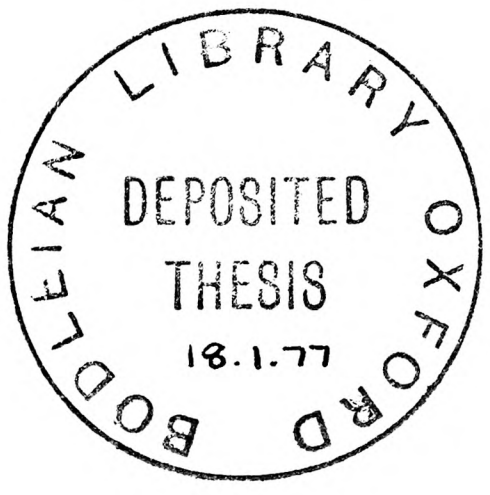
CORDOBA AND JEREZ DE LA FRONTERA IN THE REIGN OF FERDINAND AND ISABELLA, 1474 - 1516

A Study of the Relationship between the Nobles and the Towns

by

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ABSTRACT

Córdoba and Jerez de la Frontera are situated in the north-eastern and south-western corners of the triangular delta of the Guadalquivir. They were reconquered and resettled by the Castilian Crown in the thirteenth century. During the period in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries which saw widespread alienation of lands by the Crown to nobles, to form lordships or *señoríos*, Córdoba and Jerez remained subject directly to the kings of Castile.

Each town was governed by a council, consisting of *jurados*, who represented the individual parishes, and *regidores*, who from the fourteenth century formed a ruling oligarchy. The problem of proliferation of offices, beyond the legal number of twenty-four on both councils, faced the Catholic Monarchs at the beginning of their reign. Action was taken, particularly in Córdoba, where the situation was more extreme, to control office resignations and appointments, but officers continued to come from a small number of noble families. By their original charters (*fueros*, these towns also had magistrates, known as *alcaldes mayores* who represented the king in local affairs, but, from the early fifteenth century, new officials, known as *corregidores*, were superimposed on the old structure. These were appointed spasmodically to both towns in the period up to 1474.

Town councils owned property on behalf of the Crown, consisting of buildings and grazing and arable lands. They also ruled outlying areas on behalf of the Crown which normally channelled its communications with these lesser towns and villages through the council of their chief town. The local councils also collected some royal taxes for their own use, though most were raised by the royal tax collector.

Royal finances saw a spectacular improvement under Ferdinand and Isabella, but they continued to be weakened by the alienation of many revenues, in *juro*, for life or in perpetuity, to individuals, especially the territorial

magnates of the kingdoms of Seville and Córdoba. This meant that it was possible for a magnate such as the duke of Medina Sidonia to gain an income comparable to that received by the Crown from the taxation of towns such as Córdoba and Jerez.

The economy of western Andalusia was almost entirely agricultural. Most crops were produced for subsistence but grain and wine were exported from Jerez and district and wool from the Córdoba area. This wool was denied to the local cloth industry and exported from Seville by merchants from Burgos who came to Córdoba each year to buy owners' complete wool-crops in advance. The upper echelons of Córdoba society were heavily involved in this trade. The exploitation of tunny, which was the other main export commodity of the region, was in the hands of the upper nobility, particularly the dukes of Medina Sidonia and the counts of Arcos.

The balance between the economic resources of the greatest magnates and the royal towns, such as Córdoba and Jerez, was also reflected in military affairs. The forces fielded in the Granada campaigns of 1482-92 show the strength in cavalry of the nobles to have been equal to that of royal towns, though the latter provided many more foot-soldiers.

In political terms the problem which confronted Ferdinand and Isabella in their efforts to retain control over Córdoba and Jerez was to keep the local councils free of noble interference. This might be exercised through marriage alliances and links of feudal vassallage. The Catholic Monarchs in some respects pursued firm measures in order to reduce the power of the small number of magnates who had virtually gained complete control of the royal towns - the duke of Medina Sidonia in Seville, the marquis of Cádiz in Jerez and Don Alonso de Aguilar in Córdoba. These nobles retained their offices after Ferdinand and Isabella's visit to the region in 1477-8, but they were not allowed to exercise them. However, the fact that they still had a residual right to interfere in the government of royal towns posed a threat for the future.

During the period between 1478 and 1500, corregidores succeeded one another peacefully as royal agents in control of Córdoba and Jerez, appointing their own officials and working in conjunction with the regidor. There were still noblemen from the twenty or so leading families of the kingdoms of Seville and Córdoba, but the most powerful figures were absent.

However, after 1500 there was a resurgence of upper noble influence in Córdoba and Jerez. In the former town, the marquis of Priego, son of Don Alonso de Aguilar, succeeded his father as alcalde mayor of Córdoba. Shortly before Isabella's death, in November 1504, the marquis appeared for the first time in a council-meeting. This action followed a period of severe grain-shortage which had begun in 1502 and continued until 1508. During this period, Córdoba council became indebted to nobles, including the marquis of Priego, for grain-supplies from their señoríos, while these lasted, and for loans for the purchase and transport of foreign grain thereafter.

Three episodes occurred in quick succession, between 1506 and 1508, in which the marquis of Priego and the count of Cabra took control of Córdoba as magistrates. The first two were caused by hitches in the re-appointment of corregidores, but in the third, the marquis crossed the border into revolt, imprisoning the king's alcalde. Ferdinand quelled the revolt by means of a military expedition which he commanded himself. The marquis and his henchmen, including many members of Córdoba council, were banished. Similarly severe action was taken by Ferdinand at this time to prevent the proposed marriage alliance between two of the leading Andalusian noble families, the Guzmán and the Girón.

However, despite apparent royal severity towards the pretensions of leading nobles to return to their previous dominance in the area, illustrated by the Crown's successful exploitation of inheritance crises in the Ponce and Guzmán families in 1492 and 1502 to regain control of Cádiz and Gibraltar, respectively, there are distinct signs that in the early sixteenth century

the monarchs were content to allow to the upper nobility a position in local society more appropriate to their great wealth and traditional influence.

Magnates returned to the governorship of royal fortresses, despite the protests of Córdoba council. The marquis and his henchmen were restored to this council in 1510 and even the armed invasion of Córdoba's town of Hornachuelos by the count of neighbouring Palma was tolerated. On the other side, it should be noted that the second attempt at a Guzmán - Girón marriage, in 1513, was thwarted by the Crown.

The royal towns of western Andalusia, if Córdoba and Jerez may be taken as typical examples, emerged from the combined reigns of the Catholic Monarchs firmly in the grip of small ruling oligarchies, secure in the possession of effectively hereditary offices as *regidores*. Some of these office-holders were members of the wealthiest families in the region, others were not, but all had similar economic and political interests.

The overall characteristics of society in this region in 1516 was immobility. No new families joined the ranks of the upper nobility in the kingdoms of Seville and Córdoba after 1492 and those already in a strong position found their wealth increased. However, this wealth showed itself in exploitation of the land and investment in government funds (*juros*) rather than trading activity. The leaders of Andalusian society at the beginning of the modern age were unenterprising and backward-looking, but their permanence had been guaranteed by the work of Ferdinand and Isabella.

PREFACE

In recent years, the government of the Crown of Castile under the Catholic Monarchs has received much scholarly attention, particularly in the works of Luis Suárez Fernández and Miguel Angel Ladero Quesada, to which I am greatly indebted. A large part of this effort has been devoted to the study of the records of the royal government and administration, which are mainly to be found in the Archivo General de Simancas.

General historians of Castile in this period have agreed that the relationship between the Crown and the larger towns was crucial to the success of the government of the Catholic Monarchs, and so it appeared that a contribution to urban history would assist towards the eventual aim of a new and fuller assessment of Ferdinand and Isabella's reign. It was equally clear that work on Castilian towns in this period could not be based only on Simancas records but would involve the exploitation of the large funds of material available in provincial archives. The aim would therefore be to study the government of the Catholic Monarchs largely through provincial rather than central sources. Given that the larger towns, which remained directly subject to the Crown, were likely to produce information of interest in this connection, the choice of specific towns for study was dictated by the availability of this local material.

In western Andalusia, the obvious subjects for study are Seville, Córdoba, Jerez de la Frontera and Carmona - all of which are rich in archive material. The choice of Córdoba and Jerez was inevitably arbitrary. However, the study of these two towns did furnish an opportunity to use a larger proportion, if not a larger quantity, of unpublished material than would have been the case in Seville, thanks to the publication of the Tumbo de los Reyes Católicos, while Carmona has been the subject of detailed study by Manuel González Jiménez (see bibliography). The main types of material on which the present work is based are the actas

capitulares or acts of the town councils of Córdoba and Jerez, privileges, royal documents and other miscellaneous items, to be found in the two towns' municipal archives, and the notarial registers which are kept in their respective Archivos de Protocolos.

The use of this notarial material, which relates to the affairs of private individuals, raises the question of the underlying theme of this work, that is, the way in which certain noble families in the region dominated the government of these two towns. In many cases, material from the archives of these noble families still exists and the relevant sources are outlined in appendix 3. Some of this material - particularly that in the Osuna section of the Archivo Histórico Nacional - has been used in this study, but some equally valuable sources have not. There are two main reasons for this, the first being purely practical. A great deal of material concerning upper noble families in the Córdoba and Seville regions survives in the Archivo de Medinaceli in Seville, particularly the archive of the house of Priego de Córdoba. However, while this source would clearly have assisted greatly with the study of the relationship between this family and Córdoba town council, it is not available for consultation until the work on the history, over a longer period, of the Priego house, which is at present being undertaken by Doña María Concepción Quintanilla Raso of Seville University, reaches a more advanced stage.

There is, however, a more fundamental reason for basing the present work mainly on public rather than private sources. This is the fact that urban rather than seigniorial history is the matter under discussion. The existing and available sources in public archives, which are described in the bibliography, provide a sound basis for the study of the government of these towns. The object is to describe both the government of Córdoba and Jerez and noble activity within these towns, rather than to write the history of certain upper noble families in Andalusia in this period. More material on the nobility is always to be desired, but

it is not indispensable for answering the questions which are asked here.

Inevitably, there are many other ways in which the history of Córdoba and Jerez under the Catholic Monarchs could have been approached. A straightforward history of the institutions and economy of the two towns would undoubtedly have had considerable value. Studies of the economic basis of the Andalusian señoríos in this period would also be extremely useful and Ladero's team at Seville is already producing results by using this approach, as may be seen in various articles in the periodical Historia, Instituciones, Documentos. However, the tension between Crown and local oligarchies and the relationships between magnates and their supporters on town councils provide a stimulating approach, it is hoped, to the problems of governing this region in the period around 1500.

The adoption of this theme presupposes the exclusion or restricted treatment of certain areas of real interest in the study of Andalusian society. Two of these are worthy of individual mention. Work in the Archivo de Protocolos at Córdoba revealed a large fund of documents on the export of white merino wool from the city and its surrounding region. These documents are referred to on pp. 180 and 182, but the economy of the area clearly needs further study. This could not have been included in the present work without seriously upsetting its balance, but should lead, in the future, to a new contribution to the description of mercantile capitalism in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries on a European as well as a regional scale. Another problem which has been excluded from the present study is the role of converso communities in the social tensions and political activity of Córdoba and Jerez. This is a vast question of great interest, which would require far more space than could be afforded to it here, in terms of this work's overall theme and balance. It was therefore thought wiser to leave consideration of the converso question to another occasion, rather than give it an inadequate treatment here.

I should like to take this opportunity to acknowledge the help and guidance which I have received over the last few years both in England and in Spain. I am grateful for the friendly efficiency of Don José de la Torre and his staff in the municipal archive in Córdoba, for the welcome afforded by Don Manuel Esteve Guerrero in the Jerez municipal archive, for the hospitality of Don Salvador Jiménez and his wife, who gave me entry at many unlikely hours both to the Archivo de Protocolos and to their family table, in their house at Córdoba, and for the readiness with which Don Antonio Urribe gave me access to the Archivo de Protocolos at Jerez and lent me an office for work on the documents. I also wish to acknowledge the help which I received from Don Manuel Nieto Cumplido, now canon-archivist, in the use of the Córdoba Cathedral Archive, and the hospitality and assistance of Don José Valverde Madrid. I must record, however, my especial debt of gratitude to Monsieur François Chevalier, the director, and Monsieur Jean-Paul le Flem, the secretary-general, of the Casa de Velázquez at Madrid, for admitting me to its fine research library and to the society of its students. Finally, I should like to mention John Prestwich, Esq., of The Queen's College, who first inspired me to study medieval history and Dr. Roger Highfield, of Merton College, who has provided me with guidance and reassurance over a long period.

April, 1976.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AGS	Archivo General de Simancas
AHN	Archivo Histórico Nacional
AMC	Archivo Municipal de Córdoba
APC	Archivo de Protocolos, Córdoba
ACC	Archivo Catedralicio de Córdoba
AMJ	Archivo Municipal de Jerez
APJ	Archivo de Protocolos, Jerez
AM	Archivo de Medinaceli,(Seville)
AMSeville	Archivo Municipal de Sevilla
Actas	Actas capitulares
BRAC	Boletín de la Real Academia de Córdoba
CODOIN	Colección de Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de España
RAH	Real Academia de la Historia
Salazar	Salazar y Castro collection in RAH
RABM	Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos
RGS	Registro General del Sello
Caj.	Cajón
Leg.	Legajo
Bach.	Bachiller
Dr.	Doctor
Lic.	Licenciado

Methods of Citing References

In municipal archives, the actas capitulares are normally cited by date, but in cases where none is supplied they are referred to by folio number. Other documents are cited by section, series and individual document numbers in the case of Córdoba and cajón and document number in that of Jerez. Notarial documents are referred to by office, volume number, section (cuaderno), in the case of Córdoba, and folio number. In the case of Jerez, the year and the folio number are given. Documents in the Córdoba cathedral archive and the Archivo de Medinaceli in Seville are referred to by cajón or legajo and individual document numbers. The registro del sello is referred to by date from the catalogue entries. Other citations are explained in footnotes.

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Part One

GEOGRAPHICAL AND POLITICAL INTRODUCTION

Chapter One

THE GEOGRAPHY AND AGRICULTURE OF THE KINGDOMS OF SEVILLE AND CORDOBA

Because the economy of western Andalusia in the later Middle Ages was predominantly pastoral and agricultural, the lives of its inhabitants were dominated by natural conditions of climate and relief. For this reason, it is important at the outset to visualise the geographical setting of Córdoba, Jerez and the other Andalusian towns, as an integral part of their political history.[1]

The medieval kingdoms of Seville and Córdoba were formed by the colossal delta of the Guadalquivir, which gives the natural region of Andalusia a triangular shape, with the river itself as its axis, running from north-east to south-west. Geologically, the Andalusian depression originated with the collapse of part of the Meseta Central, the central plateau of Spain, leaving behind the present escarpment of the Sierra Morena. This depression was gradually covered by material eroded from the mountains to the north. The Guadalquivir originates in the Sierra de Alcaraz (Jaén), flowing in a narrow

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1. The maps used in this and subsequent chapters are the 1:200,000 sheet maps produced by the Spanish Army (Servicio geográfico del ejército). Other scales, from 1:5,000 to 1:800,000 are available. The most useful atlases are, Atlas nacional de España (Madrid, Instituto geográfico y catastral, 1965) for relief, and Nuevo atlas de España , (Madrid Aguilar , 1961) for provincial maps. The general geographical works on Spain which have also been used are, Emilio Arija Rivarés, Geografía de España , 2 vols., (Madrid, 1972) and J. Vilá Valentí, Geografía de España , 2 vols., second edition(Barcelona, 1972). Modern municipal boundaries are to be found in España, atlas y índices de sus términos municipales , 2 vols.(Madrid Confederación española de Cajas de Ahorros , 1969 , vol. 1 index and vol. 2 maps). The most helpful work on the characteristics of towns and villages and their surrounding countryside is the Diccionario geográfico-estadístico-histórico de España y sus posesiones de ultramar , by Pascual Madoz, 16 vols., (Madrid, 1848-50). The entries for centres of population are in alphabetical order, with, in addition, general introductions to each province and judicial area (partido judicial). There is also a more modern Diccionario geográfico de España , published in 17 volumes by Prensa Gráfica(Madrid, 1956-61) which occasionally supplements Madoz.

valley until joined by the Guadalimar, the Guadiel and the Río del Rumblar, all in the modern province of Jaén. As the Guadalquivir enters the province of Córdoba, its valley begins to widen, so that, by the time it reaches the coast, it extends from Ayamonte (Huelva) to Cádiz. In the latter stages, the river forms a flood-plain, the Marisma, flowing in countless indeterminate courses over its own alluvia.

Most of the tributaries which flow into the Guadalquivir during its course through Córdoba province descend from the Sierra to the north, flowing in a south-easterly direction. The most notable of these are the Jándula, which enters between Andújar and Marmolejo, the Río de las Yeguas, between Marmolejo and Villa (formerly Aldea) del Río, the Arenoso, between Montoro and Pedro Abad, the Guadalmellato, between Villafranca and Alcolea, the Arroyo del Guadalbarbo, between Alcolea and Córdoba, the Guadiato, between Almodóvar and Posadas, the Bembézar, between Posadas and Palma and the Retortillo, between Palma and Peñaflor. The only major tributaries entering the Guadalquivir from the left are the Guadajoz, between Córdoba and Almodóvar, and the Genil, slightly west of Palma. Both of these rivers flow in a north-westerly direction.

The mountain system to the north of the river, which forms the boundary of Andalusia, comes very close to Córdoba in the shape of one of its minor chains, the Sierra de Córdoba. From the Cerro de las Ermitas to the mosque in Córdoba, a distance of 5 km., there is a fall of over 400 m., from 510 m. to 107 m. To the south of the river, the rise towards the mountainous areas is much more gradual, leaving the wide, undulating plain known as the Campiña de Córdoba, between the Sierra Morena and the 'sub-Betic' system which forms the next natural region to the south.

The Sierra Morena, or sistema bética, to use the Roman form, begins to the east of Andalusia, in the Sierra de Alcaraz, which is attached to the great, Iberian mountain system, stretching to the Cantabrian Sea. It is the southern limit of the Meseta Central, and is far from being a simple chain of mountains.

Starting from Córdoba, in a northerly direction, there is a series of scarps running from north-west to south-east, consisting of four before the western outcrops of the Sierra Madrona. Most of the valleys between these scarps are narrow and steep, but there is one notable exception, the valley of the Pedroches, which forms a separate natural region, although falling largely within the political influence of Córdoba.[1]

The Pedroches are bounded to the north by the Sierras of Cartuera, Cabeza del Buey and Santa Eufemia and the river Guadalmez, to the east by the Sierra Madrona, the Sierra Quintana and the Río de las Yeguas, to the west by the Sierras of Monterrubio and Peraleda and the river Zújar, and to the south by the Sierras of Valsequillo and Cinta and a series of mountains containing two important passes, the Puerto Calatraveño and the Puerto Rubio. In total, the valley covers about a quarter of the area of the modern province of Córdoba. One of the main geographical features which distinguishes the Pedroches from the rest of the Córdoba region is the watershed between the Guadalquivir and the Guadiana, which crosses the valley, from the Cerro Alcornocosa, passing to the south of Pozoblanco and to the north of Villanueva de Córdoba, through Cardeña and Azuel and leaving it in the direction of Fuencaliente. Of the main rivers in the Pedroches, the Zújar and its tributaries flow into the Guadiana, while the Cuzna flows into the Guadamellato and thence into the Guadalquivir.[2]

Jerez de la Frontera is in the widest part of the Guadalquivir delta. There are no dramatic features of relief in the vicinity of the town, which is situated about 10 km. from the nearest branch of the Marisma, which in Classical times gave maritime access to the old town, several kilometres to

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1. Atlas nacional de España (Reseña geográfica), pp.12-13, 154-6. Arija, op.cit., vol. 1, p. 173.

2. Juan Ocaña Torrejón, Historia de la villa de Pedroche y su comarca , (Córdoba, 1962) pp.9-11.

the north of the present site.[1] However, like Córdoba, Jerez was linked politically with the neighbouring 'Penibetic' region, which extends from the southern edge of the Guadalquivir delta to the Mediterranean. The northern boundary of this region runs from the straits of Gibraltar to the Sierra de Alcaraz, which is one of the key points for the distribution of water in the Iberian peninsula, supplying the Guadiana and Guadalquivir, which flow into the Atlantic, and the Segura, which flows into the Mediterranean. The Penibetic region is one of the most complicated mountain areas in Spain, with innumerable chains and outcrops. The southern end of Córdoba province, which is included within this region, is heavily accidental in comparison with the Campiña to the north. It contains the Sierras of Camarena, between Montilla and Baena, Alcaide, between Cabra and Luque, Gaena, between Luque and Carcabuey, and many others to the south, in the kingdom of Granada. The general direction of all these mountain chains is from south-west to north-east and the outposts of the Serranía de Ronda, to the east of Jerez, follow a similar line. Between Jerez and Alcalá de los Gazules are the Sierras del Valle, de Dos Hermanas, de la Sal and de las Cabras. To the east of Jerez itself, the mountains are more distant, the first major chain being the Sierra de Zafalgar, which is 25km. east of Arcos de la Frontera. Although the western part of the modern province of Cádiz is not directly linked to any major mountain system, it abounds in hills and undulations, which were of importance in the siting of towns and castles.

The climate of the Andalusian region is influenced by the Atlantic, though the upper reaches of the Guadalquivir valley receive a much lower rainfall than the coastal region, particularly the Huelva area. High summer temperatures are a feature of Andalusia and cause it to be included among the 'semi-arid' regions of Spain. In the Córdoba area, the mountainous north has a

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1. This reference was kindly supplied from unpublished work by Monsieur L. Ménanteau of the Casa de Velázquez, Madrid.

severe winter climate, and the spring is generally the most temperate season of the year. The climate of the Jerez region is rather less extreme, because maritime influence is more direct than in Córdoba. The bane of the area for some part of each year is the strong easterly or south-easterly wind known as the 'Levante'. When followed by gentler, southerly winds, this can cause a rapid rise in temperature which is harmful to crops and to health. On average, rain falls in the Córdoba area on between sixty and seventy days in the year, while in Jerez the figure is slightly higher, though between there and Seville it is reduced to between fifty and sixty days a year. As a general rule, there is not enough rainfall in the region to counteract the high summer temperatures, so that rivers and artificial irrigation have still, as in the Middle Ages, an essential part to play in the success of agriculture.[1]

It is not possible, at this stage, to reconstruct the agriculture of fifteenth century Andalusia with any great accuracy and the following observations are intended only to give a general impression of conditions in the area at that time.[2] To begin with, the Pedroches, to the north of Córdoba

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1. Madoz and Arija, op.cit., vol.1, p. 217.

2. The only contemporary attempt to describe the agriculture of Andalusia on a systematic basis was the 'Itinerario' of Hernando Colón, the son of the admiral. He collected information by personal observation, between 1511 and 1517, for a study which was intended to cover the whole of Spain. His manuscript, which is in the Biblioteca Colombina at Seville (Ms BB 148-27, quarto, 678 fols) was begun on 3 August 1517. The method of observation used by Colón, which involved an account, league by league, of the cultivation to be seen from roads between the various towns, limits the value of his work. The complete text of the 'Descripción' was edited by Antonio Blázquez, appearing in parts in the Boletín de la Real Sociedad Geográfica between 1904 and 1908 and in a three-volume edition in Madrid in 1915. Michel Drain and Pierre Ponsot, in "Les paysages agraires de l'Andalousie occidentale au début du XVIe siècle, d'après l'Itinerario de Hernando Colón", (Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez, 2, 1966, pp.73-85), have composed a map of the agriculture of the kingdoms of Seville and Córdoba, from the information in Colón's Itinerario, which is a helpful visual aid to work on this subject. Indeed, for the Jerez area it is virtually the only source available, as the town ordinances in the municipal archive (AMJ 6-1) and the references to crops in private papers in the Archivo de Protocolos are of limited value. Colón's 'Itinerario' says nothing, however, about the body of the countryside which he traversed. In the Córdoba area this is less of a disadvantage, as much more contemporary

Continued....

the geographical characteristics of the region are more akin to La Mancha than to Andalusia. Its climate is dry, especially in the summer, and the prevailing winds come from the north and north-east. The entire plateau is at a height of about 600 m., with peaks rising to nearly 1,000 m. The natural vegetation varies according to the height of the land. On the highest ground, known as *monte alto*, the main plant is the holm-oak, or ilex (*encina*), producing acorns in profusion. After this, the most common is the *coscoja*, which was used as a dye-stuff by the Romans and Arabs, and there are also some cork-oaks. *Monte bajo* consists of strawberry-trees (*madroño*), rosemary, white heather and other mountain plants. Oleanders are to be found beside the streams. Thickets are scattered over the area and consist mainly of *cistus*, or *jara*, surrounded by gorse, broom and lavender. There are also meadows, in which wild oats, white clover and lucern grow. The Arab name for the Pedroches was *Fasal bollut*, or the plain of acorns (in Castilian, *bellotas*). The twelfth-century Arab writer Edrisi refers to holm-oaks as the main vegetation to be found around Pedroche and states that the inhabitants found the acorns particularly useful in years of scarcity.[1]

Agriculture seems to have made little impression on the natural state

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material is available in local archives. In addition, there is a small amount of information in the fifteenth-century *Descriptio Cordubae*, written by one Jerónimo, perhaps a canon in the collegiate church of St.Hippolytus, which is in the library of Salamanca University (Ms 103, fols 45v-52v) and which was edited, with a Castilian translation from the Latin, by Manuel Nieto Cumplido (Córdoba, 1973). It is unfortunately impossible to establish the exact site and extent of properties in Andalusia in this period. The earliest information of this kind is to be found in Madoz, but despite the remarkable stability of property-ownership in the region from the fourteenth to the nineteenth canturies, which is revealed, for example, in the documents in the Seville municipal archive, studied for this purpose by its archivist, Antonio Collantes de Terán, it is dangerous to use Madoz's information in other than a general sense. Within these limits, however, it is possible to give a fair impression of agricultural activity in fifteenth-century Andalusia.

1. Ocaña, *op.cit.*, pp.12-16, 33-4, 36. Edrisi, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, Arabic text and French translation, ed. R. Dozy and M.J. de Goeje (First ed. 1866, reprinted Leiden, 1968) pp.263-5.

of the Pedroches, either in the Middle Ages or in more recent times. Most of the area remains forested, in the form of *monte alto* or thickets (*chaparrales*). Until the nineteenth century, the seven towns of the Pedroches, Villa Pedroche, Alcaracejos, Añora, Torremilano, Pozoblanco, Torrecampo and Villanueva de Córdoba, which were all subject to the jurisdiction of Córdoba, held their municipal lands in common. These consisted of *dehesas*, which were merely fenced-in parts of the *montes* of the region, containing holm-oaks and the lesser vegetation already described. The area of Guijo, El Viso, Santa Eufemia and Chillón, further to the north, had similar characteristics. Throughout the area, the soil is sandy and does not encourage cultivation. This means that although subsistence crops of wheat, barley, beans and vines were grown, the predominant activity in the Pedroches was the rearing of livestock on the *montes* and in the *dehesas*. According to Madoz, the lands immediately surrounding the towns of the Pedroches were worked more intensively in the nineteenth century than their equivalents in the Campiña, which is generally speaking a more fertile area. This is probably because of the inadequacy of the majority of the *montes* and *dehesas* for cultivation. However, efforts were made to cultivate some of these lands, using the method known as *rozas*. This involved broadcasting seed over a wide area and covering it by means of a ploughshare. After harvesting, the land was burnt, in August, and left for the next sowing. The technique had a disastrous effect on the *chaparrales*, which found themselves in the path of the flames, but the crops produced were apparently adequate.

However, the greatest scourge of cultivation in the Pedroches was not the *rozas*, although the damage they caused to the wood and fruit of the natural vegetation was unfortunate, but the depredations of livestock. All towns found it necessary to protect their cultivators with ordinances, forbidding flocks to enter vineyards, olive-groves, orchards (*huertas*)

and other cultivated ground, but the extent of the stock-breeding activity to the north of Córdoba made it particularly hard to satisfy the conflicting interests of pastoral and agricultural farmers. The 1435 ordinances of Córdoba council contain a long section, entitled 'La corta e quema' (cutting and burning), which referred to the council's duty to protect both the 'montes' and the cultivated vineyards, olive-groves and orchards, in the Sierra de Córdoba. The 1500 ordinances of Torremilano council refer specifically to vines, which were apparently suffering from the incursion of all kinds of livestock. Owners were fond of bringing their flocks to the vineyards when the grapes were on the vines and feeding them to their dogs. All ordinances on this subject were phrased in a similar way, allowing property-owners to exact fines on the spot from offenders, according to a set scale of charges. In Torremilano, money fines were laid down, but Córdoba revised its own ordinances in 1478, specifying a penalty of one fifth of the flock concerned to be confiscated. In each case, magistrates and council officials were ordered to support cultivators in applying the law.[1]

At the north-western extreme of the Pedroches, around Belalcazár and Hinojosa del Duque, livestock was still predominant in the nineteenth century. At the southern end of Hinojosa's territory, pigs were reared on the acorns from holm-oaks.

To the south of the Sierra Morena and its various outcrops lies the valley of the Guadiato, which is a fertile area, providing Belmez and Fuente Obejuna with pasture, vineyards and arable land. There is evidence for such cultivation in medieval times. To the south-east, towards Espiel, the valley becomes narrower and more rocky, as it begins to cut through the Sierra.

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1. Madoz, vol.6, p.585. 1435 Córdoba ordinances in Manuel González Jiménez, "Ordenanzas del concejo de Córdoba (1435)", Historia, Instituciones, Documentos (Seville University), 2, 1975, pp.67-97 (offprint, 1974), transcribed from AMC Libro de Ordenanzas, 1, fols 21v-27v. Torremilano ordinances in AMC 13-10-5, especially fols 7-8. Córdoba's 1478 ordinances in AMC 13-10-2 (eighteenth century authenticated copy).

The extensive modern municipal territory of Espiel contained some olives and orchards, but consisted largely of *monte bajo*, on rough, stony soil. This is even more true of Obejo, which is 700m. up in the mountains, between the Cuzna and Guadalquivir valleys. In this area, cultivation has always been a problem because of the large area of barren rock, but there is some evidence of pasture, probably consisting of *monte bajo*.

The asperity of the Sierra Morena gave the region to the north of Córdoba a very different character from the valley of the Guadalquivir. Towns to the north of this mountain wall have in the past had a tendency to look as much to the Campo de Calatrava and the north as to Córdoba, the mother town of the Pedroches. However, some of the valley towns have far more land in the mountains than in the plain, because of the proximity of the Sierra to the river. Hornachuelos, for example, still has a vast territory, which consists, apart from some fertile land on the Bembézar and the Guadalquivir, of a large area of holm-oaks, *dehesas* and *monte bajo*, as found further to the north. The same may be said of the neighbouring territories of Posadas and Almodóvar del Río, well over half of which, according to Madoz, consisted of *monte alto* and *monte bajo*. The medieval evidence confirms this impression, indicating a mixture of arable cultivation, *dehesas*, and some vines, olive-groves and orchards in the river valley. To the east of Córdoba, the picture in Adamuz, Villafranca and Montoro is similar. Although Montoro is on the left bank of the Guadalquivir, most of its land lies to the north and in the nineteenth century three-quarters of this was still *monte bajo*, including holm-oaks and pines.

As might be expected, the area immediately surrounding Córdoba is better documented in the local archives than more distant parts. Colón saw orchards around the city, in which oranges, lemons and other fruit were grown, and vineyards to the west and north. It appears from contemporary documents that a great many vines were grown on the south-facing slopes of the mountains

to the north of Córdoba, particularly around Santa María de Trassierra. Properties which contained vineyards were generally supplied also with olive-groves and often an orchard. There would be presses for the grapes and olives and *bodegas* for storage. The intense cultivation of fruit and vegetables in the immediate vicinity of Córdoba was a survival of the rich agriculture which had supported the metropolis in Muslim times. There were orchards on both sides of the river and also in the city itself, where they were frequently sold with houses. Just outside the walls were market gardens, which supplied the population with a wide range of fruit and vegetables.[1]

The area to the south of Córdoba, known as the Campiña, stretches as far as the Sierras of Lucena, Cabra, Rute and Priego. The countryside here is undulating, and has a very different character from the Sierra and the north. At the time when Madoz was writing, the distribution of property still reflected the *repartimiento* which had taken place after the expulsion of the Muslims in the thirteenth century. The Christians' lack of numbers and agricultural knowledge, in comparison with their predecessors, meant that much land declined into waste,[2] and that the areas which were cultivated tended to be used less intensively than the more restricted fertile lands further north. The medieval system of cultivation in the Campiña was to divide the land into three parts. Each year, one part was sown, the second was ploughed ready for the next year and the third was used as pasture for flocks. Land of the second type was known as *barbechos*, a term which occurs frequently in late fifteenth century documents. The lands immediately surrounding the towns, the *ruedos*, were cultivated more intensively, being ploughed and sown every year. In these areas, manure, the only fertiliser known at the time, was used. Up to the fourteenth

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1. Jerónimo's *Descriptio*, trans. Nieto, pp.63-4.

2. Jerónimo, *op.cit.*, p.60, refers to the incomplete cultivation of the Campiña in the fifteenth century.

century, much of the Campiña was still in the state of *monte bajo*, with ample wood, as in the Pedroches and the Sierra Morena, but there seems to have been some increase in the area of cultivation in the late Middle Ages, which unfortunately cannot be precisely dated. According to Colón's *Itinerario*, the Campiña was primarily a grain-producing area by the early sixteenth century, though there were also important concentrations of vines and olives, especially around La Rambla and Santaella. There were orchards in the valley of the Guadajoz, near Castro del Río. *Dehesas* were not mentioned by Colón, but documents in the Córdoba archives indicate their existence in the areas of Guadalcázar, Santaella, Fernán Núñez, Montemayor, Castro and Monturque.[1] Their number seems to have gone beyond that needed to provide grazing for plough-oxen (*dehesas boyeras*) indicating the likelihood of stock-breeding.

The homogeneous character of agriculture in the Campiña was somewhat altered at its southern extreme, where the mountains begin to rise. As in the towns on the Guadalquivir, the type of cultivation varied from valley to mountain slope. On the flatter lands, for example in the valleys of the Guadajoz and Río de Cabra, vines, olives and fruit-trees could be grown, while the hills around Aguilar, Alcaudete, Baena and Cabra were partly barren and partly made up of *dehesas*. The southernmost extreme of Córdoba's influence, the area round Luque and Zuheros, Priego and Iznájar, no longer partakes of the character of the Campiña. A certain amount of land in this area was cultivated with grain, olives or vines, but much of it is too rocky. Each town was provided with *dehesas* on the mountain slopes. The one fertile part of this southern fringe is the territory of Lucena, which includes some of the Campiña and the valley of the Genil, with its orchards, arable land, olives and vines.

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1. Madoz, vol.6, p.585. For the economic significance of *dehesas* see chapter 6.

There is very little sign of any more than subsistence agriculture in the kingdom of Córdoba, which roughly coincided with the modern province of that name, in the later Middle Ages. Each centre of population aimed to supply itself with grain, beans (*garbanzos*), olives and wine. There is some evidence, however, that livestock was reared not only to supply the local population with meat and clothing but also to provide wool for export. Stock-breeding took place mainly in the Pedroches, but also to a lesser extent in the Guadalquivir valley and the Campiña.[1]

Like the Campiña of Córdoba, the delta of the Guadalquivir in the Jerez area is bounded on the south-east by mountains - a series of scarps in the same system as the *sierras* to the south of Córdoba. The western part of this system, the Serranía de Ronda, has a number of isolated outcrops, running southwards from the latitude of Alcalá de los Gazules. The peaks of these lesser *sierras*, such as Fates, La Luna, Ojén, El Niño and Blanquilla, range from 600 to 800 m. and the average height of each formation is about 400 m. As most of the mountains rise from little above sea-level, they dominate the surrounding countryside. Madoz states that from the top of the Sierra de San Cristóbal, near the right bank of the Guadalete between Jerez and Puerto de Santa María, it is possible with a telescope to see Cape St. Vincent, Seville, the mountains of the kingdom of Granada and even Gibraltar, despite the fact that its peak is only 126 m. high.[2]

Although the Jerez material gives little information about crops in the area of that town, Colón's *Itinerario* is more helpful for this region than for Córdoba. Trebujena, to the north of Jerez, had lands restricted by the Marisma, but the cultivated land seems to have been used for grain and pasture

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1. The Córdoba archives provide valuable information about the little-known part which the town played in the Castilian wool trade around 1500.

2. Madoz, vol.5, p.119.

and the same applied to the much larger territory of Lebrija and to Bornos, Espera and Villamartín. Immediately round Arcos, Colón noted olive-groves, in addition to grain and pasture. The lands of Jerez were colossal. Even today, after some losses, they contain 18,000 ha. more than those of Córdoba. According to Colón, most were devoted to grain and pasture, but vines were extremely important, particularly to the west and north of Jerez and also on the roads to Arcos and Cabezas de San Juan. The vines were particularly prominent on the roads from Jerez to Sanlúcar de Barrameda and Puerto de Santa María and according to Colón there were also vines on the road between Sanlúcar and Puerto and in the territory of Rota and Chipiona. Fields of grain and pasture alternated with vines in this area to the west of Jerez. The land to the east and south of Jerez also consisted mainly of grain and pasture, but at the eastern extreme the mountains of Ronda led to a difference. Colón did not explore this area but its rocky character suggests that the absence of references to it in surviving documents was not accidental. The southern part of the kingdom of Seville followed a similar pattern but towns to the east, such as Alcalá de los Gazules and Algeciras, tended to have more rough ground than those further west, for example Medina Sidonia, Chiclana or Vejer.

The two agricultural commodities which regularly produced a surplus in the Jerez area in the late fifteenth century were grain and wine. Stock-breeding, particularly of cattle, was also extensive, leading to a valuable trade in hides. There is little sign, however, of the fruit orchards which abounded in the valleys of the Guadalquivir and Guadajoz. The evidence suggests that there was less variety in the crops produced in the southern part of the kingdom of Seville and that, in general, stock-breeding and grain-production were the main activities, together with vines around Jerez, Sanlúcar, Rota, Chipiona and Puerto de Santa María.

Chapter Two

THE POLITICAL STRUCTURE OF FIFTEENTH-CENTURY ANDALUSIA

The political structure which was superimposed on the region in the later Middle Ages had its origins in the Christian reconquest of the thirteenth century. This is not the place to discuss the early years of Christian rule, which reached Córdoba in 1236, Seville in 1248 and Jerez de la Frontera in 1255, with the definitive expulsion of the Muslims in 1263, after a revolt.[1] However, the distribution of political power between the Crown and local influences in Andalusia depended for the rest of the medieval period and indeed into modern times on the decisions taken in the early days by Ferdinand III and Alfonso X.

As a basic principle, the Crown rewarded those who had helped in the reconquest with lands and with jurisdiction over towns and villages in the area. The remaining territory remained directly subject to royal authority. These royal lands were called 'realengo', while those granted to nobles or ecclesiastical corporations were known as 'señoríos'. The legal and historical development of the concept of 'señorío' in the Crown of Castile is of considerable importance and interest. It depended on the acceptance in all Castilian law codes of the principle that, in family law, a father had the right to undisputed supremacy over his son. The Visigothic 'Fuero Juzgo', which became the charter ('fuero') of the royal towns of Andalusia after the reconquest, gave children no property-rights while their parents were alive, though the parents had the right to punish them for misbehaviour and disinherit them in the event of a "great offence or great dishonour".[2] Alfonso X's 'Siete Partidas';

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1. For a brief description of the Christian settlement of western Andalusia see Jaime Vicens Vives, 'Historia social de España y América', 5 vols., Barcelona, 1957-9, vol.2, pp.13-20.

2. Fuero Juzgo, bk.4, title 5, law 1, in 'Los códigos españoles concordados y anotados', 12 vols., Madrid, 1847-51, vol.1.

which were the Castilian version of the Roman 'common law' (not to be confused with the English variety) which spread through Europe in the twelfth to fourteenth centuries, justified the father's power and lordship (poder et señorío) over his son by reference to the superiority implicit in the original act of conception and to the debt that the son owed to his father because he would one day inherit his property.[1] This principle was easily extended from the family to society as a whole. Since late Roman times, Spanish society had been divided, like that of most of Western Europe, into two basic categories - the nobles, who had wealth and power, and the peasants, who of right had none. Churches and monasteries, which owned extensive lands, were treated as seniores , or part of the nobility.

The manner in which Andalusia was reconquered ensured that the majority of the population would be dependent from the start on the small noble group which carried out the military activity which was necessary. When the Christian settlers arrived from the north in towns such as Córdoba, Seville and Jerez, they found the land already allocated to various laymen from the military caste or to ecclesiastical corporations, such as cathedrals or military orders. Two kinds of 'señorío' may be distinguished in later medieval Andalusia. One of these is the well-known 'feudal' relationship between the lord and his vassal. As elsewhere, a man became the 'vasallo' of a señor in order to receive protection, in war or at law, and generally also to obtain financial payments and other benefits in kind (acostamientos) from the lord. In return, the

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1. Partidas 4-17 and 4-18. The problem of variations between the different manuscripts of the 'Siete Partidas' has never been satisfactorily resolved. The printed edition normally cited is that of the Real Academia de la Historia, 3 vols., Madrid, 1807, which was a new collation of all the available versions of the code. However, the text which received most credit in the sixteenth-century and which was declared to be the sole version with legal force by Charles V in 1555, was the collation, with glosses, by Licenciado Gregorio López de Tovar. López's text and glosses are reproduced, in preference to the Academy version, by Pedro Gómez de la Serna, in 'Códigos españoles', vols., 2-5. The citations of the 'Partidas' in this study are, according to convention, related to the 1807 edition, but any such choice of version is inevitably arbitrary. It is worth noting, nonetheless, that any confusion on this point in the mind of the modern investigator is probably no greater than that of lawyers in the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella.

vasallo agreed to serve his lord in battle and in effect committed himself to any cause which the lord might choose to espouse. It was possible for a subject to enter into this kind of relationship with the king and many Andalusians became vasallos del Rey , which meant that the king had the first call on their services in war and that they were more committed to him than his other subjects. However, vasallos were more commonly attached to greater nobles and such links were an important part of politics in the region.

The vast majority of Andalusians, including those who lived in the areas of señorío , were not, however, vasallos in this sense. Their position may be described as that of 'territorial vassal'. Those who worked land in a señorío did not necessarily owe feudal services and dues to its lord, but whether they were technically 'free' or not, their status in law was extremely low. The Roman law, enshrined in the Partidas , equated those who settled on the land, the pobladores , with serfs (siervos), though this applied to realengo as well as señorío .

However, if Roman law strengthened the power of the lord over his territorial vassals, its primary purpose in Castile was to establish the supremacy of the royal prerogative. One of the main features of medieval Castilian legislation was the perpetual conflict between laws which strengthened the royal government and those which conceded extensive powers to lords. The new 'common law' was a two-edged weapon in the hands of the king, because while it guaranteed his sovereignty over the kingdom, this very fact gave him the power effectively to give away large parts of his inheritance in señorío to nobles, while at the same time protesting that he was preserving his kingdom in entail (as a mayorazgo) for his heirs. The Cortes, representing the nobility, church and burgesses, tried on many occasions, notably in 1442, to limit grants of señorío to cases of "great and urgent necessity"[1], but the

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1. Alonso Díaz de Montalvo, Leyes de España , Zamora, 1485 (henceforth Montalvo), also in Códigos españoles , vol. 6, bk.5, title 9, laws 2 and 3. The 1442 law was confirmed by Henry IV in 1455 and the Catholic Monarchs in 1480.

royal lawyers counteracted their laws with others, such as the regalist *ordenamiento* of Alcalá in 1348, which reaffirmed the *Partidas*' statement that the king was free to grant any centre of population or castle to an ecclesiastical corporation or a private individual, as long as he reserved the right to make peace and war in the territory concerned and provided that its inhabitants had the right of appeal to his supreme courts.[1]

The powers which a lord was granted when he received a *señorío* were always precisely defined in the document concerned. Under the Trastámaras, jurisdiction was always granted in the context of the royal claim, based on the 'common law', to absolute sovereignty over the whole kingdom. The *Partidas* asserted that the king's title was of divine origin and gave him the mission of administering justice throughout his kingdom and of commanding its armies. Because the title was hereditary, the kingdom partook of the character of private property. However, the old laws, which preceded the *Partidas*, still limited his power. The sovereign could change *fueros* if it was in the interest of the kingdom to do so, but this did not alter the fact that he had to swear, after receiving the allegiance of the *procuradores* of the Cortes, to observe the old.[2] The royal claim to "civil and criminal jurisdiction in all the cities and towns of his kingdoms and lordships"[3] meant that a lord could never consider himself entirely free, within his *señorío*, of the royal law and its officers. The Crown insisted that just as nobles had right of access to the king's supreme tribunal, the royal council (the *consejo real*), so should the inhabitants of *señoríos*, though their cases were to heard in the first instance by the local magistrates appointed by the lord, the *alcaldes de su fuero*.[4] The Crown reserved to itself, however, the hearing in the

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1. *Partidas* 5-4-9. *Ordenamiento* of Alcalá (*Códigos españoles*, vol.1) 27-2.

2. *Partidas*, 2-1, preamble and law 8.

3. Montalvo, 3-14-8.

4. Montalvo 3-16-5, 2-4-7, 2-1-3.

first instance of certain types of case, as an attribute of royal sovereignty. These were murder, rape, the breaking of treaties, the burning of houses, damage to roads, treason (traición), treachery (aleve), challenges or threats (rieptos) and cases involving widows, orphans and persons in misery (personas miserables). The Partidas had included the forgery of money and the royal seal in this list of offences, but they were omitted by Montalvo, perhaps in error.[1]

The standard formula in which the Crown granted jurisdiction over a señorío to a nobleman in the later Middle Ages referred to "civil and criminal, high and low jurisdiction, mero y mixto imperio". The Latin phrase came from the 'common law', in which imperium merum was the complete power of a magistrate to settle criminal cases, called 'justice of blood' in Castilian, according to the sixteenth century commentator, Gregorio López. Imperium mixtum was the equivalent jurisdiction in civil cases. Apart from vassals' right of appeal to the royal tribunals, there was another limitation on the mero y mixto imperio which a lord received with the grant of a jurisdictional señorío. This was the right of the royal officials to enter the señorío at any time, without the lord's permission, and administer justice in the king's name, if the Crown had any reason to believe that there was an inadequacy (mengua) in the justice given by the lord or his agents. This could be done even without a previous complaint by a litigant to the Crown. A lord was also forbidden to give sanctuary to those fleeing from royal justice, though the enforcement of this law, like so many others, depended on the strength of the Crown's resolution at any given moment.[2] The Crown could

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1. Montalvo 3-2-4. Partidas 3-3-5, repeated in Montalvo 3-2-14. Montalvo 3-1-1.

2. "Jurisdicción civil y criminal, alta y baja, mero et mixto imperio". Alfonso María Guilarte, El régimen señorial en el siglo XVI (Madrid, 1962), pp.117, 121, 233-7. Partidas 4-25-2. See also Gregorio López's gloss of Partidas 5-4-9 in Códigos españoles , vol.3. Montalvo 8-17-1, 4.

grant *señoríos* without jurisdiction, but this became increasingly rare in the fifteenth century.

The delegation of administrative powers by the Crown to *señores* was authorised by the *Partidas*. The most important of these powers was the right to appoint magistrates and other officials in the same way as the king or the local community named them in royal towns. A typical fifteenth century case was the grant to Don Diego López Pacheco, second marquis of Villena, of the *señorío* of Serón and Tijola (Almería) by the Catholic Monarchs after the conquest of Granada, with power to name the magistrates (*justicia*), the *escribanos* and the constables (*alguaciles*) of the two towns.[1]

It was also possible for lords to obtain some share of taxation revenue in their *señoríos* which would otherwise go to the Crown. As in the case of jurisdiction, the Cortes fought to prevent this alienation of part of the royal patrimony. It was agreed that certain regalian rights, including some *tributos* and the coining of money, could not be alienated, but the Cortes admitted that the King could, in other cases, give the benefit of his rents to a private individual or delegate the power of collection to a *señor*. The difference between these practices and an outright alienation was not in practice very great.[2] The Cortes' claim to control such grants was based on the law which forbade their proclamation without that assembly's consent.[3] However, just as the Cortes failed to stop the grant of *señoríos*, so it also proved incapable of preventing the transfer of royal revenues, in complete legality, to private individuals. The conditions of such alienation were full of complications, reflecting the chaotic state of the royal finances in the fifteenth century. In the case of some taxes, both the revenues and the power of collection remained with the Crown, while in other cases the lord was given power to collect on behalf of the Crown,and in others again, the

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1. *Partidas* 3-4-2 (Also Montalvo 2-15-1). Guilarte, *op.cit.*, p.281.

2. Montalvo 5-9-2. Guilarte, *op.cit.*, p.155.

3. Montalvo 2-11-7.

revenue itself was granted to the lord as well. As an additional complication, it was also possible for a lord to obtain the revenue of a tax without a royal grant, by 'prescriptive right'. The concept of 'immemorial possession' was received into Castile in its Roman form with the 'common law'. It was defined as one hundred years of "quiet and peaceful possession without any contradiction". In this way, an individual could obtain a normal attribute of the sovereign, such as the collection of a tax, or even a whole _señorío_.[1]

When the Crown divided the reconquered lands of the kingdoms of Seville and Córdoba, which were Muslim territories from the Taifa period inherited by the Christians, between _realengo_ and _señorío_, it retained control of the main towns, notably Córdoba, Ecija, Carmona, Seville and Jerez de la Frontera. Each of these was given extensive lands, which, in the cases of Seville and Córdoba, contained other lesser towns and villages which were made subject to the new city councils. These outlying areas were known as the _tierra_ or _término_ of the town concerned. That of Seville was by far the largest. It originally stretched about 240 km., both from north to south and from east to west, and contained about 135 towns and villages. The majority of these had been lost by 1474, but 60 still remained subject to Seville council. In the case of Córdoba, the delineation of the _alfoz_, or _tierra_, began at Ferdinand III's order on 10 March 1241, concentrating on the southern boundary, which was still a frontier zone and to remain so for a considerable period. The precise positions of the seven boundary-marks (_mojones_) which were then established cannot be discovered, but they spread from the Andújar road, in the Guadalquivir valley, in a rough semi-circle to a point west of the Guadajoz. The area covered was approximately half of the modern province and all this was subject to Córdoba's _fuero_ as _realengo_.[2]

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1. Guilarte, _op.cit._, pp.185-6. Partidas 3-29-16.

2. See the maps on pp.298-99. This account of the development of the Córdoba _alfoz_ owes much to the article by Miguel Angel Ortí Belmonte, "El fuero de Córdoba y las clases sociales en la ciudad. Mudéjares y judíos en la Edad Media", _Boletín de la Real Academia de Córdoba_, year 25 (1954), pp.7-94.

Almost at once, however, the alienation of land began and as a result of this process, the territory which remained subject to Córdoba in the early years of the Catholic Monarchs was only a small proportion of that granted by Ferdinand III in 1241. While the castles of Almodóvar, Chillón, Obejo and Santa Eufemia[1] and the towns, castles and lands, including silver-mines, of Gahete (later Belalcázar) and Pedroche were given to Córdoba in 1242, other territory was given to the military order of Calatrava, which had played a prominent part in the reconquest. In the later thirteenth century, Córdoba made several gains. In 1264 it received Posadas (del Rey), which was constituted a town (villa) at the same time, and in the following year Santaella was added, Sancho IV incorporated Baena, Luque and Zuheros in Córdoba's término in 1293.[2] Nonetheless, the practice of alienating towns from the royal jurisdiction, having become established in the early days, caused a gradual decline in the number of towns in the tierra . The process was not absolutely irreversible. In 1258, for example, Alfonso X restored to Córdoba the town of Cabra, which had been granted by Ferdinand III to his uncle, Don Rodrigo Alfonso de León, adelantado de la frontera (governor of the frontier).[3] However, the general trend towards the dismemberment of the royal patrimony was most pronounced. In the long run, Cabra was no exception. For some time, it was in the hands of the order of Calatrava, then, in 1342, it was returned to Córdoba by Alfonso XI. However, the Trastámaras alienated it yet again and in 1439 it was given by John II to Diego Fernández de Córdoba, third lord of Baena.

The will of Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba, first lord of Aguilar in the house of Córdoba, dated 15 December 1379, indicates the extent of the losses which Córdoba had already sustained by then. The former royal possessions

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1. The spelling of place-names has been modernised except in transcriptions from original documents.

2. Archivo Municipal de Córdoba (AMC), Sec.1.Ser 2,No.1,1-2-5, 1-2-14.

3. AMC 1-2-3.

which were included in the family estates were the *villas* of Aguilar and Priego and the *lugares* (places) of Castil-Anzur, Montilla and Cañete[1]. In addition, Villafranca was given to the order of Calatrava in 1377, Baena was alienated by Henry II in 1386 and Zuheros by John II.[2] During the fourteenth century, Santa Eufemia was lost as well. However, it was in the fifteenth century that Córdoba experienced its greatest difficulties in preserving its *término*. Despite his promise, at the Cortes of Valladolid in 1442, to keep the royal patrimony intact, John II granted two of Córdoba's subject towns to the masters of military orders. Gahete and Hinojosa were given to the master of Alcántara, Don Gutierre de Sotomayor. Henry IV gave Fuente Obejuna and Belmez to the master of Calatrava, Don Pedro Girón. Both succeeded in making these grants into personal possessions, which could be inherited by their families.[3]

Córdoba had previously caused the king to abandon an attempt to grant Fuente Obejuna and Belmaz to Don Gutierre de Sotomayor and in 1465 its council persuaded Henry to revoke the grant to Don Pedro Girón, but in 1468, Fernán Gómez de Guzmán, *comendador mayor* (chief commander) of the order of Calatrava, seized the two towns while Córdoba was distracted by internal disturbances. In April 1476, Fuente Obejuna returned to Córdoba's jurisdiction, after a revolt in which the *comendador mayor* was murdered. It remained in Córdoba's hands until 1557, when it was sold to Don Leopoldo de Austria, bishop of Córdoba. However, the order of Calatrava did not give up without a fight and Córdoba's possession was contested in a series of legal actions in secular and ecclesiastical courts, which were ended by a compromise, arrived at by the two parties on 6 October 1513, whereby Fuente Obejuna remained subject to Córdoba, but the order

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1. Archivo Catedralicio de Córdoba (ACC), Cajón S no.27.

2. Rafael Ramírez de Arellano, *Historia de Córdoba desde su fundación hasta la muerte de Isabel la Católica*, 4 vols. Ciudad Real, 1915-17, Vol.4, p.135.

3. *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de León y Castilla* (Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid, 1861-1903), vol.3, pp.393-401.

received compensation of 30,000 ducats, to be paid half by the Crown, which was by this time administering the goods of the order of Calatrava in any case, and half by Córdoba itself.[1]

Despite these losses, Córdoba retained control over many places during the reign of the Catholic Monarchs. The royal possessions may be divided into those in the valley of the Guadalquivir, those in the Sierra de Córdoba and to the north and those to the south of the Guadalquivir. Córdoba had jurisdiction over Hornachuelos, Peñaflor, Posadas, Almodóvar del Río, Alcolea, Pedro Abad, Adamuz, Montoro and Aldea (now Villa) del Río. North of the valley, the remaining royal possessions were Santa María de Trassierra, Obejo, Fuente Obejuna, Alcaracejos, Pozoblanco, Torremilano (now, with Torrefranca, known as Dos Torres), Añora, Pedroche (then known as Villa Pedroche), Villanueva de Córdoba (known as the *lugar* of Enzina until 1499) and Torrecampo. South of the Guadalquivir, Córdoba's *tierra* included Bujalance, Castro del Río, Castro Viejo (a now depopulated site near Bujalance), Villar, La Rambla and Santaella.

Jerez had an enormous *tierra*, which was divided up in the *repartimiento* of 1263. The castle of Tempul was acquired from Arcos de la Frontera at some point in the fourteenth century,[2] but in 1483, a new royal town, Puerto Real, was founded on the bay of Cádiz, in "the Matagorda and its surrounding area

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1. Sale agreement, Archivo General de Simancas (AGS), Diversos de Castilla 40/12, reproduced in Guilarte, *op.cit.*, appendix 28. Other Fuente Obejuna documents in AMC 2-30 and ACC Caj.0. The 1513 agreement is in AMC 2-30-15. For Córdoba's part in the 1476 Fuente Obejuna uprising, see Ramírez, "Rebelión de Fuente Obejuna contra el comendador mayor de Calatrava", *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, 39 (1901). Ortí Belmonte, *op.cit.*, uses the account by Francosco de Rades y Andrada, in *Crónica de las tres órdenes y caballerías de Santiago, Calatrava y Alcántara* (Toledo, 1572), which was also used by Lope de Vega in his play, *Fuenteovejuna* (see for example the edition of Real Academia Española, 15 vols., Madrid, 1890-1913, vol., 10, pp. 529-61, with introduction by M. Menéndez y Pelayo).

2. Miguel Angel Ladero Quesada, *Andalucía en el siglo XV. Estudios de historia política* (Madrid, 1973), p.20.

(comarca), which is in the land of the most noble city of Jerez de la Frontera, which is of our royal crown". The new town was not placed in Jerez's jurisdiction, but in a "district and jurisdiction by itself...".[1] Despite the stress laid on the separation from Jerez in Puerto's letter of foundation, appeals against the sentences of Puerto magistrates in criminal cases were to be heard in Jerez, and this gave the larger town a pretext for intervening in the port's affairs. Jerez's protests about the loss of lands to Puerto, which astonishingly included a pathetic plea about the town's lack of grazing-space, were unsuccessful, but in 1488 Jerez was given jurisdiction over Puerto Real and although income from that town was not technically part of Jerez's municipal funds, in practice it was considered as such. To judge from the modern municipal boundaries, the actual loss of land to Puerto Real was about 20,000 ha. out of 160,000 ha.[2]

Puerto Real was Jerez's only possession. Other places, such as Villamartín and Villafranca de la Marisma (now Los Palacios y Villafranca, Seville) were considered with Jerez for tax purposes, but were in fact in the señorío of Arcos.[3]

Of the señoríos which existed alongside realengo in late medieval Andalusia, some were in the hands of the military orders of Castile - Santiago, Calatrava, Alcántara and St. John - which had large holdings elsewhere in the kingdom. However, western Andalusia was not a great source of strength to the orders, in comparison with areas which had been conquered earlier, such as Calatrava's territory around Ciudad Real and Santiago's empire on the Portuguese

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1. Archivo Municipal de Jerez (AMJ), Actas Capitulares, 14.8.1483 (royal letter of 17.7.1483). The foundation documents from the municipal archives of Puerto Real are reproduced by Antonio Muro Orejón, in "La villa de Puerto Real, fundación de los Reyes Católicos", Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español, 20 (1950), pp.746-57.

2. AGS Registro General del Sello (RGS), 8.10.1488. AMJ Vitrina 2. For public income from Puerto Real, see table 4 . Figures for the areas of municipal territories from España, atlas y índices de sus términos municipales .

3. AMJ Actas 31.12.1512.

frontier, north-west of Seville. Apart from Fuente Obejuna, which was lost in 1476, and Belmez, the only major possessions of the order of Calatrava in the kingdom of Córdoba were its commandery at Córdoba itself, including arable lands and another at Villafranca de Córdoba, after 1377. Apart from one in Seville, Calatrava had no commanderies in that kingdom after 1464, when it lost Cazalla and Osuna to the Girón family. The order of Alcántara had no possessions in the Córdoba area and only Zalamea and Magacela in Seville, after the loss of Morón, Castilleja, El Arahal and the castle of Cote, also to the Girón, in 1461 The order of Santiago also had nothing in Córdoba, but three commanderies in the archdiocese of Seville - Castilleja de la Cuesta, Reyna and Estepa, which was the only one of any importance. The order of St.John owned a series of commanderies on the Guadalquivir, including Lora del Río, which contained valuable agricultural land, but it too was unrepresented in the kingdom of Córdoba.[1]

Another possible beneficiary of alienations from the royal patrimony was the Church, but like the military orders, the dioceses of Seville and Córdoba were not generously treated by the Crown, in terms of *señoríos*. By the fifteenth century, the archbishops of Seville retained seven towns in their archdiocese, none of them of great importance, having lost several to nobles. The bishops of Córdoba, on the other hand, had no major possessions left by this time, having lost the town of Lucena in the late fourteenth century and sold the castle of Toledillo to the lord of Palma, Don Luis Portocarrero, in the late fifteenth.[2]

It is clear, however, that royal grants of Andalusian *señoríos* mainly benefited the nobility. The powers which accompanied such grants have already been described, but it is necessary also to analyse the group of families

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1. Ladero, "Algunos datos para la historia económica de las órdenes militares de Santiago y Calatrava en el siglo XV", *Hispania*, 30, 1970, p.655. Ladero, *Andalucía*, pp.37, 64-6.

2. Ladero, *Andalucía*, pp. 37, 47.

which received the greater part of the Crown's generosity. As Ladero has recently published a detailed survey of the holdings of the Andalusian nobility in the fifteenth century, it is not necessary to begin with lists of names and dates, but some additional material from sources not used by Ladero will be included in the following discussion.[1]

The nobility of the kingdoms of Seville and Córdoba in the later Middle Ages falls fairly readily into three categories, based on the scale of *señorío* which each family possessed. For this purpose it is sufficient to speak in general terms of towns and villages, as more detailed accounts of their property serve to confirm the main conclusions.

At the head of the nobility of the kingdom of Córdoba, in both social and economic terms, was the house of Fernández de Córdoba, which arrived in the area from Galicia with the reconquering armies, in 1236. By the late fifteenth century, it had fragmented into a series of separate lines, but two of the senior ones had attained a position in the upper nobility of the Crown of Castile as a whole. The more powerful of these was the original line, known by the fifteenth century as the house of Aguilar, which had acquired a group of *señoríos* to the south of Córdoba, consisting of Cañete de las Torres, Aguilar, Priego, Monturque, Castillo Anzur, La Puente de Don Gonzalo (now Puente Genil), Montilla, Santa Cruz, Duernas and Carcabuey, the last three being obtained by purchase or exchange. The other line of the Fernández de Córdoba which may be included in the top category is the house of Baena, which was the third to separate from the main house, acquiring the *señorío* of Baena from Henry II in 1386. By Ferdinand and Isabella's accession, it had also obtained permission to populate Doña Mencía, in 1420, from John II, and received the *señoríos* of Cabra, as a county, Rute, Zambra, and Iznájar as a viscounty. These possessions formed a broad, continuous band across the southern end of the modern Córdoba province, running from north to south.

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1. For the rest of this chapter, Ladero, *Andalucía*, pp.1-56.

The middle category of seignorial families contained two further branches of the Fernández de Córdoba. The first to separate from the main, Aguilar, line acquired in the late fourteenth century a _señorío_ which consisted of Lucena and Espejo in the south and Chillón on the northernmost fringe of Córdoba's influence. This family was known in the fifteenth century by the title of _alcaide de los donceles_ (governor of the royal pages) which the head of the house had acquired in the 1370s. The possessions of the fourth branch of the Fernández de Córdoba - Montemayor and Alcaudete - were less scattered, but still did not form a complete 'empire', like those of Baena and, to a lesser extent, Aguilar. There were, however, two medium-sized _señoríos_ in the north which were complete blocks of territory. In addition to their numerous possessions in the modern province of Badajoz, the Sotomayor had a band of territory which stretched south from Belalcázar to Espiel and Villaharta. Adjoining this was the _senorío_ of the Mexía-Carrillo, which covered the north-east corner of the modern province of Córdoba and contained Santa Eufemia, El Viso, El Guijo and, from 1487, the castle of Madroñíz, on the border between the lands of Belalcázar and Santa Eufemia. The Méndez de Sotomayor, who were an old-established Córdoba family, quite separate from the Sotomayor of Belalcázar had a _señorío_ in the valley of the Guadalquivir, consisting of El Carpio and Morente. Also in the river-valley was the _señorío_ of the Portocarrero, which was based on Palma del Río and included Fuente del Alamo and La Puebla de los Infantes.

There were seven minor _señoríos_, consisting of one small town or village, to the south of Córdoba. Five of these belonged to descendants of the Fernández de Córdoba, one of them legitimate and the others not. The legitimate line was the house of Guadalcázar and the others possessed the _señorío_ of Belmonte, a now depopulated place near Bujalance, Zuheros, Fuencubierta and the farm (_cortijo_) of El Fontanar. The other minor _señoríos_ belonged to two families which had arrived in Córdoba with the reconquering armies. The Venegas received Luque from Henry II in 1374, while the De los Ríos received

Fernán Núñez at the same time. A minor branch of the De Los Ríos owned Las Ascalonias in the fifteenth century.

