

NEWFOUND INFORMATION REGARDING THE CORRAL DEL CARBÓN AND OTHER ANCIENT BUILDINGS IN GRANADA

ALGUNOS DATOS INÉDITOS SOBRE EL CORRAL DEL CARBÓN Y OTRAS ANTIGUAS EDIFICACIONES GRANADINAS

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RESUMEN Se ofrece en este artículo un conjunto de datos inéditos que permiten conocer los sucesivos propietarios y otros hechos de interés relativos al Corral del Carbón, importante monumento granadino del periodo nazarí. Concretamente, gracias a la documentación analizada, sabemos que, después de ser propiedad de distintos miembros de la familia Arana, el inmueble llegó a poder de Doña Magdalena de Padilla, abuela de la condesa consorte de Medellín, pasando de esta última, a través de comerciantes genoveses, a Don Sebastián de Prado, el cual vinculó el Corral a un mayorazgo en el que permanecería hasta que, a mediados del siglo XIX, su titular lo vendió al Conde de Casa Valencia. Se aportan, además, algunos datos acerca de su utilización como casa de vecinos y pequeñas tiendas, y sobre sus rentas, gastos y reparaciones. Por último, se recogen noticias de otras antiguas edificaciones granadinas vinculadas a dicho mayorazgo, especialmente sobre el Cortijo de la Torre de Roma.

PALABRAS CLAVE Granada; monumentos nazarí; Corral del Carbón; Torre de Roma

ABSTRACT This article provides a set of unpublished data that allows us to learn more about the owners of the Corral del Carbon of Granada, an important monument from the Nasrid, period and other interesting facts. Specifically, thanks to the documents analyzed, we know that after belonging to different members of the Arana family, the property came into the possession of Doña Magdalena de Padilla, grandmother of the Countess consort of Medellin. After that, the property, through Genoese merchants, passed into the hands of Don Sebastian Prado, who incorporated the Corral del Carbon into an entailed estate in which it would remain until the mid-19th century, when its owner sold it to the Count of Casa Valencia. Some data on its use as a tenement and small store house are also provided, as well as the income it provided, expenses and repairs. Finally, information about other historic buildings of Granada linked to that entailed estate are included, especially regarding the Cortijo de la Torre de Roma.

KEYWORDS Granada; Nasrid monuments; Corral del Carbón; Torre de Roma

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There is a rather widespread idea that being a collector may yield great satisfaction providing it is practiced in moderation and respecting our limitations. Many people in their zeal to possess a perfectly useless object have gone as far as depriving their families of food. One should also avoid illusory expectations from the object of our desire, the product of a fertile imagination which attributes the most commonplace objects with origins which are pure fantasy. However, when kept under control, the result of the passion for collecting objects such as rare books or ancient manuscripts can provide us with a wealth of wisdom and entertainment. Examining the content of old papers, with their strange orthography and beautiful calligraphy is an escape from the daily grind providing wide knowledge which in the best of cases will be of some novelty and importance. I think this is the case of the documents I will be examining in these lines: an abundance of documents which I located in a dilapidated auction house in Madrid. These referred to several old constructions in Granada, among which it is especially worth noting the Corral del Carbón, a construction from the Nasrid period which was originally used as an *alhóndiga* or wheat store. Apart from the Corral del Carbón, these manuscripts focus on several properties which for over 200 years were linked to the *mayorazgo* (entailed estate) founded in the late 16th century by Don Sebastián de Prado, chamberlain of the Catholic Monarchs and *alcaide*(commander) of the Alhambra, and his wife,

Doña María de Viedma. The buildings which made up the *mayorazgo*, other than this *alhóndiga*, were referred to as the Mesón del Carbón in these documents. It became known as Corral del Carbón in the 19th century, and was made up of several houses and shops strategically located at the very heart of the capital of Granada, in the area of the Zacatín, Alcaicería, Bibarrambla, and Calle de San Jerónimo, which generated an income that was then complemented by other important agricultural properties, several *carmens*(orchards and recreational estates) in el Fargue, and especially the Cortijo de la Torre de Roma, a famous estate within which we find the old Moorish defensive tower which gives it its name.

The documents in question comprise different types of papers, all decidedly utilitarian as they are aimed at the orderly administration of the *mayorazgo* and consist of invoices, supporting accounts, estimates for works, drafts of cadastre statements, some lists of assets and several inventories of the contents of the archive of the *mayorazgo*. These inventories are without doubt the most important document type, as they allow us to reconstruct the legal history of the assets which made up the *mayorazgo* until recently, an issue that was little known compared to its most significant element, the Corral del Carbón.

Of course, if we had access to the specific deeds stated in the inventory, some of them on parchment paper, our body of knowledge regarding the ancient buildings in Granada which made up the *mayorazgo* would increase greatly. I have been unable to establish the fate of this important part of the archive, although it could be reconstructed—at least in part—as these inventories usually state the date and the name of the notary who oversaw the transfer of these deeds, making it easier to examine them in the relevant protocol archive, a task for future research.

