The Decline of Castile Revisited: The Case of Toledo *

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We know that the inability of the Spanish Habsburgs to maintain their supremacy in European affairs during the seventeenth century was due to the economic exhaustion of their principal realm of Castile.[1] However, while the political and military policies of the Habsburgs have been closely scrutinized, the problem of internal economic conditions in Castile has been largely ignored. This historiographical imbalance is due to the influence of Earl J. Hamilton and the controversy surrounding his theories about the effects of the « price revolution » in Spain. Hamilton argued that as American silver entered the Spanish economy, prices rose higher than general

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The following abbreviations are employed in the footnotes:

AGS D	Archivo General de Simancas, sección Diversos.
AGS EH	*Ibid.*, sección Expedientes de Hacienda.
AGS PR	*Ibid.*, sección Patronato Real.
AHPT	Archivo Histórico Provinçial, Toledo.
AHN C	Archivo Histórico Naçional, sección Consejos.
AMT	Archivo Municipal, Toledo.
AP	Archivo Parroquial (with name of city parish or rural village).

[1] J. H. Elliott, *The Decline of Spain*, « Past and Present », 20 (November, 1961), pp. 52-75. Cf. Geoffrey Parker, *The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road, 1567-1659* (Cambridge, 1972), esp. chap. 6. The author shows how the exhaustion of the Castilian treasury led to the non-payment and consequent mutiny of troops in the Low Countries.

price levels in Europe, resulting in the unmarketability of local goods and the consequent collapse of industrial and commercial activity. At the same time, the availability of treasure created a false illusion of prosperity at home and promoted an aggressive, but ill-fated military strategy abroad.[2]

The issues raised by Hamilton were subject to near-total revision in the decades following the publication of his work.[3] But despite the wealth of criticism, hardly anyone questioned his basic assumption regarding the importance of *external* factors (i.e., treasure) in the economic decline of Castile and Spain. As J.H. Elliott remarked: « Little more is known now that was known fifty years ago about Spanish forms of land tenure and cultivation, or about population changes, or about the varying fortunes of the different regions or social groups in the peninsula ».[4] Written in 1961, Elliott's comments about our lack of information remain just as true today.

Turning our focus to the internal situation in Castile during the seventeenth century reveals one salient point: the awful demographic and commercial decline of the urban centers of the realm. This can be illustrated by a reproduction of the following population figures collected by González.[5]

City	Heads of Families 1594	1646
Burgos	2,665	600
Valladolid	8,112	3,000
Palencia	3,063	800
Salamanca	4,953	2,965
Avila	2,826	1,123
Segovia	5,548	—
Toledo	10,933	5,000
Cuenca	3,095	800
	41,195	14,288

2 These points were stated by HAMILTON, *American Treasure and the Price Revolution in Spain, 1501-1650* (Cambridge, Mass., 1934), p. 44, pp. 205-210, 270-274, 300-302.

3 A review of the debate is presented by J. NADAL, *La revolucion de los precios españoles en el siglo XVI*, « Hispania », XIX (1959), pp. 503-529; and J. H. ELLIOTT, *The Old World and the New, 1492-1650* (Cambridge, 1970), chap. III.

4 ELLIOTT, *The Decline of Spain*, p. 54.

5 The figures are found in the works of Braudel, Elliott, Larraz, Vicens Vives and others.

Even discounting any change in the size of Segovia, it is clear that the population of Castile's leading cities declined by more than half during the first fifty years of the seventeenth century.[6] This loss is all the more remarkable when we recall that, during the sixteenth century, urban population grew three times as fast as the population of Castile.[7] In many of these cities, moreover, population decline was accompanied by a wholesale depression of commerce and industry.[8] But in all contemporary accounts, the Imperial City of Toledo was usually listed as the place which suffered the greatest loss of population, the total collapse of industry and commerce, and the complete ruin of its merchant class. Indeed, the most cogent commentary regarding the crisis of the seventeenth century, *Restauracion politica de España*, was written by a Toledan, Sancho de Moncada, who had been an eyewitness to the disaster in his own city!

Toledo was not just one of many Castilian cities which declined during the seventeenth century. Rather, prior to the crisis, it was the most important city in Castile. The city's population was large and impressive in its diversity of social roles and economic functions. It was an « aristocratic » city dominated by a score of illustrious noble families whose feuds had shaped Toledan and Castilian political history during the previous two centuries.[9] It was an « ecclesiastical » city containing the offices of the Holy Inquisition and the Cardinal of Spain. Finally, it was a « mercantile » city whose powerful merchant community supervised the shipment of goods throughout Europe and the New World.[10]

To support this great urban conglomeration, the municipal government of Toledo organized a vast rural zone, a *tierra*, to supply

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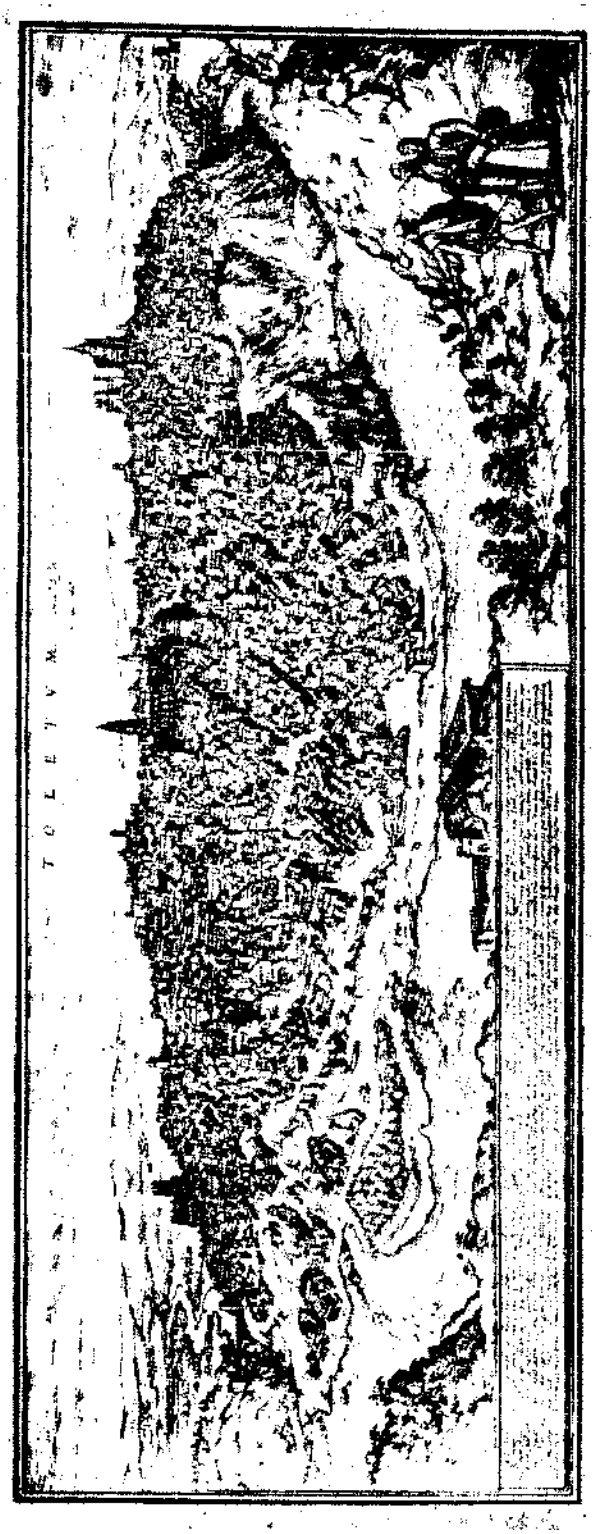
6 The only exception was Madrid where population grew enormously from 1600 until 1650. But a decline in numbers set in shortly thereafter.

