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## Local Integration and Long-Distance Ties: The Castilian Community in Sixteenth-Century Bruges

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The wills of Castilian residents of Bruges between 1544 and 1569 permit an analysis of their writers' activities and attitudes at the peak of the wool trade, their main economic activity. The Castilians began to invest locally, and their economic diversification reinforced other local social ties. A third of those who married chose Flemish spouses. Their children married and raised families in Flanders. Local integration had become more important than the maintenance of ties with Spain. Consequently, the Castilian *Consulado* of Bruges lasted until the eighteenth century, long after the wool trade had ceased to be of primary importance.

FOR MORE THAN FIVE CENTURIES Castilian merchants maintained a community in the Flemish city of Bruges. They first established themselves there in the thirteenth century to coordinate the sales of Spanish Merino wool to Flemish weavers, an enormously important trade. Until the American treasure began to flow toward Spain in the sixteenth century, wool brought Castile its largest export income. Spanish merchants resident in Bruges facilitated the sale of wool and purchased Flemish manufactures, especially cloth, for shipment back to Spain. A series of wills written by members of the Castilian community between 1544 and 1569 permits an analysis of their activities and attitudes during the crucial twenty-five-year period that was the high point of Castilian merchant activity in Flanders, when the wool trade reached a peak just before the outbreak of the revolt of the Netherlands and related diplomatic events disrupted Spanish commerce in northwestern Europe.<sup>1</sup>

Colonies of expatriate merchants are common historical phenomena. We can go back to the Phoenicians for an example of merchants who left their homelands to establish trading posts in areas of potential profit. We are all familiar with the exploits of medieval Italian merchants and

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<sup>1</sup>Carla Rahn Phillips, "The Spanish Wool Trade, 1500-1700," *Journal of Economic History* 42 (1982): 775-95. For a discussion of one of the crucial turning points for the wool trade, see William D. Phillips, Jr. and Carla Rahn Phillips, "Spanish Wool and Dutch Rebels: The Middelburg Incident of 1574," *American Historical Review* 82 (1977): 312-30.

their colonies and enclaves ranging from the north shores of the Black Sea, around the Mediterranean littoral, to the Low Countries and England. Their northern counterparts were the merchants of the Hansa with their Baltic and North Sea trading network. In the sixteenth century the Portuguese had the farthest-flung commercial links: from Portugal along the coasts of Africa to the Far East. The Spaniards, too, had an extensive trading community connecting Spain with the Americas, with the Philippines, and with northwestern Europe. Spanish merchants were present in sizeable numbers in England, some five hundred of them in the late fifteenth century. In France there were large and influential Spanish merchant colonies in Nantes and Rouen. By the second half of the sixteenth century there were probably more Castilians in Antwerp than in Bruges. Nevertheless, the community of Bruges was the most enduring of the Spanish merchant colonies in Europe, surviving as a distinctive entity into the early eighteenth century.<sup>2</sup>

As a valued foreign community, the Castilians in Bruges received favor from the counts of Flanders in the late Middle Ages and aid and assistance from their own Castilian rulers. Although we do not know with certainty when Spanish ships and merchants first began to visit Flanders, the earliest unequivocal documentary notice dates from 1280, when Count Guy of Flanders granted the Castilian merchants in Ardenbourg the same privileges they already enjoyed in Bruges. In 1343 Castilian merchants received numerous specific privileges in Flanders. In addition to safe conduct, free trade, and unhindered loading and unloading, they were guaranteed access to Flemish laws and the right to judge disputes arising among their own members.<sup>3</sup> Through the fifteenth century Castilians occupied an increasingly important role in Bruges as they supplied more and more of the raw material for the Flemish wool weaving industry, in part because of the quality of the Merino wool and in part because of the protectionist measures of the English monarchs, who prohibited the export of raw English wool in order to foster the emerging English draperies.<sup>4</sup>

In Bruges the Flemish authorities divided foreign merchants into "nations" according to their political allegiances. Therefore, both the

<sup>2</sup>Carla Rahn Phillips, "Spanish Merchants and the Wool Trade in the Sixteenth Century," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 14 (1983): 259-82, and the bibliographical citations therein.

<sup>3</sup>Louis Gilliodts-van Severen, *Cartulaire de l'ancien consulat d'Espagne à Bruges: Recueil de documents (Première partie, de 1280 à 1550)* (Bruges: L. de Plancke, 1901), 8-13.

<sup>4</sup>John H. A. Munro, *Wool, Cloth, and Gold: The Struggle for Bullion in Anglo-Burgundian Trade, 1340-1478* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), 4-5, 183-84, G. D. Ramsey, "The Merchants of the Staple and the Downfall of the English Wool Export Traffic," in *La lana come materia prima: I fenomeni della sua produzione e circolazione nei secoli XIII-XVII*, ed. Marco Spallanzani (Florence: Olschki, 1974), 253-67.

merchants of the interior of Castile and the shippers of the Cantabrian coast were grouped together as subjects of the Castilian king. Inevitably, problems arose because the economic interests and the modes of operation of the two groups were distinct. The merchants set themselves up in Bruges as long-term residents, whereas the shippers were usually temporary visitors while their ships were in port. In the mid-fifteenth century the Castilian merchants tried to establish a dominant guild of the "nation of Spain" giving themselves control over all Castilian subjects. The shippers responded with litigation, and, when their suit eventually reached the Castilian monarch, Enrique IV divided the Spanish nation in Bruges into two sections: one called the "nation of Vizcaya," although it also included those from port towns in other northern Spanish provinces, and the other called the "nation of Castile," representing merchants of the interior towns. We will be concerned with the latter group, whose members persisted in calling themselves the "nation of Spain" and who had their own *Consulado* by the sixteenth century.<sup>5</sup>