Little is known of the founder of the *mayorazgo*, Don Sebastián de Prado, other than the fact that he acquired numerous assets in Granada and the fertile plain around the city, and that in the documentation he stated that he was chamberlain of the Catholic Monarchs and *Alcaide* of the Alhambra.

The title of chamberlain of the Catholic Monarchs must have referred not to Isabel and Fernando, but to the monarch who at the time occupied this position and throne at the time, presumably Philip II and one of his wives, as Don Sebastián and his wife formally founded the *mayorazgo* in Granada, on 15 September 1592, before the notary Diego Jerez, adding a further

group of assets on 15 June 1603, before Gaspar de Carmona.

In addition to this position in the court, the documentation of the *mayorazgo* identifies him as Alcaide de la Alhambra, a status which like that of chamberlain, we have been unable to confirm he in fact held.

EL MESÓN DEL CARBÓN

Up until now the information available about that what is now known as Corral del Carbón only showed that it had been an *alhóndiga* owned by the Moorish Queens. Its ownership was transferred, alongside other assets, to the Count of Urueña. However, this sale was declared void in favor of the Catholic Monarchs, who later granted the ownership to their servant and footman, Sancho de Arana, according to a license dated 14 October 1494. This precarious situation became definite when the donation was formalized on 20 December 1500.

Thanks to the documentation of the *mayorazgo* founded by Sebastián de Prado we now know that the building was also property of Martín Sánchez de Arana “*el cavallero*”, later passed on to his son and heir, Juan Martínez de Arana, who transferred “the meson they call *del Carbón*, which before was the *Alhondiga* for wheat, with water and all else that belonged to it”¹, to Doña Magdalena de Padilla, for the price of 3,700 ducats, according to the deeds signed before the notary of Granada Juan de Carmona in 1530².

Doña Magdalena de Padilla married Don Antonio de Bobadilla, and their son Don Pedro de Bobadilla married Doña Mariana de Guzmán, whose daughter Doña Magdalena de Bobadilla, was one of the wives of Don Gerónimo Portocarrero, 4th Count of Medellín. The ownership of the Mesón del Carbón must have followed this genealogical line given that on 31 July 1582 a sentence established them as free assets, belonging to the Count of Medellín, as heir to Doña Magdalena de Bobadilla, who had been countess of Medellín, in addition to this *Mesón*(inn), the adjoining dwellings and those of Calle del ABC, all of which were seemingly a unit. The case to which this sentence referred to was a suit between the Count of Medellín, Don Rodrigo Gerónimo Portocarrero, and Don Pedro de Bobadilla y Peñalosa, in an attempt to establish whether these possessions and the Cortijo de Roma were owned by the *mayorazgo* founded by Don Antonio Peñalosa, ancestor on his mother’s side

of Don Antonio de Bobadilla, grandfather of countess Magdalena³. This was overturned in court given that, as seen earlier, the assets mentioned originally belonged to Doña Magdalena de Padilla and not to the branch of the Bobadilla family.

However, once this litigation had concluded, these assets did not formally remain in the power of the Count for long, as on 25 September 1590, before the notary Juan Fernández de Molina, Don Gerónimo Portocarrero sold “the Cortijo de la Torre de Roma with its tower house and land neighboring the Cortijo de Zijuela, and the Mesón of Puente del Carbon with the shops and possessions limiting it and the fifteen houses known as of ABC and a small cave”⁴ to Gaspar de Grimaldo, from Genova, for the price of 11,000 ducats. This deed was later transferred in Madrid, before Fernando Gómez Ramírez in 1592.

Shortly afterwards, Gaspar de Grimaldo, a tradesman, “for various items which he had received and had to take liability for future payment”, agreed with another Genoan, surely a relative, Lázaro Grimaldo, the payment of specific amounts, which he secured through the mortgaging of the Cortijo de Roma, the Mesón del Carbón and the Casas del ABC, before the notary de Madrid, Pablo Cuadrado, on 11 March 1592⁵.

We do not know what might have happened in that period but on 10 December 1596, before the notary de Madrid, Martín de Lasso, the Count of Medellín again resold the same buildings from 1590 to Gaspar Grimaldos for the price of 11,000 ducats and a charge of 3,000 ducats of census tax⁶.

Perhaps the deed from 1590 had some fault of form which made a new sale necessary, although the inventory of deeds provides a new element of uncertainty. It includes a copy of the deed awarded in Granada on 22 April 1603, before Luis de Monsalve⁷, reflecting the

1. All text in quotations indicate text extracts from the documents and manuscripts analyzed.

2. Account from the inventory dated 8 November 1725 on the documentation and deeds of the *mayorazgo*, file 1. Private collection. The deed mentioned for 1530 contained the grants extended in 1500 by the Catholic Monarchs to Sancho de Aranda, a forebear of the vendor.

3. Draft of the inventory of the documentation of the *mayorazgo*, drawn up in March 1779, piece 5. Private collection.

4. Testimony cit., file 1.

5. Draft of the inventory of the documentation of the *mayorazgo*, drawn up in March 1780, piece 62. Private collection.

6. Draft March 1780 cit., piece 39.

7. Draft March 1780 cit., piece 21.

fact that in 1595 the Cortijo de Roma had been transferred from Gaspar Grimaldos to Alonso de Prado, another purchase, of a single element from the lot. In other data Alonso de Prado also declared that this acquisition had in fact been made for his parents Sebastián de Prado and María de Viedma.

