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# **Community Belonging and Community Building:**

# **Women in Early Modern Granada**

A Dissertation Presented

by

**Nichole Suzanne Prescott**

to

The Graduate School

in Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements

for the Degree of

**Doctor of Philosophy**

in

**History**

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Abstract of the Dissertation

**Community Belonging and Community Building:**

**Women in Early Modern Granada**

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**Doctor of Philosophy**

in

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**2015**

This dissertation addresses community belonging, community building, and community identity of women in the city of Granada during the early modern period, showing how women made use of their Granadan social context. It situates the women of Granada in the context of the economic and social turmoil throughout the early modern period, and in particular of the seventeenth century. Non-elite urban women in early modern Granada actively shaped the civic economy, culture, and religious life of the city and, in turn, their lives were shaped by the interplay of these elements. Women played indispensable commercial roles in the market economy, as well as providing the backbone of many of Granada's most important industries. Further, their participation in the economy undergirded the creation and consumption of Granada's civic culture, in particular the city's annual Corpus Christi celebration. Official municipal and religious attitudes as reflected in city council records and moralist treatises not only reflect an anxious ambivalence about but also a grudging acceptance of women's often assertive presence in civic activities. Although overt challenges to the social structure were rare, urban women aggressively protected, and even expanded, their access to natural, cultural and economic resources in their community. Urban women bridged the foundational social structure of the home to the larger civic body. In this role, Granadan women served as an axis point amidst the struggle between custom and the economic and social changes that characterize the early modern period.

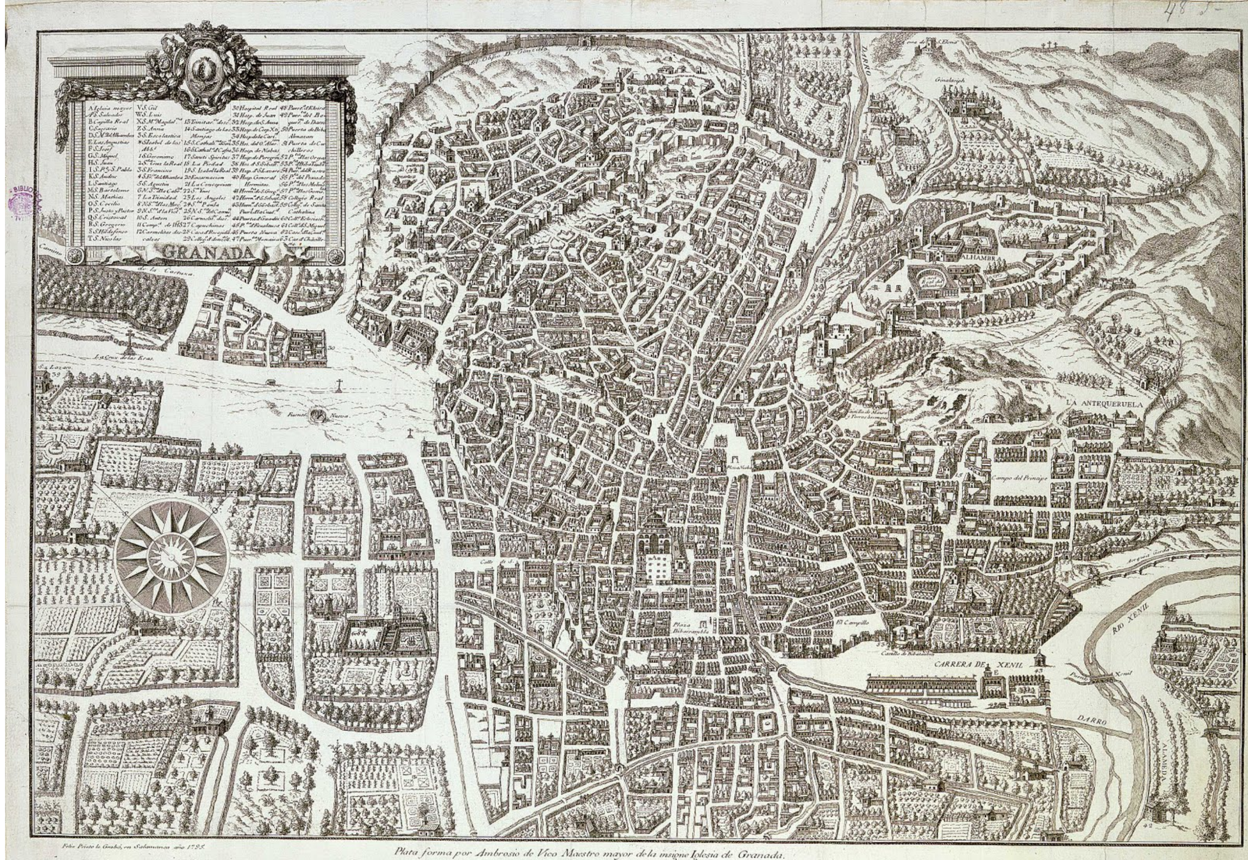
## Dedication Page

***In loving memory of my mother Sharon Sue Elliott Prescott….***

I dedicate this dissertation to my parents Sharon and Kenneth Prescott, without whom I would not have a love of learning or the emotional support and tenacity necessary to sustain such a long, arduous—yet rewarding—journey. My mother instilled in me a love of books, a heart for service, and a belief that I could accomplish anything I set my mind to. My father provided me an example of integrity, hard work and dogged persistence, despite all odds. To them I give my never-ending thanks and love. Kweehsitawakiki.

I would also like to dedicate this dissertation to all Myaamiaki. Education is the key to our future.

## Frontispiece




Ambrosio Vico, Plano de la Ciudad de Granada, ca.1620, Museo Casa de los Tiros.

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## List of Abbreviations

| | |
|---|---|
| **AA** | Archivo de la Alhambra |
| **AAG** | Archivo del Ayuntamiento de Granada |
| **AHPG** | Archivo Histórico de Protócolos de Granada |
| **AMG** | Archivo Municipal de Granada |
| **ARCG** | Archivo de la Real Chancillería de Granada |
| **BA** | Biblioteca de Andalucía |
| **BN** | Biblioteca Nacional |
| **UGR** | Biblioteca de la Universidad de Granada |

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There are many individuals not officially related to my dissertation process, but who were indispensable in my doctoral journey nonetheless. Professor Emerita Judith Zinsser first lit my intellectual fires at Miami University and inspired me to pursue a doctorate. Distinguished Teaching Professor Emerita Helen Lemay has always been a stalwart supporter of me and my work, as well as the one who instilled in me a passion for teaching, for all of that I thank her. And, I would be remiss if I did not acknowledge the role that my fellow graduate students played in my intellectual development. Many thanks to my colleague Dra. Magally Alegre Henderson for reading and commenting on a draft of my dissertation. Her input without a doubt improved the final product. And, to my sweet friend Cecilia Galli, a heartfelt thanks for keeping me in line with my Spanish translations! Of course, responsibility for the final product ultimately rests with me.

Finally, I would also like to acknowledge the importance community has indirectly, yet significantly, played in the completion of this dissertation. I would have never gone to graduate school without the urging and support of my chief Floyd Leonard and my tribe, the Miami Nation of Oklahoma. My friends, who are family to me, provided me with patience when I broke numerous social engagements because “I have to write” and lots of support and fun when I did manage to make it to an event. My animals, Hans the dog and my kitties Nibbles and Carmen, kept me sane through the solitude of long bouts of research and writing. And, to my family—Ken, Sharon, Jill, Ray, Mitch, Anna, Brandon, Kristin, Shelly, Melanie, and Thor—I am nothing without your love and support. Mihšineewe. (Thank you!)

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## Introduction

Central to an understanding of Granada's history in the early modern period is an examination of over half of Granada's population: women. Women articulated their relationship to their community through their daily interactions with their physical landscape, the local economy, the law and each other. Women in early modern Granada were vital members of their community and through their participation in the civic life of the city, in turn, helped to create the city's civic identity. Despite normative gender ideologies of the time that sought to circumscribe women's agency, their "capacity to act" can be detected especially when Granadan women negotiated, protected and expanded their position economically and socially. These historical moments of tension reveal how women often diverged from and sometimes used to their own benefit the gendered prescriptions and ideologies of the time. These same historical moments also provide us with a richer understanding of society, economics and culture in Granada.

This dissertation addresses community belonging, community building, and community identity of women in the city of Granada during the early modern period, showing how women made use of their Granadan social context. It situates the women of Granada in the context of the economic and social turmoil throughout the early modern period, and in particular of the seventeenth century. Non-elite urban women in early modern Granada actively shaped the civic economy, culture, and religious life of the city and, in turn, their lives were shaped by the interplay of these elements. Women played indispensable commercial roles in the market economy, as well as providing the backbone of many of Granada's most important industries. Further, their participation in

the economy undergirded the creation and consumption of Granada's civic culture, in particular the city's annual Corpus Christi celebration. Official municipal and religious attitudes as reflected in city council records and moralist treatises not only reflect an anxious ambivalence about but also a grudging acceptance of women's often assertive presence in civic activities. Although overt challenges to the social structure were rare, urban women aggressively protected, and even expanded, their access to natural, cultural and economic resources in their community. Urban women bridged the foundational social structure of the home to the larger civic body. In this role, Granadan women served as an axis point amidst the struggle between custom and the economic and social changes that characterize the early modern period.

## Historiography

Among the various aspects of early modern Spanish society and culture, women's history has received the least attention, though this has begun to change in the last couple of decades. In-depth studies of gender and female experience in early modern Spain began to appear first in the field of literary studies, but are increasing in the field of history. As one historian has recently noted, recent research is repopulating the streets and markets of early modern Spain with women.[1] As a result, there is a growing bibliography on early modern women in Spain. Through the pioneering efforts of scholars of Spanish women and gender such as Mary Perry, Magdalena Sanchez,

[1] Allyson Poska, "How Women's History Has Transformed the Study of Early Modern Spain," *Bulletin of the Association for Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies*, 23, 1 (2008): 5-19.

Mary Giles, and Allyson Poska, as well as others, this gap in the historiography of early modern Spain is gradually beginning to be addressed.[2]

Unlike their North American counterparts, Spanish scholars have evinced relatively little enthusiasm for studying women in the early modern period. Those studies that do deal with women tend to be of a lamentable analytical quality and often only describe or superficially engage with any issue of women's pasts.[3] Further, there is an absence of scholarly monographs in Spanish on the history of Granada in the early modern period, except for those dealing with the "Reconquista" (arguably, more late medieval than early modern in periodization). What few secondary publications there are have focused on demographics and provide only a broad general narrative of Granada.[4] Much of the work on Granada has been published under the auspices of the Diputación Provincial (provincial deputation, or regional government) or the city council of Granada, thus making the works ones of local pride, often serving as collections of large amounts of data with little or no analysis. The sparse scholarship on Granada and on women in Spain is a direct consequence of the oppressive state of the academic climate under the Franco regime and, after his death, the subsequent scramble to take

[2] Mary Perry, *Gender and Disorder in Early Modern Seville* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990); Magdalena Sanchez, *The Empress, the Queen, and the Nun: Women and Power at the Court of Philip III of Spain* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998); Mary Giles, ed., *Women in the Inquisition: Spain and the New World* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999); and Allyson M. Poska, *Women and Authority in Early Modern Spain: The Peasants of Galicia* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007).

[3] A perfect example of this tendency to only touch upon women's history in the early modern period is David Rosano Zaameno, "Espacios de Mujeres: Talleres, Mercados, Lavaderos," in *Las Mujeres y La Ciudad de Granada en el siglo XVI* (Granada: Concejalía de la Mujer del Ayuntamiento de Granada, 2000), 143-156, which relies solely on a published index to town council records in Granada in the sixteenth century. It is very clear from his article that the author never consulted the archival records himself, but only used the guide. In fact, all of the articles presented in this volume provide little more than description, except for Merry Wiesner-Hanks' very general, pan-European essay on "Women and Citizenship in Early Modern Europe," 21-40.

[4] Antonio Luis Cortes Peña and Bernard Vincent, *Historia de Granada: La Epoca Modernas, Siglos XVI, XVII y XVIII,* vol. III (Granada: Editorial Don Quixote, 1986); Manuel Garzón Pareja, *Historia de Granada* (Granada: Excma. Diputación Provincial, 1980).

advantage of the methodologies and historiography that had been developed in the meantime. The reality of the situation is that Spanish history still lags in the development of work in many of the schools of thought that hit their peaks during the 1960s and 1970s.

Spanish women's history has thus largely been the preserve of nuns, female writers, and queens. The tendency in the history of women in early modern Spain has been to show that women were more visible in the public sphere, more involved in decision making on issues involving their lives or families, and held more power in certain public arenas than historians had previously assumed.[5] Most English-language studies on women in Spain center on their status as nuns, their relations with the Holy Inquisition, and more recently, those mighty women from powerful dynastic or royal families.[6] Scholarly activity in the areas of early modern Spanish women's spirituality and the general history of the Spanish Inquisition has particularly flourished over the last two decades. These local studies provide frameworks—social, religious, ideological—that are immensely important for understanding Spanish women in the early modern period, but still a comprehensive picture has not emerged.[7] Ideally, local historians will continue to work to understand how their small area fits into a larger picture, while their

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[5] See for example: Theresa Ann Smith, *The Emerging Female Citizen: Gender and Enlightenment in Spain* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006); Elizabeth A. Lehfeldt, *Religious Women in Golden Age Spain: The Permeable Cloister* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2005); Grace E. Coolidge, "Families in Crisis: Women, Guardianship, and the Nobility in Early Modern Spain," Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 2001.

[6] Sanchez, *The Empress, the Queen, and the Nun.*

[7] For example, there is no good equivalent in Spanish women's history to surveys such as for Latin America, Susan Socolow's *The Women of Colonial Latin America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); or for England, Amy Louise Erickson's *Women and Property in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 1995); or for Venice, Monica Chojnacka's *Working Women of Early Modern Venice* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001). The only exception to this is Elisa Garrido, ed., *Historia de las Mujeres en España* (Madrid: Editorial Síntesis, 1997). This work, however, provides no footnotes and thus no sense of from where the information comes; furthermore, it covers the entire period from prehistory to the present and so lacks depth of analysis.

work will give “broad-brush historians” richer material to work with, hopefully leading to better and more nuanced general histories. Localized histories are important, yet the absence of an even modestly comprehensive survey of women’s history in Spain to consult, does pose challenges for the researcher.

Some work, however, does address women in a more aggregative sense. For example, Mary Elizabeth Perry’s pioneering work, *Gender and Disorder in Early Modern Seville*, reconstructs the collective identity of women by applying feminist analysis not only to standard documentary sources but also to literature and art. She argues that rapid urbanization and demographic mobility, followed by economic decline and epidemic disease, resulted in a weakening of traditional social discipline in Seville, allowing for increased female visibility and autonomy. These developments led male clerical and secular authorities to believe that Seville had become severely disordered, a disorder that they defined in gendered terms. A second example is *Women in the Inquisition: Spain and the New World*, edited by Mary E. Giles. This anthology was the first to bring together scholars from the various disciplines in order to focus exclusively and extensively on women *and* their experiences before the Holy Office.[8]

From the abovementioned works as well as those focused more on localized histories, women and gender historians now know that early modern Spanish women exercised agency and navigated the constraints placed upon their lives by hegemonic, patriarchal ideologies of church and state. We also know that early modern Spanish women exercised this agency and their navigational skills in the courts, the markets, the streets, and in convents. Finally, we know that these women were not generally secluded, chaste or strictly honor-bound. The challenge is that much of this rich

[8] Giles, *Women in the Inquisition*.

understanding of women's lives in the early modern period remains on the periphery of traditional scholarship on Spanish society, economics, politics and religion. Focused on the interplay between women and their social, economic and cultural environment, this dissertation hopes to better integrate women into the broader historical narrative.

There are three works on the history of Granada that I will draw on in particular in my discussions of community building in early modern Granada: David Coleman's *Creating Christian Granada: Society and Religious Culture in an Old-World Frontier City, 1492-1600,* A. Katie Harris's *From Muslim to Christian Granada: Inventing a City's Past in Early Modern Spain* and James Casey's *Families and Community in Early Modern Spain: The Citizens of Granada, 1570-1739*. All three of these works revolve in some way around the concept of community and civic identity. In *Creating Christian Granada,* David Coleman charts the changes in Granada following the surrender of the city that was the last Muslim stronghold in Europe, to Christian forces in 1492. Coleman examines the city's social, political, religious, and physical landscapes in their evolution from a Muslim city to a Christian city. The part of his thesis that I am most interested in is his assertion that tradition was not simply transplanted in Granada by the early Christian immigrant populations coming mainly from Castile, but instead was created by this new population. The community they built, and its subsequent civic identity, was affected by the fluidity and dynamism that characterized the social landscape in this frontier city.[9]

A. Katie Harris in *From Muslim to Christian Granada* examines the ways in which a collective, community identity was constructed around a set of lead tablets (known as

[9] David Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada: Society and Religious Culture in an Old-World Frontier City, 1492-1600* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003).

*plomos*) inscribed in Arabic which were unearthed by treasure hunters in 1595. The tablets documented the evangelization of Granada in the first century A.D. by St. Cecilio, the city's first bishop. Granadans used these tablets as proof that their city—best known as the last Muslim stronghold in Europe—was in truth Iberia's most ancient Christian settlement. In this book, Harris explores how the people of Granada created and maintained a new civic identity around these tablets, even though the pope condemned the *plomos* as forgeries in 1682. This new civic identity was based on the conception of Granada as an ancient Christian republic, a sacred city, a place of miracle and orthodox devotion.[10]

Last among these three works, James Casey's *Family and Community in Early Modern Spain* is a study of prestige, power, and the role of the family in Granada. He focuses on the structure, values, and consolidation of authority of the new ruling class of the city of Granada. The study suggests that their power was linked to the pursuit of honor, which demanded participation in the politics of the republic and depended greatly on the network of personal relations which they were able to build with kinsmen, clients and patrons. Casey posits that this system contributed to the relative tranquility of the community during a turbulent time of religious and political change, that of the rise of absolutism and of the Counter Reformation.[11] The portrayals of civic identity in these three books provide a useful correction to previous tendencies in Spanish historiography.

[10] A. Katie Harris, *From Muslim to Christian Granada: Inventing a City's Past in Early Modern Spain* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007).
[11] James Casey, *Family and Community in Early Modern Spain: The Citizens of Granada, 1570-1739* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

Prior to these works, many historical studies suffered from the habit of equating "Spain" with "Castile," though Castile was admittedly a driving force in the development of modern Spain. To use the history of Castile synonymously with the history of Spain, however, is to gloss over the rich history and economic diversity of Spain's regional networks.[12] Historians have begun to ask the question: Is there one Spain, or are there many "Spains?"[13] Spain's national identity is not a foregone conclusion and must not be treated as such by historians. Likewise, it has not proved useful for historians to examine identities of belonging through modern-day perceptions of "national" identity or "citizenship." One must look at how these communities, large and small, conceived of themselves. Spain's "national" identity is and has seemingly always been fractured and in constant negotiation. If Spanish national identity has existed in a state of flux, so too have its concepts of communal belonging, or in other words, its concepts of citizenship. The issue of citizenship in modern Spain is an inflammatory topic due to contemporary internal political problems (such as those with Basque separatists) and the large influx of immigrants from North Africa, as well as the need to conform to an established and unilateral principle of citizenship with Spain entering the European Union. Scholars of Spain have been quick to take up the investigation into this topic, though most have focused on modern Spain.[14]

Tamar Herzog's *Defining Nations* is an example of a work which has made a major contribution to analyses of citizenship and nationalism in both the early modern

[12] See Jaime Vicens Vives, *Approaches to the History of Spain*, trans. Joan Connelly Ullman (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967).
[13] For example, Teofilo Ruiz in *Spanish Society, 1400-1600* (London: Longman, 2001), refers repeatedly to the "Spains".
[14] In particular, see Pamela Radcliff, "Imagining Female Citizenship in the 'New Spain': Gendering the Democratic Transition," *Gender and History* 13, 3 (November 2001): 498-523; "Citizens and Housewives: The Problem of Female Citizenship in the Spanish Transition to Democracy," *Journal of Social History*, 36, 1 (Fall 2002): 77-100.

and modern periods. Taking historians to task for their anachronistic quest of the point and time at which the modern state emerged, Herzog has challenged historians instead to examine the kinds of communities that existed in the past, how people belonging to them perceived their relative participation, and how they argued in favor of excluding or including others.[15] Herzog argues against the dichotomy posed by the existing historiography between early modern local communities as natural (organically grouped by language and religion) and modern national communities as constructed (imposed superficial boundaries), and argues instead for a greater degree of continuity between the two.[16] She asserts that *vecindad*, or citizenship in a local community, was "constituted on its own at the moment when people acted as if they felt attached to the community."[17]

*Vecinos* were designated people who were entitled to certain rights as long as they complied with certain duties; it is the entitlement and fulfillment of these rights and obligations that constituted belonging. While Herzog's book is innovative and provocative in its discussion of *vecinos*, however, it devotes only one paragraph to women. To be fair, that one paragraph addresses the major concerns of legal conferment of citizenship upon women and implies that the rest of her argument can be relatively equally applied to those women granted *vecindad*. As she states in the first sentence of her book, "The construction of a community of natives of the kingdoms of

[15] Tamar Herzog, *Defining Nations: Immigrants and Citizens in Early Modern Spain and Spanish America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 4.
[16] Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982); Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso, 1991); Liah Greenfield, *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992); Eric Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme*, *Myth, Reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); John A. Armstrong, *Nations before Nationalism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982); Anthony D. Smith, *Ethnic Origin of Nations* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986); Adrian Hastings, *Construction of Nationhood. Ethnicity, Religion, and Nationalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
[17] Herzog, *Defining Nations*, 7.

Spain, one that in the early nineteenth century would be defined as the 'Spanish community' is at the center of this book."[18] Pamela Radcliff, a historian of modern Spain, has pointed out that most of the literature on citizenship and transition has focused on the evolution of political institutions, which are inevitably sparse investigations as they eclipse the realities of the historical agents as they live their lives under the influence of these institutions. She goes on to argue, "This perspective leads to what has been called the 'thin' conception of citizenship as simply a 'status' guaranteed by the state, a set of rights and responsibilities bestowed upon the population."[19] Examining the role of state or civic institutions is important, but equally important is examining the civil society in which those institutions operated. This dissertation is interested in the "local actions and everyday interactions" that affirm women as bearers of those "certain rights" and reveal their obligations to fulfill those "certain duties" that marked them as full members of the community.

While some of the material discussed in this dissertation goes over immediate temporal boundaries, it primarily focuses on the city of Granada in the seventeenth century. Historians have preferred to concentrate their research on the Reconquista, the imperial sixteenth century and the reasons for the "decline" of the first half of the seventeenth century, leaving the second half of the seventeenth century largely unexamined. This is because it has long thought to be the denouement of a centenary decline and therefore much less interesting than periods of the apex of Spain's power.[20]

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[18] Herzog, *Defining Nations*, 1.
[19] Radcliff, "Citizens and Housewives," 77.
[20] See, for example: J. H. Elliott, *Imperial Spain, 1469-1716* (London: Penguin Books, 1990). An exception to this is: Henry Kamen, *Spain in the Later Seventeenth Century, 1665-1700* (London: Longman, 1980); I.A.A. Thompson and Bartolomé Yun Casalilla, eds., *The Castilian Crisis of the Seventeenth Century: New Perspectives on the Economic and Social History of Seventeenth-Century Spain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

In terms of the history of Granadan women, the seventeenth century has been, up to now, with a few exceptions, almost entirely unexamined.

### Map to the Chapters

This dissertation primarily focuses on the city of Granada between 1600 and 1700 in part because of the nature of the sources available for this period. Research from eight different historical repositories yielded a variety of sources. For example, early modern chronicles, gazettes and maps provided descriptions and representations of Granada that help bring to life the world in which these seventeenth-century women lived. City council ordinances and meeting records laid out the nature of local governance that provided structure to the daily realities these women would have had to navigate. Royal Chancellery ordinances and records, as well as notarial archival sources such as dowries, last will and testaments and lawsuits, give insight to the legal structures available to women and provide glimpses of the often-skillful strategies women employed to protect and expand rights and assets. Seventeenth-century descriptions and testaments of religious processions, rogations, floods, famines, earthquakes, plagues, riots and other disasters detail the challenges that early modern Granadans faced and their responses to these challenges. Drawing on these diverse archival resources, this dissertation consists of an introduction and five chapters: 1. Granadan Women and Their City; 2. Women and the Civic Economy; 3. Entitlements and Obligations: Women, Law and Community; 4. The Sword of God: Corpus Christi and Religious Patronage in Granada; 5. Women on the Margins: Gender, Charity, and Poor Relief.

Chapter One, “Granadan Women and Their City,” sets the stage for the rest of the dissertation by providing historical context and an orientation to the layout of the city, as well as an overview of women’s place in the city. Granada came to symbolize the triumph of Spanish Catholicism and a unified Spain. Aside from its significance as the last Muslim stronghold in Europe and its eventual rebirth into a Christian city, Granada was also the seat of an archbishopric and boasted a university and chancellery court. It was the center of its regional economy and a pilgrimage site. Granada was inextricably linked to its hinterland by a bidirectional flow of laborers and goods, creating opportunities for immigrants to the city as well as providing a safety net of social services. It was also a disseminator of culture and a physical embodiment of civic identity. Granada, like other cities in the early modern period, expressed its civic pride and identity through public works and through public ritual and spectacle. These public functions took on the particular civic character of the city in which it took place, such as the Corpus Christi celebration in the city of Granada which was infused with the ideals of the conquest of the Muslims and the divinely ordained imperial project of Spain. Women were omnipresent in Granada’s streets, plazas and markets, busy with their work, and, in the process, creating a distinctive civic identity and building formal and informal networks of community.

Chapter Two, “Women and the Civic Economy,” examines female agency in the informal and formal economies of early modern Granada. Women played an important role in the Granadan economy, even though they are rarely mentioned in traditionally examined economic sources. Drawing on archival resources from Granada’s city council records, city guild ordinances, census records, and market denunciations,

Chapter Two shows that though prevalent gender ideologies of this period prescribed a restricted range of appropriate occupations for women, it is clear that gender norms as they played out in day-to-day activities were much less rigid. Some of this flexibility can be attributed to the dearth of men in Granada at particular points in the seventeenth century, which necessitated that women take on certain roles and responsibilities at home as well as in the marketplace that usually would have been reserved for men. Flexibility can also be attributed to the fact that guilds in Granada, unlike elsewhere in Spain, had much less control over industrial trades. This seems to have permitted additional occupational opportunities for women, particularly in the textile industries. Lastly, gender norms around work and the economy were contingent upon the realities of the time and upon the customs of that region. Scholars, by default it seems, have tended to construct the early modern city and economy as largely the product of masculine agency, and have treated women as "passive objects in the process of urbanization and denying them more or less consciously the capacity for influence in active participation in the urban economy and society."[21] To be sure, men played a large role in the early modern economy, made up the majority (and, in some cases, all) of the guild membership in a city, and also comprised the governing bodies that drew up regulations for market and city alike. But the market was a field of citizenship practice where women enacted and negotiated obligations, privileges, and rights.[22]

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[21] Deborah Simonton and Anne Montenach, "Introduction," in *Female Agency in the Urban Economy: Gender in the European Towns, 1640-1830*, eds. Deborah Simonton et al. (New York: Routledge, 2013), 1; Lyn Spillman, "Enriching Exchange: Cultural Dimensions of Markets," *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, 58, 4 (Oct., 1999): 1047-1071.

[22] Evelyn Welch, *Shopping in the Renaissance: Consumer Cultures in Italy, 1400-1600* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005); Jesús Cruz, "Building Liberal Identities in 19th Century Madrid: The Role of Middle Class Material Culture," *Americas* 60, 3 (2004): 391-410; Arnold J. Bauer, *Goods, Power, History: Latin America's Material Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Neil Fligstein, "Markets

Chapter Three, “Entitlements and Obligations: Women, Law and Community,” explores the ways in which women wielded indirect, yet very real, civic power through their management of natural resources and bequeathing of goods and real estate. Through negotiating, protecting and expanding their economic, social and symbolic rights and privileges, women marked not only their community belonging, but also underscored the significant role they played in the informal and formal interpersonal networks that comprised their community. Many of the historical sources examined in this chapter arose out of conflicts—often between men and women, sometimes between women. For example, women initiated and sometimes were the defendants in legal cases over water. Women were also sanctioned by the Granada city council due to various infractions of municipal law. Some of the archival sources arise out of women’s strategies for the bequeathing of inheritance upon death, as a way for women to care for other women, both in their families and among the poor of the community.

Chapter Four, “The Sword of God: Corpus Christi and Religious Patronage,” focuses on one specific way in which the city of Granada conceived of, constructed, and promulgated its civic identity, and the roles that women played in this. The religious festival of Corpus Christi, a civic ritual denoting a specific form of belonging served to define cultural and religious parameters of Granadan community. The Corpus Christi celebration had been instituted in 1501 to celebrate and commemorate the victory over the Muslim kingdom of Granada and figured prominently in the city’s civic identity from that moment on. My examination of city council records and royal decrees, as well as letters, poetry, and manuscripts describing the celebrations, reveals that women were

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as Politics: A Political-Cultural Approach to Market Institutions,” *American Sociological Review*, 61, 4 (Aug., 1996): 656-673.

very active in the representation and creation of the Corpus Christi celebrations in Granada in the early modern period, and thus in the formation and expression of civic identity.[23]

Chapter Five, "Women on the Margins: Gender, Charity, and Poor Relief," examines the issue of women, gender, and civic charity in early modern Granada. One scholar argues that just as hospices began to fall into disrepute throughout the rest of Europe, they began to proliferate in Spain.[24] The subsequent debate over whether or not poor people should be enclosed was a heated one. Of the few scholarly treatments of poor relief in early modern Spain, none have looked at these efforts and institutions using gender as a tool of analysis, nor has anyone yet compared the polemical enclosure of poor people with the relatively uncontested enclosure of women as nuns, prostitutes, or reformed prostitutes. An examination of charity as a civic ritual and poverty through a gendered lens in Granada reveals that gender expectations for women were changing.[25]

[23] Frances George Very, *The Spanish Corpus Christi Procession: A Literary and Folkloric Study*, (Valencia: Tipografia Moderna, 1962); Vicente Lleo Cañal, *Arte y Espectáculo: La Fiesta del Corpus Christi en Sevilla en los siglos XVI y XVII* (Sevilla: Ayuntamiento de Sevilla, 1975); Demetrio E. Brisset Martín, "Hacia un analisís de las fiestas de Granada," *Gazeta de Antropología,* 1 (1982); José Luis Orozco Pardo, "Fiesta barroca," *Gazeta de Antropología,* 4 (1985); J.R. Mulryne, ed., *Europa Triumphans: Court and Civic Festivals In Early Modern Europe* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004); Edward Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
[24] William J. Callahan, "The Problem of Confinement: An Aspect of Poor Relief in Eighteenth-Century Spain," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 51, 1 (February, 1971): 1-24, 24.
[25] Valentina K. Tikoff, "Assisted Transitions: Children and Adolescents in the Orphanages of Seville at the End of the Old Regime, 1681-1831," Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 2000; Callahan, "The Problem of Confinement"; Linda Martz, *Poverty and Welfare in Hapsburg Spain: The Example of Toledo* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983); Adrian Shubert, "Charity Properly Understood: Changing Ideas About Poor Relief in Liberal Spain," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 33, 1 (Jan., 1991): 36-55; Edith B. Couturier, "The Philanthropic Activities of Pedro Romero de Torres: First Count of Regla (1753-1781)," *The Americas*, 32, 1 (Jul. 1975): 13-30; Rosa María Moreno Rodríguez, "La Larga Historia del Confinamiento Para Remediar La Pobreza. El hospicio de general de pobres de Granada, 1753-1786," *Chronica Nova*, 30 (2003-2004), 511-555; Olwen H. Hufton, *The Poor of Eighteenth-Century France, 1750-1789* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974).

Ultimately, this dissertation can be seen as, in many ways, a response to Mary Perry's *Gender and Disorder in Early Modern Seville* and as an exploration of her thesis in a Granadan context. Did Granadan authorities, like those of Seville, also see women as a source of disorder in a particularly tumultuous century, the seventeenth century? Would Granada's fairly unique historical circumstance as the last frontier in Spain, a city imbued with symbolical importance for Spanish unity and Spanish Catholicism, have an effect on how women were perceived in the midst of change and tumult? What the research for this dissertation has shown is that secular authorities themselves did not see women as a specific source of disorder. It was religious authorities, rather than secular ones, who saw women as suspect at best, with prostitutes representing the worst of the female gender. It was religious authorities who characterized prostitutes as the root of all Spain's ills, particularly in the seventeenth century. By the eighteenth century, some Enlightened thinkers begin to believe that it was the poor and their unsuccessful management by secular and religious authorities that were the source of disorder and Spain's ills.

Situating non-elite women in the context of the changing economic, social, and political contexts of the early modern city, my dissertation shows that though Granadan women were not generally granted formal citizenship, they still clung to traditional rights, privileges and obligations that formed an informal, yet very real form of citizenship in their community. Women used informal ways of constructing and expressing local civic identity throughout the course of the early modern period and were meaningful participants in Granada's civic culture. During the eighteenth century, women were to remain vital actors in local community building, in the creation of community identity, as

well as community belonging, but *not* in the national community as it was being conceived in the eighteenth century. As more emphasis was placed on national citizenship during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, women were to begin to lose the sense of official belonging that they had previously held during the early modern period. Despite ultimately being denied the title of "citizen", though, women in the nineteenth century, which is beyond the scope of this dissertation, continued to be significant civic actors in the shaping of their local communities.[26] In short, early modern women did not necessarily circumvent the dominant social, political and legal institutions of their age, but instead used those systems to their own advantage. In the process, they exercised citizenship rights that were later formally denied them.

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[26] Victoria Loreé Enders and Pamela Beth Radcliff, eds., *Constructing Spanish Womanhood: Female Identity in Modern Spain* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1999).

## Chapter 1: Granadan Women and Their City

*Dale limosna, mujer,*
*que no hay en la vida nada*
*como la pena de ser*
*ciego en Granada.*[27]

*Give him alms, woman,*
*for there is nothing worse in life*
*than the pain of being*
*blind in Granada.*

A city is more than a point on a map. It is a community of neighbors, a network of social relations, an economic center, a political entity, and a signifier of identity.[28] The socio-geographical layout of a city defines social and political boundaries around which control is exercised and contested. A city is also a collection of the physical elements of its history. For instance, rambling through Granada one can see where the Catholic Monarchs[29] lay and where San Juan de Dios performed a miracle. One can say that *there* is where Fray Luis de Granada preached his sermons. Over *here* is where the Empress Eugenia was born. In *that* house the Gran Capitán of the Reconquista died. In that monastery *over there* is where San Juan de la Cruz wrote *The Dark Night of the Soul*. This is Granada, a product of its past. This dissertation intends to fill in gaps and

[27] Francisco de Icaza (1863-1925) was a Mexican poet and literary critic who lived most of his adult life in Spain and became enchanted with Granada. He penned this poem which is inscribed in a wall along the gardens leading up to the Alhambra. The translation is my own.
[28]For a more in-depth discussion on theories of space and place, see: Mercedes Maroto Camino, *Practicing Places: Saint Teresa, Lazarillo and the Early Modern City* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2001); Helen Hills, ed., *Architecture and the Politics of Gender in Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2003); Doreen Massey, *Space, Place, and Gender* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994); Daphne Spain, *Gendered Spaces* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992).
[29] Ferdinand II of Aragon and Isabella of Castile, whose marriage in 1469 unified Spain, over which they jointly ruled. In 1494, Pope Alexander VI published a papal bull formally bestowing on them the appellation of “Catholic Monarchs” in recognition of their “reconquest” of Granada from Muslims.

find those historical moments that reveal the lives of ordinary women and their connection to the city and to the creation of its modern iteration.

### The Significance of Granada

This study focuses on the city of Granada, seat of an archbishopric, royal law courts, and capital of the province of Granada in the southern region of Spain known as Andalusia. What makes Granada symbolically important for Spain is that this was the center of the Muslim emirate in the Iberian Peninsula and site of the Spanish Catholic victory over the Muslims in 1492, a victory that unified the Iberian Peninsula under Catholic rule after more than 700 years of recurrent warfare. The absence of a purely Christian Middle Ages greatly influenced Granada's cultural and spiritual character as well as its civic identity and urban layout, thereby creating a fertile area for the investigation of the participation of women in civic life. A distinctive social discourse arose in Granada, one that stems from its unique historical circumstances during the early modern period: the relatively recent expulsion of Jews and Muslims from Iberia and their residual socio-cultural influence regarding women, as well as the emergence of a merchant class.[30] Both of these fueled the obsession of the aristocracy with preserving and articulating its privileges as well as the emerging discourses on honor, the evolving roles of women, and attitudes toward sexuality in the post-Tridentine period. The Tridentine reforms created a restrictive social discipline regarding marriage,

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[30] On Muslim women in Granada, see Maya Shatzmiller, *Her Day in Court: Women's Property Rights in Fifteenth-Century Granada* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007). On Moriscas (women who converted from Islam to Christianity) in Andalusia, see Mary Elizabeth Perry, *The Handless Maiden: Moriscos and the Politics of Religion in Early Modern Spain* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007).

the family, and sexuality and required some type of enclosure for all women, whether in houses, convents, or brothels.[31] In light of these social discourses, it seems logical that women would have been more restricted in public and business in Granada; however, this does not appear to have been the case. Indeed, historians have found that early modern Spanish women exercised a relatively significant freedom of action and movement in their respective cities. Sexual norms were often malleable, as Spanish historians have recently pointed out.[32] Other historians have found that gender transgressions by early modern Spanish women, under certain circumstances, achieved tacit acceptance and even acclaim by their society.[33]

Research into women's lives in Granada reveals that women were instrumental in the creation and reproduction of civic identity in early modern Granada and were essential players in the cultural, social, and economic life of the city. This is despite the fact that Spanish gender ideology, as encapsulated in reforms, moralist treatises, sermons, and royal decrees, suggested otherwise.[34] Ultimately, this dissertation

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[31] There is a growing body of writing on the mixed effectiveness and implementation of Tridentine directives in Spain; see for example Barbara B. Diefendorf, "Contradictions of the Century of Saints: Aristocratic Patronage and the Convents of Counter-Reformation Paris," *French Historical Studies*, 24, 3 (Summer 2001): 469-499; Elizabeth A. Lehfeldt, "Discipline, Vocation, and Patronage: Spanish Religious Women in a Tridentine Microclimate," *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 30, 4 (Winter, 1999): 1009-1030; Allyson Poska, *Regulating the People: The Catholic Reformation in Seventeenth-Century Spain* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1998); Sara Nalle, *God in La Mancha: Religious Reform and the People of Cuenca, 1500-1650* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992).

[32] Poska, *Women and Authority*; Allyson M. Poska, "Elusive Virtue: Rethinking the Role of Female Chastity in Early Modern Spain," *Journal of Early Modern History* 8:1-2 (2004): 135-146; Georgina Dopico Black, *Perfect Wives, Other Women: Adultery and Inquisition in Early Modern Spain* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001).

[33] Catalina de Erauso, *Lieutenant Nun: Memoir of a Basque Transvestite in the New World,* trans. Michele and Gabriel Stepto (Boston: Beacon Press, 1996); Sherry Velasco, *The Lieutenant Nun: Transgenderism, Lesbian Desire, and Catalina de Erauso (*Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001); Israel Burshatin, "Written on the Body: Slave or Hemraphrodite in Sixteenth-Century Spain," *Queer Iberia: Sexualities, Cultures, and Crossings from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance*, eds. Josiah Blackmore and Gregory S. Hutcheson (Duke University Press, 1999), 420-456.

[34] Regarding women and public space in early modern Europe, see Elizabeth S. Cohen, "To Pray, To Work, To Hear, To Speak: Women in Roman Streets c. 1600" and Ann Korhonen, "To See and To Be

examines these tensions between the religious and social reforms of the early modern period and the often-empowering traditional social identities of Spanish women as they unfolded in the public spaces of early modern Granada.

Most studies of Granada have centered on either the conquest of the city in 1492, the transition to Christian rule in the sixteenth century, or the wars of the nineteenth century. Therefore, the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, two centuries of significant social, political, and religious reforms, have been left mostly unexamined. Furthermore, regardless of the century, historians have largely ignored the role of women in Granada's historical development.[35] My study bridges this temporal and gender gap to focus on women in public spaces in seventeenth-century Granada. It does so by investigating a variety of public spaces in which women exerted influence, such as the market, civic and religious rituals, the theatre, the courts, brothels, and the underworld. But more than that, this study will provide valuable insight into the gendered social politics of early modern Granada.[36]

As we will see, for example, the tax records of early modern Granada reveal a significant number of single women and female-headed households. A significant number of women owned property in Granada, and many women owned multiple

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Seen: Beauty in the Early Modern London Street," both in *Cultural History of Early Modern European Streets,* eds. Riitta Laitinen and Thomas V. Cohen (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 95-118 and 141-166, respectively; Elizabeth S. Cohen, "Honor and Gender in the Streets of Early Modern Rome," *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 22, 4 (1992): 597-625; Anne Jacobson Schutte et al., eds*., Time, Space, and Women's Lives in Early Modern Europe* (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University, 2001); and Steven Mullaney and Angela Vanhaelen, "Introduction: Making Space Public in Early Modern Europe—Performance, Geography, Privacy," in *Making Space Public in Early Modern Europe: Geography, Performance, Privacy,* eds. Angela Vanhaelen, and Joseph P. Ward (London: Routledge, 2013), 1-14.

[35]A notable exception is: Concejalía de la Mujer, ed., *Las Mujeres y La Ciudad de Granada en el siglo XVI* (Granada: Concejalía de la Mujer del Ayuntamiento de Granada, 2000).

[36] For more on the impact of Spanish women's history on the study of early modern Spain see Allyson Poska, "How Women's History has Transformed the Study of Early Modern Spain," *Bulletin of the Association for Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies*, 23, 1 (2008): 5-19.

properties. They earned a living from their holdings and used their knowledge of Castilian law to protect their water rights and building permits. Their taxes made a substantial contribution to the city treasury. Moreover, almost from the inception of the city council in 1492, municipal records testify to the active presence of women in civic life as well as in legal proceedings over natural, cultural, and economic resources. Women were clearly active and present in legal and civic life in early modern Granada. These interactions, in turn, had an impact on these women's lives.

**Creating a Christian City**

Cities are geographic nodes around which certain kinds of stories are told. These stories unfold through a city's architecture and public spaces. To understand Granadan women of the early modern period, one must first understand the physical and ideological world in which their daily lives unfolded. Physical space was imbued with symbols and assumptions of the society which created it. The organization of public space in Granada was constructed in such a way as to represent, bolster, and reproduce the dominant ideologies of its society, thought to be natural and God-given. Granada, as with all Spanish cities, came to be constructed during the early modern period as Catholic and patriarchal with a dash of local character.

What made Granada so important symbolically for Spanish Catholicism was that this was the site of the Spanish Catholic victory over the Muslims, a victory that unified the Iberian Peninsula under the embrace of the Catholic Church. Popular legend tells that the missionary zeal and triumphalism that followed the fall of Granada provided the

impetus for Isabella's funding of Christopher Columbus' portentous journey across the Atlantic.[37] Pope Alexander VI in 1494 awarded Isabella and Ferdinand the title "the Catholic Monarchs" in gratitude and recognition of their victory at Granada.[38] In any case, the surrendering of Granada to Isabella and Ferdinand was so vitally symbolic that they made Granada the seat of an archbishopric and also chose to be buried in the Capilla Real ("Royal Chapel") in the heart of Granada rather than in Castile, the official seat of government for the kingdom. As Kamen succinctly states, "The crushing of Muslim Granada invigorated the concept of a Christian Spain."[39] Ever since the marriage of Isabella and Ferdinand, the principal objective of their political union had been a religio-political unification of their territories to create what we now know as "Spain". Granada was symbolic of that integration and that unity. Women transformed this new frontier town from a war zone into a Christian "civilized" society.[40] Women were agents of the reproduction of the Spanish community that allowed newly won areas to be settled and families to be born and grow.

The opulent showcase of Muslim architecture and once great power, as encapsulated in the Alhambra which loomed high above the city (and still does), was an ever-present reminder of the symbolic importance of Granada. The Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, who ruled Spain from 1516-1556 as Charles I, recognized the

[37] From Columbus' own journal it seems that he himself believed that the fall of Granada and the subsequent expulsion of the Jews led Isabella to grant his request for sponsorship of his voyage. Christopher Columbus, *The Diario of Christopher Columbus's First Voyage to America, 1492-1493*, trans. Oliver Dunn and James E. Kelley, Jr. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), 17.
[38] Henry Kamen, *Empire: How Spain Became a World Power, 1492-1763* (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 2003), 14.
[39] Kamen, *Empire*, 21.
[40] The Spanish government went to great lengths to encourage women to settle newly won frontier areas in Spain. One way the government sought to entice women was through the strategic use of *fueros* (law codes) that gave women particular rights concerning property. These rights will be discussed in great detail in chapter 3.

symbolic and physical importance of the Alhambra so much so that he built a palace right in the core of the Alhambra complex, much like a dagger to the heart of the old Islamic order. Instead of highlighting Catholic dominance and power, the Palace of Charles V paled in comparison to the architectural and landscaping marvels of the Islamic patrimony. Still, the construction of this palace was highly significant in Spain's attempt to lay claim to the physical space of the city and create a Spanish, Christian landscape.

Almost immediately following the surrender of the city, Isabella and Ferdinand had begun construction of Christian churches and founded monasteries, including important convents for women. These religious constructions were to facilitate the conversion of the hearts and minds of the inhabitants to the Christian faith. According to ecclesiastical historian Francisco Bermúdez de Pedraza in 1638, this reasoning justified and explained the numerous religious institutions in the city.[41] Two particularly significant convents founded immediately after the fall of Muslim Granada were the Commendadoras de Santiago and the convent of Santa Isabel la Real. The Commendadoras de Santiago were born of the military Order of Santiago, an order whose primary purpose was the defeat of Islam.[42] The Commendadoras were established for the pious daughters of the city's Christian conquerors. Santa Isabel la Real was a convent founded by Isabella herself and originally intended to be housed in

[41] Bermúdez de Pedraza, *Historia eclesiástica*, 30-31.
[42] María Echániz, "Spaces of Women's Religiosity in the Military Order of Santiago in Late Medieval Castile (Twelfth to Sixteenth Centuries)," in *Spanish Women in the Golden Age: Images and Realitie*s, eds. Magdalena S. Sánchez and Alan Saint-Saëns (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 3-22.

the Alhambra, the seat of power of the former Muslim ruler of Granada.[43] Both orders were founded in 1501.[44]

Within the center of Granada, symbolism and the built environment also merged. For centuries until the surrender, Granada had been a thriving center of Islamic culture, a culture that had made its indelible mark on the city through its magnificent architecture. Islamic Granada had enjoyed a flourishing economy that centered on agriculture and the production of silk, an exuberant culture of art, literature, and architecture, and a large population. Due to internal dissension within the kingdom, however, coupled with the threat of the Christian army in the north, the life of the kingdom had become daily more and more precarious in the Late Middle Ages. The kingdom's frontiers had continued to shrink as a result of battles and of concessions to the Christians just north and west of the kingdom of Granada. The Islamic kingdom of Granada came ultimately to an end in 1492 with the famous siege and surrender of Granada to Isabella. The kingdom of Granada capitulated under terms that respected its inhabitants' religion and their property, though this tolerance was eventually overturned as Spain's rulers sought religious conformity under Christianity.

Whether they liked it or not, Granadans were living amongst relics and reminders of their mixed, Muslim past. The parishes constructed following the conquest mimicked the organizational patterns already laid out by the former Muslim inhabitants. For example, the parish of Salvador (Savior), founded in 1501, more or less followed the boundaries of the Mezquita Mayor del Albaicín (Main Mosque of the Albaicín).[45] Though

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[43] Henríquez de Jorquera, *Anales de Granada*, 246.
[44] For more on the Commendadoras de Santiago and the convent of Santa Isabel la Real, see chapter 4.
[45] Peña and Vincent, *Historia de Granada*, 28-29.

by the seventeenth century the Alhambra and the Alcazaba, the ancient and fatigued Muslim fortress, were falling into disrepair, the Alhambra (or Red Castle) still stood brilliantly on the hill overlooking Granada and was an element in many important civic rituals.[46] Besides the Alhambra, the labyrinthine streets of the Albaicín still wound intricately through the northern part of the city and left an indelible mark on the urban landscape. Muslim arches, place names, and aqueducts remained steadfast epitaphs to Granada's urban ancestors. For example, Granada's Muslim past was evident in the names of its principal districts: La Antequeruela, for example, settled originally by Muslims expelled from Antequera in 1400; or the Alcaicería, the central silk market.[47]

But did Granadans even take notice of these legacies of the city's Muslim past? Evidence suggests that they were aware of them, because they tried hard to include these physical reminders of their past in their civic rituals, using them to showcase their victory over Islam. Granada technically became a Christian city in 1492 upon its surrender to the Catholic Monarchs, but in truth that process spanned centuries.[48] However, Christian Granada had to be consciously built. How does one go about creating a Christian geography from non-Christian elements? For the conquerors of Granada, one way to create a Christian geography literally was to build on those non-Christian elements. Amanda Wunder in "Classical, Christian, and Muslim Remains in

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[46] Antonio Gallego y Burín states that the name "Alhambra" came from the iron deposits in the soil which made up the content of its walls, etc. He also reports, however, that the medieval Muslim historian Ibn al-Jatib claimed that the name was derived from the fact that the original fortress was rebuilt at night by torchlight which cast a reddish glow on the building. Antonio Gallego y Burín, *Granada: An Artistic and Historical Guide to the City* (Granada: Comares Editorial, 1992), 67.

[47] Richard Kagan, ed., *Spanish Cities of the Golden Age: The Views of Anton van den Wyngaerde* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 265-66.

