

Smuggling through Spain: A neglected sixteenth-century commercial connection between the Mediterranean and the Atlantic¹

J. B. Owens
Professor of History and Guggenheim Fellow
Box 8344
Idaho State University
Pocatello, ID 83209-8344, USA
owenjack@isu.edu

The purpose of this paper is quite simple. With reference to a surviving detailed summary, from December 1565, of the account books of two Italian merchants based in Cuenca, I want to illustrate the complexity of the networks maintained by only a small group of the merchants who were responsible for the clandestine movement of commodities between the Mediterranean and the Atlantic. I hope this paper will direct more attention to smuggling in sixteenth-century Castile as an activity that tied central and western Mediterranean economic zones to those of the Americas. My attention was drawn to this 1565 document by a criminal investigation whose origins I will briefly describe by providing an abstract of the relevant sections of a book on which I am now working.

In the classic Hollywood mobster movies, rules governed mafia life, and the mob lords insisted that none of their hoods should ever kill a cop. They could bribe the police to look the other way, more easily in my old South Bronx precinct than elsewhere in New York City according to the 1972 "Knapp Commission Report on Police Corruption." Or if some zealous officer actually arrested someone in the organization, the leaders had pocketed enough bondsmen, prosecutors, judges, wardens, and parole board members to free the threatened member or lighten his penalty. Of course, if the convicted criminal did spend time in prison, the mob took care of his family with services unmatched by the most advanced welfare state. If they murdered a policeman, however, the officer's colleagues would place the mafia under intense scrutiny, which threatened many lucrative illegal activities.

Despite living in the early 1970s less than a block from a Bronx park that reputedly served as a mob body dump, I have no idea if this cinema image of organized crime emerged from screenwriters' nightmares or informed conjectures about actual interactions among twentieth-century mobsters. But by Hollywood

celluloid standards, at least, Antón Hernández the Younger made a serious error early in the reign of Philip II when he killed a cop. This mistake brought in its trail an aggressive judicial investigation, which before its more prominent members could turn off the heat, revealed a section of an apparently spatially-extensive and well-organized criminal cartel anchored in clandestine economies, smuggling, and resistance to royal authorities. In addition, the investigating judge uncovered high-level political corruption and the financial and leadership roles of wealthy Italian financiers, who bankrolled many of the cartel's commercial enterprises.

From the development of trans-Atlantic trade routes connecting Europe with Africa and the Americas, Castile emerged as an important commercial link between the Atlantic and Mediterranean. In much of the literature on the emergence of these linking networks, historians largely neglect their clandestine aspects, probably because of a lack of sources. Few sources about large-scale crime survive for Philip II's domains, in part because borders were extremely porous, even when these were well defined, and in part because Crown authorities were usually unaware of the spatial extension of some smuggling organizations or their degree of influence over often distant municipal and financial institutions. A Crown government that could not control the borders of the kingdom in which it was resident exhibited neither the ability to obtain information and shape affairs nor the centrality of Court politics that many historians claim in an effort to craft a tidy narrative of this period. The situation would get worse rather than better as the Habsburg era wore on.

The investigation of 1565-1566 that Antón Hernández triggered when he killed a cop opens a window on what George Winus has called the "shadow empire" of illegal networked interactions,² which often overlapped the legal ones and continuously inflected Crown fiscal and military programs in ways that influenced the course of world history.³ Based on this material, I am currently writing a short book that will contribute to the debate about the limitations on the exercise of royal political authority in the Habsburg Hispanic Monarchy.⁴ Because it is not possible to estimate the value of the products transported in this way, I have concentrated on understanding what constituted the glue for a vast, flexible, segmented network of clandestine economic activities, which allowed a considerable proportion of the

world's commercial wealth to move over often great distances within the developing global economy, including across the Pacific Ocean by 1571, if not before. With this commerce, those involved contributed to the creation of a vast economic and political sphere barely visible now in the surviving documents but crucial for any adequate understanding of the reality of the first global age. The topic attracts attention because despite arrests and asset seizures, governments everywhere continue to lose the war against five interrelated global smuggling activities: illegal traffic in drugs, people, armaments, money, and copies of products. From the first development of a global economy, world regions were linked in important ways by trans-regional "criminal" operations, which could sometimes function more effectively than governments because they had fewer responsibilities.