The concealment of the true owner of the *cortijo*, Sebastián de Prado, appears to be repeated for the entire lot and in reference to the Count of Medellín, if we look at the literal texts which in 1725 inventoried a deed of transfer, cession and sale drawn up in 1599 before the notary of Granada Rodrigo Álvarez⁸, according to which Pablo Agustín Espínola as heir to Lázaro Grimaldo, stated that “Gaspar de Grimaldos had and possessed the Cortijo de Roma, Mesón del Carbón and the houses on Calle del ABC thanks to the Count of Medellín”.

In addition, we know that the counterpart of Pablo Agustín de Espínola and a daughter and heiress of Gaspar Grimaldo in the aforementioned transaction of 1599⁹, was Sebastián de Prado, the founder of the lineage. In this way and for the low price of 1,650 ducats, and “to put an end to dispute”, he was successfully awarded several securities and obligations along with the ownership, rights and shares of the lot made up of the Cortijo de Roma, Mesón del Carbón and Casas del ABC.

What disagreements was this transaction trying to put an end to? Although we do not know for certain, based on suspicions mentioned earlier, there is the fact that Gaspar Grimaldo had been granted ownership of the assets by the count of Medellín, and that Alonso de Prado bought the Cortijo de Roma from Sebastián de Prado. To this we must add the fact that Sebastián de Prado had for some time been the administrator of the assets belonging to the count of Medellín in Granada, according to the title deed granted to him in the city on 25 February 1576 before the notary Pedro Ramírez¹⁰. All these strange circumstances suggest the probable need to conceal some shady deal. It might also reflect a common situation in which through figureheads or intermediaries, the administrator eventually appropriates the assets of the absentee owner.

In any case, the final beneficiary of all these dubious operations was Sebastián de Prado, the founder of the *mayorazgo* where these important buildings ended up. After analyzing these unusual operations some thought should be given to resolving the problem which arose around that time, that of the water sup-

ply to the Mesón del Carbón and the neighboring Casas del ABC. In order to resolve the supply problem affecting these buildings, the parents of the countess of Medellín had to pay a ground rent in exchange for Pedro de Bobadilla y Peñalosa to ensure the supply of water from the houses in which he lived. When Sebastián de Prado later acquired the Mesón and Casas del ABC, he did so through a transaction with Pedro de Bobadilla, with a deed awarded on 30 March 1602 before Antonio de los Ríos, notary of Granada, according to which Pedro was obliged to provide all the water that derived from the “cauchil del Bañuelo”, behind the Patio de las Paneras, as well as all the water that flowed from the “pilar de los cavallos”, without either party renouncing responsibility. In exchange, Sebastian agreed to pay the rent mentioned above to Pedro, whose main debtor was the countess of Medellín¹¹.

As a consequence of this agreement some court cases followed and a license awarded to transport water in a pipe from the house of Pedro de Bobadilla to the Mesón del Carbón and Casas del ABC¹². Furthermore, when paying 135,435 *maravedies* of the aforementioned rent, which must have been overdue, Sebastián de Prado subrogated the right of Pedro de Bobadilla to seek this payment from the counts of Medellín¹³.

There are also records stating that the counts of Medellín, as owners of the Mesón del Carbón, denounced the new construction by Melchor Ruíz, in regards to work on some houses by this *mesón*¹⁴, and that years later, in 1606, Sebastián de Prado denounced to Dionisio Osorio that Melchor Ruíz worked and carried out some construction work tearing down a wall to the detriment of the houses on calle del ABC¹⁵.

8. Account cit., file 1.

9. Account cit., file 1.

10. Draft March 1780 cit., piece 56.

11. Ibid., piece 12.

12. Testimony cit., file 1.

13. Draft March 1780 cit., piece 9.

14. Testimony cit., file 1.

15. Ibid., file 2.

Suo^{da} p. Juan Martin de Ma-
 na, como hizo y heredero de Ma-
 na Sanchez de Maña Escavaller
 a favor de D. Magdalena de Cadilla,
 del meson que llaman del Carbon, y
 antes era Alondiga del caigo, con
 el agua y damas y pertenencia
 espacio de un mill y trescientos
 ducados; antes Juan de Carmona
 es^{da} desta Qui, Cruzano de mill que
 mientos y trancian: Estan a qui las
 mercedes que se dieron p. los señores
 Reyes Catolicos a Sancho de Ma-
 na, Alzendiencia del Coto Juan de
 Maña, Indici y uicue Gas
 Una Pieza titulo forrado en
 pergamino tocante y pertenencia
 al corral de Roma de los señores