7 PIERRE VILAR, *Le temps des hidalgos*, « L'Espagne au temps de Philippe II - collection Ages d'Or et Réalités » (Paris, 1965), p. 33.

8 Commentaries on industrial decline are found in, M. COLMEIRO, *Historia de la economía política en España*, new edn. (Madrid, 1965), II, chaps. LXVI-LXVII.

9 The political history of Toledo in the fifteenth century is discussed by E. BENITO RUANO, *Toledo en el siglo XV* (Madrid, 1961). The city was also a center of political turbulence during the revolt of the Comuneros. See J. PEREZ, *La révolution des « comunidades » de Castille* (Bordeaux, 1970), pp. 321-384.

10 H. and P. CHAUNU, *Séville et l'Atlantique* (Paris, 1959), VIII-I, p. 187.



Toledo in the
Sixteenth Century.

cheap and continuous foodstuffs to the city.[11] Where the Río Tajo curves around Toledo, it neatly bisects two regions, La Sagra to the north, and the Meseta del Tajo to the south. Along with the Montes of Toledo, a series of sharp, angular hills stretching south of the Meseta into the province of Ciudad Real, this comprises the *tierra* of the Imperial City. Nearly eighty settlements were located within the *tierra* of which sixty-one had the legal status of *aldeas* (hamlets) of the city in 1590.[12] In *aldea* villages the *ayuntamiento* of Toledo annually appointed local officials, collected municipal taxes, supervised harvests and protected urban consumers by setting rigorous price ceilings on all rural commodities arriving at the city market.

Like many areas of rural Castile, peasant life in the *tierra* was closely tied to the annual harvest of wheat and barley, with rye introduced into many settlements during the seventeenth century. The *tierra* was never a rich region, but in the villages of Camarena, Illescas, Puebla de Montalban, Orgaz and others, small-craft production began to develop alongside the cultivation of grains and wine. The western fringe of the *tierra* enclosed a route favored by herders of the Mesta, who brought their flocks through the Montes de Toledo near Navahermosa and Los Yebenes, crossed the Río Tajo at Puebla de Montalban and proceeded northward through the Sierra de Guadarrama and Old Castile.[13]

By the last decade of the sixteenth century, nearly 150,000 persons lived in the city of Toledo and the villages of the surrounding countryside. The Imperial City was at its height, its wealth and ostentation attracting painters and *pícaros* alike. Who could foretell that in the brief space of less than half a century, the city and its rural patrimony wauld spiral downward into the throes of a depression from which there would be no recovery? In 1620, Jerónimo de Ceballos wrote that the streets of Toledo were deserted, industry was ruined and homes were shuttered and closed.[14] The following year, a Toledan merchant, Damían de Olivares, noted that

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11 A detailed analysis of the mechanisms of urban control over the countryside in Castile is presented by B. BENNASSAR, *Valladolid au siècle d'or* (Paris, 1967), pp. 53-78.

12 AGS EH *legajo* 183 (unfoliated).

13 AHN C *legajo* 15821, folio 9.

14 COLMEIRO, « Historia », II, p. 777.

the city had already lost eight thousand residents and was diminishing more every day.[15] Nor had the countryside been spared the effects of the crisis, for it became a bleak, depopulated zone of small villages and abandoned farms.[16] To contemporaries, the decline of Toledo was a paradigm of the overall distress of Castile. For present-day historians, the city's ruin remains an unexplained problem which stands large in the analysis of internal Castilian conditions during the Habsburg era. This article is a tentative attempt to fill the gap.

I. The Economy of Toledo.

> When he had gone about two miles Don Quixote sighted a large crowd of people who, as he afterwards learnt, were merchants from Toledo going to buy silk in Murcia.[17]

Silk was King in Toledo, and the persons whom Quixote took for « knights errant », were members of a merchant elite whose product was prized in all the marketplaces of Europe. Raw silk came to Toledo from Murcia, Valencia and Granada, but was also cultivated in many villages surrounding the city.[18] In the 1570's, nearly 700 persons traded in silks, a number which did not include numerous foreign merchants active in this commerce as well. Of those Toledans who dealt in silks, perhaps two-thirds were petty tradesmen whose yearly sales totalled less than 600 *reales*. But there remained a core of fifty to sixty merchants whose business netted them returns of ten to twenty times that of their smaller competitors.[19] Such a man was Luís Ortíz, who in partnership with

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15 Damián de Olivares, *Memorial en que se prosigue la materia de sus discursos, probando que en razon de estado, conviene se execute, y el modo que quede tener su execucion* (Toledo, 1621). I wish to thank M. Jean Vilar for allowing me to read this unpublished manuscript.

16 J. Lynch, *Spain Under the Habsburgs* (Oxford, 1969), II, p. 145. The author notes: « The zone of maximum depopulation was around Guadajalara and Toledo in New Castile ».

17 Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *The Adventures of Don Quixote*, trans. J. M. Cohen (Baltimore, 1970), p. 50.

18 C. Viñas and R. Paz, eds., *Relaciones de los pueblos de España ordenadas por Felipe II - Reino de Toledo* (Madrid, 1951-1963), III, p. 525. Also, Ramon Carande, *Carlos V y sus banqueros*, 2nd edn. (Madrid, 1965), I, p. 194.

19 AGS EH *legajo* 185 (unfoliated).

The *tierra* of Toledo north of the city.

The *tierra* south of the city surrounding La Sisla monastery.

another merchant in 1562 sold silks and assorted other textiles to commercial agents in nearly every city in Spain as well as Lisbon, Flanders and Genoa. He was owed more than 1,000,000 *maravedís* for various transactions and had recently supplied goods to the royal jewelers at the Court and the *mayordomo* of the retinue of the Duke of Parma.[20]

Toledan merchants also engaged in heavy trading of woollens and linen. The latter product was imported chiefly from Flanders and portions were « farmed out » to peasants in the villages of the *tierra* for finishing. Wool was received in large shipments from Segovia but also came in either a raw or finished state from the surrounding countryside.[21] In the *Relaciones* of 1576-78, numerous villages reported the existence of a local woollen industry tied to the needs of the city marketplace. The *relación* of Pulgar, for example, states that « there are some residents here who take wool for sale to Toledo », while in the village of Ajofrín it was noted that « some villagers weave wool ».[22] In the village of Orgaz, a census conducted in 1561 listed a total of 548 *vecinos*, of whom nearly 100 gave their occupations as wool weavers or carders.[23]

While it is impossible to gauge the proportion of textile furnished by the peasants of the *tierra* to the city, it probably constituted an important supply. Peasants from a number of villages sold raw wool to the same city merchant on an annual basis, a situation which suggests that urban traders depended heavily upon cheap, local production to augment shipments from Segovia and the north.[24] At one point, Toledo's need for wool outstripped both local supply and imports from the north, for peasants living in the province of

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20 AHPT *legajo* 1715, fols. 730-736.

21 VIÑAS, *Relaciones*, III, p. 525. Also, CARANDE, *Carlos V*, I, p. 201.

22 *Relaciones*, I, p. 11 (Ajofrín), and vol. II, p. 307 (Pulgar). Woollen production was also reported in the villages of Escalonilla, Ventas, Galvez, Puebla de Montalban, Orgaz, Camarena, Bargas and Almonacid.

23 AGS EH *legajo* 180 (unfoliated).

24 For example, in November, 1603, Pedro Vázquez of the village of Burujon sold 34 *arrobas* (1 *arroba* = 25 pounds) of wool to the merchant Luís Ortega (AHPT *legajo* 2350, fols. 1721-1722). The following year he returned and sold the same merchant 25 *arrobas* of « fine, white wool, » (AHPT *legajo* 2352, fol. 1687). In 1605 he completed another deal with the same city trader. Annual sales of wool were also found in notarial records covering the villages of Añover, Lominchal and Villaluenga.

