

GENDERING THE LATE MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN WORLD



Edited by Emily Colbert Cairns and Nieves Romero-Díaz

# Early Modern Maternities in the Iberian Atlantic

Amsterdam  
University  
Press

## Early Modern Maternities in the Iberian Atlantic

# Gendering the Late Medieval and Early Modern World

This series provides a forum for studies that investigate the themes of women and gender in the late medieval and early modern world. The editors invite proposals for book-length studies of an interdisciplinary nature, including but not exclusively, from the fields of history, literature, art and architectural history, and visual and material culture. Consideration will be given to both monographs and collections of essays. Chronologically, we welcome studies that look at the period between 1400 and 1700, with a focus on Britain, Europe and Global transnational histories. We invite proposals including, but not limited to, the following broad themes: methodologies, theories and meanings of gender; gender, power and political culture; monarchs, courts and power; construction of femininity and masculinities; gift-giving, diplomacy and the politics of exchange; gender and the politics of early modern archives and architectural spaces (court, salons, household); consumption and material culture; objects and gendered power; women's writing; gendered patronage and power; gendered activities, behaviours, rituals and fashions.

## *Series editors*

Victoria E. Burke, University of Ottawa, Canada

James Daybell, Plymouth University, UK

Svante Norrhem, Lund University, Sweden

Elizabeth Rhodes, Boston College, US

Merry Wiesner-Hanks, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, US

# Early Modern Maternities in the Iberian Atlantic

*Edited by  
Emily Colbert Cairns and  
Nieves Romero-Díaz*

Amsterdam University Press

The publication of this book is made possible by a grant from HISPANEX



Cover illustration: Stefano della Bella, A woman seated to left holding a child, facing right in profile, conversing with a standing woman in center, carrying one child on her back and another in her arms, a church to left in background and boats to right in background, from "Various figures and lands" (Diverse figure e paesi), 1649. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Bequest of Phyllis Massar, 2011. <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/410325>

Cover design: Coördesign, Leiden

Lay-out: Crius Group, Hulshout

ISBN 978 94 6372 729 7

e-ISBN 978 90 4855 786 8

DOI 10.5117/9789463727297

NUR 685

© The authors / Amsterdam University Press B.V., Amsterdam 2024

All rights reserved. Without limiting the rights under copyright reserved above, no part of this book may be reproduced, stored in or introduced into a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means (electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise) without the written permission of both the copyright owner and the author of the book.

Every effort has been made to obtain permission to use all copyrighted illustrations reproduced in this book. Nonetheless, whosoever believes to have rights to this material is advised to contact the publisher.

# Table of Contents

List of Illustrations	7
Acknowledgments	9
Introduction	11
<i>Emily Colbert Cairns and Nieves Romero-Díaz</i>	

## I. Defining Maternity

1. 'Services for Which I Expect to be Compensated': Mothering as a Salaried Labor in the Late Medieval Crown of Aragon	33
<i>Debra Blumenthal</i>	
2. Noble Maternity in Castile, 1400–1650	53
<i>Grace E. Coolidge</i>	
3. Maternity in the Portraits of Spanish Queens: Mariana of Habsburg	75
<i>Mercedes Llorente</i>	
4. The Stains of the Mother: Indian Mothers and Mestizo Children in Early Colonial Peru	101
<i>Rocío Quispe Agnoli</i>	

## II. Becoming Pregnant and Giving Birth

5. "Urinating on Lettuce and Throwing Your Hands Up": Infertility in Early Modern Spain	129
<i>Carolina Alarcón</i>	
6. Motherhood and Gender: When the Queen Has Only Daughters—The Case of Mariana Victoria de Bourbon (1718–81)	163
<i>Vanda Anastácio</i>	

7. 'Para retener la criatura': Miscarriage in Early Modern Spain <i>Emily Kuffner</i>	181
8. Maternal Bodies and Fertile Letters: The Politics of Motherhood Networking in Estefania de Requesens' Correspondence <i>Montserrat Pérez-Toribio</i>	205
<b>III. Daily Living Motherhood</b>	
9. Motherhood and the Early Modern Woman Artist <i>Catherine Hall-van den Elsen</i>	229
10. <i>Casa de Niños Expósitos</i> : The Substitute Mother in Colonial Mexico <i>Yolopattli Hernández-Torres</i>	251
11. Cruel or Prudent Mothers? Troubled Relationships, Disobedient Daughters, and Social Risk (Eighteenth-Century Barcelona) <i>Mariela Fargas Peñarrocha</i>	273
Afterword <i>Emilie L. Bergmann</i>	293
List of Contributors (in alphabetical order)	305
Index	311

## List of Illustrations

- Fig. 3.1 Frans Luycks, *Doña Mariana de Austria*, oil on canvas, Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (España). @ Collection of the Prado Museum. 79
- Fig. 3.2 Frans Luycks, *Doña Mariana de Austria* c. 1646–47, oil on canvas, Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (España). @ Collection of the Prado Museum. 82
- Fig. 3.3 Unknown, *Natividad*, Museo de Santa Cruz, Toledo (Spain). 89
- Fig. 3.4 Diego de Velázquez's Workshop, *Doña Mariana de Austria orante*, c. 1658–60, oil on canvas, Patrimonio Nacional, Monasterio del Escorial (España). With permission of the Monasterio del Escorial. 91
- Fig. 3.5 Diego de Velázquez's Workshop, *Doña Mariana de Austria*, 1655–61, oil on canvas, Kunsthistorischesmuseum, Vienna (Austria). ©KHM-Museumsverband. 92
- Fig. 4.1 “The Royal Administrator and His Lieutenant Make Their Nightly Rounds” (“El coregidor i padre, teniente anda rondando y mirando la güergüenza de las mugeres”), Guaman Poma, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, p. 507. With the permission of The Royal Library of Denmark. <https://poma.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/507/en>. 116
- Fig. 4.2 “Bad Confessions” (“La mala confición”) Guaman Poma, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, p. 590. With the permission of The Royal Library of Denmark. <https://poma.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/590/en>. 117
- Fig. 5.1 Luis Lobera de Ávila, *Vanquete de nobles caualleros e modo de biuir desde que se leuantan hasta q[ue] se acuestan* (Ausburg: Heinrich Steiner, 1530), folio 30r. Image from the Biblioteca Nacional de España in Madrid. 130
- Fig. 5.2 Eucharius Rosslin, *Der Swangern Frauwen und Hebammen Rosengarten* (Strassburg: Martinus Flach, 1513) folio 3. By permission of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna. 142
- Fig. 5.3 Eucharius Rosslin, *Der Swangern Frauwen und Hebammen Rosengarten* (Strassburg: Martinus Flach, 1513), folio 17. By permission of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna. 144



