meñaca, tesorero de la Casa de Moneda de la ciudad de México (1610)", *Relaciones. Estudios de historia y sociedad*, 36, 142 (2015) pp. 159-191; and Juan Cartaya Baños,"*Para ejercitar la maestría de los caballos". La nobleza sevillana y la fundación de la Real Maestranza de Caballería en 1670*, Seville, Diputación de Sevilla, 2012.

[84] Manuel Francisco Fernández Chaves and Natalia Maillard Álvarez, "Lecturas de un mercader y tratante de esclavos…", op. cit.

[85] AHPCo, 14.063P, ff. 10r, 11v and 14103P, ff. 1243r and v; 1250v and ff.

is not true that his ancestors were in Vizcaya, but in the County [of Niebla] and followers of Moses's law they were, and this is in the castle [of Triana, seat of the Inquisition in Seville] and will be easy to prove".

Inquisitor Alba was clearly wrong about this because nobody proved anything, and the sons and grandsons of the convert Diego Núñez Pérez, already as "Pérez de Meñaca", *hidalgos* from Vizcaya, occupied positions as *veinticuatros* in Seville until the male line became extinct in the 18th century.[86]

The Puebla/Lugo

Very little has been published about this family, other than they funded the construction of the Chapel of the Assumption, in Seville's cathedral. The main driver of the family's social promotion was Juan Cristóbal de Puebla, *jurado* in Seville between 1592 and 1593. The son of Bartolomé de Puebla, perhaps a candle maker in Calle de la Borceguinería, and Isabel García Agulló, Juan Cristóbal was a successful merchant in the *Carrera de Indias*. He features in the record buying silk from Granada through Juan Álvarez Dávila in the 1590s and trading with Lima in partnership with the Portuguese Antonio de Melo.[87] His will, dated to 1599, founded a primogeniture with 1730 ducats of annual rent, including two rents against the Marquis of Priego and Seville's *Lonja* and the main houses in the parish of San Bartolomé.[88] Aside from this primogeniture, he left assets to Juliana (worth 24,000 ducats), two herds of cattle, and other assets worth nearly 192,000 ducats.[89] His marriage with Catalina de Acosta (daughter of the *jurado* for Triana Francisco de Lugo and Catalina de Acosta) left two sons: Bartolomé de Puebla, *jurado* of Seville in 1603, who had two children with Beatriz Luisa de Moscoso; and Francisco de Lugo Puebla, *veinticuatro* of Seville in 1635, who married twice, fathering Petronila, wife of García López de Chaves Herrera, Lord of Villamesa, whose daughter Ana María had no children with the 3rd Count of Molina de Herrera; and Ana Mauricia de Lugo Mendoza Puebla, who was endowed with a dowry of 90,000 ducats to marry Álvaro Queipo de Llano Bernaldo de Quirós, future First Count of Toreno and a member of the Asturian nobility,[90] whose descendants were to join the ranks of the high aristocracy.

Needless to say, these families were not alone: the money generated by trade and the political and matrimonial strategies followed by merchants allowed many members of the commercial elite access to the city council, as illustrated by the following table.

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[86] José Díaz de Noriega Pubul, *La Blanca de la Carne en Sevilla*, Madrid, Hidalguía, 1976, III, p. 167.

[87] See Eufemio Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España con América...*op. cit., p. 393 and Henri Lapeyre, El comercio exterior de Castilla a través de las aduanas de Felipe II, Valladolid, Universidad de Valladolid, 1981, p. 256.

[88] AGS, CME, 236-65.

[89] Jesús Aguado de los Reyes, Riqueza y sociedad en la Sevilla del siglo XVII, Sevilla: Fundación Fondo de Cultura de Sevilla, 1994, p. 162.

[90] AGS, CME, 236-65.

Name	**Year in which they entered the *veinticuatría***	**Mercantile credentials**
Diego Caballero	1543	Merchant
Miguel Martínez de Jáuregui	1586-1595	Important slave merchant. He bought the demesne of Gandul.
Diego Núñez Pérez	1597	Converso. Wealthy wool merchant. His descendants used the name "Pérez de Meñaca".
Antón de Armijo Vilches	1600	Merchant in the *Carrera de Indias* in 1596.
Rodrigo de Tapias Vargas	1608	His father, Pedro de Tapia, was a major international merchant. *Converso* family descended from a Jewish apothecary in Granada.
Juan Serón de Olarte	1620s	Merchant in the *Carrera de Indias* in 1596. From Berlanga.
Francisco de Lugo Puebla	1635	His father, Juan Cristóbal de la Puebla, was *jurado* and merchant in the *Carrera de Indias.*
Luis Antonio Ramírez de Arellano	1635	His father, Hernán López Ramírez, was merchant in the *Carrera de Indias* and bought the *señorío* of Gelo.
Brothers Rodrigo and Pedro de Paiva Pereira	Second half of the 17th century	Their father, a Portuguese merchant, and grandfather, were processed by the Inquisition, accused of *judaizantes*.

Table 7. Some Sevillian veinticuatros whose wealth derived from trade (16th-17th centuries).[91]

The Sevillian elite easily assimilated these mercantile groups, both local and foreign, which mixed with the medieval lineages to form one of the most cosmopolitan and diverse societies in the Hispanic Monarchy.

In the late 17th century, these lineages founded the *Real Maestranza de Caballería de Sevilla*, an institution that contributed to the integration, homogenization, and social distinction of this elite that dug its roots in trade, as sharply pointed out by Juan Cartaya Baños.[92]

Granada, a new society

In recent decades, Professor Enrique Soria Mesa[93] has analysed the formation of Granada's nobility after the conquest, emphasising the convert ancestry of a large proportion of it. In several works, he has pointed out that this nobility descended from bureaucrats[94] – the staff of the Real Chancillería de Granada– or from merchants,

[91] Source: José Díaz de Noriega Pubul, *La Blanca de la Carne en Sevilla*, Madrid, Hidalguía, 1976, and AGI, Contratacion, *passim*. Author's own.
[92] Juan Cartaya Baños, *"Para ejercitar la maestría de los caballos". La nobleza sevillana y la fundación de la Real Maestranza de Caballería en 1670*, Seville, Diputación de Sevilla, 2012.
[93] Enrique Soria Mesa, "Conversos, comerciantes y regidores...", *op. cit*., pp. 187-202.
[94] Enrique Soria Mesa, "Burocracia y conversos: la Real Chancillería de Granada en los siglos XVI y XVII" in Francisco José Aranda Pérez (ed.), *Letrados, juristas y burócratas en la España moderna*, 2005, pp. 107-144.

especially those involved in the silk trade.[95] For Professor Soria, Granada was a new world with few boundaries to stop the social promotion and ennoblement of these families.

My own works about Granada-based merchants[96] and those undertaken of late by Javier Fernández Martín about venality in the municipal council[97] reach the same conclusions.

The Kingdom of Granada emerged as a society almost without nobility – except for the Mendoza, Counts of Tendilla and captain generals– but full of lineages that descended from the servants of the Catholic Monarchs, judges, the staff of the Real Chancillería, and the soldiers that had participated in the city's conquest. From the onset, the Crown manoeuvred to stop old aristocratic houses from controlling the council, encouraging the promotion of converts loyal to the monarchs or, at most, to the Mendoza. Afterwards, this elite enrolled a large number of silk merchants and producers, many of whom were the descendants of converts from Toledo, which replaced the Moriscos in this economic sector, as well as dealers in sugar, one of the main industries on the coast of the former Nasrid Kingdom.

Granada was never as cosmopolitan as Seville, where dozens of foreign families – especially Italian, Flemish, and Portuguese – entered the urban council, but was not without its share of foreigners, with the arrival by the late 16th century of powerful Genoese lineages such as the Bartolomé Veneroso or the Peri Juan Civo.[98]

The differences between Granada and Córdoba become clear when we recall that most Cordoban mesocratic families could never access the *veinticuatrías* and had to make do, at most, with the office of *jurado*, while in Granada their peers had no trouble to enter the city council. A good example of this is the convert family of Dávila (their real name was Baena, and their great-grandfather was burned in the *auto de fe* held in Córdoba in 1504):[99] a few years after moving to Granada, the Cordoban *jurado* Francisco Sánchez Dávila (appointed in 1579) was appointed to a *veinticuatría* that was to remain in his family for four generations. In Cordoba, they would have needed at least four or five generations to do so. Let us know look at a group of merchants that entered the council *en masse* as early as the late 16th century.

[95] Enrique Soria Mesa, "El negocio del siglo: los judeoconversos y la renta de la seda del Reino de Granada (siglo XVI)", *Hispania*, 76, 253 (2016), pp. 415-444.

[96] Rafael M. Girón Pascual, 'Mercaderes de seda, "verlegers" y veinticuatros...', *op. cit.*

[97] Javier Fernández Martín, "Venalidad de oficios y honores en el concejo granadino durante el primer tercio del siglo XVII: poder, conflicto y ascenso social", Chronica nova: Revista de historia moderna de la Universidad de Granada, 45, 2019, p. 272.

[98] Rafael M. Girón Pascual, *Comercio y poder. Op. cit.*

[99] Francisco I. Quevedo Sánchez, "Familias en movimiento. Los judeoconversos cordobeses y su proyección en el reino de Granada (ss. XV-XVII)", Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Granada, Universidad de Granada, 2016.

A mercantile dynasty in the city council: Valer, Ruiz Canales, Mercado, Varela, and Díaz de Bobadilla

Among the numerous mercantile lineages that gained access to the Granada council, the group formed by the Valer, Ruiz Canales, Mercado, Varela, and Díaz de Bobadilla families stood out. In the late 16th or early 17th century, these families were linked by commercial and kinship bonds, although their participation in the silk trade and the city's financial sector has not been sufficiently studied. Based in the centrical parish of San Matías (the Jewish quarters in the Nasrid period), where they all owned large houses, they feature in the record signing powers of attorney and contracts and founding commercial houses before the public clerk Rodrigo Dávila, brother-in-law of the *veinticuatro* José Díaz de Bobadilla and their neighbour.

The core of the group revolved around the merchant Alonso de Valer, *jurado* in Granada in 1584-1587 and *veinticuatro* in 1593-1604, and his mercantile partner Melchor Ruiz Canales, *veinticuatro* (1596-1601) and procurator, chosen by lot, at the Castilian Cortes held in 1598.[100] Alonso de Valer was treasurer and collector of royal rents in Granada and factor of Duchess of Sessa, and created several commercial companies with his brother Francisco and Francisco Rodríguez de Santa Cruz, and, later, with Melchor Ruiz Canales. This mercantile and financial network included a large number of major Granadan merchants. When, in 1576, Alonso de Valer purchased the post of collector of royal rents, he had to present guarantors for 20,000 ducats, and the list is a veritable section of one of the city's main mercantile groups during this period.

This group of Granada-based merchants and bankers, most of which were of convert origin, dealt in silk and cloth, leased royal and seigniorial rents, and had little trouble to climb the social ladder and leave behind – them or their descendants – the middling layers of society, as we shall see.

Alonso de Valer's only daughter married Jerónimo de Castro Ramírez, secretary of crime at the Chancillería de Granada. This bureaucrat formed a commercial company with the Gaspar de Mercado, *jurado* and *veinticuatro*, and the peculiar Pedro Hernández de Jaén, merchant from Alcalá la Real and well known *judaizante*.[101] They took the estate of the Duchess of Sessa on lease for nearly 29,000 ducats per year in the late 16th century.

Alonso de Valer founded a primogeniture on the head of his grandson Luis Valer de Castro, son of Jerónimo and Luisa, endowed with the 20,000 ducats yielded by the

[100] Luis Moreno Garzón, Margarita Jiménez Alarcón y María Dolores Parra Arcas, El Manuscrito de los Caballeros XXIV de Granada, (Granada: Ayuntamiento de Granada, 1986), p. 31.

[101] Rafael M. Girón Pascual, 'Mercaderes de seda, "verlegers" y veinticuatros...', *op. cit*.

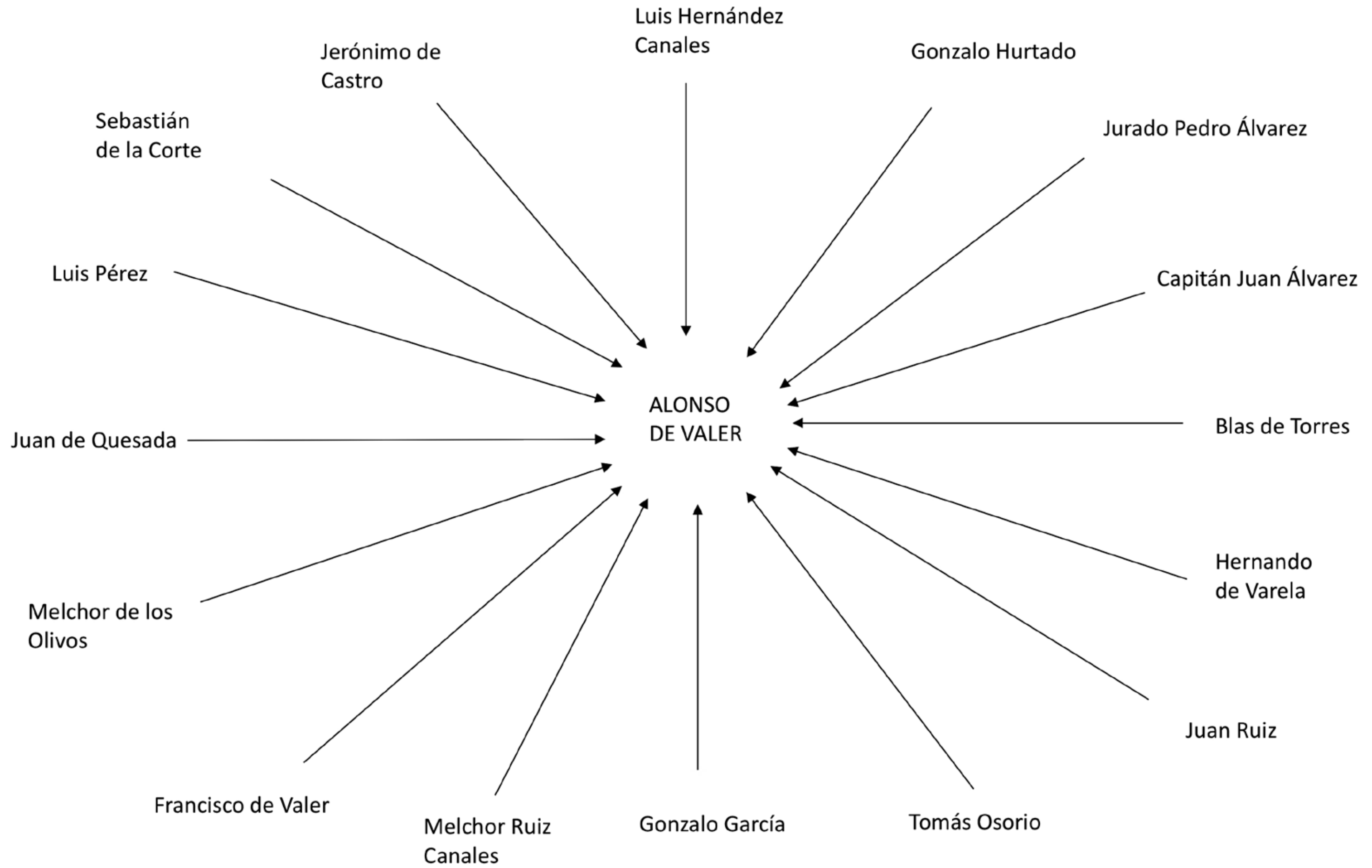

Figure 4: Alonso de Valer's guarantors for the post of collector of royal rents in Granada (1576).
Source: AGS, PTR, LEG, 74, doc. 121. Author's own.

position of treasurer of royal rents, alongside many houses and estates. Luis married Paula Ruiz Canales, daughter of *veinticuatro* Melchor Ruiz Canales, but they seem to have had no children. The ennobled lineages of the Ahumada and the Velluti seem to descend from the siblings of Luis de Valer, Alonso and Jerónima, respectively.

As noted, the Ruiz Canales entered the municipal council of Granada in 1596 (without having to take the office of *jurado* first, like the rest) and they held it, at least, for three generations, in the persons of the homonymous son and grandson of Melchor Ruiz Canales. The latter was treasurer of the Holy Crusade in Granada in 1590-1595 and bought one of the sugar factories in Adra in 1592. By 1587, he seems to have invested over 16,000 ducats in several companies involved in the silk trade in Loja and Granada, alongside his brother-in-law Francisco Fernández de Burgos, Juan Ortiz Deza, and Alonso de Valer.[102]

His first-cousin on his mother's side, José Díaz de Bobadilla, merchant, *jurado*, and *veinticuatro*,[103] married Mariana de Villaverde Ruiz Canales, another of Melchor's first cousin, and features in the record as a major dealer in silk, especially black taffeta. In his youth he had fought in Flanders and Lepanto, where he "was injured twice in the thighs by arquebus fire and once by an arrow to the arm",[104] and later was *Sargento Mayor* in Granada.[105] In 1604 he bought the post of *veinticuatro* from Alonso de Valer for 4300 ducats, and he remained in the council from 1605 to his death in 1607. He not only shared economic and family interests with Valer, but also accompanied him after death, as they are both buried at the Chapel of San Blas, in the Church of Santo Domingo, Granada.

Linked with this family, probably through the name Villaverde, the merchant, *jurado*, and *veinticuatro* (by virtue of which office he was procurator in the *Cortes* of 1592) Hernando de Varela was the receptor of the estates seized after the Morisco revolt of 1582-1586. He was also involved in the production and trade of sugar on the coast of the Kingdom of Granada, leasing the factory in Adra in 1583 and sending frequent shipments to Barcelona and Genoa.[106] At his death, in 1594, he left over 60,000 ducats in assets,[107] including houses (including a whole city block in the parish of San Matías, where a street is now named after him), land, rents, and a large herd of 700 cattle. His son, Dr Francisco de Varela, was *oidor* of the *Audiencia* of Galicia, member of the Royal Council, and *veinticuatro*;[108] his first-born son Fernando de Varela Guiral was also *veinticuatro*, captain of the militia, and *hidalgo* in Cájar

[102] AHPrG, G-308, f. 303r.
[103] Luis Moreno Garzón *et alii., op. cit*., p. 31.
[104] Archivo Diocesano de Guadix, *Matrimonios Extradiocesanos, 708, f. 1589. I am grateful for this reference to Enrique Soria Mesa.
[105] AGS, CME, 677-4.
[106] AHPrG, G-246, f. 1542r.
[107] AHPrG, G-267, ff. 317r and ff.
[108] Javier Fernández Martín, "Venalidad de oficios y honores en el concejo granadino...", *op. cit*., p. 272.

in the mid-17th century.[109] The Counts of Benalúa and the Marquises of Acapulco descend from this family.

Name	Years as *jurado*	Years as *veinticuatro*
Diego Pérez de Cáceres	1577	1578-1579
Hernando de Varela	1582-1587	1588-1594
Gaspar de Mercado	1584	1585-1597
Alonso de Valer	1584-1587	1593-1604
José Díaz de Bobadilla	1594-1603	1604-1607
Juan López Navarro	1596-1599	1606-1621
Antonio Ruiz García	1626-1633	1634-1642

Table 8. Some merchants that followed the position of jurado with that of veinticuatro in Granada (16th-17th centuries).

The previous examples clearly illustrate the fact that the mercantile elite of Granada had little trouble to climb the social ladder and enter the city council and, later, the ranks of the nobility. I have presented a substantial number of examples of merchants that became *jurados* and, soon after, *veinticuatros*. If the lens widens to include two or three generations, that is, the merchants and *jurados* whose heirs entered the city council, the number of examples increases exponentially. For instance, the Castellano de Marquina, major silk merchants, gained the *veinticuatría* after two generations as *jurados*; Mateo de Oviedo was *veinticuatro* in 1594, while his father, Gabriel de Oviedo, had held the office of *jurado*; and, finally, Diego de Rueda Guevara entered the council 1630, despite the fact that his father, *jurado* Gaspar de Rueda, a dealer in haberdashery, was of convert origin.[110]

The swift, and far from rare, social promotion of some members of the Granadan, and Sevillian, mercantile elite, prove that Córdoba was the exception, rather than the norm. Only there did a real mercantile mesocracy form, owing to the obstacles posed by the Cordoban nobiliary elites, at least during the 16th and 17th centuries.

The *Real Maestranza de Caballería de Granada* was founded in the late 17th century by the members of these lineages, alongside other families with similar roots in craft production, the administration, and trade. Further confirmation that they had successfully managed to mingle with noble families arrived in the city from elsewhere.[111]

This process was, perhaps, facilitated by the very late introduction of the statutes of purity of blood (in 1739) as a requisite to enter the city council in Granada, much later than in Seville and Córdoba.[112] In Seville, it is true, these were introduced very early, but, as we have seen, they utterly failed to hamper the social promotion of convert merchants.

[109] AHN, OM, Calatrava, exp. 653.
[110] Enrique Soria Mesa, "Conversos, comerciantes y regidores...", *op. cit*., pp. 191.
[111] See Jorge Valverde Fraikin, *Catalogo General De Caballeros Y Damas De La Real Maestranza Decaballeria De Granada (1686-1995),* Granada, Comares, 1995.
[112] Enrique Soria Mesa, "Los Estatutos municipales de Limpieza de Sangre en la Castilla Moderna. Una revisión crítica", *Mediterránea. Ricerche Storiche*, 27 (2013) p. 36.

Conclusions

This study has examined the mercantile elites of the cities of Córdoba, Seville, and Granada in the 16th and 17th centuries. These cities were major productive and commercial hubs, dominated by mercantile elites of Jewish origin.

These elites created commercial networks that reached beyond Andalusia and became global, including Spanish and Portuguese America, North Africa, and Mediterranean and Atlantic Europe. They dealt in locally-produced textiles (wool cloth and silk), leather (embosses and cordovans) and also in other Castilian and Italian fabrics, Valencian silk, medicines, and spices, among other commodities.

Considering merchants' access to the Andalusian councils, I propose two diverging models for the formation of mesocracies. First, *true mesocracies*, a group with its own logic and identity, which was, to a large extent, efficiently blocked by traditional elites from holding municipal power during the 16th and 17th centuries. They had to be content with minor local posts (*juradurías*) and participation in social life through their membership of corporate institutions (brotherhoods, guilds, the Church), for which the status of purity of blood was key. Their social prospects were limited, and access to the nobility nigh impossible.

In the other model, illustrated by the cities of Seville and Granada, the rise of merchants was unstoppable, and a true, Córdoba-style mesocracy never crystallised. In these two cities, the leading craftspeople and merchants could climb the social ladder, thanks, in part, to the large capitals accrued by trade, but especially by the weakness of the old elite in Seville and the absence of one in Granada. In these cities, it was not difficult for merchants to enter the council shortly after holding the post of *jurado*.

Soon afterwards, these lineages had joined the ranks of the local gentry, gaining statuses of *hidalguía*, the habits of military orders, seigniorial demesnes, and nobility titles. There, they joined other patricians who, like them, dug their roots in the crafts and trade, and, in Seville, also with old aristocratic families. These lineages strengthened their internal cohesion with the foundation of *Reales Maestranzas de Caballería*, most of whose founding members descended from craftspeople and merchants. Interestingly, no such institution was founded in Córdoba, probably the city in the region with the most ingrained horsemanship tradition, perhaps because the city's nobility required no such instrument to show their credentials and the mesocracy lacked the power and determination to do so.

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"Merchants at the Consulado of the Indies (1535-55): Origins, association, and privilege"[1]

Luis Salas Almela

Abstract: *This article looks at the years immediately prior to and following the establishment of the Consulado of the Indies in Seville, the powerful merchant's guild, focusing both on those who were active in founding the institution and those who controlled it. The article is a prosopographic study, but it also analyzes the internal organization of the Consulado and the positions merchants held during a period about which very little has been written. The article understands the Consulado to be a pathway to privilege for its members. In addition to providing information about members, their careers, and the posts they held, the article also provides a hypothesis about the institution as a whole during its first quarter-century of existence.*

Introduction and methodology

By the early 1540s it was apparent that the absence of an institution that might gather together everyone active in providing European goods to the Indies was somewhat of an anomaly. Merchants of Seville worked hard to remedy the problem, and in October 1543 the Consulado was established. Various aspects of this period are known and have been written about: the talks with Charles V, the amount paid by merchants to the crown, and the list of those who negotiated with the monarch from summer 1542 to summer 1543.[2] This article further develops the account in three aspects. First, I compare the 1543 list of participants with four lists of merchants who at various points were active in group efforts from 1535 to 1555. As a result, we can identify a significant group of merchants who favored collective action. At one time or another they all signed powers of attorney with a notary, an indication that they all shared some sort of group consciousness. That said, it is also important to remember that during a period when merchants' status was not at all clearly defined, the names and numbers provided below can only be an estimate, given that many more were trafficking with the Indies or financing transatlantic commercial operations. Nevertheless, the formal nature of the notarized documents in question makes it clear that the individuals named there were representative.

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[2] Luis Salas Almela, "En los orígenes del Consulado de mercaderes de Sevilla: defensa, fiscalidad y encuadramiento institucional (1517-1543)," in Ángel Galán Sánchez, Ramón Lanza García, and Pablo Ortego Rico, eds, *Contribuyentes y cultura fiscal (siglos XIII-XVIII)* (Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, 2022), 403-42.

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Second, using secondary sources, I explore the presence of conversos – former Jews or descendants of Jews – within the Consulado.[3] Considering the obvious importance of conversos and their descendants in sixteenth-century commerce in Seville, I will try to offer some numerical estimations of those who stood out most for their defense of the organization. I also consider the degree to which being a converso might have favored them or, on the contrary, constituted an obstacle. I discuss the impact that conversos had on the institution's internal dynamics and the relative importance that might have had on the innate privilege implied by Consulado membership. Furthermore, I attempt to associate certain merchants who favored collective action, whether or not they were conversos, with specific areas of business and, in some cases, with specific companies or associations.

And third, my research has enabled me to identify Consulado leaders – the prior and his consuls – throughout most of the early period, the results of which can be seen in Table 2. In conjunction with information published by Antonia Heredia Herrera and Enriqueta Vila Vilar regarding the period after 1552, this information proved essential for identifying internal groups of merchants within the Consulado's membership.

The Consulado, control and privilege: core beliefs, institutional framework, negotiation

The Consulado de Cargadores a Indias, established in 1543, had been a goal for Seville merchants since the early years of the century.[4] Its appearance has been the subject of debate among historians; while some, such as Robert Sidney Smith, point to the delay in its appearance, others prefer asking why the new institution appeared at all, as it apparently duplicated functions being provided by the Casa de la Contratación.[5] Both raise valid questions. While it is true that the Casa de la Contratación smoothed

[3] Given that one's status as a converso obviously does not appear on any official document, I have relied on secondary literature. For Andalusia in general see work by Enrique Soria and his research team, especially Enrique Soria, *El cambio inmóvil: Transformaciones y permanencias en una élite de poder (Córdoba, ss. XVI-XIX)* (Córdoba: La Posada, 2000); and Enrique Soria, *La realidad tras el espejo. Asenso social y limpieza de sangre en la España de Felipe II* (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 2016). On Seville see especially Ruth Pike, *Aristócratas y comerciantes*, (Barcelona: Ariel, 1978); Ruth Pike, *Linajudos and conversos in Seville: Greed and Prejudice in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (New York: Peter Lang, 2000); and the enormous primary research by Juan Gil in *Los conversos y la Inquisición sevillana* (Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, 2000), 8 vols. Additionally see Rafael Pérez García and Manuel Fernández Chaves, "La élite mercantil judeoconversa andaluza y la articulación de la trata negrera hacia las Indias de Castilla, ca. 1518-1560," *Hispania* 253 (2016), 385-414.

[4] My understanding of the Consulado is influenced by the proposals offered by Institutional and Organizational Analysis, as outlined in Eric Alston, Lee J. Alston, Bernardo Mueller, and Thomas Nonnemacher, *Institutional and Organizational Analysis: Concepts and Appplications* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

[5] Robert Sidney Smith, *Historia de los consulados de mar (1250-1700)* (Barcelona: Península, 1978) [1940]; Antonia Heredia Herrera, "El consulado de mercaderes de Sevilla, una institución 'retrasada' del descubrimiento," in *Congreso de historia del descubrimiento* (Madrid: RAH-CECA, 1991), vol. 4, 35-51; Enriqueta Vila, *El Consulado de Sevilla de Mercaderes a Indias. Un órgano de poder* (Seville: Ayuntamiento de Sevilla, 2016), 53-58.

the way for the Consulado, especially in terms of jurisdiction, it is also the case that from 1492 to 1543 merchants for the most part were imperfectly represented, either through *diputaciones de averías* (committees to assess damages, the *avería*, caused by unexpected events or jettison) or through ad hoc commissions drawn from the totality of all merchants, the *universidad de mercaderes* (the sources for the lists of merchants below). So, it is clear that for some time merchants had felt the need for a new institution.[6] Further, this attitude reflected the assumption that their ability to conduct commerce with the West Indies was a concession granted by the monarchy. It was an act of royal grace. Thus, establishment of the Consulado took a relationship of grace or tolerance and transformed it into a formal normative framework of corporative privilege.

But merchants paid a high price for their achievement, as it was accompanied by the disappearance of effectively tax-free commerce. It is therefore worth asking what they gained, or what they thought they gained. How did merchants hope to monetize their new privilege? It is clear they were able to reduce a series of transaction costs, especially in terms of juridical guarantees through a faster dispute resolution process under the control of merchants themselves. At the same time, when they became institutionalized – when they *tomaron ser*, to use the well-known language of the Council of Indies – they increased their capacity for political negotiation as a group.[7] While it is difficult to quantify economic gains and losses, it is obvious that in terms of security against losses brought about by third-party violence, particularly French corsairs, the initial impact of the new institution was essentially zero. Charles V managed to impose a new customs tax on merchants (the *almojarifazgo de Indias)* not linked to any particular item but entirely at the disposition of the crown. Nor did the new tax affect the *avería* paid by shippers since the 1520s to offset defense costs.[8]

Aside from transaction costs, institutions and norms in general define property rights, equally important in economic history, providing a *de iure* framework that can coexist with extra-legal arrangements generally attributed to individual economic agents.[9] There was an implicit give-and-take in the 1542-43 negotiations between Charles V and merchants over the Consulado. The latter accepted the disappearance of certain tax exemptions regarding Indies trade in exchange for having their own tribunal.[10] But it is hard to say if merchants hoped the new *almojarifazgo* might protect them from the royal requisitions (*secuestros*) of their capital that had been occurring regularly since 1523 and whose legitimacy can only be explained by once again indicating the

[6] Salas Almela, "En los orígenes," 404-409. The avería in Spain is roughly equivalent to the general average elsewhere in Europe, a legal instrument allowing payment of expenses incurred as a result of unexpected shipping events, including attacks by corsairs.
[7] Archivo General de Indias [hereafter AGI] Indiferente leg. 737, no. 54, 20 April 1543.
[8] *Almojarifazgo* records from Archivo General de Simancas [hereafter AGS] EMR, legs. 315-316, accounts for 1543-44.
[9] Alston, *et al.*, *Institutional and Organizational Analysis*, 14.
[10] Salas Almela, "En los orígenes," 409-15.

royal grace that permitted the Indies trade to proceed in the first place and had done so since 1492. Requisitions played a large role in merchants' juridical insecurity and led to a variety of fraud, including unregistered shipments whose existence came to light only in the case of shipwreck, or landings on the Portuguese coast, rather than in Seville, so as not to have to deposit treasure in the Casa de la Contratación.[11]

The appearance of the Consulado coincided with the first colonial crisis in Peru, another piece of the general context that we must consider. The crisis put a sudden stop to both the spectacular shipments of treasure and the emperor's seizure of said treasure. After Peru was somewhat pacified, the meager wealth on board the fleet belonging to Martín Alonso de los Ríos was not seized in 1543, not because there was so little to seize but, I suggest, because in the context of ongoing negotiations between merchants and crown aimed at establishing the Consulado, an act of goodwill by Charles V might persuade merchants to accede to the elimination of their tax exemptions.[12] Even so, just a year after the new *almojarifazgo* went into effect and the Consulado had been established, Charles V in October 1544 once again tried to seize not only private merchants' sea treasure but also wealth transported by envoys, shipments from colonial officials to their superiors in Spain, or inheritance remittances from America. After surveying the holdings in the Casa de la Contratación, in January 1545 Charles decided to take 180,000 ducats in three consignments corresponding to 820 lots of money and precious metals, keeping 17.4 percent of the value of each lot for the crown.[13]

Again in 1546 he attempted to seize a remittance, though this time he was opposed by his secretary of state, the all-powerful Francisco de los Cobos, and the emperor's son, the future Philip II. Opposition by these two men, and in general at court, was not new but it was growing, in large part because of the Consulado, which was acting as a sort of lobby for merchants in their negotiations with the crown. This was also the period when Viceroy Blasco Núñez Vela was implementing the New Laws in the viceroyalty of Peru, which set off the third great rebellion there in less than a decade.[14] Thus armed with support at court, the Consulado found itself in a position to refuse the emperor's demands for loans, which were not raised again until 1552, and then only for a small amount. Furthermore, that loan affected merchants indirectly because it was applied to shipments of dubious origin deposited in the Casa de la Contratación, thus affecting Consulado members as a whole only very slightly.[15]

[11] See accounts for shipwrecks on both sides of the ocean in 1555 in Sergio Sardone, *Los préstamos forzosos de Carlos V. El tesoro privado americano al sericio del Imperio (1523-1555)* (Seville: Asociación González Abreu, 2019), 125-41.

[12] However, Sardone states that the only explanation was the scarce cargo; ibid, 110.

[13] Ibid, 110-17.

[14] Pedro Cieza de León, *Las guerras civiles peruanas*, ed. Carmelo Sáenz de Santa María (Madrid: CSIC, 1985).

[15] Sardone, *Los préstamos*, 117-18.

