

Fashioning Widowhood: Bigamy and Remarriage in Sixteenth- Century Spain

Satoko NAKAJIMA

Abstract

This article studies the conjugal ties between missing husbands and abandoned wives to shed light on the nature of marriage among the people in sixteenth-century Spain. I argue that while the new regulations introduced by the Catholic Church and the state to institutionalize marriage during the period of the Catholic Reformation and Counter-Reformation impeded people from committing bigamy on the one hand, on the other hand, the same regulations enabled them to create their own new rules so that they could contract a remarriage during the lifetime of their absent spouses. The research carried out for this study showed that such creation of unwritten rules consisted in fashioning widowhood. Abandoned wives broke their marital ties with their missing but probably living spouses by exhibiting representations of their widowhood. The ways in which they fashioned their widowhood changed during the course of the Counter-Reformation. Women fashioned widowhood to convince exclusively the community members during the first half of the sixteenth century, but by the end of the century, it was also meant to dodge the authorities. Thus, when they sought to terminate a marriage, they informed themselves of the Tridentine regulations and arranged it for their own ends. By adopting the official regulations, they convinced both the community members and the authorities that their first marriage was no longer valid.

Keywords

Bigamy, Remarriage, Widows, Migration, Counter-Reformation

I. Introduction

We, the inquisitors against the heretical iniquity and apostasy in the city and the kingdom of Toledo, command you, Juan Ruíz de Ávila, prison officer of this Inquisition, to seize the body of Benita López, the wife of Bartolomé Hernández, a *vecina* [citizen] of Valenzuela. She is to be placed under your custody and brought to the jail of the Inquisition. Bring her in and turn her over to the jail keeper...¹⁾

So ordered the Inquisitors of Toledo in 1567 after a neighbor of the aforementioned Benita López accused her of bigamy. The inquisitors arrested López for the suspicion of heresy for breaking the sacrament of marriage by remarrying Bartolomé Hernández while the physical death of Gonzalo de Ávila, her first husband who had left for the Indies decades earlier, was never confirmed. The Church has always considered that no one could put asunder those whom God had joined together. Therefore, for the authorities, remarrying during the lifetime of a spouse was all about bigamy, the breaking of the sacrament and thus, they prohibited such acts of heresy. However, many poor *vecinos* [citizens], *estantes* [temporary residents] and *forasteros* [outsiders] of Spanish villages, towns and cities often remarried during the lifetime of a spouse despite the fact that they had a good understanding of what the authorities meant by the prohibition of bigamy. When the inquisitors asked them whether they knew that they could not marry again while their spouses were alive, they all testified positively. López was also very well informed of such regulations. Knowing that she could not remarry during the lifetime of her husband, she married a new man without having the certainty of her first husband's physical death.

This fact, that many people committed bigamy knowing that they could

not do so, is not a novelty to the historiography. During the last four decades, researchers have given two different interpretations with regard to bigamy using inquisitorial trial records. Firstly, by identifying the profile of those bigamists who were actually brought to the Inquisition, researchers pointed out that “the crime of bigamy”, in the second half of the sixteenth century, “became more masculine” (Dedieu 1979: 322)²⁾ and “bigamists of good faith [as in the sense of ignorant Christians], which were rather common earlier ... tended to extinguish. Bigamy, henceforth, almost always was committed by a migrant, sometimes a soldier, if not an adventurer” (Dedieu 1979: 322)³⁾ who “went beyond the range of his village to become anonymous so that it would not be difficult to make believe his single status” (Contreras 1982: 648).⁴⁾ Secondly, it has been discussed that “parishioners often proved to have little enthusiasm for such ecclesiastical regulation” (Poska 1996: 871) and “[w]hen relationships did not work out satisfactorily, they merely picked up, left, and took up with new mates, disregarding the judicial and moral penalties which might result from such action” (Poska 1999: 126). On the one hand, by suggesting that only male migrants who took advantage of their anonymity could violate the royal and ecclesiastical law, the former scholarship discussed the ease with which people assimilated the norms set forth by the Catholic Reformation and the Counter Reformation. On the other hand, the latter scholarship indicated its difficulty by interpreting people’s behavior as having little enthusiasm for such ecclesiastical regulation. While these two scholarships gave mutually contradictory results, it should be noted that both analyzed bigamy trial records with a presumption that the people gave Church the exclusive authority to approve or disapprove the validity of marriage. Therefore, the historiography figured

that people always regarded any ecclesiastically non-official relationship as deviant sexual behavior and so if anyone committed bigamy, he was almost always an outsider whose past was unknown to gullible *vecinos* and if anyone discovered someone else's ecclesiastically non-fit relationship such as bigamy, the discoverer most likely overlooked it and became "complicit in hiding bigamous relationships" (Poska 1999: 190).

Such interpretations, however, are what the inquisitors in the sixteenth century would have made of bigamy and bigamists when they visited villages and towns in search of heretics. Although it provides us with the elite's perception of people's marriages, it reveals neither the practice of marriage nor the understanding of marriage among the people in the lower strata. The limitation which the historiography faced in order to grasp the notion of marriage among the populace is due to the fact that researchers traced the two steps taken forward by the elite in the sixteenth century to eradicate clandestine marriage⁵⁾ and turn marriage into a unique issue of binding an ecclesiastically authorized tie. The first course of action taken by the elite consisted in the institutionalization of marriage. In response to the criticism Protestant Reformers made of the sacrament of marriage and the indissolubility of marriage, numerous councils were held to discuss the institutionalization of marriage, including the twenty-fourth session at the Council of Trent in 1563.⁶⁾ There, the Church Fathers confirmed that marriage was a sacrament, and that it was indissoluble. With regard to the latter element, they pointed out that even if a spouse's adultery was discovered or a spouse's absence was protracted, such inconvenience could never terminate a marriage. For both ecclesiastical and secular authorities, since no man could put a marriage asunder, it was confirmed that marriage,

thus, was uniquely an issue of binding the tie. In this way, the Decree of Tametsi, which was promulgated after the twenty-fourth session, stipulated in detail how people should get married.⁷⁾ The decree regulated that in order to contract a marriage, the presence of a priest and two or three witnesses was necessary in addition to the mutual consent between the contracting parties.

The second step consisted in introducing means to control marriages. The Tridentine regulation on matrimonial law came into force with compelling power. The Spanish Inquisition, for example, took an important role in this task. The Holy Office claimed that sexually deviant behavior such as bigamy which, until then, had belonged to the purview of secular and ecclesiastical courts, now fell under the sphere of their jurisdiction. As is well known, the Holy Office was first founded in Seville in 1483 with the aim of solving problems regarding Judaizers and soon inquisitorial tribunals were established all over the Spanish empire. Although the Inquisitorial tribunals initially dedicated their efforts almost exclusively on Judaizers, by the end of the 1520s, and especially since Fernando de Valdés' service as the General Inquisitor [1547-1566], Old Christians, or Spaniards without any convert in their genealogy, became the main target of the inquisitorial trials (Dedieu 1984: 15-39). The Inquisitors started to try "minor offenses" or "secondary offenses" such as blasphemy and bigamy committed by Old Christians. To begin with, since the fifteenth century, not only the problems of Judaizers but also the lack of basic knowledge of Christian doctrine among the lower clergy and the populace had been a matter of concern for the ecclesiastical elite long before the Protestant Reformation.⁸⁾ The Spanish Inquisition, thus, assumed the role of a teaching institution so that

they could turn ignorant Old Christians into “good Christians” by providing them with basic Christian doctrines such as the Ten Commandments and the Catechism, and also by making sure that they complied with the Tridentine regulations (Dedieu 1992: 1-24). Tracing the elite’s two steps, the picture of early modern marriage presented by researchers was all about binding the tie authorized by the Church, and that of bigamy was nothing but illegally binding an unauthorized one.

In this article, I will provide a new picture of marriage among the poor in sixteenth century Spain. I will demonstrate how people remarried, i.e., how people undid marital ties. By doing so, I will argue that the ways in which people broke marriage ties show us that marital ties were approved by the people themselves and that the breaking of marital ties will present a new interpretation on bigamy and marriage among the populace in sixteenth-century Spain.

II. Migration and Marriage

Before discussing the nature of marriage among the poor, a brief summary of how bigamy cases and their trial records arose is necessary. Modern readers often have a prejudice that people from the lower strata such as manufacturing artisans and peasants spent their entire lives in their places of birth.⁹⁾ Although there is evidence that shows that a mobile population existed, especially among city dwellers, other evidence such as legal measures local authorities imposed upon new settlers, has led many historians to reinforce the myth of “immobile villages” and that the less well-to-do were tied down to the place they were born. Historical demographers and specialists in family history have also contributed

toward the strengthening of this view of “immobile villages” by presenting statistical data of marriage patterns from parish records which showed that villagers, unlike city dwellers, tended to contract marriages with fellow countrymen and women (Ortega 1997: 270). In the past thirty years, however, this established historical account of Early Modern immobile and enclosed villages has been gradually challenged, though not completely replaced, by analysis of new evidence that has revealed a highly mobile population.¹⁰ More recently, a study of 346 *discursos de la vida* [autobiographies] of poor people provided a high figure of 314 (90.7%) people who declared that they had had experience of either leaving their birth places to live elsewhere, or of traveling to other places.¹¹

Sixteenth century cities, towns and villages in Spain, thus, sent their inhabitants out elsewhere and received new settlers. However, when it came to accepting immigrants, it was not the case that there were no restrictions. Although Spanish communities opened their doors for new settlers, they did not accept any outsiders; vagrant beggars were not welcomed with open arms. Spanish villages, towns and cities required their inhabitants, whether *vecinos* or new settlers, to dedicate themselves in labor. In order to stay in a community, one had to have an income, a job. When a new settler could not find a job within a certain period of time, or became unemployed when he still had not proven himself to be a *vecino* of the place, then he was no longer a worker and lost his right to reside within the confines of the place.¹² For example, Juan de Castro left Galleguillos, his birthplace, and moved 160 kilometers to Medina de Rioseco when he was four years old. After a while, he again moved 50 kilometers to Valladolid, to do an apprenticeship with a furrier. After four years he moved to Madrid, approximately 200

kilometers away, to serve “in the princess’ kitchen washing the dishes and sweeping floors”. Since then, he has “always worked as a servant and cook in many people’s house.” And “as a kitchen hand”, he “went to Barcelona with the archbishop of Seville”. When he found himself in Toledo at the age of twenty five, he had traveled over 1,600 kilometers in the Iberian Peninsula.¹³⁾ Whenever De Castro became unemployed, he moved around from one place to another to sustain himself by his labor.