- Fig. 5.4 Francisco Nuñez, *Libro intitulado del parto humano en cual se contienen remedios* (Alcalá de Henares, 1580), 36v. With permission from UCM Biblioteca Complutense, Fondo Histórico. 146
- Fig. 5.5 Fernando Yáñez de la Almedina, *Saint Anne, The Virgin, Saint Elizabeth, Saint John and the Christ Child*, 1525–35, oil on canvas, Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid (España). @ Collection of the Prado Museum. 150
- Fig. 9.1 Ana Heylan, Frontispiece *Defensa en Derecho por la immaculada concepcion de la Virgen Santísima* 1652. Universidad de Sevilla. Creative Common. 234
- Fig. 9.2 María Eugenia de Beer, *Ilchiu. Cuaderno de aves para el Príncipe* (c.1637–39). Colección Banco de España. 237
- Fig. 9.3 María Eugenia de Beer, Portrait of Prince Baltasar Carlos, *Exercicios de la gineta* (1643) frontispiece. Real Biblioteca de España in Madrid. 238
- Fig. 9.4 Luisa Roldán, *Virgin and Child with St John the Baptist*. Valladolid, Museo Nacional de Escultura. Photograph by Javier Muñoz y Paz Pastor, CE 2966/001. 240
- Fig. 9.5 Luisa Rafaela Valdés, Four emblems from *Fiestas de la S. Iglesia Metropolitana, y Patriarcal de Sevilla al nuevo culto del señor rey S. Fernando* (Sevilla: En casa de la Viuda de Nicolás Rodríguez, 1671), p. 50. Image from the Biblioteca Nacional de España in Madrid. 243

# Acknowledgments

The idea for this project emerged from a collaboration with *Grupo de Estudios de la Mujer de España y las Américas –1800* (GEMELA) which revealed the growing interest in this topic and highlighted how much room there was for new scholarship. We express our heartfelt appreciation for the generosity of this organization which has supported this project at different stages for the last four years. We want to thank all the authors in this volume for graciously accepting our feedback and for stimulating endless conversation and learning. We must also thank the external evaluators whose valuable comments and suggestions have made this volume stronger. Finally, we gratefully acknowledge Erika Gaffney, the series editor at Amsterdam University Press whose enthusiasm for this project has been with us right out of the gate. We hope this project contributes to the field of maternity in the early modern Iberian Atlantic for many years to come. The publication of this volume would have been impossible without the financial support of our home institutions (Mount Holyoke College and Salve Regina University) and the generous subsidy of the program Hispanex by the *Ministerio de Cultura y Deporte* in Spain.

Emily would like to recognize Nieves for having the initial wonderful idea to compose this volume and selecting me as her partner for this project. I cannot think of a better co-editor, colleague and friend. Since I first met Nieves at the Center for Renaissance Studies in Amherst, MA, I had been waiting for the chance to work together, so I jumped at this opportunity. I thank her for her intelligence, deep knowledge, diligence and organization as a scholar, and the example she sets as a mother of maternal connection and love. Special thanks to my friends and colleagues at Salve Regina University especially Esther Alarcón-Arana, James Mitchell, Dean de la Motte and Jen McClanaghan. My deepest thanks to my family, my mother Jennifer Colbert, my partner Alastair Cairns, and my children Wren and Gwendolyn, who promoted my deep and unwavering interest in all things maternal.

Nieves would like to thank Emily for her wisdom and expertise in everything related to breastfeeding and wet-nursing, her intelligent advice and appropriate suggestions, and her always positive spirit throughout the years. It was a pleasure to see this project flourish while she finished her last term of pregnancy, gave birth to beautiful baby Gwendolyn, and made me witness to the formation of an amazing mother–daughter bond. I couldn't have found a better *compañera de proyecto*. Special thanks to all my friends and colleagues at MHC, particularly Kavita Khory, Meryl Fingrutd,

Adriana Pitetta and Esther Castro, who have helped me look forward to this project with lots of love and laughs. Finally, I want to thank my family and my husband, Sam Martin, but above all, my mother Josefa Díaz Catalán and my son, Alex Martin-Romero, for letting me practice how to be a mother, whatever that may mean.

# Introduction

*Emily Colbert Cairns and Nieves Romero-Díaz*

For over a decade in the 1650s, a hopeless Countess of Chinchón sought comfort and emotional support in abbess Sor María of Ágreda to help endure her marital obligations. Sor María offered prayers along with words of guidance, which served as solace to a childless countess who suffered her husband's infidelities, while strengthening her legitimacy as religious mediator and social advisor. Among these words of council, Sor María emphasized the importance of having children, for which she, alongside all the nuns from her religious community, would pray and offer devotions to the Virgin Mary and Saint Michael. Not surprisingly, this was not the only recommendation proffered by the nun. In addition to ensuring a long succession for the family line, Sor María's advice also included those behaviors that could fashion the countess as the *perfecta casada*, following her duty, as a married woman, to love her husband and be a prudent wife, compelling her to love him while flattering him, avoiding idleness, and hiding her suffering from those around her. Motherhood was one more item on the long list of obligations that added to the countess's role of wife, as many of the theologians and moralists in early modern Spain understood.<sup>1</sup> The Countess, who was not able to have children who survived childbirth, may have accepted this advice resignedly as a good Christian and exemplary noblewoman. However, resignation probably did not prevent her from feeling anxious for not successfully fulfilling the role of good wife by giving her husband the long-awaited successor.<sup>2</sup>

1 Suffice it to name a few studies that offer an overview on the idealized conduct that theologians and moralists expected from women: Marie-Catherine Barbazza, "La esposa cristiana y los moralistas españoles de los siglos XVI y XVII" (1988); María Ángeles Hernández Bermejo, "La imagen de la mujer en la literatura moral y religiosa de los siglos XVI y XVII" (1987–88); Mariló Vigil, *La vida de las mujeres en los siglos XVI y XVII* (1994), and Isabel Morant Deusa, "Hombres y mujeres en el discurso de los moralistas. Funciones y relaciones" (2005).

2 From this correspondence, just the letters by Sor María to the Countess are available and still are at the *Archivo Concepcionista de Ágreda*, only a few of them are handwritten by the nun while the rest are copies of the originals.

In a time before the cult of idealized motherhood and the codification of the discourse of maternal love and maternal instinct, women such as the Countess of Chinchón, who could not bear a child or whose children would not survive infancy, had to negotiate ways to express and experience the personal and social disquietude that a motherless status carried throughout her married life. The anxiety of not being able to bear a child—whether or not women wanted to—the suffering of losing their babies during pregnancy or after childbirth, the enjoyment of being with child and the love in nurturing them, the fear associated with childbirth and the accompanying pain and potential death, were some of the experiences that women lived in the early modern period (and still face in this age) and are central topics that this volume explores.