In 1540 Charles V, who was count of Flanders when he inherited the Spanish kingdoms, designated Bruges as the Spanish wool staple, the single legal place where Spanish wool could be sold. The presence of the wool staple encouraged some fifty Castilian merchants to remain in Bruges after others of their number and merchants from other states abandoned the town for Antwerp, an exodus that had begun in the late fifteenth century.<sup>6</sup> Describing the situation at the beginning of the sixteenth century, Michel Mollat argued that the Castilians in Bruges did not assimilate, in contrast with their fellow Spaniards in other northern cities. "The characteristic . . . was autonomy . . . ; the group, forming a unit, could transport itself to another town, without leaving any trace other than its memory."<sup>7</sup> Possibly that was true early in the century, but it was clearly incorrect a half century later, when the Castilians were firmly set in Bruges. In 1562 there were sixty-two members of the *Con-*

<sup>5</sup>The papers of the Vizcayan community in Bruges have not survived. For the fight between Burgos and Bilbao, see Gilliodts, *Consulat d'Espagne*, 22-24 and 68-73, and María del Carmen Carlé, "Mercaderes en Castilla, 1252-1512," *Cuadernos de Historia de España* 21-22 (1954): 256-57.

<sup>6</sup>Charles V's decree probably repeated earlier decrees. It is printed in Louis Gilliodts-van Severen, *Cartulaire de l'ancienne estaple de Bruges*, 4 vols. (Bruges: L. de Plancke, 1904-1906), 3:212. Joseph Maréchal, "Le départ de Bruges des marchands étrangers (XVe et XVIe siècle)," *Handelingen van het Genootschap voor Geschiedenis Gesticht onder de Benaming Société d'Emulation te Brugge (Annales de la Société de d'Emulation de Bruges)* 88 (1951): 26-74. See also Maréchal's "La colonie espagnole de Bruges, du XIVe au XVe siècle," *Revue du Nord* 35, no. 137 (January-March, 1953): 5-40.

<sup>7</sup>Michel Mollat, "Le rôle international des marchands espagnols dans les ports de l'Europe occidentale à l'époque des Rois Catholiques," *Anuario de Historia Económica y Social* 3 (1970): 41-55.

*sulado*, suggesting a total Castilian population of over five hundred.<sup>8</sup> Assimilation in Bruges was relatively easy for Spaniards because in climate and culture Bruges was not too alien an environment from their homes, particularly if they came from northern Spain, as most had. With the regular presence of transient merchants and seamen, the Castilian community was large enough to offer a satisfying range of social contacts for the residents at the same time as they acquired local ties. There was still frequent communication with the home country based mainly on business contacts, a fair degree of individual movements back and forth as younger relatives were sent from place to place to serve family business interests, and a concern on the part of some to maintain links with Spain. The Castilians remained in Bruges even after trade between Spain and the Low Countries faltered in the late sixteenth century. The evidence available in their wills answers the question of why they remained: they had established strong and lasting roots in Flanders while still enjoying the special status of living under Castilian law.

Because they kept their own laws, the Castilians in Bruges had to make no accommodations to unfamiliar practices in business and family finance. They were well aware of their privileges and some mentioned them in their wills. When Juan de Matanza (I) specified the division of the bulk of his estate, he did so "according to the laws of Spain under which I live" and signed his will "in the Spanish manner." In their joint will Fernán Martínez de Nájera and Clara de Matute said that their estate was to be divided "in conformity with the custom of the city of Burgos and the laws and constitutions of the kingdom of Castile, under which we live." Diego Pardo put it very clearly: "I am not a Brugeois of this town of Bruges but a member of the Nation of Spain [the Castilian *Consulado* in Bruges] and as such I can make my will according to the custom of Spain and no one can contradict me."<sup>9</sup>

As a sizeable community of powerful merchants, the members of the Castilian *Consulado* enjoyed esteem and political influence in Bruges. One example will suffice to illustrate this. In the early seventeenth century, when the Spanish Council of State sent a circular letter to the major commercial centers of the Spanish Netherlands, asking each for an official response, the officers of the *Consulado* countersigned the response of the city council of Bruges and certified to the crown that the burgoemeisters were in fact competent to respond.<sup>10</sup> Although its mem-

<sup>8</sup>The figure of five hundred is an estimate, derived from 62 *Consulado* members, assuming the same average family size as the 23 male testators ( $5.1 \times 316.2$ ). To that must be added other Castilians who worked for the *Consulado* but were not members and lay and religious Castilians unconnected with the *Consulado*.

<sup>9</sup>Refer to the appendix for detailed source notes for the individual wills.

<sup>10</sup>Archivo General de Simancas, *Estado*, legajos 2045 and 2149.

bers had long since ceased to derive the bulk of their income from the wool trade, the *Consulado* lasted until 1705, when its last members disbanded the organization and presented its papers to the city of Bruges.<sup>11</sup> Some of those papers still exist today in the town's municipal archive.

The main sources for this article derive from a series of documents preserved in that archive: twenty-nine wills left by Castilians resident in Bruges and their spouses and children. One dates from 1529 and two others from 1601 and 1608; the remaining twenty-six were written between 1544 and 1569. Compared to the vast number of wills available in any Spanish notarial archive, twenty-nine might seem at first an insignificant number. But these wills may have been the total number written by the Castilians in Bruges, especially between 1544 and 1566, a period for which there is a copy-book of all the wills registered by Pedro de Paredes, notary of the *Consulado*. The analysis of those wills is of great interest for social history because it provides a detailed view of the social activities of the merchants and their families, as well as offering evidence about their psychology and mental outlook.<sup>12</sup> Because the wills of those twenty-five years contain references to the testators' parents and their own children, they also allow us to examine three generations of the Castilian community. Although the wills contain a wealth of information, this essay will concentrate on the degree of local integration exhibited by the testators and their maintenance of ties with Spain.

