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Constructing Spanish Identity at the Center of the Old World: The Spanish Nation in Rome, 1558-1625

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*Constructing
Spanish Identity
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The Spanish
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Thomas Dandeleit

In the spring of 1582, Enrique de Guzman, the Count of Olivares and father of the more famous Count Duke, arrived in Rome to take up his office as ambassador of Philip II to Pope Gregory XIII. His arrival in town was a major event, and a Roman observer described the count's household, income, and general welcome by the Roman nobility and papal court in some detail. Included in this report was a description of the large procession that accompanied the new ambassador to the papal palace for his first visit which noted that he was "followed by 200 coaches" of the Spanish nation. This was a large procession even by the standards of Rome, but it was apparently not surprising to the author, a diplomatic spy for the Duke of Urbino, since, as he noted, "the Spanish nation here numbers 30,000."¹

Just as the Spanish Empire was consolidating its power in Italy in the late sixteenth century, so too was the Iberian community in Rome growing in size, strength, and unity, to become both the most important foreign faction in Rome and the foreign "nation" that would dominate the politics of the city throughout the late sixteenth century. Empire building and nation building subsequently went hand in hand in the Italian context, and Rome, in particular, became a vibrant center of Spanish "nation building" on a local level. Not to be confused with the ideologies of nineteenth-century and twentieth-century nationalism or nation-states, Spanish nation building in Rome was more "about practices of collective representation, of national self-constitution, of imagining a people that emerged in Early Modern Europe before ideology."²

More specifically, I would like to argue here that

two major aspects of Spanish “nation building,” achieving a union in name for all Iberians, and institutionalizing a union of charity in the confraternity, coincided with the rise of Spanish influence in Roman society and their domination of the Roman patronage system. The Roman context served as a microcosm of both Spanish imperial practices of political domination and of the related process of the hispanization of the smaller Iberian “nations” that was occurring in Iberia in the later half of the sixteenth century.³ In Rome, the Spanish monarchs, ambassadors, cardinals and other leading figures generally succeeded in achieving the “Union in Name” that they were also advocating at home. Reference to, and identification with, other Iberian “nations” took a second seat to, or were immersed in, the larger Spanish “nation.”⁴ Moreover, as the disparate “nations” consolidated their forces into the larger Spanish “nation,” their reputation and influence grew and served to attract many other Roman clients with economic and social incentives. Thus, the unified “nation” served as the nucleus of a broader Spanish faction that effectively dominated the patronage-based politics of Rome for at least half of a century and won for the Spanish monarchs unprecedented influence in, and benefits from, the papal court. With this strong local base of political strength, the Spanish monarchs shaped papal elections, gained ecclesiastical taxes from the church throughout their empire, and kept the papacy in line with both its domestic and foreign political agenda. The Spaniards in Rome therefore played a critical part in both foreign and internal Iberian affairs, and many Spanish ambassadors who had resided in Rome returned home to serve on the king’s Council of State. At the same time, through the confraternity, the Spanish “nation” gained institutional definition and structure, and for both the resident Iberians and many Romans, it became a highly visible and effective patron with its ritual life, charitable work, and endowment. Thousands of Spaniards who joined the confraternity and then returned to Spain subsequently took with them memories of this model of pan-Iberian cooperation.

From Iberian Nations to the Spanish Nation in Rome

Before proceeding further, a few notes of clarification on the actual meaning of both what the terms Spanish and nation meant at this time in the Roman context are in order. In the report on the procession that welcomed the Count of Olivares to town, the Italian observer used the phrase *nazione di Spagna* to describe a community that was composed of Galicians, Castilians, Catalans, Andalucians, and, after 1580, the Portuguese. In the fifteenth century, three of these “nations,” the Castilians, Portuguese, and Aragonese, had established their own Roman pilgrimage churches of St. Giacomo, St. Antonio, and St. Maria de Montserrat, respectively, and functioned much as separate groups. In the early years of Philip II’s reign, moreover, the interests of the Catalans and Portuguese were often at odds with the designs of the Catholic king, and they maintained their own representatives and agendas in Rome.

