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**“Clockmaking Clerics and Ropemaking Lawyers:  
Mixing Occupational Roles in Early Modern Spain”**

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Rescue, Virginia

Bachelor of Arts, The College of William and Mary, 2010

A Thesis presented to the Graduate Faculty  
of the College of William and Mary in Candidacy for the Degree of  
Master of Arts

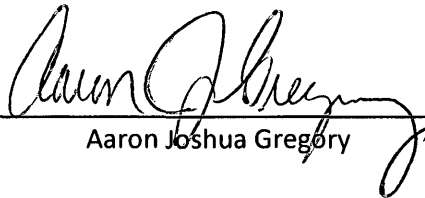
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The College of William and Mary  
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APPROVAL PAGE

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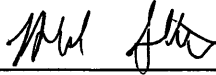
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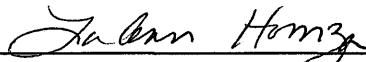
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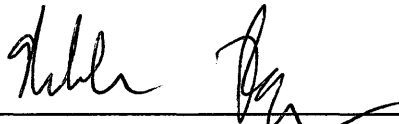
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## ABSTRACT PAGE

For centuries, historians have taken it for granted that mechanical labor (any work consisting of bodily motion, but especially work with the hands) was unequivocally despised in Spain. In recent years, this entire historiography has come into question. Ruth MacKay, in particular, has argued that Enlightenment figures within Spain and without fabricated the reputation for contempt for manual labor, which became inextricably linked with Spanish national character. She has put forward a convincing case that mechanical workers did not think of their own work as contemptible, and it cannot be denied that some high, important personages actually valued such work and the people who did it. But the picture of a Spain where mechanical work was universally esteemed is no more sustainable than the picture of a Spain where it was universally despised. By analyzing trials and other documents from Spain (especially the Viceroyalty of Navarre), I argue here for a historiographical *via media*. What some have read as contempt and social exclusion, I argue, is actually a high degree of anxiety about the mixing of multiple social and occupational roles.

In this thesis, I examine trials involving mechanical workers (or reputed mechanical workers) who had other occupations considered incompatible with their mechanical labor. Included in the cast is a public defender threatened with loss of his job because he was reputed to be a hemp-beater, a friar called as an expert witness in a mechanical dispute, and a parish priest who, diocesan officials believed, was obsessed with the work of clockmaking. By analyzing these cases, I hope to give an “on the ground” view of the anxiety over mixing certain occupational or social identities. It is this mixing, not the manual labor itself, that was so offensive to early modern sensibilities.

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*Multis gratiae; soli Deo gloria!*

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*Thanks to many; glory to God alone!*

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Work on a project of this size usually involves varying levels of enjoyment, but the experience of working with other people on this thesis has been universally good.

Don José Luis Sales Tirapu, archivist of the *Archivo Diocesano de Pamplona* and a priest of the Gospel, called me “dear friend” from the first time he met me. In addition to his kindness, his photographic memory and tireless work on the ADP’s catalogue (which just released its 32<sup>nd</sup> volume) have been invaluable in the completing of this thesis.

Members of the staff of the *Archivo Real y General de Navarra* in Pamplona were always understanding of this poor American who had repeated trouble with their search system. I would also like to thank Peio Monteano Sorbet, *técnico superior* at the AGN, and also a dear friend. More than merely a head archivist, he was an open source of help and support during both of my visits to Navarre, even taking me on the thirty-minute drive to visit Barásoain, the village where one of my trials was set. Not everyone means it when they say they want you to let them know if they can help in any way. Peio always has.

I would also like to thank my family and friends, both at William & Mary and at home. I must especially thank my parents, Don and Sharon Gregory; my girlfriend, Audrey Robbins; my brother Andrew and his family; and Ben McDonald, Emily Peterson, and all my housemates at the Wesley Foundation. At one point or another, all of these people have had to deal with the griping inherent in a research venture of this scope. I will never be able to thank these people enough for their love and understanding, but I hope they will consider this a down payment.

I have had a phenomenal committee to work with this year. My chair, Ron Schechter, was an excellent listener and provided me with fantastic sources to situate my Hispano-centric story in a wider European context. Nick Popper helped in this way as well, and introduced me to the fascinating field of “history of expertise.” The reading and writing I have done for him in his courses and for this thesis have been not only helpful, but truly enjoyable.

Finally, I offer thanks to Lu Ann Homza. She introduced me to the Renaissance and the Spanish Golden Age while I was an undergraduate. Through her courses, she helped change me from a mediocre medievalist into a decently capable early modernist. She improved my writing, took me to Spain and introduced me to archival research, and graciously agreed to serve on my M.A. committee despite being on leave. Most importantly, she has fueled my desire to be an excellent teacher and mentor by her fantastic example. ¡*Muchísimas gracias, Ana Luisa!*

## A NOTE ON TRANSLATION, SPELLING, AND USAGE

All translations in this thesis are my own, unless otherwise noted, and I take full responsibility for any indelicacies the reader may find here. Working with primary sources in Spain presents certain difficulties, whether those sources are manuscript or printed. Certain letters were considered interchangeable in medieval and early modern Castilian, including 'v' and 'b' and 'c' and 'z'; the ancient Roman convention of using 'u' and 'v' interchangeably was also retained in early modern Castilian. By the orthographic interchange of 'v' for 'u,' the Spanish word *ciudad* (city) could become *civdad* and, by the pronunciation interchange of 'b' for 'v,' could further be mutated to *cibdad*.

It would be pretentious and unnecessary to include a "note on spelling and usage" if I were to modernize the spelling in all quotations from primary sources. Furthermore, I believe there is a great deal we can learn by attention to historical linguistics and differences in spelling between the present and the past. I will include all direct quotations from Spanish primary sources in their original spelling, which may lead to some minor inconsistencies. After all, the Spanish word for "city" could appear as *ciudad*, *civdad*, and *cibdad* in the same source.

When quoting from primary documents, I will also consistently maintain the spelling used in the original text for proper names.



**“CLOCKMAKING CLERICS AND ROPEMAKING LAWYERS:  
MIXING OCCUPATIONAL ROLES IN EARLY MODERN SPAIN”**

**INTRODUCTION**

Don Antonio de Rada y Elío served the town of Barásoain, Spain, as one of its beneficed priests for at least fifty years beginning around 1681.<sup>1</sup> In a 1708 petition to King Philip V, Don Antonio claimed the “personal merit” of 27 years as a priest.<sup>2</sup> In 1731, he appeared in a dispute regarding funds for a chaplaincy in his charge, at which point he was still named as *beneficiado* of Barásoain.<sup>3</sup> Though this is his last appearance in the documents held by the diocesan or general archives of Pamplona, he may well have continued his life and service past this date. He was a descendant of the House of Rada, one of the famed “Twelve Excellent Houses” of the Navarrese nobility.<sup>4</sup> Don Antonio’s career was not an especially unique one. He was a rather litigious character—almost all remaining traces of him are found in the numerous ecclesiastic and secular trials in which he was plaintiff or defendant—but so were many other priests in early modern Navarre and Spain more generally. But

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<sup>1</sup> Barásoain is about 28 kilometers south of Pamplona, just outside of the *merindad* (county) of Pamplona in Navarre. Its territory forms the northernmost tip of the *merindad* of Olite.

<sup>2</sup> Antonio de Rada y Elío and Francisco de Elorza y Rada, *Representación y blasón primitivo de esta casa* (Madrid: s.n., 1708), 10:

<http://www.memoriadigitalvasca.es/handle/10357/1774>.

<sup>3</sup> AGN Fajo Único, N<sup>o</sup>. 25 (166931).

<sup>4</sup> See Rada and Elorza, *Representación y blasón primitivo* as well as Francisco de Elorza y Rada, *Nobiliario de el valle de la Valdorba* (Pamplona: Francisco Antonio de Neyra., 1714), 281: <http://www.memoriadigitalvasca.es/handle/10357/1279>.

from an unknown starting point to the year 1699, Don Antonio had a reputation which certainly makes him stand out in the index of the catalogue of the *Archivo Diocesano de Pamplona* (ADP). Under *Varios* in the index of tome 15 of the catalogue, the sixth entry is unique for its period in this archive: *Clérigo relojero*, a clockmaking cleric.<sup>5</sup>

It seems that Don Antonio's unusual vocation persisted only in the 1690s and is mentioned only in a single trial, dated 1699. Indeed, if we believe Don Antonio's own testimony, his mechanical projects ceased after a 1693 admonition from his bishop. A language of dishonor pervades the description of Don Antonio's clockmaking in the charges of his 1699 trial. Those who have studied the decrees of the Council of Trent will understand the implication of a seventeenth-century priest in northern Spain engaging in any activity which deprived his flock of his service. But despite the dishonor imputed to him by his superiors and some witnesses from his flock, the fact remained that the reputed dishonor of the work was not sufficient to prevent his parishioners from contracting him for the work in the first place.

This trial raises a number of questions when read in light of the social history of manual labor and the history science and expertise. Most pressing among these questions, how did early modern Spaniards justify the seeming contradictions in

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<sup>5</sup> I am indebted to Lu Ann Homza for bringing this trial to my attention as a possible project during preparations for an undergraduate research trip to Pamplona in 2010. Its description can be found in José Luis Sales Tirapu and Isidoro Ursúa Irigoyen, *Catálogo del Archivo Diocesano de Pamplona*, t. 15, p. 353 (# 1.382). This catalogue will be referred to as *Catálogo del ADP* throughout.

their *mentalités*: first, between their disdain for manual labor and their demand for goods (like clocks, bells, or works of art) produced by hand, and second, between that disdain and the recognition of the knowledge or expertise required to produce such handworks?