[48] For more on this, see David Coleman's *Creating Christian Granada: Society and Religious Culture in an Old-World Frontier City, 1492-1600* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003) and A. Katie Harris' *From Muslim to Christian Granada: Inventing a City's Past in Early Modern Spain* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007).

the Construction of Imperial Seville (1520-1635)" has stated that "[a]wareness of historical evidence was fundamental to the Renaissance 'sense of history'" which Peter Burke argued for in *The Renaissance Sense of the Past.* Burke claimed that during the Renaissance, "men became more and more conscious that all sorts of things—buildings, clothes, words, laws—changed over time."[49] Wunder points to the layers of Seville's past, a past that included Islamic, Mudejar, Roman, and early Christian elements. Physical reminders of this multi-layered, and often overlapping, past had to be dealt with in the physical construction of Seville as an imperial city. Sevillians camouflaged, rebuilt, and exploited these various elements to project an image of Seville that was worthy of the important economic and imperial role Seville now held as the primary port to all destinations in the Spanish Empire.[50]

Though land-locked Granada was not a port city like Seville, it held a prominent symbolic position in the imperial ideology of Spain, an ideology that thrust Spain into world hegemony in the sixteenth century, if only briefly. Islamic control over Seville had ended in 1248 but even after 300 years, the specter of its mixed religious and cultural past was still present and evident in its buildings, streets, and general urban landscape. In the continued presence of its Muslim past even after 1492, Granada was no different. After the surrender of the city in 1492, Granadans set about to create a "Christian" city with physical elements as culturally mixed as those of Seville.[51]

Within a short time after the surrender, flocks of settlers from all over the Iberian Peninsula made their way to Granada, drawn by the wealth of the city and the

[49] As quoted in Amanda Wunder, "Classical, Christian, and Muslim Remains in the Construction of Imperial Seville (1520-1635)," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 64, 2 (2003): 196.
[50] Wunder, "Classical, Christian, and Muslim Remains".
[51] Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada*; Harris, *From Muslim to Christian Granada*.

incumbent opportunities it afforded. The city's population remained ethnically mixed until the expulsion of the Moriscos in 1609. The city's social, political, religious, and physical landscapes transformed by a conscious evolution from a Muslim city to a Christian city. In this transformation, tradition was not simply transplanted in Granada by the early Christian immigrant populations coming mainly from Castile, but instead was created by this new population. The community they built, and its subsequent civic identity, was affected by the fluidity and dynamism that characterized the unique social landscape in this frontier city.

As Richard Kagan has pointed out about Granada: "New churches, monasteries, palaces, and squares were built in the course of the sixteenth century, but these did relatively little to alter the general appearance of the city, which in the layout of its streets and the design of its houses had more in common with the densely packed Muslim cities typical of North Africa and the Middle East than with those of Renaissance Europe."[52] Many of these churches were built upon older, Muslim mosques.[53] One must only look at the circumstances surrounding the *plomos* ("lead books") of the Sacromonte in Granada to see the addled relationship Granadans had with their Muslim past. The plomos were a set of parchments and relics found in 1588 sealed in a lead box after the destruction of a minaret of a main mosque, known as the Torre Vieja, which was being torn down to make way for a new Christian cathedral.[54] Granada's very sense of self was created on this highly contentious and miraculous find. A. Katie Harris in *From Muslim to Christian Granada* has argued that because of the religious plurality

[52] Kagan, *Spanish Cities of the Golden Age*, 265-66.
[53] Peña and Vincent, *Historia de Granada*, 28.
[54] See Harris, "Forging History: The Plomos of the Sacromonte of Granada in Francisco Bermúdez de Pedraza's *Historia Eclesiástica*," *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 30 (1999): 945-66; Harris, *From Muslim to Christian Granada*.

in Granada's past, community leaders articulated a new Christianized communal identity constructed from a "new" history revealed by a box of relics and the unearthed lead tablets, or *plomos*.[55]

In the case of Seville, Wunder found that even though many of the city's builders showed an ambivalence about the city's Muslim past and therefore often tried to cover up the physical remnants of that past in their attempts to build a new Renaissance Seville, there existed at least one master builder who attempted to preserve Mudejar construction techniques.[56] These building techniques were passed to López de Arenas, a master builder, from medieval masters who, in turn, had inherited them from Muslim craftsmen. These master builders with knowledge of Mudejar or Muslim construction techniques seem to have been rare, the knowledge most likely leaving with the mass exodus of Muslims from Spain in 1609. With respect to the Alhambra, royal officials did make attempts to maintain the upkeep of the Alhambra, for example in 1492 itself, when Aragonese Mudejars were sent to Granada to carry out repairs on the Alhambra.[57] Unfortunately, by the seventeenth century the money, desire, and/or knowledge necessary for the repairs seems to have dwindled. Even so, Granada still contains many Muslim architectural elements such as intricate wooden ceilings, lattice-like stucco, and colorful glazed tiles.[58] Many of the houses in the Albaicín still have a

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[55] Harris, *From Muslim to Christian Granada*, xiv-xx.
[56] Wunder, "Classical, Christian, and Muslim Remains," 209.
[57] David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 38; see also L. Piles Ros, *Estudio documental sobre el Bayle General de Valencia: su autoridad y jurisdicción* (Valencia: Diputación Provincial, 1970), 314.
[58] For the Muslim origin of these architectural elements, see Rodrigo Caro, *Antigüedades, y principado de la ilustríssima ciudad de Sevilla, y chorographia de su convento jurídico, o antigua chancellería* (Seville, 1634; facsimile ed., Seville, 1982), ff. 61v-62. Cited in Wunder, "Classical, Christian, and Muslim Remains," 195.

physical layout reminiscent of the Muslim era, with the substance of the house positioned within and the rest of the world shut out by large walls and doors.[59]

### Geographical Layout of Granada and its Environs

Granada is situated at the foothills of the Sierra Nevada mountain range, boasting some of the highest peaks in Europe, and located within easy reach of the rich and fertile valleys known as the *vega* that supply many of the region's agricultural goods. The area has fertile soil, an abundant water supply, and a varied climate, all of which encourage the cultivation of a wide range of crops. Agriculture flourished particularly under the Muslims due to their system of irrigation and agriculture, but declined under the Christians—a serious misfortune specifically in the case of the mulberry tree, the basis of the silk industry.[60] In terms of livestock, today the principal activity in Andalusia is the rearing of the typical breed of Andalusian horse and the breeding of pigs, pork products being an important staple of the Andalusian diet and, just as importantly, a symbol of national and religious identity.

Though the city had many individual and communal vegetable gardens, the *vega* outside of the city was the source for food staples such as wheat and the larger portion of fruits, nuts, and olives. The *vega* was where Granadans cultivated such fruits and nuts as apples, plums, figs, and walnuts. Within the city, an intricate network of

[59] On the physical layout of Muslim dwellings, see Alonso Morgado, *Historia de Sevilla* (Seville: Andrea Pescioni y Juan de León, 1587; facsimile ed., Seville, 1887), 143: "Todos los vezinos de Sevilla labran ya las casas a la calle, lo qual da mucho lustre a la ciudad. Porque en tiempos passados todo el edificar era dentro del cuerpo de las casas, sin curar de lo exterior, segun que hallaron a Sevilla de tiempo de Moros." As quoted in Wunder, "Classical, Christian, and Muslim Remains," 196.
[60] Juan Sempere y Guarinos, *Memorias sobre las causas de la decadencia de la seda en el Reyno de Granada*, 1806, facsimile edition (Alicante: Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, 2006), 22.

aqueducts and water troughs provided water for gardens, industries, and public consumption. One of the primary *acequias* (canals) called Aindamar reached Granada by passing through the area of the Albaicín up to the gate of Elvira. The waters from Aindamar flowing through here emptied themselves into the cisterns of the parish of San Nicolás and the Alcazaba. The famed Generalife gardens of the Alhambra, high up on the hill overlooking Granada, received water through this ingenious technology put in place by the Arabs long before the conquest.[61] Testifying to this feat of engineering, the seventeenth-century chronicler Francisco Henríquez de Jorquera wrote of the violence of the rushing water as it made its way upward, splashing the people walking below.[62]

Throughout this journey, the water from this canal supplied the *cármenes* (inner gardens), vineyards, olive trees, gardens and other properties of the citizens of Granada. These *cármenes* were vestiges of the city's Islamic past, the physical expression of the Muslim idea of inner paradise.[63] On the other side of the city, the majority of the flour mills were located on the *acequia* Gorda, that ran next to the street that is still called Molinos (or "mills"); this *acequia* also powered the *tornos de aqua* (lathes) that were used in silk production.  Other parts of the city received water from different sources. Almost a city unto itself, the Albaicín received its goods and water from areas more nearby such as Fargue. Plaza Larga in the Albaicín, for example, received its water from the Valley of Paradise by way of the Acequia de Alfacar.[64] The importance of water to Granada cannot be overstated. Water was essential to the

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[61] Henríquez de Jorquera, *Anales de Granada,* 21.
[62] Henríquez de Jorquera, *Anales de Granada,* 21.
[63] Benedict Bull, "From the Andalusí Garden to the Andalusian Garden: Remnants and Recreation," in *Middle East Garden Traditions: Unity and Diversity: Questions, Methods and Resources in a Multicultural Perspective*, ed., Michel Conan (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2008), 287-306, 291.
[64] Henríquez de Jorquera, *Anales de Granada*, 19.

manufacturing process of several of Granada's primary industries, it filled the public fountains and wells, and it also made possible the urban gardens that people depended on for portions of their diet. Water also figured prominently in Granadan women's exercise of their legal rights over natural resources.[65]

The two principal rivers in Granada are the Genîl, which has its origins in the Sierra Nevada, and the Rio Darro. According to legend, the Darro is so named because it *da oro*, or "gives gold". Apparently at one time gold could be panned out of the river. In the first half of the sixteenth century, Granada's municipal council used rumors of the Darro's gold to entice new Christian immigrants to the city despite King Ferdinand's ban on private searches for gold in that river.[66] Unfortunately, the Darro has long since ceased yielding its treasure. Now, the Darro is famous for its picturesque views and for the large number of cats and geese existing in a weird *convivencia* (coexistence) with one another along its banks. The Genîl River served as a natural dividing line between the city and its hinterland. It also served the population; along its banks, the people of Granada fished and women washed their clothes and shared news among their friends and neighbors.

## Granada and its Institutions

Almost directly after the surrender of Granada in 1492, Isabella and Ferdinand established a Royal Chancellery Court in the city to deal with legal problems arising

[65] For an in-depth discussion of women's use of water rights, see chapter 3.
[66] AMG, f.123 *Libro de ordenanzas* (1672) as cited in Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada*, 28.

from the subjugated population of Muslims and Moriscos.[67] This creation of a royal law court in Granada, as is true with royal institutions anywhere, stimulated the economy. The Chancellery Court provided direct employment for attorneys, notarial scribes, and other civil servants. The city also benefited from related economic stimuli. As a result of the courts, litigants from all over the kingdom of Granada came to the capitol city to plead their cases. While in Granada, these litigants needed temporary housing at inns like the one owned by the 38-year-old widow María Aguirre in the parish of Angustias.[68] These litigants also needed food and would have eaten at a tavern such as those owned by the 60-year-old tavern keeper Juliana Palomares[69] or the 36-year-old widow María Pañan.[70] Even as early as 1561, there were 62 registered taverns in Granada, 26 of these taverns were run by women and the majority of these were in the heart of the city right next to the cathedral and close to the Chancellery Court.[71] It has been estimated that in Valladolid, the site of the other Royal Chancellery Court in Spain, between two and three thousand residents—about 5 or 6 percent of the population—depended, directly or indirectly, on the chancellery court for a livelihood.[72] Though no parallel study has been made of Granada, one can surmise that a similar percentage of Granada's population, including many women, depended on the chancellery court for their livelihood as well.

Granada also became the site of an imperial and pontifical university. Founded by Charles V in 1526, the University of Granada was granted the right to award degrees

[67] BN, MS309 Practica de la Chancilleria de Granada (16--), 1; for more on the history of the Chancellery Court in Granada, see Pedro Gan Giménez, *La Real chancillería de Granada: 1505-1834* (Granada: Centro de estudios históricos de Granada y su reino, 1988).
[68] AMG, 11 2 36, *Catastro del Marqués de la Enseñada*, (1749), roll 24, 493v-494r.
[69] AMG, 11 2 36, *Catastro del Marqués de la Enseñada*, (1749), roll 24, 484r.
[70] AMG, 11 2 36, *Catastro del Marqués de la Enseñada*, (1749), roll 25, 519r.
[71] Peña and Vincent, *Historia de Granada*, 126.
[72] Kagan, *Cities of the Golden Age*, 74.

in 1531 by a Bull issued by Pope Clement VII. This Bull elevated the status of the University of Granada to that of the universities in Paris, Salamanca, and Bologna.[73] The University added to Granada's economic prosperity by bringing in students and faculty who utilized the ancillary services, often provided by women, in order to live (food, places to live, clothes washing, etc.) but also added to the intellectual vitality of the city. As Spain's burgeoning bureaucracy grew, university-trained *letrados* (men of letters) would come to occupy a prominent position in Spanish society as servants of the crown and of the professional classes, thus making Granada's university a path for social promotion.[74]

In terms of population, Granada experienced a large influx of Christian immigrants directly following its establishment as a Christian city in 1492, followed by a large exodus of Muslims in 1609 when this population was officially expelled from Spain. But aside from these major population shifts, Granada remained a destination for people far and wide. Some came from the hinterland to access the courts, the markets, the university or the religious houses. Leonor de Jaén who lived in the Alpujarras mountains, near Granada came to begin an appeal process for a lawsuit between herself and Alonso El-Fininane, on the one hand, and Antonio de Peralta y Don Cristóbal de León, on the other.[75] Some came for marriage. For example, according to marriage records in four of Granada's parishes—San Justo y Pastor, Magdalena, Angustias, and Sagrario—between the years 1665-1700, 40% of the 14,534 new spouses were not born in Granada. Out of these spouses not born in Granada, 7%

[73] María del Carmen Calero Palacios et al., *Historia de la Universidad de Granada* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1997), 19-38.
[74] Teófilo F. Ruiz, *Spanish Society 1400-1600* (London: Longman, 2001), 32.
[75] AMG, Fol. 398r-404r, *Actas de Cabildo* (22 enero 1557), 468.

came from Andalusia and approximately 6% came from other parts of Spain. More surprising, however, is the range of other locations that are represented: the Levant, France, Italy, Portugal, the Indies, and the Barbary coast.[76]

Others came for opportunity. As a frontier town, Granada drew a broad cross-section of Spanish society. As one author has rightly pointed out, "Granada was characterized by a somewhat greater degree of social mobility than was possible in many of the more established communities of central and northern Castile…."[77] This opportunity for social mobility is evident in the case of Judeoconversos, or *conversos*, (Jewish converts to Christianity), who comprised a large portion of the Granadan population in the sixteenth century and could be found in positions of power within all of Granada's governing institutions—both civil and ecclesiastical.[78] Granada's population continued to be stable throughout the seventeenth century, despite the overall population decline throughout Spain.[79] As a provincial capital, Granada had a great deal to offer in terms of employment prospects and social services, which kept a steady stream of immigrants flowing into the city throughout the century.

## Parishes and Neighborhoods

There were 23 parishes in Granada, each with its own distinct identity, parish churches, neighborhoods, and characteristic demography. Each neighborhood in

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[76] José Manuel Rabasco Valdés, "La inmigración a Granada, 1665-1700. Fuentes para su estudio," in *Actas de las Jornadas de Metodología Aplicada de las Ciencias Históricas*, 3 (Santiago de Compostela: Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, 1980), 347-360.
[77] Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada*, 22.
[78] Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada*, 24.
[79] James Casey, *Family and Community in Early Modern Spain: The Citizens of Granada, 1570-1739* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 32.

Granada had a history; the parishes encompassing these neighborhoods had their founding myths. Likewise, each parish and neighborhood had its own distinct character and demographic makeup. The success of the military action against Granada by the Catholic Monarchs stimulated mass migration from the Christian North to the newly-won area. Between 1485, when the earliest attempts at conquering the region were undertaken, and 1498, six years after the surrender of the provincial capital, approximately forty thousand Christian Spaniards from various parts of Spain entered the territories of the slowly diminishing Muslim dominion of Granada (al-Andalus).[80] In the sixteenth century, the city remained very ethnically diverse, if no longer outwardly religiously diverse. As mentioned previously, a large number of *conversos* and Moriscos (Muslim converts to Christianity) lived in Granada in the sixteenth century. Many of these new Christians were sincere and devout Christians; others seem to have practiced their old religions in secret.[81] Suspicion of converts to Christianity was ever-present. For example, a woman, Isabel Zapatayra, a Morisca who was nearing the end of her life, was brought up on charges by the Inquisition in 1569 simply for requesting to have her bones buried in North Africa.[82] The city's populations remained largely segregated. In the late sixteenth century, the Christian immigrant majority lived in the lower part of the city, which was largely, though not completely bounded on the north side by a major street called Calle de Elvira. Calle de Elvira led to the Puerta de Elvira, which had been the city's main gate during Muslim times.

[80] Kamen, *Empire*, 21.
[81] For more on Jewish and Muslim converts to Christianity see Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*, 149-151 and 194; for apostasy see 15-16 and 128.
[82] AHN, *Inquisición*, legajo 1953, no. 4 penitent #58; as cited in Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada*, 44.

After the conquest in 1492, Granada had received an onslaught of Christian immigrants, with the population swelling to well over 50,000 by 1561. Moriscos constituted only about one-tenth of this figure. They were eventually expelled, however, many years following their revolt in 1568 against Christian rule.[83] The Alcazaba region, bounded mostly in the south by Calle de Elvira and on the southeast by the Darro River and including the north part of the lower Albaicín, was ethnically mixed at this time, including a substantial number of Moriscos. The Albaicín, in the northernmost portion of Granada, held a Morisco majority.[84] The sixteenth century was a period of intense civic and religious building as the erection of new churches, monasteries, palaces, and squares testified to the Christianizing process of the city and its populations. So, too did those mosques that were converted into churches, and the great mosque that was demolished to give life to the new cathedral in the heart of the city.[85] To complete this process, Moriscos were officially expelled in 1609.

A closer examination of two parishes that feature prominently in the history of Granada and that represent two different sections of the city—Sagrario and Nuestra Señora de las Angustias—provides a deeper look into Granadan society. Sagrario, founded in 1501, was home to the Iglesia Mayor (the Cathedral founded by Isabella), the Alcaicería (the heart of the silk trade), Zacatín (the preeminent shopping district for all kinds of quality goods) and Plaza Bibrrambla (the primary plaza in the city where executions, markets, and the Corpus Christi celebration were held). Sagrario was the economic and spiritual heart of the city. Incidentally, the Muslims had established

[83] Kagan, *Spanish Cities,* 267.
[84] From a map ca. 1561 in Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada*, 51.
[85] Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada*, 1; Harris, *From Muslim to Christian Granada*, 1; Kagan, *Spaish Cities of the Golden Age*, 266.

Zacatín and the Alcaicería long before the Christians arrived, but after the surrender of Granada the area was repopulated with Old Christians (Christians who claimed a "clean bloodline", not descended from Jewish or Muslim ancestors) and it remains to this day a thriving center of civic and religious identity.

Within Sagrario, the Cathedral, which was founded by Isabella and now holds her body, was the primary point of urban reference. To the south of the Cathedral and to the west of Plaza Bibrrambla was the *pescaderia* or street of fish vendors. *Pescaderas*, or fisherwomen, had been active in the city since at least 1561, but by the eighteenth century they were part of the administration of that industry.[86] To the southeast of the Cathedral and just north and intersecting off of Plaza Bibrrambla was Libreros street where, as the name suggests, the majority of the printers and booksellers were located. Another area of printers was situated to the northeast of the Cathedral, on Abenamar street, near to the other main plaza in Granada, Plaza Nueva. Plaza Nueva, in the parish of San Gil, was built over the Darro River between 1506 and 1515. The political heart of the city, Plaza Nueva housed the royal chancellery court, completed in 1587, and the Holy Office of the Inquisition. Calle de la Carcel runs north to south just to the west side of the Cathedral. To the west of the northernmost edge of the Cathedral, perpendicular to the Calle de la Carcel, was the Carcel Real or royal prison. A little

[86] *Pescaderas* are specifically addressed in the city ordinances of 1556, though I found few references to specific fisherwomen in the notes of the city council. AMG *Ordenanzas de los Diputados, y precios de pescado y pescadores y el pescado cecial* (1556), title 128, 247v. In 1759, the city council appointed Antonia de la Torre de los Santos to be the "despacho de la tabla del pescado", or office regulating the city's fish market. AMG 805 *Actas de Cabildo: Mercados* (1759), 89. Approximately ten years ealier, in 1743, the city council brought charges against the resellers of fish because the fish was in such a bad state. Antonia's position would help to keep that from occurring once again. AMG 805 *Actas de Cabildo: Presentación de una Provisión Real, y autos de la Chancillería para que el corregidor de Granada y su Juzgado de Gobierno remita a la Sala del Crimen el proceso contra los revendedores de pescado en mal estado, con indicación de los casos que corresponden a la jurisdicción del Juzgado de Gobierno* (21 de mayo de 1743), 78.

farther west of the southernmost edge of the Cathedral, also running perpendicular to the Calle de la Carcel was Panaderos street, where the bakers were located. The historical record indicates that women were vitally integrated into the economic and social life of the city in each of these distinct areas, whether they bakers, fishmongers, fruit sellers or tavern- and inn-keepers.

In a different part of the city, just southeast of the Cathedral, was another historically significant parish—the parish of Nuestra Señora de las Angustias. The parish of Angustias was named after the female patron saint of Granada, La Virgen de las Angustias (Virgin of Sorrows), counterpart to San Cecilio, Granada's male patron saint. Angustias was declared an independent parish in 1610. Its history, however, reached as far back as 1501 when there once existed a shrine dedicated to St. Ursula and St. Susanna. In that shrine was a venerated panel painting representing Nuestra Señora de las Angustias, Our Lady of the Sorrows. This painting, which had been donated by Isabella, had a very devoted following.[87] The tall, twin seventeenth-century bell towers marked out this parish's church from all the surrounding buildings down by the banks of the Genil river. This area was known for housing the dirtier aspects of the silk industry and pottery manufacturing, as well as the numerous mills situated there due to the proximity of the vital waters of the Genil.

[87] Fr. Antonio de la Chica Benavides, *Gazetilla curiosa o semanero Granadino util y noticioso para el bien comun* (Granada: Imprenta del Convento del Orden de la SSma. Trinidad Calzados de Granada, 16 de Julio 1764), papel 15.

## Economic and Social Changes

The sixteenth century was a period of increased power and wealth for Spain due to the expansion of the Indies trade and the growth of the textile industry, particularly in Granada, Málaga and Toledo.[88] In the sixteenth century, Granada, along with Málaga and Jaén, comprised a valuable urban segment of the Spanish Mediterranean economy. This economic significance was largely due to the legacy of the Muslim economy prior to the Christian "reconquest" of the area, a legacy that included luxury goods such as silk and sugar.[89] By the time Charles II took the throne in 1665, however, Spain's prospects looked increasingly bleak.[90] The population was overtaxed and recovering from epidemic disease. The once-highly prosperous American trade had begun to diminish. Spain had been at war for almost a century starting in 1568 with the revolt of the Spanish Netherlands and the Thirty Years war that began in 1618, both wars ending in 1648. Ceaseless wars and the loss of markets created a woeful economy for Spain. Spanish industry was stagnant in the seventeenth century. Particularly hard hit was the textile industry. Though none of the textile industrial centers, whether of wool or silk, ceased producing goods, most suffered unemployment, severe recession, and loss of export markets.[91]

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[88] David R. Ringrose, *Madrid and the Spanish Economy, 1560-1850* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 227.
[89] Ringrose, *Madrid and the Spanish Economy*, 234.
[90] For more on Spain's challenges in the seventeenth century, see Helen Rawlings, *The Debate on the Decline of Spain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012); Henry Kamen, *Spain, 1469-1714: A Society of Conflict* (New York: Routledge, 2014); I. A. A Thompson and Bartolome Yun Casalilla, eds., *The Castilian Crisis of the Seventeenth Century: New Perspectives on the Economic and Social History of Seventeenth-Century Spain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), and John Lynch, *Spain Under the Hapsburgs, 2: Spain and America 1598-1700* (New York: New York University Press, 1984).
[91] Lynch, *Spain Under the Hapsburgs*, 161.

Charles II's accession to the throne did not alleviate these ills, as he was to provide Spain with a poverty of leadership. As John Lynch wrote of the period: "Nations can recover from the consequences of war and renew their life. But Spain's prostration was so prolonged that it points to a deeper malaise. War and taxation merely placed additional burdens on a society already carrying a dead-weight of privilege and on an economy already weakened by structural defects."[92] Such a context prompted Lynch rather dramatically to state: "In the last decades of Hapsburg rule Spain resembled a corpse, picked at by noble parasites and foreign marauders."[93]

The seventeenth century was particularly challenging for Granada. Between 1614 and 1680, seven earthquakes occurred, five of them between 1634 and 1643. There were two in the same year—1640. The most violent was said to be the earthquake of 1680, but the records also tell us that the earthquake that ushered in the new century in 1614 had aftershocks that lasted for fifteen days.[94] Granada also suffered two floods during the seventeenth century, the worst happening in 1629.[95] Famine was a regular occurrence in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries due to bad grain harvests. The worst famine occurred in 1637, but was followed by famines in 1646, 1652, 1664, and 1667-1669. In 1670-71, Granadan farmers recorded a good crop

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[92] Lynch, *Spain Under the Hapsburgs*, 134. For more information regarding the debate on the "decline" of Spain in the seventeenth century, see J. H. Elliott, "The Decline of Spain," *Past and Present*, 20 (1961): 52–75; reprinted in J.H. Elliott, *Spain and its World 1500–1700* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 217–240; Elliott, "Self-Perception and Decline in early Seventeenth Century Spain," *Past and Present*, 74 (1977): 41–61; reprinted in Elliott, *Spain and its World 1500–1700*, 241–261; Thompson and Casalilla, eds., *The Castilian Crisis of the Seventeenth* Century. The entire debate is thoroughly summed up and analyzed anew in Rawlings, *The Debate on the Decline of Spain*.

[93] Lynch, *Spain Under the Hapsburgs*, 276.

[94] UGR, BHR A-31-126 (15) *Breve relación de …horrible temblor de tierra*, 1680.

[95] See Francisco Henríquez de Jorquera, *Anales de Granada: Descripción del reino y ciudad de Granada. Crónica de la reconquista (1482-1492). Sucesos de los años 1588 a 1646.* Edición preparada, según el manuscrito original, por Antonio Marín Ocete (Granada: Publicaciones de la Facultad de Letras, 1934).

of grain, but it was razed by grasshoppers. A similar occurrence had transpired in the preceeding century. During these times of famine, grain had to be shipped into the city. Sometimes there was not enough grain to be had in the region. For example, due to grain shortages and unscrupulous bakers, a violent protest in May of 1648 broke out in Granada over the high price and poor quality of bread. According to the historical record, the price of bread tripled and the bread that was available was "wheaten loaf mixed with millet and ashes."[96] During this three-day riot, crowds armed with swords and other weapons controlled the city's streets, forcing some city officials to flee Granada.[97] Ultimately, the city leaders promised cheap, good bread in order to calm the angry crowds.[98]

Poor harvests caused malnutrition which in turn weakened the resistance of the people, thus allowing disease to linger and wreak more havoc. Often accompanying crises of subsistence, epidemics overran the city. Typhus and plague dominated the sixteenth century, while the plague ebbed and flowed in the city throughout the entire seventeenth century. The plague tended to arrive in June, subside in July, increase in severity and number of cases in August and then cease in only September.[99] Recent research reveals that Granada may have faced a possible outbreak of dysentery in 1635 that, according to parish burial records, killed at least 919 people.[100] It is estimated

[96] James Casey, *Early Modern Spain: A Social History* (London: Routledge, 1999), 135.
[97] See Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, *Alteraciones andaluzas* (Madrid: Narcea, 1973), 55-58 and Antonio Luis Cortés Peña and Bernard Vincent, *Historia de Granada, Vol. 3, La época moderna, siglos XVI, XVII y XVII* (Granada: Editorial Don Quijote, 1986), 71-73.
[98] Casey asserts that a loaf of bread that was large enough to feed an average household for a day would have weighed approximately three pounds and would cost around two *reales*, a sum that was about half of the daily income for a working man at that time. Casey, *Early Modern Spain*, 135-136. Tripling the price of bread would have resulted in a loaf that cost six *reales*.
[99] Peña and Vincent, *Historia de Granada*, 51-52.
[100] Sylvia A. Jiménez-Brobeil et al., "Un Posible Brote de Disentería en Granada en 1635: Comprobación Demográfica de las Fuentes Históricas," *Chronica Nova*, 39 (2013): 241-253.

that Granada had approximately 50,000 inhabitants at the start of the seventeenth century, but due to the challenges that unfolded throughout the century saw a decline in population in the second half of the seventeenth century.[101]

Depopulation was an endemic problem throughout Spain in the seventeenth century, but for Andalusia (the region in which Granada was situated) it was more sporadic. Only during times of plague and famine did Andalusia's cities encounter severe population loss. It is estimated that Seville, one of Andalusia's most prominent cities and the only Spanish port authorized (at the time) to trade with the Indies, and its rural environs alone suffered the loss of a quarter of their 600,000 people in the seventeenth century.[102] Depopulation caused instability in the economy, but may have done great damage to the psyche of Spain's population as well. Some historians have argued that the persistence of plagues and the large number of deaths attributed to them caused seventeenth-century Spain to be haunted by the specter of death.[103]

There is no doubt that natural disasters, famines and epidemics did have a disruptive effect on the city in terms of population, culture, politics, finances, and popular protest. They also, however, provided an occasion to unite the community through supplication processions to local shrines, special masses for the dead and for protection from future disasters, as well as the simple act of neighbors helping neighbors in times

[101] Francisco Sánchez-Montes, *La población granadina del siglo XVII* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1989); Francisco Sánchez-Montes, "Una aplicación metodológica a la demografía urbana: padrones parroquiales en Granada," *Chronica Nova*, 27 (2000): 199-215.
[102] A. Domínguez Ortiz, *Orto y ocaso de Sevilla. Estudio sobre la prosperidad y decadencia de la ciudad en los siglos XVI y XVII* (Seville: Junta de Patronato de la Sección de Publicaciones de la Excma. Diputación Provincial, 1946); as cited in John Lynch, *Spain Under the Hapsburgs*, 137.
[103] Lynch, *Spain Under the Hapsburgs*, 137; Domínguez Ortiz, *Alteraciones andaluzas*.

of need.[104] Women were in the forefront of each and every supplication procession, they commissioned special masses, they prayed for protection and often came to the aid of neighbors in need.[105]

This situation was not entirely bleak, however. For some regions of Spain and in some economic sectors, such as the silk industry, which had a high proportion of female workers in Granada, there was significant recovery in the second half of the seventeenth century. Along with the silk industry, Granada also had a thriving leather sector as well as diverse agricultural products. Running alongside the formal economy, Granada had an expansive informal economy, many of the services of which, such as street hawking, were in the hands of women. As a provincial center of Andalusia, Granada was assured at least some economic stability. The urban economic network based in and around Granada, though economically isolated in many respects from the rest of Spain, nevertheless provided the region with a “precarious, self-contained stability” at least until the production of sugar declined between 1677 and 1685.[106] Thus by looking at how the economic and social situation changed over time in Granada, it becomes clear that early modern Granadan women displayed a strong community response to these challenges such as participating in rogations and agitating for fair prices for food.

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[104] See, for example, AMG Act Cap. L VIII Fol. 277r-279v 1614 procession due to an earthquake; also see Henríquez de Jorquera, *Anales de Granada*, 751.
[105] Henríquez de Jorquera recounts numerous processions and special masses in *Anales de Granada*; see for example processions for rain in 1603 (536) and 1604 (537 and 538).
[106] Ringrose, *Madrid and the Spanish Economy*, 239-240.

**A History of Granadan Women**

When one hears of women in early modern Spain, the first image that one probably thinks of is that of the honor-bound, upper-class woman sequestered in her home by her husband, father, brother, or son. This image was constructed, prescribed, and perpetuated by early modern Spanish commentators, by clerics interpreting religious doctrine, and often by royal decree. Archival findings, however, reveal an entirely different historical reality for early modern women in Granada, similar to that of women in other parts of Spain.

Women were to be found almost everywhere in early modern Granada. Women were in the street walking to the market or the bakery, fetching water from one of the city's many public fountains, chatting with neighbors, strolling Plaza Bibrrambla, heading to mass, washing clothes at the river, or buying or selling second-hand clothes. In addition, women were also actively involved in organizing and preparing for the various social rituals that marked the pivotal moments of life. They made preparations for births, baptisms, funerals, weddings, city celebrations, and religious festivities. As subsequent chapters in this dissertation will show, the historical record clearly indicates that women felt a sense of belonging, even ownership, in and of their city. Women were intricately woven into the fabric of civic life in Granada. Yet, very little has been written about these women of Granada's seventeenth century.

What is also clear is that these same women were expected to follow strict social norms and were denied access to some of the more intangible aspects of civic life like legal citizenship and avenues of overt civic power. Rather than simply comparing and contrasting the ways in which women were included or excluded from these spaces, this

dissertation positions historical evidence of daily life within the framework of Hapsburg rule in the seventeenth century and the beginning of Bourbon rule in the early part of the eighteenth century. Historians often have characterized each century and thus, each ruling house, as polar opposites. In this dichotomy, the period of Hapsburg rule received the blame for the decline of Spain due to religious fanaticism, economic decadence, and an unwillingness to modernize, as well as the dwindling royal gene pool.[107] In contrast, Bourbon rule, ultimately guided by the Enlightenment, received praise for dragging Spain kicking and screaming, so to speak, into the modern era.

Departing from this dichotomy, some scholars have begun to assert that the seventeenth century should be recognized as a foundational period for women's intellectual history in Spain, pointing to the numerous literary works penned by women and the increase in convents and female education.[108] Literary and religious works written by women do indeed provide extremely useful insights into women's minds and lives in this period, but only regarding those women privileged enough to receive an education. Beyond this, the women of Granada created, influenced, and were influenced by culture in ways other than prose and dramatic productions. For instance, Granadan women patronized the arts, commissioned religious works gifted to convents and churches, acted in and attended the theatre.

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[107] Geoffrey Parker, *The World Is Not Enough: The Imperial Vision of Philip II of Spain* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2001), 28; Benjamin Curtis, *The Habsburgs: The History of a Dynasty* (London: Bloomsbury Academic Press, 2013), 271.

[108]Anne J. Cruz and Rosilie Hernandez, eds., *Women's Literacy in Early Modern Spain and the New World* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011); Lisa Vollendorf, "Fleshing out Feminism in Early Modern Spain: María de Zayas's Corporeal Politics," *Revista Canadiense de Estudios Hispanicos*, 22 (1997): 87-108; Lisa Vollendorf, "The Value of Female Friendship in Seventeenth-Century Spain," *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, 47, 4 (2005): 425-445.

Through sources such as documents recording the founding by women of *patronatos* (entailed estates), descriptions of religious processions and fiestas, legal records of disputes over water and building construction, and ledgers listing appointments of women to important economic positions within the marketplace, as well as municipal ordinances, subsequent chapters in this dissertation focuses on the instances and the ways in which women were omnipresent in almost all of the areas from which official gender ideology excluded them. Furthermore, they will show that this was not only socially acceptable to the majority of the community in Granada, but even, in fact, economically, politically, and socially vital to the community. The Bourbon reforms of the eighteenth century, in themselves, did little to directly aid in the improvement of women's lives; rather women at the time did what women have always done and acted on their own behalf in informal ways that functioned as a "back door", as it were, to more freedoms and a better life. Precisely because women were generally excluded from the official discourses of the time, rather than participating in these discourses, women just acted outside of them. They just "did".

Sources from Granada during this period provide an important link between the conceptions of women and their place within the world as espoused in political discourse and religious ideology, as well as popular understandings of gender. It is quite clear from the historical record that not all men articulated a gender ideology that was consistent with a hegemonic discourse. Likewise, it is unmistakably apparent that women did not uniformly adhere to the admonitions preached by early modern clergy and absolute monarchs. Moreover, women suffered little if any retribution for such actions. Women and men in the living of their daily lives, in the spatial layouts of the

city, and in the range of activities available or closed to women, articulated a range of distinct ideas about women and space.

For instance, Granada experienced several food shortages during the early modern period and bread became expensive and hard to come by. Municipal ordinances regarding bakers included specifically female bakers as well, so it is apparent that there were many female bakers in Granada during this period. It is unlikely that municipal authorities cared who was baking the bread; their only concern was that it was baked. Similarly, it is highly doubtful that the people who were going hungry refrained from buying bread baked by a woman. As the saying goes in Spain: *algo es algo, peor es nada* (a particularly pertinent adage, it is perhaps best translated as: something is better than nothing or, in this case, half a loaf is better than none at all). Though some might argue that women as bakers were seen as more acceptable than women in other professions because women were the ones who prepared food in the household, it is nonetheless true that bakers were valued citizens who performed an immensely important job in the community, since the largest part of an early modern person's diet came from bread.

Another useful example of women acting outside of prescriptive norms with relative impunity occurred in religious processions. By examining the relationship between civic ritual and representation (which was highly influenced and often expressed through religious ritual) and comparing this to the historical records regarding women, convents, personal donations by women, and confraternities of women, we see that women were almost omnipresent in these civic processions as well as in religious ones. Most civic rituals in Granada involved a broad section of the population, because

they marked the boundaries of communal inclusion and exclusion, lending Granada a particular civic identity that was distinct from that of other early modern Spanish cities. This urban uniqueness was most clearly expressed in the celebration of Corpus Christi, which was founded in Granada by Isabella almost immediately after the surrender of the city, and took on a bit of the "flavor" of the "conquest". On a public scale, ceremony and ritual made concrete the way that government worked. As many historians have persuasively argued, power was, to some degree, about display.[109] Display was important. Social relations were, in part, theatrical and so were acted out.

Few women in the early modern period engaged in politics as conventionally defined. If we expand the concept of "politics", however, we find that women frequently took part in and influenced informal and formal power structures in their local communities. The political role of women in early modern Granada first and fundamentally consisted of their strategies to protect and expand their economic and symbolic rights and privileges. By examining women's battles over such issues as inheritance and water rights, as well as their patronage activities, we are able to uncover some of the strategies by which women sought to exert civic power in seventeenth-century Granada. These urban women bridged the foundational social structure of the home and the larger civic body and carved out some measure of civic power in the process.

The image of the virtuous woman, who the authorities and moralists preferred to be secluded and silent, did much to assure noblemen that their children were, indeed,

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[109] See for example, Michael Schreffler*, The Art of Allegiance: Visual Culture and Imperial Power in Baroque New Spain* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2007).

their own. The reality, however, is that women, even those in “seclusion” due to the taking of monastic vows, were often very vocal and strategized to help their male family members advance socially, politically and economically. Some noblewomen even had significant political influence over Spain’s leaders.[110] As the remainder of this dissertation will show, women of the Granadan nobility engaged in strategic giving to either bolster or protect family patrimony or to provide some measure of financial support to female friends and relatives. Furthermore, women in Granada often bequeathed to institutions that provided education and dowries for orphan girls. Women also aggressively protected and expanded legal rights over natural, cultural and economic resources through the Spanish law courts. A significant number of women owned property in Granada and some owned multiple properties. Though fewer records of these more modest wills and testaments have survived, one could infer that these women of lesser means also employed similar strategies to those of noblewomen did as they loved their families and friends no less, and worked under a similar cultural ethos. Instead of bequeathing vast swaths of property, these women bequeathed items of clothing and household goods. It is clear that women acted on civic desires that were if not wholly, then largely defined by them.

[110] Grace E. Coolidge, *Guardianship, Gender, and the Nobility in Early Modern Spain* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010); Helen Nader, *Power and Gender in Renaissance Spain: Eight Women of the Mendoza Family 1450-1650* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2004); Magdalena S. Sánchez, *The Empress, The Queen and the Nun: Women and Power in the Court of Philip III of Spain* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002).

## Chapter 2: Women and the Civic Economy

Women's work formed an integral part of the socioeconomic structure in seventeenth-century Granada. Granadan women owned and managed property, engaged in textile production, and performed numerous commercial activities. Women also participated in a "makeshift" economy of odd jobs, employing various economic strategies in order to survive. As the lowest paid workers and generally not under guild protection, working class women were at the greatest economic disadvantage during troubled economic times and so suffered from them proportionately more than men and felt these changes more acutely than their poorest and richer female counterparts.[111] Though established economic avenues contracted, urban working women attempted to compensate for and cope with these economic changes through participation in the informal economy.[112] Many historians have found an elasticity of local economies that

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[111] See for example, Carmen Sarasúa, "Technical Innovations at the Service of Cheaper Labour in Pre-Undustrial Europe. The Enlightened Agenda to Transform the Gender Division of Labour in Silk Manufacturing," *History and Technology*, 24, 1 (2008), 23-39, 36. The idea of working class women being more vulnerable to economic change is suggested in Sara Mendelson and Patricia Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England, 1550-1720* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 343.

[112] For the scholarly literature on working women in early modern Europe more generally, see, for example: Lindsey Charles and Lorna Duffin, eds., *Women and Work in Pre-Industrial England* (London: Croom Helm, 1985); Monica Chojnacka, *Working Women of Early Modern Venice* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001); Clare Haru Crowston, *Fabricating Women: The Seamstresses of Old Regime France, 1675–1791* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001); Peter Earle, "The Female Labour Market in London in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries," *The Economic History Review* New Series, 42, 3 (1989): 328-53; P. J. P. Goldberg, *Women, Work, and the Life Cycle in a Medieval Economy: Women in York and Yorkshire, c. 1300–1520* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992); Daryl M. Hafter, ed., *European Women and Preindustrial Craft* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995); and Margaret R. Hunt, *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender, and the Family in England, 1680–1780* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996). See also Martha C. Howell, *Women, Production, and Patriarchy in Late Medieval Cities* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986); Marilyn Stone and Carmen Benito-Vessels, *Women at Work in Spain: From the Middle Ages to Early Modern Times* (New York: Peter Lang, 1998); Merry E. Wiesner, *Working Women in Renaissance Germany* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1986); Carolyn Loats, "Gender, Guilds, and Work Identity: Perspectives from Sixteenth-Century Paris," *French Historical Studies,* 20, 1 (Winter, 1997): 15-30; and Diane Willen, "Women in the Public Sphere in Early Modern England: The Case of the Urban Working Poor," *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 19, 4 (Winter, 1988): 559-575. For Portugal, see Darlene Abreu-Ferreira, "From Mere Survival to Near Success: Women's Economic Strategies in Early Modern Portugal," *Journal of Women's History* 13, 2 (2001): 58-79; and Darlene Abreu-Ferreira, "Work and Identity in Early Modern Portugal: What Did Gender Have to Do With It?" *Journal of Social History* 35, 4 (2002): 859–88.

enabled them to cope with and sometimes successfully negotiate changing economic and political conditions.[113] Following this line of thought, this dissertation argues that women's labor, underpaid, or even unpaid, and versatile, allowed the city a measure of economic flexibility to weather the decline of its major industries and enabled the survival of the women themselves. Uncovering the labor activities of women and analyzing women's significance in the various labor markets reveals the contributions women made to the civic economy during a tumultuous century. Although major industries declined, the unofficial economy in which women were heavily active provided internal buoyancy to Granada's economy.

## Spain's Economy in the Seventeenth Century

The seventeenth century was a period of economic instability and, in some areas, intense decline. Population, agriculture, trade, and manufacturing, which had hit their peaks in the sixteenth century, contracted in the seventeenth century.[114] The major urban commercial networks largely collapsed.[115] As a result of the decrease in agricultural production and the unraveling of commercial networks, areas that had once relied on broad regional supply networks found themselves almost totally dependent upon local resources. The unraveling of these networks made the agricultural crises of

[113] Enrique Llopis Agelan, "Castilian Agriculture in the Seventeenth Century: Depression or 'Readjustment and Adaptation'?" in I. A. A Thompson and Bartolomé Yun Casalilla, eds., *The Castilian Crisis of the Seventeenth Century: New Perspectives on the Economic and Social History of Seventeenth-Century Spain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 77-100; Carla Rahn Phillips, "Time and Duration: A Model for the Economy of Early Modern Spain," *American Historical Review* 92 (June 1987): 531-562; and Ángel García Sanz, *Desarrollo y crisis del Antiguo Régimen en Castilla la Vieja: economía y sociedad en tierras de Segovia de 1500 a 1814* (Madrid: Akal, 1977).
[114] Thompson and Casalilla, *The Castilian Crisis*, 2; Stanley G. Payne, *A History of Spain and Portugal*: *Antiquity to the Seventeenth Century* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1973), 291-294.
[115] Carla Rahn Phillips, "Discussion of Flynn, Weisser and Hoffman Papers," *Journal of Economic History* 42, 1 (1982): 160.

the seventeenth century particularly difficult for more densely populated urban centers to manage. But, as Carla Rahn Phillips has pointed out, "it was brutally efficient in reducing the size of towns and cities that were too large to be sustained from local resources alone."[116] Aggravating the economic situation further were violently fluctuating prices.[117] This price fluctuation was in part due to a chaotic monetary policy whereby currency was devaluated and inflation soared. In some cases, however, the devaluation of a currency had short-term negative effects, but long-term positive effects. In the case of the copper *vellon* (a low-value coin), its devaluation in 1680, in the midst of crop failures and epidemics, caused dislocation in the internal economy of Spain, and also hurt exports by effectively doubling their price. In the long term, however, this particular economic policy proved to have a stabilizing and even a stimulating effect on the economy.[118] Production, nonetheless, stagnated as merchants began to invest in the exportation of raw materials instead of in manufacturing.[119] Wool exports, for example, after hitting their peak in 1550, declined sharply for nearly a century and then reemerged around 1650 with renewed energy. This renewal, however, was not in the hands of Spanish merchants. Spanish merchants had controlled most of the wool export trade until its peak in the mid-sixteenth century. They lost dominance afterward, however, only retaining control over the internal market that supplied the wool for export.[120] The culmination of all of these factors was widespread unemployment and poverty.

[116] Phillips, "Time and Duration," 546.
[117] David R. Ringrose, *Madrid and the Spanish Economy, 1560-1850* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 112.
[118] Phillips, "Time and Duration," 549.
[119] Phillips, "Time and Duration," 543.
[120] Carla Rahn Phillips, "The Spanish Wool Trade, 1500-1780," *Journal of Economic History*, 42, 4 (Dec., 1982): 775-795.

For some regions and economic sectors, such as the silk industry in Granada, however, the seventeenth century was not entirely dismal--especially in the second half of the century, there was significant recovery.[121] In seventeenth-century Segovia, for example, Ángel García Sanz has found a diffusion of production, especially in the textile industry, rather than an absolute decline.[122] Carla Rahn Phillips, meanwhile, has found that in Ciudad Real, local trade and production had fewer connections to the national economy than before, but nevertheless still continued to function, albeit on a lower level, corroborating García Sanz's work in Segovia. Though it is becoming increasingly clear that absolute economic decline was not ubiquitous throughout Spain, evidence suggests that some cities did indeed decline. Toledo is one such city. Toledo was one of the most flourishing industrial centers in the interior of Spain in the late sixteenth century. Its economy was fairly diverse with industries such as woolen cloth, silk, and tanneries.[123] Toledo, however, fell into decline as a result of its geographical proximity to Madrid, the rapidly expanding new capital city. Toledo lost its function as the largest mercantile center in the interior of the peninsula, portions of its population, and some of its economic resources due to Madrid's gravitational pull. In terms of agriculture, Toledo was dependent upon grain production, had over-cultivated its land, and thus had little economic flexibility to weather inclement forces.[124]

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[121] On Spain's economic recovery in the seventeenth century, see: Thompson and Casalilla, *The Castilian Crisis*; Phillips, "Time and Duration"; Michael R. Weisser, "The Agrarian Depression in Seventeenth-Century Spain," *Journal of Economic History*, 42, 1 (March 1982): 149-154; and García Sanz, *Desarrollo y crisis del Antiguo Régimen*.

[122] García Sanz, *Desarrollo y crisis*.

[123] Ángel García Sanz, "Economic Crisis and the Policy of Reform," in Thompson and Casalilla, *The Castilian Crisis*, 13-31, 27.

[124] Michael R. Weisser, "The Agrarian Depression in Seventeenth-Century Spain," *Journal of Economic History*, 42, 1 (March 1982): 149-154.

Córdoba is another city that could not escape decline. Córdoba enjoyed significant industrial growth in the early sixteenth century due in large part to the investments made by native and foreign merchants eager to share in the prosperity generated by increased demand for exports to the Indies. The cloth makers of Córdoba had taken steps to improve the quality of their product and to increase their market networks, but due to the city's reliance on rural manufacturing for the weaving and finishing of cloth, the city could not postpone the effects of the agrarian crisis of the seventeenth century.[125] Another textile center, Segovia, fared better than Córdoba. Segovia relied on sheepherding and economic diffusion to aid the city through the economic crisis.

Granada's industry, though heavily dependent upon silk manufacture, was also vibrant in the leather sector and Granada's agriculture production was diverse. Further, Granada had a thriving informal economic sector fueled largely by the fact that it was a service-oriented center of provincial government. Many of the formal and informal services provided such as street vending and "street walking" were in the hands of women. Thus, Granada seems to have avoided the fate of Toledo, and instead experienced the same kind of pattern of stagnation, decline and partial recovery that Segovia and Ciudad Real also experienced in this tumultuous century.

Though ultimately this is a red herring, some historians have blamed the upper-class Spanish dislike for work as a partial reason for the nation's seventeenth-century ills.[126] The characterization of early modern aristocratic Spaniards as having a disdain

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[125] Carla Rahn Phillips, "Time and Duration," 543-544.