Not only non-*vecinos*, but also *vecinos*, too, often chose to leave their residence in search for jobs. When *vecinos* lost the means to sustain themselves, some of them obtained the right to become *vergonzantes*, invisible paupers in the place of their residence. Their confraternity, parish church, convents and the city council supported them in secret until the *vergonzantes* could find the means to make a living on their own again. Other *vecinos*, too, had a chance to become licensed beggars in the place of their residence when they lost employment. They obtained a license to beg in public as *pobres de solemnidad* [visible beggars in the place of their residence]. However, the jobless often chose to leave the place for elsewhere in search of employment. Becoming a *vergonzante* or *pobre de solemnidad* meant living at the mercy of their former co-workers and co-*vecinos*, and it was one of the two options *vecinos* had when they lost their jobs. And it was not necessarily the one they were willing to take without trying out the other one. When *vecinos* lost their employment and they could not find a new job there, many of them, instead of becoming a licensed pauper, left the place in search of a job elsewhere.

The poor people in sixteenth century Spain that I refer to in this article were not permanent vagrant beggars, but workers who left their birthplaces

and moved from one place to another because of the difficulty they had to make a living during an extended period of time in one place. These poor but dignified workers who became repeatedly unemployed and kept on roving around in search of jobs were not limited to single people. Married people, too, often went through the same destiny. It should not be necessary to refer to the male migrants who left their wives and children behind and went to the Indies in search of jobs. However, it is imperative to point out that still more men left their wives at home and roved around within the Iberian Peninsula to look for jobs. The fact that a large proportion of husbands migrated elsewhere, within the Peninsula and also to the Americas, leaving their wives behind to look for a job, indicates that it was common among the poor for husbands and wives to live their married lives geographically separated from one another.

Migrant husbands who left for the Indies must have promised their wives before their departure that they would return home as *indianos* [rich returnees] or they would send for them. However, the keeping of such promises was scarce. Although there existed some correspondences that were exchanged between Spain and the Americas at the beginning of their married lives in geographical separation, migrant husbands, in the course of time, often lost touch with their wives back home. Many migrant husbands within the Iberian Peninsula also followed the same pattern. Husbands traveled back and forth at irregular intervals between home and the places where they found work. They “repeatedly came back to see” their wives at first.¹⁴⁾ Nonetheless, as time went by, it was rather common that their return became delayed. Sixteenth-century married life with geographical separation often became prolonged.

Various types of sources in fact document many cases of protracted married lives in geographical separation. For example, many private correspondences exchanged between Spain and the Indies refer to the long-lasting absence of a husband. 111 private letters sent between Spain and the New World during the sixteenth century have been published in *El hilo que une: relaciones epistolares en el Viejo y el Nuevo Mundo (siglos XVI-XVIII)*, a compilation of private correspondence stored in the Archivo General de la Nación in Mexico City.¹⁵⁾ Of these, three types of letters referred to husbands' lengthy absences. Firstly, abandoned wives sent letters to their absent husbands or to their families and friends to seek their husbands' return or to find out their whereabouts. Not only did abandoned wives write letters themselves to their husbands, but some of them also entrusted the inquiry of their husbands' whereabouts to others. These "agents" wrote to abandoned wives whenever they discovered any trace of their missing husbands, or when no evidence was found. Finally, abandoned wives' neighbors also referred to cases of migrant husbands' long absences in their villages and towns in letters they sent to their migrant relatives and friends. They wrote about news of their hometown, such as recent births, marriages and deaths in addition to accounts of migrant husbands' protracted absences and the economic difficulties suffered by their abandoned wives. Together these three types of letters account for 69 of the 111 [62%] compiled in *El hilo que une*.

Some wives managed to obtain news of their husbands. Yet, the letters wives sent to their husbands pleading for their return often went unanswered. Faced by this often fruitless method of persuasion, women frequently turned to love magic. The sixteenth-century practice of love magic has

come to light through the study of Inquisitorial trials of sorcery. There are 18 sixteenth-century trial records from the Inquisitorial tribunal of Toledo with regard to sorceresses who practiced love magic.¹⁶⁾ Testimonies in these trials show that abandoned wives resorted to love magic to force their husbands to come home. A large majority of witnesses who testified in these trials were abandoned wives and they described that their husbands had left them and thus they sought help from sorceresses to bring their husbands home. Sorceresses' neighbors also gave testimonies regarding sorceresses' involvement in solving marital problems. Finally, sorceresses themselves also declared to the Inquisition that they offered help to abandoned wives.¹⁷⁾

On the whole, despite some exceptions, it appears that love magic was no more useful than the correspondence, which often went unanswered. As time went by, regardless of the destination, whether to the New World or within the Old World, migrant husbands often went missing for good and they became a living but eternally non-returning husband, and his spouse became an abandoned wife. The most famous absconding husband in the sixteenth century would be Martin Guerre in French Navarre (Davis 1983). The plot that Martin Guerre went off on adventures in the Iberian Peninsula, leaving his wife Bertrand behind, and went missing for many years is identical to the pattern of Spanish couples' married lives of the same period.¹⁸⁾ The only fact that differs from the Spanish cases is that the geographically mobile husbands, both the fake and the true Martin, returned to the first wife and resumed their married life. In Spain, restoration of married life under the same roof was scarce, and a missing husband usually remarried another woman in a new place, as did his

abandoned wife to a new man back home. When someone reported these remarriages to the Inquisition, bigamy trials arose.

Most of the evidence that I used for this study is taken from the inquisitorial records stored at the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid and also at the Archivo Diocesano de Cuenca in Cuenca. My research on existing trial records, annual summaries of cases judged, and reports of visitations by Inquisitors revealed that there were 953 Inquisitorial bigamy cases in sixteenth-century Spain.¹⁹⁾ In addition to Inquisitorial bigamy cases, although very fragmentary, bigamy trial records from secular and ecclesiastical courts offer 90 cases of bigamy.²⁰⁾ In total, based on my study of bigamy cases, I have compiled 1043 bigamy trials in sixteenth-century Iberian Peninsula.

III. Joining the remarriage market

Benita López and Gonzalo de Ávila contracted their marriage in a town called Almagro in Spain around 1540. De Ávila was not too enthusiastic about this marriage. However, since López had lost her virginity with him and he had made her pregnant, he decided to marry her “out of a guilty conscience”. De Ávila finally decided to exchange vows on the day López gave birth to their son and on the day when the clergyman came over to López’s house to officiate the ceremony, “she was [still] in bed”. De Ávila’s lack of eagerness to settle down with López was clear not only in his reluctance to marry her but also in his immediate departure to the Indies that afternoon after the wedding, leaving his newly-wed wife and their newborn son behind. De Ávila, thus, left for the New World and like many other husbands who left, his absence became protracted and so their

married life was in geographical separation. López stayed in Almagro and waited her husband's return for some years. Nonetheless, no word was heard from him and after a while López met Bartolomé Hernández, a new man and they started to live in sin. After a few years, around 1554, López remarried Hernández.²¹⁾

In early modern Europe, remarriage was widespread (Alvar Ezquerro 1996: 15; Bravo Lozano 1992: 46, 48–49; Hufton 1995: 218; Kamen 1993: 312; Simón Tarrés 1979: 81; Vassberg 1994: 184; Wiesner 1993: 59). Historians have explained this phenomenon by pointing to high mortality rates (Blanco Carrasco 1999: 221–223; Åkerman 1981: 164–165, 174). Demographers argued remarriage was a tool to recover fertility once lost by the death of a spouse in the middle of the fertile period.²²⁾ However, recent historiography has revealed that birth rates recovered by remarriages appear to be slight and that widespread remarriages as a means to recover birth rates which were lost by the death of a spouse as an explanation is no longer sufficient (Coale 1981:151–156; Schofield and Wrigley 1981: 211–227; Smith 1981: 229–243; Houdaille 1981: 573–580; Reher 1997: 210). Widespread remarriage has to be studied from various points of view. First, it should be noted that remarriages brought benefits. In early modern Spain, wives kept the ownership of their dowry (Segura Graiño 1986: 125). Legally, during the marriage neither the dowry nor the *arras* [dowry brought to the marriage by the groom]²³⁾ could be used,²⁴⁾ and when no offspring were left at the time a wife deceased, her dowry was to be returned to her parents (Segura Graiño 1986: 125–126). A good example of returning the dowry can be seen in a letter sent from Rodrigo de Ribera in Seville to his brother Cristóbal de Ribera in Mexico City in 1568. De Ribera notified his brother in Mexico

about the death of his wife and the return of the dowry she had brought to their marriage to the deceased wife's father (Sánchez and Testón1999: 62). Nevertheless, it was not always in cash that dowries took form, but in many cases dowries took the form of cows, donkeys or sheets. The husband could use dowries in kind and also the earnings from them, which belonged not only to the wife but also to the husband (Cremades Griñán and Sánchez Parra 1986: 145-146). Thus, dowries were indeed helpful in maintaining the household economy. And yet, the immediate economical benefit in cash was not the only benefit. For example, it was common for an artisan master widower to seek remarriage. Manufacturing artisans' shops in early modern Spain were run by both husbands and wives. When a husband absented himself from his shop for certain periods of time to purchase raw materials or to put a market in remote places, it was his wife who stayed home and looked after the shop. Historian Teresa Prieto Palomo, as well as anthropologist Caroline Brettell, argued that many wives did not bring dowries, but their labor forces *per se* were as important as a dowry.²⁵⁾ Thus, with or without a dowry, when a wife died, it was common for a widower to look for her substitute.²⁶⁾ Widows, not so often as widowers, also frequently replaced their deceased husbands. When a master who owned a shop died, his widow became responsible for maintaining the shop. Some widows kept their widowhood and ran the shop with their adult sons. But if their sons were still young, many widows remarried with one of the journeymen in their shops. As for those less well-to-do, the conclusion of seeking remarriage, when possible, was inescapable.²⁷⁾ Running a household economy with a partner was much easier than doing it alone.

