

# CONCERNING PIGS, THE PIZARROS, AND THE AGRO-PASTORAL BACKGROUND OF THE CONQUERORS OF PERU

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The history of the Pizarros, conquerors of Peru, is inseparably bound with images of swine. If we are to believe the chronicler Gómara, the Pizarro-pig association began when the illegitimate infant Francisco was abandoned at a church door, where he survived by suckling a sow for several days. Later, according to Gómara, the young Francisco's father recognized his offspring, but only to make him his swineherd.<sup>1</sup> Though the former of these two stories is probably fantasy, the latter should not be rejected out of hand,<sup>2</sup> as will become clear later. But whether true or not, the legend of the swineherd-turned-conquistador has sparked the historian's imagination for centuries.<sup>3</sup>

One of the most dramatic of the Pizarro-pig images is that of Gonzalo Pizarro setting forth on his ill-fated Amazonian expedition at the head of a motley combination of men and animals, including a drove of hogs whose number was estimated at from three to five thousand.<sup>4</sup> Five thousand pigs! The thought is positively mind-boggling. The very fact that a drove of thousands of swine could be assembled in Peru as early as 1540 tells us that the leaders of the conquest—the Pizarros—must have taken special pains for the importation and propagation of the animal, for pigs were not native to the Americas.<sup>5</sup>

The truth of the matter is that the Pizarros were hog-oriented people. They were hardly unique in that respect, for other Extremadurans in the conquest also recognized the utility of the pig as a dependable source of fresh meat. De Soto, Coronado, Cortés, and others took droves of swine with them in their explorations.<sup>6</sup> The presence of hogs in the conquest reflects not only the animals' amazing hardiness, fecundity, and adaptability, but also the fact that by the late fifteenth century, Christian Spaniards had developed an uncommon predilection for pork (which persists to this day), undoubtedly in large measure because this dietary preference clearly distinguished them from their Moslem and Jewish neighbors.

In Spain, Extremadura was hog country par excellence. It is a commonplace that the conquest of America was the achievement of Extremadurans. The Pizarros were from Trujillo, and most of their companions in Peru were either from Trujillo or from nearby places in Extremadura.<sup>7</sup> It is worthwhile, then, to

take a hard look at the birthplace of the conquistadores—at hog-centered Trujillo—to see what kind of environment produced the Pizarros and their fellows.

Trujillo, situated in the heart of Extremadura about midway between the rivers Tajo and Guadiana, had long been an important center of administration and defense, and was dominated by an imposing fortress (still standing) built by the Moslems on Roman ruins. The Christian Reconquest came in the year 1232, largely thanks to the help of a Mozarabic fifth column. As was customary, the Crown tried to induce other Christians to settle in the area by offering generous economic and political privileges to both *hidalgos* and commoners, and many came from various places in the north. Trujillo was established as a *villa realenga* (Crown town) in 1234. It had jurisdiction over an extensive *tierra* (territory) spanning some fourteen leagues from east to west and sixteen leagues from north to south, eventually including dozens of subject villages and towns.<sup>8</sup> In 1294 Alfonso X granted a *fuero* (law code) to Trujillo, defining its privileges, and in 1430 the town's status was raised from a *villa* to a *ciudad* (city), in consideration of services rendered to Don Alvaro de Luna on behalf of the monarch.<sup>9</sup>

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the territory of Trujillo, like that of most of Extremadura, was dominated by *monte* (woodlands) of live oaks and other trees (primarily *encinas*, *robles*, and *alcornoques*). Travellers passing through the area waxed enthusiastic over the wealth and the variety of the natural vegetation of the rolling countryside. The norm was the *monte*; cultivated fields or improved pasture were exceptional in those days.<sup>10</sup>

In spite of its regional leadership and its outstanding contribution to the conquest of America, Trujillo was not a large city for the day. In the early 1500s it had only around two thousand *vecinos* (family heads, each equivalent to about five inhabitants). Though it was larger than Cáceres, it was far smaller than Burgos, Segovia, Salamanca, and Valladolid, and only about half the size of Medina del Campo.<sup>11</sup> In 1465 the regional importance of Trujillo was enhanced when Henry IV granted it the coveted privilege of holding a weekly *mercado franco* (tax-free market), which stimulated the city's commercial development. Under this encouragement, the economy of Trujillo grew to the point where the Church had to modify its tithe schedule to include previously nonexistent products and industries in the area. Though the free market was abolished by the Catholic monarchs in 1480, it was restored by Charles V.<sup>12</sup>

It was its control over the towns and villages in its *tierra* that made Trujillo an important city. In 1485 Queen Isabella could call upon the city to supply twelve hundred lancers and crossbowmen for the campaign against the Moorish kingdom of Granada. These soldiers were apportioned among some twenty-five towns and villages of the *tierra* of Trujillo.<sup>13</sup>

During the course of the sixteenth century, the position of Trujillo was eroded as the Crown sold exemptions from the city's jurisdiction to towns in its *tierra* who wished to have their own courts, jails, and other privileges of the *villa*. Trujillo tried in vain to get the first of these exemptions (in 1538) annulled. It did succeed partially, for after a payment of six thousand ducados, the Emperor promised not to sell any more such exemptions; but the financial exigencies of Philip II forced him to disregard his father's pledge, and the city continued to

lose control over its towns.<sup>14</sup> The consequences of this loss, as will be seen later, were grave.

After the founding of the municipality following the Reconquest, the government of Trujillo was controlled by representatives of its three leading noble families: the Altamiranos, the Bejaranos, and the Añascos. But by the 1400s this traditional power structure had been broadened to include additional councilmen (*regidores*). This allowed the addition of some lesser nobles. In 1434, for example, one of the eight councilmen was a certain Fernando Alonso Pizarro, grandfather of the conquistador Francisco.<sup>15</sup>

Ideally, one would describe the economy and society of early modern Extremadura only after drawing upon a number of studies covering a broad topical and chronological span. But this is not possible, because historians have not shown themselves to be very interested in the subject.<sup>16</sup> Until there are more studies on rural society, and until the relevant archives are better organized and cataloged, scholars will have to be content with a picture that is fragmentary and distorted, with many elements either missing or of poor quality. Nevertheless, in spite of these limitations, we can construct an approximation of what things were like four or five centuries ago.