The *Consulado* records also contain two other wills for this period, but because neither testator was a member of the consular organization, I have omitted them from the analysis that follows. One was the will of Juan de Haro, a native of the commercial city of Medina del Campo in Castile and a temporary resident of Bruges in 1549. Fearful about his impending trip to Germany, he decided to write his will in Bruges and register it with the *Consulado* before he left.<sup>13</sup> His action was characteristic of many testators who wrote wills before hazardous ventures; the notarial

<sup>11</sup>Gilliodts, *Consulat d'Espagne*, introduction.

<sup>12</sup>For the study of wills generally: Philippe Ariès, *The Hour of Death*, trans. Helen Weaver (New York: Vintage, 1982); idem, *Western Attitudes toward Death: From the Middle Ages to the Present*, trans. Patricia M. Ranum (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1974); Michelle Vovelle, "L'Elite ou mensonge de mots: Attitude de class et pratique religieuse," *Annales: E. S. C.* 29 (1974): 49-72; idem, "The History of Mankind in the Mirror of Death," *Proceedings of the Western Society for French History* 6 (1978, published 1979): 91-109; idem, *La mort et l'Occident, de 1300 à nos jours* (Paris: Gallimard, 1983); M. L. Zell, "The Use of Religious Preambles as a Measure of Religious Belief in the Sixteenth Century," *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 50 (1977): 246-49; Lorraine C. Attreed, "Preparation for Death in Sixteenth-Century Northern England," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 13/3 (1982): 37-66; Pierre Chaunu, *La mort à Paris aux XVIe, XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles* (Paris: Fayard, 1978); Natalie Davis, "The Sacred and the Body Social in Sixteenth-Century Lyon," *Past and Present* 90 (1981): 40-70.

<sup>13</sup>Archive de la Ville de Bruges (Hereafter AVBruges), Archives espagnoles, Registro de Pedro de Paredes, 1549-50, folios 48v-49v.

archive of Seville is full of the wills made by Spaniards just before departing for the Indies.<sup>14</sup> The other anomalous will in the *Consulado* records was that of Diego Cousin, a citizen of Bruges, who fell ill while on business in Seville, called in a local notary, and prepared his will in late November of 1555. In early February of the next year, presumably after the testator had died, his father Juan Cousin appeared with his son's will before the executive board of the Bruges *Consulado*, who ordered the official notary Pedro de Paredes to enter it in the organization's books and to provide Cousin with two or three authenticated copies.<sup>15</sup>

Of the twenty-nine wills of the Castilians, all but six were left by men. All but one of them were left by residents of Bruges, with the exception of the will of Francisca de Cuéllar, who lived in Antwerp and died there in 1608. All but two of the wills were written in Castilian, and their legal form followed Castilian law. That form was standard in its components, but within each section the wording varied according to the wishes of the individual testators and the suggestions of the notaries. The opening section of each will identified the writer and often provided information about the writer's parents. There followed statements about the health and mental condition of the testators and an affirmation of religious faith. Next appeared provisions for burial and funeral honors, followed by pious and charitable bequests. The remaining sections of the wills were devoted to bequests to individuals and family members and stipulations about the principal heirs. If minor children were to inherit, the testators named custodians for them, usually spouses and close relatives. Full business records do not appear in the wills; these would be contained in the testator's ordinary account books. Nonetheless, indications of the business connections of the testators sometimes did appear, usually in cases when the testator left unsettled accounts that required fuller explanation. Finally, executors were named, and the will was signed and dated. Codicils sometimes were added later to change or expand any of the provisions of the original will.<sup>16</sup>

The majority of the wills were written by people who had emigrated from Spain. Of the twenty testators who listed the places of residence of their parents, twelve were Spanish. Six sets of parents came from Burgos, where the greatest number of Castilian merchants in this period originated. Two sets of parents came from Carasa and one set from

<sup>14</sup>This assertion is based on my research on wills in the Archivo Histórico de Protocolos and the Archivo General de Indias, both in Seville, and is discussed in my preliminary report, "Testaments in the Spanish World in the Sixteenth Century," presented at the convention of the American Historical Association, San Francisco, December, 1983.

<sup>15</sup>AVBruges, Archives espagnoles, Registro de Pedro de Paredes, 1555-57, folios 130-32.

<sup>16</sup>This is based on my studies of testaments in various Spanish archives, and Juan de la Ripia, *Práctica de testamentos y modos de subceder* (Cuenca, 1676).

Cameno, both towns in Castile. Two testators came from Vitoria in the Basque province of Alava and one from Logroño in Navarre.<sup>17</sup> Ten other testators did not list their parents or their places of residence, but internal evidence suggests that they were Spanish.<sup>18</sup> Seven testators' parents lived in the Netherlands: six sets in Bruges and one set in Antwerp, thus offering us our first indication of assimilation.<sup>19</sup>

The marriage patterns of the testators provide another index of Castilian integration. Four were unmarried when they executed their wills. Four married a second time after the death of the first spouse and one man married a widow, giving a total of thirty marriages, for the remaining twenty five. Of a total of thirty marriages, twenty one were marriages between Spaniard and Spaniard, and nine were marriages between Spaniard and Fleming. Thus two thirds of the marriages were endogamous within the Spanish community, but whether the spouse came directly from Spain or was already resident in Flanders is impossible to determine. Even though the marriages with Flemings were only a third of the total, they do indicate a degree of local, biological integration.

