

OLIGARCHY AND MERCHANT CAPITALISM IN LOWER
ANDALUSIA UNDER THE CATHOLIC KINGS: THE CASE
OF CORDOBA AND JEREZ DE LA FRONTERA

J. H. EDWARDS
University of Birmingham
Inglaterra

In recent years, the study of regional history has been yielding good results throughout Western Europe and Andalusia has shared in this advance. In order, however, to bring the newly discovered knowledge of this region to the attention of historians outside the Peninsula, it is necessary to concentrate on the links between Andalusian problems in the late Middle Ages and the general preoccupations of Western Europe as a whole in the same period. The advantages of such an approach do not only accrue to foreign scholars. The historians now active within Spain are benefiting increasingly from an awareness of the connections which exist between the material which they obtain from national and regional archives within the Peninsula and the findings of their colleagues beyond the Pyrenees.

The aim of this essay on the Andalusia of the Catholic Kings will be to place the economy and politics of lower Andalusia, particularly as seen through the history of two of its largest towns, Córdoba and Jerez de la Frontera, in relation to each other. Apart from showing the illumination which knowledge of the economy of the region brings to the study of its politics and vice versa, it is hoped that this method will make it possible to appreciate the crucial role of lower Andalusia in the developments which paved the way for Spain's irruption on to the European scene in the sixteenth century. This task will be approached, first, by means of a brief survey of the economic situation of lower Andalusia at the end of the fifteenth century and then by an equally general description of its political structure. After this, particular aspects of the economic and political evidence of Córdoba and Jerez will be discussed, before it becomes possible to draw some general conclusions about the history of the region in this period.

The trade of Andalusia in the late medieval period tends to be neglected

in general historical works outside the Peninsula. The little notice which it receives is due to the role of southern Spain in the maritime trade of the Genoese. Heers, Pike and others include it, for this reason, in their surveys of Genoese activity, in which Málaga, Cádiz and Seville are mentioned as stops for the loading of raw materials on the way to the markets of North-West Europe¹. The outlines of the maritime trading system, as described, for example, by Heers and Lopez, are well known. The Genoese became interested in trading in Andalusia after Seville was reconquered by the Christians in 1248. Their galleys carried Castilian exports —wool, leather, dye-stuffs, mercury and fish— eastwards into the Mediterranean, but above all north-westwards to England and Flanders, importing to Castile cloth and luxury goods in exchange. The main cargoes picked up in Andalusia for North-West Europe were wine, soap, olive-oil and cochineal, and it was normal for these to be taken direct from Andalusia to their selling points, such as Southampton. The Genoese based themselves mainly at Seville, but their ships normally called at Cádiz or at Sanlúcar de Barrameda. The settlement of the Genoese in these two ports, especially Cádiz, is well known and they also established themselves inland, for example in both Jerez and Córdoba².

If Andalusia at the beginning of the sixteenth century exported, wine, soap and dyestuffs to North-West Europe in exchange for Flemish cloth, and fish (mainly tunny) to the Mediterranean market, what, if any, was its inland trade? The region was scarcely industrialised. A cloth industry survived from the Muslim period in Córdoba and some other centres, but this worked on a small scale, with material of inferior quality. Agriculture was therefore the undisputed basis of the region's economy. One of the main products was wool from the province of Córdoba. Wheat and barley came mainly from the fertile and comparatively flat Campiña of Córdoba and from the modern province of Cádiz. Wine and olive-oil were produced in the Sierra de Córdoba, in the Aljarafe of Sevilla and in the coastal lands between Jerez and Rota and also between Jerez and Sanlúcar. Finally, there was leather from the hides of cattle, particularly in the Jerez and Seville areas. Surpluses were normally expected in this period in the production of grain, wine, olive-oil and hides. In the area immediately surrounding the towns of the Guadalquivir valley —Córdoba, Ecija, Carmona and Seville, fruit and vegetables were produced for the urban population.

In addition to the maritime exports of wine, oil and leather, Andalusia also produced a large surplus of high-quality, white merino wool. Klein sho-

1. J. HEERS, *Génes au XVe siècle* (Paris, 1971). R. PIKE, *Enterprise and adventure: the Genoese in Seville and the opening of the New World* (Ithaca, 1966).

2. R. S. LÓPEZ, *The trade of medieval Europe: the south*, in «Cambridge Economic History of Europe», 2 (1952), 314 and HEERS, *op. cit.*, págs. 311, 321, 326, 331-3.

wed, many years ago, that the Guadalquivir valley was included in the transhumant system of the Mesta, but research in the archives of Córdoba has modified his results in several ways. Firstly, the Mesta *cañada* did not follow the Guadalquivir valley, as shown in his map, but headed diagonally northeastwards from the Seville area in a direct line towards the Meseta. Secondly, although there is evidence that pasture to the north of Córdoba was hired to Mesta shepherds for grazing, it is clear that large areas of pasture in the *término* of Córdoba were used by the *ganado estante* of local owners and that there was tension between the two. Finally, and most significantly, wool produced in a large area round Córdoba was sold, in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, to merchants from Burgos, who transported it by road to Seville for export. There is evidence that these merchants were also involved in the importing of finished Flemish cloth to the Crown of Castile³.

The outline of political events in Andalusia between the Reconquest and the time of the Catholic Kings is well known and the situation up to 1480 has been fully described by M. A. Ladero Quesada in a recent work⁴. For this reason there is no need to do more than briefly summarise the political structure of the region in the late fifteenth century. By 1474, the distribution of political control in the former *taifa* kingdoms of Seville and Córdoba was as follows. All the larger towns of the region—that is to say, Córdoba, Ecija, Carmona, Seville, Jerez de la Frontera and Cádiz—remained directly under Crown authority and, in addition to governing the urban area itself, the councils of Seville and Córdoba also administered, on behalf of the Crown, various *lugares* in the surrounding areas—over fifty in the case of Seville and over twenty in the case of Córdoba. Leaving aside the fifteen or so possessions shared by the military orders of St. John, Santiago and Calatrava and the cathedral of Seville, the rest of lower Andalusia consisted of *señoríos*—over eighty in the kingdom of Seville and over thirty in the kingdom of Córdoba. The political and economic importance of individual possessions is too complicated a question to be discussed here, but it is clear that a large number of *lugares* and a slightly smaller proportion of the total geographical area of the kingdoms of lower Andalusia in this period were in seignorial hands.

The most superficial study of the seignorial sector reveals one striking fact. Nearly a hundred of the *señoríos* of the region were concentrated in the hands of nine families, thirty-six of them in the possession of the Guzmán, after 1445 dukes of Medina Sidonia. As a result, the politics of the region under Ferdinand and Isabella were dominated, on the one hand, by the

3. J. KLEIN, *The Mesta. A study in Spanish economic history, 1273-1836* (Cambridge, Mass., 1920), especially the map between págs. 18-19.

4. *Andalucía en el siglo XV. Estudios de historia política* (Madrid, 1973).

Crown, acting mainly through the magistrates and councillors of the larger towns, and on the other by a group of ten to twenty families of the upper nobility, which controlled large areas of *señorío*. The political object of the Catholic Kings was to achieve a balance between these two forces.