Although I do not know if they had a name for themselves or if I will ever know how far flung their enterprise was, I call the group that I study the Villena Cartel because the most intensive parts of the investigation, which first attracted my attention, centered on the Castilian royal towns (*villas*) of Ves (now Villa de Ves), Albacete, Yecla and Sax, the Castilian royal cities of Chinchilla and Villena, and the seigneurial town of Carcelén (including its lord, don Francisco Cuello de Mendoza). All but Carcelén were part of the royal seignury of the Marquesado de Villena. To the north, the Cartel's activities extended through the Marquesado de Moya and the Partido de Requena-Utiel to at least the border lands of the Kingdom of Aragón and the Serranía Alta of Cuenca, whose most prominent town was probably Tragacete, the Mesta's important meeting center.⁵

In the winter of 1565, king Philip II secretly ordered the Castilian royal high commissioner (*corregidor*) of the towns of Requena and Utiel, just west of the border with the kingdom of Valencia, to act as a special justice in the investigation of smuggling and other criminal activity, which initially appeared to center in a number of towns in the Marquesado de Villena, a seignury that reverted to the Crown in the late fifteenth century. Juan Catalán, a frightened royal mounted border guard with fifteen years of service, triggered the order when he fled to Madrid. The smugglers had wounded him and murdered his partner, and they subsequently threatened Catalán with death. To avoid leaks in Madrid, the king commanded this special investigator, appropriately named Dr. Valencia, to send his

reports only to Francisco de Eraso, the major royal secretary involved with both the Councils of Finance and State, to whom king Philip II had given the responsibility for distributing any necessary information to other authorities.

Unlike the vast majority of the royal *jueces de sacas y cosas vedadas* of his time and the royal *veedores del comercio y contrabando* of the following century, Philip's secret investigator recognized the major role in the widespread smuggling along the Valencian border, including the *partido* of Requena and the Marquesado de Moya, of leading Castilian and Italian merchants based in the major Castilian manufacturing and commercial centers of Cuenca and Toledo, who were interested in moving products between the Americas and Central Europe. With increasing nervous excitement, Dr. Valencia's dispatches revealed much more than the local criminal bands of smugglers and bandits thought to be characteristic of such rugged terrain. Nor did this criminal activity involve the use by area lords of bandit gangs to pursue their feuds, as some scholars have argued was the case in seventeenth-century Valencia. Instead, Dr. Valencia felt he was uncovering fragmentary evidence of a spatially-extensive network of clandestine economic activity, high-level political corruption, and financial leadership from wealthy Iberian and Italian merchants in Cuenca and Toledo, the great Mediterranean port of Valencia, and the duchy of Milan, all parts of Philip II's domains. Because he was not employing torture to gather evidence, Dr. Valencia's conclusions exhibit none of the fantasies characteristic of witch hunts in other European regions.

When I began an intensive study of this investigation, I worried that the Cartel would have murdered Dr. Valencia before he completed his work, thereby cutting off an important source of my information. My fear was not unrealistic because twenty years before, the royal high commissioner for Requena had been murdered in the customs house by smugglers, and an attempt on the life of another royal *juez de comisión* was planned in Villena in 1567. Despite these cases, I probably overreacted. Because the general atmosphere of these Castilian border towns was pretty rowdy, it is not surprising to discover that some violence was associated with smuggling. However, the Villena Cartel involved much less violence than we now associate with organized crime. Although someone could have murdered Philip II's investigator, there were few effective officials like Dr. Valencia,⁶

and everyone knew that because of the Crown's reliance on justices with short-term commissions, he would be gone within a few months. Thus, protection costs for smuggling were not high, and there was, therefore, no space for a modern-style mafia, which would exist primarily to sell protection. Moreover, although the various clandestine activities were not unorganized, they were not centrally structured by any sort of godfather, and the primary adhesive that held together the Villena Cartel as an institution was not the threat of violence against those who broke discipline. Instead, there existed a bunch of localized, autonomous groups who interacted with traveling merchants associated in one way or another with major financial institutions.