A few of the Spanish merchants also fostered biological integration with the local community by procreating children out of wedlock. Juan de la Peña left money to his bastard daughter Luisa and named his wife and brother as the child's guardians. In a convoluted passage he expressed his complicated emotions when he said: "I ask my dear wife that by grace she will be a good mother to her and do for her as I have confidence that she will because [of] the obvious love for me shown by my daughter [whom] I had with a single woman before I married and my dear wife knows well who the mother is." Although Alonso de Salinas seems to have had no bastards of his own, he left evidence in his will about the extramarital offspring of his relatives. His brother had an illegitimate son who moved to Spain, and his cousin had two illegitimate daughters who remained in Flanders: Taneque de Salinas became a nun in Dunkerque, and Mayque de Salinas first married a fustian weaver in Bruges and then moved to Dunquerque and married a second time. Fernando de Matute had an illegitimate son. Cryptic notes in the will of Juan de Cucho suggest that he may have had two illegitimate chil-

<sup>17</sup>Burgos: Diego de Avila, Lorencio de Espinosa, Juan de Matanza (I), Fernando de Matute, Juan de la Peña, Diego de Tordomar. Carasa: Juan de Camargo, Francisco de la Maza. Cameno: Alonso de Salinas. Vitoria: Juan de Cucho, Agustín de Olave. Logroño: Fernando de Orozco.

<sup>18</sup>Not listed: Francisco del Río, Luis Gallo, Fernán Martínez de Nájera, Clara de Matute, Juan de Medina, Pedro de Porres, Pedro de Salamanca, Pedro de Valencia, Antonio de Villafranca.

<sup>19</sup>Bruges: Velasco de Béjar, Josina Crampe, María de la Lo, Juan de Matanza (II), Diego Pardo, Ana de San Vitores.



dren. Because of the extralegal and semiclandestine nature of these relationships, they assuredly did little to foster social assimilation.

During this period Castilians were acquiring the local language, another measure of their social integration. The two wills not written in Castilian show a process of assimilation into the larger society of Flanders. Francisca de Cuéllar's will, done in Antwerp in 1608, was either dictated by her in Flemish or translated into Flemish by an Antwerp notary. When it was read before the Castilian notary of the Bruges *Consulado*, it was translated into Castilian. The other exception was the will of Josina Crampe, the widow of Fernando de Matute. She prepared her will after her husband's death, dictating it to her son, also named Fernando de Matute, who wrote it in his own hand in Flemish. She and her eldest son and her other children then went before Pedro de Paredes and testified to the validity of the will. By the middle of the sixteenth century, at least some of the Castilians' offspring were becoming fully bilingual. Many of the testators must have known some Flemish, if only to deal with their household servants, most of whom were local. Those who married Flemish women probably knew more. Still, although some Spaniards in Bruges in the sixteenth century obviously learned Flemish, there were few business reasons for the Castilians to abandon their native language. Henri Lapeyre wrote that in the latter half of the century "the Castilian language . . . was truly a great commercial language, used fluently by the Italian bankers of Lyon or the French merchants of Nantes."<sup>20</sup> The same was true in the Netherlands, and, in fact, Castilian influenced local dialects in Antwerp as well as Bruges.<sup>21</sup> By the seventeenth century, however, trade was far less important than local investments for the members of the *Consulado*, and most were using Flemish and French as often as Castilian.<sup>22</sup>

Frequent membership in religious confraternities was indicated by J. A. Goris as a mark of piety among the Spaniards resident in Antwerp.<sup>23</sup> It can also be used as an index of assimilation. Apparently the Castilians in Bruges were not as attracted to the local organizations, for only three of the men indicated in their wills that they were confraternity members. Agustín de Olave belonged to the brotherhood of La Ballesta Nueva, and Juan de la Peña was a member of La Ballesta Nueva y de la Espada.

<sup>20</sup>Henri Lapeyre, *Une famille de marchands, les Ruiz: Contribution à l'étude du commerce entre la France et l'Espagne au temps de Philippe II* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1955), 162-63.

<sup>21</sup>On the influence of the Spanish language in Antwerp, see J. A. Goris, *Etude sur les colonies marchandes méridionales (Portugais, Espagnols, Italiens) à Anvers de 1488 à 1567* (Louvain: Librairie Universitaire, Uystpruyst, 1925), 84-87. For more detail, see: Robert A. Verdonk, *La lengua española en Flandes en el siglo XVII* (Madrid: Insula, 1980).

<sup>22</sup>This conclusion based on a survey of the seventeenth-century records of the *Consulado*.

<sup>23</sup>Goris, *Marchands méridionales*, 548-55 et *passim*.

Juan de la Peña also left a small bequest to the confraternity of the Holy Sacrament in his local parish church but he did not specifically state that he was a member. A degree of disinterest was shown by Diego de Avila, who stated that he was a "*cofrade* of Nuestra Señora de las Nieves, and if by chance I am a member of another of which I have no memory, let the custom be observed."

Nevertheless, the male Castilians' infrequent membership in such organizations in Bruges should not be assigned solely or even primarily to their disinterest. Rather, membership in the Castilian *Consulado* itself provided them with all of the advantages of a confraternity: companionship, religious brotherhood, communal worship in their own chapel, and funeral arrangements. If many of the merchants stayed to themselves, the women's needs for social and religious companionship were not provided by the *Consulado*. Consequently they sought it by joining local societies. Clara de Matute belonged to six confraternities: the Jacobines, Temple of Rhodes, Siete Dolores, San Salvador, Santa Ana, and Sainte Gertrude. Ana de San Vitores was also a member of six: Nuestra Señora de las Nieblas, Rosario, Leche de Nuestra Señora, Saint Nicholas de Tolentino, Sainte Gertrude, and Saint Hubert. Through memberships such as these, the women built ties with the local elite.