As historians have observed (e.g., Mónica Bolufer and Isabel Morant), before the eighteenth century, the codified discourse about the experience of motherhood was ancillary to the institution of marriage.<sup>3</sup> Although children were also born out of wedlock—even inside royal and elite families—theologians and moralists insisted that motherhood was a social expectation inextricably linked to matrimony, thus motherly duties became secondary to wifely duties. Constructed as a parallel to the father's role of procreation and education of women, the mother appeared then within a support role, subordinate to that of the father.<sup>4</sup> Maternity was represented “de forma secundaria, como instrumento de colaborador en la procreación, entendida como un acto en el que el padre ejerce la función más activa” (secondarily, as an instrument of collaboration in procreation, understood as an act in which the father has the most important function) (Bolufer, “Formas” 69). Whereas obligation and duty were highlighted, a personal and affective expression associated with living motherhood was not part of the patriarchal public

3 Historians Mónica Bolufer and Isabel Morant Deusa have been key players in advancing the study of women and its cultural history in the transition to the eighteenth century. Among their seminal collaborative works, we must mention *Amor, matrimonio y familia: la construcción histórica de la familia moderna* (1998). The list of their individual works is too long to cite here but it is worth highlighting Isabel Morant Deusa, *Discursos de la vida buena: matrimonio, mujer y sexualidad en la literatura humanista* (2002), and Mónica Bolufer “Madres, maternidad: Nuevas miradas desde la historiografía” (2010).

4 Whereas this volume is particularly interested in uncovering the maternal experience, studies on practices related to paternity would yield very interesting and compelling results. Many of the studies that have already been written about the role of fathers have to do with their roles in negotiating contracts for wet nurses that were legally binding (García Herrero and Pérez Galán) and the role of the father in texts such as *Relox de principes* (Dial of Princes) that argues for a strong paternal role as head of household and by extension, head of state (Carolyn E. Nadeau). More recently, Jesús María Usunáriz has proposed a new approach to childbirth as a rite of passage for fathers' paternity that is worth exploring.

discourse surrounding the maternal experience—an experience that, as contributor to this volume Debra Blumenthal explains, was not yet socially understood as “instinctual and reflective (that is, a natural expression of maternal love).” Moreover, when the lived realities of mothers were in fact exposed and recorded, the forms of expressions were complex and subtly interwoven with other social and cultural experiences. Though the official discourse privileges the role of the wife over that of the mother, what did women’s lived experiences tell us about motherhood? How did women see and describe their roles as mothers? How was the experience of maternity shared among women? Was it controlled by the state? In what ways were those experiences intertwined with class, race or ethnicity? Where are the records that tell us about women’s maternal experiences? The essays in this volume introduce and discuss a variety of ways in which women lived and shared their experiences as mothers, how they expressed the complications and pain, as well as the associated joys and gratifications. In sum, the following essays show us how women negotiated different forms of lived motherhood with the objective of understanding maternity in its complexity as both a limiting and empowering reality.

### Early Modern Maternity in Context

This volume comes to life thanks to increasing interest in the topic of motherhood in premodern times over the last twenty years. Theorists including Élisabeth Badinter, Sara Ruddick, and Andrea O’Reilly gathered the fundamental feminist scholarship on the role of mothering, inviting many of us to go back in history and start reassessing the early modern period from a critical and feminist perspective. In a pan-European context Naomi Yavneh and Naomi Miller’s *Maternal Measures: Figuring Caregiving in the Early Modern Period* (2000) became a referent for future studies. After this publication, others joined contributing to the discussion of the literary representations of mothers (Rose), the analysis of the representations of the Virgin Mary as mother (Holloway), the study of the role of mothers in the education of children (Heller), and the representation of mothers in art (Liss), while more recently, some have been focusing on specific aspects of the pregnancy experience such as infertility (Oren-Magidor, Toepfer) or abortion (Christopoulos).<sup>5</sup>

5 While the role of the Virgin Mary as a model for motherhood has also been the object of study, this volume departs from the idealized image of maternity within a religious perspective

Specifically within the Spanish speaking world, and as recently as in the early 1990s, pioneering US scholar Emilie Bergmann focused on maternity and crucially opened this topic as a critical category in Hispanism worthy for scholarly inquiry, as did Silvia Tubert with her *Figuras de madre* (1996), in which a group of authors from different disciplines approached the complexity of this field.<sup>6</sup> Spanish scholar Mónica Bolufer followed suit and made enormous contributions in her historical and conceptual exploration of maternity in the transition from the enlightenment to the modern period. Other recent volumes composed within Spain have been dedicated to the topic of mothers and maternity diachronically (Lozano Estivalis, Franco Rubio, and Blasco Herranz and Serrano-Niza among others) and, in most cases, with a focus on the twentieth and twenty-first centuries (Bizzini, Fernández Montravera, Imaz, Méndez Vázquez).

In contrast to the lived experiences of mothers, the majority of works addressing the early modern Spanish period have focused on perceptions and representations of maternity by the numerous moralist manuals and medical treatises on maternity, which were mostly of male authorship.<sup>7</sup> Some new lines of inquiry focusing on the woman's experience are starting to attract the interest of academics, for example, uncovering records about the central roles of wet nurses (Hirel and Thieulin-Pardo), examining the rituals, images and material culture around pregnancy and childbirth, whether at the Habsburg court (Carlos Varona), or more broadly, throughout seventeenth-century Spain (Wolfram Aichinger's "The Interpretation of Childhood in Early Modern Spain" research group, which includes the publication *Avisos de Viena* and their latest exposition "Culturas del parto en España y Europa, siglos xv–xviii").<sup>8</sup>

Within a Latin American context, work on this topic is scarce and mostly related to motherhood after independence.<sup>9</sup> As we look back to Colonial

as we are engaging instead, as we have explained, with the everyday lives of women and their individual and shared experiences.

6 Bergmann has considered the importance of language and maternity, wet nurses and the central role of literature in representing breastmilk and maternity in "Language and 'Mothers' Milk': Maternal Roles and the Nurturing Body in Early Modern Spanish Texts" and "Milking the Poor: Wet-Nursing and the Sexual Economy of Early Modern Spain."

7 This has been explored in García Santo-Tomás, Morant Deusa (*Discursos*), and Urban.

8 Another volume worth citing here is *The Formation of the Child in Early Modern Spain*, edited by Grace Coolidge (2014) that contains several articles that directly address the role of the mother in the formation of children from a very experiential perspective. In particular, we are referring to the works by Alejandra Franganillo on Isabel of Borbón, Silvia Mitchell on Mariana of Austria, and Grace Coolidge herself about aristocratic inheritance practices.

9 See, for example, O'Connor.

America, other than the reference to motherhood embedded within the lives of women in the colonial family (Morant Deusa, Lavrin and Cantó's collection), the scant attention to this topic is striking, except for the significant scholarship by Nora Jaffary and Charlene Villaseñor Black. The dearth of materials that address the lived experience of motherhood within the New World context including the investigation of archival sources (e.g., hospital, municipal, periodical) related to births, practices of wet-nursing, and more broadly those that reflect caring for mothers and children, remain to be uncovered.