Despite Dr. Valencia's apparent success, he was unexpectedly ordered, in November 1565, to stop his investigation and return to his post in Requena and Utiel. He was under no disgrace. On leaving office, a royal high commissioner's performance was always subjected to the *residencia*, a systematic and, in this period, rigorous evaluation, and Dr. Valencia received an extremely positive one and an enthusiastic recommendation for appointment to the same type or higher royal office. In fact, after cleaning up administrative problems in the *corregimiento* of Jaén and Andújar, he went on to serve in the 1570s as Philip II's high commissioner in the economically and militarily important centers of Logroño and León, and his son rose to a position as royal councillor by the reign of Philip III. But the judge had pursued influential groups who perhaps possessed sufficient economic clout to convince key Crown authorities to bury the judicial consideration of criminal activities, even though in the beginning, these had appeared so dangerous to the monarchy that the king maintained personal supervision of the investigation through Eraso, a trusted subordinate.

Although Dr. Valencia concentrated most of his arrests in the towns of the Marquisate of Villena, especially that of Almansa, he suddenly arrived in the city of Cuenca, a major cloth manufacturing center and a crucial market for raw wool because of its proximity to the major eastern livestock trails. There, the judge tried to arrest Juan Pedro de Anón (Giovanni Pietro Annoni), citizen (*vecino*) of Cuenca and a resident merchant from Milan who was one of the major wool exporters in the 1560s. Anón fled through a secret rear door in his house, which he shared with

several other Milanese merchants,⁷ to the offices of the local Inquisition tribunal, and he created a jurisdictional conflict between the Church court and the royal judge when he claimed to be a lay associate (*familiar*) of the Holy Office, for Tragacete rather than for the city of Cuenca. Anón had done much the same thing two years earlier when another judge had tried to arrest him for smuggling precious metals from Castile.

In the fall of 1565, Anón's Milanese associate Borsio Cabitalo, himself a *familiar* of Cuenca's tribunal and citizen of that city, and Payo Sotelo,⁸ the Castilian merchant who was an associate of their Italian colleagues resident in Toledo, paid visits to various high royal officials of the king's Household and Court in Madrid and somehow convinced the Royal Council to order Dr. Valencia to send to that body all of his trial transcripts and return to his post as high commissioner of Requena and Utiel. In the face of strong Turkish military threats in the Mediterranean and growing disorder in Philip's domains in the Low Countries, the Hispanic Monarchy was increasingly dependent on huge loans from Northern Italian bankers, using as collateral the Crown's gold and silver income from American mines. Italian capital investments had long been important in Castile's tremendous commercial and political expansion, and in that of the other Iberian monarchies. Anón and his associates were directly involved in American commerce through the port of Sevilla in addition to their trade with the central and eastern Mediterranean through the kingdoms of Aragón and Valencia, and through the southeastern Castilian port of Cartagena. Other members of Anón's family were active in Milanese commerce with Antwerp and South Germany, and they had strong ties to major Genoese bankers. Although I have thus far found no written record of the reasons for this order from the Council of Castile, it is possible that the cartel had sufficient economic clout to convince key Crown authorities to bury the investigation of criminal activities that appeared so dangerous to the monarchy when Dr. Valencia was ordered to begin his work.

In this same period, Francisco de Eraso, the important royal secretary charged with coordinating the Crown's responses to Dr. Valencia's investigation, was himself under investigation for corruption in the conduct of his duties as chief account of the royal treasury and overall financial administration.⁹ I think it likely

that there existed some relationship between Eraso's compromised position and Dr. Valencia's failure to win immediate continuance of his special powers as investigating judge in order to carry his investigation to Toledo, which was his next target.