[126] Bartolomé Bennassar, *The Spanish Character: Attitudes and Mentalities from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979); Richard Kagan, *Students and Society in Early Modern Spain* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974); Ruth Pike, *Aristocrats*

for manual labor has long been persistent. The story goes that in Spain high social status was closely associated with leisure. Work - particularly manual labor - was considered undignified, demeaning, and associated with Muslims and Jews.[127] Even merchants who became wealthy tried to buy land and titles and to invest in *juros* (bonds), which yielded an annual income tied to a specific royal revenue such as taxes or custom duties, so that they would no longer have to work for a living.[128] Early modern Spanish observers and modern historians alike argued that this rejection of work in favor of a pernicious pursuit of honor was a primary explanation for Spain's alleged backwardness and failure to develop apace with the rest of Europe.[129] Until recently, though many historians saw this characterization as reductive, few directly addressed its validity. But this has now changed. Examining early modern Castile, Ruth MacKay finds the origins of this stereotype rooted in the patriotic project put forth by *ilustrados*, the Enlightenment intellectuals and reformers of the eighteenth century. Her book examines in detail this "alleged disdain for labor in the early modern period and the alleged restoration of the dignity of labor in the Enlightenment."[130] Her study reveals a

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*and Traders: Sevillian Society in the Sixteenth Century* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1972). The historiography shifts in the late 1980s toward acknowledging this stereotype as simplistic; see for example: J.H. Elliott, *Spain and Its World, 1500-1700* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989); Ida Altman, *Emigrants and Society: Extremadura and America in the Sixteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), particularly pages 42-43, acknowledges that at least for the *hidalgos* (gentlemen) of the New World, the stereotypical universal disdain for manual labor is doubtful and that "The perceived incompatibility of work with privileged status was relative, not absolute."

[127] Melveena McKendrick, *Theatre in Spain, 1490-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 112.

[128] For more on *juros*, see chapter 2 in Ida Altman, *Emigrants and Society*. Others such as Richard L. Kagan, *Lawsuits and Litigants in Castile, 1500-1700* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1981), and David E, *Land and Society in Golden Age Castile* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), refer to *juros* simply as government bonds.

[129] Ruth MacKay, "Introduction," in *'Lazy, Improvident People': Myth and Reality in the Writing of Spanish History* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006). On eighteenth century Spaniards plagued by the image of Spain as a backward and lagging nation who sought remedies through a revitalization of work, see Theresa Ann Smith, "Writing out of the Margins: Women, Translation, and the Spanish Enlightenment," *Journal of Women's History* 15, 1 (2003): 116-143, 117.

[130] MacKay, '*Lazy, Improvident People*,' 3.

country that valued artisanal labor and artisans who firmly believed that their work was vital to Spain.[131] MacKay argues that "by working, producing, and selling, common Castilians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries knew that they were essential to their community and to the common good."[132] The issue of the value of labor to the national project would seem to have been settled by MacKay, if it were not for the absence in this inquiry of half of the working classes: women.

### Women's Work in Early Modern Spain

The study of women's work in early modern Spain has been skeletal at best.[133] *Women at Work in Spain: From the Middle Ages to Early Modern Times* provides one of the only collections of scholarly articles on the topic and is dedicated to the cultural and economic contributions of women and their work, but focuses more heavily on the Middle Ages and offers few insights into the labor of urban working women.[134] Marta Vicente's article, "Images and Realities of Work: Women and Guilds in Early Modern Barcelona," provides a more in-depth study.[135] In short, Vicente argues that although guilds presented an image of women's work as "subordinate, easy, and sedentary," the

[131] MacKay, '*Lazy, Improvident People*,' 4.
[132] MacKay, '*Lazy, Improvident People*,' 3.
[133] For example, Heath Dillard, *Daughters of the Reconquest: Women in Castilian Town Society, 1100-1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984) addresses medieval women and work in a general way. Mary Elizabeth Perry in both *Crime and Society in Early Modern Seville* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1980) and *Gender and Disorder in Early Modern Seville* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990) addresses early modern Spanish women's work, but as a way to contextualize and counter early modern gender ideology in Spain. Marta Vicente's "Images and Realities of Work: Women and Guilds in Early Modern Barcelona," in *Spanish Women in the Golden Age: Images and Realities,* eds. Magdalena S. Sanchez and Alain Saint-Saens (London: Greenwood Press, 1996), 127-140, is the most in-depth study of women's work of this period. For a general survey of women's labor in Spain throughout history, see Elisa Garrido, ed., *Historia de las Mujeres en España* (Madrid: Editorial Sintesis, 1997) as well as Stone and Benito-Vessels, *Women at Work in Spain*.
[134] Stone and Benito-Vessels, *Women at Work in Spain*.
[135] Vicente, "Images and Realities of Work," 127-140

evidence suggests otherwise. Surviving documentation reveals that women's work was instead "flexible, adaptable, and in some cases independent from masters' authority." Vicente ultimately convincingly shows that women's work was crucial not only to their families and artisan production, but also to the general vitality of the economy.[136] Still, the historiography of urban working women is thin. Part of the reason for the dearth of scholarly treatment of early modern women's work in Spain is that the documentation for women's work is often challenging to find, and when found, gives only minimal and sometimes incomplete information. The historian is left to sift through large amounts of archival sources to get a glimpse of women's working life and then make a web of connections in order to create a better understanding of that history. It is possible, however, to do this and to recreate (to some degree) the realities of women's working life in early modern Spain. Inquisition records, census records, city council records, notary records and contemporary chroniclers' accounts show a vibrant and diverse economic realm in which women participated. From these records, we know that women were slaves, domestic servants, shopkeepers, wet nurses, agricultural laborers, tavern keepers, bakers,[137] midwives, inn-keepers, landlords, fishmongers, food providers, vendors of new and used items, spinners, embroiderers, actresses and more. Women's work was an adaptable part of labor more generally and thus provided a cushion against an erratic economy.[138]

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[136] Vicente, "Images and Realities of Work," 133.
[137] AMG, 11 5 39/40, Real Chancillería, *Ordenanzas que los muy ilustres y muy magnificos Señores Granada Mandaron … para la buena gobernación de su República,* Tit. 5: Ordenanzas del Alhondiga de el Pan, 19 (1678).
[138] Pamela Sharpe, "Continuity and Change: Women's History and Economic History in Britain," *Economic History Review*, 48, 2 (May 1995): 353-369.

Guild records offer another way to gain insight into women at work. Although early modern women ordinarily lacked an official occupational designation, such designations were practically unimportant as city inhabitants knew which women sold what product. Community knowledge such as this, based on close proximity and experience, repeatedly emerges from the sources. An absence of an occupational designation for women in official documentation can be seen as a way of implicitly disparaging their labor. In many circumstances, however, though admittedly many fewer than for women, men's occupational markers, too, were missing from records where one might expect to find such information. The lack of job markers for men may, however, have served to give these men some sort of situational advantage. Such an absence of listed profession regularly occurs, for example, in the registers of poor relief recipients in the various parishes in Toledo in the sixteenth century. Ruth MacKay argues that often the workers themselves omitted their occupation in favor of a more inclusive title such as "poor" or "vassals" of the "Republic".[139] Both male and female workers may have used these markers as a strategy. Positioning themselves as needy by using the language of charity, poverty and obedience when asking for something from people in positions of authority or power may have provided workers an increased chance of receiving help.[140]

When women were referred to in documents, they were usually given a classification such as "wife" or "daughter", as their relation to men determined, to some

[139] MacKay, '*Lazy, Improvident People*,' 76-77.
[140] MacKay, '*Lazy, Improvident People*,' 77-78.

degree, their legal status.[141] As mentioned previously, occupational designation was not always the primary label used even by men. Therefore, official occupational designations can cloud the reality of women's labor. Unlike some skilled craftswomen in early modern France, most Spanish women were generally excluded from trade guilds and consequently barred from practicing formal trades.[142] However, in most early modern cities, and in the countryside, a wide range of items existed that no guild bothered to oversee which could be produced or gathered, and then sold rather freely.[143]

Further, in many early modern households a primary craft or trade was firmly entrenched, with the wife often participating in the trade of her husband, though not officially licensed to do so.[144] The Granadan weaver Juan de Mendoza and his wife

[141] For more on women's legal status in Spain and Spanish law, more generally, see: Jean A. Stuntz, *Hers, His, and Theirs: Community Property Law in Spain and Early Texas* (Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press, 2005); Allyson Poska, *Women and Authority in Early Modern Spain: The Peasants of Galicia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); The *Visigothic Code (Forum Judicum)*, trans. S.P. Scott (Boston: Boston Book Co., 1910); Donald J. Kagay, "Introduction," *The Usages of Barcelona: The Fundamental Law of Catalonia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006); Richard L. Kagan, *Lawsuits and Litigants in Castile*, *1500-1700* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1981); Eugene Korth and Della Flusche, "Dowry and Inheritance in Colonial Spanish America: Peninsular Law and Chilean Practice," *The Americas* 43, 4 (April 1987): 395-410; Heath Dillard, *Daughters of the Reconquest: Women in Castilian Town Society, 1100-1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Susan Kellogg, *Law and the Transformation of Aztec Culture, 1500-1700* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995).

[142] On guildswomen in France, see for example: Daryl M. Hafter, *Women at Work in Pre-Industrial France* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007); Daryl M. Hafter, "Female Masters in the Ribbonmaking Guild of Eighteenth-Century Rouen," *French Historical Studies* 20, 1 (1997): 1–14; Daryl M. Hafter, "Gender Formation from a Working-Class Viewpoint: Guildswomen in Eighteenth-Century Rouen," *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Western Society for French History* 16 (1989): 415–22; Cynthia Truant, "The Guildswomen of Paris: Gender, Power, and Sociability in the Old Regime," *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Western Society for French History* 15 (1988): 130–38. On guilds in Granada, see: Teresa de Diego Velasco, "Los gremios granadinos a través de sus ordenanzas," *España Medieval*, 5 (1986): 313-342; Juan Jesús López Muñoz and Miguel Luis López Muñoz, "Artes y oficios artísticos en Granada a mediados del siglo XVIII," *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma, Historia del Arte*, 9 (1996): 157-188.

[143] Merry E. Wiesner, "'Having Her Own Smoke': Employment and Independence for Singlewomen in Germany, 1400-1750," in *Singlewomen in the European Past, 1250-1800,* eds. Judith M. Bennett and Amy M. Froide (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 207.

[144] Wiesner, 'Having Her Own Smoke,' 207.

Francisca Tellez, inhabitants of the parish of Santa María de la Alhambra, were clearly implicated as partners in their purchase of a new loom for the weaving of taffeta, which they bought for thirteen *ducats* at one *ducat* per month.[145] A thorough study of women's work in seventeenth-century London, however, found a different situation. This study argued that it was unusual for a husband and wife to practice the same trade. Of course, some husbands and wives did cooperate in work, but most frequently this work was in a service-oriented industry. The most common shared occupation was running a food and drink outlet such as a tavern, victualling house, cook-shop, or "strongwater shop".[146]

Perhaps the reason for the contradiction rests with the nature of the civic economy of the city. Other historians have found that in textile and other craft-based economies, women worked with their husbands under the auspices of the husband's trade.[147] Increasingly, historical studies such as that of seventeenth-century London are finding more diversity in marital work patterns; that women engaged in trades that may have been related to their husbands' trade, or completely different from it. For instance, in 1635, Juan de Flandes' wife engaged in a trade different from her husband's, by opening a meat market.[148] The incomplete nature of many documents leaves the historian to infer relationships. For example, María Muñoz was brought before the Inquisition in Granada in 1633. The records reveal that she was married and a tavern-keeper. The fact that her husband's occupation was not listed and, more importantly,

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[145] AA, libro 316, fol. 860, as cited in Peña and Vincent, *Historia de Granada III*, 138.
[146] Earle, "The Female Labour Market," 338.
[147] Natalie Zemon Davis, "Women in the Crafts in Sixteenth-Century Lyon," *Feminist Studies* 8, 1 (1982): 46-80.
[148] AAG, *Libros de Propios*, fol. 219 (1635); as cited in Manuel Garzón Pareja, *Historia de Granada*, vol. 1 (Granada: Excma. Diputación de Granada, 1980), 441.

*not* listed as a tavern-keeper leads one to believe that his occupation was different from hers.[149] Typically, the Inquisition did list the occasions when wife and husband practiced the same profession, such as the 1607 case of an unnamed *bodegonera* who ran a victualling house with her husband.[150] The city also recognized the possibility of collusion between a husband and wife in related industries. In order to prevent unfair price advantages, the city prohibited the wives of millers, for example, from making bread to sell.[151] Though more research into this area needs to be done, it seems likely that Granada follows the pattern of diversity in marital work patterns.

Diversity of marital work patterns in Granada, as in early modern Europe more generally, may have existed in part because it was difficult for the household to support its needs exclusively through the production and sale of a single product. Rural peasants often could not support their family solely with those agricultural products reaped from the land they worked. Not infrequently, peasants had to seek other sources of income. As a consequence, many families labored at household industries such as textile production or other artisanal manufacturing activities. This domestic industry helped to supply their families with money to buy those items they could not produce for themselves, and occasionally it even yielded a surplus.[152] In urban areas, too, supplementary income might be secured by the women in the household engaging in retail activity or working in service occupations. A craftsman's wife was expected to assist her husband in running his shop and supervising the servants. Yet at the same

[149] María Helena Sánchez Ortega, *La Mujer y la Sexualidad en el Antiguo Regimen* (Madrid: Akal, 1992), 191-192.
[150] Sánchez Ortega, *La Mujer y la Sexualidad,* 286.
[151] AMG, 11 5 39/40, O*rdenanzas*, CXXXJ (1678).
[152] Vassberg, *Land and Society*, 185.

time she might sell foodstuffs from door to door, operate a market stall, make piecework goods at home, or work as a midwife.[153]

Formal guild participation was not necessary for women to work and it is clear that women's labor 'greased the wheels' of the household economy and by extension the civic economy. Women's work in the household and in artisanal production was interrelated and so their artisanal efforts do not always appear in the records, but it is clear that women carried on household tasks while also working in their husbands' or fathers' workshops.[154] Moreover, evidence suggests that "professional" identities were not necessarily confined to those people who belonged to guilds, though guilds clearly helped to foster such an identity and to structure the labor market in general.[155]

**Women In (and out of) the Granadan Guild System**

In order to fully grasp the context of women's work in Granada, it is necessary first to understand the role of guilds in providing a framework within which to organize Granada's official world of work. Guilds appeared in Granada on the heels of the conquest and their history can be traced through the city's municipal ordinances.[156] Guilds were a typically urban creation, an incorporated association of craftsmen who worked to regulate and protect the interests of their trade. Guild ordinances were

[153] See Heather Swanson, *Medieval Artisans: An Urban Class in Late Medieval England* (New York: Basil Blackwell, 1989), 6; Heather Swanson, "The Illusion of Structure: Craft Guilds in Late Medieval Towns," *Past and Present*, 121 (1988), 29-48; Christopher R. Friedrichs, *The Early Modern City, 1450-1750* (London: Longman, 1995), 95; and Wiesner, *Working Women*.
[154] Vicente, "Images and Realities of Work", 131.
[155] See for example, Clare Haru Crowston, *Fabricating Women: The Seamstresses of Old Regime France, 1675-1791* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001), 190, 340–41.
[156] For a general overview of Granada's guilds, see Diego Velasco, "Los gremios granadinos".

usually drawn up by the individual guilds and then approved by the king.[157] The official guild ordinances of Granada date back to 1500 and were regularly amended. They were compiled and published twice, first in 1552, and second, in 1672.[158] The annual amendments, which came in the form of *pragmácticas* (proclamations) and *pregones* (decrees) from the king as well as municipal decrees, were added in the back of the book. The ordinances could also be modified by the guilds and then subsequently approved by the city council.[159] In turn, the city council had the power to also initiate guild policies, as it did in the case of the guilds of the silk industry, silversmiths, goldsmiths, painters, teachers, swordsmiths, weavers of linen cloths, and quiltmakers.

Perhaps due to the fact that guilds were relatively new to Granada, Granadan guilds wielded little power in comparison to Catalan ones.[160] The guilds of Granada were at the mercy of the city council and the *Veintiquatria* (noblemen who sat on the city council).[161] The *Veintiquatria* relentlessly monitored and regulated the price and quality of all manners of industry and at times imposed ordinances that benefitted the city at the expense of the guilds. For example, the city council frequently allowed loopholes for those who had capital and who wished to establish a store or factory in the city, even if they were not part of an established guild in the city. The city council granted licenses

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[157] J. Clayburn La Force, "Technological Diffusion in the 18th Century: The Spanish Textile Industry," *Technology and Culture*, 5, 3 (Summer, 1964): 322-343, 332.
[158] AMG, Real Chancillería de Granada, *Ordenanzas que los muy ilustres, y muy magnificos señores Granada mandaron guardar, para la buena gouernacion de su Republica, impressas año de 1552, que se han buelto a imprimir por mandado de los señores Presidente, y Oydores de la Real Chancillería de esta ciudad de Granada, año de 1670, añadiendo otras que no estauan impresas,* Granada (1672).
[159] *AMG, Act Cap. L VII. Fol 193r-197r,* Actas de Cabildo *(12 June 1604) to approve the ordinances of the* herreros *(blacksmiths) and* boneteros *(bonnet maker) according to the received royal provision.*
[160] James S. Amelang, *Honored Citizens of Barcelona: Patrician Culture and Class Relations, 1490-1714* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986); Marta Vicente, "Images and Realities," 127-140; Luis R. Corteguera, *For the Common Good: Popular Politics in Barcelona, 1580-1640* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002); J.K.J. Thomson, *A Distinctive Industrialization: Cotton in Barcelona 1728-1832* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).
[161] Casey, *Family and Community*, 36-38.

for this as long as the shop was fronted by an examined master. The guilds were opposed to such measures, as it disregarded their internal trade regulations. The clearest example appears in the silk industry.[162] Given the great financial benefits that the silk industry provided to the city and Crown through taxes, these two entities were very interested in regulating the industry and increasing their profits. Thus, going against the interests of the guilds, the city even allowed individuals considered "people of means" as well as foreigners to establish looms and spinning wheels for silk provided they were examined by a master.[163] In effect, the city council was allowing small corporations to form that sidestepped guild ordinances and authority.

Granada's 1672 ordinances make reference to forty-four different guilds, ranging from the confectioner's guild to those of the hosiers and basketmakers.[164] The various industries within the framework of urban Granada, as in other cities, were organized by streets. Thus, the cutlers were located on the street of Cuchilleros (cutlers);[165] cloth and silk, in the Alcaicería, Zacatín and Bibalbonut; new clothing in the Upper Realejo; linen, silver, used clothing and jewelry shops, in Zacatín;[166] the shoemakers' shops, in the street of Abenamar;[167] pottery in the suburb of Fajalauza.[168] The goldsmiths had their stores and factories in the *Puente del Carbon* (bridge of the coal), along with the

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[162] A comprehensive treatment of Granadan silk guilds can be found in Manuel Garzón Pareja, *La industria sedera en España: El arte de la seda de Granada* (Granada: Archivo de la Real Chancillería, 1972), particularly chapter 3.
[163] AMG, 11 5 39/40, *Ordenanzas*. XIX, 4, XXI, 21, and XXIII, l0 and 37.
[164] AMG, 11 5 39/40, *Ordenanzas* (1672).
[165] María José López-Huertas Pérez, *Bibliografía de impresos granadinos de los siglos XVII y XVIII* (Granada: Diputación Provincial, 1997), plates 48 and 49.
[166] Henríquez de Jorquera, *Anales de Granada*, 26.
[167] Henríquez de Jorquera, *Anales de Granada*, 29.
[168] Henríquez de Jorquera, *Anales de Granada*, 33.

ropemakers.[169] Technically relegated to particular streets, workshops existed side by side with houses and other neighborhood shops. For example, the weavers and spinners of Don Martin Salado Solorzano's silk lived nearby and sometimes next door to the silk merchant's home in the parish of San Nicolas.[170] A much less pleasant neighbor was that of the Duque del Infantado, who lived next door to the meat market.[171] Master artisans also often had workshops in their homes, where they not only made the goods, but sold them as well.[172] This was the case for a master carpenter who was selling new and spacious trunks for clothes at his place just above the apothecary's shop on *Lucena* Street.[173] Non-guild and thus differently regulated industries**,** such as peddlers (many of whom were women), operated throughout the city's streets, by-ways, and public places.

Women's status vis-a-vis the trade guilds in Spain represents an understudied corner of Spain's history. Glimpses of women's relationship to the guilds of Granada can be seen in the city's municipal decrees. Marta Vicente found, in her pioneering study of the textile industries in Barcelona, that although guilds attempted to restrict or exclude women's production there, royal officials recognized their contribution to the economy and protected the right of poor women to support their households.[174] A similar municipal attitude towards women's work can be found in Granada's ordinance stating that silk spinners could spin in their houses provided they did not exceed their city-regulated quota by doing so, which was two and a half *reales* worth of spun silk per

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[169] The locations of these industries can be found in the ordinances, in contemporary accounts, and in the street names, many of which remain the same even today.
[170] ARCG, 3/1389/13; as noted in Casey, *Family and Community*, 246.
[171] AMG, Act Cap. L. VII. Fol. 93r-94r, *Actas de Cabildo* (21 February 1604).
[172] Vicente, "Images and Realities," 127-140, 130.
[173] AMG, *Gazetilla Curiosa*, Papel 50.
[174] Vicente, "Images and Realities," 127-140.

day.[175] Sometimes the guild ordinances referred to women, not in terms of their labor, but in terms of their relationship to artisanal masters and journeymen. For example, those men who married a daughter of a master silk weaver found themselves in a special situation: if they had finished three years of apprenticeship, and had no master for whom to work, they could, enabled by this relationship, pay the required fee and take the master silk weaver's exam, rather than having to do five full years of apprenticeship. Presumably, the daughter provided her own knowledge of silk weaving learned in her father's workshop, and also brought the benefit of her father's watchful eye.[176] Widows of masters were also addressed in Granada's ordinances. When a woman married an artisan, she generally assisted her husband in his trade. If her husband died, a widow was held responsible for the shop and by extension, her family's survival. Provided that the widow was adequately trained and examined, she could take over the shop or have a master of the trade manage the shop for her. For example, the widow of a master bedspread maker could be examined by officials and subsequently succeed her husband in the office.[177]

Though early modern societies throughout Europe generally expected women to earn money to aid in keeping the family afloat, women did have certain limitations placed upon them because of their sex.[178] This was true in Granada as well. For example, there were times when the city council specified which work was appropriate for single women, and which was appropriate for married women. For instance, in 1614

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[175] AMG, 11 5 39/40, Real Chancillería, *Ordenanzas*, XVIJ (1678), 26-27.
[176] AMG, 11 5 39/40, Real Chancillería, *Ordenanzas*, XXXXIV: Del Arte, y Oficio del Texer y labrar de las sedas, y de los oficiales de ella, y sobre el tenir dellas (1678).
[177] AMG, 11 5 39/40, Real Chancillería, *Ordenanzas*, CXIII (1678), 5.
[178] Louise Tilly and Joan W. Scott, *Women, Work, and Family* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1978).

the city council appointed Fernando de Ávila as deputy in charge of licensing *abridoras de cuellos* (makers and adorners of shirt collars). The council also mandated that all *abridoras* be married and living a "marital life" with their husbands. If they were not married, they could not be licensed.[179]

In Granada as in early modern Europe more generally, women's occupations tended to change over the course of their lifetime and existed outside of the official recordkeeping matrix that left detailed documentation of male occupations. In order to compensate for this dearth in the official records and to facilitate an examination of urban women's participation in the civic economy of Granada, I have divided this activity into two basic categories: labor and markets. Within the category of labor, I include work in the textile, domestic and other service-related industries, and civic employment. Labor relating to the care of the home or family, while an admittedly crucial form of women's work, is beyond the scope of my evidence. Comprising the category of markets, women's participation in commercial retailing is included here; their role as consumers is discussed under the category of markets.

David Ringrose has described the early modern Spanish economy as "a large mosaic of self-sufficient local economies buttressed by short-range exchanges of basic commodities. This mosaic was crisscrossed by a web of economic connections. Its strands represented the meager inflow of manufactures and amenities, the export of the few goods that could bear the cost of transport, and the movement of commodities controlled by the landed elites."[180] A largely self-sufficient local economy, Granada's

[179] AMG, Act Cap. L VIII. Fol. 61r-67r, *Actas de Cabildo* (4 March 1614).
[180] Ringrose, *Madrid and the Spanish Economy*, 6.

was an agricultural-industrial economy, dependent upon the agricultural production of its hinterland and the various manufacturing industries. Granada's position as a provincial capital, the site of a royal chancellery court and a royal mint, and the home to an imperial and pontifical university also made it a service-industry oriented city. At the nexus of a web of connections, people from all over the province, the country, and even other countries traveled to Granada for business, legal transactions, religious celebrations, and education. Granada had to provide for all of these *forasteros* (strangers) by offering an array of taverns, inns and other such service centers. To supply the city day-to-day, the majority of its agricultural necessities were brought in from outlying areas, and either consumed or used in textile manufacturing. Local wild game (from the sky and from the earth) converged on Granada's markets. Doves, ducks, capons, rabbits, geese, and even *leche por navidad* (milk for Christmas) were brought in from the city's surrounding areas.[181] Ham and bacon were available year round. The city's chronicler also proudly boasted that all manner of hens, for the rich and for the poor, were available in the city's markets.[182] From the bountiful farmland came asparagus, various types of peaches, chestnuts, almonds, eggplants, peppers, onions, garlic, and all types of legumes.[183] In return, Granada produced products and provided services, including legal administration, to its inhabitants and to the surrounding area. Most enterprises in Granada were shaped for and by the local market, the need and profitability of supplying the city and its hinterland. Certain products, however, were primarily produced with an eye to export. Silk is one such product.

[181] Henríquez de Jorquera, *Anales de Granada*, 87.
[182] Henríquez de Jorquera, *Anales de Granada*, 87.
[183] Henríquez de Jorquera, *Anales de Granada*, 85-86.

## The Silk Industry in Early Modern Granada

Granada was a successful textile manufacturing city, on the periphery of Spain's Atlantic world. Its favorable location on the Geníl River provided power for mills and water for fulling and dyeing. Granada is situated at the foothills of the Sierra Nevada mountain range, within easy reach of the rich and fertile valleys known as the *vega.* This region has fertile soil, an abundant water supply, and a varied climate, all of which encouraged the cultivation of a wide range of crops. Agriculture flourished particularly under the Muslims due to their system of irrigation and agriculture, but declined under the Christians—a serious misfortune specifically in the case of the mulberry tree production, the basis of the silk industry.[184] Granada also had firm foundations laid by its Muslim past in the sugar, silk, carved and inlaid furniture, worked iron, tin and copper industries, but that legacy dwindled after the expulsion of the Moriscos in 1609.[185]

In the sixteenth century Granada's silk was among the best in the world. Even as early as 1484, visitors like German native Jerónimo Munzer wrote that "Granada produce la seda más fina del mundo" (Granada produces the finest silk in the world). In 1525, Italian diplomat and writer Andrea Navagiero wrote that Granada's silk was perfection.[186] Granada's proximity to the major Spanish ports of Cádiz and Seville, along with the high quality of its silk, privileged the city in terms of exports. As a result, much Granadan silk made its way to the Americas.[187] For example, of the total silk

[184] Antonio Gallego y Burín, *Granada: An Artistic and Historical Guide to the City* (Granada: Comares Editorial, 1992), 28.
[185] Gallego y Burín, *Granada*, 29-30.
[186] As cited in Garzón Pareja, *La industria sedera en España*, 133.
[187] Henríquez de Jorquera, *Anales de Granada*, 88.

imports to Puebla, Mexico in the late sixteenth century, 43% came from Granada.[188] In addition, approximately half of the velvet listed in Pueblan merchants' inventories was specifically noted to have come from Granada, and it is possible that the rest came from there as well.[189] After the start of the seventeenth century, however, the silk industry and the quality of the silk itself declined.[190] This decline owed much to overregulation by the government, the mandate that Granadans only plant the black mulberry tree (which served as food for the silkworm), a series of bad harvests and most particularly to the expulsion of the Morisco cultivators and spinners in the late sixteenth century.[191] In 1570 in Granada, there were 786 Moriscas (250 of which were originally from Granada) registered by the government to "*criar e hilar la seda*" (to cultivate and spin silk).[192] The production of silk heavily depended upon female labor. After the expulsion of the Moriscos, Christian women began to fill the positions left behind by the Morisca spinners.

Despite this decline in silk production output, though, the city could still boast that 400 of its 5000 looms were still in operation in 1621.[193] Without knowing exactly how many looms were still in use in these cities, it is clear that by 1627, Granada, along with Seville, Valencia, Murcia, Toledo and Córdoba, was still producing various silks and

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[188] In the late sixteenth century, the Spanish crown prohibited the entry of Chinese silks into Spain because they were harming the domestic silk industry. See Henry Kamen, *Empire: How Spain Became a World Power, 1492-1763* (New York: Harper Collins, 2003), 292.
[189] Peter Boyd-Bowman, "Spanish and European Textiles in Sixteenth-Century Mexico," *The Americas,* 29, 3 (1973): 334-358, 341.
[190] For more on the evolution of the quality of Granadan silk and its ultimate decline, see Garzón Pareja, *La industria sedera en España*, 133-155 and 262-270.
[191] Juan Sempere y Guarinos, *Memorias sobre las causas de la decadencia de la seda en el Reyno de Granada*, 1806, facsimile edition (Alicante: Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, 2006), 55-66; Garzón Pareja, *La industria sedera en España*, chapter 4.
[192] Instituto Valencia de Don Juan, envío, pieza 51; as cited in Peña and Vincent, *Historia de Granada III*, 143.
[193] Casey, *Family and Community*, 36.

silk-related items, as well as competing with silks from outside of the empire.[194] James Casey echoes Ángel García Sanz's findings in Segovia, suggesting that the small scale of the Granadan silk weaving and spinning establishments gave the industry a measure of flexibility to weather the economic crises of the seventeenth century.[195] Ultimately, however, Granada could not compete with French silks.[196] Though Granada's once preeminent position in the world silk market diminished, silk nonetheless remained a primary industry in the city throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, even rebounding a little in the mid-seventeenth century.[197] In fact, British economist Joshua Gee, in his 1729 treatise, *Trade and Navigation of Great-Britain Considered*, situated Granada as still a world player in quality raw silk production, ranking its silk along with that from the Piedmont, Valencia and Murcia.[198]

Looking back from the early nineteenth century at the history of the silk industry in Granada, Juan Sempere y Guarinos pointed to the conquest as the starting point of the industry's decline: "What would remain of the kingdom, and this valley, after a war of 10 years; various encampments of more than sixty-thousand men; and so much repeated destruction, and fires of its places; gardens and fields!"[199] Sempere pointed to the city council as a later cause of decline. More specifically, he blamed two separate city council rulings, both dating to 1520, for hastening the decline and prohibiting the revitalization of silk in the province. The first ruling was an ordinance that stated that no

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[194] UGR, BHR/A-031-125(42), Tassa General de los precios, Granada (1627).
[195] Casey, *Early Modern Spain*, 36.
[196] Casey, *Early Modern Spain*, 73; Perry, *Gender and Disorder,* 18.
[197] Garzón Pareja, *La industria sedera en España*, 265.
[198] Gerald B. Hertz, "The English Silk Industry in the Eighteenth Century," *The English Historical Review*, 24, 96 (1909): 710-727, 711-712.
[199] Sempere y Guarinos, *Memorias*, 17. The original quote is: "¡Quál quedaría este reyno, y esta vega, despues de una Guerra de diez años; varios campamentos de mas de sesenta mil hombres; y tan repetidas talas, é incendios de sus lugares, huertas y sembrados!"

one was to impede animal herds—no matter to what class the person belonged.[200] This, in effect, prohibited (indirectly) the plantation of any type of trees; because "how would they have raised and defended their tender trunks and limbs from such voracious enemies?"[201] The second ordinance harming the silk industry not only prohibited the plantation of white mulberry trees, but also mandated that those already planted be pulled out by their roots and replaced by black mulberry trees.[202] This ordinance must have proved ineffective as the city council again prohibited the plantation of white mulberry trees in 1526.[203] The reason for the continued planting of the white mulberries was not that the resulting silk was better, but that these trees had the advantage of growing more quickly and the gathering of the leaves was easier, according to Sempere. He argued that these factors made the white mulberries the preferred mulberry tree in the most industrious silk-producing areas, such as Valencia and Murcia.[204] Disapprovingly, Sempere recounted how the city fathers thought that they would lose the quality and good fame of Granadan silk if they permitted the white mulberry to supplant the black.[205]

The last two causes of the decline of silk, from Sempere's perspective, came from outside of Granada. The first of these was the exorbitant taxes imposed on silk, taxes which went to the church and to the king.[206] The resultant damage of these taxes finally came to the court's attention, but the court acted too slowly to remedy the situation and so the city lost many mulberries and their planters due to their fleeing the

[200] AMG, 11 5 39/40, Real Chancillería, *Ordenanzas,* tit. 26. n. 10; Sempere y Guarinos, *Memorias*, 21.
[201] Sempere y Guarinos, *Memorias*, 21. The original quote is: "¿cómo habian de criarse, y defenderse sus tiernos troncos, y ramas de tan voraces enemigos?"
[202] AMG, 11 5 39/40, Real Chancillería, *Ordenanzas,* tit. 3 n. 4; Sempere y Guarinos, *Memorias,* 23.
[203] AMG, 11 5 39/40, Real Chancillería, *Ordenanzas*, lxxxix (1526).
[204] Sempere y Guarinos, *Memorias*, 22.
[205] Sempere y Guarinos, *Memorias*, 22.
[206] Sempere y Guarinos, *Memorias*, 27.

heavy taxes.[207] The only remedy that would have helped would have been to decrease the customs on silk. But the obstacles to this were great, namely the financial need of the public treasury and the force of custom. Far from decreasing the taxes on silk, the government instead increased taxes incessantly until they reached sixty percent under Philip V—without even including the ecclesiastical tithe.[208] It was not until half a century later that the government worked in earnest for the restoration of the silk industry.[209] As Sempere quickly pointed out, however, it is much easier to destroy than to build, so the silk industry was in need of much more help to revive itself in the wake of almost three hundred years of destruction.[210]

In sum, Sempere listed several remedies for Granadan silk. Most importantly, Sempere suggested that exorbitant taxes were incompatible with industry and agriculture. He exhorted the government to abolish hurdles and taxes over the sale of silk, to free business from strict regulation, to let the landowners close their lands and prohibit the entrance of the herds and subsequently to abolish those laws that favor the herds. Ultimately, Sempere advised less regulation from the government, as many of the errors that hurt the silk industry were, in his view, made by interfering government officials.[211]

Of all the luxury textiles, silk was the most costly and subsequently the object of the most intense industrial trade regulation. Within Spain, the demand for luxury goods was expanding more rapidly than the general demand for utilitarian goods. Silk was the preferred textile of the aristocracy, the Court and the Church. The elites used this fabric

[207] Sempere y Guarinos, *Memorias*, 28.
[208] Sempere y Guarinos, *Memorias*, 29.
[209] Sempere y Guarinos, *Memorias*, 32.
[210] Sempere y Guarinos, *Memorias*, 32.
[211] Sempere y Guarinos, *Memorias*, 51.

for their clothing and to cover their beds, their furniture, and their walls. [212] Silk and its derivative cloths, such as taffeta, satin and velvet, were luxury items. Silk production was Granada's primary industry, thus Granada's industry was geared toward producing luxury goods. Common sense would suggest that in a bad economy, luxury goods would be the first category of produced goods to be abandoned. However, silk was an important component of the national economy; the tax on raw silk (the *renta de la seda*) secured for the crown over 100,000 ducats a year at its peak.[213]

Granada's primary silk trade competition within Spain was Valencia, to a greater degree, and Córdoba, to a lesser degree. Granada produced and exported to Spain's Latin American colonies ribbons (*cintas*) of various quality, with the *cintas de pasamanos* among the most expensive, and *cintas de hiladillo* among the most inexpensive available.[214] Silk was used as trim, embroidering thread, covering for buttons, linings of hats, clothing material, curtains, handkerchiefs, and so forth. Taffeta, for example, which is a closely woven, lightweight shimmering silk fabric, was often used for fancy quilts and bedframe coverings, and as linings for expensive hats.[215] Imports of velvet, one of the most luxurious and most costly early modern fabrics, into the Mexican city of Puebla in the sixteenth century were primarily from Granada. Granada's only competitor in the production of this fabric was Valencia. In terms of fabric exports to the Spanish colonies, Granada's close proximity to Seville no doubt

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[212] J. A. Davis, "Technology and Innovation in an Industrial Late-comer: Italy in the Nineteenth Century," in P. Mathias and John A. Davis, eds., *Innovation and Technology in Europe* (London: Blackwell, 1991), 83-98.
[213] Henríquez de Jorquera, *Anales de Granada*, 82; Casey, *Family and Community*, 34.
[214] Boyd-Bowman, "Spanish and European Textiles," 334-358, 339. *Cintas de hiladillo* was silk thread that was made from the waste part of the cocoon which could not be twisted but instead was spun on a distaff just like linen. *Academia de Autoridades* (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1734), 339. In the entry, "hiladillo" is explicitly linked to Granada.
[215] Boyd-Bowman, "Spanish and European Textiles."

weighed heavily in the city's favor. Cities like Segovia, Jaen, Cuenca, and Baeza were primary centers for more utilitarian fabrics such as wool and ruan (a very utilitarian and inexpensive cloth often used in pre-made clothing).[216] Granada seems to have had no share in the manufacturing for export of utilitarian fabrics. Valencia, on the other hand, did produce some of these fabrics which were then exported to Puebla.[217]

### Women in the Silk Industry in Granada

The silk industry in the mid-seventeenth century employed approximately 3000 people, according to one of the city's chroniclers, Francisco Henríquez de Jorquera.[218] According to James Casey's figures, this amounts out to one in every four households having some sort of connection with the silk industry.[219] Women carried out many of the tasks associated with the production of silk in Granada. For example, women gathered leaves from mulberry trees, raised the silk cocoons, and processed cocoons into raw silk by reeling and spinning.[220] Silk filament came from the cocoons built by 'silk worms,' which were not worms at all, but silk moth pupae. The tiny eggs of the silkworm moth were incubated until they hatched into worms, when they were placed under a fine layer of gauze covered with finely chopped mulberry leaves. Branches were placed in their rearing houses at the end of this period, which the silkworms climbed to build their

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[216] Boyd-Bowman, "Spanish and European Textiles," 342.
[217] Boyd-Bowman, "Spanish and European Textiles," 353.
[218] Henríquez de Jorquera, *Anales de Granada*, 88.
[219] Casey, *Family and Community*, 34.
[220] Carmen Sarasúa, studying Valencia in the eighteenth century, found that peasant women collected mulberry leaves from family orchards; see Sarasúa, "Technical Innovations," 7.

cocoons in one continuous length of silk filament. Over several days, the silkworm spun its cocoon, producing up to 3116 ft. of silk filament.

To prevent moths from hatching, which would have broken the silk strand, moths were killed before they could hatch. To do this, the women used some sort of heat, whether from steam, boiling water or ovens. Women were also in charge of classifying the cocoons, a task requiring a great deal of expertise to identify those insects that would be higher-quality silk producers, separating them from the defective or lower-quality producers.[221] The silk was then unbound from the cocoon by softening the sericin, which is the gummy substance that binds the filaments together. In Granada, women seated next to pots of boiling water submerged the cocoons to melt the sericin, their fingers becoming permanently insensitive, their eyes deteriorating from continuous concentration in bad lighting, the few clothes in their possession always and forever dirty, and their bodies endangered by the ubiquitous presence of tuberculosis in those shops.[222] The women then delicately unwound, or 'reeled' the strand from one cocoon, while combining or ‘throwing’ the filaments from 4 to 8 cocoons at once to create a single strand. The amount of usable silk in each cocoon was small, and about 5500 silkworms were required to produce 2.2 pounds of raw silk. The resulting thread was called raw silk.[223] Women’s ability to perfect the classifying of cocoons, as well as the

[221] Sarasúa also found this to be the case in Valencia, in “Technical Innovations,” 13.
[222] Garrido, *Historia de las Mujeres*, 339.
[223] Garzón Pareja, *La industria sedera en España*, 338-342.

reeling and the twisting of the filaments without the thread breaking, was crucial to the overall quality of the finished product.[224]

Besides mothering, spinning was considered by Spanish moralists to be the most appropriate form of women's work. The symbol of a good wife was the spinning distaff, according to Fray Luis de León (1527-1591) in a book he wrote on the perfect wife. Further, he claimed that the model for all wives should be the *labradora* (female laborer), and that those not lucky enough to be one should emulate their more humble sisters.[225] Spinning was thought to be rote women's work, while weaving with a loom was generally associated with a higher level of professionalization and economic status, and thus seen as men's work. This was particularly true in Spain's linen and wool guilds, but it is worth noting that the loom-based silk weaving trade in nearby Seville was, in the seventeenth century, a predominantly female occupation.[226] Weaving without a loom was thought in Spain to be women's work as well. In this case, the female weavers were not thought of as "specialized artisans" but instead were seen as weavers by "default and by nature."[227] One reason for classification as a "specialized artisan" in the seventeenth century seems to have been the use of "technology" which made a procedure more complex and specialized, and thus in need of guild oversight. By the eighteenth century, however, the situation changed. Carmen Sarasúa, studying the eighteenth-century silk industry in Valencia, found technology easier for women,

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[224] *Tratado del arte de hilar, devanar, doblar y torcer las sedas, según el método de Mr. Vaucanson...con los progresos de la fábrica de Vinalesa, en el reyno de Valencia*...por D. Josef de Lapayese (Madrid, 1779), as quoted in Sarasúa, "Technical Innovations," 11.

[225] Fray Luis de León, *La Perfecta Casada* (1583) (Madrid: Taurus, 1987), 105. This book was originally published in Salamanca in 1583.

[226] Karen B. Graubart, "Weaving and Construction of a Gender Division of Labor in Early Colonial Peru," *The American Indian Quarterly* 24. 4 (2000): 537-561, 544-45.

[227] Graubart, "Weaving and Construction," 544-545.

taking less physical effort than before.[228] In this case, technology allowed for a simplifying of the procedure, thus taking the "specialization" out of the process. The introduction of the Vaucanson spindle reveals the complexity of gender divisions, work processes, their traditions and their relationships to changing technology.[229] In Granada, however, spinning had long been thought acceptable women's work and an extension of traditional household activities. Granada's city council had acknowledged the substantial contribution of women to the silk industry in 1535, for example, calling them "honorable ladies" who spun at home while attending to the house and children.[230]

This women's work laid the foundation upon which the silk industry functioned. It was hard, low-paying work that required a great deal of manual dexterity. A silk shop would often consist of three to four girls in addition to the master and his wife and some male apprentices. Frequently in Granada, young daughters of female silk spinners would begin working with their mothers, learning the trade by the time they were 8 years old. With regard to these children, the decrees allowed the spinners to have boys and girls who moved the winch, as long as they were not younger than twelve years of age, except when they worked with women who spun in their houses, in which case the age limit was lowered to eight years of age.[231] Female spinners who were childless would often bring into their homes *hijas de la Cuna* ("daughters of the Cradle") or *hijas de la Piedra* ("daughters of the Rock"), both colloquial names given to orphaned girls, to aid in

[228] Francisco Ortells y Gombau, *Disertación descriptiva de la hilaza de la seda, según el antiguo modo de hilar, y el nuevo llamado de Vocanson. Escribióla el Dr. Francisco Ortells y Gombau, presbítero, vicario de la parroquial de Foyos. Imprímese de orden de la Real Junta particular de Comercio y Agricultura.* (Valencia: por Joseph y Thomás de Orga, 1783). Also, see Sarasúa, "Technical Innovations," 7.
[229] See also *Women, Work and Wages in England, 1600-1850*, eds. Penelope Lane, Neil Raven and K.D.M. Snell (Rochester: The Boydell Press, 2004).
[230] Casey, *Family and Community*, 34.
[231] AMG, 11 5 39/40, Real Chancillería, *Ordenanzas*, XVII.18, 29 and 30.

their work. Such was the case, for example, with eighteen-year-old Josepha Romero, respectably single and a spinner. She maintained in her home Manuela Romero, her fifteen-year-old sister, and Manuela Rosa, an eight-year-old *hija de la Cuna*. Her neighbor María Griñón, a fifty-year-old widow and spinner, likewise employed an *hija de la Cuna*. At least for the parish of *Angustias*, spinners and dressmakers were the most likely to bring in orphans to aid in work; these orphans were always female.[232]

Women pursued various forms of employment in the silk industry in addition to those already mentioned. For example, some women mounted and stretched the silk fibers on the loom and worked the lathes, though this was typically men's work.[233] Women also engaged in the art of passamentrie (ornamental braiding), an office that required examination. Though no specific reference is made to female masters of passamentrie in the Granadan city ordinances, in France women were allowed to become masters in this field.[234] In Granada, the period for apprenticeship with an examined passamentrie master in the silk sector was three years followed by one year as a journeyman so that the individual in question (male or female) would be immersed in the art. The guild ordinances made it very clear that no man, woman, black, or mulatto could be examined without having first apprenticed with a master. They also stipulated that no merchant could have a loom in his house, if he did not have an examined official overseeing it. Further, they prohibited any woman from having a loom if she was not to be examined.[235] Women were also employed to embroider intricate

[232] AMG, 11 2 36, *Catastro del Marqués de la Enseñada*, Rollo 224, 377v, 493-v.
[233] AMG, 11 2 36, *Catastro del Marqués de la Enseñada*, Rollo 224, 455r.
[234] Daryl M. Hafter, *Women at Work in Pre-Industrial France* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007), 8.
[235] AMG, 11 5 39/40, Real Chancillería, *Ordenanzas,* Tit. 14-17: Ordenanzas de Confirmas de los Passamaneros (1678).

patterns on silk. There were respected female embroiderers in early modern Granada who were commissioned to do embroidery on altar cloths and the like.[236] In Seville, too, women were found among the registries of embroiderers. Some of these women, such as Leonor Fernández, even did embroidery for men such as Cardinal Cervantes.[237]

Silk weaving was an important component of the national economy, one to which women contributed. In October, 1605, for example, the stone-cutter Hernando de Urquiza and his wife, Francisca de Vergara, came to an agreement with the merchant Juan de Mercado, "a daughter of ours who wants to weave cloth of taffeta" for Mercado. All the cloths and silks to be woven by their daughter on a loom would be provided by Mercado. Each finished piece would then be inspected by Mercado or an official. If satisfied, Mercado was to pay them the agreed-upon price for every length, which would then be written down in Mercado's account books. In return, according to the contract, Urquiza and Vergara obligated their daughter to weave the cloths of taffeta and to do good work, according to Mercado's will and desire.[238]

## Women's Other Work in Granada

To cope with existing conditions in order to survive, more and more Granadan families, over the course of the early modern period, developed a "makeshift" economy. Makeshift economies involved seasonal migration to harvest crops, begging by adults

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[236] Carmen Eisman Lasaga, *El Arte del Bordado en Granada: Siglos XVI al XVIII* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1989), 91, 95-97, 106, 109, 138.
[237] Isabel Turmo, *Bordados y Bordadores Sevillanos, Siglos XVI a XVIII* (Madrid: Universidad de Sevilla, 1955), 87.
[238] AA, Libro 316, fol. 855, as cited in Garzón Pareja, *Historia de Granada*, 139.

and children, seeking domestic service or unskilled jobs in urban centers, peddling, prostitution and theft. For example, the census of 1561 for the city of Granada lists a variety of female professions in which women engaged: nurse (1), midwife (2), wetnurse (1), laundress (6), tavern-keeper (26), and prostitute (4).[239] But even the census records did not consistently list professions and do not necessarily capture the full range of economic activities at which a person might have been employed.[240] For example, other (non-census) records show that in 1618, Ana de Guzmán was paid for making the poles for the gatekeepers, an activity not generally thought to be a conventional female occupation.[241] Appearing more often in city council records are the names of women appointed *ama general* or wetnurse, such as María González in 1614[242] and María de Padilla in 1617.[243] Since these women were appointed by the city, it is likely that they were wetnurses for the city's orphanage.[244] Women often engaged in several jobs at once or different jobs throughout their lives. María de la Cruz, for example, was engaged in this makeshift economy. María was paid twelve *reales* in 1618 to hang damask curtains in the hall of the city council building.[245] Apparently she regularly attended to the physical needs of the city council as she was paid for this on several

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[239] Peña and Vincent, *Historia de Granada*, 120-126.
[240] David Vassberg, *The Village and the Outside World in Golden Age Castile: Mobility and Migration in Everyday Rural Life* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 58.
[241] AMG, Act Cap L IX Fol. 206v-209r, *Actas de Cabildo* (1 August 1618).
[242] AMG, Act Cap. L. VIII. Fol. 11v, *Actas de Cabildo* (3 January 1614).
[243] AMG, Act Cap. L. IX Fol. 9r, *Actas de Cabildo* (30 December 1617).
[244] UGR, 1756 *Ordenanzas y Constitución del Real Hospital*; Manuel Vallecilla Capilla, *Politica demográfica y realidad social en la España de la Ilustración: La situación del niño expósito en Granada* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1990).
[245] AMG, Act Cap L. IX Fol. 108v, *Actas de Cabildo* (7 April 1618).

occasions, once with two pounds of candle wax for “legerdemains” and later, twenty-four reales for “arrangements” she completed.[246]

Perhaps one of the most physically grueling of the “feminine” trades in Granada was that of laundress. Washing clothes, which was recognized even by the contemporaries as the hardest of all ‘trades’, was usually done by women, both as part of their domestic duties and as a professional activity.[247] There is evidence that at least by the early eighteenth century, however, there were both *lavanderas* (female) and *lavanderos* (male). In Madrid, the term *lavandero* was also used at the time for a man who carried the clothes to be washed.[248] Nevertheless, doing laundry was a habitual labor for urban working women. It was poorly paid, had little to no social prestige, and lacked a guild tradition. Some research in other parts of Spain has indicated that laundry was a job often occupied by immigrant women.[249] In Granada, the laundry was done by poor women of the city and by slaves. In the parish of Angustias, laundresses were generally widows and over the age of 40.[250] Laundresses often washed the linens from inns and clothing from their customers, as well as laundry for institutions and private houses, in exchange for a wage.[251] It was also a labor that sent the women to the edge of town to the Genίl River and sometimes in town to the Darro River in order to wash the clothes in the flowing water. The river’s edge was a public space, though not one the women were supposed to have shared with men while they did laundry.