Moving from the distribution of political power between the kings and the *señores* to the structure of government in the region, it is clear that all the larger towns received as their *fuero* the *Fuero Juzgo*. However, this did not prescribe a specific system of government and, in the event, the king decided to rule the towns through *alcaldes*, nominated by himself. The supposedly democratic origins of Castilian *concejos*—in *concejos abiertos* of all the *vecinos*—are still very much in dispute, but there is no doubt that it was Alfonso XI, in the mid-fourteenth century, who gave urban government in Andalusia the basic form which it retained well into the modern period. This was a two-chamber council, consisting of an inner core of *regidores* (or *veinticuatro*s, as in Seville, Córdoba, and Jerez after 1465) and of representatives of the parishes, known as *jurados*. The offices of the *jurados* were older than Alfonso XI's reforms and they both attended the *cabildos* of the *regidores* and also, at least in the case of Córdoba, met in a *cabildo* of their own. All these offices were granted for life. The *regidores* were nominated by the Crown and the *jurados* were often chosen in a similar way, though a residual right of election by the *vecinos* was exercised on occasions during this period in Córdoba and Jerez. The *corregidor* first appeared as magistrate-in-chief of the larger Andalusian towns at the beginning of the fifteenth century and the regularisation of his appointment and conditions of service was one of the main consequences of the visit of the Catholic Kings to Andalusia in 1477 and 1478.

The administration of towns in *señorío* reflected, on a smaller scale, that of the royal towns, though the *señor* acted as the sole source, for their inhabitants, of legal and political authority, whatever powers were reserved to the Crown by the original grant of *señorío*. However, the structure of government in *villas de señorío* was generally less important than the prospects of economic gain which they offered to their *señor*. The accounts of the *señorios* of the Guzmán and Ponce de León, published by Emma Solano Ruiz, show that the income of the greater lords derived mainly from their own family estates and from royal taxation, which they collected, legally or illegally, in their *señorío*. Specifically seignorial dues, of the type frequently found elsewhere in Europe, did not weigh heavily on the Andalusian peasant⁵.

The value of the cases of Córdoba and Jerez is that they were typical of the situation of the larger towns in the political and economic context which

5. EMMA SOLANO RUIZ, *La hacienda de las casas de Medina Sidonia y Arcos en la Andalucía del siglo XV*, «Archivo Hispalense», vol. 168 (1972), págs. 85-176.

has been described up to this point. Both towns had councils of *regidores* and *jurados*, under the control of a *corregidor*. Both administered large *términos*, though that of Jerez contained no *lugares* until the foundation of Puerto Real in 1483. However, the *término* of Jerez was a unity, whereas that of Córdoba was scattered among *lugares de señorío*. Before the situation of these two towns is considered further, it is desirable to introduce the first of the two terms employed in the title of this article —merchant capitalism.

This phrase is used in the sense described by Marx in *Grundrisse*, where he writes,

«that money is exchanged for commodity and the commodity for money; this movement of buying in order to sell, which makes up the formal aspect of commerce, of *capital as merchant capital* (my italics), is found in the earliest conditions of economic development ... like the Jews ... within medieval society»⁶.

In the limited space of this article it is not possible to apply this model of merchant capital to the Andalusian economy in a complete and detailed way. Instead, a survey of general economic trends in the region, in the period of the Catholic Kings, will be given and this will be followed by three studies of different commodities which were produced on a large scale in Andalusia —grain, wine and wool— with the purpose of showing how the regional economy was geared to the production of basic agricultural commodities.

At first sight, Marx's theory seems to provide for the kind of situation in which Andalusia found itself around 1500. In such a case, he thought, the local producer of raw materials —such as wine, wool or tunny-fish— «still engages only in so-called 'passive' trade, since the impulse for the activity of positing exchange values comes from outside and not from the inner structure of its production»⁷. However, this situation changes when the local economy begins to depend on the income from this external trade, so that through their very connections with merchants, the local producers make changes in their own economic activity in order to ensure the continuance of this income from foreign commerce. There is no need to depend on Marx's model for a definition of merchant capitalism as this study is not concerned specifically with what Marxists call the «transition from feudalism to capitalism». Instead, the concern here is simply to describe how the commerce of Jerez and Córdoba —and hence of the lower Andalusia—

6. English edition (Harmondsworth, 1973), pág. 253.

7. *Ibid.*, pág. 256.

lusian region, depended on the activities of international merchants, for whom the «profit motive» was a major driving force.

A good guide to the economic trends of western Europe in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries is the work of Pierre Vilar entitled *Oro y moneda en la historia, 1450-1920* (Barcelona, 1969). Vilar sees throughout Europe an increase in population, production and the area of land under cultivation, in the period after 1450. During the cycle between 1450/75 and 1500/25, there were various positive signs, including those abovementioned, and also the opening up of Africa, through the Portuguese trade with Guinea, as a supplier of slaves and also of gold. This gold was urgently needed to replenish the diminishing supplies in Europe which had led, in the mid-fifteenth century, to falls in the prices of commodities in terms of gold and, to a lesser extent, silver. Vilar ascribes to with the Portuguese of ports such as Jerez, Cádiz, Puerto de Santa María Castile an important role in this transition, mainly through the competition and Sanlúcar.

As far as Vilar's theory of a bullion shortage in mid-fifteenth century Europe is concerned, there is no doubt that the value of Castilian gold coins in terms of *maravedies* rose sharply at that time. Ladero's figures show, for example, that the value in *maravedies* of the Castilian *dobla de la banda* rose from 104 in 1430 to 365 in 1480 and the Aragonese florin rose from 52 in 1430 to 265 in 1480. After this date, the gold currency suffered no further revaluation before 1516, but these monetary changes have an important effect, as Ladero has shown, on the assessment of royal and seignorial revenues⁸. Talking about Europe in general, Vilar advanced the view that the fall in prices began to be reversed round about 1500, thanks to industrial and technological development (the latter also affecting the land), which took place during the period of low prices. He states that the supplies of gold which reached Andalusia from the Caribbean after 1492 were sufficient to push prices up in that region, but complains of the lack of series of prices for a detailed assessment of the situation⁹. As a Catalan specialist, Vilar, in 1969, seems not to have been aware that some figures for grain prices up to 1474 were published as long ago as 1929 by Moreno de Guerra in his edition of the chronicle of the Jerezano Benito de Cárdenas¹⁰. These figures have since been greatly improved upon by Angus Mackay in his 1972 article in *Past and Present*¹¹. The manuscript

8. LADERO, *La hacienda real de Castilla en el siglo XV* (La Laguna, 1973), págs. 41-2.

9. VILAR, *op. cit.*, págs. 67-8.

10. J. MORENO DE GUERRA Y ALONSO, *Bandos en Jerez. Los del puesto de abajo. Estudio social y genealógico de la Edad Media en las fronteras del reino de Granada*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1929-32).