IL. 1. Inventory of title deeds of the mayorazgo, 1725

Reyes Católicos En favor del Co-
 merçador Martin de Maçon Alcaide
 de Mochin, y otras partes de Senta, que se
 elhio D. Juan de Maçon subido y a
 D. Magdalena de Adilla, Cordia Gas
 que lo uicula Es del año de mill quin
 ecentos treynta y dos. Amee Juan
 e Dora ^{no} ~~es~~. —————
 Una Escripçura q donde Cordia
 q D. Lorenzo Pantoçero Conde de
 medellin vendio a Gaspar del pumal
 do Senober, y conuio de la uenta de
 dona Conuicena Bone y uicaria
 que lindan con el conuio de Muelatay
 el meron de la Puente del Carbon
 con las uicindas y posesiones de la uenta
 y las Camas q Maman del A.B.C.
 queron quinre y una cobacha

IL. 2. Inventory of title deeds of the mayorazgo, 1725

Following the incorporation of the Mesón del Carbón and the neighboring Casas del ABC to the *mayorazgo* founded by Sebastián de Prado, these assets remained together until the first third of the 19th century, so that in order to know their varying fortunes we must refer to their successive owners, as well as referencing any interesting or innovative information provided by the preserved documents.

We have no evidence of the exact date of death of Sebastián de Prado, but we know that according to a document signed in Granada, on 23 March 1607 before the notary Gregorio de Arriola, the Monastery of San Jerónimo in the city had sold him a chapel in the main cloister, on the side of the sacristy for his burial and that of doctor D. Juan Villén de Viedma and his descendants. The accompanying inventory stated that this chapel was the first in the corner, immediately next to that of lawyer Diego del Rincón and that of D. Cristóbal de León¹⁶.

We also know that sometime after establishing their *mayorazgo*, Sebastián and his wife endowed a chaplaincy in this Monastery of San Jerónimo, paying 17,000 *maravedíes* a year to have 160 masses said for the soul of its founders and their descendants¹⁷.

In the *mayorazgo* Sebastián must have been succeeded by either his son, Alonso de Prado, who was married to María de Gámez, or directly by his grandson, the legitimate son of Alonso and María. José Domingo de Prado, was the last owner in this line as his death led to a legal dispute between María de Vivero y Prado and Beatriz and Mariana de Prado, their husbands and other consorts. The courts ruled in favor of María de Vivero, according to a final judgement won in 1667 in the Real Chancillería de Granada¹⁸.

María was the daughter of Pedro de Vivero y Prado and Beatriz de Oviedo, the daughter of Leonardo de Oviedo, who built the Corral de Comedias de Almagro, the ownership of which also passed on to María. In addition to the similarities between both buildings, this might explain why the Mesón del Carbón in Granada was also reputed to have been used as a theatre, although no mention of it was found in the documentation of the *mayorazgo*¹⁹.

María de Vivero was succeeded by Bernardino Luis de Villareal y Oviedo, her son by Bernardino Luis de Oviedo, and it should be noted that both the Oviedo and Villareal were important Almagro families of Jewish origin²⁰.

Following Bernardino's death the *mayorazgo* passed to Antonio de Villareal, who owned it at least be-

tween 1683 and 1695²¹. In 1704 it was held by Francisco de Villareal Acuña y Prado, "captain of cuirassiers", knight of the Order of Calatrava, resident of Almagro, succeeded in turn according to judicial decrees filed in 1708 before Gerónimo de Vargas Machuca, by his son Bernardino Antonio de Villareal Acuña y Prado²². From this point in the early 18th century onwards, the documentation of the *mayorazgo* shows detailed lists of income and expenditure used for accounting purposes by the administrators.

In 1725, Bernardino, seems to have altered the order of some of his surnames, as he was then going by the name Bernardino de Villareal Prado y Zesar, despite being the legitimate son of Francisco de Villareal y Prado and Josefa Gudiel de Bargas, and at that point was under the tutelage and care of D. Baltasar Vélez Sendín, knight of the order of Calatrava²³. At this point an inventory was drawn up on the documentation in the archive of the *mayorazgo*.

In 1779, at the time of Bernardino's death, his administrator Pedro de Vera López drew up a new detailed inventory of the titles and documents of the *mayorazgo* for the information of the new successor, José de Rosales y Corral, an advisor of the Royal Council of Military Orders.

In 1791 the titleholder of the *mayorazgo* was Antonio Junco Pimentel, married to María Antonia de Rosales y Ángulo, and their daughter María Josefa de Junco Pimentel y Rosales, wife of the count of Hormazas, inherited it. It was María Josefa who, in 1840, sold el Mesón del Carbón to her relative the Viscount of el Portón and Count of Casa Valencia, and the varying fortunes of this building from that moment onwards have been sufficiently documented²⁴.

From the early 18th century onwards, the various quarters of the Corral del Carbón—stables, rooms along the lower and upper corridor, as well as the dwellings in the Casas del ABC, were let to individ-

16. Draft March 1780 cit., piece 109.

17. Ibid., piece 73.

18. Ibid., piece 106.

19. GARCÍA DE LEÓN ÁLVAREZ, Concepción. La construcción del Corral de Comedias de Almagro.

20. Ibid.

21. Draft March 1780 cit., pieces 85 and 68.

22. Ibid., pieces 65 and 110.

23. Account cit.

24. Andalusian Regional Government, Blog of the Department of Culture. El Corral del Carbón. Una apresurada declaración de Monumento Artístico para evitar su derribo (1918).

uals, even if they could only afford a very low rent, “for the many missing payments and low rents on account of their extreme poverty, many of the tenants of these buildings are unsatisfactory”²⁵. More regular but equally limited income came from the three small shops outside this Mesón²⁶, which we believe were under the gate of the monument.