By 1570 in the case of Catalonia, and 1580 in the case of Portugal, however, these separate representatives or ambassadors had been suppressed or severely restricted upon the insistence

of Philip II. Pius V sent a Catalan representative home saying that since their king already had an ambassador in the papal court there was no need for another “sent by the laity of that kingdom.”⁵ At the same time, the Portuguese and Catalan churches were in noticeable decline, while the church of San Giacomo was being reformed to serve and include the broader Iberian community against the protests of some Castilian chaplains of the church.⁶ In Rome, at least, the Spanish “nation” superseded the smaller “nations,” including Castile, and meant something quite different from Castilian domination of the other Iberian groups.

From the early years of Philip II’s reign, the king described his Iberian subjects in Rome as the Spanish “nation” and refrained from distinguishing between subjects from different kingdoms. Writing to his ambassador, Don Luis de Requesans, in 1558, the king gave the following instructions:

Toward the Roman courtiers that are Spanish, and all the Spanish nation, and all our other subjects and vassals, favor them always in all that would be just gathering them to yourself and treating them well, and not allowing that they should be mistreated by anyone, because they will give us much reputation and authority in that court.⁷

Just as the furthering of his reputation and authority had also led Philip II to establish an archive in Rome in 1558 to preserve the many papal bulls and briefs that conceded him various privileges, so too did they lead him to cultivate and encourage a strong and united Spanish community in the city. With communications slow—usually twenty two days for a letter to go from Madrid to Rome—a strong presence of his vassals and subjects on the ground was important for the many different projects and goals that he had in Rome. More specifically, a sizeable part of the community served as a powerful lobbying group that influenced papal elections and pressured the papacy to support Spanish military adventures, grant ecclesiastical taxes, approve of spiritual dispensations and favors, and put its moral authority, financial resources and military forces at the disposal of a wide variety of Spanish domestic and international policies. With this agenda, a united Spanish “nation” was more impressive and effective than a group of smaller and divided groups, and Philip II cultivated this image by naming the nation the Spanish nation in virtually all of his correspondence with the papacy and his subjects in Rome.

Trying to cultivate unity of purpose and loyalty through evocations of ancient and mythic España was by no means a novel idea in early modern Iberia. As John Elliott has pointed out, although the Spanish monarchy from the time of Ferdinand and Isabella was a composite monarchy ruling over many different kingdoms and political entities, they often “sought to revive shadowy memories of a Roman or Visigothic Hispania in order to suggest a wider potential focus of loyalty in the form of a historically revived ‘Spain.’”⁸ And while this could be difficult in Iberia where local allegiances and loyalty were often primary, “in certain contexts” where “the advantages of political union could be considered, at least by influential groups in society, as outweighing the drawbacks,” it was possible for a strong loyalty to the wider community of “Spain” to exist.⁹ Rome was such a context where the monarchs and their primary subjects generally succeeded

in achieving the "Union in Name" that was often so elusive in Iberia itself.¹⁰

This process was made easier, moreover, by the practice of the Romans to group all of the Iberians under the title of the Spanish "nation." Accolti was but one example of this, and the practice went back at least to the late Medieval period. Long the center of Christendom and pilgrimage destination, Rome had been shaping and defining a common Christian identity for the disparate peoples of Europe throughout the Middle Ages as Benedict Anderson has pointed out.¹¹ At the same time, however, it was in medieval Rome that the numerous local identities of Europe were commonly grouped under the five major "nations" of France, England, Spain, Italy, and Germany. Hispania, moreover, had first emerged as a single entity as a province of the Roman empire. The Spanish monarch's practice of naming the Iberian community the Spanish nation was subsequently bolstered by both the ancient relationship between Rome and Hispania and the common Roman usage of the sixteenth century.