11. *Popular movements and pogroms in fifteenth-century Castille*, «Past and Present», vol. 55 (1972).

sources of Jerez provide some kind of price series for grain between 1410 and 1491 but such a thing is not possible for Córdoba. Grain prices are poor indicators, however, of general price conditions, because the supply fluctuated so widely. A better guide, perhaps, are the meat prices included in the *actas capitulares*, because sales were publicly controlled, in Jerez between 1419 and 1515 and in Córdoba between 1479 and 1515. These show a rise from 2-3 *mrs* for a butcher's pound of 32 ounces (16 in Jerez) of mutton and pork, early in the fifteenth century in Jerez, to about 7-8 *mrs* in the period 1509-15. The picture in Córdoba is similar, though prices reached about 9-9½ *mrs* a pound there by 1515. Córdoba bacon prices in the early sixteenth century and the regular council assays of the *almona* of soap provide similar results¹². The available evidence shows a gradual price rise from about 1470-80 onwards, which supports Vilar's contention.

Among agricultural commodities, the most basic is grain, which was cultivated in Andalusia mainly in the form of wheat and barley. For this reason, royal efforts were devoted to controlling the supply, though the Crown could never, of course, remove the uncertainties of the weather and its consequences. The availability of grain varied from year to year and its price virtually from day to day, so that no region could rely on being self-sufficient and the effect of attempts to control imports, exports and prices was inevitably limited. Royal licences, which were issued in an attempt to control the export of grain, are one of the best indications of the normal balance of trade in this commodity¹³.

In years when all exports of grain were forbidden by the Crown, such restrictions were enforced by local councils, as agents for the Crown. The *concejos* appointed their own guards and those of Jerez worked under the supervision of a *guarda mayor*, appointed by the Crown for the dioceses of Seville and Cádiz¹⁴. Illegal exports of grain were seized by Jerez guards in 1490 and 1491 and in 1500 Jerez *concejo* appointed two *fieles* to supervise the loading of grain at the town's port on the Guadalete, El Portal¹⁵. Often, licences for the export of grain were granted to nobles of their officials for the supply of neighbouring *señoríos*. For example, Cádiz was frequently supplied from Jerez at the request of its marquis and Pedro de Suazo received consignments for his castle of Puente de León¹⁶. Sometimes An-

12. Archivo Municipal de Jerez (AMJ), *actas capitulares*, 5-II-1410, 30-VI-1419, 16-VIII-1491, 15-IX-1515. Archivo Municipal de Córdoba (AMC), *actas capitulares*, 27-IV-1479, 20-III-1493, 5-II-1500, 16-V-1511, 16-IV-1512, 28-V-1515. These references are merely examples of information on prices.

13. AMJ, *actas capitulares*, 21-V-1468, 26-VII-1468, 7-VIII-1490, 9-IX-1494, 10-VI-1503, 15-X-1509, 30-V-1513.

14. Archivo General de Simancas, Registro General del Sello (RGS), 20-II-1477.

15. RGS 6-IV-1490, 22-III-1491. AMJ, *actas capitulares*, 6-IV-1500.

16. AMJ, *actas capitulares*, 1-IX-1467, 18-IX-1467, 17-I-1468, 19-VII-1478 (Cádiz), 24-IX-1467, 11-VII-1468 (Puente de Suazo).

dalusian grain was sent to help other parts of Spain, as when the Crown authorised the export of 5.000 *cabices* of wheat in 1481 to Fuenterrabía, because the French had refused that town supplies, or when 500 *cabices* of wheat were sent to relieve a famine in Mallorca in 1484¹⁷. There were complaints, according to the chronicler Alfonso de Palencia, about illegal dealing in export licences by the Crown, while the Catholic Kings were in Seville in 1477-8, but Ladero thinks it more probable that the Crown was attempting to bring an existing illegal trade under control. His calculation that the Crown authorised the export from Andalusia as a whole of 14,800 *cabices* (9.790 tonnes) in 1477-8 indicates the importance of grain production in the region¹⁸.

There is no doubt that Jerez attached great importance to its export trade in grain. The Catholic Kings confirmed on several occasions the privilege whereby *vecinos* of Jerez were allowed to export one quarter of their harvests without tax, though the Crown had to insist that no more than this was exported¹⁹. Although 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. After that, many licences for export from Jerez and other parts of Andalusia were granted, and although Ladero states that the export of grain from the region was virtually forbidden during the Granada campaign, Jerez documents record licences for shipments to Guipúzcoa, Gran Canaria and Barcelona between 1483 and 1493²⁰.

There is equally little doubt that the production of grain in the *término* of Jerez involved the leading families of the town. A survey of notarial registers in the Archivo de Protocolos between 1505 and 1515 reveals, not surprisingly, extensive ownership of arable land on the part of a series of families prominent in the public life of Jerez —the Cabeza de Vaca, Carrizosa, Dávila, Estopiñán, Herrera, Hinojosa, López de Mendoza, Riquel, Sepúlveda, Spínola, Suazo, Vera, Villacreces, Villavicencio and Zurita. The limited scope of the available sample makes it impossible to quantify the grain interests of these families, but nonetheless it is clear that this was the kind of family which benefited from the privilege of exporting a quarter of its grain harvest from Jerez. It should be noted, however, that royal licences for the export of grain from the area were not normally granted to local inhabitants, but rather to foreign merchants and leading noblemen.

17. RGS 5-XI-1481, 25-II-1484.

18. LADERO, *Los cereales en la Andalucía del siglo XV*, «Revista de la Universidad de Madrid», 18 (1969), págs. 238-9.

19. Confirmations in AMJ, sec. 6, ser. 1, ord. 593 and actas capitulares, 15-IX-1482, 21-V-1484.

20. LADERO, *Los cereales*, págs. 225-36. AMJ, actas capitulares, 7-VIII-1490, 9-IX-1494. RGS 22-XII-1484, 30-XII-1493.

The interest of Jerez in the production of another basic commodity—wine—was perhaps even more intense than its interest in grain. Nearly all the families mentioned above as grain-producers are known to have been owners of vineyards. The earliest surviving evidence of the export of wine from Jerez is negative, being a temporary prohibition of exports in 1416²¹. The vines of Jerez were arranged in *pagos*, many of which are still identifiable today²². They were mostly situated on the roads from Jerez to Arcos and to Sanlúcar and there is evidence that *vecinos* of Jerez also owned vineyards within the boundaries of Sanlúcar and Puerto de Santa María²³. 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 *cabildo* 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. The size of barrels and the date of the vintage were also regulated by the *cabildo*, 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. The 1483 ordinances show that many grapes were dried and sold as *pasas*, which were often exported in the same shipments as wine²⁴.

Evidence for the ownership of vines in Jerez is fortunately supplemented by a series of loading contracts, in the Archivo de Protocolos, between wine-shippers and shipmasters. These indicate that, in the early sixteenth century, the destinations of Jerez wine exports included 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 from selling the wine. This 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 *veinticuatro* Leonís de Adorno, who was of Genoese mercantile origin. Like the town's grain, Jerez wine was generally exported from the jetty on the Guadalete, known as El Portal de San Ni-

21. AMJ, actas capitulares, 14-III-1416.

22. These identifications are confirmed in MANUEL GONZÁLEZ GORDÓN, *Jerez, Xerez, Sherish* (Jerez, 1970), págs. 212-9.

23. Licences for the import of wine from these areas for private consumption in AMJ, actas capitulares, 26-II-1435, 24-III-1435, 21-II-1437, 8-III-1437, 24-V-1438.