Ciudad Real in the 1570's also reported selling woollen products to merchants in the Imperial City.[25]

Peasant suppliers coming to the city did not return empty-handed but used the proceeds of their sales to purchase goods necesary for the functioning of the rural economy. In particular, peasants bought draft animals, farm implements, raw materials and drygoods, often in quantities which indicated a further resale on the village level. Many of the transactions involving large sums of money necessitated the extension of credit to rural buyers. The purchaser would pay only a fraction of the price at the time of sale and render the balance in three or four payments stretching from several months to one year.[26] The appearance of credit contracts year after year underscores the fact that the *tierra* was not an inert, economic backwater providing only foodstuffs for the urban population, but constituted a zone of active economic exchange between city merchants and peasant dwellers.

The evidence presented above allows us to draw up a « model » of the Toledan economy as it functioned during the sixteenth century. On one level was the international flow of goods with materials coming into the city from supply centers of northern Europe, Old Castile, Granada and the Levant. These articles would leave Toledo for marketplaces beyond the realm, most importantly through the great seaport of Seville. But vital to the operation of this international circuit was a secondary system of exchange which existed between the city and its *tierra*. The rural hinterland not only provided a portion of the labor necessary for the transformation of raw

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25 VIÑAS and PAZ, eds., *Relaciones de los pueblos de España ordenadas por Felipe II - Ciudad Real* (Madrid, 1971), p. 73 (*relacion* of the village of Almodovar del Campo).

26 On 10 May 1575, Juan Ruíz of Galvez bought 13,952 *maravedís*' worth of linen from the merchant Francisco de Aguilar (AHPT *legajo* 1721, fol. 222). The same year, Alonso Lopez, *labrador* of Nambroca, bought drygoods totalling 16,558 *maravedís* (AHPT, *legajo* 1721, fol. 434). In 1565, to cite another example, Francisco Díaz of Los Yebenes bought 60 *arrobas* of ironware from the merchant Anton Ruíz for 17,204 *maravedís* (AHPT *legajo* 1703, fol. 23). There were also frequent sales of draft animals, particularly mules. Credit for the purchase of draft animals was usually extented for one year, while payments for raw linens and other textiles were expected within three to six months from the purchase date. This leads us to believe that credit for textile sales was geared to short-term village production, while credit for the sales of draft animals allowed for the greater length of time between planting and the harvest season.

materials into finished products, but also was a source of supply of raw materials for both urban and rural workshops. In effect, the exchange of raw and finished products between the city and its *tierra* was the linchpin in the great wheel of international commerce which revolved around Castile with Toledo at its center.[27] But the pin was not held in place by factors which the city controlled.

II. The Demography of Toledo.

What do we know about the size of Toledo's population during the Habsburg era? Most secondary sources cite three global censuses for Toledo first published by González and based upon his research at the national archive in Simancas. The figures show a population of 5,898 *vecinos* in 1530, an increase to 10,933 *vecinos* in 1594 and a decrease in numbers to 5,000 *vecinos* in 1646.[28] National censuses were also conducted in 1561 and 1571, and together with a municipal census taken in 1631, show the city's population to have changed as follows:[29]

Year	Vecinos
1530	5,898
1561	11,272
1571	12,142
1594	10,933
1631	4,559
1646	5,000

Global population figures indicate that the period of greatest growth was between 1530 and 1561, and that Toledo reached its maximum size at least three decades before the end of the sixteenth

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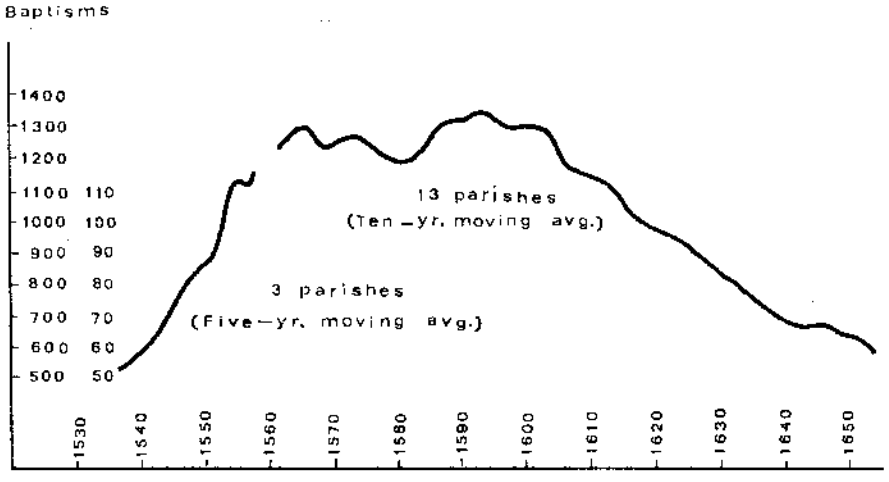
27 The statement is more than a metaphor. Toledo stood at the center of the Castilian road system during the Habsburg era. See N. Salomon, *La campagne de Nouvelle Castille à la fin du XVI^e siècle d'après les « Relaciones topográficas »* (Paris, 1964), p. 114.

28 T. González, *Censo de poblacion de las provincias y partidos de la corona de Castilla en el siglo XVI* (Madrid, 1829), pp. 70-72. I am indebted to Mr James Rial for having located a copy of this important work.

29 AGS EH *legajo* 183 (unfoliated) for the census of 1561. González, *Censo*, pp. 345-346, for the census of 1571. The only secondary source to mention the census of 1571 is, A. Domínguez Ortiz, *La seciedad española en el siglo XVII* (Madrid, 1963), II, p. 138. The 1631 census was found in an uncatalogued *legajo* in the municipal archive.

century. Furthermore, the decline in the later period did not continue in an uninterrupted fashion from 1594 to 1646, but reached a trough in the 1630's and then recuperated slightly until the middle years of the century. The utilization of global surveys as a means of measuring population change, however, has been disputed among historians. Census lists usually neglected nobles, foreign residents and members of the ecclesiastical orders, the last a serious omission in the case of Toledo. Moreover, there is evidence which suggests that, as the overall population fluctuated, so did the average size of the urban household.[30] The only basis for verifying the accuracy of national censuses is the study of parish registers and the construction of long-term trends of births, marriages and deaths. It was impossible to gauge marriage or death rates in Toledo during the Habsburg era, since the latter registers did not include the notations of infant mortality until the 1650's, and the former were sporadic until the last decade of the sixteenth century. However, thirteen city parishes furnished continuous baptismal series from the 1560's, and these trends are represented below:



Graph 1. Source: AP *libros de bautismos*, Santo Tomé, Santiago, San Isidoro, San Cipriano, San Nicolás, San Vicente, San Jines, San Pedro, San Miguel, San Lorenzo, San Martín, La Magdalena, San Cristobál. The early curve was comprised of figures from San Jinés, San Martín and San Vicente.

30 D. RINGROSE, *Madrid y Castilla, 1560-1850. Una capital naçional en una economia regional*, « Moneda Y Credito », 111 (December, 1969), p. 70.

The parishes included in this sample comprised 72% of the total population of Toledo in 1561. Among them were the large peripheral parishes of Santiago, San Isidoro, Santo Tomé, San Miguel and San Lorenzo, the last three containing a substantial proportion of the city's industrial and craft workers. Santo Tomé, in particular, had been a center of artisan and craft activity from before the time of the Habsburgs.[31] Baptisms were also counted in the parishes of San Nicolás, San Vicente and San Jinés, whose neighborhoods embraced the Zocodover Plaza, a site of numerous merchant houses and commercial establishments. The sample also included several interior parishes located around the cathedral and characterized by important concentrations of urban nobility and other members of the city patriciate.