Besides the naming of the "nation" by the king and Romans, the confraternity was also instrumental in sharpening the definition of what constituted a Spaniard. One of the first articles of the 1580 charter stated:

This confraternity being properly of the Spanish nation, it is necessary that he who would be a part of it would be Spanish and not of another nation; he is understood to have the said quality of being Spanish who is either from the Crown of Castile or the Crown of Aragon, and the kingdom of Portugal and of the islands of Mallorca, Menorca and Sardinia and the islands and Terraferma of the Indies with no distinction of age or sex or rank.¹²

The confraternity subsequently served to define and unite the various groups of Iberians in Rome in a way that had previously not existed. Thus, during the period between 1580 and 1640, the terms Spanish nation and Spaniard served to identify anyone from Iberia, the islands of Sardinia and Mallorca, and the Indies. These were common designations found in papal correspondence, royal correspondence, notarial records such as personal wills, local church records, and other local Roman records. In Rome, at least, other Iberian national identities took a second seat to this title. Individuals could hold numerous identities at the same time, of course, and many individuals continued to affirm their local identity through the many bequests they left to churches and charities in their homeland, and their choice to be buried in their national churches in Rome. Yet, many Iberians from all of the smaller nations joined the confraternity, enjoyed the prestige and benefits of the larger Spanish nation, and showed little sign of resistance to this designation. We might go so far as to say that the Castilian humanist's dream of a unified Iberia under the name of the classical Hispania was created and existed more fully in Rome in this period than it ever did in Iberia itself.¹³

Pride of place in strengthening and consolidating the Iberians in Rome went to one of Philip II's first ambassadors, the Commendador Don Juan de Zuñiga. Although he served less time in Rome than Olivares, he was responsible for the founding of the Spanish confraternity in 1579.

Responding to both the real needs of the growing Iberian population for charitable assistance, and the political opportunity to bring the disparate groups of Iberians together in an institution under monarchical authority and ambassadorial supervision, Zuñiga functioned as a real "nation builder" on a local level. While ambassadors have not traditionally been noted for this role, it is consistent with the role of brokers between monarch and subjects in other absolutist settings such as that of France, and it needs to be seen as one of the most important roles for the Spanish ambassador in Rome. Long before the Count-Duke of Olivares proposed a Union of Arms, Zuñiga had begun a *de facto* Union of Charity that brought Iberians together for mutual aid.¹⁴

In the evolution to a corporate form of organization, the confraternity gave institutional unity and structure to an expanded version of the Spanish nation that included all subjects of the Spanish crown in Iberia, the Indies and Sardinia and Mallorca. The king and ambassador were always the first members of the confraternity listed in the organization's registers who, through their financial support, ensured that the organization would serve as an ongoing guardian of both the material and spiritual interests of the Spaniards in Rome. Philip II gave his strong blessing to the endeavour in a letter of 1579 that noted the many needs of "*las personas de la nacion española en esa corte,*" and the fact that they did not have a "*lugar pio nacional.*"¹⁵ He subsequently endowed the confraternity with 1500 *escudos* worth of benefices from churches in Naples in 1589,¹⁶ and both Philip III and Philip IV continued the practice. Philip III did so noting in a letter of 1607 that he was the confraternity's "first confrere" and that it represented "*el cuerpo entero de la nacion española*" and all of the foundations of its "*nacionales.*"¹⁷

A statement of historical origins and purpose drawn up in 1603 serves well to summarize the organization's *raison d'être*:

Don Juan de Zuñiga, considering... the needs that are continuously presented to persons of the Spanish nation in this Court, both by the distance from their own lands, and by the frequency with which Spaniards gather here; and (considering) that many of them that reside here have a particular obligation to give alms, and to do other works of charity; arranged with the counsel and consent of important people of the same nation to institute with apostolic consent the *hermandad y cofradia* of the most holy resurrection in the church of the glorious apostle Santiago.¹⁸

Thus, practical needs and the responsibility of the professional and wealthy Spaniards families to provide the patronage umbrella for the working-class Spaniards in Rome who served in their households, drove their coaches, cooked for them, and provided a variety of other services played a substantial role in the formation of the confraternity. This was largely an ethnic economy, and when poorer Spaniards were not directly taken care of by a patron, it was the confraternity that brought the various "nations" and classes together to provide the social insurance or safety net for this group. More specifically, the confraternity provided prison aid, hospital visitation and aid, pilgrim assistance, general charity, burial assistance, and dowries that had been endowed by wealthy Spaniards.