There is no doubt that crown requisitions considerably reduced the profits of colonial commerce in those decades, which of course were extraordinary, and imposed difficulties. A look at seizures in 1543-52 indicates that implicit compensation to merchants for the imposition of the *almojarifazgo* did not involve any new formal economic or fiscal framework but rather the concession of jurisdictional competencies and creation of a flexible space for collective negotiation with the crown. In this regard, the Consulado had an important role not only in determining when a seizure might take place but, perhaps more importantly, how it might be compensated for.[16] Through these less formal means, the Consulate played a crucial role; its newly strengthened members were able to negotiate with the crown through the Casa de la Contratación and the Council of Indies as well as through extra-institutional means, for example by sending the emperor petitions (*memoriales*) and writing to other key figures at court such as Cobos, Prince Philip, and Carlos's daughter Juana. The Consulado was a new tool with which to make private agreements regarding compensation for seizures or any other royal privilege to offset their own collective contributions to the royal treasury. Belonging to the Consulado entailed, therefore, considerable privilege. The new consular tribunal had a lasting economic impact, as the newly named merchant judges had absolute independence with respect to the crown, at least in the first instance. The creation of new administrative organs implied changes in beliefs and expectations among agents, and in that regard, institutions are substantive parts of the machinery of the economic and political system.[17] The Consulado, given its role in the relations between merchants and the crown, was a crucial institution.

Membership, then, gave Seville's merchants an exclusive position in their own association, especially given that foreigners (or outsiders) were excluded, as we shall see. I now turn to the question of membership to see which of the merchants pressured most in favor of establishing the Consulado, who controlled it, and what sorts of privileges resulted from that.

The few merchants who spoke on behalf of their many colleagues (1536-55)

The names of the merchants most active in the efforts to establish and later to direct the Consulado are known to us thanks to five lists drawn from primary and secondary sources that identify some 350 traders who participated in merchant gatherings in Seville from 1536 to 1555 (the *universidad de mercaderes*) where a powers of attorney were drawn up assigning representative capacities to some of them (see Table 1).[18]

[16] Ibid, 66-78.

[17] Alston *et al*., *Institutional and Organizational Analysis*, 1-2, 11-13.

[18] I am not including the list of merchants in 1535 published recently by Rafael Pérez García because it came out of a business initiative (participation in a loan to the emperor) and therefore does not shed light on political negotiation and did not affect the *universidad*, the collective as a whole. That also helps explain why there are so many foreigners and outsiders on the list he uses, as opposed to the ones used in this article; Rafael Pérez García, "La comunidad mercantil de Sevilla, ca. 1535: organización económica y negociación política," in Sylvain André, ed., *La négociation ou l'art de construire un empire (XVIe-XVIIIe siècle)* (Paris: Editions Hispaniques, 2022), 211-25.

Looking at the lists one can identify the individuals who appear to have been most active in pursuing merchants' goals. In what follows I provide a tentative social profile of the members of this somewhat restricted group. By understanding their activities and business and family relations, we can better assess the importance of their being conversos (or not). That said, it is important to state that the names on the lists surely account for only a very small percentage of merchants, among other reasons because the status of "Indies merchant" was never well defined, either by the crown or by the men themselves.

I start with Cebrián de Caritate in the year 1543. According to José Joaquín Real Díaz, he was closely involved in the establishment of the Consulado and his name is on the royal order authorizing the new institution's formation. Caritate was probably originally from Aragon; he went to the royal court in Valladolid after having been chosen by Seville merchants in 1542 to negotiate with Charles V concerning the *avería*. But we know the negotiations quickly grew to the point that they brought about an institutional revolution in the Indies trade with the establishment of not just the Consulado but also the *almojarifazgo de Indias*. In September 1543 nearly one hundred merchants signed legal papers confirming Caritate's authority to represent them.[19] According to Antonia Heredia Herrera, Caritate was involved in the slave trade, having gone into business with Alonso de Illescas and Diego Caballero in 1541. The following year he was repaid the amount of his silver seized from the 1544 fleet, with 7 percent interest.[20] Neither Juan Gil nor Ruth Pike included Caritate in their lists of converso families. However, Manuel Fernández Chaves and Rafael Pérez García seem to generically include him among the group of converso merchants of Seville, though neither give him much of a role. But they do state that he was one of eighteen merchants chosen to manage the *avería* in 1538.[21]

Secondary sources tell us little else about Caritate despite his key role in the 1542-43 negotiations. Primary sources reveal that he was a very busy merchant starting in at least 1536, when he shipped several consignments on Blasco Núñez Vela's fleet.[22] He continued doing that until at least 1551, when he sent 150 slaves to the Indies.[23] As Heredia Herrera points out, Caritate joined the slave trade in around 1541 when he began buying slaves directly in Cape Verde and Guinea and got involved with some of the leading families in the trade. In 1547-49 he regularly sent shipments of some 100 slaves; by 1550 he had not abandoned the slave trade but apparently was more involved in precious stones.[24] From 1551 to 1568 his name continues appearing in a

[19] José Joaquín Real Díaz, "El consulado de cargadores a Indias: su documento fundacional," *Archivo Hispalense* 147 (1968), 279-91; Pérez García and Fernández Chaves, "La élite mercantil," 407-408. For the list of merchants and their involvement in the birth of the Consulado see Salas Almela, "En los orígenes," 404 and 434-35. In that article I erroneously (on p. 406) suggested Caritate was Genoese.
[20] Heredia Herrera, "El consulado," 40-41.
[21] Pérez García and Fernández Chaves, "La élite mercantil," 407-408.
[22] AGI Indiferente, leg. 422, L.17, fols. 125v-126r; and leg. 1.962, L.6, fols. 122r-v and 148v-149r.
[23] AGI Indiferente, leg. 424, L.22, fols. 280v-281v.
[24] AGI Panamá, leg. 235, L.8, fol. 346r; AGI Mexico, leg. 1.089, L.4, fols. 335v-336r.

variety of documents, but only in regard to lawsuits, especially one he filed against Beatriz de Palenzuela, a widow who lived in Lerma.[25]

As for his commercial relations with other merchants, starting in 1539 he had dealings with Luis Sánchez Dalvo, who at the time lived in Nombre de Dios.[26] Two years later Caritate joined up with Alonso de Illescas and Alonso Caballero de Illescas in regard to two thousand slave licenses that Caritate had obtained from the emperor in return for providing (at no cost to the crown) forty slaves to work on the fortification of Santo Domingo. Caritate was also directly involved in that project, having sold weapons to the fort.[27] Fernández Chaves and Pérez García wrote about Caritate's involvement in this large shipment of slaves, saying that it was Caritate himself who took the lead, while the two Illescas men played a secondary role, and that as soon as Caritate got the slave licenses he sold most of them to Alonso Caballero and Gaspar de Torres. They said two interesting things in this regard: first, that Caritate obtained an additional 480 licenses from the crown for free thanks to his involvement in the negotiations, which more than compensated the difference between the purchase and selling price of the license. And second, they say that Torres and Caritate were related, though they offer no proof and I have been unable to confirm that elsewhere.[28] We also know that Caritate received permission to transport slaves on Portuguese ships and that the 10,000 ducats for the two thousand licenses was quickly spent on payments to Alonso de Baeza and Francisco Tello who in turn paid Charles V's expenses during the emperor's stay in Barcelona.[29]

The first reference I have found pointing to Caritate's role representing the merchants is from 1538, when he, Alonso de Illescas, and Hernán Pérez Jarada were elected by the *avería* deputies to negotiate with the crown; they were asking for compliance with an outstanding royal order telling agents in the Indies to speed up shipments of goods sold in America to merchants in Seville. They also managed to obtain an order that those same agents be prohibited from playing cards, given the obvious risk that agents might use cargo on board to pay off gambling debts.[30] They also forced the Casa de la Contratación to address the professional qualifications of shipmasters and shipowners who wished to engage in commercial activities, leading to new clarifications and rules.[31] And they scored an important victory for merchants by

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25 AGI Patronato, leg. 281, N.1, R.135, 1551; AGI Indiferente, leg. 424, L.22, F.348v, 1551.

26 AGI Panamá, leg. 235, L.7, fols. 60r-60v.

27 AGI Santo Domingo, leg. 868, L.2, fols. 132v-133v.

28 Pérez García and Fernández Chaves, "La élite mercantil," 408.

29 AGI Santo Domingo, leg. 868, L.2, fol. 60; AGI Indiferente, leg. 541, L.2, fols. 88r-88v; AGI Indiferente, leg. 1.963, L.9, fols. 11v-12r. The trip to Barcelona was probably the one he took in May-December 1542, though the money may also have covered expenses for his brief stay there in May 1543 on his way to Germany. See two letters from the emperor to the Casa de la Contratación from Barcelona in late November and early December 1542: AGI Indiferente, leg. 1.093, doc. 9-J. Manuel Fernández Álvarez, *Corpus documental* (Salamanca: CSIC, Universidad de Salamanca, Fundación Juan March, 1973-81), vol. 2, p. 85, provides two more relevant documents signed by Charles V in Barcelona.

30 AGI Indiferente, leg. 423, L.18, fols. 178v-188v and 191v-192v.

31 AGI Indiferente, leg. 1.962, L.6, fols. 151r-152r.

obtaining an order that *diputados de la avería*, charged with negotiating payments for damages, be present when accounts were tallied, allowing them to claim residual amounts and return those quantities to the merchants who were owed.[32] But the most important talks in which Caritate, Illescas, and Pérez Jarada participated that year led to an order closing off Indies ports, both in America and in Spain, to foreigners.[33] It is logical to think that his success in 1538 was at the least an important factor in Caritate's election to lead the negotiations in 1542-43. Given the weighty nature of the matters to be negotiated with Charles V – starting with the *avería* and the request to establish the Consulado, which would later be joined by the Indies *almojarifazgo* – his experience was likely to inspire confidence on the part of his merchant colleagues. Despite not being a Castilian, Caritate had managed to join the leading merchants of Seville, where he was a legal citizen (*vecino*) at least as early as 1538.[34]

With all this in mind, Caritate was in an excellent position to assume responsibilities within the new Consulado. However, even though he continued engaging in commerce for many years to come, his leadership role in the Consulado was confined to 1538-43. It is impossible to know for sure, but it is likely that his Aragonese origins and the fact that he was a *cristiano viejo* (and not a converso) set him apart from those who elected him. Indeed, we know that there were a considerable number of converso merchants when the Consulado was being organized by Indies merchants in Seville. Of the ninety-three who signed the power of attorney granted to Caritate in 1543, we have identified seventy-one (the remaining twenty-two had such common names it was impossible to identify them). Of those, thirty were most likely conversos; the remainder included ten from Genoa, nine Basques, and twenty-two Castilians. Conversos thus would account for at least 42 percent of the total membership.

Next, I broadened the inquiry by comparing the ninety-three names to those appearing on the other four lists of signatories of notarized documents referred to above, from 1536 to 1555. There are a total of 180 names of merchants, most of which (133) appear only once, while thirty-eight appear twice, seven appear three times, and only two appear four times. Those two were Alonso Alemán and Rodrigo de Illescas. Alemán was a very active member of the merchant community until 1544, and his name appears on all the lists of merchants I have seen except the last one, given that he died in around 1550. Yet he barely appears in the secondary literature; Claudio Guillén noted that a member of the Alemán family was involved in an alleged conspiracy in 1480 and was burned at the stake.[35] Ruth Pike actually mentions Alonso Alemán and a few people with the same surname though without suggesting they were related. She states that they were all conversos. In the 1520s Alonso's father, also

[32] Ibid fols. 149v-150r.

[33] Ibid, fols. 150v-151r; Diego de Encinas, *Cedulario indiano* (Madrid: BOE, 2018), vol. 1, 472-74.

[34] He is mentioned as such in a royal order of 1538: AGI Indiferente, leg. 423, L.18, fols. 187v-188v.

[35] Claudio Guillén, "Un padrón de conversos sevillanos (1510)," *Bulletin Hispanique* 65:1-2 (1963), 49-98, p. 76.

named Alonso, had married a conversa, Leonor del Alcázar, daughter of a well-known merchant, Pedro del Alcázar.[36] They had several sons who worked in the Indies trade, and some of them, including Alonso, went to America in 1534.[37] In 1536 he was among a group of merchants who were strongly opposed to embargos of Indies treasure.[38]

Primary sources show Alemán to have been a very busy man. In 1540 he joined with Hernando de Baeza, a partnership that led to a long lawsuit in Mexico.[39] In 1543 Alemán had a business deal worth four thousand ducats in gold with Diego de Madaria, Pedro de la Torre, and Pedro Hernández Franco by which they insured a shipment of goods transported by a Juan Navarro to Nombre de Dios. After Juan Navarro died, insurers sued to recover their investment.[40] Aleman's lawyer in this suit, heard at the Consejo de Indias, was Lic. Alonso de San Juan, who happened to also be the merchants' legal representative (of the Consulado de Indias and the *universidad de mercaderes*) at the royal court.[41] The fact that Alemán and the Consulado might have had the same attorney shows that the *universidad de mercaderes*, for the purposes of payment of the *avería*, had some preexisting juridical identity, diffuse though it may have been. Meanwhile, in summer 1543, just before the Consulado was established, Alemán himself represented the *universidad de mercaderes* in a suit against merchant Francisco de Santana, who was suing over payment of the *avería*.[42] Despite all these activities, once the Consulado was constituted in September 1543, Alonso Alemán appears to have ceased his representative and commercial activities. The only reference we have of him after 1543 concerns a lawsuit with a resident of the Palencian town of Dueñas.[43]

There is some variety among the seven merchants whose names appear three times on our lists. Juan Gil states that Diego Beltrán was a converso, but the primary sources say little about his professional activities other than a few commercial deals and two minor lawsuits.[44] We can assume Francisco de Jerez was converso, though his surname was very common in Seville at that time and we cannot be sure of his

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36 Guillén says that Alcázar was one of those behind the proposal to let descendants of those convicted by the Inquisition in 1508-1511 clean the slate by paying; "Un padrón," 69. Also Pike, *Aristócratas y comerciantes*, 47; Pérez García and Fernández Chaves, "La élite mercantil," 409.

37 Béatriz Pérez, *Les marchands de Séville. Une société inquiète (XVe-XVIe siècles)* (Paris: Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2016), 301.

38 Enriqueta Vila Vilar, "Algunas consideraciones sobre la creación del consulado de Seville," in *Congreso de Historia del Descubrimiento* (Madrid: RAH-CECA), 1992, vol. 4, 53-65, pp. 59-60; on Alemán's sons' voyage to the Indies see AGI Contratación, 5.536, L.2, fol. 213.

39 AGI Indiferente, leg. 423, L.19, fol. 404r; AGI Patronato, leg. 278; AGI Justicia, leg. 739.

40 AGI Panamá, leg. 235, L.8, fols. 32v-33r, 15 August 1543.

41 According to Heredia Herrera, Alonso de San Juan also represented the Consulado in its suit against Jerónimo Cataño in autumn 1543; see "El Consulado," 41.

42 AGI Justicia, leg. 744, no. 6, docs 16 June 1543 to 23 April 1544.

43 Archivo de la Real Chancillería de Valladolid [hereafter ARCV] Pleitos Civiles, Fernando Alonso, caja 164, no. 5.

44 A man who probably was his brother appears as a converso in Gil, *Los conversos*, vol. 3, 357-58. See also AGI Indiferente, leg. 1963, L.8, fols. 35r-35v, a 1541 lawsuit in which he was suspected of fraud; and AGI Justicia, 761, no. 6, a 1548 suit against Juan Gutiérrez de Huelva.

identity.[45] Juan Núñez de Jerez is a similar case, and he also has been assumed to have been a converso.[46] Among those who were not conversos, we know that Pedro de Velasco trafficked slaves in the late 1520s and continued being active, judging from the lawsuits he was involved in, though we do not know what his business was after 1530.[47] Nor do the secondary sources identify Ruy Díaz de Segura as a converso; he too was involved, though not much, in the slave trade and in flour shipments to the Indies, along with Alonso de Illescas.[48] One of his sons went to Peru in 1534.[49] I was unable to identify the remaining two men, Gómez Hurtado and Bartolomé Pérez. Therefore, of the nine merchants whose names appear on at least three lists of merchants, five were conversos, two were not, and two are impossible to identify. Conversos thus accounted for more than 70 percent.

Looking now at the thirty-eight individuals whose names appear on at least two powers of attorney, I begin with the paradigmatic case of the Pérez Jaradas, who were conversos from Toledo, though several members of the family lived in Seville.[50] Hernán Pérez Jarada was part of Pedro de Velasco's generation, and both were active already in the 1520s, meaning they were older than most of the other merchants referred to. Juan Gil, using notarial archives, found many operations in which Pérez Jarada was involved, but he appears to have drastically reduced his work just before 1540.[51] Indeed, I cannot find traces of him beyond 1541, when he obtained a license to ship fifty slaves to the Indies.[52] That same year he liquidated a business he owned along with Francisco del Rincón and Juan Domingo for refining precious metals in New Spain.[53] In 1540 he and Hernán Cortés litigated over debts, and five years later he faced off with Juan de la Peña, a businessman based in Mexico.[54] According to Gil, several of Pérez Jarada's daughters married members of elite families in Seville, Loja, and Osuna.[55] Sergio Sardone reports that his belongings were requisitioned in the seizures of 1523 and 1539, in the latter case in the company of Alonso de Illescas.[56] Pike

[45] Gil, *Los conversos*, vol. 3, 145-46, 286-90, 300, 361, 527.
[46] Pérez García and Fernández Chaves, "La élite mercantil," 409.
[47] A sale of ten slaves in 1527 in AGI Indiferente, leg. 421, L.12, fols. 166r-166v. He and his business partners, Hernando de Gorjón and Luis de Mercado, were sentenced to pay Pedro de Villanueva's widow, Catalina de Cazorla; see AGI Justicia, leg. 743, no. 3.
[48] Gil, *Los conversos*, vol. 3, esp. 79 and 136.
[49] AGI Indiferente, leg. 421, L.11, fols. 136v-137r and 282v; the shipment of flour in 1530 from Málaga appears in AGI Indiferente, leg. 422, L.14, fols. 121r-122r. On his son, see AGI Contratación, leg. 5.536, L.3, fol. 49.
[50] Rafael Pérez García, "Las ciudades de Sevilla y Toledo en la conexión de las redes económicas judeoconversas entre Castilla y América a mediados del siglo XVI," in Juan José Rodríguez Iglesias, Rafael Pérez García, and Manuel Fernández Chaves, eds, *Comercio y cultura en la Edad Moderna. Comunicaciones de la XIII Reunión Científica de la Fundación Española de Historia Moderna* (Seville, 2015), 539-52, p. 549.
[51] Gil, Los conversos, vol. 3, 270-73.
[52] AGI Indiferente, leg. 423, L.20, fols. 509v-511r.
[53] AGI Indiferente, lg. 423, L.19, fols. 475v-477r; and AGI Indiferente leg. 1.963, L.8, fols. 86v-87v.
[54] AGI Justicia, leg. 734, no. 1; AGI Indiferente, L.9, fols. 219r-219v.
[55] Gil, *Los conversos*, vol. 3, 270-73.
[56] Sergio Sardone, "Los secuestros de las remesas americanas de particulares de Carlos V a través de los notarios sevillanos," *Temas Americanistas* 29 (2012), 21-64.

links the Pérez Jarada family with the Gibraleón and Illescas families, though without many details.[57] We know that Hernán's two sons died at around the same time as their father, in around 1563.[58] Pérez Jarada was a member of the three-man commission of deputies on which Caritate also served in 1538, and he was an *avería* deputy in 1543-44 along with Juan Francisco Bibaldo and Juan Galvarro, a task that earned them the emperor's personal thanks, not a frequent event.[59] After that, Jarada also ceased his leadership activities.

Another converso slave trader was Juan de Alfaro, who also was among those who signed at least two powers of attorney.[60] Starting in 1536, he seems to have gotten involved in more public-sector activities; in 1536, for example, he was named *ensayador* (in charge of quality control) at the Santo Domingo mint, and a few years later he competed with Ochoa de Villanueva to become *almojarife mayor* of Seville, a potentially very lucrative tax-farming post, and lost.[61] Nicolás de Aramburu, meanwhile, can be taken as a good indicator of the Basque presence in Seville. He was a textile and slave trader who moved in Basque circles, dealing with men including Francisco de Zavala and Juan de Etorra.[62] Aramburu was residing in Seville in 1536-38, when he tried obtaining hidalgo status, probably to help him become a vecino there.[63]

Finally, the percentage of conversos declines among those individuals mentioned at least twice in all the lists. Of the seventy-one merchants mentioned in secondary sources, twenty-seven were conversos.[64] Thirty-five probably were not;[65] and nine are questionable.[66] Removing the questionable cases, the percentage of conversos would remain high (43.5 percent) but not as high as among those who signed at least three powers of attorney.

Among all the surnames mentioned thus far, one is conspicuously absent: Torres. As Fernández Chaves and Pérez García have shown, the converso Torres family played a leading role in the slave trade in 1536-43.[67] Yet they played no role in the leadership of

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[57] Pike, *Aristócratas y comerciantes*, 123-24.
[58] AGI Contratación, leg. 201, no. 1.
[59] AGI Indiferente, leg. 1.963, L.8, fols. 159r-159v, 163r, 171r-172r.
[60] Pérez García and Fernández Chaves, "La élite mercantil," 401.
[61] On the *ensayador*, see AGI Santo Domingo, leg. 868, L.1, fols. 29v and 99r; his candidacy for the post is in a lawsuit in ARCV Pleitos Civiles, Fernando Alonso, caja 718, pieza 7.
[62] AGI Justicia, leg. 1.153, no. 2, r.4; AGI Justicia, leg. 767, no. 4; AGI Panamá, leg. 236, L.9, fols. 341v-342r.
[63] AGI Panamá, leg. 235, L.6, fols. 113v; and ARCV Sala de Hijosdalgo, caja 1.358, exp. 3.
[64] Among them were Francisco de Jerez, Juan de Palma, Luis de Armenta, Fernando de Ávila, Juan de Marchena, Baltasar de Cazalla, Francisco Núñez de Illescas, Hernando de Jaén, Miguel de Morales, and Fernando de Herrera.
[65] Among others: Pedro de Velasco, Alonso Román, Hernán de la Fuente, Diego de Madaria, Fernando Guillén, Manuel Antón, Ruy Díaz de Segura, Ruy Gómez Adalid, Juan de Frómista, Tobías de Marín, Alonso Cabezas, Lucas de Castro; the Basques Gregorio de Ayala, Gabriel de Balmaseda, Francisco de Zavala, Juan de Urrutia, and Juan de Lizarra; and the Genoese Jorge de Negro, Nicolás Cataño, and Rodrigo Donís.
[66] For example Melchor de Carrión, Juan de Ojeda, Pedro de Sampedro, Melchor de Prado, Alonso Gómez de la Cetina, Juan de Perea, and Juan Galvarro.
[67] Pérez García and Fernández Chaves, "La élite mercantil."

Seville's merchants – the *diputación de averías*, the Consulado, or any other professional group – except in 1556, when Gaspar de Torres was a prior, as we shall see.[68] It would appear that Gaspar de Torres, Hernán Pérez Jarada, Alonso Alemán, and Cebrián de Caritate all moved away from, or were moved away from, leadership posts after 1544, that is, once the Consulado was in place. It may be, given his apparent lack of protagonism, that Torres chose not to participate in the Consulado. It also may be that the other three were pushed aside.

Table 1 shows how foreign merchants, especially the Genoese, essentially ceased participating in collective activities after the establishment of the Consulado, coinciding with Caritate's power of attorney in September 1543, which seven of them signed. The surnames Basiniana, Bibaldo, Catano – both Nicolás and Jerónimo – Donís, Lomeldo, and Fresco disappear from the lists of 1547 and 1555. Taking into consideration the *avería* commission's request in 1538 to exclude foreigners from the Indies trade, and the fact that as of 1556 foreigners could not vote in consular elections, one can assume that an important explanation for the Consulado's existence was that merchants wanted to push the Genoese out of the Indies trade. The Genoese adapted (they did not disappear) to the new institutional commercial structure and shifted investments, putting more money into ecclesiastical tax farming than into commerce over the years. But that is a matter that requires more specific research.

The Illescas and Sánchez Dalvo families and control over the Consulado (1543-56)

Painstaking research (given that there are no surviving records from the Consulado's first twenty years) has permitted identification of the prior and consuls in eight of the organization's first thirteen years of existence, including the first four months of 1543. The most surprising discovery was that just two, interconnected families dominated the leadership. Alonso de Illescas was prior five times, Hernán Sánchez Dalvo served twice (in 1548 and 1550), and his brother Luis held the post in 1555.[69] So up to 1556, when Gaspar de Torres was elected as prior, nobody outside those two families obtained more votes than these three men, at least according to the data we have. As for the sixteen names we have for consuls (two per year in the eight years for which we have information), there is slightly more variety. That said, four names account for nine posts: Luis Sánchez Dalvo was consul twice (1550 and 1552), as were Melchor de Carrión and Francisco de Escobar. Hernán López served three times as consul, in 1543, 1544, and 1547.[70]

[68] There are merchants named "de la Torre," though none of them stand out. Bernardo de la Torre is the only one on the lists, but his given name does not coincide with the men mentioned by Fernández Chaves and Pérez García.

[69] For 1548 see AGI Justicia, 1.208, no. 32; AGI Indiferente, 1093; AGI Justicia, 1.147, no. 2; and AGI Justicia, leg. 1.154, no. 2, R2. Gil has confirmed this through notarial archives; Gil, Los conversos, vol. 3, p. 560. On 1550 see AGI Justicia, leg. 1.147, no. 4; and AGI Justicia, leg. 1.160, no. 2.

[70] AGI Justicia, leg. 1.147, no. 4; Vila Vilar, *El consulado*, appendix 2.

Alonso and Rodrigo de Illescas were sons of Rodrigo de Illescas, a converso and member of the Seville city council who left the city in 1480 after the Inquisition established a tribunal there.[71] Though there may be some doubt, given the repetition of names, there was an interesting division of labor between the two sons. Rodrigo appears on all lists of merchant representatives exccept for one in 1543, while Alonso, whose name appears on only two lists, played a critical role in the Consulado's early years, having been elected prior at least five times. Alonso's lesser role may have been the result of a series of trips to America. For example, in 1555 he could not sign powers of attorney because he was working as an administrator (*factor*) for his brother on a transatlantic voyage.[72] The important point is that only once, in the first list of 1543, did neither of the Illescas brothers appear.

Juan Gil has vague information about Alonso de Illescas's marriage to Isabel Alemán (or Isabel Dalvo; Gil uses both surnames), which resulted in three daughters and one son, Juan Núñez de Illescas.[73] Pike says that just before 1543, Alonso was working as a tax farmer, though she does not specify which taxes he oversaw.[74] Gil states that Rodrigo de Illescas in 1541 leased the rights to soap (*almona*) production and sales in Seville, where soap was a monopoly, with Diego Caballero.[75] But he also says that the brothers' most important role regarding Seville revenues came later, in 1559, when they leased the *almojarifazgo mayor* along with Rodrigo de Jerez and other Indies merchants including Gaspar de Torres, Alonso Núñez de Badajoz, Diego Alemán, Antonio de Gibraleón, Álvaro Caballero, and Diego de Baeza.[76] Lorenzo Sanz writes that Alonso de Illescas's participation with the *almojarifazgo* began earlier, in 1547, when he (along with Gaspar and Gonzalo Jorge, Luis Cataño, and Juan Núñez) subleased the rent to the Seville city council.[77] This is interesting because it sheds light on the Illescas family's links to the council, as the latter for decades had controlled royal taxes in the city.[78] Alonso began leasing rents at least as early as 1533, when he and his brother Hernando obtained the right to the *almojarifazgo* in the city's name.[79] Another brother, Rodrigo, was among a group of eighteen merchants who in 1538 took over management of the *avería* in the name of all merchants.[80] But

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[71] Pike, *Aristócratas y comerciantes*, 110.

[72] Their mother was Leonor Caballero; AGI Contratación, leg. 5.218, no. 61.

[73] Gil, *Los conversos*, vol. 4, 246-47.

[74] Pike, *Aristócratas y comerciantes*, 54 and 110.

[75] Gil, *Los conversos*, vol. 4, 248; Pérez García and Fernández Chaves, "La élite mercantil," 408; Enrique Otte, "Los mercaderes transatlánticos bajo Carlos V," *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* 47 (1990), 95-121.

[76] Gil, *Los conversos*, vol. 4, 246-47.

[77] Eufemio Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España con América en la época de Felipe II* (Valladolid: Instituto de Cultura de Simancas, 1986) [1979], vol. 1, 64; on the Jorge family business see Otte, "Los mercaderes," 107-14.

[78] On Cortes payments to the crown (the *servicios*) see Juan Manuel Carretero Zamora, *La averiguación de la corona de Castilla, 1525-1540* (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, 2008), vol. 1, 286-310; and vol. 3, 1425-1500. Also by Carretero Zamora, *Gobernar es gastar. Carlos V, el servicio de las Cortes de Castilla y la deuda de la Monarquía Hispánica, 1516-1556* (Madrid: Silex, 2016), 23-81.

[79] AGI Indiferente, leg. 1961, L.3, fols. 97r-97v.

[80] Pérez García and Fernández Chaves, "La élite mercantil," 409.

as far as I can tell, Rodrigo held no more institutional posts until 1558, when he was elected prior of the Consulado.[81]

The Illescas family's involvement in these matters before the establishment of the Consulado seems to have begun in 1528, when the elder Rodrigo was chosen as *avería* deputy.[82] His sons, Alonso and Rodrigo, were part of the group of merchants who in 1538 asked the emperor to exclude foreigners from the Indies trade.[83] Other than that instance, we have their signatures only on the lists we are using.

As for the Illescas brothers' trading activities, they began in at least 1530, when Alonso began shipping flour from Málaga to America.[84] Fernández Chaves and Pérez García included his name in their lists of converso slave traders and they link him with Caritate as regards slave licenses, suggesting they were involved in this highly lucrative trade from 1534 to 1562.[85] We know that he obtained a license in 1542 to transport fifty slaves, and the following year he had one (with Francisco Núñez de Illescas) to ship another 110.[86] Still, this is a far cry from the two thousand licenses that Cebrián de Caritate obtained soon afterwards. By 1545 it seems that Alonso's investments had diversified, and he began being interested in lands around Seville; that year he bought a property that had belonged to the duke of Béjar in the town of Utrera, and two years later it was returning good dividends.[87]

The younger Rodrigo's activities were similar to those of his brother, though he was not involved in the slave trade until the 1550s; at that point, he became an active participant until 1565.[88] He was one of the most active opponents of the crown's retroactive collection of the "new *almojarifazgo* for slaves" in 1558.[89] One of his sons married a daughter of Luis Sánchez Dalvo and later became a member of the Seville city council during the reign of Philip II.[90]

Luis and Hernán Sánchez Dalvo were also members of a converso family, and they were deeply involved in the slave trade. And, as noted, they were intertwined with the

[81] Vila Vilar, *El consulado*, appendix 2.
[82] AGI Justicia, leg. 727, no. 5.
[83] Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España*, 150; Antonio García Baquero, "Los extranjeros en el tráfico con Indias: entre el rechazo legal y la tolerancia funcional," in M.B. Villar García and Cristóbal Pezzi Cristóbal, eds, *Los extranjeros en la España Moderna. Actas del I Coloquio Internacional*, vol. 1 (Málaga: M.B. Villar, 2003), 73-99; Pérez García and Fernández Chaves, "La élite mercantil," 409.
[84] AGI Indiferente, leg. 422, L.14, fols. 121r-122r.
[85] Pérez García and Fernández Chaves, "La élite mercantil," 403, 407-408, 411. We know Alonso died in 1562 because his name appears on a Casa de la Contratación list of decendents' property; AGI Lima, leg. 567, L.7, fols. 475v-476v.
[86] AGS Indiferente, leg. 423, L.20, fols. 581v-583r; AGI Indiferente, leg. 1.964, L.10, fols. 281v-282v.
[87] Archivo Histórico National, Sección Nobleza [hereafter AHNOB] Osuna, caja 314, docs. 75 and 77.
[88] He had a license to ship 135 slaves in 1551, 260 in 1556, 560 in 1560, and 68 in 1567; AGI Indiferente, leg. 424, L.22, fol. 266v; AGI Indiferente, leg. 425, L.23, fols. 118v-119r; AGS Indiferente, L.23, fols. 450r-451r; AGI Justicia, leg. 1.156, ramo 3.
[89] AGI Justicia, leg. 1.154, no. 7, R.1.
[90] Gil, *Los conversos*, vol. 3, 406.

Illescas family. According to Gil, Hernán married Alonso and Rodrigo's sister Inés, and one of their sons married his first cousin, Rodrigo de Illescas's daughter.[91] Pike provides further linkages, noting that Rodrigo's son Pedro Caballero de Illescas returned to Seville from America and married another of Luis Sánchez Dalvo's daughters.[92] Luis was a city council member in Nombre de Dios in 1539 but had returned to Seville by 1545.[93]

Hernán Sánchez Dalvo's first involvement in the Indies trade concerned grain shipments, though in 1537 he, too, bought licenses to ship two hundred slaves to the Indies, and he continued being active in the slave trade until at least 1545 and was involved in a variety of other sectors.[94] Pike states that the Sánchez Dalvo family was involved in tax farming, though on a lesser scale than the Illescas family or their partner, Pedro de Morga.[95] In any case, all these commercial and family relationships continued through Philip II's reign, making them all important participants in Seville's political and commercial circles.[96]

Finally, both Hernán and Luis Sánchez Dalvo were affected by silver requisitions in 1536. The crown claimed part of a shipment shared by Hernán and his brother-in-law Alonso de Illescas valued at 2,150,000 maravedíes; Luis had a similar experience with a shipment his brother had sent him and which he shared with Francisco Núñez de Illescas; and the crown also requisitioned portions of two smaller shipments belonging to Hernando from the 1538 fleet.[97]

It seems clear, then, that the Consulado during its early years was controlled by a network of two converso families specialized in the slave trade. This was a period, it is important to emphasize, when the Consulado had no approved norms or structure; it operated entirely on the basis of its founding papers and on practices that took hold over the course of time. Nonetheless, even after new ordinances were approved in 1556 and the monopoly leadership began dissolving, the two extended families continued being dominant figures over the next decade. For example, a member of the family held the post of prior nine out of twelve times through 1567, and all priors were involved in the slave trade. Conversos continued in leadership positions until 1567, though the percentage of conversos among consuls declined somewhat, by 25 percent to 50 percent, depending on the historiographic source used.