Another measure of the degree of local integration was provided by the number of Castilians attached to local religious institutions. Of the twenty-nine wills, sixteen mentioned relatives in religious orders. Pedro de Toledo, a Franciscan monk, even owned a house in Blankenburg on which the testator Juan de Medina held the mortgage. The most prominent Castilian cleric was the dean of the church of Saint Donatian, Nicolás de Tordomar, brother of the testator Diego de Tordomar and cousin of Juan de Matanza. Four of the testators had children who were local nuns. Lorenzo de Espinosa's daughter Barbara was a nun in Saint Guy. Fernando de Matute's daughter was a nun in the convent of the Bernaria of Bruges, and Diego Pardo's two daughters, Diana and Mayque, were also nuns. María de la Lo's daughter became a nun in Coletas and one of her nieces professed in Ave Maria. Others had sisters or brothers, cousins, and other relatives in local religious institutions.<sup>24</sup> The will of Fernando de Matute named several other children of Spaniards in local religious establishments. Collectively, the Castilians must have demonstrated a considerable presence in the religious life of Bruges.

Serving their spiritual needs occupied local as well as Spanish clerics, and the merchants showed their gratitude in testamentary bequests.

<sup>24</sup>Francisca de Cuéllar, Clara de Matute, Juan de Matanza, Juan de Medina, Isabel de Quintanadueñas, Ana de San Vitores, and Pedro de Valencia. Agustín de Olave had three sisters who were nuns, but they were probably in Spain.

The Spaniards favored the Augustinian priory for many of their religious services, rewarding the prior Fray Rogier Neijuneme with bequests from no fewer than ten of the testators. Among other acts Fray Rogier served as confessor to Fernando de Orozco and executor for the will of Francisco de Matute. Two Spanish clerics also served the merchant community in this period. Alonso de San Millán, the official confessor of the *Consulado*, received bequests in eight of the wills. Besides being Juan de la Peña's confessor, San Millán witnessed Diego de Tordomar's will, was designated adjudicator of Alonso de Salinas's will, and even signed Pedro de Valencia's will for him because Valencia was too sick. Lorenzo de Villaviceno was the official preacher (*predicador*) of the *Consulado* and received bequests in just two wills, perhaps an indication that his job was held in less esteem than the confessor's.

One of the first clauses in all the wills is a stipulation regarding the place of burial. All but two of the testators wished to be buried in Bruges. Many stated that they were sound in mind but sick in body, and most probably knew they would never leave Bruges again. The two exceptions specified places not too distant: one was the convent of Ave Maria just outside the city walls, and the other was Francisca de Cuéllar's request that she be buried in the church of Saint James in Antwerp, where she lived. The writers obviously had close ties with local religion. Many of their bequests to religious organizations and to charity were to benefit local churches and monasteries; these far outweighed the bequests to establishments back in Spain. The most favored burial place was the local Augustinian monastery, indicated in thirteen of the wills, followed by the church of Saint Donatian, indicated in six, undoubtedly because of their close contacts with the clerics in those establishments.<sup>25</sup>

Of two other exceptions regarding the places of burial, one was contained in the joint will of Fernán Martínez de Nájera and his wife Clara de Matute, who apparently wrote it shortly after their marriage. They specified burial in the Augustinian monastery of Bruges only if they were to die in Flanders. They may not have because no evidence of the reading of their will is available. The other exception was Fernando de Matute, whose elaborate testamentary preparations will be discussed separately.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>25</sup>The church of Saint Donatian, located in the Burg Platz, was destroyed in the French Revolution. A. Duclos, *Bruges, Histoire et Souvenirs* (Bruges, 1910, reprinted 1976), 41. In the fifteenth century the Vizcayans and the Castilians were buried in a chapel in the Franciscan monastery, *ibid.* Gilliodts, *Consulat d'Espagne*, 23-24.

<sup>26</sup>Not all long-term Spanish residents remained in Bruges until they died. Pedro de Paredes, the secretary of the "nation" of Castile from 1544 to 1564 and the notary of many of the wills examined here, returned to Spain and was buried there. Maréchal, "Colonie espagnole," 10.

Charitable bequests to the local poor occupied the attention of many of the testators. Thirteen left bequests for the poor of Bruges. Eighteen left money for the two schools maintained for the education of poor girls and boys. Juan de Medina left money at fifteen percent interest to establish an annual income of two *libras de gruesos* (Flemish currency)<sup>27</sup> for the boys' school, and for the girls' school he established a similar annuity to yield three pounds "because they have greater need." Fourteen remembered the inmates of the local jail. Eighteen left bequests to the four local houses of the mendicant orders, and a number gave small gifts to other religious establishments, including five who gave legacies to their parish church. In addition to their charitable nature, these bequests reveal an admixture of pious hopes and self-service because the assumption, explicitly stated in some wills, was that the recipients would pray for the soul of the testator. Moreover, it was a universal practice to establish memorial masses.

In both the cases of the charitable bequests and the establishment of masses, the sums of money provided in the wills were small. The common rule, also favored by most writers of wills in Spain in the same period, was to keep the bulk of the estate intact for the immediate heirs and not to dissipate it in excessive charity or piety.<sup>28</sup> Among the twenty-nine wills, legacies for family members both in Flanders and Spain were far more numerous and remunerative than pious or charitable bequests. When the spouse and children of the testator survived, gifts to more distant relatives were usually small, often no larger than those given to the servants of the house. When the immediate family survived, the bulk of the estate (after expenses for burial, masses, charity, and remembrances were deducted) was divided, usually with one portion going to the children and another portion going to the surviving spouse during her lifetime, after which it would revert to the children. In other cases, especially when the unmarried or the childless prepared their wills, the bequests to relatives were more frequent and more generous.