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[246] AMG, Act Cap L. IX Fol. 36v-38r, *Actas de Cabildo* (26 January 1618); AMG Act Cap L. IX Fol. 281r-285v, *Actas de Cabildo* (30 October 1618).
[247] Sarasúa, “Technical Innovations,” 16.
[248] *Diccionario de Autoridades* (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1739). In the dictionary, the entry reads: “’Lavandero’--El que lava. En Madrid llaman tambien assí al que viene a traher y llevar la ropa que se ha de lavar.”
[249] Garrido, *Historia de las Mujeres*, 336.
[250] AMG, 11 2 36, *Catastro de Enseñada*, rollo 224, 242r-556r.
[251] Garrido, *Historia de las Mujeres*, 336.

According to the city fathers, the laundry areas of the rivers were places of potential danger, whether physical or cultural. It is clear that men took the opportunity to congregate around these areas and watch these women, and sometimes to solicit the women for sex. The city fathers saw this as a two-fold danger. On the one hand, men of "bad living" could seduce a potentially righteous woman into engaging in sex for money. On the other hand, *mujeres alegres* ("women of happiness") could also entice respectable gentlemen into paying for sex with them. In order to decrease the likelihood of either scenario occurring, the city fathers forbade any class of man to loiter around the laundry centers on the river banks.[252]

In early modern cities, commercial space, social space, and residential space were often one and the same. Shops were part of the neighborhood and were used as reference points for job seekers. For example, a twenty-year old widow stated in the city's newspaper, the *Gazetilla Curiosa*, that should a potential employer be interested in contacting her, she could be reached through the tobacco shop.[253] In other editions of that same newspaper, a "woman of circumstance" indicated that she could be reached at the lottery,[254] while another young woman could be reached at a pharmacy.[255] Two older women, both widows, used a bookstore and a store as reference points for jobs.[256] An old proverb states that Spanish life is lived in the streets. Much of early modern Granada's economic activity was indeed enacted in the city streets and public spaces. Commercial activities regularly took place in residential areas where neighbors

[252] AMG, 11 5 39/40, Real Chancillería, *Ordenanzas*, Tit. 9: 26 (1678).
[253] AMG, Fr. Antonio de la Chica Benavides, *Gazetilla curiosa o semanero Granadino util y noticioso para el bien comun,* 1764-1765, CF 22, Papel 18 (estanco, viuda, edad 20).
[254] AMG, Chica Benavides, *Gazetilla curiosa,* 1764-1765, Papel 22 (loteria, "mujer de circunstancia," edad 22).
[255] AMG, Chica Benavides, *Gazetilla curiosa,* 1764-1765, Papel 24 (botica, edad 19).
[256] AMG, Chica Benavides, *Gazetilla curiosa,* 1764-1765, Papel 61 (libreria, viuda, edad 40) and Papel 5 (tienda, viuda, edad 45).

bartered with one another for goods and services. Itinerant peddlers and street hawkers sold utensils, cheap prints, trinkets, and curiosities in the city's streets and plazas. While localized shops developed to serve their neighborhoods and parishes, these were not the city's primary sites of consumption. The town's arterial routes (Elvira, the Alcaicería, Plaza Bibrrambla) were lined with shops and competition was therefore fierce among retailers. Commercial and social boundaries were not clearly delineated, though authorities attempted to establish and regulate the physical realms of economic activity.[257]

Granada, like many Spanish cities its size, had numerous markets, many of which specialized in one type of product. For example, Granada had meat markets in the Albaicín, the Realejo, on Elvira Street, and in Plaza Bibrrambla.[258] The primary market center of the city was Plaza Bibrrambla, "the most ancient and celebrated in all times."[259] Bibrrambla was (and still is) the civic, economic, and religious heart of the city and served, in the seventeenth century, as a nexus point of markets, and as a clearinghouse of fruits, vegetables, various other agricultural products, flowers, nuts, and prepared foods. It had four entrances located in its four corners. The main entrance of Zacatín, also the main portal to the city's silk market, the Alcaicería, said to have been named for Julius Caesar, was located to the east.[260] To the south was the Arc of

[257] Granada's city council repeatedly indicate where economic activity could and should occur. Take for example, the regulation of the sale and purchase of silk, which is discussed in great detail in Garzón Pareja, *La industria sedera en España*, chapter 5. See also Casey, *Family and Community*, 37; and Richard Kagan, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World, 1493-1793* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 19.
[258] AMG, Act. Cap L. VIII. Fol. 87v-90r, *Actas de Cabildo* (4 April 1614).
[259] Henríquez de Jorquera, *Anales de Granada*, 17.
[260] Henríquez de Jorquera, *Anales de Granada*, 82.

the Ears, “where the gentlemen make their entrance during celebrations".[261] Entering through the west, the fish market, constructed by the city council in 1608, boasted fresh catches of the day from along Granada’s provincial coastline. Fishermen brought in a wide assortment of seafood from villages like Almuñécar, Salobreña, and Motril: squid, bonito, sea bream, polluck, dogfish, eel, skate, redmullet, anchovies and more. All of these were brought to the fishmarket to sell.[262] With its prominent balconies and good views, Plaza Bibrrambla was used in civic solemnities by the magistrates of the Chancellery Court, the City Council, the Cathedral and the Inquisition.[263] Lining the outer perimeter of the plaza and nestled between the colonnades were the market stalls. Meandering through the throng, filling the interior of the plaza and crowding the narrow streets that radiated from Bibrrambla, were the itinerant peddlers. The physical construction of Plaza Bibrrambla represented the ideological structure of the civic market. Along the outside were fixed stalls, emblematic of order, continuity and stability. On the inside was relatively uncontrolled and erratic selling by peddlers. The picture that emerges from this arrangement is one of organization (represented by market stalls) as opposed to relative disorganization or chaos (represented by peddlers).

Official municipal and religious culture as reflected in moralist treatises and other works reflects ambivalence to, but also a grudging acceptance of the necessity of women’s assertive presence in economic activities. Retail sales were normally considered a suitable activity for women. For example, as acknowledged by the king in a royal decree, women in Granada made and sold clothes alongside men and were

[261] Henríquez de Jorquera, *Anales de Granada*, 17.
[262] Henríquez de Jorquera, *Anales de Granada*, 87.
[263] Henríquez de Jorquera, *Anales de Granada*, 19.

under the same price and selling regulations as men.[264] The city council of Granada clearly accepted women retailing various goods when they licensed them market stall space to sell their wares.[265] Often these commercial activities were an extension of traditional female roles: child care, food production and preparation, producing and caring for clothing, care giving, and providing sexual services.[266] The connection with traditional feminine roles presumably made these activities more acceptable for women. Urban women engaged extensively in retailing, both selling wares made in the household and, in some cases, working outside the home as ambulant peddlers or operators of market stalls.[267] Despite the practical acceptance of women in the marketplace, however, the age-old trope of selling and seduction lingered. There were two predominant fears regarding the market: fear of commercial dishonesty and the fear of sexual misconduct.

Regarding this first fear, officials commonly agreed that they favored fixed shops over itinerant peddlers because of the potential for fraud. Take for example those itinerant peddlers who bought goods outside of the city and resold them inside the city for a higher profit.[268] The officials' fear was not just that such peddlers were charging higher prices, however, but also that not knowing the origin of the food made the food

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[264] UGR, BHR/A-031-125 (3) in section "Roperia" (1626).
[265] AMG, Act Cap L IX Fol. 182v-186v, *Actas de Cabildo* (6 July 1618).
[266] Susan Socolow, *The Women of Colonial Latin America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 125.
[267] For the role of women vendors in the urban economy, see Abreu-Ferreira, "From Mere Survival to Near Success," 59; Chojnacka, *Working Women of Early Modern Venice*, 32-33, 45, 50-51; Ferguson, "Neither Master nor Laborer," 114; and Goldberg, *Women, Work, and the Life Cycle in a Medieval Economy*, 104-9, 117-18.
[268] AMG, 11 5 39/40, Real Chancillería, *Ordenanzas*, CVIJ, XLIIIJ (1552); Tit. 5: Ordenanzas del Alhondiga de el Pan, 33 (1678).

suspect.[269] For example, if a peddler bought meat that was slaughtered too far away from Granada, by the time the peddler sold the meat in the city, it could be rotten.[270] This continued to be a problem for in 1743, the city council of Granada brought charges against fish vendors who did just this, because the fish was in such a bad state.[271]

In addition, the opportunities for peddlers to commit fraud were great, so cities often required peddlers to register and swear an oath.[272] Though Granada did not require oaths, in order to prevent fraud, the city required that all guild members sell their wares in the streets in which they habitually worked or in other places indicated like the Alcaicería, in the cases of the silk-mercer, silversmiths, and goldsmiths as well as ragmen. Ragmen were also in the Zacatín, a street flanking the Alcaicería, and the preeminent shopping district for diverse and quality goods.[273] Cloth shearers were in the street of the Merchants of Cloth, off of the Plaza Bibrrambla, or "where they want, provided they are not in the Alcaicería, inasmuch as it is in favor of the order of Their Stations".[274] In other words, the city council did not want cloth shearers nor tailors near the ragmen, who were clearly of a different social standing. The city prohibited sales outside of specified areas because outside of those areas, in other areas unknown to

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[269] AMG, 11 5 39/40, Real Chancillería, *Ordenanzas*, XLIIIJ, CXLIX (1678). This also holds true for hats; see Ord., LXVIIL6.

[270] AMG, 11 5 39/40, Real Chancillería, *Ordenanzas*, XLIIIJ (1678). This ordinance specifies that the meat must come from within five leagues of the city.

[271] AMG, Cabildo de Granada: Presentación de una Provision Real (Madrid a 21 de mayo de 1743), y autos de la Chancillería para que el corregidor de Granada y su Juzgado de Gobierno remita a la Sala del Crimen el proceso contra los revendedores de pescado en mal estado, con indicación de los casos que corresponden a la jurisdicción del Juzgado de Gobierno, 805, 78.

[272] I have not found any indication of oath taking in Granada, but the used-goods dealers and peddlers were heavily regulated by the city. For more information, please see: Wiesner, 'Having Her Own Smoke,' 207.

[273] AMG, 11 5 39/40, Real Chancillería, *Ordenanzas*, LXIII Pregón; Henríquez de Jorquera, *Anales de Granada*, 25.

[274] AMG, 11 5 39/40, Real Chancillería, *Ordenanzas,* LXIV.I and 15 (1678), "donde quisieren, con tal de que no estén en la alcaicería, por quanto está por mandamiento de Sus Altezas que no estén tundidores ni sastres cerca de los traperos".

the authorities, the inspectors could not control the quality or price of the goods being sold.

Sometimes, however, trouble could erupt even in established shops or stalls. Shops in and around the marketplace were almost always rented, with the city often acting as landlord. The property owned by the city fell into two distinct categories. On the one hand was common property to be used by the residents of the municipality. On the other hand there were the *propios.* The *propios* were lands, shops, houses, or other property that were owned by the city and were treated as the city government's private property. These physical assets were usually rented out by the city council, with the proceeds going to defray the costs of public works or toward easing local tax assessments."[275]

Even if the city did not hold title to the rented shop, it still had a system of administration and inspection to order and regulate the marketplace. If a consumer was disgruntled over a purchase, the offended party would have some form of official recourse for the offense if the vendor had a permanent stall. It was the city that authorized and allotted those spaces in the Plaza Bibrrambla, so that if complaints against a particular vendor were registered, the city officials could simply not rent to that vendor when the lease was up for renewal. Take for example, the case of Ana Martín. Martín rented two stalls from the city. One stall was located in the *Casa de Comedia*, the city theatre, and one was located in Plaza Bibrrambla where she sold sausages and puddings.[276] In December 11, 1618, she was denied her lease for one year, along with

[275] Vassberg, *Land and Society*, 21.
[276] AMG, Act Cap L IX Fol. 182v-186v, *Actas de Cabildo* (6 July 1618); Henríquez de Jorquera, *Anales de Granada*, 624.

three other female stall keepers, Leonor Rodríquez, María de Córdoba and Francisca de Perea, due to accusations of "scandalous excesses" that they supposedly committed.[277] Seven days later on the day of Saint Lucía, however, she and the other women were banished from the city. Applause from the city's inhabitants accompanied the women as they walked shamefully through Granada and their abuses were read aloud to the crowd. Ana Martín was a favorite of the lead notary for the city council and was reported to have had an esteemed social position in Granada, but even these factors did not provoke lenience by the city magistrate Don Luis de Gusmán.[278] What "scandalous excesses" they committed exactly are a bit of a mystery. By way of comparison, a butcher who committed fraud by altering his scales was sentenced to two hundred lashes and exile, just a few years later in 1623.[279] The women's punishment seems quite comparable. Regardless of the exact offense, it is clear that one of the most serious accusations hurled at vendors was that they were forestalling the market in some way.[280] In order to facilitate a healthy economy and increase trade, the city could not afford to take such accusations lightly. Both market women and men appeared frequently in court defending their rights to sell certain items and their honesty and honor.[281]

The above case also underscores the anxiety surrounding markets and the food and other items sold there. Market stalls provided prepared foods where a person could

[277] AMG, Cap. L. IX. Fol. 330r, *Actas de Cabildo* (11 December 1618).
[278] Henríquez de Jorquera, *Anales de Granada*, 624.
[279] Henríquez de Jorquera, *Anales de Granada*, 654.
[280] This conclusion is clear from my own work and is substantiated for the case of Nantes by Gayle K. Bruenelle in "Policing the Monopolizing Women of Early Modern Nantes," *Journal of Women's History* 19.2 (2007): 10-35, 11.
[281] AMG, Act. Cap. L IX. Fol. 169 v-176; AMG, Act Cap L IX Fol. 190r-194r; Wiesner, *Working Women*, 134-142.

eat or drink at the counter, but the food appears not to have been particularly appetizing at times. Some people crossed themselves before consuming the little meat pies (*empanadillas*), for example, which had the reputation of being made from the minced-up bodies of executed people—a particularly gruesome fear considering Plaza Bibrrambla was the primary site for executions.[282] Even Francisco de Quevedo's Don Pablo, after sage advice from his executioner uncle, said a Hail Mary for "the soul which once belonged to the meat" in his pie.[283] Whether true or not, these allegations provide insight into the dismal quality of and anxiety surrounding some food sold in the markets. One late sixteenth-century municipal decree mandated that spoiled meat was to be thrown to the dogs, not sold to the public.[284] However, the fact was that sub-quality food often appeared in Granada's markets and that officials had a responsibility to investigate and bring suits against the offenders.[285] In May of 1610, in the Provisions and Ordinances of the Pastrymakers, the city council ordered the city's pastry makers not to pass off mutton as beef or pork.[286] In the same mandate, they ordered the pastry makers not to use sub-quality flour. They described good flour as not having a bad odor, not being black in color, and "having good spices".[287] City officials believed that the numerous venders selling *mal cozinado* ("badly cooked food") in the city particularly hurt the poor. Since the poor had little money to buy food to replace that which was spoiled,

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[282] James M. Anderson, *Daily Life During the Spanish Inquisition* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002), 189.
[283] Francisco de Quevedo, *El Buscón* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1998), 114-115.
[284] AMG, 11 5 39/40, Real Chancillería, *Ordenanzas*, XLVJ (1678).
[285] AMG, 1671: *Testimonio dado por Fernando Garcia de Vara del Rey, escribano mayor de Cabildo, sobre la causa seguida contra Antonio de Robles por vender pan en mal estado en la plaza de Bib-Rambla*. Legajo 805, 48.
[286] AMG, 11 5 39/40, Real Chancillería, Ordenanzas, Tit. 21:2 *Provision y Ordenanzas de Pasteleros* (4 May 1610).
[287] AMG, 11 5 39/40, Real Chancillería, Tit. 21:3 *Provision y Ordenanzas de Pasteleros* (4 May 1610).

they ate the spoiled food anyway and became sick.[288] For this reason, prepared food sellers were required to sell only in the plazas, where they could be controlled and the food monitored.[289]

In order to combat fraud in the markets, the city council appointed special officials to inspect the food sold in the city.[290] There was also a good deal of speculation in sales of wheat and bread, and marketplaces were policed by these officials to see that food supplies reached consumers directly and did not fall into the clutches of hoarders and speculators who could withhold stocks for prices higher than the *tasa*, the legal maximum price for grain. The presence of women in food riots was not unusual in early modern Europe. Cynthia Bouton has found that women were heavily represented in most popular protests in France involving food on some level.[291] High taxes often preceded food riots. This was the case in Granada in 1648 and 1652, when food riots coincided with currency debasement.[292] In 1712, women armed with stones took to the streets to impede the tax collector from collecting an exorbitant tax from the citizens of Granada. The women's ferocity convinced the city council of the impossibility of collecting this tax from the citizens and so the council decided to collect the tax amount by private donation instead.[293]

The inspectors would make visits to all of the establishments of a particular industry, such as taverns. During each visit they would make certain that the tavern

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[288] AMG, 11 5 39/40, Real Chancillería, *Ordenanzas*, XLVJ (1678).
[289] AMG, 11 5 39/40, Real Chancillería, *Ordenanzas*, XLVJ (1678).
[290] See for example: AMG 1671: *Testimonio en que consta que el 20 de abril la Ciudad nombro sus comisarios para que hiciesen que los panaderos de los hornos amasasen pan y lo condujesen a las plazas. Otro de haber visto pan en la plaza y no concurrir gente a comprarlo.* Legajo 805, 47.
[291] Cynthia M. Bouton, *The Flour War: Gender, Class, and Community in Late Ancien Régime French Society* (University Park: Pennsylvania University Press, 1993).
[292] Domínguez Ortiz, *Alteraciones andaluzas*.
[293] Peña y Vincent, *Historia de Granada*, 230.

was being operated according to all municipal specifications. If the inspectors indeed found this to be the case, they would recommend that the tavern's license be renewed. If not, they would recommend withholding license renewal, generally for a specified amount of time.[294] Attempts at regulation, however, sometimes met with conflict and resistance. For example, city millers were resistant to the introduction, at the insistence of the city's *corregidor* (magistrate) Viscount de las Torres, of a standardized scale for weighing flour in 1638.[295]

The city wanted order, hierarchy and control. Peddlers did not offer this, but were an economic necessity and thus a reality.[296] Women dominated many of these occupations both outside of guild control and most heavily policed by the municipal government.[297] Peddling was one such occupation. Female sellers strolled through the streets, stood on street corners, and called attention to themselves and their wares. The presence of women in the marketplace posed practical and ideological dilemmas for the authorities. On one hand, the city needed the women's economic activity and their presence in the marketplace had a long history. On the other hand, city authorities generally expected respectable women to remain at home or, if they had to venture out, to move about the city with deliberate purpose.[298] The skills needed to earn at least a living, however, whether through selling door-to-door or in the markets, were those

[294]AMG, file 805, part 59, *Proceso de Alonso Bravo de Amaya, Alcalde de Crimen, contra las tiendas de armas*, 1697; and AMG, file 805, part 67, *Visita de Tabernas* (1716).
[295] Henríquez de Jorquera, *Anales de Granada*, 796.
[296] For more on the association of peddlers and disorder, see Dean T. Ferguson, "The Body, the Corporate Idiom, and the Police of the Unincorporated Worker in Early Modern Lyons," *French Historical Studies*, 23, 4 (Fall, 2000), 545-575, 557. For more on women as peddlers, see Merry Wiesner Wood, "Paltry Peddlers or Essential Merchants? Women in the Distributive Trades in Early Modern Nuremberg," *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 12, 2 (Summer, 1981): 3-13. For a general overview of peddlers in Europe, see: Laurence Fontaine, *History of Pedlars in Europe* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996).
[297] Brunelle, "Policing the Monopolizing Women," 17.
[298] Juan Luis Vives, *The Education of a Christian Woman: A Sixteenth-Century Manual,* ed. and trans. Charles Fantazzi (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 125 and 127.

generally regarded as negative in women: verbal dexterity, independence, initiative, and a forceful personality.[299]

This is what led to the authorities' second main fear related to markets, one ever more menacing than the fear of committing fraud: namely the fear of sexual misconduct. How could someone really know if that female peddler was selling vegetables or selling herself, or both? Related to this matter was the concern that the male customers who approached these presumably honest women, might attempt to seduce them, thus corrupting them.[300] The market was, from its inception, considered a liminal and potentially dangerous space.[301] "Selling and seduction" is but one familiar trope of the marketplace. Evelyn Welch points out that there was a "long-standing conflation between the attractions of the marketplace and its inhabitants, sexual seduction and moral outrage."[302] For example, brothels were often located near areas of great mercantile activity, thus marking a physical connection between the two.[303] In Granada, the public brothel was situated near the *Casa de Comedias* ("House of Comedy," a theatre), which was close to the markets.[304] Prostitutes mingled with buyers and sellers in the marketplace. The prostitute was also a seller, of course, but of her own sexuality. Prostitutes working under the auspices of a brothel provided less of a threat to social order than women selling sex on their own. At least in the brothel, which was municipally regulated, these women were under male control. The brothel was an

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[299] Wiesner, 'Having Her Own Smoke,' 34.
[300] Ángel Luis Molina Molina, *Mujeres Públicas, Mujeres Secretas (La Prostitución y su mundo: siglos XIII-XVII)* (Murcia: Editorial KR, 1998), 51.
[301] See Jean-Christophe Agnew, "The Threshold of Exchange," in *Worlds Apart: The Market and the Theater in Anglo-American Thought, 1550-1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 17-56.
[302] For more on "selling and seduction," see Evelyn Welch, *Shopping in the Renaissance*, 32-37.
[303] For a good overview of prostitution in Spain, see Molina Molina, *Mujeres Públicas, Mujeres Secretas,* 115.
[304] Casey, *Family and Community*, 132.

instrument of social control, a patriarchal institution that regulated women's sexuality for the benefit of men. Arguably, this type of female sexuality was not as threatening to the authorities as that of a promiscuous woman outside of male, and, by extension, state control.

During the early modern period in Granada, municipal authorities had more and more difficulty confining mercenary sex to the official brothels. There were numerous decrees seeking to contain and control prostitutes who worked outside the official houses, and moral reformers wrote scathing treatises calling for a closing of the brothels entirely.[305] In Granada in 1622, the city permitted twenty prostitutes to work,[306] but in 1623, the moral reformers got their wish, for in this year, Philip IV officially banned brothels throughout Spain.[307] In Granada, women of *mal vivir* ("bad living") continued to be found all over the city, but always near where large numbers of men congregated, in places like taverns, shops selling weapons, and inns.[308] Though some of these shops were scattered throughout the city center, the bulk of them were on the Calle de Mesones ("*mesones*" literally means "inns"). This street was adjacent to the market in

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[305] For municipal regulations on prostitutes, see Mary Elizabeth Perry, *Crime and Society in Early Modern Seville* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1980); Perry, *Gender and Disorder in Early Modern Seville* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990); and Molina Molina, *Mujeres Públicas, Mujeres Secretas*. For Granada in particular, see UGR A-31-267 (2) (1621) and UGR/BHR A-31-267 (3), Geronimo Velázquez, Prefecto de la Congregación del Espiritu Santo, Compañía de Jesús, *Información teologica y juristica. Dirigida al Illustrissimo Senor don Francisco de Contreras Presidente de Castilla, para que mandar quitar de todo el Reyno las casas publicas de las malas mugeres, particularmente la desta ciudad de Granada*, En Granada, (1622); UGR A-31-258 (11) Padre Fray Gabriel de Maqueda, Convento de San Antonio Abad, *Invectiva en forma de discurso contra el uso de las casas públicas de las mugeres rameras,* En Granada (1622).

[306]UGR, BHR A-31-267 (3), Geronimo Velázquez, Prefecto de la Congregación del Espiritu Santo, Compañía de Jesús, *Información teologica y juristica. Dirigida al Illustrissimo Senor don Francisco de Contreras Presidente de Castilla, para que mandar quitar de todo el Reyno las casas públicas de las malas mugeres, particularmente la desta ciudad de Granada, En Granada* (1622), 12.

[307] *Novisima Recopilación,* Ley 7, Tit. 26, Libro 12, as noted in Perry, *Gender and Disorder,* 150.

[308] AMG, file 805, part 59, Mercados (1697): *Proceso de Alonso Bravo de Anaya, alcalde del crimen, contra las tiendas de armas, mesones y tabernas por fabricar armas de las prohibidas y acoger a hombres y mujeres de mal vivir.* This was the case as early as 1520: AMG Act Cap L IV Fol. 159v, *Actas de Cabildo* (1520).

Bibrrambla. The association of a single woman in a mercantile space with the possibility that she was there to sell herself is evident in the fact that one establishment was fined six *reales* simply for the presence of a young woman, who claimed she was looking for the limekiln, but did not find it.[309] In this particular round of inspections, the Alcalde de Crimen ("Sheriff of Crime"), Alonso Bravo de Amaya, was trying to root out the vices of gambling and prostitution. Out of the twenty-nine establishments that had fines levied upon them, only eight were found to have women suspected of prostitution in them.[310] More often than not, establishments were fined for having suspicious guests who gave false names or lied about their place of origin. Francisca Leonor (widow) was the innkeeper of the El Rincón Inn located on Alhondiga Street, which ran parallel to Mesones Street. El Rincón's guests were generally foreigners. In 1697, she received a fine of 24 *reales* for not properly registering guests.[311] City officials were very suspicious of inns being dens of sexual vice and officially prohibited "*mugeres enamoradas"* ("women of pleasure") from entering or earning money in these establishments.[312] The relatively low number of potential prostitutes found by Bravo de Amaya's inspection of Granada's inns and taverns in 1697 highlights the exaggerated fear Granadan authorities had of women and sexuality mixing in mercantile spaces.

As these examples show, the very presence of women in the markets and in mercantile spaces made them suspect of selling their sexuality. Today, too, just as in early modern Granada, things and people get classified and catalogued because of

[309] AMG, File 805, Part 59, *Proceso de Alonso Bravo de Amaya, Alcalde de Crimen, contra las tiendas de armas, mesones, y tabernas* (1697).
[310] AMG, File 805, Part 59, *Proceso de Alonso Bravo de Amaya, Alcalde de Crimen, contra las tiendas de armas, mesons, y tabernas* (1697).
[311] AMG, File 805, Part 59. In the 1752 Respuestas Generales of the Catastro de Enseñada, there is an inn listed as El Rinconcillo, owned by Doña María Salzedo.
[312] AMG, 11 5 39/40, Real Chancillería, *Ordenanzas*, Tit. 55: Ordenanzas de los Venteros (1678).

their relationship to the market—and so do people. People get classified into buyers and sellers. The market brings all sorts of people together—peasants, foreigners, artisans, noblemen, men, women—but the nature of market exchange necessitates that social distinctions essentially be erased. Market exchange is predicated upon the temporary fiction that all parties are equal in the exchange, in order for an unhindered determination of the value of the sought-after goods.[313] On the other hand, social relationships are necessary between the buyer and the seller so that each can get the best deals and to cultivate repeat customers. In an era before billboards and television commercials, a shopkeeper's best advertising came from word-of-mouth. The building of this relationship between consumer and seller necessitated interaction, often between the sexes. Gender distinctions in the market could never fully be erased, therefore, due to the longstanding connection, both metaphorical and physical, of sexuality and the market.[314]

The fact that women's work provided elasticity to the civic economy would ultimately be echoed in the labor agenda of the Enlightened reformers of the eighteenth century. These reformers wanted to increase women's participation in the labor force for two reasons: first, because women's lower wages would lower production costs and increase Spanish industrial competitiveness; and second, because women's entrance to manufacturing would permit men's labor to be applied elsewhere (and in a better fashion) such as in agriculture, public works and the armies.[315] It is clear that working

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[313] Michel Foucault, "Exchanging," in *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of Human Sciences* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994), 189.
[314] Welch, *Shopping in the Renaissance*, 32.
[315] See for example: Theresa Ann Smith, *The Emerging Female Citizen: Gender and Enlightenment in Spain* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006); and Mónica Bolufer, *Mujeres e ilustración: la construcción de la feminidad en la España del siglo XVIII* (Valencia: Diputación de Valencia, 1998). See

women—small-scale street vendors, shopkeepers, innkeepers, silk spinners, and odd-job doers—were the vital constituents of an informal economy that aided in keeping Granada economically viable during a tumultuous period.

also “On Girls’ Education,” Book VIII, Title I, Law X (1783), 227, and “On Women’s Work,” Book VIII, Title XXIII, Law XIV (1779) in “Laws of the Bourbon Monarchy,” in *Early Modern Spain: A Documentary History*, ed. Jon Cowans (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 229-230; and UGR, 1756 *Ordenanzas y Constitución del Real Hospital.*

## Chapter 3: Entitlements and Obligations: Women, Law and Community

Few women in the early modern period engaged in politics as conventionally defined. If we expand the concept of "politics" to include activities deemed extensions of women's domestic responsibilities beyond the home, however, it becomes apparent that women frequently participated in and even initiated routine actions that can be defined as "political."[316] The political role of women in early modern Granada first and fundamentally existed in their strategies to protect and expand their economic, social and symbolic rights and privileges.[317] These actions were political because they served to influence informal and formal power structures in women's own local communities, often to their own or their family's benefit, thus affording these women a measure of civic power. Civic power, in this context, refers to the power to influence one's surroundings within the public realm to a desired end. Women's civic power was typically materially based and expressed. In other words, women's power did not generally manifest in theoretical legal or political concepts; rather, it was usually over control of resources. Control over resources deemed domestic, yet political, such as water for gardens and family inheritance (real estate and goods), as well as control over goods gifted to religious orders, had an impact on the larger community. As such,

[316] My definition of politics more broadly conceived is influenced by the conception of politics employed in *Women in British Politics, 1760-1860: The Powers of the Petticoat*, ed. Kathryn Gleadle and Sarah Richardson (London: Macmillan, 2000). For Spain, Magdalena S. Sanchez in *The Empress, the Queen, and the Nun: Women and Power at the Court of Philip III of Spain* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), has also shown the benefits of expanding the notion of politics to include piety, family devotion, and sickness. For an excellent, but later example, see Pamela Radcliff's work on women and consumer riots in "Women's Politics: Consumer Riots in Twentieth-Century Spain," in *Constructing Spanish Womanhood: Female Identity in Modern Spain*, ed. Victoria Loree Enders and Pamela Beth Radcliff (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999), 301-23. In this article, she shows women to be essential political players beyond the scope of official politics.

[317] Here I am referring to the concepts of the accumulation of economic, social and symbolic capital as developed by Pierre Bourdieu in his *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

women had to learn how to maneuver within a context of traditional forms of local power to exert their own, more indirect, power. Women's battles over these issues, therefore, reveal some of the strategies by which women sought to obtain and to exert civic power in seventeenth-century Granada.[318] In so doing, these women bridged the foundational structure of the home to the larger civic body. Women in Granada did have civic power, but that power was almost always indirect, contingent, materially based and an extension of domestic responsibilities.

**Women and the Law**

Law is a revealing social discourse as well as a means of imposing a particular ideological view. Religion, law and morality were often mutually influential and referenced one another as a basis for legitimacy. Jurists quoted religious texts as well as legal texts. Moralists, too, quoted both law and religion. Moralists in their search of answers to the moral problems of their day, frequently turned their attention to women. It is fairly easy to uncover the ways in which moralists thought women were supposed to act in early modern Spain, and equally easy to list the legal restrictions placed upon women. It is more difficult, however, to reveal how women acted and responded to those moral and legal restrictions. One way to uncover women's lives is through the networks of property transmission by which women rented, owned, bought, bequeathed, and inherited property. Many women managed to make use of the law to their benefit in

[318]My methodology regarding strategy derives from the following works: Pierre Bourdieu, *In Other Words: Essays Toward a Reflexive Sociology* (Stanford: Polity Press, 1990), particularly the section "From to Rules to Strategy," 59-75; Loic Wacquant, "Pugs at Work: Bodily Capital and Bodily Labour Amoung Professional Boxers," *Body and Society*, 1, 1 (March 1995): 65-93.

order to keep rights, expand wealth, or obtain properties.[319] A second means to understanding women's place in their community is through their struggles to obtain and retain communal resources such as water.  Almost from the inception of the city council in 1501, municipal records testify to the active presence of women in civic life through legal proceedings over natural, cultural, and economic resources. Despite the legal and ideological restrictions placed on women, a study of women's interaction with the law makes clear that they often disregarded or found ways around those barriers.

Legislation in the early modern period, as in previous periods, did not affect men and women equally. When classifying women, legally and ideologically, what mattered to medieval and early modern jurists was their relationship to men. This concept was confirmed in the moral and legal literature of the time, which classified women as single, married, widowed, and nuns.[320] Some scholars use the dichotomy of honor and dishonor to understand women's position in the early modern Spanish world.[321] The above classifications, some argue, were mere subdivisions of the main division among women. These categories were based on the traditional distinction between "honest" and "dishonest" women, "respectable" and "not respectable", "honorable" and "dishonorable." A good example of this classification is found in Juan de Espinosa's

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[319] Historians of early modern Europe have increasingly documented the surprising degree of decision-making power and agency middle and lower class women were able to assume in conducting their daily lives. See, for example: Allyson Poska, *Women and Authority in Early Modern Spain: The Peasants of Galicia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); Monica Chojnacka, *Working Women of Early Modern Venice* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001); Amy Louise Erickson, *Women and Property in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 1993).

[320] Marilo Vigil, *La vida de las mujeres en los siglos XVI y XVII* (Madrid: Siglo Veintiuno, 1994), 17.

[321] See, for example: Renato Barahona, *Sex Crimes, Honour, and the Law in Early Modern Spain, Vizcaya, 1528-1735* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003); Ann Twinam, *Public Lives, Private Secrets: Gender, Honor, Sexuality, and Illegitimacy in Colonial Spanish America* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999); Lyman L. Johnson and Sonya Lipsett-Rivera, eds., *The Faces of Honor: Sex, Shame and Violence in Colonial Latin American* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998); Patricia Seed, *To Love, Honor, and Obey in Colonial Mexico: Conflicts Over Marriage Choice, 1574-1821* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988).

treatise *Dialogo en laude de las mujeres* (1580). The impetus for his dialogue is the question: how does a man distinguish a good woman from a bad one?[322]

Early modern legal discourse was closely linked to concepts of women in ecclesiastic discourses, which presented two antagonistic female models: the wicked Eve and the perfect Virgin.[323] In these discourses, Eve was reviled because of her association with original sin, whereas the Virgin, or Virgin Mary, was venerated for her lack of original sin. The doctrine of the Immaculate Conception referred not to the conception of Jesus within the womb, but to Mary's lack of original sin.[324] The cult of the Immaculate Conception was one of the most highly promoted devotions of the seventeenth century in Spain.[325] The inference was that women were naturally sinful; a woman's body was thought to be a vehicle for evil.[326] Only the Virgin Mary was exempt from this characterization.

Women, as Eve's descendants, were considered to be a symbol of original sin, due to the fact that it was Eve who ate the forbidden fruit; women, through their wickedness and lack of morals, induced men to sin. As the antithesis to Eve, the Virgin Mary was portrayed as the perfect model to be imitated by the female sex. She was the

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[322] Juan de Espinosa, *Dialogo en laude de las mujeres* (1580), ed. Jose Lopez Romero (Granada: Ediciones A. Ubago, 1990).

[323] For more on the dichotomous symbols for women found in early modern Spain, see Mary Elizabeth Perry, *Gender and Disorder in Early Modern Seville* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990). For more on medieval conceptions of Eve and the Virgin Mary, see: J.A. Tasioulas, "Between Doctrine and Domesticity: The Portrayal of Mary in the N-Town Plays," in Diane Watt, ed., *Medieval Women in Their Communities* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 222-245.

[324] A. Katie Harris, *From Muslim to Christian Granada: Inventing a City's Past in Early Modern Spain* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), 137-148; Suzanne L. Stratton, *The Immaculate Conception in Spanish Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Helen Hills, "Iconography and Ideology: Aristocracy, Immaculacy and Virginity in Seventeenth-Century Palermo," *Oxford Art Journal*, 17, 2 (1994): 16-31, 18.

[325] Sara T. Nalle, *God in la Mancha: Religious Reform and the People of Cuenca, 1500-1650* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 178.

[326] Maria Helena Sanchez Ortega, "Woman as Source of 'Evil' in Counter-Reformation Spain," in Anne J. Cruz and Mary Elizabeth Perry, eds., *Culture and Control in Counter-Reformation Spain* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992), 196-215.

model of graceful submission whose values were modesty, purity and obedience. Eve and the Virgin were metaphors that conveyed church dogma. Though not formally accepted as Church doctrine until 1854, in Spain the idea of the Immaculate Conception was widely accepted as early as the seventeenth century.[327] In 1618, the city fathers voted to dedicate the city of Granada to the Cult of Immaculate Conception.[328] These pious councilors vowed to defend and maintain the doctrine with their lives and erected a monument of the Triumph of Our Lady ten years later, which became the symbol of Granada.[329] Through the newly discovered religious history of Granada as provided in the *plomos* (lead tablets) of the Sacromonte (a segment of the city that was high on a hill, overlooking the Alhambra), Granada saw itself as the cradle of devotion to the Immaculate Conception.[330] As a result, the doctrine and its veneration became integral to Granada's definition of itself and its civic identity.[331]

Law adhered closely to religious discourse. Moralists argued that women were inferior and that they lacked physical strength as well as intellectual acumen. [332] Moralists also expounded on women's precarious relationship to honor and morality. The canonical writings of Juan Luis Vives, Fray Tomás Ramón, and Fray Luis de León

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[327] Harris, *From Muslim to Christian Granada*, 137.
[328] AMG, Act Cap. L. IX enero-septiembre (1618); Francisco Henríquez de Jorquera, *Anales de Granada: Descripción del reino y ciudad de Granada. Crónica de la reconquista (1482-1492). Sucesos de los años 1588 a 1646.* Edición preparada, según el manuscrito original, por Antonio Marin Ocete (Granada: Publicaciones de la Facultad de Letras, 1934), 624.
[329]Casey, *Family and Community*, 198. For more on the role of the veneration of saints and martyrs in communities, see: William A. Christian, Jr., *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981); Gretchen Starr-LeBeau, *In the Shadow of the Virgin: Inquisitors, Friars, and Conversos in Guadalupe, Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003).
[330] Ultimately, the lead tablets were found to be forgeries. For more on the plomos, see Harris, *From Muslim to Christian Granada.*
[331] Harris, *From Muslim to Christian Granada*, 137.
[332] For more on the naturalization of women's inferiority, see: Sherry Ortner, "Is Female to Male as Nature Is to Culture?" in *Woman, Culture and Society*, ed. Michelle Zimbalist Rosaldo and Louise Lamphere (Stanford: Stanford University, 1974), 67-87; Sherry Ortner and Harriet Whitehead, eds., *Sexual Meanings: The Cultural Construction of Gender and Sexuality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

exemplify the nearly complete ideological agreement that women were naturally weaker, less rational, and less intelligent than men.[333] Though Vives makes no direct distinction between the intellectual capacity of men and women, he does explicate the differing purposes and advantages to their separate educations. Vives writes that the principal reason for educating a woman is to preserve her chastity, thus implying that a woman's education is of only a moral value.[334] He goes on to argue that women are weak by nature and are more susceptible to sin.[335] Ramón goes one step further with his assertion that: "Woman is the beginning of all evils."[336] This gender ideology was codified into law, as can be seen for example in the reference of the *Siete Partidas* to women's "artlessness and their natural weakness."[337] For this reason, when a woman lost her good reputation due to being viewed as unchaste, she also lost many of her legal rights.[338] Just as religion subordinated women to men, law codified this gender hierarchy.[339]

Nevertheless, the attitudes emanating from the legal literature in Spain were much less misogynistic than those arising from the religious texts. Despite these cultural and religious stereotypes, women in Spanish society had rights that extended beyond

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[333] Juan Luis Vives, *The Education of a Christian Woman: A Sixteenth-Century Manual*, ed. and trans. Charles Fantazzi (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), Fray Tomás Ramón, *Nueva Prematica de Reformacion Contra los Abusos* (Zaragoza: Diego Dormer, 1635); Fray Luis de León, *La Perfecta Casada* (Salamanca, 1587).
[334] Vives, *The Education of a Christian Woman*, 71.
[335] Vives, *The Education of a Christian Woman*, 118.
[336] Ramon, *Nueva Prematica*, 132.
[337] Jean A. Stuntz, *Hers, His, and Theirs: Community Property Law in Spain and Early Texas* (Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press, 2010), 21.
[338] Stuntz, *Hers, His, and Theirs*, 23.
[339] For more on how women's honor and dishonor functioned in litigation, please see: Renato Barahona, *Sex Crimes, Honour, and the Law in Early Modern Spain*, chapter 5; Allyson Poska, *Women and Authority;* Stephanie Fink De Backer, *Widowhood in Early Modern Spain: Protectors, Proprietors, and Patrons* (Danvers, MA: Brill, 2010); Scott Taylor, *Honor and Violence in Golden Age Spain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008); Elisa Garrido, ed., *Historia de las Mujeres en España* (Madrid: Editorial Sintesis, 1997).

those accorded to women of other European countries in the early modern period. Though women were not equal to men in their legal status, Spanish law, particularly laws of inheritance, was relatively non-discriminatory to women even as the underlying gender assumption of inferiority remained firmly in place. As opposed to the "civil death" of English women when they entered into marriage, Spanish women retained a legal identity.[340] English women's legal status and their relationship to property were defined by English common law's doctrine of coverture in marriage and primogeniture in inheritance. Under coverture, women lost control of their property and movable goods when they married, and under primogeniture, the eldest son inherited all property.[341] Even with these legal limitations, English women protected their inheritances and took out of marriage the property they brought in to it. The doctrine of coverture in England was thus in practice much less restrictive than it seemed in the legal treatises. Without these legal restrictions, did Spanish women fare proportionally better in their struggles to preserve and expand property holdings, inheritance, and access to valuable community resources? To answer this question, we must first understand Spanish law and the rights it accorded early modern Spanish women.

Early modern Spanish law was a fusion of customary, Roman, and Visigothic codified law.[342] This amalgamation was made more complex by the inclusion of the

[340] The concept of a "civil death" for married women has been recently problematized in such works as Jenny Kermode and Garthine Walker, eds., *Women, Crime and the Courts in Early Modern England* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994).
[341] Amy Louise Erickson, *Women and Property in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 1993).
[342] Richard L. Kagan, *Lawsuits and Litigants in Castile*, *1500-1700* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1981); Eugene Korth and Della Flusche, "Dowry and Inheritance in Colonial Spanish America: Peninsular Law and Chilean Practice," *The Americas* 43, 4 (April 1987): 395-410; Heath Dillard, *Daughters of the Reconquest: Women in Castilian Town Society, 1100-1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Susan Kellogg, *Law and the Transformation of Aztec Culture, 1500-1700* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995); Stuntz, *Hers, His, and Theirs*; Poska, *Women and Authority in Early Modern Spain; The Visigothic Code (Forum Judicum)*, trans. S.P. Scott (Boston: Boston

regional customary laws of the many historically independent provinces of Spain, such as Andalusia, Catalonia and the Basque region. The Spanish legal tradition began with the Visigothic state and the sixth-century *Forum Judicum.* The Visigothic invaders from the north developed their laws to be applied to the Germanic tribal population while Roman law was applied to the indigenous "Spanish" inhabitants. Though the Visigoths did not leave great feats of engineering as reminders of their presence as did the Romans, the Visigothic system of laws had a significant impact on women in Spain. The Visigothic Code, for example, explicitly stated the rights and responsibilities of women. It detailed, for example, what constituted a valid marriage, punishment for rape and also the property rights of women.[343] In fact, the very first law of Title Two in Book Four, which addressed the laws of inheritance, stated that daughters would inherit equally with sons.[344] Jean A. Stuntz argues that since property laws map out systems of privilege within a society, that the Visigothic determination of women inheriting equally with men, allowed women almost equal citizenship with men.[345]

Popularly known as the *Fuero Juzgo*, the code survived the Muslim conquest but was significantly altered by the ninth century due to the special juridical privileges known as *fueros* that were granted by successive rulers to various municipalities and social groups, but many of the legal provisions relating to women remained. *Fueros* were often used to encourage settlement in newly conquered territories in frontiers, such as Granada following the Reconquest. To spur repopulation of these areas with Spanish settlers, *fueros* guaranteed property rights and system of legal justice. For

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Book Co., 1910); Donald J. Kagay, "Introduction," *The Usatges of Barcelona: The Fundamental Law of Catalonia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006).
[343] Stuntz, *Hers, His, and Theirs*, 1-2.
[344] Stuntz, *Hers, His, and Theirs*, 2.
[345] Stuntz, *Hers, His, and Theirs*, 2.

women, these *fueros* served to expand women's rights in an effort to persuade respectable women to come to the frontier to marry or, if already married, to persuade wives to join their husbands in this newly conquered land.[346]

*Fueros* constituted the basis of Castilian law, as a unifying recompilation of all Visigothic laws.[347] The *Fuero Juzgo* was followed in 1265 by Alfonso the Wise's monumental legal work, *Las Siete Partidas.*[348] The *Partidas* combined all previous Spanish law with elements of canon and Roman law. The *Partidas* were the primary Spanish law code, but even their laws could not contradict those of the *fueros*, or customary laws. Custom often overruled newer laws. Therefore, *fueros* played an important role in assuring legal and cultural continuity. For example, Thomas Glick points out that a recurring theme of thirteenth-century irrigation grants was an assertion of the power of *fueros* through the stipulation that the custom continue to be just as it was in the time of Muslim rule.[349]

During the Hapsburg reign in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, further attempts were made at developing systematic legal codes. The difficulty arose with the fact that this national body of law could not replace customary law outright, so it had to grow amidst the traditional privileges granted to the municipalities. Essentially, national law and foral law (law based on the *fueros*) were co-equal legal institutions. Thus many of women's legal rights and responsibilities originally laid out in Visigothic law and in the *fueros* remained law throughout the early modern period. The "foral systems" (legal

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[346] Dillard, *Daughters of the Reconquest*, 12-16; Stuntz, *Hers, His, and Theirs*, 12.
[347] Kagan, *Lawsuits and Litigants in Castile*.
[348] Robert I. Burns, ed., *Las Siete Partidas,* trans. Samuel Parsons Scott (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001); Angel Luis Molina Molina, "Aspects de la Vida Cotidiana en 'Las Partidas'." *Glossae Revista de Historia del Derecho Europeo* nos. 5-6 (1993-94), 171-185.
[349]Thomas F. Glick, *Irrigation and Society in Medieval Valencia* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970), 234.

system based on the *fueros*) represent the end result of seven centuries of local customary law and were inevitably often in conflict with national law. Finally, the *Nueva Recopilación de todas las leyes de Castilla*, originally published in 1569, compiled over four thousand royal laws, edicts, pragmatics, and provisions, some of which dated back to the time of the Visigoths. Later editions, one in 1592 and the other in 1598, included laws issued since 1569, but these were just tacked on. The primary problem with the *Recopilación* was that every royal decree, regardless of when it was issued, remained active unless it was specifically made null and void. This fact made the application of laws ambiguous because realistically judges could pick and choose which laws to apply in their judgments.[350]

As bewildering and labyrinthine as Spanish law was, its system of law courts and legal tribunals matched its complexity. Litigation was a function of civil law that guaranteed individuals certain inalienable privileges and rights.[351] These rights and privileges, however, along with the related lawsuits, often became lost in a "confused jurisdictional morass."[352] Litigation was a very slow process. The Royal Court system, for example, consisted of three hierarchical levels. At the bottom were the trial courts. Next up were five regional *audiencias* (public tribunals), each authorized to hear appeals from the trial courts as well as various municipal judges. The highest tier was the Royal Council of Castile, the kingdom's supreme court. Theoretically, one had access to these higher courts by way of appeal, but jurisdictional protocol needed to be followed and thus the appeals would gradually advance through the lower to higher

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[350]Richard L. Kagan, *Lawsuits and Litigants in Castile*, *1500-1700* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1981), 25-26.
[351] Kagan, *Lawsuits and Litigants in Castile,* xvii.
[352] Kagan, *Lawsuits and Litigants in Castile*, 32.

courts.[353] Further, the simple fact that there were so many courts, and that their legal jurisdictions were poorly defined, added to the confusion. For example, Toledo, with a population of no more than thirty thousand people, had, according to one report in 1640, at least twenty-two different courts and tribunals.[354] Moreover, magistrates competed with each other for power and prestige, causing many cases to be heard in tribunals where they did not belong.[355] The sheer number of courts, the ambiguous issues of jurisdiction, and the fierce competition of magistrates, all encouraged litigants to shop around for the best deal among the available courts. As a result, litigants had a certain amount of freedom in determining where their cases would be heard.[356]

Who were these litigants and what freedoms did they really have in litigation? The *pleito*, or lawsuit, emerged in the thirteenth century in Spain. By the sixteenth century, lawsuits were commonplace even among artisans and peasants.[357] One early seventeenth-century writer, Baltasar Alamos de Barrientos, calculated that at least three-quarters of Castile's population were in the habit of litigating. Though most likely exaggerated, "this estimate suggests the degree to which an educated Castilian was ready to believe that he lived in a society in which lawsuits were familiar to everyone, rich and poor alike."[358] Lawsuits submitted to the Chancellery court of Granada, were also increasing in the sixteenth century. By the 1590s, this tribunal received approximately 4,000 new cases a year.[359] Cities, too, often found themselves litigating in court. For example, in 1555, Seville had eighty-five different lawsuits pending

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[353] Kagan, *Lawsuits and Litigants in Castile*, 32.
[354] Kagan, *Lawsuits and Litigants in Castile*, 35.
[355] Kagan, *Lawsuits and Litigants in Castile*, 33.
[356] Kagan, *Lawsuits and Litigants in Castile*, 36.
[357] Kagan, *Lawsuits and Litigants in Castile*, 13-14.
[358] Kagan, *Lawsuits and Litigants in Castile*, 12.
[359] ARCG, libs. 347-48, *De Repartimento* (1590-1600), as cited in Kagan, *Lawsuits and Litigants in Castile*, 9.

simultaneously at the Chancillería of Granada.[360] Members of the aristocracy were frequent parties in litigation. After the mid-fifteenth century, grandees often found themselves in court regarding disputes over dowries, entails, inheritances, donations, landownership, and seigniorial obligations. It is clear from the records that even non-elites had access to the court system throughout the early modern period. By the sixteenth century, it has been reported that peasants came to consider the lawsuit the only effective means of challenging the power and authority of their lords and so took the aristocracy to court.[361] Seemingly less likely litigants, convents also found themselves initiating or defending themselves against lawsuits.[362]

For the most part, men made up the majority of litigants. One reason for this is that children under the age of legal majority, set at twenty-five in the seventeenth century, and women of any age, with the exception of widows, could not litigate on their own behalf.[363] Single women could, however, bring suit at any time if represented by their appointed male guardians.[364] And whereas in English Common Law, married women had no legal status apart from her husband and therefore could not undertake any legal action, married women in Spain could engage in legal action in conjunction with their husbands or by proxy with their husband's permission.[365] Spanish society prescribed marriage, and thus legal dependence, as the proper state for women, but they did not lose their legal existence.[366] The trade-off for limited legal rights under marriage was the social status and the measure of power marriage allowed women

[360] AMS, Secc. III, tomo 12, fols. 1-48 (1555), as cited in Kagan, *Lawsuits and Litigants in Castile*, 12.
[361] Kagan, *Lawsuits and Litigants in Castile*, 11.
[362] Litigation involving convents will be discussed later in this chapter.
[363] Kagan, *Lawsuits and Litigants in Castile*, 86.
[364] Kagan, *Lawsuits and Litigants in Castile*, 10.
[365] Stuntz, *Hers, His, and Theirs*, 23.
[366] William Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1765-69), 430.

within the family, and by extension, the community.[367] But as Grace E. Coolidge has convincingly argued, early modern Spanish noblemen often viewed noblewomen as partners and collaborators in their attempts to maintain and expand family wealth and influence. According to Coolidge, the desire to preserve family wealth and power superseded prescriptive gender roles of the time, particularly within the familiar context of the premature death of male entitlement holders.[368] The Castilian legal system ensured widowed women would be able to take care of their own affairs for the most part.[369]

When going to court, then as now, both men and women needed expert advice. This advice came in three different forms: the *abogado* or advocate, *procurador* or attorney, and *solicitador* or solicitor. The university-trained advocate served as the legal expert whereas the attorney served as the procedural expert who helped his client devise winning strategies. The solicitor, meanwhile, served as a kind of legal facilitator who worked closely with his client to see to it that the lawsuit proceeded as planned.[370] Both men and women could hire a solicitor, an advocate or an attorney to represent their interests. The first step in initiating a lawsuit was visiting an advocate, telling him your case, and awaiting his judgment on whether or not your dispute merited a lawsuit. If he believed it so, the next step was for the advocate to devise the legal arguments most likely to hold up in court. In order to more efficiently facilitate the lawsuits, the litigant supplied the attorney with a notarized *carta de poder* (power of attorney) that

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[367] Perry, *Gender and Disorder*, 14-15. For more on marriage in early modern Spain, see: Eukene Lanz, ed., *Marriage and Sexuality in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia* (New York: Routledge, 2002). See also David Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada: Society and Religious Culture in an Old-World Frontier City, 1492-1600* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003).
[368] Grace E. Coolidge, *Guardianship, Gender, and the Nobility in Early Modern Spain* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010).
[369] Stuntz, *Hers, His, and Theirs*, 14.
[370] Kagan, *Lawsuits and Litigants in Castile*, 52.

gave the attorney the right to represent the client, handle the lawsuit, and speak for the client in court if necessary.[371] The attorney then set to the task of preparing routine documents, rounding up witnesses, and seeking the advocate's counsel and advice when necessary. The attorney also had the important task of developing a procedural strategy for every case. For example, it was the attorney's job to institute the procedural steps needed to accelerate or delay proceedings in a way that best suited his client's interests.[372]

Women, however, were not allowed in the courtroom itself so the notarized power of attorney was particularly significant in their legal cases. The *Partidas* justified this prohibition of women in courtrooms by arguing that a woman might "be compelled to resort to places where many men are assembled, and to do things which might be contrary to her chastity."[373] There were exceptions to this rule, however, such as when a woman became a surety for another woman's dowry or when women were the accused in a criminal trial. In place of a woman appearing in court, a lawyer would be sent in her place to represent her through a notarized power of attorney. If she was to be a witness in a trial, a judge would be sent to her home to question her.[374] Here again, the specter of Eve, religious ideology, and social forces that defined women's "proper place" combined to limit women's agency to act. Nevertheless, women, like men, pursued cases over unpaid debts, breaches of contract, disputes over dowries, guardianships, and inheritance, and access to natural resources through utilizing the court or by other legal channels such as appealing to their city councilors.