[91] Gil, *Los conversos*, vol. 3, 560; vol. 4, 248.
[92] Pike, *Aristócratas y comerciantes*, 54.
[93] Gil, *Los conversos*, vol. 3, 560.
[94] The 1537 licenses were purchased from María de Toledo for 1,300 ducats, according to Gil, *Los conversos*, vol. 3, 560. On his activities in 1545 see AGI Indiferente, leg. 423, L.20, fols. 852r-853r.
[95] Pike, *Aristócratas y comerciantes*, 128.
[96] Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de Espana*, vol. 1, 162, 171, 400.
[97] Sardone, *Los préstamos*, 53 and 55.

Conclusion

It cannot surprise anyone that conversos played an important role in Seville's commercial life in the sixteenth century, but their overwhelming presence in the leadership of the Consulado, a new institution, stands out and deserves consideration. In theory, conversos were prohibited from even going to the Indies or trading there. Their control over a semi-public institution such as the Consulado marks a total contrast with the many Castilian institutions of that period that imposed clean-blood (*limpieza*) statutes.

In the sixteenth century, being a converso was not necessarily an impediment to being an Indies merchant. Going back to the work of Claudio Guillén, who relied upon the research of Henry Charles Lea and Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, the rules prohibiting conversos from going to America shifted in the first half of the century.[98] King Ferdinand favored reducing prohibitions in exchange for economic contributions from the affected parties, and his grandson Charles V followed a similar approach.[99] By the 1530s there was nothing stopping members of a converso family, or even descendants of Jews who had been convicted for practicing Judaism, from traveling, emigrating, or trading. It is hard to identify the reason for such tolerance apart from the financial compensation they paid in return and the obvious difficulties in replacing all the conversos, which would have disrupted supply chains and halted royal rents. It was certainly not the case that conversos had acquired social respectability, given the massive numbers of legal proceedings aimed at granting them (false) clean social status.[100] Very few merchants, converso or not, during that period attempted to obtain *hidalguía*.

Nor, at least until 1570, did descendants of conversos go back to municipal posts such as *juradurías* (a post in urban neighborhoods), despite what Pike wrote years ago.[101] The Inquisition of Seville cast a long shadow, and many, many families lost public-sector posts. According to what I have found, the only people who were simultaneously Indies merchants, descendants of conversos, and *jurados* were Alonso Alemán, Juan de la Barrera, and Rodrigo de Jerez. One other non-converso merchant, Alonso Román, was also a *jurado* in addition to being an *avería* deputy. Several converso merchants were also *avería* deputies, among them Rodrigo de Illescas, Hernán Pérez Jarada, and Alonso Núñez.[102]

[98] Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, *La clase social de los conversos en Castilla en la Edad Moderna* (Madrid: CSIC, 1955); Henry Charles Lea, *A History of the Inquisition in Spain and the Inquisition in the Spanish Dependencies* (London: Taurus, 2011 [1906].

[99] Guillén, "Un padrón."

[100] Soria Mesa, *La realidad tras el espejo*.

[101] According to Pike, Linajudos, 7, urban merchants' purchase of these posts was a way of acquiring social prestige, but her analysis suffers from a lack of chronological precision.

[102] Otte published documents pointing to the unusually large commission in charge of averías in 1538; that year Charles V appointed Alonso and Rodrigo de Illescas, Hernán Sánchez Dalvo, Juan de Alfaro, Rodrigo de Gibraleón, Juan Núñez de Jerez, Pedro Gutiérrez, Cebrián de Caritate, Francisco de la Corona,

The fact that conversos were *avería* deputies indicates that their families' past was no impediment to their representing colleagues in negotiations with the crown. That said, it is also possible that their genealogical stain might have been overcome only by paying people off, as had been the case during Ferdinand's reign in the 1510s; they may have had to essentially bribe individual royal ministers to get permission to sail to the Indies. But it is impossible to know.

So, what can we say for sure regarding conversos' presence in the Consulado and the privileges that might have ensued? My hypothesis is that traders as a whole, especially after their organization was formalized in 1543, provided converso merchants with an institutional space that protected them from vulnerabilities due to their families' past. So, the Consulado was doubly privileged: first, it gave members their own professional and jurisdictional base distinguishing them from everyone else. This enabled social reproduction, bringing a disparate group of merchants together into a more precise and favorable setting, which doubtless contributed to their sons' following their fathers' path in commerce.[103] And second, membership in the Consulado, especially in the top ranks, bestowed social respectability and personal security, providing a means for advantageous political negotiation, be it in Seville, the Indies, or at court. Indies merchants became important economic interlocutors, first with Charles V and later with Philip II.

But the hypothesis only partially explains the control exercised by the Illescas and Sánchez Dalvo families during the Consulado's early decades. The documents seem to indicate that once new arrivals began appearing among the leadership, there was tension, leading to organizational changes and, finally, the enactment of formal ordinances.[104] But, according to the hypothesis, members' shared wish to not endanger the Consulado's status as a refuge, plus the existence of a complex network of financial interests involved in the Indies trade, doubtless favored a pragmatic approach, and whatever conflicts there might have been between new and old leaders did not upset the balance or require outside interference.

Another important element of the Consulado's definition as a privileged community concerns "foreigners." The term could mean a variety of things, but in this case it essentially is referred to the Genoese. Already in the late 1530s, as noted above, there was considerable opposition to the growing presence of outsiders, who were seen as competitors who might take over the system as a whole. The 1538

Sancho de Ríos, Fernán Pérez Jarada, Fernán Perez de la Fuente, Domingo de Zorzona, Francisco Zavala, and Perot Forcadell, all of whom were from Seville; additionally he appointed Polo Centurión and Jerónimo Cataño, from Genoa, and the German Lázaro Nuremberger; Otte, "Los mercaderes," 121.

[103] Ernesto Schäfer, *El consejo real y supremo de las Indias. Historia y organización del Consejo y de la Casa de la Contratación de las Indias* (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, 2003); Salas Almela, "En los orígenes." For the sixteenth century, see Vila Vilar's work in general, and Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de Espana*.

[104] Antonia Heredia Herrera, "Las ordenanzas del consulado de Sevilla," *Archivo Hispalense*, 171-173 (1973), 149-83.

embassy comprising Caritate, Alonso de Illescas, and Hernán Pérez Jarada aimed at expelling the Genoese from the Indies trade is a good example.[105] But once Seville's merchants along with merchants from "all nations" asked Charles V to establish the Consulado, the Genoese joined in 1542-43.[106] It was only logical that the Genoese participated in the institutional creation of the Consulado. All those included in Appendix 1 – Juan Francisco de Bibaldo, Nicolás Fresco, Jorge and Gonzalo Negro, Nicolás and Jerónimo Catano, Tobías de Marín, Pedro Benito de Basiniana, and Andía Imperial Valian – appear just once, but they do so precisely in the 1543 list of those supporting Caritate's efforts to negotiate with Charles V. No Genoese names appear in earlier or later lists or, of course, in the lists of leaders. This was not only the case with the Consulado per se; the Genoese essentially disappeared from large-scale Indies commerce after the 1530s. For example, lists of seized cargo published by Sardone show that after 1543, Genoese were affected only by the 1545 requisition; the fleet that year carried treasure to pay for goods sent to the Indies before 1543. One example is the case of Pedro Benito de Basiniana (or Basiñana), whose goods were seized in 1534, 1535, and 1545, but whose name does not appear in connection with subsequent requisitions during the emperor's reign.[107] After that point, Genoese names appear only as claimants of loans, not as merchants.[108] In other words, starting in 1543 – thirteen years earlier than what Heredia Herrera suggested – foreigners appear to have been excluded not only from the leadership of the Consulado but from the Indies trade altogether, at least as direct participants. There can be no question that the Consulado, defined imprecisely as a place for "Indies merchants," played a leading role in that. The presence of various Genoese signatories on powers of attorney in 1543 (see Table 1) appears to show they were trying to undo the exclusion, but by 1556 the separation was strengthened with the new Consulado ordinances, which finalized their separation, temporary though it may have been, by depriving them of a vote.[109]

Opposition to participation in the Indies trade by foreigners or outsiders became a common cause among all members of the Consulado, whether or not they were conversos. And that shared interest may well have helped diminish potentially disruptive disputes among interest groups within the Consulado owing to the predominance of the Illescas and Sánchez Dalvo families before 1556. It is impossible to know at this point the degree to which these two families, or conversos in general, skillfully encouraged exclusion of the Genoese, but it is not difficult to imagine that the existence of a clearly identified group of "foreigners" who were not the emperor's vassals and who it was generally agreed should not benefit from Indies wealth helped indirectly to solidify tolerance toward conversos. Thus, it is

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105 Salas Almela, "En los orígenes," 405, 433.

106 Schäfer, *El consejo real*, vol. 1, 102-103; AGI Indiferente, leg. 737, no. 54, 20 April 1543.

107 Sardone, *Los préstamos*, 354.

108 For example, in the lawsuit between Juan Francisco de Bibaldo and Jorge de Negro, on the one hand, against Melchor de Carrión, in 1545-48; AGI Justicia, leg. 759, no. 1.

109 Heredia, "Las ordenanzas," 46.

reasonable to hypothesize that the Illescas and Sánchez Dalvo families used their institutional predominance in the *universidad de mercaderes* to keep the Genoese out of the trade.

Surname	Given names	1536	1543 (I)	1543 (II)	1547	1555
Alemán	Alonso	*Yes*	*Yes (prior)*	*Yes*	*Yes*	
Alfaro	Juan de	*Yes*		*Yes*		
Álvarez	Fernand			*Yes*		
Álvarez de Arce	Rodrigo		*Yes*	*Yes*		
Álvarez del Águila	Pero					
Alzola	Asensio de			*Yes*		
Andueza	Juan de			*Yes*		
Aramburu	Nicolás de	*Yes*		*Yes*		
Armenta	Luis de			*Yes*	*Yes*	
Armenta	Fernando de				*Yes*	
Armenta	Juan de				*Yes*	
Astudillo	Juan de					
Ávila	Fernand de			*Yes*		
Baeza	Diego de					*Yes*
Baeza	Alonso de					
Baeza	Francisco de					
Baeza	Tomás de	*Yes*				
Basiniana	Pedro Benito de			*Yes*		
Beltrán	Álvaro					*Yes*
Beltrán	Diego	*Yes*		*Yes*		*Yes*
Bérgamo	Julián de			*Yes*		
Bernal	Francisco					*Yes*
Bibaldo	Juan Francisco de			*Yes*		
Brioso	Antón			*Yes*		
Burgos	Jerónimo de					
Caballero	Diego				*Yes*	
Cabezas	Alonso			*Yes*	*Yes*	
Campos	Martín de					*Yes*
Caritate	Cebrián de			*Yes*		
Carrión	Melchor de	*Yes*		*Yes*		
Castillo	Diego del	*Yes*				
Castillo	Gaspar Jerónimo del					*Yes*
Castro	Gregorio de					
Castro	Lucas de	*Yes*		*Yes*		

Table 1. Merchants who signed collective powers of attorney, 1536-55.

Surname	Given names	1536	1543 (I)	1543 (II)	1547	1555
Catano	Nicolás			*Yes*		
Catano	Jerónimo		*Yes*	*Yes*		
Cazalla	Baltasar de		*Yes (consul)*	*Yes*		
Chillas	Álvaro de					
Contador	Juan				*Yes*	
Córdoba	Juan de					
Díaz -de Llerena-	Alonso			*Yes*	*Yes*	
Díaz	Diego	*Yes*				
Díaz de Gibraleón	Ruy				*Yes*	
Díaz de Segura	Ruy	*Yes*	*Yes*	*Yes*		
Díaz de Valencia	Pedro			*Yes*		
Donís	Rodrigo			*Yes*		
Espinar	Bentura del			*Yes*		
Espinosa	Alonso de				*Yes*	
Espinosa	Gaspar de				*Yes*	
Espinosa Carrión	Juan de					
Espinosa Salado	Juan de	*Yes*				
Fernández	Juan	*Yes*		*Yes*		
Fernández de Alfaro	Luis					
Fernández de Jerez	Alonso					
Fernández de Jerez	Pedro	*Yes*				
Fernández de Jerez	Martín	*Yes*				
Fernández de Sotienzo	Diego			*Yes*		
Ferrera	Gaspar de	*Yes*				
Fiel	Juan			*Yes*		
Flomesta	Juan de			*Yes*		
Forcadell	Juan					
Forcadell	Perot					
Frañas Quemín	Cristóbal			*Yes*		
Fresco	Nicolás			*Yes*		
Fuente	Hernán de la			*Yes*	*Yes*	
Galbarro	Juan		*Yes*			
Gallego	Cristóbal					
García	Gonzalo					
García	Juan					*Yes*
García de Amesqueta	Martín			*Yes*		
Gibraleón	García de	*Yes*				
Gibraleón	Rodrigo de					

Table 1. Continued.

Surname	Given names	1536	1543 (I)	1543 (II)	1547	1555
Gómez Adalid	Ruy			*Yes*		
Gómez de Herrera	Pero					
Gómez de la Cetina	Alonso			*Yes*		
Gómez de la Serna	Alonso				*Yes*	
Gómez de Balcázar	Alonso	*Yes*				
Guillén	Fernando de			*Yes*		
Gutiérrez de Sanvítores	Cristóbal					
Gutiérrez Pacheco	Juan			*Yes*	*Yes*	
Harrison	Thomas	*Yes*				
Haro	Juan de	*Yes*				
Hernández	Rodrigo	*Yes*				
Herrera	Fernando de		*Yes*			
Herrera	Francisco de					*Yes*
Hurtado	Pedro		*Yes*	*Yes*		
Hurtado	Gómez		*Yes*		*Yes*	*Yes*
Illescas	Rodrigo de	*Yes*		*Yes*	*Yes*	*Yes*
Illescas	Alonso de			*Yes*	*Yes (prior)*	
Illescas	Fernando de					
Imperial Balim	Andía			*Yes*		
Isasi	Antón de			*Yes*		
Jaén	Hernando de			*Yes*		
Jaén	Alonso de					
Jaén	Juan de				*Yes*	
Jerez	Francisco de	*Si*		*Yes*	*Yes*	
Jerez	Rodrigo de					*Yes*
Jerez	Alonso de			*Yes*		
Jerez	Hernando de				*Yes*	
Jorge	Álvaro					
Jorge	Gonzalo	*Yes*		*Yes*		
Jorge	Gaspar				*Yes*	*Yes*
Jiménez	Antón	*Yes*				
Juanelardos	Juan			*Yes*		
Juanelardos	Pedro			*Yes*		
Labarrera	Juan de	*Yes*		*Yes*		
Lasao	Domingo de			*Yes*		
Lantadilla	Andrés de	*Yes*				
León	Alonso de	*Yes*				
Lizarrazas	Domingo de			*Yes*	*Yes*	

Table 1. Continued.

Surname	Given names	1536	1543 (I)	1543 (II)	1547	1555
Lomeldo	Juan de	*Yes*				
López	Antón	*Yes*				
López	Pedro			*Yes*		
López de Calatayud	Francisco		*Yes*			
López	Francisco		*Yes*			
López Morcillo	Fernand				*Si (consul)*	
Luzarra	Pedro de			*Yes*		
Madaria	Diego de			*Yes*		
Mallaibia Vizcaino	Martín de					
Manuel	Antón			*Yes*		
Marcena	Juan de			*Yes*		
Marín	Tobías de			*Yes*		
Martín	Juan	*Yes*				
Martínez	Alonso			*Yes*	*Yes*	
Martínez	Juan		*Yes*		*Yes*	
Martínez	García	*Yes*				
Martínez	Fernán				*Yes*	
Martínez	Diego				*Yes*	
Medina	Diego de			*Yes*		
Melchior	Gaspar					*Yes*
Molina	Diego de					
Molina	Francisco de	*Yes*	*Yes*			
Molina	Juan de		*Yes*			
Molinedo	Pedro de		*Yes*			
Morales	Miguel de			*Yes*		
Morales	Gómez de					
Morán de la Cerda	Cristóbal de		*Yes*			
Muñoz	Francisco	*Yes*				
Muñoz	Baltasar					*Yes*
Nebreda	Alonso de					
Negro	Jorge de			*Yes*		
Noremberger	Lázaro					
Núñez	Juan	*Yes*		*Yes*	*Yes*	
Núñez	Alonso			*Yes*		*Yes*
Núñez	Alonso			*Yes*		
Núñez	Juan			*Yes*		
Núñez	Diego			*Yes*		*Yes*
Núñez	Alonso			*Yes*		

Table 1. Continued.

Surname	Given names	1536	1543 (I)	1543 (II)	1547	1555
Núñez	Francisco			*Yes*		
Núñez de Badajoz	Alonso					*Yes*
Núñez de Illescas	Francisco			*Yes*	*Yes*	
Ojeda	Juan de		*Yes (consul)*			
Ortiz	Juan	*Yes*				
Ovilla	Gabriel de			*Yes*		
Palma	Juan de			*Yes*		
Perea	Juan de			*Yes*		
Pérez	Andrés (el Viejo)					
Pérez	Fernando (Hernán)	*Yes*		*Yes*		
Pérez	Bartolomé			*Yes*	*Yes*	*Yes*
Pérez	Rodrigo				*Yes*	
Pérez de Anchotegui	Martín			*Yes*		
Pérez de la Fuente	Fernán				*Yes*	
Pérez Jarada	Fernand			*Yes*	*Yes*	
Pérez de las Cuentas	Hernán					*Yes*
Pinto	Juan				*Yes*	
Plasencia	Francisco de					
Portillo	Francisco de	*Yes*				
Prado	Melchor de			*Yes*		
Ramírez	Antonio			*Yes*		
Ramírez	Francisco	*Yes*				
Ríos	Sancho de					
Rodríguez -Cerezo-	Juan	*Yes*		*Yes*		
Rodríguez	Hernán				*Yes*	*Yes*
Rodríguez	Hernán (el Viejo)					*Yes*
Rodríguez Cerezo	Juan	*Yes*			*Yes*	
Rodríguez de la Magdalena	Antón				*Yes*	
Rodríguez del Pozo	Juan				*Yes*	
(San) Román	Alonso de	*Yes*		*Yes*		
Romero	Cristóbal					
Ruiz	Cristóbal	*Yes*				
Ruiz de Orizondo	Francisco			*Yes*		
Sal	Juan de la					
Sal	Lucas de la				*Yes*	
Salcedo	Andrés de	*Yes*				
(Fernández) Sampedro	Pedro de	*Yes*		*Yes*		
Sánchez	Diego	*Yes*				

Table 1. Continued.

Surname	Given names	1536	1543 (I)	1543 (II)	1547	1555
Sánchez	Juan			*Yes*		
Sánchez	García			*Yes*		
Sánchez	Martín			*Yes*		
Sánchez	Juan			*Yes*		
Sánchez	Gaspar			*Yes*	*Yes*	
Sánchez	Francisco		*Yes*			
Sánchez	Pedro	*Yes*				
Sánchez Dalvo	Hernán			*Yes*		
Sánchez Dalvo	Luis				*Yes*	*Yes*
Sánchez Dalvo	Pedro				*Yes*	
Sánchez Dalvo	Juan				*Yes*	
Sánchez de Cisneros	Alonso			*Yes*		
Sánchez de Robledo	Gonzalo					
Sánchez de Sampedro	Ortiz					*Yes*
Santa Cruz Polanco	Juan de					
Segovia	Antón de	*Yes*				
Segura	Gonzalo de					
Sevilla	Rodrigo de					
Suárez	Hernán					
Sueldo	Juan del					
Téllez	Francisco					
Torre	Bernardo de la		*Yes*		*Yes*	
Torre	Diego de la				*Yes*	
Torre	Alonso de la				*Yes*	
Torres	Gaspar de	*Yes*				
Urrutia	Juan de	*Yes*		*Yes*		
Valcaraz,	Martín de				*Yes*	
Valladolid	Juan de					
Vázquez	Hernán					*Yes*
Vega	Diego de la					*Yes*
Velasco	Pedro de	*Yes*	*Yes*	*Yes*		
Villalobos	Antón de					
Zabala	Francisco de			*Yes*		
Zornoza	Diego de	*Yes*				

Nota: Elaboración propia a partir de datos que proceden de las siguientes fuentes: datos de 1536, Vila Vilar, 1992; 1543 (I), AGI, *Justicia*,744,N.6; 1543 (II), AGI, *Justicia*, leg. 1.146 [publicados en Salas Almela, 2023]; 1547, AGS, *EMR*, 340; 1555, AGI, *Justicia*, leg. 1.154.

Table 1. Continued.

	Prior	Cónsul I	Cónsul II
1543	Alonso de Illescas	Melchor de Carrión	Hernán López
1544	Alonso de Illescas	Melchor de Carrión	Hernán López
1545	*No information*		
1546	*No information*		
1547	Alonso de Illescas	Hernán López	Pero Díaz de Baeza
1548	Hernán Sánchez Dalvo	Juan Núñez de Jerez (*)	Juan Galbarro
1549	*No information*		
1550	Hernán Sánchez Dalvo	Pero Díaz de Baeza (*)	Luis Sánchez Salvo
1551	*No information*		
1552	Alonso de Illescas	Luis Sánchez Salvo	Diego de la Torre
1553	*No information*		
1554	Alonso de Illescas	Hernando de Castro	Francisco de Escobar
1555 (**)	Luis Sánchez Dalvo	Diego de la Torre (*)	Alonso Núñez
1556	Gaspar de Torres	Alonso Núñez de Badajoz	Gabriel de Balmaseda
1557	Alonso de Illescas	Hernando de Castro	Francisco de Escobar
1558	Rodrigo de Illescas	Francisco Núñez de Jerez (*)	Rodrigo de Torres
1559	Pedro Díaz de Baeza	Gonzalo Jorge (*)	Alonso Núñez
1560	Luis Sánchez Dalvo (*)	Francisco de Escobar	Rodrigo Pérez
1561	Hernando de la Fuente	Pedro López Martínez	Francisco Bernal
1562	Alonso Núñez	Gabriel de Balmaseda	Diego Díaz Becerril
1563	Rodrigo de Illescas	Francisco de Escobar	Diego Montesinos
1564	Luis Sánchez Dalvo	Rodrigo de Torres	Luis Marques
1565	Alonso Núñez de Badajoz	Diego Díaz de Becerril	[Sin dato]
1566	Rodrigo de Illescas	Francisco de Escobar	Francisco Martínez
1567	Rodrigo de Illescas	Francisco de Escobar	Francisco Martínez

Based on data from the following sources: 1543 and 1544: AGI Justicia, leg. 1.146, N.3, R.1; 1547: AGS EMR, leg. 340; 1548: AGI Justicia, leg. 1.028, N.32, and AGI Justicia, leg. 1.154, N.2.R.2; 1550: AGI Justicia, leg. 1.147, N.4); 1554: AGI Justicia, leg. 765, n.5; 1555: AGI Justicia, leg. 1.154, 5; 1552, 1556, and 1567: E. Vila Vilar.
* Given the uncertain references for given names I propose the following conventions: Juan Núñez for Juan Núñez de Jerez; Pero Díaz for Pero Díaz de Baeza; Gregorio de la Torre for Diego de la Torre; Francisco Núñez Pérez for Francisco Núñez de Jerez; Gregorio Jorge for Gonzalo Jorge; and Luis Sánchez del Hoyo for Luis Sánchez Dalvo.
** A document dated January 2, 1555 (AGI Justicia, leg. 1.154 no. 5) apparently contradicts information published by Vila Vilar, indicating that Illescas, Castro, and Escobar led the Consulado in that year. However, Vila Vilar is probably correct, and the document probably refers to the outgoing Consulado, given that the new leaders would not yet have taken their posts.

Table 2. Membership in the Consulado de Sevilla, 1543-67.

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Over a century of “utmost loyalty and service” to the lords of the Alhambra. The network of clients of the Marquises of Mondéjar in Granada (16th and 17th centuries)[1]

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This work aims to examine some of the extensive patronage network that crystallised around the Counts of Tendilla in 16th- and 17th-century Granada. The topic is relevant for the study of the Early Modern Age because the counts, and offshoot of the famous House of Mendoza, led one of the most powerful and well-known lineages in the Iberian Peninsula and were the most prominent family to settle in Granada after the city’s conquest by Castile. They were soon afterwards awarded the Marquisate of Mondéjar, the general captaincy of the Kingdom, and the governorship of the fortress of the Alhambra,[3] titles which they held for most of the 16th century.

In addition to presenting some of the family’s leading members, I shall try to develop an interpretive model to establish the importance of the family sagas of servants, clients, and associates that gravitated around the Marquises of Mondéjar. I shall finish with a curious case study, which illustrates the role acquired by many of these associates as local political brokers under the umbrella of protection afforded by their patrons, as procurators, clerks, juries, and even as *caballeros veinticuatro*. In addition to their positions in the city’s institutions, they are also found holding offices in the local Church, the Chancellery, and the Inquisition.

This is significant, because most of the counts’ clients had unconventional ethnic-religious backgrounds; many of them belonged to Jewish families turned Christian in the late 15th century. This circumstance did not put a stop to their aspirations only because their patrons protected them from the Inquisition and helped them dodge the limitations imposed by Purity of Blood Laws on public careers and honours. Needless

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[3] For the sake of clarity, is worth pointing out that the Counts of Tendilla, which were awarded the Marquisate of Mondéjar in the early 16th century, were a branch of the House of Mendoza. Both titles will be used interchangeably in this text.

to say, this protection was a reward for loyalty and the "many and good" services rendered the counts' house.

This sort of research demands consulting a wide range of sources, including notarial protocols held at the Archivo del Ilustre Colegio Notarial de Granada (APG) and records held at Archivo de la Real Chancillería de Granada (ARChG), Archivo General de Simancas (AGS), and Archivo del Patronato de la Alhambra y el Generalife (APAG).[4] This, together with the private letters of Íñigo López de Mendoza, aristocratic and genealogical treatises, and the critical review of existing bibliography.

Such a wide and varied array of sources cannot be successfully addressed without a solid methodology. Any hypothesis must be backed up by the systematic intersection and authentication of data from different sources. It is also worth pointing out that the work is grounded on exhaustive prosopographical analysis, which will enable the detailed and discriminate study of each of the individuals mentioned in the record. Only thus can we develop a reliable model to examine the evolution and features of the clients of the "lords of the Alhambra", while collecting sufficiently fine-grained data with which to follow the individual trajectory, the success and failure, of some of these clients.

The historiography of the Counts of Tendilla

It is important to emphasise that recent studies have substantially challenged conventional views about the early decades of Christian Granada. Although this work is by no means complete, research on such issues as the emergence of major agricultural estates, the imposition and consolidation of the seigniorial regime, and the results of early repopulation projects are now much better understood than not so long ago.[5] Despite this, major gaps remain, especially concerning so-called social history. Strange as it sounds, the Granada-based gentry is among the less well-known topics, despite the pivotal role played by this group in the evolution of the former Nasrid Kingdom.[6]

[4] As well as records at Archivo Municipal de Granada (AMG), Archivo de la Curia Diocesana de Granada (ACG), Archivo Histórico Nacional (AHN), Archivo General de Indias (AGI) and Real Academia de la Historia (RAH).

[5] See the classic works by Ladero Quesada, Malpica Cuello, Barrios Aguilera, López de Coca Castañer, Domínguez Ortiz, Soria Mesa, Casey, etc.

[6] For this, see Javier Castillo Fernández, "Estructuras sociales", in Manuel Barrios Aguilera and Rafael Gerardo Peinado Santaella, eds *Historia del reino de Granada. II: La época morisca y la repoblación (1502-1630)* (Granada: Universidad de Granada: Fundación El Legado Andalusí, 2000), 179-230; for a critical revisions of the role played by the nobility see Enrique Soria Mesa, "Nobles advenedizos: la nobleza del reino de Granada en el siglo XVI", in Ernest Belenguer Cebrià, ed. *Felipe II y el Mediterráneo, vol. II, Los grupos sociales* (Barcelona: Sociedad Estatal para la Conmemoración de los Centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V, 1999), 61-75 and "La nobleza del reino de Granada: estado de la cuestión y líneas de investigación", in Manuel Barrios Aguilera y Ángel Galán Sánchez, eds. *La Historia del Reino de Granada a debate. Viejos y nuevos temas. Perspectivas de estudio* (Malaga: Diputación de Málaga, 2004), 369-388.

The Counts of Tendilla are no exception to this. Needless to say, they were the most powerful lineage in the Kingdom and are central to Granada's history from the conquest to the late 16th century. However, this branch of the Mendozas have been somewhat neglected by historiography. Although some of the family's members have been subject to monographic studies, the fact is that a global and detailed account of the family's rise and fall is still lacking.

This is not to say that the Marquises of Mondéjar have been completely forgotten. Particularly significant is the work of the late José Szmolka Clares, who focused his doctoral dissertation on the second Count of Tendilla,[7] the family's most outstanding member and also one of the main axes of this work. Szmolka also paid attention to other members of the family, based on the first count's miraculously preserved letters, which present a colourful picture of early-16th century Andalusia;[8] years later, Szmolka published a biography of the first count, which remains an inescapable reference.[9]

Íñigo López de Mendoza's letters are an invaluable historical source that has not been sufficiently appreciated. The letters give a detailed account of all major political, economic, and social events in Granada in the opening decades of the Early Modern Age. The first scholars to analyse these letters were Antonio Paz y Meliá[10] and José Cepeda Adán,[11] although the first edition *sensu stricto* was undertaken by Emilio Meneses García and his co-workers.[12] Their work was resumed by professors María José Osorio Pérez and María Amparo Moreno Trujillo, who published two large volumes with the letters written by the Count of Tendilla's in the period 1504-1506.[13] Shortly afterwards, together with Juan María de la Obra Sierra, they edited and transcribed the last letters written by the Marquis of Mondéjar.[14] This work was

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[7] José Szmolka Clares, *Los inicios de la Granada cristiana a través de la correspondencia del conde de Tendilla* (doctoral dissertation, Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1976).

[8] José Szmolka Clares, "El registro de correspondencia del Conde Tendilla, una fuente documental para el conocimiento de las fortalezas granadinas tras la conquista", in Emilio Gómez Piñol, ed. *Arquitectura e iconografía artística militar en España y América (siglos XV-XVIII): actas de las III Jornadas Nacionales de Historia Militar (Sevilla, 9-12 de marzo de 1993)* (Seville: Cátedra "General Castaños", 1998), 57-72 and "Una fuente de insospechados alcances: el Registro de correspondencia del Conde de Tendilla", in *Andalucía medieval: actas del I Congreso de Historia de Andalucía* (Córdoba: CajaSur, Obra Social y Cultural, 1978), 413-420.

[9] José Szmolka Clares, *El Conde de Tendilla: primer capitán general de Granada* (Granada: Ayuntamiento de Granada, 1985).

[10] Antonio Paz y Meliá, "Correspondencia del conde de Tendilla acerca del gobierno de las Alpujarras", *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos (RABM),* XI (1907), 411-416.

[11] José Cepeda Adán, "Andalucía en 1508. Un aspecto de la correspondencia del Virrey Tendilla", *Hispania*, 85 (1962), 38-80.

[12] Emilio Meneses García, *Correspondencia del Conde de Tendilla (1508-1513),* 2 vols. (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1973-1974). See also "Granada y el segundo conde de Tendilla a comienzos del siglo XVI", *Hispania*, CCXXII (1974), 547-585.

[13] José Szmolka Clares, María Amparo Moreno Trujillo and María José Osorio Pérez, *Epistolario del Conde de Tendilla (1504-1506),* 2 vols. (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1996).

[14] María Amparo Moreno Trujillo, Juan María de la Obra Sierra and María José Osorio Pérez, *Escribir y gobernar: el último registro de correspondencia del conde de Tendilla (1513-1515)* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2007).

recently complemented by María Cristina Hernández Castelló's work on Íñigo López de Mendoza's early letters.[15]

However, as noted, this work aims to examine the main features of a social group that has been generally overlooked in the few studies that have addressed Granada's social elite in the 16th and 17th centuries. The Mendozas were at the centre of a large and complex network of mid- and high-status families that, for a century, gravitated around the governors of the Alhambra, pawns in a high-stake political game. These vertical relationships (patron-client) bred some of the Kingdom of Granada's foremost lineages; soon, they were hoarding the top positions of local government with their patrons' support.

As noted, although historiography is not entirely silent of the matter, there is much work to be done. Enrique Soria Mesa, for instance, has dome some research on the Pérez de Herrasti family,[16] and, together with Professor Peinado Santaella, on the Bobadillas.[17] The prolific work of Antonio Jiménez Estrella has focused on the General Captaincy, held by the Mendozas and their agents from the immediate aftermath of the conquest of Granada.[18] Similarly, we can highlight Professor Moreno Trujillo's study of the Jewish converts that worked for the second count of Tendilla.[19] Finally, Fernández Martín has investigated conflict within the municipal elite and venality in 17th-century Granada.[20]

The Marquises of Mondéjar's clients

Following the arguments presented above, it is important to emphasise several important factors for the matter at hand: the geographical origin, social extraction, and ethnic-religious background of the Marquises of Mondéjar's clients. This will go a long way to explain the choices and motivations of the members of this social group.

[15] María Cristina Hernández Castelló, *El registro epistolar de 1497 del Conde de Tendilla* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2019).

[16] Enrique Soria Mesa, "La familia Pérez de Herrasti: un acercamiento al estudio de la élite local granadina en los siglos XV al XVII", *Chronica Nova*, 19 (1991), 383-404.

[17] Rafael Gerardo Peinado Santaella and Enrique Soria Mesa, "Crianza real y clientelismo nobiliario: los Bobadilla, una familia de la oligarquía granadina", *Meridies*, 1 (1994), 129-160. Also "La oligarquía municipal de Granada en los albores del dominio castellano", *Edad Media*, 14 (2013), 213-237.

[18] See, among others, "La alcaidía de la Alhambra tras la rebelión morisca y su restitución al quinto marqués de Mondéjar", *Chronica Nova*, 27 (2000), 23-51 and *Poder, ejército y gobierno en el siglo XVI. La Capitanía General del reino de Granada y sus agentes* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2004).