24. AMJ, actas capitulares, 10-VII-1482, 12-VIII-1433. HIPÓLITO SANCHO DE SOPRANIS, *Historia de Jerez de la Frontera desde su incorporación a los dominios cristianos* (Jerez, 1964-5), I, 78.

colás, which was already in existence in 1409. A new stone landing-stage was proposed by the *cabildo* of Jerez in 1500 for the loading and unloading of wheat, barley, wine, *bizcocho* and other commodities «a forme de Sevilla»²⁵.

The third example to be considered of the way in which the Andalusian economy was directed towards the production of raw materials is the wool trade of Córdoba. As has already been mentioned, Córdoba did have close, if uneasy, relations with the Mesta, in this period, but interest centres on the wool produced by the non-migratory flocks of the *vecinos* of Córdoba. The evidence for this production consists of over two hundred contracts for the sale of wool by Córdoba stock-owners which survive from the period 1471-1515 in the Archivo de Protocolos in Córdoba²⁶. The range of occupation of the stock-owners who made the contracts is wide, descending from Doña María Carrillo, widow of Martín Alonso de Montema-

25. Archivo de Protocolos de Jerez (APJ), registers of 1511, fols. 47v, 55, 97v, 145v, 307v; 1515, fols. 378, 658v, 676v, 844v, 872, 875v, 1045. AMJ, actas capitulares, 22-XII-1409, 21-III-1500.

26. Contracts for the sale of wool in Archivo de Protocolos de Córdoba (APC): Of. 18: tom. 2, fols. 173, 823, 844v, 912, 945v; tom. 4, fols. 262, 327v-328, 332-3; tom. 5, fols. 742, 780v; tom. 6, cuad. 26, fol. 13; tom. 7, fols. 10, 119v-120, 265v, 280v, 435v, 439v, 587v; tom. 8, fol. 241. Of. 24: tom. 1, fols. 309-10, 311, 591-2, 594 595, 597, 599, 601, 603, 605, 607, 609, 611, 613, 614, 616; tom. 2, fols. 154, 205-6; tom. 3, fols. 31, 54v, 280. Of. 33: tom. 1, fols. 178, 267. Of. 14: tom. 7, cuad. 12, fol. 101; tom. 10, cuad. 3, fol. 18v, cuad. 16, fol. 9v; tom. 15, cuad. 3, fol. 12v; tom. 17, cuad. 5, fol. 47, cuad. 6, fols. 15v, 16v, 26v; tom. 19, cuad. 4, fols. 6, 25v, cuad. 6, fol. 19v; tom. 20, cuad. 2, fols. 24v-5, 26, 28, 29, 38v, cuad. 3, fols. 20v, 22v, cuad. 5, fols. 3v, 9v, 43; tom. 21, cuad. 1, fols. 4v-5; tom. 22, cuad. 3, fols. 12v, 22v, 23, 26v, 33v, 44, cuad. 5, fols. 31v, 46, 49, 52, 52v, 55, 55v; tom. 23, cuad. 1, fol. 10, cuad. 2, fols. 5, 56, cuad. 3, fol. 40, cuad. 5, fols. 17, 19v, 20v, 43, cuad. 6, fol. 23, cuad. 9, fol. 210; tom. 24, cuad. 3, fol. 25, cuad. 6, fols. 2v, 3, 16, 20, cuad. 9, fols. 11v, 22, cuad. 10, fol. 16, cuad. 11, fols. 1v, 28, 33, 35v, 45, cuad. 13, fol. 40v, cuad. 17, fols. 5v, 29v, 30; tom. 25, cuad. 6, fols. 1, 2, 5v, cuad. 23, fol. 22v; tom. 26, cuad. 1, fols. 42, 57v, cuad. 2, fols. 26, 29, 42v, 51, 56; tom. 27, cuad. 5, fols. 2, 4v, 6v-7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14v, 16v, 17v, 19, 28v-9, 30, 32v, 37, 43v, cuad. 9, fols. 28, 29, 30v, 40, 40v-41; tom. 28, cuad. 2, fol. 38v, cuad. 6, fols. 11, 22v, 61v, cuad. 9, fol. 66; tom. 29, cuad. 20, fols. 2, 15, cuad. 23, fols. 2v, 58v, cuad. 24, fol. 15v; tom. 30, cuad. 9, fol. 27v, cuad. 14, fols. 1v, 19, cuad. 21, fol. 67, cuad. 25, fols. 13, 22v, 28v, 34v; tom. 31, cuad. 10, fol. 27v, cuad. 14, fol. 11, cuad. 20, fols. 17v, 47, cuad. 22, fols. 142, 220v, 276; tom. 32, cuad. 5, fol. 32v, cuad. 7, fol. 29v, cuad. 12, fol. 22, cuad. 14, fols. 17, 21, cuad. 17, fol. 4v, cuad. 15, fol. 5v, cuad. 24, fol. 8v, cuad. 27, fols. 11, 15v, cuad. 28, fols. 6, 8; tom. 33, cuad. 3, fol. 4a, cuad. 7, fols. 9, 18v, 37v, 38v, cuad. 10, fols. 15, 17, 26, 29, 43v, 52v, cuad. 11, fol. 21, cuad. 13, fol. 12, cuad. 14, fols. 15, 50, cuad. 16, fol. 17v; tom. 34, cuad. 3, fols. 19, 26v, 27, 28, 28v, 29v, 30, 31v, 32v, 33, 34, 43, 43v, 46v, 71, cuad. 4, fol. 4v, cuad. 6 fols. 6v, 9, 11, 21v, 27v, 32v; tom. 38, sin folio; tom. 41, cuad. 9, fol. 12; tom. 42, cuad. 16, fols. 3, 7, 17; tom. 44, cuad. 7, fols. 15-31.

Contracts for the transport of wool: APC. Of. 18: tom. 7, fols. 265v, 280v. Of. 24: tom. 1, fols. 15-6, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161v-162, 163, 167. Of. 14: tom. 35, cuad. 6, fol. 9v, cuad. 24, fol. 22. Of. 24: tom. 3, fol. 280.

yor, through fifteen *veinticuatro*s, the widows of three *veinticuatro*s, six *jurados*, an *escribano* and a *mayordomo* of Córdoba to an assortment of *labradores*, *pastores* and *oficiales* of various crafts and trades. The large number of *veinticuatro*s and other office-holders involved in these contracts is particularly significant. Henry IV had succumbed to pressure from local graziers when he confirmed an *antigua ordenanza* which forbade the letting of Córdoba's pastures to *extranjeros*²⁷. This measure implies more than rivalry between migrant and static graziers. While the Mesta supplied the market of Medina del Campo, which was dominated by the 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.

In fact there had been a cloth industry in Córdoba since the Muslim period and Alfonso X's privilege of 1258 to the town's weavers had been confirmed by Henry II in 1369. Ordinances for the cloth industry were promulgated by the Crown in 1458 and more in 1502. In 1511, further national ordinances were put into effect, after the representatives of interested towns, including Córdoba, had been consulted, but discussion between the Crown and Córdoba *cabildo* continued after this²⁸. Nonetheless, while it is clear that some cloth was produced in Córdoba in this period, it is equally obvious that the best wool of the region did not reach the local industry. The large number of sale contracts 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) 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.