This thesis is composed mostly of attempts to address this disconnect. The historiography of the contempt for mechanical work in Spain has recently come into question and, at the hands of some historians, has even been subjected to outright rejection and revision. In this thesis, I will argue that the sources will not sustain outright, universal contempt for mechanical labor (the more traditional view). But neither will they allow for complete, enthusiastic esteem for it (the more recent revision). As a kind of *via media* between these two opposing interpretations, I will argue that certain social roles in Spain were considered mutually exclusive or incompatible. There were no negative consequences linked *solely* to engagement in manual labor. The disdain was not for the labor itself, but for failure to live up to the requirements of one's social role or roles. The social roles of cleric, public official, courtier, and *hidalgo* all relate in different ways to the social role of artisan. Indeed, we will see in these sources how fine that distinction could be. The social roles of secular cleric and regular cleric each related differently to the social role of artisan. Admittedly, it was common for people to have multiple levels of identity or even multiple occupational identities. But Spaniards clearly held some identities to be mutually exclusive.

Most of this project's primary sources are trials held in two archives in Pamplona: the *Archivo Diocesano de Pamplona* (Diocesan Archive of Pamplona, ADP) and the *Archivo Real y General de Navarra* (Royal and General Archive of Navarre, AGN). Though Spain is the geographic epicenter of the thesis, and Navarre is the home of many of the people who populate these primary sources, each section will also attempt to situate Spanish phenomena in a wider European context.

The first section will examine the historiography of mechanical labor. The topic is especially relevant for Spain, where people have been reputed for centuries to be loath to engage in such labor and disdainful of those who did. From as early as the sixteenth century, this phenomenon observable in most of medieval and early modern Europe came to be perceived as a unique feature of the Spanish character. Alejo de Venegas, a sixteenth-century friar, wrote perfunctorily, "Only in Spain is mechanical labor held in dishonor."<sup>6</sup> In much of the secondary literature cited in this thesis, the truth of Venegas' words is taken for granted. More recent work, however, has begun to scrutinize this historiographical commonplace. James Amelang has used a significant corpus of artisan autobiographies to depict early

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<sup>6</sup> "En sola España se tiene por deshonra el oficio mecánico." Cited by José Antonio Maravall, "Trabajo y exclusión: el trabajador manual en el sistema social español de la primera modernidad" in Augustin Redondo, ed., *Les Problèmes de l'exclusion en Espagne, XVIe-XVIIe siècles: idéologie et discours*, 135-159 (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1983): 150.

modern artisans as active self-fashioners.<sup>7</sup> Ruth MacKay has gone so far as to dismiss the hatred of mechanical work as an invention of Enlightenment propagandists, a figment of the European imagination meant to discredit Spain and further the Black Legend of Spanish laziness.<sup>8</sup>

MacKay has done impressive work examining a mind-boggling amount of archival material and parts of her argument are very persuasive. However the trials and documents cited in this thesis, as well as some well-known secondary material, provide some complications to MacKay's conclusions. Even especially renowned mechanical workers, like Juanelo Turiano and Diego Velázquez, experienced visible marginalization which MacKay does not account for. These high-profile examples, combined with heretofore unused documents from the Pamplona archives, point us somewhere between MacKay's outright dismissal of the Spanish disdain for mechanical work and the insufficiently skeptical acceptance of that disdain by previous historians.

While mechanical labor in itself was not viewed as base and vile, it was certainly viewed as incompatible with certain occupations or social roles. For a painter to paint was not dishonorable in itself. But Velázquez was not just a painter. He desperately wanted to enter the Order of Santiago, one of Spain's lay

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<sup>7</sup> James S. Amelang, *The Flight of Icarus: Artisan Autobiography in Early Modern Europe* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998).

<sup>8</sup> Ruth MacKay, *Lazy Improvident People: Myth and Reality in the Writing of Spanish History* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2006).

religious orders, and painting *was* considered to be beneath a Knight of Santiago. It took years of legal wrangling, royal endorsements, and papal dispensations for Velázquez finally to be admitted to the Order. Both extremes fail to account for situations like that of Velázquez. If painting was so respected, a painter should not have experienced such social exclusion. If painting was so reviled, he should not have received such support from his king and the pope in his endeavor for ennoblement. If Velázquez had had no desire to enter the Order of Santiago, we could write only of the esteem for his art all across Europe. Because he attempted to mingle two incompatible social and occupational roles, we know that he encountered significant difficulty in finding acceptance in some circles, difficulty which took years to overcome. It seems much more accurate to describe the clear social exclusion as a matter of incompatibility of multiple roles or identities.

Broad pronouncements about phenomena in the *longue durée* cannot be allowed to stand without coherent supporting evidence “on the ground”. In the second section, we will look closely at previously unused trials and documents found in the Pamplona archives. These sources will provide a closer view of the phenomena broadly described in the first section. In these sources, the reader will meet several colorful characters: priests, bishops, visitors, artisans, lawyers, craft inspectors, notaries and other public officials, and townspeople. What unites them is that they all had something to say about the nexus of manual labor, knowledge, the quality of their goods and services (rendered or received), and social roles.

The trial which most complicates MacKay's argument and best supports my own comes from the town of Corella in 1577. Francisco de Leza, a *procurador* (public defender) was deprived of his position by order of King Philip II because of his reputed mechanical work.<sup>9</sup> He was accused of being a hemp-beater. However, his own *procurador* called witnesses to testify about Leza's fitness for the job. While the witnesses affirmed Leza's diligence and adeptness in his service as a *procurador*, the defense also felt it important that all the witnesses testify that they had never seen Leza engaged in mechanical work. While he respected Philip II's decree that mechanical laborers should not be eligible for appointment as municipal officials, Leza argued that, in light of the witness testimony, the decree should not apply to him.

Not all occupational mixing was bad or grounds for dismissal. In 1674, Andrés de Echeverría, a master silversmith and clockmaker, disputed with the town of Echarri-Aranaz<sup>10</sup> over the quality of a clock he made. Fray Pedro de San Hilarion, a discalced Carmelite friar and a master clockmaker himself, was called in as a *veedor* for the clock.<sup>11</sup> His evaluation and the dependence of the court on his

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<sup>9</sup> AGN faj. 4, n. 2 (69423). Corella is about 90 kilometers south of Pamplona, and just less than 20 kilometers northwest of Tudela in the *merindad* of Tudela.

<sup>10</sup> Echarri-Aranaz is about 42 kilometers west-northwest of Pamplona, located on the western edge of the kingdom near the Basque Country, but still within the *merindad* (county) of Pamplona.

<sup>11</sup> The title *veedor* is derived from the Spanish verb *ver* (to see), and was given to craft masters charged with evaluating the work of journeymen and even other masters. "Inspector" would probably be the best English translation. Though the

judgment shed similar light to the place of knowledge and labor in the early modern Navarrese *mentalité*. It seems that there were no problems with a priest-friar making clocks. In fact, his expertise was extremely useful to the court in its attempt to ascertain the quality of the clock in question.

Not all clock-making clerics were so highly esteemed. In the trial of Don Antonio de Rada y Elío in 1699, we find a priest in a diocese particularly devoted to the Tridentine reforms who seems to have run directly afoul of them. Accused of ignoring the responsibilities of his benefice, engaging in mechanical work for profit, and celebrating the Mass with hands blackened by that work, Don Antonio rose to his own defense with an explanation that commented directly on attitudes toward knowledge, labor, and the interrelationship of social roles in his town.

Historians are just beginning to reexamine some historiographical assumptions in the very fields of inquiry which concern this thesis. Historians like James Amelang and Ruth MacKay have complicated, or even tried to contradict one of the most accepted commonplaces in Spanish historiography: the disdain for manual labor and for those who did it. In the end, I hope the reader will have grasped the more complicated place of manual labor in Spanish society as it emerges from recent research and see the centrality of occupational identities and roles in people's everyday lives. Of course, the reader will also get to know Don

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term *veedor* is not used in this trial, Fray Pedro's function was effectively that of a *veedor* working on behalf of the court rather than on behalf of a guild.



Antonio de Rada and the other fascinating people who now live only on the pages of manuscripts in the archives of Navarre.

**SECTION 1:  
MANUAL LABOR IN SPAIN: OLD AND NEW PERSPECTIVES**

The disdain for and reputed baseness of mechanical labor has become a depressing commonplace in Spanish historiography.<sup>12</sup> Some recent works have focused directly on the laborers. But even in these works, we see little more than recognition of artisans' importance as historical subjects in themselves. We do not see a contradiction of the disdain for their work on the part of their countrymen.<sup>13</sup> Historians have written about this disdain for years, and contemporaries wrote about it long before. They have pointed to the *Siete partidas* law code of King Alfonso X of Castile ("the Wise," r. 1252-1284) and to medieval and early modern treatises to argue that Spain was disdainful of anything mechanical until the eighteenth-century Bourbon reforms.<sup>14</sup> According to this narrative, it was up to the

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<sup>12</sup> See José Antonio Maravall, "Trabajo y exclusión: el trabajador manual en el sistema social español de la primera modernidad" in Augustín Redondo, ed., *Les Problèmes de l'exclusion en Espagne, XVIe-XVIIe siècles: idéologie et discours* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1983): 135-159; William J. Callahan, *Honor, Commerce and Industry in Eighteenth-Century Spain* (Boston: Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration, 1972); Bartolomé Bennassar, *The Spanish Character: Attitudes and Mentalities from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century*, trans. Benjamin Keen (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979) (originally published in 1975 as *L'Homme Espagnol: Attitudes et mentalités du XVI<sup>E</sup> au XIX<sup>E</sup> siècle*), 117-132.