[371] Kagan, *Lawsuits and Litigants in Castile*, 57.
[372] Kagan, *Lawsuits and Litigants in Castile*, 58.
[373] Stuntz, *Hers, His, and Theirs*, 21.
[374] Stuntz, *Hers, His, and Theirs*, 20-21.

The highest court in Granada was the Chancellery, or royal appellate court.[375] The Chancellery was first established in Ciudad Real in La Mancha and transferred to Granada in 1505.[376] Its jurisdiction extended to all of Andalusia, the kingdom of Murcia, the provinces of Extremadura and La Mancha, and the Canary Islands. The establishment of the court in Granada marked the city's rising national stature. As the location of one of two permanent high courts of appeal (the other in Valladolid), the city became one of Castile's principal bureaucratic centers. Granadan chronicler Bermúdez de Pedraza sums up the Chancellery this way: "representing the King, his religion, his gravity and justice in this metaphysical body of wise people and demonstrating his power through the ring of the King, in the Royal Seal, in a legal decree…."[377] The Royal Chancellery in Granada embodied and reflected royal authority in Andalusia.

In the first year of its existence, however, the Chancellery's authority was contested—by a woman. In 1505 the Chancellery sought to acquire several dwellings owned by Beatriz Galindo, widow to Francisco Ramírez de Madrid. The Chancellery was in need of a jail and, after having looked at other options that proved inadequate, chose a more appealing spot. Their plans included razing several adjacent buildings belonging to Beatriz and to then develop the surrounding area. Beatriz opposed this plan, alleging that those houses were the property of her son and that they were part of her entailed estate. A long lawsuit followed as Beatriz fought for her family's properties. Six years later there was still no conclusion to the suit. Clearly the difficulties persisted

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[375] Antonio Ángel Ruiz Rodríguez, *La Real Chancillería de Granada en el siglo XVI* (Granada: Diputación Provincial de Granada, 1987).
[376] BA, MF-A-69, 1001923, *Práctica de la Chancillería de Granada* (siglo XVI), 2.
[377] Francisco Bermúdez de Pedraza, *Historia eclesiastica: principios y progresos de la ciudad y religion catolica de Granada* (Granada, 1989), fol. 6v; José Szmolka Clares, "Las instituciones civiles y militares," in Manuel Barrios Aguilera, ed., *Historia del Reino de Granada: La época morisca y la repoblación (1502-1630),* Tomo II (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2000), 231-250, 245.

because in 1526 the original plans for the jail in that location were abandoned. Instead, the court decided to use some houses that had belonged to the deceased Bishop of Oviedo. [378] In the end, the Chancellery lost and, at least at its inception, proved far from the visualization of royal power that the Crown had demanded so many years before when it wrote: "in the buildings and dead stones was represented and conserved the authority and greatness that justly belongs to the royal courts." [379]

## Non-Religious Women and Inheritance

Beatriz's battle to maintain the integrity of her *mayorazgo*, or entailed estate, reveals the extent of decision-making women had over inherited property. Historically, inheritance played a more important role in accumulation of wealth than wages.[380] This was particularly true for noblewomen, but inheritance also played a significant role in the accumulation of wealth for working women.[381] Women were necessary for reproduction and by extension, the transmission of wealth and property through marriage, childbirth, and subsequent inheritance patterns. The ways in which property was transferred or

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[378]Clares, "Las instituciones civiles y militares," 243; AMG, Fol. 2, *Cedulas, provisiones, visitas y Ordenanzas de los Sennores Reyes Catholicos y de sus Magestades y Autos de los sennores Presidente y Oydores concernientes a la facil y Buena expedicion de los negocios y administracion de Justicia y governación de la Audiencia Real que reside en la ciudad de Granada* (1551).

[379] Ines Gómez González, "La visualización de la justicia en el Antiguo Regimen. El ejemplo de la Chancillería de Granada", *Hispania: Revista Española de Historia*, 58, 199 (1998): 559-574; Aguilera, *Historia del Reino de Granada*, 243.

[380] Amy Louise Erickson, *Women and Property in Early Modern England* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 3; Kellogg, *Law and the Transformation of Aztec Culture,* 105. Though no comprehensive study has been undertaken on women and property in early modern Spain, Kellogg's work suggests and archival evidence from Granada indicates that the same holds true for women in Spain as for the women in early modern England discussed by Erickson.

[381] As discussed in chapter 2, women engaged in all manner of work in early modern Granada. The archival material from the early modern period also reveals that women engaged in and benefitted greatly from an intricate pattern of inheritance from various family members and from friends. This fact will be discussed later in this chapter.

distributed in a society had an important impact on the structure of that society.[382] Sometimes through a record of a woman's death, and subsequent issues related to inheritance, we can uncover a glimpse of her life. Almost every death involved a transfer of some kind of property, or inheritance, and often generated an account of that transfer. The early modern Castilian system of inheritance was regarded as a system of partible inheritance because, in contrast to systems of primogeniture, all legitimate heirs received a portion of the deceased's estate.[383] Under Castilian law it was customary to divide up an inheritance for, as proclaimed in the *Siete Partidas*, "there follow from inheritance sometimes very serious disagreements about things which go to just one heir, and each one feels much better when he gets his share, and looks after it better and makes better use of it."[384] This system of inheritance did not require equal division of the entire estate, but neither did it give free rein to flagrantly favor one child at the expense of the other heirs.[385] Castilian law demanded that a certain portion of an estate had to be divided equally among the legitimate heirs, but also gave the testator the option to favor certain heirs with a substantial share of the other portion of their property. Therefore, when providing for the division of their estates, testators first had to consider their necessary heirs, as dictated by Castilian law. In the event that an

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[382] Erickson, *Women and Property*, 4.

[383] See Casey, *Family and Community*, chapter 4; Eugene Korth and Della Flusche, "Dowry and Inheritance in Colonial Spanish America: Peninsular Law and Chilean Practice," *The Americas* 43, 4 (April 1987): 395-410; Asuncion Lavrin and Edith Couturier, "Dowries and Wills: A View of Women's Socioeconomic Roles in Colonial Guadalajara and Puebla 1640-1790," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 59, 2 (May 1979): 280-304; Patricia Seed, *To Love, Honor and Obey in Colonial Mexico: Conflicts over Marriage Choice, 1574-1821* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988). On women and inheritance laws and practices in medieval Castile, see Dillard, *Daughters of the Reconquest*, 26-35, 47-54, 69-70, 106-108, 129; Stuntz, *Hers, His, and Theirs*, 26-28.

[384] *Las siete partidas del rey don Alfonso el sabio,* facsimile reprint, 3 vols. (Madrid: Ediciones Atlas, 1972) as quoted in James Casey, *Family and Community*, 80-81.

[385] For a discussion of various inheritance systems, see Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, "A System of Customary Law: Family Structures and Inheritance Customs in Sixteenth-Century France," in Robert Forster and Orest Ranum, eds., *Family and Society: Selections from the Annales: Economies, Societies, Civilisations* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), 75-103.

individual had no legitimate lineal descendants, his or her parents became the necessary heirs. Next in line were siblings and cousins who had first claim on a woman's estate, not her husband. If testators had no legitimate descendents and no living parents, they were allowed to bequeath their estates to whomever they wished.[386]

As discussed above, under Castilian law all legitimate children were to inherit equal amounts of a portion of their parent's estate. This meant that heirs inherited irrespective of their sex, age, or order of birth. Theoretically, then, inheritance law was gender-blind. If a woman was a closer blood relative, she was preferred over a man. The equality of women under inheritance law clearly benefitted women economically. All women regardless of their marital status could inherit and own property. Of course, these rights were undoubtedly tempered by the fact that women were in many ways still subject to fathers and husbands. In addition, women from the wealthiest families in Granada, were at times disadvantaged despite the law due to the establishment of entailed estates (*mayorazgos*), which privileged the eldest male heir.

Women could and did inherit these entailed estates, but only when there was no surviving male heir. But, this did happen. For example, in 1680 a niece and aunt bitterly fought one another in a lawsuit over the legitimate line of succession to the entailed estates of Doñas Clara Garrazin and Ana Pérez de Valenzuela.[387] The niece, Doña Catalina María de Palencia, wife of Estevan Ferrari, was the great-granddaughter of Clara Garrazin. The aunt, Doña Francisca Pérez de Valenzuela, wife of Francisco de Argandena, was the granddaughter of Clara Garrazin. These two relatives fought over the rights to both entailed estates. Francisca possessed both estates, but Catalina's

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[386] Casey, *Family and Community*, 79-98.
[387] UGR, BHR/A-031-126 (48), *Pleito por la sucesión de primogenitura de las mayorazgos de Doñas Clara Garrazin and Ana Pérez de Valenzuela* (1663).

lawyers argued that Catalina had rights to them through the different family lines. The details of the court case are complicated as they examine the claims made by Catalina. As mentioned, under the laws of *mayorazgo*, the assets were linked and could not be divided. Theoretically, these women were fighting for all of the assets, or none.

The courts determined that Catalina did have a right to the estate founded by Doña Clara Garrazin. However, they also found that Francisca also had a right to the estate. Ultimately, the court decided that since Catalina belonged to the line of descendants of Clara Garrazin's eldest daughter, María Coemo, and Francisca descended from the youngest, Catalina had more right to Garazin's estate. The court ran into complications, however, with the estate founded by Doña Ana Pérez de Valenzuela. Valenzuela was one of María Coemo's five daughters. She was also the granddaughter of Clara Garrazin, Francisca's sister and was Catalina's aunt. The complications intensified because, contrary to the law, the founder designed her estate to be divided among her sisters and her nieces. The court's final judgment concluded that Catalina would inherit the estate when Francisca died, and that she had the right to a portion of it before Francisca's death. Unfortunately, I was unable to find any more records on this lawsuit so we may never know whether or not Catalina did indeed get her portion of the inheritance early. One of the most remarkable characteristics of the narrative of the lawsuit is the notable absence of men who appear in its records, except of course, for the attorneys, the plaintiffs' husbands who were customary to mention in official documents and the male family members who had died.[388]

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[388] UGR, A-31-126 (48) *Pleito por la sucesión de primogenitura de las mayorazgos de Doñas Clara Garrazin and Ana Pérez de Valenzuela* (1680).

With the exception of situations involving *mayorazgos*, women inherited, owned, bought or sold property, possessing essentially the same legal rights as men. The first property a woman could call her own was her dowry. Given to help support the expenses of marriage, a woman's dowry was regarded as an advance on her inheritance. The dowry usually consisted of goods, land and, if any, cash. Theoretically belonging to the woman, the actual control over the property was usually exercised by her husband. Even with this right of control, the husband was obliged to responsibly preserve the grant as best he could. A woman who believed her husband guilty of squandering her dowry could bring him to court and demand that her dowry be returned to her or administered by someone else. Therefore, though her husband could use or manage the dowry, it remained officially the wife's property and was returned to her in the case of mismanagement or in the event of her husband's death. Upon a husband's death, repayment of the dowry to his widow took precedence over all other obligations. If a wife died without children, the dowry was returned to her parents.[389] The *arras*, or groom's wedding gift to his bride, functioned much like a dowry. The groom could administer this arras, but legally it remained the wife's property. In addition to the dowry and the arras, the law gave the wife one half of the wealth she and her husband had earned during the course of the marriage.[390] A married woman's estate, therefore, could consist of her dowry, the arras, half of the community property, and any gifts or bequests given specifically to her from relatives and friends. When her parents died, a woman would also receive an inheritance from her mother's estate as well as an

[389] Stuntz, *Hers, His, and Theirs,* 34.
[390] Stuntz, *Hers, His, and Theirs*, 128; Korth and Flusche, "Dowry and Inheritance," 309-401; Lavrin and Couturier, "Dowries and Wills," 282-284.

inheritance from her father's estate. This dual parental lineage is exemplified by the Spanish custom of children taking the surnames of both their father and their mother.

Though a woman could not bear witness to a will, women could inherit as well as bequeath property, thus controlling its transfer to their heirs.[391] According to Amy Erickson, patterns of property distribution through inheritance in early modern England show that women's inheritance patterns clearly reflect emotional patterns.[392] Less comfortable with attributing particular emotions to early modern Granadan women, I prefer to use the concept of giving strategies used by women to favor particular relatives or friends. For example, Doña Francisca de Jerez made an effort in her will to provide for all of the women in her family and in her life. Men do not clearly figure into the will until much later in the document. Francisca bequeathed money first to several of the city's convents and then identified various nuns, both family members and friends, to leave sums of money to. Leaving five ducats each to her two nieces at the Monasterio de Carmen, she bequeathed a larger sum of ten ducats each to Doña Isabel de Abellaneda and Doña Catalina de Baeza, both professed nuns at the prestigious Monasterio de Santa Isabel la Real, for "their necessities." She then bequeathed to her daughter Lucía de la Madalena, a professed nun at the Monasterio de Santa Catalina de Zafra, the same sum (ten ducats) to be used on whatever she wished. Though nuns took a monastic vow of poverty, many historians of female monastic communities have argued convincingly for the "permeability" of cloistered life and the reproduction of certain aspects of secular life such as collectively owning assets and even fashioning

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[391] Stuntz, *Hers, His, and Theirs*, 22.
[392] Erickson, *Women and Property*, 7.

households based on a secular model within the convent.[393] The archival evidence from Granada confirms this.

Leaving goods or money to one's family and close friends was not unusual. Francisca, however, had a long list of people beyond her extended family who she wished to remember at her death. She left four ducats to her neighbor María Arias, ten ducats to the widow Isabel Álvarez, and numerous dowries set aside for friends' and relatives' daughters at the time of their marriage or profession into a convent. Often Francisca bequeathed *censos*, or rents, from haciendas, houses and stores throughout the city. To her sister Ana González, she gave the rent from a shop on Elvira Street. Bequeathing a *censo* meant that she was bequeathing a perpetual payment of money, not just a lump sum. After making bequests to numerous female family members and friends, she finally made a bequest to a male relative. To her nephew Hernán Sánchez de Aguilar she left the note of obligation of payment of 134 ducats she had lent out as well as 200 more, but stipulated that 200 of the ducats had to go towards the wedding or religious profession of his daughter Marianica, to better her estate. She then continued to bequeath dowries, clothes and other goods to an increasingly distant network of women before she again bequeathed to any men. Either there was a great dearth of men in Doña Francisca's family and close associates or else this was a consciously targeted system of strategic giving to support the women in her life.

Francisca de Jerez also looked beyond her friends and loved ones at her death. In her will she also included a provision to subsidize the teaching of several women

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[393] Kathryn Burns, *Colonial Habits: Convents and the Spiritual Economy of Cuzco, Peru* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999); Elizabeth A. Lehfeldt, *Religious Women in Golden Age Spain: The Permeable Cloister* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2005).

each year to read and write.[394] It was not uncommon for women to bequeath to charitable endeavors; however, one cannot help but view this action as a form of empowerment for women. Reading and writing, though not unheard of, were not frequent activities for even many women in the upper classes.[395] The funding of the teaching of less privileged women the skills of reading and writing gave these women an advantage in a male-dominated world. Francisca de Palacios, another well-to-do woman, made a concerted effort to help the less fortunate in her community as well.[396] In 1611, she founded a patrimony, or endowment, to provide dowries for orphaned girls and to give charity to the honest poor of Granada. Francisca never married or left children to survive her.

In 1663 a patrimony of real estate, furniture and "especially a farmhouse that I have in Capo Sillar with a house, farmhouses, waters and pastures, meadows and mountains" was contested.[397] Years earlier, a woman known only as "La Fundadora," or the Founder (no name was given), had left all of her possessions to her niece María de Loarte, provided that if she had no legitimate children her assets would be sold and the house rented after her death, and all the money would go to the Royal Chapel of Granada in order to provide marriage dowries to orphan girls. As the will and testament stated, "Completed and executed this my will [...] María de Loarte, daughter of Christoval Loarte my cousin, who is my niece, inherits the said remainder of my property and rights, with such fees and levies if she dies without marrying and having

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[394] ADG, L. 05441, *Patronato de Doña Francisca de Jerez* (1663).
[395] Sara T. Nalle, "Literacy and Culture in Early Modern Castile," *Past and Present*, 125 (Nov., 1989): 65-96. Nalle points out that literacy (for both men and women) was more widespread in Castile than previously thought, though not ubiquitous.
[396] ADG, 0.4.1.4.11; C05519006, *Patronato de Francisca de Palacios* (1611).
[397] UGR, BHR/A-031-126 (47) *Por don Pedro Loarte y Aguayo ... en el pleyto con el Capellan Mayor de la Real Capilla de ella, sobre la sucession de el Mayorazgo que fundò Maria de Loarte* (1663).

legitimate children heirs of lawful marriage, in that case the farmhouse, houses, country houses and my property that remains and my furniture will be sold [...] and that every one year of the rent of the farmhouse will be used to marry one or two [female] orphans, honest maidens, daughters of good parents and honest people, poor, and that these be the ones the very Reverend the Lord Mayor Chaplain of the Chapel Royal City chooses."[398] The last holder of the patrimony, María de Colmenares, was the granddaughter of the original founder. Colmenares had no descendants, so the provision that bound her mother also held true for her. She left her own testament echoing that of her grandmother, "I command that [...] by the will of the Founders of this line…the Lord Mayor Chaplain, [of] the Royal Chapel of the City, marry orphans and take possession of the property."[399] She also specifically noted that Diego de Loarte was not her relative, so everything was to go to the Chapel. According to the Founder's last will and testament, everything had to stay in her family, unless there are no more heirs. In that case, all assets from the Founder's patrimony had go to the Royal Chapel. The mention of Diego de Loarte is significant because it was his son Don Pedro Loarte, Commissioner of the Holy office of the Royal Chapel, who filed suit stating that he was, indeed, a descendant of the original Founder of the entailed estate and so had right to the patrimony. His case was ultimately unsuccessful and so the assets were transferred

[398] UGR, BHR/A-031-126 (47) (1663) *Por don Pedro Loarte y Aguayo*. "Testamento de la Fundadora: Cumplido y ejecutado este mi testamento [...] herede con el dicho remanente de mis bienes y derechos María de Loarte, hija de Christoval de Loarte mi primo hermano, que es mi sobrina, con tales cargos y gravámenes que si la sobredicha falleciere sin casarse y dejar hijos legítimos herederos de legítimo matrimonio, que en tal caso todo el dicho cortijo, casas, caserías y mis bienes queden para que los muebles se vendan [...] y con la renta que el dicho cortijo rentare en cada un año se case una o dos doncellas huérfanas, honestas, hijas de buenos padres y de honrada gente, pobres, y que estas sean las que el muy Reverendo Señor Capellán Mayor de la Capilla Real de la Ciudad nombrara."

[399] UGR, BHR/A-031-126 (47) (1663) *Por don Pedro Loarte y Aguayo*. "Mando que se [...] pase por la voluntad de los Fundadores de dicho vínculo, porque ya ha llegado el caso luego de que yo fallezca, para que el Señor Capellán Mayor, que es o fuere de la Real Capilla de la Ciudad, como Patrón, haga casar huérfanas y tome posesión de la hacienda."

to the Chapel in order to marry orphan girls and fulfill the will of the entailed estate's Founder.[400]

It is clear from these cases that women consciously and strategically bequeathed and protected assets. In so doing they exercised a measure of personal, familial and civic power.

### Religious Women and Inheritance

Having voluntarily renounced the temporal world and worldly goods, nuns might seem like the least likely litigants in patrimony cases. Municipal records and court briefs reveal a different picture, however. Elizabeth Lehfeldt, in her study on convents in Valladolid, has added litigious nuns to an ever-growing historiography on early modern women's agency regarding property.[401] Lehfeldt found that most litigation instigated by convents was over dowry disputes, maintenance allowances, and rights to family inheritances. The targets of these lawsuits were the nuns' own families. What emerged from the cases she studied was a complicated social matrix whereby cloistered nuns, supposedly "dead to the world", actually maintained close ties to family patrimonies.[402] Nuns clearly knew their rights and possessed the legal acumen to initiate lawsuits on their behalf. Moreover, these lawsuits prove that nuns were not just able, but also willing to protect their assets aggressively if necessary. In Granada, female monastic communities were no less adamant in preserving their fiscal health and exercising legal rights.

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[400] Unfortunately, the document never gives the name of the original founder, but does give the names of the subsequent holders of the entailed estate.
[401] For more on the litigiousness of nuns, please see Lehfeldt's *Religious Women in Golden Age Spain,* particularly chapter 3.
[402] Lehfeldt, *Religious Women in Golden Age Spain*, 81.

When a woman entered a convent with the intent of professing that order, an official contract was drawn up outlining the fiscal obligations and responsibilities of the woman's family.  Under Spanish inheritance laws nuns received their part of the family inheritance, just like laywomen. Just as the dowry for secular marriage was thought to be an advance on inheritance, so too was the dowry for religious marriage. In the event the family was unable to pay the full amount to the convent in one payment, the payment was divided up. Sometimes, such as in the case of the daughters of the wealthy classes, nuns were to receive an inheritance beyond their dowry amounts. Recall Francisca de Jerez, discussed earlier in this chapter, who bequeathed sums of money to women who were already professed nuns.[403]  In addition to dowries, families were usually required to pay a fixed yearly maintenance allowance to take care of those expenses not covered by the convents.[404] Francisca stated in her will that the ten ducats each she left for Doña Isabel and Doña Catalina, both professed nuns at Monasterio de Santa Isabel la Real, and to her daughter Lucía, a nun at the Monasterio de Santa Catalina de Zafra were expressly to cover these additional expenses.[405]

Sometimes the dowries and maintenance allowances were not enough for the convent to commission pious works designed to further the spiritual goals of the convent. When situations arose where convents such as that of Nuestra Señora de Los Ángeles were financially unable to accomplish projects like the installation of a holy monument and various portraits of saints, the abbess was forced to ask for charity from the city council.[406]  When possible, nuns spared no expense in the adorning of their

[403] ADG, L. 05441, *Patronato de Doña Francisca de Jerez* (1663).
[404] Lehfeldt, *Religious Women in Golden Age Spain*, 84.
[405] ADG, L. 05441, *Patronato de Doña Francisca de Jerez* (1663).
[406] AMG, *Libro de Cabildo*, 86v, XI (1626).

convent churches. As Kathryn Burns, historian of Latin American religious women, points out, “To contribute to the enhancement of the convent church was a mother superior’s fondest dream.”[407] Religious art was expensive and monastic communities sought out the best artists they could.[408] The sculptor Pedro de Mena y Medrano, for example, in addition to his gifts to convents, also installed sculptures of ten apostles and images of Isabel and Ferdinand for the cathedral in Granada in 1674 and 1675. His work ranged from one hundred ducats for the apostles because “they are very perfect” to 28,000 *reales* for the sculpted effigies of the Catholic Monarchs.[409] If one was the daughter of a famous sculptor like Mena, however, one’s convent might receive a generous donation of artwork from the artist. All three of Mena’s daughters were professed nuns at the convent of San Bernardo in Málaga. Two of his older daughters Sor Andrea María de la Encarnación and Sor Claudia Juana de la Asunción, helped to establish in Granada the Cistercian convent of San Bernardo in 1682.[410] Six years later, their younger sister Juana also entered the Cistercian convent.[411] A Granadan by birth, Mena donated to the Cistercian convent his daughters helped found, a small statue of St. Bernard and two more life-sized statues of this same saint, as well as a life-sized statue of St. Benedict.[412]

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[407] Burns, *Colonial Habits*, 106.
[408] J.M. Gómez-Moreno Calera, *La arquitectura religiosa granadina en la crisis del Renrenacimiento 1560/1650* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1989).
[409] ACG, Actas Capitulares. Libro XVI, cabildo, acuerdo no. 4, fols. 313v-314 (12 julio 1675); Actas Capitulares. Libro XVI, cabildo extraordinario, acuerdos no. 1 y 2, fols. 320-320v (15 agosto 1675).
[410] Antonio Gallego y Burín, *Granada: An Artistic and Historical Guide to the City* (Granada: Comares, 1992), 411.
[411] ANG, Escribania de Jose Bermúdez de Castro. Leg. 958, various documents (1688).
[412] Gallego Y Burín, *Granada*, 411-412.

As mentioned earlier, both men and women provided for individual nuns and for the convent as an institution. In the case of the Congregation of Secular Women (*Congregación de Mujeres Seglares*), their very existence was owed to the patrimony of Pedro de Torres.[413] Torres, a person of "note" and the founder of an entailed estate, left in his will assets to support this group of *beatas*, or pious laywomen, which he had founded. *Beatas*, or spiritual laywomen affiliated with a religious order, were not entirely uncommon in early modern Granada. Records from the city council document the existence of *beatas* as early as 1521.[414] These groups of pious laywomen, like the Congregation of Secular Women or the *beatas* of Santa Catalina from the 1521 records, were not eyed with any sort of institutional suspicion, as the unremarkable retelling of the event in the records clearly indicate. Some of these orders eventually became enclosed religious orders such as those of Santa Catalina, which became an official order in 1521, and the Convents of Santo Tomás de Villanueva and of San Bernardo in 1635 and 1683, respectively.[415]

But for an unknown reason, the Congregation of Secular Women was not officially established because its license was denied. Therefore, the executors of the will gave the assets to the Clerics, the Congregation of St. Philip Neri (*Congregación de San Felipe Neri*) which received everything as a consequence of the congregation of women not having a license. The Congregation of Secular Women consisted of four laywomen who lived in a house provided by Torres, only leaving the house to go to

[413] UGR, BHR/A-031-126 (1) *Defensa de la verdad, sin mas armas que ella misma, quando mas desamparada de todo humano fauor, por parte de don Pedro del Pozo ... para que defendiesse la Congregacion de mugeres seglares que ... D. Pedro de Torres dexò dispuesto en su testamento se fundasse en dicha ciudad [de Granada]. Respondiendo a unos apuntamientos dados por la pretendida Congregacion de S. Felipe Neri....*(1678).
[414] Actas de Cabildo, IV Fol. 273-274r. There may be earlier records of *beatas* in Granada, but this is the earliest record I have found of them in the archives.
[415] *Beatas* will be addressed in greater detail in chapter 4.

mass and to do necessary tasks in the city. Pedro del Pozo, advocate of the Congregation of Secular Women and author of the 1678 legal brief on the case, believed that the Congregation of San Felipe Neri should restore the property to the Secular Women. He argued that the women didn't need a license to be a Congregation and therefore were entitled to receive the assets. He stated, "This congregation of women not pious but secular, with sufficient income, governed by a learned and experienced confessor, without closure, or bell, public or private oratory, had to go outside to hear Mass and receive Communion. Like any other secular family, anyone who lives in seclusion and of their own income, they do not need a license."[416] These women, with the help of their legal advocate, used the law to their benefit in order to define the way in which they lived their lives as they wished.

**Women and Natural Resources**

Property was not the only asset over which women could assume control. Granadan women also obtained and fought to retain rights over valuable community resources such as water. Water rights were hotly disputed throughout the early modern period. Not all disputes over communal natural resources found their way to court, however. Many of these communal resources had an infrastructure designed to regulate use of resources and to address disputes when they arose. Water disputes frequently appear in city council records in the seventeenth century and women were often

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[416] UGR, BHR/A-031-126 (1) (1678) *Defensa de la verdad, sin mas armas que ella misma, quando mas desamparada de todo humano fauor, por parte de don Pedro del Pozo ... para que defendiesse la Congregacion de mugeres seglares que ... D. Pedro de Torres dexò dispuesto en su testamento se fundasse en dicha ciudad [de Granada].* The original Spanish of the quote presented above is: *"Esta congregación de mujeres no beatas sino seglares, con suficiente renta, gobernadas por un Confesor docto y experimentado, sin clausura, ni campana, oratorio público, ni privado, sino que habían de salir a la calle a oír misa y comulgar. Esta no necesita de licencia del Ordinario más que otra familia seglar, cualquiera que vive de recogimiento y de su propia renta…"*

participants in these disputes. To understand the nature of disputes over water, however, one must first understand the source and structure of Granada's water system.[417]

*Acequias* (water canals), created by the Arabs prior to Christian conquest, used the unevenness of the ground to transport water from the spring to other parts of the region. The *Acequia* of Aynadamar (sometimes referred to as Alfacar), often referred to as the "Fountain of Tears" because of the water slowly spilling its "tears" upon the land, is still a leading water source for the area today.[418] The *acequia* reached Granada by passing through the Albaicín up to the gate of Elvira.[419] Throughout this journey, the water from the *acequia* supplied the enclosed gardens, vineyards, olive trees, public fountains and other properties of the citizens of Granada. The inhabitants of Granada would draw water for domestic use from one of the many *aljibes*, or cisterns, located throughout the city.[420] Those who lived around Calle Panaderos (Bakers Street), for instance, drew their drinking water from Aljibe de Bibalnout.

In the seventeenth century, the Granadan jurist and historian, Francisco Bermúdez de Pedraza reported that the rivers Darro and Genîl were divided into four and three *acequias*, respectively. Each *acequia* was divided, as well, into branches that extended throughout the city, entering houses, gardens and orchards, and filling the

[417] Cirilo Franquet y Bertrán, *Ensayo sobre el origen, espiritu y progresos de la legislación de las aguas*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Imprenta de José M. Ducazcal, 1864); William Hamilton Hall. *Irrigation Development; History, Customs, Laws, and Administrative Systems Relating to Irrigation, Watercourses, and Waters in France, Italy, and Spain* (Sacramento, CA: State of California Printing, 1886); Louis C. Hunter, "Water-mills in Southern Europe," *Technology and Culture*, 8 (1967): 446-466; and Sir Colin Campbell Scott-Montcrief, *Irrigation in Southern Europe* (London: E. & F.N. Spon, 1868).
[418] According to promotional literature provided by the Ayuntamiento de Alfacar. The canal, no longer reaching Granada, now ends in Fargue.
[419] AMG, *Ordenanzas*, cclxx-cclxxiii.
[420] AMG, *Ordenanzas*, cclxix.

fountains and public deposits.[421] The waters of Granada appear to have been a zone of central administration both before and after the conquest. In 1501, a judicial body was established to decide on all maters concerning the use of the water. This body, called the Privileged Court of Waters, was made up of a magistrate and five councilmen who were appointed by the municipality.[422] In that same year the Ordinances of Water were established.[423] The Ordinances of Waters were extensive and detailed regulations regarding the cleaning, conservation and regulation of waters, both for domestic use and for irrigation.

Three basic principles guided the city's water regulations. [424] The first principle was proportional distribution. The cultivator received the water in proportion to the amount of land he or she was trying to cultivate. The water amount was not a fixed amount per unit of land, but instead was proportional to the volume of the river. As a result, all those using the canals shared in times of abundance and equally suffered in times of drought.[425] Secondly, there was a principle of individual responsibility. Each cultivator had obligations with respect to the canal or canal branch that ran through his or her land, having to contribute to its cleaning and conservation. The last common principle was that of policing the maintenance and cleaning of the water canals as well as the regulation of the use of drains. From the outset, the city fathers intended to maintain in good repair those bridges, fences, culverts, and canals that the Arabs had put in place for the city.[426]

[421] Maria Teresa de Diego Velasco, "Las Ordenanzas de las Aguas de Granada," *En La España Medieval,* 4 (1984): 249-276, 251.
[422] AMG, *Real Provision a la andad de Granada creando el Tribunal de las aguas* (1501).
[423] Velasco, "Las Ordenanzas," 255.
[424] Velasco, "Las Ordenanzas," 253.
[425] Glick, *Irrigation and Society*, 207.
[426] AMG, *Ordenanzas de la Agua*, 4v.

Between Plaza Nueva and Puerto Real the Darro river extended its course, dividing the city into two parts. The Darro served as a general culvert by means of a system of *darrillos* (little branches of the Darro) that facilitate the city's potable water supply through four canals.[427] The Acequia de Romayla, a branch canal, supplied water to the Archbishop's palace and Zacatín, before making its way to Plaza Bibrrambla to provide water.[428] This fountain, built in the form of a large crowned lion whose claws grasped a gilded shield bearing the coat of arms of the city, had eight spouts of water pouring from two troughs into a larger reservoir that served as the fountain's base. During the festivals of the bulls it was not an uncommon sight to see spectators plunging into the fountain to escape the ferocious bulls.[429] This water canal ultimately ended in the city's vegetable gardens where the water was "consumed by fructiferous plants."[430] Other parts of the city received water from different sources. Almost a city unto itself, the Albaicín received its goods and water from areas more nearby such as Fargue and Aindamar. Plaza Larga in the Albaicín, for example, received its water from the Valley of Paradise by way of the Acequia de Alfacar.[431] The waters flowing through here emptied themselves into the cisterns of San Nicolas and the Alcazaba. The famed Generalife gardens of the Alhambra, high up on the hill overlooking Granada, received water through ingenious technology put in place by the Arabs long before the conquest.[432] The chronicler Henríquez de Jorquera wrote of the violence of the rushing water as it made its way upward, splashing the people walking below.[433]

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[427] AMG, *Ordenanzas*, xxlxvi.
[428] AMG, *Ordenanzas*, cclxviii.
[429] Henríquez de Jorquera, *Anales de Granada*, 18.
[430] Henríquez de Jorquera, *Anales de Granada*, 38.
[431] Henríquez de Jorquera, *Anales de Granada*, 19.
[432] Henríquez de Jorquera, *Anales de Granada*, 21.
[433] Henríquez de Jorquera, *Anales de Granada*, 21.

Water was serious business. A drought, such as the one in 1641, might cause great hardship for the city, triggering bread prices to spiral upward and necessitating subsequent supplications to God for rain.[434] In times of drought, celebrations like that of Corpus Christi in 1604 would still be observed, but not in such a costly and grand style as in times of plentiful rain.[435] When it did finally rain in 1605, it was a marked event worthy of being recorded.[436] If it flooded, the news might even be published and distributed, as was the case in 1618. A week after flooding caused tragedy in that year, Diego de Robles related the horrifying events that had occurred. According to Robles, the waters of the Darro rose up and carried off the tubs of the tanners and half the houses of the apparently very wealthy Judge Carpio. Thirty houses in the Albaicín were demolished by high winds and rain, killing many people. Robles also related that the rains had leveled the wheat in the fertile plains of Granada and Loxa. In Sanlucar, not far from Granada, the Duke of Medina had to bury one hundred and seventy people, among whom were fourteen friars and six clerics, who had been swept away by the river and drowned.[437]

Water was not always a source of tragedy, however. The water from the Darro was even ascribed medicinal qualities, known for curing illnesses in cattle.[438] More practically, water provided life to the many gardens in around Granada. These gardens

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[434] Henríquez de Jorquera, *Anales de Granada*, 889.
[435] Henríquez de Jorquera, *Anales de Granada*, 539.
[436] Henríquez de Jorquera, *Anales de Granada*, 546.
[437] 1618*: Relacion de la Grande Ruina Que ha hecho el Rio Guadalquivir en Sevilla, Triana y sus Riberas, Alcolea y Córdova: Y asi Mismo la que hicieron los Rezios aires, arroyos y rios en Granada, Ecija, Anduxar, Loxa, Antequera, Sanlucar y otras partes de Andaluzia. Hecha y ordenada por Juan Serrano de Vargas, Natural de Salamanca, y impressa en Sevilla, en su casa, en frente del Correo Mayor, con licencia del Senor Conde de Penaranda, con prohibición que otro Impressor de Sevilla no lo imprima so graves penas.* Reprinted in Jose Palanco Romero, *Relaciones del Siglo XVII* (Granada: University of Granada, 1926), 28-29.
[438] Juan Velazquez de Echeverria, *Paseos Por Granada y sus Contornos*, Tomo II (1764) facsimile edition, (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1993), Paseo XII, 89.

were and still are a prominent feature of Granada, which is why numerous streets in that city start with “Carmen de …” (Garden home of…). These *carmens* would grow pomegranates (the symbol of the city of Granada) and other fruit, as well as various vegetables.

In 1683, the convent of Nuestra Señora de los Ángeles also had a small irrigation canal, not wide, but ample for the use of their community. With the portions of water allocated to the Convent of Nuestra Señora de los Ángeles, the nuns of that order fed a “spacious fertile plain” and a vegetable garden whose “skirt washed across the irrigation trench of the river.”[439] For the sustenance of the religious community of the Convent of Santa Isabel la Real, located at the base of the Albaicín, and for the irrigation of a “very pleasant garden”, the rich waters of the Acequia of Alfacar were diverted into their convent every Monday of the year, from dawn until midday.[440] The convent shared this water branch with the Canons of el Salvador, the College Church, the Convent of Agustinos Descalzos, those of San Diego, and of the discalced (barefoot) branch of their own Franciscan order.

The women of the convent of Santa Isabel la Real fought vigorously to defend their water rights in numerous disputes. In 1603 alone, the convent registered four different complaints against four different individuals.[441] Five years later, the nuns themselves had a complaint filed against them.[442] In this dispute, Juan Muñoz filed a measure against the widow Doña María Medina, the abbess, and her nuns over the irrigation of the convent’s vegetable garden. The convent’s water problems kept coming

[439] Alonso de Torres, *Chronica de la Santa Provincia de Granada, de la Regular Observancia de N. Serafico Padre San Francisco* (1683), 468.
[440] Torres, *Chronica de la Santa Provincia de Granada,* 397.
[441] AMG, 79: 3.442, *Aguas* (1603), 64-66.
[442] AMG, 79: 3.441, *Aguas* (1608), 72.

and in 1619 a much more in-depth inquiry into the convent's water problems began.[443] The issue at stake in these disputes revolved around the ambiguity of water proportions. Neighbors, presumably those who thought the nuns were receiving more than their fair share of water, took matters into their own hands and physically altered the canals outside of the convent walls to reduce the amount of water the convent received. The neighbors then drew off extra water for their own properties. Finally, in 1645, the convent received a royal edict from Philip IV proclaiming that on the basis of the rights given to the convent by the Catholic Monarchs, no one could take away water rights from the community. It was a quite common legal defense to show that water rights were sanctioned by royal or seigniorial privilege or by continued use dating from "time beyond the memory of living man."[444] The king's sanction of the convent's water rights must have proved convincing to the water commission in Granada, because the next registered dispute, in 1654, involved the active prosecution of a usurper of the convent's water by the city's highest official in these matters, the Administrator of Waters. From that moment on, it seems that the convent's water rights were no longer contested.

The nuns of Santa Isabel were not the only ones, however, involved in multiple disputes over water. In fact, access to water was battled over from Granada's inception as a Christian city. Due to the great number of disputes that arose regarding the use and abuse of water, drains, water tanks, the Court of Water was forced to increase its meeting times from once a week to three times a week by 1513.[445] The administrator of the water system in Granada oversaw all of the operations relating to the city's irrigation system: appointment of *acequieros* and other officials, repair of channels and drains,

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[443] AMG, 79: 3.442, *Aguas* (1619), 82.
[444] Glick, *Irrigation and Society*, 235.
[445] Velasco, "Las Ordenanzas," 258.

cleaning and maintenance. In addition, the *acequiero* had to ensure the distribution of the water and monitor the rotation of irrigation inspection, as well as the guarding of drains, branches, and water-related buildings such as rain tanks and bathhouses.[446] The city also appointed two *Alcaldes de Agua* (literally "Mayors of Water"), chosen from among the *Veinticuatros* (the 24 city councilors), who would be given a salary of 4000 *maravedíes* each for the year.[447] Their job was to ensure the correct application and observance of the city's water ordinances.

The water ordinances can be classified according to their content into three specific subjects.[448] On the one hand, the ordinances spell out the norms that regulated the use of the drains, their cleaning and conservation.[449] They also provide us a fairly clear picture of the system used to supply water to the city, the orchards and the gardens around the city. A second section includes the appropriate methods of dealing with dirty waters as well as the norms for the conservation of clean waters.[450] Finally, a third section addresses the office of Administrator of Waters and his officials.[451] In Granada, where water administration was a subdivision of municipal administration, water issues and disputes regularly appear in general municipal records, notably the minutes of the council. In times of drought, control became more stringent; this was the case on both autonomous and municipal canals.[452]

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[446] AMG, *Ordenanzas,* cclxvii.
[447] AMG, *Ordenanzas como se han de proveer los oficios*. Tit. 1:2.
[448] Velasco, "Las Ordenanzas," 258.
[449] AMG, *Ordenanzas*, cclxvi.
[450] AMG, *Ordenanzas*, cclxxvii-cclxxviii.
[451] AMG, *Ordenanzas*, cclxxviii-clxxxiii.
[452] Glick, *Irrigation and Society*, 71.

The Administrator of Waters oversaw disputes regarding domestic water use.[453] Disputes commonly erupted between rich and powerful neighbors. One such neighbor would buy several contiguous houses that had running water, demolish them and then construct one large house. This created an unfair advantage with the multiple water rights purchased along with the houses—a monopoly that kept other neighbors without proportionate water. Other people simply changed the water canal in such a way as to advantage them and leave neighbors without water. At other times, the branches that passed by the houses were widened without license from the Water Court. All of this defrauding of the community, the judgments passed upon it, and the subsequent fines, were carefully recorded by the Administrator in his *Libro de Aguas* (Book of Waters). Any neighbor could denounce to the Privileged Court of the Waters what he or she considered to be fraud or an offense to the community. Those who were found guilty and could not pay their fines were jailed until they could satisfy the fines.[454] As even one of the ordinances points out, however, oftentimes fines went unpaid if levied against someone of wealth and power.[455]

It was imperative that the canals be maintained and repaired regularly.[456] The responsibility for canal maintenance was shared between the town and those inhabitants who used the water from the canal for irrigation. Water to the canals was closed off during maintenance and the scraping and removal of debris began. Usually, individual irrigators were responsible for cleaning that part of the canal branch that ran through or next to their property. The responsibility of millers was somewhat different:

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[453] AMG, *Ordenanzas*, cclxxvi.
[454] Velasco, "Las Ordenanzas," 261.
[455] AMG, *Ordenanzas,* Aguas, cviii, 15, fol. 218.
[456] AMG, *Ordenanzas*, Aguas, cclxvi, cclxxiii-cclxxvii, cclxxvii-cclxxviii.

they were required to clean not only the stretch of canal in front of their mills, but the canal up to the first diversion of water below the mill.[457] The reason for this was that the system they used to receive water from the Acequia of Realejo (from the Genil River) was different from those used by agricultural or domestic irrigators, due to the nature of the miller's work.[458] The city was responsible for cleaning the main canal.[459] In Valencia, the canals were generally cleaned during the month of April just prior to the planting of spring crops which were going to need that vital irrigation.[460] Granada, on the other hand, cleaned its canals two times a year. The first cleaning occurred at the beginning of March and the second one came at the middle of September.[461] The cleaning process was expedited and generally lasted for only one week, with work continuing on holidays if necessary. If cleaning took more than a week the population became agitated. After the work was done, the cleaned canals were to be examined by local water officials.[462]

From only a glance through the documents relating to the Acequia of Alfacar, it is clear that many people were recalcitrant in their canal cleaning. Charges were brought against Miguel de Baena y María Abdulhali for failing to clean the canals that watered the gardens of their house and their cistern.[463] Usually, in these cases the Alcalde de Agua hired men to do the work of cleaning the canal and then charged the owner double the fee. The canals were constantly patrolled and inspected by water officials

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[457] AMG, *Agua*, 1621:3.437, 1626:3.437, 1620:3.435; Glick, *Irrigation and Society*, 50-51.
[458] AMG, *Ordenanzas*, cclxviii.
[459] Glick, *Irrigation and Society*, 48.
[460] Glick, *Irrigation and Society*, 48.
[461] AMG, *Ordenanzas*, cclxvi.
[462] Glick, *Irrigation and Society*, 48-49.
[463] AMG, 3.427 *Acequias de Alfacar* (1560).

and by hired guards.[464] The water crimes guards guarded against included the stealing of water,[465] taking water by force, wasting water, irrigating without right, draining water in the wrong place, doing laundry or other washing in the canals (a crime committed almost exclusively by women), and negligence in cleaning the canal.[466] Depending on the result of the action, fines could be quite steep. If anyone physically altered the canal by opening up a new branch or cutting off an existing branch, the penalty was 1000 maravedis.[467] Therefore, the usurpers of Santa Isabel's water, discussed earlier, stood to pay 1000 maravedis for their offenses. If, however, someone threw into the canal a dead animal (dead dogs, cats, and hens were mentioned specifically), he or she would have to pay a fine of 3000 maravedis and spend twenty days in jail.[468] Cleaning your fish in the canal merited twenty days in jail, while cleaning your child in the canal earned you one day in jail. If you washed stuff from your garden in one of the canals, you could spend ten days in jail.[469] The clear distinction in the severity of the penalties lay in whether or not the action contaminated the water or simply misused it.

Officials as well as individual irrigators, often women, could initiate denunciations for water infractions. Both cases seem to be quite common. In 1617, for instance, Manuel Chamoro, Alguacil del Aguas, verbally accused Doña María de Medina and her

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[464] In 1500s there is considerable concern over guarding the acequias. This concern seems to decrease, or at least appears less frequently in the records, by the early 1600s. However, the acequias were still being guarded on into the eighteenth century. AMG 1722:3451 (legajo 72) *Acequia de Alfacar* (1722). See also Glick, *Irrigation and Society*, 52.