[19] María Amparo Moreno Trujillo, "Las actuaciones de la Inquisición y los escribanos judeo conversos del entorno del conde de Tendilla", *Historia. Instituciones. Documentos*, 37 (2010), 181-210.

[20] Javier Fernández Martín, "'Que yo nunca reçibí de los susodichos ningunas buenas obras'. Patrimonio y conflictividad familiar en la élite municipal de Granada (c. 1601-1640)", *Historia y Genealogía*, 7 (2017), 41-63 and "Venalidad de oficios y honores en el concejo granadino durante el primer tercio del siglo XVII: poder, conflicto y ascenso social", *Chronica Nova*, 45 (2019), 259-295.

Geographical origin

First of all, it is worth noting that mentions of the geographical origin of the *señores de la Alhambra*'s clients are rarely explicit, but tangential and indirect at best. Despite this difficulty, by systematically intercrossing data from different sources, two clearly distinct groups can be established.

First, families from the hinterland of Guadalajara and the Alcarria, which was a core region for the Hurtado de Mendoza's family. Almost every branch of the lineage possessed estates in this area, following royal grants awarded in the 14th and 15th centuries. The family had total control over the city of Guadalajara, and the Casa del Infantado can be regarded as the headquarters of the central branch of the lineage.[21]

And second, bureaucrats, military officers, merchants, and local councillors, from various regions in the Iberian Peninsula (Cuenca, Toledo, Seville, Córdoba, Jaén, etc.), which gradually drew links with the power hub emerging in Granada and, it follows, with the Mondéjar's sphere of influence.

Social extraction and ethnic-religious background

At the top of this social group and Granada's social elite there were a number of high-ranking, wealthy families with good court connections. Their position in the city stood out, and even more so in the kingdom at large, where blood nobility accounted for a very small proportion of the population. Some of them were converts with Jewish or Islamic ancestry, but owing to their position they cannot be counted among New Christians, of which more shortly.

With this group, the Mondéjar family wove polyhedric and sometimes complex connections, not always free of rivalry and mistrust. In general, however, they cooperated in mutually beneficial ways. Their status gave them access to the matrimonial alliances to which the governors of the Alhambra were so partial. Although the Tendillas, who were Spanish grandees, were nigh inaccessible in this regard, other relatives and associates were not, occasionally even the lesser titled branches (*ramas cadets*) of the Mendozas.

[21] In general, see Diego Gutiérrez Coronel, *Historia Genealógica de la Casa de Mendoza* (Madrid: Instituto Jerónimo Zurita del Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas y Ayuntamiento de Cuenca, 1946) and Gaspar Ibáñez de Segovia, *Historia de la Casa de los Marqueses de Mondéjar y Condes de Tendilla*, 1696, kept at BNE, Ms. 3.315 and RAH, 9/183-185. Also Francisco Layna Serrano, *El palacio del Infantado en Guadalajara* (Guadalajara: AACHE Ediciones, 1997); *Historia de Guadalajara y sus Mendoza en los siglos XV y XVI* (Guadalajara: AACHE Ediciones, 1993-1996); and Cristina de Arteaga y Falguera, *La Casa del Infantado*, 2 vols. (Madrid: C. Bermejo, editor, 1940). For the council of Guadalajara and its relationship with the Hurtado de Mendoza see Pedro Luis Lorenzo Cadarso and José Luis Gómez Urdáñez, "Los enfrentamientos entre el patriciado urbano y la aristocracia señorial: Guadalajara y los duques del Infantado (ss. XV-XVII)", *Norba: revista de Historia*, 13 (1993), 127-155.

This small group includes the Fernández de Córdoba family, from the city of Córdoba, some of whose many branches ended up settling in Granada after it became part of Castile;[22] and the Bobadillas, loyal servants of the Crown from the *alcázar* of Segovia and beyond, who played a prominent role in the frontier with al-Andalus —although they were labelled (*señalados*) as converts by the inquisitor Diego Rodríguez Lucero— and who soon gained a firm foothold in Granada's city council "owing to the friendship of the second Count of Tendilla and his heirs".[23] Íñigo's letters clearly illustrate his fondness for the members of this lineage, later reinforced by blood ties, as we shall see shortly. This earned them a position at the very top of Granada's social fabric, as the self-styled lords of Pinos y Beas.

This groups also includes several families of converts (with both Islamic and Jewish backgrounds). As leaders of the Morisco community, the Granada Venegas family were one of the main bulwarks of royal power in the city, and they were amply rewarded for it. They were the descendants of Sultan Yusuf IV, and had stood as a dangerous dynastic alternative to the Nasrids, with whom they had broad family ties. After the conquest of Granada, they were awarded important prebends by the Catholic Monarchs and their successors, in gratitude for the services they rendered the Crown. Although their new position paled in comparison with their former status, they continued playing a key role in the local politics of Granada.

Tendilla's letters display some tension between the Captain General of Granada and Alonso Venegas, head of his family in the first half of the 16th century. In addition to possible personal issues about which the record is silent, this tension sprung from the fact that both men wished to appear as leaders of the Morisco community. Despite this, they were forced to understand one another, and only a more in-depth relational analysis of their interaction can reveal the true dimension of their strained collaboration.

In any case, the Crown soon understood that the Granada Venegas were key to keep the social peace in the Kingdom of Granada. Their mere presence demonstrated that the heirs of the 'Moor kings' could serve the Crown, and that a peaceful coexistence was therefore possible. It is illustrative that the Catholic Monarchs married Pedro de Granada and Alonso Venegas, his son, with noble Christian maidens, a policy that was to continue with their descendants.

Particularly outstanding is Alonso Venegas's marriage with Juana de Mendoza, Queen Isabella's lady in waiting, who was used as a family pawn in a high-stake political strategy. For some time, controversy has surrounded the identity of this lady, which is not altogether clear; we shall go back to this later. In any case, there is little doubt

[22] Archivo Histórico de la Nobleza (thereafter, AHNOB), Luque, C. 509, D. 1-2 and C. 409, D. 35 and Biblioteca Nacional de España (BNE), Porcones, 823 (2).
[23] Peinado Santaella and Soria Mesa, "Crianza real y clientelismo nobiliario", 137.

that she was a Mendoza and close relative of Íñigo López de Mendoza, Second Count of Tendilla.[24]

Similarly, the Granada-based Mendozas also married convert families with Jewish origins, for instance the Zafras, including the Catholic Monarch's famous secretary and first lord of Castril and his brother Pedro de Zafra, *alcaide* of Mondújar and *caballero veinticuatro* in Granada. These ties even survived the downfall of the Zafra family. A good illustration of this is Tendilla's appeal to Ferdinand the Catholic on 12 May 1509, to protect the rents awarded Guiomar de Acuña, Pedro de Zafra's widow, as he feared that the Inquisition of Llerena was going to seize them:

> The countess, may God be with her, raised a second cousin [Guiomar de Acuña] of hers and married her to Pedro de Çafra, may God forgive him, who treated her reasonably well. They had one son and two daughters. The lad is councillor in this city and *alcaide* in Monduxar, and when the Moors killed his father you awarded him these privileges. Today a petition by the inquisitors of Llerena has arrived summoning Pedro de Çafra and, since these lawsuits have an uncertain end, I decided to appeal to Your Highness, that you may grant me the offices and rents of Pedro de Çafra. The rents for his children or his mother, who is a noble and good woman, and the offices for whomever marries her daughter, who is a fine lady.[25]

The marquises also had close links with other known family of converts, the Álvarez Zapata.[26] In fact, as noted by Professor Moreno Trujillo, "Tendilla's bareface intervention, mobilising all his influence and writing to all the leading courtiers" prevented Juan Álvarez Zapata's problems with the Inquisition to come to a bad end.[27] Therefore, it should not be surprising that his son ended up marrying one of Mondéjar's first cousins.[28] These two families played a major role in the political landscape of Granada and illustrate the Mondéjar's close relationship with converts, but they are only two outstanding examples among many.

Presented like this, these houses seemed to have acted in isolation, but nothing could be further from the truth. They were joined by, sometimes extremely complex, family links, which cannot be examined in detail here, but which are sufficiently illustrated by the multiple connections that bound the Zafra, Cobos, and Alarcón families or the

[24] Enrique Soria Mesa, "Una gran familia. Las élites moriscas del Reino de Granada", *Estudis*, 35 (2009), 18.

[25] Meneses García, *Correspondencia del Conde de Tendilla (1508-1513)*, vol. I, 590.

[26] For this family see María Pilar Rábade Obradó's doctoral dissertation, *Los judeoconversos en la época y en la corte de los Reyes Católicos* (Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 1990).

[27] Moreno Trujillo, "Las actuaciones de la Inquisición", 187-188.

[28] See also Enrique Soria Mesa, "Nietos de condenados, falsos hijos adoptivos. En torno a una peculiar estrategia para burlar la limpieza de sangre en la Granada de Felipe II", in Alberto Marcos Martín and Carlos Belloso Martín, eds. *Felipe II ante la Historia. Estudios de la Cátedra "Felipe II" en su 50 aniversario* (Valladolid, Universidad de Valladolid, 2020), 561-582.

ties between the Granada Venegas and the Álvarez Zapata, always within the sphere of patronage of the counts of Tendilla.

Local oligarchies were one step below these illustrious linages. Despite the middling background of some of them, all these families eventually gained at least *hidalgo* status, the descendants of squires and military officers arrived in Granada in the late 15th and early 16th centuries. They were awarded generous royal grants and, normally, no longer had any ties with their regions of origin.

This group includes families such as the Paz, deputy *alcaides* of Santa Fe (Granada); the Pérez de Herrasti, juries and later *caballeros veinticuatro* in Granada and self-styled lords of Domingo Pérez;[29] the Hurtado de Mendoza, distant relatives of the Mondéjar through the branch of Mendívil, and for a long time *alcaides* of the fortress of Bibataubín (Granada);[30] the Trillo, a long dynasty of *alcaides* straddling Granada and southern Córdoba;[31] the Ovalle de Ronda, later to become the wealthy lords of the town of Arriate (Málaga);[32] the Valenzuela, *alcaldes mayores* of the Alhambra; the Ribera, an extensive dynasty of bureaucrats and secretaries in the counts' service; the Bracamonte, which were extremely well positioned in the Royal Chancellery and had solid connections with the cities of Guadix and Baza;[33] the Peralta; the Arias Mansilla; the Dávila Ponce de León; and, finally, the Luz, about which more below.

All of these families, and many others, participated actively in the multilayered power play that Golden Age Granada was to become. Links with the Crown, the Morisco community, the Royal Chancellery, the Archdiocese, the council and, naturally, the *Alcaides* of la Alhambra, of whom they were clients, crossed and intercrossed in an ever-thicker mesh. Nearly all of them ended up with highly-coveted positions in the city council, more often than not on the Mondéjar's *recomendación*.

Over time, these lineages climbed to join the ranks of the high aristocracy (even as jurisdictional lords), the military orders, and the Inquisition. Granted, the Crown was never particularly thrifty with these honours, but it seems very likely that

[29] For the origin and evolution of the Pérez de Herrastis see Soria Mesa, "La familia Pérez de Herrasti", 383-404.

[30] This appointment dates back to early 1510. Cfr.: Meneses García, *Correspondencia del Conde de Tendilla (1508-1513),* vol. II, 463.

[31] Because of their numerous links to Jewish families, the Trillo's struggled to prove their 'purity of blood' for virtually the whole Early Modern Age.

[32] Enrique Soria Mesa, *La venta de señoríos en el reino de Granada bajo los Austrias* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1995), 110.

[33] Their Jewish ancestors were convicted and burnt by the Inquisition. They also served another major aristocratic house, the Enríquez de Baza, and earlier still the Marquis of Villena. For more details see José María García Ríos, "La omnipresencia del poder señorial en una ciudad de realengo. Los señores del Estado y de Baza y su extensa nómina de criados (1489-1530)", *Tiempos Modernos. Revista electrónica de Historia Moderna*, 45/12 (2022), 278-306 and *La presencia judeoconversa en la ciudad de Baza. Análisis socioeconómico y patrimonial de una élite de poder (ss. XVI-XVII)* (doctoral dissertation, Córdoba: Universidad de Córdoba, 2022), 164-166, 214-216 y 348-349.

the Mendozas played some role or other in these particular acts of generosity. We shall return to this interesting honour market later, as we try to establish just how dependent they were from the *señores de la Alhambra.*

Finally, far below, there was a voluminous and extremely heterogeneous group, made up of the rest of the squires that arrived in the city with the Christian host: dozens of newly-converted families, businessmen, rent collectors, merchants, and craftsmen under the protection of the Mendozas; as well as those directly in the House's payroll: butlers, treasurers, servants, physicians, daymen, cooks, maids, etc.

The long shadow of the *señores de la Alhambra*: power strategies

It is necessary to underline that Íñigo López de Mendoza hoarded the leading positions in the city's government institutions – which he controlled – for his most trusted men. Using his intimate connection with the Castilian monarchs, he cast a heavy shadow over Granada's council. But not only this, the influence of the Tendillas even allowed them to control the matrimonial policy of some of their clients, which only strengthened their power further. Let us see some of the strategies deployed by the *señores de la Alhambra.*

The counts' "recomendaciones" *as a reward for loyalty*

The count not only controlled the council at all levels, but constantly interfered with their deliberations. This is, to say the least, peculiar, because Castilian law strictly banned council members to be on the pay (*acostamiento*) of any lord. This ban was of application in all *realengo* councils and aimed to prevent councils from falling under the control of the aristocracy and neglecting their public duties. As such, in theory, the Mendoza's clients must refrain from participating in municipal decision-making.

It is interesting to note that, on 10 September 1492, the Catholic Monarchs issued a decree forbidding "councillors, *alcaldes*, *merinos*, juries, council clerks, and city treasurers to live with any prelate or knight, publicly or secretly".[34] However, this ban was ignored in early 16th-century Granada, like in many other Castilian regions.

The inefficacy of these bans is illustrated by the councils of Cuenca and Guadalajara, whose officials were in *acostamiento* with the Mendozas;[35] the council of Segovia,

[34] Alicia Inés Montero Málaga, "Capital relacional y capital social en el acceso de la alta nobleza al gobierno municipal burgalés a principios del siglo XVI: la provisión de la alcaldía mayor a Francisco de Brizuela", *En la España Medieval*, 41 (2018), 237.

[35] For the cabildo of Cuenca and its relationship with the Hurtado de Mendoza see: José Antonio Jara Fuente, "La nobilización de un concejo en el siglo XV: Cuenca y los Hurtado de Mendoza", in Isabel Montes Romero-Camacho, Manuel González Jiménez, *et alii*, eds *La Península Ibérica en la era de los descubrimientos (1391-1492): Actas de las III Jornadas Hispano-Portuguesas de Historia Medieval*, vol. II (Sevilla: Junta de Andalucía, 1997), 1025-1034 and *Concejo, poder y élites. La clase dominante en Cuenca en el siglo XV* (Madrid: CSIC, 2000). Also, María Concepción Quintanilla Raso, "Política ciudadana y jerarquización del poder. Bandos y parcialidades en Cuenca", *En la España Medieval*, 20 (1997),

many of whose councillors were under the authority of the Marquises of Moya;[36] the pressure posed by the council of Logroño to stop aristocratic interference;[37] the urban council of Burgos, which was completely dominated by the House of Velasco;[38] the large number of *caballeros veinticuatro* in Córdoba in the pay of the Fernández de Córdobas;[39] and, finally, the shadow cast by the houses of Medina Sidonia and Arcos over the local councils of Seville and Jerez de la Frontera.[40] Even in middling cities, like Baza, controlled by the Enríquez family, there was a substantial degree of seigniorial interventionism in local government.[41]

Granada was not to stay aloof of the Castilian nobility's attempts to impose their control over municipal power. This is hardly surprising, therefore, that for most of the 1500s, especially during the first half of the century, most council members in Granada were directly related to or were clients of the Marquises of Mondéjar.

The count's letters are peppered with requests — "recommendations", rather — to the Crown, royal secretaries, and other powerful court officials, for various privileges and, especially, public positions for his associates in the city councils of Granada and other towns and cities in the kingdom.

For instance, in late August 1508, Íñigo appealed to Gonzalo del Campo, one of his contacts in the Castilian court, for a *regimiento* in the town of Alhama for his client Juan de Peralta:

> My special friend. Juan de Peralta is on his way to the Court to negotiate a *regimiento* in Alhama for himself, as you will know. I implore you to help him and direct him, because this is of great consequence to me, and it would be reasonable for His Highness to grant me a couple of *regimientos* in that city, like he did with the *comendador mayor* of Calatrava, because much of my property is situated there.[42]

219-250. For Guadalajara see Lorenzo Cadarso and Gómez Urdáñez, "Los enfrentamientos entre el patriciado urbano", 130.

[36] María Asenjo González, *Segovia: la ciudad y su tierra a fines del Medievo* (Segovia: Diputación Provincial de Segovia, 1996).

[37] Máximo Diago Hernando, "La participación de la nobleza en el gobierno de las ciudades europeas bajomedievales. Análisis comparativo", *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 37/2 (2007), 781-822.

[38] Montero Málaga, "Capital relacional y capital social", 227-256.

[39] The seigniorial regime in Córdoba has been paid a good deal of scholarly attention. See, among others, Margarita Cabrera Sánchez, *Nobleza, oligarquía y poder en Córdoba al final de la Edad Media* (Córdoba: Obra Social y Cultural de Cajasur, 1998) and Enrique Soria Mesa, *El cambio inmóvil: transformaciones y permanencias de una élite de poder (Córdoba, ss. XVI-XIX)* (Córdoba: Ediciones de la Posada, 2000).

[40] For aristocratic meddling in these two major Andalusian cities see Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada, "Los señoríos medievales en el ámbito de Cádiz y Jerez de la Frontera", *En la España medieval*, 2 (1982), 543-572 and *Guzmán. La casa ducal de Medina Sidonia en Sevilla y su reino. 1282-1521* (Madrid: Dykinson, 2015), and more recently Enrique José Ruiz Pilares, "El servicio a la nobleza señorial como vía de promoción social: los señores de El Puerto y los caballeros jerezanos (1480-1520)", *Revista de Historia de El Puerto*, 61 (2018), 9-29.

[41] As recently pointed out by García Ríos, "La omnipresencia del poder señorial", 278-306.

[42] Meneses García, *Correspondencia del Conde de Tendilla (1508-1513),* vol. I, 398-399.

Everything seems to have gone according to plan, because a few days later Tendilla informed *licenciado* Zapata in the *regiduría* that his former servant had been appointed:

> Juan de Peralta, *vezino* of Alhama, because the King, Our Lord, and the Queen, our Mistress, may God be with them, sent them there with a *regimiento*, for which I appealed. I entreat you, sir, to deal with this as though he was my son, because he is deserving, as he was mine for a long time, and forfeited my wages for this, and he is more worthy for who he is than all the rest that are there. And I, sir, will be most grateful.[43]

Íñigo used virtually the same words to address the *comendador mayor* of Calatrava in a letter dated 22 February 1513, to report a replacement in the position of *caballero veinticuatro*: "Juan de Baeça, on my recommendation, has surrendered his position of *veintiquatría* or *regimiento* to his first-born son, Juan de Contreras, son-in-law of your *alcaide* Maldonado, a good man, and this was done by me secretly because they wanted him to give the post to another of his sons."[44]

In this way, in the first half of the 16th century, the Marquises of Mondéjar mobilised their *economic* (offices and resources) and *relational* (prestige, influence, and power) capital to reward their most loyal servants. The exchange was mutually beneficial: their clients found a launching pad to thrive (socially, economically, and politically) while the Mendozas accrued levers to surreptitiously control local politics in Granada. In theory, this should have been beyond the reach of the aristocracy, but they managed to by-pass the rules with the aid of their wide patronage network.

Kinship ties between clients, relatives, and associates

Matrimonial ties were another of the power strategies successfully mobilised by the Tendillas. Íñigo López de Mendoza could well be described as a *matchmaker*. His letters are peppered with references to this. One of his primary concerns were to strengthen his clients' bonds of kinship. This is not only reflected in his letters, but also in other documents such as genealogical treatises, wills, dowries, and matrimonial contracts.

For instance, a letter dated to 1509, in which the First Marquis of Mondéjar addresses the *licenciado* Zapata, reveals the patronage network that gravitated around the Mendozas: "I have been told of the death of a *regidor* of Alhama, my servant and husband of a woman who was governess of my daughter-in-law";[45] in another letter, dated to 5 August 1509, to the Marquis of Denia, Bernardo de Rojas y Sandoval, he reported a wedding that he had fixed for one of his clients:

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[43] Ibíd., 398.
[44] Ibíd., vol. II, 190.
[45] Meneses García, *Correspondencia del Conde de Tendilla (1508-1513),* vol. I, 627.

> Sir, a few days ago I fixed the wedding of a daughter of the *adelantado* of Caçorla with a son of Juan Álvarez Çapata, he a good lad and she an honest woman who was lost and forgotten in her stepmother's household, and I wanted to help her. Doña Juana de Valencia gave her 250,000 *maravedíes* and she had her father's assets in Guadix, which could be worth 500,000 *maravedíes*, plus a hundred that her sister left in her will, and I also gave her a little, so they can provide for themselves. His Highness has good servants in them.[46]

Even the *alcaides* of the Alhambra became pawns in this strategy, as illustrated by their multiple matrimonial links with one of the most powerful families of the Kingdom of Granada, the Bobadillas, a middling family whose connections at court had turned into one of the key pieces for the control of the territory of the former Nasrid Kingdom. A few years ago, professors Peinado Santaella and Soria Mesa published an in-depth study about the personality, wealth, and power of Francisco de Bobadilla and his heirs,[47] so I shall not go into that here, but it is worth dwelling for a moment on the matrimonial links that drew increasingly close ties between both houses.

Antonio de Bobadilla, son of the above noted Francisco and *corregidor* in Malaga and Vélez-Málaga in 1518, married Beatriz de Figueroa, sister of Elvira Carrillo, wife of Captain Bernardino de Mendoza, second son of the Count of Tendilla.[48] Both women were blood nieces of the Gran Capitán's widow. After Antonio's first wife died, the Marquis of Mondéjar fixed his wedding with Magdalena de Padilla, daughter of the *Adelantado Mayor de Castilla* and niece of his own wife. In a letter to Ferdinand the Catholic dated to 30 May 1513, Íñigo López de Mendoza explained the match in these terms:

> Seeing that Antonio de Bobadilla serves Your Highness and that I have always used his services [...] I worked to fix this match with my children's first cousin and close relative of the Comendador Mayor of Calatrava and Pedro López de Padilla, his brother, my children's fathers-in-law. Because the service they have rendered Your Highness are known by everyone.[49]

The family links did not stop there. A generation later, María de Padilla, daughter of Antonio, married Gutierre López de Padilla, member of the other family, while her brother, Juan de Padilla, the famous *comunero* executed in Villalar, married María Pacheco, daughter of the First Marquis of Mondéjar. This is unsurprising, because Pedro de Bobadilla, her brother, was acting Captain General of the Kingdom of Granada for a long time in the absence of the *señores de la Alhambra*.

[46] Ibíd., vol. II, 693.

[47] Peinado Santaella and Soria Mesa, "Crianza real y clientelismo nobiliario", 129-160.

[48] Francisco Fernández Bethencourt, *Historia genealógica y heráldica de la Monarquía española*, tomo IX (Madrid: Establecimiento Tipográfico de Jaime Ratés, 1912), 279-281.

[49] Meneses García, *Correspondencia del Conde de Tendilla (1508-1513),* vol. II, 349.

The leaders of the family continued trying to control the marriages of their clients during the whole of the 16th century, and there is a clear (and uncandid) trend to marry some of them into rich and powerful families of converts, such as the Santarén, the Dávila Ponce de León, and the de la Fuente Vergara, to mention only the most outstanding. With these matches, they brought their clients ever closer together and wove a complex and dense mesh of patronage.

A peculiar case study: the lineage of Luz

By now, the crucial role played by the Tendillas in the configuration of early Christian Granada should be clear enough. They participated in the conquest of the city, played their part in repopulation processes, controlled most government institutions, and, needless to say, created a thick patronage network that spanned virtually the whole kingdom. This situation lasted at least until 1568, when the War of the Alpujarras and the expulsion of the Moriscos brought about substantial changes in the counts' position.

The history of the Marquises of Mondéjar after these events is much less well known. Compared with what went on before, few works have addressed the period that begins in 1571, and those that exist are very limited in scope, although we do know that from that moment onwards things got harder for the Mendozas, who even temporarily lost the *alcaidía* of the Alhambra.[50] However, importantly for the issue at hand, these powerful aristocrats kept their local sphere of influence in rein for much longer than hitherto believed, and remained a decisive factor in local government throughout the 16th and 17th centuries.

Let us close this work with the peculiar story of the Luz family, who, despite having the trust of the Tendillas, never managed to cross the line that separated privilege and honours from the middling social status in which they were stuck for virtually the whole of the Early Modern Age. We shall examine the evolution of this lineage in the *longue durée,* from the immediate aftermath of the Castilian conquest to the mid-17th century. Who were the Luz and what role did they play in the Kingdom of Granada?

Cuenca: origins and inquisitorial enquiries

The Luz family came from Cuenca's hinterland. Branches of this family are attested in the towns of Moya, Alarcón, Castillo de Garcimuñoz, Villalgordo del Marquesado, and Villarejo de Fuentes, where they worked for the Marquises of Villena, in the mid-15th century.[51] Numerous specialists have pointed out that this region was a hotbed

[50] See Erika Spivakovsky, "Un episodio de la guerra contra los moriscos. La pérdida del gobierno de la Alhambra por el quinto conde de Tendilla (1569)", *Hispania*, 118 (1971), 399-431 and Jiménez Estrella, "La alcaidía de la Alhambra", 23-51.

[51] Archivo de la Real Chancillería de Granada (hereafter, ARChG), 5089-293.

of converted Jews and a prime target for the Inquisition in the late 1400s.[52] This is unsurprising because converts often sought the protection of sympathetic aristocrats, including the almighty Pacheco family.[53]

In this context, we must frame the figure of Juan Fernández de Luz, son of Juan Herraiz de Luz, native of Moya and eminent observer of the Mosaic law. He was the first member of the family to settle in the town of Castillo de Garcimuñoz, where he held the positions of *alcalde*, *justicia* and *regidor* with the support of the Marquises of Villena. He married Catalina Fernández (or Fernández de Luz) and had five children: Diego, Alonso, Álvaro, Rodrigo, and Inés de Luz. After the untimely death of his first wife, he married María Álvarez, with whom she had another daughter: María de Luz.

Thus far, there is nothing particularly of note: a New Christian who, like many others, made the most of his opportunities to thrived in the service of a high aristocrat. However, we must keep in mind the marked antisemitism of late 15th-century Castilian society, and the jealousy and envy that his position and those of his heirs must have bred in his neighbours.[54] This was more than enough to put this lineage in a collision course with the Inquisition, which fell upon some of the family's members with particular zeal.

For instance, on 7 December 1491 the Inquisition of Cuenca opened a process against the reputation and memory of Juan Fernández de Luz —dead for 42 years—, accusing him of heresy and apostasy. He was charged with saying Jewish prayers, "celebrating the Sabbath while chanting 'Moses asked the Lord for the law', and saying 'rabbi' and other things", and clandestinely keeping the *Sukkot*, popularly known the "Festival of Booths", which commemorates the people of Israel's desert exodus.[55]

And not only this. A large number of witnesses declared that he fasted on the Yom Kippur with great diligence "and so much devotion that one day some cloth of his began to burn and so was his determination not to dishonour the day that he left them burn, as a great follower of Moses's law". Other witnesses claimed that Fernández de Luz "cut the legs of lambs and took the flesh out, ate lamb stew, and wore *tafelines*, from which he took a piece of paper which he read facing the wall, making gestures like a Jew".[56]

[52] See Dimas Pérez Ramírez, *Catálogo del Archivo de la Inquisición de Cuenca* (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1982); Carlos Carrete Parrondo, *El judaísmo español y la Inquisición* (Madrid: MAFRE, 1992) and Yolanda Moreno Koch, "La comunidad judaizante de Castillo de Garcimuñoz: 1498-1492", *Sefarad*, XXXVII (1977), 351-371.

[53] See Enrique Soria Mesa, "Judeoconversos y criados señoriales en la Castilla de los siglos XV-XVII", *Tiempos Modernos. Revista electrónica de Historia Moderna*, 45/12 (2022), 254-277.

[54] Archivo General de Simancas (hereafter, AGS), Registro General del Sello (hereafter, RGS), 17 August 1488.

[55] See Rafael Vicent, *La fiesta judía de las cabañas (Sukkot). Interpretaciones midrásicas en la Biblia y en el judaísmo antiguo* (Estella: Editorial Verbo Divino, 1995).

[56] Archivo Diocesano de Cuenca (hereafter ADC), leg. 4, exp. 73. Vid.: Pérez Ramírez, *Catálogo del Archivo de la Inquisición.*

In his will, dated to 1449, he asked to be buried in the church of Saint Mary of Villalgordo del Marquesado or in the monastery of Saint Agustin in Castillo de Garcimuñoz, leaving the final decision to his executors. Whichever it was, Vincent Parello's research strongly suggests that his bones were exhumed and burnt *post mortem*.[57] This cast a terrible stain on the deceased memory, leaving the fate of his descendants, *manchado* by the anathema edict issued by the inquisitors, in grave danger. In the *Ancien Régime*, a blemish on the ancestors' honour severely hampered the prospects of their progeny.

Even more interesting was the process open against Violante González, Alonso de Luz's wife, who was sentenced to burnt to death for *judaizante*. Like her father-in-law, she was dead by the time the Cuenca tribunal passed the ruling; she was buried inside the chapel of Saint Catherine, at the monastery of Saint Agustin, in the town of Castillo de Garcimuñoz.[58]

In her case, the enquiries undertaken by the *bachiller* Hernán Sánchez del Fresno, the inquisitorial prosecutor, led to seven witnesses to speak against the woman's memory. On 25 March 1490, Hernán Sánchez del Fresno indicted her formally, accusing her of betraying the oath of baptism (conversion) and of clandestinely practicing the Jewish religion, which, from the dogmatic point of view, turned her into a heretic. The wording of the accusation eloquently expresses her alleged transgressions:

> I accuse Violante González, former *vezina* of the town of Villa del Castillo, in this diocese [of Cuenca], and late wife of Alonso de Luz, and I say that living this life under the name of Christian, and in possession of the freedoms and exemptions that become all Christians, she was an apostate and a heretic, keeping the law of Moses, its rituals and ceremonies, like a Jew, in the following ways: she ate no pork fat, which is forbidden by Moses's law; she threw the first morsels into the fire in remembrance of what the priests were ordered to do in the Old Testament, and because now the priests cannot, the sacrifice is performed by those who follow their laws; and even if she was baptised, she kept the Saturdays until sunset, beginning celebrations on Friday nights, and on the sun setting on Saturday when Sunday began, she ordered her maids to begin work, which is forbidden by our holy faith, and in this way she broke, and caused to break, the holiness of Sundays.
>
> She ate neither hare nor rabbit, although she lay at the table, seemingly in order to follow Moses's law, and she shrouded the dead like a Jew [...] for which actions,

[57] Vincent Parello, "Los Castillos ante el tribunal de la Inquisición de Cuenca (siglos XV-XVII)", *Les Cahier de Framespa. Nouveaux champs de l'histoire sociale*, 18 (2015), https://journals.openedition.org/framespa/3220 y "Une famille converse au service du marquis de Villena: les Castillo de Cuenca (XVe-XVIIe siècles)", *Bulletin Hispanique*, 102/1 (2000), 15-36.

[58] For the location of her tomb see José María González Muñoz, *Señorío de Villena: la muy noble villa de Castillo de Garci Muñoz y su monasterio de San Agustín (fundado por Don Juan Manuel en 1326)* (Garcimuñoz: Queimada, 1998) and Parello, "Une famille converse", 16.

> rites, and ceremonies said Violante was an apostate and a heretic, and incurred in excommunication and confiscation of her property, because she ended her days as an apostate and a heretic, persevering in her crimes and errors [...] and for this, reverend fathers, I request that her bones are declared those of an excommunicated apostate and heretic, and be taken from wherever they are and publicly burnt to publicly declare her heinous crimes and errors.[59]

Almost immediately afterwards, Violante's son (from her first marriage), Hernando del Castillo,[60] who was at the time *alcaide* of the fortress of Alarcón with the support of the Marquis of Villena, his patron, followed the legal counsel of *bachiller* Juan Pérez del Águila and went on the attack, submitting an affidavit, dated to 9 August 1491, in favour of his mother's memory. This affidavit declared that the inquisitor's witnesses were old people, whose testimony was based on "hearsay". He also claimed that most of them were "vile, foolish, conspiratorial, and contrary". As such, he argued that the prosecutor's case had no legs to stand on.

Castillo totally rejected the idea of his mother as a life-long *judaizante*, arguing that she did not work on Saturday or any other day of the week, and that, if she kept a Saturday, she did so to honour the Virgin or some other saint. Similarly, he claimed that, if she threw meat into the fire, it was to see if it was well cooked and dressed; that if she ever shrouded a corpse, she did it according to the Christian rite and not like the Jews; and if she did not eat rabbit or hare, it was for reasons of taste or habit.

In fact, he presented his mother as a model of virtues and orthodoxy, claiming that she was famous in her district "for being a good Catholic and Christian". In support of his arguments, he declared that she had taken all the sacraments that the Church mandates; that she went to mass every Sunday and listened to the sermon devoutly; that she gave many alms to the poor; that she confessed and received communion every year; that she made her servants take confession; that she fasted during Lent; and that before her death she confessed all her sins to the parish priest in Saint John, with much contrition. Finally, he recalled that, even if she had committed any sin against the Catholic faith, her parents had purchased a crusade bull granted by Pope Callixtus III to Henry IV to fund the war in Granada on 14 April 1456, which absolved her from all her sins.

For Hernando del Castillo, the process was not grounded on dogmatic issues, because he was persuaded that the witnesses that had accused his mother had done so not moved by religious zeal, but because they were jealous of his position as *alcaide* of the fortress of Alarcón, a highly-coveted posts among the clients of the Marquis of

[59] ADC, Inquisición, leg. 5, exp. 118. Recast in the work of Parello, "Los Castillos ante el tribunal".