Representative of “the important persons of the nation” mentioned in the charter, was the extended family of Jeronimo Fonseca who was a prior of the confraternity in the 1590s. The family, which also included an uncle, Antonio, and his son Emanuel, were representative of the wealthier members of this group who resided in Rome throughout the period. Originally from Portugal, they were merchants with extensive business contacts throughout Iberia, and estates worth over 100,000 ducats.¹⁹ They appear in the records as prominent members and generous benefactors of the Spanish “nation” in Rome and were highly visible members of Roman society. Antonio and Emanuel had a large palace in the piazza of Sta. Maria Sopra Minerva.²⁰

Although the FONSECAS were Portuguese, they serve as excellent examples of Iberians from kingdoms other than Castile who also considered themselves as part of the broader Spanish nation, loyal subjects of the Spanish monarchs, and prominent members of the Spanish faction in Rome. Jeronimo and his cousin Antonio were early officers of the Spanish confraternity and both gave generously to the confraternity and the church of Santiago. Antonio, for instance, left 400 silver *escudos* for the construction of a chapel dedicated to the resurrection in the church of Santiago where the family was buried. He also gave 300 silver *escudos* to establish an endowment which would pay for the dowries of six poor Spanish women each year.²¹ Jeronimo, for his part, was the prior of the confraternity in his lifetime and left the group 300 silver *escudos* as well as a house in the *Campo dei Fiori* the rent of which was to be used to pay for the dowries of four Spanish girls.²²

At the same time, however, the FONSECAS also demonstrated continuing allegiance to Portugal leaving small sums to the church of St. Antonio and also stipulating that the money left for dowries be given to deserving Portuguese women first and foremost.²³ By their patterns of giving they subsequently revealed various levels of identity and allegiance that marked many of the wealthy and middle-class Iberians in Rome. On the one hand, there was no question that they saw themselves as part of the larger Spanish “nation” and loyal servants of the crown — Emanuel Fonseca, for example, presented Philip IV’s pledge of obedience to pope Gregory XV in 1622 — but they also remained loyal to their smaller “nation” of Portugal.²⁴

Among the many charities performed by the FONSECAS through the confraternity, the records associated with one particular charity, the giving of dowries to poor Spanish women, help us to understand the Spaniards who were usually not wealthy enough to leave personal wills, namely the working and servant class. By 1600, roughly 30 Spanish dowries were given annually. Each year, a few months prior to the procession and mass held to celebrate the event, officers of the confraternity went out to the various *rione* or neighborhoods of Rome to interview potential recipients. The questions asked of the women were known as the *scrutinios* or scrutinies, and the abbreviated records of those interviews, preserved in varying states of detail, often reveal the woman’s neighborhood of residence in Rome as well as the father’s occupation and the parent’s place of origin in Iberia or Italy.²⁵ More specifically, the visitors were required to ask specific questions about the women’s place of birth, the parent’s economic and marital status, and the general reputation of the woman and family. They were to make sure that the women were not

illegitimate, that they were held to be virgins, that they were at least fifteen-years-old, that they had no dowry, and that the parents were “wretched and poor people that do not have anything to marry them with.”²⁶ They were also required to be born “of Spanish parents, Castilians, Valencians, Aragonese, Navarras, Catalans, Portuguese.” Lacking enough women from these places, women from Burgundy, Germany, Flanders, Sienna, Naples and Sardinia could be considered in that order.²⁷ Finally, among those who met these prerequisites, priority was to be given to the oldest women of the poorest and most reputable parents, and especially orphans.²⁸

Members of the three major Iberian kingdoms of Castile, Aragon, and Portugal accounted for roughly 65%, 20%, and 5% respectively of the parents of girls receiving dowries.