The French scholar Jean-Paul Le Flem has published an interesting analysis of a census (*padrón*) of Trujillo taken for tax purposes in 1557. This shows that Trujillo was considerably more aristocratic than neighboring Cáceres or Plasencia. The city boasted seventy-six men and women in the *hidalgo* class, about two thirds of whom were in the lower nobility. This census divided the population of Trujillo into four classes, based upon wealth. First were the rich (*los que tienen buena hacienda*), representing only 4.4 percent of the *vecinos*. Most of the rich were *hidalgos*, but there were also four merchants, a shoemaker, and a locksmith. Eight were *peruleros* (returning conquistadores) and their families. These *nouveaux riches*, the Pizarros at the head, had already taken their place among the city's wealthiest families. The second group, in comfortable circumstances (*los que tienen de comer, o medianamente*), made up 5 percent of the *vecinos*. It included peasants, artisans, merchants, and ten *hidalgos*. The third group, with some property (*los que tienen algo*), constituted 34 percent of the *vecinos*. It included representatives of the same professions as the previous group, and twenty-six *hidalgos*. Those in the third group lived decently, to be sure, normally owning a house and a bit of land. And finally there were the poor (*los pobres*). In sixteenth-century Spain, a "poor" person was one who had no lands—neither his own nor rented—and who lived as a mere wage earner; 44.9 percent were in this category, including workers in agriculture, industry, and commerce. Ten were *hidalgos*. So there were *hidalgos* in all categories of wealth, albeit they were more numerous in the highest. In the society of the day, there was a distinct separation between nobility and wealth—the people did not confuse them. In the public mind, one's social standing was determined by blood as much as by income. In addition to social prestige, the *hidalgos* enjoyed certain tax exemptions and other local privileges, but contrary to what is sometimes thought, they were not exempt from all taxation.<sup>17</sup>

The general trend of the region was one of demographic growth during

most of the sixteenth century, despite emigration to the Indies. There is evidence that the comparative economic vitality of Extremadura attracted settlers from less prosperous parts of Spain. Unfortunately, as in the rest of the realm, there was also a tendency toward increased pauperism. By the early seventeenth century, Extremadurans were fleeing as itinerant agricultural workers to the vineyards of Andalucia.<sup>18</sup>

An outstanding characteristic of the city of Trujillo in the early modern period was its strong ties with the countryside. Despite its role as the urban center of its tierra, virtually the entire population seems to have been in some way connected with agriculture or stock raising. Around a fourth of the active population worked in the pastures and fields for the major source of their income. Additionally, it was perfectly normal for *trujillanos* with distinctly non-agricultural occupations to have a vineyard, a small field of grain, an orchard, or some animals to supplement their income and for their larder. Thus we should not be surprised that a clergyman, a notary, and a tavern keeper all owned small parcels of rural property, or that a local priest owned over a hundred hogs.<sup>19</sup>

The Extremaduran nobility not only had strong economic ties to the countryside through their investments in agriculture and stock raising, they also felt a special attraction towards country living. It seems to have been normal for the aristocratic families of Trujillo to spend a good part of the year away from their city mansions in the rustic atmosphere of their estates, where they would enjoy the open air and freely socialize with their hired help. They even enjoyed eating out of doors, when the weather permitted.<sup>20</sup>

Post-Reconquest Extremadura was fundamentally a pastoral zone, where both migratory and native flocks grazed. There was arable agriculture, to provide for the local population, but it was subordinated to livestock raising and was almost lost in the dense montes. A late sixteenth-century writer described the hills near Trujillo as having "fertile and abundant pastures, but not much wheat and barley."<sup>21</sup> It should not be thought, however, that the inferior position of arable agriculture was the consequence of a conflict between stockmen and farmers. The cliché that early modern Spanish agriculture was ruined by depredations of the flocks of the *mesta* (stockowners' association) is simply not true.<sup>22</sup>

There was undeniably a conflict between arable and pastoral agriculture, but the available evidence suggests that the former was generally victorious in the 1500s.<sup>23</sup> There was a sustained antagonism between the owners of migratory flocks and the local agriculturalists of the areas through which they passed. But this was not, strictly speaking, an arable-pastoral conflict, because the typical agriculturalist in early modern Castile had both cultivated fields *and* flocks. The grain farmer needed some animals for draft power, meat, dairy products, and wool and leather; and the stock raiser needed some fields to provide grain for his bread. This complementary, rather than antagonistic, relationship between local stock raising and arable agriculture was as true of the rich as it was of the poor.<sup>24</sup>

Though there was probably some irrigation, a holdover from Moslem days, along the rivers in the tierra of Trujillo, the overwhelming bulk of agricul-

ture must have been dryland. It was a primitive, inefficient agriculture based upon the local conditions of scanty rainfall, poor soil, plentiful land, and the need for pasture. Yet this ancient agricultural system was suitable enough to prevail well into the twentieth century. Grain was typically planted in strips (*hojas*), which would be harvested, then allowed to fallow for from one to four years (depending upon the quality of the soil) before planting again. During the fallow period, flocks had the right to graze on the grain stubble and spontaneous vegetation while the soil regained its fertility. Occasionally there was a longer fallow, of eight to ten years or more, on soils which had become exhausted.<sup>25</sup>

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the difficulty of transportation imposed a "closed" self-sufficient economy, in which most of what was consumed had to be produced locally. In addition to cereals, the inhabitants of old Trujillo had fruit trees (most notably citrus and figs), vineyards, and the inevitable olives. The city dwellers' orchards and vines were normally planted in the rocky area (*berrocal*) adjacent to the city itself.<sup>26</sup>

Local livestock mentioned in period documents include oxen (as draft animals), sheep, goats, cows, horses, mules (as saddle and pack animals), asses, and hogs. There were specially designated pastures for these animals. Nevertheless, there were numerous squabbles growing out of improper supervision, when one person's animals would invade another's pasture, fields, or vines.<sup>27</sup> In winter, Trujillo and other places in Extremadura were invaded by the *mesta*'s flocks of northern sheep, who would remain until the spring, when their mountain pastures in the north had greened enough for their return.<sup>28</sup>

But the most important and the most widespread economic activity for people of all socioeconomic levels in Trujillo and its territory was hog raising. That was what explained their prosperity and enabled them to pay taxes.<sup>29</sup> Even the *hidalgos* did not shrink from the hog business. In a region where arable agriculture was marginally profitable, hog raising represented wealth, and even social prestige. In part it was swine who made possible the wealth of the Pizarros and other important families of Trujillo. Some went so far as to include two or three pig heads in their coats of arms! Naturally the *peruleros* invested a portion of their American loot in hogs. Inventories of property of the high-born almost inevitably included pigs along with other more noble animals. It is hardly surprising that Trujillo's 1499 ordinances, which long continued to be the law, gave hogs a privileged position, above that of other livestock, in pasture and water rights.<sup>30</sup>