The surviving material on the sale of wool in Córdoba clearly involves the *veinticuatro*s of the town in considerable numbers. General interest in the economic activity of the nobility in Andalucía tends to concentrate,

27. AMC 27-XI-1493.

28. MIGUEL GUAL CAMARENA, *Para un mapa de la industria textil hispana en la edad media*, «Anuario de Estudios Medievales», 4 (1967), 131. AMC, sec. 6, ser. 3, números 3, 4, 9, the last reproduced by ALONSO DE SANTA CRUZ in *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos*, ed. J. de Mata Carriazo (Seville, 1951), págs. 164-80.

however, on the small group of upper noble families. Vilar, for example, paints quite a colourful picture of aristocratic dynamism. He refers to the concession by John II of Castille to the duke of Medina Sidonia in 1449 of any lands on the coast of Morocco and further south which he conquered, and points out that captured towns on the African mainland went into the duke's *señorio*. However, it is as yet virtually impossible to verify his statement that Andalusian magnates, such as the duke, owed their great wealth to their African possessions. The Osuna section of the Archivo Histórico Nacional and the Archivo de Medinaceli in Seville, which are both filled with unused seignorial material, may well contain the required evidence, but the published accounts of the Guzmáns for 1509-11 make no mention of any *señorios* outside the Spanish mainland²⁹. As a result, there is only fragmentary evidence for noble involvement in commerce.

The chronicles of Mosén Diego de Valera and Alfonso de Palencia contain some of this evidence. Palencia describes the conflict which arose in 1476 between the duke of Medina Sidonia and Valera's son Charles, who had been named captain of Guinea by Don Fernando, in recognition of his father's services to the Crown. The trouble concerned the island of Antonio off the Guinea coast, which was used by the Portuguese as a trading station. Palencia also describes, elsewhere, a fishing war which had developed off the coast of North Africa near Tangier, between the Andalusians and the Portuguese, in the period 1471-4. This led to military action on land, during which the king of Portugal became involved in the civil war then raging between the Guzmán and the Ponce de León. The eventual end of Portuguese attempts to place the Beltraneja on the Castilian throne was linked to peace in the trade war, which involved the abandonment of the Guinea trade to the Portuguese and which was imposed on the reluctant Andalusian nobility by the Catholic Kings³⁰.

The prime example of the upper nobility's involvement in fishing is the tunny-processing industry on the south-western tip of Spain. Each year, the tunny were ambushed in May or June on their migrations between the Atlantic and the Sea of Azov. They were intercepted, near the straits of Gibraltar, by long nets which were let down from a line of boats. Fishermen on the boats then hauled the tunny out of the water with grappling-hooks and killed them either on barges or on land. Once on shore, they were gutted, cut into slices, cooked in olive oil, salted and put into barrels. The *almadrabas* where this processing took place were exploited by

29. SOLANO, *op. cit.*, and VILAR, *op. cit.*, págs. 59-63.

30. MOSÉN DIEGO DE VALERA, *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos*, ed. J. de Mata Carriazo, «Anejo VIII de la Revista de Filología Española» (Madrid, 1927), introduction pág. LIII. ALFONSO DE PALENCIA, *Crónica de Enrique IV (Décadas)*, translated by A. Paz y Meliá (Madrid, 1904-9), IV, 216-7, 7-11.

the Guzmán and Ponce de León. The Ponce had *almadrabas* at Rota and Chipiona and the Guzmán at Castelnovo, Torre de Guzmán and especially Conil. The largest *almadrabas* were at Cádiz and they were in the hands of the Ponce from 1469 to 1492, but were also claimed by the Guzmán. The *señores* were interested in tunny because of its export potential. The tunny was sent directly from Cádiz to Southampton, in England, in the care of Genoese merchants and there is evidence of the duke of Medina Sidonia's tunny being sold in Valencia³¹.

If it is clear from the cases of grain, wine, wool, and fish that both the upper nobility and the urban office-holding families in Andalusia were involved in the production of primary materials, it must follow either that the nobles themselves were responsible for the sale of the commodities concerned or else that they employed agents. If the system under consideration was a mercantile capitalist system it is to be expected that external merchants would have performed this function and this indeed seems to have been the case. The main category of merchant responsible for the marketing of Andalusian raw materials was that of the Genoese, whose trading activities in the region since the thirteenth century have already been described. By the late fifteenth century, some of the Genoese families were, as Heers has remarked, becoming integrated with local society³². The two most prominent cases in Jerez were branches of the Adorno and Spínola families and they supplement the extensive evidence concerning Cádiz which was assembled many years ago by Hipólito Sancho³³. Another family, the Zacharias, settled in Jerez in the thirteenth century and had merged with local families by 1500, but Francisco Adorno was *jurado* of San Marcos by 1477 and Leonís Adorno became *veinticuatro* of Jerez, as did Agostín de Spínola and his son Luis in succession³⁴. As far as intermarriage is concerned, Francisco Adorno married into the local Figueroa family and Luis de Spínola into the most extensive Jerezano lineage, the Núñez de Villavicencio³⁵. Notarial registers indicate that Adorno and Spínola owned extensive housing in the city and agricultural land in the *término*

31. W. RADCLIFFE, *Fishing from the earliest times* (London, 1921), págs. 99-104. J. HORNELL, *Fishing in many waters* (Cambridge, 1950), págs. 84-5. PEDRO DE MEDINA, *Crónica de los duques de Medina Sidonia*, «CODOIN», 39, 276-81. SOLANO, *op. cit.*, pág. 138. FLORENTINO PÉREZ-EMBID, *Le port de Seville au bas moyen âge*, «Le Moyen Age», 24 (1969), 489, 492. Archivo del Reino de Valencia, Mestre Racional 9812 — this reference was kindly supplied by Mademoiselle Jacqueline Guiral of Nancy University (France).

32. HEERS, *op. cit.*, pág. 332.

33. HIPÓLITO SANCHO DE SOPRANIS, *Los genoveses en Cádiz antes del año 1600*, «Publicaciones de la Sociedad de Estudios Históricos Jerezanos», first series, 4.

34. RGS 17-X-1477. AMJ, *actas capitulares*, 1502, fol. 234, 18-II-1467, 24-II-1472.

35. APJ 1506, fol. 508; 1510, fol. 538v.

of Jerez, including *tierra calma*, vineyards and olive-groves, in the early sixteenth century³⁶.

At the same time as the Genoese merchants were beginning to settle in local noble society in Andalusia and were increasingly adopting its customs, another group of merchants appeared, but in the inland city of Córdoba and not in the coastal areas where the Genoese were mostly settled. These merchants came from Burgos to buy the wool production of the Córdoba stock-owners. The notarial contracts, which have already been mentioned, show that, after 1486, white merino wool which had previously been sold to Cordoban merchants began to be sold to the Burgaleses³⁷. When Pedro de Arceo, *regidor* of Burgos, first arrived to buy wool in Córdoba in 1486, he acted in conjunction with a Cordobés, Pedro de Valles, but after this the Burgaleses alone dominated the trade in every year except 1506, when the patterns of trade were distorted by famine and political instability. In 1499, Alfonso de Castro, a Burgos merchant, asked the permission of the *cabildo* of Córdoba to use a site on royal land to build a riverside storehouse for wool.³⁸ As the price of an *arroba* of white merino wool gradually rose from 346 *mrs* in 1486 to 449 *mrs* in 1515, the same merchants regularly reappeared to buy wool-crops. Pedro de Arceo, for example, came in several years 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 Burgaleses appear as buyers or agents. The involvement of the Burgaleses in the export of Córdoba wool is thus clearly indicated in the Cordoban documents, although it is not mentioned in the works of Basas Fernández on the Burgos merchants³⁹. There is no evidence that the Burgaleses settled permanently in Córdoba in this period.