The testators commonly held local real property. Most owned the houses in which they lived, and some had more extensive holdings. Francisco del Rfo, for example, owned the house where he lived, which contained a *boya* (probably a landing stage on the canal) and a *lonja*

<sup>27</sup>The Spaniards referred to *libra de gruesos*. This was the *livre de gros* of Flanders, worth approximately 1,200 *maravedís* in the period 1550-73. Modesto Ulloa, "Unas notas sobre el comercio y la navegación españoles en el siglo XVII," *Anuario de Historia Económica y Social de España* (1969): 214.

<sup>28</sup>Based on archival studies in Madrid, Seville, and Burgos. William D. Phillips, Jr., "Early Modern Spanish Wills: Sources for Social History," (Conference paper for the Society for Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies, Boston, April 1983) and "Testaments in the Spanish World." This conclusion must remain tentative until more of the vast number of Spanish wills are studied.

(warehouse) along one and one half sides of the house. Del Río also owned a house with a warehouse, or storage rooms, called the Casa de Rosebom in the street of the Spaniards (Calle de los Españoles or Spanyaardstraat).<sup>29</sup> He also owned some small houses outside the gate of Bemaria, which he rented out, and what he called the "fief denevele," that brought him an annual income of twenty-six *libras de gruesos*. Diego Pardo owned the house where he lived and a *casería* (large house with outbuildings) in the parish of Sainte Catherine, as well as an entailed property consisting of the "casería de Cabodebecor," in the señorío de Mala (Mâle), whose señor was Diego Pardo's brother Juan López Gallo.

Fernando de Matute provides evidence for the social ambitions of the Spanish merchants in Bruges. A successful merchant who died a wealthy landowner, he had already taken the first steps toward noble status before he died. Certain provisions of his will indicate several of the aspects of local integration that we have been discussing. He owned the house where he lived next to the Augustinian monastery, another house called "del Insancero" with an orchard, and three entailed estates: one called "La Fague Fierra"; a second in the parish of Oostkamp, which he had bought from another Spaniard, Diego Fernández de Navarrete; and a third (always closest to his heart, as we shall see) the entail of Bernan (probably Beernam), where he owned two other pieces of property and was patron of the church. In preparing his will he left more elaborate instructions than any other testator for the disposal of his corporal remains. His body was to be buried in the Augustinian monastery of Bruges in the sepulcher he had purchased in front of the altar of Nuestra Señora del Pilar, where two of his daughters also lay. Beyond that, his heart was to be removed and buried in the choir of the church of Beernem because he was patron of that church and its sacristy.<sup>30</sup>

Matute was so concerned about signalling his resting places that he twice repeated the text for his memorial stones. These provisions show clearly his concern for recording his lineage and worldly accomplishments. In the first version of the memorial text for Beernem he took care to indicate that he was a Spaniard, but in the second he indicated more local ties. The first time, he provided that his stone in the church of Beernem read: "Here lies the heart of Fernando de Matute Spaniard and

<sup>29</sup>This was the former Lange Winkel (Longue de l'Équerre), but the name Spanyaardstraat persists today. Maréchal ("Colonie espagnole," 9) says it acquired the name "street of the Spaniards" in 1580, but del Río's will in 1554 already used the new name.

<sup>30</sup>Matute also specified alternate arrangements in case he died outside Flanders. If he died in Spain near Burgos, he was to be buried in the monastery of San Pablo in the sepulcher with his parents. If he were to die neither in Flanders nor near Burgos, he was to be buried in the closest Franciscan monastery. These were hypothetical arrangements (he may only have been copying provisions of an earlier will), because he died in Bruges shortly after having made his will.

son and grandson of Fernán Sainz de la Barra lord of Bernan de Gaullesque who died in \_\_\_\_\_.<sup>31</sup> The stone in the monastery of Saint Augustine was to read: "Here lies Fernando de Matute, son and grandson of Fernán Sainz de la Barra de Matute, who died, and Josina Crampe who died on \_\_\_\_\_.<sup>32</sup>

Later in the will he again specified the memorial texts, this time with subtle changes. In Beernem: "Here lies the heart of my lord, I mean, of Fernando de Matute, lord of Bernan de Waleche," and in the monastery: "Here lies Fernando de Matute, lord of Bernan de Waleche who died on such a date and Josina Crampe his wife."<sup>33</sup> The phrase "of my lord, I mean, of Fernando" ("de munsuir digo de Fernando") deserves analysis. Because no erasures or deleted phrases were permitted in wills, Spanish notaries commonly inserted the word "digo" ("I say") to indicate they had made a mistake in transcription; it is equivalent to the English phrase "I mean." As the notary was preparing Matute's will, either he or Matute made a Freudian slip; one of them, at least, was thinking of Matute as a Flemish noble. Matute, too, as we will recall, had a Flemish wife and a bilingual son. In his case, certainly, the process of assimilation was well advanced.

A further measure of assimilation or accommodation to the local scene was that most of the testators expected their children to remain in Flanders, and, in fact, most adult offspring seem to have done just that. There was only one reference to a child who returned to Spain, and only one case in which a father left specific provisions for a child to be sent back to the ancestral country. Francisco de la Maza designated guardians in Bruges for his daughter Juana, until she reached a competent age. Then she should be sent back to Spain, where he commended her to Diego del Oyo, a secretary of the Spanish monarch, and to Juan de Aguëro, a citizen of Burgos. Aside from this exception, and that of Lorenzo de Espinosa's daughter Catalina who returned to Spain, the rule for the children of the Castilians was integration into the local society of Flanders or at least into the society of locally-resident Spaniards.