[465] AMG, 3.430 *Acequias* (1613), 56: Denuncia verbal formulada por el Convento de Cartuja de este ciudad, contra Inigo Lopez de Molina y consorte, sobre usurpacion de aguas.

[466] AMG, 3.427 *Acequias* (1608), 44: Expediente instruido a instancia de Sebastian Lopez, sobre la limpia de la Acequia del Morguis.

[467] AMG, *Ordenanzas*, cclxxiii and cclxxiiii, respectively.

[468] AMG, *Ordenanzas*, cclxxv.

[469] AMG, *Ordenanzas*, cclxxvi.

son for illegally taking water from the Acequia of Aindamar.[470] And an individual irrigator, Salvador Cañete, denounced Doña Francisca de Mendoza to the water commission in 1616, over irrigation practices on her hacienda.[471] Water use infractions were seen as particularly egregious acts due to the drought Granada was experiencing through these months of April and May. The drought caused a reduction in the availability of bread, so much so that some Granadans went hungry. All of the local churches and confraternities, in fact, came together to offer a public prayer to end the drought.[472]

Sometimes, too, individual irrigators, including women, brought charges against the Alcalde de Agua. Such was the case in 1595, when Doña Juana de Zárate began a dispute over use of the water rights that belonged to a portion of newly purchased property.[473] Doña Juana had obtained these water rights with the property because the right to water resided not in the landowner, but in the land itself.[474] The principle of water distribution was simple: if water was abundant, everyone along the canal received plentiful water. When water was scarce, everyone received less water, less often. Equality of distribution was built into the size of the canals and branches as well as the divisors and turns which assured that the right amount of water reached the right person at their appointed time. Each irrigator had to wait their turn for their apportioned water.[475] Some, like Doña María Jofre, chose to illegally reapportion their water without reapportioning their cost. In 1617, Doña María was charged with demolishing a section

[470] AMG, 3.440 *Acequia de Alfacar* (1617).
[471] AMG, 3.430 *Acequia de Alfacar* (1616).
[472] Henríquez de Jorquera, *Anales de Granada*, 606.
[473] AMG, 3.434 *Acequia de Alfacar* (1595).
[474] Glick, *Irrigation and Society*, 13.
[475] Glick, *Irrigation and Society*, 207.

of the canal of Aindamar and rerouting it so that she could water her estate.[476] During the course of the investigation, María was even put under house arrest.[477] María was not going to give up easily, however. In fact, it took men armed with swords, guns, shields and other arms, to cut off the water supply to her property. In the ensuing fracas, some men were killed. Generating over thirty-six pages of legal documentation, the case was not decided in María's favor. Ultimately, she was ordered to pay the city a fine of 4000 maravedis and 2000 maravedis more to Manuel de Zamora and Juan de Monsa. Her house was also seized.[478]

Women sometimes even challenged the most powerful men in Granada over water usage. Beatriz de Áviles, a woman of some measure of social standing, was accused of "stealing" water and causing damage to sewers and bridges in 1618.[479] She fought the charges and officially requested an appeal that led the city council to write to the king for clarification on rights Beatriz claimed to have been given.[480] These women were not singular in their cases. Men found themselves entangled in the very same sorts of charges and cases. Even entire parishes and neighborhoods could be charged with negligence or fraud regarding water rights. The "vecinos" of the Albaicín and the Alcaraba (both neighborhoods), as well as the Monasterio de Cartuja, the Abbot and the council of the Church of the Holy Mount were all called to account for their water use practices in the same hearing.[481]

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[476] AMG, 3.427 *Acequia de Alfacar* (1617).
[477] AMG, Leg. 3.427 *Querella formulada de oficio contra María Jofre sobre agua* (1618), 55.
[478] AMG, Leg. 3.427 *Querella formulada de oficio contra María Jofre sobre agua* (1618).
[479] AMG, Act. Cap. L IX Fol. 90r-92v (1618).
[480] AMG, Act. Cap. L IX Fol. 93r-97r (1618).
[481] AMG, 3.442 *Acequias* (1615).

Early modern Spanish law allowed for expanded legal rights for women when compared to other European countries at the time. In Spain, women had the right to enter into contracts and to be bound by contractual dictates. Women could buy property, sell property, sue and be sued over property disputes. Using inheritance laws to their fullest extent, women bequeathed goods and property in strategic ways to further their family interest or to help other women. Though not usually allowed in court, women's testimony was fully admissible during court proceedings. Found throughout the historical legal records, women were fixtures in the legal life of early modern Granada. Women also had rights to and responsibility for the city's natural resources such as water. Water was vital to Granadans. Without water their crops would not grow, their mills would not grind, and many industries would not be able to function. Water was vital to the economy. Women used their knowledge of Castilian law and of custom to protect and expand their access to and use of water. As a central asset to the community, women's fight over water use was an exertion of civic rights to that natural resource.

## Chapter 4: The Sword of God: Corpus Christi and Religious Patronage in Granada

Early modern women did not generally wield overt power, but they did influence outcomes in their communities through strategic giving and through the creation and reproduction of civic identity through religious festivities like the Corpus Christi celebration. Since charitable giving was socially sanctioned for women by early modern society, it provided "rich opportunities for women to make their voices heard”.[482] Women founded new female religious institutions through generous monetary donations and through the dedication of their lives to religious devotion. Women, furthermore, were active participants, producers and consumers of religious festivities, like Corpus Christi. In a city that was so powerfully shaped by its history as a frontier in the battle over Islam, Granada’s religious institutions and religious devotions took on great significance in the shaping of the city’s civic identity. This first half of the chapter will address two forms of women’s religious patronage: the founding of convents or lay religious communities and the adorning of convents with works of art by nuns and laywomen. The second half of this chapter will explore the role of women in the production, participation and consumption of one of the city’s most important religious celebrations, that of Corpus Christi.

### Women and Religious Patronage in Granada

Women inside and outside of convent walls made their voices heard through what and how they gave to others. In the wake of the Counter-Reformation begun by

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[482] June Hall McCash, "Medieval Patronage of Medieval Women: an Overview," in *The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women*, ed. June Hall McCash (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1996), 1-49, 1.

the Council of Trent, which called for strict enclosure for nuns, and in the midst of the economic crisis in seventeenth-century Spain, two themes become increasingly evident when examining women's patterns of giving in Granada. The first is that combining family loyalty with their spirituality, nuns often used charitable funds to adorn or even construct their convents or sacred spaces, affording themselves and their family a privileged place in the living memory of the institution. Secondly, secular women in their last wills and testaments often made concerted efforts to provide for an extended network of female family and friends, both inside and outside of convents. These giving strategies served as a form of empowerment for women as well as a tacit recognition of a woman's greater susceptibility to poverty in this period of economic instability. Giving was an important way for women to cultivate power and prestige, and to provide for other women in seventeenth-century Granada.

Most studies of early modern religious patronage focus on lay wives and widows who became patrons of religious institutions.[483] There are indeed many instances from all periods of upper-class women who acted as patrons of religious activities out of piety and a desire to ritualize their family's legacy. Relatively few studies, however, have documented the many women religious who served as patrons to their own convents.[484] Throughout the seventeenth century, nuns in cloistered convents in Granada were seemingly eager patrons who provided financial support for the construction of their

[483]Brian R. Larkin, "Liturgy, Devotion, and Reform in Eighteenth-Century Mexico City," *The Americas*, 60, 4 (Apr. 2004): 493-518; Stephanie Fink De Backer, "Constructing Convents in Sixteenth-Century Castile: Toledan Widows and Patterns of Patronage," in *Widowhood and Visual Culture in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Allison Levy (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003), 177-196; Barbara B. Diefendorf, "Contradictions of the Century of Saints: Aristocratic Patronage and the Convents of Counter-Reformation Paris," *French Historical Studies*, 24, 3 (Summer 2001): 469-499; June Hall McCash, ed., *The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1996).
[484] See for example: Marilyn R. Dunn, "Spiritual Philanthropists: Women as Convent Patrons in Seicento Rome," in *Women and Art in Early Modern Europe: Patrons, Collectors, and Connoisseurs*, ed. Cynthia Miller Lawrence (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), 154-200.

convents and churches and for the embellishment of those spaces with paintings and sculpture. Though nuns took a monastic vow of poverty, certain aspects of secular life seem to have been reproduced, such as collectively owning assets and even fashioning households based on a secular model within the convent.[485] Many nuns in Granada often kept their family names, continuing at least a symbolic connection to their secular lives.[486] It is clear that the endowment of adornments or other convent furnishings could enhance the prestige of the nun herself and that of her family. In this way, religious giving was also a way to gain a measure of earthly immortality, whether intended or not.

**Religious Life in Post-Conquest Granada**

Before proceeding to a more in-depth investigation of women's religious patronage, however, it is useful first to discuss the extraordinary contours of female religious life immediately following the conquest of Granada as well as in the wake of the Catholic Reformation.  The sixteenth century witnessed the founding of twenty-seven convents and monasteries in Granada: sixteen female houses and eleven male houses. By contrast, only five (female) convents would be founded during the entire seventeenth century in Granada, a far cry from the sixteen convents established during the preceding century. Not surprisingly, the first part of the sixteenth century, due to the massive influx of Christian immigrants into Granada following the conquest, witnessed the greatest proliferation, with the establishment of ten female monastic houses. The

[485] Kathryn Burns, *Colonial Habits: Convents and the Spiritual Economy of Cuzco*, *Peru* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999); Elizabeth A. Lehfeldt, *Religious Women in Golden Age Spain: The Permeable Cloister* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2005); Magdalena S. Sánchez, *The Empress, the Queen and the Nun: Women and Power at the Court of Philip III of Spain* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998).
[486] For more on early modern nuns and their naming practices, see: Sharon T. Strocchia, "Naming a Nun: Spiritual Exemplars and Corporate Identity in Florentine Convents, 1450-1530," in *Society and Individual in Renaissance Florence*, ed. William J. Connell (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002), 215-40.

second half of the century slowed only slightly with the founding of six convents. The foundations of both male and female institutions for much of the period reflect the relative dominance of the Franciscan order, to which Queen Isabella's personal confessor was professed. Five of the total number of female convents established in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were dedicated to the order of the Franciscans. The Dominicans dominated the middle of the sixteenth century with three convents dedicated to the order and one founded late in the century. In the seventeenth century, the orders varied: Secluded Franciscans (*Franciscanas Recoletas*) (1626), Secluded Augustinians (*Agustinas Recoletas*) (1635, 1655), Cistercians (1683), and Trinitarians (1692).[487]

Granadan historians Antonio Luis Cortés Peña and Bernard Vincent have argued that there are two discernible stages to the religious history of Granada.[488] The first stage, correlating with the desires expressed by the Catholic Monarchs, was characterized by the establishment of great and prestigious monasteries. Founded directly by the monarchs or other great persons during the era of the conquest of Granada, these religious houses were populated by the daughters and widows of the city's nobility, and arose amidst the conquest and construction of a new, Christian city. Consequently, these religious houses were well-endowed. A second stage took place following 1570, coinciding with the immense wave of reforms provoked by the Council of

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[487] Francisco Henríquez de Jorquera, *Anales de Granada: Descripción del reino y ciudad de Granada. Crónica de la reconquista (1482-1492). Sucesos de los años 1588 a 1646.* Edición preparada, según el manuscrito original, por Antonio Marín Ocete (Granada: Publicaciones de la Facultad de Letras, 1934). Henríquez de Jorquera gives brief origin stories for each of the city's religious institutions, except for several of the laywomen communities and he does not track the evolution of some of the institutions as they reincarnate under different names and orders. See also Francisco Bermúdez de Pedraza, *Historia eclesiastica: principios, y progressos de la ciudad, y religion católica en Granada* ... (Granada: Imprenta Real, 1638); Antonio Luis Cortés Peña and Bernard Vincent, *Historia de Granada*, *Vol. 3, La época moderna, siglos XVI, XVII y XVII* (Granada: Editorial Don Quijote, 1986), 30-31.

[488] Peña and Vincent, *Historia de Granada*, 30-31.

Trent (1545-1563). This was particularly significant for the city of Granada, as the Archbishop of Granada Pedro Guerrero was one of the most significant and influential figures at the second (1551-1552) and third (1562-1563) ecumenical councils of Trent.[489]

Heavily focused on male institutions, Peña and Vincent's assessment of the second stage seems fairly accurate. When their focus turns to female religious houses, however, one finds that the neatly defined second stage outlined above does not apply. This is because one of the most prominent features of that period with respect to women's religious institutions is that there was a wide gap between the founding of the last convent in the sixteenth century in 1588, and the founding of the first in the seventeenth century in 1626. Though there was a proliferation of male houses during the period following 1570, lasting until 1614, women's institutions during that same time frame were not being founded.[490] The first wave of four women's institutions was initiated between 1501 and 1508. A second wave of five institutions began in the 1520s. A third stage of five foundations occurred between 1552 and 1587. It was not until 1626 that Granada again witnessed the founding of another female convent. Despite Trent's mandate on enclosure and the proliferation of convents in other Spanish cities following Trent, the establishment of female religious houses in Granada slowed considerably in the seventeenth century.[491] Four more houses were founded from 1636-1655, with only two more houses being established in the entire second half of the century.

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[489] David Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada: Society and Religious Culture in an Old-World Frontier City, 1492-1600* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), 145.
[490] Actually, Peña and Vincent's grouping of even the male houses, though more accurate than that of the female houses, is a bit off. One male house was founded in 1573 and the next one in 1612, which served as the start of a furry of male houses being founded over the next dozen years.
[491] For example, Elizabeth A. Lehfeldt found a proliferation of female convents in Valladolid from 1545 to 1650. Elizabeth A. Lehfeldt, "Discipline, Vocation, and Patronage: Spanish Religious Women in a

What could account for the initial explosion of foundations of female monastic houses in the sixteenth century, followed by a significant gap at the start of the next century, and then the subsequent burst of activity in the mid-seventeenth century? The answer lies in the unique aspects of Granada's history. In some ways, Granada was actually similar in its local religious institutions and dynamics to many of Spain's provinces. The city's religious administrators faced obstacles in the poorly trained and often morally lax priests, the rivalry of secular clergy and the religious orders, much of which ended in legal suits between the various religious groups, and anticlericalism among the laity, as well as the convergence of various devotions arriving with the many new immigrants flooding the city.[492] In many ways, however, Granada was unique in sixteenth-century Spain. During the sixteenth century, for example, Granada was still dealing with the "Morisco problem", which meant that the city's clergy were strategizing the most efficacious means of "true" conversion for this population, attempting to achieve their plans, and then vigilantly policing the results. One aspect of the policing of the populace was the prohibition of miscegenation. Of utmost concern was the sexual mixing of Morisco and Muslim men with Christian women.[493] Particularly in Granada

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Tridentine Microclimate," *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 30, 4 (Winter, 1999), 1009-1030, 1009. There is a growing body of historiography on the mixed effectiveness and implementation of Tridentine directives in Spain; see for example: Diefendorf, "Contradictions of the Century of Saints," 469-499; Allyson Poska, *Regulating the People: The Catholic Reformation in Seventeenth-Century Spain* (Leiden: Brill, 1998); Sara Nalle, *God in La Mancha: Religious Reform and the People of Cuenca, 1500-1650* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992).

[492] Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada*, 94; William Christian, *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981); Jodi Bilinkoff, *The Ávila of Saint Teresa: Religious Reform in a Sixteenth-Century City* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989); Sara Nalle, *God in La Mancha*; Henry Kamen, *The Phoenix and the Flame: Catalonia and the Counter-Reformation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993); Allyson Poska, *Regulating the People: The Catholic Reformation in Seventeenth-Century Spain* (Leiden: Brill, 1998).

[493] David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 157-159.

(because the conquest was relatively recent), enclosure in the home or a convent was a means of maintaining the community's honor via controlling the movement of women.

The most significant difference between Granada and other Spanish cities, perhaps, can be seen in the explosion of religious institutions more generally that occurred during the sixteenth century as a result of its literal and figurative "conversion" to a Christian city. Between 1492 and 1570, Granada witnessed the emergence of twenty-five new parishes, twenty-two monasteries and other religious houses, more than fifty lay confraternities (*cofradias*), eight major hospitals, and more than a dozen small shrines and chapels.[494] The result of the building frenzy was a dynamic network of local religious institutions and social service organizations that sought to meet the spiritual and social needs of the Christian immigrants in new and innovative ways.[495] The explosion of monastic houses can be attributed to the needs of the monarchs and city officials to facilitate a Christian environment in the city and to combine its political and religious goals of conversion in the process. The needs of the Christian immigrants were becoming immense as this population group increased rapidly over the course of the sixteenth century, only slowing in the seventeenth century. The population growth in the early modern period made it necessary for the city of Granada to likewise expand its geography. New districts appeared like those of La Magdalena, Las Angustias, San Ildefonso, and parts of San Matías, Santa Escolástica, San Cecilio and San Justo.[496] Convents and other religious houses expanded with and into these new areas, thus creating new opportunities for female religiosity.[497]

[494] Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada*, 94.
[495] Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada*, 95.
[496] Henríquez de Jorquera, *Anales de Granada*, 214-229.
[497] Bilinkoff, *The Ávila of Saint Teresa*, 15-52.

Further, in the sixteenth century, a new aristocracy was in the midst of forming and solidifying its power.[498] Patronage in the form of establishing a convent was a powerful and tangible marker of social status. In early modern Spain, private and public obligations were intricately intertwined, and that authority belonged to an individual rather than to an office.[499] The basis for the governance of the early modern Spanish commonwealth, then, rested on the authority accumulated by citizens through public service and through the building of an intricate network of personal relationships. Power was not tied to wealth alone, but instead was achieved through a combination of public office holding and the public services on which one spent one's wealth.[500] The reward for this service to the commonwealth was honor—the respect of one's community, which served as the essence of a citizen's privileged status. It is not surprising, then, that newly wealthy families who had gained their land and wealth via the conquest of Granada then set out to cement their positions through the literal and figurative building of a Christian society. Founding a religious house was a testament not just to the glory of God, but also to the rising stature and wealth of the family who established it. Toward the close of the sixteenth century and throughout the course of the seventeenth century, however, Granada's ruling class was more or less already entrenched. The narrowing of opportunities for social mobility into the city's upper echelons coincided with the decline in foundations of religious houses.

[498] James Casey, *Family and Community in Early Modern Spain: The Citizens of Granada, 1570-1739* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).
[499] Casey, *Family and Community*, 287.
[500] Casey, *Family and Community*, 3.

In general, the seventeenth century in Spain saw rising inflation, debasement of money, and a growing tax burden.[501] Lamenting Spain's predicament during his own time, Granadan chronicler Francisco Bermúdez de Pedraza in 1638 called the seventeenth century an age of gold that had turned to one of copper.[502] The middle of the seventeenth century was a period of crisis for Granada, as it was for much of Europe. Granada's mid-seventeenth century was marked by a violent protest in May of 1648 over the high price of bread. During this three-day riot, crowds armed with swords and other weapons controlled the city's streets, forcing some city officials to flee Granada.[503] The city suffered a violent flood in 1629 and was also struck by a series of five earthquakes between 1634 and1680.[504] The seventeenth century was not a good century for grain harvests either.[505] The year 1637 was particularly bad and it was followed by bad harvests where grain had to be shipped in for the years 1641, 1646, 1652, and 1664.[506] Plague outbreaks followed the bad harvests in 1647-1648.[507] There was much for an early modern Granadan to be concerned about. It is when times are

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[501] I. A. A Thompson and Bartolomé Yun Casalilla, eds., *The Castilian Crisis of the Seventeenth Century: New Perspectives on the Economic and Social History of Seventeenth-Century Spain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).
[502] UGR, BHR/A-008-084, Francisco Bermúdez de Pedraza, *Historia eclesiastica: principios, y progressos de la ciudad, y religion catolica en Granada* (En Granada: por Andres de Santiago: en la Imprenta Real, 1638), 184.
[503] ACV, Carta Escrita desde Granada por D. Francisco Marin en 27 de Mayo de 1652; A.C.V. Carta de la Ciudad de Granada A.S.M. en 28 de Mayo de 1652; A.C.V. Carta de la Chancillería de Granada en 28 de Mayo de 1652. These letters were reprinted in Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, *Alteraciones andaluzas* (Madrid: Narcea, 1973), 163-171.
[504] See Henríquez de Jorquera, *Anales de Granada*; UGR BHR A-31-126 (15) *Breve relacion de …horrible temblor de tierra*, 1680 and Casey, *Family and Community*, 199.
[505] The century began with a need to bring into the city from elsewhere. AMG, Act Cap. L VII Fol. 171r-172v (1604); Henríquez de Jorquera, *Anales de Granada*, 544 (1605).
[506] AMG, Act Cap. L. IX Fol 71v-75v (1618); Henríquez de Jorquera, *Anales de Granada*, 889 (1641); Peña and Vincent, *Historia de Granada*, 50-51.
[507] Peña and Vincent, *Historia de Granada*, 51-52.

tough that people should turn their attention more fervently toward God, or so claimed the Jesuits in 1642.[508]

Turn to God, they did. The records are full of rogation processions aimed at extirpating plague, pleading for rain, or pleading for rain to stop.[509] As one historian wrote, a "messianic fervor gripped the citizens of Granada" during this period of high unemployment and natural disaster.[510] The founding of female religious foundations, too, reflects the anxiety of the time and perhaps a need to intensify one's piety. Four convents were established in Granada in these middle years of the century, years that overlapped with the worst of the crises. The founding and maintenance of these institutions would not have been possible without the support of the local citizens of Granada. The continued support of these institutions suggests that the local citizenry found their presence valuable and spiritually efficacious in some way, despite (or perhaps, because of) the dismal state of the Spanish economy.[511] Still, founding an institution was an expensive expression of piety.

The Catholic covenant was based on giving as an expression of piety. *For God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life*.[512] Thus began the reciprocal relationship between the Catholic God and His people. It was this act of giving that would define the nature of the relationship between the faithful and their Lord. God had given the world

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[508] Padre Juan Eusebio Nieremberg de la Compañia de Jesus, *Causa y Remedio de los Males Publicos*, dedicado al Excelentissimo Señor Don Gaspar de Guzmán Conde Duque, en Madrid por Maria de Quiñones, 1642.
[509] See, for example, AMG, Act Cap. L VIII Fol. 277r-279v (1614), which discusses a procession due to an earthquake; also see Henríquez de Jorquera, *Anales de Granada*, 751.
[510] Casey, *Family and Community*, 199.
[511] This idea is suggested by Elizabeth A. Lehfeldt in "Convents as Litigants: Dowry and Inheritance Disputes in Early-Modern Spain," *Journal of Social History* 3, 33 (Spring 2000), 643-664.
[512] John 3:16, *The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments* (New York: The American Bible Society, 1979).

his son Jesus as a path to salvation. Since this was a debt that no mortal could repay, humans instead emulated God and practiced Christian charity toward others. Through these acts of charity, they were to be rewarded with salvation. Thus, in Catholicism the "entire culture of salvation rested on gift-giving."[513] The poor (who will be discussed later in the chapter) and religious institutions were the customary recipients of these acts of charity by the laity. Customarily, the laity founded or endowed existing institutions, or simply gave for the adornment or sustenance of individual monastic houses.[514] According to data derived from sixteenth-century records by David Coleman, women were at the forefront of this pious giving in Granada in terms of frequency. For example, Coleman found that women were more likely than men to include pious bequests and mass orders in their testaments.[515] Though similar data for the seventeenth century is not available, an examination of the founding of convents and of gift-giving to religious institutions indicates that the vitality of women's charitable bequests did not decrease significantly.

### Granadan Women and the Creation of Religious Life

The majority of religious houses established in Granada in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were founded by and for women. The Granadan chronicler Francisco Henríquez de Jorquera opens his chapter on convents in Granada as follows: "The monasteries of nuns of this city are many and of great construction and

[513] Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2000). See in particular chapter 7, "Gifts and the Gods", 167-208.
[514] Allyson Poska and Elizabeth A. Lehfeldt, "Redefining Expectations: Women and the Church in Early Modern Spain," in *Gender and Religion in the Old and New Worlds: A Transatlantic Perspective*, ed. Susan E. Dinan and Debra A. Meyers (New York: Routledge, 2001), 21-42, 30.
[515] Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada*, 106.

observance of all religions, of great rents and others of great poverty, subjects to…their religion, ancient and modern….”[516] Jorquera does not explicitly mention, however, the elite nature of the majority of Granada's female religious institutions. Granada was not exceptional in this regard, as convents throughout Spain were generally institutions for the nobility and upper classes. Further, the connections cultivated with these convents were very important for elite families who derived both spiritual and economic benefits from them.[517] The first female monastery to be founded in Granada was that of Señor Santiago of the prestigious military order of Santiago in 1501.[518] This convent, that of Comendadores de Santiago (Commanders of Santiago), was founded by the Catholic Monarchs for "*señoras principales y nobles con sus pruebas de nobleza*" ("principal and noble ladies with proof of nobility").[519] In fact, the first archbishop of Granada and confessor to the Catholic Monarchs, Don Fray Hernando de Talavera, entered two of his own nieces into the convent. Generously endowed, the convent had a large house and garden with a beautiful view of the fertile valley just outside of the city. Customarily, this convent was to house the female family members of the conquerors of the city and thus had close ties to the city's highest nobility as well as the values of war and crusade against the Muslims, which characterized the Order of Santiago.

In conjunction with the overt ties to the city's nobility and the symbolism of the religious order to which it belonged, convents could also be symbolic in and of themselves. The Convent of Santa Isabel la Real was a poignant example of this. Also

[516] Henríquez de Jorquera, *Anales de Granada*, 245.
[517] See Poska and Lehfeldt, 30-33; Burns, *Colonial Habits*; Bilinkoff, *The Ávila of St. Teresa*; Lehfeldt, *The Permeable Cloister*.
[518] For more on women and the Military Order of Santiago, see: María Echániz, "Spaces of Women's Religiosity in the Military Order of Santiago in Late Medieval Castile (Twelfth to Sixteenth Centuries)," in *Spanish Women in the Golden Age: Images and Realities*, eds. Magdalena S. Sánchez and Alan Saint-Saëns (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 3-22.
[519] Henríquez de Jorquera, *Anales de Granada*, 245.

founded in 1501, Queen Isabel had intended her namesake convent to be established in the former heart of Muslim power in the province, the Alhambra.[520] Unfortunately, difficulties arose.[521] The queen therefore ordered the new convent to be transferred to a cluster of houses that had been part of a palace of the former Muslim royal family. Upon the ruins of this former palace, the new convent was built between 1574 and 1592.[522] Behind the convent is a small "Moorish" palace that has been preserved. It is known as "Dar al-Horra" or "Queen's House," and is said to have belonged to the Granadan Royal family and to have been the residence of the mother of Boabdil, the last Muslim ruler of Granada. The "Queen's House" once formed part of the convent, fell into disrepair, and has since been restored.[523] The building of something Christian over the ruins of what was Muslim represented a significant imprinting of Catholic and royal power on Granada not only for Isabel, but also for the nuns who benefitted from the convent's prestige in lawsuits regarding water rights (as discussed in a previous chapter).[524]

Women could use the medium of architecture to not only sponsor the construction of a physical space that would forever tie their name to that particular sacred place, but also to create a space in which to perform rituals commemorating the

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[520] Henríquez de Jorquera, *Anales de Granada*, 246.
[521] What those difficulties were is unclear, though they seem to have revolved around an issue of jurisdiction.
[522] José Luis Orozco Pardo called early modern Granada a "Christianopolis," or a city embodying Christianity, in his *Christianópolis: urbanismo y contrarreforma en Granada del 600* (Granada: Diputación Provincial de Granada, 1985). In order to efface its Muslim past and to "Christianize" the landscape, Granadinos tore down mosques and Muslim baths and replaced them with churches and plazas. Granada was being transformed physically and mythically into a "New Jerusalem."
[523] Gallego y Burín, *Granada*, 451.
[524] This royal connection and patronage clearly played a role in a series of suits involving the water rights and usage of the convent in the middle of the seventeenth century. The case was settled in favor of the convent by the king Philip IV, after the convent sent several pleas directly to him to intervene. In 1645, the convent received a royal edict from Philip IV proclaiming that on the basis of the rights given to the convent by the Catholic Monarchs, no one has the right to take away water rights from this community. AMG, Aguas, 79: 3.442 (1603), 64-66; AMG, Aguas, 79: 3.442 (1619), 82.

earthly as well as eternal place of themselves and their family within the community.[525] Take, for example, the founders of the *Convento del Ángel Custodio* (Convent of the Guardian Angel), the first convent founded in the seventeenth century in Granada. The founding of the convent in 1626 was a family affair, with two Franciscan nuns the chief players: Sor María de las Llagas, daughter of the Marquis of Camarasa, and her aunt, Doña María de Centurion y Córdoba, daughter of the Marquis of Estepa and sister of the Marqueses of Estepa y Aruña and of the Marquesa of Camarasas, who helped with the foundation.[526] This latter Doña María served as the first Abbess of the convent and she endowed it with a generous income.[527] Already, the convent was closely tied to this illustrious kinship network and that connection was ritualistically reified through the religious activities of the convent—such as with the transferring of the Holy Sacrament to the convent. Not long after the founding of the Convent of the Guardian Angel, on the day of St. Mary Magdalene, the Holy Sacrament was carried in grand procession to place it in this new convent. It was a grand celebration and all the city's notables, including the illustrious uncles of the founders, were in attendance.[528] It was a highly visible public event that confirmed the city's social order and recognized the place of importance this convent was to serve in the city's religious life. On a more personal note, however, this procession with all of the city's aristocracy, and particularly the presence of founders' kin among them, continued the celebration and ritual memorialization of this great family. The public and religious ritual surrounding the

[525] This idea was modified from one presented in the following work: Fink De Backer, "Constructing Convents in Sixteenth-Century Castile," 177-196.
[526] Henríquez de Jorquera, *Anales de Granada*, 250.
[527] Henríquez de Jorquera, *Anales de Granada*, 676-7.
[528] Henríquez de Jorquera, *Anales de Granada*, 677-8.

transferring and placement of the Holy Sacrament within the walls of the convent likewise ritualized the family's inseparable connection to the convent.

The convent of the Commendadoras, mentioned earlier, also reified its connection with their noble families and the secular world through public ceremonies. It was the "caballeros" of the conquest, tied to the founding of this convent, who gave extra gratuities to the nuns and who celebrated their fiestas there, including on the Day of Santiago. It was in this convent's church where, donning their chapter cloaks, the city's post-conquest nobility fulfilled their duties to the church during *Semana Santa* (Holy Week).[529]

Women did not passively accept the imposed sanctity of a space by church officials, but instead often defined sacred space in their own way and on their own terms. In the process of defining this sacred space, these women also changed the face of religious life in Granada. Two illustrative examples are the cases of the Convent of Santo Tomás de Villanueva and of the Convent of San Bernardo, both of which began as communities of *beatas* (pious laywomen, sometimes referred to as "holy women"). In the establishment of these lay communities, women often confronted and transgressed religious and familial authorities. Some of the pious women who eventually became nuns of the convent Santo Tomás de Villanueva, of the order of *Agustinas Recoletas* (Secluded Augustinians), proved to be incorrigible to ecclesiastical regulation. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, this religious house of devout women associated with the Augustinian order (and which would eventually become the Convent of Santo Tomás), was established in the Albaicín, next to the Friary of Unshod Franciscan Friars

[529] Henríquez de Jorquera, *Anales de Granada*, 245.

of Our Lady of Loreto. These women were not professed religious but lived by means of their work and from alms received.[530]

Santo Tomás de Villanueva was established as a recognized convent in 1635, the second convent to be founded in Granada during the seventeenth century. This enclosed convent was founded by the Augustinian friars who built the convent very near to and facing their own friary. This imposition of location served as a source of tension between the friary and the pious women of Santo Tomás. In fact, several nuns left the convent because of the disagreement over the location of the new convent and so founded the *Madres Agustinas* (Mother Augustinians) convent in the lower city in 1655. In that year, two Augustinian nuns arrived from the Convent of La Encarnación in Vallodolid to reorganize the order. Here with the assistance of two gentleman from the Americas, Don José and Don Lucas Aguilar Rebellido, they definitively established the convent and began building their church in 1677, finishing in 1694.[531]

In 1669, however, the Archbishop of Granada, Don Diego Escolano, requested an inquiry into the case of Santo Tomás de Villanueva. The issue revolved around jurisdictional struggles between the convent and the Augustinian Friars next door. The friary was refusing to let the convent hear mass in public, and questions arose over the convent's legitimacy as an enclosed convent. The archbishop asked two questions: The first question regarded whether or not the community was still in existence and functioning as a permanent religious community, while the second question addressed

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[530] UGR, BHR/A-031-136 (8) Beaterio de Santo Tomás de Villanueva de Granada, *Por la madre Elena de la Cruz, Superiora del Beaterio y Casa Religiosa de Santo Tomás de Villanueua, de la Recoleccion de Agustinas Descalças de esta ciudad, y demas religiosas del, en el pleyto con el licenciado D. Antonio de Torres ... a que ha pretendido salir el convento y frayles de Agustinos Descalços de esta ciudad* (1668).
[531] UGR, BHR/A-031-136 (8) Beaterio de Santo Tomás de Villanueva de Granada, *Por la madre Elena de la Cruz* (1669).

whether or not the community had been and still was practicing religion as approved by the Apostolic See. The Treasurer and Canon of the Holy Metropolitan Church of Granada, Don Miguel Muñoz de Ahumada**,** was charged with conducting the inquiry. The answer to the first question, as decided on as a result of the inquiry, was that yes, the *beata* convent and the congregation of nuns had all the essential qualities that constituted a state of community. What is interesting here is that the institution is referred to as a convent of *beatas* and a congregation of nuns. Clearly, the order still accepted pious, unprofessed *beatas* into their fold as of 1669. By this date, though, the convent had been reduced to only twelve people total. The community's large contingent of pious laywomen called into question the very validity of the convent which was supposed to have been fully cloistered after its establishment. Of primary concern to the archbishop was establishing that those twelve people had a special union and common obligation toward a religious aim. Ahumada concluded: "That one must consider the fairness that is due in taking care of the present nuns of that community, which with so just title [i.e. title of "nuns"], and entered in good faith, and they dedicated their people and dowries and they professed in her, coming with so well-known credit from virtue and religious observance that they do not have to be deprived of the benevolence, and Catholic zeal of his Majesty, and his Royal Council, that always has shone the magnanimity, that does not undo, but builds, and conserves the churches, houses, and communities of religion." In other words, he recommended preserving the community, the nuns, their observance and church.[532]

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[532] UGR, BHR/A-031-136 (7-2) *Miguel Muñoz de Ahumada, Respuesta a la consulta canonica, y moral, hecha por el Ilustrissimo señor Don Diego Escolano, Arçobispo de Granada ... / dada por el Doctor Don Miguel Muñoz de Ahumada* **(**1669)**.**

The Convent of San Bernardo, too, had its origins in the merging of two unofficial houses of pious women: the Potencianas and the Melchoras, both named after their founders (Potenciana de Jesús and Melchora de los Reyes)[533]. These beatas were inspired by St. John of the Cross and were dedicated to educating girls from good families. According to the chronicler Henríquez de Jorquera, the Potencianas house resided "in the famous vista of Antequeruela, near the royal Convent of the Martyred Saints[534], enjoying the shining waters of the silverplated Genîl River that snakes its way through the extensive and fertile valley".[535] This first house's co-founder was Francisca de la Trinidad, who left the house of her parents due to a fervor to serve the Lord and live a religious life. Potenciana and Francisca rented a house in the Sacromonte, with little support from Francisca's parents, who wanted her to marry.[536] In the house, the two women lived on income from their own work despite threats to their security. The area in which they lived was scarcely populated, so for their protection, each took turns watching over the house while the other slept. They spent their waking hours engaged in prayer and supplication as well as the reading of spiritual books. The Granadan priest and ecclesiastical chronicler, Fray Francisco Bermúdez de Pedraza, wrote that he would have condemned their lifestyle as reckless had these women not been under the

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[533] Francisco Hurtado de Mendoza, *Fundación y crónica de la sagrada congregación de San Felipe Neri de la ciudad de Granada*... (Madrid: Julián de Paredes, 1689), 245.
[534] The Convent of the Martyred Saints (*Mártires*) was founded in 1573 as a Discalced Carmelite order. It is still located next to the Alhambra, in the Albaicín. Peña and Vincent, *Historia de Granada*, 29-30.
[535] Henríquez de Jorquera, *Anales de Granada*, 251.
[536] According to A. Katie Harris, the Sacromonte (which translates to "Sacred Mountain") was a key site in the city's symbolic religious landscape. The area had once been sacred to Muslim Granadans, but had been transformed into a Christian sacred space after the conquest. A. Katie Harris, *From Muslim to Christian Granada: Inventing a City's Past in Early Modern Spain* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), 118-119.

good governance of Padre Fray Juan de la Cruz, whom Pedraza called a man of admirable doctrine and most holy life.[537]

Finally, Francisca's parents, recognizing the value and virtue in these two women serving the spiritual needs of the community, and accepting that they would not be able to induce Francisca to return to their home and get married, decided instead to buy a house next to the makeshift convent. Soon, two more young women joined, María de la Presentación and María Evangelista. More of the city's young women and noble widows followed as well. But, as Bermúdez de Pedraza tells us, "the demon who does not sleep raised testimony against the honor of these virgins," causing the Archbishop to send a delegation to visit them and assess the situation. The delegation left the women with that "crucible paid"[538] and was convinced that they led lives as pious as professed women religious in all ways, despite their lack of formal religious vows. After the death of Potenciana de Jesús, Francisca succeeded her in the office of mother of the house. Following Francisca's death in 1603, a woman of particular talent took her place. María Evangelista was renowned for her great ability to govern, her penitence, and her supplication, all of which were said "far to exceed the capacity of woman."[539]

The second house of pious women was that of the Melchoras, founded by two daughters of the nobility, Melchora de los Reyes and Beatriz de la Encarnación. The Melchoras were separate from but near to the Potencianas, on the same mountain and witness to the same famous view of Antequerela. This equally virtuous and withdrawn group of women, known for their great penance and mortification, originally lived

[537] Bermúdez de Pedraza, *Historia eclesiastica*, 263.
[538] Bermúdez de Pedraza does not explain what he meant by "crucible paid," but one could assume that it involved a thorough examination of their house and interviews with their neighbors.
[539] Bermúdez de Pedraza, *Historia eclesiastica*, 263.

together under the name of Beatas de San Josef del Monte in a cluster of houses, though they were commonly referred to as the Melchoras.[540] Their houses served as a seminary in which the *beatas* raised the daughters of some of the city's important residents, teaching them the proper prayers, giving them lessons in virtue, as well as common women's labors. Thus, the nuns cultivated their souls while teaching them necessary life skills.[541] In 1677, however, the house of the Melchoras was closed down and what was left of this congregation became part of the Potencianas. The Potencianas were subsequently endowed in 1682 by Mariana de la Torre y Esparza with a considerable sum of money on the condition that the group would become a Cistercian convent. The beatas agreed. A year later three nuns arrived from the Cistercian convent in Málaga to lead in the conversion. The nuns from Málaga, Mother Antonia de San Bernardo, Mother Andrea María de la Encarnación, and Mother Claudia Juana de la Asunción began work on building a Cistercian order in Granada. The last two nuns were daughters of the sculptor Pedro de Mena. Along with several sculptures donated by Mena, the convent also now boasted possession of a tree branch said to have been used as a staff by St. John of the Cross.[542]

In both cases presented above, women fought against male ecclesiastical authority for their own mode of religious expression, founding their own communities in the process. The women of Santo Tómas constructed their community on their own initiative, broke away from the convent when they disagreed with its regulation by the Augustinian friars, founded a new convent on their own terms, and finally took the

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[540] Henríquez de Jorquera, *Anales de Granada*, 251.
[541] Bermúdez de Pedraza, *Historia eclésiastica*, 264.
[542] ANG, Escribanía de José Bermúdez de Castro. Leg. 958, s/f. Resto de la Particion de Bienes de D. Pedro de Mena y Medrano (1692); Bermúdez de Pedraza, *Historia eclésiastica*, 263; Gallego y Burín, *Granada*, 411-412.

jurisdictional struggles they were experiencing to the ecclesiastical authorities—and won. Likewise, the origin of the Convent of San Bernardo was in its rejection of parental authority by Francisca, for the higher authority of her inner religious calling. Instead of joining an established convent, however, Francisca and Potenciana decided to create their own holy space. Eventually, the convent garnered prestige and public recognition. The spaces these women occupied were not always determined sacred for them by a church official, but were instead defined as such by the women themselves. Ultimately, the church hierarchy capitulated to the religious expressions of these women and likewise proclaimed their spaces holy.[543]

Along with a convent's location and physical construction, art too conveyed a sense of the divine. The first abbess of the convent of Santa Isabel, one of the first two convents founded in Granada, was Doña Luisa de Torres, widow of the Constable of Castile, Don Miguel Lucas de Iranso. Doña Luisa had taken the veil in the convent Santa Clara de Écija under the name Luisa de la Cruz. She came to Granada in 1507 with twenty other nuns, all daughters of noble conquistadors, to take up residence and guide the founding of the convent.[544] This convent, housing up to one hundred of the city's noble daughters, was full of works of art from the city's masters. For example, the convent housed a statue of St. Paschal Baylon which was a gift from the Archbishop Fray Alonso de los Rios, executed by José de Mora.[545] Mora's works could be found

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[543] Santa Arias and Mariselle Melendez, eds., *Mapping Colonial Spanish America: Places and Commonplaces of Identity, Culture, and Experience* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2002). See in particular the following articles in this collection: Erik Camayd-Freixas, "Enunciating Space, Locating Identity: Garcilaso de la Vega's *Comentarios reales de los Incas*," 102-121; and Rocio Cortes, "(De)mystifying Sacred Geographical Spaces in Hernando de Alvarado Tezozomoc's *Cronica Mexicana*," 68-83.
[544] Henríquez de Jorquera, *Anales de Granada*, 245-246.
[545] José de Mora (1642-1724) is considered to be one of the most important Spanish sculptors of the second half of the seventeenth century.

throughout the convent, though along with the Baylon statue, those most notable were his busts of "Ecce Homo" and the Virgin of Dolores. The Franciscan Friary of San Antonio also gave to the convent several paintings of Franciscan saints, both female and male, executed by Pedro Atanasio Bocanegra.[546] Furthermore, the convent was home to several sculptures by famed Granadan sculptor Alonso de Mena.[547] Though the provenance of a large portion of the convent's art remains uncertain, there is one, very significant piece in the convent whose origin is well-known. The main retable (an ornamental, often recessed, shelf) of the convent, where the cross was placed, was paid for by Sor María de Mendoza, one of its nuns, sometime in the late sixteenth century.[548] Art produced by well-known artists created a prestige for the convent that helped to attract new novitiates from the city's nobility as well as donations to the convent. The purchasing of the retable was thus a smart business decision on the part of Sor María.

This instance of a nun giving to her community was not an isolated act. There are numerous accounts of nuns founding or adorning their convents either through their personal wealth or through the securing of the necessary funds through political and social finagling. In many ways, religious institutions were in competition with one another as each order depended heavily on bequests and alms given by the laity.[549] Having artwork by known masters, a miraculous image, or a saint's relic was not just a religious boon, but also a way to increase donations. Sacred images and relics

[546] Pedro Atanasio Bocanegra (1638-1689) was a well-regarded painter who studied under Alonso Cano and became court painter in 1676.
[547] Alonso de Mena (1587-1646) was an important figure in the Granadan School and is notable in his tendency toward naturalism in his sculptures.
[548] Gallego y Burín, *Granada*, 451.
[549] Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada*, 98; Kamen, *The Phoenix and the Flame*, 158-159; Burns, *The Crusader Kingdom of Valencia*, 129-130.

bolstered a church's sacred aura and served to attract veneration from the faithful, who then might be more inclined to support the institution financially.[550] A laundry list of the city's conventual art collections would include the names of the most illustrious artists of early modern Spain: Alonso Cano, Alonso de Mena, Pedro de Mena, José de Mora, José Risueño, Diego Siloé and Pedro Bocanegra, to just name a few. As Brian Larkin points out in his examination of liturgy, devotion, and religious reform in eighteenth-century Mexico, "The sacred efficacy of liturgical piety…rested on an epistemology that united sign and signified…." In other words, this epistemology allowed for a very real presence of divinity in the world via liturgical devotions and religious symbols. In particular, Larkin mentions the efficacy of images of saints and the Eucharist to manifest "divinity either mystically or physically, but in both cases truly, within the world."[551] When women contributed works of art to a convent, they were contributing in some way to the manifestation of the divine in this world.

One can also narrate the history of even some male religious houses, like that of the Church of Santo Domingo, through the gifts they received from various women of Granada. The gifts given to Santo Domingo, for example, brought incredible prestige, as well as pious devotees bringing offerings to the church, due to these gifts' reputation as being miraculous. The Church of Santo Domingo formed part of the Franciscan Friary of Santa Cruz. The cruciform interior of the church is spacious and is anchored by five chapels. In one of these chapels, that of Our Lady of Hope, is a small alabaster statue. This statue was reportedly discovered in a miraculous manner by the Treasurer to the

[550] Harris, *From Muslim to Christian Granada*, 112.
[551] Larkin, "Liturgy, Devotion, and Reform in Eighteenth-Century Mexico City," 496. For more on the question of images and the Eucharist and the real presence of divinity, see also: William A. Christian, *Local Religion*, 23-69; Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 12-77.

Catholic Monarchs, Ruy Lopez de Toledo, who found it in the Sierra Nevada and subsequently took it to the Oratory in his palace of Zenete.[552] It was donated to the Friary of Santa Cruz by his daughters, who were buried here, as an inscription on one of the walls indicates: "Here lie the devoted and pious ladies Dona María de Avalos and Dona Bernardina de Silva, daughters of Ruy Lopez de Toledo, Treasurer to the Catholic Monarchs; they left to this holy house this sacred image of Our Lady of Hope and founded and endowed this chapel, in which her majesty was placed in 1588 and which was rebuilt in 1598."[553] In the cloister of this Friary, there also existed numerous paintings retelling the miracles attributed to this statue. The nuns of the Third Order of St. Dominic held their religious observances in this chapel and venerated this statue.[554]

Another famous and miraculous statue in the Friary, the Virgin of the Rosary, was also venerated by the nuns of the Third Order of St. Dominic.[555] Next to the Virgin of the Rosary is an inscription, dating from 1773, that states: "Doña María, Doña Gerónima, and Doña Catalina de la Torre, nuns of the Third Order of St. Dominic, made, in 1628, a garment of beaten silver for this divine image of Our Lady of the Rosary, adorned with embellishments of gilt, precious enamels, and trimmed with pearls."[556] The inscription goes on to say that in the year 1670, the statue was seen to sweat what appeared to be "dew drops" and to shed tears. This holy water ran down her face for a total of thirty-two hours, a miracle that was pronounced authentic. Later, in 1675, when the plague ravaged the city, the Virgin of the Rosary was carried in the rogation procession. On the third day of this procession, there appeared "in the

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552 Inscription, Church of Santo Domingo, Friary of Santa Cruz, Granada; Gallego y Burín, 199.
553 Inscription, Church of Santo Domingo, Friary of Santa Cruz, Granada; Gallego y Burín, 199-200.
554 Inscription, Church of Santo Domingo, Friary of Santa Cruz, Granada; Gallego y Burín, 199-200.
555 Gallego y Burín, *Granada*, 202.
556 Inscription, Church of Santo Domingo, Friary of Santa Cruz, Granada; Gallego y Burín, 199-200.

Firmament a Star of surpassing beauty, with the three colors of the Rainbow" which lasted for fifty days. During these fifty days, a blind man regained his sight, sick people were returned to health, and the plague departed. Again, this was authenticated as a miracle.[557] Having a miracle or a holy relic associated with a site increased revenue for the miraculous site due to donations, fees for ritual services, and fees for amulets and similar religious objects paid by pilgrims.[558]

Nuns were also able to memorialize themselves and their families through adornments or improvements to their own convents. In 1626 the Abbess of the Convent de los Ángeles, a community of Franciscan nuns founded in 1538 by Doña Leonor de Cáceres and her husband the Knight Commander Don Rodrigo de Ocampo, petitioned the city council for charity. The Abbess sought money to erect a "holy monument" and a "smart (*listo*) painting" for her convent. In support of her claim, she presented the fact that the designs had been approved by the Alcalde Mayor and other prominent gentlemen, whom she listed successively. After a reminder that God demanded pious works and that this was a holy project, the city council agreed to help fund the project beginning the following month. [559] As we can see here, when possible, nuns spared no expense in the adorning of their convent churches. Contributing to the enhancement of the convent church has been labeled "a mother superior's fondest dream."[560] The work when completed would be attached to that particular abbess' name and legacy, if not commemorated in a plaque, then in the living memory of the convent.

[557] Inscription, Church of Santo Domingo, Friary of Santa Cruz, Granada; Gallego y Burín, 199-200.
[558] Ian Reader, *Pilgrimage: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 35.
[559] AMG, Libro XI, fol. 86v-87r (1626).
[560] Burns, *Colonial Habits*, 106.

These convents served more than the nuns and other holy women who inhabited them, thus giving ample opportunity for the community to recount the personal histories not just of each place, but of the religious objects within it. The act of constructing the physical space of a convent or endowing it with works of art or other furnishings gave women—both lay and religious—a public vehicle for furthering personal and familial goals as well as achieving in some small way an earthly immortality and a personal connection with the divine.