This volume targets precisely where there is a lack of attention, the exploration of the lived experiences, the subjective feelings and relationships amongst mothers, and between mothers and their children. The collected articles in this book attempt to fill the gap as described by Bolufer:

En los estudios históricos pueden apreciarse tres perspectivas fundamentales, en muchas ocasiones interrelacionadas. En primer lugar, se ha estudiado profusamente los discursos (religiosos, morales, científicos) sobre la maternidad, como manifestación de unas ideologías de género que justifican y construyen la diferencia y la desigualdad entre los sexos, aspirando a condicionar la conducta y los sentimientos de las gentes. En segundo lugar, y en menor medida, se ha trabajado sobre la maternidad -en el marco de la familia y las relaciones sociales- como institución social gobernada por leyes y costumbres, escritas o tácitas, que regulan las relaciones de las madres con sus hijos, con el padre, con el resto de la familia, con otras mujeres (criadas, nodrizas, esclavas), con la comunidad y las autoridades, y que implican formas de subordinación, pero también de autoridad. Más difícil todavía ha sido acercarse, en tercer lugar, a las formas de la experiencia y la subjetividad de las mujeres, expresadas en sus escritos y en sus trayectorias de vida. ("Madres" 55-56).

(In historical studies it is possible to distinguish three main perspectives, in many cases interrelated. First, people have profusely studied the (religious, moral, scientific) discourses about maternity, as manifestations of gender ideologies that justify and construct the difference and inequality between the sexes, aiming to determine the behavior and feelings of people. Second, and to a lesser extent, some have worked on maternity—in the framework of the family and social relationships—as a social institution governed by laws and customs, written or assumed, that regulate the relationships between the mothers with their children, with the father of their children, with other members of the family, with other



women (maids, wet nurses, slaves), with the community and authorities, and which entail forms of subordination, but also of authority. It has been more difficult to approach, in the third place, forms of experience and the subjectivity of women, expressed in their writings and in their life trajectories.)

This volume dialogues with and distinguishes itself from these other studies that mostly look at maternity from the outside or around the historical mother figure, by instead approaching the “manners of experience and subjectivity” and unpacking “their life trajectories” to which Bolufer refers. By looking from the inside and in between, we access the more intimate and personal expressions of maternity and go one step further, in agreement with contributor Grace Coolidge, questioning the real responsibilities of mothers beyond the idealizations prescribed by moralists. To achieve this task, we must turn to a wide variety of documents that account for the personal experiences behind motherhood of which those narrated in the first person have a special place (e.g., letters, poems). Unlike in early modern England where we find extant examples of well-articulated first-person narratives about motherhood, in the Iberian Atlantic it is difficult to find diverse instances of intimate expressions of motherhood by women, whether embracing, questioning, or rejecting any maternal experience—these examples are mostly present in epistolary correspondence.<sup>10</sup> In many cases, those records in which we find women’s voice are mediated by the legal discourse (e.g., wills, petitions). Along with first-hand documentation found in letters and poems, Bolufer does acknowledge the importance of personal narrative in women’s testimony and judicial trials:

[n]o porque en esas fuentes en primera persona emerja una experiencia primordial, exterior al discurso y ajena a los valores de la sociedad, sino porque expresan la forma en que las identidades individuales encuentran su acomodo en ese discurso, forzando a veces sus márgenes y contribuyendo a su evolución y eventual transformación. (“Madres” 66)

(Not because in those first-person sources a primordial experience surfaces, outside of discourse and unconnected to societal values, but

10 Although still unusual, in early modern England it is possible to find records of women’s voices in the first person (other than letters and poems) talking about their maternal experience whether it be in diaries, memoirs, as well as in ‘remembrance’ and legacy books. See Heller and McEwan.

rather because they express the way in which individual experiences find their place in that discourse, sometimes forcing its margins and contributing to its evolution and eventual transformation.)

These sources are very rich insofar as they highlight the mechanisms that give women (particularly non literate and poor women) influence and power in both their lives and those of their children.

Although most authors in this volume recuperate these expressions by uncovering documents in which the voices of women are articulated in the first-person (whether mediated or not), some draw out those instances from sources related to their life trajectories (e.g., paintings, relics, chroniclers, book dedications, contracts, artistic production). In this way, this volume acknowledges the silent agency that women had (even when not recounted in the first person), especially those from working or low-class as well as non-white, indigenous and slave women. Having these contributions in dialogue with first-person accounts, we can better understand how a diverse group of women expressed and lived their emotions regarding maternal practices while being all too aware of the societal demands of having children, by choice, need, or obligation. Only by “reading over the shoulders” of men will we demonstrate and claim the multidimensional female perspective on motherhood in the Iberian Atlantic, and provide a new window into women’s lives in the early modern period.

## **Motherhood: A New Perspective**

Is *amor maternal* (maternal affection) instinctive or learned? The notion of an innate affective relationship between mother and child was not a widely held idea until the end of the seventeenth century, only largely consolidated in the eighteenth century when the state began to act according to the ideology of motherly love, affection, and responsibility. Hence, some critics believe that early modern mothers did not have to display outward signs of maternal affection, and given the high rates of infant mortality, feelings surrounding motherhood included indifference.<sup>11</sup> Contrary to

11 Of about one thousand children born in a year, Salas Auséns says, around 200 died during the first year, and half of the rest did not get to be 25 years old (103). In his classic work, *El niño y la vida familiar en el Antiguo Régimen* (1987), Philippe Ariès explains high mortality of infants due to the lack of sensibility and affection by family in general, and mothers in particular, towards their infants. This opinion, in high regard for many years, seems to correspond to that of the pediatric treatises of the time, as Cabrera Sánchez has demonstrated. However, when

this idea, maternal affection was among many other emotions that were experienced and expressed; in fact, like any other human feeling, as Élisabeth Badinter clearly proposes, maternal affection was “uncertain, fragile, and imperfect” (169), to which we must add, complex and even contradictory, and in some cases non-existent. As we approach maternity in early modern times, we encounter a wide array of ways of living and expressing maternal feelings, from that of rejection to sacrifice. In the article by Blumenthal that opens the volume, Valencian women challenged the concept of instinctive and natural love by refusing to breastfeed their children unless they were monetarily compensated. Sacrifice is highlighted in the article by Fargas that closes the volume, where low-class and working mothers, mostly living alone or widowed, had to make difficult decisions to have their rebellious daughters admitted to reform and educational institutions for their own benefit and/or to safeguard the family. Other articles throughout the volume demonstrate that something more akin to an understanding of women as nurturing and performing a type of *motherly love*, whether as affective biological mothers who do openly express feelings of love and genuine care for their children in their early years (Pérez-Toribio), or as substitute mothers, that is, non-birth mothers who had to fulfill caring maternal roles for motherless children through the form of contractual obligations with the well-established colonial state (Hernández-Torres). Contrary to the focus of the (post)eighteenth century when the cult of maternity and the immaculate mother became established and dominated as a model for being a good wife and mother (that “naturaleza femenina” [feminine nature], as proposed by Imaz), this volume shows how previously held integral duties and prescriptions associated with being a mother, such as “the maternal obligation to breastfeed,” were much more flexible and negotiable than we tend to assume (Blumenthal).<sup>12</sup>

Our point of departure is that motherhood is both grounded in its historical moment and, though influenced by cultural models, is also unique to the individual ways women experienced it. As Bolufer explains it, motherhood is simultaneously natural and cultural, but not exclusively bound by its temporal moment (“Madres”). Motherhood stands out as an experience that is both out of time and shared across time. Moreover, and

approaching the lived experiences of mothers, as we are in this volume, this lack of sensibility and affection seems to lose ground.