Despite several harsh, authoritarian orders to Dr. Valencia to stop his work, the Council of Castile reversed itself in January 1566 and permitted him to continue his investigation in Toledo as he had repeatedly requested. Of course, this permission still left his Cuenca investigation mired in the jurisdictional conflict. As a rule, the Inquisition defended its privilege, felt necessary for its image of superior authority, to try all offenses involving its officials. However, in June 1566, the Supreme Council of the Inquisition ordered Cuenca's inquisitors to surrender jurisdiction to the investigating royal judge and send him any relevant documents in their possession. It has not been possible to find comment on these two surprising reversals, and I suspect that Philip II's original personal interest in the case continued to drive the ultimate decisions of his councils. I have not yet completed my research on the impact of Dr. Valencia's work in Toledo in 1566.

Those who financed the activities of Juan Pedro de Anón were no doubt frightened that one of the conflicting judicial authorities would seize his property, which would have paralyzed his wool exports and a flow of payments connecting companies based in a number of commercial centers. To prevent such damage, two other Italian merchants were sent as a partnership to run at least part of his operations based in Cuenca. They were Tomás de Belo, from Bologna, and Francisco de Anón, a Milanese merchant who was probably one of Juan Pedro's relatives. When these two left Cuenca at the end of 1565, they passed control of their accounts and property to one of Juan Pedro's housemates, the Milanese merchant Juan Andrea Ulio, a citizen (*vecino*) of Cuenca. Because the merchants of the cartel used the same personal connections for their legal and illegal activities, the memorial that Francisco de Anón prepared, with a few additions by Tomás de Belo, about their accounts reveals a part of the scope of the cartel's networks.¹⁰

They worked principally as representatives (*factores*) of Juan Bautista Calderino and Benedito Dada (Dadda, D'Adda), who were citizens of the city of Milan. The latter was likely an associate of Juan Pedro's housemate Juan Pablo

Dada, who had transferred temporarily to Valencia from where he laundered money for smuggled Castilian products back into Castile through letters of credit on the fairs of Medina del Campo. On behalf of Juan Pedro, Anón and Belo had spent months distributing to shoemakers, tanners, and other leather workers in Cuenca packages of cattle hides from America. Although the exact point of origin for these hides is never mentioned, in the mid 1560s, it is likely that these hides came from Santo Domingo where at least 80% of the production fed smuggling operations. Instead of privileging a few entrepreneurs in the leather sector, these hides were sold widely in packs of sixteen, which maintained for these Milanese merchants an extensive network of support among Cuenca's citizens who sustained themselves with this type of work. Moreover, the list of debtors reveals that they were willing to carry debts for the payment for hides for several years if necessary. These hides were handled in Sevilla by a resident merchant named Nerozo de Nero, who from his name, I assume was also an Italian by origin.

Anón and Belo also marketed woad or dyer's-weed (*paste*) for Calderino and Dada, but parts of these lots of woad were frequently owned by Juan Francisco Alesio of Milan and the Alesio commercial house in Narbonne. The latter suggests ties between smuggling based in the Cuenca area and clandestine operations further north. Some of the payments for this woad were consigned to the Afetali and Bardi of Medina del Campo to be collected during the fair in May, and this commerce tied Anón and Belo to a sizeable number of merchants, most of who do not appear to have been citizens of Cuenca. The Afetali and Bardi also maintained a commercial presence in Sevilla from which they provided some of the hides that Anón and Belo marketed in Cuenca.

Juan Pedro de Anón was part of a large consortium of Genoese and Milanese merchants who had been charged in 1558 with smuggling from Castile washed wool. They had not been keeping records of their purchases nor registering the wool in any other way in order to facilitate the clandestine movement of large quantities of the product to Aragón and Valencia. The memorial of Anón and Belo reflected a large number of people from various villages who owed the company wool, which is not surprising given Juan Pedro de Anón's importance, on the basis of that part of his activities reflected in the customs records, as a wool exporter in

the 1560s. A continuation of the smuggling of wool toward the eastern frontier required the assistance of key officials. Among the debts recorded by Francisco de Anón is what remained of money paid to Francisco de Avila, *dezmero* (collector of customs duties) of the "dry port" of Moya, as an advance on the duties (*derechos*) for the wool and other merchandise that Anón and Belo exported through Moya to Valencia. Such an advance payment constituted, of course, a kind of loan, for which Ayala would likely be grateful. Nothing indicates when, if ever, this remaining amount was to be repaid. Another entry was for a direct loan to Juan de Carrasca, *dezmero* of the dry port of Húelamo (eastern Cuenca), through which the company would have been exporting wool to Aragón. Again, nothing indicates when the loan would have to be repaid. In neither case was the loan recorded before a notary. In addition to Calderino and Dada, some of the wool export business also involved Juan Francisco Alessio and Seipion Rezonico (Rezzonico) in Milan.