[60] The crossing of data from different sources revealed that Hernando del Castillo was the issue of Violante González's first marriage, with the Jew Diego del Castillo, *alcaide* of the fortress of Alarcón. This is interesting, for most previous works did not manage to completely establish the identity of this character.

Villena.[61] Therefore, the accusation for heresy had been orchestrated by his rivals to undermine his position.

Fernando del Castillo y del Arzobispo, Violante González's nephew and the *alcaide*'s cousin,[62] also argued that the witnesses' depositions aimed to harm Hernando del Castillo and his family. He pointed out that Martín Fernández de Requena, Constanza de la Poveda, and Juana Martínez de Mena were declared enemies of his lineage; that they had spoken because they were "of the party of Juan de Valencia, lord of Piqueras, who abandoned Inés del Castillo, daughter of the *alcaide* of Alarcón, after promising to marry her";[63] and that, since this incident, both families had been at loggerheads.[64]

Another witness in the process was María de Luz, daughter of the late *alcaide* Juan Fernández de Luz and María Álvarez, his second wife. The affidavit submitted by Hernando del Castillo recused his step-sister's deposition, because she was his enemy since his step-father, Alonso de Luz, left him (and not her) an estate in his will. At the time, she had "openly" swore "to do him some harm if she could".[65]

Despite all his efforts, the *alcaide* of Alarcón failed to restore "the good fame of her mother and reject the ruling against her". The sentenced was not removed, and the court of appeal ruled in favour of the prosecutor, declaring Violante González guilty of apostasy and heresy. She was sentenced to death with "excommunication and confiscation of her property"; the court ordered "her bones and body to be exhumed wherever they are and publicly burnt".[66]

Violante González's remains were exhumed from the monastery of Saint Agustin, taken to the tribunal, and burnt in the *Auto de Fe* held on 21 December 1491 near the Plaza Mayor of Cuenca. According to Pérez Ramírez, this was one of the Inquisition's most heavily attended displays in this city, including several general inquisitors and a wide array of religious and municipal authorities.[67]

If all of this was not humiliating enough, the Inquisition decreed the confiscation of Violante's assets, which became public property, and declared her descendants – to the second generation on the father's side and to the first on the mother's – unfit for ecclesiastical prebends and public office. They were also forbidden from making any sumptuary display, such as riding horses, carrying weapons, and wearing silk and

[61] In addition to this post, the Marquis of Villena rewarded Hernando del Castillo with a demesne in Perona, to which he added soon afterwards the villages of Altarejo and La Losa. See Parello, "Los Castillos ante el tribunal".

[62] His son, Francisco del Castillo, was accused of giving the inquisitors in Cuenca false information about his blood status in late 1533, pretending to be the descendant of an English knight and a scion of the house of Valdeborones. Cfr.: Parello, "Los Castillos ante el tribunal".

[63] Parello, "Une famille converse", 16-17.

[64] ADC, Inquisición, leg. 5, exp. 118.

[65] Ídem.

[66] Ídem.

[67] Pérez Ramírez, *Catálogo del Archivo de la Inquisición*.

jewels.[68] Needless to say, Violante González's *post mortem* conviction besmirched the honour of the whole family, severely limiting their avenues for promotion, despite the Pacheco's protection.

Over a century of "utmost loyalty and service" to the counts

The record is unclear as to the date of the Luz family's earliest contacts with the Granada-based Mendozas. It seems likely that they were related to Íñigo López de Mendoza's marriage to Francisca Pacheco in the late 15th century, and their link must have become closer after the count of Tendilla's appointment as *alcaide* of Alcalá la Real and captain general of the frontier, replacing his brother-in-law the Marquis of Villena.[69]

Therefore, everything suggests that the Luz family entered the Tendillas service in the late 15th century, on the recommendation of their former masters. Gunner Gonzalo de Luz, son of Diego Fernández de Luz and Teresa Díaz, features in the record taking part in several sieges during the War of Granada, as second to Francisco Ramírez de Madrid, accountant of the Order of Alcántara and artillery captain in the Castilian army.[70] According to Durán y Lerchundi, Gonzalo de Luz

> served in the artillery for the whole war, until the fall of the city, going to the frontline in the sieges of several villages and fortresses, including Tajarja, Álora, Coín, Cártama, Malaga, Ronda, Moclín, Íllora, Loja, Baza, and Santafe, all the way to the surrender of Granada.[71]

After the Kingdom of Granada was incorporated into the Crown of Castile, the Catholic Monarchs appointed Íñigo López de Mendoza captain general of the kingdom, with the mission of repairing its fortresses and organising its defence against all possible Muslim threats. This made the Second Count of Tendilla the top military authority in the kingdom, under the sole authority of the Castilian monarchs. His powers were wide-ranging, from the control and supervision of troops to the administration of civil and criminal justice, the readiness of coast defences, munitions and ordnance, and the concession of military leaves.[72]

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[68] See Vincent Parello, *Les judéo-convers de Tolède (XVe-XVIe siècles). De l'exclusion à l'intégration* (París: L'Harmattan, 1999), 117-127.

[69] Rodrigo de Luz Carretero, "El linaje de Luz durante el proceso de conquista y organización de la Granada Moderna", en José Antonio García Luján (ed.), *Nobleza y Monarquía. Los linajes nobiliarios en el Reino de Granada, siglos XV-XIX. El linaje Granada Venegas, marqueses de Campotéjar* (Huéscar: Asociación Cultural Raigadas, 2010), 190.

[70] Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada, *Castilla y la conquista del Reino de Granada* (Granada: Diputación Provincial de Granada, 1993), 192. His second cousin, Rodrigo de Luz y Castiell, vecino of Villalgordo del Marquesado and son of Rodrigo de Luz the elder, y María del Castiell, also attended the Catholic Monarchs' summons, presenting himself "armed and in a white those to the war of Granada, as *hijodalgo*". Cfr.: Rodrigo de Luz Lamarca, *El Marquesado de Villena o el mito de los Manuel* (Cuenca: Diputación de Cuenca, 1998), 438.

[71] Joaquín Durán y Lerchundi, *La toma de Granada y caballeros que concurrieron a ella*, vol. II (Madrid: Imprenta y Litografía de los Huérfanos, 1893), 508-509.

[72] See details in Jiménez Estrella, *Poder, ejército y gobierno.*

Obviously, the new captain general soon became the centre of a hub of military officers loyal to him, including the Luz family, one of the dynasties of squires that were to remain in their service for longest.

The record indicates that Gonzalo de Luz was rewarded by the Catholic Monarchs with "agricultural land in the term of Granada and some houses in the Alhambra" for his services during the war.[73] He was assigned to the forces under Tendilla's command, as artillery captain in substitution of García Fernández de Asturias and financial officer of the works to be undertaken in the palatine fortress.[74]

Unfortunately, the evidence for this figure's trajectory after the war is very thin. Thanks to Tendilla's records, it is known that on 2 December 1504 Gonzalo de Luz travelled to Alcalá la Real on behalf of his master with the mission of buying "some balls for *çerbatanas* and other guns" in the Alhambra,[75] and this is pretty much all we can say about Gonzalo, whose death appears to have occurred around 1512.[76]

Based on the available sources, the gunner left two heirs: Gonzalo and Juan de Luz, sons of Catalina Hernández, *vecina* of the Alhambra, who was processed and "reconciled" as *judaizante*, as revealed by a note at the margin in an inquisitorial file: "processed and sentenced".[77] Although this is not totally clear, it seems that the former worked as a public clerk in Granada, while the latter acted as notary public and personal secretary of the Mendozas in the first half of the 16th century, as later as jury in the Nasrid city council.

Jiménez Estrella reports that Juan replaced Luis de Ribera as secretary of the Tendillas in 1504. Juan de Luz's signature features in every "provision, order, sentence, account, and other documents issued by the first captain general and his heir, Luis Hurtado de Mendoza".[78] This figure became one of the Marquis of Mondéjar's most trusted associates.[79]

This is confirmed by Iñigo's personal correspondence. In the letters exchanged with his secretary in October 1509, the marquis wrote: "Juan de Luz, my friend. I received the deeds that you sent, and you should also send me all of Íñigo López's [treasurer and physician of the count and the kings of Portugal][80] letters, and do so discretely; have them ready; pass on my regards to your father, and be with God".[81] The letters

[73] Ángel del Arco y Molinero, *Glorias de la nobleza española: reseña histórica acerca de los caballeros principales que concurrieron a la conquista de Granada...* (Tarragona: Est. Tip. de F. Arís e Hijo, 1899), 164.
[74] Juan Antonio Vilar Sánchez, *Los Reyes Católicos en la Alhambra* (Granada: Comares, 2007), 89.
[75] Szmolka Clares, Moreno Trujillo and Osorio Pérez, *Epistolario del Conde*, 201.
[76] Durán y Lerchundi, *La toma de Granada y caballeros*, 508; Arco and Molinero, *Glorias de la nobleza española*, 164 and Luz Carretero, "El linaje de Luz", 180.
[77] I want to thank Professor Enrique Soria Mesa for generously providing me this reference.
[78] Jiménez Estrella, *Poder, ejército y gobierno*, 332.
[79] See also Moreno Trujillo, "Las actuaciones de la Inquisición", 193-194 and 209.
[80] Ibíd., 205.
[81] Meneses García, *Correspondencia del Conde de Tendilla* (1508-1513), vol. I, 806.

betray a feeling of deep personal intimacy, which makes it unsurprising that Juan was one of the signatories of his master's final will in 1515.[82]

Although the appointment of Juan de Luz as artillery captain at the Alhambra has not been found, it is likely that he directly replaced his father's place in this post. A letter by the marquis, a few years later, referred to this character and his heirs as "captains of the [artillery], ever after the Catholic Monarchs took said Alhambra and gave it to Íñigo López de Mendoza".[83] This hypothesis is further reinforced by a royal decree dated in Madrid on 20 December 1524, by which the Emperor granted Juan de Luz the rents of the sulphur mines and gunpowder concerns in the city of Granada and the term of Baza, in exchange for one tenth of the returns.[84] This grant seems to be directly related to his job as head of the artillery in the Alhambra.

In contrast with other of his servants, who greatly profited from Tendilla's matrimonial strategies, Juan de Luz did not strike what we could regard as a "first-rate marriage". In the early decades of the 16th century, he married María Álvarez de Jerez, a young woman of convert origin of which little is known, which is in itself sufficient proof of the family's middle-rank position. Be that as it may, she gave him many heirs: Gonzalo, Álvaro, Luis, Beatriz, Jerónimo, Alonso, and Catalina de Luz.

Like his father and grandfather, Álvaro de Luz features as squire and "man at arms" in the Alhambra, under the captaincy of Bernardino de Mendoza from at least mid-1539. Other sources indicate that in 1548 Álvaro was involved in a lawsuit for the injuries sustained by Luis Sánchez. Based on the record, the dispute began when Luz demanded the unpaid rents for a farmstead that his father possessed in Íllora, whose tenants were Benito Sánchez de Violante, his wife Catalina García, and his son, the aforementioned Luis Sánchez.

It appears that Luis refused to pay the debt, even claiming that "the devil takes the farm, which, like his owner, deserve to go up in flames". Tendilla's squire endeared him to "be polite", but Sánchez ignored this and attacked Álvaro de Luz with his sword, beginning a ferocious brawl.[85]

The witnesses declared that Luz stabbed Luis Sánchez in the right hand, "cutting skin and flesh and causing much bloodshed". In the statements, the victim's family insisted that the incident had occurred in Íllora, an important factor, because they were trying to avoid the intervention of Luz's almighty patron, by having the issue seen by the Granada courts – whose jurisdiction stretched five leagues from the city – and not by the Alhambra courts, which were in Tendilla's pockets.

[82] Ibíd., 296-297.

[83] Archivo del Patronato de la Alhambra y el Generalife (hereafter, APAG), leg. 97, pieza 2.

[84] Tomás González Hernández, *Registro y relación general de minas de la Corona de Castilla. Primera parte*, vol. I (Madrid: Miguel de Burgos, 1832), 359.

[85] APAG, leg. 55, pieza 2.

At first, Luis Hurtado de Mendoza managed for his squire to be locked up in the prison of the Alhambra, and not, as was originally intended, in Granada's public prison. He also tasked jury Gonzalo de Luz, brother of the accused, with preparing the interrogatories and the statement from the Illora witnesses. Despite these efforts, the court ruled against Álvaro de Luz, who was exiled from Íllora and the Alhambra for three months and condemned to pay the medical costs of the claimant and to compensate him for the time he had to take off work.[86]

This incident may go a long way to explain the absence of this figure from the count's records for a while. However, by 1554 he seems to have recovered his master's favour, as he replaced his father as Tendilla's personal secretary, although, in his case, jointly with the notary Luis de Ribera.[87]

It is also important to mention that Álvaro de Luz's matrimonial contract, worth 2,000 gold ducats, with Isabel López Arias, daughter of Diego López de Baena and Beatriz de Baeza, was signed on 15 January 1555.[88] This lady, like him, came from a known convert family on both the paternal and maternal side; they had been processed by the Inquisition for recurrently observing Jewish laws.[89] This match, again, tied an already closed circle ever tighter together, taking an endogamic approach under the pretext of keeping cohesion in the convert community of Granada.

After this brief excursus, we must point out that this figure reemerges again in 1559 in relation to Alhambra munitions. He was entrusted with making enquiries, alongside his father and Andrés de Ampuero, head *alguacil* of the fortress, about the robbery of some lead from the magazines: "I missed much lead and other things that were here until now".[90]

Apart from the period in which he was distanced from the Mendozas, Álvaro de Luz is the archetype of faithful and devout servant who, trusted by the marquises,[91] remained in their service until his death.[92] It is important to emphasise again, however, that his diligence and loyalty towards his masters did not crystallise in improved social prospects. Like the rest of his family, he had to make do with the middle ranks in the network woven by the *señores de la Alhambra.*

[86] Ídem.

[87] Álvaro de Luz was paid an annual salary of 14,400 *maravedíes*, taken from the company of Cuarenta Lanzas. Cfr.: Luz Carretero, "El linaje de Luz", 193.

[88] Archivo del Ilustre Colegio Notarial de Granada (hereafter, APG), G-92, Francisco de Córdoba, 15 January 1555, fols. 71r-73v.

[89] I wish to thank Professor Enrique Soria Mesa for this interesting observation.

[90] Luz Carretero, "El linaje de Luz", 183-184 y 193.

[91] So much so that he collected debts for his master. See for instance AGS, Contaduría Mayor de Cuentas, Primera Época, leg. 1044 and Archivo Histórico Nacional (hereafter, AHN), Órdenes Militares (hereafter, OOMM), Santiago, exp. 810.

[92] The date of his death is unclear, but must have happened during the final stages of the Alpujarras revolt, because in the spring of 1571 Captain Álvaro de Luz still resided in the Alhambra. Cfr.: Archivo General de Indias (hereafter AGI), Indiferente, leg. 2053, pieza 32.

According to the record, the counts appear to have been determined to keep the position of captain of artillery of the Alhambra in the Luz family. They held this honorific position uninterruptedly for over a century. The following table illustrates the Mendoza's penchant for keeping this lineage in charge of the artillery at the fortress.

Captains	Chronology
Gonzalo de Luz	1500-1512
Juan de Luz	1512-1559
Álvaro de Luz	1559-¿1571?
Cristóbal Núñez de Armijo y Luz	1571-1589
Diego de Luz	1589-1593
Hernando de Vivar	1594-1599
Diego de Luz	1602
Melchor de Bustamante Hurtado	1609
Francisco Porcel de Salablanca	1618
Hernando de Vivar	Before 1623

Table 1. The Luz Family and the Artillery Captaincy of the Alhambra (1500–1623). Source: various documents (APG, APAG, ARChG, AHN and AGS). Authors' own.

Nothing can be more illustrative of the count's trust in the family than the appointment of Cristóbal Núñez de Armijo y Luz, son of Francisco Núñez de Armijo and Beatriz de Luz. In 1571, Luis Hurtado de Mendoza, Second Marquis of Mondéjar, wrote in a letter that

> [...] concerning Álbaro de Luz, former captain of artillery at the Alhanbra, now deceased, because Diego de Luz, his son, is too young for this position of artillery captain, it is my wish that his post remains with the heirs and successors of Álbaro de Luz [...]. The qualities required for this position are present in Xhristóual Núñez y de Luz, his nephew, and on request of Isabel [López Arias], wife of Álbaro de Luz, I have decided to appoint him as captain of artillery and other supplies and all the other things that this involves, so that he enjoys all the pre-eminence and freedoms that your uncle and grandfather enjoyed in this position [...]. So that the services are remembered that he [Álvaro de Luz] and his ancestors, generation by generation, from 200 years hence, have rendered my House, serving them with great loyalty and care, and surrendering their property to the task.[93]

Naturally, like with his predecessors, Núñez de Armijo's performance in the job was not free from controversy, as he recorded repeated robberies from the Alhambra magazines, something that was becoming a common occurrence in the fortress.[94] In any case, Cristobal remained as *mayordomo de la artillería* until the majority of his cousin, Diego de Luz.[95] In a disposition signed in El Puerto de Santa María on 1 October 1589, Luis Hurtado de Mendoza appointed

> Cristobal Núñez de Armijo was appointed artillery captain in the Alhanbra until Diego de Luz, son of Álbaro de Luz, grandson of Juan de Luz —captains since the

[93] APAG, leg. 97, pieza 2. Recast in the work of Luz Carretero, "El linaje de Luz", 186.

[94] APG, G-199, Melchor de Alcocer, 1575-1576, fol. 905r.

[95] By 1598, Cristóbal Núñez de Armijo was still kinked to the Tendillas, as *sobrestante mayor* of the works undertaken in the Alhambra. AGI, Contratación, leg. 5256-1, pieza 52.

> Catholic Monarchs conquered the Alhanbra and handed it over to Íñigo López de Mendoza—, becomes of age to serve in that post; and because he already is of age, and has the skill and knowledge required for the post, Diego de Luz, in memory of the services that his ancestors rendered the marquis's house and the many years in which they have been doing so, is appointed artillery captain and Miguel Ponze de León, his lieutenant, is requested to hand over the artillery, arms, munitions, and other relevant supplies of which the clerk took inventory, and it is disposed that he enjoys all honour and freedom, like his forebears did.[96]

However, only a few months after taking office Captain Diego de Luz filed a lawsuit against lieutenant Miguel Ponce de León, whom he accused of committing certain abuses —*pecado nefando,* no less— against his servants Juan Marín and Antonio López de Tejada (the latter referred to in the sources as "Lopecillo"). This was a very grave accusation, whose purpose was no other than undermine the *alcaide*'s good relationship with Tendilla.

But, this plan backfired badly. In fact, the lawsuit was solved relatively quickly, owing to the inconsistency of the evidence presented and Ponce de León's influence. The ruling went against Luz, who was sentenced to prison for inciting the two young servants to give false testimony and besmirch the honour of such an important person.[97]

This miscalculation was a heavy blow to Diego de Luz's aspirations. He was replaced in his post by Captain Hernando de Vivar, *vecino* of the Alhambra and husband of his cousin, Francisca de Luz.[98] In the early 17th century, he was appointed artillery captain again, but he never recovered the full trust of the Mendozas. He remained a *vecino* of the Alhambra until his appointment as chamber aid of Philip IV.[99]

After his departure to the Madrid court, the position at the head of the artillery of the Alhambra passed on to a string of men who had no kinship links with the Luz, such as Martín de Trujillo. However, some of the holders of this office were still matrimonially bound to the lineage in the opening decades of the 17th century, such as Captain Melchor de Bustamante y Hurtado, husband of Isabel Porcel de Sanabria y Luz, granddaughter of Captain Álvaro de Luz;[100] Francisco Porcel de Salablanca, son

[96] APAG, leg. 97, pieza 2. Luz Carretero, "El linaje de Luz", passim, 187.

[97] AGS, Cámara de Castilla (hereafter, CC), leg. 2750. *Vid.*: Annie Molinié-Bertrand, "La secrète violence de tous les jours", in Jean Paul Duviols and Annie Molinié Bertrand, eds. *La violence en Espagne et en Amérique (XVe-XIXe siècles)* (Paris: Presses de la Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1997), 10-13.

[98] Their daughter, Esmeregilda de Vivar y Luz, married in 1638 with the *veinticuatro* of Granada Gaspar de la Fuente Vergara. Archivo de la Curia Diocesana de Granada (hereafter, ACG), Expedientes Matrimoniales, leg. 1638-A.

[99] AHN, OOMM, Santiago, exp. 810 y María Leticia Sánchez Hernández, *Patronato regio y órdenes religiosas femeninas en el Madrid de los Austrias: Descalzas Reales, Encarnación y Santa Isabel* (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1997), 94.

[100] AHN, OOMM, Santiago, exp. 810.

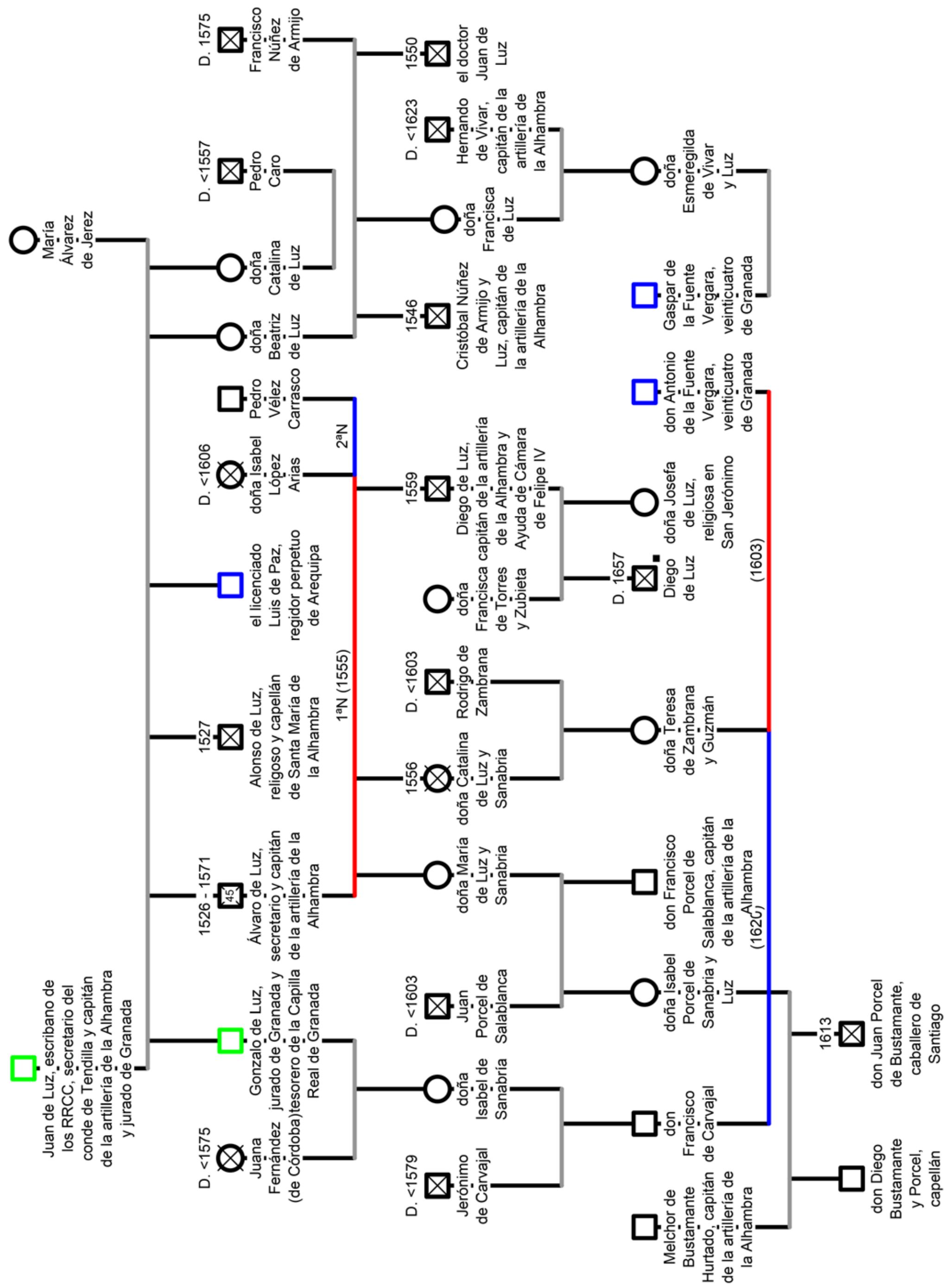

Figure 1. Family tree 1. *Kinship relations around the captaincy of artillery and munitions in the Alhambra (16th-17th centuries)* (simplified). Source: various documents (APG, ARChG, AHN, AGS, AGI and RAH). Author's own.

of Juan Porcel de Salablanca and María de Luz y Sanabria;[101] and the aforementioned Hernando de Vivar. These were the last. The following family tree illustrates the marriage links of this captaincy around the Luz family.

In 1623, the king directly appointed Fernando Porcel de Peralta as captain of the artillery of the Alhambra,[102] ending with the Luz's monopoly of this honorific, but highly prestigious, post, which had theretofore been used to reward a "century of utmost loyalty and service" to the counts.

'Interrupted' promotion

Despite their closeness to their masters, the Luz family failed to reap a particularly rich reward from their services, at least compared with other of the counts' house's clients. This is interesting, especially considering that the influence of the Tendillas did not stop of the Alhambra, but stretched to the last corners of the city, not to mention the family's important court connections. As such, the fate of some of their clients can be surprising.

Needless to say, the Marquises of Mondéjar spared no effort to find spots for their servants in the city's urban council, which they expected to result in more advantages for the family further down the line. Controlling the council was tantamount to controlling the city and, by extension, the kingdom. For instance, in 1516, after presenting his respects and swearing loyalty to the new king, Luis Hurtado de Mendoza used his time at court to ingratiate himself with the new unknown Flemish counsellors, as a way to retain his authority in his own sphere of influence.

The strategy seems to have paid off, because on 15 May the king appointed his secretary Juan de Luz as jury. We know, in any case, that this particular transaction was only the tip of the iceberg; the marquis left little to chance. Luz filled the spot of another of his clients, Lázaro Hernández de Peralta, *alférez* of the company attached to the general captaincy, which, in exchange for his resignation, was elevated to the position of *caballero veinticuatro* in the council.[103]

Barely a month later, Juan de Luz presented himself before the local authorities with the Emperor-signed appointment to occupy Peralta's place.[104] It is assumed, based on the silence of the council proceedings about this, that this appointment caused no major issues; the other councillors were surely aware of the close links between Luz and the *señores de la Alhambra.* In other words, opposing the appointment was the same as opposing Tendilla.

[101] APG, G-376, Rodrigo Dávila, 2 July 1603, s.f.

[102] APAG, leg. 291, pieza 35.

[103] Jiménez Estrella, *Poder, ejército y gobierno*, 339.

[104] José Antonio López Nevot, *La organización institucional del municipio de Granada durante el siglo XVI* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1994), 207.

However, this position in the council formally meant leaving the counts' service. As previously noted, public officials were technically forbidden from serving a major aristocratic lord. In practice, however, the Mendoza-Luz relationship did not change at all after Luz and Juan de Añasco, *alcalde* of the Alhambra, presented their formal resignation to the counts' *acostamiento* and business on 9 August 1516.[105]

The records held at the archive of Simancas reveal that the former secretary of the Mendozas kept his post as jury until 9 December 1535, when he was replaced by his son Gonzalo de Luz,[106] who was formally accepted by the council early in the following year.

Gonzalo chaired several committees in the council, especially owing to his revenue-collecting skills. There is no room to examine this interesting aspect of his activity more in-depth, but it can at least be pointed out that in November 1556 he was appointed, alongside García de Pisa, Juan Sánchez Obregón, and Diego de Castro, to manage Granada council's assets.[107] At no point did he cease to work for the Mendozas, however. For instance, on 1 February 1561, jury Gonzalo de Luz collected a bond for 33,000 *maravedíes* a year that Mondéjar had deposited with the royal chapel in Granada.[108]

By crossing evidence from different sources, it is known that Gonzalo de Luz married the Granada-born Juana Fernández in the mid-16th century.[109] She also came from a convert family, for which reason it is not surprising that their descendants tried to conceal the heretical and low-class origin of their ancestor.[110] With her marriage, however, she became "Doña" Juana Fernández de Córdoba,[111] using a "Doña" that she had never used before and adding the patronymic "de Córdoba", which not only sounded better but made her look like she belonged to the nobility. This was a common practice among Spanish converts.[112]

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[105] Archivo Municipal de Granada, Actas Capitulares, 9 August 1516, fols. 43r-43v.

[106] AGS, RGS, 9 de diciembre de 1535. Nothing to do, therefore, with the approaches held by Lopez Nevot, *La organización institucional*, 191-192 o Luz Carretero, "El linaje de Luz", 200.

[107] Rosario Jiménez Vela, *Índices de los Libros del Cabildo del Archivo Municipal de Granada. 1518/1566* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1985-1988), 295.

[108] APG, G-123, Melchor de Alcocer, 1 February 1561, fols. 104r-104v.

[109] APG, G-99, Juan de Padilla Ruiz, 1557, fol. 385v.

[110] The jury Gonzalo de Luz and Juana Fernández begot María de Luz, who was dumb; Constanza de Luz; Catalina de Luz, who was dumb; Isabel de Sanabria, later wife of Jerónimo de Carvajal; and Gaspar de Luz, dumb. Cfr.: APG, G-196, Juan de Padilla, 10 June 1575, fols. 220r-220v and APG, G-607, Luis González, 1630-1631, fols. 1383r-1383v.

[111] Among other documents, see APG, G-196, Juan de Padilla, 10 June 1575, fols. 220r-220v and ACG, expedientes matrimoniales, leg. 1620-D.

[112] See in general Enrique Soria Mesa, "Tomando nombres ajenos. La usurpación de apellidos como estrategia de ascenso social en el seno de la élite granadina durante la edad moderna", in Enrique Soria Mesa, Juan Jesús Bravo Caro and José Miguel Delgado Barrado, eds *Las élites en la Edad Moderna: la monarquía hispánica*, volumen 1: Nuevas perspectivas (Córdoba: Universidad de Córdoba, 2009), 9-16 and "En los límites de la herencia inmaterial. La usurpación de apellidos en la España Moderna como estrategia de ascenso social", in José Ignacio Fortea Pérez, Juan Eloy Gelabert González, Roberto López Vela and Elena

As noted, this jury always made his public duties compatible with the service of his powerful patrons. Probably for this reason, on 20 September 1564, in order to avoid scandal, he was forced to ask Philip II for permission to "serve a lance" to the *alcaide* of the Alhambra's companies. In this way, in addition to getting a better salary, he tried to formalise what everyone in Granada new. Although at first his wish was granted, the city's representative rapidly reacted filing a lawsuit with the Royal Council, leading Luz to renounce the grace. According to the ruling, municipal and military posts were incompatible since 1526.[113]

At this point, Gonzalo de Luz ceases featuring in public posts, which is fairly significant. Immediately afterwards, between 1565 and 1567, he appears as treasurer of the royal chapel of Granada, and the priests endorsed all his ledgers as "good, sound, and true".[114] This new position, although less prestigious, allowed him to continue enjoying his master's *acostamiento.* It would seem that council membership was less profitable than working for the patronage network of the *alcaides* of the Alhambra.

His relatives fared worse. None of his close relatives managed positions of any note, even locally, and remained in the middle-rank of power throughout the 16th and 17th centuries.

The only note of colour was provided by *licenciado* Luis de Luz, son of the secretary Juan de Luz and María Álvarez de Jerez, who left for Spanish America in 1566,[115] reaching the position of *regidor perpetuo* in Arequipa, Peru. His brother Alonso de Luz was appointed chaplain in the church of Saint Mary of the Alhambra.[116] The one that stood out the most was perhaps Dr Juan de Luz, son of Francisco Núñez de Armijo and Beatriz de Luz, who served for some years in Flanders as auditor of the light cavalry and in Naples and Sicily as judge in the Gran Corte della Vicaría. His early death, however, deprived him from reaping greater honours in His Majesty's service.[117] Beyond the military and the administration, there is little more to be said, other than the above noted Captain Diego de Luz, who, after serving his masters and causing the odd scandal, ended up as Felipe IV's chamber aid in the early 17th century, and soon after as commissar of the Spanish infantry.[118]

Postigo Castellanos, eds *Monarquías en conflicto. Linajes y noblezas en la articulación de Monarquía Hispánica* (Santander: Fundación Española de Historia Moderna y Universidad de Cantabria, 2020), 261-297. See also more recently José María García Ríos, "Una cuestión de fraude y supervivencia. La manipulación genealógica desarrollada por las familias de origen judeoconversos en la ciudad de Baza (siglos XVI-XVII)", *Studia Histórica, Historia Moderna*, 44/2 (2022), 301-338.

[113] José Antonio López Nevot, *La organización institucional*, 205.

[114] AHNOB, Luque, C. 66, D. 25. Also, but partially, Lorenzo Luis Padilla Mellado, "Anexión a la Capilla Real de Granada de las dos terceras partes de las rentas y frutos de las abadías de Alcalá la Real y Jerez de la Frontera y de los priorazgos de Aracena y Puerto de Santa María", in Francisco Toro Ceballos, ed. *Carolus. Homenaje a Friedrich Edelmayer* (Alcalá la Real: Ayuntamiento de Alcalá la Real, 2017), 261-274.

[115] AGI, Contratación, leg. 3/1, fol. 339v.

[116] Luz Carretero, "El linaje de Luz", 203.

[117] AGS, CC, leg. 966, pieza 63.

[118] APG, G-405, Pedro Serrano de la Rubia, 1606, fols. 1070r-1070v.

Why did over a century of service to the counts not lead to even the most modest social promotion? Why did the Luz family fail to cross the line separating the world of honours from the middle ranks of society? The answer to these questions is extremely complex, and several interrelated interpretations may be offered.

First, the Jewish blood of their ancestors and the Inquisition's persecution were a substantial handicap. The weight of social stigma and fear of the humiliation of having all doors to the military orders and the Holy Office closed for one's origins are not difficult to imagine. For this reason, it may have been more socially profitable to remain in the second tier of society than trying to climb, which meant exposing one's origins publicly to 'purity of blood' enquiries.