<sup>13</sup> See especially James S. Amelang, *The Flight of Icarus: Artisan Autobiography in Early Modern Europe* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998) and José Nieto Sánchez, *Artisanos y mercaderes: Una historia social y económica de Madrid (1450-1850)* (Madrid: Editorial Fundamentos, 2006). The exception in this corpus is Ruth MacKay's *Lazy, Improvident People*, which argues directly against that historiography.

<sup>14</sup> The efforts of the Bourbons to counter the Spanish disdain for manual labor is especially central for William J. Callahan, *Honor, Commerce and Industry*.

new French dynasty to save the Spanish from themselves and end the systematic exclusion of mechanical workers.

Ruth MacKay has suggested that multiple conferences and anthologies have been devoted to the topic of exclusion in Spain, though she only cites the 1982 conference hosted by the Sorbonne.<sup>15</sup> While MacKay believes that the convoking of such a conference (or conferences) constitutes a serious “historiographical problem,” Sara Nalle recognized that it was merely illustrative of a particular side of Spain’s grand historiographical debate: that between the image of Spain as a place of “accommodation and assimilation” and the image of Spain as a place of “conquest and exclusion.”<sup>16</sup> Because of Spain’s multi-cultural makeup, “exclusion” in historical discussions of Spain usually refers to the exclusion of religious or racial minorities (converted Jews and their descendants, called *conversos*, or converted Muslims and their descendants, called *moriscos*).<sup>17</sup> Even though occupation-based exclusion, a subtopic of broader discussions of economic exclusion, is less commonly discussed than religious exclusion, it is a topic of interest not only for Hispanists, but for Europeanists more generally.

In his contribution to the aforementioned Sorbonne conference, José Antonio Maravall spoke not only of Spain, but of most of Europe. He was the last

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<sup>15</sup> MacKay, *Lazy, Improvident People*, 107n145.

<sup>16</sup> MacKay, *Lazy, Improvident People*, 107n145; Sara T. Nalle, Review of Augustin Redondo, ed., *Les problemes de l’exclusion en Espagne (XVIe-XVIIe siècles)* in *The Journal of Modern History* 58, no. 3 (Sept., 1986): 746-748. Quoted on p. 748.

<sup>17</sup> These categories included the descendants of these converts for multiple generations, and did not distinguish between willing and forced converts.

historian to give the phenomenon of work-based exclusion a full treatment with the traditional conclusion: that it was a pervasive feature not only of Spanish society, but Europe more generally.<sup>18</sup> After making some preliminary observations about this reputed exclusion, Maravall sought out its origin. He briefly considered Aristotle's *Politics*, in which the city is divided socially into those who form the city ("the powerful, the rich, the noble") and those who, "though they live and discharge their occupations there, are not members of the city."<sup>19</sup> Literate Europeans read Aristotle in Latin for centuries, and he was an oft-cited authority, especially in social and political theory. Indeed, the sixteenth century upsurge in translations of Aristotle's works to various vernacular languages may have reinforced Europe's gradated social structures; Maravall suggested that Pedro Simón Abril's Castilian translation certainly did so in Spain.<sup>20</sup>

As early as the ninth century, we see definitive evidence of a tripartite social structure whose basic form would endure for nearly a thousand years: the well-known "orders" of *oradores* (those who pray), *luchadores* (those who fight), and *labradores* (those who work). France, Spain, and Britain each saw an early birth and a long life for this form of stratification in their respective societies.<sup>21</sup> This system

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<sup>18</sup> José Antonio Maravall, "Trabajo y exclusión."

<sup>19</sup> Maravall, "Trabajo y exclusión," 137-138. The words quoted are Maravall's, not Aristotle's.

<sup>20</sup> Maravall, "Trabajo y exclusión", 138n6.

<sup>21</sup> Maravall notes that the system survived mostly unchanged in France until the eve of the French Revolution (1776), while Spain and England changed sooner.

of orders was divinely ordained, drawing heavily on the image of the body used by St. Paul in his first letter to the Corinthians.<sup>22</sup>

As with many divine images, this view of social order is tripartite. The *luchadores* were the knights who took up arms against their lords' enemies, whether foreign or irreligious. The glory of military service "converted the men of arms into men of privilege, of nobility."<sup>23</sup> The *oradores* were the clergy, secular and regular, who in their own way waged a war on unbelief and heterodoxy. The *labradores* were the catchall, "everyone else" group. They were responsible for supporting the first two, the *oradores* with tithes and the *luchadores* with labor, rents, and taxes. The first two orders, by the utility of their service to God and the realm, had acquired the right of exemption from supporting themselves, an exemption they passed on to their descendants in perpetuity, at least in theory. Even if those descendants were less deserving of their ancestral honor in terms of the actual utility which originally conferred that honor, for the third order to question the rectitude of such an arrangement was reckoned as an attack on social order itself. Such a perceived attack could result in even greater marginalization than the *labradores* already endured.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> 1 Corinthians 12:12-26. The likening of social orders to the various pieces of a single organism is known as the "organicist" conception of society. See Maravall, "Trabajo y exclusión," 137.

<sup>23</sup> Maravall, "Trabajo y exclusión," 141.

<sup>24</sup> Maravall, "Trabajo y exclusión," 147.

Concern for social propriety did not stop at a fear of the bottom questioning their relationship to the top. The *Siete Partidas*, a compiled law code produced during the reign of Alfonso X of Castile (r. 1252-1284) and still cited as authoritative even in the eighteenth century, showed the explicit ideal of the three-tiered social structure. This compilation provided for the punishment of those who violated social boundaries, especially nobles who took on qualities of the lesser order of laymen. A knight could lose his knighthood for a multitude of possible offenses or deficiencies. Offenses punishable by deprivation of knighthood included abandoning one's lord in battle, selling one's horse or arms, or dubbing an unworthy man a knight. However, most germane to our topic is that a knight might be de-knighted "if he engages publicly in commerce, or works in any vile occupation of the hands to earn money, unless he is a captive."<sup>25</sup>

Because knights evolved into the nobility of later centuries, many have assumed that loss of knighthood under the *Partidas* also meant that a noble could lose his nobility if he engaged in manual labor. James Amelang has documented cases of tarnished honor related to engagement in manual labor in his study of class-consciousness in Barcelona.<sup>26</sup> Fear of such demotion is one of the proposed reasons for the depiction of impoverished nobles too proud to beg or work in

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<sup>25</sup> Alfonso X, *Las siete partidas del rey don Alfonso el Sabio cotejadas con varios codices antiguos* (1256) (Madrid: La Imprenta Real, 1807): Pt. II, Tit. XXI, Ley XII. "si usase públicamente él mismo de mercaderia, ó obrase de algunt vil meester de manos para ganar dineros non seyendo cativo."

<sup>26</sup> James S. Amelang, *Honored Citizens of Barcelona: Patrician Culture and Class Relations, 1490-1714* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 74.

picaresque novels. But the assumed equation of early medieval knighthood with later nobility is not beyond question. In the sixteenth-century, one *arbitrista* went so far as to say that “there is no law that says he who works is no longer noble and very honorable and worthy of all the honorable posts of the republic.”<sup>27</sup> One of Amelang’s central points in the very place where he noted the noble ideal was that, while we should accept the reality of the ideal “at face value,” we should also recognize that even the most seemingly rigid systems “left ample room for the upper class to engage in a variety of disguised or secondhand commercial and investment ventures.”<sup>28</sup> Some nobles engaged in what might be called labor from a distance, overseeing manufactures done by the hands of *labradores*. In short, on-the-ground reality did not always perfectly adhere to the ideal.

With the emergence of ever more specialized trades in the Middle Ages, Maravall’s chronology implies, there was no accompanying change to this basic tripartite ideal. Even highly specialized artisans, were certainly not clergy or nobility. There was nowhere for them to be classified except with the other *labradores*. Even master mechanics renowned throughout Europe and honored at the Spanish court could see a sudden change in fortune.

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<sup>27</sup> Martín González de Cellorigo, *Memorial de la política necesaria y útil restauración de la república* (1600), ed. Jose L. Perez de Ayala (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Fiscales, 1991), 85. Translated by Ruth MacKay, quoted in her *Lazy, Improvident People*, 88.

<sup>28</sup> Amelang, *Honored Citizens*, 74.

Juanelo Turiano was an Italian mechanic who entered the service of Holy Roman Emperor Charles I (r. 1515-1556 in Spain, 1519-1556 as Holy Roman Emperor). Turiano began work as a mechanical engineer in Italy and was eventually famed across Europe for his machines, especially his *Artificio* which raised water from the Tagus River to supply the water for the royal residence at Toledo. He moved with Charles to the monastery at Yuste to maintain the retired Emperor's numerous clocks.<sup>29</sup> After Charles' death, Turiano was retained in the service of Philip II (r. 1556-1598). Philip was decidedly less enthusiastic about clocks than his father, but recognized the value of instruments which showed the movements of heavenly bodies.<sup>30</sup> Juanelo was later named *Matemático mayor* by Philip. But in contrast to the later example of Galileo, this may have been done to preserve Philip's reputation rather than to exalt Juanelo's. Juanelo was justly honored at court for his genius, but exalting a "mathematician" would have seemed more proper than exalting a "mechanic" or "clockmaker."<sup>31</sup>

By the seventeenth century, we still see little change in the European opinion of those laborers. Charles Loyseau, in his *Treatise on Orders*, suggested that the manual trades were considered especially vile because of their association

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<sup>29</sup> José A. García-Diego, *Los Relojes y autómatas de Juanelo Turriano* (Madrid: Alabros Ediciones, 1982): 87-93.

<sup>30</sup> García-Diego, *Los Relojes de Juanelo*, 111. It is perhaps telling that García-Diego entitled his chapter about Juanelo's life after the death of Charles I "*De mal en peor*" ("From bad to worse").