12 There are important works about breastfeeding after the eighteenth century and the importance of the wet nurses and the regulations of their role, among them the pioneering article by Bolufer (“Actitudes”), or more recently, the online publication by Siles-González, Romera-Álvarez, Dios-Aguado, Ugarte-Gurrutxaga and Gómez-Cantarino.

in agreement with Yavneh and Miller's proposal on *Maternal Measures*, maternity is both a social construct and a physical and personal reality. Motherhood encompasses a shared bodily experience that unites all women as early modern historical subjects as we see by the metaphor that has existed over the ages *cuidar como una madre* (caring like a mother) and that continues to inform our present reality today. Nevertheless, in these shared experiences, there are also many different lived realities of motherhood, in differing unique cases providing their positionality, that is, depending on their race, class or other (self)identifications (i.e., queens or elite women, working women, poor or indigenous mothers, married, single or widowed women, etc.). Early modern maternity may be seen as complex or even contradictory at times; indeed, although social obligation and duty are highlighted at the time around the figure of the wife as mother, there is not one common (imaginary or not) discourse surrounding maternity nor a codified intimate or affectionate way of discussing it. As Bolufer insists, "Los discursos nunca han determinado de forma absoluta las vivencias y el pensamiento de las mujeres, que han podido ejercer la capacidad de negociar ... sus propias formas de representar y vivir la maternidad" (Discourses have never determined in absolute ways the experiences and thinking of women, who have been able to exercise the capacity to negotiate ... their own ways of representing and living maternity) ("Madres" 65). For this reason, to access and unpack the complexities of early modern motherhood, our essays look at maternity through multiple lenses and identities that intersect with each other, bringing into dialogue a variety of women's voices, from different social ranks, several ethnicities and a variety of geographical areas of the Iberian Atlantic, including Portugal and New Spain. It is this intersectionality, or "transversalidad de experiencias" in Bolufer's words ("Madres" 75), how both the material and symbolic levels engage with morality alongside other concerns that women face in their daily lives is key to our approach to maternity as a daily practical, lived reality.<sup>13</sup> Only by paying attention to the intricacies behind every experience—whether it is individually lived or communally shared—and questioning how that experience is informed by social and cultural expectations, will move us closer to a more personal perspective on maternity, an understanding in fact that is not too distant from our present experiences.

13 This "transversalidad" of experiences that Bolufer explores, related specifically to the condition and practice of mothering in an Iberian context, parallels the theoretical concept "intersectionality" coined by Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw and well-known within a North American audience.

In the process of revisiting the daily lives of mothers in terms of their individual and communal contexts and configurations, many authors in this volume expose the complex social negotiations that mothers experience as members of the early modern family, as Coolidge explains in her article about the noble families in Castile,<sup>14</sup> while others expand on how racial hybridity affects social relationships in pre-conquest Peru as studied by Quispe Agnoli. Moreover, several essays discuss the intermingling of social class, status and gender that interact in the early modern noble household (Coolidge and Pérez-Toribio), and others examine the role that royal mothers play in the dynastic strategies and the related anxiety that they suffer to become the perfect consort queen (Anastácio and Llorente). Some focus on the lives of non-elite women, whether they are low-class women who need to take care of abandoned children and become surrogate mothers for the State (Hernández-Torres), single and widowed mothers who must resort on playing with legal concepts such as “amor leal” (loyal love) and “amor bondad” (kind love) for their own interest and survival (Blumenthal and Fargas), or professional women in the highest point of their artistic career who have to negotiate their successful public life (Hall-van den Elsen) to fulfill their marital obligations—and we will never know whether they resented this move or not.

Throughout the volume, we also witness how early modern women develop a robust textual site, a shared community of experience and support where they candidly discuss their changing bodies and maternal experiences. We consider maternal thinking as the practice of mothering defined by knowledge of which women are primary producers and consumers. As Pérez-Toribio states in her essay, since “[m]otherhood is physically and psychologically demanding, consuming, unpredictable, frightening, and filled with both joys and sorrows,” during the time we encounter “the creation of a robust female network of communication where women can seek and share information about pregnancy, medical recipes, health issues, and care for their children.” In this space of mutual support, they create a type of living manual of knowledge about maternity by women for women. Women become the consumers of a textual medical tradition regarding maternal practices such as methods combating infertility (Alarcón), while embracing a type of medical pluralism as a way of understanding their own bodies and the role that women play in the transmission of gynecological knowledge (Kuffner and Pérez-Toribio). As Kuffner writes “midwives, early

14 For example, Bolufer talks about the importance of the family in an extended sense, including lineage and the community in general (“Madres” 63).

modern pregnant women, and those who cared for them took an active role in attempting to prevent miscarriage and formed networks of agency to overcome fear and anxiety regarding pregnancy loss.”<sup>15</sup> Opposed to a shameful condition, the female body turns into a normalized subject, a discursive site open for issues related to the pregnant body and female solidarity and support because, as we know, maternity does not stop at giving birth and is not limited to birthing biological children.

We organize this volume in three sections: “Defining Maternity,” “Becoming Pregnant and Giving Birth” and “Daily Living Motherhood.” In the first section, “Defining Maternity,” our contributors draw our attention to different attempts to define the complexities of motherhood within the Iberian Atlantic by addressing a variety of aspects surrounding maternity: from the pressures of becoming a mother (including anxiety and rejection), the acts of giving birth and lactation (by mothers themselves or wet nurses), and the social constraints of work or being poor on the performance of motherhood.

In the first essay of this volume, “‘Services for Which I Expect to be Compensated’: Mothering as a Salaried Labor in the Late Medieval Crown of Aragon,” Debra Blumenthal elucidates the concept of *maternal love* by analyzing the petitions to civil magistrates in late medieval Valencia filed by widows, single women and concubines, who questioned maternity as an act of love. As Blumenthal demonstrates, widows and unwed mothers did contest the so-called maternal obligation of “mothering” particularly with regards to breastfeeding or recasting breastfeeding, understanding it as a form of service needing financial compensation. Removing the obligation to be a wife, the necessity to mother in its ‘natural expression’ of breastfeeding and therefore in extension, loving the child, also vanished. Following from challenging the instinctive and natural idea of maternal love, Grace Coolidge’s “Noble Maternity in Castile, 1400–1650” helps us understand the extended roles of mothers in the social and material framework of the early modern family by examining Castilian noble families’ records. These families included a wide range of people who lived in noble households (surrogate mothers) who cared for the children from the moment of birth to adulthood, including those illegitimate children. Rather than relying on moralists’ prescriptions for the ideal mother, Coolidge mobilizes the analysis of wills, genealogies, art, and other legal documentation to access the actual

15 Likewise, the recent volume, *Health and Healing in Early Modern Spain*, edited by Margaret Boyle and Sarah Owens, takes up these topics of medicine at the hands of the emerging professionalization of medicines as well as through more traditional healers including women.

roles and responsibilities of noble children's "mothers," by highlighting the complex ways in which social class, status, and gender interacted within the noble family.