The composite graph of baptismal counts shows a dramatic increase in baptisms from 1535 through 1560, another brief rise during the 1580's, a gradual decline beginning about 1590, and then a violent and prolonged downward movement from 1605 until 1635. However, six individual parishes — Santo Tomé, San Vicente, San Jinés, San Miquel, San Nicolás, San Lorenzo — presented baptismal trends which reached their heights before or at the year 1560, and declined steadily thereafter. Together, these parishes contained 51% of the population covered in the sample. Two other small parishes, San Cristobal and San Cipriano, reached a maximum level of baptisms during the 1570's. But two peripheral parishes, containing 25% of the sample population, experienced such dramatic upswings of baptisms in the 1590's that the weight of their figures alone resulted in the overall elevation of total baptismal counts during the last decades of the sixteenth century.

The upsurge of baptisms in the parishes of Santiago and San Isidoro resulted from the appearance in Toledo of a large colony of Moorish exiles dispersed from Granada after the abortive rebellion of the Alpujarras in 1570.[32] More than 2,000 Moriscos settled in the city, of whom two-thirds were situated in the peripheral parishes

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31 F. Cantera Burgos and P. Leon Tello, *Judaizantes del arzobispado de Toledo habilitados por la Inquisición en 1495 y 1497* (Madrid, 1969).

32 On the rebellion, see J. Caro Baroja, *Los moriscos del reino de Granada* (Madrid, 1957), chap. VII. For estimates of the number of Moriscos settled in the various regions

of Santiago and San Isidoro.[33] The heavy concentration of Moriscos in parishes located beyond the walls of the city no doubt reflected the need to construct new dwellings which could not have been accomplished in the close quarters of the city's interior neighborhoods. But it was also an indication of popular enmity against the Moriscos and the oft-stated inability of Castilian society to assimilate yet another minority group.[34]

The trend of baptisms in Toledo after 1560 is better understood by distinguishing between the appearance of Christian and Moorish children in parish registers. It was not possible to count Morisco baptisms in every parish of the city; however, this task was undertaken in the parish of San Isidoro which contained the greatest number of Morisco residents. Subtracting Morisco baptisms in San Isidoro from the total sample results in a global trend represented by Line A in Graph 2 below. However, since the Moriscos of San Isidoro represented only 40% of the total Morisco population ten years after their arrival in the city, a maximum estimate of Christian baptisms in Toledo after 1560 can be represented by Line B.

The trend of Christian baptisms registered in Toledo during the sixteenth century parallels the shift in overall population. Indeed, if Moriscos were included in the census of 1594, then the « natural » population of the city was already in a state of sharp decline. This is an important point, since the Moriscos came to Toledo as a result of an arbitrary political decision of the Crown and their presence tells us little about changes in the economic or social fabric of urban life. Furthermore, the Moriscos were segregated in separate communities, feared and hated by the city's ruling elite, and were only marginally important to the workings of the urban economy.[35]

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of Castile after 1570, see B. VINCENT, *L'expulsion des morisques du royaume de Grenade et leur répartition en Castille, 1570-1571*, « Melanges de la Casa de Velazquez », VI (1970), p. 224.

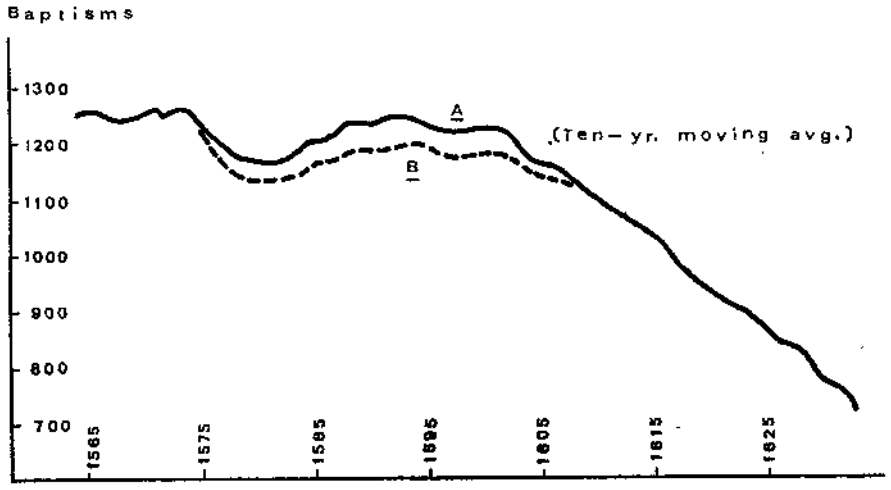
33 AMT (unclassified *legajo*). Of 900 Morisco *vecinos* living in Toledo in 1580, 661 were located in the parishes of Santiago and San Isidoro.

34 F. BRAUDEL, *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II*, 2nd edn. (Paris, 1966), II, p. 129.

35 H. LAPEYRE, *Géographie de l'Espagne morisque* (Paris, 1959), p. 129. The author notes that in 1598 and 1599 the Cardinal of Toledo wrote to the Council of State denouncing the « Moorish peril » in the city. A census of Moriscos conducted in 1581 shows

Without doubt, a comparison of baptismal trends to global censuses demonstrates clearly that Toledo was depopulating long before the end of the sixteenth century.

The large concentration of Moriscos expelled from the parishes of Santiago and San Isidoro in 1610 also influenced baptismal trends in those parishes during the seventeenth century. In the parish of



Graph 2. Source: AP *libros de bautismos*, II-III, San Isidoro.

San Isidoro baptisms averaged 162.8 annually in the decade 1600-1609 and declined 25% to 122.2 during the following ten years. In Santiago, the same time span produced a decline of 22%. However, baptismal rates in the rest of the city's parishes experienced the most serious decline only after 1620. In other words, baptismal trends in Toledo (excepting Moriscos) declined gradually from 1575 until 1615, but then descended rapidly thereafter. We can thus date the great crisis of city population as having occurred in the years 1615-1620.

By 1631 the city population was but a shadow of its former self. Toledo held 4,559 *vecinos*, slightly more than one-third of the total

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that the majority of wage-earners were laborers (*trabajadores*), field-hands (*trabajadores del campo*), or orchard-hands (*ortelanos*). They were probably employed in the farm surrounding the city and the orchards which lined the banks of the Rio Tajo.

of 1571 and substantially less than the figure recorded in 1530. Only in the two wealthiest parishes, San Marcos and San Pedro, were deficits less than 40% of the totals for 1571 when the city population reached its maximum level. In every other parish the losses were in excess of 50%, with several parishes losing more than three-fourths of their sixteenth-century numbers. After 1635, there was a brief recovery in baptismal rates, but they plunged downward again at the middle of the century. In 1694, the city still contained only 5,000 *vecinos*, a figure which would not significantly increase until the end of the nineteenth century.[36]

It might be presumed that the great plague at the end of the sixteenth century was a decisive watershed in the development of Toledo's population. But contemporary observers, like Belluga and Olivares, dated the beginnings of population decline from 1607, when the return of the Court to Madrid proved an irresistible attraction for many members of Toledo's middle and upper classes. However, the loss of demographic vitality and the subtle beginnings of depopulation in Toledo began long before Madrid experienced its phenomenal expansion during the reign of Philip III. Though Toledans found Madrid to be more hospitable than their native city during the seventeenth century, the shift of population was not the *cause* of Toledo's decline. Rather, it was the *result* of a great crisis which was foreshadowed by population trends after 1570, but whose basic elements still remain to be described.