The economic compensations they received from the Mendozas did not help either, even if, sometimes, these fell so short that had to be 'topped up' from the coffers of the military companies commanded by the marquises. These financial shortcomings prevented them from investing in urban assets, agricultural land, or bonds.[119] Naturally, the possibility to create a *mayorazgo*, one of the main levers for social promotion in Habsburg Spain, to unify their assets was well beyond the Luz's possibilities.

Another reason behind their social stagnation was their flawed matrimonial strategy. This is intimately connected with the two previous factors, which drove them to link only with families that were as tainted by the stain of heresy as they were. This is illustrated by their alliance with the Álvarez de Jerez, the López Arias (or Darias), the Zambranas, the Vélez Carrascos, or the de la Fuente Vergaras,[120] all of which were universally regarded as New Christians.

Tio this, we must add the random biological factor. The small number of male heirs was problematic. By the late 16th century, the Luz family barely had any males left, closing down any chance of social promotion a couple of generations later.

Finally, there is one reason that may look less categorical than the previous ones, but which also played its part in arresting the progress of the lineage: their belief that their fate was indissolubly linked to that of the counts. So much so that, sometimes, it appears that they thought that their promotion possibilities were best served by stoically sticking to the counts, in the belief that the opportunity would eventually crystallise. This allowed them to survive for a while, but, in perspective, it only turned the members of the family into puppets, pawns to be moved across the board of local politics.

[119] The family's few assets included the farmstead of Íllora and a house-shop in Plaza de Bibarrambla, on the Viveros side, next door to Captain Francisco de Trillo's and the heirs of Alonso Mesía's tanneries. Cfr.: APG, G-376, Rodrigo Dávila, 2 July 1603, s.f.

[120] For links with the Vélez Carrasco, the Zambrana, and the de la Fuente Vergara see Enrique Soria Mesa, "Ascenso social y legitimación en la Granada Moderna: la Real Maestranza de Caballería", in Inés Gómez González and Miguel Luis López-Guadalupe Muñoz, eds *La movilidad social en la España del Antiguo Régimen* (Granada: Comares, 2007), 179-189.

Figure 2. *Ejecutoria de hidalguía* of the Luz family (Cuenca branch).
Source: ARChG, Sección Hidalguías, 5089-293 and 5150-11.

All of these, seemingly disconnected, factors, converged to interdict the Luz family's promotion avenues. After the fall of the Mendozas, their possibilities for promotion simply vanished altogether. It can be concluded that, after over a century of service to the counts, their position was not so different from that which they had when they arrived in the Kingdom of Granada.

A sensu contrario, the branch of the Luz that remained in Cuenca —which we will recall was the region the family came from— appears to have fared better. They were ultimately granted the rank of *hidalgos*, after arguing their case in the Sala de los Hijosdalgo of the Royal Chancellery. The process went on for more than 36 years (from 1543 to 1579)[121] because of the rulings against their ancestors, but in the end, it gave them renewed social projection and a new public image: they were granted the 'purity of blood' and nobility which, as we know, they were not entitled to.

Concluding remarks

This work has tried to examine the microcosmos that revolved around the Granada-based Mendozas and their patronage network. Hopefully, it is now clear that the Marquises of Mondéjar's shadow, embodied by their numerous clients and dependants, was a good deal longer than hitherto believed.

In fact, during the opening decades of the 16th century, these aristocrats by-passed all legal restrictions to cast their influence over virtually every institution in the *realengo* of Granada (supervision over nearby repopulation projects, control of military fortresses, local government, land hoarding, artistic-religious sponsorship). They were a not unsubstantial threat to the future of the city of Granada and its institutions.

As a rule, patronage was a mutually beneficial dynamic. For many of their clients, being in the sphere of influence of the Tendillas brought about a significant increase in income and greater chances to scale in the social ladder. The *alcaides* of the Alhambra, needless to say, also benefited from these transactions, as they tightened their grip over their network and gave them tools to directly interfere in local government bodies.

However, the example posed by the Luz family demonstrates that diligence, loyalty, and closeness to their masters not always resulted in new social horizons for the clients. Almost without exception, the members of this family had to make do with operating in the middle ranks of the network woven by the *señores de la Alhambra*, an illustration of how twisted and capricious the ways of social promotion in early modern Granada could be.

[121] Among other documents: ARChG, 5089-293 and 5150-11.

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"Images of power and the justification of orthodoxy: Early modern private chapels in the Córdoba Cathedral"[1]

Clara Sánchez Merino

Amen in Heaven; amen on Earth.
(Paulo Álvaro de Córdoba, IX)[2]

Images as instruments of the legitimation of power: a new methodological approach to traditional historiography

The foundation and decoration of funeral chapels in the Córdoba Cathedral during the early modern era provide us with valuable information about complex social networks surrounding the cathedral's administration during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. The decoration's purpose was to decodify a series of interpretative signs that were invisible but which at the same time formed part of a contemporary array of expectations that would not have escaped the view of an educated observer. The cathedral contained what we are calling spaces of justification, essentially private chapels endowed by possibly converso canons where iconography and decoration can be seen as visual discourses of justification, legitimation, and social mobility.

There are at least two spaces where we find this visual rhetoric being used for the purposes of social mobility and the concealment and/or justification of converso lineage through iconographic themes or local devotional practices relying upon certain artistic forms and images. These spaces are the Holy Spirit chapel, paid for by the Simancas brothers in the sixteenth century, and the chapel of Saint John the Baptist, founded by the canon Juan Sigler de Espinosa in the same century.

Though it is true that artistic technique and formal iconographic description do not offer exact signs of conversos or social mobility, we can analyze the fondness for certain iconographic themes. Images are not inoccent, and "decorative" displays reflect certain motivations and interpretative keys that together embody assumptions of the age defining a given social group or era.

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[2] Gonzalo de Cerro Calderón and José Palacios Royán, *Epistolario de Álvaro de Córdoba* (Córdoba: Universidad de Córdoba, 1997), 142.

There has been considerable scholarship concerning the chapels in the Cordoba Cathedral.[3] But most studies, no matter how well informed and documented, do not employ an interpretive methodology integrating images within a complex and holistic discourse, which is what an understanding of the historical dimension of society in early modern Córdoba demands. Among the more relevant recent work is that by María de los Ángeles Jordano Barbudo on the Holy Spirit chapel, which includes the lives of those who commissioned it as well as technical information on the decoration, restoration, and present-day conservation of the chapel.[4] Antonio Urquízar Herrera is another scholar who has shed light on sixteenth-century painting in the chapels, which are seen as living museums showing the assimilation of new styles from Italy.[5]

Looking at works of art as a means of discerning the desires of a particular social group entails certain methodological difficulties, and it requires assistance from other, complementary disciplines that can aid in historical interpretation.[6]

This article is not based on a formal description of ornamentation in the chapels but rather it takes images to be historical documents and visual tools that enable us to follow various social processes. Understanding images to be historical documents that undergo a passage through time, we are setting aside the traditional discourse of art historiography.[7] Rather, we take images to be hermeneutic bridges, objects that, if correctly interpreted, can offer us a more exact interpretation of historical reality.[8]

Beyond the aesthetic or contemplative dimension, this new concept of artwork requires a methodological approach that takes its multifaceted nature into account. In analyzing the three cases presented below I rely upon two key concepts: the array of expectations, and symbolic capital. The former is taken from the work of Hans-George Gadamer and aesthetics reception theory.[9] It proposes questions that concern

[3] Manuel Nieto Cumplido, *La catedral de Córdoba* (Córdoba: Cajasur, 1998); María de los Ángeles Raya Raya, *Catálogo de las pinturas de la Catedral de Cordoba* (Córdoba: Monte de Piedad y Caja de Ahorros de Córdoba), 1987.

[4] María de los Ángeles Jordano Barbudo, *La capilla del Espíritu Santo de la Mezquita-Catedral de Córdoba. Estudio histórico-artístico y restauración* (Córdoba: UcoPress, 2021).

[5] Antonio Urquízar Herrera, *El Renacimiento en la periferia. La recepción de los modos italianos en la experiencia pictórica del Quinientos cordobés* (Córdoba: Universidad de Córdoba, 2021); Antonio Urquízar Herrera, "La ornamentación de las capillas funerarias en la Córdoba del quinientos: El conjunto catedralicio," in *Actas del III Congreso de Historia de Andalucía, Historia moderna* (Córdoba: Cajasur, 2003), 345-55.

[6] Hans Belting, *Antropología de la imagen* (Madrid: Katz, 1990); Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence* (London: Reaktion Books, 2008); Pierre Bourdieu, *El sentido social del gusto. Elementos para una sociología de la cultura*, trans. Alicia B. Gutiérrez (Barcelona: Siglo Veintiuno, 2015).

[7] Keith Moxey, *El tiempo de lo visual. La imagen en la historia*, trans. Ander Gondra (Barcelona: Sans Soleil, 2015).

[8] Georges Didi-Huberman, *La imagen superviviente. Historia del arte y tiempo de los fantasmas según Aby Warburg*, trans. Juan Calatrava (Madrid: Abada, 2018).

[9] Georg Gadamer, *Verdad y Método*, vol. 1, trans. Ana Agud and Rafael de Agapito (Salamanca: Ediciones Sígueme, 1991); Manuel Pérez Lozano and Antonio Urquízar Herrera, "De Gombrich a la Rezeptionsästhetik: La configuración de la percepción y la interpretación en las artes visuales," in Paula Lizarra Gutiérrez, ed., *E.H. Gombrich. In memoriam* (Pamplona: Universidad de Navarra, 2003), 325-41.

not only the chapels' artistic morphology but also the way in which chapels interacted with the array of assumptions of those who designed them. It asks who, why, how, and what for? As for symbolic capital, the concept is taken above all from the work of Pierre Bourdieu, referring to forms of power that are not perceived as such but rather as an expression of recognition and legitimation.[10]

The Simancas brothers and their converso background in the Holy Spirit chapel

The Holy Spirit chapel was dedicated to the perpetual display of the social status of the three Simancas brothers: Diego, Juan, and Francisco. Despite their achievements in the church, particularly those of Diego, it can be assumed that they had converso origins and, as was typical of many well-known figures of their time, they used an array of strategies to conceal their Jewish roots. I begin by looking at their family, starting with their uncle, Francisco Simancas, archdeacon of Córdoba, who was the source of their property, positions, and canonries.[11]

Though there is no irrefutable evidence from the tribunal of the Holy Office, there are indications of inbreeding in the family, which was typical of the converso community; the surname Simancas was used by archdeacon Francisco and his sister María, who was married to Diego Bretón de Simancas, father of the three brothers.[12]

In his autobiography, Diego Simancas wrote that his parents came from the town of Simancas (in the present-day province of Valladolid) but moved to Córdoba, where their uncle, also Francisco, lived. Diego said nothing more about his parents or the reason for their move, though he said they were "all noble, with no Jewish, Moorish, or heretic blood."[13] It is well known that converso integration often involved moving from one city to another and adopting new surnames.[14]

The Simancas family's strategy of social mobility involved constructing an extensive social support network to protect themselves in a society in which the slightest doubt about origins might threaten all their ancestors' social advances. The elder Francisco Simancas had created an image of power that corresponded well with his social status and reflected the nobility of his family line. His house was emblematic of this, both in its size and its location in the San Bartolomé parish, which matched his social

[10] Bourdieu, *El sentido social*, 65-85.

[11] Antonio José Díaz Rodríguez, "Cardenales en miniatura: La imagen del poder a través del clero capitular cordobés," *Historia y genealogía* 1 (2011), 11-21.

[12] Jordano Barbudo, *La capilla*, 20.

[13] Diego de Simancas, "La vida y cosas notables del señor obispo de Zamora don Diego de Simancas," in *Autobiografías y memorias*, ed. Manuel Serrano y Sanz (Madrid: Bailly/Bailliére e hijos, 1905), 151-210, p. 151.

[14] The work of Enrique Soria Mesa has made abundantly clear that an apparently static society was in fact mobile and that change was the essential basis for continuity; Enrique Soria Mesa, *El cambio inmóvil, transformaciones y permanencia en una élite de poder* (Córdoba, ss. XVI-XIX) (Córdoba: La Posada, 2000).

ambitions.[15] He performed the tasks required of someone in his position, but the expense of maintaining his social status, both in sumptuary and symbolic terms, could not conceal his Jewish origins. Indeed, the Inquisition accused the elder Francisco Simancas of having secretly attended a Córdoba synagogue with other members of the canonry.[16]

Another indication of the family's converso past can be found in an episode of the confraternity of Nuestra Señora de la Fuensanta, where the Simancas brothers' uncle, who was a member, opposed the entry of converso merchants as new members.[17] Possibly he did not want New Christians to be members because he, too, had something to hide.[18]

Francisco Simancas's sister, María Simancas, inherited his properties, while his nephew, the younger Francisco, inherited his canonship and archdeaconship. Thus, the lineage was consolidated. Ascent through the cathedral's council of canons seemed to offer the best possibilities, and Diego, Juan, and Francisco began their religious careers. Membership offered the possibility of extending the family's strategy of emphasizing its elite image while also enabling them to cleanse whatever stains might be attributed to them.

The Holy Spirit chapel was a space where they (especially Diego) could satisfy their desires for social advancement and deploy visual propaganda to legitimate their Jewish past, a past that had not prevented them from reaching the heights of the church.[19] Diego knew how to move amid social structures, and he also knew that as a man of the church he would transmit distinction while at the same time becoming rich. Certain important moments in his life help us understand the chapel's visual discourse, why he chose certain iconographic themes, and why he placed each item, including an unusual portrait of bishops, where he did. We begin by analyzing what is visible, and then move on to the invisible.

Diego de Simancas (1513-83) was born in Córdoba, studied law in Salamanca, and became a professor at the University of Valladolid. In 1548 he was appointed to be a civil judge at the royal appeals court (Chancillería) in Valladolid, and a decade later was appointed to the Council of the Inquisition. Yet he never cut his ties with Córdoba, visiting from time to time when he had a break from work, and by 1564 he was

15 Antonio José Díaz Rodríguez, *El clero catedralicio en la España Moderna: Los miembros del Cabildo de la Catedral de Córdoba (1475-1808)* (Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, 2012), 421.

16 Jordano Barbudo, *La capilla*, 20.

17 Juan Rafael Vázquez Lesmes, "Ordenanzas y constituciones en la ermita y cofradía de Nuestra Señora de la Fuensanta cordobesa (s. XVI-XVII)," in *Advocaciones Marianas de Gloria* (San Lorenzo del Escorial: Ediciones Escurialenses, 2012), 175-92.

18 Díaz Rodríguez, *El clero catedralicio*, 96.

19 On conversos and artwork see Enrique Soria Mesa, "El patrimonio histórico-artístico de las élites judeoconversas españolas. Propuestas de análisis desde la historia social," *Mediterránea. ricerche storiche* 46 (2019), 251-76.

coadjutor of the archdeaconship he had inherited from his uncle, Francisco.[20] Philip II named him bishop of Ciudad Rodrigo in 1565.[21] From there he continued his ascent, spending 1567-76 in Rome, where the king had assigned him to the inquisitorial case against the former Archbishop of Toledo, Fray Bartolomé de Carranza, who was accused of heresy.[22] Simancas took the job very seriously and was especially harsh toward Carranza, the king's former confessor.[23] He also served as temporary viceroy of Naples after the death of the duke of Alcalá, and in 1575 became the top aide of Spain's ambassador to Italy, Juan de Zúñiga.[24] He was appointed as bishop of Badajoz in 1568 and bishop of Zamora in 1578.[25]

Diego's ascent operated on two tracks; on the one hand in the church, where he was a canonist and author of treatises against heresy, and on the other in the political sphere, culminating in his appointment to be a member of the Council of State.[26]

His rise closely followed the prescriptions for any new man, any member of the *homini nuovi*. Service to the church was matched with service to the crown, which in the short or long run would ensure him a place at the top.[27] In the realm of the church, it is especially interesting to look at his treatises. He became one of the most inflexible champions of the Tridentine decrees, as if continually justifying his position in the hierarchy.[28] His recalcitrant orthodoxy showed him to be a loyal follower of the archbishop of Toledo, Juan Martínez Silíceo.[29] He was a fervent champion of clean-blood statutes (*limpieza de sangre*) as can be seen in his *Defensio Statuti Toletani a sede apostolica saepe confirmati pro his qui bono & incontaminato genere nati sunt*, written in 1575.[30] His energetic defense of the most orthodox tenets of Catholicism might

[20] Serrano y Sanz, "La vida y cosas notables," 152.

[21] Pius IV to Philip II, bull, appointment of Diego Simancas to lead the church of Ciudad Rodrigo. Archivo General de Simancas, Patronato Real, bulas y breves, leg. 62, doc. 83, 15 December 1564.

[22] Marcel Bataillon, *Erasmo y España. Estudios sobre la historia espiritual del siglo XVI,* trans. Antonio Alatorre (Madrid: Fondo de cultura económica, 1966), 515-20.

[23] José Luis Orella Unzué, "Causas político-culturales del proceso inquisitorial a Bartolomé de Carranza (1503-1576)," *Revista de la Inquisición* 11 (2005), 43-90, pp. 45-49.

[24] Macarena Moralejo Ortega, "El obispo Diego de Simancas y su papel como virrey de Nápoles," *Libros de la Corte* 4 (2012), 141-53, p. 143.

[25] Gregory XIII to Philip II, bull naming Diego de Simancas, bishop of Badajoz, as bishop of Zamora. Archivo General de Simancas, Patronato Real, bulas y breves, leg. 62, doc. 127, 13 June 1578.

[26] María de los Ángeles Jordano, "Programa visual de la capilla del Espíritu Santo en la Mezquita-Catedral de Córdoba," *Anuario de la Historia de la Iglesia* 31 (2022), 369-401, p. 369.

[27] Díaz Rodríguez, *El clero catedralicio*, covers this dynamic in depth, affirming that the dynasties dominating the Cordoban church in these years corresponded to an aristocratic urban upper class which the *homini novi* very much wished to join; they did so principally by using clientage networks centered on the church and the crown. Members of the well-known Corral, Simancas, Piquín, and Sigler families were incorporated into these patronage circuits and received prebendaries; see esp. p. 148.

[28] Kimberly Lynn, "Was Adam the first heretic? Diego de Simancas, Luis de Páramo and the origins of inquisitorial practice," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 97 (2006), 184-210.

[29] Juan Hernández Franco, *Sangre limpia, sangre española. El debate de los estatutos de limpieza (siglos XV-XVII)* (Madrid: Cátedra, 2011), 20.

[30] It is interesting to note that Diego Simancas used the pseudonym of Didacus Velasquez when he signed *Defensio Statuti Toletani*, an illustration of the occasionally contradictory and incoherent strategies of

lead one to believe that there was a pattern of behavior by New Christians aimed at hiding their families' past in order to acquire more prestige. Thus, without ever having to prove their own clean blood, the Simancas family reinforced their status as old Christians.

Figure 1. Central retablo of the Holy Spirit chapel, Cordoba Cathedral, 1569-74. Source: Clara Sánchez Merino.

Diego's religious career was unimpeachable, but something was missing, something that might lend material substance to the social recognition he had labored so hard to achieve. That something was realized in the paintings in the funeral chapel in the Córdoba Cathedral where the three Simancas brothers would be buried. On 4 September 1568 the cathedral's canons gave the family a space in the Holy Spirit chapel where Juan de Simancas could be buried; it was next to the east wall of the old mosque, in the area expanded by Almanzor, the tenth-century ruler of Córdoba.[31] This space was where the Simancas family could make manifest their power. Through images, in a powerfully symbolic setting, they could materialize the message that the family, especially Diego, wanted to leave behind (Figure 1).

The decorative program therefore was not simply a means of making the setting more beautiful. Rather, it concealed a religious and political propagandistic discourse that could not be left to just any artisan. The family therefore chose Pablo de Céspedes, a well known painter from Córdoba who was also a cathedral prebendary. He was not only a skilled painter, he thought of himself as a true humanist, having contributed to

concealment and justification that conversos used as they rose through the ranks. Diego's best known work is *De catholicis institutionibus. Iacobi Simancae Pacensis episcopi, de catholicis institutionibus, liber, ad praecavendas & estirpandas haereses admodum necesarius* (1575).

[31] On the establishment of chapels in the Córdoba cathedral see especially Antonio Urquízar Herrera, "La ornamentación de las capillas funerarias en la Córdoba del quinientos.", 345-55; Jordano, "Programa visual,"; and Manuel Pérez Lozano and Macarena Moralejo Ortega, "Don Diego de Simancas y la fundación de la capilla familiar en la Catedral-Mezquita de Córdoba," in María Dolores Barral Rivadulla, ed. *Mirando a Clio. El arte español espejo de su historia*. (Santiago de Compostela, 2012), 1501-13.

literature and art, studied classics at the University of Alcalá de Henares, and studied art in Rome.[32]

Rather than describe in detail the iconography of the chapel, I focus instead on the paintings in the retablo as well as the side murals.[33] The chapel was designed by Hernán Ruiz II, though it is assumed that after his death his son, Hernán Ruiz III, took over in 1569. Both the architecture and the painting, which followed classical lines, marked the introduction of a new, modern artistic language in Córdoba.

The paintings were the Simancas brothers' principal means of visual legitimation. The two canvases on the retablo portray the Crucifixion with the three brothers at Christ's feet; and the Baptism of Christ, currently being restored (Figure 2).

Figure 2. Photograph showing how the retablo would look with both canvases, the Baptism of Christ (currently being restored) and the Crucifixion, in the Holy Spirit chapel. Source: Clara Sánchez Merino.

The side murals are frescoes portraying the Old Testament prophets David, Isaiah, and Moses (in addition to another figure that has not survived, possibly Abraham, though there is no documentation). (Figures 3 and 4) Given that the architecture and sculpture date from 1569-74, it is likely that both the murals and the canvases were painted by Céspedes once he finished the walls.[34]

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[32] Jesús Rubio Lapaz, *Pablo de Céspedes y su círculo. Humanismo y contrarreforma en la cultura andaluza del Renacimiento al Barroco* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1993); Macarena Moralejo Ortega, "Amigos e interlocutores de Pablo de Céspedes en Roma, nuevos datos," *Anuario de Historia de la Iglesia andaluza* 3 (2010), 227-40.

[33] Jordano Barbudo, *La capilla del Espíritu Santo*, is a recent study of how to read this iconography, both in the paintings and the sculpture, and of the restoration carried out by Anabel Barrena and her team. Jordano's work, along with that of the restorers, has shed a light on the chapel's historic and artistic value, making it possible for us to read the visual codes that artists and craftsmen left us. I am grateful to Jordano for her help with this study.

[34] Jordano believes the frescoes were painted by one of Céspedes's assistants, Cesare Arbasia: María de los Ángeles Jordano Barbudo, "Nuevas pinturas de Cesare Arbasia en la catedral de Córdoba," *Archivo Español de Arte* 94 (2021), 163-71. But taking into account Céspedes and Diego's friendship in Rome, and the

Figure 3. Upper frescoes, north wall of the chapel: Issiah and King David, by Pablo de Céspedes, 1577-82. Source: Clara Sánchez Merino.

Figure 4. Frescoes on the upper level of the chapel's right side: Moses, by Pablo de Céspedes, 1577-82. Source: Clara Sánchez Merino.

The canvases were possibly painted while Céspedes was in Rome, which would explain why the portrait of Juan de Simancas has a paper patch on the back covering an area with nothing painted.[35] Céspedes might have painted the portrait while in Italy, where he stayed with Diego, and then returned to Córdoba in around 1577, where Juan de Simancas had been since 1571 to succeed his nephew as archdean. It is possible that when Juan saw the finished portrait he did not like it, prompting Céspedes to modify just his portrait and not the rest.

high quality of the figures in comparison to Arbasia's work, I lean toward thinking they are the work of Céspedes himself.

[35] Jordano Barbudo, *La capilla*, 208.

This hypothesis is especially likely taking into account the *Crucifixion*, where we can see how Céspedes was inspired by the classical models he had seen in Rome; there are similarities between Michelangelo's drawing of *Christ on the Cross* (1538-41), now in the British Museum, and the Córdoba *Crucifixion*, which shows that Céspedes was inspired by Michelangelo's approach to anatomy.[36] The Florentine's iconography had great popular devotional and propagandistic resonance in the Counter-Reformation and was spread through drawings and especially through Giulio Bonasone's engraving. The composition as well as the placement of Christ's body on the cross and the treatment of anatomy were reference points for many later paintings, among them that by his follower Marcello Venusti (c. 1550), which today hangs in the Doria Pamphilj Gallery in Rome.

Céspedes may have been in touch with Venusti, given that both appear the same year in the *Libro antico degli'accademici ed aggregati* of 1535-1653 of the San Lucas Academy.[37] That would mean that Céspedes's painting for the retablo marked Córdoba's introduction to the new, classical model of the Crucifixion. This would also make Céspedes not an artisan but rather a humanist painter who brought with him the latest styles from Rome favored by Italian patrons in the latter half of the sixteenth century. It would seem that when Diego was in Rome working on the Carranza case he saw the visual strategies being deployed by leading Italian artists to provide their patrons with the symbolic capital they required. Diego was not going to be left behind, which was why it is likely that Céspedes's *Crucifixion* reflected not merely an aesthetic choice but rather one that went beyond decoration and aesthetics.

The two main themes of the retablo canvases, the Baptism and the Crucifixion, well reflect the Council of Trent's concerns. This iconographic reading is logical given that Diego and Juan were bishops and Francisco an archdeacon, and all three were imbued with Tridentine reforms. But building a private funeral chapel in the cathedral did not only reflect an exaltation of the spirit of Trent, it also demonstrates an elaborate visual program in which figures and scenes celebrated the family's spiritual lineage, a concept to be explained below.

The Baptism of Christ and the Crucifixion are two images with great transcendence for Christians, clearly symbolizing, respectively, regeneration and redemption. And these were precisely the two basic theological arguments used by pro-converso treatise-writers during the fifteenth century. For example, Alonso de Palma's *Breve*

[36] The charcoal drawing represents Christ on the Cross; he is flanked by two angels, with a skull at his feet; Paul Joannides, *The drawings of Michelangelo and his followers in the Ashmolean Museum* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 243, 306. There are formal similarities with Michelangelo's *Christ on the Cross between the Virgen and Saint John*; Joannides, *The drawings*, 243 and 304.

[37] Venusti probably probably was given an advance by the Spaniard Luis de Caravagial in 1577; on another page of the book, from that same year, Céspedes appears as a member of the San Lucas Academy; Patricia Díaz Cayeros, "Pablo de Céspedes entre Italia y España," *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas* 76 (2000), 53.

Reprehensorium adversus quosdam fratres religiosos discusses how belonging to Christ's ancestral line is an advantage for conversos, who, because they were related to him, therefore have divine blood (*sangre divinal*), a concept also developed by the mid-fifteenth-century bishop Lope Barrientos, another converso.[38] There was a body of theoretical treatises defending conversos that pointed to New Christians' literal relationship to Christ, placing them above those who did not have Jewish ancestors.

Therefore, the choice of the Baptism of Christ carries theological weight. It affirms that the Church can be unified through that sacrament, which embraces all who receive it regardless of origin. Given the significance of these themes for the converso community, it is possible that the Simancas brothers were defending their *sangre divinal*, as they were descended from Christ's lineage and therefore were literally closer to him than everyone else.

The Simancas brothers reinforced this connection with their allusion to the Old Testament prophets, who carry scrolls containing various Old Testament passages referring to the Holy Spirit and the labor of preaching, championed by Christian reformers in the sixteenth century who also were descended from conversos.[39] In other words, representation of these figures indicated a desire to reform Catholic doctrine. Moses's scroll reads, in part, "*Quis tribuat, ut omnis*," which comes from the Fourth Book of the Torah (Numbers 11:29): "*Quid, inquit aemularis pro me? quis tribuat ut omnis populus prophetet, et det eis Dominus spiritum suum*?" ("And Moses said unto him, Enviest thou for my sake? would God that all the Lord's people were prophets, and that the Lord would put his spirit upon them!") These words are not there by chance; the figures of King David and Isaiah, on the one hand, and Moses (and a missing figure), each with their own script, leads one to reflect on the fact that Christ was a Jew and a descendant of kings and patriarchs and that the Simancas brothers also were heirs to that spiritual lineage.

Over time, the frescoes were covered with layers of white oil paint. Restoration, which was not easy, has made it possible for us to see them now. It is not known exactly when they were covered, but Acisclo Antonio Palomino, a well known treatise-writer and painter from Córdoba (1655-1726) does not mention them, and nor does Rafael Ramírez de Arellano (1854-1921). In 1649 the Simancas family was granted the title of the marquisate of Santaella. Though there is no relevant documentation, the artwork may have been covered up in the seventeenth century once the noble title was granted, the culmination of the family's social rise. It was no longer in their interest to emphasize their links to Judaism and the Old Testament.

In any case, the frescoes paid homage to the family's spiritual lineage, which was far more important than physical lineage. To some degree this is a contradiction, given

[38] Hernández Franco, *Sangre limpia*, 139.

[39] Álvaro Huerga Teruelo, *Historia de los alumbrados. Los alumbrados de la Alta Andalucía (1575-1590),* vol. 2 (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1978).

that the chapel itself is the necessary materialization of the Simancas noble lineage, heraldry included. The visual discourse therefore has two aims: to justify their converso origins to the cathedral canons, who knew about the accusations against their uncle Francisco; and to refer to their spiritual lineage, linked directly to Christ.

The concept of spiritual lineage comes from the literary work of Saint John of Ávila, whose Jewish roots are well known.[40] The image of the three brothers at the foot of the cross is a very unusual composition in iconographic terms given that neither the Virgin Mary nor John the Baptist are there. The brothers' presence before Christ might be explained through the concept of spiritual lineage, found frequently in John of Ávila's work and in the defense of conversos.[41] John's discourse would explain the bishops' proximity to Christ's feet, a graphic representation of a particular way of living religion close to God. This intimacy, or connection, can be considered alongside the spirituality of leading sixteenth-century mystics and reformers, most of them conversos, among whom John of Ávila stands out.[42] He explained why spiritual lineage is more important than noble lineage with the following words:

> What moved you, Lord, as you do not love flesh, rather you despise it and order us to flee from it, to order us to count your lineage? Let us convert the lineage of flesh to the lineage of the spirit, the generations and generations of the spirit, and we shall see what moved the evangelist to recite to us Jesus Christ's lineage, the spiritual lineage of Jesus Christ. Praise that, oh sinner that I am. Of that you should be envious; not that he descends from Abraham Isaac, Jacob, and David, from so many kings and patriarchs. ... That is what being an hidalgo is, he who is in Jesus Christ's spiritual lineage, that is an honorable hidalgo.[43]

The Simancas brothers saw in John a way to legitimate their power as honorable hidalgos who labored for the faith. The possibility that the chapel's visual program was inspired in part by the theologian makes sense if one thinks about his connections with the Córdoba diocese.[44] John of Ávila was well known for his activities in the Toledo provincial council of August 1565; he sent a letter to the bishop of Córdoba, Cristóbal de Rojas y Sandoval, whom Philip II had assigned to preside over the Toledo meeting given that the Archbishop of Toledo, Carranza, was on trial in Rome. His letter included his handwritten "Advertencias al Concilio de Toledo" (1565-1566), where he clarified

[40] Juan Ignacio Pulido Serrano, "Juan de Ávila y su crítica a la limpieza de sangre y su condición conversa," *Sefarad* 73:2 (2013), 339-69.

[41] María Jesús Fernández Cordero, "Juan de Ávila en la tradición de defensa de los conversos: la pertenencia al linaje espiritual de Jesucristo," *Miscelánea Comillas* 148 (2018), 113-33.

[42] Ángel Alcalá, "El mundo converso en la literatura y la mística del Siglo de Oro," *Manuscrits*, 10 (1992), 91-118, p. 93.

[43] John of Ávila, *Obras completas* (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 2019), vol. 3, p. 5465: "Sermons of Our Lady. This is honor: to be of Jesus Christ's spiritual lineage."

[44] Isabel Barrado Jiménez, *El Colegio de la Asunción (1569-1767): Reforma católica y sociedad en la Córdoba Moderna* (Córdoba: UcoPress, 2021); Wenceslao Soto Artuñedo, "San Juan de Ávila y la llegada de los jesuitas a Córdoba, Andalucía," *Archivo teológico granadino* 85 (2022), 9-54.

certain aspects of the Trent decrees. John favored clergy reform; in his "Memoriales al Concilio de Trento" he made clear the need to properly educate future priests, and he emphasized preaching and the teaching of Christian doctrine. His writings reflect the thinking behind *La reformatio in capite et in membris*, the decree issued by the Council of Constance in the early fifteenth century.[45]

John of Ávila's desire to reform the clergy as well as the bishops made him a point of reference in post-Tridentine Castile. So, it is no surprise that Francisco Simancas, the archdeacon of Córdoba, along with his brother Diego, were closely aligned with him, especially given that Diego attended the provincial council in Salamanca in 1565.[46] It is well known that John had great influence in Córdoba and had close relations with leading members of the Spanish nobility. The chapel began being built in 1569 and the frescoes were painted in 1577-82, the time period during which John's writings were regarded as the model for application of the Tridentine decrees.

The Simancas brothers' cultural and social circle, especially that of Diego, also included Pablo de Céspedes who is thought to have had converso parentage.[47] Céspedes, when he was in Alcalá de Henares, was very interested in learning about Jewish culture, and he studied Hebres and the Old Testament.[48] Another indication of his leanings was the fact that he was adminished by the canonry.[49] What most interests us here was his close relationship with Diego Simancas, given that he stayed with Diego when he went to Rome. With Bourdieu's theory of cultural fields in mind, we can assume that to some degree they thought alike. That would explain that it was Céspedes and not

[45] María Jesús Fernández Cordero, "La índole espiritual de la reforma del clero en San Juan de Ávila," *Seminario* 66:228 (2021), 77-96; Celso Morga Iruzubieta, "La normativa del Concilio de Trento sobre pre-dicación y su aplicación en la Diócesis de Calahorra. Sínodo de 1698," *Cuadernos doctorales: derecho canónico, derecho eclesíastico del Estado* 8 (199), 79-129, p. 92; Orella Unzué, "Causas político-culturales," 45.