Other business deals and loans suggest ties to influential political figures. Among those done without notarial record was one involving Cuenca's royal high commissioner (*corregidor*) Francisco Zapata de Cisneros and his assistant (*teniente*) Ldo. Maldonado. Also, they loaned Ldo. Maldonado an additional 34,000 *maravedís*. Among the relationships founded on this basis were those with prominent *regidores* of Cuenca, such as Bartolomé del Pozo, and cathedral canons, such as don Alonso Carrillo. When Philip II established Madrid as his Household and Court, many *letrados* had to establish themselves in that town, and in 1563, a Ldo. Oviedo received a loan there for over 15,000 *maravedís* based on nothing more than an oral agreement.

Among Italian merchants, their dealings were not limited to those with Milanese ties. There were also close financial relationships with Juan Bautista Justiniano, Jusepe Cibo, Agustín de la Torre, and the Imperiales (Agustín, Esteban, and Jacinto or Jacobo). I believe that all of these merchants were Genoese.

Although I have found no other single document which shows in such detail as the Anón-Belo memorial the number of people and places with which a single group of merchants interacted, there were other groups of Castilian and Italian merchants whose activities were just as diversified and spatially extensive. In addition to their trade with Granada, Valencia, and Italian domains, merchants in

Murcia moved goods across the Portuguese frontier and through Sevilla. Those in Toledo invested in maintaining commercial networks involving all of these places and Cádiz. The fairs of Medina del Campo remained a necessary point of reference, particularly for laundering payments back into Castile, and contacts there integrated the areas on which I concentrate into the more northern networks of the peninsula. Although the smuggling operations might often involve products moved across a single border, as in the case of food products smuggled from eastern La Mancha to supply the port of Valencia, the resulting networks also permitted the movement of products such as African slaves, American silver, and gem stones from throughout the world across several frontiers as they were marketed to their ultimate purchasers.

What constituted the glue for a vast, flexible, segmented network of clandestine economic activities? My research on the communities along the border between Castile and Valencia and the merchants who connected them to commercial opportunities shows that those involved maintained a creditworthiness that, somewhat like the modern *hawala* banking system or *hawala* networks of the Indian Ocean Basin and connected areas, was founded on personal relationships and a common identity.¹¹ The Villena Cartel constituted a type of “society” consciously formed by participants who collaborated to maintain interconnected webs of identity over considerable distances through personal connections, reciprocity, various forms of wealth redistribution, common religious devotions, and serving as financial guarantors for others. The “community” became the guarantor of transactions because the creditworthiness of individuals depended on their public reputation, as the heavy emphasis in the lawsuits of the time on “public comment and fame” suggests, and community members, including those of the territorial aristocracy, could withdraw recognition from individuals who did not conform to common expectations. People erected more formal institutions, both municipal and spatially-extensive ones, on the basis of such interactions, and as the work of David Alonso García shows, these even included those of the Crown Treasury.¹²

Those in the border towns, such as Almansa, who were active in the Villena Cartel should not be seen as rebels, who were somehow resisting the prevailing monarchical model of government. At the end of December 1563, Almansa’s

municipal council learned the rumor about Philip II's assassination at the Aragonese Cortes of Monzón and, led by prominent smugglers, immediately put their town on war footing to prevent any improper intervention by foreigners from Aragón, Catalunya, and Valencia and to defend the dynasty and kingdom. These men did not consciously constitute any sort of anti-Habsburg resistance. On the contrary, they supported the prevailing monarchical model for a series of practical legal and business reasons and because their shared identity as members of the commonwealth stemmed from the high value given to "Justice" as an ultimate purpose of the political community and to the conviction that the sovereign possessed "absolute royal authority" to see that justice was done in the monarch's realm to protect their municipality's immemorial customs, exemptions, privileges, and communal property rights.