While the rural zone provided foodstuffs to feed the city, it also furnished, at least in theory, a constant supply of cheap labor in the form of rural poor who came to the urban center in search of alms or work. In 1603, a minister in the *Cortes* noted that country paupers left the land « and come to the Court and the large cities to beg ».[37] Moreover, as urban industry expanded during the sixteenth century, particularly the development of textile production, this also sparked emigration away from the countryside and a movement into

[36] González, *Censo*, p. 72.

[37] *Actas de las Cortes de Castilla*, XXI, p. 321.

the cities of vast numbers of landless laborers. The situation was not unique to Castile, but common throughout the Mediterranean world.[38]

If some urban centers in Castile grew faster than their surrounding rural zones, this was not the case in Toledo. In fact, the opposite was true, for while the city began a slow decline after 1570, the rural population continued to increase until the end of the century. In 1576, the 61 *aldea* settlements of the *tierra* contained 9,279 *vecinos* and in many villages the population had been increasing for at least several decades prior to that date.[39] But the 1570's did not represent the period of maximum population in the countryside, for by 1590, *aldea* villages held 11,862 *vecinos*, a figure which rose to 12,966 *vecinos* in 1594.[40] This represented an increase of nearly 30% since the mid-1570's, and was reflected most clearly in the phenomenal growth of larger settlements during the last decades of the century.[41]

Baptismal figures from *tierra* parishes bear out the upswing of global population during the sixteenth century. It was not possible to construct baptismal curves for villages located north of the Río Tajo,[42] but the trend of eight Meseta settlements is presented in Graph 3.

The composite nature of the graph, however, hides an important development in the rural population which occurred after 1570. In smaller villages, like Ventas (400 *vecinos* in 1576), San Pablo (180 *vecinos* in 1576) and Galvez (275 *vecinos* in 1576), baptisms increased during the 1550's and 1560's, stabilized during the 1570's,

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38 BRAUDEL, *La Méditerranée*, I, p. 316.

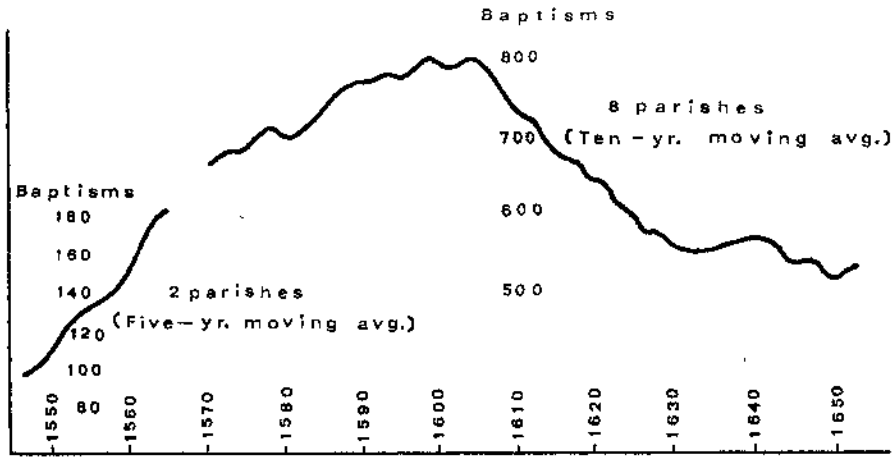
39 For example, the village of Orgaz numbered 592 *vecinos* in 1552 and 700 *vecinos* in 1576; the settlement of Los Yebenes grew from 740 *vecinos* in 1552 to 840 *vecinos* in 1576; and the village of Ajofrín increased in size from 541 *vecinos* in 1561 to nearly 800 *vecinos* in 1576. Figures for the 1550's and 1560's from: AGS EH *legajo* 180 (unfoliated). Figures for 1576 from: C. VIÑAS and R. PAZ, eds., *Relaciones... Provincia de Toledo*, I-III.

40 Figures for 1590 from: AGS EH *legajo* 183 (unfoliated). Figures for 1594 from: GONZÁLEZ, *Censo*, p. 70.

41 The population in Orgaz jumped from 700 *vecinos* in 1576 to 854 *vecinos* in 1590. During the same period the population of Los Yebenes increased from 840 *vecinos* to 1,242 *vecinos*, making it the largest village in the *tierra* at the end of the sixteenth century.

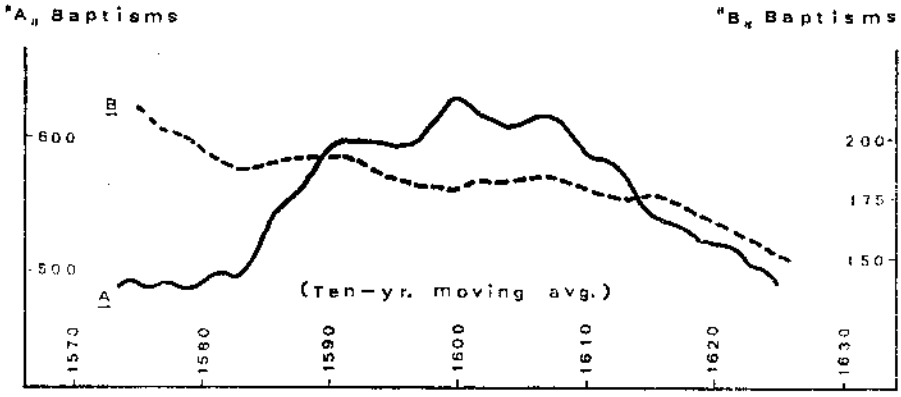
42 Many of the parish archives north of the Río Tajo were destroyed in the bitter fighting around Illescas in October, 1936.

and then moved downward throughout the remainder of the sixteenth century. On the other hand, baptisms in larger settlements (Yebenes, Sonseca, Orgaz, Puebla de Montalban) showed a conti-



Graph 3. Source: AP *libros de bautismos*, Puebla de Montalban, Los Yebenes, Orgaz, Sonseca, San Pablo, Cuerva, Ventas, Galvez. The trend between 1545 and 1565 is from Los Yebenes, San Pablo and Galvez.

nuous rise throughout the early period and only crested at the end of the century. The contrast between these two trends (Line A for large villages, Line B for small villages) is presented below:



Graph 4. Source: Line A - Los Yebenes, Orgaz, Sonseca, Puebla de Montalban. Line B - San Pablo, Cuerva, Galvez, Ventas.

Total population grew in smaller settlements between 1575 and the end of the century, but at a slower rate than in larger villages. Moreover, the proportion of growth of total population in large villages was much greater than the increase in the rate of baptisms after 1575. This meant that larger villages were growing not only as a result of increasing birth rates, but possibly because of immigration from the smaller settlements. The point to be made is that there *was* a shift of population in Toledo during the sixteenth century, but it occurred only within the rural zone as large villages grew at the expense of smaller ones.

The expansion of rural population during the sixteenth century, however, did not insure any immunity from the disasterous demographic depression of the later period. In the first half of the seventeenth century, the *aldea* population declined more than 50% from its 1594 level to 6,126 *vecinos*, a figure which probably equalled the number of country residents prior to the accession of Philip II.[43] Large settlements were severely weakened during this period of demographic loss but many smaller settlements were nearly obliterated.[44] Two *aldea* villages south of the Río Tajo completely disappeared: the village of Jumela, whose last remaining residents were swallowed up by the nearby villages of Cuerva and Calvez, and the tiny hamlet of Chueca which had been located north of Orgaz.

After 1635, baptismal trends experienced a brief recovery for nearly a decade, plummeted downward during the 1650's, and then demonstrated regular ten-year cycles of growth and decline for the remainder of the century. But the *tierra*, like the city, never recovered even a fraction of its demographic vitality of the sixteenth century. The structures which had promoted the earlier development of rural populations were either destroyed or irrevocably transformed. We must now turn to an identification of these structures and the manner in which they so decisively changed.