Hog raising in old Trujillo was not at all like the pig farming of today's northern Europe and America. Whereas pigs in the latter lead sedentary lives, having their meals brought to their pens, in the traditional Extremaduran system the animals were herded in droves (*piaras*, *manadas*, or *hatos*) to the source of their food and water. This centuries-old system, which has survived intact into the mid-twentieth century, was based upon the utilization of the natural pastures of the monte and of the stubble and fallow vegetation in grain fields after harvest. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the monte was much more important than the fields, because there was far less area under cultivation than

in recent times. The grain fields, after harvest, yielded a nutritious pasture of fallen grain, roots, and spontaneous vegetation. The monte, on the other hand, offered the hogs a rich and varied diet of roots, berries and seeds, natural grasses and weeds, and above all, the acorns of the live oaks dominating the region.<sup>31</sup>

Hogs were divided into droves normally numbering from twenty-five to fifty animals. Early in the morning they were led from their pens in or near the city out to pasture in the fields or monte, depending on the season. Each drove was usually in the charge of one or two swineherds (*porqueros* or *porquerizos*): hired help in the case of wealthy stockmen; members of the family, to be sure, of the more modest peasants. There is evidence that some of the highly mobile Extremaduran hog droves made their way to the fairs of La Mancha. It would be interesting to know how prevalent this was.<sup>32</sup> Extremadura was not the only part of Spain where hogs were raised in that manner. Where there were oak woodlands to permit it, the same system was employed also in Andalucía.<sup>33</sup>

Only the importance of the hog trade in Trujillo can explain the city's obsession with the protection of its montes, as the city acknowledged in a statement to the Audiencia of Granada in the early 1570s. The montes were the property of the city, by royal grant after the Reconquest.<sup>34</sup> This ownership of the montes did not necessarily mean ownership of the soil on which the trees grew. The city did own large tracts of land, but there were also extensive large and small blocks of private property within Trujillo's jurisdiction. Yet in spite of the fact that the land might be privately owned, the trees on that land were the property of the city, and the landowner could not appropriate them for his own use. The city's prime concern, reflected in its monte ordinances, was that the oaks not be indiscriminately cut down for lumber, tools, firewood, or to increase arable land or open pasture. The cutting down or burning of oak trees for whatever purpose could be done only under special license of the municipal government. The city even had the authority to compel the people under its jurisdiction to go out to clean the montes and to plant new trees to replace those that had been destroyed.<sup>35</sup> There were also regulations forbidding the cutting of branches (*el ramoneo*) for animal feed. However, a limited number and size of branches could be cut for certain specified purposes, such as tool handles and firewood for the campfires of shepherds and swineherds.<sup>36</sup>

One of the city's major concerns in regulating the use of its montes was to control the acorn harvest (*la montanera*)—a matter of transcendental importance because acorns constituted the final filling-out diet of Trujillo's great droves of swine. It was the goal of the city to enable all pig owners to share equally in the harvest. Toward that end, even the harvest on private property was strictly supervised. The first acorns were ripe around the beginning of October, and the season lasted until the end of the year. The swineherds often hastened the harvest by flailing the branches (*el vareo*) to make the acorns fall into reach of their animals.<sup>37</sup> Not everything in the monte was beneficial. Wolves and foxes annoyed stock owners by preying upon their animals. The city took action by offering a bounty for the killing of these predators.<sup>38</sup>

Trujillo assigned the task of policing its montes to two *mayordomos*: one in

charge of cutting and burning violations (*de cortos y quemas*); the other charged with supervising the acorn harvest (*de la montarazía*). These positions were auctioned, or rented, each year to the highest bidder, who would then have a right to a specified percentage of the fines collected during that term. Each mayor-domo had a number of city-paid guards and constables (normally called *guardas* and *alguaciles*, but sometimes *fieles* and *corredores*) to do the actual patrolling, both on foot and on horseback. During the highly important acorn season, the city would also send its councilmen and other officials to aid the regular guards. When the guards discovered a violation of the city's monte ordinances, they would make a report to their mayor-domo, who would denounce the violators to the city government. Unless the accused appeared to contest the charge, a fine would be levied with no further hearing, according to rates specified in the city's ordinances. Fines were normally monetary for burning and cutting, but when violations involved animals, a *quinto* (literally a fifth, but usually only about a tenth of the flock) might be charged. The city might, in the face of mitigating circumstances, reduce the severity of the penalty. In cases of cutting and burning, it was difficult to apprehend the guilty party, and Trujillo often got around this problem by holding the government of the nearest town responsible—a practice which caused many ill feelings.<sup>39</sup>

The municipal ownership of the montes was but one piece in the complex picture of property ownership in Trujillo. There, as in the rest of the kingdom of Castile, the pattern of landholding was an intricate blend of public and private ownership. Throughout most of the sixteenth century, the prevalent pattern for most parts of Castile seems to have been characterized by the existence of large municipal and communal holdings and a numerous and relatively prosperous class of independent peasants (*labradores*) who owned or rented their land, or used community lands, in addition to the inevitable latifundia which are often assumed to have been practically the exclusive feature of the landscape.<sup>40</sup>

Trujillo, like virtually all municipalities of the day, owned two types of property: common property, for the free use of all its vecinos; and *propios*, property which was normally rented out, with the proceeds going to the municipal government. Among the former were the *exido* (a multi-purpose piece of land situated near the exit from the city), special *dehesas* (enclosed pastures) to encourage the raising of horses, the *dehesa boyal* (a pasture reserved for oxen—the plow animals), and the montes. As towns in its jurisdiction grew in size, Trujillo established separate *exidos* and *dehesas boyales* for them. The commons were normally available for the free use of all vecinos of the tierra of Trujillo (outsiders were rigidly excluded). Hence, they were of incalculable value to the landless poor. But both the *hidalgos*, who tended to be property owners, and the upper-class-dominated municipal governments championed the integrity of the commons.<sup>41</sup> The *propios* of the city included not only land, granted at the establishment of the municipality after the Reconquest, but also houses, corrals, property mortgages, accounts receivable on loans, and the income from various taxes and fines. Trujillo was jealous of its *propios*, tried to defend and add to them, and was successful enough to become extraordinarily wealthy.<sup>42</sup>