The result of enquiries into the economic activity of Andalusia in this period would appear to be that the region was a producer of agricultural raw materials, notably grain, wine, wool and fish. It also appears that the leaders of local society were involved in this trade, but that they depended for the sale of their products abroad on merchants who came from outside, particularly the Genoese on the coast and the Burgaleses inland, in Córdoba. If the political leaders of the region were thus integrated in this system, which may, at least at first at first sight, be qualified as «merchant capitalist», it is natural to ask whether this economic situation had any re-

36. APJ 1506, fols. 242, 328, 372v, 559v; 1508 (I), fol. 215; 1510, fols. 133v, 215v, 419v, 560, 863, 912; 1511, fol. 287.

37. For manuscript references see note 26.

38. AMC, *actas capitulares*, 10-V-1499.

39. MANUEL BASAS FERNÁNDEZ, *Burgos en el comercio lanero del siglo XVI*, «Moneda y Crédito», 77 (1961) and *El consulado de Burgos en el siglo XVI* (Madrid, 1963).

percussions on the politics of the region, as seen through the evidence of Córdoba and Jerez de la Frontera.

A point which is sometimes understated in general books on Spain written outside the Peninsula⁴⁰ is that even if the councils of *regidores* were set up by Alfonso XI in order to increase royal control, firstly they failed, so that the Trastámaras had to introduce the *corregidor* to remedy the situation and secondly, they in fact secured the dominance over local society of a small group of noble families. It should be made clear at this stage that the families referred to here are the office-holding families in the towns and not the upper nobility, such as the Ponce and Guzmán. The main sign that councils of *regidores* were intended to give the Crown more control over local government was the fact that *regidores* were appointed by the king. However, they were also appointed for life and this opened the way to the formation of oligarchies in the towns. A *veinticuatro* of Córdoba or Jerez in the fifteenth century had little fear of dismissal. Indeed the Crown encouraged him to regard his office as a family possession, to be transmitted to his heirs. Henry IV, for example, stipulated when he reorganised the *concejo* of Jerez in 1465 that both *veinticuatrias* and *juraderías* were to be regarded as hereditary⁴¹. Such was the enthusiasm for such offices that the problem of *oficios acrecentados* arose, becoming particularly grave under John II and Henry IV.

When the Catholic Kings, at the Cortes of Toledo in 1480, took measures to reduce the number of such offices, the actual total of *veinticuattros* in Córdoba had reached the remarkable number of 114⁴². The Catholic Kings realised that the key to the reduction of oligarchical power in urban government was to regain for the Crown control of the system of resignations of offices. For this reason, the laws of Toledo contained a strong statement of their intention to abolish totally hereditary office-holding⁴³. The practice of granting *cartas expectativas* was rejected and it was stated that all those who had received royal grants to resign their offices to named individuals (generally relatives) should lose the office and their goods if the faculty concerned was used after a certain date. No grants of this kind would be made in future. In fact, though, 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

40. For example, J. H. ELLIOTT, *Imperial Spain, 1469-1716* (London, 1963), págs. 81-5.

41. SANCHO, *Historia de Jerez de la Frontera*, I, 155 (*carta real* of 15 July 1465).

42. LADERO, *Andalucía en el siglo XV*, págs. 86-7 (reference to AGS Cámara-Pueblos, leg. 6).

43. ALONSO DÍAZ DE MONTALVO, *Leyes de España* (Zamora, 1485 and other editions), lib. 7, tít. 2, ley 13.

implied that resignations were still permitted. It was stated that they would be considered as valid if the office-holders lived at least twenty days after making them⁴⁴.

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 study of the *actas capitulares* of the towns and the Registro General del Sello indicate the virtual monopoly of public office in the hands of a restricted group of families which has already been mentioned in connection with economic activity, such as the Aguayo, Hoces and De los Ríos in Córdoba and the Villavicencio, Vera and Zurita in Jerez.

Another parallel between the economic and the political conditions of Andalusia in this period is the control exercised by the upper nobility over the *cabildos* of the royal towns. This meant that the coincidence of the economic interests of the upper and the urban nobility was matched by a coincidence of political interests. The impression is often given that the result of the Catholic King's activity was to reduce upper noble influence in royal towns but the facts, at least in the cases of Córdoba and Jerez, do not support this interpretation. Although not perhaps as obvious as in the civil war period under Henry IV, this control was nonetheless exercised, in four main ways.

Firstly and most obviously, members of the upper nobility held office in the royal towns. Under the Catholic Kings, the heads of all the twenty or so leading families of lower Andalusia held *regimientos* in one or more royal towns. In this respect there was no change from the situation in the previous reign. Thus the *cabildo* of Córdoba contained members of the Fernández de Córdoba, Méndez de Sotomayor, Portocarrero, Mexía of Santa Eufemia, Venegas and De los Ríos. 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 magnates were among the five who held *votos mayores* in the council. The others were the *alcaide de los donceles*, Gonzalo Mexía and Luis Portocarrero⁴⁵. The *voto mayor*

44. MONTALVO, lib. 7, tít. 2, ley 22.

45. LADERO, *Andalucía en el siglo XV*, pág. 86.

seems not to have given an additional vote, but to have conferred superior *status* in the *cabildo*. However, it helped to confirm the dominance of the upper nobility in the town. Even though Don Alonso de Aguilar and the count of Cabra, as the leaders of the two *bandos* in the wars of the previous reign, were excluded from Córdoba by the Catholic Kings in 1477, they were not deprived of their offices and the opportunity for personal intervention remained open to them for the future. In Jerez, on the other hand, the marquis of Cádiz, Don Rodrigo Ponce de León, was removed from his *alguacilazgo mayor* in 1477, although he was paid 100.000 *mrs* a year 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 1493⁴⁶.

In view of the fact that the upper-noble office-holders were expelled from the towns, leaving the field free for the royally-appointed *corregidores* and their officials, it is reasonable to conclude, with Ladero, that in and after 1477-8, a shift of power away from the upper nobility and towards the Crown took place in Andalusia⁴⁷. However, this move was not the end of the nobles' influence because office-holding had been only one of the ways in which the upper nobles had controlled the towns. Another was the simple feudal link between *señor* and *vasallo*. This showed itself, in the context of Castille, 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, as his *commensal* or *paniguado*, but he was not obliged to do so. However, he was required to serve his lord militarily, when summoned. When a *regidor* of a town received such an *acostamiento* from a lord, the act might have considerable political significance. Ladero has noted the growth, after the arrival of the Trastámaras in 1369, of the illegal practice of paying *acostamientos* to *regidores* and other council officials, 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, was confirmed by the Catholic Kings. Nonetheless, the continued existence of this practice was tacitly admitted by the Kings 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 towns⁴⁸. Having admitted the principle of nobles' paying *acostamientos* to officials in neighbouring towns, it was difficult in practice for the Crown to prevent such payments in towns where the nobles themselves held offices, even if they were not allowed to exercise them.