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43 AGS D *legajo* 23, folio 2.

44 In Los Yebenes, numbers dropped from 1,242 *vecinos* in 1590 to 523 *vecinos* in 1646, while in the settlement of Orgaz, population decreased from 954 *vecinos* in 1590 to just 547 *vecinos* in 1646. In Puebla de Montalban the number of residents diminished from 980 *vecinos* in 1590 to 639 *vecinos* at the later date. Meanwhile, the hamlet of Arcicollar totalled 82 *vecinos* in 1590 and only 19 *vecinos* by the middle of the century, while Casalgordo diminished from 58 *vecinos* to 8 solitary families during the same period.

III. The Crisis in Toledo.

In 1553, after several decades of rapid population growth in the settlement, the village council of Navalmoral petitioned the city government to open new land for planting, a request followed by similar petitions from the hamlets of Navahermosa and Navalucillos in 1561.[45] These villages were located on the fringe of the *tierra* in the Montes de Toledo. The region was so barren and rocky that any prolonged increase in population provoked an immediate crisis of consumption as peasants were forced to farm less fertile lands which yielded smaller per capita returns. However, there is ample evidence which indicates that by the middle of the sixteenth century, population growth in many regions of rural Castile resulted in the cultivation of marginal fields and diminishing per capita harvest totals.[46]

Once land was farmed to its maximum limits, peasants began to move to other villages where production levels remained sufficient to support a further increase in population. The yawning gap between population and production was first felt in the smaller, more marginal villages of the *tierra* and probably accounts for the slowing down of birth rates in smaller settlements after 1575. The relative stagnation of birth rates and overall population in smaller villages was soon reflected in a shift in the structure of market exchange between Toledo and the villages of the *tierra.* By 1585, credit contracts at the Zocodover market were drawn up nearly exclusively between city merchants and traders from large villages, since the decreasing per capita production in smaller settlements inhibited the further development of trade relations between small hamlets and

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45 The petition from the village of Navalmoral reads: « During the last ten or twelve years our population has grown by half, and we have no more land because we are surrounded by the fields of other villages » (AHN C *legajo* 15822, fol. 55). In 1561, the village council of Navahermosa said in its petition: « If we do not have land to sustain ourselves, this village will begin to depopulate » (fol. 90). I am indebted to Prof. Antonio Domínguez Ortiz for alerting me to the presence of this important series of documents in the national archive.

46 By the middle of the sixteenth century, peasants in many areas of Castile reported that all available land had been put under the plough. See C. Viñas, *El problema de la tierra en la España de los siglos XVI y XVII* (Madrid, 1941), p. 23.

47 M. Weisser, *Les marchands de Tolède dans l'économie castillane, 1565-1635*, « Melanges de la Casa de Velazquez », VII (1971), pp. 226-227.

the city market.[47] On the other hand, the continued growth of large settlements resulted in an intensification of market exchange with the city and a marked development of small-craft production in more highly populated rural villages. In 1590, it was noted that large settlements like Sonseca, Ajofrín, Orgaz and Yebenes had become important centers of small-craft industry producing large quantities of woollens for sale in Toledo.[48]

The upsurge in the volume of exchange between the city market and the large villages of the countryside reflected Toledo's relationship with other urban centers and the last, great expansion of the Castilian economy during the Habsburg era. In the years 1590-1620, trade between Spain and the New World reached its height, capping a century-long increase in commerce along the trans-Atlantic route.[49] Given Toledo's role as a prime center of textile production, the continuous rise in exports must have had a salubrious effect upon the balance-sheets of the city's commercial class. Economic activity in Toledo can be roughly gauged by an analysis of the trends of taxes collected by the city on the production of woollens and linens. The tax receipts do not specify the amount of each product concerned, but since the collection rate did not change throughout the Habsburg era, they furnish a clear indice of the development of the Toledan economy. (See Graph 5).

If we compare Graph 5 (industrial production) with Graph 2 (urban birth rate) and Graph 4 (rural birth rate), several interesting correlations emerge. During the sixteenth century, textile production closely paralleled population trends in larger settlements. The first great downward plunge of textile production occurred in 1606-07, concomitant with the arrival of the Court in Madrid but also in line with a drastic downturn in rural birth rates. Finally, the second great decline in textile production occurred in 1619-20, a date which inaugurated the worst period of demographic loss in the city. Although we cannot exactly link industrial production to

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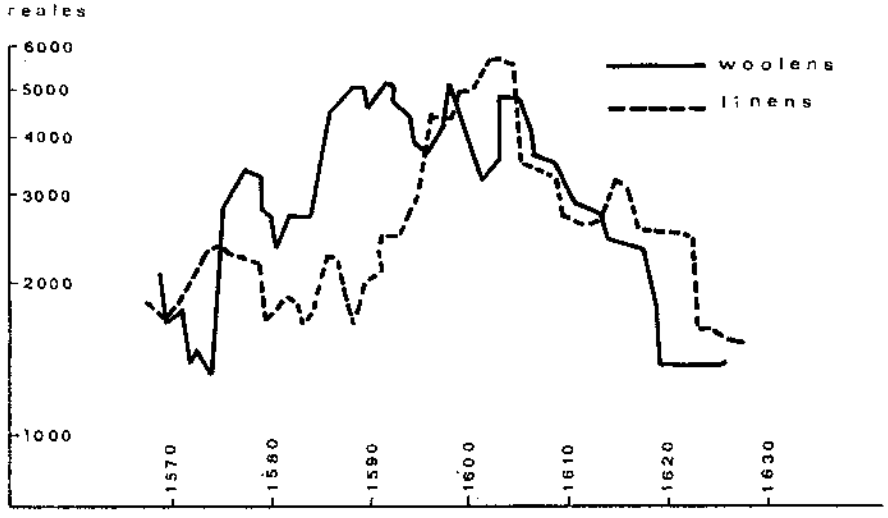
48 The village of Orgaz was described in 1590 as a « very rich place, because there are many residents who trade in wool ». In the settlement of Ajofrín, there was a « great wool trade », while in Sonseca, it was reported that, « there is a great wool trade with large quantities bought and sold every day ». Source: AGS EH *legajo* 183 (unfoliated).

49 CHAUNU, *Séville*, VIII-II, p. 890.

population change (particularly in the city), it is possible that the industrial growth of Toledo during the second half of the sixteenth century resulted from increased output by the city work force augmented by increased output in the larger villages of the *tierra.* Conversely, a possible link exists between the industrial decline of the first half of the seventeenth century and sharp declines of population first in the countryside and later in the urban center.



Graph 5. Source: AMT *Libros de propios y rentas.* I would like to thank David Ringrose for allowing me to use these figures. Tax receipts were missing for six years in the period covered by the graph. However, the trend of both receipts is substantially accurate between 1570 and 1630.

We know why the urban population began to decline so rapidly after 1610. The expulsion of the Moriscos was quickly followed by the mass movement of people from Toledo to Madrid, the latter city's greatest period of growth occurring between 1612 and 1630.[50] But what factors accounted for the awful drop in the size of the rural population beginning in the first years of the seventeenth century? The answer might lie in a reappearance of the same conditions

[50] Ringrose, *Madrid y Castilla,* p. 72.

which, twenty years earlier, had foreshadowed the eventual end of Toledo's Golden Age.