**Women and the Corpus Christi Celebration**

In 1774, Antonio José Lecorp wrote a treatise titled *La Espada del Señor y de Fernando en la Conquista de Granada por los Reyes Catholicos Don Fernando y Doña Isabel* (The Sword of God and of Ferdinand in the Conquest of Granada for the Catholic Monarchs Ferdinand and Isabel). In this treatise, Lecorp associated the Eucharist with the imperial project of the conversion of Muslims in Granada directly after the conquest, and called the Corpus Christi celebration "the sword of God". Granada had been the last Muslim stronghold in Spain and, indeed, all of Europe. The Muslim leader of Granada had surrendered to Isabella and Ferdinand in 1492. Shortly thereafter, in 1501, a royal decree had commanded that the people of Granada celebrate the feast of Corpus Christi with "such great displays of happiness and contentment" that it would "seem as though they were crazy".[561] The celebration of Corpus Christi was introduced to Granada specifically to counteract the practice of Islam. In order to help defray the costs of the Corpus Christi celebration in Granada, and viewing the celebration as absolutely

[561] Fr. Francisco Tomas María Cardela, *Genesis Eucaristico* (1756), as cited in Miguel Garrido Atienza, *Las Fiestas del Corpus* (1889), edicion facsimil (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1990), 6.

necessary to conversion, the Catholic Monarchs had established a special endowment.[562] The Corpus celebration figured prominently in the city's civic identity from that moment on.

In addition to being one of the most important religious feast days, the Corpus Christi celebration also acted as an educational device, promulgating a particular worldview through means of a sensorial code, appealing to all of one's senses. In this case, that worldview included Granada's special place as the symbol of Catholic Spain's victory over the infidel and a reminder of Spain's ascendancy. The procession also acted as a reaffirmation of civic identity through the frequent allusions and images related to the most important episodes in Granada's history, usually revolving around the conquest, and the corresponding physical locations around the city. Scholars have paid a fair amount of attention to Corpus Christi celebrations in Spain, but no published scholarly work addresses the role that women played in the meaning, production, participation, and consumption of the Spanish Corpus Christi celebrations. Despite the significance of Corpus Christi in relation to the history of Granada in particular, scholars have paid scant attention to the celebration in this city and even less to women's participation in it; nor have scholars examined Granadine women's roles in the formation of civic identity through this festival. Women rarely appear in the official documentation regarding the Corpus Christi celebrations in Granada, but a close analysis of the fragmentary sources and the larger implications of those findings indicate that women were active, visible, and present in the symbolic and/or representational forms as well as in physical presence and material production of the

[562] Fr. Francisco Tomas Maria Cardela, *Genesis Eucaistico* (1756), as cited in Atienza, *Las Fiestas del Corpus*, 6.

festivities of Corpus Christi. These findings also allow us to examine one of the ways in which women participated in the creation and reproduction of civic identity.

Women were present from the very inception of the Corpus celebration. One woman in particular stands out. The Corpus Christi celebration originated in the first half of the thirteenth century through the visions of a Cistercian prioress—Juliana de Monte Cornelion, in the monastery of San Martin, just outside of the city of Liège in Belgium. Her visions were the object of an official investigation conducted by a panel of theologians. Thirty years later, in 1261, one of the theologians on this panel was appointed Pope, namely Pope Urban IV. In this same year in the presence of Urban, a miracle took place that confirmed the visions of Juliana. The miracle, known by the name of the "Mass of Bolsena", occurred during the celebration of mass there, when blood gushed forth from the consecrated host. Three years later a papal bull instituted the celebration of Corpus Christi.[563] A century later, the celebration's most characteristic element was established—the parish processions in which the host passed through the streets so that all people could contemplate and adore it.

In the procession itself, female saints abounded in symbolic presence in the tableaux. Female actors portrayed such iconic figures as Eve, the Virgin Mary, Mary Magdalene, St. Anne, St. Elizabeth, St. Helena, and Mary of Egypt in the procession.[564] In terms of representation, female forms figured among the giants and the *tarascas*, or monsters, which were integral parts of the procession. This was one of the most popular elements of the Corpus Christi procession in Granada, so much so that the city's

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[563] Vicente Lleo Cañal, *Arte y Espectáculo: La Fiesta del Corpus Christi en Sevilla en los siglos XVI y XVII* (Sevilla: Ayuntamiento de Sevilla, 1975), 3.

[564] Frances George Very*, The Spanish Corpus Christi Procession: A Literary and Folkloric Study* (Valencia: Tipografia Moderna, 1962), 38.

procession continued to include *tarascas* even after royal prohibitions, the first of which was in 1598.[565] *Tarascas* were often represented as female, but sometimes these monsters were figured as male with a woman's figure in the guise of a frog, a harlot, a she-devil or a Muslim woman placed upon their monstrous loins.[566]

**Production, Participation and Consumption**

The Corpus Christi celebration truly began on the preceding Sunday with a sermon pronounced in the regally decorated cathedral at the edge of Plaza Bibrrambla. Plaza Bibrrambla, the starting point of the procession, was the same plaza frequently utilized and inhabited by women for economic and social purposes.[567] As was discussed in chapter 2, Plaza Bibrrambla was not only the site of *autos de f*e, but also the site of economic exchange in the form of the most important market in the city, as well as the axis of the meat markets, fish markets, spice stores, and silk market that surrounded it. Women sold sausages, puddings, sweets, flowers, and many other prepared foods in this plaza.[568] Women also owned or rented numerous houses and shops all around the city center where the plaza and the cathedral served as the nucleus.[569]

On the Monday of Corpus Christi, groups of onlookers attended the public rehearsal of the dances. There were two rehearsals—one for the town's dignitaries,

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[565] Anselmo Garcón de Gotor, *El Corpus Christi y las custodias procesionales de España* (Barcelona: Tipografía La Académica de Serra Hnos. y Russell, 1916), 31; as cited in Very, *The Spanish Corpus Christi Procession*, 107.
[566] José Luis Orozco Pardo, "Fiesta Barroca," *Gazeta de Antropología*, 4, 5 (1985): 3.
[567] AMG, Act Cap. L. IX Fol. 138r (1618). For more on women in the marketplace in Granada, please see Chapter 2: Women in the Civic Economy.
[568] Henríquez de Jorquera, *Anales de Granada*, 624.
[569] For more on women and property in early modern Granada, please see Chapter 3: Entitlements and Obligations.

held at the Casa de Comedias, and one for the public. The rehearsals for the dignitaries occurred on a day prior to that arranged for the public. Dancers were culled from all regions of Spain and sometimes locally. Masters of the Dance (*Maestros de la Danza*) competed with one another for the right of producing their choreography, as well as for the accompanying more-than-modest fee.[570] Often dance troupes brought in for the celebration would tour the surrounding villages to perform their dances and maximize their profits, though the fees were small. The dancers' costumes were usually provided by the city and were often costumes used in dances for other celebrations.[571] Most of the dances called for both men and women dancers, except for the sword dance which was men-only and the dance of the *gitanas* (gypsies) which was women-only.

On Tuesday each householder and storeowner whose property fell along the path of the procession began to decorate the doors and windows of their houses and stores, and clean the area in the front of their property.[572] Every householder and storeowner had to do this on pain of a fine. There were more than a few female property owners whose houses or stores fell along the path of the procession. For example, in the early 1520s, Aldonza de Ávila owned a shop next door to the meat markets located on the western edge of Plaza Bibrrambla, where there was erected yearly a large altar for Corpus.[573] Likewise, in the mid-1550s, Inés de Cáceres owned a store in Plaza Nueva, another important altar stop along the route.[574] Both Aldonza and Inés would have been held solely responsible for the adornment and cleaning of their storefronts.

[570] AMG, Libros de Cabildo, Act. Cap. L. VI Fol. 42v-44v and Fol. 300v-302r (1566).
[571] AMG, Libros de Cabildo, Act. Cap. L. IX Fol. 58v-59v (1618).
[572] AMG, *Ordenanzas de Granada*, 11 5 39/40, Tit. 126, 246v (1678).
[573] AMG, Actas de Cabildo, Act. Cap. L. IV Fol. 158r-v; 236v-237r (1571); Henríquez de Jorquera, *Anales de Granada*, 27.
[574] AMG, Actas, Act. Cap. L. V. Fol. 118r-122r (1556).

Silk was the preferred material for the hangings and tapestries that lined the more illustrious houses and civic buildings along the procession route. As we have seen in chapter 2, women carried out many of the tasks associated with the production of silk in Granada, tasks such as gathering leaves from mulberry trees, raising the silk cocoons, and processing cocoons into raw silk by reeling and spinning. This was women's work. In fact, it has been estimated that throughout Europe, there were four times as many women as men in this sector.[575] Women were sometimes hired to hang damask curtains or other wall hangings, such as María de la Cruz who was hired in April of 1618, for twelve reales, to hang the damasks of one room of the town council building.[576] Further, women were employed to embroider intricate patterns on silk. Though I have no solid archival evidence to prove that female embroiderers worked on those hangings used specifically for the Corpus Christi celebrations, there is archival evidence female embroiderers in early modern Granada were commissioned to do embroidery on altarcloths and the like.[577] It is not unlikely, then, that women's needlework found its way into the celebration.

The confraternities, wealthier householders and important personages, as well as civic authorities, erected altars and arches in the streets and squares, sometimes displaying renowned local artists' work. There were confraternities that included women as members, such as the Cofradía de Nuestra Señora de la Concepción, made up of strictly female members, and the Cofradía del Nombre de Jesus, comprised of both

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[575] Elisa Garrido, ed., *Historia de las Mujeres en España* (Madrid: Editorial Sintésis, 1997), 338-341; Olwen Hufton, *The Prospect Before Her: A History of Women in Western Europe, 1500-1800* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996), 90-92.
[576] AMG, Act Cap L. IX Fol. 108v (1618).
[577] Carmen Eisman Lasaga, *El Arte del Bordado en Granada: Siglos XVI al XVIII* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1989), 91, 95-97, 106, 109, 138.

male and female members. Evidence exists that these confraternities marched in the procession, but there is no record of female members marching in the organized portion of the procession with their confraternities.[578] It is possible, however, that women did participate in the official procession and that women were allowed to march with their respective confraternities. After all, female singers, dancers, and actors were allowed and even to participate in the festivities.[579] The synodal constitution of the Archbishopric of Burgos, another city in Spain, allowed women to participate but specifically forbade women to walk among the men in that city's Corpus procession.[580] It is unlikely that Burgos was alone in its inclusion of women in the formal procession.

On Wednesday the coaches took to the streets among the sounds of bells from the churches and of the artillery salvos that were fired from the old Muslim palace, the Alhambra. At night the towers of the Alhambra, of the cathedral and of the castle of Bibataubin were illuminated, to the great delight of all those taking their *paseo*, or stroll, after the day's rounds of bull fights. Bullfights were an integral and much-anticipated part of the week's festivities. In the mid-sixteenth century, six bulls were run in the bullfights on feast days, but by the early seventeenth century as many as sixteen bulls per day were running.[581] Though the bullfight has long stood as a test of Andalusian

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[578] ADG, L. 05441, Patronato de Francisca de Jerez (1578).

[579] For example, women were part of the dance troupes that performed in the processions and in the holy plays that were performed in the theatres (except during the intermittent prohibitions of female actors). The record books of the city council show numerous authorizations for payments to choreographers as well as dance troupes and theatre troupes for religious celebrations. There is also considerable evidence to document women's participation in both of these occupations. See, for example, in 1627, María de Córdoba, called "Amarilis" was part of Andrés de la Vega's company that was paid to perform for Corpus Christi. Henríquez de Jorquera, *Anales de Granada*, 686.

[580] Constituciones sinodales del Arzobispado de Burgos, Lib. III, Titulo De Reliquis, Burgos, 1577; quoted in Very*, The Spanish Corpus Christi Procession*, 114-115.

[581] AMG, *Ordenanzas de Granada*, 1552, p. xiiij; AMG Libro de Cabildo, Act L VII Fol. 190v-192v (1604 junio 9).

masculinity, a woman—the Viuda (or widow) de Mercadillo—was known to have one of the best breeds of bullfighting bulls in Andalucía.[582]

Finally, the great procession of Corpus Christi itself crowned the sequence of events. In this procession, the clergy, the confraternities, municipal authorities, and other dignitaries mixed with the monsters, the giants, the imps and the cars piled with musicians, singers, and actors. The order of the procession was highly regulated, with the ecclesiastical and civil authorities preceding the zenith of the procession, the Santissimo Sacramento—the Eucharist carried by four priests.[583] Even within the Town Council itself, the ordering was highly codified and stemmed from tradition, so that disorder would not ensue among the members who might be inclined to jockey for positions that held more honor.[584] The *tarascas* cleared the way for the procession to proceed through throngs of people, while many of the women along the processional route carried baskets of flowers, which they showered upon the Corpus procession as it passed.[585] Rosemary, thyme, cyperus (a type of sedge), fennel, and flowers covered the street beneath the feet of the procession's participants.[586]

The sacred and profane elements that intermingled in the procession, mixed again within the city's theatre. The Casa de Comedias, or the city theatre, played an important role in the festivities of Corpus Christi. Though the procession included moveable cars with tableaux, the *autos sacramentales*—the religious plays for Corpus Christi—were performed in the Casa de Comedias.[587] The clergy often rebuked

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[582] AMG, Fr. Antonio de la Chica Benavides, *Gazetilla curiosa o semanero Granadino util y noticioso para el bien comun*, 1764-1765, Papel 10, 11 de junio, 1764.
[583] AMG, *Ordenanzas de Granada* (1552); AMG *Ordenanzas de Granada* (1678), 246v.
[584] AMG, Libros de Cabildo Act Cap L VIII Fol. 141r-143v (1614).
[585] Very, *The Spanish Corpus Christi Procession*, 13.
[586] Very, *The Spanish Corpus Christi Procession*, 13; Cañal, *Arte y Espectáculo*, 7.
[587] AMG, Libros de Cabildo, Act Cap L VIII Fol. 138r-141r (1614 mayo 23).

performers as ‘dissolute’ characters and, at various times, harangued the practice of these characters portraying saints and holy figures in the Corpus processions and religious plays. But the Casa de Comedias itself as well as the theatre troupes performing inside provided various forms of employment for women. Women not only attended the performances, they also played a variety of roles related to the running of the theatre and performed in its productions. For example, in 1618, Ana Martín, a tavern keeper and sausage seller, rented a commercial food space in the Casa de Comedias.[588] The theatre had an entrance for men and an entrance for women, each presided over by an *alguacil*, or officer appointed by the town council. This position was highly sought after and caused considerable litigation spurred by the losing party. Toward the latter end of the early modern period, Doña Ana Moreno was appointed Alguacil Mayor (Highest Sheriff) for the men’s entrance and Doña Rafaela Espinola was appointed the same for the women’s entrance.[589] Women also labored in the taverns inside the theatre as well as on the street running alongside Bibrrambla. In addition, they staffed the boarding houses that would provide lodging for the numerous people from surrounding areas who traveled to Granada to see the amazing displays and grandeur of Corpus Christi in the provincial capital and archbishopric seat.[590]

Much expense went into obtaining the material resources necessary to put on such a grand celebration, material resources that often were produced and sold by women. Rag dealers, button makers, stocking makers, belt makers, shoe makers, food

[588] AMG, Libros de Cabildo, Act Cap L IX Fol. 182v-186 v. As mentioned in chapter 2, Ana Martín also also rented out stall space in Plaza Bibrrambla, though in December of that same year, she was denied her lease due to accusations of scandalous excesses that she and three other female stall keepers supposedly committed. Henríquez de Jorquera, *Anales de Granada*, 624.
[589] AMG Teatro: 1789 Doña Ana Moreno pide se le confirme en la posesion de Alguacil Mayor en la puerta de los hombres, 1017; AMG Teatro: 1789 Expediente por el cual Doña Rafaela Espinola pide se le confirme la posesión del oficio de Alguacil Mayor de la casa de Comedias en la puerta de mujeres, 1017.
[590] AMG, Libros de Cabildo, Act Cap. L. IX Fol 135v-137v (1618 mayo 18).

sellers, silk workers, and others in industrial- and service-oriented industries stood to gain from the explosion of consumption related to the Corpus Christi celebration. The painting of carts, cleaning of streets, filling-in of puddles, making of costumes, procurement of mules for transport and bulls for bullfights, and provision of flowers, silk hangings used for adornment, food and lodging for out-of-towners—all of these were part and parcel of the celebration. Women participated in every one of these occupations and services, and so stood to reap the benefits of this consumption and production. Though women are not easy to find in official documentation regarding the Corpus Christi celebrations in Granada, by extrapolating from the information that is provided either about women directly or indirectly, one discovers the significant contribution of women to the Corpus Christi celebration in Granada. This contribution and significance is found at all levels of the celebration. Women figured prominently in the procession's symbolism, in the religious plays, and in the singing and dancing. At another level, women proved integral to the infrastructure that made the celebration not only possible, but also sumptuous and grand.

## Conclusion

In the wake of the Council of Trent, convents were supposed to be cloistered institutions segregating nuns from the external world. In reality, however, women's sphere of influence traveled far beyond the convent walls. In fact, convents often, as several recent women's historians have put it, "functioned as centers of social, political, economic and familial power."[591] There existed a complex web of politics and family in

[591] Susan E. Dinan and Debra Meyers, "Introduction," in *Women and Religion in Old and New Worlds*, eds. Susan E. Dinan and Debra Meyers (New York: Routledge, 2014), 6.

the convents.[592] Granada's elite class housed their daughters in convents throughout the city, where these women still had the power of their family influence inside and outside of the convent. Abbesses strategically used their financial resources to fund building projects and artwork that raised their convent's prestige, thus attracting novitiates from well-to-do families and strengthening their appeal to potential donors. Giving to religious institutions and/or specific nuns therein, was a powerful way for secular women to also cultivate influence and prestige in their extended social networks as well as to provide for other women.

Lastly, the above examination of the Corpus Christi celebration in Granada serves as a vehicle for exploring (lay and religious) women's contribution to Granada's civic identity, as well. Acknowledging women's roles in this celebration reveals their significance in the creation and reproduction of Granada's unique civic identity. Municipal leaders often referred to the city as a *república*—a republic. Citizenship in/of this 'republic' was officially limited to men, thus most studies of civic identity have focused on men. However, as women's roles in the production and consumption of Corpus Christi show, women were important in the creation and reproduction of civic identity and participated in civic life in official as well as unofficial ways. This is evident in the roles that women played in the meaning, production, participation, and consumption of the Corpus Christi celebrations in Granada. Women's participation in the Corpus celebrations not only helped to wield the "sword of God", but also allowed them another form to express civic inclusion and to recognize their place within Granada's important history.

[592] Magdalena S. Sánchez, *The Empress, the Queen and the Nun: Women and Power at the Court of Philip III of Spain* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998).

## Chapter 5: Women on the Margins

While women were important players in the formal and informal creation of civic identity, and the economy, and often utilized with great skill the legal and discursive tools at their disposal, many women were also forced to exist on the margins of early modern Granadan society: in particular, poor women and prostitutes. These two categories of women wielded little direct influence over the Granadan city government, but by their very existence and the anxiety it caused officials, they had an indirect, but powerful influence on the creation of a comprehensive system of institutions to tackle the problem of poverty in Granada.[593]

From the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, Spanish secular authorities began to take a more active role in the management of the poor. In the seventeenth century, Granadan officials, urged by the Spanish crown and responding to the social realities of the city, struggled with attempts to systemize and create more efficiency in their poor relief. The chronic fiscal problems of the state during the seventeenth century, however, made the establishment of a comprehensive system of poor relief by the state

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[593] Maureen Flynn, *Sacred Charity: Confraternities and Social Welfare in Spain, 1400-1700* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1989); Linda Martz, *Poverty and Welfare in Habsburg Spain (*Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983); Anne J. Cruz, *Discourses of Poverty: Social Reform and the Picaresque Novel in Early Modern Spain* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999); Elena Maza Zorrilk, *Pobreza y asistencia social en España: siglos XVI al XX* (Valladolid: University of Valladolid, 1987); Maria Del Prado de la Fuente Galan, "Condenadas y Prostitutas: Las Reclusas de 'El Beaterio de Santa Maria Egipcíaca' de Granada (1753-1800)," in Pedro Oliver Olmo y Jesús Carlos Urda Lozano, *La Prisión y las instituciones punitivas en la investigación histórica* (Castilla La Mancha: Universidad de Castilla La Mancha, 2014), 107-120; María Jiménez Salas, *Historía de la asistencia social en la Edad Moderna* (Madrid: C.S.I.C., 1958); Concepción Félez Lubelza, *El Hospital Real de Granada: Los Comienzos de la arquitectura pública* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1979), 87-94; Juan Sanz Sampelayo, "Hospital Real y Hospicio Real en Granada del siglo XVIII. Aspectos Humanos y económicos," *Anuario de Historia Moderna y Contemporánea*, 1 (1974): 69-88; María del Prado de la Fuente Galán, "La creacíon del Real Hospicio de Granada," *Publicaciones*, 25-26-27 (1997): 141-159; María del Prado de la Fuente Galán, *Marginación y pobreza del siglo XVIII: los niños expósitos* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2000*)*, 98-104.

impossible. By the eighteenth century, however, Granadan experiments in institutionalization and systemic approaches to poor relief came to fruition, tied to a nationalistic vision. The end results were, first, the creation of a typology of the poor into deserving and undeserving; secondly, institutionalization and reform/education of the poor; thirdly, attempts to systematize and align all management of poverty; and finally, a belief by some eighteenth century Granadan officials that it was possible to turn the "scum of the republic" (the poor) into "pure gold" that would greatly enhance Spain's economy.

As discussed in the first chapter, the seventeenth century represented a challenging period for Granada. Numerous earthquakes, some quite violent, floods, famines, and the epidemics that plagued the city during this century had a disruptive effect on it in terms of population and the local economy.[594] These disasters weighed disproportionately on the poor in whose lives insecurities were constant, with poor diets, uncertain sources of refuge and overcrowded, unsanitary living conditions. Even when they had work, it was hard work with low pay. Despite the precarious position of the poor in Granada, the city received an influx of migrants into the city throughout the century, indicating that the city still held appeal and the hope of something better. Perhaps it was the city's abundance of charitable organizations geared to help the poor, such as the numerous hospitals and the *cofradías* (confraternities) that engaged in pious works for the poor, as well as multiple opportunities for employment, that attracted migrants from the countryside into this provincial center. Women made up a significant

[594] UGR, BHR A-31-126 (15) *Breve relacion de …horrible temblor de tierra*, 1680; Antonio Luis Cortés Peña and Bernard Vincent, *Historia de Granada, Vol. 3, La época moderna, siglos XVI, XVII y XVII* (Granada: Editorial Don Quijote, 1986); ACV, Actas de Cabildo, Carta Escrita desde Granada por D. Francisco Marín en 27 de Mayo de 1652; ACV, Carta de la Ciudad de Granada A.S.M. en 28 de Mayo de 1652; ACV, Carta de la Chancillería de Granada en 28 de Mayo de 1652.

proportion of these aid recipients. More often than not, these women were *beatas*, widows, repentant prostitutes and/or sick women.[595] Women with children (generally labeled as "honest", even if no husbands were mentioned) were heavily represented as aid recipients, as well.[596]

Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Granada, women were ever-present in efforts to serve the poor as well as the recipients of charitable assistance. On one end of the economic spectrum there were women like Doña María Osorio, who helped to found a hospital in Granada in 1537,[597] and Doña Beatriz de Medrano y Mendoza, who in 1646 made provisions to supply another hospital with bushels of wheat for their bread for four years.[598] On the other end of the spectrum women were not only the patients in these institutions, but also the workers—the *enfermeras* (attendants), the *lavanderas* (washer women), the *cocineras* (cooks) and the *amas de criada*s (wet nurses).[599] These roles remained fairly consistent throughout the period and aligned with early modern Spanish gender ideals for women.

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[595]Martz, *Poverty and Welfare in Habsburg Spain,* 204. The categories of women mentioned above are frequently found in records of charitable giving in the Actas de Cabildo throughout the century.
[596] Martz, *Poverty and Welfare in Habsburg Spain,* 204.
[597] UGR, MS/CJ2063-37, *Religion de Nuestro San Juan de Dios* (1700), 166r. Doña Beatriz de Medrano y Mendoza aided in the foundation of the Hospital of San Juan de Dios.
[598] UGR, CJAO71 fol. 436, *Constituciones del Hospital Real, que en la ciudad de Ganada [sic] fundaron los señores Reyes Catolicos D. Fernando, y doña Ysabel, sacadas de las visitas que en el Hospital hizieron los señores D. Iuan Alonso de Moscoso, obispo de Guadix el año de 1593, y el doctor D. Pedro de Auila, abad de la iglesia Colegial del Monte Santo de Granada el año de 1632, mandadas guardar por los señores D. Felipe II y D. Felipe IV ... por dos Reales cedulas de 25 de agosto de 1593 y 24 de nouiembre de 1632* (1671), 45v.
[599] These distinct categories of female labor appear frequently in the documents relating to the Hospital Real (1501), the Hospital de San Juan de Dios (1537), and, with regard to the wet nurses, in Granada's city council records.

## The Roots of Charity in Granada

To understand the roles women played in the poor relief efforts in Granada, one must first understand the broader context of charitable assistance in Spain. In the early modern period in Spain, private and public obligations were intricately intertwined, and that authority belonged to an individual (usually male) rather than to an office.[600] The basis for the governance of the early modern Spanish commonwealth, then, rested on the authority accumulated by the citizen through public service and through the building of an intricate network of personal relationships. Power was not tied to wealth alone, but instead was achieved through a combination of public office-holding and the public services on which one spent his or her wealth—often a direct form of charity.[601]

A gradual shift seems to have occurred in Granada between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, whereby money and professional obligation came to replace the importance of family, personal obligations, and service to the local community in the creation and perpetuation of power. A similar evolution likewise occurred with respect to charitable giving. This shift mirrored to some degree a move from a more personal form of charity, provided by individuals to unfortunate others "known to them," to a more institutionalized, impersonal system of poor relief. Nonetheless, despite national attempts at "rationalizing" poor relief, there persisted in Granada a traditional form of

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[600] James Casey, *Family and Community in Early Modern Spain: The Citizens of Granada, 1570-1739* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007). Casey uses the city of Granada to examine the nature of a society based on honor, the informal networks which held that society together, and the link between the male head of household and the citizen.

[601] Casey, *Family and Community*, 242-265.

poor relief dependent upon charity from individuals, the Church, and pious confraternities until the eighteenth century.[602]

By the end of the seventeenth century, Spain was a country both compassionate and weary of the poor.[603] Some moralists and officials believed that the large number of the poor wandering about Spain was a symptom of Spain's lack of economic viability; others believed it was laziness and willingness to abuse the system on the part of the poor.[604] Yet others believed that the Catholic Church's emphasis on almsgiving was the cause of idleness and vagrancy. In any case, poverty increased as the population increased.

Some historians argue that a primary cause of Spain's economic problems was the large amount of land not being effectively utilized for agriculture. Land, they maintain, is the first factor of production. If the land was not productive, then the agricultural economy would not prosper. Andalusia, however, is a region that was and is still heavily dependent upon agriculture. The Andalusian aristocracy rivaled the Church with their immense landholdings called *latifundios.* These had their origin in Roman villas, but gained in significance with the land grants made to the nobility, the military

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[602] William J. Callahan, "The Problem of Confinement: An Aspect of Poor Relief in Eighteenth-Century Spain," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 51, 1 (February, 1971): 1-24, 4.
[603] Valentina K. Tikoff, "Assisted Transitions: Children and Adolescents in the Orphanages of Seville at the End of the Old Regime, 1681-1831," Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 2000; Callahan, "The Problem of Confinement"; Martz, *Poverty and Welfare in Habsburg Spain*; Adrian Shubert, "Charity Properly Understood: Changing Ideas About Poor Relief in Liberal Spain," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 33, 1 (Jan., 1991): 36-55; Edith B. Couturier, "The Philanthropic Activities of Pedro Romero de Torres: First Count of Regla (1753-1781)," *The Americas*, 32, 1 (Jul., 1975): 13-30; Rosa María Moreno Rodriguez, "La Larga Historia del Confinamiento Para Remediar La Pobreza. El hospicio general de pobres de Granada, 1753-1786," *Chronica Nova*, 30 (2003-2004): 511-555; Olwen H. Hufton, *The Poor of Eighteenth-Century France, 1750-1789* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974).
[604] Martz, *Poverty and Welfare in Habsburg Spain*; Anne J. Cruz, *Discourses of Poverty: Social Reform and the Picaresque Novel in Early Modern Spain* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999); Elena Maza Zorrilk, *Pobreza y asistencia social en España*.

orders, and the Church during the "Reconquest". They were characterized by low yields, absenteeism, a resistance to incorporating new technology or agricultural programs, and a large pool of day laborers.[605] This means that during the agricultural "off-season," large numbers of unemployed day laborers, some of who were women, migrated from the countryside into the cities. Granada, as the provincial capital, received a large majority of the seasonally unemployed. While most of these day laborers were men, their large increase in numbers made competition for traditionally-provided relief much stiffer for the women already vying for help in the city.

Despite Spanish attempts at systematized poor relief throughout the early modern period, the traditionally positive attitude towards individual charity through generosity to the poor as a mark of piety and nobility continued to thrive.[606] This was particularly true for Granada. For example, Francisca de Palacios established a patrimony in 1611 dedicated specifically to administer charity for the poor and dowries for orphan girls. The patrimony continued its giving until 1719.[607] Unlike the Church, which was seen as dispensing food and alms indiscriminately, the charity provided by the aristocracy was usually earmarked for dependents and paupers "known" to them.[608] This had the effect of limiting the public diffusion of private charity, though perhaps deepening the individual effect, and of perpetuating social hierarchies. Rather than tackling entrenched tradition and redistributing land (as would happen during the liberal

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[605] John Naylon, *Andalusia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), 11; James Simpson, *Spanish Agriculture: The Long Siesta, 1765-1965* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 44.
[606] Casey, *Family and Community*, 264.
[607] ADG, C05519006, 0.4.1.4.11 Francisca de Palacios, *Fundación del patronato para Casar Huerfanas y Dar Limosna a Pobres Vergonzantes* (1611). For more on the giving strategies of Francisca de Palacios, see chapter 3.
[608] Casey, *Family and Community*, 264-265. See also, for example, the distribution of Christmas alms by the Governor of Toledo in 1573 as described in Martz' *Poverty and Welfare in Habsburg Spain*, 204.

land reforms of the nineteenth century), eighteenth-century Spanish national and regional governments would instead turn their attention to tackling unemployment in the cities.

### Laying the Foundation for a System

Most formal efforts to lower unemployment rates were tied to poor relief. The sixteenth-century humanist Juan Luis Vives [609] is an important source for understanding contemporary thoughts on poor relief. At the request of the magistrates of the city of Bruges, Vives outlined in his theory on the causes and remedies of poverty in his *De subventione pauperum* (*On Assistance to the Poor*). Vives argued that the state must realize its obligation to the poor and their relief. He asserted that work should be provided for the poor and that the poor be required to work. But, what type of work? His answer was that the poor who had a trade should be required to engage in it, while those who had no trade should be taught one. The municipal government should, he felt, also authorize a certain number of laborers who could not find work by themselves to be assigned to a director of a workshop. When the laborer had progressed far enough in his craft, he should open his own workshop. The city should then give such workshops contracts for manufacturing the various items which the state used for public purposes (portraits, statues, robes, sewers, ditches, buildings, and supplies required by

[609] Juan Luis Vives (1492-1540) was born to conversos in the city of Valencia. His father was condemned and executed by the Inquisition for secretly practicing Judaism, though Vives never admitted to knowing about this. Though his mother escaped the fate of his father, dying from the plague, several years later her body was exhumed and consigned to the flames after a trial in effigy. Rather than facing the Inquisition, Vives left Spain to study in Paris, then later to England, and eventually settled in Bruges. Though Vives never returned to live in his native country, his body of work was well-known and, for a time, influential throughout Spain. For more on Vives, see Carlos G. Noreña, *Juan Luis Vives* (New York: Springer, 2012).

the hospitals, etc.)[610] Published in 1526, Vives' treatise would become the intellectual and ethical basis of European urban poverty relief policies of the early modern period.[611] The plans that Vives laid out in this work can be found in the often-bitter discourse on poor relief in the seventeenth century and were quite similar to the plans eventually put in place in Spain in the eighteenth century.

Vives sought a greater role for the state, without attempting to displace the monopoly the Church had traditionally exercised over poor relief and charity. This reflected what was clearly an ideological struggle within Spanish society about whether or not poor relief was the state's concern or the Church's. The crux of this issue, however, related to the act of begging. Many cities throughout Spain during the sixteenth century had already passed laws against begging. Ignatius Loyola, in 1537, echoed some of these ideas in his call for urban reform in his hometown of Azpeitia. The problem was that begging and the subsequent distribution of alms was part of the Catholic Church's traditional notion of charity. In the mid-sixteenth century a famous intellectual debate took place through a series of treatises on the issue of begging written by the Dominican Domingo de Soto, Bishop of Zamora, and the reformer Juan de Medina, a Benedictine abbot in Salamanca. Medina argued that the poor should be confined to workhouses and that begging should not be tolerated. Soto, however, argued that depriving the faithful of the opportunity to perform charity would be detrimental to their spiritual wellbeing. He also argued that the poor had done nothing

[610] Juan Luis Vives, *On Assistance to the Poor*, trans. Alice Tobriner (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, in association with the Renaissance Society of America, 1999).
[611] Gilbert Tournoy, "Towards the Roots of Social Welfare: Joan LLuís Vivès's *De subventione pauperum*," *City*, 8, 2, (2000): 266-272.

illegal and so should not be deprived of their freedom, which was allowed by natural law.[612] Ultimately, the Church concluded that it should administer poor relief.[613]

However, civil governments continued to grapple with this issue and increasingly came to see it as a problem that also needed secular solutions. What emerged was a "laicization" of poor relief whereby Spain's civic communities accepted the religious assumptions underlying the Church's poor relief efforts and often worked hand-in-hand with church officials.[614] As one scholar has pointed out, "It is virtually impossible to separate out charity as we would understand it from piety, for both went hand in hand in the attitude of the patricians to the commonwealth."[615] This certainly holds true for early modern Granada.

In early modern Spain, "hospital," for example, was a term widely used to represent institutions that cared for a varied population of people: lepers, mentally disabled, sick, poor and criminal. In Granada, as in other parts of Spain, hospitals had either secular, religious or royal origins. Many hospitals in Granada were founded, funded and administered by laypersons but all had some form of sacred space, whether a chapel in a small institution or a full-scale church in larger institutions.[616] Therefore, jurisdiction over hospitals was ambiguous. Only leper houses, established outside city walls of larger Spanish cities, received special attention from the crown. These hospitals

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[612] Domingo de Soto, *Deliberación en la causa de los pobres* (Salamanca, 1545) as noted in Callahan, "The Problem of Confinement," 4.
[613] Martz, *Poverty and Welfare in Hapsburg Spain*, 47.
[614] Abram de Swaan, *In Care of the State: Health Care, Education and Welfare in Europe and the USA in the Modern Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988); Katherine A. Lynch, *Individuals, Families and Communities in Europe, 1200-1800: The Urban Foundations of Western Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).
[615] Casey, *Family and Community*, 216.
[616] Martz, *Poverty and Welfare*, 43.

were called hospitals of San Lázaros. The crown founded many of these hospitals, such as the one in Granada. The Council of Trent attempted to disentangle the jurisdictional morass of hospitals in the Catholic world, officially classifying hospitals as "pious works" that were firmly episcopal jurisdiction and thus ecclesiastical jurisdiction.[617]

Not all of the discussion on poor relief was centered on religion and state, however. Some early modern Spanish commentators also believed that poorly distributed charity actively promoted an increase of idlers and vagrants and thus caused economic harm to the country.[618] The implication was that since a finite amount of wealth existed, according to mercantilist principles, the money being distributed to those who did not merit charity but instead, just did not care to work hurt the economy in two ways. Those who wrote on the topic argued that the money could be applied better elsewhere and that by giving the idlers and vagrants no incentive to work, the country was missing out on the earning potential of these individuals, whose participation in the economy would further stimulate economic growth.

## "Hospitals" in Early Modern Granada

Hospital Real was founded in 1501, just a few short years after the surrender of Granada, making it the first institution established to promote health among the Christian population. By 1700, there were at least seven functioning hospitals, one that

[617] Martz, *Poverty and Welfare*, 47.
[618] BN, MS 6.356, f. 244, Diego Alvarez de Bohorquez, *Discursos varios sobre la despoblación de Espana, en que se proponen algunos medios para embarazar los perjuicios que se infieren de ella, methodod de aumentar la poblacion en la Monarchia* (1753) as referenced in Moreno Rodriguez, "La Larga Historia del Confinamiento Para Remediar La Pobreza," 516-517.

served *niños desamparados* (homeless children), one that served *niños expositos* (foundlings), one that served the aged and *decrepitos* (decrepit people), and one that attended to the various needs of the poor, with the rest being general medical hospitals.[619] Forty-seven years later, the number of hospitals in Granada had doubled and four *casas de misericordia y obras pias* (houses of mercy and pious works) had been added.[620] In the middle of the eighteenth century, all hospitals in the city would be subsumed under an umbrella institution called the Real Hospicio (Royal Hospice). The following pages will explore the functions of these various institutions as well as women's roles in their founding, operations and as the recipients of their aid.

The Catholic Monarchs had founded the very first hospital in Granada, the Hospital Real (Royal Hospital) in 1501. The Hospital Real was established to treat ailments of the poor, and the mentally ill, and to take in foundlings. In 1504, the Casa de Cuna (House of the Cradle) was established to address the problem of *niños expositos* (abandoned children) in Granada. The origins of the Cuna (as it was frequently called) are obscured in the historical record and not much is mentioned of it until the eighteenth century.[621] What is clear is that though the Cuna was part of the Hospital Real, it was not an actual physical space, but instead was an intricate network and system. This system included record keeping, a cadre of wet nurses paid by the hospital, and, at least in theory, a regular schedule of check-ins by hospital administrators to ensure the

[619] UGR, MS/CJ2063-37, *Nombres de hospitales y su signifcación* (1700), 162v-163r.
[620] Archivo del Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, Leg. 37; as cited in Cortes y Peña, 323.
[621] Maria del Prado de la Fuente Galán, "Una Institución para los Niños Expósitos de Granada: La Creación de la Casa-Cuna (Siglos XVI-XVIII)," *Boletín de la Asociación de Demografía Histórica*, XVII, I (1999): 115-130, 117.

children under the protection of the hospital were healthy and progressing in an acceptable manner.

The Cuna's relationship with *niños expositos* began when babies were abandoned and brought to the hospital. Children were abandoned all over the city—in the streets and in the porticos of churches. Many of these children often met unfortunate and sad ends, dying because of exposure or being eaten by ravenous dogs.[622] Those that survived were taken to Casa de Cuna. When the Cuna received them, an administrator recorded certain details about the children such as their approximate age, and description of clothing. If the child arrived with a note, the note was transcribed into the record. In order to prevent contagion, the children were not brought directly into the hospital, but instead distributed to one of twenty-one locations where they were taken care of by *amas internas* (internal wet nurses) for three weeks. After that, the children left the *amas internas* and went to the houses of *amas externas* (external wet nurses) who raised them in exchange for a salary paid by the hospital.[623] Most of the women who served in these important roles as caregivers to these abandoned infants will remain lost to history, but a few names have survived. A head wet nurse, or *ama general*, was appointed every few years by the city council of Granada. From these records, we know that on January 3, 1614, María González was named *ama general* for the city.[624] Three years later on December 30, 1617, María de Padillo was appointed.[625] While the Hospital's mission included showing mercy to the poor, doing so provided

[622] Galán, "Una Institución para los Niños Expósitos," 119.
[623] Galán, "Una Institución para los Niños Expósitos," 119.
[624] AMG, Act. Cap. LVII. Fol. 11v-16v (1614).
[625] AMG, Act. Cap. LIX. Fol. 33v-35v (1617).

practical means to serve the greater public good. If orphans were not cared for and integrated into society, then they would likely become beggars, ruffians and prostitutes.

The Hospital Real was far from a model of a well-run, innovative house of healing for the poor. According to Juan Alfonoso Moscoso, Bishop of Guadiz who was sent to review the hospital in 1589, Hospital Real had "very good and firm walls and nothing else."[626] The royal hospital suffered from severe mismanagement, graft, and poor treatment of the patients, particularly those with mental illness. Patients in the insanity ward were deprived of clothes, beds and even food, which was often eaten by the attendants paid to serve them.[627] Though the most incriminating evidence against the hospital was most apparent in the treatment of the *"locos inocentes"* (innocent crazy people) and in the record keeping of the institution (where many important documents such as bulls, statutes and deeds were often missing), mismanagement was apparent throughout every part of the hospital. It is clear from the visitations from outside authorities as well as the later constitution of the hospital that it had been common practice for the meat meant for the patients to be sold for a profit, for bed linens and patient clothing often to be in a poor state or missing, and that the hospital staff often employed brutal tactics in their attempts to "cure" people of their ailments.[628] It is not a stretch of the imagination to think that many of the women, as well as the men, who worked in the hospital and were paid a pittance (receiving their payment only sporadically) for their work, would have been driven to supplement their incomes by

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[626] AGS, PE, leg. 27, *El obispo de Guadix sobre la visita* (1594); as cited in Martz, *Poverty and Welfare*, 52.
[627] UGR, CJAO71 fol. 436, sects. 1-156, *Constituciones del Hospital Real*, 9r-22v.
[628] UGR, CJAO71 fol. 436, sects. 1-156, *Constituciones del Hospital Real*, 9r-22v.

whatever means necessary. The women in charge of the kitchen, the *cocineras*, would have seen an easy income in pilfering meat to resell on the street.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Hospital Real attempted to address the concerns that came to light in the caustic review of conditions there by the Bishop of Guadiz. Ultimately, these improvements were encapsulated in the hospital's constitution and regulations. A recurring theme throughout the constitution was the absolute segregation of the sexes and the protection of women's honor. The female and male patients were kept in separate sections of the building and had separate entrances. Even the male and female attendants, the *enfermeros*, had to be married and could not speak to each other or to patients of the opposite sex.[629] The most explicit concern of sexual interaction expressed in the hospital's constitution was in the section discussing care in the ward for the mentally ill, the *loquero*. The hospital's goal of mercy was expressed in instructions to the attendants to be loving and gentle and to be sure that the patients in this ward were covered while in their beds to keep warm.[630] At the same time, attendants were to firmly uphold hospital regulations. For example, the instructions continued on to mandate that a female attendant sleep in the female ward with the doors locked to ensure that no female patient wandered into the male ward. The same was mandated for the male ward.[631] If a woman's honor was compromised while under the care of a hospital administrator, the fine was steep—ten ducats for the first offense, double for the second and removal from office on the third offense.[632] The concept of female honor was taken seriously in the very public space of healthcare as

[629] UGR, CJAO71 fol. 436, sects. 101-105, *Constituciones del Hospital Real*, 18r-18v.
[630] UGR, CJAO71 fol. 436, sects. 121-123, *Constituciones del Hospital Real*, 19v.
[631] UGR, CJAO71 fol. 436, sect. 124, *Constituciones del Hospital Real*, 19v.
[632] UGR, CJAO71 fol. 436, sect. 31, *Constituciones del Hospital Real*, 27v.

well as other social services such as charity, often being a factor based upon which the officials decided who would be able to receive care or alms.

One of the earliest and most influential hospitals in Granada was the one founded by Juan de Dios (John of God) in 1537, namely the Hospital of God (later called the Hospital of Saint John of God). The liberal admittance policies of this hospital set an important precedent followed by an expansive number of hospitals throughout the Catholic world for centuries after its establishment. The story of its founding provides context to understanding how the hospital was different from its peers in early modern Granada.

Juan de Dios' time in Granada did not begin smoothly. After coming to Granada from Castile, he became a peddler of religious books and items. Reports from the period record that after hearing a sermon by the itinerant preacher Juan de Àvila (John of Àvila), Juan de Dios stripped off half of his clothes, gave away all of his books and then walked through the streets of the city screaming until he was admitted to the Royal Hospital where he was flogged, according to the medical thought at the time, to drive out the evil spirits causing his insanity.[633] Eventually, Juan de Àvila helped to secure Juan de Dios' release from the hospital. Together, they laid out plans for a hospital. With help from Doña María Osorio, wife of city counselor García de Pisa, Juan de Dios obtained the necessary license and opened his hospital in 1537.[634] A contentious policy

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[633] Martz, *Poverty and Welfare*, 40.

[634] UGR, MS/CJ2063-37, *Religion de Nuestro San Juan de Dios* (1700), 166r. Interestingly, it was the Pisa family that provided Juan de Dios lodging and upon his death at the age of 55, in 1550, this family preserved the house in which he died along with all of his furniture and other belongings. Ultimately, in the nineteenth century, the Hospitaller Order of St John of God obtained this patrimony and maintain it even today as the Museo de San Juan de Dios y Casa de los Pisa.

of Juan de Dios' hospital, and one that provided a precedent for other hospitals to follow, was to admit anyone, not putting a time limit on the services provided to patients. Dios' hospital housed beggars, prostitutes, lepers, syphilitics, the old, and the insane, as well as anyone who needed temporary medical treatment.[635]

Juan de Dios had a particular interest in prostitutes and the poor.[636] His hospital was met with ambivalence both because of this and also because, unlike other hospitals at the time, Juan de Dios' hospital offered permanent as well as temporary support to those in need.[637] Some supported the hospital both financially as well as morally. Others called it "the tippling house of vagabonds and the graveyard of the poor."[638] Part of the unease that at least one cleric who was appointed an administrator at the hospital commented on was over the admittance policy: everyone was admitted. Juan de Àvila argued, "Although to you [Juan de Dios] it seems a lack of charity to throw anyone out, you are deceived, because there are times when by not offending someone, everyone loses…thus brother, sometimes it is necessary to refuse something asked of us and to remove that which is not good, for the benefit of the hospital and other things which you do not understand."[639] Juan de Àvila was not alone in his counsel towards discrimination in providing social services to those in need. Clearly, discrimination in charitable giving applied to hospitals as well as alms-giving.

Throughout the seventeenth century, the social and economic effects of mendicity, or begging, increasingly worried governments in Europe, prompting them to

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[635] UGR, MS/CJ2063-37, *Religion de Nuestro San Juan de Dios* (1700), 163r-167r.
[636] Martz, *Poverty and Welfare*, 40-41.
[637] Martz, *Poverty and Welfare*, 65.
[638] AGS, PE, leg. 39: Report of the Granada Hospitals, as cited in Martz, *Poverty and Welfare*, 41.
[639] Martz, *Poverty and Welfare*, 42.

organize more comprehensive schemas of poor relief, usually by confining the poor in workhouses.[640] These workhouses were known as *casas de misericordia* (houses of mercy). These *casas*, usually established through a partnership between the Church and the municipal authorities, were chronically under-funded, few in number, and not very effective.[641] The Protestant Reformation had attempted to end what reformers considered the crude notion of alms-giving. Certainly the wealthy were still expected to give alms, but in Protestant areas, it was now also expected that charity would be rationally organized. Though the Protestant Reformation had failed to make substantial in-roads into Spain, the same train of thought regarding the poor did seep into the Spanish consciousness. It is clear that throughout the seventeenth century, Spain struggled to impose a more efficient system of dealing with the poor, if not with the root causes of poverty. By the seventeenth century in Spain, a distinction had already increasingly begun to be drawn between the 'deserving' and the 'undeserving' poor; this would be crucial in the process of rationalizing charity. It was increasingly felt that alms should not be distributed at random, but instead be directed to specific ends, and these ends should serve the good of the state.

For women the concept of honor, which was tied to their real or perceived sexual behavior, figured into whether they were considered "deserving" or "undeserving". If deemed deserving, they could receive aid. If women were deemed as undeserving, they received only scorn. As Gabriel de Maqueda, a Granadan theologian, wrote in 1622, "As chastity is the highest excellence and praise of women, and them who are endowed with this virtue will have their glories, their victories and triumphs; because by it they are

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[640] Callahan, "The Problem of Confinement," 4.
[641] Callahan, "The Problem of Confinement," 5.

esteemed, praised, magnified and illustrated in immortal name." According to this view, women who were chaste were honorable. Maqueda goes on to write, however, that women who were unchaste were "the greater ignominy and shame" through their "public dishonesty and stupidity; and those that are disabled by this contagion, by beautiful, rich and noble they may be, all their beauty is ugliness, all their wealth is poverty, all their nobility and honor is humility."[642] Poor women were given some latitude, it seems, however. In early modern Granada, as indicated in the records of the Royal Hospice, women were often seen as belonging to the "deserving poor", but the state gave no specific preferential treatment in poor relief to women, presumably because women were thought to be under the economic protection of husbands or families.

Though the issue of who was "deserving" and "undeserving" of charitable assistance was never unambiguously solved, Juan de Dios' experiment in sixteenth-century Granada provided a precedent for unqualified aid to all who needed, including beggars and prostitutes. This precedent would have far-reaching effects. What Juan de Dios' started in Granada expanded to Madrid and other parts of Spain following his death. In 1552, a hospital modeled after the one in Granada was founded in Madrid. Later, similar hospitals were founded in Montilla, Lucena, Seville, Jerez de la Frontera, and Córdoba.[643]

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[642] UGR, BHR/A 31-258 (11), Padre Fray Gabriel de Maqueda de la Sagrada Religión de Penitencia, "Invectiva en forma de discurso, contra el uso de las casas públicas de las mujeres rameras" (1622), 4r. "Como sea la castidad la mayor excelencia y alabanza de las mujeres, y las que son dotadas de esta virtud en ella tengan sus glorias, sus victorias y triunfos; pues por ella son estimadas, alabadas, engrandecidas y con inmortal nombre ilustradas: y por el contrario, la mayor ignominia y afrenta que pueden tener, sea la deshonestidad y torpeza pública; y las que son lisiadas de este contagio, por hermosas, ricas y nobles que sean, toda su hermosura es fealdad, toda su riqueza es pobreza, toda su nobleza y gloria es abatimiento."
[643] Martz, *Poverty and Welfare*, 42.