In the case of the young women and their families in Rome who benefited from the Spanish dowries, the charity certainly had the effect of underlining their dependence on, and connection to, the broader Spanish community. At the same time, the Spanish “nation,” and especially the church of San Giacomo and Confraternity of the Most Holy Resurrection, gained religious reputation from the annual distribution of the dowries. The event was usually noted by the *Avvisi* writers, and even a popular pilgrim’s guide to the churches of Rome, first written in Italian during the reign of Sixtus V and later translated into Spanish, described the event:

“On the day of our Lady in August a very solemn procession is held in the said church, in which twenty or twenty-two poor virgins take part, who are given a dowry sufficient to allow them to marry.”²⁹

Apart from the papacy, the Spanish “nation” was the only major faction or foreign “nation” in Rome that distributed dowries on an annual basis on such a large scale, and the event further demonstrated their wealth and social power as well as piety. Moreover, the numbers of dowries continued to rise with the growth of various endowments so that by 1600 over 30 dowries were normally distributed each year.³⁰

The dowries, possibly more than any other Spanish charity, touched a broad range of people in the Spanish “nation”, faction, and city of Rome at large. After the scrutinies had been gathered, the women were chosen by the officers of the church and confraternity in a secret ballot held in the chapel of the Immaculate Conception in the church of San Giacomo. Four days prior to the feast of the Immaculate Conception, those who were to receive dowries found out the good news when they were secretly brought the white cloth needed for the dress to be worn during the ritual along with money to buy white shoes and a veil.³¹

Here was yet another highly ritualized annual Spanish event that took place in the city of Rome and that effected a significant number of people. Certainly the season of the visitations was one of high anxiety and expectation for the many poor women who had some remote chance of receiving their passport to a good marriage. For those chosen, more importantly, the week of the ritual was one of busy and happy activity which culminated in the walk through Rome to the

church of San Giacomo where the dowries were formally presented.

This annual spectacle of numerous women dressed in white dresses and veils, walking through the various neighborhoods of Rome, and converging in the piazza Navona for a lengthy procession, was very good press for the Spaniards, and this was an event that many Romans witnessed. In this sense, the dowry procession was an annual ritual that celebrated Spanish power, piety, and presence in the heart of Rome and that gave the Iberians assembled in Rome the opportunity to present themselves as Christendom's most pious nation, united in name and charity, for the benefit of Spaniards and Romans alike.

¹ BAV, Urb. Lat. 1050, f. 204r. The text reads, "seguito di 200 coceti poi che la natione spagnola qua' e' di 30,000 persone."

² Carla Hesse and Thomas Laquer, "Introduction," *Representations*, 47 (Summer 1994), p. 1.

³ See I.A.A. Thompson, "Castile, Spain, and the Monarchy: the Political Community from *patria natural* to *patria national*," in Richard L. Kagan and Geoffrey Parker (eds.), *Spain, Europe, and the Atlantic World*. Cambridge, 1995, pp. 137-138, for a discussion of hispanization in the later half of the sixteenth century.

⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 138-39. Thompson leans toward Armando Represa's terminology of "the immersion of the Castilian into the Spanish" to describe hispanization, and also points out that H. G. Koenigsberger's suggestion that identification with Spain was a result of Castilian imperialism is undermined by the fact that this was a view from outside of Castile and certainly not the perception of the Castilians themselves. See H. G. Koenigsberger's essay, "Spain," in Orest Ranum (ed.), *National Consciousness, History, and Political Culture in Early-Modern Europe*. Baltimore, 1975.

⁵ BAV, Urb. Lat. 1041, f. 249r.

⁶ Archivo General Simancas (AGS), Estado, Roma, *legajo* 946, unfoliated. In 1584 the administrators of the church of San Giacomo, a church under royal protection, wrote to the king protesting changes in its governance imposed by the Spanish ambassador, the Count of Olivares, which had begun to allow members of other Iberian kingdoms and the Indies to hold any of the twenty endowed chaplaincies in the church. The Castilian chaplains wanted only Castilians and priests from Navarre to be eligible, but the king let the ambassador's changes stand, and the church gradually had a mixed Iberian group of chaplains.