In the 1580's, reports began to indicate a general crisis of rural production throughout Castile. In 1584, the merchant Simon Ruíz wrote to a Florentine business partner that the cargo of the treasure fleet had already been consigned to pay the costs of wheat imported to forestall the effects of a ruinous harvest in Andalucia and Toledo.[51] Strong rains wrecked harvests again in 1589-90 and grain prices nearly doubled in New Castile in 1593-94, indicating yet another rural catastrophe.[52] By the end of the century, the dearth of foodstuffs was endemic to many regions of Castile, and no doubt contributed to the « success » of the terrible plague which attacked the interior of the peninsula in 1598.[53] The following year the pestilence reached Toledo, but even prior to the onset of the plague, signs of total crop exhaustion were evident in the Toledan countryside. On 16 November 1598, the municipal authorities wrote to the Court asking that « Your Grace demand permission from the Council of Aragon, and supply the necessary means for the shipment from that realm of at least 100,000 *fanegas* of wheat, because it is a known fact that we lack a sufficient harvest of grain and the price increases every day ».[54] Combined with the rapid spead of disease, the lack of grains must have provoked a landslide of mortality in the countryside of Toledo at the turn of the century. It is impossible to gauge the extent of demographic damage which occurred, but in the village of Puebla de Montalban, for example, 2,200 persons, at least half the local population, died during those terrible years.[55]

It would be misleading to assert that food shortages resulted only from the effects of a « Malthusian crisis » in the *tierra* of

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51 F. Ruiz Martín, *Lettres marchandes échangées entre Florence et Medina del Campo* (Paris, 1965), p. 321.

52 Bennassar, *Valladolid*, p. 50; and Hamilton, *American Treasure*, p. 241. In 1593, the Cortes noted the harvest failure in Toledo and La Mancha (*Actas*, XII, p. 505).

53 On the plague, see B. Bennassar, *Récherches sur les grandes épidémies dans le nord de l'Espagne a la fin du XVI^e siècle* (Paris, 1969).

54 AHT sección *Cartas* (unfoliated *legajos*).

55 F. Jimenez de Gregorio, *Los pueblos de la provincia de Toledo hasta finalizar el siglo XVIII* (Toledo, 1966), II, p. 247.

Toledo. For if harvest levels fell behind population trends during this period, scattered evidence suggests that this was not only the result of an exhaustion of fertile land, but of a gradual shift in the use of land around the city. Minutes of the meetings of the *ayuntamiento* indicate the existence of many large herds of sheep in the common pastures of the *tierra*, and especially in the Montes region where land hunger was reported as early as the 1560's.[56] It is not unrealistic to assume that increased textile production in the city and the countryside necessitated a growth in the size of flocks, a consequent shift from planting-land to pasturage and the gradual decline in the size of grain harvests.

The decrease in rural population following the plague had an immediate effect upon market exchanges between Toledo and the villages of the *tierra*. Like the deterioration of trade activity with small settlements before 1580, contracts between city merchants and residents of large settlements began to reflect the absence of rural craft production during the first decade of the seventeenth century. Both the quality and quantity of items purchased in the city market place by peasant dwellers demonstrated the reappearance of subsistence farming as the dominant economic enterprise in the large villages of the *tierra*. Small sums of money changed hands, and purchases consisted of single draft animals and farm implements rather than bulk commodities for resale in local settlements.[57]

The disruption of exchange between Toledo and the villages of the *tierra* did not mean an end of market activity in the city. Rather, the place of *tierra* peasants at the urban market was usurped by traders from the large villages of La Mancha and merchants from the market towns of the Levant. Beginning in 1591, we find the first documentary evidence of traders from Murcia, Cartageña and Valencia negotiating large sales at the Zocodover market in Toledo.[58] By 1615, when commerce between the city and its hinterland was already seriously eroded, long-range exchange between Toledo and

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[56] AHN C *legajo* 25822, fols. 22-360. Herds of 3,000-4,000 head were not uncommon in the registration lists.

[57] WEISSER, *Les marchands*, p. 228.

[58] AHPT *legajo* 2338.

the Levant reached its height. According to James Casey, Valencian silk merchants trading at Toledo reaped peak profits around the same date.[59] But regardless of commercial inputs from the Levantine region, by the 1620's, the marketplace of Toledo no longer functioned as an important center of local exchange. In 1628, credit sales of city merchandise to rural traders was almost at an end. The absence of any significant craft activity in large villages was reflected in the lack of sales of commodity items, the small value of sales, and the limited amount of credit advanced by city traders to peasant buyers. This meant that rural traders were no longer buying commercial items in sufficient quantity for resale on the village level. It also forced city merchants to rely more heavily upon profits from long-range commercial activity.

However, it was not long until trade between Toledo and the Levantine regions began to suffer a similar decline. After 1620, the level of trans-Atlantic exports and the amount of treasure received at Seville began to recede.[60] The former trend hastened the ruin of textile manufactures throughout the peninsula, the latter resulted in a serious increase of fiscal demands made by the Crown. The Habsburg monarchy, at war again in Europe, could no longer depend upon treasure receipts or tax remittances from peripheral kingdoms, and levied new exactions against the lower and middle classes of Castile.[61] The Crown also resorted to currency manipulations as a means of bolstering the treasury, and this pressure combined with a slump in rural production throughout Castile produced the grave crisis of 1627-28.[62] After this date, commercial contacts between Levantine and Toledan merchants in the Imperial City dropped to a minimal point with sales approaching less than 20% of the value of exchanges made in the first decade of the seventeenth century.

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59 J. Casey, *Moriscos and the Depopulation of Valencia*, « Past and Present », 50 (February, 1971), p. 34.

60 Hamilton, *American Treasure*, pp. 34-35.

61 A. Domínguez Ortiz, *Política y hacienda de Felipe IV* (Madrid, 1960), pp. 19-33.

62 The crisis is briefly described by J. Elliott, *Imperial Spain* (New York, 1963), pp. 328-330.

By the third decade of the seventeenth century, the Golden Age of Toledo was at an end. The Imperial City was no longer a great urban trade center but was reduced to the level of a minor provincial town. The new, non-commercial character of the city's population was clearly reflected in the disappearance of the urban work force. For example, in 1561 the parish of San Lucás-Lorenzo held the greatest concentration of textile workers and artisans of any neighborhood in the city. Of the 818 *vecinos* residing in the parish, nearly 400 were engaged in various types of craft activity, including hatmaking, silver making and weaving, the last trade accounting for more than 120 *vecinos* alone. By 1631 the population of the parish had declined to 269 *vecinos*, of whom not more than 60 were classified as craftsmen, artisan or industrial workers, among which were found only 16 weavers. The diminution in the size of the active population in the parish of San Lucás-Lorenzo also occurred in other mercantile neighborhoods in the city.[63]

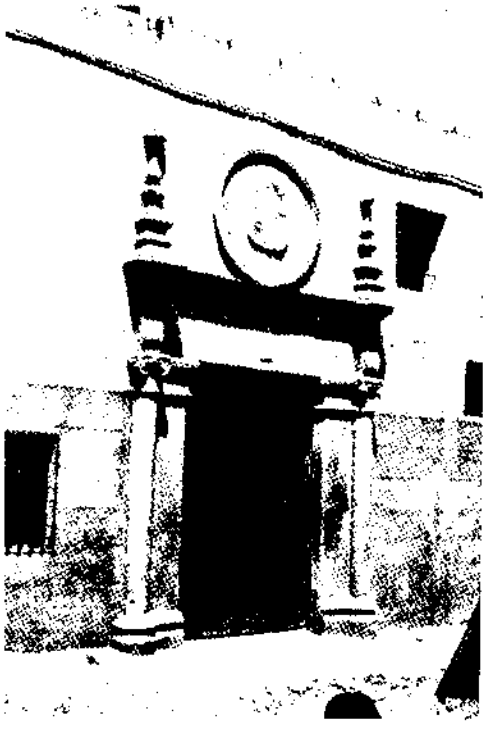
As for the situation in the countryside, the great decline in numbers actually resulted in a per capita increase in grain production, but quite possible a drastic decrease in the overall standard of life. While population in such settlements as Ventas, San Pablo, Orgaz and Puebla de Montalban diminished by about 50% during the first half of the seventeenth century, village harvest levels sank by about one-third. However, during the 1630's rye began to replace wheat as the principal grain with the latter crop often accounting for less than one-third of the total harvest.[64] Thus, while the per capita *volume* of the harvest was greater, the price differential between wheat and rye meant a decrease in the per capita *value* of village production.[65] Consequently, peasants were not only forced

63 AGS EH *legajo* 183 (unfoliated) for the data of 1561. The data for 1631 is drawn from an unclassified *legajo* in the municipal archive in Toledo.