Visual works are the main object of discussion of Mercedes Llorente's essay, "Maternity in the Portraits of Spanish Queens: Mariana of Habsburg." Llorente analyzes the portraits and other archival documents (e.g., letters) surrounding the maternal body of Queen Mariana of Austria. As the political mother of all her subjects (the monarchy's *mater familiae*), the queen was conscious of her dynastic capital and, thus, the role of her fertility in securing the Habsburg's future. Portraits and other paintings about her, or commissioned by her, represented the queen's maternal role of intermediary, comparable to the Virgin Mary. Crucially, paintings became instruments of agency in negotiating Mariana de Austria's maternal role as they were used in critical moments for the future of the monarchy. Despite this fundamental role of the queen for the monarchy, the paintings of the pregnant Mariana de Austria are scarce, demonstrating that the changing physical body of the pregnant queen was not available for public consumption.

Lastly in this section, Rocío Quispe Agnoli's "The Stains of the Mother: Indian Mothers and Mestizo Children in Early Colonial Peru" challenges idealized notions of gender ideologies surrounding the concept of motherhood in the Andes right at the beginning of Spanish conquest, a pivotal time of ideological transition. The article analyzes two early colonial chroniclers, *Nueva crónica y buen gobierno* (New Chronicle and Good Government, 1615) by Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala and *Memorial y relación de las cosas muy graves del Perú* (Memory and Account of the Very Serious Problems of Peru, 1629) by Franciscan Bernardino de Cárdenas, in order to contrast their different representations and interpretations of mestizo mothers, and their recommended practices for the future of the Andean race. These interpretations impacted the real practices of Indian women who gave birth to mestizos and were defined by the authorities once the conquest was well underway. This documentation demonstrates a limited type of (self) fashioning as an "Indian Mother" in the intersection of class, gender and race and its role in the identity politics so important for an understanding of colonial society.

Section two, "Becoming Pregnant and Giving Birth," centers on the moment in a mother's life when she transitions from wife to mother. Several essays comprise this section and treat the feelings of fear and anxiety around pregnancy and childbirth, while others address the exchange of advice between women, and the importance of female solidarity and support during this transitional period. In "Urinating on Lettuce and Throwing Your

Hands Up: Infertility in Early Modern Spain,” Carolina Alarcón examines sixteenth-century medical texts that were well circulated around Europe at the time. These texts depicted treatments followed by both women and men to overcome issues associated with infertility. Despite the proliferation of medical advice in proto-gynecological studies, infertility was rarely discussed by women in the early modern period and the voices of infertile women were often silent and only reluctantly appeared in the records. However, most of the extant texts were dedicated to women, and their intended readers were women as well, which allows us to speculate that women were indeed concerned about their fertility and took care of their own bodies despite their silence.

Following the same topic of fertility, Vanda Anastácio’s “Motherhood and Gender: When the Queen Has Only Daughters—The Case of Mariana Victoria de Bourbon (1718–81)” focuses on the oldest daughter of Philip V, who at the early age of eleven married the future King Joseph I of Portugal. Mariana gave birth to four daughters, and the details are related in an abundant correspondence between Spanish and French diplomats, Portuguese and Spanish courtiers, and even between the princess herself and her mother. These letters show the scrutiny that Mariana’s body was subject to and the anxiety she suffered because of the royal duty to fulfill her role of producing a male heir to the Portuguese throne. Documentation about Mariana’s fertility highlighted feelings of inadequacy and of all kinds of social pressure that affected Mariana Victoria’s self-image, self-esteem and self-perception.

Continuing this critical exploration of early modern women’s anxieties is that of the fear and traumatic experiences of miscarriage, the object of discussion of Emily Kuffner’s “*Para retener la criatura*: Miscarriage in Early Modern Spain.” Kuffner proposes that there is a significant contrast between the didactic sources (found in as conduct manuals, theological texts, and midwifery manuals), which often assign blame to women for insufficient prenatal care leading to miscarriage, and female-authored sources (such as noblewomen’s domestic remedy manuals), that may have allowed pregnant woman and midwives to gain a sense of control and comfort in the gestational period. More importantly, as Coolidge also discusses in her essay, Kuffner highlights the importance of networks of agency and solidarity that were created among women to overcome fear and anxiety regarding pregnancy loss.

This is one of the main themes of Montserrat Pérez-Toribio’s essay, “Maternal Bodies and Fertile Letters: The Politics of Motherhood Networking in Estefania de Requesens’ Correspondence.” The study of the letters by Catalonian noble Estefania de Requesens (1504–49) to her mother, as well



as other relatives and friends, sheds light on the personal lived experiences of women regarding their pregnancy, childbirth, and the need for female solidarity in order to be successful mothers. As Pérez-Toribio demonstrates, women were primary producers and consumers of maternal knowledge, and despite the physically and psychologically demanding, consuming, unpredictable, sorrowful and frightening emotions that they experienced, they were also filled with joy. She shows how women not only created a robust network of female support but also, more importantly, how the letters became a textual site of knowledge by women for women in which they shared their experiential knowledge and offered support through difficult times during pregnancy, childbirth and early days of the babies' lives.

In the third section of this book, "Daily Living Motherhood," we move on to the post-birth stories, to the experiences of women dealing with their daily lives as mothers, and focus on the impact of living motherhood, with its many compromises and struggles. In her essay "Motherhood and the Early Modern Woman Artist," Catherine Hall-van den Elsen approaches the professional lives of mothers who were also artist—painters, engravers and sculptors. This study interrogates the social contexts, the lives and the ambitions of four highly skilled women artists from early modern Spain who found themselves juggling the demands of marriage, motherhood and a career. She explores the cases of Ana Heylan (1615–55), Maria Eugenia de Beer (c. 1621–52), Luisa Roldán (1652–1706) and Luisa Valdés (1654–after 1699) and demonstrates that despite their unarguable artistic talents, the career and trajectories of many professional women were significantly affected by their sex and the expectations related to becoming wives and mothers.

In the absence of birth mothers, many who would die during childbirth, families had to rely on foundling homes and wet nurses who could become surrogate mothers for motherless children. The next chapter by Yolopatlí Hernández-Torres, "*Casa de Niños Expósitos*: The Substitute Mother in Colonial Mexico," brings us into eighteenth-century colonial Mexico, when for the first time the state codified a notion of motherhood, and discusses the significance of the *Casa de Expósitos* (foundling house) as a substitute mother in New Spain. As a symbolic home for abandoned children, and conceived as a surrogate tutor, the foundling house represents the ultimate role of social motherhood (*maternidad social*). Even when religious and civil authorities appointed male figures in positions of power, the large hierarchical pyramid that comprised the house was supported by underpaid and undervalued lower-class, working women who became crucial figures in protecting and taking care of the abandoned children.