Another point to be noted on widespread remarriages is that widows

and widowers were not the only ones who remarried.²⁸⁾ The inquisitorial, ecclesiastical and secular courts registered over a thousand bigamy cases in the sixteenth century and this fact proves that absconding husbands as well as abandoned wives joined the marriage market. The case of Ana Hernández, a *vecina* of Villa de Lillo, provides a good example of remarriage in sixteenth-century Spain. She married three times in her life. First, she married a neighboring farmer and had two children. After her husband died, she became a widow and remarried another neighboring farmer and had a daughter with him. But their marriage did not last long, not because her second husband died but because he disappeared. Tired of waiting for him to come back, Ana remarried a third time.²⁹⁾

The percentage which migrant husbands and abandoned wives account for in the marriage market is hard to tell. As historian Roderick Phillips concludes on English cases, “we shall never have any notion of true extent of bigamy in past time” (Phillips 1988: 297). On the one hand, not all illegal remarriages according to the canon law were reported to the courts, and the existing bigamy trial records clearly do not represent the actual number of remarriages contracted among the migrant husbands and abandoned wives. Nonetheless, on the other hand, a closer reading of bigamy trials and cross-referencing with other sources shows that remarriage among migrant husbands and abandoned wives was rather common.

Male bigamists’ trial records often contain at least one abandoned wife who remarried during the lifetime of her first husband. A good example is the case of Juan de Segura and Isabel, his first wife. Juan de Segura’s bigamy trial record demonstrates that not only Segura, but also Isabel committed bigamy. In De Segura’s trial, when asked by Inquisitors, Isabel

testified that she had married Segura, and then remarried another man after Segura had abandoned her.³⁰⁾ Juan García's bigamy trial record also provides a similar example. Ana Sánchez, the bigamist's first wife remarried during his long absence.³¹⁾ Female bigamists' trial records, too, often refer to several male bigamists. Two out of three times Catalina de Salamanca married, she married bigamists. Her first husband had left her after eight months of married life together. When she saw that her husband was not returning to her, she married Pedro San Martín. It turned out that this remarriage was bigamous for both De Salamanca and San Martín.³²⁾ Again, when De Salamanca found herself abandoned by San Martín, she married for a third time to Alonso Gómez, who was a bigamist as well.³³⁾ A female bigamist, Francisca Hernández's trial record also shows that she was not the only bigamist among her acquaintances. Her first marriage was to a bigamist, Pedro Peligro, a poulterer, whose first wife had abandoned him in Seville earlier. The married life between Hernández and Peligro ended in two months when Peligro disappeared, and he eventually married for a third time to Juana López in Seville. Hernández, too, remarried to Francisco Roales in Toledo.³⁴⁾

Even if bigamy cases registered at the Inquisition or other courts do not refer to any other bigamist, a cross-reference with other sources provides some related bigamy cases. For example, in addition to the inquisitorial trial record of the aforementioned Benita López's bigamy, private correspondence between her first husband Gonzalo de Ávila in Mexico and his mother in Spain showed that De Ávila also attempted to remarry in Mexico while López was still alive in Spain.³⁵⁾ Both the wife and the husband attempted to remarry in the absence of the other. Beyond a bigamy

trial, there was usually at least one spouse, abandoned or missing, who also committed bigamy. Although the exact amount of bigamists is hard to tell, other documents such as synod constitutions in sixteenth-century Spain show the tendency of abandoned wives' bigamy as a consequence of the repeated and protracted absence of their husbands. In 1548 a synod constitution from Palencia prohibited women from marrying for a second time without obtaining certain information about the death of their first husbands.

Title VI. Women cannot remarry until they have enough information about the death of their first husbands.

Many times, it happens that the husbands absent themselves from their wives and go to other places where they stay for a certain period of time: and the wives that are left behind, after some years, not having enough information about their husbands, whether they are dead or not, remarry other men.³⁶⁾

Illegal marriages according to the canon law were common among both absconding husbands and abandoned wives. Benita López was one of them. When she saw that her husband was not returning to live their married life together, she started to date a new man, and after a few years they decided to get married.³⁷⁾ Since López was already married to De Ávila in Almagro, and everyone in Almagro and in Valenzuela, her actual residence, knew that she was married to De Ávila and that he was not dead, or at least there was no news about his life or about his death, she could not just ignore the existent marriage tie with De Ávila and bind a new one with another man.

Nor could the neighbors ignore the existent marriage tie. In sixteenth-century Spain, marriage and remarriage were limited to single people. Neither the Church nor the people turned a blind eye to polygamy. So that a once married person contracted another marriage, they had to have their first marriage terminated. Usually it was the death of a spouse that cut loose a marriage. The protracted absence of a spouse did not dissolve a marriage in Spain (Phillips 1988: 298), although some countries at the time, like England, had “a custom, common law, or a statute that recognized the right of remarriage when one spouse had been absent without news for seven years”. Thus, when López sought to remarry Hernández, she embarked upon a project of breaking the tie that bound her to her first husband so that she could become single again.

IV. Breaking ties

Because no one could put a marriage asunder, divorce was never an answer to any conjugal problems for the Catholic Church. The Church, however, was equipped with other means to solve marital problems without breaking the sacrament. For example, *divorcio* [separation and annulment] was a typical solution offered by the Church to those couples who were experiencing marital problems. In his dictionary, *Tesoro de la Lengua castellana o española* (1611), Sebastián de Covarrubias defined *divorcio* as a “separation between married couples when there is a reason for not cohabiting or when the judges adjudicate the marriage to be non-existent”.³⁸⁾ The former alludes to a settlement of marital dispute such as impossible coexistence between a husband and a wife mediated at the ecclesiastical court. Ecclesiastical judges adjudicated *divorcio*, a physical

separation between a domestically violent husband and his beaten wife when her life was threatened.³⁹⁾ The latter refers to the annulment of a second marriage when it was proved to be bigamy. Needless to say, a judge adjudicated the accused guilty of bigamy when the suspect's first marriage was proved to be valid. Another means to arbitrate unhappy couples was *Cartas de quitación* or *cartas de apartamiento*.⁴⁰⁾ *Cartas* were employed among lovers to settle undesired engagements. The Church considered that exchanging *parabras de futuro* [promise of marriage in the future tense] was just the first step to bind a marital tie and thus it was not enough to turn a man and a woman into a husband and wife. When engaged couples no longer wanted to go further with their relationships, then, with mutually agreed consent, they obtained *cartas* at the ecclesiastical court or at the notary's office to invalidate the promise of marriage.

Divorcio and *cartas* did not annul a valid first marriage. However, the Cordovan synod constitution in 1521 refers to a *modus operandi* used among married people to remarry anew by abusing these *cartas*.

Those ties that the God bound as marital ties can not or should not be undone...it is reproached that husbands leave their wives, and wives leave their husbands. Do not give *cartas de quitación*...thinking that by these letters, husbands and wives could become free from their marriage ties.⁴¹⁾

Succeeding synods elsewhere in Spain kept mentioning this abuse throughout the sixteenth century. In addition, synods included a warning to those people who attempted to remarry exploiting *cartas* as a defense that

they would be condemned to the same crime as bigamy. Such persistence of synods on the abuse of *cartas* gives certain grounds for suggesting that people often took advantage of the *cartas* to contract illegal remarriages. However, the research carried out for this study showed that no bigamist used the *cartas* to defend himself/herself at the court during the sixteenth century, while numerous bigamists did defend their innocence by declaring the nullity of marriage for not having exchanged *parabras de presente* [marriage vows in the present tense] after the promise of marriage, or for having married in a clandestine way. It is very unlikely that the use of *cartas* to remarry was common among the people from the lower strata.

The scarce abuse of *cartas* to remarry may be due to the fees that were charged to hire an attorney or a notary. If one could not afford the expenses, then no case was brought to the court, or no notarial record was recorded, and no abuse could be committed. In addition to this economic difficulty people probably had, I would argue the little utility value *cartas* might have had when people sought to remarry. The abuse of *cartas* would be a modus operandi to circumvent the canon law and the Church. *Cartas* was never meant to prove that one's first marriage was already terminated, but it could insinuate to a parish priest that the holder of the *carta* was single for having called off his/her engagement. Outwitting a parish priest with *cartas* and marry anew seems an easy task when we take into account the ease with which the Church emitted *licencias para casarse*, certificates of single status which authorized people, mostly migrants, to marry.⁴²⁾ Certificates of single status were meant to impede people from getting involved in illegal marriages. However, applicants obtained certificates from parish priests almost systematically without any fuss. It was not that complicated to obtain

approval from the church to remarry. The fact that poor people who sought to remarry while their first spouses were still alive did not take advantage of such a cushy approach like taking advantage of *cartas*, so cushy that the Church itself was deeply apprehensive and thus kept on alerting about the abuse in synod constitutions throughout the sixteenth century, suggests that it was not the Church where people resorted to in order to obtain an approval to remarry.