64 AP *libros de fábrica*, Puebla de Montalban, Orgaz, Arisgotas, Ventas, San Pablo. The appearance of rye during the 1630's has been explained as a reaction to gradual soil exhaustion and the necessity to plant grains in higher, less fertile regions [see G. ANES and J.-P. LEFLEM, *Las crisis del siglo XVII: Produccion agricola, precios e ingresos en tierra de Segovia*, « Moneda Y Credito », 93 (June, 1965), pp. 18-19]. However, another explanation might be that the decline of the textile industry brought about a reconversion of pasturage to planting-land with the soil more suited to the cultivation of rye grain.

65 Hamilton does not list rye prices in New Castile during the seventeenth century. However, in 1582 the price of rye was officially set by the Crown at 272 *maravedís* per

Palace of the Malagón family in Toledo.



Palace of the Guzman family in Toledo.

onto a less sufficient diet, but probably received a smaller return for their labors.

IV. Toledo and Castile.

In analyzing the reasons for the decline of Toledo, it appears that three major factors must be taken into account. The first was the appearance of foreign goods which, according to contemporary accounts, undersold locally produced commodities in wholesale quantities from the beginning of the seventeenth century, if not earlier. The second was the growth of Madrid, a phenomenon also recognized by observers of the period as having provoked the decline of Toledan population after the return of the Court in 1607. The third factor, also discerned by contemporaries, was the changing nature of the economic relationship between the city and its *tierra*.[66]

Quite possibly, the relationship between the three factors was as follows. In 1550 the rural economy was oriented towards the production of subsistence commodities for immediate consumption by the rural population and the population of the nearby urban center. The amount of labor power geared to the production of commercial items, particularly finished articles, was probably negligable. On the other hand, the urban economy was not only oriented toward the production of mercantile products for regional and international trade, but probably drew a large portion of its raw products from non-local sources of supply and the bulk of its finished products from urban workshops.

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fanega while wheat was set at 476 *maravedís* per *fanega* and rose to 612 *maravedís* per *fanega* in 1605. Although the official price (*tasa*) only approximated the market price of grains, the enormous differential in the price of these products indicates that a substantial difference existed between the market prices of these products as well.

66 Interestingly enough, the economic relationship between urban and rural zones was recognized by contemporary Toledan intellectuals like Sancho de Moncada and Damían de Olivares. These individuals and others argued for the development of rural industry in order to break the monopoly of textile production exercised by urban guilds and to compensate the rural masses for the irregular returns from the harvest. For more on this subject, see Jean Vilar, *Docteurs et marchands: l'école de Tolède, 1615-1630*, « V^ème^ Congrès International d'Histoire Economique » (1970). This article forms a chapter of the author's soon-to-be-published thesis entitled, *Les Espagnols du Siècle d'or devant la crise « l'arbitrisme »*.

This situation began to change during the reign of Philip II. After 1575 an important small-craft industry developed in the larger villages of the *tierra*. The emergence of a small class of rural handicraft workers whose productive efforts satisfied the *commercial* needs of the city did not change the overall subsistence nature of rural production, but did result in an active exchange of industrial products and capital between the city and the country-side. The development of commercial exchanges between urban and rural sectors was probably accentuated by the decline of other, more traditional market relationships between Toledo and non-local trade centers . The war in the North and the decline of Burgos after 1570, and the diminution in the size of the Mesta herds probably meant an increased pressure upon local sources of supply for raw and finished textile goods.

The slump in rural population and production which occurred in the first decade of the seventeenth century was therefore not simply the result of the working of « natural » forces of population and food supplies, aided by the effects of the great plague of 1599-1602. For added to the picture was a « man-made » crisis, which reflected the failure of the rural sector to balance the competing demands of subsistence versus industrial production. In the aftermath of this crisis, such factors as competition from foreign goods and the growth of Madrid complicated the situation and perhaps turned a brief recession into a wholesale depression lasting until the middle of the seventeenth century. The long-term effects of the « invasion » of foreign products were recognized by the Toledan *regidor* Juan Belluga in 1621. Writing in a *Memorial* to the Crown, he asked for the prohibition of all silk imports from outside the *reino* of Toledo, since the appearance of foreign goods had « destroyed the commerce of the city and the cultivation of silk in the countryside ».[67]

Although the case of Toledo was somewhat unique, much of what has been said in the preceeding pages relates to the general situation in Castile. First, the economic relationship between urban

67 AGS PR *legajo* 15, fol. 11. The manuscript is partially reproduced by DOMÍNGUEZ, *La sociedad*, I, pp. 349-352.

and rural sectors in Toledo was not significantly different from those in many regions of Castile and throughout the Mediterranean world.[68] Rural zones provided foodstuffs for city populations, but were also sources of raw and finished articles for urban marketplaces. No doubt the productive capacity of Castilian cities was many times greater than the countryside in the sixteenth century, but if the shrinkage of Mesta herds and the rupture of trade with the North forced Toledo to rely more heavily upon industrial strengh in the *tierra*, the same could probably be said for many other cities in the realm. At the same time, population increased at a rapid pace throughout Castile, with a probable doubling of numbers from 1540 to the end of the reign of Philip II.[69] Population growth combined with increased industrial activity led to a growing competition over the use of land, reflected in the frequent jurisdictional disputes during this period.[70] The result was land hunger for the peasantry, a diminution in per capita food production and the beginnings of depopulation and economic decline.

In the seventeenth century the rural crisis in Toledo was accentuated, as we have seen, by the influx of foreign commercial goods and the astounding growth of Madrid. But a third factor arose at this time, not only in Toledo but throughout Castile, which only aggravated an already chronic depression. In 1590 the Crown proposed the collection of a new tax, the *millones*, to be levied on essential foodstuffs and collected at the rate of 1,300,000 *ducats* per year. Given the costs of government and war, the tax rate was quickly raised, and by 1626 was four times greater than the original amount.[71] The rural masses of Castile, already reduced to near subsistence, were now faced with a further reduction in living standards

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[68] BRAUDEL, *La Méditerranée*, I, p. 391.

[69] *Ibid.*, p. 370.

[70] N. SALOMON, *La campagne*, pp. 150-156. The author cites numerous examples of disputes between rural settlements and private individuals (often nobility) over the ownership of land in New Castile.

[71] ELLIOTT, *Imperial Spain*, pp. 281-282. During the 1630's villages in the *tierra* asked for tax relief rather than new land as a means of forestalling depopulation. The Montes settlement of Navahermosa sent a petition to the city council of Toledo stating that: « This village is very poor and depopulated as a result of royal taxes and cannot pay its dues » (AHN C *legajo* 25822, fol. 797).

as a result of the imperial ambitions of the Crown. In 1635, when Spain and France went to war and opened a conflict which provided irrefutable proof of Castilian decline, harvests in the *tierra* of Toledo sank to their lowest levels of the entire Habsburg era.[72] Only too late would it be recognized that a fundamental relationship existed between events on the battlefield and the situation in the countryside of Castile. Kings could be blinded by the flow of gold and silver, but history as it really occurred would eventually have its claims.

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[72] AP *libros de fábrica*, Puebla de Montalban, Orgaz, Ventas, San Pablo.