In the final essay in this section, “Cruel or Prudent Mothers? Troubled Relationships, Disobedient Daughters, and Social Risk (Eighteenth-Century Barcelona),” Mariela Fargas analyzes archival sources from the *Casa de Misericordia* that include first-person accounts detailing the difficulties faced by poor mothers having to turn their daughters into care for the need of education or discipline. In the documents in question, motherhood appears as a conflictive experience that results from the social, emotional and cultural coordinates that made these women abandon their disobedient daughters according to the moral parameters of the time. Fargas recasts the commonly held assumption that women who abandon their children are cruel, and instead demonstrates that these acts of individual sacrifice served the common social good. As Fargas concludes in her article, “Do such experiences allow for a revision of the concept of motherhood?” Our answer would be definitely yes.

The collection of essays in *Early Modern Maternities in the Iberian Atlantic* is the first one that emphasizes women’s personal experiences and trajectories to discuss maternity within the Peninsula and its Spanish maritime empire. From an interdisciplinary perspective, the following articles broaden our understanding of the complexities of motherhood, addressing the pressures of becoming a mother (including anxiety and rejection), the acts of giving birth and lactation (by mothers themselves or wet nurses), the experiences of menstruation and miscarriage, and the ordeal of raising children. Given that before the eighteenth century there was no unique formalized official discourse that defined the conditions of being a mother, what we have instead are many different articulations of what it meant to be a mother, through which women had to negotiate different hierarchies and power struggles that made them part of who they were, their identities and their alliances, and what they experienced during their lives. While the individual experiences were unique and distinct depending on the positionality of race and class, the complexities of being a mother were universal, and women found ways to share and support each other. The wide variety of written and visual documents analyzed in the articles included in this volume highlight different aspects associated with the maternal experiences, some showing voices of women clearly articulated in first person historical, legal and literary accounts, others more subtly acknowledged or simply silenced throughout their lives. This is just the beginning of the unveiling of records from throughout the Hispanic world that express the voices of women as mothers, particularly those from lower-class and marginal groups. We can only hope that this work will inspire future research to expand our understanding of the

complexities of early modern women's experiences of maternity, experiences that undoubtedly resonate more with our world today than we could have ever imagined.

## Works Cited

- Aichinger, Wolfram, comisario. *Culturas del parto en España y Europa, siglos xv–xviii*. 2022. Virtual Museum of Human Ecology. Digital Exhibition. <https://museoecologiahumana.org/espacio/exposiciones-temporales/ano-2022/culturas-del-parto-en-espana-y-europa-siglos-xv-a-xviii>.
- Aichinger, Wolfram, coord. *Interpretation of Childbirth in Early Modern Spain*. Universität Wien. <https://childbirth.univie.ac.at>.
- Ariés, Philippe. *El niño y la vida familiar en el Antiguo Régimen*. Trans. Naty García Guadilla. Taurus, 1987.
- Avisos de Viena*. *Interpretation of Childbirth in Early Modern Spain*. Universität Wien. <https://childbirth.univie.ac.at/avisos-de-viena>.
- Badinter, Elizabeth. *The Myth of Motherhood: An Historical View of the Maternal Instinct (1981)*. Souvenir Press, 1981.
- Barbaza, Marie-Catherine. "La esposa cristiana y los moralistas españoles de los siglos XVI y XVII." *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez*, vol. 24, 1988, pp. 99–137.
- Bergmann, Emilie. "Language and 'Mothers' Milk': Maternal Roles and the Nurturing Body in Early Modern Spanish Texts." *Maternal Measures: Figuring Caregiving in the Early Modern Period*, eds. Naomi Yavneh and Naomi Miller, Ashgate, 2000, pp. 105–20.
- Bergmann, Emilie. "Milking the Poor: Wet-Nursing and the Sexual Economy of Early Modern Spain." *Marriage and Sexuality in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia*, ed. Eukene Lacarra Lanz, Routledge, 2002, pp. 90–116.
- Bizzini, Silvia, coord. *Discursos teóricos en torno a la(s) maternidad(es): una visión integradora*. Entimema, 2004.
- Blasco Herraz, Inmaculada and Dolores Serrano-Niza, coord. *Rethinking Motherhood in the 21st Century: New Feminist Approaches*. Monographic issue of *Feminismo/s: Journal of the Research Institute for Gender Studies at the Universidad de Alicante*, vol. 41, 2023.
- Bolufer Peruga, Mónica. "Actitudes y discursos sobre la maternidad en la España del siglo XVIII: La cuestión de la lactancia." *Historia Social*, vol. 14, 1992, pp. 3–22.
- Bolufer Peruga, Mónica. "Formas de ser madre: los modelos de maternidad y sus transformaciones (ss. XVI–XVIII)." *Maternidad, familia y trabajo: De la invisibilidad histórica de las mujeres a la igualdad contemporánea*, ed. J. M. Vázquez, Fundación Sánchez Albornoz, 2008, pp. 61–79.

- Bolufer Peruga, Mónica. "Madres, maternidad: Nuevas miradas desde la historiografía." *Debates sobre la maternidad desde una perspectiva histórica (siglos XVI–XX)*, ed. Franco Rubio, Icaria, 2010, pp. 51–81.
- Bolufer Peruga, Mónica and Isabel Morant Deusa. *Amor, matrimonio y familia: la construcción histórica de la familia moderna*. Síntesis, 1998.
- Boyle, Margaret and Sarah Owens, ed. *Health and Healing in the Early Iberian World: A Gendered Perspective*. University Press of Toronto, 2021.
- Cabrera Sánchez, Margarita. "La transmisión del saber médico: La vida infantil en la Edad Media a través de los tratados pediátricos y de otras fuentes de la época." *Meridiens*, vol. 8, 2006, pp. 7–36.
- Carlos Varona, María Cruz de. *Nacer en palacio. El ritual del nacimiento en la corte de los Austrias*. Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, 2018.
- Christopoulos, John. *Abortion in Early Modern Italy*. Harvard University Press, 2021.
- Coolidge, Grace, ed. *The Formation of the Child in Early Modern Spain*. Ashgate, 2018.
- Cruz Medina, Juan Pablo. "De reina a madre: La maternidad como construcción discursiva en la pintura neogranadina del siglo XVII." *Historia y Sociedad*, vol. 28, 2015, pp. 111–42.
- Fernández Montravera, Carmen et al., coord. *Las representaciones de la maternidad: debates teóricos y repercusiones sociales*. UNAM-Instituto Universitario de Estudios de la Mujer, 2000.
- Franco Rubio, Gloria A, ed. *Debates sobre la maternidad: Desde una perspectiva histórica (siglos XVI–XX)*. Icaria, 2000.
- García Herrero, María del Carmen and Cristina Pérez Galán. "Salaried Mothers: Breastfeeding and Rearing Infants in the Kingdom of Aragon." *Early Modern Women*, vol. 11, no. 2, 2017, pp. 3–21.
- García Santo-Tomás, Enrique. *Signos vitales: Procreación e imagen en la narrativa áurea*. Iberoamericana/Vervuert, 2020.
- Heller, Jennifer. *The Mother's Legacy in Early Modern England*. Routledge, 2016.
- Hernández Bermejo, María Ángeles. "La imagen de la mujer en la literatura moral y religiosa de los siglos XVI y XVII." *Norba. Revista de Historia*, vol. 8–9, 1987–88, pp. 175–88.
- Hirel, Sophie and Hélène Thieulin-Pardo, coord. *La leche polifónica: Estudio sobre las nodrizas en ibérica (siglos XIII–XVI)*. La Ergástula, 2021.
- Holloway, Nancy. *The Maternity of Mary, the Mother of God*. CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2016.
- Imaz, Elixabete. *Convertirse en madre: Etnografía del tiempo de gestación*. Cátedra, 2010.
- Jaffary, Nora. "Reconceiving Motherhood: Infanticide and Abortion in Colonial Mexico." *Journal of Family History*, vol. 37, n. 1, 2012, pp. 3–22.