The Cordovan synod constitution in 1520 stated another *modus operandi* to be watched out for in order to prevent people from committing bigamy.

Many married women having their husbands absent, they pretend that their husbands are dead, inventing a rumor without any ground, in order to marry other men.⁴³⁾

In sixteenth-century Spain, it was usually the death of a spouse that terminated marriage, and the termination of the former marriage enabled remarriage. An abandoned wife, in the life time of her missing husband, could not return to the altar. Therefore, in order to get remarried, abandoned wives needed a new identity, one that unbound the tie with their missing husbands. These women chose to actively break the ties with their husbands by spreading rumors that their husbands were dead. They chose to become “widows”.⁴⁴⁾ When they took this decision, they were not asking the Church for approval of their single status so that they could marry anew. They were seeking approval of remarriage from the members of the community. Benita López, when she sought to remarry Bartolomé Hernández, spread rumors among her neighbors that Gonzalo de Ávila, her

husband, had passed away in the Indies. López became a “widow”. So did Catalina de Salamanca. When her second husband Pedro de San Martín disappeared, she married for a third time to a journeyman who worked for her in her shop. In 1595, when an inquisitor asked Catalina why she committed bigamy, she answered:

Because a soldier who came to Moral told me that Pedro died in Piamont, ...I do not remember the name of the soldier nor where he came from, ...*I took myself as a widow*, and since my children and I were exhausted, I married Alonso Gomez, a journeyman of weaving in my shop...(my italics).⁴⁵⁾

De Salamanca herself decided that she should become a “widow”.

From a modern reader’s point of view, it would seem strange that becoming a widow was an abandoned wife’s call. However, in sixteenth-century Spain, the status of a widow was not exclusively limited to authentic widows. It was common that women without any masculine company such as fathers or husbands professed themselves to be widows. Historian Antonio Domínguez Ortíz found in medieval and early modern censuses that all autonomous women, i.e., authentic widows, separated women, wives whose husbands had emigrated, and grown-up spinsters who owned a house, were brought together under the heading of “widows”.⁴⁶⁾ Using this data, historians Ignacio Atienza Hernández and Valentina Fernández Vargas discussed that the term widow was applied to any women who headed a household (Atienza Hernández and Fernández Vargas 1986: 425). These women, by establishing economic independence from any male adult,

fell under the heading of widows as active tax payers in the census. The definition of a widow did not limit itself to the status of having a deceased husband.

In early modern Spain, for a woman without any male adult's support, the status of a widow was advantageous when compared to that of an abandoned wife.⁴⁷⁾ For example, wives did not have the right to act in legal transactions without their husbands' authorization.⁴⁸⁾ If a husband became missing without giving his wife a power of attorney, she could not undertake legal or economic transactions.⁴⁹⁾ For example, Francisca de Sangüesca was legally dependent on her missing husband. She found herself incapable to sell her small portion of a vineyard she had inherited from her deceased father since Pedro Daybero, her husband who had left for elsewhere three years earlier, had not given her power of attorney.⁵⁰⁾ Widows, on the other hand, were independent as legal entities. Another advantage that widows gained was tax benefits. Whereas abandoned wives were supposed to pay full taxes as heads of households in the absence of their *pechero* [tax payer] husbands, widows enjoyed the advantages of paying reduced taxes or being exempt from them all together.⁵¹⁾ There are many petitions written by 'widows' to the king asking for the protection from being taxed.⁵²⁾ María de Torres was one of them. She was taxed by the guild of clothes' cleaners, in which, according to her, her husband had worked until two years earlier. She wrote in the early seventeenth-century that it was not right that she was taxed since her husband had already died. As a widow, María claimed that the king should protect her from being taxed.⁵³⁾ There is no way to prove that many applicants for tax exemptions like María de Torres pretended to be widows so that they would be exempt from being taxed. But, at the

same time, all of the petitions written by women asking for exemption examined for this study were written by “widows”, retired men’s wives, or soldiers’ wives.⁵⁴⁾ Natalie Zemon Davis, in her book *Fiction in the Archives*, wrote about what kinds of stories people regarded as good stories.⁵⁵⁾ Both petitioners of pardon in Early Modern France and those of protection in Early Modern Spain must have thought seriously about the kind of stories they should write in order to persuade the reader [in these cases, the king] into approving their petition. In other words, with regard to the women who sought to liberate themselves from tax, whether true widows or fake widows, they both considered that widowhood facilitated tax exemption. Everyone knew and understood that widows had an advantageous status. Juan de Pineda, a Franciscan monk and a writer in sixteenth-century Spain cynically alluded to widows’ liberty; “we have more to do to keep under control a widow than four *doncellas* [unmarried women who are under the protection of their fathers], because of the license that widows have to use for their liberty. Widows enjoy such a good life that my relative el Deán said that he would give out money for a sad widow so that she would be comfortable, fat, a good walker, beautiful, and happy” (Pineda 1964:12). Widows had their advantages.⁵⁶⁾

In a society where women fell under the protection of a man, an abandoned wife faced a series of legal, economical and moral difficulties. Abandoned wives awaited their husbands’ return, writing letters to their husbands and seeking help from sorceresses to make them come home. Nonetheless, as discussed earlier, a migrant husband often became a living but eternally non-returning husband and his wife had to make ends meet without her breadwinner. In 1583, María de Zumieta in Aya [the Basque Country]

bemoaned her economical difficulties in letters to her husband, who had abandoned her seven years before:

Sir, here I am...with burden of work with our boys. The land is expensive. The wheat costs twenty-two *reales* per *fanegas* and with this price we cannot afford it. Sir, as you know, our boys are cast adrift. They wanted to go to school, but there is no way that I can send them to school. See what you can do.⁵⁷⁾

Under these circumstances, having a way to be better off, abandoned wives did not passively accept the destiny of being abandoned. An abandoned wife regarded herself as a widow and she made sure that the others, not only the census record-keeper but also her neighbors, shared the same understanding.

Around 1550, after spreading rumors that the news of De Ávila's death had arrived from the Indies, Benita López dressed in mourning.⁵⁸⁾ Another abandoned wife who pretended that she was a widow was Cecilia Fernández.⁵⁹⁾ Around 1538, she first spread rumors in the neighborhood that her husband was on his death bed in a hospital, and then later on that he had died in war.⁶⁰⁾ Afterwards, she visited a neighbor in tears saying that her husband was dead. Then, according to this neighbor, Fernández “dressed in *beatilla* as a widow.”⁶¹⁾ Similar examples abound. In 1532, Ana de Castro testified that, after “being told by some men and women that her husband died somewhere between Seville and Ecija”, one day “a mourning dress arrived.”⁶²⁾ Catalina de Torres did not dress in mourning, but celebrated a funeral mass for her husband because “one day her son

was told in the house of Doña Catalina de Zoalla that her husband had died, she did not know where he died.”⁶³) These abandoned wives contracted remarriage afterwards. Abandoned wives in sixteenth-century Spain did not use *cartas* or *divorcio* to obtain the Church’s consent to remarry. So that they remarried, they fashioned their widowhood by dressing themselves in mourning and represented it before their neighbors, making sure that their neighbors approved that the first marriage was no longer good, and that the marital tie that bound a husband and a wife was broken.

On the Eve of the Council of Trent, people did not give much credit to the Church’s interventions into their marriages. They considered that their neighbors who kept unofficial marriage registers had a say in the validity of their marriage ties. Such understanding was also shared by the inquisitors throughout the sixteenth century. In the trials of bigamy at the Inquisition, inquisitors who looked for witnesses to verify whether the accused was formerly married to another person or not, always summoned the accused’s neighbors. Summoning the parish priests was never enough. Thus, since neighbors made the decision of whether or not a marriage was valid, people, instead of outwitting the Church with *Cartas*, represented a fake widowhood which consisted of spreading the news of a spouse’s death and dressing in mourning, or giving a mass. And it was directed to the neighbors in order to obtain agreement from them.

In sixteenth-century Spain, a marriage could be terminated, not only by the physical death of a spouse, but also by the impossibility of sustaining it. However, the mutual agreement between a husband and a wife, or the disappearance of a spouse, itself did not automatically put an end to a marriage. So that abandoned wives could break ties with their missing

husbands, they exhibited representations of widowhood and obtained consent of the community. It was only after abandoned wives secured their neighbors' agreement that they could become free of their first marriage, i.e. they could become single again. Then they remarried a new man. Therefore, when people did not report someone else's bigamy to the Inquisition, they were not overlooking bigamy. Nor was it that only male migrants committed bigamy. The reason why community members did not bring bigamy cases to the Inquisition was because they had approved the single status of the abandoned wife when she exhibited a representation of widowhood, and thus they considered that her second marriage was not bigamy but an appropriate remarriage.

V. Shifting rules and changing representations

During the course of the second half of the sixteenth century, the authorities diffused new demands by Synods, *Auto de Fe, visitas* [Inquisitors' visits to villages and towns], etc, and abandoned wives adjusted to some of them to avoid being convicted at the Inquisition.⁶⁴⁾ A good example is the case of Ana Hernández. Her second husband abandoned her two years after their wedding. Thus, she remarried for a third time. When she fell under suspicion of bigamy in 1595, in response to the inquisitor's interrogation of whether she had obtained information of the death of Francisco Martín, her second husband, before she married for a third time with Diego Sánchez, and what *diligencias* [measures] she had made and to whom she had turned it in, she answered:

When she was in Villatovas, people told her that in Lillo a man had

said that the said Francisco Martin was in Toledo on his death bed and that since he was so sick that no one wanted to hospitalize him. She does not know who had brought that news to Lillo. Therefore, she understood that Francisco Martin was dead and for this reason she married a third time with the said Diego Sánchez. And she thinks that people have done the survey in Lillo, because they brought *a paper* which was submitted to the priest of the Villatovas...[my italics].⁶⁵⁾

Ana no longer mentioned dressing in mourning to show that she had become a widow. In the late sixteenth century, abandoned wives like Ana testified that they had obtained written certificates to remarry. These women had a clear idea that in order to remarry, whether the death of their husbands was certain or not, what they needed was a piece of paper.