<sup>31</sup> For Galileo's use of mathematics and the title "mathematician" to gain patronage for his mechanical projects, see Mario Biagioli, *Galileo, Courtier: The Practice of Science in the Culture of Absolutism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993).



with slaves or serfs in former times.<sup>32</sup> “Nevertheless,” he admitted, “because the mechanical arts demand considerable skill, masterships have been created in them, just as in the liberal arts.”<sup>33</sup> Masterships, even those recognized by higher estates, were small consolation. Those who did “mechanical” continued to face significant hurdles in their quest for social advancement or recognition. There is no more famous example of these hurdles than those experienced by Diego Velázquez, the eminently famous court painter of Philip IV (r. 1621-1665).

Velázquez had considerable difficulty obtaining membership in a religious military order, the Order of Santiago, due to his occupation. Those who worked with their hands for money were excluded from membership in the military orders. Painters could be admitted, as long as they did not paint for their living. Most of the last ten years of Velázquez’ life (1650-1660) were spent obtaining royal endorsements and papal dispensations to allow his application to the Order to be considered. Finally, in November of 1659, Velázquez was admitted to the Order of Santiago.<sup>34</sup> That a figure of Velázquez’ renown would have to obtain repeated royal endorsement and multiple papal dispensations in order to be ennobled seems sure

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<sup>32</sup> Charles Loyseau, *A Treatise on Orders* in Keith Michael Baker, ed., *University of Chicago Readings in Western Civilization vol. 7: The Old Regime and the French Revolution* (Chicago; University of Chicago Press, 1987: 13-31. The point is made on p. 30.

<sup>33</sup> Loyseau, *Treatise on Orders*, 30.

<sup>34</sup> The whole grueling process is poignantly described by Jonathan Brown in *Velazquez: Painter and Courtier* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 251-252. Brown commented on the misfortune Velasquez had to endure, being forced to navigate “a conflict between his God-given talents and the man-made hierarchy of the court” (251).

evidence for handwork's low place in the social hierarchy. But the fact that Philip IV would grant such endorsements and the pope would grant such dispensations is equally sure evidence that such a hierarchy would be set aside for a person of sufficient reputation, even if that reputation had been gained through talent which manifested itself as work with the hands. Velázquez had insisted that he was not a painter, but a courtier asked to paint as a service to his king. Occupation seems to have been a central aspect of social identity, but some, like Velázquez, could argue that their occupational identity was not as clear-cut as it seemed.

Taking the Velázquez example into account, Ruth MacKay has suggested that, in fact, "[i]dentity was not necessarily synonymous with occupation" in Spain.<sup>35</sup> While she has joined James Amelang in arguing for some flexibility in occupational mobility, MacKay has actually gone even further. To her, the Enlightened ministers who accompanied Philip V to Spain with the establishment of the new dynasty in 1700 took great pains to depict their adopted country as hopelessly backward and in need of serious reform. "It was not enough to criticize the past;" she said, "the *ilustrados* had to write history anew."<sup>36</sup> At this point, she has overcorrected in attributing the Spanish disdain for manual labor to the propagandist imaginations of the Enlightenment.

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<sup>35</sup> MacKay, *Lazy, Improvident People*, 137-138.

<sup>36</sup> MacKay, *Lazy, Improvident People*, 256. The same could be said of MacKay herself, though I would intend such a statement as a compliment rather than a criticism.

Chief among the indicted in MacKay's narrative is Pedro Rodríguez de Campomanes, president of the Council of Castile under Charles III (r. 1759-1788). Campomanes wrote several treatises in the 1770s on the need for new direction in various aspects of Spanish attitude and mentality, including his *Discurso sobre la educación popular de los artesanos* (1775).<sup>37</sup> In the *Discurso*, Campomanes outlined his plan to ennoble mechanical professions and to end the practice of their official exclusion from honors in Spain. Everything Campomanes wanted to end, MacKay insists, had never truly existed in Habsburg Spain:

Nowhere in sixteenth- or seventeenth-century documents did I encounter workers being shunned specifically because of the labor they performed. Instead, I found them arguing their cases before judges and city councils, as articulate and tenacious as workers whose status allegedly was higher.<sup>38</sup>

The latter statement accurately summarizes MacKay's valuable contribution to the conversation on mechanical labor in Spain. But the second section of this thesis will complicate, if not counter, her implicit argument that occupation-based exclusion was a myth. If nothing else, manual trades were considered incompatible with certain social functions or roles. Workers may well have argued their cases with passion, and asserted their utility (even necessity) to the common weal, but this cannot supplant the facts of the Velásquez case or others. Velásquez certainly experienced exclusion from some (the Order of Santiago), even if he was approved

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<sup>37</sup> Pedro Rodríguez de Campomanes, *Discurso sobre la educación popular* (1775), ed. F. Aguilar Piñal (Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1978).

<sup>38</sup> MacKay, *Lazy, Improvident People*, 2-3.

and acclaimed by popes and kings. Juanelo Turiano found the esteem for his work at court change with the death of Charles I. Exclusion because of labor may not have been as certain, rigid, or immune to exception as Maravall or Campomanes thought it was. But the notion that such exclusion was merely imaginary will not survive the veto of the sources.

An incompatibility or mutual exclusivity of certain occupational or social identities seems more sustainable. This allows MacKay's basic point that artisans themselves viewed their work positively, and others may have done so as well. There was nothing dishonorable, for instance, about a hosier making pants or a blacksmith doing metalwork. However, it also allows for the reality of manual work being reckoned as a detriment (or potential disqualifier) to certain other roles, such as that of a parish priest or a court official. MacKay's is right to remind us of the incongruity between social ideals and realities, but ultimately her conclusion has gone too far. As it stands, her appraisal of the true place of manual labor in the Spanish *mentalité* runs head on into Juanelo Turiano, Diego Velázquez and a few cases from Castile's northern marches in the Viceroyalty of Navarre.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Upper Navarre, the portion of the old kingdom of Navarre which lies south of the Pyrenees, was annexed to the Crown of Castile in a dynastic crisis in 1512.

**SECTION 2:  
TRIALS: GLANCES AT LIFE “ON THE GROUND”**

These three cases, along with the examples of Turiano and Velázquez, have led us to the *via media* hypothesis. These trials first raised our main questions and have provided us with a possible answer. Here we meet accused clockmaking clerics and a hemp-beating lawyer. Basing historical analysis on such unusual cases makes it prudent to address a methodological issue. People who appear in trial records, especially defendants, are exceptional.<sup>40</sup> They are on trial because they have allegedly done something wrong, something which is not considered normal or acceptable behavior. This quality makes these people engaging as story characters, and there is something to be said for the place of the “story” in history. However, the same quality that makes these people interesting, their exceptional nature, problematizes their use as subjects of historical analysis.

It would be fallacious to use the trials which animate this thesis to paint a picture of late seventeenth-century Spain fraught with clockmaking priests and hemp-beating lawyers. Indeed, such an interpretation, aside from being completely unsustainable, would lead to an endless litany of other wrong conclusions. But a proper consideration of trials, keeping in mind their exceptional nature, allows the historian to recognize that this nature does not make those involved useless to

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<sup>40</sup> Edward Muir treats this subject particularly well in his Introduction, “Observing Trifles,” in Edward Muir and Guido Ruggiero, eds., *Microhistory and the Lost Peoples of Europe* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), vii-xxviii.

historians. Even in these seemingly exceptional persons, a visible standard of the acceptability of work emerges and suggests that what Spaniards were really anxious about was not manual labor itself, but the unnecessary mingling of social and occupational roles. There is a definite set of strategies employed in these disputes which points to knowledge of (or belief in) a system with certain boundaries of occupation-mixing.

*Corella, 1577*<sup>41</sup>

The case of Francisco de Leza, a highly esteemed *procurador* (public defender) drew the attention of the highest authorities. According to the complaint of two *escribanos* (secretaries/scribes), Juan de Vea and Cristóbal Malón, Leza was not even eligible for the job he had carried out for several years. The *procurador*, Francisco de Leza, was a mechanical worker, a hemp-beater to be precise.<sup>42</sup> King Philip II, himself, issued a decree assuring his representatives in southern Navarre that no mechanical worker would be allowed to serve in the honorable positions of the local courts.<sup>43</sup> Moreover, any mechanical worker who had somehow gotten by and secured such a position (as Leza was accused of doing), was to consider himself deprived of that position forthwith. The representatives of the *consejo* in Pamplona

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<sup>41</sup> AGN F/ 4 – no. 2 (#69423). This trial's folios are not numbered.

<sup>42</sup> The Spanish term is *espartador de cáñamo*. These were responsible for processing hemp, extracting seeds, etc., so that it could be made into rope.

<sup>43</sup> The proclamation, on larger paper than the rest of the trial, is folded and bound in.

issued the king's proclamation as commanded and, since Leza had been the cause of the petition in the first place, they also ordered that he be removed from his position as *procurador* immediately.

From that point, we do not hear another word from the original plaintiffs (Vea and Malón). Leza, though he was a public defender himself, was served by another *procurador*, Pedro de Arraras, who argued on his behalf in this case. First, Arraras asked that the council amend its provision which, as decreed, mentioned Leza specifically. Arraras argued that the decree itself (prohibiting *mecánicos* from serving as *procuradores*) should stand, but that Leza should not be disqualified, because he was not a mechanical laborer. Arraras called witness after witness to testify in favor of his client. Other than those who would occasionally answer a question with an "I do not know," the witnesses were almost unanimous in their praise of Leza.