The most important of the city's *propios* were thirty-six *dehesas* known

as *caballerías*, so named possibly because they had originally been granted to noble warriors who had participated in the Reconquest. At an early date, however, the *caballerías* were listed among the *propios* of Trujillo and the city rented them out, the proceeds going into the coffers of the municipality to be applied to various projects in the common interest. In 1485, for example, income from the *caballerías* was used to help pay the soldiers from the area who went to fight in Granada. Despite laws designed to prevent such abuses, the officials of Trujillo fell into the practice of renting the *caballerías* almost exclusively to their noble friends and relatives. In 1502 the Catholic monarchs ordered an end to such favoritism by stipulating that commoners living in the vicinity be given preference. For the remainder of the century, the renters seem to have been all non-hidalgos. It was customary for groups of as many as a dozen *labradores* to form partnerships in renting the *caballerías*, the area and expense being beyond the capabilities of most individuals. Some *caballerías* were rented by the councils of towns in the *tierra* of Trujillo, who would then assign them to local residents. Rental contracts, awarded on the basis of competitive bidding, were for as long as seven years, and could be for pasture, for arable, or for a combination of both. Payment was usually monetary, but occasionally was partly in grain. There were also seasonal leases for pasture, especially designed for the itinerant *mesta* flocks. Because the city owned both the vegetation and the soil of the *caballerías*, it seems to have enforced its *monte* ordinances with greater rigor there than in other places in its jurisdiction.<sup>43</sup>

In addition to its commons and its *propios*, Trujillo exercised control over the *tierras baldías* in its territory. These lands, which existed throughout the kingdom of Castile, were normally tracts of inferior quality that had never been included in the various royal grants made since the Reconquest. Ownership of the *tierras baldías* was vague. The Crown claimed them, but exercised virtually no control over them, tacitly allowing the municipalities to supervise their use. Trujillo asserted the same type of control over the *tierras baldías* as it did over its own property, generally treating them as commons available for the use of *vecinos* of all towns in its jurisdiction.<sup>44</sup>

The city's authority over the territory under its control and even the ownership of its commons and *propios* were continually put to the test. There was an incessant tendency for the communitarian system to break down and to be replaced by a system of private ownership and individual control. The *monte* was constantly under attack by sheepmen and grain farmers, both of whom considered the trees and underbrush as an obstacle to be destroyed by "accidental" fires. Hog raisers sent their animals to eat acorns out of season whenever they could, even bribing the city's guards for that forbidden privilege. The *vecinos* of the *tierra* of Trujillo surreptitiously plowed *exidos* and special common pastures, and even built fences and houses on common lands. Grain farmers often enlarged their fields by plowing additional furrows into the adjoining commons, even moving the property markers (*mojones*) to try to perpetuate their gains. All of these practices were illegal, and the city prosecuted the offenders it apprehended, subjecting them to lengthy trials and heavy fines. Nevertheless, the abuses continued and even increased as population pressure during the



sixteenth century brought new demands upon the existing structures.<sup>45</sup>

The increasing tendency of towns to purchase exemptions from the legal jurisdiction of Trujillo accelerated the erosion of the old communitarian system. The newly independent villas were land hungry and short of funds. They illegally rented out parts of their *dehesas boyales* and *exidos*. They contested the city's control over its *montes*, *tierras baldias*, and *caballerías*. The late 1400s and the entire 1500s were marked by bitter and extended suits between Trujillo and its former towns who now wished to wrest land from the city's control. There were frequent cases of contested jurisdiction over areas where both Trujillo and the new villas placed guards. The naturally bellicose Extremadurans frequently turned to violence to support their claims. Trujillo often complained that armed bands of townspeople did whatever they wished in the *montes* and *caballerías*, and the city's guards were impotent to control violations in the face of such force. The consequence was often irreparable damage to the *montes*; and the elaborate system of common use, which depended upon goodwill and cooperation, was dealt a severe blow.<sup>46</sup>

In many respects, the towns were justified in asserting their rights against the pretensions of Trujillo, for even at best, the communitarian system presided over by the city was marred by gross inequities. For example, the city allowed its own *vecinos* the privilege of running both sexes of their cherished hogs in the *caballerías*, whereas *vecinos* of subject towns could only run their female hogs. Even more discriminatory was the fact that while Trujillo kept all hogs out of its own *dehesa boyal*, "because they root around and cause so much damage," the city insisted that its *vecinos'* hogs had the right to pasture in the *dehesas boyales* of its towns.<sup>47</sup>

Throughout the late 1400s and the entire 1500s, the city of Trujillo maintained a running feud with the *mesta*, whose sheep wintered in the area. Partly the differences stemmed from the natural antagonism between local residents and migrants competing for grazing rights, and partly they were a reflection of a competition for land between pastoral and arable interests. In these confrontations, the city and its *vecinos* often acted arbitrarily, subjecting the shepherds and their flocks to various forms of harassment. The *mesta* defended its ancient prerogatives as best it could, but its star was on the wane; in the sixteenth century the Crown no longer favored the organization as it previously had. In 1506, for example, the Council of Trujillo suddenly began taking offense when the migrant shepherds cut branches off trees in the *monte*. The *mesta* promptly appealed to the Audiencia (Supreme Court), confident that it would win the case on the basis of an ancient royally-approved privilege of branch-cutting. But the Audiencia ruled in Trujillo's favor in 1521, after a lengthy legal battle between the two sides. The *mesta* often complained that sheep and shepherds were being mistreated by officials from Trujillo, and there were numerous examples of deliberate plowings of *mesta* trails and pastures and of the usurpation of *mesta* pastures. In short, the city and its *vecinos* acted arrogantly and highhandedly toward the *mesta*, often getting the best of it through brute force in the fields and through legal maneuvers in the courts.<sup>48</sup>

It would be a mistake, however, to think that the treatment meted out to

the *mesta* was unusual for Trujillo. No, it was quite normal. The city and its *vecinos* were accustomed to arrogant, aggressive behavior. The documents of the period show the inhabitants of the area to have been highly contentious, litigious in the extreme, even bellicose, and ever watchful to seize any opportunity for personal gain, whether legal or not. One can hardly be surprised that the sons of Trujillo figured highly in the conquest of America.

It is not difficult to document the role of the Pizarro family in old Trujillo. The family dates back to the Reconquest, and is noble, but not of the highest level. They did not, for example, have the right to erect a fortified residence (*casa fuerte*), nor did their role in the Reconquest give them suzerainty over vassals. After the conquest of America, several branches of the Pizarro family gained suzerainty over towns and villages, but this was through purchase from the Crown. The early Pizarros, of the 1400s, were from the lesser nobility and only moderately well-to-do. Nevertheless, as we have already noted, there were Pizarros on the city council in the 1400s. One of the councilmen approving the city's hog-favoring 1499 ordinances was a Pizarro. After the family's success in Peru, however, the Pizarros became the wealthiest people in Trujillo, and their name was so important that Pizarro daughters wanted their children to bear it as their first surname.<sup>49</sup>