In fact, we know from the cadastral declarations of the year 1770, that the Mesón del Carbón tenement was identified in the city as block 474 no. 3, and that it was made up of “houses on the different floors within and all paying yearly depending on their condition and books of accounts 3,441 *reales*”²⁷.

We can go into the details of these financial movements through the different accounts provided by the administrators to the respective owners of the *mayorazgo* throughout the 18th century and part of the 19th until its conveyance to the Count of Casa Valencia. For example, in the accounts provided by Fernando de Villareal y Cesar to his brother Bernardino for the 7 years between 1752 and 1758, we can establish that the 20 rooms along the first floor corridor and 22 of the second floor, when fully occupied, could provide a monthly income of 190 *reales* and 32 *maravedíes*, bringing the total up for the 7 years to 16,039 *reales* and 2 *maravedíes*, with the price per room ranging between 4 and 6 *reales* a month, except for two that were leased jointly at 7 *reales*. In addition, the 14 ground floor rooms and stables could have provided a total income of 7,599 *reales* and 18 *maravedíes* over these seven years, at 90 *reales* and 16 *maravedíes* a month, with prices ranging between 3 and 10 *reales* a month per room or stable. Therefore, fully occupied, the rooms of the Corral should have provided a total income for the period 1752-1758 of 23,638 *reales* and 20 *maravedíes*. However, the loss of income owing to empty rooms came to 8,656 *reales* and 4 *maravedíes*, over a third of the potential income, with unpaid debts reaching 517 *reales*.

In addition to the above, the 4 shops (3 a few years later, in 1770), outside the gates of the said Mesón must have yielded 32 *reales* a month, 2,4,6 and 20 *reales* respectively, totaling 2,688 *reales* over the 7 years, with losses, due to lack of occupation, of 167 *reales* in this period and a debt from tenants of 143 *reales* and 17 *maravedíes*. Therefore, the average annual income for the whole building for this period, 1752-1758, was of approximately 2,500 *reales*, far from the 3,441 *reales* reportedly totaled in 1770.

Obviously, from the above amounts it was necessary

to subtract several expenses for maintenance: construction, carpentry or b work, plumbing, etc. Thus, for instance in the accounts for the years 1703 and 1704, under the category “Drainage, main pipes and cobblestone work”, referring to the Corral del Carbón, there appears a charge of 26 *reales* for the cleaning and maintenance of the “main pipes and drainage from the pillar in courtyard of Meson de el Carbon to Calle del ABC”. In addition to this expense, the landlord of the Mesón, in charge of collecting payments from the tenants, paid 55 *reales* a year for the maintenance of the pipes which supplied water to the building. It would appear that the supply of water to the Mesón must not have been satisfactory as in 1825 work had to be carried out on the pipes transporting water from the Genil River to the Corral del Puente del Carbon, which required the intervention over three and a half days of a master builder, two craftsmen and two assistants, as well as the work of a stone mason to carve out the basin of the fountain and incorporate a new piece. In total the work cost 453 *reales* and 25 *maravedíes*. It should be emphasized that before this work the water supply to the Mesón came from the Darro River, since in 1605 Sebastián de Prado and Andrés Ceballos and his wife agreed “on a way to take water from the Darrillo in and out of the Mesón”²⁸.

The poor condition of the building because of its low quality of its construction must have led to periodic repairs which are included globally within the *mayorazgo* accounts for all the buildings. However, the accounts for the years 1703 and 1704 provide details of the work carried out on each of the buildings, perhaps because they were more complex or costly than usual. Thus, in 1703 construction work began on the Mesón to redo the stables, where a ceiling had collapsed so that a master builder was hired for 10 days at a daily rate of 8 *reales* and two builders at 4 *reales* a day, bringing the total cost of the work to 241 and a half *reales*.

25. Draft of the sworn list drawn up by the administrator of the *mayorazgo* in compliance with the band ordered on 29 August 1741 by the Corregidor of Granada. Private collection.

26. Sworn statements of this *mayorazgo* for the cadaster of the year 1770, draft. Private collection.

27. Sworn statements 1770 cit.

28. Draft March 1780 cit., piece 10.



IL. 3. Accounts for tenants of the Mesón del Carbón, 1744

However, despite this maintenance and repair work, the building's conditions in 1826 were such that one of its facades had to be redone, as recorded by the master builder, José de Cañas, in his report of 1 February, who inspected, measured and estimated the price of the building work required by the "quarter of la casa Corral del Carbón, whose facade gives out on the Plazuela del Excmo. Sr Duque de Abrantes, to construct three houses on the ground plan passed by his lordship to rebuild the said property". According to the master builder "this quarter presented the whole length of a wall made of rammed earth that is three spans thick placed upon various pillars and cased in wood which are falling apart and



IL. 4. El Corral del Carbón in the late 19th century, Hauser & Menet

their wood is rotting, as they date to the original construction of the house, so that it is necessary to dig these out both in order gain space and to avoid the threat of total ruin, including the demolition of roofs and room partitions in the said property, since all are also built of rammed earth".