At the bottom of the scale it is sometimes difficult to decide which families should be included in the category of _señores_, because the difference between a village and a large farm is not always easy to distinguish at this distance. There is no such problem, however, with the upper nobility which intervened in the Jerez area, the southern part of the kingdom of Seville. This area was dominated, in the late fifteenth century, by one of the largest private empires in the Crown of Castile, the Guzmán _señorío_. This covered about half the modern province of Huelva, much of it in the county of Niebla. Its possessions in the Jerez area were the port of Sanlúcar de Barrameda, at the mouth of the Guadalquivir, Trebujena, Chiclana, Conil, Vejer, the duchy of Medina Sidonia, Jimena and Gibraltar. This impressive collection was almost matched by the Ponce de León, who had Los Palacios, Mairena del Alcor, Paradas and Marchena in the Seville area, Pruna on the frontier with the kingdom of Granada and Arcos de la Frontera, Chipiona, Rota and Cádiz in the area round Jerez.

No other family could match the Guzmán and Ponce, but the Ribera and Girón also had sizeable _señoríos_. The Ribera were an established Seville family which at the end of the fourteenth century began to accumulate possessions. By 1474, they had acquired Las Aguzaderas, Espera, Bornos, Huevar, El Coronil, Los Molares, Alcalá de los Gazules and Tarifa. The Girón were later arrivals in the region, but between 1458 and 1464 they obtained Gelves, Olvera, Ayamonte, Morón, Cote castle, El Arahal, Archidona, Osuna and Cazalla. Unlike the Ribera, they had no possessions in the immediate vicinity of Jerez.

Of the leading noble families of Castile, the De la Cerda, counts and dukes of Medinaceli, had an important _señorío_ in the kingdom of Seville. This was the port at the mouth of the Guadalete, Puerto de Santa María, which had been founded by Alfonso X in 1281 and which, after becoming a _señorío_ in 1284, passed to the De la Cerda by marriage with a Guzmán heiress in 1306.

The minor *señoríos* based in the southern part of the kingdom of Seville belonged to the Saavedra and the Suazo. The former was divided into two lines by the late fifteenth century, but only the main one held any towns. It received El Viso del Alcor (not to be confused with the Mexía El Viso to the north of Córdoba) from John II in 1440 and Castellar in 1445. The Suazo held the *señorío* of the house and bridge of the Isla de León, which linked Cádiz to the mainland, from 1408 to 1490.

The role of the Crown in assembling the estates of these twenty seignorial families was clearly crucial. Of the 115 *señoríos* which they had obtained up to 1474, 85 were royal grants, the rest being acquired by purchase, marriage, exchange or other means. In addition, a number of places in the latter category had previously been granted by the Crown to other families. This fact is important, because it shows how power became concentrated in fewer hands in the later Middle Ages. Between 1369, when Henry II seized the throne, and the accession of Ferdinand and Isabella in 1474, the transfer of existing *señoríos* from another family to one of the twenty accounted for 44 out of a total of 76 grants. Jurisdiction went with nearly all grants after about 1300 and even if an earlier grant had not included it, this was generally remedied later.

The relative generosity of the various Castilian kings between Sancho IV and Henry IV is of some interest. Taking the 85 royal grants made directly to the twenty Andalusian families shows that the vast majority were made by Henry II and John II. After Sancho IV had made four, Ferdinand IV two and Alfonso XI five, Peter made none at all. In contrast, Henry II made no fewer than 33 grants, though 25 of these were towns and villages in the county of Niebla, which was granted to the Guzmán in 1369. Only three grants were made by the other early Trastámaras, John I and Henry III. However, John II acted on a similar scale to the usurper, making 25 grants, including another huge gift of fifteen *señoríos* to Don Gutierre de Sotomayor. Henry IV made nine grants, which included the marquisate of Cádiz to the Ponce and the county of Belalcázar to the Sotomayor. Six out of the twenty families in fact had

titles by 1474, the Guzmán, Ponce, Ribera, De la Cerda, Baena line of Fernández de Córdoba and Sotomayor, though the De la Cerda's title of counts and later dukes of Medinaceli was outside the area.

It is very noticeable that nearly all the twenty families which led Andalusian society in the later fifteenth century had first come to the region under Ferdinand III or Alfonso X. The only exceptions were the De la Cerda, who had nonetheless acquired Puerto de Santa María, by marriage with a Guzmán heiress, before 1300, the Portocarrero, who had married into a Genoese family, the Bocanegra, which had gained its señorío in the mid-fourteenth century, the Mexía, who married into an old Córdoba family, the Carrillo, during John II's reign, and the Sotomayor and Girón. The latter two families were alone in carving out new señoríos, entirely without the help of established local connections, in the fifteenth century. In both cases, control of the resources of a military order gave the beneficiary enough political strength to extract concessions from the Crown. The Sotomayor empire to the north of Córdoba was developed by Don Gutierre de Sotomayor, who succeeded his uncle as master of the order of Alcántara in 1432. Gutierre aligned his order with the constable Don Alvaro de Luna's party in the political conflicts of John II's reign and in 1445 he was rewarded with the señorío of two of Córdoba's towns, Hinojosa and Gahete, which became a county under the name of Belalcázar in 1465. Between 1445 and the end of John's reign, he received sixteen more señoríos, including Villaharta and Espiel in Córdoba's territory, but an attempt to give him Fuente Obejuna and Belmez in 1450 was thwarted by Córdoba council's resistance. Nonetheless, Gutierre was able to leave a fine inheritance to his son Alonso.

The Girón case was similar. Don Pedro Girón, the younger brother of the marquis of Villena, Don Juan Pacheco, first attempted to carve out an Andalusian empire under John II, but the early grants proved to be illusory and it was under Henry IV that real progress was made. In 1458, he bought Gelves for 850,000 maravedíes and in 1460 the castles of Olvera and Ayamonte for

1,100,000 mrs. Then in 1461, Henry IV, who was politically dominated by the marquis of Villena, allowed him to acquire Morón de la Frontera, El Arahal and the castle of Cote from the order of Alcántara, which received in compensation the towns of Villanueva de Barcarrota, Salvatierra and the castle of Azagala (Badajoz). Three years later, the king made a grant of the newly-conquered town of Archidona to Pedro, who completed his aggrandisement with the acquisition of Osuna and Cazalla. These towns were obtained, with royal permission, by means of an exchange with Pedro's order of Calatrava.

The shortage of new arrivals in the Andalusian aristocracy between the thirteenth and the fifteenth centuries was matched by a marked lack of departures. Families such as the Saavedra, Venegas and De los Ríos, which were among the *conquistadores* of Córdoba and Seville, obtained *señoríos* comparatively late and failed to expand their holding, so that an early arrival in the area was no guarantee of a place in the first rank after 1400, but on the other hand, there was no family which lost this rank, once it had been gained. The reasons for this remarkable stability will be discussed later, but it is now time, having set the political scene, to examine the internal structure of government in the two royal towns of Córdoba and Jerez de la Frontera.

Part Two

THE GOVERNMENT OF CORDOBA AND JEREZ

Chapter Three

CENTRAL AND LOCAL INFLUENCES IN THE GOVERNMENT OF CORDOBA AND JEREZ

During the reconquest of Moorish-held territories in the thirteenth century, the proper form of urban government was generally held to be the open council (concejo abierto), or assembly of all the male householders (vecinos) to discuss their common concerns and make decisions. The fuero of Usagre (Badajoz) and Cáceres, for example, envisaged such meetings taking place after mass on Sundays.[1] Magistrates were appointed by the king to represent his overall authority, but there was no provision for the setting up of citizens as councillors to make decisions on behalf of their fellows. This definition of the council was never formally superseded in any Castilian town subject to the Crown and documents were still addressed by Ferdinand and Isabella, firstly to the concejo , and only then to any other officials who might represent or govern it,

The arrangements made in the early days for the government of Córdoba and Jerez are somewhat obscure. Hipólito Sancho argues[2], on the basis of the Jerez fuero , which had previously been given to Córdoba and Seville, that an open council never existed in these towns. Instead, they were divided into parishes for governmental as well as ecclesiastical purposes and in each parish a citizen was 'sworn' (jurado) to represent his fellows and govern the towns in conjunction with the king's magistrates.

The chief magistrates in Córdoba and Jerez in the period after the reconquest were the two alcaldes mayores . In 1333, Alfonso XI confirmed the right of the parishes of Jerez to elect them and the other officials each year[3]

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1. Fuero de Usagre , ed. Rafael de Ureña and Adolfo Bonilla (Madrid, 1907), article 392.

2. Hipólito Sancho de Sopranis, Historia de Jerez de la Frontera desde su incorporación a los dominios cristianos (Jerez, 1964-5), vol. I, p. 75.

3. Bartolomé Gutiérrez, Historia de Jerez (Jerez, 1886), vol.2, p.189.

and the office survived in the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella. However, its nature was changed by the introduction of a new constitution for the government of Jerez in 1345, by Alfonso XI. This followed the pattern of similar changes which had already taken place in Córdoba, Seville and other Andalusian towns. Permanent councils were set up for the first time to govern the towns on behalf of their citizens and the king. The members of these councils were known as *regidores* (rulers), though in some towns, notably Seville and Córdoba, where the new councils numbered twenty-four, their members were often called *veinticuatros*. In Jerez, Alfonso's measure set up a council of thirteen *regidores*. The two current *alcaldes mayores* became *regidores* at the end of their year of office and joined eleven colleagues who were nominated for the first time. In succeeding years, the *regidores* elected the two *alcaldes mayores* annually from their own number. It appears that the *alcaldes mayores* of Córdoba were not elected by the *veinticuatros* after Alfonso XI's changes. In both towns these magistrates continued to be the Crown's chief representatives.

The *jurados* continued to represent the parishes of Córdoba and Jerez after the introduction of *regidores*. Alfonso X created six parishes after the reconquest of Jerez, when he distributed the town's buildings and lands among his soldiers.[1] A collegiate church was established in the parish of St. Saviour and other parish churches were dedicated to St. Matthew, St. Mark, St. Luke, St. John and St. Dionysius, on whose feast the Christian army entered the town. During the fourteenth century, the growing population of the suburbs (*arrabales*), which were situated outside the Puerta de Santiago at the north-east corner of the city and the Puerta del Real to the south, led to the establishment of the parishes of St. James and St. Michael respectively. The new parishes received the same representation of two *jurados* as the original six. In Córdoba, in the fifteenth century, there were fifteen parishes, including

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1. *Libro de repartimiento*, AMJ, quoted by Sancho, *op.cit.*, vol.I, p.57.

that attached to the cathedral, which was dedicated to St. Mary. These parishes may conveniently be divided into two groups, corresponding to the different quarters of the Muslim city, the al-Medina , or central nucleus which under Christian rule contained the parishes of St.Mary, All Saints, St. Dominic, St. Michael, St. John, St. Saviour, St. Nicholas de la Villa and St. Bartholomew, and the al-Sarquiyya , in Castilian ajarquía , named after its geographical position to the east of the al-Medina . The ajarquía contained the parishes of St. Mary Magdalene, St. Lawrence, St. Marina, St. Andrew, St. Peter, St. James and St. Nicholas del Ajarquía . As in Jerez, two jurados represented each parish.[1]

The magistrates placed over the towns by their lord, the king, were naturally assisted by officers to enforce the law and the post of alguacil mayor (chief constable) was established in royal towns, including Córdoba and Jerez, in the thirteenth century.[2] The office survived in both towns in the fifteenth century. However, the simple structure of two magistrates, a chief constable, a council of regidores and two jurados from each parish was not regarded as adequate for the successful government of the towns and extra officials were soon added. An alcalde de la justicia was introduced in Jerez by the Crown at an early date to hear, in the first instance, criminal cases involving citizens. Overall jurisdiction remained with the alcalde mayor , who supervised the alcalde de la justicia and a number of alcaldes ordinarios , the latter having jurisdiction only in civil cases. In Córdoba, there was a similar structure, with the alcalde de la justicia hearing criminal cases in daily audience at the public prison. The alguacil

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1. Leopoldo Torres Balbás, "La edad media", in Resumen histórico del urbanismo en España , 2nd ed. (Madrid, 1968), pp.73, 76. Teodomiro Ramírez de Arellano y Gutiérrez, Paseos por Córdoba, o sean apuntes para su historia , 3 vols (Córdoba, 1873-7).

2. Montalvo, 2-14-1.

mayor of Córdoba was provided with a deputy, the alguacil menor , and together they supervised a force of alguaciles de espada , or parish constables, one of whom was allocated to each parish.[1] Similar arrangements were probably made in Jerez, but few details survive.

The orderly conduct of public and private life in Castile depended on the recording of transactions by escribanos (scribes). Public business in royal towns was placed in the hands of escribanos públicos by Alfonso X's legal code, the Siete Partidas ,[2] and by the mid-fifteenth century, it was established by ordinance that there were to be twenty-four escribanos públicos in Córdoba and six in Jerez.[3] The duties of these escribanos were various. They were required to record legal proceedings before the magistrates and gradually new tasks were given to them as royal officials proliferated in the towns. In Córdoba, the escribanos were required to provide one of their number to act in each of the parishes, but this was not demanded of their colleagues in Jerez.[4] The proceedings in the council meetings of the regidores were recorded, in Córdoba, by a regidor entitled escribano del concejo . He normally appointed a deputy from the number of escribanos públicos , who actually composed the records of council acts which are now one of the main sources of information about the government of medieval Castilian towns. In Jerez, an escribano público had the duty of recording the council acts but there was no titular office for a regidor .

By the late fifteenth century, the public authorities in Córdoba and Jerez had acquired a large staff of officials, ranging from the alférez ,

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1. AMC 13-10-4. Ordinances given to Córdoba by Ferdinand, 2 September 1483, fol.3. Also those of 1435, Manuel Gonzalez Jiménez, "Ordenanzas del concejo de Córdoba (1435)", Historia, Instituciones, Documentos (University of Seville), 2 (1975), p.204. On alguaciles de espada , , pragmatic of Catholic Monarchs, Seville, 24.2.1491, in AMC Libro de Ordenanzas, 4º, fols. 7-12.

2. 3-19.

3. AMJ Caj.12 No.14. Privilege of Sancho IV, 23.8.1284.

4. AMC Actas 20.5.1500, 3.3.1501.

or town standard-bearer, whose duty it was to lead the town's forces into battle, to the council messenger and the town-crier. The most exalted of these officials in Córdoba was probably the *procurador mayor del concejo*, a *regidor* who represented the council whenever one man was required to speak in its name. The office does not seem to have existed in Jerez. The *regimiento* of Córdoba also named two of its members as *procuradores* whenever the Crown summoned the Cortes (Parliament). Córdoba was represented in this assembly as capital of the ancient kingdom of that name, but Jerez had no independent representation in the Cortes.

Both councils employed a number of men to assist them with the prosecution of business. These included lawyers in an advisory capacity, a town-crier to publicise royal and council measures, trumpeters and drummers to accompany the town troops and perform on ceremonial occasions, and, in the case of Córdoba, a messenger (*correo*), a chaplain and an official to supervise the council porter (*fiel de la portería*). The other council officials were involved in many other spheres of activity in the towns.

In Córdoba, some of them helped to enforce the law. One of these was the *alguacil de entregas*, a constable who appears to have been responsible for the collection of *entregas*, the payments required to settle debts or other legal cases.[1] Goods and cash collected in this way were stored in the council meeting-house, though in 1498, the Crown told the council to provide a special building for the purpose and representatives were sent to examine the working of such a house in Seville.[2] Both councils had a gaol for offenders sentenced by the local magistrates. In Córdoba, a *fiel* (faithful or reliable man) was appointed by the council to supervise the running of the gaol from the official point of view, while the interests of the prisoners were supposedly

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1. *Partidas* 3-27-6. AMC 13-10-4, fol.3.

2. Reference to a house for *entregas* (or *prendas*) in AMC Actas 10.5.1497, 9.2.1498, 23.5.1498.

defended by an official chosen each year by the *regidores* from outside the council to be their representative, the *procurador de la cárcel*.[1]

Both councils employed a *mayordomo del concejo* or *de los propios* as steward of the public property in rents and land.[2] The office was included in the original *fueros* of the towns and its holder had overall responsibility for the public accounts. An accountant (*contador del concejo*) was provided in both towns, but in Jerez the office had ceased its independent existence by 1447.[3] In Córdoba, the *mayordomo* was assisted by the *cobrador de la cuenta pública*, or collector of public funds.

The Córdoba and Jerez councils had certain responsibilities for military affairs. The *alférez* who led the town's host or militia in time of war has already been mentioned, but in some cases, the *regidores* also appointed the *alcaides* (governors) of royal fortresses within their territory. The *alcaide* of the castle of Tempul was always provided by Jerez council, but the Crown often retained control of appointments to governorships in the Córdoba area.

Council officials also supervised public works, trade and agriculture. In Córdoba, the council provided two clerks of works (*alarifes*) and a collector of funds for this purpose.[4] It also appointed two *mayordomos de las calles*, officials who were responsible for the cleanliness of the streets. The staff of the custom-House (*casa de la aduana*) was also provided largely by the local council. In Córdoba, this consisted of an *alcalde* and a porter and in both towns a *fiel* was appointed to supervise the conduct of the house. Other *fieles* performed a similar task for the various trades of the town. In Córdoba, these officials or equivalent *veedores* (examiners) were responsible for checking the weights and measures used by traders and for supervising the sale of salt,

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1. AMC Actas 7.5.1498.

2. See Chapter 5 for the municipal finances.

3. AMJ Actas 6.3.1447.

4. See Chapter 5 for the works fund.

flour and fish and the trades of tanning, dye and cloth manufacture and the work of the silversmiths. Fieles of this kind were also appointed, on royal orders, to supervise the unloading of grain at El Portal, which was Jerez's port on the Guadalete.[1]

Many disputes over boundaries arose in predominantly agricultural communities and the Córdoba and Jerez regions were no exceptions. Córdoba council appointed a *fiel de los cortijos* to supervise the boundaries of farms, with the help of *medidores de tierras* who carried out the actual measurement of the lands in question. When the council became involved in legal action over boundaries, it appointed a *procurador de términos* to take charge of its dealings with lawyers. Jerez council employed guards to protect public and private lands from external attack, but it is not known whether officials were appointed on a regular basis to supervise the boundaries of properties in the area.

The office of *fiel ejecutor* in Jerez does not fit into any of the categories already used to describe the different officials to be found in the two towns under Ferdinand and Isabella. It began in Seville in 1334, when Alfonso XI appointed seven officials with this title to act, in the manner of 'ombudsmen', as a control on the conduct of the council and its agents. After many vicissitudes, Isabella returned to Alfonso's system of appointing seven *fieles*, two of them being *regidores*, two *jurados*, two citizens from outside the council and one the deputy of the *asistente* (see below). They were required to supervise a wide range of activities including the administration of justice, the letting of public property and disputes over its use, the assessment of individual citizens' contributions to direct taxation, the preservation of law and order, the use of correct weights and measures, the performance by the town's *caballeros* of their military duties and the opening and closing of the town gates.[2] According to the council acts of 1482, the office of *fiel ejecutor*

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1. AMC Actas 13.7.1479, 22.6.1479, 27.6.1496, 13.11.1493, 2.10.1510, 13.2.1493, 12.6.1499, 13.11.1495. AMJ Actas 6.4.1500.

2. Ladero, *Andalucía*, p. 82.

was introduced to Jerez by John II in 1445, because he was dissatisfied with the way in which the town was being governed. A local man, Bach. Alfonso Sánchez de Gallegos, was appointed to ensure that the ordinances were being observed. He was also called *adelantado* (governor), but the title of *fiel ejecutor* was normally used thereafter and the official's duties seem to have been similar to those of his colleagues in Seville.[1]

The arrangements made by Alfonso XI for the government of royal towns by *alcaldes mayores* and councils of *regidores*, helped by *jurados* and *escribanos*, did not prove to be definitive. As so often, later changes took the form of additions to the structure of government rather than the replacement of existing parts. By far the most significant change which took place between the mid-fourteenth century and the beginning of Ferdinand and Isabella's reign was the introduction of the *corregidor* (or *asistente*) as the Crown's representative with overall control of the government of its towns.

The idea of a magistrate with powers to supervise the actions of his colleagues in the locality had already found a place in Castilian practice before the Trastámara line seized the throne. In Andalusia, the *adelantado mayor* (chief governor) heard appeals against the verdicts of the *alcaldes mayores* in places such as Córdoba and Jerez. However, the new dynasty soon concluded that the major royal towns needed to be supervised more closely and the post of *corregidor* ('corrector' of abuses) was created. John I's 1383 legislation on the subject described the *corregidor* as an arbitrator, who was to be sent by the king to towns where the existing officials had proved unsatisfactory. He was to stay only as long as it took to rectify the situation and the local community which had caused him to be sent had to find his salary.[2] The law also stated that a *corregidor* would only be sent if

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1. AMJ Actas 10.7.1482.

2. Montalvo 2-16-3.

requested by the town concerned, but this notion never bore much relation to reality.

Probably because of their temporary nature, little information is available about the early appointments of *corregidores*.[1] However, it is clear that the reign of Henry III (1390-1406) was the important period for the development of the office. The first known *corregidor* of Seville (in this town, the *corregidor* was known as the *asistente* after 1459) was appointed in 1406. Two men held the office in that year, Dr. Juan Alonso de Toro and Dr. Pedro Sánchez del Castillo. They were succeeded by Dr. Luis Sánchez de Badajoz in 1407, but thereafter no appointment is known until 1417.[2] The situation in Jerez was similar. In 1399, Henry III freed the town from the jurisdiction of the *adelantado* of Andalusia and the exemption was confirmed by John II in 1421. This move was probably linked with the introduction of a *corregidor*.[3] A royal letter to Jerez council in 1410 referred to a complaint from the town that one Gonzalo Gil has been put to death by the *corregidor*, "perhaps ten years ago", that is, about 1400.[4] Padre Spínola asserts that the first *corregidor* of Jerez was Martín Fernández Portocarrero, lord of Moguer (Huelva) in 1394, but the evidence for this does not survive.[5] However, there was a *corregidor* in Jerez by March 1416, although there had not been one in 1409 or 1410.[6] According to Mitre Fernández, the first *corregidor* in Córdoba was Dr. Pedro Sánchez del Castillo, who served from 1402 until his

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1. The information which is available is to be found in: Emilio Mitre Fernández, *La extensión del régimen de corregidores en el reinado de Enrique III* (Valladolid, 1969), and Benjamín González Alonso, *El corregidor castellano, 1348-1808* (Madrid, 1970).

2. Ladero, *op.cit.*, pp.89-90.

3. AMJ Caj. 12 No.16.

4. AMJ Actas 26.9.1410.

5. Padre Juan de Spínola, *Apuntes para la historia de Jerez, etc.*, seventeenth-century manuscript in RAH, 9-27-8-5420, year 1394.

6. AMJ Actas 12.1409, 14.1.1410, 3.1416. For dates of Jerez magistrates and *alguaciles*, see table 1.

appointment to the same office in Seville, where he was in 1406. Sánchez was replaced in Córdoba by Dr. Luis Sánchez de Badajoz, who also moved to Seville. Information on succeeding *corregidores* in Córdoba is not available until 1452[2], but it is probable that appointments were intermittent during these years, as in Seville and Jerez. In the latter town, there were *corregidores* in 1419, 1426-30, 1433 and 1441-51. The fact that nearly all known holders of the office in these three important Andalusian towns in the first half of the fifteenth century were qualified in law and members of the royal administration indicates that the Crown continued to pursue John I and HenryIII's policy of using the *corregidor* to bring towns under tighter royal control. When a *corregidor* was appointed, he was given the supreme position in the government of the town concerned and no *alcaldes mayores* were chosen under the local ordinances during his period of office. As soon as he was withdrawn by the Crown, the local *alcaldes mayores* were restored. In John II's reign, the alternation between the two systems was fairly frequent, particularly in Jerez.

The king had another resource if he was dissatisfied with the government of one of his towns. This was to appoint a *pesquisidor* (investigator) who generally came, like the *corregidor*, from the royal administration, to examine the situation in a local community and make a report to the king or take action in his name, as appropriate. The *procuradores* at the Cortes of Burgos in 1430 asked the king to appoint *pesquisidores* to examine the conduct of *corregidores* and ensure that they did not abuse their powers.[3] John II gave an evasive reply, but gradually the idea was put into practice. There had been *pesquisidores* before this, but they had been appointed, like judges with special commissions from the Crown, to investigate a specific

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1. Mitre Fernández, *op.cit.*, p.28.

2. For the available dates of magistrates and *alguaciles* in Córdoba, see table 2.

3. *Cortes*, vol. 3, p.92.

problem. In 1431, Pedro Fernández de Zamora, *escribano del Rey*, was sent to Jerez as *pesquisidor*, to investigate the disorders which the king believed to have occurred in the town since the previous *corregidor* had been withdrawn. He arrived at the end of February and in April his appointment was extended for three months, but in June the local council tried to oust him by holding a public meeting in the Plaza de San Dionysio, which voted to send two *regidores* and a *jurado* to Court to ask the king not to send any more *pesquisidores* or *corregidores* to the town. Their argument was to be that such magistrates wereunnecessary, "because all were of one accord and in peace and in tranquillity as relations and friends" and the official account states that, "there was not, among the aforesaid people, any man who contradicted it". Once the sending of the messengers had been approved, the council drew up a document giving the reasons why the commission of the *pesquisidor* should not be renewed for a further three months. This largely consisted of accusations that the *pesquisidor* had in various ways abused the powers which he had taken over from the local *alcaldes mayores* and *alguacil mayor*.[1] However, the interest of the former magistrates in discrediting him is obvious and in view of the fact that they played a leading part in the moves to eject him, it is not clear to what extent the council's assertions may be believed. A *corregidor* or *pesquisidor* obviously had ample opportunity to misgovern his town and the Cortes *procuradores* constantly complained of such abuses[2], but it may not be assumed that the motives of the local magistrates and councils were necessarily purer. Unfortunately, the recordsof the end of the 1431 episode in Jerez do not survive, but it is known that the council began to meet without the presence of the *pesquisidor* and the incident serves to illustrate the readiness of councils to resort to action of doubtful legality to prevent the transference of local magistrates' powers to others sent in by the Crown.

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1. AMJ Actas 26.2.1431, 18.5.1431, 7.6.1431.

2. For example, *Cortes*, vol.3, p.38 (Ocaña, 1422), and p. 69 (Palenzuela,1425).

Against John II, such defiance seems to have been effective, as the next known *pesquisidor* in Jerez, who arrived in August 1437, was not given power to preside over council meetings or suspend the *alcaldes mayores*, although his commission to investigate council rents and property was later extended for three months.[1] A further change took place in the appointment of *corregidores* when in June 1444, the count of Niebla, a local magnate, was given the post in Jerez. He did not exercise the office personally, but appointed deputies, and although a Court servant, Pedro de Tapia, held the office in 1454-6, it was given again to nobles from 1451 to 1454 and in 1458-9. The nomination of leading nobles to *corregimientos* was forbidden by a law of 1402, which had been confirmed by John II in Cortes in 1453, but the proviso included in the laws of Zamora that the king could appoint anyone as *corregidor* and do so at any time, if he judged it to be in the royal interest, permitted the evasion of the earlier law.[2]

The spasmodic introduction of *corregidores* to royal towns seems to have continued under Henry IV in both Jerez and Córdoba, though in Jerez there was none between 1463 and 1472, when the office was given to Don Rodrigo Ponce de León, marquis of Cádiz.[3] The practice of appointing noblemen as *corregidor* was not apparently followed in Córdoba, where the office was held for short periods by servants of the king, such as Gómez de Avila, a royal guard, and Dr. Alonso de Paz, a judge (*oidor*) in the royal *audiencia*, or high court.[4] However, it seems that the *alcaldías* and *alguacilazgo* were not suspended during the term of office of the *corregidor*, as in Jerez. Thus noble officers, such as the *alcalde mayor*, Don Alonso de Aguilar, continued to govern the town, regardless of royal officials sent in from outside.

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1. AMJ Actas 5.8.1437, 12.1437.

2. Montalvo 2-16-5. Cortes, vol. 3, p.205 (Madrid,1435) and p.127 (Zamora,1433) repeated in Montalvo 2-16-2.

3. See below.

4. For the *audiencia* see chapter 4.

The crucial period for the future of the *corregimiento* in the Andalusian towns was Ferdinand and Isabella's visit to the area in 1477. Until then, the existing arrangements for the government of the towns had perforce to continue, because the Sovereigns were preoccupied with the Portuguese invasion. They left Andalusia in the hands of those whom they considered to be the more reliable nobles until they were free to judge the situation for themselves. When Isabella came to Seville in July 1477, she deprived the duke of Medina Sidonia of his charge of the royal castles (*reales alcázares*), the dockyards (*atarazanas*) and Triana castle and established the *corregimiento* on a regular basis. After the queen had been joined by Ferdinand, they adjourned to Jerez, which they entered on 7 October. On 20 October, they provided the town with its first *corregidor* appointed directly by the Crown since 1456. This was Juan de Robles, a captain of the royal guard, who took over from the marquis of Cádiz, not only the *corregimiento* , but also the *alguacilazgo mayor* , together with the *alcázar* and all the town gates.[1] Robles remained as *corregidor* until his death in 1495, the only interruption in his term being the *pesquisas* of 1480, 1489, 1492 and 1494 and his capture by the Moors in the rout of the Ajarquía of Malaga in 1483, after which he was imprisoned for four years.

In the case of Córdoba, the *corregidor* was introduced before Ferdinand and Isabella's visit to Andalusia. During 1476, Diego de Merlo, a royal guard and member of the royal council, became *corregidor* of Córdoba. At first he was accepted by Don Alonso de Aguilar, who was anxious to lose any reputation he may have acquired for being favourable to the Portuguese claim to the Castilian throne. However, Merlo's attempts to mediate in the dispute between Don Alonso and the count of Cabra quickly led to a breakdown in relations

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1. Ladero, *op.cit.* pp.139-146. For the entry of the Catholic monarchs to Jerez, see the *Crónica* of Benito de Cárdenas, published by Juan Moreno de Guerra in *Bandos de Jerez, los del Puesto de Abajo* (Madrid 1929-32), pp.95-6.

and Isabella had to suffer the embarrassment of asking Don Alonso to release her *corregidor* from prison. In July and September of 1477, there are references in royal documents to another courtier, the *maestresala* (literally head waiter) Diego Osorio, as *corregidor* of Córdoba, but for the sake of establishing her authority in Córdoba, the queen felt bound to restore Merlo to his post. Once the gesture had been made, however, the continuing need for good relations with Don Alonso became paramount and on 7 November, Merlo was transferred, in what might be seen as promotion, to the office of *asistente* of Seville, being succeeded in Córdoba by Francisco Valdés, a permanent member (*contino*) of the royal household.[1] As in Seville and Jerez, the town's fortifications, in this case the *alcázar* and the fortress at the south end of the bridge over the Guadalquivir, known as the Calahorra, were removed from noble hands. In Córdoba, the officer dispossessed was the *alguacil mayor* , the count of Cabra.

Under Ferdinand and Isabella, there were few periods during which Córdoba and Jerez had no *corregidor* . Robles' spell of imprisonment was one such example. As soon as his capture was reported, Jerez council elected two *alcaldes* and an *alguacil mayor* , although it was uncertain whether the law permitted such action if the *corregidor* had not been withdrawn or deprived by the Crown.[2] The arrangements made at this meeting for the government of Jerez were a return to procedures used during the many intervals in the two previous reigns when there was no *corregidor* . The Crown was informed of the council's moves, but the attempt to restore local magistrates failed, not because of royal intervention but because the *corregidor*'s wife, Doña María, refused to leave their residence, the *alcázar* . The Crown then

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1. Alfonso de Palencia, *Crónica de Enrique IV* (*Decades*), Castilian translation by A. Paz y Mélia, 5 vols., Madrid, 1904-9, vol.4, Decade 3, bk.29, ch.6, pp.401-4. RGS 27.6.1477, 15.9.1477 and 7.11.1477.

2. AMJ Actas 20.3.1483.

informed the council that Robles was still deemed to be in office and that his _alcalde mayor_, Bach. Juan de Paz, was to be obeyed as his deputy during his absence. A _pesquisidor_ was sent to Jerez in May 1483 and he formally told Jerez council in July that the period in March and April, when locally-elected magistrates were operating, was to be treated in law as though it had never existed. There were only two other occasions on which elections of this kind were held in Jerez in the period up to 1515. In 1501 and 1502, two _regidores_ received the salary for a six-month term as _alcaldes mayores_, though the circumstances are not known, and in April 1503, Gonzalo Gómez de Cervantes refused to continue in office after his term had expired, because the royal letter of renewal (_carta de propogación_) had not arrived. Once again, the _regidores_ elected magistrates for a six-month term, but the renewal of Cervantes' appointment arrived after a month and he then continued in office until 1506.[1] Apart from these two cases, the succession of _corregidores_ in Jerez was continuous between 1483 and the end of 1515.

In Córdoba, there were four occasions on which the council appointed its own magistrates. In October 1496, the _corregidor_ Francisco de Bobadilla died in office, the only such case in either town in Ferdinand and Isabella's reign. The council held an emergency meeting and decided that as the permanent, noble office-holders, Don Alonso de Aguilar and the count of Cabra, were absent and the officials of the _corregidor_ had resigned, it was essential that the council should elect, "officials and ministers of justice and ordinary jurisdiction". The existing officials in the territory governed by the town were told to remain at their posts until the Sovereigns' will was known. These arrangements seem to have worked satisfactorily until the Crown appointed Alfonso Enríquez as _corregidor_, after three months had elapsed.[2]

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1. AMJ Actas 24.4.1503, 2.6.1503.

2. AMC Actas 20.10.1496, 30.1.1497.

Between 1500 and 1515, there were three more breaks in the rule of *corregidores* and *pesquisidores*. In June 1506, Diego López Dávalos abandoned his post as *corregidor* at a time when the town was facing famine and disorder. To deal with this situation, the noble officers, Don Alonso de Aguilar's son, who was known as the marquis of Priego, and the count of Cabra, proceeded to exercise the *alcaldía mayor* and *alguacilazgo mayor* respectively, until the Crown, two months later, provided a new *corregidor*, Don Diego Osorio. A year later, the nobles returned, after making objection to the terms of the document renewing Osorio's appointment, and controlled the town from August until December, when new documents arrived. On the third occasion, the nobles intervened in doubtful circumstances in the summer of 1508 and the royal authority had to be restored by an army of veterans from the Italian campaigns, commanded by Ferdinand himself. Once this revolt had been quelled, the system seems to have functioned smoothly for the rest of the reign.[1]

At this stage, it would be useful to examine the role of the *corregidor* in normal conditions - if such a phrase may ever be used - in the period from 1478 to 1516, because for most of this time, the exceptional circumstances described in the preceding paragraphs did not obtain. The first point to notice is that generally the time spent by a *corregidor* in any one town was strictly limited. The laws of Zamora established in 1433 that a *corregidor* was to have no more than one term in a town and that it might not last more than two years, with the requirement that it be renewed after one. This was still the law under Ferdinand and Isabella, although it has already been noted that Juan de Robles remained for many years in Jerez.[2] There were other less extreme cases in which the terms of *corregidores* were

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1. AMC Actas 15.6.1506, 19.8.1506, 25.8.1507, 17.12.1507. The 1508 revolt will be discussed later, in chapter 9.

2. Cortes, vol.3, p.127 or Montalvo 2-16-2, confirmed by the Catholic Monarchs at Madrigal in 1476.

extended beyond the normal limit. In Jerez, Gonzalo Gómez de Cervantes had three years of office in the period 1500-3, although they were not continuous, and Pedro Suárez de Castilla was reappointed for a year when his two-year term finished in 1515. In Córdoba, no *corregidor* stayed as long as Robles, but it was normal for more than one renewal to be granted to holders of the office. This applied in the cases of Francisco Valdés, Francisco de Bobadilla, Alfonso Enríquez, Diego López Dávalos and Fernando Duque de Estrada.[1]

One of the first concerns of the Cortes *procuradores* under John II was to secure an adequate legal means of checking on the conduct of *corregidores* in office, to prevent the abuse of their wide powers. At Toledo in 1436, the *procuradores* obtained a pronouncement from the king to the effect that *corregidores* would be subject to the requirement laid down by Alfonso X's *Partidas*, that officials had to supply financial guarantees (made by *fiadores*), when they entered office, that they would indemnify any who were proved to have just claims against them. Also, when the *corregidor* came to the end of his term, he had to devote fifty days to the satisfaction of those who had complaints against his administration.[2] This procedure became known as the *toma de residencia* and under Ferdinand and Isabella it was carried out by a royal official of the same type as the *corregidor* himself, known either as a *juez de residencia* (judge of residence) or as a *pesquisidor*. *Tomas de residencia* were supposed to take place at the end of each two-year term, but although they occurred often, they did not necessarily follow this pattern precisely. In Córdoba, *pesquisas* are known to have taken place in 1480, 1490, 1494, 1495, 1499, 1500 and 1514. In Jerez, the known dates are 1480, 1483, 1489, 1492, 1494 and 1512. The lack of information on the 1480s in Córdoba may explain the gap between the 1480 investigation and the next,

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1. See tables 1 and 2.

2. *Cortes*, vol. 3 p.272.

in 1490, but the failure of the Crown to provide *pesquisidores* in either town in the first decade of the sixteenth century is well documented. In 1492, a *juez de residencia*, Lic. Remón, was sent to investigate the conduct of a *pesquisidor* in Jerez, but this was most exceptional.

The provision of guarantees by *corregidores* and *pesquisidores* caused some dissension in the towns. In Jerez in 1496, Lic. García López de Chinchilla was required by a *regidor* to provide guarantors for this *corregimiento* and four council-members agreed to act in this capacity.[1] In Córdoba, there is more evidence of difficulties. When Alfonso Enríquez was first received in February 1497, he offered the last third of his first year's salary as a security for himself and his officials. This was no great concession, as legislation stipulated that the last third of the salary was not to be paid in any case until the *residencia* had been carried out.[2] The council insisted that the officials give their own guarantees and three *regidores*, two *jurados* and one of the council's lawyers agreed to act. This practice was later forbidden by a royal letter, which required all guarantees to be found from outside the council, but in 1506 Don Diego Osorio had two *jurados* as his guarantors and in 1513 the Crown once again forbade such arrangements.[3]

In 1500, Córdoba council raised the question of financial guarantees for *pesquisidores*, asking the new *corregidor*, Diego López Dávalos, to obtain such securities from the departing *pesquisidor*, Lic. de Porras, and his officials, or else seize his last four months' salary. Dávalos replied that he had no power to do such a thing, and the council received no satisfaction. Another attempt was made in 1514 to obtain guarantees from a *pesquisidor*, but once again the move failed. It is worth noting that in both cases, the council later petitioned the Crown to allow the *pesquisidor*

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1. AMJ Actas 24.7.1496.
2. AMC Actas 13.2.1497. Montalvo 2-16-6 (Toledo, 1480)
3. AMC Actas 28.8.1449, 19.8.1506, 26.10.1513.

in question to remain in the town as *corregidor*, which suggests that no personal hostility to the *pesquisidor* was implied in the demand for guarantees.[1]

The clearest impression of the role which Ferdinand and Isabella envisaged for the *corregidor* in local government is to be found in the articles issued as a pragmatic at Seville in July 1500. This lengthy and comprehensive account of the duties of a *corregidor* consolidated past legislation, for example, the 1485 Seville ordinances recorded by Pulgar[2], and attempted to ensure that this official acted as far as possible in the same way as the Sovereigns would have done, had they been present. Priority was given to ensuring that the *corregidor* and his officials were entirely devoted to the royal interest and not to their own or those of the place which they were sent to govern. The salary of the *corregidor* was limited to the sum stated in his letter of appoinment and he and his officials were confined to the tables of standard charges laid down by the Crown for their services to the public. When a *corregidor* was appointed, the existing *alcaldes mayores* and *alguacil mayor* were suspended without pay for his term of office. The *corregidor* then appointed his own officials, whom he brought with him from outside. It was his responsibility to pay them out of the salary which the town gave him.[3]

The *corregidor* and his officials were forbidden to receive bribes in the form of gifts and promises and, indeed, they were not permitted to establish any personal connection with the inhabitants of the town concerned, or bring any of their property, such as flocks, into its territory. They

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1. AMC Actas 28.8.1500, 13.7.1500, 2.8.1514, 16.8.1514, 22.9.1514, 11.12.1514.

2. Hernando del Pulgar, *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos*, ed. Juan de Mata Carriazo in *Colección de crónicas españoles*, vols.5 and 6 (Madrid 1943), vol.1, ch.167, pp.141-4.
Capítulos de corregidores. Capítulos hechos por el Rey e la Reyna nuestros señores. En los quales contienen las cosas que an de guardar e conplir los governadores, assistentes, juezes de residencia e alcaldes delas ciudades, villas e lugares de sus reynos y señoríos, hechos enla muy noble e leal ciudad de Sevilla a ix de julio de mil e quinientos (Seville 1500)(BN R 31.811). Also included in Lic. Diego Pérez, *Pragmáticas de los Reyes Católicos* (Medina del Campo, 1549)(BM 504.g.3), law 57, fols. 47v-52.

3. Pérez, *op.cit.*, law 61.

might not buy property or engage in trade within the area of their jurisdiction without specific royal permission. Their most important function, however, was the legal one, and in order to keep their justice as pure as possible, they were forbidden to act in law for private clients locally, though the corregidor was permitted to further, without receiving extra payment, the legal interests of his area as a whole. The officials appointed by the corregidor had to be natives and residents of another place and if they were related to the corregidor within the fourth degree of affinity, a royal licence was required. To ensure that the fundamental duties of the corregidor as chief magistrate were efficiently performed, either he or his alcalde mayor had to be fully qualified in civil and criminal law.

When the corregidor was first appointed, he had to visit all the lands of his town within sixty days of his arrival, without extra payment, and enforce the existing scale of charges for the services of escribanos and other officials. At the end of each year of his term, he had to give the Crown an account of the state of his town including the problems which he had encountered and the steps which he had taken to solve them. Although he was free, within the limits set out above, to choose his officials, all such nominations had to be approved by the Crown, which reserved the right to replace his officials at any time. He was not permitted to take clothing or lodgings or any other gift or levy from the town to which he was appointed and he and his officials were required to administer the legal and tax systems without profit to themselves.

The corregidor had a duty to investigate any circumstance, however small, which might affect the well-being and good government of the town and its territory. He had the power to alter or remove any local laws which he regarded as unsuitable, provided that he secured the agreement of the regidores, paying particular attention to the procedure followed in the election of officers, the prevention of fraud among public officials, the supply of food to the population at reasonable prices and the maintenance of public

hygiene in streets and slaughterhouses. He was especially asked to ensure that there was a suitable public prison in the town and that the town council kept records of its own proceedings and stored the royal documents which it received. He was to defend the town against interference from ecclesiastical courts, curb unlicensed private towers and fortified houses and ensure that roads and bridges in the surrounding area were kept in good condition and that the taxes levied on travellers and their goods, including those raised by lords, had a sound legal basis and were properly collected. Strenuous efforts were to be made to secure the return of wrong-doers who took refuge in nobles' jurisdiction (señoríos) and if these were unsuccessful, the whereabouts of the offenders were to be reported to the Crown. The effect of these instructions was to place the whole responsibility for the government of the town and its territory on the corregidor . In order that local councils might be aware of what the Crown required of him, each new corregidor had to produce the articles outlining his duties when he was received by the town.

The 1500 pragmatic also clarified the procedure to be followed in tomas de residencia . The inhabitants of the area concerned had first to be warned, by the escribanos who assisted the juez de residencia or pesquisidor , that the investigation was to take place. When it began,the pesquisidor was instructed to concern himself only with specific charges, not vague denunciations, and to consider all evidence in favour of the corregidor as well as complaints against him. If a charge was substantiated, the pesquisidor was to give sentence and the corregidor and other guilty parties had the right to appeal against his verdict to the royal council. The commission given to a pesquisidor was as all-embracing as that of the corregidor and was phrased in a similar way. He took over responsibility for the government of the town during the investigation and had the power to name officials to replace those of the corregidor , who were forced to remain in the town with their master, as long as the investigation lasted, to answer any charges which might arise. The effectiveness of these safeguards will be apparent later, but it is clear

1. Danvila, op.cit., I, p.[illegible]

from the legislation that the *corregidor* was intended to be the chief representative of the Sovereigns' authority in royal towns.

The Crown did not, however, neglect other ways of influencing the government of the towns directly under its *señorío* and one of the most important of these was control over the appointment of the town' leading officials. By determining the balance between royal (or government) influence and local pressure in the appointment of each type of official, it is possible to gain some impression of the degree of control which Ferdinand and Isabella could in practice exercise over their towns.

Until Alfonso XI introduced the councils of *regidores* in the fourteenth century, the relationship between royal and local influence was quite simple. The king provided the *alcaldes mayores* and *alguacil mayor* and the parishes chose the *jurados* to represent them before these royal magistrates. When the *regimientos* were introduced, however, the system changed. The magistrates were henceforward elected by this new permanent council, though the parishes retained their *jurados*. This did not, however, cause a shift in the balahce towards local influence, because the *regidores* were appointed for life by the Crown. As a result, Alfonso XI's measure did little or nothing to increase the vitality of local institutions and neither he nor his successors seem to have regarded such an aim as desirable. Nonetheless, there were complications in the appointment of *regidores* which are worthy of study and it is in any case important to understand the nature of the permanent councils which were such a vital part of urban government under the Catholic Monarchs.

A *regidor* in Córdoba or Jerez in the fifteenth century needed to have little fear of dismissal. Indeed the Crown encouraged him to regard his office as a family possession, to be transmitted to his heir. Henry IV, for example, stipulated, when he reorganised the Jerez council in 1465, that both *regimientos* and *juraderías* were to be regarded as hereditary.[1] This

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1. Sancho, *op.cit.*, I, p.155. Royal letter of 15 July 1465.

reorganisation increased the number of *regidores* on Jerez council to twenty-four, continuing a process of expansion which began under John II. According to the accounts of salary payments in the municipal acts, John had already added five offices to the council in 1445 and another one in 1446.[1] The demand for offices of this kind seems to have exceeded the supply throughout the fifteenth century and not only in Andalusia. The number of *regidores* in Castilian towns had already gone beyond that fixed in their constitutions when John II declared in Cortes in 1428 that the royal policy would in future be to return to the *antiguo número* (ancient number) of *regidores* by not making further grants of the offices beyond this number, when their holders resigned or died.[2] This was made possible by the fact that the original offices (*oficios del número*) were always distinguished in official documents from the later additions (*oficios acrecentados*). However, the Jerez case has already shown that, in practice, the king pursued the opposite policy by expanding councils and that his successor proceeded in the same way. The policy of returning to the *antiguo número* , expressed in the laws of Toledo in 1480, was not therefore original. Indeed, on that occasion, Ferdinand and Isabella referred to the complaints made by *procuradores* at the Cortes of Ocaña in 1469, which had resulted in a royal order revoking the grants of *oficios acrecentados* .

The Catholic Monarchs gave due warning of their intention to implement the policy of reducing the number of office-holders in the towns. The rapid growth of *oficios acrecentados* was deemed to have begun in the latter part of John II's reign and in the 1480 legislation royal attention was concentrated on the offices added after 1440. Those who had received *oficios acrecentados*

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1. AMJ Actas 6.3.1447. Moreno de Guerra (*op.cit.*) prints a list of the holders of each of the twenty-four offices from 1465, but this bears little relation to the information available from municipal and notarial records.

2. Montalvo 7-2-1.

after that date were not permitted to resign them to any other person and it was stated that the Crown would make no further provision to them.[1]

This law seems to have had little application to the Jerez *regimiento*. Some offices were added to the original thirteen in the 1440s, but the highest number of *regidores* recorded before Henry IV's reorganisation of 1465 was twenty-two. After the council was increased officially to twenty-four, the actual number seems never to have reached beyond thirty, so that there can have been no more than six *oficios acrecentados* at any one time.

The situation in Córdoba was very different, however. There the *número* had been twenty-four since the fourteenth century, but by 1469 the actual number had reached about seventy. In the last years of Henry IV and at the beginning of Ferdinand and Isabella's reign, the council was apparently growing each year, to reach a peak in 1480. In the surviving local documents, no fewer than ninety-five *regidores* are mentioned for that year and according to a memorandum sent to the Crown in 1480 there were in fact ninety *oficios acrecentados*, which, when added to the original twenty-four, produce the remarkable total of one hundred and fourteen.[2] Whether or not this particular case provoked the 1480 legislation on *oficios acrecentados* is not clear, but there is no doubt that in Córdoba determined action was required and taken. Although the Córdoba council at no stage returned to the *antiguo número* between 1480 and 1516, there was a gradual and steady fall in numbers, so that by 1515 the recorded total of *regidores* had been reduced to thirty-four, leaving ten *oficios acrecentados* compared with ninety in 1480.

However, despite this success, the demand for *regimientos* was a force which Ferdinand and Isabella had to reckon with throughout their reign and

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1. Montalvo 7-2-7.

2. AGS *Cámara-Pueblos*, leg.6, memorial of 1480, quoted by Ladero, *op.cit.* pp.86-7.

there is little doubt that the possibility of transmitting an office to an heir and thus establishing the family in a position of public influence and respectability for the future, was one of the main factors which created it. Henry IV's acknowledgement of the hereditary principle in his 1465 letter to Jerez council has already been noted. Hipólito Sancho seems to regard this admission as an innovation which removed the final traces of democracy from the government of the town,[1] but John II's legislation had already allowed the hereditary transfer of offices and the councils of *regidores* had never been democratic in intention or practice since their inception in the mid-fourteenth century. John II had insisted, however, that the Crown should authorise each transfer individually and, in answer to Cortes complaints, had undertaken not to grant offices to a holder and his heir at the same time. Other limitations on the grant of *regimientos* were that each beneficiary should hold only one office at a time and that he should reside in the town concerned, of which he had to be a native.[2] The procedure of resigning an office (*renunciación*) seems to have been largely uncontrolled in the troubled years of the mid-fifteenth century and this meant that once an *oficio acrecentado* had been created it was very hard to suppress it. As early as 1428, John II declared to the Cortes that any resignations which hindered the return of town councils to the *antiguo número* would henceforth be considered as having no legal force, but he had no power, or perhaps inclination, to take any action.[3]

Ferdinand and Isabella also realised that if the Crown could regain its control of resignations, the solution of the problem of proliferating offices would be brought nearer. The laws of Toledo therefore contain a powerful statement of their intention to abolish hereditary office-holding altogether.[4]

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1. Sancho, *op.cit.*, I, p. 155.
2. Montalvo 7-2-18, 7-2-2, 7-2-6, 7-2-8,
3. Montalvo 7-2-2.
4. Montalvo 7-2-13.

The introduction to the law concerned is a masterpiece of special pleading, which shows that the Tudor legislators in England were not alone in appreciating the value of a well-written preamble. In the first place, the practice of granting letters of expectation (cartas expectativas) was rejected. These letters gave the holder a right to the next office to fall vacant in the town concerned, whichever it might be. In future, the Crown would only make provisions to specific offices and all previous grants of cartas expectivas which had not already been used were revoked. However, the law concentrated mainly on the principle of filling offices on a hereditary basis. In true Northcote Trevelyan style, the royal legislators expressed the view that the public service was too high a calling to be exercised by officials chosen in this way. "Both writings and experience", the Monarchs said, "make us certain that many were good and had bad sons. Many were friends of God whose brothers were abhorred of Him. It would be a great error in thought to suppose that the gift or grace of governing well is derived from the father by the son or by one person from another". If public office was open to all, the result would be higher standards, as "all will exert themselves to practice goodness and virtues, to win the prize of honour". In an argument which was probably less likely to appeal to anyone outside the legal and administrative circles of the Court, it was also stated that resignations to named beneficiaries were wrong because they limited the Crown's freedom to choose its own officials. It was also pointed out that in former times, "when justice flourished, public offices were annual". This was a somewhat unscrupulous argument, as it used the supposed golden age of local self-determination as a justification for a measure which was intended to increase royal control over appointments to council offices. The actual point of the law was very much simpler than the arguments used to justify it. A ninety-day period of grace was given to those who already had such grants to use them. After that, their use would lead to loss of the office and confiscation of goods. Up to this time, many office-holders had obtained permission from the Crown in advance to

resign their office to a named person whenever they wished. In such cases, it was merely necessary, when the time came, to obtain royal confirmation of the transaction. No new licence was required.

In fact, the practice of resignation continued as before in the period after 1480 and the temptation to see the laws of Toledo as the beginning of a new era in the government of royal towns must be firmly resisted. Indeed, the very same code included a law which implied that resignations were still permitted. It was stated that they would be considered as valid if the office-holders lived for at least twenty days after making them.[1]

There is no doubt that resignations were normal in Córdoba and Jerez after 1480. In Córdoba, in the period from 1475 to 1515, the Crown is known to have granted sixteen faculties for future resignations of *regimientos* to named beneficiaries and the dates on which seven of these were used are known. In addition, thirty-two other resignations to particular individuals took place in this period.

In twenty-one other cases, the Crown provided men who had not been named by the previous office-holder. These figures are incomplete but they are the best available and are sufficient to form a basis for general observations. They suggest that on balance the holder of an office was rather more likely than not to choose his own successor and the more scattered information for Jerez indicates that the situation was similar there.

The connection between the resignation of offices and the hereditary principle was very close. Thirty-four of the forty-eight recorded cases of resignation or faculty to resign a *regimiento* in Córdoba in the period 1475-1515 involved a transfer to the office-holder's son. In one case the beneficiary was the holder's father and there was one example of resignation to a brother and one to a nephew. Faculties for resignation in all cases

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1. Montalvo 7-2-22.

involved sons. Over the much longer period from 1410 to 1515, the picture was similar in Jerez. Of fifteen resignations known to have been effected, fourteen involved transfer to a son and one to a cousin.

When the Crown provided a *regidor* who had not been named by his predecessor in the office, there was usually a particular reason. This was not stated in all of the twenty-one such provisions made to Córdoba *regimientos* in the period 1475-1515, but in ten of these cases, the previous office-holder had died before he could resign, or had obtained a royal faculty to resign, his office to a named individual. Up to 1480, such provisions might be made to a new *oficio acrecentado* [1] but afterwards this was not permitted. Other special circumstances in which the Crown made its own provisions included the replacement of two Córdoba *veinticuatros* who had supported the Portuguese against Ferdinand and Isabella and the restoration of a *regidor* who had been removed after the riots in Córdoba against the converted Jews (*conversos*) in 1473.[2] The picture in Jerez was similar, although the number of known cases is smaller. Resignation, in fact, was still the normal method of transferring *regimientos* after 1480, as before, though the Crown made its own provision in special cases. Faculties to resign expired with the officers who had obtained them and if they had not by then been used, the Crown was free to ignore them and make its own choice. This was also the case when office-holders were deprived after conviction for some offence.

It is a matter of some interest to discover what kind of men benefited from royal provisions of *regidores* , as it may be assumed that, after the *corregidor* , the Crown regarded the *regimiento* as its main instrument for

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1. For example, see RGS 14.2.1477.

2. RGS 4.12.1478.

controlling local government. If royal nominees were to be placed in the towns, the council would be the most likely place in which to find them. In Jerez, there is little sign that council places were used to provide incomes or openings for royal servants. In 1491, Alfonso Pérez de Vargas, provided to replace the heretic Fernando de Vera, was described as a permanent member (_continuo_) of the royal household, but his family had been associated with public office in the town at least since the fourteenth century and so the provision could not be regarded as an attempt to interfere in local politics. Such appointments were in any case rare in Jerez.

They were more common in Córdoba, but still insignificant in comparison with the number of posts filled by local influence, predominantly of a hereditary kind. Cristóbal Bermúdez, a captain of the royal guard under Henry IV, was a regidor of Córdoba and lost his office for supporting the claim of the Beltraneja to the Castilian throne. His successor, Diego Proaño, was certainly a full-time royal servant, as _alcalde de la real casa_ , and his connection with Córdoba cannot be established.[1] These examples show that offices on the town councils might be used as rewards for royal servants, but most referenees to personal service to the Crown appear in documents ratifying resignations to relatives of previous holders. In these cases, local influence was almost certainly the stronger. There was a connection between town councils, especially that of Córdoba, and the royal service, but most of the pressure for appointment to urban offices seems to have been local, with the Crown happy to acquiesce in the situation.

Although the _regimiento_ was the scene of the Crown's main effort to intervene in local appointments, there was some royal interest in controlling admission to other urban offices. Of these, the most ancient was that of _jurado_ , which certainly did not escape the royal intervention experienced

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1. AMC Actas 26.3.1479, 14.5.1479.

by the more recently-created councils of *regidores*. The problem of *oficios acrecentados* affected the *jurados* to a small extent. The normal quota of two *jurados* was increased in 1451 to four in the parish of St. Michael's, Jerez, probably because of increased population. This also happened in St. Mary's, Córdoba.[1] In 1447, John II gave the church of St. Ildefonso in Jerez the representation of a *jurado* and although the local council protested against the innovation it continued until at least 1513. Apart from these cases, the traditional parishes remained in both towns and each continued to be represented by two *jurados*.

Royal legislation tried to ensure that the *jurados* were effective representatives of their parishes by insisting that they had to live in or close to the parish concerned and might not appoint deputies to do their work for them, although this law was waived for the *jurados* of Jerez in the latter stages of the Granada campaign, in 1491.[2] However, the main legal security for the representative character of the *jurados* was the right of the parishes to elect them, which was safeguarded by John II in 1432 and which survived in practice, in both Córdoba and Jerez, in the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella.[3] The privilege whereby the parishes of Córdoba made such elections was confirmed by the Catholic Monarchs in 1484. It stated that when a *jurado* died in office, the citizens (*vecinos*) of his parish were to meet in the parish church and elect a replacement. These citizens were the people included in the roll of tax-payers (the *padrón*) in the parish. The election was open, without lots or ballots, and took place in the presence of the other *jurados* of the city and the *corregidor*, if he wished to attend. The citizens' choice had to be approved first of all by the other *jurados*, who then conducted the successful candidate to the council of *regidores* for their

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1. AMJ Actas 6.8.1451, Ladero, *op.cit.* pp.86-7, the 1480 memorial.
2. Montalvo 7-1-23, Zamora 1432. AMJ Actas 2.4.1491.
3. Montalvo 7-1-7.

ratification. Once this had been obtained, the *corregidor* and council administered the oath of office to the new *jurado* and instructed the constables to instal him in his parish.[1]

The details of fifteen such elections survive in Córdoba and they all took place after the previous *jurado* had died in office. Voting lists are available in two cases and the number on each is very small. Thirty-five citizens are recorded as taking part in an election in the parish of St. James in 1501, and sixty-five in a similar election in St. Andrew's in 1510. The lists indicate that the voters consisted of a few *regidores* resident in the parishes concerned, some old-clothes merchants (*traperos*), a wide range of tradesmen and artisans and a small number of tenant farmers (*labradores*).[2]

The Cordovan elections all seem to have been unanimous, but there are signs of greater interest and controversy in Jerez in 1515. In that year, there was an election in the parish of St. Michael and votes were collected from 8 to 13 May and recorded by *escribanos* . They were as follows:-

Gómez Patiño	383 (elected)
Alonso de Trujillo	268
Diego de Cea	193
Ruy López de Trujillo	8
García de Orbaneja	5 [3]

The interest shown in this election was very great because both Gómez Patiño and Alonso de Trujillo claimed to have been elected. Disputes of this kind were very common in Jerez. There had been a series of troubled elections under John II and Henry IV and the difficulties continued under Ferdinand and Isabella. Of the eight elections to *juraderías* recorded

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1. AMC 19-4-64.

2. APC 18-8-fols 437-40. AMC 19-4-Actas vol.1 fols 11v-13v.

3. AMJ Actas 11.5.1515.

in their reign, only three proceeded without trouble. One of the problems was that the town council came to feel that royal confirmation was necessary for elections of this type, in addition to their own ratification. This was obtained for elections in 1483 and 1500 and suggests that the council had little confidence in the validity of appointments made locally.[1] The Crown naturally took this opportunity to assert its own lordship in this sphere of government. The high voting figures and the incidence of disputes suggest a greater degree of vitality in Jerez elections than in their equivalents in Córdoba, which seem to have passed off peacefully, although they were more frequent.

In both towns, however, most *jurados* were provided by the Crown. Between two-thirds and three-quarters of the appointments to *juraderías* in Córdoba and Jerez in the period 1476-1515 were made by royal provision rather than local election and the majority of these involved resignations by the previous office-holders to named individuals. As with *regimientos*, the Crown exploited special circumstances in order to make provisions. For example, three Cordovan *jurados* and one in Jerez, who had been deprived for heresy, were replaced in this way in 1484, as were some Jerez *jurados* who had been convicted of secular crimes.[2]

The Crown made little use of *juraderías* to reward its own servants, though Alfonso Carrillo, a *contino* of the royal household, received such an office in Córdoba in 1479 and Ferdinand's steward (*repostero*), Bartolomé Núñez de Villavicencio, in Jerez in 1513. Unusually, the Crown attempted in 1502 to provide a *jurado* to Jerez who was not a citizen. Francisco Díaz de Villacreces had died while at Court and the Crown took the opportunity to replace him with Juan de Angulo, a royal servant. Jerez council protested

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1. AMJ Actas 7.7.1483, 12.2.1500.

2. AMC Actas 8.2.1484, 20.2.1484, 27.2.1484, RGS 12.3.1484, 2.9.1491, 30.10.1493.

vigorously because Juan was a citizen of Córdoba, but the Crown was adamant. Juan de Angulo solved the problem himself by resigning the office to a local inhabitant, Alfonso de Cabra, within a few months.[1] Generally speaking, royal provisions of *jurados* were quietly accepted, but there were often disputes if elections were held.

There was also a heavy demand for *escribanías* and they were included in the legislation on *oficios acrecentados* in the laws of Toledo. According to the 1480 *memorial*[2], there were in Córdoba, in that year, twenty-four *escribanos* of the *antiguo número* and twenty *oficios acrecentados* which had been added since 1440. By 1498, the total number had been reduced to thirty-three, which meant that eleven of the *oficios acrecentados* had been suppressed. In 1501, eight *jurados* petitioned the council, asking that in its zeal for reform it should not extinguish an *oficio del número*, but by 1503 the council had issued a directive that all surplus offices were to lapse at the death or resignation of their holders, until the number had returned to thirty, rather than twenty-four.[3] The *escribanías* seem to have been stabilised thereafter at this compromise figure.

In Jerez, the situation with regard to numbers was rather different. The issue was discussed in 1505, when the Crown tried to provide an extra *escribano*, beyond the ancient number of six. The council assembled documents to support its opposition to the new appointment, but, although the case reached the royal council, Jerez received no satisfaction and there were still *escribanías acrecentadas* in 1513.[4] As with the *regidores*, it was Córdoba, rather than Jerez, which attracted the attention of royal reformers.

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1. RGS 19.3.1479. AMJ Actas 28.1.1513, 30.12.1502-1.1.1503, 24.3.1503.
2. Ladero, *op.cit.* pp.86-7.
3. AMC Actas 19.11.1498, 10.3.1501. AMC 2-21-4.
4. AMJ Actas 21.5.1505, 11.8.1505, 20.8.1505. AMJ Caj. 12 No.14 (Privilege of 28.8.1284). AMJ Actas 5.9.1509, 27.5.1513.

A right of election to *escribanías* existed in Córdoba but not, apparently, in Jerez. It had been included in the *fuero* of 1241, which referred to the annual election of an *escribano* for each parish. This practice continued in Ferdinand and Isabella's reign, but a *número* of *escribanos* for the whole town had later been added and the power of provision to this body seems to have been invested for all practical purposes in the town council. Thus it was that resignations, of which eighteen are recorded between 1493 and 1507, involving offices in Córdoba, were ratified by the *regidores* and only two of these received royal confirmation as well. Direct royal provision was also possible, but generally occurred in special circumstances, as with *regimientos* and *juraderías*. Nine such provisions are recorded in Córdoba between 1484 and 1505 and all six in which the circumstances are mentioned involved the replacement of an *escribano* who was burnt or reconciled by the Inquisition.[1] There was a dispute in 1496 between the Crown's *alcalde mayor* and Córdoba council when an *escribano* was deprived for dishonesty and the council provided his successor. The *alcalde* claimed the right to provide for the Crown, because it was a case of deprivation and not resignation. Eventually, the council candidate received a royal letter of provision, presented it to the *corregidor* and council, and received the office again from their hands.[2] In this way, honour was satisfied, but the dispute serves to illustrate the delicate balance which had to be kept at all times between royal and local pretensions in the appointment of officers. In Jerez, a similar arrangement seems to have subsisted, with frequent resignations and some royal provisions. However, resignations in Jerez seem always to have been confirmed by the Crown and not the local council.

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1. RGS 8.3.1484, 20.2.1485, 6.3.1490, (10).1492, 20.7.1494, 10.12.1494. AMC Actas 19.6.1500, 10.2.1505, 6.3.1505.