Usually, as Ana described in her deposition before the Inquisitors, in order to obtain a written certificate, widows of either the living or the dead obtained information of their husband's death, such as testimonies of witnesses who saw his burial in a church, or even people who had heard news of his funeral. In 1590, when an abandoned wife, Juana de Arma, sought to obtain the certificate of her missing husband's death to remarry, she declared:

I, Juana de Armas, declare that I was married and *velada* [celebrated ecclesiastical marriage] to Domingo de Bienes Ximénez, and at present I have come to receive a news that my husband died in the war in a ship...because I want to certify that Domingo de Bienes died in the river of Santo Domingo, I ask your Excellency to receive witnesses, that I

present, who testify that my husband is dead and passed away from this present life, and I ask your Excellency to bestow me a certificate of this fact so that I can carry it with me to do what I want with my person... Juana de Armas, widow.⁶⁶⁾

She presented three witnesses who testified that, “Domingo de Bienes had a high fever and because of this, he died within twenty-two days when he was in the river of Santo Domingo. This witness saw he died and helped to bury his body in a church.”⁶⁷⁾ By the end of the century, obtaining written certificates became almost a norm among widows of the living and the dead, so that even if they did not have an immediate plan to remarry, they obtained certificates to prepare for the future. Another woman, Isabel de Jesús declared that the ship in which her husband traveled had had an accident and some passengers, including her husband, had died of injury and hunger, and she continued that it was in her interest to obtain the certificate of her husband’s death “because I have at the moment in this city witnesses who also traveled in the said ship with my husband. But they might leave this place.”⁶⁸⁾ De Jesús just wanted to make sure that she obtained a certificate in case she came across a chance to remarry. Bearing in mind opportunities awaited for female migrants to find a husband to contract a marriage in the Indies, widows of the living and the dead who migrated to the Indies also sought to obtain certificates to prove their status of a widow. In 1588, Isabel Gómez of Seville, when she sought to pass to the Indies, presented a petition to obtain a certificate of her single status. She claimed:

I was married and *velada* in the church in this town with Joan Serrano,

with whom I have lived a married life until ten years ago when he died and passed away from this present life. He is buried in the San Miguel Church. It is of my interest to get the license to go to the Indies and that I am free to marry.⁶⁹⁾

In the late sixteenth century, obtaining a written certificate of their husbands' death became a crucial issue among widows of the living and the dead.

During the sixteenth century, Spaniards lived through a shift in the ways to prove things; from the medieval way of being *notorio* [well-known] to the early modern way of being *certificado* [certificated in written form]. While in the medieval period *notoriedad* [common knowledge] was important, in the early modern period it was no longer enough. Written certificates became requirements to prove things. It is true that “[d]ocuments did not immediately inspire trust”, as Historian Michael Clanchy wrote on the shift from memory to written records in medieval England (Clanchy 1999: 294). Nor did a piece of paper inspire irreversible trust in Spain as late as in the sixteenth century. Beyond the ever-present possibility of forging documents, people kept relying on memories. Nevertheless, the big change was that written certificates did become an indispensable requirement to obtain goals. This shift also backed up the Church's effort to change Catholic morals. Against the authorities' regulations, López did remarry with her new man while her first husband was alive, but this fact did not mean that she did not assimilate the changes. Benita López lived in a transitional period from the representation of widowhood just by mourning, to that of obtaining a written certificate. She fashioned her widowhood

by spreading rumors of her husband's death and dressing in mourning at the time she sought to marry her new man around 1550. In 1569, when López had to convince the inquisitors of her innocence, she refashioned her widowhood in a Tridentine way. She testified that she had obtained a certificate of De Ávila's death from the municipal magistrate four years posterior to her marriage.⁷⁰⁾ She no longer needed the written certificate when she obtained it. However, she secured the certificate because she distinguished between what she had to say and what she had to do to obtain approval in every situation. Because she dressed in mourning when she remarried Hernández, no one opposed her remarriage. Because she got hold of a written certificate just in case, on December 13th of the year 1569, Benita López was absolved of charges against her and was released.⁷¹⁾ The conclusion is inescapable: in twenty years, during the course of the Counter-Reformation, she had assimilated the changes.

As discussed in the introductory part of this article, when comparing the era of the pre and post periods of the Council of Trent, recent historiography has argued that the number of "bigamists of good faith" had decreased, if not disappeared, after the Council of Trent, and that the number of people who moved to other places and committed bigamy consciously increased (Dedieu 1984: 280). The evidence indicates that it was not the faith that changed, but nothing more than the ways of fashioning and representing widowhood. Because people never forfeited their chances to remarry, they always kept their eyes wide open for new chances.

Abandoned wives fashioned their widowhood in order to break marriage ties. And society approved these representations unless other conflicts arose. When a problem between neighbors emerged, remarriage, which the

community had once approved as appropriate, reemerged as an issue.⁷²⁾ It reemerged as a means to defeat counter-parts. For example, in 1530, Lucía Fernández's bigamy case was brought to court by a neighbor who had a quarrel with her second husband over the use of the pasture.⁷³⁾ If there were no troubles or problems and when adequate representations of widowhood were performed, neighbors agreed that the marriage tie between a missing husband and an abandoned wife was no longer good and they encouraged the new couple to bind a marital tie. Benita López's neighbors knew that she was remarrying during the physical life time of her first husband. A neighbor even told Hernández, her new man, to see what he would do, since López was married to another man.⁷⁴⁾ That neighbor warned him and afterwards kept silent until the Inquisition solicited his testimony fifteen years afterwards. Nor did the family of De Ávila, her first husband, oppose López's remarriage with Hernández.⁷⁵⁾ On the contrary, De Ávila's family happily informed their son in Mexico, at least six times, that López was remarried to another man and bore him children.⁷⁶⁾ Finally, it was not until some fifteen years later after her second wedding took place that some neighbors denounced López to the Inquisition. It is unknown whether López had troubles with her neighbors, but it is clear that she was denounced to the Inquisition shortly after she showed off to her neighbors her son's letter from Mexico that he had become wealthy.⁷⁷⁾

VI. Conclusion

When abandoned wives found themselves "lost and humiliated"⁷⁸⁾ by the fact that their husbands never came back, they did not sit around and wait eternally for their absconding husbands to come home. Instead, they

found means to redo their lives by regaining their single status. This article discussed the nature of marriage among the poor people in sixteenth-century Spain. By focusing on the conjugal ties between missing husbands and abandoned wives, this study has shown that while the new regulations introduced by the Catholic Church and the state to institutionalize marriage during the period of the Catholic Reformation and Counter-Reformation impeded people from committing bigamy on the one hand, on the other hand, the same regulations enabled them to create their own ways so that they could contract a remarriage while their first spouses were still alive. Such creation of unwritten rules consisted in fashioning widowhood. Abandoned wives broke their marital ties with their missing, but probably still living, husbands by exhibiting representations of their widowhood. The ways in which they fashioned their widowhood changed during the course of the Counter-Reformation. The cases examined for this study showed that abandoned wives, instead of resorting to *cartas* or *divorcios* to outwit the Church to remarry, fashioned their widowhood by dressing in mourning and/or giving funeral mass to convince the community members during the first half of the sixteenth century. However, after the Council of Trent, convincing exclusively just their neighbors was no longer enough. Abandoned wives' fashioning of their widowhood was also meant to dodge the authorities. The cases during the end of the sixteenth century demonstrated that when abandoned wives sought to terminate a marriage, they informed themselves of the Tridentine regulations and arranged it for their own ends. By adopting the official regulations, they convinced both the community members and the authorities that their first marriage was no longer good. The case of Benita López showed that she did both. She

lived in a transitional period from the pre-Tridentine fashioning to the post-Tridentine one. In either period, she was very well informed of what had to be done to break her marital tie with her first husband.

For the authorities, remarriage during the lifetime of a spouse was all about bigamy, the breaking of the sacrament. And as such, it had to be strictly prohibited. But for people who lived in a geographically-fluid society, where many wives were abandoned and many husbands became missing, it was a remarriage which involved undoing the first marital tie. When people managed to break the tie properly, they restored their single status, and joined the remarriage market.

Notes

- 1) Archivo Histórico Nacional, Inquisición, legajo.26, expediente.10, June 13th, 1569 (Here after, AHN INQ, leg. exp.).
- 2) Bazán Díaz 1995: 292; Blázquez Miguel 1986a: 168; Blázquez Miguel 1986b: 97; Contreras 1982: 648; García Ivars 1991: 27; Hernández Bermejo and Testón Núñez 1988: 647–648; Hernández Bermejo 1990: 302; Lorenzo Pinar 1999: 138; Poska 1999: 198–199; Poska 2005: 166–167; Testón Núñez 1985: 155–161.
- 3) Pascua Sánchez 1998: 143; Yareny Esparza Alvarez 2018: 24.
- 4) Bombín Pérez 1997; Figueras Vallé 2003.
- 5) Since the middle ages, the Church fathers have always shown their concern toward the requirement that turned a man and a woman into a husband and a wife. In medieval Spain, poor people contracted marriages by exchanging mutual consent between the interested parties during the process of dating. Since no witness was necessary to bind the marital tie, many couples married clandestinely. Clandestine marriages, often a casual agreement between a man and a woman to contract a marriage without the permission of a parent caused troubles. Thus, so that marriage became associated with publicity among others, it was repeatedly discussed in councils whether elements such as a wedding at the Church, parental

consent, presence of a priest and witnesses, banns, etc. should be included as requisites to formalize the marital tie in addition to the mutual consent between the two parties. The requirement for marriage varied, however, from place to place and most importantly, no compelling force to bind legal ties existed in medieval period. By the end of fifteenth century, the only condition required and recognized by the entire Christian world to contract a marriage continued to be the exchange of mutual consent. For clandestine marriage, see Gottlieb 1980; Gaudemet 1993; Charageat 2001.