- Jaffary, Nora. *Reproduction and Its Discontents in Mexico: Childbirth and Contraception from 1750 to 1905*. UNC–Chapel Hill, 2016.
- Liss, Andrea. *Feminist Art and the Maternal*. University of Minnesota Press, 2009.
- Lozano Estivalis, María. *La maternidad en escena. Mujeres, reproducción y representación cultural*. Ayuntamiento de Zaragoza, 2007.
- McEwan, Joanne. “Early Modern Mothers, in Their Own Words.” *Histories of Emotion: From Medieval Europe to Contemporary Australia*. <https://historiesofemotion.com/2016/05/06/early-modern-mothers-in-their-own-words>.
- Méndez Vásquez, Josefina, coord. *Maternidad, familia y trabajo de la invisibilidad histórica de las mujeres a la igualdad contemporánea*. Fundación Sánchez-Albornoz, 2007.
- Morant Deusa, Isabel. *Discursos de la vida buena: matrimonio, mujer y sexualidad en la literatura humanista*. Cátedra, 2002.
- Morant Deusa, Isabel. “Hombres y mujeres en el discurso de los moralistas. Funciones y realidades.” *Historia de las mujeres de España y Latin America II: El mundo moderno*, coord. Isabel Morant Deusa, Margarita Ortega, Asunción Lavrin, and Pilar Pérez Cantó, Cátedra, 2005, pp. 27–61.
- Morant Deusa, Isabel, Margarita Ortega, Asunción Lavrin, and Pilar Pérez Cantó, coord. *Historia de las mujeres de España y Latin America II: El mundo moderno*. Cátedra, 2005.
- Nadeau, Carolyn E. “Blood Mother/Milk Mother: Breastfeeding, the Family, and the State in Antonio de Guevara’s *Relox de Príncipes* (Dial of Princes).” *Hispanic Review*, vol. 68, no. 2, 2001, pp. 153–74.
- O’Connor, Erin. *Mothers Making Latin America: Gender, Households, and Politics Since 1825*. Wiley-Blackwell, 2012.
- O’Reilly, Andrea. *Maternal Theory: Essential Readings*. Demeter Press, 2007.
- Oren-Magidor, Daphna. *Infertility in Early Modern England*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2017.
- Rose, Mary Beth. *Plotting Motherhood in Medieval, Early Modern and Modern Literature*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2017.
- Ruddick, Sara. *Maternal Thinking: Towards a Politics of Peace*. Beacon Press, 1989.
- Salas Auséns, José Antonio. “Economía y población en la Edad Moderna.” *Historia de Aragón*, vol. 2, 1989, pp. 101–12.
- Siles-González, José, Laura Romera-Álvarez, Mercedes Dios-Aguado, M. Idioia Ugarte-Gurrutxaga, and Sagrario Gómez-Cantarino. “Woman, Mother, Wet Nurse: Engine of Child Health Promotion in the Spanish Monarchy (1850–1910).” *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, vol. 17, no. 23, 9005, 2020. <https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph17239005>.
- Toepfer, Regina. *Infertility in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Premodern Views on Childlessness*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2023.

- Urban, Marsha. *Seventeenth-Century Mother's Advice Books*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2006.
- Usunáriz, Jesús M. "El padre ante el parto en la España de los siglos XVI y XVII." *Hipogrifo*, vol. 6, no. 1, 2018, pp. 483–502. <https://doi.org/10.13035/H.2018.06.01.34>.
- Vigil, Mariló. *La vida de las mujeres en los siglos XVI y XVII*. Siglo XXI, 1994.
- Villaseñor Black, Charlene. "Gender and Representation in the Early Modern Hispanic World, 16th–18th Centuries." *Mapping Gendered Routes and Spaces in the Early Modern World*, edited by Merry Wiesner-Hanks, Ashgate, 2015, pp. 75–97.
- Villaseñor Black, Charlene. "The Moralized Breast in Early Modern Spain." *The Material Culture of Sex, Procreation and Marriage in Premodern Europe*, edited by Anne L. McLanan and Karen Rosoff Encarnacion, Palgrave Macmillan, 2002, pp. 191–219.
- Yavneh, Naomi and Naomi Miller, ed. *Maternal Measures: Figuring Caregiving in the Early Modern Period*. Ashgate, 2000.

## About the Authors

**Emily Colbert Cairns** is an Associate Professor of Spanish at Salve Regina University. She specializes in gender, converso and crypto-Jewish identity in the early modern period. She has published with *eHumanista*, *Chasqui*, *Cervantes Journal* and *Hispanófila*. She is the co-editor of this volume, *Confined Women: The Walls of Female Space in Early Modern Spain* (Hispanic Issues Online 2020) and she is the author of *Esther in Early Modern Iberia and the Sephardic Diaspora: Queen of the Conversas* (Palgrave 2017). She spent the fall of 2019 conducting research in the *Archivo de la Diputación* in Sevilla in support of her current manuscript *Medieval Mamas: Surprisingly Relatable Nipple Tales* which is under consideration with University of Delaware Press. She was the invited editor for a critical cluster on food studies with *La Corónica: A Journal of Medieval Hispanic Languages, Literatures and Cultures* (2021).

**Nieves Romero-Díaz** is Professor of Spanish on the Alumnae Foundation at Mount Holyoke College. Along with many articles on topics such as *Celestina*, Cervantes, the Baroque prose, her publications include a monograph (*Nueva nobleza, nueva novela*, 2002), the bilingual edition of Maria de Guevara's treatises (*Warning to the Kings and Advice of restoring Spain: A Bilingual Edition*, 2007), two co-edited volumes (*Cervantes in/on/and the New World*, 2007 and *Feliciana Enríquez de Guzmán, Ana Caro Mallén, and Sor Marcela de San Félix. Women Playwrights in Early Modern Spain*, 2016), and a special

co-edited issue of *Caliope* on women's poetry. Her current research continues to explore the intersections between gender, emotions and politics in 17th-century Spanish political treatises and letters (e.g., "On Female Political Alliances: María de Ágreda's Communities of Letters" [2018] or "Lo que más nos importa: Religión y política en las cartas entre la reina Mariana de Austria y Sor María de Ágreda" (2021).