2. AMC Actas 10.6.1496.

The other offices in the towns were shared out between the Crown, the *alguacil mayor*, the town council and representatives of the parishes. Direct nominations by the Crown were rare. Indeed, the only offices filled in this way were those of *fiel* and *portero* of the custom-house in Córdoba, the *fiel ejecutor* in Jerez and the *alférez* in both towns. The *alférez* was always either a *regidor* or a *jurado*, while the *fiel ejecutor* in Jerez was a *jurado*.[1] The customs offices seem to have been used as rewards for royal servants. In 1475, the Crown gave the *fieldad* to the chronicler Gonzalo de Ayora, who was also a *veinticuatro* of Córdoba. He was frequently absent on royal business and when his son, who succeeded him in 1504, tried to follow the same practice, the town council threatened to replace him. The office of *portero* in the custom-house was entirely honorary. In 1496 it was given to the royal *repostero* (steward), Rodrigo de Mesilla, and the council accepted his privilege without question.[2]

It has already been noted that the magistrates were either elected by the *regidores* or appointed by the *corregidor*. In both cases, the lesser constables, the *alguacil mayor* and the *alguacil de las entregas* in Córdoba, were named by the *alguacil mayor*. However the vast majority of appointments were made by the town council and this involved many more officials in Córdoba than in Jerez. In some cases, members of the council were given jobs and in others the office-holders were sought from outside. The *procurador mayor del concejo* and the *procuradores de Cortes* in Córdoba were always *regidores*, as were the *alcaides* of the castle of Tempul and the *mayordomo* in Jerez. In this case, the two offices were merged and held jointly by two *regidores*, who were elected by their peers.[3] The officials

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1. RGS 3.2.1478, 21.2.1478, 10.11.1475, 20.2.1489, AMJ Actas 13.3.1482, 1.3.1490.

2. RGS 9.11.1475. AMC Actas 24.5.1504, 22.8.1505, 15.3.1506, 27.7.1496.

3. AMJ Actas 7.8.1490, 5.1.1491.

from outside the council were in the majority, however, and included the lawyers, chaplain, musicians, collectors of public works and general council funds, the accountants, the measurer of lands (medidor de tierras) and the mayordomo , in Córdoba. Some fieles were nominated by the council for special purposes and these included those who supervised the unloading of grain at El Portal. The appointment of others was disputed between the council and the caballeros de premia , who obtained their knightly rank on the basis of a wealth qualification. It was traditional in Córdoba, according to a decree by the town council in 1496, that the alcaldes ordinarios , the alcalde de las dehesas and the alcalde de la aduana should be elected annually by two caballeros de premia from each parish. The offices were to go round all the parishes in turn and each holder was to be restricted to a single term.[1] However, the rights of the caballeros de premia were disputed and in 1493 and 1498 the Crown had to intervene to protect their privilege against the attempts of the corregidor to take over the appointment of alcaldes ordinarios . An identical situation arose in Jerez and in 1490, Juan de Robles, the corregidor , was told to allow elections to the office by the caballeros . In Córdoba, the caballeros were also entitled to elect the alcalde de la justicia if there was no corregidor .[2]

Certain fieldades in Córdoba, notably those of the almotacenazgo and council portería , became a battle-ground in a similar way, between the council and the caballeros de premia . A royal provision of 1480 supported the claim of the caballeros to make the election, but the council and corregidor obstinately insisted that the right belonged to them. They in fact made these appointments throughout Ferdinand and Isabella's reign, although the jurados finally obtained a decision in favour of the

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1. AMC Actas 29.12.1496.

2. RGS 30.1.1493. AMC Actas 19.1.1498. AMJ Caj. 17 No.12(1).

caballeros from the Granada audencia in 1515, after an action which lasted over twenty years.[1] Other fieles supervising, for example, the tanneries and the sale of fish and flour, were elected by the caballeros de premia without interference. The mayordomía de las calles, an unpopular office because work on cleaning the streets had to be carried out at the office-holder's expense, was filled by Córdoba council and the parishes, acting jointly. Names were brought to the council by the jurados from their parishes and the final choice was made by the regidores. At the bottom of the scale were the alcaldes and veedores of the various trades, who were generally chosen by the practitioners (often known as oficiales) of the trade concerned from their own number, though the council might supervise the election, as with the Cordovan silversmiths in 1498.[2]

Although a great many lesser posts in Córdoba and Jerez were filled by nomination, the practice of drawing lots was also traditional and extensively employed. In Córdoba, the council used lots to choose its mayordomo, procurador mayor and contadores and also the fieles of the almotacenazgo and portería.[3] The caballeros de premia used the same method to choose the various alcaldes, but the appointment of the more important officials, such as the letrados (lawyers), was not left to chance in this way and lots were never used in direct royal appointments.

Alongside the structure of government in the royal towns which has been described so far, Ferdinand and Isabella set up a new and separate national organisation which was subject directly to the Crown and which was entrusted with the maintenance of order in the countryside between the major cities in which it was based. This new royal agency was known as the Santa Hermandad (Holy Brotherhood) and was an extension to the whole kingdom of the

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1. AMC 2-17-2, 2-20-8.

2. AMC Actas 8.6.1498.

3. AMC Actas 13.7.1479.

associations previously formed by local communities for the same purpose. The national Hermandad was set up at the Cortes of Madrigal in 1476 and all towns, including those in seignorial jurisdiction, were required to swear allegiance to it. A permanent _junta_ of royal servants and an annual assembly of representatives from the provinces (the _Diputación General_) were the national organs of the Hermandad and, on a local level, the kingdom was divided into provinces, each with its chief town (_cabeza de provincia_).[1] Córdoba was one of these _cabezas de provincia_ and thus its council elected a member as _diputado general_ when the _diputación_ met. The Hermandad of the province was under the authority of two _alcaldes_, one representing the _hidalgos_ and the other the rest of the citizens. The latter official was known sometimes as _alcalde de los peones_ (or _pecheros_) and sometimes _alcalde de los caballeros_.[2] The receiver (_receptor_) of goods confiscated by Hermandad officers was a _regidor_ elected by the council. Each province of the Hermandad, including Córdoba, had its own prison with a gaoler. The treasurer, who was subordinate to the _receptor_, worked in this building. The _alcaldes_ of the Hermandad were assisted by an _alguacil_ and squads (_cuadrillas_) of men under _cuadrilleros_.[3]

Difficulties were encountered in the establishment of the Hermandad at Jerez because the town wanted to be a _cabeza de provincia_ and its men objected to serving in the Seville company on the grounds that this made it appear that Jerez was subject to Seville. The dispute was eventually referred to the Sovereigns themselves, who gave their verdict in a letter of 29 May 1478. The Jerez Hermandad officers and their men were instructed to

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1. For the national organisation of the Hermandad, see Celestino López Martínez, _La Santa Hermandad delos Reyes Católicos_ (Seville, 1921), and Luis Suárez Fernández, "Evolución histórica de las hermandades castellanas", _Cuadernos de Historia de España_ (Buenos Aires), 16, 1951, pp.5-78.

2. AMC Actas 30.3.1479, 5.1.1502

3. AMC Actas 16.5.1496, 26.4.1499.

serve in the Seville company until 15 August of that year, when a royal captain would be appointed to command the Hermandad of the archdiocese of Seville and diocese of Cádiz, which were normally treated as one in governmental affairs. The people of Jerez were told to regard him as the Crown's representative and not as a citizen of any particular place. The Sovereigns also set out the arguments against making Jerez a _cabeza de provincia_. These were its lack of territory and the extra expenses involved in this position, such as the payment of a _diputado general_. However, they did make the concession of exempting Jerez from any provincial assemblies or other special activities of the Hermandad which might take plaee in Seville, as long as the agreed strength of officers and men was maintained locally and order was kept in that area. In June 1478, an agreement was made in Seville between representatives of Jerez and a royal delegation including the treasurer, Alfonso de Quintanilla, for the sum to be paid by Jerez for the upkeep of the Hermandad from its introduction in 1476 to date and for future payments. The local organisation of the Hermandad, which was set up in accordance with the decisions of the Junta General in June 1478, was similar to that in Córdoba.[1]

The Hermandadwas not established on a permanent basis in 1476, but had to be periodically extended. The first such extension was from 1478 to 1481 and the beginning of this new term provided an opportunity for the revision of arrangements in Jerez. In the latter stages of the Granada campaign, the Hermandad was used to raise men and money for the Crown, thus avoiding the need to summon the Cortes to vote direct taxation (_servicios_).[2] However, its basic function was always to keep order on the roads and in the

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1. AMJ Vitrina 5 fols 1-12; contemporary copy of the laws of the Hermandad, Madrid, 7.3.1478; the royal sentence of 29.5.1478; the financial agreement of Seville, 18.6.1478 and the royal letter of 28.6.1478 about officials.

2. For the rôle of the Hermandad in taxation, see chapter 5.

countryside and it was only possible to use it for military purposes as long as the royal armies were fighting on Castilian soil. After 1500, with the Sovereigns' growing involvement in foreign campaigns, the Hermandad was once again entirely devoted to local peace-keeping. At first, the Crown dismantled all the national and provincial organisation, for example, the *junta general*, the *diputación general* and the provincial assemblies, leaving only the local *alcaldes* and *cuadrilleros*, but the provincial apparatus was quickly restored to provide an appeal mechanism and on this basis the Hermandad survived to be mocked by Cervantes.[1]

Although it was based in the towns, the Hermandad had no jurisdiction within them and it was not subject to the *corregidor* or the council, like the other magistrates and officials. It had charge of everywhere that was too thinly populated to have a council of any kind. All places with fewer than fifty citizens were deemed to be 'depopulated' (*despoblados*) or 'deserts' (*yermos*) and placed under Hermandad jurisdiction, which also covered those convicted of crimes in the towns, who fled from royal justice to the countryside. Despite the fact that it had no part to play in urban politics, the Hermandad was inevitably distrusted by the other authorities in the towns, and has a place in any survey of royal interference in local government.

It is not surprising that the Crown should have been closely involved in the government of its own towns, both in the appointment of officials and in the person of the *corregidor*. What is more noteworthy, perhaps, is the scope still allowed for local influence even after Ferdinand and Isabella began their undoubtedly vigorous and fairly successful campaign to reform the town councils. The difference between the laws of Toledo and earlier legislation was not great. The same claim of overall royal sovereignty

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1. See, for example, *Don Quijote*, part 1 chs. 22 and 23.

was expressed in both and most of the policies which the Catholic Monarchs adopted were by no means original. However, their legislation had greater bite and was better enforced. There is no doubt, for example, that the number of officials in Córdoba was drastically reduced and even if the hereditary transfer of offices was not curbed, the effective establishment of *corregidores* on a regular basis in the towns, for the first time, greatly strengthened royal control. Much still needed to be done, but it is undeniable that in 1516 all major offices in royal towns were more closely controlled by the Crown than they had been in 1474.

Chapter Four

THE ACTIVITIES AND RESOURCES OF ROYAL TOWN COUNCILS

Long before the *corregidor* was introduced to royal towns as the Crown's representative, a number of the sovereign's powers had been delegated to the local councils. Royal legislators made provision for the conduct of these assemblies and the use which they made of the administrative, legal and financial resources which were entrusted to them. The local authorities in Córdoba and Jerez under Ferdinand and Isabella acted within this legislative framework.

Council Procedure

Probably because they were anxious to demonstrate visibly the independence of town councils from private influence, the Catholic Monarchs, at the Cortes of Toledo in 1480, ordered all councils in royal towns to obtain a special meeting-house. This was to be done within two years of the publication of the law, on pain of deprivation for magistrates and *regidores* who failed to comply.[1] However, the law seems to have been unnecessary in Córdoba and Jerez. The council meeting-house in Córdoba is mentioned as new in a council act of 1427 and by 1480 Jerez had one too, though the date of the council's acquisition of the site in the Plaza de San Dionisio is not known.[2] The councils did not always use their meeting-houses and sometimes the place of meeting is a hint of the kind of pressure which the 1480 law was intended to prevent. A good example of this is the meeting of Jerez council in the 1450s in the houses of the duke of Medina Sidonia, which were also the lodgings of the *corregidor*. On the other hand, a change of rendez-vous might have no special significance, as when Córdoba council in 1497 assembled at the house of the *alcalde mayor*, Lic. Carlos de Moya, because he was too ill to preside in the council-chamber.[3]

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1. Montalvo 7-1-1.

2. Council act of 1427 reproduced by Rafael Fernández González, in "El castillo de Almenara", *Boletín de la asociación española de amigos de castillos*, no. 54 (1966), pp. 361-8. Nonetheless, the council met on 6 July 1435 in the lodgings of the *corregidor* (AMC *Libro de Ordenanzas*, 1o, fol.258v.).

3. AMJ Actas 25.10.1454, 9.2.1459. AMC Actas 6.3.1497.

In both towns, the council met at least twice a week and usually more often. In Córdoba, the two regular meetings were held on Tuesdays and Fridays until 1479, when the Tuesday meeting was moved to Wednesday. Other meetings were held as business required, and it was the magistrates' responsibility to send the portero to summon the regidores to attend. Meetings were not normally held on Sundays and holidays, or in Lent, but there were exceptions and when urgent measures were required, more than one meeting might take place in a day.[1] The records in Jerez do not permit a strict comparison because, although extensive, they are less continuous that those in Córdoba. However, it is known that there were at least ninety-seven meetings in 1501 and ninety-one in 1503. These figures suggest that Jerez council met every fourth day, on average, throughout the year. Córdoba council seems to have met every third day in this period.

In both towns, meetings were chaired by magistrates. If there was a corregidor, he had the right to preside at all meetings, but frequently, especially in Córdoba, he delegated the responsibility to his alcalde mayor or alguacil mayor, or some other deputy. Because he was an outsider, the corregidor was legally entitled to spend a third of the year away from his post, in order to attend to his own business. Before leaving for a lengthy period, he formally presented to the council a deputy, usually one of his own officials, to exercise his powers until his return. In many years, the lesser magistrates of Córdoba presided over far more meetings than the corregidor himself, but in others deputies were less frequently employed.[2] In both towns, the

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1. AMC Actas 13.8.1479, 30.3.1493.

2. Useful figures for the chairmanship of Jerez council meetings are not available, but the following are a sample of those for Córdoba. They cover the stable years between the end of the Granada war and the death of Isabella. A "½" indicates chairmanship of part of a meeting.

No of meetings chaired by:-	1493	1495	1496	1497	1498	1499	1500	1502
Corregidor or pesquisidor	46	76	60½	47½	46½	41	100	97
Alcalde mayor	90	64	55½	36	11½	5½	10	9
Alguacil mayor	3	-	-	42½	68	39½	28	26
Other deputy			12					

alcaldes mayores had the duty of presiding if there was no corregidor .

The way in which council proceedings were recorded by the escribano del concejo or his deputy inevitably creates the surviving impression of how they were conducted. Even with the same escribano , the method varied. Sometimes, documents were merely referred to, while at others they were fully transcribed, or else the originals were stitched into the books of acts. It was customary to give the names of the president and all those who attended the meeting, to summarise the discussion which took place, record the voting and set down all the decisions that were reached. However, the neatness of the surviving records indicates that they were composed after the meeting from notes and, indeed, a sheet of these notes, with corrections, survives in the book of Córdoba acts for 1479. It covers the meetings from 25 to 27 July and contains lists of documents which had been received by the council or the corregidor and of tasks which had been allocated to individual regidores .[1] The Crown required councils to keep all the royal documents which they received and the corregidorès had to ensure that this was done, but the date of the first use of books of acts in Córdoba is not known. A loose sheet, giving an account of a meeting in December 1473, was stitched into the 1479 book, which is the earliest surviving, but this is not conclusive proof that books were not used at that stage. However, it is possible that they were first used after the Monarchs' visit of 1477. In Jerez, on the other hand, they were in use as early as 1409. In December of that year, the mayordomo was instructed to pay the escribanos del concejo 200 maravedíes for paper and wax "for the books and letters". In Jerez it was customary for the documents received by the council to be transcribed into the libros capitulares . The originals were stored in a chest and deputies were elected each year from the council, at least from 1446. Three held keys to the chest and all had to be present

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1. AMC Actas 1479 fols 60-61.

to open it. Another held the office of *la vista del cabildo*, apparently to supervise the conduct of the other deputies and the fifth had the key to the box containing the town seal. These deputies were all *regidores* and in 1493, the keys of the Córdoba chest of privileges were also in the hands of two *regidores*.[1]

Admission to council meetings was tightly controlled by royal legislation. This was an inevitable consequence of the introduction of *regidores* and the law of Palenzuela (1430) which limited entry to council meetings to "the *alcaldes* and *regidores* and the other people contained in the ordinances" merely confirmed this state of affairs. In Córdoba and Jerez, these ordinances admitted the *jurados*, but they were only allowed to intervene in discussions if the magistrates and *regidores* asked them to do so. In 1503 a dispute arose in Córdoba over the presence of lawyers in council-meetings. A royal letter was received, forbidding them to attend, and both *regidores* and *jurados* voted to appeal against it. Nonetheless, at the next meeting, on 11 October, the *corregidor* ordered the two lawyers, Dr. de Manos Albas and Bach. Alfonso Fernández de Baena, to leave the council-chamber or face a 50,000 mrs. fine. It appears that their advice had been required so frequently by the *regidores* that they had virtually been co-opted as permanent members of the council. They protested at their expulsion and threatened to appeal to the Crown, but the *corregidor* told them there was no procedure whereby they might do so as individuals. Nonetheless, the *corregidor* then asked the *regidores* whether they regarded the *letrados* as necessary in the council and was told that they were indispensable. After this, they continued to be called into virtually every meeting to help with specific problems, but although their opinions were noted and respected, they had no formal vote.[2]

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1. Pérez law 57 fol. 48v. AMC Actas 1479 fols 4-5 (insert). AMJ Actas 5.12.1409, 6.3.1447, 22.2.1459, 3.1.1467, 2.1.1482. AMC Actas 15.3.1493.

2. Montalvo 7-1-2, 3, 4. AMC Actas 6.10.1503, 11.10.1503.

In both towns, issues were decided by majority votes, with the presiding magistrate exercising a casting vote if necessary. Votes were generally given orally and frequently consisted of a statement of opinion, rather than a simple 'yes' or 'no'. Abstentions were common and so were proxy-votes. The latter enabled an absentee to participate by entrusting his vote to a colleague or to the chairman. If an action was agreed upon without a vote being taken, but a small number of *regidores* were opposed to the decision, their dissent might be recorded in the book of acts with the phrase, "Fulano no fue en esto" (N. did not agree with this). Sometimes, a *regidor* or magistrate justified a vote or decision in writing and his reasons were recorded by an *escribano*, in some cases in the book of acts. This generally happened if there had been dissension over the issue in the council.[1]

Order was maintained in meetings by the presiding magistrate. In Córdoba, the *regidores* and *jurados* were instructed by the *alcalde mayor* in 1496 to remain in their seats throughout the meeting, so as to avoid violence. If trouble occurred, the offending parties, regardless of responsibility for starting the incident, were immediately confined to their homes and they and their "relatinns and friends and servants" were forbidden to continue the quarrel.[2]

Although their votes, if taken at all, were not counted in any decision of the council, the *jurados* had the same power as the *regidores* to make formal requirements (*requerimientos*) to the presiding magistrates to allow a particular subject to be discussed or action taken. Matters might also be brought to the council's attention by means of petitions from citizens, in groups or as individuals. When the matter concerned was discussed, the petitioners were allowed to attend the council-meeting and any other individual might be summoned to further council business. The Córdoba *actas* for 1493

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1. Montalvo 7-1-5.

2. AMC Actas 4.11.1496, 3.9.1512.

contain a note that a petitioner came to the council-house when there was no meeting and stated his business to a magistrate who was deputising for the corregidor .[1]

For a council-meeting to be held, there had to be a quorum of seven regidores , according to a royal provision of 1513, and this limit seems to have been enforced in both towns. In Córdoba in 1498, six regidores were sent home by the magistrates as insufficient for a meeting. The figures in the actos for attendance at council-meetings show that business was normally carried on by a limited section of the regimiento and a small following of jurados . Sometimes, in Córdoba, no jurados attended. In 1479, when Córdoba council was near its peak membership of one hundred and fourteen regidores , the most recorded at one meeting were thirty-eight. In the same year, the highest attendance of jurados was twenty out of a possible thirty-two. A similar impression is given by the figures for later years in Córdoba. The typical attendance at a meeting was between ten and twenty regidores and fewer than ten jurados . Jerez seems to have been in a similar state, though in view of the smaller size of its council, this means that the proportion attending was rather greater there than in Córdoba. Larger attendances were generally achieved when a corregidor was received, or, in the case of Córdoba, when procuradores to the Cortes were elected.[2]

The regidores were under oath to keep the proceedings of the council secret. In 1497, the corregidor of Córdoba required them to keep their oath on pain of six months' banishment from the town and in 1500, the same demand was made of the jurados . Jerez received a similar instruction from the Crown in 1480.[3]

In addition to attending council-meetings, the jurados of Córdoba

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1. AMC Actas 1.8.1493.

2. AMC 19-4-107. AMC Actas 14.5.1498.

3. AMC Actas 17.2.1497, 2.12.1500. AMJ Caj. 2 no.28.

assembled in a *cabildo* (chapter) of their own, with its acts recorded by one of their number. The surviving book for 1509-13 suggests that meetings of the *cabildo de los jurados* were less frequent than those of the *regidores* and took place in the council-house. The *cabildo* had its own chest for funds, which seem to have consisted mainly of the duties paid by new *jurados* when they were received by their colleagues. Each year, in July or August, the *cabildo* elected one of its number as *alcalde* to preside over its meetings and another as *mayordomo* to take charge of its finances. Many royal documents were addressed directly to the *jurados* of Córdoba, some of them concerning their own affairs and others referring to more general matters, such as disputes between the *jurados* and the *regidores* over the conduct of the town's business. One procedural difference from the town council was that the *jurados* fined any member who was absent from the *cabildo*, without giving a reason, one *real* for chapter funds. After this policy had been adopted at a meeting in 1511, three *jurados* were fined for not attending the next. There are no records of such meetings of *jurados* in Jerez.[1]

The council delegated many tasks to its lesser officials, but a variety of others was entrusted to commissions consisting of magistrates and council-members. Sometimes, as with the *diputados del mes* (deputies of the month) in Córdoba and *diputados de la quadra* (deputies of the district or quarter) in Jerez, this was done on a regular basis. The *diputados del mes* in Córdoba acted in accordance with ordinances laid down in 1458 by Henry IV, which gave them a wide range of supervisory duties, not unlike those of the *corregidor* himself. Apart from the tasks specified in the ordinances, these deputies were entrusted with extra commissions. For example, in 1493

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1. AMC 19-4 Actas 1,28.9.1510, 19.7.1511, 26.7.1511. Although there is no record of fines for absenteeism from council-meetings in Jerez or Córdoba, this practice did exist in Carmona in the early sixteenth century, where *regidores* were fined one *real* for each inadequately explained absence from the regular meetings. (*Ordenanzas del concejo de Carmona* , ed. Manuel González Jiménez, Seville, 1972, p. 7).

they were given the task of publicising the laws of the Hermandad and in 1495 they were involved in tax-collecting. They also acquired the duty of hearing civil cases involving goods worth less than 3,000 mrs. The *diputados de la quadra* in Jerez operated on a similar basis. A *regidor* and a *jurado*, rather than two *regidores* and a *jurado* as in Córdoba, were elected for each month and it appears from a council act of 1482 that all the deputies for a year were chosen at one meeting. In each town, the elections were made by drawing names out of a hat, the normal method of drawing lots at council-meetings.[1]

The notes of the *escribano* for the meeting of Córdoba council on 27 July 1479 show the variety of commissions which might be given to groups of council-members. The tasks allocated on that day include auditing the municipal accounts, examining weights and measures, collecting fines for failing to comply with the terms of private wills and investigating the affairs of the town magistrates and of the cloth-dyers. A minority of *jurados* sat on these commissions with the *regidores*.[2]

Offices: Córdoba

When powers to appoint officials were delegated to local councils, the choice of *alcaldes* (governors) for fortresses was retained by the Crown, except for Tempul. Many of the towns in Córdoba's *tierra* had castles and fortresses and throughout the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella their *alcaldes* were appointed by the Crown. Examples of such appointments in Castro del Río, Almodóvar, Bujalance, Montoro, La Rambla and Hornachuelos survive from the years 1478 to 1513.[3]

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1. AMC 13-10-1, 1539 copy of the ordinances of Henry IV, 13.4.1458, for *diputados del mes*. AMC Actas 2.9.1493, 23.12.1495, 15.1.1498, 2.6.1501. AMJ Actas 2.1.1482.

2. See note 1, p. 75 above.

3. Montalvo 7-2-9. RGS 9.1.1478, 10.11.1480, 10.7.1485. AMC Actas 27.7.1479. 10.11.1501, 5.11.1507, 3.4.1510, 21.10.1506, 31.8.1513.

There is only one indication in the Córdoba archives that any town in its *tierra*, apart from Córdoba itself, had a council of *regidores*. This is a reference to the *regimiento de la villa* in the 1511 ordinances of Montoro. If there were *regidores* in Montoro, it would seem likely that some of the larger towns in the *tierra*, such as Castro del Río and Bujalance, were similarly endowed, but in default of other evidence, it is more probable ta that the term merely referred to the officials of the town in general. It is known that the councils of the *villas* and *lugares* of the *tierra* normally consisted, as in Torremilano and Montoto, of two *alcaldes*, an *alguacil*, two *jurados* and at least one *escribano*. However, the *concejo abierto*, in the two divisions of *caballeros de premia*, who attained their knightly rank by means of wealth, and the *peones*, who served the king on foot rather than horseback, still had a role on certain occasions. Thus while in Fuente Obejuna in 1496, entry to council meetings was restricted to the magistrates and *jurados*, the *escribano del concejo* and five representatives each of the *caballeros de premia* and the *peones*, elected by the groups concerned in Montoro in 1511, the whole town, both *caballeros de premia* and *peones* was summoned by bells to hear and approve the new municipal ordinances, before they were submitted to the *corregidor* and council of Córdoba for ratification. Magistrates in the Córdoba *tierra* were elected annually and the Córdoba ordinances in 1483 forbade the extension of terms beyond one renewal of a year. Such extensions were only granted in response to a petition from the town concerned. There was some place for local election of magistrates, at least in the larger towns. In Bujalance, the two *alcaldes*, the *alguacil* and his deputy were elected by the *caballeros de premia*, but Córdoba retained overall control of nominations in case of dispute. If magistrates were appointed directly by Córdoba, lots were used, containing the names of candidates offered by the local council.[1]

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1. AMC 13-10-6. AMC 13-10-5 fol.1. AMC Actas 2.1.1496, 15.1.1496, 28.4.1497, 18.2.1512. AMC 13-10-4 fol.4.

The provision of *escribanos* for the *tierra* was in general the responsibility of Córdoba council. In nine cases, the resignation of the previous office-holder to a specific individual was ratified by the council. In 1497, for example, Fernando González de Badajoz, *escribano* of Castro, resigned his office to his *señores*, Córdoba council, and to his son Rodrigo Yáñez. As with the *escribanías* in Córdoba itself, it was customary for the abilities of the candidate to be examined. In five cases, Córdoba council made such an investigation. On one occasion, an *escribano* died in office in La Rambla, without having names a successor. The council received two petitions from candidates for the post and when a vote was taken, the *regidores* were equally divided between them. The last *regidor* to vote broke the deadlock by leaving the council-chamber and examining the handwriting of the two candidates. On one occasion at least, in this period, the Crown intervened in the appointment of an *escribano* for the *tierra*. One of these officials had been suspended in Fuente Obejuna and, as with offices in Córdoba itself, the Crown took the opportunity to provide his successor. However, within a few weeks, the suspended *escribano* had gained another such office in the same town, by means of a resignation which was ratified by Córdoba council. In 1505, the council discussed the type of candidate which should be provided to *escribanías* in the *tierra*. It was decided that such offices should be confined to citizens (*vecinos*) and dwellers (*moradores*) of the town concerned.[1]

All the royal possessions in the Córdoba area, except Alcolea and Castro Viejo, were represented by two *jurados*. Their affairs were in the hands of the *cabildo de los jurados* in Córdoba, which had the power to appoint and remove them. Resignations were ratified by this *cabildo* and, if no specific person were named in the resignation, the *cabildo* was responsible for finding a suitable candidate. Thus in 1513, Andrés de Córdoba, *jurado* of St.

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1. AMC Actas 6.10.1497, 3.12.1498, 3.6.1495, 26.6.1495, 12.12.1505.

Marina, Córdoba, went to Montoro and found Juan de Lora a suitable candidate for the office of *jurado* there. He was brought to the *cabildo* and sworn in. In some cases, resignations were made simply to the *cabildo*, as with Alfonso Rodríguez of Torremilano in 1510 and a *jurado* of Posadas in 1511. The power of the *cabildo de los jurados* to deprive *jurados* in the *tierra* of their offices was used in 1510, when the *jurados* of Bujalance carried out a *pesquisa* on their own authority into the activity of the *corregidor* and justices (*justicias*, another term for magistrates) of Córdoba in the town. Probably at the instigation of the *corregidor* and full council, the *cabildo* of *jurados* deprived its representatives in Bujalance of their offices at its pleasure, though one of them was restored to his office in 1512.[1]

Jerez

The officials of Puerto Real were introduced over several years. An *alcalde* and an unspecified number of *regidores* were mentioned in the letter of foundation. In 1486, the town had its own *corregidor*, Francisco Bonaguisa, but this distinction vanished in 1488, when Jerez took the town over. At that time it had an *alcalde mayor*, some *regidores* and a *jurado*, but no *escribano* or town-crier. In 1490, the *alcalde mayor* and one *regidor* elected two new *alcaldes*, an *alguacil* and two *regidores* for a year and the *pesquisidor* and council of Jerez summoned them to receive their offices formally. Also, by 1490, Puerto Real had an *escribano*, as in that year Jerez provided one to replace his deceased predecessor. The titles of the officials in Puerto Real were far more splendid than those employed in similar towns elsewhere, but this probably reflected the Catholic Monarchs' political ambitions for the port, which were never fulfilled. One thing is clear, though. The idea of an open council was never mentioned in the early years of Puerto Real. By the late fifteenth century the time for creating

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1. AMC 19-4-Actas (1) 9.6.1513, 19.11.1510, 30.8.1511, 20.9.1510, 28.2.1512.

such councils was past.[1]

The Law

A measure of authority over the *tierra* in legal matters was delegated by the Crown to councils such as those of Córdoba and Jerez, but this cannot be understood until some attempt has been made to show how the royal towns fitted into the legal framework of the Crown of Castile.

Local Justice

The majority of civil disputes between citizens and criminal cases involving them were settled by the local magistrates. They rose through a hierarchy consisting of the *alcaldes ordinarios*, the *alcalde de la justicia*, the *alcaldes mayores* and the *corregidor*, if there was one, in ascending order. This meant that those actions which did not go beyond one appeal had no need ever to leave the boundaries of the town concerned. The right of the *alcaldes mayores* to hear the first appeal in an action was enshrined in local ordinances and inherited by the *corregidor* when he swore to observe them. The appeal mechanism within the town might on occasions be bypassed, as in Córdoba in 1515 when a party appealed directly to the high court (*audiencia*, see below) in Granada against his conviction by the *alcalde de la justicia* and his appeal was admitted, but in general the Crown tried to leave most cases to the local magistrates.[2]

Indeed, in 1480, the Crown confined civil cases involving goods worth 3,000 mrs, or less, to the jurisdiction in which they occurred, provided it was more than eight *leguas* (about twenty-eight miles) from one of the *audiencias*. Appeals in such cases were to be made to the council and justices of the town concerned, which was then to elect two deputies who,

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1. AMJ Actas 14.8.1483, RGS 18.2.1486, 25.2.1486, AMJ Actas 27.12.1488, 24.1.1490, 22.1.1490. Royal political activity on the bay of Cádiz will be discussed in later chapters.

2. AMJ Actas 23.2.1430, 23.5.1438. AMC 16-4-8, provision of 11.7.1515.

after taking an oath to give good justice, were to hear the appeal. In order that the matter should not be left entirely to amateurs, the judge who had given sentence in the first instance attended the hearing, but it should be borne in mind that *alcaldes ordinarios* were themselves elected citizens and not necessarily qualified in law. This does not seem to have concerned either legislators or the public. The former were more preoccupied with the efficiency of legal proceedings and the latter with their expense. The confinement of lesser actions to the locality would have found favour on both counts.

The 1480 ordinance was applied in Jerez in 1483, when the council elected two *regidores* by lots to hear such cases, This was not the first time that appeals had been confined to the town. The breakdown of the court system during the disturbances in Henry IV's reign led him to appoint a *veinticuatro* of Jerez, the Genoese Agostín de Spínola, as judge or magistrate of appeals (*juez* or *alcalde de las suplicaciones*) in the town. Both the *regimiento* and the *alcaldía* were inherited by his son in 1472. In the improved conditions of Ferdinand and Isabella's reign, the office seems to have become redundant and no more is heard of it. After 1480, minor cases were heard by the council deputies, while the others probably went to the *audiencias* .[1]

There seems to have been greater delay in introducing deputies for appeals in Córdoba. The first mention of the council electing two of its members for this purpose is in 1498. At first, new *regidores* were deputed each week, which suggests that business was fairly brisk, but after 1501 this duty was added to those of the deputies for the month. It may well be that litigants became less satisfied with the non-professional judges after 1500, as there are signs of a growing demand from that time for appeals,

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1. Cortes, vol. 4, p. 142 (Toledo, 1480). AMJ Actas 11.4.1483, 24.7.1472.

even in minor cases, to be heard by the audiencias . It is probable that the royal courts were becoming more efficient and the establishment of the audiencia in Ciudad Real and then Granada, in addition to Valladolid, certainl made it more accessible from Córdoba. In any event, the Sovereigns found it necessary in 1500 to confirm the town's right to hear minor appeals and at the same time gave one litigant, Pedro Páez, the right to have his appeal heard by the magistrates and not the council's deputies. By 1514, matters had reached a stage at which the Crown permitted the audiencia at Granada to hear any appeals in cases involving 3,000 mrs. or less which reached it from Córdoba, despite the law of Toledo, if they concerned the interpretation of the town's ordinances.[1]

Royal Council and Audiencias

Once a case left the town's magistrates, it entered an appeal system which had developed piecemeal since the thirteenth century, or earlier, and which was still evolving under Ferdinand and Isabella. Throughout the changes, the final court of appeal continued to be the royal council (consejo real), which consisted of clergy, nobles and secular lawyers. Some cases involving Córdoba and Jerez were heard by this body in the period 1474-1516, and perhaps the most notable example was a dispute over lands between Jerez and the house of Arcos, which was laid before the council in 1491, 1493 and 1503. In order to deal with such cases, Ferdinand and Isabella ensured that the council was provided with eight or nine lawyers, in addition to a basic quota of three caballeros , all under the presidency of a bishop.[2] However, this was not the main business of the consejo real and towards the end of the fourteenth century the duty of hearing appeals was given to special judges, known

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1. AMC Actas 15.1.1498, 18.9.1500, 26.10.1513 (copy of letter of Granada 9.9.1500 3.7.1500. AMC 17-7-1.

2. AMJ Actas 14.6.1491, 24.3.1503, RGS 20.3.1490, 10.9.1493. For the composition of the royal council, according to the laws of Toledo, see the introduction by Amalia Prieto and Concepción Alvarez, to the catalogue of RGS, vol. 3, p.xi.

as *oidores* ('hearers'). At the Cortes of Toro in 1371, Henry II ordained that the seven *oidores* should give justice in the residence of the king and queen, but if they were absent, cases should be heard in the house of the chancellor (*canciller mayor*) or wherever the *chancillería* was working. Sinee at least as far back as 1200, the *chancillería* had been the department of the royal administration which housed the royal seal used on letters and privileges. Now, the *oidores* becams a part of this department, so that the terms *audiencia* and *chancillería* were used indiscriminately to describe the tribunal. The old function of guarding the seal was retained, but the *chancillería* gradually developed into the appeal court of the kingdom.[1]

In the early years of the Trastámaras, *audiencia* procedure was still reminiscent of that used in the royal council. Appeals were heard in the form of petitions and not legal *demandas* . The king continued to attend personally, as he would do in his council, and, in 1387, John I set aside two days a week for this purpose.[2] The staff of the *audiencia* gradually expanded and by the 1390s it had already been found necessary to limit the business which reached the tribunal. It was forbidden to hear any appeal if a confirmatory sentence had already been given in a lower court. By 1484, the *audiencia* had developed into a court divided into three departments, dealing with civil, criminal and *hidalguía* pleas respectively. Like the other organs of state, it suffered from the upheavals of John II and Henry IV's reigns and in 1476, the Catholic Monarchs agreed with the *procuradores* at Madrigal that reform was necessary. As a temporary measure, a council of justice (*consejo de la justicia*) was set up to initiate this reform and hear cases, but in 1484, the

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1. *Cortes*, vol.2 p.189. Francisco Mendizábal, "La real chancillería de Valladolid", *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, 3rd series, vol.30, pp.61-72, 243-64, 437-52 and vol.31, pp.95-112, 459-67. See pp.62-4.

2. *Cortes*, vol.2, p.384.

audiencia was refounded under the presidency of Don Alfonso de Fonseca, archbishop of Santiago. The new tribunal began work in April 1485, in Valladolid, but it only gradually obtained a permanent site. In 1485, it visited Tordesillas, with the Court, and in 1486 it was in Salamanca, but in 1488 it settled in Valladolid and remained there for the rest of the reign.[1]

Further reforms of the audiencia were undertaken in 1486 to reduce delays and as a result, the organisation of the court was stabilised. Although it was primarily an appeal tribunal, the audiencia also heard certain cases in the first instance. These involved "orphans and widows and poor and wretched persons". However, it was in its main function that the audiencia became involved in the affairs of towns such as Córdoba and Jerez. When a party in a civil case wished to appeal against the sentence of a judge in a lower court, his procurador asked the audiencia for a real provisión de emplazamiento (royal prpvision of summons), which would require all the documents concerning the case to be sent to the audiencia from the lower court. This document was normally issued automatically. At the same time, the appellant would give his procurador de chancillería power to act for him in the proving (prueba) of the case, during which the parties would bring forward their evidence, which consisted of documents and witnesses' depositions. If the audiencia took any step to advance the hearing, it did so by means of a royal provision, which it issued in the sovereigns' names. When the hearing was completed, some of the eight oidores gave sentence (sentencia de vista). The document had to be signed by at least three of them and there were four in each of the two rooms in which civil cases were heard. If an appeal was lodged immediately against this sentence, a sentencia de revista was given, within four months of the date of the first sentence. Once this review sentence

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1. Mendizábal, op.cit., RABM vol.30, p.69. Cortes, vol.4, pp.12-14. Hernando de Pulgar, Crónica de los Reyes Católicos , ed. Juan de Mata Carriazo(Madrid 1943), ch.50. See also the introductions to RGS catalogue, vol.4, pp.xiv-xv and RGS 20.2.1484.

had been given, or after the *sentencia de vista* if there was no appeal, the case was deemed a finished plea (*pleito fenecido*), and a letter of execution (*carta ejecutoria*) was drawn up, which contained the definitive sentence. Cases which for some reason did not stay the course in the *audiencia* were either forgotten (*olvidados*) or stored away (*depositados*), in case they were ever revived. Appeals in criminal cases were heard in the appropriate room by the three *alcaldes* . According to dispositions given by Ferdinand and Isabella in 1502, hearings were not to begin unless the *alcaldes* thought that the appeals had some basis in law. The *alcaldes* were also entitled to demand information on cases from local magistrates, if they suspected that parties were unwilling to appear before them because of intimidation. In other respects, procedure in such cases was similar to that followed in civil hearings.[1]

In order to prosecute a case in the *audiencia* , a party had to appoint a *procurador* to represent him and engage advocates (*abogados*) to speak for him in court. Staff such as *escribanos* had to be paid by the litigant, through his *procurador* , and the client was also responsible for other legal costs, such as the collection of evidence from witnesses by *receptores* ('receivers' of testimony) outside the tribunal. However, the situation for Andalusian litigants was made easier in 1494, when a new *audiencia* , on the model of the old, was set up in Ciudad Real, to take care of all business from areas south of the Tagus. Its first president was Don Iñigo Manrique de Lara, bishop of Córdoba, and it took most cases involving Córdoba and Jerez. In 1505, it moved to Granada.[2]

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1. Pulgar, *Crónica* , ch.160. The 1486 ordinances in AGS Diversos de Castilla, leg.1 fols. 63 et seq. Chapter headings reproduced in Francisco de Mendizábal, "En torno a la real chancillería de Valladolid", *Hidalguía*, vol.6, no.28 (1958), pp.357-64. For cases reserved in the first instance for the *audiencia* , see Montalvo 3-1-1 and 3-2-14. For the procedure of the *audiencia* see Mendizábal, *op.cit.*, RABM vol.31, pp.96-99.

2. Introduction to RGS catalogue, vol.5, pp.xxi-xxii. RGS 30.10.1494, 25.11.1494.

Several disputes between Jerez and neighbouring seignorial towns over boundaries were referred to the audiencias. In 1487, an ejecutoria was issued concerning the boundary between Jerez and Arcos and in the early sixteenth century, Herez was involved in several cases at Ciudad Real and Granada concerning boundaries with Jimena, Lebrija, Puerto de Santa María, Arcos and Ronda. Córdoba also became involved with similar cases at the audiencia. In 1496, for example, the town was engaged in opposing the appeals of five lords at Ciudad Real. These were, Gonzalo Mexía, lord of Santa Eufemia, Don Alonso Fernández de Córdoba, lord of Montemayor, Alfonso de los Ríos, lord of Fernán Núñez, Gonzalo de León, veinticuatro, and Fernando Yáñez de Badajoz. Other cases which came before the audiencia in the appeal stage involved the boundaries between Córdoba's lands at Castro del Río and those of the house of Aguilar at Carchena and the count of Cabra at Baena. The chancillería at Ciudad Real dealt at one stage with the dispute over the possession of Fuente Obejuna between Córdoba and the order of Calatrava. Boundary litigation was not, however, the only activity which involved Córdoba with the audiencia. The alcaldes de los hijosdalgo vindicated the claims to hidalguía of several of the town's citizens and the chancillería heard some appeals against the verdicts of Córdoba magistrates. In 1495, Antón del Rosal appealed against his flogging, which had been ordered by the local magistrates. The audiencia demanded the documents of the case, but on this occasion Córdoba council was very reluctant to see the case leave its jurisdiction and decided to send to Ciudad Real a copy of its privilege which stated that completed cases should not be removed from the town's boundaries for further trial. The town's sensitivity seems to have been aroused when its opponents in law attempted to use the audiencia against it, as there were protests about infringements of the town's jurisdiction when private landowners brought boundary actions in Ciudad Real, for example in 1496. On the other hand, the council was happy to use the audiencia to further its own interests. For example, a case in which the jurado of Torremilano was attacked in Añora was

was referred to Granada by the *corregidor* in 1506, with the council's consent and in 1511, a dispute over the taxation of wine imported by the clergy of Córdoba was referred in the same way. More interesting, perhaps, is the use made by the Crown of the Granada *audiencia* in the early sixteenth century in political rather than legal matters. In 1506, the lawyers in Granada intervened to protect Pedro Fernández de Córdoba, brother of the *alcaide de los donceles*, in the governorship of the fortress at Castro del Río, which had been granted him by the Crown against the wishes of Córdoba council, and in the same year they also rallied the royal supporters against the duke of Medina Sidonia's attack on Gibraltar. In the emergency of 1506-7, the *audiencia* on one occasion received a report on prices from Córdoba council.[1]

In order to pursue cases in the *audiencia*, it was necessary for the towns to employ legal staff resident in Ciudad Real or, later, Granada. In 1495, for example, Córdoba council sent a *jurado* as its representative to Ciudad Real to engage a *procurador* and a *letrado* to conduct litigation there. They were appointed for a year and received a third of their salary in advance. Early in 1496, the town's *letrado* transferred the council's business to one of his colleagues and only informed his employers of the fact afterwards. In June of that year, the *letrado* was changed again. In addition to the *procurador*, who was resident in Ciudad Real and paid a retaining salary by Córdoba, the town sent another *procurador* when summoned for the hearing of a particular case at the *audiencia*. For example in 1496, Córdoba's *procurador de términos* (proctor for boundaries) was summoned to Ciudad Real for a case concerning an enclosure which was in dispute between Córdoba and its subordinate council of Santaella. There is evidence from 1491 and 1515 that Jerez council also engaged lawyers at Ciudad Real and Granada and one of the two *letrados* who were working for Córdoba in 1505 also served Jerez in 1514.[2]

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1. RGS 2.8.1487. AMJ Actas 20.8.1505, 15.10.1509, 29.9.1509. AMJ 11-9 and 17-10. AMJ Actas 8.1.1515. AMC Actas 22.1.1496, 4.4.1498, 3.7.1499, 20.3.1500, 10.5.1501, 23.7.1501, 26.7.1501, 30.10.1495, 2.11.1495, 18.11.1506, 10.9.1511, 15.5.1506, 2.11.1506, 15.12.1507.

2. AMC Actas 8.7.1495, 22.1.1496, 20.6.1496, 9.9.1496, 17.9.1501. AMJ Actas 13.5.1491, 8.1.1515. AMC Actas 1.10.1505.

Jueces de Comisión : Jueces de Términos

Before the audiencias were established as permanent appeal courts, the Crown used to appoint special judges, who were generally legally-qualified members of the royal council, to go to the locality and hear and judge the case in the king's name. This system continued after the Valladolid and Ciudad Real chancillerías had been set up and the oidores from these tribunals sometimes performed such duties in the same way as the members of the royal council. These judges were given commissions to hear cases and were thus called jueces de comisión. If they received a general commission to investigate all offences concerning boundaries in a certain area, they might be known as jueces de términos.

Both Córdoba and Jerez received jueces de comisión in this period to deal with taxation. In 1486, Pedro Contreras was sent by the Crown to Jerez to investigate the collection of the alcabala (sales-tax) on grain and in 1514, a similar commission as juez de alcabalas in Córdoba was given to Lic. Antonio de Cuéllar, who was already juez de términos in the area. The majority of jueces de comisión in Córdoba and Jerez seem to have dealt with boundary cases in general and in the late fifteenth century they were known as jueces de términos.[1]

As early as 1426, there is a reference in the Jerez actas to two books of sentences given in boundary cases by Ruy Gutiérrez and Dr. Pedro González. In 1435, the sentences of another judge, Alfonso Núñez de Toledo, are mentioned. The local council was responsible for maintaining the lands in public ownership and protecting them from incursions. In 1447, Jerez's council attempted to place boundary-marks between the royal lands and those of Arcos. The succeeding years saw the case which resulted from this act rise through the appeals system until in the 1490s it reached the royal council. The laws of Toledo replaced the piecemeal approach to boundary problems, using

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1. RGS 28.2.1486. AMC Actas 14.6.1514.

jueces de comisión such as Bach, Suero de Noboa, who fixed the boundaries between Jerez and Puerto de Santa María in 1432, with a general campaign for the restoration of Crown lands throughout the kingdom. In Jerez, the responsibility for initiating proceedings against those who had seized public lands for their own use was given to the corregidor , Juan de Robles, in the title of juez de términos . The pesquisidor Juan de la Fuente, a member of the royal council, performed a similar function in 1484, in 1484, in a case concerning the boundary between Jerez and Lebrija. In 1485, however, Juan Flores, a contino of the royal household, was appointed to investigate the boundaries between Jerez and Cardela (now Torre-Cardela, Granada) and his commission was later extended for thirty days so that he could deal with similar cases involving Arcos and Rota. In 1489, the audiencia at Valladolid told Jerez that the marquis of Cádiz, lord of Arcos and Rota, had complained that the royal judges sent with a commission to hear boundary pleas were partial towards Jerez and were being carried by their zeal beyond the provisions of the laws of Toledo. One of the judges concerned, apart from Flores, may have been Pedro de Loaisa, a member of the royal council, who was sent in 1488 to deal with disputes over territory between Jerez and Alcalá de los Gazules, a town which belonged to the adelantado of Andalusia. In 1490, Lic. Alvaro de Porras was given a commission to hear boundary cases under the laws of Toledo and in 1491 he was replaced by Bach. Fernando de Mogollón. In 1503, the juez de términos of Seville, Lic. Pedro de Maluenda, was sent to deal with a boundary disputes between Jerez and the duchess of Arcos and in 1513 another judge was sent to hear a similar case against Alcalá de los Gazules. Between 1480 and 1515, cases involving Jerez and the neighbouring lords recurred frequently and every legal device from the direct action of the local council to the deliberations of the consejo real was tried, without a definite conclusion being reached.[1]

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1. AMJ Actas 27.2.1426, 14.3.1435, 16.11.1447, 2.1.1482. AMJ 17-9, 11-28. AMJ Actas 19.1.1489. RGS 23.12.1488, 21.6.1490, 1.3.1491. AMJ Actas 8.3.1491, 8.2.1503, 8.8.1513.

In Córdoba, the picture was similar. Cases were generally handled by judges whose greater permanence and larger scale of activity led to their.being described as jueces de términos ..As in Jerez, there was some room for local action. In 1501, the town council appointed arbitrators in a dispute over land between a regidor and a jurado'. Another common feature was the existence before 1480 of individual commissions for judges to hear boundary-pleas. In 1457, Dr. Diego Sánchez del Castillo, an oidor , heard a case between Córdoba and Gonzalo Mexía and in 1477, the Crown appointed another oidor , Don Rodrigo Maldonado de Talavera, as juez de términos in the diocese of Córdoba . He delegated the commission to Lic. Diego de Rojas, who dealt with a number of cases in 1477-8. After this, such appointments were quite frequent. Lic. Sancho Sánchez de Montiel was in Córdoba between 1491 and 1499, Lic. Antonio de Cuéllar heard some cases in 1513-4 and Lic. Hernando Díaz de Lobón replaced him in the office between October 1514 and May 1515.[1]

While Montiel was in Córdoba, the Crown, apparently at his request, appointed Pedro Jiménez de Góngora, a citizen of Córdoba, as juez de los cortijos (judge of farms). He was first given a general responsibility, without any title, for ensuring that farms in the Córdoba area were properly marked. Córdoba council decided in January 1498 to appeal against the appointment, on the grounds that the fieles and judges were already at work to enforce royal legislation on land-use. The royal letter confirming Góngora's appointment stated that Montiel had asked for him because he was dissatisfied with the work of the existing boundary officials. Góngora was formally designated a judge in September 1498, but when he presented a royal letter ordering the fieles and medidor to work efficienctly, or else pay from their own pockets for the fencing to be done by others, the council protested to the Crown. This was to no avail, however, and after the juez de términos departed, Góngora partly replaced him, for example, prosecuting Francisco Cabrera, a veinticuatro ,

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1. AMC Actas 22.11.1501, 20.8.1499. AMC 6-1-1. 12-4-1, 12-4-3 fol.1, 6-1-16, 12-4-14.

in 1504, for illegal enclosure. It is not, therefore, surprising that he was unpopular in council circles.[1]

The Tierra

In the administration of the legal system, the Jerez and Córdoba councils acted as intermediaries between the royal government and the magistrates in the towns of the *tierra*. The judges and officials of the Crown automatically had the right to enter Córdoba and Jerez's possessions in the exercise of their functions, but, as a matter of principle, Córdoba council stated categorically in March 1497 that no royal letter of *juez de comisión* might be received by a subordinate council in the *tierra* unless the letters of credence of the officials concerned (*cartas de poder*) had first been approved in Córdoba. The Crown appears not to have accepted Córdoba's claim, however, as in 1502, La Rambla and Santaella successfully made a direct appeal to the Sovereigns against the way in which their *alcabala* had been collected. They obtained royal judges to arbitrate, though, probably so as not to erode respect for Córdoba's authority, the choice of the judges was left to its *corregidor* .[2]

In most cases, the legal activities of the towns in the *tierra* were conducted by Córdoba council. If litigation was undertaken with the council's approval, Córdoba was prepared to pay the costs. In 1504, for example, the council paid a fine of 8,000 mrs which had been imposed on Fuente Obejuna in a case over boundaries against the count of Belalcázar, and it also paid 4,000 mrs. towards Fuente Obejuna's expenses in the hearing. Such payments were apparently made only if the money could not be raised locally, in *repartimientos* of 3,000 mrs., paid by the citizens. In 1493, Córdoba told the *alcaldes* and *jurados* of Bujalance to raise by this method a fine of

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1. AMC Actas 3.1.1498, 10.1.1498, 28.2.1498, 28.9.1498, 28.6.1499. AMC 6-1-7.

2. AMC Actas 3.3.1497, 14.3.1502.

15,000 mrs. which had been imposed on the town for violating a dehesa which belonged to Córdoba. In cases where the authority of the council in outlying areas was in question, it naturally took a hard line and the same applied if a town started an action without the parent council's permission. In 1497, Fuente Obejuna was told, for this reason, that it would have to pay its own costs in a petition to the Crown about alcabalas. On other occasions, Córdoba's control over its tierra was exercised in a more beneficent way, as when the council, in 1497, sent to regidores to arbitrate in a dispute over land between La Rambla and Santaella.[1]

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1. AMC Actas 27.7.1504, 16.9.1504, 20.6.15.2, 23.9.1504, 17.8.1495, 6.2.1493, 15.2.1493, 9.8.1497, 13.12.1497.

Chapter Five

ROYAL TAXATION AND MUNICIPAL FINANCE

Royal towns such as Córdoba and Jerez were financially important to the Crown. As major population centres, they were capable of making sizable contributions towards the cost of governing the kingdom. However, the extensive material available in local and central archives on the towns' finances is valuable, not so much for assessing the proportion of the Crown's income that was provided by Córdoba and Jerez as for the light which it sheds on the relative strength of public and private finance in these two areas. The important questions to be considered in a survey of the relations between two major urban communities and their local nobility are (i) the royal taxation system as it affected both parties and (ii) their relative ability to obtain revenue and use it in meeting the costs of government and military activity.[1]

The royal taxes which affected Córdoba and Jerez were both direct and indirect and it is quite helpful to divide them additionally into ordinary and extraordinary, within these categories, although this was not a distinction recognised by contemporaries. Two ordinary direct taxes were collected from the inhabitants of royal towns. One of these was the moneda forera ,

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1. While the purpose of this chapter is not specifically to survey the fifteenth century Castilian taxation system, it owes much to the following works on that subject:-
Conde de Cedillo, Contribuciones e impuestos en León y Castilla durante la edad media (Madrid, 1896).
Luis García de Valdeavellano, Curso de historia de las instituciones españolas, de los orígenes al final de la edad media (Madrid, 1968).
Miguel Angel Ladero Quesada, La hacienda real castellana entre 1480 y 1492 (Valladolid University, Department of Medieval History, Estudios y documentos , no.26, Valladolid, 1967);
"La hacienda castellana de los Reyes Católicos, 1493-1504", Moneda y Crédito, 103, 1967, pp.81-112;
"Almojarifazgo sevillano y comercio exterior de Andalucía en el siglo XV", Anuario de Historia Económica y Social (Madrid University),2 (1969), pp.69-115.
These articles are summarised in the general work, La hacienda real de Castilla en el siglo XV (University of La Laguna, Estudios de historia , no.1, La Laguna, 1973).

which had originally been an extraordinary aid, voted by the Cortes to the king "in recognition of his royal lordship", as John II's cuaderno for its collection described it. By the fifteenth century, it had become an ordinary tax of 8 mrs per head of Castile, Extremadura and the frontier regions and 6 mrs in León, calculated in the old money, which was worth twice as much as the maravedí then current, and collected every six years. The change in the status of this tax over the years indicates the problems encountered in distinguishing ordinary from extraordinary taxes.[1] The other ordinary direct tax collected in Córdoba and Jerez was the tercias reales (royal thirds), which was one of a group of royal revenues in the fifteenth century which were of ecclesiastical origin. The tercias were in fact two-ninths of the church tithe, on cereals, wine, livestock and other agricultural products. They had been conceded to the Castilian Crown in the thirteenth century, on a temporary basis, to further the conquest of Muslim territory, but, as with so many Castilian taxes, they became permanent, in 1340, and in the fifteenth century they were collected with the alcabala, or sales-tax.[2]

Extraordinary direct taxation was important in the royal finances of the fifteenth century. It was voted to the king by the Cortes, as a survival of the vassal's aid and military service to his lord. Under Ferdinand and Isabella, no servicio of this kind was voted by the Cortes between 1476 and 1500, but the money was raised instead by the Juntas de Hermandad, following the same procedure. Each servicio was divided into the old-fashioned monedas and the later pedidos, but the principle on which these taxes were based was the same.[3]

The two main categories of ordinary indirect taxation were taxes on trade

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1. Ladero Quesada, La hacienda real de Castilla ..., pp.220-1.

2. Ibid., p.89.

3. Ibid., pp.199 and 201.

and taxes on transport. The main tax on trade was the alcabala, a ten per cent tax on all sales and other transactions, which by the fifteenth century was paid entirely by the seller, although originally it was divided equally between him and the buyer. The main tax on transport, the almojarifazgo, was important in Andalusia, where it was partly in the hands of local councils.[1] Compared with this the other customs and transport duties, such as portazgo, rodas, barcaje and castellería,[2] were of minor importance, but this could not be said of the tax on the movement of livestock, the servicio y montazgo. The servicio was a head-tax on the movement of animals which replaced, in this case, all other customs duties. The montazgo, which was collected with it, was a tax on the use of pastures within the royal jurisdiction. The servicio began in 1270 and the montazgo came under complete royal control in 1343.[3]

The equivalent indirect tax to the Cortes and Hermandad servicios was the sisa, or imposición, which was a one or three per cent tax on sales, in addition to the alcabala, which might be imposed in case of need. The earliest surviving reference to sisas comes from the reign of Sancho IV (1284-1295) and they were extensively applied to foodstuffs under Ferdinand and Isabella.[4]

The royal administration in the fifteenth century was still inadequate for the supervision of the collection of royal revenues. The kingdoms of Castile were divided for tax purposes into partidos, which generally followed diocesan boundaries, but were sometimes less extensive in areas of great economic activity. The diocese of Córdoba formed four partidos and Jerez another, while the rents of Seville were divided into three partidos, those of the

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1. See below.

2. See below.

3. Ladero Quesada, La hacienda real de Castilla, pp.152-3.

4. María del Carmen Carlé, "Mercaderes en Castilla,1252-1512", Cuadernos de Historia de España (Buenos Aires), 21-2(1954), p.214.

almojarifazgo, of aceite (olive-oil) and of the rents of the alhóndiga (granary) and madera (wood). The other Andalusian partidos were those of Ecija and of the county of Niebla, with the Ajarafe and Ribera (Seville). In each partido, the Crown appointed a recaudador mayor to supervise the collection of royal revenues, which he might delegate to recaudadores menores, who would receive the taxes in four-monthly instalments from the local councils, communities and other tax-collectors.

Castilian subjects did not, generally speaking, pay their taxes directly to royal officials. Most of the king's revenues were farmed to arrendadores, who paid him, in advance, a price that was fixed for them by auction, thereafter incurring all the risks and advantages. The weakness of the king's administration and the desirability of receiving the money in advance to meet required expenditure made this system both necessary and reasonably effective, from the Crown's point of view. The reserve price for each rent that was auctioned was fixed by the main royal financial agency, the contaduría mayor de hacienda, on the basis of information from previous arrendadores. The conditions for the collection of rents were laid down in a cuaderno of basic law for each rent. These cuadernos changed little after the reign of John II, though Henry IV and Ferdinand and Isabella altered those for the collection of the alcabala and almojarifazgo sevillano. Many rents were auctioned in the central estrado de las rentas, which remained generally at Medina del Campo. Others were auctioned by the escribanos de las rentas in the different partidos. These officials were responsible for providing the contadores with information on the value of the rents and also received one per cent of all those which they were involved in auctioning.

When an estrado was announced, bidders offered their posturas until the remate de la subasta, that is, the sum acceptable to the royal financiers, was reached. After this first remate, further bids (pujas) might be allowed under certain conditions, until the final remate was arrived at and the rent

was rematada de todo remate. The contadores encouraged bids by offering prometidos, that is, sums which the arrendador might keep for himself. The original arrendador had a right to the prometido and part of the pujas that followed. By the time the final remate was reached, the prometidos were frequently shared between the first arrendador and a number of major or minor speculators who had become associated with him in the bids for the rent. Rights of arrendamiento, obtained in auctions, were often transferred later to others. Once a rent was rematada, the arrendador was obliged to provide financial guarantors of his farm, within ten to twenty days. These guarantees could be other financial benefits which the farmer received from the Crown, in the form, for example, of raciones, quitaciones and other types of salary. Such payments would be retained by the Crown to offset its losses, if the arrendador failed to meet his obligations.

When arrangements had been made for the pricing and guaranteeing of the rent, the arrendador received a letter authorising him to organise its collection, which required an army of escribanos, guards, cogedores (collectors) and other minor officials. Certain categories of person were excluded from becoming arrendadores. These included all clerics and officials of the royal administration, powerful subjects (personas poderosas), especially in their own areas, commanders of military orders in their own encomiendas and governors of fortresses (alcaides). All arrendadores received the full formal protection of the Crown against interference with their work and the towns where they collected taxes were obliged to lodge them at reasonable prices. In certain circumstances, an arrendador could fine those who obstructed him, but legal disputes arising out of the collection of rents were generally resolved by a local magistrate. Occasionally, a special judge might be appointed by the Crown to hear such cases and the highest appeal was to the contadores mayores. An arrendador could only summon a party to law in that party's place of residence or in the chief town with jurisdiction over

it (the *cabeza de jurisdicción*).

An alternative system for the collection of royal revenues existed which might appear more suitable from the royal point of view. This was the naming of individuals known as *fieles* by the local council to collect the king's revenues. However, fifteenth century Castilian kings did not find this a satisfactory way of raising taxes, because, unlike the *arrendador*, the *fiel* had insufficient financial interest in collecting the taxes and so when *fieles* were at work, the Crown received little of the money which was its due. The salary of three per cent of taxes collected, which the *fieles* received, did not fire their enthusiasm and so *fieldad* was only resorted to when there was a delay in the appointment of an *arrendador* or if a particular difficulty arose in the farming of a tax.

An *arrendador* might claim his revenue for one or two years after the end of his farm and he was also entitled to ask for a discount (*suspensiones*) in cases where his rents had been legally or illegally taken by a *persona poderosa*.[1]

From 1495 onwards, another method came to be used for the collection of royal rents. This was the *encabezamiento* system, which involved the collection of rents, particularly *alcabalas* and *tercias*, by local councils, instead of *arrendadores* or *fieles*. Councils had tried for many years previously to take over the collection of the king's taxes. In doing so, they were in fact attempting to return to the situation which had obtained in the early fourteenth century, when the towns, which then retained considerably political vitality, had achieved a stronger position in bargaining with the Crown. The creation of closed councils in the towns had had the effect of weakening this position and had resulted in the return of power over revenue collections to the Crown and its agents. By 1495, however, the *arrendamiento*

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1. For seignorial control of royal revenues, see chapters 2 and 6.

system had run into difficulties, because of the expulsion of the Jews and the activities of the Holy Office, and the Catholic Monarchs were prepared to make agreements with the urban oligarchies for the latter to collect *alcabalas* and *tercias*, in return for an effective reduction in the burden of these taxes on local communities, caused by the fixing of levels of taxation for several years at a time and the scope given to the councils to decide how the overall total was to be raised.[1]

In theory, *servicios*, as direct taxes, were calculated on the basis of the wealth of the individual tax-payers (*pecheros*). Collection of the aids voted to the Crown in the Cortes was left to the local councils and the total sum demanded was divided into two categories, *monedas* and *pedidos*. The *moneda* was the longer-established of the two and was equal to 8 mrs in Castile, Extremadura and the frontier regions and 6 mrs in León. Thus, in 1476, a *reparto* of twelve *monedas* was asked for and this amounted to 96 mrs per head. In order to pay the tax, an individual had to have goods valued at a previously fixed amount, though his bed, ordinary clothes, weapons and a pair of plough-oxen, if he had one, were excluded from the calculation. For the 1476 *servicio*, it was laiddown that *pecheros* with goods valued at 60 mrs or less, by this method, should pay only two *monedas* and that the full twelve should apply to those with goods worth 220 mrs or more. Leaving aside the ease with which the rich might conceal their wealth or obtain total exemption from *servicios*, the fact that a global sum was demanded of the kingdom and divided among the *partidos* meant that the tax could not in any case be collected on the basis of an assessment of individual wealth. Even in theory, the *pedidos* were not assessed like the *monedas* and in practice, *servicios* in general were raised in whatever way the local councils found possible at the time.