- 6) *Sinodal del Obispado de Jaen*, 1511; *Copilacion de todas las constituciones del obispado de Burgos antiguas y nuevas: fecha por mandado del muy reuerendo y manifico señor el señor don Fray Pascual obispado de Burgos*, 1511; *Constituciones Sinodales del Obispado de Córdoua*, 1520; *Constituciones synodales del Arçobispado de Toledo*, 1536; *Constituciones synodales del abbadia de Alcalá la Real*, 1542; *Constituciones synodales del obispado de Palençia*, 1548; Schroeder 1978: 182–192; Jedin 1981: 149–86, 215–50.
- 7) The Council of Trent required people to fulfill the complete procedure of marriage; i.e., *palabras de futuro*, *amontestaciones* [posting of the banns], *palabras de presente in facie ecclesiae* [exchange of vows at the church door], *velaciones* [ceremonies that celebrate the sacrament of marriage], and finally consummation.
- 8) Lutz 2001; For lower clergies' education on Christian doctrine, see Nalle 1992.
- 9) Their professions vary. They were engaged in jobs such as manufacturing craftsmen (cobblers, tailors, bakers, carpenters, engravers, stonemasons, sword-makers, weavers, bricklayers, shearer, plasterers, tanners, hosiers, carders, blacksmith, basket-makers, drapers, silversmiths, silk-spinners, dyers, head-dress makers, etc.), farmer-peasants, servants, manual workers, such as *jornaleros* [day laborers], shepherds, barbers, vendors, transporters, millers, soldiers and their respective wives who also dedicated themselves in labours to make a living.
- 10) Vassberg 1997; Eiras Roel and Rey Castelao 1994.
- 11) Nakajima 2021.
- 12) For social welfare in sixteenth century Spain, see, García Guerra 1983; Martz 1983; Flynn 1989.
- 13) AHN INQ, leg. 33, exp. 30.

- 14) AHN INQ, leg. 30, exp. 14.
- 15) Sánchez and Testón 1999.
- 16) AHN INQ, leg.82, exp.11; AHN INQ, leg.82, exp.17; AHN INQ, leg.82, exp.24; AHN INQ, leg.82, exp.25; AHN INQ, leg.85, exp.5; AHN INQ, leg.85, exp.9; AHN INQ, leg.86, exp.4; AHN INQ, leg.87, exp.8; AHN INQ, leg.88, exp.5; AHN INQ, leg.89, exp.10; AHN INQ, leg.90, exp.16; AHN INQ, leg.90, exp.17; AHN INQ, leg.91, exp.3; AHN INQ, leg.94, exp.9; AHN INQ, leg.95, exp.19; AHN INQ, leg.96, exp.5; AHN INQ, leg.96, exp.12; AHN INQ, leg.97, exp.10.
- 17) Nakajima 2004.
- 18) For a husband of Spanish Navarre who left his wife for an adventure in Castile as well as Martin Guerre of French Navarre, see Archivo General de Navarra 012682.
- 19) I compiled this data from my study of the existing trial records [*procesos*] (Tribunal of Cuenca [120 *procesos*], Toledo [84] and Valencia [5]), *relaciones de causas*, abstracts of cases tried at local tribunals which were sent to the *Supremo* (Tribunal of Barcelona, Córdoba, Cuenca, Granada, Llerena, Logroño, Murcia, Santiago, Toledo, Valencia, Valladolid and Zaragoza), and information of *visitas* (Tribunal of Barcelona, Granada and Toledo). Duplicate bigamists which appear in multiple documents are carefully deleted.
- 20) Archivo Municipal de Toledo [2 bigamy cases]; Archivo Diocesano de Valladolid [2]; Archivo Real de Chancillería de Valladolid [13]; Archivo General de Simancas [3]; Archivo General de Navarra [14]; Archivo Diocesano de Pamplona [4]; Archivo Diocesano de Zaragoza [52]. Despite the fact that the Inquisition always claimed overall jurisdiction for cases of bigamy, secular and ecclesiastical courts insisted that bigamy was a case of *mixti fori*, and thus continued trying offenders. For Inquisition's collision with secular and ecclesiastical courts over jurisdiction of bigamy, see Lea 1907; Volume 4, Book 8, Chapter 14.
- 21) AHN INQ, leg.26. exp.10.
- 22) Dupâquier 1981; Knodel 1974; Knodel 1988.
- 23) For *arras*, see Cremades Griñán and Sánchez Parra 1986: 134–147.
- 24) Nevertheless, in practice, husbands did use dowries. A good example can be seen in Cook and Cook's study on a bigamist who used up his wife's dowry in order to pass to the Indies. Cook and Cook 1991.

- 25) Brettell 1986: 262, Prieto Palomo 2003.
- 26) For the frequent widowers' remarriages, see Dupâquier 1981; Alvar Ezquerro 1996.
- 27) Poska gives an interesting case from Galicia. She discusses that abandoned wives were reluctant in engaging in remarriage. Poska 2005.
- 28) For English cases, see Houlbrooke 1979: 69–70.
- 29) AHN INQ, leg.26, exp.1.
- 30) Isabel was never convicted. AHN INQ, leg.30, exp.3.
- 31) AHN INQ, leg.25, exp.4.
- 32) AHN INQ, leg. 29, exp.15.
- 33) AHN INQ, leg. 25, exp.7.
- 34) AHN INQ, leg.26, exp2; see also Archivo Diocesano de Cuenca Inquisición leg.220, exp.2692. (Here after ADC INQ).
- 35) Private correspondences between De Ávila in Mexico and his family in Spain. Letters 5–11 in Sánchez and Testón 1999: 45–57.
- 36) *Constituciones synodales del obispado de Palençia*, 1548, fol.LXV.
- 37) Poska points out that there were three courses of action available to abandoned women in Galicia to remarry. “[A]fter an extended absence [of her husband] she could decide to remarry without proof of the first husband’s death and hope that she was correct in her assumption; she could lie or produce forged documentation that might convince a bishop’s provisor to allow the second marriage; or she could pursue the legal means to remarriage by producing legitimate evidence of the absent husband’s death or burial.” Poska 1999: 199.
- 38) Covarrubias 1995: 435.
- 39) See for example, Archivo Diocesano de Valladolid, año 1588. s/n; ADC, leg. 781, exp.1111. For an extensive study on *divorcio*, see Campo Guinea 1998: 71–144.
- 40) For letters of separation, see Poska 1996: 871–882; Poska 1998: 208–211; Poska 2005: 89–94; Barahona 2003: 20–23. Letters of separation were usually called *cartas de quitación* (or *cartas de separación* or *desistimiento* in some places) during the sixteenth century and the term *cartas de apartamiento* seems to appear when entered the seventeenth century. Compare synods from Toledo in 1536, 1566, 1583 and 1601, and see also *Constituciones synodales del abbadia de Alcalá la Real*, 1542 and *Constituciones synodales del obispado*

de Cordoua, 1521. *Constituciones synodales del arzobispado de Toledo...*, 1536, fol.xxxii. "... ni se den cartas de quitaciones..."; *Constituciones synodales del arzobispado de Toledo*, 1583, fol.26v-27. "...ni se den cartas de quitaciones..."; *Constituciones synodales del arzobispado de Toledo...*, 1601, Fol.77v. "...ni se den cartas de apartamiento, y quitaciones..."; *Constituciones synodales del abbadia de Alcalá la Real*, 1542, fol.xv(v). "que los notarios ni escriuanos no den fee en las cartas de quitación y separación de entre marido y muger sin autoridad de juez..."; *Constituciones synodales del obispado de Cordoua*, 1521, fol.xv-xv(v). "Muchas vezes acaesce en este nuestro obispado que los maridos y las mugeres se dan indeuidamente libellos de repudio y cartas de quitacion..."; However, in *Constituciones synodales* in 1556 from Mexico the term *cartas de apartamiento* appears. fol. xxi(v). "...ni se den cartas de quitaciones, o apartamientos..." [my italics].

- 41) *Constituciones synodales del obispado de Cordoua*, 1521. For other synods, see preceding footnote.
- 42) Nakajima forthcoming.
- 43) *Constituciones Sinodales del Obispado de Córdoba fecho por el Illustre y muy manífico señor Alonso Manrique*, Sevilla, 1520. fol. LV-LVI.
- 44) For cases in Germany, see Rublack 1999. She states that female bigamists pretended that they were widows in order to get remarried in Germany. See also Caroline Brettell's argument on "*viuvas dos vivos* [widows of the living]" in Portugal. Brettell 1986: 182-199. See also Poska 2005: 166-167.
- 45) AHN INQ, leg.29, exp.15.
- 46) Domínguez Ortiz 1984: 174-175.
- 47) For the comparison between widows and wives, see Vassberg 1994: 180; Segura Graiño, 1986: 126, 130, 133.
- 48) *Reportorio de la Nueva Recopilación*, Lib.V, título iii, Ley ii. *Que la muger sin licencia de su marido no pueda hazer casi contrato, ni estar en juyzio, ni apartarse de contrato.*
- 49) For the uses of Carta de Poder, see Morell Peguero 1981: 83-84.
- 50) AGN 162282.
- 51) Fernández Vargas 1968: 29; Fernández Vargas 1980: 515-538; Franco Silva 1974: 82. Lanza García 1988: 139-140.
- 52) The cases that I have mainly checked are from the Archivo de Villa. See for the cases outside Madrid in Franco Silva 1974: 82.