[46] Serrano y Sanz, "La vida y cosas notables."

[47] Pedro Manuel Martínez de Lara, "Novedades documentales en torno a Pablo de Céspedes. El expediente de limpieza de sangre," *Historia, Instituciones, Documentos* 38 (2011), 291-323; Fernando Marías Franco, "On Converso Artists in the Spanish Golden Age," in Borja Franco Llopis and Antonio Urquízar Herrera, eds, *Jews and Muslims Made Visible in Christian Iberia and Beyond, 14th to 18th Centuries: Another image* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 89-118. Joan Molina's work on the painter Bartolomé Bermejo offers a new interpretation of pictorial elements that may indicate converso lineage: Joan Molina Figueras, "Dios está en los detalles. Particularidades en la pintura de Bartolomé Bermejo," in *El universo pictórico de Bartolomé Bermejo, ed/ Joan Molina Figueras* (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 2021), 176-91. See also work by Borja Franco Llopis, who lately has focused on the "hidden traces of alterity," emphasizing the role of painting in visual strategies: "Sobre pinturas deshonestas, lienzos y naipes protestantes. Tres documentos inquisitoriales vinculados a la censura y tráfico de imágenes heréticas en el mundo hispánico del siglo XVI," *Manuscrits* 33 (2015), 97-118; and "El trazo oculto de la alteridad: Más allá del hibridismo cultural en la pintura española de inicios del siglo XVI," *Boletín del Museo del Prado* 38:58 (2022), 22-37.

[48] Kevin Ingram, *Converso Non-Conformism in Early Modern Spain: Bad Blood and Faith from Alonso de Cartagena to Diego Velásquez* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 117-77. Pablo de Céspedes owned four books in Hebrew; Pérez Lozano has hypothesized that one of the Hebrew grammar books might be by Juan de Fries; Manuel Pérez Lozano, *El conceptismo en la pintura andaluza del Siglo de Oro* (Córdoba: Universidad de Córdoba, 1993), 183.

[49] Martínez de Lara, "Novedades documentales," 291-323.

another artist who took on the job – not only because of his background and training but also his ties to Judiaism and his particular inclination for the Old Testament. Nor can their relationship be reduced to a patron-artist relationship, being that Céspedes was not just a painter; he thought of himself as a humanist. This mix of humanism and spiritual lineage was exactly what defined the interests of the Simancas men, which is reflected in their funeral chapel.

Legitimation and social mobility: Juan Sigler de Espinosa and the John the Baptist chapel

Our second case is the private chapel dedicated by Juan Sigler de Espinosa in 1567 on the east wall of the original mosque, part of the Almanzor enlargement. The origins of this chapel devoted to Saint John the Baptist are not entirely clear, leading one to hypothesize about a possible converso background, though there is no known documentation in that regard.[50] For that reason he is an interesting subject of study and conforms to the usual sociological features of the leading families of Córdoba. But there are some peculiarities arising from his involvement with the decorative and pictorial production of the chapels.

Throughout his life, Sigler de Espinosa made every effort to follow the correct strategy for obtaining a noble title. The move that ensured his acquisition of an ecclesiastical post, along with the social recognition it entailed, was becoming the right-hand man to Bishop Leopoldo de Austria, Charles V's uncle. Leopoldo appointed Sigler to be a canon of the cathedral in 1552, and three years later he was named precentor.[51]

But Sigler did not establish the chapel until 1567, ten years after Leopoldo's death. Sigler's privileged position at that point was the outcome of his long relationship with the bishop, who favored his promotion in return for Sigler having concealed the bishop's alleged intimate relationship.[52] Sigler took advantage of his job as the bishop's aide and consolidated his position through advantageous marriage contracts, allowing him to buy real estate, build a mansion, and construct the John the Baptist chapel in the cathedral.

There is documentation regarding Sigler's many and extensive properties, including an olive farm and grape vineyard sold in 1573 by Francisco de Góngora's father, a prebendary, who, according to Enrique Soria Mesa, was Luis de Góngora y Argote's maternal uncle; and Luis was not only a canon, he was chief chaplain at the cathedral, among other posts.[53] Soria Mesa also confirmed Luis de Góngora's Jewish heritage,

[50] Soria Mesa, *El cambio inmóvil*, 75-113.
[51] Díaz Rodríguez, *El clero catedralicio*, 206.
[52] Urquizar Herrera, "La ornamentación," 350.
[53] Díaz Rodríguez, *El clero catedralicio*, 304. For a general and innovative view of the history and converso origins of local elites in early modern Córdoba see Enrique Soria Mesa, *La realidad tras el espejo. Asenso social y limpieza de sangre en la España de Felipe II* (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid,

which had been the subject of debate.[54] Links such as Sigler's contractual relationship with Francisco de Góngora, a converso, are indications of the clientage network Sigler constructed.

Sigler was well acquainted with strategies of social mobility and aware that joining the Cordoba elite required an image of power that could be extended to the rest of the canonry. A chapel was the perfect setting for establishing his social status, which could then extend, even in political propagandistic terms, to anyone who perceived his majesty and the high cost of the retablo he commissioned.

Before looking closely at the visual rhetoric of the retablo's iconography and the chapel grille one should set aside any rigid classificatory system for examining styles or dating works of art. By decoding the images and visual language, one can locate implicit messages that help translate desires for social mobility and the means for concealing Jewish ancestry.

Sigler placed his chapel exactly on the same axis where the Simancas brothers had placed theirs, a signal that he wanted his social recognition and power to rival theirs; the two pursued similar goals, though their starting points were quite distinct, as we have seen. Sigler made sure that, architecturally, his chapel would be somewhat stylistically modern, and there are similarities with Hernán Ruiz II's style.

The grille separating the chapel from the rest of the mosque is by an anonymous sixteenth-century artist. The upper section features an ecclesiastical coat of arms belonging to Sigler de Espinosa, flanked by two peacocks perched on snails in the form of spirals. The shield is accompanied by two angels pointing to a cross as if asking us to read the inscription upon which they seem to be sitting. There we can read a fragment of Paul's Epistle to the Galatians (6:14): "*Absit gloriari nisi in cruce domini nostri Iesu Christi*," or "Do not glory except in the cross of Our Lord Jesus Christ." The word "cross," however, is not written, rather it is represented by the cross on the shield that the angels are pointing to (Figure 5).

The spandrels of the grille's arc feature two Virtues representing Faith and Hope, each with their corresponding attributes: Faith has a cross and a chalice while Hope has an anchor, drawn from the Epistle to the Hebrews (6:18-19): "That by two immutable things, in which it was impossible for God to lie, we might have a strong consolation, who have fled for refuge to lay hold upon the hope set before us: Which hope we have as an anchor of the soul, both sure and stedfast, and which entereth into that within the veil...".

Cátedra Felipe II), 2016; Enrique Soria Mesa, "Góngora judeoconverso. El fin de una vieja polémica," in Begoña Capllonch Bujosa, ed., *La Edad del Genio. España e Italia en tiempos de Góngora* (Pisa: ETA, 2014), 415-33, p. 423.

[54] Enrique Soria Mesa, *El origen judío de Góngora* (Córdoba: Hannover, 2015).

Figure 5. Heraldic images on Juan Sigler de Espinoa's chapel grille, sixteenth century. Source: Clara Sánchez Merino.

The two Virtues also appear with their attributes in the decoration of the grille in the Simancas chapel. The heraldic decoration does not correspond to any specific noble family, and heraldic experts believe it may be linked to the Sigler family tree in northern Spain or the Espinosa de los Monteros family, from Burgos. But there is no precise similitude with those family arms, making it an ecclesiastical heraldry with a doubtful and ambiguous origin. However, in his formal certificate of *hidalguía*, on 2 January 1544 in Valladolid, Sigler stated its provenance, saying that his noble status had been achieved "at the urging of Juan Sigler, from the Town of Villalpando," adding that he came from "noble lineage, with the surname of Sigler de Espinosa de los Monteros, granted by the *rey de armas* [heraldric registrar] in Madrid on 8 August 1591."[55]

The grant of nobility, or *carta ejecutoria*, also contains a coat of arms, but it is quite different than the one in the chapel. On the document there are fleurs de lis on the blue expanse, a green tree on gold, and a wolf under the tree. In the chapel heraldry, however, the gold space with the tree and the wolf have been replaced with a star on blue and the two peacocks on the snails. But the angels with their crosses are present in both representations.

All this leads one to infer that the shield is an explicit rejection of earthly vanity, symbolized by the peacock (the traditional Christian symbol of eternity) and the snail, the latter of which might be linked to the Latin *Festina lente*, or hurry up and wait. It is logical that Sigler, ascending the ladder to nobility while building a chapel as

[55] "Ejecutoría de hidalguía, Juan Sigler de Espinosa," 2 January 1544; Durán Arte y Subastas, auctioned on 22 March 2023: https://www.duran-subastas.com/es/subasta-lote/executoria-de-hidalguia-juan-sigler-de-espinosa/619-387. Accessed April 2023.

symbolic capital of his aspirations, part of his strategy of social legitimation, chose these suggestive visual elements to crown the entrance. At the same time, one must keep in mind that the Sigler de Espinosas rose extremely quickly, reaching the top levels of the clergy in record time. So, the images chosen to signify power in the chapel are, one might say, the materialization of the family business.

The retablo faces visitors as they enter. The architecture has changed over time, considering that it was made in the mid-sixteenth century and reformed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when decorative elements were added and the polychromatic figures on the *Baptism of Christ* were modified.[56] The retable has a predella (*banco*), three sections, and the attic. The central vertical section (*calle*) features two scenes: the first level has the iconography of the Baptism, and the second represents the Crucifixion, including sculptures. Above the retablo there is an attic representing God holding up the world, flanked by two feminine figures, Faith on the left and Charity on the right. Thus, the visual presentation of the two themes is reminiscent of the pictorial cycle by Céspedes in the Simancas chapel (Figure 6).

Both the predella and the side sections contain oil paintings on wood, which helps us date them to the second half of the sixteenth century. The predella features the Anunciation, the Last Supper, and the Birth of the Lord.[57] The bottom level has panel paintings representing the birth of John the Baptist and his beheading; the middle features the Adoration of the Kings and a figure of a saint who is generally identified as Margaret, given the attribute of the dragon.[58] But an analysis of the figurative elements in the painting, keeping in mind Sigler's origins and his strategy for social mobility, yields an alternate interpretation.

First, the retablo's narrative discourse mostly concerns the exaltation of John the Baptist, to whom the chapel is dedicated, along with scenes from the life of Christ and the Virgin. There is a reason for choosing one saint over another. Normally, in addition to religious motivations, there is a practical explanation for their presence, though a present-day viewer of sixteenth-century art may lack the necessary interpretive strategies for decoding figurative repertories.[59] Given the historical distance between us and the painting, it is only logical that there may have been interpretive

[56] María de los Ángeles Raya Raya, *El retablo en Córdoba durante los siglos XVII y XVIII* (Córdoba: Monte de Piedad y Caja de Ahorros de Córdoba, 1980).

[57] Lambs had been a common symbol evoking Christ ever since the paleo-Christian era. In this case, the roast Easter lamb is of interest; it is in the center foreground, replacing the usual symbolic fish, which symbolize water and the sacrament of Baptism. Lamb generally commemorates Passover. After the Council of Trent, the iconography of the Eucharist expanded, and the Last Supper was shown as the first Mass celebrating the Eucharist. The lamb disappeared from these depictions, having come to be considered a Jewish symbol. That is why Céspedes's *Last Supper* in the Córdoba Cathedral depicts not a single lamb; Manuel Pérez Lozano, "La última cena de Céspedes," *Córdoba capital* 2 (1994).

[58] María de los Ángeles Raya Raya., *Catálogo de las pinturas de la Catedral de Córdoba* (Córdoba: Monte de Piedad y Caja de Ahorros de Córdoba, 1987).

[59] Pérez Lozano and Urquízar Herrera, "De Gombrich a la Rezeptionsästhetik.", 325-341.

misunderstandings owing to the traditional tendency of free-association iconographic methodology.

No documentation has been located indicating that there was a Margaret in the Sigler de Espinosa family or any other particular link to the saint. However, there are indeed connections to Saint Juliana of Nicomedia; Juan came from the town of Villalpando, whose patront saint is Juliana, who converted to Christianity and was martyred during the persecution waged by Emperor Diocletian in the late third century A.D. She is generally portrayed with a dragon at her feet, and indeed was described that way in the *Golden Legend* of Jacobus (or Santiago) de Voragine.[60]

Figure 6. Central retablo, chapel of Saint John the Baptist. Source: Clara Sánchez Merino.

The top level of the retablo contains scenes of the Resurrection and the Ascent, which Antonio Urquízar Herrera has attributed to Gabriel Rosales (1563-91).[61] Though there is no documentation in this regard, a close examination of the paintings and their formal elements, especially on the bottom level, indicates that it might be the work of the sixteenth-century Cordoban painter Pedro Fernández Grijalbo. There are similarities with documented work by him in the cathedral such as the retablo in the chapel of the Assumption. In particular, details of the Virgen's face and ears are very similar to the Virgin Mary in the central retablo in the John the Baptist chapel. Given the formal similarities, and considering that Fernández Grijalbo was working in the cathedral in the mid-to-late sixteenth century, we believe he was the painter here as well.

The chapel's visual rhetoric exalts the family lineage. Heraldic symbols are repeated both in the grille, as mentioned, and the retablo's side sections. The interesting thing to note, however, is that the coat of arms above the right section does not actually

[60] Santiago de la Vorágine, *La Leyenda dorada*, trans. Fray José Manuel Macías (Madrid: Alianza Forma, 2016).
[61] Urquízar Herrera, *El Renacimiento en la periferia*, 100-120.

belong to Juan Sigler de Espinosa but rather to his nephews, Diego Sigler de Villena, who followed his uncle's church career, and Catalina Sigler de Villena.[62] It contains the fleur de lis on blue but adds an exterior red border with seven black wolves, thus combining the Cárdenas heraldry with his own. The explanation lies in the marriage Sigler had arranged between his niece, Catalina Sigler de Villena (Catalina de Espinosa's daughter), and Diego de Cárdenas y Guzmán, one of the most distinguished members of the Córdoban nobility. Thus, Sigler used marriage strategies to assist in his social mobility; as a result of this marriage, he promised Catalina that he would leave her his entail.[63] The marriage was a crucial piece of the strategy that eventually led the family to attain noble standing.

Conclusion

We have seen, then, that both chapels are the visual expression of power achieved by churchmen of doubtful provenance who wished to ascend the ecclesiastical ladder and obtain a noble title. The church was a means for achieving social recognition and, in the end, consolidating a noble lineage. Despite the fact that both chapels occupy space in such an important religious site as the Córdoba Cathedral, their iconography cannot be analyzed only from a religious point of view. Rather, the visual discourse in the entrance, the retablos, and the rest of the decoration must be adapted to a more complete interpretation stemming from a common theme: the manifestation of power in the modern era. The sociological concept of power is based on the existence of conflictive and asymmetrical social relations.[64] But these social relations, and the concept of power, are concretized and made material through the use of images – what we today call works of art.

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Pius IV to Philip II, bull, appointment of Diego Simancas to lead the church of Ciudad Rodrigo. Archivo General de Simancas, Patronato Real, Bulas y breves, leg. 62, doc. 83, 15 December 1564.

[62] Díaz Rodríguez, *El clero catedralicio*, 304.

[63] Juan Sigler de Espinosa's sister Catalina had three children: Diego Sigler de Villena, who followed his uncle's ecclesiastical career and was eventually replaced by Luis Ponce de León; Catalina; and Juana. The girls did well on the marriage market given that they stood to gain from the prebendary, receiving entailed properties and other dowry gifts totaling some 200,000 reales, divided down the middle; Díaz Rodríguez, *El clero catedralicio*, 304. For more on the economic history of credit, papal finance, and social mobility see Antonio Díaz Rodríguez, *El mercado curial. Bulas y negocios entre Roma y el mundo ibérico en la Edad Moderna* (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 2021).

[64] Luis Salas Almela, *Medina Sidonia. El poder de la aristocracia, 1580-1670* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2008), 15-21; also, his *The Conspiracy of the Duke of Medina Sidonia: An Aristocrat in the Crisis of the Spanish Empire*, trans. Ruth MacKay (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

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Middle-class burials in early modern Córdoba: Patrimony, advance, and memory[1]

Gonzalo J. Herreros Moya

Introduction: The aristocratic way of death

Ever since it became part of the Crown of Castile in the thirteenth century, Córdoba was a noble city, one where members of the great families held all the important posts and had all the wealth and social influence. The ancient traditions of the old capital of the Umayyad Caliphate and the enviable wealth of the fertile fields along the Guadalquivir River allowed the city to become, both symbolically and economically, one of the leading aristocratic centers of Castile. Great noble families with names such as Fernández de Córdoba, Gutiérrez de los Ríos, Argote, Cabrera, Pérez de Guzmán, Carrillo Hoces, Aguayo, Cárdenas, Valenzuela, Díaz de Morales, Muñiz de Godoy, and Saavedra created social networks that accumulated prestige and property generation after generation. In the early seventeenth century the chronicler Gonzalo de Céspedes y Meneses exclaimed, a bit excessively, of Córdoba, "it is true that today there is no city, no town in all of Europe with a cleaner and purer nobility, more *caballeros de sangre* or richer entailed estates."[2]

But throughout the early modern period members of far less eminent families were moving up the social ladder, people (often conversos) from the worlds of business, agriculture, and the bureaucracy and administration. It was a complex and mixed social group. And despite the Cordoban oligarchy's hermetic nature, some of these people – the Corral, Bañuelos, and Villalón families, for example – managed to rise and, openly or not quite, mingle among the oldest and most established members of society by the seventeenth century.[3] Others took longer to rise; their lineages eventually would obtain memberships in military orders or seats on the city council, though they remained somewhat on the margins of the old nobility; that was the

[1] This chapter is part of a research program funded by the Ministry of Science and Innovation in Spain called "La mesocracia en la Andalucía de los siglos XVI y XVII. Poder, familia y patrimonio" (PID2019-109268GB-100).

[2] Gonzalo Céspedes y Meneses, *Historias peregrinas y ejemplares* (Zaragoza, 1623), 65.

[3] Enrique Soria Mesa, "Una mesocracia judeoconversa. La presencia conversa entre los jurados de Córdoba (ss. XVI-XVII), una primera aproximación a su estudio," in Enrique Soria Mesa, ed. *La ciudad y sus legados históricos. Córdoba judía* (Córdoba: Real Academia de Córdoba, 2019), 185-214, p. 188; Gonzalo J. Herreros Moya, "De oscuros hidalgos a señores de vasallos. La construcción de la imagen de una casa nobiliaria cordobesa: los Corral, ss. XVI-XVIII," in *Actas de la XI Reunión Científica de la Fundación Española de Historia Moderna*, vol. 1 (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2012), 385-97; Vicente Porras Benito and Alfonso Porras de la Puente, *Bocetos genealógicos cordobeses* (Seville: Fabiola de Publicaciones Hispalenses, 2004), 328-45.

case with the Vera, Montesinos, Guiral, Concha, Gómez de Figueroa, Torralbo, de la Corte, and Múñoz de Velasco families. At some point that middle class made the upward leap into the oligarchy, sometimes even with a noble title.[4] In any case, they all represented a minority in comparison to the number of posts in the hands of the city's historic families, and they were never allowed to forget that they had arrived late. One indication of that is that there was very little intermarriage between the old and the new groups.

But regardless of how old their respective families were, they all shared a keen interest in the afterlife. There was not much distance between life and death during the Old Regime, a time when high mortality of many sorts meant that the expectation and management of death was part of daily life. It was not a taboo. Despite the prevalence of death, the privileged classes spent far more attention to it than peasants and the poor, for obvious reasons. They had to worry about what would happen with their property after their death, where their final resting spot would be, and which images, both personal and familiar, would remind their survivors of who they were. From kings and popes to the nobility and the high clergy, privileged men and women attended to even the smallest details of the tombs where they would rest for eternity.[5]

Last wills and testaments were the means for ensuring that secular properties such as entails, jewels, debts, etc., were properly dealt with. But wills also provided for funerals, stating where someone would be buried, how, with whom, and under what conditions. To that end the wealthy established chapels, churches, convents, monasteries, and pantheons throughout Castile; among the best-known are the monastery of San Lorenzo del Escorial, for the royal family; the Ripoll for the counts of Besalú y Barcelona; the *colegiata* of Osuna for the dukes of that name, the monastery of Santa Clara for the Moguer family, and the Salvador Chapel for the Cobos family in Úbeda. Each of them was thought out with the same attention as the Egyptian pyramids. A grand and dignified burial was, possibly, the only material way of overcoming death. Until wars began destroying its mortuary patrimony, Spain at the end of the Old Regime was an unending pantheon of the powerful, both individuals and lineages.

Enter the middle class

When social historians have considered the funerary landscape, they generally overlook the middle class. There is not much secondary research, and the primary documents can be slippery. *Mesocracia* signifies a government led by the middle class; we are defining that term in the Old Regime as a group of individuals but above all of families situated in the upper ranks of the Third Estate who had links with the

[4] Carmen Fernández-Daza Álvarez, "La familia política de Francisco Fernández Golfín: una aproximación al vizcondado de La Montesina," in *Juan Meléndez Valdés y su tiempo en Tierra de Barros en el bicentenario de su muerte (1817-2017). Actas de las IX Jornadas de Historia de Almendralejo y Tierra de Barros* (Almendralejo: Asociación Histórica de Almendralejo, 2018), 221-52.

[5] Philip Ariès, *La muerte en Occidente*, trans. Josep Elias (Barcelona: Argos Vergara, 1982).

lower ranks of the higher privileged estates above them. We could use the simple term bourgeoisie, but the term is not precise, unlike peasantry and the aristocracy, which are more clearly defined.[6]

The boundaries of the middle class are difficult to pin down being that at the lower end they might be somewhat well-off liberal professionals or artisans and at the high end they might have managed to cross over to the nobility. But in Córdoba it can best be compared to the oligarchy or local nobility, in terms of origins, economic activities, and honors. The core of the class were merchants, notaries, and lawyers, many of them conversos.[7] But over the years they managed to occupy nearly all the *jurado* posts in the city council, a representative post just below that of council member (*regidor*).[8] They also held jobs in the Holy Office of the Inquisition such as familiar, notary, commissioner, and bailiff. Their businesses or bureaucratic jobs brought them money, while being a jurado or a familiar brought them social standing and prestige. Brothers of clergymen might be deans, they might have benefices, or work as parish chaplains, making up what we might call the lower or middle clergy.

Another component of the middle class were religious confraternities and brotherhoods. Some of them, such as Caridad, demanded proof of clean blood for membership, a way of hiding the fact that many of its members had humble if not stained genealogies. Many merchants, notaries, and jurados, with their knowledge of law and accounting, might also expand into management of noble homes and estates, permitting advantageous social interaction. Córdoba furthermore had an aspect that may well be unique in Castile, which was the participation of silversmiths in the middle class. In general, artisans inhabited several rungs below the middle class, but silverwork was lucrative for top artisans, and in Córdoba it enjoyed (and still enjoys) great prestige.

Though there were families of notaries, silversmiths, and jurados, the more common arrangement was that these professions would be scattered among different generations between cousins and brothers in the same generation, or in just one person. There was considerable inbreeding among dozens of middle-class families, creating networks that ended up linking them throughout the centuries. Intermarriage (among cousins and other relatives, as in the nobility and the royalty) was accompanied by professional, economic, and geographic kinship.

I begin with some examples of this Cordoban middle-class chessboard. In 1639 Marcos Damián – a jurado who had also been a public notary in Córdoba and the town of Posadas, and furthermore was the son of a notary, Fernando Martínez de Córdoba –

[6] Germán Prieto Escudero, "Mesocracia y política," *Revista de estudios políticos* 186 (1972), 211-30.

[7] Miguel Ángel Extremera Extremera, "El ascenso frustrado. De una mesocracia emergente a una burguesía ausente (Córdoba, 1500-1800)," *Historia y Genealogía* 1 (2011), 23-39.

[8] Joaquín Centeno Yáñez, *Los jurados de Córdoba, 1454-1579. Estudio jurídico institucional* (Córdoba: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Córdoba, 2000).

wrote his will. He was married to María de Galarza, the daughter of a jurado named Alonso López de Galarza, and with her he had four children: Fernando Martínez de Galarza, a clergyman; Juan Díaz de Galarza, who had inherited a public notary business from his father; Catalina de Galarza, married to Juan Fernández de Eslava, also a notary, and remarried when she was widowed to Francisco Rodríguez de la Cruz, also a member of a notary family; and, finally, Luisa de Galarza, who married Francisco Ortiz de Requena, a jurado in Córdoba.[9] Eight years later Martín de Flores Villafranca, an Inquisition notary and jurado in the San Andrés neighborhood, also wrote his will. He asked that he be buried in the San Lorenzo parish in the tomb of his father-in-law, jurado Pedro de Cañete, the father of his second wife.[10] We also know he was farming land owned by noblemen, including the Villaseca family, and that he acted as a proxy or agent in the business matters of the Pérez de Guzmán family (one of the highest ranking noble families in Andalusia) and the House of Teba.[11]

At the same time, Juan de Vargas, an Inquisition familiar, married his daughter Victoria to Juan de Jerez y Luna, a public notary, and his other daughter, María, to Pablo Carrasco Ladrón de Guevara, a wealthy linen merchant who was also a jurado and treasurer of the Sangre de Jesucristo confraternity, which enforced a clean-blood statute.[12] Pablo's son, the merchant Diego Agustín Carrasco, married Melchora de Vargas, daughter of Antonio de Vargas, a jurado and an Inquisition familiar. Among their contemporaries were Luis Cuellar Polaino, an officer of the Vera Cruz confraternity, and his brother Juan, a silversmith and an agent for the marquisate of Priego. Juan's daughter, María de Cuellar, married Pedro Damas de Luque, the son of a notary named Nicolás Damas and the great-grandson of Pedro Damas, a silversmith.[13] Another of Juan's sons was Juan de Cuellar Polaino, a member of the San Simón y San Judas confraternity. Another of his daughters was Luisa de Cuellar Polaino, who married Pedro Cota Castillejo, a jurado and a notary, whose father was a rich converso merchant named Bartolomé Sánchez de Cota, who also was a jurado. Luisa and Pedro's son was Bartolomé de Cota Castillejo, a jurado of Córdoba, member of the Santísimo Sacramento confraternity of the cathedral and administrator for several noble families in the city. María de Urbano y Berlanga, meanwhile, was the daughter of Juan de Urbano, a member of the Caridad confraternity, whose parents were Andrés de Urbano, a silversmith and familiar, and María de Berlanga y Carrasquilla, who in turn was the daughter of linen merchant Juan de Carrasquilla and María Fustero. María de Urbano y Berlanga was the second wife of silversmith Pedro de Alcántara.[14]

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[9] Archivo Histórico Provincial de Córdoba [hereafter AHPCO), leg. 14.969, 1649, fol. 890.

[10] AHPCO leg. 13.743, 1647, fol. 135.

[11] AHPCO leg. 10.150, 1641, fol. 26v; leg. 10.110, 1643, fol. 416; leg. 10.120, 1646, fol. 319; and leg. 11.875, 1656, fol. 703.

[12] AHPCO leg. 16.303, 1652, fol. 1223.

[13] Miguel Ángel Extremera Extremera, *El notariado en la España Moderna. Los escribanos públicos de Córdoba (siglos XVI-XIX)* (Murcia: Calambur, 2009), 396.

[14] Archivo de la Diputación Provincial de Córdoba [hereafter ADPC], Cofradía de la Caridad, expedientes LS1, prueba de doña María de Urbano y Berlanga (1656).

Date	Person	Noble house
First half 17th century	Juan de Cuellar Polaino, silversmith	Agent, marquisate of Priego, dukes of Feria
Late 17th century, early 18th century	Bartolomé de Cota y Castillejo, grandson of Juan de Cuellar	Administrator, marquisate of Villar and counts of Fuentes del Sauco; moneylender to counts of Hornachuelos
Early 18th century	Juan Junguito y Luna, lawyer, son and brother of public notaries	Corregidor in Montoro by appointment of dukes of Alba
Mid-18th century	Pedro de Morales Fregenal, Inquisition minister	Administrator, lords of Torre Albaén and Prado Castellano
	Antonio de Molina y Avedaño, relative of merchants and notaries	Administrator, house of Carpio, belonging to dukes of Alba
	Francisco Fernández de Cañeta, lawyer in the Royal Council, son and grandson of notaries	Corregidor for dukes of Huéscar, part of the house of Alba
	Andrés de Baena y Hermoso, public notary	Administrator, entails of Francisco Pineda de las Infantas and José Pérez de Guzmán el Bueno
2nd half 18th century	José de Mesa Sabariego, relative of notaries, Holy Office officials	Administrator, marquisate of Almodóvar

Table 1. Middle-class management of noble estates.
Source: AHPCO and Archivo Histórico de la Nobleza (hereafter AHNobleza).

In 1664 two merchants agreed to establish a silver business; they were Sebastián Sánchez de la Cruz Jimena, a Córdoba jurado, and his son Francisco Sánchez de la Cruz Jimena, who would later be an Inquisition familiar and member of the Santa Caridad confraternity.[15] Francisco's oldest daughter, Juana de la Cruz, married Andrés Barrera, another familiar, and her second son, Diego de la Cruz, at the age of nineteen was already a *racionero* (a church dignitary) of the cathedral.[16] In the early eighteenth century, two Córdoban inhabitants, Alonso Pérez Caballero and his son Rafael, were both Inquisition familiars, jurados, and and prosecutors for the Santa Cruzada.[17] A few decades later jurado Gregorio de la Cuesta was a member of the silversmiths' confraternity.[18] Diego del Hoyo Tafur, another silversmith, was also a jurado of Córdoba and member of the Caridad confraternity, and his 1761 will stated that his son Pedro, a master silversmith, was an Inquisition familiar.[19] And at the end of the Old Regime, in 1792 Marcela de Vilches and her husband, Bernardo de Cáceres, a silversmith, signed their last wills and testaments; Marcela's brothers, Francisco and Rafael, were

[15] AHPCO leg. 13.822, 1682, fol. 321.
[16] He was elected in 1711; AHPCO leg. 10.596, fol. 153.
[17] Rafael's will, 1711, AHPCO leg. 10.696, fol. 86. The Santa Cruzada, or Holy Crusade, was a lucrative bull granted to Spain.
[18] The will (1753), AHPCO leg. 9.786, fol. 834.
[19] The will (1761), AHPCO, leg. 11.582, fol. 252.

both jurados and master silversmiths.[20] They were all children of Gabriel Vicente de Vilches, a public notary.[21]

These examples make it clear that merchants, notaries, silversmiths, jurados, and Inquisition familiars all shared a common social world during the early modern era, in Castile in general and in Córdoba in particular.[22] It was an extensive and varied society, though smaller in size than the unprivileged sectors. It reaped economic rewards from local social and economic networks, and was exceeded in that regard only by the old nobility, with whom they frequently had dealings. Jurados and regidores were the government; notaries were the necessary tool allowing elites to legalize their transactions; merchants provided goods and loans to the old monied class; Inquisition familiars sat with members of the military orders during autos-da-fé or in Corpus Christi processions and they were all participants in confraternities, masses, and processions. Though there may have been important differences between the old oligarchs and the new middle class in terms of wealth, they still shared public spaces, which lent them authority over all the rest.

Death on public view

During the Old Regime it was not enough to be something; one had to appear to be something as well. In fact, the latter was more important: "Appearance was often an excellent way of assimillating into the social world of the ruling groups."[23] Dozens of leading middle-class families did not settle for controlling much of the economy or the events of the city; they also had to display their position and, if possible, appear as more than they really were. To that end, they used longer and longer surnames, spent lots of money on clothing and domestic servants, built large homes, invested in or invented their *hidalguía* and, to the best of their economic abilities, constructed tombs so that their memories might live on.

Burials as emulation

Funerals, and all that they entailed, was where middle-class families best displayed their anxiety and their need to show that they were, indeed, part of the local elite. Before the late-eighteenth-century reign of Charles III, when city walls were torn down, Catholics could be buried either in cemeteries alongside the outside walls of each parish or inside a church, whether it be a cathedral, parish church, monastery,

[20] AHPCO, leg. 15.773, 1792, fol. 421.

[21] AHPCO, leg. 11.581, 1759, fol. 104, will of Ana de Cea Cortés y Berlanga.

[22] Enrique Soria Mesa, "Una mesocracia judeoconversa. La presencia conversa entre los jurados de Córdoba (ss. XVI-XVII), una primera aproximación a su estudio," in Soria Mesa, ed., *La ciudad y sus legados*, 185-214.

[23] Enrique Soria Mesa, "Tomando nombres ajenos. La usurpación de apellidos como estrategia de ascenso social en el seno de la élite granadina durante la época moderna," in Enrique Soria Mesa, Juan Jesús Bravo Caro, and José Miguel Delgado Barrado, eds, *Las élites en la época moderna; la monarquía española* (Córdoba: Universidad de Córdoba), 9-27.

or convent. During the Middle Ages the privilege of being buried on sacred ground was reserved for the most important figures in society: royalty, high nobility, popes, cardenals, and other leaders of the Church. The closer one was to sacred ground, it was thought, the quicker one's salvation might be. Enormous funerary sculptures with recumbent and praying figures were erected in churches throughout Christendom.[24]

Over time, the desire to have one's final resting place indoors near the sanctuary began being shared by the slightly lower classes, and so during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries members of the lower nobility and lower clergy began being buried there. Obviously, they could not compete with great lords and churchmen when it came to elaborate and ostentatious tombs, nor could they pay for expensive statues and retablos, but they did manage to mark the social difference between themselves and everyone in the cemetery, which accounted for over 90 percent of the population.