Andrés de Pada provides us with a good representative sample of testimony. Pada, about 40 years old, admitted at his swearing in that he knew all the litigants and that he was somehow related to Juan de Vea, though he did not know how close a relative he was.<sup>44</sup> The first question Arraras posed to the witnesses was about Leza's tenure as a *procurador*. Pada testified that he knew Leza had been

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<sup>44</sup> AGN F/ 4 – no. 2 (#69423): "Conosce a los litigantes y...con Joan de Vea es[criban]o tiene a lo que le an dado a entender algun parentesco, no save en que grado."

there for four years or more, that he had a wife, a house, and a family, and that he had been a *procurador* for about two years. From what Pada had seen, Leza “ha[d] exercised the office of *procurador*...with much application and care.”<sup>45</sup> Second, Arraras asked if the witness had heard of the *auto* by which the *consejo* had ordered that Leza be deprived of his position. To this, Pada responded that he had heard it mentioned, but he knew nothing more.

Third, Arraras asked about Leza’s reputed hemp-beating profession. Pada testified that he had never seen Leza work as a hemp-beater, or in any other mechanical profession. The fourth question returned to Leza’s reputation, about which Pada said, “Francisco de Leza goes about well-dressed, like other honored men...and they [the town] have held and do hold him in the opinion of a *hidalgo*.”<sup>46</sup> Leza came from honorable family, Pada testified. Pada noted once more that Leza was an excellent *procurador*.

The other witnesses mostly echoed Pada’s opinions, affirming Leza’s diligence as a *procurador* and offering all assurances that he had never engaged in the work of hemp-beating or any other mechanical labor since coming to Corella. He had lived on his *hacienda* with his wife and children as a good *hidalgo* should, and put all possible efforts into his cases as a good *procurador* should. Leza was

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<sup>45</sup> AGN F/ 4 – no. 2 (#69423): “...ha hecho oficio de pro[curado]r...co[n] mucha solicitud y cuidado.”

<sup>46</sup> AGN F/ 4 – no. 2 (#69423): “Franc[is]co de Leça anda en buen abito, como otros hombres honrados...y han tenido y tienen en opinion de hijo dalgo...”



reinstated as a *procurador* when no evidence could be produced that he had ever engaged in the work of hemp-beating.

Francisco de Leza may well have been a hemp-beater. The witnesses knew nothing of his parents (except they had heard that they were reputed to be honorable) or his background. His life before coming to Corella was completely unknown. But once Arraras brought the whole accusation into question by asking all the witnesses if they had ever seen Leza engaged in such work, the onus was on the plaintiffs to prove that he had done so. They failed.

While it seems like a job that requires more muscle than knowledge, even hemp-beaters had positive reputations in Garzoni's *Piazza universale* and its Spanish translation, for the usefulness of the ropes they made (or assisted in making).<sup>47</sup> Nevertheless, it is clear that all parties involved in this case either actively agreed or tacitly admitted that such work was grounds for disqualification from municipal office. Leza's legal argument was not that he was a good *procurador* and that that alone should protect him from losing his job. It was absolutely vital for all the witnesses to declare that they had never seen him beating hemp or engaging in any other mechanical activity.

Leza was not on trial for perceived ineptitude as a *procurador*, but rather for an unacceptable reputation. Thus the repeated compliments of his adeptness seem

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<sup>47</sup> See Garzoni (trans. and ed. Suárez), *La plaza universal*, ff. 233v-235v.

at first to be superfluous. If he had been proven a hemp-beater, Leza's diligence as a *procurador* would not have saved him from dismissal. But it seems plausible that Leza's lawyer and the witnesses he called were commenting on the close link between reputation and diligence in a municipal office. The repeated compliments of his aptitude as a *procurador* are offered as evidence countering the charge that he is a hemp-beater. Francisco de Leza could never be a mechanical worker, for a mechanical worker could never be such a good *procurador*.

This trial, more than any other, provides a foil to Ruth MacKay's conclusion that occupation-based social exclusion in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was a myth created in the eighteenth century. All evidence from this trial points to certain disqualification if the prosecution could have proven that Leza had engaged in the work of hemp-beating. A good *procurador*, seemingly esteemed by all his townspeople for his diligence, could be disqualified if he was proven to have been a mechanical laborer. Such exclusion was not imaginary. It was very real, and took some deft legal maneuvering to avoid.

*Echarri-Aranaz, 1675*<sup>48</sup>

Though Francisco de Leza had to prove that he had renounced mechanical Work to keep his job, others did not have to be so careful. Not all role-mixing was so offensive as to require the person to choose one or the other, or to have the

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<sup>48</sup> AGN F/ Único – no. 3 (#59656).

choice made for him. In a dispute over the integrity of a town's clock, a seeming role-mixer was actually called in as an expert witness. Andrés de Echeverría, a master silversmith and clockmaker<sup>49</sup> from the city of Estelía; disputed with the village of Echarri-Aranaz over payment for the construction of their new clock. The original contract stipulated that Echeverría would be paid in installments, once at Christmas and once at Easter, and the town had made neither payment. Echeverría would not relent in his insistence that his clock "conform[ed] to the requirements of the art" and was "perfectly made."<sup>50</sup> The town fathers would not relent in *their* insistence that the clock was anything but. The judge was in no position to evaluate the clock, so the court proposed arbitration by an expert witness. The parties agreed, renouncing their rights of appeal as part of the agreement.<sup>51</sup>

They chose el Padre Fray Pedro de San Hilarion, a priest and disalced Carmelite friar from the religious house at Lazcano in Guipúzcoa and "master of making clocks."<sup>52</sup> Fray Pedro examined the clock multiple times and reported each

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<sup>49</sup> In some trials, where Echeverría is noted as a "*maestro platero y relojero*," the construction leaves some ambiguity as to whether his title of "master" applied to both professions or merely to the first. In other texts, however, Echeverría is noted as a "*maestro relojero*" with no reference to his mastership as a silversmith.

<sup>50</sup> The phrases in the trial, common in contracts and disputes about craftsmanship, are "*conforme arte*" and "*perfectamente hecho*." Andrés' testimony with this language is recorded in AGN #59656, fol. 9r.

<sup>51</sup> AGN #59656, ff. 9v and 10r. They also renounced the customary laws (held over from Roman times) which restricted judgments involving parties from multiple jurisdictions. See *Libro de Notas*, ADP C/ 1.568 – no. 2, fol. 3r.

<sup>52</sup> The title "*maestro de hazer relojes*" was probably not different in reality from the title "*maestro relojero*," but the former is used throughout this trial. Ruth MacKay

time to the court that it was “a poor work, of little durability,” and that he “absolutely could not declare that it was good or perfect.”<sup>53</sup> Despite this matter-of-fact judgment by the arbitrator, the final decision is not recorded in the trial record; it was still pending in 1678. Indeed, the parties negotiated and reached multiple compromises, two of which were recorded in the trial record on the *recto* side of folios 12 and 16. There we find a “Compromise and declaration by the Priest-Friar Pedro de San Hilarion by which he says the clock is bad” and a “New compromise and declaration by the Priest-Friar Pedro de San Hilarion in virtue of the said compromise by which he says the clock made by Andres de Echeverria is bad.”<sup>54</sup> Despite these so-called compromises, San Hilarion never changed his negative appraisal of the clock, and though the trial record does not tell us the final result of the trial, it is highly unlikely that Echeverría received the thirty-one ducats he was demanding from the town of Echarri-Aranaz.

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has suggested that there was a distinction between “*maestro de hacer \_\_\_\_\_*” and “*maestro \_\_\_\_ero*” in that the former was chiefly engaged in building while the latter was mainly employed for repairs.

<sup>53</sup> AGN #59656, 13r. “*obra flaca y de poca dura*” and “*absolutamente no podia declarar que estubiese bueno ni perfecto.*” Elsewhere in the trial, the secretary noted that San Hilarion could not declare the clock good or perfect “*con buena conciencia*” (“in good conscience”).

<sup>54</sup> On the *verso* side of both of these folios, a secretary has written “*Compromiso y declaración del Padre Fray Pedro de San Ylarion por el qual da por malo el Relox*” (12v) and “*Nuevo compromiso y declaración por el Padre Fray Pedro de San Ylarion en Virtud del dicho compromiso por el que asi bien da por malo el Relox echo por el dicho Andres de Echeverria*” (16v).

Such disputes over the quality of handworks were quite common. Similar disputes are easy to find in the AGN and the ADP, and Echeverría himself was no stranger to such quarrels. He had previously disputed with the townspeople of Echarri-Aranaz in 1672 over payment for a Eucharistic decanter, chalices, a cross adornment, and a pipe for the church's baptismal font.<sup>55</sup> In 1682, shortly before his death, Echeverría was involved in another dispute over payment for a clock with the town of Piedramillera, though the result of this trial was more favorable.<sup>56</sup>

It may initially seem unusual that the *veedor* appointed by the court was a priest-friar. But recent analysis in the history of European clockmaking makes Fray Pedro seem a bit less extraordinary. It was the monastic setting, long before the urban setting, which required more precise time-keeping. Some have argued that the strict, time-based, regimented prayers observed by the Benedictines provided the main impetus for the emergence of mechanical timekeeping in the thirteenth century.<sup>57</sup> One historian has even argued that the clergy had a kind of “monopoly”

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<sup>55</sup> ADP Secr. Echalecu C/ 1.265 - No. 20 (12 ff.), described in ADP Catalogo 19: #441.

<sup>56</sup> AGN-Fajo Único, no. 26 (#135969/17001071) and ADP Secr. Oteiza C/ 1.133, no. 14. The ecclesiastic case truncates abruptly, while the secular trial has the judgment, possibly indicating that Andrés re-filed the suit in the secular court, either of his own accord, or under advice.