In order to carry out this reconstruction it was necessary to build 16 pillars each of which were one and half brick thick, and 8 others "on the quarter of the corral where the first foundations which are at street level because it goes 12*varas*(yards) down". It was also necessary to "reinforce the square wood beams of the horizontal timber structures with supports and brackets", which required "227 *varas*" of tile flooring for the two "horizontal timber structures", in addition to making partitions dividing the naves internally to make rooms, bedrooms, kitchens and their exact separations in the living quarters, which were made of single and double walls. They had to "construct the facade of three houses to be rebuilt and scrape off the damaged parts of the wall and consolidate its plastering with fine mortar, going round the corner to Calle del Carmen", and make 20 openings on the facade wall, which is a *vara* and a quarter thick, for the windows and doors, as well as placing 60 stones for the doors and windows, interior and exterior to the courtyard of the corral, building staircases for the three houses, 210 *varas* of paving, 427 *varas* of roofing over the roof structure replacing the missing tiles, removing excess rubble and finally placing 3 clay vessels made in four parts with a capacity of 120 *arrobas* including 2 wellheads each and a stone slab to cover them. All the construction work listed totaled 34,768 *reales* and 17 *maravedís*. As regards the carpentry work needed in the wing overlooking the Plazuela, with a length of 35.5 *varas* and width of 7.5 *varas*, the master Fernando de Castro had budgeted for the reconstruction of the three houses, 37,888 *reales*, an estimate higher than that of the rest of the brick masonry work.

This reconstruction work, which would have altered the original structure of the building, was never carried out, judging from the aforementioned article *Las alhóndigas hispano musulmanas y el Corral del Carbón* by Torres Balbás, who ended up restoring of the building almost a century later.

This conclusion seems to be supported by the fact that a few years later, in 1835, when appraising the Corral for fire insurance, the building was assessed based on its built area, that is a floor area on the ground floor of 36 by 32 yards and a height of three stories, totaling 10,368 by 6 *reales*, that is, 62,208 *reales*.

Memoria de gastos que sean hecho en regalar las casas del Mañorazgo que en esta zuda
 de Granada posee el Sr. Francisco de Villa de Cuña y Prado Caballero del Orden
 de Calatrava y vez de la Villa de Almagro en los de Albañileria Como de Carpinteria
 Canteria y zorrajeria los quales sean hecho el primero de Enero de mill e setez y tres
 hasta fin de Diciembre de mill e setezientos y quatro años que por menor son como se siguen

Obras en los
Años 1703 y 1704

Meson del carbon y en 4 de Abril 1703 se empezo obra de Albañileria
 para componer las caballerizas del Pao del Meson
 del Carbon en que se trabas y ganto lo siguiente

• Maestro de Albañileria que trabas diez dias a ocho	0080--
• Por su jornal cada dia montan ochenta	
• Mas dos geones de Albañileria que trabasaron diez dias por quatro	0080--
• Cada uno cada dia montaron ochenta	
• Mas doscientas teas para el tejado de la septima	0016--
• Caballeriza que se abia hundido costaron diez y seis	0008--
• Mas diez y ocho zarzos costaron ocho	
• Mas tres libras de clavos y en zarzar de suerte menor	0010--
• a tres y medio cada libra costaron diez y medio	0004--
• Mas tres clavos tercia leg y costaron quatro	0020--

IL. 5. List of expenses for works in 1703 and 1704 in the Mesón del Carbón, private collection

OTHER ANCIENT CONSTRUCTIONS IN GRANADA

In addition to the Corral del Carbón, the *mayorazgo* founded by Sebastián de Prado incorporated other buildings located in the center of Granada. The following is a description of these properties.