Local councils showed little enthusiasm for collecting *servicios* because they did not stand to gain from the revenue. Another problem was the

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1. Ladero Quesada, *La hacienda real*, pp.21-32.

high incidence of exemptions, which the Cortes *procuradores* complained of, for example, in 1442.[1] When *monedas* were collected, an *empadronador* had to be appointed in each place with more than thirty citizens and dwellers (*moradores*), to compose a list (*padrón*) of the *pecheros* . This list had to be handed to the *cogedor* (collector) within twelve days, so that he could collect the money and hand it over to the receiver or treasurer within twenty more. When a *pechero* died, his widow and children continued to pay the tax as one *pechero* . If his goods were divided after his death, more than one *pecho* was formed. His orphan children became *pecheros* in their own right when they married. In 1451, it was established that land acquired between the granting of the *servicio* and the completion of the *padrón* was to count for tax purposes. However, the *padrones* were not changed for each *servicio* , but kept by the *contaduría mayor* . Those produced in 1455-6 were used until 1476.

Exemption from taxation was one of the main issues in Andalusian towns under Ferdinand and Isabella, because, while in Castile as a whole, certain social categories - the upper nobility, *hidalgos* , *caballeros* , *escuderos* , and *dueñas* and *doncellas* of *hidalgo* rank - were automatically exempt, there was a theory that in Andalusia, these exemptions did not apply. It was stated at the Cortes of 1451 that,

> ... all pay taxes (*pechan*) in common, rich men (*ricos omes*) in the same way as *caballeros* , *fijosdalgo* and any others, which has always been customarily done for the common good and defence of that land. 2

The exemption of clergy in major orders ("of mass, gospel and epistle", that is, priests, deacons and sub-deacons)does not seem to have caused dispute, but that of *caballeros* was only admitted after some argument in Andalusia. In practice, three types of *caballero* were recognised as

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1. *Cortes*, vol.3, pp.441-3.

2. *Cortes*, 1451, vol.3, pp.629-30.

exempt from *monedas*. The first, the *caballero* who kept a horse and weapons continuously and served the king personally in war, was exempt not only from *monedas* but also from *pedidos* and other *pechos*, such as *moneda forera*, provided he lived by the practice of arms and not by any "low offices" and was ready to serve at any time until he reached the age of sixty. If they kept the weapons and horse, his widow and children could continue to claim these exemptions until the widow remarried and the children reached their majority. The second category of exemption was that of knights dubbed by the king in the field, who might follow a profession other than that of arms. In practice, the exemption of such knights from *monedas* was limited, so that it could not be used as a route for *pecheros* to escape from their responsibilities. Any children they had before they were knighted continued to be *pecheros* and the 1442 Cortes asked for the practice of granting such knighthoods by letter to be stopped. The Andalusian towns contained another type of *caballero* with an exemption from *monedas* only, which was the *caballeros de premia* or *alarde*. These were ordinary citizens of any trade who reached a minimum wealth qualification and kept a horse and weapons for use by themselves or a substitute.[1]

Those with the status of *exentos* or *excusados* were also exempt from *monedas* only. These included a wide range of royal servants, not only surrounding the person of the monarch but also in royal towns. In Córdoba, the Catholic Monarchs confirmed in 1478, at the request of the *corregidor*, Francisco Valdés, the exemptions granted by past kings to the *alcalde* and inhabitants of the Alcázar Viejo and the nearby Castillo Viejo de la Judería.[2] It appears that there were twenty-eight tradesmen's offices in the castles, which carried the exemption from *monedas* although those who held them were not *caballeros*. When the stone-mason Rodrigo de Torres died in 1497, he was

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1. Ladero Quesada, *La hacienda real*, pp.199-211.

2. RGS 20.8.1478.

succeeded by the man whom he had designated himself. One of the conditions laid down by Córdoba council before ratifying the proceedings was that the new *oficial* should not be a *caballero de premia*. The Alcázar franchise was not apparently intended to benefit those who already had an exemption from *monedas*. In 1515, there was some dispute over the privileges of the inhabitants of the Alcázar Viejo, and a document in which the *francos* empowered two proctors to represent them at law reveals that in that year there were thirty-seven heads of family in the castle, one of them a widow. They included stone-cutters, masons, weavers, gardeners, shepherds, fishermen, tenant-farmers (*labradores*), book-copyists, a collier, a bird-catcher, a silk-mercer, a bonnet-maker and a surgeon.[1] A similar exemption was confirmed in 1489 for one hundred inhabitants of the Alcazares in Jerez. They were not to be "rich or wealthy" (*caudalosos*) or with large tax-contributions (*pechos*), but tradesmen (*oficiales*) and ordinary men (*hombres llanos*) of small possessions and wealth. In the same year, the financial crisis caused by the cost of the Granada war forced the Crown to include the Alcázar *exentos* in the war *servicios*, but this was probably a temporary measure.[2]

Various town officials also obtained exemption from *servicios*. It was assumed that *alcaldes* and *regidores* were exempt from all *pechos*[3] but concessions of this kind inevitably led to dispute over the status of the families and servants of the beneficiaries. In 1496, the *regidor* of Córdoba, Gonzalo Carrillo, obtained confirmation of the exemption from *servicios* granted to his grandfather, which also applied to his sons, daughters and servants. In the previous year, Doña Isabel de Tamayo, widow of the *alcalde mayor* of Córdoba, Fernando de Narváez, had obtained a similar exemption.

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1. AMC Actas 17.7.1497, 13.9.1497, 11.8.1505. APC 1-1-fols 460-3.

2. AMJ Actas 6.5.1489, 10.7.1489.

3. Ladero Quesada, *La hacienda real*, p.214.

Jurados were generally speaking exempt from all *servicios*, whether *monedas* or *pedidos*, though it was their responsibility to collect these taxes. However, in Córdoba, it was laid down by the local council that once an individual ceased to be a *jurado*, he should revert to the rank of *pechero* if this was his former status. Sons of *jurados* were not automatically entitled to exemptions.[1] *Escribanos*, including the *escribano del concejo* were exempt from all *pechos*, at least in Jerez, but in Córdoba, *alguaciles* were not.[2]

The exemption of *caballeros* who engaged in the profession of arms from all *pechos* might also be obtained by those who gained the rank of *hidalgo*. The thought behind this concession was that as the *hidalgo* was obliged to serve in person with his horse and weapons, when summoned by his sovereign, it was unreasonable to demand from him a financial contribution which was intended as a substitute for personal service in the field. In order to become a *hidalgo*, a man had to prove to the *alcaldes de los fijosdalgo* in the royal *audiencias* that his father and grandfather had not been *pecheros* and that he resided in the same place as they. If he succeeded in doing so, he obtained a letter of execution (*carta ejecutoria*) for presentation to the local authority, which then, in the case of Córdoba and Jerez, ordered the *jurados* of his parish to remove his name from the *padrón* of those liable for the payment of *servicios*. The exemption applied to his wife, even if she was a daughter of *pecheros*, as long as she remained married to him and preserved the chastity of marriage.[3]

Local councils were frequently called upon to decide whether individuals or groups should pay a particular *servicio*. Each demand from the Crown

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1. AMC Actas 18.1.1496, 13.11.1495, AMC 19 Actas de los jurados, fol.76v. AMJ 6-1-fol.50. AMC Actas 23.2.1502, 30.10.1495.

2. AMJ Actas 6.11.1454. AMC Actas 3.7.1500.

3. Montalvo 4-2-6.

for money to be raised in this way led to a crop of disputes, in which the councils tried to apply the general rules on exemption. For example, in 1495, Juan de Frías petitioned Córdoba council to exclude him from the *padrón* on the grounds that he was an *hidalgo*. The criterion used by the council to decide the case was whether he had paid previous *servicios* or not. In fact, they discovered that he had not and accepted his claim, but this was the basis on which the claims of others were decided as well.[1] Sometimes the Crown's authority was invoked, as when Commander Juan de Luna, *veinticuatro*, petitioned the monarchs successfully on behalf of himself and the other *caballeros* of Santiago to order the Córdoba council to exclude them from the *padrón*.[2] This ruling was apparently based on the fact that the activities of the knights of military orders came in the same category as the personal military service of the *hidalgos*.

Another fruitful source of dispute was the status of those who claimed to be members of the households of *regidores* and other *caballeros*. If these claims were upheld by the council, the individuals concerned were deemed to have no independent legal existence, like wives and children of taxpayers, and were therefore not liable for *servicios*. This ruling was enforced by Córdoba council in 1479, 1496 and 1501.[3] Similar exemptions existed for those who were attached to monasteries and churches. This concession, which was confirmed by the Catholic Monarchs in 1478, paralleled that granted to the inhabitants of the royal *alcázares* in Seville, Córdoba and Jerez.[4] In the case of the convent of St. Clare in Córdoba, which was probably not untypical, the local council controlled admission to the fixed number of *exentos* attached to the foundation. As with the *francos* of the

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1. AMC Actas 13.11.1495.

2. RGS 7.11.1477.

3. AMC Actas 22.5.1479, 21.3.1496 and 19.2.1501.

4. Pragmatic of Seville, 18 September 1478, in Pérez, fol.146 and Ramírez, pragmatic 199, no.5.

Alcázar Viejo, beneficiaries had to be _pecheros_ and not _caballeros de premia_.[1] During the revolts in the kingdom of Granada, in 1501, Córdoba council made the concession that the widows of those who died in action, whether _caballeros_ or not, would be exempt from all _servicios_.[2] It was apparently felt that they had already paid the ultimate war-service. Personal exemptions were also granted for various reasons. These sometimes emanated from the Crown, as when Isabel de León, a servant of the princess Isabella, received a grant from the king and queen for herself, her pharmacist husband and their children.[3] In other cases they were granted by the local council. Córdoba council gave such exemptions to its town-criers, to a faithful lawyer in 1497 and to another individual for unspecified services to the town. In 1431, Jerez council used a similar grant to keep a pharmacist in the town when he wished to move.[4]

When the Crown abandoned the use of _servicios_ after 1476, it obtained direct tax revenue instead from the Hermandad organisation, which was reconstituted in 1478. For the next twenty years _repartimientos_ (allocations of contributions) were made in Castilian towns for the upkeep of this force, but after 1482, they were in effect used for the Granada war, as, while the Andalusian towns provided militia as well, the other towns of the kingdom contributed to the war effort mainly through the Hermandad levies of cash, animals, and men. It was admitted by the Crown that the Hermandad _repartimientos_ were a substitute for the Cortes _servicios_, but when Castilian military activity spread outside the kingdom at the end of the fifteenth century, _servicios_ reappeared. The similarity of the two levies is shown by the fact that the 1500 and 1502 _servicios_ were collected using the _padrones_ which

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1. AMC Actas 17.9.1501.

2. AMC Actas 24.5.1501.

3. AMC Actas 4.9.1500.

4. AMC Actas 29.5.1500, 6.2.1497, 16.7.1505, AMJ Actas 23.2.1431.

had been prepared for Hermandad repartimientos .[1]

As with monedas , there was a theoretical basis for calculating the contributions of each town, though for the Hermandad it was size of population rather than individual wealth. The 1478 Hermandad laws stipulated that towns should maintain one horseman (jinete) for each 100 citizens and one man-at-arms for each 150.[2] These terms applied to the basic annual contribution made by Castilian towns to the upkeep of the Hermandad. This money might be used for the war effort in Granada, but it was not the same as the repartimientos for the war, which were an additional burden on the towns. The basic Hermandad contribution was a subject for negotiation between the towns and the government, but repartimientos were, like servicios , specific sums requested by the Crown from individual towns. In Córdoba they were collected parish by parish in the same way as servicios . The jurados and parish escribano composed the padrones and each parish chose two representatives, one a caballero de premia and the other a peón , to hear complaints about the lists. Some attempt was made to relate contributions to individual wealth in the repartimientos , if not in the annual Hermandad contributions. In 1496, Córdoba council ordered that caballeros de premia were to pay for the upkeep of two infantrymen (peones) and that the contributions of poorer people were to be less.[3]

Exemptions from Hermandad repartimientos were similar to those from servicios , but according to the 1478 laws, excusados did not escape them. Local councils had the same discretion in deciding who should pay repartimientos as they did with servicios and in 1496, Córdoba council called in the privileges of the town's excusados , apparently with a view to exempting them from the repartimiento of that year.[4] Exemptions applied in any case

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1. Ladero Quesada, La hacienda real , pp.214-7.

2. AMJ Vitrina 5 fols 1-13.

3. AMC Actas 7.9.1495, 5.2.1496.

4. AMC Actas 9.3.1496.

to *regidores*, *jurados*, *hidalgos* and other *privilegiados* with personal grants from the Crown or the local council, the *escribanos* who composed the *padrones*, the parish *alguaciles* if they resided in their parishes and *commensales* and *escuderos* of *caballeros*. The conditions for the exemption of the latter were defined in 1496 for the purposes of the Hermandad *repartimientos*, but they probably applied equally to the *servicios*. Exemptions for *commensales* and *escuderos* were granted to those who received food, drink, straw and barley on a continuous basis from their lord and who owned no movable or immovable property. Those who owned flocks, land or buildings could not claim exemption.[1] As with *servicios*, the basic criterion for deciding individual cases was whether the person concerned had paid the tax on previous occasions, but *jurados* seem to have experienced difficulty in obtaining overall rulings from councils anxious to decide such matters on an *ad hoc* basis, which did not lend itself to consistency. When the *jurados* of Córdoba complained to the council in the summer of 1496 about the lack of guidance, they only received, after some delay, an order to respect the exemptions of groups which were in any case well-defined, such as *regidores* and *hidalgos*.[2]

Despite the importance to citizens of obtaining exemptions from direct taxation, for the sake of their social and financial well-being, much of the revenue required to pay *servicios* and Hermandad contributions came not from the individual tax payments but from impositions and loans. For example, almost as soon as the 1500 *servicio* had been voted, Córdoba council received permission to raise special indirect taxes to pay it. It was soon discovered that even these were insufficient and the council resorted to loans, from wealthy citizens, Genoese merchants and those who had not served with the town's forces in the putting down of the Moorish revolts in the kingdom of

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1. AMC Actas 12.9.1496, 18.9.1495, 21.3.1496, and 15.6.1496.

2. AMC Actas 16.3.1496, 29.7.1496, 5.8.1496.

Granada.[1] Jerez found itself in a similar state, for example in 1509, when its council complained to the Crown about having to raise loans to pay *servicios*. The royal response was an order to obtain the money by means of *sisas* and this was also done for a three-year period to pay the *servicio* of 1512.[2] The methods employed to raise *servicios* in the early sixteenth-century were previously employed to finance the Hermandad, both for the annual contribution and for special *repartimientos*. In Jerez, it was decided when the Hermandad was first introduced in 1478 that much of the annual payment agreed between the town and royal officials should be found by means of impositions on meat, salt fish, new wine and finished clothing, though the *repartimiento* method of individual payments was used, for example, to raise a quarterly instalment of the annual contribution in 1480.[3] The Crown also sanctioned the use of *sisas* to pay Hermandad costs in Córdoba. In 1496, the town's *caballeros de premia*, perhaps influenced by the local council's desire to tax them more heavily than their less wealthy fellow-citizens, put pressure on the council to apply a royal letter which permitted the use of impositions for this purpose. In this case *sisas* were not applied for the payment of the *repartimiento* because they were already being used to raise the annual levy. The failure to use *sisas* to raise the 1495 *repartimiento* did not deter the Crown from suggesting the same procedure for the 1496 special levy, and on this occasion the local council's initial reluctance was overcome when it was realised that after several months less than half the required amount had been raised. An imposition was placed on meat and fish and when this proved inadequate, forced loans from the *jurados* were resorted to. This mixture of *sisas* and loans was again used to finance the Hermandad in Córdoba in

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1. AMC Actas 24.4.1500, 22.5.1500, 17.6.1500, 19.6.1500, 14.8.1500.
2. AMJ Actas 19.10.1509, 29.7.1513.
3. AMJ Actas 1478 fol.8 and 29.5.1480.

1497 and 1498.[1]

The value of the *servicios* and *repartimientos* for the Hermandad which were raised in Córdoba and Jerez may be measured either in the standard money of account, the *maravedí*, or in terms of the gold and silver coinage. The latter is more useful for measuring the value of these taxes in purchasing power. The available figures for *servicios*[2] shows how different are the results

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1. AMC Actas 15.2.1496, 19.2.1496, 22.2.1496, 16.3.1496, 2.5.1496, 13.5.1496, 8.7.1496, 18.7.1496, 14.9.1496, 7.12.1496, 27.10.1497 and 3.1.1498.

2. Values of *servicios* in Córdoba and Jerez.

Jerez	Maravedíes	Aragonese Florins
1430	151,040	2,904
1447	113,280	2,178
1459	113,280	1,132
1512	438,829	1,655
1515	475,177	1,793

Sources: AMJ Actas 15.2.1430, 9.5.1431, 15.12.1447, 6.5.1459, 31.8.1513, 3.10.1515.

Córdoba	Maravedíes	Aragonese Florins
1500	2,600,000	9,811
1502	6,106,652	23,043
1504	5,988,952	22,599
1506	5,000,000	18,867

Sources: AMC Actas 30.3.1500. RAH Salazar M-98 fols 69 71v.
AMC 18-7-2

Total *servicios* for the Crown of Castile

	Mrs	Florins
1476	162,000,000	675,000
1502	100,000,000	377,358
1504	102,656,000	387,381

Sources: Ladero Quesada, *La hacienda real*, p. 21.
RAH Salazar M-98 fols 69-71v.

See appendices 1 and 2.

obtained if totals are given in, for example, gold Aragonese Florins rather than maravedíes . The most useful indication of the relative lack of importance of direct taxation under Ferdinand and Isabella is the fact that, in terms of Florins , the Jerez contribution to servicios was worth less in 1515 than it had been in 1430, although the total in maravedíes was very much higher. Figures are not available for a similar comparison to be made for Córdoba, but it is notable that the Crown was obtaining less from the town in 1506 than in 1504, the latter figure being in turn lower than that for 1502. This trend could hardly be termed satisfactory for the Crown. The annual contributions to the Hermandad seem to have been 2,050,000 mrs (7,735 Florins) in Córdoba and 400,000 mrs (1,509 Florins) in Jerez. These sums were required each year up to 1498 and the similarity between them and the totals for the 1500 servicio (though not later ones) in Córdoba and the 1512 and 1515 servicios in Jerez indicates the complementary nature of these two methods of raising revenue.[1]

An important feature of the Castilian tax system under Ferdinand and Isabella was the survival of a large number of archaic taxes in addition to those which actually produced the greater part of the royal revenue. In the case of direct taxation, the servicio was the successor of the moneda forera and of the cabeza del pecho of Jews and Moors, which was a poll-tax on these communities. The cabeza del pecho appears among the municipal revenues of Córdoba in 1452-3[2] but it was not collected after the death of John II[3], The moneda forera did survive, however, having become virtually an ordinary tax, which was farmed out by partido . Exemption from the moneda forera followed the pattern of the later monedas , included in the servicio

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1. AMC Actas 16.3.1479, 29.8.1495, 1.7.1496, AMJ Vitrina 5 fol.8. Ladero, op.cit., p.216.

2. See table 3.

3. Ladero, op.cit., p.219.

which in fact originated with this older tax. Córdoba and Jerez found it necessary to defend the exemption of 'caballeros de premia' and their widows and children.[1] The totals in Florins for the 'moneda forera' in the diocese of Córdoba and in the combined archdiocese of Seville and diocese of Cádiz show a sharp fall in the value of the tax between 1440 and 1488 and while the 1494 figures were much improved, especially in Córdoba, the totals for 1494 were still less than half of those for 1440.[2]

The most important indirect tax in Castile was the 'alcabala', which, with the 'tercias reales' collected in cash rather than kind, amounted to eighty per cent of the royal revenues under Ferdinand and Isabella.[3] It appears to have originated as a Muslim municipal tax, forming part of the 'almojarifazgo' in Córdoba and Ecija and consisting of five per cent on the sale of certain products. This was the 'veintena' (twentieth), which survived under that name in certain towns in the lordship of Arcos under the Catholic Monarchs. The 'alcabala' is first referred to, in known Castilian documents in 1101, and recurs intermittently up to 1303, in a local rather than a national context.[4] In the early fourteenth century, the tax seems to have been under Cortes influence, being granted to the king in the same way as the

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1. AMC Actas 8.4.1496, 14.8.1500. AMJ Actas 28.9.1509.

2. Totals for the 'moneda forera' (Ladero, op.cit., p.221).

Year	Córdoba diocese		Seville and Cádiz dioceses	
	mrs.	Florins	mrs	Florins
1440	239,536	4,606	424,720	8,167
1446	239,526	4,606	400,000	7,692
1458	215,066	2,150	444,333	4,443
1464	240,000	2,400	512,000	5,120
1482	240,000	905	460,000	1,735
1488	255,000	962	470,000	1,773
1494	421,346	1,589	717,840	2,708

3. Ladero, op.cit. p.61.

4. Salvador de Moxó, 'La alcabala : sobre sus orígines, concepto y naturaleza' (Madrid, 1963), pp.15-30.

servicios, but when Alfonso XI received such a grant of the Castilian *alcabalas* in 1342 for his Algeciras campaign, he began to develop them as part of his campaign to improve the state of the royal finances. His two main aims were to turn Cortes *servicios* into a regular source of revenue and to make the *alcabala* general and if possible permanent. In both cases he was reasonably successful, but while the *alcabala* became a royal preserve (*regalía*) it was not inalienable as an exclusive attribute of royal sovereignty in the terms of Roman law. Exemptions from *alcabalas* were extremely rare and not granted to social categories. Even *hidalgos* did not escape and while some towns, especially on the frontier with the Moors, obtained exemption from *alcabalas* on agricultural and pastoral products, Córdoba and Jerez were not among them.[1] The clergy attempted to claim exemption, but the Crown counteracted this by stipulating in the 1465 *cuaderno* for the collection of the rent that, in transactions between laymen and clerics, the layman should pay the *alcabala* even if he was the buyer, although by the fifteenth century the tax was generally paid by the seller. The 1484 *cuaderno* put clerics under civil jurisdiction in cases involving *alcabalas*, in an attempt to curb evasion, but in the 1491 *cuaderno* the clergy achieved exemption for themselves as individuals and for their institutions in transactions which did not involve trading for gain (*trato de mercadería*).

In 1342, the *alcabala* rate was five per cent, but the Catholic Monarchs fixed it permanently at ten per cent. Nonetheless, it is worth noting that as late as the reign of Philip II, small villages often paid as little as three-and-half per cent,[2] and it is probable that the rate of ten per pent was rarely reached in practice. The tax also applied to exchanges of goods (*trueques*) and the tax payable in such cases was determined by an *hombre bueno*, nominated by the *alcalde* or judge responsible for litigation arising

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1. Moxó, *op.cit.*, pp.46-7.

2. Modesto Ulloa, *La hacienda real de Castilla en el reinado de Felipe II* (Rome, 1963), pp.114-5, quoted in Moxó, *op.cit.*, p. 42.

out of the *alcabala*. The tax was collected by means of farms and each *partido* might be divided into *miembros de renta* (parts of the rent). This leads to the impression from the surviving material that there were many *alcabalas*, but while it is often useful to talk in this way when attempting to describe the immensely complicated structure for the collection of the tax in towns such as Córdoba and Jerez, there was in fact only one *alcabala*, of which the taxes on the different articles were parts.[1]

The procedure laid down in the royal *cuadernos* of 1429, 1462 and 1491 for the payment of the tax indicates the effort that was made to overcome the problems with which a fairly rudimentary government organisation was faced in trying to collect a sales-tax. The basic rule was that the *alcabala* was payable in the place of residence of the seller, though if an item was sold in one place and handed over to the buyer in another - and even stored in another - the tax was generally paid where the article finally came to rest. If it could be proved that goods had been handed over at a place other than that of sale in order to evade payment, those involved in the transaction were liable to a fine of four times the tax owed. When an *arrendador* came to a *partido* to collect the *alcabala*, he had to announce his arrival and place of residence. Thereafter, sellers were supposed to notify their transactions to him within two days and pay the tax to the *arrendador* within three days after that, on pain of a fourfold tax. Buyers were also supposed to declare their purchases, but as the tax was not collected from them, they were not fined if they failed to do so. It was possible for a trader to make an agreement (known as an *iguala* or *avenencia*) with the *arrendador*, in advance, to pay him fixed sums at regular intervals.

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1. Ladero, *op.cit.*, pp.65-7. Moxó, *op.cit.*, p.39. The term *hombre bueno* could mean a townsman, or a lesser noble or ecclesiastic at court, but already, in certain *fueros*, it applied to men who assisted the *alcaldes* in judicial or administrative acts, a meaning which appears to cover the present case. See Evelyn S. Procter, "The interpretation of clause 3 of the decrees of León", *English Historical Review*, 85 (1970), pp.45-53.

In these circumstances, the buyer was not obliged to make declarations to the *arrendador*. It was forbidden to move goods out of a town or village at night without the permission of the *arrendador*, who had the power to station guards at the gates to make a compulsory examination of goods and register them. Within centres of population, the *arrendador* had the right to examine shopkeepers' books and to place guards at the sale-points of goods on which he collected tax. No goods might be moved from one town or village to another without licence from the *arrendador*. In transactions which involved a seller who was a citizen from outside the area, or else a cleric, a religious, an official of the local council or an *hombre poderoso*, the buyer had to report to the *arrendador* before the goods were handed over. If he knew that the seller had not paid the tax, he was obliged to keep the appropriate sum and pay it to the *arrendador* when asked to do so.[1]

Certain goods were exempt from *alcabalas* according to the *cuadernos*. These included bread (as opposed to grain), horses and mules, coins and precious metals, manuscripts and printed books, birds of prey, certain types of clothing, wood for the royal arsenal (*atarazanas*) of Seville, grain imported to Seville for sale by foreign merchants, captives and booty from the Moors, when first sold, goods received by the treasurers of the Cruzada and goods transferred in dowries or in the division of an inheritance among heirs, including money used to make one share equal another. In various parts of Castile, including the archdiocese of Seville and the diocese of Córdoba, wayside inns which existed to serve travellers were also exempt from *alcabalas*,[2] but to avoid abuse, those within half a league (2.79 Km) of a centre of population were excluded from this privilege.

Local material on the collection of the *alcabalas* is more readily

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1. Ladero, *op. cit.*, pp.67-9.

2. AMC 18-3-2. A royal provision of 24 March 1492 confirming the exemption of *ventas* from *alcabalas*.

available in Córdoba than in Jerez. While Jerez was a single *partido*, the rents of Córdoba and its *tierra*, *alcabalas* and *tercias*, were divided into four *partidos* for *alcabalas*, the *alhóndiga* (granary), major rents (*rentas mayores*) and minor rents (*rentas menores*), and the rents of the *tierra* (*término realengo*).[1] Before *arrendadores* could begin to collect *alcabalas* in Córdoba, they had to present their royal letters to the council and swear to observe the privileges, uses and customs of the town. In 1475, these were that the *arrendadores* should put offenders in the council prison and no other, and that they would employ only the local magistrates and police, that is, the Córdoba *alguaciles* and later, the Hermandad. They were forbidden to take prisoners more than five leagues (27.85 Km) from Córdoba, they had to observe the privileges of *caballeros de premia* and *caballeros de guerra* (those dubbed by the king), they were not allowed to collect taxes on dowries unless these had been given as guarantees (*fianzas*) for payments, they might not summon offenders to the royal Court in the first instance and they were not to make an execution or sentence in cases which had already been judged.[2] When the *arrendadores* had sworn to observe these conditions, an announcement was made in the town that they would be available to receive offers from prospective farmers of the rents of the individual products. By 1497, the further condition had been added to those of 1475, that the *arrendadores* were bound to observe custom in the collection of the *alcabala* on wine and farm it according to the conditions of past years.[3]

The possibility of introducing *fieles* to collect the *alcabalas* in place of the *arrendadores* gave the local council an opportunity to interfere

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1. See Ladero Quesada, "La hacienda castellana de los Reyes Católicos, 1493-1504", cited above, the tables of figures for Andalusian revenues.

2. APC 18-6-7-fol.6.

3. AMC Actas 4.1.1497.

in the gathering of indirect taxes. In 1496, after a complaint by the regidor Alfonso Carrillo, it was discovered that the arrendadores had failed to ensure that the farmers of the alcabalas were guaranteed financially, as they were required to do. The rent in question was the fish alcabala, but the recaudador mayor admitted that there were others without guarantors. The alcalde mayor of Córdoba ordered an immediate investigation and it transpired that, in addition to the fish alcabala, the almojarifazgo on meat, which was counted as part of the alcabala, and the alcabalas of the butcheries and livestock, were not guaranteed. Furthermore, contrary to the terms of the 1491 cuaderno, which the Crown had drawn to Córdoba council's attention in 1493, the farmer of the meat almojarifazgo was the recaudador mayor, Alfonso de Castro himself. There was already a fiel appointed by the council to supervise the butcheries, alongside the arrendador, but both were without guarantors. The council named cogedores to collect all these rents and fieles to supervise them. Two fish merchants were put in charge of the meat rents, while the fish alcabala was entrusted to two other individuals, one of them a lawyer. In addition, the council ordered that, so as to avoid frauds in the farming and guaranteeing of rents, the recaudador was not to sign the document of arrendamiento until all the money had been collected. Although there was sometimes difficulty with the guaranteeing of rents in future years, the council did not again find it necessary to put in fieles.[1]

The recaudadores mayores of the alcabalas normally came from outside the area but in some cases they built up connections with partidos over a number of years. In Córdoba, Gonzalo de Monzón and Alonso de Castro, the latter a citizen of Segovia, were entrusted with alcabalas of the partidos from 1495 until 1500 and Pedro González de Madrid, a citizen

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1. AMC Actas 14.11.1496, 28.11.1496, 2.12.1496, 17.9.1493, 16.12.1496 and 7.4.1497.

of Madrid, who collected the rents for Monzón and Castro during these years, then succeeded them as *recaudador mayor*, with Diego Fernández de Madrid, a *jurado* of Toledo[1]. The pattern in Jerez was similar. In 1506, the Jerez *alcabalas* were farmed by the *arrendador* (who, as in Córdoba, was the same person as the *recaudador*) of the Seville *alcabalas*.[2] When the *alcabalas* of a town were divided into farms, a large number was created. In Jerez in 1464, for example, the *alcabala* was farmed in 31 sections, in addition to bread, for which the council appointed a *fiel*. Thirty-three individuals were involved in these farms. In most cases, their occupations are not known, but one was a cloth-merchant, another a silk-merchant, one a spicer, one an *alcaide* and another an *escribano del Rey*. It was not a question of one farmer for each product, but rather of major farms being shared, while several of those of lesser importance often went to the same person.[3]

The method of collection varied according to the nature of the product. The taxation of grain was ensured by limiting sale to certain points. In towns with a central granary (*alhóndiga*), grain might not be sold elsewhere and the 1491 *cuaderno* required all towns which did not already possess an *alhóndiga* to build one. Both Córdoba and Jerez had such a building. Various measures were taken by the Crown to make the job of the tax-collector easier. The sale of grain on the roads or in the fields was forbidden, so that it had to be brought into towns. In each large town, entry was restricted to three gates, while in towns without walls certain streets were designated for this purpose. In Córdoba in 1495, the *arrendador* was collecting the tax when the grain came through the gates and not at the point of sale. To counteract this and oblige its own citizens, the council was returning much of the payment to the citizens on the pretext that the grain was for consumption by the owner and his household and not for resale.

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1. AMC Actas 6.5.1495, 30.12.1495, 4.1.1497, 30.5.1498, 27.11.1499, 13.1.1503.

2. APJ 1506, fol.379, 18.4.1506.

3. AMJ Actas 19.6.1464, 1.8.1464.

To simplify the situation, the *arrendador*, Alonso de Jaén, agreed to collect the *alcabala* only at the *alhóndiga* and, if necessary, obtain a declaration from an *escribano*, witnessed by a private citizen, to the effect that a transaction had taken place. This declaration would then be deposited with the local magistrates to forestall council interference.[1]

The sale of meat was controlled in a way similar to that used for grain. The *cuadernos* permitted *arrendadores* to weigh meat on their own balances in the town *carnicerías* (butcheries) so as to calculate the value of the tax payable and check that butchers gave an adequate account of the livestock and meat which they bought or owned. Butchers in Córdoba and Seville were required by the 1462 *cuaderno* to register the flocks which they owned. All butchers had to pay the *alcabala* on all the animals which they cut up. If these belonged to the council or private citizens, it was up to the parties concerned to arrange for the butchers not to be out of pocket. In Córdoba, there were three *carnicerías*, in the parishes of St. Mary, St. Andrew and St. Saviour and in Jerez, one, also in the parish of St. Saviour.[2]

The *alcabalas* on products which involved a large number of traders required other arrangements for collection. The 1429 and 1462 *cuadernos*, for example, laid down that all those involved in the cloth trade, merchants, old-clothes sellers (*traperos*), finished clothes-sellers (*aljabibes*) and shop-keepers (*tenderos*), had to register and seal all the gold or woollen cloth which passed through their hands. An attempt was made to limit the points at which cloth might be sold in towns. The silk-exchange (*alcaicería*) was to be used if the town possessed one, as Córdoba did.[3] The 1429 *cuaderno* authorised the sale of cloth, additionally, in the Calle de la Feria in Córdoba, during the two annual fairs, at the beginning of Lent (*Çarnestolendas*) and in

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1. Ladero, *op.cit.*, pp.70-1. AMC Actas 4.1.1497, 11.9.1495, AMJ Actas 6.6.1503.
2. Ladero, *op.cit.*, p.71. AMC Actas 7.9.1502, 8.5.1504, APJ 23.3.1506.
3. See below.

May. A royal provision of 1510 stipulated that the weavers and fullers of Córdoba should register their cloth for purposes of paying the *alcabala*.[1]

In several others cases, traders took advantage of the system, permitted in the *cuadernos*, of making individual agreements with the *arrendador* for the payment of the *alcabala* on the products used in his trade. The agreements were normally made for one year, during which the traderwould make two tax-payments, based on an estimate of his turnover. These agreements were made before *escribanos públicos* and many of them survive in the Córdoba notarial archives. The records reveal that the tax on a product might involve several different trades. For example, the *alcabala* on animal hides included tanners, boot-makers (*borceguineros*), shoe-makers, strap or harness makers (*zapateros de correa*) and wineskin-makers. The iron *alcabala* covered blacksmiths, wool-carders, locksmiths, tankard-makers (*picheleros*) and coppersmiths. The *alcabalas* on linen and wool were also collected by this method.[2] Payment was generally agreed in *maravedíes*, but occasionally in gold ducats or silver *reales*. Some traders paying the hides *alcabala* also gave a sample of their craft to the *arrendador*, such as a pair of shoes or boots.

The tax on some products was collected at the town gates. One of these was wine, which had to be imported through one of three specified gates so that the *arrendador* or his agents could register it and collect the tax later on this basis. Wine for demestic consumption was by definition excluded from the reckoning for what was in fact a sales-tax. The *arrendador* was permitted by the *cuadernos* to enter *bodegas* at any time and examine their contents and also to supervise the vessels that were used for storing and selling wine. Those who wished to retail wine had to give notice of the fact

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1. Ladero, *op.cit.*, p.70. AMC 18-3-7, copy of provision of 10.10.1510.

2. Agreements for hides *alcabala*, 1491, 1498, 1500:- APC 14-24-3-fols 18v-29, -6-fol.11v. 14-5-19-fol.42, 18-7-fols 81-2, 83-4, 96-102; for iron *alcabala*, 1486, 1491, 1500 :- APC 18-1-fols 432, 438, 446v, 454, 497v, 14-24-9-fol.23, 18-7-fols 184-5v, 188v, 191, 196, 205-6, 210v, 212; for linen and wool, APC 18-7-fols 136-9, 3.4.1500.

to the *arrendador* so that he might supervise the sale. There is evidence that in Córdoba, the farm of the wine *alcabala* was sub-let to local inhabitants for the collection in the *tierra*, for example in the vine-growing area around Santa María de Trassierra.[1] The *alcabala* on wood for building was also collected bymeans of registration at the gates, in both Córdoba and Jerez.[2]

The *escribanos* were a vital part of the collection of the *alcabala* on property sales and transactions, excluding those concerned with dowries and inheritance. They had to show their records of transactions to the *arrendador* on demand so that the tax might be collected[3], though this royal disposition of 1461 did not appear in the *cuadernos*.

As soon as the *encabezamiento* system was introduced for the collection of *alcabalas* and *tercias*, in 1495, it was adopted in the *partidos* of Córdoba and by 1499 it was in use in that of Jerez. Ladero has evidence of the use of *encabezamientos* in Córdoba in 1498, 1499 and 1503 (the last in the *tierra*) and local evidence indicates the existence of such arrangements in 1497 (in the *tierra* only) and from 1500 until at least 1511. *Encabezamientos* seem, in fact to have become the normal method of collecting the *alcabalas* and *tercias* after 1500.[4] It appears that in the early days, towns needed some persuasion to adopt the *encabezamiento*. In 1499, no less a person than Diego de la Muela, a *contador mayor*, came to Córdoba to discuss with the council the merits of the *encabezamiento*,

> ... and speak of the advantage that comes from it to the city and how (the city) receives great benefit from it and how in this Their Highnesses show (the city) great favour in it and he gave many reasons for it all. 5

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1. Sub-letting took place, for example in 1494, 1490 and 1497; APC 14-17-9-fol.31, 18-3-fol.705v, 14-31-10-fol.14.

2. RGS 10.11.1490, 16.1.1492. AMJ Actas 2.6.1480.

3. Ladero, *op.cit.*, pp.69-70.

4. Ladero, "La hacienda castellana..., 1493-1504". AMC Actas 9.1.1497, 15.1.1500, 11.10.1501, 14.1.1502, 1.4.1502, 26.3.1505, AMC 18-3-9, royal *cédula*, Burgos, 5.10.1511. AMJ Actas 16.2.1515.

5. AMC Actas 27.11.1499.

It appears from other references to rents collected by *encabezamiento* that in the early years of the arrangement only four *alcabalas*, those of bread, wine, meat and fruit, were involved. It is probable, therefore, that Muela was discussing the extension of the *encabezamiento* to other rents. In April, 1502, the council voted in favour of an *encabezamiento* covering the *alcabalas* of fruit, olive-oil, hides, game and firewood, iron, earthenware, honey, wax and cochineal (*grana*), wood, *esparto* grass, gold and silver, and a conglomeration including the rents of glovers, shoemakers, leather-dressers, saddlers, clog-makers and peddlars. All the *alcabalas* and the *almojarifazgo* of the four *partidos* of Córdoba and also the *alcabalas* of its *tierra* were included in this arrangement. The document in which the *encabezamiento* was announced to the people of Córdoba added that,

> ... all those persons and traders may give, for each of the abovementioned rents, the prices which they paid for them individually (*por menudo*), either in *encabezamiento* or *arrendamiento*, in the past year of 1501, for this present year and for the five following years, without any increase being made in them for all these six years, and all the officials and dealers in each office (trade) have to oblige themselves on their own behalf for the total of each of ... their rents and offices and not on behalf of any other, and this obligation and disclosure (*averiguación*) of price has to be done before the lord *corregidor* of this city and certain *veinticuatros* and *jurados* deputed for it, with the said treasurer.
>
> So that all of the abovementioned who wish to benefit from this grant shall find the said gentlemen, the *corregidor* and deputies and treasurer, in the council-houses on each of the days following, from three hours after midday onwards, until with God's help this business is completed. 1

The document makes it clear that the *encabezamiento* of 1502 was not compulsory for traders and there is evidence in the notarial archives that some declined to take part. In April 1502, a large number of carpenters and shoemakers agreed before *escribanos* to pay a certain sum for that year and the succeeding five years as the *alcabala* on hides and wood. In addition, thirty tanners gave power to seven of their number to negotiate their contribution to the hides *alcabala* with the council. However, it

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1. AMC Actas 14.1.1502, 1.4.1502.

is known that thirteen shoemakers refused to take part in the encabezamiento and continued to pay their tax on individual transactions, which they now declared to the council instead of the arrendadores .

The encabezamiento , because it took no account of the rise or fall of prices and variations in the ability of citizens to pay tax at the agreed level, might work to the disadvantage either of the Crown or of the towns. Each side was concerned that it should not lose by committing itself to a global sum for several years in advance. The royal point of view appears in an undated Simancas document of the early sixteenth century.

> It will be a very good thing to collect the rents by encabezamiento , but it must be with such moderation that the encabezamiento is not made either perpetual or for a long period, because the king would lose all the growth and increase which there might be in the rents; therefore to put the increase in doubt would be an unreasonable thing, as, through the increase in the population, expenses and outlay grow, from which it follows that trade and commerce must grow and as a consequence the duties of the alcabalas must increase and grow also. 1

Towns, on the other hand, found sometimes that they were unable to meet the demands to which they had committed themselves. In 1496 and 1497, there were riots and protests in Castro del Río and Fuente Obejuna, over the limited encabezamiento then in force. Attempts by towns in Córdoba's tierra to by-pass its council in negotiating with the Crown over their tax assessments caused considerable friction, though the Crown did eventually allow Castro to negotiate in this way with the contadores .[2] Córdoba itself also complained to the Crown about the assessment of the meat rent in the 1502 encabezamiento , but nothing was done and the arrangement was continued indefinitely on royal initiative.[3]

The concerns of town councils in the making of encabezamientos are clearly shown in Jerez council's appeal to the Crown in 1515 for such an

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1. AGS PR leg.3 fol.145, quoted in Joseph Pérez, 'La révolution des comunidades de Castille, 1520-1521' (Bordeaux, 1970), p.140.

2. AMC Actas 18.1.1497, 9.8.1497, 7.3.1510.

3. AMC Actas 13.1.1503, 8.3.1503.

arrangement to be made to cover the _alcabalas_ of meat, fish, bread, wine, straw, livestock, oil, herbs, fruit, spices, linen, wool, game, honey, wax, footwear, canvas, _esparto_ grass, tallow and property. The council wanted the Crown to include in the agreement several conditions to secure the town against finishing out of pocket. All those dwelling in Jerez at the start of the _encabezamiento_ were to pay towards it and they were to continue to do so even if they moved elsewhere. Payment was to be made three times a year, but execution was not to be made in the goods of defaulters until the end of a month's grace after the payment was due. If, because of plague or for some other cause, the town was unable to raise a part of the agreed sum, the council wished a provision to be included in any agreement made with the Crown to the effect that help would be given to the poor and that the council would be allowed to make good the deficit by means of a _repartimiento_ or imposition.[1]

Although a direct tax, the _tercias reales_ were collected with the _alcabalas_ and came within the same arrangements, including _encabezamientos_. According to the earliest _cuaderno_ for their collection, that of 1412, the connection with the remainder of the church tithe was retained and disputes in a particular place were heard by churchmen, but they had to resolve them according to the royal _cuadernos_. The tithe in wine was handed over to the _arrendador_ in the form of _mosto_ (unfermented grape-juice) or as grapes, and grain was delivered clean and threshed. According to John II's 1433 _cuaderno_, each local council had to appoint a _tercero_, _degano_, or _mayordomo_ to make a _padrón_ of contributions, which had to be signed by the parish priest. The goods concerned had to be kept at the disposal of the _arrendador_ from the beginning of the tax year, at Ascensiontide, until the following April. If they were claimed within this period, but the tax-payer could not produce them, the _arrendador_ might collect the equivalent amount

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1. AMJ Actas 16.2.1515.

in cash, based on the highest price of the season for wine, grain and livestock. The rate of *tercia*, which applied only to these agricultural products, was one *fanega* per (*cahiz* (12 *fanegas*) of grain, one head in ten of livestock and one *cántara* or *arroba* (16.13 litres) in twelve of wine, though the last became two *cántaras* in twelve for *vino colorado* and two in sixteen for white wine. The *arrendador* was liable for any losses after the goods had been collected. He endeavoured to avoid these by putting the goods in store, but he had to pay rent for the warehouses and pay guards. The inevitable disputes over the *padrones* normally went before ecclesiastical judges, though the *arrendador* could ask the Crown for a *pesquisidor*.[1]

By far the most important tax on the movement of goods in Andalusia was the *almojarifazgo*, which was basically a royal rent, though, in both Seville and Córdoba, that part of it which was collected in the *tierra* had been granted to the local council, which collected it for its own use.[2] The *almojarifazgo* of Córdoba city, known as the *almojarifazgo castellano*, was collected in the same farms as the *alcabalas* and *tercias* of the area. It also included the old *alcabala* (*alcabala vieja*), which was a 5 per cent levy on the price of pack-animals (*acemilas*), payable by the buyer.[3] Jerez, on the other hand, came within the scope of the great *almojarifazgo* of Seville, the *almojarifazgo mayor*. This was applied in the thirteenth century to the external trade of certain Andalusian ports which were designated by the Cortes of Jerez in 1268. These were Huelva, Cádiz, Vejer, Seville and Jerez. The rent was farmed in the same way as the *alcabalas* and *tercias* and often by the same individuals. A number of the farmers of the *almojarifazgo sevillano* also collected *alcabalas* in the *partidos* of Jerez and

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1. Ladero, *La hacienda real*, pp.89-92.

2. See below and Ladero Quesada "Almojarifazgo", p.72.

3. Ladero, "Almojarifazgo", p.72.

and Córdoba.[1] According to the only surviving arancel of charges, which dates from 1491, was confirmed in 1516, and remained in use until 1566, the tax was collected either at a certain rate of maravedíes per unit of account or piece (in the case of cloth) or else as a percentage of the value of the item. Percentages were always five or ten. In addition to these import duties, there was a tax of $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ on all goods leaving the archdiocese of Seville and a fine of 40% of the value of the goods for evasion.

The main cause of dissension in relation to the almojarifazgo sevillano was the privilege held by the citizens of Cádiz and Jerez which exempted them from the tax on goods, including cloth, for their own use. The scope for abuse was large and extensively exploited by citizens. In 1454, for example, a carta ejecutoria was issued by Henry IV in Valladolid to end a dispute between the councils and citizens of Jerez and Cádiz and the almojarifes

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1. Names of farmers and the years in which they farmed rents in Seville, Jerez and Córdoba, from Ladero, "Almojarifazgo", p.87.

Arrendador	Almojarifazgo sevillano	Córdoba alcabalas	Jerez alcabalas
Yuçaf Bienveniste, citizen of Segovia	1468-1472	1455-1458 1463-1465 1466-1467 (his relation Abraham)	1453-1454
Sancho Díaz de Medina	Various dates, 1444-1480		1440-1445 1455-1458 1465-1466
Pedro Fernández del Peso, citizen of Valladolid and from 1458 of Segovia	1448-1450 1451-1454	1458	
Pedro González de Sevilla, citizen of Seville	?		1440-1445
Ruy González de Sevilla, citizen of Seville	1455-1460		1455-1458 1465-1466
Fernán Núñez de Toledo	1476-1480		1455-1458 1465-1466

of Seville, Sancho Díaz de Medina and Alfonso (Pedro in note 1, p.129) Fernández del Peso, over payment of the tax. Dr. Diego Sánchez del Castillo, an *oidor* of the royal *audiencia*, had heard the case as judge of commission, giving judgment in Valladolid on 31 January 1454. In the judge's view, the system whereby licences were granted to citizens of these towns for the import of goods for their own use, free of *almojarifazgo*, was being abused by means of the illegal tax-free import of goods for resale and false declarations of the date of import to the *almojarifes* to evade payment. However, Dr. Sánchez did no more than order Jerez to desist from these practices. No penalty was exacted and the running battle between the towns and the tax-collectors was still in progress in 1515, when Jerez council complained to the Crown about the way in which the tax was collected and in which disputes were settled in the first instance. Jerez claimed a privilege, whereby such cases were to be dealt with by the town's own *alcalde* or *fiel* charged with this specific duty, and not by other judges. The Crown forbade the *corregidor* of Jerez to intervene in the matter and ordered his colleague in Cádiz to investigate. The standard complaint of the town about the collection of the tax was that it threatened the trade of its citizens, particularly that with foreigners. The cloth trade was a particular source of conflict. In 1467, for example, a Cordoban cloth-merchant, Diego Duque, succeeded in having the duty charged by the *almojarife* on some Flemish cloth which he had imported to Jerez for sale reduced from 3 mrs per *vara* (yard) to 12 mrs per piece, after the council established from past officials (*almojarifes*) that the latter had been the normal rate for 45 years.[1]

The older taxes on the movement of goods which survived in fifteenth century Castile, the *portazgo*, *roda*, *barcaje*, *castillería*, etc., had by this time become a part of the municipal finances in Córdoba and Jerez, as

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1. Ladero, "Almojarifazgo", pp.90-2. AMJ Caj. 1 No.36, *carta ejecutoria* of Henry IV, Valladolid, 25 July 1454. AMJ Actas 21.12.1467.

in many other royal and seignorial towns.[1] Rodas and barcajes appear in the accounts of the two towns, but both councils had obtained exemption from portazgo, within their términos, for their citizens. Thus while most internal customs taxes had disappeared from the royal finances into the council's hands, the portazgo was not collected in these two areas[2], except, in the case of Córdoba, from citizens of other towns travelling in the town's tierra. For these purposes, the tax was collected in the farm of the alcabalas and almojarifazgo castellano of Córdoba. It was not accounted separately from the almojarifazgo, however.[3]

The servicio and montazgo were collected in the late fifteenth century on the basis of a cuaderno from before 1438 for servicio and by use and custom for montazgo, as a contemporary tax official wrote.[4] The servicio was raised in accordance with a fixed scale of charges[5] while the montazgo rate varied from region to region. In Córdoba, it was two head per thousand. An albalá to record the receipt of tax and register flocks entering or leaving dehesas or traversing passes cost 6 mrs. Those who kept their flocks within the area in which they were citizens, or who returned home with them each night, were not liable for the tax. Animals which were kept

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1. See tables 3 and 4.

2. Córdoba: AMC 1-2-36, copy, 24.2.1494, of John II's privilege of exemption from portazgo and almojarifazgo; 1-2-40, royal confirmation, 24.3.1491, of Córdoba's fueros on this subject. Jerez: AMJ Caj.12 No.30, Sancho IV, 8.12.1285 and Caj.1.No.2, 6.9.1285.

3. AMC Actas 30.12.1495.

4. AGS Diversos de Castilla, lib. 4 doc. 40.

5. The arancel for the servicio, included in the 1438 cuaderno was as follows:-

Bulls, young bulls (novillos), cows and calves separated from their mothers: 3 head per 1000 and 18 mrs guarda (probably to contribute to the costs of collection).

Pigs: 1 head per 100 and 1 dinero (1/10 maravedí) per head.

Sheep and Goats: 5 head per 1000 and 3 mrs de guarda.

Figures from Ladero Quesada, La hacienda real, ch.5, pp.152-166, from which the reference in note 4 above was taken.

in fenced pasture "to breed and fatten" were put in the category known as *ganado merchaniego*, for which there were special charges[1], unless they were bought by a butcher for these purposes, in which case they continued to be considered as *ganado cabañil*. The distinction between these two types of flock did not apply to pigs. Generally speaking, all flocks travelling in the kingdom were under royal protection and no other lord could usurp this duty. Flocks which migrated and crossed the passes (*puertos*) were under the control of the council of the Mesta and had to follow fixed routes, going through passes at which the *servicio* and *montazgo* were paid. The former tax was paid on all the animals in the flock and the latter was for convenience paid at the same time, for the use of pasture on the flock's journey from north of the *puertos* to the grazing of Extremadura and during its time there. Flocks which returned north by a different pass from that through which they had entered the grazing areas were liable to confiscation as *descaminados* (diverted).

There was a third category of flock known as the *ganado travesío*, which did not use the *puertos*. The dioceses of Córdoba and Cádiz and the archdiocese of Seville were all recognised areas for *ganados travesíos*. All flocks of this type, going to *dehesas* outside their *términos*, had to be counted first before an *escribano público* and their owners had to obtain the licence of the *arrendador* of the local justices before leaving. The tax was paid on exit from the *dehesa* and all flocks which were outside their *términos* on June 24th were counted and paid tax wherever they were on that day. Despite the problems involved in collecting the *montazgo*, this was one of the most efficiently collected of the Castilian rents in the late fifteenth century, because it was in the interest of the Crown, the *arrendadores* and the Mesta to ensure that the money came in. However, it

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1. The charges for *ganado merchaniego* were 7 *dineros* per head for cattle and 2 for sheep and goats (Ladero, *op.cit.*, p.158).

produced no more than 2 per cent of the royal revenues and both Córdoba and Jerez, like many other royal and seignorial towns, made strenuous efforts to avoid their citizens' having to pay it. Jerez had a privilege from Sancho IV which absolved it from having to pay *servicios* as well as *portazgos*. In 1496, the town took a case to the *contadores mayores* to obtain recognition of its claim that this privilege exempted it from *servicio* and *montazgo*, The matter eventually reached the royal council, which admitted the exemption from *montazgo* but not that from *servicio*.[1] In view of Sancho's privilege of 1285, this decision might appear somewhat strange, but it may well be that the royal council decided to bring Jerez into line with the exemption from *montazgos* which Sancho had granted to Córdoba in 1288, though this had originally involved the diversion of the tax to the municipal accounts for use on the town walls and castles.[2] It is perhaps more likely, however, that the councils of Jerez and Córdoba were forced to defend their privileges as a result of the effort made by Ferdinand and Isabella to increase the efficiency with which the *servicio* and *montazgo* were collected. Córdoba, too, had to contest a case, before the *audiencia*, in 1495 and attempts to collect this tax in Córdoba's *tierra* occurred regularly in subsequent years, though they encountered strong resistance from Córdoba and its subject towns. Before 1495, the council had employed its own *fieles* to collect the tax in the *tierra*, but *arrendador* Juan de Lorca's collector, Alonso Pérez de Castro (also collector of *alcabalas*, see above) complained in 1502 of obstruction from Córdoba council and its officials in the *tierra*.[3]

The tax burden which rested on Córdoba and Jerez in the fifteenth and early sixteenth century can be fairly accurately calculated as a result of the researches of Ladero Quesada, with some additional material from local

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1. AMJ Caj.1 No.2. AMJ Actas 13.7.1496 and 15.10.1509.

2. AMC 1-2-11, Sancho IV, 29.11.1288.

3. AMC Actas 28.1.1495, 1.3.1497, 18.1.1499, 30.12.1502.

sources.[1] However, it is not possible to produce detailed figures for the royal taxation in a particular town for a particular year, because statistics for this purpose are not available, using the same criteria for all taxes. The figures which are available[2] give a good general indication of the level at which the towns were taxed by the Crown if it is borne in mind that in Castile as a whole, in the fifteenth century, alcabalas and tercias provided eighty per cent of royal revenues, customs dues (in Andalusia, the almojarifazgo) produced ten to twelve per cent and servicio and montazgo , two per cent.[3] These percentages do not, however include direct taxation in the form of Cortes servicios or Hermandad repartimientos .

Approximate figures for the value of royal taxation in the two towns in various years between 1430 and 1515[4] indicate, subject to the cautions

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1. Works cited in note 1, p.97.

2. For servicios see note 2, p.113 . For moneda forera see note 2,p.115 . See table 5 for alcabalas , tercias , almojarifazgo and servicio and montazgo .

3. Ladero Quesada, La hacienda real , p.41.

4. The figures set out below are estimates of the taxes, in florins , paid by the partidos of Córdoba and its tierra and the partido of Jerez in certain years between 1430 and 1515. The year 1430 was chosen as typical of John II's reign, 1465 to indicate the situation at the beginning of the civil war period, 1480 to register the effect of the upheavals of the years 1465-79, 1490 to show the consequences of the Granada war-effort, 1494 as an example of the more stable situation after the capture of that city and two years after 1500 to cover the latter part of Ferdinand and Isabella's reign.

The Córdoba totals consist of the known figures for the alcabala , tercias reales and almojarifazgo castellano , with ten per cent added to cover the minor royal taxes for which no statistics are available. The Jerez totals, on the other hand, were arrived at by adding twenty per cent to the figures for alcabalas and tercias , as the Jerez share of the almojarifazgo sevillano cannot be separated from the rest. Servicios and Hermandad repartimientos have been excluded from the reckoning, as have tercias reales collected in kind as opposed to cash. The tercias of the dioceses of Seville and Cádiz, which included Jerez, were alienated in 1430 and 1465.

Córdoba		Jerez	
Year	Annual value in florins	Year	Annual value in florins
1430	44,000	1430	21,000
1465	48,400	1465	25,300
1480	48,500	1480	25,500
1490	39,400	1490	24,800
1494	42,400	1494	27,500
1502	60,600	1515	32,400

set out in the note, that Jerez was taxed at about the level of Córdoba and that the taxes paid by both towns followed the same pattern. The weight of taxation increased sharply between 1430 and the beginning of the civil war period in 1465. By 1480, taxation was at more or less the same level as it had been in 1465, but the irregular situation caused by the Granada war reduced indirect taxation and the _almojarifazgo_ in Córdoba, but not, apparently, in Jerez. By 1494, there had been an improvement, from the Crown's point of view, in both towns and this continued in the early sixteenth century until the permanent adoption of _encabezamientos_ for the main constituent of royal revenue from the towns, the _alcabala_, stabilised the situation. For the years 1478-1498, the annual Hermandad contribution of 7,735 florins for Córdoba and 1,509 florins for Jerez might be added to the figures in note 4, page 134. After the reintroduction of _servicios_ in 1500, the towns continued to be taxed directly, at the same level in Jerez and at a higher level in Córdoba. The addition of this direct taxation does not, therefore, alter the picture given in the note of the relative heaviness of the tax burden in the two towns in different years.

The cost of collecting these royal taxes was included in the overall figures set out in note 4 page 134 above. The farming of the _alcabalas_ of Jerez, which was carried out by the council in 1515, in accordance with the terms of the _encabezamiento_ for 1515-1520,[1] shows that the _pujas_ made by potential _arrendadores_ increased the proportion of the taxes which went to the collector rather than the council and, indirectly in the case of _encabezamientos_, the Crown.[2] Before the _pujas_ were added, the percentage of the gross yield of the Jerez _alcabalas_ which went to the collectors

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1. AMJ Actas 15.2.1515.

2. See above in this chapter for a description of the system of _pujas_.

was 7.9%. After the *pujas* had been added, it was 9.6%. There is evidence that in 1515 the Jerez *arrendadores* were making a special effort to raise the cost of this rent by means of *pujas*, so that the town would not dare commit itself to the old system of *arrendamientos* for shorter periods. In this way, the interests of the Crown and the farmers coincided, in opposition to that of the council, and this situation was acknowledged in a royal *cédula* of 1515.[1] In the event, though, both Crown and *arrendadores* had to forgo the possible benefits of royal farms for shorter periods.

Like *señores*, royal town councils, such as those of Córdoba and Jerez, had certain financial resources which they could call their own, including taxes. All taxation revenue from these towns naturally belonged to the Crown, but local councils were made responsible for collecting some of it and were permitted to use a part as public funds. Municipal accounts are rare in the *actas capitulares*. In the case of Córdoba, the only complete set survives in legal documents of the early sixteenth century, giving the town's income and expenditure from Midsummer 1452 to Midsummer 1453. Partial accounts for 1478-9 survive in the *actas*.[2] For Jerez, there are fairly comprehensive accounts in the *actas* of 1482, 1494, 1500 and 1515.[3] This information, with other scattered material, indicates the main types of financial resources which the Crown left at the disposal of the two town councils. These were ordinary taxes of various kinds, income from publicly-owned lands and buildings, the fines imposed by local magistrates, irregular indirect taxation by means of levies on foodstuffs and other major commodities (*sisas*) and extraordinary direct taxation (*repartimientos*).

The most lucrative municipal tax in the Córdoba accounts for 1452-3 and

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1. Referred to in AMJ Actas fol.305, 31.5.1515.

2. AMC Actas 1479, fol.63. See also table 3.

3. See table 4.

1478-9 was the *almojarifazgo*. This was a tax of Muslim origin, which consisted of duties on goods entering or leaving a centre of population. In the fifteenth century, it survived in the south of Spain and had, in many cases, been alienated by the Crown to local councils or *señores*. The *almojarifazgo sevillano* in Seville and the *almojarifazgo castellano* in Córdoba remained in royal hands, however.[1] The latter covered all goods entering the diocese of Córdoba for trading purposes, but citizens of Córdoba itself did not have to pay the tax within the city's jurisdiction.[2] According to the *cuaderno de arrendamiento* (book of conditions for the farm of the rent) for 1455-61.[3], all goods had to enter or leave Córdoba by one of four gates, those of La Puente, Sevilla, El Rincón and Plasencia. At these points and in the custom-house (*casa de la aduana*) the farmers (*arrendadores*) of the *almojarifazgo*, who were known as *almojarifes*, kept guards and collectors (*cobradores*). Only migrant flocks were exempt from the tax and they were subject to other duties. The *almojarifazgo castellano* also covered river traffic between Córdoba and Seville. Goods might only be loaded or unloaded at the Córdoba *muelles* (moles) when the *almojarifes* or their officials were present, or after an inventory of the goods had been made for tax purposes. However, although the main *almpjarifazgo* in Córdoba and Seville was still in royal hands, the tax collected in the *tierra* was allowed to the local councils. The sum involved was not great in proportion to the total amount collected. For example, whereas the annual yield of the *almojarifazgo castellano* in Córdoba for 1448-50 was 752,669 mrs., the income from this tax recorded in the municipal accounts for 1452-3 was only 81,656 mrs. Nonetheless, in the domestic budget of Córdoba council, this was an important quantity.[4]

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1. Emma Solano Ruiz, "La hacienda de las casas de Medina Sidonia y Arcos en la Andalucía del siglo XV", *Archivo Hispalense* No.168(Jan.-April 1972),p.88. Miguel Angel Ladero Quesada, "Almojarifazgo sevillano y comercio exterior de Andalucía en el siglo XV", *Anuario de Historia Económica y Social*,2(1969), pp.70,71-2.
2. AMC 1-2-34, privilege of John II,5.6.1451, in copy of 24.2.1494.
3. Ladero, "Almojarifazgo", n.1.
4. *Ibid.*, p.72.

The *actas capitulares* contain references to the collection of the *almojarifazgo* in the *tierra*. The council enforced the scale of charges (*arancel*), imprisoned defaulters in the town gaol, assisted the *arrendadores* in outlying areas such as La Rambla and, in 1493, instructed its lawyers to investigate the collection of the tax on fish in Santaella, at the request of the local *almojarife*.[1] The figures in *maravedíes* in the 1478-9 accounts show in some cases a rise and in others a fall, in comparison with those in 1452-3. In terms of gold, the value of the rent was much lower at the latter date, because in that time the equivalents of gold and silver coins in *maravedíes* had risen sharply.[2] However, Córdoba's income from the *almojarifazgo* in its *tierra* probably fell in this period by the same proportion as the part of the tax which remained in royal hands. The decline was part of a general trend affecting Castilian public finances.[3]

Another tax on the movement of goods, and also of flocks, which appears in the Córdoba accounts for 1452-3 is the *roda*. This was one of a group of taxes on internal trade, which included the *portazgo*, *barcaje*, *castellería* and others.[4] It appears to have assumed some importance in municipal finances because of the scale of sheep-rearing in the Córdoba area. In some documents, the *roda* is referred to in the same context as the *portazgo* and taxes on the use of passes (*pasaje*).

According to the 1452-3 accounts, a tax was collected for a watch (*velas*) to be kept on the Guadalquivir above and below Córdoba, on the agricultural land to the south of the city, and in the Pedroche, with a separate arrangement for Fuente Obejuna. The method of collection is not

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1. AMC Actas 1.10.1479, 12.9.1498, 13.2.1493.

2. For methods of calculating the value of fifteenth-century Castilian money, see appendix 1.

3. See above.

4. Carlé, "Mercaderes", p.212, (see note 4, p.99).

known, but it appears that the tax was of diminishing importance, as the yield seems to have fallen from 14,442 mrs in 1452-3 to a mere 400 mrs in 1479. By this time, only one farmer of the rent is mentioned, whereas in the earlier accounts it was apparently collected in five parts. In July 1503, the actas state that the rent would no longer be collected, as the velas had ceased. The last farmer of the rent was probably Fernando Ruiz de Guadalupe, in 1503, as in September of that year, a royal letter was received, forbidding the rent for velas in Córdoba and its tierra.[1]

Although it is not mentioned in the 1452-3 accounts, the 1435 ordinances state that Córdoba council farmed as a rent the 'almotacenazgo', a traditional Andalusian office which was responsible for supervising the conduct of markets, including weights and measures. The rent was collected in the form of duties for the use of the royal measures (peso del Rey) by non-citizens, fines for using false measures and for selling adulterated food and duties on the import of various commodities by non-citizens. The duty payable for the checking of measures used by various traders was also included in the almotacenazgo .[2]

Fines imposed by local magistrates were also a source of income for the town. These were not, however, paid directly into public funds, because the council did not employ the kind of bureaucracy that would be needed to collect them. Instead, it took the easier and cheaper route of farming the fines like taxes, thus assuring itself of a steady income without having to maintain an expensive municipal establishment. Two categories of fine appear in the 1452-3 accounts. There were the 'penas de ordenanzas', which were penalties for infringing the local ordinances, and the penas de corredores, which covered trading offences committed by brokers, especially those who dealt with livestock (corredores de bestias). Other material in Córdoba indicates the existence

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1. AMC Actas 28.9.1479, 10.7.1503, 26.5.1503, 15.9.1503.