Juan de Dios ultimately founded an order known as the Brothers Hospitallers.[644] In 1611, the brothers were permanently elevated to the status of a religious order despite strenuous objections from prelates (that ranged from the admittance policies and from the economic benefits they were receiving from other hospitals) in Granada and Valladolid. In 1630, Juan de Dios was beatified and in 1690, he was canonized.[645] The seventeenth century was a century that saw the expansion of the Brothers Hospitallers mission throughout Castile and also throughout the Catholic world, including France, Austria, Poland and the New World.[646]

## A New Enlightened Platform?

The two largest impetuses for rationalizing charity in Spain were the Crown's attempts at revitalizing the economy and its struggle to diminish the power of the Church as it consolidated its own national power. The change of dynasties in the eighteenth century, from Habsburg to Bourbon, brought a renewed interest in poor relief and a renewed struggle over jurisdiction with the Catholic Church. The Bourbon monarchs, particularly Carlos III, began a concerted effort to reduce the power of the clergy on both sides of the Atlantic. This brought repeated conflicts between the Crown and the clergy. As a result of the Bourbons' desire to expand royal authority and to improve the efficiency of state institutions, combined with the urban upheavals epitomized in the Motín de Esquilache (1766), a series of riots in Madrid over the high cost of bread and other food staples, a new platform for action was developed to tackle

[644] Martz, *Poverty and Welfare*, 43.
[645] UGR, MS/CJ2063-37, *Religion de Nuestro San Juan de Dios* (1700), 163r-167r, 164v.
[646] Martz, *Poverty and Welfare*, 43.

the problem of poverty in Spain.[647] Not yet willing to challenge the Church's traditional jurisdiction over this matter, and attentive to the fiscal realities that dictated the need for a partnership between the Church and the Crown, the Crown focused its efforts on ending what officials considered indiscriminate almsgiving, prohibiting begging (unless the beggar was fortunate enough to be licensed to beg by the state), and confining the poor in workhouses. Spain was unique in the degree to which the state and the Church ultimately banded together to promote poor relief as well as other Enlightenment projects.[648]

This partnership would ultimately result in the establishment of workhouses. The Crown preferred that able-bodied people work rather than be confined in institutions. If these able-bodied people chose not to work, however, the Crown preferred confinement to vagrancy. This was not the first time such measures had been proposed. In 1717, 1718, and 1751, almost identical measures were recommended, except for the confinement into workhouses.[649] In Madrid in 1787, a royal order was issued that demanded that the city's unemployed find work within fifteen days or leave the city. If at the end of those fifteen days the mendicants were still in the city and still unemployed, they were to be conscripted into Spain's army and navy if fit for military service, and if

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[647] The Jesuits were ultimately blamed for this insurrection against Charles III's reign. As a result, the king expelled the Jesuits from all Spanish lands and confiscated their possessions. For more on this, see Julián José Lozano Navarro, "El Expediente de Incautación de Temporalidades del Colegio de San Luis Gonzaga de Motril: Los Libros de los Jesuitas de un Colegio del Reino de Granada en 1767," *Chronica Nova*, 27 (2000): 285-304.

[648] Callahan, "The Problem of Confinement," 23.

[649] AMG, 1717 *Expedientes sobre leva de vagabundos y holgazanes con destino a los ejercito de mar y tierra*, Legajo 593; AMG 1718 *Visitas que se hacen por el Sr. Corregidor de los presos vagabundos y desertores,* Legajo 593; UGR, BHR/A-032-328, Marques de Ensenada, *Ordenanzas aprobadas por S.M para el regimen, y govierno del Hospicio y Hospital Real de Huerfanos, Expositos Desamparados, que de su Orden, y baxo su patronato, y proteccion se ha empezado a erigir en la ciudad de Oviedo capital del Principado de Asturias*, 1752.

not, to be placed into a workhouse.[650] The 1787 royal order was unique because of its proposal to confine the poor in workhouses. It set a precedent and by 1798, workhouses proliferated throughout Spain, including Granada, making them a viable alternative to vagrancy. The ultimate aim was to eliminate poverty, which had hitherto been taken as a fact of life, by training the poor to work.

The Enlightenment, with its focus on reason and individualism, did make its way to Granada and found its expression in a number of different types of organizations.[651] Sometimes called academies, associations, or societies, these organizations generally began as forms of literary, scientific, or art patronage. At the heart of these patriotic associations was education. Through education, associations would have the power, it was presumed, to transform economic practices and subsequently raise Spain to glory. For them, economy meant *patria*.

Through the course of this century, however these organizations became increasingly utilitarian. The philosopher became the reformer. Reading societies in vogue during the early part of the century gradually died off, while scientific academies progressively developed more concern with the practical applications of their science.[652] Under this glow of utilitarianism grew specific societies meant to deal practically with the social and economic woes of their day. Foregrounding public welfare, societies explored and promoted initiatives dealing with issues as diverse as poor law administration to

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[650] Libro VII, titulo XXXIX, ley XIX, *Novisima recopilacion*, III, 710-711, as noted in Callahan, "The Problem of Confinement," 12.

[651] UGR, BHR/C-103-006 (14), Sociedad Economica de amigos del Pais de Granada, *Distribucion de premios entre los profesores, y discipulos de la Escuela de Diseno, hecho en el ano de 1781 por la Real Sociedad Economica de Granada,* Por D. Antonio de Zea, Impressor de la Sociedad (1781).

[652] Ulrich Im Hof, *The Enlightenment* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997), 177. See also Theresa Ann Smith, *The Emerging Female Citizen: Gender and Enlightenment in Spain* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006).

agrarian reform. These charitable associations' aim was to contribute to the reform of existing cultural, social or economic conditions. The most prominent of these organizations in Granada was the *Sociedad Económica de Amigos del Pais de Granada* (Granadan Economic Society of the Friends of the Country), a branch of the same organization in Madrid. A second expression of the Enlightenment zeal in Granada is found in the establishment of the Real Hospicio (Royal Hospice).

**The Royal Hospice**

One Enlightened royal minister, the Marqués de la Ensenada,[653] believed that the poor must come to see work as a patriotic é project that would elevate Spain to its former glory. Toward this end, in 1752 the Marqus began a treatise on the origins of Spain's moral "ailments," and why they necessitated the building of workhouses. He based his theories on a model workhouse he had built in Oviedo. He pinpointed three moral problems in particular: fake mendicity, the lack of true discipline, and depopulation (a direct consequence of the preceding two problems). His remedy? A royal hospice, or workhouse. He explained the need for the workhouse in terms of reciprocal obligation. On the one hand, he argued that the state should create the circumstances necessary to alleviate poverty—to "denaturalize poverty"—and to provide the opportunity for people to be "blissful." On the other hand, he simultaneously challenged the poor to rise to "a kind of heroism" and lift themselves from their

[653] Don Zenón de Somodevilla, best known by his title, the Marqués de Ensenada, was born in Logroño, in northern Spain. Somodevilla began his professional career as a naval clerk and rose to be a great statesman in Spain, ultimately earning himself the title of Marqués in 1736 and becoming the Secretary of State and War in 1742. Due to his pro-French and anti-British views which caused political strife at court, Ensenada was banished to Granada in 1754.

poverty.[654] He argued that though some might mistakenly call the poverty-stricken "*escorias de la república*", or scum of the republic, "pure gold" could be extracted from them with which to enrich and adorn the Spanish realm.[655]

The royal hospice, according to Ensenada, would guard against the three ills of Spain and would encourage industry among Spain's workers. His first proposition was to rectify the distribution and management of charity. The Marqués lamented the enormous sums of money needed to maintain an indigent population and ordered that these people be rounded up and directed upon a new path. The fraudulent poor could be recognized and separated from the virtuous poor and charity dispensed accordingly. Ensenada's grievance was not only with the subterfuge and cost of the fraudulent poor, but with the lack of moral discipline of the virtuous poor. Arguing that the current method of charity only cared for the body, he made a case for the maintenance of the soul of the poor. In this, he foreshadowed or perhaps even laid the basis for the intense efforts at reforming the morals of the poor later undertaken in Spain in the nineteenth century.[656] Ensenada wrote: "they live without law, without diocese, without parish priest, and without justice that curbs them." As a result, those who cast eyes upon the poor were

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[654] UGR, BHR/A-032-328, Marqués de Ensenada, *Ordenanzas aprobadas por S.M para el regimen, y govierno del Hospicio y Hospital Real de Huerfanos, Expósitos Desamparados, que de su Orden, y baxo su patronato, y proteccion se ha empezado a erigir en la ciudad de Oviedo capital del Principado de Asturias*, 1752, 3r-3v. "Leyes són para el govierno de Personas miserables, à quienes quiere redimir el amor V.M. de la Cadena de la infelicidad; y con solo un golpe de magnificiencia ha obrado V.M. dos prodigios; uno el de desnaturalizar la pobreza, haciéndola dichosa; y el otro, elevando a una especie de heroicidad…."

[655] UGR, BHR/A-032-328, Marqués de Ensenada, *Ordenanzas*, 4r. "Alguno pudiera a darlas ese nombre, pero sería equivocando los oficios del discurso, y de la mano, porque no es obra de tan baja essera la que se dirige à organizar un cuerpo politico, que, aunque se componga de escorias de la republica, se empieza à fundir para sacar oro acendrado con que enriquecer, y adornar el estimable agregado de la Monarquia."

[656] Adrian Shubert, "Charity Properly Understood: Changing Ideas About Poor Relief in Liberal Spain," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 33, 1 (Jan. 1991): 36-55.

"blind with pity for the ungodliness of their situation" or attempted to castigate them believing they needed evangelical correction.[657]

Ensenada concluded that, thus far, those who had attempted to address the situation of poverty in Spain had failed to unite the spirit of the two virtues of charity and justice. Only by uniting these two virtues could the problem be remedied. The poor must be taught to be productive and then integrated back into the Spanish socioeconomic system. Only then would charity serve justice and, hence, the republic. To enlightened Spanish thinkers like the Marqués, the perfect Christian was the perfect citizen.[658] To this end, it was felt that Christian doctrine and Christian morality must be integrated into the training received in workhouses. Consequently, the Royal Hospice's goal was not just to transform the poor into productive members of society; implicitly, it was also attempting to create a better citizen for the republic.

According to Ensenada, the expulsion of the Jews centuries earlier, that of the Moriscos, the conquest of the Indies, all of which commanded praise in his estimation, and fake beggars had all led to the depopulation of Spain. Ensenada recalled how in the previous century Spain had been the terror, the envy and the object of admiration throughout Europe. The first three causes of depopulation he mentioned were noble in his mind. After all, Spain had purified and extended the Christian religion and given the gift of the Catholic faith. Further, in Ensenada's view the Spanish had created a new civilization where one had not been, based on the Catholic religion and Spanish culture.

[657] UGR, BHR/A-032-328, Ensenada, *Ordenanzas,* 9.
[658] UGR, BHR/A-031-270 (2), Real Sociedad Patriotica de Granada, *La Real Sociedad Patriótica de Granada, que comprometida por su instituto en mejorar las manufacturas, no halló desde luego otro medio mas util al logro de sus designios, que el fomentar el dibuxo, y con el las nobles Artes* (Granada: Real Colegio Mayor Reunido de Santa Cruz y Santa Catalina de Granada, 1791), 25.

Though these events had caused the diminishing of the Spanish population on the peninsula, Spain could suffer these "wounds" with pride.[659] The Marqués took exception, however, to vagabonds and the wandering poor, and so made a case for containment. Ensenada was determined to turn Spain's ills into national assets by making hard work equate to love for one's country.

Ensenada anticipated a violent reaction against the forced enclosure of beggars, which fellow Enlightenment thinkers might see as a limiting of their free will and the rights entitled to all men. He argued that those who reacted so confused liberty with libertinism, natural ability with illicit license, and freedom of action with laxity of conduct.[660] The idea of enclosing those people deemed socially undesirable was, however, not a new one in Spain. Such measures had been proposed in the Cortes Generales in 1523, 1525, 1540, 1545, and 1548.[661] According to Ensenada, these proposals had been gathered and summarized in a law which had clearly set out the idea for a workhouse such as the one later proposed by him.[662] The Marques was aware of this precedent and thought it admirable, but puzzled over the fact that the idea never matured nor was ever put into effect.

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[659] UGR, BHR/A-031-270 (2), Ensenada, *Ordenanzas*, 10v-11r.
[660] UGR, BHR/A-031-270 (2), Ensenada, *Ordenanzas*, 9v.
[661] UGR, BHR/A-031-270 (2), Ensenada, *Ordenanzas*, 9v.
[662] UGR, BHR/A-031-270 (2), Ensenada, *Ordenanzas*, 10r. The law was *19 tit.12 Libro I de la Recopilacion.*

**Systemized Poor Relief: The Real Hospicio**

On March 13, 1753, Ensenada's plan was indeed finally realized when a royal order called for the grouping together of all health and social service centers in all major cities throughout Spain, including Granada, under an umbrella institution called the Real Hospicio.[663] The plan represented in the royal order was based on Ensenada's model hospice in Oviedo. The explanation and justification of the plan held true to the principles of mercantilism.

The centralization of Granada's centers of health and charitable assistance in the eighteenth century through the Hospital Real made for more efficient administration and use of funds, and increased results. An examination of the *Libro de Asientos*, the institution's entrance and exit files, reveals the utility of the Real Hospicio in aiding those in precarious situations of one kind or another: poor, sick, insane, or orphaned. The virtuous poor and mere idlers needed to be separated so those who could not work, received assistance and those who could, were forced to do so. Idlers could then be encouraged to leave their idleness and become productive citizens and active participants in the economy. In an effort to keep the city free of the itinerant poor, thirty soldiers were assigned the task of patrolling the city day and night to root out and apprehend vagrants and beggars.[664] As early as the sixteenth century, Granada had had an Alguacil de Vagabundos (Sheriff of Vagabonds).[665] However, anyone who found themselves destitute in eighteenth-century Granada could petition of their own free will for entrance into the poorhouse, a division of the Real Hospicio. Granada

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[663] Peña and Vincent, *Historia de Granada,* 323.
[664] UGR, 1756 *Ordenanzas y Constitución del Real Hospital,* cap. 2, sec. 28.
[665] AMG, 11.5.39/40 tit. 120 fol. 241, *Ordenanzas de Granada* (1678).

officials preferred enclosure to having a proliferation of beggars on the city's streets. In the center of it all was the Hospital Real, the organizational heart of the Royal Hospice.[666] Essentially, the Royal Hospice was situated between the development of an enlightened theory on the moral and productive value of work and the failure of Christian charity to conform to new cultural coordinates.[667] The equation was simple: assistance in exchange for work.

In the Real Hospicio, the transient, or traveling poor, who found themselves reduced to begging, received help for three days with regular rations and were obligated to leave after that time. The "true poor" who petitioned the Chancellery for help were to be examined by the Juez de Hospicio (Judge of the Hospital), who would ascertain their true need and subsequently determine the number of days and rations the person would receive from the hospital. If, however, a person lived within the geographic boundaries of the Archbishopric of Granada, all that was necessary for entrance was written testimony by the parish priest testifying to the person's poverty and need. The only stipulation was that the person did not beg or ask anything of the citizens of Granada upon their arrival to the city. Ultimately, no distinction or prohibition was placed upon a person's origin or nationality; the only requirement was that a person was honest, yet poor---thus making them worthy of charity.

[666] The Real Hospicio was an umbrella institution under which most all other institutions/hospitals that catered to the well-being of the people of Granada were grouped in order to be regulated and administered in systematic, efficient ways and, more or less, in one centralized place.
[667] Moreno Rodriguez, "El hospicio de general de pobres de Granada".

In terms of admittance to the Royal Hospice, there was also no distinction made by the officials to sex or age, as long as admittees were honest and had referrals.[668] The only people who were regularly turned away were those who were married and had been living with their spouse, but whose spouse was not with them. City officials justified this policy by stating that there was “no legitimate cause” to admit the person. By doing so, the city would be implicitly helping the person separate from the conjugal bonds.[669] The numbers of married persons minus their spouses who were registered at the institution suggests that this was a flexible rule, or perhaps it was disregarded completely. People who had disabilities—blindness and "incompetence," for instance—were only admitted if they had sought cures in medical hospitals first. If the cures failed, they were allowed admittance into the hospice. City officials had a deep concern for those who could not help themselves. Topping this list of Granada’s most vulnerable population were those “lost” boys and girls who wandered aimlessly about the streets, plazas, and hung around the bread ovens looking for scraps.[670]

Because single women and poor women were often conflated with prostitutes, this requirement was not clear-cut.[671] Early in the seventeenth century a crusade had been launched against prostitutes and the public houses in which they plied their trade. Granadan clerics had been at the forefront of this crusade, contending that their city in particular needed to be rid of this moral plague. In 1538, Charles V had instituted certain regulations regarding brothels in Granada because of the immense disorder he had

[668] UGR, *Ordenanzas y Constitucion del Real Hospital,* cap. 2.
[669] UGR, *Ordenanzas y Constitución del Real Hospital,* cap. 2, sec. 24.
[670] UGR, *Ordenanzas y Constitución del Real Hospital,* cap. 2, sec. 23.
[671] See, for example, Mary Perry, *Gender and Disorder in Early Modern Seville* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990) and *Crime and Society in Early Modern Seville* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1980); Monica Chojnacka, *Working Women of Early Modern Venice* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001).

supposedly witnessed there, including the maltreatment of and excessive prices charged the women for room and board. His paternalistic regulations had spelled out the obligations due the women by their Padres and Madres.[672] Not a hundred years later however, prostitutes were viewed no longer as objects of paternalistic benevolence, but rather as the breeding ground for the sin of all sins—sodomy. Citing St. Paul, one particular treatise argued that *malas mujeres* (bad women) were the "*maestras*" ("teachers") and the public houses the "*escuelas del pecado nefando*" ("schools of the nefarious sin") and that together they recruit many disciples who then practice this nefarious sin--sodomy. It must be pointed out that the fear of sodomy was not the only impetus for denouncing prostitution, as economics, misogyny, and political decline figured into the discourses as well.[673] However, the rhetoric of sodomy was a significant one.

### Orphans and Foundlings as an Untapped National Resource

As mentioned previously, Granadan officials had been dealing with the issue of orphans and foundlings since the Reconquest. By the eighteenth century, the problem of abandoned children was still a perplexing problem for the city. In 1754 all of the 21

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[672] UGR, A-31-267 (2), Información Breve, Dirigida ala Catolica Real Magestad del Rey don Felipe Quarto nuestro senor, para que mande quitar de Granada la casa publica de las malas mugeres. Dispues ay Ordenad Por Gerónimo Velázquez natural de la ciudad de Granada, y Prefecto de la Congregación del Espíritu Santo, que esta fundada en el Colegio de la Compañía de Jesús de la dicha ciudad (Granada, En Casa de Bartolomé de Lorençana y Ureña, en la calle del pan, 1621), 2-5.

[673] UGR, A-31-267 (2), Información Breve, Dirigida ala Catolica Real Magestad del Rey don Felipe Quarto nuestro senor, para que mande quitar de Granada la casa publica de las malas mugeres. Dispuest ay Ordenad Por Gerónimo Velázquez natural de la ciudad de Granada, y Prefecto de la Congregación del Espíritu Santo, que esta fundada en el Colegio de la Compañía de Jesús de la dicha ciudad (Granada, En Casa de Bartolomé de Lorençana y Ureña, en la calle del pan, 1621), 2-5.

foundling locations where *amas criadas* (wet nurses) had taken care of abandoned babies since the sixteenth century were to be consolidated under one roof in order to systemize the care and, later, education of these children.[674] The Casa de Cuna came under the institutional umbrella of the Real Hospicio. To that end, a house next to the Real Hospicio was purchased and then converted into the new Casa de Cuna. It had rooms for the children, service areas such as the kitchen and laundry, as well as rooms for the wet nurses and other women who attended the children. It was the official place for all these children. It also had a *torno*, or "public box," installed at its entrance for people to anonymously leave babies.[675] By 1765, the Cuna was receiving too many abandoned children to house.[676] So, in 1770, the Real Hospicio bought a larger house on Elvira Street to accommodate more children.[677]

Prioritizing the problem of orphans as one of the most important in eighteenth-century Spanish society, Ensenada had recommended that orphans and foundlings be rounded up and raised with "robustness," encouraging them to marry and help repopulate Spain.[678] This remedy, he felt, was the only one established by "providence and provided by nature."[679] Early modern Spaniards drew a definitional distinction between "foundlings" and "orphans". They considered foundlings to be those infants or small children abandoned by their parents, often at the doorsteps of hospitals or parish churches. Orphans, in contrast, were understood to be those children from poor families

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[674] Galán, "Una Institución para los Niños Expósitos de Granada," 121.
[675] Galán, "Una Institución para los Niños Expósitos de Granada," 121.
[676] Galán, "Una Institución para los Niños Expósitos de Granada," 122.
[677] Galán, "Una Institución para los Niños Expósitos de Granada," 122.
[678] UGR, BHR/A-031-270 (2), Ensenada, *Ordenanzas*, 7. Interestingly, Ensenada never addresses the possibility of illegitimacy among the foundlings and orphans, nor what effect that status may have had on marriage possibilities.
[679] UGR, BHR/A-031-270 (2), Ensenada, *Ordenanzas*, 7

who had more than four children (the eldest not over 15 years of age), or who lacked a father or a mother, or who had a mother unable to provide for the child. A child who lacked a mother but had a father who was past the age of seventy or had a disability was also considered an orphan.[680] The key to defining a child as an orphan was the inability of the parents to care adequately for the child. Abandoning one's child at birth, as a foundling, was one method by which parents, often women, coped with poverty or disgrace due to a child's illegitimacy.[681]

The practice of abandonment was certainly not a creation of the early modern period. In the ancient world and the early Middle Ages, unwanted children were frequently and casually abandoned and then just as unceremoniously gathered up and reared by strangers.[682] From the Middle Ages up until approximately 1750, heightened interest in children gradually made abandonment seem increasingly disgraceful. However, the difficult economic realities of the period and the focused efforts of the Counter Reformation to police morality (and thus illegitimacy) kept the practice alive.

Authorities seeking a solution had found one in the establishment of foundling hospitals, as early as 1501 in Granada. This kept the problem out of the public eye. Beginning around 1750, when economic changes forced many more poor families to abandon their children, foundling homes underwent a transformation into institutions that resembled pediatric hospitals.[683] For example, in Madrid prior to 1750, the majority of the children left at the foundling home were illegitimate. After 1750, that was no

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[680] UGR, BHR/A-031-270 (2), Ensenada, *Ordenanzas*, 14.
[681] Joan Sherwood, *Poverty in Eighteenth Century Spain: The Women and Children of the Inclusa* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 98. The Inclusa was Madrid's foundling hospital.
[682] John Boswell, *The Kindness of Strangers*: *The Abandonment of Children in Western Europe from Late Antiquity to the Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).
[683] Sherwood, *Poverty in Eighteenth Century Spain*, 150-173.

longer the case; rather the majority of children left there were legitimate and had simply been abandoned by parents unable to support them in a period of rising prices and lagging wages. This crisis coincided with the rise of the Madrid Royal Economic Society and became the focus of the Society's women's auxiliary which then turned it into a medical hospital for children.[684] Though this last phase of evolution did not occur in Granada in the eighteenth century, the hospice in Granada was inundated with pauper children seeking asylum. A baptismal certificate accompanied the majority of these children upon their entrance to the institution. This indicates that their parents had placed them in the institution due to poverty rather than the shame of illegitimacy, and certainly not due to any desire to abandon them completely.[685]

The futures of institutionalized children in Granada were uncertain. Often children were placed in homes outside of the institution as early as the age of six. For instance, female spinners who were childless would often bring in orphans frequently referred to as *hijas de la Cuna* (daughters of the Cradle) or *hijas de la Piedra* (daughters of the Rock) to aid in their work. Such was the case with eighteen-year-old Josepha Romero, respectably single and a spinner. She maintained Manuela Romero, her fifteen-year-old sister and Manuela Rosa, an eight-year-old *hija de la Cuna*. Her neighbor María Griñón, a fifty-year-old widow and spinner, did the same. At least for the parish of Angustias, spinners and dressmakers were the most likely to bring in orphans to aid in work and they were always female.[686]

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[684] Sherwood, *Poverty in Eighteenth Century Spain*, 156. For more on women's auxillary societies in eighteenth century Spain, see Elena Serrano, "Chemistry in the City: The Scientific Role of Female Societies in Late Eighteenth-Century Madrid," *Ambix*, 60, 2 (May 2013): 139-153.
[685] Moreno Rodriguez, "El hospicio general de pobres de Granada," 10.
[686] AMG, Catastro del Marqués de la Ensenada, Rollo 224.

Both national legislation and local initiatives demonstrated the intent to train and employ poor children. Like so much of poor relief, these programs reflected genuine moral concerns as well as inescapable fiscal realities: if children would stop begging and instead learn a productive trade, both individual children and the community at large would benefit. First, it was thought necessary to round up this category of people and give them a Christian education. Though abandoned children had been attended to by municipal authorities in Granada since just a few short years after the Christian conquest of the city, Ensenada believed that too many orphans and foundlings were lost in Spain, as a whole, to a lack of mercy that manifested in a lack of thorough attention to their plight.[687] Of one hundred of these orphans and foundlings, ninety of them Ensenada estimated "lost" due to an absence of moral discipline. Without moral oversight, these lost children would give in to their corrupt nature and breed disorders that would ultimately lead to mortal jeopardy, thus contributing to nationwide disorder.[688]

In the Hospicio in Granada, the orphaned children received moral and trade education. In the case of little orphaned girls, responsibility for their education fell to eight *beatas* of the convent of Santa María de Egipcíaca, a convent of reformed prostitutes.[689] The senior members of the convent, the Madres Beatas (Mother Beatas), had never been prostitutes and these women were to be the tutors of orphan girls. The other *beatas*, who had previously been prostitutes, spent their time trying to convert prostitutes in the city's jail, housed next to the Casa de Cuna and the convent, within the

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[687] UGR, BHR/A-031-270(2), Ensenada, *Ordenanzas*, 14.
[688] UGR, BHR/A-031-270(2), Ensenada, *Ordenanzas*, 10-11.
[689] UGR, BHR/A-031-270(2), Ensenada, *Ordenanzas*, 218-219.

Real Hospicio complex.[690] The girls from the Cuna could stay there as long as they wanted. Once they reached the appropriate age, they could aslo choose to enter the convent or to marry. Benefactors, such as Francisca de Palacios, provided dowries for either path.[691]

As an example of the benefits of such a coordinated program, Ensenada figured that under the care of the Hospicio at least one hundred out of every four hundred orphans would marry each year. Marriage equated to social and economic stability for Ensenada. According to his calculations, multiplying those one hundred marriages with the first and second rounds of resulting offspring with the successive yearly marriages and resulting offspring, the total number increased until infinity. This prodigious fecundity was the "sacred key" that would successfully repopulate Spain. [692]

**Women as Control Group**

Under the umbrella institution of the Royal Hospice, the workhouse in Granada was run in tandem with the city's poorhouse, which was housed alongside the leper hospital, the mental hospital, an orphanage, the women's jail, and the convent for repentant prostitutes, all of which had existed previously, but were now subsumed under the Royal Hospice. All these institutions were located in the same building

[690] UGR, BHR/A-031-270(2), Ensenada, *Ordenanzas*, 198-235.
[691] ADG, C05519006, 0.4.1.4.11 Francisca de Palacios, *Fundación del patronato para Casar Huerfanas* (1649-1719).
[692] UGR, BHR/A-031-270(2), Ensenada, *Ordenanzas*, 10-11.

complex, but were in distinct and separate spaces.[693] The nature of these spatial relationships reveals the practice of social control. Within the institution, each living body needed to occupy a particular space. In so doing, individuals can be seen as being forced to submit to "laws of discrimination" which were intended to establish control and order.[694] Inside the hospice, the three different classes of people (men, women, and children) were kept separate from one another, so that there was "no confusion."[695] These structural divisions in the hospice effectively perpetuated gender differences. Men and women were assigned to different institutions and had no sanctioned interaction with one another. In fact, institution officials tried their best to keep the men and women from even seeing each other.[696] Women lived in a separate part of the complex, attended Mass and ate at different times and places from men.[697] Both were taught and forced to work at tasks defined by the traditional sexual division of labor.[698]

In practical terms, the hospice became the guardian of female honor. Women were classified according to "virtue," and those found lacking were separated from children.[699] Those deemed suitable were required to fulfill what was thought to be one of their God-given roles, to mother. Accordingly, the orphanage for little girls was housed within the same building as the women's jail, situated next to the Beaterio de Santa

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[693] UGR, BHR/A-031-242(3), *Ordenanzas y Constitución del Real Hospicio General de Pobre, y De Los Seminarios, y Agregados Establecidos en la Ciudad de Granada, Manadadas Guardar por Real Orden de S.M.de 10 de agosto de 1756, Formadas por la Junta General de Hospicio,* (1756), cap. 2.
[694] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1991), 170.
[695] UGR, BHR/A-031-242(3), *Ordenanzas y Constitución del Real Hospicio,* cap. 3, sec. 32. "Mediante los inconvenientes, y perjuicios, que se pueden seguir de la confusion, en una Casa, que se compone de tan diferentes classes de personas, se pondra el mayor cuydado en que se mantenga una total separacion de cada una de las habitaciones de modo, que esten con total independencia hombres, mugeres, y Niños, con sus entradas, y salidas distintas, y con las oficinas, y servidumbres correspondientes a cada apartamento, y del modo que se ha establecido, y es en la forma siguiente."
[696] UGR, BHR/A-031-242(3), *Ordenanzas y Constitución del Real Hospicio,* cap. 3, sec. 32.
[697] UGR, BHR/A-031-242(3), *Ordenanzas y Constitución del Real Hospicio,* cap. 4, sec. 47.
[698] UGR, BHR/A-031-242(3), *Ordenanzas y Constitución del Real Hospicio*, cap. 16.
[699] UGR, BHR/A-031-242(3), *Ordenanzas y Constitución del Real Hospicio,* cap. 3, sec. 37.

María Egipciaca, a place for reformed prostitutes.[700] Presumably it was better that the children be around once flawed, yet repentant, women than to be exposed to men whose potential for vice was apparently thought to be greater.

The Royal Hospice thus functioned as a depository for many different marginalized elements in Granadan society. The one exception was for those, who it was felt, could do the most harm—those male prisoners who had been convicted of crimes---who were kept in a separate jail in another part of the city. Some of those were to be pitied. Others were to be taught a lesson. Literally.

The institutional rules of the Hospicio Real stated that those who were admitted needed to earn their keep, so to speak, as it only operated on funds donated by religious organizations and private individuals—not, despite its name, the state. The state furnished the structure and the administration, but funds had to be generated elsewhere. Generally, congregations set up a 'poor box' in the church to collect donations. Inside the hospice, women washed clothes, cared for the children, and worked in the kitchen. All women were to spin wool, hemp, and linen, according to what was necessary for their own provisioning and that of the institution. What was left after the hospice was provisioned was sold in the hospice's public store.[701] Following Vives two centuries earlier, officials required those impoverished men who had a trade to practice it; those who had none were to be taught one that matched their inclination and talent. Hence the institution had numerous specialized workshops and the aforementioned public store in which to place goods. The goods were sold at a fixed

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[700] UGR, BHR/A-031-242(3), *Ordenanzas y Constitución del Real Hospicio,* cap. 3, secs. 43, 47.
[701] UGR, BHR/A-031-242(3), *Ordenanzas y Constitución del Real Hospicio,* cap. 20, sec. 325.

price in order to be of utility to the public, and the profits went to sustaining the hospice. All extra goods were placed in a warehouse for distribution and sale at a later date.[702]

Most of the boys were destined for work in manufacturing fabrics—wool, hemp and linen—and so were taught to work lathes and looms. The primary goal behind this was to teach them a trade that would sustain them and also serve the greater good of the republic by contributing to a hoped-for economic surge.[703] All poor men who had been journeymen or masters of a trade were assigned a number of these boys to teach and direct.[704] When the boys advanced to the appropriate level, they were placed as apprentices or, if older and more advanced, they would take the journeyman's exam. Meanwhile, the youths earned a salary that they were able to keep after living expenses were deducted. If a beneficiary of this male vocational training chose to leave the hospice, he still remained indebted to the place, if only in death. For example, if a man who had become a master or journeyman in the institution, but chose to leave and work outside of it, died without direct descendants, the hospice received one-third of his goods. If he left, worked, married, and died without direct descendants, but left behind a widow, she immediately received a quarter of his goods. Further examination by officials into the widow's circumstances could permit her to receive all of his goods at some point.[705] What sort of circumstances would allow her to enjoy, or bar her from the enjoyment of all of his estate, were never specified.

Essentially, the same rules applied to women, as long as they confined themselves to activities considered appropriate to their sex. Women's work in the

[702] UGR, BHR/A-031-242(3), *Ordenanzas y Constitución del Real Hospicio,* cap. 18, secs. 322, 326.
[703] UGR, BHR/A-031-242(3), *Ordenanzas y Constitución del Real Hospicio,* cap. 16, sec. 266.
[704] UGR, BHR/A-031-242(3), *Ordenanzas y Constitución del Real Hospicio,* cap. 18, sec. 284.
[705] UGR, BHR/A-031-242(3), *Ordenanzas y Constitución del Real Hospicio,* cap. 22.

institution was without exception an extension of traditional female work. They were to care for the children, wash clothes, cook, and help in their own government. A specified number of competent women and girls were to occupy themselves with the making of stockings and footwear in order to help pay for the expenses incurred by the hospice, and in return for the instruction the hospice provided them.[706] Usually, girls began with the easiest tasks such as belt-making, hosiery, knitting, patterns, hemstitching, and sewing, and then moved on to more difficult tasks such as embroidery and lace-making. Girls moved onto other tasks as well if they proved talented enough. Upon approval from the teacher, girls made tassels, pockets, homemade ribbons of yarn or silk, braids and all kinds of ribbons.[707] In the city of Oviedo, where Ensenada had set up his model hospice, the women were also to be employed in linen works, making tablecloths and quilts. This may have been a reflection of the needs of the regional markets. Regulations noted that, ideally, the women were to be directed with love, but punished if lazy or malicious in their actions.[708] The tasks taught to these women would allow them subsistence outside of the workhouse. Unfortunately, outside of the Hospice, the aggressively exclusionary policies of many of the trade guilds proved a substantial impediment for the economic advancement of these women.[709]

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[706] UGR, BHR/A-031-242(3), *Ordenanzas y Constitución del Real Hospicio,* cap. 18, secs. 290-293.
[707] "On Girls' Education", Book VIII, Title I Law X (1783) in "Laws of the Bourbon Monarchy", in *Early Modern Spain: A Documentary History* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 226.
[708] UGR, BHR/A-031-270(2), Ensenada, *Ordenanzas*, 4.
[709] For more on trade guilds and women in Granada, see Chapter 2.

### Prostitution in Granada

Prostitution was one way that poor women could make money to survive. As mentioned earlier, the issue of prostitution was a murky one for Granada, as well as for the rest of Spain. During the Middle Ages, some theologians believed, as St. Augustine did, that prostitution was the lesser of other evils such as the deflowering of virgins and the sin of sodomy.[710] Augustine argued it was better to "corrupt" women who were already corrupted than to corrupt their wives with "unnatural desires".[711] Others believed, as did St. Thomas Aquinas, that prostitution would battle the sin of adultery.[712] Quoting St. Augustine, St. Thomas Aquinas wrote, "Remove prostitutes from human affairs, and you will unsettle everything on account of lusts."[713] Medieval theologians seemed to take a practical view of prostitution. In the early modern era, however, prostitution became a target of Spanish moralists who believed that decadence and moral degeneration in the form of prostitution and the theatre was a root cause of Spain's decline.

Women who roamed the streets and marketplaces to sell sex (perhaps along with other wares), not under male authority, were considered suspect. As Mary Perry has pointed out, "legalized prostitution assumed that unregulated prostitutes posed a

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[710] Leah Lydia Otis, *Prostitution in Medieval Society: The History of an Urban Institution in Languedoc* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 12, 23; For a thorough discussion of early Church fathers and their views on sexuality and prostitution, see Ruth Mazo Karras, *Common Women: Prostitution and Sexuality in Medieval England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 102-130.
[711] Otis, *Prostitution in Medieval Society,* 12, 23; Karras, *Common Women*, 102-130.
[712] Otis, *Prostitution in Medieval Society*, 23, 103.
[713] Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, in *Sancti Thomae Aquinatis Opera Omnia*, 25 vols. (Rome, 1852-73; repr. New York, 1948-50), as cited in Jacques Rossiaud, *Medieval Prostitution* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1988), 80-81.

grave danger of social disorder."[714] Regulations and enclosure countered the prostitutes' potential for disorder. Regulated enclosure and the concomitant labeling of "prostitute" created a way to integrate these women into society in a way that seemed orderly and under the control of authorities.[715] By the seventeenth century, however, the debate around prostitution was less about enclosure and more about whether or not there should be any brothels allowed in Spain at all. Instead of brothels being a way to create order in Granada, in the seventeenth century, brothels became a creation of the devil himself. As Velázquez wrote, "The devil, inventor of all evil, was the author of these brothels of prostitutes."[716]

There were different approaches to the problem of prostitution in seventeenth-century Granada. At least one theologian, Gerónimo Velázquez, took the tactic of trying to curb demand while limiting access. In 1570, Philip II proclaimed that all public houses were to be closed on Sundays, holidays, Lenten vigils.[717] In 1621, Velázquez, of the *Congregación del Espíritu Santo* (Congregation of the Holy Spirit), proposed an extension of the closures mandated in 1570 from those stated to every day of the year.[718] Velázquez was not going to stop at this previous royal proposal, however. He and some men from his congregation would wait for men outside of the entrance of

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[714] Mary Elizabeth Perry, *Gender and Disorder in Early Modern Seville* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990), 138.
[715] Perry, *Gender and Disorder*, 137.
[716] UGR, BHR/A 31-267 (2), Gerónimo Velázquez, Información breve, dirigida a la católica real magestad del Rey don Felipe Cuarto nuestro Señor, para que mande quitar de Granada la casa pública de malas mujeres (1621). *"El diablo inventor de toda maldad, fue el autor de estos burdeles de las rameras."*
[717] UGR, BHR/A 31-267 (2), Gerónimo Velázquez, Información breve, dirigida a la católica real magestad del Rey don Felipe Cuarto nuestro Señor, para que mande quitar de Granada la casa pública de malas mujeres (1621), 298v.
[718] UGR, BHR/A 31-267 (2), Velázquez, Información breve…Granada la casa pública de malas mujeres (1621), 298v.

Granada's public houses and, "with good and soft words," attempted to persuade the men from going inside.[719]

Other theologians like Padre Fray Gabriel de Maqueda sought to attack the problem of prostitution at what they saw as its source: the women. Maqueda wrote that any woman who was deemed a fornicator, should "be brought low and like dung on the road, tread and trampled by every traveller" because female prostitutes were "disgusting, dirty and harmful to the Republics, and as such, [should be] rejected, dejected, exiled and treated outrageously."[720] Unlike St. Augustine and St. Aquinas, Maqueda believed that brothels did not lead to fewer sexual vices, but to more of them. He argued that prostitutes taught men the sin of sodomy and so brothels became "school of this heinous wickedness and their harlots are teachers of this awkward habit."[721]

It is clear from the historical record that prostitution or at least the suspicion of prostitution was ever-present for those women who did not fit the model of "honest" and "respectable" women. For those women who did not fit the mold, exile or sometimes

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[719] UGR, BHR/A 31-267(2), Velázquez, Información breve…Granada la casa pública de malas mujeres (1621), 317v. "Antes (de la ordenanza de 1570) ha habido milagrosas conversiones de hombres que iban a pecar, y con la asistencia de algunos de nuestra Congregación, que por su devoción, sin ejercer alguna jurisdicción, estorban con buenas y suaves palabras la entrada de los hombres, se han reducido a verdadera penitencia, como consta a toda esta ciudad."

[720] UGR, BHR/A 31-258(11), Padre Fray Gabriel de Maqueda de la Sagrada Religión de Penitencia, *Invectiva en forma de discurso, contra el uso de las casas públicas de las mujeres rameras* (1622), 4r. "Toda mujer que es fornicaria, será abatida, y como estiércol en el camino, pisada y hollada de todos los pasajeros. De aquí es que las mujeres rameras, y su torpe y deshonesto trato, han sido siempre de todas las naciones del mundo tenidas por cosa infame, asquerosa, sucia y perniciosa a las Repúblicas, y como tales, desestimadas, abatidas, desterradas y afrentosamente tratadas."

[721]UGR, BHR/A 31-258(11), Padre Fray Gabriel de Maqueda de la Sagrada Religión de Penitencia, *Invectiva en Forma de Discurso, Contra el Uso de las Casas Públicas de las Mujeres Rameras* (1622), 20-21. "Con haber casas públicas, no sólo no se evitan pecados más graves de sensualidad, pero en ellas se enseñan, ejercitan y usan pecados de sodomía y contra natura: de manera que ellas son escuelas de esta nefanda maldad y sus rameras maestras de este torpe vicio."

worse could be their punishment for not fitting in. For example, in 1638, Granadan historian Francisco Henríquez de Jorquera recounted news about a woman who was exiled from Granada for being "a sorceress" and a "bawd" to her daughters.[722]

## Granadan Women and Poverty

Local women comprised over half of the registrants in both categories of entrance (voluntary and forced) into the hospice and a majority of them were widows. Only a small minority was married, while the rest of the total were listed as single women. Since a substantial number of this total chose to voluntarily enter the hospice and the majority were from Granada, this indicates that women's poverty in the area emanated from the economic, political and social organization of their society.[723] Widows were at the mercy of the numerous famines and the accompanying high price of bread that occurred in Granada in the seventeenth century.[724] Women in early modern Granada certainly did not have full and equal access to economic resources, nor full rights to inheritance and land ownership. This undoubtedly put them at a disadvantage, but as is true of all women in all times and places, they managed to work around these barriers to a degree. Women did remain economically active, though they were prone to several trends that perpetuated their poverty. First, women were paid less than men, an imbalance that accumulated throughout a lifetime. A corollary to this was

[722] Francisco Henríquez de Jorquera, *Anales de Granada: Descripción del reino y ciudad de Granada. Cronica de la reconquista (1482-1492). Sucesos de los años 1588 a 1646.* Edición preparada, según el manuscrito original, por Antonio Marín Ocete (Granada: Publicaciones de la Facultad de Letras, 1934), 808.
[723] Moreno Rodríguez, "A Larga Historia del Confinamiento Para Remediar La Pobreza," 526-527.
[724] ARCH, 321-4281(12), as cited in Peña and Vincent, *Historia de Granada,* 323.

occupational segregation—the jobs available to women simply paid less. Further, women tended to take more part-time, lower-paying jobs, to supplement the family income, work they accomplished in addition to household duties.[725] Women were also more likely to drop in and out of the labor market depending on varying issues such as where they were in their lifecycle. For example, a woman might work prior to marriage, cease working for wages during marriage, and then enter the labor force again upon becoming a widow.[726]

A last trend worthy of note here is migration. Indigent males in early modern Spain were more likely to migrate to seek work than women, whose mobility was often limited by the presence of children. Before institutional poor relief came to be provided by the state, family networks and private charitable organizations, as well as private citizens provided refuge for the distressed or destitute. In this period of economic change and high employment, many people left home and sought work in the city. When women migrated, however, they tended to move mainly to nearby cities, while men's migration encompassed cities far and wide and sometimes even out of Spain. Migrants were often forced by economic necessity to move to places beyond the reach of family networks. Without family networks for protection, the only places left to seek help were the Church and the State. As immigration into Granada expanded, so did the numbers of the assisted poor. Many were either young single women or older widows. In the wake of male migration, the wives, sisters, and daughters whom they left could easily fall into penury.

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[725] Elisa Garrido, ed., *Historia de las Mujeres en España* (Madrid: Editorial Sintesis, 1997), 326-341.
[726] See for example, the case of evolution of the workcycle with Sevillian women in Perry, *Gender and Disorder*, 16-17 and, more broadly for Spain, Garrido, *Historia de las Mujeres*, 326-341.

This possibility of slipping into penury was a reality for all but the richest and best-connected female-headed households in Granada. Generally, female-headed households that did not benefit from male earners have been assumed by scholars to be poorer than male-headed households. The numbers taken from the large-scale census undertaken by the Marques de Ensenada, and often referred to as Catastro de Ensenada, seem to confirm this assumption.[727] Granada's parishes, as in many early modern cities, consisted of numerous households headed by women. For example, in Sagrario only 25% of the total number of households in the parish were headed by women. This may be due to the characteristics of the parish. It was one of the richest parishes in Granada and as the city's thriving center of civic and religious identity, was home to the rich, powerful, and their servant class.

The parish of Angustias, on the other hand, one of the poorer parishes located a fair distance from the city center, had almost twice as many female-headed households (421).[728] In fact, two-thirds of the female-headed households in Angustias were employed in the lowest paying occupations of the lagging textile industry. Finally, female-headed households were also more vulnerable to increased unemployment and often at the mercy of an economic structure that officially placed them at the periphery. In the case of Granada, this periphery was both figurative and literal.

One must put the discussion into its wider context, however. From the records, it is clear that there were a large number of female indigents who received aid. However, the records make it difficult to uncover the whole picture. Poverty in Spain was

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[727] The Catastro de Ensenada was begun in 1749. It included population demographics, properties, number of animals owned, trees and other agricultural products, as well as information on revenue from trade and properties. It was conducted in Castile, Andalusia and Galicia.
[728] AMG, Catastro del Marqués de la Ensenada, Rollo 224.

widespread and affected men, women, and children. There were many able-bodied unemployed males in Andalusia, too, many of whom were seasonal agricultural laborers and who joined the ranks of the transient vagrants in the off-season. Male paupers did exist but were more mobile than females and thus could more easily slip under official radar. There are other reasons for the disproportionate number of indigent females receiving aid, as well. There was a definitional bias in the "deserving poor". The concept of a "deserving poor" created its own gender bias and resulted in gender differentiation in social aid.[729] Women were more likely to be considered as one of the "deserving poor" but there was a consistent underlying assumption that women needed to be helped before they turned to desperate measures and sold their bodies to survive.

Poverty and its relief in Granada, as in the rest of Spain, were gendered. Men and women both shared barriers to economic advancement and opportunities, though women admittedly had a few more hurdles to overcome. Women's economic vulnerability and dependency meant that they benefited in disproportionate numbers from public poor relief. Many women in Granada were forced to exist on the margins of society due to the numerous challenges they faced. One way in which some women found a way to "exist" was through prostitution. The very existence of poor women and prostitutes, neither of whom wielded little direct power in early modern society (much as now), caused great anxiety in local and national officials, and through their effect on the authorities had a profound influence on the creation of an innovative, comprehensive system of poor relief in Spain.

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[729] Diane Willen, "Women in the Public Sphere in Early Modern England: The Case of the Urban Working Poor," *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 19, 4 (Winter, 1988): 564.

# Conclusion

The preceding chapters have examined the local actions and everyday interactions that affirmed Granadan women as the bearers of community rights. In the process, these chapters have revealed women's obligations to perform certain community duties. These duties marked them as full members of the community, particularly later when women were denied formal acknowledgement as citizens. Exploring different fields of citizenship practice (economic, legal, religious) during the seventeenth century, this dissertation has shown those access points or moments of demonstration of inclusion or exclusion of women in their community.

Non-elite urban women in early modern Granada actively shaped the civic economy, culture, and religious life of the city. Women played indispensable commercial roles in the market economy, as well as providing the backbone of many of Granada's most important industries. Further, their participation in the economy undergirded the creation and consumption of Granada's civic culture, in particular the city's annual Corpus Christi celebration. Official municipal and religious attitudes as reflected in city council records and moralist treatises not only reflect an anxious ambivalence about but also a grudging acceptance of women's often assertive presence in civic activities.

Through extensive archival work, this dissertation has shown that women in Granada were instrumental in the creation and reproduction of civic identity in early modern Granada and were essential players in the cultural, social, and economic life of the city. This was despite the fact that Spanish gender ideology, as encapsulated in reforms, moralist treatises, sermons, and royal decrees, suggested otherwise. In the

course of this study we have seen how these tensions between the religious and social reforms of the early modern period and the often-empowering traditional social identities of Spanish women as they unfolded in the public spaces of early modern Granada did not prevent women from participating in civil society in a variety of ways.

The major findings of this study include the following: 1) When women in early modern Granada wielded civic power or influence, it was almost always indirect, contingent, materially based and an extension of domestic duties, but records show that this influence was not easily taken from them. 2) Granada, being a frontier city, established certain rights, privileges and opportunities that women leveraged during the early modern period even as women were being formally denied citizenship at the end of the eighteenth century. 3) Women's labor in Granada allowed the city a measure of economic flexibility (internal buoyancy) to weather the decline in Granada's major industries such as silk. 4) The traditional periodization of the founding of Granada's religious institutions does not accurately reflect the reality of female religious institutions. 5) A shift in charitable giving occurred in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, moving from a focus on personal charity to one that was more systematized and institutional, though Granada still clung to private giving throughout the early modern period.

Providing a richer historical picture of Granada with women integrated into the narrative (rather than on the periphery), the preceding chapters have offered a useful perspective by which to better understand the social, economic, political and religious changes in Granada that occurred in the two centuries following the Reconquest. The preceding chapters have also supplied the first scholarly treatment of the roles of

women in the construction and consumption of the Corpus Christi celebration in Granada and what that meant in the creation of civic identity and community belonging.

As the most extensive examination of charity in Granada through a gendered lens in a period of paradigmatic shift, this dissertation has also provided an introduction to nuns' patronage to their own convents. There have been other studies (in Spanish) on the Royal Hospital, on charity in sixteenth-century and eighteenth-century Spain, and one on a particular charitable institution (the Inclusa) in Madrid that was run by women in the eighteenth century, but none that have focused on women in Granada in the seventeenth century, a century of transition in ideologies and paradigms of charity. Nor have women previously been examined as recipients of aid and as participants in institutions of charity (as workers, founders, patrons, etc.) during the early modern period in Granada. The examination of this topic in this dissertation helps to fill this gap.

Further, though as only an introduction to it, this dissertation has begun a discussion on comparing the polemical enclosure of poor people with the relatively uncontested enclosure of women as nuns, prostitutes or reformed prostitutes. This discussion thus opens up promising possibilities for further inquiry.

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