The newly enriched heirs of the conquerors not only continued their ties to the rural economy of Trujillo, but vastly increased them through the purchase of new lands and animals. Documents from the mid- and late-sixteenth century show that the Pizarros, true to their heritage, regularly figured in the squabbles, controversies, legal battles, and irregularities that characterized the agro-pastoral system of the day. In 1565, for example, a *mesta* judge found that a certain Diego Pizarro had been illegally farming a portion of a sheep trail. And eight years later, one Gabriel Pizarro was convicted of having ordered his herders to pasture a large drove of hogs, cows, and other animals in a pasture rented by the *mesta*. When confronted with the evidence of his guilt, he denied everything, proudly stating that a person of his quality would not need to stoop to robbing others' pastures.<sup>50</sup>

Unfortunately, though we can easily prove that the Pizarro family, both before and after the American conquest, was involved with hog raising in Trujillo, we can not document the allegation that Francisco Pizarro was a swineherd. Someday such proof may turn up. But in the meanwhile, we will have to try to reconcile the legend with what we know about the society and economy of late fifteenth-century Trujillo, for we know almost nothing about Francisco's early life. The only reliable information is the testimony of witnesses for a 1529 investigation made when the conqueror applied for membership in the Order of Santiago. It establishes only that Francisco was the illegitimate son of the hidalgo Gonzalo Pizarro and of Francisca González, the daughter of Old Christian *labradores* of modest circumstances. Until disgraced by her pregnancy, Francisca worked as a maid in a local convent. She gave birth to the future conqueror of Peru in the home of one Juan Casco, who apparently had married her widowed mother.<sup>51</sup> The witnesses offer nothing about Francisco's boyhood, and we have no reliable evidence of what became of him until he appeared in America. His

father, Gonzalo Pizarro, went on to serve with distinction as an artillery colonel in the Italian campaigns, and some writers have suggested that the young Francisco accompanied him. But this is mere conjecture.<sup>52</sup>

It is reasonable to assume that young Francisco grew up at his mother's side, in the home of the laborer-husband of his maternal grandmother. Though he knew that he was a Pizarro, for he bore the name, he surely did not receive much attention from his father. He probably never even went to school, for he remained illiterate. As a member of a humble laborer household, Francisco must have taken part in the normal activities of the family, helping with planting and harvesting crops and caring for animals. The animals almost certainly included hogs, and it would have been perfectly normal for the boy to help tend them. It is even conceivable that he hired himself out as a swineherd, there being nothing ignoble about the business in the eyes of Trujillo society. Like thousands of his countrymen, he was ambitious to better himself and took advantage of the opportunity of America, where he was spectacularly successful.

We should shrink from asserting that herding swine in the montes of Trujillo provided the preparatory training needed for the conquest of Peru. Nevertheless, it can be argued that that kind of pastoral activity produced men who were physically robust, mentally alert, resourceful, and aggressively competitive. History is full of examples of other relatively uncultured rural herding peoples who were able to topple great empires. But even if their background was not the determining factor, we can still marvel at the magnitude of the accomplishments of the hog raisers of Trujillo.

The rural matrix of fifteenth and sixteenth century Trujillo was of transcendental importance in shaping the character and the values of the conquerors of Peru. The implications for scholars of colonial Latin America are enormous. Colonialists would do well to pay greater heed to the Iberian background and particularly to the socioeconomic institutions of the rural areas that supplied most of the early colonists. The possibilities for comparing Iberian, pre-Columbian, and colonial rural structures are intriguing.<sup>53</sup> Unfortunately, early modern Spanish rural history is an underworked area because most historians have preferred to concentrate on political topics. There are several scholars now working in the field, but there is not yet a comprehensive study of the rural world of Castile during this period, nor are there even any completely satisfactory regional or local studies.<sup>54</sup> Fortunately, however, the primary sources for undertaking such studies are available in great abundance: in the central archives of Simancas and the Audiencias; in local archives (municipal, parish, and notarial); and in various private (or originally private) collections.<sup>55</sup> The documents have been waiting, largely untouched, for centuries—the harvest is bounteous, but the laborers are few.

## NOTES

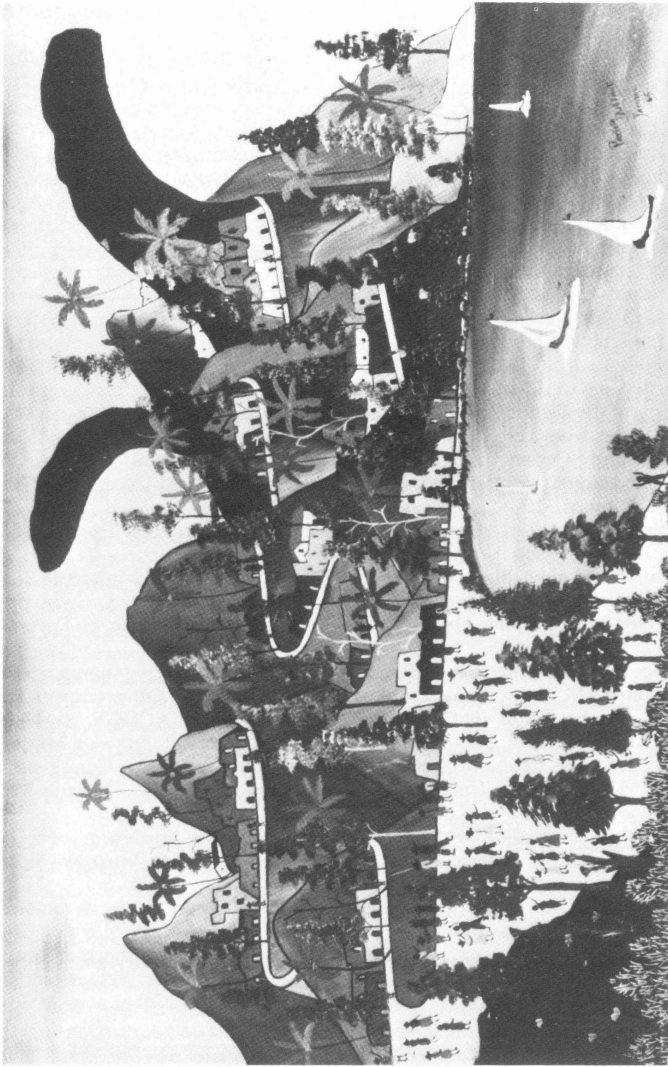
1. Francisco López de Gómara. *La historia general de las Indias y nuevo mundo, con más la conquista del Perú y de México: agora nuevamente añadida y emendada por el mismo autor . . .* (Zaragoza, 1554), capítulo 145, folio 65 verso.