2. Manuel González Jiménez, "Ordenanzas del concejo de Córdoba (1435)", Historia Instituciones, Documentos, 2(1975), pp.196-201.

of further types of penalty, whibh were also farmed. These involved usurers, the playing of games such as cards and darts which were forbidden by the Crown, the illegal export of horses from Córdoba's jurisdiction, the illegal import of wine to the district and irregularities in the conduct of the butcheries.[1]

According to the notarial records, the penas de ordenanzas were rented to one farmer (arrendador) for the city and tierra , on an annual basis. He then sub-let the rent in the tierra to citizens of the individual towns. This system seems to have been followed, at least, in 1477, 1487, 1496 1497, 1501 and 1512. However, 1512 was the last occasion on which the rent was farmed in this way. A surviving contract between the arrendador Francisco de Montilla, and a citizen of Montoro defines the penalties concerned as those for breaking the city's ordinances on the removal of bark from trees (perhaps cork-oaks) for export and on the export of hides. In June 1513, the council voted that the rent should not be farmed in 1513-4 and on 11 September 1514, Pedro Fernández de Estrada presented a royal letter which forbade such a procedure in the case of this rent. In several of the contracts for penas de ordenanzas , the penas de juegos vedados (forbidden games) were included in the same farm, but before 1496, they seem to have been separate in several cases at least.[2]

The remaining types of penalty seem to have been farmed in the same way. The isolated contracts which survive do not permit an assessment of the value of these rents as a whole to the municipal finances. While the prices paid by the arrendadores were inevitably arbitrary, they were offered on the basis of an anticipated yield, agreed between the arrendador and the regular offender, like any other tax. As a help in the making of predictions, there

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1. AMC Actas 20.3.1503. AMC 13-10-4, fol.5.

2. APC 14-10-3-fol.35, 18-1-fol.729v, 14-30-23-fol.17, 14-31-11-fol- 30, 18-8-fol. 425, 1-1-fols 34v-35. AMC Actas 22.6.1513, 11.9.1514, APC 14-4-8-2v, 18-1-145v, 18-5-fol.1133, 25-2-fol.99v.

were fixed fines for some offences. For example, the fine for each offence of importing Castilian wine to Córdoba without council licence was 6,000 mrs, reduced to 3,000 mrs. in 1496. The fine was divided, in accordance with normal contemporary practice, into three equal parts, one of which went to the judge, one to the accuser and one to council funds.[1]

Certain other minor rents contributed to the income of Córdoba council. One of these was the rent of *aguadores* (possibly a tax on water-carriers) and another the *meaja* (an obsolete coin, worth half a *maravedí*) on cloth imported by non-citizens. The latter was not raised after 1502. Two taxes on the Moorish inhabitants of Córdoba were also included in the municipal income. One of these was the poll-tax (*cabeza del pecho de los Moros*) and the other was a duty on the meat sold to the Moorish community (*alhama*). The method used for collecting these taxes is not known, but it is probable that they were farmed, like the other municipal rents. This was certainly the case with the coal rent, for example, in 1452-3 and in 1495.[2]

Apart from taxation, Córdoba council's main regular source of income was the letting of publicly-owned land and buildings. By no means all the land in public ownership was let. The Crown automatically held high ground (*montes reales*) for the use of all citizens and also, with the local council as its agent, uncultivated lands (*baldíos*) as public grazing for citizens' flocks. These lands might not be rented by private individuals. However, the council did gain considerable revenue from letting some of the pastures which it owned to individual tenants. These pastures were known as *dehesas*, because they were 'defended' or fenced in, and only the flocks of the owner or his tenant might use their grazing. In 1452-3, the council let seven such *dehesas* and the half-share which it owned in another. They produced, according to the accounts, more than a fifth of the council's income for the

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1. AMC Actas 2.3.1490, 18.7.1496.

2. AMC Actas 21.10.1495.

year. Later material shows that Córdoba owned at least seven other *dehesas*, which were not normally let to citizens. The town's possession of these lands was by no means undisturbed. In 1489, the council gained from the *audiencia* of Valladolid, a *carta ejecutoria*, giving it possession of the *dehesa* of Navas del Moro. In 1517, it attempted to regain the *dehesa* of Trassierra, which had been seized by a local *jurado*. Almost all the references to publicly-owned *dehesas* in local material concern measures taken by the council to defend its possession or prevent the misuse of the lands. As an exceptional measure to raise money to send messengers to Court, the council let the *dehesa* of Navas del Moro in 1493, firstly to some citizens of Córdoba and then to a citizen of Villafranca. In 1500, the *dehesa* of Dos Hermanos was let to a private citizen, after being restored to Córdoba in the previous year. Also in 1499, the town was enabled by the Crown to make a new *dehesa* near Las Casillas, out of lands which had been recently restored to public ownership.[1]

While *dehesas* provided most of Córdoba's income from land, there is some evidence, from 1495, that the council also gained some revenue in the form of corn paid as rent for the working of public arable land. Such payments were known as *terrazgos*. In January of that year, the royal council ordered Córdoba, by letter, to permit its citizens to sow with corn up to fifty *fanegas* (approx.66 acres) of land which had recently been restored to the town's possession in Carchena. The town's *procurador* was despatched to the place in question to discover how much land was in fact available for this purpose and in July he sent a representative to collect the *terrazgos*.[2]

Córdoba council also gained some income from buildings which it owned both in the city and in the *tierra*. All these properties were let in return for permanent *censos* (quitrents), bringing in no more than one hundred *maravedíes* a year, in most cases. The buildings concerned were

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1. AMC 12-21-5. AMC Actas 11.1.1493. AMC 12-67-27. AMC Actas 13.1.1500, 1.2.1499.

2. AMC Actas 2.1.1495, 8.7.1495.

bread-ovens in Córdoba and various towns in the _tierra_ and combined houses and shops in Córdoba. Six of these were used as pharmacies. These publicly-owned shops were a Muslim legacy, known as the _alcaicerías_. The town's income from buildings was, however, tiny compared with the rent of the _dehesas_.[1]

Ten taxes supplied ordinary revenue to Jerez council. They appear in the municipal accounts for 1482, 1494, 1500 and 1515.[2] These minor rents were in many cases different from those in Córdoba, for example, there was no municipal _almojarifazgo_ in Jerez, but only the _almojarifazgo sevillano_, however, Jerez rents did fall more or less into the same categories as those of Córdoba. Of the duties payable for the transport of people of goods, the fares for two ferries on the Guadalete, one at El Portal and the other at an unspecified point upstream, were farmed by the town for five-year periods. The rents known as _montaracía_ (from _montaraz_, or 'pertaining to mountains') was payable for the common use of _montes_, and the _azagaya_ (from a Berber word for a spear or assegai,) was perhaps equivalent to the _velas_ of Córdoba, being intended to pay for some form of defence of the town's lands. The precise meanings of the terms _yerba_, _paja y grana de olivares_ and _fuego y caza_ are not clear from the Jerez material, but they were probably rents for the use of public lands and were of little financial importance. Income from fines is not included in these accounts, but the penalties for playing forbidden games were farmed by the council and the proceeds supposedly used to keep the town's walls in repair. A letter from the royal council to Jerez, which was intended to settle a dispute, describes the history of the rent. The gaming-houses (_tahurerías_) of Jerez had been entrusted by Henry IV to Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, _veinticuatro_, as _majordomo_ on condition that he collected the

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1. AMC Actas 7.5.1498.

2. See table 4.

penalties, which may have been charges for the use of the premises or else fines for gambling elsewhere, and spent them on the repair of the city walls. The office had been confirmed to the family by Ferdinand and Isabella, but successive _corregidores_, Juan de Robles and Lic. de Sahagún, had collected the rent themselves. Alvar's grandson, Fernán Ruiz Cabeza de Vaca, had brought an action at the _audiencia_ in Ciudad Real in defence of his privilege, claiming for himself the sum of 10,000 mrs. which he alleged the _corregidores_ had illegally collected. The _audiencia_ found that Fernán had a case against the _procurador fiscal_, who represented the Crown and, by extension, the _corregidores_ of Jerez, but the _oidores_ ruled that Robles and Sahagún, or their heirs, were not obliged to refund the money which had been collected, because it was deemed to have been spent in the service of the Crown. Fernán appealed for a _sentencia de revista_ but failed to change the verdict. The case then went to the royal council, which asked Fernán to supply the accounts of this rent and also of a tenth on bricks, lime, and tiles which he had collected since 1470, for use in the repair of the walls. Ruiz gained no satisfaction from the _consejo real_ either and the rent was left in the hands of the _corregidor_, although the council did stress in its judgment that the money had to be used for the purposes intended by Ferdinand IV in 1310, when he granted the rent to Jerez.[1]

The _almotacenazgo_ was also a municipal rent in Jerez. Up to 1430, it seems th have been used by the council to pay the salaries of the _alcaldes mayores_. In 1494, the royal council instructed the _corregidor_ to release the _arrendador_ from the obligation to collect the rent because the plague hadcaused people to leave the town. The figure quoted for this year in the municipal accounts is probably theoretical, therefore. A surviving contract for thr sub-letting of the farm for 1506 shows the variety of commodities on which the rent was collected. These included flour, hazel-nuts,

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1. AMJ Actas 10.1.1513, 29.12.1446, 2.8.1503, AMJ 2-34.

olives, coal, almonds, acorns, dried meat, oil and ashes.[1]

In Jerez, but not in Córdoba, some taxes on foodstuffs were part of the town's ordinary revenue. These were the _cornado_ (half- _maravedí_) on a pound of meat, a ninth (slightly over eleven per cent) on the price of fresh fish and an unspecified amount on loaves of bread. The meat and fish taxes were much the most useful to the council's finances.

Like its counterpart in Córdoba, Jerez council obtained revenue in cash and kind from the letting of publicly-owned land and buildings. Such an income was not apparently obtained from _dehesas_ although some pastures were kept for citizens' grazing, particularly the butchers who were responsible for the town's meat supply. However, Jerez did operate a system whereby pieces of pasture were allocated to citizens by means of lots, for a three-year period, so that their own flocks might, "eat the grass and straw and grain and drink the waters". Details survive of the allocation for 1485, which involved sixty such parcels of land, said to provide grazing for 15,250 head of cattle, or their equivalent in _ganado menor_ (minor stock), that is, pigs, sheep and goats. It appears that the town received no rent for this land and that the distribution was made for the benefit of the leading stock-breeders. It was probably no coincidence that fourteen of the thirty-five successful participants in the 1485 lots were members of the council, eight of them _veinticuatros_ and six _jurados_.[2]

According to the municipal accounts from 1494 onwards, _terrazgos_ were paid to the council for the use of publicly-owned arable land. These were paid in wheat and barley and were divided for accounting purposes into two categories, those paid by Jerez citizens and those of the citizens of Puerto Real. The amount paid by the Jerez citizens was 83½ _cahices_ of wheat in 1494 and 83 in 1500. In this period, the yield from the citizens of Puerto Real rose from 5 _cahices_ and 10 _fanegas_ of wheat and 2 _cah._ 11 _fan._ of barley in 1494, to 10 _cah._ 2 _fan._ of wheat and 5 _cah._ 1½ _fan._ of barley in 1500. These arable lands were apparently part of a scheme introduced on royal

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1. AMJ Actas 23.2.1430, RGS 27.9.1494, APJ 1506 fol.203
2. AMJ Actas 12.7.1485.

orders in 1491. The relevant document stressed the town's shortage of ordinary revenue from taxation and property which was causing the need for frequent impositions on food prices. In order to give the town a larger regular income and reduce the price of grain, Jerez was to distribute arable lands among local farmers who had no lands of their own and collect *terrazgos* in return. The pressure for this arrangement had apparently come from the small farmers (*labradores*) of Jerez and had been opposed by the local council, whose members, as has already been seen, were deeply involved in stock-breeding. Nonetheless, the Crown had sent a lawyer to find out how much of Jerez's publicly-owned land was required for grazing and how much might be spared to increase the area's capacity for grain production. The lawyer, Mogollón, designated six *echos* (parcels) of land between the roads from Jerez to Medina Sidonia and Alcalá de los Gazules. The lands were to be allocated by the council for four-year periods. No more than one parcel was to be held by each *labrador* and each parcel was to change hands every four years. This was more or less the system already used for the distribution of pastures. Mogollón did not measure the numbers of *arados* (a day's ploughing for a pair of oxen) involved, but according to the council acts, fifty parcels of two *arados* each were allocated in this way in 1492. The *terrazgo* for these lands had been laid down by the Crown as a *cahiz* per annum for each *arado* . The royal letter did not state that the land was to be distributed by means of lots and in 1500 there were complaints in the council that they were being improperly shared out. From that year onwards, lots were used. The stock-breeding interests had not given up the struggle, however, and in 1493 another royal letter arrived to forbid the use of these lands for grazing. By 1513, the breeders were apparently winning, as it was alleged in the council that some citizens had illegally obtained up to ten *caballerías* of these lands by disguising themselves with people's names in the lots and that they were accumulating adjoining holdings of the land and not giving them up after four years.

Despite the complaints of several *regidores*, nothing was apparently done. In 1515, for example, it was reported that the *veinticuatro* Francisco Payo had held some of this land for twelve years. Again, the matter seems to have been ignored and it appears that the interests of the private stock-breeders came before the need for a regular public income. It was unfortunate that so many council-members were committed to this particular activity.[1]

Like Córdoba, Jerez let certain urban properties to citizens in return for *censos*. They might be existing buildings or empty sites with permission to develop, as when the veinticuatro Juan de Santiago was given a site outside the Puerta de Sevilla. The buildings concerned were shops for various trades, such as carpentry, shoemaking, and the sale of *esparto* and one of them was a blacksmith's forge.[2]

The weakness of council finance matched the grave inadequacies in the Castilian tax system in general. Shortage of cash meant that local councils were no match for the small number of citizens who had accumulated large private fortunes. However, this lack of resources did not deter councils from attempting to exercise a remarkable degree of economic control over their local communities. Within the limits imposed by external market forces, few aspects of trade were free from their intervention. In theory, the council, as the agent of the Crown, had the right to fix wages and prices and authorise imports and exports. It controlled the places where goods were sold and decided who was to sell them.

Much of this control was exercised by means of licences. In Córdoba, they were issued for a wide range of activities in the city and its *tierra*. In the period of the Catholic Monarchs, council licences were required in order to open a *venta* for travellers, or a mill for olive-oil or grain, to

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1. AMJ Actas 1494, fol.15, 1500 fol.115. AMJ 12-13, royal letter of 5.8.1491. AMJ Actas 2.11.1492, 21.3.1500. 5.8.1513.

2. AMJ Actas 1494 fol.15 and 1500 fol.115.

have a shop or stall in Córdoba itself or a wine-shop within or outside the town, to set up bee-hives, to build a dove-cote or a lime-kiln, to extent a dwelling by annexing a neighbouring open-space, to import building-materials for the development of private property, to import coal or wine, duty-free, for domestic consumption, to cut wood on common land for building, to export horses, foals or colts, to import the plant _zumaque_ for tannery, to export oranges, hides, or olive-oil, to fish in the Guadalquivir, to sow uncultivated private land with grain, or to practice as a broker (_corredor_) or money-changer (_cambiador_). A similar list of controls might be composed for Jerez.

There is some evidence that Córdoba council, if not that of Jerez, attempted to control wages. In February 1493, the _regidores_ heard the report of two of their number, who had been deputed to investigate the day-wages (_jornales_) of carpenters, masons and building labourers. The two _regidores_ suggested what they thought to be a reasonable wage and the council, after debate, accepted their recommendations. On 1 March, the council announced that the new maximum wages would be published by the town-crier on the following Sunday. Those who received more were to be punished with thirty strokes, the standa d penalty for those who were not _caballeros_ or noble. The _jornal_ of the lime-burners' men (_peones de calero_) was fixed in the same way a few days later.[1]

Limiting wages for the lower orders may have been feasible for a council but prices were a more difficult proposition. During this period, Córdoba council attempted to control the prices of meat, fish, milk, olive-oil, soap, charcoal and cloth, while Jerez made efforts to control those of meat, fish and salt. In both towns, grain, wine, hides, wool and wood were not controlled. The price-controls were a brave attempt to protect the living-standard of the population, as they applied to most of the basic commodities needed by everyone. They were supplemented by import and export controls

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1. AMC Actas 15.2.1493, 1.3.1493, 6.3.1493.

which applied also to the commodities which were not subject to price-control. However, it must be observed that the power of the municipality to influence events in the economic sphere was severely limited by gluts and shortages, especially in the case of foodstuffs. The public authority had no power to resist such severe economic strains and indeed its whole success in economic or political matters depended on the relative strength of public and private finance.

Information on the municipal income of Córdoba and Jerez is no more than fragmentary, but certain samples, which, it is hoped, are representative, may be taken of income and expenditure in Córdoba and income alone in Jerez.[1]

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1. Municipal finances of Córdoba and Jerez, 1452-1515.

Córdoba (Figures in florins)

Year	Income	Expenditure	Surplus or deficit
1452-1453	2,674	3,009	335-
1479	2,244*	?	?
1500-1501	?	?	797+
1503-1504	3,435	3,360	75+
1506-1507	?	?	311+

* A repartimiento of this sum, ordered by the Crown.

Sources: AMC 12-4-14 fols 342-6v and 352-7. AMC 14-1-3. AMC Actas 1479 fol. 63, 30.8.1501, 3.2.1505 and 8.11.1507.

Jerez (Income only, in)

Year	Income including impositions	Income excluding impositions	Impositions as a percentage of total net income
1482 net	1,623	1,072	33 per cent
1494 gross	3,684	2,152	
1494 net	3,596	2,086	41 per cent
1500 gross	1,822*	-	
1500 net	3,366	1,590	52 per cent
1515 gross	3,863	1,863	
1515 net	3,754	1,801	52 per cent

* The approximate total of impositions only.

The Jerez figures are extracted from table 4. The 1500 net figures exclude terrazgos.

It appears that the income of both towns increased substantially in the period of the Catholic Monarchs, though the Córdoba figures give no information on the manner in which this improvement was achieved. In Jerez, on the other hand, a growing reliance on impositions is revealed, as the council struggled to meet its financial commitments. The proportion of the town's income, as recorded in the annual accounts, which came from impositions rose from a third in 1482 to half in 1500 and after. Although figures of this kind are not available for Córdoba, the arrangements made by its council to overcome similar difficulties are recorded in some detail.[1] The method used was to place impositions on everything "which is generally sold and bought, except on bread". The positions were farmed under the supervision of a commission consisting of four *regidores* and two *jurados* and covered butchers' shops, livestock, fish, wine, cloth, clothing, fruit and hides, in both Córdoba and *tierra*, and oil and property in the *tierra* only.

The detailed instructions laid down for collection indicate the similarity between the impositions, or *sisas*, and the *alcabala*. The tax was collected by giving less of the product for the original price. Thus a wine-seller would give seven *azumbres* for the price of an *arroba*, which was equivalent to a tax of twelve and a half per cent. It was the seller's responsibility to pay the tax and this was done each Friday, when importers of goods through the town gates handed over a tax of 5 per cent to the *arrendador*. In this way, the imposition affected goods at two stages, import and sale. With fish, for example, whether fresh or salted, there was an import duty of six per cent to the city and five per cent to the *tierra* and in addition, as with meat, the value of three ounces per pound sold was paid to the *arrendador*. As with *alcabalas* and the *almojarifazgo*, the *arrendador* was entitled to place guards at the gates to ensure that the duty was paid. An effort was made to ensure that the unloading and sale of

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1. AMC 14-1-3. Document addressed by the council of Córdoba to its officials and citizens in city and *tierra*, 16.2.1470.

goods was supervised and controlled by the *arrendador* and his men. In the case of fish, no unloading was to take place until the *arrendador* had been informed and sale of the product in private houses was forbidden. The most elaborate of the council's instructions, however, were devoted to preventing abuses in the import and sale of wine. The quantity counted as a load for taxation purposes was 12 *arrobas* for a pack-mule(*acemila*) and 8 for an ass and it was forbidden to pile more wine-skins on to an animal in order to reduce the number of loads on which tax would be charged. The restrictions on import by night or by forbidden gates applied to the imposition as well as the *alcabala* . The five per cent duty applied to nearly all commodities, although the conditions for taxing cloth were much more complicated. The *escribano* of the commission for collecting the imposition received one per cent of the money collected and according to this document such was the practice with the other municipal rents. Impositions of this kind were raised whenever the towns could not meet their commitments in any other way. Like the Crown, they preferred indirect to direct taxation as a way of raising large amounts of revenue, though *repartimientos* were sometimes made in the *tierra* .[1]

Inevitably, much of the money which the councils collected in taxes and rents was spent on the salaries of the municipal officials. Of these, the most prominent was naturally the *corregidor* , who received 500 mrs a day under Ferdinand and Isabella, though there was a shortlived reduction to 400 mrs in the 1490s in both Córdoba and Jerez.[2] This brought his salary to 182,500 mrs per annum and made it much the largest item in the municipal pay-roll. The *corregidor* of Córdoba received, in addition, 100 mrs a day as *teniente* of the fortress of the Calahorra. Compared with this sum, the amount paid to *regidores* , *jurados* and other officials was insignificant. *Regidores* in both Córdoba and Jerez received 3,000 mrs a year by Ferdinand and Isabella's reign, but those in Córdoba also received 1,000 mrs per annum

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1. See above.

2. AMC Actas 11.2.1498. AMJ Actas 1.1496.

which were described as *castellanías*. These were in fact another form of salary, as very few *regidores* had duties concerned with fortresses and those who did received separate payment. In Córdoba, the burden of *regidores'* salaries reached its heaviest in 1480,[1] and then decreased as the number of these officials fell by more than half. Between 1495 and 1514, there is a series of references in the council acts to that body's reluctance to pay salaries to absentee *regidores*. The Council's attitude was completely justified by legislation, but the Crown insisted on making exceptions. The offenders were generally distinguished citizens, such as the count of Palma, the *alcaide de los donceles*, the 'Great Captain' and the lord of El Carpio, Don Diego de Haro.[2] In Jerez, where the number of *veinticuatros* remained fairly constant at about 25-30, the problem of absenteeism took another form in 1503. During the period in which locally-elected magistrates replaced the *corregidor* Cervantes, after his powers had elapsed, a complaint was made about an attempt to end the payment of salaries to *regidores* who had not attended more than 48 council meetings in the previous year. The *veinticuatro* Nuño Fernández de Villavicencio claimed that Cervantes had refused to allow him to receive his salary for this reason. He also tried to persuade the council to cut Cervantes' salary, because he had himself failed to attend 48 meetings, but this attempt at vengeance failed.

Nonetheless, the investigation of the attendance record of the *veinticuatros* which followed revealed that out of 25 *regidores*, only 5 had attended more than 48 meetings. In the end, only 8 failed to obtain their full salary for 1501 and these were not all those who had attended the fewest meetings. Only 4 *regidores* failed to qualify for their salary for 1502. It does appear from the attendance records, which were kept in the acts until 1504, that attendance at meetings improved after the 1503 enquiry. In only

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1. See chapter 3 for number in the council.

2. Montalvo 7-2-19, Zamora 1433. AMC Actas 15.5.1495, 13.7.1495.

three cases did it fall off without a known cause, such as ill-health.[1]

There was no such interest in the attendance of the _jurados_ at council meetings and they received no supplement to their salary, although this rose from 3,000 mrs per annum in 1479 to 4,000 in 1510, in Córdoba, and from 2,000 to 3,000 mrs per annum, between 1482 and 1502, in Jerez.[2]

All other municipal officials received a salary from council funds except the magistrates and constables, if they were nominees of the _corregidor_. If, on the other hand, they were locally-elected _alcaldes_, they did receive salaries from the council. The detailed pay-rolls of Jerez council for 1482 and 1502 and that of Córdoba for 1452-1453 show how much a conncil saved if it did not have to pay a _corregidor_. In 1482, the Jerez council employees were paid 1,774 Florins, including the salary of the _corregidor_ Juan de Robles. This figure exceeded the town's income, according to the annual accounts, by 151 Florins and in such circumstances, loans from private citizens were inevitable. In 1502, on the other hand, the council's situation was much superior. Instead of paying about 200,000 mrs to a _corregidor_, the council merely gave an extra 6,000 mrs each to the two _regidores_ who acted as _alcaldes mayores_. Thus the pay-roll of 863 Florins left most of the approximate income of 3,500 Florins for that year to be used for other purposes. In Jerez, therefore, the _corregidor_ received as much as all te the other municipal officials together.

In 1452-1453, the Córdoba pay-roll came to 898 Florins, but this included only 26 _regidores_ and no _corregidor_. In view of the known strength of the Córdoba council in the late fifteenth century, it is possible to estimate that rather more than 2,600 Florins a year were spent on salaries in those years. Of this, about 700 Florins went to the _corregidor_, half being contributed by the town and half by the _tierra_. Thanks to the size

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1. AMJ Actas 24.5.1503, 1501 fols 444 et seq.

2. AMC Actas 6.4.1479, 25.9.1510, 8.9.1512. AMJ Actas 1482 fol. 94 and 1502 fol. 234.

of the corregidor's salary, there was less difference between the amounts spent by Jerez and Córdoba on salaries than the relative sizes of their population and municipal establishments would suggest.

Salaries and expenses paid by the councils to lawyers and messengers sent to Court or elsewhere on public business have not been included in the reckoning of salaries. However, both were regular items of expenditure in the municipal budget. It is surprising that the 1452-1453 Córdoba accounts do not include legal costs, in view of the extent of this kind of activity under Ferdinand and Isabella, but this may be an indication of increased institutional vigour caused by measures such as the laws of Toledo of 1480. In any case, it appears from figures in the Córdoba actas that expenditure on lawyers and trials in the higher court[1] between 1493 and 1515 amounted to about 100 to 200 florins per annum, depending on the number of cases in which the town was engaged. However, these figures do not include the salary of a judge of boundaries. Córdoba had to pay one of these officials between 1491 and 1499 and in 1513-1515. The salary was 250 mrs a day, which amounted to 344 florins per annum. Jerez was not required to pay a judge of boundaries after 1477-8 but it nonetheless became involved in extensive legal activity. In 1491, for example, the council spent 176 florins on cases involving the town's boundaries. Local material does not, unfortunately, allow an estimate to be made of Jerez's average annual expenses under this heading.[2]

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1. See above.
2. AMJ Actas 28.1.1491, 18.2.1491, 1.3.1491, 13.5.1491. The following accounts are provided as an example of the way in which money was spent on litigation. They are the costs of the hearing of evidence by García Ortiz, receptor of the Granada audiencia, in a case brought by Córdoba council for the restoration to public ownership by the count of Belalcázar of the dehesa of Madroñiz. (Source: AMC 12-4-14, 19.2.1506).
Costs in maravedíes.

Presentation of carta de receptoría by Ortiz	24
Hearing 3 'powers' and 2 'substitutions' from Córdoba's representatives, at 24	120
4 mandamientos summoning witnesses, at 24	96
1 testimonio given to Córdoba's procurador	24
Presentation and hearing of 31 witnesses, the first at 8 and the rest at 4 each	128

Continued.....

Payments to messengers sent on council business also varied from year to year. In Córdoba, they ranged from about 70 Florns in 1479 to 436 Florns in 1496, though the level of expenditure was generally in the region of 90 Florns per annum. No useful calculation of this type of expenditure can be made from the Jerez material. As a Cortes town, Córdoba periodically had to find salaries for its two _procuradores_ to this assembly. The expense was only sporadic but could be considerable. In the early sixteenth century, the _procuradores_ were paid about a ducat a day (350 mrs, in 1506 and 375 mrs. in 1515). The _procuradores_ always returned from the Cortes with royal letters ordering the council to reimburse them, but they often received an advance payment to help with expenses.[1]

In Córdoba, part of the municipal income was placed in a special fund for public works, the _propios de los labores_. This was used for the upkeep of fountains, roads and bridges in Córdoba and its _tierra_. The fund was entrusted to the _regidor_ Egas Venegas and an _escribano_ was delegated to assist him. The precise source of the money for this fund is not known, as the taxes set aside in the early stages after the reconquest for use on fortifications cannot have been very important by the late fifteenth century.[2] The sums involved were quite considerable. In 1479, 550 Florns

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18 days' salary for the _receptor_, at 120 a day	2,160
42 days' salary, as above	5,040
3 days' salary, as above	360
3 days' journey from Córdoba to Granada	360
127 sheets of paper	2,852
TOTAL	11,164

It is clear from the above accounts that the main items in the costs of a case were the judge's salary and paper, if the hearing took place away from the court. For hearings in the _audiencia_, a host of lawyers and officials had to be paid as well.

1. Material from Córdoba _actas capitulares_ for 1479, 1493, and 1495-1499. For _procuradores de Cortes_, AMC Actas 4.9.1506, 4.5.1515.

2. Alfonso X, 18.3.1254, granted Córdoba council a tax of 500 mrs on Moorish inhabitants and Sancho IV, 29.11.1288, gave the council the _montazgo_, for this purpose (AMC 1-2-2, 1-2-8).

were spent on fortifications and in 1497, 765 florins were devoted to the repairing of bridges in the tierra. The council put such work out to tender and then paid the wages of craftsmen and labourers and for the materials used. In the early years of the sixteenth century, the public works fund was in a healthy state. A surplus of 721 florins was held by Egas Venegas from the year 1502-3 and in 1503-4 a further 690 florins were obtained. The surplus for 1503-4 was 599 florins and in 1504-5, the year before Egas's death, another 847 florins were raised. The works fund was not the only source of money for these purposes. In 1499, for example, the road from Córdoba to Trassierra was in need of repair and all owners of property adjoining it were required to contribute to the work or pay a fine of 5,000 mrs each. The principle of demanding contributions from those most likely to benefit from the project was also used to help finance the largest scheme undertaken in this period by Córdoba council. This was the construction of a new bridge across the Guadalquivir at Montoro. In 1498, a plan was approved by the council for the building of the bridge in four years, at a cost of 2,906 florins. As this sum was nearly equal to the council's entire income for the year and as this income was already committed to such expenses as salaries and litigation, it was inevitable that money would be required from elsewhere. A fixed sum was to be obtained from the works fund for each of the four years but this was only expected to produce a quarter of the money. The almojarifazgo of the tierra was to be used on this project, despite the other calls on the municipal revenues, and the penalties for exporting flocks illegally from the Pedroche area were to be diverted in a similar way. However, it was thought that nearly half the money would come from property-owners in Córdoba's territory in the area, that is, the inhabitants of Bujalance, Pedro Abad, Aldea del Río and Montoro itself. Hopes were expressed by the proponents of the scheme that contributions might also be obtained from neighbouring landowners outside Córdoba's jurisdiction, such as the bishop and chapter of Córdoba, the lord of Cañete (Don Alonso de Aguilar) and the lord of El Carpio

and Morente, but the council very wisely put no cash value on such help. In fact, the scheme quickly ran into difficulties and the bridge, though eventually constructed, was a drain on the town's resources for many years, but the 1498 plan does indicate fairly clearly the way in which large public projects were tackled in royal towns at the end of the fifteenth century. It is regrettable that comparable information does not survive in the Jerez material.[1]

While the financial situation of Córdoba and Jerez in the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella was by no means entirely gloomy, a glance at the figures for approximate annual income from royal and municipal rents[2] in the two towns is enough to show the small scale of the funds at the local council's disposal. The clearest sign of the weakness of public finance, both royal and municipal, was the ever-growing dependence on temporary taxes on basic products, particularly foodstuffs. The use of these impositions was made necessary by the fact that no satisfactory method had been found, either by the Crown or by local councils, for tapping the resources of the wealthiest citizens. The problem was clearly recognised at the time. In Jerez, in 1438, the alcaldes mayores , the alguacil mayor and three of the veinticuatros held a discussion on the social and financial problems of the town, as a result of the presentation to the council by two citizens of a set of recommendations, of which the first was that no official of the council should use his authority to gain for himself exemption from taxes.[3] In this way, the petitioners identified what was perhaps the main flaw of the Castilian taxation system in the late Middle Ages. This was that the most powerful subjects, who were often also the most wealthy, instead of making a larger contribution

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1. AMC Actas 1479 fol.63, 9.7.1497, 3.2.1505, 18.5.1506, 14.1.1499, 4.5.1498.

2. See note 4 page 134 and note 1 page 149.

3. AMJ Actas 23.5.1438.

than their fellows to the king's income, made no direct contribution at all. In addition, as the 1438 articles pointed out, there was no way of relating the contributions of those who did pay *pechos* to their wealth. To solve this problem, the petitioners boldly proposed that, instead of arbitrarily assessing individual contributions to direct taxes in their parishes, as was the normal custom, the *jurados* should compose, with the help of two or three citizens of the parish, a scale of wealth, including all the *pecheros*, and assess their payments on this basis. The men who made these and other recommendations, Juan de Cuadros and Fernando Ruiz, claimed that they had been called "troublemakers and scandal-mongers" by the magistrates and *regidores* and it is clear that the council was most reluctant to discuss their proposals. That it did so at all is perhaps remarkable, though the end of the proceedings was not recorded by the *escribano del concejo*, Juan Román, who states in his account that he left early. Although the petitioners did not propose anything so radical as an end to the exemption of rich and powerful citizens from direct taxation, but confined themselves to seeking a juster sharing of the burden among the *pecheros*, the articles were potentially subversive and the alarm of the councillors, all of whom, as *exentos* by virtues of their office, stood to lose if they were put into effect, is understandable.

Generally speaking, disputes over exemptions and contributions to pechos were no more than isolated attempts by individuals to improve their own social and financial position, but the general issues were far from dead after 1438. Indeed, in the early sixteenth century, discussions took place in Jerez council which suggest that the injustice of the tax system was a matter of concern, both to the local authority and to the Crown.[1] The council's willingness to discuss the tax system in general seems to have arisen out of the town's fatigue after the Granada war. In July 1496, the Royal Council sent a letter to Jerez, in response to a petition of the *regidor* Fernando de Herrera,

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1. AMJ Actas 5.1508, fol. 26 and 24.9.1509.

expressing the pious sentiment that in future all *pechos*, *servicios* and Hermandad *repartimientos* were to be collected in such a way as to harm the citizens as little as possible, but no suggestions were offered as to how this might be done in the context of the current system. In 1508, however, Jerez council attempted to apply this vague royal instruction to its financial situation, which involved, as so often, a serious shortage of cash. The traditional remedy in such a case was to place impositions on foodstuffs, but the council was reluctant to do this because it realised that the burden of indirect taxation fell chiefly on the poor. If the imposition had been placed on luxury goods, such as imported cloth, the rich would have been more affected, but taxes on basic foods inevitably made less distinction between the rich and the poor, whose consumption of necessities differed much less than their purchase of luxuries. The weighting of impositions on food against the poor was increased by the fact, observed by Jerez council, that many of the wealthy bought very little food because they produced what they needed for themselves and their households on their own estates. In this way, those best able to pay the tax were able to avoid it. The council was also concerned that *hidalgos* escaped from direct taxes, thus increasing the burden on the poorer taxpayers. It admitted that many claims to exemptions were false but lacked the finance to contest them in law. Because of this, despite the good intentions expressed in the council chamber, impositions continued to be used in Jerez.

It was only when a cash crisis of some magnitude occurred that general discussion of this kind took place in the town councils and whenever this happened, the *regidores* always stopped short of an attack on the real cause of the trouble, which was the concentration of wealth and influence in few hands. As the *regidores* owed their own position to their success in a society organised in this way, this limitation was inevitable. In Córdoba in 1496, the council encountered the same difficulties as Jerez was experiencing at that time. This led to discussion of the possibility of relating direct taxation more closely to the wealth of individual citizens, but, as in Jerez,

nothing was done. Exemption from taxation continued to be regarded as the natural accompaniment to financial and social success and attempts to put information on private wealth in the hands of local authorities were steadfastly resisted. In these conditions, public finance inevitably remained weak in comparison with private wealth. All measures to remedy the situation failed because of the underlying assumptions about the nature of society which limited their scope. The fact was that rich men were prepared to contribute to the cost of those activities which were the public concern of the local community, but they refused to do so on a regular basis by means of taxation. Instead, they offered loans and gifts when they felt so inclined and thus retained full control over the disposal of their own wealth. The economic, social and political effects of this approach on the Jerez and Córdoba areas will gradually become clear.

Part Three

RELATIONS BETWEEN ROYAL TOWNS AND THE UPPER NOBILITY

Chapter Six

ECONOMIC INTERACTION

Any attempt to describe the relations between Córdoba and Jerez and the neighbouring nobility must begin with the economic and political bases from which each side operated. The finances of the royal towns have already been studied in some detail, but not so those of the leading *señoríos*. However, despite the fact that private archives present more problems to the investigator than their public equivalents, it is possible to obtain a good impression of the running of the two largest *señoríos* in Andalusia in the early sixteenth century.[1]

The accounts of the Guzmán estates, the Medina Sidonia *señorío*, are fortunately available for the years 1509, 1510 and 1511, acting as a guide to the different ways in which the Andalusian *señores* amassed their enormous incomes.[2] The consolidated possessions of the dukes of Medina Sidonia, by the early sixteenth century, consisted of Medina Sidonia, with the *dehesas* of Los Bugedos, La Medina and Espartinas, Vejer, with those of Malabrigo, Casena, El Palmar, Villa Cardosa la Baja and La Mediana, Chiclana and Conil, Jimena de la Frontera, with the *dehesas* of Hoyos, Granados, Buceite, Herradura, Gambrana, Barrida, Alcachofal and Montenegral, the port of Sanlúcar de Barrameda, Trebujena, San Juan del Puerto, Rociana, La Puebla de Guzmán, Barbate, Beas, Calañas, Niebla, Almonte, Lucena, Villanueva de las Cruces, Huelva, Bollullos, Bonares, Trigueros, Villarasa, Aljaraque, Cabezas Rubias, Santa Bárbara, Paimogo, Almendro, Valverde del Camino, El Alosno, the castle of Penalhaje and Campo de Andévalo. The dukes also had some rents in Palos and rights in Moguer, a neighbouring *señorío* belonging to the main line of the Portocarrero family. After the conquest of Granada, they acquired

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1. See appendix 3.

2. Emma Solano Ruiz, "La hacienda de las casas de Medina Sidonia y Arcos" (See chapter 5, p. 137 note 1 .

Gaucín, with its *serranía*, including Benarrabá, Benalauría and Algatocín. In 1503, a new *mayorazgo*, or entailed estate, was formed out of all these *señoríos*.

The most significant feature of the ducal accounts is the colossal size of the annual income which they record. In 1509, 1510 and 1511, this came to over 10,000,000 mrs, or 37,735 Florins, a figure comparable with the amount gained by the Crown from the *alcabalas* of the diocese of Córdoba or the *almojarifazgo sevillano* in the same period, and equivalent to about four per cent of the entire royal income from the kingdom.[1] The composition of this total figure has, for convenience, been set out in table form under different headings, to show the various sources of income. In another table, the total revenue obtained from the different parts of the *señorío* has been similarly treated.[2]

According to these accounts, the main sources of the income of the dukes of Medina Sidonia, were, in order, customs duties (particularly the *almojarifazgo*), rent from *dehesas* owned by the dukes, which were used for grazing, the rent of the butcheries of the towns of the *señorío* and the rent of public offices. The ducal administration was virtually a mirror-image of the *régime* in towns such as Jerez and Córdoba, so that there are no surprises in the list of ducal rents. The success of the dukes in replacing the Crown in the lives of the inhabitants of the *señorío* was virtually complete, but it did not take the form of specifically seignorial tributes, such as the costs of the administration of justice by the lord, or of using his balances to weigh provisions. In 1509, these sources produced only 25,000 out of over 10,000,000 mrs and that in only one or two towns in the *señorío*.

The largest cash contribution to the income of the duke of Medina Sidonia

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1. See table 5. Solano *op.cit.*, p.130.

2. Archivo Histórico Nacional (AHN), Sección Osuna, legs 111b, 111a, 110. Solano *op.cit.*, pp.102-30. See tables 6 and 7.

in that year was revenue from royal taxes which had been diverted into the ducal coffers. This consisted of *portazgo* and other taxes on the movement of goods, the *almojarifazgo* and other customs duties, the *alcabalas* and *tercias reales* and a Muslim tax on the illegal import of goods to the *señorío*, known as the *viento*. These totalled no less than 3,412,624 mrs. In addition, the *tercias* for 1509 produced 20,968 *fanegas* in the whole *señorío* and this also seems to have evaded the royal tax-collectors. The dukes gained considerable sums from their participation in the economic life of the *señorío*, through the renting of butcheries, fisheries, banks and brothels and through taxes on activities such as shoe-making and leather-dressing. Income under this heading reached 2,658,808 mrs in 1509. Finally, there was a large income from the properties owned personally by the Guzmán family, as opposed to the property of others which happened to be within their territorial and jurisdictional *señorío*. In 1509, the rent of the Guzmán *dehesas*, houses, shops, inns, mills and other properties produced 1,562,000 mrs in cash and the duke also received 10,287 *fan.* of wheat and 2,287 *fan.* of barley from the family's mills, arable land (*tierras de pan*) and *donadíos* (agricultural properties originally granted by the Crown to private individuals). The figures for 1510 and 1511 were similar to those for 1509, but the 1511 accounts have the advantage that they indicate the amount paid to collectors in *prometidos*. These seem to have been about four and a half per cent of the total revenue, a figure which compares favourably, from the duke's point of view, with the cost to the Crown of collecting the *alcabala* elsewhere in Andalusia. However, if the cost of collecting taxes in the Guzmán *señorío* is compared with similar expenses in collecting royal and municipal taxes in Córdoba or Jerez, the percentage of the revenue which went to the collectors in each case is not very different.[1]

Ideally, annual income is not the only guide to the value of an estate, but

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1. See chapter 5.

it is difficult to estimate the cash value of the Medina Sidonia *mayorazgo* in the early sixteenth century. The best indication of the regal scale of the house's finances is the figure of 34,000,000 mrs agreed as a compromise in the dispute over the ownership of the *mayorazgo* between the Guzmán and the count of Alba de Liste.[1]

Enough is known of the wealth of the other leading noble house in Andalusia, the Ponce de León of Arcos, to make it clear that it was obtained in the same ways as the Guzmán family income, but it is unfortunately not possible to give it a value in cash or grain. The will of Don Juan Ponce de León, second count of Arcos, made on 10 September 1469, follows the practice of other noble wills of the period in valuing benefactions in cash or kind, but not the family *mayorazgo*, which must have contained most of its wealth. However, it is worth noting that count Juan was able to provide dowries of one million *maravedíes* for at least two of his many daughters and others are known to have married at least as well as those mentioned in the will. If they all received similar dowries, a quantity in the order of 10,000,000 mrs would be involved. This information is far from adequate, but it does show that the house of Arcos was in the same economic league as its rival, Medina Sidonia. The similarity of the economic forces controlled by the two families helps to explain the length and ferocity of the struggle between them.[2]

The lack of seignorial accounts books and, in many cases, of wills and inventories as well means that it is not at present possible to give figures for the economic strength of the rest of the upper Andalusian nobility. However, information has recently been made available concerning the wealth of one of the new *señoríos* established in the area in the mid-fifteenth century, the county of Belalcázar.[3] This is to be found in documents in the

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1. AHN Osuna leg.120 no.12.
2. AHN Osuna leg. 118-2, no.116, leg. 118-1 no.3.
3. Emilio Cabrera Muñoz, "La fortuna de una familia noble castellana, a través de un inventorio de mediados del siglo XV", *Historia, Instituciones, Documentos*, 2(1975), pp.9-42. Original inventory in AHN Osuna leg.325-42 and information on the renting of *dehesas* in 1454-5 in AHN Osuna leg. 394-7, no.8. Sr Cabrera is about to publish his doctoral thesis on the county of Belalcázar.

Osuna section of the Archivo Histórico Nacional, mainly in an inventory of the goods left by the second lord of Gahete (Belalcázar after 1466), Don Alonso de Sotomayor, at his death in 1464. This does not give the family's income from rents or the relative value of its different possessions, but it does show the main sources of the Sotomayor's wealth.

The most important properties which came to the family with the _señorío_ of Gahete and Hinojosa, though not without violent resistance from their previous owner, Córdoba council, were the _dehesas_ of Madroñiz, north of Gahete, Madroñicejo, which adjoined it, El Hinojoso and Torrecatalina, west and north-west of Hinojosa, and six other smaller properties between Hinojosa and Gahete. In addition, the Sotomayor had, by 1464, purchased another _dehesa_ in the same area from two citizens of Córdoba. _Dehesas_ were large areas of enclosed land which were generally used partly as grazing and partly as arable land. Thus they produced cash income for their owners in return for the letting of grazing and also grain in the form of _terrazgos_, assessed at so many _fanegas_ per _yugada_ of land, as rent for the use of arable land. Cash income from the largest _dehesa_, Madroñiz, seems to have been about 100,000 mrs per annum in the mid-fifteenth century, while one of the smaller properties, El Cachiporro, yielded 5,000 mrs in 1458 and four others together raised 45,000 mrs. The letting of these lands for grazing seems normally to have produced two _fanegas_ of wheat or barley per _yugada_. In addition to the properties in the Córdoba area, the Sotomayor possessed many _dehesas_ in the viscounty of Puebla de Alcocer, in Extremadura, which gave a cash income for grazing of 367,792½ mrs in 1454-5.[1]

The 1464 inventory gives some indication of the Sotomayor family's large interest in stock-breeding. At his death, Don Alonso is said to have possessed 1,022 head of cattle, and 61 breeding-mares. Surprisingly, though there is no mention of sheep, despite the proximity of various _cañadas_ (paths)

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1. Cabrera, _op.cit._, pp.19-23.

of the Mesta and the known importance of sheep-breeding in the area. However, some idea of the Sotomayor's interest in this activity may be gained from the reference in the will of Don Alonso's father, Gutierre, to the colossal number of 19,507 head of sheep which he left to his heirs.[1] Alonso was not as wealthy as his father, but it is unlikely that he was not also involved in sheep-breeding for wool.

Judging by the fragments of precise information which remain, it is probable that the Ribera and the house of Baena had about the same economic strength as the Sotomayor, while others, such as the alcaides de los doncelos of Espejo and Lucena, the Saavedra and the house of Montemayor, had relatively smaller income.[2] The house of Aguilar, on the other hand appears to have had wealth virtually on a par with that of the Guzmán and Ponce.[3]

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1. Cabrera, op.cit., pp.30-1. The reference to Don Gutierre's sheep is in M. Muñoz de San Pedro, count of Canilleros, La Extremadura del siglo XV en tres de sus paladines, Madrid (Cáceres, Caja de Ahorros), 1964, p.108, n.1.

2. The state of the Ribera finances improved greatly, according to Ladero's assessment (Andalucía, pp.29-31), as a result of the family's alliance with the Enríquez. With the help of Enríquez funds, the Ribera were able to offer 1,000,000 mrs as pledge-money (arras) for the contract, made in 1494 but annulled in 1502, for the marriage between Don Fadrique de Ribera, later first marquis of Tarifa, and Doña Elvira de Herrera, the daughter of Don Alonso de Aguilar. In 1503, the properties of Doña Catalina de Ribera, Fadrique's mother, excluding El Coronil and Las Aguzaderas, were valued at 25 million maravedíes (all this in Joaquín González Moreno, "Don Fadrique Enríquez de Ribera", Archivo Hispalense, 122, 1963, pp,208-9, 211-12). The counts of Cabra possessed, in Baena, the largest and most valuable town in the kingdom of Córdoba, outside the capital. An indication of the town's economic vitality is the valuation of its alcabala at 1,600,000 mrs in the farm for 1493-5, according to a 1497 document. This figure is comparable with the duke of Medina Sidonia's income from the alcabalas of his whole señorío in 1509-11. While the counts' other possessions were no doubt much less productive, the ownership of Baena guaranteed a firm financial base for the family (APC 14-31-10-fols 11-14). The alcaides de los donceles had more slender economic resources (Ladero, Andalucía, p.48). Their sole potential source of a large income was mercury and vermilion mines in the territory of Chillón, which were granted to the alcaide in 1484, despite the opposition of the master of Calatrava, who feared competition with his mines at Almadén (RGS 1.7.1484, 17.9.1484, 20.10.1484). Little is known of the Saavedra's income, but, like many other señores, they did receive portazgos and almojarifazgo from their towns, although there was some doubt about the legality of this (RGS 2.3.1491, 14.11.1491, 14.12.1491). The dowry of 4,500,000 mrs in cash, rents and goods which was agreed by the sixth lord of Montemayor in 1504, when his daughter Doña María Carrillo married Don Francisco de Benavides, count of Santisteban del Puerto (Jaén), indicates the prosperity of the family in the early sixteenth century (APC 14-41-4-fols 24v-27).

3. Don Alonso de Aguilar's will of 1498 (AMC 19-20-23) contains no valuation of the Aguilar mayorazgo, but it states that Don Alonso's wife, Doña Catalina

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Discussion of the economic strength of the Andalusian _señoríos_ inevitably raises the question of their role in the economy of the region as a whole. As in most of Europe, this was very largely agricultural in nature, with the production of grain predominant. According to Braudel, more than sixty per cent of European food requirements in the fifteenth century came from cereals,[1] for which Andalusia was traditionally an exporting area. However, there were serious risks involved in this type of cultivation and while the main crops were wheat and barley, bad harvests often led to the use of inferior grain, such as millet, root-crops or herbs, to sustain the population. Too much rain might be as harmful to crops as too little.[2] A study of medieval and early modern agricultural textbooks[3] shows that techniques in Spain have since changed remarkably little, at least until recently. As in most

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Pacheco, brought a dowry worth 6,000,000 mrs and a total of 15,500,000 mrs was paid by this couple in dowries for their three daughters. Evenwithout the main family possessions, which were in the _mayorazgo_ , the Aguilar goods were valued in 1498 at 30,000,000 mrs. More information on the wealth of this family will almost certainly come to light with the completion of the study, based on the Priego section of the archive of the duke of Medinaceli in Seville, which is at present being undertaken by Doña María Concepción Quintanilla Raso of Seville University.

1. Fernand Braudel, _Capitalism and material life, 1400-1800_, Fontana edition, 1974 (English translation, 1973, of work first published in Paris, 1967), pp.66-8.

2. Miguel Angel Ladero Quesada, "Los cereales en la Andalucía del siglo XV", _Revista la Universidad de Madrid_, vol.18, no.69 (1969), pp.223-4.

3. See, for example, Gabriel Alonso de Herrera, _Agricultura general que trata de la labranza del campo y sus particularidades, etc._ , first published 1513 and republished in Madrid by the Real Sociedad Económica Matritense in 1818-9. The edition referred to below is that published in Madrid in 1677. Medieval Arabic manuals, dealing mainly with Andalusia, are referred to by María Teresa Oliveros de Castro and Julio Jordana de Pozas in _La agricultura en tiempo de los Reyes Católicos_ (Madrid,1968), p.53.

of southern Europe,[1] a system of biennial rotation was used by cultivators in Andalusia. In alternate years, arable was left fallow as barbechos. According to Herrera[2], land was considered good if it only needed one fallow year (año de huelga) at a time. He implies that most land was not capable of producing a crop even with this frequency, unless it received the help of irrigation, which was not generally used for arable land in Andalusia in the Christian period.[3]

Because of its vital importance, the supply and sale of grain was closely supervised by the Crown, but royal measures could not, of course, remove the uncertainties of the weather and its economic consequences. The availability of grain varied from year to year and its price virtually from day to day. Thus no medieval region could ever rely on being self-sufficient and the effect of controls of imports, exports and prices was inevitably limited. Exports of grain from producing areas, such as Jerez, were regulated by means of licences which had theoretically to be obtained by individuals from the Crown but which in Jerez were issued by the marquis of Cádiz between 1471 and 1477.[4] In years of scarcity, the Crown, or the councils of royal towns as its representatives, forbade all exports of grain on pain of confiscation of the goods and of the vehicles and animals used to transport them. Enforcement of these restrictions was in the hands of guards appointed by local councils to work under the supervision of a guarda mayor, named by the Crown for the dioceses of Seville and Cádiz.[5] Arrests of illegally-exported grain consignments by Jerez guards took place in 1490 and 1491 and in 1500 Jerez council appointed two fieles to supervise the loading of grain at

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1. Braudel, op.cit., p.75.

2. Herrera, op.cit., bk.1 ch.4 (no page number).

3. Oliveros and Jordana, op.cit., pp.76-7.

4. AMJ Actas 12.6.1471.

5. RGS 20.2.1477.

El Portal.[1] The beneficiaries of licences to export grain from Andalusia might be local nobles, or their officials, who needed supplies to meet shortages in their own towns. For example, Cádiz was frequently supplied from Jerez at the request of the marquis and Pedro de Suazo received consignments for his castle of Puente de León.[2] Sometimes, Andalusian grain was sent to help other parts of Spain, as when the Crown authorised the export of 5,000 _cahices_ of wheat in 1481 to Fuenterrabía, because of a refusal of supplies by the French, or when 500 _cahices_ of wheat were sent to relieve a famine in Majorca in 1484.[3] There were complaints, according to the chronicler Palencia, about trafficking by the Crown in export licences, during the Catholic Monarchs' visit to Seville in 1477-8, but Ladero thinks it more probable that the Crown was attempting to bring an existing illegal trade under control. The contentious licences were those granted to Italian merchants, such as the Florentines Tedeo and Miniaco in 1468, to royal servants, such as Dr. Antonio Rodríguez de Lillo, a member of the _consejo real_, and to the royal _portero de camara_, or else to local dignitaries, for example, the _corregidor_ of Jerez, Juan de Robles.[4] According to Ladero's calculations,[5] the Crown authorised the export from Andalusia as a whole of 14,800 _cahices_ of wheat (9,790 metric tons) in 1477-8.

In the years before 1500, Jerez attached great importance to its export trade in grain. The town had a privilege, confirmed by Ferdinand and Isabella in 1478, which allowed its citizens to export a quarter of their harvests

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1. RGS 6.4.1490, 22.3.1491, AMJ Actas 6.4.1500.

2. AMJ Actas 1.9.1467, 18.9.1467, 17.1.1468, 19.7.1478 (Cádiz), 24.9.1467, 11.7.1468 (Puente de Suazo).

3. RGS 5.11.1481, 25.2.1484.

4. Alonso de Palencia, _Crónica de Enrique IV_, or _Decades_, Castilian translation ed. A. Paz y Melia, 5 vols (vol.5 entitled _La Guerra de Granada_) Madrid (Colección de autores castellanos), 1904-9, Decade III, bk.29, chs.8-10). Ladero, "Los cereales", p.238. Licences in AMJ Actas 12.8.1468 and RGS 20.6.1477, 16.4.1478, 1479 (no date).

5. Ladero, "Los cereales", pp.238-9.

tax-free.[1] In fact, though, grain had to be imported to Jerez in 1462-3, 1466-8, and 1471-4, probably in part because of the effects on agriculture of political instability in the area. From 1477 onwards the situation improved, with the grant of many export licences, but Seville, Puerto de Santa María and other towns in the region were still importing grain. According to the figures taken by Ladero from the tercias paid in wheat and barley, there were good harvests in Andalusia as a whole in 1488, 1492 and 1494-6, but this included a decline in the dioceses of Seville and Cádiz in 1496. In 1489-1491, Córdoba seems to have been the area with the highest production in Andalusia. Ladero states that the export of grain from the region was virtually forbidden during the Granada campaign, but the Jerez material records licences for shipments to Guipuzcoa, Gran Canaria and Barcelona, betwemn 1483 and 1493. There were also licences for Batista Pinelo, a Genoese of Seville, in 1485, and for the bishop of Badajoz in 1495.[2]

Another of the main products of Andalusia in the later Middle Ages was wine. Córdoba's vines were concentrated in the Sierra, near Trassierra and Linares, in the valley of the Guadalquivir between Puebla de los Infantes and Alcolea, between Bujalance and Cañete and around La Rambla. The local council granted licences to individuals so that they could import their own wine for private consumption in the city, free of alcabala. The recipients of these licences covered a wide range of social groupings, from the younger sons of the upper nobility, such as Martín Alonso de Montemayor Junior, to the parish clergy and lawyers. It was understood that producers sold their wine directly to the public in tavernas which had to be licensed by the council, but the interposition of middlemen (regatones , or regraters) was a recurring problem and retailing of wine was outlawed in 1497 and 1500.[3] Licences for legal

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1. AMJ 6-1, ord.593.

2. Ladero, "Los cereales", pp.225-36. AMJ Actas 7.8.1490, 9.9.1494. RGS 22.12.1484, 15.1.1485, 30.12.1493, 27.7.1495.

3. AMC Actas 18.1.1497, 30.1.1497, 11.9.1500, 15.10.1501.

tavernas were granted between February 1497 and October 1500 to ten *regidores* and twelve *jurados*, among others.

It is not clear whether Córdoba was self-sufficient in wine in this period, but some references in the council acts suggest that 'Castilian wine', whose precise origin is unknown, was being imported, at least in 1479 and 1493.[1] There is no such doubt, however, in the case of Jerez, as wine was already, before 1500, the main export commodity from that area, apart from grain. The earliest surviving evidence of the export of wine from Jerez is negative, being a temporary prohibition of exports in 1416.[2] As in Córdoba, the upper echelons of local society were heavily committed to the wine trade. Vineyard owners recorded in notarial documents between 1505 and 1515 include members of all the leading families in the town - Riquel, Herrera, Villavicencio, Mendoza, Zurita, Dávila, Villacreces, Vera, Suazo, Carrizosa, Hinojosa, Vargas and Ponce de León (minor branches).

Like those of Córdoba, Jerez's vines were arranged in groups called *pagos*, many of which are still identifiable today.[3] They were mostly to be found on the roads from Jerez to Arcos and to Sanlúcar and there is evidence that citizens of Jerez also owned vineyards within the boundaries of Sanlúcar and Puerto de Santa María.[4] As in Córdoba, wine might be imported for private consumption free of tax, but it is clear from the close control exercised over the quality and sale of wine that it was regarded as a vital export commodity. In 1482, the council approved ordinances which included regulations for the manufacture of barrels. Wine was not to be placed in barrels which had already been used for other commodities, such as fish or olive-oil.[5] The size of barrels and the date of the vintage were also regulated by the

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1. AMC Actas 9.7.1479, 10.4.1493.

2. AMJ Actas 13.3.1416.

3. These identifications are confirmed in Manuel González Gordon, *Jerez, Xerez, Sherish* (Jerez, 1970), pp.212-9.

4. Licence for the import of wine from these areas for private consumption, in AMJ Actas 26.2.1435, 24.3.1435, 21.2.1437, 8.3.1437, 24.5.1438.

5. AMJ Actas 10.7.1482.

council, as were the types of vine which might be grown. Most of the wine exported from Jerez in this period was of the type known as _romania_. Hipólito Sancho suggests that this was a sweet, fortified wine to satisfy the tastes of the northern European market, but he has no specific evidence to offer.[1] The 1483 ordinances show that many grapes were dried and sold as raisins (_pasas_), which were often exported in the same shipments as wine.

The surviving loading contracts between wine-shippers and ship-masters indicate that in the early sixteenth century, the destinations of Jerez wine exports were Flanders, Galicia, Portugal, Gran Canaria and the Barbary coast. The shipmaster's duties in such contracts did not go beyond transporting the goods to the required destination, keeping them safe during the voyage and returning to Andalusia with whatever goods the wine-merchant or his agent might buy with the proceeds of selling the wine. The wine seems to have been exported by merchants and not directly by the vine-owners, except in one case, where a contract was made by the _regidor_ Leonís Adorno, who was of Genoese mercantile origin.[2] Like the town's grain, Jerez wine was generally exported from the jetty on the Guadalete, known as El Portal de San Nicolás, which was already in existence in 1409. A new stone landing-stage was proposed by Jerez council in 1500, for the loading and unloading of wheat, barley, wine, biscuit (_bizcocho_) and other commodities, "in the manner of Seville".[3]

As with the leading export trades, the best information on the organisation of food supplies in later medieval Andalusia comes from royal towns such as Córdoba and Jerez, though a little is also known about the _señoríos_ of Arcos and Medina Sidonia.[4] The basic cereals - wheat and barley - were

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1. AMJ Actas 12.8.1483, ordinances for the wine trade. Sancho, _op.cit._ (see p.32,n.2), I, p.78.

2. APJ 1511 fols 47v, 55, 97v, 145v, 307v. 1515 fols 378, 658v, 676v, 844v, 872, 875v,1045.

3. AMJ Actas 22.12.1409, 21.3.1500.

4. Information about the two _señoríos_ from Solano, _op.cit._, pp.131-9.

supplemented from market-gardens, to be found near the towns and frequently irrigated. These supplied garlic, onions, chick-peas (garbanzos), broad beans (habas), aromatic herbs and spices, saffron and fruit. Almonds and figs were exported.[1]

Livestock was divided into ganado mayor , which consisted of cattle, oxen, horses, asses and mules, and ganado menor - sheep, goats and pigs - and supplied the normal range of natural products - meat, bacon or salt pork (tocino), pork sausages (longanizas), cheese, milk, eggs, tallow, fat (unto), wool and hides (corambre al pelo).[2] It was assumed that the meat supply was the responsibility of the public authorities - the local councils in royal towns and the lord in señoríos . In Córdoba it was guaranteed by means of the abasto system, under which certain individuals agreed with the council that they would undertake to supply the town with beef, pork and goat-meat for a fixed period at a set price. These agreements ran from about Whitsun until the first day of the carnival, known as carnestolendas , which took place on the three days before Ash Wednesday. Two prices were generally included in each contract, the summer price beginning between the end of May and Midsummer Day and the winter price between the beginning of November and Christmas.[3]

In a stable economic situation, this was a convenient system for all parties. The meat supply was treated like a tax-farm, assuring the butchers of a regular income and the consumer of reliable provisions at stable prices. On at least two occasions, the Córdoba butchers were fined for not providing enough meat on certain days.[4] However, attempts made in 1493, by some unidentified individuals to persuade the council to make abasto contracts for

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1. Solano, op.cit., p.132.

2. Solano, op.cit., p.133.

3. AMC Actas 30.3.1493.

4. AMC Actas 16.10.1495, 21.8.1497, 25.8.1497.

several years at a time failed, despite royal support.[1]

Jerez oouncil also controlled the price of meat, but there is no record of regular _abasto_ contracts in that town. Nonetheless, it is known that the council kept at least one _dehesa_ especially for the use of the butchers who supplied the town.[2] Córdoba and Jerez, like other Castilian towns, limited the sale of meat, as of other commodities, to fixed points.[3] Unfortunately, it is not possible to discover whether or not the region was self-sufficient in meat, but the absence of documentary evidence of imports suggests that it was.

A wide range of fresh- and salt-water fish were eaten in Andalusia, though the main types were tunny and sardines, the latter being nourished by the fertile silt of the Guadalquivir. A 1410 price-list from Jerez includes rays, cuttlefish and freshwater dace and brill, while octopus and dogfish are mentioned in Córdoba in 1506.[4] In 1509-11, the dukes of Medina Sidonia gained about 5 per cent of the income from their _señorio_ from the renting of fisheries.[5] This meant a total of about 575,000 mrs, which was virtually the sum expected from the fish _alcabala_ in the Jerez _encabezamiento_ of 1515.[6] Jerez seems to have been supplied with fish from Sanlúcar and also from Galicia. There was at least one case of the re-export of sardines to the Canaries, but, in general, Jerez was undoubtedly an importer of fish.[7]

Córdoba's position with regard to fish supplies was rather different because of geography. There were fresh-water fisheries on the Guadalquivir at Almodóvar del Río and further up, between Córdoba and Adamuz.[8] The local

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1. AMC Actas 30.3.1493.

2. AMJ Actas 6.4.1496.

3. The usefulness of this practice for tax-collectors has already been discussed in chapter 6.

4. AMJ Actas 10.2.1410. AMC Actas 6.2.1506.

5. Solano, _op.cit._, pp.103, 115-25, 134-50.

6. AMJ Actas 16.2.1515.

7. AMJ Actas 15.2.1468. AMJ Vitrina 2 (_carta real_ of Granada, 20.10.1501). APJ 1515 fol.875v.

8. AMC 12-4-3, 12-4-1, 7-8-6.

supply was certainly insufficient for the town's needs, however, and in 1440 John II authorised merchants to transport fish duty-free from Seville to Córdoba, despite the privilege which gave Seville the first claim on all fish unloaded at its port. The importance of this supply is shown by the recurring disputes between Seville and Córdoba, from the confirmation of Córdoba's privilege by Isabella in 1478 to the arrest of Córdoba fish-merchants in Seville in 1493.[1] For greater ease of supervision, the sale of fish from private houses in Córdoba was forbidden, but there was no *abasto* system as with meat. The Crown proposed such a system to the council in 1493, but it was rejected by the *regidores* by twenty votes to one, on the grounds that it would harm the interests of local traders, who had been supplying the town for many years at reasonable prices. This argument was strengthened by the fact that the current price per pound of fish in Córdoba's town of Bujalance, where there was a monopoly, was ten and a half mrs, while in Córdoba itself it was only nine mrs.[2]

The most interesting fishing in late medieval Andalusia was the ambushing of the tunny, as they passed to and fro each year from the Atlantic to the Sea of Azov, through the Straits of Gibraltar. The fish were intercepted by long nets, let down from a line of boats, hauled out of the water by fishermen on the boats, using grappling-hooks, and killed either on barges or when landed. Once on shore, they were gutted, cut into slices, cooked in olive-oil, salted and put into barrels.[3] Many thousands of these fish were caught in this way each May and June, on the coast of western Andalusia, and in the later Middle Ages, the fisheries, known as *almadrabas*, were exploited by the rival Guzmán and Ponce de León families. The Ponce had *almadrabas* at Rota and Chipiona and the Guzmán at Castelnovo, Torre de Guzmán and especially Conil.