Marriage was also used as a method of cementing political alliances by

46. Archivo Histórico Nacional (AHN), sección Osuna, leg. 143-5, 143-6.

47. LADERO, *Andalucía en el siglo XV*, págs. 147-8.

48. LADERO, *op. cit.*, págs. 8, 25. MONTALVO, lib. 7, tít. 2, ley 17.

nobles as much as the Crown. In Córdoba and its district, Don Alonso de Aguilar himself formed links with the upper nobility of other regions, marrying the daughter of the marquis of Villena. Similarly, their son Don Pedro married the daughter of the admiral of Castile. Don Alonso's daughter Elvira married an Andalusian magnate, 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, married the *señor* of El Carpio, Don Luis Méndez de Haro y Sotomayor. The main rival of the house of Aguilar, the first count of Cabra, married into the Carrillo family, lords of Santa Eufemia before the Mexía, and the second into the Mendoza. The second count's brother, Martín, married a daughter of the count of Arcos and his son, Don Iñigo de Córdoba, married Doña Ana de Aguayo, daughter of the *señores* of Villaverde, whose family provided many *veinticuatro*s of Córdoba⁴⁹.

The fourth method used by nobles to forge links with office-holders in royal towns was to employ them as officers in *villas de señorío*. The *contador* of Don Alonso de Aguilar, for example, Alfonso Fernández de Córdoba, was also *jurado* of Santa María⁵⁰. Relatives of Juan de Frías, who was a *veinticuatro* of Córdoba from 1480 until after 1497, were established in *señorío*, in Alcaudete. Diego de Frías was *alcaide* of that town in 1464 and Martín de Frías in 1477, when he too became a *veinticuatro acrecentado* of Córdoba⁵¹. Individuals saw no objection to forming connections with the Crown and with *señores* at the same time, whatever the legal prohibitions of such behaviour. Fernán Carrillo de Córdoba, *veinticuatro* of Córdoba, *guarda mayor* of Henry IV and *capitán de la guardia real* of Ferdinand and Isabella, made an alliance with the count of Cabra on 11th February 1482 which illustrates this combination of apparently contradictory political positions,

«Yo, Fernán Carrillo, capitán del Rey e Reyna nuestros Señores, e su veynte e quatro de la muy noble çibdat de Cordova, considerando el debdo e grande amor e amistad que mis Señores Ferrand Carrillo de Cordova mi abuelo e Gonzalo Carrillo de Cordova, veinte e quatro de la dicha çibdat de Cordova, mi padre, que sancta gloria aian, siempre tuvieron con los Señores de la Casa de Baena, de donde ellos venían e yo vengo, renovando el maior amistad que conforme al debdo e parentesco que

49. ABAD DE RUTE, *Historia de la casa de Córdoba*, «Boletín de la Real Academia de Córdoba» (BRAC), 78 (1958), 284 and 82 (1961), 359.

50. APC of. 14, tom. 16, cuad. 5, fols. 29-30.

51. ABAD DE RUTE, *op. cit.*, «BRAC», 90 (1970), 533-4. RGS 14-II-1477.

con el Señor Conde de Cabra e Señor de la Casa de Baena tengo»⁵².

To end this consideration of the connection between political oligarchy and merchant capitalism in the Andalusia of the Catholic Kings, it is merchants from outside, both on a public and on a private level. To deal possible to give some examples of co-operation between town councils and first with the public activity of the *cabildos*, there are various cases of help given by the *veinticuatro*s of Córdoba to the Burgos merchants who came to the city to buy wool. The occasion in 1499 on which Antonio de Castro of Burgos asked the *cabildo* for a licence to build a house in *realengo*, «baxo de las açeñas de Don Tello, pa(ra) llevar a tener la lana que compra en esta çibdad», has already been mentioned. The *actas capitulares* say that, «Dará del çenso lo que sea bueno pa(ra) propios de la çibdad». It seems from other *actas* that Burgos merchants were lodging in council property by 1514. In that year, the council complained on 12 May about the (apparently royal) privileges of the Burgos merchants in the city and a possible cause of its discontent is revealed in an entry for 24 July, which records that the Burgaleses owed the council 1.585 *mrs* for their lodgings. On a more harmonious note, the council gave several licences to Burgaleses, for example in 1500, for the tax-free import of wine to the *término* for their own consumption⁵³.

Co-operation with merchants on the part of town councils went much further than the provision of facilities for their operations. The case of public finance in Córdoba reveals to what extent the *cabildo* could come to depend on the merchants. One example is the attempted collection in the town of a *sis*a or *imposición* on cloth. Impositions were a common method of supplementing municipal income and *cabildos* became more and more dependent on them as municipal expenditure increased. In Jerez, for example, the proportion of the town's income which was raised in *sis*as rose from one third in 1482 to a half in 1500 and after⁵⁴. Generally, such taxes were collected on foodstuffs, but in Córdoba a series of attempts were made to raise such a tax on *paños*. In 1497, the *concejo* asked for a three per cent levy on cloth sales to pay a contribution to the Hermandad, but this was changed into a loan of 72.000 *mrs* from the *traperos*. In addition, those who supplied the loan were freed from all impositions in 1498 and the same thing happened with a Hermandad contribution due in April-May 1498. The *traperos* persuaded the *cabildo* to abandon the idea of a *sis*a in return for a

52. FRANCISCO FERNÁNDEZ DE BETHENCOURT, *Historia genealógica y heráldica de la monarquía española, Casa Real y grande de España* (Madrid, 1897-1920), 8, 482.

53. AMC, *actas capitulares*, 10-V-1499, 12-II-1500, 6-V-1500, 12-V-1514, 24-VII-1514.

54. Municipal accounts in AMJ, *actas capitulares*, 1482, fol. 95; 1500, fol. 115; 1515, fol. 1.

50.000 *mrs* loan and repayment was agreed by the *cabildo* of 20.000 *mrs* still owed to the merchants from the last loan. The *traperos* had similar success in 1500, 1511, 1512 and 1515⁵⁵. In this case, the strength of the *traperos* and *aljabibes*, in other words commercial interests, was so great that the *cabildo* completely failed to raise a tax which it wanted, despite having full royal support for its efforts.

In the case of an emergency in food-supplies in the years 1502-1507, Córdoba council showed its dependence not only on merchants from outside, in this case the Genoese, but also on the upper nobility. The first indication of trouble in Córdoba was the prohibition 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 royal *tasa* of 1502 was published in the town, involving only a small reduction in prices, but in March the council ordered a *cala de pan*, in which all grain found in private houses was to be brought to the *alhóndiga* for public sale. In April, the first appeal was made 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*. On 15 April, Martín Alonso de Montemayor, the brother of the *señor* of Alcaudete, received repayment of 150.000 *mrs* which he had lent to 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, *señor* of Alcaudete, and his namesake of Zuheros. Lesser *señores*, such as Alonso de los Ríos, Alfonso Pérez de Saavedra, Diego de Aguayo and Francisco Cabrera were also involved, on a smaller scale. By 1506, all supplies of grain in the area were completely exhausted and in order to save 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 from the Crown 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*⁵⁶. After this, the city was supplied by Genoese from Seville, but the readiness of the magnates to assist

55. AMC, actas capitulares, 20-XI-1497, 4-XII-1497, 27-IV-1498, 4-V-1498, 15-IV-1500, 15-V-1500, 25-VI-1511, 9-VII-1511, 21-VI-1512, 12-I-1515, 4-IV-1515.