- 53) Archivo de Villa (hereafter AV) 3-420-1.
- 54) AV 3-420-1: Manuela Ortiz, a soldier's wife, also sought for the King's protection during the absence of her husband. She was given the "*amparo* [protection]" from the King.
- 55) Davis 1987.
- 56) For widows' autonomous situation in Galicia, see Poska 2005.
- 57) Sánchez and Testón 1999: 166.
- 58) AHN INQ, leg.26, exp.10.
- 59) AHN INQ, leg.24, exp.20.
- 60) Cecilia Fernández spread a rumor that a neighbor had told her that this neighbor received a notice of the death of a son with the notice of the death of Fernández's husband, which this neighbor later testified that it was not true.
- 61) *Beatilla* is a "certain linen cloth to make head gears. It must have been *beatas'* genre of spinning and cloth invention or because *beatas* and the nuns use them." Covarrubias, *Tesoro de la lengua...*, p.175; *Diccionario de Autoridades* defines *beatilla* as follows: "Certain fine and clear linen cloth with which people use to make heard gears for *beatas* and nuns."; Francisco de Osuna, a Franciscan theologian states that widows should dress in religious habit. Francisco de Osuna, *Norte de los estados*, Burgos, 1541, fol. cxlv(v).
- 62) AHN INQ, leg.23, exp.20.
- 63) ADC. leg.217, exp.2650.
- 64) See for example, Constituciones synodales del arzobispado de Toledo 1566; Constituciones synodales del arzobispado de Toledo 1583; Constituciones synodales del arzobispado de Toledo 1601; Constituciones synodales del arzobispado de Santiago 1579; Constituciones synodales del arzobispado de Granada 1573; Constituciones synodales del arzobispado de Burgos 1577; Constituciones synodales del obispado de Calahorra 1601.
- 65) AHN INQ, leg.26, exp.1.
- 66) Archivo General del Arzobispado de Sevilla, Matrimoniales Ordinales (hereafter AGAS MO), leg.2255-B.
- 67) AGAS leg.2255-B.
- 68) AGAS MO, leg.1111.
- 69) AGAS MO, leg.1111.
- 70) AHN INQ, leg.26, exp.10. See also similar cases which show that

abandoned wives dressed in mourning and obtained written certificates. AHN INQ, leg. 1592, exp.15. During the *Visita* carried out by Don Antonio de Toledo in 1583, witnesses testified that Catalina Titona, who was under a suspect of bigamy, “had always been dressing *toca de viuda* [widow’s head-gear] during these years” and also had turned in “information” and “orders” to the parish priest to remarry.

- 71) AHN INQ, leg.26, exp.10.
- 72) For emergence of bigamy trials in early modern England, see Phillips 1988: 297, “Public attitudes toward bigamy would be an important variable in bringing the guilty to trial, for where marriage was regarded as a fairly loose contract it is likely that bigamy would be tolerated and bigamists accepted within the community. In the period before systematic records were kept, it is probable that bigamy came to light only when it caused offense to the bigamist’s legitimate spouse or to the community at large.”
- 73) AHN INQ, leg.24, exp.25; Andrés de Cepeda’s bigamy case was also brought to court by a neighbor who was not in good terms with De Cepeda. AHN INQ, leg.23, exp.21; Sebastian Martínez, when asked by the inquisitor how he came to know that he was denounced, claimed that his sister in law had denounced him since he did not get along with her. ADC, leg. 217, exp.2638a.bis; Studies on legal institutions used as a means to solve problems are numerous. See following works. Contreras 1992; Dyer 2003; Kagan 1981; Nakajima 1997.
- 74) AHN INQ, leg.26, exp.10.
- 75) A bigamist in Cuenca, Sebastian Martínez was also recommended to remarry by his family in law. ADC, leg.217, exp.2638a, biz.
- 76) Sánchez and Testón 1999: 45, 48, 49, 52, 53, 55.
- 77) Benita López’s first husband, Gonzalo de Ávila, who remarried sometime before 1560 to María Álvarez in Mexico was denounced to the Inquisition in Mexico in 1572. The fact that De Ávila married Álvarez during the lifetime of his first wife became a common knowledge in Zacatecas ever since Alonso, the son of López and De Ávila arrived in Zacatecas. See Yareny Esparza Álvarez 2018.
- 78) AHN INQ, leg.23, exp.21.

Works Cited

Åkerman, Sune. (1981). The Importance of Remarriage in the Seventeenth and

- Eighteenth Centuries. In J. Dupâquier, E. Helin, P. Laslett, M. Livi-Bacci, and S. Sogner (eds.) *Mariage et Remariage dans les Populations du Passé*, pp. 163–176. London: Academic Press.
- Alvar Ezquerro, Alfredo. (1996). *Demografía y Sociedad en la España de los Austrias*. Madrid, Arco Libros.
- Atienza Hernández, Ignacio, and Valentina Fernández Vargas. (1986). Organización Estamental y Estructuras <Suprafamiliares> en Madrid a Finales del Siglo XVI: un Modelo Demopolítico. *Revista Internacional de Sociología* 44(4): pp. 407–434.
- Barahona, Renato. (2003). *Sex Crimes, Honour, and the Law in Early Modern Spain. Vizcaya, 1528–1735*. Toronto, University of Toronto Press.
- Bazán Díaz, Iñaki. (1995). *Delincuencia y Criminalidad en el País Vasco en la Tránsito de la Edad Media a la Moderna*. Vitoria, Servicio Central de Publicaciones del Gobierno Vasco.
- Bennassar, Bartolomé (ed.). (1979). *L'Inquisition Espagnole*. Paris, Hachette.
- Blanco Carrasco, José Pablo. (1999). *Demografía Familia y Sociedad en la Extremadura Moderna. 1500–1860*. Cáceres, Universidad de Extremadura.
- Blázquez Miguel, Juan. (1986a). *El Tribunal de la Inquisición de Murcia*. Murcia, Edición de la Academia Alfonso X, el Sabio.
- . (1986b). *La Inquisición en Castilla-la Mancha*. Madrid, Servicio de Publicaciones Universidad de Córdoba.
- Bombín Pérez, Antonio. (1997). *La Inquisición en el País Vasco: El Tribunal de Logroño. 1570–1610*. Bilbao, Servicio Editorial Universidad del País Vasco.
- Boyer, Richard E. (1995). *Lives of the Bigamists: Marriage, Family and Community in Colonial Mexico*. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press.
- Bravo Lozano, Jesús. (1992). *Familia Busca Vivienda: Madrid, 1670–1700*. Madrid, Fundación Matritense del Notariado.
- Brettell, Caroline B. (1986). *Men Who Migrate, Women Who Wait: Population and History in a Portuguese Parish*. Princeton, Princeton University Press.
- Campo Guinea, María del Juncal. (1998). *Comportamientos Matrimoniales en Navarra (Siglos XVI-XVII)*. Pamplona, Gobierno de Navarra.
- Charageat, Martine. (2001). *Mariage, Couple et Justice en Aragon a la Fin du Moyen Age*, Lille, Université de Lille III.
- Clanchy, Michael. (1999). *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066–1307*. Oxford, Blackwell.
- Coale, Ansley J. (1981). Introduction to Part III. In J. Dupâquier, E. Helin, P.

- Laslett, M. Livi-Bacci, and S. Sogner (eds.) *Mariage et Remariage dans les Populations du Passé*, pp. 151-156. London: Academic Press.
- Contreras, Jaime. (1982). *Santo Oficio de la Inquisición en Galicia 1560-1700 Poder, Sociedad y Cultura*. Madrid, Akal Editor.
- . (1992). *Sotos contra Riquelmes: Regidores, Inquisidores y Criptojudíos*. Madrid, ANAYA.
- Cook, Alexandra Parma, and Noble David Cook. (1991). *Good Faith and Truthful Ignorance: A Case of Transatlantic Bigamy*. Durham and London, Duke University Press.
- Covarrubias Orozco, Sebastián de. (1995). *Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana o Española (1611)*. Madrid: Editorial Castalia.
- Cremades Griñán, Carmen María, and Pilar Sánchez Parra. (1986). Los Bienes de las Mujeres Aportados al Matrimonio. Estudio de la Evolución de la Dote en la Edad Moderna. In M.C. García-Nieto París (ed.) *Ordenamiento Jurídico y Realidad Social de las Mujeres.*, pp. 137-147. Madrid: Ediciones de Universidad Autónoma de Madrid.
- Davis, Natalie Zemon. (1983). *Return of Martin Guerre*. Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press.
- . (1987). *Fiction in the Archives: Pardon Tales and Their Tellers in Sixteenth-Century France*. Stanford, Stanford University Press.
- Dedieu, Jean Pierre. (1979). Le Modél Sexuel: La Défense du Mariage Chrétien. In B. Bennassar (ed.) *L'Inquisition Espagnole*, pp. 313-338. Paris: Hachette.
- . (1984). El Modelo Sexual: la Defensa del Matrimonio Cristiano. In B. Bennassar (ed.) *Inquisición Española*, pp. 270-294. Barcelona: Editorial Crítica.
- . (1984). Los Cuatro Tiempos de la Inquisición. In B. Bennassar (ed.) *Inquisición Española: Poder Político y Control Social*, pp. 15-39. Barcelona: Editorial Crítica.
- . (1992). 'Christianization' in New Castile: Catechism, Communion, Mass, and Confirmation in the Toledo Archbishopric, 1540-1650. In A. Cruz and M.Perry (eds.) *Culture and Control in Counter-Reformation Spain*, pp. 1-24. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Domínguez Ortiz, Antonio. (1984). La Mujer en el Tránsito de la Edad Media a la Moderna. In Seminario de Estudios de la Mujer (ed.) *Las Mujeres en las Ciudades Medievales Actas de las III Jornadas de Investigación Interdisciplinaria*, pp. 171-178. Madrid: Universidad Autónoma de Madrid.