<sup>57</sup> The Cistercian monks at Villers developed a ringing timer in the middle of the thirteenth century to wake them for the *matins* service (around 2:00 A.M. each night). See David S. Landes, *Revolution in Time: Clocks and the Making of the Modern World* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1983), 58.

on the art during the “alarm clock” period.<sup>58</sup> It seems perfectly feasible that the regular clergy continued to keep up with innovations in the art they perfected and continued to exercise that art. A friar, after all, did not share the same responsibility (in the eyes of the Council of Trent) or the same social status (in the eyes of townspeople) as a secular priest. For a regular to engage in mechanical work could be one of any number of the ways in which he displayed obedience to his Rule. For a secular priest to engage in that work could constitute a detriment to the *cura animarum*. If Fray Pedro’s superiors had any opinion of his work, we cannot know it from these archives in Pamplona. This trial is the only case in the AGN in which we find him, and his name does not appear in the index of the proper names in the ADP’s catalogue. Fray Pedro’s chapter house at Lazcano was subject to the Bishop of Pamplona, but was on the western edge of the diocese. He may have been more active in the Basque dioceses and municipalities, or this may be the only instance of his calling as a *veedor*.

Fray Pedro’s function as a *veedor* is especially important in this case. The maker of a clock argued for its soundness. The purchasers argued otherwise. The court could not arbitrate between those two arguments. For a judge to rule on the soundness of a mechanical object would have been impossible due to his lack of education in the art. Thus it was necessary for the court to place its authority in the

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<sup>58</sup> Gerhardt Dohrn-van Rossum, *History of the Hour: Clocks and Modern Temporal Orders*, trans. from German by Thomas Dunlap (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 178.

hands of a *veedor*, in this case a Basque Carmelite priest-friar, who had the necessary technical expertise to examine the clock and render a verdict on its quality.

Courts sometimes even regularly employed experts to be on call. Francisco Pacheco, who had taught Velázquez, was appointed by the Inquisition in 1618 to serve as an art expert.<sup>59</sup> The trained eye of an artist was necessary, they reasoned, to root out heretical symbols in works of art which came before the Holy Office. Inquisitors themselves did not feel up to making such judgments themselves and recognized that someone with training in the art of painting or sculpture would be better qualified.

*Barásoain, 1699*<sup>60</sup>

Deference to experts in matters requiring special training or knowledge was common, even in the church. But when the expertise involved mechanical labor, the boundaries of social and occupational roles became a source of anxiety. Around the time Andres de Echeverria's litigious life and career were coming to an end in the early 1680s, Don Antonio de Rada y Elío began a long, litigious career of his own as a beneficed priest of the town of Barásoain. In 1699, the ecclesiastic court of the diocese of Pamplona, on behalf of the vacant bishopric, sentenced Don Antonio to eight days of spiritual exercises in 1699. He was accused of obsessive

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<sup>59</sup> Jonathan Brown, *Images and Ideas in Seventeenth-Century Spanish Painting* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), 56.

<sup>60</sup> ADP Olló C/ 1.000 – no. 16.

engagement in the work of clockmaking. The exact order of events is unclear in places due to the corruption of some folios of the trial record, but most of the facts are discernible. In 1694, Rada had entered into a contract with Barásoain, his native village as well as his spiritual pasture, to construct a clock for the parish church.<sup>61</sup> More than merely an outline of terms and obligations, the contract includes a rather detailed history of how another clockmaker abandoned the contract and how Rada came to enter into it.

The village had already entered into a contract with Antonio de Castejón, a master clockmaker from Caparroso.<sup>62</sup> Castejón was to build the clock and maintain it at his own expense for six years. In return, he would receive a *carga* of wheat per year, half to be paid by the village and half by the church, as well as “the cost of the detention of his Person and Knighthood.”<sup>63</sup> However, “some time had passed” and Castejón had not even begun the work “because he was too busy.”<sup>64</sup> Considering the contract abandoned, the town opened the job up to other candidates. It was

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<sup>61</sup> The contract is copied in ADP Ollo C/ 1.000 – no. 16, fol. 3r and 3v.

<sup>62</sup> Caparroso is about 60 kilometers south of Pamplona and about 30 kilometers south of Barásoain, on the opposite (southern) end of the *merindad* of Olite. Nevertheless, it is entirely feasible that Castejón was the nearest master clockmaker to the village.

<sup>63</sup> ADP Ollo C/ 1.000 – no. 16, fol. 3r (“el gasto de la detenzion de ssu Persona y Caballeria”). This term of the original contract was not offered to Rada, which may indicate that it was merely a travel allowance to compensate for the 30-kilometer journey.

<sup>64</sup> ADP Ollo C/ 1.000 – no. 16, fol. 3r. “[H]aze algun tiempo que el sussodicho [Castejón] por razon de ssu liedad no assiste a lo referido...” *Liedad* is not a common word, but comes from the verb *liar* (“to tie up”). Castejón literally was unable to execute the clock “by reason of his being tied up.”



then, supposedly, that Don Antonio de Rada y Elío “came forward and agreed” to construct the clock and govern it for the same annual payment of a *carga* of wheat that had been offered to Castejón. The town fathers “recognize[d] the Utility that [would] result both to the church and to the said village” in transferring the contract to Don Antonio.<sup>65</sup> It would certainly be more cost-effective, as they would not have to pay a town resident the cost of travel.

While the residents of Barásoain clearly recognized Don Antonio’s skill in the art of clockmaking and the utility of his work to the town, clockmaking was not his only side job. In 1693, the year before the clock contract with Barásoain, an episcopal visitor found him engaged in multiple metalwork projects, including clockmaking, locksmithing, and gunmaking.<sup>66</sup> Don Antonio would later testify that he spent time in forges as a “pastime.” The visitor admonished him in 1693 to stop this work, which was considered a “serious detriment to the priestly estate.”<sup>67</sup> His superiors did not view his skilled labor as a pastime, but a dangerous obsession. The *fiscal* noted that Rada was “so obsessed with this work [clockmaking],” that

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<sup>65</sup> ADP OIlo C/ 1.000 – no. 16, fol. 3v. “...los otórgoles reconociendo la Utilidad que se sigue...a la yglesia como a la dicha villa en venido en ello...”

<sup>66</sup> Regular visitations by the bishop or an appointed representative were a centuries-old tradition revived as a policing tool by the Council of Trent.

<sup>67</sup> ADP OIlo C/ 1.000 – no. 16, fol. 6v. “...grave detrimento del estado sacerdotal...”

while he served two months as interim *abad*<sup>68</sup> of Unzué, a nearby village, he built their tower clock.<sup>69</sup>

The charges against Rada were expounded in the five-article *querrela* of the trial.<sup>70</sup> From these charges, we can see that Don Antonio's diocesan authorities did not view his work with clocks, locks, and guns as honorable skill. To them, he was merely a repeat offender who had ignored an admonition to be a priest, and only a priest. The first article mentioned the 1693 visitation, and noted that Don Antonio had been admonished then to cease his mechanical projects. The second article accused him of continuing his mechanical activities, despite the 1693 admonition, "making locks and clock-wheels with his hands and assisting continuously in the house and forge of the locksmith or gunsmith who is in the said town."<sup>71</sup> By doing so, he caused "*grave nota, murmuracion, y escandalo*" throughout the valley,

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<sup>68</sup> The word *abad* in Spanish does not only mean "abbot," the leader of a monastery, but also refers to a senior priest among the benefice-holders of a parish. The *abad* presided over the town's clergy chapter in addition to the common responsibilities of a parish priest. It does not appear that Don Antonio ever achieved the *abadía* of Barásoain.

<sup>69</sup> ADP Ollo C/ 1.000 – no. 16, fol. 6v. "*Ytten que el dicho acussado esta tan...entregado a esta exercicio que siendo assi que havra dos meses de tiempo que se le dio el interin de la Abaddia de Unzue y en todo, el tiempo que a passado en dicho lugar le ocupa en el mismo exercicio...cooperando en las mismas indecencias y...fabrico por si el relox que ay en la torre.*" The contract with Unzué, dated less than a month before the contract with Barásoain, is included as evidence in the trial on fol. 33r.

<sup>70</sup> ADP Ollo C/ 1.000 – no. 16, ff. 38r-39r. *Querrela* (literally "quarrel") was a legal term for the list of charges.

<sup>71</sup> ADP Ollo C/ 1.000 – No. 16, f. 6r. "*...ha continuado y continua en fabricar y hacer cerrajas y ruedas de relojes...por sus manos y assitiendo con mucha continuacion en las cassa y fragua de el cerrajero, o escopetero que ay en la dicha villa...*"

mostly from “the indecency with which...he celebrated the holy sacrifice of the Mass, having blackened and dirty hands.”<sup>72</sup> The third article cited his clockmaking in Unzué, and said he caused “ill repute, murmuring, and scandal” there, just as he had in Barásoain. The fourth article cited the clock contract with Barásoain. The *fiscal* noted that it had been signed *after* the mentioned visitation and admonition. The fifth article demanded that Rada be “punished with all rigor,” because of the clear “contempt” he had for the admonition he received in 1693 and the admonishing authority, his bishop.<sup>73</sup>

Miguel de Laon, a resident of the town, about 56 years old, is one of the few witnesses whose testimony has survived damage to the trial record.<sup>74</sup> Laon never saw Rada working on any mechanical projects, but insisted that the priest had a forge (*fragua*) in his house. He further testified that, even though he had never seen Rada work in the forge after the 1693 admonition, he had seen one of Rada’s servants, named Tomás de Nicolau, working there. He also was unsure if Rada had actually built the town’s clock, but said that it was “commonly known that the accused [Rada] had been morbidly fascinated with it and had done work for it.”<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> ADP Olló C/ 1.000 – No. 16, f. 6r. “...mayormente con la indecencia con que...a celebrar el santo sacrificio de la Missa teniendo las manos tiznadas y sucias...”