2. The Inca Garcilaso de la Vega rejected both parts of Gómara's Pizarro-pig story, blaming it on malice and envy (the Pizarros had fallen from royal grace). Moreover, it would have been difficult for the Inca to accept the idea that the glorious empire of his forebears had been conquered by an individual with such a discreditable background. See his *Historia general del Perú . . .* (Córdoba, 1617), folio 91 verso.
3. Among recent writers, José Manuel Quintana accepts the entire Gómara pig story as part of the romance of the conquest, *Vida de Francisco Pizarro*, 3a ed. (Madrid, 1959), pp. 9, 10. Ricardo Majo Framis, *Francisco Pizarro* (Madrid, 1972), p. 16, accepts only the swineherd part of the story, as does José Antonio Busto Duthurburu, *Francisco Pizarro. El Marqués Gobernador* (Madrid, 1965), pp. 9–13, albeit with reservations. To R. Vidal Cúneo, *Vida del Conquistador del Perú, don Francisco Pizarro* (Barcelona, 1925), p. 90 and Clodoaldo Naranjo Alonso, *Solar de conquistadores. Trujillo, sus hijos y monumentos*, 2a ed. (Serradilla [Cáceres], 1929), p. 521, the idea of a Pizarro swineherd is patently absurd. The redoubtable William H. Prescott, *History of the Conquest of Peru*, 2 vols. (New York, 1847), 1:203f, cites the Gómara stories with the warning that "little is told of Francisco's early years, and that little not always deserving of credit."
4. Garcilaso, *Historia general*, folio 83 and 83 verso; Augustín de Zárate, *Historia del descubrimiento y conquista de las provincias del Perú . . .* (Sevilla, 1577), folios 32 verso, 34 verso; Antonio de Herrera [y Tordesillas], *Historia general de los hechos de los castellanos en las Islas i tierra firme del Mar Oceano*, 4 vols. (Madrid, 1601–15), 3, década 6, libro 8, capítulos 6 y 7, pp. 232–34.
5. The first pigs in America were brought by Columbus on his second voyage. These seem to have multiplied rapidly, probably augmented by new stock from Spain, and the Antilles became pig supply depots for the Spanish conquest of the mainland. See Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, 3 vols, ed. Agustín Millares Carlo (México, 1965), libro 1, capítulo 73 (1:351 of this ed.); and Merrill K. Bennett, "Aspects of the Pig," *Agricultural History* 44, no. 2 (April 1970): 230.
6. Bennett, "Aspects of the Pig," pp. 228–31; and Las Casas, *Historia*, libro 2, capítulo 6 (2:225f in the cited edition).
7. Zárate, *Historia*, folio 2 verso.
8. Naranjo, *Solar*, pp. 93–121.
9. "El Rey Don Alonso el lo. Fuero que dió ala ciudad de Truxillo," 27 July 1294, Biblioteca Nacional (Madrid) (henceforth BN), MSS 430, folios 49–52; Naranjo, *Solar*, pp. 202–4.
10. See the descriptive travelogue, begun in 1517 by Columbus' son, Fernando Colón, *Descripción y cosmografía de España*, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1910), 1:177–79, 181, 209f. See also a copy of Trujillo's 1499 Ordenanzas de Montes in Archivo de la Mesta (Madrid) (henceforth AM), Executorias, Trujillo, 16 December 1521; and Antonio Rodríguez-Moñino, "Extremadura en el siglo XVI. Noticias de viajeros y geógrafos (1495–1600)," *Revista de estudios extremeños* (henceforth REE) 8 (1952):281–376, 10 (1954):329–411.
11. Colón, *Descripción* 1:177, 2:181; Jean-Paul Le Flem, "Cáceres, Plasencia y Trujillo en la segunda mitad del siglo XVI," trans. Claude Le Flem, *Cuadernos de historia de España* (Buenos Aires), 1967, pp. 253ff.
12. Naranjo, *Solar*, pp. 221–23.
13. Eugenio Escobar Prieto, "Los Reyes Católicos en Trujillo," *Revista de Extremadura* (henceforth RE) 6 (1904):483–99.
14. See a copy of a 1538 Privilegio to Trujillo in "Escritura de Venta . . . a Juan de Vargas . . ." 13 October 1559, Archivo del Ayuntamiento de Trujillo (henceforth AAT), 1–3–82, no. 51; and Clodoaldo Naranjo Alonso, *Trujillo y su tierra. Historia. Monumentos e hijos ilustres*, 2 vols. (Trujillo, s.a.) 1:336–45; Naranjo, *Solar*, pp. 221–23.
15. See a copy of an Ordenanza of 1434 in "La Cd. de Trujillo contra las villas y lugares de su tierra," various dates 1552–1631, Archivo de la Chancillería de Granada (henceforth ACHGR), 3–958–1; and Naranjo, *Solar*, pp. 265–71.
16. Several impressive regional bibliographies notwithstanding, there is surprising little of value about rural society in Extremadura in the early modern period. See Vicente