- The Casas del ABC, next to the Corral del Carbón, which seem to have been joined to it in some way as the water supply from the Darro, went through both properties. They belonged to the counts of Medellín, and through the Grimaldo family they eventually came into the hands of the *mayorazgo*. The 15 houses which made up block 474, according to the draft declaration for the cadastre in 1770, provided an annual income of approximately 1,830 *reales*.
- The main house on Calle San Jerónimo, block 619 number 3, was leased around 1770 for 980 *reales* a year. It was acquired on 12 August 1584 by Sebastián de Prado from his brother-in-law Juan de Villén y Viedma, through a deed granted before Pedro de Córdoba. These houses were subject to a perpetual census tax of 1,000 *maravedíes* established in 1554 by Juan Alonso Gómez de Villén's father in favor of the chaplaincy founded by Francisco de Molina in the convent of La Concepción in Granada. In addition to the above, these houses were subject to another census tax of 400 ducats paid to the famous architect and sculptor Diego de Siloé, which was redeemed, according to the deed granted by the Monastery of San Jerónimo before the notary Diego de Lisbona, on 25 May 1587. The *mayorazgo* also possessed another house which backed onto the previous one in the Calle de la Sierpe, leased for 120 *reales*.
- Two houses connected to shops and in the Plaza de Bibarrambla, on the Acera de los Veleros, on the corner of la Pescadería, block 574, numbers 80 and 81, leased for 840 and 1,400 *reales* respectively. It seems that these two shops were sold by the city council in 1532 to Pedro López de Jaén, which his heirs transferred to García de Ávila in 1539. In 1550 they were acquired by Miguel de Baeza, passing to his relative Jorge de Baeza, chief magistrate of Medina del Campo and 24 of Granada. They were inherited by Luisa de Molina and her heirs sold the two shops to Sebastián de Prado for 2,810 ducats plus several census tax debts, including one of 7 and a half *reales* owed to the city for the property incorporated into the city wall. The records state that one of the successive tenants of one of the houses, on the corner with Pescadería, was the Frenchman Juan Vier in 1774, who stayed for six years paying 120 *reales* a month, with the *mayorazgo* enjoying the rights to use all the windows to watch public bull fighting events. Vier held on to this lease for 30 years as we know that in 1774, after he received several resolutions from the city council ordering the doors, windows and storefronts to be kept clear of scaffolding to ensure the views of the royal feasts and bull events. In the early 18th century these shops housed a confectioners and a candle shop.
- A house and shop in the Zacatín, block 556, no. 5, leased for 600 *reales*, and another also in the Zacatín, in block 554, which was leased for 360 *reales*. Also half of a store on a side street off the Zacatín, block 552, no. 2, leased for 84 *reales*.
- A shop in la Gallinería, block 478 no. 7, produced an income through rent of 132 *reales*. This property was purchased along with the shops of the Zacatín by Sebastián de Prado from Cristóbal de Mendoza.
- A shop on the main Street of the Alcaicería leased for 240 *reales*, along with another two small shops, also in the Alcaicería, on the small side street which led to the Zacatín, the closest to the Plaza de la Bibarrambla, next to the house of the shop of the nuns of the convent of El Ángel.
- A *casa de vecindad* (multi-family courtyard house) known as Corral de Osorio, on Calle de Gracia, block 577 no. 18, made up of rooms on two stories, paid an annual rent of 1,092 *reales*, while another adjoining house, no. 17, leased for 228 *reales* and another 2 small shops at no. 19 and 20, paid rents of 84 and 156 *reales* respectively.

THE CORTIJO DE LA TORRE DE ROMA
AND OTHER AGRICULTURAL PROPERTIES

In addition to the estates within the city mentioned above, there were also some agricultural properties linked to the *mayorazgo* founded by Sebastián de Prado, the largest known as the Cortijo de la Torre de Roma, named after the Moorish defensive building found on the estate. Also linked to this was a plot of irrigable fallow land, beside San Lázaro Majarrocál, with an income of 28 *reales*, the *carmen alquería* del Fargue, which was enclosed and irrigated, including two 2 farmhouses, olive trees, fig trees and other fruit trees, leased for 300 *reales*. At the entrance door

of the *carmen*, there were remains of the foundations of a mill, by the road to Guadix. The *mayorazgo* also owned a smaller *carmen* below this other one, with no house, 19 *marjales* and 52 *estadales* of irrigated land for a rent of 120 reales.

In the case of the Cortijo de la Torre de Roma, we know from a deed awarded in Granada before the notary Juan de Sosa on 30 May 1532²⁹, that D. Juan de Alarcón, Grand Huntsman to the king of Portugal, sold the property to Dña. Magdalena de Padilla, for a price of 4,500 gold ducats, and from then on the history of the deeds follows those we have described for the Mesón del Carbón until it later became part of the *mayorazgo* founded by Sebastián de Prado. The 1532 deed mentioned earlier included the judicial process by which the possession of this tower and estate was taken and how the Catholic Monarchs awarded the privilege of its ownership along with other properties to Martín de Alarcón, *alcaide* of the town and castle of Moclín, by virtue of the donation made by *Muley Babelili*, last Moorish king of Granad. This whose donation was executed in Granada on 3 May 1492 before Juan de la Parra, secretary of the Monarchs, and it was recorded by the royal accountant. These legal operations were confirmed in Seville on 19 November 1499, with the notary Juan de Sosa providing an account of all the above on 1 March 1533. As regards the waters irrigating the estate there is a record of the existence of several disputes, both in the documentation of the *mayorazgo* and in the municipal archives in Granada regarding the Water Court. Thus, on 25 January 1536 judgment was issued on appeal by the notary Montalbo, confirmed on 1 June 1554 by the Judge of Appeal of the City Water Court, Hernán Bello, in the procedure followed by D. Juan de Alarcón and D. Pedro de Bobadilla, owners of the Cortijo de Roma, against D. Pedro, D. Diego and Dña María de Santilán, owners of Chauchina, on the rights "belonging to the Cortijo de Roma to irrigate with water which runs through Chauchina, which passes through the irrigation channel and the water which passes over the vines of Chauchina from the time when the morning star appears to the evening"³⁰.