<sup>73</sup> ADP Olló C/ 1.000 – No. 16, f. 7r.

<sup>74</sup> ADP Olló C/ 1.000 – No. 16, f. 9r. All ages given in trials are approximate, prefixed by the phrase “*puede ser*” and suffixed by the phrase “*poco más o menos*.”

<sup>75</sup> ADP Olló C/ 1.000 – no. 16, f. 9r. “...es público que el dicho acussado a sido el morbo a ello y haberlo trabajado por él...”

Laon did not repeat the allegation of celebrating the Mass with dirty or blackened hands, but it was an especially offensive accusation and should be addressed before we hear Don Antonio's testimony about himself. Handling of the body and blood of Christ with unclean hands was the height of sacrilege. Even in Scripture, the Psalmist asks, "Who shall ascend the hill of the Lord? And who shall stand in his holy place?" and answers, "Those who have clean hands and pure hearts."<sup>76</sup> Early modern Christians certainly would have read the mountain-climbing and holy place of these verses in a priestly context—clean hands and pure hearts were a prerequisite for ascending to the altar, standing in the most holy place, and elevating the body and blood of Christ. This is one of twelve biblical references to "clean hands" or hand-washing.<sup>77</sup> In all twelve, there is an implicit equation of exterior and interior cleanliness. Indeed Psalm 26 is the source of the practice of priests ceremonially washing their hands before handling the Eucharist, the *lavabo*. Such cleansing has nothing to do with the literal cleanliness of hands and everything to do with the inner cleanliness of the person. We should allow for the possibility that the "black hands" allegation was as much a symbolic indictment of Don Antonio as a literal accusation. The allegation may speak more to his hands being symbolically tainted by work and neglect of his priestly duties than to the actual discoloration of his hands.

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<sup>76</sup> Ps. 24:3, 4.

<sup>77</sup> The others are in Gen. 20:5; Ex. 30:19, 21, 40:31; Lev. 15:11; Deut. 21:6; Job 9:30, 17:9; Ps. 26:6, 73:13; Mt. 15:2, 27:24; Mk. 7:3; and Jas. 4:8.

Don Antonio de Rada did not remain silent in the face of these charges. He answered the accusations in a general declaration and confession. In response to the first article, Rada admitted and confessed to all the mechanical wrongdoing discovered by the *visita* in 1693, and acknowledged having been ordered to stop his manual labors. The remaining three accusations he denied with varying intensity. In response to the second article, Rada stated flatly that the charge was “hardly the truth” (“*apeno de Verdad*”). He admitted that he had periodically “assisted” in the house of Barásoain’s locksmith or gunsmith, but insisted that it was merely “by way of diversion or pastime,” and he handled none of the instruments which he was admonished not to handle after the 1693 visitation.<sup>78</sup> “Everyone received the assistance graciously,” he claimed, and he “had been accompanied by various priests and laymen of the town.”<sup>79</sup> In response to the third article, he flatly denied building the clock for Unzué, or any part of it.<sup>80</sup> He confessed to signing the contract with the town, but insisted that he had not so much as put a hand on the wheels or any pieces of the clock.<sup>81</sup> He named the actual constructor as a man named Aguirre. Don Antonio *did*, however, confess that he provided the “outline”

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<sup>78</sup> ADP Ollo C/ 1.000 – no. 16, f. 38r.

<sup>79</sup> ADP Ollo C/ 1.000 – no. 16, f. 38r. “...le entrego graciosamente todos.” “...ha sido acompañado de diferentes sacerdotes y Seculares de la villa.”

<sup>80</sup> ADP Ollo C/ 1.000 – no. 16, f. 38v.

<sup>81</sup> ADP Ollo C/ 1.000 – no. 16, f. 38v.

for the clock and told Aguirre how to make some of the pieces.<sup>82</sup> Finally, to the fourth article, he confessed again to signing the contract with Barásoain, but insisted that the contract had been offered to him. Again, he “had not put a hand” on the clock or any part of it.<sup>83</sup> The gun-cleaning and other disgraceful jobs, the supposed profits, and the “*murmuración*” attributed to him were also “*apeno la Verdad.*”

There are a few potential arguments one might expect from Don Antonio. Perhaps he viewed clockmaking as a divine vocation in itself, in the tradition of the regular clergy with whom mechanical timekeeping originated in Europe. Perhaps he viewed it as a valuable art necessary for the proper governance of his town, and felt called to offer his expertise to that end. Don Antonio argued none of these things. He argued for his obedience to the admonitions against him. Absent is Ruth MacKay’s vision of a mechanic proud of his work, arguing for its value to the common weal, and refusing to accept any negative view of it. Don Antonio accepted that such work was, as his bishop decreed, incompatible with his priestly estate.

At the same time, however, Don Antonio argued that a theoretical engagement in mechanical projects, drawing outlines and schematics, and making

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<sup>82</sup> ADP Ollo C/ 1.000 – no. 16, f. 39r. The Spanish term here is *traza*, a common term in architecture, which may refer to a schematic or other kind of technical drawing.

<sup>83</sup> ADP Ollo C/ 1.000 – no. 16, f. 39r. “...*ni haya puesto mano...*”

use of the underlying principles of the art were all perfectly acceptable. Here again, we may be seeing a lingering Aristotelian hierarchy, though this hierarchy deals with knowledge rather than social order.<sup>84</sup> In Book VI of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, the Philosopher outlined a three-tier organization of knowledge: *epistemē*, *praxis*, and *technē*.<sup>85</sup> *Epistemē*, the highest order of knowledge, was theoretical knowledge acquired through reason. Beneath *epistemē* was *praxis*, experience informed by reason. At the bottom was *technē*, material or sensory knowledge. Those who dealt in epistemological knowledge relied on reason. Technical work relied on the senses (especially touch and muscle memory), and the senses could be too easily deceived. Vile and debased were those who relied on their senses rather than—or more than—reason. This hierarchy of knowledge was undoubtedly a contributing factor to the disdain for mechanical labor in Spain.

Eric Ash has argued that the Aristotelian hierarchy of knowledge began to break down in the early modern period.<sup>86</sup> But he also argued that, in the sixteenth century, the concept of expert “underwent a sort of transition...from someone with a grounding in practical experience alone to someone who could claim a deeper

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<sup>84</sup> Eric H. Ash, “Introduction: Expertise and the Early Modern State” in *Osiris* 25 (2010): 1-24, cited hereafter as “Expertise.” The Aristotelian hierarchy is outlined on pp. 19-21. See also Long, *Openness, Secrecy, Authorship*, 2-3.

<sup>85</sup> In addition to the historical perspectives cited above, see Richard Parry, “*Episteme and Techne*,” in Edward N. Zalta, ed., *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (2003, revised 2007):

<http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2008/entries/episteme-technē>.

<sup>86</sup> Ash, “Expertise,” 21.

understanding of underlying processes.”<sup>87</sup> In Aristotelian terms, this seems like a high value of *technē* transitioning to a high value of *epistemē*. Given that the primacy of *epistemē* was the supposed traditional view throughout the Middle Ages, to say that there was a sixteenth-century ascent of the value of theoretical knowledge *vis-à-vis* technical knowledge does not make very much sense. Especially in light of Don Antonio’s defense of his theoretical engagement in clockmaking and denial of his reputed technical engagement, it seems more likely that the Aristotelian hierarchy simply survived into the early modern period, at least in some places.

Several historians in the emergent field of “studies of experience and expertise” (SEE) have used Aristotle’s hierarchy as the starting point of their discussions. What seems like their most innovative suggestion is that *praxis* and *technē* each involve a significant amount of *episteme*, and that the recognition of this theoretical underpinning of mechanical work led to an improvement in the esteem for such work. But this is not a new proposition; Aristotle himself recognized that underpinning.<sup>88</sup> Still, in the case of Don Antonio de Rada, this argument was not employed. The baseness of *technē* and superiority of *epistemē* was still the accepted wisdom. Don Antonio’s strategy was not to argue against it, but to situate himself within it. Don Antonio’s insistence that his engagement in the work of

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<sup>87</sup> Ash, “Expertise,” 7.

<sup>88</sup> Richard Perry, in “*Episteme and Techne*” noted that “even Aristotle refers to *technē* or craft as itself also *epistēmē* or knowledge because it is a practice grounded in an ‘account’ — something involving theoretical understanding.”



clockmaking was strictly epistemological proved an effective defense. While he was still sentenced to public penance, he was not excommunicated, despite his multiple offenses and putative contempt for previous admonitions. In this particular context, we must keep in mind the decrees of the Council of Trent and their application in the diocese of Pamplona.

The final sentence of the court was that Rada engage in eight days of spiritual exercises. These were intense acts of public prayer and fasting, akin to those prescribed by Ignatius of Loyola for the Jesuit Order. The exercises were to be observed in the church whose service Rada had reputedly neglected, in full view of the village's residents, for one hour in the morning and one hour in the evening.<sup>89</sup> Rada had already received the *saludable amonestación* ("helpful" or "good-natured admonition") for a first offense during the 1693 visitation. Those who ignored that initial proscription were usually punished more rigorously for repeat offenses.<sup>90</sup> But the sentence of public penance was considerably milder than the major excommunication recommended by the *fiscal*.

It is unclear whether this punishment broke Rada of his reputed "obsession," or if he continued to test the boundaries of proper extra-ecclesiastic activities. Though he appears in eight trials in the AGN and in six additional trials in

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<sup>89</sup> ADP Ollo C/ 1.000 – no. 16, f. 21v.