⁷ AGS, Estado, Roma, *legajo* 883, unfoliated. The original text reads: "A los Cortesanos Romanos españoles, y toda la nacion española, y los demas subditos y vasallos nuestros, favorescereis siempre en todo lo que

justo sea allegando las a vos y tratandolos bien, y no consintiendo que sean mal tratados de nadie, por que esto nos dara mucha reputacion y autoridad en aquella corte."

⁸ John H. Elliott, "A Europe of Composite Monarchies," *Past and Present*, 137 (1992), pp. 57-58.

⁹ *ibid.*, p. 58.

¹⁰ *ibid.*, p. 57.

¹¹ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*. London, 1983, p. 54. "Nothing more impresses one about Western Christendom in its heyday than the uncoerced flow of faithful seekers from all over Europe, through the celebrated 'regional centres' of monastic learning, to Rome. These great Latin-speaking institutions drew together what today we would perhaps regard as Irishmen, Danes, Portuguese, Germans, and so forth, in communities whose sacred meaning was every day deciphered from their members' otherwise inexplicable juxtaposition in the refectory." While Anderson points out the role that pilgrimage had in building the religious sense of community among the different peoples of Europe, he omits the central role that pilgrimage centers also had in emphasizing and defining the major national identities of Europe.

¹² Archivo Obra Pia (AOP), *legajo* 71, f. 77r. The original text is under the heading "Quien puede ser cofrade." It reads, "Siendo esta cofradia propia de la nacion española es necessario que el que huviere de ser domitado a ella sea español y no de otra nacion; la qual qualidad de ser español se entienda tener para el dicho effetto tanto el que fuere Corona de Castilla como de la Aragon y del Reyno de Portugal y de las Islas de Mallorca Menorca Cerdeña e islas y tierra firme de entrabas indias sin ninguna distincion de edad ni de sexo ni de estado."

¹³ For a good summary of medieval and early modern views of the literary ideal of Spain see especially Helmut Koenigsberger, "Spain," in *National Consciousness*, pp. 144-46.

¹⁴ Kettering, p. 7.

¹⁵ AOP, mss. 240, ff. 24v-27v. The letter to the ambassador in Rome was dated the 6th of January, 1579.

¹⁶ AOP, *legajo* 71, f. 30r.

¹⁷ AOP, mss. 240, ff. 24v-27v.

¹⁸ AOP, *legajo* 71, f. 2r. The text, dated 1603, is from the Libro Maestro of the confraternity. The subtitle of this section was "Origen de la Archicofradia," and the full text read: "Considerando el Illmo. y Excellmo. Señor Don Juan de Zuñiga Comendador Mayor de Castilla entonces Embaxador en Roma de la Catholica Magestad El Rey Don Philippe segundo de buena memoria nuestro Señor con zelo amor de Dios y del proximo las necessidades que a personas de la nacion Española de continuo offrecen en esta Corte, ansi por la distancia de las proprias tierras, como por la frecuencia a ella concurre de Españoles: y que muchos de los que en ella residen, tienen particular obligacion de dar limosna, y hacer otras obras de charidad: trato' con consejo y consentimiento de graves personas de la misma nacion de instituir de baxo del beneplacito apostolico la hermandad y cofradia de la santissima resurreccion en la iglesia del glorioso apostol Santiago de los Españoles la qual fue' instituida por la felice recordacion de Gregorio Papa XIII a 15 de Marco de 1579."

¹⁹ ASC, Notai, vol. 872, f. 108. In a notarized document from Rome in 1581 Antonio Fonseca established as his official procurators in Spain Gaspar de Santestevan, a cathedral canon from Valladolid; Bernardino Vizcarrezo, a *regidor* in Valladolid; Francisco de Cuevas in Burgos; Ruy Gomez in Medina del Campo; and his brother, Manuel Fonseca, who then resided in Madrid. This particular document empowered the said procurators to collect the insurance money on merchandise originally purchased in various Iberian cities which had been lost in a shipwreck on its way to Italy.