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1. RGS 15.3.1478, AMC 7-8-5. AMC Actas 1.3.1493, 13.3.1493, 19.4.1493.

2. AMC 14-1-3. AMC Actas 30.9.1493.

3. William Radcliffe, *Fishing from the earliest times* (London, 1921), pp.99-104. James Hornell, *Fishing in many waters* (Cambridge, 1950), pp.84-5. The *Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, vol.16, (Neufchâtel, 1765), p.296. Pedro de Medina, *Crónica de los duques de Medina Sidonia*, Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España (CODOIN), vol.39, pp.277-81.

However, the largest almadrabas were those at Cádiz, which from 1469 to 1492 were in the hands of the Ponce, but which were also claimed by the Guzmán.[1] The magnates were interested in tunny because of its export potential. The fish was sent direct from Cádiz to Southampton, in the care of Genoese traders, and there is evidence of the duke of Medina Sidonia's tunny being sold in Valencia.[2]

Andalusia was also self-sufficient in olives, which, with their oil, were a basic need of the area. Olive-trees were frequently to be found in the same properties as vines and the owners appear to have kept to themselves the responsibility of milling the olives and disposing of the oil, either directly or through regatones. There was no centralised point of sale. However, the council did control the price of olive-oil, at least in Córdoba, and it appears from owners' protests at a council ban on exports in 1514 that oil was normally exported from the Córdoba area.[3]

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, salt was regarded as such a vital commodity that it had to be reserved to the Crown, so that salt-working (salinas) remained in public ownership. However, in the kingdom of Córdoba, the salinas at Castro, Espejo and Aguilar were in noble hands by 1400 and Henry III gave another working to Fernando Páez de Castillejo, regidor of Córdoba, in 1401.[4] Such grants were only made on condition that the citizens of Córdoba could freely obtain supplies and the 1435 ordinances on the subject laid down the system of distribution.[5] The council appointed an hombre bueno each May to supervise this process. Each parish had a padrón for salt, as

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1. Solano, op.cit., p.138. Pedro de Medina op.cit., pp.276-7.

2. Florentino Pérez-Embid, "Le port de Séville au bas moyen âge", Le Moyen Age, Navigation et commerce dans no.24 (1969), pp.489, 492. Archivo del Reino de Valencia, Mestre Racional 9812. This reference was kindly supplied by Mademoiselle Jacqueline Guiral.

3. AMC Actas 11.8.1514.

4. AMC 6-40-1.

5. 1435 ordinances in Historia, Instituciones, Documentos, 2 (1975), pp.208-9, 292-6.

for taxes, and none could be exported until the local quotas had been met, though the owners of the *salinas* were allowed to dispose of sixty *cahices* to cover their costs. Citizens who presented a document to prove their status might buy a fixed quantity of salt at the year's official price, the allowance varying according to the rank of the purchaser, from 24 *fanegas* for the *alcaldes mayores* to four for a *peón* or the widow of a *caballero de premia*. A similar system operated in Jerez, but there the manner of letting the *salinas* to private individuals was changed in 1483, from *juros de heredad* (see below) to short-term contracts. At this time, the Crown reasserted its overall control of all salt-workings in the kingdom, but Jerez council continued to act locally.[1] It appears that both towns were self-sufficient.

The most important non-food product needed for ordinary subsistence in the Andalusian towns of this period was soap. The manufacture of soap in the dioceses of Seville and Cádiz was granted as a monopoly by the Crown to the marquis of Cádiz, until his death in 1492 and in 1514 the monopoly was in the hands of a member of the royal council, Lic. Luis Zapata.[2] This monopoly seems to have extended no further, however, than the licensing of manufacture, as the actual factory (*jabonería*) in Seville was owned by the Ribera family, as a result of a royal grant.[3] In the kingdom of Córdoba, soap-production was supervised by Córdoba council, though the *jabonerías*, in Córdoba and in the *tierra*, were in private hands. The owners, for example Juan de Sosa and Egas Venegas, both *regidores* of Córdoba, let the *jabonerías* to another individual, who actually exploited them. Similar arrangements were made for the *tierra*.[4] The council held an assay of the ingredients

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1. AMJ Actas 7.7.1483, 14.8.1483.

2. RGS 15.6.1487. AMJ Actas 2.3.1515.

3. RGS 30.1.1493.

4. RGS 7.9.1489, 8.7.1489. APC 14-11-6-fols 111-8, 18-1-fol.43, 14-10-16-fol, 22, 18-5-fol.1187v.

necessary for soap manufacture, oil, lime, ashes and firewood, every four months, to decide the price for the next four.[1]

The most important commodities in the Andalusian economy apart from foodstuffs and soap were hides, metals and wool. The suppliers of hides were naturally the butchers and they were used for harness, saddles and straps, in addition to boots and shoes. The traditional leather-crafts of Córdoba, which led to the name 'cordwainers' for a London livery company, did not disappear after the re-conquest and there were still export controls to ensure a steady supply of hides for Córdoba industry in the early sixteenth century.[2] In 1490, a tanner, Juan Ruiz Caheno, made an agreement with the farmers of the hides alcabala which allowed him to import hides to Córdoba and also a plant called zumaque which was used by leather-dressers to cover skins.[3] Large quantities of this plant were imported, under council licence, to supply what was clearly an active leather trade. In Jerez, the right to buy all the hides which remained after the local tradesmen had had their share was granted to the marquis of Cádiz in 1472, but many contracts survive for the sale of hides by local butchers to the Genoese Domenigo de Mase in 1507-9[4]. There is no reference to the import of supplies for leather trades in Jerez.

Like salt, mines were a regalian right, but they too found their way into private hands. There is no evidence of mining in the Jerez area in this period, but in 1476 three citizens of Córdoba were given a licence by the Crown to open mines for copper and indigo (which was used in dyeing) in the Sierra de Córdoba. However, in 1470, Henry IV had granted the exploitation of all mines which might be discovered in the future in the dioceses of Seville, Córdoba, Cádiz and Jaén to the marquis of Cádiz. Some alcohol and lead mines had been

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1. AMC Actas 6.3.1493.

2. AMC Actas 2.7.1501, 2.5.1511.

3. APC 18-2-fol.588v.

4. AHN Osuna leg.143-7. APJ 1507 fols 89, 103, 207. 1508 (1) fol.219v.1509 fol.263.

discovered in the territory of Fuente Obejuna in 1485 and, as late as 1515, the duke of Arcos, as the heir of the marquis, attempted to apply his privilege to them. After Córdoba had protested to the Crown on behalf of its council of Fuente Obejuna, these particular mines were granted to Córdoba for Fuente Obejuna's use.[1] This pronouncement did not, however, prevent a subsequent grant of the mines to Don Francisco Pacheco, the younger son of Don Alonso de Aguilar.[2]

Andalusia played an important part in the only really industrial part of the later medieval Spanish economy, the wool and cloth trade. The Córdoba area was involved firstly through the visits of migrating flocks, forming part of the Mesta, for winter grazing. The route drawn by Klein, in his pioneering study[3] is incorrect in following the Guadalquivir valley. In fact it seems to have followed the old Moorish road from Seville to Toledo via Gahete (Belalcázar), descending from the valley of Alcudia (Ciudad Real), via the Puerto Mochuelo and Villanueva de Córdoba in the Pedroches.[4] In 1490, the Crown gave the Mesta a licence to build a bridge over the Guadalmez, which had previously been forded.[5] In the northern part of the kingdom of Córdoba, Gonzalo Mexía, lord of Santa Eufemia, became involved in disputes with Mesta shepherds, particularly from Beteta (Cuenca), over the renting by the Mesta of his enclosed grazing. The matter reached the national council of the Mesta and the audiencia.[6] Migrating flocks went through the pass of Guijo, on the boundary between Mexía's sphere of influence and that of Córdoba council, which retained control over the collection of roda and

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1. RGS 27.11.1476. AHN Osuna leg. 120 no.20. RGS 1.6.1485. AMC Actas 27.6.1515, 27.7.1515.

2. AMC Actas 19.11.1515.

3. Julius Klein, The Mesta. A study in Spanish economic history, 1273-1836 (Cambridge Mass.), 1920.

4. Félix Hernández Giménez, "Gafiq, Gahet, Gahete = Belalcázar", Estudios de geografía histórica española, VII, Al Andalus, 9, 1944, pp.71-109. Also "El camino de Córdoba a Toledo en la época musulmana", Estudios etc., X, Al Andalus, 24, 1959, pp.1-62.

5. RGS 10.3.1490.

6. RGS 21.2.1487, 22.8.1488, 5.8.1489, 4.3.1490, 17.3.1490.

portazgo on the goods and flocks which passed through. The main traffic was migrating flocks and in 1500 Córdoba council brought a case before a juez de comisión against the council of Cabeza del Buey (Badajoz) for the evasion of duty in the Guijo. Twenty-three offenders were accused by Córdoba's tax-farmer, Diego Fernández Portichuelo, who estimated that they had infringed the ordinances by not paying tax on 22,000 sheep and goats in both 1499 and 1500.[1]

The grazing in the Córdoba area was not only rented to the Mesta, especially in the north, but also used to raise the flocks of local stock-owners. Over 200 contracts for the sale of wool by Córdoba breeders survive for the period 1477-1515. Those who made them include one member of the upper nobility (Doña María Carrillo, the widow of the second lord of Alcaudete), fifteen regidores , six jurados and various farmers, shepherds and traders. Henry IV had succumbed to pressure from local graziers, who were well represented on the town council, when he confirmed an 'ancient ordinance' which forbade the letting of Córdoba's grazing-land to 'strangers'.[2] This measure implies more than rivalry between static and migrant graziers. While the Mesta supplied the Medina del Campo market, which was dominated by merchants from Burgos who controlled the export of merino wool, largely to the Low Countries, the existence and destination of the wool produced in the Córdoba area has not up to now been recognised or discussed. It is natural to ask whether the wool mentioned in the two hundred contracts was used to supply a local cloth industry or else exported.

Cloth production in Córdoba dated back to the Muslim period. Alfonso X gave the town's weavers a privilege in 1258, which was confirmed by Alfonso XI in 1320 and Henry II in 1369.[3] Ordinances for the cloth industry were promulgated by the Crown in 1458 and more in 1502. In 1511, further national

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1. APC 18-3-fol.844v. AMC 5-62-3, 4, 5, fols 1-22.

2. Contracts in APC. AMC Actas 27.11.1493.

3. Miguel Gual Camarena, "Para una mapa de la industria textil hispana en la edad media", Anuario de Estudios Medievales, 4(1967), p.131.

ordinances were put into effect, after the representatives of interested towns, including Córdoba, had been consulted, but discussion between the Crown and Córdoba council continued after this.[1] A wide range of cloths was manufactured in Spain, including serges, _frisas_ which were used as linings, and _bernias e irlandas_, which were made of two different kinds of wool. The 1511 ordinances accepted that the trade was dominated by merchants (_traperos_), who bought the output of the artisans, but _veedores_ (overseers), appointed by local councils, supervised the conduct of each office (_oficio_) in the process of manufacture - wool-combing, carding, spinning, weaving and dyeing.

The trade was organised in a hierarchical fashion, with boys (_mozos_), workmen (_obreros_) and masters (_maestros_), and anyone who wished to exercise an 'office' had to be examined first by its _veedores_. Guilds existed in Castile in this period,[2] but they were frequently confused with devotional _cofradías_ (brotherhoods). There is a reference in 1500 to the weavers' guild of Córdoba, but the only other _cofradía_ mentioned in surviving records, named after Santa María Candelaria and based in the monastery of St. Francis, was apparently devotional. It had a provost, two strap-makers as _alcaldes_ and a committee of _seises_, which included a braid-maker and a gilder. The mixture of trades among its members and the purpose of the recorded meeting - to sell houses which had been left to it by a member - suggest that it was a religious body rather than a trade association.[3]

While it is clear that some cloth was produced in Córdoba in this period, it is equally obvious that the best of the wool in the region did not reach the local industry. The large number of sale contracts available shows that wool was assembled in Córdoba from a wide area, including Hinojosa, Belalcázar and the Sierra de la Serena (Badajoz) to the north, Antequera (Málaga)

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1. AMC 6-7-3, 6-7-4, 6-7-9, the last reproduced by Alonso de Santa Cruz in his _Crónica de los Reyes Católicos_, ed. Juan de Mata Carriazo (Seville, 1951), pp. 164-80.

2. A. Contreras y López de Ayala, _Los gremios españoles_ (Madrid,1944).

3. AMC Actas 31.1.1500. APC 18-1-fol,807.

to the south, Ubeda and Baeza (Jaén) to the east and Baza (Granada) to the south-east. The wool was washed in riverside *lavaderos* at Córdoba and transported by bullock-cart alongside the Guadalquivir to Seville for loading. The carters responsible for this transport lived on the river-bank, in Alcolea, Córdoba, Almodóvar del Río, Posadas and Lora del Río (Seville). Wool was moved to Córdoba in April or May and from there to Seville in June. In the contracts for 1513 and 1515 the two operations were arranged at the same time.[1]

After 1486, there was a change in the trade, involving white merino wool, which seems to have been the main product. This was the arrival on the scene of merchants from Burgos. Up to then, the wool was generally sold to local Córdoba merchants, though it is not clear whether it was exported or supplied the local industry. The Córdoba merchants also bought wool from Cuenca and Medinaceli (Soria), suggesting a link with the Mesta. However, they gradually faded out as the Burgos men brought this area into the national export trade in merino wool. In 1499, Alfonso de Castro, a Burgos merchant, asked Córdoba council for permission to use a site on royal land to build a riverside wool-store.[2] When Pedro de Arceo, a *regidor* of Burgos, first arrived to buy wool in Córdoba in 1486, he acted in conjunction with a local man, Pedro de Valles, but after this the Burgos merchants dominated the trade in every year except 1506, when patterns of trade were distorted by famine and political disturbance. The Burgos merchants concentrated on the best white merino wool for high-quality cloth and received the crop each April. There was no appreciable difference between the terms offered by Burgos and local merchants, but the average price of wool in surviving contracts rose from 346 mrs per *arroba* (11.5 kg.) in 1486 to 449 mrs in 1515. The same merchants kept

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1. Sale-contracts for 1477-1515 in APC offices 14, 18, 24 and 33. 15 transport contracts for this period in APC.

2. AMC Actas 10.5.1499.

appearing to buy wool-crops, for example, Pedro de Arceo, between 1486 and 1500 Juan de Logroño between 1494 and 1507, Gonzalo de Polanco between 1492 and 1500 and Alfonso de Lerma between 1495 and 1500. A total of thirty people from Burgos appear as buyers or agents.[1] After 1494, the links with Cuenca and Soria are no longer to be found in Córdoba contracts, but the latter town continued to be a centre for trade with the surrounding area. By 1515, it was normal for contracts to involve an owner's crop for several years at a time, but only twenty of the 207 surviving contracts are of this type.

As a consequence of this export trade, the local Córdoba cloth industry supplied only a small proportion of the local market. Nonetheless, Córdoba was the main centre of production in Andalusia and other parts of the region could only import cloth. Jerez, for example, was the centre for the sale of cloth, imported from the Netherlands, for Medina Sidonia, Arcos, Gibraltar and many other towns. The sellers came generally from Baeza (Jaén) and four merchants from that town are mentioned in thirty-two contracts made in Jerez in 1511 and 1515. The cloth they sold was called _paños de tierra_, which meant that it came "by land through this kingdom by way of Burgos"[2]. English cloth, imported by sea, was sold at fairs in Jerez and district, luxury cloth from Valencia was supplied to Jerez by Genoese and Majorcan merchants and Seville merchants acted for their Breton colleagues in the sale of Breton linen, which was imported via Seville or sold by the Bretons themselves from their base in Sanlúcar.

Silk was not produced in western Andalusia and both Córdoba and Jerez imported it. In Córdoba, silk was sold in the shops of the silk-exchange (_alcaicerías_), which Don Alonso de Aguilar bought in 1490 from Diego Méndez de Sotomayor and his brother Lope, a canon of Córdoba, for 700,000 mrs, and which was valued at 1,100,000 mrs among the goods of Don Alonso's widow

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1. This Andalusian activity by Burgos merchants is not mentioned by Manuel Basas Fernández in "Burgos en el comercio lanero del siglo XVI", _Moneda y Crédito_, 77 1961, pp.37-68.

2. AMJ Actas 13.11.1467.

in 1504.[1] Córdoba's imports seem to have come mainly from Granada and in 1493 the local council protested when the royal *contadores mayores* ordered the trade to be investigated. In 1495, the Crown ordered silk-mercers to mark goods with their place of origin, on pain of fines. Sources of silk and also of luxury cloth mentioned in this instruction were Valencia. Toledo, Florence, Genoa and Venice. Jerez appears to have imported at least some of its silk via Seville.[2]

A strong Andalusian cloth industry would have required some involvement on the part of the wealthy upper nobility of the region, but there is little evidence of this in Córdoba. Don Alonso de Aguilar's involvement in the retail of silk did nothing to help local industry, and while Pedro Muñiz de Godoy, a *regidor* of Córdoba, let fully-equipped premises in the parish of St.James to a dyer in 1491,[3] the only evidence of active participation by a local magnate in cloth manufacture is thepurchase by an agent of the count of Cabra, in 1490, of forty pairs of wool-cards at 102 mrs apiece, from a card-maker of St.Peter's, Córdoba.[4]

In contrast with this poor show in manufacture, the Andalusian nobility was a large scale consumer of cloth and tapestries, which were inevitably mainly imported. The best example of this 'conspicuous consumption' is the Guzmán family. An inventory of the goods of duke Juan of Medina Sidonia (1492-1507)[5] includes cushions and bed-furnishings of velvet and satin, in various colours and designs, and forty hangings and tapestries, including 'subjects from classical history and mythology', such as Jason and Alexander, the total value of which was 569,835 mrs.

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1. RAH Salazar M-48 fols 108-110v. APJ 14-41-5-fols 1-25.
2. AMC Actas 11.3.1493, 3.8.1495.
3. APC 14-24-13-fol.45.
4. APC 18-2-fol.598v.
5. Solano, *op.cit.*, pp.171-4.

The importance of the cloth trade in Andalusia was inevitably reflected in taxation, particularly the *alcabala* and *almojarifazgo*. There are no reliable figures for the cloth *alcabala* of Córdoba, though cloth-weavers and fullers (*bataneros*) were told in 1510 to register their cloth for tax purposes.[1] In Jerez, the cloth *alcabala* raised 490,000 mrs in 1504-5 and was assessed at 600,000 mrs per annum in the *encabezamiento* of 1515.[2] In times of financial difficulty, an imposition (*sisa*) was placed on cloth-sales in Jerez. The earliest reference to such a tax is in a request from the council to the *corregidor* in 1416 and there was a 5% imposition on cloth and finished clothing in 1478, 1482 and 1489, to pay Hermandad contributions and for war service.[3] In Córdoba, however, the council never succeeded in collecting such a tax, although it tried on many occasions with full royal support, because of the opposition of a powerful interest group, consisting of cloth-merchants (*traperos*) and clothes-merchants (*aljabibes*). In 1497, the council asked for a three per cent levy on cloth sales to pay a Hermandad contribution, but this was changed into a loan of 72,000 mrs from the cloth-merchants. In addition, those who supplied the loan were freed from all impositions for 1498.[4] The same happened with a Hermandad contribution due in April-May 1498. The cloth-merchants persuaded the council to abandon the idea of a *sisa* in return for a 50,000 mrs loan and repayment by the council of 20,000 mrs still owed to the merchants from the last loan.[5] The cloth-merchants had similar success in 1500, 1511, 1512 and 1515.[6] Although the council was anxious to avoid placing a burden on the poorer sections of the community by taxing food,

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1. AMC 18-3-7, royal *provisión* of Madrid, 10.10.1510.

2. APJ 1506 fols 461-2. AMJ Actas 16.2.1515.

3. AMJ Actas 13.3.1416, 18.7.1478, 4.1.1482. 28.7.1489.

4. AMC Actas 20.11.1497, 4.12.1497.

5. AMC Actas 27.4.1498, 4.5.1498.

6. AMC Actas 15.4.1500, 15.5.1500, 25.6.1511, 9.7.1511, 21.6.1512, 12.1.1515, 4.4.1515.

it was forced to do so, because the interests of the cloth-merchants, and by extension of local wool production for export, in which members of the council were heavily involved, were stronger than concern for the welfare of the weaker citizens.[1]

In *señoríos*, the lords obtained some revenue from the taxation of cloth. In 1509-11, the duke of Medina Sidonia collected about 150,000 mrs per annum from the taxes on cloth, linen and finished cloth in Huelva, Niebla, Sanlúcar and Trigueros. In Niebla and Huelva this rent was collected at fairs, in which cloth was sold. Taxes on silk, linen, cotton, wool and old clothes were included in the *renta mayor* which the dukes of Arcos collected at Marchena, while the cloth *alcabala* was included in the spices section (*especería*). The *almojarifazgo* on imported cloth was included in the 1497 scale of charges and the *portazgo* in that of 1491, for Arcos de la Frontera.[2]

While the nobility and merchants of Andalusia and of Castile in general were large-scale consumers of imported cloth and tapestries, they failed to foment a national manufacturing industry for which the country was well stocked with the raw material. This was appreciated at the time by some writers for the Court.[3] These theorists noted the outflow of Castilian bullion to make up the deficit on the foreign trading account caused by the import of foreign cloth and tapestries. However, they did not notice the harmful agricultural policies which Ferdinand and Isabella inherited from their predecessors and proceeded to accentuate.

The problems in the grain supply which played an important part in the political troubles in Andalusia in the early sixteenth century were in part caused by

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1. See the end of chapter 5 for a discussion of the justice of the Castilian taxation system.

2. Solano, *op.cit.*, p.118, 121, 125, 140, 158. AHN Osuna leg. 118-2 no.30.

3. For the early sixteenth-century debate about the Castilian balance of payments and the wool-trade, see Joseph Pérez, *La révolution des 'comunidades' de Castille, 1520-1521* (Bordeaux, 1970), pp.97 et seq.

an excessive concentration on wool-production, whether through the Mesta or through individual graziers, to the neglect of arable cultivation. Agriculturalists were constantly oppressed by marauding flocks, with their shepherds and dogs, and had to be protected by local ordinances in Córdoba, Carmona, Jerez and all other Andalusian towns. However, economic growth, whether agricultural or industrial, in Andalusia under the Catholic Monarchs was held back mainly by the concentration of excessive lands in the hands of the upper nobility of the region. The process of amalgamation of the small land-holdings which had been distributed in the *repartimientos* after the Reconquest had already begun in the fourteenth century, so that by the end of the fifteenth, most of the lands in the great grain and stock-breeding areas of the kingdoms of Seville and Córdoba formed part of the ancestors of the present day *latifundia*. Smaller-scale activity was largely confined to the olive- and vine-growing areas in the Sierra de Córdoba, the Aljarafe of Seville, and the surroundings of Jerez, Sanlúcar and Rota, which were still exploited by the local urban aristocracies.[1] The annual or twice-yearly trade fairs in royal towns, such as Jerez and Córdoba, and seignorial towns such as Sanlúcar, Huelva, Niebla, Belalcázar, Los Molares and Cádiz, might give a superficial impression of economic vitality, but they were merely opportunities for manufacturing countries, such as England, Brittany and Flanders, to dispose of their goods and obtain raw materials, with a view to making further gains. Even when nobles and leading urban families did engage in trade with the products of their estates, such as grain, wool, olives and wine, they preferred to leave the risks to merchants, who were frequently Genoese, though it is interesting to note that the Genoese Spínola, who settled in Jerez, quickly married into the local lesser nobility and became as unadventurous, economically, as their Spanish counterparts. A recent study of the exploitation of the *señorío* of Feria

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1. Many of these views were put forward, with particular reference to the exploitation of the Aljarafe by *regidores* of Seville, in a paper on *latifundia* in the kingdom of Seville, which was delivered by Antonio Collantes de Terán in a *table-ronde* at the Casa de Velázquez, Madrid, on 24 February 1975.

(Badajoz)[1] shows that even in the letting of their lands, nobles often preferred the security of quit-rents to the greater risks, but possible profits, of short-term lettings (arrendamientos). Another sign of economic cautiousness was the extensive investment in juros , or government rents, which was steadily descending the social scale in the late fifteenth century. The consequences of this, as of the other factors in the gloomy economic prospects of Andalusia around the year 1500, will be discussed later.

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1. Fernando Mazo Romero, "Los Suárez de Figueroa y el señorío de Feria", Historia, Instituciones, Documentos, 1(1974), pp.140-50.

Chapter Seven

MILITARY INVOLVEMENT

The respective military resources of the towns and the upper nobility are perhaps more tangible, in the present state of knowledge, than their economic strength. In a society dominated by a crusade against the infidel, which was rapidly approaching its climax, it was inevitable that political power in Andalusia should correspond closely with the ability to garrison castles and put armies in the field.

The Granada campaigns of 1482-1492 were the supreme test of the military capabilities of Andalusian towns and nobles. Their forces inevitably played an important part in activities which centred on their own region and the development of the Castilian armies up to 1482 is therefore of some interest. To begin with the forces of the larger Andalusian towns, the basis of military practice, as of all affairs in the region, was the *fuero* of Toledo, which the Crown conferred on the royal towns - Seville, Córdoba, Jerez, etc. The dominant principle was that of the feudal host, which meant that the king had the right, as overlord, to summon to his service all men between the ages of twenty-five and fifty who were not physically or canonically excluded. Those who did not serve had to pay a tribute instead. The militia was paid from council funds and was mustered on the basis of *padrones*, which, like those for taxation purposes, were compiled and used by the *jurados*.

The urban forces of Andalusia consisted from the start of *caballeros* and *peones* - two categories whose social and financial importance often outweighed their military significance.[1] According to the *fuero* of Toledo, the *caballeros* were the most important part of the force.[2] They

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1. See chapter 5 for the links between *caballería* and exemption from taxation.

2. Quoted on p.224 of Nicholas Tenorio, "Las milicias de Sevilla", *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, 17 (1907), pp.222-63, on which these paragraphs are largely based.

were only allowed to leave the town outside the campaigning season, that is, between October and May, and if they took their families with them, they had to calm fears that they would not return by leaving a substitute. He, like the knight himself, had to maintain a horse for at least eight months of every year. The *peones*, on the other hand, were simply summoned by the *jurados* of their parish, when the order came through from the Crown via the town council, and placed in contingents, each with a certain number of *caballeros*. The whole force was commanded by the *alguacil mayor* of the town.

However, even in the *fuero* itself, the dichotomy between *caballeros* and *peones* was complicated by the inclusion of a third category, the *caballeros de cuantía*. These were the members of the small trading community which first settled in the newly-reconquered towns, who had the wealth to pay for a horse and the fairly simple knightly accoutrements of the period. They were treated as the equals of the *caballeros*. In the laws of Alcalá (1348), Alfonso XI confirmed the duty of the *caballeros de cuantía* to defend the frontiers of the kingdom, including that against the Moors. He also confirmed earlier ordinances, for example that given to Seville in 1337, which linked the number of horses owned by *caballeros de cuantía* in military service to an assessment of the cash value of their property.[1] In the archdiocese of Seville, those with property worth 5,000 mrs had to supply one horse, those with 10,000 mrs two and those with over 50,000 mrs three. In the dioceses of Córdoba and Jaén, the respective figures were 4,000 mrs, 10,000 mrs and 40,000 mrs. This attack on the feudal character of the urban militia was probably motivated by a shortage of horsemen, rather than any grand design, as the same laws of Alcalá also defined the duties and obligations of the *vasallos del Rey* - the specific feudal vassals of the king, who were the descendants of the original knightly settlers

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1. Tenorio, *op.cit.*, p.229.

(pobladores) of the Andalusian towns. The only major change made thereafter in these arrangements was Ferdinand and Isabella's pragmatic of 20 June 1492, which raised the wealth qualification for caballeros de cuantía (or de premia) in Seville, Córdoba, Jaén, Jerez and the rest of Andalusia to 100,000 mrs. The dwelling-house, clothing, arms, furniture, jewels and provisions possessed by a citizen were excluded from the reckoning of his wealth. Those who qualified by these criteria were required to take part in three parades (alardes) per annum, with their horses and weapons.[1]

According to a Seville ordinance of 1432[2], caballeros , of whatever kind had to parade in helmet and coat of mail, with sword, shield and lance. The infantry were divided into crossbowmen (ballesteros), and lancers (lanceros - not to be confused with the mounted soldiers, who were also armed wit lances). The lancers also required swords, shields and daggers. By the time of the Granada campaign, there were also hand-gunners (espingarderos) who wore armour.

The numerical strength and the composition, where known, of the forces pu in the field by Jerez and Córdoba councils in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries have been set out in tables 8, 9 and 10. Ladero's figures for the Granada campaign do not, generally speaking, show the types of infantry involved, but they do indicate that Córdoba was in practice capable of raising up to 750 horsemen and 5,000 infantry and Jerez up to 300 horse and 1,000 foot in case of necessity. In Jerez, it is sometimes possible to compare Ladero's figures with the demands originally received in the town, as recorded in the actas capitulares . The discrepancy between the two is insignificant, though the number actually recorded in the field is naturally always the smaller. One fact which emerges from local records is that the conquest of Granada was far from being the end of the demands made by the Crown on the towns' military resources. Apart from general levies

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1. Tenorio, op.cit., pp.234, 241.

2. Ibid., p.234.

at times of panic, such as the Alpujarras revolt of 1499, the royal expedition to remove the Girón from the Guzmán estates in 1513,[1] and the threat of Turkish attacks on the Andalusian coast in 1515, the numbers demanded were lower than they had been during the Granada war, but nonetheless there were few years between 1492 and 1515 in which no troops were required by the Crown from Córdoba and Jerez.

Where the composition of the infantry forces is known, it is given in the tables, but this is not the case with the cavalry contingents. However, it ispossible to discover from surviving documents the approximate number of *hidalgos* and *caballeros de premia* in Córdoba and of *caballeros de cuantía* in Jerez. In May 1514, the hidalgos of Córdoba complained to the council that some of their number had been included in the *padrones* of tax-payers for the parishes of Saint Marina and Saint Lawrence. In order to resolve the matter, all those who claimed the rank of *hidalgo* were required to present their *audiencia* documents to the council for examination, so that the *padrones* might be corrected,[2] As a result of deliberations which took place at several council meetings, a list of 196 *hidalgos* was compiled. Most cases were decided on the spot, but in 24 cases doubts were recorded, to be resolved later. The number of *caballeros de premia* in Córdoba seems to have been similar. A list of names survives for the *alarde* held in the Campo de la Verdad, opposite Córdoba to the south, on 5 November 1497.[3] On this occasion, the names of 195 *caballeros* are recorded, though only nine parishes are mentioned. Such parades were ordered regularly by the council, in accordance with royal instructions,[4] but, as in

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1. See chapter 10 below.
2. AMC Actas 5.5.1514, 6.6.1514, 8.6.1514, 12.6.1514.
3. APC 14-31-22-fols 304v-306.
4. AMC Actas 4.5.1496, 29.2.1496, 25.8.1497.

other towns, such as Madrid[1], practice often fell short of theory. While the total of nearly 200 knights who paraded in Córdoba in 1497 contrasts sharply with the single, pathetic *caballero* who appeared at the only parade summoned in Madrid in that year, Córdoba council seems also to have expected a large-scale failure to meet royal requirements. When ordering an *alarde* for the last Sunday in May 1500, for example, the council added that all *caballeros* who had no horses were to parade nonetheless, as *peones*, in accordance with royal instructions. By November 1515, things had deteriorated further. Complaints were made in council that half the *caballeros* failed to turn out, sending their sons or serving-lads instead, while those who did appear were in a state of disarray.[2] The council decided to call another parade for Christmas 1515. The only indication of the numbers of *caballeros de cuantía* in Jerez is in an early *alarde* list.[3] On 26 April 1426, twenty-one *caballeros* from five parishes paraded in Jerez. This isolated figure is not very helpful, but the list does confirm the impression, given by the Córdoba documents, that the *caballeros de premia* were predominantly tradesmen of all kinds.

The *vasallos del Rey* who received payment (*acostamientos*) from the Crown in the Granada campaign were numerically insignificant. Between 1486 and 1491, Córdoba provided no more than eight and Jerez up to five,[4] out of a total of 1,067, for the whole kingdom, mentioned in surviving documents. The *vasallos del Rey* were in theory a force of mounted lancers who could form a reliable nucleus for royal armies in case of need. They agreed to serve the king whenever required, on specified terms, and might not become the vassals of any other lord without the king's permission. According to Ladero's

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1. See Emilio Meneses García, "Documentos sobre la caballería de alarde madrileña", *Hispania*, vol.21, no.83 1961, pp. 323-41.

2. AMC Actas 27.3.1500, 12.11.1515.

3. AMJ Actas 26.4.1426.

4. Ladero, *Castilla y la conquista del Reino de Granada* (Valladolid,1967), pp.234-99 and 111-4.

evidence, the institution was declining in importance by the time of the Granada wars and it virtually disappeared after 1492.

It should be noted, in considering the armies of the Ansalusian towns, that their theoretical composition was not necessarily realised in practice. It was inevitable that many citizens' concern for their own farms or businesses should outweigh their feeling of loyalty to the Crown and their desire to complete the Granada 'crusade'. As a result, it was normal in the fifteenth century for those liable for military service to pay a deputy to march for them. This practice was particularly common among the ranks of the 'caballeros de premia', but cases involving all ranks are to be found in Córdoba's notarial archives. Thirty-nine examples of substitution are recorded in the registers between 31 July and 2 August 1490 and another forty-six between 21 and 24 December 1501. The rush to arrange for deputies was accompanied by a series of disputes over exemptions and status, whenever a demand for military service was received in a town.

The numerical strength of the seignorial forces of Andalusia in the Granada campaigns is set out under the names of the different magnates in table 8. The most noticeable feature of these figures, when compared with those for the council forces, is the predominance of cavalry over infantry. The only nobles in the region to provide infantry for the royal armies in any appreciable quantity were the marquis of Cádiz, who produced up to 500, and the heads of the four main branches of the house of Córdoba. Don Alonso de Aguilar headed the list with 400 men in 1483, followed by the count of Cabra the 'alcaide de los donceles' and the lord of Alcaudete with 2-300 each. Military and economic capabilities seem to have been closely matched among the Andalusian upper nobility and the only disproportionately large contribution of jinetes (the lightly-armed cavalry most prized in warfare against the Moors), that of the lord of Palma, Luis Portocarrero, was due to the fact that he acted as a captain of the Hermandad, which, as mentioned in chapter 5, was used as an organisation to raise men and money for the war. The leading

magnates did not act in this capacity, which was the role, for example, of Francisco de Bobadilla, *corregidor* of Córdoba from 1488 to 1496.

The fact that the duke of Medina Sidonia could raise many more horsemen than Jerez, the third largest town in Andalusia, after Seville and Córdoba, was clearly significant in the relationship between the royal towns and the neighbouring magnates. Several of these nobles could raise about as many cavalry as Jerez and the duke of Medina Sidonia's forces approached those of Córdoba. It is not therefore surprising that in the reigns of John II and Henry IV the upper nobility of Andalusia achieved domination over the royal towns in the area, so that the duke of Medina Sidonia was effectively *señor* of Seville, the marquis of Cádiz of Jerez and Don Alonso de Aguilar of Córdoba.[1] However, a more important factor than troop-numbers in establishing political control over an area in this period was the possession of castles. Like all medieval monarchs, the kings of Castile attempted to control the building of castles by their greater vassals, whether in *realengo*, *señorío* or *abadengo*. Legislation by Alfonso XI, which ordered the demolition of all unlicensed castles and fortresses, was included in Montalvo's collection under the Catholic Monarchs.[2] Nonetheless, the large number of grants of *señorío* made by the Trastámaras placed many castles quite legally in the hands of the upper nobility. Thus by 1464, at least thirty-one castles in the kingdom of Córdoba were in *señorío*, while Córdoba council retained control over fourteen, on behalf of the Crown. These figures do not include the watchtowers which frequently formed defensive systems around castles or communication links between them.[3]

Royal towns were given responsibility for the maintenance of the king's castles in their area. For example, Sancho IV gave Córdoba council the *montazgo* in 1288, for use in the upkeep of the city walls and of the castles in its *tierra*. In 1294, he gave the council the privilege of naming

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1. Ladero, *Andalucía en el siglo XV*, pp.97-143.

2. Montalvo 4-7-7.

3. For an examination of the defensive system surrounding the castle of Alcalá la Real (Jaén), see Valeriano del Castillo y Benavides, "Las atalayas de Alcalá la Real", *Boletín de la Asociación Española de Amigos de los Castillos*, 27 (1959), pp.137-48.

the governors (alcaides) of these castles. Ferdinand IV stipulated in the following year that these alcaides should be natives of the city.[1] In the kingdom of Seville, the city of Seville retained control for the Crown of at least thirty castles,[2] but in the Jerez area Tempul was the only outlying royal fortress. Its alcaides were elected annually from among their own number by the regidores of Jerez.[3] These arrangements were, however, hardly adequate to deal with the situation which arose after 1464 when national and local rivalries combined to cause turmoil in Andalusia. When prince Alfonso became the centre of noble resistance to his half-brother, Henry IV, in 1465, the Andalusian upper nobility split into two rival camps. The duke of Medina Sidonia and the count of Arcos in Seville declared for Alfonso and later, with some difficulty, persuaded Jerez to do the same. In Córdoba, Don Alonso de Aguilar became the leader of a party supporting Alfonso, while the count of Cabra led those who remained loyal to Henry. As a result of the conflict which followed, the duke of Medina Sidonia, gained control of the newly-conquered stronghold of Jimena de la Frontera and the count of Arcos seized Cádiz. In the Córdoba area, Don Alonso de Aguilar and the alfonsistas took over the royal castles at Santaella, Bujalance, La Rambla, Adamuz and Peñaflor and the tower at the Alcolea bridge. The count of Cabra and his supporters meanwhile established themselves in Castro del Río, Castro Viejo, Pedro Abad, Aldea del Río and Montoro, which they supposedly held in the name of king Henry. Don Luis Portocarrero, lord of Palma, whose attitude to the pretender was particularly ambiguous, seized La Puebla de los Infantes from Seville. Meanwhile Henry,

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1. AMC 1-2-11, 18,23.

2. Mentioned in Francisco Collantes de Terán, Inventario de los papeles del mayordomazgo del siglo XV (Seville, 1968)(Documents in Archivo Municipal de Sevilla).

3. AMJ Actas 5.2.1410, etc.

desperate for support, made lavish grants to the count of Cabra, which included the royal town of Bujalance. The war soon subsided, after Alfonso's death in June 1468, and Henry came to Andalusia, supposedly to restore royal control. However, he confirmed the count of Arcos's occupation of Cádiz, giving him the title of marquis of Cádiz. He also allowed the duke of Medina Sidonia to keep Jimena, though the duke had to compensate Don Beltrán de la Cueva, to whom the king had granted it during the hostilities. In Córdoba, the king restored all the usurped castles to the jurisdiction of the town council, but he decreed that the count and Don Alonso were to be paid by the citizens, through a *repartimiento*, for the cost of garrisoning them and for all works carried out during the occupation. Henry seems previously to have promised the count of Cabra 1,400,000 mrs in return for his efforts to restore Córdoba to the king's obedience. Numerous members of both parties signed an agreement in Córdoba on 5 June 1469 to the effect that they would restore the integrity of the city's possessions and that they would never allow any of them to be alienated again. The following day, three *regidores* of Córdoba were appointed to find out the magnates' expenses and five members of Córdoba council offered to mortgage various of their farms if public funds proved to be insufficient to compensate them.[1]

Henry's visit to Andalusia in 1469 completely failed to restore royal power. Once Alfonso was dead, warfare broke out between the duke of Medina Sidonia and the marquis of Cádiz and between Don Alonso de Aguilar and the count of Cabra. The details of these interlocking conflicts need not be recounted here, but when hostilities eventually ceased, with the accession of Isabella in December 1474, the duke of Medina Sidonia was in occupation of Seville, the castle of Triana and those of Fregenal, Aroche, Villanueva del Camino, Montegil and Lebrija, which all belonged to Seville council. The

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1. AMC 1-10-5,1-1-43, 1-10-4.

marquis of Cádiz, with the post of *corregidor* and *alguacil mayor*, held Jerez and was also in control of Seville's castles at Alcalá de Guadaira and Constantina. Don Alonso de Aguilar was in occupation of Córdoba itself and of its castles at Hornachuelos, La Rambla, Santaella, Bujalance, Montoro, Villa Pedroche and Castro del Río.[1]

When Ferdinand and Isabella visited Andalusia in 1477-8, they secured the restoration to the Crown of all these fortresses, but like Henry they found it necessary to compensate the magnates for their losses. Unfortunately, the terms under which Don Alonso de Aguilar returned the castles which he had usurped to Córdoba are not known, but some idea of the scale of the compensation offered may be gained from the fact that the duke of Medina Sidonia was promised 400,000 mrs per annum for life from the royal rents, in return for giving up the governorship of the *alcázares* of Seville.[2] The power of the Andalusian nobles over royal fortresses was not eclipsed, however. As a sign of things to come, the *alcaidía* of the castle of Santaella was given by the Crown to Luis de Godoy, a *regidor* of Córdoba, but also, as *alcaide* of Carmona, a leading participant in the seignorial violence of the 1471-4 period.[3] The return of the upper nobility to the royal fortresses of Andalusia in the early sixteenth century still remains to be discussed.

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1. Ladero, *Andalucía*, pp.115,122-4, 127.

2. Archivo General de Simancas, catalogue 5, *Patronato Real*, Amalia Prieto Cantero, vol.1 (Valladolid, 1946), no. 1048.

3. Ladero, *Andalucía*, p.146.

Chapter Eight

NOBLE PATRONAGE IN CORDOBA AND JEREZ

One of the most interesting aspects of the history of later medieval Castile is the exercise of patronage by the upper nobility. The political, financial and military arrangements which were arrived at between magnates and the lesser nobility of royal towns, such as Seville, Córdoba and Jerez, inevitably influenced in the most profound way the conduct of their government. However, any attempt to study and define these relationships immediately encounters serious difficulties, as this is a case in which the surviving evidence is not very responsive to the questioning of the historian. As a result, this chapter can do no more than present the evidence which is available of the use of patronage by the leading nobles to involve the councils of Córdoba and Jerez in their political ambitions. It must be admitted, however, that the result is little more than a series of isolated examples, which must, in the present state of things, be taken as indications of the overall situation.

It should be noted at the outset that the political activity of the upper nobility in the Andalusian towns cannot be classed as interference, insofar as the heads of all the twenty or so leading families of the kingdoms of Seville and Córdoba were *regidores* of one or more royal towns. This situation, which had subsisted during the reign of Henry IV, was not changed by Ferdinand and Isabella, despite their well-publicised efforts to curb the activities of the magnates in Andalusia.

In the case of Seville, it is true that the duke of Medina Sidonia was deprived of the offices of *alcaide de los reales alcázares* and of the royal dockyards (the *atarazanas*), in September 1477, but he was allowed to retain the office of *alcalde mayor*, which gave him a right to attend council meetings and vote.[1] Another of the alcaldías mayores was held by the duke's

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1. RGS 10.9.1477. Ladero, *Andalucía*, p.8.

great rival, the marquis of Cádiz, who was in addition captain, for life, of the city's cavalry forces. These offices were inherited by Don Rodrigo's grandson, the first duke of Arcos.[1] The *adelantado mayor* of Andalusia was *ex officio* a member of Seville council while in 1506 Don Fadrique Enríquez de Ribera became *alcalde mayor* of Seville.[2] Other *regidores* of Seville from the upper nobility were the admiral of Castile, Juan Arias de Saavedra, lord of El Viso and Castellar, who was *alguacil mayor* and *alcalde de la tierra* and Don Luis Portocarrero, lord of Palma. Portocarrero was also *alcalde mayor* and *teniente* of the *alcázar*, with the powers of *corregidor*, in Ecija, and *regidor* of Córdoba.[3]

The Córdoba council contained members of virtually all the leading families in the area - the various branches of the Fernández de Córdoba, the Méndez de Sotomayor, Portocarrero, Mexía of Santa Eufemia, Venegas and De los Ríos. The only significant exception was the count of Belalcázar. Of these nobles, the head of the house of Aguilar, Don Alonso de Aguilar, retained the office of *alcalde mayor*, while the count of Cabra remained as *alguacil mayor*. These two magnates were among the five who held predominant votes (*votos mayores*) in the council. The others were the *alcaide de los donceles*, Gonzalo Mexía and Don Luis Portocarrero.[4] The *voto mayor* seems not to have given an additional vote, but to have conferred superior status in the council-chamber. However, it helped to confirm the dominance of the magnates in the heart of the government of the royal towns.

In Jerez, the marquis of Cádiz lost the office of *corregidor* in

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1. AHN Osuna carpeta 32 nos 16-25.

2. Ladero, *Andalucía*, p. 29. Joaquín González Moreno, "Don Fadrique Enríquez de Ribera", *Archivo Hispalense*, 122 (1963), p.213.

3. *Tumbo de los Reyes Católicos*, ii, 83-4. Ladero, *Andalucía*, pp 32, 55.

4. Ladero, *op.cit.*, p.86.

1477, but retained that of *alguacil mayor*, although he was paid 100,000 mrs per annum in return for not residing in the town or exercising the office. Both the *alguacilazgo* and the annual payments were confirmed for the marquis's heir in 1493.[1] Such expulsions also applied in the cases of the upper noble office-holders in Seville and Córdoba, leaving the *corregidores* and the *alcaldes* and *alguaciles* whom they appointed to take charge of the government of the towns.

On the basis of the administrative and legal measures put into effect by the Catholic Monarchs, which have been mentioned in previous chapters, it is reasonable to conclude, as does Ladero, in his recent work, that a shift of power, away from the upper nobility and towards the Crown and its agents, took place in Andalusia in and after 1477-8.[2] Nonetheless, it is equally clear from the evidence in local sources that the influence of the upper nobility over the individual members of royal town councils, which had secured these towns' involvement in the warfare of Henry IV's reign, was far from being extinguished by Ferdinand and Isabella's expedition to Andalusia.

The type of relationship between a magnate and a *regidor* in a town such as Córdoba or Jerez which most readily springs to mind is the simple feudal link between lord and vassal. This showed itself, in the context of Castile, in the payment of an *acostamiento* by the lord to his man. In return for this, the man might live in the lord's household, sharing his table, as a *commensal* or *paniaguado*, but he was not obliged to do so. However, he was required to serve his lord militarily, when summoned. In this way, the relationship between a noble and a lesser man was similar to that between the nobles themselves and the king.

In the case of ordinary men who attached themselves to the household of

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1. AHN Osuna, legs 143-5 and 143-6.

2. Ladero, *op.cit.*, pp.147-8.

an office-holder, the act of becoming a _vasallo_ was not, in itself, og of great political significance. In Jerez in 1455, for example, as a precaution against disorder, the council ordained that all men in the town without a trade should attach themselves immediately to a lord, or else be punished.[1] However, when a _regidor_ of a royal town became the vassal of a magnate, this act might be extremely important. Ladero has noted[2] the growth, after the arrival of the Trastámaras in 1369, of the illegal practice of _regidores_ and other council officials' receiving _acostamientos_ from nobles and a law of John II, which forbade office-holders in royal towns to live with any other officer of the town, on pain of deprivation of their vote and office,[3] was confirmed by Ferdinand and Isabella. However, the continued existence of this practice was tacitly admitted by the Catholic Monarchs, when they allowed the marquis of Cádiz and his heir, the first duke of Arcos, to pay _acostamientos_ to officials in Córdoba, Ecija and Carmona, since they themselves had no offices in these towns.[4] Having admitted the principle of nobles' paying _acostamientos_ to officials in neighbouring towns, it was difficult, in practice, for the Crown to stop such payments in towns where the nobles themselves held offices, even if they were not allowed to exercise them.

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1. AMJ Actas 10.2.1455. "Otrosí, que todos los omes mundanales que enesta çibdat e en sus arravales están, que non biven con señores e non saben ofiçios, e sy los saven non usen dellos, e sy pasados los dichos tres días fueren fallados qualesquier omes de los suso dichos enesta çibdat e en los dichos sus arravales, que por la primera ves que estarán veynte días en la prisyón e pagarán dosientos maravedís, e por la segunda ves que fueren fallados estarán en la prisyón treynta días e pagarán quatroçientos maravedís, e por la terçera ves serán açotados públicamente por esta çibdat."

2. Ladero, _op.cit._, p.8.

3. Montalvo 7-2-17.

4. Ladero, _op.cit._, p.25.

In earlier years, the existence of links of this kind between the upper nobility and the *regidores* of royal towns was openly admitted, though not legally countenanced. In 1410, an order was received from the Crown by Jerez council to the effect that all officers of the council who were vassals of *señores* and not *vasallos del Rey* were to be deprived forthwith. However, the chequered career of *corregidores* in Jerez in the early fifteenth century[1] illustrates the limits to royal control over this part of the kingdom and, in fact, council records for later years reveal the existence of vassalage to *señores* and also of patronage by nobles in the filling of offices in towns. In March 1437, Payo Patiño, a *regidor* of Jerez, announced to the council that, being *avasallado* to the count of Niebla, Don Juan Alonso Pérez de Guzmán (later first duke of Medina Sidonia), he was forced to fulfil his obligations, having been summoned by his lord.[2] This is the only case of this kind recorded in the surviving Jerez records, but there are several examples of sponsorship by magnates of office-holders in Jerez. On 6 August 1451, the *jurado* of Jerez, Juan Fernández de Torres presented to the council a message from the duke of Medina Sidonia, thanking it for securing the royal provision, by John II on 18 January 1451, of Juan and Diego de Vargas, who were brothers, to two extra *juraderías* which had been added to the heavily-populated suburb of St.Michael. The true source of patronage in this case is thus clearly revealed.[3] It is worth noting that at

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1. See chapter 3.

2. AMJ Actas 22.3.1437.

3. AMJ Actas 6.8.1451. "El dicho Juan Ferrnández de Torres, jurado, mostró una carta del noble señor duque, de creençia, pa el dicho jurado, quel dicho señor duque les enbía desir que les gradesçía mucho lo que los dichos corregidor e regidores e jurados le avían escripta del resçibimiento de los oficios de las juraderías de Diego de Vargas e Juan de Vargas, su hermano, e que les enbiava rrogar a todos en general e a cada uno en espeçial que la onrra e estado del dicho don Martín su primo (the *corregidor*) fuese guardado como a su persona en pas, lo qual mucho les agradesçería."

this time the *corregidor* of Jerez was Don Martín de Guzmán, a cousin of the duke, although he exercised the office through a deputy.[1] There was sometimes a conflict, in this period, between the Guzmán interest and the will of the rest of the Jerez council, in the matter of appointments. In 1464, the council appealed to the Crown against the provision to a *regimiento* of Martín de Sepúlveda, a servant of the duke, but was forced to accept his provision, by Henry IV's *carta expectativa*, to the next vacant office in Jerez. At the same meeting, Jerez council received Juan de Herrera to a *regimiento acrecentado*, at the request of the duke, though ostensibly by royal provision of September 1463.[2] A similar clash of interests had occurred in the filling of the post of *mayordomo* of the council for the year 1459. This came to ligh because of a long statement, recorded in the council acts, in which García Dávila protested at various irregularities in the elections to annual offices, which, in accordance with traditional practice, fell in that year to the parish of St. Luke. In the midst of a long, self-justificatory piece, García reveals that the obstacle to his success was the proposal by "the marquis" (presumably Don Juan Pacheco, marquis of Villena, as the Ponce de León did not, at this stage possess the marquisate of Cádiz), in a letter to Jerez council, of his own servant, Gutierre de Padilla, to occupy the post. García proposed that the council should resort to an election in St. Luke's to settle the matter, but the council eventually decided, after much discussion, to appoint García without more ado, as he was about to leave the town, with the *corregidor* and other knights, on military service. The marquis of Villena's influence was apparently too remote to be as effective in Jerez as that of the Guzmán. It appears, from a later entry, in 1467, that García was a servant of the duke of Medina Sidonia. In the latter year, García's son, Diego, was provided by the pretender, prince Alfonso, at the duke's

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1. See table 1.

2. AMJ Actas 25.6.1464.

request, to a veinticuatría in Jerez. The request was conveyed to Jerez council by Juan Fernández de Torres, who seems to have been the duke's lawyer. This case, and a similar one which occurred shortly afterwards over a juradería acrecentada, come from the period in which the duke of Medina Sidonia and the count of Arcos were still acting in concord, to hold Andalusia for the pretender Alfonso, and had recently persuaded Jerez council to desert Henry IV and support them. The exercise of noble patronage in Jerez was thus particularly obvious at this time, though, after the Ponce became established in the town in 1471, the duke's influence was less in evidence.[1]

It is unfortunate that local materials which might describe the exercise of patronage in Jerez by the marquis of Cádiz, during his corregimiento from 1471 to 1477, are lacking. It may be assumed, however, that he was able to fill offices in a similar manner to the duke's, in earlier years. At this stage, it is necessary to ask by what means, if any, magnates such as the duke of Medina Sidonia and the marquis of Cádiz were able to wield influence over royal town councils after 1477-8.

The first point to notice is that reference to the overt exercise of noble patronage in the filling of urban offices is no longer recorded in the Jerez municipal acts after 1478 and no such cases appear in the Córdoba acts, which begin continuously in 1495, though those for 1479 and 1493 also survive. However, this had never been the only method used by the upper nobility to gain influence in royal towns. Marriage alliances were extensively used by Castilian nobles, as by their monarchs, to further family interests. The leading houses, such as the Guzmán, endeavoured to arrange marriages with families of the same rank. Thus the second duke of Medina Sidonia (1459-92) married a daughter of the adelantado mayor of Andalusia, the third duke (1492-1507) married into the Velasco, the fourth (1507-13) was nearly allied with the Girón of Urueña, but the marriage fell through,[2] while the fifth

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1. AMJ Actas 16.1.1459, 18.2.1467, 23.2.1467.

2. See chapter 10 below.

duke (1513-1537) married Ana of Aragon, the grand-daughter of Ferdinand.[1] Such alliances did not touch the government of royal towns, but the case of the Ponce de León was very different. The twenty-five children, by various mothers, of the second count of Arcos, Don Juan Ponce de León, gave him the opportunity of allying his family with a great many other lines. His daughters were married to Luis de Guzmán, lord of La Algaba, Juan de Guzmán, lord of Teba (Málaga), both minor lines of the house of Medina Sidonia, Don Martín de Córdoba, son of the count of Cabra, Fernán Arias de Saavedra, lord of Castellar, Juan de Suazo, lord of the Puente de León, and a son of Luis de Godoy, alcaide of Carmona and later of Santaella, also regidor of Córdoba. Other daughters married two regidores of Seville, Juan de Torres and Gonzalo de Quadros. Sons of count Juan married a niece of Fernán Arias (see above), lord of Castellar, the daughter of the alcaide of Morón (one of the Girón towns), a daughter of Fernán García Codillos, regidor of Seville and a daughter of Fernando García de Córdoba, also regidor of Córdoba, while Don Histropo Ponce de León, who lived in Jerez, married a daughter of Pedro de Vera 'el Bermejo', a regidor of Jerez.[2] Following in this tradition, the count's heir, Don Rodrigo, marquis of Cádiz, married his daughter María to Rodrigo Mexía, the eldest son of Gonzalo Mexía, lord of Santa Eufemia.[3] It was inevitable that marriages of this kind should create dependencies and these were politically useful, for example to the Ponce de León, in their attempts to counteract the influence of the Guzmán in Seville.

Don Alonso de Aguilar followed similar policies in Córdoba and district. He himself was married to Doña Catalina Pacheco, the daughter of the marquis of Villena, while his son Don Pedro, the first marquis of Priego, married one of the Enríquez, a daughter of the admiral of Castile. His daughter Elvira

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1. Pedro Barbadillo Delgado, Historia de la ciudad de San Lúcar de Barrameda (Cádiz, 1942).

2. Ladero, op.cit., pp.22, 26-7.

3. AHN Osuna leg. 118 no. 28 or APC 14-15 (loose in vol.).

was betrothed to Don Fadrique Enríquez de Ribera, later the first marquis of Tarifa, though this contract was annulled in 1502. Don Alonso's other daughter, Luisa Pacheco, was married to the lord of El Carpio, Don Luis Méndez de Haro y Sotomayor. The first count of Cabra married into the Carrillo family, lords of Santa Eufemia, and the second into the Mendoza, his brother Martín marrying a daughter of the count of Arcos, as noted above. The second count's son, Don Iñigo de Córdoba, married Doña Ana de Aguayo, daughter of a house which possessed the señorío of Villaverde and provided many regidores of Córdoba.[1]

The De la Cerda did not cultivate marriage alliances in Andalusia, despite their interest in Puerto de Santa María. The first duke of Medinaceli, Don Luis IV de la Cerda, took as his third wife his ex-mistress from the Puerto, Catalina Vique de Orejón,[2] but this was not a measure aimed at spreading his influence in the area. The Girón, on the other hand, made strenuous efforts to intermarry with the Andalusian upper nobility. Don Juan Pacheco, marquis of Villena, had begun the family's activity in the area by marrying his daughter Beatriz to the marquis of Cádiz, Don Rodrigo, thus cementing the two magnates' alliance against duke Enrique of Medina Sidonia, while his other daughter, Catalina, was married, as already mentioned, to Don Alonso de Aguilar, further to strengthen this party. However, it was the other line of this house, the Girón, counts of Urueña and lords of Osuna, which developed the policy. Doña Juana, the daughter of Don Juan Téllez Girón, second count of Urueña, married the first duke of Arcos, Don Rodrigo Ponce de León, while her elder sister married Don Luis Portocarrero, first count of Palma. Duke Rodrigo was afterwards married to another of count Juan Téllez's daughters,

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1. Abbot of Rute, Historia de la casa de Córdoba, Boletín de la Real Academia de Córdoba (BRAC), no.78, 1958, p.284 and no.82, 1961, p.359.

2. Francisco Fernández de Bethencourt, Historia genealógica y heráldica de la monarquía española, Casa Real y Grandes de España, 10 vols (Madrid, 1897-1920), vol.5, pp.181-231.

María, when plans to ally the Girón and the Guzmán were thwarted by the Crown between 1508 and 1513.[1]

The interest of these marriages, in terms of the political relations between the royal towns and the upper nobility is no more than theoretical unless specific examples of the results of such policies can be produced. This can fortunately be done in a small number of extremely interesting cases, two of which, in particular, merit discussion in some detail. The first concerns the relations between the marquis of Cádiz and the Suazo family, which held the señorío of the Puente de León, guarding access to Cádiz from the mainland.

The isla de Cádiz was never of agricultural importance, though palms were grown there, but, because of its geographical position, it was of great strategic interest to Cádiz. The regents for John II granted the señorío of Puente de León, with the rights to entail it as a mayorazgo, to Dr. Juan Sánchez de Suazo, an oidor of the consejo real, who was himself a regent, in 1408. According to a confirmation of the grant in 1411, Suazo received a fortified house, which had once been described as a castle, but was now in poor repair. As part of the general decline of the property, the Puente de León (or de Suazo) had apparently by this time fallen down, as the Suazo inherited the income from a ferry-boat to the mainland. Juan de Suazo, a Segovian by birth, settled in Andalusia and seems to have left the casa-fuerte, once more described as a castle, in much better repair, to his son, Pedro.

Pedro de Suazo, became a citizen of Jerez in 1437 and its council immediately warned the council of Cádiz, which was still, at this time, in the hands of the Crown, not to interfere with Pedro's access to the castle of La Puente, or with its food-supplies from the mainland. However, Pedro's relations with Jerez seem to have been somewhat ambiguous, as, when

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1. See chapter 10.

transmitting the *mayorazgo* to his son, Juan, in 1468, he complained of interference by Jerez with the provisioning of the castle. Juan duly inherited the *señorío*, by the terms of his father's will, dated 1 June 1475, but he seems to have moved immediately into the orbit of his powerful neighbour, the marquis of Cádiz, who had taken over the latter town in 1469. Juan married Mencía de Valdespino, who was descended from an old Jerez family, and his sons both served the marquis in responsible positions - Juan as *alcaide* of Cádiz and Alfonso as *alcaide* of Rota. The opportunity for the marquis to annex his servant's *señorío* occurred in 1490, when Fernando de Zurita, *veinticuatro* of Jerez, died without consummating his marriage with Doña Florentina, sister of the marquis. Juan de Suazo was immediately betrothed to Florentina, but at a price. His tiny *señorío* was of interest, not only to the marquis, but also to the Catholic Monarchs, who were anxious to regain a foothold on the bay of Cádiz, having been forced to accept Henry IV's alienation of the port itself and the duke of Medinaceli's control of Puerto de Santa María. The foundation of Puerto Real in 1484 was a step in this direction, but in 1490 the marquis was able to counteract this move by taking over the Puente de Suazo. Juan de Suazo was far too weak to resist him. In a document signed before the *escribano* of Cádiz council on 17 February 1490, which was clarified in another version on 11 August 1492, at Seville, Juan gave up the Puente de Suazo, to the marquis, in return for various rents in Jerez and Puerto de Santa María and a *regimiento* in Jerez, where his brother, Alfonso, was already a *jurado*. The marquis also offered Juan 240 *cahices* of wheat a year and houses in the *carpintería* of Jerez, which had belonged to the sons of Pedro de Vera, another supporter of the marquis, who had been governor of the Canary Islands and *regidor* of Jerez.

The property which the Marquis received as a result of this transaction consisted of the castle with its lands and jurisdiction, the ferry-boat and its revenues, salt-pans, vines and presses, *tributos* and *diezmos* and a half-share in a mill, jointly owned with Juan de Suazo's mother, Mencía de

Valdespino. The *regimiento* which Juan received in Jerez was vacant because Pedro Díaz de Villacreces had died without using a faculty which he had received from the Crown in 1478, to resign the office to his son, Fernando de Villacreces. The Crown had granted the office to Suazo, presumably at the request of the marquis, in May 1489, well before the exchange was actually effected. Juan de Suazo was unwilling to leave the tomb of his father in the *señorío* and he and his brother Alfonso agreed with the friars of St.Francis, Jerez, that they would build them a new sacristy if they could use the old one as a family mausoleum. This eventually contained the tombs of Juan de Suazo and his wife, Doña Florentina Ponce de León, as well as that of Pedro de Suazo. Juan took possession of his new properties in Jerez on 24 February, 1491.[1] The whole story illustrated the point that the political activities of the upper nobility in Andalusia were unabated after 1478.

Another such case, which proved to be of the greatest importance in the history of the Córdoba area after 1500, was the annexation of the *señorío* of Valenzuela by the count of Cabra. The Valenzuela family had come to the Córdoba area at the time of the reconquest. The date of the grant of the *señorío* to the family is not known, but in the fourth generation after this, the line reached an heiress. She married Martín Sánchez de Castro and their desdendents bore the name of Valenzuela.[2] The family became closely involved with the house of Baena and in the later fifteenth century Juan Pérez de Valenzuela was *maestresala* (household steward) to the count of Cabra.[3] However, the rival house of Aguilar was also interested in the *señorío* and, between them, the two great houses extinguished its independence.

On 5 May 1501, Alfonso Fernández de Valenzuela, lord of Valenzuela,

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1. Diego Manuel de Zurita, "La isla de Cádiz en el siglo XV", *Hispania*, 7, no.27 (1947), pp.222-55. AMJ Actas 13.9.1437, 21.1.1468. For the Jerez *regimiento* of Juan de Suazo, RGS 15.11.1478, 26.5.1489, AMJ Actas 19.2.1490.