Just as the neighbors of Chauchina had to respect the water rights of the neighbors downstream, the owners of the Cortijo de Roma could not hinder those of Lachar, as Hernán Bello, Judge of Appeal of the Water Court ruled in favor of lawyer Alonso Pérez, owner of the estate of Lachar, against D. Pedro de Bobadilla, lord of the estate of Roma, on 18 May 1543, when he

declared that the property of Lachar's estate included "a third of all the water in the *acequia* called Margen which flows from Zijuela and from the springs and other waters which enter through various ways, from the evening until the morning star rises"³¹.

We can find a description of some of the characteristics of the estate in the draft used for the joint statement for the cadastre of 1770, which states that all of this land "was divided into 3 lots divided among four laborers, both dry farming land and flood land without the declarant legally stating the number of *marjales* (marchlands) and *fanegas* (bushels) of land each one held, paying the owner after lowering the tithes", a quarter of wheat and barley, a fifth of millet, a sixth of broad beans, corn and other seeds, and "examining the papers and drafts of the income of the *cortijo*, carefully comparing good and bad years the income of the aforesaid grains" was regulated to 320 *fanegas* of wheat, 79 of barley, 48 of millet, 20 of broad beans, 5 of chickpeas, grass peas and corn and 3 of flax.

The laborers to whom these privileges were assigned lived in certain houses with their chambers, corrals, livestock sheds, stables and pigsties, vegetable gardens and barns with tiled roofs which it is said they did not have to pay for. There were also shacks with thatched roofs used by the lads and farmhands of these workers or some poor day laborers without charging them any rent either, except for the odd melon or hen or capon.

In the *cortijo* there was also a grain store to store the grain paid as rent, and a chamber with an oven where the workers baked their bread, which seems to have belonged to the Brotherhood of the Blessed Souls of the Cortijo of Chauchina, who were paid in bread to celebrate mass on feast days, as there was a hermitage with a belfry in the *cortijo*, and the proprietor paid 100 *reales* a year for its adornment and maintenance. We have an undated detailed inventory from this hermitage, which includes an old altarpiece with a picture of Nuestra Señora de las Nieves, a wooden altar foot with drawers and a stone top, a cross, metal candlesticks, two missals, boards for the gospels, the cruets, etc. In the main nave of the church there were carved statues of Saint Joseph and Saint Anthony on pedes-

29. *Ibid.*, piece 17

30. *Ibid.*, piece 6

31. *Ibid.*, piece 8

tals; three crucifixes; a small Dolorosa with the float dismantled; two framed canvases; two small framed paintings on paper; six cornucopias, four of them with a mirror; a small *via crucis*; a pulpit; a confessional; a painting of animas; two fonts, a banner of Our Lady of the Rosary, a chalice, paten and silver spoon; four purifiers; four corporals, three albs; an amice; two altar cloths; five chasubles; four stoles; two chalice palls; four bags for the corporals; two cinctures; a box for the hosts; a hanging for the pulpit; a curtain for the reredos; and a small bell.

The historic building in this *cortijo* which has particularly interested us is the tower they call of Roma, built of "old masonry in the time of the Moors which is at the north side of the boundary of the lands of this *cortijo* and the woods of this Real Soto".

The tower was then uninhabitable but still used to "shelter the watchman for the crops of the said *cortijo* or some other families of poor day laborers who at the moment have no employment or use for the owner of the said estate".

However, the administrator of the property in 1770 was highly conscious of the prestige of possessing such an ancient monument, since despite its apparent uselessness, he declares that "the building is only maintained for preservation and for the ancient title of the said *cortijo* of the tower of Rome".

Until 1825, the water supply to the *mesón* came from the Darro River, the same year that work was begun on a water supply from the river Genil, as Torres Balbás recognized when he restored the building between 1929 and 1931.

The poor building materials used in the Mesón del Carbón must have made frequent repairs like those carried out in 1703 and 1704 necessary but the building continued to deteriorate to the point that in 1826 one of the bays needed to be rebuilt, although we do not believe this was carried out, judging by the description of the state of the building given by Torres Balbás. However, he does point out major transformations in the original building, changes in the horizontal structures, openings in walls, the replacement of beams, etc.

Finally, the subtle property strategy of the founders of the *mayorazgo*, integrating a set of different types of assets, producing considerable agricultural income in kind, provided substantial income from multiple urban buildings, both individual lodgings and commercial buildings, along the lines of typical landlord practices in the city of Granada.

CONCLUSIONS

Thanks to the documents generated by the *mayorazgo* founded by Sebastián de Prado and María de Viedma, we have been able to reconstruct who were the successive proprietor owners of Corral del Carbón and other ancient buildings in Granada such as the tower of Soto de Roma, information of great interest and that was previously unknown.

These documents confirm the former use of the Corral as a grain store and subsequently, at least from the beginning of the eighteenth century, as lodgings for the poor, given its cramped quarters and poor living conditions. The name *meson*, used in all the *mayorazgo* papers, clearly indicates that it was used for lodgings. Its use as a *corral de comedias* has not been confirmed, but it has been discovered that the owner of the building during the last third of the 17th century, María de Vivero, also owned the well-known *corral de comedias* in Almagro, which suggests that the Corral might also have been used as a theatre.