- Barrantes [Moreno], *Aparato bibliográfico para la historia de Extremadura*, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1875–77); Domingo Sánchez Loro, *Bibliografía de Extremadura* (Cáceres, 1951); Justo Corchón García, *Bibliografía geográfica extremeña, precedida de una Introducción al estudio geográfico de la Alta Extremadura* (Badajoz, 1955).
17. Le Flem, "Cáceres," pp. 261–70. My definition of the *pobre* comes from José Ortega Valcárcel, *La Bureba. Estudio geográfico* (Valladolid, 1966), p. 105.
  18. Le Flem, "Cáceres," pp. 255ff, 265; Pedro Herrera Puga, *Sociedad y delicuencia en el siglo de oro. Aspectos de la vida sevillana en los siglos XVI y XVII* (Granada, 1971), pp. 431ff.
  19. "Escritura de venta para Fran<sup>co</sup> de Amarilla . . .," 6 February 1556, AAT, 1–3–82, no. 21; "Carta de venta que otorgó Albar García de Solís . . .," 22 November 1574, AAT, 1–3–82, no. 31; "La Cd. de Trujillo contra D. Juan Alonso de Orellana," various dates 1570–1608, ACHGR, 3–443–3; Le Flem, "Cáceres," pp. 261f.
  20. For Trujillo, see Miguel Muñoz de San Pedro, *Diego García de Paredes. Herculés y Sansón de España* (Madrid, s.a. [1946]), p. 70. Compare also with Miguel Angel Orti Belmonte, *La vida en Cáceres en los siglos XIII y XVI al XVIII* (Cáceres, 1949), pp. 96f.
  21. Fray Gabriel de Talavera, *Historia de nuestra Señora de Guadalupe . . .* (Toledo, 1597), quoted in Rodríguez-Moñino, "Extremadura en el siglo XVI," p. 392.
  22. Julius Klein, the mesta historian, was conservative in assessing the impact of mesta herds on cultivated fields. See *The Mesta: A Study in Spanish Economic History, 1273–1836* (Cambridge, Mass., 1920), pp. 336–42. But some other historians have been carried away by the pathos of the theoretical possibility that the mesta destroyed rural Castile.
  23. I plan to treat the subject in depth in a future article, but there are some references to the problem in my "The *Tierras Baldías*: Community Property and Public Lands in 16th Century Castile," *Agricultural History* 48, no. 3, (July 1974): 383–401 and "The Sale of *Tierras Baldías* in Sixteenth-Century Castile," *Journal of Modern History* 47, no. 4 (December 1975):629–54.
  24. A few examples out of many possible that show rich and poor with both fields and flocks in the Trujillo–Cáceres area: AM, Executorias, Trujillo, 1 December 1578; AM Executorias, Trujillo, 21 February 1584; Orti, *Vida en Cáceres*, pp. 37–39; and El Bachiller de Trevejo (pseud. for Daniel Berjano), "Como vivían nuestros antepasados (Un hogar noble de antaño)," *RE* 11 (1909):516–21, 530–36.
  25. AM, Executorias, Trujillo, 21 February 1584 and 2 June 1586; Justo Corchón García, *El Campo de Arañuelo (Estudio geográfico de una comarca extremeña)* (Madrid, 1963), pp. 79–83, 196, 200f, 260. For more on the Castilian rotation-fallow system, see Vassberg, "The *Tierras Baldías*."
  26. "Hernán Pérez con la Cd. de Trujillo y Alonso Hernández, alguacil," various dates in 1588–89, ACHGR, 3–1298–2; AAT, 1–3–82 passim; and compare with Rodríguez-Moñino, "Extremadura en el siglo XVI," p. 392; and Anónimo, *Floresta española* (1607), BN, MSS, 5.989, folios 79, 80.
  27. Out of many possible examples, see one reported in AM, Executorias, Trujillo, 1 December 1578.
  28. See Klein's *The Mesta* and Pedro de Medina, *Libro de grandezas y cosas memorables de España* (Sevilla, 1549), folio lxxiii.
  29. See a statement made by the city in the 1570s in "La Cd. de Trujillo contra D. Juan Alonso de Orellana," various dates 1570–1609, ACHGR, 3–443–3.
  30. See a copy of Trujillo's 1499 Ordenanzas de Montes in AM, Executorias, Trujillo, 16 December 1521. For the importance of hogs in Trujillo and other areas in Extremadura, see "El Rey y la Reina al Onrado Maestre [de Alcántara]," 10 March 1491, BN, MSS, 430, folios 418 verso y 419; "El lugar de Villar del Rey con el de Badajoz sobre el pasto de la bellota . . .," various dates 1537–38, ACHGR, 3–780–12; Miguel Angel Orti Belmonte, "Cáceres bajo la Reina Católica y su Camarero Sancho Paredes Gólfín," *REE* 10 (1954):245; Le Flem, "Cáceres," pp. 261–69; El Bachiller, "Como vivían," pp. 520f; and Orti Belmonte, *Vida en Cáceres*, pp. 37–39.
  31. The brothers Juan and Alfredo Calles Mariscal, both hog raisers from Trujillo, have published an extremely valuable little book describing the traditional Extremaduran

- system of swine herding, *Ganado porcino extremeño* (Madrid, 1946). Compare also the virtually identical system described in Corchón, *Campo de Arañuelo*, pp. 233f.
32. *Ibid.*, and "Alonso de Tapia, v" de Trujillo, contra Francisco Sánchez Rosillo," various dates, 1566–69, ACHGR, 3–998–6; Ricardo del Arco y Garay, *La sociedad española en las obras dramáticas de Lope de Vega* (Madrid, 1941), p. 863; Orti Belmonte, "Cáceres bajo la Reina Católica," p. 245; Francisco Quirós, "Sobre geografía agraria del Campo de Calatrava y Valle de Alcudia, *Estudios geográficos* (Madrid) (henceforth EG) 26, no. 99 (mayo 1965):227.
  33. "Bartolomé Serrano con el C<sup>o</sup> de la Cd. de Córdoba," various dates 1573–74, ACHGR, 3–1493–9; James D. Parsons, "La economía de las montaneras en los encinares del suroeste de España," EG 27, no. 103 (mayo 1966):309–29; "Venta que el Lic. de la Fuente Vergara otorgó al Doctor Hernando de Martos de Varreda," 25 January 1591, Archivo General de Simancas, Contadurías Generales, legajo 371.
  34. "El Rey Don Alonso el lo. Fuero que dió ala ciudad de Truxillo," 27 July 1294, BN, MSS, 430, folios 49–52; "La Cd. de Trujillo contra D. Juan Alonso de Orellana," various dates 1570–1609, ACHGR, 3–443–3.
  35. See the copy of Trujillo's 1499 Ordenanzas de Montes in AM, Executorias, Trujillo, 16 December 1521; and a letter from the city to the Audiencia in 1578 in "La Cd. de Trujillo contra las villas y lugares de su tierra," a bundle of documents of various dates 1522–1631 in ACHGR, 3–958–1. For the monte ordinances of other places, see "Los Concejos de los Pueblos del Márgen . . . con el Juez de residencia . . ." various dates in 1572, ACHGR, 508–1945–1; Fernando Jiménez de Gregorio, "La población en la zona suroccidental de los montes de Toledo," EG 26, no. 98 (febrero 1965):94f; Esteban Rodríguez Amaya, "La tierra en Badajoz desde 1230 a 1500," REE 7, nos. 3–4 (julio-diciembre 1951):438; and Arcadio Guerra, "Ordenanzas municipales de Felipe II a Los Santos de Maimona," REE 8 (1952):506–8.
  36. See the 1499 Ordenanzas cited above in note 35, and other documents in AM, Executorias, Trujillo, 16 December 1521.
  37. "La Cd. de Trujillo contra D. Juan Alonso de Orellana," various dates 1570–1609, ACHGR, 3–443–3; Calles Mariscal, *Ganado porcino*, pp. 61–69; Corchón, *Campo de Arañuelo*, pp. 202–7, 234f.
  38. See various expenditures for the year 1594 in AAT, 1–2–66, no. 1.
  39. The 1294 Fuero de Trujillo, cited in note 9, provided for guards to patrol the montes. My information about mayordomos and guards was pieced together from a number of documents. See especially "La Cd. de Trujillo contra las villas y lugares de su tierra," various dates 1552–1631, ACHGR, 3–958-1; "Alonso de Tapia, v" de Trujillo contra Francisco Sánchez Rosillo . . .," various dates 1566–69, ACHGR, 3–998-6; "La Cd. de Trujillo contra el Lugar de Santa Cruz . . ." various dates 1541–44, ACHGR, 3–1408-6; "Mateo Torres y consortes contra la Cd. de Trujillo . . ." various dates, 1585–89, ACHGR, 3–1041-7; "Cuentas de Propios de 1594," AAT, 1-2-66, no. 1; "La Cd. de Trujillo contra D. Juan Alonso de Orellana," various dates 1570–1609, ACHGR, 3-443-3; and AM, Executorias, Trujillo, 16 August 1548.
  40. The question of public and private property ownership in early modern Spain needs far more work, but an introduction to the characteristic institutions can be found in my two articles, cited in note 23.
  41. *Ibid.*, and various documents from the 1570s in AAT, 1-3-82; the 1575 Ordenanzas of Trujillo in AAT, 1-2-72, no. 13; "Hernán Pérez con la Cd. de Trujillo . . .," various dates 1588–89, ACHGR, 3-1298-2; "Los Cavalleros y hijos dalgo del L. de Sta Cruz de la Sierra [juris. of Trujillo] con el C<sup>o</sup> del dho lugar . . ." various dates 1515–16, ACHGR, 3-398-4; Naranjo, *Solar*, pp. 124f, 187f.
  42. "El Rey Don Alonso el lo. Fuero que dió ala Ciudad de Truxillo," 27 July 1294, BN, MSS, 430, folios 49–52; Naranjo, *Solar*, pp. 124–26; and various documents relating to propios in AAT, especially the Cuentas de Propios for 1594–1611 in ATT, 1-2-66, no. 1.
  43. See Vassberg, "The *Tierras Baldías*," pp. 389f; "El Rey Don Alonso el lo. Fuero . . ." (note 9); Naranjo, *Solar*, pp. 124f; Naranjo, *Trujillo* 1:132, 320f; Eugenio Escobar Prieto, "Los Reyes Católicos en Trujillo," RE 6 (1904); 494; "La Cd. de Trujillo contra los C<sup>os</sup>