²⁰ Ferruccio Lombardi, *Roma: Palazzi, Palazzetti, Case*. Rome, 1991, p. 396. Concerning the palace, I have been unable to find the date for its construction, but a recent author has noted that the Fonsecas "nel '600 costruirono un grande palazzo di famiglia. Nell'800 si estinsero e il loro palazzo passo' ai Conti che lo

ristrutturano..." The historical designation on the sign in front of the building today is still the palazzo Fonseca.

²¹ AOP, *legajo* 2193, unfoliated. Found in the original will of Antonio Fonseca from 1587.

²² AOP, *legajo* 71, f. 41v.

²³ AOP *legajo* 2193, unfoliated, and 71, f. 41v.

²⁴ AGS, Estado, Roma, *legajo* 3138, unfoliated. The printed treatise is entitled *Oratio ad Beatiss. in Christo Patrem ac s.d.n. Gregorium Decimumquintum Philippi IIII. Hispaniarum et Indiarum Regis Catholici Nomine, Obedientiam praestante Illustrissimo, et Excellentissimo Viro D. Emanuele a Zuniga, et Fonseca*. Rome, 1622.

²⁵ For the calculations concerning the families of girls receiving dowries I used a list of all the girls receiving dowries preserved in AOP, *legajo* 601, unfoliated, as well as the records kept by those administering the scrutinies entitled, *Escutrinis De Donzellas desde el Ano de 1567 hasta el Ano de 1645*; AOP, *legajo* 1277. This source breaks down the groups of donzellas given dowries by region, place of birth of themselves and parents or grandparents. It also includes references to the occupation of the fathers.

²⁶ AOP, *legajo* 71, ff. 159r-161r. The list of rules for visitors which is preserved in the *Libro Maestro* of the confraternity is entitled "Instrucion y forma que se ha de guardar en el casamiento de las donzellas." The full question from which the partial quote was taken was: "Si estan en comun reputacion de virgines, si son pupillas, y huerfanas que no tienen dote competente con que poderse casar, y si tienen padres, si son personas miserables y pobres que no tienen con que casarles."

²⁷ *ibid.*, f. 160r. From a section entitled "Calidades y requisitos de Donzellas." The text reads: "de padres españoles Castellanos, hallandose las quales preceden, y luego Vaencianas, Aragonesas, Navarras, Catalanas, Portuguesas." If there were not enough Spanish women, "Borgonones, Tudescos, Flamencos, Seneses, Napolitanas, y despues Sardos" were to be considered. In the 1560s and '70s, when the Spanish immigrant population was just beginning to grow, a high percentage of the women receiving dowries were from Burgundy, Flanders and Germany. By 1600, however, the great majority of women were daughters of immigrant Spaniards, and by the 1620s, the majority were granddaughters of Spaniards reflecting the rise and fall of the immigration pattern generally.

²⁸ *ibid.* The text reads: "preferidas en el orden sobre dicho las que fueren de mas edad, y dellas las nacidas de mas honestos Padres y de estas las mas pobres, y de estas las huerfanas..."

²⁹ Biblioteca Nacional Madrid (BNM), MSS 2392, *Las Iglesias de Roma*, Por El Doctor Francisco De Cabrera Morales, Acolyto de la Santidad de N. Senor Clemente VIII, Con Privilegio del Papa Sixto V, En Roma, Por Luis Zannetti, A instancia de Gio. Antonio Franzini librero ala ensena de la Fuente, I heredero de Jeronimo Franzini ano 1600, f.72v-73r. The text reads: "En el dia de nueastra Senora de Agosto se haze una muy solemne procession en la dicha iglesia, en la qual andan veinte or veintidos donzellas pobres, a las quales se da sufficiente dote para poderse casar."

³⁰ AOP, *legajo* 1277. The information is taken from the register entitled *Escutrinis de Donzellas desde el Ano de 1567 hasta el Ano de 1645*.

³¹ AOP, *legajo* 611, unfoliated. From the document entitled *Libro de Instrumentos e Dotes*.