2. Bethencourt, *op.cit.*, vol.7, pp.233-4n.

3. Abbot of Rute, *op.cit.*, BRAC, no.82, 1961, p.300.

made an agreement with Doña Francisco de Zúñiga, countess of Cabra, to sell her the *lugar* of Valenzuela.[1] The price was to be 30,000 mrs per *yugada* of land, 5,000 mrs per *vecino* and 150,000 mrs for every 1000 mrs of rent produced by the town. However, he seems to have repented of this transaction, as on 15 June 1501, he made another agreement with Don Pedro Fernández de Córdoba, marquis of Priego, whereby he put all his property, including the castle and town of Valenzuela, under the protection of the marquis and became his vassal, agreeing to serve the marquis, when summoned, with six lances (horsemen), in return for an *acostamiento* of 40,000 mrs per annum.[2] Alfonso stated in the document concerned that he made this agreement because he was, "fatigued by the annoyance (*molestias*) given (him) by the count of Cabra, over the jurisdiction of the said *lugar* of Valenzuela". As a result of the count's pressure, he had agreed to sell Valenzuela to the house of Cabra, but he now formally withdrew his approval of this agreement, replacing it with his arrangement with the marquis of Priego.[3]

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1. RAH Salazar M-49 fols 72v-73v.

2. RAH Salazar K-37 fols 191-191v. "Quanto alo primero, quel dicho Señor Don Pedro recivío por suio de vivienda al dicho Alfonso Fernández y le prometió de dar y pagar en cada un año de acostamiento 40,000 mrs, y de hacer por él y por sus cosas como por verdadero pariente y criado, poniendo por la conservación y acrecentamiento de aquellas su posibilidad y fuerzas, toda hora que se ofresca y sea menester, y quando por el dicho Alonso Fernández será requerido; segund quel buen séñor lo debe hacer a fiel y verdadero servidor." "Yten. El dicho Alonso Fernández, por razón de la dicha vivienda y asiento, puso su persona, casa y bienes, muebles y raices, y la fortaleza y lugar de Valenzuela devajo la protección y amparo del dicho Don Pedro, y su merced recivió a él y a ellos, y prometió de le aiudar de fecho y de dicho. Y que si pleito o pleitos le están y fueren movidos por qualesquier personas sobre la jurisdicción y lugar de Valenzuela, el dicho Don Pedro prometió de le ayudar y favorescer en ellos, dándole letrado y procurador donde quier que se trataren, y pagándole todas las costas necesarias a los tales pleitos y la gente que para ello oviere menester" (copy of Salazar's transcription of papers from the archive of Priego, now in the Casa de Pilatos, Seville).

3. *Ibid.*, fol.191v.

In the event, this confused situation was resolved as a part of the general reconciliation of the long-standing rivals, the houses of Aguilar and Baena. The negotiations were conducted, on the side of the marquis of Priego, by Don Enrique Enríquez, his father-in-law and the uncle of Ferdinand, who acted not merely in the interest of family peace, but also with the full support of the Crown, which was anxious to secure permanent stability in the kingdom of Córdoba. Don Enrique first of all attempted to secure the implementation of an agreement which had been made at Granada between the young count and the dowager countess of Cabra, on the one hand and the marquis of Priego on the other. This had included the handing over of Valenzuela to the house of Baena, in return for the demolition of its castle. However, Alfonso Fernández de Valenzuela had not proved willing to sacrifice his patrimony in the interests of peace between the two great noble houses and although he had duly agreed (as noted above) to sell Valenzuela to the house of Baena, he had since attempted to extricate himself by concluding an agreement which made him a vassal of the marquis of Priego, no doubt hoping to profit from the marquis's misgivings about the general peace. As the vassal of the marquis, he would give up a political independence which had, in any case, long been illusory, because of his involvement with the counts of Cabra, but he would not have to lose Valenzuela and see its castle demolished. However, Don Enrique Enríquez was determined to see the sale and demolition go through, and was ordered by the Catholic Monarchs to hold the castle of Valenzuela until the agreement between Alfonso Fernández and the countess of Cabra had been implemented. Don Enrique extracted a promise from the young count of Cabra that he would demolish the castle as soon as he took possession of the lugar and Enrique informed the marquis of this promise by means of a letter from Seville, dated 22 February 1502, in which he stated baldly that the agreement would go through regardless of Alfonso Fernández de Valenzuela's views on the matter.[1] Don Enrique also told the marquis in this letter that

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1. RAH Salazar M-49 fols 75v-76v. "Si (Alonso Fernández) no quisiere cunplir, que en tal caso ayan efecto (the Granada clauses)".

he had summoned Alfonso to Seville to settle the matter, telling him this was a royal command. In addition, he wrote to Fernán Páez de Castillejo, a *regidor* of Córdoba, asking him to use his good offices to persuade Alfonso to come to Seville and effect the sale of the *lugar*, adding that a royal *cédula* which he had in his possession, summoning Alfonso to Court, would be complied with if he came to Seville for this purpose.[1]

Alfonso duly succumbed to the combined pressure of the monarchs, the king's uncle, and the houses of Aguilar and Baena, and gave up his *señorío*. With this petty obstacle removed, a general peace was made between the marquis of Priego and the count of Cabra, at Seville, on 3 March 1502. This fulfilled the wishes of the second count of Cabra, as expressed, shortly before his death, in his will, which was made at Baena on 4 April 1487, that the rivalry between the two great houses of Córdoba should cease.[2] The count's mention, as an example to be followed, of the current reconciliation between the rival bands in Espejo, a town of the *alcaide de los donceles*, is the strongest possible evidence for the continuance of noble rivalries after 1478. At Seville in 1502, the new heads of the two houses publicly buried their predecessors' rivalries and it was agreed that a messenger should be sent to

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1.RAH Salazar M-49 fols 75v-76v.

2.Abbot of Rute, *op.cit.*, BRAC, no.82, 1961, p.356. "Otrosí, mando e ruego a don Diego mi heredero tenga en lugar de padre e de hermano al Señor Martín Alonso mi hermano, e a su hijo Alonso Fernández (lords of Alcaudete), e tenga amor a Egas, señor de Luque, e a su hijo mi sobrino, e a mi primo Alonso de Córdoba, señor de Zuheros, ame e trate bien. Mando e aconsejo e ruego a don Diego mi heredero e a los otros mis hijos, que siempre trabajen por estar en toda paz con don Alonso, señor de la Casa de Aguilar, e con sus hijos e Gonzalo Fernández su hermano, e el señor mi sobrino, el alcaide de los donceles, pues todos son de un linaje e naturales de Córdoba, e Dios Nuestro Señor e el Rey e la Reina nuestros señores de ello serán servidos, e aquella cibdad e tierra donde viven tanto aprovechada, e sus honras e haciendas e estados con la paz conservados e criados, tomando por ejemplo a Espejo, en que se miran de los bandos e diferencias pasadas e cuanto mal se resarció, ofendiendo a las ánimas, que es lo principal, e gastando las haciendas, y no mirándose el bien general de la tierra, a que todos son obligados a mirar."

obtain from the Crown a licence for the agreement for the sale of Valenzuela to the house of Cabra to be implemented.[1] On the same day, the marquis and the count of Cabra agreed a series of articles between themselves.[2] Firstly, in accordance with a general royal directive to the Córdoban nobility[3], the two lords agreed not to acquire any property within each other's _señoríos_, or less than a league (about 5½ km.) from the territory of the other. They also agreed not to harbour malefactors escaping from each other's land, not to receive each other's vassals except by mutual consent, and to settle all future disputes between them by diplomacy and not by force. The importance of this peace agreement for the future of Córdoba and district will be discussed below, but the whole Valenzuela affair serves to illustrate the real political influence still exercised by the upper nobility in the area under Ferdinand and Isabella and that the Monarchs apparently had no choice but to accept this situation.

The will of the second count of Cabra mentions the line-up of branches of the house of Córdoba in the two bands of Aguilar and Baena. The Aguilar faction included the _alcaide de los donceles_, while the lords of Alcaudete and Zuheros, as well as the Venegas of Luque, were supporters of the counts of Cabra. These groupings dated from the reign of Henry IV. It is more difficult however, to establish which of the office-holding families of Córdoba were on each side and the following assessment is offered merely as an approximate idea of the situation.

It is known that the Cabra party was present in Córdoba for the visit of Henry IV, during which a document of reconciliation was signed by the _caballeros_ of the city.[4] It is also known that the _cabristas_ were

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1. RAH Salazar M-49 fols 76v-77v.
2. AHN Osuna leg. 873 no.8 (original).
3. AMC Actas 14.2.1500, 9. 10.1500.
4. AMC 1-2-43.

expelled three months later, in October 1469, by Don Alonso de Aguilar.[1] Lists of members of Córdoba council during the period of the expulsion survive in the Córdoba cathedral archive. One is to be found in the excommunication of Don Alonso, together with various members of the council, by the bishop of Córdoba, Don Pedro de Solier, who was expelled from the city by Don Alonso for supporting his cousin, the count of Cabra. This document is dated 1 July 1472.[2] A document lifting the excommunication issued by the bishop, on 24 September 1475, contains council lists for 21 June 1473, 6 November 1473 and 18 August 1475.[3] If these later lists are compared with that of the signatories of the 1469 agreement, the absentees after 1469 include members of the Aguayo, Angulo, Argote, Aranda, Bermúdez, Cabrera, Castro, Figueroa, Godoy, Heredia, Mayorga, Molina, Noguera, Ramírez, De los Ríos, Méndez de Sotomayor, Vargas, Velasco and Venegas families. Those who remained in Córdoba with Don Alonso de Aguilar included more of the Aguayo, Angulo and Argote, and members of the Baeza, Berrio, Cabrera, Cárcamo, Cárdenas, Castillejo Castillo, Cea, Figueroa, Gahete, Godoy, Herrera, Hinestrosa, Hoces, Infantas, Luna, Mesa, Molina, Parias, De los Ríos, Sosa, Méndez de Sotomayor, Tafur, Torreblanca and De la Torre families. It will be noted that a number of families were apparently involved on both sides in the conflict. This was inevitable, given the fact that most of the leading families in the city had arrived at the reconquest and thus had had time to develop several branches. The conflict between the house of Aguilar and the house of Baena itself arose out of what had once been a single family.

More concrete evidence of links between Córdoba office-holders and the upper nobility is only fragmentary. One indication is the holding by Córdoba regidores or jurados of important offices in señorío. Don Alonso

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1. Ladero, Andalucía, p.135.

2. ACC Caj. S no.39.

3. ACC Caj. H-VII no. 149.

de Aguilar's treasurer (contador) was Alfonso Fernández de Córdoba, jurado of St. Mary's and not himself a member of the house of Córdoba.[1] Relatives of Juan de Frías, who was regidor of Córdoba from 1480 until after 1497, were established in señorio in Alcaudete. Diego de Frías was alcaide of the town in 1464 and Martín de Frías in 1477, when he too became a veinticuatro (acrecentado)of Córdoba.[2]

Just as members of the same family might support different bands, individuals saw no objection to developing special links with a noble and with the Crown at the same time. Thus Gonzalo de Ayora, who was royal chronicler and first commander of the reformed royal guard, was nonetheless described in a royal document of 1475 as a servant of the count of Cabra.[3] The Mesa, a family whose members stayed in Córdoba with Don Alonso de Aguilar, at a time when he was opposing the avowed supporter of the king's cause, the count of Cabra,were nonetheless deeply committed in the royal service. Gonzalo de Mesa, regidor of Córdoba, was also a chancery official (registrador) of Henry IV, in succession to his father, Alfonso Fernández de Mesa, who had also been alcaide de los reales alcázares in Córdoba.[4] Fernán Carrillo de Córdoba, regidor of Córdoba, guarda mayor of Henry IV and captain of Ferdinand and Isabella's royal guard, made an alliance with the count of Cabra on 11 February 1482 which illustrates this combination of apparently contradictory political positions,

> I, Fernán Carrillo, captain of the King and Queen our lord and lady, and their veinticuatro in the most noble city of Córdoba, considering the kinship (deudo) and great love and friendship which my lords, Ferrand Carrillo de Córdoba, my grandfather, and Gonzalo Carrillo de Córdoba, veinticuatro of the said city of Córdoba, my father,may they rest in peace, had towards the lords of the house of Baena, from which they came

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1. APC 14-16-5 fols 29-30.

2. Abbot of Rute, op.cit., BRAC, 90, 1970, pp.533-4. RGS 14.2.1477.

3. RGS 9.11.1475.

4. Alberto and Arturo García Carraffa, Enciclopedia heráldica y genealógica hispano-americana, 88 vols (Madrid , 1957-63), vol. 56, pp.232-6.

> and I came and I come, (make this alliance), renewing the greater friendship (mayor amistad) consonant with the debdo and relationship (parentesco) which I have with the lord count of Cabra and lord of the house of Baena."[1]

Unfortunately, it is not possible to provide information about the support for the Guzmán and Ponce factions, although isolated examples of Ponce supporters - the Suazo and Vera - have been noted. It does appear that similar methods were used in Jerez, however, and that relating to the filling of offices has already been mentioned. Like their colleagues in Córdoba, office-holders in Jerez sometimes held responsible posts in señorío and two such cases will be described briefly to conclude this chapter. Francisco Adorno, member of a family of Genoese origin, which had settled in Andalusia, was jurado of St. Mark's Jerez. He was the marquis of Cádiz's agent in the Suazo affair, which has already been discussed[2] and his links with the Ponce de León family are mentioned in a document from after his death,[3] in which Don Juan Ponce de León, a citizen of Seville and apparently a son of count Juan of Arcos, announced that he would collect debts totalling 10,000 mrs, for unknown causes, from the heirs of Francisco, who had contracted them.

The links between Juan de Herrera, regidor of Jerez, and the marquis of Cádiz are made explicit in Juan's will, dated 19 September 1507.[4] Herrera acknowledged at the outset his debts to the marquis and his heirs from the time of "the differences he had with the duke of Medina Sidonia", which were described in detail in another document, unfortunately not preserved. He refers also to a gift from the marquis, which he received for his service in a cavalry raid on the Puerto de Santa María, under the command of Pedro de Vera. The gift was a ring worth fifty doblas castellanas (about

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1. Bethencourt, op.cit., vol.8, p.482.
2. Zurita, op.cit.
3. APJ 1507 fol.419v.
4. APJ 1507 fols 379-383.

18,000 mrs) from the marquis's fifth share of the booty. As additional evidence of Herrera's good standing with the marquis, the will records that he, the marchioness and their retinue attended the marriage of Juan's daughter to Pedro Riquel. The proud father spent 10,000 mrs on feeding the Ponce contingent for two days.

Other examples might be given of the extent and nature of the upper nobility's influence in the royal towns of Andalusia after 1478, but it must now be clear that, while there were no conspicuous conflicts between noble factions from then until 1500, the network of patronage which provided support for earlier battles remained intact. The danger that the bands would be revived was ever present.

Chapter Nine

THE RESURGENCE OF THE UPPER NOBILITY AFTER 1500

The progress of the Catholic Monarchs through Andalusia in 1477-8 showed every sign to the superficial onlooker of ending the hegemony of the Ponce, Guzmán, Aguilar and Baena parties in the kingdoms of Seville and Córdoba. However, it has already been shown that the introduction of corregidores to the royal towns on a regular and permanent basis and the effective expulsion from these towns of the upper noble office-holders, together with the restoration to the Crown of castles which had been ururped by nobles during the civil wars, had not been sufficient to remove noble influence from the towns. The magnates still possessed their offices, at least in theory, and their substructure of patronage in the towns was unaffected by the royal measures.

Nonetheless, there were hopeful signs, from the Crown's point of view. The marquis of Cádiz did not appear in Jerez after October 1477 and Don Alonso de Aguilar, the count of Cabra and the other *voces mayores* were absent from Córdoba council meetings, at least in the years for which records survive, that is, 1479, 1493, 1495 and thereafter. Up to about 1500, the *corregidores* and councils were, at least apparently, left to go about their business, free of noble interference. The year 1492 was particularly auspicious, because, not only was the mighty war effort in Granada brought to an end, but also three of the great noble houses with interests in Andalusia lost their *señores*.

Almost as soon as the conquest of Granada was completed, on 8 February 1492, Don Pedro Enríquez, *adelantado mayor* of Andalusia, died in the camp of Santa fe and was succeeded by his son, Francisco Enríquez de Ribera.[1] On 25 August, duke Enrique, 'el Magnífico', of Medina Sidonia, died in his palace at Sanlúcar and his son, Juan, became dike in his stead.[2] Two days

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1. Joaquín González Moreno, "Don Fadrique Enríquez de Ribera", *Archivo Hispalense*, 122 (1963), p.208.

2. Andrés Bernáldez, *Memorias de los Reyes Católicos*, ed.Manuel Gómez-Moreno and Juan de Mata Carriazo (Madrid, 1962), pp.235-6.

later, the marquis of Cádiz, Don Rodrigo Ponce de León, also died, in his houses at Seville. However, he did not have an heir by either of his two wives, Doña Beatriz de Marmolejo and Doña Beatriz Pacheco, daughter of the marquis of Villena. Soon after Rodrigo's death, his younger brother, Don Manuel Ponce de León, lodged a claim to the whole Arcos mayorazgo with the consejo real.[1] This move revived old disputes about the Ponce inheritance. The second count of Arcos, Don Juan Ponce de León, had also failed to produce a legitimate heir, although he had fathered twenty-five children by various mothers. However, in 1469, two years before he died, he married one of these women, Leonor Núñez, and thus was able to leave a mayorazgo to Rodrigo, the son of this couple, who was now legitimised. However, according to the will of Juan's father, Don Pedro, first count of Arcos, if Juan died without legitimate heirs, the mayorazgo was to go to his brother Don Luis, lord of Villagarcía, and his descendents. Juan persuaded Luis to abandon any claim he might have to the inheritance, in return for a large quantity of cash and plate, but it was agreed that if Rodrigo died without legitimate heirs, the mayorazgo would pass to Manuel or to Rodrigo's other brothers, in order of age.

Although he did indeed lack legitimate heirs, Rodrigo had three illegitimate daughters by Inés de la Fuente, of Marchena, and the eldest of these, Francisca, was married to her cousin, Luis Ponce, the grandson of the Luis mentioned above. This marriage merged the Villagarcía claims with the Arcos line, in the person of this couple's son, also called Rodrigo, but it did not deal with the possible claims of Manuel ('el Valiente'), who believed that count Juan and Leonor Núñez were married before he was conceived, which would have given him a better claim than Rodrigo, the elder. Such was her fear of Manuel, that as soon as Rodrigo died, Doña Beatriz Pacheco, his widow, who had the tutelage of the younger Rodrigo, put the late marquis's brother in prison, from which he was rescued after intervention by the Hermandad.[2]

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1. RGS 22.11.1492.

2. Ladero, Andalucía ,pp.22-5.

Manuel's presentation of his claims to the *consejo real* gave Ferdinand and Isabella an opportunity to intervene, their main aim being to regain control of Cádiz for the Crown. Manuel proved to be a useful instrument of royal policy, as it appears that, by encouraging his hopes of dispossessing the marquis of Cádiz's grandson, the Monarchs were able to obtain from Manuel the surrender of Cádiz. As already mentioned, Manuel made an approach to the *consejo real* in November 1492, and it is interesting to note that he is referred to in this document as the count of Arcos, as though his claim had been successful. Manuel was not, however, called the marquis of Cádiz (Rodrigo had been made duke of Cádiz by the Catholic Monarchs, but continued to be known as the marquis, or *marqués-duque*). On 12 December 1492, Manuel, 'count of Arcos', surrendered to the Crown the town, fortress and jurisdiction of Cádiz, admitting the royal case that Henry IV's grant to Rodrigo Senior was 'by way of contract' and not an outright alienation. Rodrigo was thus not able to transmit it to his heirs in *mayorazgo*.[1]

Having achieved their goal, Ferdinand and Isabella were prepared to settle the Ponce succession in favour of the marquis's grandson Rodrigo, confirming Doña Beatriz Pacheco's position as his *tutora*, with care of his goods. The compensation which the Crown offered to Rodrigo for the loss of Cádiz was somewhat inadequate, but he had no choice but to accept it. The title of duke of Cádiz was replaced by that of duke of Arcos, and Rodrigo was granted, in perpetuity, (*juro de heredad*), the town of Casares, which the Crown had sold to his grandfather on 24 August 1491, for ten million *maravedíes*. This money was to be returned.[2] Don Manuel, abandoned by the Crown after serving his purpose, did not give up his efforts to obtain the Arcos *mayorazgo*, but he could achieve little without royal support. In 1498, the Monarchs agreed to allow Beatriz Pacheco to take no part in a case which Manuel had brought

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1. AHN Osuna leg. 286-3, no.3 (copy made at Toledo, 12.7.1596).
2. AGS *Patronato Real*, cat.nos 1103, 1108, 1109.

against her in the *audiencia* of Ciudad Real.[1] The action was continued by Manuel and his descendents, but to no avail. It is reasonable to conclude that the political situation in Andalusia was particularly encouraging from the Crown's point of view, after 1492, because of the royal triumph in the Ponce case. The second most important family in Andalusia was headed by a minor, and one of the most valuable ports in the area, Cádiz, had been detached from the Ponce *señorío* as a result of the exploitation by the Crown of disputes and rivalries within the family.

The balance of power in the region thereafter remained in the Crown's favour, but after 1500 the situation began to deteriorate. The first sign of danger was a series of bad harvests. The parish priest of Los Palacios, Andrés Bernáldez, was in a good position to record natural conditions in the area. He notes a bad harvest in 1502 and a deteriorating situation thereafter, until the climax was reached with the drought of 1506-7 and the plague of the latter year.[2] The Crown attempted to lay down a *tasa* (scale of prices) for grain in 1502, but the statutory prices of 110 mrs per *fanega* of wheat, 60 mrs for barley and 70 mrs for rye were rapidly overtaken by events.[3] Bernáldez states that the actual price of wheat had reached over 300 mrs a *fanega* in Medina del Campo, before Isabella died there in November 1504. The larger towns, such as Córdoba and Jerez, experienced serious shortages quite soon and the records in Córdoba show how the nobility exploited these difficulties for its own political gain.

The first indication of trouble in Córdoba was the banning of the export of grain in November 1502. At this time, the price of a *fanega* of wheat in Córdoba was 136 mrs and of barley 68 mrs. In February 1503, the

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1. AHN Osuna leg. 1596 no.2 (original *cédula*).

2. Bernáldez, *op.cit.*, pp.515-19, 482-4.

3. See Ladero, "Los cereales en Andalucía", and ch.6 above, also E. Ibarra y Rodríguez, *El problema cerealista en España* (Madrid, 1944).

royal *tasa* was published in the town, involving only a small reduction in prices, but in the following month the council ordered a *cala de pan*, or inspection of the houses of the wealthy for stored grain, which then had to be brought to the public granary (*alhóndiga*) for sale. In April, the first recourse was had to the upper nobility, when a delegation went to Doña Catalina Pacheco, the widow of Don Alonso de Aguilar, seeking grain for the town. By 17 April, her son, the marquis of Priego, who was now *alcalde mayor* of Córdoba, had supplied 3,000 *fanegas* of grain and other nobles had also been approached by the council with a view to their bringing supplies to the *alhóndiga*. Om 15 April, Martín Alonso de Montemayor, the brother of the lord of Alcaudete, was repaid 150,000 mrs which he had lent the town for the purpose of buying grain. After this, appeals were made to the nobles every year up to 1506, those involved including the count of Cabra, the *alcaide de los donceles*, Alfonso Fernández de Córdoba, lord of Alcaudete, and his namesake of Zuheros. Lesser lords, such as Alonso de los Ríos, Alfonso Pérez de Saavedra, Diego de Aguayo and Francisco Cabrera were also involved, on a smaller scale.[1] By 1506, all supplies of grain in the area were completely exhausted and in order to dsave the population, the council sent a messenger to Cádiz to negotiate with Genoese merchants for supplies. Aid from the nobility, now purely financial, was still forthcoming. In June, Córdoba received a licence to buy 90,000 *fanegas* of wheat from Sicily, but the council had no money to pay for it. The royal documents were therefore handed over to the marquis of Priego, so that he could pay for the transport of the shipment from Málaga, keeping half for himself. On 21 June, 30,000 *fanegas* arrived in Córdoba, being sold at 310 mrs a *fanega*. After this, the city was supplied by Genoese from Seville, but it will soon be shown that the readiness of the magnates to assist the town was not without its political consquences. The behaviour of the marquis of Priego is particularly important in this connection.[2]

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1. AMC Actas 18.5.1506, 6.6.1506, 21.6.1506.

2. See chapter 10.

It would be reasonable to suppose that the uncertainty over the succession after Isabella's death would encourage a greater boldness among the leading noble houses of Andalusia, as similar problems had done in the reign of Henry IV. The rapid death of Philip I and the ensuing doubts about the queen's sanity and the role of Ferdinand in Castile did indeed contribute to instability in the region, but the reappearance of the magnates in its politics in fact began before Isabella's death, when there was no reason to suppose that the balance of power which had been established in 1477-8 and confirmed after 1492 would not continue indefinitely. Perhaps the most obvious sign of this return was the appearance of the marquis of Priego in council meetings in Córdoba. On 7 October 1501, as soon as his father had been killed in the Moorish revolt in the Sierra Bermeja, Don Pedro Fernández was granted Don Alonso's office of alcalde mayor of Córdoba, as well as the title of marquis of Priego, an honour which Don Alonso himself had never gained. The new marquis was received as alcalde mayor by a full session of Córdoba council on 27 October 1501. After receiving the wand (vara) of office, Don Pedro went to his lodgings in the bishop's palace, accompanied by the corregidor and council.[1] This statement implies that the marquis at this stage continued the policy of his father, in not attending council meetings and indeed he was not present at any meeting until 1504. The early negotiations with the marquis over grain supplies were conducted outside Córdoba. This was still the situation in July 1504, but on 18 November of that year, the marquis attended a meeting of the council, although there was still a corregidor in the city. It might be thought that Don Pedro was profiting from the departure of the queen, but her death did not occur until 26 November and Córdoba council only received news of the event from Ferdinand on 4 December, when Diego López Dávalos's term as corregidor was extended. The city formally raised Joanna's standard as queen on 8 December, in the presence of the corregidor , the marquis of

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1. AMC Actas 27.10.1501.

Priego, the count of Cabra and the *alcaide de los donceles*, as *voces mayores*, and thirty-three *regidores* and twenty-nine *jurados*.[1]

It is impossible to tell, from the evidence at present available, whether the marquis acted in this way because he had heard of Isabella's ill-health and, being aware, as all those concerned in politics at his level must have been, of the doubts about Joanna's future, hoped for a relaxation in royal control. However, leaving aside the possible prophetical powers of the marquis, there is no doubt that he began at this point to attend council-meetings, though by no means all. He was absent for the rest of 1504, but in 1505 he appeared on 3 February, 20 February, four times in late July, twice in late August and once at the beginning of September. By early 1506, the grain shortage had caused a serious situation in Córdoba and on 18 March, the *corregidor* told the council that 600 Swiss soldiers (*çoyços*)[2] were available to quell riots over food in the *tierra* of Córdoba. At this time, a number of *regidores* left the town, presumably to protect their own property from attack, and on 10 June 1506, they were followed by the *corregidor* himself.

Thus it was that on 15 June the royal provision of *corregidores* or *pesquisidores* broke down for the first time since Francisco Valdés's appointment in 1478. The marquis of Priego, as *alcalde mayor* and the count of Cabra as *alguacil mayor*, took the *varas* from the officials of the *corregidor*, though the previous *alcalde mayor*, Lic.Andrés de Palacio, said that they should not have them without a specific royal command. There was some discussion in the council about the propriety of the nobles' action, which in itself indicates the success of the intervening period of stable royal government in erasing the former system of seignorial control. The deputy *escribano del concejo*, Diego Rodríguez, recorded in the *actas* that Martín Alonso de Montemayor declared himself to be in favour of the new arrangement, unless he saw a royal document which forbade it, and this view prevailed in the meeting,

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1. AMC Actas 15.7.1504, 18.11.1504, 4.12.1504, 8.12.1504.

2. AMC Actas 18.3.1506. These may have been infantry equipped in the Swiss style, rather than troops of that nationality.

so that the former magistrates withdrew, leaving the marquis and count in charge. It is worth bearing in mind that without the reconciliation of the Aguilar and Baena houses, which had been partly engineered by the Crown, in 1502, a united noble government of Córdoba would almost certainly not have been possible at this stage.

The period of control by the marquis and count, who had appeared in council for the first time to accompany Don Pedro on this occasion, lasted only until Don Diego Osorio was received as *corregidor* on 19 August,[1] but its importance lies in the fact that in some sense it broke the spell which had kept the upper nobility from direct involvement in urban politics. The arguments used to justify the take-over were set down in a memorandum, presented to Córdoba council by Gonzalo de Hoces, the city's *procurador mayor*.[2] They were twofold, firstly that Dávalos had absented himself from the city secretly, without informing the council as he was required to do, and secondly that, in view of his absence, the intervention of the magnates was essential to preserve order in the current difficult situation. Such views bear a marked resemblance to those generally held in the latter years of Henry IV's reign.

The argument about disorder seems to have been honestly held, because in March 1507, when the plague threatened, a formal *requerimiento* was issued by the council to the *corregidor* to remain in the town and not escape like his predecessor.[3] This suggests that, in such an emergency, strong government would be welcomed from whichever quarter it came. However, the marquis and count were given occasion to intervene once more when, on 25 August 1507, the *corregidor*, who had left the area in April, after the worst of the plague had passed, failed to return when a document extending his term was presented to the council. The marquis seems to have intended to make a political challenge to the authority

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1. AMC Actas.
2. AMC Actas 1506, fol.72v.
3. AMC Actas 24.3.1507.

of Ferdinand as administrator of the Crown of Castile, because, in expelling Osorio's officials from the council-chamber, he stated for the record that he would only accept the _corregidor's_ extension if it was commanded by the queen, "by her letter patent, signed with her royal name, as is customary with the provision of offices of _corregimiento_".[1] This, he must surely have known, was impossible, and the gesture may not be unconnected with the news of Ferdinand's arrival in Valencia from Italy, which had been received by the council on 19 August. Whatever the truth of the matter, the marquis ruled the town, together with Don Antonio de Córdoba, who deputised for his brother, the count of Cabra, until in December 1507, Diego López Dávalos returned to the post which he had deserted in 1506, armed, ironically, with a royal provision given in Joanna's name, but signed, as usual, by Ferdinand. This was accepted without demur by the marquis and Don Antonio.[2]

The third episode in the progressive alienation of the marquis from the authority of the Crown is not recorded in the _actas capitulares_ of Córdoba, which do not survive, perhaps significantly, for the years 1508-9. However, the events of the summer of 1508 can be fairly well established from other sources. The chronicles of Bernáldez, Santa Cruz and Alcocer give accounts of varying length, but do not differ in their statement of the basic facts.[3] Bernáldez's account is used here, as it is contemporary, whereas Santa Cruz's chronicle of the Catholic Monarchs was not completed until 1551-3. Alcocer's account contains nothing which is not to be found in Bernáldez, except for one

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1. AMC Actas 25.8.1507.

2. AMC Actas 17.12.1507.

3. Bernáldez, _op.cit._ Alonso de Santa Cruz, _Crónica de los Reyes Católicos_ (a continuation of Pulgar's chronicle), ed. Juan de Mata Carriazo, 2 vols Seville, 1951. Pedro de Alcocer, _Relaciones de algunas cosas que pasaron en estos reinos desde que murío la reina católica doña Isabel hasta que se acabaron las comunidades en la ciudad de Toledo_, ed. Antonio Martín Gomero, (Seville Sociedad de Bibliófilos Andaluces, first series, 1872).

small incident, mentioned below, which may well be fictitious. Bernáldez is, however, supplemented by the *Libro de los Escribanos*, which is a contemporary account of events by two Jerez *escribanos*, Juan and Gonzalo Román, successively *escribanos del concejo*.[1] This source was used extensively by Spínola, in his seventeenth century manuscript history of Jerez.[2]

Bernáldez states that trouble arose in Córdoba in 1508 between the *corregidor*, Diego López Dávalos, and his men, and the members of the household of the bishop, Don Juan Daza. Violent incidents occurred and were investigated by Nuño de Argote, who held the *vara* of an *alcalde mayor* for the *alcaide de los donceles*. However, the marquis of Priego, "who followed, in friendship and favour, the party (*parcialidad*) of the bishop",[3] broke Nuño's staff, because he had not received it in the council chamber. Ferdinand heard of this affront to the dignity of the magistracy and decided, in view of the disorder prevailing in the town, to send an *alcalde* of the royal household, as *pesquisidor*, to investigate the marquis's behaviour. He formally ordered the marquis to leave Córdoba, but Don Pedro's reply was to arrest the *alcalde* and imprison him with the *alcalde* of the Hermandad, Juan Estrada. The marquis then took the royal official to the stronghold of the house of Aguilar at Montilla, announcing to the public that he was obeying the king's orders in leaving Córdoba and that the *alcalde* was accompanying him voluntarily. However, the marquis released the magistrate in Montilla and then returned to Córdoba.

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1. *Libro de istorias de los libros...en esta ilustre çibdad de diez años, comenzando del año de mil e quinientos fasta el de mil e quinientos e nueve años, de lo qual da testimonio Juan rromán, escrivano público, e del mismo cavildo, y sus tenientes, muy verdaderamente sacadas, y asy mismo da fee de algunos años desto, Gonçalo rromán, escrivano del dicho cavildo, padre del dicho Juan rromán* (Biblioteca municipal de Jerez, MS81, est.C, vol.1).

2. Padre Juan de Spínola, *Apuntes para la historia de Jerez de la Frontera*, MS, RAH 9-27-8-5420 or in AMJ.

3. Bernáldez, *op.cit.*, p.540.

Ferdinand decided that this defiance could not be tolerated and informed the Andalusian towns, including Córdoba and Jerez, in a cédula sent from Dueñas on 25 July 1508, that he was coming to the area to restore order. The royal towns were told to place their forces in readiness to assist in this process.[1] The king took the royal garrison of Burgos to Andalusia, this consisting of 600 hombres de armas , 400 jinetes , and 2,500-3,000 infantry. - hand-gunmen, crossbowmen and lancers. The marquis of Priego's brother, Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba (the Great Captain) had attempted a reconciliation, even persuading the marquis to come to Court and ask for Ferdinand's pardon, but the king refused to see him and kept him in captivity two leagues from the court.

The military expedition was therefore punitive in character and not aimed at restoring order. An original document survives in the library of the Real Academia de la Historia, giving the sentences which were meted out to the supporters of the marquis in this adventure.[2] He himself was condemned to perpetual banishment from Córdoba and from the whole of Andalusia and was deprived of all his offices - the alcaldía mayor and regimiento of Córdoba and the tenencia of the royal fortress of Antequera - and 300,000 mrs of juros in the rents of Córdoba. His fortresses were all confiscated by the king, and the castle of Montilla, in which the royal alcalde had been imprisoned, was demolished, despite the pleas of the Great Captain. Thirteen men, including Alonso de Cárcamo, Bernaldino de Bocanegra, Juan de Saavedra, two lawyers called Herrera and Mexía, Juan de Luna and two members of the Valenzuela family, were sentenced to death, with the confiscation of their goods and the demolition of their houses. Others, such as the alcaide of Montilla, who had received the prisoner, the jurado of St. James, Alonso Ruiz de Aguayo, who had led him out of town in chains, on a mule, and the alcalde of the

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1. "Cedulario del Rey Católico, 1508-9" (from RAH Salazar K-4), in Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia, vols 54-5, nos. 224-5.

2. RAH 9-1-1-A-12 (original and copy, dated 14.6.1652).

Hermandad, who had lent the marquis a horse for the occasion, were sentenced to lose limbs. The alférez of Córdoba, Don Diego de Córdoba, four regidores and two jurados, and several other members of leading Córdoba families, were sentenced to terms of imprisonment. The marquis was also condemned to pay the entire cost of the military expedition and of the subsequent trials, which was estimated at twenty million maravedíes.[1]

The reasons for the revolt and for the king's savage reaction are complex. Bernáldez's view was that the marquis bore a particular grudge against Ferdinand because he had not, in his view, adequately punished the Moors who had killed his father, Don Alonso de Aguilar, having spared their lives. Ferdinand had attempted to secure his loyalty by marrying him to Doña Elvira Enríquez, the daughter of the king's uncle, Don Enrique Enríquez, but family honour had led to rashness on the part of the young marquis.[2]

The earlier episodes of defiance, which in a sense prepared for this act of outright revolt, would fit in with this theory, but it seems probable that, while the marquis may well have felt as Bernáldez supposed about Ferdinand's treatment of his father's slayers, the issues involved were in reality rather wider. Alcocer recounts the story that, when resting at the Venta del Puerto del Mulador, on the way to Andalusia, Ferdinand began to feel misgivings about the expedition, fearing that the marquis might humiliate him. However, the comendador mayor of Castile, Hernando de Vega, heard what was in the king's mind and said to him, "My lord, to Córdoba, or to Aragon!"[3] Whether this incident really occurred or not, there is no doubt that many of the Andalusian magnates, including the marquis, were anxious that Ferdinand should not govern in Castile. Bernáldez states that, while on his 1508 expedition to Andalusia, Ferdinand discovered the league which had been formed after the death of Philip I in 1506,

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1. RAH 9-1-1-A-12 (original and copy, dated 14.6.1652), and Bernáldez, op.cit., pp.541-2.

2. Bernáldez, op.cit., pp.542-3.

3. Alcocer, op.cit., pp.26-7.

by the duke of Medina Sidonia, the count of Urueña, the count of Cabra, the archbishop of Seville and the marquis of Priego, whose copy survives in the Real Academia de la Historia.[1] The magnates refer to disorders, which had arisen elsewhere in Castile after Philip's death, and state that they feared similar outbreaks in Andalusia, which might be exploited by the Moors in North Africa and by the former subjects of the Moorish kingdom of Granada, who had already revolted on several occasions. They declared their readiness to defend the queen's authority in the region, but added that they doubted the authenticity of documents, recently received, summoning a Cortes, because they came, "without the signature of Her Highness, contrary to immemorial custom". This point is significant, because it provides the grounds for the marquis of Priego's refusal to accept Osorio's provision for an extra term as *corregidor*, in 1507.

Whilethe marquis of Priego and the count of Cabra were increasingly interfering in the government of Córdoba, there is evidence of other challenges to the royal authority, elsewhere in Andalusia, by the duke of Medina Sidonia, and the count of Urueña, who were also signatories of the 1506 'confederation'. After the restoration of Cádiz to the Crown in 1492, the main bone of contention in the region was Gibraltar, which was in dispute between the Guzmán and the Crown. The argument had begun when the town was recaptured from the Moors on 20 August 1462. Three parties intervened in this episode. One was a force of 400 knights from Jerez, under the command of its *corregidor*, Gonzalo Dávila, and the others were the forces of the duke of Medina Sidonia and the count of Arcos.[2] The attempt by the Jerez troops to claim the town for the Crown failed completely and the Ponce faction was unable to press home the

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1. Bernáldez, *op.cit.*, p.542. RAH Salazar K-37 fols 196-7.

2. The ensuing account is based, except where otherwise stated, on the article by J.L. Cano de Gardoquí and A. de Bethencourt, "La incorporación de Gibraltar a la corona de Castilla (1436-1503)", *Hispania*, 26 (1966), pp.325-81.

advantage it had gained because the count of Arcos's son was the first to enter Gibraltar. The Guzmán claimed possession because the town had first been reconquered, in 1309 by Alfonso Pérez de Guzmán, the founder of the house. Also, in 1436, Don Enrique Pérez de Guzmán, the second count of Niebla, had died before its walls in an attempt to recapture it. Finally, in the 1462 attack, it was the duke of Medina Sidonia who had received the surrender of the fortress. At Agreda, on 15 December 1462, Henry IV attempted to solve the problem by taking Gibraltar for the Crown, adding Algeciras to its territory and attempting to persuade the inhabitants of Jerez and Tarifa, whose lands adjoined those of Gibraltar, to settle there. The king appointed Don Beltrán de la Cueva as alcaide, with Esteban de Villacreces as his deputy. This snub may well have precipitated duke Juan of Medina Sidonia into the camp of the pretender Alfonso in 1465, but in any case, the duke sent an army in 1467, complete with artillery, which conquered the fortress. This force was under the command of his son, Enrique. Prince Alfonso promptly ratified the conquest, but died soon after, as did duke Juan, but Enrique, on succeeding to the title, secured from Henry, in return for supporting his cause, a privilege, dated 3 June 1469, granting him Gibraltar. However, there was a significant clause in the document concerned, which stated that, as the grant was for military purposes, the dukes would receive money towards the cost of the garrison, but that if the Moorish territories in Spain were ever reconquered, "in such a manner that the said payments were no longer necessary...the said maravedíes shall return to me". The grant was made, "reserving in me and for me, and for the kings who may be after me in these kingdoms, the sovereign señorío which is owed to me and to them, as to a king and sovereign lord". The interest of the port to the Guzmán was not merely its military position at the entry to the Mediterranean, but also its importance as the site of tunny-fisheries, which were supplied with wood from Castellar and Jimena, for the repair of boats and the manufacture of barrels, not only for tunny but also for wine. Gibraltar fitted well into the chain of ports in which the dukes traded with Breton and Flemish merchants.

At the beginning of their reign, Ferdinand and Isabella needed the duke's support to keep Andalusia safe from the Portuguese threat, and on 30 September 1478, they gave him the title of marquis of Gibraltar. However, in the long term, it was inevitable that the Crown should attempt to regain control of such an important site. The Monarchs' interest greatly increased after 1492, when their foreign policy concerns shifted towards involvement in Italy and need to prevent a Muslim counter-attack from North Africa. Isabella made her first move in 1490, offering duke Enrique Utrera, in exchange for Gibraltar. He refused, but his death in August 1492 gave the Crown another chance. The Catholic Monarchs refused to confirm the Medina Sidonia _señorío_ to his son, Juan, unless he renounced Gibraltar. Juan refused and it appears that, for a time, the Crown did not press the point. Like Ferdinand and Isabella, the duke was anxious to use Gibraltar for operations against North Africa, capturing Melilla in 1497, by means of an expedition sent from there.

It is not clear why the actual takeover of Gibraltar by the Crown, in 1501-2, was not resisted by the duke, who had successfully prevented it from carrying out, in 1492, a manoeuvre similar to that whereby Cádiz was regained in the same year. In December 1501, Isabella told one Garcilaso de la Vega to take possession for her, appointing him governor of Gibraltar on 1 January 1502. In 1503, the town was placed under the _corregidor_ of Ronda and Marbella, Luis Venegas. The Crown started immediately to resettle the town, giving out its lands in a new _repartimiento_, but the queen's death put the whole plan in jeopardy. Philip's anxiety to woo the nobles, in order to gain support in his new kingdom, gave the duke hope of recovering Gibraltar and on 29 October 1505, Philip made him captain-general of Andalusia, Granada and Murcia, with power to raise an army if required. However, there is no documentary evidence that Philip ever returned Gibraltar to his ally. Nonetheless, when the king died, on 25 August 1506, duke Juan launched an attack on Gibraltar, consisting, according to the later royal investigation of the case, of 900 horsemen and 1000 infantry. The _corregidor_ of Ronda, Fernando de Gamarra, prepared the

town to resist a siege, sending appeals for help to Seville and Jerez councils and to the count of Tendilla, whom Ferdinand had appointed to replace the duke of Medina Sidonia as captain-general of Andalusia.

Hostility to Guzmán pretensions seems to have been strong at this time in Andalusia and Jerez prepared itself for trouble from the duke, as soon as it heard of Philip's death.[1] On 3 October 1506, Jerez council gave thirteen *cahices* of wheat to an *alcalde* of Gibraltar to succour the town. Military efforts to defend Gibraltar were successful, despite the loyalty of local royal towns, such as Jerez. The count of Tendilla had to resist the duke's pretensions through the Valladolid *audiencia* and the *consejo real*, relying, as the Crown had done in 1501-2, on the reservations in Henry's grant of 1469. On 19 October 1506, the duke agreed to withdraw, accepting terms proposed by the archbishop of Seville, Don Diego de Deza, these consisting mainly of a guarantee that he would not be punished if he surrendered. The fact that the *audiencia* in Valladolid authorised the count of Tendilla to raise troops shows the value in an emergency of one of the Catholic Monarchs' best weapons, but it should be pointed out that the negotiations which ended the siege were carried outwithout the knowledge of the *consejo real*. The royal *procurador fiscal* asked for the death penalty for duke Juan and his son, but in the event they were only required to pay for the damage done by the troops.

Duke Juan died on 10 July 1507, having contracted the plague in Seville, but before this he had arranged marriages which were intended to ally the Guzmán and Girón *señoríos*. The next duke, Don Enrique, was to marry Doña María Téllez Girón, the daughter of Don Juan Téllez Girón, second count of Urueña, while Enrique's sister, Doña Mancía de Guzmán, was to marry the next count of Urueña, Don Pedro Téllez Girón. In his last days, duke Juan's political position was ambiguous, as he sent a representative to a gathering of Castilian magnates, which aimed to oppose Ferdinand's return to Spain from

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1. Spínola, *op.cit.*, fol. 184, based on *actas capitulares* of Jerez for 1506, no longer extant.

Italy, but he also negotiated with Ferdinand, by way of the constable of Castile, his father-in-law, and the count of Urueña, with the hope of obtaining the compensation for the loss of Gibraltar, which he claimed to have been promised by Philip.

Ferdinand viewed the prospective Guzmán-Girón alliance with the gravest misgivings and did all in his power to prevent it. His expedition to Andalusia in 1508 was aimed not only against the marquis of Priego, but also at securing the person of the young duke Enrique of Medina Sidonia, in order to prevent the marriage. In 1508, Don Pedro Girón, now married to Doña Mencía de Guzmán, declared himself the tutor of Enrique, with the charge and administration of the Guzmán señorío. On 8 October, the king left Córdoba and came to Seville, to prevent an attempt by Girón to make duke Enrique declare his elder sister, Mencía, his heir, thus causing a permanent alliance of these two major Andalusian señoríos. Enrique had not consummated his marriage and Ferdinand wanted him to abandon his contract with the Girón and marry Ana of Aragon, his own grand-daughter, offspring of the son who was later archbishop of Saragossa. When ordered by Ferdinand to abandon the administration of the Guzmán estates, Don Pedro Girón replied by taking the duke from Osuna to the Guzmán stronghold in Medina Sidonia, with a view to defying the king. Ferdinand called all the nobles of Seville to his support and ordered the banishment of Pedro Girón. Pedro then fled to Portugal, taking Enrique with him, while Ferdinand seized the Guzmán estates. The only resistance he encountered was in Niebla, where the alcaide, Mexía, had to be overcome by a force of 1500 men, mostly from Utrera. As in Córdoba, trials were held by magistrates of the royal household, and the two alcaldes and four of the regidores of Niebla were hanged. The archbishop of Seville was appointed administrator of the Guzmán señorío, on behalf of the Crown, until the duke returned and was pardoned.

At the end of 1508, it appeared that order had been restored, thanks to Ferdinand's firm action. However, the fact that it had been necessary to

repeat, in part, the Andalusian expedition which he and the queen had undertaken thirty years earlier shows that the 1478 measures had not been capable of disposing permanently of danger from the upper nobility of the region. The final chapter will attempt to assess the political situation in Andalusia at the end of Ferdinand's reign in Castile.

Chapter Ten

THE BALANCE OF POWER IN ANDALUSIA IN 1516

The revival of the upper nobility's pretensions to control events in Andalusia, in the period after Isabella's death, would not have been possible if the magnates had not retained the basis of their financial and political position after the royal intervention in 1477-8. It has been shown that the protagonists of the civil wars in Henry IV's reign did not lose their offices in royal towns, or their carefully constructed networks of patronage, which interconnected *realengo* and *señorío*. If circumstances changed, the magnates were able to return in strength. During their exile, they continued to receive large quantities of money from the royal towns in the form of taxation income, or *juros*, which had been granted to them by the Crown.

Excessive alienation of royal revenues to private individuals was one of the main weaknesses of medieval monarchs and in Castile the Cortes waged a campaign against such grants, throughout the fifteenth century. Grants of *juros* could consist of a specified sum, to be taken from any available rent, either at fixed intervals or according to the yield of the rent. They might also be tied to named rents. These grants might be for life or hereditary. A *juro* technically meant the right to a certain part of the royal rents and this system was the origin of the national debt in Spain, which developed when the ownership of *juros de heredad* (hereditary *juros*) descended the social scale and became the normal form of middle-class investment.[1] In 1480, Ferdinand and Isabella attempted to reduce the quantity of *juros* and convert hereditary into life grants. According to Matilla Tascón's calculations, over 57 million *maravedíes* were alienated in 1480 in hereditary grants and five million in life grants, whereas after the reforms the respective totals were

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1. A. Matilla Tascón, *Declaratorias de los Reyes Católicos sobre reducción de juros y otras mercedes* (Madrid, 1952), pp.4-9.

25 million and six million.[1]

The spectacular reduction by fifty per cent of royal grants of all kinds, including *tenencias* of fortresses and *acostamientos*, did not however prevent certain individuals - notably the magnates - from continuing to receive a massive income from this source. It may be looked at either from the point of view of the nobles income or from that of the towns whose revenues went to the neighbouring *señores*, thus further strengthening their control of these communities. Some examples may be given of the effect of the 1480 reform on the income of Andalusian magnates. The duke of Medina Sidonia lost 230,000 mrs out of 480,000 mrs, all held for life. The *adelantado* of Andalusia, Don Pedro Enríquez, lost 73,334 mrs and 50 *quintales* of olive-oil out of 220,000 mrs and 150 *quintales*. The count of Urueña continued to receive 171,000 mrs, but for life instead of in perpetuity, while the income of the count of Cabra and the *alcaide de los donceles* was reduced from 60,000 to 30,000 mrs per annum. However, by far the greatest income from this source went to the marquis of Cádiz, Don Rodrigo Ponce de León, who had received 673,000 mrs per annum in hereditary grants and 200,000 for life. These totals were cut to 250,000 in perpetuity and 50,000 for life.[2]

The fragmentary nature of the sources makes it impossible to calculate the total amount of the royal taxes in Córdoba and Jerez which went to the nobility in *juros*, but it is clear that the heads of all the upper noble and leading office-holding families had *juros*, many of them hereditary, in the rents of these two towns, after 1480. The total of *juros*, payable in the rents of Córdoba and its *tierra*, which are recorded in the Registro del Sello and the municipal and notarial archives of Córdoba and Jerez and the seignorial archives, is over 2,834,000 mrs in hereditary grants and 260,000 mrs in life grants. By far the largest individual income from the Córdoba rents was the 1,750,000 mrs in the *almojarifazgo* and *alcabalas* of Córdoba and its *tierra*

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1. A.Matilla Tascón, *Declaratorias de los Reyes Católicos sobre reducción de juros y otras mercedes* (Madrid, 1952), p.17.

2. *Ibid.*, pp.112, 116, 126, 133, 186-7.

which were granted to the duke of Medinaceli in 1493.[1] A total of 1,059,640 mrs in juros de heredad and 15,200 mrs in juros de por vida are mentioned in similar sources for the partido of Jerez, but this evidence covers the period 1459-1510. A royal letter of 2 September 1482, ordering the collection and allocation of certain juros from the partido of Jerez, shows a total of 897,399 mrs, mostly in hereditary grants, but some of this was lost as a result of the reforms.[2]

Isabella expressed regrets in her will that the juro system had not been better controlled, explaining that the financial needs of the Crown during the Granada campaign had caused a reversal of the 1480 reforms. Juros de heredad were given to individuals in return for loans for the war effort, but Isabella stressed that each grant contained a provision that the Crown could buy the juros back at any time in the future, at a price equal to the amount originally granted.[3] Her hopes that her successors would revoke these grants were not, however, realised.

The upper nobility of the kingdoms of Seville and Córdoba did not merely gain juros from their participation in the Granada wars. They also received grants of many señoríos in the kingdom of Granada. The Guzmán were given Gaucín, Benarraba, Benalauría and Algatocín, the Ponce de León received, at various stages in the campaign, Casares, Zahara, Villaluenga, Grazalema, Benaocaz, Archite, Ubrique and Montejaque, and the Ribera were granted Algarrobo, Solares and Mascalera. Of the Córdoba nobility, the house of Aguilar received Almena and El Cerro, the house of Baena, Canillas de Aceituna, Archez and Corumbela, and the alcaides de los donceles, Sedella and Comares, the latter with the title of marquis. The lord of Palma was granted Huéjar la Alta and the lord of El Carpio, Sorbas and Lubrín.[4] The most important point to notice is

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1. AMC Actas 20.3.1493.
2. AMJ Actas 23.6.1485.
3. Testamento y codicilo de la reina Isabel la Católica (Madrid, Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia, 1969), para.xxi, p.30.
4. Ladero, Andalucía, pp.7, 24-5, RGS 14.3.1494, AMC 19-20-23, RGS 17.1.1493, 20.8.1492, 25.6.1492.

that no new family with existing holdings in Seville and Córdoba joined the ranks of the _señores_ in Andalusia as a result of the Granada wars. Royal largesse was employed to strengthen the position of the existing leaders of local society.

It thus appeared, in the early sixteenth century, that everything conspired to increase once more the role of the magnates in the royal towns. The Crown was not able to press home its advantage in 1508 as it had done in 1477-8. The undated list of sentences in the Real Academia de la Historia mentions that most of the sentences had not been carried out by the date of its composition. According to Alcocer, the marquis of Priego, who was banished for life, from Córdoba and Andalusia, fled to Toledo, but he stayed at Court, at the request of Ferdinand's new queen, Germaine of Foix.[1] This hardly betokens the extremes of royal disfavour, and on 21 August 1510, Pedro de Valles appeared in a Córdoba council meeting with a royal letter restoring the marquis to his offices of _alcalde mayor_ and _regidor_. On 26 November 1511, he made his first personal appearance at a meeting since 1508, a fact which may not be unconnected with the demolition of Montilla castle, which was carried out about this time, according to Alcocer. The king seems to have been satisfied with symbolic retribution and a limited period of banishment, as in August 1510, ten _regidores_, including the marquis's son, Don Francisco Pacheco, were restored to their offices by royal command. Six _jurados_ reappeared at the same meeting.[2]

Perhaps more extraordinary was the outcome of the attempts to unite the Girón and Guzmán estates. Despite the defiance shown by count Juan of Urueña's son, Don Pedro Girón, towards Ferdinand, in 1508, the king appointed Juan administrator of the Medina Sidonia estates in 1510. Documents in the Osuna archive show the vigour with which the count proceeded to establish his control over the property. His letter to the councils, officials and tax-collectors

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1. Alcocer, _Relación_, p.27.

2. AMC Actas 21.8.1510, 26.2.1511.

of the Guzmán *señorío*, announcing his takeover, makes specific mention of the tunny-fisheries, as an item to be secured.[1] Also in this *legajo* are the instructions which the count gave to his agents, who had to inform the archbishop of Seville that he had been replaced as administrator of the *señorío*, but that the count wished him to continue to collect the rents until he was free to return to Andalusia from Castile. However, the two agents were given a warning by the count, as though he expected obstruction from the archbishop.

> You must not remain in Seville with the archbishop for more conversations than those which I mention here, and it may well be that, in asking him the details of the rents from the books of the wealth for this year, you will be detained deceitfully (*cavalosamente*) for seven or eight days, while his factors or collectors do what he wants with the treasure (*hacienda*). 2

At the beginning of 1513, duke Enrique of Medina Sidonia died and the succession to the title was once more thrown into doubt. On 27 January, Jerez council heard that the dowager duchess, Doña Leonor de Zúñiga, widow of duke Juan, who had died in 1507, had taken some places in the county of Niebla, on behalf of her son, Alfonso Pérez de Guzmán. Don Pedro Girón, who had meanwhile taken over the administration of the Medina Sidonia estate from his ageing father, had counteracted these moves by gathering his men at Morón and marching on Medina Sidonia itself. He claimed that the children of duke Juan Alonso, by his second marriage, were illegitimate and that Alfonso therefore had no claim to the *señorío*.[3] The next day, Jerez council heard that Pedro Girón was marching on Sanlúcar and prepared the town for defence. Messengers were sent to discover Girón's intentions and require him formally to return to Medina, but he ignored their demand. However, on 29 January 1513, Don Pedro agreed a series of articles with the *corregidor* of Jerez, Lic. de Santillana, whereby the *corregidor* accepted that Pedro had the administration of the Guzmán estates, by a royal letter from Ferdinand, dated 30 May

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1. AHN Osuna leg. 120 no.12.

2. *Ibid.*, para. 6.

3. AMJ Actas 27.1.1513. Spínola, *Historia*, fol.217.

1512. Girón and the *corregidor* agreed to go to Sanlúcar on the following Sunday, with a hundred horsemen each, and occupy the town. The *corregidor* was to administer justice until the succession was settled and no other Girón troops were to enter the town.[1] The Jerez council was unhappy with the presence of a large seignorial army near the town and protested about it in a letter to Ferdinand on 3 February 1513, but, about this time, the council received a letter of thanks for its efforts from the Crown. On 24 February, another letter arrived from the *consejo real* at Valladolid, announcing that the question of the Medina Sidonia title had been settled. Don Alfonso Pérez was indeed to succeed his half-brother as duke and Jerez was told to do all in its power to see that no other grandee interfered in the matter.[2] On 2 March, all Jerez's military forces were called out to meet a threat from Girón, but in the event, his challenge was defeated by the marriage of the new duke to Ana of Aragon.[3] The marriage served its political purpose at the time, but was annulled in 1532 because of the impotence of duke Alfonso.

This episode and its conclusion are a good illustration of the balance of power which had been achieved in Andalusia by the time of Ferdinand's death, early in 1516. Ultimately, the designs of the Girón were defeated by a combination of marriage politics and military force, but the Girón were allowed to control the Guzmán estates and their income from 1510 to 1513 and duke Enrique's will, in the latter year, forbade any of his heirs to attempt to make Don Pedro Girón or his father account for the rents collected from the *señorío* during their administration.[4] Both sides were partially satisfied by the 1513 settlement. The Crown achieved its main aim of preventing the creation of a united Guzmán-Girón *señorío* in Andalusia, but it was prepared

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1. AMJ Actas 29.1.1513.

2. AMJ Actas 1513, fols 169, 175v, 193.

3. AMJ Actas 2.3.1513.

4. AHN Osuna leg. 120, no.12.

to allow the two families to maintain their existing position at the head of society in the region.

This was the situation also in the Córdoba area in the period 1510-1516. The defiance of the marquis of Priego in 1508 had been found intolerable by Ferdinand and foreefully crushed, but the nobility of the kingdom of Córdoba and its friends on the city council were not seriously affected in the long run. The general rule which seems to have been followed by the Crown was that the existing leaders of local society should not be allowed any further spectacular advances, but that they would be permitted to maintain the position which they had reached by about 1500. Indeed, in some ways they were allowed to improve upon it. A growing feature in the early sixteenth century was the return of royal castles in the Córdoba area to noble alcaides, but this time in complete legality and not by usurpation, as in Henry IV's reign. Almodóvar castle had been in the hands of minor members of the Fernández de Córdoba family ever since 1478, but in 1511, Ferdinand granted it to Don Luis Portocarrero, who had been count of Palma since 1507. The council's protest was overruled and the expansion of the count of Palma's influence in the Córdoba area, which included buying the tenencia of Hornachuelos, another of Córdoba's castles, according to a petition from the Córdoba jurados, and also an armed invasion of its lands in 1513,[1] was allowed to continue. Bujalance castle was similarly granted to Don Diego de Córdoba, possibly the alcaide de los donceles, but certainly one of the Fernández de Córdoba family. The jurados' claim that the count of Palma had bought the governorship of Hornachuelos castle was incorrect, but it was granted to the Great Captain in April 1512, and later in the same year to Don Francisco Pacheco, a sone of the marquis of Priego.[2] In 1513, La Rambla castla was granted to Don Martín Alonso de Córdoba, lord of Alcaudete.[3]

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1. AMC Actas 27.10.1511, 15.7.1513.

2. AMC Actas 16.1.1512, 28.1.1512, 30.4.1512, 22.9.1512.

3. AMC Actas 31.8.1513.

As in other Western European countries in the later Middle Ages, there was a tendency during the reign of the Catholic Monarchs for the upper nobility to draw away from the rest of the nobility and form an unassailable ruling group.[1] The obvious candidates for such a position in Andalusia were the Guzmán, the Ponce, the Girón, the Ribera and the Aguilar and Baena branches of the Fernández de Córdoba. However, there were twenty families in the region in 1477 which had a clear lead over their peers, in terms of economic power and political influence. These twenty families were still in that position in 1516. They were probably richer than they had been forty years earlier and it is to be hoped that a growth in research into seignorial archives[2] will make it possible, in the future, to measure their progress more precisely, but not a single extra family had been added to their number. Thus when Ladero concludes, in his study of Andalusian politics up to 1478,[3] that any spirit of independence which may have existed in the larger towns of the region was crushed by an alliance between the oligarchies which ruled them and the Crown, he tells only part of the story. These office-holding groups did succeed in manipulating the towns, but they did so under the influence of the small number of upper noble families which had been confirmed in their dominance by Ferdinand and Isabella.

The Catholic Monarchs had scored several notable victories. Cádiz and Gibraltar were restored to the Crown, the marquis of Priego's attempt to emulate his father, Don Alonso de Aguilar and personally rule Córdoba, was violently crushed, but the fate of the Valenzuela and Suazo señoríos acts as a reminder of the price which was paid for stability in the region. Another memorial to the work of the Catholic Monarchs was the poor, non-industrial Andalusian economy. The Crown's encouragement of the upper nobility and of its attitude to life, in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, trapped

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1. See, for example, K.B. McFarlane, The nobility of later medieval England (Oxford, 1973), pp.122-5.

2. For the location of these archives, see appendix 3.

3. Ladero, Andalucía, pp.149-51.

the region in the role of an exporter of raw materials and an importer of foreign articles of conspicuous consumption. The sixteenth century was to see the aristocratic ethic permeate the lower nobility and cause those who might have become traders to advance directly to that state of retirement to the land and investment in government funds which in a healthier economy would have followed years of trading activity. In this sense, it is true to say that the Andalusian society which existed in 1516 was to remain largely unchanged until the Napoleonic invasions.

Table One

MAGISTRATES IN JEREZ DE LA FRONTERA, 1394-1515

Alcaldes mayores	Corregidores
	1394-1405 Martín Fernánez Portocarrero, lord of Moguer (Huelva)
1409 Alfonso Fernández de Valdespino Alvar González de Dueñas	
1410 Pedro Díaz de Villanueva Alfonso Rodríguez de Villavicencio	
	By 1416 (Mar.) Dr.Pedro González del Castillo
	By 1419 (July) Bach.Alvaro Martínez de Belmonte
	By 1426 (Feb.) Gonzalo Sánchez de Pareja
	1427 Alvaro de Castillejo
	1427 (Mar.) Juan Rodríguez de Sevilla (Pesquisidor)
	1428 (by June) Alvaro de Castillejo
	1430 (by Feb.) Bach.Juan Alfonso de Margáez
1430-1 Juan García de Natera Gonzalo Núñez de Villavicencio	
	1431 (Feb.) Pedro Fernández de Zamora, escribano del Rey (Pesquisidor)
1431 (June) Above team restored	
	1433 (Jan.) Pedro Maldonado
1433 (by May) Fernando Alonso de Zurita Juan Ortiz de Natera	

	Alcaldes mayores	Corregidores
1435	(by Feb.) Diego González de Vejer Juan Sánchez de Bivanco	
1437	(by Jan.) Rodrigo de Vera Pedro Gaitán (July) Antón Martínez de Hinojosa Gonzalo Núñez de Villavicencio	
		1437 (Aug.-Dec.) Lic. Gonzalo Rodríguez de Ayllón (Pesquisidor)
1438	Antón Martínez de Hinojosa Gonzalo Núñez de Villavicencio	
1443	Pedro Martínez de Hinojosa Alonso de Vanades	
		1444 (June) Don Juan de Guzmán count of Niebla (titular)

Alcaldes mayores

1454 (Jul.) Fernando Alonso de Villa-
vicencio
Pedro Núñez de Villavicencio

1459 (Mar.) García Dávila
Iñigo López de Carrizosa

Corregidores

1444 (by Dec.) Juan de Saavedra,
-1447 alcaide of Castellar (deputy,
Jurado Alfonso
Fernández de Valdespino from Dec.1446)
1451 Don Martín de Guzmán (deputy, Diego
Fernández de Madrid)
1454 Juan de Saavedra (deputy, Alvaro Morán,
from Feb.)

1454 (Sep.) Fernando de Barrionuevo,
corregidor of Carmona (Pesquisidor)
1454 (Oct.) Pedro de Tapia,
-1456 maestresala del Rey
1458 (by Mar.) Don Juan Pacheco, marquis of
Villena (titular)
1458 (Mar.) Tristán Daza
-1459 (Mar.)