- de las Villas y lugares de su tierra," various dates 1552–1631, ACHGR, 3-958-1; AM, Executorias, Trujillo, 28 December 1500; "Mateo Torre y consortes contra la Cd. de Trujillo," various dates 1585–89, ACHGR, 3-1041-7; "Alonso Lobo y consortes, v<sup>os</sup> de Logrusan, contra la Cd. de Trujillo," various dates in 1593, ACHGR, 508-2107-4; "Cuentas de Propios de Trujillo," 1594. AAT. 1-2-66. no. 1.
44. See Vassberg, "The *Tierras Baldías*," and "The Sale of *Tierras Baldías*"; and "El C<sup>o</sup> de la Cd. de Trujillo contra D. Juan Alonso de Orellana," various dates 1570–1608, ACHGR, 3-443-3; "La Cd. de Trujillo contra las villas y lugares de su tierra," various dates 1552–1631, ACHGR, 3-958-1.
  45. The interesting phenomenon of peasant attacks on the communitarian system, present throughout the kingdom of Castile, will be the subject of a future article. It would be tedious to cite all my sources for peasant usurpations. They abound in AAT and ACHGR, and many have been cited above. See particularly, however, "Visita de la Cd. de Trujillo, año de 1585," AAT, 1-3-82, no. 54.
  46. An identical and contemporaneous conflict between older established cities and newly independent towns in another part of Spain was reported by Antonio Higuera Arnal, *El Alto Guadalquivir. Estudio geográfico* (Zaragoza, 1961), p. 143. The major sources for Trujillo's conflict are the documents cited in note 44; "Escritura de Venta . . . a Juan de Vargas," 13 October 1559, AAT, 1-3-82, no. 51; "La Cd. de Trujillo con Doña Ynés de Camargo," various dates 1577–78, ACHGR, 3-1256-1; and a transcript of a meeting of the Council of Trujillo, 22 September 1536, AAT, 1-3-78, no. 1.
  47. See a Carta de Poder from the Lugar of Burdalo to Pedro Alonso, 6 January 1552, ACHGR, 3-958-1; and "Ordenanzas de Trujillo, no. 70: Dehesa Boyal," 1575, AAT, 1-2-72, no. 13; "Executoria contra el concejo de Garciaz . . ." 20 December 1530, AAT, 1-3-78, no. 1, folios 31ff.
  48. Klein, *The Mesta*, pp. 113–16; documents from 1495 to 1589 in AM, Executorias, Trujillo; AM, Relaciones de los Alcaldes Entregadores, 1565, libro 5, folios 242–49.
  49. For the background and genealogy of the Pizarro family, see Miguel Muñoz de San Pedro, ed., *Crónicas trujillanas del siglo XVI* (Cáceres, 1952), p. xxiii; Naranjo, *Solar*, pp. 143–47. See also the 1499 Ordenanzas copied in AM, Executorias, Trujillo, 16 December 1521.
  50. The two examples cited are from AM, Relaciones de los Alcaldes Entregadores, 1565, libro 5, folio 251; and AM, Executorias, Trujillo, 16 November 1575. Other sources for Pizarro property can be found in the following documents in ACHGR: 3-443-3; 3-1520-11; 508-2025-1; 3-1136-4; 3-756-15; 507-1894-6; and 3-1682-2. See also Miguel Muñoz de San Pedro, "Las últimas disposiciones del último Pizarro de la Conquista," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 126 (enero-marzo 1950):387–425; and 127 (julio-septiembre 1950):527–60.
  51. "Provança que va de la çibdad de trugillo al concejo de las hordenes sobre la geneología del capitan fran<sup>co</sup> piçarro," agosto de 1529, Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid), Ordenes Militares, Santiago, Expediente 6524.
  52. It is true that Fernando Pizarro y Orellana affirmed the story in "Vida del ilustre varón D. Francisco Pizarro," in *Varones ilustres del Nuevo Mundo* (Madrid, 1639), p. 128, but I suspect that he was excessively zealous in trying to establish the illustrious background of his antecessor. For example, he failed to mention either Francisco's illegitimate birth or the common origin of the conqueror's mother. Other sources for Francisco Pizarro's background are cited in notes 1, 2, and 3.
  53. I hope to be able to do some work in this area sometime in the future, especially with regard to systems of communal property ownership.
  54. My two *baldo* articles list some basic sources. See also my bibliographical-historiographical essay "Studies of Rural Life in Early Modern Castile: History and Other Disciplines," *Newsletter of the Society for Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies* 3, nos. 7–8 (Spring 1977).
  55. On primary sources, see Angel Cabo Alonso, "Fuentes para lo geografía agraria de España," *EG* 22, no. 82 (febrero 1961):223–49; and Michael R. Weisser, *The Peasants of the Montes: The Roots of Rural Rebellion in Spain* (Chicago, 1976), pp. 123–26.



*Jacriiel*, oil on hardboard by Prefete Duffaut (Haiti). From a private collection.