The children also retained rights of Spanish citizenship. We have the evidence of a royal decree issued in 1558 to Juan del Castillo, whose father of the same name had been born in northern Spain and had gone to Bruges, where he married a Flemish wife. The decree stated that the younger Castillo was to be considered "as a member of the [kingdom

<sup>31</sup>"Aqui yace el corraçon de Fernando de Matute español y hijo y nieto de Fernán Sainz de la Barra señor de Bernan de Guallesque que fallestió en \_\_\_\_\_."

<sup>32</sup>"Aqui yace Fernando de Matute hijo y nieto de Fernán Sainz de la Barra de Matute señor de Bernan de Guallesque que fallestió y Josina Crampe su muger que fallestió en \_\_\_\_\_." Probably both his father and grandfather had the same name.

<sup>33</sup>"Aqui yase el corraçon de munsuir digo de Fernando de Matute señor de Bernan de Waleche."

and lordships of Castile] and as such can have and hold and enjoy in them all the things which those who are natives enjoy and can enjoy."<sup>34</sup> The fact that the Spaniards in Bruges retained their own laws was an important advantage for them and helps to explain why they remained in Bruges as a separate community. The situation was different elsewhere. In Rouen, for example, the Spaniards formed "the most important foreign merchant colony" and helped introduce the use of the letter of exchange and maritime insurance, but they had no autonomous organization and therefore sought and secured local citizenship. In fact, between 1480 and 1560 Spaniards received sixty percent of all grants of naturalization in that Norman city.<sup>35</sup>

While the local integration was proceeding, the Castilians in Bruges still maintained ties with Spain, but some of the links were becoming tenuous, as illustrated by the bequests of family members in Spain. Such bequests to relatives in Spain were relatively uncommon in the wills, made by only nine of the twenty-nine testators. Most wills usually indicated only the legatees' names and relationships and omitted their places of residence, which presumably would be known to the executors, but some left more explicit references. Lorenzo de Espinosa had almost lost track of his Spanish relatives and did not know whether they were living or dead. He bequeathed twelve thousand *maravedís* to his daughter Catalina, who resided in Peral near Palenzuela in Castile. She could receive the money if she were still alive; otherwise the money would go to her two daughters if they were living. He made a similar provision for his sister Marta, who lived in Villaldemiro, a league from Celada del Campo. Because Pedro de Salamanca died childless and rich, he left a long series of bequests to family members in Spain, but because he did not know whether they were living or dead, he left an even longer series of alternate arrangements in case they were dead.

In certain cases the vast extent of the Spanish empire made it difficult to keep track of relatives and associates. Juan de Cucho stated that his brother Fernando was either in the Indies or dead. Fernando de Matute had lost track of his bastard son of the same name when the son moved from Florence to Seville. Alonso de Salinas lost track of Sebastián del Oyo, a native of Laredo who left for America owing him money; Salinas instructed his heirs to forgive the interest if Oyo were to repay the debt.

<sup>34</sup>AVBruges, Archives espagnoles, Registro de Pedro de Paredes, 1559-60, folios 94v-95v.

<sup>35</sup>Philip Benedict, *Rouen during the Wars of Religion* (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 21-22.

Others knew quite well where their relatives were. For example, Diego de Avila ordered a perpetual annuity purchased (at sixteen to eighteen percent) to yield an income of 120 *reales de plata* yearly.<sup>36</sup> His mother in Burgos would enjoy the income for her lifetime, after which it would go to his sister Casilda de Avila until her death; only then would it go to Diego de Avila's wife and heirs. Agustín de Olave left fifty *libras de gruesos* to his nephew Pedro de Ysunza, a student at the University of Salamanca. Juan de Medina, who stated in his will that he had lived in Bruges for sixty years, was concerned about his sister María de Salazar and numerous other relatives living in Nájera. Part of his clothing was to be collected and sent to García de Escalante, living in Laredo, who was to send the bequest on to Nájera for Medina's sister. Some four years before he made his will in Bruges, Medina had sent another will to Spain dealing with his affairs in the home country. Spanish assets remaining after his accounts were cleared were to go to his sister and her descendants and to the descendants of his late brothers. He stipulated, however, that his relatives in Spain should satisfy themselves with his Spanish legacy and not come to Flanders seeking any of his money there.

Even some very distant relatives were not forgotten. Alonso de Salinas reported that his brother Juan Iníiguez de Rabazua had a bastard son who was killed while travelling with his wife and children to Gibraleón in Andalusia. Their ship went down, and all drowned, with the exception of one daughter, who was saved and taken in by a woman Salinas believed was named doña Aldonza de Carranza. Salinas left the child twenty-five *libras de gruesos* to help her marry, become a nun, or support herself.

Among the most interesting bequests, and those which show most clearly the persistence of sentimental ties with Spain, were the donations made to Spanish religious institutions. Such charitable bequests undoubtedly reflected piety, concern to keep the family name alive, and personal aggrandizement; it is impossible to say how much each component weighed in the mixture. Only six of the twenty-nine testators made such bequests to Spanish religious institutions. The smallest was that of Agustín de Olave, who established perpetual masses in the church of San Ildefonso in Vitoria, where his parents were buried. Juan de la Peña left another small charitable bequest, ordering three thousand *maravedís* sent to Spain to be used for the redemption of captives in Muslim hands. Alonso de Salinas left thirty-six *libras de gruesos* for the same purpose and ordered that two other religious bequests be made in Spain. One was to the hospital of San Juan in Burgos for three *libras de gruesos* to help with the burial of poor patients, plus one florin to buy a bull (probably a bull of indulgence) for those in the hospital. The other was to establish a *pósito*, or charitable granary, in his hometown of Cameno. He left money



to purchase wheat for the initial foundation in the local church and charged the parish priest and one of his own relatives to supervise its distribution to needy farmers who would otherwise be unable to plant. At harvest time the recipients were to repay the loan in kind so that a new distribution could be made for the next year's planting.