Corregidores

1459 (by Oct.) Andrés de la Plazuela, mayordomo of marquis

1459 (Nov.) Gonzalo de Avila, knight of marquis' household

1461 Garci López del Castillo

1463 Gonzalo de Avila

Alcaldes mayores

1464 (Sep.) Alvar López
Juan Riquel

1466 (Jan.) García Dávila
Fernando de Zurita
(replaced in Jan. by Juan de Torres)

1466 (by July) Gonzalo Pérez de Vejer
Fernando Ruiz

1466 (by Dec.) Iñigo López de Carrizosa
Pedro Núñez de Villavicencio

Alcaldes mayores	Corregidores	Officials appointed by corregidores
1466 (Dec.) Pedro de Vera Pedro Mariño		
1467 (by June) Juan de Santiago Alfonso Núñez de Villavicencio		
1467 (Jul.) Pedro Díaz de Villacreces Gómez Patiño		
1467 (Sep.) Iñigo López de Carrizosa Pedro Núñez de Villavicencio		
1468 (Jan.) Alvar López Juan Riquel		
1468 (Apr.) Juan de Santiago Alfonso Núñez de Villavicencio		
1468 (June) Juan de Herrera Gedéon de Hinojosa		

Alcaldes mayores	Corregidores	Officials appointed by corregidores
1471 (by Jan.) Gonzalo Perez de Vejer Juan Bernalte Davila	1472 Don Rodrigo Ponce de Leon, marquis of Cadiz (also alguacil mayor)	1472 Juan Aleman
	1477 (Oct.) Juan de Robles,	by 1477 Bach. Antonio (Aug.) Martinez de Aguilera (alcaldes mayores)
	-1480 capitán real, formerly corregidor of Trujillo	by 1478 (June) Diego Manuel (alcalde mayor)
	1480 (June) Dr. Antonio Rodriguez de Lillo, consejero real (Pesquisidor)	1480 Bach. Fernando Diaz (alcalde mayor) Gomez de Gomara (alguacil mayor)
	1481 (by Dec.) Juan de	1481 Carlos de Guevara (Robles' brother) (deputy corregidor and alguacil mayor)
	-1483 Robles	1483 Bach. Juan de Paz (alcalde mayor)
1483 (Mar.) Juan de Herrera Francisco de Vera		

Alcaldes mayores	Corregidores	Officials appointed by corregidores
		1483 (Apr.) for Robles, Pedro de Morla (alcalde mayor) (deputy, Fernando de Cuenca)
	1483 (May) Lic. Juan de -1484 la Fuente, consejero real, alcalde de casa y corte (Pesquisidor)	1484 Juan de Paz (alcalde mayor for Robles and for La Fuente)
		1485 (Jan.) Fernando de Cuenca (alcalde mayor for la Fuente)
	1485 (by Dec.) Pedro de Castro (deputy for Robles)	
	1487 (by Dec.) Juan de Robles	by 1489 Bach. Diego Argas de Anaya (alcalde mayor)
	1489 (Mar.) Lic. Juan de Porras (Juez de residencia)	
	1490 (Feb.) Juan de Robles	1490 Bach. Gil de Avila (alcalde mayor)
	1492 (June) Lic. Juan de Loarte (Pesquisidor)	1492 Bach. Alvaro Beltrán (alcalde mayor) Pedro Díaz de Sahagún (alguacil mayor)
	1492 (Sep.) Lic. Remón (Juez de residencia for pesquisidor)	

Alcaldes mayores	Corregidores	Officials appointed by corregidores
	1492 (Oct.) Juan de Robles -1494	1492 Bach. Gil de Avila (alcalde mayor) Nuño de Portillo (alguacil mayor)
	1494 (Jan.) Lic. Juan Fernández de Mora (Pesquisidor)	1494 Bach. Diego de Castro (alcalde mayor) Fernando de Villavizar (alguacil mayor) Pedro González de Castromocho (alcalde de la justicia)
	1494 (July) Juan de Robles -1495 (died by Dec. 1495)	1494 Nuño de Portillo (alcalde mayor) Pedro de Savallos (alguacil mayor) Juan Román de Cuenca, escribano del Rey (alcalde de la justicia)
	1496 (Jan.) Lic. Fernando de Sahagún	
	1496 (July) Lic. García López de Chinchilla (died by Nov. 1496)	1496 Bach. Damián de Palencia (alcalde mayor) Fernando de Chinchilla (alguacil mayor and deputy corregidor)
	1500 (by Jan.) Com. Martín Rol	1500 Pedro Calderón (deputy corregidor)

Alcaldes mayores	Corregidores	Officials appointed by corregidores
	1500 Gonzálo Gómez de	1500 Lic. Juan de Villalba
	-1501 Cervantes	(alcalde mayor) Pedro de
		la Barrera (alguacil mayor)
1501- Gómez Patiño		
1502 (Feb.) Diego González		
de Gallegos		
	1502 (by Dec.) Gonzálo Gómez	
	de Cervantes	
1503 (Apr.) Gómez Patiño		
Francisco de Villa-		
creces		
	1503 (June) Gonzálo Gómez de	1503 Lic. Juan de Villalba
	de Cervantes	(alcalde mayor)
	-1505	Pedro de la Barrera (alguacil
		mayor)
	1506 Fernando Dávalos	1506 Bach. Alonso Ortiz (alcalde
	-1507 (June)	mayor) Pedro de Villalobos
		(alguacil mayor)
	1508 (by May) Ramiro	by 1509 Bach. Pedro de Hervias
	-1510 Núñez de Guzmán	(alcalde mayor)
	1512 (by Dec.) Lic. Luis	1512 Bach. Bartolomé Marín (alcalde
	de Santillana (Pesquis-	mayor)
	idor)	

Alcaldes mayores	Corregidores	Officials appointed by corregidores
	1513 (Aug.) - Pedro Suárez	1513 Fernando López
	1516 de Castilla,	1514 Diego de Herrera (alcaldes
	regidor of Seville	mayores) Diego Robledo
		(alguacil mayor)

Sources: Hipólito Sancho, Historia de Jerez, vol.1, pp.148-9.
AMJ Actas 12.1409, 14.1.1410, 3.1416, 6.1419, 12.7.1419, 27.2.1426, 6.3.1427, 6.6.1428, 3.2.1430, 26.2.1431, 19.5.1431, 8.6.1431, 7.1.1433, 29.5.1433, 4.2.1435, 25.1.1437, 27.7.1437, 5.8.1437, 12.1437, 12.11.1443, 6.1444, 5.12.1444, 29.12.1446, 17.2.1447, 12.5.1451, 2.1454, 18.2.1454, 8.7.1454, 17.9.1454, 18.10.1454, 28.7.1456, 15.3.1458, 9.3.1459, 4.10.1459, 23.11.1459, 4.9.1461, 17.9.1463, 30.9.1464, 1.1466, 8.7.1466, 30.12.1466, 31. 12.1466, 29.6.1467, 31.7.1467, 30.9.1467, 5.1.1468, 19.4.1468, 30.6. 1468, 20.1.1471, 1.1.1472, 9.8.1477, 20.10.1477, 6.6.1480, 26.12.1481, 26.3.1483, 19.4.1483, 18.5.1483, 21.5.1484, 27.10.1484, 31.12.1484, 7.1.1485, 5.12.1485, 29.12.1487, 19.1.1489, 28.3.1489, 19.2.1490, 15.6.1492, 22.9.1492, 16.10.1492, 1.1.1494, 2.7.1494, 24.12.1495, 23.1.1496, 24.7.1496, 14.11.1496, 3.1.1500, 27.1.1500, 3.5.1501, 4.2.1502, 21.4.1503, 2.6.1503, 12.2.1505, 28.6.1507, 22.5.1508, 10.10.1509, 12.11.1510, 31.12.1512, 3.8.1513, 13.8.1515.

Table Two

Magistrates in Córdoba, 1402-1515

Alcaldes mayores	Corregidores	Other magistrates,
appointed in traditional way		including alcaldes mayores appointed by corregidores and pesquisidores
	1402 Pedro Sánchez del -1407 Castillo	
	1435 Garci Sánchez de Alvarado, guarda real	
1452 (by 6 June) Don Pedro Fernández de Córdoba, lord of Aguilar Fernando de Narváez (Juan de Berrio Deputy)		
	1454 Alfonso de Estúñiga, consejero real	
1458 (by 13 Aug.) Pedro de Cardénas replaced Don Pedro	1458 Gómez de Avila, guarda mayor del Rey	1458 Bach. Fernando González del Castillo (alcalde de la justicia)

Alcaldes mayores	Corregidores	Other magistrates
1459 (by 26 Sep.) Don Alonso de Aguilar, lord of Aguilar, replaced Pedro de Cardénas		1458 (by 13 Aug.) Don Diego Fernández de Córdoba, count of Cabra (alguacil mayor) (Gómez de Luque, deputy)
	1460 Dr. Alonso de Paz, oidor de la real audiencia -1464 (?)	
1465 Luis Fernández Portocarrero, lord of Palma (voto mayor)		
	1472 Dr. Alonso de Paz	1469 Don Diego Fernández, son of count, deputy alguacil mayor
1476 Alfonso Pérez de Saavedra replaced Fernando de Narvéez		
	1477 (June-Sep.) Diego de Osorio, royal maestresala (Pesquisidor)	1477 Diego de Narvéez, deputy for count
	1477 (Sep.) Diego de Merlo, guarda mayor, consejero real	

Alcaldes mayores	Corregidores	Other magistrates
	1477 (Nov.) - Francisco -1479 Valdés, contino real, consejero real	1477 (Nov.) Lic. Juan Rodríguez de Moya (alcalde mayor) Nuño de Protillo (alguacil mayor) by 1478 Juan de Baena (alcalde ordinario)
By 1480: Votos mayores Don Alonso de Aguilar Don Diego Fernández, son of the count of Cabra, marshal of Castile Gonzálo Fernández de Córdoba, brother of Don Alonso Luis Fernández Portocarrero Gonzálo Mexía, lord of Santa Eufemia	1480 Diego de Proaño, (Jan.) alcalde de la casa y corte (Pesquisidor) 1480 (May) Francisco Valdés 1484 (Sep.) García Fernández Manrique -1487	by 1487 (Sep.) Andrés de Palacio (alguacil mayor) 1487 (Oct.) Don Diego Fernández replaced the count as alguacil mayor (old type)
	1488 (by July) Francisco de Bobadilla, capitán de la guarda real maestresala	

Alcaldes mayores	Corregidores	Other magistrates
	1490 (Feb.) Bach. Gonzalo Sánchez de Castro, alcalde de casa y corte) (Juez de residencia)	
	1490 (Nov.) Francisco de Bobadilla (extension)	by 1492 Lic. Pedro de Mercado, (alcalde mayor)
		by 1493 Alfonso Vélez de Mendoza (alguacil mayor)
	1494-5 Lic. Juan Fernández de Mora (Pesquisidor)	1494-5 Pedro González de Castromocho (alcalde mayor)
	1495 (Jan.) Francisco de Bobadilla	1495 Alfonso Vélez de Mendoza
		1495 (Aug.) Lic. Carlos de Moya (alcaldes mayores)
		1496 (June) Lic. Sebastián de Balboa (deputy corregidor)
		1496 (Aug.) Lic. Pedro de Belvas (alcalde mayor)

Alcaldes mayores	Corregidores	Other magistrates
		1496 Alfonso Vélez de Mendoza (alguacil mayor) (deputy Pedro Ramírez)
		1496 (Oct.) Lope de Layna (alguacil mayor)
		1495- Bach. Suero de Novoa (alcalde de la justicia)
	1497 (Feb.) Alfonso -1499 Enríquez	1497 Carlos de Moya
		1498 Lic. Juan de Pontodura
		1499 Bach. Juan de Herrera (alcaldes mayores)
		1497 Francisco de la Carrera (alguacil mayor)
		1497 Bach. Alvaro de la Torre
		1497 (April) Bach. Suero de Novoa
		1498 Bach. Lope de Montenegro (alcaldes de la justicia)
	1499 (June) Lic. Alvaro de San Esteban (Pesquisidor)	1499 Bach. Juan Vélez (alcalde mayor) Francisco de Torres (alguacil mayor) Bach. Sebastián de Galdo (alcalde de la justicia)

Alcaldes mayores	Corregidores	Other magistrates
	1499 (Sep.) Alfonso Enríquez	1499 Bach. Lope de Montemayor (alcalde mayor) Francisco de la Carrera (alguacil mayor) Bach. Pedro Díaz de Miranda (alcalde de la justicia) Garci Alvarez (deputy alguacil mayor)
	1500 (May) Lic. Alvaro de Porras (Pesquisidor)	1500 Bach. Francisco Manuel (alcalde mayor) Jerónimo de Coca (alguacil mayor) Bach. Luis Páez de Palencia (alcalde de la justicia)
	1500-1506 (June) Diego López Dávalos	1500 Bach. Juan Montesdoca
	1504 Extended at royal pleasure after Isabella's death.	1501 Lic. Juan Ortiz de Zarate
	1506 Left city in June.	1504 Lic. Andrés del Palacio (alcaldes mayores)
		1500 Inigo Lopez de Ayala
		1506 (Feb.) Diego Gómez de Toledo (alguaciles mayores)
1501 Don Pedro Fernández de Córdoba replaced his father as alcalde mayor		1500 Lic. Gregoriode Lantadilla
		1503 (Feb.) Bach. Antón Ruiz de Baeza (alcaldes de la justicia)

Alcaldes mayores	Corregidores	Other magistrates
1506 (June-Aug.) Don Pedro and the count of Cabra took up office in Córdoba	1506 (Aug.) Don Diego -1507 (Aug.) Osorio	1506 Lic. Ibarra (alcalde mayor) 1506 Diego de Torres (alguacil mayor) 1506 Antón Dares (deputy corregidor) 1506 (Oct.) Bach. Fernando Ordóñez (alcaldes de la justicia)
1507 (Aug.-Dec.) Marquis and Count.(Deputy in council for Marquis, Bach. Alonso de Baena) (Deputy for count his brother, Don Antonio)	1507 (Dec.) Diego López -1508 (Oct.) Dávalos	1507 Lic. Juan Alonso (alcalde mayor) 1507 Fernando de Ribera (alguacil mayor) 1507 Dionysio (?) (alcalde de la justicia)
	1508 (Oct.) Alfonso -1511 (June) Enríquez	by 1510 Juan de Narváez (alguacil mayor)

Alcaldes mayores	Corregidores	Other magistrates
	1511 (June) Fernando -1514 (June) Duque de Estrada	by 1513 Bach. Miguel González de Robles (alcalde mayor) by 1514 (May) Pedro de Rojas (alguacil mayor) by 1513 Lic. Lope de Vergarte (alcalde de la justicia) (deputy corregidor from March 1514)
	1514 (June) Lic. Diego -1515 (May) Ruiz de Briviesca (Pesquisidor)	1514 Bach. Juan Martínez (alcalde mayor) Lope de Unzuete (alguacil mayor) Bach. Rodrigo Ochoa (alcalde de la justicia)
	1515 (May) Don Antonio de la Cueva	1515 Bach. Pedro González (alcalde mayor)

Sources: RGS 27.6.1477, 3.9.1477, 7.11.1477, 13.1.1480, 2.5.1480, 6.9.1484, 15.7.1488, 12.2.1490, 8.11.1490, 10.2.1494.
ACC IS-4-406, 407. APC. 25-1.
AMC 12-2-39, 6-1-1, 2-30-3, 12-2-5, 2-30-1, 2-30-6.
AMC Actas 2.3.1479, 19.1.1495, 11.2.1497, 17.4.1497, 9.9.1497, 11.2.1498, 6.3.1498, 23.5.1498, 19.6.1499, 30.9.1499, 30,5.1500, 22.8.1500, 9.12.1500, 30.5.1500, 22.8.1500 9.12.1500, 30.7.1501, 20.8.1501, 22.9.1501, 22.8.1502, 27.2.1503, 4.12.1504, 15.2.1505, 25.2.1506, 15.6.1506, 27.10.1501, 19.8.1506, 25.8.1507, 23.10.1506, 25.8.1507, 17.12.1507, 2.1.1510, 11.10.1510, 13.6.1511, 21.5.1512, 18.5.1513, 17.3.1514, 26.5.1514, 12.6.1514, 9.5.1515.

Table Three

THE MUNICIPAL ACCOUNTS OF CORDOBA, 1452-3

Source: AMC Sec.12 Ser.4 No.14 fols 342-6v and 352-7.

The accounts recorded below were produced for Córdoba council at the *requirimiento* of Juan de la Sarte, *receptor* (receiver) of evidence at the *audiencia* of Granada, for a hearing of Córdoba's case for the restoration to public ownership, by the count of Belalcázar, of the *dehesa* of Madroñiz. The document containing these details was read to Córdoba council on 22 December 1506.

Accounts for Midsummer 1452 to Midsummer 1453

INCOME	mrs
Almojarifazgo of Almodóvar, with Guadarromán and Santadis (?)	800
Almojarifazgo of Posadas	3,652
Almojarifazgo of Peñaflor	100
Derechos de Moratilla, including both rivers but not the *dehesa*	1,347
Almojarifazgo of Hornachuelos	3,125
Almojarifazgo of Villar	not known
Almojarifazgo of Belmez, Espiel, Nava de Obejo and El Allezán was not *arrendado* in 1452-3 because it was occupied, with these towns of Córdoba, by the master of Alcántara	not collected
Almojarifazgo of Fuente Obejuna	3,225
Bread-ovens of Fuente Obejuna, one at an annual rent of	400
the other occupied by the master	--
Almojarifazgo of Villa Pedroche	5,011
Almojarifazgo of Obejo	50
Almojarifazgo of Puente de Alcolea	50
Almojarifazgo of Adamuz and Algallarín	3,547
Almojarifazgo of Pedro Abad	200
Almojarifazgo of Montoro	10,824
Almojarifazgo of Aldea del Río	1,612
Almojarifazgo of Bujalance	13,060

INCOME	mrs
Bread-oven in Bujalance	60
Former bread-oven in Bujalance	5
Almojarifazgo of Castro del Río and Castro el Viejo	14,500
Renta del carbón de humo: Arrendador, Gómez Fernández de Santa Eufemia	10,605
Almojarifazgo of Santaella	4,000
Almojarifazgo of La Rambla	17,500
Bread-oven in La Rambla	800
Bread-oven in Santaella	20
Yerba of Santaella	373
Yerba of Dehesa de la Parrilla, arrendador, Gonzalo Carrillo, veinticuatro.	6,000
Roda de Alnatar, with both roads	21,746
Dehesa de los Engeneros	3,648
Descargas (income) from vacated lands along the Guadalquivir, on the Córdoba roads excluding Hornachuelos	1,895
Erbaje del río ayuso (grazing on the river below Córdoba)	250
Half of the Dehesa de Villalobillos (the other half not in public ownership)	5,333
Velas del campo de la ciudad	9,800
Velas del rio arriba	2,042
Velas del rio ayuso	1,600
Velas de Pedroche (Fuente Obejuna)	700
Velas de Pedroche (The remainder)	300
Dehesa de Moratilla	750
Dehesa de Algallarín, arrendador, Jurado Gonzalo Ramírez	1,500
Dehesas of Madroñiz, El Hinojoso and Torrecatalina. These dehesas were occupied by the master of Alcántara, but "Córdoba sent the standard to restore itself in them". Juan Rodríguez de Baeza was put in by the council as a *fiel* and collected from the tenants who had rented the property from the master for that year, the sum of	38,830

	mrs
INCOME	
Penas calumnias of corredores raising more than 6 mrs per thousand in duty	16,906
Penas de ordenanzas	46,000
Renta de los aguadores	1,700
Media de los lienzos y sayales	100
Derecho de la carne del Alhama de Moros	1,000
Cabeza del pecho de los moros	6,000
Casas tinte del Aduana, rented by Gonzalo Díaz de Jerez and Jaime Martín, dyer, for 3 doblas each	900
Casas de la corredera, rented by Juan Rodríguez, odrero (wine-skin maker). Two pairs at 9 doblas each	1,350
Casas de la red, at 4 doblas	600
The following properties were let for the censos recorded below:-	
Haza de los Barreros, to Luis Mexía	20
Molino de Gahete, to Martín Alonso, citizen of Gahete. Said to be occupied by the master of Alcántara	10
La Casilla de la Fuente de San Pablo, to Alonso Méndez	10
'Haza y pesquería del arroyo de la Cabrilla'	10
"La tierra de Córdoba que deheso el concejo de Torremilano"	10
"Haza que esta en las ollerías (potteries) de la Puerta del Colodio". It was said that this property was in fact owned by the alcalde García Fernández and not Córdoba council.	--
TOTAL INCOME	267,466

EXPENDITURE

	mrs
Alfonso del Castillo, veinticuatro, for journey to Court	5,000
Alvar Sánchez, veinticuatro for taking a letter	2,376
Salary for Juan Rodríguez (de Baeza) recaudador	3,000
"Care of the Body of God"	1,066
Salary of 3000 mrs and castellanías of 1000 mrs for 21 veinticuatros	84,000
Quitaciones for Juan Martínez de Argote and Luis Méndez de Sotomayor, lord of El Carpio	6,000
Quitación for Fernándo Alonso, veinticuatro	3,000
Gonzalo Sánchez fiel tenedor de las casas del cabildo	1,000
Past quitaciones for Pedro de Montemayor, veinticuatro	11,000
Alguacil mayor de las puertas	3,250
Two fieles del regimiento at 2,500 mrs each	5,000
Luis Sánchez, letrado of Córdoba	2,000
Grant from the rentas de las penas to a corredor (broker)	100
Torches to light the council-chamber at night	180
Alcaide Juan de Berrio of Adamuz	1,000
Payment by Bartolomé de Briones, arrendador of the penas de Córdoba, towards a bill of 120,000 mrs for damage to a bishop's house	35,000
Gonzalo de Córdoba, for tenencia of Almodóvar	2,000
D. Pedro, lord of the house of Aguilar, for tenencia y guardia of Hornachuelos, since returned by him to Córdoba	50,000
For the men whom D. Pedro led to restore property to Córdoba in February 1453 (see the income section above). The money used for this purpose was that collected for the rent of the three dehesas of Madroñiz, El Hinojoso and Torre Catalina	30,000
The recaudador de los propios, for his alcance (surplus or debt)	27,465
Jurado Bach. Pedro Fernández de Mesa, for taking a message to Baena	200
Two contadores de Córdoba at 1000 mrs each	2,000
Salary of their escribano	300
Pedro Méndez the younger, salary and quitación as procurador of the council	3,000

EXPENDITURE

	mrs
Quitación of escribano del concejo, Gonzalo Rodríguez de Baeza	2,300
Juan González, contador y veedor de las cuentas of Córdoba	2,000
Mariscal Diego Fernández, as alguacil mayor and alférez	8,000
Gómez Férnandez de Santa Eufémia, from the renta del carbón	10,705
TOTAL EXPENDITURE	300,942

DEFICIT ON ACCOUNT FOR 1452-3 33,476 mrs.

Table Four

JEREZ MUNICIPAL INCOME, 1482-1515

Sources: AMJ Actas 1482 fol.95, 1494 fols 2-15, 1500 fol. 115, 1515 fol. 1.
Values are given in *maravedíes*, with *cornados* as fractions. The net income is the amount received by Jerez conncil after the *arrendadores* had received their agreed commission (*prometido*).

Rent	1482 net	1494 gross	1494 net
Cornado de la carne	72,917	108,000	106,000
Noveno del pescado fresco	85,417	app. 130,000	128,958 1/3
Almotacenazgo	36,907	88,000	83,333 1/3
Almona con la barca de arriba	28,192	50,000	45,000
Pan cocho	5,081	8,000	7,166 2/3
Montarasía	11,770	25,000	22,666 2/3
Azacaya	3,000	7,000	6,833 1/3
Barca del Portal	13,832 1/2	... =*	17,666 2/3
Yerba, paja, grana de olivares	-	... =*	12,000
Fuego y caza	4,378	11,000	10,166 2/3
Casa del Alcaicería	1,650	... =	1,200

Rent	1482 net	1494 gross	1494 net
Carnicería (St. John)	10,100	17,000	16,635
Tributos (income from property)	?	... =	15,125
Terrazgos : Jerez 'realengo'	?	... =	73,150
Puerto Real	?	... =	7,233 1/3
Salinas mayores	11,040	... =	254 cah.
TOTAL EXCLUDING IMPOSITIONS	284,284 1/2	570,375	553,135
Impositions:-			
Noveno del vino	146,000	-	-
Blanca de la carne	-	306,000	305,000
Noveno del pescado salado	-	100,000	95,000
TOTAL INCLUDING IMPOSITIONS	430,284 1/2	976,375	953,135

* The sign '... =' indicates that the net and gross incomes were in this case the same.

Table Four (continued)

Rent	1500 gross	1500 net	1515 gross	1515 net
Cornado de la carne	?	125,000	-	-
Noveno del pescado fresco	?	81,833½	145,100	134,083½
Almotacenazgo	?	59,750	47,500	45,416⅔
Almona con la barca de arriba	?	16,012	42,100	41,100
Pan cocho	-	-	-	-
Montarasía	?	19,683⅓	15,500	14,583⅓
Azacaya	?	3,000	-	-
Barca del Portal	31,000	30,833⅓	app.26,000	25,416
Yerba, paja, grana de olivares	?	6,100	8,300	7,623
Fuego y caza	8,000	7,500	3,125	2,935
Casa de Alcaicería	... =	1,900	... =	206,241+
Carnicería (St. James, replacing St.John)	72,000	51,000	... =	
Tributos	... =	18,683	... =	
Terrazgos: Jerez Tealengo	... =	83 cah. (66,400)*	-	-
Puerto Real	... =	15 cah. 3½ fan. (11,618)	-	-
Salinas mayores	... =	app.300 cah.	-	-
TOTAL EXCLUDING IMPOSITIONS	?	421,295 (499,313)	493,866	477,398

Rent	1500 gross	1500 net	1515 gross	1515 net
Impositions:-				
Noveno del vino	50,000	47,000	?	?
Blanca de la carne	300,000	284,000	250,000	241,666⅔
Noveno del pescado salado	43,000	38,000	-	-
Las cargas (2 mrs per load on imported goods)	60,000	53,000	280,000	276,000
Roperos (finished clothing)	30,000	23,500	-	-
Zapateros y borceguineros	?	12,500	-	-
Especieros	?	7,500	-	-
Candeleros	?	5,000	-	-
TOTAL INCLUDING IMPOSITIONS	?	891,795 (969,813)	1,023,866	995,065⅙

* Cash values have been calculated for this grain at the same price as in 1494. As this figure is unreliable, because of the wide variations of the price of grain, the cash estimates have been placed in brackets. The totals in brackets include these estimated figures.

\+ Incomplete figure for the town's income from buildings and land.

Table Five

VALUES OF RENTS IN CORDOBA AND JEREZ 1429 - 1504

The following tables are largely based on the figures published in the works of Ladero Quesada, cited on page 97, note 1. Values in Aragonese Florins have been calculated on the basis laid down in appendix 2. In some cases material from local sources has been used and references to this have been included where appropriate.

(a) Alcabalas in the diocese of Córdoba, 1429-1508 (Ladero, Hacienda real, Cuadros 1-3)

Additional sources: AMC Actas 1.4.1502, 26.3.1505. AMC 18-3-9.

The annual totals set out below, dated according to the different farms which were granted by the Crown, include the following partidos :-

alhóndiga , rentas mayores , rentas menores and término realengo .

In the years 1480-1487, the rents of Fuente Obejuna were accounted separately. They have been included below in the totals for those years.

Years covered by farm	Value in maravedíes	Value in florins	Years covered by farm	Mrs	florins
1429	1,952,950	44,385	1439	2,634,208	50,657
1430	1,652,952	31,787	1440-3	2,876,700	55,321
1431	1,994,046	38,347	1444-5	3,326,708	63,975
1432-4	1,843,316	35,448	1446-7	3,140,467	60,393

Years covered by farm	Value in maravedíes	Value in florins	Years covered by farm	Mrs	Florins
1448-50	2,384,000	45,846	1488	7,801,500	29,439
1451-2	3,383,371	33,833	1489	7,803,000	29,445
1453-4	2,908,150	29,081	1490	7,803,000	29.445
1455-8	3,100,000	31,000	1491	8,386,546	31,647
1459-62	3,362,579 *	33,625	1493	8,593,377	32,427
1463-5	4,078,500 *	40,785	1494	8,611,225	32,435
1468-9	4,480,000	29,866	1495	9,786,000	36,928
1480	9,303,785	35,108	1496	10,106,590	38,138
1481	9,298,543	35,088	1499	9,509,500	35,884
1482	9,298,500	35,088	1501	10,286,493	38,816
1483	7,508,000	28,332	1502	10,841,000	40,909
1484	7,308,500	27,579			
1485	7,308,500	27,579			
1486	7,737,750	29,199			
1487	7,801,500	29,439			

* Excluding señoríos

(b) **Tercias reales collected in cash in the diocese of Córdoba, 1429-1504** (Ladero, Hacienda real, Cuadros 1-3)

Years covered by farm	Mrs	Florins	Years covered by farm	Mrs	Florins
1429	**100,962**	2,294	1463-5	937,500	9,375
1430	**100,962**	1,941	1488	470,500	1,775
1431	**111,211**	2,138	1489	470,500	1,775
1432-4	106,988	2,057	1490	470,500	1,775
1439	126,300	2,428	1491	470,500	1,775
1440-3	131,621	2,531	1493	520,000	1,962 †
1446-7	275,743	5,302	1494	520,750	1,965
1448-50	275,000	5,288			
1451-2	425,000	4,250			
1453-4	450,000	4,500	**1496**	**575,645**	2,172
1455-8	543,500	5,435	**1504**	**2,117,733**	7,991
1459-62	677,500	6,775			

† Includes renta de los puos

(c) Alcabalas and ... in the partido of Jerez, 1429-1515*

(Ladero, Hacienda real, cuadros 1-3
Additional source: AMJ Actas 16.3.1515.)

Year	Mrs	florins	Year	Mrs	florins
1429	1,023,000	23,350	1480	5,390,000	20,339
1430	873,757	16,803	1481	5,390,325	20,340
1431	902,679	18,053	1482	5,390,000	20,339
1432-4	994,266	19,120	1483	5,390,625	20,341
1439	1,278,112	24,579	1486	5,235,000	19,754
1440-3	1,295,487	24,913	1488	5,613,000	21,181
1444-5	1,670,487	32,124	1489	5,613,000	21,181
1446-7	1,574,240	30,273	1490	5,333,000	20,124
1448-50	1,555,000	29,903	1491	5,950,426	22,454
1451-2	1,555,000	15,550	1493	5,947,427	22,443
1453-4	1,800,000	18,000	1494	5,950,426	22,454
1455-8	1,818,000	18,180	1496	5,848,926	22,071
1459-62	1,948,000	19,480	1504	12,276,876	46,327
1463-5	2,305,777	23,057	1515	6,838,358	25,805
1466-7	2,165,000	14,433			
1468-70	2,437,000	16,246			

* The tercias in cash of the archdiocese of Seville and diocese of Cádiz were alienated.

(d) Almojarifazgo castellano of Córdoba (city) 1428-1502 (Ladero, Hacienda real, pp. 129-30)

Year	Mrs	Florins	Year	Mrs	Florins
1428-33	271,906	6,179	1483	1,275,000	4,811
1440-3	441,283	8,486	1484-7	1,111,111	4,192
1444-5	882,566	16,972	1488-91	1,205,500	4,549
1448-50	752,669	14,474	1493-4	1,185,000	4,471
1455-8	1,266,666	12,666	1495-7	1,200,000	4,528
1459-62	1,274,583	12,745	1498-9	1,100,000	4,150
1463-7	1,553,466	15,534	1501-2	1,258,000	4,747
1480-2	1,625,000	6,132			

(e) **Almojarifazgo sevillano, 1429-1503** (Ladero, Hacienda real, p. 144)

Year	Mrs	Florins	Year	Mrs	Florins
1428-33	3,480,000	79,090	1483	4,035,297	15,227
1439-43	2,696,553	51,856	1484-7	5,515,000	20,811
1444-9	3,309,422	63,642	1488-91	6,185,000	23,339
1450-4	3,653,835	36,538	1493-4	6,760,000	25,509
1455	4,458,676	44,586	1495-7	7,666,500	28,930
1456-60	4,938,676	49,386	1498	8,671,500	32,722
1461-6	7,160,000	71,600	1499	9,400,000	35,471
1467	6,000,000	40,000	1500	9,690,000	36,566
1468-72	8,500,000	56,666	1502-3	12,118,000	45,728
1480-2	6,800,000	28,333			

(f) Servicio and montazgo, 1429-1504 (Ladero, Hacienda real, p. 164)

The following are figures for the whole Crown of Castile, extracted from Ladero's table, to indicate the limited importance to the Crown of this source of revenue.

Year	Mrs	Florins	Year	Mrs	Florins
1429-31	834,000	18,954	1468-9	2,400,000	16,000
1432-3	912,237	17,543	1480-3	4,560,000	17,207
1438-41	1,518,750	29,206	1484-7	5,570,000	21,018
1441-4	1,616,975	31,095	1488-91	5,400,000	20,377
1445-8	2,129,888	40,959	1493-4	5,780,000	21,811
1449-52	2,031,250	39,062	1495-7	6,351,000	23,966
1453-4	2,440,683	24,406	1498	5,453,000	20,577
1456-61	1,300,000	13,000	1499-1501	5,583,000	21,067
1462	1,440,000	14,400	1502-3	5,859,000	22,109
1463-7	2,062,000	20,620	1504	5,920,590	22,341

Table Six

Sources of income of the dukes of Medina Sidonia, 1509

Source: Solano Ruiz, Emma, "La hacienda de los Casas de Medina Sidonia y Arcos", Archivo Hispalense, clxviii (1972).

The following totals do not amount to the complete income recorded in these accounts, because in the case of some towns no detailed description of rents was provided.

		Total in mrs.
1.	Dehesas for grazing	1,244,000
2.	Rights of passage - portazgo barcaje, puerta de la villa (Niebla) and estremeño y albarraniego (Vejer)	133,500
3.	Customs duties - almojarifazgo casas de aduana and almirantazgo y terzuelos (Jimena)	2,194,333
4.	Fisheries, including sardines.	575,000
5.	Salt.	293,000
6.	Butcheries (carnicerías)	1,094,000
7.	Shoemaking and tannery (zapatería y curtiduría)	52,933
8.	Weights and measures (peso y medidas or use of the lord's balances)	7,000
9.	Olive-oil and soap	542,675
10.	Shops	27,000
11.	Rent of provisions owned by the lord	291,000
12.	Tributos in recognition of the lord's señorío	16,666
13.	Rents from the administration of justice by the lord	800
14.	Rent of public offices	1,008,238
15.	Brothels	86,000
16.	Banks	15,250
17.	Alcabalas (including renta mayor)	691,291
18.	Viento, a Muslim tax on goods illegally imported to the señorío	193,500
19.	Tercias reales - figure includes other minor rents -	200,000
20.	Almotacenazgo	107,000

The dukes also received income in pan terciado (two-thirds wheat and one third barley) from certain mills, donadíos and tierras de pan which they owned. In 1509, this income totalled 10,287 fanegas of wheat and 2,287 fan. of barley. In addition, the señorío of Medina Sidonia produced in that year 20,968 fan. of grain as payment in kind of the tercias reales.

Table Seven

The total rent from each town and village in the *señorío* of Medina Sidonia

	1509	1510	Total 1511	Prometido
Almonte	536,450	520,350	456,000	27,000
Aljaraque	29,506	-	20,000	750
Beas	221,800	209,600	194,900	12,116
Bollullos	160,000	160,000	160,000	15,750
Bonares	25,250	21,650	20,000	1,875
Calañas and Las Cruces	45,000	45,000	53,000	4,054
Conil	-	72,000	-	-
Chiclana	264,733	302,200	288,850	6,338
Gaucín and *tierra*	85,000	80,000	-	-
Huelva	1,590,300	1,484,500	1,506,500	14,510
Jimena	503,663	509,690	230,000	13,818
Lucena	53,200	43,000	40,000	1,875
Medina Sidonia	1,237,666	1,461,750	982,900	43,625
Niebla	398,210	385,966	330,666	22,384
Puebla de Guzmán, with Paimogo, El Alozno and Osma	112,000	90,000	111,000	5,625
Rociana	60,000	92,941	55,000	5,000
San Juan del Puerto	312,700	305,367	274,200	21,197
Sanlúcar de Barrameda	3,440,471	3,554,249	3,418,250	164,552
Torre de Guzmán	153,150	39,821	133,100	7,950
Trebujena	9,000	-	14,200	3,875
Trigueros	427,500	484,395	472,000	28,313
Valverde del Camino	30,000	35,000	36,000	1,500
Vejer	1,203,802	973,666	905,272	58,350
Villarrasa	39,500	37,500	32,500	1,500
	10,938,901	10,908,645	9,734,338	462,821

These figures are taken from Solano's account of AHN Osuna leg. 111b.

Table Eight

Military forces of the Andalusian upper nobility in the Granada campaign

Figures from Ladero, Castilla y la conquista de Granada, pp.234-90.

Name	Date	Jinetes and hombres de armas	Espingarderos	Ballesteros	Lanceros	Assorted
Duke of Medina	1483	550				600
Sidonia	1484 (Apr.-May)	160				
	1484 (Sep.)	200				
	1485	614	197			
	1486	253				
	1487	302				
	(from Jul)	576+		150		
	1491	319				7
	1492 (Jan)	557				30
Marquis of Cádiz	1483	300				500
	1484 (Apr.-May)	312	20	63	100	
	1484 (Sep.)		342,332mrs. in cash			
	1485	455		150	30	
	1486	401				100
	1487	452	31	167	62	
	1488	450	200	200		
	1489	385		70	80	
	1491	350				
	1492(Jan.)	420				
Count of Urueña	1484 (Sep.)	200				
	1485	250-96				
	1487	180				
	1489	205				
	1491	186				3
	1492(Jan.)	223				

Name	Date	Jinetes and hombres de armas	Espingarderos	Ballesteros	Lanceros	Assorted
Adelantado of Andalusia	1484 (Sep.)		92,700 mrs in cash			
	1487	177				
	1488	380				2,500
	1489	135				
Don Alonso de Aguilar	1483	270				400
	1484(Apr.-May)	206				170
	1484(Sep.)	150				
	1486	274				291
	1487	235		52	292	
	1489	222	31	42	149	
	1491	217		43	118	
	1492(Jan.)	182				
Count of Cabra	1483	550				
	1484(Apr.-May)	152				236
	1484(Sep.)	200				
	1486	257				99
	1487	306	15	80	205	
	1489	221	28	42	182	
	1491	276		70	194	
	1492(Jan.)	313				
Alcaide de los Donceles	1483	170				300
	1484(Apr.-May)	66				66
	1484(Sep.)		54,250 mrs in cash			
	1486	80				150
	1487	136				92
	1489	40				
	1491	95				97
	1492(Jan.)	118				

Name	Date	Jinetes and hombres de armas	Espingarderos	Ballesteros	Lanceros	Assorted
Martín	1483	150				300
Alonso	1484(Apr.-May)	83				77
de						
Montemayor,	1486	100				200
	1487	150				
	1489	129				
Don Alfonso	1491	121	25			
Fernández de	1492(Jan.)	230				30
Montemayor,						
lords of						
Montemayor						
Countess of	1483	166				
Belalcázar	1486	120				
	1487					275
	1489	93?				
Gonzalo	1484 (Apr.-May)	31				
Mexía, lord						
of Santa	1485	20				
Eufemia	1486	50				
	1487	50	(served with marquis of Cádiz)			
	1489	61				
	1491	29				
	1492(Jan.)	30				
Egas Venegas,	1486	20				
lord of Luque	1487	20				
	1489	20				
	1491	20				
	1492(Jan.)	20				
Luis Porto-	1483	125	(Hermandad men)			
carrero, lord	1484(Apr.-May	12			22	
of Palma		100				

Table Nine

The military forces of Córdoba council, 1483-1513

Date	Jinetes or caballeros	Esping-arderos	Balles-teros	Lanceros	Assorted peones
1483*	750				5,000
1484 (Apr-May)*	335				3,834
1484 (Sep.)*	290				2,875
1485*	583				3,432
1485 (Sep.)*	642				4,194
1486*	565				3,418
1487*	492				2,884
1489*	600	28			4,000
20.12.1495		400			
21. 9.1496	150	100	--- 100 ---		
10. 9.1499		30			
20.12.1499	General levy (17-70) for Alpujarras revolt				
23.11.1500		15			
18.12.1500	200	200	600		
1. 3.1501		200	800		
8. 8.1502		300			
26. 8.1503	110		--- 100 ---		
4. 99.1503	200	300	--- 600 ---		
10. 7.1505					820
23. 2.1512		200			
3. 12.1512	All	250		150	
(26.2.1513	300				500
(1.3.1513	200	200	200	1300	
(8.3.1513		300	400	500	

(for Medina-Sidonia-Cirón troubles, see Ch.10)

Date marked (*) indicate figures of forces actually paid by the Crown. These are supplied by Ladero (Castilla y la conquista , pp.234-90). The remainder are dates from AMC Actas on which demands were received for the forces mentioned, to serve the Crown.

Table Ten

The military forces of Jerez council, 1482-1515

Date	Jinetes or caballeros	Espingarderos	Ballesteros	Lanceros	Assorted peones
15. 5.1482					600
8. 5.1483	200		300	300	
(20.2.1484	350				1000
(1484*	294		464	464	
(8. 2.1485	200	50	200	530	
(1485*	186	18	--- 716 ---		
1486*	190				451
1487*	200				758
1489*	200				800
11. 5.1490		General	levy		
(1491, fol.61v	200	100	270	500	
(1491*	200				1000
14. 3.1496		150			
27. 1.1500	General levy for Alpujarras revolt (17-70)				
29. 1.1513	100	(50% service)			
13. 8.1515	General alert against Turkish threat				

Dates marked (*) indicate figures of forces actually paid by the Crown. These are supplied by Ladero (Castilla y la conquista , pp.234-90). The remainder are dates from AMJ Actas on which demands were received for the forces mentioned, to serve the Crown.

Appendix One

THE CASTILIAN COINAGE UNDER THE CATHOLIC MONARCHS

The various types of coin which are encountered in the study of the Castilian taxation system require some explanation both because the matter is complicated and because monetary reform was one of Ferdinand and Isabella's most important achievements, which deserves to be acknowledged. The following account of the development of the Castilian coinage up to 1516 is based on two works by Pio Beltrán Villagrasa, entitled "Monedas a nombre de los Reyes Católicos, ajustadas a la pragmática de Medina del Campo de 1497, y sus derivaciones" and "Vellón castellano desde 1474 a 1566", which are to be found in his Obra completa , volume 2, pp.766-781 and 739-765 respectively (Zaragoza,1972).

The gold coin which was current in Castile at the beginning of Ferdinand and Isabella's reign, the dobla , originated with the attempt of the Almohad dynasty to restore the ancient measure of Mecca, the mitcal de la ley which Mohammed himself had ordained for the use of the faithful. As a part of this return to ancient practice, the new rulers replaced the dinar of the Taifas and Almorávides with another, minted according to the mitcal . Half-dinars were also coined and these circulated extensively among the Christians, who called them masmudinas , because the Almohades came from the African tribe known as the Masmudas. The earliest known gold coins in Castile, minted at Toledo for Alfonso VIII, did not follow the Almohades, but had the same value as the old dinars of the Almorávides. Because of this parallel, they were called morabetinos , which degenerated into maravedíes . Alfonso's son, Henry I, continued to mint maravedíes de oro , during his short reign, but his sister Berenguela and his nephew Ferdinand III made a gold coin which was worth the same as the masmudina . This was also known as a maravedí , although it was only worth three-fifths as much as that of Alfonso VIII.

After this new maravedí had appeared, the Almohad dinar became known as the doble maravedí and the Christians called it the dobla . The dobla in fact lasted until the ducado (ducat) replaced it in 1497, while the Muslim rulers in North Africa and the kings of Granada continued to coin masmudinas up to the time of Ferdinand and Isabella.

The mitcal de la ley influenced the measuring of the metal content of Castilian coins from the earliest times. Thus while the unit of precious metal used elsewhere in Europe, the mark of St.Peter of Cologne is referred to in a document of 1100, the Castilian mark was in fact slightly smaller, so as to correspond with the mitcal . The dobla survived in this form into the reign of the Catholic Monarchs, but there were many vicissitudes in the history of Castilian coins in the intervening years, not least in the reigns of John II and Henry IV. One complication was the minting by John II of some doblas which were made out of coins from Málaga. These were known as doblas de la banda and were current for many years, although they were not of such fine metal as the doblas of the traditional type, which in his reign were called doblas cruzadas , after the cross which was included in their design.

At the Cortes of Segovia in 1471, Henry IV attempted to put an end to the monetary anarchy then prevailing in his realm. He restored the value of the gold coinage by re-establishing the old dobla to replace the dobla de la banda , calling it the enrique or castellano or dobla castellana . He also confirmed the real as the unit of silver coinage and the blanca and media blanca in vellón , a silver alloy. In addition, the hundred or more legal mints and many other illegal ones were reduced to six, in Burgos, La Coruña, Cuenca, Segovia, Seville and Toledo. The problem with so many of Henry IV's laws was that he lacked the means to enforce them and Ferdinand and Isabella soon found it necessary to confirm the 1471 monetary ordinances. In their pragmatic, issued at Segovia on 20 February 1475, they took over Henry's coinage and fixed the value of the doblas and reales in terms of the

vellón. By the fifteenth century, the *maravedí* had degenerated into a coin of this type and indeed in the 1471 ordinances there was no provision for minting *maravedíes*, but only half-*maravedíes* or *blancas*. Nonetheless, the value of gold and silver coins was still calculated in terms of *maravedíes* and the 1475 pragmatic fixed the *real* at 30 mrs., with three *blancas* in a *maravedí*, as Henry IV had ordained in 1473, for example, at the Cortes of Santa María de Nieva (petition 28). The standard gold coin, the *dobla castellana* was entitled the *excelente* and valued at 870 mrs., while the *enrique* and *castellano* continued at 435 mrs. The *dobla de la banda*, which was still in circulation, was valued at 335 mrs. A half and quarter of a *real* were also issued as before, the *real* having begun in the reign of Peter I.

The ordinary people of Castile were more concerned with the small *vellón* coins than *doblas* and *reales* and petitions in the Cortes tended to concentrate on the elimination of false *blancas* and the valuation of the true coins. In Madrigal in 1476, the *procuradores* again asked for the valuation of gold and silver coins to be fixed, a request which suggests that the 1475 pragmatic had not been fully implemented. This had attempted to eliminate the false *blancas* by giving them half the value of the properly-minted coins. Those minted in accordance with Henry IV's ordinances were valued at three to the *maravedí*, while the others were calculated at six to the *maravedí*, like the older *cornado*, which is mentioned in some fifteenth-century documents. However, at Toledo, in 1480, the *procuradores* complained of a shortage of low-value coins, which was making life very difficult for the poor. In one of the ordinances of Toledo, in January 1480, the *real* had been valued at 31 mrs. of three *blancas*. As a result, the quarter-*real* was worth 24¼ *blancas*, a fact which shows the need for smaller coins. In practice, the gap was filled by the use of coins from other countries, such as *tarjas* (*écus*) from Béarn, France and Brittany and *placas* (plates) from Flanders. These supplemented the *blancas* of

Henry IV, which were gradually being used up, as the 1475 pragmatic had not ordered the minting of any more.

The most important document of Ferdinand and Isabella's reign concerning monetary matters was the pragmatic of Medina del Campo, which was issued on 13 June 1497 and is included in Ramírez's collection. Its main feature was a change from the *excelente* to the *ducado* as the main gold coin, "because it was found that ducat coins are more common in all Christian kingdoms and provinces". The ducat, thus called because the Venetian originals showed the Doge kneeling before the lion of St. Mark, had been imitated earlier in the century by John II of Aragon, but its general adoption in Spain dates from 1497. The minting of ducats, double-ducats and half-ducats was ordered, but in fact most of the coins produced were double-ducats. The silver coinage was unchanged, apart from its design, but on this occasion, *blancas* were ordered and a new valuation of coins was established. The value of the real was increased to 34 mrs. and henceforth there were two *blancas* in a *maravedí* instead of three. The new *ducado de oro*, which was also known as the *excelente de la granada*, was reckoned at 11 *reales* and 1 *maravedí* or 375 mrs. Provision was also made for the minting of five-, ten-, twenty-, and fifty-ducat pieces and in fact some of four ducats survive. Once again, half- and quarter- *reales* were minted and an eighth was added. There were no multiples of the *real* until the reign of Charles V.

Although the 1497 coinage quickly became established and lasted until 1566, without significant alteration, the attempt in the Medina del Campo pragmatic to end the use of illegal or foreign *vellón* was unsuccessful. The intention was to call in all the Castilian and foreign *blancas* then circulating and melt them down to make the new *vellón*. However, the shortage of Castilian *blancas* continued and *tarjas* and *placas* are referred to in Spain as late as 1566.

It is clear from the above account that the *maravedí* although still used to value the Castilian coinage, did not itself exist as a coin by the

reign of Ferdinand and Isabella. It was nonetheless the standard money of account, being worth two blancas after 1497, and appears in a great many documents. The dobla de la banda was also still current in the late fifteenth century, although it had in theory been replaced by Henry IV's dobla and the Catholic Monarchs' ducado. In the early sixteenth century, there was a growing tendency to reckon in reales or ducados, rather than maravedíes, but an equivalent in terms of the latter can always be found by using the values in the 1497 pragmatic.

Many of the coin values mentioned in this appendix are taken from Ladero Quesada's La hacienda real (see chapter 5, note 1, p. 97), pp. 41-2 and Spain in the fifteenth century, ed. Roger Highfield (London, 1972), p. 167, n. Beltrán Villagrasa's Obra completa, vol. 2, contains, on pp. 800-10, a bibliography of the coinage of the Catholic Monarchs, up to date to 1952.

Appendix Two

THE REAL VALUE OF MONEY IN THE REIGN OF FERDINAND AND ISABELLA

In the chapter on royal finance, (no. 5), the yield of various taxes has been given in the money of account, the _maravedí_, and also in Aragonese florins, a gold coin minted in the County of Aragon which imitated the Florentine florin, one of the main trading coins. However, any such conversion is inevitably arbitrary when there are so many other coins which might be used for this purpose, particularly the Castilian gold coins of the fifteenth century. The Aragonese florin had no part in the monetary reforms of the Catholic Monarchs. However, as an index of the value over a long period of the money of account in relation to gold, it has the advantage over the other possible candidate, the Castilian _ducado_, that it was in circulation throughout the period. Thus Ladero Quesada was able to quote figures for the value of the Aragonese florin for various years between 1430 and the latter part of Ferdinand and Isabella's reign. Although it was not included in the range of coins established in the Medina del Campo pragmatic of 1497 it was allotted a value at Toledo in 1480 which it seems to have retained thereafter. The figures which Ladero supplies for the value of the Aragonese florin in various years as follows:- 1400 - 44

1430 - 52 1450 - 100 1465 - 150 1474 - 240

and from 1480 onwards, 265. In the conversion of totals from _maravedíes_ to Aragonese florins, the nearest previously-known value for the florin has been used in every case. As each new ordinance probably acknowledged a revaluation of the florin which had already taken place, such a practice inevitably involves some inaccuracy, but it is not possible to speculate on the value of coins in a given year, and so this risk must be run.

It is arguable that previous metals are not an ideal indicator of the real value of money, because they are, at least in the medieval context, poor guides

to purchasing power. As was observed in appendix 1, small purchases, of the type made by the vast majority of the population, were paid for in Castilian or foreign, legal or false, vellón coins, and not in gold and silver. This means that the prices of food and other basic commodities would give a better indication of the value of the ordinary Castilian's money than the ever-increasing price in maravedíes of doblas, ducados and Florins, which was caused by the bullion shortage which preceded the massive influx of precious metals from the New World.

Unfortunately there are serious difficulties in the use of commodity prices in fifteenth-century Castile. The main problem is that the available figures are irregular and unreliable. The adequate supply of grain was fundamental to the living standards of the population, but its price varied from day to day and, in times of scarcity, from hour to hour (see chapter 6). From the Córdoba material, it is possible to gain a fair impression of the prices of meat, olive-oil and soap over the period 1493-1514, thanks to the survival of the actas capitulares for those years, but this information unfortunately covers the least interesting period for prices, that which followed Ferdinand and Isabella's efforts to stabilise the coinage. While the prices of these three commodities rose in Córdoba, in that period, by an average of forty-six per cent, such figures are no substitute for the coin values, because they cover such a short period. The only general comment that can be made on the few figures which are available for prices in Jerez and Córdoba over the longer period from 1430 to 1515 is that there was a steady upward trend, despite some marked aberrations. It may well be that if fuller information on prices were available, the picture of the value of the maravedí thus produced would not greatly differ from that obtained by the use of gold coins. However, the choice is not open to the modern investigator and thus coin values must inevitably be used, despite their defects. They are in any case suitable in the context of large-scale public finance.

Appendix Three

SEIGNORIAL ARCHIVES AND GENEALOGY

Although this study is based largely on the material in the public, ecclesiastical and notarial archives of Córdoba and Jerez, the close relations between these towns and the nobility in the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella require some use to be made of family archives. It is fortunate that a great deal of material concerning the nobility is to be found in public sources, such as the registro del sello at Simancas and the cathedral and notarial archives at Córdoba, because private papers can be somewhat elusive.

It has been possible to trace the archives of most of the leading families of the kingdoms of Seville and Córdoba, with the help kindly afforded by Don Joaquín González Moreno, archivist of the ducal house of Medinaceli, and Don Miguel Muñoz Vázquez, of the Real Academia de Bellas Letras y Nobles Artes de Córdoba, but in order to establish the whereabouts of the archives at the present time, it has been necessary to examine the genealogy of the families ooncerned.

The two main works which have been used for this purpose are, Francisco Fernández de Bethencourt, Historia genealógica y heráldica de la monarquía española, casa real y grandes de España, 10 vols (Madrid, 1897-1920), and Alberto and Arturo García Carraffa, Enciclopedia heráldica y genealógica hispano-americana, 88 vols (Madrid, 1957-63). Bethencourt's work covers many of the titles which were given grandeza by Charles V in 1520 and has been used for all the branches of the house of Córdoba, for the Venegas of Luque, for the De la Cerda of Puerto de Santa María and for the Girón, counts of Urueña. Don Francisco's researches seem to have been profound and, as far as they can be checked from other documents, accurate. Unfortunately, he provides no references to the sources of his material, but it nonetheless appears to be safe to use his information. The case of the Carraffas is less certain, They also give no references, but their work is somewhat disordered and less complete than

that of Bethencourt, where they overlap. However, he does treat a number of families which are not to be found in Bethencourt's volumes and his account has been used, for want of a better, where no other source is available. For the house of Córdoba, use has also been made of an early seventeenth century manuscript Historia de la Casa de Córdoba , by Don Francisco Fernández de Córdoba, often known by his title of abbot of Rute. This meticulous genealogical work is being published in sections in the Boletín de la Real Academia de Córdoba, having begun with a study in no.70 (1954). The published text is that of the manuscript in the Córdoba municipal library, but there is also a manuscript in the Real Academia de la Historia in Madrid.

This institution houses the collection of original documents made by Don Luis de Salazar y Castro, who left it to the monastery of Nuestra Señora de Montserrat, in Madrid, when he died in 1734. This house was suppressed in 1835 and after various adventures the collection found its way into the library of the Real Academia de la Historia. In 1949, Antonio de Vargas-Zúñiga and Baltasar Cuartero y Huerta began a catalogue and calendar of the documents of the collection, which is still appearing. Salazar y Castro visited innumerable archives in order to transcribe documents and also acquired many originals. His work is accurate and reliable, if it can be judged by his transcriptions of documents which are still extant. His copies have on occasions been used, with due warning, inthis study.

Nonetheless, wherever possible, original documents in noble archives have been preferred and the following brief account indicates the whereabouts at the present time of the papers of most of the leading families.

As the result of a marriage in the eighteenth century, the Ponce de León papers are to be found in the archive of the Girón, which is now the Sección Osuna of the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid. The archives of the house of Arcos are thus combined with those of the counts of Urueña later dukes of Osuna. The Casa de Pilatos in Seville is the archive of the house of Medinaceli, the De la Cerda family, but it also contains the papers of

other leading families of later medieval Andalusia. In 1628, the De la Cerda were united by marriage with the Enríquez de Ribera, a house which had many señoríos in the Seville and Jerez areas. The Medinaceli empire was further expanded in 1660 by an alliance with the main line of the house of Córdoba, the Fernañdez de Córdoba, marquises of Priego, which by then included, by marriage, the family of the alcaides de los donceles, the third line of the house of Córdoba. In the eighteenth century, there was a marriage with the Benavides of Santisteban del Puerto (Jaén), who were also connected with the house of Córdoba. The archive of the house of Medina Sidonia is still in the family's possession at Sanlúcar de Barrameda, although many documents concerning the Guzmán are to be found in the Osuna archive and elsewhere. The other major line of the house of Córdoba, that of the counts of Cabra at Baena, also acquired the goods of a number of other families in the course of time. Already in 1502, it had taken over Valenzuela and in 1517 it obtained by marriage the estates of the Great Captain, Don Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba, brother of Don Alonso de Aguilar and duke of Sessa. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the house of Baena was united by marriage with two lesser families of the Cordoban nobility, first the Morales and Fernández de Córdoba of Zuheros and then the Venegas of Luque. Many documents from the archive of Baena were transcribed by Salazar y Castro, but Don Miguel Muñoz Vázquez, who kindly undertook a search, was unable to discover the whereabouts of the original documents, leaving Salazar as the only source for the papers of this family. The remaining major line of the Fernández de Córdoba, the house of Alcaudete and Montemayor married in 1633 into the family of the counts of Oropesa. In 1802, this family in turn allied with the house of Frías and the Montemayor papers are now in the castle of that name, in the archive of the duke of Frías. A catalogue of this section of his archive was published in 1973 by Pilar León Tello, as volume three of the catalogue of the Frías archive, the Inventario del archivo de los duques de Frías (Pilar León Tello and María Teresa de la Peña Marazuela. Vol.I Casa de Velasco, Madrid, 1955. Vol.II Casa de Pacheco, Madrid, 1967. Vol III

Condados de Oropesa y Fuensalida y sus agregados, Madrid,1973). This account shows that it is still possible at the present time to gain a good impression of the activities of the leading Andalusian families from their own documents, although those which survive from the fifteenth century and earlier are not generally numerous. There are reassuring coincidences between documents in public and private archives which give the historian greater confidence in using the latter.

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A. MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

The short descriptions given below indicate the general nature of the manuscript sources used, but they do not show the relative importance of these sources. In most cases, individual documents within the series described were consulted for specific purposes, but some sources were of fundamental importance for this study. The most valuable of all were the actas capitulares of the Córdoba and Jerez town councils and the registers of the Archivos de Protocolos in these two towns, which served as a basis for the whole work. Also particularly useful were the Guzmán and Ponce papers in the Sección Osuna of the Archivo Histórico Nacional and the Salazar y Castro collection in the Real Academia de la Historia. Certain large bodies of material were of great importance for specific parts of the study, particularly the documents on economic matters in the Archivo de Protocolos in Córdoba. (For methods of citing manuscript references, see note on p. ix).

(i) Archivo Histórico Nacional

Sección Osuna (Guzmán and Ponce papers)

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(iii) Archivo Municipal de Córdoba

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Serie 1 (Fuero of 1241)

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Serie 10 (Castillas y fortalezas)

Sección 2 Antiguo régimen político-administrativo

Serie 1 (Capítulos de Cortes)

Serie 2 (Corregidores)

Serie 3 (Alcaldes mayores)

Serie 8 (Veinticuatros)

Serie 10 (Nobles e hijosdalgo)

Serie 13 (Santa Hermandad)

Serie 17 (Caballeros cuantiosos)

Serie 20 (Jurados)

Serie 21 (Escribanos públicos)

Serie 27 (Alguaciles ordinarios)

Serie 29 (Señoríos territoriales)

Serie 30 (Señorío de la ciudad de Córdoba sobre las villas de Fuenteovejuna, Gahete, Hinojosa y Belmez)

Sección 5 Patrimonio municipal

Serie 21 (Dehesa de Navas del Moro)

Serie 29 (Dehesa de Trassierra)

Serie 31 (Villalobillos)

Serie 32 (Dehesas de Samonosas y La Parrilla)

Serie 42 (Derechos sobre el Puerto del Guijo)

Serie 43 (Almojarifazgo)

Sección 6 Agricultura, Industria, Comercio

Serie 1 (ditto) (Processes concerning usurpation of council lands)

Serie 3 (Concejo de la Mesta)

Serie 7 (Fábricas de tejidos)

Serie 18 (Fábricas de jabón)

Serie 44 (Abasto de granos)

Sección 7 Policía urbana y rural

Serie 7 (Terrenos realengos)

Serie 8 (Caza y pesca)

Sección 12 Estadística

Serie 1 (ditto) (Boundary disputes)

Serie 2 (Predíos rústicos en el término de Córdoba)

Serie 3 (ditto) (Términos de Hornachuelos, etc.)

Serie 4 (Sentencias de términos) (Sentences by royal judges in boundary disputes)

Sección 13 Legislación

Serie 1 (Reales resoluciones)

Serie 2 (Recopilación de reales disposiciones)

Serie 10 (Ordenanzas municipales)

Sección 16 Asuntos judiciales

Serie 4 (Pleitos civiles)

Sección 18 Servicios prestados al Estado

Serie 1 (Rentas reales)

Serie 3 (Alcabalas)

Sección 19 Archivos particulares

Serie 1 (Actas capitulares) (1479, 1493, 1495-1516)

Serie 4 (Archivo del cabildo de los señores jurados)

(iv) Archivo de Protocolos de Córdoba

Office 1 (from 1512)[1]

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[1]All dates of notarial registers are, for ease of reference in the archives concerned, stated according to contemporary Castilian practice, whereby the year began at the Christmas Day preceding the modern starting day, January 1

Office 14 (from 1442)

Office 18 (from 1482)

Office 24 (from 1507)

Office 25 (from 1508)

Office 33 (from 1510)

Office 37 (from 1516)

(v) Archivo Catedralicio de Córdoba

Actas capitulares (1474-1516) (Acts of the cathedral chapter)

Individual documents from various cajones of the main archive.

(vi) Archivo Municipal de Jerez

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Sección administración (Royal privileges, ordinances, other royal documents, boundaries cases and sentences)

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MS 81, est. C, vol. 1. Libro de istorias de los libros . . . en esta ilustre çibdad de diez años, de lo qual da testimonio Juan rromán, escrivano público y del mismo cavildo, y sus tenientes, muy verdaderamente sacadas, y asy mismo da fee de algunos años desto Gonçalo rromán, escrivano del dicho cavildo, padre del dicho Juan rromán.

(ix) Archivo de Medinaceli, Seville

Sección General (Various noble papers, especially concerning the house of Priego, catalogued by Joaquín González

Moreno, Catálogo del Archivo de Medinaceli, i, Seville, 1968)

B. PRINTED SOURCES

The following is not intended either as a guide to reading on and around the subject of this study, nor as a list of all the works consulted during its preparation. The criteria for selecting the primary and secondary works set out below are either that they are cited in the text (though certain well-known literary works have not been included) or else that they were of appreciable value in its composition.

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SANTA EUFEMIA
Guadalmez
BELALCÁZAR (GAHETE)
Zújar
EL VISO
GUIJO
HINOJOSA DEL DUQUE
TORREFRANCA
TORRECAMPO
AÑORA
VILLA PEDROCHE
ALCARACEJOS
POZOBLANCO
VILLANUEVA DE CÓRDOBA
FUENTE OBEJUNA
BELMEZ
Guadiato
Guadalbarbo
ESPIEL
VILLAHARTA
OBEJO
R. de las Yeguas
EL VACAR
ADAMUZ
MONTORO
Retortillo
Bembézar
EL VILLAR
VILLAFRANCA DE CÓRDOBA
STA MARÍA DE TRASSIERRA
ALCOLEA
PEDRO ABAD
ALDEA DEL RÍO
HORNA-CHUELOS
LA ALBAIDA
CÓRDOBA
MORENTE
LOS CANSINOS
EL CARPIO
BELMONTE
BUJALANCE
CAÑETE DE LAS TORRES
POSADAS
ALMODÓVAR DEL RÍO
Guadajoz
ALMEDARA
VALENZUELA
PEÑAFLOR
GUADALCÁZAR
TORRES CABRERA
PALMA DEL RÍO
Guadalquivir
SANTA CRUZ
LA FUENCUBIERTA
CASTRO DEL RÍO
QUINTANA
ALBENDÍN
Marbella
ESPEJO
FERNÁN NÚÑEZ
Genil
DOS HERMANAS
BAENA
MONTEMAYOR
ALCAU-DETE
LA RAMBLA
DOÑA MENCÍA
LUQUE
ZUHEROS
SANTAELLA
MONTILLA
ÉCIJA
MONTALBÁN?
LAS CASILLAS
AGUILAR
MONTURQUE
CABRA
CARCABUEY
ALGAR
LUCENA
PRIEGO
ZAMBRA
CASTIL-ANZUR
PUENTE DE D. GONZALO (NOW GENIL)
RUTE
BENAMEJÍ
IZNÁJAR

JURISDICTION IN THE CÓRDOBA AREA, 1476

- Realengo
- Señorío
- Order of Calatrava



JURISDICTION IN THE JEREZ AREA, 1476