56. LADERO, *Los cereales...* AMC, actas capitulares, 15-IV-1503, 17-IV-1503, 18-V-1506, 6-VI-1506, 21-VI-1506.

the town had great political significance. The grain question reinforced the dependence of the urban oligarchs on the upper nobility, as well as the merchants.

Perhaps the most extensive material in support of the kind of connections which have been made here is to be found in the records of individual families. Even more than in their public actions as *veinticuatro*s and *jurados*, the leaders of local society in towns such as Córdoba and Jerez practised the connection between oligarchy and merchant capitalism in their private lives. The richness of the available documentation cannot be fully represented here, but perhaps the best way of indicating the kind of results which it is possible to obtain from this approach is to examine the case of one family, the De los Ríos, *señores* of Las Ascalonias (Córdoba), which fits into the economic and political categories which have been considered up to now. The choice is arbitrary and many others could have been made, but in this case the De los Ríos must stand for the rest. The *señores* of the *heredamiento* of Las Ascalonias, in the *término* of Hornachuelos, in the valley of the Guadalquivir, were a branch of the main lineage, the De los Ríos of Fernán Núñez, who had received the *señorio* of that *lugar* in the Campiña of Córdoba from Henry II and had been allowed to make it a *mayorazgo* by John I on 10 September 1382. The Ascalonias line received that property in the reign of John II and Diego Gutiérrez de los Ríos I resigned it to his son Diego II as a *mayorazgo*, by a royal *cédula* of Henry IV, dated 20 January 1461⁵⁷. Diego II was a *veinticuatro* of Córdoba from about 1469 until his death in 1489. He was succeeded by his son Diego III, who was *veinticuatro* of Córdoba from 1478 to 1495, when he died. Diego III's son Pedro also became a *veinticuatro* of Córdoba in 1495 and still held the office when Ferdinand died in 1516.

The property of the family, as recorded in the Archivo de Protocolos of Córdoba, falls into the categories of urban and rural ownership. Within the city, the family possessions included houses in the *colación* of Santa María, which were sold by the widow of Diego II, Doña Juana de Quesada, in 1489, and others in the *colación* of San Pedro, in some of which the family lived in the time of Diego III and Pedro. The family also owned shops in the Calle de los Marmolejos, *colación* of San Pedro, which were rented for five years from Midsummer 1487 for 5.000 *mrs* and four pairs of *gallinas* per annum, and others in the *colación* of San Nicolás de la Ajarquía, near the Calle del Potro, which were rented in *censo perpetual* of 1.000 *mrs* per annum to Alonso Malcome in 1491⁵⁸. Outside the city,

57. LADERO, *Andalucía*, pág. 56. A. and A. GARCÍA CARRAFFA, *Enciclopedia heráldica y genealógica hispanoamericana* (Madrid, 1957-63), 78, 114-18 (Fernán Núñez), 125-9 (Ascalonias).

58. APC, of. 18, tom. 2, fol. 123v; of. 14, tom. 37, cuad. 2, fol. 4; of. 18, tom. 1, fols. 526v-7; of. 14, tom. 24, cuad. 3, fol. 36v.

Diego III's will of 1489 shows that the family owned, apart from the *heredamiento* of Las Ascalonias, two other *heredades* in the *término* of Hornachuelos, *bazas* at El Alamo and Pago del Arenal, other *tierras* at Torriscal, Aldehuela and Mechelco, vineyards at El Polanco and Valhermoso and a half-share in an olive-mill at La Fuente del Abad. All this property was within the *término* of Hornachuelos⁵⁹.

This range of holdings is fairly typical of an office-holding family, not in the first rank, in the royal towns of Andalusia in this period. The involvement of this family in the export of wool from Córdoba is of particular interest, however. The earliest surviving example is the contract made by Diego III Gutiérrez de los Ríos on 28 September 1487 with Juan de Bruselas, *vecino* of Valladolid, *estante* in Córdoba, for Juan to sell for him in Medina del Campo to «qualesquier Burgaleses e otras personas qualesquier», his entire merino wool crop for 1488. After this, all the other contracts made by this family were made directly with Burgaleses, reflecting the change in the pattern of the wool trade in the late fifteenth century which has already been described. These contracts involved Diego III's son Pedro, and his brother, a fourth Diego Gutiérrez, and they range in date up to 1515⁶⁰.

It does appear from the evidence so far considered that there were indeed many links between the agricultural producers of Andalusia in the period of the Catholic Kings and the merchants—often foreign or from another part of the Peninsula—who bought their goods, links which may justify the use of the phrase «merchant capitalism» to describe the economic system involved. It also seems that the political control of the region was entrusted by the Crown, partly to *señores*, of whom a small number formed an upper nobility, and partly to councils of *regidores* in the towns which remained directly subject to the king. These councils of *regidores* were, however, closely connected with the upper nobility of the seignorial sector. Finally, a substantial measure of common identity has been shown between the political oligarchs and the producers of agricultural goods so that the economic and political systems of the region may be seen as two parts of a single whole.

One might conclude from this that the Crown had very little practical control over events in this region and ask how such an interpretation relates to the centralising mission of the Catholic Kings which is given such prominence by historians. What seems to be required is to see this centralising mission in a new light. Instead of being viewed as a conflict between democratic civic rights and a centralising, authoritarian Crown, the history

59. APC, of. 14, tom. 17, cuad. 1, fols. 7-13.

60. APC, of. 18, tom. 1, fol. 823v; of. 24, tom. 1, fol. 591-2; of. 24, tom. 3, fol. 54v; of. 33, tom. 1, fols. 281v-283.

of the Andalusian royal towns in the later Middle Ages should be seen as an exercise in co-operation between the Crown and the nobility of the towns. The Crown uses its control over the government of the towns, through its power to appoint officers, in order to guarantee the continuing political and economic influence of these noble families. In addition, despite the well-publicised expulsion of the upper nobility from its place in the royal towns, as a result of Ferdinand and Isabella's visit to Andalusia in 1477-8, the upper nobles continued to have a part in the Crown's plan for the government and economy of the region after this date and well into the reign of Charles V. The problems of the early sixteenth century —famine, political instability both nationally and regionally, social tension involving religion and race— merely accentuated the main features of the political and economic system which the Catholic Kings had developed from the date of their accession to the throne. Klein has shown how they ruthlessly ensured that the economy of the Crown of Castile would be devoted to the export of raw materials, such as wool and wine, and the Andalusian evidence confirms this interpretation. In the political sphere, the picture is similar, as may be expected, in view of the close links between economic and political affairs and aims which have been revealed. Thus even the serious political misbehaviour of the Andalusian nobility in the years after the death of Isabella—including the revolt of the marquis of Priego at Córdoba in 1508 and the attempted alliance of the Guzmán and Girón families, against the wishes of Ferdinand— did not deter the Crown from its support of the upper nobility and their friends in the royal towns. Oligarchy and merchant capitalism were the two essential pillars of royal policy in the Andalusia of the Catholic Kings.