Fernando de Orozco ordered that part of his household ornaments were to be sent to the church of Santiago in Logroño, where his forebears had been members of the parish. In addition, he left instructions to establish a charitable foundation to distribute alms (twenty portions at fifteen *maravedís* each) every Sunday for six years in the chapel of San Marcos in the church of Nuestra Señora del Palacio in Logroño. Orozco's mother would serve as patron of the foundation, but the actual distribution of alms was to be supervised by priests (*sic*) of the local Dominican and Franciscan monasteries.

Both Juan de Camargo and Francisco de la Maza had come from the town of Carasa in Castile, and both left bequests to the church there. Camargo ordered that a velvet altarcloth and a cassock for the priest be sent to Carasa. La Maza's more elaborate bequest was to construct a new chapel in the church of Carasa, to become the place of burial for members of his family; in the new chapel daily masses were to be said for La Maza's soul.

Less than a third of the testators left Spanish legacies, and that supports the inescapable conclusion that local integration had become more important for the writers of the wills than the maintenance of their ties with Spain. Spaniards lived out their lives in Bruges although they generally did not become local citizens and continued to be governed by Spanish law. A third of those who married chose Flemish spouses. Their children, some of them bilingual, married and raised families locally. In the late-sixteenth century more of their children and grandchildren were bilingual. They had gone a long way toward assimilation. All this helps to explain why so many Spanish merchants remained in Bruges in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries when other foreign merchants were abandoning Bruges for Antwerp. The wool trade had first brought the Castilians to Bruges, but in the mid-sixteenth century the members of the Castilian community were buying real estate and making other local investments. Such diversification served them well and reinforced their other local ties. As a consequence, the Castilian *Consulado* of Bruges lasted until the beginning of the eighteenth century, long after its initial *raison d'être*, the wool trade, had ceased to be fundamental for its members' economic concerns. The wills they left in the mid-sixteenth century give us ample documentary evidence to illustrate the major aspects of the Castilians' sixteenth-century contemporary in Flanders.

# APPENDIX

## List of Wills and their Archival Locations

TESTATOR:	DATE:	SOURCE:
Diego de Avila	1546	Archive de la ville de Bruges (AVBruges), Archives espagnoles, no. 404: Ayuntamientos y ordenanzas, 1502-1608, "Copia de los testamentos pasados ante Paredes de 1544 a 1566," fols. 3-4v.
Velasco de Béjar	1555	Ibid., fols. 15v-17.
Juan de Camargo	1554	Ibid., fols. 9v-15.
Josina Crampe	1556	AVBruges, Registro de Paredes, 1556-57, fols. 260v-261v.
Juan de Cucho	1549	AVBruges, Archives espagnoles, no. 404, "Testamentos pasados ante Paredes," fols. 6-8v.
Francisca de Cuéllar	1608	AVBruges, no. 106: Familles-Pardo, unfoliated.
Fernando del Río	1555	AVBruges, Archives espagnoles no. 404: "Testamentos pasados ante Paredes," fols. 17v-19.
Lorenzo de Espinosa	1569	AVBruges, Archives espagnoles no. 396: Dossiers, 1638-1778, unfoliated.
Luis Gallo	1549	AVBruges, Archives espagnoles no. 404, "Testamentos pasados ante Paredes," fols. 5-5v.
María de la Lo	1555	Ibid., fols. 19v-22.
Fernán Martínez de Nájera and Clara de Matute (joint will)	1561	AVBruges, Registro de Paredes, 1561, fols. 106-107v.
Juan de Matanza (I)	1563	AVBruges, Archives espagnoles no. 404: "Testamentos pasados ante Paredes," fols. 59-62.
Juan de Matanza (II)	1601	AVBruges, Archives espagnoles, Familles-Pedraza-Salamanca, unfoliated.
Fernando de Matute	1556	AVBruges, Registro de Paredes, 1556-57, fols. 249-60.
Francisco de la Maza	1560	AVBruges, Archives espagnoles, no. 404: "Testamentos pasados ante Paredes," fols. 29-32v.
Juan de Medina	1561	Ibid., fols. 33-34v.
Agustín de Olave	1564	Ibid., fols. 68v-71.
Fernando de Orozco	1557	Ibid., fols. 25-28v.
Diego Pardo	1559	Ibid., fols. 45-47.
Juan de la Peña	1562	Ibid., fols. 40-43v.
Pedro de Porres	1551	Ibid., fols. 8v-9v.
Isabel de Quintanadueñas	1549	AVBruges, Registro de Paredes, 1549-50, fols. 162v-163v.
Pedro de Salamanca	1529	AVBruges, Familles-Pedraza-Salamanca, unfoliated.
Alonso de Salinas	1562	AVBruges, Archives espagnoles, no. 404: "Testamentos pasados ante Paredes," fols. 47v-58v.
Ana de San Vitores	1556	Ibid., fols. 22v-23v.
Diego de Tordomar	1557	AVBruges, Registro de Paredes, 1557-58, fols. 59v-64.
Pedro de Valencia	1563	AVBruges, Archives espagnoles, no. 404: "Testamentos pasados ante Paredes," fols. 62v-68.
Antonio de Villafranca	1545	Ibid., fols. 1-3.