For the municipal officials, smuggling was part of their political-economic vision. As municipal ordinances of the period reveal, these officials felt that economic decisions were rightfully political ones, and local politics revolved around questions about the best arrangement and distribution of available resources. Because the population of these towns was heavily engaged in agriculture, livestock husbandry, and transportation, the demand generated by the huge and growing port city of Valencia and by the port of Alicante's rapid growth constituted an irresistible pull, and leaders of border communities readily interpreted claimed privileges, legal exemptions, and customary practices as justifying the movement of their products across the border with the kingdom of Valencia. It was this movement that sustained the corridors for smuggling American bullion, Castilian wool, and prohibited luxury commodities.

This conclusion does not mean that feuding cliques could not emerge in these municipalities. I do not idealize the relationships of the Villena Cartel because my work on this project began with research on a conflict in Murcia so violent that its solution could only begin with the signing of a formal peace treaty more complex than the 1995 Dayton Accords, which ended the military conflict in Bosnia. There existed, however, a gradient of relationships among producers, merchants, transport providers, and those with other financial interests that extended from the formal agreements of notarial documents, through having some things in notary's

records and others not, to agreements completely outside notarial records. To enforce the former, they needed judicial authorities, which provided a basis for support of the monarchy. For the latter, all involved would have understood the consequences of a loss of creditworthiness. To sustain the common sense of “sociological citizenship” (quoting Sociologist Jeffrey Alexander) necessary for enduring clandestine economic relationships, those involved had to maintain frequent personal contacts over great distances, they had to have experience with unwritten agreements, and they had to know the terms by which reputation was maintained as a basis of creditworthiness. They did so, creating a vast economic and political sphere barely visible now in the surviving documents but crucial for any adequate understanding of the reality of the first global age.

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¹ The archival research on which this paper is based was begun in 2000 thanks to a National Endowment for the Humanities summer stipend (May-July 2000) and a companion travel grant from the Faculty Research Committee of Idaho State University (grant # 838). The author expanded this work with summer travel grants in 2001 and 2003 from the ISU Faculty Research Committee (grants #869 and #905). In 2003, he began writing a planned book, "Clandestine Political Economies and the Exercise of Public Authority in Philip II's Spain" (working title), thanks to a grant from the Humanities/Social Sciences Research Committee of Idaho State University (grant #FY2003-01), and he has continued both research and writing during the 2004-2005 academic year with the support of a fellowship from the National Endowment for the Humanities. He has been named a Guggenheim Fellow by the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, and he will use the monetary award during the academic year 2005-2006 along with a sabbatical leave from Idaho State University.

² George D. Winus (1983). "The 'Shadow Empire' of Goa in the Bay of Bengal." *Itinerário* 7,2: 83-101.

³ In this first global age, Philip II's subjects and officials, which would include in 1580 those of Portugal, were doing a great deal to construct and maintain the world's economic, political, and information networks. Therefore, the ability of a significant criminal cartel to deflect commercial and political interactions is a matter of world historical importance. For example, the illegal export in 1565 of precious metals, wool, horses, livestock, and grain, and the commitment of carts and pack animals to the smuggling operation were disrupting royal attempts to supply the Mediterranean fleet, based in the southeastern port of Cartagena, and North African garrisons in the face of increasing Muslim pressure backed by the Ottoman Empire, which had besieged the strategic island of Malta.