If a family of notaries, jurados, merchants, or silversmiths wanted to set themselves apart from other commoners and assimilate into the elite, the best investment they could make was to obtain a burial site inside a church. Unlike military orders, which required proof of clean blood or of nobility, all that was required to be buried indoors was money, which was no problem at all for the people I have been describing. The Church did not have social, bureaucratic, or genealogical filters for something like a tomb. Anyone could get one. And the purely religious aspect of a tomb, whether in the village church or a cathedral, was very useful for cleaning up the abundant Jewish blood of the middle class. Who could possibly be accused of being a Jew if they were buried beneath a retablo of Christ or alongside an image of the Virgin Mary?

Throughout the sixteenth century we can see that old and new money had identical customs when it came to death: long wills ordering many Masses, pre-arranged burial plans, pious bequests, charitable donations, and religious foundations.[25] In the end, the great lords' wills were not that different than those of converso notaries, given the latters' need to appear like the former. This was a long process, however. In order to best understand how the middle class used death as a means of upward social mobility, one must identify the various tendencies and phases of the process.

Manners of burial

Regardless of the deceased's social class, whether they were old nobility or middle class, there were, roughly speaking, three approaches to being buried inside a church:

a) Burial in a simple space or vault in a particular part of the floor that generally was marked with stones of variable size. The cathedral, parish church,

[24] Gonzalo Jesús Herreros Moya, "La muerte en las clases privilegiadas cordobesas durante la Edad Moderna," in Ana Ruiz Osuna, ed., *La muerte en Córdoba: creencias, ritos y cementerios* (Córdoba: Real Academia de Córdoba, 2022), 187-220.

[25] Enrique Soria Mesa and José María García Ríos, "Buscando la inmortalidad. Fundaciones vinculares a la hora de la muerte (Córdoba, ss. XVI-XVIII)," in Ruiz Osuna, ed., *La muerte en Córdoba*, 165-86.

monastery, or convent directly gave the person *ius sepelendi*, the right to be buried there, with no further obligations on either part. In these cases, both the individual and his or her relatives were included.

b) Burial linked to a particular chapel or altar, including bequests of Masses, by the individual or her heirs. This situation is a substantial step up from the prior option given that in addition to paying for a burial space there was a commitment to finance the surroundings (retablo, grille, images, paintings, etc.), religious ceremonies, participation of the relevant clergy, and upkeep of the space in question down through the generations. In exchange, the testator had the right to a much more visible space where they could display coats of arms and where relatives would be able to pray for the souls of their deceased family. The patron or founder of a chaplaincy and his or her heirs had to provide for maintenance of the space and appoint priests to say Mass. Hundreds or thousands of chaplaincies were established through the centuries; though they constituted a modest sort of economic or juridical institution, they permitted the celebration of rites in many chapels and altars and provided a living to thousands of priests, who often were relatives of the founder or his successors.[26] In short, this burial option entailed more responsibility but provided appealing advantages in terms of family identity and image. In Córdoba, members of the old aristocracy began establishing funerary altars and chapels already in the late thirteenth century, and the practice grew throughout the following two centuries.

c) Patronage or sponsorship. This is the larger version of the previous option. Here a religious institution ceded to an individual (the patron) a series of privileges and jurisdictions over a particularly important sacred space, normally the main chapel or another equally significant part of a church. It was different both in importance and size from a chaplaincy established in a mere altar; it was more visible and more opulent. The nature of the patronage itself also was distinct, involving a licence from the Church, not merely a voluntary and spontaneous gesture by an individual. It also, of course, involved the establishment of chaplaincies for prayer, which tended to be more lavish than the prior examples. The most elaborate version of this third option would be the ex novo establishment of a convent or monastery by a member of the elite who would finance the construction and the entire project. This participation generally went hand-in-hand with church patronage and the right to be buried there.

Regardless of which formula was used, the most humble or the most ambitious, the Church was always compensated, usually with money, in exchange for ceding a burial space. It was a trade disguised as a donation. But it also could be considered

[26] Gonzalo Jesús Herreros Moya, “Así en la tierra como en el cielo. Aproximación al estudio de las capellanías en la Edad Moderna: entre la trascendencia y la política familiar. El caso de Córdoba,” *Historia y Genealogía* 2 (2012), 111-41.

Date	Person	Place	Formula	Notes
1603	Juana Cortés de los Reyes, wife of Lorenzo de San Juan, rich merchant	Convento de Santa Victoria	Sale	Used husband's mortages; offered to build a chapel and altar with a retablo of Our Lady of Rosario.
1642	Pablos Carrasco Ladrón de Guevara, merchant	Convento de San Agustín	Donation	Agrees to make stone façade and altar, plus 400 reales in limosna.
1646	Juan Esteban de Torequemada, jurado	Chapel of Nuestra Señora de Piedad, Convento de la Merced	Donation	Repairs and a retablo
1649	Andrés Francisco Vázquez, farmer, and his wife, Andrea Ruiz	Tomb in the Santísimo Sacramento nave, in front of the holy water font by the Resurrection chapel.	Donation	300 reales limosna
1649	Manuel de Novoa, presbyter, bishop's secretary	Burial in the San Roque convent by the high altar next to the Gospel	Donation	100 reales limosna
1651	Juan de Luque Leiva	Burial in Convento de San Agustín	Donation	Given to him for his "generosity and affection for this convent"
1656	Juan Pérez Pimentel, jurado	Cathedral, in front of Holy Martyrs chapel	Donation	600 reales limosna
1667	Luis de Roa y Uceda, jurado	San Pedro el Real	Donation	Unspecified, though noted he is "generous with ordinary and extraordinary limosna"
1671	María de Ávila y Murillo, wife of Miguel Martín de Cáceres	Santa Marina parish at the feet of the main chapel.	Donation	10 ducats
1685	Juan Parrón de Arjona, inquisitor	Cathedral	Donation	50 ducats limosna
1706	Clemente de Benavente y Muñoz, presbyter	Cathedral, Villaviciosa nave	Donation	800 reales de limosna (nearly 73 ducats)
1714	José Antonio Daza, presbyter and porter of the cathedral	Cathedral, by the Gospel on the San Antonio de Padua altar.	Donation	"whatever limosna the cathedral *obrero* indicates"

Table 2. Middle-class acquisition of tombs in Cordoba (17th-18th centuries).
Sources: AHPCO and Archivo General del Obispado de Córdoba (AGOC).

a purchase, given the substantial amount of money handed over by the future decedent, albeit in the form of a *limosna*, or donation. In exchange, recipients were expected to decorate, improve, and take care of these spaces, which accrued a benefit to those responsible for the church, convent, or monastery.

It is appropriate, then, to refer to a sort of funerary capitalism. The more desirable locations required larger donations. For example, Clemente de Benavente Muñoz, cathedral prebendary and an inspector of the bishopric, died in 1706. He had asked to be buried in the Villaviciosa chapel, which had been the cathedral's main chapel. But he had no particular site, and his status would not have sufficed to achieve such an honor. But after he provided eight hundred reales for the maintenance of the church in the form of a limosna, his wish could come true.[27] In contrast, a burial site in a less desirable and more remote corner of the cathedral could be had for three hundred reales, which was what a farmer, Andrés Fernández Vázquez, donated in 1649.[28] And the cost was even less if one wanted one's burial in a less distinguished building, as shown with the case of Manuel de Novoa that same year; he was a benefice of Fuente Obejuna and secretary to Bishop Pimental, and for just one hundred reales he obtained a burial site in the Carmelite College of San Roque, "by the base of the main altar next to the Gospel."[29] A similar amount got María de Ávila y Murillo, the widow of Miguel Martín de Cáceres, a site in the Santa Marina parish church in 1671, though instead of pretending it was a donation, the amount was recorded as a sale.[30]

The first middle-class burials in holy ground

Though the middle class's gradual consolidation as a monied and powerful group in Córdoba was slow, the first instances of notaries, silversmiths, and jurados being buried inside dates from quite early. The initial cases we know of were of the first type outlined above; they were simple underground vaults beneath the main chapel or elsewhere with no ornamentation aside from a marble headstone on the floor. The documentation and what we can observe first-hand shows that those early graves left little for posterity aside from the relevant names, dates, and perhaps a profession.

For example, in the cathedral itself we have the tomb of Juan Damas, grandfather of Juan Damas, a public notary, dated 1506; Alonso Rodríguez, a merchant, who was buried in 1552 beneath a small white marble stone; Francisco Cota, buried in 1558 in front of the sanctuary, also with a white marble stone; Andrés Díaz, a silversmith, buried in 1560, where he would be joined by his heirs; and, a few meters away, Pedro Gómez Castillejo, a public notary, buried in 1563. Similarly, in the San Pablo monastery we have the final resting place of Pedro Fernández de Escobar, a silversmith, and his niece Andrea de Escobar, married to Diego Fernández Camacho; this is the only such tomb with a coat of arms, which was unusual for their social class.

Notarial documents from the era offer us many similar cases. One example provides evidence of a spat over burial plots in the El Salvador parish church (no longer

[27] AHPCO, leg. 16.056, fol. 88.
[28] AHPCO, leg. 16.065, fol. 2.
[29] AHPCO, leg. 16.065, fol. 165.
[30] AHPCO, leg. 13.991, fol. 151.

standing). The deed, from 1591, shows that Alonso Fernández de Córdova, who lived in Córdoba and came from a family of notaries, had three burial plots near the main chapel of the church. He wanted to join them together into one large plot, but construction had damaged several contiguous plots. A merchant named Salvador de Cáceres complained that the job was "next to a gravesite that I have in the said chapel, and was carried out without a license and has caused me damage and prejudice."[31] Beyond the particulars of the case itself, we can see that the central space of one of the city's fourteen parish churches contained gravesites already in the sixteenth century and that they were in the hands of people who had nothing to do with the nobility or the clergy. Their income was drawn from bureaucratic and business dealings, and they were already emulating the privileged classes in seeking burial inside.

This was merely the first step. Obviously, tombs belong-ing to Córdoba's oligarchy were more elaborate and impressive. The entire southern and western sections of the cathedral, for example, were full of sumptuous funeral chapels filled to the brim with retablos, grilles, paintings, and crests of the city's leading families, names such as Aguayo, Fernández de Córdoba, Carillo, and Argote.[32] The simple stones of notaries and merchants could not compete. At least not yet.

The first chapels in the cathedral

A few generations later, during the first third of the seventeenth century, we can see an important increase in new and elaborate burial sites by the middle class inside the cathedral itself. The key year in this regard was 1612, when the *cabildo*, the governing assembly of the cathedral, donated plots to a group of people of a similar socioeconomic group. Most of the sites were on the northern wall, which at that point had no chapels. On August 13, Martín Gómez de Aragón, a rich converso merchant and jurado, was given permission to construct a new chapel. He also brought with him his father-in-law's altar.[33] Two weeks later, the cabildo gave another space to Juan Jiménez de Bonilla, an Inquisition familiar, where he and his heirs could be buried; he was followed by Andrés Chirino de Morales, a racionero who moved in merchant circles and was descended from Jews. In October the beneficiary was Gonzalo Muñoz, a very rich converso jurado who had died two years earlier.[34] During the following five years that part of the cathedral would see the addition of the Epiphany chapel, built by racionero Baltasar de Nájera (1614); the chapel of San Eulogio, belonging to

[31] AHPCO, leg. 12.410, unfoliated, 22 May 1591.

[32] María de los Ángeles Jordano Barbudo, "Linajes de Córdoba en las capillas funerarias medievales de la Mezquita-Catedral," *Meridies* 5-6 (2002), 155-70.

[33] The father-in-law was named Alonso Cazalla; Francisco I. Quevedo Sánchez, "Estrategias familiares con fines económicos y sociales. El caso del jurado cordobés Martín Gómez de Aragón," *Historia y Genealogía* 3 (2013), 65-82.

[34] Gonzalo Jesús Herreros Moya, "La reconstrucción del patrimonio judeoconverso. La familia, la casa solariega y la capilla catedralicia de los Muñoz de Velasco en Córdoba," *Historia y Genealogia* 8 (2018), 206-30.

Dr. Andrés de Rueda Rico, archdeacon of Castro and consultant (*consultor*) of the Holy Office, also a converso (1618); and, later on, the chapel of San Esteban, belonging to the merchant silversmith Fernando de Soto, who, though he had received the space much earlier, only finished it in 1648, a few months before his death.[35]

As should be obvious, all these people shared certain characteristics: they were middle class (jurados, familiars, racioneros, merchants, conversos) but by this time had obtained enough wealth and social influence to be able to ask for and receive a funeral chapel in the most important church in the diocese, just meters away from where the ancestors of the mightiest aristocratic families lay. "*Escudos pintan escudos*," laughed the great poet Luis de Góngora, and indeed they all had coats of arms at the entrance of the chapel or inside.[36] That was their great triumph, as no one seemed to notice the enormous gap between the two groups in terms of their origins. Together in the same sacred space, recent arrivals managed to appear equal to the old nobility.

Around twenty convents and monasteries were established by private parties in Córdoba in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, most of them by noble families. But there are two instances in which the initiative came from members of the middle class. Toward the end of the sixteenth century, Juan de Arriaza y Cañete, a racionero, wished to build a chapel in the cathedral; he was unsucessful, but he did manage to construct a large funerary and devotional project.[37] In 1590, as the chapel was being built, he established Nuestra Señora de la Paz, a monastery in the old Alcázar, for the Basilians. There he could bury his family, a long line of jurados and notaries, who since the end of the fifteenth century had owned a modest burial site before the San Gregorio Magno altar in the cathedral.[38]

The second case was that of the Dominican convent of San Martín, founded by jurado Martín Gómez de Aragón, mentioned above. Unsatisfied with the chapel and burial site in the cathedral, in his 1635 will he directed that a monastery be established in front of the San Nicolás de la Villa church and that his relatives be patrons of the new institution.[39] It stood for two centuries, lasting to the 1840s, when the disentailment and dissolution of monasteries by the first liberal governments in Spain led to its demolition.[40]

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[35] Manuel Nieto Cumplido, *La Catedral de Córdoba* (Córdoba: Servicio de Publicaciones de Cajasur, 2007), 420, 482.

[36] Luis de Góngora, "Dineros son calidad" (1601). The lines contain a play on words, as escudos means both a type of currency and a coat of arms.

[37] Nieto Cumplido, *La Catedral de Córdoba*, 482.

[38] Extremera Extremera, *El notariado en la España Moderna*, 393; Porras Benito, *Bocetos genealógicos*, 328-50.

[39] Quevedo Sánchez, "Estrategias familiares," 65-82.

[40] María Yllescas Ortiz y Juan Dobado Fernández, *Córdoba, ciudad conventual* (Córdoba: Ayuntamiento de Córdoba, Diputación de Córdoba, Cabildo de la Catedral de Córdoba, 2014), 169.

The proliferation of altars

The developments outlined above reached their high point in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, with massive acquisitions of burial sites and patronage of small chapels and altars in churches throughout the city. The historic local nobility bought hardly any new spaces given that they had acquired them decades or centuries earlier. The immense majority of the new sites in roughly 1650-1750 were assigned to middle-class families.

Aside from the dozens of examples we know about through last wills and testaments, many of these artistic jewels have survived, scattered throughout the city. It is a long list, among which are the funeral monuments of the Sánchez Castillejo family in Fuensanta; the Carrasco Ladrón de Guevara family in San Agustín; the Gómez de Montoro family in San Pablo; the Vargas Machuca Maldonado family in the Trinitarians; the Torralbo Orbaneja family in San Cayetano; the Almagro y Cárdenas sisters in Padres de Gracia; the Molina Avendaño family in San Lorenzo; and the Sanllorente, Sánchez Estaquero, and Fernández Castril families in San Pedro el Real.[41]

Archival documents and evidence we can see with our own eyes confirm that the city's two great monasteries for men, the Dominican San Pablo el Real and, especially, the Franciscan San Pedro el Real, both established shortly after the thirteenth-century conquest, attracted the greatest number of middle-class chapels, altars, and tombs.[42] Most of those in San Pablo have disappeared, but San Pedro el Real, which today is the parish of San Francisco y San Eulogio, has around ten surviving altars, legacies of merchants and conversos who saw these sacred investments as the best way of assimilating and hiding their past.

In addition to those that survived in the principal nave, written deeds show that the cloister and sacristy were also full of middle-class burial sites. In 1683 the merchant Diego Jerez y Luna, son of a notary, wished to be buried next to his wife and brother-in-law in the San Pedro cloister even though he could also "do so in the tombs where my parents and grandparents are buried in the Royal Convent of San Pablo and the parish church of San Nicolás de la Axerquía."[43] Another merchant, Agustín Díaz de las Granas, in his 1632 will asked that he be buried in the San Francisco cloister in the plot where Alonso Franco, his brother-in-law, lay.[44] In 1701, Magdalena de la Rosa, widow of Pedro Antonio de Góngora and part of a family of public notaries, asked to be buried in the cloister of the Vera Cruz, just outside the chapel.[45] A half-century later, Juan de Cáceres Berlanga, chief bailiff of the Holy Crusade and member of a large

[41] Gonzalo Jesús Herreros Moya, "Escudos pintan escudos: heráldica de judeoconversos y mercaderes en Córdoba en la Edad Moderna," *Mediterranea. Ricerche storiche* 46 (August 2019), 349-82.

[42] Yllescas Ortiz and Dobado Fernández, *Córdoba*, 36-37.

[43] AHPCO, leg. 13.822, 1683, fol. 752.

[44] Archivo Histórico de la Nobleza [hereafter AHNobleza), Luque, c. 78, doc. 11.

[45] AHPCO, leg. 10.583, fol. 370.

family of notaries, asked to be buried "in the chapel and burial ground of my family, where my parents and grandparents are buried, which is in the main cloister next to the fountain at the entrance of the Real Convento de San Francisco."[46] Juan Antonio de Molina y Rosal, an officer of the Holy Office, and his wife built a chapel and tomb in the sacristy of San Francisco in the latter half of the seventeenth century, where later on their grandson, Lorenzo José Camacho y del Rosal, by then a very old man, was buried in 1791.[47]

Aside from the qualitative and quantitative increase in the number of funerary altars and retablos constructed by members of the middle class, there is another indication of their desire to consolidate their rise in society: Unlike tombs from the mid-sixteenth century, newer gravestones and markers do not feature words such as "merchant" or "notary," even when that was exactly what the occupants of the graves had been. Rather, we find their honors listed: they were jurados, Inquisition familiars, or members of religious confraternities requiring clean blood – and preferably all these things at once.

In the mid-seventeenth century, for example, Pablo Carrasco Ladrón de Guevara did not mention that he was a merchant, only that he was a jurado and treasurer of the Holy Crusade.[48] The same occurred with Andrés Fernández de Cárdenas, an Inquisition familiar and notary, member of the Caridad confraternity and jurado of Córdoba, whose surname, Cárdenas, was the maternal name, which sounded more elegant than the paternal surname, Corral.[49] Fernández de Cárdenas upon his death was worth 158,167 reales, according to notarial papers, or more than 14,000 ducats.[50] Names were increasingly accompanied by the *don* or *doña* that conferred upon them the glitter of social prestige that made them seem more like the elites.

What are these retablos and pantheons, after all, but a miniature version of the funerary chapels and convents established by the old medieval nobility? The newer ones were more modest, obviously, but the logic, arrangements, and impact was exactly the same. Amid all the pomp of death, what commoner would know if those buried in San Pedro el Real were simple jurados or heirs of the marquis of Guadalcazar? Both, after all, were in the same place, inside the church, surrounded by signs of mourning and heraldry.

For economic and family reasons, the middle class could not perfectly mimic the sumptuous funerals performed by the old nobility in centuries past. But it did, during the end of the Hapsburg period and into the eighteenth century, manage to stage visible and quite accomplished burials, though with different forms. Considering

[46] AHPCO, leg. 13.704, 1749, fol. 268.
[47] AHPCO, leg. 15.772, 1791, fol. 104.
[48] AHPCO, leg. 944, exp. 1.
[49] AHPCO, leg. 16.305, fol. 892.
[50] AHPCO, leg. 16.306, fol. 1248.

that most people assumed they would be buried outside their local church with the bare minimum of production or decoration, exposure to the elements, and at a distance from the church's holy sites, being buried indoors was an important way of demonstrating one's social influence and generosity. It may be that those buried inside were not marquises or members of the Military Order of Santiago, but they had sufficient money, ambition, and goals to have gained respect and consideration by monks or priests, enough to gain a small bit of pavement beneath which their bones and the bones of their progeny might rest, making them all appear to have a significant social rank. Naturally there is a huge difference between a count with his own convent and an Inquisition familiar who has just a modest retablo. But they were both inside the church, which meant they shared some of the same prestige and privilege. In the end, the meaningful difference was not so much the sumptuousness or the amount of jasper on one's tomb; it was the fact of being indoors, inside a church. That was the true social boundary of death between the powerful and everyone else.

At times, as we have seen, placement inside was arranged before the founder died, but sometimes negotiations took longer. Sometimes the results were what the decedent wished for, and other times their heirs had to make the decisions. One example was the case of Diego Sánchez Estaquero, a jurado, Inquisition familiar, and resident (*vecino*) of San Nicolás de la Axerquia. His 1668 will said:

> I am asking that I be given a chapel and burial in the church of San Pedro el Real, of the Franciscan order, in this city, and I hope to achieve this. My wish is that when God, Our Lord decides to take me from this life, my body be buried in the tomb that I hereby request.[51]

His wish came true, and when he died in 1675 the retablo and alter he had ordered in the principal nave of the church were finished. They are still there today.

Other burials: confraternities and brotherhoods

The middle class also frequently planned to be buried in vaults inside the buildings or shrines of religious brotherhoods and confraternities. Indeed, it was as common for jurados, familiars, silversmiths, and notaries to be buried in family tombs as it was for them to lie in vaults belonging to brotherhoods.

Starting in the Middle Ages, dozens of confraternities with various missions (devotion, aid, guilds, penitence) appeared and grew throughout the city based in parishes, convents and monasteries, hermitages, and hospitals. Each had its own socio-religious purpose, its own patron saint or particular form of devotion, statues confirmed by church authorities, and some sort of chapel or church.[52] After the Council of Trent,

[51] AHPCO, leg. 13.998, fol. 151.

[52] Teresa Criado Vega, *Poder y actividad asistencial en la Castilla Bajomedieval y Moderna. La cofradía cordobesa de La Caridad* (Córdoba: Diputación de Córdoba, 2014).

parish confraternities (such as the Santísimo Sacramento, Rosario, and las Ánimas) grew in number and size. For all of them, Holy Week was the most important religious celebration.

Upon first glance, it might seem that testators who wished to be buried in a collective tomb in their confraternity represented the lowest sectors of the middle class and that they chose this option simply to ensure that their remains would lie in a holy site. But upon reading hundreds of wills it becomes apparent that there was much more going on behind such a wish.

In Córdoba a dozen confraternities maintained clean blood statutes, meaning that, given how loose the process was, being a member of Caridad or Corpus Christi was a straightforward way of cleansing one's Jewish past. I found dozens of high-ranking members of brotherhoods and confraternities who were obviously from the middle class, men who were notaries, jurados, familiars, and silversmiths.

Confraternities had distinct identities that often overlapped with social or family networks. One example – which cannot be extrapolated to all the rest, but which nonetheless is indicative – involves a document signed by the superior (*hermano mayor*) of the hospital and confraternity of Nuestra Señora de la Consolación and by his colleagues in the leadership (*seises*). The signatories were Francisco Rodríguez de Almoguera, chaplain and hermano mayor; and Diego Sánchez Estaquero, Juan López Camacho, Bartolomé Fernández Barrionuevo, Pedro Ruiz Castellanos, Juan de Pineda, Diego Sánchez Estaquero *el mozo* (meaning the younger), Juan Cuadrado del Álamo, and Mateo Cuadrado del Álamo.[53] Diego Sánchez Estaquero was an Inquisition familiar, jurado, and merchant and years later would become hermano mayor;[54] Pedro Ruiz Castellanos was a first cousin and in-law of Diego Sánchez de Estaquero *el mayor* (the elder) as well as the father-in-law of Juan Cuadrado del Álamo, who was an Inquisition familiar; Cuadrado, meanwhile, was the brother-in-law of Diego Sánchez Estaquero *el mozo*. Mateo Cuadrado del Álamo was a familiar and, obviously Juan Cuadrado's brother, and the latter proved the cleanliness of his blood to his confraternity, San Bartolomé, in 1654.[55]

None of this is surprising, but nor is it trivial. It shows clearly how people used these positions and posts in the context of that cultural and collective imaginary. Some of these institutions, such as Caridad and Jesús Nazareno hospitals, were closely tied to the old nobility, so they coexisted in the same sphere of power and prestige.[56] Middle-

[53] AHPCO, leg. 10.109, fol. 224.
[54] AHPCO, leg. 13.978, 1658, fol. 422.
[55] AHPCO, leg. 16.036, fol. 714.
[56] Juan Aranda Doncel, "Cofradías y asistencia social en la diócesis de Córdoba durante los siglos XVI y XVII: las hermandades de la Santa Caridad," in Francisco Javier Campos y Fernández de Sevilla, *La Iglesia española y las instituciones de caridad* (San Lorenzo del Escorial: Real Centro Universitario Escorial-María Cristina, 2006), 123-50.

class men and women were often members of brotherhoods and confraternities, and as such they had the right to be buried there. Among these organizations, guilds may have had a more clearly social role beyond their religious activities, given that their purpose was to protect artisans and their families. Two confraternities in particular represented crafts that were typical of the middle class: San Eloy, which belonged to the silversmiths, was in San Pedro el Real; and Santo Domingo de Silos, established by notaries in 1570.[57]

Dozens of middle-class inhabitants of Córdoba included their confraternity membership in their wills and specified that they wished to be buried there; it might be a first choice, or perhaps a choice among others. In 1596 Ana de Ledesma, wife of Cristóbal Maldonado, who held a financial post at the royal Córdoba stables, said she wished to be buried in the San Juan de Letrán chapel in the Franciscan monastery, site of the Vera Cruz confraternity.[58] Forty years later Francisca de Paula, married to Francisco de Buenrostro Gumiel, who was an Inquisition familiar and lieutenant at the Inquisition prison, stated that she wanted to be buried in a vault in the Limpia Concepción chapel in the Franciscan monastery, where her husband was a member of the confraternity. Yet another example is Antonio Rubio del Castillo, a master silversmith, who in 1751 said he wished to be buried in a vault in the Rosario chapel, pertaining to his brotherhood, in San Pablo.[59]

But belonging to one or another of the confraternities does not seem to have been determinative, at least judging from the will of Gregorio de la Cuesta, a jurado and hermano mayor of the silversmiths' confraternity, who nonetheless chose to be buried in another chapel, the Rosario, in San Pablo. Lorenzo José Camacho y Rosal left instructions that he could be buried in a variety of places, reflecting his blood ties and loyalty to his confraternity: in the tomb his maternal grandparents built in San Pedro el Real, in that belonging to Diego Fernández Camacho, an Inquisition familiar, in the same church, or in the Holy Martyrs pantheon in San Pedro parish, where he was a member of the confraternity.[60] And, finally, we have the case of Acisclo Antonio del Astillo, who in 1737 asked to be buried in a vault in the Vera Cruz although he also belonged to a long list of confraternities: Candelaria and San Andrés, belonging to the Franciscans; Santísimo Sacramento, in the San Pedro parish; Santo Rosario and Niño Jesús, of the Espíritu Santo parish; and the Ánimas, belonging to San Pablo el Real.[61]

When someone was buried in a temple belonging to a confraternity, one's confraternity brothers walked alongside the coffin, creating a public exhibition of mourning. That is what Rodrigo Pérez de Baena asked for in 1639; he was a public

[57] Extremera Extremera, *El notariado en la España Moderna*, 122.
[58] AHPCO, leg. 12.420, fol. 1575v.
[59] AHPCO, leg. 14.992, 1751, fol. 318.
[60] AHPCO, leg. 15.772, fol. 104.
[61] AHPCO, leg. 16.223, fol. 95.

Date	Person	Confraternity
1599	Bartolomé Ruiz de las Tazas, merchant	Real Hospital and confraternity of la Santa Caridad de Jesucristo
1st half 17C	Luis de Cuéllar Polaíno, from a silversmith family	La Santa Vera Cruz
1636	Bartolomé Ruiz Camacho, Inquisition familiar	Real Hospital and Santa Caridad de Jesucristo
	Francisco de Buenrostro y Gumiel, familiar	Limpia Concepción
	Francisco Rodríguez de Almoguera, familiar	Hospital de la Consolación
	Miguel Ruiz de Berlanga, Inquisition familiar	Hospital de San Cristóbal y Santa Maria Magdalena
mid-17C	Juan Muñoz de Paniagua, Inquisition familiar	Santísimo Sacramento, San Nicolás parish
	Alonso de Piedrahita Trasierra, Inquisition commissioner	Los Santos Mártires
	Juan de Cuellar Polaíno, cleric, son of a silversmith	San Simón y San Judas
	Diego Vigil de Quiñones, public notary	Nuestra Señora del Pilar
	Diego Sánchez Estaquero, jurado, merchant, familiar	Hospital de la Consolación Real Hospital and confraternity of Santa Caridad de Jesucristo
	Luis Jacinto de Ojero, public notary	Real Hospital and confraternity of Santa Caridad de Jesucristo
1681	Bartolomé Suárez de Villaverde, Inquisition familiar	Real Hospital and confraternity of Santa Caridad de Jesucristo
	Alonso de la Rosa y Mármol, jurado	Santa Vera Cruz
end 17C	Bartolomé de Cota y Castillejo, jurado	Santísimo Sacramento, Córdoba cathedral
	Gabriel Casas Murillo	Santísimo Sacramento de la Magdalena
Early 18C	Francisco Sánchez de la Cruz Jimena, silversmith, familiar	Real Hospital and confraternity of Santa Caridad de Jesucristo
	Juan de Guadiana, Inquisition notary and public notary	Corpus Christi
	Roque Carrasquilla, city council notary	La Candelaria
1st third 18C	Felipe Antonio Camacho, Inquisition notary	Real hospital and confraternity of Santa Caridad de Jesucristo
	Diego de Cáceres Berlanga, chief bailiff of the Holy Crusade, public notary	Hospital de San Cristóbal and Santa Maria Magdalena
	Francisco Moyano de Armenta, Inquisition familiar	Nuestra Señora de Los Ángeles, San José and San Pedro
1746	Juan Galindo y Morales, jurado	San Eloy, silversmiths confraternity
1747	Francisco de Negrete y Navas, Inquisition familiar	Santísimo Sacramento y Santos Mártires, San Pedro parish
1748	Juan Ramírez de Alcalá, jurado	Nuestra Señora de Los Ángeles, San José and San Pedro

Table 3. Middle-class hermanos mayors in confraternties in Cordoba.
Source: AHPCO.

notary and Inquisition familiar, and he specified that when his body was taken to the tomb in San Pedro el Real that it be accompanied by members of the San Pedro Mártir confraternity, to which he belonged.[62] A funeral with pomp was something many might wish for but only few could attain, despite the inevitable provision in last wills and testaments that pomp not be excessive. Membership in a brotherhood was just one more tool available to those participating in the mechanisms of the Baroque burial market.

It is impossible to know all the reasons and everything that happened. Many intangible factors are elusive, and we cannot always know why a jurado or his wife might have preferred to be buried in their confraternity rather than with their family, or vice versa. The reasons might have to do with piety, family loyalty, personal affinity, one's relationship to a priest or a monk, the distance from one's house, or the physical state of the church or chapel in question.

Heraldry

Modern methods of examining heraldry have not been especially useful, whether understanding it as a science or an art. Coats of arms have been read far too formally and narrowly, excluding more social interpretations that might yield more interesting information. It is a mistake to assume that heraldry was associated only with the nobility, given that the middle class used it widely to blur their past and, with no compunction, blend among the elites in the eyes of the great unwashed.[63]

Coats of arms were important to the middle class, which is clear by looking at their tombs and reading archival documents. Jurados, notaries, and merchants placed emblems on their gravestones, retablo predellas, and decorative additions, imitating the aristocracy so as to appear just like them. There was nothing casual or spontaneous about this, as one can see by looking at the documents associated with burial sites.

There are many examples. When Juan de Riaza y Cañete (the son and grandson of jurados) established his Basilian monastery in Córdoba, he noted that the main altar in the church would bear the family arms.[64] In 1651 when San Agustín was the site of Juan de Luque de Leiva's burial, the order specified that that his gravestone should bear his arms.[65] In 1730 Juan Felipe González, who was a master silversmith and a master rope-maker (*cordonero*), provided that he be buried in San Pablo in the chapel of Nuestra Señora de las Angustias, in either of his two vaults, "both of which have a stone, one of white jasper and the other of red jasper, with my coat of arms, given names and surname."[66] Neither his name nor his profession indicate he was a nobleman, but that

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62 AHPCO, leg. 14.696, fol. 885.
63 Herreros Moya, "Escudos pintan escudos," 380.
64 AHPCO, leg. 10.378, fol. 1792.
65 AHPCO, leg. 10.132, fol. 179.
66 AHPCO, leg. 9.096, 1730, fol. 35.

did not stop him from displaying the heraldry in his pantheon. There are seven altars in the old San Pedro el Real; built by the middle class between 1647 and 1700, all seven bear family coats of arms.

Given the absence of formal regulations, anyone who wanted to invent their own heraldic symbols and hang a coat of arms that to some degree or another represented their family name was free to do so. And it was contagious. Inquisition commissioner Pedro Sánchez de Vera suggested as much when he was preparing the tomb of Clemente de Benavente and instructed that "on top of the said tomb there should be a stone with letters and arms, in the same style as the other burial sites in the said nave of the Villaviciosa chapel."[67]

In Córdoba today, there are around fifty burial sites with heraldic symbols on funeral stones, tombs, and retablos dating from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. They have helmets, emblems, and acanthus leaves, they are divided into quarters, and they belong to merchants, silversmiths, jurados, and notaries with not a drop of hidalgo blood among them. Yet their tombs are indistinguishable from those of the highest noblemen of the land. Some coats of arms were taken from noble families of the same name (such as Cárdenas, Figueroa, and Velasco) though there was no relationship, while others were simply invented. But they all fulfilled the critical function of associating the middle class with the nobility. The syllogism was simple. If a jurado and a marquis were buried in the same church and had the same coats of arms, they must be the same. Funerary heraldry thus became the most successful and longlasting tool of upward social mobility; if they couldn't be something, at least they could appear to be.

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[67] AHPCO, leg. 16.056, fol. 88.

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