- Dupâquier, J., E. Helin, P. Laslett, M. Livi-Bacci and S. Sogner (eds.). (1981). *Mariage et Remariage dans les Populations du Passé*. London, Academic Press.
- Dyer, Abigail. (2003). Seduction by Promise of Marriage: Law, Sex, and Culture in Seventeenth-Century Spain. *Sixteenth Century Journal*: pp. 439–455.
- Eiras Roel, Antonio, and Ofelia Rey Castelao (eds.). (1994). *Migraciones Internas y Medium-Distance en la Península Ibérica, 1500–1900*. Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia.
- Fernández Vargas, Valentina. (1968). *La Población de León en el Siglo XVI*. Madrid, Seminario de Hisotria Social y Económica de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras de la Universidad de Madrid.
- . (1980). Eibar, León, Ocaña y Cartagena en 1625: Un Ejemplo de Estructuras Urbanas Peninsulares. *Revista Internacional de Sociología* (CSIC) 36: pp. 515–538.
- Figueras Vallés, Estrella. (2003). *Pervirtiendo el Orden del Santo Matrimonio. Bigamas en México: Siglos XVI–XVII*. Barcelona, Publicaciones de la Universitat de Barcelona.
- Flynn, Maureen. (1989). *Sacred Charity -Confraternities and Social Welfare in Spain, 1400–1700*. London, Macmillan.
- Franco Silva, Alfonso. (1974). *El Concejo de Alcalá a Finales de la Edad Media(1426–1533)*. Sevilla, Excma. Diputación Provincial de Sevilla.
- García Guerra, Delfín. (1983). *El Hospital Real de Santiago, 1499–1804*. La Coruña, Atlántico.
- García Ivars, Flora.(1991). *La Represión en el Tribunal Inquisitorial de Granada. 1550–1819*. Madrid, Ediciones Akal.
- Gaudemet, Jean. (1993). *El Matrimonio en Occidente*. Madrid, Taurus.
- Gottlieb, Beatrice. (1980). The Meaning of Clandestine Marriage. In R. Wheaton and T. Hareven (eds.) *Family & Sexuality in French History*, pp. 49–83. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Hernández Bermejo, María Ángeles, and Isabel Testón Nuñez. (1988). La Sexualidad Prohibida y el Tribunal de la Inquisición de Llerena. *Revista de Estudios Extremeños*: pp. 623–660.
- Hernández Bermejo, María Ángeles. (1990). *La Familia Extremeña en los Tiempos Modernos*. Badajoz, Diputación Provincial de Badajoz.
- Houdaille, Jacke. (1981). Les Enfants Issus des Remariages de Femmes de 1670–1789. In J. Dupâquier, E. Helin, P. Laslett, M. Livi-Bacci, and S. Sogner (eds.)

- Mariage et Remariage dans les Populations du Passé*, pp. 573–580. London: Academic Press.
- Houlbrooke, Ralph. (1979). *Church Courts and the People during the English Reformation 1520–1570*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Hufton, Olwen H. (1995). *The Prospect before Her: a History of Women in Western Europe. 1500–1800*. London, Fontana Press.
- Jedin, Hubert. (1981). *Historia del Concilio de Trento*. Volume 4–2. Pamplona, Universidad de Navarra, Ediciones, S. A.
- Kagan, Richard L. (1981). *Lawsuits and Litigants in Castile, 1500–1700*. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press.
- Kamen, Henry. (1993). *The Phoenix and the Flame. Catalonia and the Counter Reformation*. New Haven, Yale University Press.
- Knodel, John E. (1974). *Decline of Fertility in Germany, 1871–1939*. Princeton, Princeton University Press.
- . (1988). *Demographic Behavior in the Past: A Study of Fourteen German Village Populations in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Lanza García, Ramón. (1988). *Población y Familia Campesina en el Antiguo Régimen. Liébana, Siglos XVI–XIX*. Santander, Ediciones Librería Estudio.
- Lea, Henry Charles. (1907). *A History of the Inquisition in Spain*. 3 vols. New York, Macmillan.
- Lorenzo Pinar, Francisco Javier. (1999). *Amores Inciertos, Amores Frustrados (Conflictividad y Transgresiones Matrimoniales en Zamora en el Siglo XVII)*. Zamora, Editorial Semuret.
- Lutz, Heinrich. (2001). *Reforma y Contrarreforma*. Madrid, Alianza Editorial.
- Martz, Linda. (1983). *Poverty and Welfare in Habsburg Spain: the Example of Toledo*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Morell Peguero, Blanca. (1981). *Contribución Etnográfica del Archivo de Protocolos: Sistematización de Fuentes para una Etnología de Sevilla (1500–1550)*. Sevilla, Universidad de Sevilla.
- Nakajima, Satoko. (2004). Migration and Witchcraft. The ‘Efficiency’ of Love Magic in Sixteenth-Century Spain. Paper presented at *The 50th Annual Conference, the Renaissance Society of America*, New York City.
- . (2021). Non-return migration in Sixteenth Century Spain. *Hitotsubashi Review of Arts and Science* 15: pp. 1–34.

- Nalle, Sara T. (1992). *God in la Mancha. Religious Reform and the People of Cuenca, 1500–1650*. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Ortega, Margarita. (1997). El Período Barroco (1565–1700). In E. Garrido (ed.) *Historia de las Mujeres en España*: pp. 253–344. Madrid: Editorial Síntesis.
- Pascua Sánchez, María José de la. (1998). *Mujeres Solas: Historia de Amor y de Abandono en el Mundo Hispánico*. Málaga, Centro de Ediciones de la Diputación de Málaga.
- Phillips, Roderick. (1988). *Putting Asunder: a History of Divorce in Western Society*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Pineda, Juan de. (1964). *Diálogos Familiares de la Agricultura Cristiana, tomo V*. 1588; repr., Madrid, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles.
- Poska, Allyson. (1996). When Love Goes Wrong: Getting Out of Marriage in Seventeenth-Century Spain. *Journal of Social History* summer: pp. 871–882.
- . (1998). *Regulating the People. The Catholic Reformation in Seventeenth-Century Spain*. Leiden, Brill.
- . (1999). When Bigamy Is the Charge. Gallegan Women and the Holy Office. In M.E. Giles (ed.) *Women in the Inquisition. Spain and the New World*, pp. 189–205. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- . (2005). *Women and Authority in Early Modern Spain—the Peasants of Galicia*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Prieto Palomo, Teresa. (2003). *El Abastecimiento de Madrid y el Sistema de Obligados (1560–1630)*. Madrid, Universidad de Complutense.
- Reher, David S. (1997). *Perspectives on the Family in Spain, Past and Present*. Oxford, Clarendon Press.
- Rublack, Ulinka. (1999). *The Crimes of Women in Early Modern Germany*. Oxford, Clarendon Press.
- Sánchez Rubio, Rocío, and Isabel Testón Núñez. (1999). *El Hilo que Une: las Relaciones Epistolares en el Viejo y el Nuevo Mundo (Siglos XVI–XVIII)*. Mérida, Universidad de Extremadura, Servicio de Publicaciones. Junta de Extremadura, Editora Regional.
- Schofield, Roger, and Edward A. Wrigley. (1981). Remarriage Intervals and the Effect of Marriage Order on Fertility. In J. Dupâquier, E. Helin, P. Laslett, M. Livi-Bacci, and S. Sogner (eds.) *Mariage et Remariage dans les Populations du Passé*, pp. 211–227. London: Academic Press.
- Schroeder, H.J., (ed.). (1978). *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*. Charlotte,

- TAN Books.
- Segura Graiño, Cristina (1986). Situación Jurídica y Realidad Social de Casadas y Viudas en el Medievo Hispano (Andalucía). In *La Condición de la Mujer en la Edad Media*, pp. 121–133. Madrid: Casa de Velázquez.
- Simón Tarrés, Antonio. (1979). La Familia Catalana en el Antiguo Régimen. In J. Casey (ed.) *La Familia en la España Mediterránea (Siglos XV–XIX)*, pp. 65–93. Barcelona: Crítica.
- Smith, James, E. (1981). How First Marriage and Remarriage Markets Mediate the Effects of Declining Mortality on Fertility. In J. Dupâquier, E. Helin, P. Laslett, M. Livi-Bacci, and S. Sogner (eds.) *Mariage et Remariage dans les Populations du Passé*, pp. 229–243. London: Academic Press.
- Teston Núñez, Isabel. (1985). *Amor, Sexo y Matrimonio en Extremadura*. Badajoz, Universitas Editorial.
- Vassberg, David E. (1994). The Status of Widows in Sixteenth-Century Rural Castile. In R. Wall (ed.) *Poor Women and Children in the European Past*, pp. 180–195. London: Routledge.
- . (1997). *The Village and the Outside World in Golden Age Castile: Mobility and Migration in Everyday Rural Life*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Wiesner, Merry E. (1993). *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Yareny Esparza Álvarez, Anais Karen. (2018). Gonzalo de Ávila y su familia. Una historia de bigamia en el Zacatecas del siglo XVI. in Victor Manuel González Esparza (ed.) *Historias de familias y representaciones genealógicas*, pp. 21–36. Aguascalientes: Universidad de Aguascalientes.
- 中島聡子. (1997). 「異端審問所と民衆—16世紀前半のトレド妖術師審問の事例より—」『スペイン史研究』11: 29–38頁。