⁴ To follow these threads, I have so far worked in the following archives: **Archivo Diocesano de Cuenca**, Inquisición; **Archivo General de Simancas**, Valladolid (in the collections Cámara de Castilla, Consejo Real, Contaduría de Mercedes, Contaduría Mayor de Cuentas, Dirección General del Tesoro, Estado, Expedientes de Hacienda, Guerra Antigua, Registro General de Sello); **Archivo Histórico Nacional**, Madrid (sección *Consejos*, Cámara de Castilla, serie Secretaría de Gracia y Justicia; serie Curiae Valentiae; Inquisición); **Genealogical Society of Utah**, Salt Lake City (Diocese of Cartagena-Murcia; AHP de Murcia, protocolos); various **municipal archives** (Albacete, Almansa, Chinchilla, Cuenca, Murcia, Requena, Sax, Toledo, Villena, Yecla); and various **provincial archives**, primarily for notarial registers (Albacete, Cuenca, Murcia, Toledo).

The short book I am writing will present results from an intensive, often tedious search for relevant materials in Spanish Crown, Inquisition, provincial, and local archives. These sources expose the smuggling organization's spatial

extension, the large number of people involved, the complexity of the webs linking locations and individuals, and the diversity of political, familial, ceremonial, and religious activities necessary to maintain the individual creditworthiness and reputation of participants in the various connected political economies. The supporting documentary collection consists of copies of well over 6,000 pages. Although the groups I examine smuggled products over huge distances, at the very least from the Americas to the Central Mediterranean, I concentrate on one border area, that between the kingdoms of Castile and Valencia, because I think that it is probably representative and I have more and better information about that part.

⁵ The Villena Cartel engaged in smuggling operations along the mountainous border, with some peaks higher than 1,100 meters, between Castile and Valencia. I conceptualize this entity as a "cartel" because I teach modern Latin American history and am familiar with the economic, political, and cultural impact of such groups on countries in that region. As far as I know, no one has discovered any other European criminal organization as sophisticated and spatially extensive for such an early period. Although because of the fragmented nature of the surviving evidence, I will be unable to offer a full account of the Villena Cartel, both the size of its organization and the involvement of so many prominent Castilian, Valencian, and Italian economic and political figures suggest that my study will make a substantial contribution to our understanding of the administrative and commercial affairs of the domains of the huge, world-encompassing composite polity of the Hispanic Monarchy, whose officials and subjects played major roles in the creation of the first global age.

⁶ Juan Catalán, the wounded royal border guard, told the king that Dr. Valencia was the only reliable official in the entire region who was capable of investigating smuggling there.

⁷ Julián Castellón, Juan Pablo Dada, and Juan Andrea Ulio. In this paper, I use the Castilian names of these Italian merchants because that is the way they appear in my primary sources.

⁸ Payo Sotelo was a member of the major Toledan *converso* family of San Pedro, and he was related by marriage to the De la Fuente family, who until the 1540s were the *arrendadores* of the duties on Granada's silk. I thank David Alonso García for providing me with information about the activities of the De la Fuente during the reign of Charles V by sending me his unpublished paper "Entre Granada y Castilla. La familia Fuente y la hacienda real a comienzos de la Edad Moderna."

⁹ During the summer and fall of 1565, Eraso was under investigation by Ldo. Gaspar Jaraba for misconduct as chief treasurer, and he was eventually convicted in April 1566, fined 12,500 *ducados*, and deprived of those offices related to the Castilian Treasury. I am still trying to figure out what impact, if any, these problems had on Eraso's oversight and support of Dr. Valencia's investigation. Even the trial transcript of something as important as this case no longer survives, which shows how difficult it is to find relevant evidence about the people who were tried by Dr. Valencia.

¹⁰ Archivo Histórico Provincial de Cuenca, P-176 (1565-66), sin folio. I am currently preparing this document for publication.

¹¹ See Patrick M. Jost and Harjit Singh Sandhu. "The hawala alternative remittance system and its role in money laundering." Interpol General Secretariat, Lyon, January 2000. URL:
<http://www.interpol.int/Public/FinancialCrime/MoneyLaundering/hawala/default.asp>

¹² David Alonso García, "Un mundo de financieros. La Hacienda Real de Castilla y sus arrendadores en las postrimerías del reinado." I thank the author for sharing with me several of his unpublished papers, and I look forward to reading his recently-defended doctoral dissertation, *Fisco, poder y monarquía en los albores de la Modernidad. Castilla, 1504-1525* (Madrid, Universidad Complutense, 2004), when it is published.