<sup>90</sup> In the context of the Inquisition, relapses into heresy resulted in an automatic death sentence. In lesser violations in ecclesiastic courts, excommunication was a common suggestion of the prosecution.

the ADP, none of these involve his reputed mechanical projects.<sup>91</sup> We do know, however, that he served the village of Barásoain for another thirty years. In 1731, he carried out a suit against a patron who had failed to make a scheduled payment for a foundation of which Don Antonio was in charge. In addition to being *capellán* (chaplain) of this foundation, he was still “*beneficiado de la villa de Barasoain.*”<sup>92</sup>

Don Antonio de Rada y Elío was not the first priest whose extracurricular activities subjected him to the scrutiny of his ecclesiastical superiors. While he had a long career and spent a number of days in court, his restraint and obedience seem to set him apart from priests like Pedro de Atondo.<sup>93</sup> After the 1693 admonition, Rada maintained that he had been obedient to the command of his bishop regarding his mechanical projects. When faced with contracts for clockmaking which seemed plainly to indicate otherwise, he responded that, despite entering the contracts, he had engaged in no mechanical work. At most, he said, he had provided outlines and advice. He was engaged in clockmaking only in an epistemological sense, rather than a practical or technical sense. Because Don Antonio was defending himself in an ecclesiastic court, we must also make note of the religious reforms which made his alleged offense so grave.

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<sup>91</sup> The AGN trials range in date from 1683 to 1731 while the ADP trials range from 1666 (a dispute over his father’s will) to 1723.

<sup>92</sup> AGN F/ Único, no. 25 (#166931).

<sup>93</sup> See Amanda L. Scott, “The Wayward Priest of Atondo: Violence, Vocation, and Religious Reform in a Navarrese Parish” (master’s thesis, The College of William & Mary, 2010).

The Council of Trent, the centerpiece of Catholic Reform in the years following the advent of Protestantism, had multiple goals.<sup>94</sup> The reform of the clergy was certainly among them. A key, repeated phrase in the decrees of the Council was “*ut animarum cura nullatenus negligatur*” (“so that the care of souls is in no way neglected”).<sup>95</sup> The Synodal Constitutions of the Diocese of Pamplona placed particular emphasis on the honesty of clerics.<sup>96</sup> Book III is entitled “*De vita, & honestate clericorum*” and treats a wide variety of clerical misbehavior.<sup>97</sup> A priest too busy making clocks to adequately serve his parish would certainly concern diocesan officials, and obviously did. But Don Antonio’s implicit argument was that, because he was not engaged in the actual handiwork, but only the conception of clocks, he had not disobeyed the decrees of his diocesan superiors or the venerable Council of Trent.

In insisting on his obedience and adherence to traditional boundaries, Don Antonio seems to run counter to two recent historiographical revisions. First, he

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<sup>94</sup> The Council convened at Trent, an Imperial mining center in northern Italy from 1547-49, 1551-52, and 1562-63.

<sup>95</sup> H.J. Schroeder, ed. and trans., *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent* (St. Louis, Mo.: B. Herder Book Co., 1960 (orig. pub. 1941): 334-335.

<sup>96</sup> Diocese of Pamplona, *Constituciones synodales del obispado de Pamplona* (Compiladas, hechas, y ordenadas por Don Bernardo de Rojas, y Sandoval, Obispo de Pamplona, del Consejo de su Magestad, & c. En la Synodo, que celebraron en su Iglesia Catedral, de la dicha ciudad, en el mes de Agosto, 1591). Enthusiasm for the practical reforms proposed at Trent varied across the dioceses of Europe and the reactions of the parishes were even more diverse. These synodal constitutions show that Pamplona was one of the more reform-minded dioceses, at least from an administrative standpoint.

<sup>97</sup> *Constituciones synodales*, beginning on f. 63r.

defies Ruth MacKay's vision of mechanical labor being reputable in itself. Second, he defies Eric Ash's vision of *praxis* and *technē* no longer being viewed as vile or plainly subordinate to *epistemē*. It is possible that Don Antonio's case is merely illustrative of the exceptions which arise in any such models, especially revisionist models applied to tradition-bound areas of society. Still, it seems plausible that the models themselves are simply flawed, and that, at least in Spain's case, such models must take stock of social and occupational orders. There may be nothing inherently dishonorable about clockmaking, but the diocese of Pamplona certainly did not want a priest working in a forge instead of a confessional. Just as firmer evidence of Francisco de Leza's reputed hemp-beating could have cost him his job, firmer evidence that Don Antonio had actually done work with his hands after 1693 could have resulted in his excommunication. He had served his native town as a priest for over fifteen years, and still had at least thirty more years ahead of him. But conclusive proof of mechanical work would likely have ended not only his career, but his access to the sacraments and succor of his mother Church.

## CONCLUSION

What have we learned from our encounter with two clock-making clerics and a hemp-beating lawyer? By taking these episodes in the lives of Don Antonio de Rada, Fray Pedro de San Hilarion, and Francisco de Leza, and building on the questions raised by these episodes, we have a clearer picture of the reputed disdain for manual labor and the value of knowledge in early modern Spain. Some Spaniards clearly valued mechanical trades in themselves for their contribution to the common weal. Those who engaged in these trades were vocal self-promoters and self-fashioners. Ruth MacKay and James Amelang have made that clear. However, to depict mechanical workers as self-fashioners rather than passive recipients of an identity fashioned for them is one thing.<sup>98</sup> To depict them as fully integrated citizens with no stigma attached to their work is another thing entirely. The latter suggestion will not bear the cases of Francisco de Leza, Fray Pedro de San Hilarion, and Don Antonio de Rada.

The fine distinctions of social roles and occupational functions seems a more likely cause of what past historians have called endemic scorn of work, and which MacKay pinpointed as an untruth started by Campomanes and company. Some Spaniards certainly despised work, but the attitudes toward those who did it was much more nuanced. The trials cited in this thesis confirm Maravall's claim that occupation-based exclusion was a very real possibility. But they have also shown

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<sup>98</sup> This was a primary goal of James Amelang in *The Flight of Icarus*.

the boundaries within which mechanical workers could operate. In fact, these cases show that careful legal argument could save a person accused of mechanical work from such exclusion. Campomanes *did* take liberties in promoting what he saw as needed reforms, namely exaggerating the extent of the problem that required the reform in the first place. We can see from multiple sources that some voices in Spain even went so far as to call the manual trades “honorable.” The truth about manual labor in Spain must lie somewhere in the middle.

Even if the roles of clockmaker or hemp-beater were honorable (and it would be a gross stretch to say that they were universally regarded as such in Spain), they were clearly not compatible with certain other roles. The diocese of Pamplona, even in the midst of a *sede vacante* with no bishop in its cathedral, was not willing to tolerate a priest who spent more time in his forge than with his flock. Don Antonio avoided excommunication not by arguing for the honor of his work, but by arguing that he had not done any work, at least not in the forbidden sense. He knew how clocks worked—that was not knowledge he could simply decide to forget. When clocks were being built in towns he served, he helped draw schematics or occasionally offered advice on how to get the wheels just right. But he never touched them, he insisted, and had not since the 1693 admonition. He was never charged in the ecclesiastic court for a similar offense, or if he was, the trial does not appear in the ADP catalogue.

Not all clergy faced such trouble for engagement in mechanical work. Fray Pedro de San Hilarion, it turns out, was only one in a long line of monastic clockmakers throughout history. But the mechanical work was not problematic for his role in his community or in his order. In fact, such work could have been viewed as good or necessary for his role in the Carmelite order. Though he was ordained, and held the same level of ordination as Don Antonio, his function in the church and in his community was fundamentally different. He had no benefice, and he was not charged with the care of a parish. He had no parishioners to feel slighted by his mechanical work. San Hilarion probably dealt with episcopal visitations (in theory, all monasteries did), but such work in a monastic house would not have troubled the Bishop of Pamplona as much as Don Antonio's work at his house troubled diocesan officials.

The Church was not the only institution concerned with the boundaries of social or occupational roles. Secular governments, from the municipal level all the way up to the king himself, intervened in situations where unacceptable mingling of roles was alleged. Pedro de Arraras' strategies worked, and Francisco de Leza kept his job as *procurador* in the town of Corella. Arraras argued against the *consejo*, questioned the application of a royal decree, called witness after witness, and got them all to say exactly what needed to be said. Leza had never worked with hemp or engaged in any other mechanical labor since coming to Corella. They had never known him as anything but a diligent *procurador* and the epitome of *hidalguía*.

Without making this clear, Leza faced likely deprivation of his court position. The order came from the highest level, the king himself, but Arraras convinced the court that part of the decree was based on an unsustainable accusation. When Vea and Malón could not produce any proof to the contrary of the witness testimony (admittedly they never tried and, from what we read in the record, were never asked), the sentence was accordingly amended.

That such legal maneuvering was necessary in these cases demonstrates that, even if disdain for labor in Spain has been overblown for hundreds of years, disdain for mixing labor with certain other social functions was not to be tolerated. Hemp-beaters could beat hemp and make ropes, but *procuradores* could not. Clockmakers could make clocks, but beneficed priests could not. Even theoretical engagement in clockmaking (advising and drawing schematics) earned Don Antonio de Rada eight days of public penance. The emphasis on use of the hands in Don Antonio's trial and the softening of his sentence shows us that theoretical engagement in mechanical work was preferable to direct, manual engagement. But neither was a good or honorable thing for a priest to do. In admonishing Don Antonio never again to assist in the forges of Barásoain or any other place, the diocese forbade him to do so with his hands or his outlines. Though mechanical trades could involve vast amounts of technical knowledge, value of that knowledge and the products produced by them could not forgive the unacceptable mingling of social or occupational roles in early modern Spain.



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